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Special Issue - *Ideologies and Encounters of Ideas at the Crossroads of the Ancient  
World*

## Ideologies and Encounters of Ideas at the Crossroads of the Ancient World

Andrew SCHUMANN<sup>1</sup>, Zozan TARHAN<sup>2</sup>, Vladimir SAZONOV<sup>3</sup>

**Abstract.** *In the article introducing this special issue, we consider the prospects of cultural diffusionism. We show that diffusion is not a uniform phenomenon since it includes direct, partial, multi-layered, and reverse forms. The complex approach to diverse forms of diffusions is called by us the crossroads concept. It aligns with cultural relativism which examines cultural traits through diffusion and modification. In world-systems analysis, cultural diffusion is analyzed within the world-economy framework, rooted in the classical Marxism view of economic systems as foundational with culture as a superstructure. Neo-Marxism and dependency theory highlight a division between developed and developing countries, positing that cultural influences often flow from the center to the periphery. However, this view oversimplifies cultural diffusion's complexities, as we demonstrate. Moreover, cultural diffusion often precedes trade route establishment, with religious diffusion frequently facilitating subsequent trade communications. This special issue, edited by us, explores cultural diffusion and its varied forms, challenging the notion that it fits neatly into a center-to-periphery movement.*

**Rezumat.** *În articolul care introduce acest număr special, analizăm perspectivele difuzionismului cultural. Vom demonstra că difuzarea nu este un fenomen uniform, deoarece include forme directe, parțiale, multistratificate și inverse. Abordarea complexă a diverselor forme de difuzie este numită de noi conceptul de răscruce. Acesta se aliniază relativismului cultural care examinează trăsăturile culturale prin difuzie și modificare. În analiza sistemelor mondiale, difuzarea culturală este analizată în cadrul economiei mondiale, înrădăcinată în viziunea marxistă clasică a sistemelor economice ca fundament, cultura fiind o suprastructură. Neo-marxismul și teoria dependenței evidențiază o diviziune între țările dezvoltate și cele în curs de dezvoltare, afirmând că influențele culturale trec adesea de la centru la periferie. Cu toate acestea, acest punct de vedere simplifică prea mult complexitatea difuziunii culturale, după cum am demonstrat. În plus, răspândirea culturală precede adesea stabilirea rutelor comerciale, răspândirea religioasă facilitând frecvent comunicările comerciale ulterioare. Acest număr special, editat de noi,*

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*explorează răspândirea culturală și formele sale variate, contestând ideea că aceasta se încadrează perfect într-o mișcare de la centru la periferie.*

**Keywords:** ideologies, encounters, civilizational approach, historical particularism, diffusion, world-systems analysis, world-economy, cultural relativism, crossroads.

According to the civilizational approach of some philosophers such as Oswald Arnold Gottfried Spengler,<sup>4</sup> humanity has experienced the emergence of a number of independent civilizations which then developed in parallel. However, according to world-systems analysis,<sup>5</sup> facts have been discovered that indicate the existence of stable economic systems that unite different peoples with very different cultures. Within this world-economy, which dates back to the Mesolithic and Neolithic periods, and eventually when irrigation, urbanization, domestication and other civilizational processes began in the Ancient Near East, deep cultural, political, economic connections and interactions were established in the Ancient World. After the invention of bronze, the spread of civilizational processes accelerated and, as a result, developed cultures of the 4<sup>th</sup>–3<sup>rd</sup> millennium BCE arose in the Levant, Mesopotamia, Egypt, Elam (in Susiana), as well as in Central Asia, in particular in the Indus Valley, and then later in China.

As early as in the Late Bronze Age there was “globalization” and active international trade throughout the Mediterranean and much wider. It was then that active ideological, cultural and religious mutual influences and interrelationships formed, so that even conservative cultures such as Egypt began to be more actively influenced from the outside. The advent of international diplomacy (such as the Amarna correspondence) and increasing trade, as well as human migration, led to establishing intercultural crossroads. This occurred especially during the Bronze Age collapse and when the “Sea People” and other groups began to migrate to the Ancient Near East, as well as other regions of the Eastern Mediterranean. This also led to economic, ideological and political nodes forming in some areas of the ancient Near East, especially in Mesopotamia, the Levant, the Caucasus and the Aegean world, as well as in the territory of the Iranian Plateau, very long ago.

In the third to first half of the 1<sup>st</sup> millennium BCE a high culture appeared in Mesopotamia. Its lands, kingdoms and even empires were well organized, but the main political players—that is, the kings—had to find a way to continue to develop and at the same time maintain stability.

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<sup>4</sup> SPENGLER 1972.

<sup>5</sup> CHASE-DUNN AND GRIMES 1995.

Kings, especially the Assyrians, found a way to justify their wars by talking about the will of the gods.<sup>6</sup> That is why, in order to understand how a particular land with a highly advanced culture developed over time, it is necessary to deeply study its traditions, the characteristics of its culture and especially its political ideology. Some forms of culture already existed in the periphery, but they began to be remade by borrowing or introducing some ideas and motifs typical of the developed center. However, eventually these cultures on the periphery also achieved a high culture, a well-organized society and state apparatus, and in some way also contributed to the Ancient World. So, in order to trace the emergence and development of such cultures, we should proceed from those cases and circumstances that set this chain of events in motion. This often happened at borders or crossroads.

“Crossroads” touches on many themes such as cultural contacts, frontier encounters, diffusion, transfer of knowledge, etc. There must be ways to bring these themes together, i.e., the ideologies and how cultures from the periphery develop through contacts. This special issue aims to analyze the various cultures of the Ancient World in the context of contacts and connections while simultaneously taking into account two trends: centripetal and centrifugal. Our approach based on “crossroads” critically evaluates the possibilities of historical particularism according to which cultures develop independently and autonomously. The main problem of particularism is that it leads to a narrow focus on the unique cultural practices of a single society, potentially overlooking broader cultural patterns and connections between societies. As a consequence, it leads to an incomplete and biased understanding of historical phenomena, overlooking a society's historical context and cultural practices while ignoring the dynamic and evolving nature of cultures. On the other hand, the concept of crossroads moves away from classical diffusionism, which focuses on cultural evolution and universal patterns, by suggesting that cultural practices and inventions originate from a single source and spread to other societies through contact, emphasizing understanding of the spread of cultural elements across societies. Versions of diffusionist thought include the beliefs that all cultures originated from a single cultural center (heliocentric diffusion); the more plausible view that cultures originated from a limited number of cultural centers (cultural circles); and the idea that each society is influenced by others, with the diffusion process being random and contingent.<sup>7</sup> Our concept of the crossroads describes diffusion as a process by which individual cultural traits are transferred from one society to another through migration, trade, war, or

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<sup>6</sup> SAZONOV 2016.

<sup>7</sup> WINTHROP 1991, 83–84.

other forms of contact, but holds that this process is not linear and does not only have a direct relationship.

In this special issue we have collected seven research articles that examine different forms of diffusion, from the classical form, where the center influences the periphery, to complex forms, where multilayer diffusion or reverse diffusion is possible.

In the article “Cuneiform Alphabetic Texts Outside of Ugarit: Evidence for an Overland Trade Network in the LBA Levant?” Joanna Töyräänvuori traces the cuneiform alphabetic script used in the Late Bronze Age (1550–1150 BCE) which is primarily associated with ancient Ugarit, a key maritime hub in the international trade network of that era. Most textual finds have occurred at Ras Šamra and Ras Ibn Hani. While the origins of the script are unclear, it is generally believed to have been invented by local scribes, given the abundance of findings within Ugarit and their scarcity outside it. Thus, this writing system emerged as a local invention, combining elements of both alphabetic and cuneiform writing. Despite its strong association with Ugarit, the cuneiform alphabetic script has also been found outside the kingdom, with ten inscriptions having been discovered across the Eastern Mediterranean. These finds highlight Ugarit’s significant role in the Late Bronze Age trade network and may offer insights into its overland trade connections which remain largely unexplored. However, the cuneiform alphabetic script did not receive further development and, despite accompanying trade contacts, did not lead to diffusion.

In world-systems analysis, the classic case is cultural diffusion from the center of the world-economy to its periphery or semi-periphery. One example of this would be the diffusion from Neo-Assyria to Urartu. So, under King Išpuini (ca. 830–820 BCE), the cuneiform writing system was adapted for the Urartian language, and bilingual inscriptions in Urartian and Akkadian emerged. In the paper “The Assyrian Impact on Urartu: Toponyms and Ideological Motifs” Zozan Tarhan analyzes how the Urartians borrowed Neo-Assyrian cuneiform along with various aspects of Assyrian culture, such as royal titles, epithets, and ideological motifs. The article examines how these Assyrian elements were incorporated in Urartian royal inscriptions. It also discusses the toponyms Nai’ri, Urartu, and Bia, exploring their connections and development over time.

Diffusion can also come from conquered peoples in relation to the conquerors. Thus, the religious doctrines of the Babylonians and Assyrians had a certain influence on the religious doctrine of the Iranians. In the contribution “Mithra and the Sun vs. Mithra as the Sun. How did Mithra Become the Sun God?” Jaan Lahe and Vladimir Sazonov delve into the historical and

religious development of the relationship between the Iranian god Mithra and the Mesopotamian Sun god Šamaš. Their goal was to trace the evolution of these two initially distinct deities and to elucidate the process by which they were associated by the Iranians. By analyzing historical texts and religious practices, the authors show how Mesopotamian concepts of solar divinity and justice were integrated into the Iranian understanding of Mithra. This integration resulted in a redefinition of Mithra's identity, aligning him more closely with solar characteristics and attributes. This sheds light on the dynamic nature of the religious syncretism of the Iranians and the ways in which cultural and religious interactions can lead to the transformation of divine figures such as Mithra over time. This serves as a prime example of religious diffusion, where Mesopotamian religious practices influenced the development of the Mithra cult in Iranian religion. However, this diffusion was only partial, resulting in a syncretic form of the god Mithra.

But the religious movement itself can be formed as a result of numerous diffusions coming from very different cultures. Andrew Schumann's article "On Pre-Śaiva Deities: From the Indus Valley Civilization to Buddhist Syncretism" explores several layers of pre-Śaivism in India. The earliest layer dates back to the ancient Mother Goddess cults of the Neolithic period, particularly in the Pre-Pottery Neolithic A (c. 10,000–8800 BCE).<sup>8</sup> These cults thrived in the Indus Valley Civilization (in its mature form from 2600–1900/1800 BCE) and other select Bronze Age societies. The second layer focuses on the cult of Inanna (also known as Nanaia), the goddess of fertility, who was significant in the Mittani state (c. 1550–1260 BCE) alongside prominent Indo-Iranian deities such as Indra, the Mitra gods, the Varuna gods, and the Nasatya gods. The third layer reveals a syncretic cult among the Iranians in India which combined the Mazdean tradition of Οηβο (Wēšparkar) and Βορζαοανδο Ιαζαδο (*burz'wndy yzdy*) with the Buddhist deity of Maheśvara, as well as Νανα (Nana) along with Αρδοχβο (Ardoxšo) with the Buddhist goddess of Hārītī (or Umā). Additionally, Buddhism integrated syncretic fertility cults involving various demonesses such as Hārītī, Umā, Mārīcī, and others, incorporating iconographic elements from Hellenistic goddesses like Athena, Tyche, Cybele, Hecate, Baubo, and Demeter. As we can see, pre-Śaivism was formed as a result of multi-layered and multi-cultural religious diffusions.

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<sup>8</sup> The Pre-Pottery Neolithic is divided into two periods: the Pre-Pottery Neolithic A, to which the early phases of Göbekli Tepe belong, is dated to between 9600–8800 BCE; the Pre-Pottery Neolithic B, to which the late phases of Göbekli Tepe belong, is dated to between 8800–7000 BCE.

However, religious diffusion can influence social practices without necessarily altering the core religious doctrines. One prime example is the art of Babylonian divination which was widely adopted and integrated by neighboring cultures. While Homer does not provide definitive evidence of direct contact between Assyria and the Ionians, there is a clear sequence of cultural interactions: Assyrian-Hittite contacts, Hittite-Lyidian contacts, and later Persian-Lyidian and Lyidian-Greek (Lyidian-Ionian) relations. This sequence suggests that Mesopotamian influence gradually permeated the Greek world over centuries, with regional variations. This process is thoroughly examined in Krzysztof Ulanowski's article "Transferring Divinatory Practices: An Anatolian Intermediary between Assyria and Greece". In particular, it shows that the Hittites appear to have borrowed divinatory methods from the Babylonians through the Hurrians (and/or Luwians), as evidenced by the Hurrian names for various parts and features of the exta. The Hattusa archive contains 25 cuneiform texts related to Ahhiyawa, seven of which are oracles. Arzawa, within the Hittite empire, was renowned as a center for divination, particularly for preventing plagues. In the *Iliad*, Apollo from Troy is depicted as a god associated with such divination, suggesting that his sanctuary specialized in this practice.

Diffusions can also be observed in the spread of military technologies. Kiril Temelkov compares the military practices of the Neo-Assyrian with Greek infantries in his article "Peculiarities and Utilitarianism in the Fighting Tendencies of the Assyrian infantry during the 9<sup>th</sup> Century BCE in an Eastern Mediterranean Context". Thus, he analyzes the fighting styles, tendencies, and military tactics of the Neo-Assyrian Empire's infantry and their Greek counterparts during the 9<sup>th</sup> century BCE. As a result, the following aspects of infantry are compared in detail: infantry armaments used by both armies, methodological parallels and differences in military behavior, defensive equipment and its hierarchical significance, infantry subdivisions and their utility.

In cultural diffusion, the perception and interpretation of a foreign cultural object can significantly change its modality, so that this object becomes a new cultural phenomenon. For instance, several Greek and Roman authors mention that Alexander III and his troops saw a monument near Anchiale in Cilicia with an inscription of the mythical king Sardanapalus. Scholars, using Greek accounts and the Aramaic rendering *srbnbl* (closely matching Σαρδανάπαλος), suggest that the figure might be based on Ashurbanipal (Aššur-bāni-apli). However, while some aspects of Sardanapalus may be inspired by Ashurbanipal, neither the moralistic views of Classical authors nor the historical context align with known Assyrian records. For some reasons, in the Greek world, Sardanapalus became known for his hedonistic

character.<sup>9</sup> As is often the case with legendary kings, an initial historical basis evolves into a distinct fictional identity. All of this is explored in the article “Revaluating the Sardanapalus Monument in Cilicia. Greek Travelogues and Ancient Near Eastern Hedonism” by Julian Degen and Sebastian Fink. This article highlights Greek perceptions of the East and the influence of Assyria’s intellectual heritage on its neighbors.

Hence, the seven research articles contributing to this special issue demonstrate that diffusion cannot be described as a single phenomenon. It can be direct, partial, multi-layered, reverse, etc. As we see, the crossroads concept developed by us is close to the cultural relativism proposed by Franz Boas<sup>10</sup> who sought to understand cultural traits through two historical processes: diffusion and modification. He employed these fundamental concepts to elucidate culture and its significance, asserting that the cultural repertoire of a society largely accumulates through diffusion.

In world-systems analysis, cultural diffusions are viewed as occurring within the framework of the world-economy.<sup>11</sup> This approach draws from classical Marxism which posits that class contradictions are inevitable in society and that the economic system forms its basis, with culture seen as a superstructure. Additionally, it incorporates neo-Marxism and dependency theory which suggest a division between developed and developing countries, with cultural influences typically flowing from the center to the periphery. However, we have shown that this perspective oversimplifies the complexities of cultural diffusion. Furthermore, cultural diffusions may precede the establishment of trade routes, and it is often religious diffusions that later enable trade communications to be established.

To sum up, this special issue is devoted to the problem of cultural diffusion and its diverse forms, which are difficult to fit into a single scheme such as movement from the center to the periphery.

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<sup>9</sup> FINK 2014.

<sup>10</sup> BOAS 1938.

<sup>11</sup> WALLERSTEIN 1974.

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## Cuneiform Alphabetic Texts Outside of Ugarit: Evidence for an Overland Trade Network in the LBA Levant?

Joanna TÖYRÄÄNVUORI<sup>1</sup>

**Abstract.** *The cuneiform alphabetic script from Ugarit was in use during the Late Bronze Age. The origins of the script remain shrouded in mystery but it is generally assumed that the script was an invention of local scribes, as the majority of text finds are from the kingdom. The cuneiform alphabetic texts found outside of the kingdom of Ugarit make up a small percentage of the overall text corpus. These finds, spanning the Eastern Mediterranean and consisting altogether of ten inscriptions on a variety of objects, may shed light on Ugarit's role in the commercial network of the LBA in which the kingdom seems to have been an important node, especially in examining the overland trade connections from the maritime powerhouse that remain largely unexplored. The cuneiform alphabetic script, an artefact characterizing the entire Ugaritian culture in its unique combination of Semitic, Egyptian, and Mesopotamian influences with a particularly local flair, is a case example of an idea at the crossroads of several LBA cultures.*

**Rezumat.** *Scrisul alfabetic cuneiform din Ugarit a fost utilizat în perioada târzie a epocii bronzului. Originile alfabetului rămân învăluite în mister, dar se presupune în general că alfabetul a fost o invenție a scribilor locali, deoarece majoritatea textelor descoperite provin din regat. Textele cuneiforme descoperite în afara regatului Ugarit reprezintă un mic procent din întregul corpus de texte. Aceste descoperiri, care acoperă estul Mediteranei și constau în total din zece inscripții pe o varietate de obiecte, pot aduce lumină asupra rolului Ugaritului în rețeaua comercială a LBA, în care regatul pare să fi fost un nod important, în special în ceea ce privește examinarea legăturilor comerciale terestre din centrul puterii maritime, care rămân în mare parte neexplorate. Scrisul alfabetic cuneiform, un artefact care caracterizează întreaga cultură ugaritiană prin combinația sa unică de influențe semitice, egiptene și mesopotamiene, cu o notă locală deosebită, este un exemplu al unei idei aflate la intersecția mai multor culturi din LBA.*

**Keywords:** Ugarit, alphabet, writing, script, Late Bronze Age.

### Introduction

The cuneiform alphabetic script used in the Late Bronze Age (1550–1150 BCE) is identified with ancient Ugarit, a maritime hub in the international LBA trade network, and especially with the sites of Ras Šamra and Ras Ibn Hani, where the initial and the majority of textual finds

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have been made.<sup>2</sup> The origins of the script remain shrouded in mystery but it is generally assumed that the script was an invention of local scribes – the assumption based on sheer number of the finds from the sites of the Ugaritic kingdom and their dearth outside of it.<sup>3</sup> Several different repositories, usually called archives in academic literature,<sup>4</sup> have been found within the capital city of the kingdom (also called Ugarit) as well as in one of the kingdom's four commercial harbours (Mahadu, modern Minet el-Beida) that hosted the city's necropolis, and Ras Ibn Hani (ancient Raʿšu or Biruti), which may also have functioned as the summer palace of the Ugaritic royals and a residence of the queen.<sup>5</sup> However, there are also some examples of the cuneiform alphabetic script having been used outside of Ugarit. These finds, spanning the Eastern Mediterranean and consisting altogether of ten inscriptions on a variety of objects, may shed light on Ugarit's role in the commercial network of the LBA in which the kingdom seems to have been an important node.<sup>6</sup> They may be especially useful in examining the overland trade connections from the maritime powerhouse that remain largely unexplored.

The kingdom of Ugarit was host to a multilingual culture, and texts written in at least seven different languages have been found in the capital city. It seems that at least some of the people living in Ugarit were also polyglottal, and the spoken languages, in addition to the native Ugaritic,<sup>7</sup> likely included Akkadian, Amorite, Egyptian, Hurrian, Hittite, and possibly some form of Cypriote and Luwian.<sup>8</sup> In addition to the multitude of spoken languages, texts were also written in several languages using a host of different scripts. In addition to standard cuneiform and the local cuneiform alphabetic script, texts written in hieroglyphic Egyptian, hieroglyphic Luwian, and the Cypro-Minoan syllabary have been discovered.<sup>9</sup> It is known through the

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<sup>2</sup> On Ugarit in general, see WATSON, WYATT 1999.

<sup>3</sup> E.g., HAWLEY 2005, 2008; PARDEE 2007; FERRARA 2019, 16. On the relation of the cuneiform alphabetic script(s) to cuneiform, cf. VITA 2004. Byblos may have served as an intermediary between the hieratic and cuneiform alphabetic tradition although no examples of the latter have been found there. Cf. DOBBS-ALLSOPP 2023, 38.

<sup>4</sup> On the use of the term archive in the study of the ancient world, see PEDERSÉN 1998.

<sup>5</sup> NA'AMAN 2004, 33–39.

<sup>6</sup> On Ugaritic trade, see HELTZER 1978; MCGEOUGH 2007.

<sup>7</sup> Ugarit is a North West Semitic language that is closely related to Aramaic, Phoenician, and Biblical Hebrew.

<sup>8</sup> The main spoken languages in the city, however, were Ugaritic, Hurrian and Akkadian. NIEHR 2021, 54. Out of these, Akkadian was the language of international diplomacy of the era while Hurrian was the native language of a sizeable portion of the Ugaritic population. Cyprus was one of Ugarit's closest neighbours and trading partners, so at least cursory knowledge of the language was likely possessed by merchants and traders. See also MALBRAN-LABAT 1999, VITA 1999; 2009; ANDRASON, VITA 2016; ČECH 2018.

<sup>9</sup> On the Cypro-Minoan script used by the Cypriot merchant colony at Ugarit, see BILLIGMEIER 1976; STEELE 2012; EGETMEYER 2013. It is not entirely certain whether one and the same scribe would have been proficient in more than one script but texts containing alphabetic signs with cuneiform syllabic equivalents (KTU 5.14, RS 19.159) exist. VAN SOLDT 1995, 183. FERRARA 2019, 17, makes the claim that the multilingualism and multigraphism of Ugarit is often exaggerated but does not really give reasons why this should be the case. It is undisputed that texts written in several

Amarna correspondence from ancient Egypt, the text discoveries from Ugarit's northern neighbour Mukiš (whose capital was at Alalakh/Tell Atchana), as well as various other locations in the Levant, that most correspondence during this era was conducted in cuneiform Akkadian within and between the local Syrian and Levantine kingdoms and the so-called 'great kingdoms' (Egypt, Babylon, Assyria, Hatti, and Mitanni).<sup>10</sup> Hence, the amount of cuneiform alphabetic texts within Ugarit that greatly outnumber those written in other scripts and their lack without is somewhat perplexing. Especially significant for unravelling the mystery of the cuneiform alphabetic script is the lack of discoveries of texts written in the script from the area of Ugarit's northern neighbour Mukiš, given that during the heyday of the usage of the script parts of the kingdom were contested between Mukiš and Ugarit, especially following the Battle of Qadeš and the ensuing Hittite redistribution of the land by Suppiluliuma. During this time the kingdom of Ugarit and its cuneiform alphabetic administration stretched far into Mukiš-territory but still no examples of the script have been found within the area.<sup>11</sup>

A small number of finds containing alphabetic cuneiform script have however been found outside of Ugarit and its environs.<sup>12</sup> This article takes a closer look at the texts in an attempt to answer the question of whether any inferences regarding Ugarit's foreign policy, international relations, and trading network in the Late Bronze Age can be made based on the inscriptional evidence. Texts containing cuneiform alphabetic script from the Levantine coast have been found on clay tablets, earthenware and metal vessels, and weapons from the areas of modern Syria (2), Lebanon (3), and Israel (4), from Tell Sukas to Beth Shemesh (Fig 2), with one find on the island of Cyprus (Hala Sultan Tekke), and another in mainland Greece in Tiryns (Fig. 1).<sup>13</sup> The distribution of the finds is curious, especially given the primacy for maritime connections and the difficulty for overland connections to southern Levant based on Ugarit's geographic

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different languages and in distinctly different scripts have been found in the kingdom. Attempts at displaying the scarcity of different scripts in the text corpus is meaningless without comparanda – which would be most difficult to find, as no other site on the Levantine coast can boast such an assortment of scripts. Her characterisation of the use of Sumerian “only as a cultural reference” is simply wrong in light of the evidence. Cf. TÖYRÄÄNVUORI 2024.

<sup>10</sup> See e.g., LIVERANI 2000; CASSANA 2009, 10. The Akkadian used in the correspondence contained some local flair depending on their places of origin. On the characteristics of Amarna Akkadian, see KOSSMANN 1989; 1994.

<sup>11</sup> CASSANA 2009, 25. More than 50 towns, mountains, and bodies of water between Mukiš and Ugarit were transferred to the latter following the Hittite victory.

<sup>12</sup> There are also cuneiform texts from Ugarit that have been discovered elsewhere, recognized usually by the naming of the kingdom within the text. Among these are the Amarna letters EA 45–49 and an Akkadian letter from Tel Aphek. See OWEN 1991, 1–20. While these letters are also important in trying to establish the commercial and political connections of Ugarit, this article focuses on the cuneiform alphabetic texts only.

<sup>13</sup> All texts, barring the last one, have been published in KTU<sup>3</sup>.

location and topographic situation.<sup>14</sup> It is also notable that most of the inscriptions were written on objects. Most known Ugaritic texts are written on clay tablets and only 128 inscribed objects that are not clay tablets are known.<sup>15</sup> Through looking at the use and distribution of the script outside of Ugarit, it may be possible to look at the role of the kingdom within the network of Northern Levantine kingdoms.

### **Cuneiform Alphabetic Script**

The cuneiform alphabetic script from Ugarit is more accurately an augmented abjad, a consonantal alphabet, consisting of 30 distinct signs. It is not known when cuneiform alphabetic writing was first developed. Dates from 15<sup>th</sup> to 14<sup>th</sup> centuries have been proposed.<sup>16</sup> It is a combination of two separately developed writing technologies: cuneiform writing originating in Southern Mesopotamia (its putative origins in Uruk IV, c. 3400 BCE)<sup>17</sup> and alphabetic writing originating somewhere between Egypt and the Levant (its putative origins in the Sinai in 1800 BCE),<sup>18</sup> itself a combination of hieroglyphic alphabetic signs and some form of Canaanite language.<sup>19</sup> The hieroglyphic ‘alphabet’ was in use in ancient Egyptian writing since Middle Egyptian, beginning to be used c. 2000 BCE, consisting of 24 distinct consonantal phonemes.<sup>20</sup> The use of phonographs or hieroglyphic signs indicating sounds and pronunciation were found for uniliteral, biliteral, trilateral sounds, and it is the uniliteral signs

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<sup>14</sup> The kingdom of Ugarit is both protected and closed off from mainland Syria by the Syrian Coastal Mountain Range (Jabal al-Ansariya, classical Bargylus) that runs parallel to the coastal plain and which also hosts the thickest forests in Syria. Crossing these, travelers would have come across the unnavigable Orontes and its marshes. The easiest access from the Mediterranean to the mainland is through the Homs Gap, which was used by traders from ancient times. It is the only passage through the mountain ranges open year-round. Cf. VAN SOLDT 2016.

<sup>15</sup> BOYES 2020, 36.

<sup>16</sup> See FERRARA 2019.

<sup>17</sup> See e.g., GLASSNER 2003, XII–XIV. FERRARA 2019, 16, writes: “It was normally used to write logo-syllabaries, until it was borrowed lock stock and barrel for an alphabetic system.” Note also that some cuneiform alphabetic signs may have been modelled after cuneiform signs and not linear alphabetic signs. DIETRICH, LORETZ 1988, 35.

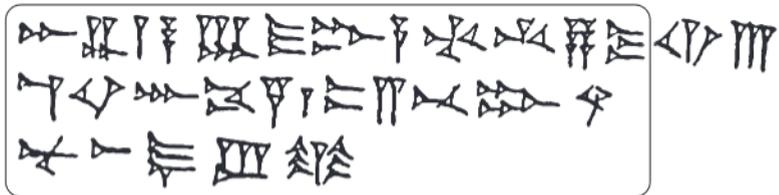
<sup>18</sup> DOBBS-ALLSOP 2023, 30. There is some debate on the dating of the oldest discoveries which seems to be based on ideological rather than academic reasons, the crux of the issue being whether the alphabet was developed in Egypt or in the Levant. The dating ranges from 1850 to 1550 BCE (the cusp between Middle and Late Bronze Age) with the inscriptions of 19<sup>th</sup> century date being called Proto-Sinaitic and alphabetic writing hence being of Egyptian origin and the 16<sup>th</sup> century inscriptions called Proto-Canaanite with the origin of the alphabet being of Levantine origin. FERRARA 2019, 16, claims that there is no direct evidence for the Proto-Sinaitic (or ‘linear’) alphabet having originally prompted the invention of the cuneiform alphabet, but this is contradicted by the Sarepta jar handle that contains letters from both scripts.

<sup>19</sup> HAMILTON 2006, GOLDWASSER 2006. DOBBS-ALLSOP 2023, 39, writes: “the invention of the alphabet and its diffusion over the course of much of the second millennium is characterized by adaptation and/or modification stimulated by contact with other writing systems and their supporting scribal apparatuses.”

<sup>20</sup> EDGERTON 1940.

or signs that signified single sounds that are thought to form the basis of alphabetic writing.<sup>21</sup> While there was at least one hieroglyphic sign with a phonetic value that corresponded to the phonemes of the language, the Egyptian uniliteral signs differed from later alphabetic scripts in that there could be several different signs for one and the same phoneme.<sup>22</sup> Unlike alphabetic writing, the uniliteral sign were also often coloured, which was likely meant to aid in differentiating signs that have a similar shape.<sup>23</sup> Many of the shapes of the uniliteral sounds are found in later alphabetic scripts but their sound values have changed from their Egyptian predecessors.<sup>24</sup>

Proto-Sinaitic or Early Alphabetic writing is initially found in the region between Egypt and the Levant, the oldest exemplars from Wadi el-Hol in Upper Egypt and Serabit el-Khadim in the Sinai.<sup>25</sup> The origins of the script are not known but it has been theorized that it is based on repurposed hieroglyphic uniliteral signs either by the Hyksos<sup>26</sup> or by Levantine migrant workers or prisoners of war working in the turquoise mines around Serabit el-Khadim.<sup>27</sup> By the



time that cuneiform alphabetic script is attested, alphabetic writing was known and had been used in the Levantine area for centuries.<sup>28</sup> The attested inscriptions in alphabetic writing from the Late Bronze Age, however, are few and it could even be argued based on the number of text finds that up until the collapse of the LBA world system, cuneiform alphabetic writing was the

<sup>21</sup> GOLDWASSER 2016a, 168–169.

<sup>22</sup> BARTHÉLEMY, ROSMORDUE 2011, 75. On the phonetic system of Ugaritic and its correspondence with the cuneiform alphabetic signs, cf. PARDEE 2012.

<sup>23</sup> DAVIS, LABOURY 2020, 18.

<sup>24</sup> GOLDWASSER 2016A, 168.

<sup>25</sup> DARNELL 2003, 2006.

<sup>26</sup> Especially LEMAIRE 2000, 2017.

<sup>27</sup> See especially GOLDWASSER 2006, 2010, 2012. Serabit el-Khadim, the place of the earliest inscriptions (30 incised graffiti) was the location of an Egyptian turquoise mine. The inscriptions were found in the Hathor temple and in the mines themselves. This theory is contested by NA'AMAN 2020 who argues for the role of Egyptian imperial scribes in the Levant in the invention of the alphabet.

<sup>28</sup> FERRARA 2019, 17. Also GOLDWASSER 2006, HAMILTON 2006. This is presumed, as NA'AMAN 2020, 34, points out that we know practically nothing about the use of the alphabetic script between its invention in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century and its appearance in the Levant in LB II–III. Sass, one of the original proponents of an early 19<sup>th</sup> century dating for alphabetic writing has since rescinded his view and seems to have adopted a 14<sup>th</sup>–13<sup>th</sup> century dating for the origin of alphabetic writing with it “surfacing in the Levant shortly thereafter”. Cf. SASS 2004–2005; 2005. His seems to be the minority view.

*predominate* technology for alphabetic writing.<sup>29</sup> This is true even if the comparison is only made between cuneiform alphabetic texts from outside of Ugarit and linear alphabetic inscriptions in the Levant, which in the Late Bronze Age number only six.<sup>30</sup> In the Levantine area, alphabetic writing was beginning to be used in the LBA but it did not completely take off until after the Bronze Age collapse when Phoenician traders spread it across the Mediterranean world.<sup>31</sup> All throughout the LBA, the technology of alphabetic writing (most extant examples are lapidary inscriptions, but undoubtedly it could be written with ink as well, just like hieroglyphs) was known in the area and was used primarily in writing NWS languages, at least until the end of the LBA.<sup>32</sup> While consisting of a small number of finds, the corpus of cuneiform alphabetic inscriptions outside of Ugarit form a significant group which may even tell us something about the development and spread of alphabetic writing in general.

Cuneiform alphabetic script is not the only alteration of cuneiform writing. The technology was used to write Sumerian, Akkadian, Hurrian, and Hittite, languages entirely unrelated to one another, but in addition, entirely other sets of cuneiform signs were used to write e.g., Linear Elamite and later Old Persian cuneiform writing.<sup>33</sup> The writing of Sumero-Akkadian cuneiform is a technology, but pressing signs and signifiers into clay is a technology in and of itself, and this technology can be used to write several different scripts. While most texts written in the cuneiform alphabetic script were written in the Ugaritic language, there are a few examples of it being used in the writing of Akkadian and another, non-Semitic, language (Hurrian), and it could potentially have been used in the writing of any number of

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<sup>29</sup> Also LEHMANN 2023, 16. All the examples in the interim between Proto Sinaitic and Proto Canaanite inscriptions are in cuneiform alphabetic. According to DOBBS-ALLSOPP 2023, 38, this may have been due to the lack of standardization for writing readily recognizable languages with the script(s) until Iron IIA. HÖLFMAYER et al 2021, 215, also write: “Indeed, Lachish has yielded more examples of Late Bronze Age early alphabetic inscriptions than any other site” which is untrue even if the inscriptions written on clay tablets from Ugarit are discounted and only inscribed objects are taken into account.

<sup>30</sup> FINKELSTEIN, SASS 2013, 153. There are a few older inscriptions from the area dated to the Middle Bronze Age but even accounting for these, the cuneiform alphabetic inscriptions form the majority of finds. There are a few other inscriptions that have been promoted as Levantine alphabetic inscriptions from the LBA which have been discounted as being non-alphabetic fitters’ marks or merely painted decoration. Discounting the cuneiform alphabetic inscriptions from discussions of the distribution of early alphabetic writing causes e.g., FINKELSTEIN, SASS 2013, 183, to place the core area of the alphabet in the Shephelah/Philistia, where based on sheer numbers the core area of alphabetic writing should be placed much more north.

<sup>31</sup> According to DOBBS-ALLSOPP 2023, 34, it required the end of the supporting scribal infrastructures of the large territorial states of the LBA. On the spread of alphabetic writing in the ancient world, see LEMAIRE 2008.

<sup>32</sup> On the development of Greek scripts, see JEFFERY 1961, POWELL 1991, WOODWARD 1997, GOLDWASSER 2006.

<sup>33</sup> On Linear Elamite, DESSET 2018, on Old Persian cuneiform, STRONACH 1990. DOBBS-ALLSOPP 2023, 29, notes the delinguistic character of writing – the *notion* of a writing system being separate from the writing *system*.

other languages as well.<sup>34</sup> It is also noteworthy that there is not just one form of cuneiform alphabetic script but three – a long form (30 signs), short form (22 signs), and intermediary form (27 signs) – that share many sign forms but also contain unique sign forms. The long form, found mostly within the kingdom of Ugarit, was written left to right (dextrograde) and the short form was written mostly outside of Ugarit and was written predominately right to left (sinistrograde).<sup>35</sup> Given the *wide use* and *popularity* of the technology of cuneiform writing and the *relative ease* of alphabetic writing especially with Semitic languages (like the language of international diplomacy of the LBA, Akkadian),<sup>36</sup> it is surprising that the technology of cuneiform alphabetic did not spread through the ancient world like wildfire.<sup>37</sup> By taking a closer look at the examples of cuneiform alphabetic writing outside of its purported homeland, we may gain some insight as to what kind of a role the script played in the inscriptional world of the LBA, and especially the international relations of the kingdom. In the following, all the texts containing cuneiform alphabetic writing that have been found outside of the kingdom of Ugarit are discussed in detail.<sup>38</sup>

## The Objects and their inscriptions

### Clay Tablets

While hundreds of tablets containing cuneiform alphabetic writing have been discovered at Ugarit, and it is by far the most numerous medium for texts written in the cuneiform alphabetic script, only three tablets have been found outside of the kingdom, all from different locations: Tell Sukas, Tell Ta'annek, and Beth Shemesh. The vast majority of the texts are on clay tablets, the predominate material for writing in the LBA, and given the hundreds of clay tablets found within the kingdom of Ugarit, the fact that only three have been found outside

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<sup>34</sup> SCHNIEDEWIND, HUNT 2007, 31. E.g., TOBOLA 2015, 60, argues that the ivory rod from Tiryns (see below) is an attempt at writing early Greek in the Ugaritic alphabet. While his reading of the inscription is unconvincing, such attempts may well have been made.

<sup>35</sup> BOYES 2020, 35.

<sup>36</sup> It has been argued that the orthography of (Sumero-Akkadian) cuneiform was based on the non-Semitic monosyllabic and logographic Sumerian language, making it ill-suited for the writing of Semitic Akkadian. See e.g., PEARCE 2010.

<sup>37</sup> One of the reasons, despite its greater ease, efficiency and speed of learning, may have been the loss of (high) iconicity that took place in the conversion of semi-pictographic morphological shapes of alphabetic signs into their cuneiform alphabetic equivalents. Only a few cuneiform alphabetic letters retain their iconic character (*b*, *g*, *š*). See DOBBS-ALLPSOP 2023, 30–31. It is often claimed that alphabetic scripts were simpler (e.g., BOYES 2020, 48) and hence would have made it more accessible beyond elite circles but this is not necessarily true due to this loss of iconicity.

<sup>38</sup> All of the inscriptions discussed here were briefly discussed by BOYES 2020. In other discussions of cuneiform alphabetic inscriptions from outside of Ugarit merely their places of discovery are listed.

of its borders is noteworthy. The three tablets containing cuneiform alphabetic writing outside of Ugarit are discussed in the following.

(1) DO 849 (tablet) | KTU 4.766 (inscription)<sup>39</sup> [dextrograde]

The first of these is the least surprising, as Tell Sukas (ancient Šukši) was at least occasionally a part of Ugarit, although more aligned with Ugarit's vassal state Siyannu, and has been considered its southernmost port (there are actually two harbours to the north and south of the site). It is possible that more texts exist in the area of Šukši but no excavations have been conducted on the site since 1963. The tablet, 67 x 89 x 29 mm in size, contains a list of names which unfortunately have not for the most part been preserved. The text reads:

[ ]1	One to/from NN
[ ]1	One to/from NN
[ ]xxn 1	One to/from ...nnu
[ ]ğl 1	One to/from Iğgallu(?)
[ 'b]db' 1	One to/from Abdibaal
[ ]lby 1	One to/from Libbiya
[ ]lyd 1	One to/from Liyaddu
[ ]ḥbn 1	One to/from Hibbanu
[ ]šmn 1	One to/from Šimmanu/oil
[ ]nn 1	One to/from ...nnu
[ ]xpy [1]	[One to/from] ...ppayu
...	

up.e.<sup>40</sup> [ bn]š . d bt mlk      Service personnel, (those) of the household of the king

The text contains a list of names followed by the numeral for one. The numbers in the tablet are written in numerical notation which is on par with economic texts from Ugarit (they were likely used because they take fewer strokes than writing the numbers out, as they would have to have done if written in Ugaritic). All of the names are broken, and as the entire left side of the tablet is broken off, it is possible that what remains of the names are the patronymics rather than personal names of the people indicated. The names are of men – or at least there is no unambiguous female name in the list – but in the case of patronymics, that would be the case even if the entire list consisted of women. Hence the gender of the listed persons cannot be determined. It is also not clear what the list is for and what it enumerates or whether the

<sup>39</sup> Published by AAAS 11 (1961), fig. 6, 144.

<sup>40</sup> For the various conventions in transcribing Ugaritic texts, see KTU<sup>3</sup>.

one is something that was given or belonged to the people listed or was owed by them. It seems that there are eleven names listed, even though the beginning of the tablet is broken.

What is clear is the meaning of the end of the final line: belonging to the palace. Only the final character of the probable word *bnš*, likely in reference to service personnel, men that belong to or are of the palace, is readable. While the word is again masculine, it does not necessarily indicate more than that one of the names is a male. It is also likely that the beginning of the line contained the noun (whether object, animal, or volume) the quantity of which was enumerated as belonging or coming from each of the names. With this crucial piece of information missing, it is impossible to determine what the list entailed even though the format of a list of names is laid out clearly. Such administrative lists are known from Ugarit in vast quantities, containing lists of names, occupations, numerals, and things in various combinations. More examples of texts written in the cuneiform alphabetic script might be expected to be unearthed in future excavations of the site.

A connection between Šukši and Ugarit is not surprising and as near-by coastal sites, traffic between them likely took place via ship, and in fact the town boasted two harbours in the LBA.<sup>41</sup> A land route via the coast may also have existed as both sites are on the same side of the al-Ansariya mountain range and Ugarit's perpetual vassal Siyannu (Tell Sianu) is practically next to Tell Sukas, which also occasionally fell under its domination.<sup>42</sup> In all likelihood this text is from a period in time when Šukši was a part of Ugarit and its administration, and hence ought to be discounted in discussions on the use of the alphabetic cuneiform script outside of Ugarit.

(2) TT 433 (tablet) | KTU 4.767 (inscription)<sup>43</sup> [dextrograde]

The tablet from Tell Ta'annek (TT 433) contains a complete text. The tablet of burnt clay is 22 x 12.5 x 4.8 cm in size. Discovered in 1963 and published in 1964,<sup>44</sup> the tablet has been dated to the early 12<sup>th</sup> century BCE. Albright had initially interpreted the tablet as an amulet cast from a metallic or stone mould containing an inscription invoking the Ugaritic birth-goddesses, the Kotharoth.<sup>45</sup> The place of discovery was a large building. It is not known whether the text was written in Ta'annek or its vicinity or written elsewhere (likely Ugarit) and imported there. The text reads:

<sup>41</sup> HEINZ 2016, 776.

<sup>42</sup> HEINZ 2016, 776.

<sup>43</sup> Published by BASOR 173 (1964), 45–50.

<sup>44</sup> Published by D. R. HILLERS: An Alphabetic Cuneiform Tablet from Taanach (TT 433). BASOR 173, 45–50.

<sup>45</sup> ALBRIGHT 1964, 51.

*kkb 'sp . 's* Star(-like) gather the tree,

\_\_\_\_\_   
*krpt . y'kl* henna, let it be eaten!

rev. *dw* the sick/inflicted

The text has been interpreted as a medical prescription or legal notice of remittance. If the former, it could have been used as an amulet after the fulfilling of the prescription to ensure its continuing efficacy. In amuletic use, the origin of the tablet may be far from its place of discovery and may even have been written for a remedy in the kingdom of Ugarit for either a local person (tradesman?) or a visitor, either of whom could have taken the tablet to southern Levant on their journey.

Ta'annek seems to have had a notable Hurrian population based on the amount of Hurrian names in the cuneiform texts found in the city, which is also true of Ugarit.<sup>46</sup> The city was close to Megiddo and seems to have been under Egyptian domination in the LBA. Megiddo was a central node in the inland trade network, guarding the narrow pass of Wadi Ara and having a strategic location overlooking the Jezreel Valley. A trade route from Ugarit would probably have gone through one of the transverse roads from a coastal port, either Tell Abu Hawam or Tell Akko, which were both active in the LBA and which seem to have economic ties to the northern Levant.<sup>47</sup> Both sites also functioned as important anchorages serving the transverse trading routes from the Mediterranean to the Transjordan.<sup>48</sup> Out of these Akko is the likelier candidate as it is mentioned in the Ugaritic texts.<sup>49</sup>

(3) PAM 33.1876 (tablet) | KTU 5.24 (inscription)<sup>50</sup> [sinistrograde]

The tablet from Beth Shemesh contains an abecedary, a sequence of the cuneiform alphabetic signs (that roughly corresponds to the sequence of alphabetic signs still in use today). The arrangement of letters is in the so-called *halaḥam*-sequence, considered an alternative – and by some, even the older or more original – alphabetic sequence.<sup>51</sup> It is also

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<sup>46</sup> GUSTAVS 1927.

<sup>47</sup> ARTZY 2013, 7.

<sup>48</sup> ARTZY 2013, 7.

<sup>49</sup> ARTZY 2013, 11. Note however that the material goods found in Tel Nami, another coastal site, resemble those of Ugarit, and ARTZY (p. 14) even speculates that Ugarit may have been the patron of the site in the LBA.

<sup>50</sup> Published by E. GRANT. Beth Shemesh in 1933, 4.

<sup>51</sup> BORDREUIL, PARDEE 2001, 314–348. HARING 2015 discusses the ostrakon TT 99 from Thebes that seem to contain the sequence and which he claims is older than either the Beth Shemesh and Ugaritic *halaḥam*-sequence and hence would have been of putative Egyptian origin. He compares the texts on p. 195.

one of four cuneiform alphabetic texts outside of Ugarit that were written from right to left which may indicate the identity of the scribe as one learned in Proto Canaanite linear script.<sup>52</sup> The alphabet encountered in the text contains 27 characters, which is less than the full cuneiform alphabet of 30 characters and less than the so-called short alphabet that contains 22 characters.<sup>53</sup> Altogether 18 abecedaries and abecedary fragments in Ugaritic cuneiform alphabetic script are known.<sup>54</sup> The very presence of the alphabetic sequence outside of Ugarit, in the southern Levant, suggests that there was at least an attempt to educate people outside of Ugarit in the use of the script.

The place of discovery at Beth Shemesh is so far from the coast and seaports that it cannot have been accidentally left there by Ugaritic merchant sailors *en route* to other ports. Unlike most of the other sites from which cuneiform alphabetic inscriptions have been found, Beth Shemesh appears not to have been a notable trading post during the LBA, and in fact little is known about any of the sites in the northern Shephelah during this era.<sup>55</sup> It is notable that to date Beth Shemesh is the only site from which both cuneiform alphabetic and linear alphabetic inscriptions have been found.<sup>56</sup> While there may have been a transverse road connecting the city to the coast, it is much more likely that it was connected to the trade network through other inland sites and was connected to the sea through the port of Jaffa, an Egyptian city on the coast, and of the most important ports along the southern Levantine coast in general. Jaffa was in an ideal location for serving maritime traffic along the Levantine coast while also functioning as a conduit for trade from the central coastal plain to inland sites.<sup>57</sup> There is no clear reason why the sequence of the cuneiform alphabetic signs should have been used or deposited in the site, or how they found their way there. Out of all the sites discussed here, Beth Shemesh is the most remote.

### **Vessels and Earthenware**

The majority of the cuneiform alphabetic texts outside of Ugarit are found on ceramic earthenware vessels and pieces of pottery. However, these texts are not ostraca in the sense of

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<sup>52</sup> Examples of alphabetic writing prior to the 10<sup>th</sup> century BCE in the southern Levant seem to come from inland sites. DOBBS-ALLSOPP 2023, 45.

<sup>53</sup> It was debated from early on whether this alphabet represented a different alphabet altogether or variant caused by errors committed by student scribes. See HILLERS 1964, 45. It was especially this short form alphabet that could be written in either direction, where the longform was written dextrograde and the shortform sinistrograde. LEHMANN 2012, 17.

<sup>54</sup> LEHMANN 2012, 16.

<sup>55</sup> PAZ, BIRKENFELD 2017, 232.

<sup>56</sup> FINKELSTEIN, SASS 2013, 186.

<sup>57</sup> BURKE, AL 2010, 1.

broken off sherds of pottery where writing has been added. All of the texts seem to have originally been written on whole vessels that have broken afterwards likely due to the fact that the technology of pressing signs to clay with a cuneus works best on wet clay. It is notable that all of the linear alphabetic inscriptions from the Levant in the LBA have also been written on ceramic vessels. These include three inscriptions from Lachish (ewer, bowl, and bowl fragment), a bowl from Qubur el-Walaida, and sherds from Nagila and Gezer.<sup>58</sup> A few of the finds are ostraca with the inscriptions written post-firing with chalk or ink (Lachish bowl and bowl fragment)<sup>59</sup> or had been incised on the object after firing (Qubur el-Walaida bowl) but the others (Lachish ewer, Nagila and Gezer sherds) had been incised before firing like the cuneiform alphabetic examples.<sup>60</sup>

All of the examples of linear alphabetic inscriptions were written sinistrowrite. All of the examples of linear alphabetic inscriptions are from the southern Levant where the distribution of cuneiform alphabetic inscriptions is more widely spread. It is notable that Lachish has the densest concentration of linear alphabetic (and hieratic) inscriptions, but no cuneiform alphabetic inscriptions have been found there. Lachish (Tell el-Duweir) was the main local centre in southern Canaan and may have functioned as the local counterpart for Egyptian Gaza in the LBA.<sup>61</sup> Also of note is that no linear alphabetic inscriptions have been found on coastal sites despite several well-excavated sites, all of the examples coming from inland sites.<sup>62</sup>

Likely or possible interpretations for inscriptions on pottery sherds, presuming the words were inscribed on a whole unbroken vessel and not scratched on a sherd used as an ostrakon, include the (metric) contents of the vessel, the volume of the vessel, the personal name of the owner of the vessel, the name of the potter, or something alluding to the use or ownership of the vessel.<sup>63</sup> Ostraca as such are not known from Ugarit. This may be due to the technology of writing cuneiform alphabetic signs by impressing them on clay. It would be possible to press them on the soft clay of earthenware before firing but impressing them on fired pottery would be much more difficult than incising alphabetic signs of the Proto-Sinaitic variety.

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<sup>58</sup> FINKELSTEIN, SASS 2013, 153–156. Four of the finds are from secure archaeological contexts.

<sup>59</sup> The bowl sherd is a rim fragment from a Cypriote White Slip II milk bowl. HÖLFMAYER et al 2021, 713.

<sup>60</sup> FINKELSTEIN, SASS 2013, 153–156.

<sup>61</sup> FINKELSTEIN, SASS 2013, 184. The linear alphabetic inscriptions from Lachish may also be the oldest examples of alphabetic writing in the Levant, dating to the 15<sup>th</sup> century BCE. Cf. HÖLFMAYER et al 2021. They describe (p. 708) Lachish as “one of the most prominent Bronze and Iron Age sites of the Southern Levant.”

<sup>62</sup> FINKELSTEIN, SASS 2013, 176.

<sup>63</sup> BOYES 2020, 41, categorized these as references to the owner, maker, or recipient of the objects.

(4) TNM 022 (sherd) | KTU 6.71(inscription)<sup>64</sup> [sinistrograde]

The sherd from Qadeš (Tell Nebi Mend) contains an inscription. The text reads:

[ ]xml . l mbġl skn                      Barley draff for Mabbiggallu, the commissioner

It is also one of four cuneiform alphabetic texts outside of Ugarit that were written from right to left which may indicate the identity of the scribe as one learned in Proto Canaanite linear script. It is also written in the short alphabet. Likely interpretations for inscriptions on vessels include the names of the owners of the vessel, the contents of the vessel, or the authority that has either guaranteed the contents or to whom they were intended as tribute. A personal name is therefore expected, and the interpretation of *mbġl* as a name or a title is made all the more probable by the preposition *l*, frequently found on inscribed sherds.<sup>65</sup> It is not impossible that it refers to the same name that is found partially in KTU 4.766:4. The meaning of the name is not as significant as its function as a personal name in the inscription but interpretations like “the mule” have been offered.

What follows after the name is very likely a designation and *skn* is a known word for a royal representative or commissioner, but it was also used to refer to town governors.<sup>66</sup> They seem to have been the highest officials in the Ugaritic administrative system.<sup>67</sup> Outside of the kingdom, the *skn* seem to have acted as the representatives of the king of Ugarit and may even have taken on the duties of a viceroy on occasion.<sup>68</sup> The first word of the inscription is not entirely legible but possible candidates are *šml*, (barley draff) which is the remainder of the process of brewing beer, or some other commodity. The *skn* of Ugarit were involved in the gift exchanges trade of the LBA and it is unclear whether goods and items labelled with the title were meant for their households or to the royal household in whose name they would have

<sup>64</sup> Published by in UF 8 (1976), 459–460. DAVEY 1976, 18–20, mentions that a number of other tablets were also found and had not been read by the time of publication but no subsequent texts in the cuneiform alphabetic script have been published. The texts were likely found in the other one of the two LBA trenches excavated from which an Akkadian text to Ari-Teshup was uncovered. This trench was in the administrative district of the city but there is no mention of where the trench with the cuneiform alphabetic text was.

<sup>65</sup> Out of the twelve known *skn* of Ugarit, 8 had Hurrian names. VAN SOLDT 2010, 255. The name mentioned in this inscription is otherwise unattested and hence its ethnic background is uncertain.

<sup>66</sup> See MORAN 1992, XXVI. In EA 256:9 and 362:69 the Sumerian term *maškin* (envoy) is elaborated by the syllabic *sú-ki-ni/sú-ka-na*. It is likely that some kind of official is indicated.

<sup>67</sup> VAN SOLDT 2010, 250, 253. He points out that there are more than 200 place names known from Ugarit and only 8 of them have a *skn* which may indicate the special status of the towns.

<sup>68</sup> VAN SOLDT 2010, 254.

accepted them.<sup>69</sup> Regardless, the interpretation of the inscription as a label dedicating the contents of the vessel to the district governor seems the most likely.

The sherd has a parallel in the incised sherd (9.9 x 8.3 x 0.7 cm) found from Lachish dating to the 12<sup>th</sup> century BCE. The inscription had been incised before firing below the neck to the shoulder of the jar that was likely a large transport amphora.<sup>70</sup> The inscription was written in three lines with nine letters altogether preserved: [ ] *pkl* [ ] *spr* [ ] *xpx*, likely written from right to left or sinistrograde.<sup>71</sup> Schniedewind's reconstruction suggests that it contains a personal name (Phicol, cf. Gen. 21:22), the title for scribe, and the enumeration of 5 hekat of wheat, hekat (hq̄.t) being an Egyptian measure for volume.<sup>72</sup> Reading the middle word as a title would make it a suitable parallel for the Tell Nebi Mend sherd, also seeming to contain a personal name, a title, and a reference to the contents of the vessel. There may be a difference in the cuneiform alphabetic inscription recording the recipient of the contents where the Lachish inscription may instead have been a reference to the guarantor of the contents.

There is another parallel in the inscribed rim fragment (4.0 x 3,5 cm) of a milk bowl from Lachish, albeit the inscription was written in dark ink post-firing. The sherd likewise seems to contain a (fragmentary) personal name and a name for a commodity, in this case honey or nectar: [ ] *'bd npt*.<sup>73</sup> The Tel Nagila sherd is closer in age to the cuneiform alphabetic inscription and had also been incised before firing.<sup>74</sup>

Tell Nebi Mend is traditionally associated with Qadeš on the Orontes, a buffer state between the Egyptians and the Hittites in the LBA, but the identification is not certain. If the identification is correct, the text was found squarely on the Homs Gap, the passage from the coastal plain to southern Levant. The strategic and central location of the city at the entrance to the Beqaa Valley means that it must have been a node in a possible overland trading route between northern and southern Levant – albeit a possibility remains that Qadeš was reached from Ugarit via the port of Sumur. Qadeš was the southern neighbour of Qatna and hence along the established trade route from Qatna to Hazor in the south.<sup>75</sup>

(5) CM 1450 (bowl) | KTU 6.68 (inscription)<sup>76</sup> [sinistrograde]

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<sup>69</sup> VAN SOLDT 2010, 254–255.

<sup>70</sup> SASS ET AL 2015.

<sup>71</sup> SASS ET AL 2015, 236, go through the different possible readings ultimately deciding that the text is too fragmentary to be decipherable.

<sup>72</sup> SCHNIEDEWIND 2020, 137.

<sup>73</sup> HÖLFMAYER ET AL 2021, 714.

<sup>74</sup> HÖLFMAYER ET AL 2021, 715.

<sup>75</sup> PFÄLZNER 2012, 780.

<sup>76</sup> Published by P. ÅSTRÖM, E. MASSON. A silver bowl from Hala Sultan Tekke. RDAC 1982, 72–76.

The final vessel with cuneiform alphabetic writing is on a silver bowl from Hala Sultan Tekke on Cyprus. The shallow and roughly hemispherical bowl is 4.2 x 15.2 cm (base 9.2 cm) in size and was found hidden in the town wall of the Late Cypriote IIIA town, dating to the 12<sup>th</sup> century BCE. The bowl, which is otherwise unremarkable and typical to the era, was found upside down inside the rubble wall of a Late Cypriot building and has hence been interpreted as a building offering. The inscription is on the outer side. The text reads:

*ks . aky . bn ypthd* The bowl of Aky/Akkuya, son of Yiptahhaddu

The inscription contains a personal name, recognized by the patronymic *bn*. The name of the father is a Semitic name with the theophoric element Haddu (Hadad), connected to the local storm god of Mount Saphon. The name Aky is more difficult to place. It may be a diminutive of the Semitic name Yakov<sup>77</sup> or a noun denoting the bird owl.<sup>78</sup> Voskos & Knapp claim that it is a Hurrian name, basing it on the initial discussion by Åström & Masson.<sup>79</sup> Aky is either the maker or the owner and recipient of the bowl. There is a possible parallel in the inscribed pithos rim from Ras Ibn Hani (KTU 6.106).



Finding a piece of Ugaritic writing on the island that was one of the closest neighbours and trading partners of Ugarit is not surprising – it is, rather, surprising that there are not more exemplars that have been discovered. It is not possible to ascertain whether the bowl was an import or local manufacture, although there is little reason to suspect that it would have been made at Ugarit rather than produced locally. The site in the LBA was also known for its metal work, production of silver objects, and copper workshops of an industrial scale that were featured in its long distance trade. For this reason, it seems likely that the object was produced locally and had been meant for the use of an Ugaritian. It should also be noted that the form of the signs are rounded in a typical Cypro-Minoan fashion. Since Hala Sultan Tekke (or its neighbouring Kition with an international port) is only reachable from Ugarit by the sea, there is no doubt that it was a node in the maritime trading network of the LBA – albeit the port of Enkomi has been seen as the main trading partner of Ugarit.<sup>80</sup> While anchors have been found

<sup>77</sup> The name Jacob is found at Ugarit but spelled *yrgb*, *ygb* or *yaqb*. On the origin of the name in the Egyptian context, see RYHOLT 2010.

<sup>78</sup> So WATSON 2007, 108, although he does not give reasons for the interpretation nor even the designation of the list of proper nouns in which the name is supposedly listed.

<sup>79</sup> VOSKOS, KNAPP 2008, 663, ÅSTRÖM, MASSON 1982, 72–76.

<sup>80</sup> Although note that the site of Maa has yielded the most weights of the Ugaritic standard from Cyprus. PAPPAS 2022, 28. Maa and Tell Nami share similarities in material culture during the LBA, and the latter has been proposed as a Ugaritian satellite port.

at Hala Sultan Tekke, its port may also have been silted up during the 13<sup>th</sup> century BCE making it unsuitable for navigation.<sup>81</sup> Cyprus in general was one of the most important trading partners of Ugarit with evidence of Ugaritian trading activity at multiple sites, and hence it is even a little surprising that no further examples of cuneiform alphabetic writing have been found there.

### Jar Handles

Three of the inscriptions on earthenware vessels were specifically found on the handles of the vessels. This is significant in that storage vessels were often stamped or marked on the handles. Inscriptions on vessel handles usually indicated the ownership or contents of the vessels. Given the low proportion of handles bearing inscriptions, it has also been suggested that the inscriptions may reference regional managers overseeing the production of the vessels where a single vessel would have been marked to stand for the whole batch.<sup>82</sup> Except for clay tablets, jar handles are the most numerous type of object inscribed in the cuneiform alphabetic script with seven examples altogether, the other four examples from Minet el-Beida (KTU 1.77, a possible votive dedication) and Ugarit (KTU 6.76, 9.413, 9.415). These may be paralleled by the later *lmlk*-stamped jar handles from the area of Palestine,<sup>83</sup> or the jar handles from el-Jib containing personal and geographic names,<sup>84</sup> but Boyes pointed out that inscribed handles do not necessarily bear the same meaning at Ugarit as they did elsewhere.<sup>85</sup> He made the observation that the examples from within Ugarit were from residential areas and those from outside were from industrial areas, speculating that they might have been produced in ‘Phoenician’ (Levantine coastal) workshops and from there sold to customers, being ‘Phoenician’ imports into Ugarit.<sup>86</sup>

(6) KL 67: 428p (sherd) | KTU 6.2 (inscription)<sup>87</sup> [dextrograde].

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<sup>81</sup> PAPPAS 2022, 20.

<sup>82</sup> BOYES 2020, 43.

<sup>83</sup> Eleven stamp seal impressions containing this construction were found at Ramat Raḥel. LIPSCHITS, VANDERHOOF 2007, 23. The same impression has also been found at Jericho and Rogem Gannim. The theory of Lipschits and Vanderhoof is that jars stamped with the seals would have been distributed empty to citizens who would then have returned them to the administration full of taxed goods. Similar stamp seal impressions on storage jar handles dating to the 6<sup>th</sup> century are also known from Gibeon. See CROSS 1962; PRITCHARD 1960. See also STERN 1971 for the jar handles stamped with iconographic motifs of lions instead of text.

<sup>84</sup> Published in PRITCHARD 1966. El-Jib produced 60 inscribed handles and 80 handles stamped with the *lmlk*-seal. These are dated to the Iron Age.

<sup>85</sup> BOYES 2020, 38.

<sup>86</sup> Boyes 2020, 40.

<sup>87</sup> Published by G. WILHELM in Eine Krughenkelinschrift in alphabetischer Keilschrift aus Kamid el-Loz (KL 67: 428p), UF 5 (1973), 284–288.

The first of the two inscriptions containing alphabetic cuneiform writing from Kamid el-Loz, ancient Kumidi, was written on the jar handle of a clay vessel (8 cm in height) that was found buried near the MBA city wall. The text, written in the short alphabet, reads:

*lrb* (Dedicated) to the prince<sup>88</sup>

Inscribed objects containing a dedication using the *l* preposition are common and it can be expected that the inscription had once belonged to a whole vessel, and it was not merely the existing piece of the handle that had the dedication. The preposition is the likely beginning of the inscription despite a break in the handle, but it is uncertain whether additional letters follow the rest of the inscription. The word *rb* is an adjective meaning ‘great’ and has been used in reference to chiefs of groups (e.g., *rb khnm* is the chief of the priests, i.e., the high priest, KTU 2.4:1 or *rb qrt*, the great one of the city, i.e., the village chief, KTU 4.141 iii:3).<sup>89</sup> The adjective can appear also attached to ethnonyms e.g., *lrb kt̄kym*, to the chief of the Kaskians (KTU 6.3). The parallel between this inscription and the Judean *lmlk* labels was made already in the first edition.<sup>90</sup> It has been suggested that the word in this inscription corresponds with the Akkadian *rabû* (lú-gal), which was during the Amarna era the title for the highest Egyptian official in the southern Levant in the Akkadian correspondence.<sup>91</sup> Perhaps notable is that the name Ili-rabi (‘*ilrb*) known from Ugarit is also found in the cuneiform texts from Kumidi (KL 74:300) in a context where the *rabû* of Kumidi is sent for. This means that the title of *rabû* was in use in the city and the label in the jar handle may be meant for the *rabû* of Kumidi in particular.



(7) KL 77:66 (sherd) | KTU 6.67 (inscription)<sup>92</sup> [dextrograde]

The second inscription from Kamid el-Loz is written on the handle of a pithos. The handle is 3.0 x 4.0 cm in height. The text reads:

*ymn* Right (hand) / Ionia(n)

<sup>88</sup> DIETRICH & LORETZ 1988, 228–231, read the inscription *d rb*, ‘the one of the great one’ but their reading may be inspired more by a desire to prove the ‘Ugaritianness’ as opposed to the ‘Phoenicianness’ of the inscription. The relative pronoun (*d* at Ugarit and *z* in Phoenicia) is one of the few factors with which distinction may be shown between the languages.

