THE CAMBRIDGE ANCIENT HISTORY

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THE CAMBRIDGE ANCIENT HISTORY

SECOND EDITION

VOLUME III

PART I

The Prehistory of the Balkans; and the Middle East and the Aegean world, tenth to eighth centuries B.C.

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PREFACE

The Editors wish to pay tribute to the late Sir Denys Page. As a Syndic of the Cambridge University Press in 1958 he intervened decisively in favour of a continuation of the plan for a new edition of the *Cambridge Ancient History* when the project was in danger of being abandoned. But for his personal interest, it is unlikely that these volumes would have been written.

When Volumes I and II were being planned, the main Balkan area was excluded from detailed study because it was not possible at that time to gain a comprehensive view of the remarkable archaeological discoveries which had been made mainly since the end of World War II. It was only in 1972 during an International Conference at Tirana in Albania that the proposal to write a Prehistory of the Balkans for the *Cambridge Ancient History* was mooted by N. G. L. Hammond and was discussed with I. V. Dumitrescu, M. Garašanin and F. Prendi. Thanks to their enthusiastic action and despite serious illness and other difficulties this project has now been realized, and we present for the first time an overall survey of the Balkan area north of the Greek peninsula for the prehistoric period. It was felt appropriate to include the survey in the present volume, because the developments in that area influenced Aegean and Anatolian cultures particularly at the end of the Bronze Age and in the ensuing period. We express our gratitude to M. Garašanin for his help in coordinating these chapters.

The main theme in the Aegean area is the abrupt decline in economic standards, which was associated with a reversion to pastoralism in many parts of the Greek mainland and with the disruption of maritime trade. The beginnings of the Dark Age were discussed in Volume II part 2. In this volume we study the gradual regeneration of Greece and the emergence of a society in which we can see the beginnings of the city-state. This too is a period of renewed contact with the east and of the start of colonization in Italy, subjects to be discussed more fully in Volume III part 3. In the period covered by this volume the archaeological evidence gets progressively richer and its elucidation has been

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a notable feature of scholarship in the last generation. By the end of the period too we can discern some aspects of rural and city-state life in the oral and literary traditions which were recorded by contemporary poets, in sacred archives and in later writers. The task of reconstruction is both fascinating and controversial; and it is important in enabling us to gain some insight into the background of what was to become a decisive phase in the shaping of European civilization.

In Western Asia we see the rise of the two great empires, Assyria and Babylonia, which for centuries would in turn dominate the political and cultural scene. In eastern Anatolia a new power appears, the Urartians, whose kingdom for a time threatens Assyria herself before sinking into oblivion. In northern Syria and southern Anatolia a mosaic of small states emerges from the disruptions which had brought about the collapse of the Hittite empire, while in Palestine Solomon's kingdom is now split into the kingdoms of Israel and Judah, sometimes living in harmony and more often competing for supremacy.

We trace the history of Egypt under the kings of Libyan stock, whose forebears for several generations had lived in the Delta and southwards as far as Heracleopolis. They followed a succession of weak native rulers who, since the death of Ramesses III in *c.* 1166 B.C., had barely been able to maintain Egypt's internal coherence and even less capable of exercising any influence on the course of events abroad. Shoshenq I, the first king of the Twenty-second Dynasty, not only established his authority over the whole country but conducted a highly successful campaign against Palestine, the fruits of which materially enriched his own treasury and the treasury of the priesthood of the god Amun at Karnak. This revival in Egypt's fortunes did not, however, prove to be lasting. Before the end of the dynasty, the monarchy had become divided and the country, already threatened by the western advance of the Assyrian army, had succumbed to invasion by the Nubian kings Kashta and Py.

The last chapter deals with the epoch-making invention of alphabetic writing and in particular the development of that writing by the Greek states, and with a study of the languages in the Balkan area in as far as they are known to us through the preservation of alphabetic records. Research in this field has been very active in recent decades, and we are grateful to R. A. Crossland for planning and co-ordinating the sections of this chapter.

As with Volumes I and II, it has seemed desirable to replace the original Volume III of the *Cambridge Ancient History* with more than one volume – III part 1, III part 2, III part 3. This is due to the great increase in archaeological material, not least in the Balkan area, and to the growing complexity of specialized studies in so many fields. Though

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we may be less confident sometimes than our predecessors in proposing answers to the problems of this period, our aim is to provide the greater range and quantity of evidence which must now be taken into account. On the other hand, Volumes IV, V and VI will be single volumes.

More text illustration is being admitted in this and succeeding volumes. The illustration in the Volume of Plates planned to accompany Volume III will be less closely bound to the text chapters and will attempt to present historically relevant material for the places and periods discussed, but often under different heads.

The form of the Bibliographies has been recast to some extent. Since the previous system led sometimes to the repetition of a title in one chapter's bibliography in that of another chapter, we have formed a single bibliography for each group of chapters which has a general subject in common, but we have also made sub-divisions within that bibliography for the convenience of the reader. In entering on periods which have been intensively studied for a century and more, we have found it necessary to make the bibliographies selective rather than exhaustive, and on occasion we have referred the reader to the bibliographies of the original Volume III for further reading. We have tried to strike a reasonable balance between text and bibliography. There is no separate Index for maps in this volume; map references are given as the first items under place-names in the General Index.

The Editors wish to mention the following acknowledgements. Professor V. Dumitrescu is most grateful for the help of his colleague Dr Sîlvia Marinescu-Bilcu, especially during his illness. Chapter 1 was translated by Mme Georgeta Bolomey, chapters 2, 3, 4 and 14 by Stojana Burton, and chapter 5 by Margaret Hammond; but the final form is due to the Editor responsible for the Balkan chapters. Dr I. E. S. Edwards acknowledges his very considerable debt to the authors of many recent studies on the Libyan Period, and in particular to Professor J. Yoyotte and Dr K. A. Kitchen, both of whom have made outstanding contributions to present-day knowledge of the period. Dr Kitchen's scheme of chronology has been followed throughout chapter 13. Professor N. G. L. Hammond expresses his gratitude to Professor Frano Prendi, Professor M. Garašanin, Professor M. Andronikos and especially Mrs I. P. Vokotopoulou the excavator of Vitsa, for their help; and to the last for permission to publish the plan of the site, drawn by Pl. Theocharidis. Dr Isserlin is indebted to Professor A. F. L. Beeston and Professor S. Strelcyn for their contributions to the charts of early scripts and to them and to Professor Sznycer and Dr Millard for their advice.

Some delays are unavoidable in a work of collaboration which involves so many writers, and it is unfortunate that they distress those who were most punctual in sending their contributions. As a

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consequence of delays the dates of composition of chapters in this volume vary considerably: for example, that of chapter 1 was March 1977, that of chapter 6 was March 1976 and that of the latest contribution to chapter 20 was February 1979. On the other hand it has been possible to arrange that all authors should bring their bibliographies more nearly up to date.

In accordance with current custom, radiocarbon age measurements quoted in Part 1 of this Volume are given in uncalibrated form on the basis of a half-life of 5570 years, and not on a half-life of 5730 years. Readers who wish to convert these measurements into dates which are now believed to be more accurate should consult calibration tables published e.g. in MASCA Newsletter 9 (1973) 1–20 or in *Antiquity* 49 (1975) 251–66. (The Editors are grateful to Mr R. J. F. Burleigh of the British Museum Research Laboratory for advice on this matter.)

The maps in this volume have been drawn by David Cox of Cox Cartographic Ltd, Pippin Cottage, Waterstock, Oxon. OX9 1JT. Marion Cox prepared many of the drawings for chapters 12, 16–19.

The index was compiled by Dr Peyton R. Helm.

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NOTE ON FOOTNOTE REFERENCES

Works cited in the various sections of the Bibliography are referred to in footnotes by the appropriate section letter followed by the number assigned to the work in the sectional bibliography, followed by volume number, page references etc. Thus A 491, II 72 is a reference to p. 72 of vol. II of N. G. L. Hammond's *A History of Macedonia* – no. 491 of Bibliography A: The Balkan Peninsula.

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CHAPTER 1

THE PREHISTORY OF ROMANIA FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO 1000 B.C.

VL. DUMITRESCU, A. BOLOMEY AND F. MOGOŞANU*

I. INTRODUCTION

Situated in the contact zone between Central and South-eastern Europe, Romania is a Carpathian–Danubian country. The Carpathian mountains – Eastern, Southern (with peaks over 2,500 m) and Western – which in the course of history have never been an ethnic and cultural barrier, enclose the Transylvanian plateau, a real central stronghold, connected by passes with the Carpathian foothills and the large plains beyond them. The entire country is crossed by rivers, almost all of which have their source on the territory of Romania; either directly, or indirectly through the river Tisa, these rivers flow into the Danube which, in turn, flows into the Black Sea.

Given the scores of millennia and the numerous problems with which this chapter has to deal, only a brief outline of the prehistory of Romania from the first evidence of human activity to the eve of the first millennium B.C., that is the end of Hallstatt A, is possible within the available space.

Prehistoric research in Romania is almost 150 years old, but methodical research began much later. The collection and classification of archaeological data were initiated in the second half of the nineteenth century and the first survey of the prehistory and protohistory of Dacia was published in the early 1880s. The results of test excavations in the Cucuteni Eneolithic settlement and at similar sites were reported at international congresses, and other contributions were made regarding various prehistoric studies, while a steady activity was carried out in Transylvania. The first more systematic excavations were made in the early twentieth century, in particular by J. Teutsch and F. László in

* Sections II and IV of this chapter were written by Alexandra Bolomey of the History Museum of the Socialist Republic of Romania, and section III by F. Mogoşanu of the Bucharest Institute of Archaeology. See Preface, p. xx, for date of composition.

I am indebted to my student and co-worker Dr Silvia Marinescu-Bîlcu of the Bucharest Institute of Archaeology for her assistance in selecting the illustrations and preparing the figures, plates and maps.

The figures for this chapter are grouped on pp. 65–74.

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south-eastern Transylvania (especially at Ariuşd), and by H. Schmidt in 1909–10, at Cucuteni (Moldova), a site of special importance for the knowledge of the Eneolithic culture of the Cucuteni painted ware. In 1916, I. Andrieşescu excavated the Eneolithic site of Sălcuţa (Oltenia), but did not publish his findings.

Systematic prehistoric research, based on a unitary plan, began in Romania after the First World War when the great historian and archaeologist Vasile Pârvan, the founder of the modern Romanian school of archaeology, organized, through the National Museum of Antiquities of Bucharest and the Commission for Historical Monuments, a vast campaign of surveys and excavations at prehistoric sites from different periods and in various regions of the country. A number of sites, some of which became eponyms of cultures, were dug in 1923–6: the Eneolithic settlements at Sultana, Gumelniţa, Căscioarele, Boian, Bonţeşti, Drăguşeni, Ruginoasa, Glina and Vădastra, the Bronze Age settlement at Lechinţa and the settlement and cemeteries at Monteoru. Palaeolithic research and excavations in northern Moldova and Transylvania were an important part of this activity.

After the premature death of V. Pârvan (1927), prehistoric research made further progress in 1941–4. It gained great impetus after 1949, when scientific research was reorganized within the Academy of the Socialist Republic of Romania, and the Archaeological Institute of Bucharest, the Institutes of History and Archaeology of Cluj and Jassy and many local history museums were founded. The period from 1949 to 1975 was the second flourishing stage of Romanian archaeology. Hundreds of settlements and cemeteries from all prehistoric periods were excavated, new cultures were discovered and the ones already known were thoroughly studied. Even the most important discoveries are too numerous to be listed here; but mention should be made of the fact that extensive Palaeolithic excavations were made then for the first time and that some sites were fully investigated, including the Eneolithic settlements at Hăbăşeşti, Truşeşti, Teiu and Căscioarele, two of the biggest Neo-Eneolithic cemeteries of Europe (Cernavodă and Cernica), the four Bronze Age cemeteries at Monteoru, and the cemetery at Cîrna.

II. BACKGROUND TO THE PALAEOLITHIC PERIOD

1. *The Pleistocene between c. 2 Million and c. 60,000 Years Ago*

The reason for considering this unusual interval, regardless of geochronological or archaeological criteria, is that it includes the disputed evidence of human intervention in the Villafranchian bone assemblage at Bugiuleşti and the undoubtedly man-made stone implements of early Palaeolithic typology, whose stratigraphic origin is still unknown.

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Various data required for the reconstruction of the evolution of the pre-Würm Pleistocene environment are available from all over Romania. But reference will be confined to the one area where such early anthropogenic activity has already been identified, the area south of the Carpathians.

At the beginning of the Pleistocene the Romanian plain and the southern part of the Moldovan plateau were still covered by the Pliocene lake.[1] This was gradually filled with freshwater alluvial deposits, and the mainland advanced in the directions north–south and west–east. The present commune of Bugiuleşti (= Tetoiu, Oltenia) is located on the Upper Villafranchian shore of that lake, as we can infer from the rich mammal associations discovered in sands and clays of fluvio-lacustrine origin at several localities of the commune, and especially in the Grăunceanu valley. The abundance of the horse and cervids and the comparative rareness of the antelope, giraffe, southern elephant, and large terrestrial Cercopithecine monkey,[2] etc., are indicative of a warm climate and a predominantly grassy vegetation of the savannah type. The list of species is similar to that found in Senèze (France), for which diatomites and palaeomagnetism suggest a chronometric age of 1·8–2 million years.[3]

Stone artefacts were recovered east of this area in the minor valleys between the rivers Olt and Argeş. Some teeth of *Archidiskodon meridionalis* and of *Dicerorhinus etruscus* were also found. If both fossils and artefacts came from the same deposits, the former would date the latter to any time from the Middle Villafranchian to the pre-Mindel interglacial; if the tools were associated only with the rhinoceros, they could go down to the post-inter-Mindel.

Although locally there is evidence for climatic oscillations (e.g. in the Betfia region,[4] and in the Braşov and Sfîntu Gheorghe depressions),[5] pre-glacial climatic conditions are considered to have prevailed throughout the territory of Romania until the Riss.[6]

2. *Man and His Environment from 60,000 to 6000 B.C.*

The *Mousterian* climate was certainly not rough. As borne out by pollen diagrams, the oscillations of the Early Würm indicate a gradual increase in dryness and, to a lesser extent, a decrease in temperature. During the climatic optimum of the 'Nandru Interstadial'[7] (possibly equivalent to Würm I/II), the climate was wet and warm (*Quercus* 3–5 %, *Tilia* over

[1] A 14.
[2] A 10, 91ff.
[3] A 10, 93ff.
[4] A 18, 229ff.
[5] A 4.
[6] A 14, 117ff.
[7] A 7, 183ff, figs. 2–4.

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6%, *Corylus* 15–17%).[8] A steppe vegetation with Compositeae and Gramineae grew in the Middle Würm stadial. The percentages of Cyperaceae, Polygonaceae and conifers, however small, point to the persistence of a certain humidity. According to the pollen-scale the 'Ohaba Interstadial'[9] (possibly equivalent to Würm II/III) included three mild oscillations (Ohaba A and B, and Herculane I)[10] with identical curves: increase in humidity (high proportions of pine, spruce and willow), rise in temperature (mixed-oak forests 8–11%, alder 8–16%, hazel 8–39%), decrease in temperature (first a pine-phase, then a birch-phase). The last Mousterian occupation falls into the Ohaba B oscillation.[11]

In caves on both slopes of the Southern Carpathians the abundance of large carnivore and especially of cave-bear bones is typical of Mousterian deposits. These animals and man occupied the same caves in turn, so the traces of their presence became intermingled. The demonstration that almost all the bones from the caves in the Alps came from animals that died a natural death is convincing.[12] Furthermore, the hypothesis that cave bears were vegetarians is equally convincing.[13] Nevertheless, because in most instances the bones of killed animals cannot be distinguished from those of animals which died naturally, it is safer not to include the bear in man's diet.

The geomorphology, altitude and other features of the micro-regions accounted for slight differences in the herbivore populations. Small valleys bordered by gentle heights, for instance, were the territories of red and giant deer; less so of the elk, horse and cattle; and were only sporadically visited by the woolly rhinoceros and mammoth (Nandru). Higher limestone massifs offered favourable conditions to the ibex and chamois on the rocks, and to the horse and *hydruntinus* in depressions (especially at Ohaba Ponor, less at Baia de Fier and Gura Cheia-Rîşnov). The site at Ripiceni is unique in the Romanian Palaeolithic because in its Mousterian habitation the mammoth was the most intensively exploited species. The position of the site and the ecology of the mammoth account for this phenomenon. On a limited stretch of the Prut, limestone reefs, persisting from the Upper Miocene, form ridges perpendicular to the valley (*toltryi*). It is likely that the ford which resulted from their presence in a particularly developed form in the Ripiceni area was used by herds of mammoth during their seasonal migrations from one territory to another in the Lower Würm. While they were crossing the river they were an easy prey for the human community living in the shelter at Stînca Ripiceni and/or in the open site at Izvor.

[8] A 7; A 8; A 9.
[9] A 7, 190ff, figs. 5–6.
[10] A 8.
[11] A 7, figs. 6–7.
[12] A 16.
[13] A 11, 74ff.

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In contrast with the traces of habitation which Mousterian man left almost all over Romania, his skeletal remains are very rare. A first phalanx of the second right toe discovered at Ohaba Ponor is certainly insufficient to justify the name of *Homo neanderthalensis*. The only criterion for this name is the Mousterian assemblage in which it was found. Nor can the poor vestiges found at some other sites characterize the population. The largest set of human remains (skull and mandible fragments and some long bones) was discovered in the cave at Baia de Fier (Oltenia).[14] The gracility of the bones and the predominance of *sapiens* characteristics in the skull have aroused doubts about their Mousterian age. But this scepticism is not justified, when we consider that it becomes ever more obvious that the extreme Neanderthalers, as we know them from Western Europe, were specialized forms spread over a comparatively limited territory, while in the rest of Europe there remained room for the 'purer' descendants of the polymorphous pre-Neanderthal populations and even for representatives of *sapiens* proper.

According to pollen analysis, the *Aurignacian* corresponds to a warm oscillation (Herculane I) of the Ohaba Interstadial.[15] Little is known about the fauna of that cultural stage. Cattle seem to have predominated in Moldova (Ceahlău area). A skull, probably of a woman aged 30–40, was found in a cave at Cioclovina (Transylvania) in association with Aurignacian tools. Physical characteristics assign it to the Cro-Magnon type, Předmost variant.[16]

In opposition to the older geochronological scale of archaeologists, we believe that the whole eastern *Gravettian* falls into the Young Würm stadial, possibly extending over its upper limit. Our hypothesis is founded on analyses of animal bones from Moldova where such remains are more substantial. The horse is present at most sites, very often as the dominant species. Given its ecological requirements, steppes must have prevailed. Pollen analysis, too, demonstrates that steppes were more extensive than in the preceding chronological stages. Reindeer frequency is equal to and sometimes even higher than that of the horse. Intolerance to high temperatures, which nowadays prevents this species from descending below 15 °C July isotherm,[17] is a further indication of the climate of that period. Relevant evidence is available for the seasonal migration of reindeer in Moldova.[18] Although no seasonal dating can be derived from the remains of other species of herbivore, we believe that they too were forced to migrate as a result of climatic pressure and limited food resources. This suggests that human communities also moved and changed site with the season.

[14] A 3, 14; A 12.
[15] A 8; A 9.
[16] A 15.
[17] A 17, 4/5.
[18] A 17, 3/24ff, 6/42, 7/31, 8/63ff.

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The low age of the Gravettian of Moldova is confirmed by a few C-14 dates (Bln–806: 16,160 ± 300 B.C.; Bln–805: 15,670 ± 320 B.C. at Lespezi,[19] Bln–000: *c.* 17,000 B.C. at Crasnaleuca = unpublished date). The persistence of the Gravettian into the Late Glacial, in Moldova at least, is suggested by the site pattern in the southern part of this province. All sites are located close to the hilltops,[20] which means that the valleys were inaccessible because of the water-flow and the erosion it caused. Very poor animal vestiges point to the exploitation of large bovids (Valea Ursului) and deer (Măluşteni). Gravettian man is not yet known.

About 10,000–8500 B.C., in the *Epipalaeolithic*, ibex and chamois continued to be the most intensively exploited species at a low altitude in south-western Romania (Iron Gates), whereas the presence of deer is uncertain (Cuina Turcului, Băile Herculane). Around 6000 B.C., the economy in that area was based mainly on deer and pig; other species occurring in smaller quantities included dog (Icoana–Răzvrata–Veterani group).[21] It is interesting to note that in the Peloponnese (Franchthi cave) the incidence of deer decreased considerably soon after 8500 B.C.[22] This was the time when deer probably began to retreat gradually northwards in the Balkan Peninsula. In Moldova, in a Tardenoisian area, animal bones have been preserved in a comparatively poor condition at only one site (Erbiceni). It seems that the horse was more abundant in the lower part of the sequence and was gradually replaced by the deer and pig.

III. THE PALAEOLITHIC AND EPIPALAEOLITHIC (MESOLITHIC) PERIODS

The most numerous and most important Palaeolithic discoveries in Romania have been made in the past twenty-five years. Nevertheless, the activity of the consummate archaeologists who laid the foundations of Palaeolithic research in this country many years ago should not be overlooked: N. N. Moroşan for eastern Romania (Moldova and Dobruja)[23] and Marton Roska for Transylvania.[24] Most prominent was C. S. Nicolăescu-Plopşor, who initiated the systematic research all over Romania, which led to the discovery of many new sites dating from almost all phases of the Palaeolithic.

In any introduction to the Lower Palaeolithic mention should be made of the discoveries at Bugiuleşti, which are still open to question. Rich fossil deposits dating from the Upper Villafranchian were dug in

[19] A 5, 66ff. For these dates see the Preface of this Volume, p. xx.
[20] A 22, 72.
[21] A 6.
[22] A 13, 124ff, figs. 3–4.
[23] A 25.
[24] A 36.

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the commune of Bugiuleşti. One deposit, located in the Grăunceanu valley, attracted the attention of C. S. Nicolăescu-Plopşor and Dardu Nicolăescu-Plopşor, and extensive excavation resulted in the following findings: (1) in contrast to the other deposits, the bone remains in the Grăunceanu valley have no anatomical connexion; (2) many marrow-rich long bones were deliberately broken in the same manner; (3) there was a sequence of commonly used artefacts of definite functional types. These were held to provide evidence of human activity in the Grăunceanu valley and assigned to a 'pre-Palaeolithic', corresponding to an early stage of hominization. [25]

Flint implements attributed to the Pebble Culture were gathered from a large area of west-north-western Muntenia. The first discoveries were made in the Dîrjov valley (near the town of Slatina) (fig. 1.1–3), but in recent years similar implements occurred farther to the east along the rivers Cotmeana, Mozacul, Dîmbovnic and Argeş. The numerous artefacts recovered there form an exceptionally rich collection which removes every doubt about the existence of a powerful centre of human occupation during the Lower Palaeolithic. So far 754 artefacts have been gathered, including 161 choppers, 276 chopping-tools, 24 Abbevillo-Acheulian implements and 293 flakes, blades and cores (Clactonian and Levalloiso-Mousterian). These artefacts, found only in river valleys, i.e. in a secondary position, are supposed to originate either in the alluvium of the Getic Piemont or in the alluvium of some fragments of the upper terraces of the rivers.[26] Other Lower Palaeolithic finds are a Levallois blade (stratigraphy unknown) discovered at Giurgiu (Muntenia), a Clactonian flake found at Valea Lupului (Moldova) in the terrace of the Bahlui, and an Acheulian biface discovered at Căpuşul Mic (Transylvania).[27]

The Middle Palaeolithic is represented in all regions of Romania by practically all the Mousterian groups known in Europe. The most widespread Mousterian of Romania is that found in the caves of the Southern and Danubian Carpathians and known as the 'Alpine' or 'cave-bear hunters'' Mousterian, which used much quartzite and less flint. The chopping technique was rudimentary, and typology is very poor. The equipment includes more round scrapers (some of La Quina and semi-La Quina type), a number of triangular points, mostly without retouches and with the butt frequently on the cortex. The Levallois *débitage* is missing and bifaces are rare. These are general features of the South-east European cave Mousterian. That sites were occupied for a long time is clear from the cultural layers which are between two and three metres thick. Pollen and micro-mammal analyses have shown that

[25] A 30.
[26] A 28.
[27] A 26, 44.

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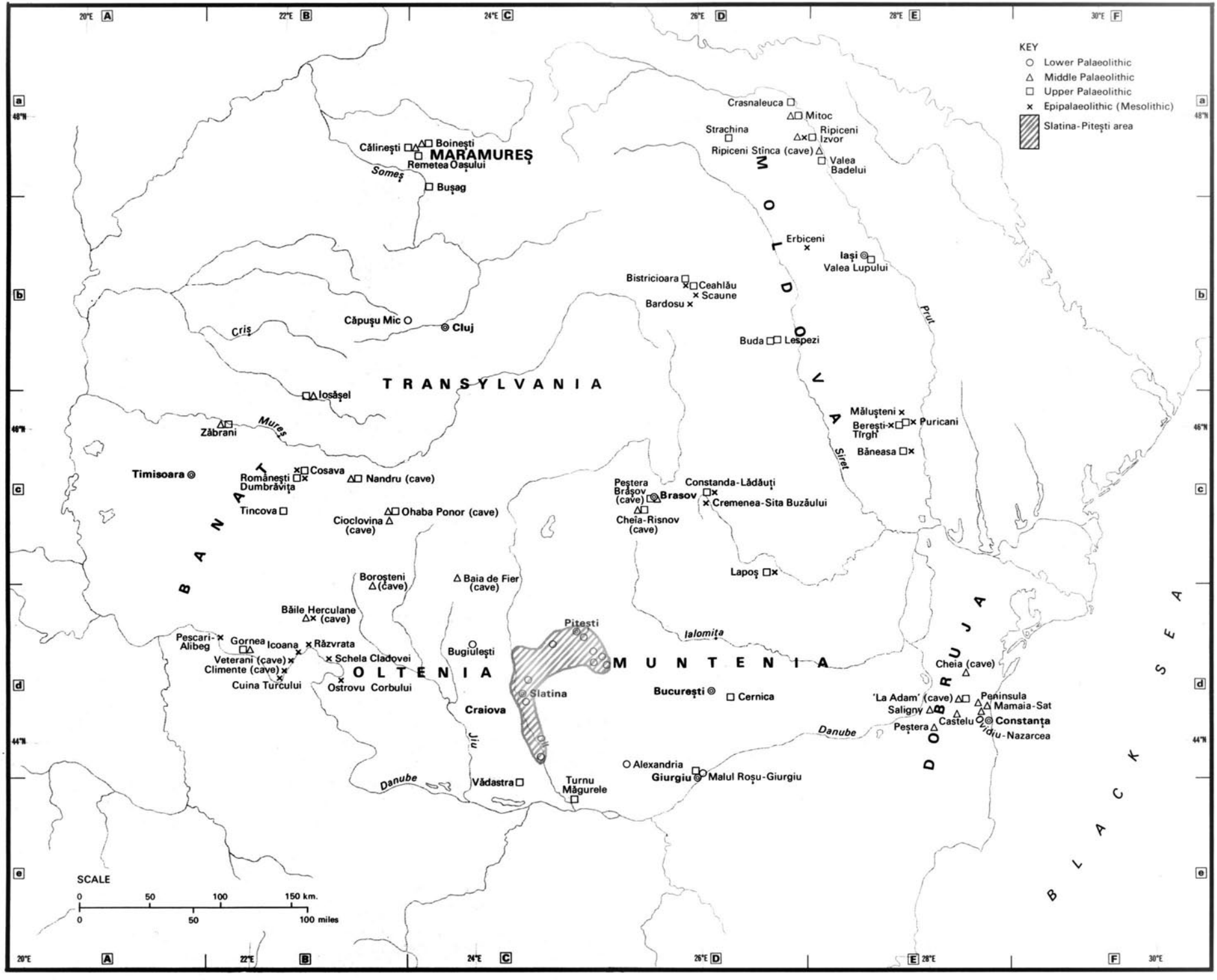

Map 1. The Palaeolithic and Epipalaeolithic (Mesolithic) periods in Romania.

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this Mousterian developed from Würm I to the last interstadial phase (Würm II/III, according to our chronology).[28]

The Mousterian in open-air sites differs greatly from cave sites – with the exception of some caves of Dobruja – and from one region to another. Several open-air sites in north-western Transylvania, which were occupied for a short time and yielded comparatively non-characteristic equipment, were assigned to a late Mousterian. Two Mousterian groups were identified in north-eastern Moldova, as evidenced especially by the excavations at Ripiceni-Izvor (fig. 1.4–5): one with typical Levallois *débitage* and another of Acheulian tradition,[29] characteristic of that area. Nine Mousterian sites (two in caves and seven on terraces), representative of two groups, were discovered in Dobruja: one with typical Levallois *débitage* and another with denticulates.[30] Apart from the quartzite Mousterian in the Baia de Fier and Boroşteni caves, only isolated artefacts in secondary and hence inconclusive positions were found in Muntenia and Oltenia.

Transition from the Middle to the Upper Palaeolithic is not very clearcut in the territory of Romania. There are some late Mousterian sites both in caves and in the open whose equipment includes many characteristic Upper Palaeolithic elements, but there is a stratigraphic (chronological) gap between the Middle and Upper Palaeolithic. The Upper Palaeolithic is represented by two important cultures, the Aurignacian and the Gravettian, to which some Mousterian survivals may be added (fig. 2). The Aurignacian covers most of Romania's territory but not southern Moldova, eastern Muntenia and Dobruja, where no positive evidence of this culture has been found so far. In every region it has some local peculiarities. Several short-time open-air sites attributed to the Middle Aurignacian were discovered in north-western Romania (Ţara Oaşului and Maramureş); despite some chronological differences they have similarities with the East Slovakian Aurignacian.[31] A few Aurignacian sites were recognized in southern Transylvania many years ago at Cremenea–Sita Buzăului; very rare vestiges were found in the caves on the northern slope of the Southern Carpathians and in mountain valleys (Cheia–Rîşnov, Peştera Mare–Braşov, Cioclovina and Ohaba Ponor).

In the northern half of Moldova there were two Aurignacian facies including several chronological stages. The first was identified in settlements on the upper Bistriţa at Ceahlău (in the Eastern Carpathians),[32] with little equipment, which might be placed on the outskirts of the Central European Aurignacian, and the second, much

[28] A 8.
[29] A 32.
[30] A 35.
[31] A 19.
[32] A 31.

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more interesting, contained bifaces inherited from the Mousterian of Acheulian tradition existing in north-eastern Moldova (Ripiceni area). In Banat (south-western Romania) there was a developed Aurignacian with several phases characterized by the presence of Dufour bladelets and Font-Yves points (obviously it had relations with the Central European Aurignacian of the Krems type).[33] Very late Aurignacian settlements were discovered in Oltenia and Muntenia. As a rule they were large workshops where flint tools were made by Aurignacian techniques; they opened by the end of the last Würm and were still producing in the post-glacial period.[34]

The Gravettian was widespread in north-eastern Romania (Moldova) where it totally replaced the Aurignacian at the end of Würm II. It was certainly of eastern origin, being directly related to many Gravettian settlements on the Middle Dniester and, through them, to the Gravettian of the Russian plain. Several stages of development, corresponding to as many intrusions from the east, were found. The sites with the most complete stratigraphic sequence were found on the terraces of the upper Bistriţa in the area about Ceahlău, where four phases were determined: Lower, Middle, Higher and Final Gravettian.[35] Several late Epigravettian stages have been added in recent years. Younger Gravettian sites were also discovered in other regions in north-western Romania where obsidian was widely used, in south-eastern Transylvania and northern Muntenia, and in south-western Romania; the Gravettian in the Iron Gates area along the Danube was of southern origin.

The Epipalaeolithic (Mesolithic) (fig. 2) is represented by two cultural groups: one is composed of local Upper Palaeolithic cultures which endured into the post-glacial period, and the other of foreign cultures (Azilian, Romanello-Azilian, Swiderian and Tardenoisian) which entered the territory of Romania coming from different directions. The first group includes the numerous Epigravettian sites of Moldova where there is either a trend towards increasing the number of microliths (especially in the south of that province)[36] or a macrolithic industry, reported in the northern half of Moldova. There is a notable synchronism between some Epigravettian sites and the Swiderian and even some Tardenoisian sites of the North Pontic type. The workshops of Muntenia and Banat already mentioned should be cited once again: they had mainly Aurignacian features, but their activity did not slacken in the post-glacial period.

The second group is represented by the Swiderian (Pludyan) located at over 1,200 m in the Eastern Carpathians (in the Ceahlău massif at Scaune and Bardosu),[37] by the North Pontic Tardenoisian which is

[33] A 24.
[34] A 23.
[35] A 31.
[36] A 22.
[37] A 27.

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widespread in eastern Romania, by a Central European Tardenoisian found in a few sites of Transylvania, by the Azilian of south-western Romania (Peştera Hoţilor at Băile Herculane),[38] and by a few probably Romanello-Azilian sites in the Iron Gates gorge.[39] In recent years a new culture was discovered in that part of the Danube valley. It had a developed bone industry with many hoes, planting sticks and even a kind of primitive ploughshare made of deer antlers, which imply a beginning of plant cultivation, equally well demonstrated by pollen analysis.[40] This culture is called the Schela Cladovei culture of late Mesolithic date with some trends towards Neolithic transformation, which however were arrested by the penetration of the Starčevo culture (Early Neolithic). An uncommon feature of the Romanello-Azilian and Schela Cladovei sites is the great number of art objects and ornaments: a schematic anthropomorphic figurine worked in a horse phalanx, small decorated bone plates, beautifully ornamented spatulae and daggers, pendants, necklaces made of snails and canid and deer teeth, etc. They are the oldest such specimens discovered in Romania.[41]

IV. MAN AND HIS ENVIRONMENT AFTER 6000 B.C.

On a map of Early *Neolithic* cultures Dobruja and a narrow belt of eastern and southern Muntenia are a blank. A geographic phenomenon accounts for this – a stratigraphically and palaeontologically transgressive phase of the Black Sea, called the 'New Black Sea' or 'Neolithic Transgression', when the sea rose some five metres higher than its present level and covered northern Dobruja.[42] This affected the level of the Danube, possibly as far as its junction with the river Olt and the tributaries of the Danube on that stretch, and made habitation impossible in those areas. On the other hand, archaeological evidence suggests that the transgressive phase ended in the fifth millennium B.C., since geographical conditions were favourable enough about 4500 B.C. for the bearers of the Hamangia culture to settle in Dobruja.

In the other parts of Romania geomorphology seems to have become sufficiently stabilized to allow a zoning of vegetation which is fairly similar to that of today. That woods may have been more frequent in areas below two hundred metres is suggested by the use of beams in the houses of some lowland Eneolithic settlements (Radovanu,[43] Căscioarele[44]) and by the presence in the same settlements of some animal species (forest marten, wild cat, beaver)[45] whose ecology

[38] A 29.
[39] A 34.
[40] A 21.
[41] A 20 and 33.
[42] A 37, 269.
[43] A 39, 90–1.
[44] A 40, 215ff.
[45] A 47, 544ff.

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requires a wooded environment. As a denser forest cover was normally a source of humidity, the decrease in humidity which occurred during the Sălcuţa culture (compared with phases I–II of Vădastra) as evidenced by malacological analysis, was the result of human activity.

The local mammal fauna included not only the present-day species, but also the beaver, *Equus hemionus*, *E.* (*Asinus*) *hydruntinus*, and the aurochs. Bones of species that still exist in the spontaneous fauna of Romania but are limited to mountain forests (deer, bear, lynx) were recovered from lowland settlements. They prove, at any rate for the deer, that these species occupied larger and more varied territories than nowadays. This extensive distribution and wide range of species persisted into the Bronze Age as well.[46]

In typological terms, the human populations were characterized by features of the Mediterranean type: small stature (approx. mean 160–161 cm ♂, 145–151 cm ♀), varying degrees of bone gracility, long and narrow skull, small face, etc. Alongside this general type other typological elements were reported: Alpine at Gura Baciului, Cro-Magnon in the Gumelniţa culture, Armenian and Dinaric in the Cucuteni culture.[47]

The highly heterogeneous population from the cemetery Columbia D of Cernavodă (Hamangia culture) is an exception to this pattern and includes massive dolicho-mesocephali, resembling the Předmost variant of the Upper Palaeolithic; Proto-Mediterraneans; heavy Atlanto-Mediterraneans; dolicho-mesocephali with a very prominent occipital bone high in relation to the inion ('Variant C'). The last type has analogies only in the eastern Aegean and Anatolian areas, whereas the first two are considered to belong to the local population. The sample included the oldest brachycephalic skull with a flattened occipital of Romania. Mean statures in the sample are the highest of all Romanian Neo-Eneolithic series (167 cm ♂, 156 cm ♀).[48] All these analyses were based on some 1,000 skeletons discovered and studied so far. Larger samples come from cemeteries of the Boian and Gumelniţa cultures and from the already mentioned Hamangia cemetery.

As for the manner in which these people exploited their environment, more satisfactory data are available on their relationships with the animals. The evolution of animal husbandry shows that:

(1) From the earliest Neolithic known in Romania (Cîrcea[49]–Gura Baciului[50] group) through the early Eneolithic, cattle were the most important animals, as indicated by the high rates of bones and individuals.

[46] A 42, 48ff.
[47] A 45, 159ff, 123ff, 133ff.
[48] A 45, 612 and table 2.
[49] A 38, 465ff.
[50] A 44, 167ff.

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(2) Of all modern domestic species, sheep and goats seem to have been imported, a hypothesis suggested by the facts that there is no evidence of Pleistocene ancestors in the region and that in the earliest positive sheep/goat finds (Cîrcea–Gura Baciului) their bones are already very gracile, whereas cattle and pig bones do not possess this character.

(3) During the Early Neolithic deer exploitation varied but could reach up to 20 per cent of the total number of individual animals; in the Advanced Neolithic (Boian culture) and early Eneolithic (phase A of the Gumelniţa culture) in the Danube Plain it did not exceed 10 per cent of all killed individual animals.

(4) Morphofunctional criteria prove that cattle were used as beasts of draught from the time of the Vădastra and Boian cultures.[51]

(5) From a chronological phase corresponding to phase B of the Gumelniţa culture animal exploitation became diversified. In all probability, the horse had already been domesticated. Sometimes the rate of deer exploitation was even higher than in the Early Neolithic, males being selectively killed for their antlers which were used as raw material. In the Cernavodă I culture sheep differed, at least in size, from the Neolithic ones.

Unfortunately, in the period of transition from the Neolithic to the Bronze Age, only human skeletons physically distinct from all Neo-Eneolithic series have been studied, and, as it happens, archaeological criteria have also assigned them to an intruding population. The dead interred in ochre-graves (some 60 from various sites) were tall ($\bar{x}$ ♂ = 173·5 cm, ♀ = 154·8 cm), had a robust skeleton and a marked cranial relief, were dolichocephalic to mesocephalic and orthognathous, and had a narrow nose (similar to the Proto-European and Nordic types).[52] In the cemetery of Brăiliţa women were mostly Mediterranean and therefore were considered to have belonged to the local population.[53] Evidence from the cemetery of Smeeni has shown that in later phases brachycephaly was more frequent. Typologically, the few skeletons found in the cist graves are assigned to robust Proto-Europeans with some Alpine characteristics.[54]

Animal bones from only two sites (Folteşti and Cernavodă–Dealul Sofia) were studied. Fishing was fairly intensive in both. At the settlement on Dealul Sofia sheep and goat were exploited in a higher proportion than in the preceding phases (almost 45 per cent of all individuals) and the sheep/goat to cattle ratio was 2:1 (equally by the number of individuals).[55]

No human bones from the first phase of the Bronze Age have been recovered so far in Romania. Some 360 skeletons from the succeeding

[51] A 41, 99ff.
[52] A 45, 164ff.
[53] A 48, 3ff.
[54] A 45, 165.

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phases were studied and they cover well enough the territory on which inhumation had persisted. The strong Mediterranean stock inherited from the Neo-Eneolithic populations is once more found in this series. Some Proto-European and Nordic components are probably due to the foreign populations which entered during the transition period. In the area of the Tei culture Proto-European features seem to be more attenuated (Smeeni)[56] than in the area of the Monteoru culture where the Cro-Magnon type is fairly gracile but still similar to the Předmost variant (Sărata Monteoru, Poiana).[57] In the cemetery of Sărata Monteoru ($n = 176$), 18·5 per cent were brachycephali, probably a Mediterranean variant. As regards stature ($\bar{x}$ ♂ = 164·0 cm, ♀ = 155·2 cm), although tall men were relatively frequent, short Mediterraneans influenced the mean value. Life expectancy at birth, determined by population analysis, was 22 years.[58]

In the Otomani culture (Pir, $n = 8$), the Mediterranean type is represented by moderate dolichocephali and mesocephali, alongside brachycephali of the Alpine type (stature ♂ 166·6 cm, ♀ 147 cm). In the Noua culture, a small series from Cluj ($n = 13$) contains over 38 per cent brachycephalic skulls associated with short and middle-size stature which might equally indicate Alpines. Inasmuch as such small series are reliable, it would appear that brachycephaly with Alpine features[59] was more frequent in Transylvania.

In the Late Bronze Age of Moldova (Noua culture) the human populations displayed either Nordic influences grafted on the main Mediterranean stock (Doina, Probota, Leţcani, Ciritei) or archaic Nordic characteristics with Proto-European and Atlanto-Mediterranean elements ($\bar{x}$ ♂ = 170·3 cm, ♀ = 159·0 cm): dolichocephalic or mesocephalic skulls, often high faces, and robust mandibles (Truşeşti, $n = 95$). Life expectancy at birth was 28·02 years.[60]

The analysis of the animal bones from twelve sites of various Bronze Age phases has led to the following major conclusions:[61]

1. Red deer represents almost one half of the exploited game animals; its frequency diminishes in the Late Bronze Age in the plains and hills of Moldova; this is interpreted as a decrease in its specific density caused by intensive deforestation.

2. The distribution of fish species suggests a greater density of rivers, supposed to have had a greater and more constant flow than now.

3. The highest rate of cattle exploitation is reported from the Noua culture. In the area of the Otomani culture, which includes the large

[55] A 42, 7–8.
[56] A 48, 3ff.
[57] A 43.
[58] A 43.
[59] A 46, 17–18.
[60] A 46, 3ff.
[61] A 42, 44ff.

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flood-plain of the Tisa, pig bones reach the highest percentage. Ovicaprines dominate in isolated areas (Sărata Monteoru–Verbiţa).

4. It should be pointed out that relatively few immature bovines were killed and that most pigs were sacrificed comparatively late (at 12–18 months).

5. The horse was probably used for riding.

V. THE NEOLITHIC–ENEOLITHIC PERIOD

A thorough knowledge of this period in Romania has been gained in the past five decades, during which research has spotlighted many previously unknown cultural features. Essential questions of the period – the conditions of transition from food-gathering to specifically Neolithic food-production, the time when the 'Neolithic revolution' began on the Danube and in the Carpathians, the origin, development, division into periods and chronology of the various cultures, etc. – have been widely discussed in the past twenty-five years.

As a rule the Neolithic period, which we call here the Neo-Eneolithic period, is divided into three stages, Early, Middle and Late, which will be found in use in chapters 2–4 (below, p. 83); but the situation in Romania is such that we have adopted our own divisions into Early Neolithic, Advanced Neolithic and Eneolithic, the last (sometimes called Chalcolithic) describing the contemporaneous use of copper and stone for implements. The two systems, although both tripartite, do not correspond in chronological terms. When reference is made to Neolithic cultures south of Romania, the reader should consult the chronological tables on p. 88 and p. 138 below. Early Neolithic in the following pages includes the first cultures that entered the territory of Romania; Advanced Neolithic the cultures brought by the second wave of populations and the first phases of the cultures that arose on the territory of Romania; and Eneolithic the other phases and cultures preceding the transition to the Bronze Age. In this last stage gold objects made their first appearance and the number of copper objects increased. Recent studies demonstrated a developed copper (and gold) industry at least in the areas of some Eneolithic cultures. An impressive number of heavy copper axes and some clay casting-moulds were found in the Carpathian–Danubian–North Balkan area, and they postulate fairly sophisticated ovens. Only 700–800 °C were required to reduce copper ore, but the Cucuteni painted pottery was fired up to 900 °C and the graphite Gumelniţa pottery up to 1,050 °C. Towards the end of the Eneolithic period heavy copper tools appeared for the first time, such as flat axes, hammer-axes and axe-adzes.

After the discovery of the Aceramic Neolithic in Thessaly and the

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USSR, some finds from Romania were assigned to that stage;[62] but we have shown[63] that Tardenoisian finds cannot be ascribed to the Neolithic and the flint artefacts from the various sites are typically Mesolithic; stratigraphy is questionable and all auxiliary elements of the true Aceramic Neolithic (evidence for animal and plant domestication, polished stone tools, etc.) are missing. Consequently, the Ceramic Neolithic is the oldest stage, but an Aceramic Neolithic may be discovered in the future. Nevertheless, independent transition to food-production would be improbable even in that case. In the opinion of most botanists the cereals identified north of the Balkans and the Danube originated south of the Balkans and in Western Asia.

As the oldest Neolithic cultural group found north of the Danube – Gura Baciului (Transylvania)[64] – Cîrcea (Oltenia)[65] – comprises painted pottery of the Proto-Sesklo type (Greece),[66] it seems that the Neolithic revolution reached the Danube as a result of the northward advance of a group of populations from Thessaly, a statement which is corroborated by similar discoveries in north-eastern Yugoslavia and north-western Bulgaria. There is no evidence of an eastern cultural trend having also contributed to the formation of the Romanian Neolithic, and the Tardenoisians could not have made such a contribution. The assumption that the Starčevo–Criş culture derived from the Schela Cladovei Epipalaeolithic culture (Iron Gates area on the Danube)[67] should be rejected. As F. Mogoşanu has also pointed out (above, p. 12), some Epipalaeolithic–Mesolithic populations were verging towards the food-production economy but their evolution was arrested by the arrival of new groups of Neolithic populations from the south.

Throughout the Neo-Eneolithic period the major means of subsistence were stock-breeding and plant cultivation by hoeing; but hunting, fishing and gathering still contributed to the food supply. Apart from the dog, which had already been domesticated in the Epipalaeolithic, animals were domesticated now by the new groups of populations. A wooden plough with a deer-antler share, as in the Mesolithic period (above, p. 12), was developed at some time in the Advanced Neolithic or early Eneolithic, but hoeing continued to be practised. In all probability animal traction was not used before the Bronze Age, but some cattle bones in the Eneolithic level at Cruşovu (Vădastra culture) show that cattle served as beasts of burden.[68]

Stone, bone, horn, baked clay, and copper objects testify that the Neolithic populations carried out also other activities indicative of a

[62] A 1, 30; A 50.
[63] A 69 and 70.
[64] A 97.
[65] A 86.
[66] A 97.
[67] A 21.
[68] A 74.

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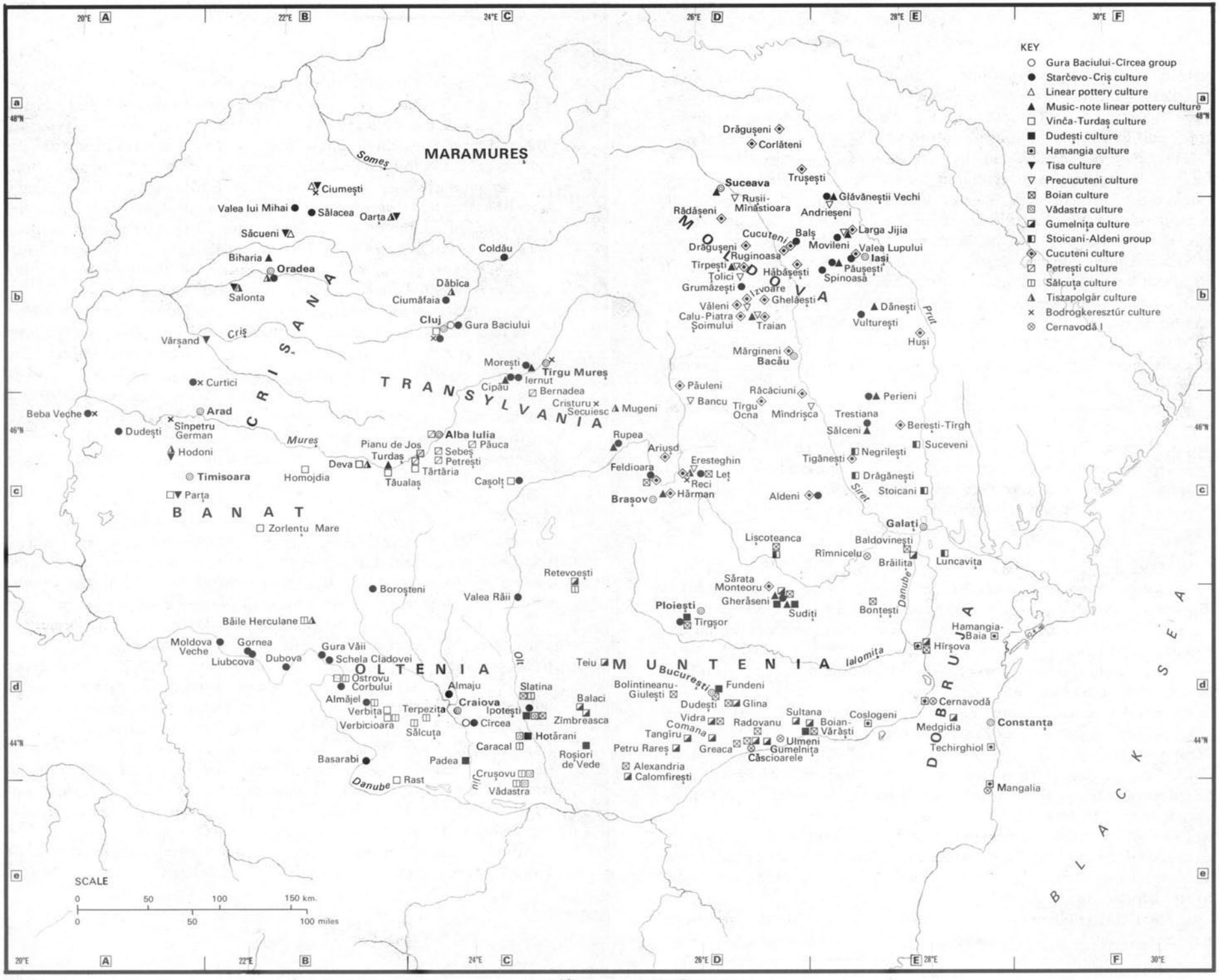

Map 2. The Neo-Eneolithic period in Romania.

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sedentary life: threshing, milling, spinning and weaving, for instance. Needles of various shapes, awls, loom-weights, querns, quern-stones, and other implements, as well as jewellery made from various materials, are found in all Neo-Eneolithic cultures.

The opinion currently held is that there was no specialization in tool-production and pottery-making. Given the peculiarities of every category of tools, however, there is little probability that every adult inhabitant of a Neo-Eneolithic settlement could work flint and stone with the required skill, and that every woman made pottery, since shapes and decorations are so varied. Specialization must have developed comparatively early; no doubt relatively few people knew how to smelt native copper and gold, reduce copper ore and work metal by hammering and later on by casting into moulds. The flint-arrowhead workshop found in the Sălcuţa culture area and the flint-axe workshop in a Gumelniţa dwelling at Căscioarele are evidence of specialization in other fields as well.

Whereas relative chronology is fairly well determined, absolute chronology is still disputed. Despite the persistent reticence of some archaeologists – which I formerly shared – absolute chronology should be accepted without reserve since most C-14 dates have been confirmed by relative chronology as determined by stratigraphy. These dates corrected on the basis of 5570 half-life will be used for absolute dating (see Preface p. xx), but no dendrochronological recalibration will be done.

No C-14 dates are available for the Early Neolithic of Romania and only two readings were made on 'music-note' linear pottery of the Advanced Neolithic. For the oldest Neolithic cultures of Romania we can rely on the C-14 dates of contemporary cultures in the neighbouring countries and Greece. On this basis the Neolithic may be said to have been introduced into the Carpatho-Danubian area towards the middle of the sixth millennium B.C. The C-14 date for the end phase of one of the latest Eneolithic cultures of Romania (Cucuteni B = 2980 ± 60) – corresponding to the date of a similar phase (Tripolye C1) of the USSR (Chapaeva 2920 ± 100) – shows that the Eneolithic lasted in Romania until after the beginning of the third millennium B.C. However, the Cucuteni culture probably endured longer; C-14 dates (2600 ± 100; 2400 ± 100; 2320 ± 100) for the Cernavodă I culture are too low. The end of the Eneolithic may therefore be placed about 2700 B.C., which corresponds to the first Troy I elements in the transitional stage from Cernavodă I to Cernavodă III, that is at the beginning of the transition to the Bronze Age.

In some three millennia (from the sixth to the early third millennium B.C.) the Neolithic populations in the Carpathian–Danubian area made

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considerable progress in material culture, social organization and spiritual life. From the small Early Neolithic settlements composed of a few scattered pit-dwellings of 2·50 × 2 metres or huts only a little bigger to the large, often fortified, Eneolithic settlements with grouped dwellings, some of which covered more than 100 square metres, progress was spectacular. It was the direct consequence of the development of tools – from microliths to flint blades, sometimes over 25 cm long, and from polished stone celts to heavy polished stone celts and then to heavy flint celts and copper axe-adzes.

The Early Neolithic should be placed between the second half of the sixth and the first centuries of the fifth millennium B.C., the Advanced Neolithic approximately in the second and third quarters of the fifth millennium, and the Eneolithic between the last two or three centuries of the fifth and the first centuries of the third millennium. No matter which name is used, Eneolithic or *Kupferzeit*, we cannot share Professor Müller-Karpe's opinion that this period would begin only about 2700 B.C., because this is precisely the date marking the end of the Eneolithic and the beginning of the transition to the Bronze Age.

The cultures of Romania may be classified into the following three big subdivisions of Neo-Eneolithic. The Gura Baciului–Cîrcea group, the Starčevo–Criş and old Linear cultures belong to Early Neolithic. Advanced Neolithic is represented by the Vinča–Turdaş (including phase C1), Dudeşti, Music-note Linear Pottery, and Tisa cultures and the first phases of the Boian, Vădastra, Hamangia, and Precucuteni cultures. The last phases of the last four cultures, and the Petreşti, Gumelniţa, Cucuteni, Sălcuţa, Tiszapolgár, Bodrogkeresztúr, and Cernavodă I cultures, date from Eneolithic times.

The cultures that are most characteristic of the Carpathian–Danubian area may be classfied in several groups. The first, belonging to the big group of the painted pottery Neolithic cultures of the east Mediterranean–Anatolian area, includes the Gura Baciului–Cîrcea group and the Starčevo–Criş culture. The second group includes the cultures with predominantly greyish-black pottery decorated with flutings (Vinča–Turdaş and Dudeşti), to which the Hamangia culture might be added. The bearers of these three cultures came from the south-east by different routes. The third group comprises the East-Slovakian and the Music-note Linear cultures. All the cultures that emerged on the territory of present-day Romania can be included in the fourth group, and the Cernavodă I culture holds a special place because it belongs to a group with cord-ornamented pottery originating in the North Pontic steppes.

A decisive role was played in the beginning by the influx of populations from the south, directly or indirectly related to Asia Minor

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and the eastern Mediterranean. The Gura Baciului–Cîrcea group was followed by the Starčevo–Criş, Vinča, Dudeşti and Hamangia cultures. Before the decline of the Starčevo–Criş culture there occurred a marginal penetration into western Crişana of the East Slovakian Linear culture (*Alföld-Linienbandkeramik*) which in Romania was called the Ciumeşti culture.[69] Another strictly marginal aspect (but much later) of Crişana and Banat is related to the Szakalhat group of eastern Hungary.[70]

Music-note Linear Pottery tribes coming from Czechoslovakia entered northern and central Moldova during the development of the Vinča and Dudeşti cultures. The Tisa culture of north-eastern Hungary subsequently spread in the western regions, that is Banat and Crişana,[71] and an East Slovakian painted pottery group reached central Transylvania and possibly became a constituent of the Petreşti culture.[72] Material belonging to the Bükk culture was also found in the abovementioned western regions. Later on, the west-north-western zone was part of the formation area of the Tiszapolgár–Româneşti and Bodrogkeresztúr–Gorneşti cultures (= Tisa II–III), which afterwards extended to south-eastern Transylvania.

The first penetration from the east, which gave birth to the Cernavodă I culture, dates only from the end of Eneolithic; but sporadic eastern elements (originating in the area of the Srednyi Stog II culture, east of the Dnieper) had already appeared west of the Dnieper in the area of the Cucuteni–Tripolye culture. The various groups of populations, and most cultural impulses also, came from the south and west. Eastern penetration occurred only at the end of Eneolithic and that of *initially* northern origin even later. And there is no evidence that tribes of the Bug–Dniester culture entered north-eastern Moldova at the beginning of Neolithic.

The general opinion is that the first Neolithic communities led a semi-sedentary life, but the fact that the oldest settlements had a small number of inhabitants and consequently did not need much farming land contradicts it. Actually, two or more levels of the same culture were discovered in a fairly large number of Early Neolithic settlements, which is evidence of true sedentariness. And many more settlements from every phase would have been discovered if their inhabitants had moved every few years.

The various cultures were diffused over fairly different areas, but many extended on both sides of the Carpathians. The Gura Baciului–Cîrcea group is supposed only to have spread over the western and central parts of Romania, but the areas of the other cultures were exactly

[69] A 57, 7.
[70] *Ibid.*
[71] A 94.
[72] A 89.

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outlined. Thus, the Starčevo–Criş culture was identified on much of the country's territory, except the mountain zones, north and north-western Romania, south-eastern Muntenia and Dobruja, and was the most extensive culture of the Romanian Neo-Eneolithic. The absence of Early Neolithic vestiges in Dobruja and south-eastern Muntenia, commonly attributed to insufficient research and other causes, is due to the fact, pointed out by Alexandra Bolomey (see above, p. 12), that Dobruja and part of the plain north of the Danube were covered by the sea ('Neolithic Transgression') at the end of Palaeolithic and in Early Neolithic.

The Vinča–Turdaş culture is found only in south-western Oltenia, Banat and central Transylvania. The East-Slovakian Linear culture and the Tisa culture extended over limited zones in west-north-western Romania, and the Music-note Linear Pottery culture prevailed in the eastern extra-Carpathian zone and part of eastern and central Transylvania, as well as in part of central and north-eastern Muntenia. The Dudeşti culture was limited to a small area in southern Romania, and the Hamangia culture to Dobruja. The Precucuteni culture is characteristic of south-eastern Transylvania and Moldova, although it subsequently extended to the east. Some Eneolithic cultures formed big territorial units. Gumelniţa covered almost the whole of Muntenia, south-eastern Moldova and Dobruja, and almost the whole eastern half of Bulgaria, reaching to the Aegean in the south. Sălcuţa spread in Oltenia, a little in western Muntenia, in part of the Banat and also south of the Danube in north-western Bulgaria (Krivodol) and north-eastern Yugoslavia (Bubanj). Cucuteni covered the whole area of the Precucuteni culture, extending as far as the Dnieper (Tripolye).

All settlements were situated close to a watercourse or spring. A trend towards choosing less readily accessible places – higher terraces or islands – became manifest in the course of time, and caves were inhabited fairly often. From Advanced Neolithic times some settlements were fortified with a V-shaped or flat-bottomed ditch, and in Eneolithic times many had one or two such ditches and sometimes an earth or stone wall or a palisade.

Small, more or less scattered pit-dwellings were the rule in the first stages, but already before the beginning of Eneolithic almost all dwellings rose from the surface and were quite large. Sometimes they were arranged in parallel rows (Radovanu);[73] at other times they were built almost at random (Căscioarele).[74] In the Cucuteni area they stood in circles centred round a bigger building, which may also have had another purpose (Hăbăşeşti) (fig. 8).[75] Clay models discovered in some

[73] A 57, 15. [74] A 40.
[75] A 65.

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settlements represent dwellings with a gabled roof probably covered with reeds secured with logs or stones; the entry was on one of the short sides, and a round-oval window on one of the long sides; the walls were made of posts with wattle infill and daubed with chaff- and straw-tempered clay. Some dwellings had two rooms. As a rule they contained a rectangular hearth made of several layers of clay, sometimes plastered, on a stone structure, and provided with a fire-guard ten centimetres high. Vaulted ovens and some clay benches, probably to sleep on, were discovered less frequently. Clay models seem to indicate that the stools and low tables had surprisingly modern shapes!

Pottery was worked by hand up to the middle of the first millennium B.C. Three fabrics were used in almost all Neo-Eneolithic cultures: a coarse one, tempered with chaff and straw, in Early and Advanced Neolithic, and with crushed potsherds later on; an intermediate one, more carefully prepared, sometimes with slip; and a fine or even very fine one, with burnished slip. This is only a very rough generalization; for many Neo-Eneolithic cultures had their own technique. Ornamentation (painted, in relief, incised, imprinted, excised) is mostly geometric (spirals and meanders), very often forming bands, which does not mean however that all were of the *Bandkeramik* type. Human and animal representations on vessels are also found.

The populations of the various cultural groups had permanent contacts. Even the raw material for the most necessary tools was not found everywhere and had to be brought from comparatively great distances, a point also demonstrated by petrographic analysis. The same applies to copper (and obviously to gold, which was much more scarce), which is not found in all Carpathian–Danubian zones and therefore was bartered either as raw material or in the form of objects, as the wide circulation of some types of tool indicates. Such exchanges imply comparatively peaceful relations, but conflicts between communities should not be excluded; indeed they might account for the burning down of some settlements. Exchange relations with the East Mediterranean were carried on by the populations which had come from that zone; proof thereof are, among other things, the ornaments made from Mediterranean shells and even objects made in the southern regions and found in settlements and graves. These relations continued in Eneolithic times when typically southern forms (askoi, etc.) appeared for the first time.

The origin of the Neo-Eneolithic populations of the Carpathian–Danubian zone will be discussed in the section dealing with the transitional period to the Bronze Age (see p. 37). Nevertheless, several specifications have to be made here in addition to the anthropological data supplied by Alexandra Bolomey (see above, pp. 13–14). One

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cannot claim that the populations which brought the Neolithic revolution to the Danube, and some of those which followed them, belonged to some Indo-European group,[76] unless one admits that the eastern Mediterranean was inhabited by Indo-Europeans in the Neolithic period. It is much more likely that the Neolithic populations south of the Danube were pre-Indo-European and assimilated the possibly Proto-European Epipalaeolithic–Mesolithic populations north of the Danube. The groups which came from Central Europe may have been Indo-European or had substantial Indo-European elements of Palaeolithic stock, but more probably the first groups of Indo-Europeans penetrated the Carpathian–Danubian zone concomitantly with the Cernavodă I culture at the end of Eneolithic, and were followed by successive groups of populations which started also from the North Pontic steppes in the transitional period to the Bronze Age.

Inhumation was the only burial rite practised throughout Neo-Eneolithic. Cremation appeared for the first time in the transitional period to the Bronze Age. In the oldest Neolithic graves (Gura Baciului) the dead were interred in a contracted position, a ritual which persisted into Eneolithic alongside burial in an extended position. The graves, mostly isolated, were situated either in the settlement or in its neighbourhood, but cemeteries on the outskirts of settlements were soon founded: large ones at Cernica[77] (Boian–Bolintineanu culture), Cernavodă[78] (Hamangia culture) and Brăiliţa[79] (Cernavodă I culture) – the first two are among the biggest in Europe – and smaller ones at Radovanu[80] (end of the Boian culture), Boian (Boian and Gumelniţa cultures) and Gumelniţa (Gumelniţa culture). In most of them the skeletons lay on their backs, except for a few burials at Cernica where they lay face down or on one side, but interment in a contracted position also persisted (Boian etc.). At Brăiliţa all the dead had been sprinkled with red ochre. Many grave-goods were found at Cernavodă (pots, figurines, tools), fewer at Cernica, and none at Brăiliţa.

Children were often buried under the dwellings. Many children's skeletons, in a contracted position, were found under and between the dwellings of the Boian level at Glina,[81] as well as under the dwellings of the Gumelniţa A2 level at Căscioarele. At the latter site, all were oriented in exactly the same direction – checked by compass – which indicates that the time of burial must have been fixed in accordance with the sun's position.

There also are Neo-Eneolithic cultures in whose area neither cemeteries nor isolated graves were discovered, maybe as a result of

[76] A 284.
[77] A 54.
[78] A 53.
[79] A 75.
[80] A 57, 16.
[81] A 58, 202–3.

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accidental events. The absence of graves in the Cucuteni culture led to the hypothesis that the corpses were placed in trees to rot and be eaten by birds; yet, an interment grave was discovered in a Tripolyan settlement of this cultural complex and burials of a magic nature were found at Traian – graves containing only parts of the corpses or a single skull and an exceptionally wide range of pottery.[82] They suggest that the Cucuteni folk did bury their dead.

Isolated skulls, either ochre-painted or not, were also discovered in settlements, buried under the dwellings or close to the hearths,[83] a custom rooted in Western Asia and practised even in the Palaeolithic. Pits with animal-head offerings (quite often deer trophies) were found in cemeteries (Cernavodă) and many settlements.

The numerous anthropomorphic and zoomorphic figurines of all Neo-Eneolithic cultures of Romania, as well as anthropomorphic and zoomorphic vessels, are also connected with the superstructure of those communities. Statuettes of women (and anthropomorphic vessels) are related to the cult of fertility and fecundity – the so-called 'Mother Goddess' – and the much rarer statuettes of men represent the male companion. We can speak of various embodiments of the feminine divinity, but cannot admit the recently stated opinion that an actual pantheon existed in that period. The Neo-Eneolithic statuettes of South-eastern Europe are *not* derived from Palaeolithic sculptures, because such sculptures have not been found in the region. Moreover, many Neo-Eneolithic figures have prototypes in Western Asia; a mere look at the Hamangia statuettes, for instance, immediately brings to mind those from Hacılar. Clay figurines prevail; bone figurines are also known in some cultures (especially Gumelniţa); marble ones are few in number. Almost every culture has its own more or less schematic or naturalistic types. The decoration of anthropomorphic figures (mainly incised, but sometimes also painted) has been taken to represent tattooing or clothing; both interpretations are probably true, depending on the case.

A few more uncommon Eneolithic finds have an important bearing on aspects of cult. Two busts in the upper part of a clay altar found at Truşeşti,[84] a Cucuteni settlement, are symbolic representations of the mother divinity and her male companion, as some two-headed figurines of the Vinča culture; columns are featured at the bottom of the altar. The Boian–Spanţov level at Căscioarele contained the vestiges of a sanctuary with painted walls; two painted clay columns rising inside and having no architectural function point to the cult of the column. The absence of any figurine is significant.[85] A clay sanctuary model with

[82] A 61.
[83] A 40.
[84] A 90.
[85] A 68; A 2, fig. 487.

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four 'chapels' on a high base was discovered in the Gumelniţa A2 level at Căscioarele.[86] Magic rites were performed when dwellings were built in settlements of the Precucuteni–Cucuteni complex: for offering vessels, which sometimes contained animal bones, were laid in a pit dug in the centre of the building ground.

The oldest Neolithic culture, the *Gura Baciului–Cîrcea* group,[87] is characterized by bichrome pottery, painted before firing, of the Proto-Sesklo type, and by predominantly microlithic tools, made especially of obsidian probably brought from the south.[88] Fragments of clay figurines and a few stone figurines were found, but the supposed 'stone heads' which have been compared to the sculptures of Lepenski Vir (below, p. 85) are mere pebbles to which man contributed nothing. A shell bracelet and a *Cardium* shell valve are evidently of southern origin. The bearers of this culture may have come from Thessaly, leaving their homeland at a fairly early stage of the Proto-Sesklo culture (there are analogies with Otzaki Magula and Argissa).[89]

The second oldest culture is *Starčevo–Criş*.[90] Although often mentioned as two related cultures, Starčevo and Criş, this is one culture, most of its specific elements (such as polychrome pottery painted before firing (fig. 3.10), imprinted honeycomb and wheat-ear designs, small three-legged altars) being found in almost all the zones to which it spread. Starčevo–Criş is contemporary with the Pre-Sesklo phase and the beginning of the Sesklo culture of Greece, Karanovo I of Bulgaria and, obviously, the Starčevo culture of Yugoslavia. The settlements of Moldova (Valea Lupului, etc.) date from a later stage, but Starčevo I settlements were found only in the Banat.[91] The last phase (IV) of Banat is simultaneous with the Vinča A phase (as in Yugoslavia), and in Transylvania and Moldova it ends with the arrival of the Music-note Linear pottery (fig. 3.13).

Absorption of the pre-Neolithic population continued (many flint and obsidian microliths of Tardenoisian tradition), while contacts with the east Mediterranean are documented by such finds as an antler sickle with flint teeth (at Valea Răii)[92] of the type known in Bulgaria (Karanovo I) and in the Middle East, many anthropomorphic and zoomorphic figurines (fig. 7.1–3), representations of which appear on pottery in the last phase,[93] clay pintaderas (fig. 3.8 and 9) with angular and zig-zag motifs (perfect analogies in Greece and Anatolia) and *Spondylus* and *Tridacna* shell jewels.

[86] A 64; A 2, fig. 486.
[87] A 97.
[88] *Ibid.* For bichrome pottery see Plates Vol.
[89] *Ibid.*
[90] A 3, 38–40; A 1, 40–3.
[91] A 78.
[92] A 1, 40.
[93] A 79.

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Coming also from the south by the same route, tribes belonging to the *Vinča*[94] culture of Yugoslavia arrived north of the Danube during the last Starčevo–Criş phase; they occupied the Banat and the western half of Oltenia and advanced along the Mureş in central Transylvania. As a result of important discoveries made in the Mureş valley (Turdaş) it was named the Vinča–Turdaş culture,[95] but there was no independent Turdaş culture. The time of its penetration is indicated by similarities with Sesklo III of Thessaly, Karanovo II–III and Veselinovo of Bulgaria, and Vršnik II–III and the end of Starčevo III of Yugoslavia. Some radiocarbon dates of Yugoslavia and the above-mentioned similarities place it between the first half of the fifth millennium and the first centuries of the fourth millennium B.C. The archaeologists who do not accept radiocarbon dates claim that the Vinča culture began only after 3000 B.C., on the basis of analogies with Anatolian Early Bronze Age pottery. The Tărtăria 'pictogram' tablets found, according to their discoverer,[96] in the Vinča–Turdaş level of the settlement, are quoted in support of the lower dating. However, it is more likely that they belonged to a later level (of the Coţofeni culture, dated to the third millennium B.C.) and slipped into the pit in which they were found through an animal burrow, like the clay anchor which is present in Coţofeni settlements and absent from Vinča–Turdaş sites.

Regardless of radiocarbon dating, however, the relative chronology of South-east European and Romanian Neo-Eneolithic cultures, determined by stratigraphy, places the Vinča–Turdaş culture long before the beginning of the third millennium. In view of the analogies between Cernavodă III of the transitional period and Troy I and of the fact that Cernavodă I,[97] all phases of Gumelniţa (certainly posterior to Vinča C1), and Vinča B and C1 should also be placed between Cernavodă III and Vinča A, we cannot accept the synchronism based on typological similarities between Vinča and Gumelniţa.

For specific material the reader is referred to chapter 2 (pp. 118 ff.). Here we shall mention only the slipped greyish-black pottery decorated with incised dot-filled bands, the channelled and fluted ware, the marks on the bottom of many vessels (some of which look like zoomorphic stylizations; cf. fig. 3.14), the overwhelming number of clay figurines (especially the 'masked' ones) (fig. 7.4, 6 and 7), some stone figurines, and the small three-legged clay altars inherited from the Starčevo–Criş culture.

In the time when Starčevo–Criş tribes occupied much of present-day Romania, elements of the *East-Slovakian–Alföld–Ciumeşti* culture penetrated into western Crişana, and during the evolution of the Vinča–

[94] A 1, 42–3.
[95] See Plates Vol.
[96] A 98.
[97] A 89.

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Turdaş culture the *Tisa* culture extended to the west-north-western regions (fig. 3.11–12) and entered Banat as well. Its incised textile-fabric patterns influenced the ornamentation of Vinča B–C ware and figurines.

The bearers of the *Dudeşti* culture[98] (fig. 3.3) of eastern Oltenia and Muntenia (also identified south of the Danube in Bulgaria)[99] most probably started from Anatolia (where there are analogies at Can Hasan, for instance),[100] crossed the Balkan Peninsula at about the time when the Vinča tribes penetrated the Danube area, and assimilated some elements from Starčevo–Criş and the last Tardenoisian survivors (a predilection for flint and obsidian microliths). Analogies with the Karanovo III culture of Bulgaria indicate its relative chronology, and elements found also in the Vinča culture broadly point to a common origin. Four phases have been suggested in Oltenia, three in Muntenia and even a mixed Vinča–Dudeşti area in the Jiu zone.[101]

Incised decoration gradually evolved into the excised decoration of the last phase, which was the starting-point of the excised Vădastra and Boian ware (western and eastern zones, respectively) (fig. 4.2, 6, 7, 8 and 9); fluting was also transmitted to them. Dudeşti figurines (e.g. fig. 7.10) are quantitatively and qualitatively inferior to Vinča–Turdaş.

The Music-note Linear pottery (fig. 3.13) discovered in the phase II level at the eponymous Dudeşti settlement is evidence of a contact between these two cultures which resulted in a new cultural synthesis: the first (Bolintineanu) phase of the Boian culture. The Sudiţi aspect of north-eastern Muntenia, characterized according to some authors by a combination of Linear with Dudeşti elements[102] (white-encrusted flutings, highly burnished ware), has been widely discussed and some authors think that it is derived from the merging of Linear with Boian–Bolintineanu elements. At any rate, the Linear Pottery tribes contributed to the formation of the Sudiţi aspect and the Boian culture.

The Dudeşti culture began before 4500 B.C., and towards the end of the third quarter of the fifth millennium its second phase appears to have been synchronous with a comparatively late phase of the Music-note Linear pottery.

The *Music-note Linear Pottery* culture[103] entered Romania towards the middle of the fifth millennium. Rounding the northern end of the Carpathians, it reached the north-western Ukraine and Moldova, from which it passed into Transylvania and central Muntenia where it came into contact with Dudeşti II. It found sites of the last Starčevo–Criş stage there, and gradually assimilated their population, from which it took over some elements.

[98] A 56 and 85.
[99] See Plates Vol.
[100] A 1, 48.
[101] A 85.
[102] A 96.
[103] See Plates Vol.

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The general features of the Music-note Linear culture of Romania are the typical ones – although pottery is greyish rather than greyish-black – but no large dwellings of the Köln–Lindenthal and Bilany types have been found so far. Two phases of development have been distinguished; contact with the Dudeşti culture took place in the second and the most probable interpretation of the Sudiţi aspect is that linear culture tribes entered Muntenia in two stages. Two radiocarbon dates (4295 ± 100 and 4220 ± 100 B.C.) are available for the latest aspect of the Music-note Linear pottery of Moldova (Tîrpeşti).[104] They place its end about 4300–4200 B.C.

The last culture to come from the south is the *Hamangia* culture[105] (fig. 4.3–5) discovered two decades ago[106] and known in Dobruja, on the Muntenian bank of the Danube and sporadically in Bulgaria. It probably advanced along the Black Sea coast. Pottery with a black and dark-brown slip, decorated with parallel rows of impressions, and clay figurines are among its typical elements. Angular and meandric ribbons consisting of parallel rows of impressions recall the *Stichbandkeramik*, but every intermediate link is missing. Its discoverer subsequently looked towards Anatolia and the eastern Mediterranean and attributed it to the big circle of Mediterranean *Cardium*-impressed pottery cultures, but we do not share this opinion, because the Hamangia ornamentation was not impressed with that shell. This culture was considered the oldest Neolithic culture of Romania,[107] but we have shown that no conclusive evidence exists in this respect;[108] the Boian pottery fragments found in Hamangia settlements and cemeteries and the stratigraphy of the Hîrşova tell[109] indicate a Hamangia–Boian synchronism, confirmed by some Boian–Bolintineanu fragments in the earlier Hamangia settlement at Coslogeni, on the Danube. Radiocarbon dates (4530 ± 95; 4090 ± 60; 4060 ± 160) corroborate this evidence.

The clay figurines (with a bulky body, high prismatic neck, and headless; cf. fig. 7.9) discovered in settlements and cemeteries show that this culture originated in Asia Minor. The well-known statuette of 'The Thinker' and his feminine counterpart, rightly considered 'Neolithic masterpieces', were unearthed from a grave of Cernavodă.

The *Vădastra* culture[110] (fig. 4.8–9), formed by gradual evolution of the Oltenian aspect of the Dudeşti culture, had a limited area.[111] Hamangia and Linear Pottery could not possibly have participated in its formation. According to the most recent division it had four phases,[112] probably beginning at the same level as the Boian culture.

[104] *Ibid.*
[105] See Plates Vol.
[106] A 3, 50–2; A 1, 34–7 and 50–4; A 2, 59–63.
[107] A 1, 34–7.
[108] A 69 and 70.
[109] A 73.
[110] A 3, 46–7; A 1, 54–5; A 2, 53–9.
[111] See Plates Vol.
[112] A 84.

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It too is characterized by predominantly black and greyish-black pottery; the fluting inherited from the Dudeşti culture was frequent in the beginning; later on angular designs, meanders and spirals were excised and filled with white paste. The pottery made in the climax phase (Vădastra III) is ranked with the finest of the European Neo-Eneolithic. Clay figurines and anthropomorphic vessels also are often decorated by excision, and the human figure is represented on some vessels (e.g. fig. 6.9). Although no radiocarbon dates are available, almost perfect synchronism with the Boian culture justifies the dating of Vădastra to the second half of the fifth millennium and the first centuries of the fourth millennium B.C.

The large *Boian–Gumelniţa* cultural complex,[113] peculiar to the eastern zone of the Lower Danube, includes the Boian and Gumelniţa cultures, which are two distinct cultures although transition from the former to the latter was direct and smooth.

The *Boian* culture[114] formed north of the Danube from the contact between Music-note Linear Pottery and Dudeşti. From central Muntenia it extended to much of this province, crossed the Carpathians to south-eastern Transylvania in its second phase, and stretched to the northern foothills of the Balkans in its third phase. Its four phases (Bolintineanu, Giuleşti, Vidra and Spanţov) show that excised pottery gradually rose to its zenith in phase III, after which it declined. Its principal motifs, including the chequers and flutings of the first phases, are inherited from the Dudeşti culture (fig. 4.2, 6 and 7). Other elements (e.g. small triangles bordering the lines in the first phases) come from linear pottery. Graphite-painted decoration, probably adopted from the south Balkan Marica culture, appears in phase III. The sporadic red or white crusted decoration may be a local invention. Sculpture is not very frequent, but the oldest bone figurine in Romania was found at Cernica (Bolintineanu phase).[115] In its last phase Boian came into contact with Precucuteni III (phase II has also been suggested), as evidenced by the imported Precucuteni ware discovered in Muntenia,[116] a contact which continued in Gumelniţa A1 and A2. Radiocarbon dates for the Spanţov phase have given 4000–3800 B.C., and the beginning of Boian should be placed about 4300–4200 B.C.

On account of the smooth transition from Boian–Spanţov to the *Gumelniţa* culture (fig. 5), the first phase (A1) of the latter and the Spanţov phase have sometimes been included in a transitional phase. A strong impulse may have come from the south Balkan Marica culture in which, as in Gumelniţa, graphite-painted pottery is very frequent (fig. 5.4–6). The division of Gumelniţa into four phases – A1, A2, B1 and

[113] See Plates Vol.
[114] A 3, 49–50; A 1, 55–6; A 39; A 2, 44–53.
[115] A 54, A 2, fig. 200.
[116] A 52 and 92.

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B2 – is the most appropriate; the succession of the first three is also ascertained stratigraphically.

In addition to graphite-painted pottery decoration, which implies a complicated technique and the baking of the ware up to 1,050 °C, other characteristics are heavy flint-axes, found only in the Gumelniţa and Sălcuţa cultures in Romanian Neo-Eneolithic, and long (up to almost 30 cm!) curved flint blades (fig. 3.7). The numerous and variegated sculptures (figurines of the Thessalian type, bone and less often marble figurines, anthropomorphic and zoomorphic vessels; e.g. fig. 6.8 and 12, fig. 7.11 and 17),[117] the current use of copper, even to cast axes, and the less frequent use of gold are also specific elements.

'Imported' Precucuteni, Cucuteni and even Petreşti ware in Gumelniţa sites (see p. 33) points to a synchronism between the beginning of Gumelniţa (A1) and Precucuteni III, and between Cucuteni A and A–B and a middle or late phase of the Petreşti culture. Many radiocarbon dates agree in general with the dates for Karanovo VI of Bulgaria[118] and confirm this synchronism. Gumelniţa A1 (for which no radiocarbon dates are available) should be dated from the end of Boian–Spanţov (*c.* 3800) to *c.* 3600; phase A2 would last from *c.* 3600 to 3400–3300. No radiocarbon dates are available for the phases B1 and B2, but the former should cover the time to the arrival of Cernavodă I at the Lower Danube.

The *Stoicani–Aldeni* cultural aspect[119] of north-eastern Muntenia and south-eastern Moldova (which also crossed into Dobruja and east of the Prut), having two or even three phases of evolution, is characterized by a blend of many Gumelniţa A1 (and maybe some Boian) elements with a smaller number of Precucuteni III elements. It occupied a contact zone between the areas of these cultures and possibly lasted longer in the south-eastern extremity of Moldova where so far no Cucuteni A–B and B settlements have been found.

Perfect continuity between Precucuteni and Cucuteni is good reason for speaking also of the *Precucuteni–Cucuteni* complex.[120]

The *Precucuteni* culture,[121] which we divided into three phases, now almost universally accepted, formed as a result of the contact between the Music-note Linear Pottery and the second (Aldeni) stage of the Boian–Giuleşti phase somewhere in south-eastern Transylvania and west-central Moldova, the only regions where Precucuteni I was identified. The essential features of this phase, determined in the settlement of Traian–Dealul Viei and including grey pottery, some elements of incised decoration, obsidian tools and typical shoe-last celts

[117] See Plates Vol.
[118] A 91 and 72.
[119] A 55 and 60.
[120] A 62; A 3, 60; A 81; A 1, 64–72.
[121] See Plates Vol.

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(fig. 3.2 and 5), reveal a Linear Pottery component alongside the Boian–Giuleşti component (excised design, channels, etc.). After the penetration into Muntenia of the Linear Pottery tribes (see above, p. 23) which gave birth to the Boian culture and Sudiţi aspect, there must have occurred a reaction of the Boian tribes which resulted in their moving to Moldova, although no typical Boian settlement has been discovered in Moldova so far. A participation of the Hamangia culture in the formation of Precucuteni has also been suggested mainly on account of some characteristics of the statuettes (figs. 6.13, 7.16).

In phase II Precucuteni spread to the Dniester (Floreşti)[122] and in its last phase to the Dnieper. In the USSR, Precucuteni III is considered as the beginning of the Tripolye culture (= phase A), but no factual evidence supports the assertion that Tripolye developed from the Bug–Dniester culture or differed from Precucuteni III; for the essential features of Precucuteni III and Tripolye A are identical.

The forms and the decoration of pottery evolved during the three phases. A gradual transition occurred from excision to impression, and then to impression and deep incision in phase III when excision was no longer used.

Typical Precucuteni II ware (e.g. fig. 5.2), found in Vinča–Turdaş settlements of central Transylvania, provides evidence of partial synchronism with phase B of Vinča–Turdaş, and the presence of such sherds in Petreşti settlements places the beginning of the latter culture comparatively early. This is confirmed by a radiocarbon date (3900 B.C.). Precucuteni III ware in Gumelniţa A1 levels establishes the persistence of this phase until after the beginning of Gumelniţa A1 (see above, p. 31). Pottery with Precucuteni III features was found also in the Hamangia area and even in the Varna group of Bulgaria, indicating at least some Precucutenian influences in those zones.[123]

Radiocarbon dates for the end of Linear Pottery cultures in Moldova can be admitted for the beginning of the Precucuteni culture. The C-14 dates for phase III (Tîrpeşti, 3580 ± 80), Tripolye A in the USSR (3614 ± 100), and the beginning of Gumelniţa A2 place the end of the Precucuteni culture about 3700–3600 B.C.

The same dates also apply to the beginning of *Cucuteni* painted pottery, which developed from the Precucuteni stock with influences from some neighbouring cultures.[124] It is also referred to as Cucuteni–Tripolye or Ariuşd–Cucuteni–Tripolye culture. H. Schmidt distinguished three phases of development (A, A–B and B)[125] corresponding to Tripolye BI, BII and CI/γI, respectively, which we divided into subphases. Recent research has established the existence of some

[122] A 88.
[123] A 80.
[124] A 67.
[125] A 95.

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regional variants. The high technique of the initially bichrome and subsequently trichrome painted pottery[126] is the result of contacts with Gumelniţa of Muntenia and Petreşti of Transylvania.[127]

Besides the spiral-meander polychrome pottery, another typical feature is the dwellings with platforms built of tree-trunks thickly coated with clay and then burnt. Foreign pottery, called 'of the C type' by H. Schmidt,[128] and made of a fabric tempered with ground shells and ornamented with comb and cord impressions, specific to the east-Dnieper Srednyi Stog II culture,[129] appeared already in the late stages of Cucuteni A, and such infiltrations continued to the end of the Cucuteni culture. A stone sceptre in the shape of a stylized horse-head[130] found at Fedeleşeni (phase A4) is identical with specimens from the USSR, some unearthed in Tripolye B settlements and others more easterly. Cultural links with the North Pontic steppes and infiltrations of people south of the Danube may account for the similar specimens of Sălcuţa (Oltenia), Casimcea (Dobruja), Suvodol (Yugoslavia) and Rajevo (Bulgaria).[131]

Two theories have been advanced regarding the end of the Cucuteni culture. T. Passek[132] and other archaeologists believe that the Gorodsk–Usatovo culture of the USSR – almost equivalent to Horodiştea–Folteşti in Romania – represents the last phase of the Cucuteni–Tripolye culture. In opposition to them we believe that the organic development of the Cucuteni culture ended with phase B (= Tripolye CI/$^{\gamma}$I) and was followed by a culture of the North Pontic tribes which assimilated some specifically Cucutenian (Tripolyan) elements (see p. 40).[133]

Relative chronology indicates a small difference in favour of the Gumelniţa culture. This is borne out by the discovery of 'imported' Cucuteni A2–A3 material in Gumelniţa A2 and B1 levels (Brăiliţa, Gumelniţa and Căscioarele). It agrees with the radiocarbon dates for a phase A2 site (3660; 3585; 3675), and for phases A3 and A4 which correspond with the C-14 date for Tripolye BI. No radiocarbon date is available for Cucuteni A–B and the dates for phase B (= Tripolye CI) are 2980 ± 60 (Valea Lupului) and 2920 ± 100 (Chapaeva). Therefore, the Cucuteni culture emerged in west-central Moldova and south-eastern Transylvania probably about 3700–3600 B.C. and lasted till about 2800–2700 B.C. The latter date should perhaps be lowered, considering that radiocarbon dates for the Usatovo culture (of the succeeding transitional phase) give about 2500 B.C.. These C-14 dates contradict the chronology suggested some time ago when the 'violin'-type figurines

[126] See Plates Vol.
[127] A 67.
[128] A 95.
[129] A 58, 219–39.
[130] See Plates Vol.
[131] A 51 and 71.
[132] A 87.
[133] A 65 and 67.

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related to Troy made us place Cucuteni A in the second half of the third millennium. However, figurines of that type occurred also earlier in Anatolia.

The *Petreşti* culture[134] of south-central Transylvania[135] is characterized by bichrome and trichrome fine painted pottery having many affinities with the Cucuteni culture (fig. 5.7–8). It has also been divided into three phases of evolution (A, A–B and B), but its origin is still a controversial question. It was viewed as a revival of the Starčevo–Criş painted pottery transmitted through the Vinča–Turdaş culture,[136] but the Turdaş painted pottery is of lower quality and entirely distinct. Another origin of the Petreşti culture has therefore been suggested, namely the penetration of East Slovakian painted pottery into west-north-western and central Transylvania.[137] The old hypothesis regarding the contribution of the Petreşti culture to the formation of the Dhimini culture of Thessaly, resumed some time ago, can no longer be upheld.

The painted sherd 'imported' from the area of the Petreşti culture (phase A–B or B) which we discovered in level A2 at Gumelniţa demonstrates that the Petreşti culture began somewhat earlier than Gumelniţa and Cucuteni. The Precucuteni II pottery unearthed in Petreşti settlements points to the same priority, confirmed by the radiocarbon date (3900 ±) of a Petreşti settlement. The Petreşti culture probably ended earlier than Gumelniţa and Cucuteni as a result of sporadic penetration of the Tiszapolgár culture from the west-north-west. Its absolute chronology would be 3900 to 3500–3400 B.C.

The *Sălcuţa* culture,[138] which superimposes a late phase of the Vinča culture in western Oltenia and the Vădastra culture in eastern Oltenia, occupied the whole of Oltenia and western Muntenia and extended west into the Banat during an evolution into four phases. It is regarded as one constituent of the Sălcuţa–Krivodol–Bubanj complex (of Romania, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia, respectively), but many common elements with the Gumelniţa culture make us consider it a regional variant of this culture, although we do not deny some Vinča inheritance (absent from Gumelniţa) and influences of the Macedonian Bronze Age. Some pottery forms, the graphite decoration and some designs, the heavy flint-axes and bone figurines identical with the Gumelniţa ones (absent from other cultures) suggest that the Gumelniţa tribes played a role in the formation of the Sălcuţa culture.

Synchronism with the Gumelniţa culture (which began somewhat earlier) and the relative chronology of the other Eneolithic cultures of

[134] A 3, 70–1; A 1, 64; A 2, 74–80.
[135] See Plates Vol.
[136] A 1, 64; A 63.
[137] A 89.
[138] A 51; A 3, 58–9; A 1, 58–60; A 2, 93–5.

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Romania accord with radiocarbon dates (3575 ± 55; 3550 ± 50) for phase II of the Sălcuţa culture and reject the synchronism suggested, on typological bases, between Gumelniţa A–B1 and Vinča A–B2. Sălcuţa could not have begun before Vinča C2.

While the last stages of the Petreşti culture developed in south-central Transylvania, the *Tiszapolgár* culture, commonly considered, together with the Bodrogkeresztúr culture which followed it, as belonging to the 'Copper Age', formed in eastern Hungary, south-eastern Slovakia and west-north-western Crişana.[139] It probably penetrated into Transylvania after the Petreşti culture had ceased, for a coexistence of both cultures in the Mureş area is unlikely. Some late elements seem to have advanced into south-eastern Transylvania (Reci) in the Cucuteni area, although the finds concerned have recently been attributed to the Bodrogkeresztúr culture.

The *Bodrogkeresztúr* culture[140] is derived from Tiszapolgár, but, according to a recent hypothesis, it may have formed in Transylvania itself as a result of penetration from the south-west and concluded a vast process of unification of the last Eneolithic culture. Many copper axe-adzes are evidence of a developed copper metallurgy.

Hammered gold jewels, some of which are regarded as stylized feminine figures, were discovered in the extra-Romanian area of the Tiszapolgár culture and in the Romanian area of Bodrogkeresztúr. They are southern in type,[141] but the gold of the jewels and the copper of the tools certainly were of Transylvanian origin.

A gold pendant and some clay vessels from the Cucuteni A–B settlement of Traian indicate a Bodrogkeresztúr–Cucuteni A–B synchronism which might have begun as early as phase A. But the Cucutenian pottery discovered at Tîrgu Mureş, together with a Bodrogkeresztúr vessel, formerly dated to Cucuteni A, is now attributed to a later variant of phase B.[142]

The cemetery at Decea Mureşului,[143] considered contemporaneous with and even attributed to the Bodrogkeresztúr culture, has recently[144] been dated as prior to it on the basis of analogies between some vessels and the Tiszapolgár pottery. Yet the copper axe-adze found in a grave supports synchronism with the Bodrogkeresztúr culture, because such axes are lacking from the Tiszapolgár culture. Some grave goods (stone mace-heads, long flint blades, etc.) have analogies in southern USSR (Mariupol) and indicate a penetration from the east.

A 'disk-handle' (*Scheibenhenkel*) level closing the Eneolithic was recently outlined in Oltenia, Banat and Transylvania (as well as in

[139] A 3, 52–3.
[140] A 3, 59–60.
[141] A 62.
[142] A 93, 101.
[143] A 3, 59–60.
[144] *Ibid.*

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eastern Hungary). Some authors consider it to be a final stage of the Eneolithic of these regions,[145] but others speak of a big cultural complex, called the Herculane or Herculane–Sălcuţa IV–Cheile Turzii type and resulting from the unification over a large area of the Sălcuţa, Tiszapolgár, Bodrogkeresztúr, Petreşti and Ariuşd cultures.[146] Population movements followed by cultural unification would be due to the penetration from the east, alongside the Danube, of the Cernavodă I culture.

On the Lower Danube the Eneolithic ends with the *Cernavodă I* culture,[147] the first massive penetration from the North Pontic steppes into the territory of Romania. The newcomers, who were related to the population that brought the Cucuteni C pottery,[148] occupied Dobruja and the Danube valley to southern Oltenia and pushed to the north and north-west the late Gumelniţa and Sălcuţa IV peoples, from whom they borrowed some elements.[149] An Anatolian origin for Cernavodă[150] cannot be admitted. The shell-tempered and cord-impressed pottery, similar to the later Cucuteni C pottery, is its major characteristic. The 'imported' Cucuteni B ware from Cernavodă I settlements[151] indicates synchronism with Cucuteni B and probably with the beginning of the Folteşti–Usatovo group of the transitional period.

The first elements relating it to Troy I (tubular handles, etc.) appear in the transitional phase (Renie II) from Cernavodă I to Cernavodă III.[152] They show that contacts with the south had been resumed and that transition to the Bronze Age had begun. The chronology of Troy I is too controversial to serve as a criterion for the dating of Cernavodă I, and radiocarbon dates are too low. Cernavodă I must have begun before 2500 B.C., that is before the end of Cucuteni B, whose contemporary it was at least in part.

VI. THE TRANSITIONAL PERIOD FROM THE ENEOLITHIC TO THE BRONZE AGE

The effects of the penetration of the Cernavodă I tribes along the Lower Danube and of the north-westward displacement of the autochthonous cultures reached beyond the Iron Gates. The great changes induced throughout the Carpathian–Danubian area were amplified by successive waves of populations arriving from the North Pontic steppes and the north-east. We may therefore be inclined to consider that the Cernavodă I culture ushered in the transitional period.

[145] A 77.
[146] A 93.
[147] A 83.
[148] *Ibid.*
[149] *Ibid.*
[150] *Ibid.*
[151] A 82.
[152] A 83.

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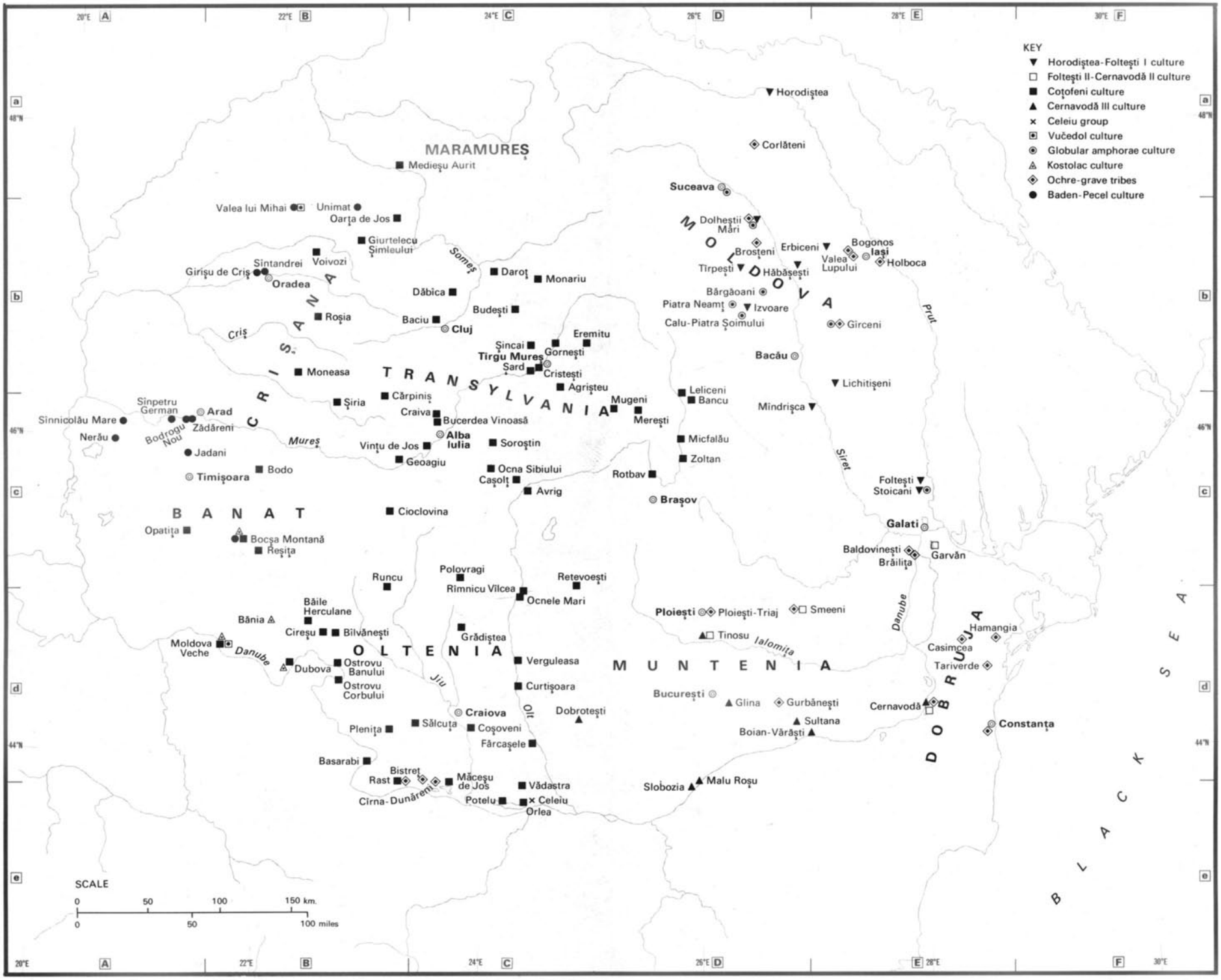

Map 3. The period of transition to the Bronze Age in Romania.

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The pastoral and semi-nomadic character of the populations of that period has usually been exaggerated. Neither the Cernavodă I people nor the tribes who arrived subsequently were nomadic and exclusively stock-breeders; their settlements with overlying levels (some of which are even fortified) point to a strong degree of implantation. Soviet archaeologists have actually shown that the tribes living in the North Pontic steppes and east of the Dnieper practised agriculture. Only the Tumulus tribes, especially the Ochre-Grave ones, were mostly nomadic or semi-nomadic pastoralists. And the fact that much less metal was used in that period (actually since the time of Cernavodă I) is significant.

The settlements were seldom fortified and the dwellings differed considerably even within one culture, ranging from pit-dwellings and small huts to two-roomed rectangular houses, 6–8 metres long and 3–4 metres wide (Cîlnic and Basarabi, Coţofeni culture, etc). Platforms, frequent in the Neolithic period, are absent and are sometimes replaced by a stamped clay floor.

The gradual influx of populations changed the cultural and ethnic pattern of the Carpathian–Danubian area and especially of the extra-Carpathian zones. Obviously, the local populations were not destroyed; they were gradually assimilated, as we see from the various cultural elements peculiar to the old cultures that were transmitted to the newcomers' cultures, a fact which is also attested by anthropological data.

The organic evolution of the Cucuteni culture of Moldova was arrested by the penetration from the east and east-north-east of populations that were probably related to the population which had brought the Cucuteni C pottery (see above, p. 34); and the *Horodiştea* and *Folteşti* cultures, commonly considered the equivalents of the Gorodsk–Usatovo aspects of the USSR, formed at the time. They overlaid the last stage of Cucuteni B in Moldova and the last Eneolithic deposits in the south-eastern part of that province.

Some late Cucutenian painted ware (last style, ζ, of stage B2) and corded ware (type C) persisted in the early Horodiştea culture[153] (fig. 6.5) (recently divided into three phases[154]), but to a lesser extent than in the USSR, where they seem to be more numerous. They were gradually replaced by greyish ware, including a variety partly decorated like the globular amphorae; flint-axes and other implements were also found. Hence, Horodiştea was a new culture, not a phase of Cucuteni, which was one of its constituents, as we have pointed out.[155]

The Folteşti culture[156] of southern Moldova and north-eastern Muntenia (fig. 6.4) resulted from the fusion of Usatovo elements which

[153] A 101 and 103; A 3, 76–7; A 2, 159.
[154] A 101.
[155] A 65.
[156] A 109 and 110; A 3, 76–7.

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had come from the east with local elements of Gumelniţa and maybe Cernavodă I of south-eastern Moldova. For a long time two distinct phases were considered; a third one was then added, and although recent excavations at Folteşti have revealed only one cultural level,[157] the differences between settlements show that the evolution of this culture should be divided into several phases. Folteşti II was the oldest Bronze Age culture of Moldova. The painted pottery and corded ware are similar to those of Usatovo. Ochre-graves belonging to that culture were found in Romania too, and even barrow-graves (Brăiliţa)[158] containing typically Usatovian painted vessels.

Coming from the north and north-east, the *Globular Amphorae* culture[159] penetrated into the hilly areas of the northern half of Moldova somewhat later. It had a typical ware with impressed 'fish-scale' motifs and a characteristic manner of burial, namely single, double or multiple interments in stone cists with many funeral gifts (pottery, bone ornaments, polished flint axes). Similar cist graves were found also in Transylvania.

The *Cernavodă III* culture[160] (fig. 7.14) formed more to the south, in Dobruja and the Lower Danube valley, as a result of the assimilation of some Gumelniţa and Sălcuţa elements by the population of the Renie II stage of Cernavodă I. This population, which was engaged mainly in sheep-breeding, used less pottery, which was made of a fabric mixed with ground shells, and the cord-impressed decoration disappeared almost entirely; its ware was mostly decorated with notched or alveolar ribbons below the rim. Some southern elements such as tubular handles, which had already appeared in the Renie II stage, point to the persistence of Troy I–Anatolian relations,[161] and some figurines with detached heads[162] recall the Thessalian-type figurines of Gumelniţa. Under pressure from the Celei group of southern Oltenia, Cernavodă III elements entered western Transylvania, advanced north-westwards and contributed to the formation of the Bolerasz group in Slovakia.[163]

The *Celei* group, related to Cernavodă III, formed in south-eastern Oltenia by the fusion of Cernavodă I elements with Ezero–Mihalič elements which had come from south-eastern Bulgaria and with some local late Sălcuţa elements.[164]

Somewhat later, the Folteşti culture penetrated deeper into eastern Muntenia and western Dobruja and gave rise to the *Cernavodă II* culture, also called *Cernavodă II–Folteşti II*,[165] which might have overlapped Cernavodă III in some zones. Painted ware and shell-tempered ware

[157] A 110.
[158] A 106.
[159] A 3, 77–9; A 100; A 1, 66; A 2, 168–9.
[160] A 82 and 83; A 107.
[161] A 83.
[162] A 1, fig. 27; A 2, figs. 286–8.
[163] A 83.
[164] *Ibid.*
[165] A 99.

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disappear, and corded ware becomes quite rare; the pottery is characterized by impressions on the rim or shoulder.

The *Coţofeni* culture[166] developed in most of Oltenia and Transylvania, in the area occupied in the late Eneolithic by the Sălcuţa IV–Herculane–Cheile Turzii complex (also called the 'disk-handle' complex), and in western Muntenia. It had three phases and was based on two culturally and ethnically distinct elements: the above-mentioned complex and the Cernavodă III culture, to which strong southern stimuli were added. The Coţofeni people were not nomads, although animal economy played an important role in the hilly and mountainous regions (sites as high as 1,000 m). Some settlements were fortified with a ditch and an earth rampart. The pottery was incised with geometric motifs (very rarely spirals), cord-impressed, and furrowed[167] (the last decoration does not belong to a later stage, as was believed for a long time). White inlay was also regularly used. Warts are a typical relief decoration; crusted ware is found less often.[168]

In the meanwhile the westernmost part of Romania was occupied by the *Baden* and *Kostolac* cultures and then by *Vučedol*,[169] which contain only typical elements of their Hungarian and Yugoslav aspects. The last phases of Vučedol are commonly placed in the Bronze Age.

The *Barrow Graves* do not constitute an Ochre-Grave culture.[170] They belong to the populations which came by successive stages from the North Pontic steppes, and all are subsequent to the Eneolithic cultures; some date from the Bronze Age. Most of them are of the *yamna* type and contain contracted and ochre-painted skeletons; only a few are catacomb graves.[171] Secondary burials were found in most tumuli; some very large tumuli consisted of several small mounds which had been covered over to make a single tumulus.[172] Ochre was either spread over the whole corpse or placed in lumps. A reed sheet was laid at the bottom of many log-covered graves. The tombs contained few goods: some copper and silver objects (including the oldest lock-rings of Romania) and sometimes a vase. A menhir and a diorite mace-head with analogies north of the Black Sea were found in a tumulus at Hamangia.[173]

Some of these barrows may belong to the Cernavodă III and Coţofeni cultures. Although inhumation was the common rite, the first cremation graves (Coţofeni) appeared in that period.[174] Clay figurines, which were so frequent in the Eneolithic, became very rare, testifying to a change in outlook and in magical and religious practices.

[166] A 111; A 3, 79–82; A 1, 65; A 2, 161–4.
[167] See Plates Vol.
[168] A 111.
[169] A 105; A 1, 65–6; A 2, 156.
[170] A 3, 73–5; A 83; A 2, figs. 175–6.
[171] A 112.
[172] A 102.
[173] A 108; see Plates Vol.
[174] A A 104.

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As regards the absolute chronology of this period, one C-14 date is available in Romania for an ochre-grave (2580 ± 65), and some dates in the USSR for the Usatovo culture (= Folteşti): 2450 ± 100; 2425 ± 60; 2390 ± 65 and 2380 ± 60). Yet we believe that the beginning of the transitional period should be placed before the middle of the third millennium, when the Eneolithic finishes. Its end, which implicitly corresponds to the beginning of the Bronze Age, is placed by most archaeologists about 1900–1800 B.C. This period would coincide with the period which Bulgarian archaeologists call 'Early Bronze Age' and date from 2750 to 1900 B.C. by analogy with the Aegean–Anatolian south. But the absence of bronze objects places it before the Bronze Age although links with the Aegean–Anatolian Bronze Age are incontestable.

Most archaeologists agree that the populations who came from the east and north-east belonged to the large group of Indo-European peoples and that the assimilation of the local Eneolithic populations resulted in the introduction of the Indo-European language in the Carpathian–Danubian area. Somatically, the newcomers (at least when anthropological examination was possible) were certainly different from the Eneolithic peoples (see above, pp. 25 ff.). This evidence supports the opinion that the Indo-Europeanization of the Carpathian–Danubian area began in the early transitional period.

VII. THE BRONZE AGE

The major cultures which crystallized in the second half of the third millennium B.C., while representative of the transitional period preceding the Bronze Age, did not become typical Bronze Age cultures, although they included many of the essential elements that formed the basis for the Early Bronze Age cultures and although some of them endured into that age. Neither Folteşti nor Coţofeni nor Vučedol can be considered peculiar to the Romanian Bronze Age.

Whereas in the beginning the transitional period was characterized especially by important social, cultural, economic, linguistic and to a great extent ethnic changes in comparison with the Eneolithic period, the relative stability established before its end in most of the Carpathian–Danubian area, namely an equilibrium between primitive agriculture and stock-breeding, persisted into the Bronze Age. After the long process of fusion of the autochthonous Eneolithic elements with the new elements that came mainly from the east-north-east and north and less from the west, a process which was constantly subjected to cultural stimuli from the Aegean and Anatolia, some new cultures emerged at

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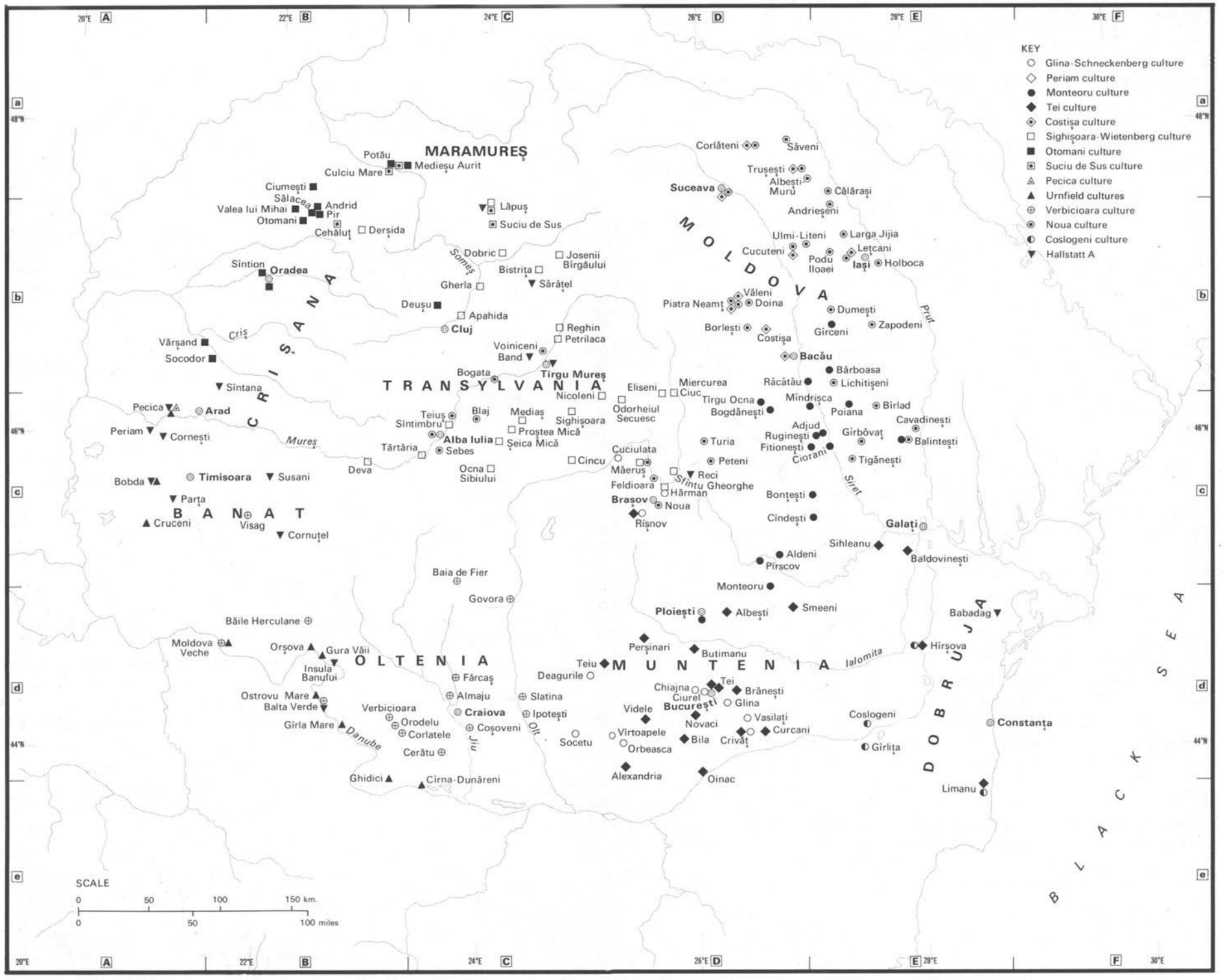

Map 4. The Bronze Age and Hallstatt A period in Romania.

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the beginning of the Bronze Age. They became typical of one or other of the Carpathian–Danubian regions in accordance with the cultural pattern which they continued or on which they formed.

Although the beginning of the Bronze Age in this area has been placed about 2000 B.C.[175] or even earlier on the basis of analogies with the south,[176] the most suitable date is 1900–1800, prior to which no bronze objects are known. Numerous systematic excavations carried out in the last decades have made it possible to determine the relative chronology of the various Bronze Age cultures; chronological relationships between cultures were established by stratigraphy and the so-called imports, but also by typology. Absolute chronology can be established by making a comparison of the metal objects from settlements and cemeteries and of typological elements in the pottery with those found and dated in the south. Since no C-14 date is available at present for the Bronze Age cultures of Romania, analogies and connexions with the Aegean–Anatolian area are decisive in this respect, but the absolute chronology generally accepted for Central Europe is also taken into account.

Until some fifteen years ago, the Bronze Age of Romania was divided, according to the system suggested by P. Reinecke for southern Germany and used for the whole of central and south-eastern Europe, into four periods (A, B, C, D) and a number of sub-periods, followed by the first Hallstatt period (A) ending about 1000 B.C. However, because this division did not fully correspond to realities in the Carpathian–Danubian area, a tripartite division – Early, Middle and Late Bronze Age – was suggested,[177] which appears to be the most appropriate.

The division of the Carpathian–Danubian Bronze Age has been the subject of many studies and discussion, the chief results of which will be taken into account here. Furthermore, great attention has been paid to the chronological classification of the numerous bronze hoards from the Late Bronze Age and the Hallstatt period. M. Rusu classified them into seven successive horizons, only the first three of which will be dealt with here: *Uriu–Domăneşti*, Late Bronze Age (thirteenth century); *Cincu–Suseni*, Hallstatt A 1 (twelfth century), and *Turia–Jupalnic*, Hallstatt A 2 (eleventh century).[178] Of course, other classifications have been suggested within the general chronology of the Central European and Carpathian–Danubian Bronze Age, but that of M. Rusu seems to be the most appropriate for Romania. General agreement has not always been reached on the chronology of gold objects and bronze hoards. In fact, Reinecke's divisions are still used fairly often when Romanian finds are related to those of Europe.

[175] A 141.
[176] A 1, 70.
[177] A 3, 93–8.
[178] A 139.

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The Early Bronze Age probably lasted till about 1600 B.C., that is to the transition stage from Reinecke's phase A to phase B, the Middle Bronze Age from 1600 to 1300, and the Late Bronze Age would include only the thirteenth century, after which comes Hallstatt A (1200–1000), which in our opinion belongs to the period of transition to the Iron Age. According to a higher chronology, the first period should be placed between 2000 and 1700 (although the same author mentions 1900 as the beginning), the second between 1700 and 1300, and the third in the 13th century.

As a result of the intensive exploitation of gold, which abounded in rivers and mines, and of the rich copper ore deposits, metallurgy flourished in Transylvania before the end of the Early Bronze Age and culminated in Ha A (to abbreviate Hallstatt A) (fig. 10). The west-north-western part of this province and the north of Crişana became an exceptional centre of bronze-working; some of its products reached even the Baltic. The relative closeness of the tin deposits of Bohemia contributed to this upsurge. Statistical data on the bronze, gold and silver hoards and isolated objects provide a telling picture of Transylvanian metallurgy: of the 25,000 metal objects found in hoards, 2,000 date from the Eneolithic and the Early and Middle Bronze Age, 1,100 from the Late Bronze Age, more than 20,000 from Ha A, and only about 1,400 from Ha B and C. And of the 137 discoveries of gold objects in Transylvania, 73 (including 30 hoards), totalling over 3,000 objects, date from the Late Bronze Age and Ha A.[179] These figures, to which many discoveries in the extra-Carpathian zone of Romania should be added, speak for themselves of the impetus gained by gold and bronze metallurgy in the Late Bronze Age and Ha A. However, workshops for the production of the new alloy, and especially for the manufacture of tools, ornaments, weapons, and other objects, were not limited to Transylvania; at least in the Late Bronze Age and Ha A foundry shops existed also beyond the Carpathians as far as Dobruja.

The number of bronzes and gold objects discovered in settlements and cemeteries is less important, but hoards can be assigned to one culture or another on the strength of their location. Gold hoards inside the Carpathian arc were found mostly in the area of the Sighişoara–Wietenberg and Otomani cultures, but they are not missing from the areas of the other cultures either. Only a few of the most important ones can be mentioned here: Ţufalău,[180] Săcueni,[181] Grăniceri,[182] Şmig,[183] Pecica–Rovine, Firiteaz,[184] Boarta[185] and Sarăsău.[186] The hoard of disks

[179] *Ibid.*
[180] A 135, 196–250; A 2, fig. 412/1.
[181] A 135, fig. 125; A 2, fig. 439/6–7.
[182] A 135, figs. 126–7.
[183] A 135, fig. 124; A 2, fig. 439/1, 3, 5.
[184] A 135, figs. 128–9; A 2, figs. 448 and 449/3, 6.
[185] A 135, fig. 135.
[186] A 2, fig. 404.

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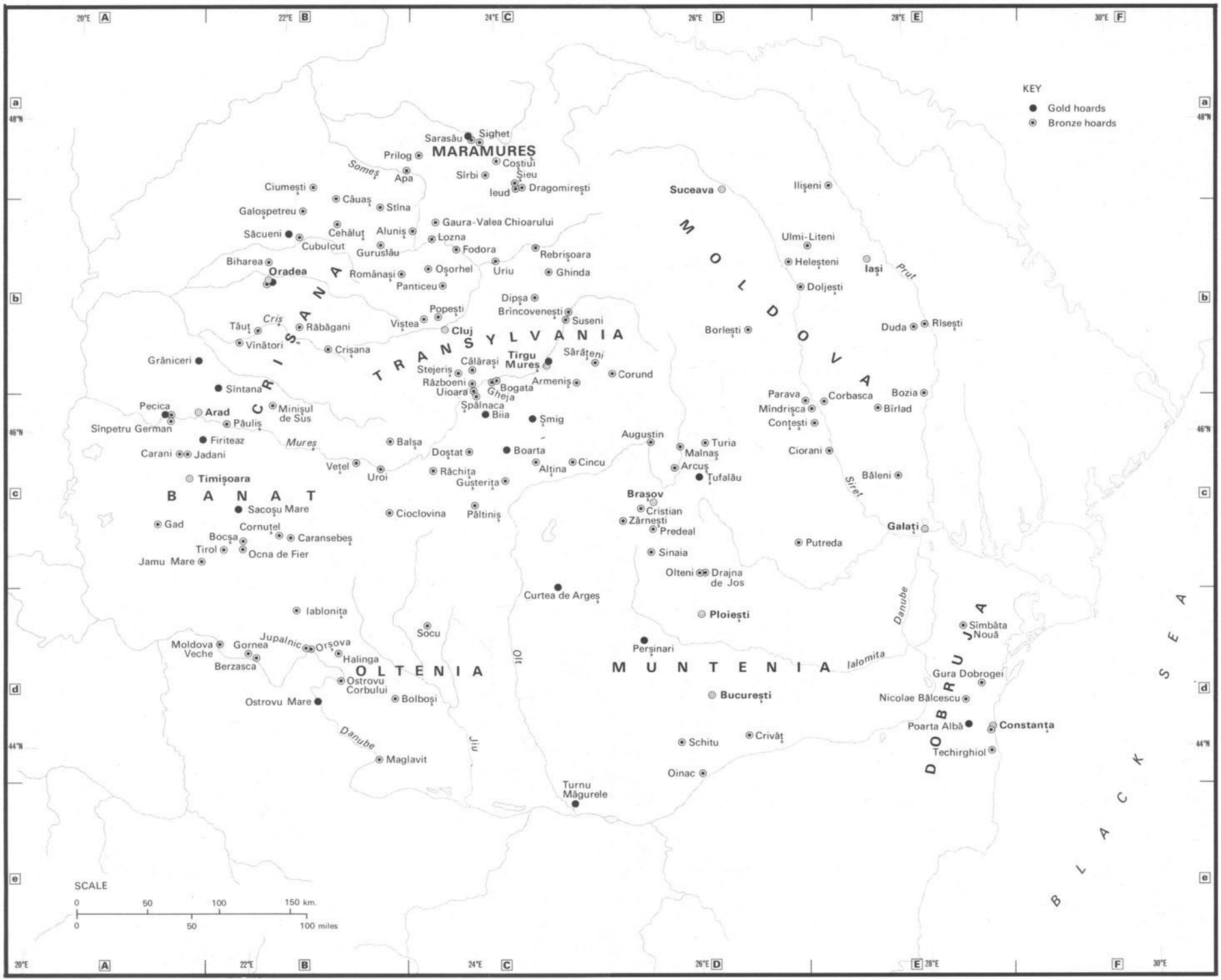

Map 5. Gold and bronze hoards in Romania.

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and lock-rings of Ostrovul Mare–Tigănaşi (south-western Oltenia) lay in the area of the Gîrla Mare–Cîrna culture, and that of gold daggers and small silver axes of Perşinari (central Muntenia)[187] at the north-eastern boundary of the Tei culture.

The extremely rich engraved and repoussé decoration of many metal objects is almost exclusively geometric–spiral, although objects ornamented with human figures and animals are also known (Ţufalău in south-eastern Transylvania and Grăniceri in Crişana (fig. 10.3, 11)). The various types of weapons, implements and gold objects need not be mentioned here in detail; indeed many points regarding their origin, evolution and chronology are disputed.

The external impulses that gave rise to bronze metallurgy in the Carpathian–Danubian area should be mentioned, because internal socio-economic development alone cannot account for it; at the same time the adoption and especially the large-scale diffusion of metallurgy would not have been possible if new wants had not arisen at that stage of development. Even if the transitional period from the Eneolithic to the Bronze Age had not been a stride backward, bronze metallurgy could not have originated in the Carpathian–Danubian area where tin and its substitutes are missing. The initial stimulus must therefore have come from Anatolia through the Balkan Peninsula, with which the Carpathian–Danubian area had almost permanent links throughout prehistory.

Time and again the beginning of the Bronze Age has been equated with a return to stability and economic equilibrium between primitive agriculture and pastoralism, but this equilibrium had more or less been achieved in the second part of the transitional period and only became steadier and generalized in the first two phases of the Bronze Age. Pit-dwellings and modest huts were replaced by bigger and sounder surface dwellings; at least in some cultures of these phases, settlements often had a commanding situation on eminences and were fortified with ditches, palisades and earthworks, and sometimes even with stone walls. These 'fortresses' were probably the residences of the chiefs of some tribal organizations; fortifications and frequent use of stone battle-axes and – already before the end of the first Bronze Age period – of bronze daggers, swords and battle-axes point to looting raids (if not to territorial conquests).[188] Proportionately speaking, at least in some Bronze Age cultures (Monteoru, Otomani, Sighişoara–Wietenberg), these chiefs and their strongholds recall the Mycenaean *basileis* and their citadels. Gold hoards and differences in wealth, revealed by rich funeral gifts in some graves and the modesty and even poverty of others, argue some class distinctions.

[187] A 145. [188] A 3, 102–5; A 144.

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In some fortified settlements, the dwellings were arranged in parallel rows. In the area of the Otomani culture, settlements located on marshy land were composed of a central group of houses encircled by dwellings, whose remains were mistaken for an earth rampart. Excavations carried out by Romanian archaeologists have demonstrated that they are the remains of burnt houses, not of some fortifications.[189]

The four-wheeled wagon introduced at the time – clay models of wagons and of single wheels have been found – was surely borrowed from Asia Minor, not from the East, where only two-wheeled carts were known.[190] Most implements and weapons of Transylvanian types are found also beyond the Carpathians and even in Dobruja, which demonstrates the unity of the Carpathian–Danubian area and justifies the use of the term 'Carpathian–Danubian Bronze Age'. Farming with a wooden plough and a deer-antler share – which appeared first in Mesolithic (p. 12) – became common; oxen rather than horses were probably in use, although bone and horn cheek-pieces for horse-bits were found at some sites. The growing role of agriculture is attested by hundreds of bronze sickles of various types – beginning with the oldest, i.e. the button sickle – and curved stone and flint knives in some Late Bronze Age deposits. Some objects are believed to have served also as exchange 'ingots', because they show no trace of use and look as if they had just been knocked out of the moulds in which they had been cast by the lost-wax technique. Whereas in the first two Bronze Age periods the population had permanent abodes, in the Late Bronze Age pastoralism was extensively practised in east-central and eastern Romania. Circular vestiges of small burnt settlements (*zolniki*) contain in their ashes an impressive number of domestic animal bones. These are evidence that the equilibrium of the economy had been disturbed in favour of pastoralism.

Steady relations with the south were maintained throughout the Bronze Age and southern inflows are visible in many products of material culture. The luxuriant growth of spiral-decorated pottery and of metal objects, beginning from the end of the Early Bronze Age, was indisputably due to Mycenaean influence. The often similar spiral designs in the Carpathian–Danubian area and the Mycenaean world and some gold ornaments (disks, for instance) and various bone objects almost identical in form and decoration with those found in Mycenaean shaft graves prove that southern stimuli and contacts with the south should be regarded as certain. The nine Mycenaean rapiers discovered in Romania (seven in Transylvania,[191] one in Muntenia, and one in Dobruja[192]) also date from the end of the Middle Bronze Age; even if they were made north of the Mycenaean area proper, it is unlikely that they were worked north of the Danube.

[189] A 135. [190] A 118. [191] A 127. [192] A 129.

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The importation from the south of objects that were not or could not be produced north of the Danube by the local forces and means of production is evidenced by the big number of typically East Mediterranean faience beads discovered, among other sites, in the cemeteries of Sărata Monteoru.[193] Relations with Central Europe as far north as the Baltic are attested by the bronzes of Carpathian–Danubian origin which have been recovered in the intermediate regions and even on the Baltic coast,[194] and by the amber beads found in sites and cemeteries of Romania.

Cremation, which had appeared here and there in the transitional period, became the common rite in a number of Bronze Age cultures of south-western and central Romania, whereas the cultures of south-eastern and eastern Romania continued to inter their dead according to various rituals. Changing the funeral rite obviously implies a change of attitude towards the other life, although one can hardly believe that neighbouring and sometimes related populations had a completely different outlook in this respect; the more so since, according to the general opinion, the chthonic *Anschauung* was fully replaced by the uranian one as early as the beginning of the Bronze Age, and implicitly by a cult of the sun, as shown by the solar motifs (the circle, circle with rays, spoked wheel, etc.) frequently used in decorating pottery and metal ware. Cremation cemeteries – known especially in the Urnfield cultures and in the area of the Sighişoara–Wietenberg culture – and the inhumation cemeteries in the areas of some Bronze Age cultures (Monteoru, Otomani and Noua, for instance) have been regarded as tribal cemeteries, and grouped tombs as family burials.[195]

The rarity of female figurines is further evidence for the decline of the belief in an all-creating female divinity or even for its replacement by the cult of the sun. The most remarkable exceptions are the female figurines in full bell-shaped skirts of some Danubian Urnfield cultures[196] and a few other specimens belonging to other cultures, which are considered survivals of the Neolithic cult of fertility. Nevertheless, given that even in the transitional period there is but little evidence for the persistence of this cult, another explanation will have to be found, especially since all the figurines from the cemetery of Cîrna were found in children's graves.

Vestiges of Middle Bronze Age shrines were discovered in two distant places: Sărata Monteoru (Monteoru culture),[197] still unexcavated, and Sălacea (Otomani culture).[198] The discoverers of the latter have likened it to a real temple. It has an entrance hall and a large room, 8·20

[193] A 144.
[194] A 3, 115.
[195] A 123.
[196] *Ibid.*
[197] A 3, 114.
[198] A 122.

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by 5·20 m, and was built of clay-plastered timber but also of clay blocks; it had a stamped clay flooring and a gabled roof supported by six inner pillars; it contained three altars – one like a table and two like a large stage. Framed angular motifs in relief and a real frieze, consisting of an endless spiral also in relief and partly white-painted, decorated at least sections of the outer walls. Such shrines, testifying to the advanced civilization of that age, were certainly numerous; for every settlement of any importance must have had such a building where various ritual ceremonies were performed.

The general view is that the Bronze Age populations emerged from the fusion of the local Eneolithic stock with the intruders of the transitional period. Indo-Europeanization was certainly complete by the beginning of the Bronze Age. Yet we cannot identify the Thracians at that remote period, because we do not know for certain whether the Thracian and Illyrian tribes had separated by then. It is safer to speak of Proto-Thracians from whom there developed in the Iron Age Danubian–Carpathian Geto-Dacians on the one hand and Thracians of the eastern Balkan Peninsula on the other.

Most Bronze Age cultures of Romania formed on present-day Romanian territory; for they evolved from the stock of the transitional period which had incorporated Eneolithic elements and been permanently enriched with southern influences and contributions. These cultures can be classified as follows:

Early Bronze Age: Last stage of the Folteşti culture of Moldova and maybe also that of the Coţofeni and Vučedol cultures of Transylvania and Crişana. In Dobruja the situation is still confused: although Cernavodă II or III may have continued into the Early Bronze Age, positive data are missing. The Glina–Schneckenberg culture (Muntenia, Oltenia and south-eastern Transylvania) lasted throughout this period. The Periam (Lower Mureş), Monteoru (north-eastern Muntenia and southern Moldova), Otomani (Crişana) and Sighişoara–Wietenberg (Transylvania) cultures began to develop close to its end.

Middle Bronze Age: Most of the evolution of Monteoru, Otomani, Sighişoara–Wietenberg, Costişa (Moldova), Tei (Muntenia–Oltenia and part of south-eastern Transylvania), Vattina (Banat), Pecica (Banat–Crişana) and much of the evolution of the Gîrla Mare–Cîrna and Verbicioara (Banat–Oltenia) and Suciu de Sus (Maramureş) cultures.

Late Bronze Age: Most of the preceding cultures persisted, while the Noua–Coslogeni cultural complex spread in central and eastern Transylvania, eastern Muntenia and Dobruja.

The cultures dating exclusively from the Early Bronze Age will be reviewed first; a counterclockwise geographic criterion will be used for

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the cultures which begin to develop in the Early Bronze Age and continue into the Middle Bronze Age (and some even into the Late Bronze Age) from Muntenia through Moldova, Transylvania, Maramureş and Crişana down to Banat and Oltenia; the cultures belonging exclusively to the Late Bronze Age will be dealt with at the end.

The first new synthesis of the Bronze Age is the *Glina–Schneckenberg* culture, which formed in Muntenia and Oltenia and passed into south-eastern Transylvania.[199] Some authors believe that the first of its two (or three) phases is prior to the end of the transitional period, being initially simultaneous with Folteşti II. Glina–Schneckenberg sprang from the old Gumelniţa stock, was fertilized by the Cernavodă and Folteşti cultures, and received contributions from the Globular Amphorae culture (some cist graves). Single-handled cups and mugs, corded and open-wart decoration predominate in pottery. A small bronze hoard discovered at Crivăţ[200] contains an axe of the Veselinovo type, a triangular dagger blade with four rivets and a midrib, and a flat axe; small copper and bronze objects and gold foils were recovered from other sites. Stone and flint tools (battle-axes, curved knives, etc.) were still used, and clay figurines also occurred.

Emphasis has been laid on the role played by Glina–Schneckenberg in the formation of some cultures dating from the end of the Early Bronze Age and from the Middle Bronze Age (Monteoru, Tei, Sighişoara–Wietenberg and Verbicioara).

The *Periam* culture of Banat and southern Crişana[201] also extends to part of north-eastern Yugoslavia. It is assigned to the Periam–Mokrin–Pančevo cultural complex developed from the culturally and ethnically fairly composite local stock, which also included late Sălcuţa–Bubanj elements, and was pervaded by many southern elements of Anatolian rather than Macedonian origin. Analogies with the Nagyrév culture of Hungary indicate a synchronism with it. Pottery (mostly cups with one or two handles and 'hour-glass' vessels with two handles) is decorated with incised designs arranged in metopes. Various copper and bronze objects (awls, bracelets, collars of the *Ösenhalsringe* type and pins of the *Rollennadel* type) were found in Periam settlements. The dead were interred in flat graves.

The Periam culture played a decisive role in the formation of the Pecica culture on the Lower Mureş and of the Vattina culture of Banat.

The *Monteoru* culture derived from the early Glina–Schneckenberg and included some elements that had persisted from the transitional period; it covered the hilly area of east-central and north-eastern

[199] A 117; A 3, 98–9; A 1, 75–6; A 2, 281.
[200] A 116.
[201] A 134, 54–9; A 3, 107–8; A 1, 78.

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Muntenia, entered southern and central Moldova and then crossed the Carpathians into south-eastern Transylvania. It is characterized by settlements built on hill-tops on the ridge of terraces, which could be easily defended, and surrounded by ditches in Moldova as early as phase I, as well as by cemeteries on the outskirts of the settlements. Important research has been carried out especially at the eponymous site of Sărata Monteoru (Muntenia)[202] and in Moldova.[203] At Sărata Monteoru the evolution of this culture could be traced from its beginning almost to the end of the Middle Bronze Age, and two phases (I and II) were identified, the first including five stages (MIC4, MIC3, MIC2, MIa and MIb) and the second two stages (MII 1 and MII 2). Four big cemeteries were also excavated. Dwellings raised on stone bases or platforms, or on gravel foundations, occurred for the first time, but they were preceded by pit-dwellings. Shrines also had a stone enclosure, and some parapets were made of wooden beams, boulders and daub. The last stage of the Monteoru culture (Balinteşti–Gîrbovăţ, in south-eastern Moldova), which is missing at the eponymous site, forms the transition to the Noua culture of the Late Bronze Age.[204]

Fine slipped black and greyish-black pottery is typical, the most common shapes being cups with one or two handles (e.g. fig. 9.4), drink-offering vessels (*Spendegefässe*) with a pointed base and a funnel neck, askoi, etc. The varied, mostly incised, decoration is geometrical: lines, solar motifs, etc.; channels bordered by incised lines are characteristic of phase II, when spirals and *ansae lunatae* also appear.

Many aspects of this culture are revealed by the rich grave-furniture. Over 350 tombs were excavated in the four cemeteries at Sărata Monteoru; most of them were inhumation graves with the dead lying on one side in the contracted posture and only a few were urn-graves (of children). At Sărata Monteoru family tombs were marked by a circle of stones and often covered by a small earth mound. The abundant furniture (fig. 10.4 and 10) included ornaments; bronze bracelets and collars; bronze, silver and gold lock-rings; glass, amber and gold beads; horn arrow-heads, girdle-clasps and cheek-pieces (the last of these also of clay); flint arrow-heads; stone battle-axes (in men's graves); and much pottery. Curved stone knives, stone mace-heads, pins of various forms including so-called 'Cypriot' pins, are frequent in the Monteoru culture, to which shaft-hole axes with parallel ribs are also assigned. Stone moulds for bronze axes point to the practice of metallurgy.

The early stage of the Monteoru culture was approximately contemporary with the Nitra group (Slovakia), and the end of phase I and beginning of phase II can be considered synchronous with the

[202] A 144; A 3, 107; A 1, 90–3; A 2, 286–92. [203] A 125.
[204] A 143.

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developed Mycenaean period. Connexions with the influences from Mycenaean civilization are indisputable; even social organization (fortified settlements and a warrior class), thanks to which this culture was able to develop until the beginning of the Late Bronze Age, was due to these links.

The *Tei* culture[205] spread in that part of Muntenia which was not occupied by the Monteoru culture and in a zone right of the Danube.[206] In an early phase it crossed into south-eastern Transylvania, where it was soon replaced by the Sighişoara–Wietenberg culture. It was also derived from the Glina–Schneckenberg and Cernavodă–Folteşti stock, being characteristic of the Middle and Late Bronze Age, when settlements of the *zolniki* type are known. Its evolution was divided into five phases. Pottery (mainly cups with one or two handles, and storage jars) is decorated with geometric designs executed by successive jabs and white-encrusted. The spiral appears in phase II, which means that it was not inherited from the past but borrowed from Mycenaean civilization. Phase II imports in the Monteoru II level demonstrate that mutual influences had intensified and point to a synchronism of these phases. Curved flint knives and bone cheek-pieces are present, but metal is rare (a few axes, celts, knives and a 'shepherd's crook' pin dating from the Late Bronze Age). The Mycenaean-type rapier of Roşiorii de Vede, the Perşinari hoard of gold daggers (related in shape to Mycenaean specimens) and small silver axes were found in the area of the Tei culture. This culture persisted to the end of the Late Bronze Age, but its area of eastern Muntenia was occupied by the Coslogeni group in the Late Bronze Age.[207]

The *Costişa* culture, the Romanian branch of the Bialyi Potok complex, penetrated northern and central Moldova, having come from the north during the Monteoru IC3–IC2 level, that is at the beginning of the Middle Bronze Age.[208] At the eponymous site its vestiges are overlaid by Monteoru Ia–Ib, which came from the south and pushed Costişa northward. Two phases were differentiated: one corresponding to Monteoru IC3–IC2 and the other broadly to Monteoru Ia–Ib. Two-handled cups and amphorae and two-handled globular amphorae (e.g. fig. 9.1) are the common ceramic types; the incised decoration consists almost exclusively of hatched inverted triangles. Bronzes are rare; curved stone knives, diorite hammer-axes, bone awls, etc., are more numerous. Some materials show that Costişa contributed to the formation of the Noua culture in the Late Bronze Age.

The *Sighişoara–Wietenberg* culture, typical of the Early and Middle Bronze Age on the Transylvanian plateau and in the lowland, extended

[205] See Plates Vol.

[206] A 131; A 3, 105–6; A 1, 82–4; A 2, 281–6.

[207] A 140.

[208] A 142; A 3, 103; A 1, 93–4; A 2, 292–3.

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to south-eastern Transylvania.[209] As a rule, it is considered to be derived mainly from the Coţofeni culture, but this origin has recently been questioned. A certain role has also been assigned to the Tei culture,[210] and influences of Sighişoara–Wietenberg are supposed to be the germs of Tei III, synchronous with Sighişoara–Wietenberg III or II/III.[211] Over 200 settlements and cemeteries are evidence of dense population. Only one fortified settlement was discovered (Coldău), although the people were certainly warlike. The evolution of Sighişoara–Wietenberg was divided into three phases; on the strength of Sighişoara–Wietenberg material in Otomani sites and vice versa a synchronism was established between these cultures and Central European cultures. The synchronism between the three major phases is: Sighişoara–Wietenberg phase I = Otomani IB (Reinecke A2); II = Otomani II, early Füzesabony, Vattina, level XII Pecica (Reinecke B1–B2); III = Otomani III and in part Suciu de Jos and Noua.[212]

The principal pottery forms are the one-handled cup, fish-shaped dish, and dishes and bowls with a tetralobate rim (which appear in phase III). The geometric decoration is by incision, stabbing, impression and hatching (all with white encrustation) and in relief, particularly in the form of channels, which appear in phase II concurrently with the spiral; the meander occurs in phase III. Numerous bronze objects and hoards, as well as gold hoards found on the Sighişoara–Wietenberg territory, are evidence of a developed metallurgy; weapons (long swords of the Boiu type),[213] disk-axes, etc. and seven Mycenaean rapiers[214] (or south Danubian imitations), as well as the reappearance of the spiral, show that there were strong links with the Mycenaean world. Further evidence is provided by the hearth of Sighişoara, decorated with running spirals similar to those in the megaron of the palace at Mycenae (fig. 9.3).[215]

The burial rite was almost exclusively cremation in covered urns. Inhumation was very rare.

The *Otomani* culture,[216] derived from the Coţofeni and Baden cultures, occupied Crişana and Hungary as far as the Tisa, and afterwards extended west of the Tisa and farther north. Hungarian archaeologists call it Füzesabony, but the Slovakians have preserved the name Otomani. A hundred or so settlements and cemeteries are known in Romania.[217] The evolution of the culture was divided into three phases which developed without interruption to the end of the Bronze Age. Settlements with the dwellings arranged in circles and settlements

[209] A 134, 100–6; A 3, 112–13; A 119 and 127; A 1, 94–6; A 2, 293–302.
[210] A 119.
[211] *Ibid.*
[212] A 120.
[213] A 3, 113.
[214] A 127, 16.
[215] A 128.
[216] See Plates Vol.
[217] A 134; A 3, 110–12; A 1, 96–8; A 2, 302–7.

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fortified with ramparts are typical especially of the first two phases. The commonest ceramic forms are the high-necked cup with a high handle and ring-foot (fig. 9.5) and the bowls. 'Whisk-decoration' (*Besenstrich*) was used in phase I; incised geometric designs appeared in phase II; spirals and some channels appeared at the end of phase II and became the characteristic ornamentation in phase III, when organic warts also occurred.[218] Female clay figurines sometimes had a detached head.

Bronze and gold metallurgy was highly developed in the whole Otomani area as early as the first phase. The closeness of ore deposits and trade relations with Bohemia account for the great number of bronzes and gold objects found. Weapons (the short rapier of the Apa type, the Thracian battle-axe, spiral-bronze armlets) speak of the warlike disposition of the population. The most important hoards were discovered at Apa (see fig. 10.2) and Gaura-Valea Chioarului.

On Romanian territory cremation was the only rite in the early phase, but inhumation in the contracted posture was adopted in the other phases. Cremation was attributed to influences from the Urnfield groups, but inhumation was also practised in the earliest phase of this group;[219] more likely, it was a survival of the Coţofeni and Baden practice.

Synchronism with the Sighişoara–Wietenberg culture has been presented above (p. 57). Some Suciu de Sus potsherds found in two Otomani settlements of phase III attest concomitance with this northern and north-eastern neighbour.[220] To the west the beginning of phase I is synchronized with Nyerség (Hungary) and the rest with the lower Periam levels and Tószég A (Hungary) (Reinecke A1–A2); phase II = Tószég B (Reinecke B1–B2); the II/III transition stage with transition from Reinecke B2 to C, and phase III with Tószég III (Reinecke C–D).[221] The Barrow-Grave culture, which in Hungary ended the Füzesabony aspect, advanced in Crişana only as far as the valley of the Er, and the Otomani culture persisted to the end of the Late Bronze Age.

In the Middle and Late Bronze Age, north-western Romania (Maramureş and part of Crişana) was occupied by the *Suciu de Sus* culture,[222] which also extended to the Sub-Carpathian Ukraine. According to some authors it evolved already in the Early Bronze Age from the Vučedol–Zok–Nir aspect, and according to others it emerged in the Middle Bronze Age from the contact between the Otomani and Sighişoara–Wietenberg cultures. It is a fact that Suciu de Sus ware was found in Otomani II and III and Sighişoara–Wietenberg III sites.

[218] A 133.
[219] *Ibid.*
[220] A 120.
[221] A 136.
[222] A 114; A 1, 103; A 2, 307–10.

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The major trait of this culture is its excised ware which ranks among the finest in European prehistory; spirals and solar motifs are the favourite designs (see fig. 9.6), but geometric and even zoomorphic motifs are also used. The favourable position of this culture on the metal trade route to and from Central and Northern Europe contributed to its general development and to the flourishing of its metallurgy. The only funeral rite was cremation in flat and tumulus graves.

The Middle and Late Bronze Age culture of *Pecica* which developed in the region of the confluence of the Mureş and the Tisa, was based locally on the Periam culture of the Early Bronze Age and perhaps on earlier elements of the Baden culture of the transitional period. Its pottery was characterized by clepsydra-type vases, one-handled cups and incised decoration. Stone moulds for bronze-casting have been found at Pecica itself, and a hoard of gold jewellery in a vase at Pecica-Rovine included cone-shaped pendants and a disk with *repoussé* decoration. The funerary rite was inhumation.

The *Vattina* culture, south of the Mureş river, was also based on the Periam-Mokrin culture, most probably during the Reinecke A2 period, and lasted until the period of Reinecke B2 to C. The culture occupied west Banat, north Serbia and the lower basin of the Tisa and Sava rivers.

Metal objects are rare in the settlements, but stone, flint, bone and terracotta are more common. The most characteristic pottery shapes are vessels with one or two *ansa lunata* handles, a high neck, rectangular rim and a ring foot. The incised decoration is geometrical (zigzags, triangles, etc.); and garlands are also frequently found. Generally speaking the pottery has very close analogies with that of the Verbicioara culture. Here too the funerary rite was inhumation.

The *Gîrla Mare–Cîrna* culture,[223] too, is part of a big cultural complex that spread along both banks of the Middle and Lower Danube from Budapest to the mouth of the Jiu. In Romania it occupied much of Banat and south-western Oltenia. Although some inhumation graves are known in an early phase, the whole culture is characterized by large urnfields without barrows. Only a few sites have been excavated. Different names were given to this complex on account of the various areas to which it spread rather than of essential differences, though regional nuances exist. In Romania the Gîrla Mare–Cîrna group dates from the Middle and Late Bronze Age, as evidenced by the bronze battle-axes from Cruceni, the bronze lock-rings typical of Reinecke A2 from Cîrna,[224] a vessel of the Cîrna type discovered in the Late Bronze Age cemetery at Zimnicea, and one of the Zimnicea type in the cemetery at Cîrna.[225]

[223] A 3, 108–10; A 1, 87–9; A 2, 513–37.
[224] A 123.
[225] A 113.

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A more detailed division is hardly possible in the present state of research. Still, two phases have been distinguished in the Cruceni cemetery,[226] one from Reinecke B to C and the other from C to D; the cemetery at Bobda begins in the second Cruceni phase and lasts into Ha A.[227] The tentative division into phases in the cemetery at Cîrna is inconclusive.

Besides the urn, most graves contain many accessory vases, but bronzes are rare, except at Cruceni; clay figurines are also found in some cemeteries.[228] The most frequent forms of pottery are globular urns with a cylindrical neck and two or four handles (fig. 9.2), high-handled jugs with three conical warts on the belly, vessels with two high handles, and bowls with a tetralobate rim. The incised decoration, usually by the 'stroke' (*Stich*) and encrustation technique, consists mostly of spirals and derived motifs, but other geometric figures are also found; the meander is rare. The female figurines have been connected with the Aegeo-Mycenaean type.[229]

The Gîrla Mare–Cîrna group can be synchronized with the Verbicioara culture on the strength of finds made in central Oltenia, which was occupied by the latter culture.[230] The big cultural complex endured into the early thirteenth century, and its decline should be related to the great population movements from east-central Europe and the Danube valley towards the Aegean, as proved by finds from Macedonia and Greece.

Eastern Banat and that part of Oltenia which was not occupied by the complex described above was the diffusion area of the Middle and Late Bronze Age *Verbicioara* culture,[231] which also spread into north-eastern Yugoslavia and north-western Bulgaria. Its discoverer divided it into five phases.[232] Verbicioara sprang from Periam and spread into Banat and Oltenia. As in the Tei culture, in its late phases the settlements on terrace margins were replaced by settlements of the *zolniki* type, which point to the predominance of pastoralism. The five phases of Verbicioara are considered synchronous with those of the Tei culture. Synchronism with Gîrla Mare–Cîrna is attested by infiltrations from this culture and by some forms borrowed from or influenced by it. Elements connected with the Periam culture are found in phase I; vessels in the form of an hour-glass are characteristic of phase II; phase III is distinguished by two-handled vessels and deer-antler ploughshares; the two-handled vessel continues to evolve in phase IV. This culture is supposed to have lasted from Reinecke's period A2 to the end of the Bronze Age.

[226] A 138.
[227] A 129.
[228] See Plates Vol.
[229] A 123.
[230] A 1, 86.
[231] See Plates Vol.
[232] A 115; A 3, 106–7; A 1, 85–7; A 2, 337–40.

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Pottery is decorated with incised and encrusted geometric patterns; the spiral is rarer than the meander, and figures symbolizing the sun (wheels, concentric circles) are frequently employed. The burial rite was inhumation in the contracted posture in the early phases, and cremation from the end of phase II and the beginning of phase III. [233]

In south-eastern Muntenia, a narrow zone along the Danube was occupied in the Late Bronze Age by the *Zimnicea–Plovdiv* culture, whose main area lay in north-western and southern Bulgaria.[234] The inhumation cemetery at Zimnicea, with the dead buried in the contracted position, is the major discovery made in Romania. The two-handled jug is the commonest of the few ceramic types. The elements which permit the synchronization of this culture with the late phase of Gîrla Mare–Cîrna have been mentioned.

In the Late Bronze Age the entire Transylvanian plateau and the whole of Moldova formed the diffusion area of the *Noua* cultural group.[235] Eastern Muntenia and Dobruja formed that of the *Coslogeni* group.[236] Both groups belonged to the Sabatinovka (east of the Prut)–Noua–Coslogeni cultural complex and reflected the profound economic and social changes of the time. Intrusion into the Zimnicea–Plovdiv culture is placed south of Bucharest.

This new synthesis was based on the preceding stocks: the Monteoru, Sighişoara–Wietenberg and probably Tei cultures in Romania, and Srubno–Hvalinsk elements in the USSR. Considering that the Sabatinovka variant had formed already in the fifteenth/fourteenth century and that the Noua and Coslogeni groups date from the thirteenth century (or possibly the late fourteenth), the ferment that caused the crystallization and diffusion of the two latter cultures west of the Prut must be of eastern origin.

The evolution of the Noua group was divided into two phases, one of the fourteenth/thirteenth centuries, in which there are many survivals of the preceding cultures, and the other of the thirteenth century, which in some places continued into early Ha A (1200 B.C.) and in which all survivals of the older cultures disappeared.

Typical of the entire complex are small settlements of the *zolniki* type, composed of a few poor dwellings, and the profusion of bones (sometimes 80 per cent of the finds), mostly of cattle. Curved stone knives, many bone tools (including notched shoulder-blades) and a fair number of bronze pins (some having a flat rhombic head decorated in *repoussé* style) are also characteristic.

The burial rite was inhumation in flat graves (in the Romanian groups) and under a tumulus (in groups north of the Black Sea). Cases of cremation occur very rarely.

[233] A 115.

[234] A 113.

[235] A 124; A 3, 113–14; A 1, 104–7; A 2, 341.

[236] A 132; A 2, 341–2.

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The ceramic types of the Noua group are similar to those of the preceding cultures (Costişa, Monteoru, Sighişoara–Wietenberg and Tei): bag-shaped jars and cups with one or two knobbed handles. The contribution of the Monteoru culture preponderates. The commonest shapes in the Coslogeni group are the pot with an applied band below the rim, the double-handled biconical jar, and some cups with superposed handles, which have analogies in the Zimnicea–Plovdiv culture (e.g. fig. 10.12).

Although pastoralism was the major activity in these cultural groups, the fairly frequent occurrence in their area of bronze hoards of the Uriu–Domăneşti level dating from the thirteenth century, and the comparatively large number of bronze objects discovered in some Noua sites, are evidence of regular trade. In the Coslogeni area bronzes seem to be less numerous. Most types of tools and weapons are of Transylvanian, Transylvanian–Hungarian and Central European origin, but others come from the east.[237] The people must also have had some knowledge of metallurgy, considering that bronze cakes and pieces of crude bronze were found in some deposits of Moldova and Dobruja.

VIII. THE PERIOD OF TRANSITION FROM THE BRONZE AGE TO THE FIRST IRON AGE: THE HALLSTATT A PERIOD · (1200–1000 B.C.)

Culturally, economically and ethnically this period is perfectly continuous with the Late Bronze Age. In Romania however, Hallstatt A–B cannot be equated with the beginning of the Iron Age. Indeed, in contrast with 120 Hallstatt A hoards totalling over 20,000 bronzes (not to mention the objects found in settlements and cemeteries), only five iron-made or iron-containing objects were discovered in the area enclosed by the Carpathians! This almost complete lack proves that there was no local production of iron, and in its absence one cannot speak of an Iron Age. That is why one might put only Hallstatt B in the Iron Age – although we do not agree even with that classification, because only a few score iron objects date from that period, whereas 70 hoards from Transylvania contain 1,200 bronze objects.[238]

The continuation and the exceptional flourishing of metallurgy indicate a period of prosperity even if the burying of hoards is taken, as so often, to be evidence of wars and migrations – a view which has, however, not been confirmed. Another argument put forward by those who assign Ha A to the first period of the Iron Age is the predominantly pastoral character of the populations. But we have seen that over much

[237] A 137. [238] See Plates Vol.

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of Romania's territory stock-breeding had already become the major occupation in the late Bronze Age or even earlier. The fact that many settlements (some covering over ten hectares!) were fortified with ditches, palisades and earth walls – such settlements are sometimes believed to have served only as refuges – might support the opinion that those were troubled times.

As for cultural aspects, we may presume rather than prove that the late aspects of Noua and partly of Coslogeni continued at least in Ha A1. On the other hand, the cultures existing in the western part of the country at the end of the Late Bronze Age gave rise to several Early Hallstatt cultural groups, to some extent also under the pressure of populations and cultural groups that advanced from the west.

Three Early Hallstatt groups were identified in the western regions of Romania, from north to south. All are derived from the local Late Bronze Age cultures; certain Urnfield influences were also found in some of them. The *Lăpuş* group[239] of Crişana–Maramureş, which is the Romanian counterpart of the Gava (Hungary) and Holihrady (Slovakia) cultures, contains obvious Otomani elements and fewer Suciu de Sus elements. The *Pecica–Bobda* group of southern Crişana and northern Banat continues the Vattina aspect of the Urnfield cultures (the first phase of the Bobda cemetery actually dates from the end of the Late Bronze Age), and the *Insula Banului* group[240] in the Iron Gates area continues the Gîrla Mare–Cîrna culture of the same area even if a small link may still be missing.

Typical of the first two groups (Lăpuş and Pecica–Bobda) is a polished black ware decorated with channels; the commonest form is the biconical urn with a high neck and large belly (of the so-called Villanovan type), scattered with big warts sometimes pointing upwards. Channels decorate its neck, forming festoons, and a turban often runs round its keel; often channels surround the warts as well. The cup with a knobbed high handle, inherited from Noua, is also frequently found in the Lăpuş group.

Although neither large biconical vessels nor channels are missing from the Insula Banului group, the predominantly impressed ornamentation is reminiscent of Gîrla Mare–Cîrna, which made its discoverers suppose a still unidentified intermediate link in which channels were the common decoration.[241] However, in view of the fact that channels are of secondary importance in the Gîrla Mare–Cîrna culture, in contrast with some late western groups (Dubovac, first phase of Bobda, etc.), an intermediate link could exist and Insula Banului might already date from Ha A1. The Ha B channelled ware assemblages

[239] A 130; A 146.
[240] A 148; A 2, 429–32.
[241] A 148.

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found in south-western Oltenia may be evidence of an initially stronger opposition to the pressure coming from the west, which eventually resulted in the spreading of this cultural horizon to very large areas.

In central Romania the channelled horizon can be recorded especially in Transylvania (more clearly in Ha A2: the Reci aspect),[242] where it became generalized in Ha B. As already mentioned, in the eastern regions the Noua culture possibly continued also into Ha A.

Dobruja was occupied, probably from late Hallstatt A, by the *Babadag* culture, which belonged to a big Balkan–Danubian complex that spread south of the Danube and sent its ware as far as Anatolia: vases typical of the early Babadag level were found in the Troy VII B2 layer.[243] More than fifty years ago, Vasile Pârvan wrote about 'the Dacians at Troy'[244] on the strength of similar ceramic types found at Troy and in the Carpathian area; the only amendment we can make is to replace *Dacians* by *Thracians*, because the various groups of Thracian population had not separated out in the twelfth century.

Although information about this transition period comes for the most part from chance discoveries (hoards) and cemeteries, we can say that, except for fortified settlements in some areas, habitation was in round or rectangular pit-dwellings with a light superstructure. The only funeral rite was cremation either in tumuli – as in the Lăpuş group – or in flat graves, as in the other groups to which the large urnfields extended. In general, data on the sites of these regions are scarce. Cremation itself points to a persistence of the population and ideas from the Late Bronze Age, although the uranian cult of the sun, which we do not doubt, can no longer be inferred from the ornamentation of the pottery, which is so very uniform in the first two groups.

Pressure from the west and south-west, which began in north-eastern Yugoslavia, south-eastern Hungary and the south-westernmost part of Romania, gave rise to great migrations. Some of the populations living in the contact zone between the Middle and Lower Danube were drawn into that movement and formed the first waves that displaced the Dorians from a more southern area and eventually caused the invasions of the 'Sea Peoples'.

The Noua and Coslogeni groups of Moldova and eastern Muntenia, respectively, were probably in existence in the first phase (A) of the Hallstatt period but all the typical Ha A cultural groups of western and central Romania persisted in Ha B, demonstrating that throughout this region there was perfect cultural and ethnic continuity.

[242] A 150.
[243] A 147.
[244] A 149.

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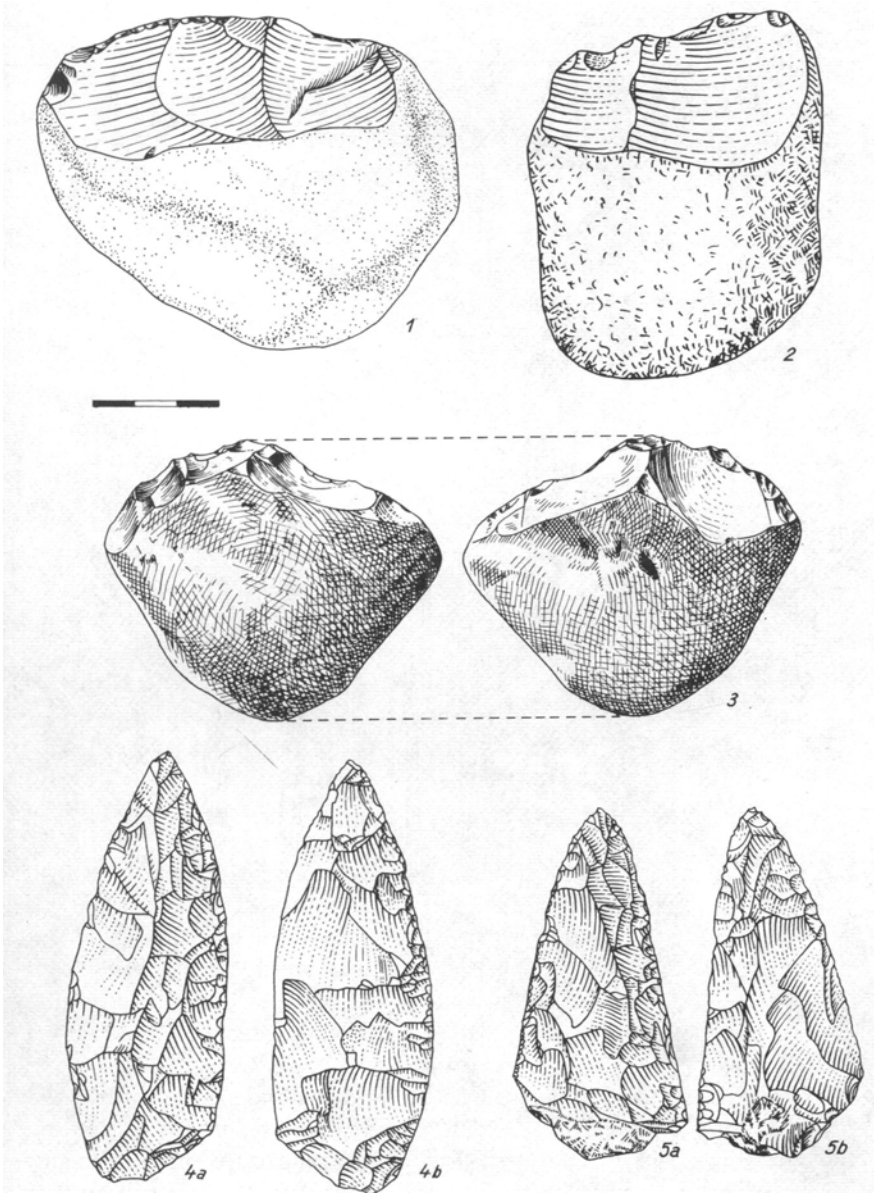

Fig. 1. Palaeolithic implements from Romania. *Lower Palaeolithic*: 1, 2, choppers; 3, chopping-tool (Slatina–Piteşti region). *Middle Palaeolithic*: 4, 5, bifaces (Ripiceni–Izvor).

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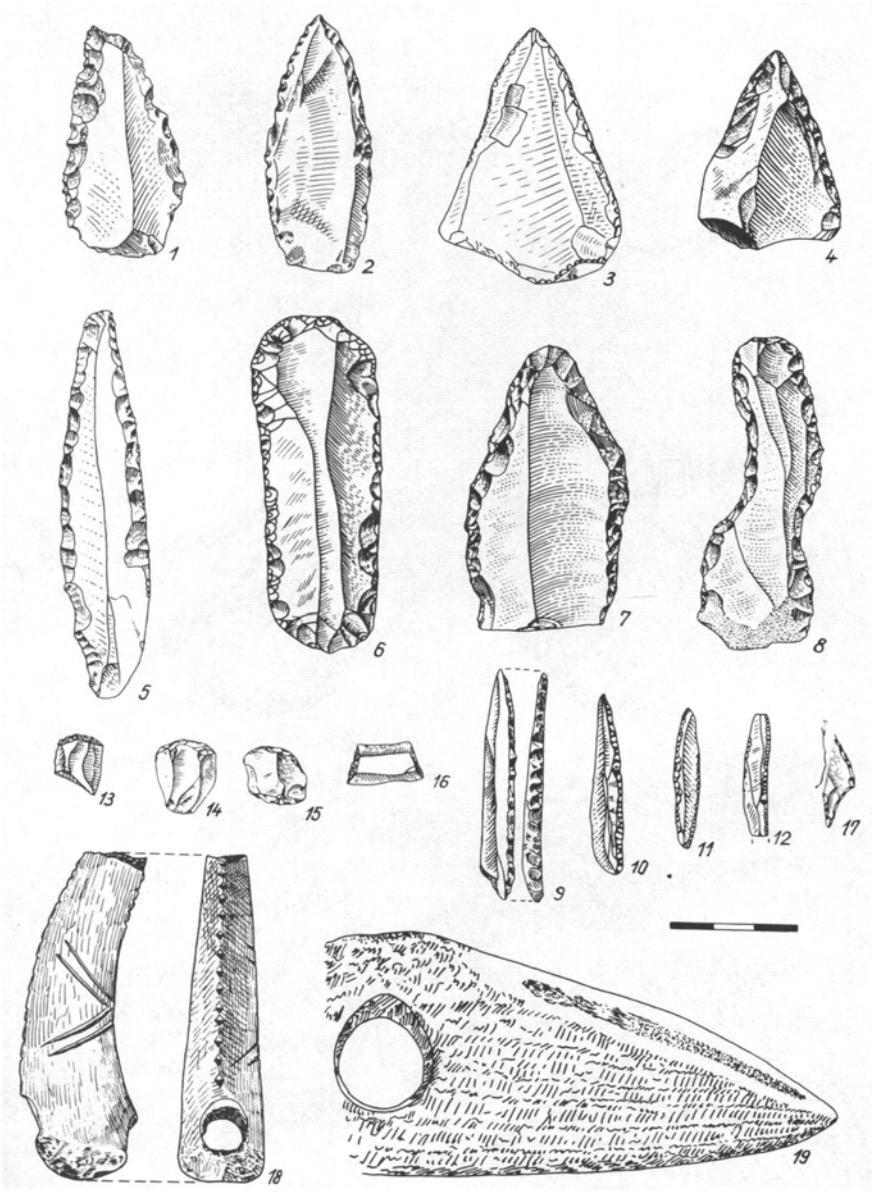

Fig. 2. Palaeolithic and Epipalaeolithic implements from Romania. *Middle Palaeolithic*: 1, 2, points (Cheia–Dobruja cave); 3, point (Gornea–Banat); 4, point (Remetea–Oas). *Upper Palaeolithic–Aurignacian*: 5, Aurignacian blade: 7, flat scraper *à museau*; 8, strangled blade (Coşava–Banat); 6, double end-scraper (Boineşti–Oaş). *Gravettian*: 9, 10, 'La Gravette' points; 11, 12, backed blades (Moldova). *Epipalaeolithic* (*Mesolithic*): 13, 14, 15, micro-scrapers; 16, trapeze (Tardenoisian–Moldova); 17, stemmed point (Swiderian–Scaune); 18, 19, bone artefacts from the Schela Cladovei culture.

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Fig. 3. Neolithic polished stone and flint tools and various other objects. 1, cylinder axe, Starčevo–Criş culture; 2, shoelast celt, Music-note Linear Pottery culture; 3, small axe, Dudeşti culture; 4, flint microliths, Music-note Linear Pottery culture; 5, shoelast celt, Precucuteni I culture; 6, axe, Precucuteni I culture; 7, flint celt, Gumelniţa culture; 8–9, baked clay pintaderas, Starčevo–Criş culture; 10, footed cup, painted, Starčevo–Criş culture; 11–12, pottery, Vinča–Turdaş culture; 13, bowl, Music-note Linear Pottery culture; 14 potsherd with zoomorphic decoration from Turdaş (?). Various scales.

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Fig. 4. Neo-Eneolithic pottery. 1, Dudeşti culture; 2, 6 and 7, Boian culture; 3–5, Hamangia culture; 8–9, Vădastra culture. Various scales.

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Fig. 5. Neo-Eneolithic pottery. 1, Precucuteni I culture; 2, Precucuteni II culture; 3, Precucuteni III culture; 4–6, Gumelniţa culture (graphite-painted vessels); 7–8, Petreşti culture (polychrome painting). Various scales.

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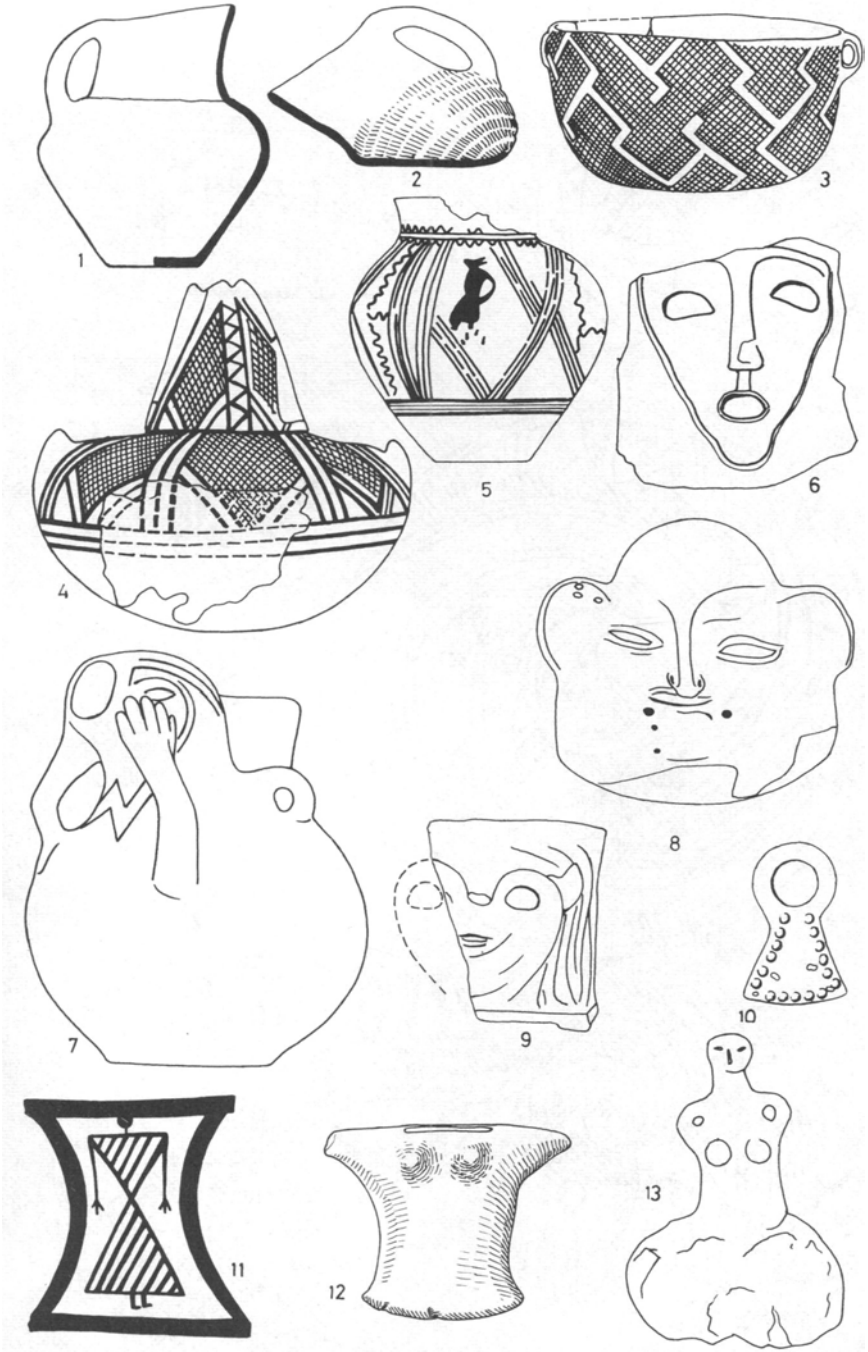

Fig. 6. Eneolithic pottery (1–3), pottery from the period of transition to the Bronze Age (4–6), anthropomorphic vessels (7–8), human representations on pottery (6 and 9), clay figurines (12–13), human figure painted on a vessel (11) and gold pendant (10). 1–2, Sălcuţa culture; 3, Bodrogkeresztúr culture; 4, Folteşti culture; 5, Horodiştea culture; 6, Music-note Linear Pottery culture; 8 and 12, Gumelniţa culture; 9, Vădastra culture; 10–11, Cucuteni A–B culture; 13, Precucuteni II culture. Various scales.

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Fig. 7. Figurines (all of clay except no. 10, which is made of bone, with copper collar and girdle) from the Neo-Eneolithic period (1–12 and 15–17) and from the period of transition to the Bronze Age (13–14). 1–3, Starčevo–Criş culture; 4, 6 and 7, Vinča–Turdaş culture; 5, Boian culture; 8, Precucuteni III culture; 9, Hamangia culture; 10, Dudeşti culture; 11 and 17, Gumelniţa culture; 12, Cucuteni B culture; 13, Coţofeni culture; 14, Cernavodă III culture; 15, Petreşti culture; 16, Precucuteni II culture. Various scales.

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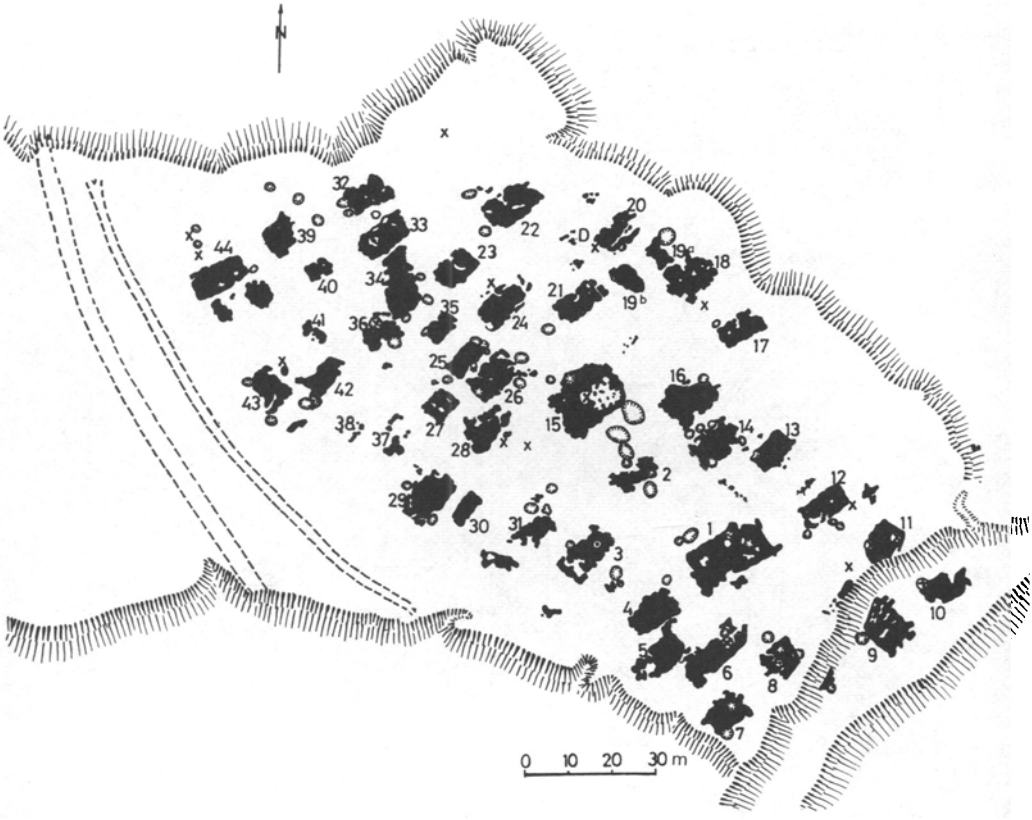

Fig. 8. Plan of the Eneolithic settlement at Hăbăşeşti (Cucuteni A culture) with the dwellings arranged in neighbouring circles, each with a bigger dwelling in the centre.

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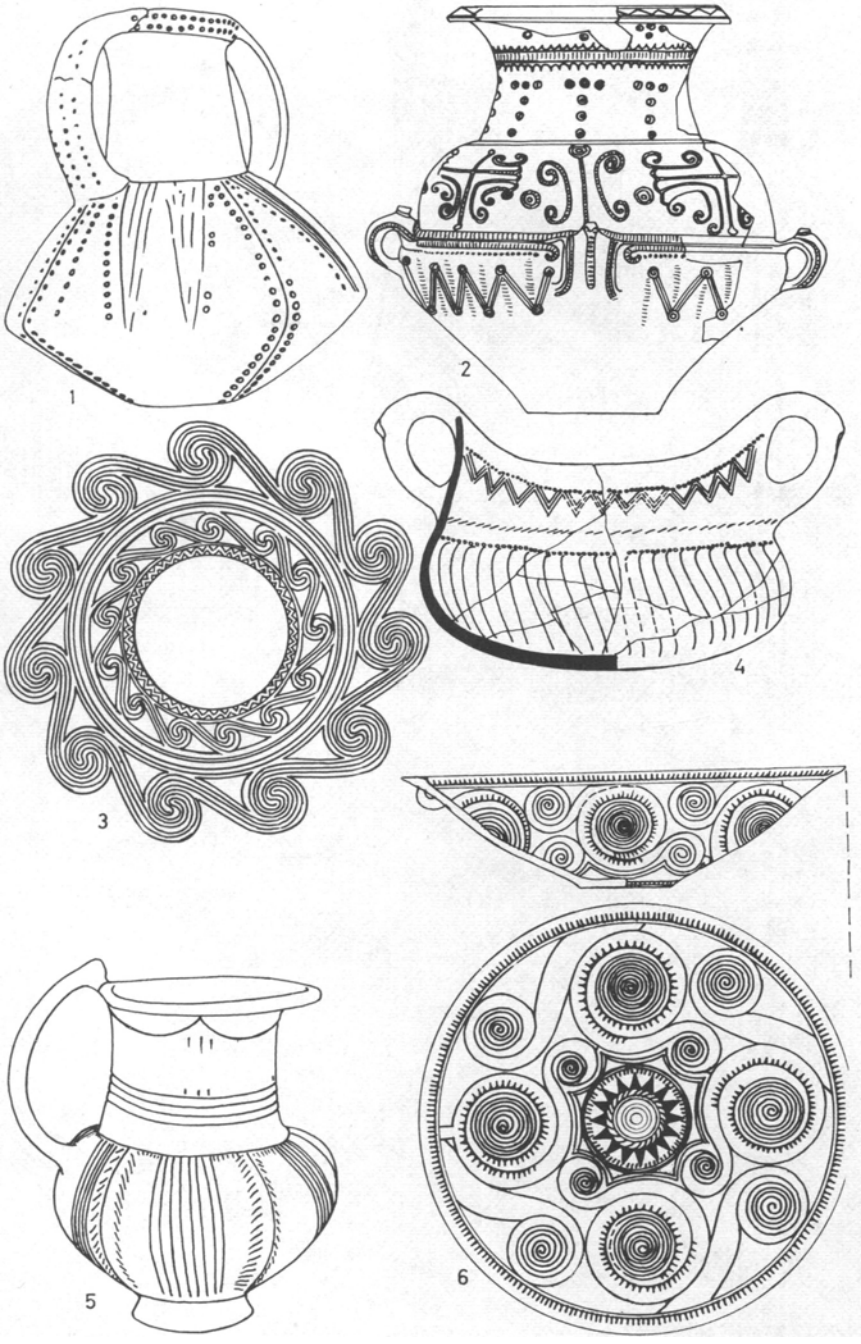

Fig. 9. 1–2 and 4–6, Bronze Age pottery: 1, Costişa culture; 2, Girla Mare-Cîrna culture; 4, Monteoru culture; 5, Otomani culture; 6, Suciu de Sus culture. 3, spiral decoration of the altar-heart at Sighişoara (Sighişoara–Wietenberg culture). Various scales.

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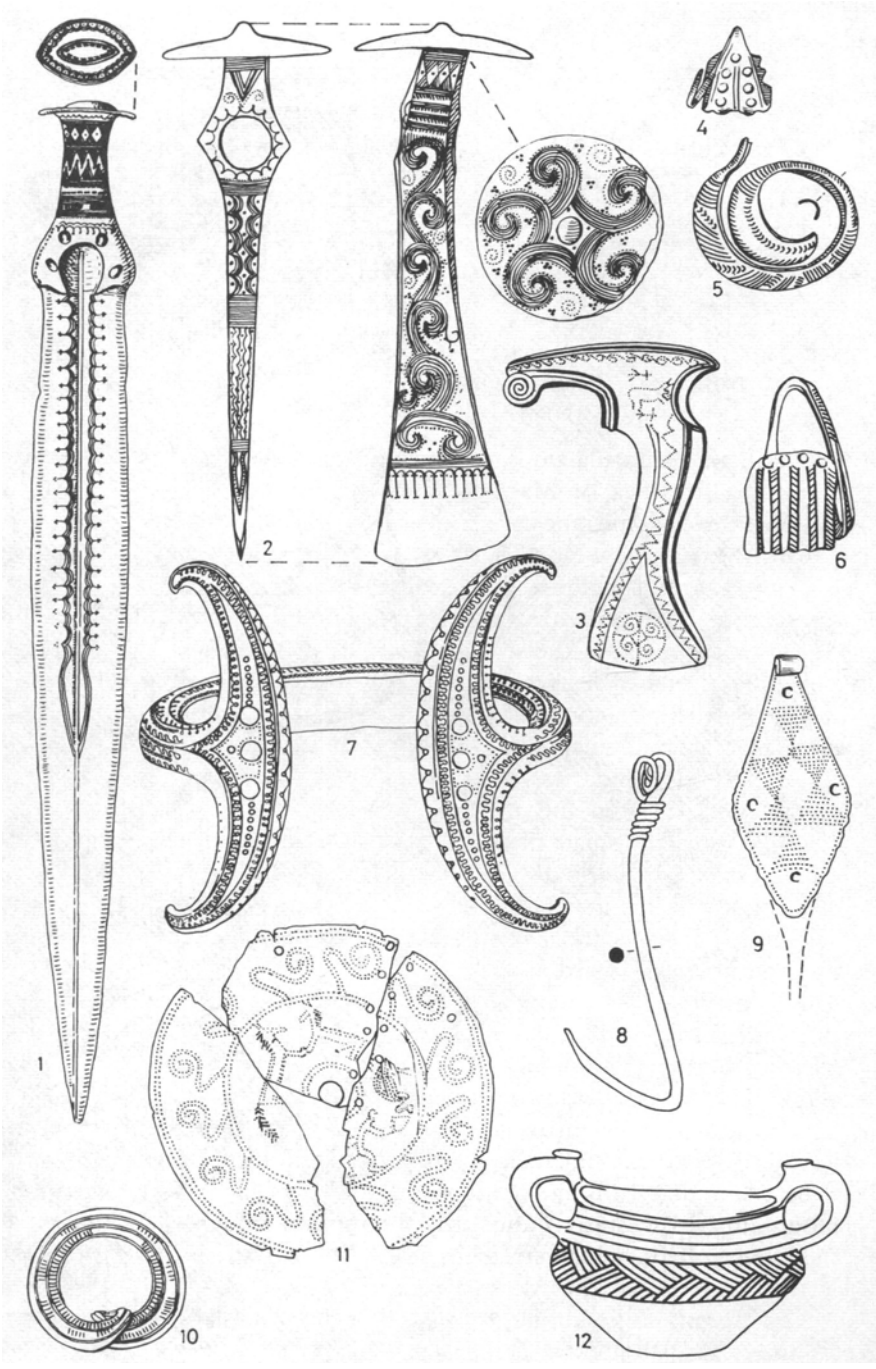

Fig. 10. Bronze (1–2, 8–9) and gold (3–7, 10–11) weapons and other objects from the Middle and Late Bronze Age. 1, Livada; 2, Apa; 3, Ţufalău; 4 and 10, Sărata Monteoru; 5, Tîrgşor; 7, Biia; 8, Tîrpeşti; 9, Băleni; 10, Alba Iulia; 11, Grăniceri. 12, pot from Boarta, Noua culture. Various scales.

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CHAPTER 2

THE STONE AGE IN THE CENTRAL BALKAN AREA

M. GARAŠANIN

I. GEOGRAPHICAL INTRODUCTION

The Balkan Peninsula, in South-eastern Europe, is bounded by the Black Sea, the Sea of Marmara and the Aegean Sea in the south-east; by the Mediterranean in the south; and by the Ionian and the Adriatic Seas in the west. Its territory covers more than 540,000 square kilometres, and it includes the states of Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, Albania and Greece, together with a small part of present-day Romania (i.e. the region of Dobruja on the south side of the Danube) and the Turkish part of Thrace in the extreme south-east. The chapter will deal with the prehistory of these countries, apart from Greece, which has been the subject of separate chapters.

The natural boundaries of the peninsula in the north follow the course of the river Danube and its largest tributary, the Sava, which runs through the Pannonian plain in Yugoslavia. The western limits are rather less clearly marked. It is generally held that they follow the valley of the Kupa, a tributary of the Sava, and from thence extend along a line which reaches the Adriatic littoral in the vicinity of Rijeka, or slightly more westward along the valley of the Soča.[1]

The peninsula is intersected by a series of mountain ranges and systems. In the south-east, the Aegean coastal strip is sharply separated by the Rhodope mountains from the interior and from the Thracian plain. The Stara Planina range that runs through central Bulgaria divides the country into northern and southern parts. Of these the northern section is linked more closely to the Danube valley and the wide plain that runs north of the Danube as far as the Carpathian mountains. In western Yugoslavia the mountainous system known as the Dinaric Alps, which stretches along the Adriatic littoral, forms the watershed between the Adriatic and the Black Sea. The Adriatic belt extends for about 30 kilometres inland in the north-west, but broadens to about 160 kilometres in the south-west. This line is then further extended in a north–south direction along the mountains that form the

[1] J. Cvijić, *Balkansko poluostrvo* (1922), *passim*.

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Map 6. The Neolithic period in the Central Balkans.

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frontier between Yugoslavia and Albania. In the central part of the Balkan Peninsula the easiest crossing of the watershed between the Aegean Sea and the Black Sea is at Preševo in south Serbia.

It is quite understandable that the geomorphological character of the peninsula, with is high and often inaccessible mountains separating individual regions, and with its river valleys serving as channels of communication between them, exerted a decisive influence upon the cultural development of the various regions in prehistoric times. Thus the presence of the Stara Planina range, separating the Thracian plain in central Bulgaria from the Danubian and Carpathian regions, inevitably brought about differences in the cultural development of these regions. On the other hand the valleys of the Struma (the Greek Strymon), Mesta and Marcia rivers provided natural avenues of communication between the Thracian plain and the Aegean littoral. Similarly the Bosporus and the Dardanelles formed a direct link between the Thracian plain and the Near East. Communication between the Thracian plain and the Danubian region was facilitated in the extreme east by the fact that the Stara Planina range sinks to a low level as it approaches the Black Sea. The western part of the Thracian plain is linked with the Danube valley by the ridge at Ihtiman, which offers easy access, and by the valley of the Isker, which flows from Sofia into the Danube. It is obvious that the limits of cultural development in the Balkans did not coincide with the natural boundaries of the Balkan Peninsula; for example, northern Bulgaria was closely linked with the zone north of the Danube which stretches as far as the Carpathian mountains, the Oltenia and the Wallachian plain. In consequence the cultural development of the Balkans is closely connected with a great part of Romania, as has been discussed in chapter 1.

In the central part of the Balkan Peninsula a basic natural route is provided by the valleys of the Morava and the Vardar, the passage from one to the other being rendered easy by the low watershed at Preševo. It is clear, however, that the narrow gorges and almost impassable cliffs of the Vardar at Demir Kapija and at the Taor defile presented a considerable obstacle to prehistoric peoples. Therefore when we consider links between the Balkan hinterland and the Aegean region we must pay particular attention to the valley of the Marica and even more to the valley of the Struma; for the latter is easily linked via Strumica and Ovčje Polje with eastern Macedonia and so gives access to the Preševo watershed.[2] In the western part of the Balkan Peninsula the region of Belgrade is of particular importance. Here two great rivers, the Morava and the Sava, enter the Danube from the south and the Tisa enters the Danube from the north. The valleys of these rivers afford

[2] A 157, 7ff.

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access to the Alpine region and to the northern part of the Carpathian range respectively. It is not surprising that from the earliest times this was the area where diverse cultural influences and currents met and mingled.

In the westernmost Balkans the two large zones are separated from one another by the natural boundaries which are set by the ranges forming the watershed between the Black Sea and the Adriatic Sea. This part of the Balkans consists mostly of the valleys of the Drina, Bosna and Vrbas, which all flow into the Sava, and it is linked primarily with the central Balkans and in part with the southern Pannonian region. Thus from a cultural point of view one cannot separate this particular region from the Balkan Peninsula in the narrow sense of the word. On the other hand the valleys of the rivers that flow into the Adriatic, and in particular those of the Neretva, the Bojana, and the rivers which feed Lake Scodra, offered possibilities of better communication between the Balkan hinterland and the Adriatic Sea.

Within the geographical framework which we have described it is understandable that certain large cultural regions and complexes developed at various stages in the prehistoric period. These were in their turn subdivided within their own wider and narrower areas into micro-regions, within which a series of regional and mutually complementary cultural groupings developed. The geographically conditioned development of these particular regions and the intercourse between them will be the subject of a detailed discussion under separate headings.

II. THE PALAEOLITHIC AND MESOLITHIC AGES

The Palaeolithic period, when the first human cultures originated and primitive hunters and food-gatherers existed in small groups, is still insufficiently studied in the Balkan Peninsula. Apart from the discoveries in Serbia at the end of the nineteenth century, which incidentally have not been fully studied,[3] and the well-known Krapina cave in northern Croatia,[4] the Palaeolithic sites received little attention up to the end of World War II.[5] More extensive and intensive work has been carried out since then; but even this has not so far yielded sufficient material to enable one to form a complete and coherent picture. We shall, therefore, limit ourselves to a summary of the most important results that this work has produced in Yugoslavia and Bulgaria.

In the western part of Yugoslavia the largest number of sites, mostly caves, are to be found in the Sava region of Croatia and partly in Lika,

[3] A 191.
[4] *Ibid.* 253f.
[5] A 206, *passim.*

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south of the Sava; in the Karst region; and on some of the Adriatic islands.[6] The most significant of these sites, the Krapina cave, where the remains of the Neanderthal man were discovered, is even now not fully evaluated; for out of more than a thousand artefacts which were discovered only about a hundred and fifty have been studied. This particular site has been ascribed to the Mousterian phase in the Middle Palaeolithic period. In some other caves, e.g. in Vindija in northern Croatia, at Ražanac near Zadar, at Velji Rat on the island of Dugi Otok, at Velika Pećina and other places, some remains of the Mousterian culture were also found. In some of them even later stages of the Palaeolithic period could be traced (e.g. at Velji Rat and Vindija, where some layers of the Aurignacian culture exist). Certain layers of Upper Aurignacian were also confirmed in Bukovac in northern Croatia, at Brinja in Dalmatinska Zagora and in Bukovac in Gorski Kotar. Remains from the latest stage of the Palaeolithic period were discovered not only at Vindija but also at Velika Pećina and Cerovac (in Lika); these remains belong to the Gravettian culture of the Würm III period. A particularly good stratigraphy of this period is to be found in the Šandalja II cave near Pula, where two skull calottes of *Homo sapiens fossilis* were excavated. Their radiocarbon date is 12,300 B.C. ± 100 years.[7]

Certain remains of the Palaeolithic period were discovered also in a series of sites in Bosnia, particularly in the valley of the Bosna river (i.e. at Varvara, Grabovca Brdo, Visoko Brdo, Plast, Kuršum, Kamen, Londže, Krndija, Brezik, Banilovića Brdo, Djurica Vis, Crkvine, etc.). All these are in the open. A cave settlement was discovered at Gornja Brijambaška, near Olovo. These sites contain remains of the Middle Palaeolithic culture (the classic and the terminal Mousterian culture) and of the two phases of the Aurignacian culture in the Upper Palaeolithic period. The most recent discoveries are found to be linked with the Gravettian culture.[8]

The cave at Crvena Stijena in the valley of the river Trebišnica on the border between Montenegro and Hercegovina has a particularly significant place among the Palaeolithic sites.[9] The deposit is twenty metres thick and is continuous from the Riss glacial period to the Holocene period. Geographically this site belongs to the Adriatic zone. This is apparent too in the character of its culture and particularly in the earlier Neolithic layer. It appears that this settlement of Palaeolithic hunters was occupied from the time of Pre-Mousterian (i.e. Levalloisian and Tayacian) to Upper Palaeolithic. Some layers of Upper Palaeolithic were distinctly separated from one another by the destruction of the

[6] A 243; A 244.
[7] A 191, 254ff.
[8] A 207.
[9] A 152, 7ff; A 200.

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roofing material. The upper layers are linked to the Gravettian period. According to A. Benac, the Crvena Stijena culture, in contrast to the finds in northern Bosnia, which are closer to the Alpine Palaeolithic, is linked to the Mediterranean culture of that period, particularly to the finds in the Seidi cave in Greece, and generally to the Capsian culture. Evidence of the Szelettian culture, which is associated with the Carpathian region, is to be found in some of the previously mentioned sites in northern Bosnia (e.g. Kamen, Visoko Brdo).[10]

Our knowledge of the Palaeolithic culture of the Central Balkans is still defective. The discoveries in central Serbia, in the Jerinino Brdo cave near Kragujevac and at Risovača near Arandjelovac, belong to the Mousterian culture; the artefacts made of bone are particularly characteristic of Risovača, while at Jerinino Brdo remains of diluvial fauna were discovered. These finds belong to the inter-glacial period Würm I–II.[11] The material discovered in the Petnica cave near Valjevo has not been sufficiently described and cannot be more precisely determined. The same applies to the discoveries in Makljenovac near Titov Veles in Macedonia and to the material discovered in the vicinity of Ochrid.[12]

The situation is very similar in the area of present-day Bulgaria. The discoveries made at Svištov, said to be Acheulian, and those from Nikopolje (Pre-Mousterian) were found in secondary deposits. In several caves in northern Bulgaria (in Bačo Kiro, Devetaškata, and Samuilica in the region of Vrace) remains of the Palaeolithic period were found; the discoveries in the Samuilica cave belong to the Lower Palaeolithic (Levalloisian and Clactonian). In the cave at Kremenište in the eastern part of the Rhodope mountains, at a height of 1,700 m, some remains of the late Mousterian period were found. Evidence of open settlements exists in Belosava in the Varna region, at Osenac near Razgrad and on the terraces caused by erosion at Museljevo near Plevna. The late Palaeolithic culture of the regions has been assessed as being Mediterranean–African in character, and this also applies to the culture of the Adriatic littoral. Tools of the Szelettian type were known to exist in the caves of Samuilica and Museljevo, while evidence of the Gravettian culture of the eastern type was found at Temnata Dupka and Pešt (near Vrace).[13]

Data relating to the Mesolithic culture of the Balkan Peninsula are even scantier. Some remains of this culture are known to exist at Vindija in northern Croatia, at Velika Pecina and at Lopar on the island of Rab in the northern Adriatic. Here the characteristic tools were made of bone bearing some ornamentation in the form of spirals.[14] In the Crvena

[10] A 207; A 191, 259.
[11] A 228.
[12] A 191, 252.
[13] A 214; A 215, 18ff; A 173, 22ff.
[14] A 191, 245ff.

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Stijena cave in layer IV three phases of a Mesolithic culture were distinguished; these are characterized by tools made of flint, the most typical being microlithic. These finds were connected by their general character with the Mesolithic culture of the western Mediterranean, particularly Mesolithic Capsian, but they had certain local features which were relevant to the peripheral position of the Crvena Stijena cave in the frame of the Capsian culture.[15] The discoveries on the Romanian side of the Iron Gates of the Danube are of particular interest because of their continuity with the immediately succeeding Pre-Neolithic culture of Lepenski Vir. D. Srejović relates the finds from the Climente I cave there with Gravettian of the Balkan type, while he considers those discovered at the site of Cuina Turcului to possess a genetic link with the widespread Romanello-Azilian Mesolithic culture of the western Mediterranean and of Italy. A certain similarity between the form of engraved ornamentation used in Italy and that on objects found at Vlasac (cf. chapter 3, below) seems to confirm this opinion.[16]

It is clear from our account of the origin of the earliest Palaeolithic and Mesolithic cultures in the Balkan Peninsula that it is at present possible to draw only general conclusions and make broad statements. In the present state of research it is not possible to present a fuller picture.

III. THE NEOLITHIC PERIOD

The Neolithic in the Balkans is much better known than the Palaeolithic. In fact, it can be said to be one of the best-studied periods in the prehistory of this particular area. In Serbia especially research started at the beginning of this century with the publication of the results of the first archaeological excavations at Jablanica near Mladenovac (central Serbia). Later, between the two world wars and even increasingly more after the Second World War systematic work was carried out over several years by M. M. Vasić at Vinča, and by M. Grbić.[17]

By contrast, in Bosnia, where the very first research work on the Neolithic period was started at Butmir near Sarajevo as early as the end of the last century,[18] there was no further investigation until after the end of the Second World War. It was thanks to G. Novak that the first systematic work on the Neolithic period in Dalmatia[19] was carried out, while studies of sites of the same period at Kosovo in Macedonia and in the rest of the eastern part of the Balkan Peninsula began only at the end of the Second World War.

There are quite a large number of archaeologists who justifiably consider the period of the Late Stone Age to be a neolithic revolution

[15] A 200; A 152, 19ff.
[16] A 242.
[17] A 186; A 185.
[18] A 186.
[19] A 248.

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and an economic revolution at the same time. For that is the period when primitive agriculture developed and cattle breeding began. These changes, of necessity, introduced a whole series of new and diverse elements into the life of contemporary man. For example a greater number of permanent settlements were established, the first durable living quarters erected, an intensive handicraft industry, of pottery in particular, developed and tools made of polished stone. The exponents of this culture were family groupings at the matriarchal stage of development.

More recent studies of the Neolithic period have presented a series of problems to the archaeologist. At a time when one knew much less about this period some of these problems were thought to have been completely solved. This is no longer the case, as we shall see.

The first problem is where this Neolithic culture originated and how it spread. It has long been thought that the origins of Neolithic culture were in the Near East and that new forms of economy and a new culture penetrated from there via Anatolia into the Balkans and central Europe. More recently, however, doubts have been cast on this opinion in the light of pollen analysis, which proved that wild corn existed in central Europe even in the Pre-Neolithic period.[20] Nevertheless, one must bear in mind that the earliest known varieties of corn cultivated in the Balkans grew originally in a wild state in the Near East. This is true also of the sheep and goats which were domesticated and reared first in the Balkan Peninsula.[21] All this confirms the fact that the Near East played a particularly important role in the Neolithic revolution that took place in south-eastern Europe.

How did Neolithic culture spread through the Balkans? There are many shades of opinion between the two extreme views; one that there was a complete migration of peoples on a large scale into the Balkan Peninsula, and the other that the Neolithic culture of the Balkans was entirely autochthonous.[22] One must bear in mind when dealing with this problem that the Balkan Peninsula had been inhabited in the Mesolithic and Pre-Neolithic periods and that the descendants of these inhabitants, no doubt, took part in the formation of Neolithic culture. On the other hand one has to stress that a large number of Neolithic phenomena in the Balkans such as the growing of corn and the domestication of animals are part of a wider cultural complex, within which there existed basic local differences and variants. It seems therefore that the most acceptable view is that the Neolithic revolution and the diffusion of Neolithic culture were the result of closer contacts between the inhabitants of a wide Balkano-Anatolian area, and in

[20] A 194.
[21] Cf. A 183.
[22] A 166; A 163, 4f.

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particular that new achievements of culture and economy originally made in the Near East were transferred to the Balkan Peninsula. This interpretation of the process cannot, of course, be accepted in all its details. The revolution must have been brought about partly by a transfer of experience and partly by movements of individual human groups in their search for arable land; also by interchange and assimilation of such human groupings with those of the autochthonous population. Here we have a process which we may call a 'successive migration' in the sense that new phenomena from the Near East were diffused through the Balkans in successive waves and that the word 'migration' in its widest connotation means not merely a movement of peoples but also a transference and an acceptance of various forms of culture and economy.[23]

Until very recently it was firmly maintained that from its very beginnings Neolithic culture possessed all the features of the Neolithic revolution, including the most important one, the making of pottery. The latest research, however, carried out in the Near East, has disproved this theory by demonstrating that there existed an earlier 'Neolithic' phase unrelated to pottery, namely the aceramic phase.[24] That such a phase existed has been proved in the Aegean area, primarily in Cyprus and Thessaly.[25] In this connexion the view was put forward that such aceramic cultures existed in the Lower Danubian region. More detailed analysis, however, has shown that in areas here discussed there were none of the characteristics of the Neolithic period such as land-tilling, the rudiments of cattle breeding and permanent settlements. The suggestion that there was an aceramic period in the Balkans must therefore be viewed with reserve.[26] It would be more appropriate to speak of a Pre-Neolithic culture as a phase preceding the Neolithic period. We shall resume this subject later.

Another question that presents itself is the subdivision of the Neolithic period. In Greece and the western districts of the Balkan Peninsula it has been accepted that the Neolithic period is basically divided into three parts: early, middle and late.[27] This division can be applied also to the central and eastern parts of the peninsula; and we shall do this in order to avoid confusion in studying the Neolithic cultures. One must mention, however, that such a division is not entirely satisfactory. In the central section of the peninsula there exists a much greater degree of connexion (indeed of immediate descent) between the earlier and the middle Neolithic periods, both of which are sharply separated from the late Neolithic. At the same time in Thrace

[23] *Ibid.*
[24] A 194; A 163, 3ff.
[25] General information in D. Theocharis *et al.*, *Neolithic Greece* (Athens, 1973), 33ff.
[26] A 69.
[27] A 163, 7ff.

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there exists a certain caesura at the end of the early Neolithic period, after which there is a continuous evolution throughout the late period. This particular situation will become much clearer in the course of further discussion.

Finally, absolute chronology is a great problem. With regard to the Neolithic period especially, it is well known that there are considerable differences between the dates of the so-called 'classical' chronology and those obtained by radiocarbon dating – differences sometimes of more than a thousand years. The cause of these differences has often been the subject of heated argument. As an ever-increasing number of phases in the lives of individual Neolithic cultures have become established, it seems almost beyond doubt that radiocarbon dating is better supported than the traditional dating. On the other hand one must not forget that even this method still has its own unresolved problems. For example we do not know enough about the factors which affect the content and the speed of carbon disintegration,[28] and our ignorance here may be responsible for some of the unreliable dates yielded by carbon analysis. In addition, certain phenomena still cannot be explained. For example the well-known tablets from Tartaria were linked by most competent scholars with the early Mesopotamian script, and this gave such dates for the early phases of the Vinča group of Early Neolithic as the beginning of the third millennium or at best the last centuries of the fourth millennium. Yet these dates still differ considerably from the radiocarbon date, which is at least a millennium earlier.[29] For the time being these contradictions cannot be resolved. In what follows we shall quote radiocarbon dates with reserve in comparing them with dates arrived at by the classical method.

1. *Pre-Neolithic culture*

The question whether there was a Pre-Neolithic culture which preceded the early Neolithic period is usually posed in connexion with the recent discoveries in the Iron Gate area, where excavations by Yugoslav and Romanian archaeologists have provided evidence of entirely new cultures. We mentioned several points in connexion with this question when we were discussing the Mesolithic period in the last section. If one looks for continuity in the post-glacial period, i.e. from the Dryas period to the Atlantic (cf. p. 83), then two discoveries made on two sites along the right bank of the Danube at Vlasac and Lepenski Vir are of particular significance.

Both these sites are in the vicinity of Donji Milanovac in an isolated valley of the Danube, which is today covered by an artificial lake.

[28] A 178; A 177. [29] A 177.

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According to comparisons made by the authors of the exploration,[30] the early phases at Vlasac (I a, b) would correspond to the Proto-Lepenski Vir period; the late Vlasac II–III would coincide with the Lepenski Vir I–II.[31] At Vlasac some natural cavities in the rocks were utilized as dwellings with the addition of a roof and a floor made of broken limestone. In the I b phase these dwellings become larger, while in phases II–III they are irregular and without flooring. The skeletons were buried in an extended position; in some dwellings buried skulls were found; everything points to the existence of a specific cult. Tools of polished stone, microlithic in type, were at first of flint (I a, b), but later predominantly of quartzite (II–III). In addition, in phases II–III a number of rounded stones were painted red, and a flourishing industry of bone and horn artefacts, often with engraved decorations, developed. The discoverer points to the link that existed with the Gravettian–Romanelli complex which is, in its turn, more closely connected with the west Mediterranean area, and he stresses the fishing and hunting character of this particular settlement.[32]

The well-known site at Lepenski Vir gives evidence of the further evolution and the flowering of this culture.[33] The site is located along the banks of the Danube, and the dwelling places stand at right angles to the course of the river; they were trapezoid in shape and their dimensions varied from 7 × 6 m to 3 × 2 m. They were roofed and a stone hearth, decorated with a multicoloured stone frieze, lay at the centre of each dwelling. Sculptures, now so well-known, were placed alongside the hearth. It was also discovered that in phase I at Lepenski Vir there was a floor of broken limestone, but this kind of flooring was not found in phase II.[34] The methods of burial were the same as at Vlasac. In some places the dead were buried under the buildings and sometimes only part of the body was interred.[35] Stone, horn or bone was used for making all tools, weapons and decorative objects, among which special attention must be paid to a needle with an animal's head.[36] The well-known sculptured human heads of immense size, in phase I, are merely boulders whose natural shape had been utilized to the maximum and adapted to show facial features, so that eyes, nose and mouth were distinctly discernible. In phase II, however, it was observed that these features were expressed in a much more plastic form.[37] The principal occupation of the inhabitants, as shown by the discoveries of animal bones, was hunting and fishing; only the dog was domesticated.[38] D. Srejović, the director of the excavations, has deduced from the

[30] A 242; A 255, *passim*.
[31] A 194.
[32] A 242.
[33] A 255.
[34] *Ibid.* 42ff.
[35] *Ibid.* 132ff.
[36] *Ibid.* 120 fig. 24 L.V.1C.
[37] *Ibid.* 93.
[38] A 255, 224ff (Bökeny).

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discovery of fossilized dung the existence of corn. According to him conditions for the early development of agriculture in the Carpatho-Danubian area existed in very early times. The fact that there is a similarity between certain of these phenomena and those obtaining in the Near East (among others the monumental sculptures) Srejović is inclined to attribute rather to the superior economic and social development at Vlasac and Lepenski Vir than to any direct contact with the Near East.[39] The above are reasons why this particular culture has been regarded as 'Pre-Neolithic'. However, the radiocarbon datings of Vlasac and Lepenski Vir, being of the second half of the sixth and the first half of the fifth millennium B.C.,[40] are far too late even to coincide with the datings obtained for the Neolithic culture which developed in the same area.

For the time being, then, the culture of Lepenski Vir is unique among early cultures in the Balkan Peninsula. It is, therefore, quite understandable that there are still a number of relevant problems which are not yet solved and that some are indeed insoluble. One is the significance of the small buildings which could not have served as dwelling places; another is the reason for the partial burials within these dwellings. Furthermore there are no proofs of agricultural pursuits on this site. It would be just as inaccurate to infer from the domestication of the dog the beginnings of stock-raising. The entire inventory of the Lepenski Vir finds and the discovery of the skeletons facing the Danube point, above all, to the existence of a fishing settlement whose inhabitants lived at the very dawn of Neolithic culture in this geographically somewhat isolated region.

2. *Early Neolithic and Middle Neolithic*

Within these periods three great cultural complexes can be differentiated in the Balkans. First, the Balkano-Anatolian complex of Early Neolithic, characterized by its light monochrome and painted pottery; in Macedonia the culture of this complex continued into Middle Neolithic. Second, the Circum-Mediterranean or, more exactly, the West Mediterranean complex which is related primarily to the Adriatic and Ionian littorals, where pottery is decorated with the so-called 'impresso' technique (achieved by using one's fingers or fingernails). Third, a large complex which it is difficult to delineate precisely, because it is in part so close to the Balkano-Anatolian complex. It is found in Pannonia and the northern parts of the central Balkans, and so it may be called the Pannonian–Central Balkan complex. Its continuous development extending into Middle Neolithic can be traced. In addition to these there appeared in Thrace in the Middle Neolithic period a

[39] A 194.

[40] A 255, 229ff (Quitta).

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culture linked to another cultural complex, the evolution of which was clearly to be traced in the Late Neolithic period. It may, therefore, be called a Late Balkano-Anatolian complex.[41]

The areas covered by these cultural complexes were not only continuous, but overlapped one another. Thus the Balkano-Anatolian complex of Early Neolithic surely must have extended along the right bank of the Vardar, particularly into Pelagonia, where it came into contact with certain elements of the West Mediterranean complex which had penetrated inland from the areas bordering the Adriatic and Ionian Seas. On the other hand this same complex in its early phase overlapped the Pannonian–Central Balkan complex in the north, and particularly in Middle Neolithic the two complexes became more closely assimilated to one another. In the north-western Balkans, i.e. north of the Dinaric Alps, which form the watershed between the Adriatic and Black Seas, there was a particularly thorough blending of elements between the Pannonian–Central Balkan complex and the West Mediterranean complex. In this way the regional cultures came to develop special aspects, and this process continued in Late Neolithic.[42]

(a) *The Balkano-Anatolian complex of Early Neolithic*

This particular complex comprises a whole series of cultural groups existing in the eastern and central Balkan area. These are: the Karanovo I group in Thrace with its variants and evolved shapes; Čavdar group in the Sofia plain; Conevo on the Black Sea; Anzabegovo–Vršnik in eastern Macedonia; the Gura Baciului group further north; the Porodin group in Pelagonia; the Proto-Sesklo group, the Pre-Sesklo group (Magulitsa), and finally the Sesklo and Dhimini group in Thessaly, which contain their own phases. This Balkano-Anatolian complex is also closely linked with Anatolian cultures and particularly that of Haçilar, where one finds very many similarities in the painted and light monochrome pottery. In addition a whole series of other phenomena point to Anatolia and the Near East, for instance the characteristic sickles in Thrace or the widely scattered egg-shaped slingstones.[43]

Within this complex the Anzabegovo–Vršnik group is the one most extensively explored. We shall therefore begin with it. This term is used instead of the earlier 'Vršnik', because the excavations of Anzabegovo have given it a firmer basis, especially in chronology.[44] The group is divided into four phases (Anzabegovo–Vršnik I–IV) the first of which is again subdivided into three subphases (I a–c). Anzabegovo–Vršnik I, in terms of Thessalian chronology, belongs to Early Neolithic, and phases II–IV to Middle Neolithic.

Hitherto the Anzabegovo–Vršnik group has been identified from

[41] A 163, 8ff.
[42] *Ibid.*
[43] *Ibid.* 9f.
[44] A 223; A 231, *passim*; A 167, 13, cat. nos. 1–42.

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I Neolithic cultures in the Balkan area.

PERIOD	EAST MACEDONIA	PELAGONIA	SERBIA, VOJVODINA AND KOSOVO	WEST VOJVODINA AND NORTH CROATIA	THESSALY	THRACE	ADRIATIC ZONE	TRANSITIONAL ZONE
EARLY NEOLITHIC	Anzabegovo – Vršnik I a, b, c	?	? Starčevo I ? Gura Baciului	? Körös (Biserna obala 3)	Proto–Sesklo; Pre–Sesklo	? Karanovo I	Early Neolithic (Impresso)	?
MIDDLE NEOLITHIC	Anzabegovo – Vršnik II, III, IV	Velušina – Porodin I/II; III; IV; Trnska tumba	Starčevo IIa, IIb, III	Körös	Sesklo; Tsangli; Dhimini; Arapi; Otzaki	? Karanovo II; ? III	Danilo	Obre I; Kakanj
LATE NEOLITHIC	Vinča–Turdaš I/II; Zelenikovo II; ?	?	Vinča–Turdaš I; Vinča–Turdaš II a, b; Gradac phase; Vinča–Pločnik I a, II a, b; Bubanj Hum Ia	Tisza	? Classical; Larissa ?; ? Rakhmani	Karanovo IV; Karanovo V (Marica); Karanovo VI	Lisičići – Hvar ?	Butmir I; Butmir II; ? Butmir III ?

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eastern Macedonian sites, e.g. in the valley of the Bregalnica, Ovčje Polje, and the plain of Skopje. Apart from the Anzabegovo site in the centre of Ovčje Polje, other sites are at Vršnik near Štip in the Bregalnica valley, Rug-Bair in the village of Gorubinci on the northern outskirts of Ovčje Ploje, and Zelenikovo near Skopje.[45] At present it is rather difficult to define the exact limits of this group. A certain affinity with objects found in the valley of the river Struma in Bulgaria points to its extension to the valley of the river Strumica; and a homogeneity with Nea Nikomedeia in Aegean Macdeonia points to its extension as far as the middle and lower reaches of the Vardar (the Greek Axius). For either of these views there are reliable archaeological proofs. The extension of the Anzabegovo–Vršnik group into the narrow valley of the upper Vardar by Skopje (Zelenikovo) could have come from the Ovčje Polje area via the Preševo watershed, certainly an easier route than that along the valley of the Vardar.

The settlements belonging to this group are scattered along the terraced river banks (thus Anzabegovo lies on the Svetonikolska, while Zelenikovo is on the Vardar). Sometimes the settlements are found to be on the gentle slopes of small rivers or near the sources (e.g. Vršnik, Rug-Bair). It is important to stress that although all these settlements are constructed in several layers, they do not possess the character of a tell.

The construction of the dwellings is sufficiently well known. At Anzabegovo the remains of the houses of Anzabegovo–Vršnik I had walls of mud-brick. Buildings of phase II there had walls of wattle and were erected on a platform; the flooring was coated with several slips of clay. In phase III at Vršnik the houses were of similar construction but much stronger wattles were used. As regards the arrangement of the houses of phase II at Vršnik and phase IV at Zelenikovo the conclusion was that there existed rows of houses intersected by passages (e.g. at Zelenikovo) at right angles to one another.[46]

In all phases the dead were buried within the settlement itself. Skeletons were found to be in a contracted position without any particular orientation. An interesting grave belonging to phase I c at Anzabegovo contained two skeletons of adults; beneath it there was a burial placed in a pithos, the bottom and the handles of which had been broken, apparently intentionally.[47] Associated with the cult were two smaller quandrangular buildings whose walls were made of tamped clay. Each of the buildings had a fairly large hole in the centre. In one of these holes the bones of a newly born child were discovered. The buildings belong to phases I b and I c.

[45] A 227. [46] A 227, plan. [47] A 167, cat. no. 9.

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In the inventory of portable objects there was a notably small number of tools and axes, made of polished stone. The most common types of axe were flat, trapezoidal, tongue-shaped and cylindrical in cross-section. Some chisels and spatulae were found, in addition to millstones, slingstones, spindle whorls and pottery slabs, most probably used for polishing.

Pottery was a basic product of human activity. There were three main categories: (1) fine, well-fired and light in colour (mostly red and brown, but later grey and black) containing grains of mica. The colour of the pots was mostly due to the firing, but pottery with a fine slip was also known; (2) plain pottery which has a surface only just smoothed off; (3) coarse pottery, also well fired, but with thicker walls often made of a mixture of earth and chaff or pebbles. The basic forms of this pottery are rather few. Mostly globular in shape, the vessels have a variation of profile along the rims; the bases are round or elliptical in shape; the feet are conical and hollow, and they vary in height. In ware belonging to phase I the ellipitical bases were stuck on, while hollow stems appeared first in phase II. Furthermore, dishes with rounded profile or conical in shape made their appearance. Similar forms were found among the roughly-made large vessels (fig. 11).

These forms and techniques are known to exist in all phases of this group. In phases I and III red colour predominates. In phase I a the pottery is even less well fired in most cases and possesses a reddish hue. A gradual increase of dark pottery (grey and black) is striking, and in phase IV this pottery is linked with the light one. Peculiar to phase I are a light brown pottery made of earth with a strong admixture of mica; a yellowish-white ware, mostly black-topped; and a particular sort of brown pottery with a scraped slip.[48] In subsequent phases the same scraped pottery appears, but in somewhat changed forms and achieved by a different technique. Phase II has a characteristic grey or brown pottery. Its surface possesses a greasy shine and when fingered it is soapy. It all resembles Minyan ware. Its dishes are globular in shape with a sharp profile and with an inclination towards biconical forms and high shoulders, and sometimes they have several legs. Their basic decoration consists of rippled patterns. In phase III there is a decline in the technique of most of the light pottery. Spherical and hemispherical dishes standing on several legs should also be mentioned; their handles are vertical and hollow. However, they are typical of phase I only.[49]

In the decoration of fine pottery painting is typical. In phase I white paint is used on a light background. The motifs are meandrine patterns linked to the reddish pottery of phase I a, different combinations of bands and triangles, and characteristic floral motifs. In phase I b a more

[48] A 224.

[49] A 167, cat. nos. 4–5.

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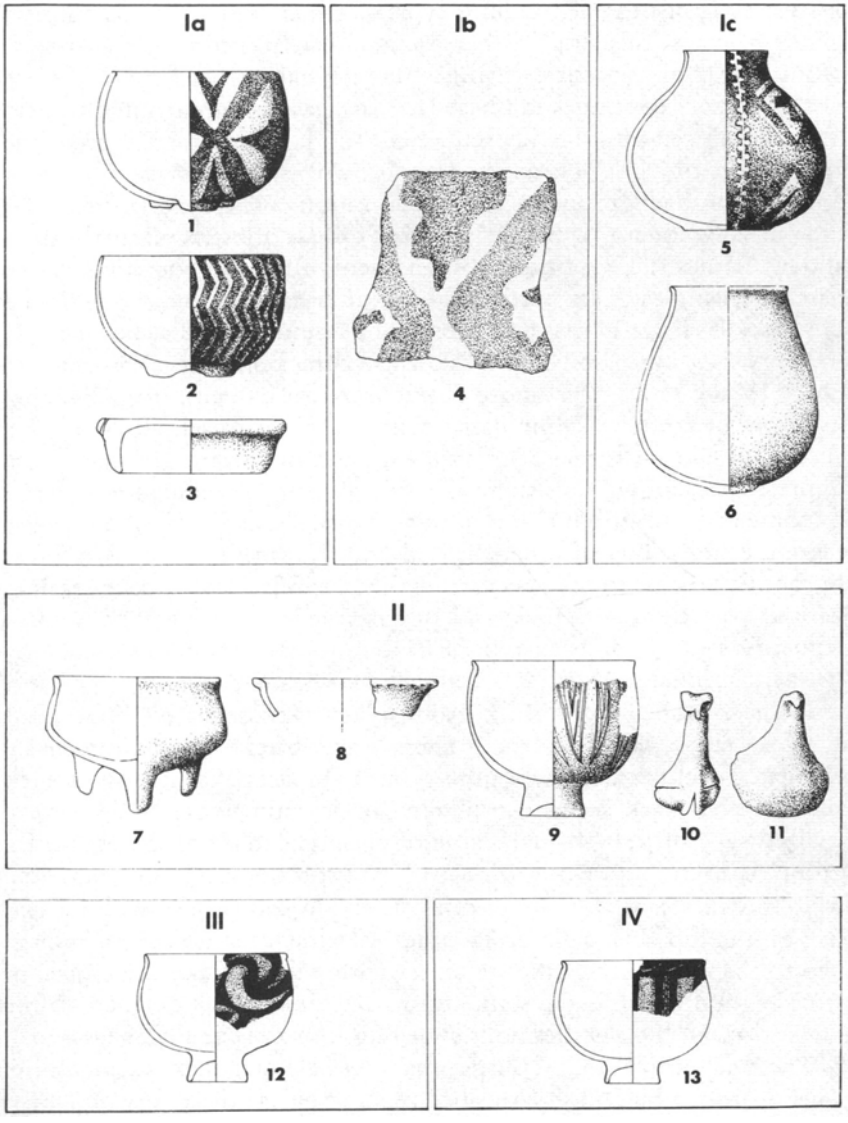

Fig. 11. Early and Middle Neolithic. Balkano-Anatolian complex. Anzabegovo–Vršnik group. (After M. Garašanin.)

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austere style of ornamentation is typical, and triangles are arranged on different levels. In phase I c there is in addition a reddish-brown ware of inferior quality decorated with white dots along the edges. The use of this pottery continues in phase II.[50] In phases II–IV painted pottery is still produced but of a different character, being characterized by the application of dark (black or dark brown) colour on a reddish or light-brown background. Geometrical motifs are typical of phase II; they usually consist of parallel vertical bands, often in alternate rows and with mesh-like motifs between them; the rims sometimes have hatched triangles. This particular kind of ornamentation is continued in phases II–IV.[51] It has, however, to be pointed out that in phase III the very first big painted spiral motif occurs, but its use was rare. In phase IV the same spiral motif is much more frequent, often figuring in a row of complex combinations as well as of spirals that end in a claw-like shape (fig. 11).[52] Ornamentation on coarse pottery is in impresso technique, and there is evidence also of indentations made by some instrument which result in round or slanted punches; likewise there are imitations of a sea-shell edging (*Cardium*). Alongside these, Barbotine ornamention appears from the very beginning (finger-tracing, various pasted-on additions, and systematized Barbotine consisting of regularly spaced bands in relief). Barbotine decoration is particularly frequent in phase IV and has systematized motifs.[53]

In the Anzabegovo–Vršnik group plastic art is relatively rare, but even so takes various forms. There are statuettes with immensely elongated necks in all stages of this group. Miniature figurines with such an elongated neck seem to be linked more with phase I b.[54] A very stylized type of pear-shaped statuette, recalling those of the Magulitsa group, is found at Vršnik in phase II.[55] From the same site come the well-known steatopygous figurines; they are sometimes made in two halves, the hips being bored in order that the separate parts could be tied to them.[56] Further, the statuettes with a broken axis are typical of Anzabegovo II, while the statuettes with elongated necks and with the lower parts of their bodies hollow belong to Vršnik II at Zelenikovo.[57]

The chief occupation of the population of this group was agriculture. This is proved by finds at Anzabegovo and by the discovery of a large amount of carbonized wheat at Vršnik in phase III.[58] The main cultivated crops were *Triticum dicoccum* and *monococcum*. In phase I a variety of hexaploid grain was grown which was very typical of Early Neolithic in the Balkans. In addition it was established that barley, peas

[50] *Ibid.* cat. nos. 1–7, 17.
[51] *Ibid.* cat. no. 19.
[52] A 161, 112, fig. 23.
[53] A 226, fig. 8.
[54] A 167, cat. no. 39.
[55] A 226, fig. 24; cf. A 231, fig. 143.
[56] A 226, fig. 19.
[57] A 227, 89, fig. 6.
[58] Hopf in A 226, 41ff.

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and lentils existed. Hunting took precedence over stock-breeding which in later periods was partially in decline. Of the domesticated animals sheep and goats were reared more than cattle and swine. Dogs were rare. Large and small wild animals were hunted. In the production of polished tools cryptocrystal silica rock and quartz, obtained from the dredging of the Svetonikolska, were used as raw materials. Axes were made of jadeite and serpentine, quarried from the neighbouring hill of Bogoslovec.[59]

It is possible to establish the chronology of this group on the basis of links with Thessaly. It has a great similarity with the Proto-Sesklo group. However, the appearance of the impresso pottery from the very beginning of the settlement, the exclusive appearance of white painting in phase I (which appears in Achilleion as late as the Pre-Sesklo period), the early scraped pottery and finally the shape of the cult buildings (which appear at Otzaki Magula in the same period), all point to their dating into the period of the Magulitsa group.[60] Thus the beginning of the group belongs to the late phase of Early Neolithic, while certain fragments of vessels embellished with deeply engraved ornamentation point to an affinity with the Sesklo group of Middle Neolithic.[61] Anzabegovo–Vršnik II, with its characteristic grey ware, is linked to the Karanovo II group in Thrace that runs parallel to the Sesklo group.[62] The limits of this group at Anzabegovo and Vršnik were determined by the fact that in the upper layer the early Vinča group appeared and that it belonged to Late Neolithic. As a result the complete development of Anzabegovo–Vršnik II–IV must be ascribed to Middle Neolithic. Radiocarbon dating puts this group in the seventh to sixth millennium, which seems really too early.

The genesis of this group appears to be complex. There is no doubt that its basis is in the Balkano-Anatolian complex of Early Neolithic, whose continuity could be traced in all four phases. Yet already in phase I there were close links with the West Mediterranean complex (i.e. impresso pottery and the imitations of *Cardium* in particular) and with the Pannonian–Central Balkan complex (Barbotine). Notable in phase II is the influence of the Late Balkano-Anatolian complex to which the Karanovo II group belongs and whose elements temporarily predominate at that time. Parallel to it there is a further link with the two complexes already mentioned. This is particularly evident in the painted pottery, which even in detail is identical with the Starčevo pottery of the Pannonian–Central Balkan complex. It is impossible to say whether the strong Starčevo and Karanovo II influences are connected with a

[59] J. Renfrew, A 231, 300ff; Bökeny, *ibid.* 313ff; Weide, *ibid.* 418ff.
[60] A 224; A 223.
[61] A 167, cat. no. 11*a*.
[62] A 188, 91; A 253, 37ff.

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certain influx of population from the neighbouring cultures or whether it is purely a matter of influences which led, in the course of Middle Neolithic, to an integration of elements of primarily varied origins with the basically unchanging elements of the Balkano-Anatolian complex of Early Neolithic.

The Anzabegovo–Vršnik group is closely connected with the Gura Baciului group (so named after the site near Cluj in Transylvania). What is now known about the Gura Baciului group is from the sites of central Serbia (Grivac, Divostin), the Iron Gate site (Lepenski Vir III a), Bačka (southern Pannonia), the Donja Branjevina site, Transylvania and Oltenia (Gura Baciului and Cîrcea; above, p. 17).[63] Not very much is known about this group but its basic characteristics are prevalently red monochrome pottery and decoration in white paint. Its typical motifs are dots placed along the rims of the vessels; they resemble those of the Anzabegovo–Vršnik group and some are more intricate.[64] All these facts point to a dating within the Anzabegovo–Vršnik I c phase. The question remains open, however, because at certain sites like Lepenski Vir, Divostin and Donja Branjevina there apparently exists an older layer which contained no painted pottery but only monochrome wares. This fact could be interpreted as indicating the existence of a very early phase which, presumably, preceded even that of Anzabegovo. The phase having the painted pottery would have followed only after a certain interval; this in turn is linked with Anzabegovo I c.[65] There is also the possibility of another interpretation: that the layers with the monochrome pottery in fact represent a belated manifestation of an Early Neolithic phenomenon in this peripheral zone. In any case the appearance of the Gura Baciului group in an area which certainly belonged to the Pannonian–Central Balkan complex shows the extent of south-to-north penetration by the exponents of this particular group in a late phase of Early Neolithic.

Another fundamental group in the Balkano-Anatolian complex in Early Neolithic is that of Karanovo I in Thrace.[66] This group can be traced today over a wide area. Its southernmost point is the valley of the river Arda. Although it is not yet known along the Thracian littoral, it is traced at a number of sites of which the most important are Karanovo near Nova Zagora and Azmak by Stara Zagora.

The settlements were located on a plain and all are of the tell type. The dwelling places were basically rectangular, and consisted of one room only. The walls were made of wattle, while the floors had a coating of clay and a wooden substructure. As a rule they had a hearth. All the houses were arranged in rows and were intersected by streets.

[63] A 163, 9ff.
[64] A 167, cat. no. 17.
[65] A 238, *passim* (with illustrations).
[66] A 169, 45ff; 57ff.

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The most characteristic tools in flint are microliths with a high retouch. The polished stone tools are in the form of a 'Shoe-last' celt or cylindrical in cross-section. Other typical tools include spatulae, horn-sickles with microliths fixed in such a way that they formed a row of teeth, millstones, mortars, and slingstones.[67]

Fine monochrome pottery, by far the most prevalent in this group, is typical for the Balkano-Anatolian complex. Plain, coarsely made pottery is considerably scarcer. The basic forms in this pottery are spherical vessels with a high rounded neck and tall vessels with gently curving profiles (the *Tulpenbecher* types). These vessels usually stand on a hollow conical stem which is sometimes divided by vertical grooves.[68] In addition some altars were discovered.[69] The decoration, in white paint, consists of angular bands, triangles and spirals, which are sometimes placed on the stems of the vessels.[70] The altars were decorated with embossed motifs. It is possible that rippled ornamentation was also in use (fig. 12, 1–5).

Of figurines the steatopygous figures are the most typical. In contrast to the usual Neolithic figures these have triangular faces and the eyes are clearly incised.[71] Particular attention should be paid to a vessel from Muldava[72] which is in the shape of a deer.

The basic occupation of this group was agriculture, as can be seen from the millstones, sickles and remains of some cultivated plants, e.g. *Triticum dicoccum*, *Triticum monococcum*, barley and legumes.[73]

The chronology of the Karanovo I group is first of all determined by the fact (unequivocally confirmed by finds at several places) that the Karanovo II group immediately follows Karanovo I, and that it is contemporaneous with the Anzabegovo-Vršnik II group. This simultaneously indicates that Karanovo I and phase I of our group are contemporary. The appearance of the more developed forms of pottery and in particular the forms of vessels with hollowed legs might, in this context, point to a relatively later date. The appearance of the spiral motif, which as a rule is considered to be of a later date, may be merely a regional phenomenon. It is known, however, that the spiral motif on pintaderas was known from very early times in the Balkans and in the Near East. This means that this particular motif could have been transferred to pottery of various areas at various periods.[74] The most recent radiocarbon datings for this group are of the seventh millennium, which seems rather too early.

[67] *Ibid.* pl. v, 18–19; vi, 1.
[68] *Ibid.*; A 179, figs. 1–2.
[69] A 169, pl. vii, 1.
[70] *Ibid.* pl. v, 18–19.
[71] A 179, 49, fig. 61.
[72] *Ibid.* 94, fig. 112.
[73] A 183, 68ff; Renfrew in A 231, 300ff; Bökeny, *ibid.* 313ff.
[74] Milojčić, 'Zur Frage der Herkunft des Mäanders und der Spirale in Mitteleuropa', *Jahrbuch des Röm.-germ. Zentralmuseums* 11 (1964), 57ff.

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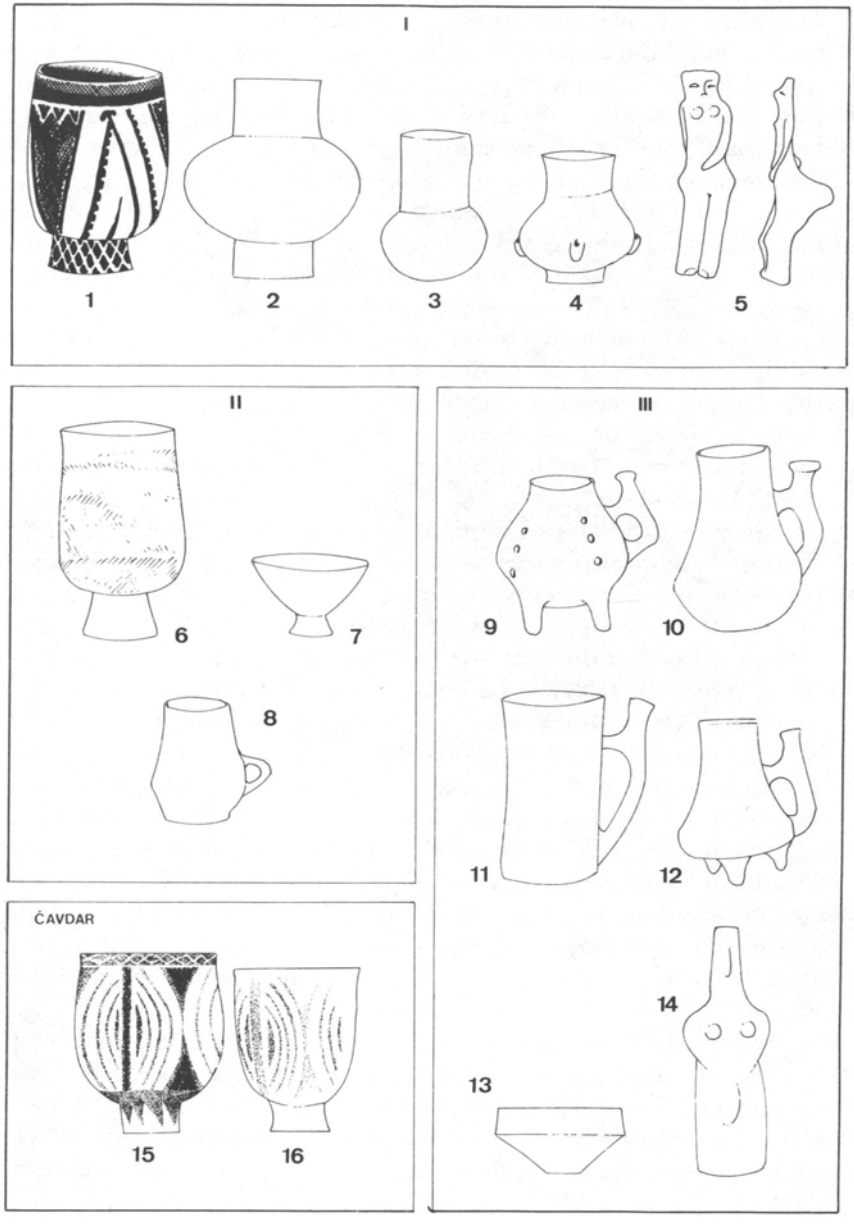

Fig. 12. Early and Middle Neolithic. Balkano-Anatolian complex. Karanovo I-III and Čavdar groups. 1–5: Karanovo I; 6–8: Karanovo II; 9–14: Karanovo III. (After G. Georgiev and P. Detev.)

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The Karanovo I group is a typical representation of the Balkano-Anatolian complex of Early Neolithic. Taken as a whole it appears that this group had mingled less with alien elements than the Anzabegovo-Vršnik group.

It seems that in the eastern Balkans the Conevo group in the valley of the Luda Kamčija in north-east Bulgaria is linked to the same complex. The shapes of its pottery are undoubtedly connected with the Balkano-Anatolian complex of Early Neolithic, but painted specimens are completely lacking.[75] If this group were, as the Bulgarian archaeologists maintain, to be put in the period of Karanovo II (i.e. at the beginning of Middle Neolithic) then the assessment is purely chronological and should not be interpreted in the sense of a genetic group.

One has also to mention the Čavdar group in the Sofia basin.[76] The shapes of the houses as well as the weapons and tools correspond to those of Karanovo I. The same is valid for the shapes of the vessels, of which the *Tulpenbecher* type is the most typical. In the ornamentation, however, parallel to the rich motifs of spirals, another permanent motif is droplets; and in addition to white colouring the red colour of a wine sediment appears.[77] It is surprising, though, that polychrome painting should appear, because it is typical of later epochs. Taking into account the character of this material and the fact that the upper layers of this group in Čavdar include a layer with material belonging to the Karanovo II–III period, one can describe the Čavdar group as a local and belated variant of Karanovo I (fig. 12, 15–16).

In the complex under discussion a special place is taken by the Velušina–Porodin group in Pelagonia. It was first introduced into archaeological literature as 'Porodin', named after the first site explored. The subsequent explorations at Velušina, however, made it possible to make a more detailed stratigraphic division of this group into four different phases.[78] Because of the natural geographic isolation of the Pelagonian plain which widens towards the Haliacmon valley, this group acquired specific local characteristics.

The Velušina–Porodin group, for the time being, is known only in Pelagonia. It contains several sites, the most important ones being Velušina and Porodin themselves. The sites are for the most part situated on the right bank of the river Crna (Erigon) and as a rule are tells. The only exception is Vlaku, a settlement at Živojno on the left bank of the Crna.

The dwelling places found were rectangular, sometimes trapezoidal

[75] A 262.

[76] A 229.

[77] *Ibid.* figs. 1–2.

[78] A 234, *passim*; A 253; A 167, cat. nos. 81–115; A 180, cat. nos. 164ff; A 181, 31ff (with illustrations).

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in shape, their walls were thickly built of wattle, the flooring was of tamped clay and had a substructure. In certain phases minor differences in construction appeared.[79] The models of houses discovered at Porodin suggest that there was on the roof a tall cylindrical structure, bearing a representation of a human face, which very likely served as a chimney. Apparently big stones were fixed to the chimney in order to strengthen the roof itself.[80] No information on burial rites is forthcoming.

In this group one also finds that tools made of polished stone are rare. Axes were tongue-shaped, trapezoidal and in the shape of a shoemaker's last. Needles, smoothers and awls were made of bone. Pintaderas and slingstones are also found in this group.[81]

Of fine monochrome pottery, which is rather rarer than plain and coarse, a red pottery prevails. Other kinds – brown, grey and black – are scarcer. The vessels are usually spherical, hemispherical and conical. The most frequent is spherical, with an elongated neck.[82] Particularly characteristic of this group are a conical lid and variants of biconical dishes, while hollow conical legs appear as early as phase I.[83] Various forms of altar are also known. In the decoration of the fine pottery the basic characteristic is painting in white. In phases I and II typical patterns are combinations of triangles freely scattered or in echelons. Decorative designs in the shape of the Cyrillic letter з and the Greek letter Σ are frequently found in the lower layers; they are rare in phase III and completely disappear in phase IV.[84] In all layers the motif of the droplet or one resembling a sickle appear along the rims of the pots. In phases III–IV one finds that hatched bands and the motif of the elongated sphere occur most often.[85] The Barbotine technique of ornamentation is more frequent than the impresso, while in phase IV systematized Barbotine predominates.[86]

In the field of plastic art there are figurines with excessively elongated necks, in later phases sometimes with nodules on their temples. Another type of figurine has a broken axis and is in a sitting position; these are represented in all layers.[87] Other interesting objects which appear in phases III–IV are altars bearing the heads of two serpents facing each other, and hollow cylinders with the image of a human face.[88] From the same period are interesting models of houses, of which the open ones are linked to phase III (fig. 13).[89]

From the economic point of view not much is known about this

[79] A 253 (plans of the houses).
[80] A 234, pl. VII; A 181, cat. nos. 90–2.
[81] A 234, pl. XXV; A 180, cat. no. 231.
[82] *Ibid.* cat. no. 196; A 181, cat. no. 18.
[83] A 253, *passim*.
[84] A 180, cat. no. 196; A 181, cat. no. 18.
[85] A 253 (with illustrations).
[86] *Ibid.*
[87] A 253, 25ff, pls. XI–XX; A 180, cat nos. 197–8, 202, 233ff; A 181, 31ff (with illustrations).
[88] For example A 234, pl. VII, 1–3, pl. XXVIII, 4; A 180, cat. no. 241; A 181, cat. nos. 87, 93; A 167, cat nos. 83, 89.
[89] A 253, pl. XXII.

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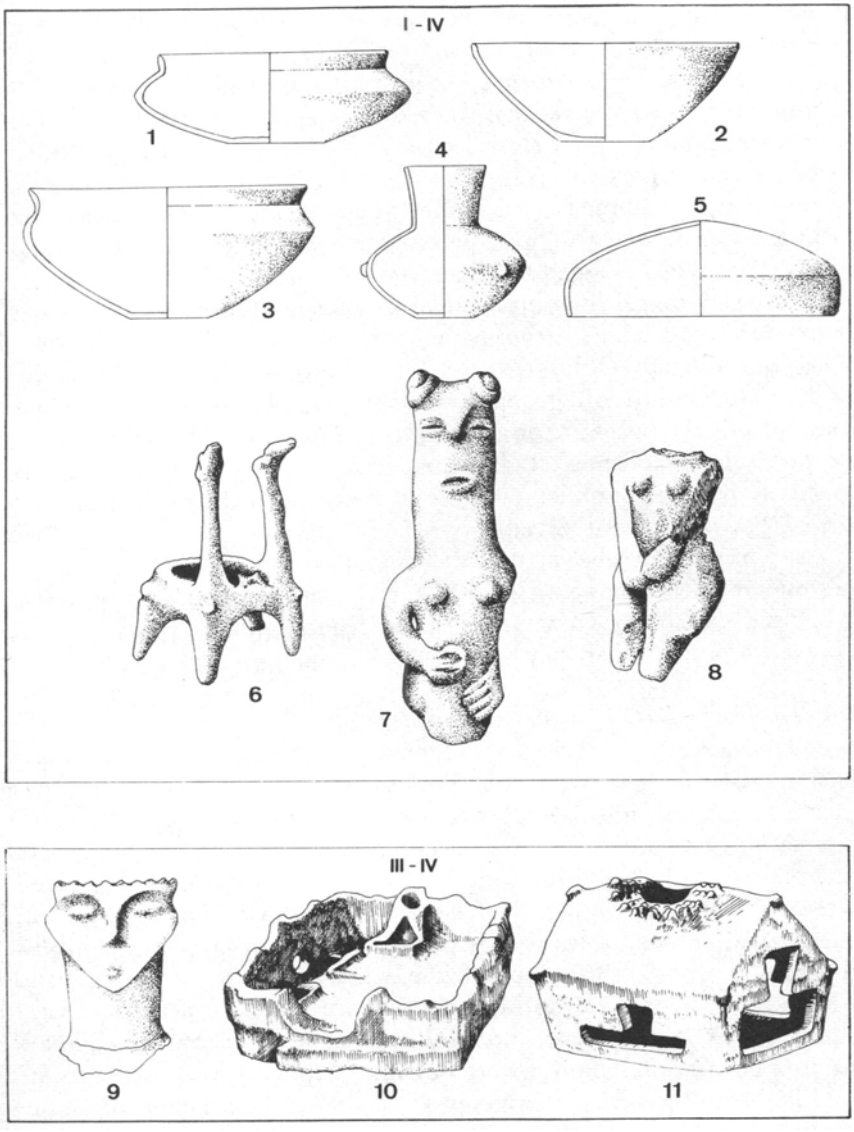

Fig. 13. Middle Neolithic. Balkano-Anatolian complex. Velušina–Porodin group. (After M. Garašanin.)

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group, but it is certain that the occupation of the inhabitants was primarily agriculture. Of animals they had sheep, goats, cattle and swine.

As this group is so isolated it is rather difficult to establish its chronology. The appearance of the dot motif from the very beginning points to Anzabegovo–Vršnik I c or to the beginning of phase II. In layer I of the Rug-Bair (Anzabegovo–Vršnik II) site a fragment of a cylinder and a fragment of a model house were discovered; another fragment of a model of an open-type house of phase III, originally found at Anzabegovo, belonged to Anzabegovo–Vršnik III.

In archaeological literature, however, it has been pointed out that there were connexions between the later stages of this group and the phase of the Arapi–Dhimini group.[90] All these data point to the dating of the Velušina-Porodin group towards the end of Anzabegovo–Vršnik I and Middle Neolithic, though the extreme limits of this group cannot be precisely established. Radiocarbon dating puts the origin of this group in the seventh millennium, but this can be hardly reconciled with the dates provided for Anzabegovo I.[91]

As pointed out above, the Velušina–Porodin group is in fact a peripheral phenomenon of the Balkano-Anatolian complex of Early Neolithic which, in view of its specific geographical position, had evolved in a particular way.

(b) *The Carpatho-Central Balkan complex*

We have already discussed the territory of this complex. Its chief characteristic at first is a coarse pottery with typical Barbotine ornamentation. Alongside it, though, impresso pottery appeared. Later in the course of development, much closer contacts with the Balkano-Anatolian complex of Early Neolithic were established (these contacts in general were of 'Middle Neolithic' date in the sense in which we explained our use of Middle Neolithic, above, p. 83). Two more groups belong to this complex, both of them outside the Balkan area in its narrower sense. They are the Körös group of Pannonia, with its protracted and very conservative development, and the Romanian Criş group, which knew painted decoration from the very beginning and which is linked to the Middle Neolithic period (above, p. 27). In the Balkan Peninsula and in southern Pannonia the most significant group is that of Starčevo; it is closely connected with the Kremikovci group in the Sofia basin.[92]

The Starčevo group derives its name from the locality of Starčevo, the first site to be systematically explored. In the period between the two World Wars research work was carried out by an American archaeological expedition,[93] and after World War II much more work

[90] A 161, 114ff.

[91] A 253.

[92] A 241, *passim*; A 162, 17–64; 594–8; A 195, *passim*; A 212; A 213; A 216; A 230.

[93] A 216.

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was done. Several chronological systems of the group have been produced, of which that of D. Arandjelović-Garašanin is still the most acceptable. It differentiates three basic phases of this group, the second of which is subdivided into two subphases, i.e. Starčevo I, II a–b and III.[94]

The Starčevo group comprises the whole territory of present-day Serbia, together with Kosovo, the southern part of Vojvodina and north-eastern Bosnia. In the south-west it extends deep inland along the valley of the Drina; its southernmost site is located near Ivangrad on the river Lim, at Petnjik.[95] In the west the position is not so clear-cut. There is, however, a concentration of sites in Srem almost up to the town of Vinkovci. The most westerly site of this group is to be found near Bjelovar (Ždralovi).[96] In the north the limits bordering on the homogeneous group of Körös are not clearly defined. The Körös group most certainly included northern parts of Bačka; in the Banat area it occupied a part of the triangle formed by the rivers Aranka, Moriš and Tisa. The boundaries in the east stretch beyond the Iron Gates. The exact borders towards the allied group of Kremikovci in the Sofia basin are very difficult to define. The southern frontier ran, most probably, along the Preševo watershed. The isolated site of Madžari near Skopje represents only a minor tell, which very likely belongs to the Anzabegovo–Vršnik group.

Typical for the Starčevo group are open settlements (caves are known only from the site at the Iron Gates). These were erected either on gently sloping ground in the plains (the so-called *grede* in Vojvodina) or on ridges in the vicinity of springs and streams; sometimes settlements were founded on the terraced slopes of river banks. One rarely finds settlements in places which would have been very suitable for defence, such as Vučedol by Vukovar on the Danube.[97] It is rather significant that the sites never possess the character of a tell and that the majority of them have only one layer. This clearly points to the existence of a more primitive agricultural development or even to cyclical movements of primitive land-tillers within this same group.

The principal type of dwelling in this group is said to be the pit-dwelling. The relevant data in archaeological reports, however, are often insufficient to permit of any definite conclusion. It looks as though the pits of Starčevo V a and VI could certainly be considered to be pit-dwellings. Rectangular houses constructed above ground are rare. Such a shape is known from the site at Gladnice near Gračanica (Kosovo). In it wattle was placed in the foundation ditch.[98] In Starčevo,

[94] A 195. *Contra*: A 213.
[95] A 162, 17ff, 594ff.
[96] A 213.
[97] Cf. n. 95.
[98] A 162, 17ff. For the late house see D. Garašanin and R. Ehrich, 'Excavations' (unpublished).

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in a later layer of the settlement, the remains of a house along with a compact mass of wattle and daub were discovered. Remains of some houses with a somewhat irregular rectangular foundation, a flooring of beaten earth, and wattled walls are known also from the Starčevo layer at Lepenski Vir III b. Part of a building whose walls were made of split saplings was discovered at Baštine near Obrež in Srem (Starčevo III).

It was found that corpses were buried within the settlement in a contracted position with no particular orientation. Not much attention was paid to the dead. By far the greater number of graves (Saraorci, Baštine) were without gifts. Exceptions were two graves from Tečići near Svetozarevo in central Serbia, where some vessels in the graves were gifts (Starčevo II b).[99] A collective grave at Vinča belonging to a very late phase of the Starčevo group deserves special attention. A pit with access in the form of a *dromos* contained skeletons piled in disorder. Presumably the pit had been used primarily as a dwelling.[100]

Tools made of polished stone are rare. At Starčevo and at Baštine obsidian, which came originally from Erdel (Transylvania), was indicative of lively relations with more distant regions. The shapes of axes vary from flat to tongue- and last-shaped. Among bone tools spatulae are known as well as weights of various shapes and spindle whorls. In Tečići pintaderas were discovered.[101]

Pottery is classified according to its technique as fine, ordinary and coarse, as in the case of the Balkano-Anatolian complex. As a rule, however, the quality of firing was much poorer, which often resulted in a black core. Another characteristic of this group is the predominance of coarse pottery over fine; the latter being mostly grey, brown and only rarely red in colour. Decoration of fine pottery is usually in paint, but is relatively rare. The varieties of painted pottery are identical with those of the Anzabegovo–Vršnik II–IV group. To this one has to add ware bearing polychrome painting. In most cases dark striped patterns are bordered by white lines.[102] The coarsely made pottery has predominantly Barbotine decoration; its repertory of shapes is already known from the Anzabegovo–Vršnik group. Impresso ornamentation is rare, and impression by shells or an imitation of it are completely lacking.[103] Most frequently represented is incised ornamentation (fig. 14).[104]

The Starčevo group has relatively few examples of plastic art. Characteristic of it are the figurines already mentioned with greatly extended necks, which in fact present the entire stubby figures themselves. A second type has exaggerated breasts and a bell-shaped lower part of the torso (the so-called 'Venus of Starčevo'). Finally there are

[99] A 162, 17ff.
[100] *Ibid.*; A 264, II, 9ff (with illustrations).
[101] A 195, 48ff (with illustrations); A 162, 30ff.
[102] A 195, 62ff (with illustrations).
[103] *Ibid.*
[104] *Ibid.*

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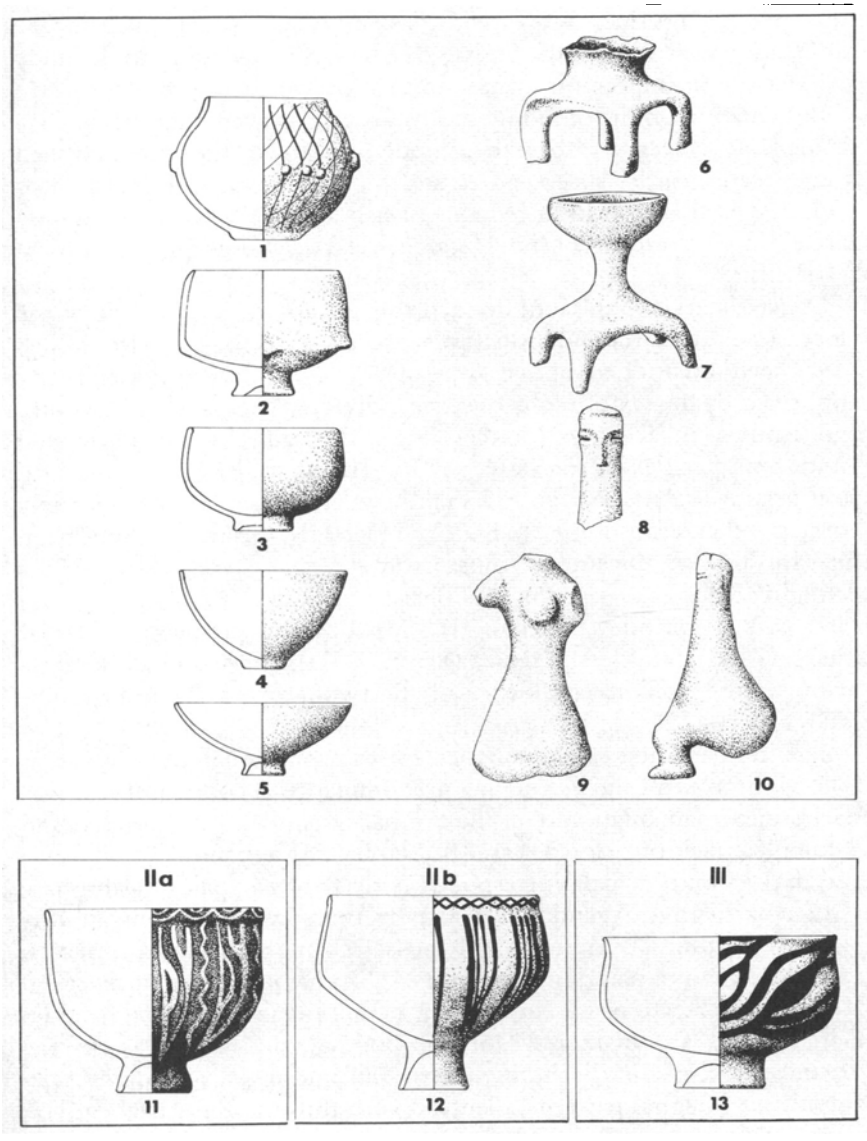

Fig. 14. Early and Middle Neolithic. Carpatho-Central Balkan complex. Starčevo group. (After M. Garašanin.)

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steatopygous figurines. It is only the second type of these figurines that can be safely ascribed to the Starčevo II b phase, according to the finds at Pavlovac in the region of the Južna Morava (fig. 14, 9).[105]

Information on the economy of this group has been relatively poorly studied. It is certain that the population tilled the soil and had domesticated cattle, sheep, goats and pigs. Bones afford evidence of hunting. At Starčevo itself remains of fish and shells were found only rarely. In contrast, at Baštine (Starčevo III) a whole pit was full of sea-shells.[106]

D. Aradjelović-Garašanin divided this group on the grounds of the closed finds from the individual pits into the three basic phases which have been mentioned above (p. 101).[107] This division was partly confirmed by the stratigraphy of some individual sites, such as Gladnice and Rudnik in Kosovo (Starčevo II a–III), and by the horizontal stratigraphy at Pavlovac (Starčevo II a–III) as well as by the vertical stratigraphy of Anzabegovo and Vršnik, where phases II–IV completely correspond in terms of time to Starčevo II–III. In this respect finds from pits are also significant, or those from the one-layered sites which certainly belong to one of the phases such as Vinkovci Ervenica (Starčevo I), Baštine (Starčevo III), Mužlja near Zrenjanin in Banat (Starčevo III), Vinkovci Tržnica (Starčevo III), and Crnokalačka Bara in the vicinity of the confluence of the two Morava rivers in Serbia (Starčevo III).[108]

The fundamental characteristics of the individual phases are as follows. Starčevo I shows a strong predominance of coarse pottery with Barbotine ornamentation over the ordinary, monochrome pottery, and a complete lack of painted ware. In Starčevo II a, painting is in white and dark colours which corresponds entirely to the painting in phase II of Anzabegovo–Vršnik; here already the spiral ornament appears painted in white.[109] Starčevo II b possesses the same characteristics, except that white painting disappears. The characteristics of Starčevo III, after correction of the earlier definition by D. Arandjelović-Garašanin,[110] are an increase of fine pottery and an increase of the organized motifs in Barbotine decoration; also to be noted is an abundance of spiral patterns, identical with those of the Anzabegovo–Vršnik IV group, and polychrome painting.

It is now possible to isolate certain local variants within the Starčevo

[105] *Ibid.* 54ff. (with illustrations); A 162, pl. 7.

[106] A 162, 42ff. For economic life see the recently published *Godišnak Centra za Balkanološka istraživanja* 16 (Sarajevo, 1978), 31ff (M. Garašanin).

[107] A 195, 136ff.

[108] A 162, pl. 6; A 213, pls. XIII, 5, 10, 11; XV, 3; XVI, 5, 9; XVII, 3; XIX, 7, 9.

[109] A 162, 36ff; A 195, 136ff (with illustrations).

[110] A 188, 73ff.

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group. Thus, there is first the Moravian–Kosovo variant. The main feature of its painted pottery is the appearance of tremolo ornamentation in the colour of wine-lees. Other main characteristics in the monochrome pottery are conical red dishes with thick walls, altars with typical low conical receptacles (generally known within the Starčevo group) and ordinary rectangular altars.[111] A second variant of the Starčevo group is the eastern Bosnian, known from Gornja Tuzla, which is linked to the Starčevo III phase. In it the appearance of the spiral motif is rare, while painted meanders are more frequent. Another characteristic is the lack of plastic art.

The chronology of the Starčevo group in a wider sense can be correlated to that of the Anzabegovo–Vršnik group in accordance with the synchronism Starčevo II a–III/Anzabegovo–Vršnik II–IV. These phases of the Starčevo group, then, belong to Middle Neolithic, and Starčevo I should be tied to Early Neolithic. How is the Starčevo group related to the Gura Baciului group? Were they separated chronologically, or were they contemporary but separated and so never mingled? For the time being this question cannot be answered. The termination of the Starčevo group is marked by the beginning of the Vinča group. At the same time certain finds of dark monochrome biconical dishes in some late Starčevo sites such as Obrež, or in the pit near Vinkovci–Tržnica, point to a certain connexion between the two groups.[112]

The origin of the Starčevo group seems reasonably clear. It began in Early Neolithic with the appearance of coarse pottery of the Pannonian–Central Balkan complex, and it was closely linked to the Körös group. Both of these had been in close touch with the Balkano-Anatolian complex in regard to monochrome pottery even at an earlier stage, most probably via the Gura Baciului group. In its further development coarse pottery continued to predominate, but painted pottery also developed. This painted ware is identical with that of Anzabegovo-Vršnik II–IV. In Middle Neolithic the coarse pottery and the painted pottery exerted a strong influence over one another.

There is a close affinity between the Starčevo group and that of Kremikovci in the Sofia basin. That these two groups can hardly be separated is an assertion supported by some archaeologists who consider the Kremikovci group to be a variant of Starčevo. Shapes, technique of execution, and decoration are basically identical. Certain differences exist in the form of the divided legs of vessels, a characteristic ascribed to the influence of Karanovo, and in painted motifs resembling hatched rhomboids.[113] The stratigraphy of the Kremikovci site also

[111] A 162, 41ff.
[112] *Ibid.*; A 213, pl. XXI, 6, 8.
[113] A 230.

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proves the existence of the chronological sequence of white and dark painting.[114]

Further to the north, the settlement of Gradešnica with its three levels (A–C) may be considered a special variant between Kremikovci and Starčevo.[115] Gradešnica A, with its rectangular houses, shows the fundamental characteristics of Starčevo II a in painted pottery, but possesses typical rhomboid motifs which are nearer to Kremikovci.[116] In Gradešnica B typical characteristics are large spirals and polychrome decoration with dark and reddish linear motifs, technically very close to the Čavdar pottery. Finally in Gradešnica C, complex spiral motifs appear, as in late Starčevo.[117]

The situation at the Devetaki cave is less clear. It would seem that its painted pottery represents a transition between Kremikovci and the Criş group in Romania.[118]

(c) *The Western or Circum-Mediterranean Complex*

This complex extends very widely over the territory of Northern Africa and along the western Mediterranean littoral all the way to the Iberian Peninsula. It also includes the Apennine Peninsula, the Adriatic and Ionian coast of the Balkans, the Albanian coastline and western Greece (the Leucas site). The relationship between these cultures and the impresso pottery of the Near East is not quite clear.[119] It is certainly possible to distinguish some larger and smaller regional differences. For example *Cardium* pottery is quite well represented on the European side of the Mediterranean, especially in the Iberian Peninsula, and impresso pottery is more characteristic of the African area.[120]

The Early Neolithic of the Adriatic littoral represents a separate cultural group. According to its main sites, the Crvena Stijena cave and Smilčić near Zadar, it may be called the Crvena Stijena–Smilčić group. Its borders extend along the Adriatic littoral from Istria to Albania, but the position of the oldest sites within the group is still a matter of conjecture. In places this group had penetrated further from the coast into the interior. This was proved by the finds at Crvena Stijena and the discoveries at the cave of Odmutnjača in the valley of the Piva (Montenegro).[121] The intensive intermingling of it with the phenomena of the Starčevo group in central Bosnia will be discussed later.

Most settlements were in caves, very often with several layers. Open settlements were very rare and were invariably situated in open country which was suitable for cultivation (e.g. Smilčić, Krivača near Bribir in

[114] *Ibid.*
[115] A 249, *passim.*
[116] *Ibid.* fig. 7.
[117] *Ibid.* fig. 15.
[118] A 215, 37–47, fig. 24ff.
[119] A 163, 8ff.
[120] *Ibid.*
[121] A 197, *passim*; A 152, 68ff; A 196; A 251.

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the hinterland of the Adriatic littoral, and Nin by Zadar). Sometimes they were found near springs or streams.

Not much is known of the shapes of dwellings. Š. Batović drew attention to a large deposit of pottery and certain buildings containing wattle and daub, spherical in shape with a radius of ten metres; in his opinion these represent some dwelling places. The settlements seem to have been circular and protected by a ditch. The dwellings were generally placed on the periphery of the settlement, so that the central part was an open space.[122]

Not enough is known as yet about the burial rites (for instance at Smilčić and Zelena Pećina at the source of the Buna near Mostar). Skeletons of adults and of a child in a contracted position were discovered in the settlement itself. At Smilčić a skull cult was confirmed.[123]

The inventory relating to the culture of this group is well known. On the basis of its chief characteristics it has been divided into three main phases. Phase I, which is particularly well known from the Crvena Pećina III and Markova Špilja sites and in a later form from the site of Zelena Pećina,[124] is singled out by having a small number of flint tools which in the Crvena Stijena site show a microlithic tradition. One must mention specifically the Campignian-type axe from the Markova Špilja site,[125] and it was noticed that the awls and points were made of bone. The main characteristic of this group is pottery made of a clay mixed with mica or sand, brown or murky in colour; vessels are spherical and as a rule have a flat base. The impresso ornamentation was done by finger impressions, by fingernail incisions and in particular by shell impressions (*Cardium*). Pottery discovered at Markova Špilja is of a more primitive kind, while that at Zelena Pećina has more developed forms not only in decoration but also in shape. Thus there are for instance the hemispherical vessels standing on ring bases and fragments of a four-legged rhyton with an opening at the side and a tubular handle decorated by incision. Of these only the handles were preserved.[126] In phase II, which is best known from Smilčić, there were millstones and whetstones as well as a variety of bone tools (chisels, tools for smoothing surfaces, awls and sewing needles). In pottery *Cardium* ware predominates. There is also some burnished ornamentation, while finger or fingernail technique in decoration is rarer.[127] Fine monochrome red or brown pottery is also known. Vessels are smaller in size and are embellished with batches of patterns in *Cardium*

[122] A 197, 26ff.

[123] *Ibid.* 68ff.

[124] *Ibid.* esp. 166ff; A 152; A 251. With more details: *Praistorija Jugoslavije* II (Sarajevo 1979) 363ff, contributions by Batović and Benac..

[125] *Ibid.*

[126] A 196, pl. VIII; A 152, pl. IX, 1–4.

[127] *Ibid.*; A 197, 148ff.

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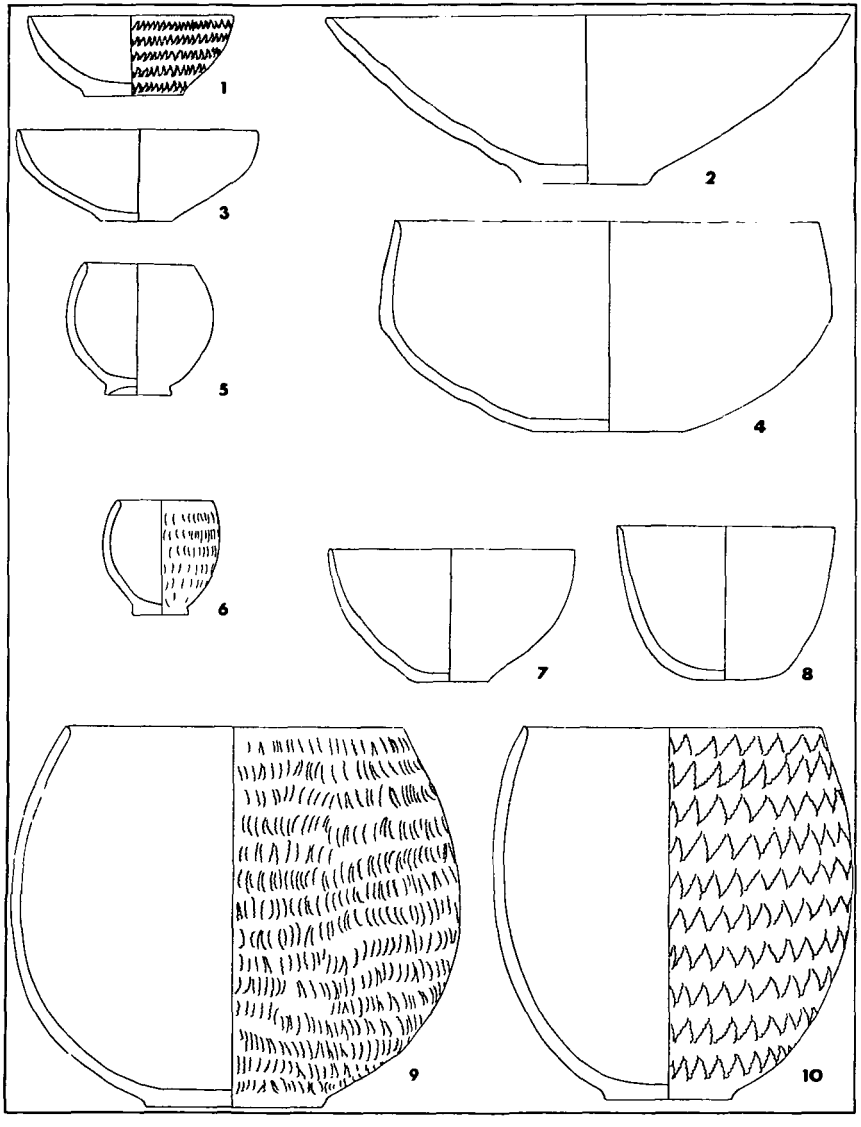

Fig. 15. Early Neolithic. Circum-Mediterranean complex with impressed pottery. (After Š. Batović.)

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technique.[128] Phase III, the existence of which is confirmed by material of the impresso type at Obre in the intermediate zone of the Balkans, often possesses impressed decoration in the tremolo style, which is rare in phase II.[129] Incised motifs are also used as ornamentation. Perforated shells, particularly *Spondylus*,[130] were used for personal adornment (fig. 15).

The economy of this group evolved without interruption. In its earliest phase (Crvena Stijena III) one still has to take account of the prevalence of hunting and food-gathering. In phase II, when open settlements appeared, the evidence shows that agriculture and particularly stock-breeding were practised. Sheep, goats and oxen were reared and somewhat more rarely pigs and dogs.[131]

The chronology of this group can be established with certainty on the basis of the discoveries from Obre I, and we shall deal with them in our further discussion. There is evidence that the impresso pottery, especially the ware with the tremolo motif, appeared simultaneously with that of Starčevo II b. Consequently one may assume that earlier phases were parallel with the earlier phases of Starčevo. With regard to Italy there is undoubtedly a connexion with the groups of Molfetta and Stentinello. The Mesolithic traditions in flint tools of Crvena Stijena indicate that the beginning of the group was very early. The radiocarbon dating is the fifth to the sixth millennium.[132]

The origins of this particular group are linked with the whole problem of the genesis of the West Mediterranean complex. The research work carried out in Apulia proved that very early phases of impresso ware there were associated with an economy based on food-gathering only.[133] The unbroken continuity of phases I and II indicated that there was a gradual evolution from the food-gathering stage to the classical Neolithic economy; this in turn would suggest an autochthonous origin. What is not clear is the relationship between phases I and II of the impresso ware and the *Cardium* and impresso pottery of the eastern Mediterranean.[134] Perhaps it might be assumed that the pottery from these regions was taken over and then developed further, or that it was transferred, probably by sea, to the shores of the Iberian Peninsula.

The Middle Neolithic Danilo group presents a special problem because of its relation to the impresso group (Crvena Stijena III–Smilčić) and its origins. It covers the same area as that of Early Neolithic. Types of settlement are identical; the caves seem to have been only temporarily inhabited; the open settlements very often have several strata (Smilčić,

[128] A 197, 148ff.
[129] *Ibid.*
[130] *Ibid.*
[131] *Ibid.* 76ff.
[132] *Ibid.* 176ff; A 205, 92ff.
[133] A 221.
[134] A 163, 14.

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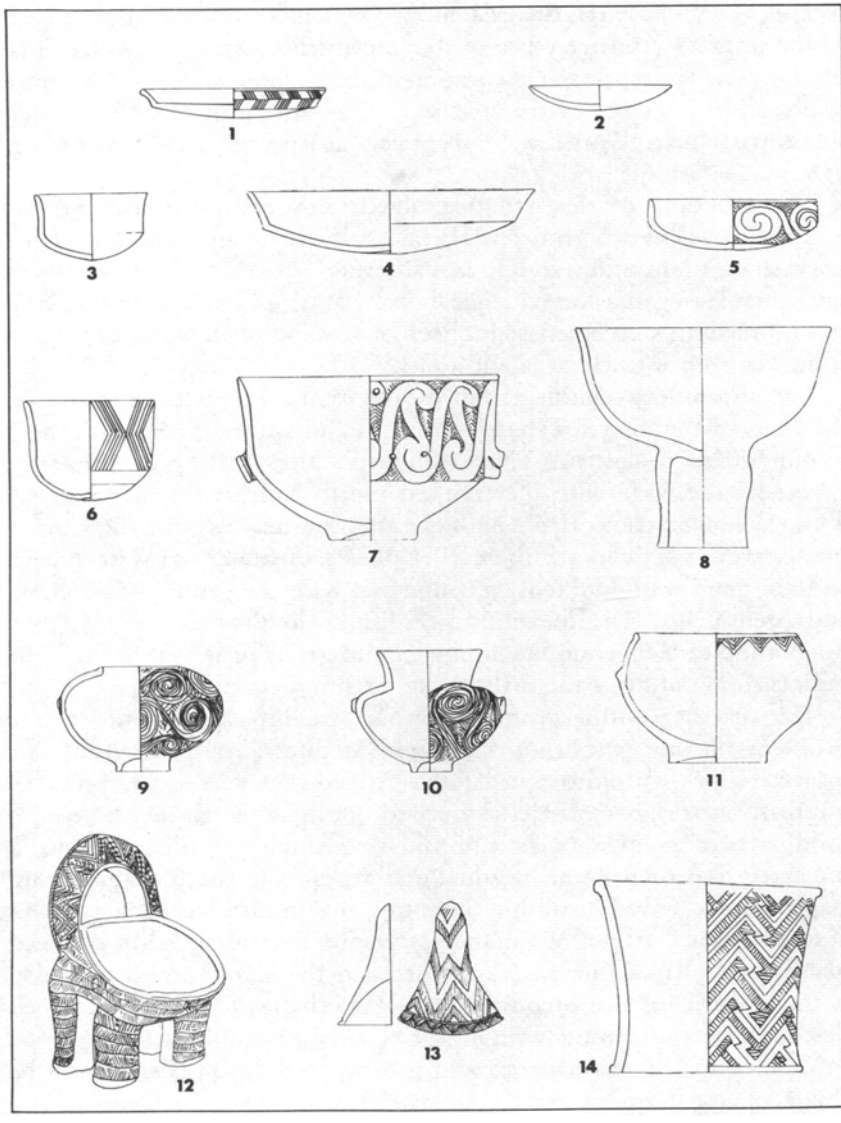

Fig. 16. Middle Neolithic. Circum-Mediterranean complex. Danilo group. (After Š. Batović.)

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Bribir). Apparently the types of dwelling remained unchanged, and the settlements were protected by a ditch.[135] Our knowledge of their burial rites is very scanty. Skeletons in a contracted position have been found and there is evidence of the skull cult.[136] The flint industry resembles that of the preceding period and the use of obsidian is also in evidence. Mention should be made of stone arrow-heads and polished axes, both tongue-like and last-shaped; the latter, however, are rather rare.[137]

The pottery of this group is different from that of Early Neolithic. Its basic shapes are amphorae, variants of biconical bowls, spherical vessels on a ring base, dishes on tall pedestals and the rhyta already mentioned. Decoration consists chiefly of incised motifs such as bundles of parallel lines arranged in alternate rows of metopes, scattered triangles, garlands and spiral motifs in the shape of the letters S or (more rarely) C. These motifs are often hatched; encrustation is also common, particularly in red and less frequently in white.[138] A separate phenomenon is painted pottery with rectilinear geometrical motifs often forming metopes (rhomboids, a series of triangles, chequered squares, etc.). Painting is carried out mostly on a white background and the motifs are in brown with a red border.[139] Statuettes are rather rare. What had been interpreted as stocky figures are believed by some scholars to be phalli, as in the Danilo group.[140] Human or animal figurines are fewer in number (fig. 16).

The economy of the group is similar to that of the more developed phases of Early Neolithic. Chronologically the group follows the culture with the impresso pottery. The painted ware is closely linked to the Ripoli pottery of Italy. The polychrome motifs with geometrical patterns point to a link with the Scaloria Bassa group which, in the area of Foggia, preceded the pottery of Serra D'Alto, which has spiral ornamentation.[141] Provisionally this group can be placed within the framework of the classic Dhimini group of Thessaly, which means that the Danilo group is to be placed in a somewhat earlier epoch. To a certain extent this interpretation is confirmed by the appearance of rhyta, although these were evidently in use for a long time and are therefore chronologically insensitive. Yet the fact that rhyta appeared in the early phase of the Dhimini group, at Tsangli at any rate and later in the Otzaki phase of the same group, suggests such a provisional synchronism.[142]

Thus, a whole series of the above-mentioned elements indicates that the process of the Danilo group development ran uninterruptedly from

[135] A 152, 75ff; A 196, 89ff.
[136] A 196, 96; A 240, 25.
[137] A 196, 97ff; A 240, pls. VII–XI.
[138] A 196, pls. VII–XII; A 240, pls. XXVIIIff.
[139] A 240, pls. XCVII–CXIII.
[140] A 198.
[141] A 221.
[142] A 205, 57ff.

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the Early Neolithic of the West Mediterranean groups. On the other hand the decoration of the Danilo pottery is completely different from the ornamentation of the latter. The painted ware of the West Mediterranean groups could certainly be explained as due to a penetration of more developed forms of painted pottery from Thessaly. Similar influence from that direction was felt on the Yugoslav side of the Adriatic littoral in the Middle Neolithic period.[143] Yet the appearance of rhytons presents a special problem. The fact that rhytons were in use frequently and for a long time within the framework of the Adriatic Neolithic (Zelena Pećina III, Danilo group, and later the Kakanj group) suggests that the rhyton must have originated in this region. That rhytons of identical character appeared also in Albania and in Greece could be explained by a wide *koine* in the matter of cult rituals rather than by any direct genetic ties with the distant cultures of Thessaly.

(d) *The Transitional Zone*

It has been mentioned earlier that in the Neolithic period a mixed culture appeared in that part of the hinterland of the Adriatic littoral which is connected to the central Balkan region via the tributaries of the river Sava flowing from the area of the Danubian watershed. Within the limits of this region there was an intermingling of the elements both of the West Mediterranean complex and the Pannonian–Central Balkan complex. Much more light has been shed upon this phenomenon by recent research work at the site of Obre I near Kakanj in the valley of the Trstionica, a tributary of the Bosna. The excavations carried out in this locality by A. Benac showed the existence of four successive phases of life within Middle Neolithic, according to our dating. The so-called Kakanj group was formed during the last two of these phases as a characteristic phenomenon of the central Bosnian area.[144]

No burials other than those of children were found in phase II.[145] In the majority of these burials the skeleton was in a contracted position, but one was in an extended position. There was evidence of partial burials. Of special interest is Grave no. 8 with a flooring of clay on which a fire had burned. On the floor there was a stone cist containing bones of children and animals. The cist itself had been covered with stones. Next to it there was another stone structure containing funerary offerings. These graves suggest the existence of sacrificial burials of children.

House remains belong to phase II (Proto-Kakanj). Houses were rectangular in shape with flooring and walls of wood constructed in various ways.[146]

[143] A 221, 287ff.
[144] A 205, 57ff.
[145] *Ibid.* 23ff.
[146] *Ibid.* 11ff.

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The main characteristic of phase I is the appearance of the Starčevo pottery in coarse Barbotine and painted ware. The painting is in dark geometrical patterns on a light background. In addition there are typical Starčevo altars with characteristic Adriatic impresso pottery decorated with tremolo motifs. Similarly in phase II impresso pottery appears more frequently.[147] In phase III the Starčevo painted ware and the Adriatic impresso pottery disappear, while the Barbotine pottery continues alongside a new kind of ware with incised ornamentation (bands, triangles, rhomboids, more often hatched). These are linked to the Middle Neolithic culture of the Adriatic. Another characteristic is a monochrome ware; its bowls have a variety of shapes and its spherical dishes often have a ring-base. The first rhyta of the Adriatic type appear.[148]

Phase IV represents a more developed Kakanj group. Vessels with tall hollow conical stems appear more frequently, alongside bowls with thicker rims and characteristic rhyta embellished with incised motifs resembling barbed wire.[149] In the eponymous site of Kakanj the Barbotine ornamentation appears in addition to incised hatched motifs and vertical plastic ribs.[150]

The chronology of these finds is determined by the appearance of Starčevo elements in phase I and II (Starčevo II b). This puts the dating of phase III (Proto-Kakanj) in the period of Starčevo III; phase IV, however, may correspond to the beginning of Late Neolithic (Vinča–Turdaş I).[151]

Certain elements of the West Mediterranean complex penetrated also into the central Balkans via the valley of the Drin. The discoveries made at Mala Trnska Tumba near Bitola (Pelagonia), with their typically Adriatic incised ornaments and the fragments of a rhyton,[152] prove this, as do the finds from Reštane and partly those of Hisar near Suva Reka, which possesses similar features.[153] The results of the study of these discoveries, however, are not yet widely publicized.

(e) *The Late Balkano-Anatolian Complex* (*The Middle Neolithic of Thrace*)

In our earlier discussions we mentioned the Late Balkano-Anatolian complex. The character of its culture differs considerably from that of Early Balkano-Anatolian. This difference is particularly noticeable in the pottery, which was produced by an entirely new technique and is, to a great extent, different in shape and ornamentation. The difference is

[147] *Ibid.* 49ff (with illustrations).
[148] *Ibid.* 57ff (with illustrations).
[149] *Ibid.* 60ff (with illustrations).
[150] Cf. also A 152, 41ff, pls. 9–10.
[151] A 205, 73ff.
[152] A 180, cat. nos. 306–9; A 181, cat. nos. 179–85.
[153] A 162, 153ff, pl. 27.

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manifested also in the types of settlement and in the variety and richness of plastic art. The only element in common, its chief characteristic, is the dark grey and black pottery; this colouring being obtained by a gradual reduction in the time of firing. Since the shapes and ornamentation differ to a large extent from the pottery of the earlier period, the view has been expressed that here are entirely new phenomena which changed the character of the earlier cultures. When one turns to the origins of the individual groups, one certainly has to take into account the symbiosis and intermingling of new elements with those of the earlier Neolithic, as in the transition from Pre-Neolithic to Neolithic.[154]

Most groups in the Late Balkano-Anatolian complex belong to Late Neolithic. In Thrace, however, the first manifestations of this complex appeared even earlier, in the course of Middle Neolithic; such is the case with Karanovo II and III. These groups were closely linked together both in their genesis and in their development, as well as with Karanovo IV – which in fact belongs to Late Neolithic.

The Karanovo II group of Thrace covers roughly the same area as Karanovo I. The Karanovo II group is well known from the Thracian tells.[155] Basic shapes of houses remained unaltered during its life. The same is true of the microlith industry which possesses a sharp retouch; sickles, millstones, mortars and spatulae kept the same characteristic shapes, and these persisted in Karanovo III.

A special characteristic of the group is a dark monochrome pottery, predominantly grey or black. The technique of its production gives it a greasy surface and a soapy texture which is typical of Vršnik II pottery. As regards the shapes the *Tulpenbecher* form is still retained, but new shapes such as jugs appear and handles are often placed on the shoulders or the body of the vessel. The most outstanding feature of this ware is the use of rippled ornamentation set in parallel lines or in vertical chevrons.[156] Plastic art is similar in type to that of Karanovo I, and there are statuettes with grossly enlarged necks.[157] It has to be specifically pointed out that white painting has disappeared and that painting *per se* is alien to this group (fig. 12, 6–8).

In terms of chronology it is significant that this group is connected with phase II of the Anzabegovo–Vršnik group, which puts the dating of it into Middle Neolithic. A conspicuous resemblance in shapes and motifs of certain vessels suggests a link with the Sesklo group of Thessaly.[158]

There is no doubt that Karanovo II and the later phase of Karanovo III are connected by a series of elements with the preceding stage of Karanovo I. On the other hand sharp changes in the character, forms

[154] A 167, cat. no. 47; A 180, cat. no. 85.
[155] A 169, 57ff; A 173, 10.
[156] A 169, pls. VIII–IX.
[157] A 169, pl. VIII, 6; A 188, 80.
[158] *Ibid.*; A 188, 80.

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and ornamentation of the pottery prove that a certain disruption of continuity took place. Whereas in the Anzabegovo–Vršnik group the new elements which appeared in phase II soon lost their significance, the new elements in Thrace caused a change which affected the further development of the culture. One can therefore assume that the culture of Karanovo II was possibly due to the penetration of new elements (which we may call a Thracian culture). These in turn were assimilated with the elements inherited from Karanovo I, while at the same time retaining their dominant character.

Karanovo III is in fact no more than a continuation of Karanovo II. Both cover the same area, but Karanovo III penetrates further northwards to the Sofia basin (Ginova Mogila–Čelopeč); its influence is felt also in north-eastern Bulgaria.[159] While Karanovo is its chief site, Jasa Tepe at Plovdiv is also important.[160] In the Kazanlak tell a transitional phase was found between Karanovo II and III, and this confirmed the continuity of the two groups beyond any doubt.[161]

Pottery of Karanovo III retains the basic characteristics of Karanovo II. Fingernail ornamentation is more frequently found with the coarsely made ware. Typical shapes in monochrome pottery are pitchers, shallow dishes, cylindrical vessels (including the so-called '*Krügel*'). It was observed that many vessels had several tall feet, and that handles with small knobs in their upper section were characteristic (fig. 12, 9–14).[162] Typical too were 'altars', very often with two plaques connecting two opposite sides of the vessel; these were decorated with incised patterns.[163]

These two Balkano-Anatolian groups can be attributed on the ground of stratigraphical position to phases III and IV of the Anzabegovo–Vršnik group in terms of chronology. The above-mentioned altars confirm that there was certainly a connexion with phase IV of the Anzabegovo group, because identical altars were found there. Another significant factor is that biconical bowls typical of Vinča appeared at Jasa Tepe towards the end of Karanovo III; these bowls at Vinča belong to the very beginning of the Vinča group (Vinča–Turdaş I).[164] Consequently the end of Karanovo III coincided approximately with the end of the Anzabegovo–Vršnik group.

3. *Late Neolithic*

The difference between Late Neolithic and the preceding stages is most apparent to the archaeologist in the character only of the movable

[159] A 169, 65ff, pls. XI–XIV; A 173, 11ff.
[160] A 209; A 210.
[161] A 173, 11ff.
[162] A 169, pls. X, 1; XI, 3–5; XII, 1–2.
[163] A 169, 65ff.
[164] *Ibid.* pl. XIV, 4.

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inventory, especially pottery and to a certain extent plastic art. Other characteristics of the epoch, such as its economy, have not as yet been sufficiently studied. In consequence, although some differences can certainly be established between Late Neolithic on one hand and Early and Middle Neolithic on the other, it is not possible to institute a full comparison. It must be borne in mind also that Neolithic culture lasted longer over a large area of the Balkans than it did in the neighbouring area of the eastern Balkans and the Carpathian basin (see below, pp. 118f.). It is not surprising, therefore, that when metal appeared in the late stages of the Neolithic culture of individual groups, such as the Vinča group, it did not affect the character of that culture or change its way of life or economy.

In the Late Neolithic period a large part of the Balkan Peninsula was occupied by groups of the Balkano-Anatolian complex, which spread over a part of the Pannonian–Central Balkan complex, particularly over the Danubian plain (i.e. the plain between the Stara Planina range and the Carpathians, including the southern part of Pannonia and the area adjacent to the river Sava). Along the Adriatic littoral there developed a particular culture which was chiefly based on Middle Neolithic. In the intermediate zone the Butmir group developed.

(a) *The Late Balkano-Anatolian Complex*

The Karanovo IV group developed within the eastern part of this complex. To the north of the Stara Planina range several local groups evolved, such as Dudeşti, Bolintineanu and Vădastra I. Further to the west in the area of the central Balkans there were the Vinča group and in Macedonia the Zelenikovo II. In southern Pannonia and in the Sava region there developed the Sopot–Lengyel group, a special phenomenon connected geographically with the central European area.

The Karanovo IV group is well known from sites in Thrace, where it represents a direct continuation of the Middle Neolithic group of Karanovo III. Apart from Karanovo itself, other important sites are Kalojanovec and Nova Zagora.[165]

At this time, in addition to tells, settlements of the open type appeared. They were mostly built in the plains or on river terraces (Nova Zagora), and they were characterized by rectangular houses built above the gound. Each house had two rooms, with a hearth in the back room and an entrance in the narrow side of the front room, but not positioned centrally. The walls were of wattle.[166] In addition to flint tools there appeared mortars, chisels and axes, mostly last-shaped. The pottery of this complex is of poor quality. Its surface is smoothed but not polished and usually dark in colour. There is, however, a ware of finer quality

[165] A 239 (with illustrations). [166] *Ibid.*

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which is polished and sometimes has a shiny slip. Basic shapes are biconical bowls of various profiles (carinated bowls or plainly biconical vessels with an elongated cylindrical neck and a not very pronounced shoulder), small amphorae, conical vessels and vessels with a curved profile, plates with gently curved profile, and plates with indented rims.[167] Vertical or slanting rippled ornamentation is characteristic. This type of embellishment sometimes appears on pottery at Oblučište, which is very close to the Vinča group ware. Spiral and rippled patterns are also to be found on amphorae.[168] The plates are embellished on the inside by incised motifs which are complex and arranged in combinations of spirals and meanders; the incisions are sometimes encrusted with white.[169] Handles are horn-shaped with nodules on the upper section, as in the case of the above-mentioned amphorae. Sometimes they may have facial features, for example the so-called bird-faces. Some terracotta statuettes with greatly enlarged stomachs represent women in pregnancy; others are cylindrical in shape and others again are steatopygous.[170] Very often one finds vessels with incised marks, which may be interpreted as signs of ownership.[171]

The fact that this group is connected with that of Vinča is of special significance for the chronology. Shapes of vessels, horn-like handles, birds' faces, figurines of the pregnant type, all point in the main to Vinča–Turdaş II, while ornamentation arranged in sheafs on the inner side of plates indicates the intermediate period between Vinča–Turdaş and the Vinča–Pločnik (Gradac) phase of the Morava basin. This agrees with the statement (above, p. 115) that in the final phase of Karanovo III (Jasa Tepe) there are shapes which are linked to the Vinča–Turdaş phase I.

There is no doubt whatsoever that the Karanovo IV group represents the continuation of Karanovo III, and this is indicated also by horn-like handles with nodules. Taking everything into account we may conclude that this development was the result of closer contact with the neighbouring Vinča group; for the latter had in a later phase (the Gradac phase) adopted the form of ornamentation which had formerly been developed at Karanovo IV.

In the area north of the Stara Planina range there are groups which are closely connected with the Wallachian plain. These also belong to the Balkano-Anatolian complex.

The Dudeşti group, with settlements in plains and often on river terraces, in which three phases can be differentiated,[172] contains several varieties of pottery. In the coarsely made ware decoration with the

[167] *Ibid.*
[168] *Ibid.*
[169] *Ibid.* Cf. A 169, pl. XV, 1–4, 7–9, 12–13.
[170] A 239.
[171] *Ibid.*
[172] A 2, 27f. Pls. 3, 3; 5, 5–7; 6, 1. A 56, 195ff.

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fingernail prevails. Plain pottery is most typical, though; this is grey or reddish in colour with meandroid or spiral incised ornamentation (phase I); there are hatched patterns (in phase II) and patterns arranged in steps (phase III). This group has from the very beginning a dark monochrome pottery with rippled ornamentation including zig-zag patterns. This phenomenon links it to the Balkano-Anatolian complex. Figurines with an over-emphasized neck are characteristic. This and the decoration with the fingernail suggest a connexion with Karanovo III. Indeed the zig-zag rippled patterns are found already in Karanovo II.

The Bolintineanu group extends over approximately the same area. It is well represented by coarse pottery in which Barbotine decoration prevails, sometimes with systematized patterns. The chief characteristic of this group is pottery with incised ornamentation; the most typical motifs are those resembling barbed wire. Here too dark monochrome ware of Balkano-Anatolian character with rippled decoration predominates. There are horizontal ripples on the neck below the rim and ripples representing plaiting on the curving shoulder of vessels. This group is slightly younger than the Dudeşti group, as we can see at Cernica, where the two groups are in part separated from one another in the stratigraphy. There are also separate pits containing material of the Dudeşti type.[173] The character of the Barbotine decoration points to connexions with late Starčevo. A somewhat later phenomenon in our complex is the Vădastra group, which is chronologically linked to the Vinča–Turdaş II phase.[174].

The most important phenomenon of the late Balkano-Anatolian complex is the Vinča group, where it is possible to trace the complete evolution. This group, which had a long-lasting Neolithic culture, covers the whole of the Late Neolithic period and runs parallel in part to the Eneolithic period of neighbouring regions. This culture may be divided into several phases, marked A–D as in the chronological system of F. Holste and V. Milojčic, or into Vinča–Turdaş (with phases I and II), and Vinča–Pločnik (with phases I, II a and II b), as I have preferred, but with the reservation that the most important change in the evolution of the Vinča culture took place at the transition from Vinča–Turdaş II to Vinča–Pločnik I.[175]

Generally speaking the territory of the Vinča group coincides with that of the Starčevo group with a few minor exceptions. The Vinča group covers the whole of present-day Serbia with Kosovo and part of Vojvodina in southern Pannonia; its western limits stretch far into the south along the valleys of the Drina and Lim (Beran Krš). It also covers north-eastern Bosnia and the watershed area between the Sava,

[173] A 39, 93ff.; 54, 27ff. [174] A 2, 30.
[175] A 192, 70ff; A 162, 65–139; 598–605; A 264; A 265.

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Drava and Danube, mainly in Srem, on the right bank of the Danube. In Banat, in its initial phase (Vinča–Turdaş I), it stretches to the Moriš. Later it withdraws a little southwards from the triangle formed by the Aranka, Moriš and Tisa, where the so-called Tisa group takes its place. The Vinča group is spread also over the Romanian Banat, east of the Iron Gates, in Oltenia and in particular in Transylvania, where exceptionally significant sites (Turdaş/Tordos, Tartaria) are located. To the east and the south the limits in all probability coincide with those of the Starčevo group. Certain elements of the Vinča group can be traced as far as the Sofia basin, but from there the position is somewhat unclear. Because the Vinča group penetrated into eastern Macedonia (Anzabegovo, Vršnik), its southern border lay south of the Preševo watershed.[176]

The settlements of the Vinča group consist frequently of several layers. At Vinča and at Supska, on the Velika Morava, one can trace all phases of the Vinča group. In a number of sites it is possible to trace individual phases. The sites with many layers are certainly indicative of a more organized life and of a primitive agricultural economy. The settlements, however, do not possess the character of tells, except those in eastern Bosnia. They are, in most cases, made on river banks, on gentle slopes in the vicinity of a water-source or, as in the Vojvodina plain, on low knolls, the so-called *grede*. Later on in the transition to the Vinča–Pločnik phase settlements appear which are fortified on a dominating position, convenient for defence (e.g. Gradac on the river Južna Morava near Leskovac, Valač by Kosovo, Pljosna Stijena near Radoinja in south-western Serbia). It has not been established with certainty that the ditches made for defence at Gradac are to be connected with this group. Similarly the problem of the ditches at Vinča is not clear.[177] It has been found that some settlements in the Pannonian plain, such as Kormadin for example (Vinča–Pločnik II), were also fortified.[178]

It has been established that pit-dwellings were used as temporary dwelling-places during the building of a settlement. Rectangular two-roomed houses are known to exist from the earlier phases with wattle walls and a floor of tamped earth; sometimes the floor has a substructure, as at Vinča.[179] Some megaron-shaped buildings were discovered at Banjica near Belgrade.[180] In the late phase of the Vinča group (Vinča–Pločnik II) there were three-roomed houses (Vinča, Kormadin). At Kormadin the central room had a hearth above which a *bucranium* was placed, while the last chamber served as a store. At

[176] A 162, 67ff.
[177] A 236, 9ff.
[178] A 237, 113ff, 126ff (with illustrations).
[179] A 162, 70ff (with illustrations).
[180] A 263, 10ff (with illustrations).

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Vinča, Kormadin and Baranda (Banat, Vinča–Turdaş II) it was established that the walls were painted and at Vinča and Zarkovo near Belgrade, that pits were used as corn stores.[181] The houses at Vinča and Banjica were arranged in parallel rows.

As a rule burials were made inside the settlement itself, but at Botoš in Banat a separate cemetery was found. The dead were interred in a contracted position, but neither the position nor the orientation of the skeletons conformed to a regular pattern. Certain vessels from Vinča and from the site of 'Potporanjer Grenze' in Banat (Vinča–Turdaş I) were interpreted as funerary urns. This, however, cannot be vouched for, because an expert analysis of the bones in the urns was never carried out.[182]

The inventory of the group is rich and varied, and it is possible to trace its evolution through individual phases. In the Vinča–Turdaş I phase (some layers at Vinča being up to eight metres deep) there are various kinds of flint tools. Obsidian was in use, being imported from Transylvania, and continued until the end of the Vinča-Pločnik I phase.[183] Last-shaped, tongue-shaped and elliptical axes are typical. Among tools made of bone one finds chisels, fish-hooks and harpoons, and these can be traced through the whole evolution of the group. Stone-working reached its zenith in Vinča–Turdaş II (the Vinča layer of this phase being from 8 to 6·5/6 metres deep); but in the Vinča–Pločnik I phase stone-working declined abruptly in the layers from 6·5/6 m to 4·1 m, the reason no doubt being the introduction of copper. Objects made of copper existed at Vinča, Divostin, Grivac, Gornja Tuzla (Bosnia) and Gomolava on the river Sava in Srem. In most cases they were copper necklaces and small objects and fragments of oxidized copper mineral.[184] During this period the first polished stone tools with an opening for handles appear; in particular there was a flourishing bone industry. In the Vinča–Pločnik II phase (at Vinča the depth was between 4·1 m and 3 m approximately) the stone industry suddenly declined and the majority of forms disappeared.

The chief characteristic of the group is pottery, especially the fine variety and the ordinary, monochrome dark variety. By far the largest number of vessels are black and grey; sometimes there is a fine, lustrous, polished slip on them, especially in the ware of the Vinča–Turdaş I phase.[185] The black-topped technique is typical, particularly as applied to 'fruit-stands'. In Vinča–Turdaş II grey pottery with a polished surface and an oily sheen is striking; it is comparable to Minyan ware in the Aegean area. This kind of pottery is also well represented at sites

[181] A 225.
[182] A 220.
[183] A 256. For bone implements: A 257.
[184] A 290.
[185] A 162, 84ff. A 264; A 265 (with illustrations).

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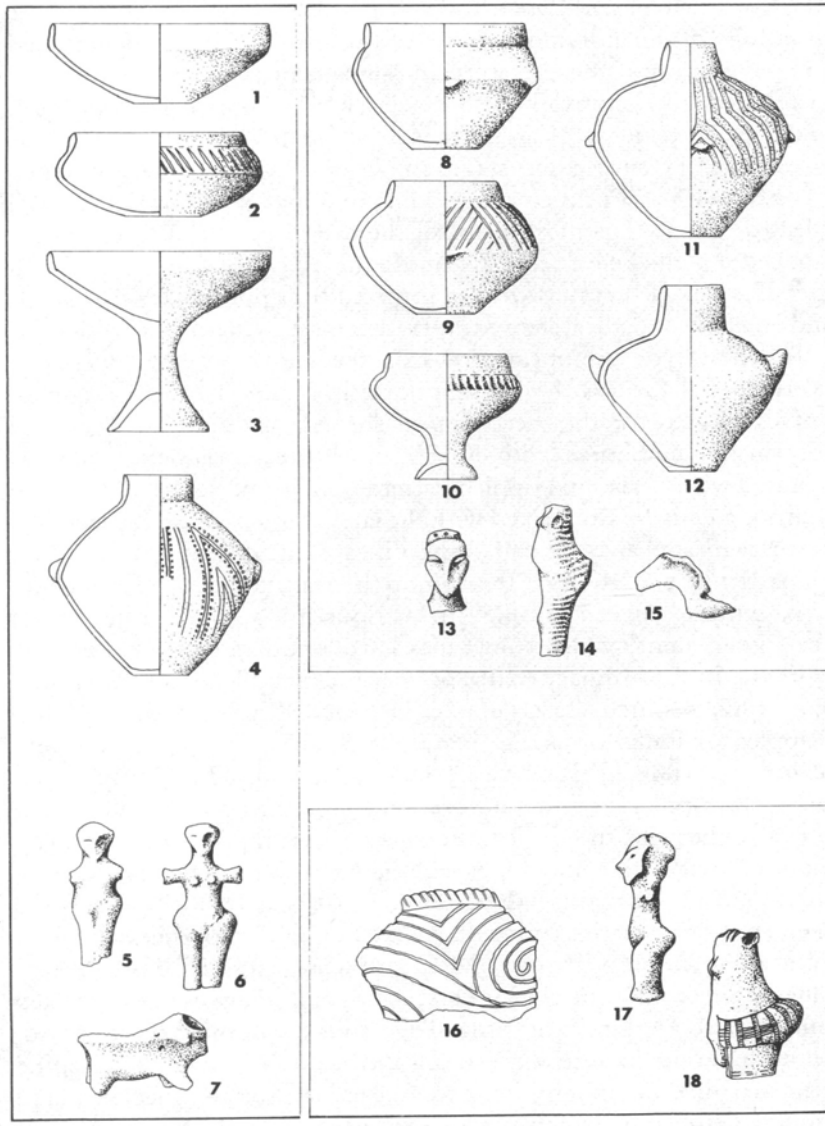

Fig. 17. Late Neolithic. Balkano-Anatolian complex. Vinča group. 1–7: Vinča–Turdaş I; 8–15: Vinča–Turdaş II; 16–18: Transitional Gradac phase. (After M. Garašanin.)

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in the Romanian part of Banat.[186] Typical here are biconical vessels. The chronology of the individual phases of this group is in fact determined by the evolution of these vessels. In Vinča–Turdaş I biconical vessels or carinated bowls prevail. Also vessels with a short cylindrical neck and curved shoulders appear, and it is these in particular which continue to evolve in the succeeding stage. In Vinča–Pločnik I they are joined by vessels with a concave profile, while in Vinča–Pločnik II there is a return to the low biconical forms of the earlier period. Vessels with a funnelled or thickened rim are more in evidence here. Finally in Vinča–Pločnik II b vessels with an inverted rim appear. Cup-like bowls stand on a hollow conical stem or on a rather massive stem (Vinča–Turdaş I). The first type disappears towards the end of Vinča–Pločnik I. A very special form is the big amphora; in Vinča–Turdaş I these are biconical but later on they become pear-shaped. In Vinča–Turdaş II one finds smaller amphorae with longer or shorter shoulders; they are decorated with horizontal rippled patterns, and some have handles with up-curving ends.[187] Connected with the large amphorae are the face-like lids; these disappear at the end of the Vinča–Pločnik I, but possess their own particular evolution.[188] In addition there are also conical bowls and bowls with a curved profile. In various phases one often finds three-legged altars, which sometimes have a human or animal *protome* at corners. In the ordinary coarse pottery four-handled vases and pithoi occur, while spouted vessels appear in Vinča–Turdaş II (fig. 17, 18).

Rippled or fluted ornament is most typical here; patterns are very fine and are arranged either vertically or diagonally. In Vinča–Turdaş I, however, rippled or fluted decoration is arranged horizontally under the rim. Otherwise the most frequent motif is rippled or fluted plait. Amphorae with wide shoulders, belonging to Vinča–Pločnik I, have rippled decoration in rib-like patterns.[189] At that time rippled, spiral ornamentation appeared, and this is characteristic of amphorae belonging to Vinča–Pločnik II a.[190] Incised decoration in Vinča–Turdaş I consists of lines intersected by pricked points; bands and triangles in the pricked technique also appear at this time. The bands are in most cases angled. The meandering pattern appears in Vinča–Turdaş II and the spiral motifs arranged in ribbon-like rows (meanders, spirals, checkers, etc.) forming metopes in which pricks are finely marked. This pottery is distinguished also by its shapes (small amphorae with wide shoulders, conical lids or calotte-shaped lids) which are typical of Vinča–Pločnik I. The same kind of pottery appears later on in a somewhat degenerate form; its origin may perhaps be placed at the end of Vinča–Turdaş II.[191]

[186] A 162, 84ff.
[187] For example A 264, I, figs. 128–9.
[188] A 162, 84ff, pl. 18; A 264, II, figs. 104–55.
[189] A 162, pl. 10, 1.
[190] *Ibid.* pl. 11b; A 264, IV, fig. 109*a*.
[191] A 162, pl. 10, 2; A 264, II, figs. 231–7.

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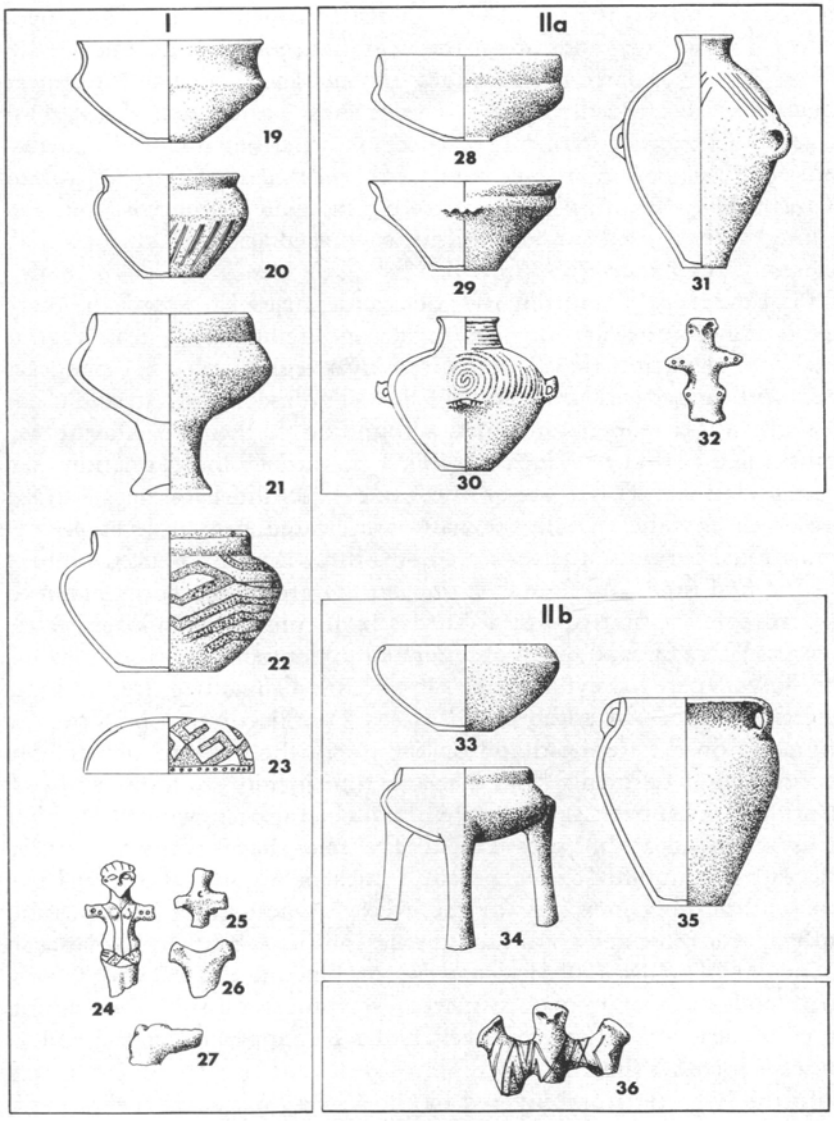

Fig. 18. Late Neolithic. Balkano-Anatolian complex. Vinča group. 19–27: Vinča–Pločnik I; 28–32: Vinča–Pločnik IIa; 33–35: Vinča–Pločnik IIb; 36: clay altar of Vinča group. (After M. Garašanin.)

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In all these phases the so-called 'stralucido' ornamentation is known. One finds that the bands are at the beginning rather wide and later in Vinča–Turdaş II narrower. In Vinča–Pločnik I the wide bands reappear together with latticed patterns. The greatest variety and the highest development in decoration is reached in Vinča–Pločnik II.[192] Characteristic of this period are painted motifs executed after firing ('Crusted Ware'). They are mostly in red, rarely in white. Otherwise this red painted ware is used for cult objects, such as altars and figurines in all phases of the group (figs. 17–18).[193]

Plastic art is extraordinarily rich and varied.[194] From the very beginning there are flat and cylindrical standing figurines, steatopygous in shape, characteristic of the entire Vinča–Turdaş phase. Triangular faces with incised eyes are typical of Vinča–Turdaş I, but in Vinča–Turdaş II there was a tendency towards a rounding of the face. During the transitional period to Vinča–Pločnik I this led to the formation of a pentagonal face.[195] At about the same time the eyes begin to be presented in relief, while the hair is indicated by incisions. In the transitional period statuettes seated on a throne or on a pedestal appear for the first time, and figures sitting on the ground certainly begin to appear from the time of Vinča–Turdaş II. In Vinča–Pločnik I there are figures with a flat and much exaggerated upper part of the body, while the lower part is cylindrical. Of the facial features the nose is overemphasized. In addition to incised eyes decorative patterns are engraved on the forehead and on the torso, the patterns presumably representing a garment.[196] At the same time cylindrical idols with two slanting arms appear, as well as five-branched objects which are either idols or amulets.[197] In Vinča–Pločnik II similar shapes continue, but the majority are simplified or degenerate. Typical of the period is the bird-like face without any incisions for the eyes.[198] One should also mention anthropomorphic and zoomorphic vases, and two bird-shaped vases in particular of Vinča–Turdaş I and Vinča–Pločnik II a;[199] also a fairly large collection of miniature marble sculptures mostly representing animals' heads. The latter, however, did not appear after the end of Vinča–Pločnik I (figs. 17–18).

In the large territory covered by the Vinča group regional variants developed. The classical form is represented at Vinča, Vojvodina and in central Serbia, and it is possible to trace in it all the above-mentioned phases of the Vinča group. In southern Serbia, along the Južna Morava and its tributaries, there is a south Moravian variant, whose special

[192] A 162, 93ff; A 264, II, fig. 362.
[193] A 264, II, figs. 282–5.
[194] A 264, III, *passim*.
[195] *Ibid.* fig. 203; A 162, pl. 12.
[196] For example A 264, III, fig. 422.
[197] *Ibid.* figs. 624–6.
[198] *Ibid.* figs. 432–3.
[199] A 264, I, fig. 90, 113; fig. 109.

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characteristics are certain shapes of vessels, for example cups on a short conical stem in the tradition of the Starčevo pottery; also an early appearance of the handle with nodules on its upper section, and figurines with bird-like faces, statuettes of pregnant women and statuettes with ram-like heads which also appear in Vinča–Turdaş II. In the period of transition to Vinča–Pločnik (at about 6·5 to 6 metres deep at Vinča) in the Gradac phase there was a coarser ware made of clay mixed with mica or sand. Among its typical shapes are dishes with thickened rims, rippled and complex incised patterns of meandroids, sheafs of lines, etc. – all being closely linked to Karanovo IV. It is significant that in these regions there is no example of Vinča–Pločnik II; at that time the new Eneolithic group of Bubanj–Krivodol–Sălcuţa was appearing in the form of the variant called Bubanj–Hum I.[200] Similar characteristics are to be found in the Kosovo variant, which has in Vinča–Pločnik some exceptionally large and excellently sculpted (often hollow) statuettes. Another feature, which is found only occasionally in the south Moravian variant, is the human bust with a four-legged body, the so-called 'Centaur'.[201] The east Bosnian variant with its sites at Gornja Tuzla and Koraj (Varoš) is considerably poorer, but it passed through all the phases of the Vinča group.[202] It is distinguished particularly by its own type of vessel, e.g. with a sharp-pointed base and serrated rim; and hollow conical stems of cup-shaped vessels appear even after Vinča–Turdaş I, while vessels with a funnel-like rim appear early on. In the Transylvanian variant incised ornamentation is much commoner than rippled or fluted. This variant, however, ceased in Vinča–Turdaş II.[203] Finally there is the Oltenian variant which represents a poorer form of Vinča–Pločnik I–II, and at present its development in Vinča–Turdaş I is difficult to trace.[204]

In spite of the fact that the Vinča group has been well explored, the knowledge of its economy is still scanty. It is certain that agriculture played a significant role, as we see from the finds of corn at Vinča and Banjica and from the silos. Data obtained from Rastu in Oltenia show that 91 per cent of the bones found there belonged to domestic animals. At Divostin in the Vinča–Pločnik phase the proportion of bones of domestic cattle (*Bos taurus*) rose to 63 per cent and those of domestic pig to 10 per cent, whereas sheep and goats had predominated in the Starčevo period. That hunting and fishing were practised is proved by the discovery of fish-hooks and harpoons and of various animal bones at individual sites. The discovery of wild pears and cornel stones at Valač in Kosovo in Vinča–Plocnik II indicates food-gathering activity.[205]

[200] A 162, 97ff. Morava and Kosovo, *ibid.* 101ff.
[201] A 162, pls. 17; 20, 2; A 260 (with illustrations).
[202] A 202; A 208; A 162, 107ff.
[203] A 162, 109ff.
[204] *Ibid.* 111.
[205] *Ibid.* 112ff.

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For the chronology of this group the connexion with the Starčevo group is significant. That a link existed is indicated by certain elements in the early coarse pottery and certain phenomena of the shapes of pottery (such as biconical vessels) in the late Starčevo group. Similarly Anzabegovo–Vršnik IV is followed at Anzabegovo by Vinča–Turdaş in an already developed form. The phenomena in Karanovo III which we discussed earlier point to the fact that the beginnings of our group coincide with the termination of the above-mentioned group in Thrace. In this sense the parallel between Vinča–Turdaş II and Karanovo IV is important. Of particular significance is the fact that the Bubanj-Hum variant of the Bubanj–Krivodol–Sălcuţa group is found in the southern Morava district (Pomoravlje) at the time of Vinča–Turdaş II. In our futher discussions we shall show that this variant represents a late form of east Balkan Eneolithic, which means that the Vinča group existed for a long time in parallel with the Eneolithic group of these regions. It will be seen that it also existed in parallel with the Eneolithic of the Carpathian area and the Tisa valley. Radiocarbon dating places the group in the fifth/sixth millennium. But this date is incompatible with the conclusion drawn from the tablets found at Tartaria in Transylvania that their script, being related to that of Mesopotamia, should be dated to the end of the fourth millennium or the beginning of the third.[206] The problem of dating must be left unsolved.

There is no doubt that one has to take into account some elements of the older Starčevo group in considering the origins of the Vinča group. Yet entirely new phenomena prevail, including an essential change in the shapes of pottery and figurines, in ornamentation and in the way of habitation, and these phenomena are closely connected with the late Balkano-Anatolian complex. In order to explain this it is necessary to suppose that completely new cultural elements came into the central Balkans and southern Pannonia in the course of Late Neolithic. This penetration took place towards the end of Karanovo III and certainly after the life of the Dudeşti group, so that the phenomena of this complex were considerably older in the east and south-east. On the other hand the specific features of the Vinča group within the framework of this complex point rather to the acceptance of cultural influences from neighbouring areas than to the intrusion of migrating ethnic groups. That such cultural influences existed even after the Vinča group was formed is shown by the connexion with the Karanovo IV group and in particular by the effect of this group on the formation of the Gradac phase in the Morava district (Pomoravlje). The strong influence of the Vinča group of the Neolithic period was to a large extent conservative. This is shown by the fact that this group was

[206] *Ibid.* 123ff; A 246.

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mainly in parallel with the cultures of the Eneolithic period; but we shall deal with this particular point later. Like the Eneolithic elements, the survivors of the Vinča group were gradually pushed into the hilly peripheral region of the Kosovo basin and into south-eastern Serbia. In its central area, however, the Vinča group remained strong long after the neighbouring regions had entered the transitional period between the Neolithic and the Bronze Age, i.e. the Eneolithic.

Evidence of a new group of the Balkano-Anatolian complex has been found only recently in Macedonia. It is named Zelenikovo II, because it occurs in the upper layers of Zelenikovo, a site near Skopje.[207] This group shows strong links with the south Moravian variant of the Vinča group and with Karanovo IV; it must have been created by a fusion of the elements of these two groups.

In southern Pannonia, in the course of the Late Neolithic period, the Sopot–Lengyel group was in evidence. It was a regional variant of the Lengyel group, which belonged to the Balkano-Anatolian complex.[208] It can be divided into three basic phases (I–III), of which the first is subdivided into two subphases (I a and I b).

The settlements of this group, often in several layers, are located on tells (Sopot near Vinkovci, and Samatovci), or on the terraced banks of the rivers (Samatovci, Sarvaš). It has been established that the buildings were erected above the ground (I b), probably with a floor of beaten earth and perhaps apsidal in shape (phase II, the Bapska phase). The main characteristic of this group is a dark monochrome pottery, poorer than that of the Vinča group. Phase I a has a special variety of biconical vessel, small amphorae with an articulated profile, and cups on heavy hollow stems. Similar shapes continue in phase I b and in addition cups with hollow bell-shaped stems, widened at the centre. Phase II has not only these vessels but also vessels with a concave profile and small amphorae with angular profiles, similar to those of Vinča–Turdaş II. Finally in phase III, cups with hollow, horizontally bored stems and pear-shaped vessels typical of the classical Lengyel group[209] appear. Decoration consists of rippled patterns but in phase II burnished and mainly pricked ornamentation occur. In phase III the so-called 'stralucido' and crusted ornamentation occur (fig. 19).[210]

The Sopot–Lengyel group certainly engaged in agriculture since millet was found at Sopot, and the breeding of sheep, oxen and horse (?) is attested.[211] Obsidian was in use at Samatovci and Sopot; this suggests developed connexions with Transylvania.

Because of the characteristic shapes of pottery phase I a and I b can

[207] A 227, figs. 1–5; pls. V–VIII.
[208] A 211, *passim*.
[209] *Ibid.* 31ff (with illustrations).
[210] *Ibid.* 51, pls. XV, 3; XVII, 3.
[211] *Ibid.* 52.

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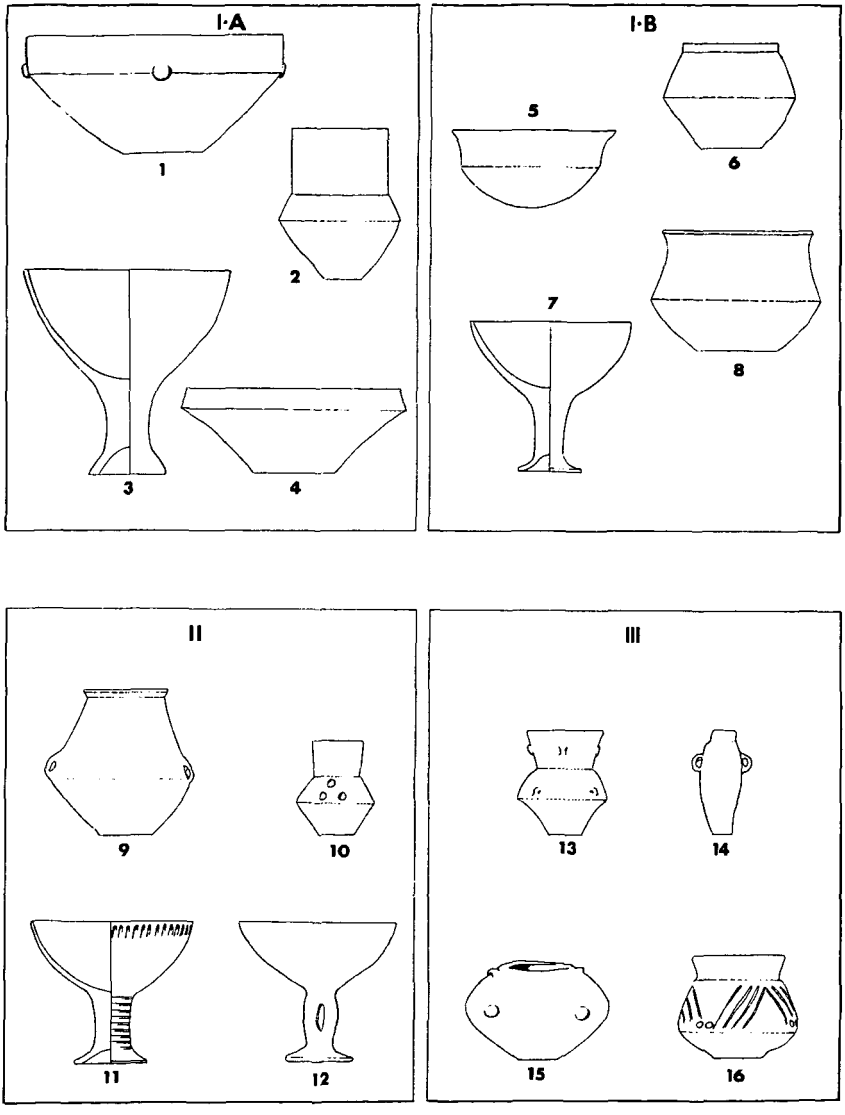

Fig. 19. Late Neolithic. Balkano-Anatolian complex. Sopot–Lengyel group. (After S. Dimitrijević.)

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be linked chronologically in general with the Vinča–Turdaş phase. Phase II coincides with Vinča–Pločnik I in the profiles of the vessels and in the use of burnishing and pricks on the pottery. The developed stralucido and crusted decoration of phase III suggests a connexion with Vinča–Pločnik II.

There is no doubt that the Sopot–Lengyel group belongs to the Late Balkano-Anatolian complex and is closely linked with the Vinča group. In addition, it possesses specific regional features. In phase II its connexion with the Vinča group is confirmed by the common nature of their pottery. In phase III the Sopot–Lengyel group is influenced by the Vinča group and also has a link with the classical Lengyel group of the neighbouring area, Hungary. It was thus possible to follow the evolution, albeit conditioned by the region, of the typical phenomena of the later Balkano-Anatolian Neolithic complex.

(b) *The Lisičići–Hvar Group of the Adriatic*

This group in Late Neolithic stretches – as do the Early and Middle Neolithic groups – along the whole length of the Adriatic coast of Yugoslavia and the offshore islands. It is found also in the interior, in the regions of Lika and Hercegovina. The group has two forms of culture: a coastal one known from the well-known site of the Grabak cave on the island of Hvar, and a continental one, of which the typical site is Lisičići near Konjic, on the banks of the river Neretva in Hercegovina.[212]

The settlements are located either in caves, as in the earlier stages of Neolithic in the coastal region (e.g. the Grabak cave and Markova Špilja, Hvar), or on open sites (e.g. Smilčić, Bribir, Lisičići). Deposits are often in several layers, which suggests that the sites were inhabited for long periods. This has been established also in the cave sites (for instance at the Grabak cave). Stratigraphy is important for this group.

Circular settlements continue to be discovered along the Adriatic littoral and the dwellings resemble those of the previous period. In the lower layer at Lisičići it has been established that pit-dwellings existed, while in an upper layer there were buildings above ground, pits and structures which were identified as workshops. In the centre of the settlement there was an open space; some sort of central square, where seven hearths were discovered in phase II, these being arranged in a circle round a central hearth.[213] Dislocated human skeletons at certain sites (e.g. at Smilčić, Grabak cave, Pokrivenik cave on the island of Hvar and Lisičići) prove that burials were performed.

It was found that settlements along the coast were poor in tools of flint and bone. Stone axes were shaped like a tongue or shoe-last. Bored

[212] A 152, 82ff, pls. 20–4; A 201, *passim*; A 248, *passim*. [213] A 152, 82ff.

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stone hammers were also discovered. A specific characteristic is a fine pottery with vessels of biconical or curving profiles, globular vessels with upstanding neck and amphorae. The rims of the vessels are often stressed by a groove.[214] Both the coastal and the continental cultures use incised ornamentation with patterns of garlands, hatched triangles, sheaves of parallel incisions, and spirals. Decoration painted in red on a dark background is typical of the Hvar culture, but is unknown at Lisičići, where crusted paint was applied, especially round the rims and sometimes over the body of the vessel itself. Red encrustation was also applied (fig. 20).[215]

Plastic art is rare and in part follows the Danilo group tradition.[216]

As millstones and horn mattocks were found, the population of the Lisičići–Hvar group was evidently occupied in agriculture. Animal bones discovered at Lisičići (deer, roe, boar, chamois, bear, badger, hare, birds, etc.) show the importance of hunting. Along the coast men fished and collected shellfish.[217]

The chronology of this group is established by the fact that it appears after the Danilo group and is related to the Butmir group in Bosnia. Although certain elements of this group appear as early as Butmir II, its influence is strongly felt in the subsequent stages of Butmir III. This suggests that the group originated in an already advanced phase of Late Neolithic, which coincided more or less with the Vinča–Pločnik phase and Eneolithic in the eastern areas of the Balkans.

The view has been advanced that this group resulted from a migration, and it has been pointed out that certain phenomena in its culture, especially in the pottery, are linked with Sicily (San Cono Paino Notaro) and Malta.[218] This group is likewise connected to Middle Neolithic Dalmatia by several features such as the style of habitation, burials, economy and, to a certain extent, ornamentation. It is reasonable, therefore, to assume the existence of a link with the earlier periods, and also an intensive interchange with neighbouring areas, including the more distant West Mediterranean regions.

The finds from the site of Ustje near Struga (on the Drin at Lake Ochrid) which for the time being remains isolated,[219] are also connected with the Late Neolithic culture of the Adriatic. Here a pile-dwelling settlement with a flourishing bone industry had a pottery which in shape and ornamentation is linked with the Danilo group and the Lisičići–Hvar group. Yet certain phenomena, for instance in the forms of the figurines, point to the existence of links with the neighbouring cultures of

[214] For example *ibid.* pls. 21, 5; 23, 3–4; 24, 1.
[215] For example A 248, pl. 262; A 152, pls. 20, 21, 1–2.
[216] A 152, 85ff.
[217] A 201, 83ff; A 152, 115ff.
[218] A 152, 86ff.
[219] A 167, cat. nos. 121–60; A 180, cat. nos. 326–63.

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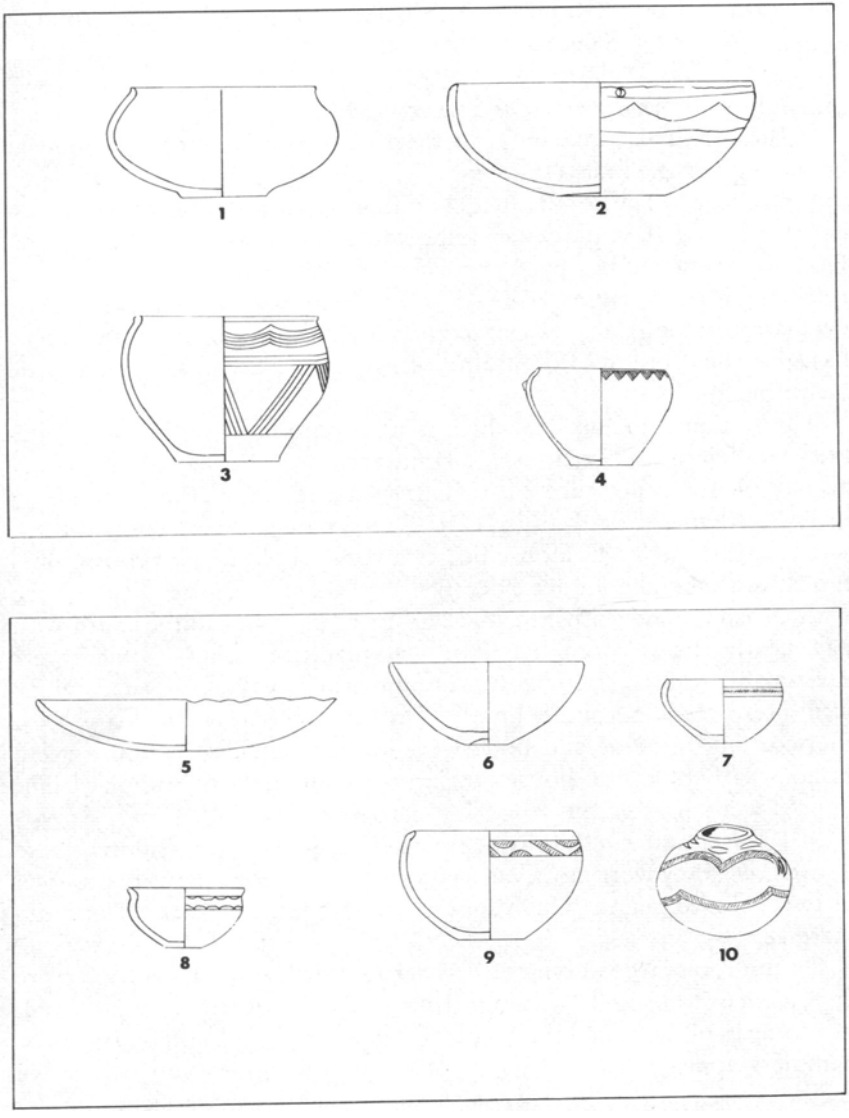

Fig. 20. Late Neolithic. Adriatic complex. Lisičići–Hvar group. 1–4: Hvar variant; 5–10: Lisičići variant. (After Š. Batović.)

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Šupljevac–Bakarno Gumno, which belong to the Eneolithic group of Bubanj–Krivodol–Sălçuta.[220]

(c) *The Transitional Zone. The Butmir Group*

The Butmir group, named after the well-known site of Butmir near Sarajevo, was the first settlement of the Neolithic Age to be excavated in the Balkans. The results, widely published at the time,[221] were such that for a long time particular importance was attached to this group. However, new studies by A. Benac at Nebo in the valley of the river Bila and particularly at Obre II have made possible a more precise evaluation of the group. The excavations at Obre provided a stratigraphic basis for the division of the Butmir group into three phases, all of Late Neolithic.[222].

The settlement Obre II, which is not continuous with Obre I, lies in the valley of the Trstionica, a tributary of the Bosna, which is very favourable for agriculture. Pit-dwellings were found in the earliest layer of the settlement. In Butmir II–III a rectangular house with walls of wattle was discovered. House no. 15 in Butmir II had two rooms with the entrance on the longer side. There was also a calotte-shaped oven with an ash pit and a separate place for grinding corn. In the south-west part of the front room the floor was made of boards, which were presumably used to sleep on. Next to the hearth was another area which was interpreted as a workshop.[223] On the other hand workshops for the working of stone and bone were located outside the house itself. Food was kept inside houses in largish containers or pithoi.[224] The houses were arranged in rows.

In layers I and II (Butmir I) the skeletons of eleven children were discovered; they were mostly in a contracted position and were grouped in two definite places. This suggests the existence of a ritual of child sacrifice.[225]

Of flint tools large knives with a sharp retouch and arrow-heads were in evidence from the beginning of phase I. Axes were tongue-shaped, but some in phase II had the shape of a cobbler's last. In phase III bored hammers appear. Awls, daggers, spatulae, fish-hooks and decorative needles were made of bone. *Spondylus* shells were used for decoration.[226]

In addition to coarsely made large vessels with flat, or rarely ring-shaped, bases, painted ware was discovered in phase I. It was related to the Danilo group, and there were some rhyta.[227] The typically Kakanj pottery continued in use, its main characteristic being vessels

[220] A 167, cat. nos. 129, 154; A 180, cat. nos. 338, 359.
[221] A 235, *passim*.
[222] A 203, *passim*; A 204, *passim* (both with illustrations).
[223] A 204, 19ff.
[224] *Ibid.* 54ff.
[225] *Ibid.* 67ff.
[226] *Ibid.* 81ff.
[227] *Ibid.* 105ff.

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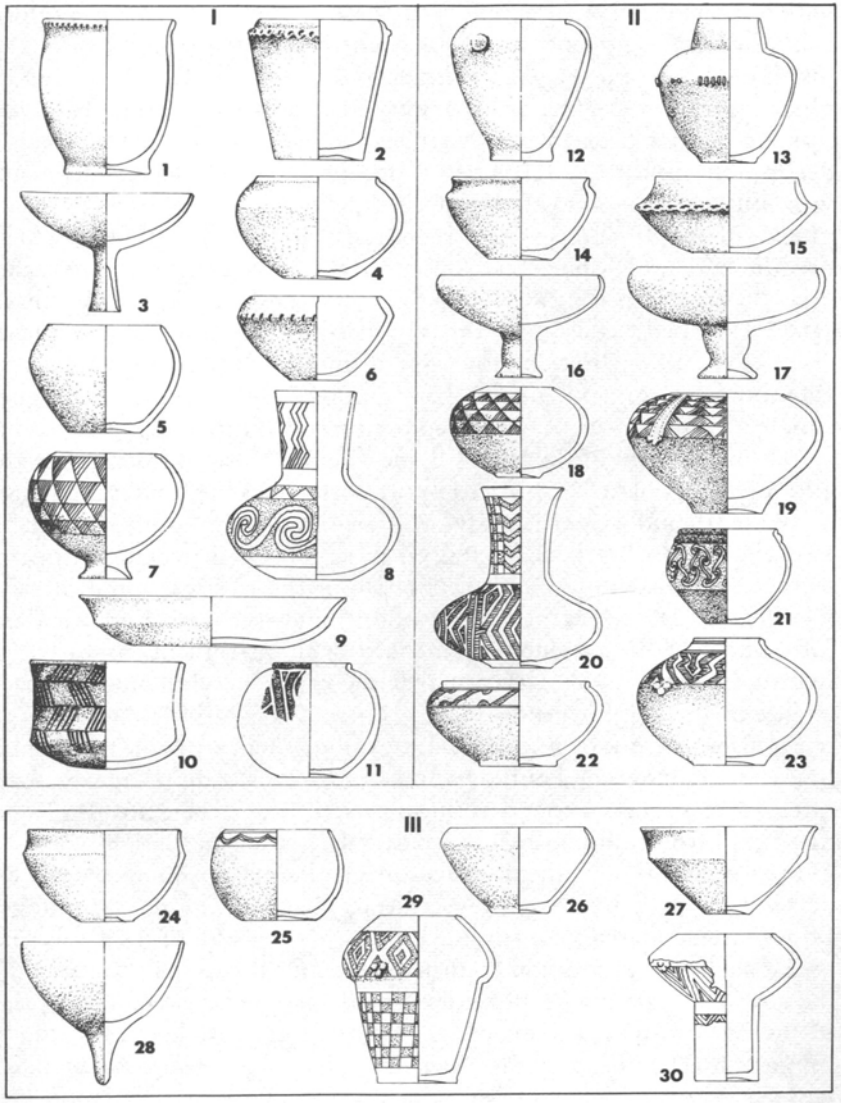

Fig. 21. Late Neolithic. Transitional zone. Butmir group. (After A. Benac.)

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with hollow bell-shaped stems.[228] In phase II the Danilo type of pottery was in decline, but one specimen from the Lisičići–Hvar group was discovered. The pottery of the latter group was amply represented in phase III.[229] Yet the fine black pottery of Late Balkano-Anatolian type was characteristic of all phases. It was marked by the use of rippled decoration until phase III, when it declined.[230] Its basic characteristic was 'Butmir ware', mostly of inferior quality (i.e. of earth mixed with grains of sand) and in the main dark in colour; vessels which predominate are globular vases, long-necked vases, conical bowls and bowls with rounded profile, sometimes standing on a low stem (phase II). Pear-shaped vessels, sometimes with long necks, are typical of phase II.[231] Typical decoration consists of incised motifs of concentric rhomboids, triangles, angular bands done in a pricking technique, simple pricked motifs of burnished patterns of rhomboids. In addition, spirals in the form of the letters S and C and plastic Butmir spirals are all typical of phase I. This variety in pottery reached its culmination in phase II and is particularly well represented in Butmir itself.[232] However, phase III is characterized by a general degeneration in the technique of decoration and by the loss of the classical spiral motifs; it is well represented at the site of Nebo,[233] and at that time a degenerate form of pricked ornamentation, made with an instrument, appeared.[234] Recent excavations have shown that the crusted technique is characteristic of the Butmir group.

Figurines are not plentiful at Obre. Among them are some flat human figures with underlined buttocks and stump-arms. Animal figurines are rare. A fuller range is found at Butmir itself, where there are also some figurines of outstanding realism, particularly their heads.[235]

In the Butmir settlement agriculture and stock-breeding were well developed. Obre had oxen, pigs, sheep, goats and more rarely dogs. Bones of wild animals constituted only 14–15 per cent of the total. The use of shells for decoration confirms the connexion of this group with the Adriatic region. Vessels with pointed bases in phase III are typical of the east Bosnian variant of the Vinča group and they most likely suggest direct links with the Adriatic. It has been assumed that these vessels served for carrying salt, which was being transported from the Tuzla basin.[236] The existence of workshops where stone tools were made suggests the possibility that tools were exported to other areas. All this indicates an integrated form of economy.[237]

Chronologically the first phase of the Butmir group corresponds with

[228] *Ibid.*
[229] *Ibid.*
[230] *Ibid.* 113ff.
[231] *Ibid.* 117ff.
[232] *Ibid.*; A 152, pl. XVI.
[233] A 203 (with illustrations).
[234] A 204, pl. XXXIX, 1–3.
[235] A 152, pl. XXVI.
[236] A 208, 95, fig. 11.
[237] A 204, 60ff.

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the later stage of the Danilo group, which already belongs to Late Neolithic. On the other hand phase III is connected with the Lisičići–-Hvar group. It has been pointed out in earlier literature that classical Butmir was synchronous with the Vinča group and in particular with the Vinča–Pločnik phase. New discoveries in all probability point to a connexion between this Butmir phase and Vinča–Turdaş II.

Today the genesis of the group is a complex question. It is certain that the autochthonous base of the Kakanj group played the first part in its formation and that the elements of the Danilo group in the Adriatic area and of the late Balkano-Anatolian complex were involved. But at the same time it was the Vinča and the Lengyel groups which played the outstanding role. In such an analysis phenomena of the Butmir group are represented as separate components, but in fact a specific regional group formed from these components and was marked by its own typical Butmir pottery.

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CHAPTER 3

THE ENEOLITHIC PERIOD IN THE CENTRAL BALKAN AREA

M. GARAŠANIN

The Eneolithic period, which came between the Neolithic Age and the age when metal[1] was fully in use, covered a great length of time. It brought in its wake revolutionary changes in the life of prehistoric man, as he became more and more acquainted with metal and its properties. The production of various metal objects required the acquisition of skills in the working of metal and the learning of techniques for their improvement and perfection. This of necessity caused a series of significant changes in his way of life and altered the nexus of relationships within a social group. For instance, mining and metallurgy inevitably led to new, specialized forms of activities. The haphazard distribution of mines in different territories disrupted the balance between the Neolithic groups which had been based on primitive agriculture. A feeling of insecurity developed and clashes occurred frequently. On the other hand, intensive trading developed for the same reasons, though exchange of goods had not been unknown to Neolithic man. The altered relations, in their turn, resulted in the greater significance of the male in social units and in the development of a patriachal system. Finally, the working of iron and its greater use meant an increase of wealth in the hands of the outstanding personalities of a primitive society. In short, it inaugurated the beginning of social stratification.

Another event of decisive significance for the history of Europe and of the Balkans in particular was a number of great migrations of tribes from the Russian steppes, the Pontic basin and the Lower Danube. In archaeology these migrations are dated to the Neolithic Age, and they are linked with the process of Indo-Europeanization, which was decisive for the further development of society in these regions.

I. BEGINNINGS OF METALLURGY

The first metals which man came to know and use were gold and copper. Sporadic finds of these two metals in the Balkans show that they were known even in earlier times, but their incidental use then did not have

[1] A 162, 161ff; A 267, 281ff.

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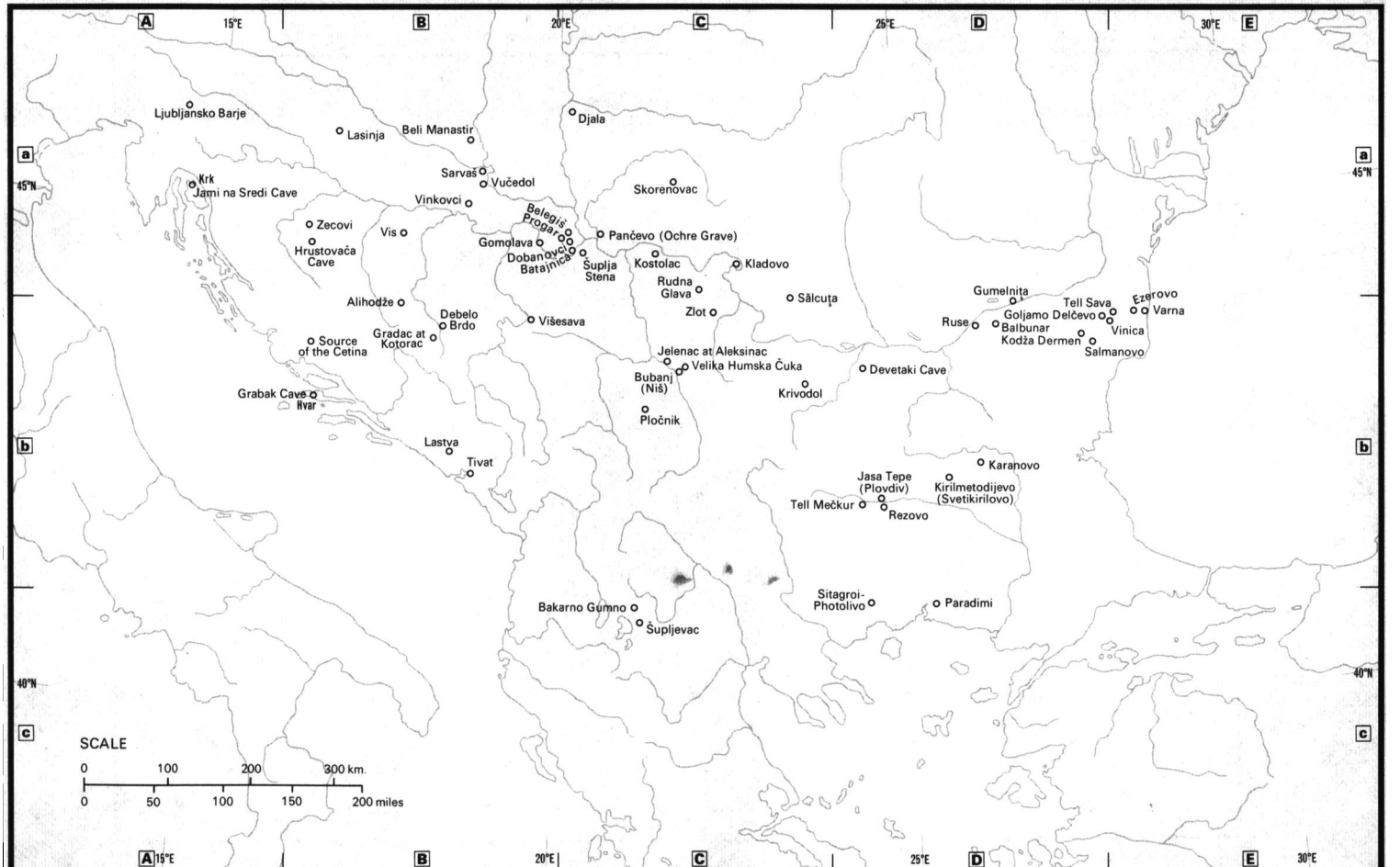

Map 7. The Eneolithic period in the Central Balkans.

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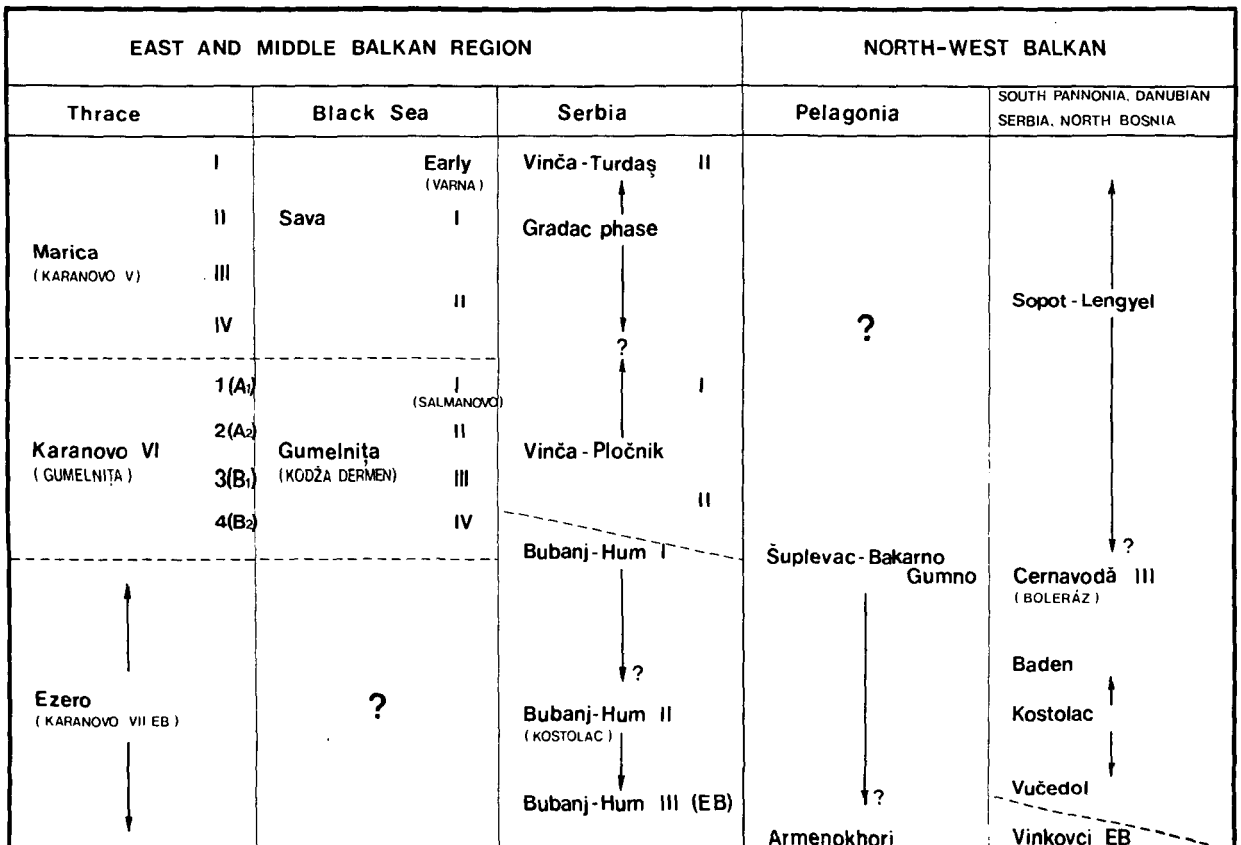
II Eneolithic cultures in the Balkan area.



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a decisive effect on cultural changes. These changes took place only during the Eneolithic period. Oxidized minerals were first used in copper production. They were found on the surface, being rather conspicuous because of their colour (lazulite, cuprite, malachite). When these sources became exhausted, man turned to sulphide ores, which were more complicated to work. Once copper ore was discovered the vein was followed by digging vertical and horizontal shafts. Clearly the needs of prehistoric man were not great, and even small finds of ore sufficed. In fact mining could well have developed in places not directly associated with the extensive mines of nowadays.

The prehistoric mines in the Balkans which we shall consider are Rudna Glava in eastern Serbia and Ajbunar near Stara Zagora in Thrace.[2] According to the data given by the author of the study, the Rudna Glava mine was in use during the Vinča–Pločnik phase. It is, however, difficult to explain how the utilization of this ore never led to any basic cultural or economic changes within the Vinča group. Mine-shafts were dug to a depth of twenty metres and had a maximum diameter of two metres. Some were in daily use throughout the Neolithic period. The vein of ore was detected by irregular digging to a depth of twenty-seven metres. The Šuplja Stena cinnabar mine near Belgrade also indicates the early development of metallurgy.[3] In spite of the fact that cinnabar fragments were found in all the layers at Vinča, in the mine itself remains only of the Kostolac group were discovered. It is probable that more intensive working of the mine began only in Eneolithic times. There, too, a system of shafts was uncovered. The pockets were found to have been exhausted. There was a platform which served for access and for storage of ore. The technique for extracting the ore itself was rather primitive, namely by heating and then by cooling suddenly with water. Men used stone mallets as tools.

In the initial phase of the Eneolithic period only small objects, such as jewellery and tools like needles or awls, were produced for personal use. Later, as techniques improved and knowledge of casting was acquired, larger tools were produced on a massive scale. The hammer (of a particular kind), the axe-adze, and the cruciform-axe were characteristic throughout south-eastern Europe. Axe-adzes and cruciform-axes spread from the Black Sea region to the Adriatic zone and to the Tatra mountains in the north; thus metallurgy came to be practised in the entire Carpathian–Danubian region.[4] The study of the material has been handicapped by the fact that the number of metal objects which can be ascribed with certainty to a definite culture is still relatively small. On the other hand, the diffusion of specific types does

[2] A 288; A 290; A 270.
[3] A 300.
[4] A 304.

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indicate the existence of small and separable regions. Thus, for example, the Pločnik type of axe-adze (a flat pentagonal tool) is characteristic of the greater part of the Balkans; yet it has not been found north of the Carpathian range. Several hoards with tools and chisels of this type were found at Pločnik on the Toplica river in Serbia, and it is clear that there was intensive metallurgical activity there. It is, however, not quite certain whether these tools belonged to the Vinča group or to the later Bubanj–Hum group. Another type of axe-adze, the so-called 'Vidra' type in which the adze has an oblique profile, has been found throughout the Danubian region of the northern Balkans and along the left bank of the Danube as far as the Black Sea. It is linked with the advanced Eneolithic group of these regions. The fact that tools of these types were in contemporaneous use has been established by the discovery of closed deposits, such as that at Slivnica in Bulgaria. Cruciform-axes were generally later, although they overlapped with axe-adzes in some hoards.[5] At the same time in these regions and in the Carpathian area there was intensive production of a particular type of jewellery in gold – a subject to which we shall return later.

The origins of metallurgy in the Carpatho-Danubian region are still uncertain. One view is that mining was introduced by prospectors from the south-east and the Near East; another view, more widely held today, is that the metallurgy of these regions is autochthonous.[6] We believe that the forms of the first copper tools indicate local production, and that these facts are of greater significance than data obtained by the radiocarbon method. Consequently it seems to us that the theory that metallurgy was an autochthonous development becomes more plausible, but the possibility that there were also extraneous stimuli cannot be excluded.

II. MIGRATIONS FROM THE RUSSIAN STEPPES AND THE PONTIC AREA

These migrations have attracted the attention of archaeologists and linguists to an increasing extent in recent years. The slow evolution of the stock-breeding culture of the nomads living in the Russian steppes and the Pontic region is now well understood. Their so-called 'Kurgan culture' derived its name from the particular way in which they buried their dead under a tumulus, or in the Tartar language a *kurgan*.[7] In the course of the Eneolithic period, as a result most probably of changes in climatic conditions, the nomadic tribes of these regions and some other Pontic tribes, such as the Mariupol group of Kerch, began moving

[5] Cf. n. 2; A 299.
[6] Cf. n. 2.
[7] A 285.

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in various directions, one of which was towards the lower Danube area. These newcomers introduced their own ways of burying their dead under tumuli of varied construction, and their custom of spraying ochre over dead bodies (the so-called 'ochre-graves'). They were skilled in the rearing of livestock, and this carried in its wake a powerful patriarchal organization and a civilization more primitive than the Neolithic and characterized in the main by primitive earthenware decorated in corded impressions and by stone battle-axes. Since World War II a large number of kurgans have been discovered in the Lower Danube region and in Romania. These serve not only as direct proofs of the migrations, but also as subjects of study. The various ways in which they buried their dead, in grave pits dug at ground level under the tumulus, or in catacomb graves, and at different depths within the tumulus, and in part the objects which they buried with the dead point not only to chronological differences but also to the existence of waves of intrusions, which we are unable to conceive *in toto*.[8] In the advanced stage of the Eneolithic period there were yet other migrations, as we can see from the necropolis at Decea Mureşului in Transylvania, which is closely connected with the above-mentioned finds of the Mariupol type.[9]

These nomadic tribes set other ethnic groups in motion, for example the Gorodsk–Usatovo group, which moved from southern Russia into Moldova in an advanced phase of the Eneolithic period. Simultaneously the Cernavodă I group from the lower regions of the Danube moved to Oltenia. This in its turn caused the bearers of the Eneolithic culture to move from Oltenia towards the Balkans and further west. Somewhat later the Cernavodă III group migrated from the lower regions of the Danube in the same westward direction. Finally, it is to be noted that in the autochthonous Eneolithic groups of the Carpathian region and the Balkans one finds not only locally developed civilizations but also a series of elements which point to the existence of steppe influence and to a gradual symbiosis with new people that came from the steppes and the Pontic region, as we shall see later.[10] In short we have to consider not only a very complex process of ebb and flow of movements which introduced new phenomena, but also a gradual assimilation with the earlier cultures of the newly occupied regions.[11]

A number of archaeologists and linguists see the first Indo-Europeans in these migrations. They deal in fact with the very last migrations which were on such a large scale that their essentially unique culture could be documented on the basis of archaeological material. It has been suggested by some linguists that the Indo-Europeans were in the

[8] A 280; A 278; A 285; A 298.
[9] A 278, 6ff.
[10] A 278, *passim*; A 280.
[11] A 280, 9ff.

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Balkans much earlier, even at the beginning of Early Neolithic. They based their theory on the existence of Indo-European names in the oldest known layer of Balkan toponymy (especially in hydronymy). They linked this layer with the Neolithic period, assuming that the evolution and formation of a language takes a very long time before it reaches its classical form.[12] On the other hand some linguists have produced arguments to offset this theory; for example that it is not at all certain that the oldest known layer of names, given that they are Indo-European, coincided with the oldest existing layer of population in a particular region. Moreover, there are no firm criteria by which one can assess the length of time needed for the formation of a language. Finally, the study of some primitive peoples today has shown by analogy that considerable linguistic differences occur among agricultural tribes which are static, and that a linguistic unity develops in the languages of nomadic tribes (e.g. Papuans and Eskimos) which are constantly on the move and in permanent contact with one another.[13] Undoubtedly conditions for the formation of such a linguistic unity must have existed also in the region of the Russian steppes. This does not necessarily mean that such peoples as Thracians, Illyrians and Daco-Mysians, not to mention Greeks, came into the Balkans at the dawn of history with an already formed language. Both their languages and they themselves evolved during a long process of cultural, social and ethnic development and assimilation. In this sense the first stage of their development is represented by the penetration of the elements from the steppe region and by the subsequent merging of these elements with the autochthonous population. It is on this basis and in this way that one has to conceive and study the origins of the Palaeo-Balkan Indo-European peoples.[14] Their beginnings belong to the Eneolithic period.

III. ENEOLITHIC CULTURE

One of the characteristic features of the Balkan Eneolithic period is the large size of cultural complexes which consist of a series of regional groups, or of widely-spread groups containing regional variants. This was probably due to conditions created by the use of metals, to a need for wider contacts and more intensive exchange of goods, and to better possibilities for regional development; and it produced in turn the rudiments of social stratification.

One large cultural complex, characterized by graphite pottery, covered the whole of the eastern Balkan Peninsula and the Lower Danube area. Within this complex one can distinguish several cultural groups with variants. Otherwise, the northern and the north-western

[12] A 284, 155ff.

[13] A 271; A 272.

[14] A 280, *loc. cit.*

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parts of the Balkans were more closely connected with the Pannonian region. On the other hand the western part of the Balkans is still incompletely explored and its culture is insufficiently studied. Radiocarbon dating puts these phenomena mainly in the fourth and third millennia. New methods of dating, however, have produced even higher dates, which can be accepted only with reservations.

1. *The East Balkan–Lower Danubian Complex with Graphite Pottery*

Groups of this complex occupied all of present-day Bulgaria and a large part of Romania. Up to World War II the complex was defined by finds which belonged to the Gumelniţa and Sălcuţa groups in Romania, and by rich finds in Bulgaria, which had not been sufficiently studied. After the war the position changed considerably, because very intensive research was undertaken in Bulgaria. Groups belonging to this complex have been provisionally named Karanovo V–VI in accordance with the stratigraphical position at Karanovo, although some groups were not represented there in all stages.[15] It should be observed that the term 'Karanovo V' has now been replaced by 'the Marica group'.[16] Recently, however, H. Vajsova-Torodova has substantiated this equation by her study of the typical settlements of the Marica group at several sites, mainly tells, and she has been able to identify a series of sub-groups and to establish their relative chronology by comparing the inventories of individual sites and layers.[17] Unfortunately we are still unable to give a comprehensive picture of the Marica group because Vajsova-Torodova's material has not been published in full.

The Marica group covers the whole of Thrace and is known mainly from its tells. As a rule the houses are of the usual construction, being rectangular and containing a hearth.[18] The pottery divides into four phases.[19] Marica I is characterized by vessels with an elongated rim, and vessels with a short, sometimes hollow base. Ornamentation consists mainly of groups of incisions in the tradition of Karanovo IV – mostly of meandering or spiralling bands intersected by transverse incisions. Marica II also has sheaves of parallel lines, and the typical shapes are small amphorae. Marica III has a flourishing graphite decoration, though this type of ornamentation was known from the very beginning of the group. In the first stage of Marica III a complex graphite decoration is typical (Kirilmetodijevo). Later, there is a tendency towards negative motifs, and this indicates a transition to the Gumelniţa group. Marica IV has typical linear motifs. The group on the coast of

[15] A 169, 73ff; A 184.
[16] A 184.
[17] *Ibid.* Cf. A 268.
[18] A 184, 15ff, fig. 5.
[19] *Ibid.*

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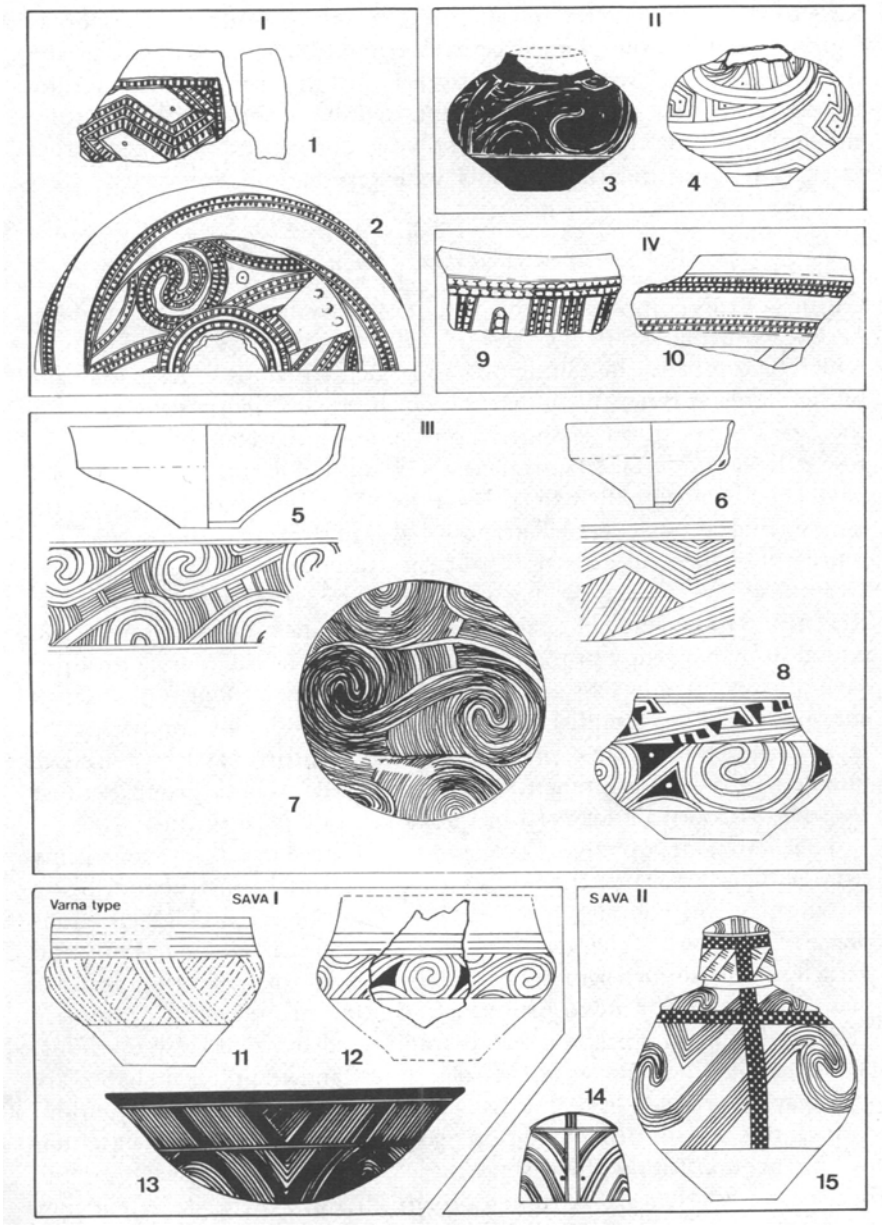

Fig. 22. Eneolithic period. East Balkan Lower Danubian complex. Marica and Sava group. 1–2: Marica I; 3–4: Marica II; 5–8: Marica III; 9–10: Marica IV; 11–12: Sava group – Varna type; 13: Sava I; 14–15: Sava II. (After H. Vajsova).

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the Black Sea which corresponds with this group is the Sava group, so named after the Sava tell; it consists of an early phase called the Varna phase and then of Sava I and Sava II.[20] Ornamentation in the Sava group resembles that in the Marica group, but there is much less use of graphite decoration. In the Varna phase rippled and burnished ornamentations are typical. Sava II is characterized by lids which in form resemble the prosopomorphic lids of Vinča (fig. 22).[21]

This stage is followed by Karanovo VI, which corresponds with the Romanian Gumelniţa group. Karanovo VI has four phases. Phases I–II correspond with Gumelniţa A1–A2 (including what is now called A3) according to the Romanian archaeologists. Phases III–IV correspond with Gumelniţa B.[22] In north-eastern Bulgaria this culture is known also as the Kodža Dermen group, and the culture of phase III along the Black Sea is classified as the Varna culture.[23] Phase I is represented by finds from the lower levels of the tell at Salmanovo. Vessels with an elongated cylindrical neck are characteristic, and the shapes are biconical. Decoration consists mainly of engraved lines which separate negative motifs.[24] In Romania this particular phase is considered to be the final Spanţov phase of the Boian group and is contemporary with Marica IV in Thrace. In phase II biconical bowls, frequently marked by a pronounced ripple between the upper and the lower part of the vessel, are typical. These have graphite ornamentations of a negative character on the inside and on the upper part of the vessel, such as spirals, half-moons and tangents. Phase III is marked by a certain degeneration; its pottery often has a roughened surface. In addition to graphite decoration a 'pseudo-Barbotine' now appears and a combination of bracket ornaments is used, the patterns being made with a tool. For the first time we have vessels with inverted or thickened rims. Golden pendants similar to those found in the Tiszapolgár group in Hungary are also typical of phase III. Similar finds have come from Ruse and Hotnica in a more developed stage of Phase III.[25] Finally, in Phase IV, which is represented in Thrace by finds from Bikovo, Jasa Tepe and the upper layers of the Mečkur tell, there are some two handled kantharoi and some anthropomorphic vases. The whole of the Gumelniţa group is characterized by flat, stylized idols made of bone and sometimes of gold (fig. 23).[26]

On the coast of the Black Sea the Varna group corresponds to Phase III of the Gumelniţa–Kodža Dermen group; it is in fact the richest variant of the Gumelniţa group.[27] In contrast to the tells, which have

[20] *Ibid.* 17ff, fig. 9.
[21] *Ibid.* fig. 9, 12–15; 17–18.
[22] *Ibid.* 24ff, fig. 16ff; A 268.
[23] A 309.
[24] A 268, fig. 7.
[25] *Ibid.* figs. 8–11.
[26] *Ibid.* fig. 12; cf. A 179, 29ff, figs. 100–4.
[27] A 309.

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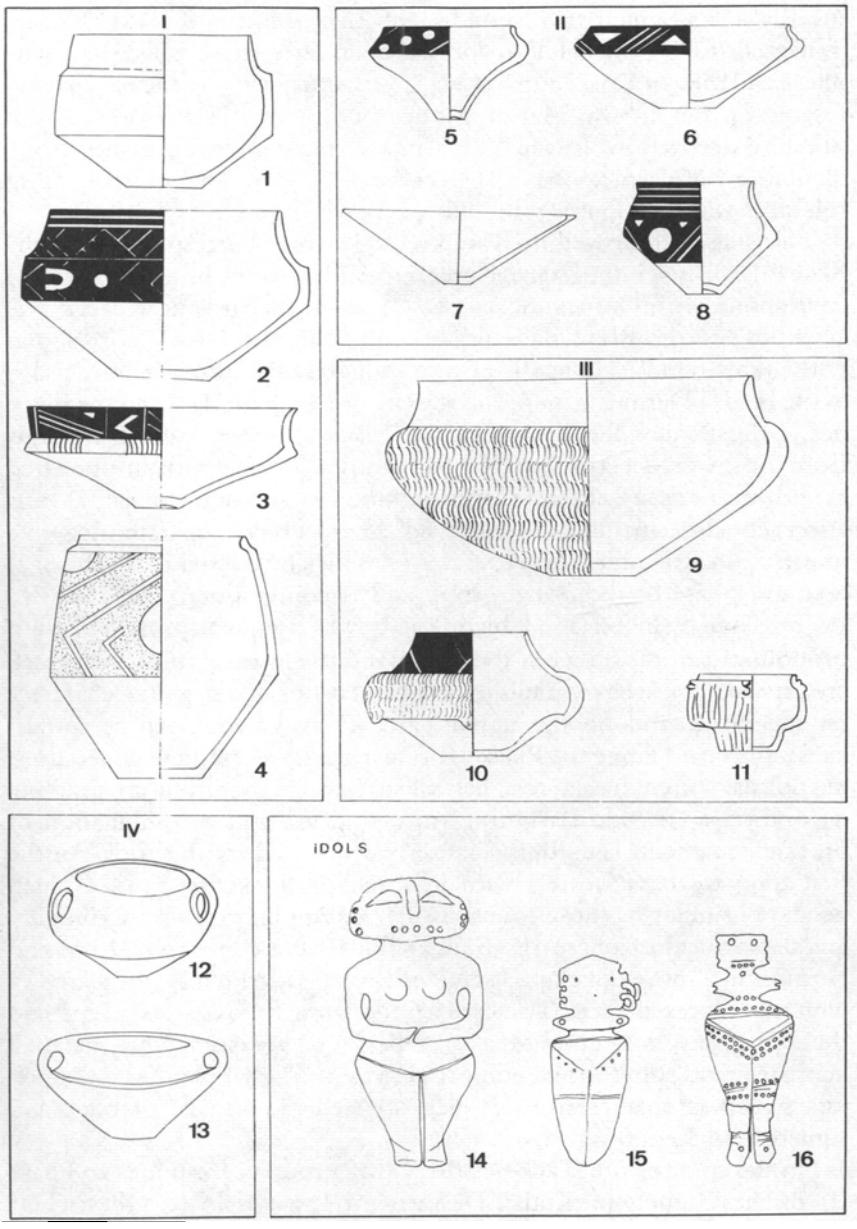

Fig. 23. Eneolithic period. East Balkan Lower Danubian complex. Gumelniţa group. 1–4: Gumelniţa I; 5–8: Gumelniţa II; 9–11: Gumelniţa III; 12–13: Gumelniţa IV. (After H. Vajsova.)

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mainly rectangular buildings,[28] pile-dwelling settlements have been found in the vicinity of Varna. Special attention should be paid to the Goljamo Delčevo site in the valley of Luda Kamčija,[29] where there are seventeen horizons of the Eneolithic period. Goljamo Delčevo was fortified with rectangular houses, arranged in regular rows and separated by streets. Phase II, where the site has a triple palisade, belongs to the Sava II group; layers III–IV belong to the end of the Varna phase; and layers V–XII show the influence of the Gumelniţa group. The settlement was rebuilt after a fire in layer XIII, which corresponded with the beginning of the Varna group (Gumelniţa III).

In the Gumelniţa–Kodža Dermen group the burials were made in a contracted position within the settlement itself, or in groups in a protracted position, e.g. in Ruse and Kubrat–Balbunar.[30] Cemeteries have been discovered at Vinica, Goljamo Delčevo, Devnja and Varna. Of these the last is the best known.[31] The dead were generally laid in a contracted position and some tombs were empty. There was considerable difference between the inventory of most graves and the inventory of the rich graves. The latter contained objects of gold such as masks, buttons, pendants resembling those from Hotnica and Ruse, zoomorphic pendants, and pottery gilded on the outside only. Certain combinations of objects in closed graves are of particular significance for chronology: for instance, pendants of the Ruse–Hotnica type, large flint knives and copper axe-adzes of the Varna type and of the Čoka type, the latter being a local variant (Devnja type).[32] A lump of ochre was often placed beside the skull. Stylized idols with an elongated, crescent-shaped head are characteristic of the late Gumelniţa group.[33]

The pottery as exemplified by finds from the pile-dwelling settlement at Ezerovo shows forms which are linked with Gumelniţa III. In spite of the fact that graphite decoration was known, shallow incisions filled with red or white encrustation were used principally for decoration.

The chronology of the groups which belong to this complex can be defined reasonably well. At Karanovo the stratigraphic position of the Marica group above Karanovo IV and the genetic tie between the Marica group and the Karanovo IV group suggest that the beginnings of the Marica group fall towards the end of the Vinča–Turdaş phase, and that there is a link with the Gradac phase. Golden pendants and large flint knives of the Gumelniţa III–Varna group suggest a connexion with the Tiszapolgár group in Hungary, which indicates the beginning of the advanced Eneolithic period in the Pannonian–Carpathian region. Finally, Gumelniţa IV, characterized by double-handled cups, is linked

[28] Cf., e.g., A 308 (with plans).
[29] *Ibid.*
[30] A 283.
[31] A 286.
[32] A 309, pl. 21, 1–3.
[33] A 286, *passim*.

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to phase I of the Bubanj–Hum variant of the Bubanj–Krivodol–Sălcuţa group, the more advanced stage of which, as we shall see, may be assumed to be contemporary with the end of Early Helladic II in Greece.

The character of this group, and in particular the phenomena of the cemetery at Varna, are clear indications that social stratification had taken place within the framework of family groupings in the Eneolithic period. The rich graves, in which tribal chieftains or heads of families were interred, were in marked contrast to the graves of the poorer or lesser members of the tribe. The fact that some finds at Varna, such as gold pendants and copper hammer-axes, were identical with those of the Carpatho–Pannonian zone, proves beyond doubt that trading connexions existed between Varna and the Carpatho–Danubian region.

It is difficult to determine the origins of the complex as a whole. One of its fundamental components is certainly the Karanovo IV group in Thrace. The fact that graphite was in use much earlier in Thrace and in Bulgaria than in Romania, indicates that the origins of the groups of this complex lie in the eastern Balkans. It is significant that in the coastal area of Thrace and Macedonia (Sitagroi III) graphite decorations appeared at the same time as dark painting on a light background and that similar motifs occurred on both kinds of pottery. On the basis of this and of the finds from Galepsos, we may see a connexion with the 'classical' Dhimini ware of Thessaly, which may have inspired the development of rich painted decoration in graphite paint.[34] Finally, certain phenomena such as the use of ochre and especially the large flint knives may be linked with Pontic–Steppe elements and thus perhaps with the first contacts with Indo-Europeans.

In the western part of the Balkano-Lower Danubian complex, which also uses graphite ornamentation, we may single out the Bubanj–Sălcuţa–Krivodol group and its variants namely at Sălcuţa in Oltenia, Krivodol in north-western Bulgaria, Bubanj–Hum I–II in the Morava basin in the vicinity of Niš, in the surroundings of Leskovac, at Pločnik on the Toplica and at Šupljevac–Bakarno Gumno in Pelagonia. We may also connect Maliq II a–b in southern Albania with this group.[35] Taken as a whole, the group is considerably poorer than the groups of the eastern Balkans; in particular metal finds are scarce. The boundaries between individual variants are not always clearcut. Thus the Sălcuţa group is certainly represented in north-eastern Serbia at the Zlot cave near Bor, and we cannot draw any clear boundary between the Bubanj–Hum variant and the Krivodol group. In the south the discoveries at Skopsko Kale at Skopje on the Vardar show a closer connexion with Šupljevac–Bakarno Gumno than with Bubanj–Hum.

[34] A 281. For other sites see J. Deshayes and M. Garašanin, in *BCH* 88 (1964), 51ff.

[35] A 162, 161–215; 606–12; A 161, 53ff; A 277 (with illustrations). See below, p. 201.

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It is a characteristic common to all the above-mentioned variants, on the right bank of the Danube, except the Zlot cave, that the settlements were made on naturally dominating, fortified positions or in places suitable for defence. Certain sites in Pelagonia (Bakarno Gumno and Crnobuki) are different, for they are tells.[36] Houses are rectangular and of small dimensions, and at Bubanj near Niš they are arranged in parallel rows. At Šupljevac near Bitola some buildings with stone walls set against a natural rock have been discovered.[37]

Of the tools belonging to this group flat axes and stone hammers are characteristic. Several basic shapes in pottery are common to all the variants: bowls with inverted rim, plates with thick rim, two-handled kantharoi, amphorae with two handles fixed to the rim or with two pierced handles springing from the rim, cups with short stems. The Bubanj–Hum group has censers also. Rippled and impressed ornamentation is typical, and also tooled decoration on amphorae and pseudo-Barbotine on coarse pottery.[38] In the Krivodol and Bubanj–Hum I variants ribbed patterns are used in combination with stamped dots. One finds graphite decoration often in Bubanj–Hum I, the motifs consisting of parallel lines and hatched triangles. In Krivodol the motifs are rather more complex. In the Šupljevac variant one finds white-painted ornamentation, as at Maliq II,[39] and crusted decoration is not uncommon. At Krivodol and Bubanj some fragments of gilded vessels have been found. Krivodol is richer in figurines which are closest in kind to those of the Balkano–Lower Danubian complex. They are rare in Bubanj–Hum I, and the few there are belong to the Vinča tradition. In the Šupljevac–Bakarno Gumno variant there are very stylized figurines with a broken axis, and others with an opening for the insertion of a separately moulded head, strongly reminiscent of the Rakhmani group in Thessaly.[40] The separate phase known as Bubanj–Hum Ib at Bubanj retains some of the classical forms – bowls with inverted rim, plates with thick rims, and kantharoi; but amphorae of elliptical shape (*Fischbutte*) and long-handled ladles appear also. Graphite ornamentation is rare and crusted paint has completely disappeared. In this phase there are vessels with vertical ribs in relief. Onion-shaped, single-handled vessels, reminiscent of the Baden ware, have been identified as coming from a later phase of the Šupljevac–Bakarno Gumno and from Maliq II.[41] In the Bubanj–Hum II phase, which exists at Bubanj itself and partly at Pekljuk in western Bulgaria, the pottery

[36] A 181, 21ff.
[37] A 282, 9ff, 11.
[38] A 161, pl. 7, 5–7; A 162, pl. 28, 30–1.
[39] *Ibid.* pl. 29, 2; 32; A 161, pl. 9; A 282.
[40] A 180, cat. no. 414–41; A 181, cat. no. 205, 223.
[41] A 161, pl. 6, 2–3; A 162, pl. 31, 1–2; A 460, 255ff.

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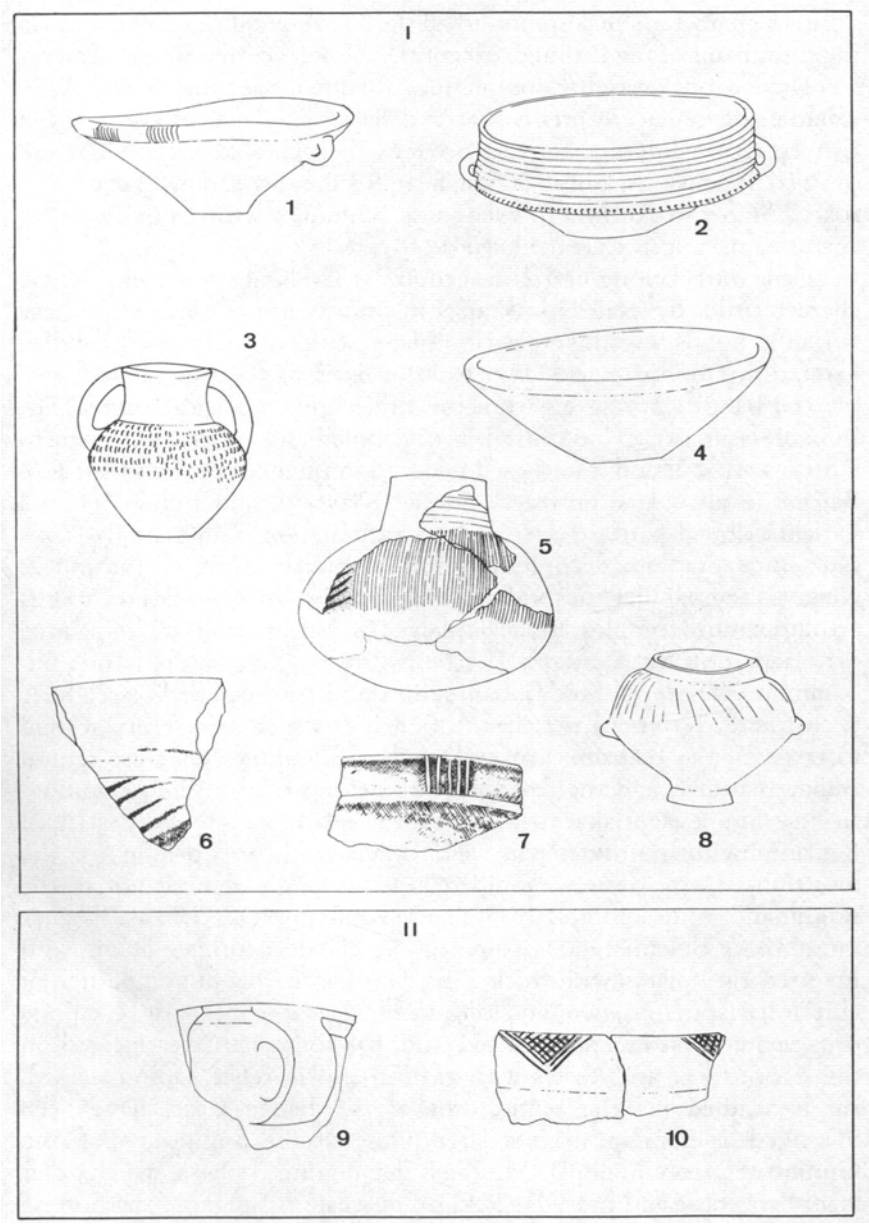

Fig. 24. Eneolithic period. East Balkan Lower Danubian complex. Bubanj-Hum I-II groups. 1–8: Bubanj-Hum I(Ia); 9–10: Bubanj-Hum II. (After M. Garašanin.)

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consists mainly of the basic shapes, but it is of inferior quality. The profiles of the rims of the plates vary, and ornamentation in the form of plastic bands decorated with impressions is typical on coarse pottery. In addition there are incised patterns of rhomboids, rectangles, and concentric circles with hatched motifs (sometimes rather deep) which are generally on the belly of the vase and confined within incised lines. This kind of ornamentation suggests a link with the Coţofeni group of Romania and the Kostolac group.[42] Finally, there is also a finer grey or black ware, whose vessels have two band-like handles rising above the rim, while the plates have rims broadened on two sides in the shape of the letter T.[43] As this pottery is rather close to the Minyan ware of Greece, it has been named Pseudo-Minyan (fig. 24).[44]

Of the local variants the oldest is certainly the Sălcuţa in Oltenia. A more precise dating of the Krivodol group is not yet possible. The Bubanj–Hum group, including its I a phase, when compared with the Sălcuţa group, began at the end of Sălcuţa II c and the beginning of Sălcuţa III.[45] A similar date may be accepted for the Šupljevac–Bakarno Gumno group.[46] For more precise dating the appearance of the elements of the Baden–Kostolac type in the Bubanj–Hum I b, at Šupljevac and at Maliq II b (below, p. 212) are important, as we shall see. Pseudo-Minyan pottery points to links with Early Helladic III, when such elements appeared for the first time in Greece. A reliable date at the end of the third millennium is thus obtained for Bubanj–Hum II.[47] For the time being, though, the interesting cylinders of Maliq II b cannot be dated with any confidence (below, p. 203).

The fact that variants of this group extend from the right bank of the Danube to southern Pelagonia may be explained by the theory that a section of the bearers of the already developed Sălcuţa variant migrated southwards. Perhaps the cause of this migration may be found in the pressure of tribes moving westwards from the lower regions of the Danube in conjunction with the bearers of Cernavodă II. Examples of corded ware discovered at Šupljevac–Bakarno Gumno suggest a direct contact with peoples from the steppes. As this particular kind of decoration appeared on ware of local origin, it may have evolved on the spot, but the decorative patterns are very close to those of Cernavodă I.[48] Special attention should be paid to the stone sceptre from Šupljevac. It is an object rarely found in the area stretching from Kazakhstan to the Lower Danube region and Thrace (Rezovo), and it

[42] A 162, pl. 33; A 161, pl. 11, 5; 12, 7–9.
[43] A 162, pl. 34, 1; A 161, pl. 11, 4.
[44] A 162, 182ff; A 161, 63.
[45] A 162, 192ff.
[46] A 282, *passim*.
[47] A 162, 202ff.
[48] A 282, figs. 24–5, 28*a*, 30, 32–3.

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is certainly connected with Steppe–Pontic tribes.[49] The appearance of this sceptre (another specimen came from the Sălcuţa group in Romania) confirms the links between the Bubanj–Krivodol–Sălcuţa group and the Indo-Europeans, who were moving westwards (fig. 27, 1–4, 6–7).

2. *North-western Balkans*

The north-western Balkan area was closely connected with the Carpathian region in this period. There was only a limited occupation of the narrow belt along the right-hand bank of the Sava and the Danube, and few groups ventured deeper inland.

The Tiszapolgár–Bodrogkeresztúr group presents us with an early form of Eneolithic, which however ties in with a later phase of evolution. The group should be regarded as a unity in terms of its civilization. Its centre was in the Hungarian region of the Tisa. It certainly penetrated into southern Pannonia, where its influence has been traced in Banat (Omoljica), Srem (Belegiš), and in the wider area about the mouth of the Sava. There are certain sites also on the right bank of the Danube (such as Dubočaj near Grocka, Belgrade); but they are too few to justify a definite conclusion. The appearance of the Bodrogkeresztúr group at Višesava, far up the valley of the Drina, is only an isolated phenomenon. In Srem and in eastern Slavonia, however, there are more sites: Vučedol, Progar, Sotin. Belegiš is of particular significance because it is sited on a commanding hill, suitable for defence. The Tiszapolgár and Bodrogkeresztúr groups certainly developed from the Lengyel group and also absorbed some elements from the steppes, such as large flint knives. The discovery of some gold pendants and copper implements of the Tiszapolgár and Bodrogkeresztúr groups shows that within the Carpatho–Danubian region there was widespread exchange of metal products.[50]

The Baden group, covering the whole of the Pannonian and Alpine area, penetrated somewhat deeper into the north-western and northern Balkans. It is well known in Srem, Slavonia and Banat. Several sites pertaining to this group are to be found along the right bank of the Danube. At Vinča the Baden culture succeeded the last layer of Vinča–Pločnik II b. In Bosnia, the Dvorovi settlement near Bjeljina deserves special attention.[51] Some of the finds at Djurdjevo and Gornje Komarice in central Serbia (Šumadija) also belong to the Baden group. The settlements in the main resemble those of the Neolithic period, but

[49] A 167, cat no. 171; A 181, cat. no. 227; A 282, 32ff.

[50] A 162, 216–26; 612–13; A 161, 30ff (both with illustrations).

[51] A 162, 226–35; 613–15; A 161, 37ff; A 273; A 295. For Baden and following groups see now S. Dimitrijević in *Praistorija jugoslavenskih zemalja* III (Sarajevo, 1979), 137ff.

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some were situated in a dominant position. The most important of these is on the Gradac hill at Vučedol, where two apsidal houses were discovered, the larger having two chambers. At Dobanovci and Beli Manastir (Baranja) some pit dwellings were found.[52] It appears that this group did not use cemeteries either in the Balkans or in the immediately neighbouring Pannonian region; for burials at Vučedol were within the settlement itself. In one grave two contracted skeletons were found in an antipodal position; in another, a terraced pit, there were several skeletons of children. Burials under a mound have been confirmed at Skorenovac in Banat, but since more detailed information is lacking we do not know what kind of burials they were.

The Baden group, which occupied a wide territory, developed into a series of regional variants. According to S. Dimitrijević there are three basic phases, but the earliest, I a, does not belong to the Baden group in a strict sense.[53] The evolution of the group can be traced well at Vučedol, where there is a lower layer and then two successive layers of habitation. Stone hammers are typical, and a flat copper axe has been found at Dobanovci. Moulds for casting leaf-shaped daggers, found at Sarvaš, were recently attributed to the Vučedol group.[54] Typical kinds of pottery are small onion-shaped vessels with one long band-like handle, larger vessels with similar handles, amphorae of elliptical shape ('Fischbutte') and vessels of S-shaped profile. These appear in the classical phase of Baden. In the later stage at Vučedol ladles with elongated handles, and spherical amphorae with conical necks are typical. Ornamentation consists mainly of rippled patterns, rows of stamped dots (mostly found on amphorae) or combinations of incised zig-zag motifs; incised net-like patterns are frequent on coarse pottery (fig. 25, 1–6).[55]

The raising of stock, primarily sheep, goats, and cattle, was an important occupation of the bearers of the Baden culture.

The chronology of the Baden group is established first of all by stratigraphy at Szekely (Hungary), where it lies above the layer of the Bodrogkeresztúr group.[56] We have already mentioned the appearance of certain elements of the advanced Baden group in Bubanj–Hum I b and Bubanj–Hum II. Thus the group could be fitted tentatively into the framework of Early Helladic II and III. Vessels similar to those of the Baden group have been discovered at Ayios Kosmas in Attica, and this supports the suggestion that the Baden group may be dated to the end of Early Helladic II.[57]

[52] A 306; A 310.
[53] A 273.
[54] A 303, 143, fig. 81A.
[55] A 161, pls. 6, 2–3; 7, 1–4; fig. 7; A 162, pl. 39, 1–2; A 303, pls. 20, 23–4.
[56] A 162, 233ff.
[57] *Ibid.* 233. For finds see A 273.

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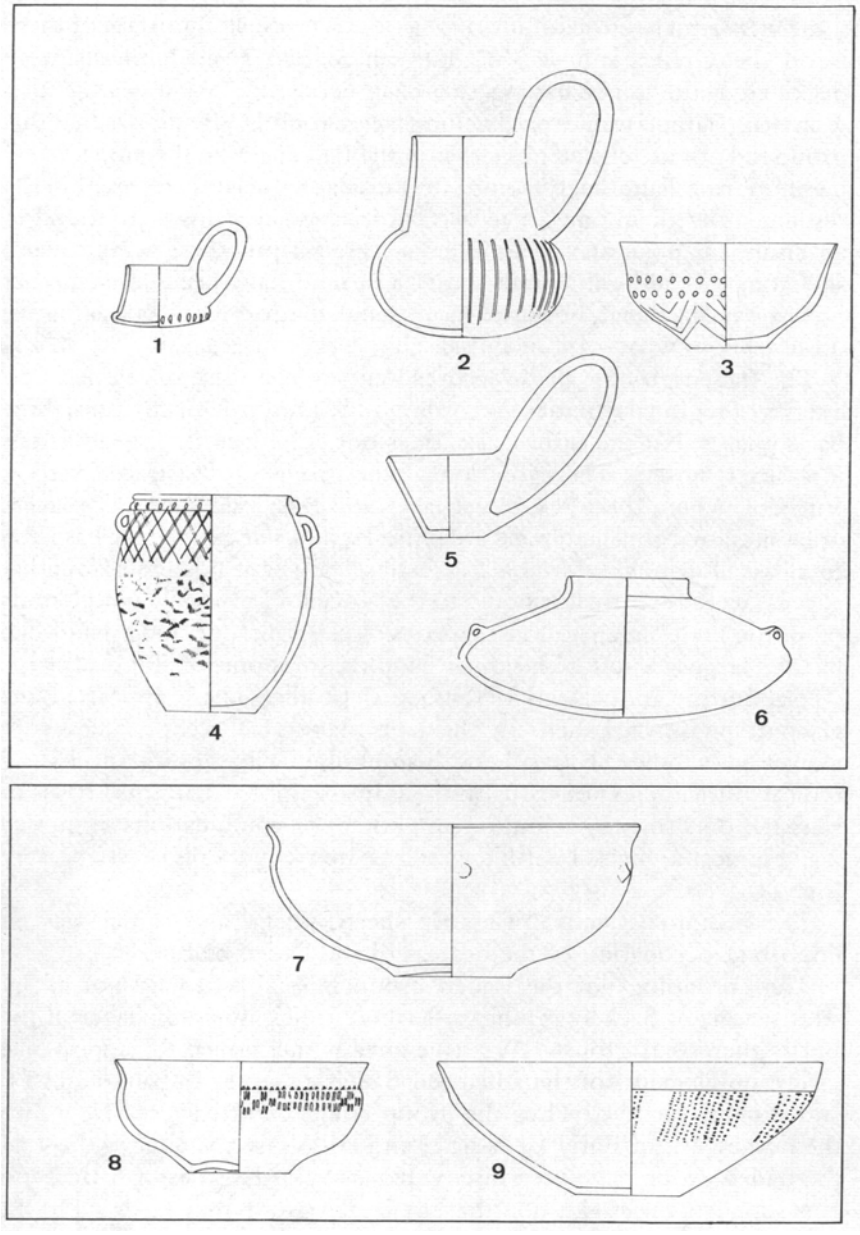

Fig. 25. Eneolithic period. North-western Balkans. Baden group. 1–6: Classical Baden; 7–9: Baden-Kostolac. (After S. Dimitrijević.)

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When we turn to the origins of the group we meet great difficulties. It has been held that it was an autochthonous development from the Neolithic period. Yet the discovery at Center in Hungary of some anthropomorphic urns resembling those of Troy II has been taken by some scholars to indicate a migration from the Aegean region.[58] It is probable, however, that there was only limited contact with the Aegean. On the other hand, the discovery of catacomb-like burial-pits with children's skeletons at Vučedol, the use of dagger-moulds of Caucasian type at Sarvaš, and acquaintance with the wheel and the horse in areas outside the Balkans all suggest a link with the steppe peoples.

Recently some scholars have separated the Kostolac group from the Baden group, but the 'Baden–Kostolac variant' seems preferable.[59] In general the Kostolac variant covers southern Pannonia and penetrates into the northern and north-western Balkans.[60] In Bosnia the group is identified by the site of Pivnice in the valley of the Bosna. The settlement here is in a commanding position, and its buildings of light wattle were above the ground. There was also a large oval building 15 metres long.[61] We have already discussed the cinnabar mine at Šuplja Stijena. Certain features of the Kostolac variant were formed as far south as the lower region of the Južna Morava (at Jelenac near Aleksinac and Bubanj), where they were mixed with features of Bubanj–Hum II and the Coţofeni group.[62] Little is known of the Kostolac burial rites. One particular grave from Dvorovi is of interest, the ashes of the deceased being covered with a Kostolac-type vessel. This kind of burial had been practised for a long period in the Bronze Age in Slavonia and in the region of the Sava valley in Bosnia.[63] The principal characteristic of the group is its pottery. It consists mainly of Baden-type vessels, especially of those with a gently-curving profile or with a rounded shoulder. Ornamentation is usually in the 'stab-and-drag' technique, some motifs consisting of parallel, rectangular and borderless spaces, and others often of triangles filled with dots. Stamped triangular or chequered prick-decorations are also found on the rims of the vessels. Encrustation, mostly in white paint, is typical (fig. 25, 7–9).[64]

Chronologically the Kostolac finds at Gomolava in Srem follow the lower layer of the Baden group. At Vučedol, however, the Kostolac material is to be found in the upper Baden layer and in the lower Vučedol layer. This points to its being contemporary in part with both these groups.[65] We have already discussed its relation with the Bubanj–Hum group.

[58] A 292, *passim*.
[59] A 161, 37ff; A 162, 226ff.
[60] *Ibid.*
[61] A 152, 146ff.
[62] A 162, 182ff.
[63] A 295.
[64] E.g. A 303, pls. 22; 24, 3–7.
[65] A 291, 178ff; A 273, 246ff.

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It is difficult at present to say anything definite about the origins of the variant. There is, certainly a close connexion with the Baden group, and it seems that the group developed originally in southern Pannonia and in the area along the Danube and the Sava, and that it spread northwards.

The Kostolac group and the Lasinja in south-western Pannonia and in the Alpine regions are in part contemporary. The Lasinja group penetrated the north-western Balkans to a small degree (at Ljupljanica and Vis Modran near Derventa in northern Bosnia). It also spread through the Croatian part of Pannonia (Lasinja, Cerje Novo and Cerje Tužno). Originally it must have developed from the Lengyel group (including here the Sopot–Lengyel group), but with strong Baden influences. The stratigraphy at Vis Modran indicates that the developed phase of the Lasinja group is followed by the Kostolac, while at Lasinja itself Vučedol material has been found to contain specimens of the late pottery of the Kostolac group.

The Vučedol group,[66] so named after the eponymous site near Vukovar, has a specially important place. The expansion of this group to areas beyond the Baden group can be traced through a wide variety of regional forms in the western areas of the Balkans, in the Alpine region (at Ljubljansko Barje) and as far as the Adriatic coast. In addition to the classical variant known from the sites of Slavonija and Srem, particular attention should be paid to variants found in west and central Bosnia and in Dalmatia. In archaeological literature the latter is referred to as a part of the Ljubljansko Barje culture. Finds from central Serbia are still rather few in number.[67] Some settlements are sited on terraced river banks and on old Neolithic settlements, but others (e.g. Gradac at Vučedol and Sančine at Belegiš in Srem) were in dominant positions which were specially adapted for defence. The latter are found often in both Bosnian variants (Zecovi near Prijedor, Debelo Brdo near Sarajevo, Alihodža in the valley of the Bila etc.).[68] Most Bosnian sites have only one layer of habitation, which suggests unsettled conditions, but Zecovi of the western Bosnian variant and Alihodža of the central variant have more than one layer.

Megaron-shaped houses of big dimensions have been found in two horizons in the eponymous settlement of Gradac at Vučedol.[69] The site at Vučedol Gradac, as in the Baden period, had only a few buildings, but these were of general importance for the settlement or served as the houses of the chieftains. A megaron-shaped construction of the earlier horizon was named 'the smelter's house' by its excavator because of a characteristic find of metal objects. At Zecovi pit-dwellings belonging

[66] A 303, *passim*; A 152, 135ff; A 162, 236–40; 615–16.
[67] A 274; A 294; A 162, 236ff.
[68] A 152, 135ff, pl. 29.
[69] A 303, 21ff, fig. 18.

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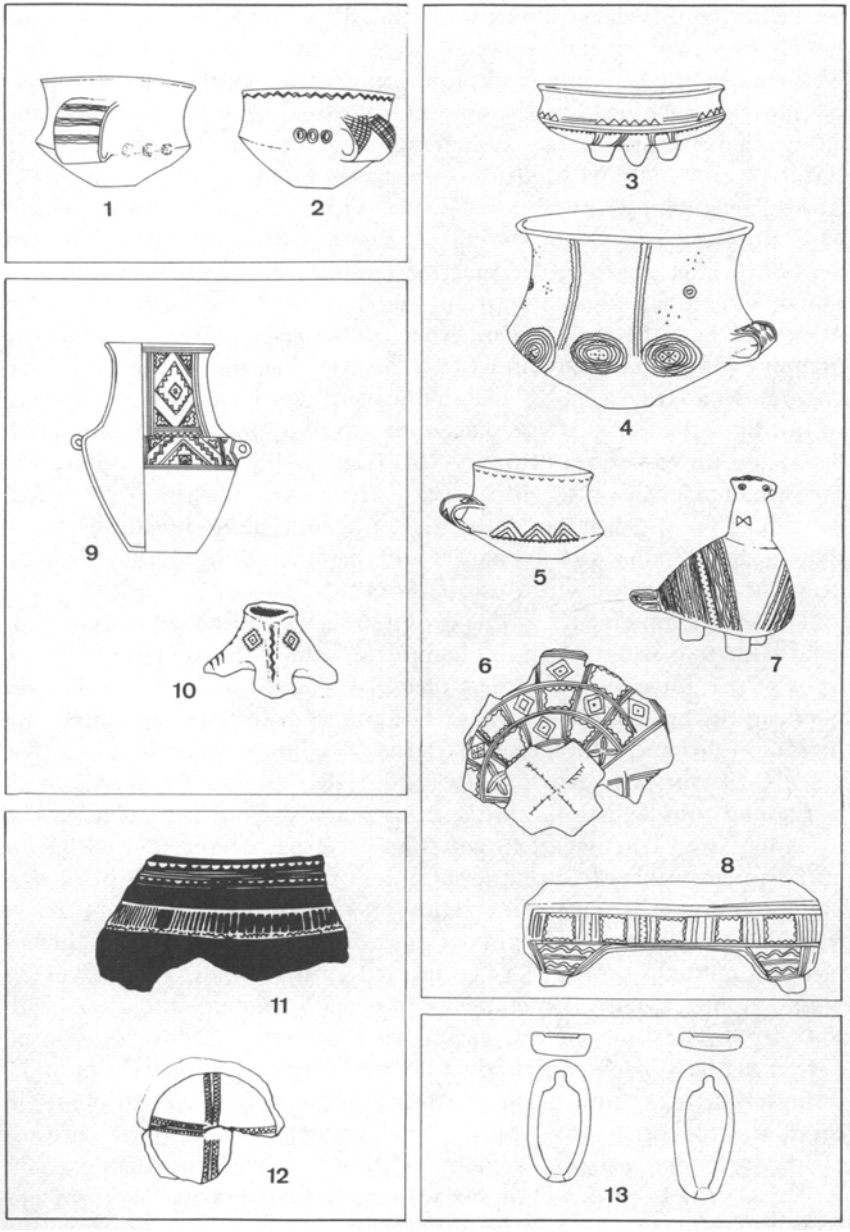

Fig. 26. Eneolithic period. North-western Balkans. Vučedol group. 1–2: Early phase; 3–8: Classical phase; 9–10: West Bosnian variant; 11–12: Dalmatian variant; 13: moulds for copper daggers of Sarvas. (After S. Dimitrijević.)

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to the earliest settlement were superseded by buildings above ground, which were made of light material. In the centre of the settlement there was an oblong building with flooring and a hearth, very probably belonging to the head of the community. In Bosnia (Hrustovača) and along the Adriatic coast settlements in caves have been identified (Grabak cave, Jamina Sredi on the island of Krk).[70]

At Vučedol interments were made within the settlement itself. A catacomb-like grave, containing a rich inventory and called by the excavator 'the grave of the married couple', contained a male and a female skeleton, perhaps important members of the community. Burials in tumuli have been found in Srem (Batajnica and Vojka), and to a greater extent in Dalmatia in large cemeteries (Rumin near Knin, Vrelo Cetine). In a large tumulus at Batajnica soil was heaped over the place of burning, then an urn was placed on top of it, and finally more earth was piled up to form a tumulus. In Dalmatia bodies were interred in a contracted position in stone cists.[71] This particular mode of burial continued in the western Balkans, with certain modifications, even during the Metallic Age. Its nature and the fact that it persisted so long point to a connexion with Indo-European elements.

The stone implements of this group are axes and bored hammers. It is possible to distinguish individual phases and regional variants on the basis of the pottery. The earliest phase of Vučedol is found in the area between the Sava and the Drava. The coarse pottery is decorated with bands in relief and with incised patterns. The fine pottery, however, has vessels of various shapes; biconical, tall, tureen-like bowls with horizontal tubular handles are characteristic. Amphorae are rare. The ornamentation consists of furrow-like patterns; deeply incised decoration appears most often on the shoulder of the vessels and is of zig-zag bands, triangles, concentric circles etc.[72] In the classical phase at Vučedol and Sarvaš – in spite of certain differences between them – bowls sometimes on four legs continued in use. Other types of vessels were amphorae, cups sometimes on a cruciform stem, and altars with four legs. The bulk of the vessel was covered with deeply excised patterns; the friezes consisted of motifs which included rhomboids, triangles, crosses, circles and St Andrew's crosses. The third phase, in Srem and Slavonia, was a period of degeneration within which most of the regional variants developed.[73] In the west Bosnian variant biconical vessels, tureens, amphorae, cups and censers on cruciform legs appear. Decoration is in a deeply excised technique or in furrow-like incisions with motifs which resemble those of the classical variant. In the central Bosnian variant one frequently finds shapes that have

[70] A 273, 135ff; A 293; A 274, 11ff.

[71] A 279; A 152, 139ff.

[72] E.g. A 303, pls. 27–8; 34.

[73] For the chronology see A 275, *passim*.

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rounded profiles, while the furrow-like ornamentation is somewhat poorer.[74] The Dalmatian variant possesses similarities with the south Bosnian variant and with the Ljubljansko Barje (Ig I). Here, too, censers on cruciform stems and shapes with rounded profiles appear. In decoration one finds mainly deep zig-zag lines, triangles or hatched bands (fig. 26).[75] In a separate phase of this group one also finds ornamentation that consists of a combination of excised bands and pricks, for which analogies are found in Bosnia (Kotorac) in an Early Bronze Age mound at Ražana in west Serbia, and in the Bubanj–Hum III group.[76] In spite of the fact that the situation in Dalmatia is as yet insufficiently clear, it is certain that the evolution of this culture can be traced into the Early Bronze Age.[77]

Among objects of cult were found terracotta horns of consecration, which points to a connexion with the Aegean world, and a dove-shaped vase. Both were discovered at Vučedol.[78] Of finds relating to metallurgy a mould and a flat axe from Vučedol are important. From the same site come copper ingots and pins.[79]

Not very much is known about the economy of the group. In a deeper layer at Hrustovača carbonized millet was discovered, pointing surely to agricultural pursuits. That stock-breeding prospered is proved by bones of oxen at the Vučedol sites and by the short life of many settlements.[80] The finds at Vučedol also speak in favour of its inhabitants being acquainted with metallurgy. The insecurity so characteristic of the Eneolithic period is shown by the preference for naturally fortified sites, suitable for defence. The double grave and the isolated megarons at Vučedol, as well as the central building at Zecovi, suggest that tribal chieftains or heads of families had a superior position in the community. All this is reminiscent of the cemetery at Varna.

Chronologically, it is significant that the lower layer of Vučedol contains material belonging to Kostolac, while at Gomolava the Vučedol stratum is separated from that of Kostolac.[81] The inventory of the group shows a link with some elements of the Vinkovci group which belongs to the Early Bronze Age in the central European sense, whose origins date from about 1800 B.C. The same relationship has been established at the site of Vrdnik at Fruška Gora, where the Vinkovci group followed immediately after Vučedol.[82] Consequently the Vučedol group is dated to the very end of the Eneolithic Age.

[74] A 152, 135ff, pl. 29; A 274, pl. II, 7–11.

[75] For the Ljupljana finds see A 274, pl. II, 1–6 (Vučedol group); pls. V–VI (Ig). For Dalmatia see *ibid.* pls. VII–VIII; A 152, pl. 32.

[76] A 152, pl. 32, 3, 6.

[77] *Ibid.* 138ff.

[78] A 303, pl. 50, 1–2.

[79] A 303, 103ff. with illustrations.

[80] For economy in general see *ibid.* 158.

[81] A 275, *passim*; A 291, 178ff.

[82] A 154, 194.

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That the Kostolac group played an important role in the formation of the Vučedol group is confirmed by the character of the pottery belonging to the early phase of the Vučedol group. To a certain extent they are contemporaneous. It is certain that in the north-western Balkans and in Dalmatia the Vučedol group appeared as an alien phenomenon, but the directions in which it spread are not always clear. Thus it appears that in the Dalmatian variant there were two components: the central Bosnian and the Alpine (Ljubljansko Barje). On the other hand burials under tumuli, the double grave at Vučedol, and some typical shapes (especially censers on cruciform stems) point to the influence of steppes peoples and to a link with the catacomb-type graves which originated in the region of the Russian steppes. All of these components had significance in the formation of this group.[83]

3. *Lower Danubian and Steppe Elements*

We mentioned that Steppe elements were one of the components which led to the creation of individual cultural groups and complexes (fig. 27). The corded ware of Šupljevac was discussed, and here one may add that this ware appeared also in the Rumin cemetery,[84] in a rather domestic form, which indicates that it was not imported but had developed locally after an initial outside influence. The stone sceptre from Šupljevac is a different matter; it represents a foreign element, in spite of the fact that its appearance in Macedonia cannot as yet be fully explained. The following are indications of the presence of purely Lower Danubian and Steppe elements in the Balkans and in the area along the left bank of the Danube: a vessel of corded ware discovered in a tumulus at Djala in Banat,[85] and graves with ochre under tumuli (see pp. 40–2 for such finds in Romania). Comparable graves in Bulgaria have been reported. They belong to the ordinary pit type, covered with a wooden structure. Bulgarian archaeologists suggested a somewhat later date (in the Bronze Age), but this is not convincing.[86] A similar grave has been found at Vojlovica by Pančevo (Vojvodina) near Belgrade. According to earlier information similar graves in tumuli were discovered in Vladimirovac and at Uljma (Banat).[87] So far the finds are relatively rare, but it must be stressed that numerous tumuli scattered all over the Banat have never been systematically studied. Furthermore, one should add the hoards of large flint knives from Kladovo at Djerdap and farther west from Hercegovina (Lastve).[88] The cruciform axe found in a hoard at Kladovo of the Bodrogkeresztúr group belongs to the advanced Eneolithic

[83] A 162, 239 ff.
[84] Cf. n. 48.
[85] A 162, pl. 47.
[86] A 322, 60.
[87] A 289; A 154, 175ff.
[88] A 276; A 175, 58ff, fig. 3.

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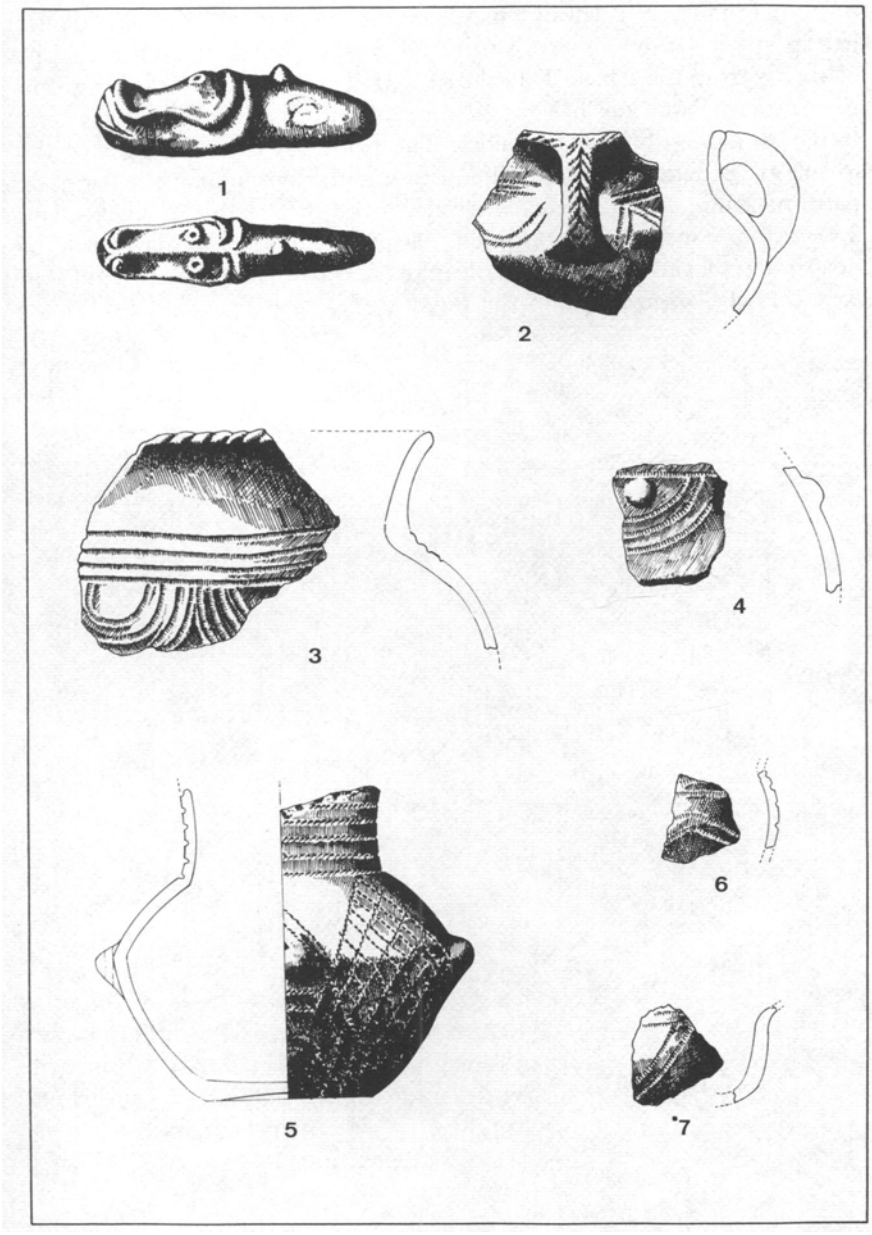

Fig. 27. Elements of Steppe cultures in the Balkans. 1–4, 6–7: Supljevac; 5: vase of corded ware from Djala-Banat. (After N. Tasić.)

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period. Finally, one should mention the finds of the Černavodă III group, which moved westwards under the pressure of the Steppe elements from the Lower Danube region. The appearance of this group in southern Pannonia has recently been confirmed at Brza Vrba near Kovin and Mostonga I in Bačka. The principal characteristics of the group are ornamentation in relief, often with double or triple bands of patterns arranged in various ways along the surface of the vessels, and decoration consisting of rippled patterns. This particular form of decoration played a significant role in the formation of groups belonging to the Early Bronze Age in the Balkans.[89]

[89] A 307, 9ff.

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CHAPTER 4

THE BRONZE AGE IN THE CENTRAL BALKAN AREA

M. GARAŠANIN

While the turbulent Eneolithic period experienced a series of cultural, social and to a certain degree ethnic innovations, the Bronze Age was a period of consolidation. The great Eneolithic migration from the Pontic and steppe regions, which brought the Indo-European element westwards, was the last of that magnitude. The Aegean migration which signalled the end of the Bronze Age and the transition to the Iron Age was, so far as south-eastern Europe was concerned, mainly a movement of Balkano-Lower Danubian elements towards the Aegean region and the Near East.

As in the Eneolithic period, it is possible to trace various cultural complexes within the diversity of regional groups in the Bronze Age. Trade links and commercial exchanges between one region and another developed on a much larger scale. This was revealed primarily in the spread of metal objects of various kinds. Thus in the eastern parts of the Balkans the most significant shapes were connected with metallurgical regions by the Caspian Sea:[1] in particular axes with an elongated shaft-hole, which have numerous variants. Such shapes were known also farther west. On the other hand the great majority of the metal objects in the West Balkans belonged to the Central European area of metal production. Finally, the influence of the Mycenaean world, especially in the eastern Balkans and the Carpathian region, was not negligible. It was reflected in particular in imports or copies of Mycenaean swords, certain decorative patterns, and jewellery.[2]

As in the Eneolithic period, the characteristic culture of the new period made its appearance first in the eastern Balkans, this region being nearer to the major centres of the Aegean culture and to the Near East. Its origin was a factor in determining the date of its arrival in individual areas. As in the Aegean and Asia Minor, the Balkan Bronze Age began in the course of the third millennium. Bulgarian archaeologists have divided it into the following basic periods: Early Bronze, 2750–1900 B.C.; Middle Bronze, 1900–1500; Late Bronze, 1500–1200. This division

[1] A 270. For general information see A 315; A 319, 1ff.
[2] A 127.

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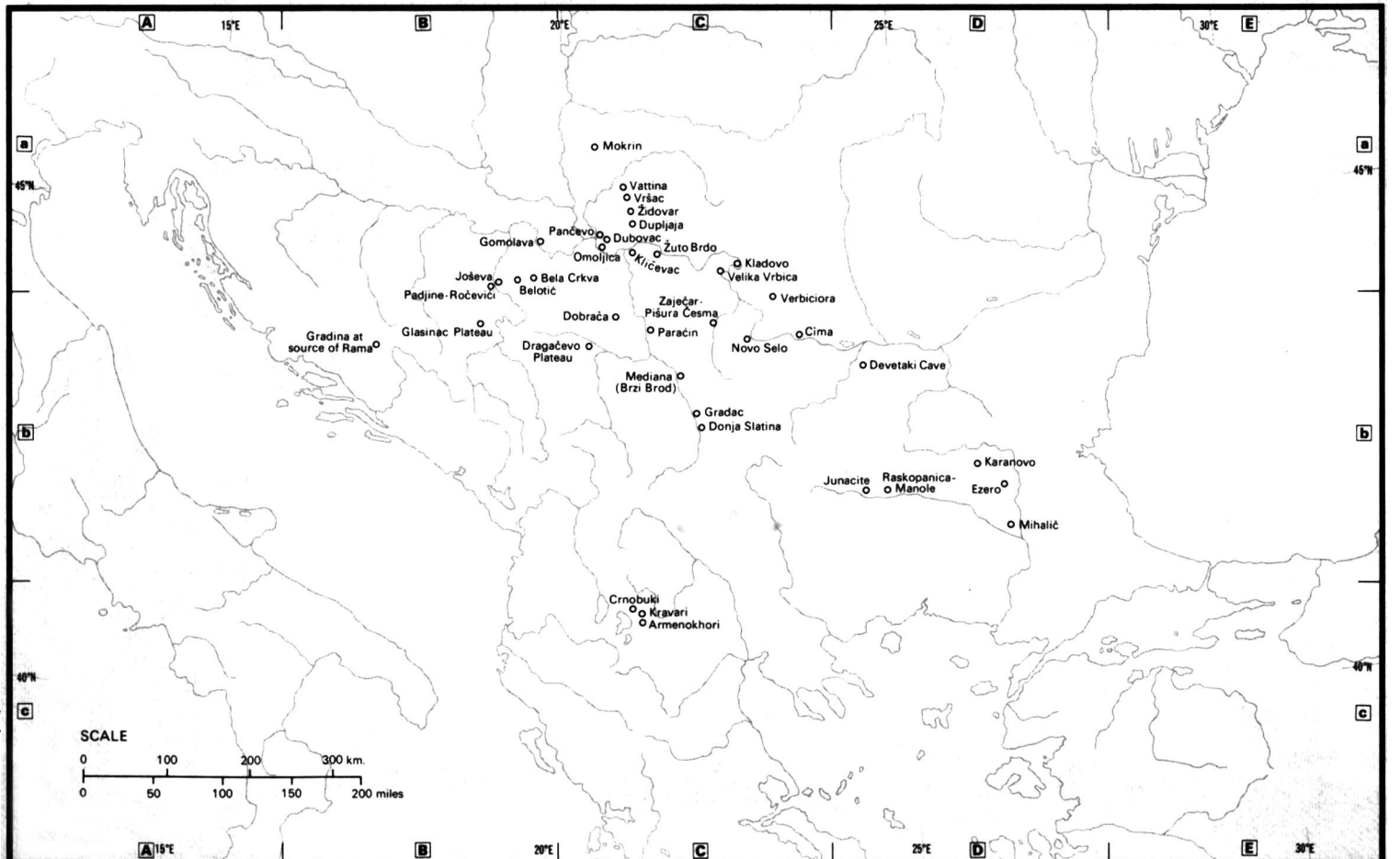

Map 8. The Bronze Age in the Central Balkans.

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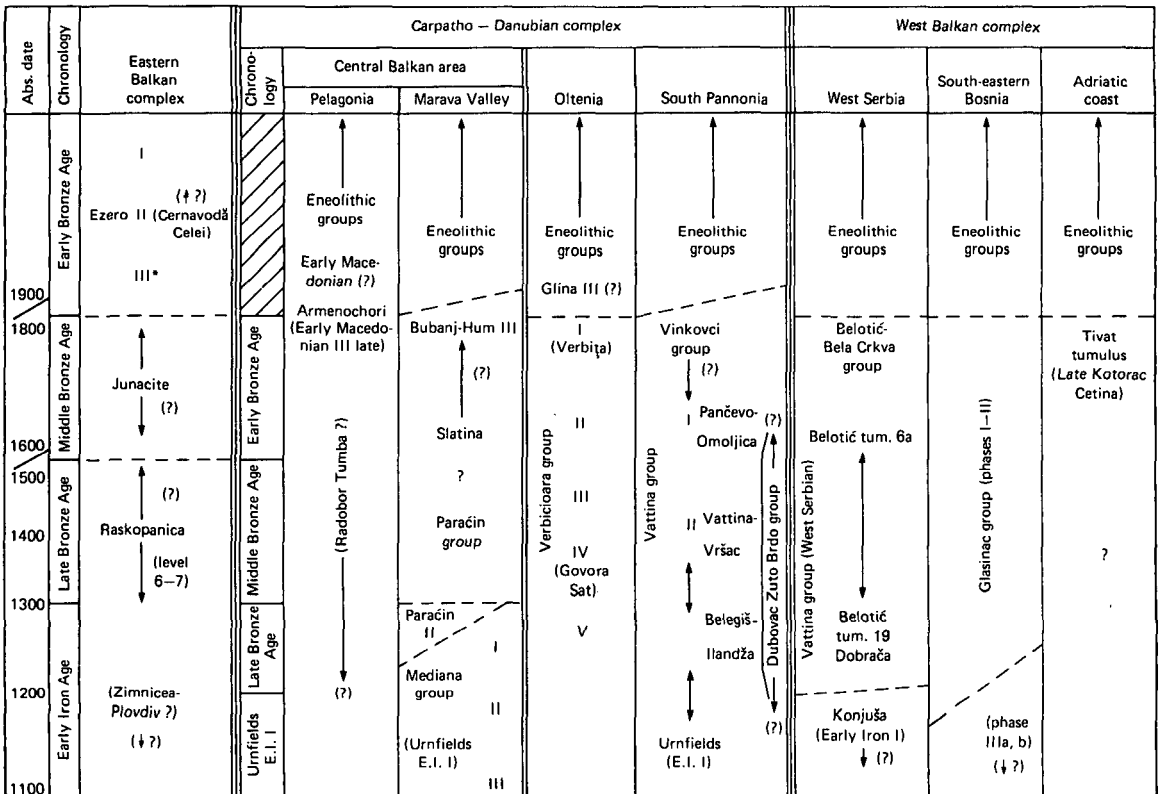
III The Bronze Age in the Balkans.



* According to N. J. Merpert and G. Georgiev in *Symposium über die Chronologie u. Entstehung der Badener Kulture* (Bratislava, 1973), 215ff.

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resembles that of the Aegean and Troy.[3] By contrast the Central and Western Balkans evolved in a way which was more akin to the evolution of Central Europe, where the Bronze Age began only *c.* 1800 B.C., and there the division devised for Central Europe by P. Reinecke has been in use for a long time. The Reinecke division has four stages A–D, the last of which belongs to the beginnings of the transition to the Iron Age (*c.* 1300–1200). This division does not entirely fit the conditions in the Balkans. Therefore a new system with three stages has recently been devised to meet the needs of the area: Early Bronze (Reinecke A1, *c.* 1900/1800–1600/1500); Middle Bronze (Reinecke A2/B2–C, *c.* 1600/1500–*c.* 1300); Late Bronze (Reinecke C/D to about 1200).[4]

The principal complexes of the Bronze Age are: the East Balkan complex of Thrace; the Carpatho–Danubian, covering the area between the Stara Planina range and the Carpathians (including the Central Balkan region, i.e. the valley of the Morava, but not as yet Macedonia); and the West Balkan complex. The last two reached maturity only in the Middle Bronze Age. Prior to that there was a series of collateral groups in this region which can be traced from Pannonia and the Carpathians to Macedonia and Albania. We shall deal with them later on.

On the whole the Bronze Age saw the evolution of the ethnic groups which had emerged during the Eneolithic period and the eventual symbiosis of autochthonous elements and Indo-European elements from the steppes and the Pontic region. Through contacts between one group and another a basis developed for the formation of tribes and later of the Palaeo-Balkan peoples. As there seems to have been an unbroken continuity between the Early Bronze Age and the first written data on the subject of the Palaeo-Balkan peoples, we are justified in relating the Bronze Age complexes to the Palaeo-Balkan peoples: the East Balkan complex to the Proto-Thracians, the Balkano–Danubian to the Proto–Daco–Moesians, and the Western Balkan to the Proto–Illyrians.[5]

I. THE EAST BALKAN COMPLEX

It is only during the last two decades that this complex has been clearly defined. It covers the whole area of Thrace and all stages of the Bronze Age as defined by the Bulgarians. This complex was named first Karanovo VII after Karanovo, where it was represented in the upper layers but not in all its stages. Much more light has been shed on the subject by the stratigraphic excavations of the multilayered tells at Ezero near Nova Zagora, at Nova Zagora itself, and at Raskopanica in the

[3] A 319, 9ff.
[4] A 162, 291ff.
[5] A 153; A 316; A 314.

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village of Manole near Plovdiv.[6] It was found that the Early Bronze Age and the beginning of the Middle Bronze Age were represented at Ezero, Middle Bronze Age at Nova Zagora, and Late Bronze Age in the upper layer of Raskopanica.

As a rule, the settlements of this period may be characterised as tells. They have a much more urban aspect; thus the first settlement at Ezero was fortified by a stone wall, 1·50 m thick, and as the settlement grew the wall was moved to the foot of the tell. In the early stages of the Bronze Age the basic shape of dwellings was first rectangular and then apsidal with two chambers which each possessed a hearth and a space for drying corn. Towards the end of the early period at Ezero apsidal houses appeared; they were connected to one another by a long side. Dwellings were arranged in rows, and there was an empty space in the centre of the settlement, a kind of square in which transactions of common interest to all the inhabitants were carried out.[7] Dwellings appear to have been of a standard type, and they were divided from one another by narrow passages.[8]

In the settlement at Ezero the dead were buried in a contracted position, and the bodies of newly-born infants were placed in special coarsely-made two-handled urns which continued in use throughout the Bronze Age. In an Early Bronze Age cemetery near Bereketska Mogila by Stara Zagora skeletons were buried in a contracted position lying on their left side with the head towards the south. As a rule a lump of ochre was placed beside the head. There were also some group graves. Typical pottery shapes were askoi and jugs and cups with one handle rising above the rim.[9]

In the Early Bronze Age there were bored hammers of stone, flint blades with a high retouch, flint sickles with serrated teeth, and also tools of bone and mattocks of horn. In a late stage of the Early Bronze Age (Ezero IV) a hoard of metal objects was discovered, containing a leaf-shaped dagger with a tang which is typical of Circum-Caucasian metallurgical production, and an axe of the *Randelsteinbeil* type, which is linked to Central European designs.[10] Tools made of flint disappeared gradually during the Bronze Age.

Early Bronze Age pottery is characterized by vessels with inverted rims, plates with a sloping and not horizontal rim, urns with two handles, cups, and one-handled jugs which later acquired a cut-away neck. Furthermore there are askoi, vessels with a wide handle rising above the rim which resemble the Pseudo-Minyan pottery of Bubanj–Hum II, and some other shapes connected with the culture of early

[6] A 319, 85ff; A 321; A 326; A 337.
[7] A 319, 2ff.
[8] *Ibid.*
[9] *Ibid.* 20ff; A 173, 35ff.
[10] A 319, fig. 5.

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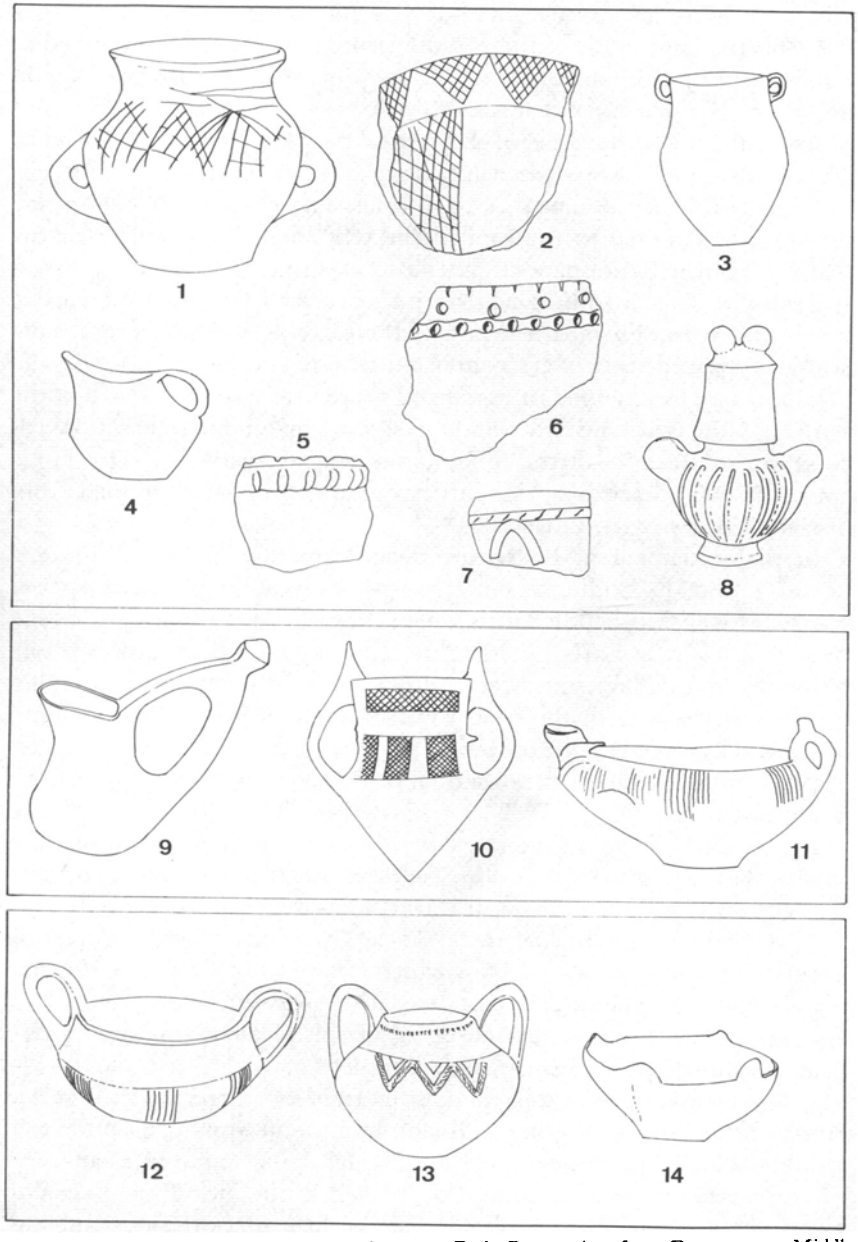

Fig. 28. Bronze Age. East Balkan complex. 1–8: Early Bronze Age from Ezero; 9–11: Middle Bronze Age from Ezero, Iunacite and Nova Zagora; 12–14: Late Bronze Age from Raskopanica. (After G. Georgiev, N. J. Merpert, R. Katinčarov and P. Detev.)

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Troy.[11] The basic decoration is the incised net particularly in the form of triangles and rectangles, which are strongly reminiscent of Bubanj–Hum II pottery; these are often encrusted with white paint. Similar motifs occur on corded ware and also on vessels of domestic use, all of which suggests that the pottery was made locally.[12] On the coarse pottery one finds various combinations of single, double or triple plastic bands with incised or impressed patterns. In the older and middle layers there are bands filled with pricked dots; these are akin to those of the Bubanj–Hum III group.[13] There is also a vessel on a cruciform stem, like those at Vučedol.[14] Characteristic of the Middle Bronze Age pottery is a cup with a single handle bearing a knob, and a vessel with a pointed base, which may have had one or two handles; their decoration represents an extension of the traditional incised motifs of the Early Bronze Age. This kind of vessel is well represented at the Junacite tell. Characteristic too are vessels resembling teapots (fig. 28, 1–8; 9–11).[15]

These forms continue into the Late Bronze Age at Raskopanica, where some new shapes appear, especially double-handled vessels with incised patterns, reminiscent of the contemporary Middle Bronze shapes in the Carpatho–Danubian complex (Verbicioara, Paraćin),[16] and the 'twin-vessel', which is linked to the same complex (fig. 28, 12–14).[17]

For the economy of the Early Bronze Age we have definite data. The basic occupation was agriculture: for *Triticum monococcum* and *dicoccum*, wheat, oats, peas and lentils have been found. In stock-breeding cattle were most important, then sheep, goats and pigs. Hunting formed a subsidiary branch of the economy.[18]

For the chronology of the Eastern Balkan complex a decisive factor is the appearance about the beginning of the Early Bronze Age of elements which are connected with Bubanj-Hum II-III. The *Lappenbeil* type of axe which appeared in Central Europe at the end of the Early Bronze Age in the Reinecke A2 period (i.e. *c.* 1700/1600 B.C.) is a later feature.[19] All this points to a relatively early dating of the Early Bronze Age in Thrace, its origins falling into the second half of the third millennium. Hence it is impossible to accept, without some reservation and before the publication of the complete material, the opinion that the Thracian Bronze Age began before Troy I.[20] The Late Bronze Age in Thrace is linked to the phenomena of the Middle Bronze Age in the

[11] *Ibid.* 12ff; figs. 8ff; cf. A 321; A 337. More recently, there is useful information in N. Merpert and G. Georgiev, *Symposium über die Entstehung und Chronologie der Badener Kulture* (1973), 215ff.

[12] A 319, e.g. figs. 8*g*; 9*b*, *k*; 18*e*, *d*.

[13] *Ibid.* figs. 14; 18*a*, *g*.

[14] *Ibid.* 17, fig. 19*g*.

[15] *Ibid.* 17ff; e.g. figs. 27*a*, *b*; 26*a*, *b*; cf. A 342, *passim* (with illustrations).

[16] A 326, esp. fig. 1.

[17] *Ibid.*

[18] A 319, 7ff.

[19] *Ibid.* fig. 5.

[20] A 32.

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neighbouring regions of the Balkans, especially to the Paraćin and Verbicioara group. These phenomena certainly should be dated to the advanced stage of that period, i.e. after 1400 (Reinecke B2–C, with a stress on the C).[21]

It is significant that the origins of the Bronze Age show no affinity with the Eneolithic of Thrace.[22] Here the strong influence of the Cernavodă III group (e.g. decoration with plastic bands) must be taken into account. There is no doubt, however, that a connection with Bubanj–Hum II and III existed, although it cannot yet be fully explained. One has also to take into account connections with the world of Troy. The appearance of corded ware and of some features of Cernavodă III point to the role played by the Lower Danubian region and the steppes in the formation of this culture. The Middle Bronze Age had a direct continuity both with the preceding stage and with the Late Bronze Age, when the influence of the neighbouring complex to the north and west, which we link with the Proto-Daco-Mysians, became strong.

The discovery at Mihalič (Baia Dere) of the typical Trojan double-handled cup (*depas*) indicates a connexion with the world of Troy.[23] Unfortunately these cups cannot be more closely linked with other Early Bronze Age phenomena in Thrace, because the context in which they were found is not known. But they show that there was a close cultural connexion between Anatolia and Thrace at that particular period.

II. THE EARLY BRONZE AGE IN THE CENTRAL AND WESTERN BALKANS

In the Early Bronze Age (i.e. at the beginning of the second millennium) some cultural groups existed in the area of the Central and Western Balkans as well as in parts of the southern Pannonian and Carpathian regions. Although mutually related, these cultural groups had their own regional limits and differences. Such groups are: Glina–Schneckenberg in Romania; Vinkovci in Srem and Slavonia; Somogyvar slightly to the north, in Hungary; Belotić–Bela Crkva in western Serbia; Bubanj–Hum III in the valley of the Južna Morava and Armenokhori in Macedonia. As the majority of these groups are still insufficiently studied, we believe that it would be premature to deal with them as though they were a closed complex. We shall here note particularly those groups which are more closely related to the Balkan region.

The Vinkovci group, only recently discovered, is known from its

[21] A 161, 68ff, fig. 10, 1, 3.
[22] A 322.
[23] A 341 (with illustrations).

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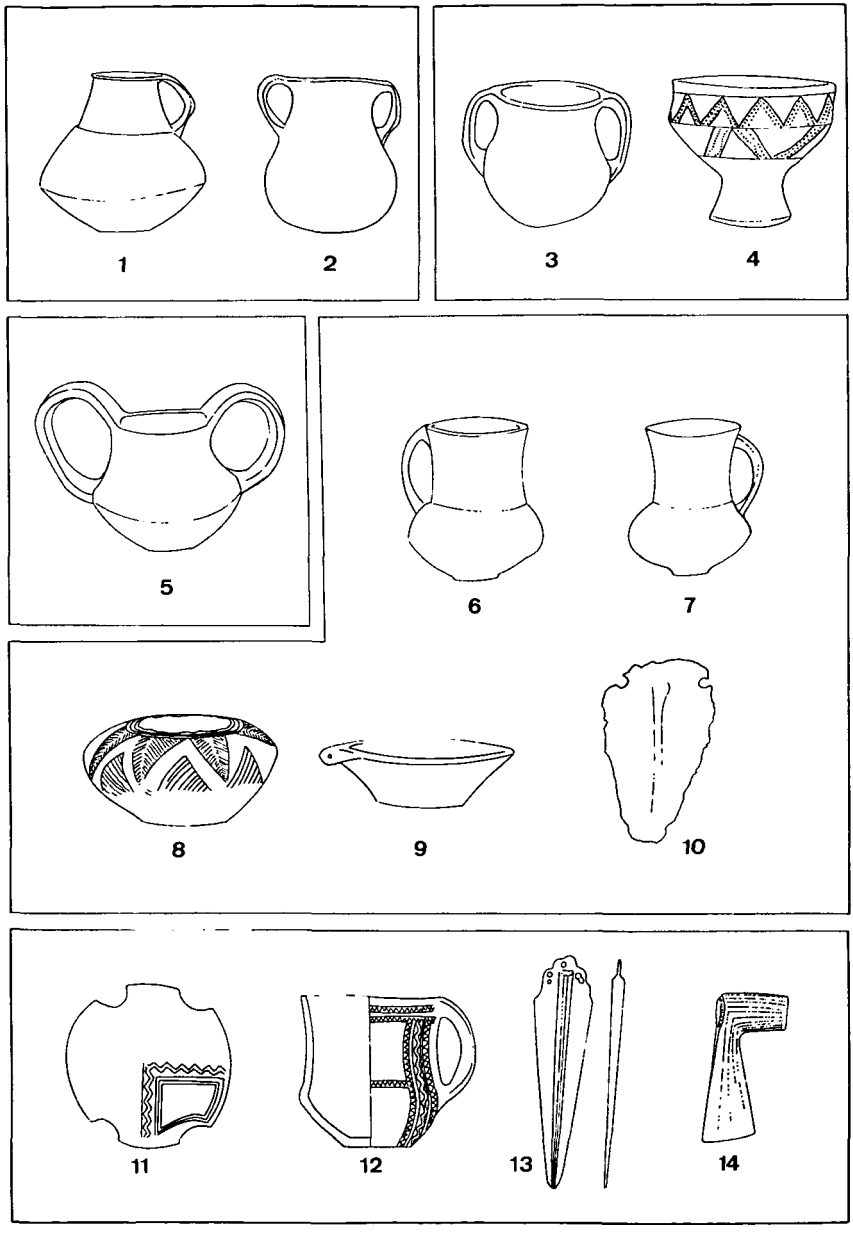

Fig. 29. Early Bronze Age in the Central and West Balkans. 1–2: Vinkovci group (Slavonia); 3–4: Bubanj-Hum III group; 5: Armenokhori group; 6–10: Belotić-Bela Crkva group; 11–14: tumulus of Tivat (Montenegro). (After N. Tasić, D. Garašanin, D. Simoska, V. Sanev.)

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eponymous site and from some accidental finds.[24] Its basic feature is its pottery. It is mainly grey with a polished surface, the principal shapes being more or less spherical vessels with handles connecting the neck to the body of the vessel (fig. 29, 1–2). Chronologically the dating has been established with certainty at Vrdnik, where pottery of the Vinkovci group was found in a layer above the Vučedol layer.[25] The nature of the pottery too indicates a close link with Vučedol. Moreover, some two-handled cylindrical vessels were found which are also known in the Vučedol group.[26]

Little is yet known of Bubanj–Hum III. This group was identified in the vicinity of Niš, especially at Bubanj. Stratigraphically it lies definitely above the Bubanj–Hum II layer.[27] Alongside the characteristic two-handled vessel with a polished surface without slip, this group retains certain shapes of the earlier Bubanj–Hum culture (e.g. bowls and vessels with a widened rim). Pottery with decoration of plastic bands, impressions or incisions arranged in various patterns is frequently found; equally so vessels with a series of holes along the rim. On the basis of all these features this group is linked with Cernavodă III and with Early Bronze Age Ezero. Its characteristic ornamentation consists of incised patterns with pricks arranged in angular bands, crosses and similar motifs. These phenomena, too, are linked with the Early Bronze Age culture of Thrace and of the early tumuli in Dalmatia (fig. 29, 3–4).[28] An abundance of animal bones at Bubanj indicates the importance of stock-breeding.

The Armenokhori group has been found in Pelagonia on both sides of the Yugoslav–Greek frontier. The best known sites are Armenokhori, Kravari, Crnobuki and Bakarno Gumno. Its presence has been established also in the region of Lake Ochrid (i.e. Branište, Crkveni Livadi).[29] The Armenokhori group is closely linked with the Maliq III group in Albania.[30] Its main characteristics are two-handled vessels and a coarsely-made pottery, which is connected with Cernavodă III. In fact Armenokhori has a great affinity with Bubanj–Hum III (fig. 29, 5); it would appear that both of them have similar origins. It is, however, too early to speak of the causes and direction of their dispersal.

Of all the Balkan groups of this kind the best known is the Belotić–Bela Crkva group.[31] Its territory spreads over a relatively wide area in western Serbia, from the neighbourhood of Valjevo and Loznica in the north to Dragačevo and Čačak on the Zapadna Morava and further to

[24] A 315; cf. A 154, 189ff; A 327, *passim*.
[25] A 154, 190.
[26] *Ibid.* 193, fig. 101.
[27] A 162, 168ff, pls. 35–6; A 161, 65ff, pl. 13, 2–4; 14, 1.
[28] A 319, fig. 14; A 162, pl. 36.
[29] A 181, 23, cat. no. 247, 255; A 167, cat. no. 190–3.
[30] A 460.
[31] A 162, 253–68; 617–19; A 317 (s.v.). For finds see A 332; A 333 (with illustrations).

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Priboj on the Lim, in what was once the Novi Pazar *sandjak*. Hitherto this group has been identified almost exclusively by its burials under tumuli. Cemeteries which have been particularly well studied are those of Belotić and Bela Crkva near Krupanj in the region of Radjevina, beyond the valley of the Jadar, a tributary of the Drina. The tumuli there were of medium size, only rarely with a diameter of over 20 m, and they were not high. The periphery was often ringed with stones. Another feature is that the inner core consisted of a cairn of stones (e.g. Belotić no. 15). Two funeral rites were represented, inhumation and cremation. Both are known to have existed at Belotić, while at Bela Crkva, which was at some distance from the Belotić cemetery, only inhumation was attested, as in the Dragačevo tumuli. Cremations were carried out at the place where subsequently the tumulus was made, and the remains of the body and the funerary offerings were left at the place of cremation (Belotić no. 12). It was noted, however, that at Belotić no. 15 a small area ringed with stones served as an enclosure for burial gifts.

In the graves of Bela Crkva skeletons were found in a contracted position, and some of the graves belonged to family groups.[32] Thus it was found that two skeletons in a contracted position were buried in the centre of No. 1; the upper skeleton with some child's milk teeth was covered by a plank and at its feet lay another skeleton belonging to an adult, this too being in a contracted position. On the periphery of the tumulus a child's skeleton belonging to the same period was discovered. In no. 11 three graves were made in a radial direction to the central inhumation; one of these graves and the central grave contained male skeletons.[33] Interments in a cist-grave are known at Dragačevo, where the bodies lay in a contracted position. At Bela Crkva no. 1 a cremation place was found at the base of the mound; it was connected probably with sacrificial rites. In the region of Dragačevo cists of irregularly placed stones were found in the upper part of the tumulus. Above this layer the surface of the tumulus was covered with stones and a pot was placed on the top.[34]

The inventory of the graves was rather poor. In graves where cremation was carried out there were one-handled vessels reminiscent of the Glina-Schneckenberg group, two-handled cups, spherical bowls with incised and hatched triangles arranged radially, and a smaller vessel with a flattened rim with a knob[35]. All these shapes are partly affiliated to the Vučedol group, although they appear also in the Early Bronze Age of Pannonia.[36] In graves containing a skeleton at Bela Crkva the

[32] A 162, 258ff, figs. 6–7; A 161, 92, fig. 17.
[33] A 332, 36ff, with plans.
[34] A 162, 259 (for Dragačevo).
[35] *Ibid.* pls. 43–6; A 161, pl. 20, 1, 2, 4, 5.
[36] A 162, 264ff.

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typical offerings were one-handled vessels similar to those of Vinkovci, and two handled vessels (Dragačevo). Of objects made of metal there was a triangular dagger of bronze (Reinecke A, *c.* 1800 B.C.), which was typically Early Bronze Age. In spite of the fact that different methods were used for cremations and for interments, the dating shows that they were more or less contemporary (fig. 29, 6–10).

As regards the origins of the group tumulus-burial is of primary significance; for it indicates a connexion with the phenomena of earlier times in the steppes and the Pontic area. Graves of family groups, cists, and the covering of graves with stones can be traced as far as the Caucasus. The pottery found with the skeletons in the graves was identical in its shapes with the pottery from the tumuli at Verbiţa in Oltenia.[37] This pottery is closely linked with the Vinkovci group and is also related to the Kur-Arak group of the Caucasus.[38] It is possible to find analogies also in the Early Bronze Age tumuli in Transylvania.[39] For the time being, however, it is impossible to ascertain whether these tumuli can be directly connected with the somewhat earlier group of Vučedol, which proved to have similar burial methods in the Adriatic area. It is of significance, though, that inhumations and cist-burials in tumuli are known from other regions of the Western Balkans. Such are, for instance, the early tumuli at Glasinac which belong to relatively the same period; and stone cists of the early period are known from other sites in Bosnia,[40] as well as from the mounds in Dalmatia and Crna Gora (Montenegro).[41] From about this time and throughout the whole of the Metallic Age the funerary rites of the West Balkans remained unchanged, apart from a certain degree of evolution. This confirms that the Early Bronze Age groups, including the Belotič–Bela Crkva group, were the fundamental element out of which the Illyrians later evolved.

The tumulus discovered at Tivat (in the bay of Kotor)[42] is of special interest. It has been dated to the Early Bronze Age. Of rather large dimensions, the tumulus had a layer of stones within which stood a pyre following the contour of the mound. Under the pyre there was a sacrificial pit and then under it a central cist containing a contracted skeleton. The inventory of the grave was a gold dagger, a silver axe with a tubular shaft hole and a ring of the so-called '*Noppenring*' type. The axe and the ring are linked with the Steppe–Pontic region.[43] In contrast, the pottery of the group is connected with the pottery of the Dalmation tumuli. There was also a vessel with a cruciform stem (fig. 29, 11–14). All evidence from this tumulus suggests that the tradition

[37] D. Berciu, *Zorile istori in Carpaţi şi la Dunare* (Bucharest, 1966), 137, with illustration.
[38] A 320, 358ff.
[39] A 318, description of burial rites.
[40] A 324.
[41] A 152, 140ff.
[42] A 344 (with illustrations).
[43] *Ibid.* pls. IV, 10; V, 12.

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of the Steppe–Pontic region was very strong in Early Bronze Age Dalmatia, and the luxurious character of the metal objects suggests that the persons buried there had held an outstanding position in the family or tribal community.

III. THE CARPATHO-DANUBIAN COMPLEX

In the course of the developed Bronze Age (in the Central European sense) there evolved a series of closely linked cultural groups having a number of common features but with territories which cannot always be clearly delineated. This occurred in the area between the Stara Planina range and the Carpathians, in southern Pannonia (Vojvodina) and in the valley of the Morava in the central Balkans. Such groups were Vattina and Dubovac–Žuto Brdo in south Pannonia and Danubian Serbia, Verbicioara in Oltenia, Otomani in Transylvania, Tei in Muntenia and Monteoru in Moldavia.[44] Some of these groups (e.g. Dubovac–Žuto Brdo Verbicioara) were represented also in northern Bulgaria.
over the Banat and Srem and its west Serbian variant, although closely linked to it, very probably belonged to another ethnic formation, as we shall show later. The borderline between this group and the contemporary Dubovac–Žuto Brdo and Verbicioara group is not quite clear. Consequently, it appears that their territories overlapped in part.

Settlements of the Vattina group are found on river terraces; some, however, were situated on dominant defensive positions and were probably fortified. A specimen of this kind is Živodar by Vršac, a rich and well-stratified site. There it was established that buildings were made above the ground with a stone foundation and hearths;[46] but some of the buildings were partially cut into the ground (as at Vattina).

It was established that both interment and cremation were practised, the latter being prevalent. The usual form of burial was the flat grave, and the ashes of the dead were placed in urns (Belegiš, Ilandža). The urn sometimes contained a smaller vessel and metallic objects. Other small vases were placed at the level of the shoulder of the urn. At Ilandža and Belegiš such graves were found grouped together, which certainly points to their being family graves. The continuity of the Vattina group can be traced here too.

Recent research has shown that the Vattina group can be divided into three phases: the first two belonging to the Middle Bronze Age (Reinecke A2/B1 and B2/C) and the last to the Late Bronze Age. This division has been made primarily on the basis of closed finds.[47]

[44] A 162, 291ff.

[45] *Ibid.* 319–36; 625–7; A 161, 75ff.

[46] A 335; A 336 (preliminary reports); A 162, 321ff.

[47] *Ibid.* 321ff; 324ff.

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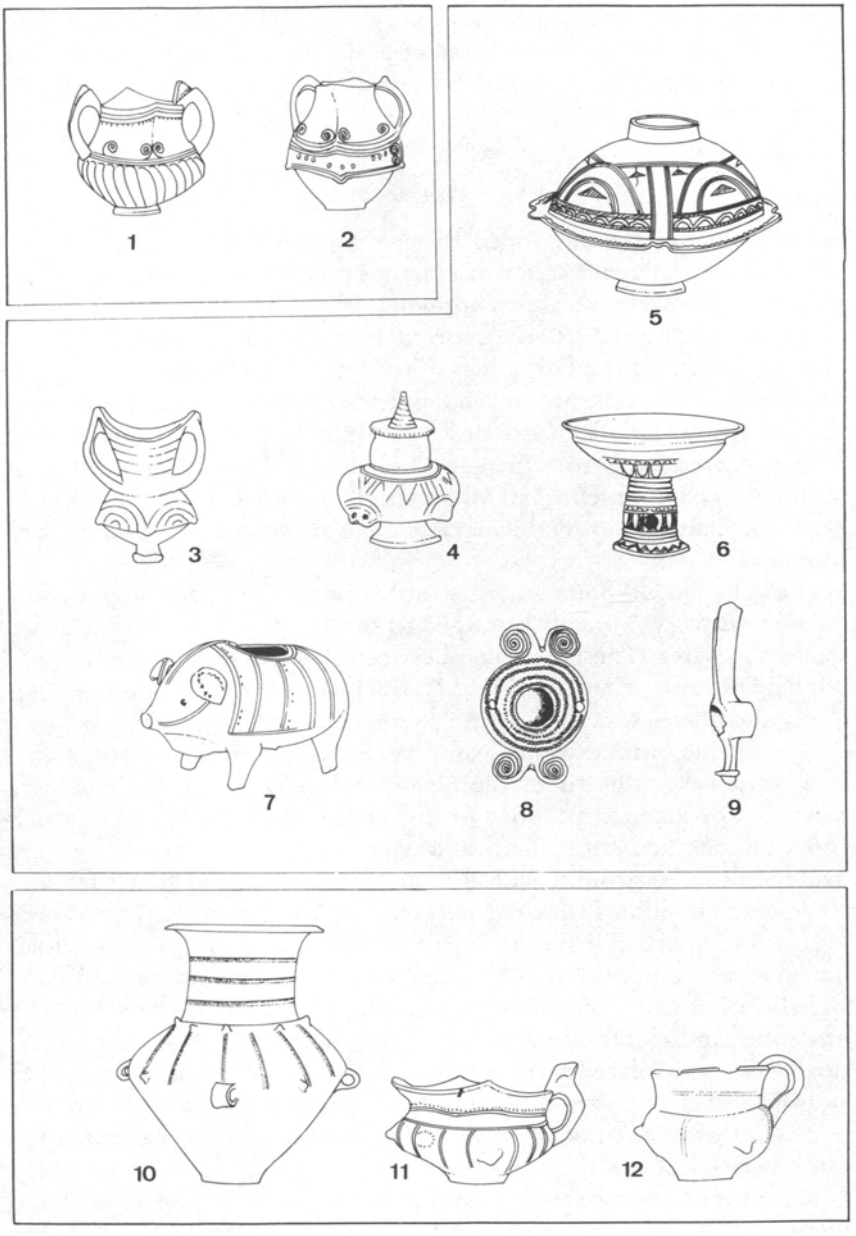

Fig. 30. Middle and Late Bronze Age. Carpatho-Danubian complex. Vattina group. 1–2: Pančevo-Omoljica phase; 3–9: Vattina-Vršac phase; 10–12: Ilandža-Belagiš phase. (After D. Garašanin.)

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Objects of stone included bored hammers, rings and trappings were of bone (Vattina). In addition there was gold jewellery and various bronze objects (axes, battle-axes, different types of pin, daggers, decorative plaques) showing a connection with Central Europe and belonging to the Middle and Late Bronze Ages. These objects enable us to date the classes of pottery with which they were found. Thus vessels with two handles rising above the rim and with poorly developed profile belong to the earliest Pančevo-Omoljica phase. Then too there are conical vessels with handles rising above the rim, small amphorae and lids. Ornamentation consists of plastic ribs and incised garlands, spirals and volutes (*Schnörkel*). In the middle phase of the Vattina group, known as the Vattina–Vršac phase, the two-handled vessels acquire a baroque profile and handles assume the shape known as the *ansa lunata*. Pear-shaped vessels also appear, as well as small amphorae, lids, cups on hollow stems, twin-vessels and zoomorphic vessels.[48] In the last Ilandža–Belegiš phase globular urns with elongated neck and upturned rim were found. Their decoration was in the form of grooved patterns or motifs of parallel lines, garlands, spirals and volutes in imitation of corded ware technique. There were also two-handled vessels of classical shape with various profiles.[49] It has to be pointed out that this pottery was in a constant process of evolution and developed new features in the transitional period leading to the Iron Age (about 1200 B.C.) in Vojvodina (fig. 30).

It is difficult to define the origins of this group, but it is known that it is closely linked with other groups of the same complex, especially with the Verbicioara and Otomani groups.

The Dubovac–Žuto Brdo group is represented on both banks of the Danube from Belgrade to the Lom. The most important sites are at Žuto Brdo near Golubac, Korbovo east of Djerdap in Serbia, Novo Selo near Vidin, and Cîrna in Oltenia.[50] The borderline between the Dubovac–Zuto Brdo group and the Vattina group cannot be established with certainty. It is equally difficult to separate individual phases within the group, although to judge from the scanty metal finds it appears that the Dubovac–Žuto Brdo group belongs approximately to the same period as the Vattina group.

Not much is known about its settlements or dwellings, except that they were located along the Danubian terraces. The form of burial in this group is identical with that of the Vattina group. Some of the Dubovac–Žuto Brdo pottery also resembles the Vattina pottery closely

[48] *Ibid.* pls. 57–8 (phase I); 59 (phases II–III); A 311, cat. nos. 62, 65–7, 70, 72 (phase I); 68, 82, 85, 89 (phase II).

[49] A 345 (with illustrations); A 311, cat. no. 58, 1–3; 59, 1–3.

[50] A 162, 336–58; 627–30; A 161, 82ff.

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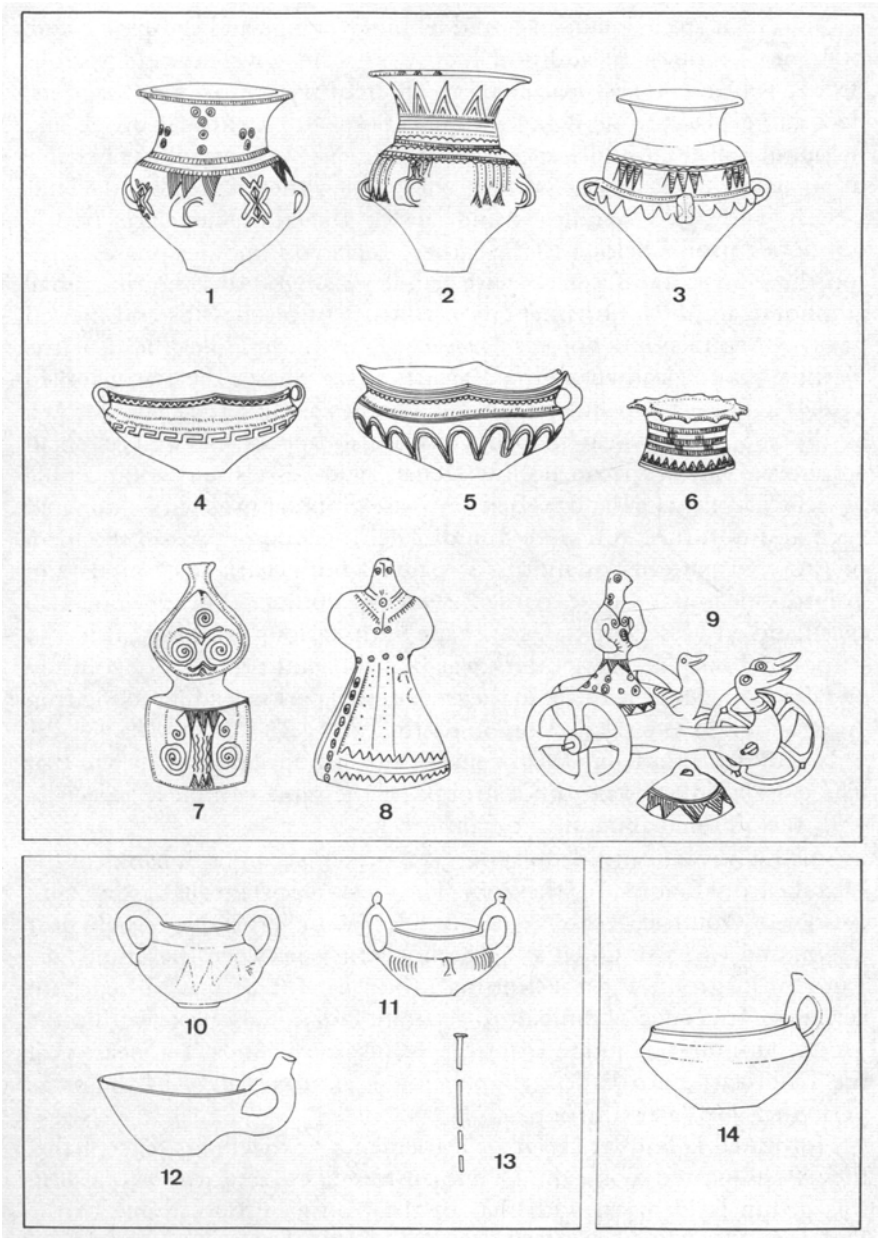

Fig. 31. Middle and Late Bronze Age. Carpatho-Danubian complex. 1–9: Dubovac-Žuto Brdo group; 10–13: Paraćin group; 14: Mediana group. (After D. Garašanin and M. Garašanin.)

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(e.g. the 'baroque' vessels with one or two handles). Its basic shapes are high urns with an upturned rim, bowls with the rim pinched out into two tongue-like extensions, twin-vessels, etc.[51] In plastic art the typical forms are figurines in the shape of birds, stylized anthropomorphic figurines with a bell-shaped lower part of the body and bird-shaped rattles. The anthropomorphic figurines vary in the position of the arms and the shape of the trunk.[52] The best known are the idol of Kličevac (destroyed during World War I) and two miniature carts from Dupljaja near Vršac; one cart drawn by waterfowl has a human figure wearing female garments (it is now in the National Museum of Belgrade). The similarity between the scene depicted by this cart and the myth of Apollo arriving from the land of the Hyperboreans is astonishing.[53] The ornamentation of the pottery is very rich, being carried out mainly by incision or stamping and white encrustation. The motifs usually consist of triangles and of concentric circles connected by tangents; also arches, bunches of linear patterns interspersed with dots, wavy lines, and in particular elongated meanders, resembling Greek meanders, are usually found on the pedestals of larger vessels.[54] Evidently the craftsmen of this style abhorred a vacuum: the patterns were characteristically distributed in friezes and separate sections (fig. 31, 1–9).

In the formation of the Dubovac–Žuto Brdo group an important role must certainly have been played by the influence of the neighbouring West Pannonian encrusted pottery.[55] The great similarity between the idols of this group and those of Mycenaean art has often been pointed out. Moreover, the link between the Dupljaja cart and the Hyperborean myth of Apollo, as well as the appearance of Greek meanders on pottery and the discovery at the Ceramicus cemetery in Athens of later vessels and figurines with similar ornamentation, suggests connexions with the world of Greece.[56] For the present the question remains open whether one sees here a wider spiritual *koine* in the Balkan Peninsula or the participation of the bearers of our group in Aegean migrations farther south. In any case it is significant, that here as in the Vattina group, a direct continuity with the later period and into the developed Iron Age can be traced through the Insula Banului group which was located on the Romanian banks of the Danube and through the Basarabi and Bosut groups in Oltenia and Vojvodina. We may then infer that neither group was interrupted in its cultural – and even less in its ethnic – development, despite the disturbance caused by the Aegean migrations.

[51] A 162, pls. 60–1; A 161, pl. 17, 1, 2, 4, 5.
[52] A 339, *passim*. Cf. A 161, pl. 17, 5.
[53] A 328; A 162, pls. 62–3, col. IV; A 161, pl. 18.
[54] A 162, pls. 60–2; A 161, pl. 17; A 311, cat. no. 44–51, 53–4.
[55] A 154, 224ff.
[56] A 362.

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The Bronze Age of the Central Balkan area is known from material related to several groups, which have been unequally studied. The oldest is the Slatina group from the southern region of the Morava (Donja Slatina and Gradac near Leskovac, Velika Humska Čuka near Niš).[57] All the settlements are in commanding positions. So far the pottery only has been classified. It contains large vessels with everted rims, one-handled cups with a knob or fan-like end, bowls or large vessels with rounded shoulders and rippled patterns; some of the handles have plastic ribs and some are angular in shape. The rippled ornamentation is very similar to that of Cernavodă III, and handles with knob endings are related to phenomena of the end of the Early Bronze Age in the eastern Balkans, while the one-handled cup of this shape has been found also in the Vattina and Dubovac–Žuto Brdo groups. On the basis of all this and the fact that these elements appeared also in the Devetaki cave in northern Bulgaria in the layer which was beneath Verbicioara II, itself belonging to the advanced Bronze Age, the group may be dated with reasonable certainty to the beginning of the Middle Bronze Age, in spite of the fact that the Cernavodă III elements suggest an even earlier date.[58]

The Paraćin group is known only from the cemeteries of the central Moravian region (Paraćin) and further east on the Timok (Pišura Česma in Zaječar).[59] The funeral rites were identical with those of the Vattina group, including the fact that burials were arranged in groups. This suggests that the Paraćin group and the Vattina group had identical concepts of funeral cult and social structure. Globular urns with short or long necks, sometimes decorated with a horizontal rib, with band-like or tongue-shaped handles attached to the body, are characteristic. There are also bowls with everted rims and knobbed handles, cups whose handles rise above the rim, reminiscent of the Slatina cups, and two-handled vessels which sometimes have double knobs at the tops of the handles. The decoration includes vertical grooved motifs and incised patterns. Noteworthy is a particular two-handled vessel with incised patterns in the shape of the letter M; both the shape of the vessel and its ornamentation are closely linked with the Verbicioara group.[60] Metal objects include examples of the so-called *Noppenring*, some oval in shape, others consisting of several twists, triangular arrow-heads with either a flat base or with a tang, calotte-shaped buttons, and particularly a pin with a seal-shaped head. This latter form is typical of the Middle Bronze Age (Reinecke's B2/C). The date of the group thus lies between the fifteenth and the fourteenth centuries (fig. 31, 10–13).

[57] A 316, 119f; A 162, 293–8; 622; pl. 49.
[58] A 162, *loc. cit.*; A 316, 119.
[59] A 162, 298–306; 623–4; A 161, 68ff; A 316, 120.
[60] A 162, 301, fig. 10; A 161, 70, figs. 10; 11, 2.

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On the basis of its inventory, especially the two-handled vessels, and its burial rites, this group is related to the Carpatho–Danubian complex. At the same time its affinity with the Verbicioara group is remarkable. On the other hand, cups with knobbed handles rising above the rim point to a connexion with the earlier Slatina group. It is, however, significant that here too the evolution is uninterrupted at the end of the Bronze Age. For instance, a grave with a new type of urn (Reinecke Bronze D, 14th–13th cent.) with a cylindrical neck and rounded shoulder and decorated in rippled patterns, also belongs to this period. The shape of this urn is the prototype of the urns of the period of transition to the Iron Age. The rest of the inventory belonging to this grave is in the tradition of the early phase of the Paraćin group.[61] Here too there is no interruption in the process of cultural and ethnic evolution up to the end of the Bronze Age.

The Mediana group is well known and has been studied on the eponymous site of Mediana (Brzi Brod) near Niš, although other sites on the Južna Morava watershed have been studied only sporadically.[62] The settlement lies on the terrace of the old bank of the river Nišava. It has been possible to establish three phases within which the shapes gradually evolved. The initial phase can be dated right at the end of the Bronze Age and the remaining two phases in the period of transition to the Iron Age. The last phase contains rich material pertaining to the Pšeničevo group of Thrace, which is related to Troy VII B2.[63] There is no doubt that connexions existed between the Mediana group and that of Paraćin and Slatina and that it played a significant part in the migrations of the Balkan tribes towards Macedonia at the time of the Aegean migration. In view of its chronological and historical importance the Mediana group will be dealt with in chapter 14.

IV. THE WEST BALKAN COMPLEX

The period of the Bronze Age in the Western Balkans has been only partially explored. The majority of the data comes from western Serbia and eastern and central Bosnia. For the other regions there is as yet not a comprehensive picture. Even the known groups have not been studied in all their manifestations. The bulk of the material comes from graves and cemeteries, and very little is known about settlements, except at Pod near Bugojno.

The west Serbian variant of the Vattina group[64] covered all the mountainous region of western Serbia, but did not penetrate into the

[61] A 162, pls. 50–2; A 311, cat no. 174.
[62] A 316, 120ff; A 329, 85ff, pls. I–V; A 330 (preliminary reports).
[63] A 316, 120ff.
[64] A 162, 359–74; 630–3. For finds see A 332; A 333; A 334 (with illustrations); A 338, *passim*.

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area of the Sava plain. It spread eastwards towards the Morava region (Pomoravlje), where it came into contact with the Paraćin group. The west Serbian variant of the Vattina group is identified mainly from the cemeteries, but the existence of some settlements of the *gradina* type on prominent positions has been established (Ljuljaci and Grbice in central Serbia).

The fact that there are some minor local differences in burial rites suggests that it may be possible to distinguish some regional variants within the group itself. The principal features of the burials are basically the same. Here there are small cemeteries, each of several tumuli. The cemeteries are not far from one another, which very probably indicates some form of relationship by kin. The tumuli are mostly of small dimensions, with the exception of those in the area of the Drina in Bosnia (Podrinje), which can be quite large (e.g. Padjine, Ročevići near Zvornik).[65] The tumuli at Belotić and Bela Crkva are the best studied so far. They are very often surrounded by a stone ring; some have an inner nucleus of tamped earth. The surface of the mounds at Bukovac near Valjevo was covered with stones. There were two kinds of burials, inhumation and cremation, and both could be found at the same cemetery. Where inhumation was practised the bodies were placed in either a protracted or a contracted position, the latter being typical for interments in stone-lined cists. This particular method of burial is characteristic of eastern Bosnia.[66] Graves containing skeletons were sometimes placed high up in the tumulus, and it is known that double graves existed. For example at Belotić it was found that there was a cremation placed under a double grave.[67] When cremation was used the remains were put in an urn, sometimes bordered with stones. In other instances the urn and the funerary offerings were placed in a cist. At Belotić both kinds of burial existed, while at Dobrača near Kragujevac urns were placed in large and carefully constructed cists. That these were family graves is proved by the finds at Bukovac, where an urn containing remains of an adult and a child was discovered. At Dobrača two urns contained remains of a man, a woman and a child.

Among the contents of the graves one still finds stone hammers. However, pottery and metal objects have more significance, as they enable one to make a more precise chronological and cultural assessment. The earliest finds (at Belotić no. 6*a*)[68] belong to the beginning of the Middle Bronze Age. These are heart-shaped bronze pendants and *Noppenringe*, dated to the same period.[69] Included here are some two-

[65] A 162, 361ff; A 338, *passim*.
[66] A 333, figs. III; IV, 45; pls. X–XIV.
[67] A 161, 95, fig. 18.
[68] A 162, 377, fig. 19.
[69] A 334, 6ff, with illustrations.

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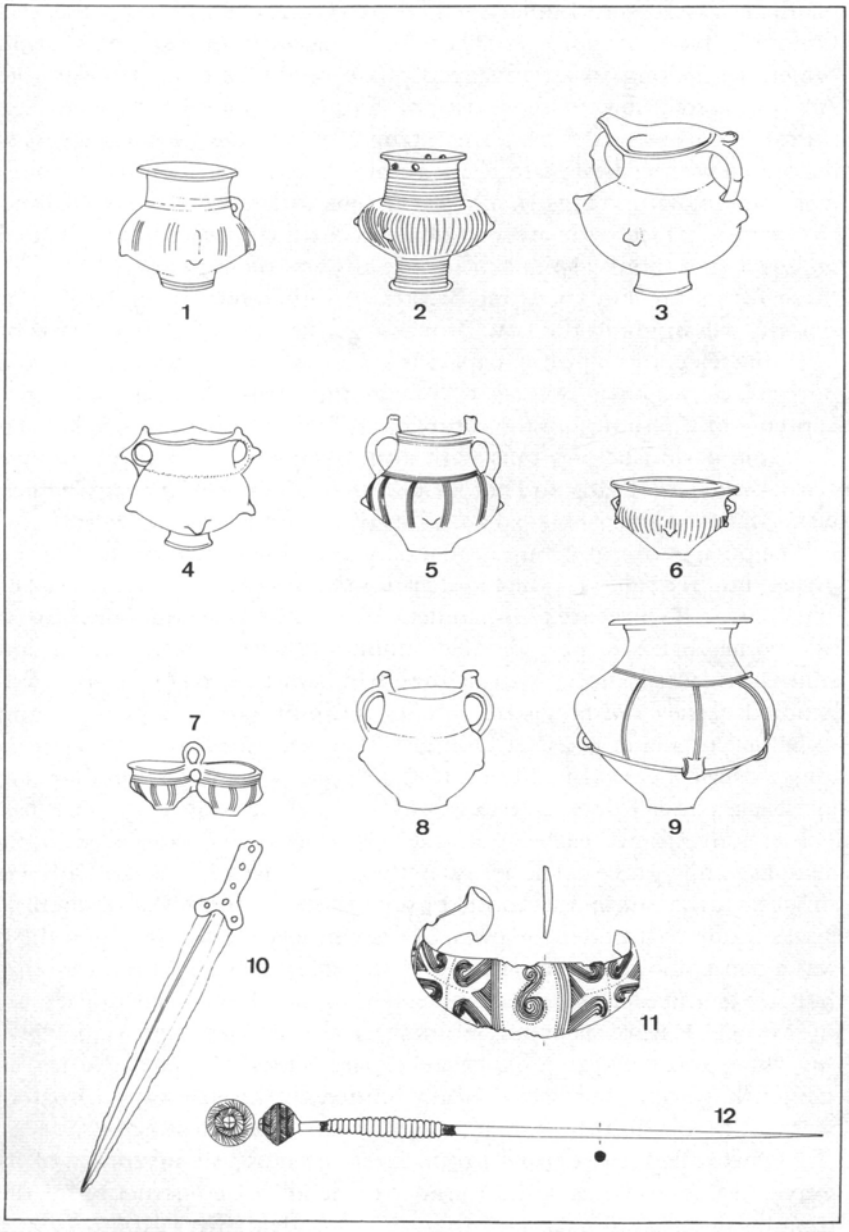

Fig. 32. Middle and Late Bronze Age. West Balkan complex. West Serbian variant of the Vattina group. 1, 10: from a tumulus burial at Joševa; 2, 3, 11–12: from tumulus burials at Belotić; 4–9: from a tumulus burial at Dobrača. (After D. Garašanin and M. Garašanin.)

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handled vessels from Ljuljaci, which are connected with the Pančevo–Omoljica type of pottery. The great majority of the graves and cemeteries belong to an advanced phase of the Middle Bronze Age. Among metal objects those of the European Middle Bronze Age prevail: short swords with a small tang (Joševa near Loznica), armlets decorated with a spiral pattern and a seal-like ending, decorative plaques (*Zierscheiben*) with a tang (*Stachelscheibe*), pins with a seal-shaped head and tweezers. Characteristic are also richly decorated pins and the so-called *saltaleoni*, fine tubular spirals of bronze as parts of amber necklaces. All these forms are known from Belotić. Another find from No. 19 at Belotić, belonging to the Late Bronze Age (Reinecke C/D), consists of open bracelets of elliptical shape with a giant pin (length 118 cm), the purpose of which is not clear. Similar pins are characteristic of the contents of the tumuli in the Krupanj area and in eastern Bosnia.[70] To the same period belong pins with a globular head and also a bronze arrow-head with a tang and hook-like arm on the side of the tang, which was located in one of the spinal discs of a buried man at Dobrača.[71]

The pottery of this group is generally linked with that of the Vattina group, but in quality it is of a more primitive make; its walls are thicker and coarser. Typical are two-handled vessels with 'baroque' profilation of a somewhat later period, small amphorae with a sharp profile and ribbed ornamentation, Vattina one-handled vessels (Joseva), two-handled vessels and bowls resembling those of Paraćin type are found to belong to a later phase at Dobrača. Urns are globular and may have long or short necks. In addition to the rippled ornamentation there are incisions, parallel lines, garlands and grooved patterns (fig. 32, 1–9).

It was mentioned earlier that the cemeteries may be regarded in the main as family graves. The arrow in the spinal disc of a man at Dobrača suggests turbulent times. Another grave at Belotić (no. 16) is of interest: it was found that under the place of cremation with an urn burial there was a contemporary inhumation and an urn, which might indicate that human sacrifices were offered during burial. Most metal objects are of Middle European types, pointing to well-developed trade links (fig. 32, 10–12). Large pins, however, are a local product, the area in which they were discovered being limited to the narrow territory of western Serbia and the surroundings of the Drina in Bosnia.

This is called the Vattina group after the movable inventory of its graves. Funerary rites and a number of details of construction of the tumuli suggest a connection with the Belotić–Bela Crkva group. Taking into account the conservative aspect of the cult in general and the cult

[70] For different metal objects see A 161, 100, fig. 22 (sword from Joševa); A 334, 22, fig. 14 (bracelets); *ibid.* 16, fig. 3 (pin); A 333, fig. 1, 6 (pins); *ibid.* fig. 16; A 162, pl. 67, 2 (giant pin).

[71] A 161, pls. 21–3; A 162, pl. 66, pl. 67, 1–2.

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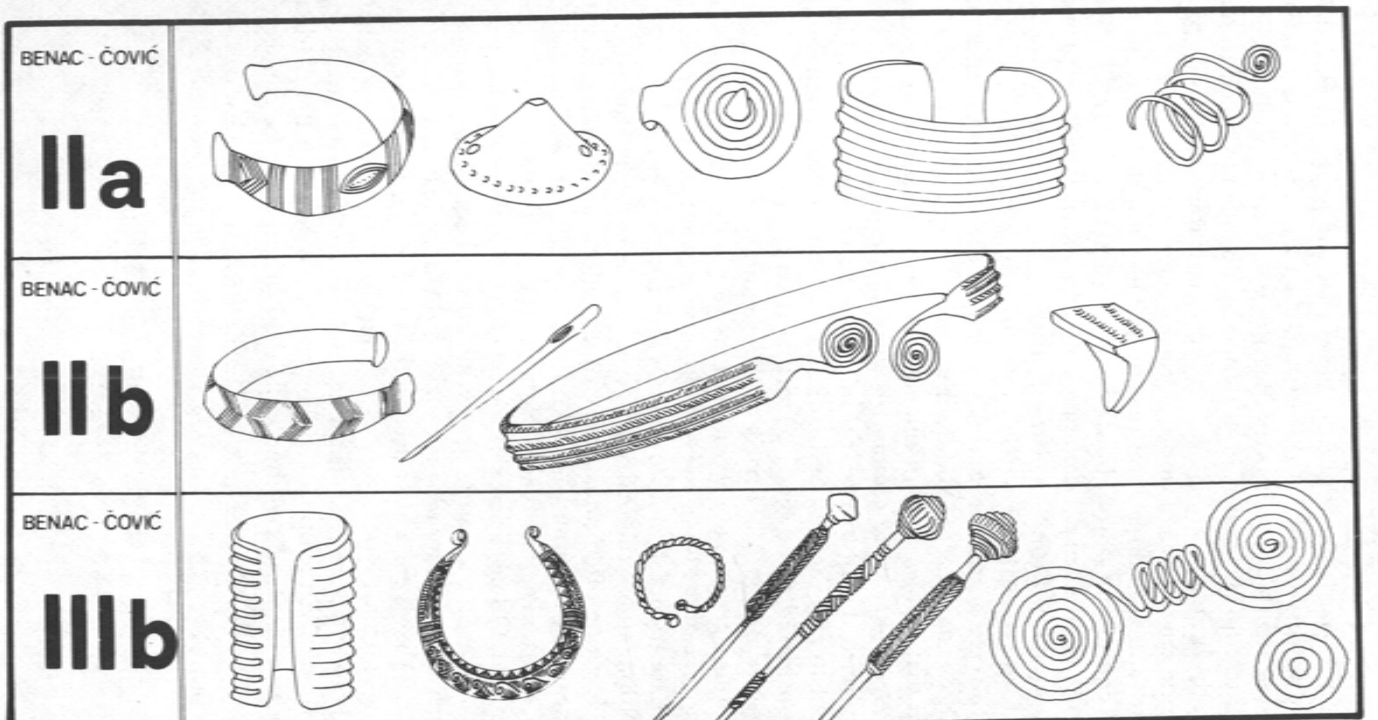

Fig. 33. Middle and Late Bronze Age. West Balkan complex. Finds from tumulus burials at Glasinac. (After Benac-Čović.)

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of the dead in particular, one concludes that the group modelled its movable inventory on the Vattina group, but that its bearers, in ethnic terms, were directly related to the Belotić–Bela Crkva inhabitants.

One has to consider that a similar situation obtained in south-eastern Bosnia, in the high plateau of Glasinac between Sarajevo and Višegrad. Here too one can trace a continuity in the cemeteries; they are of smaller dimensions and contain several tumuli dating from the Early Bronze Age and continuing throughout the epoch. As a rule graves with skeletons in a protracted position predominate, while cremations proved to be exceptional.[72] From very early Early Bronze Age fortified *gradinas* appear as forms of settlement.[73] The inventory of pottery is little known, and as in the case of the west Serbian variant of the Vattina group metal objects show signs of a Middle European origin (fig. 33).[74] It is significant that in this group of cemeteries one can trace continuity into the Iron Age. That these cemeteries were in continuous use confirms their links with the Illyrians who inhabited these regions in the Iron Age. The bearers of the west Serbian variant of the Vattina group should also be considered to be the ancestors of the Illyrians.

The Bronze Age in other parts of the western Balkans has not been studied enough to provide a comprehensive picture. Certain finds, as from the source of the Rama in Hercegovina (Gradina), have not yielded sufficient data to enable one to draw wider conclusions.[75]

The region along the Adriatic coast has also been studied only scantily. Here one often finds a type of axe with a shaft-hole and with a tang beneath the opening; this is known as the 'Albano-Adriatic' type (below, p. 225) and appears exclusively along the coastal belt and a short distance inland. Other variants of the type were much more widespread in the Bronze Age and can be traced up to the beginning of the Iron Age.[76] That they, and moulds for making them, appeared in Romania, indicates that they were widely used in the south-eastern part of Europe. The Albano-Adriatic type is, however, linked with the Near East, where connected types existed; such is the axe from Beisan in Palestine, dating from the time of Amenophis III. Their appearance along the Adriatic coast indicates maritime trading, while their origin could be connected with the Circum-Pontic metallurgical region.[77]

[72] A 324; A 323, *passim*.
[73] A 325, 27ff; 68ff.
[74] A 323, *passim*.
[75] A 325, 68ff.
[76] A 175, 65ff, fig. 6; A 474, 165ff.
[77] A 312, 405ff.

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CHAPTER 5

THE PREHISTORY OF ALBANIA

F. PRENDI

I. GEOGRAPHICAL INTRODUCTION

Situated in the western part of the Balkan Peninsula and facing the Adriatic and Ionian Seas, Albania occupies a most favourable position for mediating between Europe and Asia. It is separated from the coast of Italy by only seventy-two kilometres, while its river valleys with their numerous tributaries give easy access at relatively low altitudes to the interior of the Balkans. From early times the valley of the Shkumbi was traversed by the 'Via Egnatia', the principal route connecting Rome and Byzantium. The Drin and the White Drin connect the Adriatic to the basin of the Morava and so to the banks of the Danube. The Semeni, with one of its tributaries, the Devoll, and the Vijosë with the Sarandaporos lead without serious difficulty to the Haliacmon valley and the Aegean. The sea-lanes too bring Albania into contact with countries facing the Mediterranean. Thus from the earliest times, the inhabitants of Albania have been able to develop links with many regions, not only within the Balkans but also in the rest of Europe and in Asia.

Apart from its favourable geographical situation, Albania enjoys conditions particularly conducive to intensive economic development. Land is fertile, and there are extensive pastures and dense forests; mountain ranges rich in minerals (copper in particular), allowed the development of metallurgy at an early date; the coastline lends itself perfectly to the development of navigation and sea-trade. Finally, the climate is kindly. Being situated in a sub-tropical zone, Albania has a climate well suited to man's economic existence; the combination of maritime and continental conditions creates a great variety of vegetation and agricultural produce. In this geographical setting and with these natural provisions the life and culture of the inhabitants developed during the prehistoric periods.

Before the second World War there had been no interest in the investigation of the history of the territory in remote prehistoric periods. The Italian and French missions which excavated in Albania in the 1920s and 1930s concentrated mainly on bringing to light and

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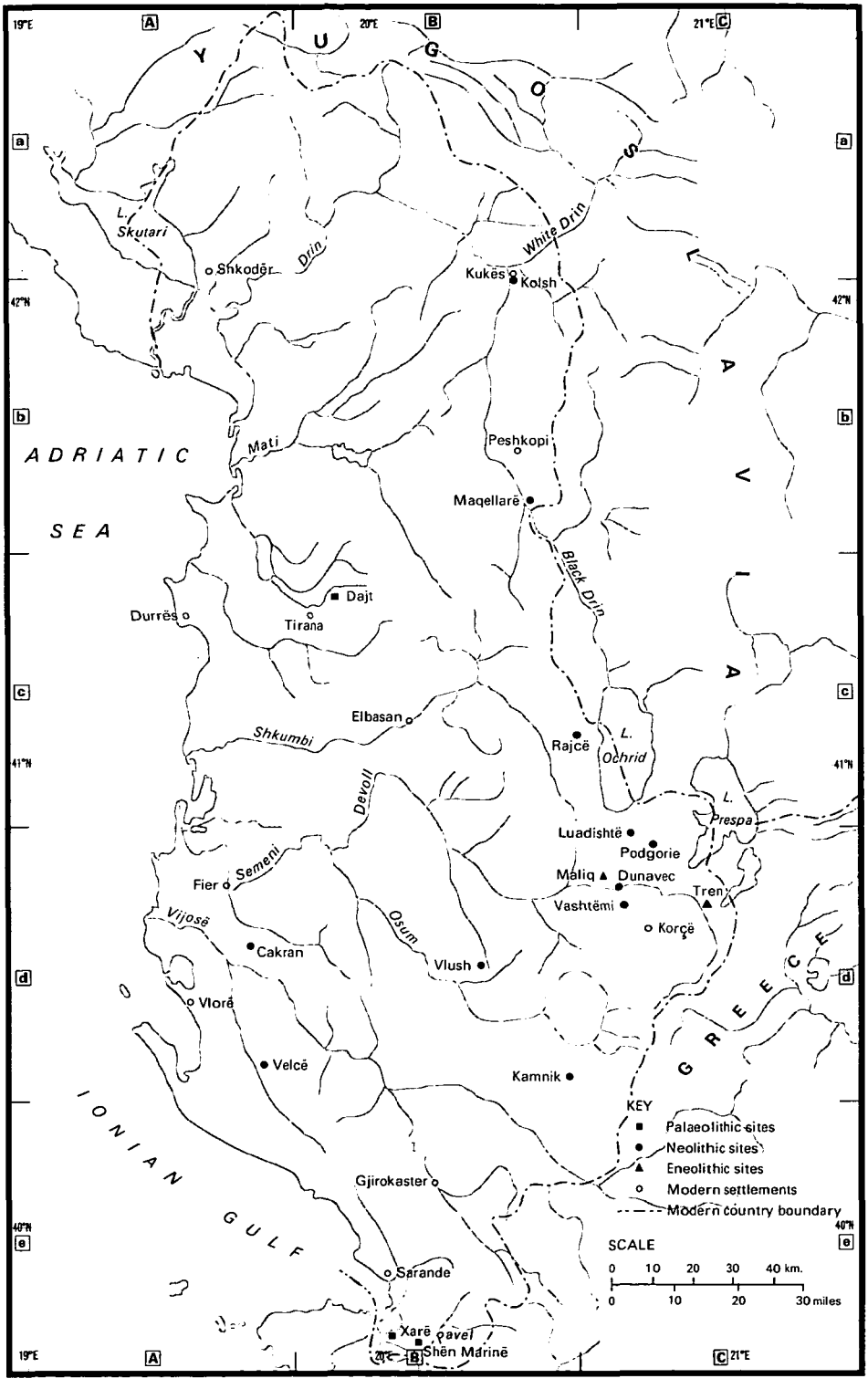

Map 9. Palaeolithic, Neolithic and Eneolithic sites in Albania.