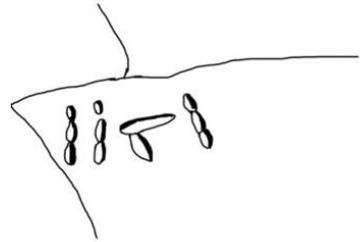
<sup>89</sup> Note that the term *rb qrt* is attested only once and it is found in connection with *bnš mlk*, the men of the king, also enumerated in the Tell Sukas tablet.

<sup>90</sup> WILHELM 1973, 288.

<sup>91</sup> WILHELM 1980, 99.

<sup>92</sup> Published by MANSFELD 1986 p. 45, fig. 20.

While *ymn* is a common noun for the right hand in Ugaritic,<sup>93</sup> the text has been interpreted as referring to the island of Cyprus.<sup>94</sup> The identification of Yamanu with Cyprus is based on Akkadian, although in Akkadian texts Cyprus is usually indicated by *Yadana* and *Yamanu* refers to Ionia.<sup>95</sup> The easiest interpretation for the text is that it had belonged to a transport amphora from the Aegean and the text indicated the place of origin of what ever had been imported from the island. Mycenaean were especially known as wine traders, making the reading of Ionian rather than Cypriote more likely.<sup>96</sup> According to Boyes, any number of alternative interpretations suggest themselves rather than the inscription bearing the label of the place of manufacture of the object.<sup>97</sup> For example, the sherd might be an ostrakon and the text had been written purposefully on a small piece of clay either to record an oracular pronouncement or as a piece belonging to some kind of a game – whether for children or adults.<sup>98</sup> If the reference is to ‘Ionian’, it might be the designation of the origin of the contents of the vessel or the moniker of the owner or sender of the contents.



Ancient Kumidi was an Egyptian centre in the LBA, used as a kind of base of operations through which the Egyptian administration oversaw the local Levantine rulers. It was one of the largest sites in the region.<sup>99</sup> In the Beqaa Valley, it is separated from the coast by the Mount Lebanon range, the city was, like Qadeš, a midway station within a trade route from Qatna to Hazor in the south and from the Mediterranean coast to Damascus in the east, it stands at the

<sup>93</sup> WYATT 1996, 139–141, discusses the connotations of the word in Ugaritic. The orientation indicated by *ymn* is South, which fits ill with interpreting it as a reference to Ugarit’s Western neighbour.

<sup>94</sup> DIETRICH & LORETZ 1988. According to them, the diagnostic letter forms in the inscription resemble those of the Hala Sultan Tekke silver bowl, both of which contain rounded letters that resemble the teardrop shape of Cypriote-Minoan inscriptions all of which would have been caused by the rounded tip of the Cypriote stylus.

<sup>95</sup> KUHRT 2002, 19. There are not that many attestations of *ia-man-a* in the Akkadian records either. It is mentioned in an administrative record from Nineveh (SAA 07 048 6, cf. FALES, POSTGATE 1992) and in the royal inscriptions of Tiglath-Pileser III, Sargon II, Sennacherib, and Esarhaddon. There are no attestations of the word in Assyrian sources before the reign of Tiglath-Pileser III in the 8<sup>th</sup> century. The attestations are discussed by KUHRT 2002, 18–19. Note that *Yadnana* and *Ionia* are both mentioned in Esarhaddon 060 10’/RINAP 4 (cf. LEICHTY 2011) meaning that they were considered different places.

<sup>96</sup> The most comprehensive volume on Greeks trading in wine in the LBA is by PRATT 2021, based on her 2014 dissertation. Wine and oil are often mentioned together when Mycenaean trade is discussed. The interpretation of the inscription as ‘Ionian’ = “Greek peoples in general” is also supported by BOYES 2020, 39.

<sup>97</sup> BOYES 2020, 39.

<sup>98</sup> Egyptian evidence suggests that games were enjoyed by adults, and they might even have had philosophical, metaphysical interpretations e.g., representing the journey of the soul in the afterlife like with the game Senet.

<sup>99</sup> PFÄLZNER 2012, 781.

crossroads of two major transregional overland routes.<sup>100</sup> The Orontes, which is easily accessed from Ugarit through the Ghab Basin, flows from the valley which means that Kumidi was one of the sites that could have been reached through an inland trade route and for which using such a terrestrial route from Ugarit would have made sense.<sup>101</sup> In fact, the centrality of the location of Kumidi owed especially to its overland connections, as it was easily accessible from the north and the south.<sup>102</sup> Tell Nebi Mend, ancient Qadeš, is upstream from Kumidi, and would have been a stop along a terrestrial route from Ugarit to Kumidi.<sup>103</sup>

(8) SAR 3102 (sherd) | KTU 6.70 (inscription)<sup>104</sup> [dextrograde]

The Sarepta jar handle fragment was discovered in 1972 during the University of Pennsylvania excavations in Sarafand, Lebanon. It seems to have originally formed a part of a large transport vessel or amphora that has been dated to 1290±52 BCE. The handle, approximately 12 x 9 cm in size, was found in the industrial area of the city near a concentration of kilns (Area II X) next to a kiln within a workshop which suggests that the amphora had been locally made.<sup>105</sup> The inscription was incised on the ridged handle of the vessel and had been pressed into the clay before firing.<sup>106</sup> The text reads:

'gn z p'l yd[ ]	The vessel <sup>107</sup> which was made by Yadnu-
[ ]r/n b'l z lhđš b'l[ ]	Baal, belonging to Hadšu-Baal <sup>108</sup>

<sup>100</sup> HEINZ 2016, 10.

<sup>101</sup> The Amuq Valley north of Ugarit and the Beqaa Vally south of Ugarit are connected by the Orontes river system and are both a part of the larger Syro-African Rift valley. PFÄLZNER 2016 discussed the bones of the Syrian Elephant that have been found in Ugarit, Qatna, and Kumidi.

<sup>102</sup> HEINZ 2016, 8.

<sup>103</sup> Although it remains a possibility that both Tell Nebi Mend and Kamid el-Loz could have been reached through a transverse road from Sumur on the coast.

<sup>104</sup> Published by J. TEIXIDOR, D. I. OWEN. Sarepta: A Preliminary Report on the Iron Age, 1975: 102–104. They recognize the script as that of Ugarit but do not consider the inscription necessarily written in Ugaritic language. GREENSTEIN 1979, 49, likewise suggests it may have been written in Phoenician – or what would later become Phoenician. In this case, it would be the oldest known Phoenician inscription.

<sup>105</sup> BOYES 2020, 33.

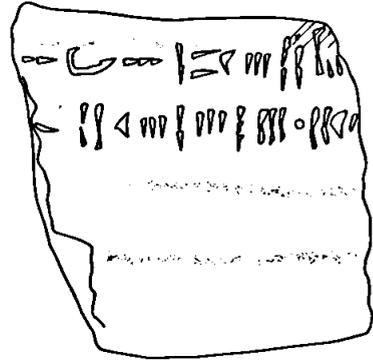
<sup>106</sup> BOYES 2020, 29.

<sup>107</sup> The letter *g* in 'gn is written in the Proto-Canaanite script instead of the cuneiform alphabetic script, prompting GREENSTEIN 1979, 54, to suggest that the scribe may have been used to writing in linear script. It does seem to indicate at least that there were persons who knew both the cuneiform alphabet and the Proto-Canaanite alphabet.

<sup>108</sup> Originally read as “for the festival of the new moon” but recognized as personal names by GREENSTEIN 1979, 50–54. Instead of a theophoric personal name it is also possible that the name is a theonym and hence the inscription would be a dedication to the god of the new moon. See BOYES 2020, 42, for possible interpretations.

The text was written using the so-called short alphabet, a simplified version of the cuneiform alphabetic script that only contains 22 characters. The short-form alphabet was usually written from right to left or sinistrowise, unlike the full cuneiform alphabetic script known from Ugarit. This may have been a Levantine adaptation, as the Proto-Sinaitic script is generally written from right to left, albeit the writing direction of various alphabetic scripts was not settled until late into Iron Age, and even after that different daughter-scripts took on different writing directions.<sup>109</sup>

The short form alphabet seems to have been used predominantly in inscribing objects rather than written on tablets.<sup>110</sup> One of the peculiarities of the short form script is that in some signs (*b*, *d*), the horizontal wedges have been turned into upside down vertical wedges one



on objects. The second sign does not look like any cuneiform alphabetic sign and explanations for the shape have ranged from it being an example of the Proto-Canaanite linear alphabetic script to an inscribing error where a stroke has been drawn too far. The sign is generally interpreted as symbolizing the letter *g*. The inscription has been interpreted as containing the name of the maker of the object (Ydnb'l) and the name of the recipient (Hdšb'l).<sup>111</sup> Boyes discards the interpretation “the vessel that Yadnubaal made for [his] new lord [...]” on the basis that it does not contain the definite article (which does not exist in Ugaritic), the enclitic possessive suffix (which would have been cut off with the break in the sherd along with the possible name of this new lord) and adjectives usually following nouns in Phoenician (it is not certain that the underlying language is Phoenician).<sup>112</sup> I do not find this interpretation to be any more unlikely than the others.

Sarepta was a coastal city with two harbours in the LBA, situated 13 km south of Sidon, and had been a part of the Eastern Mediterranean sea trade network as well as the regional trade network that connected it to inland centres. Ugarit's connection to the inland trading networks may well have been through the coastal connection of Sarepta. Sarepta in the LBA also had a

<sup>109</sup> The dating of the change from multidirectional to unidirectional horizontal writing is still debated with dates ranging from 1050–950 BCE. After this time, the shapes of the letters become more schematized and lose their iconicity. DOBBS-ALLSOPP 2023, 29, proposes that the direction from right to left that was adopted in the Levantine linear alphabetic scripts of the first millennium BCE owes its origin to Egyptian hieratic scribalism.

<sup>110</sup> BOYES 2020, 31.

<sup>111</sup> BOYES 2020, 40. This personal name is otherwise unattested.

<sup>112</sup> BOYES 2020, 42.

trade relationship with Cyprus, and hence it may have served as an important node in Ugaritian trade.<sup>113</sup> Where Cyprus was famous for its metal workshops, Sarepta boasted extensive pottery production areas, indicating that pottery was one of the main trading wares of the site.<sup>114</sup>

### Ritual Weapons

There are two weapons with inscriptions containing cuneiform alphabetic script. Inscribed weapons are also known from the kingdom of Ugarit and in fact one of the very first texts ever deciphered in the cuneiform alphabetic script was written on a ritual axe head (KTU 6.6), of which several kinds have since been discovered.

(9) PAM 44.318 / IAA 1944–318 (knife) | KTU 6.1 (inscription)<sup>115</sup> [sinistrograde]

The first is the blade of a 14.6 cm long bronze knife found at Mount Tabor (or more accurately, the dry riverbed of Nahal Tabor) in northern Israel. The text, written parallel and very close to the blunt edge of the blade, reads:

lš[ ]blʾ bp lšbʾ                      Belonging to Sillibaal, son of Pulsibaal<sup>116</sup>

The text seems to contain a dedication which is on par with other inscribed weapons from Ugarit. It is also one of four cuneiform alphabetic texts outside of Ugarit that were written from right to left which may indicate the identity of the scribe as one learned in Proto-Canaanite linear script.<sup>117</sup> It is noteworthy that two of the texts found in the southern Levant (this and the Beth Shemesh text) are written in this fashion whereas among the hundreds of texts from Ugarit, there is only one written from right to left.



The repetition of the same letters (*dittography*) in continuous script (*scriptio continua*) and without word dividers in the inscription makes it seem like a scribal exercise or a failed and

<sup>113</sup> PARPAS 2022, 130.

<sup>114</sup> PFÄLZNER 2013, 775.

<sup>115</sup> Published by S. YEIVIN: A New Ugaritic Inscription from Palestine. *Kedem II*. 1945: 32–41.

<sup>116</sup> This is the traditional reading. Assuming that the *bp* digraph was the intention of the inscriber and it is not in error or incomplete, the likely meaning is *b*-preposition combined with a noun, *p*. Possible interpretations for this are “from the mouth” i.e., ‘this was dictated by’ or “in/from here” i.e., ‘NN<sup>1</sup> who is known here as NN<sup>2</sup>’.

<sup>117</sup> Dextrograde writing seems to owe to Egyptian origin whereas sinistrograde direction comes from Mesopotamia. Cuneiform alphabetic script being a combination of the technologies, it is surprising that there are not many more examples of multidirectional writing (the examples are collected in DIETRICH & LORETZ 1988, 145–275). Finding examples of dextrograde cuneiform alphabetic writing in the southern Levant is also natural and even to be expected. This may even suggest that the inscriptions were not written at Ugarit and imported to these southern Levantine locations but that they may actually have been produced locally. On the direction of alphabetic writing, cf. DOBBS-ALLSOP 2023.

restarted attempt at an inscription, but the fact that the letters have been inscribed on a metal object is an argument against this.<sup>118</sup> The script must have had significance for the inscriber or owner of the object, as incising the inscription in the Proto-Canaanite lapidary script would have been much easier and quicker. The existence of a personal name on an object is to be expected, once more corroborated by the existence of the preposition *l* at the beginning of the inscription. Parallels on inscribed ritual weapons can be found, e.g., on the ceremonial bronze axe heads dedicated to the high priest at Ugarit (KTU 6.6, 6.7, 6:81, 6.10). The blade is paralleled by the Lachish bronze dagger, a 21 cm blade incised with an alphabetic inscription dated to the late Middle Bronze Age bearing the inscription [ ]*rn*[ ].<sup>119</sup> It is possible that such weapons were inscribed with the names of their owners due to the preciousness of metallic objects that would have made it easier to locate their owners after battles, where one might easily have lost their weapon on the battlefield. The Lachish dagger was found in a mortuary context, emphasizing the personal quality of the object.<sup>120</sup> The inscription bears four letters, two of which have been identified, and it has been interpreted as a personal name,<sup>121</sup> and the readings *trnz* and *lrnz* have been proposed with reference to a possible non-Semitic personal name Turranza.<sup>122</sup> Once more the cuneiform alphabetic inscription is considerably longer than the linear alphabetic parallel.

It is possible that the weapon had initially contained the name of the first owner whose son had subsequently inscribed it with his own name which would also explain the missing *n* from *bn* – for which the space would have run out when the second inscription (*l*š[ ]*bl*ʾ *b*<*n*>) was incised before the first one (*p*lš*b*ʾ*l*), subsequently turning the first owner's name into a

<sup>118</sup> It is especially striking that the four *l*-letters appear at seemingly regular intervals, punctuating the inscription: *l* ... *l* ... *l* ... *l*. If the interpretation of the middle-most signs as *b* and *p* is correct (and both characters are somewhat unorthodox in form – the horizontal bottom wedges of *b* are instead inverted vertical wedges, although this is true of the other *b*-signs of the inscription, as well – and the two horizontal wedges of the *p* are written so close to the *b*-sign as to form a part of one and the same sign), they would seem to form a central sign around which the letters *l*, *š*, *b*, *ʾ*, *l* are all repeated twice. There is a space between the first *š* and *b*, but damage to the knife makes it impossible to tell whether a sign ever stood there. The inscription reads *l* š[ ]*b*ʾ *l* *bp* *l* š*b*ʾ *l*, which is suspiciously symmetric. Of course, although rare in LBA Semitic onomastics, it is possible for a father and a son to carry the same name ('John Johnson') but while the middle-most sign *b* has been read as *b*<*n*> (son), it is clear that no sign could possibly have fit between *b* and *p*. Presuming a mistake on the part of the inscriber, an intention of *n* (3 sequential horizontal wedges) or *t* (1 horizontal wedge, for *bt*, house) would be just as likely for *p* (2 overlaid horizontal wedges). Regardless, it has little effect on the meaning of the text indicating the name of a person. Note that the name ʾ*t*ʾš*b*ʾ*l* appears on the Mesad Hashavyahu ostrakon. The meaning of the name is unknown but in light of Ugaritic could stand for something like 'ewe of Baal'. On the reading of the name on the ostrakon, cf. TIGAY 1986, 14; 1987, 163.

<sup>119</sup> HÖLFMAYER ET AL 2021, 714.

<sup>120</sup> SASS 1988, 53–54. This is significant especially because daggers are not found in Levantine tombs following MB IIC, GOLDWASSER 2016b, 140.

<sup>121</sup> GOLDWASSER 2016b, 142.

<sup>122</sup> LIPINSKI 2016 129.

patronymic. This would also confirm the direction of writing from right to left. This in turn suggests that the dagger was either an (inherited) import from Ugarit or owned by a Ugaritian family stationed in the southern Levant that had been educated in the cuneiform alphabetic script where the latter or both inscriptions would have been produced locally.

Mount Tabor is located at the eastern end of the Jezreel Valley and at an important crossroads where the Via Maris intersects with a transverse road from the Levantine coast to Damascus. A landmark along the trade route, it served especially as a waystation between Megiddo and Damascus. Mount Tabor seems to have been the site of several battles across the millennia,<sup>123</sup> the first identified battle from the time of Thutmose III and subsequently by Amenhotep II.<sup>124</sup> It seems likely that a weapon would have been lodged in the riverbed during one of the skirmishes rather than having wound up there through the process of trade. Whether the Ugaritian man named in the inscription was a warrior and possibly slain in one of the recurring battles in the area is unknown but it bears noting that the Syrian ne'arim (n'rm, e.g., KTU 4.367:7) troops seem to have been favoured by the Egyptians in their wars in the Levant, described even as "all the foremost men" of the Pharaoh's army indicating that the Syrian soldiers consisted of a warrior elite.<sup>125</sup> While possibly witnessing to the presence of Ugaritians in the wider LBA world, the inscription gives us little information regarding Ugarit's trade relationships.

(10) Ti 02 LXIII 34/91 VI d12.80 (rod) | KTU 6.104 (inscription)<sup>126</sup> [sinistrograde]

The second is a cylindrical piece of an (hippopotamus) ivory rod found at Tiryns. The preserved length of the object is 3.7 cm x 1.0 cm, but it was likely longer when intact. The original object had a carefully smoothed and polished surface which indicates its use as a ritual rather than an everyday object, although the initial publication suggested its use as a measuring rod, a label, or a 'tally stick'.<sup>127</sup> This is the find furthest from Ugarit and seems to witness to a commercial relationship from Ugarit to mainland Greece and the Mycenaean world.<sup>128</sup> Found in the excavation season 2002–2003, the object was *in situ* in the Lower Citadel

<sup>123</sup> Cf. MAYES 1969 on the possible historical background of the battle in Judges 4–5.

<sup>124</sup> The site of Anaharath mentioned in his list of conquered cities has been identified with the area. Cf. AHARONI 1967.

<sup>125</sup> MACDONALD 1980, 70.

<sup>126</sup> Published by C. COHEN, J. MARAN, M. VETTERS. An Ivory Rod with a Cuneiform Inscription, Most Probably Ugaritic, from a Final Palatial Workshop in the Lower Citadel of Tiryns. *Archäologischer Anzeiger* 2. 2011: 1–22. They interpreted (p. 13–14) the object as a handle, possibly of a mirror, the shaft of a spindle, a measuring stick, or a decorative rod. They suggest as parallels for the latter the pomegranate and opium poppy rods from LBA contexts from Cyprus and the Near East. These rods likely represent symbolic weapons.

<sup>127</sup> COHEN, MARAN, VETTERS 2010, 14.

<sup>128</sup> Note that cuneiform texts in general are excessively rare in Mycenaean Greece. COHEN, MARAN, VETTERS 2010, 13.

of Tiryns (Building XI, Room 78).<sup>129</sup> Since the building was in use for a very short time in the LH III B Final period (c. 1200 BCE), the object can be dated with more accuracy than most objects containing text in the cuneiform alphabetic script.

The purpose or function of the rod is unclear. It is possible that it represents a ceremonial weapon, which were often made from precious but brittle materials, unsuited for actual use as weapons.<sup>130</sup> One of the suggestions is that it was an oracular rod and was used to record a prophecy. The text reads:

*ms'ł[t]*                      An oracle



The interpretation of the text is unclear, but several possibilities have been suggested.<sup>131</sup> The *edition princeps* by the excavators read the text as containing numerical signs (60 + 10 + 10) and a word for either container or measure.<sup>132</sup> Other possibilities are a personal name *Mš'* that is otherwise unattested,<sup>133</sup> a non-Semitic personal name *M'ł*,<sup>134</sup> the word for loan, debt or donation with the preposition *l* (*mš' l*)<sup>135</sup> or the word for oracle (*mš'łt*) where the final letter is cut off.<sup>136</sup> The first letter is clear but the interpretation of the second and third letters is uncertain. The second character resembles the word-divider. The fourth letter may be a *l* but it is missing the final wedge. Across the board the interpretations of the text read the second sign as *t* and render it with another sibilant phoneme. While all of the readings have problems, the existence of rhabdomantic practices in the Mycenaean world is an argument in the favour of the latter reading.<sup>137</sup>

Tiryns could only have been reached by the Ugaritians through a maritime connection, and Tiryns was one of the major ports in the Aegean during the LBA and as such would have been a natural trading partner with the Ugaritians – witnessed e.g., by the amount of Mycenaean pottery found at Ugarit.<sup>138</sup> The route from Ugarit to Tiryns via the sea likely followed the Anatolian coastline and the Dodecanese islands eastward to the mainland.

<sup>129</sup> COHEN, MARAN, VETTERS 2010, 1.

<sup>130</sup> TÖYRÄÄNVUORI 2012.

<sup>131</sup> Reviewed in TOBOLA 2015.

<sup>132</sup> They also read the inscription from left to right or dextrograde. See COHEN, MARAN, VETTERS 2010, 3. Their interpretation hinges on their reading of the character *t* as a short form of the measure *t't* that is not known from elsewhere.

<sup>133</sup> WEIPPERT 2011.

<sup>134</sup> TOBOLA 2015.

<sup>135</sup> TROPPEL, VITA 2010.

<sup>136</sup> DIETRICH, LORETZ 2010.

<sup>137</sup> Discussed by DIETRICH, LORETZ 2010. Also implicated in the Hebrew Bible in Hos. 4:12, Ez. 21:21, and Num. 17:2.

<sup>138</sup> HEINZ 2016, 795.

Whether the rod was inscribed locally or was an import remains unresolved. However, it seems probable that the rod was purposefully left to Tiryns as a dedication or votive offering by someone with knowledge of the cuneiform alphabetic script, possibly a Ugaritian merchant sailor. There is also evidence that Cypriots lived in Tiryns during the 13<sup>th</sup> century BCE with close commercial ties between the two – with Cypriots involved in the metalworking workshops there – so a triangular trade relationship between Ugarit, Tiryns, and Hala Sultan Tekke with its metal workshops is also not out of the question.<sup>139</sup>

### **Levantine overland trade in the LBA**

Late Bronze Age trade networks are some of the best-studied in the ancient world, especially those of maritime trade. The LBA world, one of intensive trade and interregional exchange, is seen as a complex interconnected network with trade as one of the most important drivers of these connections between regions.<sup>140</sup> While private trade took place, the period is characterized by the tendency of the socially and politically powerful to monopolise as far as possible the production and circulation of materials or goods on which their social status or their practical power depended. Especially in the Levant, these the LBA trade networks were decentralized, profit-driven, and without strict demarcation between private and public commerce.<sup>141</sup> Trade during this period was a complex system of various economic principles, among them reciprocity, redistribution, and a kind of a free market system. Long-distance trade was conducted by specialized merchants.<sup>142</sup> It is noteworthy that all of the sites listed here that featured inscriptions in the cuneiform alphabetic script are counted among the cities of the two main ancient trade routes of the Eastern Mediterranean: the *Via Maris*, which ran along the coast all the way to Ugarit, and the *King's Highway* through the Syrian interior.<sup>143</sup>

This commerce took place along long-distance route networks and intersection points along these networks.<sup>144</sup> Maritime trade routes and overland routes articulated at coastal centres, Ugarit being perhaps the foremost among them in the LBA. Of the great kingdoms, both the Egyptians and the Hittites seem to have been uncomfortable on the open sea and were inherently suspicious of people who sailed the seas with ease.<sup>145</sup> It was easier to monitor overland trade routes by means of customs-posts, military garrisons, and roadblocks.<sup>146</sup> The

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<sup>139</sup> PARPAS 2022, 81.

<sup>140</sup> PFÄLZNER 2012, 792.

<sup>141</sup> BOYES 2020, 44.

<sup>142</sup> HEINZ 2016, 793.

<sup>143</sup> JOSEPHSON HESSE 2008, 38–39.

<sup>144</sup> SHERRAT 2016, 291.

<sup>145</sup> SHERRAT 2016, 292.

<sup>146</sup> SHERRAT 2016, 292.

geographical features of the Levant strongly control the direction of the roads that run along valleys, passes, and wadis, making the routes fixed through times.<sup>147</sup>

Only three of the inscriptions have been found at coastal cities, which is to be expected due to the maritime trade networks of the LBA. The majority of the texts, however, are such a distance from the coast as to suggest alternative routes. There was an alternative route that ran from Qatna to Hazor and further south that was frequented in winter and spring. The Qatna route was connected to the east-west transverse road from Tell Kazel (Sumur) through the Homs Gap.<sup>148</sup> Other transverse routes went from Ugarit directly through the Nahr el-Kebir valley and from Sarepta along the Litani to Kamid el-Loz, Sarepta also connected to Hazor.<sup>149</sup> This places Ugarit not only has a hub in the maritime trade but also either the starting or ending point of an overland trade route to southern Levant – whether from Ugarit directly or through the port of Tell Kazel. Ta'annek and Mount Tabor were also along transverse roads along the Jezreel Valley which connected to the route from southern Arabia to northern Syria, used especially for incense trade.<sup>150</sup> These cuneiform alphabetic texts witness to Ugarit's position in both the maritime but *also* in the overland trade network in the Levant, and the connections from the Levant to the wider Eastern Mediterranean trade.

### Conclusions

The cuneiform alphabetic texts found outside of the kingdom of Ugarit make up a small percentage of the overall text corpus. The origins of the script notwithstanding, the wealth of texts from Ugarit and a lack of texts from its neighbours, barring a single text from ancient Šukšī, give strong indication that the script was a native Ugaritic invention. The script is mostly a cuneiform rendering of the more widely spread Proto-Sinaitic or linear alphabet of putative Egyptian origin, and correspondences between the alphabetic and cuneiform alphabetic signs can be demonstrated, but why the scribes from Ugarit chose to render these characters into cuneiform shapes is unknown.<sup>151</sup> It is, however, known that correspondence on clay tablets using standard cuneiform was a common practice in the Ugaritic kingdom throughout the LBA and the question might rather be, why the cuneiform rendering of the Proto-Sinaitic or later alphabetic characters was not *more* common in the Levant, given that most kingdoms of the

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<sup>147</sup> JOSEPHSON HESSE 2008, 38.

<sup>148</sup> JOSEPHSON HESSE 2008, 39.

<sup>149</sup> JOSEPHSON HESSE 2008, 39.

<sup>150</sup> JOSEPHSON HESSE 2008, 39.

<sup>151</sup> For speculation on the topic, see ZEMÁNEK 2006, who argues that the script was used primarily for internal communication within the kingdom since that is where we find most of the texts. Of course, the burning of Ugarit preserved texts there whereas archives elsewhere on the Levantine coast may not have been similarly preserved so this is an argument from silence. See also MYNÁŘOVÁ 2006.

Egypt-dominated Levant were nodes in a cuneiform writing network.<sup>152</sup> This is curious, especially in light of the alphabetic sequence of cuneiform alphabetic signs discovered at Beth Shemesh (perhaps incidentally, the furthest findspot to the south from Ugarit) which likely would have been used to introduce Levantine cuneiform scribes already familiar with the Proto-Sinaitic script to writing alphabetic cuneiform.

The Levantine scribes clearly used the technology of writing with *cuneus* or a stylus on clay tablets, meaning that both clay and reed pens would have been abundantly available for them. This raises the question of why the ‘easier’ script was not adopted, as alphabetic writing is known from the Levantine area already from the MBA onward. Outside of Ugarit, the use of cuneiform alphabetic writing seems to have been a mere curiosity. It is notable that especially in the southern Levant, the examples of cuneiform alphabetic writing seem to be written in the short alphabet from right to left or sinistroke like the linear alphabetic inscriptions which again may indicate the meshing together of two distinct ideas: the cuneiform alphabetic script with the linear alphabetic script.

It is likely that most of the cuneiform alphabetic inscriptions in the Levant originated at Ugarit and were spread to various locations through trade. These texts were not, however, the only texts from Ugarit that have been found outside the kingdom. While it is difficult to determine the origins of letters written in cuneiform (unless their sending place is mentioned in the text), at least letters in the Amarna corpus have been sent from Ugarit to the Egyptian king. Likely many more communications were sent from the kingdom given its propensity for both trade and for correspondence with other parts of the LBA world, but it is a precious few that can securely be connected with the kingdom. In addition to such letters, there are various examples of material culture witness to the presence of Ugaritians in the wider LBA world.

Out of the instances of cuneiform alphabetic writing discussed here, the one from Tell Sukas was likely an example of an administrative document from the kingdom of Ugarit and had been either written there locally or dispatched through their internal road network. The ones from Hala Sultan Tekke, Tiryns, and Sarepta were either imported from Ugarit or brought by Ugaritians via sea routes and these sites were party to the LBA maritime trading network. The other six finds, however, paint a more interesting picture. These remaining locations in the Levant could not easily be reached by sea and the objects bearing the inscriptions must have been brought by a land route or reached from coastal ports via transverse roads.

One would expect to find many more texts written in the cuneiform alphabetic script and in the Ugaritic language around the Eastern Mediterranean basin given the established maritime trade connections from the kingdom. One of the reasons for their dearth may be that

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<sup>152</sup> For a comprehensive study of this network, cf. YUVAL, FINKELSTEIN, NA'AMAN 2004.

the cuneiform alphabetic signs are not easily inciseable on objects but must be pressed with a cuneus on a soft surface.<sup>153</sup> Such soft surfaces, barring (often incidentally) baked clay tablets, are more perishable than hard objects whose inscriptions would more likely have been made in the Proto-Canaanite or linear script that lends itself more suitably for incision.<sup>154</sup> There are, however, a few examples of cuneiform alphabetic signs being incised, like the silver bowl, bronze knife, and ivory rod (and various other objects from Ugarit), but incising cuneiform alphabetic characters is not as easy or convenient as using the other set(s) of alphabetic signs for the writing of inscriptions. And yet it may be that there are more texts written in the cuneiform alphabetic script buried in various locations around the Eastern Mediterranean,<sup>155</sup> or they may simply have been interpreted as some form of defective cuneiform and labelled scribal exercises. Regardless, there is at least an expectation that more examples of cuneiform alphabetic inscriptions will be found on future excavations, allowing for the forming of a more comprehensive picture of the commercial routes and connections of the LBA and the position the kingdom of Ugarit played within this complex network.

Ancient Ugarit stood, at the same time, in the periphery of the great kingdoms and at the centre of the trade routes that connected them to one another. Mostly used within the kingdom and in writing culturally important texts, using the script would have created unity within the Ugaritian population. But at the same time, it is only one of the scripts that were used in the kingdom, and not the one that was used in communication with neighbours and trading partners, creating a distinction between Ugaritians and the others. The script may also have been, especially early on, a divisive matter among the alphabet and cuneiform scribes, the latter forming the traditional and established scribal faction within the kingdom, the Ugaritian scribes formally trained in the Middle Babylonian scribal school system. This is why the interplay between unity and distinction can be seen in both Ugarit's internal customs and policies, as well as its interactions with the wider LBA world.

The cuneiform alphabetic script, an artefact characterizing the entire Ugaritian culture in its unique combination of Semitic, Egyptian, and Mesopotamian influences with a particularly local flair, is a case example of an idea at the crossroads of several LBA cultures. The script was a unifying force within the kingdom but separated it from its neighbours, making the kingdom

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<sup>153</sup> Even clay tablets have often been baked, either on purpose or by accident, ensuring their survival.

<sup>154</sup> Albeit likewise makes it more suited for writing with ink on papyrus and it is likely that the vast majority of texts written in the Levant with the linear alphabetic script have been lost to time. In fact, most early alphabetic texts were likely written on papyrus or animal skins. DOBBS-ALLSOP 2023, 40. NA'AMAN 2020, 34, points out that we know next to nothing on the writing of alphabetic scripts of papyrus.

<sup>155</sup> Disciplinary boundaries in the study of the ancient world have an unfortunate but notorious tendency of hindering important discoveries. An example of this is the initial publication of the Tiryns inscription which has been completely reinterpreted in subsequent studies.

distinctly different among the Syrian city states and in their relationships with the great kingdoms. At the same time, the use of the script may well have been a matter of contention within the economic and occupational strata within the kingdom itself, possibly functioning as a class marker. The cuneiform alphabetic script is a particularly Ugaritian cultural form whose use came to an abrupt end on the eve of the LBA collapse, and texts referring to the hostile forces approaching the city by sea may be some of the final artefacts produced in the city before its downfall during a time when a variety of cultural and environmental forces were tearing the entire Bronze Age world system asunder.

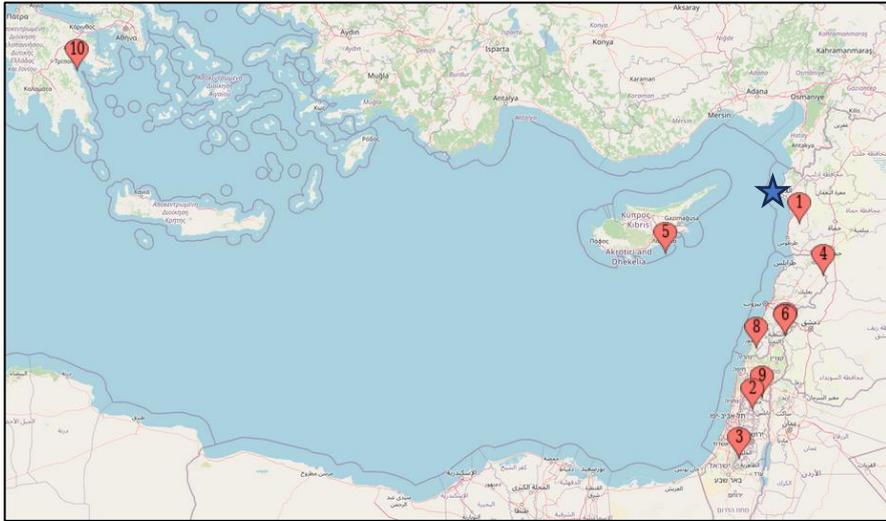


Figure 1: Ugarit and the findspots of cuneiform alphabetic texts outside of Ugarit.

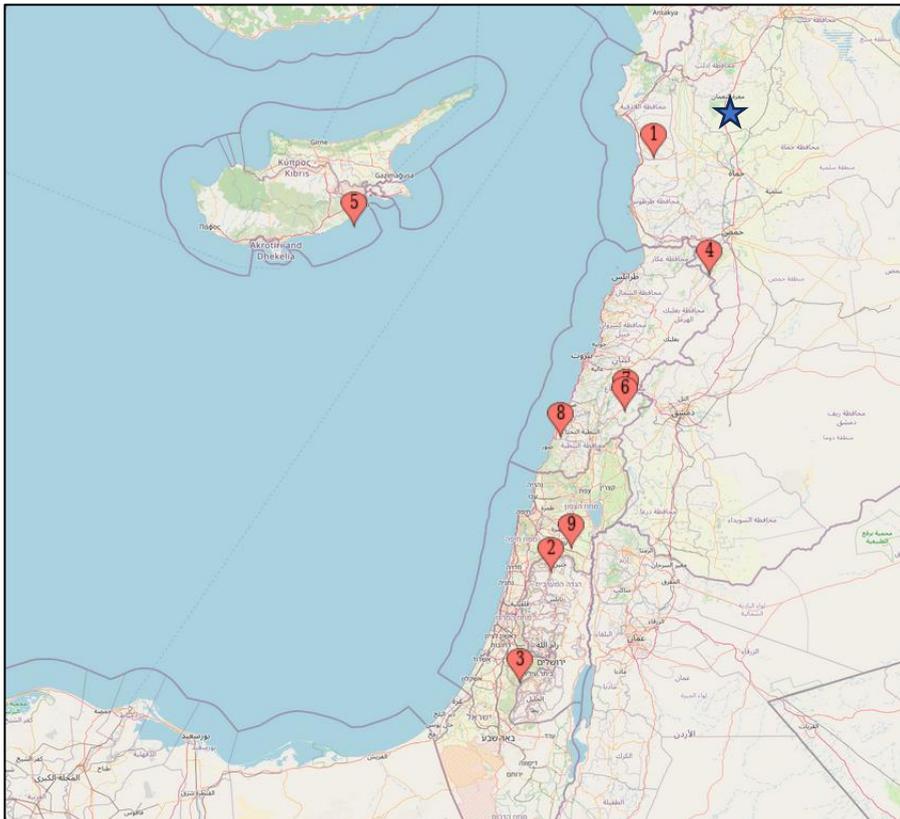


Figure 2: Ugarit and a close-up of the findspots in the Levantine area.

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## The Assyrian Impact on Urartu: Toponyms and Ideological Motifs

Zozan TARHAN<sup>1</sup>

**Abstract.** *The main element of the Assyrian culture that Urartu adopted was the Neo-Assyrian cuneiform writing system. Along with the writing system various aspects of Assyrian culture were taken over as well. The Urartian royal titulary and epithets, both of which were strongly connected to the royal ideology, were taken over from the Assyrians. Aside from them, other ideological motifs were borrowed as well. The present paper investigates the Assyrian patterns and ideological motifs, which were adopted and adapted in Urartian royal inscriptions. Additionally it discusses the toponyms Nai'ri, Urartu and Bia (the latter often referred to as Biainili in modern studies) in the Assyrian and Urartian sources, the relationship between these toponyms, and their development over time.*

**Rezumat.** *Principala element al culturii asiriene pe care Urartu l-a adoptat a fost sistemul de scriere cuneiform neosirian. Împreună cu sistemul de scriere au fost preluate și diverse aspecte ale culturii asiriene. Titulatura și epitetele regale urartiene, ambele strâns legate de ideologia regală, au fost preluate de la asirieni. În afară de acestea, au fost împrumutate și alte motive ideologice. Lucrarea de față investighează modelele și motivele ideologice asiriene, care au fost adoptate și adaptate în inscripțiile regale urartiene. În plus, se discută toponimele Nai'ri, Urartu și Bia (acesta din urmă adesea denumit Biainili în studiile moderne) în sursele asiriene și urartiene, relația dintre aceste toponime și dezvoltarea lor în timp.*

**Keywords:** Neo-Assyrian Empire; Urartu; Assyrian patterns, Assyrian royal ideology; ideological motifs; toponyms; spatial perceptions.

### Introduction

The rise of the Urartian kingdom is closely connected to Assyrian intervention in this area. Especially the campaigns of Ashurnasirpal II (883–859 B.C.) had a lasting effect on Urartian history – they lead to the emergence of the Urartian state.<sup>2</sup> As a response to the Assyrian challenge, the tribal units of the land Na'iri were united under one ruler.<sup>3</sup> This major change regarding the political organisation of Urartu was evident from the very beginning of the reign of Shalmaneser III (858–824 B.C.). During his reign the first known Urartian ruler, Aramu, was mentioned. Aramu (ca. 859/858–844 B.C.) seems to have gained his fame by uniting the tribes under his sceptre and ruling from a capital city as in a centralised state. Despite his successes and efforts, the young state did not have royal inscriptions celebrating the king's deeds. The

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<sup>2</sup> For more on the history and culture of Urartu, see SALVINI 1995.

<sup>3</sup> See ZIMANSKY 1985, 117, 157.

first royal inscriptions came to the reign of the Sarduri I (ca. 840–830 B.C.),<sup>4</sup> and during his reign we can observe the rise of Urartian power. During Sarduri's reign, one of the characteristic elements of the Assyrian culture was adopted – the cuneiform writing system.<sup>5</sup> His inscriptions were written in Akkadian language.

Under the next Urartian ruler – Išpuini (ca. 830–820 B.C.) – the cuneiform writing system was already adapted to write the Urartian language. In addition, bilingual inscriptions in Urartian and Akkadian appeared. It is necessary to note that a high level of education and knowledge in the field of the Akkadian language and cuneiform signs is required to adopt them, especially when adapting the cuneiform system, which was optimised for Akkadian, to the Urartian language, which was of a quite different character.<sup>6</sup> With the development of Urartian kingship, a royal ideology and specific terms related to the exercise of power were inevitably needed. In such a situation, the most common practice is to borrow such elements from the powerful neighbours, as it was the case with Urartu and Assyria, which I will demonstrate below.

### **Spatial Perceptions of the Toponyms Na'iri, Urartu and Bia in the Assyrian Sources**

The earliest relevant mentioning of toponyms relating to the region is KUR *ú-ru-aṭ-ri* – “*the land Uruaṭru*” – attested during the reign of Shalmaneser I (1263–1234 B.C.).<sup>7</sup> Later, during the reign of Tukulti-Ninurta I, ANA *pa-aṭ na-i-ri* – “*to the border of Na'iri*” – and during the reign of Tiglath-pileser I (1114–1076 B.C.), KUR.KUR *na-i-ri* – “*the lands Na'iri*” – are mentioned.<sup>8</sup> Interestingly, other lands are mentioned as being within the land of the Uruaṭri people, which would mean that the Assyrians were referring to a territory inhabited by the Uruaṭri rather than to a territorial state; however, some of these lands are also present in the sources as part of the lands Na'iri. Because of these connections, modern scholars argue that when Assyrians spoke of Na'iri and the land of the Uruaṭri people in the Middle Assyrian period, they meant the same land, and they continued to use the toponyms Na'iri and Urartu synonymously during the Neo-Assyrian period.<sup>9</sup> As additional or essential evidence for this researchers see the Neo-Assyrian sources. Often in such discussions is said that the toponym associated with Na'iri is attested, after a long gap, again under Adad-nērārī II, and the toponym Urartu – under Ashunarsirpal II, since the latter king refers to both toponyms in his royal inscriptions in close

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<sup>4</sup> The regnal years of the Urartian kings are according to the chronology argued by M. Salvini. For the regnal years of this and the next Urartian kings, see SALVINI 2011, 98–99.

<sup>5</sup> See additionally SALVINI 2014.

<sup>6</sup> See WILHELM 2008 for an introduction to Urartian.

<sup>7</sup> RIMA 1, A.0.77.1: 27.

<sup>8</sup> RIMA 1, A.0.78.1: IV 10; RIMA 2, A.0.87.1: IV 49.

<sup>9</sup> For more information, see SALVINI 1967, 41–62; PIOTROVSKIY 1959, 44–46; BARNETT 1982, 329–331.

connections, especially with regard to his military campaigns. To be more precise, I would add that the toponym Uraṭru was documented in the royal inscriptions of Adad-nērārī II.<sup>10</sup>

I am convinced that there is an essential relationship between these toponyms, but that they were not used as absolute synonyms (at least not until the end of Ashurnasirpal II's reign). Based on textual sources and detailed analysis, I will argue below that the Assyrians perception of Na'iri and Uraṭru changed over time. Taking into account the sources, I assume that until the end of Ashurnasirpal II's reign, the Assyrians viewed Na'iri as a geographical area with an undetermined number of chiefdoms, one of which was Uraṭru. One should point out that in all of the royal inscriptions of Ashurnasirpal II "the land Na'iri" does not occur in the singular; all instances speak about "the lands Na'iri" in the plural. Accordingly, I imply that Assyrians used the toponym Uraṭru to describe specifically one of the political structures in the lands Na'iri. In one inscription of Ashurnasirpal II both toponyms are attested – "the lands Na'iri" and "the land Uraṭru":<sup>11</sup>

*When (the god) Aššur, the lord who called me by name (and) made my kingship supreme, placed his merciless weapon in my lordly arms, I struck down the extensive troops of the Lullumê in battle with the sword. With the support of the gods Šamaš and Adad, the gods my supporters, I thundered like the god Adad, the devastator, against the troops of the lands Na'iri, Ḫabḫu, Šubarû, and Nirbu. The king who made (the territory stretching) from the opposite bank of the Tigris River to Mount Lebanon and the Great Sea, land Lāqê in its entirety, (and) the land Sūḫu, including the city Rapiqu, bow down at his feet; he conquered from the source of the Subnat River to the land Uraṭru.*

After the reign of Ashurnasirpal II, nevertheless, Na'iri was no longer spoken of as lands (pl.) but as a land (singular). I would suggest that during the reign of Ashurnasirpal II, Uraṭru was an emerging state, and after his reign, Uraṭru took precedence over some political structures in Na'iri. This led to the emergence of a territorial state, called Uraṭru and Na'iri in the Assyrian sources.<sup>12</sup>

Ashurnasirpal II's campaign against the lands Na'iri, which included the increasingly powerful future territorial state of Uraṭru, was successful from a military point of view. The fact that the Assyrians knew the routes to the north, which were studied much earlier during the campaigns of the Middle Assyrian kings and again at the beginning of the early Neo-Assyrian period, as well as the fact that they faced tribal units that were not in one alliance, are

<sup>10</sup> RIMA 2, A.0.99.2: 25; RIMA 2, A.0.99.4: 16'.

<sup>11</sup> RIMA 2, A.0.101.2: 7–13.

<sup>12</sup> In the historiography, three stages of development of the Uraṭrian statehood are suggested: 1) tribal units; 2) transition from tribal unions to a territorial state in the 10th–9th centuries BC; 3) Uraṭru as an empire from the end of the 9th century BC. Arguments for this periodisation include both other sources and elements of the discussion offered here. For more information, see ZIMANSKY 1985, 48–61, 78–95.

among the reasons for Ashurnasirpal II's victories. As a result, he managed to permanently subdue many territories of the lands Na'iri. The establishment of the Assyrian base in the north of Tušḫa gave him easier access to both the regions north and northwest of Assyria. However, his expansion caused a strong effect on Urartian history. P. Zimansky explained the emergence of the Urartian state as a response to the challenge of the Assyrian campaigns in the lands of Na'iri. These campaigns led to the consolidation of tribal units under one ruler.<sup>13</sup> This process of political consolidation of Urartu is evident from the very beginning of the reign of Shalmaneser III whose inscriptions announced the first Urartian king – Aramu (Arramu).

Despite the many campaigns against Urartu during the reign of Shalmaneser III, the result sought by Assyria, namely the conquest of this region, was not fully achieved. In the context of these campaigns, the battle of Sugunia took place at the very beginning of the reign, as well as the attack on the Urartian capital Aršašku in 856 B.C.<sup>14</sup> The Neo-Assyrian sources do not mention that the Urartian rulers recognised the Assyrian kings as their suzerains. Even in a situation where the Assyrians overwhelmed them in a battle, the Urartian kings did not bend their knee, but preferred to resist with all possible forces, such as the escape of Aramu (Arramu) and the movement of the battle to the mountain. There is a vague reference to a tribute sent by Na'iri, but it is not specified what it consists of. It is notable that precious and raw materials are listed only when they came with a military victory. It may be argued that the Empire imposed some kind of vassal status on only part of the Urartian territories.

One can observe another change regarding the Assyrian conceptualisation of the toponym Na'iri. Because of a massive rebellion, Šamši-Adad V (823 – 811 B.C.) was not able to launch military campaigns in the beginning of his reign, by 820 B.C. that had changed.<sup>15</sup> In this year, Assyria even directed two campaigns against Na'iri.<sup>16</sup> The first was led personally by Šamši-Adad V and was aimed at Na'iri; it had a rather supervisory character. Due to the very recent suppression of the rebellion and the resulting instability, Šamši-Adad V could not conduct a military campaign of conquest, so he entrusted it to his eunuch Mutarriṣ-Aššur. As a result of the second campaign, the territories of Šaršina and Ušpina, which are reported as part of Na'iri, were subordinated.<sup>17</sup> On his return from the second campaign, the royal official entered a battle with “the people of the land Sunbu”, which ended successfully for Assyria.<sup>18</sup> For both campaigns, the king announced that tribute of teams of horses from “all of the kings of the land

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<sup>13</sup> ZIMANSKY 1985, 48–50.

<sup>14</sup> RIMA 3, A.O.102.1: 29–33; TARHAN 2022, 123–124. Additionally on these and the further development of the relations between Assyria and Urartu, see RADNER 2021, 378–393.

<sup>15</sup> For more on that, see TARHAN 2022, 161–164.

<sup>16</sup> TARHAN 2022, 164.

<sup>17</sup> RIMA 3, A.O.103.1: II 21–26.

<sup>18</sup> RIMA 3, A.O.103.1: II 30–31.

Na'iri" was received.<sup>19</sup> I would argue that we encounter an additional, new meaning of the toponym Na'iri in the inscriptions of Šamši-Adad V.<sup>20</sup> Evidently Na'iri does not refer to "the lands Na'iri" in his texts because the form is in the singular, but at the same time "all of the kings" are mentioned. Therefore, I assume that in this case the land Urarṭu is not expressly referred to, nor is the old sense of Na'iri implied, but rather the "the region Na'iri". The cuneiform sign  (KUR = *mātu*) can refer to a land (in the sense of a state), but also to a region.<sup>21</sup> I believe that the case here is analogous to that of Ḫanigalbat and Ḫatti, which were toponyms used by the Assyrians after the collapse of Mittani (Ḫanigalbat) and the Neo-Hittite Kingdom (Ḫatti) to designate a specific region rather than the former political formations.<sup>22</sup> Therefore, the foundations of the administrating this area were laid in the time of Shalmaneser III and later Šamši-Adad V fully exercised his control.

### The Toponyms Na'iri, Urarṭu and Bia in the Urarṭian Royal Inscriptions

There should be no doubt that from the reign of the Assyrian king Shalmaneser III onwards the Assyrian toponyms Na'iri and Urarṭu, as well as the Urarṭian one Bia, had the same meaning (although Bia was still not evident in texts due to the later emergence of the inscriptions compiled in Urarṭian). The state formation of Urarṭu gave rise to the emergence of the Urarṭian royal inscriptions. As already mentioned, the first inscriptions emerged under the Urarṭian ruler Sarduri I (ca. 840–830 B.C.). His inscriptions were compiled in Akkadian, and the Urarṭian ruler was referred to as "*king of Na'iri*".<sup>23</sup>

Under the next Urarṭian ruler – Išpuini (ca. 830–820 B.C.) – the cuneiform writing system was already adapted to the Urarṭian language. This is evidenced by the bilingual inscription of the kings Išpuini (contemporary of Šamši-Adad V) and Menua (810–781 B.C.) from Kelishin.<sup>24</sup> The inscriptions was divided in two parts – Urarṭian and Akkadian. In the Urarṭian version Menua and Išpuini were defined as kings of Bia, as in the Akkadian one – as kings of Na'iri.

However, the common opinion exists among modern scholars that the Urarṭian rulers did not described their land as Urarṭu, but as Na'iri in their royal inscriptions compiled in Akkadian, and as "Biainili" (i.e. Bia) in those inscriptions written in Urarṭian. Nevertheless, the Assyrian name Urarṭu was borrowed as well and it was attested in two of the royal inscriptions of Rusa I that were written in Urarṭian.<sup>25</sup>

<sup>19</sup> RIMA 3, A.O.103.1: I 53–54; RIMA 3, A.O.103.1: II 32–34: "He received a payment of teams of horses from all of the kings of the land Na'iri".

<sup>20</sup> TARHAN 2022, 162.

<sup>21</sup> BORGER 2010, 372–373, n. 578.

<sup>22</sup> TARHAN 2022, 63, 106.

<sup>23</sup> A 1A–1F: 2 (CTU I: 97–99).

<sup>24</sup> For more details about that, see CTU I: 141–144. For the co-regency of Išpuini and Menua – PIOTROVSKIY 1959, 61–65.

<sup>25</sup> The Mowana Inscriptions – A 10–3: 56, CTU I: 501–502. The Topzawa Inscription – A 10–5: 26, CTU I: 507–508.

### Assyrian Patterns and Ideological Motifs in the Urartian Royal Inscriptions

By introducing the cuneiform writing system, some Assyrian patterns were taken over as well. The Urartian royal titulary and epithets, both of which were strongly connected to the royal ideology, were taken over from the Assyrians.<sup>26</sup> Besides them, other ideological motifs were borrowed as well. A comparison between an inscriptions of Sarduri I, preserved in six duplicates from Van, and one of Ashurnasirpal II (883–859 B.C.), evidences the similarities in the titulary:

<sup>md</sup>sar<sub>5</sub>-BĀD A <sup>m</sup>lu-ti-ip-ri MAN GAL-u!(e) MAN dan-nu MAN ŠÚ MAN KUR  
na-i-ri

*Sarduri mār Lutipri šarru rabû šarru dannu šar kiššati šar māt Na'iri*

*Inscription of Sarduri, son of Lutipri, great king, strong king, king of the universe,  
king of the land Na'iri...*<sup>27</sup>

The so-called *Annals of Ashurnasirpal II* mentions the following:

*Aššur-nāšir-aqli šarru rabû šarru dannu šar kiššati šar māt Aššur mār Tukultī-Ninurta*

*Ashurnasirpal, great king, strong king, king of the universe, king of the land  
Assyria, son of Tukultī-Ninurta...*<sup>28</sup>

The similarity is more than obvious. This example clearly evidences the takeover of the Assyrian royal titles and epithets. This conclusion is not valid only regarding the specific inscription discussed here or other ones compiled in Akkadian, but such Assyrian patterns and motifs were introduced in the inscriptions written in Urartian language as well.

The Urartian rulers incorporated into their inscriptions another very important aspect of the Assyrian royal ideology, namely the role of the supreme god in kingship. In Assyria this was the god Aššur,<sup>29</sup> and in Urartu this was the god Ḫaldi.<sup>30</sup> To consider more deeply I would present the following examples. In the aforementioned inscription of Ashurnasirpal II we read:

*Ashurnasirpal... valiant man who acts with the support of Aššur, his lord, and has  
no rival among the rulers of the four quarters, marvellous shepherd, fearless in  
battle...*<sup>31</sup>

In an inscription of Rusa I (ca. 730–713 B.C.), discovered near Topzawa, we can find a very similar formulation:

<sup>26</sup> For more on the characteristics and functions of the royal titles and epithets, see SEUX 1967, 11–17. For more on the Assyrian titles and epithets, especially during the time of Tukultī-Ninurta I, see SAZONOV 2016, 19–109.

<sup>27</sup> CTU I A 1A-1F: 1–2.

<sup>28</sup> RIMA 2, A.O.101.1: II 125.

<sup>29</sup> MENZEL 1981, 36; HOLLOWAY 2002, XV, 65.

<sup>30</sup> PIOTROVSKIY 1959, 50; SALVINI 1995, 183.

<sup>31</sup> RIMA 2, A.O.101.1: I 9, 12–13.

*... I am Rusa, servant of the god Ḫaldi, faithful shepherd of the people, the one who approaches the temple of the god Ḫaldi, fearless in battle.*<sup>32</sup>

The great similarity between these textual accounts cannot be denied. In their royal inscriptions, the Assyrian kings emphasised their connection with the supreme god Aššur, by whom and the other great gods they were chosen, supported in battles and other deeds, which ensured their success.<sup>33</sup> This aspect of Assyrian ideology was also adopted by the Urartian rulers.

While Rusa is mentioned as a servant of Ḫaldi, Aššur is called Ashurnasirpal's lord, what is a formulation of the same sense in a different way. Both kings were considered to be guided by their supreme gods, who made them fearless – a quality seemingly needed to be faithful or marvellous shepherds of their peoples. It is also interesting to note that while the relationship between the king and the supreme god in Urartu is attested only in textual accounts, in Assyria this relationship can be observed also in visual narratives – on monumental stone slabs (palace reliefs for instance) and on small finds as cylinder and stamp seals.

The uniqueness of the Assyrian ruler as the king chosen by the great gods is represented in the royal ideology in various forms and occasions.<sup>34</sup> To the greatest extent the motif of the unrivalled king is developed in the introduction of the royal inscriptions, where all the qualities and capabilities of the ruler are mentioned.<sup>35</sup> Some of them are also presented in the accounts of the military campaigns. Other textual and visual sources describing the various functions and roles that the king combined under his authority also affirm the idea of uniqueness. There are specific cases, as well as various formulaic expressions where this idea was clearly and unambiguously stated – *šar lā šanān* (unrivalled king) or *ina malki ša kibrāt erbetta šāninšu lā išū* (who has no rival among the rulers of the four quarters). This ideological motif is attested for sure in Sarduri I's six duplicates from Van – *šar šāninšu lā išū* – king who has no equal.<sup>36</sup>

<sup>32</sup> CTU A 10-5 Vo: 22'-25'.

<sup>33</sup> More on this aspect of Assyrian royal ideology, see ODED 1992, 9-27; LIVERANI 2017, 36; TARHAN 2022, 244-251, 254.

<sup>34</sup> KARLSSON 2016, 75, 122-123.

<sup>35</sup> For more on that, see TARHAN 2022, 255-261, 333.

<sup>36</sup> CTU A 1-01: 2. The motif of the unrivalled king could be observed not necessarily by using phrases such as *šar lā šanān* but simply expressing ideas that conveyed the superiority of the king, be it the kings of the 3<sup>rd</sup> mill. B.C. Mesopotamia, or later the Babylonian and Hittite kings, but not only. Such ideas are attested in texts of various genres, but especially in the royal inscriptions, which follow certain principles with regard to the structure and content. More on the royal titles and motifs attested in the 3<sup>rd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> mill. B.C. Mesopotamia, see SEUX 1967, 18-462; more on similar motifs and especially on the development of the Hittite royal inscriptions and similar motifs discussed above, see SAZONOV 2019, 57-80.

## Conclusion

Ashurnasirpal II's campaigns failed to weaken Urartu. On the contrary, he seems to have given an impulse for the creation of the Urartian state – a phenomenon often described as secondary state formation. After the reign of Aramu, the ruler Sarduri I entered the political scene, under whom the first royal inscriptions appear. It was during his reign that the Neo-Assyrian cuneiform writing system, one of the main elements of Assyrian culture, was adopted by Urartu. The Urartian royal titulary and epithets, both of which were closely associated with royal ideology, were taken over from the Assyrians. Aside from them, many other ideological motifs and patterns were borrowed as well. The appearance of royal inscriptions using similar royal titles, epithets and motifs as those in the Assyrian royal inscriptions clearly demonstrates the intention to create an Urartian state modelled after the prototype of the Neo-Assyrian Empire. Other key motifs of Assyrian royal ideology, such as that of the relationship between the king and the supreme god, were also adopted by the Urartians. All these circumstances had an impact on the development of Urartian kingship and ideology. This led to the effective functioning of the state, to the benefit of the royal inscriptions, court culture and the culture in general.

## Abbreviations

CTU = SALVINI, M. 2008-2012. *Corpus dei testi Urartei, (Volumes I-IV)*. Roma: Istituto di studi sulle civiltà dell' Egeo e del vicino Oriente.

RIMA 1 = GRAYSON, A. K. 1987. *The Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia, Assyrian Periods, vol. 1: Assyrian Rulers of the Third and Second Millennia BC (to 1115 BC)*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

RIMA 2 = GRAYSON, A. K. 1991. *The Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia, Assyrian Periods, vol. 2: Assyrian Rulers of the Early First Millennium BC I (1114-859 BC)*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

RIMA 3 = GRAYSON, A. K. 1996. *The Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia – Assyrian Periods, vol. 3: Assyrian Rulers of the Early First Millennium BC (858-745 BC)*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

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## Mithra and the Sun vs. Mithra as the Sun. How did Mithra become the Sun god?<sup>1</sup>

J. LAHE<sup>2</sup>, V. SAZONOV<sup>3</sup>

**Abstract.** *In current article, we examine the relationship between Iranian god Miθra and the Sun through Iranian religious history and try to show how these two initially different deities became one and how the figure of Miθra changed as a consequence of being equated to the Sun. We will consider the earliest mentions of the name of Miθra in different sources and we will explain his identification with the Sun by a Mesopotamian influence Šamaš - god of Sun and Justice).*

**Rezumat.** *În articolul de față, examinăm relația dintre zeul iranian Miθra și zeul Soarelui de-a lungul istoriei religioase iraniene și încercăm să arătăm cum aceste două zeități inițial diferite au devenit una și cum figura lui Miθra s-a schimbat ca urmare a echivalării cu zeul Soarelui. Vom lua în considerare cele mai timpurii mențiuni ale numelui lui Miθra în diferite surse și vom explica identificarea sa cu zeul Soare printr-o influență mesopotamiană Šamaš - zeul Soare și al Justiției).*

**Keywords:** Mithra, Sun, Šamaš, god, cult, Mesopotamia, Iran, Persian, Assyria, Babylonia, influences.

### 1. Introduction

The god Miθra/Mihr (Mithra) has played an important role in the religious history of different Iranian peoples from Persians to Bactrians<sup>4</sup>. This is one of the most important deities of various Iranian pantheons. On the one hand, the figure of Miθra is very complicated and has many different functions, but, on the other hand, one of his outstanding traits is his solarly. From a Yašt, Miθra has been connected to the Sun, but scholars today continue to discuss how to understand his relationship with the Sun in this hymn. Some scholars equate Miθra with the Sun<sup>5</sup>, but the overwhelming majority see a difference between the two. For example, the latter

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<sup>4</sup> See MEILLET 1907; MacDOWALL 1975; MacDOWALL 1978; BOYCE 1975; HUMBACH 1975; GERSHEVITCH 1975; DÖRNER 1978; GNOLI 1979; SCHMIDT 2006; GORDON 2012; LAHE 2015.

<sup>5</sup> It should be noted that in both the Ṛgveda and the Yašts, the god Miθra was not directly associated with the sun. In

opinion is supported by Greco-Roman authors such as Herodotus, Xenophon, Plutarchos, Arrianos and Curtius Rufus. We can trace that since the Parthian period these two gods have been more and more closely equated. In the paper, we will show that this comparison is confirmed by Strabo, inscriptions and reliefs from Asia Minor, and coins from the Kuṣāṇa Empire. Miθra (Mihr) was also equated with the Sun during the Sasanian period. The main claim of this paper is that it has been suggested that this comparison could have been influenced by Mesopotamian sources – Miθra was equated with the son-god Šamaš who was also the god of justice, like Miθra.

Hence, in this article, we look at the relationship between Miθra and the Sun through Iranian religious history and try to show how these two initially different deities became one and how the figure of Miθra changed as a consequence of being equated to the Sun. In Section 2, we will consider the earliest mentions of the name of Miθra and in Section 3, we will explain his identification with the Sun by a Mesopotamian influence.

## 2. The earliest occurrences of the name Miθra

Herodotus is the first Greek author to mention Miθra when describing Persian beliefs in the first book of *Historia*. In addition to Miθra, he names among the Persian deities the Sky, the Sun, the Moon, the earth, fire, water and the winds (*Hist* I, 131). The Sun and the Moon have been considered as divine beings in Iranian sources too, to which the sixth and Greek on these coins, and later as Miθra in Bactrian with different spellings: Μιθρο, Μιρο, Μιορο, Μιυρο<sup>6</sup>, and his head is always surrounded by a halo with rays. Based on these sources, it seems like Miθra was identified with the Sun around the era that coincides with the Arsacid dynasty in Iranian history (250 BC – 224 AD). This follows historical linguistics data stating that the word *mihr* meaning “sun” was added during the Parthian period.<sup>7</sup> But the question remains as to why and how Miθra was identified with the Sun.

It is certain that Miθra is already connected with the Sun in Avesta<sup>8</sup>, but this does not yet explain the identification of the two deities. According to a hypothesis put forward by F. Cumont, Miθra’s identification with the Sun took place in the Mesopotamian religion—Miθra

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the Ṛgveda Miθra usually appears in pairs with Varuṇa as *mitrāvaruṇa* (e.g. 1.15.6, 1.71.9) and with the god Ahura Mazdā (e.g. *Tištār Yašt* 38; *Mihr Yašt* 1) and both are the subject of prayers: "Here for you, O Mitra-Varuṇa, soma has been squeezed out by men, squeezed out for drinking" *ayaṃ vām mitrāvaruṇā nṛbhiḥ sutaḥ soma ā pītaye sutaḥ* (Ṛgveda 1.112.3) and "who hears prayers [*yasna*]" (*Mihr Yašt* 57). In the Ṛgveda, Varuṇa and Miθra can be regarded as the supreme gods in the Vedic pantheon. In the *Yašts*, Miθra is the most important deity after god Ahura Mazdā. In the Ṛgveda and the *Yašts*, the two main attributes of Miθra are as follows: (1) having wide pastures: "having spacious dwellings [*uruḥṣaya*]" (Ṛgveda 1.2.9) and "the Lord of wide pastures [*miθrahe vouru-gayaotōiṣ*]" (*Mihr Yašt* 1); (2) who keeping covenants: "whose covenants are strong [*dhṛtavrata*]" (Ṛgveda 1.15.6) and "who does not deceive [*baroiṣ anādruxto*]" (*Mihr Yašt* 23). We are grateful to Prof. Andrew Schumann for this note.

<sup>6</sup> There are various datings to Kaniška’s reign (see SAGAR 2016, 1659–1664), however it should most likely be around 130–170 CE. The datings for all of the Kuṣāṇa rulers’ reigning periods tend to vary significantly (see: *ibid.*).

<sup>7</sup> FRYE 2015, 2019.

<sup>8</sup> GERSHEVITCH 1967.

was identified with the Sun god Šamaš who was not only a sun god but also the god of justice, like Miθra.<sup>9</sup> In the 20<sup>th</sup> and 21<sup>st</sup> centuries many scholars, including Gh. Gnoli and A. Panaino, supported this hypothesis.<sup>10</sup>

### 3. Syncretism of Miθra and the Sun in Mesopotamia

The question is when Miθra was associated with Mesopotamian sun-god Šamaš. This most probably happens in late 1<sup>st</sup> millennium BCE. Let us look at the available evidence and try to analyse it to draw conclusions. Firstly, we should start to discuss the Iranian and Mesopotamian context. It is remarkable that Iranian personal names appeared in Neo-Assyrian texts from Ashurnasirpal II's (883-859 BC) reign.<sup>11</sup>

Ashurnasirpal II's son king Shalmaneser III (859-824 BC) possibly mentioned Persians in 843 BCE in his inscription RIMA 3: A.0.102.6 URU. *pár-su-a* – city Parsua; and in the inscription RIMA 3: A.102.10 KUR.*pár-su-a* – land of Parsua.<sup>12</sup> One of the first possible pieces of evidence of Assyro-Persian/Iranian we can find in royal inscriptions (Black Obelisk) comes from Shalmaneser III: *ma-da-tū sá 27 MAN-MEŠ-ni / šá KUR pá-r-su-a at-ta-ḥa* – “I received tribute from twenty-seven kings of the land Parsua”.<sup>13</sup>

Therefore, the situation is more problematic as it cannot be said with any certainty that the “kings” mentioned are the ancestors of the later Persians. As the land Parsua mentioned in the text is most probably located near modern Kermanshah in north-western Iran and is not the later settlement of Persians in the modern province of Fars (Pārsa) in the south-west, the Parsuans could be the Persians who later moved southwards, or even a splinter group of the same people who moved west while the main body moved on to the south.<sup>14</sup> The Parsua in the north are also mentioned during the reign of king Sargon II. Still, it would appear that the Iranian peoples had direct contact with Assyria and Babylonia at least from the 9<sup>th</sup> century BCE. This contact was mostly based on Assyria's newly-gained military might and more aggressive foreign policies that had the primary goal of expanding the Assyrian empire both to the east and to the west. It is also known from the reign of Shalmaneser III that the western Iranian tribes were already in the habit of paying tribute to Neo-Assyrian kings. According to the Neo-Assyrian royal inscriptions and annals from the rule of Shalmaneser III until Ashurbanipal, Neo-Assyrian kings received tributes from various Iranian tribes. From the period of Sennacherib, there appears a similar toponym “Parsuaš” in the south-western region of Iran (modern Fārs).<sup>15</sup> There is also evidence of the use of the title *king of Parsumaš*; it appears in the

<sup>9</sup> CUMONT 1975, 11, note 1.

<sup>10</sup> GNOLI 1987, 579; PANAINO 2015, 246.

<sup>11</sup> SCHMITT 2009, 7.

<sup>12</sup> RIMA 3, A.0.102.6, iv 3.

<sup>13</sup> RIMA 3, A.0.102.14, ll. 19–20.

<sup>14</sup> SAZONOV, JOHANDI 2015, 330.

<sup>15</sup> RINAP 3/1, Sennacherib 22 v 43; 23 v 35; 34 44; 35 rev. 40'.

annals of Assurbanipal (prism H) where *Cyrus, king of Parsumaš*, was mentioned as paying tribute to the Assyrian king Ashurbanipal (669-631 BC) around the 640s BC<sup>16</sup>:

*vi 7'-13') Cyrus, the king of the land Parsumaš, heard about the might[y] victories that, with the support of the gods Aššur, Bēl (Marduk), and Nabû – the great gods, my lords – I had achieved over the land Elam (and that) I had flattened the land Elam, all of it, like the Deluge, and he sent to Nineveh, my capital city, Arukku, his eldest son, with his payment, to do obeisance, and he made an appeal to my lordly majesty.*<sup>17</sup>

Another important turning point are Persian/Iranian/Median contracts with the Neo-Babylonian kingdom and the following Teispid-Achaemenid<sup>18</sup> period when Babylonia became a part of the Persian Empire, after Cyrus II (559–530 BC) conquered Mesopotamia in 539 BC. Kr. Jakubiak and A. Soltysiak highlighted that “when the priests of Marduk opened the gates of Babylon to Cyrus the Great and his troops in 539 BC, the Mesopotamian lowland became a part of the Achaemenid Empire. Cyrus entered the temple of Marduk<sup>19</sup> and grasped the hands of the main Babylonian deity. That gesture had not only symbolic implication but also became an element of legitimization of Persian authority over Babylonia. With that gesture Cyrus symbolically took possession of the whole Babylonian tradition and lore. Since that time this part of the Middle East became one of the most important satrapies in the Persian Empire.”<sup>20</sup> Jakubiak and Soltysiak accentuate that “the Mesopotamian tradition was very attractive to the Iranians and had strong influence on almost all aspects of Persian life. It may be expected that also in respect to sky-watching – so important in the Mesopotamian tradition of the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 1<sup>st</sup> millennia BCE ... – Persia owed a lot to the western neighbours.”<sup>21</sup>

R. Zadok highlighted that the personal theophoric name <sup>d</sup>*Mi-it-ri-AD-u-a* on a statue of a bull (Defenneh in Egypt) is hybrid or Irano-semitic. <sup>d</sup>*Mi-it-ri-abu-u-a* is a hybrid Irano-Akkadian name (“Mitra is my father”), “whereas the Greek name to which it was compared by Michaelidis was borne by a person who appears elsewhere as Miqrodaoī. The latter can be interpreted as a purely Iranian name. In addition, since there are no hybrid (Irano-Akkadian) personal names in Akkadian or other sources, it cannot be ruled out that this inscription is a forgery.”<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>16</sup> BORGER 1996, 191–192; SAZONOV, JOHANDI 2015, 330.

<sup>17</sup> RINAP 5/1, Ashurbanipal 12 VI 7'-13'.

<sup>18</sup> See ROLLINGER 2014.

<sup>19</sup> Cyrus II used Babylonia's supreme god Marduk as a justification for conquering Babylonia. Because of the “improper” deeds of Babylonian king Nabonid (mainly cultic misdeeds, Babylonian gods became angry and the main god Marduk abandoned Babylon). King Cyrus II shows himself as a good and very positive and legitimate king who was chosen by Marduk and called by Babylonian main god Marduk to join him on the way into Babylon. Cyrus's cylinder is also a good example of Cyrus' propaganda created with the aim of justifying the annexation of Babylonia and the usurpation of power in Babylon by Cyrus II who was actually an aggressor (van der SPEK 2014, 260; SAZONOV & JOHANDI 2015, 331).

<sup>20</sup> JAKUBIAK, SOLTYSIAK 2006, 51.

<sup>21</sup> *IBID.*, 51–52.

<sup>22</sup> ZADOK 2004, 9. See also MICHAELIDIS 1943.

But there are other theophoric names which consist of the element Miθra later in several Hellenistic documents from the early Seleucid era or even earlier from the Teispid-Achaemenids era, like Mitrā<sup>23</sup> which was found in one Hellenistic document in Babylon. We also find the name *Mi-ut-ra* – a retrenched theophoric name of Miθra – In an Elamite text from Persepolis<sup>24</sup> and Mirtabazana (MTRBZN) which was mentioned in an Aramaic text found in Babylon from the reign of Artaxerxes I (465-424 BC).<sup>25</sup> There are also Mitradāta and in Akkadian *Mi-it-ra-da-a-tū*<sup>26</sup> in a document from 429 BC from Nippur<sup>27</sup>, and also <sup>d</sup>Mit(it)-ri-da-ata (TMH 2/3, 147: 24), mentioned as son of Baga'zuštu, the steward of the prince Dadaršu (Achaemenid prince), mentioned in rental payment document in 420 BC, in Enlil-ašabši-iqbi near Nippur.<sup>28</sup>

Even much earlier theophoric names in Babylonia are mentioned, such as *Mi-it-ra-ata*, whose son with the Akkadian name “Nidintu witnessed a private contract from the archive of Egibi business house drafted in Babylon in 502 B.C.”<sup>29</sup> 511 BC a person *Mi-it-re/ri-na-a'* was mentioned in a marriage contract in Babylon; his patronymic has been only partially preserved (*Ú[...]-<sup>d</sup>Šin*) and it is a Babylonian theophoric name.<sup>30</sup>

Thus, we can conclude that theophoric names with the name Mithra (Miθra) in various analyzed written sources show a high syncretism in the veneration of Miθra, when he could actually begin to be identified with one of the most important gods of ancient Mesopotamia, namely Sun god Šamaš. This, in turn, influenced very probably the development of cult of god Miθra with his identification with the Sun among the Iranian people themselves.

#### 4. Concluding remarks

As we can see, the God Miθra /Mihir could have been associated with the Sun in the 1<sup>st</sup> mil BC, but it is difficult to determine the exact period. It could have been true during the early Achaemenid period when we already see hybrid (Irano-Akkadian) personal names such as <sup>d</sup>Mit(it)-ri-da-ata and others in Mesopotamian sources during Artaxerxes I's reign and later. However, when the real identification of god Miθra with god Šamaš took place, and when Miθra also became a solar god, is difficult to ascertain. This probably took place in the Teispid-Achaemenid period and not in the later Hellenistic or Parthian periods.

The evolution of god Miθra from an independent deity in the ancient Iranian religious system (pantheon and cult) to a figure associated with the Sun and Sun god was influenced by Persian and other Iranian tribes' interactions with Assyro-Babylonian cultural space. This

<sup>23</sup> DANDAMAEV 1992, 100.

<sup>24</sup> IBID., 100.

<sup>25</sup> IBID., 100.

<sup>26</sup> BE 9, 48 = TMH 2/3 144, 1, ibid, line 14; *Mit-ra-da-ati*, line 33a.

<sup>27</sup> DANDAMAEV 1992, 100.

<sup>28</sup> IBID., 100.

<sup>29</sup> IBID., 101

<sup>30</sup> IBID., 101.

transformation highlights how the depiction of Miθra wasn't solely shaped within Iranian cultural boundaries but was influenced by broader connections within the ancient world-system, namely Mesopotamian (among them Assyrian, Babylonian, Hurrian-Mitannian etc.). It illustrates well that indigenous gods could adapt and alter their roles under the impact of foreign cultures. This demonstrates that religious beliefs, cults and practices, even those of distinct people, are subject to several or even many external influences and do not develop in isolation, in particular area.

### Abbreviations

RIMA 3 = Grayson, A. K. 1996. *Assyrian Rulers of the Early First Millennium BC II (858-745 BC). The Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia, Assyrian Periods*, Vol. 3, Toronto-Buffalo-London.

RINAP 3/1 = Grayson, A. K.; Novotny, J. 2012. *The Royal Inscriptions of Sennacherib, King of Assyria (704-681 BC). The Royal Inscriptions of the Neo-Assyrian Period. Vol 3, Part 1*. Winona Lake.

RINAP 5/1 = Novotny, J.; Jeffers, J. 2018. *The Royal Inscriptions of Ashurbanipal (668-631 BC), Aššur-etel-ilāni (630-627) and Sîn-šarra-iškun (626-612 BC), Kings of Assyria. The Royal Inscriptions of the Neo-Assyrian Period. Vol 5., Part 1*. Eisenbrauns: University Park, Pennsylvania.

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## On Pre-Śaiva Deities: From the Indus Valley Civilization to Buddhist Syncretism

Andrew SCHUMANN<sup>1</sup>

**Abstract.** *The paper delves into several layers of pre-Śaivism in India. The earliest layer traces back to ancient cults worshipping the Mother Goddess, which emerged during the Neolithic period, particularly in the Pre-Pottery Neolithic A (ca. 10,000-8800 B.C.). These cults flourished within the Indus Valley Civilization (its mature form 2600-1900/1800 B.C.) and other Bronze Age societies. The second layer reveals the worship of Inanna (also known as Nanāya), the goddess of fertility, who was prominent in the Mittani state (ca. 1550-1260 B.C.) alongside revered Indo-Iranian deities such as Indra, the Mitra-gods, the Varuna-gods and the Nasatya-gods. Another layer emerges with a syncretic cult among the Indo-Scythians, combining the Mazdean tradition of Oηβο (Wēšparkar) and Βορζαοανδο Ιαζαδο (bwrz'wndy yzdty) with the Buddhist figure of Maheśvara, and Νανα (Nana) and Αρδοχοβο (Ardoxšo) with the Buddhist figure Hārītī (or Umā). In addition, Buddhism adopted syncretic fertility cults with various demonesses such as Hārītī, Umā, Mārīcī, and others, incorporating iconographic elements of Hellenistic goddesses such as Athena, Tyche, Cybele, Hecate, Baubo, and Demeter. These fertility cults gradually separated from Buddhism and the Indo-Scythian version of Mazdaism after the fall of the Kuṣāṇa and Kūśānśāh dynasties at the end of the 4<sup>th</sup> century A.D. Over time, Śīva and Durgā emerged as distinct religious movements, separating from Buddhism and Indo-Scythian Mazdaism.*

**Rezumat.** *Lucrarea analizează mai multe straturi ale pre-Shaivismului în India. Cel mai timpuriu strat arheologic datează din timpul vechiului cult al zeiței mamă, apărut în perioada neolitică, în special în neoliticul timpuriu A (cca. 10.000-8800 î.Hr.). Aceste culte au înflorit în cadrul civilizației Văii Indusului (forma sa matură 2600-1900/1800 î.Hr.) și al altor societăți din Epoca Bronzului. Al doilea strat dezvăluie cultul lui Inanna (cunoscută și sub numele de Nanāya), zeița fertilității, care era adorată în statul Mittani (cca. 1550-1260 î.Hr.) alături de zeități indo-iraniene precum Indra, Mitra, Varuna și Nasatya. Un alt strat apare cu un cult sincretic indo-scythic, combinând tradiția mazdeană a Oηβο (Wēšparkar) și Βορζαοανδο Ιαζαδο (bwrz'wndy yzdty) cu figura budistă a lui Maheśvara, Νανα (Nana) și Αρδοχοβο (Ardoxšo) cu figura budistă Hārītī (sau Umā). În plus, budismul a adoptat culte ale fertilității cu diverse zeități precum Hārītī, Umā, Mārīcī și altele, încorporând elemente iconografice ale zeitelor elenistice precum Atena, Tyche, Cybele, Hecate, Baubo și Demeter. Aceste culte ale fertilității s-au separat treptat de budism și de versiunea indo-scythică a mazdeismului după căderea dinastiilor Kuṣāṇa și Kūśānśāh la sfârșitul secolului al IV-lea d.Hr. Cu timpul, Shiva și Durgā au apărut ca mișcări religioase distincte, separându-se de budism și de mazdeismul indo-scythic.*

**Keywords:** Indus Valley Civilization, Mittani, Mahāyāna, Kuṣāṇa, Kūśānśāh, Gandhāran Buddhism, Maheśvara, Hārītī, Umā, Mārīcī.

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## 1. Introduction

According to the hermeneutic circle of Hans-Georg Gadamer,<sup>2</sup> in any historical reconstruction we are unintentionally trying to understand the past from the present, although it is not correct for historical sciences. And the more we want to impose our present on the studied past, the more we become bogged down in our prejudices (*Vorurteilen*). Hence, the main logical fallacy of historians is to interpret the past as the present, although in historical reconstruction we must, on the contrary, interpret the present as the past, i.e. we must reveal the origin and genesis of existing forms of culture and knowledge.

One of the best examples of this fallacy in the Indian history might be presented by the interpretation of 'Paśupati' seal from Mohenjo-daro as some direct evidence of the existence of Śaivism in the Indus Valley Civilisation, see the first picture of Table 1. The matter is that we do not know how to read the texts of this civilization, therefore we do not know at all who the depicted god is and, furthermore, we do not know how to identify his attributes. For example, the idea that his penis is depicted in erection, or this god is sitting in a yogic position could be considered highly speculative. Furthermore, the emergence of Śaivism as a distinct religious tradition, complete with its scriptures and iconography, dates back to the 5<sup>th</sup> century A.D. However, in analyzing the Paśupati seal, we encounter a challenge: it predates the tradition itself by 2000 years, leaving a gap in continuity that complicates our understanding.

Another example of this fallacy is an interpretation of woman depicted on the coins of Agathocles, see the second picture of Table 1, as Subhadrā (that is, Kṛṣṇa's sister), see the description of the item 1844,0909.61 at the British Museum. The problem is that we have no inscriptions supporting this idea. For example, the depicted woman may be just an *apsarāḥ* with a lotus flower. Moreover, at that time we do not have any direct evidence of existing Vaiṣṇavism with the cult of Kṛṣṇa. The coins of Agathocles are not typical for the Greco-Bactrian and Indo-Greek culture, indeed. First, he used the Brāhmī script instead of Kharoṣṭhī. Second, some deities are depicted realistically, but not within the framework of Hellenistic iconographies. It means that we cannot interpret the images of his coins.

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<sup>2</sup> GADAMER 1990.

**Table 1.** Some unidentified images of deities.

Image	Description	Date	Identification	Attributes
	The seal depicting a god having two horns, sitting in a relax pose and, possibly, with the erected penis. He is he surrounded by different animals. The undeciphered script is arranged horizontally in the space above the headdress. <i>Medium:</i> steatite. <i>Dimensions:</i> 3.53 x 3.53 x 0.64cm. <i>Museum number:</i> DK 5175/143 (National Museum, New Delhi). <i>Access:</i> <a href="https://www.dsource.in/dcontent/nvli/nvli-collection/details-2-db.php?id=1">https://www.dsource.in/dcontent/nvli/nvli-collection/details-2-db.php?id=1</a>	Ca. 2500 – 2400 B.C.	?	Two horns, sitting in a relax pose.
	Bronze double karshapana minted by Agathocles. 22 x 24mm; 14.45g. <i>Obverse:</i> the lion standing to right. The Greek legend: βασιλεωσ // αγαθοκλεουσ (“King Agathocles”). <i>Reverse:</i> the goddess walking to left, with a flower in her right hand. The Brāhmī legend in Prakrit along left side: <i>rjañe agathukleyasa</i> (“of the King Agathocles”).	Ca. 190–180 B.C.	?	Flower.

In this paper, the main goal is to analyze the earliest Śaiva-like images without falling in the fallacy of interpreting the past as the present. We begin by considering the hypothesis that Śaivism is the original religion of the Tamils (Section 2). This hypothesis is precisely caused by the logical fallacy of presenting the Śaiva Siddhānta, which is an important part of the religious life of the Tamils, as an integral quality of the people since the advent of them. There is much speculation that Śaivism existed as a religion in the societies of the Indus Valley Civilization. In Section 3, we will show that in them there was undoubtedly a fertility cult (in particular, the cult of the mother goddess), but this worship was characteristic of Neolithic communities, for example, there were also offerings of terracotta figurines of the mother goddess. An overlooked yet crucial aspect, insufficiently explored by scholars, is the significant role played by the Sumerian-Akkadian fertility goddess Inanna (Nanāya) within the Mittani pantheon, alongside the Indo-Iranian deities: Indra, the Mitra-gods, the Varuna-gods, and the Nasatya-gods. This aspect will be thoroughly examined in Section 4. In Section 5, it will be shown that the syncretic cult of Śiva, most probably, first appeared in Buddhist

worshipping tradition and with the lapse of time it separated from Buddhism as a new religious movement. In Section 6, it will be demonstrated that the same process concerns the syncretic cult of Durgā that was a necessary part of Buddhism in the beginning. It will then be shown in Section 7 that the various attributes of the *mātṛkās* of Buddhism and Tantrism may have developed under the direct influence of the attributes of the Hellenistic goddesses, such as Athena, Tyche, Cybele, Hekate, Baubo, Demeter, etc.

## 2. Śaivism as an Original Religion of the Dravidians?

In the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, discussions about the origins of the Śaiva Siddhānta, a major school of Śaivism in Tamil Nadu, significantly influenced political debates and the formation of Tamil national identity, challenging the idea that the Śaivism tradition is inherently or originally Tamil.<sup>3</sup> Eugene Irschick (1986) explains that during this period, British interactions with Tamil society fostered anti-caste sentiments, leading to revivalist and nativist movements such as the Self-Respect Movement of the 1920s. This movement, led by high-caste non-Brahmans, aimed to restore Tamil society to a perceived 'original' state of equality. But scholars studying the early history of Śaiva Siddhānta, trace the roots of its early teachers in the spiritual traditions of central and western India,<sup>4</sup> using written and archaeological evidence. They have demonstrated that the school, originally located in what is now northern Madhya Pradesh, probably arose in the 8<sup>th</sup> century or earlier and based its teachings on the Śaiva Āgamas, which influenced the practice of Śaivism later in Tamil Nadu, Kerala and Kashmir.

Nevertheless, the idea that the Dravidians, 'originating' from the Indus Valley Civilization and preserving their religious traditions, significantly influenced Indo-Aryan religion persists among some Indologists.<sup>5</sup> They argue that post-Vedic Hinduism, as depicted in texts like the Epics (including the *Bhagavadgītā*), the *Purāṇas*, the *Yogasūtra*, and the Tantras, was deeply shaped by Dravidian influences.<sup>6</sup>

From an archaeological perspective, the earliest known Dravidian culture dates back to the southern Iron Age, spanning from around 1100 B.C., marked by the appearance of iron artifacts in the Hallur settlement, to the last centuries B.C., coinciding with the emergence of the early historic period and its written sources.<sup>7</sup> This culture is characterized by megalithic monuments and located in the South Indian states of Kerala, Tamil Nadu, Karnataka, Andhra Pradesh, and Maharashtra. Its anthropomorphic statues, typically crafted from thick stone

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<sup>3</sup> ISHIMATSU 1999.

<sup>4</sup> SWAMY 1975, TALBOT 1987.

<sup>5</sup> SJOBERG 1990.

<sup>6</sup> DANDEKAR 1979.

<sup>7</sup> MCINTOSH 1983.

blocks or thin slabs, are commonly found near megalithic monuments or in burial grounds.<sup>8</sup> These statues depict the human form in a simplified, abstract manner. Carved in the round, they often lack distinct features such as eyes, ears, mouth, and nose. Limbs are represented by elongations at the shoulder area, while lower limbs are not clearly depicted, possibly suggested through elongation of the lower body. Sexual features are rarely depicted, with only a few statues showing female characteristics like breasts. Male anatomical features have not been found. These statues typically range from 5 to 8 feet in height, although smaller and larger examples exist.<sup>9</sup> Very few terracotta figurines are found in these megalithic structures. In some burials there are none at all. Among the images, most often there are birds, sometimes a bull and a deer, while there are very few images of women.<sup>10</sup> The fertility cult that characterized the Bronze Age cities of the Indus Valley is thus not restored. A lot of terracotta, including female images, appears already in the historic period, when the Indo-Aryanization of the Dravidian culture was actively underway.

The religious tradition of megalithic burials is being restored on the basis of ethnographic research.<sup>11</sup> In particular, some tribal groups such as the Gadabas, Gonds, Kurumbas, Morias, Mundas, Nagas, and Savaras are still known to construct megalithic monuments for their deceased members. Additionally, the Gonds, Kurumbas, Morias, and Savaras engage in the planting and worship of stone menhirs and occasionally wooden pillars. Some of these wooden pillars feature a rounded projection at the top, symbolizing a human head. These tribal communities, speaking Austroasiatic and Dravidian languages, regard these posts as representations of their deities or, in some cases, the spirits of the deceased. Beliefs regarding the significance of these stone and wooden menhirs vary among different tribes. For instance, the Gonds believe that the spirit of the deceased resides within a stone, attributing similar spiritual significance to both wooden pillars and stone menhirs. As a result, in modern Śaivism of these tribes there are some rudiments of pre-Aryan beliefs, including the worship of ancestor ghosts (*bhūta*).

Thus, we do not find traces of the veneration of Rāma, Kṛṣṇa and Śiva (at least as a Yoga teacher) among the Dravidians and Austroasiatic peoples in prehistoric times, either archaeologically or ethnographically. Moreover, when analyzing the terracotta figurines, there are no indications of the fertility cult commonly associated with the urban centers of the Indus Valley Civilization. Therefore, the assertion of some Indologists<sup>12</sup> that the Dravidians were originally Śaivites does not stand up to criticism. This statement is pure speculation.

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<sup>8</sup> RAO 2008.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid.

<sup>10</sup> SHANMUGAM 2007.

<sup>11</sup> RAO 2008.

<sup>12</sup> DANDEKAR 1979.

### 3. Pre-Śaivism in the Indus Valley Civilization?

The earliest urban culture in Pakistan and the western-northern region of India is the Bronze Age Indus Valley civilization. Its key developmental phases are outlined as follows:<sup>13</sup>

- The early Indus (early Harappan) period (3200–2600 B.C.),
- The transition (2600–2500/2450 B.C.),
- The mature Indus civilization (2600–1900/1800 B.C.),
- The posturban (late Harappan) period (1900/1800–1300 B.C.).

Archaeological finds at Indus sites such as Harappa and Mohenjodaro reveal terracotta figurines depicting female figures adorned with elaborate belts, loincloths and various necklaces. These artifacts indicate the flourishing of the cult of the mother goddess in the Indus Valley Civilization. They have been identified from Mehrgarh, the earliest Neolithic site, to Harappa, spanning across seven distinct developmental periods:<sup>14</sup>

(i) In Period I, there are no figurines.

(ii) In Period II, figurines featured jewelry represented by rolled clay strips around the neck.

(iii) By Period III at Mehrgarh, figurines disappeared as attention shifted towards pottery making, decorated with painted designs. Bull figurines replaced human ones, reflecting the potters' focus on mass pottery production.

(iv) In Period IV, figurine manufacturing and ornamentation became dominant, with artisans adorning them with various hairstyles, jewelry, and headdresses, including striking disc representations.

(v) Period V saw increased diversity and complexity in figurine ornamentation, with rolled clay strips forming necklaces.

(vi) Period VI introduced a distinct coiled hairstyle.

(vii) Period VII showcased a variety of adornments including bun, straight, and curly hairstyles, along with necklaces, pendants, and chokers.

However, figurines of the mother goddess of the Indus Valley Civilization are not something unique to Eurasia and North Africa. Female figurines as a part of religious practice first appeared in the earliest Neolithic period, Pre-Pottery Neolithic A (ca. 9700–8500 B.C.). So, in this culture, infant burials were sometimes located under the foundations of houses on many sites, which indicates the ritual aspect of housing construction. The presence of removed skulls, child 'offerings,' and female and phallic figurines suggests that the religion of the time was centered on ancestor or fertility (mother goddess) worship.<sup>15</sup> In subsequent Neolithic cultures, female terracotta figurines became an important element of religious practice in different regions of the Fertile Crescent and even wider – for example, in the

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<sup>13</sup> MCINTOSH 2008.

<sup>14</sup> AHMAD *et al* 2019.

<sup>15</sup> TWISS 2007.

Balkans (Vinča culture dating from 5400–4500 B.C.). In fact, the worship of the mother goddess emerged as a significant aspect of the world-system that grew out of Pre-Pottery Neolithic A as the earliest Neolithic culture of humanity.

It's noteworthy that the Vedas do not prominently feature the cult of the mother goddess, indicating that this aspect is not central to Vedic religious practices. Similarly, Vedic religion does not exhibit the tradition of constructing temple structures or crafting images of deities from materials like terracotta or sandstone. From an archaeological point of view, the sequence of known Indo-Aryan cultures is as follows: (i) The Iron Age Black and Red Ware Culture (1450–1200 B.C.) in Western Uttar Pradesh marks the earliest known Indo-Aryan cultural phase, characterized by pottery painted black on the outside and red on the inside. (ii) Subsequently, the Painted Gray Ware culture (1200–600 B.C.) emerged and was predominantly observed in Western Uttar Pradesh, Haryana and Eastern Punjab. This culture takes its name from its characteristic gray pottery, decorated with linear or geometric patterns. (iii) Following the Painted Gray Ware culture, the Northern Black Polished Ware culture arose (600–200 BC). This period saw the rise of distinctive black polished pottery, especially in the northern regions of India, especially the Gangetic Plain. Beginning in the late 5<sup>th</sup> century B.C., the emergence of significant urban centers and the formation of early historic kingdoms are revealed, marking the transition from the late Vedic to the early historic period of Indian history. Temple buildings and terracotta female figurines as a part of religious practice are found among the Indo-Aryans of the Ganga Valley only in the historic period. This shows that initially the religious practices of the peoples of the Indus Valley Civilization and the Indo-Aryans were significantly different.

This difference is reflected in the contemptuous attitude in the *R̥gveda* towards the cult of fertility. The adherents of this cult are called phallus worshipers (*śiśnadevā*):

*sa vājaṃ yātāpaduṣṭadā yan svarṣātā pari ṣadat saniṣyan | anarvā yac  
chata durasya vedo ghañ chiśnadevāṃ abhi varpasā bhūt ||*

(*R̥gveda* X: 99, 3).

He goes after prey, moving [a way] that is far for a lame man. Upon conquering the sun, he encircled (it), striving to conquer.

When, encountering no resistance, in altered form he took possession the property of [men who have] the hundred gates,<sup>16</sup> killing *phallus worshipers* (Tatyana Elizarenkova's translation).

*na yātava indra jūjuvur no na vandanā śaviṣṭha vedyābhiḥ | sa śardhad  
aryo viṣuṇasya jantor mā śiśnadevā api gur ṛtaṃ naḥ ||*

(*R̥gveda* VII: 21, 5).

<sup>16</sup> The association of phallus worshipers with the possession of a hundred gates may indicate that these phallus worshipers belong to a developed urban culture.

We are not haunted by any evil spirit, O Indra, neither the Vandanas with their deceptions, O strongest one.

Let him triumph over an enemy from a fickle race! Let no *phallus worshippers* infiltrate our ritual! (Tatyana Elizarenkova's translation).

There is a high probability that the word *mlecchā* ('heretic' or 'barbarian') in Vedic was originally the self-name of the inhabitants of the cities of the Indus Valley. The fact is that the word *Meluhḥa* is found in Sumerian and Akkadian texts to most likely designate the Indus Valley region. The Meluhḥans (as eventual inhabitants of the Indus Valley) appear in Mesopotamian texts for the first time in an inscription of Sargon (ca. 2334–2279 B.C. in the middle chronology), which mentions Meluhḥan ships docked at his capital, the city of Akkad:

9. *pu-ti* 10. *ti-a-am-tim* 11. MĀ *me-luḥ-ḥa* 12. MĀ *má-gan*.KI 13. MĀ *tilmun*.KI (RIM E2.1.1.11).

He moored the ships of Meluhḥa [Indus Valley], Magan [present-day Oman], and Dilmun [today's Bahrain] at the quay of Agade (Akkad).<sup>17</sup>

Another reference is found in a late Sargonic tablet dating to around 2200 B.C., where a man with an Akkadian name is titled "the holder (? *lú-dab<sub>5</sub>*) of a Meluhḥa ship."<sup>18</sup> As a consequence of this textual evidence, it's unsurprising that we have observed many Indus artifacts appearing in Mesopotamian sites dating back to the Old Akkadian period, displaying characteristics typical of the mature urban phase of the Indus civilization. Despite the decline of the urban civilization in the Indus Valley during the Ur III period, the term '*Meluhḥa*' remained prevalent. It is found in Ur III economic and administrative documents, indicating that individuals from Meluhḥa or their descendants continued to engage in economic and commercial activities in Mesopotamia during the late Sumerian era. For example, we find the following mentions:<sup>19</sup> "a tablet of Ur-Lama son of Meluhḥa (10. *dub ur-<sup>d</sup>lama* 11. *dumu me-luḥ-ḥa*)" (2057 B.C.); "the granary of the village of Meluhḥa (1. *ì-dub é-duru<sub>5</sub> me- 2. luḥ-ḥa<sup>ki</sup>*)" (2047 B.C.); "the Meluhḥa garden of Ninmar (15. *ḡ<sup>is</sup>kiri<sub>6</sub> me-luḥ-ḥa* 16. *<sup>d</sup>nin-mar<sup>ki</sup>-ka*)" (2047 B.C.); "overseer: Ur-nig, Meluhḥa, a son of Ur-ana-dua (6. *ugula ur-níg* 7. *I me-luḥ-ḥa* 8. *dumu ur-an-na-dù-a*)" (undated). The following phrase is more interesting:<sup>20</sup> "Lu-Sunzida, a man of Meluhḥa (6. *lú-sún-zi-da* 7. *lú me-luḥ-ḥa-ke<sub>4</sub>*)." Its first part contains the theophoric name, translated into Sumerian: "man of the buffalo-cow". This "buffalo-cow" (*mahiṣī* in Sanskrit) may have been a name of the mother goddess in the Meluhḥan language, translated into Sumerian. Although the evidence is scarce, the mentioned texts suggest that some Meluhḥans had integrated into Mesopotamian society by the Ur III period. Three hundred years after the

<sup>17</sup> FRAYNE 1993, 28.

<sup>18</sup> PARPOLA *et al.* 1977.

<sup>19</sup> PARPOLA *et al.* 1977.

<sup>20</sup> IPARPOLA *et al.* 1977.

initial documented contact between Meluḥḥa and Mesopotamia, references to a distinct foreign commercial group were replaced by an ethnic presence within Ur III society.<sup>21</sup>

It is worth noting that in the Middle Assyrian period (ca. 1365–912 B.C.), we find a title introduced by Tukultī-Ninurta I (ca. 1243–1207 B.C.) – *šar māt Tilmun u Meluḥḥi* (“King of Tilmun and Meluḥḥa”).<sup>22</sup> Thus, it is possible that Tukultī-Ninurta I conquered the territories of Bahrein (Dilmun) and the Persian Gulf (Meluḥḥa) for a very short time.

In the Neo-Assyrian period (911–609 B.C.), the term ‘Meluḥḥa’ came to mean the country of Ethiopia:

1. *ina maḥ-[-re]-[e ger-ri-ia]* 2. *a-na KUR.má-[-kan u KUR.me-luḥ]-[-[ḥa lu al-lik]* 3. *tar-qu-u MAN KUR.mu-[-šur]-[u KUR.ku-u-si]* (Ashurbanipal 73).

On [my] fir[st campaign, I marched] to Maka[n] (Egypt) and Meluḥḥa (Ethiopia). Taharqa, the king of Egypt and Kush...<sup>23</sup>

Thus, it is clear that the Meluḥḥans had a cult of fertility, but this cult is not found in Vedicism and, moreover, was considered a barbarian tradition (*mlecchā*) by the Indo-Aryans in the pre-historic time. Since the Indus script remains undeciphered, providing detailed insights into the religion of the Indus inhabitants is challenging. However, it is generally understood that their religious practices centered around the fertility cult, a concept not unique to early urban settlements but with roots dating back to the first Neolithic cultures, beginning with Pre-Pottery Neolithic A. Hence, it was likely a fundamental aspect of many Bronze Age states which inherit Neolithic cultures. Therefore, phallic images have become popular in very different cultures from the Neolithic. For instance, in ancient Greece of the Iron Age, phallic sculptures took the form of herms (ἕρμα) – quadrangular columns topped with a head sculpture at the top and a phallus in front. They were erected along roadsides and even used as gravestones. Originally dedicated to Hermes, they later honored heroes like Heracles. In contrast, in India of the historic time, the oldest phallic sculptures (*lingams*) are round columns crowned with a phallus at the top and a head in front (or heads around).

#### 4. Pre-Śaivism in the Mittani State?

The earliest known text that mentions Indo-Iranian deities is CTH 51,<sup>24</sup> attributed to the Mittanian ruler Šattiwaza (reigned ca. 1330–1305 B.C.).<sup>25</sup> This text presents a hierarchy of deities:<sup>26</sup> (1) the Storm-god <sup>d</sup>U, referred to as the Lord of Heaven and Earth in both Akkadian and Sumerian, alongside the Water-god Ea [<sup>d</sup>É-a], known as the Master of Wisdom; (2) the

<sup>21</sup> PARPOLA *et al.* 1977.

<sup>22</sup> SAZONOV 2010: 139. See also DELLER *et al.*: 464–465; SAZONOV 2016.

<sup>23</sup> JEFFERS AND NOVOTNY 2023, 112.

<sup>24</sup> JANKOWSKI AND WILHELM 2005, 113–121; MAYERHOFER 1974; DEVECCHI 2018.

<sup>25</sup> see von DASSOW 2022, 455–528, <https://academic.oup.com/book/41909/chapter-abstract/354776874?redirectedFrom=fulltext>.

<sup>26</sup> SCHUMANN AND SAZONOV 2023.

Moon-god <sup>d</sup>30 and the Sun-god <sup>d</sup>UTU; (3) the Sky-god Anu [<sup>d</sup>A-nu] and his consort Antu [<sup>d</sup>A-[an]-tu<sub>i</sub>]; (4) the Air-god Enlil [<sup>d</sup>EN.LÍL] and his consort Ninlil [<sup>d</sup>NIN.LÍL]. This hierarchy includes four well-known groups of deities. The text also mentions Mittanian names that may correspond to the deities listed above: (1) Indra (*In-tar*, Avestan/Vedic: Indra), the Storm-god; (2) the Mitra-gods (plural: <sup>DINGIR.MEŠ</sup>*Mi-it-ra-aš-ši-il*, Avestan: Miθra, Vedic: Mitrá), a couple of the Moon and the Sun (?); (3) the Varuna-gods (<sup>DINGIR.MEŠ</sup>*Ú-ru-wa-na-aš-ši-il<sub>s</sub>*, Avestan: Varun, Vedic: Váruṇa), a couple of the Water-god and his consort; (4) and the Nasatya-gods (*Na-ša-at-ti*, Avestan: Nāñhaiθya, Vedic: Násatyā), a couple of Sky-gods or Air-gods. As we see, this layout parallels the earlier grouping: Indra corresponds to the Storm-god <sup>d</sup>U; the Mitra-gods likely represent a divine couple akin to the Moon-god and the Sun-god; the Varuna-gods resemble the couple of Anu and Antu; and the Nasatya-gods mirror Enlil and Ninlil. Given the etymology of Indra (“possessor of water”), he embodies not only the Vedic god of rain but also of rivers. Similarly, the evolving associations of Mitra/Mithra with the sun in later Avestan and Vedic traditions suggest a broader interpretation of these divine figures and their roles.

In CTH 51, the text concludes with a listing of Syrian-Hurrian storm gods and sky goddesses:<sup>27</sup>

Underground watercourse(?), Šamanminuḫi [the Hurrian deity, presumably, of the storm], the Storm-god [<sup>d</sup>U], the Lord [of the temple in] Waššukkanni, the Storm-god [<sup>d</sup>U], the Lord of the Temple Platform(?) of Irrite, Partaḫi [one of the Hurrian storm deities] of [the temple in] Šuta, Nabarbi [the Hurrian and Syrian storm-goddess], Šuruḫḫe [one of the Hurrian storm-gods], Inanna [<sup>d</sup>A-šur MUL<sup>1</sup> – “star of Aššur” in Sumerian, that is Inanna, the Sky-goddess], Šaluš [the Syrian Water-goddess], Bēlet-ekalli [<sup>d</sup>NIN.É.GAL – “lady of palace”, the Sky-goddess in Akkadian, associated with Inanna], Damkina [<sup>d</sup>DAM.KI.NA – the heavenly consort of the god Enki, the Water-god], Išḫara [the Syrian goddess, associated with Inanna], the mountains and rivers, the deities of heaven, and the deities of earth [the Sumerian logograms: <sup>DINGIR</sup>meš<sup>ANDINGIR</sup>meš<sup>KI-ti</sup>].

In this excerpt, certain Syro-Hurrian deities are equated with the Storm-god [<sup>d</sup>U]: Šamanminuḫi, revered as the Lord of the temple in Waššukkanni and the Lord of the Temple Platform of Irrite, alongside Partaḫi from the temple in Šuta, Nabarbi, and Šuruḫḫe. Additionally, a number of Syro-Hurrian goddesses are compared to Inanna, including Šala, Bēlet-ekalli, Damkina, and Išḫara. This detail is especially significant as it represents the earliest recorded association of Inanna (Nanāya), the fertility goddess, with the Indo-Iranian

<sup>27</sup> Ibid, 25. See also LAHE AND SAZONOV 2018, 2019.

gods in the same Mittanian pantheon. In the comparison between the pure Indo-Iranian and pure Syro-Hurrian deities, while the four groups of Indo-Iranian deities (Indra, the Mitra-gods, the Varuna-gods, the Nasatya-gods) find analogues, Inanna (Nanāya) stands out as she does not have a direct counterpart among the Indo-Iranian gods known to the Mittani people. Nonetheless, she is acknowledged as one of the most powerful deities. The worship of Nanāya gained considerable popularity in regions such as Bactria, Sogdiana, and Gandhāra during the Kuṣāṇa Empire (1<sup>st</sup>–4<sup>th</sup> century A.D.), see Section 6. Later this cult significantly contributed to the development of the Durgā worship.<sup>28</sup> Thus, the roots or rudiments of the cult of Nanāya among the Indo-Aryans of Gandhāra can be seen even in the Mittanian pantheon, where she came from the Mesopotamians.

To sum up, the Mittani Indo-Iranian deities, which predates the Vedic religion, originally did not include a mother goddess figure. This element was surely introduced later, likely as an adaptation from local religious practices. This suggests an integration of deities from surrounding cultures, reflecting a broader tendency towards syncretism as the Mittani people interacted with their neighbors.

### 5. Syncretic Cult of the Indo-Scythian Oešo / Wēšparkar and the Buddhist Maheśvara as a Pre-Śaiva Deity becoming Śiva

The earliest images which might be unambiguously treated as a kind of standard iconography of Śiva (see Table 2) belong to the Kuṣāṇa culture and their successors such as different clans of Hūṇās. At the peak of their power, the Kuṣāṇas ruled the territories of North India and present-day Pakistan, Afghanistan, and Tajikistan. Their dynasty existed from the early 1<sup>st</sup> century A.D. to the late 4<sup>th</sup> century A.D. Their rulers are as follows:<sup>29</sup> *Kujula Kadphises* (ca. 50–90 A.D.), *Wima Takto* (ca. 90–113 A.D.), *Wima Kadphises* (ca. 113–127 A.D.), *Kaniška I* (ca. 127–151 A.D.), *Huviška* (ca. 151–190 A.D.), *Vāsudeva I* (ca. 190–230 A.D.), *Kaniška II* (ca. 230–247 A.D.), *Vāsiška* (ca. 247–267 A.D.), *Kaniška III* (ca. 267–270 A.D.), *Vāsudeva II* (ca. 267–300 A.D.), *Mahi* (ca. 300–305 A.D.), *Šakā* (ca. 305–335 A.D.), *Kipunadha* (ca. 335–350 A.D.).

The deity from Table 2 could be directly related to Śiva according to some of his main attributes such as bull, two- or four- or six-armed, single- or three-headed, trident-axe or simple trident, thunderbolt, water pot, lion skin, lotus flower, antelope, elephant goad, wheel, club, nimbus (sometimes flaming), diadem as the Kuṣāṇa royal crown, etc. But in most of these images the deity has the following name in Bactrian: Oηþo (Oešo). So, his name is Oηþo and not one of the names of Śiva.

<sup>28</sup> SCHUMANN AND SAZONOV 2021a, 2021b.

<sup>29</sup> JONGEWARD *et al.* 2015, BRACEY 2012.

**Table 2.** Images of Οηβο in the Kuṣāṇa period.

Image	Description	Date	Identification	Attributes
	<p>Οηβο with the three heads and the four arms holding the trident and the water pot on the left and his worshipper begs on the right. <i>Medium:</i> terracotta, gouache. <i>Dimensions:</i> H. 57.2 cm, W. 41.6 cm, D. 5.7 cm. <i>Museum number:</i> 2000.42.4 (Metropolitan Museum of Art). <i>Access:</i> <a href="https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/327832">https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/327832</a></p>	<p>Ca. the 3<sup>rd</sup> century A.D.</p>	<p>Οηβο.</p>	<p>Trident, three heads, four arms, water pot.</p>
	<p>Wima Kadphises bronze tetradrachm. 27mm; 16.47g. <i>Obverse:</i> the king sacrifices at the Mazdean small altar. The royal signs: the trident on the left, the Hercules club below the royal monogram on the right. The legend is in Greek: Βασιλευσ Βασιλεων Σωτηρ Μεγασ Οσημο Καδφισησ (“Wima Kadphises, the King of Kings, the Great Saviour”). <i>Reverse:</i> we observe a figure of Οηβο holding the same trident. He is depicted radiate and wearing some drapery of the Greek style. Behind him a bull stands. On the left, we see the Buddhist symbol of <i>triratna</i>. The legend in Gāndhārī in the Kharoṣṭhī script: <i>maharajasa rajadiraja sarvaloga íśvara mahíśvarasa v’ima kathpíśasa tratarasa</i> (“Of the Great King, the King of Kings, the Creator of the World, the Great Creator [<i>Maheśvara</i>],</p>	<p>Ca. 95–127 A.D.</p>	<p>Οηβο.</p>	<p>Bull, trident, Hercules club, <i>triratna</i> (Sanskrit: “three jewels”) usually depicted on the coins of Buddhist monarchs of that time.</p>

	Vima Kadphises, the Saviour”). The title <i>tratarā</i> is characteristic for Buddhist monarchs of that time.			
	Kaniška I bronze tetradrachm. 25mm; 17.08g. <i>Obverse</i> : the king standing facing with a Greek diadem on his kalpak, sacrificing at the Mazdean altar on the left, holding the spear in his left hand. <i>Reverse</i> : the four-armed Orḡo standing left. He holds (i) a thunderbolt ( <i>vajra</i> ), (ii) a diadem, (iii) a trident, (iv) a water pot. We see tamgha on the left. The legend is in Bactrian on the right: Orḡo.	Ca. 127–150 A.D.	Orḡo.	Four-armed, holding a thunderbolt, i.e. <i>vajra</i> (previously depicted in the Indian coins as the key attribute for Zeus and Athena), royal diadem for the Kuṣāṇas, trident, water pot (attribute of a Buddhist monk).
	Kaniška I bronze drachm. 17.65mm, 3.65g. <i>Obverse</i> : the king standing facing with a Greek diadem on his kalpak, holding the spear in his left hand. <i>Reverse</i> : the two-armed Orḡo standing left. He holds (i) a trident, (ii) a water pot. The legend is in Bactrian on the right: Orḡo.	Ca. 127–150 A.D.	Orḡo.	Two-armed, holding the trident and water pot.
	Huviška bronze tetradrachm. 24mm; 13.08g. <i>Obverse</i> : the king sitting on the couch and crossing his legs. The corrupted legend in Bactrian: [Ḑaovavopao Orḡbkī Koḑavo] (“King of Kings Huviška Kuṣāṇa”). <i>Reverse</i> : the four-armed Orḡo standing left. He holds (i) a thunderbolt ( <i>vajra</i> ), (ii) a diadem, (iii) a trident. We	Ca. 150–190 A.D.	Orḡo.	Four-armed, holding a thunderbolt, royal diadem for the Kuṣāṇas, trident.

	see tamgha on the left. The legend is in Bactrian on the right: [Oηpo].			
	Vāsudeva I bronze didrachm. 22.10mm; 9.20g. <i>Obverse</i> : the king standing facing with a halo is clothed in a robust nomadic costume, he is crowned and diademed, holds the trident and sacrifices at the Mazdean altar at left. The royal signs: the trident on the left and the Buddhist symbol of <i>triratna</i> (Sanskrit: “three jewels”) on the right. <i>Reverse</i> : the two-armed god standing facing, holding the trident and diadem, the bull left behind.	Ca. 190–230 C.E.	Oηpo.	Trident, bull, royal diadem for the Kuṣāṇas, <i>triratna</i> .

In other Indo-Scythian cultures which are relatively close to the Kuṣāṇas such as the Sogdians, we can find the deity with the same iconography, but his name is also written in Eastern Middle-Iranian and not in Indo-Aryan. So, the name of this god is pronounced in Sogdian as *wyšprkr* (Wēšparkar). Both names Oηpo and Wēšparkar came from the same Avestan epithet of Vayu (the god of wind): *vaiiuš uparō.kairiō* (“Vayu, whose activity lies in the upper region”)<sup>30</sup>. Therefore, the Bactrian name Oηpo may represent *wēš*, delivered from the Avestan *vaiiuš*, while Wēšparkar reflects the whole epithet. Thus, Oηpo and Wēšparkar possessing the attributes of the Hindu Śiva are the same god of wind.<sup>31</sup>

In one Sogdian Buddhist fragment, we find the following direct identifications of Sogdian (Eastern Iranian) and Buddhist deities:<sup>32</sup>

Homage (*nm’w*) to Brahmā (*pr’ym’*) – Zurvān (*’zrw’*), Indra (*’ynt’r*) – Ādbagh (*’δδβγ*), Mahādeva (*mγ’tyβ*) – Wēšparkar (*wyšprkr*), Nārāyaṇa (*n’r’y’n*) – Vrēšaman (*βr’yšmn*).

Hence, Zurvān is identified with Brahmā, Ādbagh with Indra, Wēšparkar with Mahādeva (Maheśvara), and Vrēšaman with Nārāyaṇa. But this identification of Wēšparkar/ Oηpo with Maheśvara is not his identification with Śiva from the Purāṇas, but with Maheśvara from the Buddhist texts (first of all, from the Mahāyāna *sūtras*), where Maheśvara is described as a

<sup>30</sup> HUMBACH 1975.

<sup>31</sup> TANABE 1991/92.

<sup>32</sup> BENVENISTE 1940.

four-armed bodhisattva: “The great *yakṣa* Maheśvara, four armed and mighty” (*Mahāsāhasrapramardanī* 1.86, Kangyur vol. 90, folio 69a).

The syncretic cult of the Eastern Iranian wind god Wēšparkar/ Oṅḡo and the Buddhist Maheśvara is supported by Chinese sources written by pilgrims of the Hunnic time. So, in the *Liangjing xinji*, composed by Wei Shu in the Tang period (from the 7<sup>th</sup> to 9<sup>th</sup> century A.D.), we see the same identification of the Mazdean Wēšparkar/ Oṅḡo with the Buddhist Maheśvara: “The god of the sky of the Western Regions (corresponding to present day Xinjiang, where many Sogdians lived) *hu* of the Mazdean temple of the *hu* founded in the 6<sup>th</sup> year of the Wude era, is the same one called in Buddhist *sūtra* Moxishouluo”.<sup>33</sup> Obviously that the name ‘Moxishouluo’ corresponds to Maheśvara<sup>34</sup> and his function “god of the sky” is connotatively close to the Bactrian Oṅḡo and Sogdian Wēšparkar as the god of wind. In the *Guangchuan Painting Colophons* of the same Tang period we find the same identification: “Zoroastrian temples are where for generations Hušen (Avesta/Ahura Mazdā) has been worshipped. His image is exotic and unusual, and he is the Moxishouluo of the scriptures”.<sup>35</sup> Hence, Wēšparkar/Oṅḡo identified with the Buddhist Maheśvara is not Śiva. Furthermore, the majority of Kuṣāṇa images of Oṅḡo contains additional Buddhist signs such as *triratna* (the sign of the three Buddhist jewels), see Table 2. This fact is explained in the book by I-tsing<sup>36</sup>, namely it is claimed that Maheśvara loves “the Three Jewels”:

There is likewise in great monasteries in India, at the side of a pillar in the kitchen, or before the porch, a figure of a deity carved in wood, two or three feet high, holding a golden bag, and seated on a small chair, with one foot hanging down towards the ground. Being always wiped with oil its countenance is blackened, and the deity is called Mahākāla or the great black deity. The ancient tradition asserts that he belonged to the beings (in the heaven) of the Great god (or Maheśvara). He naturally loves the Three Jewels, and protects the five assemblies from misfortune. Those who offer prayers to him have their desires fulfilled. At meal-times those who serve in the kitchen offer light and incense, and arrange all kinds of prepared food before the deity.

All the Śaiva-like images at the time of the Kuṣāṇas such as *liṅgaṃs* and *yonīs* are excavated only in the Buddhist sites.<sup>37</sup> There is no evidence that the cult of Maheśvara existed outside of Buddhism in this period. And please pay attention that these Śaiva-like images are the earliest.

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<sup>33</sup> BOQIN 1994.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid.

<sup>35</sup> LUO 2000.

<sup>36</sup> I-TSING 1896.

<sup>37</sup> SCHUMANN AND ARIF 2021.

The cult of Οηβο was continued by another branch of the Kuṣāṇas who became the Sasanian satraps. They are called Kūšānšāhs (“kings of Kuṣāṇas”)<sup>38</sup>, their rulers were as follows: *Ardašīr* I (ca. 230–? A.D.), *Ardašīr* II (ca. ?–245 A.D.), *Pērōz* I (ca. 245–270 A.D.), *Hormizd* I (ca. 270–300 A.D.), *Hormizd* II (ca. 300–303 A.D.), *Pērōz* II (ca. 303–330 A.D.), *Varahran* I (ca. 330–360 A.D.), *Varahran* II (ca. 360 A.D.), *Pērōz* III (ca. 350–360 A.D.). But the name of Οηβο changed. His main name in Bactrian and Middle-Persian now sounds like this with the same meaning: Βορζαοανδο Ιαζαδο and *bwrz’wndy yzdy* (“the god who acts in the high regions”). This deity is clothed in the way of Sasanian or Indo-Scythian monarchs and depicted as very bearded and shaggy, see Table 3. But the sign of *triranta* as well as other Buddhist signs such as swastika and three pellets are necessarily accompanied him. His main attributes are the diadem of the Kūšānšāhs, the trident and the bull, see Table 3. So, we see the same Mazdean-Buddhist syncretism in his images.

**Table 3.** Images of Οηβο in the period of Kūšānšāhs.

Image	Description	Date	Identification	Attributes
	<p>Pērōz I Kūšānšāh copper drachm. 17mm; 3.39g. <i>Obverse</i>: the king standing left, holding the trident and sacrificing over the Mazdean altar, <i>triratna</i> in the right field. <i>Reverse</i>: the god standing facing, holding the diadem and trident, the bull standing left behind.</p>	Ca. 245–270 A.D.	<p>Οηβο / Βορζαοανδο / Ιαζαδο / <i>bwrz’wndy yzdy</i>.</p>	<p>Trident, <i>triratna</i> (the symbol of Buddhism), bull, royal diadem for the Kūšānšāhs, swastika (it is rather a Buddhist sign at that time).</p>
	<p>Pērōz II Kūšānšāh copper drachm. 14mm; 2.5g. <i>Obverse</i>: the diademed, bearded bust of king facing right, wearing a crescent moon crown (or a bull horned crown), topped by a globe or lotus flower. <i>Reverse</i>: the fire altar, with the bust of god emerging at the top and holding the trident and diadem. The Middle Persian legend: [<i>bwrz’wndy yzdy</i>] (“the god who acts in the high regions”).</p>	Ca. 300–325 A.D.	<p>Οηβο / Βορζαοανδο / Ιαζαδο / <i>bwrz’wndy yzdy</i>.</p>	<p>Trident, royal diadem for the Kūšānšāhs, the bust of god emerging at the top of the fire altar.</p>

<sup>38</sup> JONGEWARD et al. 2015.

	<p>Varahran I (Bahrām) I Kūšānšāh gold drachm of the Boxlo (Balkh) mint. 29mm; 7.97g. <i>Obverse</i>: the king holding the trident is clothed in the way of Sasanian monarchs, he stands left on the ground line (a lotus?) and wears a crown with ribbons and is surmounted by lotus. His shoulders are in the flame and he sacrifices at the Mazdean altar. On the left, we see the trident standard above the altar, the middle prong is surmounted by a crescent. Between the legs of the king, we observe swastika. Then we see the triple pellets below the left arm and <i>triratna</i>. The legend is in Bactian: Boyo Oapaypavo Ooζapko Kopaβo βayo (“the God Varahran the Great King of Kušānas [Kūšānšāh]”). <i>Reverse</i>: Oηβο holding the diadem in the right hand and the trident in the left hand stands facing. Behind him, there is the bull standing left. The legend is in Bactrian: Bopζaoavδo Iαζαδο (“the god who acts in the high regions”).</p>	<p>Ca. 325–350 A.D.</p>	<p>Oηβο / Bopζaoavδo / Iαζαδο / <i>bwrz'wndy</i> <i>yzdy</i>.</p>	<p>Trident, <i>triratna</i>, bull, royal diadem for the Kūšānšāhs, swastika.</p>
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In the Hunnic period (i.e. from the 5<sup>th</sup> century A.D.), the cult of Maheśvara / Oηβο expanded significantly. But now we observe its different forms: from more Mazdean to more Hindu. For instance, in the Sogdian coins we find some Mazdean iconographies of Oηβο taken from the Kūšānšāhs, in the Tukhus coins we see that the trident became an abstract sign of royal power, and in the coins of the Kota Kula we see the earliest signs of Śaivism emancipated from Buddhism, see Table 4.

**Table 4.** Images of *On̄po* in the post-Kuṣāṇa period among the Sogdians and the nomadic dynasties of Kidarites and Tukhus.

Image	Description	Date	Identification	Attributes
	<p>The copper drachm of Kidarite Principality of the Kota Kula in the Punjab. 18mm; 4.95g. <i>Obverse</i>: the Brāhmī letter <i>bhru</i> on the right side and a trident with battle-axe on the left side. <i>Reverse</i>: the very stylized god holding the trident, bull.</p>	<p>Ca. 360–460 A.D.</p>	<p>Maheśvara / <i>On̄po</i>.</p>	<p>Trident, bull.</p>
	<p>The copper drachm of Mawak, the ruler of Bukhara. 15mm; 2.6g. <i>Obverse</i>: the diademed bust of king. <i>Reverse</i>: the bust of god emerging at the top of the fire altar.</p>	<p>The late 4<sup>th</sup>–the early 5<sup>th</sup> century.</p>	<p><i>wyšprkr</i> / <i>Βορζαοανδο</i> <i>Ιαζαδο</i> / <i>bwrz'wndy yzdy</i>.</p>	<p>The bust of god emerging at the top of the Mazdean altar.</p>
	<p>The Tukhus copper coin. 20mm; 1.40g. <i>Obverse</i>: the Sogdian legend around the square hole: <i>tywss γwβw</i> (“the Master of Tukhus”). Tamgha-trident in the right field. <i>Reverse</i>: the Sogdian legend around the square hole: <i>βγγ twrkys γ'γ'n pny</i> (“Fen of the Master of Turgesh's kagan”).</p>	<p>The second half of the 8<sup>th</sup> century A.D.</p>	<p><i>wyšprkr</i> / <i>Βορζαοανδο</i> <i>Ιαζαδο</i> / <i>bwrz'wndy yzdy</i>.</p>	<p>Trident.</p>

Hence, the earliest Śaiva-like images of the Kuṣāṇa period cannot be treated as Śaiva images in the narrow meaning, because they reflect a syncretic cult of the Indo-Scythian Mazdean *On̄po* and the Buddhist Maheśvara. Śaivism has been emancipated from Buddhism only since the early 5<sup>th</sup> century A.D. after the fall of the Kuṣāṇa and Kūšānšāh dynasties and

even not immediately, but very smoothly. Only from this time we can find some Śaiva-like images without Mazdean or Buddhist additional attributes.

### 6. Syncretic Cult of the Indo-Scythian Nanāia / Ardoxšo and the Buddhist Hārītī / Umā as a Pre-Śaiva Deity becoming Durgā

Archaeologically, we know that the cult of mother goddess has been a necessary part of Buddhism in North India from the very beginning. Almost at all Buddhist sites there have been excavated figures of mother goddess, and it is known that in every Buddhist temple of the Kuṣāṇa time, one of the halls was dedicated to this goddess. Most images of the divine mother from the Buddhist sites are of the following two types:<sup>39</sup> (i) the seated or standing woman with a child or many children (as a protector of children, childbirth and motherhood); (ii) the woman seated on a chair or throne and holding a flower and cornucopia. It is worth noting that the goddess with the iconography of (ii) has the Bactrian legend Ἀρδοχβο (Ardoxšo), see Table 5, on the coins of Kuṣāṇas dated to the same 2<sup>nd</sup>–4<sup>th</sup> century A.D. Hence, we have one of her names – Ἀρδοχβο. Both iconographies of (i) and (ii) are two Hellenistic standards in depicting Tyche (Τύχη) / Fortune supported in minting Greco-Bactrian, Indo-Greek and Indo-Scythian coins, see Table 5. Therefore, we have an identification of Ἀρδοχβο with Tyche / Fortune, on the one hand, and with the mother goddess in Buddhism, on the other hand.

The third type in manifestation of mother goddess in Buddhist sites is presented by (iii) a warrior woman seated on (or accompanied by) a lion and sometimes having four or six arms. This iconography continues the Hellenistic standard in depicting Cybele (Κυβέλη) / Rhea. Meanwhile, she is six-armed following the iconography of three-headed and six-armed Hekate (Ἑκάτη), a protector of the household. She is called Inanna (Nanāya) in Akkadian (see Section 4), Ναναια (Nanāia) in Greek, Νανᾶ (Nanā) in Bactrian, nny in Sogdian, see Table 5. In the Rabatak inscription reflecting the edict of Kaniṣka I, changing the official language of the empire from Greek to ‘Aryan’ (Bactrian), we see an identification of Νανᾶ with the Buddhist Ομμα (Umā or Hārītī): “the lady Nanā and the lady Umā” (ἰα ἀμσα Νανᾶ οδο ἰα ἀμσα Ομμα).

<sup>39</sup> SCHUMANN AND ARIF 2021.