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studying the remains not of the autochthonous prehistoric cultures but of Graeco-Roman civilization. The Italians, it is true, discovered the first traces of Palaeolithic life in Albania, and also some cave-dwellings containing Neolithic deposits. But these first discoveries in the field of prehistoric research were published only in abbreviated and preliminary reports, and, more regrettably, the objects which were found were sent to Italy for further study, and have now disappeared without trace.

It is only in the last thirty-five years that it has been possible to undertake the disciplined and rewarding task of tracing the prehistoric cultures of Albania, and of discovering and studying the culture of the land and its people in the stages of their evolution. Now, after a quarter of a century of field research, dozens of pre- and proto-historic sites have been identified and partly investigated, including many cemeteries of tumuli containing much interesting material, on the evidence of which it is possible even at this stage to trace in broad outline the economic and cultural development of Albania from early Neolithic times to the eve of the urbanization of the country.

II. THE PALAEOLITHIC AND MESOLITHIC PERIODS

Very little is known of Palaeolithic culture in Albania, because that primitive period has not yet been included in organized schemes of research. What we can say of the Palaeolithic period depends upon discoveries made in 1939 in the southernmost parts of Albania[1] and in the neighbourhood of Tirana.[2] In the same year a large but unstratified deposit was discovered close to the village of Xarë near Sarande, and the objects found on the surface fell into two distinct groups in point of style and manner and manufacture. One is represented by small tools of a Mousterian character, and the other consists of types of scraper *à muso*, with roughly worked blades, the flakes chipped off by an engraving technique from the Upper Palaeolithic period. A sounding in the cave of Shën Marinë on the river Pavel, not far from the village of Xarë, revealed another Upper Palaeolithic horizon with two objects in flint and jasper, and fossilized animal bones amongst which were the remains of an ibex goat, a species which is met with over a large area of south and south-east Europe during the late Pleistocene period. At another site at the foot of Mount Dajti, near Tirana, at a depth of one metre on a gravel bed of the late Pleistocene period, tools of bone and stone were found, with 'lateral and facial retouches' similar to Aurignacian objects.

Although limited in number, these finds are indisputable evidence of the existence of human life in Albania from at least as early as the Middle

[1] A 455, 678–9. [2] A 469.

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Palaeolithic period, but the conditions of their discovery and the lack of scientific publication make it impossible to enter into further detail until more sites are found and excavated.

As far as cultural relationships are concerned, the Palaeolithic material discovered so far fits present-day Albania into a large Balkan zone, the greatest similarity apparently being with certain types of Palaeolithic deposits at Crvena Stijena in Montenegro (see above, p. 79) and in north-west Greece.

The Mesolithic period is almost totally unknown. True, in 1972 there were found on the surface near the village of Vlush (Skrapar) some very small flint tools whose style and workmanship showed them to be examples of Mesolithic microliths. When a sounding was made more tools of the same type were found in a deposit which contained monochrome sherds of a very primitive kind. If the stratigraphic observations were accurate, one should date these microliths not to the Mesolithic period, but to an early phase of the Neolithic period when Mesolithic traditions, probably even Tardenoisian, persisted in the manufacture of stone implements. It is possible that future excavations at Vlush will throw some light on the contribution of the earliest inhabitants to the process whereby a Neolithic culture evolved in Albania.

III. THE NEOLITHIC PERIOD

The culture of the Neolithic period has been the subject of systematic study and research for the past two decades. Excavations carried out at Maliq, Dunavec and Vashtëmi (Korçë), at Kamnik (Kolonjë) Cakran (Fier), and Kolsh (Kukës), and surface explorations at a number of sites of this period in other parts of Albania, have given us a general picture of Neolithic development. The materials brought to light in the course of these excavations bear witness to a life of intense activity continuing throughout the Neolithic period even in the interior of the country. They show too a degree of cultural development remarkable for the time, not confined within narrow bounds but having associations with contemporary civilizations both near and far. The territory of Albania was penetrated at this time by cultural elements from various sources, which influenced its Neolithic civilization. And in fact, at certain stages of this evolution, there grew up geographical units or groups which, as they developed, were oriented either towards the Aegean and the Central Balkans, or towards the Adriatic zone. This diversity of development made the Albanian area part of the ring of cultural complexes of south-east Europe and indeed one of the cardinal points of contact between these complexes. As we shall see later, under certain conditions and at certain periods Albania was the meeting-place of elements of the

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Early Neolithic culture of the Central and East Balkans and of the contemporary Adriatic complex, and again of elements of the Middle Neolithic culture of the Adriatic zone and of Vinča, Dhimini and so on. Thus Albania had without question an important place in the Neolithic structure of the Balkans, and it played a not insignificant role in the synchronization of the individual Neolithic groups of the peninsula. The evolution of Neolithic civilization can be followed in Albania over three periods: Early, Middle and Late Neolithic. A separate cultural development, here called Eneolithic, took place as a transitory stage leading from the Neolithic Age to the Bronze Age.

1. *Early Neolithic*

Within Early Neolithic one can distinguish two stages of evolution. The first of these is represented by the deposit of Burim (Peshkopi). The culture of this settlement is characterized by the presence of a coarse pottery with barbotine and impressed decoration and also of a finer pottery, monochrome and bronze-coloured. This stage is to be associated with Starčevo I both culturally and chronologically.

The second stage is well represented at Vashtëmi,[3] Kolsh I[4] and the Cave of Blaz near the village Bruç. Since there are some regional differences, one may distinguish separable cultures in south-east Albania, north-east Albania and north-west Albania.

In south-east Albania the classic phase of Early Neolithic is represented by the Vashtëmi culture.

The site at Vashtëmi is situated some eleven kilometres north of Korçë. The excavations of 1974, which were inspired by chance finds, revealed a deposit consisting of a single layer with three horizons, characterized more or less by similar types of pottery, namely red monochrome pottery in the main, pottery with white decoration on a red ground, and, very rarely, pottery with red decoration on white, ochre or light ground. This layer also contained pottery with 'impressed' decoration, made with the finger-nails or with a pointed tool. Barbotine pottery was also found, but only in the upper horizons.

The predominant shapes of the Vashtëmi vases are more or less spherical or semi-spherical (fig. 34). Their bases are generally flat or ring-shaped, the bottom being more or less concave. Handles are rare: the most characteristic are ledge- or lug-handles pierced either horizontally or vertically. All these features are equally evident in some huge deposits at the village of Podgorie, about eight kilometres from Vashtëmi,[5] which have several layers, to judge from the varieties of

[3] A 450, pls. 1–3.
[4] *Bul. Ark* 5 (1975), 149, fig. 1, 1, 2.
[5] A 463; A 466.

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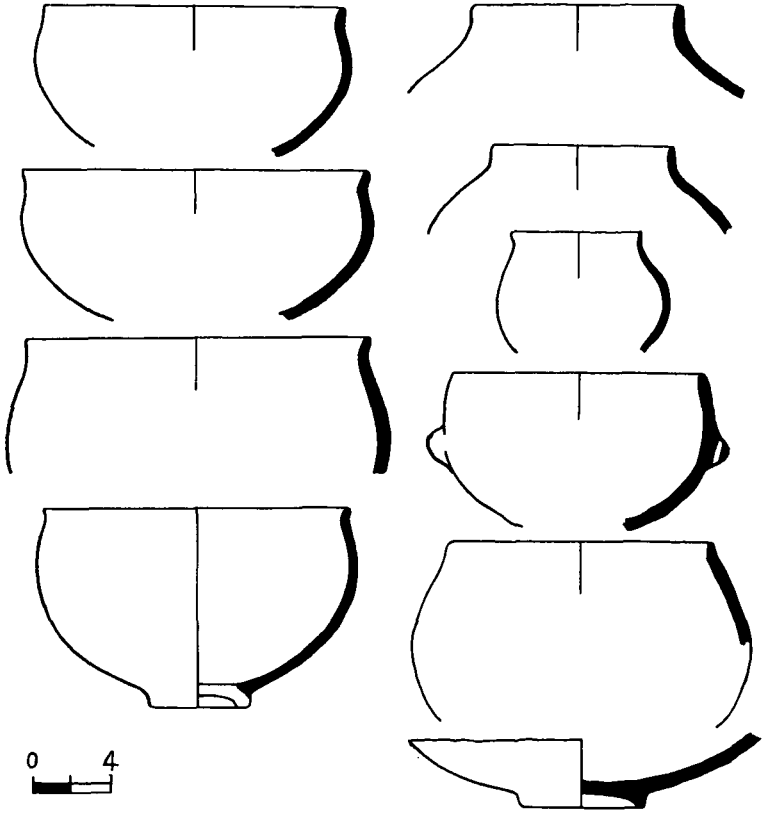

Fig. 34. Some shapes of the pottery of the Vashtëmi–Podgorie group (Early Neolithic).

pottery found on the surface. But amongst the earliest material from Podgorie (Podgorie I), there has been found a different type of pottery with white or pink motifs on a red ground, which often has the appearance of a shiny slip. Here in addition to strictly geometric patterns, there are designs of a freer ornamental character. These differences surely ought not to be thought of as due to accidents of local production, where the two sites were so close to one another and enjoyed similar geo-climatic and socio-economic conditions. There is every reason to believe, although the proof must await stratigraphic verification, that this type of polychrome pottery with more varied motifs indicates the existence at Podgorie of a later phase of development of the Vashtëmi culture. For this reason we have called it the Vashtëmi–Podgorie group.

Relating this culture to other Neolithic groups outside Albania we consider it most closely corresponds with the earliest phases of Vršnik

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and Anzabegovo in Yugoslav Macedonia (see above, pp. 87f.) and with Nea Nikomedeia in Greek Macedonia, which has, as at Vashtëmi, monochrome pottery, white painting on a red ground, 'impresso' decoration and similar vase-shapes.[6]

The Vashtëmi pottery has points of contact also with the Veluška Tumba–Porodin group from Pelagonia. The chronology of this group is in dispute, because it has features peculiar to itself especially in the development of the shapes of the pottery.[7] For example biconical shapes which are characteristic of the earliest phases at Veluška Tumba are found elsewhere in settlements only at a later stage of their development.

Vashtëmi also has certain features in common with the Early Neolithic of Thessaly. The vase shapes and the red colour patterns on a light ground, although rare, are sufficiently similar to comparable Proto-Sesklo pottery, though certain decorative elements in the 'impresso' pottery are clearly related to the Pre-Sesklo phase.[8]

Barbotine decoration of the 'à aspersion' variety and some features of the 'impresso' pottery form a limited cultural link between Vashtëmi and the Starčevo group, while the pottery with white paint on a red ground, apart from its decorative conventions, links Vashtëmi chronologically with Starčevo IIa, as well as with phase Ia of the Kremikovci group on the Sofia plain and with Karanovo I further away.

From what has been stated, it is clear that the Vashtëmi culture is linked by various threads, more or less closely according to their situation, with the main Early Neolithic in the Central and East Balkans. Yet it also manifests some local characteristics, which create a unique cultural group within the large Early Neolithic Balkan complex, which was characterized by monochrome and painted pottery.

The fact that elements of the Adriatic type of 'impresso' pottery form part of the Vashtëmi culture, does not in any way effect the position of this group in relation to the Early Neolithic complex of the Central and Eastern Balkans. Intrusions from the Adriatic complex are quite natural, especially in a peripheral zone such as the Albanian area.

In the north-eastern region of Albania Early Neolithic is represented by the earliest horizon of the site at Kolsh (Kolsh I) whose culture presents features different from those at Vashtëmi. Monochrome red pottery is very rare at this site, whereas pottery painted in dark colours on red ground, with designs consisting of straight lines or groups of lines and more rarely curving and spiral bands, typical of the decorative styles at Starčevo, is much more common. Coarse pottery in 'impresso'

[6] A 435; A 436; A 252, figs. 9 and 10 (31–7).
[7] A 234, 90ff; A 161, 10ff; A 433; A 442; and p. 97 above.
[8] A 454, pls. 6–8, pl. 9, 7.

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and Barbotine styles is also common. The intrusion of 'impresso' culture seems less marked there than at Vashtëmi. The painted pottery of Kolsh I, which has patterns mainly in brown or dark red, and the absence of white decoration place this site in Starčevo IIb. As we have just seen, the culture of Vashtëmi corresponds also to phase IIa. Thus in the chronological sequence of Albanian Neolithic culture Kolsh I ought to come immediately after Vashtëmi.

A fine pottery with dark-coloured patterns on a red ground partly links Kolsh I with phases II–III of the Vršnik–Anzabegovo group and with phase Ib of the Kremikovci group.

Early Neolithic civilization in the north-west region is represented by the culture of Blaz II, and it develops at the same time as Kolsh I but with different traits. Distinctive features of this civilization are a rich pottery with 'impresso-cardium' decoration and a variety of motives, and a monochrome pottery usually grey to black in colour. Some sherds of Barbotine ware in this layer do not affect its predominantly Adriatic–Mediterraean character, which corresponds with that of Smilčic I and Zelena Pečina III in Dalmatia and of some contemporary sites in South Italy.

Although these cultures sprang from different origins, they were not isolated in their development but on the contrary entered into close contact with one another. This may be seen in the interchange of cultural elements, those of east Albania appearing in west Albania and vice versa; for example, the Barbotine pottery of Starčevo appearing in Blaz II, or 'impresso' pottery of Adriatic type at Vashtëmi.

2. *Middle Neolithic*

The culture of this period has been studied at Cakran (Fier),[9] Dunavec (Korçë)[10] and Kolsh II,[11] and casual finds have led to the uncovering of a rich agglomeration at Luadishte, a site in the village of Podgorie. In all these settlements, except to some extent, that at Kolsh, similar cultural components can be seen which enable one to group them together as the 'Cakran group'.

Cakran-type material has been found in Kolsh II but together with material typical of the Vinča group. This blend of elements from cultures of differing origins not only indicates their partial synchronism, but also defines this part of north-east Albania as a border area where these two cultures met.

As the Kolsh material has not yet been studied, one can do no more than indicate the elements of the Cakran culture, which are seen best

[9] A 452; A 492, 93.
[10] A 448, 399f.
[11] *Bul. Ark.* 5 (1975), 149, pl. I, 3–10; pl. II, 1–3.

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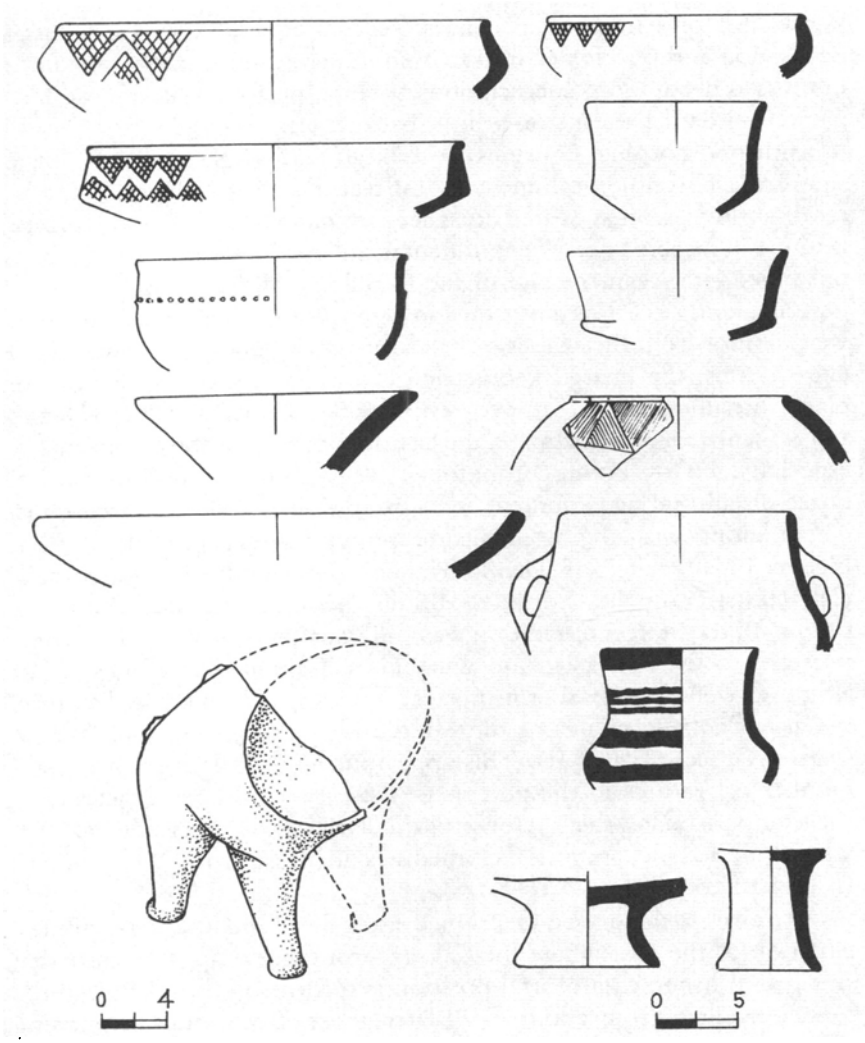

Fig. 35. Some shapes of the pottery of the Cakran group, and a cult-rhyton (Middle Neolithic).

in its pottery. Amongst its varied features, the most characteristic are coarse impressed and Barbotine pottery, plain coloured ware, chiefly grey-black and black, and a finer pottery which differs from the two preceding types by more careful modelling and by its lustrous surface, generally dark grey or black. Amongst the different vase shapes, the most typical in this group are biconical cups with a variety of profiles and vases with four feet known as cult-rhytons (fig. 35).

Ornamentation on both the common and the finer pottery shows a

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knowledge of a number of decorative techniques. Incised geometric decoration and plastic decoration predominate; more rarely, one finds impressed decoration, encrustation in white, perforations, and designs painted in dark patterns on a light background.

Anthropomorphic figurines at Cakran, although not rich, have significant chronological and cultural features. For instance, the type representing a woman seated cross-legged, hands clasped on the breast, is found in marble or clay in continental and insular Greece, dating from not much later than the end of the Middle Neolithic period.[12]

Considering the Cakran group in relation to other Balkan groups, we can infer from the shapes of its characteristic pottery, including the cult-rhytons, the incised geometric decoration, and some features of plastic ornamentation, that it corresponds fairly closely with the Danilo and Kakanj groups of Dalmatia and Central Bosnia (see above, pp. 109f.); especially, it corresponds chronologically and culturally with the earliest phase of cultural development at Kakanj (Kakanj I or Proto-Kakanj). There, along with the monochrome pottery with geometric patterns incised or in relief of Danilo–Kakanj type, and the cult-rhytons characteristic of the Adriatic Middle Neolithic period, Barbotine pottery of the Starčevo tradition was still in use,[13] a phenomenon which relates it to the Cakran group. Further, at Cakran there persisted for a time, as well as the Barbotine pottery, traces of the 'impresso' culture.

Cakran equally relates to the Middle Neolithic group of Elatea in Central Greece (Elatea II). This appears in the similarities of a good number of features in the pottery of these two cultures, especially in the comparison of the rhytons, particularly those with conical feet, whose incised decoration is sometimes identical with those of the Cakran rhytons.[14]

Apart from the above-mentioned analogies, and the geographical situation of the area where the Cakran group grew up, it is clear that this group occupied a central position and formed a link between the Danilo–Kakanj group and that of Elatea, these three groups comprising the Aegean–Adriatic cultural complex of the Middle Neolithic period. But within the complex, the Cakran group retains the peculiarities of its own local development, manifested, in part, by the retention of the traditions of the Starčevo culture and, to a lesser extent, the 'impresso' culture.

The relative chronology of Cakran appears to be parallel to that of Danilo I, Vinča I, Proto-Kakanj and Elatea II. In relation to the Neolithic period in Thessaly, Cakran corresponds chronologically to the first phase of the Dhimini culture. This chronological parallelism is

[12] A 476.
[13] A 205, 58.
[14] A 477, pls. 64, 65; A 492, 93f.

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proved by certain fragments of painted pottery apparently imported from Thessaly. Amongst these objects should be recorded a fragment of a vase painted in a pattern of wavy lines set between wide bands of brown on a cream ground, which in shape and style recall the pottery of the Dhimini–Tsangli group.

Discoveries made in 1971 and 1973 at Dunavec (Korçë) have enabled us to study the culture of Cakran within a much larger context, both geographical and chronological, and thus to determine its evolution, its slight local peculiarities, and the role of the autochthonous elements in its formation. While Dunavec II corresponds to Cakran, the culture of Dunavec I is characterized by a monochrome black or grey pottery with polished surface, and often glazed by a variety of techniques like the Barbotine pottery of Starčevo. There are also – but in much smaller numbers – examples of wares decorated with incised motifs, impressed with moulded decorations, grey painted on a dark ground, fluted, etc. Taken together, these features link up so closely with similar features in the Cakran and Dunavec II cultures, that we may conclude that the two strata at Dunavec were genetically linked. For this reason, Dunavec I has been called the Proto-Cakran phase.

Clay figurines, especially of humans, are better represented in Dunavec I than in Dunavec II. The types and styles show more variety, and in some, such as those of cylindrical shape with the nose shaped like a beak, one can trace the continuation of earlier Neolithic traditions from the central Balkans and the Aegean, represented respectively by Starčevo and Nea Nikomedeia.

Another element which links genetically the cultures of Dunavec I and II is the cult-rhyton. Some of these were decorated for the first time in Barbotine. Some examples, 'hybrids', as they have shapes typical of the Adriatic Middle Neolithic and decorations characteristic of the continental Early Neolithic, have not to my knowledge been met with so far in any of the known Aegean–Adriatic groups. Thus, bearing in mind the early date which is based on stratigraphy, they should in my opinion be considered the earliest ever discovered in this zone. If so, the controversial question whether these rhytons originated in Dalmatia, Greece or Albania,[15] should be settled, and an important role should be attributed to Albania as the propagator of the cult for which this vase was used in Dalmatia, Bosnia and Greece (above, p. 112).

What seems fairly clear and throws light on the origin of Cakran is that Dunavec I is based partly on elements of the Starčevo civilization. This is attested by the Barbotine pottery of various kinds found at the same time as the cult-rhytons and other objects typical of the Cakran

[15] A 205, 85ff and the works cited there; A 451, 30.

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culture. But unlike Dunavec, a continental site, Cakran, being near the coast, shows elements of the 'impresso' culture, as we shall see, in addition to its Starčevo pottery. This seems natural enough as Cakran came under the influence of the Adriatic complex in the Early Neolithic period. This is clearly attested by the character of the 'impresso' pottery of Cakran, which is analogous to that of the late phase of Early Neolithic at Blaz II.

In terms of relative chronology, the Proto-Cakran culture developed, if only in part, in the same period as the late Sesklo phases II–III of Neolithic Thessaly. This is supported by the synchronization of the Cakran phase with Dhimini–Tsangli.

Proto-Cakran should correspond also with Proto-Kakanj and Obre I, where, as at Dunavec I, we can see the same stage of evolution, admittedly with certain differences. But, granted that Cakran too presents analogies with Proto-Kakanj, as we have shown, it follows that Proto-Cakran should be considered as parallel, in part at least, with the origins of Proto-Kakanj, the origins of Dunavec being of course earlier.

Because of its abundant Barbotine pottery and the monochrome grey-black pottery, Proto-Cakran at Dunavec is chronologically comparable with the last phase of the Starčevo group and the beginning of the Vinča group.

3. *Late Neolithic*

The first traces of Late Neolithic in Albania were found in 1936 in one of the Velcë caves (Vlorë).[16] But systematic study of this period on the basis of firm stratigraphical data began only after 1961, following discoveries made at Maliq (Maliq I),[17] a settlement with several levels. Traces of this culture were found later at Kamnik (Kolonjë), 50 km south of Maliq.[18] When it was confirmed that Kamnik in many respects supplemented Maliq I, the culture became known as Maliq I–Kamnik.

The stratigraphy of Maliq I has made it possible to distinguish fairly clearly two phases, Maliq Ia and I b.[19] The pottery of phase Ia is varied both in its shape and decoration. But what especially characterizes this level is a fairly fine pottery, with a polished, sometimes lustrous surface, grey-black (occasionally red and more often red and black – 'black-topped'); and also pottery painted sometimes before and sometimes after firing, which distinguishes this phase clearly from other earlier Neolithic cultures. Pottery painted after firing (crusted), though not common, is found throughout the whole depth of the stratum, along with pottery painted before firing. The latter is distinguished by its pure colours and by its generally careful technique, by the thorough firing,

[16] A 455, 681–5, figs. 3–5.
[17] A 460, pls. 1–2.
[18] A 467; A 461.
[19] A 465, 402.

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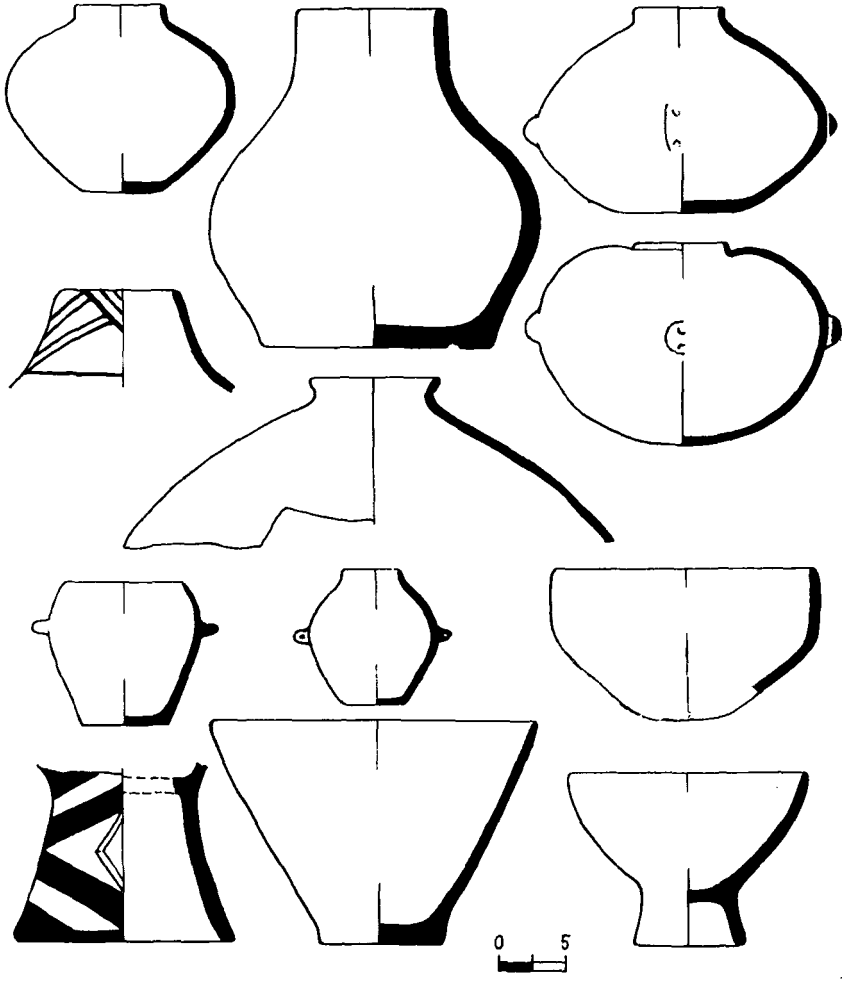

Fig. 36. Some shapes of the pottery of the Maliq I–Kamnik group (Late Neolithic).

the elegance of the shapes, the rich range of decorative colour, and the designs which are often very precise. One type of pottery predominates, with monochrome motifs applied directly on to the natural clay, or on to a glaze of various tones. Polychrome pottery decorated in two colours on the glaze is more rarely found. With a few rare exceptions, one of the two colours is always used to outline the decoration, and this colour is dark brown tending to black; the main decorative colour is brown. A whole range of other colours is used, but less frequently: grey, dark red, orange, etc. The glaze is generally ochre, cream or light red (see fig. 36).

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The designs are of a very heterogeneous character. They repeat a range of linear–geometric and spiralling meanders which recall in many ways the developed decorative styles of the late Dhimini period.

Certain elements in the painted pottery of Maliq I–Kamnik are identical with the Neolithic pottery of the Velcë cave. But there are also discrepancies which suggest, if not chronological differences, at least some local divergences in the Velcë culture, which apparently relates more to the Neolithic culture of north-west Greece, and specifically to that of Ayios Nikolaos, near Astakos in Acarnania.

In Maliq I b, all the elements of the first phase remain in use, but in different proportions. Thus painted pottery becomes scarcer, while the glazed, grey and black monochrome pottery increases in quantity to the point where it becomes the most characteristic variety. In this type of pottery there is an increasing use of incised decoration with linear-geometric motifs and of incised bands which enclose stippling or short lines. Despite local differences, this pottery resembles in its decoration the so-called *Bandkeramik* of Vinča.

In Maliq I b there appear for the first time, and begin to increase, further elements which will be seen to belong to the foundation of the Eneolithic culture of Maliq. Thus Maliq I b clearly has the characteristics of a transitional phase in the formation of the culture of Maliq II.

Maliq I–Kamnik is the most closely linked to the Dhimini–Otzaki group, and especially to that of classical Dhimini. These links can be seen not only in the similarities in decorative style and the use of sometimes identical motifs, but also in the similarity of many shapes, for example, amphorae with a tall conical neck, fruit-stands on high feet with geometrical 'windows', chiefly lozenge-shaped, and globular vases with short, wide necks. In addition, there are some fragments of cups, shaped like a truncated cone, with four perforated lugs, set face to face opposite each other, found at Kamnik. In method of manufacture, shape and linear-geometric and spiral-meander motifs, in dark paint on light ground, they so much recall the fine cups of style B3 from classical Dhimini that one can consider them as in truth imported from Thessaly. Such as they are, these fragments have a considerable chronological value in that they enable us to fix at least a part of the evolution of this culture with certainty to the period of classical Dhimini.

These objects and other traces of the influence of classical Dhimini in the Maliq I–Kamnik group prove that direct contacts existed between Albania and Thessaly in the Dhimini period, contacts attested already by the pottery of Dhimini–Tsangli at Cakran. They bear witness too to the spread of the late Dhimini civilization as far as the south-eastern area of Albania, where it is seen to be a very specialized variant which partakes also of features of the local Neolithic pottery, such as

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monochrome grey or dark grey and red monochrome lustrous pottery, 'black-topped' pottery, biconical cups, pottery with incised or grooved geometric designs – all elements already known to a greater or less extent according to the district in the Middle Neolithic deposits of neighbouring Dunavec.

These features show that local continuity played a not unimportant part in forming the Maliq I–Kamnik culture.

IV. THE ENEOLITHIC PERIOD

Specific Eneolithic objects such as perforated axes and hammers in polished stone, and tools in copper, have been found in a number of places in Albania, but it was the discovery of rich Eneolithic deposits at Maliq (Maliq II)[20] which brought this period to life. Two phases have been distinguished, Maliq IIa and IIb, on the basis of some slight typological and decorative modifications which appeared in the upper horizons of this layer. Traces of Maliq IIb have been found also in the Tren cave (Tren I) some 30 km from Maliq.[21]

The tools found in the Eneolithic layer at Maliq form a rich and interesting collection. They are chiefly made of stone, bone, horn or terracotta, but sometimes of copper or wood. The earlier Neolithic traditions survive, clearly preserved, in the stone and wooden implements; yet the axes, chisels and awls of copper imitate the shapes of the implements in stone and bone, which shows that their manufacture was inspired locally. This culture is also characterized by its pottery, especially the fine pottery, grey or grey-black, of various shapes and with fairly rich decoration of several kinds: painted, incised, encrusted, recessed, and in relief. As these kinds of decoration are sometimes combined, their contemporary use is proved.

For painted pottery grey is the predominant colour, and some decorative motifs recall those of Maliq I–Kamnik. Graphite decoration also occurs but very sporadically. Black paint is much less frequent, and when it occurs it is often combined with grey decoration, but not in an integrated fashion, on bowls of Maliq IIa; in these cases the inside surface alone is painted in black, the outside in grey. The 'crusted' technique, known since Maliq I–Kamnik, is still very much in favour, but moves always towards a simplification in the decoration.

There are some examples of incised decoration with the same motifs as those on the grey-painted pottery; sometimes white or red encrustation gives the incisions colour. Plastic decoration has a special place in Eneolithic pottery. In Maliq IIa, the most characteristic features are lines of nipples, arranged most often vertically beneath the rim of the

[20] A 460, 257ff, pls. III–XI. [21] A 446.

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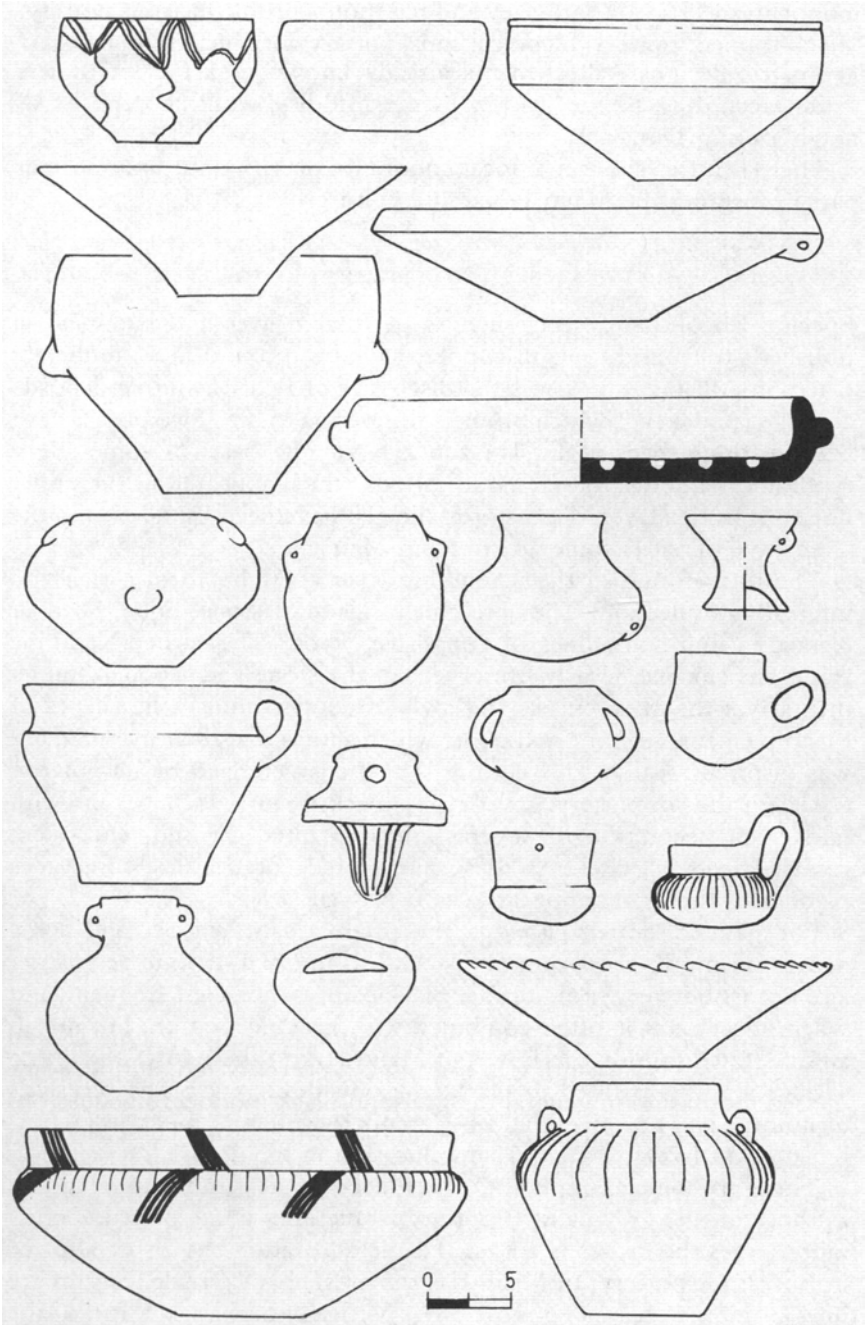

Fig. 37. Some shapes of the pottery of Maliq II (Eneolithic).

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vase, and convex buttons, sometimes painted with a powder in red, reminiscent of the paint on the Cakran group rhytons. In Maliq IIb the reduction to a minimum of these plastic elements is balanced by a very general use of fluting with a great range of styles and technical skill in execution (see fig. 37).

Typical of Maliq II are clay figurines, very varied in style and shape, especially flattened figures of schematic or cruciform shapes. Steatopygous figurines, standing or – more rarely – seated on a chair, and figurines with truncated arms, having a hole between the shoulders to fix the separately modelled head, are also characteristic. One finds similar figures in Pelagonia, in the Šupljevac–Bakarno Gumno–Crnobuki group, and also in more distant areas, in the small sculptures of Rakhmani in Thessaly.[22]

Amongst the terracotta objects of Maliq II, biconical weights with elongated cylindrical head, and various other small objects associated with the religious life of the Eneolithic inhabitants of Maliq, are worthy of notice; particularly, for example, the numerous pintaderas of different shapes and designs, such as the swastika, the spiral, etc. Also characteristic are clay cylinders, perforated vertically, with indented decoration, which were probably revolved to make a seal. Such objects, apparently of eastern origin, have been found also in other parts of the Balkans, but never in such abundance or variety as at Maliq II. Objects of this sort found at Dikili Tash come closest to those at Maliq II.

In addition to the innovations which give Maliq II a unique cultural physiognomy, there are a number of other traits whose aboriginal neolithic origin cannot readily be doubted in the light of recent archaeological discoveries. This becomes clear if one studies Maliq Ib. Certain vase-shapes and decorative features of this phase are very popular in Maliq II. For example, bowls with elliptical mouths, milk-pots, vases on a high foot, oval pans with finger-impressions, heavy, saddle-shaped weights, some special types of human figurine painting in grey, in black, in red and white paste ('crusted'), the style of some linear-geometric and spiral motifs, fluting, etc. One should point out here that painting in grey and in powdery red, fluting, some incised motifs and in general the grey and black monochrome lustrous pottery have a still earlier tradition in the Korçë basin. These elements appear for the first time in the deposits of the Middle Neolithic community at Dunavec. Many of these elements, especially painting in grey and fluting, become the most favoured type of decoration amongst the Eneolithic potters and users of this community.

Certain characteristic objects such as bowls with inverted rims, dishes with a rolled rim, two-handled kantharoi, graphite decoration, crusted

[22] A 442, 15ff.

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ornamentation, fluting, and some types of figurines associate Maliq II with the groups of Sălcuţa in Oltenia, Krivodol in Bulgaria. Bubanj–Hum on the Morava and especially with Šupljevac–Bakarno Gumno–Crnobuki in Pelagonia, where the painted grey decoration of Maliq II is well represented.[23]

In some respects, Maliq II also corresponds to the earlier phase of Hisar of Kosovo, though in some particular elements it is associated with the later development of Vinča. The materials of Maliq II also have analogies with certain Late Neolithic settlements in Greek Macedonia, as well as in Thessaly, particularly in the Rakhmani group. The connection with the latter is mainly with analogous shapes, crusted decoration and schematic figurines with truncated arms provided with a hole between the shoulders for affixing the head.

In Maliq II can be seen also certain shapes characteristic of the Early Bronze Age of the Aegean and Troy. These shapes, while quite characteristic in many ways of Maliq II, never succeeded in supplanting entirely the traditional Eneolithic forms, and as forerunners of a new epoch they were not fully at home in the developed civilization of Maliq II. That happened in the Maliq III a phase, which, as we shall see later, interrupted the Neo-Eneolithic evolution of Maliq in particular and of the whole of the Korçë basin in general, thus creating a new base for peaceful and continuous development during the whole of the Bronze and Early Iron Ages.

In the present state of our knowledge, we cannot define with certainty the physical type of the peoples who lived in Albania in the Neo-Eneolithic period. Neither can we make any firm judgements as to the ethnic associations of the cultural groups which we have been describing, in spite of the divergent opinions of linguists and archaeologists on the Indo-European or non-Indo-European character of the Neolithic populations of the Balkans.

V. NEOLITHIC AND ENEOLITHIC SITES AND HABITATIONS

In these periods, settlements are usually found on river banks (Dunavec and Maliq), on river terraces (Kolsh), on plains and plateaux surrounded by territory rich in game (Cakran, Vashtëmi, Podgorie), on small elevations between raised banks, in conditions favourable to the arable and pastoral economy of the period (Cetush and Gradec in the region of Peshkopi, which have been discovered recently). Settlements of the Late Neolithic period have also been found built on small hills which were not only endowed with natural defences but were also partially fortified with stone ramparts, as in the Kamnik settlements.

[23] A 167, 27.

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Caves, which formerly provided the principal shelters for hunters and food-gatherers, continue in use as dwellings in the Neolithic and Eneolithic periods. Such are the caves of Velcë (Vlorë) and Tren (Korçë).

Some pile-dwellings are known of this period also. The earliest traces of them were revealed in the earliest level of the Middle Neolithic site at Dunavec, where thick stakes, their tips worked with stone axes, were found driven deep into the earth and set very close together. Another example of pile-dwellings is at Gorica near Lake Prespa. The Eneolithic level, the earliest at Maliq, has disclosed yet another pile-habitation. Further, it is protected by a rampart of earth packed between two lines of stakes. According to the stratigraphical evidence, these two pile habitations were covered by other settlements, not pile-dwellings, but built at ground-level. This is seen elsewhere,[24] and leads to the conclusion that such a type of construction was used only when there was danger of flooding. When this danger was slight, this difficult form of construction was abandoned.

Habitations of the 'tell' type so common in the eastern parts of the Balkan peninsula, have not been discovered as yet in Albania. Since the evidence is fragmentary, it is not possible to give any clear account of the methods of construction and the design of houses in the Neo-Eneolithic period. As far as we can ascertain, it seems that the most usual form of Neolithic and Eneolithic habitation is built at ground level with one or more rooms. The walls are commonly made of interlaced branches or of fine reeds arranged horizontally and covered on one or both sides with a surface of clay often mixed with straw to achieve a firmer texture. Houses have been found too with walls constructed of beams set upright and covered with clay. This type of construction would account for the debris of wall-facings bearing beam-marks which have been found in large quantities in the burnt levels of the Neolithic site at Maliq. The floors were generally of beaten earth, and in some particularly damp areas, notably in the Korçë plain, this layer was spread over a platform of beams, and was sometimes fired, thus forming a cemented clay layer with a fairly polished surface (Maliq).

The rooms in these dwellings usually contained a hearth and an oven; as far as one can tell from traces found at Maliq I and II, and as at Kamnik, the ovens were semi-elliptical in shape, or rectangular, but with rounded corners. The latter were the most common, especially at Maliq. In some cases, they were built on a plinth of earth paved with stones or fragments of pottery – in order, no doubt, to conserve as much heat as possible. For the framework of the roofs, the people used, apart from

[24] A 167, 26; A 492, 104.

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branches, fine reeds laid horizontally and bound together at irregular intervals with thicker reeds laid across them, a method seen also in the construction of Eneolithic houses at Maliq.

In addition to dwellings built at ground level, pit-dwellings are known, though less widespread. So far, this type has been discovered only at Cakran.

VI. WAY OF LIFE

According to the archaeological evidence, Albania experienced in the Neolithic and to an even greater extent in the Eneolithic period, a fairly marked growth in productive capacity. In this the geo-climatic conditions, hardly different from those existing today, were no doubt an important factor.

Agriculture was one of the most important productive activities of the Neo-Eneolithic peoples, especially of the communities settled in areas with good soil and climatic conditions. At that period the soil was tilled only superficially with forks of wood or antlers, or with hoes of polished stone such as are found everywhere in the settlements we have excavated.

There are certain indications that the growing of cereals was known in our area from the earliest times. Thus for example, in the Early Neolithic settlement at Vashtëmi fragments of thick-sided vases were found made of clay mixed with straw, and at Cakran, Dunavec and Maliq, floors and walls of clay and straw. In the earliest deposits of Maliq I, were found some burnt grains of wheat. Finally, stone mill-stones and grinders frequently found in Neolithic settlements testify to the role of agriculture in this period. In the Eneolithic period, agriculture took great strides forward. The rich deposits of Maliq II have uncovered large numbers of antler-hoes, millstones, and other agricultural tools, and numerous grains of cereals, collected from different levels of the Eneolithic stratum at Maliq, have shown that at that time the whole range of present-day cereals was cultivated – wheat, barley, rye, vetch, etc.

The farmers of Neolithic and Eneolithic times derived a living not only from the soil but from stock-raising. Bones of domestic animals found at Vashtëmi, Dunavec, Kamnik, etc., show that they bred cattle, sheep, goats, pigs, etc. These produced meat, skins, wool and bone for the manufacture of tools. Men engaged also in hunting in the forests around their settlements, or even further afield. The dense forests which formerly surrounded the Korçë plateau provided abundant game, as can be seen from the bones of many different animals found in the Neolithic and Eneolithic strata of the plateau. The favourite game was the wild

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boar and the deer. Neolithic hunters used not only the latter's flesh and skin, but also the antlers, from which they made various agricultural implements.

Fishing too was practised wherever conditions made it possible, especially in settlements near waterways, as at Maliq. Materials unearthed in the Eneolithic layer at this site show that this was a means, though a secondary one, of providing daily sustenance. Nets were used at Maliq for fishing, as witnessed by numbers of terracotta weights and fish-hooks in bone or copper, though these are rare. In shape, these copper fish-hooks are very like present-day hooks, and could quite easily be taken as the original models. Primitive craft, whose design we can see in some miniature terracotta models found at Maliq II, seem to have been used for fishing.

The Eneolithic layer on this site has also disclosed a number of spindles and frame weights. This shows that the Eneolithic tillers and stock-breeders at this site, and by analogy at other settlements of this period, knew how to spin and weave, and thus to make garments with animal or plant fibres. The fact that the Maliq people knew how to plait also is established by an Eneolithic vase with a plaited design stamped on its base. The discovery here of two rectangular wooden plaques, with two holes at the ends, seems to indicate skills more complicated than plaiting, such as might be used for making belts.

On these sites in the Neolithic and Eneolithic periods lived groups of people with an internal organization based on communal production and consumption. These groups, which in their social structure were certainly familial groups, usually obtained from the natural resources of their own areas all that they needed for their daily work and existence. And without doubt the richness of these resources played an important role in the economic and social development of these primitive communities.

Neo-Eneolithic man made his tools from stone, bone or horn, all found near his home. Unshaped fragments and flint cores bear witness to this, as do the tools themselves, showing signs of reworking or of unfinished workmanship when found in the rubbish dumps of the dwellings. Bone and horn were obtained from animals, the stone dug out from near-by rocky outcrops. In this way the early inhabitants of Maliq obtained igneous rock such as gabbro and diabase which is widespread in the Korçë district.

During the Eneolithic period, along with the stone and bone tools, which at this time reached a high degree of technical perfection, in a variety of shapes, as seen in Maliq II, there appeared also some objects in copper. As far as one can judge on present evidence, such objects

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were first made in the third millennium and marked the debut of primitive metallurgy in Albania. This period may thus be called the Copper Age.

Judging from the waste fragments and copper slag found at Maliq, these objects were made on the site. The casting was done in terracotta moulds, an example of which was found in the Maliq II deposits. There are insufficient laboratory data to determine exactly where the blacksmiths of Eneolithic Maliq found their copper ores. One can guess, however, that the source was an area not far distant from the Korçë basin, where fairly rich deposits of copper ore have been found.

A variety of household furnishings were manufactured in the neighbourhood of the dwellings, primarily ceramic objects. Vases, in shapes and sizes according to their function and the taste of their users and designers, were generally made by hand. This taste governed also the decoration of the vases, which in some cases reached a high artistic level. This is seen especially in some striking specimens of Maliq I–Kamnik pottery, with their very regular ornamental design, the harmony of their colours, and the skilful composition of the motifs, which seem sometimes to carry a symbolic or religious significance. This type of pottery, whose rich decoration is adapted closely to the shape, seems to go beyond common domestic hand-thrown production, and suggests the existence at this stage in the Neolithic period of a specialized ceramic manufacture, carried out by professional potters with a technical procedure based probably on the use of the wheel. There is evidence to show that areas used as studios for the manufacture of pottery existed at this time, such as that at Kamnik, which was complete with kilns, some still full of vessels.

Apart from this fine pottery, the sculptured figurines have an especial interest for the light they throw on the spiritual and social life of the members of these cultures. In all the Neo-Eneolithic sites examined, clay figurines of humans have been found, most especially at Dunavec and Maliq. They are of various types, standing, seated, cylindrical, flattened, etc., and are mostly female. The large number of female subjects no doubt demonstrates the important role of the woman in society, which could only obtain in a matriarchal community. These figurines can be associated also with the giver of produce, the 'Earth-Mother', whose cult was highly developed amongst the farmers of the Neo-Eneolithic period. The anthropomorphic vases of Kamnik may be related to this cult, as indeed are the Dunavec vases with a human face in relief, or those of Eneolithic Maliq with stylized praying figures moulded on their surfaces.

Zoomorphic figurines are less common. When they occur, their presence can be accounted for by the practice of breeding domestic

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animals, which also played an important role in the life of the primitive communities of Albania.

The cult of water-birds figured also in these communities, particularly in those near waterways. We reach this conclusion from the figurines of aquatic birds and from ornithomorphic vases from the Eneolithic layer at Maliq, eloquent testimonies of this cult.

With regard to burial rites there is not enough evidence to show how the cultivators and pastoralists of this epoch treated this important aspect of their spiritual culture. Nevertheless, there are some clear indications at Cakran and Maliq that during the Neolithic and Eneolithic periods, as in other Neolithic groups in the Balkans, the rite of burial within the settlement was practised, a rite of an apparently tutelary nature, widely prevalent throughout the Mediterranean area. This type of burial, to judge from the few examples that we know, was carried out by placing the body in a lying or squatting position in a pit, with no accompanying funerary furnishings.

VII. THE BRONZE AGE

Study of the Bronze Age in Albania has yielded remarkable results, though they are as yet insufficient to provide a clear or complete picture of the culture and history of the period. With the Bronze Age there appears everywhere a new cultural assemblage, which is entirely different from that of the Eneolithic period. This assemblage marks the end of the evolution of the Neolithic–Eneolithic civilization and the beginning of another historical process, which in socio-economic and ethno-cultural terms introduces a further stage of evolution.

At present, the best known and most researched civilization of the Bronze Age is Maliq III, which covers a long period and has a sure chronology throughout its successive phases, these being fairly well confirmed stratigraphically.[25] This civilization, with quite clear idiosyncratic features, occupied all the south-eastern region of Albania, and its influence, as we shall see in detail later, extended into the neighbouring region of southern Albania.

Some elements of this culture, recently discovered in northern Albania, have not yet been investigated. The only civilization studied in this area, and attributed, on stratigraphical grounds, to the end of the Bronze Age, is that of the earliest level of habitation in the city of Gajtan (Gajtan I).[26] Thus it is impossible without more evidence to trace the spread of this nothern civilization, or to understand its origin and the successive stages of its evolution. We shall not, therefore, treat it in detail.

[25] A 460; A 446. [26] A 443.

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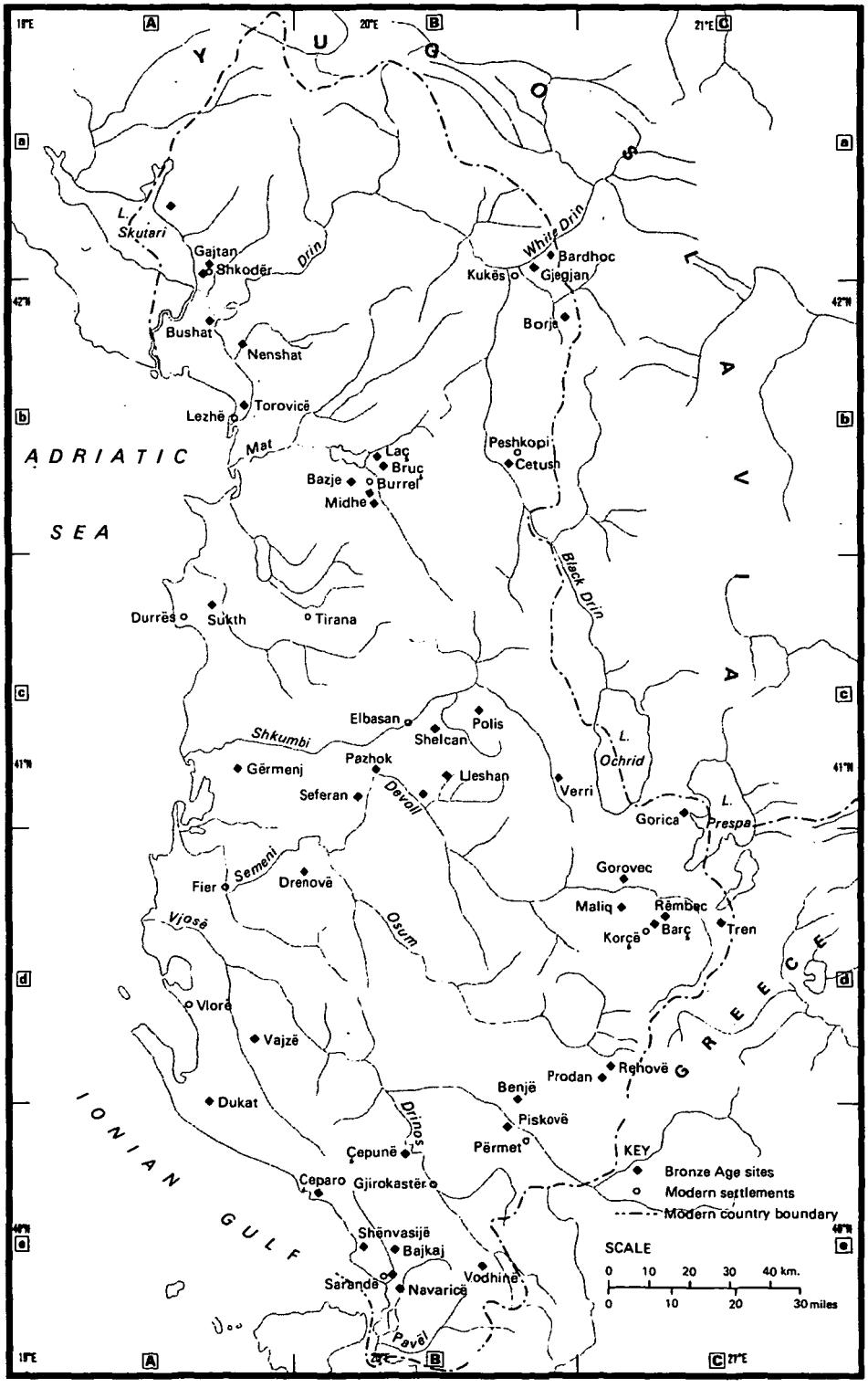

Map 10. Bronze Age sites in Albania.

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Apart from the settlements themselves the most important sources for this Bronze Age period are the furniture of the tumulus-burials and the flat tombs, which have been found in organized or chance excavations at Vajzë[27] and Dukat[28] (Vlorë), Bajkaj[29] (Sarande), Vodhinë[30] and Çepunë[31] (Gjirokaster), Pazhok[32] (Elbasan), Bardhoc (Kukës), in the valley of the river Mati,[33] at Prodan (Kolonjë), Barç (Korçë),[34] Divjake (Lushnje), Drenove (Fier), and elsewhere (see map 10). Of equal importance are the hoards of bronze and other miscellaneous objects. Our observations allow us to divide Bronze Age civilization into three periods.

1. *The Early Bronze Age, c. 2100/2000–1800 B.C.*

The main source of information for the economic and cultural life of this period continues to be, as for the Eneolithic, Maliq. The large amount of material found in the various levels of the Early Bronze Age layer of this site enables us to divide the civilization of the period into two phases, Maliq IIIa and IIIb.

The Maliq IIIa stratum covers the greater part of the Eneolithic stratum, and there are no barren layers. This indicates a continuity of life including the transitional period from the Eneolithic period to the Bronze Age, in spite of marked cultural differences between the two successive phases.

In Maliq IIIa entirely new elements appear, especially in pottery, which is distinguished from that of the Eneolithic period by its generally more primitive character and by its new shapes, among which the enlarged handles are of importance.

The most common shapes include vases with two handles above the rim, of Armenokhori type; cups with handles level with or rising above the rim; vases of various shapes with two small handles below the mouthpiece, jugs with tall cylindrical necks, bowls with four small handles below the rim, little cups shaped like a truncated cone with a lip on the rim, and bowls with inverted rims (fig. 38). Other new elements in the pottery of this phase are tongue-shaped handles with decoration, finger-impressions, lug handles, etc. Conspicuous in the decorative styles of this phase are decorations in relief: impressed cords, simple circular bands with V or U shapes, buttons, nipples, and clusters of parallel ribs. Common too is the decoration made by the impression of the finger or nail, or spattered 'pseudo-Barbotine'.

[27] A 459.
[28] A 488.
[29] A 428.
[30] A 458.
[31] A 429.
[32] A 443; A 426.
[33] A 444; A 453.
[34] A 422.

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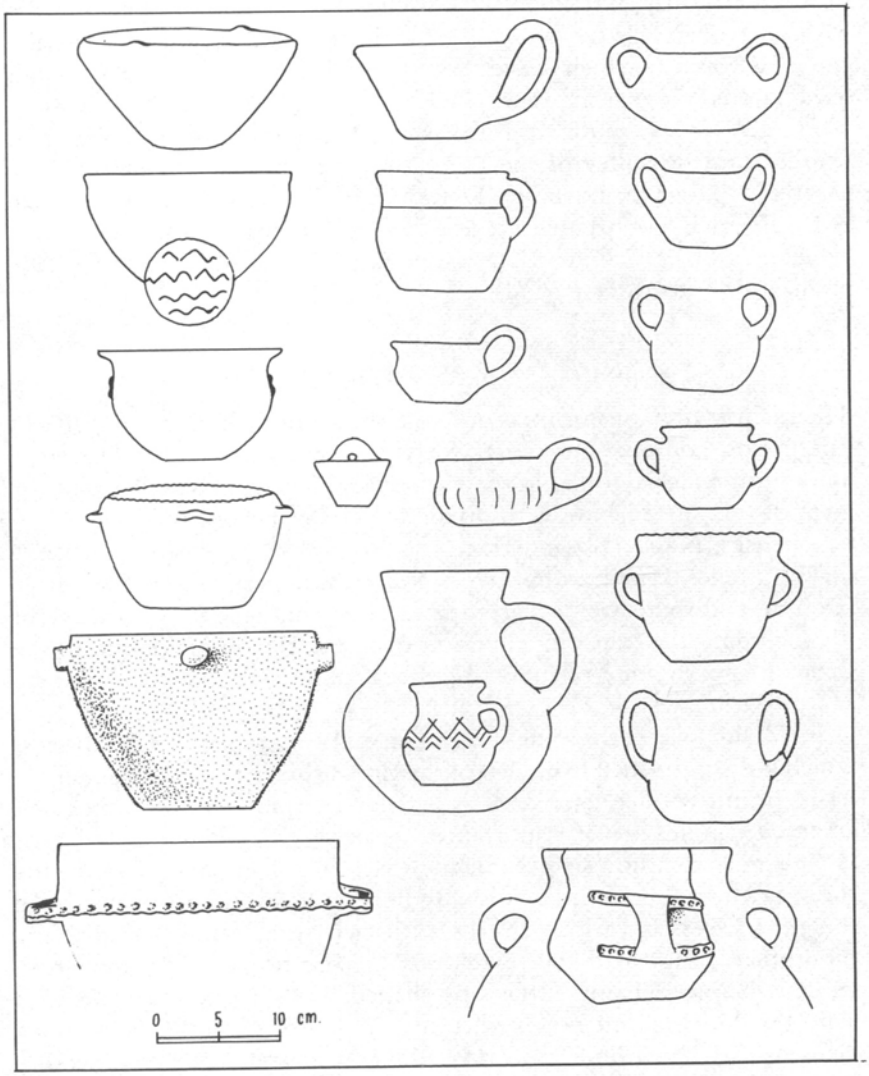

Fig. 38. Some shapes of Early Bronze Age pottery (Maliq III a, b).

Of particular chronological and cultural interest are some fragments of vessels decorated with stippled triangles, whose decoration recalls the most typical pottery of the Kostolac group (above, p. 155).

All this pottery, hitherto unknown in Albania, was found in the Maliq IIIa layer, together with other objects peculiar to the Eneolithic period at Maliq. Of the latter, one may mention vases with an S-shaped profile, often decorated with shallow grooves on the shoulders and dishes with

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rolled rims, designs in black paint or incised, a number of anchor-shaped amulets, which had appeared for the first time at Maliq in the Eneolithic layer as indications of the Aegean Early Bronze Age, terracotta spoons with short handles, numerous weights for fishing-nets, and some cruciform figurines of terracotta in the Maliq II style, and many stone, bone and horn implements in the Eneolithic tradition.

The fact that we find in the Maliq IIIa level the material peculiar to the previous autochthonous foundation mixed in an unexpected and abrupt way with large quantities of the new ceramic material which we have described above, indicates that we have here the appearance of a new ethnic element which penetrated this area of south-east Albania towards the end of the Eneolithic period and the beginning of the Bronze Age, and did not destroy the local Eneolithic population but intermingled with them or lived amongst them, creating certain changes in their economic and ethno-cultural structure.

After this period of immigration and of subsequent racial and cultural integration at Maliq there followed a period of stabilization and individualisation which marked the next phase, Maliq IIIb. The pottery of IIIb abandons finally the 'pseudo-Barbotine' style and rejects the shapes and decorative features which in the previous period had recalled the Eneolithic traditions or had emphasized points of contact with the Kostolac group. Henceforward the pottery is enriched by new elements which developed either locally or in close contact with neighbouring contemporary cultures, especially those of Macedonia and Thessaly. Thus by an internal development which was able to assimilate or reject particular features, the Early Bronze Age civilization of Maliq took a developed shape and close-knit form.

As we shall see later, the civilization of IIIb experienced rapid enrichment and change through its internal development during the whole of the Bronze Age, and at the same time maintained contact with the cultures of neighbouring countries. For example it can be said that some pottery shapes and styles of this period at Maliq, including the corded ware, is most closely associated with the Armenokhori group in Pelagonia,[35] which in terms of Aegean chronology is dated towards the end of the Early Bronze Age. Some particular features of Maliq IIIa and IIIb pottery are seen too in other Early Bronze Age sites in Macedonia such as Servia, Kritsana, Ayios Mamas and elsewhere, and similarly in Epirus.[36]

Similarities in certain significant features between the Early Bronze Age pottery of Maliq and that of Argissa Magula III[37] in Thessaly which has a well-verified stratification, establishes a chronological parallel with the third phase of the Thessalian Early Bronze period, and also in all

[35] A 460, 274; A 434; A 174, cat. 192–5.
[36] A 432.
[37] A 440, pls. I–III; IX–XI; XXIII etc.

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probability to some extent with the initial phase of the Thessalian Middle period.[38] This is suggested by the appearance sporadically in Maliq III b of bowls with large semi-circular handles rising above the rim, which recall one of the characteristic shapes of the pottery of the Thessalian Middle Bronze I period.

The one-handled jugs with high cylindrical necks which were found in the central burial chamber of the Barç tumulus (near Maliq) resemble the jugs from Bela Crkva, and bring the Early Bronze period of the Korçë basin into synchronization with the Belotić–Bela Crkva group (see above, p. 173), corresponding chronologically, along with Maliq IIIa and b, to the Armenokhori[39] group.

From these analogies, the Maliq IIIa civilization can be placed approximately between the years 2100/2000–1800 B.C. The years 2000–1900 B.C. are also indicated as the earliest Bronze Age period at Maliq by the fragments with stippled triangles in Maliq IIIa which resemble the pottery of Kostolac[40] style.

2. *The Middle Bronze Age, c. 1800–1500 B.C.*

The Middle Bronze period in Albania comprises roughly the years 1800–1500 B.C.: an epoch which in terms of Aegean chronology corresponds more or less with Middle Helladic II–III and Late Helladic I. This period saw the full development of Bronze Age civilization in all its manifestations; and a greater use of bronze tools and weapons implies a more advanced standard of economic and social life. Weapons of almost all kinds, ranging from swords to lances, were now made in bronze. An exception was the arrow-head, which continued to be made from flint, maintaining the tradition of Neo-Eneolithic times. This tradition lived on also in the manufacture of tools in stone, bone and horn, though in rather restricted numbers.

Some progress during this time is apparent also in the manufacture of pottery. It is best seen at Maliq IIIc, where a large number of whole vases and of sherds were found. These enable us to reconstruct the shapes of this pottery precisely. The quality of the pottery is now much superior to that of the Early Bronze Age. It is generally made with greater care, the colour is mostly grey, dark grey or black, and the surface is smooth and sometimes even polished. The shapes are varied, but decorative designs are simple. Most common are moulded designs, often made by impression, in small bands in the form of ribs, ear-flaps, buttons, etc., which hark back to an early autochthonous tradition. Incised and encrusted decorations are infrequent in the pottery of this period, and painting is not yet seen.

[38] A 454, 29 figs. 4, 5. [39] A 315, 307. [40] A 425.

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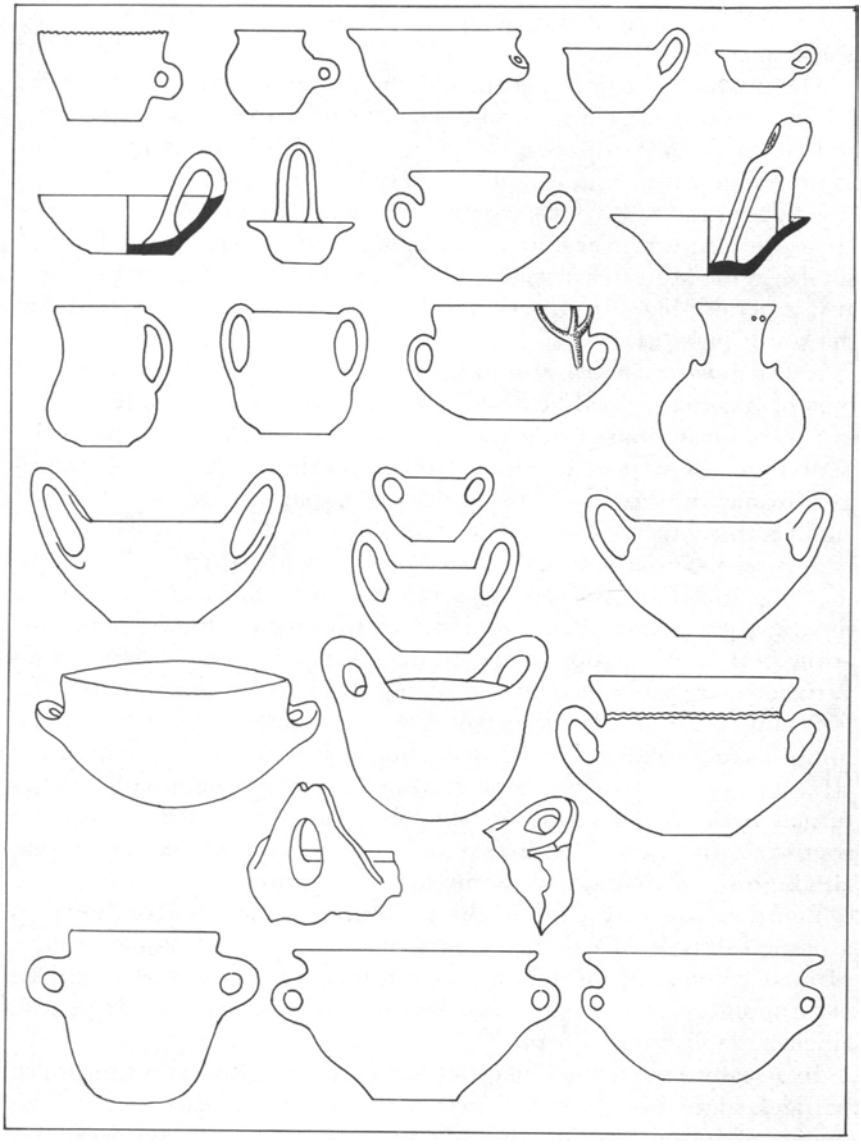

Fig. 39. Some typical shapes of Middle Bronze Age pottery (Maliq III c; Vodhinë, Bajkaj, Vajzë).

Several of the shapes of the Maliq Middle Bronze Age pottery repeat or develop the Early Bronze Age shapes, and this is so too with the decorative elements. Even in the lowest levels of Maliq III c, it would be extremely difficult to draw a line between Maliq III b and Maliq III c, except for the development of technique in the fabrication of pottery;

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this speaks for a slow and tranquil evolution, undisturbed from one phase to the next.

The most characteristic shapes of the pottery of Maliq III c are as follows: vessels with large semi-circular handles rising above the rims, and vessels with 'wish-bone' handles, (which had appeared from time to time at an earlier date); bowls with two horizontal handles set at an angle under the rim, which resemble those of Thessaly Middle Bronze I; biconical cups in grey pottery, with two handles rising above the rim, similar to the Minyan kantharos, and known not only in the Maliq basin at this period, but also in several other places in Albania, especially in the south (fig. 39).

A firm *terminus ante quem* for the first appearance of a 'pseudo-Minyan' type in Albania is furnished by a specimen from Vajzë (Vlorë), found in a tomb in tumulus I, together with a sword of Aegean type of the period 1700–1500 B.C. In view of this association, this type of vessel in Albania originated at an earlier date, but not earlier than the eighteenth century B.C.

A type of vessel with an unusual handle is of particular interest in the range of Middle Bronze Age ceramic shapes: the handle rises above the rim of the vessel, then is folded back towards the interior and ends at the bottom of the pot on the inside. Examples of such shapes, with variations, are found not only at Maliq, but in other areas of Albania, for example in the tumulus at Bajkaj and at Vodhinë, where the central tombs have provided other shapes somewhat similar to those of Maliq III c. It is this similarity in shape, seen also in the little cups with handles turned back to the inside, which links the Middle Bronze Age of south-eastern Albania with that of other regions to the south-east, although there are naturally some local variations.

Figurines are very poor in the civilization of Maliq III c. There is a particular type of flattened figure in the shape of a violin, with a marked elimination of anatomical features. They seem to recall the anthropomorphic schematic figurines of the Maliq Eneolithic period, albeit in an elaborated form.

In assessing the metal objects of this period in Albania we must pay particular attention to the objects deposited in the earliest tumulus-burials of Vajzë, Vodhinë, Pazhok and Mati, especially the weapons. A large number of the weapons are similar in shape to those of the Aegean world which are characteristic of Middle Helladic and of the beginning of Late Helladic. Of a number of swords, we may mention examples from Vajzë, Pazhok and Mati.

The Vajzë sword, slightly over a metre in length (fig. 40.1), reproduces all the typical features of the earliest Aegean swords of the Karo–Sandars A type, dated in Crete to Middle Minoan III,[41] and in

[41] A 471.

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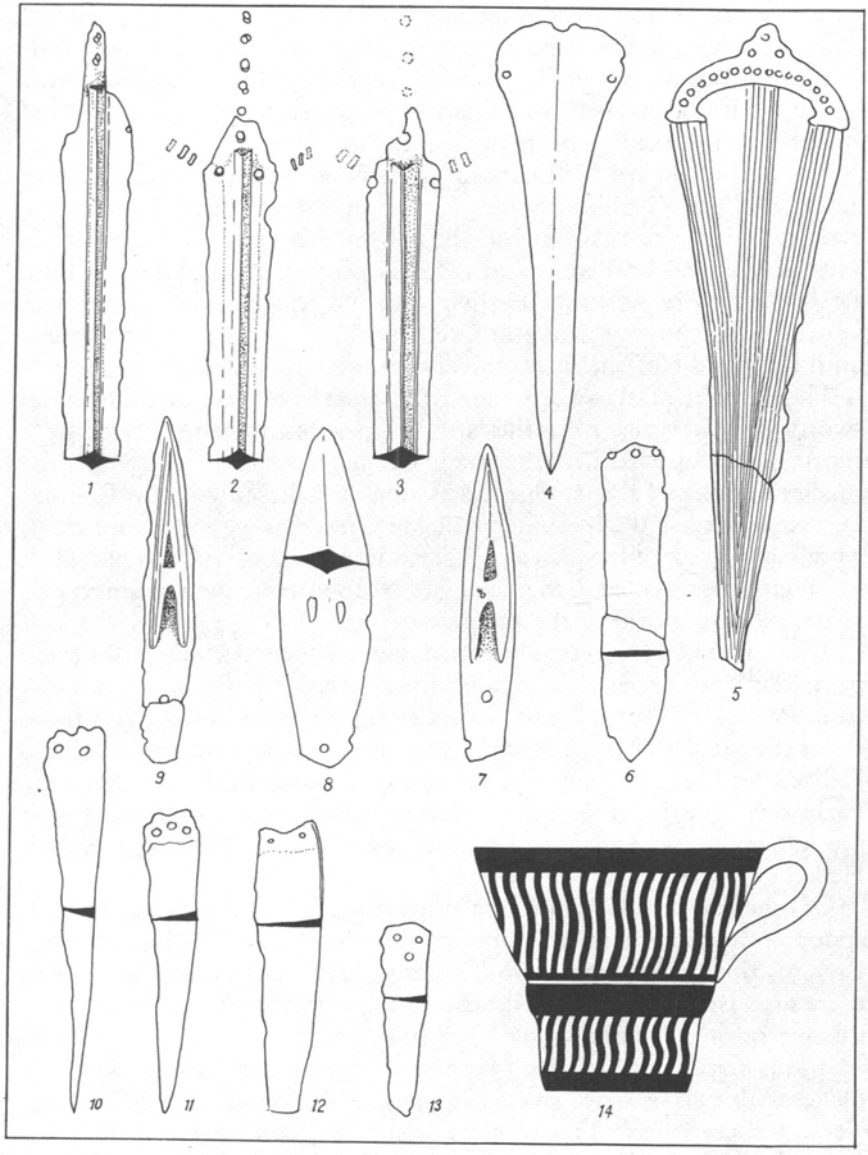

Fig. 40. Bronze and pottery objects of Aegean types (Middle Bronze Age).

continental Greece to the period of the Mycenaean Shaft Graves (sixteenth century B.C.).

The Pazhok sword (fig. 40.2) had a horned handle which was made of a perishable material. It was found in tomb 7 of Tumulus I, together with a cup of *kefti* type (fig. 40.14), known in Crete already in Middle Minoan III, and in continental Greece in Late Helladic I. According

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to its context, this sword should date back to the sixteenth century B.C. At first sight, it seems to be of the same type as the Aegean swords of Sandars Group C, but in fact there are marked differences in the shape of the blade and in the horned handle of wood carved separately and attached to the blade with many rivets.[42]

The Pazhok sword, without parallel as far as we know in the Aegean world and its neighbourhood, forms an intermediary link in the evolution of Bronze Age swords in Albania between the Vajzë sword and the classical horned sword. This is proved chronologically also, since the context shows the Pazhok sword to be somewhat earlier than swords of the horned group in Greece, which do not begin to appear until the middle of the fifteenth century B.C.

The Midhe (Mati) sword (fig. 40.3) closely resembles the Pazhok sword. It only varies from the latter in its measurements (about 5 cm shorter) and in a few unimportant details, consisting chiefly in the smaller number of rivets. One can assume that these two swords, more or less identical and without a parallel in Greece or neighbouring areas, were manufactured by native craftsmen in some local workshop. They must have been skilled in the casting of weapons, like their counterparts in the Aegean world of the time.

There are in addition two bronze daggers which merit attention; one from Vodhinë of triangular shape with a curved top (fig. 40.4), and one from Pazhok of ogival shape with a straight top and fitted with three rivets (fig. 40.6). These types of dagger are known in Greece in Middle Helladic and Late Helladic.[43] One may attribute to the latter period the Pazhok dagger, bearing in mind that its cutting edges are treated with the same technique as that of a knife found also at Pazhok, in a Late Helladic I context.

Of other objects of Aegean type unearthed at Vajzë, one may list two shoed spear-heads and one slotted spear-head of Cycladic type (fig. 40.7–9), similar to those from Thessaly, Mycenae and Leucas, where there are also other objects similar to those in the tumulus-burials of this period in Albania.[44]

In this period appears also a type of knife with a very slightly curved blade, with two or more rivets (fig. 40.10–13), found at Mati, Pazhok, Vajzë and elsewhere. This style will continue, with several variations, through the Late Bronze Age. Some of these variations seem to derive directly from similar knives of the Middle Helladic period which have been found at Sesklo. It has been said hitherto that these knives have a particularly marked distribution in the west, especially in Epirus and the Ionian islands,[45] but the new discoveries show that Albania should

[42] A 443, 95ff, pl. VI, 1; A 462.
[43] A 427; A 438; A 490, 202f and 330f.
[44] A 490, 337; A 439, 132 and 143.
[45] A 470, 183; A 490, 328f; A 439, 143.

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be included in the area of distribution. Having reached this country, these knives served as models and were soon copied, as we see from their fairly large numbers especially from the Late Bronze Age (fig. 43.7–8), from the numerous variants and their wide distribution in Albania, and finally from the presence of some carelessly manufactured specimens.

Fine Aegean pottery was imported into Albania in the seventeenth and sixteenth centuries B.C. For example, the beautiful cup of the *kefti* type with linear decorations in dark paint on a light ground which was found at Pazhok. These importations bear witness to close trade links between Albania and the Aegean world during this period. On the other hand, the objects created in the country after the Aegean models reflect the influence of Creto-Mycenaean civilization on Albania, notably in the matter of metal objects.

Attempts to interpret in any other way the Middle Helladic elements in Albania have, it seems, no solid foundation. Thus, for example, one cannot possibly explain the presence of these elements so typical of the Greek Middle Bronze Age by the assumption that the early Mycenaeans colonized Albania in the seventeenth and sixteenth centuries B.C. The fact that these examples of Creto-Mycenaean civilization are found not only in the border areas, but equally in the interior, in geographically isolated places such as Mati, and often too in association with locally made pottery of native tradition in the tombs, goes to show that these burial-grounds belong to a native population and not to one originating from the south.

The Middle Bronze civilization of Maliq, as we have just seen, developed entirely within the country from the civilization of the Early Bronze Age. For example, the local pottery of the tumuli at Vajzë, Vodhinë, Pazhok, and Bajkaj copies the shapes and even the decorative elements of a style and type of the Early Bronze Age at Maliq. This fact clearly excludes the incursion of new ethnic elements during the epoch in the south-eastern zone of Albania, and thus also on the coast.

Further, the metal objects typical of the Middle Helladic period of early Mycenae which have been found in these tumuli are of a slightly later date than those in Greece. According to our dating, the earliest artefacts in the tumuli of Pazhok and Vajzë go back to the end of the period 1700–1500 B.C. From the close resemblance of the weapons of Middle Bronze Age Albania to those of the Early Mycenaean civilization one can assume a strong similarity in the techniques of arms manufacture and in the form of warfare which was waged by the aristocratic tribal warriors of Albania and Greece. It would seem that Albania in this period was not so different from its Aegean neighbours in the level of social and economic development as was thought at one time.

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Relations with the Italian coast seem to have been very tenuous during this period; or so one supposes at least from the absence of imports from Italy, or even of local imitations. The only object which might possibly indicate a contact between the two sides of the Adriatic is the Vajzë dagger, of triangular shape with a curved top, decorated on both sides with engraved lines converging at the tip (fig. 40.5).

3. *The Late Bronze Age, c. 1500–1100 B.C.*

This period spans approximately the years 1500–1100 B.C., and corresponds in Aegean chronology with Late Helladic II and III. It is a period of the most marked expansion of the Bronze Age civilization, of further increase in production, improvement in special metallurgical techniques and refinement in the methods of handling metals. There was by now widespread manufacture of tools, weapons and jewellery. Traditional artefacts, already out-dated, in stone, bone and horn, became much rarer.

There was also at this time a noticeable improvement in the technical processes of ceramic production. It became richer in its range of shapes and more elaborate in decoration, as can be seen particularly well in the Late Bronze Age pottery of Maliq IIId. According to the latest stratigraphical and stylistic evidence, this developed in three well-defined stages (Maliq III d_{1-3}), each with certain unique characteristics. It is clear at the outset that the pottery of Maliq IIId differs entirely, both on stratigraphic and typological grounds, from that of Maliq IIIc. The pottery of Maliq IIId is of much better quality and is better baked. Its colours are mostly light beige, tile-red, ochre and grey-green, it has a great variety of shapes and styles, and the handles are refined and often decorated. During the earliest phases of this period (Maliq III d_1), the new elements in the pottery occur together with some features of Middle Bronze Age pottery, so that it is difficult to establish a precise dividing line between Maliq IIIc and Maliq IIId within the general uninterrupted development of the whole body of Bronze Age pottery there.

The most common shapes of this phase are as follows: vases with two handles rising above the rim, vases with horned handles, 'binocular' handles and 'wishbone' handles with several variations, and vases with handles which form a sharp angle. Also typical of Maliq III d_1 are amphorae with long cylindrical or truncated-conical necks, jars which lack a base, etc. (fig. 41). Many of these styles persist through the later phases of the period, even in the pottery of the Early Iron Age in the Korçë basin, without essential changes in style. The chief form of decoration continues to be moulded patterns, mainly repeating the decorative elements of the earlier pottery.

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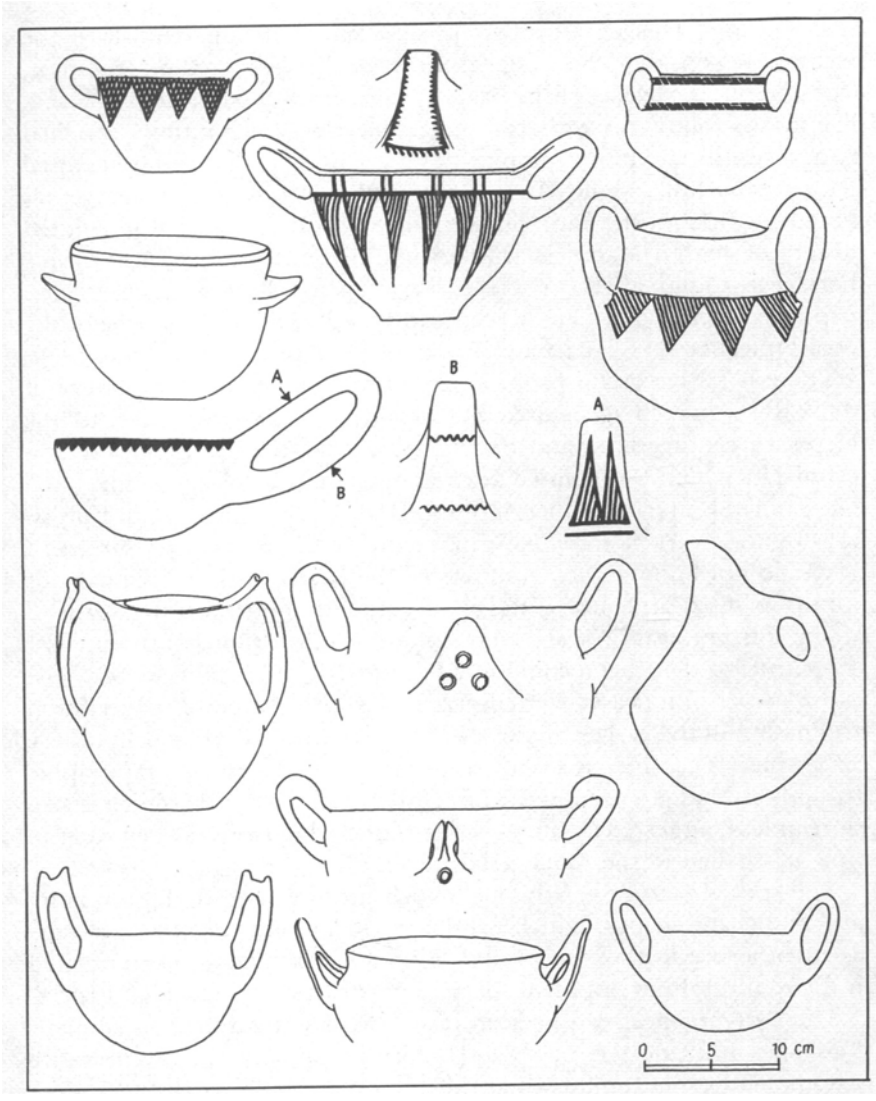

Fig. 41. Typical pottery shapes of the Late Bronze Age.

In the succeeding stage (Maliq IIId_2) the characteristics of the new pottery became predominant. Alongside the moulded forms of ornamentation which were by now traditional, there appear designs in matt paint. In this phase, the paint was applied after firing, and so was not resistant to wear. The colour is mostly red and the designs geometric.

In the final phase of the period (Maliq IIId_3) the paint is applied

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before firing. This new process gives a much stronger finish to the decorations on the vase. Shades now range from red to chestnut, according to the effects of the baking, sometimes even becoming black. The motifs follow the earlier linear geometric style, naturally enriched by new motifs and more complex designs (fig. 41). The pottery painted before firing links Maliq IIId_3 firmly with western Macedonia, represented by Boubousti, and equally with the Late Bronze Age painted pottery of central Macedonia. In a tumulus-burial at Barç near Korçë there was found a vase of IIId_3 style, painted with triangles and suspended spirals of a Late Mycenaean type,[46] which recalls one of the most typical types of the Late Bronze Age at Chauchitsa.[47]

There is fairly certain proof in the Devoll basin that the pottery of Maliq IIId_3 which is painted before firing should be dated to the thirteenth century B.C., and that its predecessor stratigraphically and technically which was painted after firing should be placed before 1300 B.C. Painted pottery like that of Maliq IIId_3 has been known in Epirus, but opinions vary as to when it first appeared in north-west Greece.[48]

We do not know of any site outside the Korçë basin which has this pottery painted after firing and is of autochthonous origin, as it is at Maliq. Further, it is only at Maliq that we see the origins of this style.[49] It is clear too that this technique was inspired by a local tradition, just as the shapes of its vases were derived from or adapted to the tradition originating in the earlier phases of Maliq IIId_1. Chronologically, those earlier phases can be fixed with reasonable confidence on stratigraphic grounds at Maliq to around the fifteenth century, a period which is also more or less suggested by the varieties of one-edged knives of an Aegean type, unearthed in the Maliq IIId_1 level.

The special features of this yellowish pottery with its high quality and its elegant shapes, which originated in the Korçë basin, are seen also in other areas of southern Albania, which were evidently interrelated in their cultural development, despite particular regional divergences.

These divergences can be seen in the stylistic treatment of some of the shapes in the pottery of Maliq III d, and especially in the appearance of some new types, unknown at this period at Maliq. Such types seem to appear first at Pazhok. Amongst them one may cite vases with two handles rising above the rim in grey, black or brown, with high neck and biconical body, decorated on the shoulders with slanting grooves. This type appears at Pazhok for the first time in the Late Bronze Age and continues to be found amongst the pottery of that area in the Early Iron Age, when it was most widespread throughout Albania, from

[46] A 422, 417.
[47] A 430, 129, fig. 34.
[48] A 490, 353, 390; A 491, I 280–90; A 492, 136f; A 431, 8f; A 513, 353f; A 475, 177f and 181.
[49] A 465, 404.

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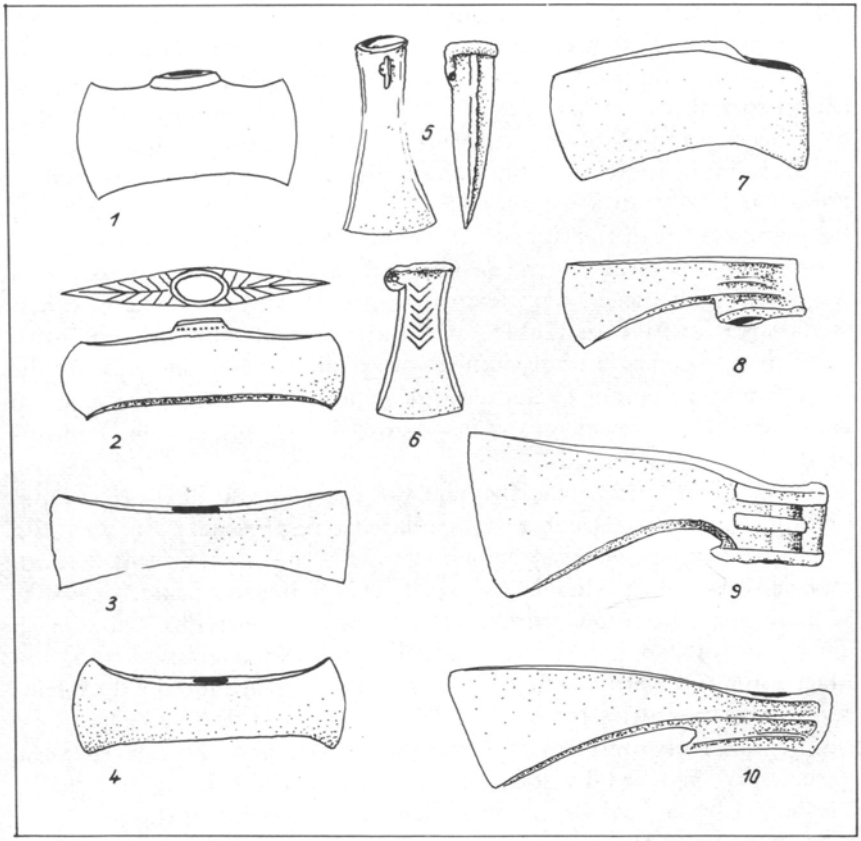

Fig. 42. Various kinds of bronze axe (Late Bronze Age).

Kukës in the north to Gjirokaster in the south. This too, along with other material, is one of the most striking indications of Albanian cultural unity in the Early Iron Age, apart from regional idiosyncrasies.

The Late Bronze period at Gajtan (Gajtan I) is characterized by a generally more primitive pottery, with fewer shapes and poorer decoration than the contemporary pottery at Maliq. Neither at that time nor later did Gajtan use the Devollian style of painted decoration, confining itself rather to moulded and incised decoration.

Towards the end of the period there is a noticeable increase in the range of metal objects, which testifies to an advance in methods of metallurgical production. In the northern areas of Albania one-bladed bronze axes were widely used, the socket being strengthened by a system of longitudinal ribs. These axes have been discussed at length in the archaeological literature.[50] Several authorities have given them in

[50] A 474, 176 and the works cited there.

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general an eastern origin. Despite many variants they distinguish two main types, which they call Albano-Dalmatian (fig. 42.10) and Skutarine (or Shkodran) (fig. 42.8–9). We shall not go into questions in detail here, except to emphasize that in the last few years many more of these axes have been found in north Albania, not only in the adjoining areas but also deep in the hinterland. Shelcan by Elbasan marks the southernmost point for Shkodran axes, and Sukth by Durrës that for the Albano-Dalmatian type. In the light of these data, it can be stated that one of the principal centres for the production of these Illyro-Adriatic axes was North Albania. In our view they would have been developed first in the areas of Mati or Kukës, which are not only rich in copper but have also produced a large number of Albano-Dalmatian axes. At the same time one cannot exclude the possibility that they were made in some part of the lower region of north Albania, where some deposits of slag have been found.

Towards the end of the Bronze Age there appear also other types of single-bladed axe, such as the collared type (fig. 42.7), as well as a two-bladed type (*bipennis*) which is fairly common at this period, especially in south Albania (fig. 42.1–4). Of the ten examples so far known, only one comes from north Albania (Kukës region) (fig. 42.2). This type of axe has several variants, some analogous to those in Macedonia and Epirus, which also can be dated to around the thirteenth and twelfth centuries B.C.[51]

The relatively uniform style of these axes, and the fact that the variants are marked by local stylistic peculiarities, as in the axe at Lleshan (Elbasan) which has moulded ribs like those of the Shkodran axes, confirm their manufacture within the country, in spite of the southern origin of the type.

The Late Bronze Age swords copy the forms developed in the Middle Bronze Age, such as the horned and the cruciform swords, which recall the tradition of the Aegean swords of Sandars groups C and D.[52] The horned swords include two specimens from Mati and one from Gërmenj at Lushnje, and several variants. One of the swords from Mati provides us with a classic example of the sub-type Sandars C_2 (fig. 43.4), with the small exception that the hilt of the Mati sword has an opening for a rivet, an uncommon feature in this sub-type. The second sword diverges markedly from the standard of Aegean workmanship, and offers no analogies with anything from other Balkan countries, which leads to the conclusion that it was the product of a local workshop (fig. 43.3). The example from Gërmenj, on the other hand, recalls the variants from Mesoyefira by Konitsa, and from Dodona,[53] where there

[51] A 456. [52] A 472.
[53] A 490, pl. 19*a*, *b*, *c*; A 356, 308 fig. 17*g*, *d*.

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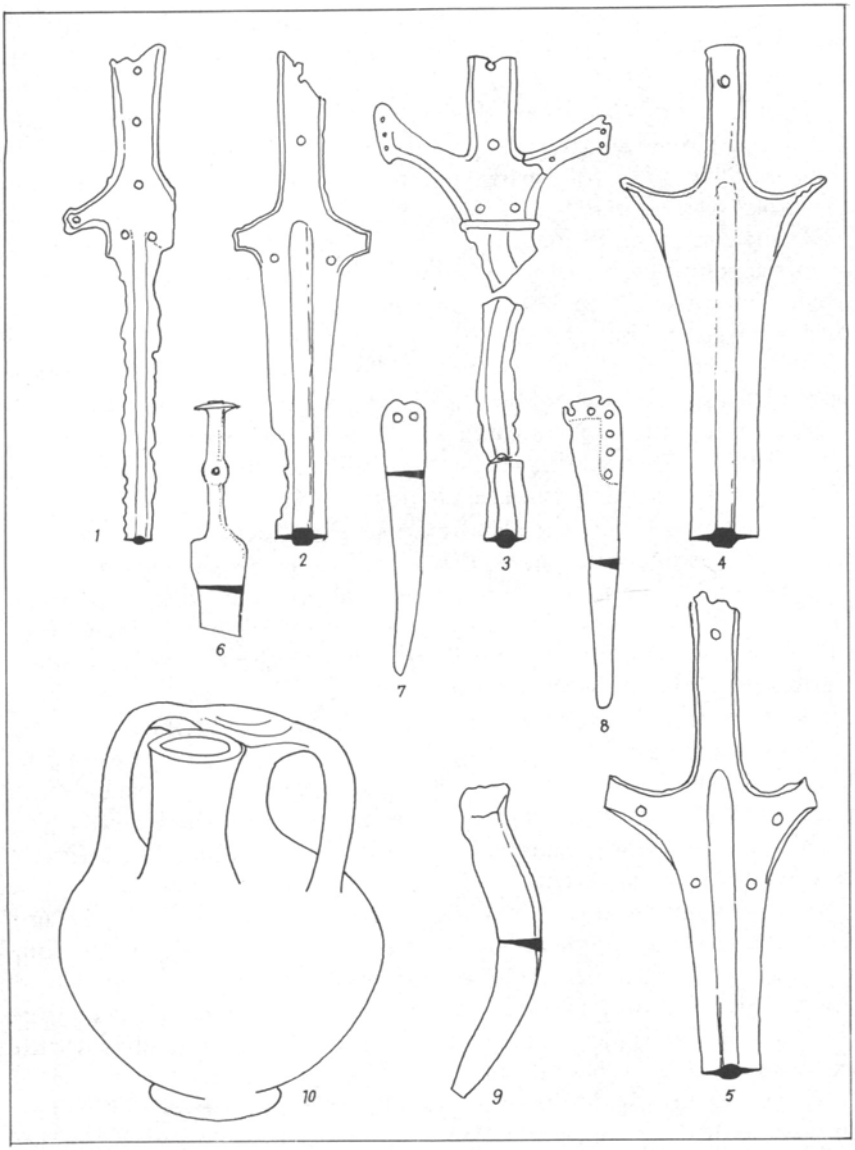

Fig. 43. Swords and knives of the Late Bronze Age, and a vase of Late Helladic IIIC2.

is a longer specimen. Indeed we might say that of all the horned swords of the Aegean and elsewhere this alone is longer than the type, which barely exceeds one metre (fig. 43.5). The cruciform swords found at Mati and one at Gërmenj at Lushnje are all of the Sandars D_1 type (see Plates Vol.). The example from Nënshat (Shkodër) is a true variant,

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undoubtedly of local origin, which diverges somewhat from the cruciform type by its more receding and pendent horns and rivets sunk into the tips (see Plates Vol.).

These types of swords and their variants, whether imported or made locally after Aegean models but with some modifications, were used in Albania during the fourteenth and thirteenth centuries B.C. and also probably a little later.[54]

At the end of the Bronze Age, in the thirteenth and twelfth centuries in our chronology, a further development in the manufacture of metal objects in Albania is evident. It is seen not only in the variety of axes discussed above, but also in a rich range of new types of armament, some of which recall the tradition of Mycenaean IIIB/C. There is a horned dagger from Barç, dating to the end of the period 1300–1100 B.C.; a knife with a long handle and 'discoform' pommel, unearthed at Mati (fig. 43.6), and daggers and swords with triangular tops found at Vajzë, Pazhok, Mati and elsewhere.

Of this period there are also found several types of spear-head (fig. 44.5, 7–11), some with facetted sockets. It may be too soon as yet to give a confident opinion on the typological origin of these spearheads, but it is difficult to doubt their origin in local workshops, maybe from one district, as is indicated by the discovery of a casting mould at Gajtan. Certain spear-heads with a limited geographical distribution are of interest: some, like those at Pazhok and Vajzë (fig. 44.5), have oblong edges and others are 'fiddle-shaped', and they continued in use up to the beginning of the Iron Age (fig. 44.8). One cannot exclude the possibility that this latter type, unknown in Yugoslavia and in Italy, and with only some rare examples in Greece,[55] developed its particular features in Albania. In any case, the question still remains open.

In the twelfth century B.C. there appear alongside the local and Mycenaean elements the components of the Urnfield civilization, certainly as a side-effect of the first wave of the Pannono-Balkan migration. There are swords with the so-called 'tongue-shaped' grip (*Griffzungenschwert*), flame-shaped spear-heads (fig. 44.7), and axes with expanded sockets, especially in north Albania (fig. 42.5–6).

What is extremely significant chronologically and culturally is the fact that some of these objects of Central European origin are sometimes found in graves along with imported pottery of the Late Helladic IIIC period, or with metal objects made in the tradition of the Aegean of the twelfth century B.C. This fact shows that the first wave of the Pannono-Balkan migration did not interrupt the traditional relationship with the south. On the contrary, we have enough evidence to surmise that these relations continued with the same intensity as before.

[54] A 464, 116. [55] A 441.

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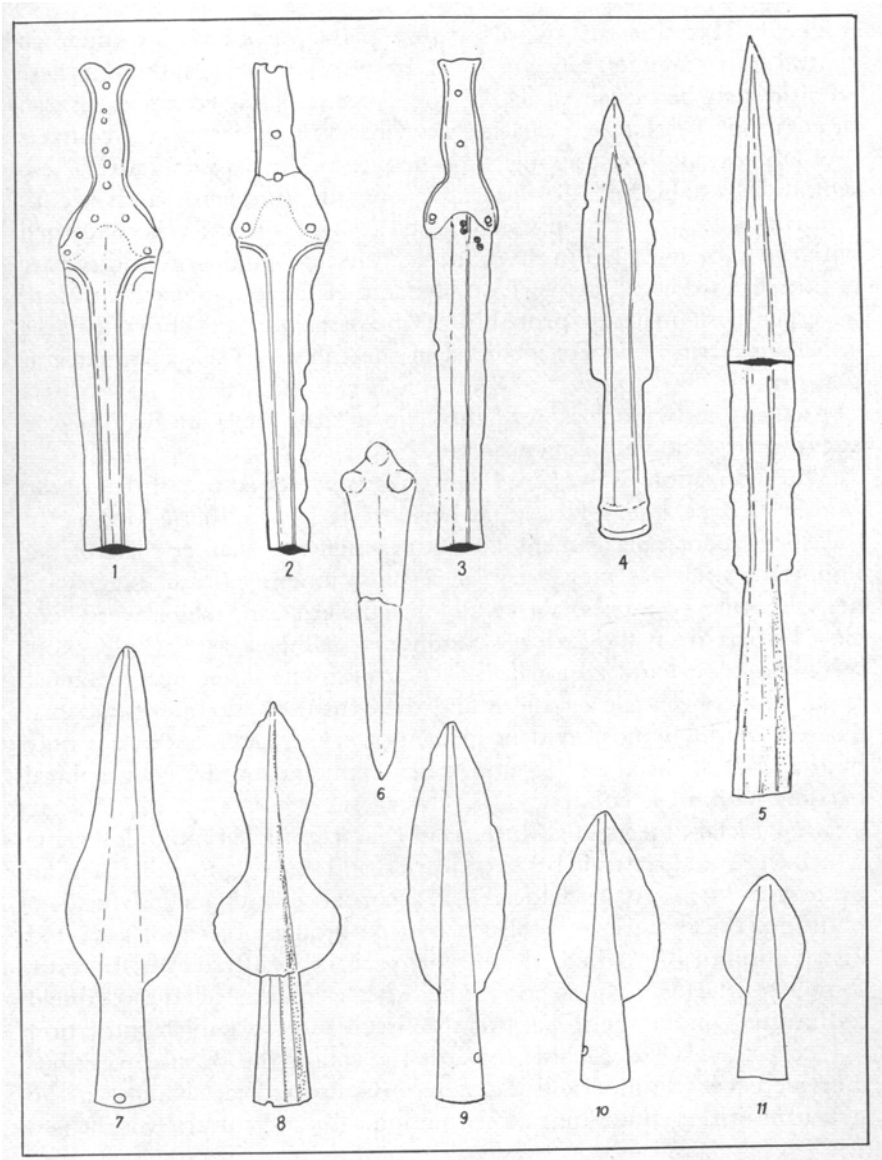

Fig. 44. Bronze weapons of the end of the Bronze Age and the beginning of the Iron Age.

On present evidence, connexions between Albania and Italy continued to be very limited during the Late Bronze Age. Only a very small number of objects without much significance suggest possible links between the two sides of the Adriatic. Such are, for example, daggers and swords of the Pertosa type with a triangular top with three rivets which

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markedly resemble the swords with a plain top which are found in central Italy and even more in south Italy and in Sicily,[56] though these affinities may be explained also by the hypothesis of a common Aegean orientation for the two coasts. To whatever extent, some contacts undoubtedly did exist at this time between Albania and Italy. These would be established, for example, for the thirteenth and twelfth centuries B.C. by the traffic which passed across Italy, and was concerned with the trade in amber in the Adriatic.[57] Beads of amber found at Barç in Korçë, in the context of Late Helladic IIIC, and similarly at Mati, together with material probably of the same period, show that the Albanian territories were included in the sphere of this commerce at that time.

Analysis and comparison of the objects from the Late Bronze Age suggest the following conclusions:

The civilization of the Late Bronze Age developed out of that of the Middle Bronze Age, a fact so far best attested in southern Albania. In the subsequent enlargement and enrichment of that civilization an important role was played by the economic and cultural links with neighbouring countries, above all with the Aegean, which were very close. Apart from the features common to Albania as a whole, there were some local and regional idiosyncrasies. The differences are most apparent between the northern and the southern regions of Albania. These variations, most evident in the pottery, are influenced not only by the level of social and economic development, but by geographical barriers within the country.

Some metal objects of a Mycenaean character have typological traits which were not known in other countries, and this suggests that Aegean prototypes were adapted locally in accordance with an independent tradition. Local workshops also produced bronze objects of a limited distribution or of markedly local type, such as the Illyro-Adriatic axes, some spearheads and so on. The first elements of the Urnfield civilization, under the impact of the first Pannono-Balkan migration *c.* 1200 B.C., reached Albania towards the end of the Bronze Age; but they were very limited and did not cause any radical changes in the structure of the civilization of the period.

VIII. THE PERIOD OF TRANSITION FROM THE BRONZE AGE TO THE IRON AGE

The civilization of this period is fairly well known in southern Albania, less so in the north. If one compares the elements of the cultures of the two zones, one is struck by the fact that alongside the common elements

[56] A 457, 22f, pls. V, VI.

[57] A 441, 215ff; A 473.

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there is much diversity, in metal objects as well as in pottery. This diversity, needless to say, illustrates the regional character of cultural development at this period, based on that of the Late Bronze Age, and enriched later on by internal evolution on the one hand and external influences on the other.

Objects of iron appear for the first time in Albania in the eleventh century B.C. Very rare at first, and still a long way from usefully replacing the bronze weapons and tools, the new metal nonetheless began to blaze a trail towards a new epoch which in quite a short time would markedly transform the economic structure and the social and cultural relationships of the country. This is why we take this period to be also the initial phase in our system of stratifying the Iron Age in Albania.[58] In fact, from the point of view of historic and cultural evolution, it is a transitional phase expressing the continuity between the ages of Bronze and Iron.

In this transitional period which was to last some three centuries with each century providing new elements in its material culture, several components are discernible: the autochthonous tradition, elements of sub-Mycenaean and Proto-Geometric civilization, and elements of Cental European origin which were spread through Albania by the second wave of the Pannono-Balkan migration (end of the twelfth and the eleventh centuries B.C.).

This wave, unlike the first, had a marked influence on Albania, although only in some areas. Apart from the material changes which they brought, the migrants probably set in motion groups of the Illyrian population both within the country and beyond it. The Iapyges, the Messapians and the Chonians probably left the eastern coasts of the Adriatic for Italy during this period. The name of the last suggests some kinship with the Chaonians of the southern shores of Albania.

Of the number of cultural objects which spread from the north in all directions, there are swords with a tongue-shaped hilt (see Plates Vol.), flame-shaped spear-heads and socketed axes, which become fairly common in this period, and also pins with conical or vase-shaped heads (*Vasenkopfnadeln*), simple arched fibulae with or without buttons, whose origin, in all likelihood, is from the Liburno-Dalmatian coast, and so on. The earliest examples of this type with its many variants are recorded so far in the regions bordering southern Albania, as for example, at Dukat in Vlorë, and are completely absent in the interior, as far as we know. This phenomenon suggests a purely maritime circulation of these eleventh and tenth century fibulae via the Adriatic.

Once they had come into Albania, these objects gave rise to imitations and rapid production within the country, to judge from the large

[58] A 464, 113.

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numbers of pins of this period unearthed in all southern areas of Albania. The variations in this class of pin reveal distinctive local features. This is apparent also in the socketed axes, especially those found in a deposit near the village of Bushat (Shkodër), some of which appear to be unfinished. It is shown too by the swords with tongue-shaped hilts some of which have purely local features.[59]

In spite of the special influence of the Urnfield civilization which played an important role in the enrichment of the Early Iron Age civilization in Albania, especially in the south, one must emphasize that it did not impose any essential difference on the autochthonous foundation of Albanian civilization, and even less on the ethnic structure of the population. This can be seen most clearly in the uninterrupted practice of burial rites in tumuli, the customary inhumation in the Illyrian manner being in the contracted position.

The small number of urn-burials, for instance in the Barç tumuli, can be associated with the influence of the second wave of the Pannono–Balkan migration in Albania, but the objects found in them are with a few exceptions typically Illyrian objects. The pottery particularly is derived without stylistic modifications from the Late Bronze Age. Thus, for example, in the Korçë basin and the adjoining areas, the pottery of the first era of the Iron Age is almost identical in technique, shape and decoration with the Late Bronze Age painted pottery of Maliq, so that it is often difficult to distinguish between them. This is an important factor in demonstrating the continuity of the tradition of the 'Devollian' pottery from the Late Bronze Age period into the Early Iron Age and even down to the sixth century B.C.

These facts establish convincingly the Illyrian character of this beautiful 'Devollian' pottery with its painted geometric designs.[60] Our view is reinforced by the facts that this pottery appeared here earlier than in Macedonia and that it derived from the earlier pottery of Maliq (see above, p. 222). This is why we insist that the archaeological evidence is overwhelming, and should not be considered insufficient, as some authorities would claim,[61] to prove the attribution of this Devollian painted pottery of the Late Bronze Age and the Early Iron Age to the Southern Illyrian group.

In the course of this transitional period there appeared some new forms of a local character. Specially interesting is a type of spear with a narrow blade rectangular at its base (Vajzë, Seferan, Pazhok) (fig. 44.4). Apart from a single example, found at Bosansko–Grabovo in western Bosnia, there are no other examples in the Balkans. Only in Italy have some similar specimens been found, and these seem to have

[59] A 438, 240.
[60] A 460, 277ff; A 421; A 445; A 468, 66.
[61] A 441, 221.

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been imported from Albania. This bears witness to contacts between the two coasts of the Adriatic during the eleventh and tenth centuries B.C. Indeed there are many indications of strong Illyrian influence in Italy at this time, and of Italian elements in Albania a little later. Among the latter is an arched fibula of the Cassibile type, found at Patos (Fier).

Apart from the spears and spear-heads of 'South-Illyrian' type (see above, p. 226), a connexion can be traced between Albania and Italy through various features in the pottery (shapes, handles; later on also painted geometric decoration); for although in Albania they derive from an earlier local tradition, they seem to represent new elements in Italy. In the same way we can account for the fibulae – typically Illyrian – arching in a simple curve with or without buttons, which one finds in southern Italy and in Sicily, and also some in which the curve is decorated with 'herring-bone' incisions, like examples from the eastern coast of the Adriatic.

These influences appear finally in the rites of burial in tumuli in the contracted position, which are seen at this period in southern Italy, especially in Apulia.[62] There is also evidence, as we have seen elsewhere, for supposing that in the diffusion of these Illyrian influences in Italy the Illyrian tribes which were displaced at the beginning of this period from the South-Eastern sea-board of the Adriatic and passed over into Italy may have played a significant role.

IX. WAY OF LIFE

The archaeological sources in this area are much too fragmentary for it to be possible to examine in their separate periods the economic, social and spiritual aspects of life in Albania in the Bronze Age and the beginning of the Early Iron Age; it is better to study them as a whole without distinction of period.

In this period as compared with the Neolithic period the settlements became much larger and more numerous, and reflect a progressive growth of population throughout the epoch. Traces of settlements of this period are found not only in places favourable to a stable economic existence, but also in harsher zones less suited to human life but easily defensible and rich in useful metals, especially copper. These are mainly open settlements, with one or more layers of habitation. Some people continued to use the earlier Neolithic sites (Maliq, Podgorie, etc.), whereas others settled in areas previously unoccupied.

Caves were still used as dwelling-places in this period (Tren, Bruç, etc.), while in particular circumstances, especially in very wet terrain, pile-settlements in the Neolithic tradition have been found – for instance

[62] A 424.

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on the edge of Lake Prespa – apparently similar to the Bronze Age settlement at Maliq.

During the Bronze Age settlements appeared on naturally defensible hills which would dominate the neighbouring areas, e.g. Gajtan I. Although we still lack firm evidence, we can speculate that this type of settlement was protected by dykes or by walls made of blocks of unworked stone put together without mortar and similar to those of the first period of the Iron Age, which represent in Albania a type of monumental structure most characteristic of the proto-historic Illyrians. And indeed it would not be at all surprising if, in the light of later stratigraphic excavations, some of these fortification systems now considered, not always on convincing evidence, to be of the Early Iron Age, should prove to belong to the Bronze Age.

Excavations so far are insufficient to show exactly what the Bronze Age dwelling-places looked like, and how they were made. Nevertheless, when one considers the long duration of the tradition of primitive building in Albania in Neolithic times, one would imagine that the houses of this period would not be essentially very different from the Neo-Eneolithic type of hut with a mostly rectangular shape and with one or more rooms, constructed of woven branches or reeds coated with earth, as can be seen in the Early Bronze Age levels at Maliq.

The houses of the first phase of Maliq IIIa were equipped with one or more hearths, to judge by the large numbers found *in situ* in the various layers of this site. Apart from the usual hearths of the traditional type as known from the earliest times, there have been found at this site for the first time a rectangular hearth with kerbs at the side for placing logs, and with a hollow space below to provide a draught.

During the Bronze Age one of the known types of oven was of horseshoe shape. It had a hearth in front of the opening, and it was fitted with two cylindrical chimneys to take away the smoke above the roof. This design is at least suggested by a miniature model in terra-cotta of a stove which was found in the earliest Bronze Age levels at Maliq.

Such limited archaeological finds as we have indicate a marked progress in the economic activity of the population of this epoch, most clearly in metallurgy, in the techniques of casting (bronze in particular), which drew their origin from the earlier local traditions in metal-working, especially in copper-working, during the Eneolithic period. The moulds of blackened local stone for the casting of metal objects and pipes in baked clay found at Maliq are some of the most revealing clues to this early metal-working activity in Albania.

Of course, this situation was very much encouraged by the great richness of copper and other ores in various parts of the country, specifically the ore-bearing strata of Kukës and Korçë, in the north-east

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and south-east of Albania respectively, and the regions of Mati and Mirdite in central Albania, where much copper slag has been found on the surface and some underground workings at Gjegjan (Kukës) for the exploration of copper beds have been discovered.

In the last phase of the Bronze Age the technology of working in bronze improved to such an extent that it was possible to create a wide range of metal objects in which the ductile and other properties of bronze were fully exploited.

Some of these technically sophisticated objects had only a limited geographical distribution, as for example, the Shkodran and Albano-Dalmatian axe-heads. This shows that at this period craftsmen of individual workshops worked for a local clientele and had skills not found in ordinary domestic production. In other words, they were specialists in this difficult craft. These methods in metal technology, which came to fruition at the end of the Bronze Age, were a most important preliminary to the appearance of iron-working in Albania. Although the chief constituent of bronze, copper, was available within the country, the second constituent, tin, had to be obtained from elsewhere, as to the best of our knowledge there were no tin-mines dating from this period in the Balkan Peninsula.

The development of metallurgy brought in its wake the development of agriculture from the primitive form based on the use of the hoe, which had been characteristic of the Neolithic period, to one based on the use of the plough drawn by animals, most probably oxen. Harvesting tools also developed from the primitive sickles in horn or wood with a blade of toothed flint, which were still being used in the Early Bronze Age at Maliq, to the bronze sickles (fig. 43.9) which came into use especially towards the end of our period. Better tools made for greater production. This can be inferred also from the large numbers of grindstones, and of store-jars for grain and other vegetable or animal products. These have been found particularly at Maliq, especially in the Late Bronze Age levels.

The breeding of animals was an important branch of the economic life of the Bronze Age communities. The quantities of bones found in the Bronze Age layers at Maliq show that the most common domesticated animals were cattle, sheep, goats, pigs, horses, and dogs. It seems that they were put to a more rational use, being reared for meat, wool, hides, and manure for the fields. Cattle and horses in particular were probably employed to draw ploughs and transport goods.

The increase in stock-breeding curtailed but did not oust hunting, which remained useful in supplementing daily food supplies. Collections of bones found at Maliq show that the most sought-after game was, as in earlier times, the deer and the wild boar. In early communities near

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rivers or lakes fishing played an important part in the economy. This is indicated in Maliq IIIa by the quantities of weights for fishing-nets of a traditional Eneolithic native type.

Progress in agriculture and stock-breeding and development in metal-working techniques brought about important changes in the social structure of the primitive communities of this period. While in Neolithic times the woman played the chief role in the economy, it is now the man who engages in agriculture, stock-raising and metal-working. This considerably improved his status in the family and in society. Thus conditions were created during the Bronze Age for the change from the outdated matriarchal system to a new and more advanced form of social organization, namely that based on tribal and patriarchal concepts and on the monogamous patriarchal family as the basic unit of the new order. The increasing use of bronze tools led to greater efficiency and thus to greater production, so that surpluses came into existence. These surpluses tended no doubt to be concentrated in the hands of certain patriarchal families, in the form of private property.

The close links with the Aegean from the Middle Bronze Age onwards, as reflected archaeologically by imported articles or local metal products inspired by models of Aegean workmanship, suggest albeit indirectly some important modifications in the tribal structure of this period. In particular, a wealthy core developed in the heart of this society as a tribal aristocracy which was always more interested in the costly products of Aegean workmanship, particularly in weapons – swords, daggers, spear-heads, knives, etc.; for these weapons were very useful and indeed indispensable for the seizing of other peoples' possessions. One can attribute to this tribal aristocracy the tumulus-burials of this period at Vajzë, Mati, Pazhok etc.

The insecurity created by wars of pillage constrained some sections of the Late Bronze Age communities to settle on the hill-tops which provided natural defences, and to fortify them further with strong ramparts in order to create either permanent settlements or places of refuge.

The archaeological evidence, although not extensive, indicates that throughout the Bronze Age and at the beginning of the Iron Age cults from the Neolithic tradition, in particular those associated with the fertility of the earth and with agriculture in general, continued to be practised. Such is the cult of the Earth Mother, and the cults of the sun and the serpent expressed in feminine figurines or various symbols of a magical or religious nature applied in a variety of ways on agricultural implements of bone or on vases of terracotta, such as a cross, a cross engraved within a circle, or a spiral motif. With an agriculture based on the plough, there grew up, as in other areas of the Mediterranean,

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a cult centred on the ox. To this cult one may attribute the presence of an ox-skull in the central tomb of Tumulus I at Pazhok, perhaps also a head of an ox in terracotta found in an Early Bronze deposit at Maliq.

As regards burial rites and ideas of an after-life, the archaeological evidence is more complete. Excavations at Maliq have revealed that the Neolithic practice of burying infants in a squatting position in their own home was continued in the Early Bronze Age, but this was a special ritual with a fixed magical and religious character, which was practised only in these circumstances. Burials customarily took place outside the living areas. Both flat graves and tumulus-burials were made during the Bronze Age. The latter are unrelated to any earlier native tradition, and the practice must therefore have been imported. Tumulus-burial, then, should be derived, as has been generally supposed, from the first Indo-European nomad shepherds who infiltrated from the country to the north of the Black Sea. Evidently, this burial rite spread through Albania, as elsewhere in the north-west Balkans, towards the beginning of the Bronze Age,[63] and not, as has been believed generally, during the Middle Bronze Age. This at least one can conclude from the studies recently carried out on the pottery of the central tomb of the Barç tumulus, and that of Piskove dated to the time of the Early Bronze Age at Maliq. What should be emphasized here is that this form of burial, once it had appeared in Albania, continued without interruption throughout the Late Bronze and Early Iron periods, becoming at this time a specific part of the Illyrian ethnic tradition.

The tumulus-burials of the Bronze and Early Iron Ages in Albania are of various types: simple pits, as at Barç, Mati and Pazhok; cist-graves made of lateral slabs of soft stone partly buried in the earth and covered with one or more slabs laid one on top of another, as at Vajzë, Dropull, Bajkaj etc.; wooden coffins as at Pazhok, and pits lined and covered with stones, as at Barç, Mat, Dukat, Pazhok, Kukës, etc. In spite of their diversity these tombs, as their contents indicate, appear to be associated both chronologically and ethnically. It is significant too that these different types of tomb continued in general use over a long period, indeed until the end of the first part of the Early Iron Age. The conservatism indicated by the persistent use of these types of tomb is a new archaeological pointer to the ethnic continuity of their users, and helps to trace the genesis of ethnic identity amongst the Illyrian people in Albania.

The most common funerary style during the Bronze Age up to the beginning of the Iron Age was to place the body in a crouching position, as in Neolithic times. On the other hand, cremations were very rare although not discontinuous from the Middle Bronze Age onwards.

[63] A 437; A 492, 110ff.

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In conclusion, in the light of all that has been said, the question arises: who were the carriers of the Bronze Age civilization, and of that of the transitional period leading to the Iron Age, in Albania? Although the archaeological evidence is still limited, our study of it period by period has shown beyond doubt the continuous nature of the development of Illyrian civilization over the whole period under review, and enables us to view the peoples of the area as an established ethnic entity. This fact bears witness to the presence in the Albanian countryside of the same population throughout the whole of the Bronze Age and the transitional period to the Iron Age. This phenomenon is established more clearly than anywhere else at Maliq and in the Korçë basin generally, where the materials of different phases of the Bronze Age and the Early Iron Age enable us to follow the uninterrupted evolution of the culture, with all the intermediate links from one stage to the next. In terms of history the archaeological evidence reveals a people which was growing up at this time peacefully and without interference from other ethnic groups, improving in its culture, its economic structure, and its internal social relationships; and this led, apparently towards the end of the Bronze Age, to the formation of the first ethnic communities with a common language and culture, namely the Illyrians.[64]

This process of the autochthonous formation of the Illyrian race began, according to the evidence of Maliq, at the beginning of the Bronze Age, on the basis of new economic cultural and ethnic structures in which the earliest migrations of the nomadic Indo-European shepherds certainly played an important part. These migrations interrupted the Eneolithic development of the area. This is seen in Maliq IIIa, whose culture, as far as we have uncovered it, has traits organically different from the Eneolithic culture of Maliq (Maliq IIa and b). In penetrating into the Korçë basin, this Indo-European group did not drive out or destroy the local population. On the contrary, it intermingled with them, imposing some elements of its language and culture and also its type of economy, while retaining for a period a number of the traits and methods of production of the native Eneolithic culture, at least up to the end of Maliq IIIb, at which time the Early Bronze Age culture at Maliq succeeded in establishing itself as an individual culture with strictly local traits. It is exactly from this autochthonous base that we see the uninterrupted internal process of the formation of Illyrian culture in the southeastern area of Albania.

To sum up, we may recall that at the beginning of the Early Bronze Age (Maliq IIIa), when new Indo-European elements of a different race became fused with the native Eneolithic elements, a new ethnocultural base was created. On this base there developed in turn the

[64] See also A·447.

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beginning of the slow and very complex process of the formation of the Illyrian race which was to reveal clearly defined traits in the Late Bronze Age. Thus the Illyrians created and developed their culture in the course of the Bronze Age in Albania, in close liaison of course with neighbouring countries, and in particular with the Aegean world.

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CHAPTER 6

ASSYRIA: ASHUR-DAN II TO ASHUR-NIRARI V (934–745 B.C.)

A. K. GRAYSON

The Neo-Assyrian Empire was founded in the tenth century on a base of hoary antiquity. Native tradition traces the Neo-Assyrian royal line back to early rulers of the city-state Ashur and many of the customs and ideals of those times continued on to the first millennium. A full appreciation of Neo-Assyrian history is possible only with a proper awareness of this background and of the culture and history of Assyria's southern neighbours in the Babylonian plain. In these pages I shall first trace the political and military development of the Neo-Assyrian empire in chronological order (this chapter, and chapters 22–25 in Vol. III part 2). In a final chapter (26) I shall discuss, under the title 'Assyrian Civilization', such matters as the monarchy, administration, social structure, law, economy, warfare and hunting, religion, literature and libraries, art and architecture. In the chronological treatment general discussions of these matters will be avoided and I shall merely note briefly the more significant developments in appropriate places. Rather an exception to this is the building enterprises, for these can to a large extent be dated to specific reigns and so will be noted in the relevant sections.

1. SOURCES FOR THE NEO-ASSYRIAN PERIOD

The sources for the entire Neo-Assyrian period are relatively abundant. In particular the military events are better documented during this era than during any other time in ancient Mesopotamian history, thanks to the Assyrian annals and to the Babylonian chronicles. In addition, there is a sizeable corpus of letters from the royal chancellery for the last half of the eighth century and the first half of the seventh century, which adds a considerable amount of detail to our picture. Another large body of material consists of administrative and legal texts from both the eighth and seventh centuries. The literary and scholarly works from the great Assyrian libraries, at Ashur, Calah, and Nineveh, as well as from the provincial library at Sultantepe (near modern Urfa) provide a fertile field for the study of Assyrian culture, a subject to be considered in chapter 26. The architecture and artefacts of the period are among

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the most impressive of any period in Mesopotamian history and give tangible evidence of some of the achievements of these people. The results of modern stratigraphical techniques utilized in more recent excavations have sometimes improved upon the narrative of events reconstructed from the written sources. In the main, the sources come from the large Assyrian cities Ashur, Calah, Nineveh, and Dur-Sharrukin, although the smaller centre Imgur-Enlil (modern Balawat) has yielded some material. The provincial centres of Guzanu (Tell Halaf) and Sultantepe are the source of many documents. Isolated finds have occurred at scattered sites such as Tell al-Rimah and Til-Barsib.

Chronologically the sources fall into two main groups, the early and late Neo-Assyrian periods, with a gap in between of approximately forty years for which few sources are known. In the early Neo-Assyrian period (934–783) the bulk of the source material comes from the reigns of the later kings, Ashurnasirpal II to Adad-nirari III. In the late Neo-Assyrian period (744–609) all but the last few decades are well documented.

Much of the source material is, unfortunately, not available in a form useful for the historian, and to understand this one must be aware of the history of research in this era. The Neo-Assyrian period enjoyed a central position in scholarly research on ancient Mesopotamia from the time of the decipherment of cuneiform until the 1920s, in which decade the standard histories of A. T. Olmstead (B 178) and Sydney Smith (B 228) were published. After that time scholarly interest moved back to the second and third millennia and only in recent times, owing largely to the British excavations at Calah, has research in the Neo-Assyrian period experienced a renaissance. Thus, until a few years ago there were few written sources available in reliable and up-to-date editions. Such publications have very recently begun to appear but at the present rate it will be many years before this desideratum is supplied. The lack of editions is one gap, the lack of the texts in any form is another. There are still numbers of epistolary, legal, and administrative documents from Nineveh and other sites, which a century after their discovery have never been published. Plans are now under way to bring this material out but it will be many years before the task is completed. It is also of significance that the last two decades have witnessed major advances in the understanding of the Neo-Assyrian dialect.

1. *Aramaic Documents in Assyria*

A real appreciation of the problem of sources is not possible without consideration of how much documentation in the Aramaic language once existed in Assyria, for this documentation, owing to the perish-

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ability of papyrus and parchment in the Mesopotamian climate, is now lost. There is no doubt that the Aramaic language was widely understood and written in Assyria by the eighth century. Aramaic influence on the Akkadian language is evident by this time in both the lexicon and the syntax.[1] In Assyria proper a number of inscriptions in Aramaic have been found on a variety of objects, including Aramaic notations on the edges of clay tablets inscribed in cuneiform.[2] There are Assyrian reliefs on which are portrayed scribes recording booty on scrolls[3] and references in Assyrian texts to the 'Aramaic scribe' appear as early as the reign of Adad-nirari III.[4] Letters to Assyria and the Assyrian king in Aramaic, one from the time of Shalmaneser III, are referred to in Assyrian texts.[5] By the reign of Sennacherib at least one senior Assyrian officer, the *rab šāqê*, could speak Aramaic (II Kings 18: 26; Isaiah 36: 11) and the *ummânu* under Esarhaddon bore both an Akkadian and an Aramaic name and was remembered in a later legend preserved in Aramaic, the Ahiqar Story (see p. 244). The reason for this substantial Aramaic impact was the increasing number of Aramaeans present in Assyria from the ninth century on. Many of these were brought by the Assyrians to work as labourers and craftsmen on building enterprises, the most ambitious of which was Ashurnasirpal II's development of Calah.[6] Aramaeans were also recruited into the army and some slowly worked their way to the upper ranks; by the reign of Adad-nirari III there were a number of Aramaeans at the Assyrian court.[7] It is not surprising, then, that there was documentation in Aramaic in the Neo-Assyrian period. It is impossible to estimate the full nature and extent of this perished material but it was surely extensive.

2. *Akkadian Sources*

The sources in the Akkadian language fall into three main dialectal and two main palaeographical divisions. In the Neo-Assyrian dialect were written everyday texts, letters, administrative and legal documents. Many Assyrian letters, however, were written in the Neo-Babylonian dialect although the converse is not true; that is, one does not find letters from Babylonians written in the Neo-Assyrian dialect. The third dialect,

[1] B 249. Regarding the syntax see also B 251, §130*c*.

[2] B 275, 11f; B 160, 594ff; B 915; B 569; B 198, 34f and pl. 12; B 711, 47ff. and pls. IV–VII; B 818, 128; B 88, 133ff; B 815; B 199, 11 §1.7.

[3] B 275, 12f: cf. B 248, 574 (*magallatu*), 784 (*niāru*); B 199, 5f.

[4] See B 184.1/2, 293f (*armû*), to which add B 128, pl. 20 r. 20′; cf. B 275, 13.

[5] B 111, 872; B 216, 130f, no. 13.

[6] J. Zabłocka (B 284) has calculated that in the period 881–815 there were transported to Assyria 193,000 people of whom 139,000 were Aramaeans.

[7] See the personal names in the documents published in B 128 and B 204; cf. B 235, 40ff.

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Standard Babylonian, is that used in literary and scholarly texts, and in addition the language of the Assyrian royal inscriptions really falls into this category, although some texts, such as those of Ashurnasirpal II, have many 'Assyrianisms'. These dialects could be written in either of two basic forms of the script, Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian.

Assyrian royal inscriptions are one of the major sources of this period. The few extant Babylonian royal inscriptions of this era have little relevance to Assyrian history. Among the Assyrian royal inscriptions the commemorative texts are the largest and most important group. They consist of annals – texts in which the Assyrian campaigns are narrated in chronological order, and display inscriptions – texts in which the military narration is not arranged chronologically. The annals were commonly re-edited many times during a reign and the historian should give priority to the earliest version available for a given campaign. Even then the modern scholar must be very critical, for most of the texts now extant are the products of considerable editing, selecting, and conflating of various sources. Moreover, the Assyrian royal inscriptions are notoriously biased and occasionally untruthful, and one must constantly watch for deliberate omission, distortion, and falsification.[8]

The letters of the Assyrian empire provide glimpses behind the official façade presented by the royal inscriptions, for the vast majority are addressed to the king or his ministers and are largely concerned with military and administrative matters. The letters were found in the palaces at Calah and Nineveh. Unfortunately we do not have the correspondence going out from the palace to the various parts of the empire. The administrative and legal texts have mainly the same provenance. The few treaties between Assyria and other nations which have been preserved, like the letters, shed light on the actual state of affairs. A similar role is played by an archive of documents which has to do with the king's desire for divine guidance through divination; these texts are from the time of Esarhaddon and Ashurbanipal and they will be discussed more fully in chapters 23 and 24.

The chronographic texts, king lists and chronicles fulfil yet another role. They provide the chronology and the coherent narrative of the political history of the period into which the numerous details from the other sources can be incorporated. The Assyrian King List, a document in which the filiation and length of reign of each king is recorded, provides a basis for the relative chronology of the Neo-Assyrian monarchs. This relative chronology can in turn be assigned absolute dates according to the modern calendar by means of the eponym lists. The Assyrians dated each year by the name of an official called an

[8] See B 97 and B 104.

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eponym (*limu*), and the ancient lists of these eponyms can be correlated to the modern calendar (see below, p. 245). The Synchronistic King List, a document in which the names of Assyrian and Babylonian kings are listed in parallel columns, provides useful correlations between the Assyrian and Babylonian King Lists. The Synchronistic History[9] is a concise narration of Assyro-Babylonian relations from the first half of the fifteenth century to the reign of Adad-nirari III and its later sections are relevant for the early Neo-Assyrian period. It is a propagandistic document and, because of its prejudiced selection, omission, and distortion of facts, must be treated with great scepticism. On the Babylonian side, the Babylonian Chronicle Series provides a consecutive narrative of events for most of the period from the middle of the eighth century to the last days of the Assyrian empire. The narration focuses on Babylonia and its ruler and, since Babylonia was controlled by Assyria during much of this time, most of the events it records are as much a part of Assyrian history as of Babylonian history. The Babylonian Chronicle Series is a reasonably reliable and representative record of past events. In addition to the chronicle series there are a few individual chronicles which are closely related to it; these have special features which are discussed elsewhere (B 97).

3. *Architecture, Monuments, and Stratigraphy*

The structure erected on the scaffolding of the written sources has its foundation in archaeological excavation. Apart from providing many of the written sources, the archaeologist's spade has unearthed the impressive architectural and monumental Assyrian remains which bring to life before our eyes some of the achievements narrated in the texts. Unfortunately the buildings with their walls of clay and roofs of wood have crumbled and their architecture is unknown apart from the ground plan, the rather vague descriptions in the building inscriptions, and the occasional representation in reliefs. Lining the interior of the mud-brick walls of state rooms were stone slabs bearing reliefs and inscriptions. Commonly these present a sequence of scenes which are pictorial narratives of battles and hunts. Among the most impressive monuments are the colossal bulls and lions which flanked the great entrances to Assyrian palaces. Smaller in size but of greater artistic merit are the beautiful objects in ivory found at Calah, and to complete the picture one must note a large variety of miscellaneous objects, such as armour, helmets, pieces of harness, and household utensils. Most Assyrian sites were excavated before the principle of stratigraphy was recognized, but the relatively recent excavations at Calah, where modern methods of

[9] Called the 'Synchronistic Chronicle' in B 274, 446, 449, 461.

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excavation were utilized, have shown that it is possible to correlate stratigraphic levels with what is known from recorded history and the results can be significant.

4. *Foreign Sources*

Until the decipherment of cuneiform in the mid nineteenth century A.D. our only information on Neo-Assyrian history came from the Bible and classical authors, but the momentous discoveries of the past century and a quarter have now relegated these sources to a secondary role. The Bible provides details about western campaigns of Assyria and allows insights into the intrigues against Assyria by various western peoples. It gives, moreover, an invaluable view of Assyrian imperialism from the side of the conquered rather than of the conquerors. Egyptian sources are relevant only for the period of the Assyrian campaigns into Egypt in the middle of the seventh century, and from time to time there is an Aramaic document to consider. The *Babyloniaca* of Berossus, a priest of Bel (Marduk) who lived in the early Seleucid era, was written in Greek. None of the original work has survived; scattered bits have come down by devious routes of transmission and are preserved primarily in Josephus and Eusebius but they are of little relevance for Assyrian history. The *Canon of Kings* (commonly called the *Ptolemaic Canon*) of the great Alexandrian scholar of the second century A.D., Ptolemy (Claudius Ptolemaeus), is of some interest, for it includes a list of Babylonian kings that is clearly based on native Babylonian king lists and covers the period of Neo-Assyrian control of Babylonia. The *Histories* of Herodotus, from the fifth century B.C., contain a Greek version of Western Asiatic history; it requires considerable care and ingenuity to unravel the brief but garbled version of Assyrian history.[10] The *Persica* of Ctesias, a Greek physician who resided at the Persian court for seventeen years while attending Artaxerxes II, was written at the beginning of the fourth century B.C. and included a history of Assyria. Only fragments have survived, in works by Diodorus, Eusebius, and others, and they are of doubtful merit. Even less of other relevant histories in Greek has been preserved and there is little point in listing the names of lost works.[11]

Related to this discussion is the matter of legends about Assyrian and Babylonian individuals which have been preserved in other languages and literatures, in particular the tales told of Semiramis, Nitocris, and Ahiqar. Legends about Semiramis are found in Greece, Armenia, and Persia but the best-known version is that of Ctesias, as preserved in Diodorus. Since the early days of Assyriology it has been widely

[10] Cf. B 44. [11] Cf. B 17.

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accepted that the heroine of the tale should be identified with the historical Sammuramat, wife of Shamshi-Adad V and mother of Adad-nirari III (see below, pp. 274f). In addition to telling us a little of Semiramis, Herodotus narrates a story of a Babylonian queen called Nitocris. While some have identified this legendary figure with Zakutu (Naqia), the wife of Sennacherib and mother of Esarhaddon, others have proposed Adad-guppi, the mother of Nabonidus.[12] There is no doubt that both legends have historical roots and originally came from Mesopotamia. Neither tale ever found its way into cuneiform writing – at least no such versions have yet been found – and they may have been transmitted orally. Another possibility, however, is that the legends were told and written in Aramaic, on papyrus or parchment, and for that reason the originals are lost. In this regard the Ahiqar text is relevant. This composition is known in many recensions but the oldest is the Aramaic version found at Elephantine in Upper Egypt, which dates to the late fifth century.[13] Ahiqar, who also bore an Assyrian name, was a high official (*ummânu*) who lived during the time of Sennacherib and Esarhaddon.[14] The Aramaic tale names both kings and the circumstantial details leave no doubt that this legend has an historical basis. Thus it is at least conceivable that the legends of Semiramis, Nitocris, and possibly other Assyrian or Babylonian figures, were current in the Aramaic language.[15]

II. COMMENTS ON THE SOURCES FOR THE PERIOD COVERED BY THIS CHAPTER

Although the Babylonian Chronicle Series does not begin until the end of the period, brief notations regarding the direction of campaigns found in one type of eponym list, commonly called the 'Eponym Chronicle' (C^b), are a means of reconstructing the chronology of events for the period for which it is preserved, 841–745 (and beyond).[16] The Assyrian royal annals substantially add to this skeleton outline; annals are extant for all but the last few kings. There are no letters to speak of for this time but there are a number of administrative and legal documents from the Governor's Palace at Calah. A few of these are of the late ninth century but most are from the first half of the eighth century.[17] In addition, from the archives of the North-West Palace comes a corpus of administrative tablets regarding wine rations; these date to the last nine years of Adad-nirari III and the first four of Shalmaneser IV.[18] There are a few copies of royal decrees from the kings

[12] B 211.
[13] B 95.
[14] B 246, pls. 20*a–c* and 27 r. 19f.
[15] B 132.
[16] B 245; B 106, 46+107, 348; B 104, 140ff.
[17] B 204, 8 and fig. 2.
[18] B 128, 2.

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of the late ninth century and the eighth century, which will be mentioned in the appropriate places.

III. CHRONOLOGY OF THE NEO-ASSYRIAN PERIOD

The vital link between the modern calendar and Assyrian chronology in the first millennium is the eclipse of the sun on the morning of 15 June 763 B.C.[19] The solar eclipse recorded in the Assyrian Eponym Chronicle under the eponym Bur-Sagale[20] has long been identified with the eclipse of 763; thus all of the eponyms in the list can be given absolute dates.[21] There is a complete sequence of eponyms for the period 910–648 but for the time before and after these years there is still uncertainty. The absolute chronology of information in the Assyrian annals is straightforward so long as the campaigns are dated by eponyms. However, during the reign of Shalmaneser III this system of dating was abandoned and replaced by regnal years (*palû*). This raises the problem of correlating the regnal years with the eponym lists and the crux is the question of the point in the reign at which the king held the office of eponym. There is reason to believe that up to and including the reign of Ashur-dan II the king held this office in his first regnal year, while from Adad-nirari II to Tiglath-pileser III he held the office in his second year.[22] After this time various methods were used and will be dealt with in the appropriate chapters.[23]

A fact that should be kept in mind is that the year in which a king died or left the throne was reckoned as his last full regnal year by native chronographers. Although the new king took charge immediately, this was reckoned merely as his accession year and for chronological purposes it was zero; the following year, his first full year on the throne, was reckoned as his 'first' year. The Assyrian year began in the spring, with the month Nisan, which means that to be absolutely precise one should normally cite dates according to our calendar as overlapping, e.g. 850/849. Such a cumbrous method will, however, not be used in these pages (see also below, p. 282 n. *).

IV. HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY OF THE NEO-ASSYRIAN EMPIRE

The general outline of the geographical extent of the Neo-Assyrian empire is today reasonably clear. From the beginning of Assyriology, attention focused on the western campaigns of the Assyrian kings because of their relevance to the Biblical world. Aided by the Bible and

[19] B 18, 39.
[20] $C^{b}1$, $C^{b}2$ and $C^{b}8$: see B 245, 430 and 432.
[21] B 245, 414f.
[22] B 196, 76ff; B 237, 28 and n. 53; B 104, 140ff.
[23] Cf. B 237, 30ff.

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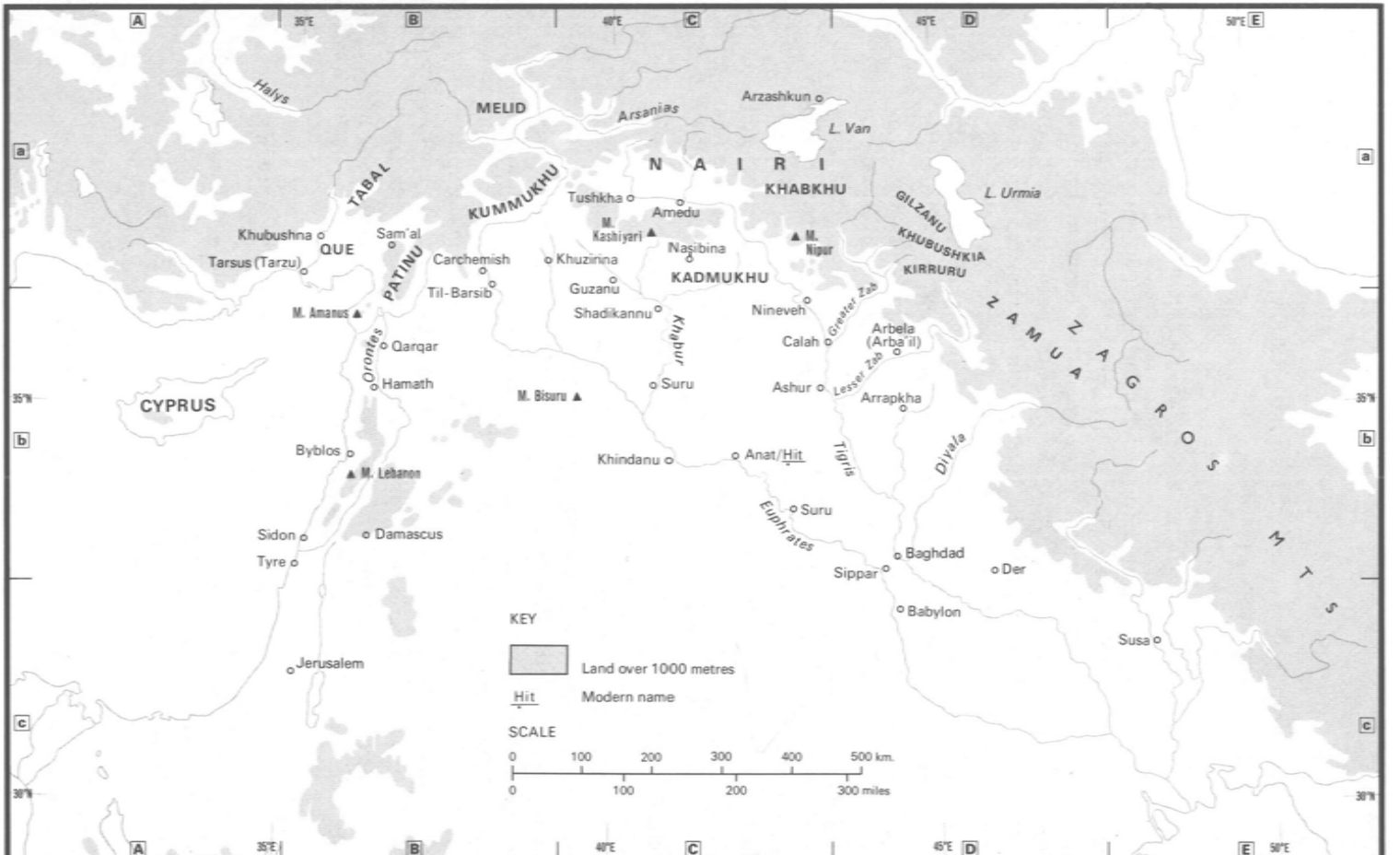

Map 11. Assyria.

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Classical authors, it was possible not only to identify the important place-names but also to locate numerous minor points in the west. The geography of this part of the Assyrian empire is now, apart from the Assyrian heartland itself, the best known. A more difficult task has been the identification of Anatolian place-names but at least Classical authors were and are of value here. The discovery of Urartian remains to the north of Assyria stimulated some research in historical geography but much still remains uncertain in this direction. In recent years the penetration of Assyria into Iran has been the subject of intensive research and a new picture of the eastern empire has emerged, although still only in general outline.[24]

Of limited value in identifying ancient place-names are the Neo-Assyrian 'itineraries' and itinerary passages in Assyrian royal inscriptions. Indeed the very genre 'itinerary' is not firmly established in Neo-Assyrian literature and only two documents come under consideration.[25] Both are extremely fragmentary and the purpose and occasion of the journeys they describe are unknown. There are also passages of an itinerary kind in royal inscriptions of Adad-nirari II, Tukulti-Ninurta II, and Ashurnasirpal II,[26] and these can be, and have been, used to locate many place-names. It has been recently observed, however, that stations on the journey have been omitted without any indication of such omissions in the narrative. Thus it is dangerous to estimate distances and identify place-names on the basis of such calculations.[27] The itinerary style of the famous account of the eighth campaign of Sargon II presents a different problem.[28] The narrative, which is in the style of a letter addressed to the god Ashur, describes stage by stage the movement of the Assyrian army during this expedition.[29] There is serious question whether the sequence of place-names can be trusted, for the document has obvious rhetorical features and its contents were probably arranged more with dramatic than factual considerations in mind.[30]

V. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The decline of Assyria after the reign of Tiglath-pileser I to the obscurity of the tenth century has already been described in this *History* (B 274) and it is necessary to recapitulate only in general terms in order

[24] General studies: B 78, B 87, B 19, B 187. For northern place-names the only comprehensive study is still B 234. For eastern place-names see B 283 and B 151.

[25] B 100, XCIX, 6* and B 122, 1096.

[26] B 100, §§433f, 469–76, 568, 577, 584f, 634–6; cf. §411.

[27] B 96, 86f.

[28] B 158, II §§139–78.

[29] B 183.

[30] On this entire paragraph see B 97. On the study of geography in Assyrian and Babylonian times, see B 110.

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to set the scene for subsequent events. Under Tiglath-pileser I the Assyrian army had campaigned to the headwaters of the Tigris and across the Euphrates against the Mushku; to the north, it had penetrated the Nairi lands south of Lake Van; to the west, a number of expeditions had been conducted against the Aramaeans, the Euphrates had been crossed numerous times, Phoenicia and the Mediterranean had been reached; to the south, Babylonia had been invaded. Thus Tiglath-pileser I controlled the lucrative caravan routes that traversed the fertile crescent between the Persian Gulf and the Mediterranean Sea. It was a very tenuous control, however, for there is no indication that the Assyrians attempted to establish a provincial administration within this vast area. Culturally it was a golden age during which great buildings were erected and a large library was organized at Ashur.

The decline of Assyrian might was due in no small part to the lack of systematic administration, but an equally important factor was the Aramaean influx. Aramaeans had already appeared on the Assyrian horizon by the latter part of the second millennium, infiltrating peacefully in small trickles and occasionally launching large invasions. Tiglath-pileser I met and defeated a large force at Jebel Bishri, and on the Broken Obelisk, which is now generally attributed to Tiglath-pileser I's son Ashur-bel-kala,[31] a whole series of raids on Aramaeans is recorded. Syria was eventually occupied and by the beginning of our period there are a number of strong Aramaean groups in this region.[32] The successes of Tiglath-pileser I and Ashur-bel-kala against the Aramaeans also served to deflect the thrust of their movement so that some swerved off downstream to harass Babylonia.

By the turn of the millennium Assyria was surrounded by formidable foes: to the south, in and around Babylonia, and to the west, in Syria, were the Aramaeans; to the north and east were the peoples of the Nairi lands. Little is known of Assyria during this time, either from contemporary or later sources. Clearly it was not a period of foreign conquest and presumably Assyria was hard pressed to defend her very borders – although there is no suggestion that she ever lost her independence.

VI. ASHUR-DAN II (934–912 B.C.)

The reign of Ashur-dan II, son of Tiglath-pileser II, marks the birth of the Neo-Assyrian Empire.[33] He is the first king for over a century known to have conducted regular military campaigns and these campaigns were directed to the north, north-west, and north-east. There is one fragmentary edition of the annals preserved and the dates of the campaigns are unknown.[34]

[31] Cf. B 100, §227. [32] B 202, 233ff. [33] For a history of the reign see B 256.

[34] Only one date, the accession and first regnal year, is preserved in the annals but the narrative clearly covers the events of several years.

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A main concern of the known military expeditions was the Aramaeans; the first and third campaigns described in the annals were against them.[35] In the following section of the annals the invasion of Kadmukhu on the upper Tigris is described.[36] Of the three subsequent campaigns, two were in the upper reaches of the Greater Zab against Muṣri and Kirriuru (Kirruru) respectively but the narration of the expedition between these two is badly broken and there is no indication of its geographical location.[37] As is evident from his own statements, Ashur-dan felt he was regaining Assyrian territory which the Aramaeans had seized in the recent past; one such occasion was in the reign of Shalmaneser II[38] and the other in the reign of Ashur-rabi II.[39] Ashur-dan also claims to have brought back and resettled people who had fled Assyria through want and hunger.[40] He is known to have done construction work on two buildings at Ashur, the Craftsman's Gate[41] and New Palace;[42] the latter structure had earlier received the attention of Tukulti-Ninurta I and Ashur-bel-kala.[43] Ashur-dan also may have done some building at Kalizi.[44]

The activities of this king are a modest beginning to a great period. He regained territory lost during Assyria's eclipse and he repatriated people who had fled during hard times, a sign that Assyria's fortunes were at last improving.

VII. ADAD-NIRARI II (911–891 B.C.)

Adad-nirari II ruled two years less than his father, Ashur-dan II, but the number and range of his military campaigns were greater. To the west he marched as far as the Balikh river, to the south as far as the middle Euphrates, to the north as far as the southern regions of Lake Van, and to the east he penetrated the Zagros mountains. Three versions of his annals are known.[45] Altogether the annals cover campaigns from the accession to the eighteenth regnal year; it is quite possible that Adad-nirari did not campaign in his remaining three years. The absolute chronology of the campaigns is unknown for the beginning of the reign but it is established from the eleventh year to the end. The thrust of the expeditions was against three main targets, Khabkhu and the Nairi lands, Babylonia, and the Aramaeans.[46]

[35] B 100, §§361–3. On the problem of the direction of the second campaign see B 54, 176.
[36] B 100, §364.
[37] B 100, §§365–7.
[38] B 100, §362.
[39] B 100, §363.
[40] B 100, §368; cf. a similar event under Ashurnasirpal II described in §550.
[41] B 100, XCVIII, 2.
[42] B 100, §370.
[43] B 100, I §686 and II §251.
[44] B 100, XCVIII, 5.
[45] B 100, §397.
[46] For a history of the reign see B 254 and B 226, 58ff.

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There were several campaigns, spread out over much of the reign, to the north against Khabkhu and Nairi.[47] Khabkhu was a geographical rather than a political term; its area included both banks of the upper Tigris stretching roughly from the source of the Greater Zab west to somewhere between the headwaters of the Tigris and the upper Euphrates at Kummukhu (Commagene). Khabkhu would eventually become part of the kingdom of Urartu (Uraṭru, Uruaṭri).[48] Nairi was apparently a little farther north than Khabkhu. There were at least two campaigns against Babylonia, as we know from the Synchronistic History, and although they were against two different kings, Shamash-mudammiq and his successor Nabu-shuma-ukin I, the dates are uncertain.[49] The boundary agreed upon at the end of the second conflict (a fragmentary text may be from this very agreement)[50] suggests that Assyria lost ground;[51] certainly the expeditions only penetrated the area east of the Tigris and Assyria never crossed into the Babylonian plain.

Eight campaigns were conducted against the Aramaeans and the importance of this enterprise is illustrated not only by the number of campaigns but also by the relatively detailed accounts in the annals. Some time in the earlier part of the reign Adad-nirari defeated a body of Aramaeans and received tribute from the Sukhu.[52] The remaining campaigns occurred late in the reign in each of the years from 901 to 896 and in 894 and all took place in a region called Khanigalbat, the modern Jezirah.[53] Adad-nirari did not venture beyond the Khabur river, with one exception: in 899 he made a deep westward thrust to Khuzirina across the Balikh and received from Bit-Adini, on the other side of the Euphrates, a gift of two apes.[54] In Khanigalbat a group called the Temannites was the most formidable foe; it seems to have been a large people with at least two principal leaders, Nur-Adad and Muquru. Muquru was besieged and captured in his city Gidara in one campaign (898)[55] but it required three campaigns (901, 900, and 896) to bring Nur-Adad to his knees.[56] The latter's stronghold was at Naṣibina (Nisibis), in the foothills of the Kashiari range (Tur-Abdin), which was besieged in 896. Nur-Adad, who apparently surrendered without a fight, was carried captive back to Nineveh. The use of redoubts for the siege, also employed at Gidara, was claimed by Adad-nirari to be a new tactic.[57] This last campaign was obviously a great success, for in 894

[47] B 100, §§405 (not later than 909 B.C.), 419, 421, 431 (895 B.C.), 432 (894 B.C.).

[48] Cf. B 152.

[49] B 100, §420 and cf. §441 (royal inscription); *ibid.* XCIX, 11* (Synchronistic History). Cf. B 54, 177ff.

[50] B 100, XCIX, 7*.

[51] B 54, 180f. Cf. B 103, 339f and B 98, 205 and 290.

[52] B 100, §421.

[53] B 100, §§424–30, 433f, 441.

[54] B 100, §426. Cf. B 96, 86f and B 200.

[55] B 100, §427.

[56] B 100, §§424 (901 B.C.), 425 (900 B.C.), 429 (896 B.C.).

[57] B 100, XCVIII, 6.

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Adad-nirari could march through the whole area collecting tribute without any sign of resistance.[58] He advanced as far as Guzanu (Tell Halaf) on the Khabur River and then traced its course to the confluence with the Euphrates which he followed downstream for some distance, gathering spoil from such places as Shadikannu (Arban), Qatnu, Dur-aduklimmu (Dur-katlimmu), Laqu, and Khindanu.[59] This kind of expedition, designed to display Assyria's strength and collect tribute, was imitated by Tukulti-Ninurta II and Ashurnaṣirpal II; centuries later the Chaldaean kings followed the same practice, which the Babylonian chroniclers recorded with the phrase: 'The king marched about victoriously in the land...'

It was still a period of reassertion of territorial claims; land was recaptured from the Aramaeans and the Shubraeans.[60] A significant fact is Adad-nirari's reconstruction of the palace at Apqu (Tell Abu Marya) on the periphery of the Assyrian heartland.[61] The palace, originally built and maintained by Middle Assyrian kings, was presumably abandoned until the present reign.[62] It is also noteworthy that Adad-nirari adopted the practice of establishing storage depots for the supply of his men on campaign for these points would eventually be developed as administrative centres. He did restoration work on the quay wall and the temple of Gula at Ashur.[63]

VIII. TUKULṬI-NINURTA II (890–884 B.C.)

The reign of Tukulti-Ninurta II, son of Adad-nirari II, marks a slight pause in the expansion of Assyria in this era. Rather than add significantly to the empire, Tukulti-Ninurta tended to lead his armies into regions already conquered by his two predecessors, although he usually went some distance beyond previous limits. One region, the eastern Jezirah, he traversed without a single military engagement, testimony to the fear of Assyria already instilled in the Aramaeans and their neighbours.

An account of the royal campaigns is preserved in only one version of the annals and this is supplemented by the summary description in a display text. The annalistic text appears to contain a description of each of the years 889–885 (second to sixth regnal years) and probably

[58] B 100, §§433f.

[59] Regarding the geography of the Khabur and the Middle Euphrates in relation to Assyrian sources see B 19, 265ff, 393ff. On the history of Shadikannu see B 244. — Dur-katlimmu has been recently identified by W. Röllig with the site of Sheikh Ḥammad on the left bank of the Khabur, some 15 kms north of the Suwwar Bridge. Professor Röllig has most kindly authorized us to mention his discovery here and made available to us the typescript of his planned article (B 210) on the subject. (Eds.).

[60] B 100, §§427 (Aramaeans), 422 (Shubru).

[61] B 100, §423.

[62] B 100, §227.

[63] B 100, §§406, 437.

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represents the second tablet of a two-tablet version of the annals.[64] Nothing is known of a campaign either in the accession and first year or in the last year. The main military target of Tukulti-Ninurta was the Nairi lands against which he launched at least three, and possibly four, campaigns in the years 889–886.[65] The fullest account is provided for the last of these. The Assyrian crossed the river Subnat to the Kashiari range (Tur-Abdin), conquered and plundered the Aramaean tribe called the Bit-Zamani at the source of the Tigris (Ashurnasirpal II records finding a statue of Tukulti-Ninurta here),[66] and bound its ruler Amme-baal(a) to him by an oath. These achievements went beyond the previous reach of Adad-nirari II. Like his father, Tukulti-Ninurta also invaded the upper regions of the Greater Zab; but the latter travelled up the left bank and penetrated the Kirriuru (Kirruru) range and beyond, a little south-east of Adad-nirari's conquests.[67] This also took place in 886. The last recorded campaign, that of 885, took the Assyrian army down the Wadi Tharthar as far as Dur-Kurigalzu and Sippar in northern Babylonia, then up the Euphrates by way of Anat (Ḥit) and Khindanu, up the Khabur through Laqu, Suru, and Shadikannu, and beyond to Naṣibina (Nisibis), across to Khuzirina on the Balikh, and then against the Mushku.[68] It was a wide sweep for one campaign but the army met little opposition; most territories yielded tribute immediately. Obviously Adad-nirari had sufficiently intimidated them on a similar expedition, which was also recorded in this itinerary fashion. It is interesting that Tukulti-Ninurta could press farther south than his father, right to the northern limits of Babylonia and through the land of the Sukhu, without meeting any opposition.[69] Independent confirmation of the extent of Tukulti-Ninurta's influence is provided by the provenance of two of his inscriptions, one from Kakhat (Tell Barri) on the upper Khabur[70] and one from Terqa (Tell 'Ashara) on the middle Euphrates.[71]

A new feature in the annals is the quotation of, or reference to, a report of hostile action as the reason for launching a campaign.[72] Tukulti-Ninurta, who was at different times resident in both Nineveh and Ashur,[73] carried out construction work at both cities. His labours at Ashur are better attested (only fragmentary texts are known from

[64] B 100, C, 1. Events of 886 (§§467f) and 885 B.C. (§§469–76) are dated. The three preceding paragraphs (464–6) should probably be dated to 889–887 respectively. The first tablet would have contained an introduction, perhaps similar to C, 2, and an account of the accession and first regnal year.

[65] B 100, §§464–7 (cf. §498). No proper name is preserved in §466 and the direction of this campaign is unknown.

[66] B 100, §549 (cf. §461).

[67] B 100, §468 (cf. §498).

[68] B 100, §§469–76 (cf. §498 and above, n. 59).

[69] See B 54, 183f.

[70] B 100, C, 12.

[71] B 100, C, 13.

[72] B 100, §§465ff.

[73] B 100, §§465f (Nineveh), 468f (Ashur).

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Nineveh: B 100, C, 9–11) and include the wall, the temple of Anu and Adad, the large terrace of the New Palace, and the shrine of Enpi.[74] Texts from the provincial sites of Nimid-Tukulti-Ninurta and Kakhat are evidence of building enterprises there.[75]

IX. ASHURNASIRPAL II (883–859 B.C.)

Ashurnasirpal II, son of Tukulti-Ninurta II, is the first 'great' king of the Neo-Assyrian period. His three predecessors had prepared the way for an ambitious and able monarch to reforge a mighty Assyrian empire and this was just the role suited to Ashurnasirpal. He fought, he hunted, he built, and he boasted as the ideal Assyrian king should do. Ashurnasirpal considerably expanded, and improved upon, the empire which he inherited and, not least among his accomplishments, he transformed a village on the Tigris into one of the greatest cities of the ancient world, Calah. Most of our sources for the reign come from this site which has yielded many texts, much information about the architecture, and numerous examples of sculpture in the round and in relief.[76] The royal inscriptions are particularly abundant and have a special significance since, in addition to an exceptionally large number of display texts, we have the fullest annalistic narratives for any king up to this time.[77] These annals are known not only from later collections; for the first time there are individual accounts of single campaigns which were written soon after the events and contain more detail than the later abbreviated editions.

Ashurnasirpal continued the practice of regular campaigns and it is known that he launched at least fourteen major expeditions during his twenty-five years on the throne. The king apparently did not campaign in his accession year but he made up for this by campaigning twice in his first regnal year (883). He then campaigned once in 882, twice in 881 and once in each of the years 880 to 878. In the period 877 to 867 he launched at least four campaigns and possibly more. The last campaign recorded in annalistic style is that of the year 866.[78] Let us discuss the campaigns by region.

Against Zamua in the east,[79] near the headwaters of the Diyala in the Zagros, Ashurnasirpal launched three campaigns, two in the year 881

[74] B 100, §467 and C, 6; §§480 (cf. 462), 492; C, 4 and 7.

[75] B 100, C, 5 and 12.

[76] For a detailed history of the reign, in which information from the written sources and the scenes on the reliefs are effectively interwoven, see B 181. Note also B 267.

[77] On the chronological relationship of the inscriptions see B 77. The study of the annals in B 177, 15ff is still valuable.

[78] B 104, 138ff.

[79] On the Zamuan campaigns, see B 229 and cf. B 151, I 16ff.

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and one the following year, 880.[80] The city Kalizi, about sixty kilometres south east of Nineveh, was used as a gathering and starting point for these expeditions.[81] The first two campaigns were directed against Nur-Adad, sheikh of the land Dagara, who 'had rebelled', banded together all inhabitants of Zamua, and walled up the pass of Babitu. On the first expedition Ashurnasirpal broke through the pass, slaughtering and plundering as he travelled, and on the second he pushed on as far as Mount Nisir and beyond, looting and destroying Nur-Adad's towns and garrisons. The Assyrian retraced his steps the following year, 880, and penetrated as far as Mount Khashmar across the river Turnat (Diyala); he went farther to ravage Zamru and other cities and then down to the city Tukulti-Ashur-aṣbat. At this point he felt he had subdued Zamua, for he boasts of having received here their submission, tribute, and promise of corvée work to be performed at Calah. He established Dur-Ashur as a local headquarters and supply depot.

To the north, north-east, and north-west, Ashurnasirpal conducted a number of campaigns which affected the regions called Khabkhu, Nairi, and Urartu.[82] The very first expedition of his reign, presumably early in the year 883, proceeded by way of Kirruru (Kirriuru) in the upper reaches of the Greater Zab to Khabkhu, which was looted and ravaged.[83] The king erected a stela on Mount Eqi in a city named after him Al-Ashur-naṣir-apli. Two further campaigns to these regions proceeded by way of the upper Tigris, an area to be discussed presently, to Tushkha. On the first, 882,[84] Ashurnasirpal did not go beyond this city but on his return he claims to have conquered cities of Khabkhu.[85] While he was in Tushkha he received tribute from various rulers including the kings of the Nairi lands and Amme-baal(a) of Bit-Zamani. It will be remembered that Tukulti-Ninurta II had bound Amme-baal(a) by an oath.[86] It appears that this sheikh's loyalty to Assyria was unpopular, however, for in 879 he was assassinated. Ashurnasirpal, passing through Tushkha, crossed the Tigris to the interior of Khabkhu and advanced to avenge the murder.[87] He met no resistance. His thirst for vengeance was slaked by a lavish tribute and the addition to his harem of several princesses with their dowries. Ashurnasirpal did not penetrate this general area again for many years but in 866, after a

[80] B 100, §§554–66, CI, 9, and §603 and n. 658. It is clear that the description of a second campaign in 881 B.C. begins in §556: the date is late in the year; the starting point is Kalizi; and in §560 the campaign of 880 is described as the 'third time'.

[81] Cf. B 173, 175.

[82] See above, p. 250 and n. 48.

[83] B 100, §§544–6; CI, 9; and §§603, 607 and nn. 658–60.

[84] B 100, §551; CI, 9; and n. 658.

[85] B 100, §553; CI, 9; and n. 658.

[86] B 100, §467; see above, p. 252.

[87] B 100, §§567–74; CI, 9; CI, 11 (the fullest account); and cf. nn. 658 and 660.

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western expedition to be discussed presently, he marched from the upper Euphrates east to conquer and pillage once more among the cities of Khabkhu.[88] This time he claims to have subdued them all and he appointed a governor. This campaign is the last recorded in the annalistic style but there must have been yet one later expedition in this region for display texts, in a description of the extent of Ashurnasirpal's conquests, have the phrase 'to the land Urartu'.[89]

In describing the expeditions to Khabkhu, Nairi, and Urartu, we passed over Ashurnasirpal's progress to the upper Tigris in the years 882 and 879, and we must now turn to his campaigns in this region, particularly in the Kashiari range and the area called Kadmukhu.[90] The second campaign of 883 set out in this direction.[91] Cities at the foot of Mount Nipur (Herakul Dağ) were pillaged and then, crossing the Tigris, Ashurnasirpal received the tribute of the land Kadmukhu. At this point word of trouble down on the Khabur reached him, and the subsequent events will be discussed with our treatment of the campaigns to the south. In 882 Ashurnasirpal marched to the upper Tigris, erected a statue at the river Subnat beside the statues of Tiglath-pileser I and Tukulti-Ninurta II, and received the tribute of Izalla (Azalla).[92] Crossing over to Mount Kashiari, he besieged and captured a rebel leader, Khulaya, in his capital. After plundering and destroying the cities of Nirbu in the Kashiari range, he took Tushkha as a local headquarters and supply depot and here he received the tribute from Nairi already mentioned. Returning through Nirbu he met further resistance which he crushed ruthlessly. Upon emerging from Mount Kashiari he received tribute from Aramaeans, Hittites, and the kings of Khanigalbat. When Ashurnasirpal returned to the upper Tigris region three years later in 879, he met little resistance either in Kadmukhu or in the Kashiari range.[93] It would appear that for many years after this area provided tribute and service voluntarily; in any case, no further military expedition reached here until 866 when Ashurnasirpal, returning from a successful western campaign, penetrated Khabkhu, as already described, and proceeded by way of Mount Amadanu to seize and sack two cities, of which one was Amedu (modern Diyarbakır).[94]

The western campaigns, to which some allusion has already been made, must now be traced. There is record of four campaigns which reached at least as far as the Balikh, three during the problematic period 877–867 and one in 866. On the first of these expeditions Kaprabu, a fortified city of Bit-Adini, was captured and ravaged.[95] On a subsequent

[88] B 100, §587.
[89] See B 77 and cf. B 100, 146 n. 634.
[90] On the route of these campaigns see B 19, 1ff.
[91] B 100, §547; C1, 9; and n. 658.
[92] B 100, §§549–53; C1, 9; and n. 658.
[93] B 100, §§567–70; C1, 7 and n. 658; C1, 9; C1, 11 (the fullest account) and n. 660.
[94] B 100, §587.
[95] B 100, §§582f.

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occasion, setting out from Calah, the army travelled in a north-westerly direction through Bit-Bakhiani and Izalla (Azalla), the latter place also mentioned on the campaign of 882, and tribute and supplies were provided by each.[96] Continuing through Bit-Adini, where further goods and equipment were acquired, the Assyrians crossed the Euphrates on rafts and approached the land of Carchemish. Sangara, the king, handed over a valuable assortment of goods without any resistance. Although the narrative continues without a break, it was probably on a later campaign that Ashurnasirpal received homage from 'all the kings of the lands' in this vicinity. Taking hostages from them and auxiliaries from Carchemish he approached the land Patinu. Lubarna, the king, submitted without a fight and yielded up tribute, troops, and hostages. The Assyrian army continued through Patinu, crossed the Orontes and reached the Lebanon with little resistance being offered. Ashurnasirpal performed the ancient ritual of washing his weapons in the Mediterranean and was regaled with presents from such coastal cities as Tyre, Sidon, Byblos, and Arvad. Retracing his steps he climbed the Amanus range, erected a stela, and took local timber back to Assyria for the construction of temples. A striking feature of these events is that, although Ashurnasirpal and his immediate predecessors had never penetrated this region before, virtually no opposition was encountered. The final recorded campaign to the west (866) took the Assyrian troops across the Balikh to Khuzirina.[97] Here they received tribute from various regions including Kummukhu (Commagene), across the Euphrates. Ashurnasirpal then marched to Khabkhu and his subsequent movements have already been traced.

Finally, let us treat the southern campaigns along the Khabur and middle Euphrates.[98] These regions, which had been submissive since the time of Adad-nirari II and Tukulti-Ninurta II, now caused Ashurnasirpal some trouble, for two neighbouring powers, Bit-Adini and Babylonia, were inciting disaffection. The first outbreak occurred in 883 when Ashurnasirpal, while in Kadmukhu, heard of a rebellion at Suru, a city of Bit-Khalupe on the Khabur.[99] He set out immediately in this direction, which was probably a change of plan, and travelling down the Khabur he received tribute from Shadikannu and Qatnu. The frightened nobles of Suru, who had assassinated their governor and replaced him with a man from Bit-Adini, handed over the usurper upon Ashurnasirpal's arrival. The Assyrian appointed a governor, exacted a heavy tribute, and committed terrible atrocities upon the guilty parties.

[96] B 100, §§584–6 and cf. §§597, 601f, and n. 658. At least two campaigns are probably described in the narrative of B 100, CI, 1: cf. B 104, 138ff. On the route of the march beyond the Euphrates see B 19, 398ff and B 39, 45ff.

[97] B 100, §587.

[98] See above, n. 59.

[99] B 100, §547; CI, 9; and n. 658.

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While in Suru he received tribute from Laqu and Khindanu on the middle Euphrates. The very next event recorded in the annals is the receipt of tribute from the Sukhu in the following year, 882.[100] This appears to have been a direct response to the lightning speed with which Ashurnasirpal had changed the course of his campaign to quench the fire of rebellion on the part of Sukhu's neighbour. But trouble had only begun. In 878 Ashurnasirpal, emulating his father and grandfather, led an expedition down the Khabur and middle Euphrates, passing through such places as Shadikannu, Qatnu, Dur-aduklimmu (Dur-katlimmu), and Khindanu.[101] As on the marches led by his forebears, tribute was forthcoming and no resistance encountered. However, the scene changed when he reached the Sukhu. The governor of this land, supported by Babylonian auxiliaries, resisted and was besieged in the city Suru (Suru of the Sukhu was on the middle Euphrates and is not to be confused with Suru of Bit-Khalupe on the Khabur). According to the Assyrian account the city was taken, plundered, and razed; a stela was erected in its midst; and Ashurnasirpal boasted that now his renown had spread over Babylonia. These events clearly point to Babylonia as a major element in the disturbances which beset Ashurnasirpal in this region.

The major conflict on the middle Euphrates was yet to come. Some time in the period from 877 to 867, and probably early in that period, word reached Calah that Laqu, Khindanu, and the Sukhu had rebelled.[102] Taking rafts of goatskins made specially at Suru on the Khabur, Ashurnasirpal crossed the Euphrates and engaged in battle with the coalition. The Assyrians claimed a victory and proceeded to ravage the cities of the rebels. One Laqaean chieftain, Azi-ili (the governor of Suru appointed by Ashurnasirpal in 883 bore the same name and perhaps was the same man), offered further resistance, but he was routed and pursued as far as the cities of Bit-Adini in the direction of Mount Bisuru (Jebel Bishri). This penetration of Bit-Adini was obviously punitive and was followed by a full campaign against Bit-Adini which has already been discussed.[103] Clearly Bit-Adini had been behind these troubles as they had been behind the insurrection of Suru in 883. The motive for the meddling of Bit-Adini and Babylonia in this region was probably defensive. But, while Ashurnasirpal left Babylonia alone, Bit-Adini, as we have already seen, became a main target. No further trouble along the Khabur and middle Euphrates is recorded for this reign.[104]

The detailed accounts preserved for the period provide new information about military and administrative matters. These topics are to

[100] B 100, §548; CI, 9; and n. 658.
[101] B 100, §577 and cf. §698.
[102] B 100, §§578–80.
[103] See above, p. 255 and B 100, §§582f.
[104] Cf. B 104, 137.

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be discussed in a later chapter but in passing let us note some salient points. The first real signs of provincial administration appear in this reign.[105] As early as the time of Adad-nirari II local harvests were reaped and stored in depots for use on future campaigns; Ashurnasirpal II considerably expanded the number of these centres, fortified them, and appointed governors. The idea that a fixed amount and type of tribute should be regularly contributed is apparent. Here is the basic structure of provincial administration, although it is doubtful that in practice there was much system to it at this time.

One of the most significant features of this reign is the creation of a new major city, Calah. Nineveh enjoyed the royal presence early in the reign but the campaign of 878 began from Calah and probably Calah remained the preferred residence until the king's death. Ashurnasirpal never tires of saying that the city was built earlier by Shalmaneser and there now remains little doubt that he means the first king of this name.[106] But both the written and architectural evidence show that Ashurnasirpal completely rebuilt the city. To do this he employed large numbers of labourers; all peoples under the Assyrian sceptre were required to do corvée, and in addition recalcitrant groups were transported to Assyria to do forced labour. The new city was surrounded with a wall, a canal was dug, orchards were planted with a wide variety of trees, and a 'zoo' was created. One of the main projects was the erection of a great palace, the North-West Palace, in which rooms were lined with a multitude of stone slabs bearing reliefs and inscriptions. A temple and ziqqurrat were built for the tutelary god, Ninurta, and this site has also yielded significant sculptures and texts. A number of other gods were honoured by the newly constructed temples: Adad and Shala, Sharrat-nipkhi, Ea(-sharru) and Damkina, Gula, Kidmuru, Nabu, the Sibitti, and Sin.[107] People were resettled at Calah and the king staged a great banquet to which thousands of dignitaries from far-flung regions, including Iran, Anatolia, and Phoenicia, were invited. Curiously, the menu of this magnificent feast was actually inscribed on a royal stela to impress posterity with the abundance of choice foods lavished upon the guests.[108] This was not the first occasion upon which an Assyrian king had created a new city, nor would it be the last. The reasons for this will be discussed in a later chapter (26).

These great enterprises overshadowed activity at other centres but these were not neglected. Construction was undertaken at Nineveh on the Ishtar temple, the Adad temple, and the Bit-natkhi. At Ashur the temple of Sin and Shamash was repaired. The remains of bronze gates from Imgur-Enlil (modern Balawat) and inscribed stone slabs from the

[105] Cf. B 181, 254f; B 203, 92.

[106] See B 48, 73 n. 1.

[107] For reference to the relevant inscriptions see B 100, §532. On the excavations, see B 148 and B 160, 74ff. On the 'zoo' see B 100. §§597–9.

[108] B 100, CI, 17.

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same site record work on the temple of the god Mamu (formerly read Makhir). Ashurnasirpal also worked on the palace at Apqu.[109]

In summary, the picture we have of this reign shows a vigorous military expansionism accompanied by gigantic building projects. The campaigns still involved some reconquest of lands lost since Middle Assyrian times.[110] Stubborn resistance was encountered by the Assyrian army in most regions, for the victims were seeking various means to hinder or stop this formidable force. Some sought to do this by inciting disaffection among neighbours who had already been subdued. Thus Bit-Adini and Babylonia stirred up trouble along the Khabur and middle Euphrates. Others banded together at an easily fortified point and hoped to check the Assyrian advance there; this was the method adopted by the Zamuans under Nur-Adad at the pass of Babitu. A major factor behind the increasing resistance was probably the heavy tribute exacted by Ashurnasirpal. Although figures in Assyrian royal inscriptions are notoriously unreliable, one has the impression that a particularly large amount of booty was claimed by this king and that corvée was imposed universally. Both the goods and the forced labour were required for the construction of Calah. The burden on the conquered lands must have been oppressive and it is no wonder that they resisted. Hindsight enables us to point to this as a major weakness in Ashurnasirpal's policy; it also allows us to draw attention to the burgeoning in this reign of two serious sources of trouble for the Neo-Assyrian Empire, Babylonia and Urartu.

X. SHALMANESER III (858–824 B.C.)

Shalmaneser III, like his father Ashurnasirpal II, is an outstanding Neo-Assyrian monarch, and the two reigns, which together cover more than half a century, are not only the apogee of the early Neo-Assyrian period but also one of the epochs in Mesopotamian history.[111] The Assyrian armies, by the continued practice of annual military expeditions, pushed far beyond previous horizons, although the idea that lost territory was being reconquered had not yet disappeared.[112] Shalmaneser's building projects, mainly at Calah and Ashur, were also on the large scale. The written sources for the period are abundant, a fact at least partially due to the length of the reign, and since a number of annalistic accounts[113] as well as a fragmentary eponym chronicle are preserved, the thirty-four known campaigns can be dated.[114] The most

[109] References in B 100, §532.

[110] Cf. B 100, §§550 and 641.

[111] For a detailed history of the reign see B 179. Cf. also B 190–194.

[112] Cf. B 158, §603.

[113] The study of Shalmaneser's annals in B 177, 21ff is still valuable.

[114] There were two campaigns in 855. On the change from dating by *limu* to dating by *palû* see B 237, 26ff and B 219, 100. On the chronology of the latter part of the reign see B 104, 140ff. A convenient list of the sources for each campaign is given in B 219, 87f.

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important areas of military expansion were to the north and west[115] and the most formidable foes were, respectively, the kingdom of Urartu and the Damascus coalition. We shall begin with the western campaigns.

The first expedition to the west, in 858, was extremely ambitious; Shalmaneser crossed the Euphrates and the Orontes and reached the Mediterranean.[116] The route was generally similar to that followed by his father but, unlike him, Shalmaneser encountered significant opposition. At two points he faced a western coalition: at Sam'al the allies were Sam'al, Patinu, Bit-Adini, and Carchemish and at Aliṣir (or Alimush), in addition to those just named, there were Que, Khilakku, and Yasbuqu.[117] Tribute was freely offered only by Kummukhu and Gurgumu[118] and, after the defeat of the allies, by Bit-Agusi (Arpad). Even in his progress toward the Euphrates Shalmaneser had been compelled to use the iron fist upon various cities of Bit-Adini. The following year, 857, a campaign in the same direction still had to use force; Til-Barsib, a city of Bit-Adini on the Euphrates, Dabigu, and Sazabe, a fortress of Carchemish, were in turn besieged and then opposition vanished.[119] Tribute was offered by, and annual dues imposed upon, the entire area which included Patinu, Sam'al, Bit-Agusi, Carchemish, and Kummukhu; the other allies of the preceding year are not included, nor is Gurgumu, which had paid tribute the previous year, mentioned. Shalmaneser now seemed satisfied with the situation across the Euphrates, for on the next campaign, in 856, he created a number of administrative centres in the region, which was to become known as the province of Bit-Adini.[120] The centres included Til-Barsib, renamed Kar-Shalmaneser, and a city across the Euphrates called Pitura (Pitru) and renamed (Ana-)Ashur-uter-aṣbat.[121] Shalmaneser then campaigned to the upper Tigris rather than across the Euphrates and the implication is that the annual tribute imposed the previous year had again been paid. There was, however, one recalcitrant figure left, Akhuni, the former ruler of Til-Barsib. He had earlier escaped the Assyrians by abandoning his city. In 855 Shalmaneser plucked this thorn from his side.[122] He pursued Akhuni across the Euphrates, defeated him

[115] For a discussion of the various place-names mentioned in the accounts of Shalmaneser's campaigns, see B 127, 101ff, B 118, 58ff, and B 151.

[116] B 158, §§558, 599f, 617f; B 67, 11, i 42–8; B 215, 6, i 23–30; B 134, 150, 8–11; B 118, 52f, 18–26 and 42(?); B 162(*a*), 12, 15–r. 8; B 162(*d*), 36, 5. On the route of the march see B 42, 34ff and B 118, 60.

[117] B 603, 243ff; B 235, 38.

[118] B 112, 74.

[119] B 158, §§559, 601; B 67, 11f, i 49–56; B 215, 6, i 30–6; B 134, 150, 11–14; B 162(*a*), 12f, r. 8–13; B 162(*d*), 36, 6.

[120] B 235, 38f.

[121] B 158, §§560, 602; B 67, 12, i 57–61; B 215, 6, i 36–44; B 134, 150, 14–17; B 162(*a*), 13, r. 14–17.

[122] B 158, §§561, 608f., 620f., 680; B 45, 146, 60–3; B 67, 12, ii 3–9; B 215, 6f, i 48–ii 6; B 134, 150, 20–4; B 118, 54, 26–8.

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in an open battle, and carried him, his troops, and much booty back to Assyria. Assyrian might as far as the Euphrates was now sufficiently established for Shalmaneser to be able to launch in the same year a second expedition in the opposite direction.

It was Shalmaneser's ambition to expand much farther into Syria and his conquests and administrative centres at the bend of the Euphrates provided the advanced outposts. In the move south he was to meet fierce opposition in the form of a coalition of central and southern Syrian states and this stubborn resistance would involve him in ten campaigns spread out over most of his reign. The first of these, in 853, began auspiciously.[123] The army followed the usual route and across the Euphrates at (Ana)-Ashur-uter-aṣbat tribute was received from Carchemish, Kummukhu, Bit-Agusi, Melid(ia), Sam'al, Patinu, and Gurgumu. Shalmaneser proceeded to Khalman (Aleppo) which submitted without a fight and then on to cities belonging to Hamath which were plundered and burned. But opposition to the Assyrian advance was being organized and at Qarqar on the Orontes Shalmaneser was confronted by a large allied force. The coalition of twelve kings, of which the chief were Adad-idri of Damascus and Irkhuleni of Hamath, included troops from Ahab of Israel, from Gindibu the Arab, from Byblos,[124] Egypt,[125] and Arvad; for convenience we shall refer to this alliance as the 'Damascus coalition'.[126] According to the text of the Kurkh Monolith, which was written shortly after the event, the enemy had almost 4,000 chariots, almost 2,000 cavalry, over 40,000 soldiers, and 1,000 camels. Shalmaneser claims to have beaten them and to have slaughtered and plundered as they fled the scene of battle. One must always be sceptical of Assyrian claims and the real outcome of the battle at Qarqar is debatable. The only clear indication that the Assyrian boast is justified is the statement, in the same sources, that after the battle the Assyrian army proceeded on to the Mediterranean. On the other hand three further pitched battles were fought with the Damascus coalition, one in each of 849, 848, and 845.[127] If the enemy had suffered a setback at Qarqar, they had not been beaten. In fact it appears that they had displayed sufficient strength to encourage others to resist the Assyrians;

[123] B 158, §§563, 610f, 681; B 45, 146, 67–74; B 67, 13, ii 19–33; B 215, 7f, ii 13–25; B 134, 150f, 28–37; B 118, 54, 29–34 and 48(?). Cf. also B 162(*d*), 34ff, 4, 8, 12f., 20, 22.

[124] KUR *gu-⟨bal-⟩a-a*: cf. A. Schott *apud* P. Jensen, *ZA* 42 (1934), 234 (end of first paragraph) and B 605. For a contrary opinion (Que), see B 492, 37ff.

[125] See B 605 and B 235, 39 and n. 31. But B 492 thinks Muṣur in this passage is a place near Cilicia.

[126] Cf. B 603, 243ff and B 235, 39f.

[127] *849 B.C.*: B 158, §567; B 45, 147, 84–9; B 67, 14, ii 55–67; B 215, 8f, ii 45–50; B 162(*d*), 36, 16. — *848 B.C.*: B 158, §568; B 45, 147, 90–6; B 67, 14f, ii 68–iii 15; B 215, 9, ii 51–iii 5; B 118, 56, 48(?); cf. also B 162(*d*), 36, 7, 18. — *845 B.C.*: B 158, §§571, 686, 691; B 45, 148, 99–102; B 67, 15, iii 24–33; B 215, 10, iii 14–25.

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in 849 and 848 Shalmaneser took goods by force from the cities of Carchemish and Bit-Agusi across the Euphrates although these same states had freely paid tribute in 853 just before the battle of Qarqar. Thus Assyria did not win a great victory on this occasion but neither did she suffer a great defeat; the result was uncertain.[128]

Shalmaneser, unsatisfied with the outcome, concentrated on the Damascus coalition as much as circumstances would allow until 845.[129] By this time the states immediately west of the Euphrates seem to have been thoroughly subdued. There is no further reference to hostile acts in this region until the rebellion of Patinu in 831; indeed, in 842, 840, and 838 the Assyrian boasted that he received the tribute of the kings of Khatti, cut cedars in the Amanus, and took time for some hunting.[130] Thus he was free to attempt once again the penetration of southern Syria. He amassed a force of vast numbers – 120,000 according to our sources –, crossed the Euphrates, and claimed a victory over the Damascus coalition. Was this claim justified? It is a fact that the coalition is never mentioned again, and four years later, in 841, it had disappeared. But there had been a change of ruler at Damascus between 845 and 841: Adad-idri was replaced by Hazael and it appears that the pact, being a highly personal affair, automatically dissolved.[131] Certainly the Assyrians did not push farther into Syria immediately after the battle of 845. There is, then, no proof for or against the Assyrian claim to victory in 845 and the dissolution of the Damascus coalition may have been an independent development. Whatever the reason, by 841 the Damascus coalition was no more and the main obstacle to Shalmaneser's expansion into southern Syria had vanished.

In 841, Hazael of Damascus, in the face of the Assyrian advance, took up a position on a summit in the foothills of the Lebanon range.[132] The Assyrians gained the fortified position but Hazael escaped and was pursued and besieged in Damascus. Shalmaneser cut down the orchards and burned the surrounding country but it is not recorded that Hazael yielded. The circumstantial detail and absence of bombast, apart possibly from the large number of troops the Assyrian claims to have won from the Damascene, leave the impression that this is a reasonably

[128] There are divergent opinions among historians. The most recent discussion is in B 84; note also B 228, 22; B 28, 254; B 109, 160f; B 133, 33.

[129] For the sources see above, n. 127.

[130] *842 B.C.*: B 158, §574; B 215, 10f, iii 37–45.—840 *B.C.*: B 158, §576; B 215, 12, iv 15–22; B 127, 94, 30f; B 106, 46+107, 348 (C^b4, see B 104, 140ff).—*838 B.C.*: B 158, §578; B 134, 154, 9–19; B 106, 46+107, 348 (C^b4).

[131] Cf. B 235, 39f.

[132] B 158, §§575, 590, 672, 681; B 45, 150f, 41–52; B 215, 11f, iii 45 – iv 15; B 127, 94, 21–30; B 52, 40ff; B 106, 46+107, 348 (C^b4). Note also the cylinder-seal published in B 224, 70f. The tribute of Egypt recorded on the Black Obelisk (B 158, §591) should date to this time or shortly later; see B 605, 146ff.

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faithful rendering of the events. Thus, although Damascus had not fallen, Shalmaneser could proceed to ravage cities by Mount Hauran and then erect a stela by the sea upon Mount Ba'li-ra'si (Carmel). He received tribute from Tyre, Sidon, and Jehu (Yaua), king of Israel.[133] In 838 he turned his attention to southern Syria for the last time; he plundered cities of Damascus and received tribute from Tyre, Sidon, and Byblos (see above, n. 130).

As Shalmaneser brought his campaigns in southern Syria to a successful conclusion his attention turned farther west and north into Anatolia. In 839, the year after his first profitable penetration of southern Syria, he crossed the Euphrates, mustered 'all the kings of Khatti', traversed the Amanus, and invaded Que (Cilicia).[134] Cities were plundered and stelae erected. In 837, after receiving tribute from the kings of Khatti across the Euphrates, he ventured farther north, accepted tribute from Melid, and penetrated Tabal, where he ravaged cities and gained tribute from their kings.[135] He crossed Mount Tunni, 'the silver mountain',[136] and Mount Muli, 'the alabaster mountain', pushing as far as the land Khubushna.[137] The following year, 836, he again plundered cities of Melid and Tabal.[138] Two years later, in 834, he resumed the attack on Que.[139] Receiving, as usual, the tribute of Khatti, he crossed the Amanus, invaded Que, and stormed the royal city Timur. Timur, together with other cities, was taken and sacked. On his return he established a garrison at Muru, a royal city of Bit-Agusi. The battering of Que by this series of campaigns had the desired effect. On Shalmaneser's fourth and last invasion, in 833, he met with little resistance and booty was won from several cities including Tarzu (Tarsus).[140] Kate, ruler of Que, was taken to Assyria and replaced by his brother, Kirri. We are now reaching the end of the recorded campaigns of Shalmaneser and, for that matter, the end of his reign. It appears that no further western expansion was envisaged, for the only subsequent expedition to cross the Euphrates, that of 831, was to quell a rebellion in Patinu.[141] Lubarna II had been assassinated and a usurper called Surri put on the throne. When the Assyrian army appeared at the gates of the capital, Kinalua, the frightened inhabitants handed over the rebels. Valuable goods were duly delivered up, a victory stela erected in the temple, and a new king appointed.

[133] Cf. B 816, B 40, and B 235, 40.

[134] B 158, §577; B 215, 12f, iv 22–34*a*; B 134, 152ff, 1–8; B 127, 94, 31–4; B 106, 46 + 107, 348 (C^b4). On the route of the march see B 498, 51, n. 19.

[135] B 158, §§579, 682; B 134, 154, 19–33; B 106, 46 + 107, 348 (C^b4).

[136] Cf. B 198, 30.

[137] Cf. B 118, 66f.

[138] B 158, §580; B 134, 155, 1–12; B 106, 46 + 107, 348 (C^b4).

[139] B 158, §582; B 106, 46 + 107, 348 (C^b4).

[140] B 158, §§583, 682; B 106, 46 + 107, 348 (C^b4).

[141] B 158, §585; B 106, 46 + 107, 48 (C^b4).

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The focus of the northern campaigns was the kingdom of Urartu. This young nation spread like a canopy over Assyria's northern borders from Lake Urmia and the source of the Greater Zab, across Lake Van and the upper Tigris, to the source of the Euphrates. Arame, the king of Urartu, was obviously as concerned to defend and expand his borders as Shalmaneser. But the initial aggression was on the part of the Assyrian. In his accession year, in the later part of his father's last year, 859, Shalmaneser, travelling north east, ravaged Khubushkia and defeated the king of Nairi in a pitched battle.[142] Then he laid siege to Sugunia, a royal city of Arame, took and sacked it together with other cities of the region. Proceeding to the 'Sea of Nairi' he washed his weapons in the waves, made sacrifices, and erected a stela.[143] On the return march tribute was received from Gilzanu.

In 856 Shalmaneser, apparently content for the moment with the situation in the west and having established headquarters on the Euphrates, proceeded to penetrate the heartland of Urartu. The campaign swept right through Urartu from west to east and the bold venture was commemorated not only in the usual prose style of royal inscriptions but also in a poetic form.[144] Setting out from Kar-Shalmaneser (Til-Barsib), he passed through Bit-Zamani, along the upper Tigris, and ravaged the land Enzite. Crossing the river Arsanias the Assyrian blazed a trail of destruction through Sukhume (Sukhne) and Dayaenu and gained the north shore of Lake Van. Here he laid siege to Arzashkun, a royal city of Arame; Arame was defeated, his cities, including Arzashkun, destroyed, and a stela erected on Mount Eritia. The army continued its victorious march and upon reaching the shore of the 'Sea of Nairi' the usual ceremonies were performed.[145] Gilzanu again offered tribute freely but the stubborn Khubushkia had to be plundered. Shalmaneser completed the circuit by using the pass of Kirruru and emerged at Arba'il (Arbela). Even allowing for Assyrian hyperbole, the grand sweep was obviously a great success, but a success that was not to be repeated.

For the next decade Shalmaneser was preoccupied with western

[142] B 158, §§557, 598; B 67, 10f, i 28–41; B 215, 5f, i 19–23; B 134, 150, 6–8; B 118, 52, 10–18; B 162(a), 12, 10–15; B 162(d), 34ff, 2 and 10.

[143] The 'Sea of Nairi' was also reached in the campaign of 856. A list of conquered regions in Shalmaneser's display texts includes 'the Upper and Lower Sea of Nairi'. The reference to 'the Sea of Zamua *ša bēṭāni*' in B 162(b), 410, ii 2 and the naval battle on an unnamed sea in the same region in 855 further confuse the issue. Note finally the '(Upper) Sea of the Setting Sun' reached in campaigns of Shamshi-Adad V (see below, p. 270). The whole question of the meaning of these terms and their identification with Lakes Van, Urmia, and Zeribor is still debated; cf. B 127, 102, and 108ff and B 151, 1 20f and the literature cited there.

[144] B 158, §§560, 602–7, 619; B 45, 146, 55–60; B 67, 12, i 57 – ii 2; B 215, 6, i 36–48; B 134, 150, 14–20; B 118, 54, 37–42; B 162(a), 13, r. 14–17; B 142, 150ff, 10–60.

[145] On the 'Sea of Nairi', see above, n. 143.

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expansion and during this time made only an occasional stab in the direction of Urartu.[146] In 844, after the last battle with the Damascus coalition, he once again ventured upon a major expedition into Urartian territory.[147] Setting out to the north-east he erected another commemorative stela at the source of the Tigris. He then rampaged over the entire stretch to the source of the Euphrates, leaving the plundered cities of Arame strewn behind him. When he had sacrificed and washed his weapons in the spring, the king of Dayaenu brought tribute and the Assyrian erected a stela in his city. Proceeding down the Euphrates he conquered cities of Sukhne (Sukh(u)me) and Alzi, received tribute from Melid, and erected another stela. The strategy behind this expedition seems to have been to strengthen the Assyrian position in the west; certainly it was followed by another major series of western campaigns and the Assyrians did not return to the northern frontier until 832.

The year 832 marks the beginning of a sequence of five campaigns (832, 830, 829, 828, 827) in the region of Urartu, interrupted only by the suppression of a rebellion in the west in 831. There were probably two factors behind this development: Shalmaneser's western ambition seems to have been sated and there had been a change of ruler in Urartu. Sarduri I had replaced Arame and it was good strategy to attack an enemy at the time the sovereignty was changing hands. Shalmaneser no longer leads his army in person but entrusts this task to his *turtānu*, Dayyan-Ashur, a fact which is surprisingly recorded in the royal inscriptions. According to the single brief narrative preserved for the year 832, a pitched battle was fought with Sarduri across the river Arsanias; Assyria claimed a victory.[148] The succinct account of 830 records an expedition to Khabkhu.[149] The campaigns of 829 and 828 followed a similar route up the Greater Zab to Khubushkia, which freely paid tribute, and then veered eastward to plunder the Mannaeans and Parsua.[150] On the second of these journeys, that of 828, it is also recorded that the Assyrians plundered cities of Muṣaṣir and Urartu and received tribute from Gilzanu. This same expedition travelled beyond Parsua to Namri and Khalman, all in the region of the upper Diyala.

[146] *To (Ma)zamua in 855*: B 158, §§561, 609; B 45, 146, 60–6; B 67, 12f, ii 10–15; B 215, 7, ii 6–9; B 134, 150, 20–6. See above, n. 143.—*To Shubria in 854*: B 158, §562; B 45, 146, 66f, B 67, 13, ii 16–18; B 215, 7, ii 9–12; B 134, 150, 26f; B 118, 56, 44; B 162(d), 36, 11.—*To Nairi in 852*: B 158, §§564, 688, 692; B 45, 146f, 75–8; B 67, 13, ii 34–40; B 215, 8, ii 26–30; B 134, 151, 37–43; B 162(d), 34ff, 1 and 14 (cf. B 45, 55).—For the sake of completeness note the minor campaign of 846 to Mat(te)yatu (cf. B 104, 144f): B 158, §570; B 45, 147f, 98f; B 67, 15, iii 21–3; B 215, 9, iii 10–13; B 118, 54, 34–6.

[147] B 158, §562; B 45, 148, 102–7; B 67, 16, iii 34–57; B 215, 10, iii 26–33; B 134, 41, 5′–10′.

[148] B 158, §584; B 106, 46 + 107, 348 (C^b4, cf. B 104, 140ff).

[149] B 158, §586; B 106, 46 + 107, 348 (C^b4).

[150] *829 B.C.*: B 158, §587; B 106, 46 + 107, 348 (C^b4).—*828 B.C.*: B 158, §§588f; B 106, 46 + 107, 348 (C^b4).

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Nothing is known of the last of these campaigns, that of 827, apart from the entry 'to the Mannaeans' in an eponym chronicle,[151] since no annalistic accounts are preserved after 828. The Urartian campaigns of Shalmaneser reaped immediate benefits. Urartian encroachment upon Assyrian frontiers was kept in check and a good deal of wealth and supplies, particularly horses, was won. The long-term results, however, were quite different, as we shall see.

The invasion of the upper Diyala and the Zagros at the end of the campaign of 828 was not the first time Shalmaneser had entered this region. It had been penetrated on two previous occasions and, as usual, Shalmaneser had pushed beyond the extent of his father's conquests. First, in 843, he secured the fortresses in Zamua and then plundered Allabria, Parsua, Abdadani, and Khaban.[152] He fought and won a pitched battle with Marduk-mudammiq, king of Namri, and plundered his palace. The Assyrians also received tribute from Ellipi in Tugliyash (Tupliyash). On the second expedition, that of 835, Shalmaneser invaded Namri and the king, Yanzu, whom he had appointed to replace the fugitive Marduk-mudammiq, fled, leaving his land at the mercy of the rapacious Assyrians.[153] Moving on to Parsua the Assyrians received without resistance the tribute of twenty-seven kings. Shalmaneser then went down to the lands of the Medes and Kharkhar where he looted, erected a stela, and captured the exiled Yanzu, king of Namri.[154] At this point it is worth noting the first appearance in Assyrian military narratives of two peoples, the Mannaeans and the Medes,[155] who were eventually to become as formidable a threat to Assyria as the Urartians.

Only two campaigns remain to be discussed, those to Babylonia. A significant feature of the reign of Ashurnasirpal II was that he made no incursions into Babylonia and it is a reasonable hypothesis that Shalmaneser would have practised similar restraint if circumstances had permitted. There were treaties between Shalmaneser and the successive Babylonian kings, Nabu-apla-iddina and Marduk-zakir-shumi I;[156] in fact there is a relief on which the Babylonian and Assyrian kings are depicted gripping each other's hand.[157] It is probable that a similar treaty had existed at the time of Ashurnasirpal II. The terms of the treaty with Shalmaneser are unknown but, in the light of the subsequent events, they seem to have included a guarantee of the Babylonian's

[151] B 106, 46 + 107, 348 (C^b4).

[152] B 158, §573; B 67, 16f, iii 58 – iv 25; B 215, 10, iii 33–37; B 172, 12ff.

[153] B 158, §§581, 682; B 134, 155f, 13–18; B 106, 46 + 107, 348 (C^b4). On the route of the march see B 151, I 22f.

[154] Cf. B 54, 200f.

[155] Cf. B 153, 39ff.

[156] *With Nabu-apla-iddina*: Synchronistic History (B 98, Chronicle 21), iii 22–5; cf. B 98, 240b and B 54, 191, n. 1176.—*With Marduk-zakir-shumi*: Synchronistic History, iii 2′–5′; cf. B 98, 286.

[157] IM 65574: B 160, 447ff; cf. B 54, 196 n. 1199, and B 102, 165.

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crown. Be that as it may, Marduk-zakir-shumi's position was challenged by his brother Marduk-bel-usati, who forced a partition of the land. Shalmaneser, although engrossed in his plans for western and northern expansion, would not allow events to take their course in Babylonia without his intervention. In 851 he went to the aid of Marduk-zakir-shumi at the latter's request.[158] The portion of Babylonia under the control of Marduk-bel-usati included the Diyala region and Shalmaneser, crossing the Lesser Zab, invaded this territory and besieged the rebel in Gannanati. The city did not fall and the Assyrians could only destroy the crops and orchards. At the beginning of the next year, 850, the Assyrian followed the same route but arrived at Gannanati only to discover that Marduk-bel-usati had slipped away. Gannanati was taken and the rebel pursued to Arman.[159] The city fell and Marduk-bel-usati was killed in the fighting. The rebellion was suppressed and Shalmaneser proceeded to celebrate and reap the benefits of his intervention. He travelled to Babylon, Borsippa, and Cutha to present offerings to their deities and he regaled the Babylonians with presents at a banquet. Before returning to Assyria he attacked and plundered Chaldaean tribes along the Persian Gulf and the Euphrates.

There is a reasonably clear plan behind the campaigns of Shalmaneser III. The monarch's aim was to concentrate on two fronts, the west and the north, and when he was not campaigning in one area he was usually campaigning in the other. He initiated his expansion in each direction by a bold and extensive campaign early in the reign: to the west as far as the Orontes and the Mediterranean in 858 and to the north right through Urartu from west to east in 856. For some years after this he concentrated on the west and Anatolia until he had established administrative centres in the Euphrates area, the Damascus coalition had crumbled, and he had gained general submission. Then the emphasis was placed heavily on the kingdom of Urartu and, as already suggested, an immediate cause was probably the change of king there. The east, Zamua, Parsua, and Namri, did not enter much into his plans and Babylonia was invaded only to aid a friendly ally regain his kingdom. No campaigns along the Khabur and middle Euphrates are recorded and one may suppose that these areas were now paying tribute without hesitation; there is in fact a record of booty sent by the Sukhu.[160]

The building activities of Shalmaneser were numerous but he did not concentrate on one site as much as Ashurnasirpal had concentrated upon Calah. In his early years Shalmaneser preferred to reside in Nineveh,

[158] *851–850 B.C.*: B 158, §§565f, 622–5, 674, 686, 690; B 45, 147, 78–84; B 37, 40, i 5f; B 67, 13f, ii 41–54; B 215, 8, ii 31–44; B 134, 151, 43–5; B 118, 56, 45–7 and 49; B 162(*a*), 260, r. 1–5; B 162(d), 36, 15 and 21; Synchronistic History, iii 26–5′. Cf. B 98, 240ff and B 54, 193ff.

[159] On the various versions of the place-name see B 98, 242 and B 151, 124ff.

[160] B 158, §592. There is no record in C^b4 of a campaign against the Sukhu; see B 104, 140ff.

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for until his twelfth year almost all campaigns began there; towards the end of his reign his choice fell on Calah where he completed, renovated, or expanded several structures begun by his father. He probably added the administrative wing to the North-West Palace,[161] repaired the wells,[162] and completed the city walls[163] and the Ninurta temple;[164] and he built streets and the Lion Gate,[165] and possibly the Governor's Palace.[166] By far his most ambitious undertaking in this region was the construction of Fort Shalmaneser, the most extensive military emplacement excavated in western Asia.[167] The city Ashur also received much attention. The wall and gates, especially the Craftsman's Gate, were extensively rebuilt, a work which stretched over many years.[168] The temples of Anu and Adad, Sharrat-nipkhi and Ashur received some attention.[169] Miscellaneous objects indicate that some work was also done at Nineveh[170] and the famous bronze gates of Balawat are evidence of work at Imgur-Enlil. Of course buildings were erected in the new provincial centres.[171]

In the latter part of his reign Shalmaneser's grip on the wheel of state was rather loose and eventually insurrection erupted. The facts are these. Beginning in his twenty-seventh year (832) it is openly acknowledged in the royal inscriptions that the campaigns are led by the *turtānu*, Dayyan-Ashur, while the king stays in Calah. Five years later (827) a rebellion breaks out and is not suppressed until several years later by a new king, Shamshi-Adad V. We lack administrative and epistolary sources for the reign which would shed light on these events and any modern interpretation rests upon scanty evidence; nonetheless the analysis offered by Olmstead is plausible. According to him, Dayyan-Ashur, who held the office of *turtānu* for most, if not all, of Shalmaneser's reign, was virtual sovereign during the entire period, and the princes, particularly the crown prince, were naturally jealous of his position. In 832 Dayyan-Ashur's status was further elevated, as is evident from the royal inscriptions, and such presumption was too much for the king's son. A massive revolt was planned and eventually put into effect.[172]

[161] B 160, 86f and 167.

[162] B 160, 150.

[163] B 160, 82.

[164] B 160, 86.

[165] B 160, 83.

[166] B 160, 38ff.

[167] B 160, 369ff.

[168] The minimum termini are 842 (Ass. 9464: B 219, 94) to 833 (B 158, §700). Relevant texts are: B 158, §§673–83, 697–707; B 162(*a*), 215ff, 255f, 389ff; B 215, 3ff. Cf. B 243, 175f.

[169] *Anu-Adad Temple*: B 158, §710; B 37, 42ff.—*Sharrat-nipkhi Temple*: B 162(a), 270f; B 223; B 219, 90f.—*Ashur Temple*: B 162(a), 395f; cf. B 247, 20.—*Miscellaneous from Ashur*: B 172, 12ff and B 232, 75 (two mace-heads); B 158, §709 (cf. B 247, 20).

[170] B 158, §§693f; B 72, 120 and pl. 42, no. 39; B 71, 115 and pl. 89, no. 295; B 71, 113 and pl. 89, no. 302; B 197, 133 ff and plate.

[171] *Harran*: B 146, 222, ii 3f (Nabonidus speaking of Shalmaneser).—*Til-Barsib*: B 609, 159, no. 11; B 607, 196f.—*Tell Billah*: B 231, 11; B 230, 19.—*Tarbiṣu*: B 75, 130, n. 5.—*Tushkha*: B 158, §§594–611.—*Kurba'il*: B 127.

[172] See B 179, 380ff. for the following additional facts. Dayyan-Ashur was *turtānu* as early as

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Apart from the last few years it was a reign characterized by ambitious and successful military aggrandizement behind which lay a fundamental plan of operation. Given the idea of imperialism, now well entrenched in the Assyrian tradition as we shall see in chapter 26, and the circumstances of the time, it was a good plan and well executed. But a flaw in Assyrian administration has become obvious – the possibility of powerful officials gaining quasi-sovereign authority in the realm.

XI. SHAMSHI-ADAD V (823–811 B.C.)

After two long reigns characterized by formidable might, a period of shorter reigns and more modest endeavours is inaugurated with the accession of Shamshi-Adad V. The main sources, which are not abundant for this reign, are two versions of the annals, a letter to a god, a mutilated copy of a treaty, a passage in the Synchronistic History, and an eponym chronicle. Only six of the seven campaigns are narrated in the annals, and although they are numbered consecutively they are not dated. A tentative scheme of dates for the campaigns and the whole reign has, however, been established by a proposed correlation of the eponym chronicle with the annals.[173] According to this scheme, which will be adopted here, the reign falls into three major phases: a period of political confusion (824–820); three campaigns to Nairi (possibly 819, 818, and 815); and four campaigns to Babylonia (814–811).

The political confusion at the end of the reign of Shalmaneser III continued into the reign of Shamshi-Adad V and altogether lasted, according to the eponym chronicle, seven years (826–820). The only preserved narrative of the events is in the annals of Shamshi-Adad V.[174] According to this source Ashur-da'in-apla, another son of Shalmaneser III, instigated a rebellion in the time of his father. He was assisted by twenty-seven cities which included virtually all parts of the empire and even Arbela, Nineveh, and Ashur. Shamshi-Adad concludes the narrative by the boast that he defeated the rebels. In attempting to analyse this extremely succinct narrative one omission among the rebel cities, Calah, stands out. Probably it was held by Shamshi-Adad and, since Shalmaneser showed a preference for Calah in his later years, this suggests that Shamshi-Adad was the aged monarch's choice for succession and that Ashur-da'in-apla was only a pretender. But this is little more than conjecture. Another source from this period is a badly damaged copy of a treaty between Shamshi-Adad V and the Babylonian

Shalmaneser's sixth regnal year (853), as attested in the eponym canon; thus he was roughly the same age as the king (cf. B 180, 347). The crown prince accompanied the king on campaign, as shown by the reliefs. Shalmaneser, in contrast to his father, rarely engaged in fighting (or hunting) himself, as again shown by the reliefs (cf. B 175, 13, n. 15).

[173] See B 104, 140ff.

[174] B 158, §715; B 261, 91.

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king, Marduk-zakir-shumi I.[175] The fact that the Assyrian is obviously the less influential of the two treaty partners gives ground for belief that Shamshi-Adad, faced with a hostile nation, was compelled to make humiliating concessions to the Babylonians to ensure their neutrality or possibly even to gain their active support. But this again is largely surmise. The events of these seven years, their causes and effects, remain shrouded in mystery.

The first two campaigns to Nairi are described very briefly in the annals.[176] On the first Shamshi-Adad claims to have received a tribute of horses and to have conquered a vast territory stretching from the Zagros to the Upper Euphrates and from Kurdistan to the Middle Euphrates. The second campaign was led by the *rab šāqê*, Mutarriṣ-Ashur. It travelled to the 'Upper Sea of the Setting Sun'[177] and again a tribute of horses was won. The third campaign, apparently led by the king, passed through Mount Kullar and ravaged a number of areas as far as the 'Sea of the Setting Sun'.[178] Again horses were taken. On the basis of the preserved narratives these events sound like little more than quick raids to obtain horses for the Assyrian army. At the same time it is possible that Urartu had taken advantage of the rebellion in Assyria to encroach upon Assyrian holdings and this was Shámshi-Adad's response.

The Babylonian campaigns, which occupied the last years of the reign, are a completely new element in Assyrian foreign policy.[179] Shamshi-Adad's father and grandfather had been treaty partners with the Babylonian king and had respected their agreements. Shamshi-Adad had also concluded a treaty with the Babylonian king but not as an equal; circumstances had forced him to accept a secondary role. In this blow to Assyria's pride one may well see the source of trouble and the reason for the four invasions of Babylonia, vengeance. Another factor is the change of throne in Babylonia. At the time of the first invasion a new king, Marduk-balassu-iqbi, was on the throne. Had he refused to sign a treaty with Shamshi-Adad? On each occasion Babylonia was invaded in the east, in the Zagros and East Tigris region, and Elam came to Babylonia's aid.[180] On the third campaign yet another king, Baba-aha-iddina, was on the throne; he was captured and taken prisoner to Ashur. According to our sources, which are all Assyrian, the invasion was a great success; Shamshi-Adad sacrificed to the gods at Cutha, Babylon, and Borsippa, as his father had done; he received tribute from

[175] B 189, 14ff; B 257, 27ff; B 50, 168f; B 54, 204f.

[176] B 158, §§716f; B 261, 91.

[177] See above, n. 143.

[178] B 158, §§718–22; B 261, 91; Ass. 17137*a* (cf. B 219, 107).

[179] B 158, §§723–6; B 261, 91ff, iii 1 – iv 29; B 261, 101ff (letter to a god); Synchronistic History (B 98, Chronicle 21), iii 6′ – iv 14; B 106, 46 + 107, 348 (C^b4, cf. B 104, 140ff). Cf. B 261, 95ff; B 54, 207ff; B 98, 243ff.

[180] On the route, see B 151, 122f.

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Chaldaea; he took a tax from Babylonia; and an agreement on the boundary was reached.

Shamshi-Adad was far too troubled during his short reign to have much time for building activity. He began a palace at Nineveh which his son had to complete, and some of his bricks from that city have been recovered.[181] At Ashur he worked on the temple of its god, for he bears the title 'builder of the temple of Ashur' and some inscribed objects, including a version of the annals, from the site are known.[182] He may have founded a palace at Calah.[183] Shamshi-Adad was buried at Ashur where his inscribed sarcophagus was recovered by the excavators.[184]

It was not a brilliant reign. The confusion of the rebellion, the entanglements with Babylonia, and the Nairi campaigns forced Shamshi-Adad to neglect the west and rulers in that region were emboldened to withhold tribute.[185] If the king had had the good fortune to live longer (as a son of the long-lived Shalmaneser, Shamshi-Adad was probably no youngster when he took the throne) perhaps Assyria would have eventually benefited from his rule. But as matters stand one has the impression that Shamshi-Adad was motivated more by a thirst for revenge than by wisdom.

XII. ADAD-NIRARI III (810–783 B.C.)

Into Adad-nirari's hands passed his father's empire, an empire that despite outward appearances was already in decline. The origin of the weakness that becomes apparent in this period should probably be traced back to the rebellion of 826–820; it was Adad-nirari's fate to see it spread and inaugurate the dark period between the early and late Neo-Assyrian empire. This reign is an enigma due to the nature of our sources. Not a single annalistic text is preserved; in fact only one major royal inscription is known. A great deal of our information about military events comes from provincial texts, the main purpose of which was to record the holdings of governors; this is symbolic of the weakness of the monarchy at this time. In the past some historians have sought the source of the instability in the belief that Adad-nirari was under age when he came to the throne and that his mother, the Semiramis of legendary fame, was co-regent for the first five years. This belief was founded upon a misinterpretation of one text; there is no

[181] B 72, pl. 46, nos. 114 and 119; B 73, 100 and pl. 20, no. 44.

[182] B 158, §§727–9; B 261, 89ff.

[183] The 'Akropolis Palace (AB)': B 160, 289ff. A version of the annals, B 158, §§713–26, comes from Calah. Note also the inscribed ivory found at Fort Shalmaneser: B 160, 596, fig. 576; cf. B 160, 594 and 468.

[184] B 36(b), 39f; B 108, 176.

[185] According to Adad-nirari III: B 168, 60f, 1′–3′; B 238, 145, 14f.

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evidence for a co-regency in contemporary sources nor is there any indication that Adad-nirari was particularly young at his accession.[186] We shall return to Semiramis at the end of this section.

A chronological skeleton of the reign is provided by the Eponym Chronicle where, using the stereotype phrase 'to [such and such place]', the compiler mentions a campaign in every single regnal year.[187] But it is difficult to correlate with the Eponym Chronicle what other details we have about the campaigns and we have no additional information at all about many of the expeditions listed. The campaigns which are otherwise unknown are: eight against the Medes (809, 800, 799, 793, 792, 789, 788, 787), four against Khubushkia (801, 791, 785, 784), two against the Mannaeans (807, 806), and one each against Guzanu (808), Lushia (798), Namri (797), and Kisku (786). The remaining entries in the Eponym Chronicle are possibly all related to campaigns to Syria and Babylonia which are described in other sources. The general description of this king's conquests found in a display text is of limited value.[188] Most of what we know of Adad-nirari's military activity concerns his western campaigns and, in view of the variety and number of campaigns recorded in the Eponym Chronicle, this imbalance must be due to the accident of discovery.

There was definitely more than one campaign to the west, and these campaigns occurred in the first half of the reign, beginning in 805 and possibly ending in 796; but their exact number and date is not certain.[189] One achievement was the reconquest of Arpad which, under its ruler Atarshumki, had incited its neighbours to rebel against Shamshi-Adad V and withhold tribute.[190] There is record of boundary agreement between Arpad and Hamath which was arbitrated by the Assyrian *turtānu* Shamshi-ilu;[191] Assyria also acted as intermediary in a similar case between Kummukhu and Gurgumu during Adad-nirari's reign.[192] Another major achievement was the siege and capture of Damascus.[193] It will be remembered that this city had not fallen to Shalmaneser in 841. In addition to receiving tribute from Damascus,[194] one inscription

[186] Cf. B 220 and B 238, 147.

[187] C^b1, C^b2, C^b10 (B 245, 428ff) and C^b4 (B 106, 46+107, 348); note that the last is a corrupt text: see B 105, 21.

[188] B 158, §739; cf. B 238, 148f.

[189] B 156; B 81; B 219, 112, 114, 116; B 168; B 164.

[190] B 238, 145, 11*b*–18*a* (Saba'a Stela); B 185, 142, 4–6*a* (Rimah Stela); B 168, 58, 3–9; 61. See further B 164.

[191] Antakya Stela (unpublished, see below, p. 399, n. 218).

[192] Pazarcık Stela (unpublished; see below, p. 399, n. 218).

[193] B 158, §740. See B 238, 148f. (Nimrud Slab); B 238, 145, 18*b*–20 (Saba'a Stela); B 185, 142, 6*b*–12 (Rimah Stela); B 117.

[194] Cf. B 238, 144. Note also the inscribed ivories of Hazael: B 60, 135ff (cf. B 569, 41); A. R. Millard in B 160, 598f.

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records that tribute was paid by Joash of Samaria, and by Tyre and Sidon. Finally it is recorded that Adad-nirari reached the Mediterranean, erected a stela at Arvad, and ascended the Lebanon to cut cedars.

Adad-nirari also campaigned in Babylonia. Here again we have no precise information on the number and dates of the campaigns but the middle or later part of the reign seems the likelier time.[195] According to a brief passage in a royal inscription the kings of Chaldaea became vassals and tribute was imposed upon them; Adad-nirari received the 'remnant offering' (*rīḫātu*) from Babylon, Borsippa, and Cutha.[196] The beginning of a relevant section in the Synchronistic History is broken but there is a reference to bringing back abducted peoples and imposing taxes upon them.[197] This is followed by a statement about an agreement with Babylonia regarding the boundary.

In brief the major foreign achievements of Adad-nirari's reign, on the basis of the scanty evidence, seem to have been the continued submission of Chaldaea, a treaty relationship with Babylonia, the suppression of the Arpad rebellion, the fall of Damascus, the vassalship of Hamath, and the payment of tribute by Israel, Phoenicia, and Nairi.[198] If this were all the information available we would conclude that Assyria was enjoying a revival of power during this reign. But other evidence and a glance beyond these times suggest that this was not the case. It is a fact that the reign of Adad-nirari III was followed by a period of drastic decline in Assyrian might, a decline which persisted for almost half a century. A prominent phenomenon in this dark age, as we shall see, is the emergence of powerful provincial governors who act as virtual monarchs in their own districts, although most profess allegiance to the Assyrian crown. This phenomenon is present already in the time of Adad-nirari III.

One of the most powerful men of the period was Nergal-erish (*floruit* 803–775).[199] He was the governor of the province of Raṣappa, and in 797 the province of Khindanu was added to his domain by royal decree.[200] Some time after this date his authority was extended much farther to include the entire part of the Jezirah bounded by the Wadi Tharthar, the Khabur, and the middle Euphrates. Lists of Nergal-erish's holdings are included in two inscriptions found within the realm of his ancient domain.[201] The documents have the form of royal inscriptions

[195] Cf. B 54, 216ff; B 167, 448; B 219, 116; B 238, 150.

[196] B 158, §741; cf. B 238, 148f.

[197] Synchronistic History (B 98, Chronicle 21), iv 15–22.

[198] B 185, 142, 12; B 238, 144.

[199] On the reading of the name see B 238, 147, n. 32. He was eponym for 803 and again for 775; cf. the unpublished mace-head mentioned in B 260, 318.

[200] For an earlier discussion of this governor see B 176, 128ff, B 74, 113ff and B 201, 115ff. Cf. B 238, 148 and, for a different view, B 219, 113.

[201] B 238, 144ff; B 185, 141f. Note also B 168, 57ff (Sheikh Ḥammad Stela).

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of Adad-nirari III although the mighty governor has a prominent place in the texts. In each inscription the military activities described mainly concern the western campaigns and it is a reasonable surmise that Nergal-erish played an active role on these expeditions.[202] The rise to power of Nergal-erish was not an unusual occurrence in these times; we know more about him thanks to the chance of discovery but there were other officials of great influence. Another such was Bel-tarṣi-iluma, governor of Calah and eponym of 797. At Calah were found his archives[203] and inscribed statues[204] dedicated by him to the god Nabu for the life of Adad-nirari and Semiramis. The *turtānu* Shamshi-ilu also played a major role in this period as we shall see in the next section.[205] It was a time when a few individuals amassed large estates. A number of contemporary royal land grants are known and a prominent recipient was Shamash-naṣir, the *abarakku* of Ashur.[206] Documents found at Guzanu (Tell Halaf) record land grants which are largely to the governor of Guzanu, Mannu-ki-Ashur, who was the eponym of 793.[207] The concentration of tremendous wealth and power in the hands of a small number of dignitaries boded evil for the institution of monarchy.

The above evidence, the variety and multiplicity of which precludes accident, illustrates the weakness of Adad-nirari in actually abetting the decline of monarchical power by royal land grants.[208] Another facet is the position of Semiramis, the mother of Adad-nirari. Legend has arrayed this woman with a brilliance which dazzles the eyes.[209] Sammuramat, to use the contemporary form of her name,[210] was the wife of Shamshi-Adad V and the mother of Adad-nirari III.[211] There is no evidence either for or against the common belief that she was a Babylonian princess.[212] The existence of an inscription of Semiramis on one of the row of stelae at Ashur is curious but not unparalleled; some other stelae in the same group bear inscriptions of women.[213] It is an

[202] Cf. B 185, 152f; B 219, 113; B 238, 147.

[203] Cf. B 204, 9f. [204] B 158, §§744f.

[205] Note also Shamash-kumua, a royal eunuch who purchased land (B 204, 14f), and Mushezib-Ninurta, who was governor of Calah either in 817 (Shamshi-Adad V) or in 808; see B 204, 9 and n. 23. [206] B 201, nos. 1–6 and 27–30, and cf. nos. 18, 32, and 42–5.

[207] B 89, 1ff.

[208] A curious document, the interpretation and date of which are very uncertain, is ND 3483 (B 278, 148). A date of 783 has been suggested in B 85, 104, nos 99–100, and 113, no. 26 (cf. B 544, 169) but this can only be confirmed by collation. Another text, ND 3414 = BM 132009 (B 278, 139), which is said to be by the same scribal hand (see *ibid.*), is also of uncertain date; I have examined the original but would not hazard any reading of the eponym's name, which is badly blurred. If ND 3483, a list of deliveries to the 'substitute king' (*šar pūḫi*), does date from the last regnal year of Adad-nirari III, this would raise suspicion regarding the manner in which the king's rule was brought to an end.

[209] See B 83 and cf. B 212. [210] On the name see B 220, 513 n. 2.

[211] B 158, §731. On the title 'queen' (*ša ekalli*), see most recently B 220, 519 n. 33.

[212] Cf. B 54, 217 n. 1360. [213] Cf. B 220, 519f.

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indication, nonetheless, that she had some special influence, and this is corroborated by her inclusion immediately after Adad-nirari in the Pazarcık Stela (above, n. 192) and in the dedicatory inscription of Bel-tarṣi-iluma mentioned earlier. Of course further corroboration is found in the fact of the late legend which has its origin in this historical figure. Behind these tales there must have been a woman with a presence, an aura, an almost superhuman quality. But apart from discrediting the more obvious extravagances of the late legend, it is still impossible for us to describe and appreciate her personality and her influence.

Those who have postulated a Babylonian origin for Semiramis have commonly gone on to assume that she was responsible for the great importance of the Babylonian god Nabu in her son's reign. But this phenomenon was not isolated; Babylonian influence on Assyrian religion and culture is well attested. In the ninth century one can point to such factors as the presence of a Babylonian scribe in Shalmaneser III's court,[214] the use of the Babylonian script in a royal inscription of Shamshi-Adad V,[215] and the occurrence of the name of the Babylonian goddess Zarpanitum in the name of a daughter of Adad-nirari III.[216] Nonetheless, Nabu's position was one of unusual prominence and he enjoyed it as early as the reign of Ashurnasirpal II, who, as already noted, had erected a temple to him, of which, however, no remains have been recovered. In contrast, the architectural remains of Adad-nirari III's Nabu temple found at Calah are impressively preserved.[217] Inscribed objects of this period discovered in the ruins of the building include the statues of Bel-tarṣi-iluma mentioned above. Their inscriptions end significantly: 'O man, who shall come after (me), trust in Nabu! Do not trust in another god.'[218] A temple for Nabu was also built at Nineveh. The foundation was laid, as we know from the Eponym Chronicle, in 788 and Nabu took possession in 787. Bricks from the temple have been recovered.[219]

There is no suggestion in our ancient sources that Adad-nirari neglected Assyrian deities while favouring Nabu; on the contrary, the cult of the state god Ashur enjoyed prosperity at this time. There are preserved a number of royal decrees concerning offerings for his temple at Ashur.[220] In addition to building the two temples to Nabu, Adad-nirari

[214] See B 136, 5 and n. 21 (texts re-edited in B 119, nos. 347 and 502), and cf. B 54, 191 n. 1176.

[215] B 206, I 29–31; cf. B 219, 106.

[216] B 201, 56f, no. 28, 3′. Note also B 204, no. 15, 43.

[217] See B 160, 231ff; note in particular the high platform of phase E (pp. 261 and 283).

[218] B 158, §§744f; cf. B 160, 260f. On the other inscribed objects see B 160, 269f and the (unpublished) clay hands mentioned in B 227, 252.

[219] B 72, pl. 44, no. 66 = B 73, pl. 20, no. 48.

[220] B 201, nos. 42–5 and 54, and cf. nos. 46–8 and 51.

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constructed palaces at both Calah[221] and Nineveh[222] and he carried out extensive repairs to Fort Shalmaneser.[223]

Externally the reign displays all the usual trappings of a successful period in Assyrian history: numerous and apparently successful military campaigns and major building projects. But the authority of the monarch was in fact being eroded by a few strong individuals both in the palace and in the provinces. Some of these men not only led Assyrian armies on campaign, a practice that our sources began to notice as early as Shalmaneser III, but actually left records of their deeds in the provinces, rather in the style and form of Assyrian royal stelae. The king was unable to check these encroachments upon his prerogatives and a period of obscurity, which was to last for decades, set in.

XIII. THE INTERVAL (782–745 B.C.)

A very clear trend towards decline was observed during the reign of Adad-nirari III and this decline reached its lowest point in the subsequent period, the reigns of Shalmaneser IV (782–773), Ashur-dan III (772–755), and Ashur-nirari V (754–745). The enemies and problems which beset Assyria were present earlier; only now these factors became more pronounced and serious. The sources for this era are few and sketchy but there is enough to grasp the general picture and to convince us that the very lack of sources is evidence of the troubles of the time.

Assyria's chief foe was Urartu, a relative new-comer on the west Asian scene and a kingdom which was now entering its most successful and ambitious period. The Eponym Chronicle records six campaigns against Urartu (781–778, 776, 774), the last including Namri, during the time of Shalmaneser IV. Some and possibly all of these expeditions were actually led by Shamshi-ilu, the powerful *turtānu* whom we met in the reign of Adad-nirari III and to whom we shall return in this section.[224] The success which Shamshi-ilu claimed for these campaigns was ephemeral. Although no further direct reference to Urartu is found in Assyrian sources of the age, Urartian sources reveal that this was a period of intensive endeavour on Assyria's northern border and there is an Urartian royal inscription in which Sarduri II claims to have

[221] A palace due south of the North-West Palace was excavated by Layard (see B 148, 14f and cf. B 158, §§738–43). A second palace was found in the north-west corner of the outer town (see B 159, 153ff and cf. B 160, 326 n. 5 and the relevant inscription ND 3499 in B 278, 149). This king worked also on the site where the 'Burnt Palace' would eventually be built (see B 160, 225f), and probably on the quay-wall built by Ashurnasirpal II (B 160, 81).

[222] He completed the palace of Shamshi-Adad V: B 73, pl. 19, no. 39 (cf. B 71, 115, no. Y1). There is also some indication that he did some construction at Ashur: see B 219, 118.

[223] See B 160, 369ff.

[224] C^b1, C^b2, C^b10 (B 245, 430ff) and C^b4 (B 106, 46 + 107, 348); B 145, 169; B 609, 141ff.

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defeated Ashur-nirari V.[225] To the west Shalmaneser IV seems to have enjoyed some success; in 775 he went to the 'Cedar Mountain', according to the Eponym Chronicle, and in 773 Shamshi-ilu led the army to Damascus, received tribute from its ruler Khadianu, and on the way back confirmed the boundary established in the reign of Adad-nirari III with Kummukhu.[226] As with the Urartian frontier, however, subsequent events are less impressive.

In 772, the first regnal year of Ashur-dan III, the Eponym Chronicle records a campaign against Khatarikka, near Aleppo.[227] This is an indication that Assyria's area of influence was diminishing. Two further campaigns to Khatarikka are recorded in the same source for 765 and 755. It is possible that Ashur-dan III is the Assyrian king referred to in a Syro-Hittite hieroglyphic text.[228] In the same reign a rebellion broke out much closer to home, in Guzanu, but was suppressed (Eponym Chronicle for 759–758). A major centre of disturbance in the west was Arpad and the city Paqarkhubuni: Shalmaneser III, Shamshi-Adad V, and Adad-nirari III all had trouble with this region and during the reign of Ashur-nirari V the Eponym Chronicle records a campaign against Arpad (754).[229] A fragmentary copy, in Akkadian, of a treaty between Mati'ilu of Arpad and Ashur-nirari of Assyria, which presumably concerns this campaign, has been preserved.[230] Almost all of the surviving portion contains curses against Mati'ilu, who is represented by a sacrificial lamb in the accompanying ritual, in case of violation of the treaty. Mati'ilu also concluded a treaty with Bar-ga'ya of KTK and this is preserved in Aramaic.[231] Yet another treaty fragment, in Akkadian, may date to this reign; since Khatti and Urartu are mentioned the locale seems to be Syria.[232] Briefly stated, it is manifest that Assyria was losing her hold over the west.[233]

The time was ripe for Assyria's foes to take advantage, and not least among these opportunists was Babylonia. According to the Eponym Chronicle, some military effort in the direction of Babylonia was attempted by Shalmaneser IV and Ashur-dan III but with little apparent success: note the campaigns against Gannanati (771, 767), Marad (770), and the Itu'u (782, 777, 769). More illuminating is the Synchronistic

[225] B 321, no. 156 DI + DII: 8–10. Note the campaign 'against the Medes' (766 B.C.) and two campaigns 'against Namri' (749–748) in the Eponym Chronicle. A treaty fragment (see below, n. 232), possibly from the time of Ashur-nirari V, seems to provide for the surrender to Assyria of Urartian emissaries.

[226] Pazarcık Stela (see above, n. 192). Note also the Eponym Chronicle for 773. On the Til-Barsib lions (B 609, 141ff) Shamshi-ilu bears the title 'governor of the land of Khatti'; see below, pp. 404f.

[227] Cf. B 814, 449 n. 108; B 19, 418f; and B 569, 42f.

[228] Cf. B 112, 72f.

[229] Cf. B 168, 59 and B 164.

[230] B 158, §§749–60; B 208, 532f.

[231] B 599, 659ff. See below, p. 402.

[232] B 166, 174.

[233] Cf. B 603, 239f. See below, p. 408.

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History, which was composed some time during this period or the last days of Adad-nirari III. The document castigates Babylonia for repeated violations in the past of boundary agreements in the east Tigris area; the author is obviously attacking the Babylonians for current violations and threatening them with Assyrian vengeance.[234] It was, at least for the moment, an empty threat.[235]

A sign of the times is the number of years in the Eponym Chronicle where the stereotype phrase 'in the land' is used to show that no campaign is recorded. No such entry appears during the reign of Shalmaneser IV but there are four for Ashur-dan III (768, 764, 757, 756) and five for the ten years of Ashur-nirari V (753, 752, 751, 750, 747). Even more telling is the number of domestic rebellions noted in the same source: there was rebellion in Ashur (763–762), in Arrapkha (761–760), and in Calah (746). In the light of this it should not surprise us that there is very little evidence of building activity on the part of the monarchs. Shalmaneser IV seems to have done some construction in and near Ashur[236] and Ashur-dan III did some work on the temple of Ashur at Ashur,[237] but there is no record of any building by Ashur-nirari V. On the other hand, as we shall see, powerful officials and governors did do some building.

The rise in Assyria of influential individuals who exercised almost absolute authority within their large domains is a phenomenon characteristic of the age; the beginnings of this have already been noted. Nergal-erish, whose career has been described under Adad-nirari III, was still in office at the time of Shalmaneser IV. Shamshi-ilu, the *turtānu*, was one of the most powerful men of the time and he served under every sovereign from Adad-nirari III to Ashur-nirari V.[238] His sphere of activity focused on Syria, where he had the virtual authority of a king, although in inscriptions which he left in the region he generally paid lip service to the Assyrian monarchs. According to one of these texts, from the time of Adad-nirari III, he arbitrated the boundary between Arpad and Hamath.[239] Another, from the reign of Shalmaneser IV, narrates the campaign to Damascus of 773 and the confirmation of the border with Kummukhu,[240] both events described earlier. A third inscription describes his campaign against Argishti I of Urartu, to which reference has been made above. An inscription of Shamshi-ilu on monumental lions found at Kar-Shalmaneser (Til-Barsib) describes the

[234] Cf. B 98, 51ff.

[235] On Assyro-Babylonian relations in this period see B 54, 218ff.

[236] See B 36(a), 21 and cf. B 219, 120. Note also B 158, §56 (cf. B 48, 27). Cf. further the offerings for various temples and palaces by various kings, including possibly Shalmaneser IV (B 201, 107ff, no. 54 i 9′).

[237] B 80.

[238] For an older treatment of this man see B 828. Cf. B 241, 172ff.

[239] Antakya Stela (see above, n. 191).

[240] Pazarcık Stela (see above, n. 192).

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same event.[241] It is significant that this last source has the form of a royal inscription though no Assyrian monarch is mentioned.[242] The implication is that Shamshi-ilu now regarded himself as independent.

Another name to be reckoned with at this time was that of Bel-kharran-beli-uṣur, the palace herald who flourished during the period from the reign of Shalmaneser IV to that of Tiglath-pileser III. A stela of this man, found at Tell Abta (just north of Hatra), has the form of a royal inscription but Bel-kharran-beli-uṣur's name appears before that of the Assyrian king![243] The royal name originally inscribed was that of Shalmaneser (IV); later the name of Tiglath-pileser (III) was written over it. The text describes the foundation of a new city, named Dur-Bel-kharran-beli-uṣur, and it was declared a 'free' city, not by the king but by the same Bel-kharran-beli-uṣur. Yet another great figure of the age was Shamash-resha-uṣur, governor of Sukhu and Mari. It is unlikely that this man would have recognized any superior.[244]

In sum, this was one of the dimmer periods in Assyria's history. The empire's frontiers rapidly dwindled and its rulers were as concerned about boundary agreements and disputes as they were about military expeditions. It was to be the task of Tiglath-pileser III to reaffirm Assyria's territorial claims against her foreign foes and to put down the officials and governors who had profited from the turmoil.

XIV. CONCLUSION

In the preceding pages we have traced the military fortunes of Assyria and noted the great building enterprises. These are the matters about which we are best informed because the Assyrians wanted it so; they boasted to posterity of such deeds. Later a chapter on Assyrian civilization will be devoted to a different view and there we shall discuss the political, economic, and social structure of the state; subjects about which the Assyrians did not deliberately write for future ages. Before leaving the chronological treatment of the early Neo-Assyrian Empire, however, we may note some salient features.

Assyrian foreign policy was in general outline obvious and straightforward. In early days the city-state Ashur had either to fight or

[241] See above, n. 224.

[242] Cf. B 219, 121.

[243] B 158, §§823–7.

[244] B 268, no. 4. Sin-eṭir, a eunuch and scribe of the time of Shalmaneser IV, owned considerable tracts of land as we know from his recovered archive; see B 204, 14. Bel-ilaya, governor of Arrapkha and *limu* of 769, dedicated a mace-head to Nergal (B 172, 14). Note also the eponym stela of Aplaya (768) from Ashur: B 38, no. 34 (cf. B 87, 8f). There is a document dated in the *limu* of King Ashur-dan III (771), ND 210(a), published in B 277, 188; see B 204, no. 54. An inscribed stone fragment (B 76) seems to be the remains of a record of a royal land-grant to a private individual; 'Ashur-nirari, king of Assyria' is mentioned and may well be the fifth king of that name.

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succumb to hostile neighbours. But very early this defensive policy evolved into an aggressive attitude that found expression in militarism and diplomacy.[245] In the period covered by this chapter offensive militarism was standard procedure; an Assyrian king was expected to campaign annually. This idea evolves *pari passu* with the development of the royal annals and the regular entry in the Eponym Chronicle of the annual campaigns. The ninth century also witnesses the birth of a new foreign policy, that of provincial administration of conquered regions. The idea would not be worked out systematically until a later age but at least the Assyrians had begun to realize that there must be a better way to run an empire than by sending a large army into the field every year.

The primary motivation behind Assyria's foreign policy was originally defensive, and this continued to be an elementary principle in times of trouble such as the first half of the eighth century. But in good times the moving spirit was economic. In the royal inscriptions the kings boast of the 'tribute' and 'booty' which they have gained from conquered and intimidated peoples. Apart from supplies and animals for the army, the goods mentioned are usually building materials and luxury items.[246] This was not the sole aim and benefit of the campaigns, however, for large numbers of people were brought back to Assyria. They supplied the labour force for the ambitious building enterprises and they also worked in the fields, for the increasing population made greater and greater demands on the agricultural land.[247] The influx of vast quantities of foreigners and especially of Aramaeans wrought a major change in the ethnic and cultural milieu of the Assyrian state proper, a fact already noted in this chapter in the discussion of the Aramaic language.

The age is characterized by a strong sense of tradition. Though Assyrians of all periods were steeped in their past and proud of the achievements of their ancestors, this is particularly so in the tenth and ninth centuries in contrast to the later Sargonid era. The monarchs of our age bear great historical names such as Adad-nirari and Shalmaneser. Indeed, there is not a single example of a sovereign with a new name, a contrast to the opposite trend among the Sargonids. The adoption of Middle Assyrian nomenclature is indicative of a feeling that they were re-creating an old empire that was still rightfully theirs. Successful conquerors of the period boasted of regaining territory which some enemy had seized in the interval between the middle and new empires.

What brought Assyria to such a low point at the end of the period

[245] Cf. B 235, 37.

[246] Cf. B 121; B 203, 217; B 235, 37.

[247] See B 284. For a discussion of how large a population the land could support, see B 174, 43ff.

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covered by this chapter? The whole problem of the inherent weakness of Assyrian policy will be discussed in chapter 26, but over and above this two specific causes can be cited in this instance. The root of one cause can be traced to the long rebellion at the end of the reign of Shalmaneser III and the beginning of the reign of Shamshi-Adad V. Thereafter Assyria was forced more and more into a defensive policy, due, no doubt in part, to weakness in the monarchy. The second cause is that Assyria's foes were quick to take advantage and, unluckily for Assyria, there was an especially new and virile enemy on the border, the kingdom of Urartu.