**Table 5.** Images of *Ναῦα* and *Αρδοχβο* in the pre-Kuṣāṇa and Kuṣāṇa periods.

Image	Description	Date	Identification	Attributes
	<p>The goddess with a halo holds a lotus flower and cornucopia, sits on a throne. <i>Medium:</i> gray schist. <i>Dimensions:</i> H. 30.5 cm. Private collection. Access: <a href="https://www.carltonrochell.com/artworks-items/hariti">https://www.carltonrochell.com/artworks-items/hariti</a></p>	<p>The 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> century A.D.</p>	<p>Tyche / Fortuna associated to Hārītī / Αρδοχβο.</p>	<p>Halo, throne, lotus flower, cornucopia.</p>
	<p>Philoxenos copper hemiobol. 20x18mm; 7.25gm. <i>Obverse:</i> the goddess standing left, holding cornucopia in the left hand, making a benediction gesture with the outstretched right hand; monogram at feet left, the Greek legend around Βασιλεωσ / Ανικητου / Φιλοξενου (“of the Invincible King Philoxenos”). <i>Reverse:</i> the zebu bull standing right, monogram below, the Kharoṣṭhī legend <i>Maharajasa padihatasa Philasinasa</i> (“of Great King Philoxenos the Unconquered”).</p>	<p>Ca. 125-110 B.C.</p>	<p>Tyche / Fortuna.</p>	<p>Cornucopia, benediction gesture.</p>
	<p>Azes II copper alloy drachm. 22mm; 5.93gm. <i>Obverse:</i> the goddess enthroned left, holding a cornucopia and with a benediction gesture, the Greek legend around Βασιλεωσ Βασιλεων Μεγαλου Αζου (“of King of Kings Azes the Great”). <i>Reverse:</i> the god standing</p>	<p>Ca. 16-30 A.D.</p>	<p><i>Obverse:</i> Tyche / Fortuna. <i>Reverse:</i> Hermes.</p>	<p><i>Obverse:</i> Cornucopia, benediction gesture, enthroned. <i>Reverse:</i> caduceus.</p>

	<p>facing, holding a caduceus and making a benediction gesture; the Kharoṣṭhī legend around <i>Maharajasa rajarajasa mahatasa Ayasa</i> ("of Great King, King of Kings Azes the Great").</p>			
	<p>Kaniška I copper didrachm. 21mm; 7.78gm. <i>Obverse</i>: the crowned, diademed king standing facing, holding a spear and sacrificing at the Mazdean altar at left, the Greek legend around: the βασιλεωσ βασιλεων Κανηρκου ("King of Kings Kaniška"). <i>Reverse</i>: the goddess standing right, nimbate, holding protome of lion, the Greek legend left: Ναναια, tamgha at right.</p>	<p>Before ca. 127 A.D.</p>	<p>Ναναια / Νανα.</p>	<p>Halo, lion protome.</p>
	<p>Kaniška I copper tetradrachm. 26mm; 18.99gm. <i>Obverse</i>: the crowned, diademed king standing facing, holding a spear and sacrificing at the Mazdean altar at left, the Bactrian legend around: βαο Κανηρκι ("King Kaniška"). <i>Reverse</i>: the goddess standing right, nimbate, holding a protome of lion, the Bactrian legend left: Νανα, tamgha at right.</p>	<p>Ca. 127–150 A.D.</p>	<p>Νανα.</p>	<p>Halo, lion protome.</p>
	<p>Huviška copper tetradrachm. 25mm; 18.95gm. <i>Obverse</i>: the king sitting on the couch, crossing his legs and holding a spear, the</p>	<p>Ca. 150–190 A.D.</p>	<p>Νανα.</p>	<p>Halo, lion protome.</p>

	<p>Bactrian legend around: [Ῥαοναβοῤῥαο Οοηῖκι Κοῤῥαβο] (“King of Kings Huviṣka Kuṣāṇa”). Reverse: the goddess standing right, having a halo, holding a protome of lion, the Bactrian legend left: Ναῦα, tamgha at right.</p>			
	<p>Kaniṣka II copper didrachm. 21mm; 8.87gm. <i>Obverse</i>: the king wears the diadem and he is with halo, stands facing left with the right hand lowered to the Mazdean altar. He holds the trident in the left hand. <i>Reverse</i>: the goddess is enthroned and holds the cornucopia and flower. The Bactrian legend: [Αρδοχῖο].</p>	<p>Ca. 230–260 A.D.</p>	<p>Αρδοχῖο / Tyche.</p>	<p>Halo, throne, lotus stem, cornucopia.</p>

The name of Hārītī occurs in some Buddhist inscriptions of that time, e.g. in the following *dhāraṇī* of Senavaṃma<sup>40</sup> found in the Swat Valley (Pakistan), dated to Senavarma regnal year 14, and written in Gāndhārī in the Kharoṣṭhi script:

*puyita bramo sahaṃpati śakro devaṇidro catvari maharaya aṭhaviṣati yakṣaseṇapati hariti saparivara*

Brahman Sahaṃpati, Śakra, ruler of the gods, the four great kings, the twenty-eight *yakṣa* generals, (and) Hārītī with her retinue are honored.

This phrase is very typical for the Mahāyāna *sūtras* defining a hierarchy of all beings, where the highest level consists of bodhisattvas and buddhas, then there is usually mentioned the level of highest *devas* such as Brahmā, Śakra (Indra), Maheśvara, and Nārāyaṇa, then it is said about the level of guardians of the world and only then about the level of kings of different highest beings including *nāgas*, *rākṣasas*, *yakṣiṇīs* (*yakṣas*), *garuḍas*, etc. In the Buddhist everyday worship of that time there were different *dhāraṇīs* directed to different highest beings, including Maheśvara and Hārītī. For example, Hārītī helps against demons to protect children (the *Hārītīsūtra*, 佛說鬼子母經, T. 1262).

<sup>40</sup> Access: [https://gandhari.org/a\\_inscription.php?catid=CKI0249](https://gandhari.org/a_inscription.php?catid=CKI0249).

According to the *Āryatārākurukullākālpa* and some other Mahāyāna texts, Hārītī was a child-eating demoness (see also *Āryakāraṇḍavyūhanāmamahāyānasūtra* 5.3, Kangyur vol. 81, folio 39b), becoming a protectress of children, women, the *saṃgha*, and all the beings at all. Maheśvara and Hārītī are a divine couple ruling the *yakṣas* (see the *Mahāsāhasrapramardani*): “Maheśvara, all the *yakṣa* generals, and Hārītī with her sons” (*Mahāsāhasrapramardani* 1.203/folio 73a; 1.210/folio 73b; 1.217/folio 74a; 1.224/folio 74a; 1.230/folio 74b, Kangyur vol. 90). They both became bodhisattvas (*Āryakāraṇḍavyūhanāmamahāyānasūtra* 2.96, Kangyur vol. 51, folio 242b).

Different Mahāyāna *dhāraṇīs* and *mantras* including the formulas directed to the Buddhist Maheśvara and Hārītī have spread throughout Central, South and Southeast Asia. These formulas are found in Indonesia, e.g. see the analysis of the silver foil inscription from Sambas in West Kalimantan, written in the Kawi script and dated from the 9<sup>th</sup> century A.D.,<sup>41</sup> as well as in the Maldives, e.g. see different *mantras* and *dhāraṇīs* dated before the 10<sup>th</sup> century A.D.<sup>42</sup> It is quite interesting to note that in Maldivian folklore, the name Hārītī is preserved in an unusual form as *Santi Mariyaṃbu*, a “*devi* who carries a bag full of teeth.”<sup>43</sup> This name consists of two parts: (1) the Christian name of Saint Mary, which was taken in the 16<sup>th</sup> century from the Portuguese colonists, and (2) the name *bu*, which comes from the word *bhūti* (“demoness”), one of the names of Hārītī.

The emancipation of *Nava* / *Αρδοχφο* / Hārītī / *Umā* from Buddhism and Mazdaism was a long process that began at the end of the 4<sup>th</sup> century A.D. and it is easy to trace back how the same canon in the iconography of this goddess was smoothly transformed into *Durgā* with eliminating some additional Mazdean and Buddhist attributes, e.g. see Table 6.

**Table 6.** Images of *Nava* and *Αρδοχφο* in the post-Kuṣāṇa period of North India.

Image	Description	Date	Identification	Attributes
	The goddess with a halo and a benediction gesture holds a palm leaf, like a cornucopia, and sits on a lion. <i>Medium</i> : stucco. <i>Dimensions</i> : H. 25.2 cm, W. 18.1 cm, D. 9.5 cm. <i>Museum number</i> : 1986.506.12 (Metropolitan Museum of Art). <i>Access</i> :	Ca. the 5 <sup>th</sup> –6 <sup>th</sup> century A.D., i.e. the Hunnic period.	<i>Nava</i> , <i>Αρδοχφο</i> .	Halo, benediction gesture, sitting on a lion, cornucopia.

<sup>41</sup> GRIFFITHS 2014.

<sup>42</sup> GIPPERT 2004.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*

	<a href="https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/38231">https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/38231</a>			
	Hephtalite Toramana II copper drachm. 19mm; 6.84gm. <i>Obverse:</i> the Kuṣāṇa-style king standing facing slightly left, sacrificing over the firealtar and holding the trident, the Brāhmī legend: [śrī toramāṇa]. <i>Reverse:</i> the goddess sitting on a lion in the pose of <i>lalitasana</i> (with the right leg folded under and the left leg hanging down), holding the diadem in her right hand and the cornucopia-like long-stemmed lotus in her left hand.	Ca. the 6 <sup>th</sup> century A.D.	Νάνα, Αρδοχβο	Sitting on a lion, holding a lotus stem and royal diadem.
	Copper drachm minted by Jayasimha from the Lohara dynasty in Kashmir. 19mm; 5.84gm. <i>Obverse:</i> the Kuṣāṇa-style king standing facing slightly left, sacrificing over the fire altar and holding the trident, the Śāradā legend: <i>deva</i> . <i>Reverse:</i> the goddess sitting in the pose of <i>lalitasana</i> , holding the diadem in her right hand and the cornucopia-like long-stemmed lotus in her left hand, the Śāradā legend: <i>jaya</i> left and <i>simha</i> right.	Ca. 1125–1155 A.D.	Νάνα, Αρδοχβο.	Holding a lotus stem and royal diadem.

Thus, the earliest female Śaiva-like images of the Kuṣāṇa period are the same evidence of an appropriate syncretic cult of the Mazdean Νάνα / Αρδοχβο and the Buddhist Hārītī. Only since the 5<sup>th</sup> century A.D. this cult has acquired some features of a phenomenon independent

of Buddhism and Mazdaism, although some Buddhist features continued to persist, especially in isolated communities such as Buddhist communities of Indonesia and the Maldives.

### 7. Earliest Figurines of *Mātṛkās* in the Historic Period of India

In the pre-historic period, the Indo-Aryans did not use female figurines made of terracotta, sandstone, schist, or other materials in their religious rituals. However, with the spread of Buddhism, the production of these figurines increased significantly. Initially, these figures were abstract, as shown in the first picture of Table 7, lacking identifiable attributes of any deity. These early sculptures, reminiscent of Bronze-Age Indus Valley Civilization, depict abstract female forms only with prominent sexual characteristics and without other details. The existence of these abstract images indicates continuity of the Neolithic tradition, albeit with modifications and after a very long interval. Over time, these figurines evolved into more realistic representations, clearly depicting specific attributes such as lions, thrones, cornucopias, children, pregnancy, and nudity, see Tables 5, 6, 7. For instance, in Tanesara (Rajasthan), we encounter the Tyche manifestation depicted in lifelike figurines crafted from schist, dating back to the 6<sup>th</sup>–7<sup>th</sup> century A.D. These include: (i) a *mātṛkā* with a child or children, and (ii) a pregnant *mātṛkā*.

The evolution of Tantra from the 5<sup>th</sup> century A.D. led to a significant increase in the number of attributes associated with female deities in textual descriptions and sculptures. Most likely, many of these attributes have Hellenistic roots. In any case, in the North of India, images of Hellenistic goddesses first appear (for example, on Greco-Bactrian and Indo-Greek coins), such as Athena (Ἀθηνῆ), Thyche and Cybele, and much later they gradually transform into *mātṛkās* (mother goddesses of Buddhism and Tantrism). Some attributes are very clearly visible in archaeological material in their transformation: *vajra* of Athena, lion of Cybele, many arms of Hekate, cornucopia and/or children of Tyche, etc.

But the Hellenistic roots of some attributes of mother goddesses are even better traced in tantric texts. For instance, we can trace the boar or pig as a main attribute of *Mārīcī* (*Mólīzhǐ*, 摩里止), whose earliest known mention is in a Chinese translation from the 6<sup>th</sup> century A.D.: *Mahāmāyūrī-vidyārājñī-sūtra*; *Kǒngquè wángzhòu jīng* (孔雀王呪經), T.984, XIX: 446–459. There she is mentioned as follows: (1) *Mólīzhǐ yèchā* (*liáng yán guāngmíng*) [摩里止夜叉 (梁言光明)] “*Mārīci-yakṣa*, called the Glorious by the Liang” (T. 984, XIX: 451b10); (2) *dà luóshānǚ* [大羅剎女] ... *Mólīzhǐ* [摩里止] “the great female demon (*mahārākṣasī*)... *Mārīci*” (T. 984, XIX: 453c15–18), where she is mentioned among many other demonesses. Thus, she is described as both a male (*yakṣa*) and a female demon (*rākṣasī*) concurrently. She is worshipped as the mother of demons with a *dhāraṇī* in the *Mārīcīdhāraṇīsūtra*; *Mólī zhī tiān tuólúóní zhòu jīng*

(摩利支天陀羅尼咒經), T.1256, XXI: 261b–262a. In this text, the primary attributes associated with her are the sun and the moon, much like with *Naxa*:<sup>44</sup>

有天名摩利支天。常行日月  
前。彼摩利支天。無人能見無人能捉。

*Yǒu tiān míng Mólìzhī tiān. Chángxíng rì yuè qián. Bǐ Mólìzhī tiān. Wúrén néngjiàn wúrén néng zhuō* (T.1256, XXI: 261b29).

There is a deity named *Māricī*. She constantly moves ahead of the sun and the moon. This *Māricī* deity cannot be seen or caught by anyone.

Boars or pigs serve as her mounts, which is another significant aspect of her iconography:

*tadanantram oṃ mām iti mantram uccārayann ātmānaṃ  
caityagarbhashāṃ*

*saptaśūkarathārūḍhāṃ mārīcīṃ vibhāvayet* (*Sādhanamālā* 137)

Uttering the mantra “*oṃ mām*” and visualizing oneself within the womb of the temple, one should visualize *Māricī* riding a chariot drawn by seven pigs.

The Hindu goddess *Vārāhī*, bearing the head of a wild boar, cannot be identified with *Māricī*. First, *Vārāhī* represents the feminine energy (*śakti*) of *Varāha*, while *Māricī* stands as an independent deity, unrelated to *Varāha*’s exploits. Second, unlike *Varāha*/*Vārāhī* who are directly associated with boars, *Māricī* is not identified with the pig or boar; it merely serves as her riding animal. Third, *Vārāhī* and *Māricī* emerged around the same time if *Māricī* was not earlier. Notably, depictions of *Vārāhī* (as seen in the 3<sup>rd</sup> image of Table 7) date back to no earlier than the 5<sup>th</sup> century A.D., a time when *Māricī* most certainly existed as a subject of *dhāraṇīs*.

However, there is a Hellenistic deity, *Baubo* (Βαυβώ), who is also associated as *Māricī* with riding a pig (2<sup>nd</sup> picture in Table 7), and she is best suited to be the prototype for *Māricī*. Perhaps the name ‘*Baubo*’ originated from the word ‘dildo’ (βαυβών). *Baubo* is known as the “indecent goddess” (*dea impudica*). She is commonly portrayed naked, riding a pig and occasionally shown as pregnant. She might also be depicted in a birthing position, with her legs widely spread and holding a dildo (4<sup>th</sup> picture in Table 7). An aspect of her worship involves presenting terracotta figures to the goddess as a form of her visualization in the meaning of meditation. Therefore, in Egypt of the Hellenistic and Roman periods, many terracotta images of *Baubo* are found. We lack details except that it was a mystical ritual associated with *Demeter* (Δημήτηρ) and *Persephone* (Περσεφόνη). *Baubo* is the active or devotee form of *Demeter*, the goddess of fertility. Offerings of terracotta were also made to *Demeter*, where she was depicted with a piglet or boar. Such images of *Demeter* have been found from the 5<sup>th</sup> century B.C. onwards, for example, see the terracotta figurine of *Demeter*

<sup>44</sup> SCHUMANN AND SAZONOV 2021a.

with pig, dated to 5<sup>th</sup> century B.C., from Athens (Cleveland Museum of Art, 1926.521). The pig (boar) is therefore the chief attribute of both Demeter and her form represented as Baubo. As we see, this pig could subsequently become an attribute of Mārīcī, one of the goddesses of fertility in Buddhism along with Hārītī and Umā.

**Table 7.** Images of mother goddesses, excavated in Egypt and India.

Image	Description	Date	Identification	Attributes
	<p>Abstract female figurine recalling the figurines of Bronze-Age Indus Valley cultures. Charsadda Shaikhan Dheri, Gandhāra, Pakistan. <i>Medium:</i> terracotta. <i>Dimensions:</i> H. 7.9 cm. <i>Museum number:</i> IS.20B-1951 (V&amp;A South Kensington). <i>Access:</i> <a href="https://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O181906/sculpture-unknown/">https://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O181906/sculpture-unknown/</a></p>	<p>2<sup>nd</sup>-5<sup>th</sup> century A.D.</p>	<p>Mother goddess.</p>	<p>Female sex characteristics: breast and vulva.</p>
	<p>The woman is portrayed as a naked figure seated on the pig's back. Her hair is arranged in a central topknot, and she wears a tall kiste on her head, covered by a veil that drapes down to the pig's side. She holds the kiste with her right hand, while her left hand, obscured by the veil, grasps a stele placed at her left side. Fayum, Egypt. <i>Medium:</i> terracotta. <i>Dimensions:</i> H. 13.80 cm. <i>Museum number:</i> 1926,0930.48 (British Museum). <i>Access:</i> <a href="https://www.bmimages.com/preview.asp?image=01613393130&amp;badge=true&amp;tc=true">https://www.bmimages.com/preview.asp?image=01613393130&amp;badge=true&amp;tc=true</a></p>	<p>1<sup>st</sup> century B.C.</p>	<p>Baubo (Βαυβώ), the nurse or the devotee form of Demeter.</p>	<p>Pig or boar, nudity.</p>

	<p>Naked torso of a woman with flowing hair and the face of a boar. Gupta dynasty, Uttar Pradesh, India. <i>Medium:</i> sandstone. <i>Dimensions:</i> H. 24 cm, D. 12 cm, W. 24.5 cm. <i>Museum number:</i> IS.144-1999 (V&amp;A South Kensington). <i>Access:</i> <a href="https://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O19072/sculpture-figure-unknown/">https://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O19072/sculpture-figure-unknown/</a></p>	<p>5<sup>th</sup>-6<sup>th</sup> century A.D.</p>	<p>Vārāhī.</p>	<p>Boar face, nudity.</p>
	<p>The female figure is portrayed nude, except for an ornate garland in her hair, squatting with legs spread and knees bent. She touches her genitals with her right hand and holds an oversized dildo (ἄλιςβος or βαυβών) in her left hand. Egypt. <i>Medium:</i> terracotta. <i>Dimensions:</i> H. 8.509 cm. Private collection. <i>Access:</i> <a href="https://www.anticstore.art/104935P">https://www.anticstore.art/104935P</a></p>	<p>1<sup>st</sup>-2<sup>nd</sup> century A.D.</p>	<p>Baubo (Βαυβώ), the nurse or the devotee form of Demeter.</p>	<p>Birthing posture, nudity, ornate garland in her hair, dildo.</p>
	<p>The woman is depicted in a birthing posture without a swollen belly, suggesting the image symbolizes sexual fertility rather than childbirth. Her head is replaced by a lotus flower. Seoni district, Madhya Pradesh, India. <i>Medium:</i> sandstone. <i>Dimensions:</i> H. 10.3 cm, W. 10.3 cm. <i>Museum number:</i> 2000.284.13 (Metropolitan Museum). <i>Access:</i> <a href="https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/38492">https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/38492</a></p>	<p>Ca. 6<sup>th</sup> century A.D.</p>	<p>Lajjā Gaurī</p>	<p>Birthing posture, nudity, ornate garland, lotus-headed.</p>

Another possible influence of Hellenism on the formation of fertility cults during the Buddhist era of India is seen in the choice of vehicle for Lakṣmī, the goddess of wealth, fortune, and power. She is traditionally associated with an owl (*ulūka*) as her *vāhana*, or

mount. Originally, *ulūka* was a demon (*yakṣa*) and an adversary of *Garuḍa*, whom he was defeated by, as depicted in the *Mahābhārata*, *Ādi Parva* 32. So, initially, he was portrayed as a rather negative character. But he becomes the mount of *Lakṣmī*, embodying her unique energy as wisdom and benevolence. This shift from a negative to a positive portrayal is remarkable, possibly indicating the adoption of this attribute of *Lakṣmī* from an external influence. Hence, we can assume that the owl emerged as the primary symbol of *Lakṣmī* rather in connection with the Hellenistic mythological tradition. The point is that the owl symbolized wisdom and kindness – traits traditionally associated with *Athena* in Greek mythology. *Athena* (or her owl) was prominently featured on coins issued by Hellenistic rulers in Northern India. On *Kuṣāṇa* coins, she appeared as Ρἰβτι, Ρἰβτο (*Riṣti*, *Riṣto*). To sum up, given the popularity of the image of *Athena* in Northern India, such an influence on *Lakṣmī* is highly probable.

In Buddhism and then Tantrism, the *mātṛkās* (*Hārīti*, *Umā*, *Mārīcī* and others) were understood as demoneses, who then converted to Buddhism under the impression of *Buddha*'s preaching and therefore *dhāraṇī* is effective to them. They all actually represent a fertility cult. Figurines of *mātṛkās* appear initially only in Buddhist temples. This suggests that Buddhism spread as a fairly tolerant religion towards non-Indo-Aryans, which allowed non-Indo-Aryan worship of fertility goddesses to be included in Buddhist ritual. Most likely, there were several waves of the spread of this worship. Firstly, it was from the Iranian peoples. Secondly, it was from Egypt. It should be noted that from the 1<sup>st</sup> century B.C. until the end of the 4<sup>th</sup> century A.D., enormous trade was carried out between Egypt and the West of India, which also stimulated cultural exchange. For example, in Upper Egypt there was an influential Buddhist community.<sup>45</sup> It was precisely the cult of fertility that united different peoples. For example, iconographic modifications of the image of *Baubo* from Egypt could have influenced not only *Mārīcī*, but also *Lajjā Gaurī* (please compare the fourth and fifth images of Table 7).

## 8. Author's Contributions

It is a continuation of author's already published works<sup>46</sup>, but some new general conclusions are provided based on the further textual analysis and some additional archaeological data.

## 9. Conclusions

From the point of view of archaeology and textology, we cannot date Śaivism earlier than to the early 5<sup>th</sup> century A.D. The matter is that all the Śaiva-like images represent a syncretic

<sup>45</sup> SCHUMANN 2022.

<sup>46</sup> SCHUMANN AND ARIF 2021, SCHUMANN AND SAZONOV 2021a, 2021b.

Mazdean-Buddhist cult of the divine couple of  $\text{N}\alpha\nu\alpha$  /  $\text{A}\rho\delta\omicron\chi\phi\omicron$  /  $\text{H}\bar{\alpha}\text{r}\bar{\iota}\text{t}\bar{\iota}$  and  $\text{O}\eta\phi\omicron$  /  $\text{W}\bar{\epsilon}\check{\text{s}}\text{p}\text{a}\text{r}\text{k}\text{a}\text{r}$  /  $\text{M}\text{a}\text{h}\bar{\epsilon}\check{\text{s}}\text{v}\text{a}\text{r}\text{a}$ . This cult began to separate from Buddhism and the Indo-Scythian version of Mazdaism only after the fall of the Kuṣāṇa and Kūṣānśāh dynasties at the end of the 4<sup>th</sup> century A.D.

Meanwhile, the pre-Śaivism era in India exhibits multiple layers that might have left residual elements in the early development of Śaivism starting from the early 5<sup>th</sup> century A.D., when the first Śaivist texts were composed:

- Neolithic cults of the mother goddess, starting from Pre-Pottery Neolithic A, flourished in the Indus Valley Civilization as well as other Bronze Age cultures.
- Worship of Inanna (Nanāya), the goddess of fertility, on par with Indo-Iranian gods in the Mittani state: Indra, the Mitra-gods, the Varuna-gods, the Nasatya-gods.
- Syncretic cult of the Indo-Scythian Mazdean  $\text{O}\eta\phi\omicron$  /  $\text{W}\bar{\epsilon}\check{\text{s}}\text{p}\text{a}\text{r}\text{k}\text{a}\text{r}$  /  $\text{B}\omicron\rho\zeta\alpha\omicron\alpha\nu\delta\omicron$   $\text{I}\alpha\zeta\alpha\delta\omicron$  / *bwrz'wndy yzdy* and the Buddhist Maheśvara.
- Syncretic cult of the Indo-Scythian Mazdean  $\text{N}\alpha\nu\alpha$  /  $\text{A}\rho\delta\omicron\chi\phi\omicron$  and the Buddhist  $\text{H}\bar{\alpha}\text{r}\bar{\iota}\text{t}\bar{\iota}$  /  $\text{U}\text{m}\bar{\alpha}$ .
- Syncretic fertility cults of various demonesses (such as  $\text{H}\bar{\alpha}\text{r}\bar{\iota}\text{t}\bar{\iota}$ ,  $\text{U}\text{m}\bar{\alpha}$ ,  $\text{M}\bar{\alpha}\text{r}\bar{\iota}\text{c}\bar{\iota}$ , etc.) in Buddhism using the iconography of Hellenistic goddesses (such as Athena, Tyche, Cybele, Hekate, Baubo, Demeter, etc.).

Thus, pre-Śaivism reveals a remarkable level of cultural diffusion through the assimilation of fertility cults by the Indo-Aryans. These cults exhibited a profound multicultural essence, serving to forge a shared religious domain within the broader Eurasian world-system. This cultural amalgamation underscores the intricate interplay of beliefs and practices among diverse communities, contributing to the rich tapestry of religious expression across the region within the framework of fertility worship.

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## Transferring Divinatory Practices: An Anatolian Intermediary Between Assyria and Greece

Krzysztof ULANOWSKI<sup>1</sup>

**Abstract.** *The art of Babylonian divination was adopted by the neighbouring cultures and absorbed. Definitive evidence for direct contact between Assyria and the Ionian is lacking in Homer. However, proceeding step by step, we have confirmed Assyrian-Hittite contacts and Hittite-Lyidian contacts, and later Persian-Lyidian and Lyidian-Greek (Lyidian-Ionian) relations. We could suppose that Mesopotamian influence reached the Greek world, and this flow continued for centuries but was subject to many regional modifications. The first independent diviners were probably the itinerant experts, many of whom were non-Greeks originating from the Near East. Interactions related to war are evident in many sources; Greek mercenaries served in the East. The presence of Greek mercenaries in the army of Nebuchadnezzar is known from a poem of Alcaeus. It appears that the Hittites borrowed the methodology from the Babylonians via of the Hurrians (and/or Luwians), as many of the names for the parts and features are Hurrian. From the Hattusa archive, we know of 25 cuneiform texts relating to Ahhiyawa, with as many as seven of them being oracles. Among the Hittites, Arzawa was known as a famous center of divination, especially for the prevention of plagues. In the Iliad, Apollo from Troy was a god of such a type, and his sanctuary must have specialised in this kind of divination. Nearly all the divinatory branches were in use in the Hittite empire. The question remains only about the method of transmission of this divinatory knowledge and its accuracy to the original(s).*

**Rezumat.** *Arta divinației babiloniene a fost adoptată și absorbită de culturile învecinate. Dovezile unui contact direct între Asiria și Ionia lipsesc în textele lui Homer. Cu toate acestea, am demonstrat existența contactelor asiro-hitite și hittite-lidiene, iar mai târziu relațiile persano-lidiene și lidiene-grecești (lidiene-ioniene). Am putea presupune că influența mesopotamiană a ajuns în lumea greacă, iar acest flux a continuat timp de secole, dar a fost supus multor modificări regionale. Primii adoratori au fost probabil itineranți, dintre care mulți erau originari din Orientul Apropiat. Interacțiunile legate de război sunt evidente în multe surse: mercenarii greci au servit în Orient. Prezența mercenarilor greci în armata lui Nabucodonosor este cunoscută dintr-un poem al lui Alcaeus. Se pare că hitiții au împrumutat metodologia de la babilonieni prin intermediul hurrienilor (și/sau luwienilor), deoarece multe dintre denumirile părților și caracteristicilor sunt hurriene. Din arhiva Hattusa, cunoaștem 25 de texte cuneiforme referitoare la Ahhiyawa, dintre care aproximativ șapte sunt oracole. Printre hitiți, Arzawa era cunoscut ca un centru celebru de divinație, în special pentru prevenirea ciumei. În Iliada, Apollo din Troia era un astfel de zeu, iar sanctuarul său trebuie să se fi specializat în acest tip de divinație. Aproape toate ramurile divinatorii erau în uz în imperiul hitit. Întrebarea rămâne doar cu privire la metoda de transmitere a acestor cunoștințe divinatorii și la acuratețea lor față de cele originale.*

**Keywords:** Assyria, Anatolia, Greece, transfer, divination.

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## Introduction

The author explores the potential influence of Mesopotamian divination on Greek culture, beginning with the Mycenaeans, by examining its emergence as a distinct social practice featuring particular themes and rituals of divination. This article delves into the intricate relationships between Mesopotamian and Greek divinatory practices, highlighting their shared methodologies and the transmission of knowledge between these ancient cultures. The first challenge was selecting an appropriate title for the content under study. What is the most important issue addressed in the article? Contacts between the Mesopotamian and Hellenic worlds existed, and this is nothing new. Much more tangible is the flow of artistic influences<sup>2</sup> or heavy weaponry encountered by Greek mercenaries while serving in the Neo-Assyrian armies.

A colleague from my university, the classical philologist Bogdan Burliga, with whom I discussed this issue, asked whether there is evidence of direct borrowing of divination practices (all? selected? which ones specifically?). In his opinion, this is what the word ‘transfer’ suggests. So, the legitimate question is, is ‘transfer’ the right verb? Would not ‘adopt’ or ‘being inspired’ be more appropriate? The Greeks probably observed Assyrian divination practices and perhaps took the very idea of divination, among others, from Assyria. However, when transferring it to their own domains, did they apply it accurately and faithfully? Did they later modify it, only being under the influence of oriental inspirations? On the other hand, the term ‘inspiration’ is vague, and it is difficult, examining such rudimentary material, to be sure how to prove what ‘inspiration’ is.

In the end, I decided on the word ‘transfer’, with the emphasis that it is not about the transfer of things that, transported from point A to point B, are to remain the same. In the case of this article, it is about the transfer of ideas, ideologies, etc. and this does not mean that the same material or thought reaches from point A to point B, but rather that the original idea, as a result of this transfer, is modified and accepted to one’s own possibilities and imagination. According to *The Britannica Dictionary*, definition 3a states that it is: “to use (something, such as an idea, a skill, etc.) for a new or different purpose”.<sup>3</sup>

## Assyrian-Ionian relations

In the ancient world, divination was ubiquitous, forming a Near Eastern-Mediterranean *koine* of forms and traditions with local variants and intercultural infiltrations.<sup>4</sup> Ashurbanipal’s library contained over three hundred tablets devoted to lists of omens, more than any other class of document, encompassing every unusual occurrence in the heavens and on the earth.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> KÖSE 2012, vol. I, 330-9.

<sup>3</sup> <https://www.britannica.com/dictionary/transfer>.

<sup>4</sup> BOARDMAN, HAMMOND, vol. III, 1-31, 32-56.

<sup>5</sup> FLOWER 2008, 31-2; ULANOWSKI 2019.

In the second part of the 2<sup>nd</sup> millennium BC texts of terrestrial, teratological, and physiognomic meaning were translated from the Akkadian language and found in Syria (Emar), Anatolia (Hattusa also Ḫattuša or Hattusas; Hittite: URUḪa-at-tu-ša) and Ugarit.<sup>6</sup> The art of Babylonian divination was adopted by the neighbouring cultures and translated into various languages: Ugaritic, Hurrian, Hittite, and Elamite. Babylonian influence extended as far as India, Egypt, and Greece.<sup>7</sup> Collections of *omina* from Mesopotamia dating to the 2nd millennium BC were also found at the courts of Iran. Divination was practiced in ancient Israel under Mesopotamian influence, as well as in Greece, Etruria, and Rome.<sup>8</sup>

The Hurrians served as intermediaries in spreading extispicy to Asia Minor.<sup>9</sup> Asia Minor was home to some of the oldest oracles in the Greek world and was the heartland of Greek prophetic practices, with legendary figures such as the Sibyls originating from there.<sup>10</sup> Cilicia located within the Assyrian empire at that time, likely felt the impact of Assyrian practices in divination.<sup>11</sup> The Hittites also had connections to this region.<sup>12</sup> Cicero, proconsul in Cilicia,<sup>13</sup> noted the special prestige attached to divination in this area.<sup>14</sup>

A well-known military clash between Greeks and Assyrians in Cilicia during the reign of Sennacherib is known through the late Armenian translation of the first book of Eusebius' *Chronica Bipartium*. Telmessos, located on the fringes of Lycia and Cilicia, was renowned in classical antiquity as *urbs religioissima* and the home of diviners, potentially serving as a significant link between Greeks and the ancient Near East.<sup>15</sup> It is worth noting that there were two cities named Telmessos.<sup>16</sup> The one in Lycia, was famous for its seers, with some even journeying to distant Macedonia, highlighting the professional mobility among seers.<sup>17</sup> This city was famous for various divinatory techniques, with liver augury enjoying special status, possibly indicating an epoch when Carian mercenaries travelled to the Near East, similar to Greeks who would do so afterward.<sup>18</sup>

According to Christian writers, the Telmessians also practiced divination by dreams, further solidifying their mantic reputation. Oppenheim suggested that Hittite centers in Ionic

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<sup>6</sup> HEEßEL 2007, 8.

<sup>7</sup> KOCH-WESTENHOLZ 2000, 7; BACHVAROVA 2012; MAUL 2018, 176, 181.

<sup>8</sup> MAUL 2008, 370.

<sup>9</sup> POPKO 1995, 137.

<sup>10</sup> Paus. 10.12.1–4; ÖZYAR 2016.

<sup>11</sup> LANFRANCHI 2004, 481–96.

<sup>12</sup> STONEMAN 2011, 78.

<sup>13</sup> Cic. *De Div.* 1.1.2.

<sup>14</sup> See LEMCHE 1998, 55.

<sup>15</sup> Cic. *De Div.* 1.41.91.

<sup>16</sup> BACHVAROVA 2012, 157.

<sup>17</sup> HARVEY 1991, 245–58.

<sup>18</sup> Hdt. 2.152–4; DS 1.66.12–67.2.

Greece influenced Telmessos<sup>19</sup> and suggested Near Eastern influence on other Greek divinatory practices originating from there.<sup>20</sup> Herodotus recounts how the Persian general Mardonius sent a man called Mys to visit all the five oracles of Boeotia and Phocis (Apollo at Abae, Apollo Ismenios at Thebes, Apollo Ptoion at Ptoion, Amphiaraus at Oropos and Trophonius at Lebadeia) seeking signs for his forthcoming campaign. When Mys visited Apollo Ptoion, the oracle prophesized in the Carian language. Unfortunately, we do not know the decision of the oracle, but the implication is that Mardonius sent Alexander's son of Amyntas to Athens seeking for an alliance.<sup>21</sup>

The first known mention of the Ionians in an Akkadian text dates from shortly after 738 BC, in a letter where the Assyrian official in charge of Tyre and Sidon asks Tiglath-Pileser III to intervene against an Ionian attack.<sup>22</sup> While definitive evidence for direct contact between Assyria and Ionian is absent in Homer,<sup>23</sup> Assyrian-Hittite contacts<sup>24</sup> have been confirmed,<sup>25</sup> Assyrian-Phrygian and Hittite-Lyidian-Phrygian contacts (Gordion, the capital city of Phrygia had strong connections with Neo-Hittite kingdoms in ninth century).<sup>26</sup> Phrygians and Lydians at various times were in strong competition with each other. However, both, the Phrygians and the Lydians under the name of Maeonians were allied to Troy in the Homer's *Iliad* (*Il.* 2.864, 866). According to Herodotus (7.73), the Phrygians initially lived in Macedonia under the name of Briges and only after migrating to Asia changed their name. From the early 7th century BC, in the reigns of the Mermnad dynasty kings from Gyges onward, the Lydians gradually expanded as far east as the southern Black Sea shores.<sup>27</sup> Some inscriptions of Sargon II (721-705 BC) mentioned Mita who has been identified with the Midas, the Phrygian king, the son of Gordios.<sup>28</sup> According to the classical tradition, Midas of Phrygia and the Lydian kings offered gifts to Delphi and the eastern Aegean sanctuaries.<sup>29</sup> Consequently, the Persian-Lyidian and Lydian-Greek (Lydian-Ionian) contacts were frequent.<sup>30</sup> The Hittite empire had economic,

<sup>19</sup> OPPENHEIM 1956, 239.

<sup>20</sup> NOEGEL 2007, 215–16, ref. 100–8; RUTHERFORD 2020, 142.

<sup>21</sup> Hdt. 8.133–6, ROSENBERGER 2003, 48–9, EIDINOW 2019, 56–7.

<sup>22</sup> ND 2715, SMITH 2013, 76.

<sup>23</sup> HAUBOLD 2013, 178; SCHROTT 2001.

<sup>24</sup> In this article, the author resigned from presenting the influence of Mesopotamia on Hittite because these are commonly known facts HAZENBOS 2007, 95–7; BACHVAROVA 2012, 153–8; FRANTZ-SZABÓ 2006, 2013–17.

<sup>25</sup> BECKMAN 1983, 97–114; RUTZ 2012, 171–88; MAUL 2018, 177–9.

<sup>26</sup> WITTKÉ 2022, 849.

<sup>27</sup> SHERRATT 2022, 129.

<sup>28</sup> Interestingly, mother of Midas should be skilled in divination: “The Telmissians were skillful in interpreting the meaning of divine manifestations, and the power of divination has been bestowed not only upon the men, but also upon their wives and children from generation to generation” (*Ar. An.* 2.3.3); GUNTER 2022, 169, 175.

<sup>29</sup> GUNTER 2022, 173, 180, 182, 185; NIEMEIER 2016.

<sup>30</sup> The Phrygians and the Lydians were claimed to have an ‘ethnic kinship’ with the Greeks (at least these from Peloponnese) (See MANOLEDAKIS 2022, 585), BEEKES 2003, 47–9.

diplomatic, and possibly religious contacts with the Mycenaeans, and Lydians. Therefore, we could suppose that Mesopotamian influence reached the Greek world, and that this flow continued for centuries but was subject to many regional modifications.

### **Hittite-Mycenaean contacts. The role of Milawata/Miletus**

Now, I will concentrate on Hittite-Mycenaean relations. The expansion of the Mycenaean world began after collapse of the Minoan palaces in c. 1420/1375 BC and reached its peak in the thirteenth century. Their expansionist activities led to conflicts of interest and tensions in their relations with the Hittite empire. The Mycenaean presence in Anatolia is well-documented in Hittite and Linear B textual and archaeological evidence.<sup>31</sup> The archaeological material, particularly seals, provides important and suggestive examples of the network of relations between the Near East and Aegean including the Minoan and Mycenaean world.<sup>32</sup> For the artistic motives, see for example.<sup>33</sup>

A crucial element in this complex puzzle is the history of Miletus. In the late 16th century BC Minoan immigrants established a colony in Miletus, known as Milawata/Millawanda/Millaunda in Hittite texts. According to Niemeier's excavations, Miletus could be safely considered a Cretan colony (Late Minoan IA-IB, c. 1600-1450 BC).<sup>34</sup> Greek mythical, literary, and archaeological sources support this; with accounts such as Pausanias' mentioning of Cretans landing in Miletus and, founding the city together with Carians<sup>35</sup>. Another variant of the story involves a son of Apollo named Miletos settling in Caria and establishing the city, which he named after himself.<sup>36</sup> Yet another version attributes the founding of Miletus to the Homeric hero Sarpedon, who led colonists from Crete to Miletus in Asia Minor (Str. 14.1.6). In Herodotus opinion, they were Lycians (after Lycus the son of Pandion), who emigrated from Crete led by Sarpedon.<sup>37</sup> But also, in Herodotus 1.146.2-3 we find the account according to which the Ionians expelled and killed Carians to marry their women and conquer the city.

In later centuries, Mycenaean interest in western Anatolia increased, particularly in cities like Miletus, Ephesos, Smyrna and the Larissa area. There was a substantial Mycenaean settlement in Miletus (Milawata, Milawa(n)ta) from c. 1400 BC, while the Hittites extended their territory claiming Milawata as their possession.<sup>38</sup> At the same time, not only Mycenaean

<sup>31</sup> MAGGIDIS 2007, 71; GENZ 2010, 13-22; MUHLY 2003, 23-35.

<sup>32</sup> See ARUZ 2008; REYES 2001.

<sup>33</sup> LAFFINEUR 1978; CROWLEY 1989; DEMARAGNE 2003.

<sup>34</sup> NIEMEIER 1998, 27-30; NIEMEIER 2008, 1-36.

<sup>35</sup> Homer mentioned the Carians as the inhabitants of Miletus and allies of Troy, see *Il.* 2.867-75. Strabo confirmed the participation of the Carians and added the mythical Leleges, see Str. 12.85, 7.7.2; Paus. 7.2.5; GORMAN 2004, 20, 168-71.

<sup>36</sup> FGH 70 F 3; FGH 31 F 45.

<sup>37</sup> See Hdt. 1.173; HILLER 1974/75, 301-5.

<sup>38</sup> BRYCE 2003, 199-212; GONZÁLEZ SALAZAR 2004, 77-122.

merchants had interests in this region, but Mycenaean kings were also politically, and military involved in this region. This is evident at least as early as 1320 BC, which year fell in the reign of the Hittite king Mursilis II's reign, when a Hittite rebel sought to ally himself with the king of Ahhiyawa (Ahhiya).<sup>39</sup>

The wall paintings depicting battle scenes, sieges and warriors found in the megaron of the palaces at Mycenae and Orchomenos in Boeotia likely reflect this turbulent period.<sup>40</sup> The memory of Orchomenos was still present in Homer (*Il.* 1.381–2). This city of Milawata was also under Ahhiyawan rule for some time.<sup>41</sup> The so-called 'Milawata letter' makes it clear that the Hittites later regained control of Milawata in 1320/1315 BC while suppressing an Arzawan revolt.<sup>42</sup> However, some scholars claim that Milawata was never ruled by the Hittites.<sup>43</sup>

In the Hittite sources, in the 'Madduwatta text' (KUB 14.1), a figure known as Attarssiya (Attarissiyas) described as a 'man of Ahhiya' appears. He was militarily active both in western Anatolia and on the island of Cyprus,<sup>44</sup> possibly leading attacks against Lukka (Lydia?), a Hittite vassal territory, and directly confronting the Hittite army. However, information about him is scant, and his exact roles, whether as a king or a military leader, remains unclear. From Hittite evidence, it seems he changed his allies during this politically turbulent period.<sup>45</sup>

### Greek mercenaries

According to Burkert, a highly mobile world of cultural interaction existed between the East and West in the Dark Ages and the early Archaic Periods. He argues that the first independent diviners were itinerant experts, many of whom were not Greeks but originated from the Near East.<sup>46</sup> A notable example of the Mesopotamian-Hittite 'exchange of experts' is a Babylonian doctor living in Hattusa.<sup>47</sup> West adds: "It is not easy to avoid the conclusion that at some stage of its history the Greek epic tradition has been strongly influenced by contacts with the Eastern tradition" further noting "It is hardly going too far to say that the whole picture of the gods in the *Iliad* is oriental".<sup>48</sup> The *Iliad*, indeed, took at least some of its shape in the Greek colonies of Asia Minor.<sup>49</sup> The Near Eastern motif of the 'seventh day' was used to indicate the rapid conclusion of a siege with declarations such as "for six days I besieged it, but on the

<sup>39</sup> KBo I 10 and KUB III 72 (CTH172) obv. 67–9; FINKELBERG 2007, 4, 167.

<sup>40</sup> See IMMERSWAHR 1990, 123–5, pl. 65.

<sup>41</sup> BRYCE 2003, 204.

<sup>42</sup> MAGGIDIS 2011, 80.

<sup>43</sup> SINGER 1983, 205–17; MEE 2008, 374.

<sup>44</sup> BRYCE 1998, 140.

<sup>45</sup> KUB XIV 1 = KBo XIX 38, see SCHUOL 2002, 348.

<sup>46</sup> See BURKERT 1993; BARNETT 1956, 212–38.

<sup>47</sup> BRYCE 2003, 63–75; GÖRKE 2007, 241; FRANTZ-SZABÓ 2006, 2009.

<sup>48</sup> WEST 1988, 169.

<sup>49</sup> MORRIS 1997, 599–623; BRYCE 2004, 85–91; KITTS 2013, 108.

seventh day I conquered it, in just one day” although sometimes this period is extended to seven months or even years.<sup>50</sup>

The interactions related to war are evident in many sources because Greek mercenaries served in the East.<sup>51</sup> The Neo-Assyrian empire influenced Lydia and neighbouring Caria.<sup>52</sup> The Lydians, under the dynasty of the Mermnad kings, were sent to aid the Egyptians in the 7<sup>th</sup> century BC.<sup>53</sup> The Carians, renowned as mercenaries in the Archaic Age, date back back to the first half of the 7th century BC. Due to the harsh and impoverished nature of their homeland, they hired themselves out as mercenaries. According to Herodotus, the Greeks credited the Carians with three military innovations: the introduction of shield handles; the decoration of shields with emblems; and attachment of crests to helmets.<sup>54</sup> Owing to this last invention, the Persians dubbed them “cocks”. Mainly during the 26th Dynasty, the Carians served in the Egyptian army and were regarded as highly loyal soldiers to the Pharaohs. Ancient Egyptian sources described them as “the bronze men who came from the sea”. Herodotus, who came from the Carian city of Halicarnassus, informs us that the Carians emerged “as mercenaries in Egypt in the 7th century BC when they teamed up with the Ionians to help Psammetichus I around 664 BC assume power as founder of the 26th (Saite) Dynasty”. Psammetichus I was told by oracle that ‘bronze men’ from the sea would come and help him one day. This prophecy was fulfilled when the Carians, clad in metal armour, arrived from the sea, and “he opened his heart to them and took them into his army and reunited Egypt,” which at that time was divided. Later, Pharaoh Amasis, a descendant of Psammetichus, formed his bodyguard from Carians, whom he resettled in Memphis; a quarter of the city was named Caricon, while its inhabitants were called Caromemphites. Several texts in the Carian language have been discovered in the Memphite cemetery near modern Saqqara, where Caromemphites were buried. Carians also joined the campaign of Psammetichus II, and “the Carian soldiers who immortalized their names at Abu Simbel temple participated in the attack on Nubia. The largest number of inscriptions in the Carian language was in the form of graffiti written by mercenaries on rocks, temples, and tombs mostly in Egypt and Sudan. More than 300 inscriptions in Carian have been found, with about 200 of them located in Egypt, namely in Memphis, Sais, Buto, north Saqqara, Luxor, Elephantine Island, Abu Simbel, Silsilis, Buhen, Gebel Al-Sheikh Suleiman and Khartoum”.<sup>55</sup>

An ancient tradition holds that Arselis of Mylasa, from a Carian dynasty, and his forces fought alongside Gyges in his quest for the Lydian throne. Assyrian and Greek sources indicate

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<sup>50</sup> See LIVERANI 2017, 126.

<sup>51</sup> BURKERT 1993, 25; ROP 2019; MORRIS 2022, 105-6.

<sup>52</sup> PARPOLA 2003, 102-3.

<sup>53</sup> SHERRATT 2022, 131.

<sup>54</sup> Hdt. 1.171-4.

<sup>55</sup> See PFEIFFER 2010, 15-24.

that Gyges employed mercenaries. The Assyrian king Ashurbanipal accused Gyges of sending troops to support rebels in Egypt.<sup>56</sup> In the opinion of Haider, mercenaries from Caria and other Anatolian regions, as well as Greeks, served in the Assyrian army as early as the reign of Esarhaddon.<sup>57</sup> As mentioned earlier, Herodotus recounted that thirty thousand Carians and Ionians joined in the service of the Egyptian pharaoh Psammetichus I.<sup>58</sup> Greek mercenaries in the Egyptian service are documented in 591 BC.<sup>59</sup> Herodotus does not note that Psammetichus I initially rose to power as an Assyrian vassal. After his father's death, he fled to his overlord Ashurbanipal and returned within the same year with a victorious Assyrian army. Assyrian sources concerning the reconquest of Egypt make no mention of Carian or Greek mercenaries. However, a much later source, Polyaeus' *Strategemata* dating to the mid-2nd century AD, states that when Psammetichus defeated Tementhes (=Tantamani) in a battle at Memphis, the Carian Pigres served as his advisor, and he had many Carian mercenaries at his side (Some sources note the presence of the Carian and Ionian mercenaries in Egypt.<sup>60</sup> The various Greek terms for mercenary, *epikouros* (ally), *misthophoros* (wage-earner) and *xenos* (stranger), permit an ambiguity of interpretation regarding the nature of their service. Since at least the 7th century BC, Greek hoplites have been documented fighting in Egypt and other regions in the Near East.<sup>61</sup> Alyattes (610–560 BC), the father of Croesus hired Colophonian cavalrymen and employed Alcaeus of Lesbos.<sup>62</sup> There is significant archaeological evidence of Greek mercenaries in Phoenicia and Palestine, such as in Tell Kabiri and Mezad Hashavyahu.<sup>63</sup>

Alcaeus, a poet and a leader of an aristocratic faction in Mytilene, wrote at the transition between the 7th and 6th centuries BC. He praised the service of his brother Antimenidas rendered to the Babylonians as an ally (*symmachos*); or more accurately, as a mercenary in Nebuchadnezzar's army)<sup>64</sup>:

You have come from the ends of the earth, having.

A sword with ivory hilt and bound with gold ....<sup>65</sup>

Niemeier suggests that Antimenidas may have participated in the capture of Ashkelon by the Babylonians in c. 604 BC.<sup>66</sup> During this period, a bronze-faced, leather-backed shield of Ionian origin was discovered in the city of Carchemish, where Nebuchadnezzar defeated the

<sup>56</sup> Hdt. 1.7.2, see COGAN, TADMOR 1977, 65–84; Lanfranchi 2011, 234–5; Fuchs 2002, 415.

<sup>57</sup> HAIDER 1996, 95.

<sup>58</sup> Hdt 2.152, 2.163.1–3.

<sup>59</sup> See ROP 2019, chap. 4, 6.

<sup>60</sup> See Polyaeus. 7.3; NIEMEIER 2001, 17–18; SPALINGER 1976, 134–6, 138.

<sup>61</sup> See WHEELER 2007, LXI.

<sup>62</sup> YAVUZ, KÖRPE 2009, 439, ref. 8–13.

<sup>63</sup> See ROLLINGER 2020, 185.

<sup>64</sup> HAUBOLD, 2013, 74–5; TRUNDLE 2013, 330; MacGINNIS 2010, 160; FANTALKIN, LYTLE 2016.

<sup>65</sup> Alcaeus, fr. 350, see RAAFLAUB 2004, 208.

<sup>66</sup> NIEMEIER 2001, 18.

Egyptian pharaoh Necho II (610–595 BC).<sup>67</sup> Furthermore, it is plausible that some personal names of eventual Greek origin appeared in the Taymā inscriptions. These individuals seem to have been associated with the Babylonian king Nabonidus, who spent ten years in the Oasis of Taymā. These officers held high-ranking military positions and were part to the royal court.<sup>68</sup> If indeed these officers were Greeks, this would represent the earliest authentic Near Eastern testimony of Greek soldiers serving in the Babylonian army. Their extended tenure as officers likely afforded them the opportunity to learn the language and religious practices, including divinatory military customs.

Evidence for the mobility of seers in the ancient Near East is also apparent. This theme is present in biblical narratives as well. The renown of the prophet Elisha was such that he was summoned to the Syrian court (2 Kgs 5.8). In a biblical account, the king of Moab sought the services of a seer named Balaam from Pethor, identified as Pitru on the Euphrates south of Carchemish. Although summoned to curse Israel, the ‘spirit of God’ prompted the seer to pronounce blessings instead.<sup>69</sup>

In the Amarna correspondence requests for both physicians and seers are documented, made by the king of Ugarit as well as by the king of the Hittites and Alasia (Cyprus). King Muwatallis of Hattusa even ordered a conjurer from Babylon.<sup>70</sup> Babylonians dispatched physicians and exorcists to the Hittite court at Hattusa during the 14th and 13th centuries BC. Diviners, along with other specialists possessing esoteric knowledge such as doctors, augurs, and exorcists, were circulated among the elite during the Late Bronze Age and may have been presented as special ‘gifts’ by their kings.<sup>71</sup>

### **Divinatory specialists**

The Greeks probably borrowed their learning from the Near Eastern migrants, which they called the Chaldeans.<sup>72</sup> According to the Greeks, “the Chaldeans have observed the stars since ancient times and have the greatest skill in astrology; and discerning more keenly than all other men the movements and powers of each, they foretell to mankind many things which are destined to take place”.<sup>73</sup> They were treated as masters of prophecy and experts in Mesopotamian lore. Diodorus Siculus mentioned that the Chaldeans are said to have been interested not only in astrology but in viscera (DS 2.29). Probably in the Hellenistic period they still practiced extispicy. In Hellenistic Uruk, they associated parts of the entrails with months,

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<sup>67</sup> SEKUNDA 2013, 203.

<sup>68</sup> ROLLINGER 2020, 185–6.

<sup>69</sup> Num 22–4, see DALLEY 1998, 21–2.

<sup>70</sup> BURKERT 1993, 42; BREMMER 2008, 135–6; HELLBING 1979, 23–4.

<sup>71</sup> ZACCAGNINI 1983, 250–1; HEEßEL 2009, 15.

<sup>72</sup> LIVINGSTONE 2002, 127; MAUL 2013, 14–19.

<sup>73</sup> DS 2.30–1, MURPHY 1989, 39, 41.

gods, and zodiacal constellations.<sup>74</sup> Probably these Chaldeans, wandering diviners, visited Plato during his last night alive (It is interesting that Aristotle claims that ‘the Chaldeans among the Babylonians or Assyrians’ were among those who invented philosophy.<sup>75</sup> They were responsible for the dissemination of Mesopotamian wisdom in the late antique world.<sup>76</sup> According to the account of Ctesias, the Babylonian Belesys was not a warrior but an eminent priest and astrologer:

“This man was Belesys, the most distinguished of the priests whom the Babylonian call Chaldeans. And since he had great experience both of astrology and divination he was accustomed to predicting the future to the masses with unerring accuracy”.<sup>77</sup>

Herodotus in his account on the fall of Babylon let the Persian Zopyrus say that the Babylonian communicated with the gods.<sup>78</sup> The connection between *Šumma izbu* and the portent of the mule in Herodotus (1.91.5–6) is striking.<sup>79</sup> Belesys, the Babylonian (Chaldaean) priest is a very good example because he had great experience of both astrology and divination.<sup>80</sup> Diodorus stresses great appreciation of Alexander the Great for the skills of the Chaldeans.<sup>81</sup> The Babylonian seers might have performed extispicy for the health of the reigning king, and Peithagoras surely added this to his repertoire during his stay at Babylon. It is characteristic of systems of divination across cultures and across time that they are open to mutual influences.<sup>82</sup>

For the Greeks, the Chaldeans were often associated with magical utterances. The above mentioned Belesys says that the gods had given him a sign, and after observation of the stars that the rebels will win against Sardanapallus.<sup>83</sup> Sardanapallus was in possession of an oracle, handed down from his ancestors, which said that no one would take the city Ninus by force unless the river had first become hostile to it.<sup>84</sup> According to Ctesias, “torrential storms persistently broke out and it so happened that the Euphrates grew swollen, flooded the part of the city and brought down a section of wall 20 stades in length and Sardanapallus believed that the river became hostile to the city”.<sup>85</sup>

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<sup>74</sup> See REINER 1995, 78; KUHRT 1982, 545–6.

<sup>75</sup> D. L. 1.1; Str. 3.7; ERLER 2011, 228, ref. 18.

<sup>76</sup> ANNUS 2010, 11–12.

<sup>77</sup> Books 1–3, F 1b 24 in LLEWELLYN-JONES, ROBSON 2010, 133, HAUBOLD 2013, 92–3.

<sup>78</sup> Hdt. 3.153.

<sup>79</sup> DALLEY, REYES 1998, 109–10.

<sup>80</sup> Books 1–3, 24.1 in LLEWELLYN-JONES, ROBSON 2010, 133.

<sup>81</sup> DS 17.116.4.

<sup>82</sup> FLOWER 2008, 131.

<sup>83</sup> Books 1–3, 25.5 and 8 in LLEWELLYN-JONES, ROBSON 2010, 135.

<sup>84</sup> Books 1–3, 26.9 in LLEWELLYN-JONES, ROBSON 2010, 136.

<sup>85</sup> Books 1–3, 27.1–2 in LLEWELLYN-JONES, ROBSON 2010, 137.

For Greeks, the Babylonians were not only skilled in astronomy but were outstanding in wisdom, in divination by means of dreams and portents, and for having complete knowledge as far as divine matters are concerned:

“Belesys, while talking to Arbaces in front of the doors near a certain manger at which two horses were feeding, fell asleep there at around midday. He had a dream in which he saw one of the horses bringing chaff in his mouth to him and the sleeping, and the other horse asking, ‘Why are you doing that, my friend – taking chaff to that man?’ And the other one answered, ‘I envy him: for he is destined to be the king of all the lands which Sardanapallus now rules’”.<sup>86</sup>

The art of extispicy originated in Mesopotamia (Tacit. *Hist.* 2.3). Even as late as in the 1st century BC, Diodorus Siculus was aware of the many methods of Babylonian divination.<sup>87</sup> Morris referring to the *Odyssey* (*Od.* 17.383), says that the diviners had introduced many Near Eastern practices to Greek religion.<sup>88</sup> Given the Mycenaean intensive contacts in the Eastern Mediterranean, they could hardly fail to encounter extispicy.<sup>89</sup> Various techniques of divination came to Greece from the Near East at different periods, and probably different Greek *poleis* took their heritage from different places and sources. There was not a single place of origin in the Greek world, but many.<sup>90</sup>

According to Bremmer: “They (the Greeks) were open to foreign influences, but they were never slavish followers”.<sup>91</sup> The terms of employment and image of the expert projected were transformed in relation to the new cultural conditions. The seer’s craft was no longer completely dependent on the palace and the king. The seer became an itinerant specialist, whose body of knowledge was oral, not written, and who was not required to serve a single employer. In the opinion of Flower, this may explain why some migrant charismatics probably left their homes in Babylonia or Assyria for the relative freedom of employment in Greece. Although some of the Greek seer’s functions were in the Archaic Age absorbed by other specialists, such as doctors and philosophers. Polycrates of Samos, the Athenians Tolmides, Cimon, Pericles, Nicias, and Alcibiades, the Spartans Lysander and Agesilaus, Dion of Syracuse, Timoleon of Corinth, and the Macedonians Philip II and Alexander the Great maintained private seers, undoubtedly at big personal expense.<sup>92</sup>

In the *Diagnostic and Prognostic Handbook* (Akkadian: Sakikkū, Sumerian: SA.GIG), attributed to Esagil-kīn-apli, the chief scholar of Babylonian king Adad-apla-iddina (1067–1046 BC), we

<sup>86</sup> FGrH 90 F3; LLEWELLYN-JONES, ROBSON 2010, 145.

<sup>87</sup> DS 2.29.

<sup>88</sup> MORRIS 1992, 107.

<sup>89</sup> FURLEY, GYSEMBERGH 2015, 10–11.

<sup>90</sup> For the Near Eastern contacts and influence on the Greek world see DALLEY, REYES 1998, 85–124; NOEGEL 2007, 191–2, ref. 4. Greek divinatory practices from ancient Near East, see LÓPEZ-RUIZ 2010, 172–202; BREMMER 2008, 133–52; BURKERT 1993, 41–87.

<sup>91</sup> BREMMER 1999, 55.

<sup>92</sup> FLOWER 2008, 31.

find an early example of diagnosing illnesses based on natural causes through a range of symptoms such as temperature (hot or cold), moisture levels (moist or dry), and colors (red, yellow, black, or dark). These signs were interpreted as omens within divination practices. Interestingly, the four-color indicators align closely with the Hippocratic theory of the four main bodily humors, which played a key role in diagnoses and prognoses in the Hippocratic corpus. Specifically, each color corresponds to a bodily fluid: red to blood, dark to phlegm, yellow to yellow bile, and black to black bile. Furthermore, the characteristics of hot and dry relate to yellow bile, hot and moist to blood, cold and moist to phlegm, and cold and dry to black bile. This implies that Esagil-kīn-apli's use of these diagnostic and prognostic signs predates Hippocratic approaches, showcasing an early structured use of these indicators in medical practice.<sup>93</sup>

### Extispicy

West notes that various types of divination, including extispicy, were practiced in Greece, all of which originated in the ancient Near East and likely arrived in Greece between the 8th and 6th centuries BC.<sup>94</sup> Burkert is of the same opinion “the inspection of the livers of the victims developed into a special art: how the various lobes are formed and colored is eagerly awaited and evaluated at every act of slaughter. In Homer, at all events, there is an allusion to this practice at one point, evidently it was taken over from the East in the 8th–7th centuries”.<sup>95</sup> Though Homer does not explicitly mention hepatoscopy, the most recent books of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* refer to a seer inspecting entrails, and liver inspections appear on Athenian black-figure vases. It is probable that the technique of sacrificial divination entered Greece from the Near East around 700 BC.<sup>96</sup>

In the Assyrian school, there exists a strict order of examination of the ten parts of the liver, a practice with no parallel in the Greek world. Conversely, while the Assyrian adhered to a strict order, the Greeks seemed to place greater emphasis on visual associations, focusing particularly on the liver's overall shape, color, and texture. Etruscan hepatoscopy, however, retains more of the complexity of Near Eastern techniques compared to Greek divination.<sup>97</sup> Notably, the Etruscan bronze liver model exemplifies this complexity.<sup>98</sup>

The transmission of Babylonian techniques to the West is evidenced by agreements between Greek and Akkadian technical terms for parts of the liver, as well as discoveries of model livers in Etruria. Numerous linguistic borrowings remain the subject of ongoing

<sup>93</sup> GELLER 2019, 48; SCHUMANN 2024, 15.

<sup>94</sup> WEST 2003, 46–51; COLLINS 2008, 319–345.

<sup>95</sup> BURKERT 2007, 112–13, ref. 30.

<sup>96</sup> BREMMER 2008, 1–8; POWER, RASKO 2008, 421; FURLEY, GYSEMBERGH 2015, 10; ULANOWSKI 2016.

<sup>97</sup> FLOWER 2008, 33; THULIN 1968; PFIFFIG 1975; COLLINS 2008, 319–345.

<sup>98</sup> FURLEY, GYSEMBERGH 2015, 6.

discussion.<sup>99</sup> According to Burkert “a whole string of Greek terms looks like a translation from the Akkadian. Here as there, the liver has a ‘gate’, a ‘head’, a ‘path’, and a ‘river’”.<sup>100</sup> Nougayrol stresses that “the impressive number of semantically equivalent terms in Greek and Akkadian extispicy even if they do not denote the same parts of the liver could hardly be coincidental”.<sup>101</sup> Bachvarova observes that the Akkadian term ‘weapon’ and the Greek term ‘knife’ are both related to questions of personal safety and warfare.<sup>102</sup> Interestingly, letters from the royal palace archives of Mari, Old Babylonian extispicy records, and Greek descriptions demonstrate that in both traditions, in the case of important decisions, a double examination of two sacrificial sheep with two alternative questions took place.<sup>103</sup>

Furley and Gysembergh present the terminology used in extispicy in the Akkadian and Greek texts.<sup>104</sup> They suggest that “the Greeks did indeed learn hepatoscopy from their Eastern neighbours but modified the terminology over time and in accordance with influential models such as medicine/anatomy and astrology, which were strongly developed in Hellenistic and Roman Egypt”.<sup>105</sup> However, they caution that this coincidence in descriptive terms for the liver may be deceptive; the words with the same, or similar, meaning in Greek and Akkadian often seem to refer to different parts of the liver while others appear to describe the same phenomenon in both traditions.<sup>106</sup> The main difference is that the Greeks presented sheep’s liver in the papyrological texts personified as a *homunculus*, which represented a microcosm of man. It has a ‘head’, a ‘heart’, ‘ears’, ‘hands’, ‘shoulders’, ‘chest’ etc.<sup>107</sup>

There are ‘auspicious’ and ‘hostile’ sections of the liver, and the interpretation of observations varies accordingly: what is considered normal is good in the auspicious section but dangerous in the hostile one. Malformation in the hostile section is considered favorable and *vice versa*.<sup>108</sup> Popko also mentioned that “the signs could be good or bad. A good sign appearing on the right side was auspicious. This would suggest that a bad sign on the left side could also be regarded as a favourable presage”.<sup>109</sup> The Mesopotamian and Greek traditions are also very similar in their view of the ominous significance of the presence or absence of an organ (specifically the lobe or ‘head’ of the liver) during the examination of a sacrificial animal. A missing ‘head’ indicates that catastrophe will befall the leader, while two ‘heads’ predict two

<sup>99</sup> WEST 2003, 48; MEYER 1985, 105–20; Van der MEER 1987.

<sup>100</sup> The most detailed Greek text related to this topic is Rufus Onom. 158.5 ff., see BURKERT 1993, 50, ref. 21.

<sup>101</sup> NOUGAYROL 1955, 511.

<sup>102</sup> BACHVAROVA 2012, 148.

<sup>103</sup> MAUL 2018, 68–9, 99.

<sup>104</sup> FURLEY, GYSEMBERGH 2015, 25–7.

<sup>105</sup> FURLEY, GYSEMBERGH 2015, 28–9.

<sup>106</sup> FURLEY, GYSEMBERGH 2015, 6, 88; BACHVAROVA 2012, 144–8.

<sup>107</sup> FURLEY, GYSEMBERGH 2015, 20, 53, 58.

<sup>108</sup> BURKERT 1993, 50, ref. 20–2.

<sup>109</sup> POPKO 1995, 138.

rival powers.<sup>110</sup> A detailed study of the papyri sheds light on the extent to which Greek hieroscopy was influenced by *barâtu*. Naturally, this evidence must be handled with care, as the papyri date to the 1st–4th centuries AD.<sup>111</sup> Furley and Gysembergh claim that “although the Greeks probably acquired the art of hepatoscopy from Mesopotamia, they devoted independent thought to its rationale. Its authority derived presumably from its ancient credentials and pedigree, religious beliefs, and quasi-scientific theorizing”.<sup>112</sup>

The custom of investigating the liver was quite typical, and one finds evidence for it even in the Bible (Ezek 21.26.). Mesopotamian extispicy moved west to the Hittites in Asia Minor, and probably from there to Greece.<sup>113</sup> Herodotus’ claim (2.58) that extispicy originated in Egypt and that the Greeks adopted it from the Egyptians cannot be proved, as extispicy is not attested in Egypt before the Hellenistic Period.<sup>114</sup> The Greeks were likely influenced by the tendency among Egyptian intellectuals of the Late Period to present their culture as the oldest in human history.<sup>115</sup> Bachvarova suggests that the most probable source for Greek liver divination was Anatolia, especially considering the role of liver divination in planning war, which explains how the practice was transferred to Greece.

Mesopotamian hepatoscopy diffused, and models of livers have been found in Alalakh, Tell el Hajj in Asia Minor, Ugarit in Syria, Hazor, Megido (Megiddo) in Palestine, and in Cyprus (Ath. *Deipn.* IV 74, records that Zeus ‘dissector of entrails’ was worshipped in Cyprus; “This local attribute of Zeus is presumably connected with the role played by the storm god Adad, alongside the sun god Shamash in writing the signs on the liver in the ancient Near East tradition”.<sup>116</sup> Two miniature bronze livers with Ugaritic affinities were found in Enkomi, Cyprus, dating back to the 12th or 11th century BC.<sup>117</sup> The presence of Hurrian terminology in the Hittite hepatoscopic texts hints at Hurrian mediation in the spread of this practice into Anatolia. However, its origin must have been Mesopotamian, as in Hurrian texts, the same terminology (which is also partly derived from Akkadian) is expressed by Sumerograms.<sup>118</sup>

<sup>110</sup> For Mesopotamia, see MEYER 1987, 74, for Greek material, see Eur. *El.* 826–33; Cic. *De Div.* 2.34; STARR 2008, 2; FURLEY, GYSEMBERGH 2015, 12.

<sup>111</sup> FURLEY, GYSEMBERGH 2015, 77.

<sup>112</sup> FURLEY, GYSEMBERGH 2015, 5.

<sup>113</sup> BURKERT 1993, 46–53.

<sup>114</sup> See Van der MEER 1987, 186, no. 3.

<sup>115</sup> See HAUBOLD 2013, 77.

<sup>116</sup> See FURLEY, GYSEMBERGH 2015, 7, ref. 22; KOCH 2015, 74; BURKERT 1993, 48; CRYER 1994, 295–305; RUTZ 2013, 227; MAUL 2018, 178–9.

<sup>117</sup> See DIETRICH 1978, 2; MEYER 1987, 273; TURFA 2012, 265.

<sup>118</sup> 3394 MINUNNO 2013, 89; The cultural interaction between the Assyrian, northern Mesopotamian, and Hurrian traditions is discussed in PONGRATZ-LEISTEN 2015, 61–74; RUTHERFORD 2020; PONGRATZ-LEISTEN 2015, 61–74; RUTHERFORD 2020, 38.

Notably, one of the earliest references to Ahhiyawa (likely the Achaeans) is mentioned in a liver oracle from the 15th century Hittite heritage.<sup>119</sup>

According to Tacticus, the clan of Tamiras brought extispicy from Cilicia to Paphos in Cyprus, where it was taken over by the priests of Aphrodite's temple, who belonged to the clan of Cinyras, the legendary king whose west Semitic name reflects Late Bronze Age contacts between Cyprus and north Syria.<sup>120</sup> There is speculation that Assyrian hepatoscopy may have been practiced in Tarsos, Cilicia.<sup>121</sup>

Some technical information regarding the manufacture of model livers for instructional purposes appears to have bypassed the Greek mainland but traveled via Lydia to Etruria. In late Republican Rome, Cicero wrote that “nearly everyone uses entrails in divination (*extis enim omnes fere utuntur*),” a practice common to Greeks, Romans, and other ancient people.<sup>122</sup> According to Burkert, the correspondence between Etruscan and Assyrian hepatoscopy is evident.<sup>123</sup> Prophecy and oracles are also topics of potential mutual influences in the ancient world. Inanna (Ištar) was the main goddess of Arbela, and the method of prophesizing there might have influenced great Hellenic oracle centers like Delphi or Dodona.<sup>124</sup> Rosół suggests a connection between the ecstatic mantic of Apollo and that of the ancient Near East.<sup>125</sup>

### Dreams, ornithomancy, and other branches of divination

We can identify several common features in the practice oracle-making. In the *Assyrian Dream Book*, we read: “If a man dreams that he is eating a raven (*āribu*), he will have income (*irbu*). If a man dreams, he is eating human flesh (*šūru*), he will have great riches (*šarû*)”. Such wordplay is also employed in explaining dreams in the *Babylonian Talmud* and in the *Oneirocritica* of Artemidorus.<sup>126</sup> Noegel asserts: “Like the scholars of the Near East, Artemidorus employs word plays of all sorts, including *notariqon* and *gematria*, two interpretive strategies that consider the anagramic and numerical values of words, respectively. Another feature found in Artemidorus and in the Near Eastern dream oracles, is the use of literary and mythological texts as interpretive templates”.<sup>127</sup> In the *Iliad*, Agamemnon has a dream, termed a lying dream because he is intentionally misled by a divinity (*Il.* 2.6–34). We find

<sup>119</sup> AhT 22§25, see RUTHERFORD 2020, 38.

<sup>120</sup> Tact. *Hist.* 2.3.1, see BACHVAROVA 2012, 157, see BURKERT 1993, 49; BURKERT 2011, 418.

<sup>121</sup> BURKERT 1993, 48, ref. 7; BACHVAROVA 2012, 157, ref. 92.

<sup>122</sup> Cic. *De Div.* 1.10; LAWRENCE 1979, 38–41. 7; COLLINS 2008, 320.

<sup>123</sup> BURKERT 1993, 46.

<sup>124</sup> GURNEY 1981, 145.

<sup>125</sup> Wen-Amon 1.34–43, RITNER 2003, 219–20; 1 Kgs 16.26–8; ROSÓŁ 2010, 76.

<sup>126</sup> See ANNUS 2010, 8. Some Jewish commandments are formulated in the Talmud as conditional statements, which shows that these may well be the rudiments of some Hebrew divination in the form of Akkadian ones, formulated first through conditional statements in which the violation of a commandment is a sign (omen) for subsequent negative consequences. So, the violation of some commandments was an apodosis in divination (SCHUMANN 2021, 346).

<sup>127</sup> NOEGEL 2002, 170–171.

Mesopotamian parallels: “the Mesopotamian dream rituals also speak of ‘misleading’ (*sarāru*) dreams as well as ‘obscure’ (*ekēlu*, lit. ‘dark’) dreams”.<sup>128</sup>

In the *Epic of Gilgamesh*, not all dreams are presumed to be direct messages from the gods, yet any dream is recognized as potentially portentous. The *Assyrian Dream Book* establishes a primary division between auspicious and inauspicious dreams, but also makes clear that dreams were not regarded as reliable sources of information. A calamitous dream might be considered auspicious, while a more pleasant dream might foretell doom. For example: “If a man [in his dream] ascends [to heaven] and the gods bless him this man will die ... and the gods curse him: this man will live long”.<sup>129</sup> Dreams could be auspicious or inauspicious, but through a special ritual, it is possible to neutralize the evil consequences of an inauspicious dream, or to activate the positive potential of an auspicious one. Theoretically, the greatest danger comes from dreams that remain unanalysed.<sup>130</sup> Interestingly, there existed a procedure that could be undertaken to change the contents of the king’s dream and, therefore his ensuing fate. Neither the specific contents of the dream nor their accurate interpretation appears to play a direct role in this ritual (Old Babylonian incantation collective).<sup>131</sup>

It is intriguing that in Herodotus’ work, all dreams come that true are dreamt by barbarians, who, according to Herodotus, do not know how to interpret oracles.<sup>132</sup> This could suggest that the Greeks believed they alone possessed knowledge of divination practices. Despite this, the Greeks did not attribute their divinatory practices to Eastern origins. Notably, the Lycian oracle in Patara, devoted to Apollo and established under Greek influence in 4th century BC, originated much earlier within an Anatolian context. It employed traditional Hittite methods; the priestess of the god would enclose herself within the temple at night for prophetic inspiration. During these dreams, they communicated with the gods.<sup>133</sup> The Hittites also distinguished their dreams for messaging and ominous content.<sup>134</sup>

Bird augury played a significant role in divinatory practices in Babylonia.<sup>135</sup> The treatment of thunder and lightning as omens, along with augury, was influenced by the Hittites, impacting not only Mesopotamian, but also Greek and Roman divination practices.<sup>136</sup> Hittite bird divination, called *mušen hurri* - a combination of bird divination and extispicy<sup>137</sup> - is well documented in the texts, and is primarily of Hurrian tradition. However, the analysis of bird

<sup>128</sup> NOEGEL 2007, 213.

<sup>129</sup> NOEGEL 2007, 213.

<sup>130</sup> HUSSER 1999, 31.

<sup>131</sup> VAS 17, 28 in PETERSON 2009, 125–141.

<sup>132</sup> STONEMAN 2011, 106.

<sup>133</sup> BRYCE 1986, 198–9; ARCHI 1971, 190.

<sup>134</sup> RUTHERFORD 2020, 39; MOUTON 2007.

<sup>135</sup> BURKERT 1993, 53, ref. 35.

<sup>136</sup> POPKO 1985, 136–7.

<sup>137</sup> CRYER 1994, 226–7; PUHVEL 2003, 325–6.

entrails for divination was also practiced in Mesopotamia.<sup>138</sup> Hittite augury, which had its own technical language was widely used including in military context.<sup>139</sup> In the opinion of Rutherford: “Like Hittite augurs, Homer knows a division of the augural field into a right (favourable) and left (unfavourable) side”.<sup>140</sup> A Greek inscription from Ephesus (probably from the late 6<sup>th</sup> or early 5<sup>th</sup> century BC) highlights the significance of a method based on the opposition of right/favourable and left/unfavorable.<sup>141</sup> Ephesus, known to the Hittites as Apaša was a capital city of Arzawa, held a special status in augury, particularly as a renowned center for divination aimed at preventing plagues. The Greek Apollo shared many attributes with his Eastern predecessors, such as Yarri, Nergal, Reshef etc. Later, many powerful oracles in Asia Minor, including the oracle of Clarian Apollo at Colophon, were dedicated to Apollo.<sup>142</sup> Interestingly, the Greeks claimed that the augury originated from the Phrygians or the Carians.<sup>143</sup>

The method of divination known as lecanomancy, which involves pouring oil onto water or sprinkling flour onto a liquid, was practiced both in Mesopotamia and Greece.<sup>144</sup> The term lecanomancy literally translates to ‘bowl-divination’ or ‘divining with a cup’.<sup>145</sup> The liquids would be poured into a dish, termed a *lekáne* in Greek, a word Burkert suggest is cognate with the Akkadian *lahannu* and Aramaic *laqnu*. Aeschylus, in his *Agamemnon*, mentions the act of pouring vinegar and flour into the same glass to observe their movements, indicative of divinatory practices.<sup>146</sup> The procedure with flour mentioned by Gudea is also familiar to the author of the *Odyssey* as a method to discern the will of the gods (*Od.* 3.440). Maul references the lexicographer Hesychius, who noted that in the fifth or sixth century AD, Apollo had taken on the role of the sun god Shamash from the ancient Near East, becoming known as the *aleuromantis*, the god who offered guidance to humans through signs made with flour.<sup>147</sup>

Divination through smoke, originating from Babylonian, was also widespread in ancient Greece. Lactanius Placidus writes of the existence of a *Liber de turis signis*, a book on interpreting signs from incense, purportedly authored by the legendary seer Tiresias.<sup>148</sup>

<sup>138</sup> MINUNNO 2013, 89, ref. 547; ARCHI 1975, 139–41; MAUL 2018, 104–6.

<sup>139</sup> MAH 15.987, Rs. 19–20 and BM 22.740, 38–44 in NOUGAYROL 1967, 24–5 and respectively 27, RUTHERFORD 2020, 132–3.

<sup>140</sup> RUTHERFORD 2020, 140.

<sup>141</sup> LSAM 30, see COLLINS 2002, 28; DALLEY, REYES 1998, 100.

<sup>142</sup> RUTHERFORD 2020, 134, 140.

<sup>143</sup> MAUL 2018, 129.

<sup>144</sup> See PETTINATO 1966; WINITZER 2010, 185, ref. 34.

<sup>145</sup> KOCH 2015, 134; MAUL 2018, 142.

<sup>146</sup> A. A. 322–5; BURKERT 1993, 53, ref. 35–6.

<sup>147</sup> *Od.* 3.440.

<sup>148</sup> MAUL 2018, 133, ref. 40.

The text *Šumma izbu*, which addresses monstrous births, is believed by West to have a counterpart in Greek divination practices.<sup>149</sup> This aspect of divination was undoubtedly known to the Hittites as well.<sup>150</sup>

Necromancy was also practiced under Mesopotamian influence.<sup>151</sup> Steiner illustrated how the mantic practices depicted in the *Odyssey*, specifically in chapter 11 (the *Book of the Dead*) derive from Hittite necromancy rituals, which, in his opinion, themselves have Mesopotamian origins.<sup>152</sup>

With the decline of Babylonian culture, the knowledge encapsulated in *Enuma Anu Enlil* was not lost but rather found its way into Greek literature. Gehlken notes that “passages from the weather tablets, translated almost literally, are found for example in the poem Περὶ σεισμῶν, which is attributed to both Hermes Trismegistos and Orpheus. In Aristoteles’ *Meteorologica* or Euktemon’s Περὶ σημείων one is also reminded of *Enuma Anu Enlil*”.<sup>153</sup> The so-called astrolabe also corresponds with Hesiod’s *Work and Days* and dates to the early 2nd millennium BC.<sup>154</sup> In the opinion of Starr, the practice of hemerology, as seen in the *Brontoscopic Calendar* of Nigidius Figulus, derives from Babylonian sources.<sup>155</sup>

### Celestial divination

The *Enuma Anu Enlil*, the Babylonian series of omens, which demonstrates a systematic approach to divination, linking celestial and terrestrial events in a causally connected universe. This perspective underpins the notion that the observable world, including the movements of celestial bodies, reflects the divine will, a concept deeply rooted in Mesopotamian culture and later absorbed into Greek thought. The transmission of this worldview from Mesopotamia to Greece contributed significantly to the development of Greek philosophy, particularly the natural philosophy of the Ionian thinkers, who sought rational explanations for the cosmos's structure and workings.

The Greeks referred to astronomy as ‘Chaldean’ acknowledging its ancient origins and the considerable influence of Babylonian scholars (DS 2.31; Cic. *De Div.* 1.2). The designation ‘Chaldean’ is repeated constantly in the Greek sources. For example, a Chaldean *mantis* is mentioned before battle when Attalus faced the Gauls in 241 BC (Polyaen. 4.20). Ptolemy showed that the main astrological themes were transmitted to Greek (*Tetrabiblos* bks. I–II).<sup>156</sup> The activities of the Babylonian astrologers, which had been carried out for centuries, exerted

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<sup>149</sup> WEST 2003, 49, ref. 208.

<sup>150</sup> RIEMSCHEIDER 1970.

<sup>151</sup> BEERDEN 2010, 265–82; LATRINER 2007, 811.

<sup>152</sup> STEINER 1971, 265–83; COLLINS 2002, 224, 242.

<sup>153</sup> GEHLKEN 2012, 1.

<sup>154</sup> GEHLKEN 2012, 5.

<sup>155</sup> STARR 2008, 2.

<sup>156</sup> ROCHBERG 2004, 67; KOCH-WESTENHOLZ 1981, 82.

considerable influence on Egyptian and Greek astrology and led to ‘scientific’ astronomy<sup>157</sup> during the Seleucid-Parthian Period<sup>158</sup>. Berossos<sup>159</sup> established the first astrological school in Greece, (FGrH 689 F 15–22). This school, according to Vitruvius, focused on astronomy (Vitr. 9.6.2) in the 4th century BC. The work of Ptolemy in the *Tetrabiblos* further illustrates how the main astrological themes were adopted and adapted from Babylonian to Greek contexts, showcasing a blend of observation, mathematical astronomy, and astrological interpretation that formed the foundation of Hellenistic astrology.<sup>160</sup>

The Stoics, including Zeno of Citium (c. 334–262 BC), the founder of Stoic philosophy, advocated strongly for various forms of divination. The Stoic philosophers (for example Diogenes of Babylon [c. 230–150 BC] and Posidonius [c. 135–151 BC]) embraced the Chaldeans’ astrology, recognizing it as a refined art of divination. Moreover, Philodemus made an observation comparing the Stoic logical handbooks to the Chaldaean’s omen books, suggesting that both used a similar logical method based on implications.<sup>161</sup> He concluded that this method was fantastical in nature: “And by publishing technical manuals they are able to publish dreams for the purpose of deceiving those who read them, as the Chaldaean and diviners do, and perhaps they too are in error themselves. And it follows, if anything, that sophistic is an art, but that it is also an art of politics, [not even] they themselves urge. And no one, surely, intended to derive those who speak with ability and intelligence in assemblies and courts as experts [from that source].

And yet [it was proposed] with regard to rhetoric [whether] certain people [seem] to conduct themselves technically [in assemblies] and courts. But those who are trained in the schools do not share even one of the virtues of those men”.<sup>162</sup>

The punning hermeneutic, a characteristic of Near Eastern divinatory and literary texts, also found its way into Greek material. This method, involving *amāt niširti* (‘hidden words’) and *pirištu ša ilī* (‘secret of the gods’) underscores the shared semiotic systems between Mesopotamian and Greek Cultures in interpreting omens and portends.<sup>163</sup>

For example, in several passages the planet Saturn is considered equivalent with the Sun, and with the constellation of the Scales (The Scales are the symbol of justice linked to royal ideology, and the heroic warrior god Ninurta).<sup>164</sup> This enables “the Mesopotamian scholars to

<sup>157</sup> PINGREE 1998, 125–37.

<sup>158</sup> MAUL 2008, 365; BROWN 2008, 467–8, ref. 21–3; ROCHBERG 2010, 1–11.

<sup>159</sup> It is very meaningful that Pliny the Elder talks about the statue which the Athenians set up to celebrate Berossos’ powers of prophecy and Pausanias makes him the father of the Sibyl. Plin. NH 7.123; Paus. 10.12.9, see MAUL 2013, 11–12.

<sup>160</sup> See ROCHBERG 2004, 117, 137, 193, 239, 243, 16, ref. 2; WEST 2003, 48.

<sup>161</sup> SCHUMANN 2024a.

<sup>162</sup> Philodemus, *Rhetorica*, col. XVIII, see CHANDLER 2006, 30.

<sup>163</sup> See NOEGEL 2002; NOEGEL 2007, 193; NOEGEL 2019, 31–2.

<sup>164</sup> See BROWN 2000, 61, 69–70; HUNGER, STEELE 2019, 149.

replace one by the other in the application of certain omens to a given observation. Greek astrological sources used in a special way the colors attributed to planets as well as to fixed stars: if a planet had the same color as a fixed star, it could take the place of the other in the interpretation of omens”.<sup>165</sup>

According to Campion, it is possible to identify a fundamental continuity from the earliest Babylonian astrology to its Greek counterpart. In his opinion, Mesopotamian astrology spread east to India and west to Asia Minor, Greece, and Egypt; “The customary route for the introduction of horoscopic astrology into India, as to Egypt, is said to be *via* the Hellenistic world following Alexander’s conquests”. Even more interesting is a Campion’s general statement that the popular opinion generally held among scientists, that there was no transition of “Mesopotamian culture to the Greek word was caused by the modern tendency to see Greece as the origin of the more admirable qualities of post Enlightenment culture, particularly its rationalism, individualism and reliance on science”.<sup>166</sup> A very strange attribute of the goddess Ištar is her beard. The ‘beard’ of the planet Venus (associated with Ištar) was a figurative description for the radiance of the planet.<sup>167</sup> Among the Hurrians the equivalent of Ištar was the goddess Šauška. This goddess is represented in double (male-female) nature in the reliefs of Yazilikaya. Probably this duality is caused by the complicated nature of Ištar who was represented both as Morning and Evening Stars, but another explanation is the depiction of this goddess with a beard which suggests dual nature of the god(ess). In a discussion in Herodotus about the city Pedasa in Caria, he mentions that the priestess of this city grows a long beard when her city is threatened by enemies.<sup>168</sup>

Mesopotamian divination was an all-embracing semantic system designed to interpret the whole universe. In Greece, the belief that the entire universe is causally connected, is an Ionian Greek invention which is already found in the *Babylonian Diviner’s Manual*:

“The signs on earth just as those in the sky give us signals. Sky and earth both produce portents though appearing separately. They are not separate, (because) sky and earth are related. A sign that portends evil in the sky is (also) evil in the earth, one that portends evil on earth is evil in the sky”.<sup>169</sup>

Thus, the flow of ideas from Mesopotamia to Greece and beyond represents a complex web of cultural exchange that laid the groundwork for significant developments in science, philosophy, and religion in the ancient world.

## Summary

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<sup>165</sup> SAA 8, XVI, no. 39, rev. 5–6, no. 40; SAA 10, no. 51, rev. 8–9; BOBROVA, MILITAREV 1993, 307–29.

<sup>166</sup> CAMPION 2000, 538.

<sup>167</sup> ROCHBERG 2004, 172.

<sup>168</sup> BELMONTE, CÉSAR GONZÁLEZ GARCIA 2014, 113; Hdt. 1.175.1.

<sup>169</sup> OPPENHEIM 1974, 204, ll. 38–42; see ANNUS 2010, 2; ROCHBERG 2004, 166.

In the process of cultural transmission, it's natural to observe differences between Near Eastern and Greek divinatory practices. Mesopotamian divination encompassed numerous specialized categories of practitioners, each with specific expertise, including purifiers belonging to a separate category.

In contrast, Greek seers combined various types and functions into one comprehensive profession. The practice of divination in the ancient Near East was notably complex, with extensive omen collections like those found in Ashurbanipal's library at Nineveh far surpassing the size of any divination literature in Greece.<sup>170</sup> While, the Greeks had a range of technical literature available, their texts exhibited a less rigid formula compared to the Mesopotamian tradition; syntax varied, and the order of *apodosis* and *protasis* was interchangeable.<sup>171</sup> Essentially, the Greek world presented a simplified version of the sophisticated and technical Babylonian and Assyrian system of divination, reflecting the differing needs and bureaucratic complexity of Archaic Age Greek society compared to the ancient Near East.<sup>172</sup>

Interestingly, Greeks rarely acknowledged the influence of Near Eastern cultures on their own culture, instead attributing similar practices, particularly in divination, to other cultures like the Persians. Herodotus recounts instances of Persians employing Greek methods of divination, such as the Persian general Mardonius at the Battle of Plataea consulting a Greek *mantis* (Hdt. 9.37–8 and 41.4). As I have previously mentioned above, that Mardonius carefully queried the Greek oracles (Hdt. 8.133–5). Herodotus also gives to 'his' Persians several religious practices that, if not explicitly Greek, are identical with them. He has Persians using Greek-style divination from the time of Darius, as when Darius was leading six conspirators against two rebellious priests, "seven pairs of hawks appeared chasing two pairs of eagles, tearing out their feathers and scratching them. After they saw these things, the seven conspirators all approved Darius' plan and, encouraged by the birds, went to the palace" (Hdt. 3.76.3).

In the early stages of his expedition, Xerxes overlooked ominous signs reminiscent of those commonly recognized in the Greek tradition, such as the birth of a hermaphroditic mule or a horse giving birth to a hare (Hdt. 7.57). He also misinterpreted an eclipse, misled by the *magoi*, who, among their various roles, acted as seers for the Persian kings (Hdt. 7.37.2–3). His observance of omens before crossing the Strymon River mirrors Spartan practices, though Xerxes may not have realized the potentially older tradition behind it (Hdt. 6.76.1).

Herodotus describes Persian religious practices closely resembling Greek ones, indicating a cultural exchange that often went unrecognized by the Greeks themselves. This observation highlights the complex interplay of cultural borrowing and adaptation across ancient cultures, where influences may be acknowledged or obscured depending on the socio-political context and cultural perceptions of the time.

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<sup>170</sup> FLOWER 2008, 31.

<sup>171</sup> FURLEY, GYSEMBERGH 2015, 82–4.

<sup>172</sup> FURLEY, GYSEMBERGH 2015, 34; BEERDEN 2013, 22.

Very important in the Persian Wars were the misleading dreams that prompted, almost coercively, Xerxes to embark on the expedition (Hdt. 7.12–18). These dreams, along with the subsequent discussions between Xerxes and Artabanus, reflect Greek imagination projecting expectations onto such situation.<sup>173</sup> While this evidence remains indirect and incomplete, lacking explicit mention of Mesopotamian influence by Greek historians, contemporary researchers can discern its impact. The Greeks' omission of direct discussion about Mesopotamian antecedents: can be attributed to their lack of awareness and access to such sources.

Moreover, the Greeks' perception of themselves as culturally superior to non-Greek-speaking nations, whom they labeled 'barbarians,' further contributed to their belief that Oriental cultures borrowed from them rather than vice versa. This mindset hindered them from acknowledging the possibility of influence flowing in the opposite direction. In conclusion, while the extent and consciousness of Mesopotamian influence on Greek divination practices can be debated, the fact of this influence appears indisputable.

#### **Abbreviations:**

Assyriology [http://cdli.ox.ac.uk/wiki/abbreviations\\_for\\_assyriology](http://cdli.ox.ac.uk/wiki/abbreviations_for_assyriology)

Classical Studies <https://oxfordre.com/classics/page/abbreviation-list/>

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<sup>173</sup> MIKALSON 2003, 156–8; ROETTIG 2010.

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## Peculiarities and Utilitarianism in the Fighting Tendencies of the Assyrian Infantry During the 9<sup>th</sup> Century BC in an Eastern Mediterranean Context

Kiril TEMELKOV<sup>1</sup>

**Abstract.** *In my paper, I analyze the fighting styles, tendencies and military tactics of both the infantries of the Neo-Assyrian Empire and the Greek world as its counterpart during the 9<sup>th</sup> century BC. The structure, which this overview follows by commenting and constructing a commentary contains an introduction, during which the methods of the research are going to be conducted, including the main source of information and how the structure of the paper is going to be laid out. After that, a brief mention of the historical importance will take place. Through the form of a brief expose, I will go over why is this period and its military peculiarities seem deserving of attention. Then for the main body of the paper are the following points of interest.*

- 1) the infantry armaments, through which both armies equipped themselves and operated;
- 2) the methodological parallels between the utilitarian behavior of both military viewpoints at the time and what comes as different between them;
- 3) the defensive equipment and its hierarchical meaning during the period;
- 4) the infantry subdivisions and their utility for both representatives of the military comparison followed closely by the conclusion of this comparison.

**Rezumat.** *În lucrare se analizează stilurile de luptă, tendințele și tacticile militare atât ale infanteriștilor Imperiului Neo-Asirian, cât și ale lumii grecești în secolul al IX-lea î.Hr. În introducere se vor expune metodele de cercetare, inclusiv sursa principală de informații și modul în care va fi structurat articolul. Se vor descrie motivele pentru care această perioadă și particularitățile sale militare par să merite atenție. Pentru restul lucrării se vor discuta următoarele puncte de interes :*

- 1) armamentul de infanterie;
- 2) paralelele metodologice între comportamentul utilitarist și diferențele;
- 3) echipamentele defensive și semnificația lor în perioada respectivă;
- 4) subdiviziunile infanteriei și utilitatea lor.

**Keywords:** Assyria, Ancient Greece, warfare, tactics, weaponry, military equipment, strategy, infantry.

### Introduction

This paper deals with the infantry military equipment and its functionality during the reign of Ashurnasirpal II (883–859 BC), with particular emphasis on the peculiarities

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distinguishing his army from the Greek formations in the context of how they were equipped to act and react during combat. The research method provides a comparative analysis and commentary on the attested features in the armament of the infantry units mentioned and how it was most likely used in the context of warfare during the 9<sup>th</sup> century BC. The sources regarding the military equipment of the given period find place at Tamás Dezső's catalog<sup>2</sup> of the Assyrian weaponry, in this case – in one of his many volumes. Each specific case will be analyzed contextually in terms of its purpose and use by also pointing out the features that make it distinguished from its Greek infantry counterpart. There will also be attention paid to existing Assyrian trends that do not correspond to a universal time and place of infantry structure progression.

### **Historical Importance**

To begin with, it is necessary to give outline briefly the historical narrative reflected in the sources in order to understand why this study aims to examine this period in its context of the war. On the side of the early Neo-Assyrian Empire is the expansionist policy (sometimes referred to as “the imperial mission”) of Ashurnasirpal II and its distinctively well-attested details in Mesopotamian history. Moreover, the entire historiographic activity carried out in the specific period and place speak of an extremely active correlation between domestic and foreign politics. The drive, which is creatively reflected by the given rule, affects sources of all kinds (from royal inscriptions to royal hymns and other genres), which speaks of an extremely successfully implemented propaganda on behalf of the Assyrian ruler<sup>3</sup>.

On the other side of the comparison is the pre-polis (and later – the polis) world of the Greeks, in which, unlike the eponymous rule of the Assyrians, the various groups of Greek origin<sup>4</sup> did not have a universal single-headed authority to direct and restrain their expansion. The attested actions of their activity, however, are reduced to quite a few and relatively independent (authority wise) authors, following in one way or another (be it from the Homeric epics, the “professional” historiography of Herodotus or the military travelogue of Xenophon) the general narrative of development, which is particularly well reflected in the context of the Greek warfare.

These two sides/styles of military historiography are of importance not only because they differ in design, but because they actively try to depict the importance of military actions without suffering from their reason behind existence (emperor's orders and cultural genesis).

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<sup>2</sup> DEZSŐ 2012.

<sup>3</sup> See TAPXAH 2022, 83.

<sup>4</sup> See BRYCE, BIRKETT-REES 2016, 199.

### **Infantry Armaments**

Let us begin with an exposition of what exactly characterized an infantry unit in the Assyrian army: As Dezső points out<sup>5</sup>, the most important items of equipment for a common infantryman included a pointed bronze helmet, bow, quiver, spear, and a shield. Leaving aside (for now) the lack of any other mention in regards to protective (body) armor, apart from the helmet, it seems that the offensive equipment assigned to the individual infantry unit was selected as utilitarian as possible. More precisely: the presence of both ranged and close combat weaponry in the possession of a single soldier indicates, that there was some diversion in the types of commands that individual infantry formations could carry out. In this line of thought, a parallel between the current period of warfare and later ones, especially in the context of other places and their trends, seems as a difficult one to say the least. The factor that contributes to the complexity in such a comparison is that of the specialization of individual military units that accumulates over time. The example that can (and should) be given as the most adequate in terms of the problem is based on the Greek fighting structures during the Archaic period (9–8<sup>th</sup> century BC). Greek warfare at this time avoided the admixture of mixed (qualification wise) abilities in its common infantryman. The reason for this is as much in the positive as in the negative – mastery over a certain type of weaponry should always be preferable in a single branch of its variability rather than broad and common use of plenty weapon types. In other words, the best soldier is one who fulfills his intended function or strictly profiled occupation (horseman, infantryman, archer, etc.). The lack of subdivision in the weapon systems of the Assyrian infantryman, or more precisely – providing him with every possible form of weaponry, demonstrates and reinforces what Sargon of Akkad (ca. 2334–2279 BC) gave as a feature during his reign compared to practices of the former (city-state) system. Namely – a paid professional army, which dominates over the militia (composed of civilians) as it is specifically designated for its employment. This professional occupation, however, stands out with a comprehensively expressed (in terms of weaponry) ability for waging war in each infantryman, in contrast to the infantry formations in ancient Greece, which were strictly differentiated in their function.

### **Comparative Analysis**

In this context, the trends relative to the Archaic period, between Eastern and Greek ranks are defined as follows: While Greek warfare required a military unit selected for each distinct role, dividing even the infantry into two as heavy and light with divisions such as main and auxiliary, the Eastern model emphasized total military literacy to its own infantrymen. This situation expresses itself in the ability of each professional soldier to be able to handle, if not all, then the majority of weapons known up to that time (swords, axes, spears, bows, etc.). A

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<sup>5</sup> DEZSŐ 2012, 53.

very particular parallel would unite the Greek with the Eastern comprehensive military literacy, and it would express itself in the specifics of the Spartan military technique. Agogi<sup>6</sup> is the tradition during which the young children of Sparta were progressively trained to handle any weapon on the premise that in battle the status (durability) of armaments is variable rather than permanent. This means that their ever so popular dominant fighting technique, namely the phalanx, is not a permanent/absolute constant, as well as the fact that they were well aware of how their weapons could be damaged. Hence the need for every single soldier to be able to handle any type of weapon well, even in an emergency situation (damage control/strategy adaptation after armaments loss).

On the other hand, what appears as a pretext for the ability to handle different types of equipment, it could not be considered as imitative to the absolute utilitarianism, which is typical of the Assyrian infantry. Moreover, it was a common practice that Spartan soldiers did not use ranged weapons other than javelins (throwing spears) and, in very rare cases, slings. These ranged/projectile weapons can rather be characterized in the short- and medium-range category. In Sparta, the passive self-regulation against the bow and arrow was so prevalent, that it was dogmatically seen as a disgrace and dishonor for a soldier to be its user<sup>7</sup>, and this is precisely NOT the case in the Assyrian infantry. The ability of the common soldier to be able to cover more roles and commands affects maneuverability in combat, which is ultimately a well-expressed form of adaptability during wartime. It was this kind of attitude towards individual cases against what was decreed by Lycurgus that led ancient Sparta to the gradual decline<sup>8</sup> of its military apogee towards the middle of the classical period (5–4 centuries BC).

One might be left with the impression that in the Assyrian infantry any unit could be a substitute for another missing one in the whole variation of combat units, which are in operation. This could not be fully assumed in its entirety. Separate divisions, such as archers and charioteers, are attested in the sources, but this does not directly mean that the common infantryman can, in the absence of the specific units, become their direct substitute. Rather, we might think of it in the context of experience and expertise in a certain profile: A common archer would perform much better at following his position-specific commands, which usually come as following few variations of static long-range formations. The narrative that would make more sense for an infantryman wielding a bow is a momentary ranged strike at the enemy

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<sup>6</sup> See ESPOSITO 2020, 18.

<sup>7</sup> The Spartan emphasis on close-quarters combat and their reluctance to adopt certain long-range weapons, such as bows and arrows, due to their cultural values and military philosophy are depicted multiple times in history; One (of many) such mention is within the Histories of Herodotus, when the Spartans arrogantly answer that “they will fight in the shade” when they are shot at by the barbarians  
See HERODOTUS 2013 [Book 7. Section 226], 513–514.

<sup>8</sup> For more information in regards to the problems of Sparta’s political structure and how it affects its people, creating the tensions, which sunders it to its core, see П’БЦЕИ 2017, 152.

and engaging in a direct confrontation afterwards. This could serve as an example of a military value derived from shock combat, in which the Assyrian infantry could gain an instant advantage as a direct consequence of its preset interchangeability in terms of armaments. The very specificity of the fighting style (the variety of commands and formations that can be executed) is such for the Assyrian infantryman, that his maneuverability and adaptability on the battlefield emerge as more important to his role. This is what differs to the situations of individual other units such as archers and battle chariots, whose function is reduced to the utilization of their strictly distributed combat profile.

### **Defensive Equipment and its Hierarchy**

Returning to the subject of armor, something special is noticeable regarding its distribution throughout the Assyrian infantry troops of the period: Lamellar armor, composed of small initially bronze and then iron plates, was assigned not only to the front line of the army<sup>9</sup>. It is the opposite; its prevalence covers even the long-range units (slingers and archers). However, the moment when such protective clothing is inherent rather to the elite platoons of the Assyrian army is different. This suggests that militia (civilian) troops relied on whatever they could earn/pay for/afford as defensive (and offensive) gear. Such a distribution of equipment raises the question of hierarchization through clothing. From the preserved information we know that the protective clothing of the Assyrian infantrymen at the time of Ashurnasirpal II and later (until 745 BC), in contrast of their Greek counterparts, relied on their pointed helmets, shields, broad bronze belts and (if the soldier's position permits it) lamellar cuirasses.

Raising the topic of hierarchization through clothing, it is clear that unlike the Greek emphasis on the helmet (usually expressed by a colored crest running the length or width of the helmet) and later the ribbon/flag of the spear (βάβδον<sup>10</sup>), the Assyrian infantry general, the one around the period 9–8th century BC, differs not through his helmet, but through the presence of mail vest. However, there is also the following special detail: Under their (if available to the soldier) breastplates, the infantrymen are dressed in tunics, which have some differing geometric motifs painted on them. These insignia/markings do not indicate rank in the army so much, rather they attest to the ethnicity and place of origin of the infantryman in question<sup>11</sup>. De facto, it turns out that the multi-ethnic configuration of warriors can freely reflect their origins without affecting their battle cohesion and cultural perception as a whole in a given army. The commanders in the Assyrian infantry can also be recognized by the specifics of their weapons. Their identification includes carrying maces or staffs. If their equipment does not differ in function, as in the previous example, then their weapons in use

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<sup>9</sup> DEZSÓ2012, 53.

<sup>10</sup> See КОЛИАС 2012, 239.

<sup>11</sup> DEZSÓ 2012, 54.

come as distinctively decorated. Their representations in the sources also contribute to something else – their place on the battlefield itself. Usually their depictions are included not only in the battle itself (as a personal guard and escort of the royal carriage) but also after it, an example of this would be depictions involving the leading of prisoners of war<sup>12</sup>.

### **Infantry Subdivisions and Utility**

With regard to the previously mentioned problem of divisions in the Assyrian infantry structure, the following distinctions can be made: It is composed of archers, spearmen, and footmen, whose equipment (of the latter), as previously mentioned, is mixed<sup>13</sup>. An interesting detail that can be gleaned from sculptures of Ashurnasirpal II is how, in a battle scene of a siege, figures recognized as ordinary infantrymen are depicted in the context of labor troops<sup>14</sup>. This type of reflected activity testifies to a utilitarianism in the Assyrian regular infantry that goes beyond the work, which relates solely to direct (face-to-face) combat. The work that they do, expressed in this case as digging trenches and servicing war machines, is similar to the auxiliary workers of the Greek world at that time. Usually during a campaign or colonization in the Greek world, it was not excluded to hire people as support staff<sup>15</sup>. Sometimes even slaves could perform this function<sup>16</sup>. In this regard, the professional Assyrian infantry minimizes individual support units and emphasizes total adaptability on the part of its regular infantry. It could also be argued that their all-encompassing applicability on the battlefield could have served well against the king's financial commitment to them. In other words, to avoid waste in hiring separate groups of people, which could be interpreted as more resources aimed at the infantry. The other thing that can be speculated on in the field of Assyrian infantry applicability is their tactical correspondence without the direct and constant intervention of their commander-in-chief. More precisely: if, in a field situation, individual infantry units were subordinate to few of their immediate commanders and lost (contact with) one, they could regroup and adjust their tactics on the move according to the enemy position without wasting time in inactivity. This line of thought affirms the infantry structures of the East as more self-contained and largely functionally autarkic units, unlike the Greek ones, which relied on skilled and distributed function throughout their ranks. This can be supported by the information we have about how Ashurnasirpal II, in pursuit of his enemies, inspected the terrain on which the next battle would take place<sup>17</sup>. In these calculations of his, every possible situation is foreseen,

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<sup>12</sup> DEZSÓ 2012, 55.

<sup>13</sup> DEZSÓ 2012, 54.

<sup>14</sup> DEZSÓ 2012, 54.

<sup>15</sup> See ТУКИДИД 1979, Chapters 24-28.

<sup>16</sup> See CONNOLLY 1981, 44.

<sup>17</sup> See ТАРХАН 2022, 84.

where stocking the soldiers with all possible equipment and their ability to react against every single geographical variable is key in achieving maximum efficiency and effect during a given military campaign. It is in this preparedness that the Assyrian infantry excels over the Greek tradition of assessing and predicting potential variables.

Regarding the heavy and light form of the common infantryman in the Assyrian army during the 9<sup>th</sup> century BC, the following can be said: At the Balawat gates, divisions can be distinguished in the images according to the "weight" of the individual infantry unit. It is about utilizing the mobility of the military elements, something that the Greek world already introduced in its military work during its conquests in the Mediterranean (15–13 centuries BC<sup>18</sup>). The maneuverability of the individual infantryman in the ancient world was always calculated at the expense of his protection. So the Greek hoplites (heavy infantry) and gymnasts (light infantry, but sometimes synonymous with auxiliaries) appear as the two complementary sides of the field equation, which implies the ability of an infantry army both to attack and retreat quickly, as well as being able to hold its positions for a long time<sup>19</sup>. In this context, their clothing differs radically in regards to the materials of its creation. The Greek hoplite is clad in bronze (later iron) while the gymnast retains his mobility thanks to his light leather gear. This element is another that differentiates trends in the Eastern and Greek infantry traditions. The Assyrian army during this period continued to use its lamellar armor with the difference that the "heavy" equivalent of an infantryman wore a long one<sup>20</sup>. The bronze plates cover not only his torso, but also his limbs (usually up to the knees and elbows).

However, a problem remains. It is the weight of the weapon carried by the infantry: In the sources for the Assyrian infantry of this period, there was no problem of replacing a light with a heavy shield, even by the archers<sup>21</sup>. First it must be clarified what is the difference between the two. A heavy shield has a bronze (later iron) coating, which is usually carried either on its own with some kind of handle attached on the inside (also of metal), or the metal surface is clad around a wooden scaffold that serves as a link between the handle and the clamped metal exterior of the shield. A light shield, on the other hand, is not so much about how big it is, but how much it lightens the weight of the infantryman's overall gear. It is made of wood and in some cases has leather linings on its exterior, although this is more typical of the traditional shields of the Near East and Greek islands at the time<sup>22</sup>.

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<sup>18</sup> For more information in regards to the period, see ПОПОВ 2022, 7.

<sup>19</sup> See ANDERSON 1970, 94.

<sup>20</sup> DEZSÓ 2012, 55.

<sup>21</sup> IBID., 56.

<sup>22</sup> Pelte – A leather shield used by Thracians and Greeks as a must in the ranks of peltasts (auxiliary infantry responsible for long-range combat using spears and slings) and gymnasts (main/auxiliary infantry relying on maneuverability in close combat).; For more about the shield and its importance in the Greek ancient (and medieval) world see КОЛИАС 2012, 99.

In addition to the crafting material, depictions of archers carrying both types of shield also exist. One very small detail, however, leaves room for conclusions about the infantry's ability to execute commands. In some places, the shields of the Assyrian ranged units (in this context - archers) are depicted with an umbo, on which a spike is mounted<sup>23</sup>. This means that while they could maneuver between separate static formations in which some of the archers stood as a wall in front of their “brothers in arms”, this wall could not be made of multiple stacked lines of soldiers one behind the other. This difference in the “wall of shields” paradigm contrasts sharply with the multi-layered Greek phalanx, in which the minimum is about three rows of warriors behind each other. The blade mounted in the center of the umbo (the center of the shield, usually behind and on which the hilt is mounted and around which the rest of the peripheral part of the shield is balanced) interferes with shield formations that require more than one row to be effective. In this context, we are sure that an infantry wall of the archers' shields could not be used at all against stopping cavalry or war chariots. Most likely, these shields served one-off repellences of solitary enemy warriors, who attacked head on against a regrouping or resupplying infantry squad. The spiked umbo is very scarce in the Greek world, precisely because of its peculiarity that the structured wall of shields is impossible to be reinforced by additional lines of infantry if each rear row is in a condition to injure its allies, located right in front of them.

### **Conclusion**

As a conclusion to the comparison of the two trends in the period of 9–8 centuries BC, namely - those in the Mesopotamia and in the Greek world, the following description could be given. The Assyrian infantry utilized its common soldiers to the maximum in their capacity as a unit, which is capable of following multiple formations, who explores and traverses heterogeneous terrain, and adapts during combat thanks to its material readiness. In the Greek world, the trend can be likened to high-profile military formations countering the enemy's imitative one in measured but predictable offensives. They may even be said to lack material adaptability in the combat itself, compared to the Assyrian infantry tradition, making each single conflict during a campaign the same in its course of action. Pre-calculations presuppose a specific (calculated in detail) use and distribution of troop units, whereas the Assyrian model of infantry activity is prepared for every single spontaneous variable during war. One can, albeit ironically, compare the two trends through the rules of the game of chess. The Greek model relies on the precision and function of each individual piece as best utilized in its capacity as such through selected patents and algorithms of action. While in the East, the main emphasis of the regular infantry is its function as pawns, waiting to become the necessary piece

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<sup>23</sup> DEZSÓ 2012, 56.

according to the development and current situation of each individual positioning on the battlefield.

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## Revaluating the Sardanapalus Monument in Cilicia Greek Travelogues and Ancient Near Eastern Hedonism

Julian DEGEN<sup>1</sup>, Sebastian FINK<sup>2</sup>

**Abstract.** *This article presents a novel interpretation of the famous hedonistic monument of Sardanapalus, as depicted by numerous Greek and Roman authors, particularly within historiography related to Alexander. The argument unfolds in two steps. First, the Greek tradition regarding Sardanapalus and the inscription is discussed in detail, and then the description of foreign monuments in Greek travelogue texts and their relation to ancient Near Eastern texts will be analysed. It is argued that the image of the hedonistic king Sardanapalus was inspired by one of Ashurbanipal's inscriptions, rather than being solely attributed to an inner-Greek discussion.*

**Rezumat.** *Acest articol prezintă o nouă interpretare a faimosului monument hedonist al lui Sardanapalus, descris de numeroși autori greci și romani, în special în cadrul istoriografiei referitoare la Alexandru. În primul rând este discutată în detaliu tradiția greacă referitoare la Sardanapalus și la inscripție, iar apoi se analizează descrierea monumentelor străine în textele jurnalelor de călătorie grecești. Se susține că imaginea regelui hedonist Sardanapalus a fost inspirată de una dintre inscripțiile lui Ashurbanipal, mai degrabă decât să fie atribuită exclusiv unei discuții interne grecești.*

**Keywords:** Sardanapalus, Alexander, Ashurbanipal, Hedonism.

Several Greek and Roman authors mention that Alexander III and his troops saw a monument in the vicinity of Anchiale in Cilicia, bearing an inscription of the mythical king Sardanapalus.<sup>3</sup> This king was widely known in Classical and Hellenistic times for his hedonistic character.<sup>4</sup> Based on the accounts of Greek writers on the ancient Near East, scholars tried to unearth historical nuggets of information on this ruler. Due to the Aramaic rendering SRBNBL, which closely matches the Greek Σαρδανάπαλος, the ancient ruler most likely to be identified with the mythical ruler is the Assyrian king Ashurbanipal.<sup>5</sup> However, while much suggests that Ashurbanipal could be the historical inspiration for some aspects of the figure of Sardanapalus,

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<sup>3</sup> BERNHARDT 2009, 13–15 provides an overview on the extant descriptions of this inscription in Greek and Latin literature.

<sup>4</sup> See BERNHARDT 2009; BURKERT 2009; WEIßBACH 1920.

<sup>5</sup> STEINER, NIMS 1985, 71 vol XVIII.

neither the moralistic assessments of Classical authors nor the historical context align with what is known about Ashurbanipal from Assyrian sources.<sup>6</sup> As it is so often the case with legendary kings, the image of the hedonistic king Sardanapalus might have been originally fashioned after a historical figure, but soon after that, the fictional king Sardanapalus developed an identity of his own. Thus, it comes as no surprise that the debate is complex, as it revolves around Greek ideas of the East and the impact of Assyria's intellectual heritage on its surrounding world.<sup>7</sup>

One aspect of this debate is the monument and its inscription described by some of the Greek writers who joined Alexander on his expedition. Departing from their accounts, scholars made several attempts to identify ancient monuments in Asia Minor that these authors might have seen.<sup>8</sup> Walter Burkert has offered an alternative interpretation by suggesting that Alexander and his troops saw an inscription that they interpreted as belonging to Sardanapalus.<sup>9</sup> Aside from that, the inscription mentioning Sardanapalus has been viewed as an imaginative creation, a product of a Greek intellectual discourse on proper conduct.<sup>10</sup> With having said that, however, we are now facing a new set of challenges. Concepts like hedonism are commonly associated with Greek philosophy, which is why potential ancient Near Eastern connections to the Sardanapalus inscription have not been explored thus far.<sup>11</sup>

Given the epistemological context of this debate, it is worth highlighting that most interpretations are based on two assumptions. Firstly, the Greek authors described an inscription that they actually saw, or they engaged it as a subject of philosophical debate. Secondly, the idea that philosophical concepts such as hedonism were alien to ancient Near Eastern societies, as the Greek world is thought to be the cradle of philosophy. Remarkably, the validity of these assumptions remained largely unchallenged. Thus, we think it is time to liberate the discussion from the structures that have dominated it and provide some new contexts for this gridlocked debate.

In what will follow, we will review in the first step the manner in which the first Greek writers who joined Alexander described the Sardanapalus monument by locating the fragments aligned with their now lost works in the wider framework of descriptions of the Near Eastern cultural landscape in Greek Classical literature. In the second step, we will provide a critical commentary on the widely accepted assumption that philosophical thinking began with the Greeks by tracing the concept of hedonism in ancient Near Eastern texts. Based on a new contextualisation, it is being argued that an inscription of Ashurbanipal could be the core

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<sup>6</sup> LANFRANCHI 2011; MACGINNIS 1988.

<sup>7</sup> On the impact of Assyrian on its surrounding world and afterworld, see LANFRANCHI 2000; NOVOTNY 2023.

<sup>8</sup> BURKERT 2009, 509–510; WEIßBACH 1920. See also WÖRRLE 1998.

<sup>9</sup> BURKERT 2009.

<sup>10</sup> BERNHARDT 2009.

<sup>11</sup> An exception within this stream of research is FINK 2014.

around which the image of the hedonistic king Sardanapalus emerged. We shall begin by closely examining the descriptions of the Sardanapalus monument in Greek Classical literature.

### The Anchiale Inscription and Sardanapalus

Around September 333 BCE, Alexander III of Macedon and his troops made their way through Cilicia as part of their campaign towards Syria and the Levant.<sup>12</sup> Upon reaching the satrapal city of Tarsus, it is said that an inscription near Anchiale piqued the interest of the Greeks and Macedonians. In reviewing the traditions surrounding the description of the monument and inscription in the available sources, we can identify two distinct branches.

The now-lost account of Aristobulos of Cassandrea represents the first branch of tradition. He was an author who accompanied Alexander on his expedition to the East and wrote a history of his reign during the era of the Diadochi.<sup>13</sup> Aristobulos' description of the inscription has been preserved as a fragment in the works of Apollodorus, Strabo, Arrian, and Athenaeus.<sup>14</sup> Although the fragments vary in the details of the inscriptions, they still align with the overall theme. By comparing the extant fragments, it becomes evident that Arrian presents the most detailed and comprehensive version to his reader:

Later on he (*scil.* Alexander) left Tarsus and on the first day he reached Anchialus, founded, as the legend says, by Sardanapalus the Assyrian. The circumference and the foundations of the walls show that the city was large when founded, and grew to great power. Sardanapalus' monument was near the walls of Anchialus; over it stood Sardanapalus himself, his hands joined just as if to clap, and the epitaph was inscribed in the Assyrian script; the Assyrians said that it was in verse. In any case its meaning according to the words was: 'Sardanapalus son of Anakyndaraxes built Anchialus and Tarsus in one day; you, stranger, eat, drink and be merry, since other human things are not worth *this*' – the riddle referring to the noise of a hand-clap. (It was said that the words 'be merry' had a less delicate original in the Assyrian.)<sup>15</sup>

<sup>12</sup> BOSWORTH 1994, 805.

<sup>13</sup> POWNALL 2024.

<sup>14</sup> BNJ 139 F9a–c.

<sup>15</sup> BNJ 139 F9c (= Arr. An. 2.5.2–4): αὐτὸς δὲ ὕστερος ἄρας ἐκ Ταρσοῦ τῇ μὲν πρώτῃ ἐς Ἀγχιάλον πόλιν ἀφικνεῖται. ταύτην δὲ Σαρδανάπαλον κτίσαι τὸν Ἀσσύριον λόγος· καὶ τῷ περιβόλῳ δὲ καὶ τοῖς θεμελίοις τῶν τειχῶν δήλη ἐστὶ μεγάλη τε πόλις κτισθεῖσα καὶ ἐπὶ μέγα ἐλθοῦσα δυνάμεως. καὶ τὸ μνήμα τοῦ Σαρδαναπάλου ἐγγὺς ἦν τῶν τειχῶν τῆς Ἀγχιάλου· καὶ αὐτὸς ἐφειστήκει ἐπ' αὐτῷ Σαρδανάπαλος συμβεβηκῶς τὰς χεῖρας ἀλλήλαις ὡς μάλιστα ἐς κρότον συμβάλλονται, καὶ ἐπίγραμμα ἐπεγέγραπτο αὐτῷ Ἀσσύρια γράμματα· οἱ μὲν Ἀσσύριοι καὶ μέτρον ἔφασκον ἐπεῖναι τῷ ἐπιγράμματι, ὃ δὲ νοῦς ἦν αὐτῷ ὃν ἔφραζε τὰ ἔπη, ὅτι Σαρδανάπαλος ὁ Ἀνακυνδαράξου παῖς Ἀγχιάλον καὶ Ταρσὸν ἐν ἡμέρᾳ μιᾷ ἐδείματο. σὺ δέ, ὦ ξένε, ἔσθιτε καὶ πίνετε καὶ παῖζε, ὡς τᾶλλα τὰ ἀνθρώπινα οὐκ ὄντα τούτου ἄξια· τὸν ψόφον αἰνισσόμενος, ὄνπερ αἱ χεῖρες ἐπὶ τῷ κρότῳ ποιοῦσι· καὶ τὸ παῖζε ῥαδιουργότερον ἐγγεγράφθαι ἔφασαν τῷ Ἀσσυρίῳ ὀνόματι (Loeb).

The accounts of Arrian and Strabo are consistent regarding the text of the inscription, albeit differing in some additional details.<sup>16</sup> It is noteworthy that Arrian mentions that Assyrian translators interpreted the text for the Macedonians, a detail omitted by Strabo. The description of the translators as Assyrian does not necessarily mean they were from Assyria, but rather individuals of Syrian descent. This was common in Anchiæ, situated on the border with Syria.<sup>17</sup>

Interestingly, Strabo adds that a certain Choirilos also referenced this inscription, including the famous lines: “Meat and drink, wanton jests, and the delights of love, these I have enjoyed; but my great wealth I have left behind.”<sup>18</sup> Very little is known about the life of Choirilos, though he appears to have been an Athenian playwright from the 5<sup>th</sup> century BCE who lived at the Macedonian court.<sup>19</sup> This suggests that Sardanapalus’ hedonistic lifestyle was a widely recognised theme among both Macedonians and Greeks in the 4<sup>th</sup> century BCE. This is further supported by the fact that Amyntas, a Macedonian writer accompanying Alexander on his campaign, previously mentioned Choirilos in his now-lost work when describing the monument of Sardanapalus.<sup>20</sup> Another noteworthy detail is the connection between Choirilos and Amyntas, who link two versions of this inscription to Sardanapalus, with one situated in Niniveh and the other in Anchiæ.<sup>21</sup> We will return to this point in a moment.

The second branch of tradition is represented by Clitarchus, whose version of the event has been passed down to us through the *Deipnosophistae* of Athenaeus. Clitarchus likely crafted his narrative on Alexander within the intellectual atmosphere of the royal court under the first Ptolemaic rulers. This places him as part of the second generation of authors describing Alexander’s exploits by drawing on the testimonies of those who accompanied the expedition.<sup>22</sup> As Clitarchus’ work survives only in fragments, our understanding of his narrative is quite limited, leading to much conjecture. Athenaeus, however, states that Clitarchus portrayed Sardanapalus as meeting his end due to old age after losing control over the Syrians.<sup>23</sup> This means that Clitarchus diverges from the established narrative regarding Sardanapalus’ demise. During the 4<sup>th</sup> century, Ctesias of Cnidus penned his account on Asian rulers, depicting Sardanapalus indulging in hedonistic pursuits before ultimately facing his fatal end on a pyre.<sup>24</sup> Ctesias seemingly introduced a fresh interpretation of the famous ruler’s end that aligned with

<sup>16</sup> See BERNHARDT 2009, 13–14; BURKERT 2009, *passim*.

<sup>17</sup> On the differences between the ethnic labelling Assyrian and Syrian, see ROLLINGER 2006.

<sup>18</sup> BNJ 139 F9b (= Strab. 14.5.9): μέμνηται δὲ καὶ Χοιρίλος τούτων: καὶ δὴ καὶ περιφέρεται τὰ ἔπη ταυτὶ “ταυτ’ ἔχω, ὅσο’ ἔφαγον καὶ ἀφύβρισα, καὶ μετ’ ἔρωτος τέρπν’ ἔπαθον, τὰ δὲ πολλὰ καὶ ὄλβια κείνα λέλειπται” (Loeb).

<sup>19</sup> HECHT 2017, 155–174; HUXLEY 1969.

<sup>20</sup> BNJ 122 F2 (= Athen. 12.39 p. 529e–530a). See BERNHARDT 2009, 14. On Amyntas see TZIFOPOULOS 2013.

<sup>21</sup> BNJ 122 F2 (= Athen. 12.39 p. 530a).

<sup>22</sup> MÜLLER 2014, 90–95.

<sup>23</sup> BNJ 122 F2 = BNJ 137 F2 (= Athen. 12.39 p. 530a).

<sup>24</sup> FGrH 688 F 1q (= D.S. 2.24–27; Athen. 12 p. 528f–529c). See BERNHARDT 2009, 2; STRONK 2018, 129.

his overall depiction of decadent Asian monarchs. Yet, the existence of a fragment attributed to Hellanicus indicates a tradition dating back to the 5<sup>th</sup> century BCE portraying two distinct Sardanapali, one virtuous and one malevolent.<sup>25</sup> This suggests that by the time of Ctesias, at least two narratives about Sardanapalus were circulating among the Greeks, underscoring his status as a figure of common knowledge.

Additional support for this view comes from a fragment from the lost account of Callisthenes. It indicates that he incorporated the concept of the two Sardanapli when describing the monument in Cilicia.<sup>26</sup> Callisthenes served as the author responsible for conveying Alexander's exploits to be transmitted and disseminated in Greece.<sup>27</sup> This implies that Alexander's visit to the monument in Cilicia was integral to the official report dispatched from the expedition to audiences in Greece and Macedonia.

Considering the fragment aligned with Callisthenes on Sardanapalus' inscription, a stemma of the tradition of the episode on Alexander and this inscription can be drawn. During the Classical period, two tales surrounding the mythical figure of Sardanapalus circulated among the Greeks. While Hellanicus in the 5<sup>th</sup> century BCE was aware of an older tale on two Sardanapali, the 4<sup>th</sup> century BCE writer Ctesias is the first one to tell the tale of the spectacular death of Sardanapalus the hedonist. Depicting Sardanapalus in this manner aligns with Ctesias' idea of ancient Near Eastern monarchy, characterised by cruel and greedy despots.<sup>28</sup> Only a few decades after Ctesias composed his work, Callisthenes wrote an account of Alexander to which he most likely added the episode of the Sardanapalus monument. Based on Callisthenes, Aristobulos included this episode in his account, and thus it made its way into the accounts of Strabo and Arrian.<sup>29</sup> Perhaps one generation after Alexander's conquest, Clitarchus composed his work on Alexander, in which he sought out spectacular and improper episodes as well as anecdotes similar to that of the Sardanapalus monument.<sup>30</sup> Having clarified the tradition of this episode, the question arises: Why did Callisthenes make Sardanapalus and the Anchiale monument a topic in his work?

### **Ancient Near Eastern Monuments in Greek Travelogues**

Despite the general problems surrounding the modern concept of literary 'genre', something like a travelogue literature has never been established in Greek prose.<sup>31</sup> For instance,

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<sup>25</sup> *FGrHist* 4 F3.

<sup>26</sup> *BNJ* 124 F34. See BOSWORTH 1995, 194 meeting the association of this fragment with Callisthenes with criticism.

<sup>27</sup> DEVINE 1994; HOWE 2022; ZÄHRNT 2016; ZÄHRNT 2006.

<sup>28</sup> ROLLINGER 2010, 584–619; WATERS 2017, esp. 45–59.

<sup>29</sup> The account of Callisthenes is considered the primary source for all authors who wrote about Alexander, whether shortly after his death or much later. See BICHLER 2020; DEGEN 2022, 159–174; DEGEN 2019.

<sup>30</sup> On Clitarchus as an author, see MÜLLER 2014, 90–95.

<sup>31</sup> BICHLER 2017 (travelogues) *contra* SCHULZ 2020; MADREITER 2020 (problematics of 'genre' in ancient Greek literature).

Herodotus frequently assures the accuracy of his reports by claiming autopsy. Although the meaning of such statements varies among ancient authors, in the case of Herodotus, having seen something does not necessarily indicate accuracy.<sup>32</sup> The same applies to statements of having heard something, as they are often related to common knowledge rather than the actual acquisition of information.<sup>33</sup> An excellent example of the perception of the Near East in the context of traveling is the experience report of Xenophon, today known as the *Anabasis*. Xenophon went to Mesopotamia in the company of Cyrus the Younger, himself rebelling against Artaxerxes II in 401 BCE. However, even though Xenophon visited Mesopotamia, he did not contribute significantly to Greek geographical knowledge of the ancient Near East in his account of the expedition that had not been previously known.<sup>34</sup> With this in mind, it is crucial to critically evaluate the numerous instances of Classical authors describing ancient Near Eastern monuments with inscriptions. Two distinct groups of such descriptions can be identified.

The first group comprises of monuments that contain texts referenced by Greek authors as *Assyria grammata*. This latter term serves as a broad categorisation for the diverse writing systems of the ancient Near East, including cuneiform and alphabets.<sup>35</sup> Within this category, there are numerous examples of *Assyria grammata* worth exploring, with two specific examples warranting closer examination. A fragment in Diodorus that echoes Ctesias' now lost account is a description of a monument with an inscription and relief on a mountain known as Bagistan, i.e. Bisitun. While the general description aligns with the famous Bisitun Inscription, Ctesias attributed this monument to the Assyrian queen Semiramis rather than Darius I.<sup>36</sup> This attribution to Semiramis may not have been a misunderstanding on Ctesias' part, but rather an intentional variance. It is likely that the Bisitun Inscription was known among the Greeks, as evidenced by Darius' command to disseminate the inscription, Herodotus' playful retelling of Darius' ascension to the throne, and the discovery of an Aramaic copy in Elephantine, in the Achaemenid satrapy of Egypt.<sup>37</sup> Semiramis was also familiar to the Greek audience of Ctesias. She first appears in Herodotus' *Histories* and becomes a prominent figure in the Ctesian

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<sup>32</sup> For the general debate, see BICHLER 2017; BICHLER 2013. Case studies are DEGEN 2024a (Babylon and Athens); ROLLINGER 2004 (the winged snakes of Arabia).