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CHAPTER 7

BABYLONIA *c.* 1000–748 B.C.

J. A. BRINKMAN

I. INTRODUCTION

From the fifteenth to the thirteenth centuries B.C., Babylonia participated actively in the cosmopolitan life of Western Asia. Babylonian monarchs of the Kassite dynasty enjoyed widespread diplomatic, commercial, and cultural contacts with Egypt, Syria-Palestine, and Khatti. Royal messengers and merchant caravans plied the roads between the courts of the 'great kings' in Amarna, Thebes, Boğazköy, Babylon, Dur-Kurigalzu, and later Ashur; and many of the royal families further strengthened their ties by diplomatic marriage. But the decline or collapse about 1200 B.C. of the major powers surrounding the eastern end of the Mediterranean (notably Egypt and Khatti), followed a century later by devastating Aramaean invasions, seriously debilitated the Babylonian and Assyrian states. Before the end of the eleventh century, the Aramaeans controlled a substantial portion of Western Asia, including southern Syria, the important middle Euphrates trade route, and the western reaches of Babylonia and Assyria.

By the year 1000 B.C., the political and economic horizons of Babylonia had narrowed considerably. The country found itself hemmed in, especially by the Aramaeans on the west and north. For the opening decades of the tenth century, no contacts are attested even with Assyria and Elam, Babylonia's closest neighbours. Babylonian history during the first quarter of the first millennium B.C. may be characterized as a period of obscurity or 'dark age', with the land frequently overrun by foreign invaders and with the central government often unable to assert its jurisdiction in many areas. Little source material has survived from these turbulent times, and this little is sometimes quite difficult to date. Nevertheless in these centuries, which

* Dates used in this chapter are inclusive, unless express statement is made to the contrary. As is customary in most historical works, year dates given simply as '975' actually stand for 975/974 in the Julian calendar, since the Babylonian New Year usually fell during the equivalent of our March or April. In accordance with Babylonian custom, regnal dates for monarchs are considered to begin with the first full year of reign and exclude the accession year; thus Nabu-mukin-apli, whose reign is listed as 978–943, would have come to the throne sometime in 979. The chronology to be followed here is that established in B 54, 37ff, with adjustments for the early tenth century as indicated in B 55, 310 and n. 20.

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correspond to the early florescence of the Iron Age in much of Western Asia, noteworthy movements and trends in Babylonia can be discerned, albeit dimly. Frequent shifts of dynasty and inadequate administrative control over the country reflect the continuing weakness of the monarchy and central government. The enhanced political and religious role of the major cities in north-western Babylonia can be judged by the growth of their privileges and exemptions, often in direct proportion to the ineffectiveness of the king. For long periods of time, the country was economically isolated as important trade routes were blocked, especially those to the west along the Euphrates and to the south at the head of the Persian Gulf. The geographical movements of the major tribal groups around Babylonia and their shifts of political allegiance were also significant: the loosening of ties with the Kassites, who had been closely linked with the country for almost a millennium and who had ruled it for about half that time; the influx of numerous Aramaeans and their often disruptive impact on the land; the quiet arrival of the Chaldaeans, who were to provide many vigorous monarchs for Babylonia, to revive the languishing Persian Gulf trade, and to offer long-standing resistance to Assyrian imperial ambitions from the north. Important in Babylonian cultural life were the rise of the god Nabu to a more influential position in the pantheon and the survival of literary and scientific traditions in the scholarly community of scribes.

For the ancient historian, who traditionally relies on written sources for the main outlines of his presentation, this period offers a disappointing dearth of material. To date, fewer than sixty texts are known which originated in Babylonia during these two and a half centuries. Of these, more than thirty are very short inscriptions on 'Luristan bronzes', which usually bear one or two lines of text giving the name of the king or a private person and sometimes his title and genealogy; two-thirds of even these jejune inscriptions duplicate one another. There are in addition thirteen legal and economic texts, including *kudurru* stelae and royal grants; from the historical point of view, these are perhaps the most informative of contemporary documents, providing insights into the political and economic vicissitudes of the time. The other inscriptions are a heterogeneous collection: a royal building text on a brick,[1] a small fragment of a Babylonian–Assyrian royal treaty, two short possession texts on stone weights, two brief seal-legends, a lengthy but damaged votive building text written in the name of a local governor, and a short list of temple offerings. There is little literary material, but what there is reflects the main political trends of the age. The Erra Epic,[2] which was probably composed at

[1] This inscription was never read properly, and the brick itself is now missing. The text was published in B 253, 78 and pl. XXV fig. 2 (photo and unverified translation).

[2] B 63.

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this time, portrays the devastation wrought by the Sutian (Aramaean) invaders from the west. Another literary work, which may also have been written during these years, is the 'Advice to a Prince' (*Fürstenspiegel*),[3] which sketches the privileges and exemptions from royal jurisdiction that citizens of Babylonian religious centres had come to enjoy – at the expense of the monarch. The bulk of traditional political history for the period must be painstakingly reconstructed from later king lists and chronicles, which provide only limited coverage for the age, and from passages in contemporary Assyrian inscriptions, which present useful, if sometimes distorted, accounts of many military and diplomatic encounters between the two lands.

Archaeological sources are even more meagre. Architectural remains which may belong to this time are usually minor repairs on older structures, with no inscription left to record the identity of the repairer. (In fact, no buildings have yet been excavated in Babylonia which can be dated with certainty to the time of any ruler between 1046 and 722 B.C.) Archaeologists conducting settlement-pattern surveys in southern Iraq have had little success in establishing diagnostic sherds as ceramic indices of the age and have generally come to interpret these centuries as the low point of urban settlement in Babylonia during historical times.

Because available sources are scanty and their information often of little historical value, the presentation here – in an effort to achieve balance and make an attempt at writing history (rather than offering merely a disjointed catalogue of discrete data) – will occasionally focus on areas of present ignorance: to show in a sense what we should know before we can expect to understand the history of Babylonia during this age. Because many of the conclusions in the following pages will perforce be drawn from negative or very scattered evidence, the reader should be aware that the picture sketched is more than usually hypothetical and hence subject to change as investigations continue. This preliminary cautionary statement should be understood as underlying most of the following reconstruction, so that the reader may be spared a text heavily laden with qualifying dubitative adverbs ('perhaps', 'maybe', and the like).

The rest of the chapter will focus on the history of the period, giving first the historical background (geographical, ethnic, cultural, and institutional) and then a series of chronological narratives sketching the major phases of the era.

[3] B 137, 110ff.

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II. THE BACKGROUND OF BABYLONIAN HISTORY IN THE EARLY FIRST MILLENNIUM: GEOGRAPHYY, PEOPLES, CULTURE, INSTITUTIONS

The political boundaries of Babylonia – always difficult for us to determine with a satisfactory degree of precision – fluctuated considerably during the period under consideration. At their greatest extent they reached from at least Dur-Kurigalzu and Sippar in the north-west and from just below the Lesser Zab in the north-east to Ur in the south, and from the cultivated areas along the right bank of the Euphrates in the west to the foothills, plains, and marshes flanking the Tigris in the east. This vast territory was probably never all under the firm control of the central government at any one time.

The political frontiers of Babylonia offered no formidable natural barriers and so were highly vulnerable to foreign infiltration or attack. The great desert bordering the Euphrates to the west and south served as a wide funnel channelling semi-nomadic populations (such as Aramaeans) into Babylonia, especially into the north-western sections of the land. The marshes in the south were easy to penetrate from Elam, the Persian Gulf, or the Arabian peninsula. Peoples from the eastern foothills could readily descend into the land; but the same hill country served to provide a measure of security for the Kassites when they eventually asserted their independence from Babylonia. The Assyrians too had relatively easy access to Babylonia, especially to its north-eastern section, and had only to cross or to bypass the relatively low-lying Jebel Ḥamrin to reach major urban centres in the Babylonian heartland. (The route from Assyria along the Tigris seems to have been little used for military purposes at this time.)

The dominant physical features of the Babylonian landscape, unlike those of most other Near Eastern countries of the age, were not necessarily the same in antiquity as they are today. In the lower Mesopotamian flood plain, the Tigris and Euphrates rivers ran through beds built up from deposited silt, often above the level of the plain. At the time of maximum flow in the spring, an unusually heavy volume of water could force the rivers to break through their high banks, to flood large areas of the surrounding plain, and to seek a lower natural course at some distance from the previous bed. Such often dramatic shifts in the course of the Tigris or Euphrates have occurred in both ancient and modern times. The relocation of the rivers doubtless caused a corresponding transference of cities and of the settled population of the land, which were dependent on the river-canal networks not only for irrigation but also for much of the inter-city transport vital to ancient trade. Settlement-pattern surveys in southern Iraq suggest that

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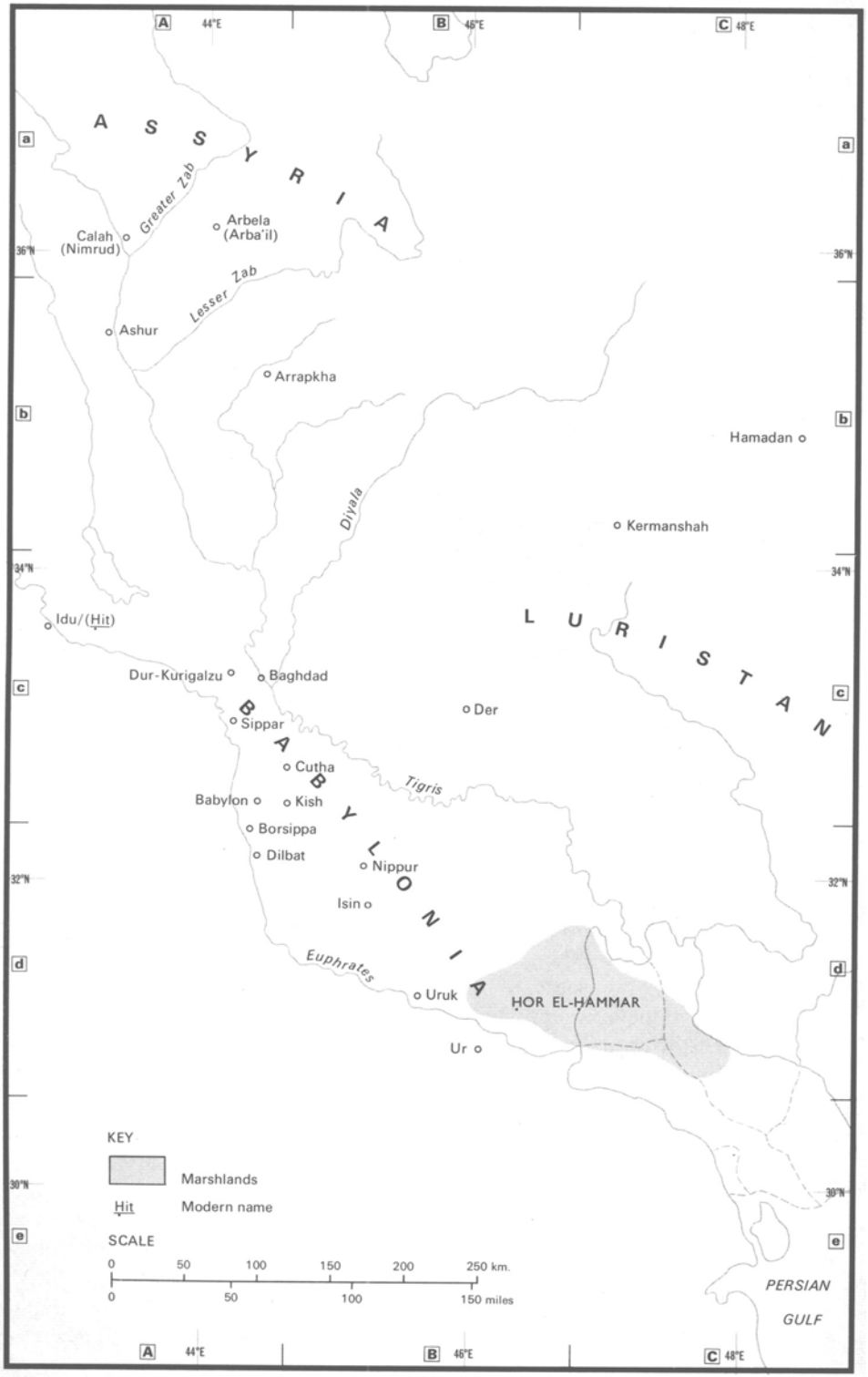

Map 12. Babylonia and environs, *c.* 1000–748 B.C.

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the main channel of the Euphrates may have shifted drastically westward at some point in the late second or early first millennium B.C. and that the course of the river, which had been running through Kish and Nippur, changed and began to flow through Babylon. It is unfortunate that we are unable at present to shed more light on this development, for its impact on contemporary life must have been profound and it could have been a major factor leading to the economic and political decline of Nippur which set in not too long after 1225.

Another significant gap in our geographical knowledge relates to the area in southern Babylonia called the 'Sealand'. Here, in the region that corresponds roughly to the modern Ḥor el-Ḥammar marshes, there was in antiquity (no later than 700 B.C. and probably much earlier) a relatively large area of swamp which served as a refuge for anti-Assyrian forces and provided a base for tribesmen preying on their more sedentary neighbours. Regrettably, we do not know the extent of this marshy region, which probably varied from one time to another. More important, we have little idea how prominent a feature of the landscape these swamps may have been in the centuries preceding 700. Such knowledge is crucial to understanding the background of the rise of the Chaldaean tribes in the early first millennium, a rise that took place almost undocumented until 850 (at which point these groups are mentioned as already well established in southern Babylonia and as worthy of the attention of an Assyrian army expedition).

The heartland of Babylonia, located on the flat plains between the Tigris and Euphrates, had few natural resources other than its fertile soil, which had to be made productive by irrigation. During politically stable times, when massive irrigation works could be mounted and efficiently managed, the land (where not affected by salinization or overworked by previous generations) was capable of producing substantial agricultural surpluses for export and could support numerous flocks of sheep and goats, which supplied raw materials for a thriving textile trade. For metal, stone, and even roofing timber for larger structures, the Babylonians had to rely on imports. The geographical position of Babylonia, astride the great Euphrates trade route linking the Persian Gulf with Syria and ultimately with the Mediterranean, allowed the country not only to obtain many of its needs through trade but even, in periods of stability, to prosper from the transhipment of luxury goods through its territory. Connecting trade routes (to Assyria along the Tigris and to Iran along the Baghdad–Diyala–Kermanshah–Hamadan road) also afforded outlets for Babylonian agricultural and textile products and access to additional metal and stone materials.

The free flow of Babylonian trade was interrupted during the late second and early first millennia B.C. Food shortages in the eleventh

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century reduced crops available for export, and massive eastward movements of Aramaean tribes blocked the trade route along the middle Euphrates and interrupted communication with Assyria along the Tigris. Babylonian trade movements of the tenth century can be traced only along the eastern Kermanshah–Hamadan road. Trade revived somewhat in the course of the following century; by this time the principal depots around the head of the Persian Gulf in southern Babylonia were Chaldaean, while the middle Euphrates remained in the hands of Aramaeans (who in the meantime had aligned themselves with the Babylonians against the Assyrians). Babylonia was able to achieve moderate prosperity once more; but the Chaldaeans became significantly wealthy, especially from trade in luxury materials such as ivory, ebony, and gold. Babylonia suffered political reverses at the end of the ninth century, and the land and its trade were stabilized again only after the Chaldaeans had assumed control of the central government in the early eighth century.

In many ways, the Chaldaeans and other foreign tribal groups hold the key to understanding many of the Babylonian political and socio-economic developments of this age. Ever since the rise of Babylon as a political power in the early nineteenth century B.C., much of its history – especially during periods of prosperity – had been dominated by foreign tribes which had settled in the land: the Amorites at the time of the First Dynasty of Babylon (1894–1595 B.C.) and later the Kassites and their dynasty (1595–1155) in the Middle Babylonian period. In the days of decline precipitated by the Aramaean invasions of the eleventh century, Kassite political power experienced a moderate revival under monarchs of the Sealand II and Bazi dynasties (1025–985); and, in the late eleventh and tenth centuries, the seat of the monarchy withdrew from Babylon to safer areas under tribal control, presumably to the south or east. Subsequently, even with the political renaissance of north-western Babylonia in the ninth century, there were significant power shifts in the land: in the north-east, the Kassite regions drifted from allegiance to the Babylonian crown; and, in the south, the Chaldaeans became the dominant power over large areas (except for some of the more prominent older cities). In a sense, much of the political history of Babylonia between *c.* 1000 and 748 B.C. may be described as a transition between Kassite and Chaldaean hegemony accompanied by active harassment from Aramaean and, later, Assyrian forces.

The relations of these tribal groups – especially Kassites, Aramaeans, and Chaldaeans – to the older Babylonian population can be sketched briefly. The Babylonians themselves were an amalgam of such groups as Sumerians, Akkadians, and older, barely detectable substrata, with

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an admixture of assimilated invaders such as the Amorites. The Kassites appeared in Babylonia by the early eighteenth century B.C. Although substantial numbers of them were eventually to be found in the land, especially in the heyday of the Kassite dynasty between 1400 and 1175, they did not allow themselves to become completely assimilated into Babylonian society. In spite of the fact that some of them took Babylonian names, they retained their traditional clan and tribal structure, in contrast to the smaller family unit of the Babylonians. The Kassites prized their affiliation with their tribal 'Houses' (usually named after an eponymous ancestor, for example, the 'House of Karziabku'), cited their filiation from the ancestor of these 'Houses' (e.g. 'son of Karziabku') rather than from their own fathers, and preserved their customs of fratriarchal property ownership and inheritance. Later, after the collapse of their dynasty, Kassites continued to hold high office in the land even under native Babylonian kings; and proportionately large numbers of Kassites are attested as dwelling in Babylonia well into the ninth century. Only after the separation of the principal Kassite territories from the authority of the Babylonian crown (perhaps around 850 B.C.) did the Kassite presence and influence in the land diminish perceptibly.

On the other hand, the Aramaeans (or Sutians, as they are sometimes called[4]) remained largely outsiders on the Babylonian scene. In the eleventh century, they appeared principally as invaders despoiling Babylonian cities; in the tenth century, they interrupted communications and may have exacerbated food shortages. In the following century, Aramaeans in a Babylonian context are attested only as allies of Babylonia against the Assyrians. In the eighth century, before 748, Aramaeans around Babylonia are seen in both peaceful and disruptive roles: some of them were settled quietly in the land, whereas others during a time of general unrest were expropriating fields belonging to inhabitants of Babylon and Borsippa. The Aramaeans, even those living within Babylonia proper, resisted assimilation to Babylonian culture: they retained their distinctive names and tribal structure and generally kept themselves aloof from Babylonian political life.

Save for a single laconic reference to the land of 'Chaldaea' in the inscriptions of Ashurnasirpal II, the Chaldaeans make their first documented appearance in southern Babylonia in 850, when they were the target of a military expedition of Shalmaneser III (858–824) of Assyria. By that time they were already established in fortified cities,

[4] Although the situation is far from clear, 'Sutian' seems to be used almost as a synonym for 'Aramaean' in this period; and it is conceivable that the Sutians may have been a smaller and particularly belligerent group within the Aramaean tribes. For a discussion of the relationship between the two terms in this period, see B 54, 285ff.

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prospering from the Persian Gulf trade and beginning to adopt Babylonian names. Though some of them lived or held property in regions under the jurisdiction of the Babylonian crown, the major Chaldaean areas within the traditional borders of Babylonia were *de facto* independent and were separate objects of Assyrian campaigns. The three principal Chaldaean tribes (Bit-Amukani, Bit-Dakkuri, and Bit-Yakin) are mentioned in documents relating to the 850 campaign and continued to be the object of Babylonian and Assyrian attention for the next two centuries. Though the Chaldaeans kept their tribal structure, in other ways they adapted themselves to Babylonian life, settling down in cities, planting date-palm orchards, taking Babylonian personal names (few native Chaldaean names are attested), and assuming an active role in the government of Babylonia. Several important monarchs, especially in the eighth and seventh centuries, were Chaldaeans.

Clearly, the prominence of these tribal groups in and around Babylonia diminished the power of non-tribal Babylonian monarchs during the early first millennium. Although the king was theoretically in charge of the administrative and judicial systems of the entire land, there were often large areas in the country outside his effective control. Nonetheless the king continued to function as chief judge and as the supreme court of appeal in legal cases, and certain documents dealing with land grants and tax exemptions had to bear the impression of the king's distinctive octagonal administrative seal to ensure their validity. Particularly important legal documents might be sealed formally by the king in the assembly of the chancellor (*ummânu*) and nobles.

The administration of the provinces was carried on principally through governors. In the earlier part of the period, these governors were called *šaknu* or *šakin māti*; but, beginning in the ninth century, the title in more common use was *šākin ṭēmi* (though the traditional local title *šandabakku* was used at Nippur). Whether a change in function is implied by the change in title is not known; in fact, very little is known about provincial government in these times. There is evidence that in the later ninth and eighth centuries some administrative offices may have been held for long periods by individuals who acted almost independently of the central government and whose offices were passed down within their families. This too would seem to underscore the relative weakness of the monarchy.

An interesting, but still poorly-understood feature, of Babylonian life at this time is the tax-exempt status of the citizens of the major religious centres, especially in north-western Babylonia: Babylon, Sippar, Nippur, and Borsippa. Although the size of urban populations seems to have decreased considerably during this period and many cities had been pillaged or at least seriously disturbed by the Aramaean (or Sutian)

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invasions, an underlying strong tradition of privileges for favoured cities surfaces clearly, though not in great detail, in the ninth and eighth centuries. The privileges seem to have been partially territorial (as well as personal), if we are to believe a letter of slightly later date which states – probably with some exaggeration – that even a dog which entered the city of Babylon enjoyed the protected status accorded that city's inhabitants.[5] Our most explicit information about city privileges comes from a literary text, the above-mentioned 'Advice to a Prince', the earliest copy of which may date from the third quarter of the eighth century.[6] Although one should not accept all statements in such a text at face value, the composition may give us some notion of what the citizens of these religious centres thought they could claim as their just due (under their special status) without such claims being dismissed out of hand as excessive.

According to the 'Advice to a Prince' (here and there supplemented by other, more pragmatic sources), the following rough picture can be sketched of the rights of these favoured citizens. Their privileges were not always the same, but were conferred in explicit terms by each king, usually shortly after his accession. The privileges granted were inscribed on a stela and were not to be revised later to the detriment of the citizens. In court cases, these citizens had the right of personal appeal to the king, who was exhorted not to treat their cases lightly. The king was forbidden to take money from citizens of Babylon, even for deposit into the royal treasury. He was not to impose civil punishment on privileged citizens or to imprison them. Nor was he allowed to mobilize them for army service or for corvée (even on behalf of the temples of those gods who were presumably the source of these religious privileges). The king was not permitted to expropriate the citizens' fields, even if other lands were offered in exchange. He was not to impress their animals into service, to use their fodder for his own beasts, or to levy a tax on their flocks. Nor were officials of the king covertly to solicit bribes by denouncing or slandering these citizens. The 'Advice to a Prince' repeatedly asserts that any monarch interfering with these privileges was courting divine retribution. Even with allowance made for literary exaggeration in this text, it seems clear that between the claims of the privileged cities and the influence of the large tribal groups the power of the Babylonian king in this era must have been quite circumscribed.

The cultural history of Babylonia in the early first millennium is little

[5] B 111, 878.

[6] 12 N 110. If the dating of the archive in which this text was found holds good, the assignment in B 79 of the composition of the *Fürstenspiegel* to the early years of Sennacherib will have to be revised accordingly.

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known. The very few examples of art datable to this period (mostly *kudurru* stelae, and a cult-seal depicting the god Marduk) seem stiffly executed. Representations, especially of human or anthropomorphic figures, tend to be awkward, with abnormally elongated fingers and large, bulging eyes. The artistry seen in these objects and in some related 'Luristan bronzes' has been termed the 'grotesque style';[7] but whether the quality of the rendering should be ascribed to provincialism or to a general low level of artistic skill can only be guessed. In any case, the political and economic decline of the country seems to have been paralleled by artistic decline.

In the realm of learning, hallowed traditions were maintained despite the impoverishment of the country. Scribal schools turned out new copies of ancient medical and incantation texts. The Codex Hammurabi was still studied, and the influence of its style on a late ninth-century treaty has been detected. Even in a time of severe political stress (around 750 B.C.), the local governor of Borsippa was able to commission the writing of a lengthy inscription, of more than conventional literary merit, to commemorate the repair of a temple storehouse. The *ummânu*, the chancellor or chief scribal official at court, seems to have been prominent in both literary and state affairs.[8]

There is only one major work of literature whose composition may be dated with reasonable probability to this period: the Erra Epic. This piece, originally some seven hundred lines long,[9] describes in theological terms one of the major historical themes of this 'dark age': the Sutian[10] invasions in the late second and early first millennia. To explain the divine causality which permitted the Sutian tribesmen to irrupt into settled areas and to cause havoc in major cities such as Babylon, Sippar, Dur-Kurigalzu, Uruk, and Der, the author of the epic weaves the drama of the warrior-god Erra, his henchman Ishum, and the divine Sibitti (the 'Seven'). Erra persuades Marduk to leave his temple and have some of the paraphernalia of his statue cleaned. With Marduk's protective power no longer present, Erra and his warrior gods (and the Sutians, their earthly counterparts) decimate Babylonia. Eventually, with the land desolate, Erra is persuaded to relent; and the Sutian invasions draw to a close. Babylonia is promised a great future: the return of her scattered people, the prosperity of the fertile land, and the rise of a great king who will rule over all nations. The composition of

[7] This style is particularly evident in some objects from the tenth and ninth centuries (B 66, 209ff).

[8] The names of some ninth-century Babylonian *ummânu* officials are preserved in later Assyrian sychronistic king lists, B 222, 182 and Ass. 14616*c* (B 263, 70f).

[9] This is only a rough estimate, inasmuch as substantial portions of the epic's second and third tablets are missing.

[10] Presumably Aramaean (see above, n. 4).

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the epic is sometimes dated to the first half of the ninth century, to the time of Nabu-apla-iddina, who claimed in one of his own inscriptions to have overthrown the Sutians and who organized resistance against Ashurnasirpal II along the middle Euphrates.[11] It is worth noting that the Erra Epic is one of the few Babylonian literary works whose author's name is known: Kabti-ilani-Marduk, son of Dabibi; a passage in the epic claims that the text was supernaturally revealed to the author in a dream.

During the first quarter of the first millennium B.C., Babylonian religion underwent considerable evolution, though it is still difficult to trace even the broad outlines of this history. With the rise of Marduk to the head of the pantheon under Nebuchadrezzar I of the Second Dynasty of Isin, the celebration of the New Year's Festival at Babylon seems to have assumed heightened religious significance. The chief indication that we have of this development is the prominent mention, in Babylonian chronicles dealing with this period, of the suspension of the Festival's celebration – sometimes the only event (or, more properly, non-event) deemed worth recording in a particular year.[12] Shortly after the year 1000 B.C., one can begin to discern signs of the rise within the pantheon of Nabu, the son of Marduk, and the concomitant increasing importance of Borsippa, the city of Nabu.[13] Nabu's absence from the New Year's Festival (originally blamed on Aramaean disturbances) is also mentioned in chronicles, beginning with records for the early tenth century. Borsippa became one of the religious centres whose citizens were accorded special privileges, and in 850 B.C. Shalmaneser III fêted the citizens of both Babylon and Borsippa on his triumphal journey through northern Babylonia. Borsippa was also the seat of the semi-independent governor Nabu-shuma-imbi, who about 750 B.C. fought off the attacks of his avaricious fellow Babylonians and of roaming tribesmen and repaired part of the precincts of the temple Ezida in his own name. Future research, especially into religious and literary texts, may shed further light on the rise of Nabu and its underlying causes;[14] but as yet this is a seldom-considered chapter in the history of Babylonian religion.[15]

Another religious phenomenon, little – if at all – understood, is the

[11] A recent summary of opinions on the dating of the epic is presented in B 63, 37ff. See also below, n. 36.

[12] The celebration or non-celebration of the New Year's Festival is not noted in any chronicle passage dealing with occurrences before 1015 B.C.

[13] The rise of Borsippa and its god may also be viewed as a further instance of the diminished power of Babylon within the land.

[14] An increased popularity of the cult of Nabu may also be observed in Assyria in the ninth century, at a time when political ties between Assyria and Babylonia were exceptionally close (after the two royal families had been linked by a double diplomatic marriage).

[15] Another feature worthy of note is the cult of Sutitu, literally the 'Sutian (goddess)', at Borsippa in the first millennium. See B 54, 286 and B 138, 125 n. 3.

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travelling of the statue of a god called 'great Anu' (*Anu rabû*)[16] between the eastern Babylonian city of Der and Assyria. These journeys, which took place on at least four occasions between *c.* 833 and 785 and apparently involved lengthy absences of the statue from Der,[17] do not always seem to be connected with Assyrian campaigning in the south. A satisfactory explanation for them is still to be found.

Babylonia's status on the international scene and her relations with foreign countries should also be examined briefly. During most of the period, because of the relative weakness of the Babylonian monarchy and the general ineffectiveness of the Babylonian army, Babylonia had little impact on neighbouring countries. The best known aspect of Babylonian foreign relations at this time is contact with Assyria, but only because the Assyrians took care to record much of their own military and diplomatic history. According to these records, Babylonian–Assyrian communications seem to have been suspended for most of the tenth century, owing to strong Aramaean pressure on the central Tigris. Following an Assyrian invasion of at least northern and eastern Babylonia at the end of the century, Babylonia seems to have regained its former northern border east of the Tigris; and the two countries then entered into an alliance (strengthened by a double diplomatic marriage) that flourished and was renewed by successive monarchs for most of the ninth century. During this period, Shalmaneser III was invited to help the Babylonian king Marduk-zakir-shumi I in suppressing a rebellion that had got out of hand. Later, when Marduk-zakir-shumi bestowed similar help on Shalmaneser's son Shamshi-Adad V, the Babylonian king appears to have taken advantage of the unwonted debility of Assyria to impose a degrading treaty on that land. This treaty may have marked a watershed in Babylonian–Assyrian relations; for, after the death of Marduk-zakir-shumi and the consequent expiry of the treaty, Shamshi-Adad amply revenged himself on Babylonia by four successive campaigns which left the north-western part of the land kingless and exposed to incursions by Chaldaeans from the south. The Chaldaeans soon moved in to fill the void; and, at their instigation, Babylonia in the eighth and seventh centuries proved a perennial source of trouble to the Neo-Assyrian Empire and eventually was one of the major protagonists who brought about Assyria's downfall.

Between 1000 and 748, Babylonia had little communication with

[16] That *Anu* is the correct reading for DINGIR in the pertinent context may be seen from a twelfth-century *kudurru* in which Der is called *māḫāz* ^{d}*A-nim*, 'cult centre of Anu' (B 123, no. 6 i 14). This Anu is sometimes identified with Ishtaran, the patron god of Der (B 140, 100; B 261, 99).

[17] I.e., the statue was in Assyria from *c.* 833 to 814 and then again from 813 or 812 to 785 (Eponym Chronicles $C^{b}1$ (B 245, 423f) and $C^{b}4$ (B 245, 433f); B 261, 92; Synchronistic History (B 98, Chronicle 21), iv 7–9). Such religious events are only rarely mentioned in the Eponym Chronicle.

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foreign states other than Assyria. Elam had entered a phase of almost total eclipse. Except for Mar-biti-apla-uṣur, a Babylonian king of Elamite descent who reigned in the early tenth century, Elamites are heard of only as allies in the anti-Assyrian coalition at the battle of Dur-Papsukkal in 814. Otherwise Babylonian foreign relations are known only with the short-lived Aramaean state of Sukhu on the middle Euphrates, which Babylonian forces helped to oppose the advance of the Assyrian military machine in the ninth century.

The Babylonian army is seldom attested in this period, though this may be due in part to the Babylonians' lack of interest in recording military events.[18] Outside poetic sources, there is no mention of Babylonian soldiery resisting or attempting to repulse Sutian (or Aramaean) invasions. Official Assyrian accounts refer to battles fought by Babylonian forces; but practically no detail is given about types of troops, military strategy, or the like. We do, however, learn that a detachment of Babylonian cavalry, under the command of the king's brother, was captured by the Assyrians at the battle of Suru in 878.

This treatment of the geographical, ethnic, cultural, and institutional background of Babylonian history in the first quarter of the first millennium B.C. has touched briefly on a variety of topics, but failed to consider other important areas. The historian would like to know much more, for example, about demography, the size and composition of urban and village populations, the economy and economic institutions of the land, social classes (practically unmentioned in contemporary documents), law, tribal and clan structures, and the effect of the Iron Age on the technology of Babylonia – to mention only a few subjects. It is unfortunate that the currently available sources, written and non-written, are both so sparse and so uninformative on such matters.

III. BABYLONIA IN ECLIPSE, *c.* 1000–912 B.C.[19]

About the year 1005 B.C., after a brief hegemony of twenty-one years, the Second Dynasty of the Sealand with its Kassite kings came to an end. Hard times and famine, which had afflicted Babylonia intermittently through most of the eleventh century, are again recorded for the north-western cult centres of Sippar during the reign of Kashshu-nadin-ahhe (1007–1005 B.C.), the last Sealand ruler. Whether this

[18] A lack overcome to some extent with the inauguration of the later Babylonian Chronicle Series, dealing with events of 747 B.C. and after.

[19] The dates are approximate only. The monarchs covered by this section extend from Eulmash-shakin-shumi (1004–988 B.C.) to Mar-biti-ahhe-iddina (942–?). The latter's reign may have ended considerably before 912; but it was the accession of Adad-nirari II of Assyria in that year which inaugurated a new era in Babylonian–Assyrian relations, insofar as can be judged by the currently available documentation.

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economic and agricultural crisis was accompanied or even in part caused by the actions of Aramaean or Sutian invaders can only be surmised.

The nine decades comprising this period represent a nadir even within the obscurity of Babylonian history in the first quarter of the first millennium B.C. Only one original document of significant length has survived: a *kudurru* stela recording the history of legal and marital dealings between two families (one of them from a prominent Kassite clan) over a period of thirty-three years, from 986 to 954 B.C. Except for this stela, no original text is more than four lines long; there are only broken or very short inscriptions. That this historical low point is not just an accident of archaeological discovery is indicated by the pattern of disruption in the land portrayed in the texts (including some laconic later chronicles) and by the strong hints of urban decline suggested by the settlement-pattern surveys.

Several dominant themes run through the history of these poorly documented years. First, there is the familiar motif of marauding Aramaean tribesmen from the west, accompanied by unstable conditions in the cities of north-western Babylonia and by famine. The Aramaeans likewise restricted the political power of the Assyrians to the west and south, confining them principally to a narrow strip along the Tigris (north from Ashur) and eastward. With this Aramaean buffer between Babylonia and Assyria, it is not surprising that this period is the longest stretch of time between 1350 and 610 B.C. for which no direct contacts between the two countries are recorded. Secondly, within Babylonia itself, the principal residence of the king (at least in the early tenth century) lay outside Babylon; and politically, Isin, rather than Nippur, continued to be the second most prominent city in the land.[20] Kassites continued to hold high office at court and not only under Kassite dynasties. Finally, while the chief western trade route along the Euphrates lay in the hands of aggressive Aramaeans and contact with Assyria had been broken off to the north, it is not unexpected to find Babylonian traces (in the form of short Babylonian inscriptions and Babylonian-related art styles on 'Luristan bronzes') along the main route east – the Kermanshah–Hamadan road. These traces are in fact best attested at this time and all but disappear after Babylonia came to terms with the Aramaeans and with Assyria in the ninth century.

This period begins with the accession to power of the Kassite-related Bazi dynasty. Bazi or Baz, originally a small settlement near the Tigris, is known as early as the twenty-third century B.C. By the fourteenth century, the name had been taken over to designate a local Kassite tribe or clan: Bit-Bazi, the 'House of Bazi' (the name Bazi becoming

[20] Isin had replaced Nippur in this role with the advent of the Second Dynasty of Isin in the middle of the twelfth century.

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personified to represent a fictitious eponymous ancestor). It was this tribe or clan which provided the three rulers of the Bazi dynasty, who ruled Babylonia for twenty years.

Eulmash-shakin-shumi (1004–988), founder of the dynasty, came to the throne during this turbulent period characterized by famine and Aramaean invasions. Several direct or veiled references in later chronicles or historical narratives point to unsettled conditions in the north-western section of the country.[21] It may have been at this time that the residential city of the king was established in a less vulnerable area, at Kar-Marduk rather than at Babylon.[22] Babylon itself must have been exposed to the effects of enemy invasions, since it appears that the city had to forgo the local celebration of the politically and religiously important New Year's Festival on at least two occasions during the reign. At Sippar, which was more directly in the line of march of the invaders, modest regular offerings for the pillaged Shamash temple were re-instituted, but only because provision for these offerings and for the maintenance of the local priest was to be based on revenue from the city of Babylon (no attempt was made to guarantee support from the less stable countryside around Sippar).[23]

After the death of Eulmash-shakin-shumi, the Bazi dynasty lasted for only three more years. Two brothers ruled successively: Ninurta-kudurri-uṣur I (987–985) and Shirikti-Shuqamuna (985, for three months only). The Bit-Abi-Rattash *kudurru*[24] preserves in its preamble the text of an interesting legal document witnessed at Kar-Marduk in the second year of Ninurta-kudurri-uṣur: the tale of an impecunious Kassite chieftain who had the misfortune to kill with an arrow a valuable female slave belonging to a wealthy bow-maker and who was eventually forced to pay seven slaves in compensation. One of the informative features of this inscription is the list of witnesses at its end, which shows the governor of Isin (the primary witness) still in a pre-eminent position in the beleaguered land and also records several Kassite tribesmen among the high court officials.

Nothing is known of the circumstances of the fall of the Bazi dynasty or of the rise of its successor, the Elamite dynasty, which consisted of one king, Mar-biti-apla-uṣur (984–979). His connexion with Elam seems to have been ancestral, since he bears a Babylonian name and is referred

[21] It must be stressed throughout this chapter that many laconic textual references, especially in the chronicles, are capable of being interpreted in different ways; see B 54, 161 n. 978 and B 98, 181, etc.

[22] B 54, 162.

[23] Calmeyer's attempt (B 66, 210) to link the *kudurru* B 123, no. 15 with Eulmash-shakin-shumi is unconvincing. There are many personal names attested that begin with the theophoric element Eulmash, and the traces of the rest of the name on the *kudurru* do not fit with any reasonable orthography of *-šākin-šumi*. It should be noted, however, that the iconography of the fragment is compatible with the general time range proposed; see B 225, 54, no. 94.

[24] B 123, no. 9, dated officially in 957 B.C. but mentioning events as late as 954; see B 54, 173.

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to by a chronicle as 'a remote(?) descendant of Elam'. Aramaean invasions may have continued during his reign, since there is a possible reference to the suspension of the New Year's Festival in his fourth year.

The rest of this period had as its most prominent rulers a father and his two sons. Nabu-mukin-apli (978–943), the father, ruled longer than his six immediate predecessors combined; but what little can be reconstructed of his reign does not reflect a peaceful or stable era. During his first twenty years, the New Year's Festival could not be celebrated on at least eleven occasions. In a few cases, the Aramaeans are cited as the cause of these interruptions: being in possession of, or posing a threat to, vital internal land or water routes, they blocked the king's progress to Babylon from his residential city. From the third decade of the reign dates the Bit-Abi-Rattash *kudurru*, mentioned above, which recounts the tangled legal relations between two families over the years 986 to 954 B.C. The document and the parties involved were obviously of some consequence: the sealing of the text was witnessed by three sons of the king and by the highest officials of the realm. The contents of the inscription are worth summarizing, for they reflect something of current economic and political problems in the land. The two families involved were those of Arad-Sibitti (of the Kassite clan Bit-Abi-Rattash) and of Burusha, the bow-maker. Arad-Sibitti was not only the head of his clan but also governor of the local Babylonian province. Despite his offices, Arad-Sibitti and his family were in straitened economic circumstances. First, they had had difficulty in raising the compensation imposed on Arad-Sibitti by an earlier king for payment to Burusha. Then, when one of Arad-Sibitti's daughters married a son of Burusha, problems arose in transferring land (apparently encumbered by debt) which was supposed to be part of the young woman's dowry. The document reveals a series of legal tangles as money was raised to pay family debts and clear the title on the land; it is obvious that Arad-Sibitti and later his sons were hard pressed to pay the money and other goods that they owed. The background details of the text reveal no more than sporadic collection of taxes (reflecting the weakness of the central government) and include one striking instance of high grain prices, no less than seven and a half times the normal rate (probably reflecting crop failure or famine conditions). It is noteworthy that the central government and its high officials were experiencing economic hardship, whereas a wealthy craftsman like Burusha and his son Shamash-nadin-shumi were able to pay the equivalent of 887 shekels of silver to clear the title to the land given as dowry for Shamash-nadin-shumi's wife.[25]

[25] Another fragmentary *kudurru* survives from the reign of Nabu-mukin-apli and has been published in B 60. This *kudurru* is badly broken and gives no useful information concerning the reign.

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Nabu-mukin-apli was succeeded in turn by two of his sons, Ninurta-kudurri-uṣur II (943, for eight months) and Mar-biti-ahhe-iddina (942–?). No contemporary documents survive from either reign. Beginning about 934, Ashur-dan II (934–912) of Assyria began campaigning against the Aramaeans who had been hemming in his land so closely. For the reign of his successor, Adad-nirari II (911–891), contacts between Babylonia and Assyria are once again recorded; and a new phase of Babylonian history begins.[26]

With Babylonia frequently in a state of disruption (the New Year's Festival was not celebrated in at least fourteen of the forty-two years covered by chronicles early in the period) and with Aramaeans holding the Euphrates trade route and otherwise menacing in the west, it is not surprising that Babylonia's orientation during most of the tenth century lay toward the east. This orientation may be viewed against a background of earlier Kassite tribal settlements east of the Tigris and particularly in the areas of Namri and Khalman, both of which probably lay close to, or on, the great route leading to Kermanshah and Hamadan. The continuing Kassite political influence in Babylonia and the substantial proportion of Kassite tribesmen serving in administrative posts (even in the governorship of Isin) under Nabu-mukin-apli show that ties with the east were a legacy from earlier times rather than a move in a new direction.

As our attention turns eastward, we come to the question of the 'Luristan bronzes' and the problems concerning their interpretation. First, it should be remarked that not all these bronzes are from Luristan, though the majority of them probably come from that area or its immediate vicinity. Secondly, the dates of the bronzes, to judge from the inscriptions on them, range from as far back as the twenty-third century B.C. (Naram-Sin) to at least the ninth century and perhaps even into Achaemenid times.[27] The manufacture of the bronzes, inscribed and uninscribed, seems to have been a flourishing local industry, especially in the late second and early first millennia B.C. The metal-working techniques and most of the motifs have been identified as native to western Iran, though certain local styles have been viewed by some archaeologists as developing under the influence of contemporary Babylonian or Elamite art.

In the brief period of ninety years under consideration here, in sharp contrast to the sparse documentation from Babylonia proper, the number of inscriptions on 'Luristan bronzes' reaches its high point: more than one third of all known inscribed bronzes of this type (covering a period of at least 1,400 years) date from these decades. Just

[26] For which see below, p. 301.

[27] The inscriptions are catalogued and discussed in B 65.

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when Bābylōnia in the west was sorely beset by Aramaeans and by famine and when its main trade route along the Euphrates had been severed, in the east possession inscriptions of Babylonian kings and their officials appear in unusually large numbers on 'Luristan bronzes' (principally on arrow-heads and situlae).

The presence of these personal, possession inscriptions of Babylonians on the apparently foreign-made 'Luristan bronzes' has never been satisfactorily explained, though over the years many hypotheses have been advanced. Perhaps the most detailed and convincing arguments have been put forward by Peter Calmeyer, who has closely scrutinized the motifs on the early first-millennium Luristan bronze situlae and pointed out their affinities with the few surviving fragments of Babylonian art of the period.[28] The Babylonian inscriptions, coupled with designs related to Babylonian art, led Calmeyer to the conclusion that Babylonian officialdom must have made use of a Babylonian-inspired and perhaps Babylonian-directed bronze industry located in the area around modern Kermanshah. Why the Babylonians would have gone so far afield to have personal objects made or why the objects themselves seem to have been found only in the Luristan–Kermanshah region is not explained; but some tentative suggestions can be offered here toward a solution of that problem.

First, with the closing of the western Euphrates commercial channel in the tenth century, the Baghdad–Kermanshah trade route may have assumed an increasing and perhaps even a crucial role in the import of needed metals and stone into Babylonia. Next, the political centre of gravity in Babylonia may well have shifted eastward when the royal residence was relocated outside Babylon and the king was experiencing difficulties reaching north-western Babylonia to celebrate the New Year's Festival. The continued prominence of Kassites both as monarchs and as high officials in Babylonia would suggest that there had been no decline in the importance of the Kassite tribal lands east of the Tigris (including the above-mentioned areas of Namri and Khalman, strategically located along the Baghdad–Kermanshah route as it leaves the lower Mesopotamian plain and makes its way into the Zagros mountains). Although there is no evidence for Kassite settlement or for an extension of the Babylonian provincial system as far east as the Zalu Ab–Kakavand area (according to Calmeyer, the main site of the bronze situlae industry), Babylonian commercial and perhaps political interests in the area would not be unexpected. If more were known about the archaeological contexts in which the bronzes were found, one might hypothesize that the royal-inscribed arrow-heads were awarded to friendly tribal chieftains or to highland warriors who had served in the

[28] B 66, *passim*.

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Babylonian army. But, in the absence of such knowledge, one might equally well surmise that these objects came into Iran as items of trade and possibly at a date later than that of their inscriptions.[29] The similarities to Babylonian art suggest Babylonian cultural influence in the area, but that could have been accompanied and perhaps facilitated by stepped-up trade relations. That there were connexions between Babylonia and the Luristan–Kermanshah area is obvious, but a comprehensive or convincing explanation of them still eludes us.

IV. THE REVIVAL AND DECLINE OF NORTH-WESTERN BABYLONIA, *c.* 911–811 B.C.

This period of approximately a century encompasses the reigns of six Babylonian kings – from Shamash-mudammiq to Baba-aha-iddina. During this time, the political focus of the country (or at least of the available documentation) changes significantly. The earlier part of the tenth century in Babylonia had been marked by an east–west orientation, to judge from the preoccupation with Aramaean invasions and interruptions of the New Year's Festival, Kassites in high office, and the relatively large number of Babylonian inscriptions on 'Luristan bronzes'. The accession of Shamash-mudammiq in the later part of the century ushered in an era of new concerns along a predominantly north–south axis. In the north, military and diplomatic contacts with Assyria are recorded – after a lapse of more than a century. In the south, new tribal inhabitants of the land are attested for the first time – the Chaldaeans, who were to have an increasingly dominant position in Babylonian politics, especially in the eighth and seventh centuries. Toward the west, there is no longer talk of Aramaean invasions or of the suspension of the New Year's Festival.[30] In the east, the Kassites come to form an independent state or states, outside the jurisdiction of Babylonia.

One of the major factors in this Babylonian shift was the renewal of Assyrian might under Ashur-dan II (934–912) and Adad-nirari II (911–891). The armies of these two kings successfully fought against near-by Aramaean tribes and states, removed the threat of Aramaean invasion from the Assyrian and Babylonian heartlands, and thereby opened the way for renewed Babylonian–Assyrian contacts and for a cultural renaissance in both lands.

The reign of Shamash-mudammiq is known almost entirely from

[29] This in turn can be proposed only because we know practically nothing of Babylonian craftsmanship in metals at this time.

[30] This could be due to the fact that the preserved sections of the chronicles do not happen to include such reports.

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Assyrian sources,[31] and the resultant picture may be distorted by the traditional Assyrian slant in recounting military matters. The inscriptions of Adad-nirari claim that, sometime between 908 and 902 B.C., this Assyrian king defeated Shamash-mudammiq at Mount Yalman (probably located near the south-eastern end of the Jebel Ḥamrin) and conquered Babylonia 'in its entirety', including the region around Der (modern Badrah), far to the east. Adad-nirari incorporated into Assyria proper the fortified cities of Arrapkha and Lubdu, previously Babylonian possessions. Just to the west of Babylonia, along the middle Euphrates, the fortresses of Idu (Ḥit) and Zaqqu, often sources of contention between Babylonia and Assyria, were likewise brought within the newly extended Assyrian border. In short, according to the Assyrians, the reign of Shamash-mudammiq was marked by military defeat and territorial recession.

Nabu-shuma-ukin I, the successor of Shamash-mudammiq, was more fortunate. Late in the reign of Adad-nirari II, probably around 892 B.C., Nabu-shuma-ukin reversed the earlier Assyrian advances east of the Tigris and moved the Babylonian border back to the vicinity of the Lesser Zab (presumably regaining Arrapkha and Lubdu). Following his military successes, he established amicable relations with Adad-nirari; and the two kings exchanged daughters in marriage. This alliance inaugurated an era of good will between Babylonia and Assyria that was to last for more than three quarters of a century, a milestone in diplomatic relations between the two countries. During this time three generations of Babylonian kings and five generations of Assyrian rulers – two relatively strong royal families – enjoyed unprecedented peace and cooperation in military and cultural affairs.

Nabu-shuma-ukin was succeeded by his son Nabu-apla-iddina, whose reign of more than three decades marked the high point of the century in Babylonia.[32] Although the deeds of Nabu-apla-iddina are today overshadowed by the better-known and more grandiose military feats of his Assyrian contemporary, Ashurnasirpal II (883–859 B.C.), it is worth noting that the relative positions of Babylonia and Assyria during these reigns did not alter appreciably, if at all. In fact, Nabu-apla-iddina seems to have been so little awed by the Assyrian's prowess that he backed rebellious anti-Assyrian forces in the land of Sukhu on the middle Euphrates and sent his brother with Babylonian troops to aid the rebels. (The Babylonians, according to the Assyrian account, were

[31] With the sole exception of an almost totally destroyed reference to him in a short passage of a damaged Babylonian chronicle (the 'New Babylonian Chronicle' (B 98, Chronicle 24), rev. 2).

[32] The highest attested date for this reign is year '32'. The Louvre *kudurru* (now AO 21422), mentioned in B 54, 182f, n. 1121 and B 225, 55f, no. 97, has been cleaned recently; and instead of year '33' or '34', as previously reported, the date number proves to be clearly '32'.

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taken prisoner.) Nonetheless, Ashurnasirpal and Nabu-apla-iddina seem to have avoided all-out war against each other. It is noteworthy, however, that the Synchronistic History, which records so many Assyrian–Babylonian treaties and border realignments of this period, does not mention any formal diplomatic agreement between these two exceptional monarchs. They both showed an active interest in Sukhu, which had become a wealthy state, probably because of its position on the reopened middle Euphrates trade route. Although in 878 Assyria conquered Suru (the main fortress of the governor of Sukhu) and claimed a decisive victory, the claim is belied – or at least rendered suspect – by subsequent anti-Assyrian revolts over an even wider area of the middle Euphrates; and Ashurnasirpal did not again record a victorious campaign which reached as far as Suru. On the north-west edge of Babylonia, Ashurnasirpal – according to his own inscriptions – formally restored to the Assyrian realm the fortified Babylonian cities of Khirimmu and Kharutu; but his father, Tukulti-Ninurta II, had also claimed to have captured these cities. Thus no dramatic Assyrian advance seems to have taken place on this frontier either. It seems likely that a virtual stalemate existed between Babylonia and Assyria at this time – no mean tribute to the strength or astuteness of Nabu-apla-iddina, when one considers the successes of Ashurnasirpal on other fronts.

Except for the mention in Ashurnasirpal's inscriptions of a Babylonian contingent at the battle of Suru in 878, little information is preserved concerning Babylonian military affairs at this time. It should be noted in passing, however, that Nabu-apla-iddina in one of his own inscriptions is referred to by the martial epithets 'heroic warrior...who bears an awe-inspiring bow, who overthrew the evil enemy, the Sutians'. This is the first military titulary claimed by a Babylonian king since the days of Nebuchadrezzar I, two and a half centuries earlier; but no Babylonian accounts of campaigns or warfare during this time survive.

Toward the end of his reign, Nabu-apla-iddina concluded a treaty with the new Assyrian ruler, Shalmaneser III (858–824 B.C.). The Babylonian king may have anticipated that his chosen heir, Marduk-zakir-shumi, would have difficulty in retaining the throne. As matters turned out, Marduk-zakir-shumi soon did require massive Assyrian aid for precisely that purpose.

Within Babylonia, Nabu-apla-iddina made significant benefactions to major temples – the first recorded in over a century. At Sippar, which had borne the brunt of Aramaean/Sutian invasions for two centuries, the cult of the god Shamash had long been carried out in front of a large sun-disk emblem[33] (the statue of the god had disappeared in the course of the eleventh-century disturbances). Now a new cult statue of

[33] B 53.

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Shamash was made, modelled after a small representation of the god which had been fortuitously found on the west bank of the Euphrates.[34] The new image was carefully consecrated with the duly prescribed rituals, and the king provided lavish festival garments for the statues of the principal gods and a substantial endowment of food-stuffs for the cult and for the priesthood. At Uruk, similar but smaller food endowments were established for the goddesses Ishtar and Nanaya. A damaged text describes substantial quantities of aromatics used in the contemporary cult of Marduk in the Esagila temple in Babylon. That these benefactions were not just sporadic instances of generosity, but part of an overall plan for renovating major Babylonian cult centres is revealed by a text written in the name of Nabu-apla-iddina which states that Marduk had entrusted to him the royal power for the express purpose of resettling the old cult cities, setting up shrines, and re-establishing the rites and offerings for the gods.[35]

In addition to Nabu-apla-iddina's anti-Assyrian intervention at Suru and his renovation of the Shamash cult at Sippar, further evidence of his interest in the west is provided by two *kudurru* stelae that record royal land grants along the Euphrates. There also survives a legal document – incorporated into a text written in the following reign – which deals with the disposal of an orchard and field on the Euphrates, probably near Dilbat. Clearly, western Babylonia was recovering from the effects of the Aramaean invasions.

In many ways, this reign seems to mark both the end of an old and the dawn of a new era. The Aramaean/Sutian invasions were over, and Babylonia's western frontier was stable again. Babylonia was once more beginning to take an interest in the rich middle Euphrates territory. It is also during this reign that the governor of Isin is mentioned for the last time as holding a pre-eminent position in the land (his name appears first among the witnesses to important legal documents). Shortly after this time Nippur was to recover from its eclipse and regain its stature, if not as second city in the land, at least as an important religious centre and the seat of a prominent governor (*šandabakku*). Nabu-apla-iddina is the last king under whom significant numbers of Kassites hold high positions at court. After him, Kassites are attested principally outside the jurisdiction of Babylonia and, until the end of the seventh century, mostly as the object of Assyrian campaigns. In Nabu-apla-iddina's reign, the term 'Chaldaea' is first found applied to southern Babylonia, though there is as yet no hint of the pivotal role that the Chaldaeans would soon come to play in Babylonian history. Political and economic prosperity

[34] It has been plausibly suggested (B 144, 398) that this convenient find may have been a pious fraud, so that the cult might be resumed in its full glory.

[35] B 123, no. 36; see B 54, 189.

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was accompanied by a literary revival: fresh editions of old texts were prepared and original literary work may also have been written. The composition of the Erra Epic is sometimes assigned to this date.[36] This epic portrays both the dreadful former days, when Babylonia was harried by tribal invasions and plague, and the subsequent revival and elevation of the land to new greatness. What little survives of datable Babylonian art from this time (mostly *kudurru* stelae) shows both lingering traces of the old 'grotesque' style of the tenth century and the introduction of a new, more classical rendering of figures;[37] even in such simple matters as the iconography of the royal crown there is a decided shift in fashion.

Nabu-apla-iddina was succeeded by his son Marduk-zakir-shumi I, who was soon faced with a serious rebellion over a large portion of the land (especially in the east and south) led by his younger brother, Marduk-bel-usati. Whether Marduk-bel-usati was backed by the Kassites in the east or by the Chaldaeans in the south is uncertain; both these groups, however, seem to have taken advantage of the discord within the Babylonian royal family and to have functioned as *de facto* independent political entities from this time on. With the forces at his disposal, Marduk-zakir-shumi was unable to cope with the revolt and had to call on Shalmaneser III, his father's old ally, for aid. Shalmaneser responded in the year 851 by personally leading an army into the upper Diyala area, defeating the troops of Marduk-bel-usati, and containing the latter in the city of Gannanati.[38] In his campaign of the next year, Shalmaneser captured that city; and, after Marduk-bel-usati had fled to the mountains, the Assyrian put the eastern phase of the revolt to an end by defeating the rebellious prince decisively at Khalman. Then Shalmaneser toured the Babylonian cult centres of Cutha, Babylon, and Borsippa. He visited the major temple of each city, made rich offerings, and entertained the privileged citizens of Babylon and Borsippa at festive banquets, presenting them with garments and other gifts.

Shalmaneser next turned his attention to the Chaldaeans. After encountering resistance from the Dakkuru tribe at the city of Baqani, he burned the city and received the submission and tribute of Adinu, the Dakkuru chieftain. The two remaining major Chaldaean chiefs – Mushallim-Marduk of the Amukanu tribe and 'Yakin' (here the

[36] B 144. On the other hand, B 250, 255f argues that the Erra Epic originated in the early eighth century under Eriba-Marduk (probably around 764 B.C.). For a general summary of the discussions up to 1969, see B 63, 37ff. The question is still open to debate.

[37] B 225, 54ff.

[38] The account dealing with the crushing of the revolt is drawn from Assyrian sources, concerned largely with the Assyrian role in the campaigns. It is probable that Marduk-zakir-shumi also engaged in military action against his rebellious brother, though a detailed narrative of his part in the proceedings has yet to be uncovered.

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Assyrian sources give only the name of the eponymous tribal ancestor) – then offered their 'tribute' without further resistance. The valuable payment included many luxury goods, notably gold, ebony, sissoo-wood, and ivory, and shows that the Chaldaeans were profiting from the lucrative trade routes at the head of the Persian Gulf.

The precise relationship of the Chaldaeans to the central government in Babylonia is uncertain. Chaldaeans lived in cities that lay in former Babylonian territory; but it is difficult to say what jurisdiction, if any, was exercised over them by Babylonian kings in the ninth century. Chaldaeans rarely appear in Babylonian documents of this time: some are mentioned in connexion with a land-transfer transaction in Uruk and one has his name inscribed on the latest approximately datable 'Luristan bronze' that can be linked with the Babylonian area.

In the land of Namri, probably located in the upper reaches of the Diyala in the Zagros foothills, the Kassite tribes became independent of Babylonia at about the time of Marduk-bel-usati's revolt. Thenceforth the Assyrians were to find this area a source of trouble; Shalmaneser's armies campaigned there on three separate occasions later in his reign. In 843, the Assyrians marched against Namri and its king, Marduk-mudammiq (who bore a Babylonian name). The records of Shalmaneser claim an Assyrian victory over Marduk-mudammiq, with his extensive cavalry, and the conquest of several important fortified cities in the area. Marduk-mudammiq fled to save his life; but his palace and harem were plundered, and horses 'without number' – always a valuable booty for the Assyrian war machine – were captured. Later Shalmaneser installed Yanzu, a member of the Kassite Khanban (or Khabban) tribe, as king of Namri in place of Marduk-mudammiq.[39]

In 835, Shalmaneser again waged an extensive campaign in Namri. Yanzu fled to the mountains, but he and his family were captured and brought to Assyria. Finally, in 828, the Assyrians once more went against Namri. This time the local population hid in difficult mountain terrain, and Shalmaneser's army had to content itself with burning deserted towns and villages.

From Babylonia itself several texts have survived which throw light on the reign of Marduk-zakir-shumi. An inscribed lapis-lazuli seal, which originally had handles of gold, was presented by this monarch to the cult statue of Marduk in Babylon. In Uruk, a large parcel of agricultural land, a house with eight rooms and two courtyards, an orchard, and a regular supply of food were given as a royal grant to the scribe of the Eanna temple, who held religious offices for three deities; the document recording this munificent gift bears the names of several important witnesses, including the crown prince, a prominent

[39] The possible identity of this Yanzu with Yanzi-Buriash, king of Allabria, is discussed in B 57.

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Chaldaean of the Amukanu tribe, and the governor of Nippur.[40] Another document, from Dilbat, describes a private sale of land; one of the witnesses to this text was the governor of the city, who had been in office for at least sixteen years. Another, very badly damaged document tells how disturbances in the land during the reign of Marduk-zakir-shumi I affected the king's formal renewal of the tax-exemption privileges for the city of Borsippa.[41] The privileges of the citizens of Babylon had been confirmed in the accession year of the king; but the citizens of Borsippa, despite the proximity of that city to Babylon, had to wait until the seventeenth year of the king's reign before their privileges were officially granted. In general, during the first two decades of the reign of Marduk-zakir-shumi, Babylonia suffered from a weakened central government. The revolution in the opening years, which had to be put down with Assyrian aid, highlights the military ineffectiveness of the king's forces. The *de facto* independence exercised by the Chaldaeans and Kassites shows that the former eastern and southern provinces were no longer under control. The long tenure of the governor of Dilbat suggests that local officials were no longer moved from place to place at the will of the king. And, finally, the text relating the long delay in renewing the privileges of the citizens of Borsippa mentions unsettled local conditions as one of the prime causes for this postponement. The political climate of Babylonia had deteriorated visibly since the days of Nabu-apla-iddina.

Assyrian intervention in Marduk-bel-usati's revolt was probably the decisive factor in shoring up the government of Marduk-zakir-shumi and ensuring what little stability it had at that time. The Assyrian–Babylonian cooperation on this occasion was a source of great pride to the Assyrians, and Shalmaneser III had the events of these years recorded not only in his royal inscriptions but also in the carvings on his throne base in the main reception chamber of his palace at Nimrud. The central panel at the front of the platform depicts the Babylonian and Assyrian monarchs grasping hands in a gesture of friendship and equality – a unique honour accorded a foreign king on an Assyrian relief. Around the sides of the throne base are carved the tribute processions of the Chaldaean princes who paid homage to Shalmaneser in 850.

Shalmaneser and Marduk-zakir-shumi I both had comparatively long reigns: the former thirty-five years, the latter at least twenty-seven. At

[40] This is the first occasion on which this official is attested in more than three hundred years (since the end of the Kassite dynasty).

[41] The text is BM 62908, kindly called to my attention by Professor A. K. Grayson, who is planning to publish the document. Because of the extensive damage to the text, the present description of its contents must be considered highly tentative.

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the end of Shalmaneser's reign, the relative roles of Assyria and Babylonia were reversed; and the new Assyrian king, Shamshi-Adad V, was able to keep his throne only with Babylonian aid. Even before the death of Shalmaneser, a serious Assyrian revolt had been launched by Ashur-da'in-apla, one of Shalmaneser's sons. The uprising spread to twenty-seven cities, several of them mainstays of the realm (for example, Ashur, Nineveh, Arbela, and Arrapkha). The revolt lasted for several years, into the reign of Shamshi-Adad V,[42] and seems to have been put down with Babylonian help, although Shamshi-Adad did not mention such help in later accounts of the quelling of the rebellion. The Babylonian assistance is usually inferred from a surviving fragment of a treaty between Shamshi-Adad V and Marduk-zakir-shumi I, in which the Assyrian ruler is clearly put on a lower footing than his Babylonian counterpart: Babylonia precedes Assyria in the listing of the lands; the Assyrian king is not given a royal title; Assyria is to surrender fugitives to Babylonia and furnish reports on anti-Babylonian plots; and the treaty oath is sworn by Babylonian gods alone. Shamshi-Adad retained his throne, but only at the expense of what appear to have been degrading conditions imposed by Marduk-zakir-shumi. Although the treaty was honoured during the latter's lifetime, the moment of Assyrian weakness soon passed and Shamshi-Adad was to make the Babylonian kings who came after Marduk-zakir-shumi regret that their country had once asserted its supremacy in this fashion.

Marduk-zakir-shumi was succeeded by his son Marduk-balassu-iqbi, a man already past the prime of life when he ascended the throne. His reign, probably eleven years or less, is poorly documented. From Babylonia itself has come a later copy of a legal text drawn up in the king's second year and sealed by the king in the assembly of the chancellor (*ummânu*) and nobles of the land. Though the lines describing the legal transaction are almost entirely missing, the list of witnesses is partially preserved and includes the governors of Nippur and Der.[43]

Otherwise Marduk-balassu-iqbi is known chiefly from Assyrian texts as the object of Assyrian campaigns. In 814 Shamshi-Adad invaded eastern Babylonia, near where the Diyala river flows through the Jebel

[42] The exact dates of the revolt are uncertain, but it did last for at least six years and spanned the final years of Shalmaneser III and the early years of Shamshi-Adad V. A Sultantepe eponym chronicle fragment (B 107, 348) puts at least three of these years before the eponymy of Shamshi-Adad (i.e. 822 B.C.); according to its testimony, the revolt ended in 820 and would have begun in 825 at the latest (or 826 at the earliest – the entry for that year is broken away). The Eponym Chronicle fragment C^b4 (B 245, 433) clearly lists the revolt as lasting for six years and may date it to 826–821, though it is difficult to reconcile the chronology of campaigns in this fragment with the chronology in the Black Obelisk (years 22–31). Both eponym chronicles are extensively damaged and could be interpreted otherwise; clearer evidence is needed. See also the recent discussion in B 104.

[43] A stamped brick found in the excavations at Tell 'Umar is also supposed to have come from this reign, but the object is now lost (see above, n. 1).

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Ḥamrin. After capturing several minor cities, Shamshi-Adad faced a coalition of Babylonian, Chaldaean, Elamite, Kassite, and Aramaean forces near the city of Dur-Papsukkal; despite his claims of victory, the Assyrian advance appears to have been stopped for that year. In 813, however, Shamshi-Adad returned, captured the city of Der, and defeated Marduk-balassu-iqbi decisively. The Babylonian king was captured and deported to Assyria.

Baba-aha-iddina, the next Babylonian king, fared even worse. In his very first year, 812, he and his family were seized by Shamshi-Adad's forces and taken to Assyria. Many of the cities of eastern Babylonia were despoiled, including Der, Lakhiru, and Gannanati; and the statues of patron deities were removed to Assyria. Shamshi-Adad then had sacrifices offered in the northern cult centres of Cutha, Babylon, and Borsippa.

In 811, Shamshi-Adad campaigned in Babylonia for the fourth consecutive year; but no first-hand record of his invasion has survived. At some point about this time he is supposed to have received tribute from the Chaldaeans; and, before his death (also in 811), his inscriptions claimed for him the title 'king of Sumer and Akkad' – which represents an assertion of suzerainty over Babylonia. After 812, Babylonia declined into a state of anarchy; a chronicle records that 'for x[44] years there was no king in the land'.[45] Babylonia, which had thrived under her alliance with Assyria and with Assyrian aid had survived the devastating revolt of 851–850, had overreached herself when Marduk-zakir-shumi I had forced harsh terms on the weakened Shamshi-Adad V. The latter had taken ample revenge in the campaigns of 814–811, which left northern Babylonia kingless and an easy prey to the restless and increasingly powerful Chaldaean tribes to the south.

V. THE RISE OF THE CHALDAEANS, 810–748 B.C.

The Assyrian campaigns of 814–811 left northern Babylonia humbled and leaderless. Shamshi-Adad V of Assyria died in the same year that these campaigns ended; and his successor, Adad-nirari III (810–783), did not maintain firm control over Babylonia.

The next fifty years of Babylonian history must be pieced together from tiny fragments of information scattered over many sources. The resulting picture is sketchy and may be misleading, but a more accurate or more representative account is likely to emerge only if additional evidence becomes available. At present, it is uncertain even whether we have recovered all the names of the Babylonian kings of these decades;

[44] This number is broken, though it is certainly at least '2' and probably at least '12'; see B 54, 213 n. 1327.

[45] 'New Babylonian Chronicle' (B 98, Chronicle 24), rev. 8.

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and we do not know the length of reign for any of these monarchs (though it has been established from dated texts that the last two kings, Eriba-Marduk and Nabu-shuma-ishkun, ruled for at least nine and thirteen years respectively). Thus the list of rulers and the contemporaneous royal chronology are still to be determined satisfactorily.[46]

As mentioned above, the years following the removal of Baba-aha-iddina were designated as 'kingless' by one of the minor Babylonian chronicles. Adad-nirari III campaigned against Babylonia and, according to Assyrian tradition, captured Babylonian troops and divine statues and removed them to Assyria. He eventually claimed that 'all the kings of Chaldaea' were his vassals and paid him tribute. But Adad-nirari's relationships with Babylonia were not merely military or political. He had sacrifices offered in the temples of Babylon, Borsippa, and Cutha and not only restored deported people to their homeland[47] but established regular rations for them. It is also worth noting that in Assyria a substantial rise in the popularity of the Babylonian god Nabu may be seen during Adad-nirari's reign.[48]

After the death of Adad-nirari in 783, Assyria underwent a serious decline that lasted for almost forty years. Three minor kings ruled during this time, while several provincial governors in the west and south-west acted almost as independent rulers. According to an eponym chronicle, Ashur-dan III (772–755) campaigned three times against Babylonia: in 771 and 767 against Gannanati and in 770 against Marad.[49] Otherwise the Assyrian army was occupied elsewhere, although with growing frequency it was dispatched to crush rebellions within Assyria or simply kept in residence at home.[50]

Against the background of a decimated northern Babylonia and a weakened Assyria, the Chaldaeans gradually rose to power. After the reigns of two kings whose names are poorly preserved in a late synchronistic king list (Ninurta?-apla?-[x][51] and Marduk-bel-[zeri?]), Marduk-apla-uṣur, the first king clearly identified as Chaldaean, came

[46] There is also a discrepancy within the native Babylonian historical tradition concerning dynastic divisions at this time; see B 54, 166 n. 1015.

[47] The deportees in question (Synchronistic History (B 98, Chronicle 21), iv 19) were probably Babylonians captured in previous Assyrian campaigns, perhaps even in the time of Shamshi-Adad V. For Babylonians and Chaldaeans in residence in Assyria in the early eighth century, see B 128, 163, under 'Babylonian(s)', 'Borsippa', and 'Chaldaean officials'; but note that Kinnier Wilson's interpretation of the term 'Kassite' as equivalent to 'Babylonian' is probably anachronistic (despite the evidence cited, *ibid.* p. 75).

[48] Though the cult of Nabu was attested at Calah during most of the ninth century.

[49] Urartian sources also refer to campaigns of Argishti I and of Sarduri II about this time against a place called 'Babilu', which has sometimes been identified with Kassite regions that were formerly part of Babylonia (B 54, 395f).

[50] Which may sometimes have been motivated by the consideration of keeping the native population in line.

[51] Even a cautious reading of this royal name is no longer directly supported by cuneiform evidence, since B 222, 13 (the only document in which the name was preserved) is now too damaged to prove the reading proposed in 1920. See B 99, 114.

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to the Babylonian throne; but nothing is known of events during his reign. Marduk-apla-uṣur's successor was Eriba-Marduk, a member of the Yakin tribe, who was later accorded the title 're-establisher of the foundation(s) of the land', that is, he was credited with restoring stability to the country. He seems to have been the first powerful Chaldaean monarch of Babylonia. By the beginning of the second year of his reign, he had gained sufficient control over the northern section of the land to take part in the official celebration of the New Year's Festival. Despite his Chaldaean origin, he acted vigorously on behalf of native Babylonians. He drove out Aramaeans who were in illegal possession of fields and orchards near Babylon and Borsippa[52] and restored these properties to their rightful owners. He repaired the throne of Marduk in Esagila and at Uruk reinforced the construction of the Ekhilianna, a shrine of Nanaya in the Eanna complex. A discordant note, however, is sounded in a tradition preserved in an inscription of Nabonidus two centuries later: during the reign of Eriba-Marduk, the people of Uruk made changes in the cult of the goddess Ishtar by taking away the old cult statue, unyoking its team of lions, and removing the old shrine; a new Ishtar statue, deemed unsuitable by later generations, was then set up for the revised cult.[53]

Eriba-Marduk's successor was Nabu-shuma-ishkun of the Dakkuru tribe. With the exception of two small account texts, most of our present information about his reign centres on Borsippa. A barrel-cylinder written in the name of Nabu-shuma-imbi, governor of Borsippa, tells of strife in and around that city. The men of Borsippa had to fight to retain their fields against marauders from Babylon and Dilbat as well as against Chaldaeans and Aramaeans. Within the city, especially at night, there was fighting in the streets and around the temple. In the king's fifth and sixth years, the statue of the god Nabu was prevented from taking part in the New Year's Festival at Babylon. Eventually the city seems to have enjoyed more peaceful days, at least for a time. Nabu-shuma-imbi was able to repair the storehouses at Ezida, the temple of Nabu; and a stone document, dated in the eighth year of the king, tells of the installation of one Nabu-mutakkil as a temple official (*ērib bīti*) of Nabu. But disruptions, especially by Aramaeans and Chaldaeans,

[52] Some Aramaeans, however, seem to have gained legal title to lands in Babylonia, to judge from a legal text from the reign of Eriba-Marduk (BM 40548, see B 54, 222 n. 1396).

[53] For a prophecy (*vaticinium ex eventu*) which has been interpreted as referring to the same events, but which places the blame for cult alterations on the king himself, see B 120. The authors' interpretation of the text would assign other misdeeds at Uruk to Eriba-Marduk: imposing heavy taxes on the people, devastating the city, filling the canals with mud, and causing the abandonment of the cultivated fields. (Note that Eriba-Marduk is not mentioned by name in the inscription, and the attribution has been made on the basis of historical circumstances described in the text.)

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were to continue into the reign of the next king, Nabonassar. To judge from the little evidence available, Nabu-shuma-ishkun seems to have been an ineffectual monarch.

VI. CONCLUSION

With the succession of three consecutive Chaldaean kings (from at least two different tribes) on the Babylonian throne, the transition between Kassite and Chaldaean hegemony in Babylonia was completed. The centuries that witnessed this transition were truly a 'dark age' and constitute one of the most thinly documented eras in Babylonian history. As a consequence, the narrative sections of this chapter have tended to be jejune chronicles of isolated events, often inadequately understood and difficult to fit into a meaningful historical pattern.

This period of transition was an age of poverty and weakness. Babylonia, beset by invaders and frequently cut off from vital trade routes, was for the most part governed by a series of weak kings; and the land was characterized by political instability. Such power as existed was often wielded by tribal groups (Kassites, Aramaeans, and Chaldaeans) or by the larger cities – the religious centres of the land which claimed many exemptions from royal jurisdiction.[54] The most forceful kings of the time were Nabu-shuma-ukin I, Nabu-apla-iddina, and Marduk-zakir-shumi I (three generations of the ninth-century royal family) and the Chaldaean Eriba-Marduk; but even these rulers, who brought moments of stability to the land, must be regarded as insignificant on the international scene. The rise of the Chaldaean monarchs in the early eighth century was slow and unspectacular; and, although the Chaldaeans were eventually to prove a serious challenge to the Assyrians for control of Babylonia, their early history was marked by setbacks – for example, the reign of the ineffective Nabu-shuma-ishkun (who succeeded the vigorous Eriba-Marduk on the throne) and the exclusion of the Chaldaeans from power by Nabonassar (747–734 B.C.) and his immediate successors.

Despite this generally gloomy political and economic picture, Babylonia throughout these centuries preserved the living force of her cultural tradition, especially in the fields of literature and science. The chief scribe (*ummânu*) enjoyed a privileged position at court. New editions of scientific texts were prepared; and the political vicissitudes of the age were enshrined in the dramatic Erra Epic, the composition of which shows considerable artistry and literary skill. The graphic arts (represented chiefly by reliefs on a few *kudurru* stelae and by a seal

[54] Though such privileges did not necessarily spare these cities from tribal depredations.

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engraved for royal presentation to the god Marduk) were not entirely barren, though their style – for at least the first half of the period – has been aptly termed 'grotesque'.

Perhaps most important, Babylonia as a nation and state did not succumb during this phase of weakness. Although the land was severely beleaguered at various times by tribal or Assyrian invasions, Babylonia preserved her identity and was prepared to play a more significant role on the international stage in the late eighth and seventh centuries, when the mighty Assyrian empire repeatedly turned its armies southward in an effort to dominate lower Mesopotamia.

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CHAPTER 8

URARTU

R. D. BARNETT

I. THE RISE AND PROGRESS OF URARTIAN STUDIES

The discovery of Urartu belongs to the heroic period when European scholars first resurrected the civilization of Assyria in the early nineteenth century. It is connected with those studies;[1] but for various reasons the rediscovery of Urartu was much more gradual and took a different course, slower and more erratic than that of Assyria.[2] The first Urartian remains to catch the eyes of the *savants* of that time, looking out for Assyrian cuneiform inscriptions, were those well preserved on the rock faces or stone slabs around the citadel of the town of Van; a connexion with the Assyrian civilization to the south was obviously to be inferred. In 1828, a French scholar, J. St Martin,[3] who had visited Van in 1823, began to grope towards an explanation by connecting these texts with the garbled legends preserved by an Armenian chronicler, Moses of Khorene (Moses Khorenatsi), probably of the eighth century A.D., according to whom the region was invaded from Assyria by a great army under its queen Semiramis who built a wondrous fortified city, citadel, and palaces at Van itself beside the lake.[4] With this was linked a romantic myth concerning her love for a beautiful semi-divine youth named Ara, a figure of the type of the 'dying god'. It is clear that by the time of Moses of Khorene all other memory of this kingdom, once the deadly rival of Assyria itself, had been forgotten and remained so, except for these popular legends. They are of as little real value for history as our own Arthurian legends, though the chronicler's vivid and circumstantial description of the great city beside Lake Van seems inspired surely by the great ruins themselves, which no doubt still existed there in a very impressive state of preservation.

The twin pioneers of Assyriology, Charles Bellino and Claudius James Rich, met early deaths in 1820 and 1821 respectively, but their work in collecting and copying cuneiform inscriptions had already had

[1] See B 91; B 157; B 61; B 43, chapter 1.

[2] An account in Russian of the rise of Urartian studies is to be found in B 293, 7ff; more summarily in English in B 294, 82ff. That of the inscriptions is traced in B 321, also in Russian.

[3] B 328.

[4] For a translation of the passage in Moses Khorenatsi's chronicle in full, see B 294, 84f. For Semiramis, B 150 and B 83.

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its lasting effect in alerting the interest of European scholars and of governments. In 1826, the French minister of foreign affairs, stirred by the Société Asiatique of Paris, entrusted a gifted young German scholar, F. E. Schulz, professor at the University of Giessen, with a mission on behalf of the Société Asiatique to undertake a 'literary journey' into Asiatic Turkey and Persia.[5] This was planned to last at least four years and Schulz's task was to report on, and study in the light of the account of Moses of Khorene, the area of Van (then the province of Turkish Armenia), its monuments and cuneiform inscriptions, some of which had already been observed by travellers in the massive fortress and caves of the ancient citadel of Van. Schulz reached Van on 24 July 1827 and by the following March was able to report that he had prepared a catalogue and copies of forty-two inscriptions which he was forwarding to Paris (among them three trilingual inscriptions recognizable as those of Xerxes).[6] In 1829 he was murdered at Julamerk. Though his life and mission were thus tragically cut short, his copies and notes were saved and sent back to Paris, where his report was eventually published in 1840.[7] During the summer of 1850 the father of modern Assyriological discovery, A. H. Layard, having concluded his penultimate campaign of excavation at Nimrud, took a brief holiday from the heat of the Mesopotamian plains and repaired to Van. Even here he spent an arduous week recopying with great accuracy the inscriptions, twenty-five being on the cliffs or walls of Van itself, the rest in the vicinity; he was probably unaware that Schulz's copies had very recently been published, or if he did know, was bent on making better copies. He also studied the script of the 'Vannic' texts and confirmed Rawlinson's observation that their script differed somewhat from the cuneiform of Assyria and Babylonia and that the language they spelt out certainly was totally different.[8] The question then arose, if they represented a different language, what was it? Rawlinson, hinting at an Iranian tongue, proposed that the script be called 'Medo–Assyrian'.[9] Lenormant (1871) tried Georgian;[10] Mordtmann (1872) tried Armenian;[11] Robert (1876) proposed a Semitic language.[12] Meanwhile more inscriptions were constantly being discovered. Finally in 1882, A. H. Sayce, using both Schulz's copies and Layard's (which are by now deposited in the British Museum, and which he found better than Schulz's), and making good use of the bilingual Assyrian and 'Vannic' inscriptions from Kelishin and Topzawa, brilliantly solved more or less at one blow the question of interpretation of the language which remained *sui generis*, established

[5] B 328.
[6] B 328.
[7] B 331.
[8] B 148, II 172.
[9] *Ibid.*
[10] B 317.
[11] B 324; B 325.
[12] B 327.

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its grammar and vocabulary, and provided translations of the text.[13] Their number had now risen to fifty-eight, and they were beginnning to attract increasing interest.

These could now be seen to throw a flood of light on the history of the 'Vannic' kingdom known anciently as Urartu or Biainili and to open a window on the lost past of other peoples of Transcaucasia with whom the Urartians found themselves at war. Urartu was shown to have been the most important northern outpost of the literacy and cultural tradition of the Assyro-Babylonian world in the Iron Age, as the Hittites were to be shown to have been in the Bronze.[14] This was one of Sayce's most brilliant achievements in the field of decipherment, the other being his fundamental work on the empire of the Hittites and their hieroglyphic script.[15] Yet while his triumphs over the Urartian were largely in many ways ignored in Europe, it was not so in Russia which had always provided a natural centre for Caucasian studies. A Fifth Congress of Archaeology held at Tiflis in 1881 had already proclaimed the importance of Urartian research, and the call found a particular response in Armenian intellectual circles, whose interest had been demonstrated since 1843 and who eagerly canvassed the question of the connexion of Armenian and Urartian languages and culture.[16] The challenge of field research however was taken up in a less satisfactory fashion.

The archaeology of Urartu had in fact remained almost totally neglected; in contrast to Mesopotamia, where the achievements of Botta, Layard, Place, Rassam, Loftus and later George Smith had opened up the Assyrian palaces to an astonished world between 1842 and 1876, and continued completely to steal the limelight. In the area of Van the field of discovery was consequently left wide open to random plunderers and illicit excavators. Though a rock-cut tomb containing Urartian bronzes was discovered by chance and recorded by a somewhat scholarly Russian general at Alishar near Erivan on the Aras river in 1859,[17] it was misunderstood as being Sassanian in date, and ignored. Yet the obvious target for action in the late seventies was Toprak Kale, a high mound to the north of Van, where the local Armenians had started successfully quarrying for ancient bronze and other objects. Some of these coming on to the international market for sale in 1877 attracted the attention of Layard, by then Sir Henry Layard and the British Ambassador to the Porte. A brief excavation of sorts was hastily mounted for the British Museum at Toprak Kale under the supervision of H. Rassam with the aid of a resident American missionary, Dr Raynolds, and the British consul at Van, Captain Emilius Clayton. In

[13] B 330. [14] See B 505.
[15] On Sayce's work in Hittite decipherment see B 469.
[16] B 296, chapter 1; B 329.
[17] B 296, 218f; B 294, 82ff. See below, p. 345.

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spite of the Armenian robbers' depredations, very important finds were made in and around a small temple of Khaldi, the national god of the Urartians – inscribed shields, cauldrons, ivories and the battered remains of a once magnificent bronze throne of the god.[18] All this matched well with the account of the Assyrian king Sargon's sack of the Urartian city of Muṣaṣir and the illustration of the captured city on the reliefs of his palace at Khorsabad. This excavation, in spite of its glaring defects, was the first serious contribution to Urartian archaeology, yet it lapsed into total obscurity, remaining almost wholly unpublished and ignored for over eighty years. Rassam, who possessed a great knowledge of the country but little scholarly feeling, dismissed Toprak Kale as a site of minor interest and its products as a merely provincial version of Assyrian culture.[19] On the Russian side of the frontier in 1893, M. V. Nikolsky, an Assyriologist, and A. A. Ivanovsky, an archaeologist, headed an expedition from Moscow to look for more Urartian inscriptions and conducted an excavation ineffectively on the northern slope of Mount Ararat at Taşburun which was however revealed to be an Urartian fortress named Menuakhinili.[20] A fresh start seemed necessary and in 1898 the Prussian Academy sent out F. Lehmann (afterwards Lehmann-Haupt) and W. Belck to scour the country and systematically both to collect new Urartian inscriptions on the Turkish side of the frontier and to obtain better copies of the old.[21] In this search they were in fact much helped by the fruitful guidance and preliminary (though barely acknowledged) work of W. Devey, Clayton's scholarly successor as British consul at Van, who had already made squeezes and copies of very many of them – now preserved in the British Museum.[22] At the same time the German mission re-excavated the site of Toprak Kale, by then much churned up, making many important finds but publishing no site plan. In subsequent years Lehmann-Haupt published his finds and findings: partly in *Armenien Einst und Jetzt* (B 292), a work which had considerable influence, partly elsewhere.[23] Somewhat perversely, Lehmann-Haupt fixed for many years on the people of Urartu the irrelevant name of 'Haldians' or 'Chaldians', after Khaldi, their god; but this is now abandoned. Little more was done before World War I except (in passing) on the Assyriological side by F. Thureau-Dangin, who in 1912 contributed a masterly study of the eighth military campaign of Sargon in Urartu.[24] The return of peace to the war-torn world brought only a slow return to Urartian studies. The first general account of Urartu in English was published only in 1925, aptly enough

[18] B 205, 378, on which see B 363.
[19] B 205, 130 and 389.
[20] B 313 and B 326.
[21] B 315.
[22] B 61.
[23] B 315; B 394.
[24] B 242.

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by the aged A. H. Sayce, the father of the subject.[25] Lehmann-Haupt's epigraphical harvest raised the total of known inscriptions substantially but publication of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Chaldicarum* did not start till 1928; a further instalment appeared in 1935, when the author died by his own hand, leaving the great task only half finished. But to conclude the pre-war period: in 1911–12 Toprak Kale was again under attack, this time by a Russian scholar, I. A. Orbeli, who did some limited clearance;[26] and in 1916 during World War I while Van was under occupation by the Russian army, N. Y. Marr again probed the mysterious hill but again without success. Orbeli however had greater luck in finding, in a great rock niche called Hazine Kapusu (the 'Door of the Treasury') on Van citadel, a very important inscription containing the annals of Sanduri II,[27] the only other document of this type to be found beside the annals of Argishti, inscribed also at Van and first copied by Schulz. The first translation of the new annals was provided by Tseretheli only in 1928,[28] from Heidelberg. But it would seem that the procedures of systematic analysis of material found and the understanding of techniques of excavation (particularly as evolved by German scholars in Mesopotamia for dealing with mud-brick buildings) were either unavailable to, or ignored by, those who worked at Toprak Kale and Van. Nevertheless a Russian engineer–archaeologist named Petrov did some excellent pioneer work in 1914 in excavating a small Urartian cemetry at Igdır on the northern slope of Mount Ararat.[29]

In the aftermath of World War I, the Russian revolution and the Turkish resurgence under Atatürk, the province of Van, the frontier area of Turkey and Russia, now badly wracked by depopulation, devastation and other sufferings, was inevitably both militarily and politically highly sensitive, and all further travel and investigation on the Turkish side for scientific purposes were virtually excluded for more than three decades, that is, till after World War II, though an American expedition under Kirsopp and Sylvia Lake was allowed to conduct a small excavation on Van citadel in 1938.[30] But in Soviet Armenia, partly spurred by a traditional spirit of nationalistic enthusiasm, things went better. In 1930–32, the Academy of the History of Material Culture sent out an expedition under an architect, T. Toramanyan, to investigate and record the 'cyclopean' fortresses noted and described by him in 1920–21 on the north and north-west slopes of Mount Aragats (modern Turkish Alagöz).[31] They included the discovery of several new fortresses. The Armenian SSR Committee for the Preservation of Ancient Monuments

[25] B 301.
[26] B 318, 90.
[27] B 318, 25ff.
[28] B 333.
[29] B 446; B 426.
[30] B 386.
[31] B 296, 20f.

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then extended their work to the western and southern shores of Lake Sevan. In 1934 an expedition of the Hermitage Museum at Leningrad led by B. B. Piotrovsky began to take a hand in investigations near Tsovinar (former Kolagran), south of Lake Sevan, where inscriptions indicated that Urartian power had extended under Rusa I.[32] Two distinct groups of 'cyclopean' Urartian fortresses could now be distinguished, one at Karmir-Blur and Arin-berd (Ganli Tepe) both near Erivan, the other at Nor-Bayazit and Tsovinar. The aims of these surveys had been to find a site suitable for long-term excavation, and for this purpose Karmir-Blur, soon identified from inscriptions as the ancient Teishebaini, was selected. Excavations were started in 1939 by a joint team of the Hermitage Museum and the Armenian Committee for the Preservation of Ancient Monuments under the leadership of B. B. Piotrovsky, and are still continuing after nearly forty years.[33] Of all this remarkable activity, however, the Western world of scholarship remained quite unaware, isolated as it was both physically and ideologically from the USSR and preoccupied with the rise of Hitler and Nazism and the alarms and fresh omens of approaching war. Progress in Urartian studies was accordingly limited in the West inevitably to the linguistic field and to the consolidation of positions already reached. After Tseretheli's translation of the annals of Sarduri[34] and between the two fascicles of Lehmann-Haupt's valuable *Corpus*,[35] A. Goetze, the distinguished Assyriologist, achieved some progress by a careful study of the Assyro-Urartian bilingual text from Kelishin;[36] and in 1933 J. Friedrich published the first modern grammar and reader of the language since that of Sayce, accompanied by a selection of texts in translation.[37] Meanwhile the Hurrian character of the Urartian language was at last identified and confirmed by Speiser[38] and Friedrich[39].

The period after World War II and the relatively closer rapprochement of East and West gave the opportunity for a fresh start on the quite underdeveloped fields of history and archaeology of Urartu. In 1946 appeared the *Histoire d'Arménie* of N. Adontz,[40] who had perished in a German concentration camp – a mature and critical study which, among other merits, for the first time incorporated and made better known to Western scholars some of the contribution to Urartian studies to be derived from the stock of Armenian learning and traditions inaccessible to those unacquainted with Armenian.[41] In 1951, Diakonoff extracted and studied the Assyrian and Babylonian references to

[32] B 296, 22; see below, p. 352.
[33] B 296, 22f; B 412; B 413; B 365; B 360.
[34] B 333.
[35] B 316.
[36] B 311; see below, p. 338.
[37] B 309.
[38] B 352.
[39] B 308; B 310, 56ff.
[40] B 357.
[41] B 296, chapter 1, *passim* for references to Armenian historical studies.

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Urartu.[42] In 1950, 1952 and 1972 the important collection of antiquities from Toprak Kale in the British Museum was at last published by the present writer[43] and further items from that site also of importance in the Berlin Museum were at the same time made known by G. A. Meyer.[44] Scholars and excavators, many equipped with fresh experience and the improved methods now used in the field of Near Eastern excavation, and working in conditions of better security and communications, began simultaneously to show improved archaeological results on both sides of the Turkish–Russian frontier. At Arin-berd, in 1950, the excavation of an Urartian settlement, recognized from inscriptions as that of ancient Erebuni (the forerunner of modern Erivan), was begun by K. Oganesyan in a joint undertaking, first of the Armenian SSR and the Hermitage Museum, later of the Pushkin Museum of Moscow.[45] Their other achievements apart, the Soviet scholars were, in fact, the first to lay proper stress on evidence of the techniques, crafts and technology of everyday life of the common people in those areas. Between 1950 and 1975, indirect or direct personal and intellectual contact across the international frontiers gradually increased. Meanwhile a string of Urartian sites and fortresses was identified in Turkey, particularly by Burney,[46] and many new inscriptions and sites were found in the Eastern Turkish provinces both of Van and Erzurum. The principal sites thus found have formed the subject of excavations conducted now by Turkish archaeologists themselves, notably once more at Toprak Kale,[47] and at Altıntepe,[48] Çavuştepe,[49] Kef Kalesi (Adilcevaz),[50] Aznavurtepe,[51] and Van.[52] Correspondingly, in Soviet Armenia, major excavations (after tentative explorations in 1930) were undertaken by Martirosyan at the great site of Armavir and continue to provide most valuable information.[53] Reports and translations of Russian works and studies began to multiply in the West. In 1960 Piotrovsky's *Vanskoye Tsarstvo* provided the first comprehensive study of Urartian history and archaeology,[54] to be followed by Van Loon's *Urartian Art* in 1966.[55] In the same year, the study of Urartian expansion into Iran around Lake Urmia, the area of ancient Mannai, was extended by the discovery of new inscriptions in Iranian Azerbaijan,[56] and by 1975 W. Kleiss, of the German Institute of Archaeology in Teheran, had recorded by means of annual surveys a network of no less than

[42] B 373.
[43] B 363.
[44] B 401.
[45] B 406.
[46] B 430; B 432.
[47] B 378; B 379.
[48] B 410; see also B 427.
[49] B 376; B 377.
[50] B 367; B 408; B 409.
[51] B 359.
[52] B 380; B 428; B 448.
[53] B 395.
[54] B 296 (cf. B 288 and B 297). This masterly work still remains the only basic comprehensive study of Urartian history and archaeology.
[55] B 458. See also B 284A.
[56] B 302; B 319.

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seventy-seven sites in that area,[57] the largest of which, Haftavan and Bastam, evidently the chief administrative and military centres, have been under excavation since 1968 and 1969 by C. A. Burney[58] and W. Kleiss respectively;[59] while near-by Hasanlu, under excavation by R. Dyson for the University of Pennsylvania, yielded an important Urartian level of the ninth century B.C.[60] In addition, the site of the city of Muṣaṣir was identified.[61] The linguistic and textual side meanwhile was not at all neglected. In 1961, Diakonoff published a comparative study of the Urartian and Hurrian languages, exploring and confirming their connexion and concluding that Urartian was not merely a late dialect of Hurrian but a separate language derived from a common parent.[62] In 1955–7, König produced in German a very useful collection of the principal known inscriptions,[63] only to be shortly superseded by the full corpus of all those then known, assembled and authoritatively edited (though in Russian only) by a Georgian scholar, G. A. Melikishvili in 1960, extended by him further in 1971. These now mustered already 370 texts,[64] a notable advance on Sayce's modest 58 three quarters of a century before, or even Lehmann-Haupt's 193. The number has by now risen considerably further. The number of new Urartian inscriptions, too numerous to specify here, discovered in eastern Turkey, the USSR, and Iran continued to mount; by 1973 the site of Erebuni alone had added twenty-three more.[65] Meanwhile, a second Urartian form of writing, a pictographic–hieroglyphic script using over one hundred signs, has also been identified, though it cannot yet be read.[66] General studies of Urartian art, history, and archaeology have followed, in many ways making the student's path easier.

This gradual flowering of Urartian studies across four frontiers, now expressed in a further multitude of books and articles, has gone to some extent hand-in-hand with, and has been as far as possible integrated with, the unfolding of Anatolian and Caucasian archaeology in general during the last forty years in all these contiguous areas of Eastern Turkey, Iran, Georgia, Armenia, and Azerbaijan. Our knowledge and understanding of the Urartian people and their history and achievements have been greatly increased, though very much clearly still remains to be done.

[57] B 391; B 392; B 393.

[58] B 371.

[59] B 390.

[60] B 306 A, 203ff.

[61] B 368.

[62] B 306. In 1971 he changed his opinion to conclude that Urartian was a form of Hurrian: see B 305. But see the cautious review by M. Salvini, *RHA* 36 (1978) 158ff.

[63] B 314.

[64] B 321; B 322.

[65] B 447, 56.

[66] B 303; B 304.

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II. GEOGRAPHY AND ENVIRONMENT OF URARTU

The geographical extent of the Urartian kingdom at its zenith in the middle of the eighth century B.C. was considerable. It has been described as the 'diamond-shaped area between the four lakes of Van, Urmia, Sevan and Çildir'.[67] It was certainly a land of mountains, lakes, and rivers. Its frontiers were most frequently by no means clearly defined;[68] but they extended in the south-east into Iran as far as the basin of Lake Urmia (now Reẓa'iyeh), then northwards to those of Lakes Sevan and Çildir in the north, following the course of the upper Araxes (Aras) river and Arpa Çay north-east of Mount Ararat (5,172 m, modern Turkish Ağri Dağ) into modern Soviet Armenia and the shadow of the Caucasus; then westwards into Turkey, following the Kara Su river valley to the region of Erzincan and Erzurum and perhaps the Çoroh river; then south down the Euphrates to meet the line of mountains running west to east, the Karaoğlan, Haçreş, Hakkâri, and Tur Abdin ranges which formed the southern border confronting Assyria.[69] Parts of eastern Anatolia and north Syria, the kingdoms of Colchis, Diaue(khi), Malatya and Mannai, at different times became vassal-states, and large tracts across the Aras river were conquered and annexed. The heart, however, of the Urartian state lay in the volcanic area around Lake Van (1,720 m above sea-level, covering 3,755 sq. km) dominated by snow-capped Süphan Dağ (4,434 m) and Nimrud Dağ (2,910 m), itself containing a small lake. Lake Van's waters are undrinkable, being heavily laden with sodium carbonate, though this has the advantage that it keeps them from freezing in winter. In spite of the sodium carbonate content, they harbour shoals of rather small fish. Lake Urmia (1,250 m, 4,725 sq. km) is brackish, but Lake Sevan (1,900 m) is sweet and rich in fish, especially salmon-trout.[70] Between the high mountain ranges of this area flow several large rivers in every direction. The Cyrus (modern Kur, Kuru or Kuru Çay) rises in the Allahüekber range and flows north past Ardahan into Georgia. The Aras river, fed by the Arpa Çay, forms the barrier between Turkey and Soviet Armenia and flows onwards to the Caspian. In the north-west the Kara Su (the ancient Phasis) and the Murat Su flow together to form the waters of the Euphrates, and the Çoroh (ancient Acampsis) flows northwards into Georgia. In the south, the Bohtan Su (ancient Kentrites) and the Batman Su flow into the upper Tigris paralleled by the Greater Zab. None of these are navigable except the Euphrates, which can be utilized by rafts to float downstream, as can the lower Çoroh.[71] Mountain ranges on all sides impede

[67] B 458, 1.
[68] B 342.
[69] B 341; B 347.
[70] B 343.
[71] B 339.

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movement, those on the south facing Assyria being deemed impassable, at least to armies. East–west through Van runs the great geological fault, cause of many disastrous earthquakes. But through this area have passed from time immemorial two all-important caravan highways from west to east,[72] linking Anatolia with Iran and India and the Central Asian steppes. The more northerly of these runs from Sivas, Erzincan and Erzurum, climbing slowly to Kars, then passing north of Lake Van to Erivan (now in Soviet Armenia), to Tabriz and Teheran and beyond.[73] The other, more southerly route fords the Euphrates by Malatya then follows the lower Murat valley past Palu and Elaziğ (former Kharput), proceeding through the plain of Muş to Van, then onwards via the Kotur valley to the basin of Lake Urmia and Tabriz. The north–south links consisted either of the main route from Tiflis, which ran through the Caucasus, then south-west past Leninakan (former Alexandropol) and Kars to Horasan (Hasankale), 56 km east of Erzurum, then turned south via Hinis to Muş; or alternatively a route ran from Leninakan southwards skirting Mount Alagöz eastwards to Erivan. The Black Sea port of Trebizond was linked over the Zigana Pass with Gümüşhane and Erzurum. Part of this route was that probably followed northwards by the Ten Thousand in their arduous march described by Xenophon from the plains of Iraq to the sea. The Urmia basin was easily reached from either Van through Kotur and Hoy, or from Tiflis and Erivan by a road running through Nakhichevan and the district of Metsamor on the Aras, and Marand. The configuration of this alpine area of lakes and mountains mostly at an altitude of 1,300–1,500 m, forming the kingdom of Urartu is that of a natural fortress, a strategic box, which can give or deny control of the whole region and its vital transit cross-roads,[74] and has always made it a highly sensitive frontier area between empires. Summer in the area of Lake Van lasts only from June to September. In winter snow falls deeply, isolating communities from each other often for several months, but largely closing the roads to enemies.[75] For transport, travel and the communications necessary for trade and caravans, horses were obtainable in large numbers from the semi-nomadic tribes of Gilzanu or Uiteru. It has been argued that they were domesticated from a type of wild horse that flourished in the Caspian area.[76] Two-humped Bactrian camels were also bred by tribesmen of Etiu(ni)[77] and Gilzanu.[78] Actual wooden solid-wheeled

[72] B 287, 7; B 291; B 341; B 348; B 352.

[73] B 287, 2f; B 291.

[74] B 285, 10.

[75] However, B 339, I 227 quotes the case of the Russians' capture of Erzurum by surprise in February 1916.

[76] B 338.

[77] See below, p. 349.

[78] B 124, pls. XXXVIIff. The two-humped camel is also shown on the Black Obelisk of Shalmaneser III as brought in tribute by the inhabitants of both Gilzanu and Muṣri.

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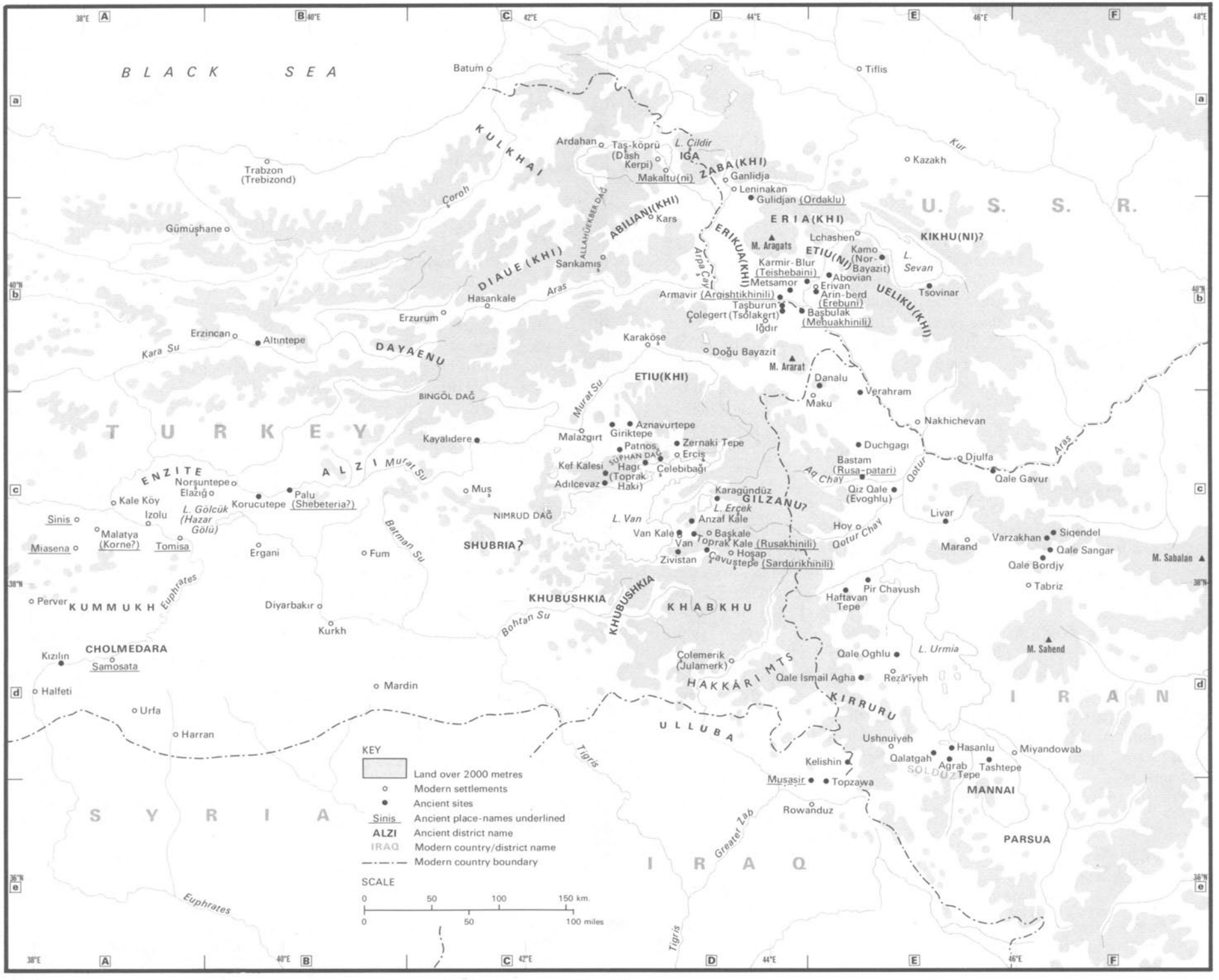

Map 13. Urartu.

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ox-carts, open or covered for conveying heavy loads, and light hunting chariots with thirty-spoked wheels survive from Lchashen beside Lake Sevan.[79] Chariots for war, introduced from Assyria, were common. Doubtless large forests which have long disappeared once clad many of the valleys and mountain slopes which then teemed with wild life. On bronze belts from Erebuni are engraved scenes of lion and wild bull hunts conducted from chariots.[80] Stags and bisons were hunted, as is shown by the scenes engraved on bronze belts from pre-Urartian Armenia.[81] A lion hunt from chariots is zestfully depicted on an Urartian bronze fragment from Kayalıdere.[82] A leopard is hunted on a coloured wall fresco at Erebuni.[83] An otter or beaver is depicted in Lake Van on the Balawat Gates.[84] Excavations at Erebuni, Karmir-Blur, Metsamor and Armavir[85] have produced identifiable remains of other wild fauna that were hunted or trapped: stag, bezoar goat, moufflon, wolf, fox, Persian gazelle, beaver, wild cat, marten, hare, bustard, badger, grey hamster; and among fishes, carp and trout. The same sites[86] produced remains of many domesticated animals. Apart from those of horses, asses and camels we have those of buffalo, sheep, goats, swine and large-horned cattle (*Bos brachyceros*), domestic fowl, ducks and geese.[87] A similar picture is provided from Korucutepe[88] near Keban on the Euphrates, with the addition of boar, bear, lynx, hare, beaver, squirrel, gerbil and hedgehog, red deer and twenty-one types of bird. Stock-raising was practised on a very large scale by the Urartians and their conquered neighbours, as attested by the records of booty claimed by the Urartian kings. Seeds of flax, no doubt used to make linen, were abundant at Korucutepe. Cloaks of woolly fleece are shown on Assyrian monuments as the regular wear of the Urartians and their neighbours to keep out the cold. As for the arts of husbandry, there is ample evidence of extensive viticulture and agriculture in the huge wine-cellars and granaries built by the Urartians, and equally in their written records. The area round Lake Van supports, and similarly supported in the past, good fruit-growing. Remains of apples, melons, plums, quinces, pomegranates and various berries have been found.[89] Oil was produced from sesame, beer from millet and barley.[90] The fame of Urartian wine (it seems) had even reached the distant Hebrews in ancient Palestine, where its invention in Armenia was projected back to dimmest

[79] B 396, pl. 8.
[80] B 396, pls. 25f; B 287, pl. 65.
[81] B 398, pls. 38–40.
[82] B 287, pl. 62.
[83] B 447, pl. 31.
[84] B 124, pl. 1.
[85] B 396, 121ff, 142ff provides a collective zoological report on these four sites.
[86] See below, n. 96, on Metsamor.
[87] B 396, 142ff, quoting studies of S. K. Mezhlyumlyan.
[88] B 335, 113ff.
[89] B 415, 295.
[90] B 414, 295.

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antiquity, as witnessed by their story of Noah disgraced by drunkenness on Mount Ararat. Indeed the wild grape, *Vitis vinifera*, from which the cultured vine is derived, is believed to have originated nearby in the Caucasus region near the Caspian.[91] It flourishes in the Murat valley. Armenian wine was exported to Babylon in the sixth century B.C., according to Herodotus,[92] being floated down the Tigris on rafts.

The subsoil of Urartu and its vicinity was rich in metals of all kinds – gold, silver, copper, and iron, in all of which their subject tribes paid tribute. Gold came from Kummukh.[93] The largest source of silver was almost certainly at Gümüşhane[94] in the north-west. Important copper workings existed then as now at Ergani on the upper Tigris.[95] Across the Aras river at Metsamor were great smelting sites and foundries of bronze and iron which were active from the Middle Bronze Age into mediaeval times,[96] though it is not yet certain whence the tin for bronze-making was first obtained. Arsenic which is found in the neighbourhood of Van,[97] was also found in considerable quantities in the excavations at Toprak Kale:[98] its use instead of tin – evidently there in short supply – to alloy with copper in the manufacture of bronze was an archaic technique, widely practised in the Near East in the late third and early second millenia B.C.,[99] which survived at Toprak Kale until the seventh century B.C.[100]

Iron deposits in nearby Colchis were worked from the twelfth century and the finished product was exported to central Transcaucasia, probably also to Urartu and Assyria and to the West. The Colchian smiths even manufactured a soft steel,[101] and a steel axe has been identified at Toprak Kale.[102] Greek tradition ascribed the working of iron and steel to the tribe of Chalybes and took their name to designate the latter product (*khalybs*). This tribe, encountered by Xenophon in the neighbourhood of Trapezus (modern Trebizond) but also between Armenia and Colchis,[103] may have borne earlier the name of Khaldaioi,

[91] B 287, 11. Wild-grape pips were found at Korucutepe; B 335, 114.

[92] Hdt. I. 94.

[93] See below, p. 350.

[94] B 337, 28.

[95] B 334. See also below, p. 344, for copper from Diaue(khi) and Kummukh.

[96] B 345; B 403; B 402; B 287, 110, 200f, 285.

[97] B 346 states that gold, silver, copper, iron, borax, and arsenic are common around Lake Van. For mineral resources, see B 348.

[98] B 394, 81 n. 1: 'vast amounts of orpiment were found at Toprak Kale, enough to poison half of Van'.

[99] See also B 349, 96ff.

[100] Unpublished analyses, British Museum Research Laboratory.

[101] B 340; B 287, 113f.

[102] Unpublished analysis, British Museum Research Laboratory. The set of iron tools, called Assyrian but very possibly Urartian, found by Petrie at Memphis included two of steel; B 344; B 351.

[103] B 337, 26ff.

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and earlier still among the urartians that of Khalitu(ni).[104] Glass was also manufactured at Metsamor, where the requisite ingredients, including zinc and manganese, were available.[105]

III. NAIRI AND URUAṬRI: THE ORIGINS OF URARTU

History is totally silent concerning the peoples of this central mountain area till we reach the Hittite records of the second millennium, which throw a little light on the people of its western fringe. Nor has archaeology come to our aid as yet to tell us anything of the prehistoric populations of Urartu proper, south or west of the Turco-Soviet frontier. Yet the Van area was certainly inhabited by a more or less settled population from the Tell Halaf period in the sixth millennium B.C., as is shown by still unpublished finds from Tilki Tepe beside the citadel at Van.[106] There is in the British Museum a remarkable Sumerian copper figure representing a long-bearded Caucasian bison of the Akkadian period, said to have been found in the region of Van.[107] This would seem to imply that it was dedicated there in that great period of Mesopotamian expansion in the late third millennium at some shrine or cult centre near Van, as yet undiscovered or destroyed. Meanwhile, in the western approaches to Urartu in the Keban area, some material is gradually being assembled in excavations designed to rescue in some haste some material from sites soon to be inundated in a great new Euphrates dam.[108] In this area the Hittite royal records in the fourteenth century speak of kingdoms of Azzi and Khayasha in the Upper Euphrates valley and record alliances, both matrimonial and political, with the ruling family;[109] they also speak of Ishuwa, north of Malatya; and of Alshe or Alzi, between the Tigris and the Murat Su, an area apparently peopled by Hurrians; whilst the Kaska or Gasga tribes, related to the inhabitants of the Caucasus,[110] inhabit the eastern corner of the Black Sea coast. Further eastwards, in the region south of modern Muş, lay Shubria, whose Hurrian-speaking population probably extended as far north as Lake Van. Several settlements of the Bronze Age have also been identified in the region of Lake Urmia; one at least goes back to the Chalcolithic period.[111] By the thirteenth century

[104] See below, p. 361. The problem, discussed by scholars, ancient and modern, of how to equate the Chaldaei, Chalybes, and Alybe, 'the birth-place of silver' (Hom. *Od.* II.857), tempts the suggestion that they were an Urartian tribe of smiths, perhaps from Muṣaṣir, who, as in their chief god's name (Khaldi/Aldi), 'dropped their aitches', i.e., did not sound their initial aspirates.

[105] B 403. [106] B 355; see also B 287, 9, 31 and 273 n. 39.

[107] BM 108813 (see B 285, 11 and pl. 1), Department of Western Asiatic Antiquities, bequeathed in 1914 by H. F. B. Lynch (B 343).

[108] For prehistoric sites in the Içme (Keban) area, see B 342, Türkei 79, 95, 138, 143, 144, 147, 166–74; for others, near L. Urmia, see B 342, Iran 34, 72 and B 287, 100f.

[109] B 497, 117f. [110] B 616. [111] B 342, Iran 34 and 72; B 287, 100f.

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these areas were slipping or had slipped out of the control of Mitanni into the Assyrian sphere of interest and the earliest light on them is shed by the records of the Assyrian kings.[112] In 1273 B.C. Shalmaneser I (1273–1244 B.C.) first mentions these lands as the country of Uruaṭri (also spelt in a variant rendering as Uraṭri) – evidently the origin of the later term Urartu. He claims that its people have rebelled against him, thereby implying a previous submission, and mentions eight of their kingdoms by name – Khimme, Uatqun, Bargun, Salua, Khalila, Lukha, Nilipakhru and Zingun.[113] The term 'Uruaṭri' then disappears for two hundred and fifty years until the late eleventh century B.C. Shalmaneser's claim to have burnt and sacked fifty-one of the cities of Uruaṭri in three days need hardly be taken literally: it is probably sheer propaganda, though these places do seem to have been more than mere villages: as areas they were long-lived and survived repeated Assyrian attacks. Khimme and Lukha reappear as districts of eastern Khabkhu[114] as part of Sugu in the basin of the Greater Zab, to be captured by Tiglath-pileser I in about 1114 B.C.[115] while in another of his texts Salua is mentioned together with Qumanu (or Uqumanu), Kadmukhu and Alzi as part of the Lullume or Lullubu lands[116] – that is to say it lay in the area between the Diyala and Lesser Zab. Khimme again and certain other areas mentioned by Shalmaneser I (Uatqun, Salua, Khalila,[117] Lukha, Nilipakhru and Zingun) reappear described as parts of Uruaṭri in the annals of Ashur-bel-kala (1073–1056) though then their belonging to Uruaṭri is not mentioned.

But now Shalmaneser I, his hands freed in the north-east, turned his fury against the once powerful Hurrian kingdom of Khanigalbat and its king Shattuara II, and swept over this strategically important central area of upper Mesopotamia to annex it. From this point the Hurrian petty principalities of the north and the north-east, now isolated, appear to have decided to reorganize and prepare themselves to meet the Assyrian onslaught.

The area in which they took their stand took a new name, Nairi – an

[112] A foretaste of Assyrian contacts, it has been claimed (B 353), is represented by the discovery in 1895, in a tomb (*kurgan*) at Khodjali in Russian Azerbaijan, of an agate bead inscribed in cuneiform 'Property of Adad-nirari'. But which king of that name? Weidner (in B 400, 267f) has opted for Adad-nirari I (1305–1274 B.C.). But the ninth- to eighth-century material associated with the pearl, as well as general considerations, make Adad-nirari II (911–891) or even III (810–783) more probable. Whether the pearl came thither as booty, as a gift, or by way of trade is of course unknown.

[113] B 356, 24ff; B 161, no. 13 (= B 100, I §527). On Khimme = Hittite Khimua, see B 356, 29 n. 53.

[114] Formerly read by Assyriologists as Kirkhi or Kilkhi; see below, n. 119.

[115] B 356, 29ff; B 274, 459.

[116] B 262, 349f, lines 15–23, quoted in B 356, 82, see also 57ff; B 158, §301.

[117] It has been suggested that Khalila is the Kashka capital of that name mentioned in Hittite sources, but this is very unlikely (B 353, 63; B 356, 29).

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obscure term of vague and shifting meaning, which it is important for Urartian history to elucidate. The Assyrian threat soon took shape and we learn from a text of Shalmaneser's successor, Tukulti-Ninurta I (1243–1207), of his claim to have vanquished in his first year the mountainous areas of the Quti (Gutians), Uqumanu and other kingships of Shubaru, in addition to conquering forty kings of Nairi; he has become their liege lord, as he has become that of the Quti and the Shubareans.[118] He claims too in so doing to have advanced further to the north than any predecessor to the shores of the 'Upper Sea of Nairi' (presumably Lake Van) beside which it appears the forty kings resided.

Nairi is then not mentioned for over a century till Tiglath-pileser I (1114–1076 B.C.) mentions in his annals how at the outset of his reign he invaded the regions of Kadmukhu and Papkhu,[119] the latter kingdom being ruled by Kili-Teshub, son of Kali-Teshub, who also bore the title or epithet of Irrupi 'my lord'. All these names are Hurrian.[120] In his second year,[121] Tiglath-pileser claims to have subdued the area of Sugu in eastern Khabkhu and to have battled in the next year with twenty-three kings of Nairi (he later raised their number to sixty) and their chariotry, led by Sieni, king of Dayaenu,[122] whom he carried off as a prisoner to Ashur. The uncouth names of their twenty-three lands are all recorded[123] but mostly are otherwise unknown, save for Dayaenu, Tumme and Khimua. Khimua is probably Khimme, mentioned above, known from Hittite sources as Khimuwa. Tumme lay south of Lake Urmia,[124] and is always apparently grouped or contrasted with Dayaenu. Together they indicated the two opposite ends, the southern and northern extremities of the lands of Nairi. More exactly, Dayaenu may be tentatively located between the uplands of the modern Bingöl Dağ and the Palandöken mountains and the sources of the Kara Su above the plain of Erzurum, though there is an argument for bringing the border

[118] B 356, 18ff; B 264, text 5, lines 1–12; B 158, §§142–4.

[119] B 356, 20f, 43. Their territories are specified as Papkhu, Katmukhu, Bushu, Mummu, [A]madanu, Nikhanu, Alaya, Tepurzu and Purukuzzu (also read Purulumzu). Cf. also B 264, texts 22, 23, 26. The name Papkhu was formerly read Kurkhu and seems to be distinct from Khabkhu (above, n. 114). See B 357, 43f, n. 4 for a discussion of the correct readings.

[120] B 274, 457ff. On this name see B 356, 48f, n. 3.

[121] B 274, 459 ascribes this campaign to his third year.

[122] B 356, 48ff; B 158, §§217ff.

[123] They are given as Tumme, Tunube, Tualu, Kindaru, Uzula, Unzamunu, Andiabe, Pilakinnu, Aturginu, Kulibarzinu, Shinibirnu, Khimua, Paiteru, Uiram, Sururia, Abaenu, Adaenu, Kirinu, Albaya, Ugina, Nazabia, Abarsinnu and Dayaenu. See B 356, 51; B 62, 66f, iv 71–83. On Khimua see above, n. 113. Tunube may be Tunibunu, known from the texts of Shalmaneser III. Some scholars, somewhat unconvincingly, identify Dayaenu with the kingdom later called Diaue(khi) by the Urartians, who may be the same as a people encountered by Xenophon in the late fourth century B.C. under the name of Taochoi. See B 287, 137.

[124] B 356, 64f.

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of Dayaenu as far south as the river Arsanias, north-west of Lake Van. This is the presence of an inscription of Tiglath-pileser I carved on a stela at Yoncalu in the Murat valley, west of Bulanık and Malazgırt,[125] in which he claims to have reached the border of Dayaenu. At least it certainly proves that the Assyrian king's boast to have battled his way thus far was not imaginary. From there Tiglath-pileser claims that he drove on to the 'Upper Sea',[126] perhaps again Lake Van. This represents the apogee of Assyrian military achievement in this difficult and untamed terrain, which was not again attained or even attempted until the ninth century. Nairi thus in the twelfth century B.C. appears to have indicated to the Assyrians the wild and mountainous country in the north beyond the barrier of the Hakkâri and Judi Dağ ranges, from Tur Abdin in the south-west perhaps as far as the Urmia basin in the south-east and as far as the Çoroh valley in the north-west.

Thus it emerges that, though Nairi is frequently mentioned, the term Uruaṭri does not occur either in the later thirteenth century B.C. in the inscriptions of Tukulti-Ninurta I or in the twelfth century in those of Tiglath-pileser I. Uruaṭri, whether or not it was (as seems likely) the original homeland of the Urartians, must however have lain at this date well to the south-east of the later Urartu. This is shown by the positions of Khimme and Lukha, located in Sugu and Khabkhu. Uruaṭri was evidently subsumed into Nairi after being crushed by Shalmaneser I and disappeared as an entity for two hundred years. It then suddenly reappears in a text of Ashur-bel-kala of Assyria (1073–1056 B.C.), by whose time the panorama in the north-east appears to have undergone an almost total change. In the third year of his reign an expedition is sent out against 'the country of Uruaṭri', which he tells us lies beyond Mounts Khini and Iatkun and the river Samanuna.[127] Nairi is not mentioned. Then follows a long list of thirty-two cities which he proclaims captured[128] – otherwise utterly unknown except for Ziqunu (most probably to be connected with Shalmaneser I's Zingun, and known as Zi(u)quni in later Urartian texts and located in the heart of Urartu) and Khirishtu, which is ascribed by Tiglath-pileser I to Khabkhu.[129] However, this scraping together of unknown names by Ashur-bel-kala gives his claim a very spurious appearance. In another passage, too, Ashur-bel-kala mentions a second expedition against Uruaṭri, involving the conquest of the countries of Khimme and

[125] B 342, Türkei 150; B 158, §270. The name of the site was formerly spelt Jungalu, Gonjalu or other variations.

[126] B 356, 52f and n. 14, 57f; B 62, 71, V 27–30.

[127] B 356, 26ff, 59ff; B 258, 83, Teil I.

[128] B 356, 59; B 258, 83, Teil I, lines 36–47.

[129] B 62, 123, line 13; B 356, 60.

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Bargun,[130] both of which Shalmaneser I had noted as forming parts of Uruaṭri.[131]

Silence again falls over this area in the Assyrian records until the mid tenth century. Tiglath-pileser II (966–935) records in the Tunnel at the Tigris source his three invasions of Nairi lands,[132] from the 'great sea of Amurru' to the 'great sea of Nairi' (Lake Van). But under Adad-nirari II (911–891 B.C.) an Assyrian army is once more on the move, and Uruaṭri is once more mentioned, now under the form Uraṭri. The king now claims the conquest of the Lullume, Khabkhu and Zamua lands as far as Namru, 'the vast land of Qumanu as far as Mekhru, Salua and Uraṭri',[133] using the older variant form of the name. All this points again to the Lullubu (or Lullume), i.e. the Gutian regions and the Zagros Mountains and Greater Zab. Four times in all Adad-nirari invaded what, reviving an old expression, he calls the 'lands of Nairi', including in it once again Khabkhu.[134] This text, however, is significant as providing the first occasion that Nairi and Ur(u)aṭri, later Urartu, are mentioned together (as is frequent later), that is, as in some way coexistent but mutually independent, and it certainly seems to show that the original homeland of the people later generally called Urartians was well to the south-east of Lake Van, an area from which they seem to have moved to concentrate around the more easily defensible area of the lake itself. It is in the south-west of Lake Urmia that we find the most archaic portion of the Urartian kingdom or confederacy, the kingdom of Muṣaṣir. Was there a single tribe, one among eight closely related tribes or 'lands', named Uruaṭri or Urartu, whose name the Assyrians seized on in the early thirteenth century and singled out to designate all, much as the Romans did with the Graeci, a small tribe of Illyria? It would seem possible: only one thing however is certain. The Urartians never speak of themselves as 'the people of Urartu' or use the term at all; when their inscriptions first begin some years later, they use either the term Nairi, or the name Biainili. For the Assyrians on the other hand, henceforth the 'Nairi lands' and Urartu become synonymous and interchangeable.[135]

[130] B 356, 60; B 258, 84, Teil III.

[131] B 356, 25ff; B 161, no. 13.

[132] B 353, 154; B 394.

[133] B 356, 33; B 221, no. 84; B 226, 5ff; B 100, §419.

[134] B 100, §421.

[135] In the bilingual inscription of Topzawa (B 321, Inscr. 264), the Assyrian text has ^{kur}*Urarṭu* while the Urartian version has ^{kur}*Biainili*.

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IV. URARTU AND ASSYRIA: THE STRUGGLE FOR SUPREMACY

Our survey now moves into the ninth century, still to be based on the records of the Neo-Assyrian Empire, created by Ashurnasirpal II's vigorous policy of reorganization and conquest. These records disclose to us the existence in the north of a new kingdom or confederacy to which the Assyrians now give again the name of Urartu, slightly altered from its older form Uraṭri, which they formerly used in a more easterly context. Towards this area Ashurnasirpal's ambitions brought him rapidly closer; it is to be noted, however, that he seems to think of Urartu in a mainly geographical sense, since he mentions warfare only '*in* the land of' Urartu, not against it.[136] In his first and third years (883 and 881 B.C.), he marched against Zamua, south of Lake Urmia, probably the little lake now called Lake Zeribor,[137] and through the pass of Babitu (the modern Bazian pass). He then turned against 'the Nairi lands'[138] north of the Kashiari mountains and invaded Khabkhu on the Greater Zab, claiming the capture of some of its cities. In his second and fifth years (882 and 879) he received the tribute of Shubre,[139] south of modern Muş, and its king Ankhiti at his city of Ubumu, probably modern Fum. A campaign along the upper Tigris led to the capture and settlement of fortresses at Tushkha (modern Kurh, south-east of Diyarbakır) and Damdamusa.[140] Of these, the former became one of the Assyrian king's most important bases in the north, where he received the homage of Nairi and Bit-Zamani. A 'province of Nairi' now appears to have been set up in the area of Tushkha. Already Ashurnasirpal can claim by his fifth year (879) that his empire stretches 'from the source of the Subnat to Urartu',[141] i.e. from modern Babil[142] near Cizre on the Tigris at the juncture of the Turkish–Syrian border to an unspecified area around Lake Van. Among the envoys of different nations invited to the great banquet held to celebrate the foundation of Calah[143] are mentioned the representatives of Muṣaṣir (later a bastion of Urartu) together with those of Khubushkia, Gilzanu and Kumme. Military operations against or in some part of Urartu, in or shortly after Ashurnasirpal's eighteenth year (866), are deducible from late variants introducing mention of Urartu into his 'Standard Inscription'[144] but

[136] B 353, 188f.

[137] B 226, 109ff. The identification of the topography follows B 151, I 16ff.

[138] See above, pp. 329f, and B 357, *passim*.

[139] B 158, §447. The capture of Ubumu, the city of Ankhiti, is depicted on the Balawat Gates: B 124, pls. XLIIIff.

[140] B 158, §480 (Damdamusa), §446 (Tushkha).

[141] 'Standard Inscription': B 158, §487 (= B 100, §651); 'Banquet Stela': B 273, 29, lines 13f (= B 100, §676).

[142] In B 113 Hawkins has finally shown that Subnat is not the Sebeneh Su but Babil.

[143] B 273.

[144] B 186, 52f.

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no reference to this expedition occurs in the surviving annals. Perhaps it was not conspicuously successful. However, on one of the bands of the bronze gates from the temple of Mamu at Imgur-Enlil (modern Balawat) is depicted unmistakably a battle in mountainous terrain between Ashurnasirpal's chariotry and half-armed warriors wearing typical feather-crested Urartian helmets who hurl rocks at their assailants.[145] Unfortunately the name of the city so defended is mostly lost[146] but this is certainly the earliest illustration of Urartians that we possess.

In the later part of 859 B.C., the mantle of Ashurnasirpal as the great Assyrian conquistador of the ninth century fell on the shoulders of his son Shalmaneser, the third of that great name. Into his lifelong series of campaigns, conducted against Assyria's enemies and neighbours on all fronts, were inevitably interwoven those aimed against the newly founded power of Urartu, against whom he led or despatched assaults in his first, third, fifteenth, twenty-seventh and thirty-first *palê*, or regnal years. In his accession year, that in which he led an army against the western coalition across the Euphrates,[147] he also marched north in an invasion (described in several surviving texts) which took him first into conflict with Khubushkia, henceforth synonymous with Nairi, in the basin of the modern Bohtan Su, ruled by a king named Kakia. From here he marched against Sugunia, described as 'fortress of Aramu the Urartian' or 'royal city of Arame', which the king sacked and burnt. Its exact site is as yet unknown but it must have lain south or south-west of Lake Van. The Assyrian achievement is depicted on the bronze gates of Shalmaneser's palace at Balawat.[148] From Sugunia Shalmaneser pressed on to the 'Sea of Nairi', Lake Van, where he performed the ritual of washing his weapons, offered the local gods sacrifices, and caused a stone victory stela bearing his own life-size image to be carved and set up. Both events again are clearly illustrated on the Balawat gates.[149] Aramu or Arame (the name is also given less correctly as Arramu) now emerges into the limelight of history as the first leader to be singled out as the organizer of Urartian defence and the unifier of the Urartian tribes, whose capital he may be strongly suspected of having founded at Tushpa or Turushpa (Van).[150] Whether his name is

[145] Unpublished; for preliminary report see B 362. The same method of welcome was offered to Xenophon and the Ten Thousand by the Taochoi (*An.* IV.vii).

[146] It reads ^{uru}*ú*-[. . . . .]-*a-ba* (possibly Ulluba is meant); of the name of the people only [. . . .]-*ḫi* remains.

[147] See above, p. 260, and below, pp. 390ff. B 356, 66ff and B 296, 59 for a sketch map showing Shalmaneser's route as conjectured by Piotrovsky.

[148] B 124, pls. I–XII; B 296, pl. IV.

[149] B 124, pl. I, upper band; B 296, pl. IV.

[150] B 142, 151.

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pure Urartian is obscure; it is perhaps compounded with that of the minor Urartian god Ara.[151] Arame's other stronghold Arzashkun (also written Arzashkunu) beneath Mount Adduri formed Shalmaneser's next objective three years later. Starting in 855 from Kar-Shalmaneser (Til-Barsib) in north Syria, the king crossed Bit-Zamani and the mountains to Enzite in Ishua,[152] probably the modern plain of Elaziğ in the curve of the Murat Su. After ravaging and plundering Enzite and setting up a victory stela at Saluria, he crossed the river Arsanias, or Murat Su, and passing through the region of Sukhe, conquered its capital Uashtal. This has been tentatively identified[153] with the site of an Urartian fortress at Palu on the bank of the Murat Su, from where an Urartian inscription of Menua has long been known. From here he entered Dayaenu, an area well known from the texts of the time of Tiglath-pileser I, not located exactly as yet.[154] Returning from Dayaenu he attacked and captured and burnt Arzashkun, which Arame had abandoned, suffering a loss of 3,400 men. This city is located variously by different scholars in the region of Lake Urmia,[155] in that of Lake Van at Malazgırt[156] or at Bostankaya between Malazgırt and Patnos[157] or Mollakent near Liz, or Milbar near Bulanık[158] – all lying west or north of Lake Van. Another important view places it east or north-east of Lake Van.[159] Again the Balawat gates depict the blazing fortress as a castle with two levels and projecting towers or bastions.[160] Leaving Arzashkun in ashes, Shalmaneser contented himself with setting up a victory stela on Mount Eritia (as yet unidentified) and entered the city of Aramale (later spelt Armarili), centre of an Urartian province close to the shores of Lake Van, where he performed the traditional rite of 'washing his weapons'. He returned in a triumphal march through Gilzanu, Khubushkia, the pass of Enzite and the pass of Kirruri (Babite) to Arbela, laden with prisoners, cattle, horses, draught animals and booty.[161] The destruction of Arzashkun and the campaign in general may have been partly a hollow victory, for Arame survived and returned to Arzashkun; but in Assyrian eyes it was a major event, earning the

[151] On this god, assumed to be the same as Moses Khorenatsi's 'Ara the Beautiful', see B 370. For Ara in the Meher Kapusu inscription, see B 314, inscr. 10, B 321, inscr. 27. It is written ^{d}*ar-'a-a* but if we are to follow Van Loon (B 458, 193) in changing the reading of *'a* to *-wa-* we would read the god's name as Arwaa.

[152] Kurkh Monolith; passage re-edited in B 142, 147f.

[153] Accepted by König (B 314, inscr. 25) and Burney (B 429, 60), but the identification seems unlikely as the Palu stela apparently marks the site of the city of Shebeteria.

[154] B 429, 58ff. See above p. 330.

[155] B 353, 199.

[156] B 357, 81.

[157] B 430, 39, but the suggestion was withdrawn by the author in B 429, 61f.

[158] B 430, 39.

[159] B 127, 106ff.

[160] B 124, pls. XXXIX–XLII; B 296, pl. V.

[161] B 158, §607.

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unusual distinction of being commemorated in poetic form at the hands of the priesthood of Ishtar or their circle.[162]

The peaceful lull that followed was shattered by a fresh Assyrian expeditionary force led by Shalmaneser in his fifteenth *palû* (844 B.C.) 'against Nairi'. He set out from the west of Assyria, beginning by carving and consecrating on the rocks at the source of the Tigris[163] a commemorative relief and inscription. Again this subject is depicted on the bronze gates of Balawat, associated with the capture of Kulisu, royal city of Mutzuata,[164] whose second city Ubumu is also shown captured, while the river is shown rising within a tunnel below the figures of river gods. The site of the tunnel can be identified by an inscription with a relief of the king found at the river's source.[165] This brought the army to cross the pass of Tunibu(ni) (the Tunube of Tiglath-pileser I).[166] Pushing on through the western territory of Aramu and past Arzashkun to reach the source of the Euphrates near Erzurum, he again washed his weapons, received the submission and tribute of Asia, king of Dayaenu, and erected a victory stela. On his outward march, or possibly on his return through Sukhme and Enzite, he forded the Euphrates and added Melid (Malatya) to his conquests. Gilzanu and Khubushkia also were 'conquered', perhaps on the return route.[167]

While the hammer-blows of Ashurnasirpal and Shalmaneser were clearly the decisive factors causing Urartu to react, reorganize, and resist, it cannot be doubted that the Assyrian systems of military organization, logistics, and general technology became to the Urartians an object of deep interest and study and inspired Arame and his successors to embark on a systematic revolution of ideas and plans. Set against the bleak account of Urartian defeats, one senses the beginnings of a deep cultural and technological indebtedness to Assyria apparently dating from this time. The arts of metal-working, even the production of iron or mild-steel tools and weapons, they may have learnt from the smiths of Kulkhai (Colchis)[168] or Metsamor[169] across the Aras river. Equipped with tools of new hardness, the Urartians may well have learnt from Assyria the methods and practice of building with accurately cut stone, and studied both the quarrying and manhandling of large blocks of stone, while working under corvée or contract in the building of Calah or nearer Assyrian sites. One cannot but be struck by the fact that the earliest inscriptions of the Urartian dynasty (which now for the

[162] B 142, 155ff.

[163] B 394, 31ff. There are four such inscriptions, all from Shalmaneser's fifteenth year.

[164] B 124, pls. XLIV–XLIX.

[165] B 394, 31ff. The Tigris rises in fact near Lake Gölcük in the Euphrates bend in the mountains north of the Ergani copper mines. Lehmann-Haupt calls this spring the 'most westerly source'.

[166] See above, n. 123.

[167] B 158, §607.

[168] See B 340.

[169] B 345; B 403; B 396.

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first time come to our aid in reconstructing their history), carved on the external smoothed face of the walls of what is perhaps a water shrine and on the rock chambers at Van, are written in the Assyrian script and language.[170] They bear the name of Sarduri, son of Lutipri, known to modern scholars as Sarduri I, founder of the new Urartian dynasty. In his titles, provocatively boastful, he revives an ancient claim to the former Hurrian kingship of Mesopotamia: he is the 'great king, mighty king, king of the lands of Nairi, king without a rival'.[171] Of course, these claims were ridiculous; but they were a forecast of power to come. But who was Lutipri? Was he also a king? We have no independent evidence. Sarduri's titulary does not say in fact so. It has been suggested even that Lutipri is the same person as Arame, Lutipri being a religious title, or more likely a throne-name;[172] but the evidence is nil. Alternatively we might assume that the leadership of the new Urartian state had passed into the hands of another family from that of Arame. But in any event, these Assyrian inscriptions hewn at Van citadel must surely imply the use of Assyrian-trained masons, scribes, foremen, and teachers, able to make available to the Urartian court and the keepers of some kind of royal records the Assyrian language and system of writing, now accepted (if only for a brief spell) as official script and court language. In other words, such mediators were perhaps provided by the Assyrians, peacefully or otherwise, in the lull following Shalmaneser's blitzkrieg campaigns. It is not entirely surprising if in later centuries in Armenian literary tradition it came to be firmly believed that the Assyrians themselves had contributed to the foundation and building of the citadel at Van, and indeed it may well be that it is to the invading army of Shalmaneser III that the confused legend of the army of Semiramis and its building of Van refers. In fact Shalmaneser already refers in his poem[173] to the ancient name of Van, Turushpa or Tushpa, and it is arguable that he was fully aware that Sarduri or even Arame had already established it as his new fortress-capital.

After the second march and demonstration of Shalmaneser through Urartu to the far north in 844 B.C., a fresh lull descended (except for a brief campaign in the twenty-second *palû* against Khubushkia) until his twenty-seventh *palû* (832) when the powerful *turtānu* or field-marshal, Dayyan-Ashur, led an army from Bit-Zamani to the river Arsanias; here he was opposed by 'Seduri, the Urartian' – apparently Sarduri. An

[170] B 314, inscr. 1*a–b*; B 321, inscr. 1 and 2 and p. 319ff.

[171] B 458, 8. His full title is 'king of Nairi without a peer, wondrous shepherd(?) fearless in battle, overthrower of the disobedient, king of kings, who receives tribute from all kings'.

[172] B 300, 30f; B 458, 8 n. 29. It may be compounded with the Hurrian word *lutu*, 'lady', i.e. the goddess. Van Loon (B 458) makes the interesting suggestion that Sarduri may have 'had a partly Assyrian background'.

[173] See above, p. 336 and n. 162.

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Assyrian victory was inevitably claimed. In the following years while Dayyan-Ashur campaigned against Datana of Khubushkia in the king's thirtieth and thirty-first *palê*, the Assyrian fury was directed against Muṣaṣir, now evidently allied with Urartu. Saparni, a town of Muṣaṣir, was captured. Perhaps Sarduri was too strong to be directly attacked.

Three campaigns against Nairi took place in the brief and troubled reign of Shalmaneser's son, Shamshi-Adad V (823–811 B.C.). In his second year he reports in his annals[174] that the *rabi šāqê* Mutarriṣ-Ashur led an army as far as the 'Upper Sea of the Setting Sun' – i.e. the Mediterranean, a literary hyperbole already used by Tiglath-pileser I and Shalmaneser III,[175] unless it is a reference to the comparatively insignificant Lake Gölcük. Shamshi-Adad V claimed in the same breath the capture of 'three hundred cities' of Sharsina, son of Mekdiara or Nikdiara, apparently in Zamua, who had been defeated in a naval battle earlier by Shalmaneser on Lake Zeribor ('the sea of the rising sun')[176] together with 'eleven strong cities and two hundred small cities of Ushpina'.[177] Disregarding the exaggerations, we have here an important correlation with Urartian records, since Ushpina is clearly to be identified with Ishpuini, son of Sarduri and the successor to his throne. It is Ishpuini who is to be singled out as the second great innovator in Urartu, who carried through the considerable social, industrial, and military revolution necessary for its survival and resistance to Assyria. Rejecting completely the use of the Assyrian language, he introduced for all official purposes the native Urartian tongue written in a modified version of the Assyro-Babylonian cuneiform. His inscriptions exhibit a curious innovation: the text is usually repeated in triplicate form, evidently for magical purposes.

The most ancient centre of the Urartian tribes was Muṣaṣir, where the god Khaldi (locally known as Aldi) and his wife (Arubani?) were venerated, she at least under an Iranian epithet Bagbartu, and a different dialect of Urartian was used. Muṣaṣir had now become a vassal principality of Urartu. The principal testimony to this event is the so-called Kelishin bilingual stela. It was composed in both the Urartian and Assyrian languages and set up in the pass of Kelishin between Rowanduz and Lake Urmia before 810 B.C. by Ishpuini and his son and co-regent Menua, afterwards his successor.[178] In this text Ishpuini styles himself 'great king, king of the universe, king of Nairi (or, in the Urartian version, of Biaina), governor of Tushpa city'. Biaina is henceforth a generic term for the Urartian people. It is clearly the origin

[174] B 158, §§301 and 600.
[175] B 158, §301.
[176] Following Levine (above, n. 137).
[177] B 158, §§609 and 717.
[178] B 321, inscr. 19; B 314, inscr. 9; B 309, 42ff; B 311. The place of discovery of the stela is sometimes spelt Kelashin or Kelyashin.

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of the modern name of Van, while Tushpa survived only into classical times as Thospitis, the name of Lake Van. The site of Muṣaṣir has now been located with maximum plausibility at Mudjesir, eighteen kilometres north of Rowanduz, a little west of Topzawa.[179] In the Kelishin inscription, Ishpuini and Menua firmly staked their interest in this area and took the first step in the expansion of Urartu beyond its accepted home frontiers around Lake Van, with the aim of controlling the Greater Zab valley and Lake Urmia. In this important text they also recorded their first step in religious reforms. At Muṣaṣir, the capital, they dedicated a new cult centre, embellishing it with figures of animals, standards and vessels, all of copper, while at Kelishin itself Ishpuini claimed to have consecrated a *burganani* or grazing-park. Shortly afterwards the headquarters of the cult of Khaldi were transferred by Ishpuini in his own name and that of his son and grandson Inushpua to the new capital at Van, to take the place of Shivini, the sun-god who had previously presided over Tushpa.[180] Possibly as a consequence, it would seem that the name of the city of Muṣaṣir was altered to Ardini – 'city of Ardi', a minor god.[181] Khaldi was now raised to the status of the national god and head of the Urartian pantheon to whom temples (called 'gates') were dedicated,[182] at Arpau (later called Arbu) south or south-east of Lake Van,[183] and elsewhere.[184] Shivini now followed Khaldi and Teisheba as the third figure of the pantheon. At the same time, in a long inscription cut on the rock called (in Turkish) Meher Kapusu on Zimzim Dağ at Van, Ishpuini and his son Menua laid down the definitive list and order of worship of over sixty-nine gods of the Urartian pantheon.[185] At Aznavurtepe,[186] north of Van on the road from Patnos[187] to Karaköşe near the city of Aludiri (probably to be located at Giriktepe,[188] four kilometres south of Patnos), they jointly consecrated a temple of Khaldi and built a fortress. Indeed the mentality and new policies of the new dynasty are clearly indicated by their

[179] B 369.

[180] B 321, inscr. 18; B 314, inscr. 12. In the Munich exhibition (1976), a copy of a silver libation bucket, said to have been found in 'Transcaucasia', was shown, bearing the joint dedication of Ishpuini and his grandson Inushpua (B 290, no. 107). A bronze bowl, also from 'Transcaucasia' (B 290, no. 253) bears an inscription of Ishpuini alone. These objects suggest that he may have penetrated to an as yet undisclosed site in Transcaucasia, being the earliest of the Urartian monarchs to do so. See also M. Sevin, *Anadolu Araştırmaları*, 7 (1979, publ. 1981) 1ff.

[181] The old identification by Sayce of Ardi with the sun-god is correctly rejected in B 314, 56 n. 16.

[182] B 454.

[183] B 321, inscr. 26; B 314, inscr. 11. From Muhrapert (now called Göründü): B 342, Türkei 93.

[184] E.g. rock niche at Aşotakert (B 342, Türkei 55): B 314, inscr. 8; B 321, inscr. 25.

[185] B 314, inscr. 10; B 321, inscr. 27.

[186] Also spelt Anzavurtepe. B 359; B 287, 140; B 342, Türkei 45.

[187] Formerly spelt Patnoths. B 314, inscr. 5*b*, restored from 5*a*; B 422, 105f, 112.

[188] B 422, 106 and 112 n. 37.

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construction around the lake of very substantial stone fortresses intended as much as bases for offence as for defence. Ishpuini and Menua also built two further fortresses to protect Tushpa, one at Zivistan,[189] south-east of Van beside the lake, another at Anzaf,[190] sixteen kilometres north-east of Van on the road leading via Hoy to Iran and Lake Urmia. The fruits of this policy were soon seen and Ishpuini and his son felt strong enough to attack their neighbours, the peoples of Uiteru(khi), Lusha, and Katarza, who collectively formed the land of Etiu(khi).[191] These people have been identified, by the places where the inscriptions of Ishpuini and Menua have been found, as living in the plain of Karaköşe, north of Van.[192] A more daring policy was also boldly undertaken to the south-east. An inscription from the joint reign of Ishpuini and Menua, found in an Urartian fortress at Qalatgah at the south-west corner of Lake Urmia,[193] shows that by the latter part of the ninth century the plain of Ushnuiyeh was already occupied by the Urartians, at least for a time. A stela of Ishpuini and Menua found at Karagündüz,[194] beside Lake Erçek east of Van, next describes their campaign against Meishta in Parsua, a district lying south of Lake Urmia. The towns of Meishta, Kua, Sharitu and Ingibi were captured, yielding rich booty in the form of horses and cattle. The site of Meishta has been generally identified as Tashtepe near Miyandowab, south-east of Lake Urmia, where an inscription of Menua mentioning it was found.[195] The date of this campaign cannot be fixed, but it may probably be connected with the Assyrian expeditions of 822 and 821 B.C., when Shamshi-Adad V levied a tribute of horses from Mannai and Parsua[196] and claimed to have captured numerous cities of Ishpuini as described above. To this event Ishpuini's and Menua's expedition may be related, either as a provocation or a counterstroke. Ceramic evidence from fortresses identified as Urartian shows that by the ninth century the Urartian kings had established their hold on at least four points in Iranian Azerbaijan north of Lake Urmia, namely at the sites known as Danalu,[197] Duchgagi,[198] Qale-Oghlu,[199] and Qiz Qale (Evoghlu).[200] Of these, the first three lie between the Aras and its tributary the Aq Chay; the fourth is on the Aq Chay itself. While Qale-Oghlu represents the

[189] B 314, inscr. 2–4g; B 321, inscr. 11–13. Zivistan is now renamed Elmalık.

[190] B 387 (inscription); B 430; B 432; B 342, Türkei 4.

[191] B 321, inscr. 20.

[192] B 321, inscr. 20–3.

[193] B 342, Iran 49; B 404. Now published by M. van Loon, *JNES* 34 (1975) 201ff.

[194] B 321, inscr. 24; B 314, inscr. 7.

[195] B 314, inscr. 17; B 321, inscr. 29. B 390, 7: 103 identifies Meishta with Arslan Kale, 5 km west of Tashtepe (the latter site is now being quarried away). B 151, II 111f disputes the placing of Meishta in Parsua and its identification with Missi, as he would locate Parsua much further south, in northern Mahidasht.

[196] B 158, §718.

[197] B 444, 166ff and figs. 45f; B 342, Iran 5.

[198] B 342, Iran 8; B 444, 167.

[199] B 342, Iran 20; B 444, 167.

[200] B 342, Iran 17; B 444, 167.

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furthest point to the east fortified by the Urartian armies in the ninth century north of the lake, the site of Qalatgah[201] at the south-west corner of the lake, west of Hasanlu, gives similar evidence in the form of an inscription of their establishment to the south of it, already in the joint reign of Ishpuini and Menua.[202]

Neither the beginning of Menua's reign as sole monarch of Urartu (and by implication the death of Ishpuini) nor its end can be fixed except by vague approximation, since Menua is totally passed over by the Assyrians without mention: but he is usually deemed to have reigned from about 810 to 786, or possibly from 804 to 790 B.C. For what was apparently a short period at the beginning of his career, Menua followed his father's pattern in exercising a joint rule with his son Inushpua; the latter is represented first as joint dedicator with his father and grandfather of the *susi*-temple at Tushpa and with his father by three briefer dedications[203] to other deities,[204] but for some unknown reason he did not succeed to the throne. Under Menua the pressure on Parsua continued. Menua's inscription from Aznavurtepe[205] indicates that (perhaps on his accession) he had quelled a revolt on the part of the land of Sharitu, advancing as far as Bushtu and Malmali and capturing the town of Khuradinaku, a point never reached by any previous monarch. Undoubtedly Menua also contributed to strengthening the Urartian hold around Lake Urmia by the foundation of further fortresses and indeed left his own inscription at or near Qalatgah. Unfortunately other sites that he doubtless built or strengthened cannot at present, without further evidence than that of potsherds, be distinguished from those built by subsequent Urartian kings of the eighth century B.C. Nevertheless, no fewer than sixty-two out of seventy-seven such sites, designed as military or administrative points or centres, have been identified in this area as belonging to the eighth century B.C. thanks to the remarkable work of survey by W. Kleiss[206] and his colleagues. The earliest of these sites is Agrab Tepe[207] south of the great site of Hasanlu at the south end of the lake.[208] It would seem likely that its foundation was connected with the Urartian occupation of Hasanlu itself in Level IV and at Qalatgah in Level I. In the same period the great site of Haftavan Tepe near Shahpur[209] in the north-west corner of the lake was occupied and transformed into an administrative centre while Qale Ismail Agha[210] in the centre of the west bank was similarly

[201] B 342, Iran 44.
[202] See above, n. 193.
[203] B 321, inscr. 18; B 314, inscr. 12
[204] B 321, inscr. 93–5; B 314, inscr. 13–15.
[205] B 359.
[206] B 392; B 393.
[207] B 342, Iran 51; B 444, 170.
[208] B 342, Iran 50; B 444, 170.
[209] B 342, Iran 32; B 371.
[210] B 342, Iran 63; B 393.

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heavily occupied. Again the presence of Menua in the vicinity is attested by an inscription found by some springs south of Reẓa'iyeh on the road to Ushnuiyeh.[211] It seems clear that Menua fixed his south-eastern frontier along the west bank of the lake and along a line running eastwards from Kelishin to Hasanlu and Tashtepe, including within it the plains of Solduz and Ushnu.

In the late ninth or early eighth century B.C. Menua also developed a strategic plan intended to reach and control the Aras valley. Following a road which led just south of Mount Ararat from Eski Doğubayazit to the river, he constructed a great centre at the site of modern Verahram,[212] near the river opposite its confluence with its tributary the Vedi Chay. Then he turned his attention to the north. After a successful campaign against the 'mighty land of Erikua(khi)' on the northern slopes of Mount Ararat, he tells us that he built fortresses in the centre of Lukhiu(ni), after capturing the royal and independent city of that name, an event important enough to be mentioned in five inscriptions.[213] Here the frontier was evidently deemed to run along the middle Aras river; but, posing a significant threat to the rich metal-working district of Metsamor across the river, Menua established at Başbulak on the northern slope of Mount Ararat an advance military base bearing its founder's name, Menuakhinili, 'Menuaburg', after the fashion of the Assyrian kings.[214] It was supported by another fortress built nearby to the west at Çölegert[215] near Taşburun. The north-west frontier, meanwhile, was tranquillized by the chastisement of the kingdom of Diaue(khi) (in the bend of the upper Euphrates (Kara Su) around Erzurum) under its ruler Utupurshi, who was forced to surrender the cities of Shashilu, Zua and Utu, and to provide a tribute of gold and silver.[216] Nearer home, along the northern shores of Lake Van, additionally to that constructed jointly with his father at Anzaf[217] and Aludiri (Giriktepe?), Menua built a string of fortresses – at Körzütkale,[218] Muradiye,[219] Karahan,[220] and probably at Aznavur.[221] Having secured south-eastern and northern flanks, Menua boldly turned his ambitions in a new direction, to outflank Assyria in the west. There Menua's sphere of interest already extended as far as the junction of the Murat Su and the upper Euphrates, where lay the state of Alzi. It had

[211] See above, n. 193.

[212] Formerly called Shotlu, opposite Alishar on the left bank. B 342, Iran 2; B 393; B 444, 161ff.

[213] B 314, inscr. 18–22; B 321, inscr. 30–5. The name of the people is also spelt Irekua or Irkua(khi).

[214] B 447; B 314, inscr. 45; B 321, inscr. 70; B 342, Türkei 59.

[215] Formerly Tsolakert. B 314, inscr. 21f; B 321, inscr. 30f.

[216] B 314, inscr. 23f; B 321, inscr. 36f; B 342, Türkei 66 and 63.

[217] See above, n. 190.

[218] B 342, Türkei 19.

[219] B 342, Türkei 18.

[220] B 342, Türkei 24.

[221] B 342, Türkei 117; B 359.

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at some time been rendered tributary, for we are told that it broke out into revolt while Menua was away campaigning against Bushtu in Parsua far to the south-east, as has been described.[222] He hastened back to it, annexed both Alzi and Shashnu and built a fortress in Qutume,[223] unfortunately as yet unidentified. At Palu, on the north bank of the Murat Su, he recorded on a stela[224] that he had invaded Shebeteria – evidently the ancient name of Palu itself – where he set up a temple to Khaldi, conquered Khuzana (as yet unidentified) and Supa, the later Sophēnē,[225] on the east bank of the Euphrates opposite Malatya, and pushed on to the land of Khate (Hittites). As he now commanded the river crossing at Izolu, where there is an Urartian fortress, he received the homage of the king of Melid (Malatya), Sulekhauali,[226] if this is the correct reading of his name. Malatya was the key state to any advance into the Khate-lands. In another text,[227] mention is made of the seizure of the towns of Shurishili(ni), Tarkhigama(ni), and [. . .]-*tu-ra-a-ni*, lying in the ambit of the 'Hittite' lands and that of Alzi, but they are as yet unidentified.[228] At the same time Menua appears to have repaired his defences on the south-east frontier with the capture of Kalibilia(ni), Arpuia(ni) in Ususua(ni), Khulmeru(ni) (or Qulmeru(ni),[229] probably the Assyrian Kullimeri in Shubria), Eru(ni), Kirpunu(ni), Uliba(ni) (Assyrian Ulluba), Dirgu and Ishala (Assyrian Izalla) 'as far as Kumenu on the Assyrian frontier'.

From a military point of view, Menua, while in general following out his father Ishpuini's policies, is now shown to have been the first monarch in Western Asia to develop the process of conquest, especially in the south-east, by means of systematically planned lines of fortresses and defensive posts, a strategy later revived by the Romans. The Assyrians, until they had regained their strength, could do little to oppose him. These great building plans also performed a social role in establishing the firm control of an equestrian military elite, defending the arable land and fertile vineyards around them, some settled, served, and tilled by forcibly transplanted populations. The elaborate social organization and patterns of economic life which this entailed unfortunately remain mostly unknown to us and can for the most part only be guessed at.[230] Menua's immense building activities also extended to

[222] B 287, 141. See above, p. 340.

[223] B 359, 106 and 112.

[224] B 314, inscr. 25; B 321, inscr. 39.

[225] Sophēnē and Anzitēnē formed two of the six Armenian satrapies annexed by Rome in A.D. 384. The former name seems to be preserved only at Ispendere, on the west bank near Izolu.

[226] The interpretation of *su-li-e-ḫa-ú-a-li* as a personal name (B 314, inscr. 25) is, however, rejected in B 321, inscr. 25.

[227] B 314, inscr. 16 and B 321, inscr. 28 (from Surp Pogos, Van).

[228] [. . .]-*ṭu-ra-a-ni* is described as the fief of Shadalekhini, 'the Shadaleid'.

[229] As mentioned also in two texts from Muş, B 314, inscr. 26 and 28; B 321, inscr. 40f.

[230] For studies in this subject see B 342, 38.

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great civil works in the form of huge cisterns, granaries, and great wine-cellars. No doubt to support the greatly increased population, engineering works of remarkable skill were undertaken, his greatest feat being the Menua canal, which, first renamed Şamram Su ('the river of Semiramis'),[231] is still in use, extending for seventy-five kilometres to bring water from the Hoşap valley to Van, conducted over aqueducts and marked by fourteen inscriptions. Other canals were constructed elsewhere.[232] Menua was also a patron of the arts, notably of bronze-working.

Where Menua sowed, his son and grandson reaped. Argishti I, who is conjectured to have ascended the throne in about 786 B.C., carried on the vigorous forward policy of his father, particularly in the north-eastern foothills of the Caucasus and Soviet Armenia. His annals survive in fairly complete form, a most unusual occurrence, providing us with the longest inscription of any Urartian monarch, and giving us in great geographical detail information about his conquests, in some cases in terms that we cannot at present fully understand.[233]

Argishti's first campaign is ascribed to 786 B.C.; but the text is broken away where it would show against whom it was unleashed. It was, however, most likely a northern or north-western target, where his main strategy was directed over the next two years. In his second year (785 B.C.) he marched against his north-western neighbour, the wealthy kingdom of Diaue(khi) lying around Erzurum and the Çoroh valley, which had evidently lapsed from loyalty since it was reduced by Menua. Argishti now received a heavy indemnity of 41 *minas* (20·5 kg) of gold, 37 *minas* (18·5 kg) of silver, 10,000 *minas* (over 5 tonnes) of copper, 1,000 horses, and 300 horned cattle, and imposed a yearly tribute of copper, gold, cattle, and horses. His flank now protected, he marched north-east into Zaba(khi),[234] beyond modern Leninakan to Makaltu and the land of Iga in the basin of Lake Çildir. Here, at the modern Ganlidja, eight kilometres north of Leninakan, he carved a rock inscription commemorating his march into Eria(khi),[235] capturing Irdaniu(ni) in Ishkigulu, the most northerly point so far reached by any Urartian army. Then, continuing south-eastwards and skirting Mount Alagöz, he thrust into Eria(khi), Lusha and Katarza – marking his progress with another

[231] Now called Güzel Su. [232] B 431; B 448.

[233] The main sources are the two sets of annals of Argishti, one on the cliff-face of the citadel at Van, the other from Surp Sahak, Van (see above, p. 318). They have been skilfully combined to form a chronological sequence in B 321, 246ff. Unless otherwise stated, historical data of Argishti in this chapter follow that authority.

[234] Identified with the old Armenian province of Djavakh in B 395, 18.

[235] B 321, inscr. 133; B 314, inscr. 88. B 458, 15 sees in the name of Ishkigulu a reference to the Scyths, but this is very doubtful.

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inscription by the lake[236] – through Uduru-Uiteru(khi) into the lands of Etiu(ni), as far as Urieu(ni) in Apu(ni), the royal city of Uiteru(khi), where he took thousands of prisoners and cattle. Etiu(ni), as we know from another rock inscription of Argishti,[237] extended eastwards as far as the western shore of Lake Sevan and southwards to Erivan.[238] His triumph over Etiu(ni) was finally commemorated in a stela set up at modern Sarıkamış on the road to Kars.[239] The next season (784 B.C.) took him to Abiliani(khi)[240] on the south-west border of Eria(khi), with its regions of Anishtirga, Kuarazani and Ultuza. This season again took him through part of Etiu(ni) as far as the region of Uduri-Etiu(khi). But the main activity of the year was a *razzia* in the east in the lands of Iria(ni), Tirtubi, Irkiu(ni) and Artarmu on the road to Lake Urmia, where vast booty of prisoners and cattle was duly claimed.

In his fourth campaign (783 B.C.), however, he is seen moving into the opposite front, along the route blazed by his father Menua. His army now marched into the 'lands of Tuate'[241] or Phrygia north of Malatya as far as Piteira on the river Melia, and the district of Niriba in the realm of Khelaruada, king of Malatya. This time two cities, [...]urmani and [...]adani, were captured; again considerable amounts of prisoners and horses are claimed but no submission is recorded.

In his fifth year (782 B.C.), he achieved his chief objective. At modern Verahram, he crossed the river Araxes by building a bridge, remains of which still stand and are to be dated to this time, for an important Urartian tomb was found here in 1859 on the west bank, containing amongst other things a bronze bell inscribed with Argishti's name.[242] Advancing across the Araxes, he marched up to Lake Sevan and took the city Kikhu(ni) on its western shore, marking the event by an inscription.[243] From here he attacked the district of Uburda,[244] captured its capital Irdua, and invaded Kha(khi). He constructed several forts of cyclopean stonework south-west of the lake to protect the new frontier line.[245] Finally at Ganli Tepe (now Arin-berd) near Erivan, he built a massive fortress called Irepuni or Erebuni,[246] the name of which still

[236] B 321, inscr. 132; B 314, inscr. 87. It is from Gulidjan, 21 km south-east of Leninakan, and records the capture of Durubani in Quliaini.

[237] Stela from Abovian (formerly Elar): B 321, inscr. 131; B 314, inscr. 85.

[238] Inscription at Lchashen (Ordaklu): B 321, inscr. 134; B 314, inscr. 86.

[239] B 321, inscr. 130; B 314, inscr. 89.

[240] Identified with the old Armenian province of Abegeankh in B 395, 18.

[241] The possibility exists that Piteira corresponds with Herodotus' Pteria (Boğazköy) and that the river Helia is the Halys (in Hittite *Marašantiyaš*).

[242] B 294, 82ff. B 342, Iran 2 states that the place of discovery was Verahram, not, as reported, Alishar, which is on the east bank. See also B 424, 25.

[243] See above, *n.* 238.

[244] B 314, 90 n. 8, identifies Uburda with the district known in Roman times as Obordēnē.

[245] So dated tentatively in B 287, 144.

[246] At Erebuni, Argishti I dedicated a *susi*-temple to the god Iwarsha (B 321, suppl. inscr. 8f). This would appear to be the same as the Hittite–Luwian deity Imarsha mentioned in Boğazköy

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survives in that of Erivan, and settled its lands with 6,600 prisoners from Khate and Ṣupani, i.e. the prisoners of the previous year. Erebuni was designed as a great administrative and religious centre, a fully royal capital. This great site has formed the scene of highly successful excavations by Russian and Armenian scholars since 1947.[247]

At last a belated reaction took place from Assyria, which may at last have taken alarm, seeing particularly in these thrusts by Argishti to the south-east and south-west the threat of a pincer movement. In his sixth season, of 781 B.C., he inserts into a description of a campaign in Bushthu and Babilu and Parsua an obscure reference to Assyrian troops, to supplement which we turn to the somewhat meagre Assyrian sources. The records of the *līmu* officers of Shalmaneser IV mention laconically in 782 B.C. the first of six campaigns against Urartu, the others falling in 781, 780, 779, 777, and 775 B.C. These were most probably led by the all-powerful *turtānu*, Shamshi-ilu, who was apparently simultaneously governor both of Kharran and Arrapkha and *līmu* officer in 781 B.C., and he records at Til Barsib having inflicted a signal defeat on Argishti, involving the capture of his camp, after he had invaded the 'Quti' (i.e. the region of Mannai)[248] but to which of these years this victory belongs is unclear: for Argishti claimed to have campaigned ever victoriously, taking many prisoners and booty in Mana and Bushtu in 780 and 779, in nearby Irkiuni in 778 'as far as the mountain of Assyria', as far as Ushnu in 777, and in Mana in 776 and 775. Only in 774, probably significantly, there is only the briefest of such references. The implication seems to be that that was the year of Argishti's repulse by Shamshi-ilu. Until then, Mana was evidently a kind of Tom Tiddler's Ground on which the armies of the two opponents skirmished in succession, since the Urartian army always wisely avoided if possible a direct confrontation with the Assyrians. In addition to his invasion of Mana we find that Argishti, from 776 B.C., was busy building a second mighty fortress, named after himself Argishtikhinili, at modern Armavir-Blur on the middle Araxes river in the land of Aza, controlling the rich metal-working area of Metsamor.[249] To feed its population much enlarged by his conquests he constructed a network of canals, still able to be traced, between the Aras and its tributary the Kasakh.[250] Armavir has also proved a most fruitful site of excavation at the hands of

texts (*KBo.* IV, 11 i 7; *KUB* XXX, 57:3) and it has been suggested (B 321, suppl. inscr. 9) that this cult-centre was consecrated to the worship of the god of the Hittite settlers brought by Argishti's conquest to Erebuni.

[247] B 406; B 439; B 447. Excavations in 1962 under B. I. Arakelyan and later G. Tiratsian.

[248] B 609, 141. These events are also apparently alluded to in the fragmentary inscription from Dehok (B 394, 45, inscr. 25). The Urartian form of Mannai is Mana.

[249] B 402; B 403.

[250] For a sketch map showing the patterns of these canals see B 395, fig. 7.

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Soviet-Armenian scholars since 1962. It was built over remains of occupation by earlier inhabitants, going back to the twelfth century and including a sanctuary, and was not surrendered without a struggle.[251] In support of these two great fortresses, Argishti then built a whole series of smaller bases in the Aras valley and in the neighbourhood of modern Abovian,[252] north-east of Erivan. He also appears to have built a second Argishtikhinili on Lake Van, but this is only known by inference from the narrative of Sargon of Assyria (below, p. 358).[253] In his fourteenth year (772) Argishti ravaged the land of Tariu(ni) in the north towards Zabakh, capturing eleven cities and erecting an inscription. In the south-east he further devastated the land of Urme for the third time. We then encounter a large gap of probably four years in his annals, till his last years, when he took arms again to chastise King Utupurshi of Diaue(khi), his only tributary state known to us, now yet once more rebellious, and advanced into the land of Abnulia(ni). The record then breaks off.

Under Argishti I, Urartu reached its virtual zenith in extent, prestige, and power. From his great capital at Van Argishti now commanded not only the important trade routes leading from Mesopotamia and Iran to the rich metal-working areas of Kulkhai (Colchis) and the Aras valley, but also those arteries running westwards into Anatolia and south and south-westwards into the plains and foothills of north Syria.[254] Thanks to remarkable feats of organization, a network of irrigation canals assured him of rich harvests, vast granaries preserved their produce, vineyards were planted, and the wines matured in jars in huge cellars, some to be drunk locally, some to be exported. The master-mind and architect of these great schemes, Argishti, was finally buried in a great chamber-tomb hewn in the face of the rock in his citadel at Van, beside the record of his own annals.

Of the military machine that Argishti commanded we know relatively little. His army, or at least its chief fighting units, consisted of infantry, cavalry and chariotry – no longer, as in the previous century, half-naked or wearing only a tunic with broad belt and a crested helmet, armed with sword and a small round shield[255] – but now well armed with pointed metal casques, with iron-tipped spears, iron swords and bows, and iron-headed arrows. Illustrations of his soldiery survive and some actual pieces of bronze armour of the period exist, exactly dated by the

[251] B 395.

[252] For a list of these sites in the Abovian, Echmiadzin, Ashtarak and Oktemberyan districts, see B 395, 21.

[253] Bronzes from Aznavurtepe ascribed to Argishti I: B 456, 154.

[254] On these trade routes see B 285, 15ff; B 425, 228ff. For a more recent and highly important discussion of this aspect of the economic struggle between Assyria and Urartu, see B 394A.

[255] As shown on the Balawat gates, B 124, pl. 4.

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royal inscriptions that they bear.[256] A few statistics of the military forces raised also survive. Ishpuini and Menua used against Meishta a mobile force of 106 chariots, 9,174 cavalry, 2,704 infantry;[257] against Lusha and Katarza 66 chariots, 460 riders and 15,760 infantry. How the troops were raised (presumably largely by tribes under their own chiefs) and how they did battle is unknown; but it is clear from the accounts of booty that they lived off the lands that they invaded, and that whereas they could easily defeat their north-easterly opponents around Lake Sevan, who were by no means ill-armed,[258] they did not consider themselves a match for the Assyrians and consistently avoided direct confrontation with them in a pitched battle whenever possible.

We are again fortunate in having recovered extensive annals of Sarduri II (764–735 B.C.), the son of Argishti, discovered on a stela still upright on the westernmost of twin niches hewn into the rock of Van.[259] These, though incomplete, could be supplemented from two inscriptions on stelae, one at Izolu,[260] the other, formerly preserved in fragments in the church of Surp Pogos in Van, and thought possibly to have been the missing text from the eastern niche.[261] The order of events recorded is as usual far from clear. However, it seems to show Sarduri in his first season following aggressively in his father's footsteps in the west to attack Khelaruada, son of Shakhu, king of Melid (Malatya). After crossing the Euphrates at Tumeish(ki) (perhaps the Roman Tomisa, modern Kömürhan) where he carved his inscription,[262] he marched beyond Malatya on Karnishi and Musani (probably the Byzantine Korne to the east and Miasena to the west of Malatya). Sarduri captured Khelaruada's 'royal city' Sasi and received his homage and a tribute of gold, silver, and cattle. More important, he annexed the castles of Khaza(ni), Gaura(khi), Tumeish(ki), Asini, Maniniu, Arushi, Qulbitarri(ni), Tashe (Kueraitashe)[263] and Meluiani. If Tumeish(ki) is the Roman Tomisa, Asini[264] may well be Sinis north of Malatya. These towns lay along a vital stretch of the strategic road following the west bank of the Euphrates, which now fell into his hands; and if we identify Qulbitarri(ni) with Cholmedara, north of Samosata, Sarduri was now firmly placing one foot in north Syria and threatening Kharran.

At the same period he was engaged in Transcaucasia in the distant north-east in the land of Ueliku(khi). He encountered Murini, king of Abiliani(khi) and Ueliku(khi) on the west bank of Lake Sevan, near

[256] B 424, pls. 7, 9, 12.
[257] B 321, inscr. 21f.
[258] B 396; B 398.
[259] B 318, 25ff. See above, p. 318.
[260] B 321, inscr. 158; B 314, inscr. 104; B 418; B 342, Türkei 53.
[261] B 321, inscr. 156f; B 418, See above, n. 233.
[262] See above, n. 260. See also M. Salvini, *La Parola del Passato*, 42–44 (1972) 107ff.
[263] See B 418, 190 and 912.
[264] Read Wasini, *ibid.*

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modern Kamo (formerly Nor-Bayazit), then defeated Sinalibi, king of Tuli(khu), in the land of Lue(khi); this city is identified with a great site reported to exist on the south-west bank of the lake.[265] The same year (754 or 753), we meet the first explicit cross-contact for fifty years with Assyrian history, for Sarduri's annals specifically mention a brush with the Assyrian army of Ashur-nirari V in the district of Arme or Urme, probably in Shubria, where the city of Inkhiria was captured.[266] In the next year (752) Sarduri was in the far south-east, in Babilu and Baruata, but also invaded Urme for the third time while mounting a campaign in Etiuni, everywhere claiming numerous prisoners and booty. In 750 he turned to the far north, and marched (presumably through Diaue(khi) and Abiliani(khi)) along the Kars–Ardahan road against Kulkhai (also spelt Qulkhai), at the time under the rule of Khakhani, king of Khushal(khi). Kulkhai was the unconquered territory long known to the Greeks as Colchis, the rich land of the fabled Golden Fleece, which had hitherto barred to the Urartians access to the Black Sea and its valuable trade routes. Next year (749 ?), he returned to settle matters with Abilia(ni) and Eria(khi) and this time Murini submitted, formally grasping Sarduri's knees, and became tributary. In 748, Sarduri was once again in Etiu(khi) (otherwise Etiu(ni)) campaigning against Ruishia(ni) under its ruler Rashu(ni), and Diusi(ni) king of Iga in the region of Lake Çildir: but at this point the text breaks off. Probably this march is that referred to in a rock inscription at Dash Kerpi,[267] commemorating the conquest of the city of Makaltu(ni) in the land of Iga. This text, two kilometres west of Lake Çildir on the road to Ardahan approaching the main pass into Georgia, represents the most northerly point ever demonstrably reached by an Urartian king. This time the booty included 115 camels, which suggests an interest in long-distance trade caravans and journeys into the steppes. Accordingly, in the next year (747 ?) he made a deep thrust eastwards into Puluadi against the 'royal city' Libliu(ni) and set up an inscription there. This, most surprisingly, has recently been identified far to the east in remote Iranian Azerbaijan as Siqendel, five kilometres north-east of Varzakan, where there are remains of a large city[268] and an Urartian fortress. Sarduri returned through Eria(khi) laden with prisoners and booty. The following year he turned to the south-west. It was the turn of the rich kingdom of Qummukha(kali) (the Assyrian Kummukh) which he now felt strong enough to bring to heel. Uita, Khalpa (modern Halfeti on

[265] B 321, inscr. 160; B 296, 77f.

[266] B 321, inscr. 156. Ashur-nirari (V) is described by Sarduri as 'son of Adad-nirari'.

[267] B 342, Türkei 48; B 314, inscr. 108; B 321, inscr. 159. Dash Kerpi is variously spelt but is now officially Taş-köprü.

[268] B 321, suppl. inscr. 13; B 342, Iran 27; B 390, 5:145ff.

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the east bank of the Euphrates) – described as a 'royal city beside a lake' – and Parala(ni) fell,[269] and Kushtashpi, king of Kummukh, well known from Assyrian records, capitulated, paying a huge and valuable tribute: 40 *minas* of pure gold, 800 *minas* of silver, 300 cloths, 2,000 copper shields, 1,535 copper cups. Kushtashpi then joined the powerful anti-Assyrian league in north Syria organized by Urartu and consisting of Arpad, Melid and Gurgum.[270]

The following season Sarduri recorded the capture of the city of Dardani in Mana, but his main activity lay in the north, driving off vast numbers of prisoners, horses and cattle from the unfortunate inhabitants of Eria(khi). Next we find him in 744 or 743 again engaged in Kulkhai where he claims that he burnt the royal city Ildamusha and set up an inscription, not as yet found. Another *razzia* also took place into Uiteru(khi), in which the fortress of Iraia(ni) was destroyed and the usual booty was claimed.

Meanwhile in 745 Tiglath-pileser III had seized the throne of Assyria and was bent on recovering her position in the west, by now all but lost. In his third *palû* (742) he caught the army of Sarduri between Kishtan (possibly modern Kizillu on the west bank of the Euphrates) and Khalpi (Sarduri's Khalpa, see above, pp. 349f). In a pitched battle in which Tiglath-pileser claims to have dyed the river Sinzi (classical Singas) as red as wool, he captured the Urartian camp and chased Sarduri back to his own frontiers. Sarduri escaped on a mare leaving his seal and bed in Tiglath-pileser's hands.[271] Eight years later, in his eleventh *palû* (734), his reconquest of north Syria completed, Tiglath-pileser invaded Urartu as far as Tushpa itself (where he claims to have imprisoned Sarduri), set up a victory stela and carried out a demonstration by marching 60 *bērū* triumphantly unopposed through Urartu from north to south.[272] Not a word of these shattering defeats appears in Sarduri's annals, which, after recording in 742(?) campaigns in Ueduri-Etiu(ni), in 741 in Eria(khi), Iga, Abiliani(khi) and Ueliku(khi) as far as Arquqani on Lake Sevan, break off into silence. But the great Urartian challenge to outmanoeuvre Assyria in the south-west had been decisively repulsed and Sarduri can have had nothing more in the nature of exploits to tell his god. Instead, he occupied himself with building

[269] Possibly to be sought at modern Turkish Perver, formerly Pavrali, site of the Roman Adata, on the road from Malatya commanding the entry into the plain of Maraş (ancient Marqasi, capital of Gurgum).

[270] To this pro-Urartian phase at Carchemish we ascribe the reigns of Astiruwas, Yariris, and his son Kamanis. In the latter's inscription from Cekke, reference is twice made to a person named Sasturas whom some scholars have taken to be Sarduri, but this does not appear to be possible; see below, pp. 406f and nn. 290f.

[271] The impression is conveyed by Tiglath-pileser that this pursuit followed immediately on the great battle, but it is more probably referable to his campaign of 734 against Urartu. See B 239.

[272] B 272 mentions Urartian fortresses in Ulluba attacked by him.

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a great fortress called Sardurikhinili at Çavuştepe,[273] south-east of Van on the road to Başkale, where very likely some of his forces escaped while Tiglath-pileser's wrath vented itself at Tushpa. Thither, after the Assyrian invasion was over, he returned to be laid to his final rest in a great tomb hewn beside that of his father in the rock face of the Citadel.

The annals of the Urartian kings from this point are altogether missing and in order to pursue their history we are thrown back on a combination of a relatively small number of isolated inscriptions and the now indispensable but often highly prejudiced Assyrian material. There is some alleged evidence that Rusa, son of Sarduri (734?–714 B.C.) was not directly in the line of succession to the throne, but seized it by a *coup de main*. This view is based on a curious inscription that Sargon II claimed later to have read beneath Rusa's own statue at Muṣaṣir: 'With my two horses and my charioteer and with my two hands I conquered the kingdom of Urartu.'[274] But even if we accept Sargon's reading of this lost text as authentic, this may mean no more, expressed in a boastful epigram, than that Rusa crushed the revolts and reconquered the provinces lost in the disorder that almost certainly followed the Assyrian invasion and very probably involved Sarduri's death. Nevertheless, Sargon's quotation seems to represent a valuable piece of information about the events of some twenty years before.

But the sequence of events of Rusa's reign is none too clear. His first military task, as far as we can discern it, lay in the north, where he recorded having battled again where his father had fought in 742 in the lands of Adakhu(ni), Ueliku(khi), Lueru(ni) and Arquqi(ni). These lands lay immediately around Lake Sevan, forming part of a 'region of lakes and high mountains' where Rusa defeated twenty-three kings. Some nineteen of them appear to belong to areas well to the east of Lake Sevan.[275]

In the few inscriptions of Rusa that we possess we can detect traces of an important religious change. Though Khaldi is still the pre-eminent deity his chariot is no longer said to go out to war each year, while Teisheba (Teshub), the Hurrian god of war and storm, is raised to an importance almost as great as Khaldi's.[276] It was no doubt felt that Teisheba had been insufficiently regarded and that the misfortunes of Urartu had arisen from this neglect. Accordingly a new and powerful

[273] Formerly Haikapert. For excavations see B 376; B 377; B 563(*d*)–(*h*).

[274] B 158, II §178; B 242, 62f, lines 403f.

[275] B 296, 89ff; B 321, inscr. 266; B 314, inscr. 118 (from Tsovinar (Isovinar, Odzaberd, or Kolagran) B 342, Armenien 12). B 296, 89ff places the capital of Ueliku(khi) at Nor-Bayazit.

[276] This phrase, it is true, is characteristic of the annals of the two preceding kings; and, as stated, we do not possess those of Rusa.

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fortress was founded beside Lake Sevan (where several Urartian castles have been recognized)[277] bearing not the king's name as had hitherto become usual but called 'City of Teisheba'.[278] Its site has been tentatively recognized on the south bank of the lake between Tsovinar and Aluchalu.[279] A second fortress founded in the same district bore the name 'City of Khaldi', in order that there should be no jealousy among the gods. It lay most probably at Kamo (Nor-Bayazit) itself,[280] on the western shore of the lake. The nameless fortress at Kayalıdere[281] on the Murat Su near Varto in the plain of Muş is likely to have been built at this time in Dayaenu, protecting the western approaches to Lake Van and permitting the routes to Anatolia to be reopened.

In the south, Rusa's first task lay in Muṣaṣir. Urzana, who had 'fled to him (Rusa) taking his hand' was reinstalled as ruler of the frontier kingdom of Muṣaṣir in his royal city, Ardini, to form a powerful bastion against Assyria. To make his loyalty doubly sure, an Urartian governor was placed in office beside him. The alliance was recorded publicly for all to read in both Assyrian and Urartian cuneiform on a stela marking the frontier on the nearby mountain pass at Topzawa near Rowanduz, south-west of Lake Urmia.[282] This most probably took place during the brief reign of Shalmaneser V (726–722) while the Assyrians were otherwise occupied in southern Syria and Israel. There is further much archaeological evidence of strengthened and increased Urartian settlements and activities in this period in the area of Lake Urmia.[283]

Soon, to protect his flank, Rusa was weaving a web of anti-Assyrian diplomacy involving in the west Mita of Mushki and Ambaris of Tabal, Sargon's own son-in-law. When the Assyrians attempted to suborn Urzana from his allegiance to Rusa by inviting him to spy on Rusa's movements, they received a somewhat insolent reply.[284] Another letter from Sargon to the governor of Que shows that Rusa was intriguing with both Urikki of Que and Mita of Mushku[285] even as the blow fell from Assyria. But when it fell it was from the opposite direction. Serious trouble had been brewing for some years in the south-east, in a struggle for the control of the key state of Mannai, though the *casus belli* was over the neighbouring province of Uishdish. At the beginning of his reign Sargon had installed and recognized Aza, son of Iranzu, as king of Mannai. Rusa contrived to have him assassinated, using as his cat's paws Bagdatti of Uishdish and a Median prince, Metatti of Zikirtu, and replaced Aza by his brother Ullusunu who now became king of

[277] Descriptions in B 296, 89ff.
[278] B 296, 89ff; B 298, 85; B 321, inscr. 266; B 314, inscr. 118.
[279] B 296, 90.
[280] B 296, 89; B 342, Armenien 10.
[281] B 429.
[282] B 314, inscr. 122; B 321, inscr. 264; B 342, Iraq 2.
[283] B 392; B 393.
[284] B 252, no. 409.
[285] B 198.

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Mannai. Uishdish apparently was a border province of Mannai, lying to the south adjoining Urartu; Zikirtu likewise a Mannaean province adjoining Uishdish, probably on the east.[286] By this *coup d'état* Rusa now reversed the position in his favour, and for good measure occupied twenty-two Mannaean frontier towns or fortresses, probably part of Uishdish, as security. This was too much for Sargon, who now felt obliged to take up the challenge. Bagdatti was seized and flayed alive,[287] and in 715 the twenty-two towns were recaptured for Mannai and the provinces of Andia and Zikirtu were reduced to obedience. In 714 B.C. Sargon set off from Calah with a large force and a baggage train of camels, mules and asses on a campaign to try conclusions with Urartu. The campaign (his eighth) is described in unusually minute detail in a remarkable half-realistic, half-poetical account on a tablet in the form of a letter addressed to the god Ashur, and composed by a high official, the *abarakku* Ṭab-shar-ashur.[288] Having crossed the Zab, Sargon passed through the Babite pass (Mount Kullar) into Zamua. From there he entered Surikash, the southernmost territory of Mannai, probably located around modern Baneh[289] and received the homage of Ullusunu. A detour further southwards took him into Allabria and Parsumash, where he held court and received tribute from Namri, Sangibutu, Bit-Abdadani and the 'mighty Medes', and on his return to Mannai, that of Gizilbunda. From here he was preparing to invade Zikirtu by way of Aukani when he learnt that the combined army of Rusa and Metatti lay nearby in Uishdish. Switching his forces to meet them, he fell upon them by surprise in a night attack upon their camp on Mount Uaush, and routed them, though Rusa escaped. Mount Uaush, a snow peak described as 'rising to heaven like a dagger, unexplored and pathless', is usually identified with Mount Sahend (1,128 m), south of Tabriz. This victory laid wide open the way into Urartian territory, into which Sargon, after ravaging Uishdish, now entered through Ushkaia, 'head of the frontier of Urartu', probably modern Uski at the head of a valley on the north-west slope of Mount Sahend.[290] From this point scholars are more than usually divided, in terms of the modern topography, over the route and direction that Sargon took in his invasion of Urartu.[291] Unfortunately there are hardly any fixed points

[286] For the location of Uishdish see B 151, II 114ff. The events of the campaign are described in B 242.

[287] The punishment of Ullusunu is probably depicted in Salle VIII at Khorsabad on Slabs 29: 1–8; B 51, pls. 116 and 119*bis*.

[288] B 242; B 158, II: §§139–78; text supplemented by B 266 and B 399.

[289] B 151, II 114.

[290] B 282.

[291] B 133, 64, B 287, 155, and B 296, 104ff follow B 242, iii in taking Sargon's march round the north shores of Lakes Urmia and Van. B 292, II 317 took him round the south side of Lake Van. A return simply down the west shore of Lake Urmia is proposed in B 127, 108ff. A fresh study is promised in B 151, II 113 n. 99 and is partly discussed in B 394A.

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in the account that can be as yet recognized with safety around which we can establish the geographical pattern of place-names, so it is wiser to forbear from further speculation, until further sound evidence accumulates.

The fortress of Ulkhu now barred the way, protecting a fertile, well-irrigated plain, supporting fruit-trees, vineyards and sown lands.[292] It fell and with it another nearby fortress named Sarduri-khurda on Mount Kister (obviously founded by Rusa's father), which Sargon destroyed. Behind these twin outposts lay the province of Sangibutu, into which Sargon now burst, ravaging as he went and burning fifty-seven of its towns. From Sangibutu he crossed into the Urartian province of Armariali below Mount Eritia. If this, as appears likely, is the same as Aramale, which had been entered by Shalmaneser III after his sack of Arzashkun below Mount Eritia, it lay east or south of Lake Van. Here Sargon destroyed the two fortresses Arbu and Riar respectively, the home-towns of Rusa and his father Sarduri, Arbu being perhaps the Arpau where Menua and Ishpuini dedicated a temple.[293] In the adjacent province, Sargon claims credit for the capture of thirty 'strong cities beside the lake on the hill tops'. They are all named, ending with 'old Ilaia'. Two further cities are distinguished in the account as being beside the lake: Argishti-una (Argishtikhini?) situated on Mount Arsidu and Kallania on Mount Mahunnia. Neither can at present be located, though it has been suggested that Argishti-una might be modern Erçiş. Leaving the lake, he reached Uaiais, a great frontier town of Urartu, also called Uesi,[294] where he could only seize the suburbs. No mention is made of attacking Tushpa. Then, passing through Nairi and Khubushkia, he swooped unexpectedly upon Muṣaṣir, which fell without resistance;[295] the capture and sack of its riches formed the glorious climax of Sargon's eighth campaign. The catalogue of the fantastic wealth both of the palace and temple store-rooms forms a document of the greatest historical and social interest, occupying fifty-four lines of text, describing more than 333,500 objects under sixty-one headings in the temple treasures alone.[296]

Meanwhile another appalling disaster had befallen the luckless Rusa from the opposite quarter. According to Herodotus, the Cimmerians,

[292] Ulkhu is identified with the large Urartian site of Livar, 19 km north-west of Marand, in B 342, Iran 22; B 391, 4: 56f.

[293] B 321, inscr. 28 (from Muhrapert); the author rejects Arpau as a place-name.

[294] According to B 242, ix, Uesi (Uasi, Uazai, Uazanu) was on the site of modern Bitlis (this is not accepted in B 292, II 322ff); B 127, 109f locates it at Ushnu; B 342, Türkei 38 suggests Eski Tatvan.

[295] B 458, 17 presents the important view that the holy city of Muṣaṣir was regarded by both Assyria and Urartu as a neutral and undefended area on which Sargon fell, revenging himself thereby for the escape of Rusa.

[296] B 294, 8ff gives a translation of the catalogue.

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a horde of barbarian tribesmen,[297] pressed from the rear by the Scythians, left their home in south Russia, and poured most probably through the western Caucasus and Georgia along the coast through Kulkhai where they appear to have settled for a time in what were called 'the Cimmerian lands'.[298] Of this formidable people little is known, but the Greeks of Asia Minor still dreaded them in memory in the sixth century B.C., recalling that they fought on foot or from chariots, aided by fierce dogs.

The Assyrian royal archives discovered both at Nineveh[299] and Calah[300] preserve a considerable number of intelligence reports covering this period, in the form of letters addressed either directly to 'the king' or to his son and regent in his absence, the crown prince Sennacherib, or other officers. These reports both throw light on the state of affairs within Urartu and illustrate the excellent system of espionage maintained against her by the Assyrians. Unfortunately they are usually undated or are damaged and have lost their author's name and have to be assigned a sequence either on often slender internal evidence or by guesswork. Those of the agent Ashur-risua, for example, are numerous and certainly may cover a long period, since he reminds the king of his long service.[301] These letters, then, report the turmoil and upheavals which followed the double disaster in Urartu in the wake of Sargon's march. In the month of Nisan (March–April) a rebellion took place in the important provincial capital of Uasi,[302] under the leadership of Kakkadanu, Rusa's own *turtānu*, or commander-in-chief, who with the support of five of Rusa's provincial governors 'seized Urartu'.[303] Rusa reacted swiftly and fell upon the rebels, forcing his way back into Tushpa. Kakkadanu was captured and a great blood-bath followed among the disloyal governors in Uasi and Tushpa, where a hundred were killed and Ursinu, the 'second *turtānu*', was captured.[304] Meanwhile, presumably in the summer or autumn of the same year (714 B.C.), Nabu-le'i, the major-domo of Akhat-abisha, Sargon's own daughter who was married to Ambaris of Tabal, reported to the crown prince Sennacherib on the final catastrophe.[305] Rusa had marched to face the Cimmerians in battle. His army was thrown back, nine of his governors and their detachments were slain, and he had fled to an unknown destination. The double catastrophe was too much for Rusa; he fell into a decline and committed suicide. According to Sargon's version of

[297] Hdt. IV.12.
[298] B 252, no. 197.
[299] B 252, nos. 112–23, 144, 197, 391, 409, 424, 441, 444, 492, 496, 515, 1079.
[300] B 591.
[301] B 252, no. 382. One letter from Upahhir-Bel (no. 424) even mentions Argishti.
[302] See above, n. 294.
[303] B 252, nos. 444, 492.
[304] B 252, nos. 112, 144.
[305] B 252, no. 197 (cf. nos. 112 and 1391).

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events, it was on receipt of the news of the fall of Muṣaṣir. In the following year (713), Sargon set about the reconstruction of his power in the north-west. Ambaris, his son-in-law, paid the penalty for his lapse of loyalty and was dethroned and carried off in chains to Nineveh. Tabal was annexed and in 711 Sargon sealed its frontier with Urartu by occupying four of its border towns. Urartu, however, was left alone. It no longer posed any threat to Assyria, and in 709 Mita of Mushku (Midas of Phrygia) made his peace with Sargon and sent a delegation,[306] no doubt sensing the greater common danger of the Cimmerians. An attempted intrigue with Urartu on the part of the Cilicians was nipped in the bud by Mita, who arrested the ambassadors.[307] Having been for over a century one of the great powers of the ancient world and Assyria's most hated and dangerous rival in the Near East, Urartu made submission and sank into a position of minor importance, and a *modus vivendi* with Assyria appears to have been tacitly reached. The statue of the god Khaldi, captured and carried away from Muṣaṣir, was returned to his home,[308] and the Urartians agreed to supply five hundred timbers and manpower to be used in the building of Sargon's great palace at Khorsabad.[309]

V. URARTU AND ASSYRIA: COEXISTENCE AND COLLAPSE

Sargon's reorganization of the north-west frontier after the stunning defeat and death of Rusa was thorough and comprehensive. No more reliance was to be placed on the loyalty of local dynasts and the area was step by step carved up into a series of provinces. Tabal, which had swallowed up Melid, was split in 713; Kammanu, Gurgum and finally Tabal became provinces by 711; Melid was combined with Kummukh across the river and given to Mutallu of Kummukh. The frontier was now strongly defended with fortresses set up against the Phrygians and Kaska.[310] In 708 B.C., Mutallu was deposed for the offence of paying yearly tribute to Urartu[311] and Kummukh with Melid likewise became a military province. In 705, Sargon marched out once more, probably against the Cimmerian threat, but met a soldier's death in battle. In spite of this unthinkable disaster the new system held firm. Sennacherib, Sargon's son and heir, stabilized the frontier and the Cimmerian horde moved west to burn and sack the western Phrygian capital of Gordium. The death of Midas, *c.* 696 B.C., is attributed by tradition to this catastrophe and a rich tomb found at Gordium under a vast tumulus is thought to have been his.[312]

[306] B 591; B 534, 122 and 127, however, dates this event to 735–732.
[307] B 252, nos. 496, 705.
[308] B 237.
[309] B 252, no. 705.
[310] See B 470, 423.
[311] Letter of Upahhir-Bel (above, n. 301).
[312] B 421; B 470, 426.

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Perhaps this invasion was connected with a period of confusion which culminated in the murder of Sennacherib. At least it must have contributed to it. Though Ashurbanipal blamed the Babylonians as his father's slayers, according to the Biblical account[313] the murderers were Sennacherib's own sons Adram-melekh and Shar-ezer (and there is some evidence to substantiate the charge[314]) who fled to escape vengeance to Ararat (Urartu), by which is most probably meant in effect the nearby province of Shubria.

Urartu was evidently still willing to intrigue against Assyria on any good opportunity, as transpires from the story of Mutallu, already mentioned, or that of a Cilician embassy of Urikki which was intercepted on its way to Urartu.[315] The throne of Urartu was now occupied after Rusa's death by his son Argishti II, a ruler of whom comparatively little is known, though he appears to have survived until the time of Esarhaddon. We are left with only a mere handful of his inscriptions to tell us of his reign; nevertheless they suffice to fill the outlines of the picture of the diminished state. On an identical text of some historical importance inscribed on two different stelae both found near modern Erçiş, north of Lake Van,[316] he describes his re-founding at Udiguni of a new city in the district of Artarapsha named Argishtikhinili after himself, in the traditional manner, and speaks of canals beside a river and a lake; while at a city named Takhtumni vineyards, orchards, and canals were laid out. The discovery, however, of further inscriptions of Argishti on Mount Sabalan in Iranian Azerbaijan, more than halfway between Tabriz and the Caspian Sea, shows that he was busy restoring the power of Urartu by a vigorous expansion towards the east, probably to counter pressure on the trade routes across Iran and the steppes from the groups of restless mounted Scythian and Cimmerian nomads and Medes now threatening the frontier. It also seems possible that he was attempting to set up in this area a defensive network of posts and fortresses similar to that already created around Lakes Urmia and Sevan. These new records of Argishti consist of a rock inscription at both Razliq and Nashteban in Iranian Azerbaijan describing his victorious campaign in the land of Arkhu as far as the river Muna (perhaps the Kara Su) and his capture of the town of Rutum(ni), which he resettled under the name of Argishti-IRDU.[317] From the similarity in form of the place-name Rutumni with that of Takhtumni, it would seem highly likely that Argishti's building and planting works at Argishtikhinili in

[313] II Ki. 19: 37; the R.V. substitutes 'Armenia' for 'Ararat'.

[314] B 279, 5. See now S. Parpola, in B. Alster, ed., *Death in Mesopotamia* (*Mesopotamia* 8) 171ff. Copenhagen, 1980.

[315] B 591, 26ff.

[316] B 321, inscr. 275 (duplicated by 276).

[317] B 366, 35 reports rumours of the discovery in this area of 'a number of Urartian inscriptions of which, however, only one [that of Sarduri from Siqendel, above, p. 349 and n. 268] has been published'. No more have been disclosed since that statement.

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Artarapsha, commemorated beside Lake Van, in fact are to be located in Iranian Azerbaijan.[318] One inscription found in Van is of a personal character, and shows that Argishti prided himself as an expert toxophilite. It records his shooting an arrow a distance of 950 cubits (476 m) in the forest of Gilurani.[319]

Argishti II was succeeded by a far less shadowy figure, Rusa II, the contemporary of Esarhaddon. Sargon's opponent among the Medes was Daiaukku, of whom Herodotus knew as Deioces.[320] Daiaukku was defeated and banished to Hamath in 712. His son Kashtaritu[321] overcame and absorbed the kindred tribe of Persians and thus was able to penetrate the Zagros area. In alliance with the Medes were the Cimmerians and Mannaeans. In 673 Kashtaritu openly rebelled. From Nineveh, Esarhaddon watched their activities and shifting alliances anxiously through the medium of both his own intelligence service and that of the god Shamash; for the services of the all-seeing sun-god's oracle were now available for detailed political and military advice just as the great oracle of Apollo at Delphi was open to the contemporary Greeks. Will, he asks, the intrigues of Rusa or the Cimmerians bear fruit? Will the Cimmerians march? Will they slay, plunder and conquer? In Shubria, against Pumu (Ubumu), Kulameri or other Shubrian fortresses?[322] Or further: will Kashtaritu or the Cimmerians or the Mannaeans attack on the third of the month Ayaru or the eleventh of Abu? By day or night? Will he attack Kishassu?[323] It is not clear exactly what the Cimmerians were doing in this buffer area of Shubria on Assyria's northern frontier. Esarhaddon had already defeated their army at Khubishna in Anatolia in his first year, 680 B.C.; but already the Scyths, under the leadership of Ishpaka, in alliance with Urartu and Mannai, were settled in the south of Lake Urmia[324] and were raiding as far as Zamua.[325] There was also much sensitiveness in Esarhaddon's

[318] This conjecture is made more likely by the fact that we already have two towns bearing the name of Argishti (I) to locate in the vicinity of the northern part of Lake Van (see above, p. 347); to add two more in the same area seems inherently absurd.

[319] B 321, inscr. 277. Dr Sollberger has drawn my attention to a similar boast made by Shapur I (A.D. 240–272) in his rock-inscription at Hajjiabad (E. Hertzfeld, *Paikuli*, Berlin, 1924, I 87ff, II 209).

[320] Hdt. I.102.

[321] Kashtaritu is an Assyrian rendering of the Iranian Kshathrita, a name which Herodotus renders as Cyaxares. He takes Kashtaritu as the son of Phraortes and grandson of Deioces; he was, in fact, the latter's son, and is evidently the same person as Phraortes.

[322] B 130, no. 1; cf. nos. 2–15.

[323] B 130, no. 1. Kishassu is Kishishu in Media, captured by Sargon and re-named by him Kar-Nergal or Kar-Ninurta.

[324] B 130, no. 35; cf. B 252, no. 1237. For a fuller account of Esarhaddon's activities in the east see B 279, especially 9ff.

[325] B 458, 15 would date the first appearance of Scyths to the reign of Argishti I, but this is doubtful; see above, n. 235.

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foreign office over the question of refugees in Shubria over whom he seems to have pressed some extradition agreement upon Rusa, no doubt having much in mind his brothers, the murderers of Sennacherib, who had fled thither, if the Biblical account is correctly interpreted. When Esarhaddon invaded Shubria in 673, Urartian refugees whom he arrested there were returned to Rusa.[326]

By skilful diplomacy the Scyths were detached from the Median to the Assyrian side, no doubt with the aid of substantial largesses and the offer of the marriage of Esarhaddon's daughter to their king Bartatua (Herodotus' Protothyes[327]); this, at least, was the price which Esarhaddon reported to Shamash that his potential ally was asking.[328] A treaty of vassaldom was also negotiated with the Median prince Ramateia.[329] When Kashtaritu daringly attacked Nineveh itself in 653, Madyas, Bartatua's son, led his Scyths to the rescue of Ashurbanipal, now presumably his kinsman. Kashtaritu's army was routed and he himself was killed. Attacking Media itself, the Scyths then established their own 'empire' of twenty-eight years' duration[330] till 625 B.C. By the time of Ashurbanipal the Scyths were settled in Mannai, evidently in the south of Lake Urmia,[331] a fact which has attracted particular attention to the so-called 'Treasure of Ziwiye' (sometimes called the 'Treasure of Sakkiz'), a magnificent group of objects apparently found in that area in clandestine excavations in about 1947.[332] Some of the arguments over the approximate date of its concealment and that of its rich contents – though it still remains quite unclear to what extent it is a homogeneous collection – have been somewhat clarified by recent Iranian excavations on the hill and cemeteries of Ziwiye[333] and it is now pretty likely that its concealment belongs to the second half of the seventh century. It consists of rich gold and silver work, silver and bronze horse-ornaments and other objects, many of which were probably buried concealed in a large bronze bathtub engraved with figures of wild goats and Assyrian scenes of tribute.[334] Alternatively, the bath may have been used as a coffin and contained a body, as happened later at Ur. Particular interest, however, attaches to the mixed style and eclectic character of some of the most remarkable objects in the 'Treasure', which combine Urartian, Scythian, Assyrian and Babylonian artistic elements, and provide the earliest illustrations of elements of Scythian art. To recognize the

[326] B 158, II §607.
[327] Hdt. 1.203.
[328] B 130, no. 29.
[329] B 279.
[330] B 374, 286ff; Hdt. 1.106.1; B 357, 3, however, places their 'empire' in the sixth century.
[331] B 130, no. 35.
[332] B 383; B 358; B 382, 98ff; B 364; B 361; B 381; B 388.
[333] A preliminary report was presented at the Fifth Annual Symposium on Archaeological Research in Iran; it is scheduled to appear in a forthcoming volume of the Symposium's *Proceedings*.
[334] B 364.

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'treasure' as a mixture of Scythian and proto-Median art seems still to be the best description to fit it.[335]

Rusa II, the last great dynast of Urartu, found the necessary strength and finances to resume once more on a large scale the great tradition of his predecessors as a builder of defences and a founder of cities. In this field his work amounts to a reorganization of the whole kingdom, though once again the order of events can be arranged only conjecturally. These building activities centred around three strategic areas: the eastern area north and north-west of Lake Urmia; the north-eastern area protecting the middle Aras valley; and the far west of the kingdom, on the Euphrates.

In the east, his most important creation was the establishment of the fortress and religious centre of Rusai-URU.TUR (= *Rusa-patari*, 'the small city of Rusa') at modern Bastam on the Aq Chay river, 85 km south-east of Maku in western Azerbaijan, controlling the rich Qara Ziyaeddin plain, planted and cultivated, irrigated by canals and well populated.[336] Bastam also protected an important road leading either to the Aras from Bayazit and Maku or alternatively to Marand itself, where an Urartian presence was established at about this time.[337] Bastam was a royal residence and religious centre with a great citadel measuring 800 × 400 m which has formed the object of successful excavations by the German Institute of Archaeology at Teheran since 1968. North of Lake Urmia, probably in connexion with the advances of Rusa's father Argishti deep into the east, two powerful fortresses were established at Qale Bordjy[338] and Qale Sangar[339] between the rivers Talkeh Rud and Çay Kandi; presumably they indicate approximately the line of the new eastern frontier in this area. They may even have been founded by Argishti himself. The great site of Livar, 19 km north-west of Marand (a strong candidate to be the site of Sargon's Ulkhu) was also reoccupied and refortified.[340] At the north-west corner of Lake Urmia a whole network of settlements, resettlements and fortresses was set up in this period around Shahpur. Of these the most important were perhaps Pir Chavush[341] and Qale Gavur,[342] 22 km south-west of Hoy, and Qiz Qale (Evoghlu)[343] on the Tabriz–Marand–Maku road, all grouped around the administrative centre of Haftavan Tepe.[344] These fortresses were most likely built to watch and hold back the Scyths and Mannaeans and their new allies, the Medes, as much as the Assyrians, all of whom Rusa

[335] B 361. The whole material has been the subject of an attack (B 405). See, however, for the defence, R. Ghirshman, *Tombe princière de Ziwiyé*. Paris, 1979.

[336] B 342, Iran 12; B 390.

[337] B 342, Iran 24.

[338] B 342, Iran 26; B 392, 66ff.

[339] B 342, Iran 25; B 392, 69.

[340] B 342, Iran 22.

[341] B 342, Iran 33.

[342] B 342, Iran 28 (not to be confused with Qale Gavur on the Aras, 45 km east of Julfa, B 342, Iran 21).

[343] B 342, Iran 17.

[344] B 342, Iran 32; B 393.

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doubtless viewed with equal distrust. Since Rusa's inscriptions are so few, his policies and military and civil preoccupations can be deduced mainly from the pattern of his building operations.

Rusa's second great area of military architecture was in Transcaucasia in the vicinity of Erivan. At Karmir-Blur on the river Zanga in the land of Aza a mighty fortress was constructed dedicated to Teisheba, and called Teishebaini, 60 km from Argishtikhinili; the classic example, as far as is yet known, of the Urartian fortified administrative centre where the rich tribute of neighbouring regions was amassed and the abundant products of local agriculture, husbandry, and craftmanship were received, recorded, and stored. The citadel occupied an area of about ten acres and the main building contained over 150 rooms with brick walls which survive up to a height of seven metres, and would have been roofed either with timbers or with mud-brick vaults. Large granaries held about 750 tons of cereal and there were eight wine stores.[345] Canals were built from the river Ildaruni.[346] The building of Teishebaini represented a drastic reorganization of the area's defences. This is indicated by the fact that treasures and heirlooms dedicated by, and bearing the names of, Sarduri I, Menua, Argishti I, Sarduri II and Rusa I, evidently long housed elsewhere, were brought in for preservation from their earlier homes such as Erebuni, these having been abandoned or decreed unsafe. Once again, the threat against which these defences were constructed was probably that of the Scyths or other Iranian nomadic mounted warriors of the steppes, and their semi-sedentary kinsmen the Medes.

In the margin of greater events recorded by the Assyrian annals, we may glean a few more facts about the history of Urartu under Rusa II. At the time of Ashurbanipal's greatest danger, Rusa seems to have made common cause with the western Cimmerians under their leader Dugdamme (known to the Greeks as Lygdamis) who had terrorized and ravaged Anatolia since 652 B.C. This is probably the implication of Rusa's only military inscription,[347] describing a campaign in Anatolia against the Mushku (Phrygians), Khate ('Hittites', the eastern Anatolians around Melid) and Khaliṭu. These last could possibly be the same as the Halizones, a mysterious Pontic tribe known only from one reference in Homer;[348] they might also be identified as the ancestors of Xenophon's and Strabo's metal-working tribe of Khaldaioi.[349] Rusa's text was set up in duplicate, at Kef Kalesi (Adilcevaz) on the north-west of Lake Van, and at Kaleköy near Malazgirt[350] on the upper Monzur river.

[345] B 412; B 407; B 397; B 365; B 360.
[346] B 321, inscr. 281.
[347] B 321, inscr. 278; B 314, inscr. 128: 1.
[348] *Il.* II.856.
[349] Strabo, *Geog.* XII.3.19; Xen. *Cyr.* III.1.34f, VII.2.3ff; B 458, 80ff.
[350] B 321, inscr. 278; B 314, inscr. 128.

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In this area of the far western frontier we now meet a wholly novel feature of architecture in the form of winding stairway tunnels cut in the rock leading to water or water-storage cisterns. From the example at Toprak Kale it is reasonable to ascribe them to this period, and to see them as clearly designed to counter assault by mining or attack under intense arrow fire.[351] Their distribution probably indicates Rusa's new western frontier, some of which Scythian troops may have been enlisted to guard, for a Scythian chief's burial with his horses was found beneath an Urartian building level at Norşuntepe in the Keban area of the Euphrates.[352]

Rusa did not neglect defensive precautions nearer home. Though still calling himself by the traditional title 'Lord of Tushpa' he built for himself a new and well-defended residence at Toprak Kale near Van, overlooking the lake, and named it Rusakhinili in the traditional manner.[353] Today it is approached through a winding rock-cut stairway tunnel leading past a cistern. If he was indeed the founder of Toprak Kale, we must surely also attribute to him the building of the temple of Khaldi, into which was brought from some much older shrine the magnificent bronze throne and furniture of the god, probably of the eighth century B.C.[354]

At Kef Kalesi, apparently the site of a city named Khaldi-Ziuquni[355] with citadel on a hill-top overlooking the lake near Adilcevaz, he built a shrine from which have survived parts of a fine relief (found dismantled) carved in black basalt, three metres high, showing a pair of beardless deities standing on a bull's back facing each other antithetically and plucking from a stylized tree one of the leaves shaped like spear-heads. Khaldi or Teisheba, it has been suggested, is represented here; the sun-god Shivini is another stronger possibility but the matter is obscure.[356] At Kef Kalesi he also built a large hall containing large numbers of storage jars. Against the façade stood square bases carved with figures similar to that described but shown before a castellated building, evidently the god's shrine.[357]

In about 640, Rusa made overtures and sent an envoy to Ashurbanipal but he received an enemy's welcome; the luckless man's tongue was torn out and he was flayed alive.[358] At length in 636, when Dugdamme

[351] B 415.

[352] B 385; B 457, pl. XXXIX and fig. 320*a*.

[353] Whether Rusa II was in fact the founder of Toprak Kale is not beyond dispute: B 292, II 461 ascribes its foundation to Rusa I. See, however, B 321, inscr. 268 and the discussion *ibid.*, 330f, and B 458, 50 n. 30.

[354] B 363; B 294, 15ff.

[355] B 321, inscr. 278. See above, pp. 329 and 331, for the identification of Ziuquni with Ziquni.

[356] B 433; B 453. Calmeyer (in B 290, 45ff) argues that this divine figure cannot be Khaldi because he was worshipped aniconically in the Iranian manner (so too B 300, 48f), and the function of plucking the fruit of the Sacred Tree was for minor gods.

[357] B 457, pl. 378.

[358] B 158, II §834.

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had been defeated at the Cilician Gates and Ashurbanipal had defeated the Elamites at the battle of the Ulai river, Rusa's son Sarduri III, who had reigned jointly with his father[359] and whom Ashurbanipal calls by an Assyrianized form of his name, Ishtar-duri, submitted and sent ambassadors to greet the victor at Arbela, grasping his knees in token of submission and greeting him 'like a son a father'.[360] The envoys are represented in the great reliefs showing the aftermath of the Ulai battle which Ashurbanipal caused to be carved in the palace of his grandfather Sennacherib at Nineveh.[361] One ambassador is bearded, the other is younger and clean-shaven; both are wearing a long cloak-like garment and a version of the Phrygo-Armenian headdress as worn at Persepolis[362] over a century later. Ashurbanipal taunts them with double-dealing, confronts them with Rusa's or Sarduri's correspondence with the Elamites: but it seems that Sarduri was forgiven since the help of Urartu was needed in the face of the growing common danger. Of course, the impression of the unimportance of these last royal defenders of Urartu (for thus far their role had shrunken) might well be altered or dispelled by future excavations at a late major site such as Qale Gavur, founded only in the late seventh century B.C. on the Aras river.[363] It is, however, a tribute to the strength, tenacity and diplomacy of the Urartians that their kingdom was able to outlast the fall of their Assyrian rivals by a quarter of a century.

Nothing else is known of Sarduri III, son of Rusa, save that his seal was impressed on a clay bulla fixed to the door of a granary at Karmir-Blur and also occurs on a clay tablet from the same site.[364] In this dark period we know the names of three persons, two of whom were certainly accounted king. The first is Sarduri (IV?), son of Sarduri (III?).[365] The second is Rusa III (probably 610–590 B.C.), 'the son of Erimena'; not only did this Rusa build a great granary with a capacity of 1432 *kapi* at Argishtikhinili (Armavir)[366] but at Toprak Kale he dedicated a fine series of bronze shields in the temple of Khaldi, several engraved with figures of bulls and lions. Whether the inscriptions describing Rusa as son of Erimena are to be taken as implying that Erimena was also king is highly obscure; it seems very unlikely but there is possible evidence that he was a brother of Rusa II,[367] thus of royal blood. Finally we have the mere name of one last Rusa (IV), 'the son of Rusa' (590?–585?).

[359] B 458, 155.
[360] B 158, II §§871, 1035, 1046; B 458, 23 n. 108.
[361] B 188, pls. 65f.
[362] Armenian delegation: B 419, pl. 10; B 294, 13, fig. 3.
[363] B 342, Iran 21; B 393, 146f.
[364] B 296, 115ff.
[365] B 458, xv n. 2.
[366] B 321, inscr. 288.
[367] A seal-impression on a clay tablet from Karmir-Blur bears the name of 'Erimena, son of A[rgishti (II?)]': B 458, 27 and n. 133; B 375, 57.

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This wraith-like figure is commemorated only on a door-bolt from Teishebaini.[368] *Stat magni nominis umbra.* He was probably the last of the rulers of Urartu when it finally collapsed.

When Assyria fell, the anxieties of Urartu redoubled. In 608, the Babylonian Nabopolassar, now in alliance with the Medes, advanced as far north as the 'province of Urashtu' where the Babylonian Chronicle reports the capture of Bit-Khanunia.[369] The appellation 'province' implies that submission had been made to Babylon. Jeremiah, the prophet of Judah, in the fourth year of Zedekiah (596 B.C.), prophesies that a coalition of enemies will unite against Babylon, consisting of the 'kingdoms of Ararat, Minni and Ashkenaz' and 'the nations with the kings of the Medes',[370] that is Urartu, the Mannaeans, Scythians and Medes. But amid the shifting sands of alliances and policies of the next ten years, it was the Scyths who appear to have delivered the death-blow to Urartu, probably in concert with the Medes attacking in Transcaucasia. A layer of destruction by fire has been found in excavations at all the major sites so far uncovered: Bastam,[371] Karmir-Blur,[372] Armavir,[373] Çavuştepe,[374] Toprak Kale,[375] Kef Kalesi.[376] Trilobed bronze arrow-heads, sharply different from the Urartian leaf- or fish-shaped arrow-heads of iron and a sure diagnostic mark of the presence of Scythians,[377] have been discovered at the first three sites and with other clues tell of the Scythian assault.[378] The fall of Urartu doubtless coincided with, and facilitated, the advance of the Medes to the Halys river, where they clashed with the Lydians in an inconclusive battle interrupted by the solar eclipse of 25 May 585 B.C.

The Persian Empire of Darius and Xerxes no longer required the particular military system of the Urartians' defensive fortresses, though it might learn from their architecture. Failed by their god Khaldi at last, the Urartians lost heart, and their captive populations either drifted away or took control. New names appear of tribes who have moved in: Saspeires into Colchis,[379] Karduchi,[380] Matieni, and – in the central zone – Armenians. Though it is still mentioned by name in the Babylonian version of Darius' inscription at Behistun, the term 'Urartu' is now replaced in the Persian text by a new name, Armenia.[381] Whence

[368] B 414, 294 n. 1; B 397, 94. B 458, 155 describes in full the same text on a tablet from Karmir-Blur.

[369] B 276, 65.

[370] Jeremiah 51: 26f.

[371] B 390; B 414, 294 n. 15.

[372] B 365; B 299, 180ff.

[373] B 395, 169ff.

[374] B 414, 295 n. 16; B 377.

[375] B 414, 295 n. 15; B 379, 414.

[376] B 367.

[377] B 395, fig. 108; B 414, fig. 8; B 293, figs. 79–81, 84.

[378] B 293, 232ff; B 414, 295; B 415; B 416. B 444, 175, however, on ceramic evidence, ascribes the overthrow of Urartu to the Medes.

[379] Probably in the bend of the Çoroh around Ispir, which may preserve their name. On Ispir and its castle see B 411.

[380] Probably Kurds.

[381] B 389, l.

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exactly the newcomers came is as yet unclarified.[382] An ambitious 'Armenian' who yet might be claimed as the last of the Urartians is Ara-kha the son of Khaldi-ti (his own name is compounded with that of the Armenian cult-figure,[383] his father's with that of Khaldi) who rebelled against Darius in an attempt to seize the Babylonian throne, claiming according to Darius to be Nebuchadrezzar, son of Nabonidus.[384] But Urartu was finished. Xerxes set up his inscriptions at Van,[385] making it the centre of the eighteenth satrapy of eastern Armenia, consisting of Urartians (their name distorted by the Greeks to 'Alarodians'), Matieni and Saspeires.[386] A contingent of Alarodians served in Xerxes' army against Greece.[387] In the Babylonian chancelleries the name of Urartu (under its Babylonian form, Urashtu) continued to be used, and in the time of Darius II the province still existed, governed by a Babylonian satrap, Shamash-barakku, son of Nidintu-bel.[388] It is the last mention of Urartu in antiquity.

VI. URARTIAN ART AND ARCHAEOLOGY

By the eighth century B.C., possibly earlier, Urartu was a very wealthy and powerful state, enriched by trade, industry, and conquest and already possessed of a material culture fully comparable with any of the lesser states of Mesopotamia and Anatolia. Sargon's description[389] of the fantastic treasures looted from Muṣaṣir in the form of precious metals and works of art of all kinds – at which he appears amazed himself – is sufficient to make us realize the luxury and affluence of Urartian society. Enough examples have been recovered by excavation or otherwise to show – though on a scale utterly trifling in comparison with what has disappeared – what was the level of Urartian achievement in architecture, engineering, stone-carving, metal-working, fresco painting, and the minor arts; and by careful analysis of the pottery, good progress has been made in laying down a better chronological basis for future stylistic and other studies.[390] The sources and origins of Urartian art are however, as usual, far from clear. In the first place we have as yet little idea of what preceded the culture of the Urartians in the area of Lake Van. The fact that their oldest cultural and religious centre was apparently Muṣaṣir suggests that excavations at its site, now at last identified,[391] might provide the most useful solution or line of

[382] For a discussion of Armenian origins see B 296, 119ff and, more briefly, B 458, 25ff.
[383] See above, n. 151.
[384] B 389, lxvii.
[385] See above, p. 315.
[386] Hdt. III.94.
[387] Hdt. VII.79.
[388] His seal appears on a tablet dated to the sixth year of Darius II (418 B.C.); B 417.
[389] B 158, II §§173f. See above, p. 354 and n. 296.
[390] B 444.
[391] B 368.

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investigation of this problem. It is natural to assume that Urartian art and cultural ideas and pictorial symbolism (which we discuss briefly below) were at least in part derived from the Urartians' ancestors the Hurrians and from the kingdom of Mitanni; but at present this becomes largely an attempt to explain the obscure by the more obscure. Hurrian magic certainly played an important role in Hittite culture and society in the second millennium B.C. and certain important symbolic elements in Urartian art such as the winged sun-disk, the 'sacred tree' flanked by divine figures, or plants linked by streams or canals of magic waters or threatening serpents with lions' heads seem to originate in the Hurrian milieu.[392] The theme of gods standing on the backs of their sacred animals, though common in Old Babylonian, Assyrian and Hittite art seems also to have been transmitted to Urartu through the Hurrians. It occurs conspicuously in the round at Tell Halaf in what had once been Hurrian–Mitannian territory. The Urartian divine hierarchy expressed in terms of rows of deities standing in ascending levels of sanctity one above the other (as for example on the Toprak Kale throne) may well be Hurrian, but is certainly also found in Hittite art.[393] The Urartians also had a marked predilection for combining parts of different animals to form strange mixed monsters partly unfamiliar to the more orthodox demonology of contemporary Mesopotamia: bull- and goat-headed birds with lions' legs, bird-women, bird-men with fish-bodies, lion-griffins, lion-headed bulls. These are particularly favoured on bronze and silver pectorals and bronze belts.[394] Other pictorial motifs, engraved commonly on bronze belts or quivers, such as lion- or bull-hunting scenes or military processions to battle, or simple illustrations on metal disks and pectorals of sacrifices to a seated deity, could just as well be derived from contemporary Assyrian influence of the ninth to seventh centuries, and this is most likely. Nevertheless, other influences from north Syrian and even Phoenician art, especially in the eighth and seventh centuries, can also be detected.

The enormous development of the Urartian metal-working industry, especially that of bronze work, is now well enough explained by the seizure of the important metal-working zone of Metsamor and the Aras valley, the output of which became one of the pillars of their economy from the time of Menua. Trade routes were opened up by the conquests of Menua and Argishti through Diaue(khi) and were met by the trading stations founded by the highly commerce-minded Greeks of Corinth and Miletus in the form of colonies tapping these routes, established

[392] This will form the subject of a separate study. The earliest form of linked plants leading to the linked lotus-and-palmette plants is in the so-called 'Nuzi Ware' pottery.

[393] B 21, pls. XLII and 372*a*.

[394] B 442; B 451; B 455. It has, however, been suggested (B 434) that the idea of these strange creatures may be derived from Middle Babylonian (i.e. Kassite) art, now largely lost.

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at Sinope (*c.* 750 B.C.) in Anatolia and Trapezus (Trebizond) in the territory of Colchis or Kulkhai.[395] So far there has been little evidence of Urartian trade with the East; but at Toprak Kale the surprising evidence was reported of carbonized remains of silk[396] which, if correctly identified, could have come only from China, presumably through the lands and hands of Scythian intermediaries, who certainly, as the finds at Pazyryk in the Altai showed, handled and valued Chinese silks in the fifth century B.C.[397] If correct, this is among the earliest evidence of silk in antiquity.

For domestic and utilitarian purposes, copper vessels were commonly made from the eighth century onwards in the form of jugs, bowls and dishes; examples have been recorded or survive from Igdır,[398] Altıntepe,[399] and Karmir-Blur,[400] and their formerly glowing surfaces are reflected in the characteristic Urartian red polished 'palace ware' pottery.[401] Mixing-bowls, too, or cauldrons for wine, sometimes of vast size,[402] were also beaten out of bronze and raised. A special de luxe class of this article was further evolved in the eighth century B.C. by adapting its four handles to form remarkable figures of birds with human heads, either of men or women, in some cases twin-headed, with extended wings, cast in *cire perdue*, and attached by rivets to the rim of the cauldron and with a loose iron ring for suspension affixed to their backs, to sling the cauldrons when necessary. These bird-like figures, evidently representing minor spirits or deities, and perhaps conveying a solar symbolism, appear to flutter realistically over the vessel, either to imbibe or to protect the contents. These cauldrons and their ornaments conveying magic meaning were widely exported, by sea or land to the west through Diaue(khi) or Melid to Thrace[403] or Gordium, or to the Greek shrines of Samos, Delos, Lindos, the Ptoion, Delphi, and Olympia and further west to princely tombs in Etruria, to Praeneste and Vetulonia.[404] As demand clearly outran supply, copies were made by Phoenician and perhaps also by north Syrian craftsmen and by Greek workshops probably in Corinth.[405] To the bird-figures, too, on the cauldron rims, long-necked griffins' and lions' heads were also soon

[395] B 285, 15ff; B 425, 228ff; B 337.

[396] B 415, 25; B 292, II 967.

[397] B 450, 366.

[398] B 444; B 445; B 299, pls. 49f.

[399] B 299, pl. 70.

[400] B 444.

[401] B 444.

[402] B 438. There is now a considerable literature on these cauldrons and the attached handle-figures (which are variously called 'Siren-figures' and 'Ashur-attachments') and fierce argument has arisen as to whether they were in fact products of Urartian or north Syrian art centres.

[403] B 459, no. 120.

[404] B 438. For Etruria see B 449, 22.

[405] It is claimed by some (e.g. B 438) that these additions of lion and griffin heads were Greek work, but the discovery of a lion head, evidently from such a cauldron, at Karmir-Blur (B 458, fig. 12) with an inscription of Sarduri II, and of a Phoenician cauldron with similar additions at Salamis, has cast doubts on this assumption. See discussion in B 458, 103ff.

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added for apotropaic purposes. Another form of handle-attachment to cauldrons in which bulls' heads replace the human heads of the bird-men and bird-women was also created and proved popular. In Lycia, in the south-west of Anatolia, such bird-figures were associated with the cult of the dead (as may be seen on the so-called 'Harpy Tomb' from Xanthus in the British Museum) and may well have had such associations also in Urartu, perhaps derived from the Hittite form of the cult of Ereshkigal, who was worshipped as 'sun goddess of the Underworld'. To the Greeks these figures too may have suggested the souls of the dead who come fluttering from the underworld to drink and be revived for purposes of divination by blood as in Odysseus' sacrifices.[406] However this may be, it is apparent that these somewhat bizarre works of art excited the liveliest interest in the west, hungry for the stimulus of Oriental novelties and new forms of art.

For religious or state purposes the bronze-workers and founders of Urartu also produced large-scale works: life-sized statues of men and animals (possibly by *cire perdue*, an art long known in Elam[407]), to be dedicated in the shrine of Khaldi at Muṣaṣir, as we can see from the Assyrian illustration of its sack.[408] The battered though still magnificent remains survive of the huge bed and throne of Khaldi from his temple at Toprak Kale, the seat of which was supported by a hierarchy of lesser gods shaped in the round, cast in piece-moulds, with inlaid white stone or ivory faces, and partly gilded.[409] This type of furniture, which may date from the time of Menua, could also be embellished with the addition of ivory figures in relief or in the round. Openwork representing griffin-headed men may occur at Toprak Kale or Altıntepe.[410] This furniture, too, was sometimes decorated with skilfully executed designs cut out of sheet metal in openwork,[411] and in some cases the human figures of ivory sparkled with glass or lapis lazuli inlays. Bronze tripods and candelabra were manufactured and exist in the museums of Hamburg, Erlangen, and elsewhere, the earliest dated to the time of Menua, the latest by an inscription to that of Rusa,[412] though which ruler of that name is meant is not made clear. There are also indications that decoration in *niello* technique was practised.[413]

The making of arms and armour of bronze was also a major Urartian industry. Corslets of scale armour, helmets, shields, quivers and belts, including horse-trappings and ornaments, are often beautifully engraved

[406] *Od.* 11.25–50.

[407] Cf. the statue of Napirasu in the Louvre: *CAH, Plates to Volumes I and II* (new ed., 1977), pl. 157(*a*).

[408] B 51, II, pl. 141.

[409] B 363; B 294, 26ff.

[410] B 363(*a*), pls. XII–XV; B 410, vol. II.

[411] B 363(*c*), figs. 14f.

[412] B 458, 98f; B 440.

[413] B 394, 89 records the discovery at Toprak Kale of a silver box containing silver sulphide, a substance used in niello work.

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and are frequently inscribed. The industry is shown by these texts to go back to the time of Menua.[414] On a smaller scale, engraved bronze mirrors were made for women, lunate pectorals for both sexes. The craft of bronze-working lasted to the end, surviving even (it would seem) the fall of Urartu. The recently-discovered hoard of bronze plaques, probably from some small local shrine, at Giyimli,[415] many of which are embossed and lightly engraved with ritual scenes, is a valuable testimony, though the find was largely pillaged by modern antiquity-robbers, to the tenacious survival of a popular, even rustic, style of art in contrast to the official art of the palaces lasting probably into the sixth century B.C.

Iron and even mild steel were used extensively for weapons – arrow-heads, swords, axes, agricultural and other tools – and helped to give superiority in war.

Gold-work has survived only in a small handful of objects – a votive disk engraved with a scene of sacrifice from Toprak Kale,[416] a little jewellery or gold-plating from Karmir-Blur;[417] but rich garments, heavily adorned with appliqué square sequins, presumably of gold, were worn by figures of the gods and probably formed royal gifts. Thus the Tabalian king of Tyana, Urballa, is shown at Ivriz[418] wearing a cloak of this kind heavily encrusted with squares bearing an Urartian design; and gold sequins with Urartian designs were found among the foundation deposit of the Artemisium at Ephesus.[419]

Their greatest achievement in applied art was in the development of a grandiose style of palatial architecture of which little now survives.[420] In this they were aided by a mastery of stone-carving, including rock-carving, undoubtedly evolved by the use of good tools of highest-quality metal. Finely dressed blocks of basalt or limestone or both, neatly laid in beds cut in the rock, formed the firm substructure of powerful fortresses, palaces and temples. The superstructures were, as elsewhere in the Near East, of mud-brick, and the crenellated roofs were supported by timbers, sometimes resting on columns or pilasters with stone bases, either flat or pitched. Details are still obscure, though the bronze model fortress from Toprak Kale or the stone one from Kef Kalesi[421] already mentioned are of help. The walls of the temple at Erebuni were decorated with excellent polychrome wall-paintings in fresco, representing ritual scenes, figures of symbolic animals, hunting, herding, and wild and domesticated animals.[422] They resemble those in

[414] B 424; B 456; B 458, 114ff.
[415] B 436.
[416] B 458, 127, 129 and pl. XXXII.
[417] B 299, pls. 118–23.
[418] B 21, pl. XLIII. Cf. Kemerhisar stela, B 581, pl. 38*a*.
[419] B 441, pl. VIII.
[420] B 458, 38ff; B 429; B 430; B 431.
[421] See above, p. 362 and B 363(*a*), pl. I; B 367; B 457, pls. 378 and 380.
[422] B 439; B 447; B 457, pl. XLVI.

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Assyrian palaces of the ninth and eighth centuries in Assyria and north Syria, but also in their simple arrangement of metope-shaped panels in the magico-ritual scenes are related to Middle Assyrian frescoes. This class of work also existed at Çavuştepe.[423]

Temples were of a quite different character from those evolved in Mesopotamia. Some were small constructions of rectangular plan with a single door, rather like a box, either free-standing or in a building complex, with very thick walls of mud-bricks resting on a stone-built foundation. Others had a portico supported on pilasters, as at Muṣaṣir or Erebuni. Their roofs were either pitched and gabled or pointed – the matter is not clear since no superstructures have survived and we are dependent on the interpretation of the Assyrian relief showing Muṣaṣir (see above, n. 408); but the roof could be surmounted by a great emblem such as the spear of Khaldi, as was done there. The walls and pilasters were hung with votive bronze shields and statues, and bronze vessels were placed in the portico.

A remarkablè example of Hippodamian rectangular town planning, anticipating that of the Greeks, has been discovered at Zernaki Tepe, west of Lake Van.[424]

While stone statuary in the round is very rare, some remarkable reliefs on basalt exist from Adilcevaz and Kef Kalesi, representing deities on the backs of their sacred animals performing a ritual act before a kind of Sacred Tree,[425] in the latter case represented before a palace or temple. In fact the carving is flat and lacks modelling and, though impressive, is really an extension of the art of fresco-painting.

Minor crafts – polychrome, figured and plain pottery-making,[426] weaving of textiles,[427] basketry,[428] seal-cutting[429] – are also well in evidence.

Last of all the legacy of Urartu has to be considered. This was extended both to the Orient and to the West. To the empire of the Achaemenids it bequeathed – no doubt through the Medes – to be greatly developed, certain useful architectural forms: columnar architecture, the *apadana* or hall of many columns, the *ẓendan* or high tower, the quadrangular fortress with corner towers. In terms of techniques, it handed on the arts of precise stone-cutting and polychromy in building, that is to say, the use of stones of different contrasting colours.[430] Above all, it saved the metal-workers' secrets of manufacturing iron and steel. One of its most conspicuous legacies was perhaps the idea of publicly writing up on cliffs the royal annals of a reign – an

[423] B 376; B 377.
[424] B 430, 50.
[425] B 433; B 453. Cf. above, n. 421.
[426] B 444.
[427] A. S. Verkovskaya in B 412, III 67ff.
[428] B 395, fig. 1056.
[429] B 458, ch. VIII.
[430] B 458, 51f.

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example which Darius followed at Behistun and Augustus in the *Monumentum Ancyranum*, though in his case on the walls of a temple. In the west, we find the influence of Urartu in the ninth and eighth centuries B.C. playing an important role in re-awakening Greek art and life from their long isolation and slumber. Partly acting through intermediaries, it stimulated the imagination of Greece and the west as far as Italy with such works of art as bronze shields with lions' heads, the great cauldrons with figured handles, or elaborate bronze tripods. Indeed it is legitimate to speculate how far the throne of Midas, which Pausanias tells us he dedicated at the shrine of Apollo at Delphi, was an authentic Phrygian work and not made by Urartians. What is surprising is the total and unbroken silence about this great and gifted nation preserved by all early Greek writers who appear never to have heard of it. It is only from Plato in the fifth century B.C. that we learn of Ēr, son of Armenius, in other words the Armenian cult-figure Ara,[431] the myth of whose return from the underworld he recounts.[432] By that time Urartu was long dead and gone.

[431] See above, pp. 314 and 335. [432] *Rep.* 614b.

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CHAPTER 9

THE NEO-HITTITE STATES IN SYRIA AND ANATOLIA

J. D. HAWKINS

I. INTRODUCTION

1. *Change and Continuity*

The collapse of the Hittite Empire in Anatolia and Syria was accompanied by widespread destruction of the urban centres, and the sequence of historical record provided by the cuneiform archives of Khattusha and Ugarit comes to an abrupt end at this point. The prolonged dark age which ensued in this area is characterized by the almost total absence of any indigenous historical sources, a lack by no means filled by the very rare external references. The settlement patterns exhibit a considerable degree of discontinuity: the political centres of the Iron Age are not those of the Late Bronze Age but have moved to new sites which now rise to political prominence for the first time. The extinction of the tradition of cuneiform writing in Anatolia and Syria emphasizes the cultural break.

The immediate cause of this hiatus here and elsewhere seems to have been the large-scale population movements that occurred at the end of the Bronze Age, among them that of the Sea Peoples along the coasts from Anatolia to Palestine, that of the Phrygians into Anatolia, the Aramaean invasions all across the Fertile Crescent, and the entry of the Hebrews into Canaan.[1] However, in the area of the Hittites' most successful imperial expansion, namely south-east Anatolia, the Taurus mountains and north Syria as far as the Euphrates, it is clear that a basically 'Hittite' population survived and expanded. It seems likely that the main migration of Anatolian peoples to these territories followed the sack of their paramount capital Khattusha and the loss of central and western Anatolia. There, after a period of weakness and insignificance, they were able to revive a culture which shows clear links with the imperial past.[2]

These peoples and their culture may be termed 'Hittite' in a general

[1] For these events see B 471, 366ff; B 470; B 463, 529ff; B 733, 541ff.

[2] See especially B 545, 13ff, 26ff. This period and area have been partially treated in B 470, 422ff, 438ff; B 463, 526ff. New discoveries and fresh perspectives gained in recent research make appropriate a more extended treatment in the context of the present volume.

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sense, as they were known to their contemporary neighbours, Assyrians, Hebrews and Urartians, at a time after the term 'land of Khatti' had been transferred by migration from Anatolia to Syria.[3] As far as is known, these 'Late Hittites' no longer used the Hittite (i.e. Nesite) language, which vanished along with the cuneiform tradition of Khattusha, but a later dialect of the related language, Luwian, which had also been known at Khattusha, written both in the cuneiform script on clay tablets and in the indigenous hieroglyphic script on monumental inscriptions of stone. Even under the Hittite Empire, south-eastern Anatolia, the land of Kizzuwatna, had been an area of mixed Luwian–Hurrian population,[4] while the Hurrian and Hittite migrations into Syria imposed successive layers of these ethnic groups on the formerly 'Amorite' population.[5] When the Hittite cuneiform tradition disappeared, it was succeeded by that of the Luwian hieroglyphic. However the absence of evidence that the term 'Luwian' survived into the Iron Age may be taken to justify the designation of the people and culture as 'Late (or Neo-)Hittite'. Their language on the other hand will be designated '(Late) hieroglyphic Luwian' or, for convenience, 'Hieroglyphic'. The term 'Anatolian' will also be used to refer generally to an undifferentiated Hittite–Luwian tradition.

The Syrian Iron Age 'land of Khatti' lacked the control of any paramount capital, and was made up of a number of independent states. Typically these would consist of a geographically distinct tract of land, governed from a single capital city with dependent 'strong cities' and villages. These states, however, were far from stable, and their less clearly defined frontiers seem to have fluctuated with political vicissitudes. They were governed by dynasties whose onomastics proclaimed their inheritance of an Anatolian tradition, and whose inscriptions attest the survival of the Luwian language. In the absence of economic or other texts containing substantial bodies of onomastic material, evidence for the ethnic composition of the subject populations is limited, but where it exists, it points to the bulk of the population sharing the Anatolian affinities of their rulers.[6]

At least by 1000 B.C., a new and intrusive population group appeared in the area, namely the Aramaeans. Their penetration of Syria and foundation of their own states must have exerted pressure on the already settled Anatolian peoples, yet our sources do not suggest any fissures of the land along ethnic faults. However the neighbouring countries acknowledged the distinctness of the two peoples by referring to the lands

[3] B 112, 67ff, especially n. 8.

[4] B 500, chapter 1.

[5] See in general B 541, III, chapters 3 and 4; cf. B 468, 17f.

[6] See below, pp. 440f, the Onomastics. The theory of the Aramaization of the Hittite states expressed in B 463, 529 and 536 is without foundation.

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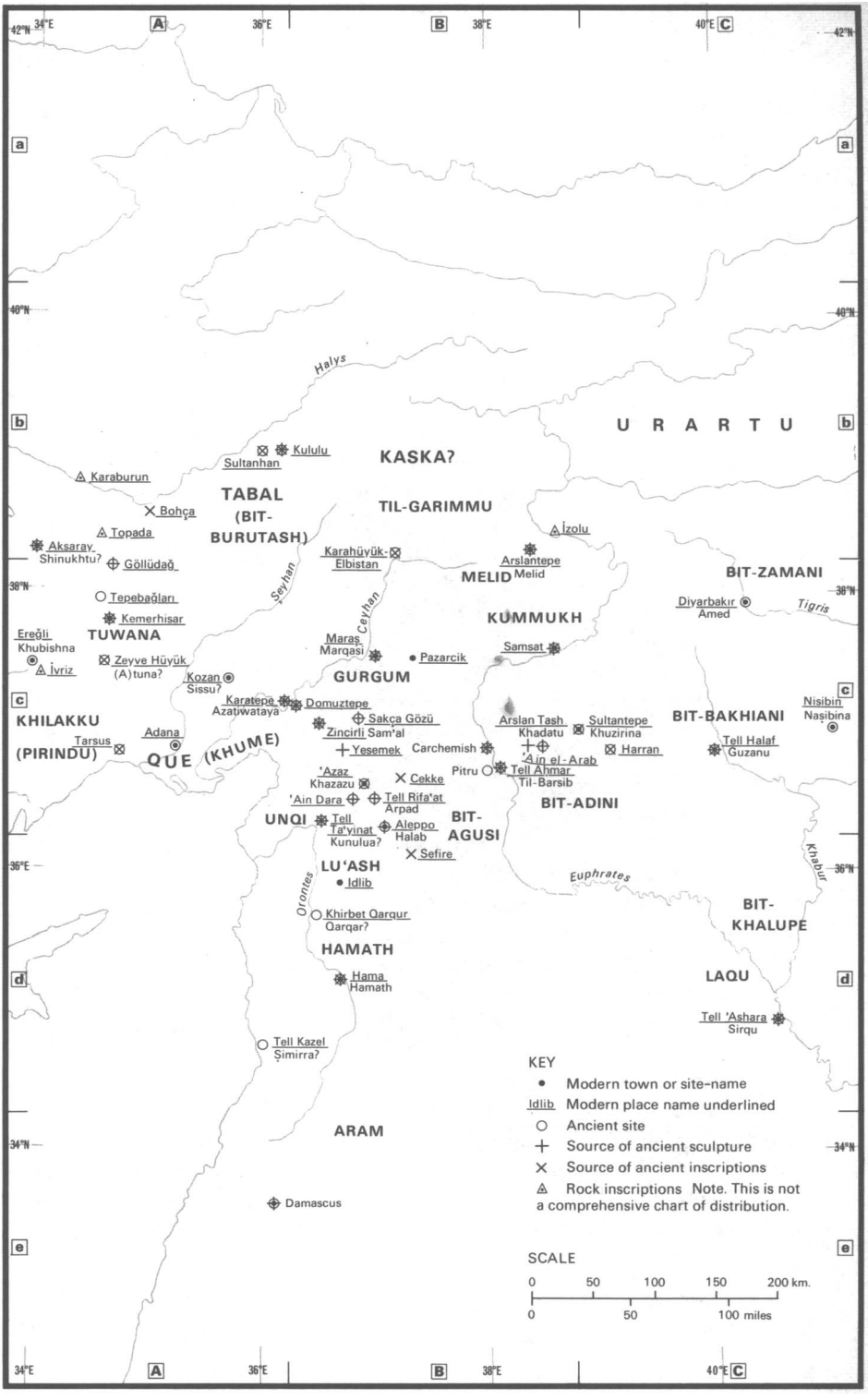

Map 14. The Syro-Hittite states.