<sup>33</sup> LURAGHI 2001.

<sup>34</sup> DAN 2014.

<sup>35</sup> SCHMITT 1992, 35. WEISSBACH 1896, 64 has speculated, though in the absence of any concrete evidence, that the stelae at the Bosphorus perhaps were written in various ancient Near Eastern languages along with Greek, as Darius placed inscriptions at Suez that were written in Old Persian, Elamite, Babylonian, and Egyptian.

<sup>36</sup> *FGrHist* 688 F1 § 13.2 (= D.S. 2.13.1–2). See STRONK 2018, 109 fn. 107: "The earliest reference in Greek historiography to Bisitun."

<sup>37</sup> ROLLINGER 2018a (Herodotus and Bisitun); ROLLINGER 2016 (dissemination of Achaemenid royal texts). Remarkably, among the Judean societies in Elephantine we can observe similar creative responses to the Achaemenid royal inscription as in the case of the Greek world. See GRANERØD 2013.

writings.<sup>38</sup> Ctesias' description of the Bisitun Inscription can be viewed as a metanarrative, drawing on existing knowledge to construct a new historical narrative. This approach is not unique to Ctesias, as he similarly engages with and playfully responds to the *Histories* of Herodotus, a well-established account at the time of his own composition.<sup>39</sup>

An additional instance of an inscription featuring *Assyria grammata* is purportedly found on the tomb of Cyrus the Great, as noted by Aristobulos and Onesicritus.<sup>40</sup> This inscription has sparked scholarly discussion regarding the accuracy of Greek travel accounts, as neither the location identified by modern scholars as Cyrus' tomb nor the available translations include text that aligns with known ancient Near Eastern inscriptions.<sup>41</sup> The terms used in the translations such as 'founder of the Persian Empire,' 'ruler of Asia,' and 'king of kings' reflect Greek conceptualisations of Persian monarchy and the information they had on this topic.<sup>42</sup>

It seems that Greek authors who travelled through the Near East were not particularly keen on providing accurate descriptions of monuments, often appearing either uninformed or disinterested. This applies also to translators as mentioned by Arrian. Since Greek authors frequently refer to locals acting as translators, it would be wrong to explain differences between ancient Near Eastern inscriptions and Greek translations by blaming such translators for offering erroneous translations of the texts. It is worth noting that translators often serve as narrative tools in Greek literature that facilitate and support the storytelling of authors.<sup>43</sup> Concerning translations, there is, however, one instance of an accurate translation of an Achaemenid royal inscription found in Greek literature. Onesicritus, who joined Alexander in his expedition to the East, presents a translation of Darius' tomb inscription that closely resembles the original Old Persian.<sup>44</sup> He used only a few words to convey the extensive inscription, which primarily focuses on the Great King's royal virtues, which writers such as Herodotus and Xenophon previously depicted as Persian cultural norms.<sup>45</sup> And again, the common knowledge of the Greek world is alluded to rather than providing an exact translation. This suggests that Greek writers who purported to have explored the ancient Near East employed monuments with inscriptions as a means to draw upon the shared knowledge of their

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<sup>38</sup> DROß-KRÜPE 2021, 23–40.

<sup>39</sup> BICHLER 2011; BICHLER 2004.

<sup>40</sup> BNJ 134 F34 = BNJ 139 F51a (= Strab. 15.3.7). See SCHMITT 1992, 32–33.

<sup>41</sup> HEINRICHS 1987 argues that an inscription was originally placed at Cyrus' tomb, while most scholars do not believe that any inscription was attached to the tomb. See ROLLER 2018, 880; SCHMITT 1988; SEIBERT 2004.

<sup>42</sup> E.g., NAWOTKA 2012 discusses the various titles of the Great King known to Greek writers.

<sup>43</sup> At least in the case of the *Histories*, translators are a tool of the narrator Herodotus. See BRANDWOOD 2020, 32

<sup>44</sup> BNJ 134 F35 (= Strab. 15.3.8). For the debate on accuracy of Onesicritus' translation, see DEGEN 2019, 76 fn. 108.

<sup>45</sup> Onesicritus (BNJ 134 F35) states that archery and horsemanship were virtues of Darius. These virtues are also mentioned in the Old Persian inscription on the lower part of Darius' tomb in Naqsh-e Rostam (Dnb) and were recognised as integral to Persian education by Herodotus and Xenophon (Hdt. 1.136.2; Xen. Cyr. 1.2.8).

Greek audience. These monuments effectively serve to enhance the narrative and provide a Persian décor for Greek accounts.

The second set of descriptions detailing ancient Near Eastern monuments with inscriptions in Classical Greek literature serve as tools to bolster the narratives put forth by their authors. Reinhold Bichler and Stephanie West have shown that Herodotus references inscriptions to uphold his assertions regarding ethnic practices and political structures.<sup>46</sup> This is evident in his discussion of the inscription attributed to Pharaoh Cheops regarding the construction of the Great Pyramid, as well as his portrayal of the tomb of Alyattes in Lydia as an edifice erected by prostitutes.<sup>47</sup> These instances demonstrate how monuments were utilised by Herodotus to reinforce the themes and arguments he presented in his work. In addition to these examples of monuments being utilised to support Herodotus' narrative, there is an intriguing case in the *Histories* where an Ionian rock relief, likely identified with Karabel A, is linked to the Egyptian pharaoh Sesostris.<sup>48</sup> It has been proposed that local inhabitants divided into two opposing factions held differing interpretations of this monument. One faction associated it with Memnon, expressing a pro-Persian sentiment, while the other connected it with Sesostris, representing an anti-Persian sentiment.<sup>49</sup> Even if this interpretation remains speculative, Herodotus skilfully used the debate surrounding the historicising of the monument to his advantage, effectively shining a critical light on the assertions of universalism made by the Teispids and Achaemenids regarding their empire.<sup>50</sup>

Herodotus, Xenophon, and Ctesias are not the only authors who relied on the collective knowledge of the Greeks to craft historical accounts of the ancient Near East and depict its monuments. One such example is Callisthenes and other writers associated with Alexander, who linked Xerxes I to the destruction of temples in Babylon, a claim that lacks confirmation from both ancient Near Eastern and Classical sources.<sup>51</sup> Similarly, in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD, Pausanias provided a description of the religious landscape of Ionia, attributing the destruction of numerous sanctuaries to the Persians. Nevertheless, archaeological findings have indicated that some of these sanctuaries were actually destroyed at a later period, casting doubt on the

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<sup>46</sup> BICHLER 2007; WEST 1985. See further ALLGAIER 2022, 17–86 for an extensive discussion of all inscriptions mentioned in the *Histories*.

<sup>47</sup> Hdt. 1.93.2–4 (tomb of Alyattes), 2.125.6–126 (inscription on the pyramid). See also BICHLER 2008. Another example is the tomb inscription of queen Nitrocris (Hdt. 1.187) that Darius saw in Babylon, which serves Herodotus as an opportunity to highlight this ruler's greedy character.

<sup>48</sup> Hdt. 2.106.2.

<sup>49</sup> SERGUEENKOVA, ROJAS 2016–17, 154–155.

<sup>50</sup> ROLLINGER 2021, 200–201. On the Achaemenid concept of universalism, see DEGEN 2022, 332–402; ROLLINGER, DEGEN 2021, and its reflection in Herodotus' *Histories*, see BICHLER, ROLLINGER 2017, 7–10.

<sup>51</sup> See DEGEN 2022, 279–294. An overview on the debate concerning Xerxes' alleged destruction of Babylonian sanctuaries is provided by DEGEN 2024b, 1–3; ROLLINGER 2018b; WAERZEGGERS 2018.

accuracy of Pausanias' account.<sup>52</sup> When considering this tradition while evaluating the value of Greek literature as a source for the cultural landscapes of the ancient Near East, it is fair to say that Greek authors were inclined to narrate stories more connected to specific monuments rather than providing strictly historically and archaeologically accurate descriptions.

By placing the inscription of Sardanapalus within this context, it appears that Callisthenes purposefully connected a monument in Cilicia to this legendary ruler. The story of Sardanapalus was well-known among the Greeks, with references to this mythical figure found in the works of Herodotus, Aristophanes' play *Birds*, as well as writings by Hellanicus, Choirilos, Amyntas, and finally Ctesias.<sup>53</sup> To be sure, the inscription associated with Sardanapalus does not offer any new insights beyond what was already familiar to a Greek audience, but only reconfirmed their existing knowledge about this hedonist king. Ctesias' depiction of Sardanapalus as a decadent ruler aligns closely with that of Callisthenes.<sup>54</sup> As a respected author even prior to his involvement with the Macedonian court, Callisthenes was likely familiar with the works of Ctesias and other writers who delved into the legend of Sardanapalus. Therefore, it is not surprising that he depicted an ancient Near Eastern monument in a style reminiscent of Classical Greek authors, instead of reflecting on appropriate conduct in a report designed for a Greek readership.

If our interpretation is correct, the Greek authors' portrayal of the inscription of Sardanapalus adheres to established literary conventions by building on the shared knowledge of the Greeks rather than offering an exact representation of an existing monument or historical events. Thus, the available descriptions serve as something other than evidence for a contemporary Greek discourse shaped in reaction to the ancient Near Eastern context or the actual content of inscriptions found on monuments of ancient Near Eastern rulers. It would be wrong to view hedonism solely as a concept stemming from Greek philosophy based on this inscription. In the next step, we shall explore evidence of hedonism within ancient Near Eastern thought and its potential connection to Sardanapalus.

### **Ashurbanipal and Sardanapalus as Hedonistic Kings**

As outlined above, the image of a hedonistic king Sardanapalus clearly existed in Greek literature before Ctesias. However, it is hard to judge what stories about Sardanapalus already circulated before Ctesias. If we assume for the moment that the alleged inscription of Sardanapalus is somehow based on a real inscription from the ancient Near East and if we take Strabo's reference to Choirilos into account the *terminus ante quem* for the transfer of the hedonistic inscription of Sardanapalus to Greek literature is the moment when Choirilos wrote

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<sup>52</sup> KÖSTER 2020.

<sup>53</sup> Hdt. 2.150; Aristoph. Av. 1021.

<sup>54</sup> *FGrHist* 688 F1.23–27 (= D.S. 2.23.1–2).

about this inscription and informed us that such an inscription is found at least in two places. If this holds true, it seems most probable that the later accounts built on Choirilos and took the information from him that this inscription exists in various places as well.

As one of the authors has argued earlier, hedonism is not a sophisticated philosophy, but rather a very natural and simple approach to life. Enjoy what is good and avoid what is bad might be a kind of natural philosophy that most people would agree to. The idea that life should be enjoyable is found in the earliest Sumerian literary texts and the reminder “Enjoy life!” is also connected to ideas of the brevity of life.<sup>55</sup> A recent survey and discussion of the Neo-Assyrian evidence for feasts has demonstrated that banquets and feasts played a prominent role in royal self-presentation.<sup>56</sup> Therefore we can clearly state that the Neo-Assyrian kings, at least sometimes, presented themselves as hedonistic kings, with a taste for luxury and consumed the best food and drink. Based on these findings, arguments about the special Greekness of Sardanapalus’ hedonistic inscription can no longer be upheld.

However, we can still ask how Sardanapalus became the prototype of a hedonistic king. The publication of Papyrus Amherst 63 demonstrated that stories of Ashurbanipal and his brother Šamaš-šuma-ukīn also circulated outside the Greek tradition – and this also hints at the possibility that these stories about hedonistic kings reached the Greeks via Aramaic texts. In Papyrus Amherst 63 it is not Ashurbanipal, but rather his brother to whom a hedonistic lifestyle is attributed and the early Greek tradition that distinguishes two distinct Sardanapali might be influenced by such stories. The papyrus states that he resides in Babylon drinking the best wine and eating the best food while his only duty is to send the tribute to Nineveh (Col. XVII) and he later ends his life in a fire.<sup>57</sup> However, we do not know exactly how old these traditions are, as the papyrus dates to the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BCE the possibility that it was influenced by Greek accounts of these events cannot be excluded. However, it seems more probable that it contains older material as it still distinguishes two kings, while in the later Greek traditions elements of both brothers blur into the figure of Sardanapalus.

The only piece of textual evidence that clearly connects Ashurbanipal with the hedonistic Sardanapalus is found in the accounts of the seventh campaign of Ashurbanipal. The sixth and the following seventh “campaign,” as recounted in the text, are rather a reaction to Elamite attacks than proper campaigns. In the first part of the text, the evil deeds of the Elamite king Urtaku are described, who responded to Ashurbanipal’s friendship and help during a famine with an attack, which was easily repelled by sending out an Assyrian army. The text does not report anything about a battle but rather states that fear overwhelmed Urtaku and that he returned to Elam with his army. However, this is not the end of the story as Urtaku and his

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<sup>55</sup> FINK 2014, 242–246.

<sup>56</sup> TARHAN 2024.

<sup>57</sup> STEINER, NIMS 1985.

minions are heavily punished by the gods and they all die by divine punishment at the same time.<sup>58</sup>

While these miracles should have signalled the Elamites that the gods do not want them to confront Ashurbanipal, Teumman, the successor of Urtaku, gathers an army and attacks Assyria. The war against Teumman is described in the seventh campaign. And here we encounter the hedonistic advice of the goddess Ishtar. Ashurbanipal is residing in Arbela, where one of the main sanctuaries of Ishtar was situated, and during festivities for the goddess, the king is informed about the attack of Teumman. He falls into despair, speaks a prayer to Ishtar and asks her for help. Ishtar now speaks to Ashurbanipal and tells him that he should not fear and that she will accept his prayer (Ashurbanipal 3, v 45b – 48a). The hedonistic message, which is the focus of our interest here, is delivered through a dream interpreter, who received a night vision from Ishtar and reported it to Ashurbanipal. Ishtar informs Ashurbanipal that she will take care of this battle and gives him the following order:

*akanna lū ašbāta ašar maškanīka akul akalu šiti kurunnu ningūtu šukun nu 'id  
ilūtī*

You will stay in your palace where you are residing. Eat food, drink the choicest drink, make party, revere my divinity.<sup>59</sup>

### Conclusion

As we see, Ishtar tells Ashurbanipal to behave the way the classical authors depict Sardanapalus. He is told to stay in his palace, not to go on campaign, which is troublesome for him, and to focus on food, drink, party, and worship of Ishtar. Combined with the above-mentioned Aramaic rendering of Ashurbanipal as SRBNBL, which provides us with a link between the names Ashurbanipal and Sardanapalus, this passage provides us with a good explanation of the origin of the hedonistic king Sardanapalus. Greek authors may have gained access to this story through their contacts with the Assyrian Empire, either through raids in the Levant or as mercenaries in the service of Saïte kings against the Assyrians.<sup>60</sup> Additionally, texts such as Ashurbanipal's account of his campaigns were widely disseminated throughout the Empire,<sup>61</sup> and as the tale of two brothers mentioned above demonstrates, also an Aramaic interface between the Assyrian and Greek traditions is probable. Given that Greek authors had

<sup>58</sup> RINAP 5/1, Ashurbanipal 3, IV 15–IV 61.

<sup>59</sup> Ashurbanipal 3, v 61–63. Translation slightly adapted from RINAP 5/1, 70. While RINAP translates “Eat food, drink wine, make music” we opt for “make party” or “celebrate a festival” which makes more sense for Ashurbanipal, who is perfectly capable of organizing a festival, but not necessarily of performing music. Compare CAD N2, 218 s.v. *nigūtu* where the phrase *nigūtu šakānu* is rendered as “to hold a festival”. The word *kurunnu* is translated as “wine” or “beer”, but the context makes it clear that it is “a choice kind” (CAD K, 579) of drink.

<sup>60</sup> FANTALKIN, LYTLE 2016; SCHÜTZE 2023, 21–25; 35–43.

<sup>61</sup> PARKER 2011, 364–365; RADNER 2005, 234–250.

access to a version of this story the thing that would have struck them most is that the male king is sitting in his palace while a woman is taking over his manly duties. The fact that the king stayed in his palace is somehow blurred in the inscription, as the story of Ishtar is told, but then the text continues in the first person as if Ashurbanipal himself went on campaign. While it is impossible to give a final proof that this extraordinary passage actually is the nucleus around which the stories about Sardanapalus emerged. It seems to us that it provides us with the 'best explanation'<sup>62</sup> for the emergence of the image of Sardanapalus as an effeminate and hedonistic king in Greek historiography.

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<sup>62</sup> See FINK 2022, 67 where five criteria for the evaluation of literary parallels are suggested and discussed.

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*Archaeology and Epigraphy*

## About the Cucuteni A Habitation Level from the Settlement of Dâmbul Morii (Cucuteni commune, Iasi County, Romania)

Radu-Ștefan BALAUR<sup>1</sup>

**Abstract.** *The archaeological research carried out in the Cucuteni A-B phase settlement of Dâmbul Morii led to the discovery of 17 dwellings. The archaeological campaigns of 1962 and 1963 raised the issue of the existence of a Cucuteni A level in this settlement. The presence of bichrome and trichrome painted ceramic fragments of the Trușești type, considered more recently as belonging to the A<sub>3</sub> subphase, as well as others with deep incised or grooved decoration, chronologically and culturally included in the Cucuteni A<sub>2</sub> subphase, are clear evidence of the existence of this cultural level. We do not exclude the possibility that the materials decorated with incisions and grooves, present in both pits, to be attributed to the Precucuteni III phase, which is mostly contemporary with the Cucuteni A phase, as suggested by the existing calibrated radiocarbon dates. A similar situation, where Precucuteni III pottery appears in a Cucuteni A<sub>3</sub> medium, is also attested at Ruginoasa.*

**Rezumat.** *Cercetările arheologice în așezarea de fază A-B de la Dâmbul Morii au dus la identificarea a cel puțin 17 locuințe. Campaniile arheologice din 1962 și 1963 au ridicat problema existenței unui nivel Cucuteni A în această așezare. Prezența fragmentelor ceramice pictate bicrom și tricrom de tip Trușești, considerate mai nou ca aparținând subfazei A<sub>3</sub>, precum și altele cu decor incizat adânc sau canelat, încadrate cronologic și cultural în subfaza Cucuteni A<sub>2</sub>, sunt dovezi clare ale existenței acestui nivel cultural. Nu excludem ca materialele decorate cu incizii și caneluri, prezent în ambele gropi, să aparțină de fapt fazei Precucuteni III, care este contemporană în mare parte cu faza Cucuteni A, așa cum o sugerează și datele radiocarbon existente calibrate cu programe mai vechi sau mai noi. O situație similară, unde apare ceramică de factură Precucuteni III în mediu Cucuteni A<sub>3</sub>, este atestată și la Ruginoasa.*

**Keywords:** *Dâmbul Morii, settlement, Cucuteni A phase, ceramics, pits.*

### Introduction

First mentioned by H. Schmidt, under the name „Talsiedlung - the settlement in the Valley”, the researches at *Dambul Morii*<sup>2</sup> were carried out between the years 1961-1964, 1966, 1977-1978 and 1989. The eight excavation campaigns carried out identified about 17 dwellings attributed to the Cucuteni A-B phase<sup>3</sup> (Fig. 2). Since the first campaigns, the person in charged

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<sup>2</sup> In some studies, the settlement is also known as Cucuteni-Baiceni - *Dambul Morii* or Baiceni - *Dambul Morii*.

<sup>3</sup> In the archaeological literature, the author of the excavations mentions only 10 researched dwellings (DINU 2006; 2009)

of the excavations raised the issue of the existence of a Cucuteni A habitation level, especially based on the materials discovered in two pits, under two different dwellings.

The settlement from *Dâmbul Morii* is located northeast of Romania (Fig. 1/1), Iași County (Fig. 1/2), on the territory of Cucuteni commune, Băiceni village (Fig. 1/3), on a promontory positioned between the Recea stream to the west and the Morii stream to the east, with steeper slopes to the southeast and smoother on the other sides <sup>4</sup>.

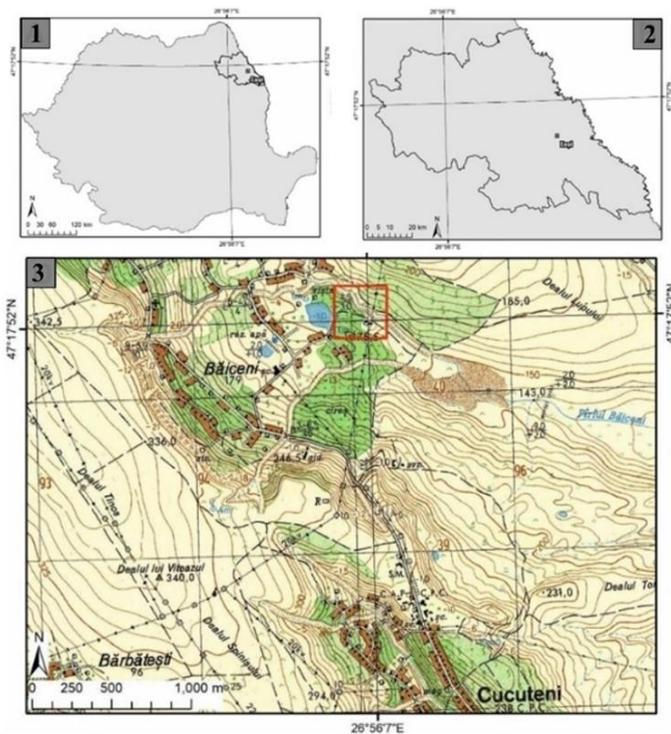


Figure. 1. Site location of Cucuteni - *Dâmbul Morii*. Iași County (1-2), and on the topographic map, Scale 1.25000(3) (after Asăndulesei 2020, Fig. 1,7).

The first discoveries associated with the existence of a Cucuteni A habitation level were made following the dismantling of the second platform of dwelling no. 2, by digging a control trench, about 10x0.5 m, in the direction of the axis of the dwelling (Fig. 3). In addition to the materials specific to phase A-B, a series of ceramic fragments with trichrome painting also appeared (Fig. 4). From this trench 49 ceramic fragments were collected, of which 25 from the category of fine ceramics, 13 from the category of semi-fine ceramics, and 11 coarse ones. To clarify this problem, three more control trenches with dimensions of about 10x1 m were dug<sup>5</sup>. The role of these control trenches was to establish the stratigraphy of the settlement,

<sup>4</sup> DINU 2006, 31; 2009, 106; ASĂNDULESEI *et alii* 2020, 320; BALAUR 2020, 170.

<sup>5</sup> Băiceni-*Dâmbul Morii*-Carnet nr. 1, Campaniile 1962, 1963.

unfortunately we do not have their plans and profiles, therefore we do not have a concrete stratigraphy.

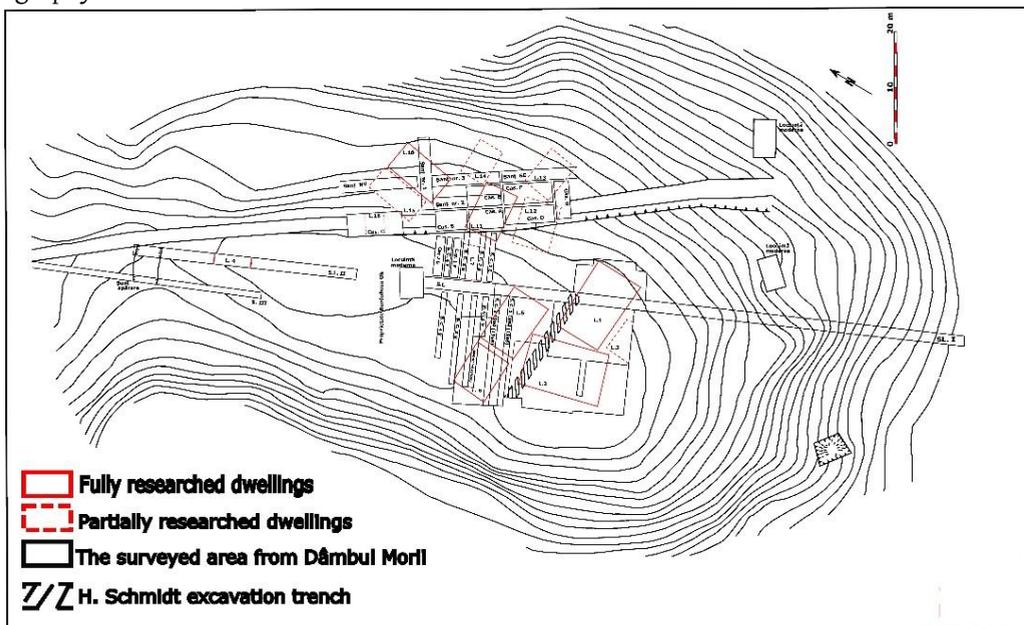


Figure. 2. Cucuteni – Dâmbul Morii . Excavation plan (adapted after Dinu 2006, 43, with additions )

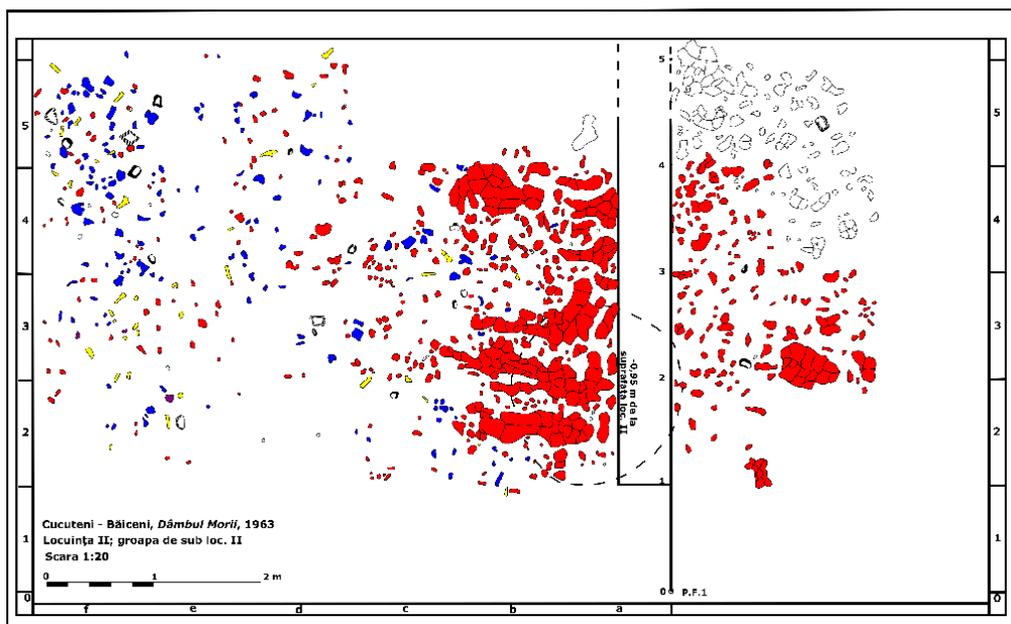


Figure. 3. Cucuteni – Dâmbul Morii . Dwelling no. 2 with the control trench on the axis and pit no. 1



Figure. 4. Ceramic materials discovered along the control trench on the axis of the dwelling

The same control trench on the axis of the dwelling led to the identification of pit no. 1, excavated in 1963, from which Cucuteni A ceramic materials were recovered. We do not have much information about this pit, only that it was at a depth of about 0.95 m from the surface of the first platform of the house. The markings on the identified ceramic fragments suggest a maximum depth of about 1.50 m. According to the excavation plan, it has a circular shape, with a diameter at the opening of about 1.6 m. Unfortunately we do not have a detailed profile of this pit, although there is a profile of the respective control trench.

The ceramic material associated with this pit is extremely diverse. Out of the total of 68 ceramic fragments, 36 were included in the category of fine ceramics, 17 in the category of semi-fine ceramics and 25 coarse one. Unfortunately, the extremely fragmentary state makes it difficult to categorize these vessels. From what we could observe, we can speak of support vessels (Fig. 5/1,2,4-5, Fig. 6/1-5), cups (Fig. 5/3, 9; Fig. 6/16- 18), globular vessels (Fig. 6/10), pyriform vessels (Fig. 6/14) or dishes (Fig. 6/11). Also the decoration seems diversified, both in the case of the one with incisions and the one with painting. The incised decoration was made of simple deep incised lines (Fig. 5/ 4-5, 8, 11-12) or lines of simple incised points (Fig. 5/9, 11) or slightly deeper incised points arranged obliquely (Fig. 5/3). A support fragment decorated with double incised lines, arranged obliquely or horizontally, filled with series of small oblique lines (Fig. 5/4) can be noted. Regarding the decorative motifs, in only one case we observe a spiral end (Fig. 5/5). There are also cases in which the two types of incisions mentioned are present together (Fig. 5/11), or a combination of dotted incisions and grooves (Fig. 5/9).



Figure 5. The ceramic material with incised and grooved decoration discovered in pit no. 1

In the case of the painted decoration, we noted the presence of bichrome painting, with white and brown (Fig. 6/6-9, 16, 18), as well as trichrome painting with white, brown and black (Fig. 6/1-5, 10-11, 17-18) or white, red and black (Fig. 6/12-15), with black playing the role of the outline color, for the wide white bands. The decorative motifs, from what can be seen, mostly consist of simple large bands arranged in angles, or arched. To a large extent, the pieces discovered inside the pit are largely similar to those from Truşeşti. We can assume that the role of this pit is most likely a household pit.

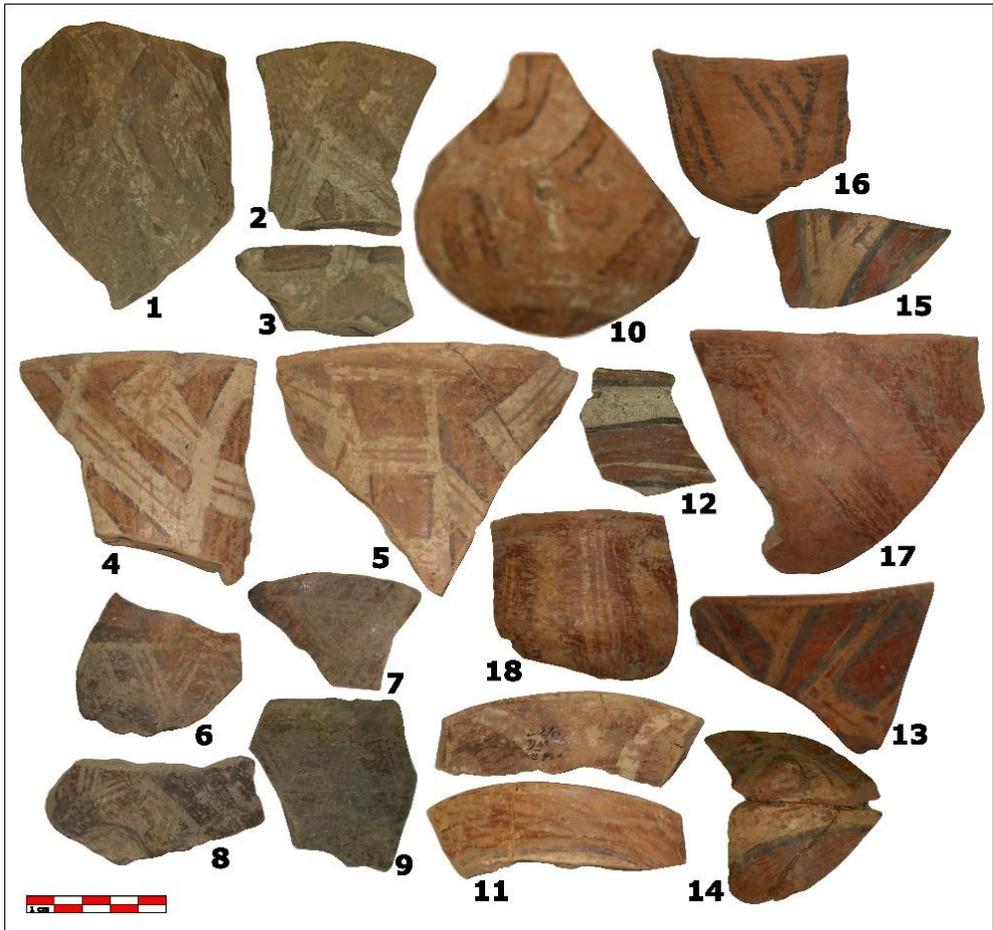


Figure. 6. The ceramic material painted decoration discovered in pit no. 1

The second complex with Cucuteni A materials, identified under dwelling no. 5, received the name of pit no. 2. The information regarding this pit was also taken from the excavation plans (Fig. 7). From what can be seen on the plan, the pit has an oval shape, with dimensions of 1.65 x 2.75, dug to a depth of -0.75 m from the surface of the dwelling platform or 0.95 m from the ground surface, according to the markings on the ceramic materials. Unlike the previous pit, for this one we have a profile documented (Fig. 7, lower right corner). The ceramic material from this pit is represented by about 56 fragments, of which 19 in the fine category, 26 semi-fine and 11 coarse one.

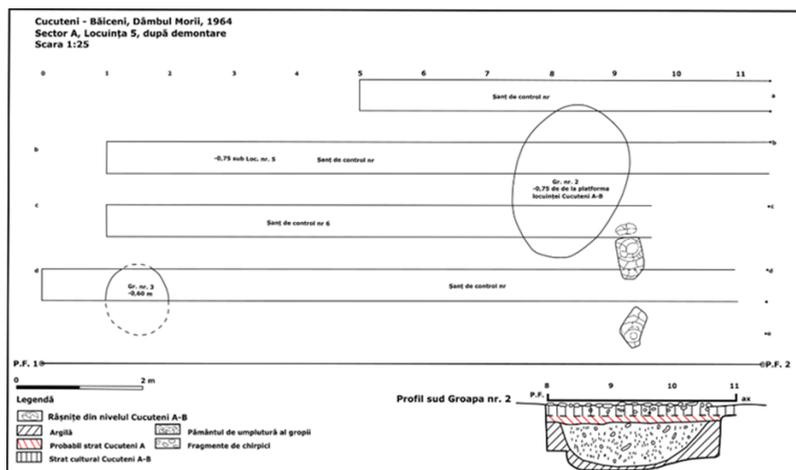


Figure. 7. Dwelling no. 5 after dismantling of the platform, with control trenches, pits 2 and 3 and south profile of pit no. 2



Figure. 8. The ceramic material discovered in pit no. 2.

In terms of shapes, the ceramic fragments are from support vessels (Fig. 8/1-2), cups (Fig. 8/4-8), from a dish (Fig. 8/9), a crater shaped vessel (Fig. 8/11) and two miniature vessels , probably a fruit vessel (Fig. 8/5) and the lower part of a fruit vessel with support (Fig. 8/10).

From a decorative point of view, we have vessels without decoration (Fig. 8/2-3,11), vessels decorated with incised lines and dots (Fig. 8/1) and vessels with trichrome painting, with white, brown and black (Fig. 8/4- 7, 9) or white red and black (Fig. 8/11), with black having the same role as contour color. The decorative motifs are marked by S type spirals (fig. 8/6, 10), made of wide strips framed by black lines, or spiral ends made in the same manner (Fig. 8/6). The empty spaces between the decorative motifs were filled with brown lines (Fig. 8/5-6). In the case of the dish, we notice that it had painted decoration, made in different ways, both inside and outside. Inside, the decoration was made of wide strips of wide color forming semicircles and ovals. On the outside, as far as I could see, the decorative register was divided in two by a white horizontal strip, unfortunately the erased painting did not allow us to make further more observations. A separation in different decorative registers can also be observed on the miniature support vessel. In the upper part, you can clearly see how this was done by a white horizontal band, doubled by black lines, probably the joining area with a possible fruit dish. On that support, the simple spiral motif, also done in white, framed by thin black bands, appears to be present. We also do not exclude the possibility that in the case of the fragment decorated with incisions, the area delimited by the two deep incisions to have had a crude red painting.

### Discussions

Not only the material identified in the two pits attests the existence of a Cucuteni A level at *Dâmbul Morii*. The research of dwelling no 5 in the 1964 campaign led to the identification of a thin deposit, probably from the platform of a dwelling, made on a bed of thin timbers covered with daub<sup>6</sup>. Also the different orientation of some adobes that seem to be out of place is associated with this platform. Probably the residents of phase A-B habitation, at the time of building the new house, have arranged the land in a hurry without removing the bricks from the old house<sup>7</sup>.

Also, as I mentioned above, the presence of the bichrome and trichrome painted ceramic fragments of the *Truşeşti* type, considered more recently as belonging to the A<sub>3</sub> subphase, as well as others with deep decoration, chronologically and culturally included in the Cucuteni A<sub>2</sub><sup>8</sup> subphase, are clear evidence of the existence this cultural level. Mostly the respective materials are from pit no. 1, discovered under the second platform of dwelling no. 2. Among the materials from this pit, a fragment of an anthropomorphic statuette with incised decoration, specific to the Cucuteni A phase, was discovered (Fig. 5/13). Starting from this discovery, we mention the fact that in the case of some feminine anthropomorphic representations identified at *Dâmbul Morii* we can observe a series of traits inherited from the Cucuteni A phase anthropomorphic plastic. Also, during the dismantling of dwelling no. 2, in

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<sup>6</sup> DINU 2006, 34.

<sup>7</sup> DINU 2006, 34; BALAUR 2020, 173; Băiceni-Dâmbul Morii – Carnet de săpătură nr. 2, Campania 1964.

<sup>8</sup> DINU 2006, 34; PETRESCU-DÎMBOVIȚA 1966, 32; PETRESCU-DÎMBOVIȚA *et alii* 1999, 266; MANTU 1998, 62.

the section drawn on the axis, at a depth of 0.80 m, a ceramic fragment with deep incised decoration and raw red painting was also discovered (Fig. 4, left lower corner). We do not exclude the possibility that the materials decorated with deep incisions and grooves, from both pits, to have actually belonged to the Precucuteni III phase, which is mostly contemporary with the Cucuteni A phase, as suggested by existing radiocarbon dates calibrated with older or newer programs<sup>9</sup>. A similar situation can be found in the Trușești-Țuguieța settlement, but also in other Cucuteni A sites, where Precucuteni III pottery appears in the Cucuteni A3 environment, such as at Ruginoasa<sup>10</sup>.

Based on the few analyzed materials, and on the analogies available from other settlements, we can certainly affirm that these pits from Dâmbul Morii would have belonged to a Cucuteni A level. Concretely, we can affirm that the ceramic material is similar to that associated with the Cucuteni A<sub>3</sub> level of Trușești. Based on the functionality of these pits, we can only make assumptions, most likely having a housekeeping role.

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<sup>9</sup> MANTU 1998, fig. 32.

<sup>10</sup> LAZAROVICI, LAZAROVICI 2010, 80-84, fig. 85.

## Mounds of Fire! The Tumular Necropolis of Borșa-La Cișmele (Vlădeni, Iași County)

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**Abstract.** North-eastern Romania benefits of a high density of tumuli, belonging to various prehistoric or historic communities. Previous endeavors of our team have identified within this workspace, with the help of LiDAR data, aerial photographs and cartographical supports, a number of 1791 of such mounds, usually placed on hilltops, forming somewhat-linear arrangements, but also exceptional situations, such as the case of the tumular necropolis of Borșa-La Cișmele, a novel discovery that does not resemble anything studied so far. The site comprises at least six mounds, out of which we have identified two groups of mounds connected by earthworks, shaping semi-circles. After the documentation stage, our team has carried out fieldwalks, with which occasion the presence of reddish coloured soil was observed. This characteristic was signaled only on the surface of the four connected mounds, suggesting that the tumuli in question were not guarding some inhumation burials, but were witnesses of an impressive cremation ritual. Thus, the current paper aims at signaling the presence of the monuments in question within the barrow landscape of NE Romania, as a first step in the research strategy undertaken by our team.

**Rezumat.** Regiunea nord-estică a României beneficiază de o densitate foarte ridicată a monumentelor tumulare, atribuite unor diverse comunități preistorice și istorice. Demersurile anterioare, întreprinse de echipa de față, au permis identificarea, cu ajutorul rezultatelor măsurătorilor LiDAR, al fotografiilor aeriene și al suporturilor cartografice vechi, a 1791 de monumente de acest tip. De regulă, movilele sunt amplasate pe terenuri înalte, alcătuind aranjamente oarecum liniare, dar sunt semnalate și situații excepționale, precum este cazul necropolei tumulare Borșa-La Cișmele, reprezentând subiectul lucrării prezente. Situl arheologic este inedit și nu prezintă similitudini în cadrul movilelor studiate anterior, fiind alcătuit din cel puțin șase monumente tumulare, dintre care se evidențiază două grupuri conectate cu ajutorul unor valuri de pământ, formând semi-cercuri. Ca urmare a documentării acestei situații au fost întreprinse cercetări de teren, ocazie cu care a fost semnalată prezența solului de culoare roșiatică. Acest aspect a fost semnalat doar pe suprafața celor patru movile aflate în conexiune, sugerând faptul că tumulii în cauză nu serveau drept gardieni ai unor morminte de înhumatie, ci au fost martorii unor ritualuri de incineratie impresionante. Astfel, obiectivul studiului de față este reprezentat de semnalarea prezenței necropolei în cauză în cadrul peisajului tumular din nord-estul României, ca prim pas în strategia de cercetare asumată.

**Keywords:** tumular necropolis, cremation, LiDAR, NE Romania.

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The territory of north-eastern Romania benefits of a very high density of burial mounds, belonging to various communities, dating from the Neolithic until medieval times<sup>3</sup>. If we were to summarize the history of *tumuli* research within this workspace, it should be noted that only few archaeological excavations have been conducted<sup>4</sup>, showing a predominance of sites belonging to the Bronze Age, especially to its earliest period, this being somewhat characteristic to the entire space located East of the Carpathians. However, we have to acknowledge that lately, throughout Romania, the investigations of burial mounds have been reignited, benefitting also of the usage of various interdisciplinary methods<sup>5</sup>. Prior to this approach, for the territory of interest, such initiatives have been undertaken by members of the present team, managing to obtain, among other, a detailed and up to date repertoire of all the mounds located in the Jijia River's catchment. Similar objectives were proposed by other scholars, but either for different geographical areas<sup>6</sup>, from different perspectives<sup>7</sup>, or relying solely on the topographical maps<sup>8</sup>. Usually, these studies take into consideration only the monuments with significant elevations (visible in the field, as well as on various cartographic and imagery supports), due to the lack of LiDAR (Light Detection and Ranging) data, thus leaving an important number of sites unaccounted for. In opposition, our study has relied on integrating both the topographical and military old maps, as well as the results of LiDAR measurements, including in our repertoire even the nearly flattened mounds, visible only with the help of laser scanning or aerial photographs. With this occasion we have managed to identify almost 1791 mounds only in the territory of Jijia River's catchment, an important conclusion of this endeavor being that most of the sites are arranged in large, concentrated groups, likely interconnected. The sites are predominantly found at higher altitudes, on hilltops or gentle slopes along river valleys. These groups often form linear or circular patterns, consisting of up to eight mounds, with one or two prominent *tumuli* followed by smaller, nearly flattened mounds.

While it is true that we managed to identify a pattern regarding the funerary mounds of NE Romania<sup>9</sup>, the analysis of LiDAR data has provided, also, exceptional situations. One of these cases is represented by the tumular necropolis of Borșa-La Cișmele, a novel discovery that represents the subject of the present paper. The site occupies approx. 15 ha, being located on the territory of Vlădeni administrative unit, in the north-eastern region of Iași County (Fig.1-

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<sup>3</sup> BURTĂNESCU 2002; NICULICĂ 2015; LÁSZLÓ 1994; MIHĂILESCU-BÎRLIBA 2022; LEVIȚKI 1994.

<sup>4</sup> PETRESCU-DÎMBOVIȚA 1953; 1954; PETRESCU-DÎMBOVIȚA *et alii* 1955; DINU 1957; 1959a; 1959b; PETRESCU-DÎMBOVIȚA, DINU 1975; LÁSZLÓ 1976, etc.

<sup>5</sup> HOECK *et alii* 2012; FRÎNCULEASA *et alii* 2015; ȘTEFAN *et alii* 2017; HEGYI 2018; ENEA *et alii* 2021; HEGYI *et alii* 2021; SÎRBU *et alii* 2021; ENEA *et alii* 2022; METZNER-NEBELSICK *et alii* 2023; DIACONU *et alii* 2024; TENCARIU *et alii* 2024, etc.

<sup>6</sup> BRUDIU 1991; TOPOLEANU *et alii* 2008; ȚENȚEA, RAȚIU 2015; DIACONESCU *et alii* 2017; DIACONU 2022.

<sup>7</sup> NICULIȚĂ 2020a; 2020b.

<sup>8</sup> ȘOVAN 2016.

<sup>9</sup> BRAȘOVEANU *et alii* 2023.

2). It is comprised out of six mounds, that can be categorized in three groups of two. Thus, we have identified two mounds with higher elevation (M1-2), and two groups, summing four monuments (M3-6), connected by earthworks (EW-1 and EW-2), shaping two semi-circles. The first, higher ones, are located outside the previous group (Fig.3-4). Regarding their morphometrical characteristics (Table 1), it is obvious that the four connected mounds present different specifics than the two other, outsider ones. The latter have altitudes between 2 m and 2,2 m, and maximum diameters of up to 40 m, while the other four are smaller (20-30 m  $D_{max}$ ), with elevations that do not exceed 30 cm, making the monuments almost imperceptible for the naked eye.

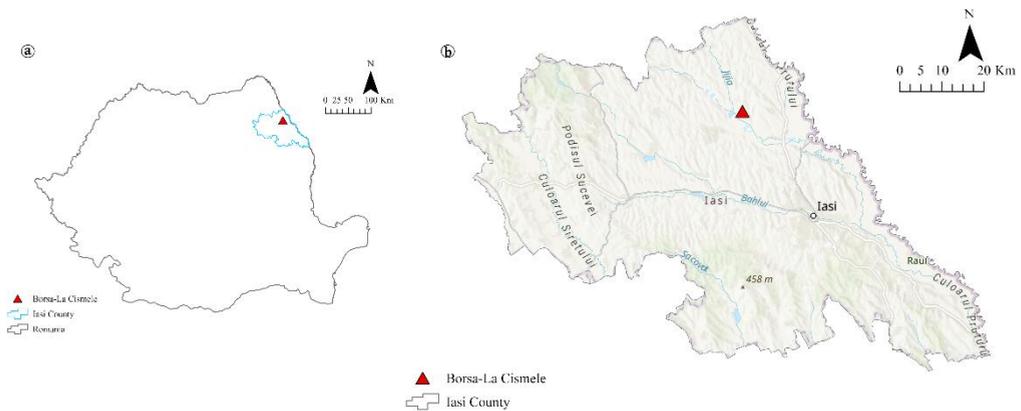


Fig.1. Localization of the archaeological site Borșa-La Cișmele within: **a**-the territory of Romania; **b**-the territory of Iași County.



Fig.2. Localization of the archaeological site Borșa-La Cișmele on the Topographical Map of Romania (1:25.000, 1984 edition).

At first glance, this represented an exquisite discovery, with no first-hand analogies in the territory of nowadays Romania, at least in the current state of research. The next step in our research was represented by a study of all of the available cartographic supports, followed by fieldwalks. The purpose of the latter was not only to obtain aerial photographs, or to identify archaeological material that could pinpoint the cultural-chronological attribution of the discovery, but also to get acquainted with the terrain conditions (accessibility, type of agriculture, type of property, etc.), in order to perform various non-invasive measurements (magnetometry, Electrical Resistivity mapping and Tomography).

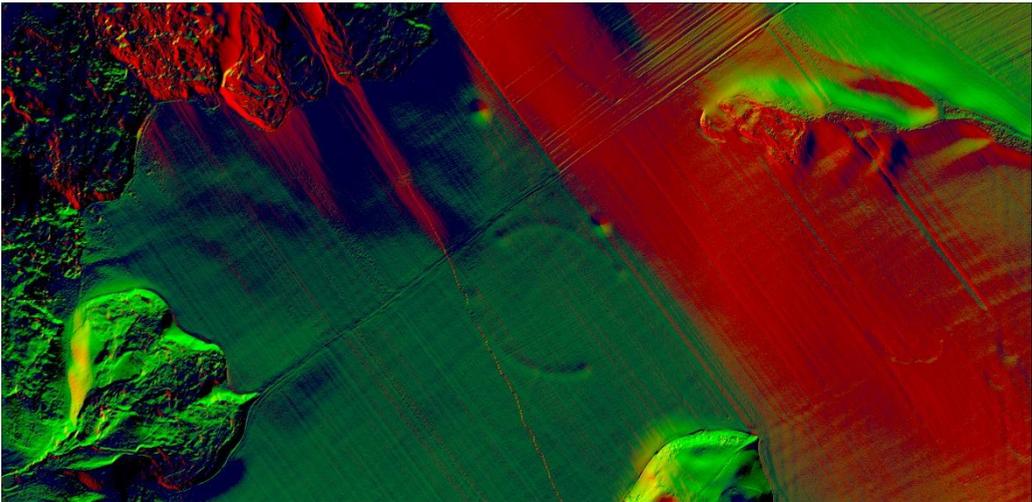


Fig.3. The necropolis Borșa-La Cișmele. *Principal Component Analysis of hillshading* (LiDAR-derived DEM 1x1 m; Relief Visualization Toolbox).

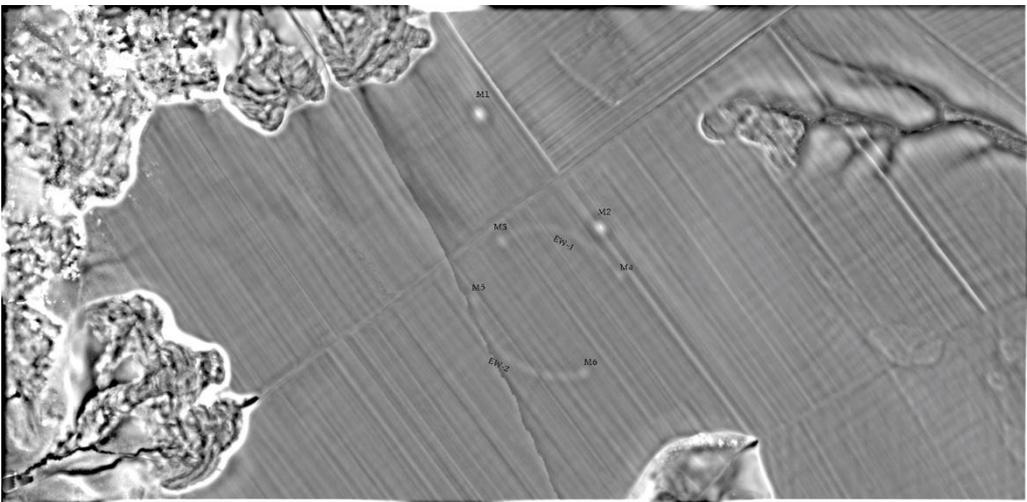


Fig.4. The necropolis Borșa-La Cișmele. *Local Dominance* (LiDAR-derived DEM 1x1 m; Relief Visualization Toolbox).

Table 1. Morphometrical characteristics of the archaeological structures of the necropolis Borșa-La Cișmele

Name	D <sub>max</sub>	Elevation	Width	Length
M1	40 m	2,2 m		
M2	40 m	2 m		
M3	30 m	0,3 m		
M4	20 m	0,2 m		

M5	20 m	0,3 m		
M6	20 m	0,15 m		
EW-1		0,25 m	20 m	320 m
EW-2		0,25 m	15 m	365 m

At this point, the site of Borșa-La Cișmele became even more interesting, due to the presence of reddish-colored soil (Fig. 5-6), only on the surface of the four connected mounds, suggesting that the *tumuli* in question were not guarding inhumation burials, but were witnesses of an impressive cremation ritual.



Fig.5. Aerial view of the necropolis Borșa-La Cișmele (photo taken from NW).

So far, after a careful consideration of the scientific literature, it seems that such discoveries are not known for the territory of Romania, but surprisingly not even for the neighboring territories. The only similarities that our team has managed to identify are with the so-called mounds “with moustaches”<sup>10</sup>, dating back to the periods of the Saks, Huns and Türks, mostly known from the South Ural region of Kazakhstan<sup>11</sup>, but having also isolated presences in Kalmykia, the Dnieper region, and Crimea<sup>12</sup>. However, the afore-mentioned monuments consist, usually, of a burial mound, from which two arched stone ridges (the “moustaches”) extend<sup>13</sup>, thus making this an improbable analogy. Other assemblies of mounds

<sup>10</sup> In this sense, many thanks are due to Denis Topal, for providing valuable bibliography regarding the subject.

<sup>11</sup> BEKBASSAR 1999; SYRLYBAEV *et alii* 2016; BEISENOV *et alii* 2018a; 2018b; GRUDCHKO 2017; 2018; 2022.

<sup>12</sup> BOTALOV *et alii* 2006; TIHOMIROV 2020; TIHOMIROV *et alii* 2020.

<sup>13</sup> BEISENOV *et alii* 2018a, fig.2; BEISENOV *et alii* 2018b, fig.2; GRUDCHKO 2018, fig.2-4; GRUDCHKO 2022, fig.2.

and earthworks are found in the territory of the Republic of Moldova<sup>14</sup>, but they usually present almost rectangular forms (with one side missing), all of the angles being marked by the presence of mounds.



Fig.6. Burnt soil visible on the surface of M3.

At this point, given those set out above, it is impossible to postulate any hypotheses regarding the cultural-chronological attribution of the necropolis in question. Thus, the following methodological steps will imply obtaining as much information as possible, with the help of non-intrusive methods: acquiring a Digital Surface Model for the entire area, as well as performing total field and vertical gradient magnetometry, Electrical Resistivity mapping and Tomography. This multi-faceted approach was selected in order to ensure the detection of as many types of archaeological anomalies as possible, since the contrast, as well as the signals, offered by the archaeological structures differ, depending on the prospecting method used, climate and environmental factors, etc. Also, another important detail is represented by the fact that at the moment, the site of *Borșa-La Cișmele* is not registered under the National Archaeological Repertoire, being located on agricultural fields. Thus, its inclusion in the aforementioned instrument is most important.

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<sup>14</sup> TOPAL *et alii* 2019, fig.9.

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## From *Sal* to a “Semantic Spider’s Web” in Latin

Roxana-Gabriela CURCĂ<sup>1</sup>

**Abstract.** This paper examines the lexeme *sal* and its lexical family in Latin, as attested in various written sources. The terms formed from *sal* have been classified in *partes orationis* (*nomen et verbum*), and their semantic spectrum (e.g., preservation, occupations, literal and figurative meanings).

**Rezumat.** Această lucrare analizează lexemul *sal* și familia sa lexicală în latină, așa cum este atestată în diferite surse scrise. Termenii formați de la *sal* au fost împărțiți în *partes orationis* (*nomen et verbum*) și a fost analizat spectrul semantic al acestora (e.g., conservare, ocupații, sens propriu și figurat).

### Keywords

Salt, Latin language, lexical family, semantic spectrum, *partes orationis*.

### Introduction

This article aims to investigate, as a preliminary approach, the lexical family formed from *sal*-, as part of a larger project on the terminology of salt in classical languages<sup>2</sup>.

This research addresses the Latin lexic on salt developed only from the term *sal*. We will not deal with terms semantically related to salt, which are not constructed on the radical *sal*- (e.g. fish sauces like *garum*, *liquamen*, *muria* și *hallex*)<sup>3</sup>.

Therefore, we propose an analysis split into two categories: terms categorized according to literal and figurative meanings and terms categorized according to *partes orationis* (*nomen et verbum*).

In the extensive analysis of research on salt or brine in Latin authors, I would highlight, within the context of our study, two major synthesis works. The first synthesis covers topics such as symbolism and epistemological approach of salt in antiquity<sup>4</sup>, while the second one addresses issues related to salt lakes and springs, salt rivers, rock salt exploitation, human

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<sup>2</sup> For the issues related to the terminological aspects of salt in Greek, see CURCĂ 2016.

<sup>3</sup> DUMITRACHE 2014.

<sup>4</sup> MOINIER 2012.

consumption, price of salt, food preservation, halotherapy, metallurgy, pedology, architecture, spirituality, rites, sacrifices, etc.<sup>5</sup>

Selectively, I will list the most significant studies related to the topic. The anthropological perspective was proposed by M. Alexianu<sup>6</sup>. N. Morère Molinero cataloged and analyzed the occurrences of the term *salinae*, considering them not only as production sites but also as economic hubs. This analysis takes into account chronological factors in interpreting their economic significance<sup>7</sup>. M. Paraschiv has examined various aphoristic expressions from Greek and Latin authors in which the term *sal* is attested. Thus, she quotes phrases denoting the idea of spirituality, friendship, hospitality<sup>8</sup>. B. Moinier conducted a detailed analysis of the symbolic and culinary dimensions of salt in the works of Cicero and Horace<sup>9</sup>. The aspects related to fiscality and commerce, exploitation techniques were analyzed by C. Carusi<sup>10</sup>. The halotherapeutic dimension was also a topic of research in the literature<sup>11</sup>. The etymological aspects were discussed by A. Poruciu<sup>12</sup> and A. Falileyev<sup>13</sup>.

As regards this last aspect, the etymological one, it is appropriate to make several comments. As far as the Proto-Indo-European etymology of the Latin *sal*, it has been a topic of debate in the exegesis ("The word for salt (\*seh<sub>a</sub>-(e)l-), for example, was a major issue of discussion among linguists of the nineteenth century because it was regarded as disritical in locating the homeland near a natural source of salt such as the Black Sea or Aegean. In reality, salt springs and later salt mines were exploited over many areas of Eurasia since the Neolithic shift in diet that required salt both for dietary reasons (increasing consumption of cereals resulted in a reduction of salt intake from a meat diet) and for the preservation of meat"<sup>14</sup>). The Latin *sal* possible originated from Proto-Indo-European \**sal-* which carries a double meaning: salt or dirty (the last one derived from the colour of rock-salt blocks). The controversy over Indo-European origin originated from the lack of salt words in Indo-Iranian idioms<sup>15</sup>. Apart from Latin and Greek, the radical \**sal-* also occurs in languages like Old Irish *salann*, New English *salt*, Latvian *sāls*, Armenian *al*, Tocharian B *salyiye*, Lithuanian *sólymas*,

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<sup>5</sup> MOINIER, WELLER 2015.

<sup>6</sup> ALEXIANU 2015 ; 2023, 3-10.

<sup>7</sup> MORÈRE MOLINERO 2010, 1465-1473 ; 2011, 155-161.

<sup>8</sup> PARASCHIV 2011, 2019-223.

<sup>9</sup> 2015, 37-49.

<sup>10</sup> CARUSI 2007, 325-342; 2008, 353-364.

<sup>11</sup> CURCĂ 2007, 259-270 ; SANDU ET AL. 2010, 225-256.

<sup>12</sup> PORUCIUC 2008, 133-148; 2011, 215-218.

<sup>13</sup> 2011, 209-214.

<sup>14</sup> MALLORY, ADAMS 2006, 264 ; see also Ernout, Meillet 1959, s.v.

<sup>15</sup> PORUCIUC 2011, 215-218.

Sanskrite *salilá*, etc.<sup>16</sup>. The Sanskrit lexeme is considered by A. Poruciuc as the equivalent of the Latin word *salum-i* (*sea in motion, open sea*)<sup>17</sup>.

We will analyse the meanings of the lexeme *sal* and its lexical family from a semantic perspective (literal and figurative meaning) (Table 1), followed by an examination of the *partes orationis* (*nomen and verbum*) associated with *sal* (Table 2): 1.*sal, salis* (masculin / rarely neuter) means : ‘common salt (sodium chloride), pl. lumps of salt, as symbol of hospitality; 2.a.flos salis : Crystalline salt obtained from brine ; oily deposit found near salt-mines ; sal Hammoniacus / Sal Hamoniacum : an impure state of sodium chloride found in Libya; sal fossicius (fossilis) : rock-salt ; sal marinus : sea salt ; sal nativus : natural salt ; sal nitrum : Nitrum ; sucus salis : brine ; 3.salt water, brine; 4.poetic (the sea); 5. a sort of flaw in precious stones; 6.a quality which gives 'life' or 'character' to a person or thing; (of speech) wit; pl. examples of wit jokes witticisms’<sup>18</sup>.

Table 1.		
LITERAL MEANING		
Latin lexeme	Ancient authors	Meaning
<i>insulsus, -a, -um</i>	Col., 2.9.10	‘unsalted’
<i>salacaccabia, -orum</i> (n. pl.)	Appic., 4.116	‘salaisons’
<i>Salacia, -ae</i> (f.)	Apul., <i>Apol.</i> , 31 ; Cic., <i>Tim.</i> , 39	‘the name of a sea-goddess’
<i>salacitas, -atis</i> (f.)	Col., 8.1115; Plin., <i>Nat.</i> , 9.59	‘strong sexual appetite, salaciousness’
<i>salariarius, -a, -um</i>	Ulp., <i>Dig.</i> , 17.1.10.9	‘one who receives a <i>salarium</i> , mercenary’
<i>salarium, -ii</i> (n.)	Plin. <i>Nat.</i> , 31.89; Sen., <i>Ep.</i> , 97, 2; Tac., <i>Agr.</i> , 42	‘a regular official payment to the holder of a civil or military post’
<i>salarius, -a, -um</i>	Liv., 29.37.3; Mart., 1.41.8	‘of or relating to salt ; <i>via Salaria</i> : the ancient salt route of the Sabines’
<i>salarius, -ii</i> (m.)	Plin., <i>Nat.</i> , 31.89 ; Suet., <i>Nero</i> , 48.1	‘a dealer in salted fish’
<i>salax, -acis</i>	Ov., <i>Fast.</i> , 4.771; Col. 7.9.1;	‘(of men), male animals. Eager for sexual intercourse, highly

<sup>16</sup> MALLORY, ADAMS 2006, 261.

<sup>17</sup> PORUCIUC 2008, 136; 2011, 215-218.

<sup>18</sup> For the references on lexical family of salt mentioned in this article, see Glare 1968, s.v. and Gaffiot 2000, s.v.