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and kings of 'Khatti and Aram'.[7] The parallel term 'Syro-Hittite' will be used here to designate the gradual fusion of the two cultures which took place.

2. *Historical geography of Khatti and Aram*

The Syro-Hittite states formed gradually in the three centuries following the fall of the Hittite Empire, and attestations of them begin to appear in the historical sources. On the frontier of Khatti, yet in another sense its centre, the city-state of Carchemish[8] held the crossing of the Euphrates as it had under the Hittite Empire. Immediately to its south, the large Aramaean tribal state of Bit-Adini,[9] with its capital at Til-Barsib, controlled the Euphrates down to the mouth of the river Khabur. West of Bit-Adini another important Aramaean state, Bit-Agusi,[10] with its capital at Arpad, usurped the already ancient predominance of Aleppo over this area. Bit-Agusi's southern neighbour was the large kingdom of Hamath[11] with its capital of the same name, modern Hama, which seems early to have incorporated the land of Lukhuti with its capital Khatarikka as its northern province, and later also the north Phoenician coastal strip from Latakiye to the mouth of the Nahr el-Kebir. South of Hamath, massive Aramaean penetration led to the rise of Damascus,[12] the centre of Aram as Carchemish was of Khatti.

North of Hamath and west of Bit-Agusi, the 'Amuq plain, embracing the lower Orontes river and a pass to the sea, was the seat of the Hittite kingdom of Unqi, also known as Pa(t)tin (previously read 'Hattin'), with its capital at Kunulua – perhaps Tell Ta'yinat, the Iron Age successor of the Late Bronze Age kingdom of Mukish, capital Alalakh.[13] To the north of Unqi at the foot of the eastern flank of the Amanus range lay the small, predominantly Aramaean state of Sam'al (modern Zincirli),[14] and to the north of that, in an angle formed by the Amanus and Taurus ranges, the Hittite kingdom of Gurgum[15] with its capital at Marqasi (modern Maraş). Gurgum's eastern and Carchemish's northern neighbour was another Hittite kingdom, Kummukh,[16] the later Commagene, occupying a long stretch of the west bank of the Euphrates. To the north of Kummukh, on the Euphrates frontier with Urartu, controlling the north-eastern passes through the Taurus and the

[7] B 511, §§4.2, 5.2. For these, and for Assyrian renderings of Syro-Hittite toponyms in general, see B 187.

[8] B 581, 185; B 112, 69ff. Now B 5, VI *s.v.* Karkamiš, §§13–15.

[9] B 614; B 581, 182.

[10] Also called Yakhan: see B 519. For this and the following states, note in particular B 485.

[11] B 510; B 581, 194. For Lukhuti and Khatarikka, see below, n. 46.

[12] B 610.

[13] B 512; B 112, 81ff. For the location of Kunulua, see below, n. 139.

[14] B 581, 199. [15] B 587; B 112, 73ff. [16] B 526, 5ff. Now B 5, VI *s.v.* Kummuḫ.

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Taurus country Til-garimmu, was Melid,[17] the classical Melitene, with its capital of the same name near modern Malatya at Arslantepe. Westwards through the Taurus, the south-east corner of the Anatolian plateau was generally designated Tabal[18] in this period, and seems to have been fragmented into a large number of principalities. It was later partially united into Bit-Burutash (or -Burutish) roughly corresponding to the modern provinces of Kayseri and Nevşehir, with its capital possibly at the modern village site of Kululu; and south of this, in the modern province of Niğde, the kingdom of Tuwana, classical Tyana, later established its independence and held the Anatolian end of the historic Taurus pass, the Cilician Gates. Cilicia itself was divided between the kingdom of Que, classical Plain Cilicia (Campestris), and the mountain people of Khilakku, classical Rough Cilicia (Aspera),[19] and represented the southern end of the Late Bronze Age Kizzuwatna.

Beyond the confines of this Syro-Hittite world were other peoples and countries which impinged on it with varying degrees of force. To the south lay the Hebrew kingdom, soon to divide into Israel and Judah, states of stature comparable with those of Khatti and Aram; and to the west along the coast were the smaller Phoenician and Philistine states. The larger surrounding powers were as follows: in the south a normally inactive Late Dynastic Egypt; in the north-west, controlling central Anatolia, Phrygia, whose influence was only felt later in the period; in the north-east an Urartu which bore heavily on its Hittite neighbours in the first half of the eighth century B.C.; and above all, in the east an Assyria which was already a threat to the later Hittite Empire and now after a period of debility rose to become an ever more serious menace to Syro-Hittite independence.

3. *The historical sources*

The historical sources for the period consist in the first place of external textual references, primarily Assyrian, supplemented by rarer Babylonian, Hebrew and Urartian attestations. The chronological framework of the history of the Syro-Hittite states is primarily derived from the foreign chronographic documents, principally the Assyrian Eponym Canon,[20] the chronologically arranged Assyrian Royal Annals,[21] and

[17] B 581, 205; B 112, 76ff.

[18] B 581, 217; B 591, 27ff.

[19] B 591, 27ff; B 515; B 472.

[20] B 245, especially the 'Eponym Chronicle', Canon type C^b, extant from the late reign of Shalmaneser III (840–) until the early reign of Sennacherib (–699); the reigns of Shamshi-Adad V and Shalmaneser V have the 'Chronicle' entries mutilated.

[21] Cited here from B 100, Tiglath-pileser I to Ashurnasirpal II (1114–859); thereafter from the most accessible edition of each text, together with a note of the corresponding passage in B 158. References to B 48 and B 219, Tiglath-pileser I to Shalmaneser V (1114–722), included where necessary.

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later the Babylonian Chronicle.[22] Historical detail is drawn from both annals and chronicles, and in default of the former, also from the summary royal 'Display Inscriptions'.[23] These sources are occasionally supplemented at certain periods, notably the Sargonid, by letters, contracts and administrative texts bearing on the West. The deficiency of these external sources is their one-sidedness. They document only attacks on the western states and their defeats and colonizations, never their periods of prosperity and peace.

For such evidence it is necessary to turn to the second group of sources, those provided by the Syro-Hittite states themselves. Here there are first the physical remains of their cities, of which the sites have received varying degrees of archaeological investigation. Levels of this period have been excavated at Carchemish;[24] Tell Aḥmar[25] and Arslan Tash[26] (Bit-Adini); Zincirli[27] with Yesemek[28] (Sam'al); Sakça Gözü;[29] Arslantepe[30] and Karahüyük-Elbistan[31] (Melid); Tell Ta'yinat and other sites in the plain of Antioch[32] and 'Ain Dara[33] (Unqi); Hama[34] (Hamath); Karatepe[35] (Azatiwataya) and Domuztepe;[36] Tarsus;[37] Zeyve Hüyük[38] (Atuna), Göllüdağ,[39] Tepebağları[40] (Tuwana); Kululu[41] and Sultanhan[42] (Tabal). Other known sites are substantially untouched, notably Maraş[43] (Marqasi-Gurgum); Samsat[44] (Kummukh); and Adana, Damascus, and Aleppo. Yet others are not yet certainly located, among them Paqarkhubuni,[45] Khatarikka,[46] Manṣuate,[47] Ṣimirra[48] and Ṣubutu.[49]

The other principal indigenous source is the epigraphic, the native inscriptions on stone and rock faces and the often associated monumental sculpture. The inscriptions are written either in the hieroglyphic script (descended from the Luwian hieroglyphic of the Hittite Empire) and a dialect of the Luwian language;[50] or in the alphabetic script (borrowed

[22] Cited from B 276 and B 98.
[23] As above, n. 21.
[24] B 531, B 626, B 627.
[25] B 609.
[26] B 608.
[27] B 615.
[28] B 466.
[29] B 493; B 494; B 481.
[30] B 478; B 593; B 585.
[31] B 584.
[32] B 506 (further excavation reports awaited).
[33] B 601.
[34] B 510. §8 (further excavation reports awaited).
[35] B 612, 121 n. 2. Now B 5, V *s.v.* Karatepe.
[36] B 464.
[37] B 503.
[38] B 586; B 587.
[39] B 606.
[40] B 563(*f*), 179; B 563(*g*), 116; B 563(*h*), 209; B 563(*i*), 271.
[41] B 582; B 583.
[42] B 486.
[43] B 568, (1): 17ff, (3): 12ff.
[44] Notes of preliminary soundings in B 563(*b*), 143 and B 563(*c*), 146.
[45] See B 575, 96.
[46] Associated with the land Lukhuti. For the location see B 87, 58f; B 485, 96ff; B 569, 42f; B 476, 145f; B 926, 44 and n. 68.
[47] B 168, 63 and n. 21; B 628, 56.
[48] B 532. Possibly Tell Kazel: see B 539, 60 n. 50 (with bibliography).
[49] B 610, 42ff; B 476, 143f.
[50] B 566; B 567; B 547; B 549; B 530; B 525.

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from Phoenicia) and the Phoenician or Aramaean languages.[51] These texts owe their survival to the fact that they were written on stone, which in turn dictates their character. They are almost all the work of rulers and their dependants, and are generally building inscriptions and other dedications.[52] They stand in complete contrast to the by then defunct cuneiform tradition of Khattusha with its royal library and archives of clay tablets; though Khattusha too did have a tradition of inscriptions on stone in Luwian hieroglyphic, but of this very few representatives survive.[53] Likewise for the Syro-Hittite period, a handful of documents (letters and economic texts) written in hieroglyphic on strips of lead[54] suggest the existence of an entire lost corpus of practical literacy normally committed to perishable materials. It is likely that documents analogous to those of the Boğazköy corpus – not only letters and economic texts but perhaps also laws and political and religious documents – continued to be written in the Syro-Hittite period, but the abandonment of cuneiform and the clay tablet in favour of hieroglyphic and a medium of wood or parchment has placed them for the most part for ever beyond our reach. It is likely that Aramaean literacy too existed beside that of their Hittite neighbours as in Assyria, but no more than a handful of epigraphs and graffiti preserved by chance confirm that this was so.[55]

Of the Hittite and Aramaean monumental epigraphic traditions, the former is clearly the senior as well as the more substantial. Its *floruit* was *c.* 1000–700 B.C. and it numbers well over one hundred inscriptions and fragments, while the (Phoenician–)Aramaean corpus does not antedate *c.* 850 B.C. and numbers only some thirty pieces, although in later periods it was to have a thriving posterity.

It is likely too that the Aramaeans, while borrowing their script from the Phoenicians, modelled their literary style on that of their Hittite neighbours, since the two corpuses show marked similarities. Unlike the Assyrian tradition of commemorative inscriptions, which gave birth to a type of historiography, the Syro-Hittite texts offer comparatively little historical material,[56] being formulaic and jejune in composition and rigidly parochial in outlook. They evidence no internal chronological system, though more or less complete dynastic lists for the individual states can often be extracted from them. In some cases these

[51] B 480, nos. 23–9, 201–30; B 496, II.

[52] See below, pp. 437ff, the Inscriptions.

[53] B 567, 3a serie, nos. 11, 19–22, 95, 96, 306; and the largely illegible NİŞANTAŞ and unpublished ILGIN inscriptions.

[54] See below, p. 438.

[55] B 480, nos. 203–13, the graffiti from Hama. Most evidence of Aramaic practical literacy comes from Assyria: see B 570, B 555; also above, pp. 239f.

[56] See below, p. 437.

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lists can be synchronized with the absolute Assyrian chronology by identification of royal names in the two sources, though in other cases the native and Assyrian documents may fail completely to overlap. This is doubtless due to the phenomenon that in general the native monuments belong to the most prosperous periods of the Syro-Hittite states, which tend to coincide with periods of Assyrian military weakness and the consequent scarcity of Assyrian historical references. Useful and reliable synchronisms are available however, especially for the states of Gurgum and Sam'al, and by reference to these, distinctive styles of sculpture, with and without associated inscriptions, may be dated.

In the field of the sculptures, much progress has recently been made.[57] Rigorous analysis has established the relative sequence of the various styles, which may then be linked to the absolute dates, although controversial items remain.[58] As the Hittite inscriptions provided the models for the later Aramaean style, so too it seems that in the early period, their sculpture was imitated in a newer, cruder rendering of this people,[59] though later the two styles grew together. The sculpture too may now be treated as a valuable historical source.

In the period under consideration, 1200–550 B.C., the historical sources as outlined above are very unevenly distributed. The crucial Assyrian sources are available *c.* 1100 and *c.* 900–630, while the indigenous sources extend from *c.* 1000 to *c.* 700. Hebrew references, particularly to Damascus and Hamath, occur intermittently from the tenth to the eighth century B.C., and those of Urartu only in the first half of the eighth century. The Babylonian Chronicle runs specifically from 745 to 668 B.C., with intermittent information on the West during that period, and later the years 612–597 and 557 relate especially to affairs in the West, as do a few references in Babylonian royal inscriptions. After *c.* 700, occasional references are found in classical authors to notable events in Anatolia and Syria.

Because the chronological framework of the history of the Syro-Hittite states is dependent on that of the Assyrian kings and the Neo-Babylonian dynasty, the periods into which it conveniently divides are dictated by the reigns and activities of those monarchs. We shall thus consider it in the following phases: (1) The early period: fall of the Hittite Empire – accession of Ashurnasirpal II (*c.* 1200–883 B.C.); (2) Reigns of Ashurnasirpal II and Shalmaneser III (883–824); (3) Successors of Shalmaneser III (823–745); (4) Reigns of Tiglath-pileser III, Shalman-

[57] B 581; B 495.
[58] Discussed below as they occur.
[59] For a convincing demonstration of this thesis, see B 495, especially IV/9–10.

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eser V and Sargon II (744–705); (5) Reigns of Sennacherib, Esarhaddon, and Ashurbanipal (704–627); (6) The Neo-Babylonian Empire: fall of Assyria to Cyrus' conquest of Lydia (612–547).

The necessity of dovetailing the native and external sources renders it expedient to consider first the outline history and chronology within each chronological division, and then to attempt to synchronize the indigenous evidence with it.

II. THE EARLY PERIOD

1. *Outline history*

Between the fall of the Hittite Empire and the reign of Shalmaneser III, the only Assyrian kings known for certain to have crossed over the western bend of the Euphrates into north Syria and to have left accounts of the trans-Euphratean states are Tiglath-pileser I and Ashurnasirpal II.[60] The earliest native sources are estimated to date back to *c.* 1000 B.C., and thus begin approximately mid-way between these two Assyrian points of reference. Thus of the first three centuries of our period, the first two are almost devoid of native sources but punctuated by the brief descriptions of Tiglath-pileser I, and the third sees the rise of the indigenous monuments, dated back to this era by comparison with later works.

Tiglath-pileser I, between the years 1104 and 1087 B.C., led an expedition to Amurru (Phoenicia), and on his return imposed tribute on Ini-Teshub, 'king of Khatti' (not 'Great-Khatti'!).[61] This is taken to refer to Carchemish and to show that a century after the fall of the Hittite Empire, Carchemish was still regarded as Khatti and ruled by a king with a Hurrian name, the namesake of the well-known great-grandson of Shuppiluliuma I.[62] Inferences of a Hittite confederation at this date, being based upon the erroneous 'Great-Khatti',[63] have however been shown to be groundless. A later king noted that Tiglath-pileser I had occupied Pitru (Hebrew Pethor, renamed by the Assyrians Ana-Ashur-uter-aṣbat) and Mutkinu, on either bank of the Euphrates,[64] presumably on this campaign as an attempt to control the crossing. Tiglath-pileser was also in contact with the city of Milidia (later Melid, modern Malatya), which he considered also as a part of Khatti,[65] possibly on two occasions (in 1112 B.C. and after his Amurru campaign). On the second of these he took tribute from its king,

[60] Perhaps also Ashur-bel-kala (Broken Obelisk, see B 100, §248). For the supposed reference by Ashur-dan II to Yakhan (B 100, §363), see below, n. 129.

[61] B 100, §§81–2 and n. 107, 95 and nn. 126–8; B 48, 116 and 120 for the dating.

[62] B 112, 70f.

[63] As in e.g. B 462, 154; B 463, 526f.

[64] See below, n. 160.

[65] Not Khanigalbat! See B 112, 78 and nn. 67–8.

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Allumari.[66] This scanty information suggests a continuity of occupation at least in Carchemish from the days of the Empire, and shows that one of the later prominent Hittite states, Melid, was already in existence. An isolated Hieroglyphic inscription from Karahüyük-Elbistan,[67] perhaps already part of Melid, may be dated to this time and suggests that the period 1200–1000 B.C. may not originally have been as devoid of inscriptions as now appears. It is a dedication to a storm-god but cannot be fully understood and even the king's name is uncertain.[68]

Tiglath-pileser I was the first Assyrian king to mention the Aramaeans, and he claimed to have crossed the middle Euphrates against them on twenty-eight campaigns.[69] For the following two centuries they maintained a severe pressure on Assyria, which was much weakened, until a series of vigorous kings beginning with Ashur-dan II (934–912 B.C.) turned the tide against them.[70] But in the meantime, they had already penetrated and settled upper Mesopotamia, forming large tribal, states, notably Bit-Zamani, Bit-Bakhiani and Bit-Khalupe, and the population of this area was henceforth completely Aramaized. At the same time they were already thrusting in force into south Syria and settling there too, notably in Aram-Zobah, the later Assyrian city of Ṣubutu, where they came into conflict with the nascent Hebrew monarchy. In particular Hadad-ezer of Beth-Rehob, king of Zobah, was an opponent of David's in the early tenth century B.C.[71]

Between these two centres of Aramaean settlement, Upper Mesopotamia and south Syria, the Aramaean wave broke also upon the Hittite peoples of north Syria. The progress of their settlement here is little known, but its results are quite clear from the later discernible ethnic composition of the population. The states which they founded here, as noted above, were Bit-Adini, Bit-Agusi, and Sam'al, perhaps known as Bit-Gabbari. Of these Bit-Adini seems to be the oldest foundation.[72] The two cities occupied by Tiglath-pileser I on the Euphrates were remembered to have been seized from Assyria by the 'king of Aram' at the time of Ashur-rabi II (1012–972 B.C.).[73] The king in question is thought to have been Hadad-ezer of Zobah, who was fighting on the Euphrates at the time of his defeat by David, and the incident has been plausibly connected with the Aramaean settlement of the Euphrates below Carchemish.[74] The earliest actual reference to Bit-Adini is that of Adad-nirari II, who in 899 B.C. received a gift from its ruler after

[66] B 100, §§32, 96; B 48, 113 and 119.

[67] B 547, XXV and 262; B 550; B 561. [68] B 112, 78; B 561.

[69] E.g. B 100, §§34, 97. For this period in general, see B 463, 529ff. Also B 610, chapters III–IV and B 832.

[70] See above, pp. 248ff; also B 202, especially 233–40.

[71] B 476, 143f.

[72] B 614, 432.

[73] See above, p. 380 and below, n. 160. [74] B 832, 142 and nn. 20–1.

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his conquest of Khuzirina.[75] The eponymous founders of the two other tribal states may be more precisely dated. Gabbar was the second predecessor of Khaianu of Sam'al, a contemporary of Shalmaneser III, and is thus to be dated *c.* 920 B.C.,[76] while Agusi was encountered by Ashurnasirpal II, *c.* 870 B.C.[77]

The Old Testament also preserves some other references to Syro-Hittite states and rulers at the time of David and Solomon. When David defeated Hadad-ezer, he was congratulated by Toi (T'Y/T'W), king of Hamath, who sent his son with gifts.[78] This king's name, like that of a later king of Hamath, has been identified as Hurrian,[79] while that of his son, Hadoram, later Hebraized to Joram,[80] suggests that Hamath was open to Aramaean, and subsequently Hebrew, influence. Indeed the reigns of David and Solomon showed a vast extension of Hebrew power, which embraced Hamath and Tadmor.[81] Solomon indeed traded with a late Hittite state which subsequently became prominent, namely Que (Old Testament Coa (QWH), i.e. Cilicia Campestris), as well as with 'all the kings of the Hittites (ḤTYM) and all the kings of Aram'.[82] This last is one of the comparatively rare general references of the Old Testament to the countries of the north and their two main population groups. However the reign of Solomon saw also the establishment of Damascus as an important centre of Aramaean power after its seizure by Rezon son of Eliada,[83] in place of the shattered Aram-Zobah. Hereafter this state was to play a leading though not always well-documented role in the Syro-Hittite world.

2. *The native monuments*

To this period of meagre external references of the reigns of Tiglath-pileser I, David and Solomon, may be dated groups of Hittite monuments from Gurgum, Carchemish, Unqi, Bit-Adini, and Melid, and also an early Aramaean group from Sam'al. Lacking any contemporary synchronisms, these monuments may be dated approximately by a combination of reckoning back from later fixed points and comparative stylistic analysis.

Gurgum: The Gurgum (Maraş) sculpture, none of which was regularly excavated,[84] consists of a remarkable series, three representative pieces

[75] B 100, §426; cf. above, p. 250.
[76] B 480, no. 24, lines 2–3; B 545, 37, n. 82.
[77] B 519.
[78] II Sam. 8: 9–10 and I Chron. 18: 9–10.
[79] B 556, 70. For the name Urhilina, see below, n. 169.
[80] B 556, 69; B 829, 6ff.
[81] B 829, 7; B 733, 592.
[82] I Ki. 10: 28–9 (New English Bible): B 733, 593.
[83] I Ki. 11: 23–5; B 610, 54; B 829, 5; B 463, 535.
[84] See above, p. 377 and n. 43.

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of which can confidently be linked to Assyrian chronology. The Maraş Lion inscription, to be dated *c.* 800 B.C., contains the genealogy of the author, Halparuntiyas (III), extending back for the six preceding generations.[85] The author can be shown to have been a contemporary of Adad-nirari III, and his grandfather and great-grandfather contemporaries of Shalmaneser III. The list ascends three generations further to the great-grandfather's great-grandfather, who bore a name found elsewhere in the Assyrian form Palalam.[86] This man may reasonably be identified as the author of an archaic-looking inscribed stela, MARAŞ 8, which can thus be approximately dated on a generation count to before 950 B.C. Allowing twenty-five years for a generation (probably too short) we gain minimal dates for the whole dynasty as follows:

Palalam I	(955–930)
Muwanzas	(930–905)
Halparuntiyas I	(905–880)
Muwatalis	(880–855; Assyrian attestation, 858)
Halparuntiyas II	(855–830; Assyrian attestation, 853)
Palalam II	(830–805)
Halparuntiyas III	(805–780; Assyrian attestation, 805)

The archaic Palalam stela thus probably belongs in the first half of the tenth century B.C.[87] and is the earliest approximately datable example of a series of similar monuments. At the lower end of the series stands an inscribed fragment of a colossal Ruler figure attributable to Halparuntiyas II (MARAŞ 4).[88] These two monuments neatly define a prominent sculptural style, which may be termed 'Early Late-Hittite'.[89]

Carchemish: At Carchemish, a prominent and homogeneous group of sculptures with inscriptions announces itself to be the work of the four-generation dynasty of Suhis (formerly read Luhas), for which no direct links with Assyrian chronology have been found. The dynasty runs Suhis I–Astuwatamanzas–Suhis II–Katuwas,[90] and the inscribed monuments, mostly the work of Suhis II and Katuwas, are so closely similar in style that the group has been designated that of 'Suhis-Katuwas'.[91] The pre-Ashurnasirpal II date originally postulated for this

[85] B 567, 1a serie, nos. 32–3, 126ff; B 527, 309f; B 112, 73f; also below, p. 401.

[86] Reading of Hieroglyphic uncertain (previously read LA + *ī-mas*): cf. B 112, 73f; B 528, 104ff.

[87] Cf. B 581, 86, 203ff (Maraş B/16); B 495, I, ZcP2.

[88] B 581, 288 (Maraş B /3; the fragment consists of the lower part of a colossal figure in the the round, preserved from the waist to the knees. The front shows the remains of the tassel and the staff and a sword hangs on the left hip. The inscription, beginning on the right hip and covering the right side, reverse, and left side of the piece, is introduced by a small relief figure showing the characteristic features of the ruler. Cf. below, p. 385 and n. 109, and p. 396.

[89] B 581, 133ff ('*Späthethitisch* I–II').

[90] B 581, 186f, 190f. For the spelling of the names see B 547, no. 370: II (Suhis); B 112, 70 n. 18 (Astuwatamanzas). [91] B 560; B 508, especially 94ff; B 624, 139; B 495, IV, 1–6, especially 5.

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style is strongly supported by recent research.[92] The *terminus ante quem* is the reign at Carchemish of Sangara (minimum dates, *c.* 870–848 B.C.), and the four generations can hardly have lasted less than a century, though just how close to 870 B.C. the end of the reign of Katuwas fell has not been established.

A certain group of uninscribed Carchemish sculpture, that of the 'Water Gate', is recognized as being more archaic than, but ancestral to, that of Suhis-Katuwas,[93] and is thus reasonably attributed to the earlier members of the dynasty Suhis I and Astuwatamanzas. A 'Great King' Ura-tarhunzas, author of an archaic Carchemish stela, has been identified as a probable predecessor of this dynasty.[94] At Carchemish too then, the sculptured sequence appears to stretch back towards *c.* 1000 B.C.

Unqi: A group of sculpture without inscription showing very similar characteristics to that of the Carchemish 'Water Gate' has recently been excavated at 'Ain Dara, [95] presumed to be part of the kingdom of Unqi. The earliest phase of the 'Early Late-Hittite' style is thus well represented in this area too, and again should probably be dated in the first half of the tenth century B.C.

Bit-Adini: In Bit-Adini, the Aramaean dynasty may date back to *c.* 1000 B.C. and was certainly established by 899.[96] The only king named in Assyrian sources is Akhuni, already on the throne by *c.* 876 and ruling until 855, when the city was seized by Shalmaneser III.[97]

The main pre-Assyrian monuments from Til-Barsib are two colossal Storm-God stelae with hieroglyphic inscriptions[98] both badly mutilated, but originally containing much dynastic information.[99] Stela B was the work of a Hamiyatas, presumably king in Til-Barsib, and Stela A of the son of Ariyahinas (own name missing),[100] apparently a kinsman of Hamiyatas and his ultimate successor. A problem has been noted in determining the relationship of this apparently Hittite dynasty ruling in Til-Barsib and the presumably Aramaean leaders of Bit-Adini, including Akhuni.[101] Did the Hittite dynasty mark a break in Aramaean tenure, subsequently regained, or was there here a mixed Syro-Hittite

[92] B 581, 221; B 560; B 508, 94ff; B 495, IV 1–6. *Contra*: B 613 who maintains his earlier ascription of A 1*a* and associated sculpture to Sangara, a contemporary of Ashurnasirpal and Shalmaneser III.

[93] B 581, 30f, 136f; *contra*: B 495, IV 7.

[94] B 112, 71f. Now B 5, V *s.v.* Karkamiš, §15.

[95] B 581, 56f, 136f; *contra*: B 495, VIII 4*b*. See above, n. 33.

[96] See above, pp. 318f and nn. 72–5.

[97] See below, pp. 388f., 390ff.

[98] B 581, 46f, 182f; B 527, 308; B 495, III 1.

[99] B 567, 2a serie, nos. 280–1.

[100] B 527, 308. Collation has shown that the name read Ariya*sa*nas should in fact be read Ariya*hi*nas – now *Anat. Stud.* 30 (1980) 139ff.

[101] B 614. This article omits from consideration the Aramaean connexion of *Aḫuni mār Adini*, 'Akhuni of Bit-Adini'; cf. B 611, 190ff.

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dynasty erecting sculpture in a purely Hittite style with hieroglyphic inscriptions? Could indeed the Hittite rulers have been members of the house of Adini? If the Hittite dynasty is indeed intrusive, the two stelae must be dated back into the late tenth century with a *terminus ante quem* of 899 B.C. Yet stylistically they, and some related fragments, belong closely with the Carchemish Suhis-Katuwas style and thus to the same general date.[102]

Melid: Various groups of archaic-looking sculpture have been excavated at Melid, in particular the Lion Gate with its portal figures and small orthostat relief blocks. This sculpture shows more pronounced links with the art of the Hittite Empire than any other group. Whether it is genuinely archaic or merely archaizing is disputed, but even the latest dating suggested associates it with this early period.[103] It is inscribed with a king's name of uncertain reading, a recurring dynastic name in Melid.[104]

Early Late-Hittite style: Apart from the idiosyncratic style of Melid, the Early Late-Hittite style shows a remarkable uniformity, with representatives of an earlier phase at 'Ain Dara, Carchemish and Maraş, and of a later phase from Carchemish, Maraş and Til-Barsib. Among its stereotyped renderings of gods, men, animals and scenes, two figures especially may be noted, those of the Storm God[105] and the Ruler.[106] The former is rendered as bearded and pig-tailed, wearing a short, fringed, belted tunic with sword at the waist, a horned helmet and sandals with upturned toes, and brandishing a thunder-bolt in the right hand and an axe in the left. The latter has hair with a brow band (showing that it is a wig?) falling in a rounded bunch on the nape, and a spade-shaped beard; he wears a long, short-sleeved, belted, fringed robe with sword at the waist and tassel down the front, and carries a staff. In the more elaborately worked examples the locks of hair are rendered in a characteristic pot-hook style. Three named rulers are shown in this guise, the archaic Palalam of Gurgum[107] (pre-950 B.C.), Katuwas of Carchemish (*c.* 900),[108] and Halparuntiyas II of Gurgum (*c.* 850)[109] providing between them a fair chronological range of the style and examples of early, median and late phases. Uninscribed figures undoubtedly representing other rulers have been found elsewhere, notably the 'Ain el-'Arab figure[110] (a Hittite ruler of Til-Barsib?), and

[102] So also B 611, 190ff, who, however, assigns and dates the Carchemish material differently.
[103] B 581, 91ff, 116f, 140ff; B 495, VIII 2.
[104] B 527, 310f; B 112, 78f. The name is often read *Sulumeli* on insufficient grounds.
[105] B 581, 233ff, especially Group A (238f).
[106] B 581, 287ff, especially Group B (291f).
[107] B 581, 288 (Maraş B/16); cf. above, p. 383 and n. 87.
[108] B 581, 288 (Karkemis K/28 – not 26!); cf. B 508, 96f.
[109] B 581, 288 (Maraş B/3); cf. above, p. 383 and n. 88 and below, p. 396.
[110] B 581, 287 ('Ain el-'Arab 1).

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the Zincirli colossus.[111] Fragments of closely similar colossi have been found at Gurgum (the Halparuntiyas II fragment already mentioned) and at Carchemish (doubtless representing Suhis or Katuwas).[112]

Zincirli: The appearance of this essentially Hittite figure at Zincirli (Sam'al) is somewhat surprising.[113] Here the dynasty, as known from the inscription of Kilamuwa,[114] a late contemporary of Shalmaneser III, was largely Aramaean, although Kilamuwa and some successors bore Hittite names.[115] The inscription gives:[116]

Gabbar (*c.* 920?)
BMH (*c.* 890?)
Khaianu (Aramaic HY'; Assyrian attestations 858, 857, 853)
Š'L (son of Khaianu)
Kilamuwa (Aramaic KLMW, son of Khaianu; *c.* 840–830)

The large assemblage of uninscribed early Sam'al sculpture is most important for the light which it sheds on the relationship between Hittite and Aramaean art, which may well parallel the wider social and political relationships for which there is no other evidence. There is a clear correlation between the Carchemish and Sam'al sculpture, in particular between the Suhis-Katuwas and the 'Äusseres Burgtor' groups.[117] Many individual figures have exact correspondences at the two sites, but the style of execution is revealingly different, as may be seen for example in comparing the two different renderings of the Storm God[118] or the Ruler.[119] It has been convincingly argued that this striking difference marks a stage in the clumsy adoption of the traditional Hittite style by an Aramaean dynasty,[120] and the date of the borrowing has been shown, by comparison with a crude Aramaean-style representation of Tukulti-Ninurta II (890–884 B.C.), to belong to the beginning of the ninth century.[121] Such a cultural dependence on the Hittites by the Aramaeans in their early stage of settlement is by no means improbable. The seniority of the Hittite sculptural style and epigraphic traditions rooted in the Empire period and flowering early in the tenth century B.C. is adequately established, while the Aramaean borrowing of the sculptural tradition is paralleled by their borrowing of the Phoenician language and script (known earliest in the inscription

[111] B 581, 289 (Zincirli E/1).
[112] B 581, 287 (Karkemis F/17); cf. B 508, 96f; B 624, 138.
[113] B 495, IV 10*c*.
[114] B 480, no. 24.
[115] B 556, 72.
[116] B 545, 37ff and n. 82; B 581, 199ff.
[117] B 581, 133ff; B 495, IV 9–10.
[118] E.g. B 581, Karkemis C/1 with Zincirli B/14; cf. B 508, 106f; also B 495, III 2–3.
[119] E.g. B 581, Karkemis K/28 with Zincirli B/5; B 495, IV 9*a–b*.
[120] B 581, 135 and note (citing Akurgal); B 495, IV 9.
[121] B 495, II 3–4.

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of Kilamuwa),[122] and their adaptation of the script for their own language.

The inscriptions: The cultural remains of this period can thus be seen to be substantial, but the indigenous written sources are disappointing. No inscriptions were found with the Unqi ('Ain Dara) or Sam'al sculpture, while Melid has only short epigraphs.[123] The Palalam stela from Gurgum is largely unreadable.[124] Only Til-Barsib and Carchemish have produced substantial groups of contemporary inscriptions.

At the former site the mutilated inscriptions of Hamiyatas and the son of Ariyahinas contain interesting material related to the dynasty,[125] while at the latter, the large inscription of Suhis II (A 1 *a*), also mutilated, concerns military events depicted on the accompanying reliefs, but the places named are not identified.[126] The inscriptions of Katuwas also mention military and dynastic matters,[127] but are much more taken up with his building programme and good relations with the gods.

In assessing the period therefore we are largely dependent on the surviving art and architecture, discoveries of which are at present restricted to north Syria and the south-east Taurus region. No remains illuminate conditions in Anatolia, Cilicia or Kummukh. To us the period seems to be one of recovery from two mean and insignificant centuries, a time when the Late Hittite kings began again to build palaces, temples, and monumental gateways and to adorn them with sculptured orthostats in a manner remembered from the Hittite Empire. At the same time they revived a tradition of literacy stemming from the same period. Subjects depicted in the reliefs were part religious – processions of gods and their worshippers and mythological scenes, and part secular – scenes of warfare and hunting. The rulers presented themselves in a very stereotyped and distinctive fashion, implying close artistic contacts and common custom. Commemorative stelae and statues in the round are found in some quantity, and the figures, whether human or divine, are often supported on podia flanked by paired lions or bulls. All was rendered in a plain forthright style showing in its best examples considerable power, and susceptible, as attested by later work, of notable development. Late in the period the Aramaeans, settled among the Hittites since at least 1000 B.C., borrowed the forms of Hittite sculpture but rendered them in a style recognizably their own. Later under mutual influence these two styles tended to converge in one nearly homogeneous Syro-Hittite style.

[122] B 545, 42ff. [123] B 567, 2a serie, nos. 105–18. [124] B 567, 2a serie, no. 139.
[125] See above, n. 99. [126] B 508, 88ff.
[127] Principally similar reports in CARCHEMISH A 11 *b*, 3f and A 12, 2f; see B 567, 1a serie, 63f, 2a serie, 115f; and cf. B 525, 126 (2*a–b*) and 136 (32*a–b*). For dynastic affairs see above, p. 384 and n. 94. See now R. Stefanini, in O. Carruba, ed., *Studia mediterranea Piero Meriggi dicata*, 595ff. Pavia, 1979.

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III. ASHURNASIRPAL II AND SHALMANESER III[128]

1. *Outline history*

Ashurnasirpal's western campaigns

It was into such a Syro-Hittite world that Ashurnasirpal irrupted with his crossing of the Euphrates, *c.* 870 B.C. His three predecessors had re-established the Assyrian presence in Upper Mesopotamia by concentrating their attacks on the strategic Aramaean-held centres of Naṣibina, Guzana (Bit-Bakhiani), Amed (Bit-Zamani), and Khuzirina, as well as the tribes of the lower Khabur. Their inscriptions, however, do not indicate that they ever penetrated as far as the Euphrates at the point of its two chief states, Bit-Adini and Carchemish.[129] Ashurnasirpal, however, besides strengthening his hold on the already conquered states, extended his reach to the western Euphrates crossings. His western forays seem to have been limited to three campaigns, dated to between 876 and 868, between 875 and 867, and 866, according to his own annals, of which the inexactly dated accounts of the western campaigns form the source material for the outline of the history of the West in this reign.[130]

His clash with Bit-Adini arose out of the interference of that power in the middle Euphrates states, first in 883 B.C., when a man from there was installed as king over the rebellious city Suru,[131] and again in 877 during the course of Ashurnasirpal's hostilities with Laqe.[132] This led to a punitive campaign, in 876 or after, against Kaprabu, a fastness of Bit-Adini east of the Euphrates, as a result of which Akhuni of Bit-Adini, mentioned here for the first time, submitted and paid tribute.[133]

Ashurnasirpal followed up this campaign with an expedition across the Euphrates, the first such Assyrian venture since the days of Tiglath-pileser I.[134] His narrative of this, probably his only campaign into Syria,[135] preserves for us both an intelligible itinerary and an impression of the contemporary political scene in Syria.[136] After taking further tribute from Akhuni in Bit-Adini he passed across the Euphrates into the territory of Carchemish and received the submission of its king, Sangara, called here 'king of Khatti'. Thence he proceeded to the land of Akhan (Yakhan – better known as Bit-Agusi),[137] and passing north

[128] See in general B 235.

[129] The gift received from Bit-Adini by Adad-nirari II (above, pp. 381f and n. 75) is the only hint of earlier contact. A penetration by Ashur-dan II to the land of Yakhan is surely unthinkable (B 100, §363); see B 86, 291*b*; B 519; B 574; *contra*: B 259, 156, nn. 10–14.

[130] See B 219, 26ff; above, pp. 255f; B 104, 138ff.

[131] B 100, §547; above, p. 256 n. 99.

[132] B 100, §579; above, p. 257.

[133] B 100, §§582–3; above p. 255 n. 95.

[134] See above, p. 380 and n. 60.

[135] B 219, 27f, 31 n. 1; *contra*: B 54, 393f; B 104, 138ff.

[136] B 100, §§584–6. For the itinerary, see B 484, 240ff; B 485, 71ff; B 19, 398ff.

[137] Cf. above, nn. 10 and 129.

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of its later known capital, Arpad, he came to Khazazu (modern 'Azaz),[138] at that time a city of Lubarna, king of Unqi (Pattin). From here he crossed the river Apre (modern Afrin) and marched down to Kunulua,[139] the capital of Unqi. Lubarna submitted and paid tribute, as did also Gusi of Yakhan, the eponymous ruler of Bit-Agusi. This account suggests an Unqi extending well beyond the 'Amuq plain and a Bit-Agusi perhaps only recently settled by Aramaeans.[140]

From Kunulua Ashurnasirpal passed across the river Arantu (Orontes) to the river Sanguru (located perhaps at Jisr esh-Shughur, which may preserve the name),[141] and thence to Aribua, a frontier fortress of Unqi with the land of Lukhuti (= Aramaic L'š, and probably Late Bronze Age Nukhashe),[142] which he proceeded to ravage. These operations seem to have taken place in the neighbourhood of modern Idlib.[143] From here he went to Mount Lebanon and the Phoenician coastal cities, and returning northwards he climbed Mount Amanus, where he erected a stela, and then passed homewards by the northern country of Mekhru.

Ashurnasirpal's account of this expedition shows us the Aramaean states of Bit-Adini under Akhuni and Yakhan under Gusi, and the Hittite states of Carchemish under Sangara and Unqi (Pattin) under Lubarna, and gives sufficient geographical information to draw approximately their common frontiers. The northern Hittite states, Gurgum, Melid and Kummukh, lay beyond Ashurnasirpal's itinerary, although on a subsequent campaign to Khuzirina in 866 B.C. he received tribute from the king of Kummukh, Qatazilu.[144] In the south, the political status of the land Lukhuti is not clear. Already by the reign of Shalmaneser III it probably formed the northern province of the kingdom of Hamath, and may well have done so even at this date.[145]

This expedition has been characterized as a peaceful progress rather than a massive feat of arms,[146] and certainly its military and political effects cannot have been very extensive. Although Ashurnasirpal claimed that prisoners from Bit-Adini, Khatti (= Carchemish), and Unqi (Pattin) were among those settled in his city Calah,[147] he also

[138] B 513.

[139] Not certainly located; recently identified with 'Ain Dara by Orthmann (B 581, 198, and n. 21), but this still open to the objection of Lewy (B 19, 400 and n. 2) that the Assyrian army could not then have travelled from Kunulua to the Sanguru in two days. An alternative possible location is in the Plain of Antioch, perhaps at Tell Ta'yinat; see B 522.

[140] B 512; B 519.

[141] B 19, 399 and n. 2.

[142] Cf. above, n. 46.

[143] Cf. the discussions of the itinerary cited above, n. 136.

[144] B 100, §587.

[145] Explicit connexion in the reign of Zakur; see below, p. 403. Shalmaneser III passed directly from Aleppo, probably in Bit-Agusi, to the territory of Hamath: see B 509; *contra*: B 476, 145 and n. 42.

[146] B 219, 27.

[147] E.g. in B 100, §§591, 677.

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revealed that friendly envoys from Syria attended his inaugural banquet, including men of (Unqi) Pattin, Khatti, Tyre, Sidon, Gurgum and Melid.[148] The expedition was however important as a renewal of Assyrian contact with the West as well as a portent of the military expansion of the future. It may well be that this renewed contact led to the importation into Assyria of distinctive western influences. It is probably no coincidence that Ashurnasirpal, who doubtless saw in person an established tradition of inscribed orthostat and portal-figure relief-carving at Carchemish,[149] if not also in Til-Barsib[150] and Kunulua, and who had deportees from these centres at the newly built Calah, should have been the first Assyrian king known to have used this method of palace and temple decoration.[151] He encountered Late Hittite art towards the end of its early phase,[152] and while no surviving examples of it can be attributed with certainty to any of his contemporaries among the Syro-Hittite rulers,[153] there is evidence that this style continued to be used as late as the reign of Shalmaneser III.

Shalmaneser's western campaigns

The storm threatening the Syro-Hittite states since Ashurnasirpal's western expedition broke in the reign of Shalmaneser III. Of the latter's thirty-four recorded campaigns, nineteen were conducted across the Euphrates in Syria:[154] 858, 857, 856, against Bit-Adini; 855, to Mount Shitamrat; 853, against Hamath and Damascus; 849, against Carchemish and Arpad; 848, against Hamath and Damascus; 847, against Paqarkhubuni; 845; against Hamath and Damascus; 842, up Mount Amanus; 841, against Damascus (Eponym Chronicle C^b4 begins here); 840, up Mount Amanus; 839, against Que; 838, against Damascus (C^b4: KUR *danabi*); 837, against Tabal; 836, against Melid; 834, 833 against Que; 831, against Unqi. During this period we are unusually well informed of the combinations of Syro-Hittite states and their rulers. Shalmaneser's own annals provide the general chronological framework for the outline history,[155] and the campaigns may be seen to fall into three groups according to their scenes of action and apparent goals:

[148] B 100, §682.

[149] Ussishkin's view that parts of the 'Suhis–Katuwas' group of sculpture should be attributed to Sangara, and thus should be dated to the period of Ashurnasirpal and Shalmaneser III, is not generally accepted. See above, pp. 383f and nn. 91–2.

[150] Equally Ussishkin's attribution of the Til-Barsib fragments associated with the Carchemish 'Suhis–Katuwas' style to Akhuni of Bit-Adini (see above, pp. 384f and nn. 101–2) is not generally accepted.

[151] For a contrary view see B 560, 65f, 82ff.

[152] Cf. above, p. 383 and n. 89.

[153] *Pace* Ussishkin (above, nn. 149–50).

[154] For the discrepancy between the later dates on the Black Obelisk (year 21 onwards) and the Eponym Chronicle (838 B.C. onwards), see B 104, 140f. See also J. E. Reade, *ZA* 68 (1978) 251ff.

[155] See above, p. 259 and n. 114.

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1. 858–855, against the Euphrates crossing (Bit-Adini) and north Syria.

2. 853–841, primarily against the south Syrian Hamath–Damascus alliance.

3. 840–831, primarily against Que and the Taurus states.

The first phase:[156] Shalmaneser's first western thrust seems to have had the twin objectives of eliminating the powerful and hostile Aramaean centre of Bit-Adini and of seizing its control of the crossing of the western bend of the Euphrates. In order to achieve this he had not only to attack Bit-Adini itself but also to strike into north Syria against the possible combination of Syro-Hittite states which might rally to the support of their threatened fellow. The impression conveyed by Shalmaneser's own narrative is that of a brilliant if sometimes rash blitzkrieg. In 858 B.C., after shutting up Akhuni of Bit-Adini in a stronghold, Shalmaneser immediately crossed the Euphrates and attacked the west-bank territory of Bit-Adini, Paqarkhubuni.[157] Two Hittite rulers, Qatazilu of Kummukh and Mutallu of Gurgum, perhaps inclining to a pro-Assyrian policy,[158] submitted and paid tribute without a fight. When however Shalmaneser turned south from Gurgum to Sam'al, then ruled by Khaianu, a close successor of the state's eponymous founder Gabbar,[159] he found Sam'al supported by a combination of Akhuni, Sangara of Carchemish and Sapalulme, a successor of Lubarna of Unqi (Pattin). Fighting his way out of this predicament, after setting up a victory stela at the foot of Mount Amanus, which he climbed perhaps at this point, Shalmaneser descended on Unqi itself, but here he was met by the same combination of Syro-Hittite allies, augmented now by the adherence of Cilician contingents of Kate of Que and Pikhirim of Khiluku (Khilakku) and others. This formidable opposition Shalmaneser seems to have defeated sufficiently decisively to be left in peace to play the tourist on the sea-shore and on the slopes of Mount Lallar. Returning, he took tribute from Arame of Bit-Agusi, a state notably absent from the earlier fighting.

This campaign seems effectively to have broken Syro-Hittite resistance, and the following year, after ravaging Bit-Adini and Carchemish, Shalmaneser received general submission and tribute from Qalparunda of Unqi (Pattin) (a new ruler since the previous year), Khaianu of Sam'al, Arame of Bit-Agusi, Sangara of Carchemish and Qatazilu of Kummukh. Gurgum is not mentioned, perhaps a chance omission. In

[156] Most detailed account on the Kurkh Monolith. See B 219, 87f for the various sources of years 1–4. For the problem of Mounts Amanus, Adalur and Lallar, see B 575, 92ff.

[157] See above, n. 45 for the question of its location.

[158] Cf. B 112, 80.

[159] Cf. above, p. 386 and n. 116.

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856 B.C. Shalmaneser was able to seize the now defenceless Til-Barsib, Bit-Adini's strategic city on the Euphrates crossing, and other cities of the land, two of which he remembered to have been held by Tiglath-pileser I but lost to the 'king of Aram' in the reign of Ashur-rabi.[160] Til-Barsib was renamed Kar-Shalmaneser, and constituted as an Assyrian 'royal city', remaining subsequently in Assyrian hands apparently until the collapse of the empire.[161] Shalmaneser received a general submission of the 'kings of the sea-coast and banks of the Euphrates', presumably the same Syro-Hittite rulers already registered for the previous year. In a further campaign in 855 B.C. he hunted down the fugitive Akhuni to his last stand on Mount Shitamrat, a mountain fastness on the Euphrates north of Bit-Adini.[162] Thus in four violent campaigns, Shalmaneser had seized the Euphrates crossing, the key to the gates of Syria.

The second phase: Having secured this passage, Shalmaneser turned directly against south Syria.[163] In 853, he began by emphasizing his domination of north Syria by receiving in his new city Ana-Ashur-uter-aṣbat (formerly Hittite Pitru)[164] the tribute of the Syro-Hittite states, including that of Sangara, Arame, Khaianu and Qalparunda, who had all submitted in 855, of Kundashpi of Kummukh and Qalparunda of Gurgum, two new rulers, and of Lalli of Melid, a country hitherto beyond his reach. Thereafter, pausing en route only to sacrifice to the famous Storm God of Aleppo, he turned south to face for the first time a strong coalition of the south Syrian states headed by the main powers, Hamath and Damascus.

Old Testament references to these kingdoms in the days of David and Solomon have been noted,[165] and Hebrew relations with Damascus continue to be fitfully attested. In particular Ben-Hadad of Damascus, probably the second king of that name,[166] whose ancestry is noted but whose relationship to Rezon the founder of the state is unknown,[167] is recorded as playing a prominent part in the external politics of Israel in the time of Ahab. At the time of Shalmaneser's attack, Damascus was

[160] B 206, III 8, ii 35ff (= B 158, §603); cf. B 219, 72 and see above, pp. 380f.

[161] B 235, 38f.

[162] For the uncertain location see B 162(*a*), 65 n. 9. A newly-discovered rock relief of Shalmaneser III on the Euphrates north-east of Gaziantep, of which the inscription is a near-duplicate of B 158, §§620–1 (Balawat Gates), may serve to locate this mountain more precisely. See B 240.

[163] Detailed narrative of year 6 on the Kurkh Monolith. See B 219, 87f for the sources.

[164] For the Assyrian reading, see B 219, 72, note to ii 85; for Pitru, Hebrew Pethor, see B 559, 97.

[165] See above, p. 382.

[166] It is possible that the Ben-Hadad contemporary with Baasha and the contemporary of Ahab were the same individual, but for contrary opinions see most recently B 832; B 167, 143f; B 84, 30 and n. 22. See also below, pp. 475f.

[167] B 610, 56f; B 832, 143 and n. 23. The 'Bar-Hadad' stela should not be cited as evidence, since Albright's reading is not accepted; see below, p. 397 and nn. 201–2.

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led by Adad-idri, whose identity with Ben-Hadad is usually accepted,[168] and Hamath by Irkhuleni (Hittite Urhilina) a member of an Anatolian dynasty.[169]

The army of the two kings with their Israelite, Phoenician, Egyptian and Arab allies, described elsewhere by Shalmaneser as 'twelve kings of Khatti and the sea-coast',[170] included besides Adad-idri and Urhilina, Ahab of Israel and contingents from Gubla, Egypt, Irqata, Arvad, Usanat, Siannu, the Arabs, Beth-Rehob and 'Amana'.[171] This substantial force met Shalmaneser at Qarqar on the Orontes in the territory of Hamath, and the florid Assyrian account of the victory is shown up as empty rhetoric by the subsequent course of events.[172] Shalmaneser had to fight further campaigns against the same alliance in 849, 848 and 845 B.C., of which the summary accounts, couched in almost identical language,[173] suggest that he could make little headway.

Between 845 and 841 however, the alliance broke up. The murder of Adad-idri/Ben-Hadad by his officer Hazael, who usurped the throne, seems to have precipitated the secession of Israel,[174] nor does Hamath appear again as a supporter of Damascus. More than a century later, Sargon II claimed to have imposed on the conquered Hamath 'tribute and tax, the bearing of the basket, the service on campaign like that which the kings my fathers imposed upon Irkhuleni the Hamathite'.[175] In the absence of any supporting boast by Shalmaneser, we may doubt the literal historicity of this memory, but it would seem that Hamath was indeed detached from the Damascus alliance, perhaps by diplomacy rather than coercion. Some forty years later Hamath enjoyed the position of favoured Assyrian client[176] and it is not unthinkable that the understanding might be traced back to this period.[177]

Thus Hazael leading an isolated Damascus faced two Assyrian invasions, 841 and 838 B.C., in which Shalmaneser ravaged the country.[178] No note of Hazael's discomfiture however is preserved in

[168] Hazael seized the throne from, and murdered, Adad-idri (B 162(*a*), 57, lines 14–35 = B 158, §681)/Ben-Hadad (II Ki. 8: 15). This evidence is denied in B 817, 158ff. The O.T. does not designate the king by the Hebrew form of the name (Hadad-ezer) but by the 'dynastic' surname, Ben-Hadad; B 835, 135 and n. 17. For a further example of such a surname, see below, p. 404 and n. 258 (Atarshumki Bar-Gush); and possibly also p. 405 and n. 272 (Khadianu/Ben-Hadad (?)).

[169] The name Urhilina is analysed as Hurrian (cf. B 517 and B 556, 68) as was that of Toi (above, p. 382 and n. 79), but the names of his father and son are Hittite–Luwian and the dynasty wrote its inscriptions in hieroglyphic (see below, p. 396).

[170] B 162(*a*), 464, line 28; B 605; B 575, 97ff.

[171] B 575, 98 n. 20; cf. above, p. 261 n. 124.

[172] Cf. B 109, especially 160ff; for the opposing forces see B 84 and B 575, 97ff.

[173] Years 10, 11 and 14. See e.g. B 162(*b*), 34ff; B 162(*a*), 466ff; cf. B 84, 29ff.

[174] B 84, 30ff.

[175] J. Nougayrol in B 488, 12f and n. 48.

[176] In the reign of Zakur; see below, pp. 403f.

[177] B 542, 96. Cf. B 517.

[178] Years 18 and 21. For the sources, see B 219, 87ff; also B 162(*a*), 57ff (= B 158, §681, Ashur statue). Cf. B 40 and B 625.

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the Old Testament, and the damage must have been small. Essentially Damascus, both supported and isolated, could withstand Shalmaneser's attacks, and the latter, after spending more than ten years battering on the gates of south Syria, seems to have abandoned the struggle at this point and turned elsewhere for adventure.

The third phase: In 858 B.C. the Cilicians of Que and Khilakku were among Shalmaneser's opponents,[179] and later that year, as again in 842 and 840,[180] the latter climbed Mount Amanus, from the summit of which he would have looked down into the Cilician plain. Almost as if he were pursuing an old grudge, but possibly also motivated by a more concrete incentive,[181] Shalmaneser devoted the final phase of his aggressive career to an assault on the Hittite states of the Taurus, primarily Que. In 839 after assuring his passage by receiving a general submission of 'Khatti', he crossed the Amanus and descended on Que, still ruled by his old opponent Kate.[182] He plundered the cities Lusanda, Abarnani, and Kisuatni, and traversing Cilicia, set up a stela at the 'beginning' and the 'end' of the country.[183]

Subsequently he decided to show the flag in Anatolia ('Tabal'), an unparalleled undertaking for an Assyrian king. In 837, after a further submission of 'Khatti', he passed through Melid, and across the Antitaurus ('Mount Timur') on to the Anatolian plateau,[184] where he encountered a Tabalian king Tuatte and his son Kikki,[185] who submitted, as did 'twenty kings of Tabal'.[186] He proceeded southwards to Mounts Tunni and Muli, sources of silver and alabaster, clearly parts of the Taurus–Bolkar Dağ massif,[187] and thence against Pukhame of Khubushna (otherwise Khubishna, Classical Kybistra near modern Ereğli).[188] The narrative breaks off at this point, but we may guess that Shalmaneser descended on Que through the Cilician Gates and thus

[179] See above, p. 391.

[180] B 206, III 7, ii 9 (= B 158, §600); B 162(*b*), 38 and 40.

[181] See below, p. 398 and n. 210.

[182] Principally B 162(*b*), 40, lines 22–34; abbreviated versions on the Black Obelisk (B 158, §577) and the Kurba'il statue (B 127, 94).

[183] It may be that the newly-discovered relief at Uzunoğlantepe, though uninscribed, was one of these; see B 241, 169ff.

[184] Principally on the Nimrud statue (B 134, 153ff); cf. B 219, 79ff. Abbreviated versions on the Black Obelisk (B 158, §579) and the Ashur statue (B 158, §682).

[185] These are 'Anatolian' names attested elsewhere: see B 548, nos. 569, 1406; cf. also below, pp. 416, 417 and n. 374.

[186] Summarized simply as 'twenty-four kings of Tabal' in the abbreviated account.

[187] See e.g. B 162(*a*), 61 n. 19; B 118, 66f.

[188] The text's nonsensical Khubush*ka*ya should of course be corrected to Khubush*na*ya (B 118, 66). Unhappily the confusion has crept into the *RLA*, where references to Puḫame and Ḫupišna should be deleted from B 552 and transferred to B 553. Similarly the location of Ḫupišna by reference to Ḫubuškia should be deleted from here. For the location, see B 540, with cited bibliography. Cf. B 926, 49 and n. 96.

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returned home. In 836 another visit to Melid found the king, Lalli, still on the throne, and the renewed submission of Tabal was claimed.[189]

The years 834 and 833 B.C. saw two further Que campaigns.[190] Cities of Que, listed as Timur, Tanakun (with its ruler Tulli) and Tarzu (Tarsus), bore the brunt of the attack, and Pakhri is also mentioned. On return from the first campaign Shalmaneser seized a town of Bit-Agusi where Arame still ruled; while on the second he installed Kate's brother Kirri as king of Que – but the fate of the former king is not noted.

This was apparently the last campaign fought by Shalmaneser in person. Thereafter the *turtānu* Dayyan-Ashur commanded the army (832–828 B.C.), and of these last campaigns, only one was to Syria.[191] In 831 Lubarna II, king of Unqi (Pattin), was murdered and replaced by a usurper, Surri. The *turtānu* suppressed the revolt and installed a certain Sasi the Kuruṣṣean on the throne. This act suggests that Assyria was still in a position to intervene in Syro-Hittite affairs, and that Shalmaneser felt himself in some way bound to avenge the murdered king, although, in contrast with later times, there was no appeal to oaths or treaties.

2. *The native monuments*

As noted above, p. 390, no surviving Syro-Hittite monuments can be attributed to contemporaries of Ashurnasirpal. Shalmaneser's inscriptions attest the following kings:

North Syrian group:
Bit-Adini: Akhuni (858, 857, 856, 855)
Carchemish: Sangara (858, 857, 853, 849, 848)
Kummukh: Qatazilu (858, 857); Kundashpi (853)
Gurgum: Mutallu (858); Qalparunda (853)
Sam'al: Khaianu (858, 857, 853)
Unqi (Pattin): Sapalulme (858); Qalparunda (857, 853); Lubarna II, Surri, Sasi (831)
Bit-Agusi: Arame (858, 857, 853, 849, 848, 837, 834)
Melid: Lalli (853, 844, 836)

Also in the years after 853 B.C., a general tribute from kings of this group is listed for the years 842, 840, 839, 838, 837 and 834 B.C.[192]

[189] Nimrud statue and Black Obelisk (see above, n. 184).
[190] B 162(*b*), 221ff (= B 158, §§582–3); also B 162(*a*), 58 (= B 158, §682).
[191] B 162(*b*), 224ff (= B 158, §585).
[192] Year 17 (B 162(*b*), 38); years 19 and 20 (B 162(*b*), 40); years 21 and 22 (B 134, 154, line 9 [B 219, 80, note] and line 20); year 25 (B 162(*b*), 220 = B 158, §582).

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South Syrian group:
Hamath: Irkhuleni (853, 849, 848, 845)
Damascus: Adad-idri (853, 849, 848, 845); Hazael (841, 838)

Cilician–Anatolian group:
Que: Kate (858, 839, 834, 833); Kirri (833)
Khilakku: Pikhirim (858)
Tabal: Tuatte (with son Kikki) (837)
Khubushna: Pukhame (837)

To only a few of these kings can surviving Syro-Hittite monuments be attributed:

Qalparunda of Gurgum has already been identified with the Halparuntiyas II, son of Muwatalis, whose likeness and inscription appear on the fragment of the Maraş colossus, a late example of the traditional presentation of the Hittite ruler.[193] The broken inscription contains details of military action against unidentified, perhaps purely local, towns.[194]

Qalparunda of Unqi (*Pattin*) has been identified with the Halparuntiyas whose name appears on the fragmentary base or podium inscription from Tell Ta'yinat, but unfortunately both the inscription itself and the accompanying sculpture are too mutilated to yield much information.[195]

Irkhuleni of Hamath is recognized as the 'Urhilina, son of Paritas, Hamathite king', author of the largest of the famous 'Hamathite' stones[196] and of a pair of duplicate inscriptions from Restan and Apamea (Qal'at el-Mudiq).[197] These inscriptions, all dedications to the goddess Ba'alat (*Pahalatis*), show the opponent of Shalmaneser to have been an active builder. The other three Hamathite stones, together with two newly discovered ones, are very similarly formulated inscriptions of Uratamis, son of Urhilina, king of Hamath,[198] and relate to the building of 'this fortress', perhaps the citadel of Hamath itself. They indicate that Urhilina was succeeded by his son, who although otherwise unattested[199] must clearly be dated to late in the reign of Shalmaneser. There is however no significant body of sculpture to be connected with any of these inscriptions.

[193] See above, pp. 383f and n. 88, p. 385 and n. 109.

[194] B 567, 1a serie, 127ff (no. 32); supplement the translation from B 525, 134 (no. 24), 138 (no. 36), and 143. Also *Studia Meriggi*, 396, 431; *Anat. Stud.* 30 (1980) 143.

[195] See B 112, 81 and n. 95. Cf. above, n. 32; further publication of the sculpture awaited.

[196] B 567, 2a serie, 245ff (no. 312); supplement the translation from B 525, 137f (no. 33). For the dramatic history of the discovery of the Hamathite stones, see references in B 568, 1 5ff.

[197] B 567, 1a serie, 13ff (nos. 5–6).

[198] B 567, 1a serie, 17ff (no. 8); unpublished examples made known to me by the courtesy of Professor P. Riis and to be published in a forthcoming *Hama* volume.

[199] Unless he is to be identified as the *Ru-du-mu*, recipient of a letter found at Hama; B 490, 190 (6A 334).

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The Bar-Hadad Melqart stela: this stela, found near Aleppo,[200] shows a divine figure and has a badly worn Aramaic inscription, recording the dedication to the god Melqart by a Bar-Hadad, and mentioning in a damaged context the 'king of Aram'.[201] An earlier attempt to identify Bar-Hadad with Adad-idri/Ben-Hadad of Damascus, based on the proposed reading of his ancestry on the stela, has met with no recent support, and subsequent attempts at reading and identification have fared no better.[202] In spite of the doubtful ascription however, it does seem likely that the monument belongs approximately to this period or a little later, and it may provide a rare example of Aramaean–Damascene sculpture.[203]

The Hazael ivory plaque: Hazael of Damascus is epigraphically attested on ivory plaques from Arslan Tash and Nimrud, which bear the dedication 'for our lord Hazael'. This associates him with the notable school of ivory carving which was by this time established in Syria.[204]

Another Syro-Hittite king not specifically mentioned by Shalmaneser may be dated to the later part of his reign, namely Kilamuwa of Sam'al, son of Khaianu. An inscription of this king introduced by a small portrait figure, together with an associated stela showing a king with an attendant, is very informative, giving a summary history of the several-generation dynasty of Gabbar.[205] His account of his predecessors is not glowing – they 'accomplished nothing' – and the inscription gives a vivid account of the perils of a small state like Sam'al surrounded by aggressive neighbours. It also presents the interesting phenomenon of an Aramaean dynasty, one of whose members, Kilamuwa himself, has like some of his successors a Hittite name. Kilamuwa wrote his inscription in Phoenician, where in the following century his successors used an early form of Aramaic, which perhaps implies that at this date Aramaic was not yet considered suitable for a literary-epigraphic composition of this type.[206] In its indigenous inscriptions the state of Sam'al is alternatively referred to as Y'DY, the erroneous vocalization of which as Ya'udi has led to much confusion with the Hebrew Judah, and even to the introduction of the baseless term 'Jaudisch' for the Sam'al dialect of Aramaic.[207]

[200] B 26, no. 499 with bibliography on p. 308.

[201] B 480, no. 201; B 496, II no. 1. The reading of line 2 is crucial.

[202] See most recently B 555, 15ff, with bibliography. Scepticism of all recent attempts expressed in B 572, 174 f; also by J. Naveh (personal communication).

[203] B 581, 481 ('nicht späthethitisch'); B 495, I, ZzP5h ('Aram. Palastkunst, 850/820').

[204] B 480, no. 232; B 496, II no. 2; cf. B 571, 143, with Nimrud reference. Also I. Winter, *Iraq* 43 (1981, forthcoming).

[205] See above, p. 386 and nn. 114–16. For the association of the uninscribed stela with Kilamuwa's inscription, see B 581, 66f; B 495, II 1.

[206] B 545, 42ff.

[207] B 496, II 62, 70; B 518, B 521, with recent bibliography. For a recent study of the dialect which unfortunately continues the erroneous designation, see B 479.

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Kilamuwa claimed to have 'hired', apparently at a bargain rate,[208] the king of Assyria to support him against the 'king of the Danuna' (MLK DN[N]YM), i.e. Adana, a royal city of Que, now known as the indigenous Syro-Hittite designation of that kingdom.[209] That Sam'al, situated directly at the foot of the Amanus pass leading to Cilicia, should feel pressure from that quarter is not surprising, and the involvement of the king of Assyria can refer only to one or more of the campaigns of Shalmaneser III against Que in 839, 834 and 833.[210] The information therefore provides a useful insight, rarely available from Assyrian sources, into the possible motivation of a series of campaigns, and is the first of a number of specific indications that Assyria did not always cross the Euphrates uninvited.[211]

The style of Kilamuwa's sculpture is also very interesting, in that the rendering of the royal figure is clearly a local imitation of a purely Assyrian style, plausibly traced back to the victory stelae erected by Ashurnasirpal and Shalmaneser III in the Amanus.[212] Thus while in the reign of Ashurnasirpal western sculptural influences may, as suggested above, have penetrated to Assyria, in the reign of Shalmaneser III we begin to have clear evidence of the reverse influence of an Assyrian style on Syro-Hittite sculpture, and this influence was to become increasingly evident in future.[213]

Of the achievements of Shalmaneser in the West, the most enduring was certainly his occupation of the Euphrates crossing, which ensured that thenceforth Assyrian involvement in western politics was inevitable. His attacks on Damascus would appear to have been a qualified failure since both Adad-idri and Hazael appear in the Old Testament as successful and powerful monarchs unshaken by Assyrian aggression. However, Shalmaneser may have succeeded in detaching Hamath from the Damascus alliance to the position of Assyrian client. His Cilician–Anatolian campaigns do at least attest the comparative security of his hold over north Syria, but it is hard to detect any motive for them beyond pure adventurism, and we may well suppose that they were both expensive in effort and ephemeral in effect. His weaker successors had to contend with a resurgent north Syrian alliance under Arpadite, and later Urartian, hegemony, and a strengthened Damascus dominating south Syria. It is perhaps instructive to compare these achievements with those of Tiglath-pileser III.[214]

[208] B 480, II 32f.

[209] Evidence from the Karatepe inscriptions. See B 546; B 498, 50ff; B 480, II 39.

[210] B 612, 125, 133ff and n. 114.

[211] Cf. below, pp. 403 (Ushpilulume of Kummukh, Zakur of Hamath), 408 (Panammu of Sam'al), 414 (Ahaz of Judah.)

[212] B 581, 66f; B 495, II 1.

[213] B 581, 161.

[214] See below, p. 415. For a recent evaluation of the policy of Shalmaneser, see B 141.

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IV. THE SUCCESSORS OF SHALMANESER III

1. *Outline history*

The disorder in Assyria which terminated the long reign of Shalmaneser III relieved the Syro-Hittite states of constant Assyrian pressure. Nevertheless the chronological outline of the following period must still be drawn from the now less abundant Assyrian sources. Assyrian royal and other inscriptions provide the bulk of this material, but these are no longer chronologically narrated annals, except those of Shamshi-Adad V (823–811), which do not concern the West. Adad-nirari III (810–783) left a number of 'Display Inscriptions' with pertinent information,[215] but of his three successors, no royal inscription bearing on the West has been recovered, although the last, Ashur-nirari V (754–745), concluded a treaty with Bit-Agusi, of which a fragment survives.[216] Among the inscriptions of high officials, that of the *turtānu* Shamshi-ilu, from Til-Barsib, contains important information.[217] Finally two very important boundary stelae bearing inscriptions from the reigns of Adad-nirari III and Shalmaneser IV have recently come to light in Turkey.[218] The exact chronological data which all these documents lack can fortunately be largely supplied from the Eponym Chronicle, already noted as being extant for the end of the previous reign,[219] and now preserved for the entire period.[220]

Shamshi-Adad V, preoccupied with troubles at home, seems never to have crossed the Euphrates, and his inscriptions thus provide no information on Syro-Hittite affairs. He did however maintain Assyrian control of Kar-Shalmaneser (Til-Barsib), which he regarded as the western frontier of Assyria,[221] and this alone must have meant a continued, if temporarily quiescent, Assyrian presence in the West. According to Adad-nirari III, the Syro-Hittite states led by Arpad (Bit-Agusi) rebelled against his father,[222] though if any attempt to dislodge the Assyrians from Kar-Shalmaneser was made, it must have been unsuccessful.

Adad-nirari III was able to resume a more active role in Syria, and

[215] The stelae of Saba'a, Rimah and Sheikh Ḥammad, the Nimrud slab, and the Scheil fragment. See above, p. 272 and n. 190. See now W. H. Shea, JCS 30 (1978) 101ff.

[216] See above, p. 277 and n. 230.

[217] B 609, 141ff.

[218] At Pazarcık and Antakya (see below, nn. 222, 225, 227, 230, 233). They are on display in the museums of Maraş and Antakya and will be published by Professor K. Balkan, by whose courtesy reference is made here.

[219] See above, p. 390 and n. 154.

[220] Damaged for the beginning of the reign of Shamshi-Adad V. See above, p. 269 and n. 173, p. 272 and n. 187, pp. 276f and n. 224.

[221] B 206, I 30, ii 7ff (= B 158, §716).

[222] B 168, 58, lines 5–7; 60f, line 2'; B 238, 145, lines 13–15.

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after a campaign in 808 B.C. against Guzana, presumably to regain a lost control, he fought western campaigns in 805 ('against the land Arpad'), in 804 ('against the city Khazazu') probably in 803 ('against the city Ba'li'), probably in 802 ('unto the Sea'), and in 796 ('against Manṣuate').[223] There has in the past been some confusion in connecting the undated references of the display inscriptions with these chronographic headings, but recent re-examination[224] shows that Adad-nirari's Syrian campaigns probably fell into two phases comparable with the first two phases of the campaigns of Shalmaneser III, and new information supports this view.

First, in 805–804 (and perhaps also 803–802) the Assyrians directed their efforts against a group of 'rebellious' north Syrian kings (described as 'eight kings of Khatti') under the leadership of Atarshumki, son of Adramu, of Arpad.[225] The composition of this alliance may be surmised from later similar groupings,[226] and probably included (besides Arpad) Que, Unqi, Gurgum, Sam'al, and Melid, and excluded Kummukh[227] and Carchemish.[228] These hostilities culminated in a battle in Paqarkhubuni, where Shalmaneser III had also fought, after which Adad-nirari was able to fix the boundary between Qalparunda son of Palalam of Gurgum and Ushpilulume of Kummukh, in favour of the latter, presumably near modern Pazarcık (stela in Maraş Museum; above, n. 218).

Subsequently, almost certainly on the Manṣuate campaign of 796 B.C., the Assyrians successfully attacked 'Mari'' of Damascus, who may now be securely identified with Ben-Hadad III, son of Hazael,[229] who would have been on the throne by this date. This event is probably to be linked in turn with an action by Adad-nirari and the *turtānu* Shamshi-ilu, in which they set up the boundary between Zakur of Hamath and Atarshumki of Arpad in favour of the latter on the river Orontes.[230] It might be argued that this act is to be dated later, but this would require the assumption that it was unconnected with any recorded western campaign. To date it earlier, to 805–802 B.C., would improbably prolong Shamshi-ilu's already massive tenure of office.[231]

After the reign of Adad-nirari III, only sporadic western campaigns are recorded, for Shalmaneser IV in 775 ('to the Cedar Mountain'),

[223] Above, p. 272 and n. 189; also B 238, 147f.

[224] Especially B 168; B 238. *Contra* Shea, above n. 215.

[225] See above, n. 222; B 511, §6.6; B 112, 74f, 80.

[226] E.g., on the Zakur Stela; see below, p. 403.

[227] B 526, 8f.

[228] For this exception see below, pp. 406f.

[229] This identification follows (*contra* B 817, 168f and n. 40) from the re-dating of the Damascus campaign from 805–803 to 796 B.C. Cf. B 164, 163f, and below, p. 405.

[230] Antakya Stela. Cf. B 526, 8f; B 241, 180; B 519.

[231] For his dates see below, p. 404 and nn. 264–5.

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in 773 ('against Damascus'), and in 772 ('against Khatarikka'); for Ashur-dan III in 765 and in 755 ('against Khatarikka'); and for Ashur-nirari V in 754 ('against Arpad').[232] Few documents supplement this meagre outline. A report of a campaign of Shalmaneser IV, and more specifically, the *turtānu* Shamshi-ilu, against a Khadianu of Damascus, followed by the re-establishment of the Kummukh frontier in favour of the king Ushpilulume, should doubtless be dated to 773 B.C., the Damascus campaign.[233] Similarly the Ashur-nirari V treaty with Mati'ilu of Arpad is normally associated with the Arpad campaign of 754 B.C.[234]

2. *The native monuments*

The following dated Syro-Hittite kings are thus known from the Assyrian sources:

Arpad: (Adramu); Atarshumki (805, 796); Mati'ilu (754)
Gurgum: (Palalam); Qalparunda (805)
Kummukh: Ushpilulume (805, 773)
Hamath: Zakur (796)
Damascus: 'Mari'' (Ben-Hadad III) (796); Khadianu (773)

In the second half of the period, Urartian sources[235] for the first time make limited and less precisely datable references to other Hittite kings:[236]

Melid: (Shakhu); Khelaruada (Argishti-Sarduri, *c.* 780–750)
Kummukh: Kushtashpi (Sarduri, *c.* 755)
Tabal(?): Tuatte (Argishti)

The following native monuments belong to this period:

1. Dated by direct synchronisms with Assyria in the references noted above:

Hittite:

Qalparunda of Gurgum, son of Palalam, has been identified with the Halparuntiyas III, author of the Maraş lion inscription[237] (MARAŞ 1), which has already been used in establishing the chronology of earlier rulers of Gurgum.[238] The inscription provides little further historical information, but the style of sculpture, characterized as strongly Assyrianizing and belonging to the end of the ninth century,[239] provides a valuable exemplar for dating similar pieces.

[232] Eponym Chronicle: see above, n. 220.
[233] Pazarcık Stela, reverse (see above, nn. 225 and 227).
[234] See above, n. 216.
[235] Cited from B 314.
[236] For the individual names see B 314, 168ff, s.vv. Cf. below, pp. 405f.
[237] B 112, 74f.
[238] Cf. above, p. 383 and n. 85.
[239] B 581, 205 and the comment in B 527, 310.

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Ushpilulume of Kummukh is probably to be identified as the Shuppiluliuma whose wife(?) Panamuwatis dedicated two inscribed podia for thrones of the goddess Kubaba.[240] These and similar fragmentary inscriptions from Kummukh have not preserved any significant historical material,[241] nor is the fragmentary sculpture with which they are associated any more informative, though Assyrian influence is visible.[242]

Aramaic:

Zakur of Hamath has long been known from his inscribed stela from Afis.[243] This was originally surmounted by a figure now unfortunately mostly broken away.[244] The dating of this, long a matter of controversy, seems to be well established by recent information and the inscription offers an important historical source.

Mati'ilu of Arpad, son of Atarshumki: the treaty of this king with a certain Bar-ga'ya of KTK, inscribed on stelae found at Sefire near Aleppo,[245] is a historical document of great importance and one of the great enigmas of the whole period.

2. Dated by indirect synchronisms:

Panammu I of Sam'al (with his son(?) Bar-ṣur) is dated by his appearance in the later narrative of his descendant Bar-Rakib.[246] A Storm-God statue bearing an inscription of his has been recovered.[247]

Tuatte (*of Tabal?*): the name is apparently a recurring dynastic one, and is attested in the hieroglyphic form *Tuwatis*. The native monuments inscribed with the name are probably to be attributed to Tuwatis, father of Wasusarmas, a contemporary of Tiglath-pileser III, and thus belong to this period.[248]

3. Lacking direct dating links provided by Assyrian reference:

Yariris of Carchemish (formerly read Araras)[249] and his successor Kamanis. A substantial corpus of sculpture with associated inscriptions of these two rulers is known, and can be dated to this period largely by stylistic criteria.[250]

[240] B 112, 80.

[241] B 514, especially 108f.

[242] B 563(*a*), 64 and pl. 12, figs. 6–8; B 514, 100ff, 105ff and pls. XVIIf; B 581, 101f.

[243] B 480, no. 202; B 496, II no. 5.

[244] B 589, pl. IX; B 581, 105 and 475.

[245] B 480, nos. 222–4; B 496, II nos. 7–9 (with bibliographies). For recent treatments see B 555, 24–57 and B 574. See now B 5, VI *s.v.* KTK.

[246] See below, p. 408.

[247] B 480, no. 214; B 496, II no. 13.

[248] See below, p. 406, and cf. p. 413.

[249] B 112, 70 and n. 18.

[250] Inscriptions listed B 112, 69f. For the style and date see B 581, 35ff, 135ff, 186ff; B 495, VII 3.

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3. *Aspects of the period*

The Assyrian, Urartian and native documents may be combined to illuminate some aspects of the politics of this period in greater detail than for the earlier. In particular the careers of various prominent individuals command more attention, notably Ushpilulume, Atarshumki, Zakur, Shamshi-ilu; Yariris and Kamanis; Mati'ilu and the mysterious Bar-ga'ya; and Panammu I and Bar-ṣur.

Adad-nirari III and central Syria

Assyrian relations with Kummukh, Arpad, Hamath and Damascus are well illustrated by the various documents of this reign. Ushpilulume of Kummukh, who had called in the Assyrians to support him against Gurgum and perhaps Arpad in 805,[251] was clearly an Assyrian client in the manner of Kilamuwa of Sam'al earlier. The anti-Assyrian alliance led by Atarshumki of Arpad, apparently the son of the old opponent of Shalmaneser III,[252] resisted the invaders in a way not seen in north Syria since the collapse of Bit-Adini. In spite of the alleged defeat at Paqarḫubuni, probably in 805, this alliance apparently held firm, as had the Ḥamath–Damascus coalition against Shalmaneser III, for it appears still cohesive in connexion with the events provisionally dated to the year 796 B.C., the Eponym Chronicle's Manṣuate campaign. The documents which now appear to refer to this latter campaign are (1) the Adad-nirari display inscription references to the attack on Damascus; (2) the Zakur stela, with its reference to a Damascus–Arpad axis against Hamath; and (3) the Antakya stela recording the establishment of the Arpad–Hamath boundary by the Assyrians.[253]

According to Zakur, the Aramaean king of Hamath and Lu'ash[254] and possibly a usurper,[255] Bar-Hadad (Ben-Hadad) of Damascus, son of Hazael, incited against him a group of northern kings under 'Bar-Gush', including the kings of Que, Unqi, Gurgum, Sam'al and Melid. They besieged him in Hazrak (Assyrian Khatarikka), the capital of his northern province Lu'ash, from which he was rescued by divine intervention. It has long been suspected that the necessary muscle-power was lent to the gods by the Assyrian army,[256] and this appears to be confirmed by the documentary evidence that Assyria established the

[251] See above, p. 400; note especially B 526, 8.

[252] The father of Atarshumki, normally named Adramu, seems to appear once as Arame, the name of the king of Bit-Agusi under Shalmaneser III; cf. B 168, 61.

[253] Cf. above, p. 400 and n. 230.

[254] For Hamath and Lu'ash see above, p. 389 and nn. 142 and 145.

[255] Hamath was last attested under the Anatolian dynasty of Urhilina and Uratamis in the reign of Shalmaneser III; see above, p. 396.

[256] E.g. in B 542, 101.

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Arpad–Hamath boundary. Likewise Bar-Gush has been recognized as a king of Arpad/Yakhan[257] (Assyrian Bit-Agusi, Aramaic Bayt-Gush), and it now appears that this was the dynastic name or surname of Atarshumki.[258] Since the Assyrian terms of settlement between Arpad and Hamath were clearly in favour of the former, in that the Arpad–Hamath frontier was placed as far west as the Orontes, it would seem that the Assyrians came to terms with Arpad and its allies while guaranteeing the security of Hamath.

The purpose of this Assyrian-inspired settlement between Arpad and Hamath was very probably to detach Arpad from the Damascus alliance and to isolate the latter diplomatically so that it could be dealt with alone. Evidence of the success of this policy is provided by the Assyrian claims of victory over 'Mari'' of Damascus,[259] and confirmed by Old Testament evidence of the weakness of Ben-Hadad son of Hazael[260] and reference to a 'saviour' of Israel,[261] often recognized as the Assyrians. We may well suppose that this saviour was not the Assyrian king Adad-nirari himself but the *turtānu* Shamshi-ilu, whose name appears for the first time in connexion with these events alongside that of Adad-nirari, nominally as a subordinate but in fact probably the prime mover now as later.

Shamshi-ilu and the West

This powerful governor has been independently identified in another Old Testament reference as 'him that holdeth the sceptre in Beth-Eden' (i.e. Bit-Adini).[262] His own inscriptions from Til-Barsib, referring to it as 'Kar-Shalmaneser, city of my lordship',[263] confirm that it was at least one of his seats. He must have become *turtānu* some time between 808[264] and 796 B.C., probably not long before the latter, and was still *turtānu* in 752 but no longer in 742,[265] so that his office may well have been terminated by Tiglath-pileser III after 745. He was thus *turtānu* for a term which may well have exceeded fifty years. It is suggested that a recently discovered rock relief in the Hatay may represent him,[266] and the apparently deliberate defacement of his monuments in Til-Barsib and Arslan Tash[267] suggests that his career ended in the disgrace known to have befallen other over-powerful officials of the period.

He himself claimed among other titles that of 'governor of the land

[257] E.g. in B 600, IV and n. 7.

[258] I.e. (Atarshumki) Bar-Gush; cf. *Mati'ilu mār Agusi* (Assyrian; B 213, 50, lines 30f). Cf. above, n. 168; B 164, 164; and B 913.

[259] B 238, 143, lines 6b–9; 145, lines 18–20; 148, lines 14–21.

[260] II Ki. 13: 25; B 610, 83f.

[261] II Ki. 13: 3–5; B 164, 162.

[262] B 828.

[263] B 609, 148, lines 19f.

[264] *Turtānu*: Nergal-ilaya (Eponym Chronicle, $C^a1 + C^b1$, obv. 9).

[265] *Turtānu*: Nabu-danninanni (*ibid.* $C^a1 + C^b1$, rev. 32).

[266] B 241, 180.

[267] B 609, 142; B 207, 89, 93f.

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of Khatti' (*šāpir māt Ḫatti*),[268] and he must indeed have had a very close relationship with the Syro-Hittite kings, especially the ruler of Carchemish, which lay no more than twenty kilometres upstream from Til-Barsib. He was effectively Assyrian king of the West, and his claimed victory over Argishti of Urartu[269] is plausibly identified as the Urartian campaigns recorded by the Eponym Chronicle in the period 781–774 B.C.[270] Also he played a large if not predominant part in the Manṣuate–Damascus campaign of 796. Similarly there is now evidence that while acknowledging the nominal suzerainty of Shalmaneser IV, he personally led the campaign against Damascus in 773 when a certain Khadianu was on the throne.[271] It is not impossible that this Khadianu is to be identified as Ben/Bar-Hadad son of Hazael (also called 'Mari'' by the Assyrians), who could still have been on the throne in 773.[272] If not, Khadianu is an otherwise unattested successor.

Shamshi-ilu also claimed to have defeated the land of Mushku (the Phrygians),[273] a people with whom Assyria had intermittent contact since the days of Tiglath-pileser I, but who would clash more seriously when Assyrian expansion touched the Anatolian plateau.

After this period and the reigns of Zakur and Ben-Hadad (and) Khadianu, little is heard of Hamath and Damascus until the reign of Tiglath-pileser III. The Old Testament suggests a general gain of Israelite power at their expense,[274] and the Eponym Chronicle records three further campaigns to Khatarikka (i.e. northern Hamath) in the years 772, 765, and 755,[275] which were presumably conducted by Shamshi-ilu in unknown circumstances.

The Urartian advance

Though Shamshi-ilu claimed to have defeated Argishti I of Urartu, the inscriptions of this king and those of his son Sarduri provide sufficient evidence of growing Urartian influence on the northern Hittite states. The country which bore the brunt of the Urartian thrust across the Euphrates was naturally Melid, where Khelaruada, son of Shakhu, is named as the victim by Argishti (*c.* 780) and again by Sarduri (*c.* 750),[276] and physical corroboration of the Urartian presence is provided by Sarduri's Izolu inscription on a cliff overlooking the Euphrates at the Melid crossing.[277]

[268] B 609, 146, line 9.

[269] B 609, 146, lines 11–18.

[270] Above, p. 276.

[271] See above, pp. 400f and n. 233.

[272] The length of his reign is unknown: B 610, 89 and n. 39. If this identification is made, *Khadianu* (= Aramaic *Hezion*) would be his personal name, *Ben/Bar-Hadad* his dynastic name, and *Mari'* a title. Cf. above, nn. 168 and 258.

[273] B 609, 146, line 10.

[274] II Ki. 14: 28; B 610, 91ff.

[275] See above, p. 401 and n. 220; B 574, 236f.

[276] See above, p. 401 and nn. 235–6; B 314, no. 80 §3 II, no. 102 rev.; no. 104 (see following note).

[277] See most recently B 418.

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A reference by Argishti to the 'land of the sons of Tuate' in a western context apparently distinct from Melid[278] recalls the name of Tuatte, a ninth-century king of Tabal,[279] a name appearing also in hieroglyphic inscriptions of the Kayseri area, probably of the first half of the eighth century B.C., as 'Tuwatis, Great King'.[280] If we may connect the Urartian reference with either of these, it should suggest that Urartian influence may already have been felt west of the Taurus. Another kingdom drawn within the Urartian orbit was Kummukh, where Kushtashpi, a more or less direct successor of Ushpilulume, was subjected by Sarduri, *c.* 750 B.C.[281] It is clear that the Urartian-dominated alliance which later confronted Tiglath-pileser III was being put together during these years, though no further details have been recovered.

The position of Carchemish[282]

A surprising silence from external sources concerning Carchemish, from 848 (last attested year of Sangara) to 738 B.C. (first attested year of Pisiri), can hardly be attributed to the weakness of insignificance of this city, since the sculptures of Yariris and his successor Kamanis show a high level of artistic achievement, and their associated inscriptions, the only historical source for the period,[283] also suggest a degree of international prominence.

Yariris' inscriptions refer to a predecessor, Astiruwas, though contrary to what is often supposed none of the surviving monuments can certainly be attributed to this king.[284] Yariris himself boasted an international reputation[285] and claimed a degree of literacy in various scripts as well as proficiency in foreign languages.[286] He also had some contact with an Assyrian king.[287] He gave his successor Kamanis public advancement during his own reign,[288] and the latter on the evidence of his own inscriptions duly became king.

Attempts have been made to identify Yariris' contemporary Assyrian king, and it has also been proposed to recognize an Urartian king's name in the inscriptions of Kamanis, both of which have been taken to confirm the already secure attribution of these monuments to the first half of the eighth century B.C. A reading of the name Ashur-dan (III) in an inscription of Yariris would provide a *terminus post quem* of 772 B.C. for the pieces but is in fact much too uncertain.[289] The name

[278] B 314, no. 80 §3 VII.
[279] See above, p. 394 and n. 185, and p. 402.
[280] B 566, s.v. The inscriptions are those of his servants (ÇİFTLİK, KULULU I) and his son (TOPADA).
[281] B 526, 9. Cf. below, p. 412.
[282] B 112, 72f. Also B 5, V *s.v.* Karkamiš, §15(b) 5–9.
[283] See above, n. 250.
[284] B 508, 104 and n. 28*a* (citing B 581, 191).
[285] B 525, 152.
[286] B 525, 150f.
[287] B 112, 72f.
[288] B 567, 1a serie, 25f. For a discussion of the relationship of Astiruwas, Yariris and Kamanis, see B 523, 157ff.
[289] 112, 72f and n. 40.

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probably to be read Sasturas (or Sasturis) on a Kamanis inscription has been identified as that of Sarduri (II) of Urartu.[290] A recent interpretation of the context however[291] appears to exclude the possibility, since Sasturas is stated to be the 'first servant' ('prime minister'?) of Kamanis, which could hardly be a reference to a king of Urartu.

Stylistic and prosopographic links between the sculpture of Kamanis and a group now attributed to Pisiri, last king of Carchemish,[292] have been noted. These would seem to imply a date not long before 738 B.C. for Kamanis.

Whatever the exact dates of Yariris and Kamanis, it seems inescapable that their tenure of office must have overlapped to a large degree with that of Shamshi-ilu in Til-Barsib. As very close neighbours the Hittite and Assyrian rulers must have established some *modus vivendi* not documented in our surviving sources. The contact which must have existed may well have provided a focal point for the exchange of goods, ideas and artistic styles. It would seem unlikely that Carchemish took part in any of the anti-Assyrian groupings of the early eighth century, nor is there at present any concrete evidence for Urartian influence or control in the city.

Arpad and Bar-ga'ya of KTK

In the mid-eighth century B.C., Atarshumki of Arpad, last heard of in 796 B.C., had been succeeded, not necessarily directly, by his son Mati'-ilu.[293] It would seem that this state remained the key to north Syria, for which we have the evidence of the two Mati'ilu treaties already mentioned, that with Ashur-nirari V of 754, and that with Bar-ga'ya of KTK.[294] The fragmentary Ashur-nirari treaty is the earliest preserved example of the Assyrian *adû*-document, a loyalty oath, often translated 'treaty',[295] similar to the Hittite treaties of the second millennium B.C. The preserved portions clearly show Mati'ilu to be the inferior partner on whom the oath was imposed. The much better preserved Bar-ga'ya treaty, inscribed in Aramaic on the stelae from Sefire near Aleppo, shows many parallels with the Assyrian document, notably that it is also an *adû*-document ('DY),[296] and that it shares the colourful curse formulae, and especially the divine witnesses to the oath, who are specifically Mesopotamian in both documents.[297] Bar-ga'ya appears as

[290] B 475, 62f. This has been usually accepted (e.g. B 470, 424); for reservations see B 566, s.v. *S.s.262-s.*

[291] B 525, 149f, correcting B 508, 105. I now consider the translation 'Kamanis (is) the foremost servant of Sasturas' to be untenable on syntactic grounds; see B 523.

[292] See below, p. 412 and n. 329.

[293] B 519.

[294] See above, p. 401 and n. 234; p. 402 and n. 245.

[295] B 184, I/1, s.v. *adû* A (with discussion).

[296] B 480, II 242; B 496, II 34.

[297] B 578, especially 163f.

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the dominant partner of the otherwise prominent state of Arpad,[298] yet his identity, and that of his country, have proved difficult to demonstrate satisfactorily.[299]

The main powers who might have been able to impose such a treaty on Arpad were Assyria and Urartu, and others who might have gained a temporary advantage might include Hamath, Carchemish and perhaps Kummukh. While it is possible to suppose that 'Bar-ga'ya' is an Aramaic surname (like Bar-Hadad and Bar-Gush)[300] which masks the identity of a known dynast, the country name KTK has remained an obstacle. Identifications of the name have ranged from the undemonstrable to the implausible, and the states so designated have been supposed to be, among others, Assyria, Urartu and Hamath.

A recent treatment of the problem argues strongly in favour of locating KTK in Hamath, or at any rate its northern provinces, but studiously avoids any chimerical identification of the place-name.[301] According to this view, Bar-ga'ya is to be seen as an otherwise unrecorded Aramaean successor of Zakur, king of Hamath and Lu'ash. The appropriateness of this interpretation to the contemporary political scene is cogently demonstrated and it may be hoped that it points the way to the final cutting of the Gordian knot of KTK.

The dynasty in Sam'al

Further insight into the political conditions in Syria prior to the arrival of Tiglath-pileser III comes from Sam'al, a one-time member of the Arpad alliance. A later inscription of Bar-Rakib[302] gives a somewhat mutilated account of dynastic strife culminating in the installation of his father as king of Sam'al by Tiglath-pileser III in 743–740 B.C. The earlier narrative thus belongs to the present period. It goes back to Panammu I, son of QRL, whose inscribed Storm-God statue was also found at Sam'al.[303] Panammu I may have been Bar-Rakib's great-grandfather,[304] and it is possible that he and QRL may have been direct successors of Kilamuwa. Panammu's own account of his reign depicts it as a literary idyll of paradigmatic prosperity, but the less optimistic account of Bar-Rakib makes it clear that a bloodthirsty dynastic feud was raging, in which his grandfather Bar-ṣur perished, and his father Panammu (II) barely escaped to Assyrian protection. Here again we find an appeal to an outside power, Assyria, like those of Kilamuwa, Ushpilulume, and Zakur. Doubtless other powers, in particular Urartu, would also become involved in this way.

298 For summary of views on this question see B 480, II 271f.

299 For summaries see B 480, II 271f; B 496, II 34; B 558, VIIff.

300 See above, n. 168.

301 B 574.

302 B 480, no. 215; B 495, II no. 14.

303 B 480, no. 214; B 495, II no. 13.

304 B 480, II 226.

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At this point we should note that an earlier theory, which inserted an Azriyau into the Sam'al dynasty before Panammu II, has been decisively disproved.[305]

V. TIGLATH-PILESER III, SHALMANESER V AND SARGON II

In 745 B.C. Tiglath-pileser III seized the throne in an Assyria weakened by internal insurrection and the independence of the great provincial governors, and threatened by an Urartian pincer movement in the west and the east.[306] After re-establishing central control and beating back the Urartian menace, he inaugurated a new policy of violent intervention in the west. Assyrian policy here, pursued with fluctuating success since Ashurnasirpal II and Shalmaneser III, had traditionally consisted of periodic military intervention, the extraction of tribute, the support of pro-Assyrian factions, and the replacement of anti-Assyrian rulers. This was now abandoned in favour of a policy of total conquest, accompanied by the deportation of the populations and the establishment of Assyrian provinces under an Assyrian administration. This seems to have been an extension of a policy hitherto followed only east of the Euphrates, which had led to the successful establishment of a 'greater Assyria' in Upper Mesopotamia. The reigns of Shalmaneser V and especially of Sargon II saw the acceleration of this policy towards its logical conclusion. Most of the Syro-Hittite states, as well as the kingdom of Israel, were attacked, defeated and ruthlessly broken up to become provinces of a regularly constituted Assyrian empire.

Assyrian sources for the period become relatively abundant. The outline chronology comes as before from the Eponym Chronicle, fairly preserved for Tiglath-pileser III and Sargon II,[307] and in addition the annals of both these kings are partially preserved,[308] though giving rise to some serious difficulties, especially in the case of the former. Other royal inscriptions supplement these chronographic documents, and as a corrective to their bombastic and one-sided accounts, royal and administrative letters begin to become available.[309] As regards the native monuments, some groups of Syro-Hittite inscriptions and sculpture belong to this period. These, though they provide interesting details and perspectives, do not figure so prominently as historical sources as in earlier periods. The history of this period relies much more heavily on external, particularly Assyrian, sources.

[305] B 603; B 850; B 518.

[306] See *CAH* III.2, chapter 22.

[307] B 245, 430ff (C^b1 rev. 26–47; C^b3, critically mutilated for Shalmaneser V; C^b4 rev. 1–21 + C^b6 rev. 1–16).

[308] For Tiglath-pileser III see especially B 236 and for Sargon B 237.

[309] Cited below where relevant.

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In the same sphere as the Syro-Hittite monuments, but completely overshadowing them as documents charting the impact of Assyrian violence on the western states, we have the passages of the historic and prophetic books of the Old Testament relating to the downfall of Israel.

1. *Tiglath-Pileser III*

Against Arpad and Unqi

In north Syria, Tiglath-pileser encountered an alliance led by Sarduri II of Urartu. The genesis of this alliance is poorly documented, although some steps in its formation have been considered above. Its full composition cannot be certainly ascertained from the defective sources,[310] but it is clear that Arpad under Mati'ilu was the leading indigenous power, and that Melid, Gurgum and Kummukh also participated. We may see it as a continuation of the alliance led by Mati'ilu's father Atarshumki in the years 805–796 B.C., with the difference that this time it was supported, or perhaps coerced, by the great-power presence of Urartu.

After a campaign against Namri, perhaps designed as a holding operation in the east,[311] Tiglath-pileser struck directly at this alliance in 743, and by a decisive victory in Arpad,[312] or, more accurately, in Kummukh,[313] rolled back the Urartian penetration of north Syria and left himself free to deal with the Syro-Hittite opposition. He invested the city of Arpad, which was captured after a three-year siege, according to a brief note in the Eponym Chronicle.[314] No other sources for this siege and its outcome are available, and we are thus uninformed as to how the other Syro-Hittite states lined up during the conflict, and on what terms they subsequently settled with the victor. The fate of Mati'ilu is unknown, but if he fell into Assyrian hands he was doubtless dealt with as a treaty-breaker.

The following year, 739, Tiglath-pileser campaigned in Ulluba, another attempt to secure the eastern frontier.[315] While he was there, renewed resistance developed in Syria, if we may judge from the recent elucidation of the events of 738 B.C.,[316] which has involved first, the association of the Eponym Chronicle's 'Kullani conquered' with the fragmentary annals' account of the conquest and annexation of Unqui; and secondly, the decisive removal of the grounds for identifying the

[310] B 158, §§785, 797, 813, 769. See B 236, 177, 180 and figs. 2–3. A recently discovered account contains more details: see B 239.

[311] See *CAH* III.2, chapter 22.

[312] Eponym Chronicle; see B 603, 253f; B 926, 36 and n. 32.

[313] As for n. 310 above.

[314] As for n. 312 above.

[315] Eponym Chronicle; see now also B 592, especially 56ff.

[316] B 603, 255ff; B 850, 36ff; B 112, 81ff; B 518; B 539; B 522. Now also B 5, VI *s.v.* Kullani.

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'Azriyau' active at this time with Azariah of Judah, and the consequent elimination of the latter's supposed intervention in north Syrian affairs.

What can now be seen to have happened is that Tutammu of Unqi, a country last heard of as a part of Atarshumki's alliance against Zakur, revolted,[317] as did also 'nineteen districts of Hamath' including the northern province, Khatarikka, and the coastal plain, under the leadership of the otherwise unknown Azriyau.[318] Tiglath-pileser accused Tutammu of breaking his treaty-oaths (*adû*), and Azriyau and the Hamath districts of criminal rebellion, apparently in both cases implying the existence of a contractual relationship like the Mati'ilu–Ashur-nirari V treaty, a more concrete form of authority over western states than hitherto attested. He seized Unqi and deported Tutammu and his courtiers to Assyria,[319] and his treatment of the conquered country, narrated in a damaged annals passage[320] was of a kind later to become familiar. People and animals were distributed as booty, the country was stripped of its wealth and the capital Kunulua was organized under a eunuch governor as a province later known by the variant form of the name as Kullani. The description of the fate of Arpad, were it extant, would doubtless have been on similar lines.

A lengthy preserved section of the annals immediately preceding the events of the ninth year (737 B.C.)[321] describes the thorough reorganization of north Syria presumably at the end of 738, following the Ulluba campaign and the suppression of the Unqi–Hamath revolt. Parts of Hamath were, like Unqi, constituted as provinces, probably two in all, Ṣimirra and Khatarikka.[322] Details of large-scale population movements, a prominent feature of later Assyrian imperialism, are given: Hamathites to Ulluba and easterners to the cities of Unqi and coastal Hamath.

The Syro-Hittite kings in 738 B.C.

The account of 738 is rounded off with a list of tributary western kings,[323] which for the first time since the days of Shalmaneser III gives a comprehensive survey of the political divisions of the West and their rulers. An almost identical version of this list recently discovered[324] has been shown to date back at least to 738 B.C. The absence of Unqi and Hamath from this list suggests that it was compiled at a time when these two countries were still in revolt, before the annexation of the former

[317] B 213, 16ff, lines 92–101 (= B 158, §769); see B 603, 256.

[318] B 213, 20ff, lines 126–32 (= B 158, §770); see B 603, 257; B 926, 40ff and n. 62; B 518; B 580, especially 42ff. Na'aman (in B 574) considers Azriyau to be king of the northern part of Hamath.

[319] B 216, 133.

[320] See above, n. 317.

[321] B 213, 22ff, lines 132–50 (= B 158, §§771f).

[322] B 539, 56ff, correcting B 112, 83 n. 103.

[323] B 213, 26, lines 150–7 (= B 182, 283(a)); cf. B 926, 33f.

[324] B 926, especially 26ff, with bibliography; corrected in B 477; B 574.

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and the reduction of the latter after the revolt of Azriyau. Besides the kings of Israel, Tyre(–Sidon) and Byblos, and the Arab queen, the latter account includes an apparently comprehensive roll of the Syro-Hittite rulers, many of whom are attested also in other sources:

Kushtashpi of Kummukh, who had been drawn into the Urartian orbit by Sarduri II[325] and fought with the alliance in 743 B.C. Thereafter he seems to have been forgiven his perhaps enforced disloyalty and to have returned Kummukh to its pro-Assyrian allegiance.

Rakhianu of Damascus, a more or less direct successor of Khadianu (attested 773 B.C.), is known under the name of Rezin (RṢYN) in the Old Testament,[326] where some account of his reign appears.[327]

Urikki of Que, a country last attested as a member of the Arpad alliance of 796 B.C. Urikki survived Tiglath-pileser to reappear in the reign of Sargon.[328]

Pisiri of Carchemish, who also survived into the reign of Sargon. His name is not preserved on any native monument, but it has been proposed that a style of inscribed sculpture should be attributed to him. If this is correct, he would be the son of Sasturas, probably the same as the 'prime minister' of Kamanis, and is thus linked with the earlier Carchemish rulers.[329]

Eni-ilu of Hamath, a more or less direct successor of Zakur, and also of Bar-ga'ya of KTK and Azriyau, a little-known ruler, perhaps an Assyrian nominee, under whom Hamath was shorn of its northern provinces.[330]

Panammu II of Sam'al, well known from the inscribed statue dedicated to him posthumously by his son Bar-Rakib,[331] which narrates how he escaped the dynastic turmoil of Sam'al to be re-instated on the throne by Tiglath-pileser III and awarded some of the territory of neighbouring Gurgum, presumably during the siege of Arpad. Sam'al is the only state attested as pro-Assyrian in this conflict.

Tarkhulara of Gurgum and *Sulumal of Melid*, who had both, like Kushtashpi, participated in the Urartian alliance, but were left on their thrones as tributaries, though Gurgum lost some territory. The submission of Tarkhulara is narrated in the newly discovered account (above, n. 310).

The list concludes with a group of Anatolian kings:

Dadilu of Kaska, a late representative of the unruly Kaska neighbours of the Hittite Empire, bearing a name probably to be analysed as

[325] See above, p. 406 and n. 281; B 926, 46 and nn. 80–2.
[326] B 926, 46, n. 83.
[327] B 610, 95ff.
[328] See below, p. 420.
[329] B 112, 73, with references. For Sasturas see above, p. 407 and n. 291.
[330] B 926, 40ff; B 574.
[331] See above, p. 408 and n. 302 (lines 7–15).

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Anatolian.[332] The Kaska were now presumably located in the Taurus north of the Melid–Tabal route.

Wassurme of Tabal, known from his group of hieroglyphic inscriptions as Wasusarmas son of Tuwatis, claiming like his father the title of 'Great King'. The inscriptions found in the *vilayets* of Kayseri and Nevşehir approximately define his kingdom, Tabal.[333] They are mostly dedications by his servants,[334] but one long, very difficult inscription of his own is known, apparently narrating a battle fought in Parzuta(?), in which seven kings opposed him and three named kings were his allies, including apparently Warpalawas, Kiyakiyas (Kiakki) and an otherwise unknown Ruwatas.[335]

Urballa of Tukhana, best known of the group, from his surviving portrait sculpture and inscriptions, as Warpalawas of Tuwana.[336] His kingdom was approximately the *vilayet* of Niğde, classical Tyana, and an inscription of a vassal shows that he controlled the Anatolian end of the Cilician Gates.[337] He too survived well into the reign of Sargon.[338]

Ushkhitti of Atuna, *Tukhamme of Ishtunda* and *U(i)rimme of Khubishna*, probably minor figures ruling single cities only. Atuna[339] and Khubishna[340] are fairly certainly located but Ishtunda[341] is not.

Thus Tiglath-pileser III was the first Assyrian king since Shalmaneser III whose influence was felt on the Anatolian plateau. The only detailed evidence for the means by which Assyrian power was extended at this period comes from Sam'al, in the narrative of Panammu II, and from the Old Testament note of the coercion of Menahem,[342] both of which events must have occurred during the siege of Arpad. Similar unattested forays against Hamath, Damascus and Phoenicia, as well as into Que and Anatolia, must be envisaged.

Against Damascus

In the years 737–735 B.C. Tiglath-pileser had again to fight in the north and east to secure his position against Urartu.[343] Rakhianu (Rezin) of

[332] B 545, 16f, n. 34; B 616, 68, 93 and n. 44.

[333] See above, p. 376 and n. 18; B 535, 20f; B 926, 48f and n. 92.

[334] B 567, 1a serie, no. 30 (SULTANHAN); 2a serie, no. 67 (KAYSERİ); 3a serie, no. 36 (SUVASA).

[335] B 567, 1a serie, no. 31 (TOPADA): supplement translation from B 525, 127f and especially 150. For the names of the supporters of Wasusarmas see B 523, 165f.

[336] B 535, 21; B 926, 49f and nn. 95 and 97; B 198, 28f.

[337] The inscription BULGARMADEN, written by his servant Tarkhunazas, mentions the donation of Mount Muti by Warpalawas. The local city was doubtless Zeyve Hüyük, which lies at the upper end of the Cilician Gates. See B 567, 1a serie, no. 25, and cf. B 118, 67; B 507, 107ff; B 926, 50 and n. 97.

[338] See below, p. 421.

[339] B 198, 30ff; B 926, 50f and n. 102; B 523, 166ff.

[340] See above, n. 188. The identification with Cabissus, suggested in B 470, 424, is not acceptable.

[341] B 198, 30. The identification with Azatiwataya, noted in B 470, 424 n. 6 is not acceptable.

[342] II Ki. 15: 19–20; cf. *CAH* III.2, chapter 29.

[343] Eponym Chronicle: 737 B.C., 'against the Medes'; 736, 'to the foot of Mount Nal'; 735, 'against the land of Urartu'. Cf. B 154, 14f, B 592, 56ff.

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Damascus, tributary in 738, now felt strong enough to resume an initiative, showing that, as in the days of Shalmaneser III, Damascus retained an independence of action even when north Syria was firmly under Assyrian control. He combined with Pekah of Israel against Ahaz of Judah who, following in the tradition of many Syro-Hittite kings before him, appealed to Assyria, accompanying this with a large donation.[344] Tiglath-pileser responded quickly. After a campaign in 734 against the Philistines,[345] he concentrated on Damascus for 733–732.[346] The bare facts of the capture of the city and the execution of Rakhianu are provided by the Old Testament narrative, but the detailed Assyrian account is largely lost.[347] A personal detail appears in the biography of Panammu II of Sam'al, who perished while fighting for the Assyrians during the siege.[348] Pekah of Israel, who had shared in this disastrous enterprise, was deposed and murdered at the Assyrian instigation and parts of his territory were annexed;[349] while Ahaz of Judah, the catalyst of the crisis, was able to visit Tiglath-pileser inside the city of Damascus.[350] The city itself was established as an Assyrian provincial centre and it is possible that some later-attested provinces were carved out of its territory at this date, possibly Ṣubutu and/or Manṣuate.[351]

The notice of a campaign against the Arabs apparently at this time survives in a fragmentary form in the annals and the Nimrud tablet,[352] and is directly followed in the latter source by a list of tributary kings,[353] very similar in its first part to that of 738 B.C., but damaged so that one or two names are missing from each line. Of the Syro-Hittite kings, Kushtashpi, Urikki, Eni-ilu, Panammu II, Tarkhulara, Sulumal, Wassurme, Ushkhitti, Urballa and Tukhamme reappear, and the gaps must certainly have contained the name of Pisiri, and perhaps those of the kings of the Kaska and Khubishna. Names of recent casualties such as Rakhianu had presumably disappeared. This list purports to present a summary of tributaries in 732 after the fall of Damascus, but the various submissions can hardly have been simultaneous;[354] for example

[344] II Ki. 16: 5–10, II Chron. 28: 5–6, 16–23, Is. 7: 1–9; cf. *CAH* III.2, chapter 29.

[345] Eponym Chronicle: 734 B.C. 'against the land Pilishta', explained by II Chron. 28: 18. Cf. B 280, 21ff; B 272; B 604, 88f.

[346] Eponym Chronicle: 733, 732, 'against Damascus'.

[347] B 213, 34ff, lines 195–209 (= B 158, §§776f); cf. B 182, 283 (a).

[348] Above, n. 302 (lines 16–19).

[349] II Ki. 15: 29–30; B 213, 80, lines 6–8, 15–18 (= B 182, 284 (a)). Cf. B 237, 37 and n. 133; B 87, 59f; *CAH* III.2, chapter 29.

[350] II Ki. 16: 10.

[351] B 87, 62; B 610, 102. Not Haurina: see B 590. It is not clear whether Ṣubutu and Manṣuate belonged to Hamath or Damascus.

[352] B 213, 36ff, lines 210–40 (= B 182, 283 (*b*)); B 213, 70, rev. 1′–6′ (= B 158, §§798–800).

[353] B 213, 70f, rev. 7′–13′ (= B 158, §801); see B 926, 52f.

[354] Cf. B 495, 1 ZdPza.

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Panammu II, who fell during the fighting, is listed instead of his son and successor, Bar-Rakib. Yaukhazi (Ahaz) of Judah, the circumstances of whose submission have been noted, also appears in the list.

The tribute list is followed in the Nimrud tablet by a brief note that Wassurme failed to present tribute,[355] although he does appear in the foregoing list. The *rab ša rēši* was sent to replace him with a certain Khulli, 'son of a nobody', and to collect tribute. This action must have occurred between 732 and 729 B.C. (the terminal date of the Nimrud tablet). The lack of prominence given to this apparently easy operation implies an Assyrian military presence on the plateau, probably during the siege of Damascus as before during the siege of Arpad.

The phases of Tiglath-pileser's western campaigns show a pattern comparable with those of Shalmaneser III, and indeed those of Adad-nirari III, namely successive assaults upon north and then south Syria. Like them he had to deal with two Aramaean centres of resistance, the northern being Arpad (in Shalmaneser's day it had been Bit-Adini) and the southern Damascus. He apparently succeeded beyond the limits of his predecessors by adopting a more radical military approach and by being able to sustain a more concerted military effort involving two major sieges. This enabled him to gain physical control of the centres of opposition and in turn to seek the radical political expedient of a drastic dispersal of the resistance and the establishment of an Assyrian provincial system. The provinces established in this reign were, as far as is known, Arpad, Kullani (formerly Unqi), Khatarikka, Ṣimirra and Damascus, possibly with Ṣubutu and/or Manṣuate, as well as some northern districts of Israel, a decisive and irrevocable step on the road to empire followed by his successors. At the same time he did not neglect a diplomatic offensive, and the willingness of some western states to call in the Assyrians is as well attested in his reign as earlier.

2. *Shalmaneser V*

The short reign of Shalmaneser V (726–722 B.C.) is ill-documented, since no royal annals are known and even the Eponym Chronicle entries are unfortunately destroyed for his reign. The main known event of the reign, begun but not apparently concluded, was the siege of Samaria,[356] leading to the dissolution of the kingdom of Israel. Besides this it is sometimes supposed that two states found later as Assyrian provinces must have been annexed during this reign, on the negative evidence that this is not attested in the better-documented reigns of Tiglath-pileser III and Sargon II; Sam'al and Que are the states in question.[357]

[355] B 158, §802.

[356] Babylonian Chronicle: see B 237, 33ff; B 98, 73; *CAH* III.2, chapter 29.

[357] B 87, 70off; B 237, 33, n. 100; B 545, 77f; B 535, 23.

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In Sam'al, Bar-Rakib had been installed by Tiglath-pileser on the death of his father, Panammu II, about 733–732.[358] He continued a pro-Assyrian policy and seems to have enjoyed a reign of great prosperity during which he endowed Sam'al with an outstanding series of buildings and sculpture,[359] accompanied by a group of informative inscriptions.[360] The length of his reign was of unknown duration but presumably substantial, and nothing is subsequently heard of Sam'al until the appearance of an Assyrian governor in 681 B.C.,[361] after which the presence of an Esarhaddon stela[362] confirms its provincial status. However, the dating of the annexation *e silentio* to the reign of Shalmaneser V hardly seems to allow Bar-Rakib a sufficient reign (a maximum of about ten years) and cannot be regarded as conclusive.

The problem of Que is more complex and is considered below.[363]

A later remark of Sargon suggests that Khulli, Tiglath-pileser's nominee on the throne of Tabal, was deported to Assyria by Shalmaneser.[364] This evidence that he was active in Anatolia raises the question of access. With Arpad and Kullani in Assyrian hands, the direct routes to Anatolia lay certainly through Que and perhaps also through Sam'al. Further evidence for the position of these two kingdoms at this date is required.

3. *Sargon II*

Revolt in the West

The Assyrian dynastic crisis in 722 B.C. brought to the throne Sargon II, who, by carrying the aggressive policy inaugurated by Tiglath-pileser III to its logical conclusion, terminated the independence of most of the surviving, largely Hittite, western states. The turmoil of this accession, however, provided the opportunity for a general western revolt which was swiftly seized. Yau-bi'di, king of the still independent but truncated Hamath, acting apparently in concert with Gaza and Egypt, incited to rebellion the newly formed provinces of Arpad, Ṣimirra and Damascus, as well as the conquered Samaria, and perhaps also Khatarikka,[365] thereby demonstrating how precarious Assyrian control in the occupied territories still was. Sargon stigmatized Yau-bi'di as a usurper and showed special bitterness against him,[366] perhaps because his rebellion fell at such a critical juncture. After securing his

[358] Above, n. 302 (lines 19f).

[359] Orthmann's 'Zincirli III (+IV?)', B 581, 63ff, 136, 199ff; Genge's 'Barrākibzeitlichen Bildwerke', B 495, VII 1*b*.

[360] In addition to the inscribed statue of his father (above, n. 302), B 480, nos. 216–21; B 496, II nos. 15–17.

[361] See below, p. 426; but cf. B 545, 73ff.

[362] B 47, 96ff (Mnm A).

[363] See below, pp. 418f and nn. 383f; p. 420.

[364] B 155, 32, lines 194f; B 545, 78, n. 207. Cf. B 516.

[365] B 237, 37 and n. 137.

[366] B 520.

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position in Assyria, Sargon was able to confront the western resistance in 720 B.C. at Qarqar in Hamath, where 133 years previously Shalmaneser III had also fought a western alliance. Sargon won a more conclusive victory than his predecessor. Yau-bi'di was captured, carried to Assyria and flayed alive, and Hamath was seized. Chariots, cavalry and troops were levied from the local population for service in the Assyrian army, and 6,300 rebel Assyrians, doubtless adherents of Shalmaneser V, were settled in its territory,[367] which became a province under an Assyrian governor. Various forms of tribute and forced labour were imposed, and these were recorded on stelae set up in the conquered territory, pieces of two of which have been recovered.[368] Since the name of Hamath itself is not subsequently attested as the designation of an Assyrian province,[369] the seat of the Assyrian governor may have been elsewhere, possibly in Manṣuate or Ṣubutu, which would then have named the province.

At the same time Assyrian control was presumably reimposed on the provinces which had broken free, Arpad, Ṣimirra, Damascus and Samaria. It would also appear from his later references that Sargon intervened in Tabal and Melid early in his reign.[370] This would have been possible at any date after 720 B.C.

The clash with Midas

After a year's campaign against Mannai which produced some captives for settlement in Khatti,[371] Sargon returned to the West in 718 B.C. for a Tabal campaign against a certain Kiakki of Shinukhtu,[372] whom he accused of breaking treaty-oaths and withholding tribute. Shinukhtu is plausibly identified with the Old Assyrian Shinakhuttum,[373] for which a location in the neighbourhood of modern Aksaray is suggested by the recent discovery of a broken hieroglyphic stela probably attributable to this Kiakki, whose name has also been seen earlier as a one-time ally of Wasusarmas.[374] It would seem that Kiakki's action was instigated by Mita of Mushku[375] (Midas of Phrygia), who appears here for the first time. Concrete evidence for Assyrian involvement on the Anatolian

[367] B 520, 273, source 10, lines 5–8.

[368] B 520, 273, source 5 (Asharné stela), source 10 (perhaps from Sheizar).

[369] B 490, 269, 277; B 510, §7.

[370] See below, pp. 418f and nn. 379, 386, 390.

[371] B 155, 8ff, lines 58–68 (= B 158, II §6).

[372] B 237, 86 and n. 262, 94; B 154, 36, 46; B 155, 10, lines 68–71 (= B 158, II §7); B 271, 103, lines 28f (= B 158, II §55).

[373] B 491, 123f (citing J. Lewy).

[374] See above, p. 413 and n. 335, and below, p. 423 and n. 412. Information on the new discovery by courtesy of Professors N. Özgüç and M. Kalaç. The name *Kiyaki(ya)s* is a common Anatolian one and appears, e.g., on KULULU lead strip 1, rev. 1; cf. above, p. 394 and n. 185.

[375] B 90, 180, lines 50–4. For Midas see B 564 and *CAH* III.2, chapter 24 (*a*).

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plateau since Tiglath-pileser III installed Khulli on the throne of Tabal[376] is lacking, so it is impossible to be certain under what circumstances Kiakki was laid under tributary oath, but at least from this point onwards, the clash of Assyrian and Phrygian interests in this area was constant. Sargon removed Kiakki and presented Shinukhtu to Kurti (previously read Matti)[377] of Atuna, a successor of the Ushkhitti known to Tiglath-pileser III. The geography of this action is not entirely clear since Shinukhtu and Atuna seem to have lain on opposite sides of the Tuwana of Warpalawas.[378] Sargon may have taken the opportunity of this campaign to intervene in the dynastic affairs of Tabal, as is attested by later evidence.[379]

Perhaps in retaliation for Assyrian moves in Anatolia, Midas seems to have intervened in Syrian affairs, for in 717 B.C. Sargon, alleging an intrigue between him and Pisiri of Carchemish, struck at the great Hittite centre.[380] The sparsity of Assyrian references to Carchemish – Pisiri was recorded as tributary in 738 and probably also in 732 – do not seem to indicate any lack of wealth and power in this city. Sargon accused Pisiri too of breaking treaty-oaths, and carried him, his family and main adherents in chains to Assyria, along with the enormous booty of his land. As with Hamath, the native population was pressed into Assyrian service, and Assyrians were settled in the territory under a governor. Signs of Assyrian vengeance on the city were detected by the excavators in the shattered state of the monuments,[381] particularly those which may be attributed to Pisiri himself.[382] Thus suddenly and ingloriously the leading Hittite city, with a tradition stretching back more than six centuries to the conquest by Shuppiluliuma himself, was brought to an end, though the city itself lingered on as an Assyrian provincial centre for a further century before its final abandonment and ruin.

Though for the following three years Sargon was largely preoccupied with the problems of Mannai and Urartu, he found time to strike back at Midas in 715 B.C., when he restored some border cities annexed by the Phrygian to the land of Que.[383] The status of the country at this date is uncertain. Its king, Urikki, had paid tribute to Tiglath-pileser III in about 732 B.C., and was still alive in 710/9, by which time his

[376] Above, p. 415 and n. 355.

[377] Written KUR-*ti-i*: *Kurti(ya)s*, unlike the other possible readings (*mat-*, *šat-*, *lat-*), is a commonly attested Anatolian name occurring frequently in the KULULU lead strips; cf. B 548, no. 649. For the location of Atuna see above, n. 339. See also B 620, 213ff; B 563, 166.

[378] If the locations at Aksaray and Zeyve Hüyük are correct.

[379] B 516; cf. below, p. 419 and n. 386.

[380] B 155, 10ff, lines 72–6 (= B 158, II §8); B 90, 179, lines 13–24; B 154, 36, lines 20–2; B 271, I 170ff, lines 10, 21–2 (= B 158, II §§137f); B 237, 22f, lines 1′–14′ (A.16947).

[381] B 626, 92.

[382] See above, n. 329.

[383] B 155, 20ff, lines 118–20, 125–6 (= B 158, II §§16, 18); B 90, 182f, lines 34–40.

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country was an Assyrian province.[384] It has been asserted that it must have been a province by the time of the action in 715, and its conquest has been attributed to Shalmaneser V,[385] but neither point is established. Sargon presumably passed through its territory on his Anatolian campaign of 718, and again in 713, but it may be that it was then under a client king rather than a regularly constituted province. The campaign of 715 B.C. could have been in support of such a client.

Khulli, after a spell of deportation in Assyria, had been restored to the throne of Tabal by Sargon, who later placed his son Ambaris (or Amris) on his father's throne, designating him king of Bit-Burutash, and giving him his own daughter in marriage with the land of Khilakku as dowry,[386] another dispensation hard to understand geographically.[387] The dates of these Anatolian interventions cannot be exactly determined, but in 713 B.C. Sargon, alleging conspiracy with Phrygia and Urartu against the favoured Ambaris, deported him with his family and nobles to Assyria and constituted his land a province in which Assyrians were settled. It has been suggested that Sargon's daughter continued to govern the country either nominally or in fact.[388] The appearance of this Assyrian presence on the plateau may have subdued but did not eliminate the considerable number of independent principalities in that area, but one other Assyrian favourite, Kurti of Atuna, who was toying with the idea of defection to Phrygia, was apparently brought to heel.[389]

The year 712 saw the termination of the independence of Melid, recorded as tributary to Tiglath-pileser III in 738 and 732 B.C. under its king Sulumal. This man had been succeeded by one Gunzinanu, also tributary to Assyria until replaced by Sargon with Tarkhunazi. The dates of these events, like those in Tabal, cannot be precisely determined.[390] After Tarkhunazi, like other Assyrian beneficiaries, succumbed to the pressure or blandishments of Midas, Sargon struck at Melid in 712 B.C., not apparently in person since that year he was 'in the land'.[391] Melid and another part of the kingdom, Kammanu, were ravaged and occupied. Tarkhunazi fled to Til-Garimmu in the Taurus mountains towards Tabal, but was apprehended and removed to Assyria. Til-Garimmu and Kammanu were settled with deportees and annexed, and, significantly, strong border fortresses were built which Sargon intended should hold the boundaries of the empire against Urartu and Phrygia. The city Melid itself was given to Kummukh, then

[384] See below, p. 420 and n. 396.

[385] See above, n. 357.

[386] B 545, 78 n. 207; B 535, 23; B 516.

[387] B 515, §2.

[388] B 198, 31.

[389] B 271, II no. 45, lines 3′–10′ (= B 158, II §214).

[390] B 545, 78f and n. 208; B 112, 79.

[391] B 155, 34ff, lines 204–21 (= B 158, II §§26f); B 271, I 112, lines 78–83 (= B 158, II §60) and 148, lines 23–7 (= B 158, II §92); B 269, 178, lines 9f (= B 158, II §79); B 90, 182f, lines 41–75. Cf. B 237, 92f, 95f.

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ruled by Mutallu, presumably in the hope that a strong client Kummukh could play its part in holding the northern frontier.

The following year, 711 B.C., the annexation of Gurgum was added to that of its neighbour.[392] Tarkhulara, attested as king in the reign of Tiglath-pileser III, was murdered by his son Mutallu at an unspecified date, perhaps not until 712/11.[393] Mutallu's seizure of the throne without Assyrian sanction provoked Sargon to avenge the murdered king. He carried off Mutallu to Assyria, and constituted Gurgum as a province named from its capital city Marqasi (Maraş). The process is described in the usual stereotyped phrases. According to another account, one of the more blatantly self-contradictory of Assyrian records, it was Tarkhulara himself who revolted and paid the price.[394]

The Phrygian entente and the death of Sargon

At this point Sargon's empire was approaching its apogee, for only Kummukh and some of the smaller Anatolian states still retained their independence. For 709 B.C. Sargon records a successful expedition of the governor of Que (the earliest certain attestation of this officer) against Midas, whose submission is reported.[395] A most remarkable document connected with this incident has fortunately been recovered, a letter from Sargon to his governor of Que, Ashur-sharra-uṣur.[396] This provides a far more accurate picture of the true state of affairs than any amount of unreliable bombast from the annals, and sheds a vivid light on Assyrian expansionist intentions and diplomatic methods. Drafted in the form of the king's instructions in reply to a series of quoted questions by the governor, it fully confirms the provincial status of Que at this date. The circumstances in which it was written were dramatic. The governor had reported that Midas had apprehended a fourteen-man embassy sent by Urik to Urartu and had handed them over to him. Urik is undoubtedly to be identified with the king of Que in the reign of Tiglath-pileser III, who at the Assyrian annexation of his country must have preserved his life and sufficient independence to conduct an intrigue against the intruders, probably from the safety of exile. The reason for this sudden gesture of conciliation on the part of Midas, who had been implicated in almost every anti-Assyrian movement of the decade, is not explicit, but it may be supposed that the first onslaught of the Cimmerian invaders was by now being felt in Anatolia as in

[392] B 155, 38, lines 1–5 + 248 (= B 158, II §29); B 271, I 112ff, lines 83–9 (= B 158, II §61).
[393] B 112, 75.
[394] B 90, 182f, lines 41–75, also p. 185.
[395] B 155, 66ff, lines 445–54 (= B 158, II §§42f); B 271, I 126ff, lines 150–3 (= B 158, II §71). For the date see B 198, 33.
[396] Re-edited in B 198 (see p. 27 for the governor's name).

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Urartu.[397] Sargon's reaction to this démarche was exultant, and he urged his governor to follow up the advantage to the limit. His view, expressed in forcible, not to say brutal, language, was that if Phrygia and Assyria could act in concert the days of the small Anatolian principalities were numbered:

Let Ashur, Shamash, Bel and Nabu give the word, (and) all these kings will polish your sandals with their beards!... (ll. 28–30)

What will all those kings of Tabal do in future? You, from this side, and the Phrygian, from that side, will squeeze them... (ll. 48–50)

Among these Anatolian rulers Urballa (Warpalawas) is named in the letter. His long reign (at least 738–710 B.C.) was probably due to a policy of at least ostensible cooperation with the Assyrians, and his surviving monuments show a strongly Assyrianizing style of sculpture on the plateau.[398] Some local unrest from the city-states of Atuna and Istuanda affecting Bit-Burutash (Paruta) is complained of, but essentially Sargon showed no apprehension of danger from Anatolia which he regarded as delivered into Assyrian hands by the Phrygian entente. The message to be delivered to the peoples of Anatolia by his governor was strongly reminiscent of that of Sennacherib's *rab šāqê* to Jerusalem:[399]

Now eat your bread, (and) drink your water under the shadow of the king my lord, (and) be glad! (ll. 40–1)

The last independent Syro-Hittite kingdom east of the Taurus, Kummukh, had been enlarged in 712 B.C. by the addition of the city of Melid, but in spite of this, its king Mutallu, in a dangerously exposed position surrounded by Assyrian provinces, seems to have sought alternative means to secure his survival. Sargon accused him of intriguing with Argishti II of Urartu and withholding tribute, perhaps truly or perhaps merely as a pretext for action.[400] While he was in Babylon in 708, Sargon sent his generals against Kummukh.[401] Mutallu himself escaped, presumably to Urartu, and the country and its wealth fell into Assyrian hands to become a province and receive the deportees of Bit-Yakin as colonists. It seems to have been designated as the seat of the '*turtānu* of the left', perhaps in recognition of its crucial strategic position on the Urartian frontier.[402] Melid also presumably passed back into Assyrian hands as a result of this action.

[397] Note the letter B 111, 197 cited in B 198, 31 n. 19.

[398] B 581, 114f, 219f.

[399] II Ki. 18: 31.

[400] B 155, 70ff, lines 467–72 (= B 158, II §§45f); B 271, I 116ff, lines 112–17 (= B 158, II §64).

[401] Eponym Chronicle: C^b3 rev. 15 (B 245, 433); C^b6 rev. 2 (B 245, 435. For *kat* read *kum*! (A. R. Millard)). Cf. B 545, 72ff; B 237, 96.

[402] B 155, 72, line 10; B 87, 78f, 84; B 526, 10.

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After the annexation of Kummukh, Sargon must have felt secure in the north-west. Urartu was preoccupied with the Cimmerians, Phrygia compliant, and the Syro-Hittite states all securely in Assyrian hands. In 707–706 he felt free to celebrate the inauguration of Dur-Sharrukin. In 705, however, he was summoned once more to his distant north-west frontier, to Tabal,[403] perhaps by an appeal from an Assyrian governor or even by his recent ally Midas. The fatality of the outcome may reflect the magnitude of the crisis. In the words of the Eponym Chronicle, our meagre source for this disaster: 'King killed, camp of the king of Assyria [taken].'[404] The enemy is given as the otherwise unknown Eshpai the Kulummean, conjecturally but plausibly identified as a Cimmerian tribal leader.[405] The unprecedented death on the battlefield of the Assyrian king must have struck the newly conquered peoples with seismic force, and its reverberations can be heard in the Old Testament.[406] Not long after, Midas too was swept away by the Cimmerians, traditionally in 696–695 B.C.[407] The period seems to have been a turning-point for the Assyrian empire and Anatolia.

4. *The native monuments*

In Anatolia sculptural and epigraphic remains of the period of Assyrian domination, though scanty, are somewhat more numerous than for the preceding age. This general paucity is probably due to the continuing lack of large-scale excavations of any sites of this period, though preliminary investigations at sites in Tabal and Tuwana have located cities of the period and such sculptural and epigraphic remains as we have,[408] as well as a style of painted pottery often but inaccurately termed 'Phrygian'.[409] Most notably a large palace of the period with portal sculpture, some unfinished, has been found on the mountain-top site of Göllüdağ, and perhaps represents a summer palace or mountain fastness of Tuwana. Also the lead strips from Kululu inscribed with economic texts, largely issues of sheep and other commodities to listed persons,[410] though banal enough in themselves, are a useful reminder of the existence of a documentation now lost.

The main datable groups of inscriptions, some with associated

[403] B 237, 97 and nn. 311–15.
[404] C^b6 rev. 9f (B 245, 435); Babylonian Chronicle entry largely missing (B 98, 76 and note).
[405] B 237, 97 n. 311.
[406] Is. 14: 4–21; associated with the death of Sargon in B 270, 410ff.
[407] See *CAH* III.2, chapter 34(*a*).
[408] See above, nn. 38–42 (the sites of Zeyve Hüyük, Göllüdağ, Tepebağları, Kululu and Sultanhan).
[409] See recently B 483, 103f (citing B 562).
[410] See below, pp. 438f and n. 542.

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sculpture, are, as has been noted, those connected with Wasusarmas of Tabal and Warpalawas of Tuwana and their servants.[411] Two very recently discovered Storm-God stelae are attributable to Kiakki of Shinukhtu, deposed in 718 B.C., and to the son of Warpalawas, who could not have become king until after 709 B.C. at the earliest.[412] Short, not precisely datable, inscriptions are those of a king Sipis (KARABURUN), and a king Kurtis (BOHÇA), both of whom presumably belong among the kings of Tabal.[413]

In the rest of the Syro-Hittite world the period of Tiglath-pileser III and Sargon II saw a final flowering of the sculptural style developed over the previous three centuries. The 'type site' may be regarded as Sam'al (Zincirli) where the well-preserved sequence of sculpture associated with the inscriptions of Bar-Rakib[414] provides a point of reference for other sculpture from elsewhere, such as the 'Pisiri-group' from Carchemish[415] and the colossal ruler-figure from Melid (Arslantepe).[416] The other main comparable group is the sculpture of Sakça Gözü,[417] which certainly belongs to this period, but which, lacking a certain attribution to any of the known kings or states, still presents something of a puzzle. Although the site lies so close to Zincirli, the sculpture shows divergences, notably that the ruler-figure agrees stylistically with those of Carchemish and Melid and seems to portray a specifically Hittite king in contrast to the Aramaean figure of Bar-Rakib. A possible candidate for identification is Tarkhulara of Gurgum[418] whose territory could have included the site of Sakça Gözü. Alternatively it has been ingeniously suggested that the Sakça Gözü and Melid ruler-figures represent the only individual who could be conceived as having ruled in both places, namely Mutallu of Kummukh who held Melid from Sargon in the years 712–708 B.C.[419] While it is true that the similarity of the representations does not demand the identity of the individuals represented, neither does it preclude it.[420] It may be therefore that Sakça Gözü is a representative of a late style of Kummukh sculpture from the period immediately preceding its loss of independence.

[411] See above, p. 413 and nn. 333–7.

[412] See above, p. 417 and n. 374. Now published by M. Kalaç: (1) *Kuhnes Zs.* 92 (1978) 117ff; (2) *VIII Türk Tarih Kongresi*, 240ff. Ankara, 1979.

[413] B 567, 1a serie, nos. 26f.

[414] B 581, 63ff, 199ff; B 495, VII, 1*b*; B 621, 196ff.

[415] B 112, 73; B 495, VII, 3*c*.

[416] B 581, 99, 142; B 495, VII, 2; B 621, 223ff.

[417] B 581, 79ff, 138; B 495, VII, 2; B 621, 204ff.

[418] Cf. above, p. 420. Winter (B 621, 207ff) suggests that Sakça Gözü was built by Bar-Rakib, perhaps on territory ceded by Gurgum to Panammu II. Yet she does not go so far as to identify the Sakça Gözü ruler as Bar-Rakib himself.

[419] B 545, 76ff.

[420] B 112, 80; B 495, V; VII, 2; B 581, 211; B 624, 139.

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VI. SENNACHERIB, ESARHADDON AND ASHURBANIPAL

1. *The western empire*

The chronology of the conquests of the Syro-Hittite states is established by Assyrian chronographic sources, principally the Eponym Chronicle, and more detailed accounts of the actual conquests of some states are preserved in the historical sources, principally Assyrian annals and display inscriptions. To recapitulate (* indicates the survival of a detailed account):

Arpad	conquered 743–740
Unqi*	738
Damascus	733–732
(Israel*	732, 724–722)
Hamath*	738, 720
Carchemish*	717
Bit-Burutash and Khilakku*	713
Que	(?)before 710
Melid*	712
Gurgum*	711
Kummukh*	708
Sam'al	(?)before Esarhaddon

Though the detailed accounts are stylized and repetitive, they illustrate certain aspects of the conquests and the treatment meted out to the vanquished. The victims were often accused of violating treaty-oaths, and sometimes particularly savage punishments were inflicted on the rulers and others whom the Assyrians considered to be especially guilty of treasonable behaviour – that is, the leaders of the anti-Assyrian resistance. The typical Assyrian policy for pacification would include the mass removal of the population, especially craftsmen and those who could be drafted into the Assyrian army, to Assyria or another province of the empire, and the resettlement of the state with Assyrian colonists or other deportees under an Assyrian governor (*šaknu* or *bēl pīḫati*). The reactions of the conquered peoples to these catastrophes can only be judged from the Old Testament account of the fall of Israel, for no other indigenous accounts survive. The use of the demoralizing pressure of terror is well illustrated by the incident during Sennacherib's siege of Jerusalem in 701 B.C., when the *rab šāqê* held up as a warning to the still unconquered Judah the terrible fate of Israel and the Syro-Hittite kingdoms:

> Did the god of any of these nations save his land from the king of Assyria? Where are the gods of Hamath and Arpad?... Where are the gods of Samaria? Did they save Samaria from me? (II Kings 18: 34)

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For most of the seventh century, the period of Assyrian ascendancy, the conquered states remained firmly in Assyrian hands as provinces, usually named from their chief cities, the seats of the Assyrian governors, not by their former country or tribal names – thus for example, Kullani for Unqi,[421] Samerina (Samaria) for Israel, and Marqasi for Gurgum. The mass deportations must have gone far towards obliterating their national identities (as can be seen in the case of Samaria), and they declined from the position of vital and independent centres to that of provincial and probably impoverished backwaters. Headquarters of the Assyrian administrations and other traces of occupation have been identified at Til-Barsib,[422] Carchemish,[423] Sam'al,[424] Melid,[425] Unqi (Kullani),[426] Tarsus,[427] and possibly Hamath,[428] as also in Megiddo (see *CAH* III.2, chapter 30). The loss of prominence of the western provinces is illustrated by the way in which references to them are relegated from the historical record of the royal inscriptions to the letters and economic texts of the Assyrian administration. Firm evidence for their continued provincial status is provided by these attestations, and more particularly by the attestations of the names of their governors, most commonly as eponyms and usually in the reign of Sennacherib. Thus attested provinces include:

Arpad: 692,[429] reigns of Esarhaddon,[430] Ashurbanipal[431] (undated)
Kullani: 684,[429] reigns of Esarhaddon,[430] Ashurbanipal[431] (undated)
Damascus: 694,[429] reign of Esarhaddon[430]
Samerina: 690;[429] 646 (postcanonical)[432]
Ṣimirra: 688,[429] and postcanonical[433]
Khatarikka: 689,[429] reign of Esarhaddon[430]
Manṣuate: 680,[429] reign of Esarhaddon[430]

[421] See above, pp. 410f and n. 316.

[422] B 608, chapters II and VI B.

[423] Tablet (B 626, 135ff); sculpture fragment B 61*a* (B 627, 199, 239f); stela fragment A 33*m* (B 627, 280); inscribed bricks of Sargon (B 627, 265).

[424] Assyrian rebuilding after destruction (B 615, II 177, IV 243); Esarhaddon stela (B 615, I 11ff). Cf. B 545, 79f.

[425] Assyrian palace and fragments of Sargon cylinders: B 478, 9; B 538, 991, 1011; B 545, 81 and n. 213. Cf. G. R. Castellino in B 585, Appendix A.

[426] B 581, 83 (double lion column-base, soldier reliefs); cf. B 621, 235f.

[427] B 503, 8ff; B 499.

[428] B 490, 269, 277. There appears to be little positive evidence for the identification of these remains as Assyrian.

[429] B 245, 427 (C^d = B 222, 20); all these are corroborated by independent occurrences of the eponym names with titles in the dates on actual documents. For the provincial divisions of Israel see *CAH* III.2, chapters 29–30.

[430] B 111, 43 (line 16), 372 (rev. 11). See B 203, 7ff, especially 14ff.

[431] B 131, 167, lines 12ff.

[432] B 245, 452a (*Nabu-šar-aḫḫešu*); also B 68, 105, no. 29; B 69, 36, lines 52f; B 260, 208, A VII 5f; B 41, 64, lines 74f.

[433] B 131, 301, line 22 = B 245, 450*a* (*Mannu-ki-aḫḫe*).

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Ṣubutu: 683[429]
Carchemish: 691,[429] 649[434]
Que: 710/9,[435] 685 (?),[436] 655,[437] and postcanonical[438]
Marqasi: 682[429]
Kummukh: 668,[439] 663,[440] and postcanonical[441]
Sam'al: 681,[429] and postcanonical[442]

The absence of a name from this list of attestations may be fortuitous, but alternatively may indicate either that a previous capital city was not the seat of an Assyrian governor, as seems likely in the case of Hamath,[443] or that the country in question did not in fact remain under Assyrian control. In the latter category the principal absentees are Melid and Tabal, and the campaigns fought by Sennacherib and Esarhaddon confirm that Assyrian control in these areas was less than complete, and also raise the question of the position of Que.

2. *Sennacherib's western campaigns*

It is plausibly suggested that the disastrous death of Sargon led to a general revolt of the north-western provinces,[444] though the scanty evidence available does not permit any certainty as to its extent and duration. It seems unlikely that, if Assyrian control in central north Syria had been seriously shaken, Sennacherib would have been free to undertake his third campaign against Phoenicia, Palestine and Judah in 701 B.C., for Assyrian kings understandably seem to have regarded control of the former area as of primary importance. However, there is every reason to believe that Assyrian control of Tabal itself was lost for ever, and that in Melid and Que it was shaken to an extent yet to be determined.

Evidence is provided by an inscription of Sennacherib dated to 694,[445] which after the standard account of the first five campaigns (702–699) includes two campaigns not led by the king himself, dated to 696 and 695. The former was occasioned by the revolt of a local ruler,

[434] B 536, 207 = B 245, 441*b* (*Aḫi-ilaya*).
[435] B 198, 27; see above, p. 420 and n. 396.
[436] B 245, 427 (C^d = B 222, 20, iv 35). A. R. Millard kindly informs me that a collation from the photograph supports the reading [KU]R ⌜*qu*⌝–⌜*e*⌝ and that an alternative reading is hard to suggest.
[437] B 260, 206, line 25.
[438] B 131, 47, line 27; 69, line 9 + 359, line 29 = B 245, 450b, 451b (*Marduk-šarra-uṣur*, *Nabu-danninanni*).
[439] B 131, 40, line 37; 101, line 41.
[440] B 131, 56, line 16.
[441] B 131, 57, line 24; 376, line 49 = B 245, 454b (*Ṣalmu-šarra-iqbi*).
[442] B 122, 942, rev. 10 (*Bel-usate*).
[443] See above, p. 417 and n. 369.
[444] B 545, 81f; B 850, 33, n. 36.
[445] B 126 no. 1, iv 61–v 22 and pp. 9ff; B 158A, 61ff + B 114, 150ff. Cf. B 472, 97ff.

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Kirua, 'governor' (LÚ.EN.URU) of the city Illubru, who was joined by the men of Khilakku and the cities Ingira and Tarzu (Tarsus),[446] effectively the whole of Cilicia as far as we may judge. The Assyrian account of the suppression of the revolt and the erection of a victory stela has been noted to tally well with one preserved in classical sources, stemming ultimately from Berossus,[447] according to which the opponents of the Assyrians included Greeks and the victory of Sennacherib was costly. The classical sources later remembered monuments and buildings erected by Sennacherib after the victory, but the durability of Assyrian control at this date remains uncertain.

The following year the army was sent to Til-Garimmu where a certain Gurdi[448] had seized control. Sennacherib claimed to have captured and sacked the city, but again in view of later developments it is questionable whether Assyrian control lasted beyond the departure of their army.[449] The subsequent editing of these Que and Til-Garimmu campaigns out of later editions of the annals may have been due less to the fact that the king did not lead them in person,[450] than that the final outcomes were unfortunate.

3. *Esarhaddon's western campaigns*

Although Esarhaddon's conduct of an invasion of Egypt may in general provide good evidence for the security of the Assyrian hold on the inner provinces of north Syria, his north-western campaigns, like those of Sennacherib, suggest that in this direction control was less assured. In 679 B.C. Esarhaddon defeated Teushpa the Cimmerian in the territory of Khubushna,[451] thus making the first Assyrian military appearance in Tabal probably since the death of Sargon there. To reach this area he would almost certainly have had to march through Cilicia and its pass to the plateau. Probably to be associated with this Tabal campaign is Esarhaddon's claimed defeat of the mountain-dwelling Hittites of Khilakku,[452] where in spite of the number of towns captured, no lasting effects of such a campaign were to be expected, nor are any claimed.[453]

Though Esarhaddon may have had a free passage through Cilicia in 679, trouble rapidly followed. Sanduarri, king of Kundu and Sissu, allied himself with the rebellious Abdi-milkutti of Sidon.[454] The two cities Kundu and Sissu seem to have constituted a kingdom adjoining

[446] For the topography see B 498, 51f, n. 19; B 465, 17ff; B 535, 25.
[447] B 126, 9ff; B 472, 97ff.
[448] For the correct reading (against ^{I}*ḫi-di-i*), see B 596.
[449] Cf. B 87, 80f; B 545, 81f.
[450] B 126, 10f.
[451] B 47, 33, line 18; 51, Episode 8; 100, §66, lines 23f and n. 24; B 98, 125f (Esarhaddon Chronicle).
[452] B 47, 51, Episode 9.
[453] B 576, 79f; B 515, §2.
[454] B 47, 49f, Episode 6; B 98, 83 (Babylonian Chronicle).

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the Cilician plain – Sissu is probably to be located at Kozan (formerly Sis) and Kundu perhaps at Anavarza.[455] In view of the Assyrian control of the overland routes this alliance should be thought of as based on naval contacts. Esarhaddon struck first at Sidon which he captured in 677, and then proceeded against the Cilician rebel. Both Abdi-milkutti and Sanduarri fell into Assyrian hands and were beheaded in 676, their severed heads being sent to Assyria. The independence shown by Sanduarri supports the view that Sennacherib's control of Que after 695 may have been of short duration. In 676 however, Esarhaddon probably re-established Que as an Assyrian province, since a governor is attested for 655 and again in the postcanonical period.[456]

While Esarhaddon may have enjoyed a measure of success in Que and even Tabal, his efforts against Melid were so fruitless that the account was quietly omitted from his public records, though the chronicles, not inhibited by similar restraints, record for 675 a campaign against this country and its king Mugallu.[457] Esarhaddon's concern for the advance of this ruler breaks through in his questions to the oracular Shamash.[458] It would seem that Mugallu had taken control of Melid from which Esarhaddon failed to dislodge him, and that he was acting in concert with a certain Ishkallu of Tabal in an anti-Assyrian manner. Thus by this date if not earlier Melid was again independent under its own king, as was also Tabal. The latter acting with the men of Khilakku can also be seen to have been threatening Que.[459] Thus the available evidence suggests that this reign saw continued disturbance, if not the actual dissolution, of the north-western fringes of the empire.

4. *The end of the 'hieroglyphic tradition'*

The late flowering of Syro-Hittite art during the reigns of Tiglath-pileser and Sargon was to be its final phase. The disappearance of this culture and its monumental hieroglyphic inscriptions from Syria and the Taurus region was clearly due to the Assyrian conquest, which brought to an end the Syro-Hittite dynasties and scattered the indigenous populations. The only monuments of the ensuing period are all Assyrian provincial work, as seen in pieces from Til-Barsib, Carchemish, Sam'al, and Tell Ta'yinat.[460]

[455] B 504, 91ff; B 535, 26; *contra* B 472, 129ff.

[456] See above, p. 426 and nn. 437f; the possible attestation of a governor in 685 B.C. must be borne in mind.

[457] B 98, 83, line 10 (Babylonian Chronicle); 126, line 15 (Esarhaddon Chronicle).

[458] B 130, nos. 54–7; B 129, nos. 27–30 and p. lx; B 70, no. 64*b*, pp. 16 and xlv.

[459] B 130, no. 60.

[460] *Til-Barsib*: wall paintings, sculpture, stelae (above, n. 422); *Carchemish*: sculpture (above, n. 423); *Sam'al*: stela (above, n. 424); *Tell Ta'yinat*: sculpture (above, n. 426).

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The end of this tradition on the Anatolian plateau however requires more explanation, since Assyrian influence there appears to have been a brief and evanescent phenomenon, and none of our evidence suggests that it was ever sufficiently disruptive to account for the extinction of the native culture. The recently discovered fine Storm-God stela dedicated by the son of Warpalawas, as noted above,[461] is the latest approximately datable representative of the style, but apart from this isolated piece we have no clear indications that the tradition of sculpture and writing survived long into the seventh century B.C.

The introduction in the late eighth century of alphabetic writing by the Phrygians into Anatolia[462] may be supposed to have contributed to the obsolescence of the hieroglyphic script, but the contemporaneous termination of the sculptural tradition may well have been occasioned by something more catastrophic. The Cimmerian hordes certainly appeared in Anatolia before the end of the eighth century.[463] They had weakened Urartu, perhaps caused the death of Sargon in battle and swept away Midas and Phrygia before they were checked by Esarhaddon in 679. It seems likely that Tabal also was devastated by them during this period, perhaps severely enough to explain the disappearance of its characteristic culture. The rulers attested during this period, Gurdi[464] of Til-Garimmu and especially Mugallu[465] of Melid and Ishkallu[466] of Tabal bear names which may plausibly be identified as Anatolian, and it seems likely that the Hittite–Luwian peoples of the south-eastern plateau succeeded in maintaining themselves, even if under external pressure they abandoned their script and other traditional features of their civilization.

5. *The problem of Karatepe*

A notable Hittite monument, the sole surviving representative of the art of Cilicia, was discovered at the small hill-top site of Karatepe lying north-east of the Cilician plain on the river Ceyhan.[467] The two monumental gateways of this walled town were decorated with the usual portal figures and relief orthostats, but are notable particularly for the duplicate inscriptions in hieroglyphic Luwian[468] and Phoenician[469] borne by each, which provided the first proper bilingual text of the former. This text is also one of the longest and historically most informative of all the hieroglyphic inscriptions so far discovered.

[461] Above, p. 423 and n. 412.
[462] See below, chapter 20(*b*); also *CAH* III.2, chapter 34(*a*).
[463] See *CAH* III.2, chapter 33(*a*). Cf. above, pp. 420f. and n. 397.
[464] See above, n. 448 and cf. n. 377.
[465] B 548, no. 813.
[466] B 545, 81 n. 212.
[467] B 612, 121 n. 2; also now B 5, V *s.v.* Karatepe.
[468] B 567, 1a serie, no. 24; supplement translation from B 525, 132, 149f; B 529 and B 528.
[469] B 480, no. 26. See now F. Bron, *Recherches sur les inscriptions phéniciennes de Karatepe*. Paris, 1979.

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The inscription was composed by Azatiwatas (also written Azatiwaras)[470] who built the city, named after him Azatiwataya. It narrates[471] how he was promoted by Awarikus, king of Adana, and how later he ensured the succession on the throne of Adana of Awarikus' family, the house of Muksas (Phoenician MPŠ). Azatiwatas claims to have exercised such power over Adana that his position can hardly have been less than that of a powerful regent, and in view of his boasted relationship with other kings, he must have exercised some kingly power himself. Thus he is probably to be regarded as a nominally subordinate king ruling at some distance from Adana, presumably in the neighbourhood of Karatepe itself. His reign is represented as one of exemplary peace and prosperity for all Adana, and in literary style the inscription is closely comparable to the Aramaic text of Panammu I of Sam'al.[472]

The Muksas whose dynasty ruled Adana has been identified with the Mopsus known to the Greeks as a settler in Cilicia,[473] and it is remarkable to find such confirmation of Greek tradition in the indigenous epigraphic sources. The hieroglyphic 'Adana', a city, appears in the Phoenician as DNNYM, i.e. *Danunim*, the Danuna, a people,[474] who are also known from a number of sources, although considerable doubt still surrounds their origins and identity. The name of Awarikus, king of Adana, is identified with that of Urikki, king of Que in the reign of Tiglath-pileser III,[475] and the identity of Awarikus/Urikki as one individual is possible but not directly demonstrable, since one could be the homonymous forebear of the other. It is clear however that Adana/Danuna is the indigenous designation of the kingdom of Que and its people.

If the Awarikus/Urikki identification is rejected, as it may be, firm evidence for the dating of the Karatepe monument is lacking, and widely divergent opinions have been expressed, based both on analysis of stylistic criteria and on attempts to establish other historical links.[476] Also an attempt has been made to date the Phoenician inscription palaeographically.[477] None of these criteria in isolation provides sufficiently clear and unambiguous results. Certain historical probabilities, however, should be borne in mind. It is unlikely that Karatepe could be dated to the long reign of Shalmaneser III, when other kings of Que are attested, or to the period from Tiglath-pileser III to Sargon II, since

[470] For the spelling of the name see B 530, 162f.
[471] For a historical summary see B 581, 216f; cf. the comment in B 527, 311 and see B 528, 114ff.
[472] See above, p. 408 and n. 303.
[473] B 535, 44ff; B 468, 1ff. Cf. also B 471, 363ff.
[474] B 546.
[475] B 581, 215 and n. 49, with bibliography.
[476] B 612, with bibliography.
[477] B 861, chapter IV, especially 116ff.

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the tenor of the inscription seems to preclude strong Assyrian interference and the presence of an Assyrian governor in Que, and (if Awarikus = Urikki) Azatiwatas' reign largely postdated that of Awarikus, whose posterity he placed on the throne of Adana. The options for dating would thus be: (1) before 860 B.C.; (2) *c.* 820–740; (3) after 705. Recent analysis of sculptural style and motifs supports a late dating, which agrees with the evidence of palaeographic analysis.[478]

However, an attempt to identify Azatiwatas with a known king, 'Matti' of Atuna, may be decisively rejected.[479] A further attempt to identify him with Sanduarri, king of Kundu and Sissu in the reign of Esarhaddon,[480] has been tentatively proposed together with an exhaustive stylistic analysis of the sculptures.[481] This, the most recent treatment, suggests that they may well be dated stylistically to the later option, i.e. to the early seventh century B.C. If this is accepted, other plausible suggestions, which sought to show that Azatiwatas was involved in the revolt, suppressed in 696 B.C., of Kirua of Illubru against Sennacherib, find further support.[482]

6. *Ashurbanipal's relations with Anatolia and Cilicia*

The empire transmitted by Esarhaddon to Ashurbanipal was enlarged by the addition of Egypt and secure in its western provinces, as continued references attest, except on its north-west flank. The western empire was generally designated 'Khatti', a term which since the dissolution of the Hittite states of Syria and the Taurus under Sargon had lost any specific ethnic connotations, and now embraced former Aramaean, Phoenician and Palestinian territories.[483] On the north-west frontier however, independent states descended from the Tabal, Melid and Khilakku of the hieroglyphic tradition may still be regarded as Hittite on onomastic evidence,[484] although little evidence of the character of their culture has been recovered. Further west in Anatolia the vacuum left by the Cimmerian destruction of Phrygia was being filled by the growing power of Lydia. Assyria maintained an intermittent contact with these kingdoms.[485]

Early in his reign, perhaps in 668, after his Tyrian campaign, Ashurbanipal received embassies from Mugallu, now king of Tabal,

[478] B 581, 214ff; B 495, VIII 1; B 621, 240ff; B 622. *Palaeography*: B 861; cf. B 612, 136f and n. 126.

[479] B 617. MAT*ti* should probably be read *Kurti* (above, n. 377), and (*A*)*tuna* cannot be identified with Adana (above, n. 339).

[480] B 621, 246; this was, however, both geographically and phonetically defensible: see further B 523.

[481] B 622.

[482] B 554; B 563; B 472, chapter 4.

[483] B 511, §4.5.

[484] Especially Cilicia: B 498, 54ff; B 535, chapters V–VII.

[485] B 233, I: CCCLff.

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and Sandasarme, king of Khilakku, neither of whom, he noted, had submitted 'to the kings my fathers'.[486] This must refer to Esarhaddon and perhaps also Sennacherib, and this estimate of the outcome of their Tabal–Melid and Cilician campaigns is surely closer to the truth than their own optimistic accounts.[487] Mugallu's new title of Tabal probably represents an extension of authority since there is no evidence that he had lost control of Melid.[488] Ashurbanipal boasted of the valuable presents sent by Mugallu and Sandasarme, and represented their embassies as submission. Since however it is unlikely that they were under any military threat from Assyria, it is usually supposed that it was pressure from the Cimmerians which drove the Anatolian kings to seek help from their former enemy, as was explicitly the case with Gyges of Lydia, a report of whose embassy follows directly in the narrative.[489]

The extent of Assyrian power and influence in Anatolia at this period is doubtful. Probably a loose alliance between Tabal and Assyria is to be envisaged, under which the Anatolian kingdom sent 'tribute', notably horses, in return for military support. Gyges perished in 652 B.C. in a Cimmerian assault led by Lygdamis.[490] Mugallu lived to be succeeded by his son, who late in Ashurbanipal's reign turned from the Assyrian alliance and made common cause with Lygdamis (Dugdamme), for which disloyalty divine retribution punished him with a fiery death, as the Assyrian sources record with satisfaction.[491] Subsequently Lygdamis invaded Assyrian territory, and, according to a Classical source, was killed in Cilicia.[492] This information, along with the evidence of the appearance of a postcanonical eponym governor of Que and the discovery of the Tarsus tablets,[493] confirms that Cilicia Campestris remained in Assyrian hands at this period.

Of the kingdom of Sandasarme, Khilakku (Cilicia Aspera and perhaps a part of the south-east Anatolian plateau), no more is heard, but it doubtless survived as an independent kingdom, since in the next century a much enlarged Cilicia is found playing a prominent part in Anatolian affairs. Similarly, whatever happened to Mugallu's kingdom at the death of his son, his union of Melid and Tabal foreshadowed the later kingdom of Cappadocia. The decline of Assyrian power at the end of the reign of Ashurbanipal left the Anatolian allies to fend for themselves, and was accompanied by the extinction of Assyrian historical documentation, previously one of the main sources of knowledge of Anatolian conditions.

Also at this period the Assyrian Empire in the West suffered the

[486] B 535, 26 and n. 4 for sources.
[487] See above, pp. 426ff.
[488] *Contra* B 576, 85 and n. 20.
[489] B 576, 85 nn. 15–17.
[490] B 598, with sources.
[491] B 74, 88f, 105ff; B 576, 99.
[492] B 535, 27f nn. 6 and 1; B 576, 99 n. 63, for a date between 637 and 626 B.C. Se also B 165, 10f.
[493] Above, pp. 425f and nn. 438 and 427.

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disaster of a Scythian invasion which reached the frontiers of Egypt and lasted twenty-eight years.[494] This is not documented in the cuneiform sources and its role in subverting the Assyrian hold on the western provinces is unknown, as is also its impact on the surviving Anatolian states. However, after the fall of Nineveh, the rump of the Assyrian army was able with Egyptian support to fall back on some of the former provinces, particularly Harran, Kummukh, Carchemish and Hamath, until it was dislodged by the victorious Babylonians.[495]

VII. EPILOGUE: THE BABYLONIAN EMPIRE IN THE WEST

When the western provinces of Assyria fell to the Babylonians, the deportations and resettlements of the preceding century must already have gone far towards breaking up the ethnic structure of Syria-Palestine and replacing it with a partially assimilated population of very diverse origins. The whole area continued to be known, anachronistically, as 'Khatti' or alternatively as 'Beyond the River' (*eber nāri*).[496] The replacement of Assyrian overlords by Babylonian, although poorly documented, need not be supposed to have been marked by any great discontinuity.

Meanwhile the Medes under Cyaxares were making a largely undocumented penetration across Upper Mesopotamia into Anatolia, so that by *c.* 590 B.C. they confronted the consolidated strength of Lydia across the river Halys. These two powers had between them rid Anatolia of both the Cimmerian and Scythian menaces,[497] and a struggle for mastery between them was imminent. The Medes must have absorbed the land of Cappadocia (formerly Tabal–Melid), which is seldom attested as an independent entity.[498]

Cilicia alone survived as a state with a pedigree stemming from the Late Hittite state of the early Iron Age.[499] Que has been seen to have been an Assyrian province under Esarhaddon and Ashurbanipal, while Khilakku had been an independent kingdom under Sandasarme. Early in the sixth century B.C., Cilicia, under a king Syennesis, and Babylon are found acting as seconds to the Lydians and Medes at their peace conference in 585.[500] This Cilicia must have grown out of the kingdom of Khilakku (whence its name),[501] and may well have come to include

[494] B 233, I: CCCLXII, CCCLXV; B 588. Cf. *CAH* III.2, chapter 33(*a*).

[495] B 276, 17ff; B 98, 94ff and n. 8. For the identification of Kimukhi with Kummukh see B 526, 10 and n. 39.

[496] B 489; B 594; B 511, §5.3.

[497] B 576, 100, with sources; B 233, I: CDXIV and n. 2; B 551, 420f, §§41f; B 543, 939. Cf. *CAH* III.2, chapter 33(*a*).

[498] A king Aribaeus, who fell opposing Cyrus, is attested (Xen. *Cyr.* II.i.5, IV.ii.31).

[499] B 487, 76ff; B 535, 27ff; B 472, 144ff.

[500] B 535, 29 and n. 1; B 472, 147.

[501] B 515, §3. Note also the Aramaic term ḤLKYM, 'Cilicians': B 498, 55 and n. 12.

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the territory of the former Que. It is sometimes asserted that Que formed part of the Neo-Babylonian empire.[502] Nebuchadrezzar claimed the conquest of Khume (Que), Piriddu (Khilakku) and Lydia,[503] and prisoners from the two former appear in a ration-list of 592.[504] Also the presence of Babylon at the Medo-Lydian conference table in 585 B.C. is explained by the supposition of a Babylonian-controlled province of Que/Khume. Yet even if Nebuchadrezzar fought a successful campaign in Cilicia, his boasts of the further conquest of Piriddu and Lydia cast doubt on the validity of the claim, and at present it must be conceded that evidence for lengthy Babylonian domination of Que is inadequate.

It is in fact more likely that Nebuchadrezzar's activity in Cilicia was comparable with a campaign of Neriglissar recorded in the Babylonian Chronicle for 557 B.C.[505] This was occasioned by an attack by Appuwashu, king of Pirindu (Piriddu), on Syria ('Beyond the River'). Neriglissar defeated Appuwashu in Khume, and carried the war into Pirindu as far as the Lydian border, but the Cilician escaped and Neriglissar went home. The narrative implies no permanent Babylonian control in Cilicia, and there is nothing to show that Khume was not in Appuwashu's hands before the attack and again afterwards. Those who see Khume as a Babylonian province have denied on those grounds alone that Appuwashu was a king of Cilicia as known to the classical world,[506] yet it is hard to see any other position between Khume and Lydia which he could have occupied. Thus whatever the actual position of Khume/Que at this period, there do not appear adequate grounds for rejecting the evidence of a substantial kingdom of Cilicia (Khilakku/Pirindu) lying between Lydian and Babylonian spheres and lineally descended from the Khilakku of Sandasarme.

Nabonidus campaigned in Khume in 555 B.C., but again the brief chronicle report throws no light on the previous position of the country.[507] If Babylonian control had ever existed, it did not long survive this. When Cyrus fought out the mastery of Anatolia with Croesus in 547, he seems to have had the support of the king of Cilicia, whom he rewarded with an enlargement of territory and the recognition of his dynasty as Persian satraps with a measure of local autonomy.[508] We thus find the last of the Late Hittite states preserving a certain continuity and perhaps also its ethnic character into the Achaemenian period.

[502] As for n. 500. These scholars use Nebuchadrezzar's claims to discredit Herodotus' account of a 'greater Cilicia', but this is surely unwarranted.

[503] B 139, 2, 7.

[504] B 924, 934f; B 498, 54.

[505] B 276, 37ff; B 98, 103f.

[506] E.g. B 535, 29.

[507] B 98, 105.

[508] B 487, 93ff.

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VIII. SYRO-HITTITE CIVILIZATION

1. *The architecture*

The character of the Syro-Hittite states as territorial units normally controlled by one capital city with dependent 'strong cities' and villages has been sufficiently illustrated above. Their geographical distinctness, and the way in which their frontiers followed natural features, may also be understood from their frequent correspondence to modern administrative provinces, of which the chief cities often stand directly on the ancient capitals, as in the case of Hama, Damascus and Maraş. The ancient sites are now marked by more or less imposing tells, the archaeological investigations of which have contributed most of what we know of the physical appearance and daily life of the Syro-Hittite cities. Most attention has been paid to their public buildings, the gates, fortifications, temples and palaces, which have yielded the characteristic portal figures and stone orthostats with relief sculpture and inscriptions.

The cities were typically divided into a citadel situated on top of an older tell and a lower town surrounded by fortification walls punctuated by gate towers.[509] Building was normally in mud-brick and rubble, often with a traditional timber framework, and the use of dressed stone was confined to the lower parts of the walls which were faced with basalt or limestone orthostats. Gate-tower and entrance plans are perhaps the best known architectural elements, with examples known from almost all the excavated cities. Temples and palaces have been found at Carchemish, Zincirli, Tell Ta'yinat and Hama, among others,[510] but the excavations have paid little attention to the private houses of the period.

Schematic representations of these western cities are sometimes found on Assyrian reliefs and especially on the bronze gates of Shalmaneser III from Balawat,[511] and these may be used in conjunction with the surviving architectural remains to reconstruct a general picture of the fortifications with their city gates, strategic towers and crenellated battlements. For the monumental architecture, a well-known element, the *bīt-ḫilāni* (a kind of columned portico), is generally supposed to have been borrowed by Assyria from the Syro-Hittite repertoire and has been the subject of much study.[512] However, a detailed modern assessment of Syro-Hittite architecture remains a desideratum.

[509] B 577 deals only incidentally with this period. For a short survey see B 557, 88ff. B 6, chapter 11 ('Arameans and Phoenicians in Syria') is still useful, though obsolete in its dating and in its refusal to recognize a specifically 'Hittite' tradition.

[510] B 577, 411ff, 470f; B 506, 38ff (West Central Area); B 490, chapter IX (Bâtiments I–IV).

[511] B 124, naming Dabigu (XXI), Carchemish (XXXIIf), Parga (L), Ada (LIII), Arne (LXIX), Ashtamaku (LXXIII), and including many unnamed cities. Cf. B 577, 316f and fig. 433.

[512] See most recently B 602, with bibiliography.

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2. *The sculpture*

The dating of the sculpture, where relevant to Syro-Hittite history, has been outlined above. Syro-Hittite relief sculpture has been seen to be represented by fairly complete sequences from Carchemish and Zincirli, and less fully from Maraş and Malatya. The other more isolated, if no less significant, groups can now be associated with different phases of the known sequence. As analysed by Orthmann,[513] the sequence may be divided stylistically into (1) *Späthethitisch* I, characterized as archaic; (2) *Späthethitisch* II, which bears a certain, but still controversial, relationship to the beginning of Assyrian relief sculpture; and (3) *Späthethitisch* III*a* and *b*, groups which show increasingly strong Assyrian affinities.

The preferred approximate dates for these styles would seem to be:

Sph I, *c.* 1000–950:[514] Carchemish Water Gate, 'Ain Dara;

Sph II, *c.* 950–850:[515] Malatya Lion Gate, Til-Barsib stelae, Carchemish Suhis–Katuwas style, Zincirli south city-gate (early) and outer citadel-gate, Maraş Palalam stela (early) and miscellaneous pieces, also the Halparuntiyas II colossus (late);

Sph III*a*, *c.* 850–750:[516] Malatya and Maraş miscellaneous pieces, and Maraş Lion, Carchemish Yariris–Kamanis style, Zincirli Kilamuwa and Panammu I styles, early Sakça Gözü;

Sph III*b*, *c.* 750–700:[517] Malatya colossus, Carchemish Pisiri style, Zincirli Panammu II–Bar-Rakib style, late Sakça Gözü, Anatolian Warpalawas–Wasusarmas group, Karatepe (late?).

The subjects of the reliefs fall roughly into the following categories: (1) the religious, including mythological and cultic scenes, with heraldic beasts and beings, real and fabulous; (2) the royal, presenting the rulers, and sometimes their wives and families, and various activities, fighting, hunting, feasting and sacrificing; and (3) the personal, showing individuals other than royalty usually in family scenes, in particular the remarkable Maraş series of apparently funerary stelae.

For an examination of the human and ethnic types represented in this sculptural assemblage, a recent compilation of Assyrian representations of non-Assyrian peoples, including the Syro-Hittite, provides valuable comparative material.[518]

Hittite and Aramaean styles of sculpture may be nearly as readily distinguishable from each other[519] as their respective inscriptions are by their scripts. However the idioms employed are very closely related,

[513] B 581, especially chapter III.
[514] See above, p. 384 and nn. 93–5.
[515] See above, pp. 382ff.
[516] See above, pp. 397f, 401.
[517] See above, pp. 422f.
[518] B 618.
[519] See above, pp. 386f.

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probably because of the early modelling of the Aramaean on the Hittite style, and as with the passage of time the two styles grew together, it is quite proper to treat them as constituent parts of a single assemblage. A recent evaluation of Syro-Hittite sculpture in terms of 'schools' or 'workshops' is illuminating.[520]

3. *The inscriptions*

The hieroglyphic stone and rock inscriptions, which may or may not accompany the sculptures, are, as has been noted, mostly the work of kings or their dependants and are in general of a 'commemorative' character, being largely dedications to the gods of building work, land or objects.[521] Their subject matter, like that of the sculptures, may be approximately categorized as religious–cultic, royal–secular, and personal, and they may include information about the dedicator of an autobiographical or historical nature. Typically they begin in one of two ways, either 'I am PN the Ruler/servant of the Ruler...' or 'This object PN dedicated...' Within this rather restricted format however, there are some documents of a more diverse character: one (KARABURUN)[522] has the character of a short treaty, or at least an agreement; while others (CEKKE, CARCHEMISH A 4 *a*),[523] both associated with the name of Kamanis, are deeds of land-sale.

As in the case of the sculpture, the Aramaean stone inscriptions, both Aramaic and Phoenician, have been noted to be modelled on the hieroglyphic genre.[524] Most of these are of the royal autobiographical type (Kilamuwa, Zakur, Panammu I, Panammu II, and Bar-Rakib), though there is a dedicatory inscription (Bar-Hadad), and most notably a treaty (Mati'ilu–Bar-ga'ya) which seems to be modelled on a cuneiform Akkadian (or the earlier cuneiform Hittite) type.

In their autobiographies, the 'hieroglyphic' rulers, besides much information on their piety and good works, tell us of their battles (e.g. Suhis of Carchemish,[525] Halparuntiyas II of Gurgum[526] and Wasusarmas of Tabal[527]), their dynastic histories (e.g. Katuwas[528] and Yariris[529] of Carchemish, and the son of Ariyahinas of Til-Barsib[530]), and the pacification of a country (Azatiwatas at Karatepe[531]). Yariris further boasts of his learning and his cosmopolitan connexions,[532] and introduces us to children apparently not his own.[533] Queens too left

[520] B 621, chapter III.
[521] See above, pp. 377f and n. 50.
[522] See above, p. 423 and n. 413.
[523] B 567, 1a serie, no. 28; 3a serie, no. 162.
[524] See above, pp. 377f and n. 51.
[525] See above, p. 387 and n. 126.
[526] See above, p. 396 and n. 194.
[527] See above, p. 413 and n. 335.
[528] See above, p. 387 and n. 127.
[529] See above, p. 406 and n. 284.
[530] See above, p. 384 and nn. 99f.
[531] See above, pp. 429f and n. 471.
[532] See above, p. 406 and nn. 285f.
[533] For this problem see B 523, 157ff.

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inscriptions, notably Watis, wife of Suhis of Carchemish,[534] Panamuwatis, wife(?) of Ushpilulume/Shuppiluliuma of Kummukh,[535] and a certain Kupapiyas, wife of a local dynast on a newly discovered stela from the environs of Hama.[536]

Rulers entitle themselves[537] 'king', or commonly *tarwanis*, usually translated 'judge'; and sometimes simply CAPUT-*tis* (reading unknown) 'man' (i.e. 'prince'). The title 'Great King' is rare, though it is used for example by Wasusarmas of Tabal. The rulers of Carchemish mostly entitled themselves 'Land-Lord of Carchemish'. An additional title of frequent occurrence is 'Hero', corresponding to the Imperial Hittite UR.SAG/*haštališ*. Subordinate rulers could also bear the title *tarwanis*,[538] though their dependent status is normally expressed by the term *mitas*, 'servant' (a *hantilis mitas*, 'prime minister', is attested[539]). A title *tapariyalis*, 'governor', is also found. These vassals too set up inscriptions recording their gratitude to royal and divine masters; servants of Tuwatis and Wasusarmas of Tabal and of Warpalawas of Tuwana have been noted.[540]

Besides these commemorative stone-inscriptions we have seen that a few letters (ASSUR, *a–g*)[541] and economic texts (KULULU examples)[542] survive as the sole representatives of what may be assumed to have been a substantial corpus. The six Ashur letters provide a glimpse into everyday existence, although our ignorance of the vernacular vocabulary still hampers an understanding of the texts. They appear to be dated late in the hieroglyphic corpus, since they show marked similarities to late stone-inscriptions (especially KULULU 1 and 2, and SULTANHAN), and their presence in Ashur perhaps should be explained by reference to the Hittite deportees of Tiglath-pileser III and Sargon II. They begin in a similar manner to cuneiform letters: 'Say to PN_1 (+PN_2), PN_3 (+PN_4) speak(s)',[543] followed by greetings. The bulk of the letters consists of demands for various goods and commodities, and reproaches at the failure to provide these. Recognizable demands include shields, good *warmutali*-dogs, donkeys and 'good big drinking-horns'.

The Kululu lead strips present a banal type of document which could hardly have existed in isolation. The best-preserved record issues of

[534] Most recently B 508, 94.

[535] B 514, especially 77ff.

[536] Cf. B 525, 120 and n. 15; 126, citation 1*b* (the stela was in the Beirut Museum); see B 524.

[537] For the titles see B 547, nos. 10, 17, 18, 21, 115: 2*c*, 371, 387: 2, 390: 3.

[538] E.g. Tarkhunazas, servant of Warpalawas; cf. above, n. 337.

[539] See above, p. 407 and n. 291.

[540] See above, p. 406 and n. 280; p. 413 and n. 334; and nn. 337 and 538.

[541] B 467; B 567, 1a serie, nos. 34–40; supplement translation from B 525 (passages listed on p. 156).

[542] B 582, pls. XLVIIf, L–LII, and the comments of Laroche on pp. 111ff. See now S. Erdem, *Studia Meriggi*, 143ff.

[543] Cf. B 529, 132f.

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commodities to named persons identified by patronymics (PN_1 (son) of PN_2),[544] designations of class or status (*arawani*, 'free man', is a readily intelligible example), and by place of origin or residence. Each entry is contained within a compartment into which the text is divided, and a typical one might read: 'Such a quantity of such a commodity to PN_1/(son) of PN_2/the free man/of such a city.' The only certainly identifiable commodity is sheep. A small document simply lists 'presents' (*piyanza*) to recipients.[545] A less well-preserved type of Kululu text seems to be simply household registers in the manner found in land donations under the Empire, thus, for example: 'Of PN, 1 house, 1 man, 2 women, 3 oxen.'[546] Texts such as these can also be found incorporated in the donations recorded on stone stelae (e.g. CARCHEMISH A 4 *a*, mentioned above).

4. *The religion*

The inscriptions and sculpture give a general impression of the pantheon worshipped at this period. It was headed as under the Empire by the Storm God, Tarkhunzas, often specifically designated 'the Celestial', and it included the gods Sarrumas, Runzas, Santas, Iyas (Ea), the Sun (Tiwaz) and the Moon (Armas), especially the Moon God of Harran.[547] The chief goddess however only occasionally appears as the Empire-period Khebat,[548] and much more usually as Kubaba, the 'Great Queen of Carchemish'.[549] The ISHTAR-Shaushga of the earlier period is not named and may have been absorbed into the character of Kubaba, although various unnamed goddesses, especially the Nude Goddess of Carchemish, may have represented her in a distinct character.[550] Tarkhunzas himself may have other attributes than 'the Celestial', notably a Tabalian form 'Tarkhunzas of the Vines', protector of the vineyards, best known from his representation at İvriz.[551] Partial syncretism of the Hittite and Aramaean pantheons is found at Karatepe where Tarkhunzas is identified with Ba'al, and Runzas with Resheph 'of the He-Goats'.[552] In Hamath the Hittite dynasty worshipped the Semitic goddess Ba'alat (*Pahalatis*).[553] In the sculpture the gods were represented in a very stylized form and with stylized accoutrements.[554]

[544] B 525, 148.
[545] B 583, 26 and pls. XIIf.
[546] B 582, 114 and pl. XLVIII.
[547] See B 547, nos. 199, 80f, 102f, 104: 2, 209: 1, 210: 2, 191, 193; B 537. For the spellings see B 530, 158, 180ff.
[548] B 547, nos. 225: 1*b*, 413.
[549] B 547, nos. 16: 2, 128: 1.
[550] B 581, chapter VII, 8.
[551] B 547, no. 199: 1(d) 1–2.
[552] B'L KRNTRYS and RŠP ṢPRM: B 480, II 41f; B 620.
[553] B 566, s.v. ^{d}*Pahalati-*.
[554] See in general B 581, chapter VII, 1–9.

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5. *The onomastics*

As already noted, documents yielding substantial collections of onomastic material for this period are almost non-existent. The names of the rulers and their families as preserved in their own and Assyrian inscriptions offer a tiny sample of the onomastics of the ruling classes for examination, which permits the unsurprising conclusion that the writers of hieroglyphic texts normally bore Anatolian–Hittite names, and the writers of Phoenician and Aramaic, Semitic names. However Hittite names have been noted in the Aramaean dynasty of Sam'al[555] and Hurrian names in those of Hamath[556] and Carchemish.[557]

The only documents which offer a somewhat wider view are the land-sale documents, particularly CEKKE, and the KULULU economic texts. A comprehensive analysis of the onomastic material here provided remains to be written, but a preliminary survey suggests a very similar onomastic situation to those noted in recent studies of earlier (Hittite cuneiform) and later (alphabetic) groups.[558] The recognized categories of names such as the primary, the reduplicated, the lexical, the compound and the theophoric, are all present, and the study when written will suggest the presence of a generally Anatolian population on the Anatolian plateau as in Cilicia, and its extension to northern Syria. It should be emphasized that though the evidence for the Anatolian character of the population of north Syria is not over-abundant, comparable evidence for substantial Aramaean penetration of this area (i.e. north of Bit-Adini and Bit-Agusi) is completely absent.

6. *The material remains*

For the small antiquities in general, studies of which may do so much to substantiate our picture of an ancient period and place, the Early Iron Age in Syria and south-east Anatolia has received very little detailed attention. General surveys of the pottery and metal-work, not to mention those of the more ecological materials such as bones and seeds, are lacking. Excavated material is presented with varying degrees of thoroughness in the respective archaeological reports, most notably those of Zincirli and Tarsus[559] and one Hama volume,[560] while in other cases it is still awaited, as for the further Hama material and that of the Chicago Plain of Antioch Excavations. Comprehensive syntheses may have to wait on further large-scale excavation as well as forthcoming publication of material in hand.

[555] Kilamuwa, Panammu(wa) and perhaps QRL; cf. above, n. 115.
[556] Toi, Urhilina; cf. above, nn. 79 and 169.
[557] B 547, no. 90: v(*b*).
[558] B 548; B 535, chapters vf; B 502.
[559] See above, nn. 27 and 37.
[560] B 595.

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In the field of ivory carving, a recent assessment of the material stresses the Syro-Hittite contribution in this field and plausibly seeks the cause of its decline in the economic depression of the area following the Assyrian conquest.[561] Another recent contribution hints that the Syro-Hittite world should probably be regarded as an important centre of fine metallurgy,[562] although its central position in this craft has been overlooked because of the actual metal-working finds from the neighbouring Phrygia and Urartu.

Under the Hittite Empire, a prominent place among the small antiquities was occupied by the seals, of which those inscribed with royal names and titles provide important historical documentation.[563] For this period, substantial corpuses of seals, or more commonly their impressions, have been recovered by excavation, most notably the Boğazköy corpus of stamp-seals and the Ras Shamra group in which the Anatolian stamp-seal tradition has been enlarged by that of the Mesopotamian cylinder-seal; and to these two groups will be added the recent glyptic discoveries of Maşat and Meskene-Emar.[564] These regularly-excavated corpuses provide the points of reference by which the many unprovenanced seals now known may be dated and stylistically analysed. No such substantial collections are available for the Iron Age. Excavations of even major sites of this period have recovered few seals and even fewer inscribed ones, and in the general absence of tablets and bullae, seal-impressions are almost non-existent. By chance only, signets of two kings have been found, those of a king Runtiyas(?) of Melid and Bar-Rakib of Sam'al.[565] Because of this severe lack of properly excavated glyptic material, it is very hard to attribute any unprovenanced seals to this period. Indeed it is assumed that the scarcity of seals does reflect a genuine decadence of the glyptic art among the Syro-Hittite states.

[561] B 621; conclusions published in B 623.

[562] B 350; see also B 473 and B 573.

[563] B 547, xxxiff ('Glyptique'). The bulk of datable examples certainly belong to the Late Bronze Age.

[564] See now S. Alp, *Belleten* 44 (1980) 53ff; D. Beyer, in J. C. Margueron, ed., *Le moyen Orient: zône de contacts et d'échanges*, 265ff. Paris, 1980; E. Laroche, *Akkadica* 22 (1981) 5ff.

[565] B 593, 45ff. On the spelling of the names see B 112, 76 n. 66; B 547, XXXV, ZINCIRLI, with reading under no. 446.

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CHAPTER 10

ISRAEL AND JUDAH UNTIL THE REVOLT OF JEHU (931–841 B.C.)

T. C. MITCHELL

I. SOURCES OF KNOWLEDGE

The primary sources of knowledge for the period of the divided monarchy in Judah and Israel, and of the succeeding periods of Exile and Restoration, are the books of the Bible, complemented by contemporary inscriptions and by the results of excavation. The book of Kings[1] covers in considerable, though varying, detail the period from the last days of David, *c.* 960 B.C., to the destruction of Jerusalem in 586 B.C., with a brief closing reference to the release of Jehoiachin from captivity in Babylon in 561 B.C. Much the same ground is again covered, with the main emphasis on the kingdom of Judah, in Chronicles,[2] and the account is taken up again with the accession of Cyrus and carried on into the fifth century by the books of Ezra and Nehemiah. It is commonly assumed that Chronicles and Ezra–Nehemiah originally formed a single work[3] but there are substantial arguments against this view, and it seems more probable that Chronicles was written by a distinct author, and that the two closing verses which appear to form a link with Ezra, where they are repeated, were a later addition.[4] Other historical material, sometimes duplicating that in Kings, is found in the prophetic books, notably in Isaiah 36–9 and Jeremiah 36–43, 52, but also in many other, briefer, passages.

Both Kings and Chronicles name sources from which they derived their data. In Kings reference is frequently made to the 'Book of the history of the days of the kings of Judah' and the 'Book of the history of the days of the kings of Israel', which were presumably official compilations of annalistic material.[5] Kings cites only these two sources for the period of the divided monarchy, but Chronicles quotes a number of other documents which appear to be different.[6] It is possible that two of these, the 'Book of the kings of Judah and Israel' (II Chron. 16: 11, 25: 26) and the 'Book of the kings of Israel and Judah' (II Chron.

[1] Originally a single book, the present division into two parts having originated with the Septuagint.

[2] Again originally a single book.

[3] E.g. B 743, 238f.

[4] B 932, 5ff.

[5] B 743, 98f, 231f; B 906, 179, 185f. Cf. also Esther 10: 2 with 2: 23 and 6: 1.

[6] B 849, I xlvff; cf. also B 812, 17ff.

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27: 7) were in fact largely the book of Kings as it now survives, since it is plain that the author of Chronicles made extensive use of this source.[7] Other briefer documents such as the 'Visions of Iddo the seer about Jeroboam' (II Chron. 9: 29), a 'Vision concerning Hezekiah' (II Chron. 32: 32),[8] and a 'History of Uzziah (Azariah)' (II Chron. 26: 22), both attributed to Isaiah, the great prophet, and 'histories' of Rehoboam by Shemaiah the prophet and Iddo the seer (II Chron. 12: 15), possibly in the form of a genealogy, may be taken as typical of other such sources, not mentioned. It is possible also that a work named 'Midrash of the book of Kings' in II Chron. 24: 27, may have had some of the characteristics of the later midrashim, and have constituted a kind of commentary on an existing document or collection of documents.[9]

The retention of contemporary records and the compilation and preservation of later documents on their basis was common in the ancient Near East, an example of later date close at hand being the Tyrian archives referred to by Josephus;[10] and their existence in ancient Palestine is to be expected.[11] Such authors of the documents mentioned in Chronicles as are named are stated to have been the contemporaries of those concerning whom they wrote, and in most cases they are designated prophet (*nābî'*) or seer (*ḥōzeh*). It has been argued, accordingly, that the recording and preservation of this material, and final composition of Kings, was the work not of royal scribes, but of prophetic schools, a situation perhaps reflected in the fact that Kings is classed in the Hebrew Bible among the Prophetical books (*nĕbî'îm ri'šônîm*, 'Former Prophets').[12] It is, at all events, a reasonable working hypothesis that the book of Kings was put into more or less its final form in about the middle of the sixth century when the final brief reference to the release of Jehoiachin by Amel-Marduk in 561 was added to the main account which had ended with the fall of Jerusalem in 586 B.C.[13] A theory of prophetic authorship might help to explain how the compilers of Kings, working in Judah after the fall of Israel, could have had access to Israelite documents, or material deriving from them, since prophets appear to have had access to the royal palaces, and to have been able to operate on either side of the border. The book of Chronicles, which made extensive use of Kings, was then probably completed towards the end of the fifth century.[14] Kings in its present

[7] B 849, I lviiff.

[8] Either a separate document (LXX, Vulgate, and most EVV) or part of the 'Book of the Kings of Judah and Israel' (MT).

[9] See however B 935, 33ff.

[10] *Antiquities* VIII.ii.8; *Contra Apionem* I.17.

[11] See in general B 24.

[12] B 906, 174ff. For other views see B 734, 132ff, 281ff; B 743, 228f, 235f.

[13] B 890, 18ff; B 847, 44f; B 759, 6ff.

[14] B 849, I lxxxviiff, who argues for a date around 400 B.C., against a commonly held view favouring the third century. See also B 932, 83ff, where a fourth-century date is favoured.

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form, and Chronicles to a much greater extent, include moral comment on the behaviour of the principals in the narratives, but they contain, nevertheless, a great deal of historical information.[15]

It now seems probable that in the centuries following the completion of these books, continual copying led to textual variations and to the existence of different versions of the text. One of these versions is largely represented by the Massoretic Hebrew text, now known from late manuscripts, the earliest substantial and accessibly published exemplar being the Codex Leningradensis, a copy made in A.D. 1008, from manuscripts established in Tiberias by Aaron ben Moshe ben Asher in the first half of the tenth century A.D.[16]

During the third and second centuries B.C. there were made the Greek translations which have been passed down as the Septuagint, represented today particularly by the fourth-century A.D. Codex Vaticanus.[17] The Septuagint translation differs in some respects from the Massoretic Hebrew, notably in the chronological data relating to the kings' reigns, and it probably represents another Hebrew text tradition which was suppressed when the Tiberian Massoretes were establishing their standard text in the early centuries of the Christian era. It now seems likely that in Samuel and Kings the Greek text traditionally attributed to the third-century scholar Lucian goes back to a revision (Proto-Lucian) of the Septuagint, made in the second or first century B.C. to conform to a Hebrew text differing from both the Massoretic text and that lying behind the Septuagint.[18] Hebrew fragments of Samuel, of the first century B.C., from Qumran, appear to represent a text closer to that lying behind Proto-Lucian than to either the Massoretic or Septuagint texts,[19] and it is very possible that the same situation obtained for Kings, though only very fragmentary remains of it have been found at Qumran.[20]

A further source for the period of the monarchy is found in books VIII–XI of the *Jewish Antiquities* of Joseph ben Matthias, better known as Josephus, a Romanized Jew who compiled this work towards the

[15] Various portions of these books are regarded as late additions by some commentators, but there is not space for consideration of detailed individual arguments here, and the books have been treated in the main as valid historical sources. For details of source criticism see the commentaries listed e.g. in B 734, 281, 529; B 743, 227, 238.

[16] This forms the basis of B 801, frequently revised and since 1968 appearing in a new edition, B 737 (see B 782 and B 873). An earlier manuscript of the Ben Asher text, previously in Aleppo, which was probably copied soon after the establishment of the text, forms the basis of a new edition being prepared in Israel; see B 756.

[17] This forms the basis, with the *Codices Sinaiticus* and *Alexandrinus*, of the available serviceable editions, B 898, B 865, and, with more detailed apparatus, B 681. On the text in general see B 885, 7f.

[18] B 885, 8ff; F. M. Cross, in B 701, 314f; cf. E. Tov, *ibid.* 293ff.

[19] B 695; B 699; B 698, 292ff.

[20] B 885, 122f, n. 14.

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end of the first century A.D.,[21] making extensive use of the Old Testament, apparently in the form of a revised version of the Greek text made in about the second or first century B.C.,[22] and adding material not found in the Old Testament, some of it possibly resting on reliable traditions.

A limited number of Hebrew inscriptions of the period of the monarchy have been discovered in Palestine, some of which contribute to the history of the period.[23] Notable among these are the ninth-century Moabite Stone,[24] the eighth-century Siloam Tunnel inscription and Samaria ostraca, and the sixth-century ostraca from Arad and Lachish.

Of particular importance are the Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian cuneiform inscriptions, which, in describing military activities in the west, refer specifically to kings of Israel and Judah, and provide valuable fixed points for establishing the absolute chronology of Palestine. These fixed points are: Ahab, mentioned by Shalmaneser III (853 B.C.), Jehu by Shalmaneser III (841),[25] Joash by Adad-nirari III (802), Menahem by Tiglath-pileser III (743), Ahaz by Tiglath-pileser III (732), fall of Samaria by Sargon (722),[26] Hezekiah by Sennacherib (701), Manasseh by Esarhaddon (*c.* 670) and Ashurbanipal (*c.* 666), and fall of Jerusalem ('city of Judah') to Nebuchadrezzar by the Babylonian Chronicle (597).

The book of Kings normally opens its account of the reign of each king of Israel or Judah with a number of stereotyped formulae, including a synchronism with the regnal year of the ruler of the other kingdom, the age of the king and the length of his reign.[27] Many attempts have been made to establish the absolute chronology of the two kingdoms on the basis of this data, in conjunction with the fixed points derived from the cuneiform inscriptions.[28] The chronology adopted here is that of E. R. Thiele,[29] who has argued that the figures given in the Massoretic Hebrew text provide a sound basis for reckoning, as opposed to the sometimes different figures found in the Septuagint, the Lucianic Greek recension, and Josephus, which he maintains are less reliable.[30] While it has been strongly argued that the Lucianic text provides the basis for a better-founded chronology,[31]

[21] The most convenient edition is B 902, V and VI, the MSS on which the text is based being listed in IV, XVIIf and V, VIIf.

[22] Having affinities, so far as Kings is concerned, with the text in the sixth column of Origen's *Hexapla*, and with Lucian; see B 698, 295; B 889, 94f; B 780, 286ff.

[23] B 496, I (with II, 163ff); B 813; B 480, nos. 181–200.

[24] Strictly speaking, in the Moabite dialect, but this is barely distinguishable from Hebrew.

[25] On this identification with Jehu, which has been questioned, see below, p. 490.

[26] Probably to Shalmaneser V and not to Sargon himself; see *CAH* III.2, chapter 29.

[27] Conveniently set out in B 683, IXff; B 827, 252ff.

[28] Tadmor (B 899, 261f, with full bibliography 309f) gives a table of fourteen different systems from 1884 until his own. More selective table in B 767, 682f, with bibliography 678f.

[29] B 905; B 906; B 907; B 904.

[30] B 906, 167ff (197ff in 2nd ed.).

[31] B 885.

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Thiele has disputed this,[32] and pending the discovery of a substantial Hebrew manuscript of Kings of the same school as that of Samuel from Qumran, which would confirm the pre-eminence of the Lucianic recension and supply sufficient data to construct a complete alternative chronology, it is reasonable to take Thiele's system as a working hypothesis. Thiele has been able to work out a self-consistent structure of dates by presuming: first, that there were sometimes co-regencies between kings and their successors; second, that the given figures reflect two different systems of notation – (A) the accession-year system, where the first full year of reign is counted as the king's first year, and (B) the non-accession-year system, where the year of the king's accession is counted as his first year; and third, that throughout the period concerned, the year in Judah was counted as beginning in Tishri (in the autumn) and in Israel in Nisan (in the spring). According to his system, after the division of the kingdom in 931 B.C., Judah recorded the kings' reigns by system A, and Israel by system B, but Judah changed to system B during the reign of Jehoram in 848, and then at the beginning of the eighth century, both states changed to system A, Israel with the accession of Joash in 798 and Judah with the accession of Amaziah in 796.[33]

Excavation is another important source of information, more particularly of material culture, town planning, architecture, and everyday life. The principal sites at which remains relevant to this period have been excavated are, in sequence from north to south, with their probable or possible identifications with sites known from the written sources:[34] Tell el-Qadi (Dan), Ez-Zib (Achzib), Tell Qedaḥ (Hazor), Tell Abu Hawam (Salmonah), 'Athlit (Kartah), Ṭanṭurah (Dor), Tell el-Mutesellim (Megiddo), Tell Ta'annak (Ta'anach), Tell el-Husn (Beth-shan), Tell Duthan (Dothan), Tell el-Far'ah (North) (Tirzah), Sebastiyeh (Samaria), Tell es-Sa'idiyeh (Zarethan), Tell Balaṭa (Shechem), Tell Deir 'Alla (Succoth), Tell Qasile, Jaffa (Joppa), Beitin (Bethel), Meṣad Ḥashabyahu, Tell en-Naṣbeh (Mizpah), Tell Abu Shusheh (Gezer), Minet el-Qal'ah (Ashdod-yam), Tell Mor, Isdud (Ashdod), Tell el-Ful (Gibeah), Tell el-Jib (Gibeon), Tell er-Rumeileh (Beth-shemesh), Jerusalem, Ramat Raḥel (Beth-haccherem), 'Asqalan (Ashkelon), Tell Zakariyeh (Azekah), Tell esh-Sheikh Ahmed el-'Areini,[35] Khirbet eṭ-Ṭubeiqa (Beth-zur), Tell ed-Duweir (Lachish), Tell el-Heṣi (Eglon),[36] Tell en-Najila,[37] Tell el-Jurn (En-gedi), Tell Beit

[32] B 904. [33] Also *contra* Thiele's system see B 648 and B 655.

[34] Full bibliography up to 1971 in B 919; summaries of excavations with essential bibliography in B 662.

[35] Previously identified as Gath, but excavations at the site have ruled this out: see B 936, 80f. Subsequent suggestions are Eglon or Mamshat (B 952, 10f), Libnah (B. Mazar in B 662, I 89).

[36] B 936. [37] B 682, 108ff propose Gath, but see *contra* B 662, III 894.

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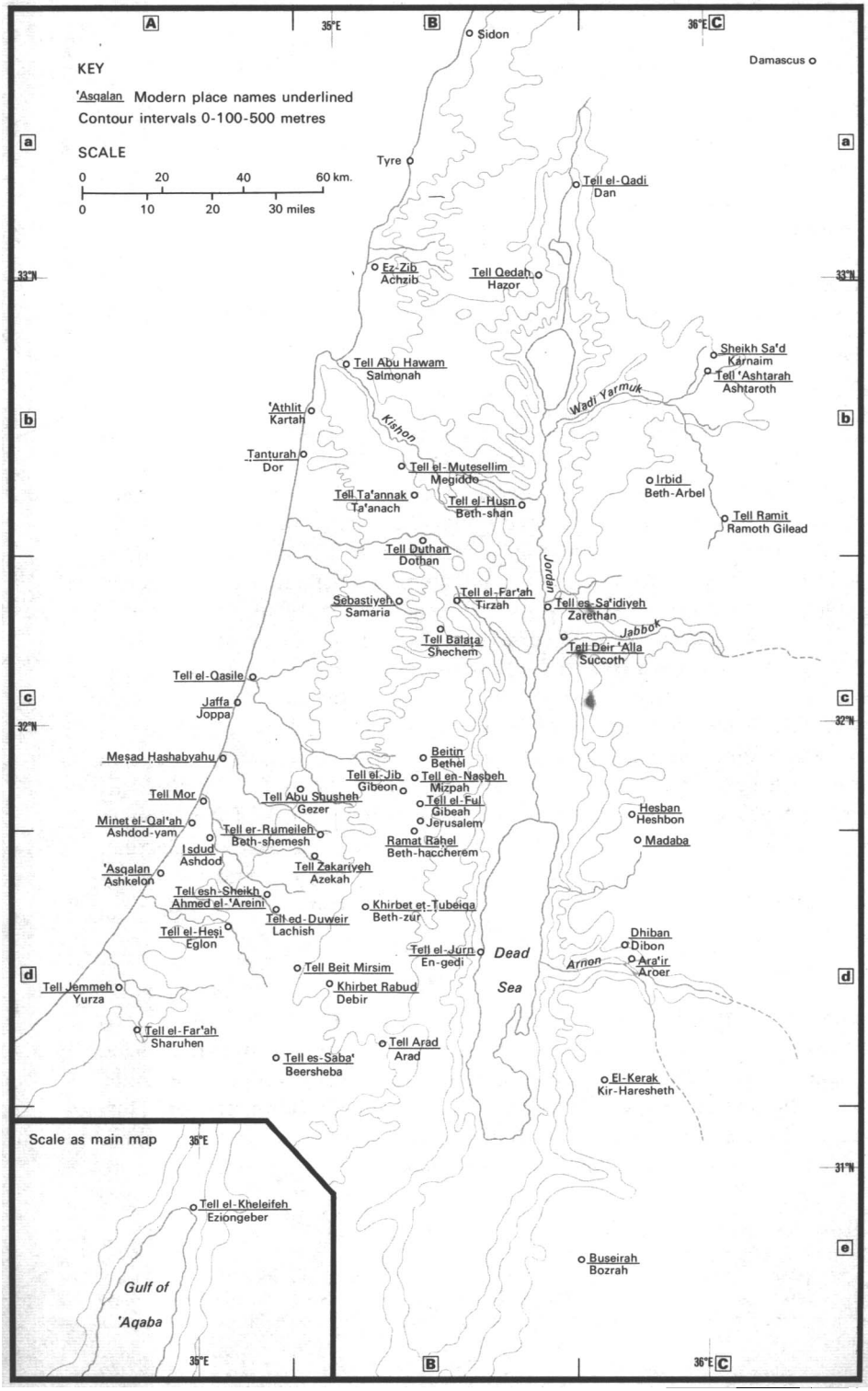

Map 15. Palestine.

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Mirsim,[38] Khirbet Rabud (Debir),[39] Tell Jemmeh (Yurza), Tell el-Far'ah (South) (Sharuhen), Tell Arad (Arad), Tell es-Saba' (Beersheba), Tell el-Kheleifeh (Eziongeber), and to the east of the Jordan, in the territory of Moab and Edom, Hesban (Heshbon), Dhiban (Dibon), Ara'ir (Aroer), Buseirah (Bozrah), and Mene'iyeh.[40]

Of special importance among these sites are the capital cities Jerusalem, Samaria and Tirzah, and, from the point of view of excavated remains, Hazor, Megiddo, Beth-shemesh, Lachish and Tell Beit Mirsim.

II. THE PERIOD IN GENERAL

In the tenth century, particularly in the time of Solomon, the Israelite kingdom had maintained very close ties with the neighbouring city of Tyre, which at that time controlled the major part of Phoenicia, including the city of Sidon, once more important, whence the Phoenicians in general continued to be referred to in the Old Testament as Sidonians. This association with Phoenicia continued to characterize Israel, and to a lesser extent Judah, through about the first century and a half of their existence, and until the expanding power of Assyria in the eighth century disrupted all such arrangements and forced the Phoenicians to seek less troubled trading associations in the western Mediterranean. The period of Phoenician influence was followed during the succeeding century and a half by a time of growing Assyrian influence and dominance. This was in turn followed at the end of the seventh century by a comparatively brief period of Babylonian domination, during which all political independence ceased in Palestine, and which ended in 539 B.C. with the fall of Babylon, and the establishment of the more liberal regime of the Achaemenid Persians.

III. TECHNOLOGY AND ECONOMICS

The most obvious technological innovation in the period of the monarchy in Palestine was the increasing use of iron alongside bronze. Ordinary iron is soft and not particularly useful for weapons or tools, but when it is brought in contact, at red heat, with carbon (carburization) in a form such as charcoal, and hammered and quenched, it becomes tough and hard. By this process it becomes superior to

[38] Formerly identified as Debir but this city now appears more likely to have been situated at Khirbet Rabud; see following note.

[39] B 804, 26ff.

[40] The name Timna, by which this site is now known, corresponds to nothing in ancient documents. In the Old Testament it is applied to two places which are probably to be identified with modern Tibneh in the Judaean hills, and Tell el-Batashi near the border between Judah and Philistia.

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bronze, which is more brittle, and which in ancient times suffered the further disadvantage that the tin which had to be alloyed with copper to produce it was only obtainable from limited sources.[41]

Iron-working was probably developed in Asia Minor during the second half of the second millennium, and was brought to Palestine by the Philistines, who exercised a monopoly of metal-working particularly in the eleventh century, in order to maintain political control of their immediate neighbours (I Sam. 13: 19–22).[42] This metal monopoly was eventually broken in the early tenth century by the conquests of David, who reduced the Philistines to a vassal status in a limited southern coastal strip. During this time the process of carburization and quenching of iron was not in full operation, and is only irregularly attested in the period under discussion, having been achieved perhaps unintentionally.[43]

Copper deposits are exposed in the rift valley which contains the river Jordan, the Dead Sea and the Wadi Arabah, but iron is more limited, and while ores are known to exist today in northern Palestine, Transjordan, Lebanon, and Sinai,[44] it is not clear which of these were exploited in antiquity.[45] During the ninth to seventh centuries the Assyrians recorded the receipt of iron from most parts of their empire and adjoining areas, including the Philistine and Phoenician cities, Judah, Israel, Aram, Ammon and Moab,[46] but this does not, of course, necessarily mean that the ores were locally mined. A thorough analysis of iron objects found in Assyria, and of references to iron (*parzillu*) in Assyrian texts, has shown that iron was used there on a relatively small scale before about 900 B.C., but that during the ninth century it was used in increasing quantities, first of all for weapons, and subsequently for tools and implements. During the eighth and, still more, the seventh centuries, its use was extended to such things as nails, door hinges, fire irons and ploughshares, and by the seventh century the industry can be fairly characterized as fully fledged.[47] It is nevertheless clear that bronze continued to be widely used in Assyria throughout the first half of the first millennium B.C.[48] No similar comprehensive analysis of Palestinian iron material is available, but for the period from the ninth century onwards, the example of Samaria, an important and central city, shows that the quantities of iron and bronze in use were about equally balanced.[49] It seems reasonable therefore to take the evidence of the

[41] See in general B 2, 182f; B 3, 193, 199f; B 912, 14ff, 40f; B 820, 217, 241f.
[42] See D. Diringer in B 31, 230; and in general B 939; B 937; B 838, 10, 13; B 912, 40, 44, 46.
[43] B 912, 43ff; B 195, 306f.
[44] B 679A, 363, 371, 347, 228. Lebanon has mined substantial quantities: B 22, 89.
[45] For Palestine and Transjordan compare B 860, 43ff with B 729, 39f.
[46] B 195, 291ff and map fig. 7.
[47] B 195, 283ff and chart fig. 15.
[48] B 195, 307f.
[49] B 703, 439ff; see B 868, I 346ff.

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growth of the iron industry in Assyria as roughly indicative of the situation in Palestine, though it appears that its development may have been earlier and more rapid in the latter area.[50] This is illustrated by the occurrence of iron ploughshares in Palestine, examples being attested already from the eleventh (Tell el-Ful, Beth-shan) and tenth centuries (Beth-shemesh, Beth-zur, Tell Jemmeh).[51] This general picture is largely corroborated for instance by the excavations at Hazor, where the first iron objects occur in the mid-tenth to early ninth century levels (X–IX),[52] and outnumber the bronze objects in the ninth and eighth centuries (levels VIII–IV), though bronze objects still occur in the Persian period (Level II).[53] A similar situation is found at Lachish.[54]

Passing references in the Old Testament to iron implements are in general agreement with this material evidence. Tyrian ironsmiths are said to have been among the craftsmen enlisted by Solomon for the building of the temple (II Chron. 2: 6, 13 [EVV 2: 7, 14]), and while it is stated that no iron tools were used in the work (I Ki. 6: 7), iron is recorded among the materials assembled by David for the building (I Chron. 22: 3, 14, 16; 29: 2, 7).[55] In the eighth century Jehoash is said to have brought in iron, as well as bronze, smiths to help in repairing the temple (II Chron. 24: 12). Such iron implements as hoes, clamps and nails (I Chron. 20: 3; 22: 3) are mentioned in tenth-century contexts, and it seems that by the ninth and eighth centuries iron axes were sufficiently familiar to be described by the word *barzel*, 'iron', without further qualification (II Ki. 6: 5, 6; Is. 10: 34). In the eighth century there is mention of an iron threshing-sledge (Am. 1: 3); in the following century reference is made to an iron pen or stylus (Jer. 17: 1),[56] and in this same period, recognition of the strength and hardness of iron is reflected in a literary figure where it symbolizes oppression (Jer. 28: 13, 14).[57]

In economic terms the improving quality of agricultural implements arising from the changeover to iron, particularly for an instrument such as the ploughshare, may have made possible the support of a larger population, but the improvement in efficiency cannot have been dramatic.[58]

[50] B 195, 308f.

[51] B 632, 43f, citing also other examples of the ninth to sixth centuries from Beersheba, Tell Beit Mirsim, Lachish and Tell en-Naṣbeh.

[52] B 946, II, pl. LXXVIII.17; III–IV, pls. CLXXVI.21, CLXXIX.24–8, CCVII.34, CCXI.19.

[53] B 946, I, pl. LXXXII.6, 8; II, pl. CCLVIII.15, 16.

[54] B 910, 385ff.

[55] The figures in I Chron. 29: 7 which give more than five times as much iron as bronze have probably suffered textual corruption, for, though they appear in the text as words rather than figures, they may derive from a source which used figures, where errors could more easily have occurred. See in general B 927.

[56] B 726, 84f, 241.

[57] For other Near Eastern literary examples see B 195, 305.

[58] The improvement was simply in material and not in design, the implement remaining essentially a scratch-plough, so the suggestion of J. L. Kelso quoted in B 647, 105 that its effect

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No thoroughgoing study of the demography of ancient Palestine has been made,[59] and reliance on the population figures given in the Old Testament is attended by the problems relating to the accuracy of the textual transmission of numbers.[60] It has been suggested that a major economic change came about as a result of the invention of hydraulic lime plaster (calcium oxide or quicklime), which, when it replaced the previously used unburned lime plaster in about the eleventh century B.C., provided a sufficiently watertight lining for cisterns for their use to spread widely to areas of the hill country, away from natural water sources, and thus make possible an increased population.[61] This claim needs, however, to be further investigated and tested before it can be fully accepted. Some evidence comes from the Buqei'a Plain between Jerusalem and the Dead Sea, where exploration and excavations have revealed signs of irrigation associated with forts and cisterns, suggesting a centrally organized agricultural settlement of the area during the period of the Divided Monarchy and ending with the fall of Judah.[62] It is possible that this project was the work of Uzziah in the eighth century, when he is said to have built fortresses and cisterns.[63] Evidence of other activity of this kind, which would have contributed to the support of an increased population, is as yet unknown elsewhere in Palestine.

IV. THE DIVISION OF THE KINGDOM

Solomon died in 931 B.C.[64] after a reign of nearly forty years, during which he had retained a large part of the extensive territory which had been conquered by David. Edom and Aram (Damascus) regained some measure of independence, Philistia came under Egyptian domination, and a stretch of the coast and its hinterland from the Bay of Acre northwards was ceded to Tyre.[65]

During his reign, which had been unnecessarily oppressive, there had been signs of internal dissent. A young man, Jeroboam ben-Nebat,[66]

would have been comparable to that arising from the advance in plough design in the Middle Ages (on which see B 929, 41ff) is exaggerated.

[59] Cf. B 825; B 647, 105f, n. 118; B 649, 39; B 772, 68, 211.

[60] See above, n. 55.

[61] B 649, 63f; B 652, 341 and 358 n. 72; B 647, 25, 46; B 463, 517; B 754, 447; B 745, 135; B 824, I 129ff.

[62] F. M. Cross in B 662, I 267ff.

[63] See below, p. 504.

[64] Other suggested dates for this event include 930 (Mowinckel, Maisler, Yeivin), 928 (Aharoni, Tadmor), 922 (Albright): see B 899, 261f. No further such variants will be quoted here; for the chronology adopted see above, pp. 445f.

[65] B 733, 582ff, 587f; B 858, 205f; B 637, 275f and map 21; B 799, 280ff; B 788, 102ff; and see B 809.

[66] On this name see B 895, 449ff.

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whom Solomon had placed in charge of the forced labour (*sēbel*)[67] of a substantial part of the kingdom, asserted himself against the king (I Ki. 11: 26–8),[68] drew Solomon's condemnation upon himself, and was obliged to take refuge with Shoshenq I, the first king of the Twenty-second Dynasty in Egypt (I Ki. 11: 40). Jeroboam belonged to the tribe of Ephraim, which, with Manasseh, had been much favoured in the settlement of Palestine, having been allotted the major part of the central hill country. The ark of the covenant had been established at Shiloh in Ephraimite territory, and in the childhood of the great leader Samuel, himself of the tribe of Ephraim, it had been housed in a temple there (I Sam. 1). The position of Ephraim had declined after this. The ark was captured by the Philistines and on its recovery was taken to Kiriath-Jearim on the border of Benjamin and Judah, and finally moved to Jerusalem in Judah by David. As a result of these changes of fortune there was rivalry between Ephraim, representing the northern tribes, and Judah in the south, and while Saul, as a member of the small tribe of Benjamin, which lay between Judah and the northern tribes, was not resented by the latter, there was resistance to the kingship of David, a Judahite. On Saul's death there had been an attempt to maintain his son Eshbaal (I Chron. 8: 33)[69] as a rival king in part of the northern territories. When he was killed by two of David's supporters, David's reaction of condemnation of the murder and respect for his remains, no doubt together with other generous acts and attitudes, helped in some measure to reconcile the northern tribes to the domination of Judah. This side of David's character was already appreciated in Saul's time when 'all Israel and Judah loved David' (I Sam. 18: 16), but it is also significant that the passage containing this statement makes a distinction, even at this stage, between Israel and Judah.[70] After Saul's death David had renewed his marriage with his daughter Michal (II Sam. 3: 13–16). This had lapsed when he fell out of favour with Saul, and he may well have done this to strengthen his legitimacy as ruler

[67] On this term and the more common, but probably virtually synonymous, *mas*, see B 840, 128ff.

[68] The phrase used, *yārem yād bamelek*, 'he raised a hand against the king', rather than one of the more common terms, *mārad* or *pāšaʿ*, 'to rebel, revolt', may suggest something short of a revolt. The Septuagint gives a long additional passage concerning Jeroboam between verses 24 and 25 of I Ki. 12 (usually numbered 24*a*–*z*), which appears to suggest that he did mount a revolt at this time (24*b*), but the historical value of this passage is open to question, though opinions differ on this point; see B 890, 443f; B 847, 251ff; B 885, 32f.

[69] The name is written *'iš-bōšet* in II Sam. 2–5, substituting the word *bōšet*, 'shamefulness', for the pagan name *baʿal*.

[70] As also in I Sam. 11: 18, and by implication in 15: 4. On these early divisions see B 738, 11ff, and on the north/south dichotomy in tribal times and during the United Monarchy, B 476, 146ff.

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over the northern tribes.[71] In the event his kingship over the north was established by a treaty or covenant act (II Sam. 5: 3).[72]

There were therefore seeds of division in Solomon's kingdom, and it would have required a particularly able successor to hold it together. His son Rehoboam,[73] who now came to power, does not seem to have been such a man. He presumably assumed power in Jerusalem, but the potential division in the state made it necessary for him to go to Shechem, an important northern centre in the area between Ephraim and Manasseh,[74] one of the six Cities of Refuge,[75] to secure the allegiance of the northern tribes. It seems that Jeroboam ben-Nebat, who had been in Egypt since the time of Solomon, had returned to Palestine in order to be present on this occasion (II Chron. 10: 2; I Ki. 12: 2).[76] The northerners are said to have assembled to make Rehoboam king, but they first appealed to him to alleviate some of the burdens of forced labour and taxation which Solomon had imposed on them (I Ki. 12: 3–4). It is possible that the people assembled to meet Rehoboam in anticipation of a Hebrew equivalent of the earlier Babylonian *mīšarum*-act by which a new ruler would relieve burdens and introduce reforms at the beginning of his reign.[77] This is perhaps attested in connexion with some of the later kings of Judah by the cognate term *yāšār*.[78] It does not occur here, presumably because Rehoboam refused to accede to the petition, but the possibility is supported by the statement that an official assembly (*'ēdâ*; I Ki. 12: 20)[79] of the northern tribes was called for the occasion, and perhaps by the wording in the suggestion of the 'elders' that he should speak 'good words' (*dĕbārîm ṭôbîm*) to them (I Ki. 12: 7), *ṭôbâ* having in some contexts some such sense as 'good (relations)', or even 'good (relations established by treaty)'.[80]

Rehoboam requested time for deliberation and used it to consult his 'elders' and 'young men', the former advising a conciliatory and the latter an unyielding response (I Ki. 12: 1–11). It has been suggested that these two groups were permanent bodies in the kingdom with official functions. The 'elders' are known in other contexts, being the senior

[71] Michal does not appear to have been very enthusiastic about David (II Sam. 6: 16).

[72] On *bĕrît* see M. Weinfeld in B 679, II 253ff and B 807. On the idiom *kārat bĕrît*, 'make a convenant', see B 679, II 259ff; B 650, 21f; B 859, 108ff; and in general B 665 and B 823.

[73] Cf. B 895.

[74] Cf. B 849, I 56.

[75] Cf. 892, 196ff.

[76] Reading in the latter *wayyāšab* (< ŠWB), 'and he returned', for *wayyēšeb* (< YŠB), 'and he remained', and taking *bĕmiṣrāyim* as 'from Egypt' (for *bĕ*, 'from', see B 875 and B 707, 300f but, for reservations, B 813, 70 n. 11), in conformity with *wayyāšab...mimmiṣrāyim* in the former. Jeroboam is not mentioned in the Egyptian records.

[77] Cf. B 89A, 634f.

[78] See B 276A, 167f.

[79] On the *'ēdâ* see B 829A, 252; B 831, 38 and n. 5.

[80] B 831, 63f; see B 770; B 741, 74; B 777, 110.

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men of long experience, but the 'young men' are otherwise unknown. Since they are said to have grown up with Rehoboam, it is likely that they were among the sons of Solomon's many wives, and since Rehoboam is said to have been forty-one years old at this time (I Ki. 14: 21), they cannot have been merely youths.[81] Their advice to reject the request for reform may have stemmed from a privileged upbringing, but, whatever the reason, the reaction of the northern tribes was to revolt against the 'house of David', murdering Adoram, Rehoboam's chief of forced labour (*mas*; I Ki. 12: 18–19),[82] who had been sent to handle the situation. It is probable that Adoram was the same man who had been Solomon's and even David's labour chief,[83] and as such was undoubtedly cordially disliked by those who had suffered under him. If he was indeed David's man he must have been well over sixty, but his years had not brought him respect, and it was a foolish move on the part of Rehoboam to have employed him for this mission. The *'ēdâ* of the northern tribes, having rejected Rehoboam's proposals, made Jeroboam their king, and Rehoboam hastily returned to Jerusalem, where he began to plan a punitive campaign against the north (I Ki. 12: 20–1). He abandoned this expedition, however, following the intervention of a 'man of God', Shemaiah, who is elsewhere (II Chron. 12: 5) described as a 'prophet' (*nābî'*), and who is here said to have transmitted a message from Yahweh forbidding it (I Kings 12: 22–4).[84]

The term *nābî'*, perhaps 'one who has been called (by God)', or 'one who calls (God's message)',[85] is that regularly applied to the authors of the prophetic books. It is first substantially used of Samuel, who is also described as a *rō'eh*, 'seer' (i.e. 'one who sees'), but in connexion with him it is stated that 'the *nābî'* of today was formerly called a *rō'eh*' (I Sam. 9: 9),[86] so it seems that these two terms were virtually synonymous. Samuel, in effect, combined within himself the functions of king and prophet, and it is possible that when, in the eleventh century, the office of judge (*šōpēṭ*) was replaced by that of king (*melek*), the judge's function as messenger of Yahweh fell to the men who now were called prophets.[87] The terminology was not rigid, and it may be gathered from a passage in Isaiah which uses the term *rō'eh* in

[81] On this whole episode see B 831, 34ff, 58ff; B 829A, 247ff.

[82] See above, n. 67.

[83] B 840, 132f.

[84] The name of the god of the Hebrews is written YHWH on ostraca from Lachish and Arad, on the Moabite Stone, and in graffiti at Khirbet Beit Lei. In the Old Testament these four consonants are normally vocalized *-ĕ-ō-ā-* (*yĕhōwāh*), but only to remind the Synagogue reader that, since the divine name was too holy to pronounce, a quite different word with these vowels (*'ădonay*, 'my lord'; *ă* rather than *ĕ* because it follows an aleph) was to be read aloud. The form Yahweh is deduced from such Greek spellings as *'Ιαβέ* in Origen's *Hexapla* and *'Ιαουε* in Clement of Alexandria; see G. Quell in B 800, III 1067ff; B 805, 377f.

[85] B 786, 24 and n. 5; B 653, 181f; B 872, 147, n. 5; R. Rendtorff in B 800, VI 796ff.

[86] B 786, 9.

[87] B 774, 178f.

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parallelism with *ḥōzeh*, 'seer' (Is. 30: 9–11; perhaps particularly 'one who sees visions') that the latter term also had something of the same range of meaning.[88]

The phenomenon of prophecy has been defined as involving 'a person who through non-technical means receives a clear and immediate message from a deity for transmission to a third party',[89] 'non-technical means' excluding such visible phenomena as animal entrails, bird flights or planetary movements. It is now clear that prophecy in this sense was long known among the other peoples of the ancient Near East, particularly in the West Semitic area. There is extensive evidence from Mari of the reception of such messages by both cult officials and private citizens in the early second millennium, and limited evidence of such practices in contemporary Babylonia. Other comparable examples are found in the Hittite prayers of Mursilis II (fourteenth century), in the Egyption tale of Wen-Amun (eleventh century), in the Aramaic Zakur Stela (eighth century), where reference is made to 'seers' (ḤZYN; cf. *ḥōzeh*), and in a number of seventh-century Assyrian texts.[90]

It seems that the Hebrew prophet could perform his function either in association with the temple and other cult prophets, or privately, either at home or at the royal court. In the present instance Shemaiah appears to have had direct access to the king, who accepted his message immediately.

The nature of the prophetic phenomenon is uncertain. Psychological explanations have been put forward,[91] but these remain speculative. The Israelites recognized the existence of prophets among other nations (e.g. Jer. 27: 3, 9; cf. I Ki. 18: 19–20), and false prophets at home,[92] but they believed that the true prophet received his message direct from Yahweh.[93]

Before the death of Solomon, Ahijah, a prophet from Shiloh, had passed to Jeroboam a message from Yahweh that when Solomon's reign came to an end he would receive the kingship of ten tribes (I Ki. 11: 29–39). The message of Shemaiah to Rehoboam could be taken as the other side of this communication. The name 'Israel' had been used in the Old Testament in reference to the northern tribes before the division of the kingdom, as well as to the people as a whole, but this name is now used to describe the northern kingdom, just as the name 'Judah' is used as the designation of the southern kingdom.

[88] B 786, 11ff. On *rō'eh* and *ḥōzeh* see B 839, 150; R. Rendtorff in B 800, VI 809f.

[89] B 774, 172.

[90] B 774, 172ff. The class of Akkadian 'prophecies' which make predictions after the event (see B 101, 6f, 13ff) is distinct.

[91] See B 653, 181ff; B 862, 225ff; B 928, 173ff; B 731, I 309ff; B 870, 249.

[92] B 872, 165f; R. Rendtorff in B 800, VI 807; B 768, 218 n. 30.

[93] B 870, 252.

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There is said to have been continuous war between Rehoboam and Jeroboam (I Ki. 14: 30), yet according to a list in II Chron. 11: 5–12[94] of fifteen fortified cities established by Rehoboam, none of these was situated on his northern border with Israel. Possibly this sector was omitted with an eye to future reunion. The fifteen cities enclose a territory confined to the Judaean hill country, extending mainly south and west from Jerusalem,[95] and appear therefore to be orientated against invasion from Egypt. In the Biblical account this defensive work is described before the great invasion of Shoshenq, and it is quite possible that the threat of Egyptian invasion was evident before it actually took place; but it may on the other hand have been a belated response after the event. Excavation has not yet settled the matter. The excavations at Lachish, one of the fifteen cities, have revealed a city wall six metres thick, possibly to be attributed to Rehoboam,[96] but with no marked evidence of a destruction level associated with it. It has been suggested that a substantial fortress at Azekah might have been Rehoboam's work,[97] though comparable structures at Arad and 'Ain el-Qudeirat (Qadesh-Barnea) suggest a later date.[98] Excavations at Beth-zur, another of the fifteen cities, revealed no new building that could be assigned to this date.[99]

In what was now the northern kingdom, Jeroboam 'built' (that is, presumably, 'fortified') Shechem (I Ki. 12: 25), and it is possible that his work is to be seen in repairs to an older city wall of the casemate type at that site.[100] Excavations at Bethel, just over the border from Judah in southern Israel, have revealed a city wall 3·6 metres thick, and therefore originally something like 12 metres high, and a substantial gate, which are possibly to be attributed to Jeroboam.[101]

It is probable that the division of the kingdom gave an opportunity for more of the territories to the east of the Jordan to break away, but, while Judah was now entirely confined to the west bank, Israel retained some of the land across the river, and Jeroboam is said to have 'built' Penuel (I Ki. 12: 25). This site is probably to be identified with modern Tell edh-Dhahab esh-Sharqiya on the Wadi Zerqa, the ancient river Jabbok, almost due east of Shechem.[102] This step was no doubt taken

[94] On which see B 673, 113ff; B 656, 306ff; B 637, 209ff and map 25; B 849, II 69f.

[95] B 637, 292 is probably correct in taking Gath as Moresheth-gath, possibly Tell Judaydeh, rather than Philistine Gath, which was presumably still in Philistine hands.

[96] B 910, 87 and 102, pls. 109 and 111; B 909, 304.

[97] B 677, 19, 66, pl. 3.

[98] E. Stern in B 662, I 143; Y. Aharoni in B 662, I 82ff; B 724.

[99] R. W. Funk in B 883, 8. Sellers had previously suggested that Rehoboam might have re-used the Middle Bronze Age walls (B 882, 74), which would be within the range of meaning of *bānâ lemāṣôr*, 'to build up for fortification' (II Chron. 11: 15).

[100] B 938, 148; B 943, 150f.

[101] A. Biran in B 662, I 318, 320.

[102] B 749, III 232ff.

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to help to secure such Transjordanian territory as remained to him, but also perhaps to provide a final retreat in the event of Egyptian invasion. The Jordan Valley is visible from the site, which commands an important route up to the plateau of Gilead.

Solomon had been king for something like twenty years when Shoshenq I, the founder of the Twenty-second Dynasty in Egypt, came to power. He headed an impressive kingdom, and during the decade and a half when they were contemporary rulers, there is no evidence of aggressive activity on the part of Shoshenq, though it was during this time that he gave asylum to the dissident Jeroboam. Palestine, however, became vulnerable with the division of Solomon's kingdom, and though, presumably, relations were good between Egypt and Israel in the early part of Jeroboam's reign, after the passage of five years the situation had so changed that when in 925 B.C. (Rehoboam's fifth year; I Ki. 14: 25) Shoshenq invaded Judah, he extended his operations to include Israel. The Old Testament merely says that Shoshenq[103] captured the fortified cities of Judah, and came up against Jerusalem with substantial forces, taking away the Temple and palace treasures (I Ki. 14: 25–6; II Chron. 12: 1–9). That he pursued the campaign into Israel is known from his list of conquered cities on the Great Temple of Amun at Karnak.[104] The significance of this list has been much debated, both concerning the question as to whether it is the record of an actual campaign or merely a boast, and concerning the sequence of the names given in it.[105] The discovery of destruction levels which may reasonably be dated to this time at a number of sites, including some (Ta'anach, Megiddo)[106] mentioned in the list, support the actuality of such a campaign.

It is probably reasonable to suggest that Shoshenq and his main army followed a route which passed through Gaza (G. . .)[107] in Philistine territory, and on up to Gibeon,[108] where he could have received the tribute of Rehoboam from Jerusalem, which lies only about six miles to the south-east. Advancing into Israel, such a route might then have taken him by way of Tirzah (. . . RḎ)[109] to the Plain of Esdraelon[110] with Ta'anach and Megiddo, where he established his headquarters for a time, as suggested by his erection there of a commemorative stone stela,

[103] Usually written *šišaq*, but in I Ki. 14: 25 the consonantal text has šwšQ instead of šyšQ, the w presumably reflecting an original *o*-vowel, as is also indicated by the cuneiform spelling *su-si-in-qu* (in reference to Shoshenq, chief of Busiris in the seventh century).

[104] B 887, 89ff, 178ff, according to whose numbering the entries are quoted; J. A. Wilson in B 25, 263f and 242f; B 799, 432ff; and see below, pp. 545ff.

[105] B 857; B 836; B 769; B 637, 283ff; B 799, 442ff, 294ff.

[106] And possibly Shechem and Tirzah; see below, n. 122.

[107] No. 11; cf. B 799, 435.

[108] No. 23; cf. B 712.

[109] Hebrew *tirṣâ*. No. 59; cf. B 799, 438.

[110] No. 65; cf. B 799, 439, 299.

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a fragment of which was discovered in the excavations.[111] Though Jeroboam's capital, Shechem, does not appear to be mentioned in the list, it is possible that it figured in a destroyed section which occurs close to the suggested Tirzah. Alternatively, it has been suggested that the damaged name ..GDR next to the putative Tirzah be read '[Mi]gdol', representing West Semitic MGDL, 'tower', and that this be taken as referring to Shechem, which is indeed mentioned in the phrase *migdal-šekem*, 'Tower of Shechem', elsewhere in the Old Testament (Judges 9: 46–9).[112] From strategic stopping points on his main route, Shoshenq could have sent out detached forces to such side sectors as the Negeb, Transjordan and possibly southern Judah.[113] Among sites in the Negeb, two fortresses, Greater Arad and Arad of Beth-Yeroḥam, are mentioned.[114] In Transjordan, there seems little doubt that Penuel (...NÎR),[115] Jeroboam's retreat, and the neighbouring Mahanaim[116] are mentioned, and it is possible that the force which seized them returned to Megiddo by way of Beth-shan (No. 16). The evidence for operations in the central hill country of Judah is uncertain, though Beth-Anath could be the place of that name near Hebron,[117] and there are other possible identifications in the same area.[118] After this, such sites as Aruna and Socoh,[119] could indicate Shoshenq's return route from Megiddo to the coast plain, which he would then have followed to Gaza and Raphia,[120] and ultimately to Egypt. This reconstruction of the campaign does not fully agree with the order in which the names appear in the Karnak list, and must necessarily remain open to correction.

Some excavated sites show destruction levels which may reasonably be attributed to Shoshenq, and this helps partially to fill out the picture provided by the texts. In western Judah the important site of Gezer gives evidence, near the level VIII city-gate, of violent destruction which is probably of this time.[121] Further along on the postulated route both Shechem and Tirzah show probable signs of destruction,[122] and in the north there is evidence of such destruction at Ta'anach, Megiddo and Beth-shan.[123] In the Negeb, Ramat Matred, a village about twenty miles north-east of Qadesh-Barnea, shows signs of destruction, possibly due to Shoshenq,[124] and, though it is not mentioned in his inscription, it is possible that the end of level I at Eziongeber, on the Gulf of 'Aqaba,

[111] B 808, 61, fig. 70.
[112] B 799, 298, 438 (no. 58); 439, n. 81; 447.
[113] B 799, 440.
[114] Nos. 107–12; cf. B 799, 440; B 638, 400f.
[115] No. 53; cf. B 799, 438.
[116] No. 22; cf. B 799, 436.
[117] No. 124; cf. B 799, 441.
[118] B 799, 296.
[119] Nos. 32 and 38; cf. B 799, 436.
[120] B 799, 441, Row XI, no. 2*bis*.
[121] B 721, 6 and n. 23; W. G. Dever in B 662, II 441; cf. B 947, 148ff, n. 4. Possible traces of destruction are also noted at Yurza (Tell Jemmeh) in Philistine territory (B 938, 150).
[122] *Shechem*: B 943, 47, 145; B 942, 366. *Tirzah*: B 771, 269f; cf. however below, n. 176.
[123] *Ta'anach*: B 811, 8; B 771, 270. *Megiddo*: B 950, 287ff; B 948, 73ff, 95; B 771, 270. *Beth-shan*: B 871, 42; B 740, 194; B 771, 270.
[124] B 638, 391.

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is to be attributed to him.[125] Further north, close to the southern hill country of Judah, Beersheba and Arad have destruction remains probably to be connected with this campaign,[126] and in the hill country itself, the end of level B at Tell Beit Mirsim is probably to be assigned to Shoshenq.[127] Two coastal sites also show destruction levels which may reasonably be associated with Shoshenq's campaign. Near the mouth of the river Kishon which drains the Plain of Esdraelon into the Bay of Acre, and therefore within range of Megiddo, the site of Tell Abu Hawam was destroyed at the end of level III,[128] and Tell Qasile, a little to the north of Jaffa, which could have been on a return route from Megiddo via Aruna and Socoh, shows evidence of destruction at the end of level XI.1.[129] It appears that Shoshenq made no attempt to establish a permanent occupation of the territory he had conquered, and his motives in mounting the campaign are uncertain.[130] The Old Testament says that he removed from Jerusalem the entire Temple and palace treasures as well as a series of gold shields, and this would no doubt have made the expedition profitable, but it can hardly have been the motive for such an extensive campaign.

Both Rehoboam and Jeroboam continued to rule for some years after Shoshenq's invasion. Rehoboam, though he had a much smaller territory than Jeroboam, had the very great advantage of retaining Jerusalem with all its associations, and particularly with the Temple which Solomon had built. It is clear that at this time, and indeed for most of the period of the monarchy, there were places outside Jerusalem where cultic worship of Yahweh was practised.[131] The excavations at Arad, which have revealed a shrine with the same basic layout and orientation as the Jerusalem Temple, have illustrated this.[132] Nevertheless Solomon's Temple at Jerusalem was the principal centre of worship.[133] There is little evidence in the historical books of the Old Testament bearing upon the ritual of the Jerusalem Temple, most of the information being found in the Pentateuch and the Psalms.[134] The dates of these documents have been much debated,[135] but there is no reason to doubt that they contain material dating from the period of the United Monarchy, and that, as they imply, the practice of sacrifice, the observance of festivals, and the repetition of hymns and prayers

[125] B 752, 105 (120f in 2nd ed.); B 750, 82; B 754, 440.

[126] B 632, 106; B 637, 393f.

[127] B 649, 37f, 40, 64; B 644, 216; W. F. Albright in B 662, I 177.

[128] B 760, 6; B 771, 270.

[129] B 837, 195f; B 771, 270.

[130] See below, pp. 546f.

[131] B 870, 156ff.

[132] B 633, 247ff; B 638, 395ff; B 631, 18ff; B 635, 1; cf. however B 761, 14, who does not accept this as a temple. See also below, p. 481.

[133] B 733, 603f.

[134] B 870, 151ff; B 872, 94.

[135] E.g. Pentateuch: B 734, 155ff; B 743, 103ff; B 765, 459ff; B 880; B 776. Psalms: B 734, 444ff; B 743, 280ff; B 765, 976ff; B 708, I xxixf; II xxxivff.

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were already well established in the Temple at Jerusalem by the tenth century. In addition to a regular priesthood, there were musicians and singers and other lesser functionaries attached to it.[136] Since the site of Solomon's Temple at Jerusalem cannot be excavated, no information on the worship can be derived from that source.

As soon as he assumed power in the north, Jeroboam realized the significance of Jerusalem as a religious centre, and, in order to counter the desire of the Israelites to visit it and take part in the worship, he established religious centres for them at Canaanite cult centres in his own territory, for this is presumably how the statement that he made *bêt bāmôt*, 'temples of sanctuaries' or 'temples on cultic platforms' (I Ki. 12: 31),[137] is to be understood. He is said also to have made two young bulls of gold which he set up, one at Bethel and the other at Dan (I Ki. 12: 28–9), and, from the fact that in the eighth century Bethel is described as the king's sanctuary (*miqdaš*) and a temple of the kingdom (*bêt mamlākâ*; I Am. 7: 13),[138] it is reasonable to assume that there was a substantial structure there, and perhaps one also at Dan, both probably dating from before the time of Jeroboam.[139] The significance of the gold bulls has been debated. On the basis of the fact that in Near Eastern iconography deities were often represented standing on the backs of animals,[140] it has been argued that Jeroboam's bulls did not themselves represent the deity, but were conceived as bases upon which the invisible Yahweh stood, in the same manner as the ark of the covenant in the Jerusalem Temple seems to have been visualized as his footstool.[141] According to this view, the statement in I Kings 12: 28 that, having set up these bulls, Jeroboam said, 'Behold your gods, Israel, which brought you out of Egypt', is a misrepresentation by the orthodox compilers, and the implication of this statement – that Jeroboam regarded the bulls as the actual gods – is a false one.[142] The reference to Egypt, however, makes possible a connexion with the gold bull made by Aaron at the time of the Exodus, for which the same word, *'ēgel*, is used (Ex. 32: 4), and which seems most probably to have been viewed as the symbol of Yahweh. The personal name Egeliah ('GLYW) on an ostracon from Samaria has been cited in this connexion as possible support for the view that Yahweh was thought of as a young bull, taking the meaning of the name as 'Yahweh the young bull'. This is, however,

[136] B 872, 203ff; B 713, 457f.

[137] See B 917, especially 67f, n. 100; B 713, 287.

[138] The alternative interpretation 'royal palace' (NEB) is less likely, since there is no evidence that there was a royal palace at Bethel. On the Hebrew terminology concerning temples and sancturies, see B 761, 12f and B 713, 282.

[139] B 761, 13.

[140] E.g. B 26, nos. 470–4, 486, 500f; B 664, pls. 9, 18, 20, 26, 31; B 461, pls. 47, 76f, 104, 109, 116, 126f.

[141] B 646, 299ff; B 792, 271. For 'footstool', I Chron. 28: 2; Ps. 99: 5, 132: 7, and B 708, III 245.

[142] E.g. B 759, 315.

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inconclusive since the meaning 'young bull of Yahweh', referring to the bearer of the name, is equally possible.[143] It may be therefore that these bulls are to be seen more as symbols of Yahweh than as bases for him to stand on.[144] Jeroboam is said to have set up a priesthood to service the shrines which he had established, and indeed to have acted as a priest himself (I Ki. 12: 31, 13: 33).[145]

The sites of Bethel and Dan stood respectively at the far south and north of the kingdom, chosen, no doubt, so that they might the more effectively serve the different parts of Israel; and Bethel, located squarely on the route to Jerusalem, must have been selected to intercept worshippers who were making for that city. Both Bethel and Dan had perhaps the added attraction that they already held significant religious associations in early Hebrew history.[146] Excavations at Bethel have brought to light no signs of a religious building,[147] but at Dan a stone platform measuring about eighteen metres square, and approached by a wide flight of steps, is very possibly to be identified as a cultic platform (*bāmâ*) of this time.[148]

Though he set up shrines at Bethel and Dan it is not stated where Jeroboam established his official residence. It appears that he lived for part of the time at Tirzah (I Ki. 14: 17), a city which was later to become the capital of the kingdom.

Rehoboam lived for over a decade after Shoshenq's invasion, and when he died in 913 B.C. he was succeeded by his son Abijah,[149] the son of his third wife Maacah (II Chron. 11: 18–22). Rehoboam was buried, like most of his successors, in Jerusalem, near to the tombs of David and Solomon (I Ki. 14: 31). The location of the royal cemetery in Jerusalem is unknown, and no trace of it has yet been found.

There is a fuller account of Abijah's reign in Chronicles than in Kings,[150] and according to this, after an address delivered on Mount Zemaraim, probably in Israelite territory,[151] condemning the apostasy

[143] B 718, 102, with which compare B 813, 53.

[144] B 731, I 117; B 870, 63 (but cf. 164f).

[145] B 870, 233f.

[146] B 872, 78.

[147] B 793, 50f; J. L. Kelso in B 662, I 191.

[148] A. Biran in B 662, I 320f; B 917, 47f, pl. 2.

[149] In I Ki. 14 and 15 regularly spelt *'ăbîyām* ('BYM), the *'ăbîyāhû* ('BYHW) form being found in II Chron. 13. The Septuagint of Kings gives *'Αβιου* and *'Αβια*. It has been suggested (e.g. B 856, 234) that *yām* is a divine name ('Yam is my father'), and certainly a god Yam is attested in Canaan in the second millennium (M. H. Pope in B 15, 289ff), but it seems unlikely that Jeroboam would have given his son a pagan name, since he fostered the worship – unorthodox, it is true – of the god of Israel (I Ki. 12: 28). A simple scribal error is possible, since *w* and *m* might perhaps have been confused in the sixth-century script. Alternatively, in fifth-century Babylonia the Hebrew name-element *-yahû* was written *-ya-a-ma* (representing *-yaw*, cf. B 696, 65 n. 78), and indeed the name *'abi-ya-a-ma* is attested in the Murashû documents (B 693, 52f, 12), so it is conceivable that a late editor of the Hebrew text of Kings might have been influenced by this convention. B 849, I 20 suggests that Abijam was the plain and Abijah the throne name. See also B 680, 230 n. 18.