	Petr., 43.8; Catul., 37.1	sexed, lascivious; stimulating sexual desire, aphrodisiac’; ? ‘an unidentified sea-fish’
<i>salgama, -orum</i> (n. pl.)	Col. 10.117	‘pickling vegetables, herbs’
<i>salgamarius, -ii</i> (m.)	Col. 12.56.1	‘a maker / merchand of pickles’
<i>salgamum, -i</i> (n.)	<i>Cod. Just.</i> 12.42	‘ce qui constitue l’alimentation, nourriture’
<i>salifodina, -ae</i> (f.)	Vitr., 8.3.7	‘salt pit’
<i>salillum, -i</i> (n.)	Catul., 23.19 ; Pl. <i>Trim.</i> , 492	‘a little salt-cellar’
<i>salinae, -arum</i> (f., pl.)	Caes., <i>Civ.</i> , 2.37.5; Vitr. 8.3.10; Liv., 24.47.15 ; Cic., <i>Fam.</i> , 7.32.1	‘salt-pans, salterns. A district of Rome by the Porta Gemina’
<i>salinarius, -a, -um</i>	Vitr., 8.3	‘de sel, de saline’
<i>salinator, -oris</i> (m.)	Cic., <i>de Orat.</i> , 2.273; Cic., <i>Brut.</i> , 73; Suet., <i>Tib.</i> , 3.2	‘the operator of a salt-works. Salinator ( <i>cognomen</i> )’
<i>saliniensis, -is</i> (m.)	<i>CIL</i> IV, 128	‘merchand of salt’
<i>salinum, -i</i> (n.)	Liv, 26.36.6 ; Plin., <i>Nat.</i> , 33.153	‘a salt-cellar’
<i>salipotens, -ntis</i>	Pl., <i>Trin.</i> , 820	‘roi de la mer’
<i>saliva, -ae</i> (f.)	Plin., <i>Nat.</i> , 7.13; Sen., <i>Ep.</i> , 79.7; Sen., <i>Dial.</i> , 5.38.2	‘saliva, spittle (as a sign of pleasurable anticipation, also of greed ; applied to other more or less similar substances ; a distinctive flavour, esp. of wine)’
<i>salivarius, -a, -um</i>	Plin. <i>Nat.</i> , 9.160	‘resembling saliva, slimy, viscous’
<i>salivatio, -onis</i> (f.)	C.-Aur., <i>Acut.</i> , 3.27	‘salivation’
<i>salivatium, -i</i> (n.)	Col., 6.10.1; Plin. <i>Nat.</i> , 27.101	‘a medicine for inducing salivation, sialagogue’
<i>salivo, -are, -avi, -atum</i>	Plin. 9,125; Col. 6,5,2	‘to cause an animal to salivate ; to exude (a slimy substance)’
<i>salivosus, -a, -um</i>	Plin. <i>Nat.</i> , 16.181; Apul., <i>Apol.</i> , 59	‘covered with saliva ; slobbering ; like saliva, slimy, clammy’

<i>sallo, -ere, -sum</i>	Sall., <i>Hist.</i> , 3.87	'to salt, make salty'
<i>salmacidus, -a, -um</i>	Plin. <i>Nat.</i> , 31.36; Flor., <i>Epit.</i> , 2.20	'(of water) salt and bitter, brackish'
<i>salor, -oris (m.)</i>	Capel., 1.8	'couleur de la mer'
<i>salsamen, -inis (n.)</i>	Ann., 7.24	'viande salée'
<i>salsamentarius, -a, -um</i>	Col. 2.10.16; Plin. <i>Nat.</i> , 28.140	'dealing in salt and fish; a seller of salted fish; (of containers) used for holding salted fish'
<i>salmentum, -i (n.)</i>	Char., 265.16	'salaison'
<i>salsamentum, -i (n.)</i> , usually pl.	Cato, <i>Agr.</i> , 88.2 ; Col. 8.7.12	'salted food, esp. fish'
<i>salsare, -is (n.)</i>	Hor. <i>S.</i> , 2.8.86	'vase à mettre de la salaison'
<i>salsarium-ii (n.)</i>	Appic., 9.442	'a salt-cellar'
<i>salsarius, -a, -um</i>	CIL VI, 9677	'marchand de salaisons'
<i>salsarius, -ii (m.)</i>	Inscr. <i>Grut.</i> , 647.1	'merchand of salted food'
<i>salsatus, -a, -um</i>	Aug. <i>Ep.</i> , 108.14	'salé'
<i>salsedo, -inis (f.)</i>	Pall., 11.14.2	'salure'
<i>salsicius, -a, -um</i>	Hor., <i>S.</i> , 2.4.60	'salé'
<i>salsilago, -inis (f.)</i>	Plin., <i>Nat.</i> , 31.92	'brine, saltiness'
<i>salsipotens, -ntis</i>	Pl., <i>Trin.</i> 820	'that rules over the salt sea ; epithete of Neptune'
<i>salsitudo, -inis (f.)</i>	Vitr. 1.4.11	'(of water) saltiness, salinity'
<i>salsiusculus, -a, -um</i>	Aug., <i>Conf.</i> , 8.3	'un peu salé'
<i>salso, -are, -avi, -atum</i>	Aug., <i>Ep.</i> , 108.14	'saler'
<i>salsugo, -inis (f.)</i>	Vitr., 2.7.2; Plin. <i>Nat.</i> , 19.85	'water strongly impregnated with salt, brine; salt quality, salinity'
<i>salsura, -ae (f.)</i>	Cato, <i>Agr.</i> , 162.1; Col., 12.50.5	'the process of salting or pickling; the condition of being preserved in brine; salted food'
<i>salsurus, -a, -um</i>	Salt., <i>Hist.</i> , 3.87	'salé'
<i>salsus, -a, -um</i>	Ov., <i>Fast.</i> , 3.284; Cato, <i>Agr.</i> , 144; Sen., <i>Oed.</i> , 335; Plin. <i>Nat.</i> , 7.42	'artificially salt, preserved or flavoured with salt, salted; naturally salt, impregnated with/or tasting of salt, salty; (of water) salt, briny; (poet.), of the sea, or in periphrases denoting

		the sea
<i>salum, -i</i> (n.)	Cic., <i>Ver.</i> , 5.91; Caes., <i>Civ.</i> , 3.28.4 ; Verg., <i>A.</i> , 1.537; Catul., 6.3.16 Luc., 2.685; Liv., 44.12.6	‘the sea in motion, swell, billow ; the sea, deep’
<b>FIGURATIVE MEANING<sup>19</sup></b>		
<i>insulse</i>	Mart., 7.85 <sup>20</sup>	‘unattractively, stupidly’
<i>insulitas, -atis</i> (f.)	Cic., <i>de Orat.</i> , 2. 217 <sup>21</sup>	‘unattractiveness, stupidity’
<i>insulsus, -a, -um</i>	Quint., <i>Inst., orat.</i> VI, 3, 19 <sup>22</sup>	‘unattractive, boring, stupid’
<i>sal, -is</i> (m., n.)	Pl. <i>Cur.</i> IV, 4, 561-562 <sup>23</sup> ; Hor., <i>Serm.</i> , 1, 10, 3-4 <sup>24</sup> ; Plin., <i>Nat.</i> , 23, 149 <sup>25</sup>	‘to dine; spice; jokes’ (used at pl.)
<i>salse</i>	Quint., <i>Inst.</i> , 6, 3, 13 <sup>26</sup>	‘with spirit, witty’
<i>salinum, -i</i>	Hor., <i>Carm.</i> , II, 16, 13-14 <sup>27</sup>	‘modest way of life’
<i>salsitas, -atis</i> (f.)	Hier., <i>Lucif.</i> , 14	‘esprit fin, mordant’
<i>salsura, -ae</i> (f.)	Pl., <i>Cur.</i> , 240-243 <sup>28</sup>	‘humour’
<i>salsus, -a, -um</i>	Quint., <i>Inst., orat.</i> VI, 3, 17-18 <sup>29</sup>	‘salted with humour, witty, funny, cruel, jocking’

<sup>19</sup> We will only present a few examples; for the list of occurrences of salt in Greek and Latin aphoristic expressions, see PARASCHIV 2011, 219-223.

<sup>20</sup> Quod non insulse scribis tetrasticha quaedam, disticha quod belle pauca, Sabelle, facis, laudo nec admiror.

<sup>21</sup> nam et Siculi in eo genere et Rhodii et Byzantii et praeter ceteros Attici excellunt; sed qui eius rei rationem quandam conati sunt artemque tradere, sic insulsi exstiterunt, ut nihil aliud eorum nisi ipsa insulitas rideatur.

<sup>22</sup> Salsum igitur erit quod non erit insulsum, velut quoddam simplex orationis condimentum, quod sentitur latente iudicio velut palato, excitatque et a taedio defendit orationem.

<sup>23</sup> Therapontigone Platagidore, salve; salvos quom advenis in Epidaurum, hic hodie apud me numquam delinges salem.

<sup>24</sup> Quis tam Lucili fautor inepte est, ut non hoc fateatur? at idem, quod sale multo urbem defricuit, charta laudatur eadem.

<sup>25</sup> In sanctuariis Mithridatis, maximi regis, devicti Cn. Pompeius invenit in peculiari commentario ipsius manu compositionem antidoti e Il nucibus siccis, item ficis totidem et rutae foliis XX simul tritis, addito salis grano.

<sup>26</sup> Occasio vero et in rebus est, (cuius est) tanta vis ut saepe adiuti ea non indocti modo sed etiam rustici salse dicant, et in eo, quid aliquis dixerit prior.

<sup>27</sup> Vivitur parvo bene, cui paternum/splendet in mensa tenui salinum.

<sup>28</sup> Quin tu aliquot dies perdura, dum intestina exputescunt tibi, nunc dum salsura sat bonast.

Table 2.				
sal-				
	Noun	Adjective	Verb	Adverb
<i>insulse</i>				•
<i>insulsitas, -atis (f.)</i>	•			•
<i>insulsus, -a, -um</i>		•		
<i>salacaccabia, -orum (n., pl.)</i>	•			
<i>Salacia, -ae (f.)</i>	•			
<i>salacitas, -atis (f.)</i>	•			
<i>salariarius, -a, -um</i>		•		
<i>salarium, -ii (n.)</i>	•			
<i>salarius-, -a, -um</i>		•		
<i>salarius, -ii (m.)</i>	•			
<i>salax, -acis</i>		•		
<i>salgama, -orum (n., pl.)</i>	•			
<i>salgamarius, -ii (m.)</i>	•			
<i>salgamum, -i (n.)</i>	•			
<i>salifodina, -ae (f.)</i>	•			
<i>salipotens, -ntis</i>		•		
<i>salillum, -i (n.)</i>	•			
<i>salinae, -arum (f., pl.)</i>	•			
<i>salinarius, -a, -um</i>		•		
<i>salinator, -oris (m.)</i>	•			
<i>saliniensis, -is (m.)</i>	•			
<i>salinum, -i (n.)</i>	•			
<i>saliva, -ae (f.)</i>	•			
<i>salivarius, -a, -um</i>		•		
<i>salivatio, -onis (f.)</i>	•			
<i>salivatium, -i (n.)</i>	•			
<i>salivo, -are, -avi, -atum</i>			•	
<i>salivosus, -a, -um</i>		•		
<i>sallo, -ere, -sum</i>			•	
<i>salmacidus, -a, -um</i>		•		
<i>salsamen, -inis (n.)</i>	•			

<sup>29</sup> *Salsum in consuetudine pro ridiculo tantum accipimus: natura non utique hoc est, quamquam et ridicula esse oporteat salsa. Nam et Cicero omne quod salsum sit ait esse Atticorum non quia sunt maxime ad risum compositi, et Catullus, cum dicit: "nulla est in corpore mica salis", non hoc dicit, nihil in corpore eius esse ridiculum.*

<i>salsamentarius, -a, -um</i>		•		
<i>salmentum, -i (n.)</i>	•			
<i>salor, -oris (m.)</i>	•			
<i>salsamentum, -i (n.), usually pl.</i>	•			
<i>salsare, -is (n.)</i>	•			
<i>salsarium-ii (n.)</i>	•			
<i>salsarius, -a, -um</i>		•		
<i>salsarius, -ii (m.)</i>	•			
<i>salsatus, -a- um</i>		•		
<i>salse</i>				•
<i>salsedo, -inis (f.)</i>	•			
<i>salsicius, -a, -um</i>		•		
<i>salsilago, -inis (f.)</i>	•			
<i>salsipotens, -ntis</i>		•		
<i>salsitas, -atis (f.)</i>	•			
<i>salsitudo, -inis (f.)</i>	•			
<i>salsiusculus, -a, -um</i>		•		
<i>salso, -are, -avi, -atum</i>			•	
<i>salsugo, -inis (f.)</i>	•			
<i>salsura, -ae (f.)</i>	•			
<i>salsurus, -a, -um</i>		•		
<i>salsus, -a, -um</i>		•		
<i>salum, -i (n.)</i>	•			

Apart from the examples illustrated above, we would also mention the lexeme *insula*, whose etymology, linked to the root for 'salt', has been a topic of debate in the literature<sup>30</sup>.

We have identified 32 nouns, 17 adjectives, 3 verbs and 2 adverbs that semantically encompass the following contexts:

-food consumption and preservation (e.g. *salacaccabia, salgama, salgamum, salsamen, salsamentum, salsura*);

-saltiness (e.g. *salsatus, salsedo, salsicius, salsilago, salsitudo, salsiusculus, salsugo, salsurus*);

-occupations (e.g. *salsamentarius*);

-aphrodisiac dimension (e.g. *salacitas, salax*);

<sup>30</sup> For an analysis of this lexeme and its associated controversial etymological issues, see FALILEYEV 2011, 209-214 : “Martianus Capella, 6, 43: *inter fluentia emergentes terras, quae, quod in salo sint, insulae vocitantur*, Isidorus, Et. XIV, VI): *insulae dictae quod in salo sint, id est in mari.*”

-figurative uses (e.g. *insulsus, salsedo, salse, salsura, salsus*).

These contexts are attested, mainly, in various literary genres, as well as in juridical texts, etc. The lexical entries for *salt* are prevalent mostly as nouns, but also as adjectives, verbs, adverbs, and reflects both literal and figurative meanings, and includes terms formed through compounding (e.g., *salacaccabia, salifodina*), prefix derivation (e.g., *insulsus*), suffix derivation (e.g., *salsamentarius*), and diminutives (e.g., *salsiusculus*). We should highlight that the figurative meaning of *salt* is attested also in Greek (e.g. ἰλφίρων ‘with a lost, misled spirit’; ἰλία ‘salt-cellar’, mark of extreme poverty’). Compared to Greek, the number of words derived from the radical *sal-* in Latin is significantly lower; however, it is important to emphasize that these lexemes correspond to key aspects and necessities of Roman society.

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## Po[ta]toria Pottery Discovered at (L)ibida - Slava Rusă, Tulcea County

Alex-Marian CORNEA<sup>1</sup>

**Abstract.** *The sample of vassa po[ta]toria presented in this article was discovered in different sectors of the archaeological site (L)ibida - Slava Rusă, com. Slava Cercheză, jud. Tulcea, during excavations carried out between 2001-2015. Once the material was processed and selected, a sample of 91 ceramic fragments was outlined. They are chronologically classified between the 2<sup>nd</sup>-6<sup>th</sup> centuries BC.*

**Rezumat.** *Eșantionul de vassa po[ta]toria prezentat în acest articol a fost descoperit în mai multe sectoare ale sitului arheologic (L)ibida - Slava Rusă, com. Slava Cercheză, jud. Tulcea, în timpul săpăturilor efectuate între anii 2001-2015. Odată cu prelucrarea și selectarea materialului s-a conturat un eșantion format din 91 de fragmente ceramice. Acestea sunt încadrate cronologic între secolele II-VI p.Chr.*

**Keywords:** *vassa po[ta]toria, west pontic area, (L)ibida, Tower 10, Curtina X.*

(L)ibida Fortress is geographically located in the north-central area of Dobrogea, in the village of Slava Rusă, commune of Slava Cercheză in Tulcea county<sup>2</sup>. Situated in an eloquent space for the staggering of the great Roman objectives in the West Pontic area<sup>3</sup>, the fortification of Slava Rustica is distinguished from other similar objectives by its strategic positioning and less common spatial layout<sup>4</sup>. Moreover, the existence of a river running through the fortress from west to east makes it unique, at least in Scythia Minor<sup>5</sup>. Vasile Pârvan<sup>6</sup> considered (L)ibida to be in an excellent geographical and strategic position<sup>7</sup>.

The systematic archaeological excavations at Slava Rustica were started in 2001, with the aim of unveiling the Ibida fortress and investigating the surrounding area<sup>8</sup>. The research team was composed of several researchers from the Institute of Eco-Museum Research Gavrilă Simion from Tulcea, the Institute of Archaeology of the Romanian Academy - Iasi Branch, the

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<sup>2</sup> APARACHIVEI 2009, 167.

<sup>3</sup> CORNEA 2023, 267.

<sup>4</sup> ȘTEFAN 1977, 5.

<sup>5</sup> ȘTEFAN 1977, 14.

<sup>6</sup> In his time, Pârvan placed (L)ibida somewhere in the middle between the Danube and the Black Sea.

<sup>7</sup> PÂRVAN 1912, 578.

<sup>8</sup> MOCANU 2011, 294.

Alexandru Ioan Cuza University of Iasi. In 2013 the University of Sassari (Sardinia) started to participate in the systematic excavations.

The present article is a continuation of our endeavor to analyze and interpret the drinking pottery found at Slava Rusa. The analyzed pottery was discovered in various sectors<sup>9</sup> of the archaeological site (L)Ibida - Slava Rusă, com. Slava Cercheză, jud. Tulcea, during the excavations carried out between 2001 and 2015. Following the processing and selection of the material, a sample composed of 91 ceramic fragments<sup>10</sup>, chronologically dated between the 2nd and 6<sup>th</sup> centuries p.Chr.

The research and analysis of drinking vessels shows us the defining aspects of a community, the transformations that took place over time, aspects of social and religious thinking of human communities in the West Pontic area. By drinking pottery (*vasa po[ta]toria*) we mean the totality of vessels that were used for serving liquids, i.e. jugs, cups, glasses, and pitchers. This category should be distinguished from the pottery used for preparing food (*vasa conquina(to)ria*) or for serving different dishes (*vasa escaria* - tableware)<sup>11</sup>.

With regard to the Ibida pottery, identified in the sectors mentioned in our catalog, the paste from which the pots are made is usually of a scarlet color, with iron oxide, limestone and small silver in the composition. There are also those made from a paste of beige, beige-brick, brown, brown-brick, brownish-brown, ash-brown and ash colors. The current state of our research does not allow us to say whether these vessels are local or imported.

In our work we included a total of 91 pieces out of a total of 203 ceramic fragments, organized in the following way: cups predominate, representing 30.76% of the total pieces. These are divided into nine types. The most numerous is type VI, distinguished by its raised lip and bitronconical vessel body. They have grooves on the upper surface of the vessel, two totars, and their base is annular or flat. Type VIII is also to be noted in this context. It is characterized by a flared lip and an ovoid body. It has grooves on the upper surface of the vessel, the base of which is annular or flat.

In the same proportion (30.76%) are found in our catalog the pitchers, divided into eight typologies. The most numerous is type VIII, which has a three-lobed lip, short neck, lamellar or rounded toothed, and a slightly raised section. The body of these pitchers is globular or ovoid with an annular base. In the specialized literature this type of pitchers is also called oinochoe. Type VII is also characterized by a rounded and curved lip, so that the mouth of the pitcher is palliform. The body is globular or ovoid with an annular base.

In our catalog, 28.58% of the mugs are divided into nine types. The most numerous is type VIII, which is characterized by a slightly widened mouth, flared lip and slightly thickened outside. The body is globular and the base is annular. Type V is also distinguished by its wide

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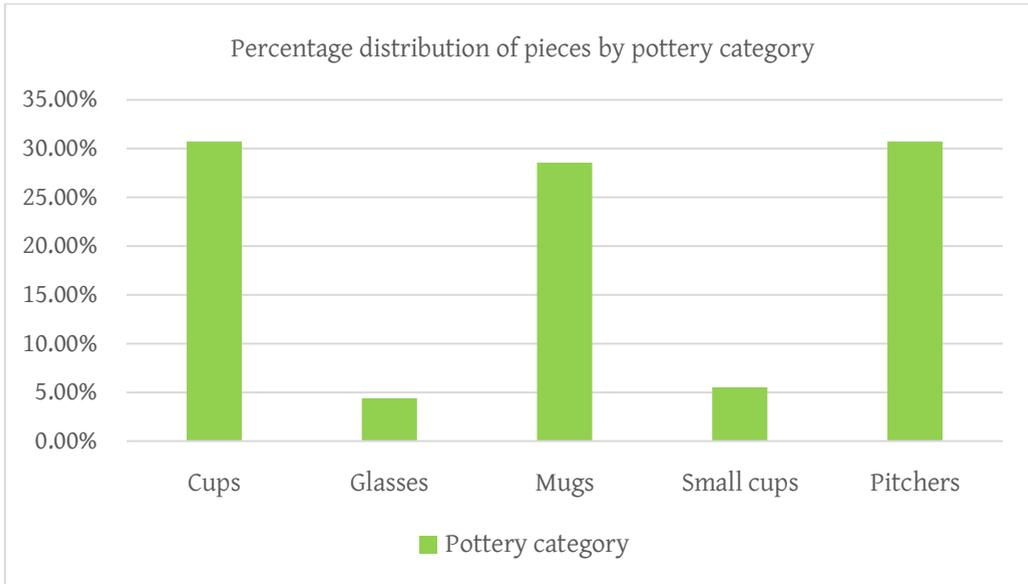
<sup>9</sup> Curtina X, Tower 10, West Gate, Curtina G, Curtina D, Extra Muros.

<sup>10</sup> In this way we would like to express our gratitude to Dr. Dorel Paraschiv who gave us access to the ceramic material.

<sup>11</sup> OLCESE 1993, 48.

mouth, short neck, rounded cross-section and slightly elevated cross-section. The body is also ovoid and the base is annular.

Small cups account for 5.50%, distributed in two typologies. The most numerous is type II, which is distinguished by its flared lip, ovoid body and annular base. The least numerous categories, that of glasses, is represented in our catalog by 4.40%. There are three types. The most numerous is the third type, which can be identified by its rounded and slightly curved lip. The body is cylindrical and the base is annular. They have grooves on the outer surface.



The ceramic categories present in our catalog are in a percentage imbalance, and this is fully justified. The reason for this statement has to do with the economic, social and religious aspects of the Dobrogean area. During the Dominate period, more precisely in 89 B.C., the Romans intervened in the Black Sea region in order to limit the ambitions of Mithrhidates VI of Pontos. This was the defining moment when the Romans slowly but steadily imposed their presence on the shores of Pontus Euxinus for the next two centuries. With Trajan's campaign in Dacia and Armenia, Rome proved to be the real master of this region. Rome now controlled about two-thirds of the Black Sea coastline.

The Black Sea never became a Roman lake, with all its political mechanisms, unlike the Mediterranean.<sup>12</sup> Economically, however, we can distinguish several aspects that strengthen the argument of an economic and social-religious control on the western Pontic coast. The various political means and the militancy realized by Rome in the Dobrogean region reflect her interest, as well as her reluctance towards this territory. Thus the advent of Rome brought immediate

<sup>12</sup> See, NIELSEN 2005.

changes in local and inter-regional power relations, taxation, trade. Over time, Rome's actions imposed certain minor or major changes, but these were limited to the sphere of the economy and politics under its rule. In close connection, these actions influenced the social life of the inhabitants, religion, architecture and patterns of consumption.

The Roman colonization of Dobrogea, individual in the form in which it took place, not through official measures, but through the effects of security and prosperity can also be observed in the social-economic life. The great majority of the elements of Roman life can be found in this area. An intense Roman style through everyday relationships formed by the Roman army and civilians, merchants, craftsmen, etc. In the 1st century B.C., the Hellenistic cities in the Dobrogean area accommodated themselves to Roman rule, as it guaranteed them both on sea and land, economic actions<sup>13</sup>.

In the following we intend to present the drinking pottery from the Slava Rusă, first taking into account the context of the discovery, and then, the actual presentation of the ceramic catalog from a typological perspective.

## I. Curtina X

In this sector the investigations focused on identifying the course of the Roman-Byzantine enclosure. Thus, in the *extra muros* area, a settlement, most probably a dwelling, was outlined, presenting numerous archaeological material, among which drinking ceramics<sup>14</sup>. As for the situation of the pits 4 and 5, respectively, 3 dolia were profiled, and fragments of pottery and osteological remains were identified in their vicinity. At the base of the enclosure, five partially or totally preserved steps were identified. A clay floor was also identified in this area, where several dating elements were found: coins from the 4th-5th century BC and ceramic fragments<sup>15</sup>. In core pit 6 in the *extra muros* area, a domestic pit was identified with numerous ceramic fragments of various categories. This site was excavated during two campaigns<sup>16</sup>, thus some information about the access system was identified. With regard to the carousels 1 and 2 respectively, the aim was to clarify the usefulness of an edifice<sup>17</sup>, most probably the operation of this building began in the 5th century p. Chr.<sup>18</sup>. Between the building and the enclosure, a layer of yellow, well-packed earth was identified, where numerous ceramic fragments were found<sup>19</sup>.

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<sup>13</sup> PÂRVAN 1923, 88.

<sup>14</sup> APARASCHIVEI *et alii* 2008, 282-283.

<sup>15</sup> APARASCHIVEI *et alii* 2009, 197-198.

<sup>16</sup> APARASCHIVEI *et alii* 2010, 175.

<sup>17</sup> APARASCHIVEI *et alii* 2010, 174.

<sup>18</sup> APARASCHIVEI *et alii* 2011, 132.

<sup>19</sup> APARASCHIVEI *et alii* 2011, 133.

Catalog number	Category	Type	Place of discovery
1	Cup	I	Ibida 2008, S <sub>x</sub> , C <sub>4-5</sub> , -2,40 m
2	Cup	II	Ibida 2009, S <sub>x</sub> , C <sub>6</sub> , -3,10 m
3	Cup	II	Ibida 2009, S <sub>x</sub> , C <sub>6</sub> , -3,10 m
4	Cup	III	Ibida 2009, S <sub>x</sub> , C <sub>6</sub> , -3,10 m
11	Cup	V	Ibida 2009, S <sub>x</sub> , C <sub>1-2</sub> , EM, -1,00 m
13	Cup	V	Ibida 2013, S <sub>x</sub> , C <sub>2</sub> , -3,50 m
16	Cup	VI	Ibida 2008, S <sub>x</sub> , C <sub>6</sub> , -2,50 m
18	Cup	VI	Ibida 2008, S <sub>x</sub> , C <sub>6</sub> , -2,75 m
19	Cup	VI	Ibida 2008, S <sub>x</sub> , C <sub>4-5</sub> , -2,40 m
20	Cup	VI	Ibida 2009, S <sub>x</sub> , C <sub>6</sub> , -3,20 m
21	Cup	VII	Ibida 2008, S <sub>x</sub> , C <sub>6</sub> , -2,80 m
31	Glass	III	Ibida 2007, S <sub>x</sub> , <i>passim</i>
32	Glass	III	Ibida 2008, S <sub>x</sub> , C <sub>6</sub> , -2,45 m
34	Mug	II	Ibida 2007, S <sub>x</sub> , C <sub>6</sub> , -2,30 m
36	Mug	III	Ibida 2003, S <sub>x</sub> , C <sub>6</sub> , EM, -3,20 m
38	Mug	V	Ibida 2010, S <sub>x</sub> , S <sub>12</sub> , C <sub>5</sub> , -2,50 m
46	Mug	VIII	Ibida 2013, S <sub>x</sub> , S <sub>1</sub> , C <sub>5</sub> , -2,50-3,50 m
48	Mug	VIII	Ibida 2005, S <sub>x</sub> , C <sub>6</sub> , -2,60 m
50	Mug	VIII	Ibida 2005, S <sub>x</sub> , C <sub>6</sub> , EM, -3,20 m
51	Mug	VIII	Ibida 2009, S <sub>x</sub> , C <sub>6</sub> , EM, -3,20 m
53	Mug	VIII	Ibida 2009, S <sub>x</sub> , C <sub>6</sub> , EM, -3,00 m
56	Mug	IX	Ibida 2003, S <sub>x</sub> , <i>passim</i>
57	Mug	IX	Ibida 2007, S <sub>x</sub> , C <sub>6</sub> , -1,80 m
59	Small cup	I	Ibida 2009, S <sub>x</sub> , C <sub>1-2</sub> , -1,00 m
60	Small cup	I	Ibida 2009, S <sub>x</sub> , C <sub>6</sub> , EM, -3,60 m
63	Small cup	II	Ibida 2003, S <sub>x</sub> , <i>passim</i>
64	Pitcher	I	Ibida 2009, S <sub>x</sub> , C <sub>1-2</sub> , -1,00 m
65	Pitcher	II	Ibida 2006, S <sub>x</sub> , <i>passim</i>
67	Pitcher	III	Ibida 2006, S <sub>x</sub> , <i>passim</i>
68	Pitcher	III	Ibida 2009, S <sub>x</sub> , C <sub>2</sub> , -1,20 m
69	Pitcher	IV	Ibida 2006, S <sub>x</sub> , <i>passim</i>
70	Pitcher	IV	Ibida 2009, S <sub>x</sub> , C <sub>6</sub> , -3,20 m
71	Pitcher	V	Ibida 2009, S <sub>x</sub> , C <sub>6</sub> , EM, -3,50m
75	Pitcher	VI	Ibida 2007, S <sub>x</sub> , C <sub>6</sub> , -2,30 m
77	Pitcher	VI	Ibida 2008, S <sub>x</sub> , C <sub>6</sub> , -2,25 m
79	Pitcher	VI	Ibida 2009, S <sub>x</sub> , C <sub>6</sub> , EM, -2,25
81	Pitcher	VII	Ibida 2008, S <sub>x</sub> , C <sub>6</sub> , -2,25 m
84	Pitcher	VIII	Ibida 2008, S <sub>x</sub> , C <sub>6</sub> , -2,45 m
85	Pitcher	VIII	Ibida 2008, S <sub>x</sub> , C <sub>6</sub> , -2,75 m

86	Pitcher	VIII	Ibida 2005, S <sub>x</sub> , C <sub>6</sub> , -2,75 m
87	Pitcher	VIII	Ibida 2009, S <sub>x</sub> , C <sub>6</sub> , EM, -3,10 m

## II. Tower 10

The aim in this sector was to capture the chronological relationship between the buildings discovered in this sector and the enclosure wall. In the section perpendicular to the enclosure wall, material consisting of a coin from the 5th century BC and ceramic vessels from the Early Roman and Roman-Byzantine periods was collected<sup>20</sup>. In section S5, a wall oriented NV-SE was discovered, and in section S6, another wall, also poorly preserved. Both walls are chronologically dated to the end of the 6th century, based on the archaeological material found<sup>21</sup>. On the NE-SW direction a building was identified, bordered on the NW and on the NE side by two streets of the 4th century BC; from the dimensions and the materials found, it seems to be an important building<sup>22</sup>.

Catalog number	Category	Type	Place of discovery
5	Cup	III	Ibida 2010, T <sub>10</sub> , S <sub>6</sub> , C <sub>2</sub> , -0,70-0,50 m
17	Cup	VI	Ibida 2010, T <sub>10</sub> , cleaning
23	Cup	VII	Ibida 2015, T <sub>10</sub> , <i>passim</i>
27	Cup	VIII	Ibida 2015, T <sub>10</sub> , <i>passim</i>
28	Cup	IX	Ibida 2007, T <sub>10</sub> , <i>passim</i>
29	Glass	I	Ibida 2010, T <sub>10</sub> , <i>passim</i>
30	Glass	II	Ibida 2007, T <sub>10</sub> , <i>passim</i>
33	Mug	I	Ibida 2007, <i>passim</i>
35	Mug	II	Ibida 2010, T <sub>10</sub> , S <sub>6</sub> , C <sub>2</sub> , -1,70 m
37	Mug	IV	Ibida 2010, T <sub>10</sub> , S <sub>6</sub> , C <sub>1</sub> , -6 m
41	Mug	VII	Ibida 2007, T <sub>10</sub> , <i>passim</i>
42	Mug	VII	Ibida 2007, T <sub>10</sub> , <i>passim</i>
43	Mug	VII	Ibida 2007, T <sub>10</sub> , <i>passim</i>
49	Mug	VIII	Ibida 2007, T <sub>10</sub> , <i>passim</i>
52	Mug	VIII	Ibida 2015, T <sub>10</sub> , <i>passim</i>
54	Mug	IX	Ibida 2010, T <sub>10</sub> , S <sub>6</sub> , C <sub>2</sub> , -0,70-0,90 m
55	Mug	IX	Ibida 2010, T <sub>10</sub> , <i>passim</i>
58	Mug	IX	Ibida 2010, T <sub>10</sub> , <i>passim</i>
61	Small cup	II	Ibida 2007, T <sub>10</sub> , <i>passim</i>
62	Small cup	II	Ibida 2007, T <sub>10</sub> , <i>passim</i>

<sup>20</sup> IACOB *et alii* 2008, 284.

<sup>21</sup> BÎRLIBA *et alii* 2011, 133.

<sup>22</sup> BÎRLIBA *et alii* 2016, 87.

66	Pitcher	II	Ibida 2009, T <sub>10</sub> , <i>passim</i>
72	Pitcher	V	Ibida 2007, T <sub>10</sub> , <i>passim</i>
73	Pitcher	VI	Ibida 2009, T <sub>10</sub> , <i>passim</i>
74	Pitcher	VI	Ibida 2007, T <sub>10</sub> , <i>passim</i>
76	Pitcher	VI	Ibida 2007, T <sub>10</sub> , <i>passim</i>
78	Pitcher	VI	Ibida 2009, T <sub>10</sub> , <i>passim</i>
80	Pitcher	VII	Ibida 2010, T <sub>10</sub> , S <sub>5</sub> , -1,20-1,35 m
89	Pitcher	VIII	Ibida 2009, T <sub>10</sub> , <i>passim</i>
90	Pitcher	VIII	Ibida 2009, T <sub>10</sub> , <i>passim</i>
91	Pitcher	VIII	Ibida 2009, T <sub>10</sub> , <i>passim</i>

### III. West Gate

The excavations in this sector focused on the excavation of tower number 3 and the area between the enclosure and the Slava River <sup>23</sup>. On the southern profile, a layer of grayish earth was identified, showing mixed material consisting of stone, pottery and other archaeological material<sup>24</sup>.

Catalog number	Category	Type	Place of discovery
7	Cup	IV	Ibida 2003, West Gate, S <sub>7</sub> , C <sub>5</sub> , -1,90 m
8	Cup	IV	Ibida 2003, West Gate, S <sub>7</sub> , EM, -2,80 m
9	Cup	IV	Ibida 2003, West Gate, S <sub>7</sub> , EM, -2,80 m
10	Cup	V	Ibida 2003, West Gate, S <sub>7</sub> , C <sub>5</sub> , -2,00 m
14	Cup	V	Ibida 2003, West Gate, S <sub>6</sub> , EM, -2,30 m
15	Cup	VI	Ibida 2001, West Gate, S <sub>3</sub> , C <sub>2-3</sub> , -1,50 m
22	Cup	VII	Ibida 2008, West Gate, S <sub>1</sub> , -1,40 m
44	Mug	VII	Ibida 2005, West Gate, S <sub>8</sub> , EM, -2,00 m
47	Mug	VIII	Ibida 2003, West Gate, S <sub>6</sub> , C <sub>3</sub> , -3,00 m
83	Pitcher	VIII	Ibida 2009, West Gate, S <sub>7</sub> , -2,30 m

### IV. Curtina G

In the *extra muros* area under a layer of rubble, a level of ironwork containing numerous Romano-Byzantine ceramic fragments and osteological remains was identified.

Catalog number	Category	Type	Place of discovery
6	Cup	III	Ibida 2005, Curtina G, pits
12	Cup	V	Ibida 2005, Curtina G, <i>passim</i>

<sup>23</sup> IACOB *et alii* 2002, 292.

<sup>24</sup> IACOB *et alii* 2004, 136.

24	Cup	VII	Ibida 2006, Curtina G, <i>passim</i>
39	Mug	VI	Ibida 2006, Curtina G, <i>passim</i>
40	Mug	VI	Ibida 2005, Curtina G, pits

## V. Curtina D

The investigation of the sector between towers 5 and 6 was aimed at investigating both the intra muros and the extra muros. With regard to the year 2005, in the extra muros area, numerous drinking pottery fragments were identified<sup>25</sup>.

Catalog number	Category	Type	Place of discovery
25	Cup	VIII	Ibida 2005, Curtina D, <i>passim</i>
26	Cup	VIII	Ibida 2005, Curtina D, <i>passim</i>
45	Mug	VIII	Ibida 2005, Curtina D, cleaning

## VI. Extra Muros

To the north of towers 10-12 there is an area of extramuran habitation, chronologically dated to the 4th century BC. The survey located at the edge of the country road from the Russian Slav-Russian Slav-Cerchetian road to the monastery of Uspenia, among the farmland, was aimed at investigating a building and establishing its character. A survey was also carried out parallel to the road here, where ceramic materials, glass and coins were collected<sup>26</sup>.

Catalog number	Category	Type	Place of discovery
82	Pitcher	VIII	Ibida 2009, EM, S <sub>3</sub> , -0,40 m
88	Pitcher	VIII	Ibida 2005, EM, -0,30-0,50 m

## Catalog of pottery

### A. Cups

#### A.1. Type I

Ceramics that fit into this type of pot have a slightly flared lip, short neck, globular body and annular base. The paste from which these pots are made comes in several types. In the present case the paste is brick-brown in color, with iron oxide, limestone, and small silver in the composition. The diameter of the mouth is 8 cm. The chronological range of these vessels is quite extensive, from the 3rd century p.Chr. to the first half of the 6th century p.Chr.

<sup>25</sup> IACOB *et alii* 2006, 332.

<sup>26</sup> BÎRLIBA *et alii* 2006, 332.

This type of vessels can be found in the province of *Moesia Inferior* at Histria<sup>27</sup>, Troesmis<sup>28</sup>. In *Dacia* in the Roman necropolis of Romula<sup>29</sup>. This type of pottery was also found in the Roman province of *Hispania Tarraconensis*<sup>30</sup>.

Catalog number	Description	Dimensions	Chronologies	Bibliography	Plate number
1	Brownish-brick-brown, iron oxide and small silvery paste. Shows brownish-colored angobate and limestone deposits on both surfaces.	Dg. = 8 cm, Hp. = 3,9 cm	Second half of the 2nd century p.Chr.	Unpublished	Plate I/1

## A.2. Type II

The pottery that fits into this type of vessel has a slightly flared lip, a short, slightly arched neck and a globular body. They have grooves on the outer surface and an annular base. The paste from which these vessels are made is of several types. In the present case, **the first type of paste** is grayish in color, with iron oxide, limestone and small silver. **The second type of paste** is brownish in color, with iron oxide, limestone and silvery mica in the composition. The diameter of the mouth is 8 cm. The chronological range of these vessels is quite extensive, from the 3rd century p.Chr. to the first half of the 6th century p.Chr.<sup>31</sup>.

This type of container is found in the province of *Moesia Inferior* at Capidava<sup>32</sup>, Tropraichioi<sup>33</sup>, Halmyris<sup>34</sup>, Ibida<sup>35</sup>. In *Dacia* in the Roman necropolis of Romula<sup>36</sup>. In the Italian peninsula, this type of vessel is found in Ostia<sup>37</sup>, Rome<sup>38</sup>, Pompeii<sup>39</sup> și Viterbo<sup>40</sup>, and also in the Samaria area<sup>41</sup>.

<sup>27</sup> SUCEVEANU 2000, 79-80, type XIX, B, Pl. 30, nr. 14-15; 17.

<sup>28</sup> OPAIȚ 1980, 349, Pl. 15/5.

<sup>29</sup> POPILIAN 1976, 106, pl. 64/777.

<sup>30</sup> VEGAS 1972, type 20/1; GOSE 1976, nr. 283.

<sup>31</sup> TOPOLEANU 2000, 94.

<sup>32</sup> OPRİȘ 2003, 136, type I, Pl. XLVIII/331.

<sup>33</sup> OPAIȚ 1991a, 159, Pl. 37/219.

<sup>34</sup> TOPOLEANU 2000, 94, type II, Pl. XXIV/211.

<sup>35</sup> CORNEA 2023, 301-302, type VIII, pl. XXII, nr. 116.

<sup>36</sup> POPILIAN 1976, 105, Pl. LIV.

<sup>37</sup> OLCESE, COLETTI 2016, 268, fig. 20, nr. 23.

<sup>38</sup> COMELLA 1986, 122-124, tav. 76/R4-9.

<sup>39</sup> GRASSO 2004, 21, tav. 1/c.

<sup>40</sup> BONGHI JOVINO, CHIARAMONTE TRERE 1997, 68, tav. 226, nr. 18.

<sup>41</sup> HAYES 1985, form 5B, 17, tav. II, nr. 2.

Catalog number	Description	Dimensions	Chronologies	Bibliography	Plate number
2	Grayish paste, iron oxide and little silver. Shows angoba of the same color and limestone deposits on both surfaces.	Dg. = 8 cm, Hp. = 2,9 cm	4th century p.Chr.	Unpublished	Plate I/2
3	Brownish, iron oxide and slightly silvery paste. Shows lime deposits and burn marks on both surfaces.	Dg. = 8 cm, Hp. = 2,8 cm	4th century p.Chr.	Unpublished	Plate I/3

### A.3. Type III

The pottery framed in this type of cup has a simple, slightly flared outward lip, an ovoid, slightly domed body and a ringed base. The paste from which these pots are made is of several types. In this case the first type is brown in color, with iron oxide, limestone and a little silver in its composition. The second type of paste is brick-brown in color, with iron oxide, limestone and silvery mica in the composition. The diameter of the mouth is between 6 and 8 cm. The chronological range of these vessels is quite extensive, from the 2nd p.Chr.<sup>42</sup> to the 4th century p.Chr.<sup>43</sup>.

This kind of vessels is found in the province of *Moesia Inferior* at Murighiol<sup>44</sup>, Capidava<sup>45</sup>, Ibida<sup>46</sup> and Tropraichioi<sup>47</sup>. In *Dacia* in the Roman necropolis of Romula<sup>48</sup>. In the Italian peninsula this type of cup was identified at Ostia<sup>49</sup>.

<sup>42</sup> POPILIAN 1976, 105.

<sup>43</sup> OPAIȚ 2004, 66.

<sup>44</sup> OPAIȚ 2004, 66, type I, Pl. 50/18.

<sup>45</sup> OPRIȘ 2003, 135, type I, Pl. XVII/323.

<sup>46</sup> CORNEA 2023, 301, type VII, pl. XXI, nr. 115.

<sup>47</sup> OPAIȚ 1991b, 161, type I 2, Pl. 40/232.

<sup>48</sup> POPILIAN 1976, 105, type 2, Pl. LIV/601.

<sup>49</sup> OLCESE *et alii* 2010, fig. 3.3; OLCESE, COLETTI 2016, 265, fig. 14-15, nr. 18.1, 18.2.

Catalog number	Description	Dimensions	Chronologies	Bibliography	Plate number
4	Brown, iron oxide and small silvery paste. Limestone deposits.	Dg. = 8 cm, Hp. = 2,9 cm	4th century p.Chr.	Unpublished	Plate I/4
5	Brownish-brown paste, iron oxide and little silver. Shows brownish-colored angobate, limestone deposits and burn marks on both surfaces.	Dg. = 8 cm, Hp. = 3,5 cm	4th century p.Chr.	Unpublished	Plate I/5
6	Brownish-brick-brown, iron oxide and small silvery paste. It shows grayish-colored angobe and limestone deposits on both surfaces.	Dg. = 6 cm, Hp. = 3 cm	4th century p.Chr.	Unpublished	Plate I/6

#### A.4. Type IV

The pottery framed in this type of vessel has a flared lip, short neck and globular body. They have grooves on the upper surface of the vessel, the base is either annular or flat, and the rim is flattened. The paste from which the vessels are made comes in several types. In the present case the paste is of a brownish-brown color, with iron oxide, limestone, and small silver in its composition. The diameter of the mouth is between 8 and 10 cm. The chronological range of these vessels is extended, from the 2nd to the 3rd century p.Chr.<sup>50</sup>.

This kind of vessels is found in the province *Moesia Inferior* at Troesmis<sup>51</sup>, Niculițel<sup>52</sup>, Ibida<sup>53</sup> and Capidava<sup>54</sup>. In *Dacia* similar vessels were discovered in the Roman necropolis of Romula<sup>55</sup>.

<sup>50</sup> RICCI 1985, 347; HONCU 2014, 85.

<sup>51</sup> OPAIȚ 1980, 336, Pl. 8/7.

<sup>52</sup> HONCU 2014, 85, type III, Pl. 25/195;196.

<sup>53</sup> CORNEA 2023, 298-299, type IV, pl. XIX-XX.

<sup>54</sup> OPRIȘ 2003, 135, type I, Pl. XLVII/321;324, type III, Pl. XLVIII/ 334.

<sup>55</sup> POPILIAN 1976, 110, type 3b, Pl. 59/710;711.

This type of cup is found on the Italian peninsula at Pompei<sup>56</sup>, Ostia<sup>57</sup> and Rome<sup>58</sup>. They are also found in the Samaria area<sup>59</sup>.

Catalog number	Description	Dimensions	Chronologies	Bibliography	Plate number
7	Brownish-brown paste, iron oxide and little silver. Shows burn marks on the outer surface and limestone deposits on both surfaces.	Dg. = 10 cm, Hp. = 2,6 cm	Second half of the 2nd century p.Chr.	Unpublished	Plate I/7
8	Brownish-brown paste, iron oxide and little silver. Shows burn marks on the outer surface and limestone deposits on both surfaces.	Dg. = 8 cm, Hp. = 4 cm	Second half of the 2nd century p.Chr.	Unpublished	Plate I/8
9	Brownish-brown paste, iron oxide and little silver. Shows burn marks on the outer surface and limestone deposits on both surfaces.	Dg. = 9 cm, Hp. = 3,5 cm	Second half of the 2nd century p.Chr.	Unpublished	Plate I/9

#### A.5. Type V

Cups of this typology have a small, slightly straight lip, a globular or oval, slightly domed body and a flat or annular base. The paste from which these vessels are made is of several types. The first type is brownish-brown in color, with iron oxide, limestone and a little silver in its composition. The second type of paste is brownish-brown in color, with iron oxide, limestone and silvery mica in the composition. The third type of paste is beige in color, with iron oxide, limestone and silvery mica in the composition. The diameter of the mouth is between 5 and 10

<sup>56</sup> GRASSO 2004, 22, tav. 1/e; RICCI 1985, 347, type I, nr. 23.

<sup>57</sup> OLCESE *et alii* 2010, fig. 9; OLCESE, COLETTI 2016, 269, fig. 23, nr. 26.

<sup>58</sup> FESTUCCIA 2003-2004, nr. 103.

<sup>59</sup> HAYES 1985, 24, form 23, tav. III, nr. 14.

cm. The chronological range of these vessels is quite extensive, from the 2nd p.Chr.<sup>60</sup> to the 6th century p.Chr.<sup>61</sup>.

This type of vessel is found in the province of *Moesia Inferior* at Tropraichioi<sup>62</sup>, Murighioi<sup>63</sup>, Niculițel<sup>64</sup>, Ibida<sup>65</sup> and Capidava<sup>66</sup>. The type of vessels under discussion were also discovered in *Dacia* in the Roman necropolis of Romula<sup>67</sup>. In the Italic peninsula this type of vase can be found in Rome<sup>68</sup> and Ostia<sup>69</sup>; in the necropolis of Melfi-Pisciolo<sup>70</sup>, in the Campania region.

Catalog number	Description	Dimensions	Chronologies	Bibliography	Plate number
10	Brownish-brown paste, iron oxide and little silver. Shows burn marks on the outer surface and limestone deposits on both surfaces.	Dg. = 9,4 cm, Hp. = 4,7 cm	Second half of the 2nd century p.Chr.	Unpublished	Plate II/10
11	Brownish-brown, iron oxide and slightly silvery paste. It shows burn marks on the outer surface and light traces of limestone deposits on both surfaces.	Dg. = 7 cm, Hp. = 3,9 cm	Second half of the 2nd century p.Chr.	Unpublished	Plate II/11
12	Beige colored paste, iron oxide and little silver. It shows lime deposits on both surfaces.	Dg. = 8,2 cm, Hp. = 4,4 cm	Second half of the 2nd century p.Chr.	Unpublished	Plate II/12

<sup>60</sup> HONCU 2014, 85.

<sup>61</sup> MITRO, NOTARANGELO 2016, 127.

<sup>62</sup> OPAIȚ 2004, 66, type I, Pl. 50/8.

<sup>63</sup> OPAIȚ 2004, 66, type I, Pl. 50/5.

<sup>64</sup> HONCU 2014, 85, type II, Pl. 25/194.

<sup>65</sup> CORNEA 2023, 296-297, type III, pl. XVII, nr. 91-93.

<sup>66</sup> OPRIȘ 2003, 136, type I, Pl. LVIII/325.

<sup>67</sup> POPILIAN 1976, 108, type I, Pl. LVIII/687.

<sup>68</sup> FESTUCCIA 2003-2004, nr. 4; 104.

<sup>69</sup> OLCESE, COLETTI 2016, 287, fig. 56, nr. 54.

<sup>70</sup> MITRO, NOTARANGELO 2016, 127, tav. IX/1; TINE BERTOCCHI 1975, 47-48, tav. 73/55/2.

13	Brownish-brown, iron oxide and slightly silvery paste. It exhibits brick-brown angoba, burn marks and limestone deposits on both surfaces.	Dg. = 5,8 cm, Hp. = 2 cm	Second half of the 2nd century p.Chr.	Unpublished	Plate II/13
14	Brownish-brown, iron oxide and slightly silvery paste. It exhibits brick-brown angoba, burn marks and limestone deposits on both surfaces.	Dg. = 6 cm, Hp. = 3 cm	Second half of the 2nd century p.Chr.	Unpublished	Plate II/14

#### A.6. Type VI

The ceramic examples of this type of cup have a raised lip and a bitronconical body. They have grooves on the upper surface of the vessel, two totars, and their base is annular or flat. The paste from which these vessels are made is of several types. The first type of paste is scarlet in color, with iron oxide, limestone and silvery mica in its composition. The second type of paste is grayish in color, with iron oxide, limestone and silvery mica in its composition. The diameter of the mouth is between 5 and 9 cm. The chronological range of these vessels is quite extensive, from the 2nd century p.Chr.<sup>71</sup> to the first half of the 6th century p.Chr.<sup>72</sup>.

This kind of vessels can be found in the province of *Moesia Inferior* at Ibida<sup>73</sup>, Tropraichioi<sup>74</sup> and Halmyris<sup>75</sup>. In *Dacia* in the Roman necropolis of Romula<sup>76</sup>.

Catalog number	Description	Dimensions	Chronologies	Bibliography	Plate number
15	Brownish-brown, iron oxide and slightly silvery paste. Shows beige-colored angobe and	Dg. = 9 cm, Hp. = 5,4 cm	4th century p.Chr.	Unpublished	Plate II/15

<sup>71</sup> POPILIAN 1976, 105.

<sup>72</sup> TOPOLEANU 2000, 94.

<sup>73</sup> CORNEA 2023, 299-300, type V, Pl. XXI.

<sup>74</sup> OPAIȚ 1996, 124, type III, Pl.51/6.

<sup>75</sup> TOPOLEANU 2000, 94, type II, Pl. XXIV/210; OPAIȚ 1991b, 161, Pl. 40/232.

<sup>76</sup> POPILIAN 1976, 105, type II, Pl. LVI/612.

	limestone deposits on both surfaces.				
16	Grayish paste, iron oxide and little silver. It shows brown-colored angobate and limestone deposits on both surfaces.	Dg. = 7,2 cm, Hp. = 2,7 cm	4th century p.Chr.	Unpublished	Plate II/16
17	Grayish paste, iron oxide and little silver. It shows brown-colored angobate and limestone deposits on both surfaces.	Dg. = 5,4 cm, Hp. = 2,6 cm	4th century p.Chr.	Unpublished	Plate II/17
18	Brownish, iron oxide and slightly silvery colored paste. Limestone deposits on both surfaces.	Dg. = 5 cm, Hp. = 2,7 cm	4th century p.Chr.	Unpublished	Plate II/18
19	Brownish, iron oxide and slightly silvery paste. It shows angoba of the same color and limestone deposits on both surfaces.	Dg. = 5,2 cm, Hp. = 2,4 cm	4th century p.Chr.	Unpublished	Plate II/19
20	Brownish, iron oxide and slightly silvery paste. It shows brick-brownish-brown angobate and limestone deposits on both surfaces.	Dg. = 5,8 cm, Hp. = 3,3	4th century p.Chr.	Unpublished	Plate III/20

### A.7. Type VII

The pottery framed in this type of vessel has an outwardly profiled lip, globular body, grooves on the outer surface, and an annular base. It has grooves on the outer surface. The paste from which these vessels are made is of several types. The first type of paste is brick-

brown in color, with fine limestone and small silvery mica in its composition. The second type of paste is brownish-brown in color, with limestone, silvery mica and iron oxide. The third type of paste is grayish in color, with iron oxide, limestone and silvery mica in the composition. The diameter of the mouth is between 6 and 9 cm. The chronological range of these vessels is quite extensive, from the 2nd p.Chr.<sup>77</sup> to the 4th century p.Chr.<sup>78</sup>.

This type of vessels is found in the province of *Moesia Inferior* at Tropraichioi<sup>79</sup>, Niculițel<sup>80</sup>, Beroe<sup>81</sup>, Ibida<sup>82</sup>, Murighiol<sup>83</sup>, in the necropolis of Noviodunum<sup>84</sup>. In *Dacia* they are found in the Roman necropolis of Romula<sup>85</sup>.

Catalog number	Description	Dimensions	Chronologies	Bibliography	Plate number
21	Brownish-brownish paste, iron oxide and little silver. It shows angobium of the same color, burn marks and lime deposits on both surfaces.	Dg. = 9 cm, Hp. = 3,2 cm	First half of the 2nd century p.Chr.	Unpublished	Plate III/21
22	Brownish, iron oxide and slightly silvery colored paste. Limestone deposits on both surfaces.	Dg. = 6,4 cm, Hp. = 2,2 cm	First half of the 2nd century p.Chr.	Unpublished	Plate III/22
23	Brownish, iron oxide and slightly silvery paste. It shows a fairly thin brownish-brick-brown angobate and limestone	Dg. = 6,2 cm, Hp. = 5 cm	First half of the 2nd century p.Chr.	Unpublished	Plate III/23

<sup>77</sup> HONCU 2014, 84.

<sup>78</sup> OPAIȚ 2004, 66.

<sup>79</sup> OPAIȚ 2004, 67, type II, Pl. 50/13.

<sup>80</sup> HONCU 2014, 84, type I, Pl. 25/192.

<sup>81</sup> OPAIȚ 2004, 67, type II, Pl. 50/12.

<sup>82</sup> CORNEA 2023, 293-295, type I, Pl. XV-XVI.

<sup>83</sup> OPAIȚ 2004, 66, type II, Pl. 50/12.

<sup>84</sup> SIMION 1984, 86, type d, Pl. 16/11.

<sup>85</sup> POPILIAN 1976, 106, type 3 b, Pl. 57/658-670.

	deposits on both surfaces.				
24	Grayish paste, iron oxide and little silver. It shows brown-colored angobate and limestone deposits on both surfaces.	Dg. = 8,4 cm, Hp. = 2,2 cm	First half of the 2nd century p.Chr.	Unpublished	Plate III/24

### A.8. Type VIII

The pottery framed in this type of vessels has a flared lip, the body of the vessels is ovoid. They have grooves on the upper surface of the vessel, the base of the grooves is either annular or flat. The paste from which the vessels are made is of various types. In the present case the paste is grayish in color, with iron oxide, limestone and silvery mica in its composition. The diameter of the mouth is between 6 and 9 cm. The chronological range of these vases is quite extensive, from the 2nd century p.Chr.<sup>86</sup> to the first half of the 6th century p.Chr.<sup>87</sup>.

This type of container is found in the province *Moesia Inferior* at Ibida<sup>88</sup> and Halmyris<sup>89</sup>. In *Dacia* in the Roman necropolis of Romula<sup>90</sup>. In the Italian peninsula this type was identified at Pompei<sup>91</sup>. It is also found in the Samaria area<sup>92</sup>.

Catalog number	Description	Dimensions	Chronologies	Bibliography	Plate number
25	Grayish paste, iron oxide and little silver. It shows brown-colored angobate and limestone deposits on both surfaces.	Dg. = 7 cm, Hp. = 3 cm	2nd century p.Chr.	Unpublished	Plate III/25
26	Grayish paste, iron oxide and little silver. Shows deposits of	Dg. = 8,4 cm, Hp. = 4,4 cm	2nd century p.Chr.	Unpublished	Plate III/26

<sup>86</sup> POPILIAN 1976, 107.

<sup>87</sup> TOPOLEANU 2000, 94.

<sup>88</sup> CORNEA 2023, 300-301, type VI, Pl. XXI.

<sup>89</sup> TOPOLEANU 2000, 94, type II, Pl. XXIV/212; OPAIȚ 2004, 66, type I, Pl. 50/19.

<sup>90</sup> POPILIAN 1976, 107, type 4, Pl. LVII/668.

<sup>91</sup> GRASSO 2004, 22, tav. 1/d.

<sup>92</sup> HAYES 1985, 25, form 24, tav. IV, nr. 3.

	limestone on both surfaces.				
27	Grayish paste, iron oxide and little silver. It shows brown-colored angobate and limestone deposits on both surfaces.	Dg. = 6 cm, Hp. = 4,4 cm	2nd century p.Chr.	Unpublished	Plate III/27

### A.9. Type IX

Ceramics framed in this type of vessels have a slightly thickened lip with a raised neck, the body of the vessels is globular and slightly domed. Their base is annular. They have grooves on the outer surface and grooves on the inner surface. The paste from which the vessels are made is of various types. In the present case the paste is scarlet in color, with iron oxide, limestone and small silver. The diameter of the mouth is 10 cm. The chronological range of these vessels is quite extensive, from the 4th p.Chr.<sup>93</sup> to the 6th century p.Chr.<sup>94</sup>.

This type of vessels is found in the province of *Moesia Inferior* at Calatis<sup>95</sup>, Tropraichioi<sup>96</sup>, Ibida<sup>97</sup>, Troesmis<sup>98</sup> and in the necropolis of Noviodunum<sup>99</sup>. In *Dacia* they were found in the Roman necropolis of Romula<sup>100</sup>.

Catalog number	Description	Dimensions	Chronologies	Bibliography	Plate number
28	Brownish, iron oxide and slightly silvery colored paste. It shows burn marks and lime deposits on both surfaces.	Dg. = 10 cm, Hp. = 3 cm	Second half of the 3rd century p.Chr.	Unpublished	Plate III/28

<sup>93</sup> OPAIȚ 2004, 66.

<sup>94</sup> OPAIȚ 1996, 123.

<sup>95</sup> OPAIȚ 2004, 66, type I, Pl.50/10.

<sup>96</sup> OPAIȚ 1991c, 228, Pl. 39/5.

<sup>97</sup> CORNEA 2023, 295-296, type II, Pl. XVI-XVII.

<sup>98</sup> OPAIȚ 1980, 336, Pl. VII/4;6.

<sup>99</sup> SIMION 1984, 86, Pl. XVI/4-9.

<sup>100</sup> POPILIAN 1976, 107, type 6, Pl. LVIII/681;682.

## B. Glasses

### B.1. Type I

The pottery of this type of glass has a slightly rounded and raised lip, a semi-ovoid body and a ringed base. The paste from which these glasses are made is of various types. In the present case the paste is scarlet, iron oxide and slightly silvery. The diameter of the mouth is about 5 cm. The chronological range of these vessels is extensive, from the 2nd century BC to the 4th century p.Chr<sup>101</sup>.

This type of vessel can be found in the province of *Moesia Inferior* at Ibida<sup>102</sup> Durostorum<sup>103</sup> and Callatis<sup>104</sup>. In *Dacia* they are found at Napoca<sup>105</sup>.

Catalog number	Description	Dimensions	Chronologies	Bibliography	Plate number
29	Brownish-brown, iron oxide and slightly silvery paste. It shows angobium of the same color, burn marks and lime deposits on both surfaces.	Dg. = 5,4 cm, Hp. = 2 cm	First half of the 2nd century p.Chr.	Unpublished	Plate III/29

### B.2. Type II

The ceramics of this type of hemispherical glasses have a slightly raised lip, a semi-ovoid body and a ring-base. The paste from which these glasses are made is of several types. In the present case the paste is scarlet, iron oxide and slightly silvery. The diameter of the mouth is about 5 cm. The chronological range of these vessels is extensive, from the 2nd to the 4th century p.Chr<sup>106</sup>.

This type of vessel is found in the province of *Moesia Inferior* at Niculițel<sup>107</sup>, Capidava<sup>108</sup> and Ibida<sup>109</sup>. They are also found in the Samaria area<sup>110</sup>.

<sup>101</sup> CORNEA 2023, 292-293.

<sup>102</sup> CORNEA 2023, 292-293, type I, Pl. XIV, nr. 73.

<sup>103</sup> MUȘEȚEANU, ELEFTERESCU 2004, 102, type B2 a 1, pl.VI/4.

<sup>104</sup> OPAIȚ 1996, 121, type I, Pl. 50/14.

<sup>105</sup> RUSU-BOLINDEȚ 2007, 398, Pl. XC/537.

<sup>106</sup> HAYES 1985, 22

<sup>107</sup> HONCU 2014, 86, pl. 25/199.

<sup>108</sup> MUȘEȚEANU 2003, 70, type 2, pl. 35/375.

<sup>109</sup> CORNEA 2023, 292-293, type I, Pl. XIV, nr. 75.

<sup>110</sup> HAYES 1985, 22, form 18, tav. III, nr. 5; 23, form 22B, tav. III, nr. 13.

Catalog number	Description	Dimensions	Chronologies	Bibliography	Plate number
30	Brownish-brown, iron oxide and slightly silvery paste. It shows angobium of the same color, burn marks and lime deposits on both surfaces.	Dg. = 5,4 cm, Hp. = 2,7 cm	Second half of the 2nd century p.Chr.	Unpublished	Plate III/30

### B.3. Type III

The pottery of this typology has a rounded and slightly curved lip. The body is cylindrical and the base is annular. They have grooves on the outer surface. The cups were made from a single type of paste. In the present case the paste is scarlet in color, with iron oxide, limestone, and mica silver in the composition. The diameter of the mouth is between 4 and 5 cm. The chronological range of these vessels is extensive, from the 2nd century p.Chr.<sup>111</sup> to the 4th century p.Chr.<sup>112</sup>.

This type of vessels is found in the province of *Moesia Inferior* at Callatis<sup>113</sup>, Tropraichioi<sup>114</sup> and Ibida<sup>115</sup>. In *Dacia*, they are found in the Roman necropolis of Romula<sup>116</sup> and Napoca<sup>117</sup>. This type of beaker has also been identified in the Italian peninsula, at Pompei<sup>118</sup> and Sant' Andrea<sup>119</sup> and province of Lecce.

Catalog number	Description	Dimensions	Chronologies	Bibliography	Plate number
31	Beige colored paste, iron oxide and little silver. It shows angobium of the same color, burn marks and lime	Dg. = 5,2 cm, Hp. = 1,6 cm	Second half of the 2nd century p.Chr.	Unpublished	Plate IV/31

<sup>111</sup> HONCU 2014, 86.

<sup>112</sup> GRASSO 2004, 21.

<sup>113</sup> OPAIȚ 1996, 121, type I, Pl. 50/13.

<sup>114</sup> OPAIȚ 1996, 121, type II, Pl. 50/16.

<sup>115</sup> CORNEA 2023, 292-293, type I, Pl. XIV, nr. 74.

<sup>116</sup> POPILIAN 1976, 112-113, type 2, Pl. 35/375.

<sup>117</sup> RUSU-BOLINDEȚ 2007, 398, Pl. XC/536.

<sup>118</sup> GRASSO 2004, 21, tav. 1/b.

<sup>119</sup> BALDELLI 1997, 164-165, nr. 58-59.

	deposits on both surfaces.				
32	Beige colored paste, iron oxide and little silver. It shows angobium of the same color, burn marks and lime deposits on both surfaces.	Dg. = 4 cm, Hp. = 3,4 cm	First half of the 2nd century p.Chr.	Unpublished	Plate IV/32

### C. Mugs

#### C.1. Type I

The pottery of this type of vessel has an outwardly curved lip, a cylindrical or truncated cylindrical neck, a globular body and an annular base. It also has grooves on the outer surface. The paste from which the shanks are made comes in several types. In the present case the paste is grayish in color, with iron oxide, limestone, and small silver in the composition. The diameter of the mouth is 8 cm. The chronological range of these vessels is quite extensive, from the 2nd century p.Chr.<sup>120</sup> to the 3rd century p.Chr.<sup>121</sup>.

This type of container is found in the province of *Moesia Inferior* at Ibida<sup>122</sup>, Histria<sup>123</sup> and in the Histrian teritorium at Fântânele<sup>124</sup>. In *Dacia* in the Roman necropolis of Romula<sup>125</sup>.

Catalog number	Description	Dimensions	Chronologies	Bibliography	Plate number
33	Grayish paste, iron oxide and little silver. It shows angoba of the same color, grooves on the outer surface and limestone deposits on both surfaces.	Dg. = 8 cm, Hp. = 4 cm	First half of the 2nd century p.Chr.	Unpublished	Plate IV/33

<sup>120</sup> SUCEVEANU 1998, 227.

<sup>121</sup> POPILIAN 1976, 95.

<sup>122</sup> CORNEA 2023, 287, type VII, Pl. X, nr. 56.