[150] B 849, I lviif.

[151] B 803.

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and treason of Jeroboam, he conducted a successful campaign in southern Israel, securing, among other cities, the religious centre of Bethel. In Kings his son Asa is quoted as saying to Ben-Hadad of Damascus, the king of Aram, that there had existed a treaty between their two fathers, that is to say between Abijah and Tabrimmon of Damascus (I Ki. 15: 18–19),[152] so, though there is no extra-Biblical evidence bearing on this, it may be that Tabrimmon drew off some of Jeroboam's defences to the east, in order to assist his ally. Abijah ruled, however, for only three years and was succeeded in 911 B.C. by his son Asa (I Ki. 15: 8)[153] who reigned for over forty years, outliving six kings of Israel after the death of Jeroboam. At the beginning of his reign he was probably dominated by his grandmother (?) Maacah, the 'Great Lady' (I Ki. 15: 13)[154] of the kingdom.

Within one year of Asa's accession, Jeroboam died and was succeeded by his son Nadab, who himself retained this inheritance for less than two years, being assassinated while campaigning against the Philistines by a man of the tribe of Issachar, Baasha ben-Ahijah (I Ki. 15: 27), who thus essayed to establish a second Israelite dynasty, securing his position by murdering all the descendants of Jeroboam (I Ki. 15: 29). According to I Ki. 16: 1–2, Baasha had, like Jeroboam, been singled out by a prophet (I Ki. 16: 7), and designated ruler (*nāgîd*) over Israel.[155] It seems that Baasha now adopted Tirzah as his regular capital (I Ki. 15: 21, 33). Its identification with modern Tell el-Far'ah (North) is very probable. This site is situated near two springs at the head of a fertile valley, which provided the principal route from the Israelite hill country to the Jordan Valley, and also commanded routes to north and south.[156]

Kings states that Asa and Baasha were constantly at war (I Ki. 15: 16), but this may be a rhetorical statement, for according to II Chron. 15: 19, there was no war until the thirty-fifth year of Asa's reign. It has been suggested that this figure actually represents the year from the division of the kingdom, in which case it would have been Asa's fifteenth year, or about 896 B.C.[157] The sequence of events in his reign is not clear, but it may be that this or perhaps the preceding year (cf. II Chron. 15: 10) was the occasion of an invasion by Zerah the Nubian (II Chron. 14: 8),[158] who came up, presumably from the coast south of Philistia, with a force of Nubian and Libyan troops (II Chron. 16: 8),

[152] See B 610, 142f, n. 10. Tabrimmon is known only from I Ki. 15: 18; the restoration of his name on the Melqart stela is doubtful, see below, p. 496 n. 64.

[153] Asa's mother is said to have been Maacah (I Ki. 15: 10), who is also named as the mother of Abijah; on this see B 849, II 79f. The simplest solution is to understand *'ēm* here as 'grandmother', just as *'āb*, 'father', can also mean 'grandfather'.

[154] See B 713, 117ff, 528; B 777, 156ff.

[155] On *nāgîd* see B 777, 50f; B 676, 38f, 119 n. 68.

[156] B 719; B 720, 379ff.

[157] B 906, 59f, 180f.

[158] On *kûš* see B 779, 214f, and cf. B 877, 233f.

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and is said to have reached Mareshah, one of the cities fortified by Rehoboam, probably to be identified with modern Tell Sandahannah. According to Chronicles Asa defeated him without much difficulty, and chased him back to Gerar in Philistine territory, destroying the settlements round about it. It is possible that Zerah was a mercenary leader established on the south Philistine coast by Shoshenq to act as a first line of defence for Egypt and acting now for the elderly Pharaoh Osorkon I.[159] He is unknown outside the account in Chronicles, Kings making no mention of this episode. There is a possibility that the end of level IV at Beersheba is to be dated to this time,[160] but for this to have been the work of Zerah it would be necessary to assume a thrust eastwards into southern Judah which would not have been on a direct route to Mareshah, and in fact would have come nowhere near the zone of fortified cities established by Rehoboam, which were presumably still maintained, and the value of which would have been vindicated by the success of Asa at Mareshah.

The narrative goes on to say that as Asa was returning victorious to Jerusalem he was met by the prophet Azariah, who delivered a message from Yahweh calling upon him to reform the nation (II Chron. 15: 1–7 and 8). This he did, eliminating pagan religious practices and cutting down and burning some obscene object which had been set up for the goddess Asherah by Maacah, the 'Great Lady', whom he at the same time removed from her position (II Chron. 15: 8–15; I Ki. 15: 12).[161] Asa formalized this reformation with a religious gathering at which the people made an agreement to remain faithful to Yahweh.[162] The name Maacah is of uncertain etymology.[163] It may have been of foreign, possibly Aegean, origin, since it first occurs as the name of the father of Achish, king of Gath (I Ki. 2: 39), but it was subsequently applied to eight other individuals, both men and women, so nothing is to be deduced from it concerning the ethnic affiliations of Asa's 'Great Lady'. She seems however to have continued the religious trend, set in Solomon's time, of encouraging Phoenician religious practices, Asherah (Athirat) having much in common with Astarte, the principal goddess of Tyre,[164] and Asa's attempt to extirpate these practices was the first of many. Though there is no specific mention of it at this point, it is likely that Maacah and her friends had contacts with Ittoba'al I, the king of Tyre, who was, according to Josephus, a priest of Astarte who usurped the kingship. His daughter Jezebel later became the wife of Ahab, king of Israel. Baasha must have recovered the southern territories which had been lost to Abijah, for, in what was probably the

[159] B 645, 146f; see also B 799, 309.
[160] B 632, 106f.
[161] B 642, 157ff; B 849, II 88f.
[162] Cf. B 665, 52.
[163] Cf. B 894, 332.
[164] M. H. Pope in B 15, 246ff; B 848, 53.

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year following Zerah's invasion, taking year 36 in II Chron. 16: 1 as 16,[165] he was able to encroach into northern Judah, and to establish a fort at Ramah (I Ki. 15: 16–17; II Chon. 16: 1). This city, probably modern Khirbet Zeitun er-Rameh, is only about ten kilometres from Jerusalem, so this action constituted a considerable threat to Asa's security. The treaty which had existed between Abijah and Tabrimmon of Damascus had evidently been renewed between Asa and Ben-Hadad I, and Asa now sought assistance from his ally in his war against Baasha (I Ki. 15: 18–19; II Chron. 16: 2–3). Ben-Hadad was also bound by treaty to Baasha, but Asa induced him to break this by a payment of treasure and Ben-Hadad arranged for a raid on northern Israel (I Ki. 15: 20; II Chron. 16: 4) in which a number of cities are said to have been destroyed. Notable among these is Dan, where excavations have shown that the gate and wall of Jeroboam's city were destroyed at about this date.[166] At Hazor the destruction of level IX may reasonably be attributed to this foray.[167] Two Aramaic inscriptions on pottery vessels from Dan and from 'Ein Gev on the east side of the Dead Sea, which are probably to be dated palaeographically to this time, may suggest strong influence from, if not temporary administration by, Aram. They both appear to identify the users for whom they were intended, 'the butchers', and 'the wine servers'.[168] When Baasha had to divert his attention to this northern part of his kingdom, Asa was able to retake Ramah, and to remove Baasha's building material for re-use at Mizpah and Geba (I Ki. 15: 21–2; II Chron. 16: 5–6). There are good arguments for identifying Mizpah with Tell en-Naṣbeh, which is about three kilometres further north than Ramah, and seals a pass from the north.[169] The excavations at the site have revealed a massive defensive wall about four metres thick and probably nearly ten metres high, of limestone boulders set in clay mortar, with a number of rectangular towers, and a stone-faced glacis at the foot of the wall on the east and west. There was only one gate, on the north-east side of the enceinte, but it could be approached only between a wall and a tower, and was therefore strongly defensible.[170] The fact that the gate faced north might be taken to suggest that the fort was built by Israel as a defensive site against Judah, and that the identification with Mizpah is incorrect, but it could be argued that in such a situation it is tactically advantageous to be able to send out a military force directly at attackers, rather than having to circle round from a gate at the rear. Some centuries later it was remembered that Asa had hewn out a substantial cistern at Mizpah (Jer.

[165] See above, p. 462 and n. 157.
[166] B 674, 122; A. Biran in B 662, 1 320.
[167] B 946, II 37 n. 217; B 947, 143.
[168] B 496, II, nos. 3 and 4; B 735, nos. 123 and 122; see B 852, 13.
[169] B 824, I 23ff, especially 28–30.
[170] B 824, I 191ff, 202.

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41: 9), but though the excavations have shown that Tell en-Naṣbeh was a 'place of cisterns', a precise identification is unlikely.[171]

It is probable that at this time, Israel lost its northern territories in Tranjordan to the expanding power of Aram,[172] a situation illustrated by the probability that in the ninth century the alphabetic script used in the state of Ammon, which would now have lain directly to the south and east of such an enlarged Aramaean kingdom in Transjordan, was the same as the contemporary Aramaic script, while at that time the scripts in Moab and probably Edom, which were still in the orbit of Israel and Judah, were of the Hebrew type.[173]

When Baasha died in 886 B.C., he was buried in Tirzah (I Ki. 16: 6) and was succeeded by his son Elah. Baasha's dynasty however fared no better than that of Jeroboam, owing in part no doubt to the weak character of Elah, who is described as being drunk on one occasion in the residence of his chamberlain (*'ăšer 'al-habbayit*).[174] It was, indeed, on this occasion, which was presumably typical of others, that one of his two chariot commanders, Zimri, murdered him after only two years of reign, and usurped the throne at the same time, killing all the remaining descendants of Baasha (I Ki. 16: 8–12). This only set the scene for further violence however, for within seven days, Omri, the commander-in-chief of the army, who was campaigning in Philistia, was chosen king by his troops, and besieged Zimri in Tirzah, forcing him to retreat to the keep (*'armôn*)[175] of the royal palace, and to end his life by burning it down around him (I Ki. 16: 15–18). The excavator of Tell el-Far'ah would connect the end of level III with this event, and tentatively suggests that a fortress found in the north-western corner of the city be identified with Zimri's keep.[176] Omri was thus himself a usurper, and his victory over Zimri did not give him full control of the kingdom, because a rival party[177] supported a man, otherwise not mentioned, named Tibni ben-Ginath. The text states that the followers of Tibni sought to make him king, while no such statement is made about Omri, so it has been suggested that Tibni was the legitimate king, democratically chosen by the assembly of the people, while Omri, elevated mainly by the army, had no just claim, and that the account in Kings reflects his tendentious editing of the annals of Tibni in order to conceal the truth.[178] This must remain speculation, and the implication of the text that the followers of Omri comprised half of the population

[171] B 824, I 129ff, 217 n. 28.

[172] See B 642, 122, 209 n. 84.

[173] See B 854, 30; B 853, 280.

[174] On this title see B 789, especially 151.

[175] See e.g. B 713, 235f; B 759, 363 n. *a*.

[176] B 716, 587f; B 720, 376f, 380; R. de Vaux in B 662, II 395, 403. Cf. however B 944, 111 n. 97, and B 771, 269f who suggests destructions by Shoshenq (above, n. 122) and Ben-Hadad II (below, n. 264).

[177] 'Half the people', I Ki. 16: 21.

[178] B 893, 50ff.

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militates against it. The element 'Ginath' in Tibni's name could have been his home rather than his patronymic, possibly the Gina of the Amarna letters, Ginaē of Josephus, En-gannim elsewhere in the Old Testament, a Levitical city in Issachar, modern Jenin.[179] If this were so, however, it would not clarify the situation, beyond suggesting that if both Omri and Tibni were men of Issachar, there cannot have been inter-tribal rivalry between them.

It seems likely that the rival reigns of Omri and Tibni lasted for six years, until 880 B.C.,[180] when Tibni, and according to the Septuagint his brother Joram, died in some unspecified manner, presumably by violence, since Omri's followers are said to have overpowered those of Tibni (I Ki. 16: 22).[181] Following the end of level III at Tirzah, new buildings were begun on quite different plans from those preceding them but were never finished, one large structure never progressing beyond the foundations and thresholds. It is possible, as the excavator proposes,[182] to connect these unfinished buildings with Omri who, after his succession on the death of Tibni to the sole rule of Israel, moved his permanent capital to Samaria (I Ki. 16: 23–4).

V. THE DYNASTY OF OMRI

Omri appears to have been a man of ability and energy. His antecedents are not clear, and though it has been suggested that since his name appears to have affinity with Arabic names[183] he may have been a foreign mercenary in the army, there is some reason to think that his family originated in the city of Jezreel in the territory of Issachar, for in later years they certainly seem to have had a substantial residence there (I Ki. 21: 1; II Ki. 8: 29, 15: 21).[184] He established what, if Zimri and Tibni are ignored, was the third dynasty of Israelite kings, which survived for forty years through four reigns at a difficult time.

Very little space is given to Omri in Kings, beyond the indication that he was a vain man and that his actions were unacceptable to the worshippers of Yahweh. There is mention however of his 'might', or 'mighty deeds' (I Ki. 16: 27), which included, according to the Moabite Stone (lines 4–8),[185] the conquest of a considerable part of Moab. Moab was effectively divided into two parts by the river Arnon, which runs

[179] O. Weber in B 802, II 1311; B 663, 62; B 637, 163.

[180] B 906, 63f.

[181] Josephus, *Antiquities* VIII.311, says that he was killed by the supporters of Omri (*'Αμαρῖνος*).

[182] B 720, 377, 380f; R. de Vaux in B 662, II 395ff, 403, though he suggests a four-year struggle against Tibni followed by two years' building activity. Cf. also above, n. 176.

[183] B 856, 63, 222, no. 7; B 858, 230, n. 1; B 893, 54.

[184] Cf. B 777, 174f; B 851, 368ff; see however B 788, 142f, n. 74.

[185] B 496, I 76ff; B 480, no. 181; W. F. Albright in B 25, 320f; E. Ullendorff in B 31, 195ff.

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westwards, in a worn-down bed, to about the middle of the Dead Sea. The most important part of the kingdom lay to the north of this river and it was probably this area which now came under Israelite domination. Dibon, a short distance to the north of the Arnon, continued to be the residence of the Moabite king, apparently Kemosh-yat,[186] now a vassal of Israel. Mesha, his son, ruled in the time of Ahab (II Ki. 3: 4–5), that is, not later than 853 B.C., and he states that his father was king for thirty years,[187] which would therefore mean that Kemosh-yat ruled from 883 to 853 at the latest, a time which spans the whole of Omri's period of sole reign.[188] Omri must have made some impact on the international scene, because after his death, and indeed until the end of the northern kingdom, the Assyrians frequently referred to Israel by variant phrases using his name, *mār ḫumrî* (Shalmaneser III), *māt ḫumrî* (Adad-nirari III), and *māt bīt ḫumrî* (Tiglath-pileser III, Sargon).[189]

His decision to move his capital to Samaria may have been partly connected with his desire for closer ties with the Phoenician state of Tyre, brought about perhaps by the threat posed to him by the Aramaeans to his north-east. Ashurnasirpal II, the king of Assyria, had begun a westward expansion, and his campaigns took him as far as Phoenicia, at the same time probably limiting the northern trading activities of the Aramaeans, who therefore turned their attention to the south-west. Samaria did not stand on a major route, but its situation on a defensible hill in a fertile valley opening to the west gave it easy access to the Via Maris some ten miles to the west, and thence to the coastal plain. Movement northwards to Megiddo and eastwards to Shechem was not difficult. It was situated only ten miles to the west of Tirzah, on the western rather than the eastern side of the watershed, so it retained most of the advantages of that site, together with an orientation towards the west and Phoenicia. Omri lived for only six years after his move to Samaria and it is probable that the substantial royal quarter which occupied the entire summit of the hill was only partially his work, and was completed after his death by his son Ahab. The excavations at Samaria have shown two early phases of building, the second following only a short time after the first, and these may be plausibly attributed to Omri and Ahab respectively. In the first phase

[186] B 867; B 746; B 496, I, no. 17; B 637, 307 n. 66.

[187] Moabite Stone (above, n. 185), line 2.

[188] The statement in Moabite Stone, line 8, that Israel ruled Moab for forty years during the reigns of Omri and his son (Omri and Ahab together ruled for a maximum of thirty-three years) is perhaps to be understood in the light of Hebrew usage, where 'forty' could simply represent a large round number.

[189] References in B 187, 82f, *ḫumrî* sometimes being preceded by the male person determinative and sometimes not. See below, p. 490.

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a wall about 1·60 m thick was built to enclose a rectangular area something like 250 by 160 m in size. Since the space thus enclosed was uneven, the wall had in places to serve also as the revetment wall for a terrace, so that the whole area should be level. The wall was constructed of good, accurately dressed, masonry on foundations of marginally dressed blocks with the central portions standing out as irregular bosses. It is likely that all the blocks were marginally dressed for laying, and that the parts above ground were dressed smooth when the structure was complete.[190] The upper courses of stonework were of smaller blocks, of more or less uniform size, approximately one metre long, and it has been suggested that these, since they have the same general dimensions as blocks found in Solomonic constructions, may have conformed to a standard pattern technically called *middôt gāzît*, 'sizes of cut stone' (I Ki. 7: 9).[191] The excavations did not expose the whole palace area, and many of the details have been lost owing to levelling of the site in Hellenistic and Roman times; but it seems likely that the main gate was at the east end, and that within the enclosure there were a number of substantial buildings set in spacious courtyards, all in line with the main axis. The second phase saw the construction of a defensive outer wall in casemate (enclosed chamber) form, with total widths of ten metres on the north side and five metres on the west. These walls also went with some further extension of the total area, particularly at the western end where the terrace was carried about 30 metres further out. The masonry of this second phase of marginally dressed blocks was also of very good quality.[192]

It appears from a statement in I Kings 20: 34, which is most probably addressed by Ben-Hadad II to Ahab,[193] that the king of Syria in Omri's time, Ben-Hadad I, had trading rights in Samaria in the form of 'streets' (*ḥuṣôt*), presumably trading areas or markets, and that these must have been granted under military duress, since Ben-Hadad is said to have taken cities from Omri.[194] The excavations at Samaria have not yet brought to light any part of the lower city[195] in which such markets might have been situated, but it is hardly likely that no lower city existed. Equally there is no evidence at other sites which might be connected with military action of the type implied by this text. The text is not entirely clear, but it is possible to understand it as presupposing

[190] B 744, 74f.

[191] B 744, 74ff.

[192] Convenient general account in B 794, 261ff; B 796, 75ff; cf. B 940, 18.

[193] Neither of whom is mentioned in the Hebrew text but whose identity is clear from the context. The Lucianic Greek (21: 34) names them as the 'king of Syria' and Ahab. The two fathers referred to must have been Ben-Hadad I and Omri, since the reference to Samaria rules out anyone earlier. See also below, p. 475.

[194] The suggestion (B 680, 237) that *'ābî*, 'my father', which occurs twice in this text, be taken as referring first to Baasha and then to Omri is rather forced.

[195] B 796, 82f.

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a treaty between Ben-Hadad I and Omri, and indeed such a treaty would be consonant with the enjoyment by Ben-Hadad of special rights in Samaria. It is also possible, on the other hand, to take this text as speaking only of one treaty between Ben-Hadad and Ahab, in which case Aramaean markets in Samaria in Omri's time might be seen as facilities authorized, and perhaps even invited, by Israel to encourage trade.[196] In the absence of other evidence bearing upon this matter, the question must remain open.[197]

When Omri died in 874 or 873 B.C., he was buried in Samaria and his son Ahab (I Ki. 16: 29)[198] succeeded him. The excavations at Samaria have so far brought to light no royal tombs. Ahab reigned for twenty-two years (874–853), during which he had contacts with Phoenicia and Aram, and towards the end of which he experienced the growing power of Assyria under Shalmaneser III, whose period of reign (859–824) overlapped his by some five years.

At the beginning of his reign it appears that he completed the building work at Samaria begun by Omri.[199] Comparison of the fine masonry attributed to Omri and Ahab at Samaria with examples at Tyre and Motya in Sicily suggests that this must be the work of Phoenician craftsmen.[200] It is also probable that another architectural feature, somehow associated with the main gate, though displaced through re-use, is to be seen as a Phoenician importation. This is a type of decorative pilaster capital in the form of a stylized palmette, usually referred to as Proto-Aeolic because of its later development. A number of examples of varying design, though all with a basic central triangle from which volutes spring to right and left, are known. Their dating is uncertain, since most were discovered out of context. Some examples come from the Solomonic level (VA–IVB) at Megiddo and one from Jerusalem might date from that time, but others from Megiddo and Hazor in Israel and from Ramat Raḥel and Medeibiyeh in Judah are probably, like those from Samaria, of ninth-century date.[201] The palmette motif is widely attested in the ancient Near East; but, though no Phoenician architectural antecedents for this type of capital are known, probably owing to the paucity of Phoenician remains of this date from Phoenicia proper, the historical situation points to that area as the most likely source. There is some reason for identifying this

[196] See B 690, 92 n. 149. The uncertainty about the treaty resides in the phrase 'I myself will release you *babbrît*', in which this form could be understood either as 'from (above, n. 76) the treaty', or (revocalizing as *bi-*) 'with a treaty', the latter alternative presupposing no existing treaty.

[197] The contention (e.g. B 844 and B 817, 159ff) that I Ki. 20 and 22 describe events in the time of Jehu's dynasty is not convincing.

[198] The name 'ḤʾB is known from Hebrew private seals, B 916, nos. 57 and 156, both probably of later date.

[199] See above, pp. 475f.

[200] B 704, 5ff, 98; cf. B 764, 133, pl. 14.

[201] B 886.

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decorative feature with the *timōrâ* ('palm tree'), mentioned in connexion with Solomon's Temple (I Ki. 6: 29, 32, 35; 7: 36),[202] an identification which would further support a Phoenician origin.

According to the account of Ahab in Kings, Phoenician influence is entirely to be expected, since not only did he marry Jezebel (I Ki. 16: 31),[203] the daughter of Ittoba'al I of Tyre (*'etba'al*, Gk. *Εἰθώβαλος*),[204] but he built a temple and an altar in Samaria to the principal god of Tyre, probably Melqart,[205] set up a cult pillar (*'ăšerâ*) for the goddess Asherah,[206] and even perhaps went to Tyre to take part in religious ceremonies.[207] A scaraboid seal of unknown provenance inscribed in Hebrew with the name YZBL, which might possibly have been the property of Jezebel ('YZBL), shows strong Phoenician elements in its design.[208] Such Phoenician design elements, which betray cultural influence, appear to be more marked on Israelite than on Judaean seals. The ostraca from Arad, which range in date from the ninth to the sixth century, have shown that throughout this period the element 'Yahweh' when compounded in personal names was regularly spelt YHW in Judaean Hebrew, whereas the contemporary Israelite spelling, as shown in the Samaria ostraca, was YW. Examples of Israelite Hebrew are more limited than Judaean, and the Samaria ostraca give evidence only of the early eighth century, but it is reasonable to assume that the spellings YHW and YW are valid dialect indicators.[209] It appears that in the early post-Exilic period this element was spelt YH in final position, and that in the fifth and fourth centuries the spelling YW is found once more.[210] A sample selection of seals classified according to this criterion shows that the majority of those on which YW appears, the Israelite group, bear clear Phoenician decorative motifs.[211] The YHW, or pre-Exilic Judaean group, includes some with Phoenician decoration,[212] but many more with writing alone or writing with simple decoration.[213] Finally the YH, or post-Exilic, group shows writing alone in most cases, with only occasional simple linear dividers.[214]

An instructive instance of the use of the seal in Israel is found in the account of Ahab's reign, where in order to obtain possession of a

[202] B 886, 52 considers this type of capital a local Palestinian development.

[203] On the name see B 672, 304.

[204] B 672, 281; B 17, III.C 791 (variant Greek spellings): B 788, 129 n. 1, and (on the term 'Sidonians') 82.

[205] B 788, 151f.

[206] M. H. Pope in B 15, 246.

[207] B 788, 146.

[208] B 661; B 916, no. 215; B 496, I 60, no. 1; II 192, fig. 23.

[209] B 813, 47 n. 7; 226f.

[210] B 666, 113. The author's other chronological postulations have been superseded by the Arad evidence.

[211] E.g. B 916, nos. 9, 13, 38, 65, 67, 123, 132.

[212] E.g. B 916, nos. 15, 18, 24–6, 32, 40, 51, 69, 100, 109, 125.

[213] E.g. B 916, nos. 19, 27, 30–1, 34–5, 37, 39, 45, 50, 52–3, 55–6, 60–2, 70, 142–4, 148–50, 154, 161–2.

[214] E.g. B 916, nos. 20–1, 23, 33, 54, 97, 153, 155, 157.

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vineyard which the owner refused to sell to him, his wife Jezebel secured the owner's judicial murder by writing letters in Ahab's name and sealing them with his seal (I Ki. 21).

One of the most characteristic types of Phoenician art object from the Near East is the carved ivory, and a fine group in the Phoenician style has been recovered from Samaria.[215] As Ahab is said to have built an 'ivory house' (I Ki. 22: 39), this group is usually assigned to his time. There is some reason for thinking, however, that the greater part of these ivories, whose excavation context could supply no more precise date than some time between the foundation of the palace and its destruction in 722 B.C., are, with closely related groups from Arslan Tash, Khorsabad and Nimrud, to be dated in the eighth rather than the ninth century.[216] Fitters' marks in the form of alphabetic characters on the backs of some of the pieces[217] do not help to settle the question, since such marks are likely to be archaic in form, and many of them occur on undecorated fragments. Nevertheless the fact that no Phoenician ivory so far excavated can be certainly dated to the ninth century[218] does not mean that there were none, and the meagreness of excavated material from Phoenician homeland sites may well account for the absence of examples. There was a long tradition of ivory-carving in the area, examples from several sites on the Levant coast and in Palestine being known already from the late second millennium, and it is difficult to believe that the Phoenicians did not continue this tradition during one of their greatest periods.[219]

That ivory was used in ninth-century Samaria is shown by the discovery of a burnt fragment associated with the building period of Omri and Ahab,[220] and it is reasonable to assume that ivory was used for luxury purposes throughout the period of the Israelite monarchy, and that it is simply an accident of discovery that mainly later examples have so far come to light. A fragmentary plaque in the Samaria group depicts a palmette capital which closely resembles the ninth-century stone pilaster capitals from Samaria discussed above,[221] and other pieces do not conform to the predominant style of the group, and may be earlier than the eighth century.[222]

It is clear that an important element in the Phoenician influence in Palestine was their superior technology. Phoenicia was also, of course, of special importance to her neighbours because of the high-quality timber, particularly cedar, which she exported. Evidence that this was used as far afield as southern Judah comes from the excavations at

[215] B 702; B 710, 62ff, pls. VIII–XXII.
[216] B 6, 312; B 623, 16; B 934, 203.
[217] E. L. Sukenik in B 702, 6ff; B 496, I 117 (treating them as Hebrew rather than Phoenician).
[218] Cf. B 623, 16.
[219] Cf. B 788, chapter VII.
[220] B 704, 101ff; B 940, 24f.
[221] B 704, pl. XXII.1 with B 886, 40, fig. 1.A.
[222] E.g. B 704, pls. X.1–2, XI.1.

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Beersheba, where cedarwood was present in levels of the ninth and eighth centuries, but not later.[223]

Other probable evidence of Phoenician contacts comes from pottery, particularly a class of well-made bowls with highly-burnished red slip found principally in the northern kingdom from the tenth to eighth centuries. This pottery, often named 'Samaria ware', occurs in two main types, probably to be distinguished chronologically. It has parallels in Phoenicia and coastal Syria, which suggest an origin in that area, and it has indeed been proposed that it should be renamed 'Phoenician ware'.[224] Other pottery types, including a bichrome group, and further varieties decorated with burnished red slip, also illustrate this connexion, mainly between Israel and Phoenicia, with parallels also in Phoenician colonies in the west Mediterranean.[225]

Though Phoenician influence was thus strong in Ahab's Israel, it is worth noting that the names of his children by Jezebel, Ahaziah ('ḤZYHW), and Joram (YHWRM)[226] are both compounded with the name Yahweh (YHWH) which suggests that Ahab was, for his own convenience, a henotheistic Yahwist. These names are also found in the Old Testament in the alternative spellings 'ḤZYH and YWRM, and the same variants – YHW and YW at the beginning, and YHW and YH at the end – occur in a number of other royal names in both Israel and Judah. The evidence of the ancient inscriptions suggests that the original spelling, as mentioned above, would have been YHW in Judah[227] and YW in Israel, and that the variations from these that occur in the surviving Hebrew text are the result of later scribal revision. Thus the forms YWRM, YW'ḤZ and YW'Š probably preserve the original spellings of the names of the Israelite kings Joram, Joahaz and Joash, the spellings YHWRM, YHW'ḤZ and YHW'Š being due to Judaean scribes. The work of post-Exilic scribes is presumably to be seen in the forms of the Judaean kings' names YWRM, YW'Š, YWTM, YW'ḤZ, and YWYKYN, which were presumably originally spelt YHWRM (Jehoram), YHW'Š (Jehoash), YHWTM[228] (Jotham), YHW'ḤZ (Jehoahaz), and YHWYKYN (Jehoiachin). The instances of names where the divine element occurs in final position would, according to the same criterion, represent the

[223] B 773.

[224] B 940, 23f; B 914, 36f; B 658, 207ff, pls. 66–7; B 730, 79ff; B 687, 137ff, 169f, 173; B 788, 148.

[225] B 658, 270ff; B 687, *passim*, especially 172ff, 178f; B 730, 79ff; B 764, 139.

[226] On the alternative spelling YWRM see below, n. 288, and on Athaliah as the daughter of Omri, below, p. 488.

[227] Though the name YW'ZR occurs on a papyrus of the eighth or seventh century B.C. from the Wadi Murabba'at in what must have been Judaean territory (B 496, I, no. 11, B), and YWBNH on a seal from Ramat Raḥel south of Jerusalem (B 916, no. 197).

[228] This spelling is not attested in the text, so, to avoid confusion, the Anglicized form Jotham is retained rather than an unfamiliar Jehotham.

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work of Judaean pre-Exilic (YHW) and post-Exilic (YH) scribes, the Israelite form YW having been entirely removed.

The stone platform excavated at Dan was later enlarged, possibly by Ahab,[229] and in this case, since it may have been erected by Jeroboam in the first place to promote his unorthodox schemes for the worship of Yahweh, it might equally have been enlarged by Ahab from the same motives. This must, however, remain a matter of speculation.

A substantial amount of space in Kings is given to an account of the doings of the prophet Elijah, who was active in Israel in the time of Ahab, and of his sons Ahaziah and Jehoram (I Ki. 17–19, 21; II Ki. 1–2).[230] Whether or not the details of the narrative in Kings are accepted, there is no reason to doubt the existence of a man of this name characterized by a powerful personality and firm views, without material attachments (he was an alien (I Ki. 17: 1)[231] from Gilead), and opposed to corruption and the undermining by intrusive religious practices of the pure worship of Yahweh. It is evident that he was respected and feared by Ahab, to whom he had direct access (I Ki. 21: 17).[232] A dramatic incident is described in which he had a major confrontation with the prophets of Ba'al and Asherah, who are said to have numbered eight hundred and fifty (I Ki. 18). This is said to have taken place at the end of a period of severe drought, referred to also, according to Josephus, in the account by Menander of Ephesus of the reign of Ittoba'al I of Tyre.[233] The outcome of the confrontation convinced the people that Yahweh was the true god, and on the instructions of Elijah the false prophets were executed. These functionaries had been closely associated with Jezebel, and when she heard of the event and swore vengeance against Elijah, such was her reputation for arbitrary ruthlessness that he took refuge in Sinai (I Ki. 18–19). Such a weak reaction was out of character, but it is plausible even in a courageous man, immediately after violent and taxing activity.

Ahab's reign overlapped by four years the very long reign of Asa of Judah. Asa ruled for forty-one years; when he was an old man, it is noted that he suffered from a foot ailment, possibly dropsy, for which he consulted the healers (I Ki. 15: 23; II Chron. 16: 12),[234] and it is probable that as a result of this he raised his son Jehoshaphat[235] to the rank of co-regent.[236] After three years (873–870 B.C.) he died and was buried in Jerusalem in a multi-chambered rock-cut tomb which he had

[229] A. Biran in B 662, I 320.

[230] See e.g. B 870, 261f; B 742, 230f. The name, which is normally written *'ēlīyāhû*, sometimes appears as *'ēlīyá*.

[231] See B 647, 65.

[232] The name is known from a scaraboid seal of the late eighth or early seventh century, on which it is spelt 'LYHW; B 757.

[233] *Antiquities* VIII.324.

[234] B 847, 278.

[235] I.e. YHWŠPṬ. See above, p. 472.

[236] B 906, 70.

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had prepared for himself, and his body is said to have been laid on a bed with spices and perfumes (II Chron. 16: 14). This account of his burial is fuller than usual, but it is possible that these details were typical rather than exceptional.

Jehoshaphat reigned for a further twenty-one years (869–848 B.C.) after the death of his father. In domestic affairs he is said to have introduced administrative changes. It may be presumed that the system set up by Solomon[237] had continued in operation in both Judah and Israel, but three-quarters of a century of prosperity and – as far as Israel was concerned – of strong Phoenician influence had led to the dangers of corruption and religious heresy in both kingdoms. Solomon had performed a judicial role himself, and his successors no doubt continued to do so, but Jehoshaphat appointed judges or governors (*šōpĕṭîm*) in the principal cities of the kingdom (II Chron. 19: 5–7), perhaps formalizing an already largely developed system of local judicial administration by elders. The account in Chronicles states that in Jerusalem he established a dual system in which the chief priest was responsible for religious matters and the 'leader (*nāgîd*) of Judah' for secular affairs. Under them he appointed a number of priests and heads of families to deal with the same matters at a lower level, with Levites to act as coordinating 'officers' (II Chron. 19: 8–11).[238] These officers are described as *šōṭĕrîm*, a term used of comparable officials in the account of Moses' organization of the people in Deuteronomy (1: 15).[239] It is not clear to what extent this arrangement for Jerusalem was extended to the other parts of the kingdom, but it seems that difficult matters could be referred to the centre (II Chron. 19: 10), the chief priest and the *nāgîd* presumably having overall responsibility. Whether the title *šōpēṭ* for the local city governor continued to have its earlier sense, of one concerned with both religious and secular affairs,[240] is not clear, but it may be legitimate to interpret *nāgîd*, not in terms of its earlier usage,[241] but of that in the Aramaic inscriptions of about a century later from Sefire, where it appears to figure in the hierarchical sequence: ruler's family – NGD – officer (PQD) – people; suggesting for it the highest secular position next to the ruler and his family.[242] The centres in which the governors were set up were the fortified cities of the kingdom, including those seized from Israel by Asa, which had been provided with garrison troops by Jehoshaphat at the beginning of his reign (II Chron. 17: 1–2). These military measures were intended partly for protection against Israel. Jehoshaphat was a staunch worshipper of Yahweh, not only suppressing Phoenicianizing religious centres, but according to

[237] B 733, 591f.
[238] B 651; B 849, II 108f; B 680, 248.
[239] B 728, 17f.
[240] See above, p. 454.
[241] See above, n. 155.
[242] Sefire inscription, iii 9f: B 741, 96ff, 112f.

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II Chron. 17: 7–9 arranging for religious teaching to be carried out throughout Judah. The passage in question states that Jehoshaphat sent (ŠLḤ) out prominent men to teach (LMD) the people from the 'Book of the Teaching (*tôrâ*) of Yahweh', and from the fact that ŠLḤ and LMD have important derived forms in the late period (*šālîăḥ*, 'one who is sent';[243] *limmēd* 'to teach'[244]), and that it is presumed that a late view of *tôrâ*, 'law', is reflected here, this statement is commonly regarded as late.[245] If this is so, it is of doubtful historical value, but ŠLḤ and LMD are not necessarily indices of late date, both verbs indeed occurring with the same meanings in second-millennium West Semitic (Ugaritic). The meaning of *tôrâ* changed with the passage of time,[246] very probably, for instance, referring in the time of Josiah in the seventh century to the Book of Deuteronomy, and coming in the late period to cover the entire Pentateuch.[247] Eighth-century prophets speak of *tôrâ* as written (Hos. 8: 12; Is. 8: 16, by implication), and the possibility cannot be ruled out that this passage is authentic, and that it refers to the use of a document of religious instruction, possibly the 'Book of the Covenant' (Ex. 20: 22–3; 33),[248] or something of the kind.[249]

In spite of Jehoshaphat's religious orthodoxy he is said to have 'allied himself by marriage with Ahab' (II Chron. 18: 1),[250] presumably referring to the marriage of his son Jehoram to Athaliah (II Ki. 8: 18),[251] which cannot have taken place later than 863 B.C., since their son Ahaziah, who became king in 841, is said to have been twenty-two years old at that time (II Ki. 8: 26).

Towards the end of Ahab's reign, the king of Aram, named Ben-Hadad in Kings, is said to have invaded Israel together with a number of vassal 'kings' and to have laid siege to Samaria (I Ki. 20: 1–22). This may have been an indirect response to the renewed Assyrian threat to northern Syria which followed the accession of Shalmaneser III in 859 B.C., and which perhaps prompted Ben-Hadad to secure extra territory in his rear, and probably to seek a greater share in southern trade. I Kings 20: 34 quotes this Ben-Hadad as speaking of his father as the contemporary of Omri,[252] and since the king of Aram at that time was also named Ben-Hadad, it is necessary to conclude that Ahab's contemporary was the second king of this name.[253]

[243] K. H. Rengstorf in B 800, I 414f.

[244] *Id.* in B 800, II 136ff.

[245] B 872, 101f, n. 7; B 706, 393; B 630, 143.

[246] W. Gutbrod in B 800, IV 1044ff.

[247] See *CAH* III.2, chapter 30.

[248] See B 734, 212ff.

[249] B 849, II 99f; B 925, 163; B 834, 115f; B 812, 20f.

[250] Cf. B 846, 107.

[251] On Athaliah's family relationships see below, pp. 488f.

[252] See above, n. 193.

[253] As acknowledged in B 109, 159, n. 23; B 835, 134ff; B 832, 144; and B 817, 157, the latter proposing the succession Ben-Hadad I, Hadad-idri, Hazael, Ben-Hadad II, rather than Ben-Hadad I, II, Hazael, Ben-Hadad III. Most scholars, however, argue for a single Ben-Hadad before the time of Hazael: e.g. B 647, 63f; B 610, 62ff, B 680, 236, 239, 244. See above, pp. 261 and 392f.

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The Assyrian king Shalmaneser III, in the accounts of his western campaigns of 853, 849, 848 and 845 B.C., gives the name of the ruler of Damascus as Adad-idri,[254] a form which reflects an Aramaic *hadad-'iḏri*, transcribed in Hebrew, in reference to a different king, as *hăḏad-'ezer*.[255] The inscription on a headless basalt statue of Shalmaneser from Ashur states, probably in relation to the year 841, that when Adad-idri died, probably violently (*šadāšu ēmid*), Hazael seized the throne.[256] According to II Kings 8: 5 Hazael succeeded Ben-Hadad, possibly after suffocating him.[257] It is difficult, therefore, to avoid the conclusion that Ben-Hadad II and Adad-idri, both of whom lived at about the same time and were succeeded by Hazael, were one and the same. Attempts to assimilate the two names to one another[258] are unconvincing, but the suggestion that Ben-Hadad was a dynastic name, which was sometimes used instead of the king's specific name, may be correct.[259]

Ben-Hadad made two attacks on Israel, the first, apparently against Samaria itself from a base at Succoth in Transjordan,[260] being repulsed on the instructions of an unnamed prophet by a small force of the young retainers of district governors (I Ki. 20: 1–22).[261] Ben-Hadad's response to this defeat was to reorganize his administration by replacing his vassal kings by governors (*paḥôt*), and, with this tightened hold on his home base, to renew the attack.[262] He was, however, once more defeated and was indeed taken prisoner at Aphek in what was probably then Aramaean territory in the hills to the east of the Sea of Galilee. Ahab's victory was so complete that Ben-Hadad offered to restore the cities seized from Israel by his father, to grant Ahab special trading rights in Damascus, and to release him from a treaty by which Ben-Hadad I had bound Omri (I Ki. 20: 23–34).[263] The dates of these two Aramaean invasions are not clear, but possibly they are to be placed between the accession of Shalmaneser III in 859 and his first major western campaign in 853. It is perhaps with one of these operations, possibly the first, when

[254] B 162(*a*), 59 n. 10.

[255] B 901, 8; B 643, 26; B 579, 128 n. 2. The Aramaic form is a reconstruction and is nowhere attested.

[256] Ashur statue, lines 25–7: B 219, 82f; B 182, 280. See below, p. 485, and, on *šadāšu ēmid*, B 265.

[257] Josephus (*Antiquities* IX.93) takes this as a case of murder by suffocation, but B 759, 532 argues that the damp cloth was spread in front of him and not over his face and that his death was natural. B 858, 245 n. 1 maintains that II Ki. 7 and 9, which name Ben-Hadad here, are later additions.

[258] E.g. B 955.

[259] See above, p. 393 n. 168; B 835, 135 n. 17.

[260] See B 949.

[261] See B 759, 424f.

[262] B 835, 136f. On *peḥâ*, an Akkadian loan-word, see B 791, 82 and n. 263.

[263] See above, pp. 468f and nn. 193f. It appears most natural to take the whole of I Ki. 20: 34 as the statement of Ben-Hadad. The suggestion that the latter part, commencing with *wa'ănî*, 'and I (myself)', was Ahab's reply is justified by no textual evidence.

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Ahab was besieged in Samaria, apparently with his district governors around him, and while his provincial cities were presumably undefended, that a destruction level at Shechem (IXB) is to be connected.[264] It is probable also that some impressive building works revealed in the excavations at Megiddo and Hazor are to be assigned to this general period, when Ahab was facing the Aramaean and the more distant Assyrian threats. He is in fact credited with the building of cities in the closing summary of his reign (I Ki. 22: 39). At Megiddo the substantial casemate wall and six-chambered gate of Solomon's time was replaced, in level IVA, by a stone wall over three metres thick and strengthened by alternate inset and offset sections,[265] together with a four-chambered gate. Associated with these features were a commodious governor's residence and two complexes of pillared buildings, one with a courtyard, which are probably correctly interpreted as stables, together capable of accommodating over 450 horses, and so arranged that the horses in each section could only have been led in and out all at one time, and not singly, an arrangement suggesting military use.[266] The interpretation of these buildings as stables would accord with such statements as that on the Monolith Inscription of Shalmaneser that Ahab had 200 chariots at Qarqar in 853 B.C.,[267] and other citations in Kings (I 20: 21, 25; 22: 4). Another impressive work at Megiddo which is very probably to be attributed to Ahab is a deep vertical shaft cut down through about thirty-five metres of occupation debris and solid rock, to a horizontal tunnel some twenty metres long leading to the natural spring of the site, the outer entrance to which had been completely blocked. This assured a protected water supply in time of siege.[268]

Megiddo was an important strong point on Ahab's north-western approaches, and further north another strategic point facing the route leading from the Orontes valley, through the Beqa', was the ancient Canaanite city of Hazor. There, a comparable water system was also probably constructed in the time of Ahab. It consisted of a vertical shaft cut through occupation debris and rock to a depth of about thirty metres, with a sloping tunnel-staircase of thirty-five steps descending about another ten metres to a natural pool of water.[269] At each site the open shaft was provided with rock-cut steps, and the upper part, which had been cut through occupation debris, was lined with a stone revetment. At Hazor, level VIII of the main tell probably represents the city of Ahab's time. In this level a substantial building, amounting

[264] B 943, 153. B 771, 269f associates the end of level III at Tirzah with this time; see above, n. 176.

[265] B 808, 28ff.

[266] Against the identification of these buildings as stables, see B 864, 268ff.

[267] Kurkh Monolith, ii 91f: B 182, 279. See B 219, 70ff; B 93, 9f, 81ff, 154f; 229ff, 295. On '200' chariots see below, pp. 478f.

[268] On Megiddo see B 796, 93ff; B 947, 150ff.

[269] B 947, 172ff.

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to a citadel, was erected at the western end of the mound. The walls were constructed with earth- and stone-filled cavities between well-laid stones faced with plaster. The outer walls and those of the central portion were nearly two metres thick, and a staircase adjacent to the central portion suggests a second storey in that part of the building. Two Proto-Aeolic capitals, one from a pilaster and one from a free-standing column, were found re-used in the entrance.[270] This building, its outer walls now serving as the defences of the western end of the tell, joined on to the casemate wall of Solomon's time, which had enclosed roughly the western half of the tell. It seems that Ahab now threw out a new defensive wall to enclose the entire summit of the mound, thereby doubling the fortified area. The casemates of Solomon's old wall in the western portion were largely filled in, and the new wall, which was solid, with insets and offsets, was built to a thickness of three metres with large and medium-sized stones. Further defences, with bastions, were constructed at the eastern end of the tell. Near the centre of the tell a fine pillared stone building, possibly a storehouse, was established.[271]

These fortifications, and measures to secure supplies of water in time of siege, were perhaps initially inspired by the warlike attitude of the Aramaeans, but the small states of the Levant can hardly have been ignorant of the much greater threat posed by Assyria in the north-east. Shalmaneser III had succeeded Ashurnasirpal II in 859 B.C., and in each of the next years his military campaigns had brought him to the territory of Bit-Adini, which commanded the crossing of the Euphrates. Bit-Adini had fallen to him in 855, and it must have been clear not only to the north Syrian states, but also to those of Phoenicia, southern Syria, and Palestine that further Assyrian expansion was likely. Thus in 853, when Shalmaneser attempted further westward expansion, he was confronted at Qarqar on the Orontes, in the territory of Hamath, by an alliance of several western states, apparently headed, according to his Monolith inscription, by Irkhuleni of Hamath and Adad-idri of Damascus, but also including Ahab as well as contingents of Egyptian troops and of Arabs with camels.[272] The inscription credits Ahab with 2,000 chariots

[270] See above, pp. 469f.

[271] B 947, 164ff; B 796, 105ff.

[272] Kurkh Monolith (above, n. 267), ii 90–5: B 182, 278f; see in general B 603, 244ff. On KUR *mu-uṣ-ra-a-a* as Egypt, see B 605, 145ff; B 799, 325; but *contra* e.g. B 741, 29ff. The last name in this list, *ba-'a-sa mār ru-ḫu-bi* KUR *a-ma-na-a-a*, is taken by some (e.g. B 182, 279; B 953, 135; B 697, 14; B 575, 98 n. 20) as a reference to Ammon, Israel's eastern neighbour, and by others (e.g. R. Borger in B 748, 50) as referring to the Amanus range; but the normal writing of the former (admittedly in the texts of later kings) as *bīt ammān* and of the latter as *ḫamānu* does not support either. Probably preferable is Tadmor's suggestion (B 603, 245 n. 50), following E. Meyer, that *mār ruḫubi* be taken as Beth-Rehob (cf. *mār ḫumrî* and KUR *bīt ḫumrî*), possibly to be identified with *'āram bêt-rēḥôb* of David's time (II Sam. 10: 16), which may have occupied part of the Antilebanon range. See below, pp. 558f.

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and 10,000 infantry, but he is listed only in the third position, after Adad-idri with 1,200 chariots, 1,200 cavalry and 20,000 infantry, and Irkhuleni with 700 chariots, 700 cavalry and 10,000 infantry. The figure of 2,000 for Ahab's chariots therefore appears disproportionately large, and this, together with logistic probabilities, suggests that it may have resulted from a scribal error, of which there are a number of others in the passage dealing with the battle of Qarqar, and that an original figure of 200 is more likely.[273]

Friendly relations between Ahab and Osorkon II of Egypt, his contemporary, are suggested by the discovery at Samaria of part of a large alabaster vase, possibly a gift, bearing the cartouches of Osorkon.[274]

Shalmaneser claims that he was victorious at Qarqar, but he must have suffered losses himself, because he did not effectively resume his western campaigns until 849, when he took Carchemish on the Euphrates and had a brush with Irkhuleni and Adad-idri, with whom he also clashed inconclusively in 848 and 845.

It is presumably to the time following the battle of Qarqar, when the Assyrian threat had receded, that an attempt by Ahab to recover territory from the Aramaeans belongs. According to I Ki. 22: 1–38 and II Chron. 18: 1–34, there was a rapprochement between Jehoshaphat of Judah and Ahab, initiated by Jehoshaphat, as a result of which Ahab invited Jehoshaphat to join with him in an expedition to recover Ramoth Gilead, that is Ramah in the region of Gilead (cf. II Ki. 8: 28–9), probably modern Tell Ramit,[275] on the east side of the Jordan and immediately to the south of the territory of Damascus. Jehoshaphat agreed to take part in the enterprise, making his forces readily available. The Ramoth Gilead adventure proved fatal for Ahab because, though he entered the chariot battle without his distinguishing royal robes, he received a mortal wound when a chance arrow-shot struck him between his scale-armour and breastplate. He had himself propped up in his chariot in the sight of the enemy until he bled to death at sunset, the blood then being washed from his chariot in the pool of Samaria.

Ahab was buried in Samaria and his son by Jezebel, Ahaziah, became king in 853 B.C.[276] He ruled for only two years (I Ki. 22: 52 [EVV 51]), but it is recorded that during that time he was brought into a trading league by Jehoshaphat. The text states that Jehoshaphat joined himself with Ahaziah, employing a verb, ḤBR, attested with trading connotations already in documents of the late second millennium B.C. (II Chron. 20: 35).[277] The purpose of this league was to revive Solomon's shipyard at Eziongeber[278] in order to build 'Tarshish ships to go to Ophir for gold'

[273] B 575, 97ff.
[274] B 799, 324f. See below, p. 558.
[275] B 749, IV 96ff.
[276] B 906, 50f, 64f.
[277] On ḤBR see B 652, 342f; 359 n. 80; B 838, 3; B 755, 69.
[278] B 733, 594.

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(I Ki. 22: 49 [EVV 48]). It has been suggested that *taršîš* is a noun meaning 'refinery',[279] and in this case the sense here would simply be that 'refinery ships' were sent to Ophir. The word is perhaps more appropriate to copper than gold, but there is no reason why the type of ship originally intended for transporting copper should not subsequently have been used for gold. The location of Ophir is not precisely known, but it may have been somewhere on the coast of Eritrea or the Horn of Africa, or possibly the neighbouring part of South Arabia.[280] This part of East Africa was roughly the area known to the Egyptians as Punt (Pwene), a land from which gold and also ivory could be obtained. The Egyptians were also able to draw upon areas nearer home for their gold, particularly in the eastern desert,[281] which may explain why the Hebrews should have sought to go so far down the Red Sea, beyond the Egyptian sphere, for theirs. In this instance, however, nothing came of the enterprise, for the ships were wrecked at Eziongeber before they could go. The sequence of events is not entirely clear from the text but it may have been in the order: (*a*) trading alliance formed between Jehoshaphat and Ahaziah (I Ki. 22: 49a [EVV 48a]; II Chron. 20: 35–6); (*b*) ships wrecked (I Ki. 22: 49b [EVV 48b]; II Chron. 20: 37); (*c*) Ahaziah proposes a (further?) trading alliance, which Jehoshaphat refuses (I Ki. 22: 50 [EVV 49]). This appears, at any rate, to be the way that Josephus understands it.[282] It is possible that a new mud-brick double fortification wall with associated gateway, which characterizes level II at Tell el-Kheleifeh (the site of Eziongeber), was erected by Jehoshaphat in connexion with this maritime venture.[283] An ostracon of the late eighth century from Tell Qasile inscribed with a record of Ophir gold for Beth-horon[284] suggests that the gold from this source was of a notable quality, since the location of Beth-horon on a natural route inland from Tell Qasile, argues that the trade in this instance was from the Mediterranean and not directly from the Red Sea.[285]

Ahaziah died as a result of falling from the upper storey of his residence in Samaria. He is said to have attempted to consult the god of the Philistine city of Ekron concerning his chances of recovery, only to have his messengers intercepted by Elijah who came and informed him that he would certainly die (II Ki. 1: 2–17). This god of Ekron is named *ba'al zĕbûb* and is presumably the *ba'al* of whom he was a worshipper (I Ki. 22: 53). The episode affords a glimpse of the situation in Philistia at this time. The Philistines seem to have controlled the

[279] B 652, 347; 349 n. 96; 361 n. 103.

[280] B 463, 526; B 733, 594; B 813, 254; B 874.

[281] B 820, 224f.

[282] *Antiquities* IX.17, though he misunderstands the destination as Pontus and Thrace.

[283] B 750, 84; B 754, 440.

[284] B 496, 1, no. 4, B; B 813, 251ff.

[285] Cf. *zĕhab 'ôpîr* in I Chron. 29: 4.

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southern coast of Palestine, thus cutting Judah off from the Mediterranean, which would explain Jehoshaphat's attempt to seek sea trade by way of the Red Sea. To the north Israel held the coastal plain, and its south-western border marched for a short distance with northern Philistia. Of the five main Philistine cities, three, Ashdod, Ashkelon and Gaza, were on the coast, and Ekron and Gath inland, so Ekron, the most northerly of these two, was the nearest and most accessible to Israel. The name Ba'al-zebub shows that by this time the Philistines were largely assimilated to the Canaanite culture.[286] The late second-millennium trading power of the Philistines had largely passed to the Phoenicians and Hebrews by the tenth century,[287] but they seem to have kept some vestiges of their former situation, though under periodical Egyptian domination.

Ahaziah had no son, so when he died in 852 B.C., he was succeeded by his brother Joram,[288] who reigned for twelve years. He bore the same name as the son of Jehoshaphat, who was probably already co-regent with his father by this time,[289] and this common name-giving is a reflection of the close ties between Israel and Judah during this period, as is the fact that Jehoram ben-Jehoshaphat was married to Athaliah, who was probably the adopted sister of Joram ben-Ahab.[290]

This Phoenician influence in Judah and the consequent undermining of religious orthodoxy may account for the continuing presence in the southern city of Arad of a temple oriented, like the Jerusalem temple, with the entrance in the east, and a court, porch, outer chamber, and – up some steps – an inner shrine or 'holy of holies' at the western end. The inner shrine contained a low platform and a standing stone, and, on the steps leading up to it, two small stone altars with traces of burnt animal fat on them. In the court there was a large square altar built of rough stones and plastered over, the whole measuring 2·25 m square and 1·35 m in height.[291] If the cubit is taken as 45 cm, this altar measures 5 × 5 × 3 cubits, the dimensions of the altar in the wilderness tabernacle, and of the platform which Solomon is said to have established in the court of the temple at Jerusalem (Ex. 27: 1; II Chron. 6: 13). This temple had been built in the time of Solomon and formed part of a fortified citadel, which in his time (level XI) had been defended by a casemate wall. This was now replaced (level X) by a solid wall measuring from three to four metres thick.[292] It is probable that two fragmentary inscribed ostraca are to be assigned to this level. These fragments are

[286] Cf. B 845, 414f.

[287] B 838, 13ff.

[288] Sometime spelt *yĕhôrām*, i.e. YHWRM, but the spelling YWRM, pronounced *yawram* (B 822, 5), was probably the Israelite form (see above, p. 472. The Septuagint spells *'Ιωραμ*.

[289] B 906, 64, 69ff, 181f.

[290] On Athaliah see below, p. 488.

[291] See above, n. 132.

[292] B 638, 392ff; Y. Aharoni in B 662, I 83ff.

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barely legible, but they both appear to contain personal names compounded with the divine name spelt YHW.[293]

In the time of Omri and Ahab the kingdom of Moab had been a vassal of Israel, paying tribute in the form of rams' wool and lambs, and the king during this period, Mesha, is appropriately described as a *nōqēd* – 'herder', 'shepherd', or the like. It has been argued that this word, which is also applied to the later prophet Amos, and which has cognates in Akkadian and Ugaritic referring to herdsmen connected with temples, designates a religious functionary of some kind, but this is an unnecessary assumption, since all that need be implied is that the herds involved were tended on behalf of the temples by secular herdsmen.[294] Mesha is therefore simply identified as someone whose economic base was stock-raising. He apparently saw an opportunity to rid himself of Israelite dominance when Ahab died (II Ki. 1: 1; 3: 5), probably refusing to pay tribute, which he may already have attempted in Ahab's time, and then moving on to military action. There are accounts of the ensueing war in Kings (II 3: 4–27) and on the Moabite Stone. This monument was discovered in 1868 on the site of ancient Dibon and is supplemented by an inscribed stone fragment from El-Kerak, probably ancient Kir-Haresheth, the principal city of southern Moab.[295] According to the Moabite Stone Mesha conducted his military operations northwards, first securing the main north–south route as far as Medeba, modern Madaba, almost opposite the northern end of the Dead Sea and fortifying Beth-baal-meon and Kiriathaim in the vicinity. He then consolidated his position in the territory between Dibon and Medeba, apparently gaining more grazing land for his sheep (though this part of the inscription is damaged and uncertain), repairing Qarho, the citadel at Dibon, and his palace there, and securing the water supply of the city by improving the reservoir by the spring (*'św[ḥ bm'](yn)*[296] and encouraging the residents of the citadel to make cisterns in their houses. Most of his energies appear to have been concentrated on the area north of the Arnon, though he says that he 'made' or repaired the road at the Arnon, presumably improving the crossing. The Israelite response to these activities is described in Kings. Apparently recognizing the strength of the Moabite position in the north, Joram obtained the aid and cooperation of Jehoshaphat,[297] and passing through Judah

[293] Ostraca 67 and 71: B 813, 218f.

[294] B 881; B 870, 262.

[295] Moabite Stone (above, n. 185); Kerak Fragment, B 496, 1, no. 17. See in general B 637, 305ff; B 819.

[296] Moabite Stone, line 23 (partially restored).

[297] The Lucianic Greek text gives the name of Ahaziah in place of Jehoshaphat in II Ki. 3: 7, and 'the king of Judah' elsewhere in the chapter, in accordance with the different chronological system which it presupposes. This is favoured by B 885, 93ff, but see above, pp. 445f and n. 32.

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to the southern end of the Dead Sea, the two kings, together with the king[298] of Edom, made a united attack on Mesha's rear. They encountered difficulty at the beginning of the campaign through lack of water, but after calling upon Elisha for assistance, they were able to exploit what must have been the water of a flash flood in a wadi, and to restore their situation. Elisha[299] was a farmer who had become a disciple of the great prophet Elijah, when Elijah carried out the instructions of Yahweh to anoint him as a prophet, so that he might be his own successor (I Ki. 19: 18).[300] Elisha, like Elijah, must have been a man of impressive qualities, but, unlike Elijah, he appears to have lived at times with a group of disciples (II Ki. 6: 1–7).[301] A number of his actions are narrated in Kings (II 1–8: 13).[302] In this instance he was evidently held in such high regard that the three kings are said to have gone to him, rather than summoning him to them.

The account in Kings goes on to describe military successes for the alliance in the south, though it is stated that they failed to take Kir-Haresheth, the principal city of southern Moab. Mesha is said to have been in dire straits, and to have resorted to sacrificing his eldest son, presumably as an inducement to Chemosh, the Moabite god, to come to his aid. This measure appears to have been effective, possibly because Joram and Jehoshaphat may have feared some spectacular action on the part of Chemosh, and they are said to have withdrawn from the campaign.[303] Near the end of the surviving portion of the Moabite Stone, a damaged passage appears to state that Mesha campaigned in southern Moab, and established his rule in Horonaim, which though its location is unknown, was probably south of Kir-Haresheth.

This narrative appears to assume the existence of a king of Edom at the time of the campaign, though shortly after this, when Jehoram ben-Jehoshaphat was co-regent with his father, Kings (II 8: 20) states that the Edomites revolted from the control of Judah and established a king of their own. Not long before this, Edom is described as without a king and under the rule of a governor (*niṣṣāb melek*, I Ki. 22: 48 [EVV 47]),[304] presumably installed by Judah, so possibly the 'king' (*melek*) of this passage was merely the Judahite governor, who was now overthrown. This rebellion proved successful, for though Jehoram

[298] Or governor; see below, n. 304.

[299] The name occurs on private seals: B 916, nos. 41 and 117; B 281, 122, pl. 30.

[300] On MŠḤ, 'anoint', see F. Hesse in B 800, IX 496ff.

[301] On *bĕnê hannebî'îm*, 'disciples', see B 870, 249.

[302] Cf. B 742, 231f.

[303] B 717, 62 and n. 49.

[304] 'A governor (was) king' or, revocalizing as *mālak*, 'a governor ruled'. Some versions insert a definite article before 'king'; see B 885, 103f.

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ben-Jehoshaphat attempted to regain the territory, he was repulsed at Zair at the southern end of the Dead Sea (II Ki. 8: 16–22), and the Edomites remained independent for about half a century. It is possible that the port of Eziongeber was destroyed during this war.[305]

Though Israel had frequent hostile encounters with the Aramaeans of Damascus, there were also peaceful relations. This is illustrated by the case of the Aramaean commander-in-chief Naaman, who, though he had a captured Israelite girl as a slave, was able to visit Israel, carrying a letter from Ben-Hadad to Joram, in order to consult Elisha about a skin disease (*ṣāra'at*, II Ki. 5: 1–19).[306]

Probably in the time of Joram, there was another Aramaean attack on Israel, in which Ben-Hadad again besieged Samaria, and, according to Kings, the conditions inside the city were so severe that the most inferior commodities were sold for exorbitant prices, and some of the people even resorted to cannibalism (II Ki. 6: 8–33). The end of the siege is said to have come about, much to the surprise of the Israelities, when the Aramaeans were deceived into thinking that they heard a large army of Hittites and Egyptians approaching, and abandoned the war (II Ki. 7).[307] The full significance of this account is not clear.

Jehoshaphat died in 848 B.C. and was buried in Jerusalem (I Ki. 22: 50; II Chron. 21: 1), and his son Jehoram, who had been co-regent with him for five years, became king in his own right.[308] It seems that during his reign, probably as a result of his close ties with Israel through his wife, the Israelite princess Athaliah, the system of reckoning the king's years of rule was changed to conform to that of Israel.[309] According to Chronicles (II 21: 1–4), Jehoshaphat had given fortified cities to Jehoram's brothers, so Jehoram, presumably seeing these as a potential threat, had them and some other officials, possibly specialists from the northern kingdom, put to death in order to secure his position. His Israelite wife, Athaliah, who later emerged as a formidable individual, may not at first have had much influence, but this probably changed during his reign. Jehoram is said to have acted like the Israelite kings, and even to have set up pagan cultic platforms (*bāmôt*) in the Judaean hills (II Chron. 21: 5–11). The result of this behaviour was, as the author of Chronicles puts it, that Judah suffered a raid of Philistines and Arabs, the latter probably from the southern border of Philistia.[310] It seems

[305] B 750, 84; B 754, 440f.

[306] Neither Ben-Hadad nor Joram is named but their identity may be fairly assumed. On *ṣāra'at* (here not necessarily Hansen's Disease) see B 758; B 897; B 923; B 775.

[307] On *miṣrayim* as Egypt, see above, n. 272.

[308] B 906, 69f, 181f.

[309] See above, p. 446, and B 906, 35f, 68f.

[310] *'arbîm 'āšer 'al-yad kûšîm* (II Chron. 21: 16), 'Arabs who are near the Nubians', the latter being in mercenary settlements established by the Egyptians; see above, pp. 462f.

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that in resisting the invaders all of Jehoram's sons were killed except the youngest, Ahaziah,[311] who was too young to fight. Jehoram then died of some painful abdominal disease in 841 B.C.,[312] and was buried in Jerusalem, though not in the normal royal tombs, and without full burial rites (II Chron. 21: 12–20).[313] He was succeeded by his son Ahaziah (II Ki. 8: 25), whose name was the same as that of his step-uncle, Athaliah's adoptive brother, who had been king of Israel from 853–852. This again reflects the close ties between the two kingdoms at this time.[314]

Chronicles implies that the succession of Ahaziah was not a foregone thing, since it states that the inhabitants of Jerusalem made him king (II Chron. 22: 1).[315] He is said to have been only twenty-two years old, and it is probable that he was dominated by his mother Athaliah, and therefore continued the close ties with Israel.

An unusual passage in Kings describes a command from Yahweh to Elijah to go and anoint Hazael and Jehu as the kings of Aram and Israel (I Ki. 19: 15–17). There is no account of Elijah himself actually carrying out this instruction, but it is clear that the author viewed these two men as the agents of Yahweh who would purge a degenerate nation, and a subsequent encounter between Elisha and Hazael, before the latter became king of Aram, presents the same picture (II Ki. 8: 7–13). According to Shalmaneser's statue inscription from Ashur, Hazael was a usurper, the 'son of a nobody'[316] who seized the throne, and it is strongly suggested, both by this inscription and by Kings, that he assassinated Ben-Hadad II and seized power in a palace coup.[317] He became a strong ruler, remaining in power for over thirty years, and securing his position sufficiently for his son to succeed him. The passage in Shalmaneser's statue inscription which describes his seizure of power probably derives from the account of his eighteenth year, of 841,[318] so the event itself may have taken place during the previous year. Whatever the case, there was war again between Aram and Israel in 841, when it seems that Ramoth Gilead was under attack. Though Ahab had perished during his attempt to recover this strategic city from Ben-Hadad, it seems that it was not in Israelite hands, because the Israelite commander there, Jehu, is described as being quartered in an

[311] Spelt *yĕhô'āḥāz* in II Chron. 21: 17 and 25: 23, but this is clearly Ahaziah (cf. II Chron. 22: 1), the two elements of the name simply having been reversed, YHW-'ḤZ for more usual 'ḤZ-YHW.

[312] B 906, 68ff.

[313] On the rites see B 713, 57, and on the mention of Elijah in this narrative, B 849, II 121f.

[314] On *ḥātān* in II Ki. 8: 27, see B 846, 97f. On Athaliah's family relationships see below, p. 488.

[315] Cf. B 849, II 125f.

[316] Ashur statue (above, n. 256), lines 26f.

[317] See above, p. 476.

[318] B 219, 83.

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establishment having an 'inner chamber' (II Ki. 9: 2),[319] which must surely have been in a built structure, not an army camp.

Jehu was in command at Ramoth Gilead because while Joram ben-Ahab and his nephew Ahaziah ben-Jehoram, the king of Judah, had been campaigning there against Hazael, Joram had sustained a wound which had necessitated his moving to Jezreel to recuperate. Ahaziah had gone there to visit him (II Ki. 8: 28–9). While the two kings were absent, Elisha sent one of his disciples, evidently only a young man (*na'ar*, II Ki. 9: 4),[320] to carry out the instruction, presumably passed on to him by Elijah, to anoint Jehu as king of Israel (II Ki. 9: 1–6). This was done in private, and when Jehu told his fellow commanders what had happened, they proclaimed him king (II Ki. 9: 11–13). There is then a dramatic account in II Ki. 9: 15–37 describing how Jehu, having ensured that no news of this event should precede him, raced in his chariot like a maniac[321] to Jezreel, some twenty miles away, where he killed the fleeing Joram by shooting him with such violence that the arrow penetrated right through his chest. Ahaziah escaped from this scene only to be overtaken by Jehu and wounded so severely that he died on reaching Megiddo, where he had hoped to find refuge.

It seems that Jehu's *coup* was welcomed by the people of Israel, who had perhaps had enough of the domination of the monarchy by the Phoenician party of Jezebel. When Jehu entered Jezreel he was met by Jezebel in make-up and finery at an upper window, and three of her attendant eunuchs apparently immediately answered his command by hurling her down to her death. At first there may have been some uncertainty as to whether the whole nation would accept Jehu as king, and Ahaziah's expectation of sanctuary at Megiddo suggests this. The most important centre was, of course, Samaria, and Jehu is said to have written letters to the officials there challenging them to nominate one of Ahab's descendants to face him in battle on behalf of the ruling dynasty (II Ki. 10: 1–13).[322] Here and in what follows, it appears that extracts are quoted from three actual letters.[323] The standard letter-form, known in several surviving examples from Lachish, Arad, and Murabba'at, was to open with the name of the addressee and then to turn to the substance of the message with w'T, 'and now'.[324] The

[319] Cf. B 759, 429. See also *gerem*, perhaps 'steps' (I Ki. 9: 13), and on Ramoth Gilead in general, B 900, 119.

[320] On *na'ar* see B 660, 294.

[321] *bĕsigga'ôn*, 'with madness', II Ki. 9: 20.

[322] It is probably preferable to follow the Lucianic Greek text in verse 1 (*της πολεως και προς*) and to read H'RW'L ('the city and to') in place of YZR''L ('Jezreel').

[323] Cf. however B 476, 189f.

[324] Cf. B 813, 156 and n. 3; and in general B 734, 22ff; B 743, 84.

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passage quoted from Jehu's first letter begins with this phrase but the others give only briefer excerpts. The reply from Samaria – presumably also a letter, though the text does not say so – was sent by the royal chamberlain,[325] the city commandant and the elders, and in effect surrendered the city (II Ki. 10: 5). Jehu's second letter demanding the surrender to him of the severed heads of the male descendants of Joram (II Ki. 10: 6)[326] was hastily complied with. The heads were taken to him in Jezreel where he had them piled in two heaps at the city gate,[327] and, having harangued the inhabitants, he killed all Ahab's remaining relations and adherents in the city (II Ki. 10: 7–11). Jehu then travelled the twenty-odd miles south to Samaria, slaughtering on the way a group of Ahaziah's relations, who, apparently ignorant of what had happened, were making for Jezreel to visit Joram and Jezebel, and when he reached Samaria he slaughtered all the surviving relations of Ahab (II Ki. 10: 12–14, 17). His final act of purgation took place in the temple of Baal. He called together all the prophets, priests and workers of Baal, ostensibly for a great sacrifice to their god, but once they were engaged in their cult activities inside the temple, he sent in a body of troops to massacre them to the last man. They brought out and burnt the standing cult pillars (*maṣṣēbôt*), and razed the building to the ground, turning the site into a latrine.

So ended the Phoenicophile dynasty of Omri after forty years of power. Jehu's purge is possibly reflected in changes in pottery styles at certain northern sites;[328] certainly from this time there was a decline in the Phoenician elements in Israelite and Judaean culture, and the first evidence of Assyrian influence.

[325] See B 789, especially 152.

[326] Taking *rā'šê 'anšê bĕnê-'ăḏōnêkem*, 'the heads of the men, the sons of your lord', in this sense.

[327] On this practice, common among the Assyrians, see B 40, 388 n. 36.

[328] B 771, 269f; B 796, 90, 92, 106. B 640 proposes a major division of the Iron Age (from II to III) at this date, on which see B 940, 26ff; but R. Amiran does not adhere to this proposal in B 658, 12, 191f, where, following B 662, she adopts the main subdivisions: Iron Age II A (1000–900), II B (900–800), II C (800–587).

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CHAPTER 11

ISRAEL AND JUDAH FROM JEHU UNTIL THE PERIOD OF ASSYRIAN DOMINATION (841–*c.* 750 B.C.)

T. C. MITCHELL

I. JEHU AND HIS SUCCESSORS

The rebellion of Jehu in Israel in 841 B.C. introduced a new dynasty, effectively the fourth since the division of the Kingdom, and this lasted for nearly a century through five reigns, almost to within twenty years of the end of the northern kingdom. Though this event may not have marked an absolute break with the past, changes in material culture increased from this time, and the very strong Phoenician influence which had been known since the time of Solomon declined. The close ties of the previous decades with Judah were also weakened, and indeed for the next six years the Phoenician element was stronger in the south than in the north, because the queen mother, Athaliah, when she heard of the death of her son Ahaziah, seized power, slaughtering, as she thought, all the survivors of the Davidic line, and ruling for half a decade. In fact, she was not thorough enough, and one of her daughters was able to rescue and conceal a son of Ahaziah, called Jehoash, who was a small baby, only about one year old, at the time (II Ki. 11: 1–3).

Athaliah is designated 'daughter of Omri' (*bat-'omrî*) in the Old Testament (II Ki. 8: 26; II Chron. 22: 2), but her husband Jehoram is described as being married to a daughter of Ahab (*bat-'aḥ'ab* (II Ki. 8: 18; II Chron. 21: 16)) so, unless the latter reference indicates that Jehoram was married also to an unnamed daughter of Ahab, it must mean that she is also described as the daughter of Ahab. Though it is possible to understand *bat-'omrî* as 'granddaughter of Omri', chronological considerations make it more probable that Athaliah actually was the daughter of Omri. It has accordingly been argued that she grew up as a young orphan in Ahab's household, where she came under the influence of Jezebel, and became an adherent of Phoenician religious beliefs and practices.[1] This can only be a working hypothesis, but a description of Athaliah as *bat-'aḥ'ab* need not militate against it, since the term *bat* can be used of an adopted daughter (Esther 2: 7; cf. also Ruth 1: 11, daughter-in-law).

In the north, Jehu reigned for nearly thirty years.[2] He was, strictly

[1] B 790. [2] B 906, 72.

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speaking, a usurper, but he had received prophetic anointing, and he appears to have had a father and grandfather not unworthy of mention (Jehu ben-Jehoshaphat ben-Nimshi; II Ki. 9: 14). The spelling *yēhû'* of his name is probably derived by dissimilation from *yôhû'* (YW-HW', 'Yahweh is He'), which may have been pronounced *yawhû'* at that date.[3]

It seems likely that later in the year of Jehu's purge, the Assyrians first set foot on Israelite territory. Shalmaneser III had campaigned in the west several times, and each time had met resistance to his southern expansion, a coalition of Irkhuleni of Hamath and Adad-idri of Damascus being mentioned in the accounts of his campaigns of 853, 849, 848, and 845 B.C. By 841, however, Hazael had replaced Adad-idri at Damascus, and it is reasonable to conclude from the fact that Hamath is not mentioned in Shalmaneser's account of his campaign of that year, that the Hamath–Damascus coalition had broken up, and that Hamath was cooperating with Assyria.[4] According to one edition of Shalmaneser's annals, he was now able to besiege Hazael in Damascus, destroying the gardens round about the city, and to reach the Hauran mountains in southern Aram, from which he moved to the mountains of Ba' li-ra'si on the Mediterranean, where he erected a commemorative stela.[5] Another edition of his annals, compiled two years later, gives the additional information that Ba'li-ra'si was near to Tyre,[6] from which it is reasonable to deduce that this feature is to be identified with Mount Carmel.[7] This being so, it is evident that Shalmaneser's most likely route from Damascus to the coast was by way of Gilead and Jezreel. It is very probable that the memory of his passage through Gilead is reflected in the eighth-century Book of Hosea, where, in a passage condemning Israel for worldly-mindedness, the prophet compares its coming fate to that suffered by Beth-Arbel at the hands of Shalman (Hos. 10: 14).[8] Beth-Arbel may plausibly be identified with Irbid, some thirty kilometres south-east of the Sea of Galilee, in Transjordan,[9] that is to say in Gilead, and it is therefore very likely that it lay on Shalmaneser's route. The name Shalman corresponds exactly to the first part of *šalman'eser*, the form which represents Assyrian *šulmānu-ašarēd*, when Shalmaneser V is later mentioned in II Ki. 17: 3, 18: 9,[10] so an interpretation of 'Shalman' as an abridged form of the name is reasonable.

According to Shalmaneser's annals, he received tribute at Ba'li-ra'si from Tyre and Sidon, and also from Jehu the Israelite (*ia-ú-a mār ḫu-um-ri-i*),[11] an event depicted on his Black Obelisk from Nimrud

[3] See B 822, 5 and cf. above, p. 481 n. 288.
[4] B 40, 384.
[5] Annalistic Fragment of 18th year (B 219, 77, Rez. D.2), lines 14–23; B 182, 280.
[6] Limestone Tablet from Ashur (B 219, 77f, Rez. E.1), iv 8–9.
[7] B 40, 384f.
[8] B 40, 386f.
[9] B 646A, 10.
[10] See B 841, 7f on the full form.
[11] Annalistic Frag. (above, n. 5), lines 21–6; B 182, 280.

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where the second register of relief scenes, running round the four sides, shows the suppliant Israelite – possibly, though not necessarily, Jehu himself – bowing to Shalmaneser, and followed by officials, and servants carrying various vessels, bales, rods and bundles.[12] Above these scenes the epigraph identifies the tribute as that of Jehu (*ia-ú-a*) and defines it as 'silver, gold', and a number of uncertain objects of gold and wood, and some tin.[13] The name which appears as *ia-ú-a* in these two sources is spelled *ia-a-ú* in the later edition of the annals from Ashur,[14] and partly on the strength of this spelling it has been argued that this form represents Hebrew *yaw*, which, as an abbreviation, could have referred to either Jehu (*yaw-hû'*) or Joram (*yaw-ram*).[15] It is, however, necessary to consider Joram as an alternative identification for *ia-ú-a* only if a chronology is adopted which excludes Jehu from the year 841 B.C., and that such a chronology is preferable to that assumed here has yet to be demonstrated. Moreover the spelling *ia-ú-a* does not correspond to *yaw*, the explanation offered for the final *-a* being unconvincing;[16] and, leaving aside the form on the Black Obelisk, which was inscribed over ten years after the event, of the two editions of the annals which include this name, that which probably belongs to the actual year (*ia-ú-a*)[17] is to be preferred to the edition of two years later (*ia-a-ú*).[18] It is furthermore improbable that a name would be used of an Israelite that was so abbreviated as to be indistinguishable from the ineffable name of the deity.[19] The designation *mār ḫumrî*, literally 'son of Omri', simply means '(the) Israelite', according to a common pattern in the Assyrian inscriptions in which a certain type of state basically known as *bīt* PN, i.e. the word 'house' followed by a personal name, can appear also, among other combinations, as *māt bīt* PN, *māt mār* PN, and *mār* PN.[20] These combinations are used in such a way as to suggest that the variations had no particular significance, and that all had a gentilic sense, so the fact that Jehu was not even a descendant of Omri is irrelevant.

Judah had not been affected by Shalmaneser's campaign, and Athaliah, though she was not a member of the dynasty of David, and had seized the throne with violence, must already have had status and power which she now consolidated. She is not specifically described as 'Great Lady',[21] but this must have been her position. There is little information on her reign in Kings or Chronicles, but she remained in power for seven years,[22] thanks no doubt largely to the absence of a convincing rival

[12] B 147, 1, pls. 53–6; B 16, pl. 100; B 26, nos. 351–5.
[13] Black Obelisk (B 219, 79, Rez. F.1), epigraph ii; B 182, 281.
[14] Limestone Tablet (above, n. 6), iv 11.
[15] B 822; cf. B 903.
[16] B 822, 6 and 7, n. 14.
[17] Annalistic Frag. (above, n. 5).
[18] Limestone Tablet (above, n. 6), 20th year, 839 B.C.
[19] B 731, 1 187ff; B 778, 43ff.
[20] Examples in B 187, 75ff. See B 654, 251; B 238, 149.
[21] See above, p. 462 and n. 154.
[22] B 906, 71.

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for the throne. A potential rival existed, however, in the person of the child Jehoash,[23] who had been concealed in the temple precinct by Ahaziah's sister Jehosheba (II Ki. 11: 2–3; II Chron. 21: 11–12).[24] According to Chronicles, Jehosheba was married to Jehoiada, a priest, who could have had quarters in the temple area, perhaps in the three-storeyed structure which is described as standing against the north, west, and south outer walls of the main temple building of Solomon (I Ki. 6: 5–10).[25] Jehoash was successfully concealed for six years, and in the seventh, Jehoiada, presumably judging him to be old enough, executed a bold move in order to restore him as the legitimate representative of the Davidic line. He first secured the support of the officers of the Carian mercenaries[26] and of the 'runners' who formed the palace and temple guard,[27] making a solemn agreement with them,[28] confirmed by oath, and then showing them the young prince (II Ki. 11: 4–8). There appears, according to Chronicles, to have been a second step, when the officers who were party to the agreement summoned to Jerusalem, no doubt under cover, the Levites and family heads from throughout the kingdom. The text seems to indicate that this larger, but select, group, which is called the *qāhāl*, 'assembly', a term meaning much the same as *'ēdâ*,[29] was then bound to the king by another solemn agreement (II Chron. 23: 2–3). With this security for his action, Jehoiada brought the prince out into the temple under the protection of the armed guard and crowned him king with the diadem or circlet and the *'ēdût*, and anointed him (II Ki. 11: 9–12; II Chron. 23: 11). The word *'ēdût*[30] probably means here a statement, either in written form or delivered orally, of the terms or conditions which Jehoash was now under an obligation to observe as a worshipper of Yahweh and as ruler of the people. These symbolic actions were greeted by the assembled people with clapping of hands, blowing of trumpets and the time-honoured cry, 'Long live the King!'[31] The noise brought out Athaliah from the palace, but this restoration of the true king was evidently so popular that the officers showed no hesitation in following Jehoiada's order to take her for execution outside the temple (II Ki. 11: 13–16; II Chron. 23: 12–15). The ceremonies conducted by Jehoiada fall, with some variations, into the normal pattern of coronation, as far as it can be known,[32] but the aberrant reign of Athaliah called for a renewal of

[23] Spelt *yĕhôʾaš* and sometimes *yôʾāš* (YWʾŠ), the result of later scribal revision (see above, p. 472), and once (II Chron. 24: 1) *yôʾāš* (YʾŠ).

[24] Jehosheba appears as YHWŠBʿ in Kings and YHWŠBʿT in Chronicles, on which see B 706, 423 and B 856, 245, no. 613.

[25] B 713, 315f.

[26] B 732, especially 207 and n. 2.

[27] B 713, 123f, 221.

[28] See above, p. 453 n. 72.

[29] See above, p. 453 and n. 79; E. K. Schmidt in B 800, III 527ff; B 831, 38.

[30] Much discussed: e.g. B 870, 223f; B 798, 106ff; B 653, 92f; B 759, 573ff; B 708, III 173.

[31] *yĕḥî hammelek*; see B 709.

[32] B 713, 102ff; B 870, 221ff.

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the royal agreement or pact which had been established in David's time.[33] Accordingly Kings states that Jehoiada arranged the pact first of all between the king and people on one side and Yahweh on the other, and secondly between the king and the people (II Ki. 11: 17; II Chron. 23: 16).[34]

An indication of the Phoenicianizing influence of Athaliah and her associates is the existence, probably in or near Jerusalem, of a temple of Ba'al. The revulsion of the people against Athaliah's regime was now shown by the destruction of this temple with its altar and images, and by the killing of its Ba'alite priest Mattan (II Ki. 11: 18; II Chron. 23: 16–17).[35] Jehoash was escorted by the guard from the temple to the palace, where he sat on the royal throne amidst rejoicing, and the city is said to have been at peace (II Ki. 12: 19–20; II Chron. 23: 20–1).[36] Being only a child at the time of his enthronement, he enjoyed a reign of forty years (835–796).[37] He had the sound guidance of Jehoiada in the early part of his reign, and one of his actions was to undertake the repair of Solomon's temple, which, after a century, was now in a dilapidated condition. The funds for this were to be raised from the gifts of the worshippers, but maladministration on the part of the priests delayed the start of the work for over twenty years. The repairs were finally carried out, and throughout the life of Jehoiada the regular offerings were made in the temple (II Ki. 12: 4–16; II Chron. 24: 4–14).[38] Jehoiada is said to have lived to a very great age, but when he died, religious heterodoxy became prevalent once more. The reform after the overthrow of Athaliah had not been complete, cultic platforms remaining in use (II Ki. 12: 4), and now the state officials persuaded Jehoash to abandon Jehoiada's Yahwistic religious policy. Cult pillars and idols were freely worshipped, and when Jehoiada's son Zechariah, 'clothed', as Chronicles puts it, with the 'Spirit of God', denounced these practices he was stoned to death on the orders of Jehoash (II Chron. 24: 17–22).

A similar religious situation had arisen in Israel. Jehu's purge had been so violent, unnecessarily so according to the eighth-century prophet Hosea (Hos. 1: 4), that, though the exponents of Phoenician religious excesses were removed, the lesser officials, many of whom would have changed allegiance either way without much conviction, and on whom the effective structure of leadership depended, were also eliminated. Jehu had been assisted in his purge by a group of religious extremists who sought after a nomadic ideal, living in tents, growing

[33] See above, p. 453 and n. 72.

[34] B 665, 78ff; B 831, 36f. Cf. B 768, 224f, suggesting that II Ki. 11: 17 is a later addition.

[35] On the name Mattan, also borne by kings of Tyre in the ninth and eighth centuries, see B 672, 356f; B 788, 187.

[36] See B 476, 168f.

[37] B 906, 71f.

[38] See above, p. 450.

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no crops, owning no property and drinking no wine. They had been established by Jonadab, after whose father, Rechab, they were known as Rechabites, and they had joined Jehu when Jonadab went to meet him on his way from Jezreel to Samaria. The Rechabites were firm Yahwists, as is known from mention of them over two centuries later by Jeremiah (II Ki. 10: 15–28; Jer. 35),[39] but in spite of this the religious reform of Israel remained incomplete. It is probable that attention was concentrated on the Phoenician elements which had been introduced by the Tyrian party of Jezebel, but older aberrations remained, including the gold bulls which had been set up at Bethel and Dan by Jeroboam (II Ki. 10: 28–31).

From the political point of view Jehu's purge had alienated Israel's former allies, Judah and Phoenicia, many of whose nationals had perished in the slaughter, and, with a weakened internal leadership structure, Jehu was now doubly vulnerable. After Shalmaneser's campaign of 841, when Aram was invaded and Damascus besieged, the Assyrians had been otherwise preoccupied, and Hazael[40] had enjoyed a period of respite. A fragment of ivory found at Arslan Tash bears an alphabetic inscription probably to be restored ...ZT.Ḥ....BR.'M'. LMR'N.ḤZ'L.BŠNT..., '...son of 'Amma' has m[ade] this for our lord Hazael in the year...',[41] which can reasonably be referred to Hazael of Damascus. It forms part of an important group of ivories, carved mainly in the Phoenician style,[42] which were found in a building adjacent to an Assyrian palace on the site. Many of these ivories appear to have formed the decoration of two beds, but the inscribed fragment is itself undecorated, and assuming it to have come from one of the beds, it is uncertain which other pieces belonged to that same bed. It is possible that the collection represents two distinct groups: one identified by the inscription as the property of Hazael, and perhaps including a panel representing a man in a style different from the bulk of the other decorated pieces,[43] having been part of the tribute received from Damascus in 802 B.C. by Adad-nirari III, which is specifically said in one of his Calah inscriptions to have included an ivory bed;[44] and the

[39] See B 713, 14f.

[40] Hebrew *ḥāzā'ēl*. A slave of this name is known from a Neo-Assyrian tablet, where it is spelt *ḫa-za-a-il* in cuneiform and ḤZ'L in the Aramaic epigraph (B 570, 134ff); the latter spelling is also found on an ostracon from Nimrud giving a number of private personal names (B 879, 140; B 641).

[41] Restoring Ḥ[RŠ], 'he made (as a craftsman makes)': B 608, pl. XLVIII, 112*a–b*; B 480, no. 232; B 496, II, no. 2.

[42] B 608, pls. XIXff; B 710, 125ff, pls. LXXXIIIff; see also B 667, 124f; B 833, 50ff; and above, p. 471.

[43] B 608, pl. XXXIIII, 43; B 710, pl. LXXXVII, 838; B 6, 315f and fig. 374. Cf. also B 608, pl. XXIII, 44.

[44] Calah Slab (B 219, 115f; B 238, 148ff), line 20, which also mentions an ivory *nēmeddu*, a sort of couch; B 182, 282.

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other including the pieces carved in the standard Phoenician style, having come to Arslan Tash, not necessarily from Damascus, at some time in the eighth century. Some or all of the ivories could have been taken to Assyria in the first instance, and have been brought subsequently to furnish the palace at Arslan Tash, the final phase of which is attributed by the excavators to Tiglath-pileser III, under whom it was the capital of a province. This possibility is supported by another fragment of ivory, again undecorated, found at Nimrud, which is inscribed [...MR]'N ḤZ'L, '...our [lor]d Hazael'.[45]

Though the bulk of the Arslan Tash ivories are not necessarily to be attributed to Hazael, the inscribed fragments show that his palace was furnished with luxury goods. According to Josephus[46] both he (*'Αζάηλος*) and his predecessor Ben-Hadad II (*Ἅδαδος*) were noted for their temple-building in Damascus, and it is possible that a relief slab showing a winged sphinx, which was found built into the Umayyad Mosque at Damascus, is a trace of Hazael's work.[47] The mosque stands on the site of a temple of Jupiter, which probably in turn succeeded a temple of Hadad, and this re-used slab may well have formed part of that temple.[48] An attribution of the slab to the time of Hazael cannot be pressed, since the sphinx, which is carved in the Phoenician style, may be eighth- rather than ninth-century work. The Phoenician style would not, however, in itself be out of place in Hazael's Damascus, since his military operations, whether or not by design, opened up trading relations which brought him into profitable contact with Tyre. In the latter years of Jehu, Hazael is said to have seized all the Israelite territory east of the Jordan, namely Bashan and Gilead as far south as Aroer in northern Moab (I Ki. 10: 32–3), and from here he may well also have taken over Moab and Edom, and in this way gained a significant share in the incense trade which came up through the Hijaz from south Arabia.[49] The changes in sovereignty of the Transjordanian territories are not all recorded in the texts, and can only be surmised. In this instance it may be that Jehu, who was fighting the Aramaeans there when his opportunity came to seize the throne, had been able to secure the whole territory south of Ramoth Gilead when he was well established at home.[50]

Hazael's attacks on Israel continued under Jehu's successor Jehoahaz. Jehu died and was buried in Samaria late in 814 or early in 813 (II Ki. 10: 35),[51] and his son Jehoahaz[52] may have had to face the Aramaeans

[45] B 160, 452, 598f.

[46] *Antiquities* IX.93.

[47] B 629, pls. VIIf; B 657, 39, fig. 15; B 623, 7, pl. III.*d*.

[48] B 945; B 876; B 736; B 694, 44ff.

[49] B 835, 132 n. 10; B 637, 311; B 788, 180.

[50] B 668, 238.

[51] B 906, 72.

[52] Normally spelt YHW'ḤZ, but YW'ḤZ in II Ki. 14: 1. The name is found later on an official's seal inscribed LYN'ḤZ BN HMLK: B 916, no. 252; B 735, no. 20. On the elements YHW, YW, and YH, see above, pp. 472f; on BN HMLK as the title of an official and not necessarily the actual son of the king, see B 713, 119f.

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soon after coming to power, because his forces are said to have been reduced to ten chariots, fifty cavalry, and 10,000 infantry (II Ki. 13: 7),[53] a marked decline from the 200 chariots of Ahab at Qarqar.[54] It may be that evidence of hostile action at a number of Israelite sites is to be associated with these military operations of Hazael. 'Ein Gev on the east shore of the Sea of Galilee shows signs of destruction at the end of level 3;[55] at Hazor there was destruction near the end of the ninth century in level VII;[56] and even in the heart of Israel, at Shechem, the end of level IXA is marked by violent destruction.[57] At Samaria, the dating of the main building phases is subject to some debate, but it has been suggested that the end of the main occupation level II may have been due to this Aramaean action.[58]

In later times, and very probably also at this time, the incense route which passed through the Hijaz and on up to Damascus, also branched westwards across the Wadi Arabah to Gaza in southern Philistia, whence the incense was taken by ship to Egypt and to the Levant coast.[59] A desire to control this western part of the trade may have been the motive behind a campaign conducted by Hazael against Gath (II Ki. 12: 18–19 [EVV 17–18]).[60] Such an expedition illustrates the low ebb to which Israel must have fallen towards the end of the ninth century, because Hazael could only have reached Gath by traversing a large part of Israelite territory. Judah appears to have felt itself no match for Hazael, because to avert an attack on Jerusalem, something like forty kilometres from Gath, Jehoash bought Hazael off with treasure from the temple and palace (II Ki. 12: 19 [EVV 18]). It is likely that the Gath in question was the Philistine city, probably still in their hands, and not the fortified city established by Rehoboam,[61] the seizure of which would have served no strategic purpose.[62]

A reflection of the relations between Damascus and Tyre at this time is possibly to be seen in the Melqart stela from Breij near Aleppo.[63] This stela bears a five-line Aramaic inscription which identifies it as having been set up by Bar-Hadad (BR.HDD) 'for his lord Melqart' (LMR'H LMLQRT), Melqart being the chief god of Tyre. The identity of this Bar-Hadad is uncertain since the passage following his name is damaged. He does not describe himself as 'king', and a plausible

[53] Cf. B 713, 224.

[54] See above, pp. 478f.

[55] B. Mazar in B 662, II 384f.

[56] Y. Yadin in B 662, II 485; B 947, 179.

[57] B 943, 154; B 942, 366f (where for IX*a* read IX*b* and vice versa); B 771, 269f.

[58] B 940, 25. B 796, 90ff, 124 connects the end of this level with the revolution of Jehu.

[59] B 845, 417.

[60] Cf. B 835, 144.

[61] On which see above, p. 456 n. 95.

[62] Such an interpretation is possibly supported by an addition to II Ki. 13: 22 in the Lucianic Greek text which states that Hazael took the ἀλλόφυλος from the Mediterranean to Aphek. Aphek is out of place in this context, but ἀλλόφυλος, 'foreigner', is almost always used in the Septuagint to translate *pĕlešet*: B 766, 157ff. See B 847, 438; B 680, 251 n. 70; B 759, 601 n. *a*.

[63] B 480, no. 201; B 496, II, no. 1; B 599, 655; M. Black in B 31, 239ff, pl. 15; B 26, no. 499.

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reconstruction would make him the 'son of 'Izri-Shamsh who was the father of the king of Aram' (BR 'ZRŠMŠ ZY 'B MLK 'RM), and it has been suggested that this 'king of Aram' might have been Hazael, whose father would therefore also have been 'Izri(or 'Iḏri)-Shamsh.[64]

The date of Hazael's death is uncertain, but if the Biblical statement that he oppressed Israel throughout the reign of Jehoahaz (II Ki. 13: 22)[65] is taken at its face value, it suggests that he lived at least until 798 B.C. He had profited from a period of Assyrian retreat in the west under Shamshi-Adad V (824–811) and when Adad-nirari III succeeded his father in 811 there was no immediate change in this situation, since he was only a minor and his mother Sammuramat (Semiramis) acted on his behalf.[66] According to the Assyrian Eponym Chronicle he began campaigning towards the west in 808, with the taking of Guzana, and this continued with Arpad in 805, Khazazu near by in 804, Ba'li in 803, and the 'sea' in 802.[67] This could appear as a natural progression to the Mediterranean, but it is equally possible that the 'sea' in question was the Persian Gulf,[68] and though it has been suggested that Ba'li be identified with Ba'li-ṣapuna on the coast,[69] the location of this city remains uncertain. According to the Eponym Chronicle, Adad-nirari did not campaign in the west again until 796 B.C., when he took Manṣuate, a place possibly in the Beqa' valley,[70] and after this no more western campaigns are attributed to him. The surviving historical inscriptions of Adad-nirari III all belong to the type ('Display Inscription', *Prunkinschrift*) which summarizes the events of the king's reign in geographical rather than chronological order, and therefore, though both Damascus and Israel are mentioned, there is no indication of the date or dates of the encounters.[71] It is therefore only possible to attempt to match these events with the most likely entry in the Eponym Chronicle, bearing in mind, of course, that the single chronicle entries do not necessarily cover all the military activities of the years in question. On present evidence it seems most likely that the references to Damascus and Israel are to be connected with the campaign which brought the Assyrians nearest to them, that is, to the campaign of 796.[72] It is possible, however, that the earlier campaigns of 805–803 (and possibly 802), by bringing the power of Assyria on to the northern horizon once more, diverted Hazael's attention from Israel, and this may

[64] B 555, 15ff. Various other restorations have been proposed, e.g. B 643, 25f: ...BR ṬBRMN BR ḤZYN MLK 'RM, 'son of Ṭabrimmon son of Ḥezion, king of Aram'; B 700, 37f: ...BR 'ZR DMŠQY' BR MLK 'RM, 'son of 'Ezer the Damascene, son of the king of Aram'.

[65] B 610, 82.

[66] B 109, 163f.

[67] B 245, 429; B 81, 56.

[68] B 54, 217 n. 1359; B 167, 448.

[69] B 686, 115 n. 15; B 164, 162. Written *ba-'a-li-ṣa-pu-na* in the Annals of Tiglath-pileser III.

[70] B 168, 63 and n. 21.

[71] B 238, 141ff.

[72] B 168, 61ff; B 164, 162.

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explain the cryptic statement in Kings that Yahweh, apparently in the time of Jehoahaz, gave Israel a 'deliverer' (*môšia'*), and they went 'out from under the hand of Aram' (II Ki. 13: 3–5).[73] If this passage does refer to Adad-nirari's earlier western activities, the relief would appear to have been short-lived, because, as already mentioned, Hazael oppressed Israel throughout the reign of Jehoahaz (II Ki. 13: 22), in this case throughout the remainder of his reign, and Israel even seems to have suffered from Moabite raiding parties (II Ki. 13: 20–1).[74] The author of Kings implies a connexion between these troubles and the heterodox religious practices in Israel, where a cult pillar[75] was allowed to remain standing even in Samaria (II Ki. 13: 6).

When Jehoahaz died in 798 B.C.,[76] he was buried in Samaria and his son Joash[77] succeeded him, overlapping by two years the reign of his namesake Jehoash ben-Ahaziah in Judah. The age of Joash ben-Jehoahaz at the time of his accession is unknown, but assuming him to have been under thirty, Jehoash ben-Ahaziah would already have been king in Judah at the time of his birth, and though the name 'Joash' was already well known, the father of Gideon, for instance, having borne it, it is difficult not to see its choice in this instance as in some way connected with the contemporary king of Judah. There is no evidence of particularly close relations between the two kingdoms in the time of Jehu, but there might have been some feeling of fellowship in adversity under the Aramaean threat, and possibly Jehu and his son may have been favourably disposed towards the king who had supplanted Athaliah, the untimely survivor, as they might think, of Jehu's great purge of the House of Omri.

It seems that the scribes who were recording the Israelite annals now changed from their traditional method of reckoning the year of the king's accession as his first year to the Assyrian method according to which the first full year of the king's reign was counted as his first year.[78] The reason for such a change is not immediately obvious, but changes in scribal practice do not necessarily wait for political domination, and Assyrian ideas were no doubt known, and might have been favoured by those who saw Assyria as an actual or potential deliverer from the power of Aram.

According to Chronicles, Jehoash ben-Ahaziah's death followed an Aramaean raid on Jerusalem, which, though it is described as having been carried out by a small body of men, did great damage, and cost

[73] Cf. B 835, 145; B 109, 164 n. 44; B 164, 162; B 768, 228.
[74] Cf. B 713, 226.
[75] See above, p. 470.
[76] B 906, 72.
[77] Spelt YW'Š but also YHW'Š; see above, p. 491 and n. 23.
[78] B 906, 36ff, 72f; see above, p. 446.

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a quantity of booty which was taken back to Damascus (II Chron. 24: 23–4).[79] Kings does not mention this raid, and the two sources give different details in their accounts of the actual death of Jehoash (II Ki. 12: 21–2 [EVV 20–1]; II Chron. 24: 25). Both describe a conspiracy by his retainers, then Chronicles says he was killed on his couch or bed, and Kings puts it that he was struck down *bêt-millō' hayyôrēd sillā'*, literally '(at) Beth-Millo the descender of Silla'. This passage has led to much speculation,[80] but, short of free emendation, the most natural understanding would probably be to take Beth-Millo as a building on one of the terraces built out on the eastern slope of the Ophel hill in Jerusalem,[81] in which Jehoash was killed while lying on a couch.[82] He is then said to have been buried in Jerusalem, but not, according to Chronicles, in the royal cemetery. Some of the details peculiar to Chronicles may have been derived from the source named 'Midrash of the book of Kings' which is referred to at this point (II Chron. 24: 27).[83] The reason for this assassination is not stated, but it is possible to speculate that it might have been organized by army officers dissatisfied with the king's handling of the Aramaean raid, which had been so costly to the nation. Whether it could have been in any way connected with the Assyrian campaign of that year, which reached Damascus, is unknown.

Jehoash ben-Ahaziah was succeeded by his son Amaziah[84] in 796, and it seems that Judah now followed the example of Israel and changed to the Assyrian method of reckoning the king's first full year of reign as his first year.[85] This implies some measure of cordial contact between the two kingdoms, and this implication is borne out by the statement in Chronicles that Amaziah hired a body of Israelite mercenaries to assist him in a war against Edom (II Chron. 25: 6).[86] In the event he did not use them, relying on his own chosen force alone, after an exhortation from a 'man of god'. He is said to have gained a victory in the Valley of Salt, possibly the area of the Wadi Arabah to the south of the Dead Sea, and to have taken *sela'*, 'rock', an Edomite stronghold

[79] The assumption (e.g. B 849, II 138f) that this raid was the same as the campaign against Gath is unnecessary.

[80] See e.g. B 759, 590 n. *a*.

[81] B 795, 99ff.

[82] He is said to have been suffering from a great 'sickness' (*māḥaluyîm*) as a result of the Aramaean raid (II Chron. 24: 25).

[83] See above, p. 443.

[84] An abbreviated form of this name is known from a sherd of about the eighth century from Dan, inscribed L'MṢ (B 735, no. I 13), and from a scaraboid seal of about the same date inscribed 'MṢ HSPR, 'Amaṣ the scribe' (B 916, no. 74; B 496, I 62, no. 17).

[85] See above, n. 78.

[86] For the suggestion that *'elep* here and in the preceding verse be understood as 'officer' or the like, rather than 'thousand', see B 927, 24f, 51.

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of uncertain location (II Ki. 14: 7; II Chron. 25: 11–13).[87] Edom had recently paid tribute to the Assyrians, if Adad-nirari III's major western campaign is correctly dated to 796 B.C.[88] Three of Adad-nirari's surviving inscriptions, the Rimah Stela, the Saba'a Stela and a Calah inscription,[89] refer to a successful campaign against Damascus which may be tentatively assigned to this year. In all three the ruler of Damascus is named *ma-re-'* or *ma-ri-'*, a transcription of Aramaic *mārē'*, 'lord', or *mār'î*, 'my lord', which could refer either to Hazael or to Ben-Hadad III, and therefore throws no light on the date of Ben-Hadad's accession.[90] He is known to have succeeded Hazael by the time of the composition of an Aramaic stela discovered at Afis south-west of Aleppo.[91] This stela, set up by Zakur, the successor of Irkhuleni at Hamath, celebrates his acquisition of the neighbouring state of Lu'ash, and his defeat of an opposing coalition organized by Bar-Hadad, son of Hazael. The date of the stela is uncertain,[92] but the general situation in which a king of Hamath could expand northwards and also defeat a Damascus-led coalition might point to the time following Adad-nirari's expedition, when Damascus was weak, and when the Assyrians were once more preoccupied elsewhere. All that can be said therefore is that Hazael was probably succeeded by Ben-Hadad (or Bar-Hadad) III sometime perhaps in the decade following 798 B.C.

The tribute of Edom is mentioned in Adad-nirari's Calah inscription, and this same text also mentions tribute from Israel and Philistia.[93] The Rimah Stela further supplies the name of the ruler of Israel as IA-*'a-su*, probably to be read *iu-'a-su*, Joash, who is designated 'the Samarian'.[94] Though it seems that Adad-nirari received this tribute in Damascus, and did not penetrate further south, the paying of tribute from Palestine shows that his expedition made a considerable impression.

Amaziah's campaign against Edom may have been conducted in the wake of the defeat of Damascus, when intervention would have been unlikely from that quarter, but while he was absent from Judah, the Israelite mercenaries, whom he had decided not to use, are said to have gone on the rampage, killing, destroying, and plundering. Possibly they

[87] B 762, 207ff; B 668, 252f, n. 55.

[88] See above, p. 446.

[89] Rimah Stela, lines 6f (B 219, 113ff, *d*; B. Mazar in B 32, 152f, n. 28; B 238, 141ff). Saba'a Stela, lines 18–20 (B 219, 111ff, *c*; B 238, 144ff; B 182, 282). Calah Slab (above, n. 44), lines 14–21 (B 182, 281f).

[90] Rimah, line 7; Saba'a, line 19; Calah, line 15. On the problem of the designation *mārē'* see B 168, 63 n. 22.

[91] B 480, no. 202; B 496, II, no. 5; B 599, 655f; M. Black in B 31, 242ff.

[92] But see above, p. 402.

[93] Calah Slab (above, n. 44), line 12. On the form KUR *ḫu-um-ri-i*, see B 238, 149.

[94] Rimah Stela (above, n. 89), line 8. On the reading *iu-'a-su* see B 830, 37ff, and on the ligature sign *i+a*, B 92, 537ff.

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were seeking to make up for the loot which they might have expected on the Edomite expedition (II Chron. 25: 13).[95] Perhaps incensed by this behaviour on the part of Israelites who had presumably eventually returned to Israel, and confident as a result of his successes in Edom, Amaziah issued a challenge to Joash (II Ki. 14: 8, 11)[96] Joash's reply was couched in the form of a fable in which he cast himself as a cedar and Amaziah as a thornbush, which could easily be trodden down, and he advised him not to invite disaster (II Ki. 14:–9–10; II Chron. 25: 18–19).[97] Amaziah would not accept this and in the ensuing war the Israelites gained a victory at Beth-shemesh in north-western Judah, Amaziah's forces deserting to their homes and Amaziah himself being captured and taken by the victorious Joash to Jerusalem. A connexion has been postulated between this war and the destruction of level IIB at Beth-shemesh, though the excavator did not accept this view, placing the destruction in the tenth century.[98] In Jerusalem Joash is said to have broken down a stretch of wall about 180 metres long[99] between the Ephraim and Corner Gates (II Ki. 14: 11–13; II Chron. 25: 20–3). The location of these gates, though both are mentioned elsewhere, is uncertain, and the excavations at Jerusalem have brought to light no evidence of this destruction, unless an extension of the area of the city on the north-east is to be connected with Uzziah, and a weakness at this point be thus implied.[100] There is no evidence that the fortifications extended to the western hill in Jerusalem at this date.[101]

Joash concluded his action by carrying off to Samaria all the temple and palace treasure that he could find, as well as a group of hostages (*bĕnê hatta'ărubôt*; II Ki. 14: 14; II Chron. 25: 24).[102] It has been suggested that Amaziah, who had been made a prisoner at Beth-shemesh, was taken to Samaria as one of these hostages, and that he was kept there until the death of Joash ten years later.[103] This would explain the statements in Kings and Chronicles, placed out of correct sequence according to this theory, that the people of Judah took Uzziah when he was sixteen years old and made him king in place of Amaziah (II Ki. 14: 21; II Chron. 26: 1, 3). This would, in effect, have made Uzziah co-regent with his father, while the latter was absent, and this co-regency would have continued during the remaining fifteen years of Amaziah's life, after he was released on the death of Joash in 782 B.C. Another co-regency is proposed between Joash and his son Jeroboam II,

[95] B 849, II 144.
[96] B 713, 250f.
[97] On fables see B 734, 37f; B 743, 314.
[98] B 636, 35ff; B 639, 243ff; but *contra* B 940, 13ff; G. E. Wright in B 662, I 252f; B 771, 271.
[99] 400 cubits (*'ammâ*).
[100] See below, p. 505.
[101] B 795, 147f.
[102] Literally, 'sons of the pledge'.
[103] B 906, 83ff, 182.

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established by Joash in 793 on the eve of his departure to war against Amaziah in Judah.[104]

Ben-Hadad III (II Ki. 13: 24)[105] succeeded his father as king of Damascus probably some time after 798 B.C., and the defeat suffered by him or his father[106] at the hands of Adad-nirari, perhaps together with the reversal which he suffered in his encounter with Zakur of Hamath, left him in a weakened position. This provided an opportunity for Joash, who, at the instance of Elisha, now an old man on his death-bed, mounted a campaign against Aram and recovered all the territory in Transjordan which Hazael had taken from Jehoahaz (II Ki. 13: 14–19, 25).[107] There are signs of destruction by fire at the end of level 2 at 'Ein Gev on the east shore of the Sea of Galilee, which are possibly to be connected with this campaign against Damascus.[108] The account of this Aramaean campaign is placed in Kings before that of Joash's Judaean campaign, and this was very probably the order of events, Joash after his defeat of Amaziah being in a stronger position and master of more territory than his predecessors had been for over half a century.

II. THE AGE OF JEROBOAM II AND UZZIAH

The stage was now set for Joash's successor, and his son Jeroboam II showed himself well able to take advantage of the situation when Joash died in 782 B.C. and he became king in his own right (II Ki. 13: 13; 14: 16, 23).[109] Very little is said of Jeroboam in Kings, and nothing in Chronicles, but he reigned for twenty-eight years after the death of his father, further expanding the territory of Israel and presiding over a period of great material prosperity. A fine jasper scarab seal decorated with a roaring lion, which was found at Megiddo, is very probably to be ascribed to this time, because the owner, Shema', is described on it as 'servant of Jeroboam', using a term, *'ebed*, which was sometimes applied to the retainers (often in high office) of the king.[110] Jeroboam went to war again with Damascus and is credited with restoring Israel's boundaries from the 'approaches of Hamath' to the Dead Sea (II Ki. 14: 25, 28; Am. 1: 3–5)[111] – in other words, all of Transjordan including northern Moab and the territory of Damascus as far north as the border of Hamath. There is a brief reference to this campaign in the book of Amos which quotes Yahweh as saying that Israel's evil deeds will bring

[104] B 906, 77ff.

[105] On his designation as Ben-Hadad III and not II, see above, p. 475 and n. 253.

[106] See above, p. 499.

[107] B 900, 119.

[108] B. Mazar in B 662, II 384f.

[109] B 906, 79ff, 86.

[110] B 916, no. 68; B 496, I 62, no. 13. On *'ebed* see B 713, 120, 528. The name Jeroboam is also attested of a private individual of this period, on a sherd from Hazor: B 947, pl. xxxv, *f*; B 496, I no. 5, B; B 735, no. 112.

[111] B 900, 119; B 610, 91ff; B 668, 238; 253 n.-63.

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retribution, though there is at the moment jubilation over the taking of Lo-debar and Karnaim, probably respectively modern Umm ed-Dabar and Sheikh Sa'd in northern Transjordan (Am. 6: 13; cf. NEB, note). This must have brought Israel into close trading contact with Phoenicia, where during the first quarter of the eighth century the king was Pygmalion (Phoenician PMYYTN or PMYTN),[112] whose sister Elissa (Phoenician 'LŠT),[113] better known as Dido, is traditionally credited with the foundation of Carthage in the late ninth century.[114] This date is the subject of much debate, but the story is symbolic of the pattern of establishment of Phoenician trading colonies, which probably extended to the west Mediterranean by the early eighth century[115] and brought wealth to the Phoenician homeland. Israel, by controlling the trade routes through Transjordan, was able to have a part in this wealth and prosperity.

At Samaria there is some uncertainty concerning the dating of the main building levels. It is possible, however, that level III, in which there was extensive rebuilding in the palace area, is to be associated with Jeroboam or with his father Joash. The standard of masonry was inferior to that in levels I and II, but the latter were probably the work of Phoenician stonemasons, while there is no reason to think that Joash or Jeroboam would have employed other than local craftsmen. In this level the original northern enclosure wall, which had been superseded by the casemate wall of level II, was now swallowed up by the extension of the adjacent buildings. Modifications were also made to the buildings in the western part of the palace area.[116]

In the southern kingdom, Amaziah continued to reign during the first fifteen years of Jeroboam's period of sole rule. He is mildly praised by both Kings and Chronicles, but he is nevertheless said to have condoned the continued existence of cult platforms and the making of sacrifices and burnt offerings on them, and also to have returned from his campaign against Edom with Edomite idols which he set up and treated as his gods (II Ki. 14: 3–4; II Chron. 25: 14). Amaziah's reign, like that of his father, was ended by a conspiracy, perhaps mounted by the sons of his father's assassins, for he is said at the beginning of his reign to have executed the latter but spared their families (II Ki. 14: 5–6). He learnt of the plot against him and escaped to the important city of Lachish, about forty kilometres south-west of Jerusalem, but his enemies had him followed and killed (II Ki. 14: 19; II Chron. 25: 27).[117]

[112] B 672, 391f. [113] B 672, 379. [114] B 788, 167; B 764, 60f; B 848, 114ff.

[115] B 764, 57f; B 848, 98ff; B 788, 191f; B 821, 40ff; B 695A, 13ff (suggesting that the PMY mentioned in line 8 of the Nora Stone from Sardinia be identified as Pygmalion); cf. B 652, 345ff, arguing for earlier dates; and B 705, 31ff and B 678, 202ff, both arguing for later dates.

[116] B 704, 101ff; B 940, 17ff; B 938, 160; cf. B 796, 90ff (above, n. 58).

[117] B 909, 304.

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His remains were brought back to Jerusalem for burial, and his son Uzziah succeeded him as sole king in 767.[118]

The name of Azariah appears in four different spellings in the Old Testament: *'ăzaryāhû* ('ZRYHW), *'ăzaryāh* ('ZRYH), *'uzzîyāhû* ('ZYHW), and *'uzzîyāh* ('ZYH). The first three of these forms occur also on private seals,[119] and the first and third on later ostraca from Lachish and Arad.[120] In addition the spellings 'ZRYW and 'ZYW are found on private seals.[121] While the spellings in -YW are Israelite and those in *-yh* post-Exilic, either of the forms in -YHW could on the face of it represent the contemporary spelling.[122] There is apparent evidence for the form *'ăzaryāhû* at this time in the annals of Tiglath-pileser III, where reference is made to a certain *az-ri-ia-a-ú*, but the state of which he was the ruler is not named in the text,[123] and the only ground for identifying him with Uzziah/Azariah is the absence of any other known king of that name at that date. There are in fact substantial reasons for locating him in north Syria, rather than south Palestine.[124] In the Greek versions the spellings *'Αζαρίας* and *'Οζείας*, or close variations of them, are both found, the former being the more common; but an Aramaic inscription of the Herodian period, probably from Jerusalem, which states that the bones of Uzziah, king of Judah, had been moved to the place where it was set up,[125] shows that this was the form by which he was known at that time. There is reason to think that the roots 'ZR, 'to help, support', and 'ZZ, 'to be strong', converged and could be used interchangeably,[126] and in this case the forms 'ZRYHW and 'ZYHW could simply have been variant spellings of the same name. The form Uzziah will be used here, on the strength of the Herodian inscription.

The reign of Uzziah is given relatively brief treatment in Kings, but Chronicles presents him as an active and far-sighted ruler. He is described as building, that is to say rebuilding, Elath (probably another name for Eziongeber) on the gulf of 'Aqaba, and thereby once more making possible sea trade down the Red Sea (II Chron. 26: 2).[127] This rebuilding is probably to be identified with the Period III city at Tell el-Kheleifeh, which represents a re-occupation after an abandonment of some decades' duration following the Edomite destruction of the

[118] B 906, 77ff, 86, 182.

[119] 'ZRYHW: B 916, nos. 24, 40 (= B 496, I 61, no. 6), 207; 'ZRYH: B 916, no. 175; 'ZYHW: B 916, no. 37.

[120] 'ZRYHW: B 813, 131, 172ff, 197f; 'ZYHW: B 813, 184f.

[121] 'ZRYW: B 916, no. 228 (= B 496, I 61, no. 10); 'ZYW: B 916, nos. 65, 67.

[122] See above, p. 472.

[123] B 206, III: IX, 3; B 213, 18ff. B 850, 26, 31 has shown that the tablet (B 206, III: IX, 2) used in B 213 for lines 103–19, which mentions ... *-ia-a-u* KUR *ia-u-da-a-a*, is of later date and has nothing to do with Tiglath-pileser. See *CAH* III.2, chapter 30.

[124] B 850, 36ff. See above, pp. 410f.

[125] B 896; B 735, no. 255.

[126] B 603, 232 n. 1.

[127] On Eziongeber and Elath see B 634, 15ff.

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Period III city.[128] Associated with this reopening of the Red Sea trade, Uzziah took steps to improve and exploit his marginal territories. In the uncultivated areas of the Shephelah and the plains of the kingdom, where he had animal herds, as well as in the uplands and the fertile areas, where he had farmers and vineyard workers, he is said to have built fortresses and to have cut cisterns (II Chron. 26: 10).[129] To accomplish these measures he was obliged to engage in military action. The Philistine plain lay immediately to the west of the Shephelah, and he is said to have conducted a campaign in that direction and to have broken down the walls of Gath, Ashdod, and Jabneh and to have built outposts there. This may well mean that he now gained an outlet to the sea. He also had encounters with Arab groups (II Chron. 26: 6–8),[130] and must still have maintained effective control of Edom. A number of fortresses defended by casemate walls with projecting towers have been recorded in the Negeb, and some of these are possibly to be associated with this work of Uzziah.[131] Other evidence of this activity is perhaps to be seen in what appears to have been a system of forts and cisterns with associated irrigation works in the Buqei'a Plain to the west of the Dead Sea, including a substantial building and cistern at Khirbet Qumran.[132]

Level IX at Arad is very probably to be dated to Uzziah's time. The existing defensive wall continued in use, possibly being strengthened in this level. The temple established in Solomon's time also continued to stand, and near its large altar was found a well-executed bronze figurine of a crouching lion.[133] This level also yielded inscriptions in the form of a fragment of a bowl with the name 'RD, 'Arad', incised seven time on it,[134] and four ostraca inscribed in ink with personal names, mainly in connexion with the issue of rations. Several of these names contain the divine element -YHW.[135]

To secure his capital, Uzziah is also said to have built fortified towers at various points in Jerusalem, and to have provided them, and other strategic points in the city, with 'skilfully contrived devices' (*ḥiššĕbōnôt maḥăšebet ḥôsēb*), probably wooden protective hoardings to enable arrows and boulders to be directed at attackers close to the walls, without exposing the defenders to more distant lateral fire (II Chron. 26: 9, 15).[136]

[128] B 750, 84f; B 754, 441; N. Glueck in B 662, III 716.
[129] On *migdāl*, usually 'fortified tower', see B 713, 235.
[130] B 869; B 637, 314 n. 82 (on the Meunites).
[131] B 634; B 637, 314.
[132] F. M. Cross in B 662, I 267ff; B 714, 1ff. See above, p. 451.
[133] B 638, 392ff; Y. Aharoni in B 662, I 83ff; and lion, B 26, no. 806.
[134] B 735, no. 48; Y. Aharoni in B 662, I 86.
[135] B 813, 215ff, 219f.
[136] B 713, 237, 536; B 950, 326f.

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The excavations at Jerusalem have shown that the southern part of the eastern hill was enclosed by a Canaanite wall which continued in use under David and Solomon. Solomon extended the walled area to the north of the original enceinte, but it seems that he took his eastern extension not from the north-east corner of the enceinte, but from higher up the slope to the west, so there remained a re-entrant angle in the defences at this point. At some time, possibly in the eighth century, a rectangular building was constructed on bedrock in this area, and possibly at this same time a wall was built to bring this whole area within the city. Storage jars, two bronze buckets, and a bronze jug were found in this building, the latter associated with shrew bones, perhaps suggesting the presence of grain, and that the building was used as a granary.[137] The dating of these alterations is highly uncertain, but it is not impossible that they formed part of Uzziah's operations. Uzziah is also said to have maintained a standing army, and Chronicles lists the principal equipment supplied by him to his troops. For protection they had the helmet, tunic of scale armour, and shield, and for weapons, the spear or lance, bow, and sling for slingstones (II Chron. 26: 11–14).[138]

Under Jeroboam II and Uzziah the territory of Israel and Judah extended once more almost as far as the boundaries of David's kingdom two centuries earlier. In the west the Philistines were confined to a limited coastal strip, and in the east Edom and Damascus formed part of the two kingdoms, with a reduced Moab and Ammon in dependent relationship.[139] The strategic position of the two states on the southern trade routes brought great prosperity. Jeroboam and Uzziah were presumably at peace with one another at this time, and Israel's close trading contacts with the Phoenician cities on her western border would also have benefited Judah.

The degree of prosperity is reflected in the archaeological record, as are also its consequences, in the growth of a wealthy privileged class and of oppression and injustice. In level II at Tirzah, the old northern capital, the excavations have revealed examples of large, well-built, private houses, contrasting with the simpler types uncovered in the preceding level (III). In level III all of the private houses had been built to the same standard, but now in level II there is a marked contrast between the new large prosperous houses and a quarter consisting of smaller, less well-built structures, separated from them by a dividing wall.[140]

Elisha, the great prophet, is said to have died in the early eighth

[137] B 795, 130ff; B 796, 123f. See above, p. 500.
[138] On equipment see B 713, 243ff; B 950, 293ff.
[139] B 637, 312, map 28.
[140] B 719, 377f, R. de Vaux in B 662, II 403f; B 796, 126.

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century. Certain other lesser prophets are mentioned (II Ki. 14: 25; II Chron. 25: 7, 15), but the new conditions of prosperity and associated injustice and apostasy brought forth new men who are known not from the historical sources but from separate books which bear their names. Two of these men, Amos and Hosea, date themselves to this period in their opening statements: 'The words of Amos, who was among the shepherds[141] of Tekoa, which he saw (*ḥāzâ*)[142] concerning Israel in the days of Uzziah and... of Jeroboam'; and 'The word of Yahweh which came to Hosea... during the reigns of Uzziah, Jotham, Ahaz and Hezekiah, kings of Judah, and during the reign of Jeroboam.' Tekoa was in Judah, about sixteen kilometres south of Jerusalem, and Amos identifies himself as a farmer, a herder perhaps of cattle as well as of sheep, and a dresser of sycamore trees, and disclaims any prophetic antecedents, but he nevertheless felt himself to have been called by Yahweh to speak his message, or 'prophesy', in Israel (Am. 7: 14–15).[143] His prophecy condemns Israel's neighbours but most of all Israel herself for apostasy from Yahweh, and for social injustice. He mentions pagan gods and goddesses and reports a confrontation with the priest at Bethel, who referred to that place as the king's sanctuary and a temple of the kingdom. This sanctuary must have been maintained in use since it was established by Jeroboam I over a century before (Am. 7: 10–17).[144] Hosea, if he was still active in the time of Hezekiah, must have been a younger contemporary of Amos, probably only beginning his mission in the last days of Jeroboam. Hezekiah came to power in Judah thirty-seven years after the death of Jeroboam, a quite possible period of activity for one man. Since Israel had fallen to the Assyrians six years before Hezekiah became king, it is necessary to assume that Hosea lived the latter part of his life in Judah. The main thrust of his message was against the worship of false gods, and included condemnation of a young bull figure at Samaria, perhaps one of those originally set up at Bethel and Dan by Jeroboam (Hos. 8: 5–6).[145]

Though Amos and Hosea directed their main condemnation towards Israel, the pure worship of Yahweh was also compromised in Judah, and Hosea frequently included Judah in his strictures. Uzziah is said, like his father, to have failed to abolish the cult platforms where sacrifices and burnt offerings were still brought (II Ki. 15: 3–4).

The influences of Phoenicia are apparent in art at this time. Typical of fine objects of Phoenician manufacture are carved ivories. Amos

[141] See above, p. 482, *nōqēd*.

[142] See above, pp. 454ff, *ḥōzeh*, 'seer'.

[143] On Amos see B 870, 262ff; B 742, 243ff; B 680, 256ff; B 734, 395ff; B 743, 430ff; B 765, 883ff.

[144] See above, p. 460.

[145] See above, pp. 460ff. On Hosea see B 870, 266ff; B 742, 246ff; B 680, 256ff; B 734, 384ff; B 743, 418ff; B 765, 859ff.

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speaks of 'ivory houses' (*bātê haššēn*) in his condemnations of luxury and oppression in Israel, and in a passage condemning the way of life in Samaria he describes the privileged classes who lie on beds of ivory (Am. 3: 15; 6: 14). The bulk of the ivories found in the excavations at Samaria, which are commonly assigned to the time of Ahab, are most plausibly to be dated in this period. They closely resemble other examples found at Arslan Tash (Khadatu), Khorsabad (Dur-Sharrukin), and Nimrud (Calah), and since the Assyrian capital Dur-Sharrukin was only founded by Sargon II near the end of the eighth century, and the ivories found in it are unlikely to have been more than thirty or forty years old, the other stylistically related groups, including the bulk of that from Samaria, are most likely to have been made around the second quarter of the eighth century.[146] Those from Samaria are decorated with scenes of winged sphinxes, winged goddesses, the child Horus seated on a lotus, and lotus and palmette patterns.[147] A comparable, though crudely executed, palmette pattern occurs on the handle of an ivory cosmetic spoon found in level VI, the time of Jeroboam, at Hazor.[148] This came from the private house of a prosperous merchant, in which was also found a potsherd inscribed 'belonging to Makbiram', possibly identifying the owner of the house.[149] This and other private houses in the same level at Hazor show signs, like those at Tirzah, of great prosperity, but the public buildings appear to have been somewhat neglected.[150]

An important discovery of this period was made in a secondary building at the west end of the summit area at Samaria, where a number of ostraca inscribed in ink in archaic Hebrew were found.[151] These ostraca, which number over sixty, are records of the delivery of wine and oil to named individuals, probably officials or members of the royal court, who received the consignments on behalf of the palace. The senders are usually named, as well as the places from which the commodities were despatched, and these show that they came from an area within a radius of about thirty kilometres of Samaria. No kings' names are mentioned on the ostraca, but all the examples on which that portion is preserved begin with one of three formulae: 'In the year nine' (BŠT HTŠ'T), 'In the year ten' (BŠT H'ŚRT), or 'In the year 15' (BŠT 10+5, or BŠT H 10+5). The difference in the way that the numbers are expressed – years nine and ten in words, and year fifteen in figures – is

[146] See above, pp. 471, 493f, and on first-millennium ivories in general, B 623.

[147] B 702; B 710, 62ff, pls. VIIIff. See also B 667, 124f; B 833, 39f; B 6, 312, 316ff, *passim*.

[148] B 947, 182, pl. XXXVI.*b*.

[149] B 496, I 18, A; B 947, 181, pl. XXXV.*e*.

[150] B 947, 179ff.

[151] B 868, I 227ff; B 723, 21ff; B 480, nos. 183–7; B 496, I, no. 2; B 813, 23ff; W. F. Albright in B 25, 321; J. N. Schofield in B 31, 204ff.

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also reflected in the general formulation of the texts, in the palaeography, and in the individuals named as recipients, who are quite different in year fifteen from those named in years nine and ten. These factors suggest that two separate groups of documents are represented, the first consisting of those dated in years nine and ten, and the second those dated in year fifteen. Palaeographically the script can be placed in the first half of the eighth century, and within this range, the first group can be distinguished as earlier than the second. This sequence is supported by the probability that some of the recipients named in the latter group appear to have been the sons of men named in the former. It seems likely therefore that these ostraca belong to the fifteenth year of one king, and to the tenth and eleventh years of his predecessor, and that of the three kings who reigned for over fifteen years at this time, Jehoahaz (17), Joash (16), and Jeroboam II (41), the most likely candidate for the fifteenth year is Jeroboam. If this is correct, the first group of ostraca must belong to the ninth and tenth years of Joash, that is to 789 and 788, and the second to Jeroboam's fifteenth year, or 767, just over twenty years later, which is a plausible lapse of time.[152] The change of pattern in the way that these documents are framed suggests that Jeroboam had instituted administrative changes when he came to power, and this is entirely consistent with his apparently energetic character.

Some light is thrown on the ethnic composition of the population at this time by the personal names in the ostraca. Something over half of those which are compounded with divine names contain the element Yahweh, but there are a fair number containing the pagan element Ba'al. To a large extent the individuals bearing Yahweh-names are the recipients of the consignments, that is to say the royal officials or courtiers, and the Ba'al-names are largely confined to the senders, who also included some men with possibly Egyptian names. This dichotomy may be seen as the result of Jehu's attempt to return to Yahwism, which is reflected as having been more effective among those associated with the court than in the provinces, where the old ways continued largely unchanged.[153] It also further illustrates the growth of class differences in Israel.

Jeroboam's long reign came to an end in 753 B.C., when he was succeeded by his son Zechariah,[154] who survived for only six months, being assassinated in 752 by an otherwise unknown man named Shallum

[152] If the reference was to Jeroboam's 15th year as co-regent with his father the date would be 779, but this seems less likely.

[153] See in general B 813, 39ff; B 637, 315ff.

[154] I.e., ZKRYHW, but also spelt ZKRYH in the Old Testament; see above, pp. 472f. The name is attested in the Judaean spelling ZKRYHW on a weight: B 723, 261, no. 104; B 916, no. 104.

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ben-Jabesh,[155] who himself only survived the deed for a single month (II Ki. 14: 29; 15: 8, 10, 13).[156] The death of Zechariah brought the dynasty of Jehu to an end after a period of eighty-nine years, twice as long as any other Israelite dynasty, the next longest, that of Omri, having lasted only thirty-nine years. During the remaining thirty years of its existence as an independent state Israel never regained the prosperity of Jeroboam's reign. Shallum was in his turn assassinated by a man of Tirzah, Menahem ben-Gadi,[157] who established what may be called the fifth Israelite dynasty, though it lasted for only twelve years (II Ki. 15: 14, 17).[158] These killings may have been reflections of a malaise in the kingdom arising from the injustice and oppression of which Amos and Hosea spoke, and Menahem is said to have exhibited an even more barbarous disposition in his treatment of a city, probably Tappuah (II Ki. 15: 16),[159] modern Sheikh Abu Zarad, about twenty-four kilometres south-south-west of Tirzah, which seems not to have opened its gate to him as king. He is described as ripping open all the pregnant women in the course of his attack on it.[160]

In Judah the last years of Uzziah were troubled, for he is said to have contracted a skin disease (II Ki. 15: 5; II Chron. 26: 23),[161] possibly leprosy, and appears to have been obliged to live apart in special isolation. His quarters are referred to as a *bêt haḥopšit*, a phrase paralleled by Ugaritic BT ḪPṮT, which appears to refer to a subterranean cavity or something of the kind.[162] This does not necessarily suggest that he was placed in an underground chamber, but it does imply definite seclusion, and since he was now unable to act as king, his son Jotham acted on his behalf, being described as 'over the house',[163] that is to say, as controlling the royal household, and as assuming a judicial function. It is probable that this took place in 750 B.C. and that for the next ten years Jotham served as co-regent with Uzziah.[164] Though Jotham appears to have been an active and able ruler, the great period

[155] Usually spelt ŠLWM but sometimes ŠLM, a form also attested on several private seals: B 916, nos. 58, 120f, 147.

[156] B 906, 9, 87f.

[157] The name MNḤM is attested on private seals (B 916, nos. 133, 166, 182, 195, 197) as well as on ostraca, again referring to private individuals, of the eighth century from Samaria and Arad (B 813, 248f and 219).

[158] B 906, 87f.

[159] The Massoretic Hebrew gives *tipsaḥ*, otherwise unknown in Palestine; the Septuagint *Θερσά*, i.e. Tirzah, here inappropriate; and the Lucianic Greek *Θαφφούα*, i.e. Hebrew *tappûaḥ*, probably the most plausible.

[160] The text presents some difficulties (cf. B 847, 449f) but this part is clear.

[161] See above, p. 484 n. 306, and especially B 775, 92.

[162] Myth of Ba'al, I v 15, II viii 7. See B 725, 106f, 102f; B 685, 220, 248.

[163] Cf. *'ašer 'al-habbayit*, above, p. 465 and n. 174.

[164] B 906, 118ff, 191. It now seems unlikely that Uzziah (Azariah) is to be identified with the *az-ri-ia-a-ú* who is named as a tributary by Tiglath-pileser III, probably in 743 (see above, p. 503), so it is unnecessary (e.g. B 647, 72f) to assume that he remained active while in seclusion.

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of stability and prosperity under Uzziah and Jeroboam II was over, and external threats began to appear. In Damascus Ben-Hadad III had been succeeded, some time around 773 B.C., by a ruler named Khadianu who bore the same name as his tenth-century predecessor, the grandfather of Ben-Hadad I (I Ki. 15 : 18).[165] He is known only from an unpublished inscription of Shalmaneser IV,[166] and the following quarter of a century is an obscure period in Damascus. By about 750 a new king, Rezin, was established there and he campaigned southwards, attacking Judah later in Jotham's reign; but a more significant event, probably in 743,[167] was the reappearance in the west of the Assyrians after a period of about forty years during which their energies were largely expended elsewhere. In 745 Ashur-nirari V was succeeded by Tiglath-pileser III, and the following century and a third was a time of continuing Assyrian expansion. In the years following 743 Tiglath-pileser conducted a series of campaigns against the west which enabled him to control a corridor through north Syria to the Levant coast, and as far south as Hamath and its dependencies. This made sufficient of an impression for Menahem as well as Rezin to pay tribute, and marks the beginning of a change in Israel and Judah, in which the Phoenician influence of the previous two centuries gave way to increasing cultural domination by Assyria, and, in the sixth century, by Babylonia.

Symbolic perhaps of this coming influence is an Assyrian pottery flask discovered at Hazor in level VA, the last Israelite fortified city, which was probably destroyed by Tiglath-pileser III.[168]

[165] Hebrew *ḥezyôn*; see B 805, 289f.
[166] See above, p. 401 and n. 233.
[167] B 906, 90ff and *CAH* III.2, chapter 29.
[168] B 946, II, pls. XCVII.11, CLIX.13; B 658, 291, photo 300.

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CHAPTER 12

CYPRUS

V. KARAGEORGHIS

I. THE TRANSITION FROM THE LATE BRONZE AGE TO THE IRON AGE

The physical phenomenon – probably an earthquake – or the hostile assault which destroyed the Late Bronze Age towns of Cyprus about 1075 B.C.[1] marked the end of this period throughout the island and caused the abandonment of most of them, except Old Paphus[2] and Citium.[3] The evidence for the subsequent period, the initial stages of the Iron Age, has to depend almost entirely on archaeology, hence the continual reference to archaeological remains and material culture in general.

Life was resumed at Old Paphus soon after the catastrophe, as is shown by material found in tombs, and there are more substantial archaeological remains at Citium, recently revealed by excavation, which demonstrate the reoccupation of the town. As a result of the catastrophe large portions of the mud-brick superstructure of the city wall of the town fell on the street which runs along the rectangular bastions, sealing pottery of the latest phase of Proto-White Painted ware. The city wall was never rebuilt, suggesting perhaps a long spell of peaceful conditions, but the public buildings (temples and sacred areas) and private houses were rebuilt throughout the area so far excavated, either on the foundations of the old walls or following a completely different grid plan. The solid walls and the thick floors suggest not an ephemeral reoccupation by squatters but one of a permanent character. The ensuing period was one of peace and relative prosperity. Proto-White Painted ware disappeared almost completely, and new fabrics appear on the new floors (Citium Floor I): these are White Painted I, Bichrome I and Black Slip I, marking the beginning of the Iron Age or Cypro-Geometric I period. This period of reoccupation is a short one. The temples and habitation came to an abrupt end about fifty years after their reconstruction, about 1000 B.C. The cause was not a violent destruction but an abandonment, as is shown by the accumulation of a thick alluvial deposit on Floor I in the temples

[1] *CAH* II.2, 211; D 366, 315–17; D 331, 534.
[2] D 359, 120.
[3] D 353, 90–4.

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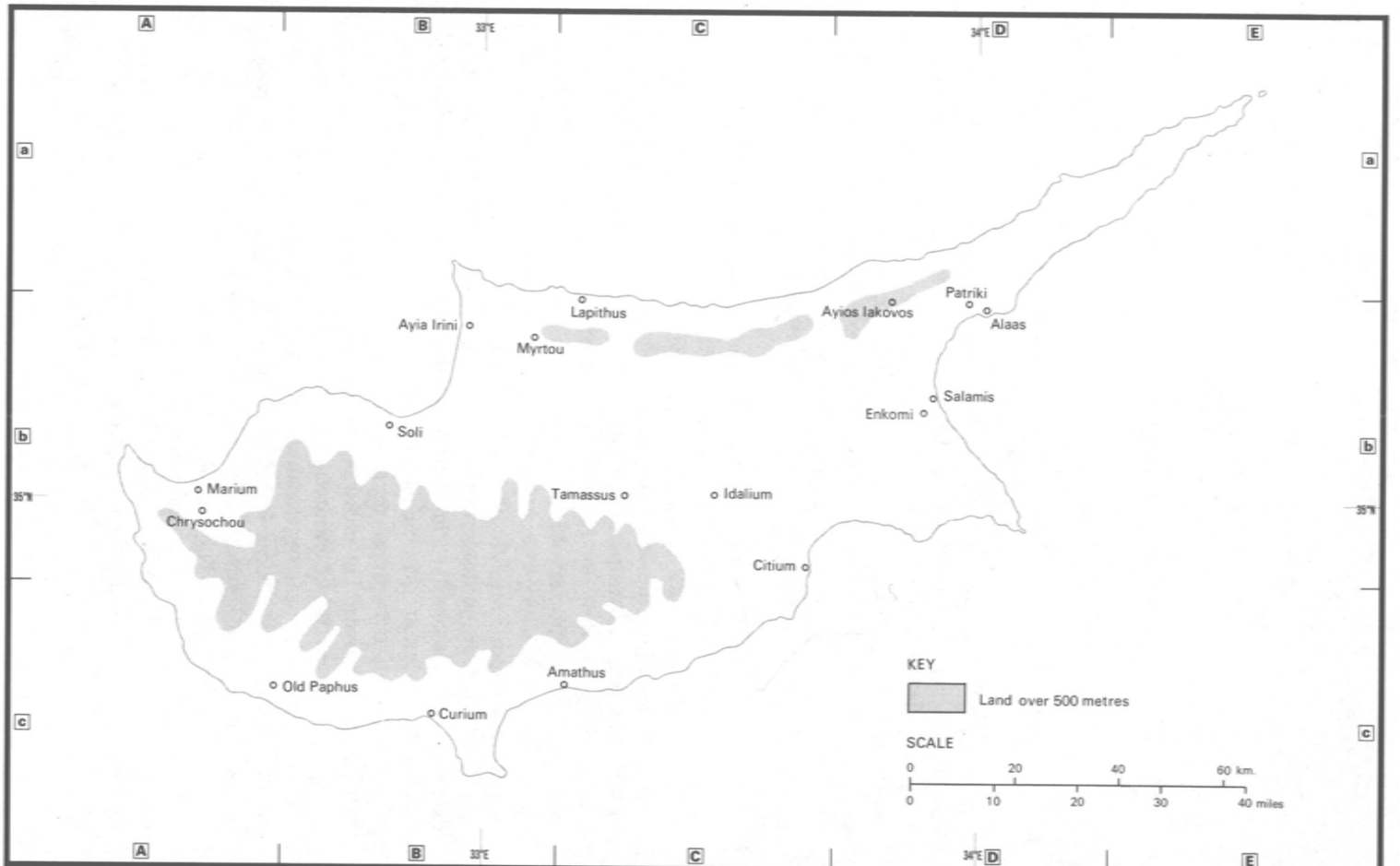

Map 16. Cyprus.

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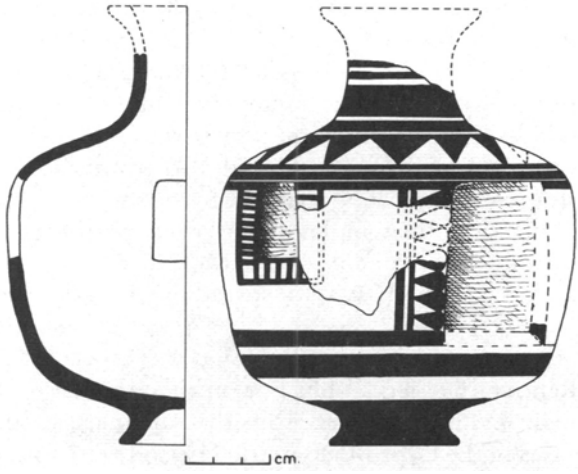

Fig. 45. Clay model of a shrine (*naiskos*), a type introduced to Cyprus from Subminoan Crete in the 11th century B.C. From the sanctuary at Citium. Height 25 cm. (Cyprus Museum; see D 345.)

and the sacred courtyards. The pottery which was found on this floor, sealed by the alluvial deposit, is still of the same early fabric, and Cypro-Geometric II wares had not yet made their appearance.

The cemetery which corresponds to this early phase of the Cypro-Geometric I period at Citium has been traced *extra muros*, on the western outskirts of the town.[4] The tombs are rich in Cypro-Geometric I pottery, including some survivals of Proto-White Painted ware. There is an extraordinary repertory of forms, mostly an evolution of Late Bronze Age types, but there are also imported vases from the Syro-Palestinian region as well as local imitations of them, mainly lentoid flasks of Bichrome ware. This is a phenomenon which started early in LC IIIB;[5] the ceramic material from the necropolis of Alaas, a site on the coast north-east of Salamis, has shown this variety in a remarkable way.[6]

More information about the cultural contacts of Cyprus during this short period is offered by the material from Citium which was found in *bothroi* or *favissae* outside or inside the abandoned temples, buried by those who, several years afterwards, came to re-use these temples.[7] They include votive offerings found inside the temples, such as miniature votive dishes, amphoriskoi, kalathiskoi, stemmed bowls and kylikes. The discovery of several clay models of shrines (*naiskoi*) of a type known in Subminoan Crete (fig. 45)[8] illustrates the relations between Cyprus

[4] D 350, 95.
[5] D 364.
[6] D 352. See Plates Vol.
[7] D 353, 91.
[8] D 345.

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and Crete which were initiated already in the twelfth century, with the arrival of Cretan refugees in Cyprus and their establishment mainly along the south coast. This suggestion is strengthened by the discovery in the same *bothroi* of a number of terracotta figurines of the well-known type of the goddess with raised arms, which was also imported from Crete.[9] The *bothros* of Temple 5 produced also several clay masks of bearded male figures,[10] suggesting that side by side with the old custom of wearing bull masks in the temples during ritual performances a new fashion was introduced, probably from the Near East, of wearing human masks. This fashion was to spread later under Phoenician influence.

At Enkomi there is evidence that the town was reoccupied after the catastrophe of about 1075 B.C.,[11] but not on the same large scale as at Citium. The main evidence comes from the sanctuary of the 'Ingot God', where vases of the Cypro-Geometric I period were found, as well as terracotta figurines of the goddess with raised arms, of a type which occurs also at Citium and in the sanctuary of Ayios Iakovos.[12] It is interesting to note that clay masks of the same type as those of Citium were found in this temple at Enkomi, dating also to the Cypro-Geometric I period.[13]

At Old Paphus recent excavations have revealed that the famous temple of Aphrodite which is first mentioned in Greek literature by Homer in the *Odyssey*,[14] was built in the LC III period, of large ashlar blocks like the great LC III temple at Citium.[15] This temple continued in use down to the Roman period, obviously with many alterations and additions to its original plan, but some of the large ashlar blocks of its courtyard walls still remain *in situ* and religious symbols like the 'horns of consecration' may have stood as survivals in the temple. In view of the importance of Old Paphus during the LC IIIB and Cypro-Geometric I periods, as seen already from the evidence of the tombs on the eastern outskirts of the town, we may assume that the temple continued to flourish, like that of Citium. It is unfortunate that later interventions removed all deposits down to the bedrock and erased almost all signs of stratigraphical evidence before the Roman period.

Recent archaeological research at the city site of Salamis produced evidence that the earliest habitation of this site goes back to the beginning of the eleventh century.[16] It may be assumed, on the basis of the Proto-White Painted pottery which was found in Salamis Tomb I[17] and Enkomi level IIIC, that the two sites coexisted for about

[9] D 342, 180–1. See Plates Vol.
[10] D 353, 102.
[11] D 331, 536; D 328, 324.
[12] D 336, 1, pl. 68. 6, 13, 16, 18, 29, 44.
[13] D 326, 43–9.
[14] Hom. *Od.* VIII.362–3.
[15] D 360, 132–8.
[16] D 365, 254–5; D 369, 95–6.
[17] See Plates Vol.

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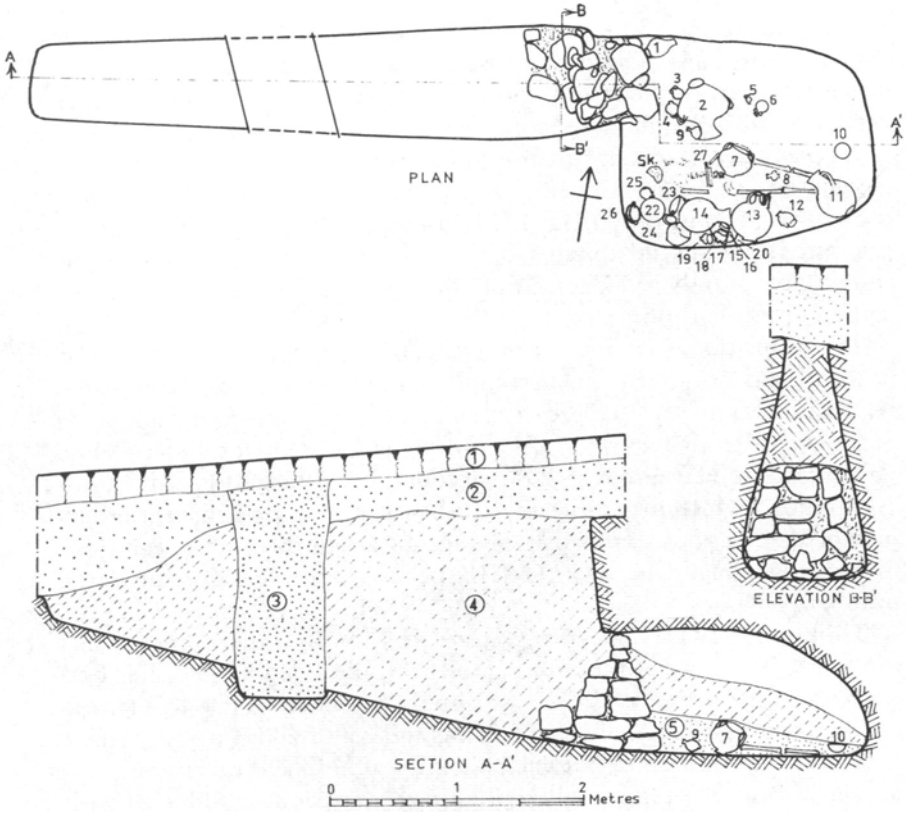

Fig. 46. Plan and section of Tomb 19 at Alaas, of the 11th century B.C. The long narrow *dromos* and small chamber recall Mycenaean prototypes. (See D 352.)

twenty-five years after the catastrophe of about 1075 B.C. and that the shifting of the population from Enkomi to the new town of Salamis which was built round the natural harbour on the south sector of Classical Salamis must have been gradual. It is legitimate to suppose that the sanctuary of the 'Ingot God' continued to be used even a few years after the final abandonment of this town.[18] Stratigraphic evidence shows the existence of habitation within the city site of Salamis, on the ridge round the natural harbour, in connexion with pottery of Proto-White Painted ware. Thus the mythical tradition of the foundation of Salamis by Teucer,[19] a hero of the Trojan war, acquires some archaeological reality.

It is interesting to see that the Proto-White Painted ware of Salamis is stylistically the same as that which has been found during recent excavation of tombs in the cemetery of Alaas already mentioned. The tombs of this cemetery, with a small rectangular chamber and a long

[18] D 328, 324. [19] Pind. *Nem.* IV.46; Aesch. *Pers.* 895; D 333, 114–20.

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dromos, are of the same Mycenaean type as Tomb I at Salamis and elsewhere (fig. 46). The pottery betrays a regional style prevailing in the eastern part of the island, though in broad lines it is homogeneous with the Proto-White Painted pottery throughout Cyprus. The site of Alaas produced evidence of continuous habitation through the Cypro-Geometric and Cypro-Archaic periods. Prior to the LC IIIB tombs there is evidence, so far, only from LC II tombs in this region.[20] It may be suggested that the inhabitants of Enkomi after the 1075 catastrophe emigrated not only to Salamis, but also to the site of Alaas, which also had a natural harbour.

The transitional period from LC IIIB to Cypro-Geometric I is peaceful and homogeneous throughout the island. Apart from some regional ceramic styles there is a cultural *koine* from Old Paphus to Salamis and from Lapithus to Citium. The latest of the Proto-White Painted ware so far discovered is that found in a tomb at Idalium 'Ayios Georghios', which may indicate that the last arrival of Achaean settlers may be dated about 1075 B.C.[21] The tombs are of the Mycenaean type, introduced already in the LC IIIB period, and they contain large numbers of vases.

Though the LC IIIB–Cypro-Geometric I tombs hitherto mentioned did not contain any of the exotic goods and the splendid jewellery and bronzes of the tombs of LC II, we should not characterize this period as one of poverty. The tombs of Salamis and Kaloriziki (Curium)[22] have produced a good number of valuable gifts of gold and bronze (fig. 47) as well as pottery of fine quality, pointing to a period of high standards in metal-work and the ceramic arts during which local craftsmen adopted and adapted influences from the Aegean and blended them with local and Near Eastern fashions.

Greek immigrants from the Greek mainland and possibly from Rhodes[23] must have continued arriving as late as the end of the LC IIIB period, and by 1050 B.C. the Greek 'colonization' of Cyprus, which had started about 1200 B.C., must have been complete. The Greeks introduced the Mycenaean type of tomb and probably of dress, if we judge from the widespread distribution of bronze fibulae which replaced the local Cypriot pins.[24] Yet they accepted the local burial customs and inhumation was the common practice, except in some rare cases, like the 'royal' tomb at Kaloriziki, where a Greek ruler was cremated.[25] The new cultural climate, though essentially Greek, was also blended with Near Eastern and also Eteocypriot elements, the latter representing the culture of the old indigenous stock which could not

[20] D 352, 4.
[21] D 341, 185–99; D 25, 24, 26.
[22] D 358, 131–42; D 324, pls. 40–1.
[23] D 324, 23–4.
[24] D 325, 240–7.
[25] D 358, 131–42.

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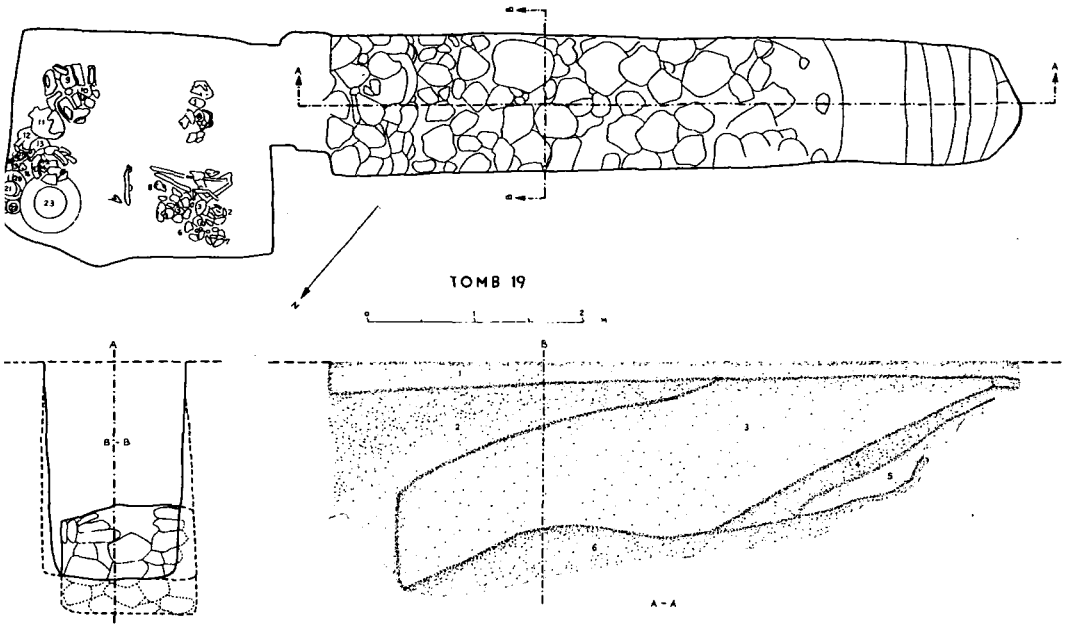

Fig. 47. Plan and section of a tomb at Curium (Kaloriziki) of the 11th century B.C. In it looters found the famous gold sceptre (see Plates Vol.). (See D 358.)

be and was not in any way intended to be exterminated. In several cemeteries, as at Lapithus, we see separate burial grounds for the Eteocypriots and for the immigrant Greeks, the former using tombs of the local traditional type and the latter tombs of the Mycenaean type.[26] The cultural superiority of the Greek settlers, however, and their political alertness soon gave them the lead over the Eteocypriot population. We may imagine a ruling Greek aristocracy in the main towns, headed by a king, as for example at Salamis, Citium, Curium, Lapithus, Old Paphus, Soli (according to evidence newly discovered, which shows that the site of the classical city was continuously inhabited from LC IIIB),[27] and possibly elsewhere. Amathus, on the south coast, remained traditionally Eteocypriot, having sheltered the autochthonous population for a long time, indeed as late as the fourth century B.C., when the Eteocypriot language was still spoken in this city.[28]

Apart from routine commercial relations which Cyprus naturally had both with the Near East and with the Aegean in the years around 1050 B.C., there is evidence for special relations with the Aegean. The Protogeometric pottery of Athens was decisively influenced by the pottery of Cyprus;[29] there are new techniques in metal-working in

[26] D 335, 433.
[27] D 349.
[28] D 335, 429.
[29] D 26, 341; D 62, 118.

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Greece, especially the introduction of iron to Athens and the Argolid and possibly elsewhere. These phenomena are believed to be due to the arrival of a group of Cypriots in Greece, particularly Athens, who settled as immigrants, though it is not particularly clear why they came.[30] This, of course, could have happened, though we should not exclude the possibility that some of the Greek immigrants to Cyprus (the last group reached the island about 1075 B.C.) could well have returned home soon after settling in Cyprus, bringing with them new skills with which they had become familiar during their short stay in the island.

III. THE CYPRO-GEOMETRIC I PERIOD (*c.* 1050–950 B.C.)

The history of Cyprus after about 1050 B.C. is clouded by what is usually called the 'Dark Age' in Greece. We may assume, however, that the island's cultural and political development was firmly based on what was achieved during the transitional period from about 1075 to 1050 B.C. The kingdoms of the island carried on undisturbed, except the kingdom of Citium, where, in about 1000 B.C., the northern part of the town had to shift eastwards, nearer to the sea, owing perhaps to the silting up of its inner harbour.[31] This, however, did not mark any serious interruption in the cultural development of the city. The dead continued to be buried in the same cemetery,[32] outside the western part of the city, and on the acropolis there is continuous habitation from the eleventh century onwards.[33]

We have already referred to the tomb architecture of this period after about 1050 B.C. and the development of artefacts, mainly pottery, according to Mycenaean traditions; but at the same time the Cypriot craftsman demonstrates an imaginative creative spirit, on works of some elegance by comparison with those of the preceding period. Furthermore one may observe an artistic unity throughout the island. The only exception is Amathus, where a more rustic pottery is produced – probably an indication of the particular connexions of this city with the indigenous population of the island.[34]

It is true that very little is yet known about domestic or religious architecture or the palaces of the kings and nobles which must surely have existed in each of the main towns. This, however, is due to the fact that no major city sites have been excavated so far. Salamis gave the first evidence of habitation after about 1050 B.C., but the excavations at this site have up to now been confined to stratigraphic trenches. The

[30] D 26, 340–1.
[31] D 353, 94.
[32] D 350, 95.
[33] D 335, 438–9 n. 5.
[34] D 335, 434; D 368, 103–14.

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only site where monumental architecture has been found, and which may date from about 1050 to 1000 B.C., is the northern part of Citium (Area II). But even here the buildings which have been uncovered date primarily from the Late Bronze Age IIIA and IIIB periods and were rebuilt or repaired after the catastrophe of about 1075 B.C.[35] These are Temples 1, 2, 4 and 5, which were finally abandoned about 1000 B.C., when the town shifted nearer to the sea (fig. 48). Even so they demonstrate the uninterrupted Late Bronze Age tradition in architecture, and even in religious practice the same gods continued to be worshipped in the same temples, with the same ritual performances (e.g. the use of bull masks in Temple 5 on Floors II and I, corresponding to the periods *c.* 1150–1075 and 1075–1000 B.C. respectively). Temple 1 is the largest of all and retained the plan of its Late Bronze Age predecessors: a large rectangular open courtyard, with a Holy-of-Holies on its western side, in the form of a long, narrow corridor. The other temples, 2, 4 and 5, also retained more or less the plans of their Late Bronze Age predecessors, with an open courtyard, sometimes porticoed, and a narrow roofed corridor for the Holy-of-Holies. Altars and tables of offerings existed in the courtyards of the temples or in the sacred open spaces (*temene*) adjoining Temples 1 and 2. The divinities who were worshipped in these temples were associated with either a goddess or a god, both connected with fertility. The worship of the latter was particularly conspicuous in Temple 5, where skulls of oxen used as masks were found on the floors of the LC IIIB and Cypro-Geometric I periods. On floor I (Cypro-Geometric I) of Temple 4 terracotta statuettes of the goddess with raised arms were found. The four gold plates from Lapithus Tomb 417, dated to the Cypro-Geometric I period and decorated in repoussé with a figure of a nude 'Astarte' with raised arms,[36] show that the cult of this goddess, which was to spread throughout Cyprus during the subsequent periods, was already known outside Citium and must have also been popular in Paphus where she had a famous temple.

The only change which we observe in the sacred quarter of Citium in the Cypro-Geometric I period was the discontinuity of the metallurgical activities in the workshops which adjoined the temples. These may have been transferred elsewhere rather than abolished completely, since we have evidence of a revival of metallurgy near the temple area during the Archaic and Classical periods.

Why the Citians of Area II moved to another place after about 1000 B.C. is still unsolved. It is certain that they did not go far, since the area of the acropolis, known as Bamboula and situated about 300 m to the south-east of Area II, was continuously inhabited throughout the

[35] D 353, 90–2. [36] D 354, 31, pl. 8.

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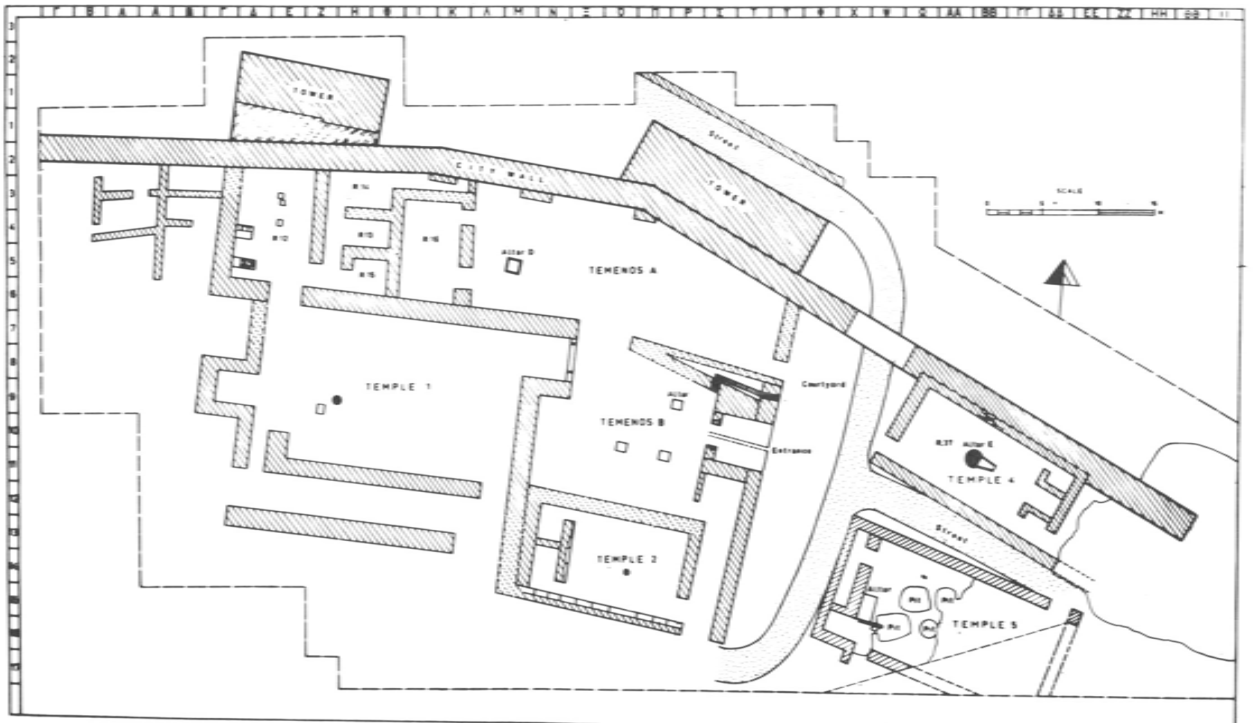

Fig. 48. Plan of the sanctuary at Citium (Area II). Temples 1, 2, 4 and 5 were re-used at the end of the 11th century, following the catastrophe of the second quarter of the century, and were abandoned about 1000 B.C., probably as a result of the silting-up of the nearby harbour. (See D 353.)

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Cypro-Geometric period. This partial abandonment of the northern quarter of the town, due probably to the silting up of the old inner harbour, may have affected only the sacred area. The Cypro-Geometric cemetery, at the western part of the town *extra muros*, continued in use during the Cypro-Geometric II period. It is tempting to suggest that the factor which favoured the establishment of a new harbour nearer to the sea may have been the arrival of the first Phoenician merchants at Citium. There is literary evidence that King Hiram I of Tyre, at the beginning of his reign which is placed early in the tenth century B.C., had to suppress a revolt of the people of 'Kiti(on)' in Cyprus.[37] Are we then to suppose that Citium had already become a colony of Tyre?

At Enkomi, as already remarked, the temple of the 'Ingot God' continued in use even after the initial stages of the abandonment of the town and the creation of a new town in the bay of Salamis. This temple, built during the Late Bronze Age, retained its original plan, with a large rectangular courtyard, a cella for the image of the god, benches for offerings, and altars for sacrifices.[38] Numerous skulls of oxen were found on the floor of the temple, a survival of a Late Bronze Age ritual which also survived at Citium, as we have seen. The discovery of engraved shoulder bones in this sanctuary as well as in Temple 5 at Citium and at Myrtou, near the north-west corner of Cyprus, demonstrates the homogeneity of religious ritual throughout the island during the Cypro-Geometric I period. The same phenomenon may be attested by the discovery of clay masks of bearded human figures both at Enkomi and Citium in the same period.[39] We should also mention the small sanctuary of Ayios Iakovos in the Famagusta district.[40] It was first built in the Cypro-Geometric I period, on an isolated hillock, without any connexion with a settlement. It consisted of one rectangular, narrow-fronted building, which yielded terracotta figurines with raised arms.

III. THE CYPRO-GEOMETRIC II PERIOD (*c.* 950–850 B.C.)

This period is essentially a continuation of the previous one, but an important phenomenon may now be observed in Cypriot culture in general: the sharp difference which existed in the Cypro-Geometric I period between the imported culture of the Achaean colonists and that of the local Eteocypriots started yielding to a gradual but steady fusion of the two cultures. In the necropolis of Lapithus, where at the Kastros site there were only tombs of the Mycenaean type and at the Plakes site tombs of the traditional Cypriot type, we observe the gradual influence of the Cypriot type on the tombs at Plakes, as at Marium and Idalium,

[37] B 788, 84–5.
[38] D 328, 178–97.
[39] D 326.
[40] D 336, I 361–70.

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and at Kastros tombs of Cypriot type even occur side by side with tombs of Mycenaean type.[41] This phenomenon may also be interpreted as an expression of tenacious adherence to tradition by the Eteocypriot element, and the gradual assimilation of the two cultures, Achaean and Cypriot, to form the basis on which Cypriot culture developed during the rest of the Cypro-Geometric period.

Though the shapes of the tombs differed there was a homogeneity of burial customs. Inhumation was generally practised. A profusion of gifts is usually found in tombs of this period as in the previous one. In a tomb excavated at Lapithus and dated to about 1000 B.C. there is evidence for the sacrifice of a slave.[42] This custom, which may have been introduced to Cyprus by the Achaean immigrants,[43] persisted in the island as late as the Cypro-Classical period; it is better known at Salamis.[44] Literary tradition attributes to Teucer, the founder of the city, the introduction of human sacrifices in honour of Zeus. Sacrifices of slaves have been observed in the *dromoi* of tombs of the Cypro-Archaic period. Iron spits (*obeloi*) were offered in a number of tombs at Lapithus, obviously for the roasting of meat as was customary in the Homeric Age.[45] The same custom may be observed at Citium[46] and persisted in Cyprus as late as the Cypro-Archaic period at Salamis, Patriki,[47] Old Paphus[48] and Tamassus.[49] We find it also in Crete from the Protogeometric period onwards (Fortetsa, Kavousi),[50] and also at Argos[51] and Nauplia[52] at the end of the Geometric period. The pottery shows a typological evolution, but often at the expense of the elegance and imagination of the previous period. The forms become standardized and their repertory is impoverished: Late Cypriot forms, like *askoi* and *kernoi*, which survived in the Cypro-Geometric I period, gradually disappear. The repertory of motifs is also limited. The pictorial motifs in vase-painting are few (quadrupeds, birds, and rarely human figures), and they are adapted to the requirements of the rest of the geometric decoration of the vases, in the same way as during the Cypro-Geometric I period.[53] The jewellery is of a limited repertory, unlike that of Salamis Tomb I or of some of the Lapithus tombs of the Cypro-Geometric I period.

Relations with the Aegean are rather tenuous, as they were also during Cypro-Geometric I. We mention the discovery of two late Protogeometric vases in a Cypro-Geometric II tomb at Amathus,[54]

[41] D 335, 432.
[42] D 336, I 243–4; D 335, 433.
[43] D 337, 64–6.
[44] D 344, 31; D 343, II 232.
[45] D 336, I, pls. 47, 48, 51.
[46] D 363, 107–8; D 346, 36–44.
[47] D 348, 171–2.
[48] D 340, 277–81.
[49] D 363, 107–8.
[50] D 255, 5–8, pl. 3.
[51] D 153, *BCH* 81 (1957), 368–85.
[52] Unpublished.
[53] D 355, 95.
[54] D 329, 212–19.

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probably imported from Euboea. A Bichrome II ware flask was found in a tomb of about 900 B.C. at Lefkandi.[55] In Crete and Athens we find bronze tripod stands of a Cypriot type in contexts of the tenth and ninth centuries,[56] but generally speaking evidence for contacts with the Aegean is slight, though Cypriot pottery continued to influence Greek Geometric pottery.[57] The same may be said of contacts with Egypt. Though scarabs and amulets of faience continue to appear in the tombs these commerical relations are not reciprocal.[58] Trade relations with Syria, however, were closer during the Cypro-Geometric II period than before.

IV. THE CYPRO-GEOMETRIC III PERIOD (*c.* 850–750 B.C.) AND THE PHOENICIAN COLONIZATION OF CITIUM

The initial phase of the Cypro-Geometric III period is characterized by the appearance of the Phoenicians in the cultural and political life of Citium. This town on the south-east coast of Cyprus is the first one has sight of even today, sailing westwards from Tyre or Sidon. The date of the first appearance of the Phoenicians at Citium may not be fixed with certainty, but in any case it should be placed before 800 B.C.[59] A Phoenician funerary inscription in the Cyprus Museum has been dated palaeographically to about 900 B.C. or the first half of the ninth century. Though this does not mean more than the burial of a Phoenician in Cyprus during this period, yet it strengthens the already existing indications for a Phoenician presence in the island earlier than hitherto believed. Recent excavations at Citium have thrown ample light on this problem. We have already mentioned the extensive Late Bronze Age complex of temples and the workshop for the smelting of copper at the northernmost part of the town which was abandoned about 1000 B.C. The abandonment lasted for about 150 years, after which Temples 1, 4 and 5 were rebuilt as well as some of the sacred areas connected with them. The largest of these, Temple 1, retained more or less the foundations of its Late Bronze Age predecessor (fig. 49); the Holy-of-Holies continued to form a long narrow corridor occupying the whole width of the western side of the edifice. The width of the rectangular courtyard was enlarged by demolishing the Late Bronze Age corridor along the south side and including it within the boundaries of the new courtyard. Thus a monumental temple was built, measuring 33·60 m in length (east–west) and 22 m in width (north–south). The Holy-of-Holies, which had an inner width of 2·50 m, had three

[55] D 317, 8–19.
[56] D 62, 119; D 335, 447.
[57] D 335, 447.
[58] D 335, 447.
[59] D 353, 95–6.

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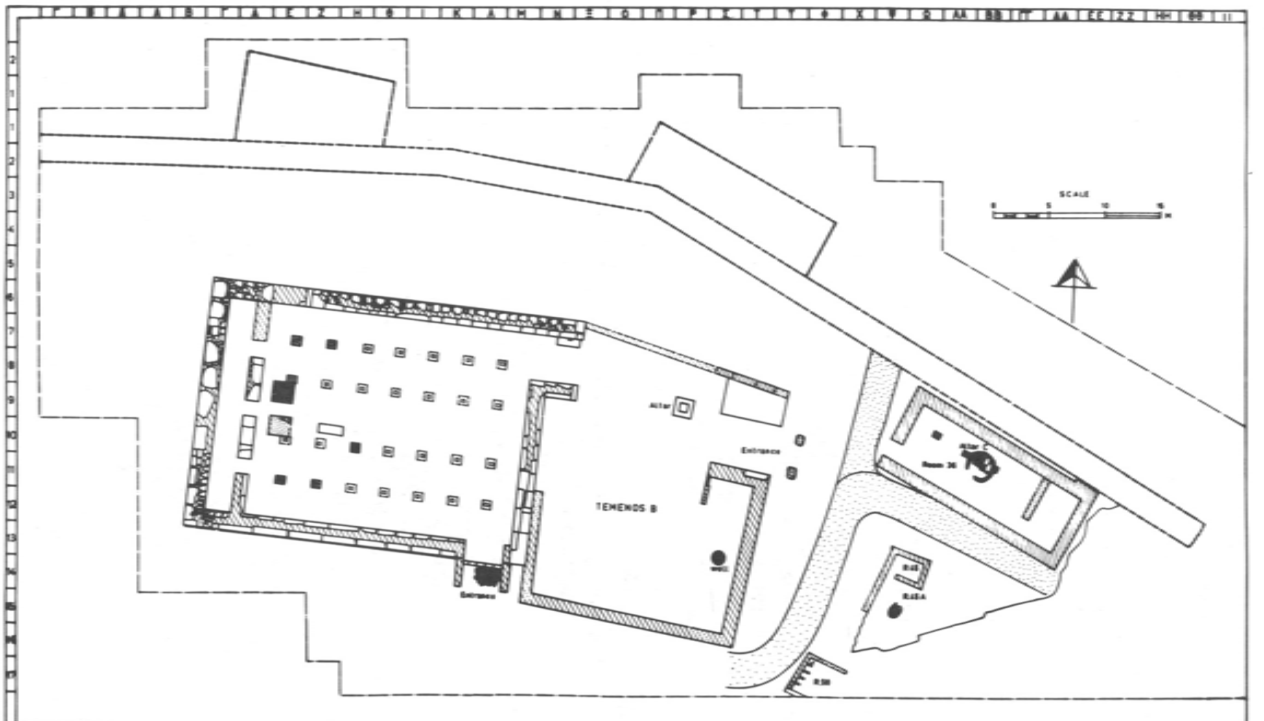

Fig. 49. Plan of the Phoenician temple of Astarte at Citium, built on the foundations of the Late Bronze Age temple in about the middle of the 9th century B.C. Temples 4 and 5 at the right also succeed Late Bronze Age temples. (See D 353.)

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entrances, symmetrically arranged and opening on to the large courtyard. In this Holy-of-Holies, which must have been roofed, the images of the divinity who was worshipped in the temple and of her companions must have been kept, so that they could be seen from the courtyard by worshippers. On either side of the central entrance there were two large rectangular free-standing pillars, each of which probably supported an ornamental capital, recalling the free-standing pillars of the temple of Aphrodite at Old Paphus, as it appears on Roman coins, which also has a tripartite arrangement of its Holy-of-Holies. Such pillars are also known from a number of Near Eastern sanctuaries of the Iron Age and may be associated with the two Biblical pillars of bronze – Jachin and Boaz – which stood in the Temple of Solomon in Jerusalem, though their exact position is not known. In front of the central entrance to the Holy-of-Holies there was a table of offerings. The courtyard of the temple, which was entered through two lateral entrances, one on the east and the other on the south, was partly roofed by two porticoes, along the north and the south sides respectively. The roof of each portico was supported on a double row of pillars, each row consisting of seven pillars. Their rectangular stone bases survive *in situ*; each has a rectangular depression in the centre which served as a socket, as the pillars were obviously of wood. The width of the porticoes was seven metres and thus a span of four metres was open to the sky.

In front of the courtyard of the temple there was a large rectangular open courtyard, built partly on the foundations of the old Late Bronze Age *temenos* B and partly on the walls of Temple 2, which was not rebuilt. The Late Bronze Age monumental entrance to this *temenos* was retained and in front of it there are two pits which were probably for two trees, symmetrically arranged on either side of the *temenos* and recalling the two trees of Paradise. On entering the *temenos* there was an altar on the right-hand side. The exact date of the construction of the temple cannot be fixed with certainty. Those who built it collected all the offerings from the benches and floors of the previous Cypro-Geometric I temple and placed them in *bothroi*, mainly outside the north wall of Temple 1. These include (see above, pp. 513f) Cypro-Geometric I miniature dishes of a votive character, clay models of sanctuaries and terracotta figurines of the goddess with raised arms. The earth floors of the previous periods were removed down to the bedrock in order to plant the twenty-eight stone bases for the pillars which supported the two porticoes of the courtyard. Thus no stratification for the earlier periods was left; only the accumulated debris and the floors abutting against the outside faces of the walls of the temple (mainly the north wall) provided safe stratigraphic evidence. Thus the material prior to the construction of the new temple may be dated to about 1000 B.C., a date which agrees

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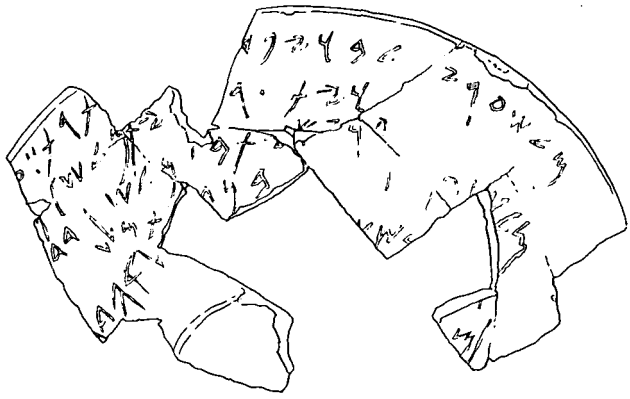

Fig. 50. Bowl of Red Slip ware, from the temple of Astarte, Citium. The inscription refers to a temple of Astarte and sacrifice in her honour by a citizen of Tamassus. Diam. about 24·5 cm. About 800 B.C.? (Cyprus Museum; see D 332.)

perfectly with the material of the *bothroi*. This new temple was destroyed by fire about 800 B.C. Its burnt wooden pillars and the roof of the porticoes left a thick layer of ashes and charcoal on the floor, mixed with Samaria ware pottery and other material which could be dated to about 800 B.C. If we allow a period of about fifty years from the date of the construction of the temple to the date of its first destruction by fire then we may suggest the years about 850 B.C. as the period of its erection. Among the material which was found on the floor of this temple, and therefore dating to the period of its destruction, was a Red Slip ware Phoenician bowl with a long inscription in Phoenician characters engraved on its outside surface (fig. 50). Palaeographically the inscription has been dated to about 800 B.C. It mentions a citizen of Tamassus, named ML (?Moula), who went to the temple of Astarte, sacrificed to the goddess and offered his hair to the temple in that very bowl.[60] This inscription is of importance from many points of view. It shows that by about 800 B.C. there was a large temple of Astarte at Citium and therefore one may conclude that the Phoenicians had by then established their political rule over the city, demonstrating it almost symbolically by constructing a Phoenician temple to their own leading goddess on the ruins of the old Late Bronze Age temple. If this temple was destroyed by about 800 B.C. the Phoenician penetration must have started early in the ninth century. The presence of a Phoenician at Tamassus at this period is significant. Tamassus is known for its copper-mines, and the Phoenicians must have found their way to this central part of Cyprus at a very early stage. The custom of offering one's hair in a temple in honour of a divinity is mentioned by Lucian for the temple at Hierapolis in Syria.[61] It is an interesting fact that among the

[60] D 332; cf. also D 357, 37–41. Below, p. 818. [61] *De Syria dea* 60.

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personnel of the temple of Astarte at Citium who are mentioned on an inscribed slab from the acropolis of Citium and datable to the Classical period the 'sacred barbers' are recorded.

Citium is referred to as Khardihadast ('the New City') in Phoenician inscriptions engraved on bronze bowls and found near Amathus on the south coast of Cyprus, west of Citium.[62] The bowls were dedicated by the governor of Khardihadast to Ba'al of Lebanon. The governor is referred to as 'servant of Hiram, king of the Sidonians'. This must be Hiram II, king of Tyre, who reigned during the later part of the eighth century B.C. Thus we learn that Citium was a colony of Tyre and was administered by a governor who was appointed by the king of Tyre. This explains why the cult of Astarte, initially instituted as the official cult by the king of the Tyrians, Ethba'al (887–856 B.C.), received such prominence in Cyprus. It also explains the magnificent stone masonry of the temple of Astarte built by the famous Tyrians who, we know, were also the builders of the Temple of Solomon in Jerusalem.

In spite of the predominantly Phoenician character of the temple and the cult of Astarte at Citium some religious rites which were deeply rooted in the prehistoric religion of Cyprus were not forgotten. On the floor of the temple of Astarte half a dozen skulls of oxen were found, which were worn as masks by priests and worshippers during ritual performances, in the same way as at Enkomi and at Citium during the Late Bronze Age and in the Cypro-Geometric I period. Terracotta representations of priests wearing such masks have been found in a number of archaic sanctuaries in Cyprus, as at Curium and Ayia Irini.[63]

The two other temples of Citium, 4 and 5, were also reconstructed during the middle of the eighth century, the former on the foundations of the older Late Bronze Age temple and the latter on a smaller scale with a small Holy-of-Holies and an open courtyard confined by walls only on two sides.

Sacred architecture of the Cypro-Geometric period is known also from Ayia Irini, where a rustic *temenos* was uncovered, an irregular oval in shape, with an altar and a table of offerings for libations. This was built in Cypro-Geometric I and lasted to the middle of Cypro-Geometric III. Its architectural plan was then altered and the new *temenos* lasted to the middle of Cypro-Archaic I.

A sanctuary dedicated to Anat-Athena was found on the western acropolis of Idalium, surrounded by the fortification wall of the acropolis. It consisted of a court and a chapel attached to it, of the oriental *liwan* type. It was built in Cypro-Geometric III and lasted down to the beginning of Cypro-Archaic I.[64]

The sanctuary of Ayios Iakovos, built in the Cypro-Geometric I

[62] D 335, 436–8; cf. also D 362, 62, 68, 78.

[63] D 347.

[64] D 335, 2.

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Fig. 51. Detail from the 'Hubbard Amphora' (see also Plates Vol.) of Bichrome III ware. Funeral ritual of oriental character: a woman seated on a throne is drinking through a tube from a jar into which a liquid is poured by a female attendant. From Platani (Famagusta district). (Cyprus Museum 1938/XI–2/3; see D 355, 8.)

period, was remodelled in Cypro-Geometric III; it was divided into two rooms and an altar added, built of rectangular blocks and covered with cement.[65]

The gradual 'return' to the Eteocypriot culture which we witnessed in sacred architecture during Cypro-Geometric III is also to be observed in tomb architecture, where the Mycenaean type of tomb is completely forgotten. The same phenomenon, accompanied by a sense of self-confidence and a new impetus for creative production, is observed in the pottery and other arts and crafts of this period. New shapes and motifs are invented in pottery, often under the influence of the Aegean and the Near East. This is the period when we distinguish a clear difference in the development of Cypriot vase-painting in the eastern and western parts of the island, the western being severe and geometrical, whereas the eastern, with a predominance of Bichrome ware, was more exuberant; it favoured particularly the development of the pictorial style, which reached its peak during the subsequent, Cypro-Archaic, period.[66] Apart from the usual motifs of quadrupeds, birds, fishes, and occasionally human figures which formed the repertory of the pictorial style of the previous period, there are now attempts at ambitious compositions involving a number of human figures in scenes of religious ritual, as on the Hubbard amphora (fig. 51)[67] and the Chrysochou jug.[68] Scenes inspired by Greek Late Geometric pottery make their appearance for the first time, like the dancers on one side of the Hubbard amphora, but most of the pictorial motifs are Near

[65] D 335, 3.

[66] D 355, 108–10.

[67] D 355, série spécial no. 1. See Plates Vol.

[68] D 351, 67–74.

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Eastern, inspired by imported works of art such as metal bowls, ivory plaques and also tapestries.

The arts and crafts begin to flourish again, and notable products of metal work are the famous 'Cypro-Phoenician' bowls of gold, silver or bronze, richly decorated with pictorial and floral compositions.[69] These may have been originally made by Phoenician craftsmen settled in Cyprus, but the Cypriot artist soon created his own versions.

Imports from Egypt and the Syro-Palestinian coast are frequent, especially after the establishment of the Phoenician colony at Citium; but we notice also a renewal of trade with the Aegean. Side by side with the Phoenician Red Slip ware jugs with the characteristic trefoil mouth which imitate metallic prototypes, and the fine Samaria ware dishes,[70] we find Greek Middle Geometric pottery of about 850–800 B.C. on the earliest floor of the Phoenician Temple 5 and early Euboean skyphoi decorated with pendent semi-circles, dating to the same period. Salamis Tomb I, dated to the end of Cypro-Geometric III or the beginning of Cypro-Archaic I, and in any case prior to about 725 B.C., produced a large number of Greek Middle Geometric vases of about the middle of the eighth century B.C., some imported from Attica and others from Euboea.[71] This must have been the family tomb of Greek immigrants of high rank, including a 'princess' with her jewellery and her dowry of Greek vases. Similar vases, but in smaller numbers, are known from elsewhere in Cyprus, particularly from Curium, Amathus and Ayia Irini. The Cypriot potters were influenced by these Greek imports, as we have seen; they often tried to imitate not only their shapes but also their meander decoration.[72]

Quantities of Cypriot pottery were exported to the Delta of Egypt;[73] trade with the Near East was intensified, particularly with the settlement at Al Mina.[74] There are also close relations with Tarsus in Cilicia,[75] where Greeks, particularly Rhodians, were frequent visitors, and even with inner Anatolia;[76] this trade may not have been only one way, since there are indications of a neo-Hittite influence in Cypriot sculpture.[77] The quantity of Cypriot ceramic material at Al Mina is such that it has been suggested by some scholars that the first Greek immigrants travelled there via Cyprus and the Cypriots led the first Greeks to their eastern trading posts.[78] Recent discoveries in the cemetery of Salamis have offered evidence supporting this suggestion.[79] Salamis was a city where the Greek element must have always been strong from the eleventh century B.C. onwards.

[69] D 334. See Plates Vol.
[70] See Plates Vol.
[71] D 330, 199–209; D 336A.
[72] D 327, 19–20.
[73] D 335, 447.
[74] D 11, 67.
[75] D 335, 446.
[76] D 335, 258–61, 313–14.
[77] D 367, 304–5.
[78] D 11, 68.
[79] D 343, II 234–5.

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Cypriot exports to the west increase during the second half of the eighth century B.C. We find them in Euboea and in the Dodecanese, particularly in Rhodes, where they influence local Rhodian pottery, both in shape and decoration.[80] The same phenomenon is also observed in Crete,[81] particularly in the central part of the island. We may mention especially the small unguent vases, so common in the tombs of the Dodecanese and Crete of the Middle Geometric period. Between about 850 and 750 B.C. they were imported and imitated locally. They are often Black-on-Red I(III) ware flasks, which may have contained an unguent traded by the Phoenicians. There is no doubt that apart from pottery the Phoenicians also took to the west bronzes, such as those discovered recently at Huelva in Spain.[82] Towards the end of the period the Phoenicians must have also traded in Greek olive oil, exported in the so-called 'SOS amphorae', which have been found in several parts of the Mediterranean.[83] In Cyprus such amphorae were found at Salamis, Citium and near Nicosia, but in Cypro-Archaic contexts.

V. THE END OF THE CYPRO-GEOMETRIC III PERIOD

The end of the Cypro-Geometric period, which may be placed about 750 B.C.,[84] finds Cyprus at the beginning of an era of prosperity which was to culminate during the subsequent period. The Mycenaean Greeks had established their political and cultural supremacy in the various kingdoms of the island which were formed after the final stages of Achaean settlement. Only Citium remained outside their rule, with a Phoenician king appointed directly from Tyre. Though in tomb architecture and in handicrafts we notice a strong revival of the Eteocypriot spirit and in arts and crafts an increasing influence from the Near East, we have no evidence about the character of monumental architecture such as the palaces of the kings of the Greek ruling class, as none has so far been excavated. We may gain an impression of their monumentality, however, from the character of the tombs in which these kings were buried. The 'royal' built tombs of Salamis, most of which date from the very end of the Cypro-Geometric III to the beginning of the Cypro-Archaic I period, with their spacious *dromoi* and well-constructed chambers, their exotic burial customs with chariot and horse sacrifices, with slaves killed in the *dromoi* to serve their masters after life, illustrate the wealth and the pomp which accompanied the kings and the nobles to their final resting place.[85] No doubt they were

[80] D 18, 380–1.

[81] D 18, 357; D 327; D 21, 272.

[82] J. M. Blazquez, *Tartessos y los origenes de la colonización fenicia en Occidente* (2nd edn; Madrid, 1975), 38–97, pls. 148–53.

[83] D 67.

[84] D 356, 134–5; cf. also D 33.

[85] D 343, I, III.

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considered superhuman, and their power in life over their subjects must have been absolute. It is true that the façades of these tombs with their characteristic cornices betray oriental, possibly Egyptian influences, but the idea of built tombs of such monumentality may derive from an earlier, Mycenaean tradition. Those tombs and the burial customs which are associated with them have been described as 'Homeric'; not only does the custom of sacrificing slaves and horses recall Homeric burial customs, but also objects like the ivory bed and the ivory chair from Tomb 79, the silver bowl from Tomb 2, the silver-studded sword and the amphora inscribed with the word 'of olive oil' from Tomb 3, serve as illustrations to Homeric descriptions. Homer knew and admired the works of art of the Near East, whether these were silver vases made by Sidonian craftsmen or ivory chairs made by famous artists like Icmalius. Some of the Salamis 'royal' tombs may be dated to the beginning of the Cypro-Archaic I period, but some were first used during the second half of the eighth century B.C. They may be tombs of kings or nobles, buried with all military honours, recalling the eighth-century tombs of warriors discovered at Argos. But they illustrate particularly the position of the Cypriot king as a superhuman being, with a taste for wealth and luxury which he acquired from the extravagant culture of the Near East.[86]

Life in the palaces must have had the same 'Homeric' air which we encountered in the Salamis tombs. In fact it might be suggested that the latter resulted from the diffusion of epic poetry. We know of Stasinus, a Cypriot epic poet and author of the *Cypria*, and we may well imagine the role of the bards in the courts of Cypriot kings.[87] The language of the court and the ruling class in general must have been Greek, but the Eteocypriot language must still have been spoken in several parts of the island; in the *Odyssey* Homer mentions the inhabitants of Temese (Tamassus) as speaking a foreign (non-Greek) language.[88] But he mentions a Greek as one of the island's kings, Dmetor Iasides.[89] The island itself is known to him as 'Kypros', its Greek name,[90] and he also knew the Paphian temple of Aphrodite.[91] The official language at Citium must have been Phoenician, as is attested by inscriptions.[92] Elsewhere in the island oral tradition must have played an important role in preserving the Mycenaean Greek character, language and culture in general, which was to experience a remarkable revival during the Cypro-Archaic period. This may account for the conservative nature of the Cypriot language, which kept its Arcadian

[86] See Plates Vol.
[87] Procl.; Ath. 334*b*, 682*d*; D 335, 444; D 21, 349–50.
[88] D 337, 9 n. 1; Hom. *Od.* I.184.
[89] Hom. *Od.* XVII.443.
[90] D 361.
[91] Hom. *Od.* VIII.362–3.
[92] D 362.

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characteristics,[93] and also for conservative religious practices such as the burial customs, which demonstrate the resistance of the population to foreign influences in spheres other than material culture. The Greek gods have their temples in Cyprus: of Zeus at Salamis, said to have been first built by the founder of the city Teucer, of Apollo Hylates at Curium, of Aphrodite at Old Paphus. Gods introduced by the Achaean settlers from Arcadia, like Apollo Cereatas, survive down to the end of the Classical period.[94] These temples, particularly those of Aphrodite-Astarte at Citium and Paphus, must have been the centres not only of religious, but also of cultural life. Scenes on vases and in terracotta representations illustrate the dances and ritual performances practised during ritual ceremonies. No doubt these were blended with old Cypriot traditions, such as the wearing of bull masks during ritual performances. These masks have been found in the Phoenician temple of Astarte at Citium and are also known from terracotta and limestone sculptures. Though oriental elements must no doubt have penetrated Cypriot religion, such as the practice of sacred prostitution in the temple of Aphrodite at Old Paphus, elements of Aegean religion must have been preserved (like the use of 'horns of consecration' as a religious symbol) which survived down to the Archaic period,[95] and the survival of the goddess with raised arms which was introduced from Crete in the eleventh century B.C.[96]

We know very little of political institutions other than the supreme position of the king and members of the royal family, who were known by their Homeric name *anaktes* even down to the Classical period.[97] They must have been also the leaders of the army of each city. In fact the importance of military power must have been considerable, to judge from the number and the frequency of votives in sanctuaries representing armed figures or those represented in vase-painting and other figurative arts.

We do not know how much of the commerce, particularly the trade in copper, was in the hands of the Cypriots and how much in the hands of the Phoenicians. There is no doubt that the island had a considerable merchant fleet. It is not surprising that Eusebius mentions Cyprus among the thalassocracies of the eighth century B.C.[98] The Phoenicians, however, must have had an important share, not only in the trade of copper, but also in the exploitation of the copper mines. The trade in artefacts, especially precious ivory furniture, and in perfumes and olive oil, must have been entirely in their hands.

The strategic position of the island, its thick forests, which provided

[93] D 338.
[94] *Fasti Archeologici* 6 (1951), 2686; Paus. VIII.34.5.
[95] D 339.
[96] D 342, 180–1.
[97] D 335, 445, 498–9.
[98] D 337, 103–4; D 335, 465.

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wood for ship-building, and its rich reserves of copper could not be overlooked by the rising power of the new empire in the Near East, that of the Assyrians. In the year 709 B.C. King Sargon II made the seven kings of Iatnana ('the islands of the Danai') pay tribute to him in gold, silver and precious furniture. This is the first record we have of the seven kingdoms of Cyprus, though we cannot be sure about the accuracy of the statement.[99] It is significant, however, that the stela on which this claim is boastfully recorded was erected at Citium, a fact which shows that the Tyrian hegemony was over, though not necessarily that the Phoenicians had lost their influence in the city.

Thus ends an era of independence and prosperity, during which Cypriot culture was firmly established on the solid foundations on which it was destined to develop even further in the following period.

ADDENDUM

Recent excavations (1979 and 1980) in the necropolis at 'Skales', one mile south-east of Old Paphus,[100] have brought to light new evidence about the early stages of the Cypro-Geometric I period (second half of the eleventh century B.C.). The tombs, Mycenaean in type, contained rich gifts, illustrating the wealth of the Paphians, unlike the poverty of the 'Dark Age' Greeks of the Greek mainland. The early Achaean settlers of Old Paphus traded with the Near East, as the fair amount of Near Eastern pottery found in the tombs suggests, and had developed metallurgy to a very high degree, shown by the exceptionally numerous bronze vessels of various types (including rod-cast tripods and a tripod cauldron) found in the tombs, and a large number of iron knives and swords, the latter of Greek types. We mention also the discovery of a bronze *obelos* engraved with an inscription in the Paphian syllabary, giving the Greek name Opheltas in the genitive, in a form which is characteristic of the Arcadian dialect.[101] This presents the earliest evidence for the use of the Greek language in Cyprus. The Arcadian dialect used in Paphus may be directly related with the story of the mythical founder of Paphus, Agapenor, leader of the Arcadians in the Trojan war.

[99] D 337, 104–6; D 335, 449.
[100] V. Karageorghis, *CRAI* 1979, 122–36.
[101] *CAH* III.3, 75.

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CHAPTER 13

EGYPT: FROM THE TWENTY-SECOND TO THE TWENTY-FOURTH DYNASTY

I. E. S. EDWARDS

I. THE RISE OF LIBYAN SUPREMACY

Before the end of the Ramesside period bands of Libyans belonging to the tribes of the Mashwesh[1] and the Libu[2] were conducting sporadic raids against the inhabitants of the Theban region,[3] but there is nothing to suggest that these marauders attempted to establish themselves on Upper Egyptian soil, at least in any appreciable numbers.[4] In the Delta, however, a very different state of affairs was developing, partly, and possibly mainly, as a result of the policy adopted by the very pharaohs who had defended Egypt against invasion from the west. If a satirical letter may be accepted as historical evidence, Ramesses II engaged as mercenaries in his army a contingent of foreign troops, among whom were some who belonged to the Mashwesh. How they came to be in Egypt is not stated; they may have been either descendants of prisoners taken by Sethos I or prisoners taken by Ramesses II himself in skirmishes with the Libyans, perhaps when he was constructing a chain of forts along the north-western coastal road.[5] Merneptah also brought back prisoners, but the numbers given are not large.[6] Ramesses III, however, is recorded as having captured many thousands of men, women and children, transporting them to prison-camps across the Nile,[7] doubtless in various places in the eastern Delta. In time they and their offspring obtained their freedom and many of the men served as

* The phase of Egyptian history with which this chapter is concerned falls within the so-called Third Intermediate Period, a broad definition commonly used to embrace the whole period beginning with the Twenty-first Dynasty and ending with the Twenty-fifth Dynasty. The lengths of individual reigns are, in some instances, not known precisely; some adjustments in the approximate dates given in the chronological table on p. 890 may become necessary in the light of new discoveries, but nothing in the existing evidence suggests that they will involve a major change in the total time-span allotted to the period. Historical texts and other sources of information used in writing the chapter are recorded in the footnotes, most of which refer to publications listed in the bibliography on pp. 966–74. In a few instances persons with identical names, other than kings, are differentiated by the addition of a capital letter in brackets after the name, e.g. Nimlot (A).

[1] C 63, I 119*–20*; C 81, 60ff; C 15, 46–7.
[2] C 63, I 121*–122*; C 81, 32ff; C 15, 46.
[3] See *CAH* II.2, 616–19; C 198, 148.
[4] C 198, 135.
[5] See *CAH* II.2, 229–30.
[6] C 28, III §588.
[7] C 28, IV §405; C 198, 148; C 103, 245 and 285.

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mercenaries in the Egyptian army, receiving tracts of land in payment for their services. By the end of the Twenty-first Dynasty the Libyans, no doubt reinforced by a steady influx of fresh immigrants, had acquired large territorial possessions and had formed themselves into communities headed by their own chiefs.

Upper Egypt was not directly affected by these developments in the Delta, but the Theban authorities were certainly aware of the risk that the process of infiltration and settlement might spread southwards. Evidence of their apprehensiveness has been seen in the construction of a massive brick wall and a watch-tower on the east bank of the Nile near El-Hība in Middle Egypt.[8] Since relations between the Theban high priests and the kings ruling at Tanis were amicable, the only reason for these military installations appears to have been an intention to resist any attempt by the Libyan settlers, who possessed their own militias, to extend their colonization into Upper Egypt. That no test of strength occurred may perhaps be attributed to the statesmanship of Psusennes II, the last king of the dynasty, who seems to have retained the high priesthood of Amun at Thebes after ascending the throne,[9] although it is not absolutely impossible that the high priest was a different person of the same name.[10] As king, Psusennes II would in any case have been the nominal high priest of every god in the land.

Some evidence of Psusennes II's policy is revealed in an inscription carved on a granite stela found in about 1860 by Mariette at Abydos.[11] The text, which has lost its opening lines, records the events of a visit to Thebes by the king, accompanied by the Great Chief of the Ma[12] named Shoshenq, in order to consult the oracle of Amun concerning Shoshenq's wish to place a statue of his deceased father, the Great Chief of the Ma, Nimlot, in the temple of Osiris at Abydos, and to establish a mortuary cult there in connexion with it. Psusennes II, in his priestly capacity, acted as the intermediary, addressing the appropriate questions to the god;[13] the reply in each instance was in the affirmative. The statue was then conveyed northwards by river to Abydos, escorted by representatives of both the king and Shoshenq in 'many boats'.

Ostensibly Shoshenq's action was simply an act of piety, but the circumstances in which it was performed, the manner in which it was conducted and the lavish scale of the endowment – recorded in detail on the stela – strongly suggest that it was intended to serve a political end. The king himself showed that he was no disinterested partner in

[8] See *CAH* II.2, 652–3.

[9] *Ibid.* p. 646.

[10] C 103, 11–12, 78, 80–1, 277–8, 283–4; C 20, 47.

[11] C 150, V 44; C 22, 83–95; C 28, IV 325ff; C 103, 285–6; C 159, 223–37.

[12] 'Ma' is a regular abbreviation in texts of this period for Mashwesh, cf. C 63, I 119*–121*.

[13] C 97, I 179–80.

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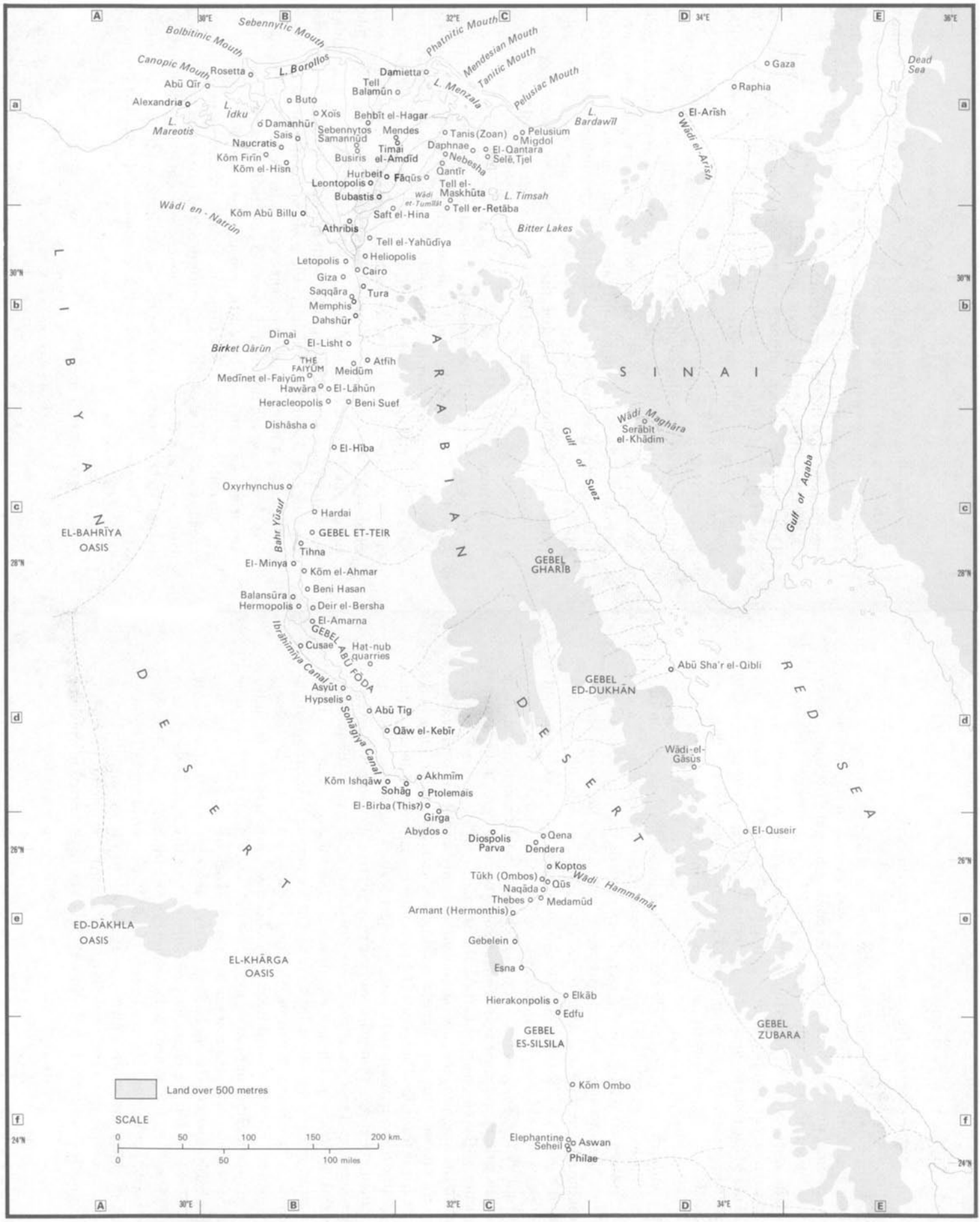

Map 17. Egypt.

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the drama, proclaiming his gratification with the outcome both in words and in deeds. Oracular consultations were usually held in the open,[14] and particularly at annual festivals where the statue of the god, hidden in a shrine and mounted on a bark, was carried by lay priests in a ceremonial procession. If, as has been conjectured, the occasion chosen for presenting this petition was the great Feast of Opet,[15] very many of the inhabitants of Thebes must have witnessed the proceedings, while an even larger number of people must have seen the flotilla from the banks of the river as it passed by on its way to Abydos. The news would soon have spread throughout Upper Egypt that Shoshenq, the hereditary chief of the most powerful of the Libyan communities in Egypt, had submitted his petition to the arbitrament of Amun, thus recognizing the authority of the god of Thebes, and had shown his desire to conform with the long-established Egyptian custom of setting an image or a stela of a deceased relative in the sacred precincts of the temple of Osiris. With Nimlot's statue went a handsome benefaction for its upkeep and for the maintenance of its cult, thereby bringing a considerable accretion to the wealth of the priests of Abydos, who received, in addition, a gift of thirty-five *deben* of silver, jointly from Shoshenq and the king.[16] Such liberality may suggest that they had felt some doubt about the attitude of the priests and their trustworthiness in carrying out all the requirements of the cult as specified on the stela.

In the long run, the most important outcome of the mission was the god's consent that Shoshenq should be associated with the king in all the great festivals. Psusennes II had no male offspring to succeed him on the throne; the oracle had, in effect, raised Shoshenq's rank to something approaching that of heir presumptive. Psusennes II, whose residence at Tanis gave him every opportunity to gauge the political situation in the north and to appreciate the military strength of the Libyan settlers, undoubtedly went to Thebes hoping that Amun would confirm his choice. When he obtained the god's affirmative, the king prostrated himself and addressed Shoshenq as 'thou Great Chief of the Mashwesh, prince of princes, my great one', a salutation which certainly reflected his satisfaction with the result. The date of the oracle was probably mentioned at the beginning of the inscription and consequently is now lost, but the circumstances suggest that it was towards the end of Psusennes' life. When he died there can be little doubt that Shoshenq officiated at his funeral, most probably at Tanis, performing the duties of an eldest son in his capacity as successor to the throne. Perhaps it was at about this time that Shoshenq caused a statuette which had originally been carved for Tuthmosis III to be re-dedicated in the name

[14] C 144, 36.
[15] C 100, 80; C 103, 285.
[16] C 22, 93.

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of Psusennes II[17] and placed in the temple of Karnak as an immediate demonstration to the priesthood of Amun of his attachment to his predecessor.

II. THE TWENTY-SECOND DYNASTY: SHOSHENQ I TO TAKELOTH II

Of the eleven kings of the Twenty-second Dynasty attested by the monuments, two, Shoshenq II and Harsiese, probably never ruled independently. Three of the remaining nine bore the name of Shoshenq, three Osorkon, two Takeloth and one Pimay. Dated records of their individual reigns show that, in aggregate, they spanned a period of about 190 years and the actual length was probably about 230 years (*c.* 945–715 B.C.).[18] The capital continued to be at Tanis, where Montet, excavating on behalf of the University of Strasbourg in 1939, found the burials of Shoshenq II, Osorkon II, Takeloth II and Shoshenq III.[19]

Shoshenq I, although a foreigner by descent, was Egyptian by birth and upbringing. A stela in the Louvre, which dates from the thirty-seventh year of Shoshenq V and commemorates the burial of an Apis bull in the Serapeum at Memphis, records the genealogy of a priest named Pasenhor (formerly read Horpasen) through nine generations to Shoshenq I, and through a further six generations to a certain Buyuwawa, who is simply described as the Libyan (*Ṯḥnw*).[20] Each of the five immediate forbears of Shoshenq I is entitled Great Chief (of the Ma) and his father, Nimlot (A), is given, in addition, the epithet God's Father, in virtue of his relationship to the king.[21] By inference, the settlement of the family in Egypt dated from the time of Buyuwawa, or approximately from the end of the Twentieth Dynasty if twenty to twenty-five years are allowed for each generation between him and Shoshenq I.[22] Pasenhor himself occupied no more exalted position than that of a priest of the goddess Neith, but his immediate ancestors for five generations had all been Counts, Governors of Upper Egypt, Superintendents of the Priests in Heracleopolis, and Generals, the first in this lineal succession being Nimlot (C), a son of Osorkon II. The connexion of the royal family with Heracleopolis, however, dated from long before the time of Osorkon II. Shoshenq I placed his son, Nimlot (B), there as military governor,[23] but the evidence available is not enough to show that it was the hereditary fief of his family, as some

[17] Cairo No. 42192; C 118, III 1–2, pl. 1; C 103, 283, 290; C 100, 86.
[18] C 11, 6–7; C 20, 54–5; C 103, 85–137 and table 3 (p. 467).
[19] C 135, vols. 1–3.
[20] C 150, III 209; C 28, IV §§785–92; C 125, 30–1, pl. 10, no. 31; C 103, 105–6, 488.
[21] See below, p. 540.
[22] C 103, 285.
[23] See below, pp. 542–3.

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historians have supposed.[24] Manetho associated the Twenty-second Dynasty with Bubastis, in the eastern Delta, where Ramesses III had settled his Libyan prisoners,[25] and this location now commands more general support.[26] What appears to be a valid argument against a long connexion with Heracleopolis may be seen in a report by Nimlot (B) to his father on the deplorable state in which he had found arrangements for the daily offerings to the god Arsaphes in his temple at Heracleopolis.[27] Such neglect could hardly have been recorded for posterity[28] if the city had previously been under the control of Shoshenq I and his ancestors. Nevertheless conclusive proof in favour of Bubastis is lacking. A broken bronze figure in the Cairo Museum, bearing an inscription naming a Great Chief Shoshenq, which was once thought to have been found at Bubastis, has been shown to have come from Busiris and to refer to a local chief of that name.[29]

At his coronation, Shoshenq I had assumed the praenomen Hedjkheperre Setepenre, a name already adopted by Smendes, the founder of the Twenty-first Dynasty. His Horus- and his Nebty-names were also influenced by those of Smendes,[30] the most significant difference being the epithet embodied in his Horus-name, 'whom he (i.e. Re) caused to appear as King[31] to unite the Two Lands'. Thereby he proclaimed, at least by implication, his intention to strengthen the authority of the Crown over Upper Egypt. Nothing in the extant records suggests that he met with any serious opposition. The procedure by which he had succeeded to the throne was correct,[32] and, moreover, he was a blood-relation of one of the last kings of the previous dynasty. A recent study of two genealogical inscriptions formerly on the roof terrace of the temple of Khons at Karnak, which were copied in the last century, when they were already mutilated, has disclosed that Shoshenq I's grandparents, the Great Chief of the Ma Shoshenq and Mehtenweskhet, had another son besides Nimlot (A), and one of the inscriptions calls him the Pharaoh Osorkon.[33] This valuable discovery explains why Mehtenweskhet is given the title 'King's Mother' on the stela of Pasenhor and also reveals the identity of the mysterious king called Osokhor by Manetho, the predecessor of Siamun and Psusennes II at the end of the Twenty-first Dynasty,[34] who can be none other than the same Osorkon,[35] Shoshenq's uncle.

[24] C 22, 92; C 64, 328; C 97, I 173; C 100, 84; C 55, 129; C 156, 8 n. 37.

[25] See above, p. 534.

[26] C 198, 148; C 103, 128–9, 285 and 287.

[27] C 174; see below, p. 543.

[28] Cairo J. 39410, lines 4–5.

[29] Cairo J. E. 25572; C 198, 169–70.

[30] C 103, 287–8.

[31] Perhaps 'He arises as King' (so C 34, 48 and 51, n. (4)).

[32] See above, p. 538; C 97, I 173.

[33] C 205, 39–54; C 103, 111–16, 285, 357, n. 653; C 42, 51; C 150, II² 242–3. Like Nimlot (A) he is called 'God's Father'. See above, p. 539.

[34] See *CAH* II.2, 645–6.

[35] Strictly he should now become Osorkon I, but he will continue to be called Osokhor to save confusion and to avoid the necessity of renumbering the four kings of that name who reigned in the Twenty-second and Twenty-third Dynasties.

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The circumstances of Shoshenq's accession too were favourable. There was no obvious rival and the army, the only element in the population which might have offered effective resistance, was already predominantly Libyan. He could rely on the support of the Libyan chiefs who held sway as feudal lords over most of the Delta. His acceptance by Amun as the associate of his predecessor in his festivals[36] gave him reason to hope that the priesthood of Karnak would recognize his sovereignty, but it is clear that they were hesitant. A fragment of the so-called Karnak priestly annals, dated in the second year of his reign, alludes to him merely as the Great Chief of the Ma, giving him no royal title and not writing his name in a cartouche but adding to it the hieroglyphic determinative to indicate a foreigner.[37] An inscription on the quay at Karnak recording the highest level of the Nile in his fifth year,[38] however, shows his throne-name and his personal name enclosed in cartouches, each with its appropriate title, proving that by that time the reluctance of the Theban priesthood to acknowledge him as their pharaoh had been overcome.

The assertion of his authority over the wealthy and influential priesthoods, and especially over the most wealthy priesthood of all – that of Amun at Thebes – was certainly an important element in Shoshenq's internal policy; it was probably the corner-stone of his strategy for re-establishing the unity of the country. Memphis was already in reliable hands. The High Priest of Ptah, Shedsunefertem, and the king were undoubtedly connected, perhaps either as cousins or even as brothers-in-law. The only known source of evidence for their relationship is a statuette in the Cairo Museum representing Shedsunefertem and his mother Tapeshenese,[39] wife of the deceased High Priest Ankhefen-sekhmet, but a vital passage in the inscription mentioning two other members of the family, both women, is ambiguously worded and their identities are in doubt. One, named Mehtenweskhet, is, however, described as a daughter of a Great Chief of the Ma, so that Shedsune-fertem's Libyan connexion, either by descent on his mother's side[40] or by marriage to the lady herself,[41] seems assured. The other woman, Tentsepeh, is given the title of King's Daughter, which suggests that she was the daughter of Psusennes II; she also may have been married to Shedsunefertem.[42] In keeping with tradition, Shoshenq I was prob-

[36] See above, p. 538.

[37] C 113, 54 (no. 4); C 67, 318, C; C 103, 288; C 97, I 180.

[38] C 17, 44, no. 3; C 28, IV 341 (§695); see also C 103, 288 n. 257.

[39] Cairo J. 29858; C 23, III 67–9, no. 741, pl. 137; C 99, 140–2 and n. *i*, where preference is given to the reading 'Tashepenese'. For the reading 'Tapeshenese' see C 73, 212–13.

[40] C 97, I 176, Mehtenweskhet being regarded as the mother of Tapeshenese and Nimlot (A), Shoshenq's father.

[41] C 103, 111–16 *et passim*, Mehtenweskhet being regarded as a daughter of Nimlot (A); so also C 20, 48.

[42] C 103, 114–15.

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ably crowned, or at least underwent some of his coronation rites, in the temple of Ptah at Memphis, Shedsunefertem being the officiating priest.[43] Eventually he possessed a funerary temple in the same vicinity, apparently as a counterpart to his foundation at Karnak.[44] It is mentioned by name 'Mansion of [Millions of Years of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt], Hedjkheperre Setepenre, Son of Re, Shoshenq which is in Memphis' in an inscription at Karnak which records an oracular decree delivered by Amun at Thebes.[45] The wording of the decree suggests that the cost of upkeep of the Memphite temple, of which only a few blocks have survived, was to be borne, like that of Shoshenq I's foundation at Karnak, by revenue from the god's domains.[46] By the king's command Shedsunefertem erected a new embalming-house for the Apis bulls.[47] Situated in the precincts of the temple of Ptah, it was constructed at least partly of re-used blocks from a building of Ramesses II which probably served the same purpose. By chance, the alabaster embalming-table has been preserved, and carved on one end is the explanatory inscription; it also has figures of Shedsunefertem and another priest impersonating the god Anubis performing the Opening of the Mouth ceremony.[48] As a mark of royal favour, Shedsunefertem, whose career probably spanned the whole of Shoshenq I's reign, was promoted to the rank of 'Chief Priest of all the gods of Upper and Lower Egypt and Greatest of the Seers of Re-Atum',[49] a promotion which was largely titular. Nevertheless, it shows that, besides being high priest of Memphis, he was also high priest of Heliopolis, a combination of offices which was not without precedent.[50] No doubt his rise in status was mainly due to his personal connexion with the king; it may also have had a political significance insofar as it placed the high priesthoods of Memphis and Thebes, if only nominally, more nearly on the same hierarchical level.

Nothing reveals Shoshenq's determination to consolidate his position in Middle Egypt more clearly than his appointment of Nimlot (B) as army-commander at Heracleopolis.[51] He was his third son, not by his principal queen, Karamat, but by a Libyan named Penreshnes.[52] One of his titles was King's Son of Ramesses, the significance of which is rather obscure; the few known holders seem to have had special connexions with the Royal Residence.[53] In the course of time he was

[43] C 97, I 176; C 99, 143, n. *b*.

[44] A. H. Gardiner, in W. M. F. Petrie, *Tarkhan I and Memphis V* (London, 1913), 35; C 67, 312 (no. xx); see below, pp. 544–5, 549.

[45] C 184, 13–20; C 138, III 148, fig. 53; C 156, 12.

[46] C 184, 19–20.

[47] C 99, 145; C 8, 75–6, pl. 44a.

[48] C 31, 37–43; C 32, 817, 948–9; C 99, 145.

[49] Cairo J. 86758, line 5.

[50] C 99, 143–4, n. *d*; C 98, 178–9.

[51] See above, pp. 539–40.

[52] C 68, 246–50.

[53] C 68, 245–64; C 97, I 199–202.

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promoted to the rank of Generalissimo and Leader, and his successful governorship of Heracleopolis was very probably a contributory factor to his promotion. Only one of his achievements there is, however, actually recorded.[54] A long-standing local custom of presenting offerings of bulls to the temple of Arsaphes had been allowed to lapse and Nimlot (B) perceived that its restoration would help to ensure the loyalty of the discontented priesthood. Accordingly, he prepared a plan whereby the temple would receive a daily offering of a bull throughout the year. He himself would contribute sixty bulls each year and the remainder, in numbers ranging from one to ten, would be provided by notables, high officials and district authorities. When he presented the plan to Shoshenq I, it was enthusiastically accepted and immediately put into effect by royal decree.

El-Hība, about thirty km south of Heracleopolis, was also a key-point in Shoshenq I's strategy for Middle Egypt. In the Twenty-first Dynasty the priestly rulers of Thebes, whose northern residence was situated there, had developed the town into an important centre of the cult of Amun and had also made it a bastion against Libyan penetration into Upper Egypt,[55] a function which Shoshenq I's accession to the throne had rendered obsolete. Under the new regime it retained its military character, but its links were with Heracleopolis and the north, as the southernmost of a group of Middle Egyptian bases manned largely by Libyan troops, whose presence was intended to discourage dissident elements in Upper Egypt from attempts to recover Theban independence.[56] Somewhat ironically, and probably as a sop to the local priesthood, Shoshenq I undertook the construction of a temple to Amun within the very fortifications which had been built to resist his own kith and kin.[57] It was eventually completed by his successor, Osorkon I.

Thebes itself was the most difficult and also the most vital of Shoshenq I's political problems. From Hrihor onwards the Thebaid had been under the control of the high priests of Karnak, who were also Army Commanders, and the office had passed from father to son in unbroken succession. Shoshenq I instituted a radical change: no longer was the pontificate hereditary; it was a position of patronage to be held, in normal circumstances, by one of the king's sons,[58] the first incumbent under the new regime being Shoshenq I's second son, Iuput. Like his predecessors, he bore the title Generalissimo and Leader, to which he added the epithet 'who is at the head of the great army of the whole of the Southern Region'.[59] Documents dated to the time of his

[54] Cairo J. 39410; C 174, 817–40.
[55] See above, p. 535.
[56] C 97, I 180; C 100, 88–9.
[57] C 150, IV 124; C 153, 50–2, 58–68, pls. 19–25.
[58] C 103, 288–9.
[59] C 34, 48 and pl. XI, lines 5 and 7.

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descendants ascribe to him the title of Governor of Upper Egypt.[60] It is not known when he was appointed: the earliest recorded date of his pontificate is in Year 10 of Shoshenq I[61] (*c.* 936 B.C.), by which time he must have been in office for some years, perhaps from the second year of the king's reign.[62] He was still high priest at the end of Shoshenq I's life, in Year 21. But Shoshenq I's innovations at Karnak were not confined to the high priesthood alone: a chief of the Libyan Mahasun tribe[63] named Nesy was appointed Fourth Priest of Amun and his son, Nesankhefenmaat, succeeded him.[64] Shosenq I's daughter, Tashepenbast, married a descendant of an old military and priestly family, Djedthutefankh,[65] who became Third Priest of Amun and received other preferments.[66] Iuput's daughter, Neskhonspakhered, also married a Theban citizen, Djedkhonsefankh, who rose to the rank of Fourth Priest of Amun and Second Priest of Mut[67] after the death of Shoshenq I. In sum, however, those who benefited from the Libyanization of the higher echelons of the clergy – and probably the laity too – must have been few in comparison with those who gained no advantage from it, but there is no actual evidence to support an attractive theory that some of the Theban clergy emigrated to Nubia and established a religious community at Napata, the home of the Nubian invaders who, two centuries later, conquered Egypt.[68]

In the twenty-first and – according to Manetho – last year of his reign, Shoshenq I began the construction of a new court at the western end of the temple of Amun at Karnak. A commemorative inscription finely carved on the sandstone rock of the west bank of the Nile at Gebel es-Silsila,[69] where the stone for the monument was quarried, provides an informative account of the initial proceedings and records the king's directions for building 'a very great pylon . . . and a festival-hall for the House of his father Amon-Re, King of the Gods, and to surround it with statues and a colonnade'.[70] Its architect, Haremsaf, who conducted the work under the general supervision of Iuput, visited the king at his residence named Pi-Ese,[71] probably in the vicinity of Tanis,[72] and reported to him that his instructions were being energetically carried out: 'there is neither sleeping by night nor indeed slumbering by day; they build the everlasting works unflaggingly'.[73] He was rewarded with 'chattels of silver and gold'.[74] Before the end of the year, however, the

[60] C 67, 322–3; C 103, 289 n. 259.
[61] C 103, 195; C 67, 308, VI and VII.
[62] C 156, 8 n. 38; C 103, 480.
[63] C 198, 142.
[64] C 100, 85–6; 97, I 201, 220.
[65] C 180, 249–55; C 181; C 20, 63–5.
[66] C 20, 63.
[67] C 20, 80.
[68] C 129, II 2, 33–4; C 53, 524, 537; C 100, 81–2.
[69] C 150, V 213; C 34, 46–61.
[70] C 34, 51.
[71] C 34, 55 (40); C 103, 301 n. 314.
[72] C 103, 301 n. 314.
[73] C 34, 51.
[74] C 34, 51.

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king had died and the colonnaded court, which occupied about two acres and bore the name 'The Mansion of Hedjkheperre Setepenre in Thebes',[75] was never finished.[76]

By far the most important monument in Shoshenq I's enclosure is a gateway in the south-east corner, between the Second Pylon and the temple of Ramesses III; it is thus not contiguous with the rest of the south side of the court.[77] Inside the gateway are two pilasters, one abutting the pylon and the other abutting the east wall of the temple. Now known as the Bubastite Portal, this entrance is the only part of the court which is decorated with reliefs and inscriptions. Shoshenq I is shown in the presence of Amun and other deities in six of the scenes on the pilasters, always accompanied by Iuput; his descendants for more than a century added reliefs and inscriptions on surfaces which he had left blank.[78] It is not these sculptures and texts which are of immediate concern, but a scene carved on the outer wall of the portal commemorating Shoshenq I's invasion of Palestine, mentioned in the Old Testament.[79] The king is shown in the conventional manner, towering over a group of kneeling enemy chieftains, grasping them by the hair with his left hand and raising his mace to slay them with his right hand. Beyond the captives are figures of Amun and, on a smaller scale, the goddess Wast, the former presenting the scimitar of victory to the king. Both deities hold five cords which are attached to the necks of Asiatic captives. The bodies of the captives, arranged in ten rows, are in the form of oval enclosures, nine of which bear the names of Egypt's traditional enemies and the remainder names of places in Palestine conquered by the king.[80] Jerusalem, although it surrendered, is not mentioned, but the list includes many other places which are well known from the Bible, such as Beth-horon, Gibeon, Shunem, Beth-shan, Rehōb, Megiddo. Since scenes of this kind are usually carved on the pylons of temples, it is possible that the portal represents the 'very great pylon' mentioned in the Gebel es-Silsila inscription.[81] The pylon which now stands on the west side of the court certainly dates from a later period.[82]

According to the Old Testament, Shishak (the Biblical form of Shoshenq) invaded Palestine in the fifth year of the reign of Rehoboam, son of Solomon and king of Judah; the inscription on the Bubastite

[75] C 34, 57–8 (50); C 103, 301.
[76] C 38, vii–ix; C 142, 76–9; C 14, 47ff.
[77] C 150, II² 34–6, plans VII, IX, 2.
[78] C 150, II² 34–6.
[79] I Ki. 14: 25–6, and II Chron. 12: 2–4, 9; see above, pp. 457–9.
[80] C 38, pls. 2–9; C 103, 432–42; see below, n. 87.
[81] C 14, 49 and n. 2; see above, n. 70.
[82] C 14, 45–7; C 38, vii; C 79, 139–49.

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Portal does not unfortunately give the corresponding year in the reign of Shoshenq I. Most writers favour a date shortly before the construction of the court, and therefore near the end of Shoshenq I's life,[83] but the view has also been expressed that the campaign took place much earlier.[84] Equally uncertain is the reason why it was undertaken. The friendly relations which had existed between Solomon and Egypt at the end of the Twenty-first Dynasty[85] may not have continued after the death of Psusennes II, although the only evidence of such a change is the Biblical statement that Jeroboam, as a fugitive from Solomon, was granted asylum by Shoshenq I and was permitted to remain in Egypt until Solomon's death, when he returned to Palestine to become king of the ten tribes of Israel.[86] If Shoshenq I's campaign had been directed against Judah alone, the obvious explanation would be that he was acting as an ally of Jeroboam in order to overthrow Rehoboam, but the place-names on the Bubastite Portal show that his conquest embraced both kingdoms.[87] A possible clue to the background may be preserved in a very fragmentary stela discovered at Karnak, which mentions an incident involving military losses to Egypt and leading to severe retaliation by Shoshenq I.[88] Since the reprisal, for which no date has survived, occurred on the shores of Kem-wer, one of the Bitter Lakes on the isthmus of Suez, the unnamed enemy was probably a band of desert tribesmen who had penetrated into the eastern Delta and had met with resistance from the frontier garrisons. Like many another border raid, it would have passed unrecorded if the king had not found it expedient to exploit it, magnifying its character and treating it as an excuse for punitive action far beyond the scene of the incident. His reasoning may well have been that Palestine, in its weakened state, offered the prospect of easy victory to enhance his prestige in neighbouring lands and, more particularly, to strengthen his position at Thebes.[89] Not only would the priesthood of Amun profit, as in the time of his warrior predecessors, from the spoils of war, but he himself, by following tradition and ascribing his victory to Amun, would show that he had the god's support. It is this latter motive which is so clearly demonstrated in his triumphal relief at Karnak. Of the spoils, all we know is the information given in the Old Testament that he took away the treasures of the royal palace and of the temple at Jerusalem, including 'all the shields of gold which Solomon had made'.[90]

[83] See above, n. 69; C 103, 72–4, 295; C 53, 671; C 3, 4–11.

[84] C 156, 10.

[85] See *CAH* II.2, 656–7.

[86] I Ki. 11: 40, 12: 2–3.

[87] C 38, pls. 2–9; C 28, IV 349–54; C 103, 432–42; C 163, 90–102, 178 and 180; C 93, 47–9; see above, pp. 457–9.

[88] C 116, 38–9; C 28, IV 358; C 14, 122, n. 3; C 103, 294; C 156, 10.

[89] C 156, 10 and 13.

[90] I Ki. 14: 26; II Chron. 12: 9.

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Nothing, either in the brief Biblical account or in the native records, suggests that Shoshenq I had any intention of re-imposing Egyptian control over Palestine. After accomplishing his mission, he returned directly to Egypt. His army was composed of Libyan troops, called in the Old Testament[91] the Lubim (i.e. the Libu) and the Sukkiyim,[92] and Nubians, who were probably mercenaries. Much of the fighting was conducted in the Negeb, but the Karnak list shows that his forces advanced northwards at least as far as Megiddo and eastwards across the Jordan to attack Succoth, Penuel and some neighbouring places.[93] At Megiddo he erected a commemorative stela about three metres in height, a fragment of which, inscribed with his cartouches, was found in 1906 by an expedition of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago.[94] He may have established his base there for further thrusts into Galilee.[95] Beyond Israel's northern frontier lay the territories of the kings of Tyre and Byblos, with whom Egypt had commercial relations.[96] At some time during his reign Soshenq I gave to Abibaʿal, king of Byblos, a seated statue of himself, a fragment of the lower part of which has been preserved and is surcharged with a Phoenician inscription in which Abibaʿal, if the text has been correctly interpreted, claims to have 'brought (the statue) from Egypt for Baʿalat of Byblos' and prays that she will prolong his days and his years as ruler.[97]

Amun, in his laudatory address to the king on the Bubastite Portal, says 'thou hast trampled upon the inhabitants of Nubia (*'Iwntyw-Sty*)'.[98] In such a context the assertion could be interpreted as just a figure of speech, but it has generally been accepted as having an historical basis.[99] Indirect support for the conjecture that Nubia, independent since the revolt of Pinehas in the time of Ramesses XI,[100] was again under Egyptian control appeared to be offered by some inscribed blocks at Karnak, which mentioned gifts to Amun of products from Nubia by an unnamed king, believed to be Shoshenq I.[101] Recent study of the blocks has, however, deprived them of their supposed evidential value by showing that their texts belong to a much later date.[102] Archaeo-

[91] II Chron. 12: 3.

[92] See A. H. Gardiner, *The Wilbour Papyrus* (Oxford, 1948), II 81 n. 1, and R. A. Caminos, *Late Egyptian Miscellanies* (Oxford, 1954), 177.

[93] C 103, 296–300 and 432–47, figs. 2 and 9; see above, pp. 457–9.

[94] C 150, VII 381; C 60, 12–13, figs. 7A and B, 15, fig. 9, 16; C 106, 60, fig. 70.

[95] C 103, 447.

[96] C 169, 32; C 156, 16.

[97] C 150, VII 388; C 103, 292 n. 283; C 156, 15; C 109, 12.

[98] C 38, pls. 3 and 5, 1.6; C 28, IV 356, §720.

[99] C 28, IV 357–8, §723; C 103, 293 n. 284.

[100] See *CAH* II.2, 643.

[101] C 138, II 143–53; C 103, 293 and n. 284; *ibid.*, 302 and 358; C 156, 12 n. 79.

[102] C 184, 7–10 (Blocks J2, H and Fb).

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logical investigation, moreover, has not revealed any trace of Egyptian monuments or even graffiti in Nubia which can be ascribed to this period[103] and, in the absence of such evidence, the balance of probability seems to be against attaching credence to the rhetorical words attributed to the god.

Apart from the measures taken by Shoshenq I to ensure that the major priesthoods were in trustworthy hands, very little is known from contemporary records about the methods by which he endeavoured to re-establish the unity of the Two Lands and to organize provincial administration. Nevertheless, there can be little doubt that his regime was broadly feudal in character, with chiefs of the Ma acting as local governors except perhaps on the western border of the Delta, where their fellow-tribesmen, the Libu (who were later to play a dominant role in resisting the Nubian invasion), may already have secured a firm foothold.[104] In pictorial representations, the chiefs of the Libu are easily distinguishable from those of the Ma by an upright ostrich plume on their heads, whereas the chiefs of the Ma wear the plume obliquely.[105] Matters of public and private concern were often decided by oracular consultation, possibly even more often than during the Twenty-first Dynasty;[106] decisions thus obtained had the advantage of being unassailable by reason of their supposed divine origin. Instances of such oracles have already been mentioned in connexion with the funerary endowment of Nimlot (A) and the temple-buildings of Shoshenq I at Memphis and Thebes.[107] A further example, preserved on a stela dated to the fifth year of the king's reign and now in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford,[108] records the settlement of a disagreement concerning the ownership of a plot of land and a well in the Dākhla Oasis, and a consequential issue concerning the source of some water used for purposes of irrigation. Shoshenq I had appointed as governor of the oasis a certain Wayheset, who was one of his own relations and a son of a chief of the Ma. When he visited Sa-wahet, where the dispute had occurred, a local priest named Nesubast petitioned him to adjudicate on the matter, claiming that the land and the well belonged to him by virtue of having been owned by his mother. Wayheset decided to submit the case to the oracle of Setekh at an approaching festival called 'Beauty of Daytime'. Being himself a priest, he acted as the intermediary. The god pronounced Nesubast to be in the right, declaring that the land and water were his property and that of his descendants in perpetuity, and were not, as his opponents maintained, the property of the Crown.

[103] C 175, 139.
[104] C 198, 145–9; C 103, 291.
[105] C 198, 138–9.
[106] See *CAH* II.2, 625, 657; C 144, 38ff.
[107] See above, pp. 542 and 545.
[108] C 150, VII 296; C 166, 12–21; C 62, 19–30; C 144, 40–1.

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That the reign of Shoshenq I came to an abrupt end is evident from his unfinished buildings at Thebes and El-Hība. No more than scattered blocks have survived of either his temple at Memphis[109] or his addition to the temple of Amun at Tanis (furnished with usurped sphinxes),[110] but the former at least, intended as the counterpart of his Mansion of Millions of Years at Thebes, may also not have been completed. There is nothing, however, to suggest that he did not die a natural death, advanced in years if an estimate that he was already over fifty when he became king is approximately right.[111] In all likelihood he was buried at Tanis, but his tomb cannot have remained intact for many years because fragments of his Canopic jars[112] and his heart-scarab[113] were found in the tomb of Shoshenq III. A pectoral[114] and a pair of massive gold bracelets,[115] inscribed with his names, were buried with a mummy lying in a silver coffin which had been placed in the vestibule of the tomb of Psusennes II.[116] The coffin was made for a Shoshenq whose praenomen was Heqakheperre and who is generally believed to have been Shoshenq II,[117] the jewellery having been bequeathed to him as an heirloom. Nevertheless, the identification is not certain and the suggestion has been advanced that the mummy is that of Shoshenq I, although his praenomen on other monuments is always Hedjkheperre.[118] In the present state of knowledge the suggestion cannot be proved or disproved; it will be necessary to return to the problem later in this chapter.[119]

Shoshenq I's successor, who may have been his co-regent for the last three years of his life,[120] was his son Sekhemkheperre Osorkon I, a brother of Iuput and a half-brother of Nimlot (B). By marrying Makare, a daughter of Psusennes II,[121] he not only established a firm link with the previous dynasty but created for himself an unimpeachable title to the throne. Widely divergent views have been expressed on the length of his reign and the problem is still not resolved, although a supposed date of Year 36 on a stela in University College London has been shown to be a misreading.[122] Much depends on the degree of credence to be attached to a date of Year 33, read at the end of the last century on linen from the mummy of a priest named Nakhtefmut who was buried at the Ramesseum, the *menat*-tab of whose braces bore the name of Osorkon

[109] See above, p. 542.
[110] C 150, IV 15; C 103, 291.
[111] C 20, 47.
[112] C 135, III, pl. XLIX, *a*.
[113] *Ibid.* 76.
[114] C 135, II 43–4, no. 219, fig. 13, colour pl. and pl. XXVIII.
[115] C 135, II 44, fig. 13; *ibid.* 45, nos. 226–7, colour pl. and pl. XXIX; C 192, pl. LXII B.
[116] C 135, II 36–63.
[117] C 103, 117–20; C 11, 11.
[118] C 64, 448; C 90, 359.
[119] See below, p. 550.
[120] C 188, 277.
[121] C 65, 67–8.
[122] C 87, 63–8.

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I.[123] In favour of a reign of about thirty-five years, it has been argued that the known third and fourth priests of Amun at Karnak could hardly be accommodated in a shorter space of time.[124] The highest firmly-attested date is Year 12 on a Nile-level record inscribed on the quay at Karnak,[125] a date which accords closely with the fifteen years attributed to Osorkon I by Manetho. While an interval of more than twenty years without any known dated document does not rule out the possibility that Osorkon I continued to reign throughout the period, it constitutes a difficulty in accepting without reserve the unverifiable evidence apparently provided by the linen.

Insofar as it is possible to judge from the surviving records, Osorkon I continued his father's general policy in internal affairs. Iuput's long tenure of the high priesthood of Amun at Karnak came to an end at about the time of the accession of Osorkon I. He was buried at the Ramesseum,[126] but he also possessed an imposing cenotaph at Abydos built of granite and decorated with scenes and texts from the *Book of What Is in the Underworld*.[127] Following the example of Shoshenq I, Osorkon I appointed his son, named Shoshenq, whose mother was the principal queen, Makare, to the Theban pontificate and, like Iuput, he assumed the military title of 'Leader who is at the head of the great army of all Egypt'.[128] Either he or Iuput very probably officiated on an occasion when Amon-Re, Mut and Khons delivered an oracle, which was recorded on the north face of the Seventh Pylon at Karnak,[129] affirming Makare's ownership of some property, doubtless at Thebes; since she is described merely as 'Makare, the daughter of King Psusennes' and not as queen, the event is perhaps more likely to have taken place in the time of Iuput.

Although it is not certain that Shoshenq was the eldest son of Osorkon I, the suggestion has been made that he became co-regent towards the end of his father's reign[130] and that he was the same person as Heqakheperre Shoshenq, whose mummy and silver coffin were found at Tanis.[131] Examination of the mummy showed that it belonged to a man who had died when he was past middle age and that he had suffered a head-injury which may have led to meningitis.[132] There is no reason to doubt that he was Shoshenq II or that he never ruled independently, but there is no actual evidence to show that Osorkon I had a co-regent.

[123] J. E. Quibell, *The Ramesseum* (London, 1896), 10–11. The linen is now missing; C 150, I² 679–80.

[124] C 103, 110–11.

[125] C 28, IV 141; C 17, 44 and 49.

[126] C 150, I² 681.

[127] C 150, V 38 and 75; C 185, 67–72.

[128] British Museum statue no. 8; C 28, IV 367–8; C 67, 299, II and 331 D; C 103, 306–7; C 150, II² 289.

[129] C 65, 64–9; C 150, II² 168; C 103, 60–1.

[130] C 103, 309–10; C 117, 126.

[131] C 33, 541–7; C 135, II 36–63; C 103, 117–20; see also below, p. 553.

[132] C 51, 549–50.

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Furthermore, the identification has been questioned on the grounds that the inscriptions on the representations of the high priest do not describe him as king[133] and, in particular, that he is called simply High Priest of Amun on a figure of Bes, formerly in the Alnwick Castle collection,[134] which was dedicated to him posthumously by his son, a later high priest of Amun, named Harsiese (A).[135]

Besides continuing the construction of his father's temple at El-Hība,[136] Osorkon I made substantial additions and restorations to the temple of Bastet at Bubastis,[137] and he also built, not far from it, a small temple for Atum.[138] On the sides of a rectangular granite column in this latter temple he recorded the donations which he had made to the sanctuaries of the major deities in the first three years, three months and sixteen days of his reign;[139] the quantities given for gold and silver alone are enormous, perhaps exaggerated, but they can be accepted as indicative of a state of prosperity unknown in Egypt since the palmy days of the New Kingdom. Further evidence of Osorkon I's concern for temple-construction has been found at Memphis, Atfīh and Karnak,[140] but his most important building was probably a fortress erected within a domain to which he gave his own name, Pi-Sekhemkheperre, 'Estate of Sekhemkheperre'. Its precise location still remains to be discovered, although there can be little doubt that it was situated near the entrance to the Faiyūm, somewhere in the vicinity of El-Lāhūn.[141] In such a position it could serve as a base for the Libyan garrison which, since the time of Shoshenq I, had been stationed in the neighbourhood of Heracleopolis.[142]

Native sources shed no light on Egypt's relations with her neighbours in the time of Osorkon I. Like Shoshenq I, he gave a statue of himself to the king of Byblos, Eliba^cal, who followed the example of Abiba^cal by adding his own inscription in Phoenician on the chest of the figure, dedicating it to the Lady of Byblos, his local goddess.[143] The gift shows that the kings were on friendly terms, and very probably indicates that trade connexions were maintained between their two countries. In one of three representations carved on the eastern pilaster of the Bubastite Portal at Karnak, Osorkon I is portrayed receiving a scimitar from Amun[144] in a manner which is somewhat suggestive of the triumphal

[133] C 90, 359; C 150, II² 147–8 (*a* and *b*); C 103, 306–7.
[134] C 119, 160; C 67, 331, E and n. 2; C 103, 119.
[135] See below, p. 555.
[136] See above, p. 543.
[137] C 140, 47–50; C 74, 55–70.
[138] C 150, IV 32; C 140, 60–2, pls. 51–2; C 74, 119–20.
[139] C 28, IV 362–6.
[140] C 103, 304 and 307.
[141] C 161, 35 n. *e*; C 198, 135 n. 1.
[142] C See above, pp. 542–3; C 100, 89.
[143] C 150, VII 388; C 103, 308–9; C 109, 12–13, 24 n. 27; C 156, 15; see above, p. 547.
[144] C 150, II² 36 (129); C 38, pl. 15.

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relief of Shoshenq I, but there is no evidence that he himself ever took part in any military exploits, and only a cryptic reference in the Old Testament to suggest that his army may have undertaken an unsuccessful campaign in southern Palestine, suffering defeat at the hands of Asa, king of Judah.[145] According to the Biblical narrative, the invading force, which is said to have included Libyan troops,[146] was led by Zerah the Ethiopian (i.e. the Nubian), who is not described as a king and whose name cannot be a Hebrew rendering of the name Osorkon, but no-one who can be identified with him is known from Egyptian monuments. Since the event can be dated to about 897 B.C., it is far from certain that Osorkon I, who would have been in the twenty-eighth year of his reign, was still alive when it occurred.[147]

Both Manetho and the stela of Pasenhor[148] agree in naming Osorkon I's son Takeloth I as the third king of the dynasty. The stela also reveals that his mother was Tashedkhons and his wife Kapes. He was thus a half-brother of the High Priest of Amun, Shoshenq. Two of his other brothers or half-brothers, Ewelot and Smendes, were, in turn, high priests of Amun and were probably the direct successors of Shoshenq.[149] Hitherto the praenomen of Takeloth has not been discovered. Six Nile-levels are recorded on the quay at Karnak in the high priesthoods of Ewelot and Smendes,[150] but the name of the king is exceptionally omitted in every instance, and the dates are lost in three of the records, two of Ewelot and one of Smendes. The highest date preserved is Year 14 of the unnamed king in the priesthood of Smendes, seven years later than the only other dated document attributable to the reign of Takeloth I.[151] Apart from his name and genealogical connexions, he remains an unknown king, who may well have been a nonentity in his own time. It is noticeable that he is not mentioned on a fine stela, found at Karnak and now in the Cairo Museum,[152] which puts on record an oracle by Amon-Re confirming a bequest by Ewelot to his son, a priest named Khaemuast, of about 150 hectares of arable land on the north-west of Thebes. The text states that it was land which had come into Ewelot's possession while he was still a child, in the tenth year of the reign of Osorkon I, and names the persons from whom it was acquired, stipulating that it shall remain the property of Khaemuast and his heirs in perpetuity, the god himself being the guarantor and threatening

[145] II Chron. 14: 8–15.
[146] *Ibid.* 14: 8; 147, 164–5.
[147] See above, pp. 462–3.
[148] See above, p. 539.
[149] C 103, 195; a different sequence is suggested in C 87, 67, fig. 1.
[150] C 17, 46, 50–1, nos. 16–21; C 100, 93ff.
[151] C 67, 333.
[152] *La stèle de l'apanage*: C 150, II² 27; C 112, 13–16; C 57, 19–24; C 28, IV 405 (§795); C 144, 38–9.

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severe punishment on anyone who disregards his edict. If the Nile-level dates of Ewelot and Smendes both refer to the reign of Takeloth I, Ewelot must have ceased to be high priest some time between Year 5 of the king, the only one of his dates to survive, and Year 8, the earlier of the two dates preserved for Smendes. Like his two predecessors in the high priesthood he was a military general, but, according to his stela, his command did not extend northwards beyond Asyūt, the region between El-Hība and Asyūt having been attached, perhaps in the time of Osorkon I, to the territory for which the military commander in Heracleopolis and Pi-Sekhemkheperre was responsible.[153] An adjustment of such a kind would be in keeping with the policy initiated by Shoshenq I for developing the military role of Middle Egypt, but it could hardly have commended itself to the native populace of Thebes. Smendes, about whom as little is known as about Takeloth, is described, in a hieratic inscription on a scribe's wooden palette now in the Metropolitan Museum, as commander-in-chief of the armies of Upper and Lower Egypt, but he qualifies the assertion by adding after his name 'who is at the head of the great army of the whole Southern Region'.[154] No doubt the territorial limits of his command were the same as those of Ewelot.

If Heqakheperre Shoshenq was neither Shoshenq I nor the high priest of Amun,[155] he may have ascended the throne as an ephemeral ruler after the death of Takeloth I. According to Manetho, as transmitted by Africanus, three kings lived between Osorkon I and Takeloth II,[156] the last of whom must have been Osorkon II and the first presumably Takeloth I, leaving Heqakheperre Shoshenq II to occupy the second position. It is a solution which has hitherto found favour with some historians,[157] but the evidence is slender and it cannot be regarded as more than a possibility. The cranial injury observed in the examination of the mummy of Heqakheperre[158] suggests that he met an untimely death in circumstances which are entirely obscure. His burial at Tanis yielded, besides a falcon-headed coffin and the jewellery previously mentioned,[159] several objects of archaeological and artistic interest, including a gold mask, a considerable amount of personal jewellery and, very surprisingly, an Akkadian cylinder-seal of the third millennium.[160] With the accession of Usermare-Setepenamun Osorkon II, Egypt once again had a strong and energetic ruler, some of whose hopes and ambitions are revealed in a stela carved in one piece with a kneeling

[153] C 100, 95–7; C 103, 311–12; see, however, C 11, 14 (§17).
[154] C 76, 47–50.
[155] See above, pp. 549–51.
[156] C 187, 158–9.
[157] C 135, II 62; C 11, 6; C 188, 278.
[158] See above, p. 550.
[159] See above, p. 549.
[160] C 135, II 37–50, pls. 17–36, colour pl.; C 192, 171–82, pl. LXII B and C.

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statue of the king found at Tanis.[161] It probably dates from the early part of his reign, but proof is lacking because the opening lines of the inscription, which may have given the date, are missing. The main body of the text consists of a prayer by the king to a god whose name is lost, so worded that it required, and doubtless obtained, an oracular response in the affirmative.[162] A formal introduction, in which the king invokes the god to protect him from incurring divine disapprobation and to assist him in doing what is pleasing to the gods, is followed by a passage which is indicative of his internal policy: '[You (i.e. the god) will] fashion my issue, the seed which comes forth from my limbs, [to be] great [rulers] of Egypt, princes, high priests of Amon-Re, king of the gods, great chiefs of the Ma, [great chiefs] of foreign peoples, priests of Arsaphes, king of the Two Lands... You will establish my children in the [offices which] I shall give them so that brother is not jealous (?) of brother...' The concluding lines of the damaged text contain a request that his queen Karoama may participate in his jubilee festivals and that his children may lead his victorious armies. The phraseology resembles the amuletic texts of the period, which were written in hieratic on long, narrow strips of papyrus,[163] except insofar as these texts were not petitions but oracular decrees uttered by the god, or gods; one of the surviving examples belonged to an army-commander of 'Pharaoh Osorkon', who may have been one of the sons of Osorkon II mentioned on the stela.[164]

There is no shortage of evidence that Osorkon II carried out his intentions and placed his sons in some of the highest offices. The high priesthood of Ptah at Memphis, which Shedsunefertem had retained under Shoshenq I, to be followed in turn by his son and his grandson, Shoshenq (C) and Osorkon (A), ceased to be the heritage of the Memphite family, although Osorkon (A) had a son who was a priest of Ptah named Takeloth (A), the post being given to the eldest son of Osorkon II and Karoama, Shoshenq (D)[165] and subsequently being held by his son Takeloth (B) and his descendants.[166] Their tombs were built in the precincts of the temple.[167] Another of the sons of Osorkon II and Karoama, Harnakht, became high priest of Amun at Tanis,[168] but he could only have been the titular holder of the office, because he died at the age of about eight or nine.[169] Yet another son, Nimlot (C), whose mother's name was Djedmutesankh, was installed as high priest of

[161] C 27, 3–11.
[162] C 85, 12–23; C 198, 136–7 (§15); C 103, 317; C 28, IV 370–1 (§§745–7).
[163] C 56.
[164] C 56, 147–51.
[165] C 103, 101, 316; C 100, 106.
[166] C 103, 193, 322, 325–6; C 58, 5–13.
[167] C 9, 181 n. 2; C 10, 154–77.
[168] C 97, 179 and 198; C 198, 137 (§16); C 103, 323.
[169] C 52, 150.

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Arsaphes at Heracleopolis and military governor of Pi-Sekhemkheper-re.[170] At a later date and in circumstances which demanded special measures, he became high priest of Amun at Thebes without relinquishing his offices in Middle Egypt.[171] Most of Lower Egypt from the Memphite province northwards, with the exception of the royal cities of Tanis and Bubastis, was divided into regions of varying size and importance,[172] over at least some of which Osorkon II placed his sons and grandsons as governors, designating them 'Great Chiefs of the Ma', a title which seems to have lapsed since Shoshenq I became king.[173]

Every high priest of Amun at Thebes from Iuput to Smendes had been a son or a brother of the reigning king. In no instance had the pontiff been a son of a previous high priest. There can be little doubt that one of the chief reasons for making the office non-hereditary was the desire of the early Libyan kings to avoid the risk of re-creating a parallel dynasty at Thebes composed of priestly rulers, such as had existed in the time of the Twenty-first Dynasty. Smendes may have survived Takeloth I, but there is no evidence to prove it.[174] His successor was Harsiese (A), who was neither a son nor a brother of either Takeloth I or Osorkon II; he was, however, a son of a former high priest of Amun, Shoshenq, and, even though he did not immediately follow his father, his appointment introduced an element of heredity into the succession. It seems more probable that he owed his preferment to Takeloth I than to Osorkon II, simply because it would not have been consistent with Osorkon II's policy elsewhere to appoint anyone except one of his own sons to so important a position. Whichever of the two kings was responsible for this departure from precedent, the choice of Harsiese (A) may have been influenced by his descent from a Theban mother, Nesitanebtashru, and a Theban grandmother, the queen of Osorkon I, Makare,[175] in the hope that it would appease local sentiment, which had never become reconciled to foreign hegemony from the north. If so, the plan miscarried, and Harsiese (A) himself was largely instrumental in bringing about its failure. Not satisfied with the high priesthood, he aspired to nothing less than co-rulership with Osorkon II, styling himself 'Lord of the Two Lands' and adopting the praenomen of Shoshenq I and the Horus-name of Smendes, the founder of the Twenty-first Dynasty.[176] He did not, however, date any of his few extant monuments in his 'regnal years' nor, apparently, did he assume the rank of army commander borne by his predecessors. One

[170] See above, p. 551.
[171] See below, pp. 556 and 560; C 100, 112–13; C 198, 137 (§16) n. 3.
[172] C 198, 133 (§12).
[173] C 198, 138 (§18).
[174] See above, p. 552.
[175] See above, p. 550.
[176] C 67, 348–50; C 100, 109–10; C 103, 315–16; C 80, 10.

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monument, a granite sarcophagus found at Koptos,[177] is inscribed with a text which describes him as 'Lord of the Two Lands, Harsiese, beloved of Amun' and his son, whose name is illegible, as high priest of Amun. Nothing more is known about the son, whose elevation to the pontificate was no doubt an impertinent attempt by his father to nominate his own successor and was never sanctioned at Tanis. A sister, or possibly a daughter, named Karomama Merytmut, was more fortunate, for she remained in office as the God's Wife of Amun at Thebes until the time of Takeloth II.[178] His son-in-law, Harsiese (C), who was married to Harsiese (A)'s daughter, Istweret, also retained his post as Fourth Priest of Amun and was later promoted to Second Priest.[179] When Harsiese (A) died, some time after the sixteenth year of Osorkon II, the status quo was restored by the appointment of Nimlot (C) to the high priesthood,[180] but the arrogant pretensions of his predecessor, which Osorkon II does not seem to have resisted, may well have given fresh impetus to Theban separatistic ambitions. Harsiese (A) was buried in a well-constructed tomb, lined with re-used stone blocks, at Medīnet Hābu, just outside the *temenos*-wall of the small temple.[181] His granite sarcophagus, empty when found, had been made for Hentmire, a sister and wife of Ramesses II, whose unidentified tomb probably lay in the Valley of the Queens; only the lid, adorned like his father's silver coffin at Tanis with a mummiform figure of the falcon-headed Horus, was new. A skull, which had probably been severed from his destroyed mummy, showed a rectangular hole in the forehead which may possibly have been caused by trepanation performed some considerable time before his death.[182]

Conditions at Thebes, at least in the time of Harsiese (A), were scarcely conducive to the building of monuments by Osorkon II, and it is not surprising that the only edifices associated with him at Karnak, or elsewhere in Upper Egypt, are two small chapels, one dedicated to Osiris Wep-Ished (Osiris, Opener of the Persea-tree) and certainly built after Nimlot (C) had succeeded to the high priesthood,[183] and the other, decorated with reliefs of himself and Queen Karoama, dedicated to Osiris Khenem-ma'at, for which the God's Wife of Amun, Karomama Merytmut, may have been responsible.[184] These chapels apart, the only relic of Osorkon II at Karnak is a much-mutilated decree concerning

[177] C 117, 123–4; C 67, III 349; C 150, V 133.
[178] C 103, 323; 88, *passim*; C 20, 83; see *CAH* II.2, 650.
[179] C 103, 315–16.
[180] See above, pp. 554–5; C 100, 112–13; C 103, 106, 196, 316.
[181] C 150, I² 772; C 80, 8–10, pls. 8–10.
[182] C 80, 10, pl. 10B; C 29, I xiv, pl. VII, fig. 13; C 100, 111.
[183] C 150, II² 203–4, J.
[184] C 150, II² 15, e (56); C 14, 5 (*e*), n. 6; C 88, 91.

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the protection of the Theban temples and certain concessions to their priesthoods which was inscribed on the wall of a small chamber near the bark-sanctuary built by Tuthmosis III.[185] It was in the Delta, and especially at Tanis and Bubastis, that Osorkon II erected his major monuments, all of which have been reduced to ruins. At Tanis he enlarged the temple of Amun by constructing a spacious court in front of a court of about the same size built by Siamun.[186] He also built a small temple east of the enclosure-wall of the temple of Amun, re-using granite palmiform columns[187] which Ramesses II had transported from the monuments of his predecessors for re-use in his own buildings at Pi-Ramessu.[188] At Bubastis, within the precincts of the main temple of Bastet, he built a small colonnaded temple, which he dedicated to Bastet's son, Mahes[189] (Miūsis), and he made some important additions to the main temple itself, the most notable being a court and its portal to commemorate his jubilee festival (*ḥeb-sed*).[190] The portal, composed of granite blocks, most of which had been taken from older monuments and particularly from those of Ramesses II, was decorated with scenes illustrating various episodes in the festival; broken and fragmentary though they are, the surviving blocks furnish the most complete record of the ceremonies yet found.[191] One of the texts which accompany the scenes[192] has been interpreted as providing evidence that Osorkon II, in token of his gratitude to Amon-Re for granting him this jubilee and for the promise of further jubilees in the future, had conceded to Thebes virtual independence, or at least freedom from interference by royal officials,[193] but the text is identical in all essential respects with one belonging to a similar scene in the jubilee reliefs of Amenophis III in his temple at Sulb, in Nubia, and consequently no special historical significance can be attached to its occurrence on the monument of Osorkon II.[194] In earlier times kings had celebrated their jubilees generally at Memphis,[195] but occasionally at Thebes; the version of the ritual reproduced at Bubastis was evidently the recension intended for Thebes. Where the festival was actually held by Osorkon II is uncertain; it may have been at Bubastis, his ancestral home, or at Tanis, the capital, and possibly it was held partly in each city.[196] Uncertainty also

[185] C 138, II 151, figs. 57, 58; C 103, 320; C 184, 20–6; C 150, II² 92 (264); C 156, 12, n. 79.
[186] C 135, I 25–6, pl. I; C 103, 318, fig. 3.
[187] C 135, I 29–33; C 132, 178–85, pl. XVI; C 136, 43, pl. I.
[188] See *CAH* II.2, 322 n. 2; C 21 *passim*.
[189] C 74, 46–55; C 103, 318, fig. 3.
[190] C 150, IV 28–9; C 141 *passim*; C 74, 59–61; C 193, 318, fig. 3, 320–1.
[191] C 176 *passim*.
[192] C 141, 4, pl. VI, 8–9; C 28, IV 372–3 (§§750–1); C 64, 331; C 176, 374; C 103, 321.
[193] C 28, IV 372–3 (§§750–1); C 64, 331; C 176, 374; C 103, 321, n. 431.
[194] C 141, 4–5; C 162, Appendix A, 296–9; C 103, 321.
[195] C 37, 122.
[196] C 176, 378 n. 56; C 103, 320 n. 424.

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surrounds the regnal year in which it took place. As a rule, though not invariably, the first *sed*-festival was celebrated in the thirtieth year of the king's reign, but the publication of the inscription at Bubastis which gives the date reproduces the numeral as 22,[197] and the suggestion has been made that it is a mistake by either the ancient or the modern copyist for 30.[198]

Such information as is available concerning Egypt's connexions with foreign lands shows that Osorkon II maintained the same friendly relations with Byblos as had existed in the time of Shoshenq I and Osorkon I. He too gave a statue of himself to the king of Byblos, whose name in this instance is not recorded.[199] No doubt it was in Phoenician ships that Egyptian goods were transported to the south coast of Spain and to other parts of the western Mediterranean, but there is no proof that the alabaster vases which bore the names of Shoshenq II, Osorkon II and Takeloth II were taken there in the lifetimes of those kings.[200] Material evidence of contacts with Palestine is afforded by part of an alabaster vase found in excavations at the site of the royal palace in Samaria.[201] It was inscribed with the names of Osorkon II and also with an indication of its capacity – 81 *hin* or approximately 41 litres. What it contained is not stated, but in all likelihood it was precious unguent and was part of a consignment sent as a gift by Osorkon II to Ahab. Egypt and Israel had every reason for preserving peaceful relations, Egypt owing to her internal problems and Israel owing to the threat to her existence posed by the westward advance of the Assyrian army. It has been suggested that the two kings had entered into a military alliance, though the only evidence is the supposed presence of a token force of one thousand Egyptian troops among the allies of Ahab and the kings of Hamath and Damascus in the battle against Shalmaneser III fought at Qarqar in 853 B.C. The Assyrian record states that the troops in question belonged to Muṣri,[202] which some authorities consider to mean Egypt[203] (called Miṣraim in Hebrew). In support of this identification is a reference to Muṣri on Shalmaneser III's Black Obelisk in the British Museum[204] as being the source from which he received as tribute a hippopotamus, a rhinoceros, an antelope, elephants and monkeys, all of which would point to an African provenance; but

[197] C 141, pl. VI, 8.

[198] C 188, 278; C 189, 222.

[199] C 109, 13, 24 n. 28 and pl. VIII*b*; C 156, 15, n. 108; C 130, II pl. 43; C 135, I 21–2.

[200] C 109, 13, 25 n. 31; C 60, 28, 31; C 61A.

[201] C 103, 324 n. 450; C 135, I 93; see above, p. 479.

[202] A. L. Oppenheim, 'Babylonian and Assyrian historical texts', *ANET* 279; see above, pp. 261–2.

[203] C 129, II 2, 333; C 103, 325; C 171, 146: 'every reference in the Assyrian records to a foreign country *Muṣri/Muṣur* from the tenth century B.C. onwards should be taken as referring exclusively to Egypt'.

[204] A. L. Oppenheim, *op. cit.*, 281 (III); C 156, 14; C 103, 327.

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the list also includes 'camels whose backs are doubled' (i.e. Bactrian camels) and the camel was not employed in ancient Egypt. Incongruous as this entry must be deemed, it would not in itself constitute a major obstacle to the acceptance of the identification of Shalmaneser's Muṣri with Egypt. A more cogent reason for hesitation arises from the evidence mentioned earlier in this History[205] that a Muṣri existed in the eighth century B.C. in the vicinity of Arpad in north Syria, and its closer proximity to the other kingdoms which participated in the battle would seem to indicate that it, rather than Egypt, was Ahab's ally.

Estimates of the length of Osorkon II's reign vary from twenty-four[206] to thirty years,[207] depending on the view taken with regard to the actual date of his *sed*-festival. A Nile-level record dated in Year 28 of an Osorkon 'corresponding to Year 5 of his son... Takeloth'[208] as co-regent, which was formerly attributed to Osorkon II and Takeloth II,[209] has been persuasively shown to refer to Osorkon III and Takeloth III[210] and consequently has no relevance to the question of the length of reign of Osorkon II; it follows as a corollary that the supposed co-regency of Osorkon II and Takeloth II has been deprived of what was once believed to be clear evidential support, although it cannot be completely ruled out as a possibility if the higher estimate of the duration of the reign of Osorkon II is preferred. The latest date firmly attested for Osorkon II occurs on a stela commemorating the burial of an Apis bull in the Serapeum in his Year 23;[211] how much longer he lived has yet to be established. When he died he was buried at Tanis in the temple precincts between the south-west corner of the First Pylon and the brick enclosure wall of Psusennes I. The tomb, found by Pierre Montet in 1939, was built in a pit dug in the sand, the floor of which lay just above the level of the subterranean water.[212] It was constructed entirely of limestone and granite blocks, re-used from earlier monuments, and the inner walls of its four chambers were decorated with ritual texts and mythological scenes of a kind similar to those in the royal tombs at Thebes.[213] Besides Osorkon II, the tomb contained the burials of Harnakht,[214] Takeloth II[215] and three unidentified persons, all violated by ancient robbers but still yielding many notable items of funerary equipment. Carved in relief on the wall at the entrance to the tomb was a figure of the Commander-in-Chief of the Forces of Upper and Lower

[205] *CAH* II.2, 28; C 72, II 28–9; C 61, 29–31; C 66, 38–42; see also above, p. 261, n. 125.
[206] C 103, 180.
[207] C 188, 278; C 189, 222.
[208] C 17, 45 (no. 13).
[209] C 17, 45 (no. 13); C 67, 337 (VIII); C 11, 7 (*e*).
[210] C 103, 92–3; C 188, 276; C 90, 358.
[211] C 125, I 17 (no. 18).
[212] C 135, I 35–47; C 133, 2–22.
[213] C 132, 132–4, pl. IX; C 135, I 55–6, figs. 15 and 16, 73–8, fig. 24, pls. XVIII–XXI, XXIV–XLV.
[214] C 132, 111–12, 116–17; C 133, 22–50; C 135, I 59–70, pls. XLVIII–LIII, LV, LVII–LXI.
[215] C 135, I 42, 77, 81–5, pls. XXXVII–XXXVIII and LVI; C 132, 134, 138–9.

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Egypt, Pasherenese, son of Hor, accompanied by a short lamentation[216] addressed to the dead king, and appended to it are the rather enigmatic words 'Kapes (Osorkon II's mother) made it for him', apparently referring to the tomb itself.

Shoshenq (D), the crown prince and high priest of Memphis,[217] officiated at the burial of the Apis bull in Year 23 of Osorkon II, but he did not succeed his father when he died about a year later, presumably because he had predeceased him. The next king was Takeloth II, probably a half-brother of Shoshenq (D), who, some years before ascending the throne, had married Karoama Merytmut, a daughter of Nimlot (C) and therefore his niece. Nimlot (C) continued to hold the pontificates of Heracleopolis and Thebes, and both he and Takeloth followed the policy inaugurated by Shoshenq I of strengthening the links of the royal family with Thebes by arranging marriages between their daughters and Theban dignitaries.[218] Earlier kings in the dynasty had left the second, third and fourth priesthoods of Amun in Theban possession, but Takeloth II, perhaps ill-advisedly but no doubt deliberately, departed from precedent by installing, at an uncertain date,[219] one of his younger sons, Djedptahefankh, as Second Priest, his apparent motive being to thwart the ambitions of a potential Theban contender for the high priesthood when it became vacant. The eventual successor to the high priesthood was the Crown Prince Osorkon, eldest son of Takeloth II and Karoama, who had been appointed by Year 11 of his father's reign. An inscription carved on the Bubastite Portal at Karnak gives a graphic but sadly mutilated account of some of his vicissitudes during the next forty-three years.[220] His full titles were Governor of Upper Egypt, Chieftain over the Two Lands, High Priest of Amun at Thebes, Generalissimo and Leader, Osorkon; his residence was at El-Hība, whence he made frequent visits to Thebes. Before his first recorded visit 'at the head of his army' in Year 11, Upper Egypt had been in a state of insurrection resulting in widespread damage to property, but the rebels, who are not identified, had been overcome and on his arrival at Thebes Osorkon celebrated his victory with 'an exceedingly great present' to Amun. He was well received, both by the god, who expressed his approval of Osorkon's actions by an oracle at the festival of Neheb-kau, and by the loyal priests, who presented him with bouquets, as well as by the populace. At the insistence of the priests and the onlookers, the captured rebels were brought before him,

[216] C 135, I 71–3, pls. XXII and XXIII; C 95, 179; C 123, 97–106, fig. 69, pl. XXXI.
[217] See above, p. 554 and nn. 165 and 167.
[218] C 103, 328–9; C 100, 122–3.
[219] C 103, 329 n. 478, 330.
[220] C 38, pls. 16–22; C 96; C 35; C 103, 329–32; C 28, IV 376–86 (§§756–70).

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executed and burnt. Before returning to El-Hība he appointed trustworthy men to key positions and issued six decrees for the benefit of the temples and their staffs. Peaceful conditions seem to have lasted until Year 15 when 'the sky did not swallow up the moon (i.e. there was no lunar eclipse), but a storm broke out in this land... the children of rebellion, they stirred up strife amongst the southerners and the northerners...',[221] a picturesque way of saying that the entire country was in revolt although no cosmic portent, such as a lunar eclipse, had given warning of its approach. Osorkon 'did not weary of fighting in their (i.e. his followers') midst even as Horus following his father; years elapsed in which one preyed upon his fellow unimpeded'.[222] 'The cities were in uproar, the nomes [in turmoil; there was strife] in each one of them, every person in them saying: "It is I who will seize this land."'[223] The text does not reveal how or when peace was restored, but since no military victory is claimed by Osorkon either for his own army or for the forces of the king it is likely that the rebels, after nearly ten years of fighting, were compelled by exhaustion to come to terms and to accept Osorkon back at Thebes. According to the evidence of his autobiography, Osorkon returned, laden with offerings for Amun, in Year 24 of Takeloth II,[224] and a Karnak stela, dated in Year 25 of Takeloth II,[225] shows that he was in office in what is believed to have been the last year of the king's reign.

Nothing is known about the activities of Takeloth II during the civil wars, or indeed about any major works carried out in his time. When he was buried in the tomb of Osorkon II at Tanis,[226] his mummy was placed in a sandstone sarcophagus which had been made in the Twelfth Dynasty for an official named Ameni.[227] The original inscriptions were left untouched and the cartouches of Takeloth II were written in black ink under the lid and at each end of the sarcophagus. Both the mummy and the chamber in which it lay had been severely plundered by ancient robbers.

In his autobiography, Osorkon makes it clear that he regarded himself as heir to his father's throne;[228] nevertheless, it was another Shoshenq (possibly a much younger brother of Osorkon) who succeeded Takeloth II. How it came about is not revealed, but a plausible conjecture would be that Takeloth II died unexpectedly and Shoshenq III seized the throne before Osorkon had time to receive the news and return to Tanis to claim his birthright. Nor was it his only misfortune: a Nile-level

[221] C 35, 88–9 (§§129–30).
[222] C 35, 88 (§129).
[223] C 35, 102 (§155).
[224] C 35, 125 (§196) and 128 (§199) n. *j*.
[225] C 115, 183; C 35, 110–11; C 103, 107 n. 114.
[226] See above, p. 559; C 135, I 42, 77, 81–5, pls. XXXVII and XXXVIII.
[227] C 132, 139, fig. 38; C 135, I, pl. XLVII.
[228] C 35, 70, 160, 178 *et passim*.

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record dated in Year 6 of Shoshenq III shows that by then he had been superseded as high priest of Amun at Thebes by Harsiese (B),[229] whose parentage is not known, though he may conceivably have been a grandson of Harsiese (A), the 'king' and high priest in the time of Osorkon II.[230] The circumstances of his appointment are nowhere explained; the only certain historical facts are that Osorkon had been ousted against his will and that his eviction, which may have dated from the accession of Shoshenq III, was a result of another revolt in Thebes.[231] He remarks with evident bitterness that no one in authority came to help him, he was alone and without a friend.[232] His exile lasted for many years, but eventually 'good tidings came from Thebes to bring great comfort to him, saying: "Be happy, you have no enemies"'.[233] He records his benefactions to Amun and other deities from Year 22 to year 29 of Shoshenq III, which suggests that he was in office for the whole of the intervening period; a Nile-level record shows, however, that Harsiese (B) was the high priest of Amun in Years 25 and 26 of Shoshenq III.[234] Osorkon's autobiography ends in Year 29; what happened to him during the next ten years is not known, although there is no reason to suppose that he did not suffer further vicissitudes; and then, after that long interval, he is twice attested as high priest again at Thebes in Year 39 of Shoshenq III: in a Nile-level text[235] and in the so-called Karnak priestly annals[236] – records inscribed on pillars which stood in the Middle Kingdom court at Karnak.[237] The inscription in the annals bears witness to the induction of a vizier named Harsiese and mentions that Osorkon's brother, Bakenptah, was army commander at Heracleopolis, the fourth successor of Nimlot (C). By that time Osorkon must have been over seventy years of age; how much longer he lived is not known.

III. THE DIVISION OF THE MONARCHY AND THE RISE OF THE TWENTY-THIRD DYNASTY

Shoshenq III's reign was the longest since Ramesses II. Its duration can be determined from the dates on two stelae found in the Serapeum at Memphis and commemorating two successive Apis bulls, one buried in his regnal Year 28 and the second, born in the same year, buried at the age of twenty-six in Year 2 of Pimay, his son.[238] A reign of fifty-two

[229] C 17, 46, 51 (no. 23).
[230] C 103, 199.
[231] C 35, 111–12 (§173), 178 (§289).
[232] C 35, 111 (§172), 178 (§290).
[233] C 35, 113 (§177).
[234] C 17, 47, 52 (nos. 27 and 28).
[235] C 17, 46, 51 (no. 22).
[236] Cairo J. 36493; C 113, 55–6 (no. 7); C 120, 6; C 44, 138; C 28, IV 388–9 (§§775–7); C 35, 180 (§293); C 103, 340.
[237] C 14, 153–6.
[238] C 67, 363 n. 2; C 28, IV 386–7 (§§771–4) and 390 (§§778–81); C 125, I 19–22 (nos. 21 and 22).

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years is therefore postulated by these dates alone (*c.* 825–773 B.C.) and useful confirmation of their reliability is provided by a papyrus in the Brooklyn Museum which refers to a purchase of land in Year 49 of an unnamed king who, by reason of the high date, can be none other than Shoshenq III.[239] At the outset, he endeavoured to gain the support of the Theban separatists by accepting Harsiese (B) as high priest of Amun, at the expense of Osorkon, and, for his first seven years, the concession seems to have achieved its purpose. Indirect evidence of harmonious relations between the Crown and the pontificate is afforded by one of the many statuettes dating from the Twenty-second to Twenty-fourth Dynasties discovered in the Karnak cachette in 1903–4.[240] It is a statuette of the vizier Nesipaqashuty, on one shoulder of which are inscribed the cartouches of Shoshenq III and on the other the name and titles of Harsiese (B).[241] But the compromise was destined not to last. The next Nile-level record, in chronological order, to the one which refers to Year 6 of Shoshenq III[242] names Harsiese (B) as the high priest and is dated in Year 12 of a deliberately unnamed king, who could only be Shoshenq III, followed by Year 5 of a new king, Pedubast I,[243] thereby indicating that a co-regency had been established, but it was certainly not a normal co-regency of father and son occupying the same throne. The Nile-levels for the remainder of Pedubast's life are dated in his years alone, the last record being in his twenty-third year;[244] Shoshenq III is not mentioned in Theban inscriptions after the appearance of Pedubast, except in texts relating to Osorkon and in one commemorative inscription at Karnak in which his son Pashedbast mentions Shoshenq III by name but dates the record in the regnal years of Pedubast I,[245] the figure itself being lost.

Contemporary documents shed no light on either the forebears of Pedubast I or the actual events which led to his accession. Manetho begins his Twenty-third Dynasty with Petubates (according to Africanus) or Petubastis (according to Eusebius), adding that the first Olympic festival, an event which was conventionally fixed at 776–775 B.C.[246] and therefore somewhat after the lifetime of Pedubast I (*c.* 818–793), was celebrated in the reign of Petubates. In spite of this discrepancy there can be little doubt that Manetho's founder of the Twenty-third Dynasty was identical with Pedubast I,[247] and the twenty-five years which are ascribed to Petubastis (against forty to

[239] Brooklyn Museum P. 16. 205 iii 7; C 144, 49–52.
[240] C 150, II² 147–51, 162–3.
[241] Cairo 42232; C 118, II 78–80, pls. XL, XLI; C 150, II² 149.
[242] See above, pp. 561–2.
[243] C 17, 46–7, 51 (no. 24).
[244] C 17, 47, 52 (no. 29). See also C 36, 42–6.
[245] C 103, 337, 339; C 121, 39–40; C 67, 380, VII; C 100, 137–8.
[246] C 187, 161 n. 3.
[247] But see C 11, 15 §19 (*a*) and C 17, 47 (no. 24).

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Petubates) find support in the highest date of Pedubast I known from contemporary records.[248] Manetho associates the dynasty with Tanis either because it was its place of origin or perhaps through confusion with a later line of Tanite kings, who included two kings named Petubast;[249] Tanis continued to be the capital of Shoshenq III and his three successors of the Twenty-second Dynasty. The capital of the kings of the Twenty-third Dynasty may already in the time of Pedubast I have been situated at Leontopolis (Tell el-Muqdām) in the Delta, some twelve miles north-west of Bubastis;[250] it was undoubtedly located there before the end of the dynasty. Two high officials, one of Heracleopolis[251] and the other of the neighbouring fortress Pi-Sekhemkheperre,[252] dated donation stelae – records of gifts of plots of land to temples or to the staffs of temples – in the regnal years of Pedubast, showing that they recognized his sovereignty and also that his realm extended northwards to the entrance to the Faiyūm. Memphis, whose high priests were descendants of Osorkon II,[253] remained faithful to Shoshenq III; the family ties were strengthened by a son of his daughter, Ankhesen-shoshenq, born of the principal queen, Tentamenope, who married a daughter of the high priest Pediese.[254] In the Delta the process of decentralization of provincial control by the Chiefs of the Ma was making headway.[255]

The slender evidence available suggests that the two kings maintained at least an outward show of mutual toleration, but the intermittent reinstatements of Osorkon,[256] whose allegiance to Shoshenq III does not seem to have wavered notwithstanding his misfortunes, indicate that the Tanite pharaoh still had his supporters in Thebes, though not in sufficient strength to upset the new regime. Pedubast I's rule continued without interruption, and in his Year 15 (Year 22 of Shoshenq III), when Osorkon resumed his tenure of the pontificate, he chose as co-regent Iuput I, who may have been his son.[257] The two developments may well have been connected, Pedubast's motive in making the appointment being perhaps to forestall a possible attempt by Osorkon and his Theban allies to restore, in the event of his demise, Shoshenq III to his former position as sole pharaoh. In the circumstances of the time, it would have seemed a prudent precaution, but in the ensuing ten years Osorkon was deposed twice, the first time by Harsiese

[248] See above, n. 244; C 103, 124.

[249] C 11, 11–12; C 58, 143; C 75, 69–74; C 103, 98; C 203 *passim*.

[250] C 194, 182–92; C 103, 336; C 104, 45–7; C 58, 113–25.

[251] Glyptothèque Ny Carlsberg, Inv. 917 (see Koefoed-Petersen, *Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca* VI (Brussels, 1936), pl. 5).

[252] C 161, 33–41; see above, p. 551.

[253] See above, p. 554.

[254] C 103, 343–4.

[255] See above, p. 555 and below, pp. 571ff.

[256] See above, pp. 560–2.

[257] C 17, 47, 52 (no. 26).

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(B)[258] and the second time by Takeloth, who is named as high priest on a Nile-level record of Year 23 of Pedubast I[259] (Year 30 of Shoshenq III), and he was doubtless in office two years later when Pedubast I died. Iuput I predeceased Pedubast I, whose successor was Shoshenq IV,[260] presumably a younger brother of Iuput I. Takeloth held the pontificate throughout the short, and seemingly uneventful, reign of Shoshenq IV. A Nile-level record dated in the king's sixth year[261] has generally been considered to mark the end of his reign, but the view has also been expressed that he lived for a further three years, until Year 39 of Shoshenq III.[262] That was the year in which Osorkon displaced Takeloth and regained the high priesthood for the last time,[263] an event which may have come about through his opportunism in a brief interregnum after the death of Shoshenq IV and before his successor, Osorkon III, had ascended the throne; but in the absence of any confirmation that Shoshenq IV reigned for nine years such an explanation can be no more than a possibility.

Until better evidence is forthcoming, Takeloth's genealogical affiliations must remain uncertain.[264] An inscribed block found at Karnak in 1951 shows that Nimlot (C) had a son named Takeloth, who became high priest of Amun and governor of Upper Egypt,[265] but it does not reveal his position in the order of sequence. He may have been his father's successor and the opponent of Prince Osorkon when he first became high priest in about Year 11 of Takeloth II. If, as might be expected, he was already then a man of mature years, it seems unlikely that, more than forty years later, he would still have been of an age to be reappointed by Pedubast I, and even less likely that he would have survived a further ten years at least, until the sixth year of Shoshenq IV, although it is not impossible. The only alternative would be to suppose that the high priest of Pedubast I and Shoshenq IV was a different Takeloth whose forebears remain unidentified. There is, however, no clear indication that Takeloth succeeded Nimlot (C). He may have been born late in Nimlot's life and, as a younger contemporary of Prince Osorkon, he would not have been too old to follow Harsiese (B) in the reigns of Pedubast I and Shoshenq IV. Neither hypothesis can be proved or disproved and the assumptions in the two cases seem to be fairly evenly balanced.

It is reasonable to suppose that Shoshenq III, in his long reign, celebrated at least one *sed*-festival: fragments of a commemorative monument have in fact been found at Tanis. He built small edifices, of

[258] See above, p. 562.
[259] C 17, 47, 52 (no. 29).
[260] C 20, x, 100; C 11, 16 (§21).
[261] C 17, 47, 52 (no. 25).
[262] C 11, 16 (§21).
[263] See above, p. 562.
[264] C 103, 200–1, 339.
[265] C 100, 113; 96, 361.

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which only traces have survived, at Memphis[266] and at a number of places in the Delta.[267] His most notable constructional achievement was a massive pylon in front of the temple of Amun at Tanis, faced with granite blocks cut from statues, architraves and stelae of Ramesses II, all brought from Pi-Ramessu.[268] It was decorated with scenes of Shoshenq III in the presence of various deities and the processional bark of Amun; only one inscription, apart from captions to the scenes, had survived and it proved to be illegible.[269] His tomb, found by Montet in 1940 lying some fifty metres south of the pylon, was built of limestone blocks taken from earlier monuments, including two New Kingdom tombs;[270] his red granite sarcophagus likewise was made of re-used material – an architrave which bore the Horus-names of Hor and another king of the Thirteenth Dynasty.[271] The walls of the tomb-chamber were adorned with representations carved in relief of the nocturnal journey of the sun-god through the underworld, the weighing of the heart and other funerary episodes.[272] A lapis lazuli scarab was the only object from the burial equipment which the ancient robbers had failed to remove, although they had taken its mount.[273] A second sarcophagus, uninscribed and empty, had been placed in the tomb some time after the burial of Shoshenq III. With it were found some objects bearing the cartouches of Shoshenq I, from which Montet deduced that the mummy of Shoshenq I had been transferred there after the robbery of his own, doubtless richly-furnished, tomb.[274]

When Shoshenq III died in about 773 B.C., the Twenty-third Dynasty king Osorkon III had already occupied his throne for about half his reign of twenty-eight or twenty-nine years. His mother, the Great King's Wife Kamama Merytmut, is named on two Nile-level records in his regnal Years 5 and 6.[275] What appears to have been her tomb (and not that of Karoama, wife of Osorkon II, as has generally been supposed[276]) was found in a poor condition at Leontopolis, but it yielded a valuable collection of jewellery which is now in the Cairo Museum.[277] In the past, attempts have been made to identify Osorkon III with Prince Osorkon, son of Takeloth II,[278] on the ground that each of them had a mother, a daughter and probably a wife with similar names, but the length of Osorkon III's reign alone virtually precludes

[266] C 49, 169–70.
[267] C 150, IV 35 (Mendes), 44 (Mustai), 46 (El-Bindarīya), 51 (Kōm el-Hisn).
[268] C 135, III *passim*, pls. 1–24.
[269] C 135, III 96.
[270] C 135, III 77ff.
[271] C 135, III 71–3, pl. XXVIII.
[272] C 135, III 57–69.
[273] C 135, III 97.
[274] C 135, III 76, 97; see above, p. 549.
[275] C 17, 45, 49 (nos. 6 and 7).
[276] C 103, 351 n. 613; C 104, 46; see also C 194, 191, n. 6.
[277] C 69, 21 7, pl. 1; C 183, 240 7 (nos. 52714–32); C 192, 167.
[278] C 11, 18–19; C 53, 672; C 100, 142.

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the possibility; by Year 28 of Osorkon III Prince Osorkon would have been at least 93 years of age.[279]

Exceptionally high levels of the Nile in its annual inundation are known to have occurred on a number of occasions in pharaonic times,[280] the highest recorded being in the sixth year of Taharqa (*c.* 688 B.C.). An event of this kind happened in the third year of Osorkon III and is noted in the Nile-level text for that year.[281] According to an eye-witness account preserved in a hieratic graffito on the inner wall of the hypostyle hall of the temple of Luxor,[282] the flood 'reached the cliffs (on each side of the Nile valley) as at the beginning of the world; the land was in its power as though (in the power of) the sea; there was no dyke made by the hand of man which could resist its force... All the temples of Thebes were like marshes;... the people of his (i.e. Amun's) city were like swimmers in the water...' Even though the Egyptians were well accustomed to repairing irrigation works and re-defining boundaries after each inundation, the damage done by a flood of this magnitude could hardly have been put right in time to sow the corn for the next harvest and its effect on the national economy must have been considerable. Another misfortune, probably a famine, occurred some years later, in Year 49 of Shoshenq III, but it is not certain that the expression used to describe it, 'a bad time', had already acquired the technical meaning of 'a bad season, famine' which is attached to its Coptic equivalent.[283]

Osorkon III left little mark on Egyptian history. Almost his only surviving monument is a small chapel at Karnak dedicated to Osiris Ruler of Eternity[284] and mainly constructed of re-used blocks taken from earlier buildings.[285] The reliefs on its walls show both the king and his son, Takeloth III, in full royal regalia, thereby indicating that the chapel dates from the last years of his reign, when Takeloth III had become co-regent, an event which took place in the regnal Year 24 of Osorkon III, according to a Nile-level record which is now attributed to him but was once thought to refer to the reign of Osorkon II.[286] A third figure in the same reliefs represents a daughter of Osorkon III by his principal wife, Karoatjet, named Shepenupet, whom he had appointed to the office of God's Adoratrice and God's Wife of Amun. The office had long been in existence,[287] but not with the degree of

[279] C 20, 101.
[280] C 19, 238ff.
[281] C 67; 383; C 17, 44–5, 49 (no. 5).
[282] C 43, 181ff (see also *Ann. Serv.* 26, 7 n. 3); C 28, IV 369–70 (§§742–4); J. Vandier, *La famine dans l'Egypte ancienne* (Cairo, 1936), 123; C 19, 244.
[283] C 144, 51, 52 n. *g*; Vandier, *op. cit.*, 94–5; see above, p. 563.
[284] C 150, II² 204–6; C 108, 47–54.
[285] C 155, 19–20.
[286] C 17, 45, 50 (no. 13); C 103, 92–3, 95–6.
[287] See above, p. 556 and n. 178; C 110, 35–9; C 103, 322–3; C 108, 356, n. 2; C 202, *passim*.

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authority which was now attached to it. Shepenupet was the first of an unbroken line of powerful god's wives whose 'reigns' spanned the next three dynasties.[288] Succession was by adoption, each god's wife adopting a daughter as her heir apparent.[289] Within their Theban domain the god's wives performed all the ritual ceremonies which had previously been reserved for the kings, and they were granted several other regal privileges, notably wearing the uraeus, prefixing a praenomen to their names and writing both names in cartouches. Apart from one very doubtful exception,[290] however, there is no evidence that they dated their monuments in the years of their pontificates; in every other instance the date clearly refers to the regnal year of a king.

Before he became co-regent, Takeloth III, whose mother was a queen named Tentsai,[291] had served first as high priest of Heracleopolis and subsequently as high priest of both Heracleopolis and Thebes, thus emulating the career of Nimlot (C), son of Osorkon II. Proof of his service in this dual capacity is afforded by an inscription in the Cairo Museum which describes him as 'high priest of Amon-Re, king of the gods, high priest of Arsaphes, king of the Two Lands, chief of Pi-Sekhemkheperre, prince, governor of Upper Egypt and (army-) leader'.[292] When he vacated these offices to become co-regent, or perhaps somewhat earlier, Peftjauawybast, who was married to a daughter of his younger brother and successor on the throne, Rudamun, was appointed high priest of Heracleopolis; the Theban pontificate does not seem to have been filled, presumably in order to avoid the risk of rivalry with Shepenupet. The highest recorded date of Takeloth III is Year 7,[293] which included five years as co-regent. Rudamun, who is known by little more than his name, is believed to have survived him by only three or four years.[294] During his reign, or perhaps more probably in the long reign of his successor, Iuput II, Peftjauawybast asserted his independence, styling himself as king, adopting a praenomen, Neferkare, writing his names in cartouches and requiring documents to be dated in his regnal years.[295] The high priest of Hermopolis, Nimlot (D), also assumed royal status, as did either his predecessor or his successor, Thutemhat, who is named on a statue in the Cairo Museum[296] and on a small bronze shrine in the British Museum.[297] Egypt thus had four kings, in name, ruling concurrently in different parts of the country, as well as the princelings in the Delta, whose

[288] C 100, 147–8.
[289] C 160, *passim*; C 108, 353–86.
[290] See below, p. 570.
[291] C 17, 44, 49 (no. 4).
[292] Cairo J. 65841; C 70, 18–21; C 100, 145; C 97, I 193.
[293] C 67, 333.
[294] C 20, X, 100; C 103, 127–8, 360.
[295] C 48, 43–5; C 50, 138–9; C 67, 400–1.
[296] No. 42212; C 67, 401; C 20, 84–5; C 100, 146–7.
[297] No. 11005.

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powers within their own provinces were almost equal to those of royalty.

At Tanis, the kings of the Twenty-second Dynasty, whose reigns spanned those of Osorkon III and his three successors to Iuput II at Leontopolis, were Shoshenq III (last fourteen years), Pimay, Shoshenq V and Osorkon IV.[298] Apart from four stelae commemorating the burial of an Apis bull in his Year 2,[299] one of which has already been mentioned,[300] Pimay is known with certainty only from a stela in the Louvre, dated in his Year 6,[301] probably his last year, and three inscribed blocks bearing his name from an edifice at Tanis which owed their preservation to being used at a later date in the fabric of the wall of the sacred lake of the temple of Amun.[302] The same wall and its adjacent colonnades also yielded nearly two hundred fragments of decorated stone from a temple dedicated to Amun, Mut and Khons by Shoshenq V, Pimay's son, together with some fragments of an edifice which he erected to commemorate his *sed*-festival,[303] both buildings having presumably been dismantled to make room for the lake. A stela, dedicated to Hathor by a priest of her cult at Atfih and dated in Year 22 of Shoshenq V,[304] shows that his kingdom extended at least to some fifty kilometres south of Memphis. Several Serapeum stelae are dated to Years 11 and 37 of his reign[305] – one of the group from Year 37 being the famous stela of Pasenhor[306] – and another stela, found at Buto, is dated in Year 38 of an unnamed king who is believed to have been Shoshenq V;[307] if that is so it represents his highest known regnal year (*c.* 729 B.C.). Iuput II had by then occupied the throne at Leontopolis for some twenty-five years and, unless another Shoshenq[308] succeeded him for a very short time, he remained on the throne for a further fourteen years while his co-pharaoh, Osorkon IV[309] (*c.* 729–715 B.C.), ruled at Tanis.

No mention has yet been made of what was undoubtedly the most important event in the last years of the Libyan dynasties: the Nubian domination of Egypt initiated by Kashta and completed some years later by his son and successor Py (whose name was formerly misread as Piankhy[310]). These kings, who belonged to the Twenty-fifth Dynasty, and their campaigns will be discussed more fully in a later chapter in

[298] See Chronological Table, p. 890.
[299] C 125, I 21–5 (nos. 22–5).
[300] See above, p. 562.
[301] C 67, 372, VI.
[302] C 136, 44, pls. V, VI, XLVIII (nos. 23, 24, 25).
[303] C 136, 44–61, pls. V, VII–XXIX, XLVI–LXIX (nos. 26–229).
[304] C 146, 56–7.
[305] C 125, I 25–43 (nos. 26–44), 45 (no. 48).
[306] See above, p. 539.
[307] C 198, 152–3.
[308] C 103, 87–8, 137, 376.
[309] C 103, 116–17, 335, 376.
[310] C 145, 111–14; C 91, 171–2; C 18, 58–62; C 151, 166–75.

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this *History*.[311] Kashta's presence at Aswān is attested by a fragmentary stela from the temple of Khnum on the island of Elephantine which bears his cartouches but no date.[312] That he reached Thebes is very likely, whether or not it is right to attribute to him a fragment of the Karnak priestly annals inscribed with Year 1 of a king whose name is partly mutilated.[313] After his invasion he most probably returned to his capital at Napata, near the Fourth Cataract, and resided there while still maintaining his sovereignty over Upper Egypt for perhaps twelve or more years until his death. At some point of time either he or, more probably, Py appointed Amenirdis, Kashta's daughter, to be the God's Adoratrice and the adopted daughter of the God's Wife Shepenupet. A rock inscription in the Wādi Gāsūs, which almost certainly refers to these two priestesses and not their later namesakes,[314] offers valuable evidence for determining the approximate date of Py's invasion of Middle and Lower Egypt in his Year 20, which is so graphically recorded on his famous stela found in the last century at Napata.[315] Written above the cartouche of each priestess is a date, Year 12 above Amenirdis and Year 19 above Shepenupet, which some authorities have interpreted as signifying their respective years in office,[316] but if that were so it would be the only instance of such a method of dating,[317] and consequently it seems more probable that the numerals indicate the regnal years of two contemporaneous kings, an Egyptian in the case of Shepenupet and a Nubian in the case of Amenirdis. Since Shepenupet was not appointed God's Wife until fairly late in the reign of Osorkon III, the date, if it indicates the regnal year of a king, can only refer to Iuput II, because no other successor of Osorkon III reigned for as long as nineteen years. In theory, Year 12 above the name of Amenirdis might indicate the regnal year of either Kashta or Py, but there is other evidence which weighs in favour of the reign of Py.[318] At the time of Py's invasion, eight years later,[319] Iuput would have been in his twenty-seventh regnal year (*c.* 728 B.C.) and Osorkon IV (*c.* 730–715 B.C.) in his third regnal year.

Neither Kashta nor Py set out to destroy Egypt or to reduce her to complete subjection, but rather to establish a protectorship over the country while leaving its administration largely in the hands of those who were already in authority. Py's campaign was forced upon him by an insurrection which his occupying forces were unable to subdue. Not surprisingly, victory involved some hard fighting and, at least to the

[311] *CAH* III.2, ch. 35.
[312] Cairo J.E. 41013; C 107, 74–8.
[313] C 152, 18.
[314] C 39, 145–49; C 103, 175–8; C 20, 102–3.
[315] C 150, VII 217; C 28, IV 406–44 (§§796–883).
[316] C 122, 164; C 108, 382–3; C 11, 20 (§27); C 206, 65.
[317] See above, p. 568.
[318] C 20, 103; C 104, 44.
[319] C 152, 30–1.

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Egyptians, heavy losses, but once he had achieved it he returned to his capital, leaving the rebel leaders chastened and – according to his own account recorded on his stela – deprived of much of their personal treasure, though still retaining their former positions. For the political history of the time, the stela which he set up in the temple of Amun at Napata provides information of the greatest value, amounting to nothing less than the foundation on which much of the interpretation of Late Libyan period documents relating to Lower Egypt, and the Delta in particular, is based.

IV. PRINCEDOMS OF THE DELTA AND THE TWENTY-FOURTH DYNASTY

From the time of Shoshenq III, the Delta had been divided into provinces, two of which – one centred on Tanis and Bubastis and the other on Leontopolis – were the domains of the reigning kings of the Twenty-second and Twenty-third Dynasties, and a third – the province of Athribis and Heliopolis – was the fief of the Tanite crown prince.[320] The other provinces in the central and eastern Delta were the fiefs of the great chiefs of the Ma. In this group of provinces the largest and most stable were those administered from Sebennytos, Mendes, Busiris, Pharbaithos (Hurbeit) and Pi-Sopd (Saft el-Hina), not all of which, however, have histories which can be traced back to Shoshenq III. Until the reign of Shoshenq V, the western Delta was under the control of the great chiefs of the Libu, some of whom were also chiefs of the Ma.[321]

Both the chiefs of the Ma and those of the Libu were primarily military commanders and high priests of their local gods; they bore no administrative titles until a later date.[322] When they are represented on monuments the most distinctive feature in their attire is an ostrich plume worn horizontally on the wigs of the chiefs of the Ma and vertically on those of the chiefs of the Libu.[323] What is known about them at this period is derived, to a great extent, from donation stelae,[324] which frequently record the name and date of the reigning king and identify not only the person making the donation but also the chief of the province. Some of these stelae, however, reveal evidence of *lèse-majesté* and of the usurpation or disregard of royal prerogatives by provincial chiefs: cartouches may be left blank[325] or even completely omitted, although the date in the king's reign may be included.[326] In theory the king was the owner of the entire land, and he alone could consecrate the gift of a portion of it by an official or a private person to a temple

[320] C 198, 134 (§13), 162 3 (§§66–7), 176–7 (§§86–91); C 103, 344.
[321] C 198, 146 (§37), 149 (§43).
[322] C 198, 139–40 (§23).
[323] C 101, figs. 1 and 4.
[324] See above, p. 564.
[325] C 198, 141 (§26) and 152 (§47).
[326] C 198, 153 4 (§48).

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or to its staff. If convention were strictly observed, it would be the king who would appear in the scene above the text presenting the hieroglyphic symbol for a field to the deity or deities of the temple, but on some of the stelae the chiefs, both of the Ma and of the Libu, are represented performing this ceremony[327] and on others it is the donor of the property who is the officiant.[328] In no instance, however, is a donation stela dated in the years of office of a chief.

Abundant evidence exists to show that the Delta chieftains acted as autonomous rulers of their provinces and paid little more than lip-service to the kings, who were their neighbours and, in reality, hardly their superiors. In these circumstances it was almost inevitable that sooner or later a strong and ambitious chieftain would endeavour to establish an ascendancy over his compeers, and in fact this development occurred in the time of Shoshenq V, but it required the efforts of two generations of chieftains to accomplish it. The initial threat seems to have been made in about 745 B.C. by Osorkon, chief of Sais, who is known only from two of his *shawabty*-figures[329] and an amulet in the Louvre[330] inscribed with his name and the titles 'Great Chief of the Ma, Army-leader, Priest of Neith, Priest of Edjo and (Priest) of the Lady of Imau (i.e. Hathor of Kōm el-Hisn)'. These sacerdotal titles show that his domain embraced Sais, Buto and Kōm el-Hisn, the last being, with Kōm Firīn and Kōm Abū Billū, one of the three principal centres of the chiefs of the Libu in the western Delta. He had gained a firm foothold in the territory of the chiefs of the Libu, but he had certainly not obtained complete control of it; at least one great chief is known to have survived him. This chief was Ankhhor, who is named with his son Harbes on one of the Serapeum stelae commemorating the burial of an Apis bull in Year 37 of Shoshenq V.[331] Besides being a great chief of the Libu, Ankhhor was a *setem*-priest of Ptah at Memphis, showing that the ancient capital, which Osorkon II had made the fief of his crown prince and his descendants,[332] had become part of the realm of the chiefs of the Libu.[333]

Even before Ankhhor had paid his last tribute to the Apis bull, the great chief of the Ma, Tefnakhte, who was probably Osorkon's immediate successor, had begun to enlarge his territorial inheritance. A donation stela, found at Buto and dated in Year 36 of Shoshenq V, shows that he had by then added 'Great Chief of the Libu'[334] to his titles; in a fuller titulary, on another similar stela of the same proven-

[327] C 198, 140 (§24); C 101, figs. 1 and 4.
[328] C 36, 43, pl. 1.
[329] W. M. F. Petrie, *Shabtis* (London, 1935), pls. 11, 17, 41 (nos. 475–6).
[330] E. 10943; C 197, 13–22.
[331] See above, p. 569; C 125, I 37 (no. 37).
[332] See above, p. 554.
[333] C 198, 130–1 (§8).
[334] C 198, 153–4 (§48).

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ance, dated two years later, he ascribes to himself, besides the great chieftainships of the Ma and the Libu and the priesthoods held by Osorkon, the dignities of '*Mek*-priest[335] of Pehut and of Kahtan, and ruler of the provinces of the west'.[336] It is not evident from these titles whether his realm already extended as far south as Memphis, but, if not, it did so shortly afterwards. Py alludes to him in one passage on his victory stela as a '*setem*-priest of Ptah'[337] and states that Tefnakhte had captured the whole of the west from the coastal marshes to Itj-towy[338] (El-Lisht). His intention was certainly to proceed to Upper Egypt, but his forces met with stubborn resistance at Heracleopolis, whose king Peftjauawybast[339] was determined to preserve his independence. Tefnakhte found it necessary to detach some of his troops to besiege the city, while the rest of his army continued its southward advance to Hermopolis. Nimlot (D) soon threw in his lot with his new overlord, and it was his defection which provoked Py to instruct his army of occupation in Egypt to go into action against Tefnakhte[340] and thereby to launch the campaign which was continued to a triumphant conclusion under his personal leadership.[341]

Whatever the other Delta rulers may have thought about their own prospects when Tefnakhte was meeting with little opposition to his southern advance, they rallied, with one exception, to his support when he was at war with a foreign invader, and two of them, Shoshenq of Busiris and Bakennefi of Athribis, may have lost their lives fighting with him. The one exception was Akunosh, great chief of the Ma in Sebennytos, whose province lay immediately adjacent to Tefnakhte's domain. He may have had connexions with the Nubians, for one of his daughters bore the name Takushit, 'the Nubian'.[342] After the capture of Memphis, he, Iuput II and Pediese, the crown prince who had succeeded Bakennefi at Athribis and Heliopolis, were the first to make submission to Py, followed by Osorkon IV and the other Delta dynasts, all except Tefnakhte, who appealed to Py for clemency through an emissary, offering to make suitable recompense from his personal possessions and asking that a messenger be sent to Sais to accept his submission. Py granted his request and sent a priest and his commander-in-chief to receive his oath of loyalty and the promised gift consisting of gold, jewels and the best horses from his stable.[343] The final humiliation of the dynasts, again apart from Tefnakhte, is strikingly illustrated in a scene carved in relief at the top of the stela.[344] In the

[335] For other examples of this obscure Libyan title see C 196, 97–100.
[336] C 198, 152–3 (§47), pl. 1, 1.
[337] Stela, line 20.
[338] See *CAH* I.2, p. 496. Stela, line 3.
[339] See above, p. 568.
[340] Stela, lines 6–8.
[341] See *CAH* III.2, ch. 35.
[342] C 198, 159–61 (§§61–2); C 58, 70–1.
[343] Stela, lines 126–44.
[344] A. Mariette, *Monuments divers recueillis en Égypte et en Nubie* (Paris, 1872), pl. 1.

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centre of the field is a standing figure of Py in the presence of Amon-Re and Mut, all facing a woman, who represents Nimlot's wives, followed by Nimlot himself holding a sistrum and leading a horse. The other three kings of Egypt, Osorkon IV, Iuput II and Peftjauawybast, occupy the foreground, each kneeling and kissing the ground. Shown in a similar posture behind the central group are the crown prince Pediese and the two great chiefs of the Ma, Akunosh of Sebennytos and Djedamenefankh of Mendes, together with the chiefs of Pi-Sopd and Busiris, Patjenfy and Pimay. The stela is dated in Year 21 of Py, after his return to Napata, and the differentiation in the style of portraying the kings – Nimlot standing, while the other kings are bent to the ground – probably reflects an incident which occurred just before his departure from Egypt, when the four kings came to do homage to him, but Nimlot alone was allowed to enter Py's residence, because the other kings had eaten fish and were consequently ritually unclean.[345] The female figure in front of Nimlot and the horse also commemorated historical events, the woman being one of Nimlot's wives, who pleaded with the women of Py's harem to persuade him to lift the siege of Hermopolis,[346] and the horse recalling Py's censure of Nimlot for allowing his horse to suffer hunger while resisting the siege.[347]

In spite of their ignominious defeat, the Delta dynasts retained their domains and Tefnakhte may even have enhanced his status, at least in name, by proclaiming himself king of the western Delta. A donation stela in the Athens Museum is dated in Year 8 of a *king* Tefnakhte, who is given the full royal titulary,[348] and it has generally been assumed that this king was the former chief of the West, Tefnakhte.[349] Apart from a second donation stela, on which his Horus-name, his throne-name and his personal name are mentioned,[350] no other monuments of the *king* Tefnakhte are known. If the king in question was the former chief of the West, he would be the founder of Manetho's Twenty-fourth Dynasty and his reign would probably have begun soon after Py's departure. The only king ascribed to the Twenty-fourth Dynasty by Manetho's excerptors, however, is Bocchoris, whose father is named Tnephachthos (i.e. Tefnakhte) by Diodorus,[351] and it is possible that the *king* Tefnakhte was his successor at Sais, Tefnakhte II, who has been identified with Stephinates listed in Manetho anachronously as the first or second king of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty.[352] If that identification is correct, Py's stela preserves the last known record of Tefnakhte (1), although it is very probable that he lived for a number of years thereafter,

[345] Stela, lines 147–53; cf. Hdt. II.37.
[346] Stela, lines 33ff.
[347] Stela, lines 64–6.
[348] C 167, 190–3; C 67, 409; C 198, 158 (§58).
[349] C 198, 172 (§79); C 200, 35; C 103, 139–41, 372; C 64, 340.
[350] C 200, 37–40, figs. 1 and 2.
[351] Diod. I.45.
[352] C 152, 18–21; C 187, 168–71.

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at least until 720 B.C. Bocchoris (Bakenrenef in Egyptian) achieved posthumous fame in Greek tradition, on the one hand as a lawgiver and a judge of exceptional wisdom, who was reputed to have 'brought more precision into the matter of contracts'[353] and to have made debts 'recoverable only out of the property of the debtor'[354] and on the other hand as a tyrant.[355] According to a legend mentioned by Greek writers, and partly preserved in a fragmentary demotic papyrus dating from the thirty-fourth year of Augustus, it was during the reign of Bocchoris that a lamb predicted the defeat of Egypt by Assyria and the deportation of her gods to Nineveh.[356] Contemporary evidence offers little more than proof of his existence. Several Serapeum stelae are dated in his sixth year,[357] when presumably the bull which was buried was the same as the one inducted in the thirty-seventh year of Shoshenq V,[358] but otherwise his name appears only on scarabs, incompletely on a fragment of limestone found at Tanis[359] and on a faience vase found at Tarquinia.[360] A similar, but smaller, vase found in Sicily at Lilibeo[361] (Marsala) shows no inscription. A wall-inscription in the vault which contained the burial of the bull is dated in Year 2 of the Nubian king Shabako, Py's successor.[362] It was the year of his conquest of Lower Egypt[363] and, in view of the location of the inscription, there can be little doubt that the date corresponded with Bocchoris' sixth year, which, according to Manetho as recorded by Africanus, was the last year of his reign. Egyptian sources provide no confirmation of Manetho's further statement that Shabako, after capturing Bocchoris, burned him alive.[364]

The history of the central and eastern Delta from the time of Py's departure until the end of the Twenty-fourth Dynasty is no better documented than that of the western zone. There is, however, enough evidence of continuity in the rulership of some of the provinces to suggest that no radical changes in the political structure took place, although it is possible that closer relations existed with the west.[365] Tefnakhte had succeeded in establishing a clear hegemony over the nominal kings, Osorkon IV and Iuput II, during the war with Py, but did it last after the defeat? The question might perhaps be answered if it were possible to identify with certainty So, king of Egypt, to whom Hoshea (in *c.* 725 B.C.) sent messengers,[366] thereby incurring the displeasure of the Assyrian king Shalmaneser V. The name was once

[353] Diod. 1.94.
[354] *Ibid.* 79.
[355] C 190, 578–80.
[356] C 187, 164–5, n. 2; C 105, 6–11; C 154, 255–6.
[357] C 125, I 75ff (nos. 91–101 and 121).
[358] See above, p. 572.
[359] C 201, 44–5.
[360] C 150, VII 408; C 164, 241–2, fig. 76.
[361] C 164, 285, n. 21.
[362] C 182, 65–7.
[363] See *CAH* III.2, ch. 35.
[364] C 187, 169.
[365] C 198, 171–3 (§§79–80); C 200, 37.
[366] II Ki. 17: 4.

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thought to be the Hebrew rendering of the name of Sib'e, an Egyptian who is mentioned in the annals of Sargon II as the *turtānu* (i.e. army-commander) of Egypt,[367] but since the true reading of the *turtānu*'s name is now believed to be Re'e,[368] not Sib'e, the supposed identification of So with him is no longer tenable and, as a corollary, a suggestion to equate Sib'e and So with Shabako[369] must also be abandoned. In place of these explanations, three different proposals have been put forward, one of which – that So represents *Sia-ib*, the Horus-name of Tefnakhte[370] – can be discounted on the ground that it would be without any known parallel for a foreign ruler to refer to an Egyptian king by his Horus-name. More attractive are the theories that So is either the Hebrew rendering of Sais[371] (Sau in Egyptian) or that it is an abbreviated form of the name of the king Osorkon IV.[372] If So does represent Sais, it is necessary to assume that the second 'to' has been omitted from the Hebrew text by haplography, the translation then being 'to Sais, (to) the king of Egypt', which is not a serious objection. In favour of this interpretation it may be argued that Tefnakhte, whose capital was at Sais, was the effective ruler of the Delta in *c.* 725 B.C., but even if this possibility, for which there is no positive evidence, could be accepted, it would still seem more probable that Hoshea's messengers would be sent to Tanis (the Biblical Zoan), near the Palestinian frontier, than to Sais, far away to the west.[373] On balance, the identification of So with Osorkon IV appears more plausible. The Egyptians did sometimes abbreviate proper names[374] and, even though the Biblical rendering of Shoshenq I as Shishak would tend to reduce the likelihood of such an abbreviation in the case of Osorkon IV, it would not rule it out. Not many years later (*c.* 716 B.C.), according to the Assyrian annals,[375] 'Shilkanni, king of Egypt' presented Sargon II with twelve fine horses from Egypt unmatched in Assyria, and if, as is generally accepted, Shilkanni is the Assyrian rendering of the name of Osorkon IV,[376] there can be no doubt who was then regarded in Western Asia as the lawful king of Egypt, nor is there any reason to think that he was not similarly regarded in the time of Hoshea.

Osorkon IV's position, when making his present, was extremely precarious. Four years previously (*c.* 720 B.C.) he had sent his *turtānu*, Re'e, to help Hanun, king of Gaza, against Sargon II, but the adventure ended in disaster. Raphia was destroyed, Hanun was taken prisoner and Re'e fled back to Egypt.[377] Sargon II's campaign in *c.* 716 brought him

[367] A. L. Oppenheim, 'Babylonian and Assyrian Historical Texts', *ANET*, 285; C 147, 169–73.
[368] C 25, 49–53.
[369] *CAH* III[1] 274–6.
[370] Ramadan Sayed, *Vetus Testamentum* 17 (1967), 116–18.
[371] C 71, 64–6; C 5, 66.
[372] C 103, 374–5.
[373] C 103, 375.
[374] C 103, 374 n. 751.
[375] A. L. Oppenheim, *op. cit.* 286; C 170, 78.
[376] C 4, 24; C 170, 77; see, however, C 201, 52.
[377] A. L. Oppenheim, *op. cit.* 285; C 170, 35.

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to the 'town of the Brook of Egypt', probably Wādi el-Arīsh[378] in Sinai and within 150 miles of Tanis, but he certainly had no hostile designs on Egypt.[379] The present to Sargon II marks the last known reference to Osorkon IV. His death probably occurred not long afterwards (*c.* 715 B.C.). Presumably he was buried at Tanis, but no trace of his tomb has yet been found.

V. LITERATURE AND ART

By no stretch of the imagination would it be possible to regard the Libyan period as a phase in Egyptian history when the arts were in the ascendant. Political, social and economic conditions were not conducive to their development, but they were certainly not allowed to moulder. In literature, the material available for consideration is extremely sparse, amounting to little more than historical and biographical compositions, which occasionally show touches of literary skill by introducing some graphic detail into the narrative or by expressing thoughts and emotions in words which appeal to the imagination. The saga of Prince Osorkon[380] contains a few figures of speech which give life to a chronicle which would otherwise be lacking in imagery, though not in historical content. Incomparably the best example of vivid descriptive narrative is provided by the victory stela of Py,[381] the style of which shows that the anonymous writer was thoroughly familiar with classical Egyptian and possessed a literary talent far superior to any of his known contemporaries. Chronologically, however, it belongs to the overlap of the Libyan and Nubian periods and it cannot justly be claimed as one of the cultural products of Egypto-Libyan origin. More truly representative of the age, and very different in character, are the biographical inscriptions on a number of statuettes found in the Karnak cachette in 1903–4.[382] They seldom mention details of historical importance, but, besides showing that traditional beliefs and ideas of what constituted a virtuous life still prevailed, they reveal some new concepts and give the impression that the relationship between god and man was felt to be closer than in former times. Nothing illustrates this development more clearly than the opening words of a prayer uttered by Shepenese and inscribed on a statue of her father, a Fourth Priest of Amun, Nakhtefmut, who held office in the reign of Osorkon II:[383] 'What is god to man other than his father and his mother? To him to whom they are kind, god is (also) kind; whom they love, god (also) loves.' Py, in his Victory Stela, refers to Amun as a god 'without whom

[378] A. L. Oppenheim, *op. cit.* 286, n. 1; C 170, 78 n. 194.
[379] *CAH* III.2, ch. 22.
[380] See above, pp. 560–2.
[381] See above, pp. 571, 573–4.
[382] C 150, II² 147–51; C 143, 130–49; C 94, 73–87.
[383] Cairo no. 42208; C 118, III 23; C 150, II² 148(*c*); C 143, 142–3.

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no mighty man has strength; he strengthens the weak, so that many flee before the few and one man overcomes a thousand'.[384] In marked contrast with such sentiments, however, are some of the theological concepts manifested in the oracular amuletic decrees of this period,[385] which depict the deities, unless propitiated, as ill-disposed towards mankind and capable of trickery.[386] But these decrees are not literary texts; in spite of their priestly origin they probably reflect popular beliefs which continued to exist side by side with the more advanced philosophy of the minority.

As builders, the kings of the Twenty-second Dynasty were far from inactive, though little of their work, apart from the unfinished court of Shoshenq I at Karnak,[387] has survived in a condition which allows its architectural qualities to be judged. Owing to the lack of stone in the Delta, the temples at Tanis and Bubastis were constructed of material obtained from earlier monuments, especially those of Ramesses II, whose buildings at Pi-Ramessu served as a veritable quarry for re-use at Tanis.[388] They were adorned with reliefs of high quality, even those carved in granite, as the fragmentary scenes of the *sed*-festival of Osorkon II at Bubastis testify.[389] Among the few royal sculptures in the round which have yet come to light, the most striking are a life-size granite kneeling statue of Osorkon II holding a chest or an altar[390] and a small painted limestone semi-prone figure of Osorkon III with outstretched arms, holding a model of the bark of Sokaris.[391] A headless green glass figure of Smendes, the Great Chief of the Ma and Priest of Amon-Re Lord of the Horizon, kneeling and offering a *nu*-vase with each hand, deserves special mention not only as a work of art in a material seldom used for human effigies, but as an example of the representation of a local Libyan chieftain performing a religious rite which had formerly been a royal prerogative.[392]

One respect in which the artists and craftsmen of the period excelled was in the production of elegant statuettes in bronze. The best-known piece, and the most outstanding, is the Louvre figure of the God's Adoratrice Karomama Merytmut, who lived in the time of 'King' Harsiese (A).[393] Her slender body is clothed in a close-fitting dress with

[384] Py stela, line 13.

[385] C 56, I xxi–xxii. See above, p. 554.

[386] C 56, I 82.

[387] C 150, II² 23–4; C 142, 76–9, 85 and pls. 57 and 62.

[388] C 132, 50 and 86; C 135, II 29–33, III 23; C 136, 43. See above, p. 557 and also C 74, 60.

[389] E.g. British Museum no. 1077 (C 141, pl. XVI, 8; C 150, IV 29). See Plates Vol.

[390] C 27, 3–11; C 85, 12–23.

[391] Cairo no. 42197; C 118, III 6, pl. V; C 150, II² 143; C 26, 57 (no. 152). See Plates Vol.

[392] Brooklyn Museum no. 37.344 E (Abbott collection); C 158, 59 (no. 57), 106; C 198, 127 (no. 30), 139, 140–1, pl. III. See Plates Vol.

[393] Louvre N 500; C 186, pl. 105; C 164, 234–5 and 284, n. 16; C 179, 121, pl. X, 2; C 88, 87–93; C 199, 188–90, colour pl. 189; C 202, 31ff. See above, p. 556.

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short pleated sleeves flared at the elbows, over which she wears a broad bead collar and a skirt in the form of a pair of wings folded across the front. All the details of the collar and the feather-pattern of the dress and skirt are damascened in gold, silver and electrum. The position of the hands shows that she once held a pair of sistra, perhaps made of gold and stolen in antiquity. Comparable in quality with this figure is a bronze in the Athens Museum which represents Takushit, the daughter of Akunosh, the Libyan chief of Sebennytos at the time of Py's invasion.[394] The body and arms are inlaid with silver figures of gods and sacred emblems, decorations probably of a ceremonial robe. A similar technique, using gold and copper for the feather-pattern inlay, is exemplified in the belt and apron of a bronze torso in the Gulbenkian collection[395] which bears the names of Pedubast I; it is a sad, but impressive, relic of a statuette which must have been in the same class as the two figures previously mentioned. A bronze standing figure from Tell el-Yahūdīya, which represents Osorkon I,[396] is much simpler in its inlaid decoration, as indeed would be expected in an early essay in the employment of a new technique.

Another, and very different, innovation of the Libyan period was the reproduction of earlier styles of art, especially the portrayal of the human body in the mode and dress of the Old and Middle Kingdoms. One of the best examples is a bronze figure in the Louvre, which has sometimes been attributed to the Old Kingdom; apart from stylistic details, its inscription naming the owner, a certan Bepeshes,[397] shows, however, that it is a late piece, and the form of the name enables it to be dated to Libyan times. In faience, archaizing elements are to be found in the motifs of scenes in relief on the exteriors of ornate chalices, two of which – one fragmentary – are dated by their inscriptions to the Twenty-second Dynasty,[398] and also in a plaque which shows Iuput II clothed in a garment resembling the dress of kings and gods in the Middle Kingdom.[399] Since one of the chalices bears the name of either Shoshenq I or Takeloth II[400] and the other the name of the high priest of Memphis, Shoshenq, son of Osorkon II, it is evident that the tendency to seek inspiration from the works of the past was not a late

[394] C 164, 234, pl. 169B; C 150, IV 33 (where the provenance is given as Bubastis, but Yoyotte, C 198, 160 n. 4, shows that its provenance was probably Behbeit); C 26, 61 (no. 165). See above, p. 573.

[395] Formerly in the Stroganoff collection; C 191, 63–4; C 30, pls. XXII and XXIII; C 199, 188; C 103, 129. See Plates Vol.

[396] Brooklyn Museum, no. 57.92; C 150, IV 58; C 26, 56 (no. 150), pl. VIIIb; C 164, 235; C 103, 303. See Plates Vol.

[397] C 195, 88–9; C 179, 122–3, pl. XIX, 1.

[398] C 172, 113–14, fig. 4, and 124, fig. 6; C 59, 66–7.

[399] Brooklyn Museum, no. 59.17. C 158, 61, 106 (no. 59); C 59, 66, fig. 36; see Plates Vol.

[400] C 172, 113–14, fig. 4.

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development in the Libyan period, but the instances in which its effects can be detected are not numerous.[401] The production of archaistic sculptures on a large scale did not, however, take place until the Twenty-fifth and the Twenty-sixth Dynasties.

A considerable quantity of Twenty-second Dynasty jewellery and funerary equipment has come to light in the present century, chiefly from the burials at Tanis of Heqakheperre Shoshenq II,[402] Harnakht[403] and Takeloth II.[404] Appreciable amounts have also been found in the tomb of Shoshenq, high priest of Memphis,[405] and (of the Twenty-third Dynasty) in the tomb of Queen Kamama Merytmut at Leontopolis.[406] In addition to these excavated treasures, there are a few individual pieces with no recorded provenance which are no less important for assessing the artistic achievements of the period, notably a pendant in the Louvre, composed of a figure of Osorkon II as Osiris squatting on a shrine flanked by standing figures of Isis and Horus, all cast in solid gold,[407] and a pair of gold cloisonné bracelets decorated with the infant sun-god on a lotus, which belonged to Nimlot (B), son of Shoshenq I.[408] It may not be through chance alone that two of the richest pieces of jewellery found with the burial of Heqakheperre Shoshenq had been made for Shoshenq I and were probably heirlooms, a pair of massive gold bracelets inlaid with *udjat*-eyes,[409] and a gold cloisonné pendant showing the solar bark bearing the sun's disk in lapis lazuli engraved with figures of Amen-Re-Harakhte and the goddess Maet protected by two winged goddesses.[410] Beneath the prow and the stern are two plaques inscribed with a caption explaining that Amen-Re-Harakhte sailed across the sky every day to protect the Great Chief of the Ma, Shoshenq, son of the Great Chief of the Ma, Nimlot;[411] the pendant seems therefore to have been made for Shoshenq I before he became king. Heqakheperre Shoshenq, whose own accoutrements included many gold objects of high technical quality, among them a well-modelled mask[412] and a cloisonné vulture-collar, was buried in a falcon-headed wooden coffin overlaid with cartonnage and embellished with motifs in gold foil.[413] The outer coffin, which was similar in style, was made

[401] C 199, 186; C 201, 49–50.
[402] See above, pp. 549ff and 553. C 135, II 42–5, pls. XXI–XXXIII and XXXVI; C 33, 543–7.
[403] C 135, I 64–70, pls. LVII–LXI; C 192, 172–3.
[404] C 135, I, pl. LVI.
[405] C 10, 176–7, pls. XIII–XVI.
[406] See above, p. 566. C 69, 21–7 and pl. I; C 192, 167.
[407] No. E 6204. C 7, 240, pl. 141; C 179, 131.
[408] British Museum nos. 14594–5. C 192, 172, pl. LXIIA; C 172, 134, n. 14. See above, pp. 142–3.
[409] C 135, II 45 (nos. 226–7), pl. XXIX and colour pl.; C 192, 171, pl. LXII B.
[410] C 135, II 43–5 (no. 219), pl. XXVIII and colour pl.; C 132, pl. XIII; C 164, 234, pl. 168A; C 192, 181–2, colour pl. VIII. See Plates Vol.
[411] C 135, II 44 and fig. 13.
[412] C 135, II 40–1, pls. XXI, XXII.
[413] C 199, 180–1; C 135, II 38; C 33, 541–5.

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of silver,[414] a material also used for the model coffins which contained his internal organs. In the New Kingdom silver was seldom used for funerary equipment, gold being plentiful and supposedly endowed with magical properties which silver did not possess. Most of that gold had come from Nubia or Western Asia either as tribute or as booty, but, with the exception of Solomon's treasure which Rehoboam had surrendered to Shoshenq I, supplies from those sources had ceased to reach Egypt.[415] One curiosity found attached to a bracelet on the mummy of Heqakheperre Shoshenq, which had come at some time from Western Asia, was an Akkadian cylinder-seal of lapis lazuli dating from the third millennium B.C.,[416] very probably a personal possession which he had treasured in his lifetime.

Very few examples of jewellery made in the latter part of the Libyan period are known, but the pieces which had survived in the tomb of Queen Kamama Merytmut,[417] mother of Osorkon III, showed that delicate gold-work could still be done, as is also evident from the inlay of the bronze torso of Pedubast I and the figure of Takushit. There is, however, no evidence that the quantity produced was more than modest or that any important innovations were introduced into the repertoire of subjects represented.

[414] C 135, II 37–8, pls. XVII–XX.
[415] C 135, II 56–7, pls. XXXIV–XXXV.
[416] C 135, II 46–8, pl. XXX.
[417] See above, p. 566, n. 277.

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CHAPTER 14

THE EARLY IRON AGE IN THE CENTRAL BALKAN AREA, *c.* 1000–750 B.C.

M. GARAŠANIN

I. INTRODUCTION: GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS

This chapter, being a direct continuation of chapter 4, deals with events in the Balkan Peninsula down to *c.* 700 B.C. Although the year 1000 B.C. was adopted in *CAH* II.2 as a dividing line in general, there are specific reasons for starting our account at a date in the region of 1200 B.C. In the first place, the period *c.* 1200–700 B.C. may be regarded as a closed unit in the interior of the Balkan Peninsula, in the hinterland of the Aegean littoral and in the eastern Mediterranean in a wider sense. During that time there was an uninterrupted and unique cultural development, which can be traced despite regional differences and individual stages. In the second place a significant turning-point in the historical process occurred early in this period. It was marked by the so-called Dark Age in Greece, the invasion of the 'Sea Peoples' in Egypt, the destruction of the Mycenaean towns in Greece, and the fall of the Hittite Empire in Asia Minor. Finally, it was the period of the Trojan war and the settlement of the Philistines in Palestine.

Recently many historians and archaeologists have treated the problems of the migrations of this period, especially the Dorian invasion, in a more critical and cautious manner. They have regarded the invasion of the Sea Peoples in Egypt more as incursions by individual groups bent on pillage than as migrations by large numbers of people. Similarly in dealing with the destruction of the Mycenaean towns and the empire of the Hittites they have paid more attention to the presence of internal strains and possible antagonisms within those societies.[1] Even so one has to take it as certain that there were definite movements and migrations by groups of people. This was particularly so in the interior of the Balkans, where one can speak with confidence of movements from the southern borders of Pannonia or from the Carpathian region in the direction of the Balkan hinterland, and vice versa. Thus there were migrations, for instance, from the valley of the Morava into Macedonia and from the Carpatho-Balkan area through Thrace into Asia Minor. In our belief these movements were merely part of a wider process which

[1] A 359, *passim*; A 347, 61ff. See *CAH* II.2, 663ff.

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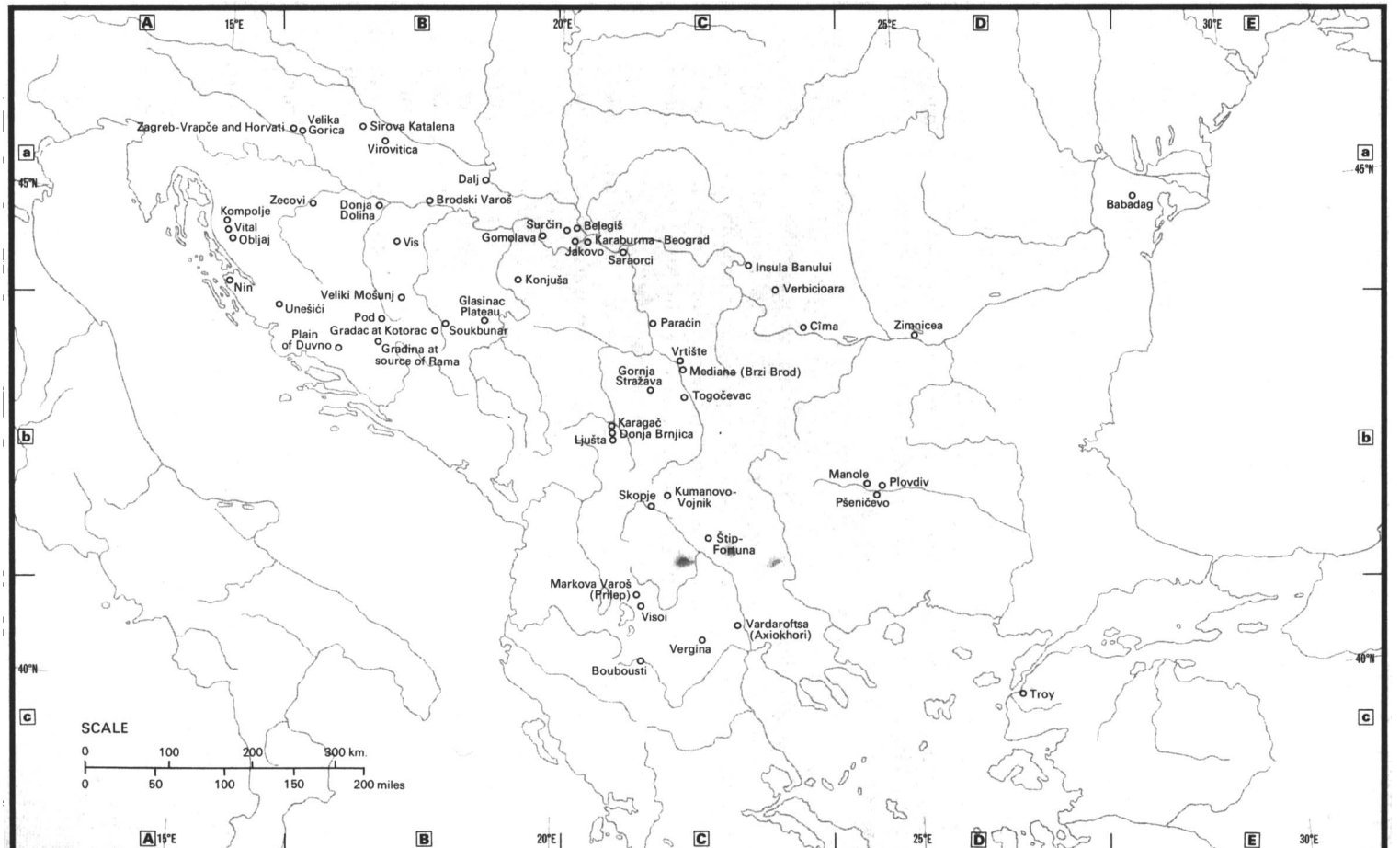

Map 18. The Central Balkan Peninsula, *c.* 1300/1200–700 B.C.

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began earlier in the Bronze Age. For example, the bearers of the Middle European *Hügelgräber* or tumulus culture exerted towards southern Pannonia a pressure which played an outstanding role in the formation of the Dubovac–Žuto Brdo group and in the connexions it had with the west Pannonian incrusted ware. Similarly the Noa–Sabatinovka group moving westwards from the east towards the Carpathian region exerted pressure in the Lower Danubian area. While this process was going on, it is understandable that a considerable regrouping and assimilation of various groups took place, accompanied by geographical movement. In the end it led to the formation of large ethnic entities such as the Thracians, Daco-Mysians and Illyrians, so much so that they were readily identifiable in the written sources of the first millennium B.C. Thus the historical development of the Balkans and the archaeological data require that the period *c.* 1200–700 B.C. should be treated as a whole in this particular area.[2]

Some general questions arise before we elaborate on the cultural and historical development and on the separate stages of that development in individual regions. First, with regard to the geographical limits which were outlined in chapter 2, it may be useful to point out that the individual regions were limited by ranges of the mountains but were also interconnected by natural lines of communication, above all by rivers. In the south-east, for instance, between the Stara Planina range and the Aegean Sea, and in the north-east between the Stara Planina and the Carpathians in the Lower Danubian area. The Central Balkan region was linked by the natural watershed of the two rivers, the Morava and the Vardar. In the west the Adriatic coast has its own communications by sea, and the interior, including the zone of the Dinaric Alps, opened widely towards the Pannonian region, the southernmost tip of which reached the right-hand bank of the Sava. One can reasonably assume that during the Bronze Age the forebears of the Palaeo-Balkan peoples, i.e. Thracians, Daco-Mysians and Illyrians, formed in these basic regions. In the course of the same period, however, the borders between individual groupings must have changed to a certain extent. Thus the links between the north-eastern and south-eastern regions were much closer in the cultural, and certainly in the ethnic, sense than in the western parts of the Balkans, where it is possible to trace wider cultural differentiations, connected, no doubt, with ethnic variations.

In discussing the origins of the Palaeo-Balkan peoples, we shall apply as far as possible the interdisciplinary approach, taking into account not only archaeology and linguistics but also data obtained from written sources. It is clear that large ethnic groupings were formed on the basis

[2] A 153; A 359; for linguistic matters see A 284.

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of the Indo-European element, but when did the Indo-Europeans first appear in the Balkan Peninsula? Elsewhere we have pointed out that in our opinion they must have come to the Balkans in the transitional period from the Neolithic to the Bronze Age.[3] It would be incorrect, though, to maintain that one could speak already by that time of Thracians, Daco-Mysians and Illyrians in the Balkans, or indeed of any such groupings. On the contrary it was by the symbiosis of the Indo-Europeans and the autochthonous populations and thence by a lengthy process of historical, economic and social development, that the differentiation of these groups was achieved. When A. Benac analysed the situation in the Western Balkans from an archaeological point of view, he established the fact that there were several phases in the formation of the Illyrians. The oldest phase, covering the first contacts with the Indo-European newcomers and the assimilation of them by the earlier inhabitants, took place during the transition from the Neolithic to the Bronze Age. This was followed by the Proto-Illyrian phase, namely the stabilization of the various but related and interconnected groups, which occurred during the Bronze Age. Next came the phase of the 'First Illyrians', dated 1200–700 B.C., which is under discussion here; and finally the phase of the already formed Illyrians, according to data obtained from the Greek and Roman period.[4]

Mutatis mutandis, the same method may be applied in studying the formation of the Thracians or Daco-Mysians. In any case one can count with certainty on the existence of definable peoples within the framework of these large ethnic and linguistic entities by 1200 B.C. or immediately after. Data obtained from rare and briefly inscribed monuments mention certain peoples; for example, some of the names of the Sea Peoples have often been identified with those of Balkan peoples.[5] Particularly important are data in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, which reproduced actual events in poetic form; despite the fact that reality was mingled with legend and historical truth was made obscure by transmission, it is certain that one can find reliable historical data in both epics. Of the peoples mentioned there we refer only to the more significant ones – Thracians, Mysians, Phrygians, Dardanians, Paeonians.

One can say with certainty that the area occupied by the Thracians lay within the eastern part of the Balkans and primarily within the area south of the Stara Planina. The region north of it and the central Balkan zone was occupied by Daco-Mysians, according to the results of archaeological and linguistic research.[6] More difficult is the question of the Illyrians and their neighbours. Written sources (Pliny, *HN* III. 144–5,

[3] A 159, 9–14; *contra*: A 284.
[4] A 153.
[5] A 347, 61ff.
[6] A 284 (for language); A 392 (for archaeology).

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Mela II. 55) naming Illyrians in a narrow sense as *Illyrii* (or *Illyrici*) *proprie dicti* and placing them in central Albania, were very probably referring to Rome's first contact with Illyrian peoples and did not indicate an original area from which the Illyrians spread.[7]

The linguistic studies of R. Katičić have made a particularly important contribution.[8] Taking the non-Roman personal names on monuments of the Roman period in the western parts of the Balkans and plotting the diffusion of certain names or types of name, he was able to distinguish the following regions:

1. A south-eastern region between the border of Epirus and the river Cetina, and defined inland by the Neretva to the mouth of its tributary, the Rama, and from there by the watershed of the Neretva and Bosna rivers. He regarded this region as Illyrian in a narrower sense. He linked with it the area of Kosovo along the Južna Morava and the upper reaches of the Vardar, which was occupied by the Dardani, and he showed that some names of this region were connected with the south-eastern region, others with the central Dalmatian region, and the remainder with the Thracians. His intermixture of non-Illyrian substrata with the Illyrian element can be supported by the archaeological evidence, although archaeological data seem to point more to a Daco-Mysian than a Thracian element.

2. The Central Dalmatian region from the mouth of the Cetina to the mouth of the Krka, including inland western and southern Bosnia and the Lika plain. Illyrian names here were in the company of other names known in the Pannonian region.

3. The Liburnian region, north of the mouth of the Krka, connected more closely with the Veneto-Istrian region.

4. The Pannonian region, from south of the Drava to the Sava and the Danube, somewhat similar to the Liburnian region and also connected with the Central Dalmatian region. However, both archaeologists and linguists distinguish the Liburnian region from the Central Dalmatian region. The relation between the Central Dalmatian region and the Pannonian region is also difficult to define.

Strabo (314), writing of the early Roman Empire, gave the tribes of the Pannonians as *Andizitei*, *Ditiones*, *Pirustae*, *Maezaei* and *Daesitiates*, names which are certainly Illyrian. The Iapodes, whom Strabo mentioned as a separate people, lived in western Bosnia and in the Lika: written sources show that they were a mixture of Illyrians and Celts[9] but contained a certain Pannonian element from earlier times. In the region of Posavina on the right bank of the Sava and in the northern plains of Bosnia one can detect a strong Pannonian element in the

[7] A 366. For a different explanation see below, p. 629. [8] A 360.
[9] A 407, 177ff.

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pre-Roman and the Roman periods.[10] One may be quite certain that there was some Pannonian influence in the Glasinac area and perhaps even to the south of Glasinac.

Chronology constitutes another problem. In the system devised for Central Europe by P. Reinecke our period, *c.* 1200–700 B.C., was named by G. Merhart the Urnfield Period and divided into three basic epochs; Bronze Age D, Hallastatt A and Hallstatt B. The last two epochs have recently been subdivided into Hallstatt A1–A2 and Hallstatt B1–B3.[11] As this system was devised on the basis of the archaeological material which had no direct connexion with the Balkans, its application to the Balkans raised certain difficulties. After World War II, as archaeological research increased, an attempt was made to devise a Balkan chronological system particularly for the central and western regions, because the situation in the eastern region seemed as yet less clearly defined. It started with regional systems based on significant sites, such as Glasinac IIIa–b and part of Glasinac IVa and Liburnian I–IIIa for our period.[12] Similarly a system relating to the finds from the Donja Dolina site has been elaborated for northern Bosnia.[13] There is no doubt that these regional systems are very useful, but they do not provide a picture of chronological inter-relationships. Accordingly in cooperation with D. Garašanin I have devised a comprehensive chronological system, based primarily on material from Macedonia and Serbia and including the regional systems, which is so designed as to form a link between the chronology of the Aegean and Greek world and that of Central Europe. We have divided the larger phases into epochs, taking into account the specific character of the cultures of individual regions and their development, and marking the main stages in the historical development of the Balkan Peninsula.[14]

One of our divisions of the Iron Age is relevant here: Iron Age I (*c.* 1200/1100–700 B.C.) which covers the Dark Age in Greece and the great changes during the transition from the Bronze to the Iron Age. This period corresponds with Reinecke's Bronze Age D/Hallstatt A to the end of Hallstatt B3, and with Mycenaean IIIC1/C2 to the end of Geometric in Greece and in the Aegean.

We turn now to a discussion of the archaeological finds and the historical problems. We have set out our work under regional headings: the East Balkan region, the Central Balkan region, the West Balkan region (within which local differences seem to point to ethnic variations, at least in part), and the North-western Balkan region (comprising northern Bosnia, the Sava and Danubian areas, and the south Pannonian

[10] A 407; A 406 (Donja Dolina).
[11] A 364, *passim*, esp. vol. I 228–9, fig. 64.
[12] A 372; A 369; A 370.
[13] A 406.
[14] A 393. Cf. A 352. Corrections: A 361, *passim*, esp. 17 18.

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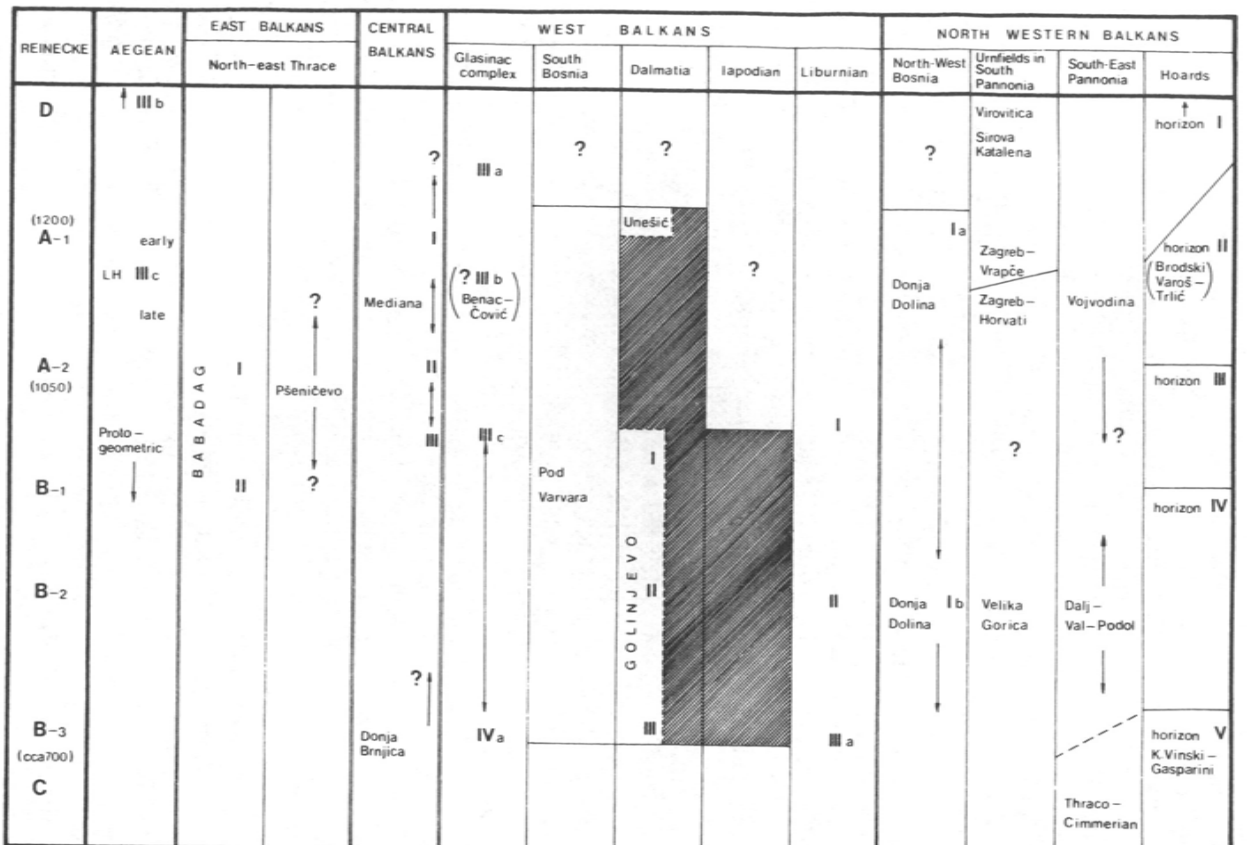
IV Iron Age I in the Balkan Peninsula.



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area). A separate section will deal with the metal objects which are characteristic of this period. As their origin cannot be attributed to any one specific region, we have thought it advisable to treat them as a separate phenomenon.

II. THE EAST BALKAN REGION

In the period *c.* 1200–700 B.C. there were three cultural groups of significance, situated in different areas and not entirely contemporaneous. On the other hand, being closely connected with one another in character and inherent qualities, they were certainly of common origin. That this was so can best be proved by a consideration of each group, especially of its pottery, which will lead us to certain conclusions, however provisional in the present state of knowledge.

1. *The Insula Banului group*[15]

It was only recently in the course of excavations for a power station at Djerdap that the existence of this group was revealed, its name being taken from the Danubian island on which the prehistoric site was discovered. The individual stages and the interval of time were established mainly by horizontal stratigraphy and not by study of vertical layers. Most dwellings were pit-dwellings, oval or rectangular, some hearths were found, and there was an abundance of animal bones.

Pottery is the basic characteristic of the group. Typical of fine pottery are dishes with inverted rim, sometimes bearing deep, slanting, rippled ornamentation. They are linked in shape with the turban-dish. There are also vessels with widely splaying rim, slanting neck and curved shoulders, sometimes without handles; and amphorae with conical neck, inverted rim and strongly curving body. Some handles have a knob at the upper end; others are band-shaped. In addition there are vessels with wart-like protuberances on the belly. The main decoration is the use of ripples, which can sometimes be very pronounced, even rib-like; facetted ornamentation is rarer. Incised or stamped decoration is frequent. The motifs of this pottery are mostly concentric circles, spirals, or circles linked by tangents, these being arranged in horizontal or vertical rows. The coarser pottery has bands decorated by finger impression or circles executed by means of some instrument.[16]

The chronology of this group has been correctly assessed by the Romanian archaeologists S. Morintz and P. Roman. On the ground of certain vessel shapes such as the turban-dish or the vessel with a wide,

[15] A 411; cf. A 396; and for East Balkan Region B. Hänsel, *Beiträge zur regionalen und chronologischen Gliederung der älteren Hallstattzeit an der unteren Donau* (Heidelberg, 1976).

[16] A 411, figs. 8–20.

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everted rim, this group can certainly be connected with the Hallstatt A period. On the basis of certain ornamentation which is dated to a later period at Babadag II and Pšeničevo, the group could be linked to the Hallstatt B. In any case the Insula Banului group covers a long period within Iron Age I.[17]

The rippled ornamentation and the wart-like knobs are important indications that the group is to be connected with the Urnfield culture of Iron Age I in southern Pannonia and with the Gava group in north-west Romania (its centre being in the region of Crişana), whose origin can be traced back into the Bronze Age. The incised or stamped ornamentation and the shapes of the pottery on which it is used provide connexions with the Dubovac–Žuto Brdo group of the advanced and late Bronze Age in southern Banat, the Serbian Danubian area and in Oltenia. It is evident then that the Insula Banului group had two components, the sources of which can be traced back into the Bronze Age in the Danubian and Carpathian regions.[18]

2. *The Babadag group*

This group is named after the site of Dobruja on the shores of the Babadag lake,[19] where a fortified settlement on the lakeside contained several layers of habitation. Morintz distinguished two main phases. Most dwellings were pit-dwellings, but it has been established that there were also surface houses of wattle and daub.

The pottery forms of this group are similar to those of the Insula Banului group. There are some vessels with inverted rims, also turban-dishes with rippled ornamentation, cups with one handle that reaches over the rim, and vessels with conical necks and rounded shoulders. The handles of the cups are sometimes widened at the top; there are some 'twisted' handles and wart-like projections. The ornamentation resembles that of Insula Banului, the chief characteristic being a highly pronounced rippling and incised and stamped decoration. The motifs of the latter consist mostly of circles with tangents and spirals. Fish-bone motifs occur occasionally on the stamped ware. Some of the stamped decoration seems to have been made with a small wheel.[20] The coarse pottery is decorated mainly with plastic bands and impressed designs.

Carbonized cereals indicate agricultural pursuits by this group and bones of oxen, sheep, goats, swine and horses show that they raised livestock. The dog seems to have been domesticated, while remains of deer and fish bones suggest hunting and fishing.

[17] A 411.
[18] A 396, 98–9.
[19] A 410.
[20] *Ibid.* figs. 3 8.

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As regards chronology it is significant that the stamped ornamentation is characteristic mostly of the late Babadag phase. It is, however, the late phase which shows links with the Mediaş group in Romania, dated to Reinecke's Hallstatt B. This means that the preceding phase can be linked to Hallstatt A2. This is confirmed by the turban-dish, which – as we shall show later – appeared in the central Balkan area in phase II of the Mediana group at the same period. On the other hand the earlier Babadag phase in the matter of incised ornamentation and some shapes may be connected with the 'Barbaric' or alien pottery found at Troy VIIB 2. Since phase VIIB at Troy contained only imitations of LH IIIC pottery and no Protogeometric ware, Troy VII B2 may be dated *c.* 1050 B.C., which certainly overlaps with Reinecke's Hallstatt A2.[21] In this manner the date of the Babadag group with its two phases can be established approximately.

According to Morintz there were no previous cultures in Dobruja itself from which the Babadag group could have developed. Therefore its origins should be sought within the Insula Banului group, that is, in the movements of the bearers of that group towards the Lower Danube, as well as in the internal evolution of Dobruja.

3. *The Pšeničevo group*

During the past few years it has been possible to locate this particular group mostly in the Marica valley in Thrace. The fact that some sites in north-east Bulgaria were found recently to have resemblance with both the Babadag and Pšeničevo materials shows that the two groups were closely connected.[22]

The settlements lay along the river terraces, Pšeničevo itself being well placed for defence between two small rivers. Remains were found of rectangular houses of large proportions.

In shape and ornamentation Pšeničevo pottery resembles that of the preceding group; there are turban-dishes, jugs with handles reaching over the rim, other types of handles, and handles with knobs. By way of ornamentation there are ribbed ripples, incised and stamped decoration, and the motifs are usually spirals and circles, concentric, plain or with tangents.[23] The fact that impressed and stamped ornamentation appear simultaneously points to the later Babadag phase, and this is supported by the urn-shaped vessel with knobs at Troy VII B2 (fig. 12, 1–3). It has also to be pointed out that certain finds from such sites as Čatalka near Stara Zagora may belong to an earlier stage. The date of the group is not yet precisely determined, and local differences between one site and another cannot be ruled out.[24]

[21] A 410. Chronology: A 382, and A 399, 90–1; A 416. Cf. A 348 and A 349; A 350.
[22] A 373; cf. A 399, 93–4. [23] A 373 (illustrated). [24] A 399, 93ff.

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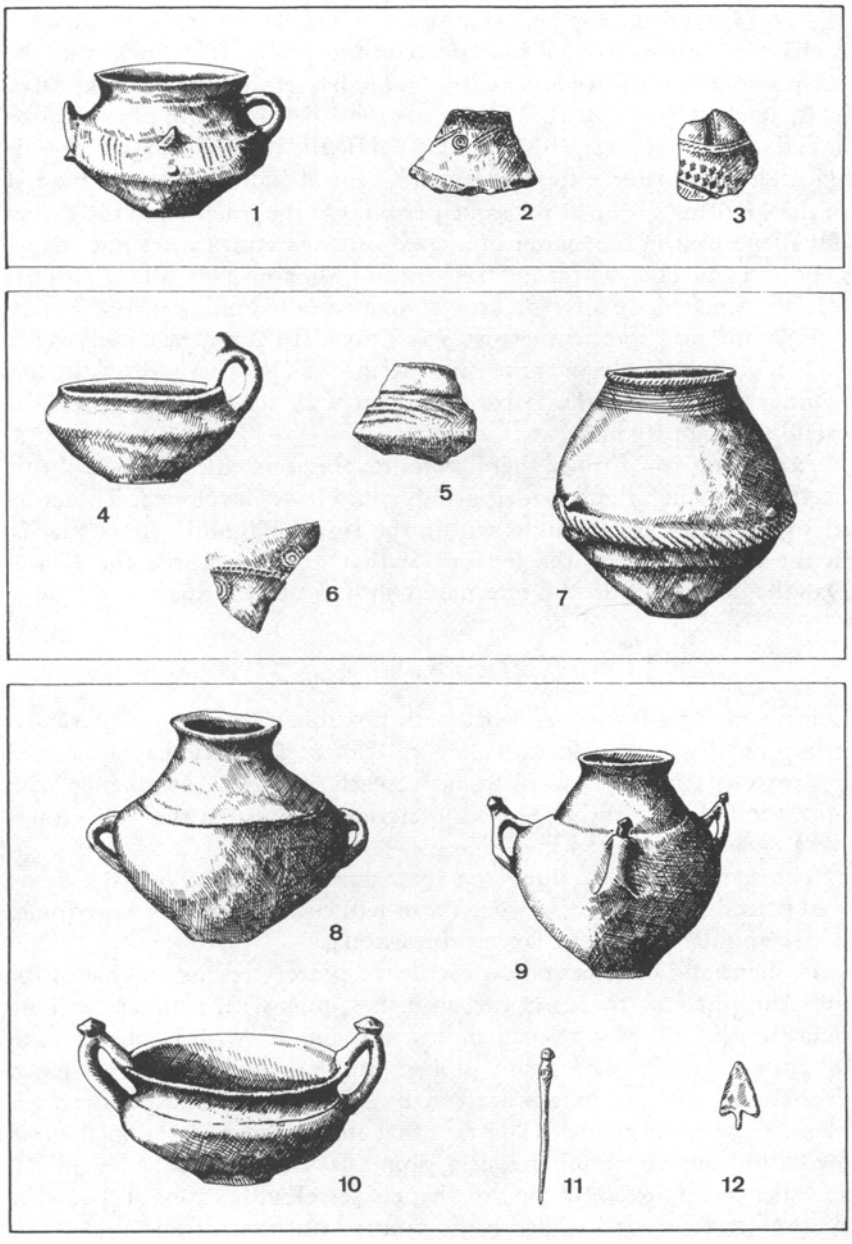

Fig. 52. Early Iron Age. East and Central Balkan region: 1–3: Pšeničevo group (East Balkan region); L-Gabarevo; 2–3: Pšeničevo (after D. P. Dimitrov); 4–7: Mediana group (Central Balkan region); Mediana (after M. Garašanin); 8–12: Donja Brnjica group (Central Balkan region); Donja Brnjica (after M. Garašanin).

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The view that these three groups represent one single cultural complex is therefore quite justified. There is no doubt that when we take into account the character, origin and chronology of these groups we must conclude that the culture spread from the north-west towards the south-east, from the Danubian region towards Thrace. At some time after the Trojan war some elements of this culture penetrated into Troy VII B2, in particular the completely foreign kind of pottery, which was rather primitive compared with the traditional hand-made ware of Troy.

As this complex was formed on Bronze Age foundations in the Danubian region, it seems plausible to connect it with the Mysi of the literary tradition (Strabo I.1.10; VII.3.2; XII.3.5; Dio LI.27.2), who were said to have lived along the Danube and to have emigrated thence to Asia Minor. There is, of course, the difficulty that traces of this complex at Troy were found only after the fall of the city, but migrations of tribes from the Balkan Peninsula may have taken place in sporadic waves, since Strabo (572) says such movements occurred before, during, and after the Trojan war. It could equally be argued that primitive villagers living near Troy might have penetrated into the city and introduced their primitive culture just after the fall of the strongly urbanized society.[25]

III. THE CENTRAL BALKAN REGION

Despite intensive study there are considerable gaps in our knowledge, above all for Iron Age I. These gaps correspond to the first half of Geometric in Greece and Reinecke B2, *c.* 900–800 B.C.[26] At present we can distinguish three groups.

1. *The Mediana Group and Related Phenomena at Kosovo*

The group is named after the Mediana site by Brzi Brod, which is near Niš, and it covers the southern regions of the Južna Morava valley.[27] The settlement at Mediana lies on a high plateau on the left bank of the Nišava. Soundings and later excavations, in 1973, have shown that it occupied a space of several hectares and was apparently a rather sparsely built settlement. The study of a relatively large area of more than 300 square metres disclosed evidence of only a few houses. No signs of wooden structures were found, but there were shallow pits of more or less oval shape and traces of clay evidently from walls. A site at Mala Kopašnica, near Leskovac, where some extensive, irregular low barrows contained sherds, may have been a settlement which should be related

[25] A 348; A 382. For the finds see A 399 (chronology); A 349; A 416.
[26] A 393; A 352; A 357, II 404–6.
[27] A 357, I 307–9; A 395.

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to the settlement at Mediana. It too lies on a terrace of the Morava. Some rather unreliable evidence from Medvadja, near Lebane, in the Jablanica valley, suggests that the dead may have been buried under mounds.[28]

At Mediana the abundance of animal bones shows that cattle-breeding was important, and the building remains recall the so-called *zolniki* of the Lower Danubian region. Some mattocks of antler were found and in the earliest layer some moulds for making metal pins, but they were in such poor condition that the shape of the pins could not be determined. Thus they give no clue to the origin and date of the Mediana culture.

The stratigraphy at Mediana revealed three phases, during which life ran so uninterruptedly that a clear inner evolution could be detected. The fundamental shapes in pottery were dishes with inverted and facetted rims and turban-dishes. In addition there were cups with a sharp profile and one handle reaching over the rim; vessels with widely splayed, flattened rims, which were also facetted; and vessels with conical or cylindrical necks and with rippled ornamentation. In some instances these vessels were globular in shape and of fairly large dimensions; so they could be called amphorae. There were numerous fragments of rims of vessels with handles, but it was not always possible to ascertain whether or not these vessels had two handles. The handles usually had a knob or a widened projection at the upper end, and some handles were twisted. The basic decoration was rippling. On the other hand, the coarse pottery had ridges of impressed ornamentation, arranged in horizontal or vertical rows and sometimes in both (fig. 52, 4–7).[29]

All kinds of pottery of phase I including the facetted bowl were found also in phase II, although certain shapes, for instance cups with one handle, were less common. Of the category with an inverted rim the turban-dish was absent in phase I; then only the form with a facetted rim was present. All the shapes of phase II occurred in phase III, but there appeared to be in phase III a much higher percentage of either Pšeničevo or Babadag II pottery with incised or stamped ornamentation. On this evidence one may determine the position of the Mediana group within the framework of our Iron Age I. As Mediana III was related to the Pšeničevo group, this phase was around Troy VII B2 and may be dated *c.* 1050 B.C. at the start of the Protogeometric period in Greece and in the transition from Reinecke's Hallstatt A2 to Hallstatt B1. The relationship between Mediana II and the earlier phase of Babadag and the appearance of the turban-dish place Mediana II in the time of Troy VII B. The phase overlaps the latest Mycenaean and the Submycenaean periods. Mediana I belongs to LH IIIB/early LH IIIC and Reinecke's D/Hallstatt A1. Certain indications such as the fragment

[28] A 357, I 307–9. [29] *Ibid.* pls. 53–4; A 395, pls. I–V.

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of a handle of the late Vattina type suggest that Mediana I began at an even earlier period, but they are at present not sufficiently numerous to confirm our earlier suggestion, which was made during the first season at Mediana.[30]

As regards the origin of the Mediana group, a considerable number of shapes, handles and ornaments may be connected with such early developments in the Morava region, as the Paraćin culture and the even earlier Slatina group of the Bronze Age. In contrast, the vessels with an inverted facetted rim, turban-dishes and vases with splayed, flat rims, often facetted, point to a link with the Urnfield culture of southern Pannonia and northern Bosnia. This shows that the Mediana group developed from a local and autochthonous basis, some new elements being added from neighbouring areas to the north. Whether the latter were due to immigration or only to influences derived from closer contacts with neighbours, it is still difficult to determine.

For an historical interpretation great importance attaches to the connexion between Mediana and the burnt levels at Vardaroftsa and Vardina in southern Macedonia (see *CAH* II.2, 708f). The so-called 'Lausitz' pottery in the levels which reflected acts of deliberate destruction was unprecedented in Macedonia but was practically identical with the Mediana pottery; and in particular the presence of turban-dishes points to Mediana II, which we have dated on other grounds to the latest Mycenaean and the Submycenaean phase. Here the remarks of W. A. Heurtley, who excavated Vardaroftsa and Vardina, are important.[31] He stated that while late Mycenaean pottery began to appear in the layers which preceded the destruction at Vardaroftsa, sherds of the 'granary style' were found only in the layer of destruction and above it. Although we may hesitate to say whether these sherds were of imported Mycenaean pottery or of local imitations (many of them having been found in recent excavations) and although any distinction between Mycenaean and Submycenaean pottery is hard to draw in Macedonia, the fact remains that the date indicated by the presence of these sherds tallies roughly with the date of Mediana II and Babadag I.

Hitherto it has been maintained that the alien elements at Vardaroftsa and Vardina were due to invaders who came from the north, in particular from Lužica (the Lausitz) and Pannonia. The new discoveries at Mediana show that these invaders came rather from the Morava region itself; for the influences from Pannonia on Mediana, although significant, are slight, and our conclusion is that the Mediana culture developed within the Morava region (see also below, p. 627).

To which ethnic group should we attribute these invaders? The

[30] A 357, *loc. cit.*; A 397, 120–1; A 395.

[31] A 174, 93ff, especially 98–9; *ibid.* 123–4; A 491, 365f.

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Phrygians have been suggested, partly on the basis of statements in Herodotus and other Greek authors.[32] But it seems to the present writer more probable that the origin of the Mediana group and so of the invaders at Vardaroftsa and Vardina should be sought rather in the Balkano-Carpathian zone of the Lower Danubian region and that the connexion there was with the Daco-Mysian ethnic group.[33] In particular one thinks of the Dardani as the invaders. For the cultural continuity which one finds in the Morava region is traceable also in Kosovo, which has been shown to have been a Dardanian region after the Bronze Age by discoveries at Ljušta near Kosovska Mitrovica and at Karagač. A close connexion between the two regions is shown at the end of Iron Age I in the culture of Donja Brnjica (Kosovo)–Gornja Stražava (in the wider area of the southern Morava region). The best explanation of these and later phenomena is that a non-Illyrian and probably Daco-Mysian stratum underlay the subsequent Illyrian period. Linguists have also seen a non-Illyrian influence at work in the case of the Dardani.[34]

One must not overlook the fact that this interpretation encounters some difficulties. The number of finds from Iron Age I in Yugoslav Macedonia is not sufficient to bridge a gap, but that may be due to lack of research. The few finds do not take us far. Finds such as phalara and miniature double-axes from a tumulus at Kumanovo–Vojnik, and pins with vase-shaped heads in a grave at Štip, are rather signs of influences coming from the south within the Geometric period.[35]

Another question is how to account for the appearance of the Dardani so far south. However, this difficulty can be met. Heurtley noted that the catastrophe provoked by the bearers of his 'Lausitz invasion' at Vardaroftsa and Vardina was of short duration, for the new elements gradually disappeared.[36] This would be compatible with a local incursion by people from the Morava region in the troubled conditions of Iron Age I, which need not have left any lasting traces and so may not have been recorded in the written sources at our disposal. It is possible, then, that we should see here a minor movement by the Dardani which is documented by archaeological data alone.

2. *The Donja Brnjica–Gornja Stražava Group*[37]

The finds for this group come entirely from graves in the southern Morava region and the Kosovo area in the latest phase of Iron Age I,

[32] Cf. A 284, 164ff. See below, p. 644.
[33] See especially A 397, 125; cf. A 392.
[34] A 357, II 438–44; A 414 (finds); A 397, 121ff; A 358.
[35] A 167, nos. 266–7, 219; A 180, nos. 654–7, 519–21; A 361, pls. 53; 43, 1–13.
[36] A 174, 98–9; A 164, 14.
[37] A 357, II 438–44; A 414.

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and in the present state of research it is not possible to say whether we have to deal with one group or two regional variants. The best known cemetery is at Donja Brnjica. Burials in specially constructed graves were arranged in groups. The dead were cremated and their ashes placed in urns set on stone slabs. Each urn was placed on a stone slab and often covered by a stone slab. Both individual and communal graves were found. In most cases the urns were fenced in and covered by a stone layer consisting of concentrically arranged white pebbles or boulders.

Bronze arrow-heads are the most typical metal find, being either flat-based or tanged to fix in a shaft. Such arrows can be traced back into the Bronze Age, for instance in the Paraćin group of the Morava region. Typical too are pins with a conical head and a widened neck which can be dated with certainty to Hallstatt B3, at the very end of our Iron Age I.[38] Of the pottery the most characteristic are vessels with two vertical knobbed handles, but there are also some vessels with horizontal handles and some urns with long or short conical necks and a highly pronounced body. Sometimes two or four knobbed handles were placed on the body (fig. 52, 8–12).

At Gornja Stražava in the Toplica valley in Cemetery I urn-graves were fenced in with a double circle of stones. The pottery here is related to that at Donja Brnjica, and a pin resembles those at Donja Brnjica.[39] A similar urn has been found at Togočevac near Leskovac.

The pottery in its shapes and handles is completely in the tradition of the Morava region in the Bronze Age. Since the southern Morava region and Kosovo were occupied by the Dardani, this pottery may be regarded as particular to them. The handles of the urns in both areas are the same, but some urns at Gornja Stražava are very similar to those of the cemetery of Dalj in the Dalj–Val–Podol group in southern Pannonia, which are dated Hallstatt B, and so late in our Iron Age I after 1000 B.C. Certain pottery shapes connected with the Donja Brnjica group were found as large pithoi for the depot at the site of Markova Varoš near Prilep, and at Kale Fortress at Skopje.

In the depot of Plovdiv in Thrace vessels were found in different layers in a pit, and among them were vessels of the traditional shapes of the Daco-Mysian region in the Bronze Age, such as two-handled vessels and vessels with cut-away neck. The nearest analogy to them was found at a Late Bronze Age cemetery at Zimnicea on the Danube in Romania.[40] Other vessels with *omphaloi*, conical necks and handles set on the body were very close to those at Dalj and to the urns of the Donja Stražava–Gornja Brnjica group.

[38] A 357, II 442.
[39] A 357, II 443–4; A 165, no. 438, 440.
[40] A 381; A 368; C. A 399, 89–90 (earlier dating).

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From this we conclude that it is possible to trace the evolution in Dardania of the Bronze Age Daco-Mysian traditions into Iron Age I and towards the end to see a new influence emanating from a late phase of the Urnfield cultures. In the case of the Mediana group it is difficult at present to decide whether we should see only influences through trade or rather people moving from southern Pannonia towards the central Balkans. The same difficulty arises at Plovdiv.

3. *The Gava Group*[41]

The centre of the Gava group lies in the area of the River Criš in Romania and in Hungary. Here biconical urns with an elongated upper part and a short shoulder with ribbed or rippled ornamentation and sometimes with tongue-shaped handles or rippled knobs are characteristic. The group certainly started in Iron Age I. Urns of these types were found also in southern Pannonia (e.g. at Dubovac in Banat and Saraorci at the mouth of the Morava) and in the southern Morava region (at Vrtište near Niš and Mediana, though not within the framework of our excavations); and a single example at Manole near Plovdiv. As these urns were alien to the local culture, the only explanation is that they were brought by migrants moving south in the course of Iron Age I. Similar finds appeared in cemeteries extending from Lombardy to the vicinity of Rome, and it may be noted that the Gava forms are typologically akin to those of the Villanova urns. It may therefore be assumed that expansion from a common source branched off in two directions. We do not propose any ethnic labels for the migrations.

IV. THE WEST BALKAN REGION[42]

The central problem here, the identification of the Illyrians and other groups, is made difficult by the small amount of research in individual regions. For example, it is not easy to explain the presence of Pannonian linguistic features in the Glasinac area, which was certainly Illyrian, and again in the Dalmatian area.[43]

Our main concern is with the archaeological material and the evidence it provides of socio-economic development, rather than with ethnic affinities. A common feature of our period throughout the Balkans is the *gradina*, a fortified site which usually dominated a considerable area and seems to have been a centre for defence during wars between tribes. Although some large *gradiňas* may have been tribal centres, they were not, except at Pod near Bugojno in Bosnia, the sign

[41] A 357, II 417–19; A 165, nos. 436–7.
[42] A 406 and A 420.
[43] A 360, 41ff.

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of an urban settlement. Thus the *gradina* is generally indicative of tribal rather than state organization.[44]

Particular attention should be paid to burial customs, which are better known in the western parts than in some other parts of the Balkans.[45] As such customs tend to be conservative, they may help us in the task of ethnic interpretation. We pointed out in chapter 4 (pp. 182ff) that tumulus burial was characteristic of the West Balkan area from the Early Bronze Age. It continued over a large area throughout the Iron Age, mainly in areas which were certainly Illyrian. So we may regard this form of burial as Illyrian in the ethnic sense. On the other hand flat graves and particularly urn burial, which were more characteristic of Pannonia, may be taken in conjunction with other archaeological data to indicate the penetration of non-Illyrian elements into the western Balkans. The individual regions are discussed in detail below.

1. *Western Serbia and the Glasinac Complex*[46]

We have linked western Serbia and the Glasinac complex to the Illyrian region in a narrower sense, primarily on the grounds of their archaeological characteristics. In these areas the custom of burying under tumuli was introduced at the very beginning of the Bronze Age, and there is an uninterrupted cultural development, especially at Glasinac, into our Iron Age IV. Not enough is known about Iron Age I in Serbia, where we rely only on a grave at Konjuša. Later, however, in Iron Age II–III, one can trace a development in Serbia which is closely connected with the phenomena of the Glasinac tumuli, and this is so also in northern Albania. There is no doubt then that Illyrian peoples lived in these regions. South Bosnia too is closely connected with the Glasinac region during Iron Age I. We shall deal with it later.

(a) *Western Serbia. The Find of Konjuša*

Our knowledge of western Serbia in Iron Age I is almost limited to the find at Konjuša, which certainly came from a tumulus. The doubts which have been expressed recently about the genuineness of the find are not justified.[47] The grave at Konjuša contained a sword of Central European type, bronze necklaces, a belt, and some bow-shaped 'Peschiera' fibulae. The bronze sword, a rare find in the Balkans, belongs to the so-called *Nenzingen* type which can be dated to the very beginning of Iron Age I. The same date is appropriate for the Peschiera fibulae, which originated in the western Balkans.

As Peschiera fibulae and swords of this kind are found on the Greek

[44] A 419; Pod: A 379.

[45] A 374.

[46] A 372; cf. A 357, II 435–8; 470–81.

[47] A 357, II 435–8, fig. 21; A 160, 24; pls. III, 1; XI.

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mainland and in the Aegean at the time of the destruction of the Mycenaean centres, which corresponds to the start of our Iron Age I, it is likely enough that tribes migrated then from the Western Balkans towards the Aegean, as has been suggested by V. Milojčić.[48] If so, the Konjuša finds represent an intermediate link.

(b) *The Glasinac Complex*[49]

This complex is remarkable for its large number of cemeteries and for *gradinas*, and it has been famous since the excavations of the nineteenth century. After World War II, Benac and Čović worked out a classification of the earlier finds and created a chronological system, and recently excavations have been undertaken in accordance with modern methods.[50] It is now clear that there was an uninterrupted development from the Early Bronze Age to the beginning of the La Tène period, the whole evolution being divided into five phases. Our period is from Glasinac III a to IV a, which covers our Iron Age I.

The *gradinas* at Glasinac, situated generally on the edge of the plateau, were fortified refuges for use in time of danger. The earliest belong probably to the Early Bronze Age. Some (e.g. Košutica, Kusače and Osovo) undoubtedly belong to Iron Age I. The plans of the *gradinas* depend in detail on the configuration of the ground, but generally they have a rampart of stones and clay. Walls are made only rarely in the dry-stone technique. The Košutica *gradina* has a circular plan, while that at Kusače is trapezoidal.[51]

Burials were always under tumuli of stones and soil, generally of small dimensions, which were arranged in groups and lay mostly in the plains. It is possible that they are to be connected with the *gradinas*. Throughout the Glasinac period inhumation was predominant. The bases of tumuli at Sokolac were found to be stone slabs and the surfaces were covered with stones.[52] What had been regarded as tumuli were sometimes found to be merely heaps of stones, made during recent land clearance.

The Glasinac culture of 1200–700 B.C. has been divided into four phases on the basis of metal objects in sealed deposits (less is known about the pottery).[53] Glasinac IIIa has violin-bow fibulae, pins with globular or cudgel-like head (*Keulenkopfnadeln*), necklaces with twisted ends, spiraloid bracelets and spectacle pendants with a spiral-shaped central part, found also in later phases; it dates to the beginning of our Iron Age I and Hallstatt A. Glasinac IIIb has bracelets in the shape of wristbands, richly engraved necklaces, pins with heads of various

[48] A 362; cf. A 355.
[49] A 372; cf. A 357, II 470–81.
[50] A 372; A 376; A 380 (fortifications).
[51] A 380.
[52] A 374.
[53] A 372 (comparative plate at the end of the work); critical comments in A 356, 183–5.

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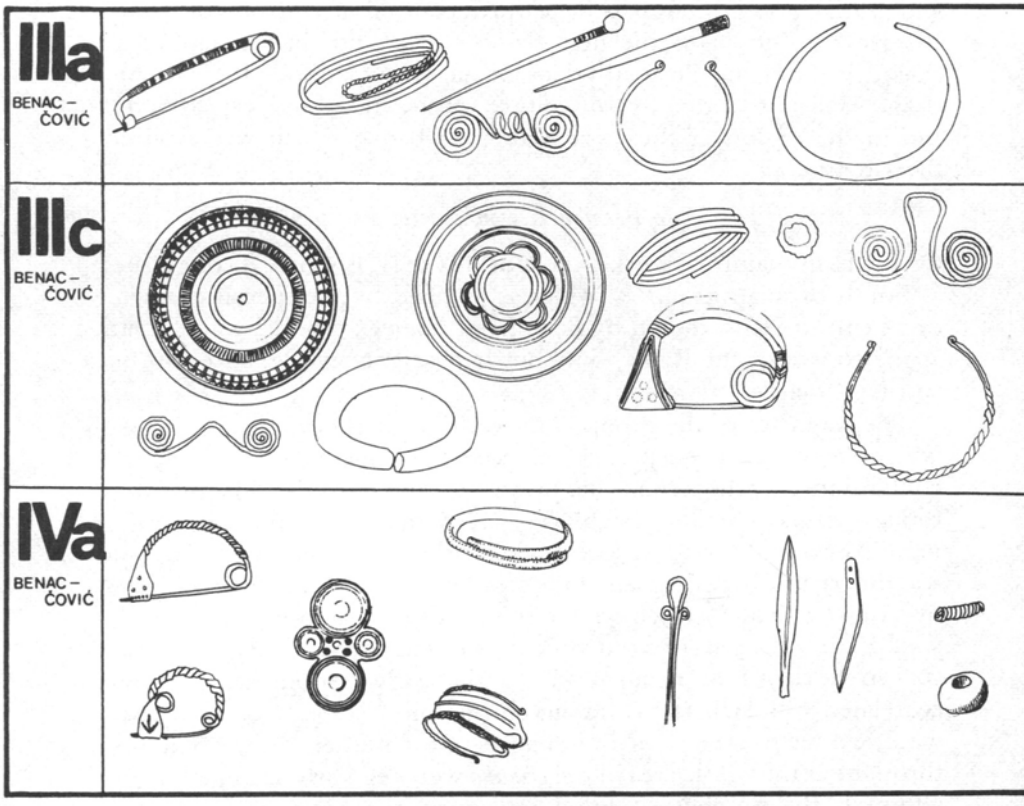

Fig. 53. Early Iron Age. West Balkan region. Phases of the Glasinac group. (After Benac and Čović.)

shapes, and pins with poppy-shaped heads decorated with engravings. It is in fact Bronze Age D. Glasinac IIIc has fibulae with one or two loops, knobs and a high arch (known as Godiljevo fibulae), which continued in use until a later date, phalara with engraved decoration, twisted necklaces, spiraloid bracelets and spectacle fibulae with a central part consisting only of twisted wire. It dates to Hallstatt A2 (in view of the fibulae) and Hallstatt B. Glasinac IVa, as defined by Čović and supplemented by material from Glasinac and from other sites,[54] has arched fibulae which are a direct development of the Godiljevo type, fibulae with two loops and a twisted arch, disk fibulae, phalara, and special types of axes and pins. It dates to the end of our Iron Age I and Hallstatt B3 (fig. 53).

Whatever corrections may be made to this system (for instance, phase IIIb may be earlier than IIIa)[55] it is certain that with respect to burial

[54] A 376; A 378. [55] A 356, 183–4.

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and burial goods Glasinac developed continuously from the Early Bronze Age down to the first century B.C., and that it derived its character from the Proto-Illyrians of an earlier period. In Iron Age II and Hallstatt C, this Ilyrian culture can be traced in western Serbia and in the region of the river Mati in Albania, which was a purely Illyrian area.

2. *The South Bosnian Region and the Pod* gradina

On the basis mainly of work after World War II, B. Čović distinguished a 'South Bosnian group',[56] which is justified by the special character of its culture. It is known by finds from *gradinas*, especially at Varvara at the source of the Rama, Soukbunar near Sarajevo, Zlatica, Fortica and Kotorac.[57]

The character of the group is shown best by the *gradina* at Varvara, which stands on a steep rock, protected on one side by the natural configuration of the terrain, and presumably on the other sides by a wall, though this is difficult to establish today. While this *gradina* was a minor regional centre or refuge, as elsewhere, the Pod *gradina* near Bugojno was different. There the plan of the settlement was a semicircle protected by a thick wall and a ditch on one side. This wall supported a dry-stone wall. Excavations carried out at Pod *gradina* have shown that there were sixteen horizons of occupation. In the early period, which Čović correlated with Hallstatt A (in our chronology *c.* 1200–1100 B.C.), there were two main 'streets' at right angles to each other and the buildings throughout the whole area of the *gradina* were regularly arranged. Later, although the number of buildings grew, the basic plan remained unaltered.[58]

Of the pottery, the typical features are dishes with an inverted rim (often with incised garlands, rippled triangles, zig-zag motifs etc.), plates with a widened, flat, or slanting rim, vessels with a wide flattened rim often incised, and vessels of globular shapes. The handles often reach over the rim and sometimes have a fan-like end. Typical are vertical handles with two openings, the so-called 'binocular' handles. Moulds for making metal objects (*gradina* on the Rama) are particularly interesting and include one for making swords of local shapes, very probably connected with the *Nierenknaufschwert* type of sword. Variants of this type are known in Bosnia, for instance in the hoard at Veliki Mošunj (fig. 54, 1–6).[59]

The origin of this group can be determined only roughly. While there was continuity in the south Bosnian group at least from the Middle

[56] A 375, 82f, 87f (with reference to illustrations).
[57] *Ibid.* (s.v.). [58] A 379.
[59] Published in *Glasnik Zemalskog muzeja* 26 (Sarajevo, 1914), 325ff, fig. 4.

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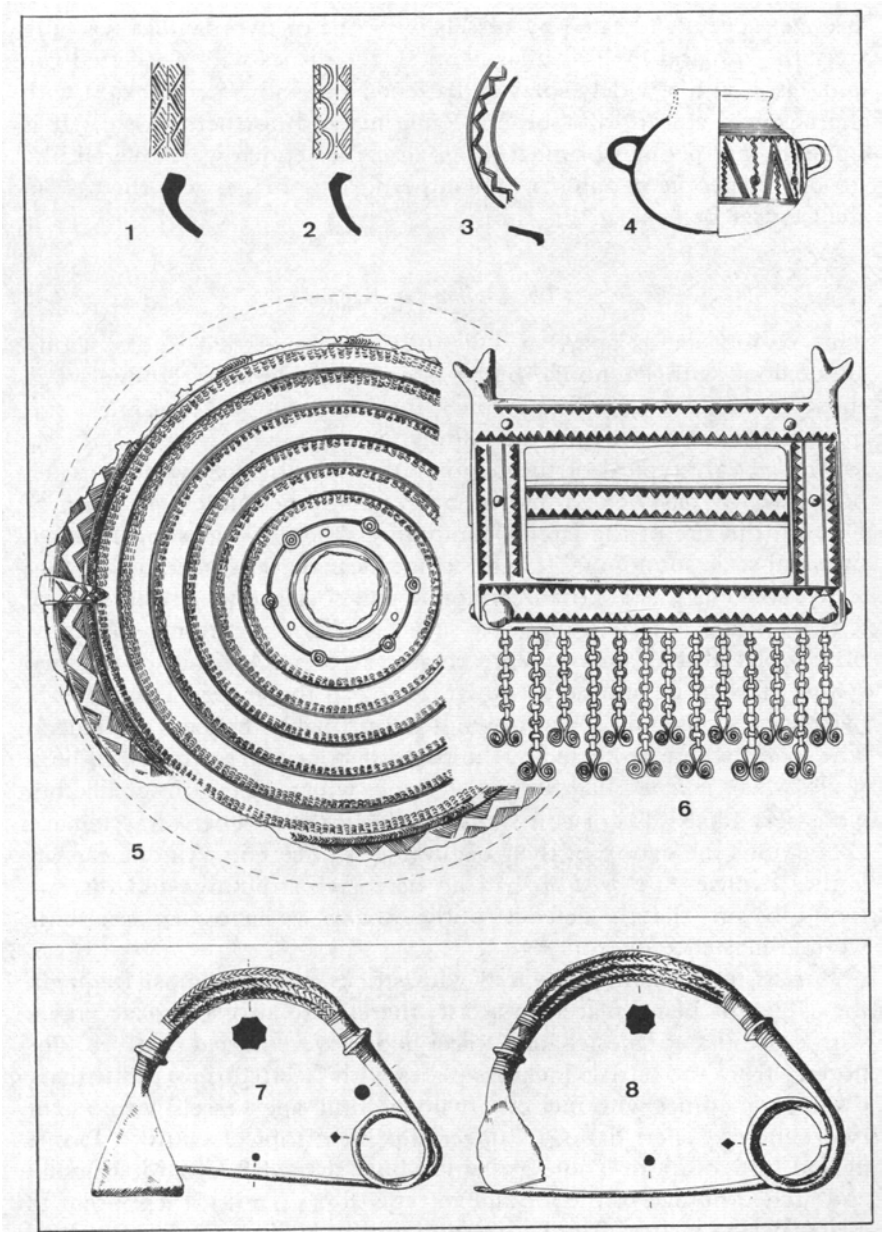

Fig. 54. Early Iron Age. West Balkan region. South Bosnia and the Pod *gradina*. 1–4: Pod near Bugojno; 5–6: hoard of Veliki Mošunj; 7–8: Dalmatian region, fibulae of type Golinjevo. (After B. Čović.)

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Bronze Age, as indicated by vessels with one or two handles reaching over the rim and by binocular handles, the dishes with a facetted rim and vases with a widely splayed, flattened rim show a connexion with the Urnfield culture of southern Pannonia and northern Bosnia. It is possible that peoples originating in an earlier epoch were overlaid by groups of people coming from southern Pannonia, as was the case in the Central Balkans at this time.

3. *The Dalmatian Region*[60]

This region stands apart in a linguistic sense in that it has strong connexions with Pannonia, but it is not possible to determine when those connexions were first formed, for archaeological research is still inadequate in this area for the period 1200–700 B.C.

Gradinas are typical of the region. A systematic survey undertaken only recently has yielded interesting results, especially at the Plain of Duvno (the site of the later Delminium), where it was supplemented by small-scale soundings. It has become clear that the plain, geographically isolated, was a closed economic and social unit. At the edge of it there stood a system of thirty-seven *gradinas*, some only lookouts, others placed at points where access was easy. At such places two *gradinas* faced one another. The largest of all the *gradinas*, named Lib, had an acropolis and a lower town. It was probably the main settlement. The *gradinas* were protected by ramparts of stone and earth, not by built walls. Many *gradinas* had tumuli of stone, which were for defence but were very likely also of cult significance. In the absence of systematic excavations the dating of their beginning is uncertain. All one can say is that Bronze Age *gradinas* had no defensive structures and that we cannot be sure that the defences of the *gradinas* we have been describing were in existence in Iron Age I.

Burials under tumuli covered with stones were the most frequent, the skeletons being placed in a cist; there were also some flat graves with cists, and at Unešići and Otišići bodies were buried in caves. The pottery from the burials includes plates with facetted rims and turban-dishes, sometimes with incised ornamentation, and vessels with one or two handles. Their dating is uncertain. Metal objects show a longer period of evolution. There are violin-bow-shaped fibulae (at Unešići) and arched fibulae of the Godiljevo type (fig. 54, 7–8); these point to a later period in Iron Age I corresponding to Hallstatt A and B. There are also fibulae with a grooved arch, plate-like fibulae, and fibulae with two loops; pins with a widened biconical top, probably of the eighth century; ordinary necklaces and various kinds of bracelets etc. Among

[60] A 377 (finds); A 371 (fortified sites).

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the tools there were celts, some heavy and stubby, and probably of local make, and the weapons include spears. The axe with a shaft-hole of Sitno type represents a further evolution of the 'Albano-Dalmatian' type of axe known in the Bronze Age (see above, p. 225).[61]

These phenomena suggest a prolonged internal evolution, covering several stages of Iron Age I, and some influence from Pannonia, especially in the field of pottery.

4. *The Region of the Iapodes*[62]

This region, comprising the Lika area and parts of south-western Bosnia, has yielded very valuable material, and recent research has made it possible to define the culture of the Iapodes. While *gradinas* appeared in the Early Bronze Age, most of them were inhabited in Iron Age I and continued to be occupied until the conquests of Octavian. The *gradinas* are of various types determined by the lie of the land. There are the 'refuges' on the top of a hill, on a terrace (Crkvine at Kompolje), on a steep-sided plateau, probably with a palisade. Some, having an easy access from one side, had to be protected by a thick wall or a tumulus. Others were of horseshoe plan. Some most impressive 'double' *gradinas* on top of two hillocks separated by a ravine (e.g. Veliki and Mali Vital near Otočac, Veliki and Mali Oblijaj near Vrhovine) correspond to Metulum as it was at the time of Augustus' conquest (App. *Illyr.* 19). It is not possible as yet to date the various sites or determine their inter-relationship.[63]

During Iron Age I (Hallstatt B) burials under tumuli ceased and flat graves often arranged in large cemeteries came into fashion. The change may have been due to the influx of new ethnic elements. Objects of Iron Age I date have not yet been classified completely. Some finds, such as a variety of pins, bracelets and necklaces are connected with finds from other areas of the west Balkan region. The oldest find, an arched fibula with a single loop and a triangular foot, is considered to be Liburnian in origin. Other arched fibulae with a big amber bead on the arch seem to belong to a somewhat later period. There are also more developed forms of arched fibulae, plate-shaped fibulae, spectacle fibulae and bipartite ones. Characteristic are metal caps which were placed on the head of the deceased.[64] The most important find of pottery was at Cerovac cave.[65] In its shapes and ornamentation, often with pronounced ribbed patterns, this pottery is certainly connected with southern Pannonia. This group, then, underwent influences from Liburnia and an influx of new elements from the Pannonian region in the course of Iron Age I.

[61] A 377; A 474, *passim*. [62] A 383–9. [63] A 389.
[64] A 386. [65] A 387.

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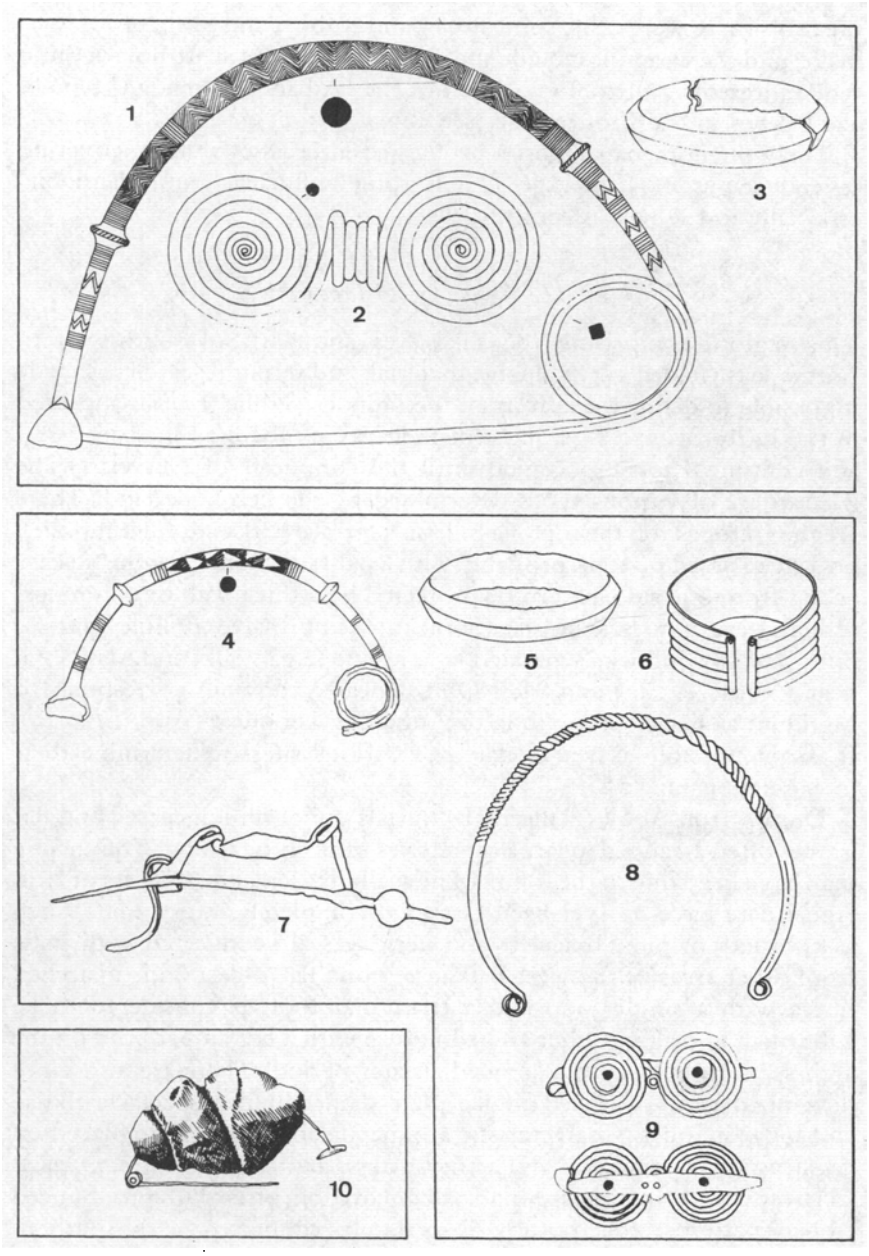

Fig. 55. Early Iron Age. West Balkan region. Liburnian region. 1–6: Liburnian I; 7–9: Liburnian II; 10: Liburnian IIIa. (After Š. Batović.)

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5. *The Liburnian Region*[66]

The Liburnian region, being the coastal belt north of the mouth of the Krka, belongs in linguistic terms to the non-Illyrian area which is linked with Istria and Venetia. Today it is reasonably well known archaeologically, thanks to new work on the cemeteries and *gradinas*. It is possible to distinguish a Liburnian cultural group, the beginning of which lay in Iron Age I, although its relations with earlier cultures in the area are not yet clear. The defences of the *gradinas* in the Liburnian region resemble those found in other regions except that their ramparts are dry walls. Sometimes they have a tumulus as well. Flat graves predominate, with stone cists, in which skeletons were found in a contracted position.

The phases marked as I–IIIa of the Liburnian culture belong to our Iron Age I and Hallstatt A2/B1 to Hallstatt B3, that is from the eleventh century, Protogeometric to the end of the eighth century in Greece.

Objects from the graves may be attributed to the following:[67]

Phase I. Here the arched fibula with one loop and a small triangular foot (the 'Liburnian' fibula) is characteristic; cuff-shaped bracelets (*Manschetten-Armband*), bracelets triangular in section, spectacle pendants with a twisted central part and amber beads. Towards the end of this period there appear spectacle fibulae whose central part is in the shape of a figure-of-eight (fig. 55, 1–6).

Phase II. This phase contains developed forms of the arched fibulae, small spectacle fibulae with an eight-shaped central part, which are fixed to a specially made plate, and double fibulae with a spiral shaped foot. There are also torques (fig. 55, 7–9).

Phase IIIa. Some shapes typical of phase II continue. The special feature here is an abundance of amber jewellery. There are arched fibulae with a large amber bead at the arch (fig. 55, 10), pins with a conical head, metal pendants with bird tops and *serpeggianti* fibulae. The last marks the end of Iron Age I, after which there was a continuous and uninterrupted development.

As regards the origin of the group it is significant that burials in flat graves predominate, setting this group apart from those connected closely with the Illyrians. Objects from the graves show resemblances with those of the Iapodes and in part with those of Glasinac, apart from its own local features such as the Liburnian fibula in particular.

A close connexion existed between the Liburnian region and Picenum from phase III onwards. It is shown in the inventory of graves.[68] A

[66] A 369; A 370.
[67] A 369, pls. II–III (phase I); IV (phase II); pp. 62–3, pls. V–VI (phase IIIa).
[68] A 417.

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similar connexion in phase I with Pelagonia and Demir Kapija in respect of cist-graves and their inventory is at present difficult to explain. The traditional Liburnian thalassocracy, reaching the Albanian coast and Corcyra in the south, and ending before 733 B.C.,[69] is too late to be relevant, since phase I dates to the eleventh and tenth centuries, and there are as yet no finds of phase I type on the Albanian coast. As yet we have no answer to the historical problem.

V. THE NORTH-WESTERN REGION

Culturally this region is clearly separate, although in some respects its influence on individual groups of the West Balkan region can be traced far to the south. This also corresponds to the geographical position of this region (see above, p. 584); for it is inseparably linked with Pannonia. Indeed the phenomena of the North-western region and of the Bosnian part of the right bank of the Sava (Bosnian Posavina) form an entity and belong to the large complex of the Urnfield culture, within which it is impossible to differentiate between the separate groups and variants. We shall, therefore, tackle also the finds of Iron Age I discovered in the southern parts of Pannonia.

1. *The Sites of the Bosnian Sava Region*

We owe our knowledge of this region in Iron Age I mainly to the excavations at Donja Dolina early in this century.[70] Further work after World War II has yielded more precise stratigraphic information, and there has been a revision of the earlier excavations.[71] We can now understand the problems of Iron Age I in this region with more confidence, although considerable gaps still exist in our knowledge of the economy, forms of settlement and burials, and this makes the interpretation of the chronology difficult.

The basic form of settlement here too is the *gradina*. These lie mostly on high plateaux with steep-sloping sides at places which were convenient for defence; examples are the Kekića Glavica near Bosanska Krupa, Vis near Derventa, Zecovi near Prijedor, and the Donja Dolina *gradina*. At Zecovi rectangular buildings were built above ground and contained hearths with a flat base.[72]

The finds consist mainly of pottery. Its characteristic forms include plates with a facetted rim, turban-dishes, and vessels with a widened facetted rim, and bowls with slow, rounded profilation. In addition to facetted ornamentation, one finds very pronounced rippling. In certain

[69] A 491, I 422–4; cf. A 164, 14–15.
[70] A 406 and A 420; cf. A 407.
[71] A 406.
[72] A 375 (s.v.).

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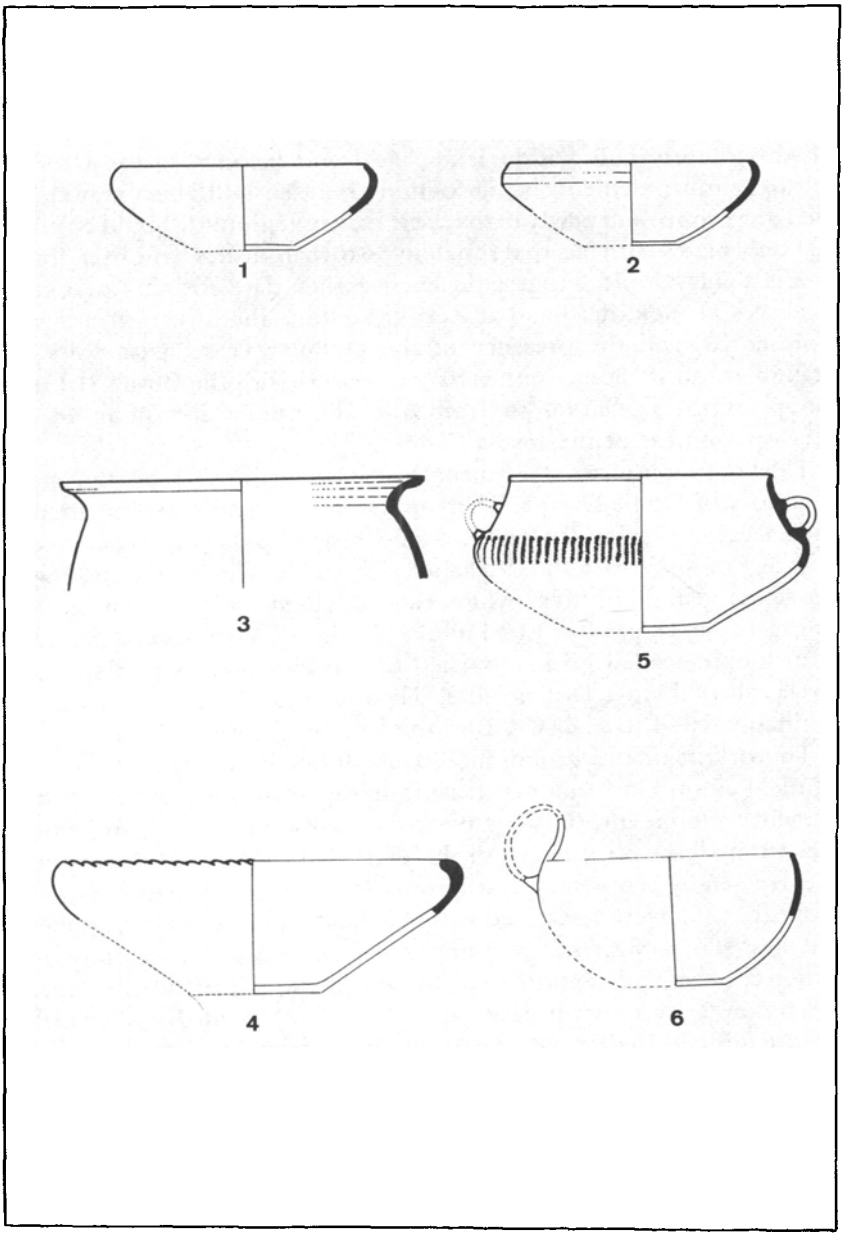

Fig. 56. Early Iron Age. North-western region. Sava region. 1–6: Donja Dolina on the Sava. (After Z. Marić.)

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cases (e.g. at Pivnice) there is incised decoration in zig-zag or garland patterns. At Donja Dolina the most typical are vessels with gentle profiles and two small handles at the shoulder and vessels with a tall conical neck and curved shoulder, which belong to phase Ib (fig. 56). All this pottery falls within Iron Age I and belongs to the Urnfield culture, similar elements being found in the Central Balkan region (the Mediana group) and partly in the West Balkan region. It should be noted that only plates with facetted rims and no turban-dishes have been found at Vis. This would suggest an even earlier date for this particular locality. On the other hand at Zecovi Gradina the turban-dish is well represented, and the presence of the globular vessel with spiral or triangular motifs points rather to connexions with the Bosut–Basarabi group, at the transition to Iron Age II. It may also point to the developed forms of the Insula Banului.[73]

This chronological assessment has been confirmed by the metal inventory of Donja Dolina. There in phase Ia the most typical are pins with a variety of head profiles, cudgel-shaped pins (*Keulenkopfnadeln*), celts of various shapes with V-shaped ribs, sickles with a vertical straight rib at the grip and knives which can be linked with Hallstatt A.[74] In contrast, the dagger forms, a knife, a mould for a pendant in the shape of a double-headed bird, a twisted fibula with one loop, a spectacle fibula, all of Donja Dolina phase Ib, point to a later epoch and are justifiably dated to Hallstatt B in the later stage of our Iron Age I.

The origin of the group should no doubt be connected with the Urnfield culture in Pannonia. It is significant that the south Pannonian element is dominant, thus completely separating the northern Bosnian sites from all the phenomena of the West Balkan region. This suggests an intrusion by peoples who, according to the linguistic data mentioned above (p. 586), were associated with the Pannonians. It is also significant that in a series of sites it was impossible to establish continuity with earlier epochs, and that an interruption in the life of the settlements (Zecovi, Vis) or a start in Iron Age I has to be assumed.[75] This makes it more difficult to discover the origin of the Iron Age I peoples of this region.

The question posed today is whether all the finds of Iron Age I in the Bosnian Posavina region should be treated as a closed unit, or whether there is a possibility that this group existed in local isolation. Thus Čović maintained that two groups should be distinguished: the western (Kekića Glavica–Zecovi) and the eastern (Vis–Pivnice).[76] As we are unable to substantiate such a division, we treat the material *in toto*.

[73] A 375, pls. I, 1–6 (Zecovi); II, 1–6 (Zecovi); III, 1–8 (Vis); 11–15 (Pivnica); A 406, pls. II (phase Ia); IV, 7–12 (phase Ib).

[74] A 406, pls. I (phase I a); III (phase Ib).

[75] A 375, 98–9 (chronological table).

[76] *Ibid.* 87–8.

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2. *Urnfield Culture in Southern Pannonia*[77]

The whole of southern Pannonia is included in the Urnfield culture of Pannonia and Central Europe in Iron Age I. Yet there are certain differences. The western region (Pannonian Croatia, including the greater part of Slavonia) is more closely connected with the Middle European area, while in the lower reaches of the Drava and in Srem there is a closer continuity with the local Bronze Age traditions. The evolution of the western region is enriched by certain elements linked with the Urnfield culture of the Trans-Danubian region. Thus in the course of Iron Age I elements from Pannonia and from across the Danube penetrated southwards to a greater or lesser degree, becoming completely dominant in Bosnian Posavina and appearing further south and in the Central Balkan region only as one component in their culture.

(a) *The South-western Pannonian region*[78]

The main outlines of development are known and some chronological divisions can be made. Although very little is known of the form of its settlements, the burials have the character of urn burials with certain differences and variations.

The oldest phase is represented by the cemeteries at Virovitica and Sirova Katalena near Bjelovar, where there were flat graves within a circular pit, inside which fragments of broken vessels had been placed at the outset. Urns containing ashes were often found covered with a vessel. The basic shapes of pottery were larger or smaller global urns with handles on the body, vessels with a slightly inverted rim and one or two handles under the rim, and smaller vessels with various profiles, often standing on a stem. These pottery forms are closely connected with western Trans-Danubia and the Tyrol, and are in the tradition of the Bronze Age culture of the wider Alpine area and Trans-Danubia. They are datable to Reinecke's Bronze Age D, i.e. to the very beginning of our Iron Age I (fig. 57, 1–4).

The cemetery at Zagreb-Vrapče represents a somewhat later phase. In addition to the ordinary forms of graves with urns there are those where the urn was placed in a cist. Special characteristics of this cemetery are globular vessels with small handles, sometimes with rippled decoration, and biconical vessels. Most of the pottery is to be connected with the Velatice I group in Czechoslovakia, with Baierdorf in southern Germany, and partly with finds from the Tyrol. On that basis this cemetery dates to the end of Bronze Age D and Hallstatt A1. This particular dating is confirmed by the metal objects (fig. 57, 5–7).[79]

The cemetery at Zagreb-Horvati has not been systematically explored,

[77] A 420; A 400. [78] A 420, *passim*.

[79] *Ibid.* 68–71. For Sirova Katalena and Virovitica see *ibid.* 137–45.

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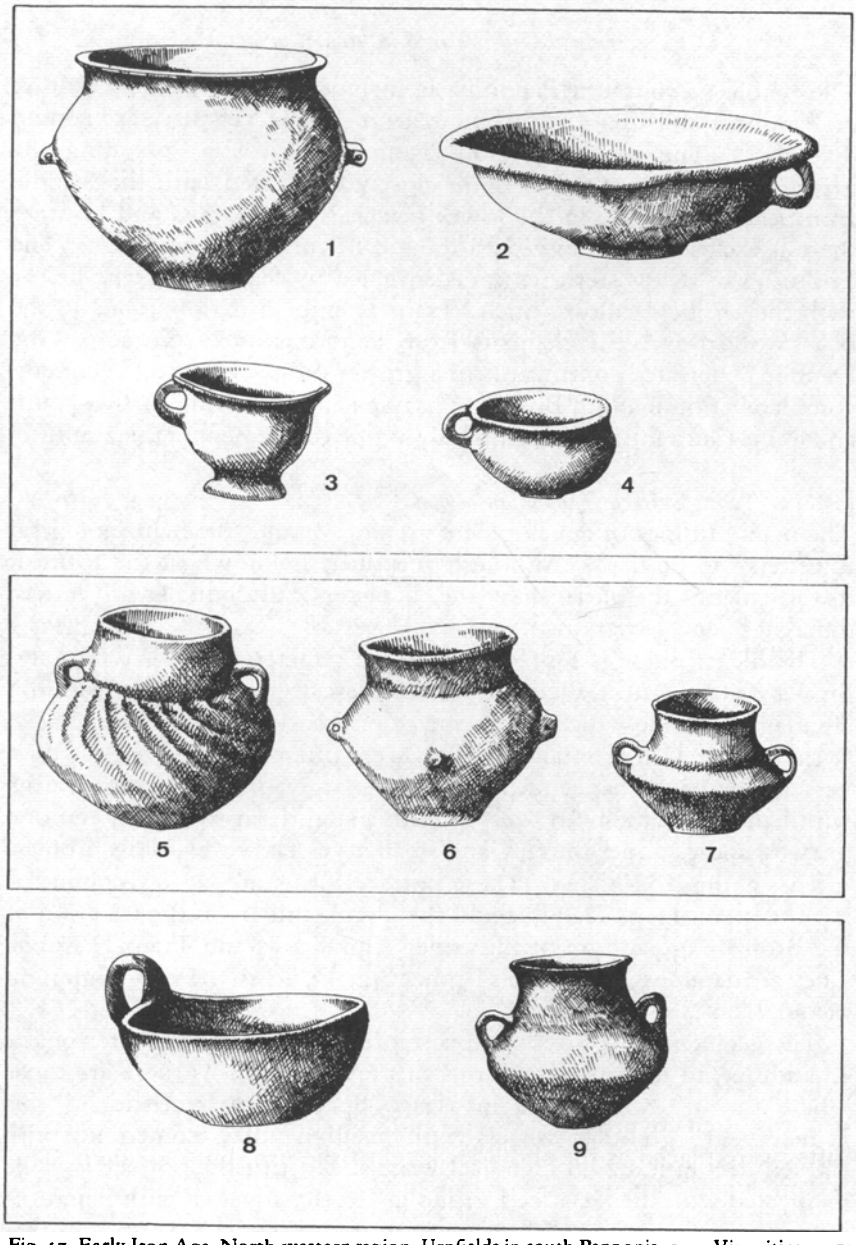

Fig. 57. Early Iron Age. North-western region. Urnfields in south Pannonia. 1–4: Virovitica; 5–7: Vrapče; 8–9: Velika Gorica. (After K. Vinski-Gasparini.)

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but finds so far include biconical vessels, vessels with short conical necks and a curved shoulder, and vessels with a small handle reaching over the rim. The typical ornamentation is rippling. This pottery is connected with the latest level of the Baierdorf–Velatice group and is dated to Hallstatt A1.[80]

The latest phase in this region is represented by the cemetery at Velika Gorica near Zagreb. Among its pottery are vessels with conical neck, pronounced body and two handles on the shoulder, rounded vessels with handles reaching over the rim, and vessels with a more or less sharp profile of the shoulder. This pottery belongs to the tradition of the earlier cemeteries of south-western Pannonia. In type they are to be dated to Hallstatt B, and this is confirmed by the metal inventory of individual graves (fig. 57, 8–9).[81]

Thus we can infer from these cemeteries a clearly defined regional Urnfield culture in south-western Pannonia. Its origin is based on the tradition of the Bronze Age in western Hungary and the Alpine region. In its later development it continued to have a close connexion with those regions.

(b) *The South-eastern Pannonian region*

This region in the lower reaches of the Drava extends to the east over the whole of Vojvodina (Srem, Banat and Bačka), and to the south into the Danubian area of Serbia proper. The chief cultural manifestation of this region is what we call the Vojvodina group, which Yugoslavian archaeologists have identified by its main sites as the Belegiš or Surčin–Belegiš group.[82]

This group has settlements not only on open sites but also on strategically convenient points which have natural defences, e.g. at Stari Slankamen on the Danube and at Feudvar, near Mošorin. The majority of the settlements, having only one layer, had a relatively short life. The dwelling places are dug-outs. At Gomolava on the Sava, near Ruma, some houses with a clay floor have been discovered.

Urns in graves are the typical form of burial, as at Belegiš and Surčin in Srem, at Ilandža and Orašac in Banat and at Karaburma–Beograd in Danubian Serbia. It seems as if the graves were arranged in rows. The urn was often covered by a vessel; and some smaller vessels, apparently gifts, were placed at the shoulder level of the urn, but outside it. This is completely in the tradition of the Bronze Age graves with urns found in these regions.

Pottery predominates in the inventory of the graves. Typical are globular urns which have a tall or short neck and a knot on the body.

[80] *Ibid.* 133–5. [81] *Ibid.* 149ff (and under Velika Gorica).
[82] A 154, 240–6. *Contra*: A 357, II 409–17; I 331ff.

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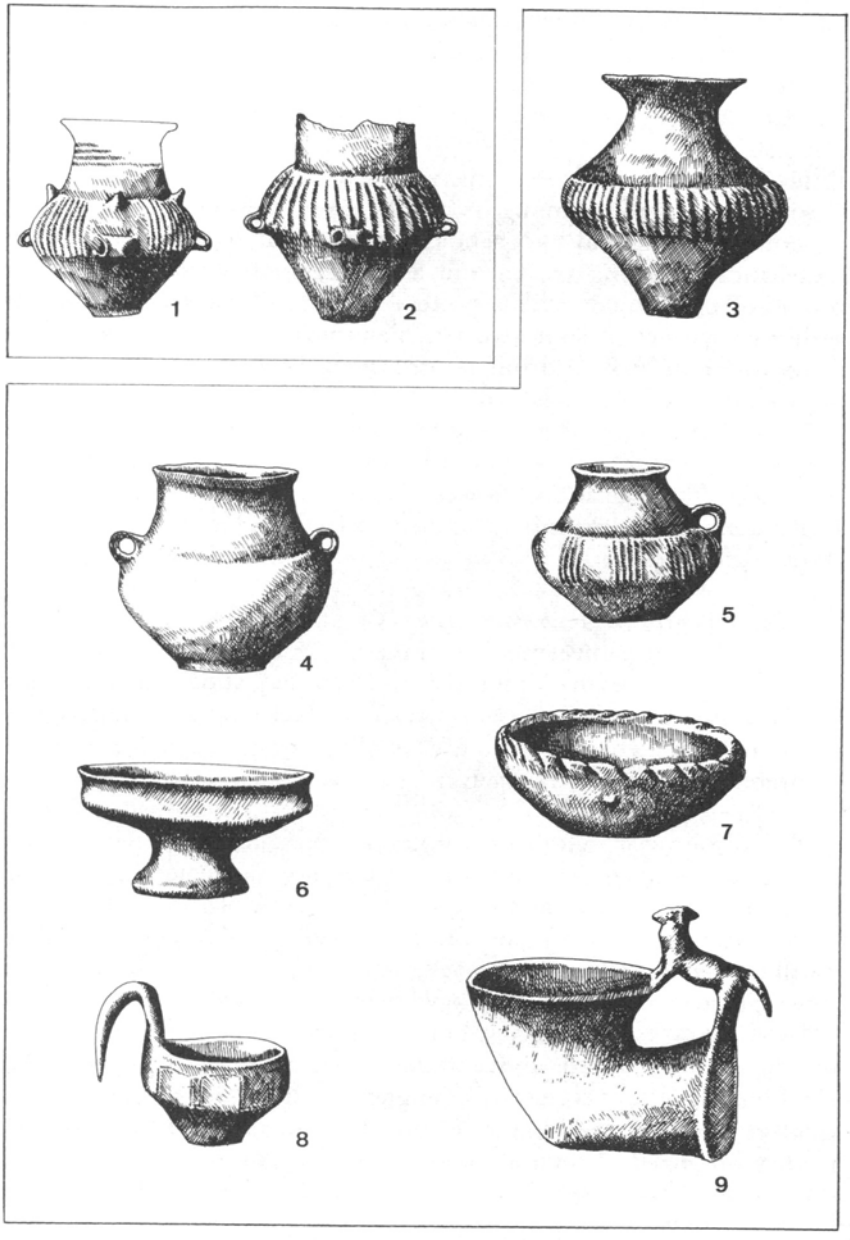

Fig. 58. Early Iron Age. South-eastern Pannonian region. 1–2: Vojvodina group: 1. Rospi Ćuprija at Belgrade; 2: Surčin; 3–9: Dalj group, Dalj. (After M. Garašanin and K. Vinski-Gasparini.)

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More ancient forms of urn have better proportions (e.g. Rospi Ćuprija grave no. 13 at Belgrade); later urns frequently have a disproportionately large neck (fig. 58, 1–2). Also there are vessels with an inverted rim, vessels with an extended tongue-shaped rim, biconical vessels, and vessels with a widely splayed rim. Plates with a facetted rim and turban dishes are characteristic. There are also low vessels with a high handle reaching over the rim, large vessels with a widely splayed rim, sometimes facetted, and vessels of the Vattina type with two handles in the tradition of Bronze Age pottery.[83] Little is known about the metal objects. Certain finds from the hoard at Jakovo and those from the settlement itself (e.g. a pin with a cudgel-like head, a razor in the shape of a *labrys*) point to an early period, Hallstatt A1.[84]

It is significant that the oldest urns have exactly the same shape as the Paraćin II urns (see above, p. 181). The same is the case in grave no. 13 of the cemetery at Rospi Ćuprija, where the pottery may be compared in its shapes with pottery at Dobrača of the very end of the Bronze Age. Thus the Vojvodina group was a direct development of the Bronze Age tradition of these regions, especially of the Vattina group. This helps to establish the origin of this group as a mixture of the local Bronze Age culture and new elements from Pannonia which were connected with the Urnfield culture.

When did this group end? At present there is nothing to indicate that it continued into the later phases of our Iron Age I, Hallstatt B, when it was replaced by the Dalj Group, named after the eponymous site in Slavonia. Material there was collected from a large cemetery without systematic excavation, but finds belonging to this group have been reported from other sites, e.g. Gomolava and Kalakača near Beška in Srem. Here the Hallstatt phases A and B were represented in one large settlement, but otherwise the Dalj group was a regional variant of a bigger complex of the Urnfield culture known as Dalj–Val–Podol.[85] We have already mentioned that certain elements of this complex appear further south in the course of Iron Age I.

As the results of recent studies are not yet published fully, we can give only the general characteristics of the group, especially its pottery, mainly from graves. There are various forms of urns with a tall or short neck, and a highly pronounced body to which hollow band-shaped handles are fixed. In addition there are smaller pedestalled bowls, globular vessels with one handle which sometimes reaches over the rim, vessels with an inverted rim and more developed forms of the turban-dish. Pronounced rippling is the main feature of ornamentation (fig. 58, 3–9). It is difficult to decide the origin of the group and its

[83] A 357, II 411–13; pl. 71, 1 (Rospi Ćuprija).

[84] A 357, II 414–16.

[85] A 400 (finds). For Kalakača see P. Medović, *Naselja starijeg gvozdenog doba u jugoslovenskom Podanavlju* (Belgrade, 1978).

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internal chronology. It is, however, certain that it is involved in the late span of Iron Age I (Hallstatt B1–B3). It ended somewhere about 700 B.C. when newcomers appeared, primarily bearers of a characteristic horse-harness, who came from the east and have been identified as the Thraco-Cimmerians.[86] It is certain that the Dalj–Val–Podol group, as we have pointed out, played a role in the formation of the groups south of the Danube, and perhaps also in the minor ethnic movements. For the present, however, it is impossible to formulate a definite assessment.

VI. HOARDS OF METAL OBJECTS[87]

Metal hoards have particular significance for chronology. Although some occurred at an earlier date, the majority of hoards in south-eastern Europe are of Iron Age I, mostly north of the Sava and Danube, but also in Bulgaria (particularly to the north of the Stara Planina), Serbia and Bosnia (although their number is much smaller than north of the Sava and Danube), Pannonia and Transylvania. Their number and their contents reflect the historical conditions of the time, especially social and economic relationships, and during Iron Age I it is no surprise that a large number of deposits indicate turbulent times, when people tended to hide valuable objects which they could not carry away.

The hoards can be divided according to their contents into the following categories: (1) Caches containing items of everyday use, such as jewellery or tools, which having been used but not damaged were hidden as valuable possessions. (2) Tradesmen's hoards of unused objects only, evidently a part of their stock intended for sale. (3) Foundry hoards containing up to several hundred kilograms of metal ware, damaged, for melting down and making into new objects. (4) Possible cult-caches in which objects of one kind only were deposited; these being not due simply to the turbulent times of Iron Age I.[88]

The contents of the hoards have formed a basis on which several chronological systems have been constructed. The most comprehensive, that of M. Rusu, divided the hoards into six chronological periods in Iron Age I, the last marking the transition to Iron Age II. Starting from his system and making certain corrections we have constructed our own chronological system, in particular for Serbia, which we shall use in what follows. A similar system of five phases for the deposits of northern Croatia and Srem has been devised by K. Vinski Gasparini.

The number of hoards of horizon I, which in the main corresponds to Bronze Age D and early Hallstatt A1 (i.e. about 1300 to after 1200 B.C.) is surprisingly small. A somewhat larger number are concentrated

[86] A 357, II 456–70, pls. 94–6.

[87] A 160; A 420; A 412; A 413; M. Petrescu-Dimboviţa, *Depozitele de bronzuri din România* (Bucharest, 1977).

[88] A 357, II 423–4; A 413.

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in the south-eastern zone of Pannonia. A particularly typical feature in these hoards are pins of variously profiled heads, pins with poppy-shaped heads, 'Peschiera' daggers, swords with a tang and pendants with bronze chainlets. Open-type bracelets with richly engraved decoration (e.g. Gučevo–Barajevo–Jajčić type) belong probably to a more developed stage of the same period.

Hoards of horizon II are most numerous. Some of the many foundry-hoards contain an extraordinarily large number of objects (e.g. the Brodski Varoš hoard in Slavonia or Trlić in Serbia). They sometimes contain older objects, damaged objects, and decorative plaques with engraved ornament; the origin of these should be sought in Transylvania. Furthermore, one finds 'Posamenterie' fibulae, flame-shaped spearheads, and celts with ribbed V-shaped decoration. These hoards are generally dated to Hallstatt A1, *c.* 1200–1100 B.C.

The number of hoards in Phase III is rather small. They contain mainly objects typical of the preceding phase, and only rarely some new forms: long spear-heads with gently curved blades, celts with angular sheafs in ribbed decoration and sickles which have a plastic rib running along the central part of the blade to the point. They are generally dated to Hallstatt A2, *c.* 1100–1000 B.C.

No hoard later than this has been identified in south-eastern Pannonia or in Serbia, but there are a few later hoards in south-western Pannonia where they belong to phase IV in the Vinski-Gasparini system.[89] There is an even smaller number in the interior of the Balkan Peninsula. We ascribed to this period the hoard from Lukavac, near Tuzla. These later hoards contain some bizarre forms of celt with angular or semi-arched ribs facing each other, the first spectacle fibulae, sickles of a regular semicircular shape, and so on.[90] They are ascribed generally to Hallstatt B1 and partly to B2, *c.* 1000–850 B.C.[91]

In phase V of the Vinski-Gasparini system the number of hoards increased. Some hoards, including Adaševac and Šarengrad in Srem and Rudovci in Central Serbia, contained pieces of Thraco-Cimmerian horse-harness. They are mainly of Hallstatt B3, *c.* 800–700 B.C., but some are later, at the very beginning of our Iron Age II.[92]

The numbers and the dates of the hoards are significant for our historical interpretation. It is probable that the hoards of the first phase may be connected with the movements of human groups in southern Pannonia, which spread farther southwards at the very beginning of Iron Age I. At that time a symbiosis must have taken place, though not peacefully, between the autochthonous elements and the newcomers of Urnfield culture. The second phase can be connected approximately

[89] A 420, 164ff; 170–3.
[90] A 413; A 357, II 431–2; A 420, *passim*.
[91] A 420, fig. 5 (characteristic shapes).
[92] A 420, pls. 130–1; A 357, pl. 96.

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with the beginning of the expansion of the Gava group in a south to south-westerly direction. The smaller number of hoards of later periods, particularly in the interior of the Balkans, points to a relatively peaceful period within Iron Age I. Only towards the end of this period did bigger changes take place, caused by the penetration of the Thraco-Cimmerians, who introduced a new way of life and new elements of material culture. These phenomena mark the end of Iron Age I.

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CHAPTER 15

ILLYRIS, EPIRUS AND MACEDONIA IN THE EARLY IRON AGE

N. G. L. HAMMOND

I. GEOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION

The mountainous terrain of the South-west Balkans is divided into sections by two watersheds. One separates the waters of the Danube basin from those flowing into the Adriatic–Sicilian sea and the Aegean, and the other the waters entering the Adriatic from those entering the Aegean. These two watersheds meet at a gigantic bastion, the Šar Planina, with peaks of 2,764 m and 2,702 m. To early geographers it was a part of the Haemus range, and in later writers it had its own name, Mount Scardus. To the west of the Šar Planina the mountainous masses of Montenegro and northern Albania extend towards the Adriatic coast. Here, if you travel from north to south (or vice versa), there is one possible but difficult route running above the valley of the White Drin from Peć to Kukës, and there is one easy route via the Zeta valley from Titograd to Shkodër (Scodra). Because of its great strategic value, the Zeta valley was the centre of the Ardiaean kingdom in the Hellenistic period and of the Serb kingdom of Stefan Dušan in the Middle Ages. To the east of the Šar Planina and to the north of the headwaters of the Vardar (Axius) and its tributaries, there are in the watershed range two low cols, separated from one another by the Crna Gora (1651 m), and it is over these cols that the easy routes run from the headwaters of the Ibar and the Morava to those of the Vardar. The westernmost of the two routes is named the Kačanik route, and the eastern the Preševo route (the names being taken from near-by villages). Today the main motor-road uses the former, and the railway uses the latter. In ancient times the Kačanik route was more in favour, because the descent down the Ibar valley is easy, whereas the Morava flows through difficult defiles. To the east of Preševo there is no pass until that between Sofia and the headwaters of the Struma (Strymon) via Radomir. This pass is much less easy than either the Preševo or the Kačanik pass.

The other watershed, that which runs southwards from the Šar Planina to Mount Helicon on the Gulf of Corinth, is formed sometimes by a single massive range such as the Šar Planina or North Pindus, and sometimes by a system of parallel ranges such as encloses the lakes named

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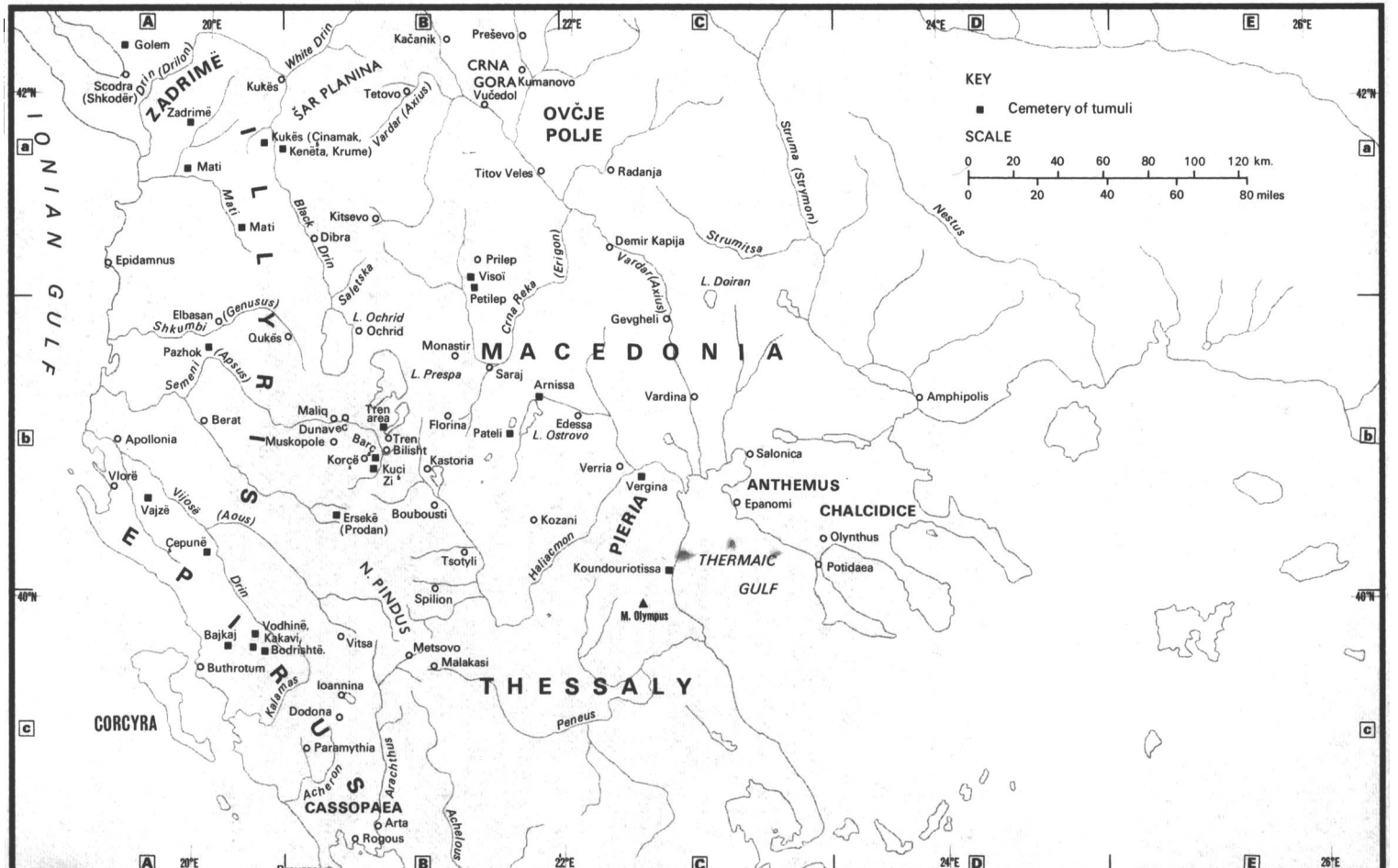

Map 19. Illyris, Epirus and Macedonia in the Early Iron Age.

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after Ochrid, Prespa and Maliq or the long valley of the Achelous and its tributaries. Over this watershed there is no easy pass at all. The least arduous routes run as follows: from Dibra in the west to Kitsevo (Uscana) in the east, crossing the southern end of the Šar Planina; from Qukës on the upper Shkumbi (Genusus) to Monastir near the Crna Reka (Erigon), crossing three parallel ranges; from Berat or Leskoviq to Florina or Kastoria, crossing three parallel ranges to reach Florina and two to reach Kastoria; from Metsovo to Malakasi, crossing North Pindus by the Zygos pass (1,705 m); and from Arta (Ambracia) to the Thessalian plain or the Spercheus valley via Agrapha ('the unwritten lands') where three or more parallel ranges have to be crossed. During an average winter all these routes may be blocked by snow for months at a time.

The settled populations on the west side of the watershed have always been cut off from those on the east side, understandably. Indeed when major powers grew up contemporaneously in Epirus on the west side and in Macedonia on the east side, they expanded outwards into Italy and into Asia. Attempts at any time to hold areas just on the other side of the watershed were as rare as they were short-lived. But with nomadic and semi-nomadic peoples the position was and to some extent still is different. Whenever large numbers of sheep are kept in the South-west Balkans, it is necessary to practise transhumance, that is to move the flocks between the lowland pastures near the coast and the upland pastures in the watershed range or ranges twice a year, up in April–May and down in September–October. The nomadic and semi-nomadic shepherds who move with the flocks meet one another on the high pastures of the lakeland, for instance, or of North Pindus, even if they spend the winter months far apart on the coastal plains of Albania or Epirus or Thessaly or Macedonia. It is there where they congregate together that the shepherd peoples have always created their centres. The most notable of these in the eighteenth century, for instance, were at Muskopole and Shipiska near Lake Maliq, at Samarina in North Pindus and at Metsovo near the Zygos pass. The activities of the pastoral peoples have not always been as peaceful as they are today. Illyrians, Vlachs and Albanians carried their raids deep into the rich plains of Macedonia, Thessaly and central Greece at various times. Thus in A.D. 1160 when the Jewish traveller, Benjamin of Tudela, visited Thessaly he reported of the inhabitants of Wallachia (northern Greece generally) that 'they are as nimble as deer and descend from the mountains into the plains of Greece, committing robberies and taking booty, and nobody ventures to make war on them'.

The chief obstacle to movement from north to south (and vice versa) was provided until quite recently by the large and fast-flowing rivers

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of the northern part of our area. Anyone who travelled along the flat coastal plains of Albania from Scodra (Shkodër) to Valona (Vlorë) had to use boats or build bridges in order to cross the Drin (Drilon), Mati, Shkumbi (Genusus), Semeni (Apsus) and Vijosë (Aous), which caused immense floods in the late spring as the snows began to melt on the higher ground. The mountains inland of the coastal plains were also severe impediments because they were tangled with one another and some ranges ran at right angles to the coast. But the lakeland provided a regular highway. Its rivers were too small to impede progress except at flood-time, and it offered easy going through its extensive plains from Trebenište in the north to Bilisht and Dunavec in the south. It was easy to enter the lakeland from the north, both on the west side of the watershed via the Drin valley and on the east side from the col above Kačanik via Tetovo (west of the Vardar), Kitsevo (Uscana) and the Saletska valley. Nor was it difficult to move from Bilisht into the upper Haliacmon valley and from Dunavec to Leskoviq and the upper Aous valley, for the passes were relatively low and the rivers small.

To the east of the lakeland there was only one north-to-south route which avoided the large rivers. Beginning from Kačanik and passing via Tetovo to Kitsevo, this route proceeded through the Monastir Gap and then via Lake Ostrovo and Edessa to the coastal plain of Macedonia. The next route to the east, whether one started from the Kačanik pass or the Preševo pass, ran on the east side of the Vardar river and involved the crossing or circumvention of its large eastern tributaries. Moreover, the long gorge of the Vardar, known as the Demir Kapija, was impassable in the period we are considering and a long detour was necessary in order to get past it. One then emerged into the coastal plain on the east side of the Vardar which itself barred progress to the west and south.

Among the regions which make up the South-west Balkans the lakeland occupies a commanding position. It is remarkably elevated, its lakes being more than 800 m above sea level and its enclosing mountains often exceeding 2,000 m. It is unusually rich in agricultural land, pasture, fishing and hunting, and it is at the centre of good longitudinal and latitudinal routes. In terms of physical geography the lakeland can be assigned with equal plausibility to Albania, southern Yugoslavia or Macedonia, and it is now split between all three for reasons of international politics. In ancient times it went often with the north, because its hard winter was more tolerable to northerners, who had experience of wintry conditions, than to southerners, who enjoyed a warmer winter.

Macedonia, which is defined for the present purpose as the catchment area of the rivers Haliacmon and Vardar, consists of very large and

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fertile lacustrine basins (some totally drained), which are each enclosed on one or more sides by very high mountain ranges. The basins which are more than 600 m above sea level (e.g. Lake Kastoria and Lake Ostrovo) make up the region which is known as 'Upper Macedonia'. The low-lying basins, some 200 m above sea level, are mainly to the east of the Vardar (e.g. Ovčje Polje). And the lowest basin of all, that between Mount Olympus and western Chalcidice, has been partly captured by the sea. The parts which have not been drowned are the Pierian plain, the central plain, and the mouth of the Anthemus valley (south of Thessalonica). In early times when the lacustrine basins were heavily forested and harboured herds of aurochs and large beasts of prey, Macedonia was very similar in its resources to Albania and Epirus. But when the plains were cleared of trees, drained and irrigated, agriculture flourished and Macedonia became far richer than its neighbours. In addition it had mineral resources – gold, silver, copper and iron – which were mainly in districts east of the Vardar, and vast areas of timber accessible from the coast.

Illyris, a term different from Illyria and Illyricum, was that part of Albania which lies north of the lower and middle Vijosë valley, and during most epochs it included much of the lakeland area. The economy of Illyris, like that of Albania until very recently, was based on stock-raising and pastoralism. Transhumance flourished. As the rainfall on the west side of the watershed is twice that on the east side, Illyris had the sweetest and most abundant lowland pastures in the South-west Balkans. And the shepherds of that area had access to the whole of the lakeland area until the present international frontiers were imposed. Timber too was abundant, indeed unlimited, but only in some areas was it close to the sea. The Mati valley in particular had deposits of copper and iron, and of some other minerals which were not used in ancient times. On the other hand arable land was in short supply until the coastal plains were converted by scientific methods from swampy pasturelands into rich ploughlands.

Epirus is different again. The coast is formed by a generally lofty mountain range of limestone. Three coastal plains have access to the sea: one inland of Butrinto (Buthrotum), the plain of the lower Acheron, and the plain between Preveza and Arta (Ambracia). These plains have rich soil, but they are small in extent as compared with the plains of Illyris and Macedonia. The interior of Epirus is characterized by its four limestone ranges, which run parallel both to the coast and to the watershed. They make west-to-east passage difficult. As the ranges are crammed together for most of their length, the valley bottoms are constricted and have little arable land, and some of them in south Epirus degenerate into impassable gorges. Pastoralism and

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stock-raising have always predominated in Epirus, and the oak-scrub which is very widespread provides additional winter fodder. The transhumance of sheep is practised on a very large scale, and there is a considerable trade in timber which is brought from far inland to the coast. The richest parts of inland Epirus are the Drin valley and the lacustrine basin of Ioannina (500 m above sea level). The main north-to-south route ran through these districts. Starting from Valona one ascended the Vijosë valley, the Drin valley and the Kseria valley and crossed by an easy pass into the basin of the upper Kalamas. This river was crossed by a natural rock bridge, known as the Theogephyra, and another easy pass gave access to the basin of Ioannina and Dodona. From there different routes led to Rogous (Buchetium) and Arta (Ambracia) on the north shore of the Gulf of Arta. The country has no minerals and a deficiency of arable land. Epirus has always been the poor neighbour of Illyris, Macedonia and Thessaly, and its dependence on transhumant pastoralism has caused its shepherds to move into parts of western Thessaly, western Macedonia and the southern lakeland in pursuit of additional pastures. This has led to a sharing of some customs and outlooks with her neighbours but also on occasions to competition and war.

Illyris, Macedonia and Epirus have much more in common with one another than with the Greek peninsula. Their climate on the whole is continental, whereas that of the Greek peninsula is Mediterranean, and their livelihood has depended until very recently on pastoralism and stock-raising rather than on arboriculture, agriculture and maritime trade. Yet their coastal areas approximate to the Mediterranean climate. The olive, for instance, flourishes at Valona and Preveza and in Chalcidice, but it is not found inland of Elbasan, Paramythia and parts of the coastal plain of Macedonia.[1]

II. ARCHAEOLOGICAL DISCOVERIES IN ILLYRIS

Practically nothing was known about Illyris before the Second World War. Since then Albanian scholars have conducted extensive excavations and, what is almost more important, they have published their discoveries with exemplary speed. The reports are indeed brief, but taken together they enable us to draw a general picture which is based upon some twenty-five years of excavation.

The bulk of the evidence has come from burials in tumuli. It was

[1] Geographical descriptions in J. Cvijić, 'Grundlinien der Geographie und Geologie von Makedonien und Altserbien', *Petermanns Mitteilungen*, Ergänzungsheft Nr 162 (Gotha, 1908); and A 490, 1–45; A 491, I 3–18; A 492. For recent changes in Albania see F. W. Carter in *Revue Géographique de l'Est* 13 (1973), 453f.

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particularly difficult to interpret that evidence in the days when the first tumuli were being investigated, but by now some hundreds of tumuli have been excavated in Albania, south Yugoslavia and Greek Macedonia. Some introductory remarks are desirable, and we cannot do better than begin with Homer. Whereas the cremated remains of the ordinary man in the Trojan War were to be taken home to his parents in Greece, the great man was honoured by being buried under a tumulus (*Il.* VII.333f and XXIII.151). When the pyre was quenched with wine (XXIII.237 and XXIV.791), the male mourners – including the 'companions'-in-war – collected the white bones of the cremated corpse, put them in an urn and laid it in a grave (a 'hut' or mortuary chamber in the case of Patroclus and a trench in the case of Hector). The urn was covered with a veil in one case and with a purple cloth in the other (a veil is portrayed on the neck of the urn in fig. 59.4). As Achilles planned to have his own remains placed with those of Patroclus, he devised a double tumulus, the first to be made for Patroclus and the second for himself. A line was used to draw the periphery of the first tumulus, foundation-stones were laid (on the periphery) round the pyre, and the soil was heaped up to form the first tumulus, which was relatively small (XXIII.245 and 252f); and the second tumulus, raised on top of the first, was to be a large one in honour of them both (XXIII.126 and 247). In the case of Hector's corpse a cairn of large stones was erected over the trench, and the tumulus of soil was made over the cairn (XXIV.797f.); this then was a single tumulus. Sacrifices were made to Patroclus on the pyre, including jars of oil and honey (these were usually placed in the grave and not on the pyre in the excavated tumuli). A funerary feast preceded the burial of Patroclus, and one followed the burial of Hector.

Double tumuli have been excavated, first one at Vodhinë in north Epirus[2] and later two at Pazhok,[3] the first (inner) tumulus in each case being covered over with stones. The original burial lay at the centre of the inner tumulus; it was in a trench covered with a cairn of stones at Vodhinë, and in mortuary chambers, stone-lined, at Pazhok, one being circular and the other rectangular. Sacrifices included an ox at Pazhok. But the great majority of tumuli in our area were single, some twenty metres in diameter and up to three metres high, and each tumulus received a considerable number of subsequent burials, sometimes exceeding a hundred. The subsequent burials were made by digging a shaft down into the tumulus and making a burial at the foot of the shaft, which was then refilled with soil; such operations led easily to the displacement of objects in an earlier burial which happened to be disturbed by the diggers, and no such thing as significant stratification existed since a burial might be at any depth. Only the central burial belonged to the original making of the tumulus.

[2] A 458. [3] A 443, 95–7.

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Fig. 59. Transitional and Early Iron Age objects from Illyris and Epirus: 1, bronze pin, engraved, length 44 cm (Barç); 2, ring with spiralling ends, on finger-bone (Barç); 3, kantharos with grooving on shoulder (Pazhok); 4, wheel-made burial urn from tumulus (Barç); 5, iron knife with bronze rivet (Kakavi); 6, votive bronze sheet in shape of axe with lateral projections (Dodona); 7, double-spiral ornament (Çinamak); 8, double-spiral ornament (Dodona); 9, pot with nipples and *anse biforé* (probably Bulçar).

Sources for drawings: 1, *Bul. Ark.* 1974, 29.1; 2, *ibid.* 29.2; 3, *ibid.* 39.3; 4, author's sketch of pot in Tirana Museum; 5, A 490, fig. 27.1; 6, *ibid.*, fig. 28.9; 7, *Bul. Ark.* 1969, 49.3; 8, A 490, fig. 28.7; 9, 69.3.

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Cemeteries containing large numbers of tumuli have been reported in the Zadrimë plain, the lower valley of the Fand and that of the Mati in north-west Albania. Although thirty-six tumuli were excavated in the Mati valley, bronze weapons, as distinct from innumerable iron weapons, were found in only two tumuli;[4] and there only in the central grave of each tumulus. In each case the tumulus had evidently been raised in honour of a 'hero', most probably well within the Bronze Age, as I have argued elsewhere;[5] the other thirty-four tumuli covered the Early Iron Age, when men believed they had some connexion with the two 'heroes'. The same phenomenon occurred at Burrel in the Mati valley, where the most conspicuous tumulus in a group of tumuli was excavated. It proved to be a double, perhaps a triple tumulus, and the central burial in the inmost tumulus differed from all the others in that it lay within a ring of stones and was covered over with stones (the excavators comparing it to the inner burial of the largest tumulus at Pazhok). The only finds in this burial were two vases with rounded bottoms, one having four pierced lugs and the other crude handles set below the rim; there was nothing like them in the other burials. They closely resemble Middle Helladic pottery found in cremation burials at the Vodhinë double tumulus (*BSA* 66,233 and plate 35. 1–4) and in R 10*c*, for instance, at Leucas (*BSA* 69,138). The other seventy-eight burials, though much later, were evidently made in honour of some 'hero'.[6]

The Early Iron Age burials had many iron spears, swords, knives and battle-axes; vases, usually small, on which decoration was made by striation rather than by paint; and vases decorated with grooving 'which often covered not only the body but also the handles, sometimes giving them the appearance of the ribbed horn of a goat'.[7] This Grooved ware, associated with Knobbed ware, has been found farther north at Gajtan, a settlement near Scodra (Shkodër), and to the south at Pazhok (see fig. 59.3) and elsewhere; both wares are characteristic of the so-called Lausitz culture which entered the South-west Balkans in the twelfth century and spread into parts of Albania, north Epirus and Macedonia (via Mediana, above, p. 595). There are also non-Lausitz elements, such as the love of weapons and the preference for amber, which persisted after the decline of the Lausitz influence. These represent the presence of a different people who stayed on for many centuries.

[4] A 443, 101–4, 'Mycenaean swords', knives and fibulae, pls. XII–XIV, 1–2. Kilian (A 361, 20) gives information of LH IIIC/EIA objects still unpublished.

[5] A 438, with reference to Albanian publications; for the opposing view, that bronze swords etc. were made concurrently with iron swords etc. in the full Iron Age, see A 501.

[6] D. Kurti, 'Premiers résultats des fouilles du tumulus "Suka e Lepurit" à Burrel', *SA* 1972, 1, 155f; the two MH vases are evidently those at the top of fig. 2 on p. 157.

[7] A 443, 103. Examples in A 514, 50–1.

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The foundation legend of Epidamnus (Dyrrachium), situated on the coast south-west of the Mati valley, puts names to the peoples who held the site: first Heracles, then the Brygi (proposed as the bearers of the Lausitz culture in *CAH* II.2, 709f), then the Taulantii 'an Illyrian tribe', then the Liburni (another Illyrian tribe), and finally the Greek colonists (*c.* 627 B.C.). Proceeding backwards, we know that the Liburni expanded southwards in the ninth century[8] and we can put the arrival of the Taulantii at Epidamnus tentatively not later than the tenth century. If the appearance of forms of tumulus-burial in Peucetia first and in Picenum later was due to settlement by Illyrian peoples, as seems probable, we should put their coming to Peucetia after the Illyrian occupation of Epidamnus; for the best crossing to Bari in Peucetia was from Epidamnus (now Durrës). There too a date around 1000 B.C. is possible.[9]

At Pazhok, situated where the Shkumbi comes close to the Semeni, a cemetery of some twenty-five tumuli has been reported. Those first excavated – two double and one single – were of the Bronze Age; the burials in five more covered the period *c.* 1300–700 B.C. For example, Burial 52 in Tumulus A, 24 m in diameter, contained a two-handled kantharos with decorative grooving running round the shoulder (see fig. 59.3) and a bronze knife with three rivets set in a triangle and a back-turning tip, which the excavator dated to LH IIIB or C; the grooving then was an early instance of Lausitz influence. Later burials yielded an iron sword of Glasinac type (similar to one from Kuçi Zi Tumulus I), a bronze spectacle fibula, bronze buttons or tutuli, and necklaces with some amber beads; also a gold hair-coil like those at Barç and in the Mati valley. There were some burials of the Hellenistic and Roman periods.[10]

Several large cemeteries of tumuli have been investigated near Çinamak (67 tumuli), Këneta and Krume, all in the upper Drin (ancient Drilon) between Kukës and Dibra. Albanian scholars have noted features common to these tumulus-burials and those of the Mati valley, such as the breaking and scattering of pots during the construction of the upper part of the tumulus (perhaps in the refilling of shafts), the covering of the burials with stones usually of moderate size, and the love of amber.[11] They have dated them generally to within a period extending from the Late Bronze Age to the latter part of the fourth

[8] See S. Batović, 'Die Eisenzeit auf den Gebiet des illyrischen Stammes der Liburnen', in *AI* 6.

[9] Account in D. Randall-MacIver, *The Iron Age in Italy* (Oxford, 1927), 144 and 241f; R. Pittioni, *Italien: urgeschichtliche Kulturen* (Stuttgart, 1962), 275 and 359, doubts Illyrian settlement in Italy, but M. Garašanin, in *Starinar* 19 (1968), 295, regards the settlement of 'Proto-Illyrians' as assured, and dates the earliest examples to the eleventh century at Santa Sabina. Above, pp. 231 and 607.

[10] N. Bodinaku, Reports on Pazhok, in *Bul. Arkë.* 1974, 32f, with illustrations.

[11] A 498, 92; A 497; A 496. Also A 502, 25–8, and A 361, 52.

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century B.C. But the central burial of Tumulus I at Çinamak was unique in that the burial was in a pit, sunk 60 cm into virgin soil, rectangular in shape and lined with stones, as in a Middle Helladic burial in the centre of a double tumulus at Pazhok; a bronze dagger of Mycenaean type was found beside it. In one burial there was an iron knife with a curving back and a bronze rivet (as in fig. 59.5), and in another there was a double spiral ornament, shown in fig. 59.7, which is a variant of the ornaments dedicated at Dodona (see below, p. 641).

The name 'Illyrian' which the Greeks applied to their neighbours in the north-west area seems to have originated in a tribe of 'Illyrii' resident in classical times near the mouth of the Drin (Drilon) and described as *Illyrii proprie dicti*.[12] At some time they were probably the southernmost outliers of the tribes which held the Zeta valley, and as such they may have been the immediate neighbours of Greek-speaking tribes in the Bronze Age. If so, they were leap-frogged by the Taulantii, to whom the Illyrian name was then extended. The movements of these tribes may be reflected in a genealogy which made Cyclops the father of Illyrius (Appian, *Illyr.* 2), an indignity indicating a Greek invention perhaps conceived at Epidamnus. The children of Illyrius included Taulas, ancestor of the Taulantii, Encheleus, ancestor of the Encheleae who lived north of Lake Ochrid and held the upper valley of the Drin, and Partho, ancestress of the Parthini who held the middle and upper valley of the Shkumbi. It is likely that all these tribes moved into these habitats in the late eleventh or early tenth century B.C. Their natural routes of entry from the north were via the Zeta valley to Scodra and via the White Drin region to Kukës. Hill-fortresses near Scodra and near Kukës have been associated with incoming Illyrian tribes.

In the southern part of the lakeland a very large tumulus, 41 m in diameter, has been partly excavated by Zhaneta Andrea at Barç near Korçë.[13] A complete ring of stones marked the original circumference, and the central burial was of the Albanian Early Bronze Age (see above, p. 214). Of the burials so far found, 181 in number, some were cremations and the rest inhumations. Burials in the tumulus were either in a simple trench or in a trench lined with several layers of field stones, or in an urn laid in a simple trench. The tumulus has so far yielded a flame-shaped spear-head, a dagger and two swords, all of bronze. One of these, a short sword of Mycenaean form but provincial make, was in the company of Mycenaean vases, one being an imported stirrup-jar of LH IIIC style: the excavator dated this burial to the second half of the twelfth century B.C. and has dated another burial to *c.* 1200 B.C.[14] The latest burials were around 850 B.C. Thus the tumulus, apart from

[12] A 507; A 495. For another explanation see above, p. 586.

[13] A 482; A 481.

[14] Z. Andrea in *Bul. Ark.* 1971, 35–6 and figs. I.1 and III.4; Kilian (A 361, 42) dates to the Submycenaean period.

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the central burial, was in use for over three hundred years. We should think of members of a ruling class rather than of a ruling family. The offerings included diadems of fine bronze sheet, hair-spirals of gold wire, mother-of-pearl beads, amber beads, red-and-white stones, bronze rings with spiralling ends (see fig. 59.2), bronze buttons, bronze tweezers, long bronze pins (see fig. 59.1), a few bronze pins with a roll top (*Rollenkopfnadeln*) and spectacle fibulae usually of the early category called Ig. The pottery was decorated mainly in the 'North-west Geometric style' or 'Devollian style' (see above, p. 222), which originated in this area; an unusual urn with a veil represented on the neck is shown in fig. 59.4. The shapes included examples of Knobbed ware, some with large horn-like knobs and others with small nipples. Twin-vases and triple-vases were not uncommon, and some pots had a high handle divided by a bridge (*anse biforé*, as in fig. 59.9).[15] The connexions of this tumulus were not with the weapon-loving tumuli of the Mati valley and the Kukës area but with the tumuli of north Epirus, to which we shall come shortly. At the same time the Lausitz elements show the presence of some Brygi, and the statements of Ps.-Scymnus and Strabo that there were Brygi adjacent to the Encheleae fit into the general picture.[16]

Two tumuli at Kuçi Zi, some eight kilometres from Barç, have been excavated by the same scholar.[17] Only one of them, 29 m in diameter, falls within our period. It contained five cremations in urns and many inhumations in simple trenches or in stone-lined trenches. The burials were remarkable for the very large number of iron weapons – spear-heads, arrow-heads, swords, knives and choppers (*couperets*); the ornaments were of bronze, being heavy bracelets of the Janjevo type, cylindrical bronze beads and pendants, some with a bird or a crouching man on the top of a cage. The closest analogies were with objects found in Kosovo and the region of Glasinac, where there are huge cemeteries of tumuli, and we may see here the southerly extension of a Central Illyrian culture. As one of the sons of Illyrius was Dardanus, we may conjecture that the rulers of the Korçë plain throughout the eighth century and somewhat later were Dardanians. As the century wore on, less pottery was decorated in the 'North-west Geometric' style. Greek fibulae of Blinkenberg's Class VIII and imported Corinthian pottery were important for the dating. The level of prosperity in this period was lower than the levels in the preceding period and the succeeding period, in the opinion of the excavator.

[15] For such a handle on a pot with knobs, decorated in North-west Geometric style, see A 514, 30.

[16] Ps.-Scymnus 434f and Str. 326; the latter discussed in A 490, 466f.

[17] A 480; M. Korkuti, 'Fouilles archéologiques en Albanie 1967–9', *SA* 1971, 1, 151f; and in A 502, 28.

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An open settlement with small rectangular huts of trellis-work is being excavated at Belsh, south of Elbasan; this phase is provisionally dated to the eleventh and tenth centuries. At Gajtan, near Shkodër, a settlement site is fortified with a wall three and a half metres thick, faced on both sides with rough-hewn stones and filled with rubble, and similar sites at the exits from the Maliq–Korçë–Poloskë plain are fortified. These have been attributed by Albanian scholars to the Early Iron Age.[18] Of the latter group two are at Symizë and Bellovodë on the west side of the plain; one is at Bilisht in the south; and there is a remarkable group of sites round the village of Tren guarding the passage through the Wolf's Pass (Gryke e Ujkut) at the toe of Lake Little Prespa (Ventrokut). It is evident that this passage marked an important route in antiquity. At the entry from the plain a site called Kalaja e Shpelles has been excavated by Muzafer Korkuti, who uncovered a wall over three metres wide, made of stones up to a metre in length, which ran for ninety metres along one side of the site. Defences were not needed on the other sides, which were steep. Within the site there were some sherds of imported Greek Protogeometric and Geometric pottery, some local pottery decorated in the North-west Geometric style, some Grooved ware, and pieces of bronze pendants such as were found at Kuçi Zi in Tumulus I. Korkuti dated the occupation of the site to the ninth and eighth centuries B.C. Another site on the other side of the Ventrok canal had a wall of defence on one side only; it was built in the same manner and had an outer face which sloped slightly inwards. Behind the wall were two small tumuli, each on a high point of the steep ridge. I visited these two sites in 1972 and thought them to be more or less contemporary. Just beyond Wolf's Pass, beside the lake, there are two larger tumuli; and above them a settlement on a low hill, Gradishta e Shuecit, is fortified with an *agger*. Such fortification has been found in Bosnia, and this is the only example south of Bosnia. It seems then that we should attribute these sites and fortifications to the Dardanians whose kings were buried at Kuçi Zi in Tumulus I *c.* 800–700 B.C.[19]

Finally, on the route from the lakeland to north Epirus there are many tumuli in the high plateau of Ersekë, 1,030 m above sea level, where there are summer pastures for transhumant shepherds. At Prodan, just south of Ersekë, close to the main road, two tumuli were opened, and the earliest datable finds, a bronze sword and two bronze knives of 'Mycenaean' type, were attributed by the excavator to LH IIIC and the twelfth century B.C. Burials in these two tumuli extended to the eighth

[18] A 499; and G. Karaiskaj in *Monumentet* 14 (1977), 19ff. See also A 493, 69f.

[19] So Korkuti in *SA* 1971, 1, 152; A 361, 48, a century later. The eighth and seventh centuries are probable.

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or seventh century B.C., the objects for the later phase resembling those found at Kuçi Zi in Tumulus I. Many bronze pins, from 10 cm to 38 cm in length, with heads of several shapes, were reported; they usually had a nodal swelling below the head and were engraved there with meanders, as at Barç and Vajzë. There were also spectacle fibulae.[20] Burials were lined with stones and covered with stones, inhumation being the main rite; cremated remains were in a trench, a round pit, or urns.

III. ANCIENT REMAINS IN EPIRUS

The tumuli of north Epirus were among the first to be excavated. The reports made by the excavator, Frano Prendi, are fuller and more precise than any other reports, but the interpretation of the burials in the 1950s and in particular the dating of them was difficult and became controversial. Since then some hundreds of tumuli have been excavated in Albania, southern Yugoslavia, Macedonia and peninsular Greece, and a study of the new evidence made it possible for the present writer to put forward a tentative chronological framework for Iron Age objects found in tumulus-burials of Macedonia and adjacent areas.[21] This will be applied now to the finds of North Epirus.

Two sites, Vajzë and Vodhinë, had tumuli which were first constructed and used in the Middle Bronze Age, if not earlier, and were then re-used towards the end of the Late Bronze Age and on into the Early Iron Age, presumably by people who claimed some connexion with the original 'heroes'.[22] In the period of re-use the bronze weapons and ornaments from these and other tumuli – swords, spear-heads and long pins – were unusual in being engraved and in having distinctive features such as facetting on the socket of a javelin-head, and this has led to the conclusion that an independent metal-working establishment existed in the northern area (see above, pp. 224f), and that it produced short swords with some Mycenaean features but with other aspects which were 'uncanonical' in terms of Aegean archaeology.[23] Such an establishment must have had access to copper, which was present in the Mati valley, in Metohija-Kosovo and in areas east of the Vardar. Of these the most likely is Metohija-Kosovo, where copper was first mined

[20] S. Alui and V. Qirjaqi, 'Varreza tumulare e Prodanit', *Bul. Ark.* 1974, 49f, and *Iliria* 3 (1975), 422, both without illustrations. The sword is compared to one from Vajzë, sword J in *BSA* 66 (1971), 234, and to another from Barç; both have features of H. W. Catling's category 'Group II Developed' and also local characteristics.

[21] A 491, I 385–99.

[22] A 458, and A 459. Both are summarized and discussed in A 490, 201f, 228f, with further references in the Index. The datings I suggested are supported by Kilian (A 361, 20).

[23] On the swords see A 487, 89–104; on the swords and other objects A 438.

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in the Eneolithic period. Trade from there to north Epirus would have passed through the lakeland, where similar objects in bronze have been found at Barç and Kuçi Zi.

The following tumuli have been excavated in north Epirus: four tumuli (all that there were) at Vajzë, which lies beside a route from the Gulf of Valona to the Aous valley; one of six tumuli near Dukat, south-east of the Gulf of Valona, on the route southwards; one tumulus at Çepunë near Kardhiq on the west side of the Drin valley, through which the main route runs; four tumuli out of large cemeteries of tumuli at Vodhinë, Kakavi and Bodrishtë, situated quite close together in the Kseria valley, through which the main route in antiquity ran on to Dodona; one tumulus at Bajkaj near Delvino by the route from the plain of Butrinto to the Drin valley.[24] Although many more tumuli await excavation, it has become clear that the rulers of these districts in Epirus had a common culture and that their contacts and affinities were rather with the rulers of the Korçë plain at Barç than with those of the Mati valley. Yet they were distinct from the peoples of South Epirus, where tumuli have been found only recently (below, p. 636).

At Vajzë Tumulus A and Tumulus B were re-used in the Late Bronze Age and in the Early Iron Age, and Tumulus C and Tumulus D were constructed first probably in the Early Iron Age. A and B had several graves which contained long bronze pins only, usually a pair to a grave but sometimes a single specimen; D had four graves, each with a single pin. The long pins were often engraved with zig-zags, and some modification of dress was presumably responsible for the change from a pair of pins to the evidently later practice of using a single pin on the dress of the corpse. Similar long bronze pins have been reported from graves at Leskoviq and were found in the tumulus at Barç; they occur less frequently in Macedonia and only in some of the earliest burials at Vergina, which belong, on the dating proposed here, to the eleventh century B.C.. As these long pins with their small top and slight swelling a little way down from the top were apparently designed to hold a wrap-over garment of heavy cloth, such as the *kapa* worn today by nomadic shepherds, it is likely that they went out of use at Vergina when a settled community developed on a low-lying site, but continued in use in pastoral areas. In north Epirus their life seems to have run on until the invention of the spectacle fibulae and the iron pin. Now Tumulus A Grave 9 at Vajzë had a pair of long bronze pins and a single iron pin with a funnel-shaped top, presumably from two persons buried within the same period; and the outer tumulus at Vodhinë had a grave with a long bronze pin, engraved with zig-zags, and a bronze spectacle

[24] A 429; Korkuti in A 502, 29f; *SA* 1971, 1, 153f; A 509; A 428; A 488.

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fibula of the Ig class which was early in the series. At Vergina the earliest iron pins were about 800 B.C. and the earliest spectacle fibula of this class about 950–900 B.C.

At Vajzë three warrior-graves remain to be considered. Tumulus C Grave 2 contained long iron pins, an unusually long olive-leaf-shaped spear-head of iron (37·5 cm) and two bronze beads, objects which, on the basis of chronology in Macedonia, date the burial to within the period 800–600 B.C. Tumulus A Grave 2 contained a twisted pin of iron, a knife of iron, pierced biconical bronze beads and a pierced reel of bronze, biconical in shape with collared ends; and this burial should be dated likewise within the same span. Tumulus A Grave 8 contained an iron sword of the slashing variety, 85 cm long, a bronze spear-head of the flame-shaped class, 37 mushroom-shaped bronze buttons, which were pierced to hold a hemispherical rivet, and two rectangular plaques of shaped bone. As the plaques were most probably belt ornaments of a protective kind, it is likely that the buttons strengthened a leather jerkin. The buttons had an early form of fitting. The inventory of this burial may be compared with that of a burial in the only tumulus so far excavated at Kakavi. There a slab-lined cist-grave at ground level was roofed with a large slab, and the tumulus, 16 m in diameter, was constructed over a circular wall three stones high, within which the ground was paved with limestone flags. The warrior had a bronze sword with a fish-tailed top (like that found at Barç), a small iron knife with one bronze rivet (fig. 59.5),[25] a pair of iron tweezers 5 cm long, two sheets of bronze plaque rectangular in shape with a hole at each corner for a rivet, and a piece of bone plaque incised with two sets of concentric circles, at the centres of which there was a hole for a nail. It seems that this warrior wore the same sort of reinforced belt and reinforced jerkin as the warrior of Vajzë A8. Both graves, Vajzë A8 and Kakavi I, belong to the first stage in the use of iron when it was employed alongside bronze. If we follow the sequence in Macdeonia, the iron tweezers indicate a date not later than 900–800 B.C.; but the *argumentum ex absentia* in another region is far from conclusive in archaeology, and the two graves may be somewhat earlier.[26]

Near Dukat a double tumulus consisted of an inner tumulus of stones, one metre high and ten metres in diameter, and an outer, larger tumulus of soil with a *peribolos* of stones. The earliest burials were under the stones, and the next were let into the upper part of the stones; the first burials in the outer tumulus were cist-tombs. The construction of the original tumulus was dated by the excavator to the Late Bronze Age, and its contents included a bronze diadem, as at Barç, leaf-shaped

[25] For other such knives see A 350, 61; and A 490, 358.

[26] For a summary see A 490, 346–50 and fig. 26; and A 361, 46, dating to the Geometric period.

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javelin-heads and a leaf-shaped spear-head of bronze, as at Vajzë and Bajkaj, which belong around 1100 B.C. The outer tumulus was made in the eleventh century, and its earlier burials had a Protogeometric vase, as at Bajkaj, a short uncanonical bronze sword, as at Barç, a pair of bronze tweezers, as at Kakavi, and a bronze knife of a Glasinac type; and the later burials were remarkable for bronze and iron fibulae of Italian and Submycenaean types, a bronze pin with a conical head and a bronze pendant – these all within the period 900–700 B.C. A leaf-shaped bronze spear-head with a very short, facetted socket was found at a near-by cave, Duke Gjoni.

In the double tumulus at Vodhinë the latest artefact in the lower tumulus, which was sealed off by a dome of shingle, was a javelin-head with a facetted socket, probably displaced from its original position. Similar javelin-heads have been found at Pazhok, Peshkopi (Black Drin valley), Maliq, Duke Gjoni (Dukat), and Çepunë, and their dates may be between 1200 and 1000 B.C.[27] In the upper tumulus only one of the nine slab-lined cist-graves had offerings, namely a long bronze pin, having a conical head and being engraved with zig-zags, and a small bronze spectacle fibula, which may be dated *c.* 950–900 B.C. It seems likely that this double tumulus was used continuously from the last phase of the Late Bronze Age down to this last date.

At Bodrishtë, also in the Kseria valley, two tumuli had been rifled and all that remained were a lunate ring of bronze in one tumulus, and five pieces of bronze plaque edging-strip (for a shield) and nine bronze buttons in the other tumulus, which had two slab-lined cist-graves. Perhaps the warriors here, like those of Vajzë A8 and Kakavi I, were active around 900–800 B.C.

A tumulus 22 m in diameter has been excavated by Dhimosten Budina at Çepunë and was found to contain sixty-three burials. The earliest of these were reported to be a cremation, in which the corpse had been burnt outside its slab-lined cist-grave, and three inhumations in slab-lined cist-graves. Offerings in these cases included spear-heads, javelin-heads, and long pins of bronze; of the javelin-heads one was fiddle-shaped with a facetted socket, as at Vodhinë. Some of the pottery had knobs and nipples as at Barç. The latest burials were of the third century B.C. Another tumulus, 20 m in diameter, has been excavated by the same

[27] I saw these javelin-heads in museums at Konitsa, Elbasan and Tirana in 1972. This type is discussed in A 441 and A 439, 134 n. 29. The facetting was probably characteristic of a local centre of production; two examples from near Thebes and from Achaea may have come ultimately from Epirus. Other local products were a short sword, often engraved (see A 438, 235f) and a type of spear-head discussed by A. F. Harding in A 441, 218 (a good example from Vajzë in A 459, 84, fig. 9; I saw another such in the Museum at Elbasan, found with an iron sword, as I was told, at Seferan). A facetted javelin-head and a spear-head are illustrated in A 514, 25, the left-hand side. Kilian (A 361, 42) reports a mould for a spear-head at Gajtan.

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scholar at Bajkaj near Delvino. It contained some forty-four burials, of which the latest were attributed to the tenth century B.C. The pottery included a pot influenced by Protogeometric style. The start of the tumuli at Çepunë and at Bajkaj was dated by the excavator to within the twelfth century.

Brief though the reports of these excavations are, they make up a clear picture. New rulers established themselves in north Epirus in the course of the twelfth century and their descendants used the same burial places for some centuries; at Bajkaj and Vodhinë till late in the tenth century, at Bodrishtë and Kakavi till late in the ninth century, at Dukat till 700 B.C., at Vajzë till 700/650 B.C., and at Çepunë till within the third century B.C. It is possible that the abandonment of some tumuli in north Epirus is to be connected with the spread of speakers of North-west Greek into central Greece and the northern Peloponnese. For tumuli with some cremations and some inhumations in stone-lined trenches appeared in the tenth century at Vranesi in Boeotia; and a circular *peribolos* of stones within which there were slab-lined cist-graves with some hand-made pottery, the whole no doubt originally covered with a tumulus, has been found at Agriapidhies, south of Patras in Achaea, and dated tentatively to the tenth century. Other tumuli were made first in the eighth century at Anavyssos in Attica and at Chalandhritsa in Achaea.[28]

The first tumulus to be found in Greek Epirus was interestingly at the only settlement-site of Mycenaean times, Ephyra, close to the Oracle of the Dead on the Acheron. Built originally against the inside face of a fortification wall, the tumulus has a rough *peribolos* of field stones, oval in shape and approximately twelve metres in diameter, and most of the fill has disappeared since the collapse of the fortification wall. Enough remains to show that the tumulus had contained several burials with hand-made local pottery and offerings of bronze and iron. One burial, which was superimposed on another, had a bronze pin with a hemispherical head, a steatite whorl and an imported skyphos, which were attributed to the end of LH IIIC but might be later. A second tumulus alongside the first is under excavation.[29] The crudeness of the *peribolos* and the poverty of what remains suggest that the tumuli were made after the collapse of Mycenaean Ephyra by people from farther north, probably pastoralists coming there every year for the winter and taking their flocks for the summer to high pastures such as belonged to the site we consider next.

A settlement and a cemetery near Vitsa in Zagori are still being

[28] D 121 (Vranesi); D 229, 85 and 87 (Agriapidhies); D 92 (Anavyssos); *BCH* 85, 682 (Chalandhritsa).

[29] By T. I. Papadopoulos, who showed me the site and the remains; see *Ergon* 1975, 88f, and 1976, 87f.

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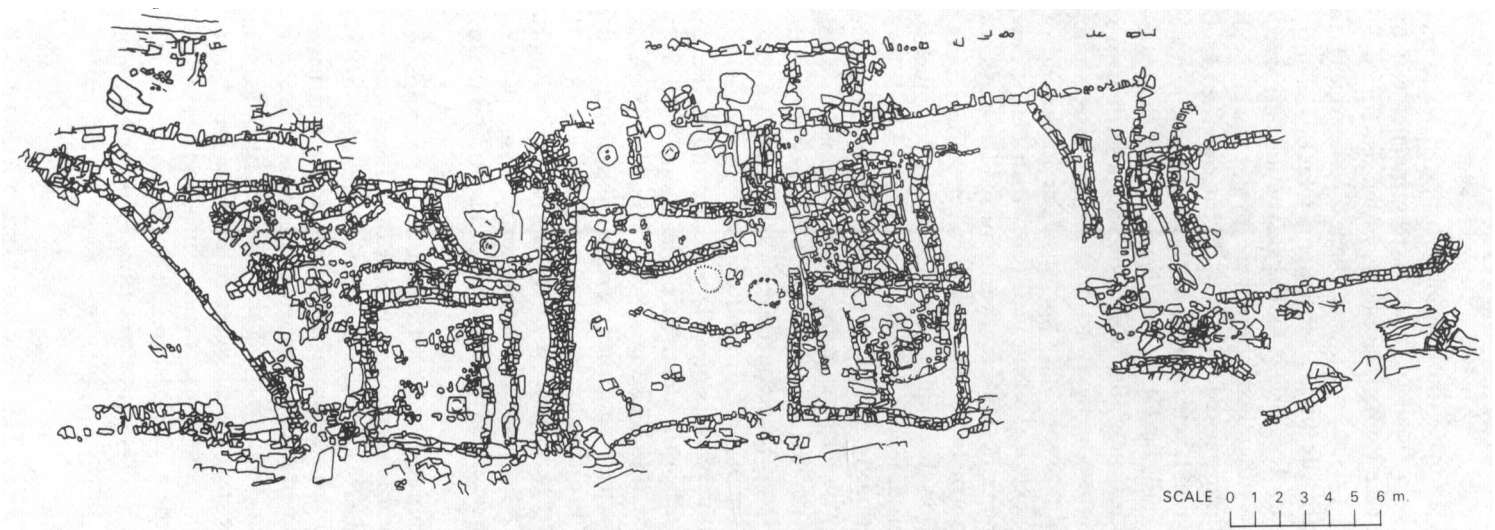

Plan of Vitsa, drawn by Pl. Theocharidis.

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excavated by Ioulia Vokotopoulou. Situated 1,030 m above sea level, the site lies in a small coomb or trough, enclosed on either side by natural rock races, which slopes downwards from a ridge. The uppermost house, 13·5 × 6·5 m (see Plan on the right) remained in use throughout the life of the settlement, which was approximately from 900 to 300 B.C. This house had apsidal ends and straight sides, and it was presumably thatched; there were no signs of any cult. Below it there were small, tight-packed houses with tiny open yards and a few narrow passages. Several layers of deposit showed that when a house fell down, another was built on top of the debris. Small slabs were used to make a foundation for the walls. When the whole settlement is excavated, the number of houses is likely to be about a dozen, and this suggests a population of possibly sixty persons. The lower end of the settlement was delineated by a slanting wall (on left in Plan); beyond it a flagged path led to the cemetery a few yards away. The earliest burials, situated beside the end of the slanting wall, were immediately adjacent to the lowest house on that side. A small cemetery lay equally close to the top end of the settlement, where the burials straddled the ridge. The dead were laid either in simple trenches, or in cist-graves roofed with branches on which stones were placed, or under a cairn of stones. The burials, close-packed, were in two to five layers and the top layer was close to the surface; each burial was delineated by a row of white stones. Sometimes a small piece of retaining wall supported a group of burials against the downward slope. The dead numbered about 180; given a span of 600 years, the death-rate was about thirty to a century, as in the tumulus at Barç. The men were buried with two or more spears each. The offerings with men, women and children show connexions with the last pre-Illyrian phase at Vergina, with the Illyrian phase at Kuçi Zi, with the burials of north Epirus and with southern Greece, whence came pottery and splendid bronze vessels of Corinthian and later of Athenian manufacture. The final publication will provide important datings.[30]

The geographical situation of the site at Vitsa is very revealing. It was uninhabitable in the winter not only because of the snow at that altitude but also because the coomb is completely exposed to the north wind which blows down it like a funnel. It was therefore a summer village for transhumant shepherds, analogous to the encampments of the Sarakatsani who carry on the practice of transhumance in Zagori to the present day. It was deserted in the winter. Those who died in the summer months were buried at Vitsa, and the winter casualties were interred near the winter pastures; it thus becomes clear why a death-rate of thirty in a century occurred for a village of some sixty persons,

[30] A 504 and A 515. Discussed in A 361, 32ff.

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whereas the expected death-rate in an all-the-year-round settlement of that size might be nearer to 120 persons in a century. Part of a defensive wall was found on the top of one side of the coomb; it encircled a hill to the west of the settlement, and its date is uncertain.

In the nineteenth century it was noted that the viable size for a group of transhumant pastoralists was about two hundred persons, and it was probably the same in ancient times. If so, the whole group did not live at the site excavated at Vitsa. When we turn to the transhumant Vlach shepherds, we find that the first village-settlements in North Pindus arose through the combination or *synoikismos* of several encampments.[31] Perhaps the settlement at Vitsa arose in the same way, but only the families of the leaders (*architselinges* among the Sarakatsani) had houses in the coomb and were buried there. This becomes more probable when we recollect that no stone-based houses at all have been found elsewhere in Epirus, and that even at Dodona the only vestiges were of small round huts, made probably of poles and thatch. Such circular huts with a sort of retaining wall on the downward slope at Thesprotikon in south Epirus[32] may be cited as a parallel to the piece of retaining wall for the group of graves at Vitsa; but their date is unknown. Moreover, the richness and the variety of the offerings in so remote an area can only be explained on the supposition that the burials were those of ruling families and that those families had contacts which reached from the lakeland to the Gulf of Arta and probably into western Macedonia. Transhumant pastoralism provided the opportunity for such contacts.

It is likely that a similar way of life was practised throughout Epirus and also in Illyris. Even in the Hellenistic period Epirus was famous for its cattle and sheep, and the story of Evenius at Apollonia Illyrica shows that flocks of sheep sacred to the Sun were the pride of the area. It is interesting that no settlement has been found in conjunction with the cemeteries of tumuli, large and impressive as they are, and the explanation is probably that the population was largely nomadic and not settled. In such a society, as we can see from medieval and modern analogies, the patriarchal form of leadership was strongly established, the leading men were well armed to protect their flocks against wild animals as well as against sheep-lifters, and the tribal system was formed by clusters of related pastoral groups. Our first information of that system in Epirus, as revealed in inscriptions of the fourth century B.C., show that large tribal groups, such as the Chaones, Molossi and Thesproti, were made up of very numerous small tribes.[33] No doubt this was true in Illyris also.

The lakeland was probably at a different stage of development in our

[31] A 492, 42.

[32] *BCH* (1954) *Chronique* 136.

[33] A 490, 525f and 701f.

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period. Agriculture and fishing had been practised there for many centuries, as we know from the excavated site of Maliq, situated at the outlet of the lake of that name (now drained), and we have already noted the small fortified settlements at points of entry to the plain of Maliq–Korçë–Poloskë. The settled population in this fertile area formed a focus of trade with the transhumant pastoral peoples, as we can see most clearly from the very wide distribution of painted pottery of the North-west Geometric style during our period and subsequently. The earliest centres of the style on present evidence were at Maliq (see above, p. 222) and Tren, from whence it spread through the lakeland, central Albania south of the lower Shkumbi, Epirus and Upper Macedonia as far as the right bank of the Vardar, carried no doubt by communities whose main concern was with stock-raising and pastoralism.[34] While the lakeland had contacts with many areas, the rulers there seem to have been closest to the Brygi and the chieftains of north Epirus in the early period from the twelfth to the ninth century and then with the Dardanians, an Illyrian tribe based on the Metohija-Kosovo basin, from 800 to 700 B.C. and later. Trade was no doubt one source of contact. As in the heyday of the Vlachs in the eighteenth century, when their largest centres were near Maliq, the people of the Korçë plain were engaged in trade with the Danubian area as well as with north Epirus and Macedonia.

Whereas peninsular Greece was much impoverished by the collapse of Mycenaean civilization and the impact of the great invasions, the areas which we are considering were more prosperous in the period *c.* 1150–850 B.C. than they had been in the preceding centuries. This was due partly to the influence of the Brygi and partly to the expansion of the peoples of north-west Greece, for some tribal peoples which had left Epirus during the migrations perpetuated earlier worships in their new homes or sent representatives to worship at their ancient shrines. Thus the Aenianes, once living by Dodona and now in the upper valley of the Spercheus, not only worshipped Zeus in their new habitat but also sent ox-driving men and maidens to worship Zeus in Cassopaea in south Epirus, and maintained a cult of Achilles' son Neoptolemus at Delphi; and the Boeoti sent envoys with tripods wrapped in garments every year to Dodona, to sing the traditional 'tripod-song'. Oracles issued by Dodona were said to have helped Aletes, the Dorian founder of Corinth, and Codrus, king of Athens, in the eleventh century, and there is no doubt that mantic cults spread into Greece from the oracular seats which were famous in Epirus: those of Zeus at Dodona, of Zeus at Trampya far inland, of Apollo in association with snakes somewhere in Epirus, of Zeus Chthonius and other deities at the Nekyomanteion

[34] A 491, I 280–90 and later references in the Index; A 445; A 513.

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in the Acheron valley, of Hecate at Oricum, and of the Nymphs at Selenicë and at the Hieron Oros near Arta, and Pan-worship too may have spread southwards from Epirus into southern Greece.[35]

Dedications at Dodona show a wide range of contacts. Many strips of bronze plaque from the legs of tripods were found at Dodona (as at Olympia); these offerings came from southern Greece in the course of the eighth century. Blinkenberg's 'Epirote' class of bronze fibulae, finely engraved with zig-zags, parallel lines and hatchings, repeats the motifs of the North-west Geometric style of pottery and of engraved metal-ware such as the long bronze pins (as in fig. 59.1). Blinkenberg's class was based on five examples at Dodona, to which at least eight more can be added, and on some thirty examples at the sanctuary of Zeus or Artemis near Pherae in Thessaly, a favourite centre of transhumant shepherds in the winter. This class evolved, according to Blinkenberg, in the ninth century and was most popular in the eighth century. Lunate rings, of which specimens occur north of Dodona, were common dedications. There were only three spectacle fibulae found at Dodona, which accords with the rarity of spectacle fibulae in Epirus. Of an earlier period were some magnificent bracelets with spiralling ends, numerous small flat axes of thin bronze sheet, having lateral projections, and double-spiral ornaments with a high-standing central loop of wire or of metal plaque, again of bronze (see fig. 59.6 and 8). These last two were found together also in Sicily, Southern Italy, Etruria, Asia Minor and especially Phrygia. The double-spiral ornament was found also at Çinamak, Vitsa, Spilion and Vergina. They came probably with the Phrygians (or Briges, as they were called in Europe) and spread far and wide during the long period of migrations. A mould for this kind of axe was found in Troy VII B2, which was a Phrygian city late in the twelfth century, and flat axes appeared in Etruria around 1000 B.C. By the latter date there was intercourse by sea between the two coasts of the Adriatic, an intercourse which was attested not only by the Illyrian types of burial in Picenum and Peucetia and the occurrence of the double-spiral ornament with a high loop in graves at Picenium, but also by the appearance on both coasts of pottery – decorated in the North-west Geometric style and having such features as the bridge-handle (*anse biforé*) – which was found in tumuli at Vajzë, Çepunë and Barç and in Latium and Campania in the twelfth and eleventh centuries, and in Calabria from the ninth to the sixth century.[36]

In volume II, part 2 of this *History* I maintained (p. 709) that the mention of a war between Odysseus as an ally of the Thesprotians and

[35] For references see A 490, 399f.

[36] A 490, 401–10. Votive flat axes with lateral projections have been found also in Albania and west Bulgaria, e.g. *Archaeologia* (Sofia) 1970, 1, 51.

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the Briges was based on a historical fact,[37] and that the epic lays known as the *Nostoi* recorded actual events of the twelfth century B.C. Other legends, deriving from the *Nostoi*, reported the coming of Neoptolemus, son of Achilles, to Epirus, where he founded the Molossian dynasty, and it was because of the connexion of Neoptolemus with Dodona, where the 'Enienes' of *Iliad* II.749 then lived, that their descendants the 'Aenianes' (in the West Greek dialect) maintained their cult of Neoptolemus at Delphi. Another legend brought Helenus, the Trojan seer, to the district of Buthrotum, where he founded the royal dynasty of the Chaones. Aeneas too was associated with Helenus and passed in legend from Epirus to Italy; but that is a matter which will be discussed in a later volume dealing with the early history of Rome. I see nothing incredible in the coming of Greek adventurers, and also of Trojans, whether as prisoners or as refugees to Epirus either by sea or overland via Macedonia.[38] The existence of an epic poem about Epirus, the *Thesprotis*, fits into the general picture. It was ascribed to an eighth-century epic singer, Musaeus, and it seems more probable that Musaeus used a traditional lay transmitted from the *Nostoi* period than that he invented in the eighth century a new lay about what was by then a remote and backward area.

IV. ANCIENT REMAINS IN MACEDONIA

When we cross the central Balkan range from the lakeland into western Macedonia, we find the same North-west Geometric style of pottery in use from Pelagonia to the west side of the Thermaic Gulf and even on the east side of the Vardar valley in the vicinity of Lake Doiran.[39] The explanation of the widespread use of this style is to be found in the practice of transhumance which brought together the shepherds of the regions which we know as Epirus, central Albania and western Macedonia. The idioms of decoration were no doubt derived from those employed in woven materials and in wood carving,[40] both being arts in which nomadic or semi-nomadic peoples excel, for instance the Vlachs in recent times. Indeed the same idioms were well known to anyone who travelled in the hill villages of Epirus, Albania and south-west Macedonia before the Second World War. In the Iron Age

[37] More fully argued in N. G. L. Hammond, *Studies in Greek History* (Oxford, 1973), 36f.

[38] See A 490, 383f and 412f.

[39] See A 513; A 421; A 491, I 280–90. For similar pottery at Karpenisi see *A. Ann. Ath.* 2 (1969), 358f, and 4 (1971), 196f.

[40] On the connexion with wood-carving see A 504, especially these words: 'Sur les deux récipients illyriens et l'écu mis au jour dans le tumulus de Karice (Mati) les artisans illyriens ont composé avec goût et précision des cercles concentriques, des losanges, des triangles alternés de raies parallèles, des lignes en lacets, des fossettes et un grand nombre d'autres motifs. Les mêmes motifs d'agrémentation se retrouvent encore de nos jours dans les travaux des artisans de bois.'

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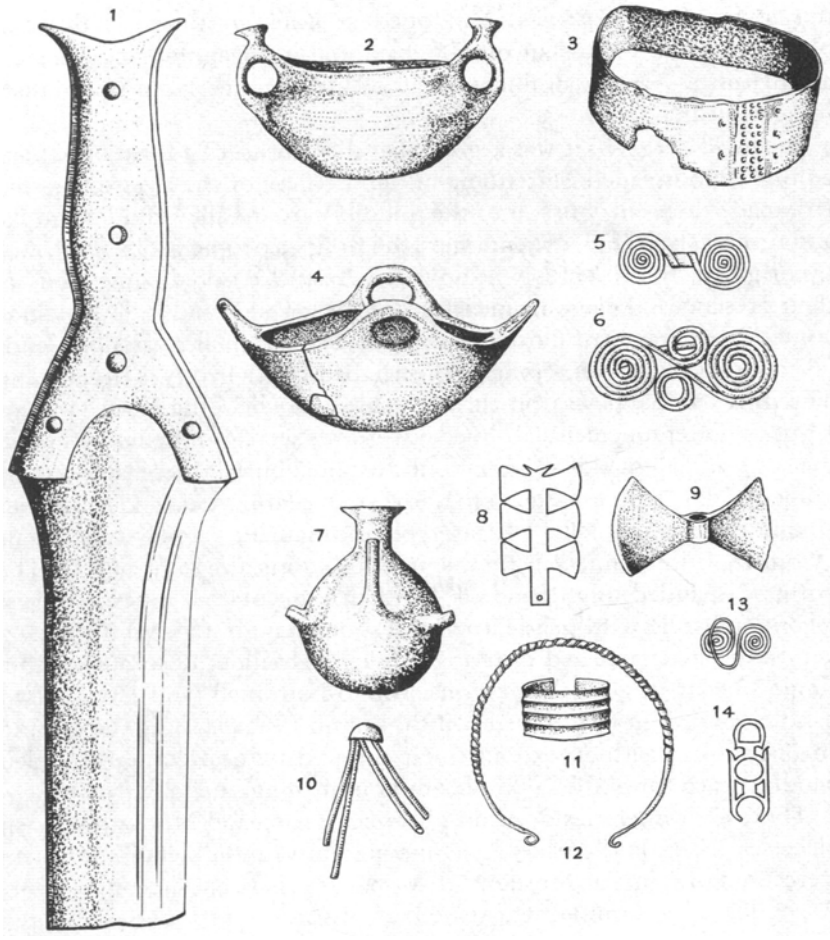

Fig. 60. Early Iron Age objects from Macedonia: 1, part of a bronze sword from tumulus-burial CΔ at Vergina; 2, two-handled drinking bowl, with rounded bottom and flat-topped conical thumb-rests (Vergina); 3, large bronze diadem with impressed decoration (Vergina); 4, shallow bowl, with rounded bottom, two loop-handles, and two pinched-out extensions of the rim (Vergina); 5, two spirals joined by a spiralling piece of flattened bronze wire (Vergina); 6, spectacle fibula with figure-of-eight-shaped centre (Vergina); 7, pot with globular body, two small horizontal but up-turning handles, one vertical handle, cylindrical neck and everted rim (Petilep); 8, rod with three double-axes and one end pierced for suspension (Vergina); 9, double-axe of thin bronze sheet but with a stronger pierced centre (Visoï); 10, four long hair-coils on a button, bronze (Vergina); 11, bronze armband (Saraj); 12, Bronze torque with curled ends (Axiokastron); 13, ring with spiralling ends, of bronze wire (Vergina); 14, caduceus-like bronze pendant (Vergina). Various scales.

Sources for drawings: 1, *Arch. Delt.* 17/1, 242; 2–14, A 491, 1: 2, fig. 16*f*; 3, fig. 17*g*; 4, fig. 16*g*; 5, fig. 17*b*; 6, fig. 17*b*; 7, fig. 16*u*; 8, fig. 17*k*; 9, fig. 17*u*; 10, fig. 17*a*; 11, fig. 19*m*; 12, fig. 18*d*; 13, fig. 17*j*; 14, fig. 17*t*.

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this style of pottery was abandoned at different times in different places – earlier, for instance, at Ochrid and in Pelagonia and latest of all in Epirus – as the dominant way of life changed from pastoralism to agriculture.

In *CAH* II.2, 707f it was argued that the bearers of a form of Lausitz culture who invaded Macedonia in the first half of the twelfth century B.C. made their entry first into the middle Vardar valley and Pelagonia, and further that these invaders were the Brygi, a people probably related by origin to the Phryges who invaded Asia. We noted some signs of their presence in Pelagonia in cist-graves near Prilep and at Saraj, which contained characteristic ornaments such as a ring with spiralling ends (as in fig. 59.2) and an armlet of bronze band with grooves (fig. 60.11). The grave at Saraj was on the right bank of the Crna Reka (ancient Erigon). Later nineteen slab-lined cist-graves were grouped together on the bank and aligned in relation to the original burial; these later burials ranged in date from the eleventh to the sixth century B.C., and the earlier among them contained a Lausitz type of ornament, namely two spirals of bronze wire connected by a spiralling spring (as in fig. 60.5). The pottery included high-handled kantharoi decorated in North-west Geometric style with pendent triangles, one having twisted handles; a very large, red, polished drinking bowl, its shoulder decorated with a single line of dog-tooth incisions, round-bottomed, and having two handles ending in flat-topped conical thumb-rests (as in fig. 60.2); and an open bowl with an extended flat rim and two horizontal rounded handles, each with a little knob on its upturning end.[41]

There are cemeteries of tumuli between Prilep and Monastir at such places as Visoï, Petilep and Raštani apparently, and objects from them were on show in the Museum of Monastir when I visited it in 1968. A model of a tumulus excavated at Visoï showed two slab-lined cist-graves within a circle of whitish crystalline stones, one stone thick, and then nearly forty slab-lined cist-graves set among many large stones and themselves surrounded by a circle of large, dark stones, two or three stones thick. One of the two inner burials formed the centre of the whole complex, and the subsequent burials were mainly but not all oriented towards that central burial. Thus we have at Visoï a double tumulus, analogous to those at Pazhok, Vodhinë, Burrel and Arnissa (for which see below), but the reverence for the central burial is even more clearly marked at Visoï. The central burial contained a vase of Submycenaean style and a small double-axe of bronze sheet with a perforated waist (as

[41] *Starinar* 11 (1960), 199f; commented on in A 409; in A 491, I 322 I described some of the material which I saw in the Museum of Monastir in 1968. Kilian (A 361, 63f) has Prilep LH III and Saraj Submycenaean; he mentions a bronze sword with iron rivets and a Submycenaean burial at Prilep-Sivets. For a different view of the invaders see above, p. 596.

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in fig. 60.9). The objects from other burials which were on show were two more such double-axes, a pendent double-axe (sometimes called a razor) of a Lausitz kind, a long hair-coil (as in fig. 60.10), armlets, bracelets and pendants, all these being of bronze, and weapons some of bronze and some of iron. It is evident that the inner tumulus was raised over what became the central burials, perhaps in the twelfth century and not later than the eleventh century. It contained the corpse probably of a priestess or queen, and this tumulus received one other burial. The outer tumulus and its earlier burials were made with respect to the original burial. The tumulus was in use until as late as the sixth century.[42]

Petilep, which forms a part of the Visoï site, has yielded some interesting pottery: a two-handled cup with a collar-like rim and incised lines suggesting a human face on one side; a globular pot with a tall cylindrical neck, having on its shoulder two small semi-circular handles upturning at an angle of 50° and on its neck below the everted rim a vertical handle (fig. 60.7); and a shallow bowl with two loop-handles on the rim and two pinched-out extensions of the rim (as in fig. 60.4). Some pots were decorated in the North-west Geometric style. A bronze sword with a spur to its pommel and rather short ears, reported by I. Mikulčić as from Raštani,[43] came from Krkliné near Monastir and may be LH IIIC in date.

What was evidently a double tumulus has been reported at Arnissa by Lake Ostrovo, where a grave-circle of orthostatic stones contained at least ten cist-graves and there were other burials outside the circle.[44] We may infer from double tumuli elsewhere that some of the burials at least were of the Early Iron Age. At the other end of the lake at Pateli (now Ayios Panteleëmon) a large cemetery was excavated in 1898 and 1899 by the Russian Institute, which opened 376 tombs and published hardly anything.[45] The Russians made no mention of tumuli, but there was at least one tumulus and probably many more than one. This tumulus is indicated by the excavation of a thick circular wall which surrounded fourteen graves. From one of these graves came the only bronze sword found during an excavation which yielded in iron 9 swords, 25 spear-heads, 4 arrow-heads and 72 knives. Some of the

[42] As far as I know there is no publication of these excavations; A 409 mentions them and gives illustrations. I owe a debt of gratitude to Dragica Simovska, who showed me round the Museum of Monastir.

[43] A 409, pl. IV.8.

[44] Ph. Petsas, in *Arch. Reports* 1953, 159.

[45] The various accounts were assembled for the first time in A 491, I 340–4. The accounts are in *BSA* 23, 30 and 28, 183; A 174, 100 and 104f; A 430, 144 and 150; A 511, 44f; A 506; and the original Russian reports on which Makridis and Rey drew, in *Bulletin de l'Institut archéologique russe de Constantinople* 4 (1899), 149 and 6/2–3 (1909), 472, and a paper read by M. P. Milioukov to the Archaeological Congress at Kiev on 9 August 1899.

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pottery from these burials was described by the Russians as 'primeval', in contrast to the great mass of pottery (614 vessels) which was decorated 'with painted geometric designs'. There is no doubt that this tumulus was first constructed and used in the Middle or Late Bronze Age, and that subsequent burials in it covered many centuries, perhaps down to the sixth century B.C. Gold was rare: four objects from the tumulus with fourteen graves, and only two earrings from elsewhere. There were bronze diadems, arched fibulae, 74 spectacle fibulae, 255 necklaces, of which 11 had amber beads, and 20 miniature bronze vases. There were some Lausitz features such as knobs and grooves on the pots and a bronze ornament consisting of two spirals of bronze wire linked by a bridge.

A sample of the pottery, namely 85 pots in the Museum at Istanbul, was described by W. A. Heurtley, who noted the use of knobs and of incision as well as the painted decoration which is now called the North-west Geometric style. The shapes in descending order of frequency were jugs with cut-away or sloping necks, jugs with straight rims and often with knobs, loop-handled cups, two-handled kantharoi, and four-handled pots with spherical body, cylindrical neck and everted rim (similar to fig. 60.7). There was no example of the large, red drinking bowl with thumb-rests on its handles, or of the open bowl with an extended flat rim such as we have seen at Saraj in Pelagonia. The most peculiar feature of Pateli was the idiosyncrasy of its burial customs. In many tombs there were piles of bones from earlier burials, sometimes with each skull sitting on top of its own skeleton-bones, and sometimes with the accumulated skulls set as a frame round the latest skeletons, while the other bones were stored in stone boxes or amphorae. Some burials were in large pithoi. Sometimes the slab-lined cist-graves were arranged in several groups, each group separated from another by lines of rough stones, and the groups radiated from a centre which was itself an empty space. The dead had been laid in the grave with their head towards this centre. There is no parallel to these practices in our area or in Greece.

Objects characteristic of Pateli have been found at a number of sites in the vicinity of Lake Ostrovo, but when we cross a low divide and pass from Eordaea to Elimea the situation changes. At Kozani, for instance, cist-graves contained pieces of long bronze coils (as in fig. 60.10), and wheel-made grey cups as well as hand-made grey jugs were found at Palaiogratsiano on the southern side of the Haliacmon valley.[46] The connexions of this area seem to be not with Pateli but with Vergina. On the other hand the upper valley of the Haliacmon went with the lakeland and particularly with Tren and Barç; for long bronze pins,

[46] A 491, I 344f, citing the reports.

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sometimes found one on each side of the breast, bronze armlets, rings of flattened bronze strip, sometimes with spiralling ends (as in fig. 59.2), and pottery shapes generally have more affinity with the lakeland and Epirus than with any other area.[47] In particular some burials in simple trenches in the village square of Spilion, south-west of Grevena, were close-packed either as at Vitsa in Zagori or originally under a tumulus.[48] The latter is somewhat more probable because the soil in the burials was different from that which formed the virgin ground, a phenomenon noted in some tumulus-burials. Burial A was particularly rich and had analogies both with Vitsa and Vergina. The dead person, probably a woman, wore a form of headdress with a headband and a crossband of narrow bronze strip, decorated in repoussé style with dots and circles of dots; eight spectacle fibulae (some being early forerunners as in fig. 60.5) on the upper part of the body; three specimens of the double-spiral ornament with a high-standing central loop of wire (as in fig. 59.7) near the skull; five bracelets; fourteen pieces of long bronze coils (as in fig. 60.10); fourteen rings of flat plaque, three ending in two or even three spirals; a necklace of small beads of plaque and two larger biconical beads; three double-axes of thin plaque but with fittings for attachment or suspension; and a torque of twisted wire (as in fig. 60.12). We shall find parallels for this rich burial at Vitsa and at Vergina. In two other graves which were excavated at Spilion there were similar rings, two spectacle fibulae, an iron finger-ring (the only piece of iron), and hand-made pottery with small knobs on the shoulder. The predominance of bronze in these graves is striking.

A great cemetery of more than three hundred tumuli is situated on the south side of the Haliacmon river, where it flows through the coastal plain, at a place called Vergina. It resembles the other cemeteries of tumuli in being beside a main route, in a plain and close to a stream or river; and as in them the tumuli are in groups, appropriate each to a clan or extended family unit. The earliest burials, as in some tumuli elsewhere, were probably of the Middle Helladic period, but they have left little trace. The earliest metal object is a bronze sword in fine condition (see fig. 60.1), having features of H. W. Catling's Type II Group I, which was found in Grave *Δ*, next to the central grave *Γ*, of Tumulus C. It was dated by the excavator, Ph. Petsas, to the end of the Bronze Age, and that is where it belongs typologically. This sword alone was of bronze, the quite numerous swords from other tumulus-burials being all of iron. We see here the phenomenon which we have noted at Pateli, Raštani, Barç, Ersekë, Vodhinë and Kakavi, that a bronze sword was interred only with a founding warrior or hero, and that it was of bronze because that was the metal in use at the time. The

[47] A 491, I 346f, citing the reports. [48] A 512.

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sword in CΔ lay together with a two-handled kantharos incised on the shoulder with short vertical lines, which was a Lausitz feature. It is then most probable that Tumulus C was constructed not later than 1100 B.C.[49] The cemetery was in continuous use from then on into the Hellenistic period, at which time the earlier burials in a tumulus were treated with respect and some new tumuli were constructed. The same continuity was observed in the great cemetery of tumuli in the Mati valley in Albania.

Of the three hundred tumuli 32 were excavated by M. Andronikos and the results of his excavations and researches were published most admirably in 1969.[50] Meanwhile another 75 tumuli had been excavated as a matter of emergency by Ph. Petsas, and his preliminary reports came out rapidly. Thus a vast amount of material became available. The present writer, having studied tumulus-burial in Epirus and Albania, published in 1972 a chronological framework for objects found in tumuli over the whole area.[51] This framework is used in this chapter. For example, long bronze pins with a small head, a swelling lower down, and engraving above, below and on the swelling, were used in Epirus, parts of Albania, and Macedonia, *c.* 1100–950 B.C.; the ornament consisting of two spiralling coils linked by a high-standing loop appeared in Epirus about 1000 B.C. and was in vogue at Vergina *c.* 900 B.C.; and the forerunner of the spectacle fibula (as in fig. 60.5) appeared at Vergina *c.* 950–900 B.C., and the majority of the spectacle fibulae there were *c.* 900–800 B.C. Of course, only a third of the tumuli have been excavated, and the finds from only one-third of that third have been finally published; where the evidence is thin, as for the tenth century, it may be supplemented by further excavation. But already we can sketch a history of the cemetery.

During the century *c.* 1100–1000 B.C., which covers the transitional

[49] For this dating see A 491, I 266, 316, 328f, and A 485, 44, fig. 2A.1 and 2, and 48 n. 33 'the Vergina cemetery must begin in LH IIIC' arguing against the later date proposed by A. M. Snodgrass in *PPS* 31 (1965), 23. Kilian (A 361, 66) put the earliest use in LH IIIB/C.

[50] A 483; A 508.

[51] A 491, I 312–99, summarized at 397–9. Another framework, published in 1976 by Kilian, without mention of A 491 and so independent, agrees on many points, e.g. the attributions of the simpler pins and simpler arched fibulae to the eleventh century, earliest torques to the latter part of the tenth century, earliest triple-axe pendant to the ninth century, and earliest narrow diadem to the eighth century. In other matters they differ. The main difference is a fundamental one of method. I based my framework on Central European chronology, especially that of Batović, with which the bulk of the archaeological material is related; Dr Kilian based his mainly on the potteries, and especially the Greek-influenced pottery at Vergina. It is very doubtful whether these potteries are susceptible to refined chronological subdivision over so wide an area or even at one place – at least in the main – since, for example, the local 'Protogeometric' style of Macedonia lasted into the seventh century (A 491, I 326, 367, 390; A 174, 106 and 125), and North-western Geometric style seems to have varied more by district than by period (A 491, I 281ff). Both frameworks are provisional; let some *tertius gaudens* carry the enquiry further.

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period and the beginning of the Early Iron Age, men placed with the dead long pins, arched fibulae, long coils and rings for the hair, belt-studs, buttons, armlets of bronze strip, finger-rings of bronze strip, and anklets, all of bronze; carnelian beads; Grooved ware and Knobbed ware; and two striking shapes – the drinking-bowl with flat-topped thumb-rests, and the globular pot with cylindrical neck and two or three handles. Almost everything about the period is related to the north and west. The influence of southern Greece was very slight from the start (two pyxides of LH IIIC or Submycenaean date) and continued so, for the local make of Protogeometric pottery persisted into the seventh century.

The richness of the burials and the strategic position of Vergina near the crossing of the Haliacmon on the coastal route and near the exit of the Kozani–Verria route from the interior make it clear that the cemetery was used by the rulers of the western part of the plain at the head of the Thermaic Gulf. As was argued in *CAH* II.2, 709, these were the Brygi; for they were described by Herodotus and Strabo (drawing probably on Hecataeus) as living 'under Mount Bermium', i.e. in the area of Naoussa, where the gardens said to be those of Midas, son of Gordias, were located, and as being 'neighbours of the Macedones' (then in the hills of Pieria). The period of Brygian ascendancy ended, according to Herodotus, when they set off for Asia, where they played a part in founding the Phrygian state. The influence of the Lausitz culture lasted at Vergina until *c.* 800 B.C., when a radical change occurred and prosperity declined. The Phrygian state in Asia was founded during the eighth century.

From the beginning of the cemetery elements of other cultures than the Lausitz culture were present in the burials, and it was these elements which increased gradually and became very marked in the ninth century, which was the most prosperous period. Let us take as an example five burials of queens or/and priestesses,[52] of which the earliest at least belonged to that century. All the women wore a pendant in the form of a rod with three flat double-axes of bronze sheet (fig. 60.8), which was probably attached to a headdress. In one burial the woman had six finger-rings with spiralling ends (as in figs. 59.2 and 60.13) and two double-spiral ornaments with a high-standing loop (as in fig. 59.7). In three burials the headdress had many small bronze studs (tutuli); one had beads as well, and one at least had evidently had a chinstrap. All five women wore long bronze hair coils shaped like tight hair-curlers (as in fig. 60.10), gold, bronze or iron hair-rings, belts adorned with studs, buttons or bosses (phalara), bracelets, necklaces and (except one) spectacle fibulae. There were also various pendants: rectangular iron

[52] Burials LXV *Ξ*, *AΔ* I, *AE* V, *AH* II and *Φ* III.

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plaques with bronze studs, a bronze caduceus such as Hermes carried (see fig. 60.14), and a hook-shaped bronze wire. The pottery, presumably made for ritual use, included the drinking-bowl with flat-topped thumb-rests, the jug with a twisted handle, and the globular pot with cylindrical neck, two or three handles and knobs. Some elements in these inventories are Lausitz; but others are not, and conspicuous among them are the headdress which, as Andronikos pointed out, is of a Minoan type, and the pendants of Minoan double-axes. The ancient tradition that the people of this part of the plain (before they were expelled about 650 B.C.), the Bottiaeans, were settlers from Crete, provides an acceptable explanation of these Minoan features.[53]

The influence of this type of burial and of the religious cult it reflected was far-reaching. At Spilion, south-west of Grevena, a burial had the three double-axes fitted for suspension and many of the same features as at Vergina (above, p. 647). The tumulus at Visoï contained three double-axes, long hair-coils and similar bracelets. Three double-axes were found east of the upper Vardar at Vojnik near Kumanovo; and in central Bulgaria at Srebenro near Kazanluk six double-axes, almost rectangular in shape, dated to the ninth or eighth century. The Minoan type of headdress appeared at Vitsa in Zagori in Grave 113, which was unusually rich.[54] There the young woman wore a diadem of bronze plaque, decorated with dots and circles of dots in repoussé style, as at Spilion and on phalara at Vergina; below the diadem many studs, once sewn onto the headdress; a pair of spectacle fibulae; a bracelet of seventeen coils; one large and two small spiralling ornaments; five finger-rings; and a conical whorl. While these were all of bronze, she also wore a flat four-sided plaque and two small egg-shaped lumps of iron. Closely akin to the pendant of three double-axes is a pendant consisting of one double-axe in bronze sheet with a hole or holes in the middle, such as have been found at Vergina and Visoï.

The homeland of the Macedones in the hills of Pieria has yielded nothing from this period, but some interesting graves have been opened at Koundouriotissa in the coastal plain. A group of twelve slab-lined cist-tombs were sunk some 0·50 m below ground level, and a small tumulus, 0·50 to 0·80 m high, was raised over each individual grave. The corpses had been smeared with clay, and the joints between the slabs had been filled with clay. It is probable that a skyphos with painted concentric semicircles, some bronze spectacle fibulae and two drinking bowls with thumb-rests, as at Vergina, came from these graves.[55] Within our area the only analogies are at Vitsa. Burial 99, made in a rectangular

[53] J. Bouzek (A 484, 326) derives the double-axes from Mycenaean times.
[54] I. P. Vokotopoulou in *Arch. Delt.* 23 (1968), *Chr.* 289.
[55] *Arch. Anz.* 55 (1940), 273.

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trench cut into the virgin ground, was there covered with a small tumulus; and Burial 113, which we have just described, was reported as being 'at the same depth' and again was covered by a tumulus of soil 0·60 m high. In both burials the bones of the skeleton had been deliberately thrown into confusion, presumably as an act of ritual when the corpses had decomposed. We are informed by Herodotus (v.8) that when the Thracians buried a man of consequence they raised a tumulus of soil over his grave. The Koundouriotissa cemetery should be dated probably *c.* 900–850 B.C.

Turning to Macedonia east of the Vardar river, we find that sites on the coast and sites near the Vardar and the Gallikos rivers imported Mycenaean and then Protogeometric pottery, and made their own local versions of both. Contact was probably mainly with north-east Thessaly, which developed a local Protogeometric style at a very early date, and with the groups of Aeolian migrants who moved from Thessaly by sea to the Thracian coast and north-west Asia Minor. But contact ceased in the course of the tenth century, and there was little or no importation of Geometric ware from the south in the next two centuries. The local ware of eastern Macedonia was hand-made and had few shapes; stone, bone and clay were used for weapons and tools. Metal was very rare; but a mould for making bronze plaques was found at Saratse, a secondary centre of exchange to the northeast of Salonica. As compared with west Macedonia, east Macedonia was in the doldrums, and the ruling people were evidently unenterprising.

The situation in western and eastern Macedonia changed radically from 800 B.C. onwards. At Vergina later burials in some tumuli and burials in some new tumuli contained large spectacle fibulae (as in fig. 60.6), narrow diadems, small bronze beads, belt-ornaments of bronze plaque, sickle-shaped iron knives and whetstones; and especially *c.* 700–650 B.C. an increasing number of iron spear-heads, sometimes in pairs, and bronze pendants of various new kinds. Some traditional features persisted, such as the wearing of long bronze hair-coils, but there is clear evidence of a change of rulers about 800 B.C. A new type of bowl with two handles sprouting from the rim and two pinched-out extensions of the rim seems to be derived from a bowl made in wood (see fig. 60.4). Burials were in pithoi, and cremations appeared first around 700 B.C. in cinerary urns and occasionally in urns standing on two feet, the corpses sometimes imperfectly cremated.[56] The decline in prosperity which marked this period at Vergina was found also in the lakeland, where the first tumulus at Kuçi Zi was poorer than its predecessor at Barç, and the dead were buried with many iron weapons and a variety of bronze beads and pendants (see above, p. 630). Similar

[56] A 491, I 394f for references.

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changes occurred at Visoï and Petilep in Pelagonia, and more markedly at Pateli in Eordaea. The invaders penetrated also into the upper and middle valley of the Haliacmon, where objects typical of them have appeared in burials.

The clearest evidence of change comes from three cemeteries which are situated at strategic points on both sides of the lower Vardar: Axiupolis (Bohemica), Gevgheli and Chauchitsa.[57] Two groups of graves near Axiupolis yielded an iron spear-head planted upright beside a corpse, bronze armlets, long bronze hair-coils, many beads of bronze and of amber, a number of pendants and a boss (phalaron), which was attached to a woman's belt or clothing. Some graves at Gevgheli had belt-ornaments and pendants of bronze. Of fifty or more graves opened at Chauchitsa thirty-eight were on a rock outcrop, which had been covered, it seems, by a tumulus of earth. Each burial, laid probably in a wooden coffin which rotted away, was found crushed by a cairn of stones, except the central burial, which was within a cairn. In this central burial a fine boss of bronze, with iron rivets, was all that was left of a shield which had been placed on the chest of the dead man; he wore heavy bronze armlets with overlapping ends. The warrior graves had no spear-heads but six swords, fourteen knives and five shield-bosses, and the numerous bronze ornaments included long hair-coils, hair-rings, finger-rings, armlets, large and small beads, and a variety of pendants. There were several objects of gold but only two beads of amber.

The authors of the changes which we have noted in the lakeland, west Macedonia and now the strategic area of the lower Vardar were certainly Illyrians who came not from Illyris but from the great reservoir of Illyrian peoples in what is now central Yugoslavia. The most famous cemetery there is at Glasinac, with more than 20,000 tumuli, in use from the Early Bronze Age (above, p. 600). The expansion of the Illyrians was on a very large scale: not only through the lakeland and via Pelagonia into the Haliacmon valley and the whole of western Macedonia, but also into the middle Vardar valley, where bronze ornaments and pendants have been found at Kumanovo, Vučedol near Skopje, Radanja near Štip and Titov Veles. The traces of other Illyrian settlers have been found in western Bulgaria, in Romania, north of the Danube, in the middle Strymon valley, in the region of Lake Doiran and near the site of Amphipolis.[58] The pressure on the western side of the peninsula seems to have been less strong. The Glasinac types of bronze ornament have been found especially in the province of Scodra,

[57] A 491, I 348–56; *Albania* 4 (1932), 40; *BSA* 24 (1919–21), 8f; 23, 32f; *Antiq. J.* 1 (1921), 209f; reports in *BSA* 23 (1918–19), 24 and 26; A 430, 145f. Kilian (A 361, 74f) divides the material into three phases.

[58] A 491, I 355f.

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and it is probable that the Illyrian tribes pressed forward at this time into the plain of Malakaster and exerted pressure on the peoples of north Epirus. The shrine of Dodona received dedications which were typically Illyrian, and some bronze pendants and other objects of a Glasinac character were found at Vaxia in central Epirus. There is evidence too of Illyrian bands making their way into Thessaly, for instance at Halus in tumulus-burials with cairns of stones.

V. SOME GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

In peninsular Greece the first two centuries of the Iron Age were impoverished in contrast with the preceding period. In our area the opposite seems to have been the case. While the twelfth century saw an increase in population and resources, especially for war, the eleventh century was marked by a consolidation of Phrygian power and influence in Illyris, west Macedonia and north Epirus. When Illyrian tribes advanced into the northern part of what is now Albania, they did not pass south of Ochrid or of the river Shkumbi; their energies were perhaps diverted into crossing the Adriatic Sea and settling on the east coast of Italy. Phrygian prosperity reached its zenith in the ninth century, if we may judge from the offerings in the cemetery at Vergina. Thus the Phrygian period in west Macedonia lasted for some three and a half centuries, and the entry into Thrace and later into Asia Minor was made from a basis of strength.

The burials which we have been considering were those of ruling groups much better armed than their subjects; for the difference between a man who has just a sharp knife and one who has none is decisive. The amount of bronze and iron in the burials is remarkable, and especially the quantity of iron weapons at Vergina; gold and lead were also in use. Metal-workers used two metals together, for instance bronze and iron, very early in a sword at Sivets near Prilep, in a sword and shield-boss at Chauchitsa, and in knives at an early date at Çinamak and Kakavi, or gold and bronze on a ring in an early grave at Vergina. It is noticeable too that objects were made sometimes in bronze and sometimes in iron until one or other metal became established as appropriate, for instance bronze for tweezers and iron for knives, bronze for dress-pins and iron for swords. Specialities of the area were the engraving of weapons and dress-pins, the facetting of sockets by hammering, and the hammering of metal into shape rather than the casting of metal in a mould. No doubt these skills developed because Macedonia, central Albania and southern Yugoslavia are rich in these metals. The wealth of Midas the Phrygian was attributed by Callisthenes to 'the mines around Mount Bermium' (the area has chrome and iron

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pyrites today), and the discovery of the working of iron was attributed in Greek tradition to the Phrygian Dactyli of Asia Minor, who were probably related to the Brygi of Macedonia.[59] It is then clear that Phrygian power in our area was based upon metallurgical skill.

In what we may call the early part of the Phrygian period, *c.* 1150–950 B.C., contacts were maintained with Italy, north-east Thessaly and the northern Aegean area (partly through the medium of the Aeolian migration), and such exchanges as there were between the west and the east were made not along the sea lanes round the tips of the Peloponnese but by the overland routes via Korçë and Ochrid. There was less contact with Greece than there was with southern Yugoslavia via the Kačanik pass. Phrygian power or Phrygian influence seems to have been exercised through more or less independent principalities, occupying the cantons which are natural features of this area, each principality being indicated by its royal cemetery of tumuli: at Vergina in Bottiaea, Pateli in Eordaea, Visoï in Pelagonia, Barç in Dassaretis, Çinamak in the upper Drin valley, Burrel in the Mati valley, Pazhok in the canton of Elbasan, Vajzë in that of Valona, Dukat in that of Oricum, Bajkaj in that of Delvino, and Vodhinë in that of Gjirokaster. Each principality had some features peculiar to itself; some were closely related to one another, e.g. Çinamak and Burrel, or Visoï and Vergina; and all had some features in common, these being due no doubt to the influence of the Phrygian element. There were some losses in the latter half of the period: the foothold east of the Vardar, north-west Albania including Epidamnus, and perhaps parts of north Epirus, as there were changes of dynasty at Bajkaj and Vodhinë.

In the second part of the Phrygian period, *c.* 950–800 B.C., when Illyrian tribes controlled the areas north of Ochrid and the Shkumbi river and held the best crossing to Italy, the Phrygians depended mainly on the route by Korçë for contact with their western areas. But this route too was lost, probably *c.* 850 B.C., when the last burials were made in the great tumulus at Barç. At about this time warriors with new types of equipment made their appearance at Vajzë, Bodrishtë and Kakavi. The shrinking of the Phrygian sphere of power seems not to have damaged the economy of the Phrygians in Macedonia; for the most prosperous period at Vergina was *c.* 900–800 B.C. It is probable that they found an alternative market, not with Thessaly and southern Greece, with which they seem to have had little contact, but with southern Yugoslavia and areas beyond it; for this was the flourishing period of the Glasinac culture, which had trade relations with Etruria, south Italy, the Danube valley and also the Greeks of Ionia.

Although there is some evidence of trade in metal goods and perhaps

[59] References in A 491, I 312–17, 410f, and map 1 for iron deposits.

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in woven materials and milk products, the main basis of economic life in our area from *c.* 1150 to 800 B.C. seems to have been pastoralism. The placing of cemeteries for ruling families at such sites as Vitsa, Prodan and Spilion, for example, must have been due to people who practised transhumant pastoralism, and the wearing of long dress-pins of bronze and the nature, conservatism and diaspora of the North-west Geometric style of decoration on pottery and also on pins and fibulae are best explained as arising from the practice of pastoralism of this kind. Whereas tumulus-cemeteries abound, settlements are rare and tiny: some rectangular huts at Belsh, and a few huts of mud-brick and reeds with hearths and ovens at Boubousti and Neapolis in the upper Haliacmon valley. Even the shrine at Dodona boasted nothing better in the way of habitations. The only exception comes late in the period at Vitsa, 1,030 m above sea level, where a small village of humble houses was the home of leading transhumant pastoralists in the summer months.[60] Equally indicative of this form of pastoralism are the burials of the queens or/and priestesses at Vergina, Spilion and Vitsa; for the link between Vergina near the coast and these two mountain villages, one on either flank of Pindus, is to be found in the movement of tribes from winter pastures to summer pastures each year. It is probable that parts of Thessaly also were involved in the practice of transhumant pastoralism; for hand-made pottery decorated in the North-west Geometric style was among the offerings in the tholos-tombs at Marmariani on the foothills of Mount Ossa (see also below, p. 670). Much later, pendants and other ornaments of an Illyrian kind were not uncommon among the dedications at Pherae, Philia (near Kardhitsa) and Valanidha (near Elassona).[61]

When the Phrygians left Macedonia, the country became open to invasion. The next period, *c.* 800–700 B.C., was marked by a great expansion of Illyrian tribes. In the west they took possession of the coastal plain of Malakaster, and Illyrian raiders penetrated into central Epirus. The lakeland fell under the control of Illyrians probably from Dardania; their graves were less rich than those of their predecessors. Upper and Lower Macedonia alike (with the exception of Pieria) were taken over by groups of Illyrians who came probably from central Yugoslavia and had their own forms of the Glasinac culture. The centres of their power in Lower Macedonia were at Vergina by the Haliacmon and on both sides of the Vardar by Gevgheli. Other Illyrians took control of the middle Strymon valley and the coastal plain, including the site of Amphipolis. The Illyrians owed their success to

[60] A 500 and A 162, II 644ff.

[61] There is an interesting study of huts, round and apsidal-ended, and humble houses in Albania, in A 516, with diagrams and a summary in French.

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their warrior spirit and the possession of many iron weapons, made probably in southern Yugoslavia and in Macedonia, but their rule caused a decline in the standard of life. Their love of pendants and belt-ornaments suggests that they were bred in the tradition of nomadic or semi-nomadic pastoralism, like the Vlachs whose women used to be loaded with pendants and ornaments, and there are many indications that the various bands did not combine to form a centralized power, as the Phrygians had done. Thus there was a decline in trade and economic development at the very time when the Greeks were beginning to engage in maritime commerce and send settlers overseas.

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CHAPTER 16

CENTRAL GREECE AND THESSALY

A. M. SNODGRASS

I. PHYSICAL ACCOUNT

The geographical area covered by this chapter extends from the Vale of Tempe in the north to the Megarid in the south; it also extends westwards across mainland Greece to the Gulf of Actium and the mouth of the river Achelous, but this westward extension will prove to show a distinct pattern of development, and some of the generalizations which follow are intended to apply largely or entirely to the main eastern zone, comprising Attica, the Megarid, Boeotia, Phocis, Locris, Doris, Malis and Thessaly.

Even this zone, however, is far from being a unity in its geology or climate; nor are its internal communications any easier than is generally the case in Greece.[1] In its basic structure, it consists of a series of mountainous outcrops, mainly of limestone but in the easternmost sector, close to the Aegean coast, also of the more ancient crystalline rocks. Interspersed with the mountain masses are the beds of tertiary sands, clays and conglomerates which provide an undulating, upland terrain. Finally, there are the alluvial plains of more recent formation. The incidence of these last increases as one moves northwards. In Attica and the Megarid, they form a small, almost negligible portion of the landscape; but then one passes over into Boeotia and encounters, successively, the valleys of the Asopus and the Cephissus. The latter empties not into the sea but into the landlocked basin of Lake Copais; when drained, as it had been in the Late Bronze Age, this yields an even more extensive area of fertile alluvial land. Moving on northwards, one comes to the great fault trough of the Spercheus valley in Malis, whose alluvial plain was however much less extensive in antiquity than it is today. Finally, one enters the relatively large alluvial plain of Thessaly; it is divided into the upper Thessalian plain to the west, and the plain of Larissa to the east, but both are drained by the river Peneus and its tributaries. The western edge of this zone is formed throughout by the broad mountain barrier of the Pindus, much of it lying at an altitude of over 1,800 metres; it extends southwards to the very shores of the Corinthian Gulf, effectively cutting the region into two

[1] D 51.

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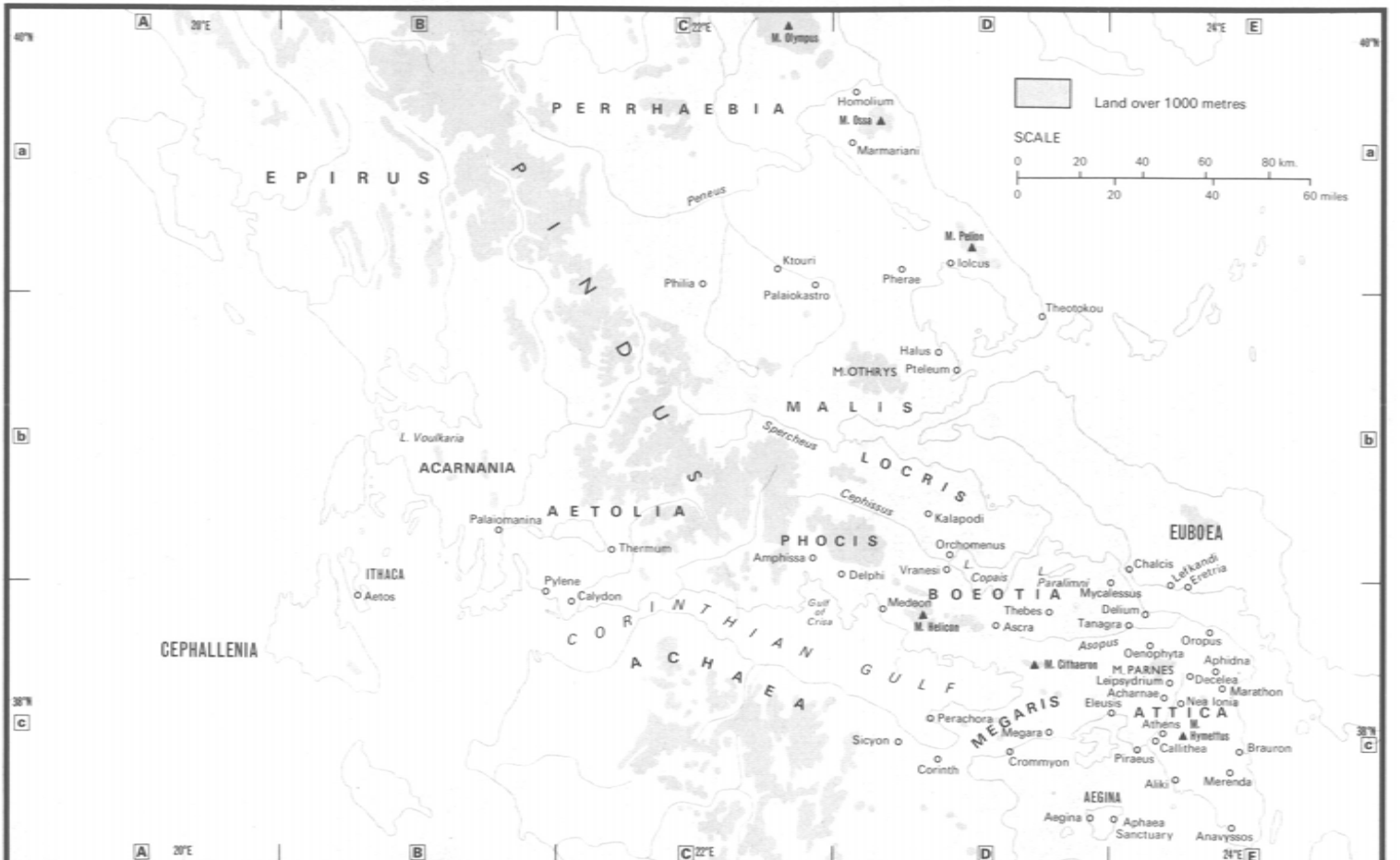

Map 20. Central and northern Greece.

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longitudinal divisions. Beyond it, to the west, Acarnania and Aetolia present a comparable physical structure to that of the eastern zone though not, as we shall see, a comparable climate. Here too there are limestone outcrops, lower hills and, in the lower Achelous valley, some alluvial land.

Recently, however, a new factor has entered the discussion of the general physical pattern of the Mediterranean lands, and of alluvial deposits in particular, profoundly affecting our estimates of the potential of Greece and other areas for human livelihood in antiquity. It arises from the discovery that alluvial deposits in valleys all round the Mediterranean are in part composed of a 'younger fill', which in every ascertainable case has proved to be of post-Classical date.[2] Of the many possible implications of this finding, one is immediately clear: the late date of this relatively rich deposit can only mean that in antiquity the agricultural potential of such countries as Greece was distinctly less than it appears today. Yet by tradition it is the deleterious effects of erosion in post-Classical times which modern writers have stressed. For some parts of the landscape, such an emphasis is no doubt justified; but where arable farming is in question, we must now concede that the later aggradation of valley-sediment has greatly increased the extent and richness of the productive land; in places, the depth of the 'younger fill' can reach ten metres. The relationship between the ancient and the modern agricultural potential is nevertheless a complex one. For example, it is clear that for major settlements the preferred locations were more often on the rather higher surrounding clays and marls than on the alluvial land itself; this is why few important ancient sites, with rare exceptions such as Olympia, have been found to be buried by the 'younger fill'. Even for actual agriculture, the non-alluvial lands may have been exploited to a greater degree than they are today. In short, the main conclusion to emerge is that the present condition of the landscape must be treated as a less reliable guide to the ancient situation than was previously often held.

In the main eastern zone of central Greece, the physical factors so far considered would still lead one to expect a landscape of very limited fertility, increasing somewhat as one proceeded northwards. Such an impression is indeed correct in part, although it must be modified by allowing for the climatic differences. It is in the southern extremity of this zone, in Attica and the Megarid, that the physical picture presents itself most clearly, and it does so especially to a traveller coming by land from the Peloponnese. If he comes in spring or early summer, and has passed through the rich orchards and vineyards, the stands of barley and maize, of an area like the Argolic plain or the south coast of the

[2] D 69.

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Corinthian Gulf, he will find a striking change. The limestone mountains form an ever-present background to the scene; it is the foreground which alters. The deep browns and greens of the arable land begin to give way to the lighter colours of olive-trees and low, rocky outcrops in sparsely-wooded ground. Nor is this compensated for by an increase in stock-farming; on the contrary, cattle and pigs are scarcely seen, and even sheep and goats become less common. The aridity of the Attic soil, famous ever since Thucydides' observation at the beginning of his *History* (1.2.5) must not be exaggerated; there must always have been fair farming land in the plains of Eleusis and Marathon, and the Mesogeia. But in comparative terms, Thucydides' picture was surely valid.

Further north, Boeotia and more especially Thessaly offer greater fertility. But here too other physical factors come into play: those of relief and its attendant climatic effects. High mountain barriers surround each of the alluvial plains: Helicon, Cithaeron and Parnes to the south of Boeotia; the Locrian mountains between Boeotia and Malis, with their lower extensions running far out to the east; Mount Othrys further north again; and above all the high peaks which encircle Thessaly, from Othrys in a clockwise ring, embracing the central part of the Pindus, the Pierian mountains, Olympus, Ossa and Pelion. One effect of these ranges is to cut off the plains from the sea, and from its moderating influence on the climate. Boeotia and Malis show a more extreme climate than Attica or most of the Peloponnese, with higher summer and lower winter temperatures; it is this which presumably prompted Hesiod's disparagement of Boeotian Ascra, 'bad in winter, oppressive in summer, never any good' (*Op.* 640). When one moves into Thessaly, the process goes altogether further, and the Thessalian climate can no longer be strictly characterized as of Mediterranean type.[3] Trikkala, for example, at the same altitude above sea level as Athens, has a range of extreme temperatures about a third as wide again, with winter frosts common, and summer temperatures higher than almost anywhere else on the Greek mainland. The time-honoured Greek outdoor way of life is unlikely to be enjoyed for very much more than half the year. In rainfall, the differences are less significant; the important division there is between the western and the eastern sides of the Greek peninsula.

Geographically, therefore, this eastern zone might not seem destined to exercise any natural leadership with Greek culture. There have nevertheless been many periods, from Neolithic times to the present day, when it has in fact done so. But it is notable that the Late Bronze Age had not been one of those periods; and the great resurgence of this region of Greece is a central fact in the period that followed.

[3] D 49, I 78–105, 479–90.

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Although Attica played the outstanding part in this resurgence, the contributions made by Thessaly and by the nearby island of Euboea[4] were also far from negligible. The converse picture is presented by large areas of the Peloponnese, where the air of ascendancy and prosperity so marked in the Mycenaean age abruptly vanishes. The Argolid gives the only proven exception to this latter picture.

Communications, being decidedly a product of the physical structure of Greece, should also be briefly considered. A glance at the map of the main trend lines of relief[5] makes clear the difficulties of communication in this region. The main north–south axis of the Pindus cuts off the western side of the peninsula from easy communication with the east; but it also throws out, in a south-easterly or even easterly direction, that series of limestone masses to which we have already referred. The modern railway line, for example, in passing from Attica to Thessaly by the easiest route, crosses three separate mountain ranges by passes of between 300 and 600 metres above sea level; while in the direction of the Isthmus, it has to run for nearly ten kilometres across the steep face of the Scironian cliffs. It is small wonder that, in these conditions, long-distance land routes in ancient Greece did not develop into anything approaching a network. It is possible that their period of greatest development was in the Late Bronze Age, at least in some parts of the Peloponnese and Crete, where causeways and guard-houses have been traced. But with the radical shifts and reductions in population that followed, it is most unlikely that the system was maintained; and in Greek conditions, the speed with which even a modern road deteriorates without upkeep is alarming.

Even so, there was often in Greece a choice of two or three feasible routes from a major settlement area to its neighbour, a point that becomes especially significant in a military context. From Attica to Boeotia, for example, there was the route over the Dryoscephalae pass of Cithaeron, the high-level track past Phyle, and further east the road over the foothills of Parnes, whose course is clearly plotted by the historic military sites – Leipsydrium, Decelea, Oenophyta, Delium, Tanagra – which it passes; not to mention the lower road past Aphidna to Oropus. An army coming north from the Peloponnese could further bypass Attica altogether by taking the difficult route over the western side of the Isthmus and of the Megarid.[6]

The main route through Boeotia today passes inland, linking what have always been its main centres of population, and continues into Locris. In passing, we may note that access to Phocis, where a major sanctuary-site was now growing up at Delphi, did not depend only on

[4] See chapter 18(*b*).

[5] D 49, 1 4, fig. 3.

[6] D 193.

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the rather awkward mountain road westwards from Boeotia, but was also provided by a route from Malis southwards over to Amphissa,[7] a road which has carried much merchandise over the ages, and which was traversed by camel caravans even into the twentieth century. From Amphissa, too, ran one of the more viable east–west roads, leading ultimately into Acarnania. Returning to Boeotia, we note that the difficulties posed by the high ground in Locris were such that, in antiquity, the main traffic did not follow the modern route, but descended into the coastal plain, then even narrower than today, and culminating in the pass of Thermopylae, beyond which lies the Spercheus valley. This last would form a useful natural corridor, did it not run athwart the main lines of long-range communication; as it is, the traveller going northwards was once again faced by the choice between another arduous mountain ascent and a circuitous route following a narrow coastal plain; while the westward route from the head of the valley brings one to Amphilochia and Aetolia only via a thousand-metre pass, often blocked by snow, though frequented from early times, as recent discoveries show.[8] It is only when one reaches the Thessalian plain that the pattern of communications familiar from northern Europe, England or northern America, with roads radiating from each major town in the direction of its neighbours, becomes possible. Immediately one wishes to proceed further – westwards to Epirus, north-westwards over the Perrhaebian passes, north-eastwards through the Tempe gorge to the Macedonian coast – the old problems return. The first-named route involves a climb to over 1,500 metres: the second, too, passes over ground almost as high before emerging in the Haliacmon valley; the third is now recognized as the simplest route northwards, but in modern times this state of affairs dates largely from the re-routing of the main road through Tempe after World War II.

In these circumstances it has always been natural for Greeks, in this as in other regions, to turn to the sea for internal as well as external communications. Here it is important to remember a basic difference between ancient and modern conditions: craft of the Early Iron Age in Greece (if no longer those of the classical period), did not require elaborate harbour facilities; very often they were merely beached for loading and unloading the cargo. The account of Odysseus' arrival at the city of Chryse[9] will serve as a typical illustration of what early Greeks expected of a harbour: a sheltered basin for lowering sails and mast, and a berth on the beach for unloading. It is therefore of limited relevance that the coastline of eastern central Greece is not today

[7] D 51, I 381–2.
[8] D 84.
[9] Hom. *Il.* 1.432–7.

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counted rich in harbours: the Admiralty handbook acknowledges, besides the great multiple harbour of the Piraeus, only Volos (Iolcus), Laurium in Attica and the minor port of Stilis on the Malian Gulf.[10] For much of the coastline – both on the Aegean side and even more markedly on the north shore of the Corinthian Gulf – is indented with small bays which provided adequate shelter for early ships. We need not doubt that the bulk of the objects traded from one region of Early Iron Age Greece to another had been transported by sea.

We must now turn to climate, a factor for which an especial importance has sometimes been claimed in the closing years of the Bronze Age, and in the ensuing era with which we are concerned. The basic feature here has already been referred to in passing: it is that, in any given latitude, Greece west of the Pindus shows a markedly higher rainfall, usually over twice as much, than the corresponding area to the east.[11] This emerges whether we compare the average rainfall in Corcyra with that of the Thessalian plain; that of Arta with that of Lamia in the Spercheus valley; of Cephallenia with Athens; or of Kalamata with Naxos. The difference in precipitation should not, it is true, be taken to imply any marked difference in temperature; the operative factors here are those dictated by relief (p. 660). But since by far the greater part of the rainfall, in all areas, falls in winter, when frequent depressions pass eastwards along the Mediterranean, it remains true that the combination of colder and wetter conditions is always much more prevalent in the west.

It is possible that this fact has some connexion with the settlement pattern which began to emerge in the eleventh century B.C., and which perhaps continued to prevail down to the ninth. For a time the most basic tendency of the previous era, that of a fall in the overall number of settlements, apparently continues to prevail into this later period; but the earlier signs of centrifugal shifts of population[12] are no longer so prominent. Instead, the distribution of settlements seems to embody in places an actual west-to-east movement, and more generally a strong eastward preponderance.[13] We shall be examining the evidence in greater detail presently, but in summary it may be said that the settlement of the most prominent 'refugee areas' in the west (Cephallenia, western Achaea) is not permanently maintained; that occupation of the then largely deserted areas which also lie in the west, notably Messenia, is not immediately resumed; but that, to the east, the population appears to increase steadily in Attica, Euboea, the Argolid and perhaps Thessaly; while positive migratory movements are detectable towards Ionia and the Dodecanese. This picture wins striking

[10] D 49, II 224–81, 301–6.
[11] D 49, I 78–105, 479–90.
[12] D 26, 88–95.
[13] D 62, 300–2.

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support from the accounts of Greek tradition, which records overland movements of refugees from Messenia,[14] Boeotia[15] and Achaea[16] to Attica, as a prelude to the great Ionian, Aeolian and Dorian migrations across the Aegean.

Furthermore, the adoption from a date of around 1100 B.C. of the 'arched' type of fibula, which is clearly adapted to the pinning of a thick fold of woollen material, and at the same period of the long bronze dress-pin,[17] also naturally associated with heavy clothing, gives a suggestion that the climate was becoming rapidly cooler at this time. The impact of a cooler and wetter climate in Greece (for which there is much independent evidence: the scientific authorities are agreed that by about 800 B.C. the 'Sub-atlantic' regime had replaced, over the whole of Europe, the warmer and drier 'Sub-boreal' which had prevailed throughout the Bronze Age)[18] can be considered with reference to the basic climatic division described earlier (p. 663). Its effect would presumably be to make the western regions of the Greek mainland distinctly less attractive to settlement. Inasmuch as we have independent evidence for an undercurrent of west-to-east population movement from the eleventh to the ninth century, there may be a partial explanation for it in this well-attested climatic change. It should be emphasized, however, that climatic factors, and natural phenomena in general, are unlikely to have been more than a contributory factor towards the complex events of this era. The onset of the cooler, moister Sub-atlantic climate is in any case enough to throw the gravest doubt on the theory that the fall of the Mycenaean civilization, a century earlier than this, had been brought about by exactly the opposite climatic phenomena, namely acute drought and consequent famine. There is no independent evidence that such conditions prevailed in the Aegean.[19]

II. THE LATER TENTH AND EARLIER NINTH CENTURIES B.C.

The two successive pottery styles whose names are often used to describe the whole of Greek culture in the first three centuries of the first millennium B.C., Protogeometric and Geometric, have a doubtful claim to such canonization. They correctly suggest that the one phase developed into the other by continuous evolution, without any detectable break. But their use to describe whole periods gives the misleading impression that, at a given time, a single pottery style prevailed throughout Greece, and that the impulses for artistic change took place more or less simultaneously everywhere. In fact, the 'Protogeometric'

[14] Hdt. v.65.3; Paus. II.18.9.
[15] Hdt. v.57.2.
[16] Hdt. I.145; Paus. VII.1.9.
[17] D 62, 317–19.
[18] D 32.
[19] *BICS* 22 (1975), 426–7.

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style of one area may arise only towards its close in another area, and many therefore overlap by a century or more with the 'Geometric' of the latter region. The assumption, very widely current, that the mere occurrence of 'Protogeometric' pottery on a site is likely to indicate full continuity from the Mycenaean period onwards is thus totally unjustified. Although the chronology of these centuries remains only very approximate, a better way of understanding the developments in the various regions of Greece is to assign to them conventional dates in years B.C. – 'conventional' in the sense that they usually depend on the unspoken assumption that the absolute chronology used for the main termini of the Protogeometric and Geometric styles is roughly correct.

By that chronology,[20] the end of the Attic Protogeometric style is agreed to fall in the region of 900 B.C.; but it is probable that, for the space of at least two generations thereafter, pottery of Protogeometric style continued to be produced in Thessaly and Boeotia; while in Phocis, Locris and western central Greece, there are signs that it lasted throughout the ninth century and into the early eighth. Meanwhile Attica, followed after further lapses of time by Thessaly and Boeotia, had passed through the ceramic phases called Early and Middle Geometric; it is only much later, in the middle of the eighth century, that the slack is taken up, rather suddenly and even then not permanently. The Late Geometric style, which began to flourish then, is the first pottery style to be simultaneously and almost universally accepted in Greece since Mycenaean times.

The period that we have first to deal with is thus characterized by pottery of Late Protogeometric and, in some areas, of Early Geometric style. Once we look beyond the pottery classification, there are signs that this period formed a unity of which the main feature is a revival, apparently inspired from Attica, and sufficiently marked to betoken, in some scholars' opinions, the end of the Greek 'Dark Age'.[21] This last view is not, however, accepted here; the main reasons are that the phenomena of resurgence and innovation which appear between about 950 and 850 B.C. are so unevenly spread over the Greek lands, and that, even where they do occur, they are not apparently sustained over the following century at the same rate of progression. Within the restricted area of central and northern Greece, we find represented three of the four main groupings which have been discerned for the Aegean,[22] on the basis of the pottery styles of the later Protogeometric period; and the differences in their material culture extend far beyond the pottery.

To see the degree of this revival at its highest, we may begin in Athens

[20] D 24, 291–5; D 18, 302–31; D 62, 106–35.
[21] So, e.g., D 26, 11.
[22] *CAH* II.2, chapter 36.

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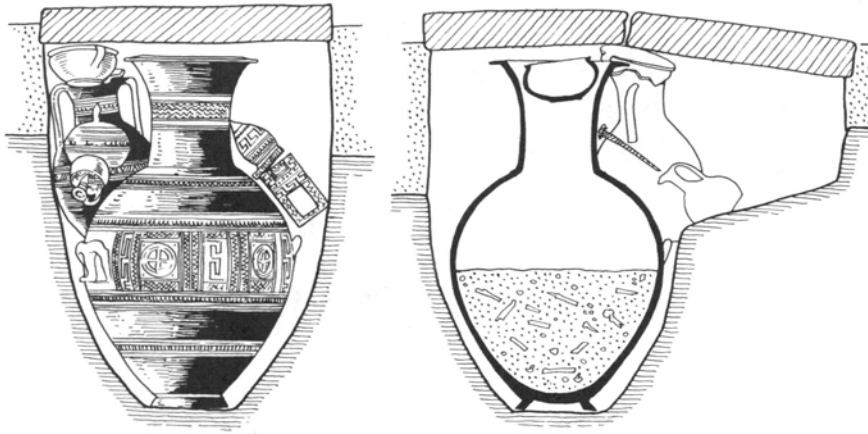

Fig. 61. Athenian cremation burial of a woman, mid 9th century B.C. (Agora H16.6). This was a rich burial containing altogether more than eighty items of jewellery and pottery, including model granaries. (After D 120, pl. 18.)

itself. Here there is a small number of cremation-burials, mostly in the Agora and Ceramicus cemeteries, whose contents suggest a picture in sharp contrast with that of the recent past. We have, in approximate chronological order, Protogeometric graves 40, 39 and 48 of the Ceramicus;[23] Agora grave D16.2 or the 'Boot grave';[24] Agora grave D16.4 or the 'Warrior grave';[25] a double grave found in 1964 in Ayios Markos Street;[26] Geometric graves 41, 42 and 43 of the Ceramicus;[27] and the rich female grave H16.6 of the Agora, discovered in 1967 (fig. 61).[28] Other rich grave-groups, roughly contemporary with the latest of this list and including gold and bronze jewellery, are preserved in the British Museum,[29] in Berlin[30] and in Toronto,[31] but with no provenance more precise than 'Attica'. These dozen or so burials are spread over two or three generations in the late tenth and earlier ninth centuries. They produced much pottery of superior quality; fairly copious bronze jewellery and bronze bowls; iron chisels, knives, axes, horse-bits, swords, spear-heads; faience and glass beads; one or two representational figurines in clay and metal; small ivories; and a certain amount of gold.[32] The finds excel, in quantity and often in kind, those from all known Athenian graves of the previous four centuries. Some of the materials – the ivory, the faience, the gold – and certain of the bronze and iron types point unequivocally to the existence of lively

[23] D 100, 39–46.
[24] D 144.
[25] D 78.
[26] D 127, 55–7.
[27] D 101, 235–9.
[28] D 120.
[29] D 88.
[30] D 10, 77–8.
[31] D 89.
[32] D 110, figs. 11–12, 15–16, 24–5, 28–31.

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overseas contacts, with places at least as far off as Cyprus and the coast of Syria. The inventories of the grave-goods in several cases run to over fifty items, suggesting that, at least for some individuals in Athens, a significant surplus of wealth had been created. One of the graves, the rich female cremation found in 1967, has even produced finds which hint at the basis of this new-found wealth: a large model granary, and a clay chest whose lid is decorated with five further such models (fig. 61).[33] This is the first of a long line of occurrences of such objects in Attic graves.

The reappearance of a wider range of bronze artefacts, some of them quite elaborate, may be of equal importance. Not since the last days of Mycenaean culture had anything of the kind been seen in this part of Greece. The controlling factor must have been the availability of supplies,[34] especially of tin, the lesser but for the Aegean by far the more difficult to obtain of the constituents of bronze. In the preceding years, when overseas communications had shrunk to their minimum, tin may have been almost impossible to acquire except by the melting down and reworking of Mycenaean bronzes. For some parts of Greece, including Attica, the gap had been to some extent filled by the providential mastery of iron-working. In Athens and some other centres, we find iron used for such surprising articles as dress-pins, fibulae, horse-bits and cauldrons, as well as the more natural cutting implements and weapons. But now bronze begins to show a resurgence in these categories, where its ability to be cold-worked conferred a distinct advantage. It is surely no coincidence that this happens at a time when overseas voyages to Cyprus and Syria, regions far closer to the more plausible sources of tin, can be independently shown to have been resumed. The establishment of a bronze foundry at Lefkandi in Euboea[35] is a contemporary phenomenon which must be related to this development. The simplistic sequence from a 'Bronze Age' to an 'Iron Age' obscures the fact that, in many fully-developed iron-using cultures, the quality and virtuosity of the bronze industry is a measure, not of early date, but on the contrary of the developing prosperity and sophistication of society. Here, therefore, we may have a sufficient explanation and background for the rather sudden resumption of maritime contacts in the Aegean of around 900 B.C. The picture may be not so much of wealth derived from trade, as of trade arising from a fundamentally agricultural wealth, and from the increasing sophistication which this bred. There is one hint of an alternative indigenous source of wealth in Attica at this time: silver extraction in

[33] D 120, 92–7. See Plates Vol.
[34] D 62, 231–49.
[35] See chapter 18(*b*).

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the famous Laurium mines, by cupellation from lead, has been traced at Thoricus to the years round 900 B.C.[36]

This rather abrupt efflorescence can be set against a somewhat broader background. The frequency of burials of all kinds, and of wells in the area of the later Agora, increased markedly in Athens at this period, in a way which must indicate a distinct rise in population.[37] Meanwhile the resettlement of the Attic countryside, much of it hitherto almost deserted on present evidence, proceeded apace, as is shown by the appearance of Late Protogeometric pottery at such places as Aliki (Aexone), Anavyssos (Anaphlystus),[38] Brauron, Eleusis, Marathon, Merenda (Myrrhinous),[39] Thoricus and elsewhere, as well as at sites now on the edge of modern Athens such as Nea Ionia (Iphistiadae)[40] and Menidi (Acharnae).[41] When one takes the several dimensions of this picture together, there are grounds for connecting them with another process, in this case dimly remembered in the historical record, and at first peculiar to this one region: the synoecism of Attica. Notwithstanding the ancient attribution of this act to Theseus, it seems difficult today to believe that the union had taken place in the Late Bronze Age;[42] some aspects of the material evidence from Mycenaean Attica are hard to reconcile with the idea of a centralized political organization dominated by Athens. Furthermore, any such precedent would have become almost irrelevant in the conditions of the eleventh and earlier tenth centuries, when the countryside of Attica seems to have been deserted by much of the population. The crucial stage of the development probably came in the later tenth and the ninth centuries, when for the first time Athens could expect to resume something of its former pattern of settlement and of its power; the significant step would then have been the recognition that the new cultivators of the Attic countryside, even as far afield as the plain of Marathon, could retain their citizenship of Athens. Some of them presently reached and subsequently maintained a striking level of prosperity (see below, pp. 676, 687). Save for the rejection of the link with Theseus, this interpretation is hardly at variance with the account of the synoecism given in Thucydides. On the contrary, his description expressly states that Athenians could participate fully in the affairs of the city and yet enjoy their property, a consideration especially relevant to the nobles and other prosperous landowners.

The unusually rich appearance of some Attic burials in the years between about 900 and 850 B.C. is easier to understand against the

[36] D 77, II 29–30.
[37] D 18, 360 n. 1; D 132, 16.
[38] D 104.
[39] D 113; D 103; pottery in Brauron Museum.
[40] D 119.
[41] For this and other sites not referred to above see D 26, 159–60, 363–4 and references there.
[42] For a different view see *CAH* II.2, 169, 347–8.

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background of a synoecism. Nowhere else in central and northern Greece as here defined, and at very few places outside it (Argos perhaps, Cnossus, and Lefkandi in Euboea) is this picture even approximately matched for the next few generations. The success of the Athenian solution evidently lay in its unique coordination of town and country life, over an area as wide as the 2,600 square kilometres of Attica. The ultimate results show that the process must have been effective enough to outweigh the relative disadvantage, in the extent of good arable land, under which Attica laboured. The rather later, but in some ways parallel, case of the consolidation of the Corinthian city-state[43] serves to show that a true urban nucleus was not a prerequisite of such political integration: in both places, the 'city' at the relevant period consisted physically of a cluster of separate villages. The picture that emerges from the Athenian graves – a prosperous elite which, whether resident in the 'city' or outside, drew its wealth in the main from arable farming, was able to profit from an element of long-distance maritime traffic, and had an incipient taste for representational art – is just what one might expect to result from an Attic synoecism.

The extent of the contrast with the rest of Greece becomes clear when we look at the contemporary developments elsewhere in our region. As with Athens, so in other places the evidence comes very largely from graves, and we are woefully short of excavated settlements; but at least this means that there is the basis for a fair comparison. In Boeotia, we have cemeteries at Thebes,[44] Orchomenus[45] and Vranesi Copaïdos,[46] the last-named alone including some cremations; in Phocis, the recently excavated cemetery at Anticyra (Medeon),[47] at this stage predominantly a cremation-site, with a few other scattered discoveries at Delphi[48] and elsewhere. West of the Pindus, there is a serious chronological problem, in that we have no proof that the rather individual local style of Protogeometric is contemporary with any but the very latest Protogeometric of the eastern zone. But certain levels in the ruinous settlement at Aetos on Ithaca,[49] and a few burials at Pylene and Calydon in coastal Aetolia,[50] can be assumed to be roughly contemporary with the developments that we have been considering in Attica. Only from Thessaly is there an appreciable quantity of material, and much of this is imperfectly known. At Iolcus, there are settlement-levels of the period as well as burials;[51] further cemeteries or burials are known at Halus[52] and Pteleum[53] in Achaea Phthiotis; from Theotokou in Magnesia;[54] and

[43] D 198.
[44] D 94, 25–32.
[45] D 18, 197.
[46] D 121.
[47] D 134.
[49] D 105.
[49] D 86; D 74.
[50] D 109.
[51] D 129.
[52] D 139.
[53] D 136.
[54] D 140, 209–14.

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also from Homolium in the Vale of Tempe[55] and Marmariani in the foothills of Ossa,[56] sites which lie geographically within our region but whose cultural links with Macedonia to the north are very strong. Settlement-levels of the period, apparently rather disturbed, were also detected at Palaiokastro, and at Ktouri further to the west, both inland from Iolcus.[57]

The whole of this extensive area shows finds of a continuing and almost uniform austerity. Neither the element of intrinsic value in the Athenian finds, nor that of exotic overseas connexions, can be matched anywhere. The nearest approach to rich burials occurs at Homolium and Marmariani, where indeed we find a few gold objects and much bronze jewellery and iron weapons; these finds, however, look northwards, and find their closest parallels in the great Macedonian cemetery at Vergina. They are in fact the southernmost manifestation of a basically Balkan phenomenon. Elsewhere, there are many graves with no more than a single pot accompanying the dead; metal-work of any kind is rare, and in some cases those tools and weapons which occur are not only of bronze, but of actual Bronze Age type, suggesting that the knowledge of iron-working had yet to penetrate to some regions.[58] Evidence for overseas contact hardly exists.

This deep contrast between Athens and the rest of central Greece suggests that there was no very lively intercommunication. To a certain extent, Athens had turned her back for a time on continental Greece, and was looking to the Aegean Sea, its islands and the lands beyond it, both the newly flourishing settlements of Ionia and the foreign territories further afield. Nearer home, Athenian readiness to communicate with other centres on the Aegean seaboard at this time may have formed the basis for an association of which later Greeks preserved a faint memory, the Amphictyony of Calauria.[59] This was centred on the island of Calauria in the Saronic Gulf; its membership embraced, from north to south, Orchomenus, Athens, Aegina, Epidaurus, Nauplia, Hermione and Prasiae in eastern Laconia. Excavation has shown that at least three of the member sites, in addition to Athens itself, belonged to the more advanced and Attic-influenced pottery groupings: Orchomenus, Aegina and Nauplia. The association of these places, which runs so strongly counter to later political alignments, can be more plausibly accommodated in this era than in any other.

Some of the less spectacular developments in Attica are reflected, it is true, in neighbouring Boeotia and in coastal Thessaly. There may even have been emigration to the former area from Attica in the late tenth

[55] D 130.
[56] D 87; D 18, 158–60. Above, p. 655.
[57] D 75, 90–119, 122–91.
[58] D 62, 239–49.
[59] Str. 374; D 18, 337, 343.

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century, or so the pottery suggests[60] (and we have seen that Orchomenus belonged to the Calaurian league). But a more widespread reaction for these other regions was to reciprocate Athenian tendencies by turning to their own, and to each others', resources and inspirations. Two major cultural groupings, as already mentioned (p. 665), can be traced in our area which are exclusive of Attica; they are based largely but not entirely on pottery styles. Their boundaries may intersect with each other, and with those of the Attic-dominated grouping, but their independent characteristics are nevertheless clear. First, there is the Thessalian grouping,[61] whose area for a time extended beyond continental Greece to cover Euboea, Scyros and the northern Cyclades;[62] it is also, not surprisingly, the medium through which pass such influences from southern Greece as are detectable in Macedonia.[63] It can in no wise be called a backward region yet, although the Thessalian part of it was to become such; the relatively impressive architectural traces at Iolcus are sufficient proof of that. It is characterized by a partial acceptance of the main Attic innovations: there is some mastery of iron-working, but alongside this a tendency to retain some much earlier bronze types in use. There are localized appearances of cremation, but the practices differ in detail from those in Attica, and there is no whole-hearted acceptance of the rite at any time. Instead, the characteristic Thessalian practice was apparently to inhume adults in tholos-tombs of basically Mycenaean pattern, and children in stone-lined cists close to the settlement. In the Thessalian hinterland, the sites closest to Macedonia at first copy that region in retaining hand-made pottery; while everywhere the local wheel-made Protogeometric shows a persistent fondness for certain 'northern' shapes which had originated in hand-made ware; this is so even in Euboea, where a wave of Attic influence strongly diluted the original 'Thessalian' repertoire.[64] These same ceramic features also create a small overlap, at Delphi and Medeon, with the second cultural grouping,[65] which embraces Phocis, Aetolia and Ithaca, and whose boundaries once again extend out of our region into the northern, western and southern Peloponnese. Here the picture is different again, and on the whole more backward-looking. There had been clear cases of Mycenaean survivals into the earlier Dark Age here, and there is a continuing delay in accepting new influences now. Contacts via the coastal waters, to the Ionian islands and across the Gulf of Corinth, are far stronger than overland ones to the Aegean. There is no evidence of the adoption of iron-working yet; the few metal objects are of bronze and lacking in typological innovation. Cremation

[60] D 24, 299.
[61] D 24, 127–53, 166–79; D 62, 154–5, 236.
[62] See chapter 18(*b*).
[63] See chapter 15.
[64] D 26, 188–201.
[65] D 62, 159–60, 170–2, 239–45.

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appears in the Medeon cemetery, but inhumation is the normal rite, and interment in a pithos the commonest means of disposal. The pottery style characterized by J. N. Coldstream as 'Western Greek Protogeometric'[66] shows remarkable persistence over the whole region; there is every reason to think that it was still current in the eighth century. Despite the paucity of material here, far more acute than in the Thessalian-dominated grouping, we are probably safe in regarding this whole region, for all its size and later importance, as for the moment out of touch with developments on the Aegean seaboard.

In these circumstances, it is hard to accept this as an era of general vitality in Greece. We find, in the different regions, a strong positive correlation between certain qualities: relative populousness, signs of selective wealth, innovatory tendencies, openness to overseas contacts, versatility in bronze-work. This is interesting enough, even though it remains difficult to distinguish the elements of cause and effect within these categories. It appears likely that some Greek communities, and pre-eminently Athens, were in position for a potential economic resurgence; we have speculated above (pp. 668–9) on a possible explanation for the phenomenon in Athens. This was not the first moment when the possibility of major development had seemed to arise; we may compare the onset of the Protogeometric style, also under Athenian inspiration, in the mid eleventh century; then, too, there had been some selective beneficial effect on other Greeks, notably in the form of the Ionian migration. But then, as now, the sequel had been obscure and disappointing. A distinct step forward had been taken, but it did not yet lead to an inexorable process of advance. Changes in the society and economy of Greece were not sufficiently fundamental to affect the lives of the majority of the population over the greater part of the area.

III. THE LATER NINTH AND EARLIER EIGHTH CENTURIES B.C.

The next century coincides roughly with the lifetime of the Middle Geometric pottery style in Athens. But once again there is no unity of ceramic development: the Middle Geometric schools which grow up in Thessaly, Boeotia, Phocis and perhaps Ithaca do so only after a substantial lapse of time relative to Athens; elsewhere, in Locris, the Megarid, Aetolia and Acarnania there is little evidence that this style was accepted at all.[67] It is still in the other centres on the Aegean seaboard, lying outside our area, that the liveliest response to Attic initiatives is to be found; and presently we shall see one of them, Corinth, encroaching strongly upon this neglected hinterland.

[66] D 18, 221–3. [67] D 18, especially 327–30.

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Nor, it seems, do the pottery styles belie the general situation. We look in vain for fresh initiatives in central and northern Greece outside Attica, and indeed it may be a sign of their lack that, from about 800 B.C. on, a fresh wave of Attic ceramic influence sweeps Thessaly, which had recently stood aside from most developments in Attica, as well as Boeotia which had not.[68] A parallel Attic wave is detectable as far away as the Dodecanese, eastern Crete and, from a slightly earlier date, the Cyclades too. The most striking exemplification of this process in our region is given by an entirely new set of burials, in cremation-pyres under tumuli, at Halus in southern Thessaly.[69] The pottery shows such marked Attic influence that it is natural to think that the innovatory burial rite may come from the same source, even though it is linked with other funerary practices which cannot have done so. But this is not enough to disturb the general pattern of a rather obscure and provincial continuity, which is now indeed found at its strongest on other Thessalian sites. There is a long list of cursorily published Thessalian cemeteries, of alleged Geometric date, where inhumation in tholoi or other vaulted tombs under tumuli prevails in the time-honoured manner.[70] Moving further south, we find a similar lack of development in Boeotia and Phocis; established cemeteries at sites like Orchomenus, Vranesi and Medeon continue, with no more consequential change than a tendency to revive inhumation.

West of the Pindus, the few known burials appear to give a similarly negative impression. But here at last, from a date probably very early in the eighth century, appear other signs of new life. They are seen primarily on a new class of site, sanctuaries, and they come from a new source, Corinth (fig. 62).[71] Perhaps the first step in this new development took place with the establishment, around 800 B.C., of a cult of Hera Acraea on the promontory of Perachora north of Corinth; a foundation which, if not necessarily the work of Corinthians, was attended from the first by copious Corinthian dedications.[72] It was not long before a similar phenomenon appeared much further west, in a sanctuary at Aetos on Ithaca; here too there are grounds for thinking that the original cult may have been established by local initiative, but early in its life it fell under overwhelming Corinthian influence, to a degree which is most easily understood if Corinthians were permanently settled on the island.[73] The existing communications hereabouts ran primarily along and across the Gulf of Corinth (p. 671), and the new Corinthian current rapidly spread in the same directions. From the same date as that of the Ithacan episode, we find Corinthian pottery arriving in

[68] D 18, 161–3, 348–51.
[69] D 139.
[70] D 62, 205–6 with references.
[71] D 18, 352–4.
[72] D 195, I 16–77.
[73] D 116.

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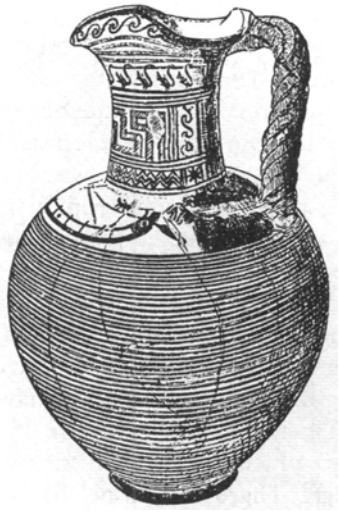

Fig. 62. Proto-Corinthian oenochoe, said to be from Thebes, decorated with a masted ship. About 700 B.C. Height 48·5 cm. (Berlin, Staatliche Museen 3143; after K. F. Johansen, *Les Vases Sicyoniens* (1923), pl. 1.3.)

quantity at a third and greater sanctuary, Delphi.[74] It is, again, inherently likely – not least because Delphi shows signs of having been a place of worship in Mycenaean times[75] – that the cult had been resumed here before this; but the first positive proof comes only with the onset of the Corinthian dedications. A fourth sanctuary site, where the evidence is less clear but the sequence of events led ultimately in the same direction, is Thermum in Aetolia;[76] the Corinthian impact here was in the end to be as strong as anywhere. Presently, in the age of colonization, a series of famous Corinthian colonies was to be sent out along these western sea-lanes, but it is remarkable to find that their exploration began in strength as early as this.

Was there a comparable Athenian enterprise, in other geographical directions, at this time? There is indeed a certain resemblance, in the wide diffusion of Attic Middle Geometric pottery and of its influence on other Geometric wares,[77] to the case of Corinth in the west. But the resemblance does not survive close inspection: the actual exports of Attic ware are more notable for their quality than their quantity, and the most conspicuous are fine showpieces in the graves of Cypriot notables, and on Levantine settlement sites. They, and the influence of Attic pottery on other Geometric styles, are probably more of a tribute to its technical excellence than anything else. A case can admittedly be

[74] D 108.
[75] D 81; D 114, 5–21 with D 107.
[76] D 115.
[77] D 18, 16–28.

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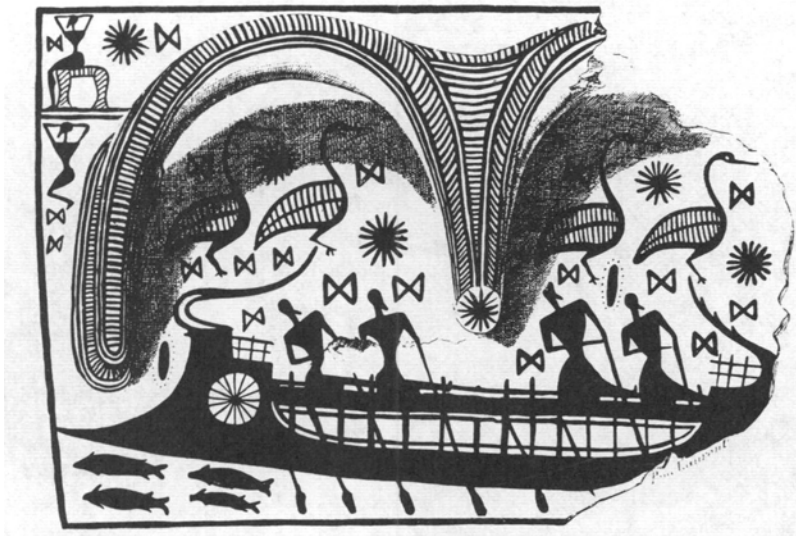

Fig. 63. An oared warship under way, from an Attic Late Geometric I krater. About 750 B.C. (Paris, Louvre A 517; after G. Perrot and C. Chipiez, *Histoire de l'art*, VII 167, fig. 49.)

made for thinking that Attic maritime trade was enjoying a modest heyday between about 850 and 750 B.C.:[78] there are representations of ships on Attic fibulae at the beginning of this period,[79] and ship scenes painted on Attic vases just before its end (fig. 63), with closely observed renderings of what can only be contemporary vessels. Of these, the latter class of evidence at least portrays naval rather than mercantile activity, and this raises the question of piracy. We have the explicit authority of Thucydides (1.5–8) for believing that, at some unspecified early period, piracy dominated the life of the Aegean. He may well be referring to an earlier period than this, however; his touchstone for the prevalence of piracy is the tendency to occupy inland sites and avoid coastal settlements. By that criterion, the later Dark Age must have found piracy already a waning threat, for coastal towns and even sanctuaries begin to proliferate; Hesiod, a little later, describes the hazards of sea travel without numbering pirates among them. It seems likelier that this early Athenian naval power, if we are entitled to deduce its existence, was as much exercised in maintaining the security of the seas as in furthering any expansionist aims. At all events, Attic maritime activity of this era left no memory to later times, nor did it lead to the opening of a permanent sphere of influence comparable to that of Corinth.

These perhaps tangled strains of argument may be put in some kind

[78] D 18, 348–51. [79] D 110, 106, 126.

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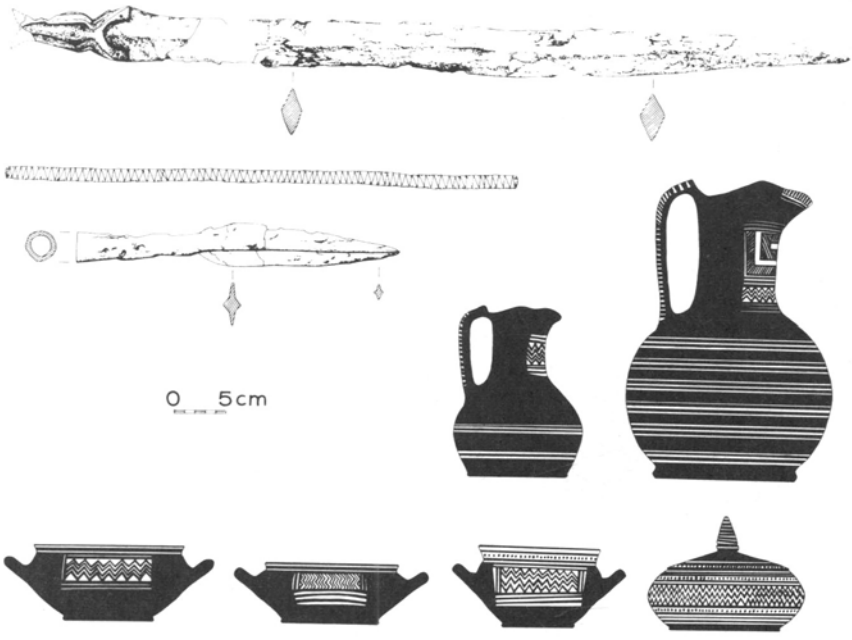

Fig. 64. Athenian inhumation burial, late 9th century B.C. (Kerameikos hS 109). The contents are richer than average: a sword, a spear-head, a gold band, two oenochoae, a pyxis and three skyphoi. (After B. Schlörb-Vierneisel, *Ath. Mitt.* 81 (1966), 7–8.)

of order by considering the internal situation of Attica. There appears at first to be no advance on the impressive beginnings at Athens itself (p. 666) in the preceding era. In terms of their material wealth, the graves of Middle Geometric Athens are disappointing after this start (fig. 64), although rich new finds are reported from the Cynosarges area;[80] but they give other valuable indications. The frequency of burials increases steadily as time passes, while in the area of the future Agora wells are being dug with more than twice the frequency by the end of this period as at its beginning.[81] Clearly the population of Athens was still rising and this, so far from being at the expense of the surrounding countryside, went hand in hand with increasing populousness and prosperity there. Of the earlier Attic rural settlements, Anaphlystus,[82] Eleusis,[83] Myrrhinous[84] and Thoricus[85] go from strength to strength, and the grave-goods at Eleusis if anything outshine those in Athens. One recalls the Attic tradition that the integration of Eleusis had been the last phase of the synoecism; perhaps the whole process took several

[80] D 72.
[81] D 18, 360 n. 1.
[82] D 92; D 138.
[83] D 125.
[84] D 113; D 103; D 135.
[85] D 77.

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generations, and this settlement, together with the Thriasian plain, was not yet incorporated in the Athenian state. A fresh cemetery is also established in the later ninth century, perhaps significantly, at the Piraeus;[86] it is followed, in the early eighth, by others at Vari (Anagyrous)[87] and at Callithea[88] between Athens and Phalerum. In this respect, the parallel with Corinth (p. 669) becomes a contrast: there, the growth of the *polis* in the eighth century and the onset of colonization seem, on present evidence, to have brought about some depopulation of the surrounding Corinthia. Attica's abstention from the colonizing process may be responsible for some of the differences of effect in the later stages; but her more broadly and evenly spread population was a positive benefit, and surely accrued from her social and political reorganization.

Underlying the steady development of Attic pottery during this century-long period, a change of great importance was in gestation, and shows itself before the end; this is the introduction of narrative scenes, on a few vases small and large, during the second quarter of the eighth century.[89] They are narrative in the sense that they record a definite action, even though the manner in which they do so has been rightly called 'generic, impersonal and timeless'.[90] Some of the significance we attribute to them, it is true, comes from our knowledge that later Greek representational art was to grow from this same germ, and to display some of the same qualities. But even had the experiment not been sustained, it would have been enough to show a change of heart from the preceding Dark Age. It suggests, among other things, a wider appreciation of leisure and, on the part of both producer and consumer, a further refinement of taste. The precise interpretation of the individual scenes remains deeply controversial; it is by no means unanimously accepted that they can be taken as any kind of commentary on contemporary Attic life, for we know that the Greeks of this period were developing an intense concern for an era other than their own, the Heroic Age (see below, pp. 682–7 and 791–2). We may meanwhile content ourselves with noting that, once again, an innovation of lasting importance was introduced in Attica distinctly earlier than its appearances elsewhere.

There is another field, broader both geographically and socially, in which this period acquires a significance from having sown the seeds of greater future developments. The physical manifestations of Greek religion are only one of the ways in which we can chart its progress towards the high position that it held in Classical times; but they

[86] D 128.
[87] D 91 with D 80, 672.
[88] D 80; D 90.
[89] D 18, 26–8.
[90] D 18, 351.

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provide a solid and independent check on the doubtless more fruitful inferences which can be derived from internal evidence. But even here, problems of interpretation abound. A site does not always declare its sanctity unequivocally. At this period we shall look largely in vain for the specific structure which distinguishes a sanctuary of historical times, the temple. The small apsidal temple of Hera Acraea at Perachora, dated to about 800 B.C., and perhaps 'Megaron B' at Thermum, larger but much more equivocal in both status and date,[91] are rare exceptions in our region. Cult practice will probably be indicated instead by the number and nature of objects dedicated; but unless these objects include pottery in some quantity, there are likely to be further difficulties over chronology; small bronzes, for example, show a disturbing tendency to turn up as votives some generations or even centuries after their date of manufacture. Still, we have already inferred the establishment within this period, in the region of the Corinthian Gulf (p. 673), of three or four sanctuary sites, one of which, Delphi, was destined to achieve fame throughout the civilized world. These are not the only, nor yet the earliest known examples in our region. Once again, strikingly early instances have come to light in and around Athens. At a sanctuary of Zeus near the summit of Mount Hymettus,[92] and in another place which has been plausibly associated with the cult of the local hero Academus, some three kilometres north-west of the Acropolis,[93] the earliest votives in each case consist of Late Protogeometric pottery, of rather before 900 B.C. In the latter instance, the votives run to some two hundred more or less complete pots; then there is an apparent hiatus before, in the late eighth century and at 150 metres' distance, a substantial building is erected for the cult, which is probably then continuous down to that time when the once obscure eponymous hero is immortalized by the establishment of Plato's Academy close by. Both cults thus lasted till historical times; like so many of the contemporary cemetery-sites of the Attic countryside, which mark the nuclei of later demes, and like other more abstract categories of innovation at this period, they had come to stay. It was the historical Athens that was being shaped. In the heart of the contemporary settlement, another structure has recently been reinterpreted as a centre for the Cult of the Dead;[94] this is the oval building on the northern slope of the Areopagus, for long known as a Geometric house, built at a date near 800 B.C. and, in this case, abandoned no later than about 730 B.C.; the area nevertheless retained its associations. Further afield, Attic finds dominate the early phases of dedication at the sanctuary of Aphaea on Aegina.[95] From Boeotia and

[91] D 27, 28 and 14–17.
[92] D 143.
[93] D 126.
[94] D 131, 60.
[95] D 85, 436–40.

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Thessaly, however, there is no substantial evidence that the use of the cult centres begins before about 750 B.C., and they will therefore be dealt with in the following section.

IV. THE MIDDLE AND LATER EIGHTH CENTURY B.C.

The developments of the middle years of the eighth century differ not merely in degree but in kind from the earlier changes and advances that we have noticed. One recurrent factor is that much of the initial impetus for change seems again to derive from Athens and Attica, but most other features of this time are unprecedented. It is an epoch of transformation rather than mere progress, the first and most mysterious of a long, but widely spaced, series of such outbursts in the recorded history of Europe, when the constraints of past centuries are shaken off and, in an astonishingly short time, something really permanent is founded in their place. There now came into being a culture with a common technology, with shared aspirations, and with reciprocal relations, right across the Greek world from Ithaca to Miletus, and from Crete to Tempe. Some would regard this epoch of achievement as forming one of the two high points, with the fifth century B.C., in the whole era of Hellenic culture.[96] Certainly there is a ring of confidence about every undertaking of this age – the easy mastery of alphabetic writing, the swifth prosperity of the colonies presently sent out, the self-sufficiency and consistency of Geometric figure-drawing, the delighted rediscovery of the Heroic Age, its celebration in the Homeric epics, the flowering of the great sanctuaries and their associated architecture, the diversification of the metal-working industries and the revival of forgotten arts, even the surging growth of the population.[97] Each of these innovations made a lasting contribution to Greek culture; this time there was no widespread lull or interruption to follow.

Insofar as any single factor can be said to underlie almost every activity of this era, it is *the land*:[98] the land whose possession must still have generated an overwhelming proportion of the wealth, and thus indirectly supported the industrial and artistic progress of the time; whose exploitation, both for mineral and more obviously for agricultural purposes, probably did more than anything to enable the population to grow; the titles to whose ownership were buttressed by innumerable actions of varying subtlety, from the promotion of cults and myths to the sacking of cities; whose overcrowding was, to say the least, a contributory factor in the launching of the colonizing movement. One would give much to know in greater detail how its distribution at this

[96] D 57, 88.
[97] D 18, 360–90; D 62, 416–36.
[98] D 54.

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time was reflected in the social and political order. But even for Attica, the region best documented in later written sources, there are strict limits to the range of justifiable *a posteriori* inferences. There are developments which we know to have occurred by the end of this final period; but there are very few which we can show, by this means, to have been achieved during its course rather than earlier. Our main contemporary source, the Homeric poems, has a congenital ambiguity which, by discrimination of judgement in rare cases, can be so far mastered as to yield chronological evidence. A case in point is that of the institution of the phratry;[99] the attitude shown in the *Iliad*, in which the phratry is a recognized but uncharacteristic feature of army organization, suggests that its creation was of fairly recent growth – but not too recent to be acceptable to the audience of the poems, and thus possibly of the era around 800 B.C. Doubt at once arises as to whether this conclusion can be taken as valid for, say, Attica, an area for which the poems give almost no evidence. But there is no great difficulty in reconciling the notion of an organized grouping of this kind, with a purported basis in kinship, with the settlement pattern that we find in Attica at this period (p. 677); nor yet in accepting that the organization may have been newly created, supplementing the broad divisions of the existing Attic tribes, so as to create a cohesive factor among the retainers of the aristocratic groups, who may have become geographically scattered. If so, the move was apparently an effective one: the emasculation of the hereditary monarchy of Athens, and its supplanting by a government of confederate aristocrats, were achieved probably in the eighth century B.C., and certainly before 682.

It is, once again, by the results rather than by the means that we can best judge the difference between Attica and other regions; but these are enough to make clear that the ownership and exploitation of the land often lie at the heart of things. As an extreme contrast with Attica, we may take the case of Thessaly: here we have a historically attested system in which a ruling minority, ensconced in towns like most other Greeks, held down a serf majority, the 'Penestae', whose lives were devoted to the cultivation of the estates of the nobility. It is difficult for us to imagine how such a regime could come into existence, save as an oppressive consequence of violent conquest; yet there is little sign of such violence in the earlier archaeological record, or indeed of such discrimination in the later. The furthest that we can go is to attribute the cultural eclipse of Thessaly during the ensuing period, the one clear fact to emerge from the record, to the very oppressiveness of this system.

Territorial factors are also linked, if less obviously, to the great new phenomenon of the age, which was in turn to help generate some of

[99] D 4.

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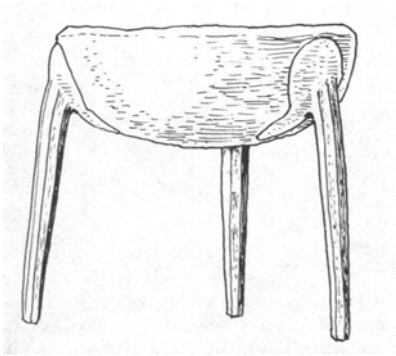

Fig. 65. Geometric tripod cauldron, a finely preserved specimen of the type which features prominently as an early dedication in the greater sanctuaries. Perhaps 9th century B.C. Height 29 cm. (Berlin, Staatliche Museen 1961.3; after a Museum photograph.)

its achievements. This was the growth of the sanctuary-sites (fig. 65) some of which indeed did not pass beyond a purely local significance, and a purpose which was merely that of consolidating the community's roots, either by the direct worship of an ancestral hero, or more often by claiming the long-standing patronage of a local deity. But other sanctuaries prospered beyond all reasonable expectations, to transcend the regional contrasts of the kind we have been considering, and to foster a sense of common interests in Greeks everywhere. The prime instance in central Greece was that of Delphi, a site which could not claim, either from geographical factors or on grounds of outstanding antiquity, any natural pre-eminence among Greek sanctuaries, but which, mainly through the exercise of superior political and diplomatic skill, came to dominate a whole era of Greek development. It is appropriate that it had also housed a cult of Mother Earth.[100] When territorial pressures suggested the launching of colonies, it was to the oracle of Apollo at Delphi that the Greek cities turned for guidance, and it was to Apollo that they gave the credit for the subsequent success of their ventures. The soliciting of Apollo's patronage in other fields of concern, both peaceful and warlike, by the Greek states, and their acceptance of his arbitration, is also likely to have begun before the end of the century.[101] Yet the material evidence from Delphi suggests that its rise must have been swift and recent. The discarded votives have an initial date of 800 B.C. or rather later: of 153 Geometric bronze figurines from Delphi, there is only one example which could date from before the eighth century.[102] Meanwhile, much of the area of the Apollo sanctuary was still built over with small houses, and no building of the period can be more than conjecturally identified as a shrine.[103] This is

[100] D 73, 201–14; for literary accounts of the rise of Delphi see D 50, 1 3–13.
[101] D 31. [102] D 117, 102. [103] D 106, especially 215.

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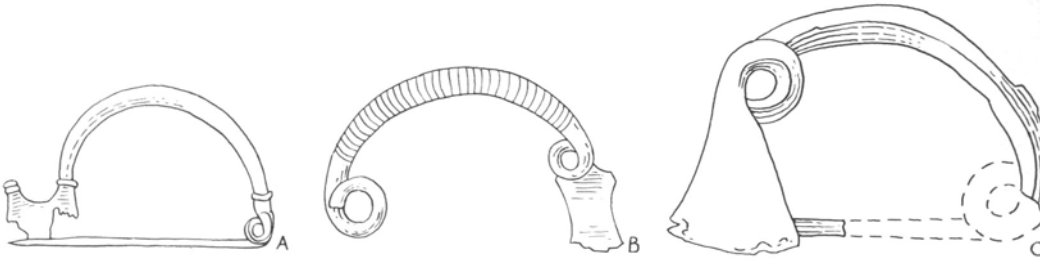

Fig. 66. Bronze fibulae of Balkan origin found among the dedications at the Thessalian sanctuaries of Artemis Enodia at Pherae and of Athena Itonia at Philia, and probably representing the offerings of transhumant nomads from farther north. Scale 1:2. (After D 96, pls. 29.799, 31.838, and D 95, 432, fig. 1.13.)

one of many illustrations of the narrow power base which generated the 'explosive evolution' of eighth-century Greece.

Delphi was not the only sanctuary of our region to attract attention from a relatively wide area. The outstandingly rich bronze dedications from two Thessalian sanctuaries, those of Artemis Enodia at Pherae and of Athena Itonia at Philia,[104] originate from a variety of centres further south, as well as including likely offerings from the nomads of the Pindus (fig. 66).[105] The sanctuary on Ithaca, although still dominated by Corinthian bronze and pottery dedications (cf. p. 673), attracted offerings from Euboea and Thessaly as well.[106] Among other sanctuaries of, as yet, less cosmopolitan character is the Ismenium at Thebes,[107] and there is some slight evidence of cult at other centres in Boeotia. The hitherto rather obscure early history of the sanctuary at Eleusis enters a clearer phase with the construction of a Sacred House, of late eighth-century date,[108] with rooms arranged round a central corridor, in a manner loosely paralleled by the contemporary structure at the site of Plato's Academy in Athens (p. 678). Older establishments, at Perachora and Aegina, extend their horizons, although remaining dominated respectively by Corinthian and by Attic influence.[109]

The growth of these 'official' centres was not the only manifestation of eighth-century religion to leave substantial traces; alongside them, there flourished a whole range of minor cults, almost all unknown to the literary records, but now recovered through excavation. They are concentrated around tombs of Mycenaean, or occasionally even earlier, date; and since the evidence of cult seldom begins before the second half of the eighth century, it is a natural conclusion that it was only then (often no doubt through the accidental collapse of tomb-chambers) that

[104] D 96.
[105] D 95. Above, p. 641.
[106] D 116; D 74.
[107] D 94, 66–79.
[108] D 111, 59–60.
[109] D 195; D 85; D 99.

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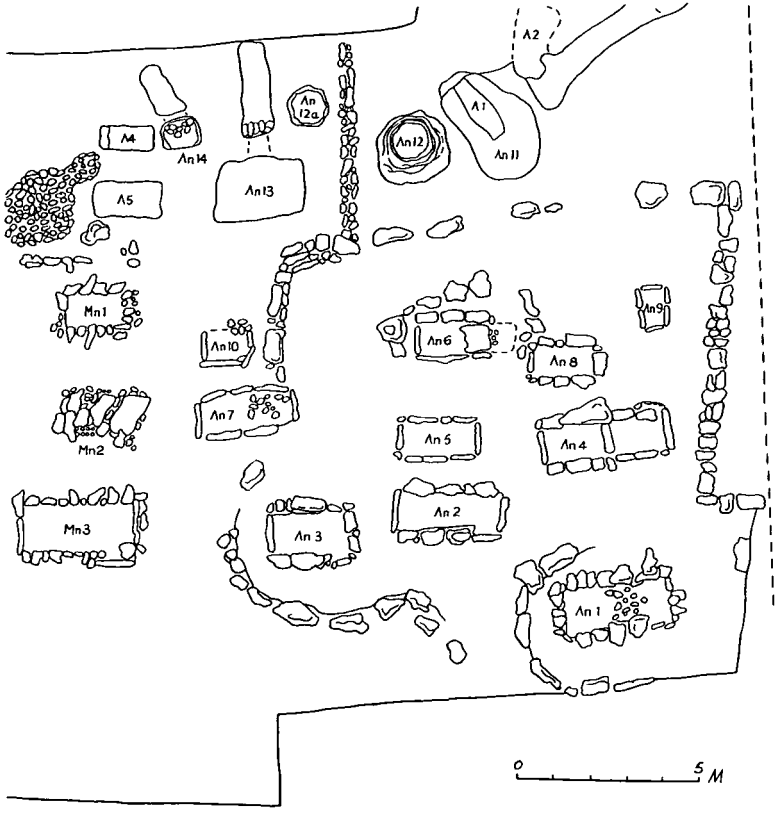

Fig. 67. Plan of a group of Middle Helladic cist-graves at Eleusis, which were surrounded by an enclosure wall in the late 8th century, at which time six of them had been discovered. They are very probably identified with those shown to Pausanias (1.39.2) as the graves of the Seven against Thebes (minus, presumably, Adrastus, who survived). (After D 112, pl. *A*.)

they had been rediscovered. The Peloponnese is especially rich in such cults, but Attica has its share, the most notable cases being in the *dromos* of the tholos-tomb at Menidi, where dedications begin soon after the middle of the century, with a series of large pedestalled kraters, presumably for libation;[110] and at Eleusis, where an enclosure-wall was built in this period (fig. 67) to segregate a group of Middle Helladic graves, which were probably those identified as belonging to the Seven Against Thebes,[111] and pointed out as such to Pausanias (1.39.2). Another instance of a grave-cult involving a Mycenaean tholos has recently been discovered at Medeon in Phocis.[112] From the same period or a little later, at the close of the century, begin some identifiable

[110] D 141.
[111] D 112, II 133–54.
[112] D 134, 29–30.

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hero-cults, known in the Peloponnese and, more doubtfully, elsewhere; in these cases, the dedications are placed not in a genuine tomb, but at the supposed site of either the tomb or the palace of the hero.[113]

It has further been suggested that this interest in the graves of the Heroic Age came to influence the burial practices of the contemporary Greeks themselves. Here the evidence is less clear, for the practices do not exactly reproduce those of the earlier era; but we can detect a marked revival of various modes of grouping burials together[114] in plots, enclosures or even under mounds, in a way which at least emphasizes the family allegiance of the deceased, and which may further reflect the influence of the characteristic multiple burials of the Heroic Age. A cemetery of cremations under tumuli at Anaphlystus (Anavyssos) in Attica could be a case of this latter tendency: the burials of this unusual type begin, once again, in the mid-eighth century.[115] Occasionally, too, we find that rediscovered Mycenaean vaults were actually re-used as tombs, which might be thought to show a more cavalier attitude to the heroic dead; but, as examples from Eleusis again show, [116] scrupulous care was often taken to avoid violating their repose.

When we recall that almost every major sanctuary in central and northern Greece was located over, or beside, the remains of Mycenaean structures (normally of a secular kind), it becomes clear that this intensification of religious activity was inseparably linked with the Heroic Age at every turn. Direct worship, in this period, of the personalities of the Heroic Age – Agamemnon, Iphigenia, Menelaus – is admittedly far less common than the resumption of the cult of deities after a long lapse; but the evidence strongly suggests that the location of such cults was prompted by the desire to follow precisely in the footsteps of those favourites of the gods, the great heroes. Not only would this enhance the prospects of divine favour but, as already observed, it would also facilitate the process of appropriating these same heroes as ancestors; and, as a final step in the process, the title of the landowning classes to their property would be improved by the claim that their 'ancestors' had once actually lived in the same locality.

In the light of archaeological excavation, we can see how specious many of these claims were. In site after site, the sequence is the same: a period of occupation in the Mycenaean age, and often earlier too; a prolonged desertion; and then (most often in the eighth century) either a resumption of settlement, usually indicated by the appearance of a new cemetery, or an inauguration of cult. The cults of Iphigenia and of Artemis at Brauron in eastern Attica give an instructive variant of this pattern;[117] here the Mycenaean settlement did not directly underlie the

[113] D 150.
[114] E.g. D 142; cf. D 62, 194–6.
[115] D 92.
[116] D 112, I 94–7; cf. II 155–8.
[117] D 97, with note by E. B. French in *BSA* 66 (1971), 179.

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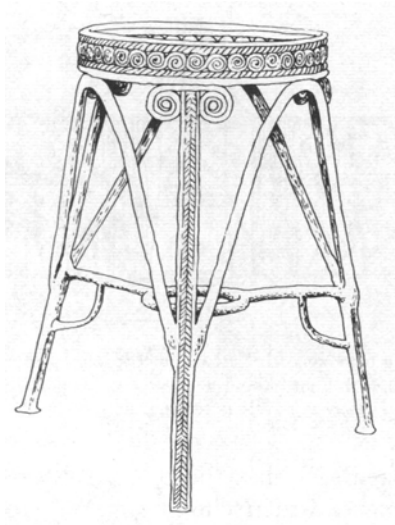

Fig. 68. Late Bronze Age rod tripod probably of Cypriot manufacture, found in a much later grave (about 740 B.C.) in the area of the Pnyx, Athens. It must have been either re-discovered by chance, or kept as an heirloom. Height 45 cm. (Athens, National Museum 7940; after *Ath. Mitt.* 18 (1893) pl. 14.1; see D 325, 194, pl. 28*a*.)

sanctuary, but was on a low acropolis nearby. The main cult was that of the patroness of crops, Artemis Brauronia, and its establishment was doubtless designed to consolidate the territorial position of the new settlers in this area, some of whose graves lay nearby. It is likely that this cult was preceded by that of some agricultural deity in the Mycenaean settlement; while in the case of the adjacent sanctuary of Iphigenia, a natural cave was almost certainly held to be her tomb or cenotaph. But in each case, the essential feature is the long break in continuity. At a few of the other sanctuary-sites of central Greece, it is virtually certain that cult activity had already taken place in Mycenaean times, and here the temptation to infer continuity of worship is strong. But the material evidence fails obstinately to support it; and there is an alternative interpretation which is actually supported by its absence. For it is the element of the remote, the unattainable, the amazing which gives a heroic age its flavour; and it may be that, in the case of the eighth-century Greeks, the exhilarating example of the Mycenaean age, remembered only in faint or distorted form, spurred them on to emulate so many of their predecessors' achievements, as they did, and to follow so closely in their tracks. An age that was not omnipresent in any material or historical sense, but whose attainments could be called up by epic recollection, or by chance discovery (fig. 68), was ideally suited to this role.

It was in this atmosphere of historical consciousness, of cult activity

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Fig. 69. Projected drawing from an Attic Late Geometric kantharos, showing scenes of duelling, athletics and an encounter with lions. About 740–730 B.C. (Copenhagen, National Museum 727; after Perrot and Chipiez, *Histoire de l'art*, VII 181, fig. 66.)

and of myth-propagation, that the figure-scenes of Geometric vase-painting (p. 677) reached their climax (fig. 69); for long the property of the Athenian school, they enjoyed a final aftermath in Boeotia.[118] There is a case for believing that elements in their iconography were derived from recovered Mycenaean objects.[119] Looking at them in this light, we may find it reasonable to expect a mythological intention on the artists' part. But the reader must be warned that a sceptical view is heavily preponderant in the most recent scholarship;[120] and that a mythological interpretation of an individual scene, taken in isolation, can almost never be pressed home. Individual interpretations will therefore not be discussed here. Suffice it to say that the identifications which have been proposed[121] involve episodes which (at least by later times) were incorporated in non-Homeric epics – notably the *Cypria* and *Aethiopis* – rather more often than those of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*; and that there is independent evidence, from vase-inscriptions on pottery dating from about 740 B.C. onwards, of familiarity with the metre and language of epic. The abiding problem is the generalized nature of Geometric drawing; to the sceptics, an argument against the possibility of any conception of individualised narrative on the part of the artists; to their opponents, merely an obstacle to its detection. But the evidence from contemporary cultural history, and the analogy with later Greek artists, who show a strong inclination towards mythological subjects in figure-scenes from the very beginning of the next century, are arguments which should also be taken into account. They are not an adequate foundation for a systematic doctrine of mythological interpretations; but they nevertheless justify the negative corollary of such a view, that the scenes on Late Geometric vases cannot be confidently

[118] D 18, 26–90; D 81; D 118.
[119] D 7, especially 114–23; D 45, 51–5.
[120] See especially D 30.
[121] For example in D 39 and D 70.

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Fig. 70. An amphibious battle. Projected drawing from an Attic Late Geometric oenochoe. About 730 B.C. (Copenhagen, National Museum 1628; after Perrot and Chipiez, *Histoire de l'art*, VII 179, fig. 63.)

interpreted as portrayals of real contemporary life in the later eighth century. Their evidence for warfare,[122] for example (fig. 70), can no more be taken at face value than can that of the *Iliad*.

Our knowledge of the cult practices of eighth-century Greece may be sporadic, but that of secular activities is much more obviously defective. To a great extent, it continues to depend on cemeteries and the objects that the graves contain. The one real improvement is that the sheer quantity of material, at least in some areas, is now so much greater that the picture has a chance of being representative. Graves or cemeteries of the eighth century are now known, for instance, in about a quarter of the original total of perhaps 139 demes in Attica[123] – a high proportion in relation to the normal survival rate from antiquity as a whole, and a striking one for so relatively early and brief a period. From their existence and distribution we can tell that the population of Athens and the countryside was already approximating to its Classical pattern; from the fact that about half the cemeteries contain no burials earlier than this period, we deduce that the population had risen very sharply indeed, although one can in no case flatly state that the localities in question had been uninhabited until now. The size of the various rural cemeteries, in some cases quite substantial, raises the further question of what form of agricultural settlement prevailed. In later times, we have some evidence for isolated farm-houses in the Attic countryside; but it is hard to believe that the massed burials of some eighth-century plots were not attached to organized settlements. A further point is the quality of the grave-goods in rural Attica, which compares well with that of graves inside Athens.[124] This picture of evenly spread prosperity can be reconciled with the traditional account of a synoecism which did not require that the notables be concentrated within the city (see p. 668).

The range and quality of the evidence from Athens and Attica is still not matched elsewhere in central Greece; but, relative to the preceding phases, there is a comparable tendency towards higher frequency of burials almost everywhere, suggesting a parallel if more modest rise in

[122] D 3.
[123] D 132A, especially 73–103 and Map 21.
[124] D 18, 361–2.

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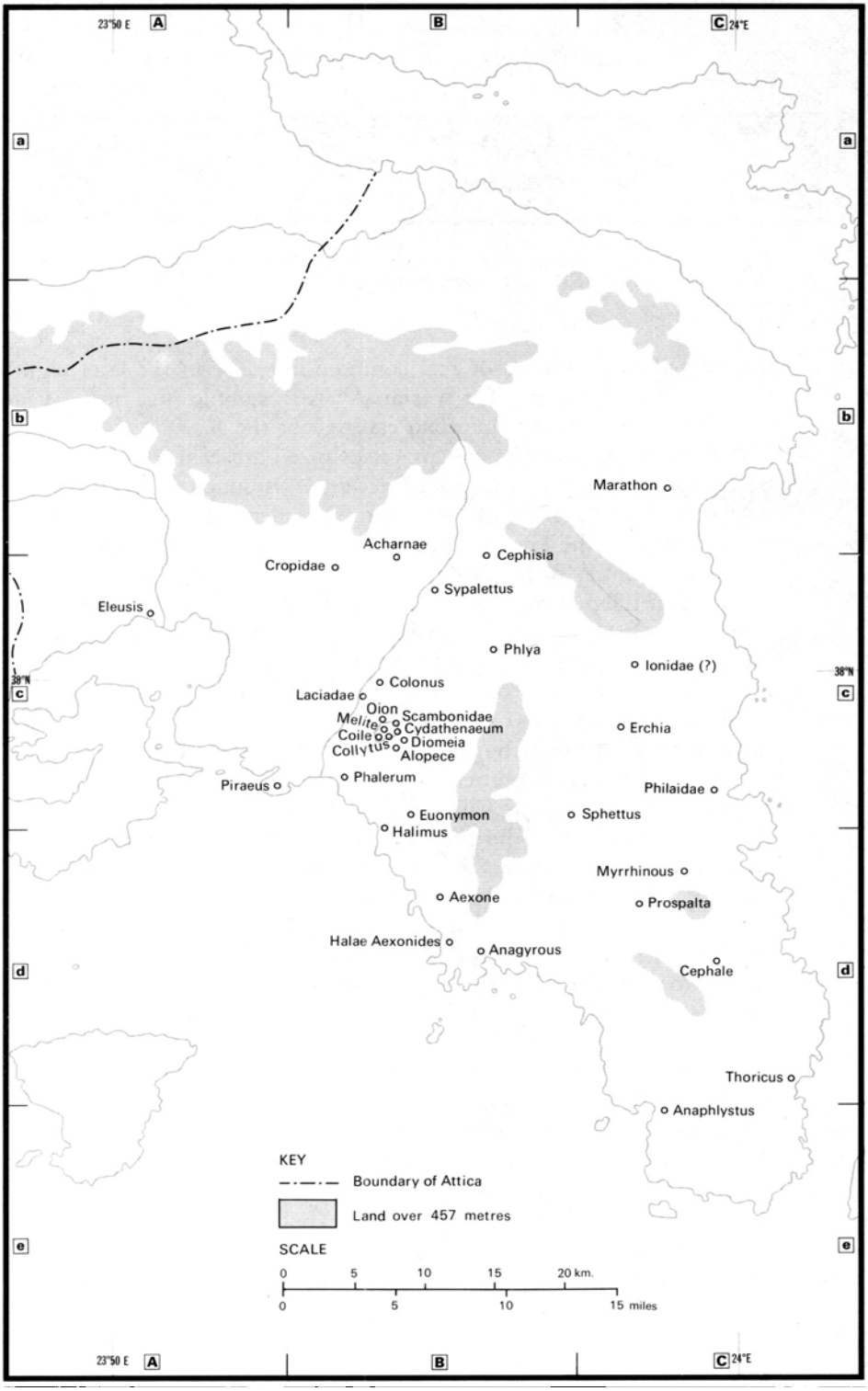

Map 21. Historical demes of Attica where there are graves of eighth-century B.C. date. (The locations of demes, some of which are conjectural, are taken from D 132A.)

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Fig. 71. A boar hunt. A Boeotian Late Geometric kantharos. About 720 B.C. Height 21·4 cm. (Bonn, Akademisches Kunstmuseum 664; after *Ath. Mitt.* 26 (1901), pl. 5; see D 118, 108.)

population. It is only in the eighth century, for example, that sites in the Megarid begin to be known, with graves at Ayioi Theodhoroi (Crommyon)[125] and later at Megara itself; but it has been convincingly argued that the Megarians must at some early date have founded a cult of Hera at Perachora, even though from the time of the construction of the first temple of Hera Acraea, at a date close to 800 B.C., the place was so swamped with dedications from Corinth as to suggest that it was under that city's control.[126] Yet these finds can give only the faintest impression of the true situation which led Megara to launch its first colony in 728, or to support the exploits of Orsippus at the end of the century.

At first sight, much the same could appear true of Boeotia: both at Thebes itself[127] and in other centres (Orchomenus,[128] Mycalessus[129]) there is some slight evidence from graves that the population is rising; while the Theban sanctuary-finds are augmented by the finds from the Ismenium.[130] Here, however, one can take account of two additional factors: first, the unenviable position of modern Thebes as a source of antiquities from unrecorded excavations, and secondly, the knowledge that, in the very closing years of the eighth century and the early decades of the seventh, Boeotia was to become a prolific centre of artistic production, some of it of high quality (fig. 71).[131] The combined effect of these factors is to add greatly to the richness of the record: Thebes at least emerges as a major cultural centre, even though its conservatism

[125] D 200.
[126] D 199.
[127] D 62, 207 with references.
[128] D 18, 197; D 24, 198.
[129] D 133, 17, 88.
[130] D 94.
[131] D 39; D 81; D 118.

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and its dependence, for a time, on Attic models prevent it from playing an influential role in the wider Greek world. Nevertheless, Boeotian products show a lively freedom of style and in one respect, the imagery of their figure-scenes, they offer more than any other region of Greece, with the debatable exception of Attica, in the years round 700 B.C. For this achievement, Thebes alone may be largely responsible, and on the material evidence at least one might judge that her ascendancy in Boeotia matched that of Athens in Attica. The historical record tells, however, of protracted warfare before any such recognition could be achieved, and of a late and grudging admission of Theban pre-eminence.[132] At least Boeotia avoided the fate of a population divided against itself on a racial pretext, as happened in Thessaly, and here relative prosperity in the eighth century may be not unconnected with this. A further, special factor may have conduced to Thebes's supremacy: the incomplete but nevertheless apparently effective drainage operations, which had been achieved in the Bronze Age (p. 657), and which had doubtless formed part of the basis for Boeotia's prosperity during that era,[133] were now no longer effective. The Cephissus and other rivers, whose rate of flow in winter exceeded the drainage capacity of the natural outlets, now overflowed the dykes of the Mycenaean canals, and kept large stretches of the Copais basin under water for up to half the year. The chief beneficiary of the earlier engineering works, Orchomenus, now became the main victim of their disuse, and Thebes inevitably benefited. There is no need to believe that the damage was caused by Theban sabotage, for all the romantic legend crediting this to Heracles;[134] gradual decay during the centuries of the Dark Age would be a credible and indeed an expected eventuality. Here too we may recall another natural factor which may have operated: the onset of the 'Sub-atlantic' climatic regime, with its higher precipitation (p. 664). The increase may have been enough to tip the scales in such a delicately balanced environmental struggle. Study of the Dark Age burials round the shore of the Copais may throw some light on the situation: the tumulus at Vranesi four miles south of Orchomenus, for example, was apparently abandoned in the early eighth century, and one notes that its excavator, even after the more or less successful modern draining of the lake, was prevented by flooding from excavating the central and lowest burial, which was of the tenth century or before.[135] The adherence of Orchomenus to the Calaurian League, probably in this same era (p. 670), may represent a last attempt to counterbalance these increasing disadvantages. There is also the enigmatic evidence of

[132] Cf., e.g., Hdt. VI.108.1–2, 5; Thuc. III.61.2 and 66.1. Further inferences are possible from Hdt. V.79.2 and VIII.34.

[133] D 93; D 124; D 102.

[134] Paus. IX.38.7.

[135] D 121.

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the sites round Lake Paralimni, further to the east, to be taken into account.[136] In modern times, the level of this lake has varied in inverse ratio to that of Copais, but in antiquity this can hardly have been so, for the Copais drainage operations were directed elsewhere. At all events, a recent recession of the waters of Paralimni has revealed settlements and cemeteries with continuity of occupation from Middle Helladic to Geometric times, with the same grave-enclosures in use for most of this long period.

In Thessaly, too, the material evidence is more extensive and prepossessing than might appear at first sight. Pottery evidence is limited in the extreme: we have little but the latest cremations in the Halus tumuli[137] and the partially published evidence from the tholos at Kapakli, just outside ancient Iolcus,[138] which had been in apparently unbroken use for some 200 years and was to remain so for some time longer; it contained seventy burials cremated *in situ*, and was presumably the burial-vault of a family or clan. This evidence gives a hint of the entrenchment of a hereditary system; and indeed the perpetuation of a Late Bronze Age tomb-form at Kapakli may even suggest the further possibility of the continuity of that system from Mycenaean times, which might throw light on the problem of its origins and growth (p. 680). The decorative style of the later Thessalian Geometric pottery shows not unexpected qualities: a restrained and selective adaptation of Attic features. The other facet of Thessalian culture which is well illustrated at this time is that of its sanctuary-sites. The prodigious yield of small bronzes from the sanctuary at Pherae[139] (to be associated, it seems, with Artemis Enodia rather than with Zeus Thaulius as was long thought), which produced more fibulae than any other site in Greece, and whose cultural connexions extend far beyond Thessaly, must indicate a certain breadth of prosperity; but this great wealth of finds begins only in the closing years of the eighth century. It forms, however, an impressive contrast with an underlying cemetery[140] of such startling poverty that the finds can give little indication of its duration or antiquity. The invigorating effects of the foundation of the Greek cult centres could hardly be more graphically illustrated.

The situation in the western part of central Greece shows little change. Of the swift rise of the Delphic sanctuary we have already said something (pp. 681–2), and the Corinthian element among the finds here, though no longer overwhelming, remains strong;[141] as it does, to a more pronounced degree, in Ithaca.[142] At Medeon on the near-by

[136] D 122; D 123.
[137] D 139.
[138] D 137; D 18, 158–63; D 26, 210–13.
[139] D 96.
[140] D 76, 50–5, 73–4.
[141] D 108.
[142] D 116; D 74; D 18, 366–7.

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coast, the burial-practices are sufficiently different from Corinth to suggest an independent population, but the bulk of the pottery seems to consist of Corinthian elements, as has already been the case in the ninth century.[143] To the west, Aetolia and Acarnania remain thinly explored archaeologically, but even here we have a single burial of some richness at Palaiomanina on the west bank of the Acheloüs,[144] which shows, in contrast to the finds further east, the continuation of a sturdy local tradition much less indebted to Corinthian influence. It is worth noting, however, that this latter influence, so prevalent in general along the north coast of the Corinthian Gulf, is matched on the opposite coast in Achaea and Elis,[145] and must represent a Corinthian infiltration of an already existing network of communications (cf. p. 671). A further site which now falls within this sphere of influence is Amphissa in Locris, not far from Delphi geographically, but in a distinct and at times hostile region, and an important centre of land communications in its own right (p. 662); here the graves[146] show a complete dominance of Corinthian pottery which is perhaps the result of overland trade from the Gulf of Crisa rather than direct settlement.

A notable negative feature of central and northern Greece in this era was its almost total abstention from the colonizing process before 700 B.C.; indeed, as we have already found, there are parts of this area which found themselves the object of at least quasi-colonial activity from Corinth, later to be supplemented by permanent colonies under the Cypselids. In the other direction, only the despatch of the long-suffering Megarian colonists to Sicily falls within this period; and even the following century saw the addition only of the Locrian enterprise in Italy to the further Megarian ventures. If, as the preponderance of our ancient sources suggest, it was the Ozolian Locrians of the region lying to the west of the Gulf of Crisa who played the leading part in this exploit, then this was surely in part a consequence of their long-standing contact with the Achaeans, who were active in the same part of Italy. As for the Megarians, a likelier motive is the Corinthian encroachment on their already exiguous territory, for which there is evidence before the end of the eighth century, and again in the seventh.[147]

But the general dissociation of most of the cities of this part of Greece both from colonization and, by the end, from a wider range of overseas enterprise must reflect an increasing and on the whole successful involvement in indigenous agriculture. This is the attitude which Hesiod expresses so insistently in the *Work and Days*, with his outspoken aversion to sea-borne travel and trade, and his fellow Boeotians show

[143] D 134, 65–75.
[144] D 109, 323.
[145] D 18, 223–32.
[146] D 98.
[147] D 199.

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every sign of having taken his advice. The numerous Attic granary-models in graves[148] give a certain independent support to the view that arable farming was prevailing in Attica too. On the negative side, after 750 B.C. and especially after about 730 B.C., there is a sharp falling-off in the export of Attic pottery overseas, in the reception of Oriental objects and traits in Attica, and in the exercise of Attic artistic influence on other Greeks. Even in a centre as near home as Aegina, there is a brief suspension of Attic imports, their place being taken by the ubiquitous products of Corinth in default of any fine pottery native to the island.[149] It is thus borne in on us yet again how fundamental an aspect of Greek civilization is that of agriculture and land usage, especially at this period; and we may end by looking at some new evidence for Greek farming practices in early times.

Modern techniques have contributed a valuable aid in the shape of pollen-analysis; and its value already extends beyond the strict sphere of vegetation history. We now have important evidence for this period from four permanent, seasonal or drained lake-sites in Greece, two of them in central Greece: these are Lake Voulkaria, just south of ancient Anactorium in western Acarnania, and Lake Copais. The other two are Lake Philippi in eastern Macedonia, and the Osmanaga lagoon near Messenian Pylus. The first and last of the four, lying on the west side of the country, were examined by the Minnesota Messenia Expedition, and produced one common finding of some importance.[150] This was that a period of low olive cultivation was terminated by a sharp rise in olive-pollen, with an accompanying increase in the pollen of maquis shrubs and grasses. This latter phase, the 'olive maximum', is to be placed in the region of 1100 to 700 B.C.,[151] and the evidence from the two lakes is in fairly close accord on this dating. There is also a hint from the Osmanaga sequence that the preceding 'low olive' period may itself have replaced a phase of higher olive cultivation, around 2000 B.C.

The evidence from the other sites, on the eastern side of the Greek peninsula, provides a measure of confirmation for the outline provided by these findings.[152] At Lake Copais the pattern was especially clear, with a 'low olive' phase clearly demarcated at both ends by periods of higher olive cultivation. These latter periods were characterized, in the rather different environment of the land-locked Copais basin, by new features: high incidence of aqueous pollens, and peaty or muddy soil, while the intervening 'low olive' period shows an absence of these

[148] D 120, 92.

[149] D 18, 361 n. 10.

[150] D 71.

[151] In unadjusted radiocarbon years; it is likely that a raising of these dates by a modest margin will prove necessary.

[152] D 37. It is to be noted that a high adjustment factor, of at least 200 years, is adopted without discussion for the dates in this study.

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features. Most unfortunately, chronological evidence was not available for this point in the sequence. A very similar 'low olive' interval was detectable at Philippi, and the chronological evidence there suggests a dating, in unadjusted radiocarbon years B.C., of about 1100 to 800[153] for the *low* olive phase. It seems questionable whether the two sequences can be equated in date, since the recorded history of the two lakes is different, Philippi having been drained only in very recent times (cf. pp. 690–1).

To interpret this evidence is not easy; but each of the four lake-sites shows a conspicuous interval of low olive production in its sequence, and in the case of Copais in particular one may add that it is this phase which seems to form the departure from the norm. The phase is to be dated in the centuries before about 1100 B.C.[153] at Osmanaga and Voulkaria; is not directly dated at Copais; and falls in the centuries *after* 1100 B.C.[153] at Philippi. One cannot be certain as to the positive counterparts of this feature of negative olive cultivation, but it is established that grain and vines leave a poor pollen record, and one may guess that they dominated the eras of low olive production. Conversely, it was very noticeable that the *rise* in olive pollen was accompanied by features – increase of maquis and grasses at Osmanaga and Voulkaria, onset of muddy, peaty conditions at Copais – which are suggestive of neglect in their respective environments. When we add that the olive reverts quickly to a wild state when neglected (which may account for the proliferation of pollen), and is in any case suited to a subsistence economy in times of adversity, a consistent picture begins to emerge for the three sites which lay within the Mycenaean sway. The activity of the Mycenaean age apparently led to a more diversified agriculture, at least in some areas of Messenia and Acarnania; while at Copais, if one can infer a similar dating for comparable features there, the artificial draining of the naturally peaty soil of a seasonal lake-bed produced an analogous result. But the collapse of the Mycenaean economy left an impoverished situation, in which the olive came into it own in all three areas, but where the neglect of arable land in the west and the breakdown of the drainage works in Boeotia meant that the former level of agriculture (and, one may surmise, of population) could simply no longer be supported. If the peak of agricultural diversification is to be dated relatively later in Macedonia, then there is supporting archaeological evidence of a flourishing culture there (above, p. 653), in strong contrast to the decline of contemporary central and southern Greece.

This new evidence adds a fresh dimension to the existing picture of hardship and deprivation in Greece during the Dark Age. Like other episodes of economic decline, it has the appearance of a vicious circle:

[153] See n. 151.

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a diminished agriculture could not support the former population; a reduced population could not maintain the former range of agriculture. It is not as yet within the compass of archaeology, of the natural sciences or of economic history to determine the full sequence of causes and effects, although some further progress is to be hoped for. The main result at present is to increase one's respect for the achievements of the eighth century, when this gloomy process was so violently reversed. It is a rare thing in Greek history to find even a relatively brief period in which most parts of the country move forward in concert towards an increased prosperity, and when new expedients on the part of one community find a swift response elsewhere; but this is such a period. There were still hard times ahead for the individual cities and regions: the Boeotia of Hesiod, the Attica of the period just before Solon's reforms, the Megara of Theognis were clearly not enviable places in which to live one's life, except for a small minority of the population. Nor could every region participate in the great recovery of the eighth century: for the 'Penestae' of Thessaly, it would have seemed a bitter irony to describe the period in such terms; and for people like the Aetolians, still living in the late fifth century 'in unwalled villages, and those scattered far apart' (Thuc. III.94.4), their former glories surviving only as a memory in the Homeric catalogue (Hom. *Il.* II.638–44), its effects can hardly have seemed profound. Nevertheless, the claims of this period as one of the high points of Greek achievement are many, and the contribution of the peoples of central and northern Greece, though less than spectacular in its latest phases, had done much to lay its foundations in earlier years.

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to be self-supporting, except in times of rapidly rising population, because it contained within itself the facilities for agriculture, stock-raising, arboriculture, hunting and fishing. The extent to which each facility was exploited has varied through the centuries greatly. Today arboriculture is predominant, mainly for purposes of export, and agriculture and stock-raising follow in that order. The report of Bernard Randolph in 1689 shows the same range of products but different priorities.[2] He mentions each group: 'raisins, currants, figs, olive oil', 'soap, Cordovan skins [leather], sheepskins, butter, cheese', 'wheat, barley, rye, oats', and 'silk, wax, honey'. But the important exports then were cheese, carried yearly to Venice in great quantities, and 'olive-oil in big jars sent to Candy [Crete] and other places for merchandise'. Evidently in 1689 the main activity of the Peloponnese was the raising of stock, especially sheep and goats, from whose milk the cheese was made.

Because stock-raising was particularly important in the Dark Age of the Peloponnese, it is desirable to consider its methods. In a register of livestock in 1959 three types of sheep and goat were listed: those maintained at villages throughout the year, 1,100,000; those wintering in villages but moving to other pastures seasonally, 146,000; and those on the move, herded by nomadic shepherds, 222,000. The two latter groups practised transhumance, moving from the lowland pastures of the winter months to the highland pastures of the summer months. The nomadic element used to be much larger in times when animal foodstuffs for winter feeding were not manufactured or at least not bought. Two groups of nomadic shepherds still practise this traditional way of life.[3] The 'Sarakatsani' pasture their sheep and goats in the region Megaris–Corinthia–Argolis and have no other calling. Until 1938, when a law enabled them to obtai. a foothold in villages, they lived in huts (*kalivia*), circular, rectangulai or apsidal in plan, built with branches, poles and thatch, and floored and plastered with a mixture of mud and dung; these huts were made by the women to serve as temporary encampments. The 'Arkades' or 'Valtetsini' house their families in permanent dwellings, mainly in Mantinea; they marry usually within their own company and wear a traditional dress, and they claim to be descendants of the ancient Arcadians. Each group speaks its own dialect of Greek. In 1689 the chief nomadic shepherds were Albanian-speakers, 'Albaneses', as Randolph called them in describing Tripolis in Arcadia, 'the only place in the whole province worthy of being called a town'. 'There hath been many villages, some hath been cities, but now the Albaneses (who are the shepherds and three times the number as the

[2] D 53.
[3] D 38, 46ff, and *Μεγάλη Ἑλληνικὴ Ἐγκυκλοπαίδεια* s.vv.

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Turks and Greeks which are in these parts) live mostly in tents, removing their tents and herds according to the season of the year. In the summer time they are upon the mountains and in the winter they are in the woods by the seaside, being more or less tents together.' Since those days the Albanian-speakers have taken to a settled life, and the cities and villages have come into being again. A strange survival are the Tsakones, described by Randolph as follows: 'They are mostly in towns, are very poor people, serving as porters, both men and women carrying very great burdens.' Their origin is not known; but it is certainly ancient because their dialect of Greek is derived from ancient Laconian, whereas the other dialects spoken in the Peloponnese are derived from ancient Attic. Randolph's descriptions are interesting because the conditions he saw were 300 years after very large Albanian migrations into the Peloponnese and 200 years after the conquest of the Peloponnese by the Turks.

The mountains are the barriers which divided the Peloponnese into cantons and render communication on foot difficult or arduous. Coming from the north, one climbs over the high ridge of Mount Karidhi in the Megarid, crosses the tilted Megarian plain, and climbs high 'through Mount Gerania' (1,370 m), from which one sees the mountains of Argolis and Epidauria. The routes along the coasts were more arduous, until the eastern one above the Scironian cliffs was widened by Hadrian. Even so in Turkish times the route 'through Gerania' was preferred. Descending through woods into Corinthia, one reaches the flat part of the Isthmus of sandstone rock, only five kilometres wide at the neck. Modern Corinthia includes the ancient districts of Corinth, Sicyon, Phlius, Nemea and Cleonae, all being north of the watershed which divides the Gulf of Corinth from the Argolic Gulf. The economic centre of modern Corinthia is the rich alluvial plain by the Gulf, which grows the best currant grapes of all as well as wheat and barley. Ancient Corinth was situated on a well-watered terrace. It overlooked the plain and was itself overshadowed by the mass of Acrocorinth, a natural fortress 575 metres high. The hinterland, consisting mainly of sparsely wooded limestone hills, contributed much less to the prosperity of ancient Corinth than to the subsistence of its people. Already in the fifth century B.C. the summer pastures were inadequate; for the shepherds took their flocks for the summer months to Mount Cithaeron, north of the Isthmus, as in Sophocles, *Oedipus Tyrannus* 1133ff.

The main pass through the watershed range is the Tretus pass of Pausanias II.15.2, now the Dervenakia pass, 320 metres high, to the south-east of Nemea. From it one descends past Mycenae's commanding citadel towards the Argive plain. An alternative route for the pedestrian from Corinth to Argos, running farther east through mountainous

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country via Tenea (Xen. *Hell.* IV.4.19), is rarely used today. 'Argos', wrote Randolph, 'stands in a very fine plain, having more houses and inhabitants than Corinth but not so much scattered. The plain is very delightsome, abounding with wine, oyl and all sorts of grain.' Although the climate in the plain is 'thirsty', the western edge is watered by strong sources which have come through underground channels (*katavothrai*) from Arcadia. Under primitive conditions, when this side of the plain was marshy, there were fine and extensive pastures, for instance at Lerna and Tiryns; as scientific agriculture developed, the water was used to irrigate the whole plain for the production of cereals. Argolis has a very large amount of high land on Mount Parthenius to the west and Mount Arachnaeus to the east, which grows olives, vines and figs, and some timber and has considerable areas of summer pasture. Thus its economy is well balanced for subsistence, and the ports at the head of the Gulf such as Nauplia and Asine are well placed for traffic overseas.

East of Argolis, Epidauria is entered by only one good route, along the southern side of Mount Arachnaeus (1,070 m). Inside Epidauria the route splits, one branch going to Palaea Epidaurus on the Saronic Gulf and the other via the theatre of Epidaurus towards Troezen and Hermione at the tip of the peninsula. All three districts – Epidauria, Troezenis and Hermionis – are short of arable land and depend mainly on the production of vegetables, olives and fruit, the raising of livestock and the use of the sea for fishing and trading, mainly with Aegina and Athens. South of Argolis, the long range of Mount Parnon presents a rough and unproductive face to the Argolic Gulf, and in antiquity its slopes were divided into the cantons of Thyreatis, Cynuria and north-east Laconia, all thinly populated. West of Argolis, the elevated canton of Arcadia is entered from Argos by two main routes: one via Oenoe to Mantinea, the other, farther south and less convenient, via Hysiae to Tegea.

Arcadia's richest territory is the long basin of Tripolis, within which Mantinea and Tegea lie, and its fertile alluvial soil produces good cereals and rich pastures. Randolph noted here the very rich Turks 'who have their wealth in land and cattle, most being graziers and husbandmen'. The other region of fertile land is in the upper valley of the Alpheus, which flows westward into the Sicilian Sea. There Megalopolis was built. But the bulk of Arcadia, lying to the north of Megalopolis and Tegea, is devoted to the raising of livestock and the provision of timber, especially oak and conifer, from its northern bastions, Mount Erymanthus (2,224 m) and Mount Cyllene (2,374 m).

Entries into Laconia from the north are few. One from Argos follows the coast of the Argolic Gulf, strikes inland between Thyreatis and

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Cynuria, crosses the ridge of Mt Parnon and descends into Laconia at Sellasia. There it is joined by a route from Tegea, which traverses the difficult mountainous terrain of Sciritis. The least arduous route leads from the upper Alpheus valley through the plateau of Asea (655 m high) into the headwaters of the Eurotas. West of Laconia, there is no gap in the high, steep range of Taÿgetus, and it is a full, arduous day's walk in summer from Kalamata in the Messenian plain to Sparta, ending with a long descent down a rift in the face of the mountain. Laconia's central plain, unusually fertile and well watered by the Eurotas with its Taÿgetan tributaries, is rich in cereals and in groves of olives and oranges; being enclosed between the dark cliffs of Taÿgetus and the bare spurs of Mount Parnon and cut off from the sea by a broad ridge of limestone, it has the charm and seclusion of an oasis. South of the ridge the waters of the Eurotas spread out into a swampy delta, beyond whose edges are the harbours of the Laconian Gulf. Laconia, like Argolis, is rich in highland pasture, grows timber on the central (Mani) peninsula and fine olives, figs, and Mediterranean pine in the south-eastern district. It too can be self-supporting in basic foodstuffs.

Messenia's coastal plain and the inner plain by Stenyclarus, larger and richer than the Laconian plain, produce fine cereals, vines, olives and figs, and there is an abundance of summer and winter pasture on this, the rainier side of the peninsula. The plains are cut off from the western coast by lofty ranges, and the only convenient routes of egress are towards the north, either by a narrow passage to a narrow coastal plain or over a low pass into the valley of the Alpheus by Megalopolis. The modern canton Eleia, comprising the ancient districts Elis, Pisatis and Triphylia, has a greater area of plain and finer pastures than any other part of the Peloponnese, and it is well watered by the Peneus and Alpheus. If these rivers are controlled in flood time, the plain is excellently endowed for agriculture; if not, much of the plain becomes swampy and provides winter pasture; as in the fourteenth century when Albanians took their herds to the plain of Elis 'which was open to the sun, near the sea, had good grazing and was deserted by men' [i.e. by Greeks], their herds being 'very many of horses, very many of cattle, most of sheep and pigs.'[4] Today much stock is raised there, and the higher ranges still provide summer pasture and woods of pine and some fir, but the once famous oak forests have almost disappeared from the hills. Xenophon would lament the shortage of game today. The main routes into Eleia follow the Alpheus valley via Olympia and the Peneus valley via Pylus, and one leaves Eleia for Achaea by the coast of the Corinthian Gulf.

Achaea, backed by the steep wall of Erymanthus and Cyllene, which

[4] Sp. Lambros, *Παλαιολογεῖα καὶ Πελοποννησιακά* III, 195.

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are forested with pine, fir and oak, depends largely on the production of currant grapes, olives, fruit and milk; for there are only small areas of arable land by Patras and Aegium. One can only go sideways along the coast in Achaea, and then one is impeded by the rubble-beds of uncontrolled torrents. To walk from Aegira and Aegium into Arcadia involves steep climbs over rugged country. In terms of natural resources and land communication Achaea is the poorest canton of the Peloponnese.

Despite its long coastline the Peloponnese had relatively few good harbours for the small ships of antiquity. Corinthia was best off, with Lechaeum on the Corinthian Gulf and Cenchreae on the Saronic Gulf, and portage between them made easier by the narrow, low neck of the Isthmus. The peninsulas of Epidauria, Malea, Taenarum and Acritas possessed many small coves and some good harbours, but most of their coasts were steep, rocky and poorly connected with the interior. The best harbours for import and export were at the head of the Gulfs, for instance Nauplia, Gytheum and Pharae, and in the north-western area on the coastal plain at Phea, Patras and Aegium. Coastal shipping preferred to keep clear of the rocky coasts by proceeding in the open sea from island to island. Thus Aegina, Hydrea, Cythera, Zacynthus, Cephallenia and Ithaca were important staging-points, and each of them was able to provision and water ships. Where the distance between islands was too great, ships called at such ports of the Peloponnese as Monemvasia or Epidaurus Limera and Navarino or Pylus. As the southern tips of the Peloponnese were storm-breeders, it was best to give them a wide berth, or to avoid them altogether by portage across the Isthmus of Corinth. Thus the Corinthians were the only innovators in sea-faring, and the other Peloponnesians used sea communications rather of necessity than by preference.

In antiquity the forest cover was much greater, although over-cropping and erosion may have begun even then, and the land was therefore capable of maintaining more livestock and supplying more timber. Transhumance of sheep on a much larger scale was then possible, and hunting was very general in Elis, Arcadia and Laconia. Good arable land was devoted more to cereals, because such cash-crops as currants, citrus and rice were unknown. The river-beds were less choked with accumulated rubble, the Neda for instance being navigable for small ships near the sea (Paus. VIII.41.3). The tendency of the steeply falling rivers to extend their delta seawards has been offset by a rise of about a metre and a half in the level of the Mediterranean Sea since antiquity[5] and by the action of sea currents in carrying silt away, except

[5] As proposed by the present writer in *JHS* 76 (1956), 35, and supported by D. J. Blackman in *BSA* 61 (1966), 193 n. 4.

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in the south-eastern angle of the Gulf of Corinth where the current makes deposits. There has also been some local subsidence of the land, for instance at the ancient Halieis (Porto Cheli).[6] Changes in men's ways have been more important than changes of the environment in offsetting the relative poverty of the Peloponnese. Flood control, irrigation and manuring make the extension and improvement of agriculture possible and enable the country to carry a larger population or make a constant population better off. When that happens, there is a corresponding decline in the transhumant form of pastoralism. Changes have not always been for the better. Reversion to pastoralism and shrinkage of agriculture were features of the late Byzantine period and the early Turkish period in the the Peloponnese.

II. SOME GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE DARK AGE

The backcloth of the Dark Age was migration and nomadism, ways of life Thucydides understood so well in relation to the Greek countryside. 'Men had no difficulty in leaving their land under pressure of superior numbers. Lacking commerce and free intercommunication whether by land or sea, they won a mere subsistence from the land and did not accumulate capital or plant trees; for as they had no walls they never knew when a marauder would come and rob them. So they had no difficulty in departing, for they reckoned on making a bare living wherever they went' (I.2.1–2). Changes of population were most frequent, according to Thucydides, where the soil was best, and that meant most parts of the Peloponnese except Arcadia. Nor was Thucydides alone in this view. Herodotus believed that the Dorians (i.e. of what we call the Dorian invasion) threw the entire Peloponnese into migration with the exception of the Arcadians, who stayed where they were (II.171.3). In such times of turmoil and movement men took their herds with them, because survival depended rather on pastoralism and stock-breeding than on agriculture and arboriculture. Moreover, the instigators of the uprooting of hitherto settled populations were themselves pastoralists, Dorians and Aetolians and north-western Greeks alike, who had practised the transhumance of sheep in particular (see *CAH* II.2, 685ff), and it seems that they continued to practise that way of life in the Peloponnese. For Thucydides believed that the change from unsettled conditions to secure, stable ones occurred in the Peloponnese not very long before the despatch of colonies to Italy and Sicily in the latter part of the eighth century B.C. (I.12.4). Thus in his opinion the period of turmoil after the Dorian invasion *c.* 1120 B.C. lasted some three hundred years.

[6] Only a slight subsidence, if the cuttings in D 165, 334f were for a floating boom.

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So long a period of unsettled conditions is alien to our experience, but it happened at least twice to the Peloponnese. 'A new people arrived in central Greece', wrote J. L. Caskey in *CAH* II.1.139, 'probably in the twentieth century B.C.... In some parts of Greece they settled peacefully in the communities of those who had come before [i.e. an earlier wave of newcomers], while elsewhere they captured towns and killed or absorbed the older inhabitants. Before long they were spread through all the Peloponnese... The stage of consolidation and gradual adaptation lasted some three hundred years.' During that long period the standard of life and culture was low, trade was largely in abeyance, and settlements, especially in the western Peloponnese, were smaller but more numerous than in the previous period, EH II.[7] In the fourteenth and following centuries of our era Albanians and others migrated first into north-west Greece and finally into the Peloponnese, where their attempt to seize control came close to success. 'This race', wrote Laonicus Chalcocondylas, 'are all nomads and do not make their stay for long in any one place.' The confusion in the Peloponnese was compounded by the arrival of the victorious Turks in the fifteenth century.[8] As we saw above (pp. 698f), the Albanians were still nomadic pastoralists in the late seventeenth century, and the Turks in Arcadia were still mainly 'graziers and husbandmen'. How large were the nomadic units? We know that the Vlachs had units of fifty to a hundred families and the Sarakatsani, using poorer pastures, a minimum of fifty persons. How did the prosperous Turks house themselves in Tripolis? According to Randolph their buildings were 'most of bricks made of clay and chopt straw and dryed in the sun'.

While J. L. Caskey relied on the results of excavation alone for his conclusions, we draw mainly from literary texts for the period A.D. 1300–1700. Turning to the period under consideration, *c.* 1100–750 B.C., we have not only a considerable and growing body of archaeological evidence but also traditions in literature, especially in the histories of Herodotus and Thucydides. We need to take account of both. In interpreting the archaeological evidence some knowledge of geographical and ecological conditions in the Peloponnese and more primitive Balkan areas forms a useful guide. The study of pottery, pins, weapons, and so on has established sequences and so a system of relative chronology, but the rarity of foreign contacts makes absolute chronology so insecure that any archaeological date for a time before the eighth century has an elasticity of fifty years. We owe to Greek oral tradition the great body of Greek myth, which provided themes and allusions for poets and prose writers alike. The adoption of writing in the eighth century provided some chronological pegs and frames for

[7] D 38, 119f. [8] D 38, 57f.

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factual record, but the main tradition was oral in the Peloponnese even in the fifth century. That a living oral tradition, whether in or out of metre, may contain true facts was assumed by Herodotus and Thucydides and is demonstrable in Serbia and Albania. The attitude to early traditions changed in the fourth century B.C. Ephorus and others made a structured framework of early Greek history by feats of chronological carpentry, and others provided pseudo-mythical history in the interest of national propaganda. It is often difficult for us to winnow fact from fiction; our best guides are the date of the writer and the nature of his account.

We turn now to a survey of the evidence region by region. For general purposes we date the Submycenaean period *c.* 1120–1050 B.C., Protogeometric *c.* 1050–900 B.C., Early Geometric *c.* 900–830 B.C., Middle Geometric *c.* 830–750 B.C. and Late Geometric *c.* 750–700 B.C.; but it has to be borne in mind that these are only approximate dates, and that the periods began at slightly different times in different cantons of the Peloponnese.

III. ARGOLIS AND THE ARGOLIC PENINSULA

Mycenae was destroyed finally towards the end of the twelfth century, and a complete break with the past ensued. There were no more burials in the chamber-tombs situated outside the citadel, but individual burials inside the citadel in graves of various kinds – simple earth-pit, cist-grave, larnax and stone sarcophagus. Some objects in the burials suggest that the dead (most being children) belonged to newcomers of northern origin, and the placing of burials within the walls shows that those responsible were the new masters. A small piece of wall and some sherds within the citadel, attributable to the Submycenaean period, are the only traces left by these occupants, unless we suppose that the burials of children were made close to or under the dwellings, as we shall see was the case in some other places. In the Protogeometric period there are no traces of occupation; only a number of burials, scattered among ruins of Mycenaean buildings and monuments both inside and outside the citadel. In the Geometric period there are remains of 'small huts' in the Palace area on the top of the citadel; the foundations of an apsidal building with many sherds and some terracotta figurines of animals, outside the citadel; and burials in cist-graves and pithoi, outside the citadel, a sign perhaps of less unsettled times.[9]

Tiryns declined before final destruction came. Thereafter there are no certain signs of settlement until the Geometric period, but the sequence of burials shows that people were living and dying near by,

[9] D 162, 64ff; plan of the apsidal building in *PAE* 1962, 87.

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Fig. 72. Bronze helmet (restored) from Tiryns (Grave 28). 11th century B.C. Height 34 cm. (After *Ath. Mitt.* 78 (1963), 19, fig. 9.)

if not within the citadel. The earliest burials of the Submycenaean period were in some chamber-tombs of the Mycenaean cemetery to the east of the citadel, made presumably by descendants of those buried there earlier. Next came burials in an earth-pit covered by a slab of limestone, made in the ruins of Mycenaean houses outside the citadel. One was that of a warrior in full armour of which the metal parts survived – helmet (fig. 72), spear-head and shield-boss, all of bronze, and two daggers of iron.[10] As the manner of burial and the armour were not in the Mycenaean tradition, we may see the presence of the conquerors, including a warrior-chieftain. A child was buried underneath the east gallery of the citadel in a cist-grave. More burials were of the Protogeometric period (but this period was twice as long as the Submycenaean) and many of these were in areas already used by the earth-pit burials, thus establishing two hereditary cemeteries. Other burials were sporadic. One which probably belonged to this period had the skeletons of two cattle, a large dog and a small dog as well as that of their master. Remains of walls and plaster and some burnt layers of this period have been found in the Mycenaean town. In the Geometric period a small 'megaron' – its date of construction is doubtful – was used probably for cult purposes; it was built into the ruins of the great 'Palace-Megaron'. In the ruins of the Mycenaean town outside the citadel traces have been found of what were probably simple huts of mud brick, and a plastered wall has been reported recently in a cemetery area. Burials were about three times as numerous as those found for the Protogeometric period: some in the two established cemeteries,

[10] D 179, *Ath. Mitt.* 78 (1963), 1ff. The helmet is shown in the Plates Vol. to Volumes I and II, plate 168*b*.

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some in a new cemetery lining what was probably a road to Nauplia, and others in new areas. Offerings included an iron knife and bronze finger-ring with a man, and a gold hair-spiral, a bronze finger-ring and two long bronze pins with a woman. Evidently the population was growing, and some family continuity is to be inferred, for instance, for the cemetery which contained the warrior-chieftain and received thirty-two corpses in twenty-five graves over a period of some four centuries.[11]

Nauplia starts like Tiryns with some burials in the Mycenaean cemetery, perhaps even sometimes in a chamber-tomb of the previous period, but there is no trace of occupation on any possibly Mycenaean site. There is practically nothing of the Protogeometric period; only some late Protogeometric sherds in a round pit. From the beginning of the Geometric period there was a settled population at Nauplia, for a road lined by a cemetery on either side dates from then; burials were in earth-pits, cist-graves, pithoi and other vases.[12] At Asine some Submycenaean sherds may indicate a small settlement north-east of the acropolis, but no certain burials of this period have been found. Late in the Protogeometric period some house walls and intramural burials of children in the same area north-east of the acropolis indicate the presence of a community. The cemetery of the period was in the ruins of the Mycenaean lower town and some burials had an altar for burnt offerings, in one case of a deer. Burials were found also on the slopes of Barbouna hill opposite the acropolis. When the Protogeometric houses collapsed, new houses were built over them in the Geometric period, and building remains were found also in four other areas. Barbouna hill too had traces of a settlement, and the top of the hill was crowned with some walls. Geometric burials were scattered and a cemetery has not yet been discovered; burials of children, even newly born infants, were made sometimes under house floors.[13]

At Argos the area (some two square kilometres) within which Early Iron Age remains have been found is much larger than at sites we have considered; it coincides more or less with the confines of the modern city and includes three hills, the Aspis, the Larissa, and an offshoot of it, the Deiras. There are traces of scattered settlements in the Submycenaean period but they never coincided with places occupied in Mycenaean times, and most of the burials, being in cist-graves, earth-pits and vessels, were not in the Mycenaean tradition. On the other hand, a new chamber-tomb was made and old chamber-tombs were re-used in the Mycenaean cemetery on the Deiras; yet this cemetery went out of use altogether after the end of the Submycenaean period. In the

[11] D 162, 75ff and D 160, *AAA* 7 (1974), 15f.
[12] D 162, 71ff.
[13] D 162, 47ff.

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Protogeometric period the number of places with such traces of occupation as the remains of mud-brick houses, hearths, ovens, and a workshop for extracting silver from impure lead increased to six or seven. These lay within two areas some 500 metres apart, namely the south-west quarter by the location of the modern Museum and the central area. The former, occupied earlier, consisted of several distinct points of habitation with burials in between, and the latter, occupied late in the period, had few vestiges of settlement. Near the site of the present Museum, a large cemetery was opened in Protogeometric times, and it was used throughout the Geometric period also. Other burials were widespread, and some of them were forerunners of Geometric cemeteries.[14]

A preliminary report has been given of two double tumuli and two single tumuli on the east side of the Aspis, which were used for burial evidently by the rulers from the middle period of Middle Helladic into Late Helladic II at least. This area, and sometimes the tumuli, received Protogeometric and Geometric burials, from which it is natural to infer that the new rulers thought themselves to be descended from the Bronze Age rulers. Of the burials some were in cists, and others in pithoi or simple pits, and they were notable for the richness of the inventory and the excellence of the pottery.[15]

In the Geometric period, and especially in Late Geometric, there are signs of a growing population at Argos. Remains of settlement, although surprisingly slight, were found in the two main areas we have mentioned and also in new places far and wide; and Geometric burials found so far have been nearly twice as many as Protogeometric. An apsidal building, of unknown use, was constructed early in Early Geometric and burnt late in Early Geometric, after which the place was given over to burials. A workshop perhaps for dyeing cloth was built with stone foundations and mud-brick walls in Late Geometric. One new area of settlement was the Deiras, where some simple houses of Late Geometric date were found, together with evidence of a cult of the dead buried in the near-by Mycenaean chamber-tombs. Wells were sunk there and also in the district which later became the Agora. Another new area of settlement late in Late Geometric was in what had hitherto been a cemetery; later it became a centre of handicrafts. Thus there are indications of what we may call urban activities. However, there was not yet a continuous city, for the area between the main areas of settlement was still used for burials.

Apart from the burials recently found in the tumulus area those from the Early Geometric period were in the two established cemeteries and also in a number of scattered places not used in Protogeometric times,

[14] D 162, 18–30. [15] D 173, vols. 26 and 28.

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but those of Middle Geometric became concentrated in recognizable cemeteries (including the two established ones) – three in the central area and two in the south-west quarter. This degree of concentration seems to indicate a closer sense of community within each of the five component parts which made up the Argos of the time. In Late Geometric the same degree of concentration continued, but further cemeteries were created, spreading into areas from which earlier finds have not as yet been reported. Thus the extent of Late Geometric sites, including cemeteries, was almost equivalent to that of the modern town. The discovery of dedications on the top of Larissa hill shows that a cult was established there in Late Geometric; another cult appeared in the same period on the Deiras hill. It is in this phase that R. Hägg in his study of burials in the Argolid has seen evidence of a decisive development after which one can speak of Argos as 'one place and one community'.[16]

Of the very numerous Geometric burials three may be mentioned. One, of Middle Geometric date, was of a man in his thirties in a large slab-lined cist-grave, which had then been covered with a tumulus of stones 0·25 m high; subsequently in Late Geometric times a second man in his thirties was laid in the cist-grave with his sword beside him. The grave contained vessels of bronze and pottery, bronze finger-rings, and pins of both bronze and iron. The next, of the mid eighth century, was that of a warrior in a cist-tomb two metres long and one metre wide in the tumulus area; he wore an unusual bronze helmet with eye-holes, had two spears by his side and six iron spits on top of him. The third was that of another warrior in the last quarter of the eighth century, who lay in a slab-lined cist three metres long at the foot of the Larissa. He wore a bronze helmet and cuirass, and he had a fine array of objects: twelve iron spits, firedogs in the shape of contemporary warships, three gold rings, fragments of gold leaf, bronze rings, bronze sheet, a bronze pin, and two iron double axes of religious significance.[17]

The general impression that the Geometric period in the Argolid was one of progress and of more and more settled conditions is confirmed by the scanty evidence from other sites. At Dendra and at Lerna there is a gap between Late Helladic IIIB or early C until Geometric; then an Early Geometric burial was made in a collapsed chamber-tomb at Dendra and some burials in cist-graves and pithoi were made on the settlement hill at Lerna. Other burials found in the vicinity of each place indicate that there was a Geometric settlement at a different site near-by. The same gap occurred at Berbati, where a rich burial of Middle Geometric date was found in a collapsed chamber-tomb. The gap at the

[16] D 162, 30–42.

[17] D 153, *BCH* 81 (1957), 322ff; D 173, vol. 28, 98; and D 155, nos. 6 and 45.

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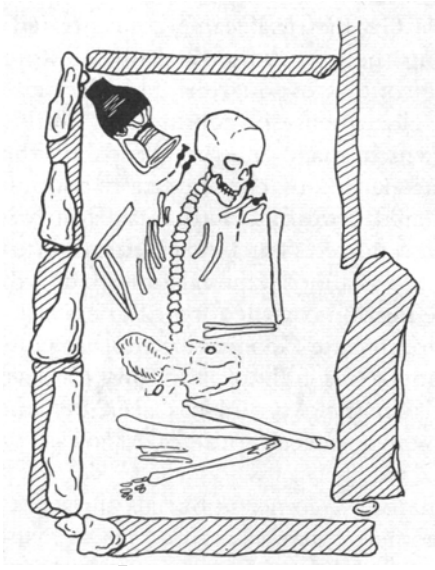

Fig. 73. Grave at Argos (Grave 5). The construction is a simple cist of slabs. The pairs of straight iron pins at the shoulders indicate the fastening of a *peplos*. 8th century B.C. (After *Arch. Delt.* 27/2 (1972), 196, fig. 4.)

Argive Heraeum was even longer, extending to Late Geometric times when miniature votives were dedicated both at the Mycenaean site and at a place north-west of it. Offerings were made also in fifteen chamber-tombs, in one of which were a skeleton of a goat, two human skulls, some Geometric pots and some objects of bronze.[18]

What has the archaeological evidence to tell us of relations between the Mycenaean Greeks' descendants and the newcomers? At Mycenae itself the former disappeared; the newcomers held the citadel (then of course far less ruined than today), either for burials only or for habitation as well. At Asine the former inhabitants disappeared and the newcomers probably made a small settlement, but not on the Mycenaean acropolis; they were evidently confident of holding an open site. At Tiryns, Nauplia and Argos, as burials continued to be made in chamber-tombs, it is evident that the descendants of the Mycenaean Greeks lived and died there, whether through peaceful coexistence or successful resistance or a combination of the two. But the Mycenaean connexion snapped altogether by 1050 B.C. The newcomers at Tiryns preferred to live in the old Mycenaean town rather than in the citadel. Those at Argos settled in several open places never occupied in the Mycenaean period. On the other hand there was some continuity in the placing of some burials: for in the Submycenaean period alone burials

[18] D 162, 56–64.

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were made in the Mycenaean chamber-tombs on the Deiras, perhaps by survivors of Mycenaean families, and in the Protogeometric period and thereafter burials were made in the Middle Helladic–Mycenaean tumuli of the Aspis, presumably by those who claimed descent from some previous rulers. Indeed the leaders of the Dorian invaders at Argos, the Temenidae, claimed descent from Heracles, a member of the Perseid family which had once ruled Argos, and they were perhaps advertising the return of the Heracleidae by using the same burial-ground.

What the archaeological evidence has to tell us of the newcomers is as much negative as positive. They were not citadel-minded, not urban, not even house-builders, not traders or craftsmen, not makers of fine pottery, not community-centred in this Submycenaean period. Rather they lived in the open by preference, evidently confident in their martial prowess and led by well-armed warriors, if we may generalize from the fine burial at Tiryns. The burials they made were scattered, presumably because they lived in scattered places. When they lived in an old Mycenaean town (not then in total ruins as today but with many walls standing), they seem to have behaved like squatters, at most making shelters with such perishable material as poles and thatch set against a standing wall and burying their dead children and occasionally an adult, sometimes under a convenient wall but usually in open ground. The standard of life was very low and they had few possessions. The best explanation of this way of life is that they were living a semi-nomadic existence with stock-raising, hunting, and perhaps raiding as their main activities.

Dismal as the Submycenaean period was, life seems to have reached the nadir at Mycenae, Tiryns and Nauplia in the Protogeometric period, and there were still no signs of settlement at Dendra, Lerna, Berbati and the Argive Heraeum. But elsewhere there were signs of development. There was a definite increase of activity at Asine late in the period and the stone foundations of two houses have been found. At Argos an exceptional growth took place. From the start Argos had been the chief centre of the newcomers, and they had settled at several points of their own choice, not used by their predecessors. Now in the Protogeometric period the number of these points increased and evidence of round-the-year settlement appeared in remains of hearths, ovens, mud-brick walls and the first workshop since Mycenaean times. Moreover, these points of settlement fell within two areas some five hundred metres apart, and it was these two areas which became the chief areas of settlement in the succeeding period. So too with burials, scattered at first round the points of habitation, later mostly concentrated in a large cemetery. Thus we can see the establishment of a town in

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the Argolid already in the Protogeometric period, a town not unlike Tripolis in Arcadia in the Turkish period, where the 'Albaneses lived most in tents' and the prosperous Turks had houses 'most of bricks made of clay and chopt straw and dryed in the sun'. At Asine too, but on a smaller scale: the first settlement north-east of the Mycenaean acropolis in the Submycenaean period grew into a settlement with houses, some intramural burials and a cemetery, and with some burials there was an altar for making sacrifice to or for the dead.

The archaeological evidence enables us to picture the town of Argos in the Protogeometric period as open, widespread, interspersed with burial places and large vacant areas, and growing particularly in the last phase, *c.* 950–900 B.C. It consisted of two large villages, and each village consisted of several *komai* or hamlets, each with its own character and burial-places. These *komai* were specifically Dorian in origin. The closest analogy for this sort of town was in the southern part of pre-war Albania, where one might find an upper and a lower village, each made up of scattered hamlets, called *mahaladhes*; the reason there was to be found in the strong nexus of family and tribe, the prevalence of vendetta, and the need to defend the familial units of one *mahalas* against those of another.

The progress we have seen in the Protogeometric period at Argos and Asine was emulated in the Geometric period at Mycenae, where we find small huts, an apsidal building and burials outside the citadel; at Tiryns, where there are huts of mud brick, a megaron, a road, and established cemeteries; and at Nauplia, where there is a road with a cemetery on either side. At this time too we see the first signs of settlements at Dendra, Lerna, and Berbati. Meanwhile Asine and Argos developed further. Houses were built at five different points at Asine and others on Barbouna hill; and the hilltop itself was the site of a special building. At Argos too the population grew. The houses were still flimsy structures of mud brick, but an apsidal building and a workshop with stone foundations were more ambitious. The town continued to be a cluster of *komai* or hamlets, but the increase in the use of cemeteries and the decline in the number of scattered burials (some of these to be the forerunners of later cemeteries) in the Middle Geometric period are a sure indication that a stronger feeling of community had developed in each of the five constituent parts or villages. There is evidence too of the practice of religious cults. This is the most probable explanation of the form of the apsidal buildings, the hilltop walls and the megaron; and dedications, e.g. of bronze pins locally produced, were made in the Geometric period in chamber-tombs and at the Argive Heraeum.[19] Prosperity increased in the Late Geometric period: the burial of a

[19] D 184; for pins, D 21, 83.

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woman at Argos was accompanied by an iron spit, a bronze pin and an iron pin on each shoulder, five bronze finger-rings and one gold finger-ring, and two gold hair-grips.[20] (Compare fig. 73.)

'Those who have received from their predecessors by recollection the clearest accounts of events in the Peloponnese say' such and such. With these words Thucydides introduces the main source behind the Greeks' account of their early history (1.9.2). Transmission was by word of mouth, whether in the prose tale (*logos*) or in the sung poem (*epos*). This process may be divided into two periods. From the eighth century onwards a great deal of material was transmitted in a more or less dependable form; for example, the Homeric, Hesiodic and other poems, foundation legends of places, oracular responses of Delphi and Dodona, lists of victors and officials, genealogies of leading families. In the eighth century itself there was a strong sense of the past (the archaeological evidence also attests this), and the traditions then current were collected and formalized not only about gods and heroes, as Herodotus indicated (II.53.2), but also about peoples and places. Eighth-century tellers of tales and composers of poems concerned themselves with some aspects of contemporary or near-contemporary life, as we may see in Hesiod's *Works and Days* and in the fragments of Eumelus, but in the main with traditions of earlier times, either in epic form or in tales, for instance that of the abortive invasion led by Hyllus (see Hdt. IX.26–7). That both forms of material were *sometimes* correctly transmitted to, in and beyond the eighth century is demonstrable; see, for instance, the activities of Mopsus and Homer's 'Catalogue of Ships' (*CAH* II.2, 679ff and 836f) and the account of western colonization in Thucydides VI.3–5. It is therefore unwise to reject the general body of traditions out of hand, because our own faith in the written word tends to displace any faith in oral traditions. Analogy helps. In the Balkans illiterate peoples have preserved 'by recollection' their epic accounts of resistance to Turkish invaders and their traditional code of law (in the case of Albania) for some five hundred years.[21]

The tradition of the Dorian invasion of the Argolid (see *CAH* II.2, 694f) was that the eldest of the three brother-kings of Heraclid descent, Temenus, brought the Dorians via Lerna into the plain where they fortified a place against Tisamenus, a son of Orestes, and his followers – 'Achaeans', as the then inhabitants of the Argolid were named in the transmitted story (Paus. II.38.1). At this place, thereafter named Temenium, honours were paid by 'the Dorians of Argos' to Temenus

[20] *Arch. Delt.* 27 (1972), *Chr.* 192.

[21] M. Hasluck, *The Unwritten Law in Albania* (Cambridge, 1954), 13: 'We are fairly safe in maintaining that Lek's legislation has survived at least five centuries of oral transmission.'

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in perpetuity, no doubt as a 'hero'; perhaps he lay buried there in full armour, like the warrior at Tiryns. Next came the defeat of the Achaeans and the foundation of Dorian Argos by the grace of Apollo (Pind. *Pyth.* 5.69) with the special title 'Pythaeus' (Paus. II.35.2). Eventually the Achaeans and Tisamenus fought their way into Achaea, where Tisamenus was killed; but fighting continued in and beyond the Argolid for two generations more, which brings us to the end of what we call the Submycenaean period. This tradition helps to explain the half-life of Mycenaean burial practices at Tiryns, Nauplia and Argos which ended altogether by *c.* 1050 B.C. The only places which fell early to the Dorians, on the archaeological evidence, were Argos, Mycenae and Asine, the last by grace evidently of Apollo Pythaeus, who was worshipped there (Paus. II.36.5).

When the Dorians entered the Peloponnese, they were in three tribes – Hylleis, Dymanes, Pamphyli – and these tribes were found in all their settlements. At Argos a fourth tribe, the Hyrnathii, evidently of non-Dorian stock, was added to the community but probably not until after the battle of Sepeia early in the fifth century (Arist. *Pol.* 1303a6). The Dorian tribes were subdivided into 'phratries', i.e. into 'brotherhoods', implying a patrilinear racial system, and the names of some phratries at Argos have been found on water-pipes. That such racial groups settled at separate points within the area which ultimately became the classical town of Argos is to be inferred from the fact that a ward of Argos was called 'Pamphyliakon' (Plut. *Mor.* 245D).[22] We can see in the tribal-phratry system one reason for the conquerors' settling at so many points, each with its own adjacent burials. The rich land of the plain was worked not by the conquerors but by serfs, called 'Gymnesii' or 'Gymnetes', meaning 'needy' or 'thinly-clad'. These serfs were owned by the community, presumably because the land was communally owned and they were tied to it; they were accorded certain rights, and they perpetuated themselves for many centuries. That the Dorians introduced this system here and elsewhere is understandable if they were pastoralists accustomed to the communal ownership of pastures and scorned all tillers of the land, as the Thracians did (Hdt. V.6.2) and as the Vlachs have done in recent times.[23]

The descendants of Temenus, the Temenidae, according to the tradition at Argos, were kings of Argos for ten generations, and thereafter this hereditary, constitutional monarchy lapsed (Paus. II.19.2). The kings made two claims, which were in due course taken

[22] So too at Sparta 'Dyme' may have been a ward inhabited by Dymanes; see Hesychius s.v. *Dyme*.

[23] D 38, 43–5, scorning the Kupatshari, for instance; see A. J. B. Wace and M. S. Thompson, *The Nomads of the Balkans* (London, 1910), 31.

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over by the Argive republic: to rule over all the Dorians in the Argolid and to exercise the military leadership of all the Dorians in the Peloponnese (e.g. Hdt. VII.148.4). These claims originated probably at the time of the conquest as part of the so-called 'lot of Temenus' (Str. 358) and were rarely implemented to the full thereafter. The foundation legends name sons and grandsons of Temenus as the founders of new Dorian states: Sicyon, Epidaurus, Troezen, and later Phlius. But these were from the outset or soon became independent communities and cut their ties with Argos. It was different to the south. There the Argives reduced to dependent status the peoples of Thyreatis and Cynuria, who were called either Orneatae after their chief town, or Perioeci ('dwellers-around') as being peripheral and subject to the Argive community. At the time of the conquest the Cynurians spoke the Ionic dialect, but in course of time under Argive domination they adopted the Doric dialect (Hdt. I.82.2 and VIII.73.3).

Thus throughout the Submycenaean period the influence of the Temenidae was paramount on the eastern side of the entire Peloponnese. But it did not lay a lasting foundation of power; for in this age of migration and turmoil each new Dorian state had its own problems to solve, independently of Argos. Even within the Argolid each Dorian community went its own way and paid only nominal respect to the Temenid dynasty. Asine, for instance, was peopled in part by Dryopes; the Dorians of Asine certainly were in control, since the cult of Apollo Pythaeus was prominent there, but the Dryopes remained an important part of the community (Paus. II.36.5 and IV.34.9–12). In Argos itself the settlements at a number of separate points suggest a lack of cohesion, which was probably due to the centrifugal tendency of small familial groups. There was little change during the Protogeometric period, until its last phase, *c.* 950–900 B.C., when more people took to a settled way of life in the *komai* or hamlets which made up the town. By then the influence of the Protogeometric style of pottery, emanating from Athens, led to the development of an individual Argive style, notably at Asine which was well placed for maritime trade with Athens and may have had contacts with Cos and Rhodes.[24]

In the Middle Geometric period, when the archaeological evidence suggests that the constituent villages of Argos, then five in number, were more community-minded and the cults appealing to the total population were being established, and when something very similar was happening at Asine, we have to ask whether Argos and Asine each became that closer political unit which is known as a *polis* or 'city-state'. The nature of the change is not in dispute: from a scatter of separatist and sometimes warring *komai* to an association of *komai* in a single

[24] D 26, 166f.

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political community (Arist. *Pol.* 1252b28). The literary tradition describes this change at Corinth, Megara and Sparta, as we shall see, but not at Argos and Asine. That it happened there too is certain, and we can infer the time of the change best from the archaeological evidence and from the behaviour of the states themselves. In the latter half of the eighth century Argos felt strong enough to attack Asine, and probably to extend her control of the south-eastern part of the Peloponnese by annexing Cythera and making its people Perioeci.[25] Asine fought back but in vain. Its population set up a new city with the favour of Sparta in Messenia, fought in the First Messenian War and lived on as a *polis*. It is likely, then, that Argos and Asine passed out of the cocoon stage of a scatter of separate *komai* by the middle of the eighth century B.C.

The Dorian advance to Epidaurus led to the expulsion of some of the native Ionians who joined other Ionians in founding Samos (Paus. VII.4.2), and to the subjection of others who were called *konipodes*, 'dusty-feet' (Plut. *Quaest. graec.* 1). Like the Gymnesii of Argos, the 'dusty-feet' tilled the soil as serfs for the Dorian masters. Later, Dorians from Epidaurus occupied Aegina; at first they were dependent on Epidaurus, but subsequently they asserted their independence (Hdt. V.83.1). The Dorians of Epidaurus worshipped Asclepius, the god of healing, both at Epidaurus on the coast of the Saronic gulf and at the shrine of Asclepius inland (where plays are produced today). However, the earliest remains at the shrine are dated late in the sixth century. The sanctuary adjacent to it was much older. There worship had been continuous from Early Helladic times of one 'Malos', and it was probably the Dorians who placed their god Apollo in his place as Apollo Maleatis. At Epidaurus itself the gap in the archaeological record is from late in the Bronze Age to the Geometric period. The Dorians, it seems, did not adopt a settled way of life until then, as at Dendra, Lerna and Berbati.

At Troezen in the Argolic peninsula the earliest remains yet found are of the Geometric period: sherds in the places which became the Agora and the precinct of Asclepius, probably the first signs of a settled community with a common worship; a burial in a large cist-grave with a gold diadem by the skull and two vases of Attic Dipylon style; and three stone sarcophagi with a Late Geometric amphora 'of an Argolic workshop'.[26] The literary tradition tells us that the Troezenians were Ionians who worshipped Athena Apaturia, goddess of phratries, and inscriptions show that they had in Classical times their phratries and clans (*patriai* and *gene*), as the Ionians of Athens did. Their land, we learn,

[25] For very slight evidence of pottery with Argive affinities see D 228, 37.
[26] D 189, *JDAI* 14, 86f, and D 166, 52.

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was sacred to Poseidon, as was that of Athens. They had no doubt developed these characteristics before they were joined by 'the Dorians of Argos'. It was a son of Temenus who founded Dorian Troezen in which there were the usual Dorian tribes (two are attested) and at least one other tribe, 'Schelias', presumably of non-Dorians. According to Pausanias (II.30.10), the Dorians and the native Troezenians joined together as *synoikoi*, and members of both groups were said to have founded Halicarnassus and its offshoots Myndus and Theangela. It seems that Dorian Troezen did not become a settled community until within the Geometric period.

At Calauria, close to Troezen, the earliest sherds were Geometric in the area of the later town and early eighth-century Geometric in the sanctuary of Poseidon. Here there is no tradition of any Dorian presence. Rather, the sanctuary became the centre of an Amphictyonic League (Str. 374), of which the members were Hermione, Epidaurus, Aegina, Athens, Prasiae, Nauplia and Minyan Orchomenus (in Boeotia). Whether this 'Calaurian League' originated in the Bronze Age or, as is more probable (see also p. 670), in resistance to the Dorian and Boeotian invaders very early in the Iron Age, it did not set up a common worship of Poseidon at this place until the Geometric period on present evidence.

In Hermionis the founders of Hermione were said to be Dryopes, members of a tribe displaced from Central Greece by Dorians, and they probably brought with them the cult of Chthonian Demeter which was famous in Classical times. Dorians from Argos settled here too and took control; the Classical dialect of Hermione was Doric, and there were cults of Apollo Pythaeus and Hera. To the west of Hermione the harbour-site called Halieis (Porto Cheli) has signs of habitation from Protogeometric times. Its small acropolis was defended by a mud-brick wall in the eighth century, if not earlier. Such fortifications were not made at that time by Dorians. Indeed there is no tradition of Dorians settling at Halieis.

IV. CORINTHIA AND THE ISTHMUS

The prosperous Mycenaean settlements were not on the well-watered terrace where Classical Corinth was to stand, but at places some miles to the north and the south, Korakou near Lechaeum on the shore of the Corinthian Gulf and Zygouries inland; for the terrace has yielded only a very small number of Mycenaean sherds. When Korakou and Zygouries were destroyed towards the end of the Mycenaean period, the sites were abandoned. On the other hand, in the Submycenaean period some traces of a settlement on the terrace appeared: remains of

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a hut with a hearth and some pottery from burials in ground to the west of the modern Museum, and two pit-graves with bones of children and bronze offerings, including two arched fibulae of a northern, non-Mycenaean kind, in ground at the west end of the hollow in which the remains of the Roman forum are now to be seen.[27] At this latter site burials continued through Protogeometric and Geometric, and we may infer the existence of a settlement nearby which lasted from Sub-mycenaean time through our period. In the Protogeometric period there are perhaps signs of such a settlement in a deposit of early Protogeometric sherds in this same hollow; or, it has been suggested, they may represent dedications made at the place where later there was a sanctuary of Demeter and Kore.[28] Burials of the Protogeometric period have been found so far at three places: at the west end of the hollow, a single one in the sanctuary area and two cist-graves to the north-east of the rostrum where St Paul spoke.

The Geometric period saw more points of settlement and more burial-places. Wells dating from Early Geometric were sunk on the higher ground west of the hollow, and Geometric terrace walls have been traced to the south of the Sacred Spring below this higher ground, so this area was certainly occupied. A second such area with wells, a retaining wall of Early Geometric date, and a deposit lay to the south of the other copious spring called Peirene. A third, indicated by a house wall of Late Geometric date, lay to the west of the Temple hill where the columns of Apollo's temple still stand. These three settlement areas were used also for burials nearby: the first from Early Geometric, the second throughout the Geometric period and the third from Middle Geometric. In addition burials have been found at five other places: several Early Geometric graves beside the route leading from the north edge of the lower terrace to Lechaeum; a large group of Middle Geometric and Late Geometric graves in what is known as the North Cemetery, a kilometre or so north-west of the Museum; a small group of Late Geometric graves in the Potters' Quarter almost two kilometres west of the Museum; an early Geometric grave near the site of the later shrine of Asclepius; and an Early Geometric burial at Mavrospelaies between the North Cemetery and the Potters' Quarter.[29] Some of these places, being regular cemeteries, were no doubt associated with near-by small settlements. When we compare the situation here with that at Argos, it becomes clear that here too people lived in separate small hamlets or *komai*, each with its own hereditary burial-ground, sometimes

[27] D 26, 69.

[28] *Arch. Rep.* 1970–71, 10.

[29] D 198, 101–3 gives a summary with references, to which should now be added *Arch. Rep.* 1972–3, 10ff.

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beside a route, and that these hamlets, being six to eight in number, were scattered over an area of some two square kilometres.

Signs of cult in these settlements are very few. It has been suggested that votive offerings were made in early Protogeometric times and throughout the Geometric period in the place where a sanctuary of Demeter and Kore developed later. The predecessor of the temple of Apollo which we see today was built around 700 B.C., and the fill of a seventh-century roadway, made probably at the time of building, contained fragments of Geometric tripod-cauldrons such as were dedicated at a shrine. Thus we may deduce the existence of a cult of Apollo there in the decades before 700 B.C..[30]

The fine, pale clay of Corinthia was an important asset; for it made excellent pottery. When the dominating influence of Athens in pottery weakened, Corinth developed her own Geometric style from 800 B.C. onwards. Prior to that date her fine pottery had been used only in Corinthia and Megaris, but from early in the eighth century it spread also to Delphi and Aetos in Ithaca and in the second half of the century as far as Smyrna in the east, Syracuse in the west, and Dodona in the north. As this fine pottery is hardly found at all in contemporary burials in Corinthia, the making of it was not a home craft but the business of one or more workshops; and it was intended not for the domestic market but for export both for its own sake and for what it contained. Thus from 800 B.C. onwards Corinth played an important and growing part in the development of maritime trade.

Elsewhere in Corinthia and the Isthmus, except for a Protogeometric grave at Vello, the earliest Iron Age remains are of the Geometric period. Thus Early Geometric graves have been found at Zygouries; and signs of an Early Geometric settlement on the Isthmus by the sanctuary of Poseidon, where the earliest temple was built around 700 B.C. Late Geometric burials on the Isthmus and to the north of it; and Middle Geometric graves farther north at Ayioi Theodhoroi, the ancient Crommyon. On the Peloponnesian side Middle Geometric graves at Tenea and Clenia, and a Geometric settlement at Kritika near Nemea. An interesting apse-ended building of mud brick on stone foundations at Galataki, the ancient Solygea, has been dated within the Geometric period; it measured about 15 m by 7 m, and a rectangular base in the apse probably served to support a cult-statue.[31] The building is similar to those we have mentioned at Mycenae and Argos. Clay models of such buildings with an apsidal end have been found at the Argive Heraeum (one), Perachora (five, apart from fragments of others)

[30] *Arch. Rep.* 1972–3, 10. Of course a cult without a building may have existed for many earlier centuries, as at Dodona, where the first cult building was *c.* 400 B.C..

[31] D 180.

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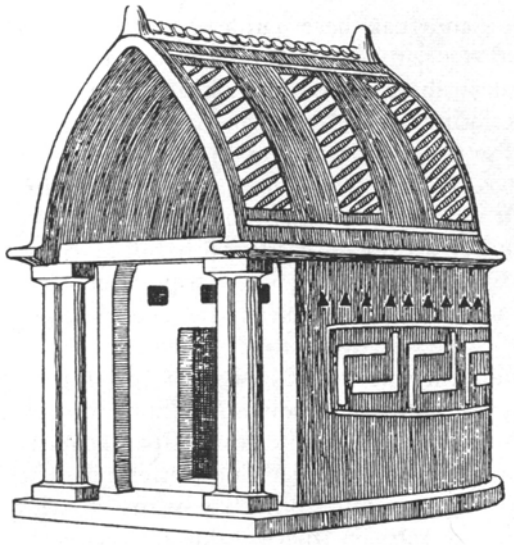

Fig. 74. Clay model (restored) of an apsidal building, probably a temple, from Perachora, temple of Hera Acraea. Late 8th century B.C. Base dimensions 35·6 × 20·8 cm. (After D 195, I 34–51.)

and Aetos in Ithaca (one); as they were found in the so-called 'Geometric Deposit' of votives to Hera Acraea at Perachora, they were objects of offering and may be dated within the range of the 'Geometric Deposit', i.e. within the first three quarters of the eighth century B.C. (fig. 74).

When we review the archaeological evidence for Corinthia and the Isthmus in the Early Iron Age, sparse though it is, we see that the terrace area received new settlers in the Submycenaean period and became the centre of Corinthia, analogous to Argos in the Argolid. The standard of living in Corinthia was, if anything, lower than in the Argolid, and we must visualize people living in tents or mud-brick huts of the simplest kind. The absence of any settlement-sites comparable even to those of the terrace area suggests that in the rest of Corinthia life was mainly nomadic and pastoral. But things began to change with the Geometric period. From *c.* 900 B.C. Corinth, if we may so name the settlements on the terrace, grew larger in population and exported its fine pottery and the contents of it to the Megarid, and new settlements appeared in Corinthia and the Isthmus. From 800 B.C. maritime trade developed apace, and Corinthian pottery spread far and wide during this century, by land and by sea. The earliest evidences of cult buildings at Corinth span the century, and these may reflect a growing sense of community. Corinthians were probably among those who dedicated bronze cauldrons on tripods to Odysseus in the Polis cave of Ithaca from *c.* 800 B.C. onwards.

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Looking across the head of the Corinthian Gulf from Corinth one sees the promontory of Perachora. Its small harbour, facing Corinth and on the way to the neck of the Isthmus, was important in the early days of sail because it offered shelter from winds to which the Corinthian coast was exposed. On the other hand, the harbour was not of particular value to Megara or Megara's western port, Pagae. The land on the north side of the promontory is fertile; it was of interest both to Megara and to Corinth, and it was more accessible overland to the former. A small apsidal temple was built beside the harbour and dedicated to Hera Acraea, 'Hera of the Promontory', late in the ninth century B.C. and was in use until *c.* 725 B.C., its life being known mainly from a deposit of votives called the 'Geometric Deposit'. Meanwhile, a decade or so before 725 B.C., a small rectangular temple, 9·5 m by 5·6 m, was built higher up the valley above the harbour and dedicated to Hera Limenia 'Hera of the Harbour'. This temple was from its beginning more important than that of Hera Acraea, and after the disuse of the latter temple *c.* 725 no evidence of a revival of her cult appeared until another temple was built in the sixth century. The offerings to Hera Acraea in the eighth century were 'simple, local in origin and comparatively few in number', but those to Hera Limenia were 'a mass of exotic and unusual offerings'.[32] Elements in common were only the fact that the fine pottery was of Corinthian make except for some Argive offerings – but as the Megarians used Corinthian fine pottery this does not indicate whether Megarians or Corinthians were dedicants – and the fact that clay replicas of round cakes, called *koulouria* in modern Greek, were offered at both sanctuaries and were found in later deposits by the harbour. If these replicas were associated with the oracle of Hera Acraea mentioned by Strabo 380, we can see that the oracle was consulted throughout its life by whoever held the site at Perachora.

I have suggested that until the building of the Hera Limenia temple the Megarians held the promontory of Perachora and the area between Loutraki and Crommyon, the last attested as a *kome* or village 'of the Megarid' which later became 'a *kome* of Corinthia' (Str. 380), and that it was during this period that two of the five divisions of the Megarians took their names from these regions: the 'Heraeis' from the land sacred to Hera Acraea and the 'Piraeis' from the Piraea, 'the area beyond', i.e. north of the neck of the Isthmus (Plut. *Quaest. graec.* 17; by Loutraki, cf. Xen. *Hell.* IV.5.1). If this is so, the Megarians built the temple of Hera Acraea; and they especially but not exclusively made the simple and local offerings, which included the clay models of the apsidal temple. The reason, then, for the setting up of the temple to Hera Limenia, the decline and (after 725 B.C.) the neglect of the earlier temple, and the

[32] D 198, 108.

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radical change in the nature of the offerings is to be seen in the Corinthians' capture of the site, so important for their developing maritime trade in the Gulf, renaming Hera as 'the goddess of the harbour', Limenia, and building a new temple to her, at which they offered richer gifts than the Megarians had been able to bring. This suggested explanation of the peculiarities of the Perachora site will be assumed as a working hypothesis in the discussion of the literary evidence on which we have already touched.[33]

The literary tradition was that Corinthia was occupied by Aeolians and the Isthmus by Ionians until the coming of the Dorians to these areas (Thuc. IV.42.2; Str. 392). In Corinthia the Dorians operated from the hill of Solygea – the victory probably being commemorated by a cult, as at the Temenium in Argolis, and the name of the place persisting in the tradition – and the founder of Dorian Corinth was Aletes, a descendant of Heracles but not a Temenid. As fourth in line of descent from Heracles, like Deïphontes for example, and as the founder of a dynasty whose generations were recorded (Paus. II.4.3), Aletes flourished on either side of 1080 B.C.;[34] thus the establishment of Dorian settlers at Corinth occurred in the latter part of what we call the Submycenaean period. Dorians of Corinth joined later with other Dorians in a war against the Ionians of the Isthmus and Attica; and on the death of Codrus, king of Athens, approximately *c.* 1050 B.C. (see *CAH* II.2, 706), they founded in the Isthmus five communities or *komai*, named after the districts Heraea, Piraea, Megara, Cynosoura and Tripodiscus (Hdt. V.76 and Plut. *Quaest. graec.* 17). The known divine founders were Hera of Heraea and Apollo (probably Pythaeus) of Megara and of Tripodiscus, and the human founder of Tripodiscus was Coroebus of Argos (Paus. I.43.8). The evidence of cults in Corinthia and the Isthmus suggests that the influence of Argos was less strong in Corinthia than in the Isthmus.[35] Other Dorian states were founded by Phalces, a son of Temenus, at Sicyon and by a son of Phalces at Phlius, and these Dorian communities from the outset had closer ties with Argos than with Corinth.

In these settlements the Dorians were marshalled in the usual three Dorian tribes. A fourth tribe, evidently of non-Dorian inhabitants, was added at some unknown time at Sicyon and probably at Phlius, and after the early colonies at Corinth; but there is no trace of a fourth tribe in the Isthmus communities. Some of the vanquished were reduced to

[33] D 192. The suggestion was accepted by D 198, 109, D 21, 353, and R. Stroud in D 52, 687; and rejected in part by D 199 and D 21, 105. I follow the dating of D 199, which is earlier than mine in D 192.

[34] For the various dates given by Greek chronographers for the invasion by Temenus see D 191, 62 with n. 27.

[35] D 194, 69ff.

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serfdom at Sicyon and in the Isthmus; there were two categories at Sicyon, 'stick-carriers' (*korynephoroi*) and 'shift-wearers' (*katonakophoroi*), and we hear of those at Megara as 'wearers of goatskins' (Theognis 53ff). Like the Gymnesii at Argos, these serfs were evidently owned by the community and worked the land for their masters. The 'stick-carriers' at Sicyon may have acted as herdsmen, because *koryne* sometimes meant a shepherd's crook. For some three centuries we know nothing of the history of these communities except that they were ruled by kings. The tradition at Corinth gave ten generations of hereditary kingship and thereafter the transfer of the king's powers to a royal clan, the Bacchiadae (Hdt. v.92.*b* and Paus. II.4.4); and we can infer a similar transfer of power at Megara where the eponymous official was given the royal title of *basileus*. We may infer, then, that there was a long period of stagnation with a traditional form of hereditary kingship and with separate, small tribal communities or *komai*. The standard of life of the serfs is indicated by the names we have mentioned, and that of their masters was not much higher, if we may judge from the archaeological evidence. Civilization in Corinthia and the Isthmus was at an even lower ebb than in Argolis.

The turn towards better times may be associated with the modification or abolition of the hereditary kingship. According to the literary tradition this took place at Corinth around 780 B.C., very approximately, if we allow three generations to a century for a rough reckoning.[36] Of itself this tradition may have little strength, but its date does stand firmly within the symptoms of growth which we have observed: more settled people in the ninth century, a local export of pottery, the beginnings of maritime trade and overseas export of pottery around 800 B.C., the acquisition of the Heraea *c.* 740 B.C. and the establishment of two powerful colonies *c.* 733 B.C. To apply Thucydides' generalization to this particular case, Corinth ran a long and troubled course before it achieved settled conditions and became capable of such rapid expansion as we see in its acquisition of the Heraea and its planting of colonies. But not only Corinth. Megara fought with success against Corinth early in the eighth century, according to the literary tradition (Paus. VI.19.13), emerged from a period of annexation with a diminished territory, and yet had the ability to maintain its independence and found a colony in Sicily *c.* 728 B.C.

The new vigour of Corinth and Megara is hardly attributable to a number of separate, small communities such as were characteristic of the period of stagnation, and it seems that we have to associate it with

[36] The ten generations, being inclusive of Aletes and the last king Telestes, span the period from the *floruit* of Aletes to *c.* 780 B.C. (Eusebius giving 777 B.C. for the fall of Telestes); see D 201, 259ff.

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a change into a more coherent form of state, the so-called *polis*. The nature of the change is clearer in the Megarid than in Corinthia, because Plutarch (*Quaest. graec.* 17, deriving probably via Aristotle's *Megarian Constitution* from a tradition of the late eighth century B.C.[37]) has preserved a picture of the situation there prior to the formation of the *polis*. The village-communities (*komai*) in the Isthmus had an unwritten law of spear-friendship in their wars with one another, and anyone violating this law was perfidious in the eyes not only of his enemies but also of his fellow-citizens, that is the members of his own village-community, the *politai*. Thus each *kome* was an autocephalous state; there was no joint or overall citizenship shared with the 'enemies' of a neighbouring *kome*. This was happening, reports Plutarch, at a time when the Corinthians were plotting to make the Megarid subject to themselves; and if we are correct in our history of the Heraea as seen at Perachora, this was before 740 B.C. For it was only then that the five village-communities mentioned by Plutarch were still independent, intact and able to fight one another. 'In early times', wrote Plutarch, 'Megaris was inhabited by village-communities (*kata komas*), the present citizens of Megara being distributed in five divisions, and they were called Heraeis, Piraeis, Megareis, Cynosoureis and Tripodiscii.' When these villages ended their vendettas and combined into a partnership of villages, they became a *polis* with a new citizenship. All were 'Megarians'. The fivefold origin of 'Megara' was preserved in its colleges of five *strategoi* and five *demiourgoi*; the wards kept their names for recruitment, e.g. 'a hundred from Cynosoura', and the wards (*komai*) as well as the state (*polis*) were involved in passing an honorary decree *c.* 300 B.C. It is most probable that two of these five wards, Heraea and Piraea, were parts of the new state *before* they were lost to Corinth. If so, the formation of the Dorian *polis* called Megara took place before 740 B.C..

A memory of the formation of Corinth as a *polis* has survived in a late lexicographer, Suidas, who was commenting on the expression 'all eight' (*panta okto*): 'Aletes, uniting the Corinthians into a state in accordance with an oracle, made the citizens into eight tribes and the state into eight parts.' While the attribution to Aletes is obviously anachronistic, we have evidence in the Middle Geometric period (*c.* 830–750 B.C.) of some six to eight small communities living in separate hamlets within the confines of what was to become the city of Corinth. The crucial step was the amalgamation of these eight communities – 'all eight' – into one *polis* of which the citizens called themselves *Korinthioi*, retaining the three Dorian racial tribes (as in their colonies) and organizing themselves in eight new tribes based on their

[37] D 192. See Paus. III.16.9 for a similar tradition in Laconia.

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own local residence (as at Megara). This happened in the decades before 740 B.C.[38] After it Eumelus composed a *Corinthiaca*, and 'Corinth' sent out colonies.

V. ACHAEA, ELEIA, MESSENIA AND ARCADIA

Although Mycenaean remains are not uncommon in Achaea, there are few of our period. Dedications of some 'duck-vases' in chamber-tombs at Koukoura near Patras and at Kanghadi inland in south-west Achaea indicate the survival of Mycenaean customs and perhaps of some Mycenaean settlements there until *c.* 1050 B.C. or even later. It has been reported that occupation was continuous from Mycenaean to Geometric times on the peninsular hill of Aegium, and that there are occupation remains of Mycenaean, Protogeometric, and Late Geometric times at Aegira – both sites being coastal. Some burials in Achaea seem to be those of newcomers. At Agriapidhies, south of Patras, some large slab-lined cist-graves were found inside a *peribolos* of stones which had apparently been the core of a tumulus. The pottery, crude in shape and hand-made, is quite unlike other pottery in Achaea; it has been tentatively assigned to the tenth century.[39] At Chalandhritsa in south-western Achaea a cemetery of tumuli has been reported, and two tumuli were found to contain stone-lined cist-graves – one with an apsidal end – and sherds of the type of jug known as *oenochoe*; these burials were dated to the eighth century but the cemetery is likely to have had a more extended period of use.[40] At Troumbes near Chalandhritsa a tholos-tomb, probably built in the Mycenaean period, contained the following objects: Late Geometric pottery, a bronze spear-head, two bronze rings, two bronze pins, and a pierced biconical bead of a type common in Macedonia and farther north.[41] It seems that the tholos-tomb was re-used for burial by people who were familiar with such re-use, for instance in Thessaly. Another sign of intruders was seen by the excavator of tombs at Katarrakhti near Pharae, where one of three slab-lined cist-graves had some crude pottery and a bronze ring similar to those found at Chalandhritsa; these graves were dated tentatively to the Protogeometric period, and another cist-grave there has been recently dated to this period.[42]

Burials which lacked intrusive elements were in a chamber-tomb at Prostovitsa and in a chamber-tomb at Basileos by Chalandhritsa, both burials being of the Submycenaean period;[43] a Protogeometric pithos-

[38] D 198, 115 dated it about the middle of the eighth century or in the latter part of it.
[39] D 229.
[40] *BCH* 1961, 682.
[41] *PAE* 1929, 89f with fig. 7, and 1930, 83f; *Arch. Delt.* 20 (1965), *Chr.* 223.
[42] *PAE* 1952, 407.
[43] D 65, 126.

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burial and a Geometric pithos-burial at Derveni near Aegium; some tholoi with pithos-burials which were possibly Geometric at Bartolomio; and a cemetery of pithos-burials with two iron swords from Vovodha (Titane). Some pithos-burials at Drepanum near Patras seem to indicate that the chronology of the stages of the Geometric period resembled that at Athens and Argolis.[44] They were unusually rich in ornaments and weapons, and those in pithos-burial 2, dated *c.* 800 B.C., included a necklace of biconical bronze beads like the one at Troumbes.

According to the literary tradition (see *CAH* II.2, 702f), the Achaean followers of Tisamenus, son of Orestes, when expelled from Argolis and Laconia by the Dorians, entered the area which came to be called 'Achaea' after them and drove out the Ionians whom they dispossessed. Sons of Tisamenus are mentioned, and then the tradition stops. These particular Achaeans, being speakers of the Aeolic dialect (like the Mycenaean people of Corinthia), were called 'Aeolic' by Strabo (333), but in the eighth century B.C. the people of Achaea spoke predominantly a West Greek dialect, if we may judge from the dialect of the colonies which they planted; and in particular North-west Greek, since they are hostile to the 'Dorian Spartans' at the time of the Persian Wars (Paus. VII.6.4). In order to explain this state of affairs, it has long been assumed that speakers of North-west Greek came in large numbers into Achaea during the Protogeometric and Geometric periods.

When we take all the evidence into account, we see that the survival of Mycenaean practices in archaeological terms accords with the tradition of Tisamenus and his sons, and that the intrusion of unusual burial practices, probably from the north, accords with the assumption of North-west Greek-speakers coming into Achaea, an assumption based on dialectology alone. Certainly by the end of the Geometric period the population of Achaea was very mixed, but the speakers of North-west Greek were the dominant element. When Sybaris was founded by 'Achaeans' *c.* 720 B.C., the founder was Is of Helice, the religious centre of the loose federation of twelve divisions which Herodotus mentioned (I.145). It is probable that this loose federation came into existence before 720 B.C.

The centre for any ruler of Eleia was the natural acropolis of ancient Elis, which overlooks the river Peneus as it enters the plain. A cemetery of slab-covered pit-graves, containing from one to three burials and some bronze offerings, was found on the slope of this acropolis. They may with confidence be ascribed to new rulers who had come from the north; for the form of burial is not Mycenaean, and the bronze objects – arched fibulae, long pins in pairs, finger-rings, a sword with down-turned antennae, a short sword deriving from the F ii class (see

[44] D 224.

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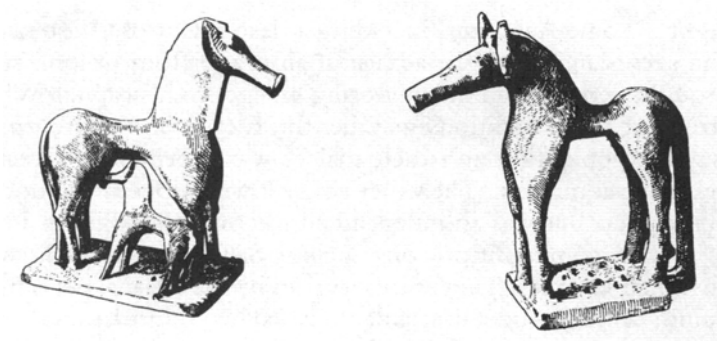

Fig. 75. Bronze dedications at the sanctuary of Zeus, Olympia. Mare and foal, and a horse. 8th century B.C. (After *Olympia* IV, pls. 14.217, 13.198; see D 225, 72.)

CAH II.2, 710) – and two beads of amber have connexions with the north and especially the north-west. The burials have been dated to one side or the other of 1050 B.C.; they probably span most of the eleventh century.[45] Geometric sherds have been found at Agrapidhokhori on the Peneus – one representing a warship. A pithos-burial of Protogeometric date was excavated at Ayios Andreas at the mouth of the Alpheus, and another of Geometric date at Salmone up-river. There was a settlement at Olympia from Early Helladic times continuously through our period, although traces of Submycenaean are minimal. The sanctuary too was age-old, but it is doubtful whether offerings were made there in the earlier part of our period. Terracotta and bronze figurines of cattle and horses and of men, primitive in workmanship and perhaps locally made, may begin in the later Protogeometric period. A great increase in the number of offerings came with the eighth century, when figurines of horses and men were very numerous (as in fig. 75). Bronze weapons and bronze tripod-cauldrons were also offered, but the dating of them is disputed. Certainly in the eighth century the offerings came from a wider area, indeed from many parts of Greece. By the end of the period altars had been built to the gods, a form of tree-worship was practised (as at Dodona), and an apsidal building was in use probably as a temple.[46]

In the literary tradition the invaders of Eleia were Aetolians, led by Oxylus, who crossed the Gulf of Corinth together with the Dorian leaders. Oxylus settled at Elis itself and enlarged it (Str. 463f; Paus. V.4.3), and he called his followers 'Eleans'; as his sons only were named, it seems that the overall kingship died. When the Eleans settled, it was probably in the small hamlets, called *damoi*, of which we hear later; each had its own 'king' or 'kings' (*SGDI* 1152). It is said that Oxylus

[45] *Ergon* 1963, 117ff; D 26, 74f.
[46] N. Yalouris in D 52, 646f.

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brought in some Achaeans, including a descendant of Orestes, to help him in accordance with the advice of an oracle from Delphi, and that he brought people from neighbouring villages to his capital. Whatever the truth of these traditions may be, the Eleans of historic times had no subject population and their dialect was North-west Greek with some Aeolic admixture. The valley of the lower Alpheus was not at first a part of Eleia but was an independent district called Pisatis, in which eight small communities – one being Salmone – banded together against their enemies. They were overrun by the Eleans, perhaps in the late ninth century, and a descendant of Oxylus, Iphitus, and the Eleans were said to have instituted the Olympic festival on the advice of Delphi. The first official celebration of Olympic Games was in 776 B.C.; the events were judged by descendants of Oxylus, elected for the purpose and called *Hellanodikai* ('judges of the Greeks'). There is no indication of political development among the Eleans in our period; for the first combination of *damoi* came after the Persian Wars (Str. 336).

The tradition about Oxylus certainly helps to explain the unusual cemetery at ancient Elis, and the early collapse of the kingship may help to explain the exceptional poverty and scarcity of remains elsewhere in Eleia. The small independent communities were probably engaged mainly in stock-raising, often involving the transhumance of herds, and they left little or no trace. The tradition of the Olympic festival and of the first Olympic Games in 776 B.C. is supported by the archaeological evidence at Olympia.

In Messenia the most important sites are Nichoria and Karpophora, close together on rising ground in the western part of the coastal plain at the head of the Messenian Gulf, just where three roads meet, coming from the south-western area, the inner plain by Stenyclarus, and the area east of the Gulf by Kalamata. Both places were important in Mycenaean times, but there was continuous occupation possibly at only one point in the Mycenaean town of Nichoria; it was at this point that a relatively large apsidal building, 13 m by 8 m in extent, with three internal divisions and a porch facing east, was constructed in the Early Geometric period or early in the Middle Geometric period. No doubt it was a temple.[47] On the other hand a cemetery of cist-graves with apsidal ends, Protogeometric pottery and bronze pins and a near-by group of Protogeometric pithos-burials were on ground not used in Mycenaean times. In another part of the Nichoria site, not used in Mycenaean times, ground was levelled for the construction of buildings, including a small apsidal house, in the Protogeometric and Geometric periods. Offerings made in a Mycenaean chamber-tomb in the later eighth century were indicative of a cult.

[47] *Arch. Delt.* 27 (1972), *Chr.* 266f.

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At Karpophora the approach or *dromos* of a Mycenaean tholos-tomb was blocked by a line of stones and a pithos-burial was laid to the left of the entrance, facing the interior; the pithos had Protogeometric pottery, bronze ring and hair-grip, and a lead pellet. A small tholos-tomb built in the Protogemetric period was used first for cremations. When the ashes and the remains had been scattered, four inhumations were made but this time the bones of the first three were treated with respect. On the left side of the entry there was a place of offering, and on it the bones of a bird were found. Perhaps earlier but overlapping in time with the tholos burials were six 'horseshoe-shaped' tombs with paved floor, field-stone walls and a roof of slabs, small but used sometimes for two inhumations. Offerings included bronze rings, pins and hair-grips, and in one tomb some bones of a wild pig and an ox-like animal were found. One tomb was placed among Mycenaean tombs, two were adjacent to Mycenaean tombs, and three were near the small Protogeometric tholos. The excavator dated the six tombs to the period *c.* 1100–1000 B.C.[48] Late Geometric sherds in a Mycenaean tholos-tomb and tumulus-grave were indications of cult.[49]

In the southern part of the Acritas peninsula on the east coast at Kaphirio (Longa) Submycenaean pottery and Protogeometric pottery have been found, and occupation there may have been continuous. On the west coast at Koukounara near classical Pylus a Mycenaean tholos-tomb was re-used for burial and a stag was sacrificed there; the pottery dated the burial to Late Geometric. Cult-offerings of Late Geometric date occurred in Mycenaean chamber-tombs at Volimidhia and tholos-tombs at Akourthi. In the same area a small tholos-tomb 2·10 m in diameter was made probably in the Protogeometric period among Mycenaean remains at Platanovrysis, but it was not used.

In northwestern Messenia at Kato-Englianos, below the famous Mycenaean site excavated by Blegen, a small tholos-tomb was built probably early in the Protogeometric period. It was then used for burials, with which were bronze pins, a finger-ring and buttons, and an iron knife. Nearer the coast at Tragana there were burials of the twelfth and eleventh centuries, and a Mycenaean tholos-tomb was re-used for burial in the Protogeometric period. Inland, important Mycenaean sites were at Malthi and Mila, close together. At the former, occupation ran on into the early part of the Submycenaean period, when Mycenaean pottery of very late style was found together with a dagger and a knife both of iron. At Mila occupation ceased, and there is a gap until the ninth century when crude figurines of men and animals were

[48] A. Choremis in *Arch. Eph.* 1973, 47ff; for a horseshoe-shaped house of LH IIIB date at Peristeria in Messenia see *Ergon* 1961, 170.

[49] *Arch. Delt.* 28 (1973), *Chr.* 264 for tumulus.

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deposited in a Mycenaean tholos-tomb; these were followed by better ones of cattle and horses, *c.* 800–725 B.C. Some of the figurines were in bronze, others in clay. There was evidently a cult, observed over a century or more.[50] At Rizes near Kyparissia a pithos-burial, perhaps of the tenth century with hand-made jugs and wheel-made cups, was found.

In south-eastern Messenia at Cardamyle on the coast there was a settlement probably in the Protogeometric period; at Kalamata a pithos-burial of the Geometric period; at Thouria by the head of the Gulf some traces of occupation and a tenth-century burial, and near-by at Antheia a Protogeometric burial. High up in the hills north of Kalamata sherds were found at Volimnos covering the period from Protogeometric to Hellenistic, and some evidence of a shrine; the probability is that it was a summer centre for transhumant shepherds, like Vitsa in Epirus (above, p. 636).

For remains of our period Messenia ranks second only to Argolis in the Peloponnese. Continuity was mainly on the coast (Tragana and Kaphirio); it lasted longest perhaps at one spot in Nichoria. The Protogeometric period was particularly well represented in burials of uniquely varied kinds (apsidal cist-graves, horseshoe-shaped tombs, pithos-burials, cremations, small tholoi, re-use of Mycenaean tholos-tombs and chamber-tombs), and this indicates a continuous family or tribal tradition, involving sacrifice sometimes to ancestors, e.g. at Karpophora. In this period metal seems to have been available here, more so than elsewhere in the Peloponnese – in particular iron, early on. The Geometric period was somewhat poorer in comparison, and offerings were made for the first time in several Mycenaean places of burial – a sign of troubled times when men sought supernatural aid, whether from a supposed ancestor or a localized spirit. Settlements are attested at Nichoria, Kaphirio and Cardamyle, all by the coast, and at the remote site on the flank of Mount Taÿgetus, Volimnos. The inland plain by Stenyclarus has yielded practically no remains. The coastal settlements no doubt engaged in seafaring and fishing, but the main activities inland may have been stock-raising and transhumant pastoralism.

Most of the literary tradition about Messenia differs from that about Argos in that it is continuous and detailed. The reason for this difference is not disputed; for a pseudo-history was composed in the fourth century B.C. when the Messenians emerged from almost four hundred years of Spartan oppression, and it was, not unnaturally, marked by hostility to Sparta. Some shreds of information which came from an earlier tradition and lacked this hostility may be of historical worth: the

[50] *Arch. Delt.* 27 (1972), *Chr.* 259ff.

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conquest of Messenia by Dorians under Cresphontes, a brother of Temenus, and the establishment of a Dorian centre in the inland plain of Stenyclarus; the expulsion of the former rulers, the Neleidae, who fled with some followers to Athens; the weakness of the Dorians of Messenia in the second generation, when the Dorians of Sparta and Argos came to re-establish Dorian control; and the importance of the Dorians of Messenia and Corinthia in founding Megara (Ps.-Scymnus 503). It is clear from the antecedents of the First Messenian War that the Dorians of Messenia shared with those of Sparta at least one religious festival; and they had their own worship of Zeus on Mount Ithome and held a festival of music and poetry in his honour. Eumelus referred to its foundation, according to Pausanias, in the words 'To the mind of the god of Ithome was the pure Muse, wearing the sandals of freedom.'[51] Dorian refugees during the course of that war may have introduced the Doric element into the dialect of Zancle, later renamed 'Messana', in Sicily. Other traditions were concerned with non-Dorian peoples in Triphylia who maintained their independence and their worship of 'Samian Poseidon' with the help of the Arcadians: at first Caucones, with an eponymous hero Caucon who received worship, and Pareoreatae of the mountainous hinterland, and then Minyans who fled from Mount Taÿgetus. The Dorian name was established in particular in the inland plain at Dorion (probably at Mila), and the worship of the Dorians' shepherd god Apollo Carneus was located in the plain of Stenyclarus. But the shrine of another Apollo, called Corynthus, and said by the Messenians to be the oldest of all, was evidently pre-Dorian; it was on the west coast of the Gulf by Corone.[52]

It seems, then, that the Dorian hold was mainly on the inland plains and the eastern hills of Messenia, which were excellent for stock-raising and pastoralism, and that other parts of Messenia to the north and south were more or less independent of the Dorians and kept up their own customs of worship and burial. The relative prosperity of southern Messenia especially may have been due to a considerable degree of independence and to maritime trade in the Sicilian Sea and the Cretan Sea; but this prosperity declined in the course of the Geometric period.

A survival of Mycenaean influence in Arcadia has been seen only at Palaiokastro on the upper Alpheus, where Submycenaean sherds were found on a Mycenaean settlement and in Mycenaean chamber-tombs. Then there was, as elsewhere, a gap until some sherds of Laconian Protogeometric ware appeared at Tegea in eastern Arcadia, to be followed in the Geometric period by plenty of pottery at Tegea,

[51] IV.33.2 *τιθέντας* (cf. L–S–J[9] A d VI).

[52] Hdt. IV.148; Paus. IV.3.8. contrasted with 'the Messenian account' at IV.5.1; IV.33.4 and 34.7; Str. 343.

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Mantinea and Asea. Geometric imports came from Corinth, Argos and Laconia, and Argive influence underlay a local style of Geometric pottery which flourished from *c.* 750 B.C. The chief sites were: at Tegea the sanctuary of Athena Alea which was built on a site of Mycenaean habitation, and at Mantinea the shrine of a goddess to whom clay female figurines were dedicated, as well as bronze pins and strips and iron objects. The latter shrine, rectangular with stone foundations, was about 16·60 m by 4·90 m. It is evident that settled conditions came late in Arcadia.

In the literary tradition the Arcadian tribes were aboriginal; they survived the Dark Age intact, and maintained many pre-Dorian cults. During this dark period, as in a later period of decline (Str. 388), men were not tillers of the soil but acorn-eaters, relying on stock-raising and food-gathering, and even today the semi-nomadic 'Arkades' practise the transhumance of sheep in Arcadia. Perhaps the reason for the success of the Arcadians in withstanding the Dorians was that they had the same way of life. When cities developed, the fifty sons of the mythical Lycaon were invoked as founders for most of them. However, Tegea had its own tradition: it formed out of eight *demoi*, its citizens were of four tribes, and the founder Aleus built the earliest shrine of Athena Alea (Paus. VIII.45). If this is related to the archaeological evidence, Tegea formed as a single community out of eight hamlets in the latter part of the eighth century B.C.[53]

VI. LACONIA

Archaeological evidence for Laconia is scanty and difficult to interpret. At Amyclae, in the hills between the inland plain and the Laconian Gulf, a sacred precinct was made in the eighth century B.C. to 'Apellon', the local form of Apollo, and it enclosed the tomb of Hyacinthus, a pre-Dorian god. No buildings of any earlier date were found on the hill, but a roughly stratified deposit of votive offerings on a lower slope showed that there had been a cult there in Mycenaean times. The latest Mycenaean offerings were associated not with the layer of earlier Mycenaean offerings but with a so-called Laconian Protogeometric pottery, so much so that there was an overlap; again, this Late Mycenaean/Protogeometric layer was distinct from its successor, a less rich Geometric deposit, which the original excavators dated to the ninth and eighth centuries. To what period, then, should this layer be dated? The excavators proposed the eleventh and tenth centuries, a date which may be supported by two very primitive bronze spear-heads and twelve bronze hair-rings. However, some scholars recently have dated the

[53] D 224A; *Arch. Delt.* 18 (1963), *Chr.* 88ff; Paus. VIII.45.

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beginning of Laconian Protogeometric pottery to *c.* 950 B.C. or even *c.* 900 B.C.,[54] thus creating a gap of one or two centuries within an overlapping stratification. It seems better to date this extremely individual Laconian Protogeometric pottery in relation not to Attica's Protogeometric pottery, to which it bears almost no resemblance, but to the north-western area, from which the Dorians had come. There we find the same fondness for panels of cross-hatching and geometrical designs in 'North-west Geometric' pottery (see above, pp. 222 and 630), much use of a metallic black paint and of grooving in the tumulus-burial pottery of central Albania, and twisted rope-like handles and ribbed kylix-stems in north-west Greece.[55] If so, there is no need to break the stratigraphy and introduce a chronological gap.

Some vases of Submycenaean style, probably from burials, came from Epidaurus Limera on the east coast (near Monemvasia), and others of Laconian Protogeometric style from Apidia, Daimonia and Mavrovouni near the Laconian Gulf. On the hill which became the acropolis of historical Sparta the earliest altar (in honour presumably of Athena Poliuchus – much later Chalcioecus – who was worshipped there) has been dated 'not certainly earlier than the eighth century', but there is evidence of earlier worship or occupation in sherds of Laconian Protogeometric pottery. At Limnae, also on the west bank of the Eurotas, the earliest offerings to Artemis Orthia were a few fragments of Laconian Protogeometric, and then came much Geometric, of which the earliest pieces are dated *c.* 800 B.C. Here the earliest altar was probably of earth only, but later a stone coping for it, a cobble pavement and a primitive temple, at least 12·5 m by 4·5 m, were constructed either *c.* 750 or *c.* 700 B.C. Thus within the local Geometric period of Laconia, beginning perhaps *c.* 850–800 B.C.,[56] the cult of Apollo at Amyclae was already practised and in the course of the eighth century the precinct was enclosed with a wall; the cult of Athena Poliuchus was probably already practised and the earliest altar was constructed perhaps *c.* 800 B.C.; and the cult of Artemis Orthia at Limnae was first introduced perhaps *c.* 800 B.C., the earliest buildings being *c.* 725.

According to the literary tradition the Dorians of Laconia were both religious and conservative, maintaining their cults for many centuries and some certainly from the time of the invasion. For example, Apollo Carneus, the ram-god, worshipped by all Dorian communities and so accepted before the invasion, had at one place in Laconia an additional

[54] D 26, 243 and D 62, 131.

[55] D 204, 46f and Plates II–III; compare Desborough's 'very lustrous metallic-looking black to black-brown paint' with 'un vernis noir métallique brillant' in *SA* 1964, I, 103.

[56] For the pavement see E. Kirsten in *Bonner Jahrbücher* 158 (1958), 170ff, and D 203, 7; for the beginning of the Geometric period D 26, 242, lowered to *c.* 750 B.C. by D 62, 130.

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title Stemmatios ('wreathed'). In the festival of the wreaths the celebrants carried models of the rafts on which the Heracleidae had successfully crossed the narrows by Rhium. This event had evidently been celebrated since the entry into Laconia. Again, Apollo Pythaeus, god of Delphi, similarly worshipped by Dorians before and after the invasion, was so important in Laconia that his liaison officers there, the 'Pythii', were fed alongside the kings at public expense. The 'kings of the Lacedaemonians' served as priests of Zeus Lacedaemonius and Zeus Uranius; they sacrificed twice monthly to Apollo, and repeatedly as commanders of an armed force. Being descended from Heracles, they had the blood of Zeus in their veins and they alone were eligible for the throne; and when they died, they were worshipped 'as heroes' where they lay interred in royal cemeteries, one for each house, in different parts of the hilly area which later became classical Sparta.[57] These practices no doubt dated from the beginning of the Dorian presence in Laconia.

The origin of the dual kingship, as narrated in the Spartan account, is to be understood also in terms of religious belief. On the death of the Heraclid king Aristodemus at the time of the invasion his new-born sons, identical twins, were invested jointly with the kingship; they married twin sisters and on their demise the elder son of each marriage (Agis and Eurypon by name) became a king and the two kingships continued thereafter in two royal houses, the Agiadae and the Eurypontidae. In a community which worshipped the twin sons of Zeus, the Dioscuri, the birth of identical twins in a family descended from Zeus was a miraculous event. Their marriage to twin sisters was also of religious significance; for the sisters were worshipped after their death at an altar near the statues of the Dioscuri.[58] It is of course possible to reject the Spartan account as childish and replace it with a sophisticated explanation of political expediency;[59] but in view of the nature of life in Dark Age Laconia, as far as archaeology reveals it, and in view of the religious practices which did survive from the period, the Spartan account is infinitely more probable.

The Dorians entered Laconia as members of three tribes; these tribes were subdivided into twenty-seven 'phratries' and many more clans, of which some had a hereditary function in religious ceremonies.[60]

[57] See Paus. III *passim*; III.20.9; Bekker, *Anecdota Graeca*, and Hesychius s.v. *stemmatiaion*; Hdt. VI.56–7; [Xen.] *Lac. Pol.* 15.5.

[58] Herodotus made a good story of the identical twins (VI.52); Paus. III.16.6.

[59] A summary of such explanations, many of which are still accepted, are in W. W. How and J. Wells, *A Commentary on Herodotus*, II (Oxford, 1912), 82; see D 212, 17 and D 216, 25ff.

[60] Hylleis, Pamphyli and Dymanes in Tyrtaeus fr. 10, 65 (ed. Prato), referring probably to the invasion of Laconia; Schol. Pind. *Pyth.* I.63; D 178, 56. For another example of this widespread Dorian system see *SIG*³ 1025 for the same three tribes and twenty-seven 'ninths' at Cos.

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Much of their worship and many of their institutions were related to an open-air life, and groups of men – even the kings and the Pythii – shared the same 'tent' (*skene*) and fed together in a manner appropriate to a pastoral life, while the women, like Vlach women in recent times, were more independent and athletic than the women of settled communities.[61] The sacrifices were typical of a pastoral people: rams to Apollo Carneus, goats to Hera the Goat-Eater, dogs to Enyalius, and horses to the Sun on the peak of Mount Taÿgetus, where they hunted boars, wild goats, deer and bears. There is memory too of human sacrifice (Paus. III.16.10), which persisted in Illyris (Arr. *Anab.* I.5.7). After the initial invasion when they drove the Achaeans out of the inland plain their early clashes were with hill peoples such as the Minyae on Mount Taÿgetus and the Cynurians, and they cooperated with the Achaeans of Amyclae and southern Laconia in founding some colonies overseas, such as Gortyn, Polyrrhenia, and Lyttus in Crete, and Cnidus and Selge in Asia Minor; in some of these the name Amyclae and the cult of Hyacinthus were perpetuated. On the east coast Epidaurus Limera was held by fugitives from Epidaurus and not by Dorians (Paus. III.23.6).

In the literary tradition the conquest of several places in Laconia happened under the reigns of relatively late kings. Aegys, on the border of Arcadia, was conquered in the reign of Archelaus, some of its land being dedicated to Apollo Cereatas in accordance with an oracle of Delphi, which survives and may well be authentic. Amyclae was captured from 'Achaeans' after a long siege in the reign of Teleclus, son of Archelaus, and subsequently the 'Achaeans' at Pharis and Geronthrae capitulated later in his reign. Helos on the Laconian Gulf was captured from 'Achaeans' in the reign of Alcamenes, son of Teleclus, despite help sent by Argos. These events preceded the reign of Polydorus, son of Alcamenes, which extended into the course of the First Messenian War.[62] This war, which will be discussed in *CAH* III.3, should be dated to some twenty years between 740 and 710 B.C.

What value should we attach to the king-lists? Since the kings were worshipped in perpetuity as heroes, their names were preserved in annual ceremonies, like those of College benefactors today, and in a society to which genealogies were important the king-lists are likely to have been kept correctly. But what of their transmission by non-Spartan writers and in many manuscripts? The Agiad list has come down in the same form in various writings, but this not so with the Eurypontid list; let us then take the former as likely to be correct. How are we to

[61] Athen. IV.141 *e–f*; [Xen.] *Lac. Pol.* 15.5.

[62] Paus. III.2.5–3.1, drawing probably on a Spartan writer, Sosibius (*FGrH* no. 595); D 50, II, no. 539.

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interpret it chronologically? There is no standard rule for the length of a generation. Patrilinear and matrilinear genealogies are obviously different, and in patrilinear genealogies the age of a man at marriage is decisive and this varies from society to society. Fortunately we know that the Dorian men of Laconia married at full maturity, not before thirty, in accordance with their social system. Thus as a rough and ready measure we may take 35 ± 3 for the average gap between a father and his first son, and we may apply this gap as the length of a generation in the Agiad list, in which father was succeeded by son throughout our period.[63]

Given this mean for a male generation at Sparta, is the Agiad king-list credible chronologically? We can demonstrate that this is so for the list between Cleomenes I in his maturity (*c.* 520 B.C.) and Areus I at a similar age (*c.* 280 B.C.) with an interval of seven generations, which gives an average generation of just over 34 years in a historically certified period.[64] If we take *c.* 1090 B.C. for the twins reaching maturity and put the maturity of Polydorus *c.* 760 B.C., so that he was the older king during the Messenian War, we have an interval of nine generations and an average generation of between 36 and 37 years. The list then is credible chronologically. But when we try to date a particular reign, we hit the snag that there is no standard length for a reign, and no standard age at which a man becomes king. We have a rough guide in the average length of human life; thus, if Polydorus lived *c.* 790–730 B.C., his grandfather Teleclus lived *c.* 860–800 and was an active king *c.* $830–800 \pm 10$ years. Thus the fall of Amyclae occurred within this bracket, probably towards the lower end, since it happened just before the killing of Teleclus.

In the literary tradition Laconia was torn by strife for longer than any other area, and the Lacedaemonians were almost the most disorderly of all Greeks in their relations with one another (e.g. Paus. III.16.9) and with other peoples (Hdt. I.65.2; Thuc. I.18.1). The length of the disorderly period may be inferred from Thucydides' statement just before, at I.12.4, that settled conditions came late and that thereafter the Peloponnesians sent colonists to Italy and Sicily; thus he thought of the period as lasting from the invasion, which he dated *c.* 1120 B.C. at the latest (V.112.2), to somewhere within the century *c.* 850–750 B.C., which preceded the sending out of colonies (e.g. VI.4.2, his date for Megara in Sicily). The change to orderliness, *eunomia*, became the name of the event itself. After it Sparta developed rapidly, became powerful and arranged affairs in the other states. When did this change occur? The Spartans attributed the change to Lycurgus, whom they worshipped

[63] Genealogical reckoning is extremely controversial; see D 207, 5ff.

[64] The list is in D 205, 500.

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as a god in the fifth century, but they had no agreed place for him in the king-lists, since Simonides, Herodotus and Aristotle put him in different reigns and related him to different royal houses. A firm date is given by Thucydides (1.18.1) not for Lycurgus, whom he does not mention, but for the reform itself, the change to *eunomia*: it was 'approximately a little more than four hundred years before the end of the war', i.e. the war Thucydides was describing, in our chronology a little before 804 B.C. – let us say *c.* 810 B.C.[65] This change, he said, occurred earlier than elsewhere; earlier, for instance, than at Megara, Corinth and Argos. Because Thucydides was a far more dependable chronographer than any other writer, we may accept his date as the most probable.[66]

Did the change occur before or after the capture of Amyclae? That event was attributed at Sparta not to the effect of Lycurgus' *eunomia* but to the bringing of a Theban called Timomachus to Sparta in accordance with an oracle of Delphi. This Timomachus carried the long siege to a successful end; he was honoured by the Lacedaemonians as a hero, and his bronze cuirass was displayed at the festival of Hyacinthus at Amyclae.[67] He was a member of a Dorian clan, the Aegeidae, which held the priesthood of Apollo Carneus; there were branches of it at Thebes, Sparta, Thera and Cyrene. It seems, then, that we should place the *eunomia* after the capture of Amyclae, but fairly soon after, if we are correct in placing the two events within the period *c.* 830–810 B.C. The effect of the *eunomia* was certainly to create a settled state, which called itself Sparta and its citizens Spartiates.

When we compare the archaeological evidence and the literary tradition, we note the following points of agreement. The general picture is that the Dorians held only the inland plain and settled principally in the hills on the west side of the Eurotas, where some sherds of Laconian Protogeometric have been found; and that they remained backward culturally and politically until late in the ninth century. Then, throughout the Geometric period, there was considerable progress, especially in the region of Sparta, where the first signs of the worship of Athena Poliuchus and Artemis Orthia began *c.* 800 B.C. At this time the *eunomia* took place, and on the natural acropolis of the area Athena was worshipped as Athena Poliuchus, 'Guardian of the *polis*', which Sparta had now become in the fullest sense. To the south Amyclae was famous for the cult of Hyacinthus during the long period of Achaean domination, and the cooperation of Dorian and Achaean was reflected in the spread of his cult. If our interpretation of the

[65] For interpretations of Herodotus and Thucydides see D 210, 67ff.
[66] Some reject Thucydides' dating and then place the reform *c.* 676 B.C.
[67] Pind. *Isthm.* 7.12ff; *Pyth.* 5.79; Arist. fr. 532 (ed. Rose).

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stratigraphy and of the dating of Laconian Protogeometric is correct,[68] this cult was the most important in Laconia for some three centuries. But with the Geometric period it declined and the deposit of votives was less rich; the change was due to the capture of Amyclae by the Dorians and their establishment of their own god, Apellon, as the god of Amyclae. In eastern Laconia the presence of Submycenaean pottery at Epidaurus Limera is made understandable by the literary tradition that the place was occupied by refugees from Epidaurus. In southern Laconia the three sites where sherds of Laconian Protogeometric pottery have been found were in the 'Achaean' area of the literary tradition. Late in the eighth century, when Sparta had reduced Laconia and Messenia, the first temple was built to Artemis Orthia and the precinct of Apollo at Amyclae was embellished with stonework and a shrine was dedicated on the east side of the Eurotas at Therapne to Menelaus and Helen, to whose rule over 'hollow Lacedaemon set among ravines' the Spartiates regarded themselves as the legitimate heirs by right of conquest.

VII. THE EMERGENCE OF THE CITY-STATE FROM THE DARK AGE

In many instances the interpretation of archaeological evidence and the evaluation of literary evidence are doubtful, but the general sum of evidence is such that a probable picture can be drawn with some confidence. The dislocation caused by the Dorian invasion was complete. The invaders brought illiteracy, nomadism and poverty, and they created illiteracy, nomadism and poverty throughout the Peloponnese. At first the ablest of the pre-Dorian peoples escaped by land or sea, and the weakest were tied to the soil as serfs in perpetuity. But complete dislocation was not the same as complete occupation. Many parts of the Peloponnese remained independent: for instance, the Isthmus till 1050 B.C., parts of Achaea and Epidaurus for much longer, western and southern Messenia and southern and eastern Laconia into the eighth century, and Arcadia and Triphylia for longer still. The Dorians and their fellow-invaders seized what they wanted, namely the inland plains and the hill-pastures rather than the coastal sites, because their economy was based on stock-raising, pastoralism and hunting, and they continued to live, as they had done in the north, in the open air or in huts (*kalives* today), often following their herds to and from winter and summer

[68] On the current dating there is a gap of up to 200 years in the pottery, during which Laconia was 'on the evidence so far available uninhabited' (D 62, 131); yet it was 'certain that the sanctuary at Amyclae remained in use throughout the Dark Ages' (D 26, 84). Such an inconsistency is hard to explain.

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pastures. When we talk of Dorian settlements in the Dark Age, even in the plain of Argos where the Dorian element was largest and strongest, we should think in terms of small and scattered encampments. The descendants of the pre-Dorian population, when not subjugated, were evicted from the best land and insecure in what they still possessed.

Emergence from the trough was seen most clearly in the field of religion.[69] All communities alike maintained their cults through the Dark Age and preserved folk memories attaching especially to those divinely-born families which held kingly, priestly or tribal offices. Some revival of Mycenaean-type worship may be seen in the offerings made in old tholos-tombs or even in the building of new tholos-tombs, especially in western Messenia, which occurred in both Protogeometric and Geometric times. The Homeric *Iliad* gave a great impetus to religious ideas; for the lucid picture of the Olympian gods which the Ionians had perfected during the long transmission of the epic saga on the other side of the Aegean basin must have been a revelation to the Dorian peoples of the Peloponnese during the first half of the eighth century. Thus the worship of Homeric heroes (or, as we say, 'Mycenaean' heroes) such as Agamemnon at Mycenae and Menelaus and Helen at Therapne near Sparta was carried out at the places where they were thought to have lived. But it was the new religious ideas which proved more important. Models of apsidal shrines (e.g. fig. 74), remains of apsidal buildings, and large votive deposits show that the open-air worship and sacrifice of the Dark Age were giving way to a more formal practice of religion at Perachora, Solygea, Mycenae, Tiryns, Argos, Asine (on Barbouna hill), Olympia, Nichoria, Mantinea, Amyclae, and Sparta at various times in the Geometric period. The literary evidence helps us to understand what lay behind this development, namely the combination of hitherto separate village-communities or encampments to form a community capable of a corporate religious activity above the level of family worship, so that in Laconia, for instance, the cult of Athena was established on the acropolis of Sparta as Athena Poliuchus, 'guardian of the *polis*'. Equally important was the realignment of aims away from the strife of small units and towards joint political action. The earliest of these communities came into being at Sparta, Megara, Corinth and Argos – all Dorian states – and, in response to the challenge which they constituted, at Asine and Tegea, which were in part or whole non-Dorian. When literacy, art and trade flowed back into the Peloponnese from the eastern Mediterranean, these states were able to take the initiative and generate a dynamic energy. They were, in the Peloponnese, the first examples of the *polis* which was to be the hallmark of the classical civilization of Greece.

[69] Well described in D 21, 317ff.

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The charter which marked the emergence of Sparta as a *polis* has come down to us in the form of a *rhetra*, a paraphrase in prose of an oracle in verse issued by the oracle at Delphi in answer to an official enquiry. Addressed evidently to the Dorian people who were proposing to form the new community, it ran as follows:

Found a (new) sanctuary to Zeus Syllanius and Athena Syllania, form (new) tribes and obes, set up a (new) membership of thirty for the Gerousia including the *archagetai*, from season to season assemble between Babyca and Cnacion, under these conditions introduce-and-adjourn, the discussion and the decision to be (the right) of the citizens.[70]

The first act of state was to be a religious ceremony, worshipping the gods of the state, Zeus and Athena, with the title appropriate to the occasion. The new tribes were to be five instead of three. The new tribesmen, called Limnaeis, Cynoureis, Pitanatae, Mesoatae and most probably Amyclaeis, were recruited as the residents at that time of five hamlets, called 'obes', which were named Limnae, Cynoura, Pitana, Mesoa and most probably Amyclae.[71] But membership thereafter was hereditary. Each tribe provided a regiment, and the names of the five regiments are known; as one of them was called Mesoates, it is evident that recruiting was based on the new tribal-obal system, so that what began as a territorial regiment went on to include the hereditary principle as a family regiment. The aim of the change was to cut across the lines of the three racial tribes and to include in each new tribe persons of different racial origins, so that they might learn to combine for political purposes. The new tribes elected officers of state such as the five ephors. But within the new tribes the subdivisions of the old racial tribes persisted, namely the phratries and the clans, which were active in religious and social life and had their own meeting-places called *leschai*; thus the Crotani were members of a phratry or clan with their own *lesche*, but they were a part of the Pitanatae, one of the new tribes. Similarly in a dance-festival it seems that girls called Dymanae, representing a racial group, danced with girls called Pitanatae, representing the new tribe of that name. Again in the Carnean festival of state the twenty-seven phratries were represented, but the financial sponsors were appointed in sets of five, evidently one from each new tribe.[72] The

[70] Plut. *Lyc.* 6. The significance and the interpretation of this document are much disputed. The view in the text was argued in *JHS* 70 (1950), 42ff, and with an additional section in D 210, 47ff. For an excellent summary and synthesis see D 216, 63ff.

[71] Paus. III.16.9; Str. 364; *IG* V.1.480, 515, 564; for Amyclae Xen. *Hell.* IV.5.10–11 and *IG* V.1.27.19–20 with D 220, 76 n. 1; Arist. fr. 541.

[72] Paus. III.14.2; *POxy* XXIV 2389–90 with *Gnomon* 33 (1961), 687ff; Athen. 141 *e–f*; Hesychius s.v. *karneatai*, which may refer to the reorganization of the Carneia in 676–673 B.C. For the Dymanae see above, p. 734 n. 60.

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word *obe*, meaning a village, was general in Laconia and it was used elsewhere too; it had the same meaning as *kome*, the usual Dorian word for a village. These particular five obes were already existing villages within which the citizens of the new state resided at the time of the charter. If the fifth obe was Amyclae, the time was soon after the capture of Amyclae, which must have raised new problems.

The constitution of the new state was marked not by the institution of a Gerousia or 'Council of Elders', but by a change in its membership, which became the two *archagetai* and twenty-eight elders, all holding office for life. Here we may see a new function for the kings not with the title *basileis* which they used as 'Kings of the Lacedaemonians' but with the title *archagetai* as officers of the new state,[73] 'Sparta'. Gerousia and citizens were to assemble thereafter in a particular place, and in the conduct of their business the Gerousia was to introduce motions and adjourn the meeting and the citizens were to discuss the motions and decide. Thus the initiative lay in the Council alone; a motion approved by the citizens became law, and a rejected motion lapsed. There was no provision for a member of the assembly to initiate a motion, and the Council controlled the procedure of the Assembly or Apella, as it was called. The sovereignty of the people was real; but it was tightly restricted.

The most remarkable feature of the new state was the *agoge*, the training of the citizens.[74] It may have included some traditional elements, but in its entirety it was an innovation attributed to Lycurgus. Men, not women, were eligible for the citizenship. A male child was presented by the father to the elders of his tribe, who either accepted it or, if it was defective in any way, condemned it to death by exposure. From seven to eighteen the boys were educated by the state at its expense and under its curriculum as boarders living and feeding together, away from home, and playing many team games. From eighteen to twenty they received a rigorous military training, and from twenty to thirty they lived in barracks, ready for active service. Then and then only, if they were elected unanimously to a men's club or mess (called *andreion*, *phidition* or *syssition*), they became citizens with the title 'Equals'. If rejected even by one vote, they became non-citizens with the title 'Inferiors' but were given some rights. Once elected an Equal, a man campaigned and dined with the members of his club, usually fifteen in number, until the age of sixty, when military service ended and he could be elected a member of the Council, if a vacancy arose.[75]

[73] On a different interpretation by L. H. Jeffery in *Historia* 10 (1961), 144f, see D 210, 93ff.

[74] The chief source is Plut. *Lyc.* 14–25.

[75] Such an election was most prestigious; see Plut. *Lyc.* 26 for the method of election and the festivities afterwards, which certainly dated from very early times.

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Girls were educated on the same lines but lived at home until they married, usually in the late teens, whereas the husband was usually over thirty. The wife ran the household, and the man was much away until his service ended at sixty. The whole system was under close supervision by the state-officers, the five Ephors ('Overseers'). It was designed to exclude the weak or eccentric and to inculcate unquestioning loyalty in the minds of the citizens.

An estate of fixed size on state-owned land was entrusted by the state to every Equal, complete with the labour of state-owned Helots, and the Equal had to contribute a portion of the produce to his club as a condition of continuing citizenship.[76] Thus all citizens were basically equal in birth, education, service and substance. The introduction of this radical system of land use was attributed to Lycurgus, perhaps correctly if the reform stood at the beginning of settled conditions, when pastoralism with its system of common land was giving way to agriculture with its concept of a family holding, and when the recent conquest of Amyclae, Pharis and Geronthrae had made more arable land available for distribution. The club of fifteen men aged over thirty, with their common meal, tent and sun-shelter, may have originated in the practice of nomadic pastoralism; for even today the Sarakatsani find that fifty persons of all ages is the number for a viable group (a *parea* with its herds).[77] The rapid growth of the Spartan state was probably due in part to the fact that its roots were deeply set in beliefs and practices of the past, and in part to the clarity of mind with which its development was envisaged. Thus the dual monarchy, the council of elders, and the meeting of warriors were no doubt features of the past, but they were so fitted together in the new constitution that friction between them might be minimized. The religious practices of the constituent parts were absorbed into the new society, and Sparta became famous for her festivals, music and dancing. The novel feature and the most formative was the *agoge*. When it had had time to show its crucial importance, the Spartiates recognized the prestige of its 'Overseers' by making the senior Ephor the eponymous official of the year in 754 or 753 B.C. and keeping a list thereafter. It is probable that their powers had been increased with the development of the Lycurgean system, and in particular by 754 B.C. they and not the kings were given the task of declaring war on the Helots at the beginning of the official year, in order that the shedding of Helot blood should not incur divine displeasure.[78]

[76] A Spartiate's baby son, if approved by the tribal elders, was given a conditional right to such an estate (*kleros*), to be taken up thirty years later, if and when he qualified for citizenship; should his father have predeceased him, he might take over his father's estate if available, or otherwise another estate. The estate was an inalienable trust; see Plut. *Lyc.* 16 and *Agis* 5; Arist. fr. 611; Polybius VI.45.3.

[77] D 38, 48; a trellis of leafy branches set on poles, to keep the sun off men and sheep, is a commonplace among shepherds today and was evidently the original *skias* or *skiadeion*.

[78] Arist. fr. 538.

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Ancient writers did not attribute to Lycurgus the institution either of Helots or of Perioeci. Helots had been in existence for some centuries before the *eunomia* as descendants of those pre-Dorian peoples who had been reduced by the Dorians to a position of serfdom, under which they were owned by a Dorian community in a particular area, tied to the land and obliged to render a fixed amount of produce to their masters. The rights and obligations of the Helots and the masters were statutory; for example, if a master exacted more than his due in produce, he laid himself under a curse thereby.[79] What was attributed to Lycurgus was the institution of the *krypteia* or 'Secret Service' as a part of the *agoge*, during which young men killed Helots in a clandestine way, no doubt on orders from above. The lowest number of Equals, which we can infer from Plutarch, is 4,500 at the time of the *eunomia*, and even that has been thought by some to be an exaggeration.[80] It is probably about right; for the Helots were certainly several times more numerous, and harsh methods were employed to keep them in subjection.

The status of Perioecus probably did not exist at the time of the *eunomia*. Hitherto the Dorians had pursued a policy – as seen at Aegys, Amyclae, Geronthrae and probably Pharis – of evicting the vanquished and planting Dorian settlers. The kings were Kings of the Lacedaemonians; Achaeans themselves by blood (*CAH* II.2, 686), hereditary rulers of the Dorians and conquerors of Laconia, they claimed an overall suzerainty which they had for long not been able to enforce. Just as the god Apollo owned land by right of conquest, e.g. at Aegys, so did the Kings of the Lacedaemonians: for instance at two points where the royal cemeteries were situated and at other places which later became 'perioecic'. When the *eunomia* was enacted and the Spartan state sprang into existence from the five villages, Sparta was at once more powerful than any of the individual villages, both Dorian and non-Dorian, which were as small as they were numerous (traditionally one hundred, of which eighty can be named). Sparta chose to freeze them at that stage of development by making each separately accept her foreign policy and manage its own internal affairs. So the villagers became *perioeci*, 'dwellers-around', flies caught in the Spartan web. In theory all Lacedaemonians owed military service to their kings; it became unavoidable in practice, when the spears of Sparta stood arrayed behind the kings. One state did not obtain perioecic status – Helos, which owned rich lands by the mouth of the Eurotas, had open access to the sea and received military aid from Argos. When it fell in battle, the

[79] FGrH 115 (Theopompus) F 122; Plut. *Lyc.* 8 and *Moralia* 239*d–e*.

[80] Plut. *Lyc.* 8, where the numbers 9,000 and 30,000 are clearly anachronistic. If 4,500 is correct, a year-class in the *agoge* at the time of the *eunomia* would not have numbered many more than 200 boys, divided up into rival troops (*agelai*); for this would yield about 150 men a year for the age group from thirty to sixty.

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Achaeans were evicted and the land was no doubt settled by Dorians, who became *perioeci*. By 750 B.C. or so Sparta was in control of all Laconia, and was ready to make further conquests. The first Peloponnesian *polis* had shown itself remarkably successful in terms of *Realpolitik*, and Argos, Corinth and Megara had not been slow to follow her example. The conflict over Helos was the beginning of a new era.

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