<sup>123</sup> SUCEVEANU 2000, 87, type XXIV, Pl. 25/3.

<sup>124</sup> SUCEVEANU 1998, 219, Pl. XII/94;97.

<sup>125</sup> POPILIAN 1976, 95, type 4, Pl. XL/417.

### C.2. Type II

Cannae of this type have a widened mouth with a flared and slightly thickened lip. The body is globular or ovoid and the base is annular. The paste from which the mugs are made comes in several types. In the present case the paste is ash-brown in color, with iron oxide and mica silver in the composition. The diameter of the mouth is between 6 and 8 cm. The chronological range of these vessels is quite extensive, from the 3rd century p.Chr.<sup>126</sup> to the 5th century p.Chr.<sup>127</sup>.

This type of vessel is found in the province of *Moesia Inferior* at Murighiol<sup>128</sup>, Ibida<sup>129</sup>, and in the Histrian teritorium at Fântânele<sup>130</sup> and Tropaeum Traiani<sup>131</sup>. On the Italian peninsula, in the necropolis of Melfi-Pisciolo<sup>132</sup>, Campania region.

Catalog number	Description	Dimensions	Chronologies	Bibliography	Plate number
34	Grayish-brown paste, iron oxide and little silver. It shows angoba of the same color and calcareous deposits on both surfaces.	Dg. = 6 cm, Hp. = 3,6 cm	First half of the 5th century p.Chr.	Unpublished	Plate IV/34
35	Grayish-brown paste, iron oxide and little silver. It shows angoba of the same color and calcareous deposits on both surfaces.	Dg. = 8 cm, Hp. = 2,5 cm	First half of the 5th century p.Chr.	Unpublished	Plate IV/35

### C.3. Type III

The pottery of this typology has a slightly enlarged mouth, short neck, and a round cross-section. The body of the vessels is also globular or ovoid and the base is annular. The paste from which the cups are made is of various types. In the present case the paste is of a scarlet color, with iron oxide, limestone, and small silver in its composition. The diameter of the mouth is 5

<sup>126</sup> SUCEVEANU 1998, 223.

<sup>127</sup> MITRO, NOTARANGELO 2016, 134, tav.

<sup>128</sup> OPAIȚ 1996, 112, type I, Pl. 44/2; OPAIȚ 1991b, 225, Pl. 37/4.

<sup>129</sup> CORNEA 2023, 285, type III, Pl. IX, nr. 52.

<sup>130</sup> SUCEVEANU 1998, 223, Pl. IX/50.

<sup>131</sup> BOGDAN-CĂTĂNICIU, BARNEA, 1979, 186, Fig. 158.1.1.

<sup>132</sup> MITRO, NOTARANGELO 2016, 134, tav. XII/1.3; Tocco 1972, 332, tav. XXV/2.

cm. The chronological range of these vessels is quite extensive, from the 4th to the 5th century p.Chr.<sup>133</sup>.

This type of vessel is found in the province of *Moesia Inferior* at Histria<sup>134</sup>. It is also found in Bulgaria<sup>135</sup> and Samaria<sup>136</sup>.

Catalog number	Description	Dimensions	Chronologies	Bibliography	Plate number
36	Brownish-brown, iron oxide and slightly silvery paste. It shows angobium of the same color, burn marks and lime deposits on both surfaces.	Dg. = 5 cm, Hp. = 2 cm	4th century p.Chr.	Unpublished	Plate IV/36

#### C.4. Type IV

The ceramic inventory of this type of mugs shows a curved lip, short neck, globular or ovoid body and ringed base. The paste from which the mugs are made is of several types. In the present case the paste is brick-brown in color, with iron oxide, limestone, and small silver in the composition. The diameter of the mouth is 6 cm. The chronological range of these vessels is quite extensive, from the 4th to the 5th century p.Chr.<sup>137</sup>.

This type of vessel is found in the province of *Moesia Inferior* at Histria<sup>138</sup>, Troesmis<sup>139</sup> and Tropaeum Traiani<sup>140</sup>. In *Dacia* they are found in the Roman necropolis of Romula<sup>141</sup>. This type of pot has also been identified in the Syrian area, Calicia<sup>142</sup>.

<sup>133</sup> SUCEVEANU 2000, 90.

<sup>134</sup> SUCEVEANU 2000, 90, type XXV, pl. 35, nr. 1.

<sup>135</sup> BURAKOV 1976, pl. VIII/18.

<sup>136</sup> CROWFOOT 1957, fig. 82/1;3.

<sup>137</sup> SUCEVEANU 2000, 64.

<sup>138</sup> SUCEVEANU 2000, 62-64, type XVII, var. A, Pl. 23, nr. 4.

<sup>139</sup> OPAIȚ 1980, 347, Pl. XIV/1.

<sup>140</sup> BOGDAN-CĂTĂNICIU, BARNEA 1979, fig 156/2.3.

<sup>141</sup> POPILIAN 1976, 102, Pl. LXIII/765.

<sup>142</sup> HAYES 1985, 42, form 65e, tav. VIII, nr. 9-10.

Catalog number	Description	Dimensions	Chronologies	Bibliography	Plate number
37	Brownish-brownish paste, iron oxide and little silver. It shows angobium of the same color, burn marks and lime deposits on both surfaces.	Dg. = 6 cm, Hp. = 4 cm	First half of the 2nd century p.Chr.	Unpublished	Plate IV/37

### C.5. Type V

The pottery framed in this type of vessel has a wide mouth, short neck, rounded in cross-section and slightly raised. The body is also ovoid and the base is annular. The paste from which the mugs are made is of various types. In the present case the paste is brick-brown in color, with iron oxide, limestone, and small silver in its composition. The diameter of the mouth is 6 cm. The chronological range of these vessels is quite extensive, from the 4th to the 5th century p.Chr.<sup>143</sup>.

This type of vessel is found in the province of *Moesia Inferior* at Tropraichioi<sup>144</sup>, Ibida<sup>145</sup> and Murighiol<sup>146</sup>. In the Italian peninsula, in the necropolis of Melfi-Pisciolo<sup>147</sup>, Campania region. This type of vessel is also found in the Samaria area<sup>148</sup>.

Catalog number	Description	Dimensions	Chronologies	Bibliography	Plate number
38	Brownish-brown paste, iron oxide and little silver. It shows burn marks and pronounced limestone deposits on both surfaces.	Dg. = 6 cm, Hp. = 3,5 cm.	4th century p.Chr.	Unpublished	Plate IV/38

<sup>143</sup> OPAIȚ 1996, 112.

<sup>144</sup> OPAIȚ 1996, 112, type I, Pl. 44/3; OPAIȚ 2004, 66, type I, Pl. 50/8.

<sup>145</sup> CORNEA 2023, 284, type I, Pl. IX, nr. 49-50.

<sup>146</sup> OPAIȚ 1991b, 160, Pl. 37/221.

<sup>147</sup> MITRO, NOTARANGELO 2016, 127, tav. IX/2; 177, tav/ XXII/1.1; 1.2

<sup>148</sup> HAYES 1985, 22-23, form 20, tav III, nr. 8.

### C.6. Type VI

The ceramic inventory of this type of vessels has a curved lip, short and arched neck. The body of the vessels is also globular, grooved on the outer surface and the base is annular. The diameter of the mouth is 7 cm. The chronological range of these vessels is broad, from the 2nd century BC to the 4th century p.Chr.<sup>149</sup>.

This type of vessel is found in the province of *Moesia Inferior* at Callatis<sup>150</sup>, Capidava<sup>151</sup>, Ibida<sup>152</sup>, Tropaeum Traiani<sup>153</sup> and Histria<sup>154</sup>. On the Italian peninsula, in the Melfi-Pisciolo<sup>155</sup>, Campania region.

Catalog number	Description	Dimensions	Chronologies	Bibliography	Plate number
39	Brown, iron oxide and small silvery paste. It shows burn marks, grooves on the outer surface and limestone deposits on both surfaces.	Dg. = 7,2 cm, Hp. = 3 cm.	4th century p.Chr.	Unpublished	Plate IV/39
40	Brownish, iron oxide and slightly silvery colored paste. It shows burn marks and lime deposits on both surfaces.	Dg. = 7 cm, Hp. = 7,8 cm	4th century p.Chr.	Unpublished	Plate IV/40

### C.7. Type VII

Framed pottery in this type of vessel has a slightly thickened lip towards the inside of the vessel. The neck is cylindrical, the body globular and the base annular. The paste from which the mugs are made is of several types. The first type of paste is scarlet in color, with iron oxide, limestone and silvery mica in its composition. The second type of paste is grayish in color, with iron oxide, limestone and silvery mica in its composition. The diameter of the mouth is between

<sup>149</sup> OPAIȚ 1996, 113.

<sup>150</sup> OPAIȚ 1996, 113, type II, Pl. 45/1.

<sup>151</sup> OPRIȘ 2003, 133-134, type I, Pl. XLV/301;311.

<sup>152</sup> CORNEA 2023, 286-287, type VI, Pl. X.

<sup>153</sup> BOGDAN-CĂTĂNICIU, BARNEA 1979, 190, Fig. 169/6.2.

<sup>154</sup> OPAIȚ 2004, 60, type III, Pl. 50/1; SUCEVEANU 2000, 84, type XIII, Pl. 33/4.

<sup>155</sup> MITRO, NOTARANGELO 2016, 127, tav. IX/1; tav. XII/2,1; 1.

7 and 8 cm. The chronological range of these vessels is quite extensive, from the 4th to the 5th century p.Chr.<sup>156</sup>.

This type of vessel is found in the province of *Moesia Inferior* at Tropraichioi<sup>157</sup> and Ibida<sup>158</sup> and Murighiol<sup>159</sup>.

Catalog number	Description	Dimensions	Chronologies	Bibliography	Plate number
41	Grayish paste, iron oxide and little silver. It shows grooves, brown angobe, burn marks and limestone deposits on both surfaces.	Dg. = 8 cm, Hp. = 1,8 cm.	4th century p.Chr.	Unpublished	Plate IV/41
42	Grayish paste, iron oxide and little silver. It shows grooves, brown angobe, burn marks and limestone deposits on both surfaces.	Dg. = 8 cm, Hp. = 1,6 cm	4th century p.Chr.	Unpublished	Plate V/42
43	Brownish, iron oxide and slightly silvery colored paste. It shows burn marks and lime deposits on both surfaces.	Dg. = 8 cm, Hp. = 1,5 cm	4th century p.Chr.	Unpublished	Plate V/43
44	Grayish paste, iron oxide and little silver. It shows grooves, brown angobe, burn marks and limestone deposits on both surfaces.	Dg. = 7 cm, Hp. = 4,3 cm	4th century p.Chr.	Unpublished	Plate V/44

<sup>156</sup> OPAIȚ 1996, 112.

<sup>157</sup> OPAIȚ 1996, 112, type I, Pl. 44/3; OPAIȚ 2004, 66, type I, Pl. 50/8.

<sup>158</sup> CORNEA 2023, 285-286, type IV, Pl. X.

<sup>159</sup> OPAIȚ 1991b, 160, Pl. 37/221.

### C.8. Type VIII

Canes of this type have a slightly widened mouth, a flared lip and slightly thickened on the outside. The body is globular and the base is annular. The paste from which the cups are made is of several types. The first type is ash-brown in color, with iron oxide, limestone and a little silver. The second type is brownish-brown in color, with iron oxide, limestone and silvery mica in the composition. The third type of paste is grayish in color, with iron oxide, limestone and silvery mica in the composition. The diameter of the mouth is between 5 and 9 cm. The chronological range of these vessels is quite extensive, from the 5th century BC to the 6th century p.Chr.<sup>160</sup>.

This type of vessel is found in the province of *Moesia Inferior* at Ibida<sup>161</sup>, Capidava<sup>162</sup>, Murighiol<sup>163</sup> and Tropraichioi<sup>164</sup>. On the Italian peninsula, this type of cup is found in Pompei<sup>165</sup>.

Catalog number	Description	Dimensions	Chronologies	Bibliography	Plate number
45	Grayish-brown, iron oxide and small silvery paste. It shows angobium of the same color, burn marks and lime deposits on both surfaces.	Dg. = 9 cm, Hp. = 5,4 cm	First half of the 5th century p.Chr.	Unpublished	Plate V/45
46	Grayish-brown, iron oxide and small silvery paste. It shows angobium of the same color, burn marks and lime deposits on both surfaces.	Dg. = 7 cm, Hp. = 2,3 cm	First half of the 5th century p.Chr.	Unpublished	Plate V/46
47	Brownish-brown, iron oxide and slightly silvery paste. It shows brown angobium,	Dg. = 7,6 cm, Hp. = 3,5 cm	First half of the 5th century p.Chr.	Unpublished	Plate V/47

<sup>160</sup> OPRIȘ 2003, 134.

<sup>161</sup> CORNEA 2023, 284-285, type II, Pl. IX.

<sup>162</sup> OPRIȘ 2003, 134, type I, Pl. XLVI/313.

<sup>163</sup> OPAIȚ 1991b, 160, Pl. 37/222.

<sup>164</sup> OPAIȚ 2004, 66, type II, Pl. 50/1;4.

<sup>165</sup> GRASSO 2004, 23, tav. 1/h.

	pronounced burn marks on the outer surface and limestone deposits on both surfaces.				
48	Brownish-brown, iron oxide and slightly silvery paste. It shows brown angobium, pronounced burn marks on the outer surface and limestone deposits on both surfaces.	Dg. = 7,2 cm, Hp. = 3 cm	First half of the 5th century p.Chr.	Unpublished	Plate V/48
49	Brownish, iron oxide and slightly silvery colored paste. Shows beige-colored angobe and pronounced limestone deposits on both surfaces.	Dg. = 6 cm, Hp. = 3 cm	First half of the 5th century p.Chr.	Unpublished	Plate V/49
50	Brownish-brown, iron oxide and slightly silvery paste. It shows brown angobium, pronounced burn marks on the outer surface and limestone deposits on both surfaces.	Dg. = 5 cm, Hp. = 1,8 cm	First half of the 5th century p.Chr.	Unpublished	Plate V/50
51	Brownish, iron oxide and small silvery colored paste. Shows deposits of limestone on both surfaces, brown slip and grooves on the outer surface.	Dg. = 8 cm, Hp. = 3 cm	First half of the 5th century p.Chr.	Unpublished	Plate V/51

52	Grayish paste, iron oxide and little silver. Shows beige-colored angoba, external grooves and limestone deposits on both surfaces.	Dg. = 6 cm, Hp. = 2,5 cm	First half of the 5th century p.Chr.	Unpublished	Plate V/52
53	Paste of scarlet color, iron oxide and little silver. It has an angobe of the same color and external grooves.	Dg. = 8 cm, Hp. = 5,8 cm	First half of the 5th century p.Chr.	Unpublished	Plate VI/53

### C.9. Type IX

The pottery in this type of cup has a slightly inward-sloping lip, long neck, globular body, and an annular base. The paste from which the mugs are made is of several types. The first type is brick-brown in color, with iron oxide, limestone and small silver. The second type of paste is grayish in color, with iron oxide, limestone and silvery mica in the composition. The diameter of the mouth is between 5 and 6 cm. The chronological range of these vessels is quite extensive, from the 2nd to the 4th century p.Chr.<sup>166</sup>.

This type of vessel is found in the province of *Moesia Inferior* at Ibida<sup>167</sup>, Murighiol<sup>168</sup> and Histria<sup>169</sup>. On the Italian peninsula, this type of cup can be found in the necropolis of Melfi-Pisciolo<sup>170</sup>, in the Campania region, at Pompei<sup>171</sup> and in the sanctuary of Paestum<sup>172</sup>.

Catalog number	Description	Dimensions	Chronologies	Bibliography	Plate number
54	Brownish-brick-brown paste, iron oxide and little silver. It has a scarlet-colored angobe, slight burn	Dg. = 6 cm, Hp. = 3 cm	First half of the 2nd century p.Chr.	Unpublished	Plate VI/54

<sup>166</sup> MITRO, NOTARANGELO 2016, 177; BONGHI JOVINO 1984, 46.

<sup>167</sup> CORNEA 2023, 286, Pl. X.

<sup>168</sup> OPAIȚ 2004, 66, type III, Pl. 50/5

<sup>169</sup> SUCEVEANU 2000, 79, type IX, Pl. 30/ 15-16; Pl. 33/5.

<sup>170</sup> MITRO, NOTARANGELO 2016, 177, tav. XXVII/2,2; 3.

<sup>171</sup> GRASSO 2004, 22-23, tav. 1/f-g.

<sup>172</sup> MENARD 1991, 256, nr. 348.

	marks and limestone deposits on both surfaces.				
55	Brownish-brick-brown paste, iron oxide and little silver. It has a scarlet-colored angobe, slight burn marks and limestone deposits on both surfaces.	Dg. = 5 cm, Hp. = 2,6 cm	First half of the 2nd century p.Chr.	Unpublished	Plate VI/55
56	Grayish paste, iron oxide and little silver. Shows light burn marks on both surfaces and pronounced limestone deposits on both surfaces.	Dg. = 6 cm, Hp. = 3,2 cm	First half of the 2nd century p.Chr.	Unpublished	Plate VI/56
57	Grayish paste, iron oxide and little silver. It shows slight burn marks and lime deposits on both surfaces.	Dg. = 6 cm, Hp. = 4 cm	First half of the 2nd century p.Chr.	Unpublished	Plate VI/57
58	Brownish-brown paste, iron oxide and little silver. It shows angoba of the same color, burn marks on both surfaces, and limestone deposits on both surfaces.	Dg. = 5 cm, Hp. = 1,5 cm	First half of the 2nd century p.Chr.	Unpublished	Plate VI/58

## D. Small cups

### D.1. Type I

The pottery of this type of teacup has a slightly flared lip, a slightly thickened neck, a globular or ovoid body and an annular base. The paste from which the vessels are made comes in several types. In the present case the paste is scarlet-reddish in color, with iron oxide,

limestone, and small silver in the composition. The diameter of the mouth is 4 cm. The chronological range of these vessels is extended, from the 2nd century BC to the 3rd century p.Chr.<sup>173</sup>.

This type of vessel is found in the province of *Moesia Inferior* at Troesmis<sup>174</sup>, Ibida<sup>175</sup> and Histria<sup>176</sup>. In *Dacia* they are found in the Roman necropolis of Romula<sup>177</sup>. This type of pottery was also discovered in the Roman province of Hispania Tarraconensis<sup>178</sup>. In the Italian peninsula as well, in the Melfi-Pisciolo<sup>179</sup>, the Campania region and Pompei<sup>180</sup>.

Catalog number	Description	Dimensions	Chronologies	Bibliography	Plate number
59	Beige colored paste, iron oxide and little silver. It shows external grooves and light deposits of limestone.	Dg. = 4 cm, Hp. = 3 cm	First half of the 2nd century p.Chr.	Unpublished	Plate VI/59
60	Beige colored paste, iron oxide and little silver. It shows external grooves and light deposits of limestone.	Dg. = 4 cm, Hp. = 2,6 cm	First half of the 2nd century p.Chr.	Unpublished	Plate VI/60

## D.2. Type II

The cups in this type of pot have a flared lip, an ovoid body and a ringed base. The paste from which the dishes are made comes in several types. The first type is beige in color, with iron oxide, limestone and a little silver. The second type of paste is brick-brown in color, with iron oxide, limestone and silvery mica in the composition. The diameter of the mouth is 4 cm. The chronological range of these vessels is extensive, from the 2nd century BC to the 6th century p.Chr.<sup>181</sup>.

<sup>173</sup> SUCEVEANU 2000, 82; MITRO, NOTARANGELO 2016, 178.

<sup>174</sup> OPAIȚ 1980, 336, Pl. XIII/3;4.

<sup>175</sup> CORNEA 2023, type III, 289-290, Pl. XI.

<sup>176</sup> SUCEVEANU 2000, 82, type XII, Pl. XXII/7.

<sup>177</sup> POPILIAN 1976, 51, type 5, pl. XX/241.

<sup>178</sup> VEGAS 1972, 77, Fig. 25/11-12.

<sup>179</sup> MITRO, NOTARANGELO 2016, 178, tav. XXII/2; SPARKES, TALKOTT 1970, 134, nr. 855.

<sup>180</sup> GRASSO 2004, 35, tav. 4/f; 37, tav. 5/e; CHIARAMONTE TRERE 1984a, 66-67, nr. 176; GUALTIERI, FRACCHIA 1990, 125, fig. 119-120.

<sup>181</sup> MITRO, NOTARANGELO 2016, 135.

This type of vessel is found in the province of *Moesia Inferior* at Histria<sup>182</sup>, Ibida<sup>183</sup> and Halmyris<sup>184</sup>. In the Italian peninsula, in the necropolis of Melfi-Pisciolo<sup>185</sup>, Campania region, la Castellamare di Stabia<sup>186</sup>, Pompei<sup>187</sup> and Punta della Campanella<sup>188</sup>, Naples region.

Catalog number	Description	Dimensions	Chronologies	Bibliography	Plate number
61	Beige colored paste, iron oxide and little silver. Shows beige colored slip, outer grooves and light deposits of limestone.	Dg. = 4 cm, Hp. = 1,3 cm	First half of the 2nd century p.Chr.	Unpublished	Plate VI/61
62	Brownish-brownish paste, iron oxide and little silver. It shows deposits of limestone and burn marks.	Dg. = 4 cm, Hp. = 1,5 cm	First half of the 2nd century p.Chr.	Unpublished	Plate VI/62
63	Beige colored paste, iron oxide and little silver. It exhibits scarlet-colored slip and light deposits of limestone.	Dg. = 4 cm, Hp. = 1,2 cm	First half of the 2nd century p.Chr.	Unpublished	Plate VI/63

## E. Pitchers

### E.1. Type I

The ceramic example of this type of pitcher has an outwardly widened lip, a globular or ovoid body and an annular base. The paste from which these types of vessels are made is diverse. In this case we are considering a scarlet-colored paste, with iron oxide and mica silver in the composition. The diameter of the mouth is about 9 cm. The chronological range of these vessels is quite extensive, from the 3rd century BC to the first half of the 4th century p.Chr.<sup>189</sup>.

<sup>182</sup> SUCEVEANU 2000, 82, type XXII, Pl. XXII/2;

<sup>183</sup> CORNEA 2023, 289, Pl. XI.

<sup>184</sup> OPAIȚ 2004, 66 type I, Pl. 50/14-16.

<sup>185</sup> MITRO, NOTARANGELO 2016, 135, tav. XII/3.

<sup>186</sup> MINIERO 2001, 98, nr. 154.

<sup>187</sup> ADAMEȘTEANU *et alii* 1975, 100, fig. 95d; GRASSO 2004, 36-37, tav. 5/d;f.

<sup>188</sup> RUSSO 1990, 231, nr. 312.

<sup>189</sup> POPILIAN 1976, 97.

This type of vessel is found in the province of *Moesia Inferior* in the necropolis of Noviodunum<sup>190</sup>, Ibida<sup>191</sup>, Mangalia-Neptun<sup>192</sup> and Niculițel<sup>193</sup>. In *Dacia* in the necropolis of Romula<sup>194</sup> and Napoca<sup>195</sup>. In the Italian peninsula this type of pitchers have been discovered at Alife<sup>196</sup>, in the Campania region and at Bagno Grande<sup>197</sup>, in Tuscany region.

Catalog number	Description	Dimensions	Chronologies	Bibliography	Plate number
64	Brownish, iron oxide and slightly silvery paste. It shows angoba of the same color and limestone deposits on both surfaces.	Dg. = 8,6 cm, Hp. = 4 cm	First half of the 4th century p.Chr.	Unpublished	Plate VI/64

## E.2. Type II

The pottery of this type of jug has a slightly flared and raised lip. The body of the vessels is ovoid; a slightly pointed rim can be seen on the upper part of the vessel. These jugs also have a round or lamellar rim which is slightly raised. The paste from which these jugs are made is of various types. In the present case, the paste from which the jugs are made is brick-brown in color, with iron oxide, limestone and a little silver in the composition. The diameter of the mouth is 7 cm. The chronological range of these vessels is quite extensive, from the 2nd century BC to the first half of the 5th century p.Chr.<sup>198</sup>.

This type of vessel is found in the province of *Moesia Inferior* at Ibida<sup>199</sup>, Murighiol<sup>200</sup> and Histria<sup>201</sup>, but also in the rural settlement of Slava Rusă-Coșari<sup>202</sup>. In *Dacia* this kind of vessels is

<sup>190</sup> SIMION 1984, 85, type a, Pl. 13/2.

<sup>191</sup> CORNEA 2023, 278, type XI, Pl. IV.

<sup>192</sup> RĂDULESCU 1975, 346, Pl. 9/1b.

<sup>193</sup> HONCU 2014, 82, type 1, Pl. 24/178.

<sup>194</sup> POPILIAN 1976, 97, type 2-b, Pl. XLIII/433.

<sup>195</sup> RUSU-BOLINDEȚ 2007, 424, type 13G, Pl. 99/613.

<sup>196</sup> DI MAURO 2022, 35, tav. VI, nr. 103.

<sup>197</sup> ARENELLA 2009, 28, tav. 49/3.5.

<sup>198</sup> OPAIȚ 1996, 117.

<sup>199</sup> CORNEA 2023, 273-274, type V, P. II-III.

<sup>200</sup> OPAIȚ 1991a, 160, Pl. 39/226.

<sup>201</sup> SUCEVEANU 1982, 94, Fig. 12/56.

<sup>202</sup> OPAIȚ 1996, 117, type II-B, Pl. 48/5,7.

found in the Roman necropolis of Romula<sup>203</sup>. On the Italian peninsula, this type of jug has been identified at Ostia<sup>204</sup>, at Alife<sup>205</sup>, in the Campania region, and at Herdomia<sup>206</sup>, in the Puglia region.

Catalog number	Description	Dimensions	Chronologies	Bibliography	Plate number
65	Brownish-brown paste, iron oxide and little silver. It shows calcareous deposits on both surfaces.	Dg. = 6,7 cm, Hp. = 2 cm	First half of the 2nd century p.Chr.	Unpublished	Plate VII/65
66	Brownish-brown paste, iron oxide and little silver. Shows brownish-colored angobate, burn marks on the outer surface, and limestone deposits on both surfaces.	Dg. = 7 cm, Hp. = 2 cm	First half of the 2nd century p.Chr.	Unpublished	Plate VII/66

### E.3. Type III

The pottery of this typology has a slightly rounded and curved lip, an elongated truncated cone-shaped neck. The body of these pots is ovoid, and immediately below the lip there is a chamfer on the outer surface of these jugs. The toarta is also band-shaped, and in some cases there are grooves and the base of the vessels is annular. The paste from which these vessels are made is of several types. The first type of paste is brick-brown in color, with iron oxide, limestone and small silver. The second type of paste is beige in color, with iron oxide, limestone and silvery mica in the composition. The diameter of the mouth is 6 cm. The chronology of these vessels is quite extensive, from the 2nd century BC to the 6th century p.Chr.<sup>207</sup>.

<sup>203</sup> POPILIAN 1976, 96, type 1, Pl. XLI/435.

<sup>204</sup> OLCESE, COLETTI 2016, 424, fig. 1, nr. 256.1.

<sup>205</sup> DI MAURO 2022, 35, tav. VI/110.

<sup>206</sup> DE STEFANO 2008, 86-87, tav. XI/36.1.

<sup>207</sup> SCORPAN 1977, 288; DI MAURO 2022, 33.

This type of vessel is found in the province of *Moesia Inferior* at Histria<sup>208</sup>; Capidava<sup>209</sup>, Ibrida<sup>210</sup> and Tomis<sup>211</sup>. In the Italian peninsula this type of pitchers has been identified at Ostia<sup>212</sup> and Alife<sup>213</sup>, Campania region.

Catalog number	Description	Dimensions	Chronologies	Bibliography	Plate number
67	Brownish-brown paste, iron oxide and little silver. It shows deposits of limestone on both surfaces, angobium of the same color and traces of burn marks on the outer surface.	Dg. = 6 cm, Hp. = 3 cm	4th century p.Chr.	Unpublished	Plate VII/67
68	Beige colored paste, iron oxide and little silver. Shows slip of the same color and small traces of calcareous deposits.	Dg. = 6 cm, Hp. = 3,2 cm	4th century p.Chr.	Unpublished	Plate VII/68

#### E.4. Type IV

The pottery of this type of jugs has a rounded lip and elongated neck. The body is globular or ovoid, with a splayed rim and an annular base. The paste from which these vessels are made is of various types. In the present case, the paste from which the vessels are made is brown in color, with iron oxide, limestone and silvery mica in the composition. The diameter of the mouth is between 4 and 6 cm. The chronological range of these vessels is quite extensive, late 4th century BC to the first half of the 5th century p.Chr.<sup>214</sup>.

<sup>208</sup> BĂDESCU, CLIANTE 2015, 215, type II.I, Fig.3/1.

<sup>209</sup> OPAIȚ 1996, 315, type I, Pl. 46/1.

<sup>210</sup> OPAIȚ 1991a,171, fig. 37; CORNEA 2023, 272-273, type IV, Pl. II.

<sup>211</sup> SCORPAN 1976, 171, type E, Pl. XXIV/1; SCORPAN 1977, 288, type D, Fig. 31/1.

<sup>212</sup> OLCESE, COLETTI 2016, 427, fig. 6, nr. 260.

<sup>213</sup> DI MAURO 2022, 33, tav. V/93.

<sup>214</sup> OPAIȚ 1996, 119.

This type of vessel is found in the province of *Moesia Inferior* in the necropolis of Noviodunum<sup>215</sup>, Murighiol<sup>216</sup>, Ibida<sup>217</sup>, at Castelu<sup>218</sup> and Babadag-Tropraichioi<sup>219</sup>. In *Dacia* the pitchers in question in the necropolis of Romula<sup>220</sup>. On the Italian peninsula, this type of jug has been identified at Olcese<sup>221</sup>, Pompei<sup>222</sup> and Alife<sup>223</sup>, in the Campania region.

Catalog number	Description	Dimensions	Chronologies	Bibliography	Plate number
69	Brown, iron oxide and small silvery paste. It shows limestone deposits on both surfaces and burn marks on the outer surface.	Dg. = 4 cm, Hp. = 5 cm	First part of the 4th century p.Chr.	Unpublished	Plate VII/69
70	Brown, iron oxide and small silvery paste. It shows limestone deposits on both surfaces and burn marks on the outer surface.	Dg. = 6 cm, Hp. = 7 cm	First part of the 4th century p.Chr.	Unpublished	Plate VII/70

### E.5. Type V

The ulnae of this type have a slightly rounded, inwardly rounded lip. The body is globular or ovoid and the base is annular. The paste from which these pots are made is of several kinds, and in the present case the paste is scarlet in color, with iron oxide, limestone, and mica silvery in the composition. The diameter of the mouth is about 5 cm. The chronological range of these vessels is extensive, from the 5th century BC to the 6th century p.Chr.<sup>224</sup>.

<sup>215</sup> SIMION 1984, 85, g, Pl. XIV/9.

<sup>216</sup> OPAIȚ 1991a, 202, Fig. 39/228.

<sup>217</sup> CORNEA 2023, 275, type VII, Pl. III.

<sup>218</sup> OPAIȚ 1996, 119, type IV-B, Pl. 48/6.

<sup>219</sup> OPAIȚ 1991a, 226, Pl. 37/5, 38/1.

<sup>220</sup> POPILIAN 1976, 96, type 1, Pl. XLI/428.

<sup>221</sup> OLCESE, COLETTI 2016, 427, fig. 7, nr. 261.

<sup>222</sup> CHIARAMONTE TRERE 1984b, 173, tav. 106.24.

<sup>223</sup> DI MAURO 2022, 36, tav. VI/116-117.

<sup>224</sup> OPAIȚ 1996, 188.

This type of vessel is found in the province of *Moesia Inferior* at Murighiol<sup>225</sup>, Ibida<sup>226</sup> and Tropraichioi<sup>227</sup>. In the Italian peninsula, this type of jug has been identified at Olcese<sup>228</sup> and Alife<sup>229</sup>, Campania region.

Catalog number	Description	Dimensions	Chronologies	Bibliography	Plate number
71	Brownish, iron oxide and slightly silvery colored paste. Limestone deposits on both surfaces.	Dg. = 5 cm, Hp. = 2,5 cm	First half of the 5th century p.Chr.	Unpublished	Plate VII/71
72	Brownish, iron oxide and slightly silvery colored paste. Limestone deposits on both surfaces.	Dg. = 5 cm, Hp. = 2 cm	First half of the 5th century p.Chr.	Unpublished	Plate VII/72

### E.6. Type VI

Framed pottery of this type has a slightly thickened lip flared outwards. The neck is short and frustoconical; the rim is band-shaped. The body of the vessels is globular or ovoid, with an annular or concave base. The paste from which the vessels are made is of several types. The first type is grayish-gray in color, with iron oxide, limestone and small silver in its composition. The second type of paste is grayish-brown in color, with iron oxide, limestone and silvery mica in its composition. The third type of paste is brownish-brown in color, with iron oxide, limestone and silvery mica in the composition. The fourth type of paste is brown in color, with iron oxide, limestone and silvery mica in the composition. The diameter of the mouth is between 5 and 8 cm. The chronological range of these vessels is extended from the 2nd century BC to the 4th century p.Chr.<sup>230</sup>.

Acest gen de recipient se întâlnesc în provincia *Moesia Inferior* at Murighiol<sup>231</sup>, Ibida<sup>232</sup>, necropolis of Noviodunum<sup>233</sup> and necropolis of Ostrov<sup>234</sup>. In *Dacia* such vessels are found in the

<sup>225</sup> OPAIȚ 1996, 188, type III, Pl. 48/3.

<sup>226</sup> CORNEA 2023, 278-279, type XII, Pl. V.

<sup>227</sup> OPAIȚ 1991 b, 226, type V, Pl. 38/8.

<sup>228</sup> OLCESE, COLETTI 2016, 425, fig. 3, nr. 257.

<sup>229</sup> DI MAURO 2022, 35, tav. VI/109.

<sup>230</sup> POPILIAN 1976, 96; DI MAURO 2022, 34.

<sup>231</sup> OPAIȚ 1991 a, 265, fig. 261-262.

<sup>232</sup> CORNEA 2023, 271-271, type III, Pl. I-II.

<sup>233</sup> SIMION 1984, 85, g. Pl. XIII/2.

<sup>234</sup> RĂDULESCU 1975, 346, pl. 9/1a-b.

Roman necropolis of Romula<sup>235</sup>. In the Italian peninsula, this type of jugs have been identified at Olcese<sup>236</sup>, Alife<sup>237</sup>, Castelvenere<sup>238</sup>, in the Campania region and Bagno Grande<sup>239</sup>, in the Tuscany region.

Catalog number	Description	Dimensions	Chronologies	Bibliography	Plate number
73	Grayish paste, iron oxide and little silver. It exhibits grayish-brown angobate, grooves on the outer surface and limestone deposits on both surfaces.	Dg. = 5 cm, Hp. = 2 cm	First half of the 2nd century p.Chr.	Unpublished	Plate VII/73
74	Grayish-brown paste, iron oxide and little silver. It shows grayish gray angobate, limestone deposits on both surfaces, especially the outer one.	Dg. = 6,2 cm, Hp. = 2,5 cm	First half of the 2nd century p.Chr.	Unpublished	Plate VII/74
75	Brownish colored paste, iron oxide and little silver. It exhibits brownish colored slip and limestone deposits on both surfaces.	Dg. = 5 cm, Hp. = 1,6 cm	First half of the 2nd century p.Chr.	Unpublished	Plate VII/75
76	Brownish colored paste, iron oxide and little silver. It exhibits brownish colored slip and	Dg. = 6,4 cm, Hp. = 2,2 cm	First half of the 2nd century p.Chr.	Unpublished	Plate VII/76

<sup>235</sup> POPILIAN 1976, 96-97, type 2, Pl. XLI/ 433-435, Pl. XLII/439-441.

<sup>236</sup> OLCESE, COLETTI 2016, 426, fig. 5, nr. 259.

<sup>237</sup> DI MAURO 2022, 34-35, tav. V/96-98; tav VI/99; 106; 107.

<sup>238</sup> RENDA 2012, 155, fig. 21.2.

<sup>239</sup> ARENELLA 2009, 28, tav. 49/3.4

	limestone deposits on both surfaces.				
77	Brownish, iron oxide and slightly silvery paste. It exhibits brick-brownish-brown angobate and light limestone deposits on both surfaces.	Dg. = 8 cm, Hp. = 3 cm	First half of the 2nd century p.Chr.	Unpublished	Plate VII/77
78	Brownish, iron oxide and slightly silvery paste. It shows brown angobium, burn marks and light limestone deposits on both surfaces.	Dg. = 5 cm, Hp. = 4,4 cm	First half of the 2nd century p.Chr.	Unpublished	Plate VIII/78
79	Brown paste, iron oxide and small silver. Shows angoba of the same color, burn marks on both surfaces.	Dg. = 5 cm, Hp. = 4,4 cm	First half of the 2nd century p.Chr.	Unpublished	Plate VIII/79

### E.7. Type VII

The ulcers of this type have a rounded and twisted lip, so that the mouth of the vessels appears to be funnel-shaped. The body of the ulcer is globular or ovoid with an annular base. The paste from which these vessels are made is of several types. The first type is brick-brown in color, with iron oxide, limestone and silvery mica in its composition. The second type is grayish in color, with iron oxide and silvery mica. The diameter of the mouth is about 4 cm. The chronology of these vessels is quite extensive, from the end of the 2nd century BC to the first half of the 4th century p.Chr.<sup>240</sup>.

Acest gen de recipiente se întâlnește în provincia *Moesia Inferior* at: Beroe<sup>241</sup>, Murighiol<sup>242</sup>, Ibida<sup>243</sup> and in the Noviodunens territory of Valea Morilor<sup>244</sup>. In *Dacia* they are found in the

<sup>240</sup> POPILIAN 1976, 96.

<sup>241</sup> OPAIȚ 1996, 119, type IV D, Pl. 50/1.

<sup>242</sup> OPAIȚ 1991 a, 161, type IV, Pl. 39/229.

<sup>243</sup> CORNEA 2023, 276-277, type IX, Pl. IV.

<sup>244</sup> BAUMANN 1995, 412, Pl. VI/7.

Roman necropolis of Romula<sup>245</sup>. In the Italic peninsula, this type of pitchers has been identified in Pompei<sup>246</sup> and Alife<sup>247</sup>, in the Campania region.

Catalog number	Description	Dimensions	Chronologies	Bibliography	Plate number
80	Brownish-brown paste, iron oxide and little silver. It shows calcareous deposits on both surfaces.	Dg. = 4 cm, Hp. = 2 cm	4th century p.Chr.	Unpublished	Plate VIII/80
81	Grayish paste, iron oxide and little silver. It shows lime deposits and burn marks on both surfaces.	Dg. = 4 cm, Hp. = 4,5 cm	4th century p.Chr.	Unpublished	Plate VIII/81

### E.8. Type VIII

The ceramic fragments of this type of pitcher have a three-lobed lip, short neck, lamellar or rounded mouth, and a slightly raised section. The body of these pitchers is globular or ovoid with an annular base. The paste from which the jugs are made is of several types. The first type of paste is brick-brown in color, with iron oxide, limestone and little silver in its composition. The second type of paste is brownish in color, with iron oxide, mica silver in the composition. The third type of paste is dark grayish-brown in color, with iron oxide, limestone and silvery mica in the composition. The diameter of the mouth is between 2 and 7 cm. The chronological range of these vessels is quite extensive, from the 1st century p.Chr.<sup>248</sup> to the mid-4th century p.Chr.<sup>249</sup>.

This type of vessel is found in the province of *Moesia Inferior* at Tropaeum Traiani<sup>250</sup>, necropolis of the Noviodunum<sup>251</sup>, necropola de la Ostrov<sup>252</sup>, Ibida<sup>253</sup>, Durostorum<sup>254</sup>, Niculișel<sup>255</sup>

<sup>245</sup> POPILIAN 1976, 96, type 2, Pl. XVIII/454.

<sup>246</sup> CHIARAMONTE TRERE 1984b, 170, tav. 105.2.

<sup>247</sup> DI MAURO 2022, 35, tav. VI/112.

<sup>248</sup> RĂDULESCU 1975, 343.

<sup>249</sup> RUSSO 2008, 74.

<sup>250</sup> BOGDAN-CĂTĂNICIU, BARNEA 1979, 182, Fig. 146/4.7

<sup>251</sup> SIMION 1984, 85, type b, Pl. 13/7.

<sup>252</sup> RĂDULESCU 1975, 343, Pl. 8/1-3; Pl. 9/1-2.

<sup>253</sup> CORNEA 2023, 280-283, type XV, Pl. V-IX.

<sup>254</sup> MUȘEȚEANU 2003, 106, Pl. 31/424-325.

<sup>255</sup> HONCU 2014, 83, type 4, Pl. 24/184-185.

and Troesmis<sup>256</sup>. In *Dacia* they were discovered in the necropolis of Romula<sup>257</sup>. In the Italic peninsula, this type of pitchers has been identified in Rome<sup>258</sup>, Ostia<sup>259</sup> and the current province of Basilicata<sup>260</sup>.

Catalog number	Description	Dimensions	Chronologies	Bibliography	Plate number
82	Brownish-brown paste, iron oxide and little silver. It shows calcareous deposits on both surfaces.	Dg. = 4 cm, Hp. = 4 cm	Second half of the 2nd century p.Chr.	Unpublished	Plate VIII/82
83	Brownish, iron oxide and slightly silvery colored paste. Limestone deposits on both surfaces.	Dg. = 5 cm, Hp. = 4 cm	Second half of the 2nd century p.Chr.	Unpublished	Plate VIII/83
84	Brownish, iron oxide and slightly silvery colored paste. Limestone deposits on both surfaces.	Dg. = 5 cm, Hp. = 3,4 cm	Second half of the 2nd century p.Chr.	Unpublished	Plate VIII/84
85	Brownish, iron oxide and slightly silvery colored paste. Limestone deposits on both surfaces.	Dg. = 6 cm, Hp. = 6,2 cm	Second half of the 2nd century p.Chr.	Unpublished	Plate VIII/85
86	Brownish-brown paste, iron oxide and little silver. It shows lime deposits and burn marks on both surfaces.	Dg. = 6,4 cm, Hp. = 5,6 cm	Second half of the 2nd century p.Chr.	Unpublished	Plate IX/86
87	Brownish-brown paste, iron oxide and little silver. It shows lime deposits and	Dg. = 6,4 cm, Hp. = 5,6 cm	Second half of the 2nd century p.Chr.	Unpublished	Plate IX/87

<sup>256</sup> OPAIŢ 1980, 333, Pl. 7/5.

<sup>257</sup> POPILIAN 1976, 101, type 12/d, e, Pl. 49/529-530.

<sup>258</sup> MOREL 1981, Pl. 175, nr. 5610; IKER 1984, 205-216, fig. 118/8.; 274-281, fig. 156/4.

<sup>259</sup> MITRO, NOTARANGELO 2016, 138, tav. XIII/1; 157, tav. XXII/ 1; 2.1; 2.2; 3; 167-168, tav. XXV/1; 2.

<sup>260</sup> BOTTINI, SETARI 2003, 52, nr. 225; RUSSO 2008, 74, fig. 79; 84, fig. 99.

	burn marks on both surfaces.				
88	Brownish-brownish paste, iron oxide and little silver. It shows marked traces of limestone deposits.	Dg. = 7 cm, Hp. = 5,4 cm	Second half of the 2nd century p.Chr.	Unpublished	Plate IX/88
89	Dark grayish-dark paste, iron oxide and little silver. It shows marked traces of limestone deposits.	Dg. = 4,4 cm, Hp. = 1,5 cm	Second half of the 2nd century p.Chr.	Unpublished	Plate IX/89
90	Dark grayish-dark paste, iron oxide and little silver. It shows marked traces of limestone deposits.	Dg. = 5 cm, Hp. = 3,2 cm	Second half of the 2nd century p.Chr.	Unpublished	Plate IX/90
91	Dark grayish-dark paste, iron oxide and little silver. It shows marked traces of limestone deposits.	Dg. = 2 cm, Hp. = 2 cm	Second half of the 2nd century p.Chr.	Unpublished	Plate IX/91

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### Abbreviations

AARMSI – Academia Romană. Memoriile Secțiunii istorice, Bucharest.

ArhMold – Arheologia Moldovei, Iași.

BiblThr – Bibliotheca Thracologica, Bucharest.

Dacia – Dacia. Revue d'archéologie et d'histoire ancienne, Bucharest.

J. Rom. Stud. – Journal of Roman Studies, Cambridge

MCA – Materiale și Cercetări Arheologice, Bucharest.

NSA – Notizie degli scavi di antichità, Rome.

Ordonia - Ordonia. Rapports et études, Rome.

Peuce – Peuce. Studii și comunicări de istorie veche, arheologie și numismatică, Tulcea.

Peuce S. N. – Peuce. Serie Nouă. Studii și cercetări de istorie și arheologie, Tulcea.

Pontica – Pontica. Muzeul de Istorie și Arheologie Constanța.

RA – Revue Archaeologique, Paris.

RMM-MIA – Revista Muzeelor și Monumentelor. Seria Monumente Istorice și de Artă, Bucharest.

SAA – Studia Antiqua et Archaeologica, Iași.

Illustration

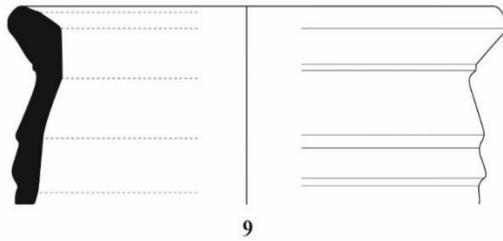
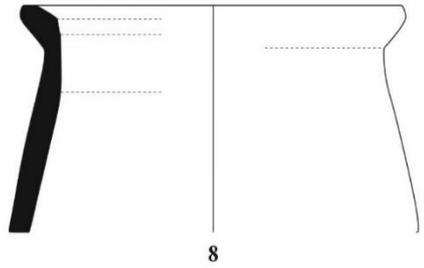
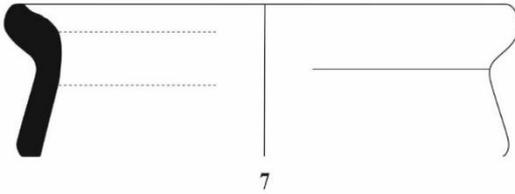
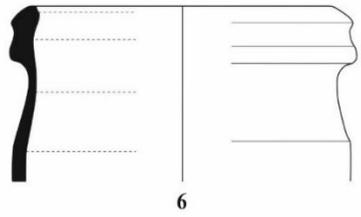
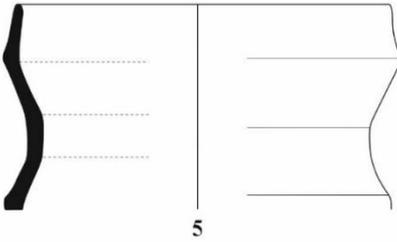
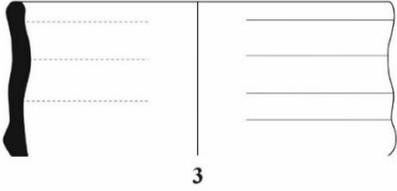
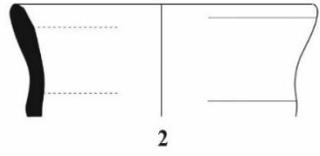
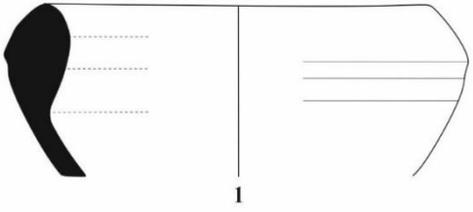


Plate I. Cups: type I: 1; type II: 2, 3; type III: 4, 5, 6; type IV: 7, 8, 9



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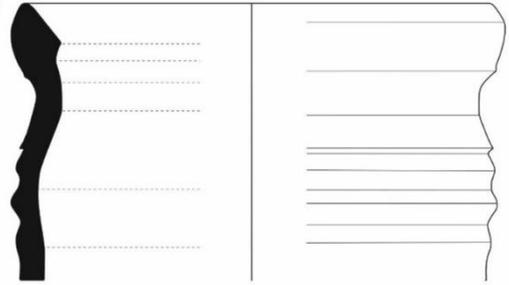
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Plate II. Cups: type V: 10, 11, 12, 13, 14; type VI: 15, 16, 17, 18, 19

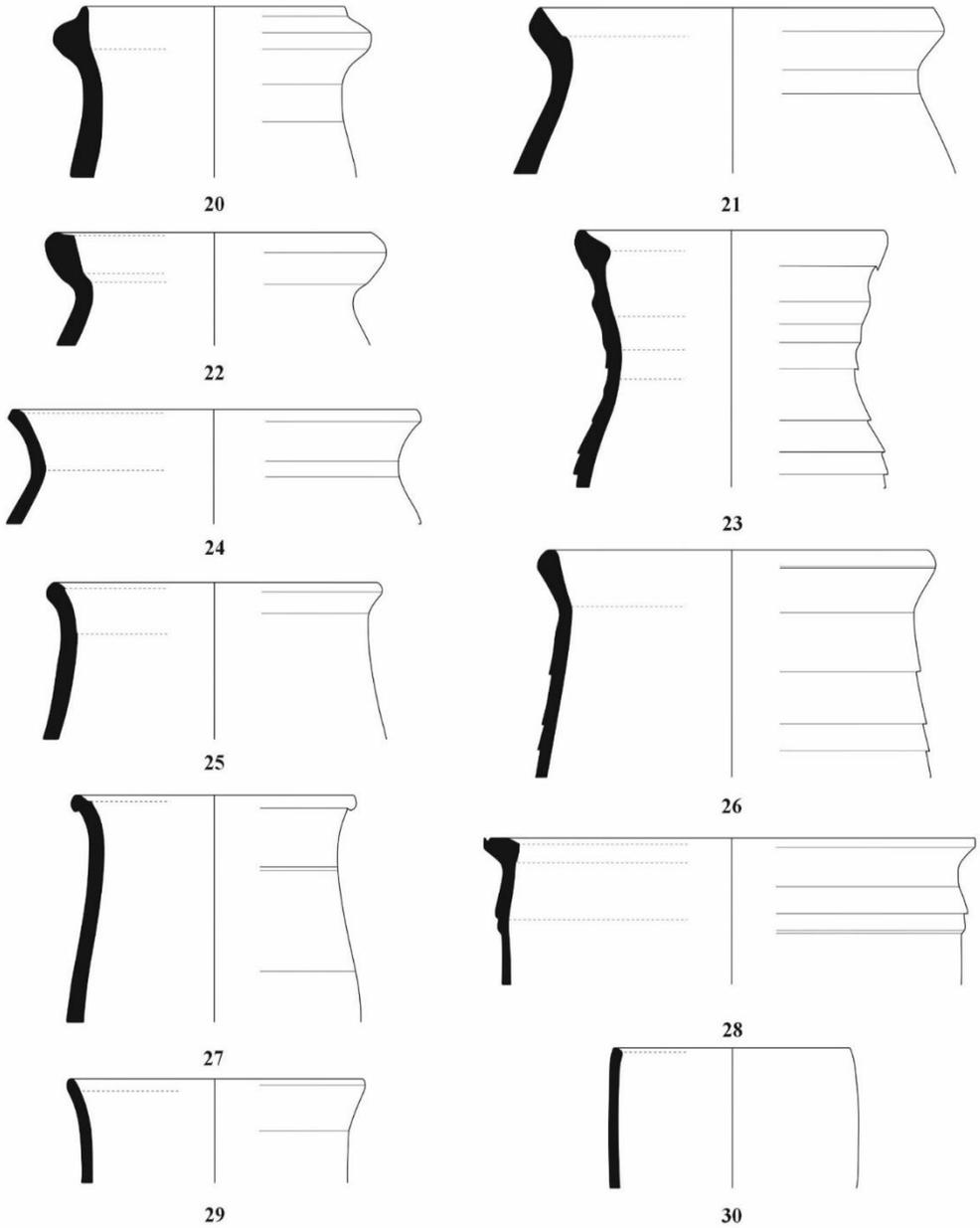


Plate III: Cups: type VI: 20; type VII: 21, 22, 23, 24;  
type VIII: 25, 26, 27; type IX: 28; Glasses: type I: 29; type II: 30

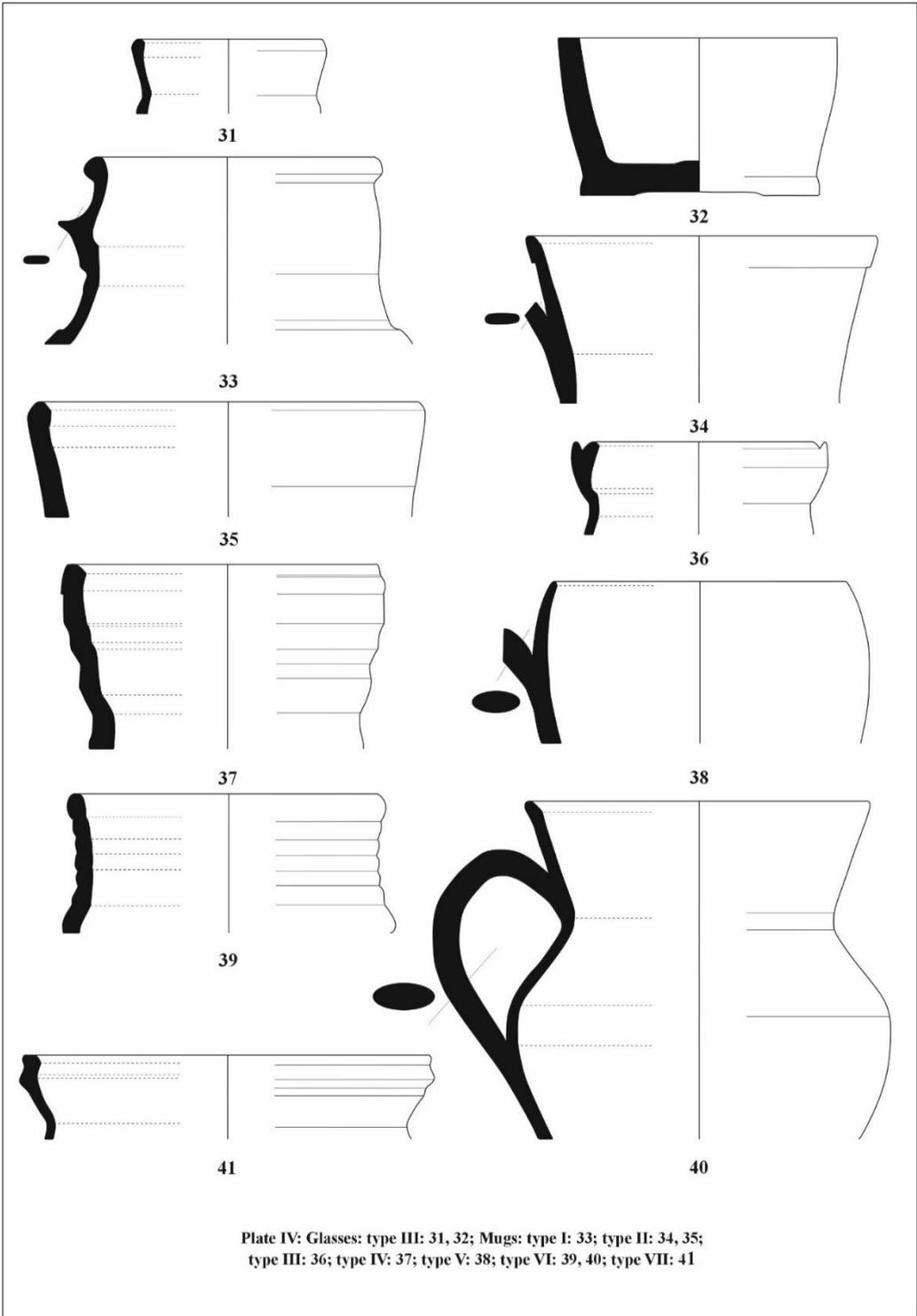


Plate IV: Glasses: type III: 31, 32; Mugs: type I: 33; type II: 34, 35; type III: 36; type IV: 37; type V: 38; type VI: 39, 40; type VII: 41



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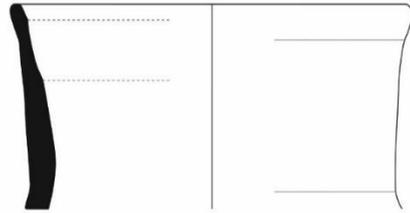
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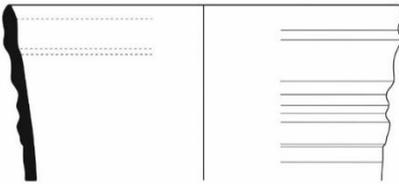
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Plate V: Mugs: type VII: 42, 43, 44; type VIII: 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52

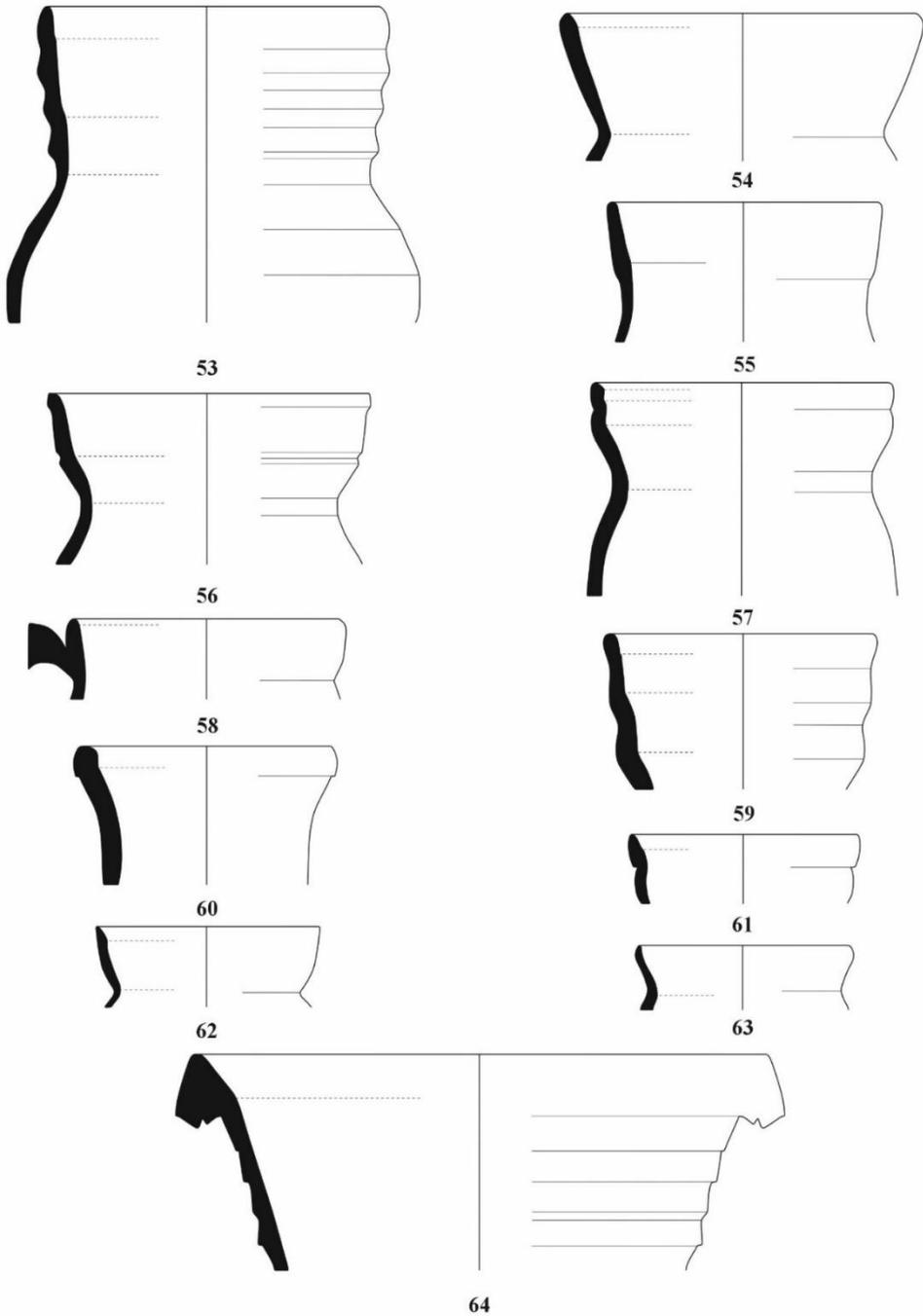


Plate VI: Mugs: type VIII: 53; type IX: 54,55, 56, 57, 58; Small cup: type I: 59, 60; type II: 61, 62, 63; Pitchers: type I: 64

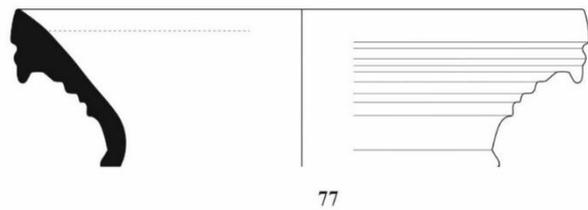
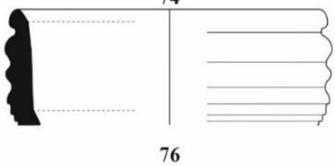
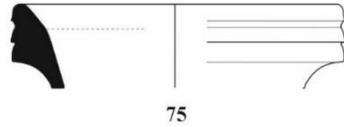
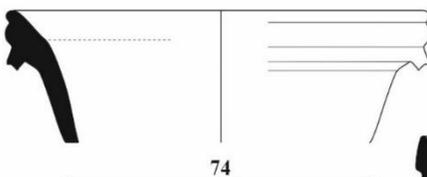
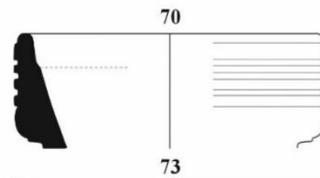
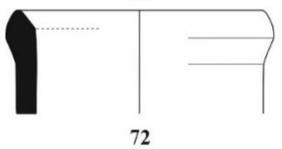
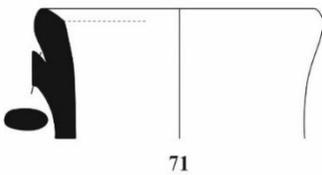
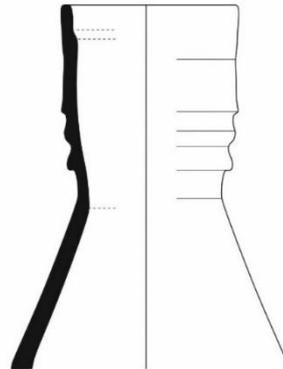
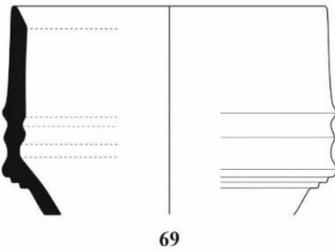
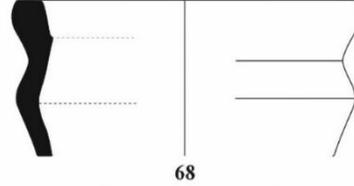
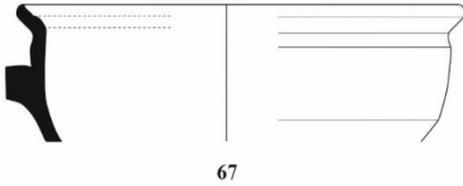
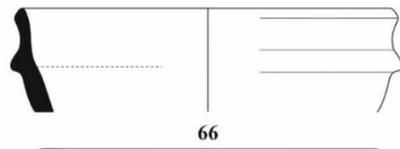
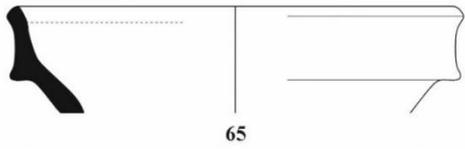


Plate VII: Pitchers: type II: 65, 66; type III: 67, 68; type IV: 69, 70;  
type V: 71, 72; type VI: 73, 74, 75, 76, 77

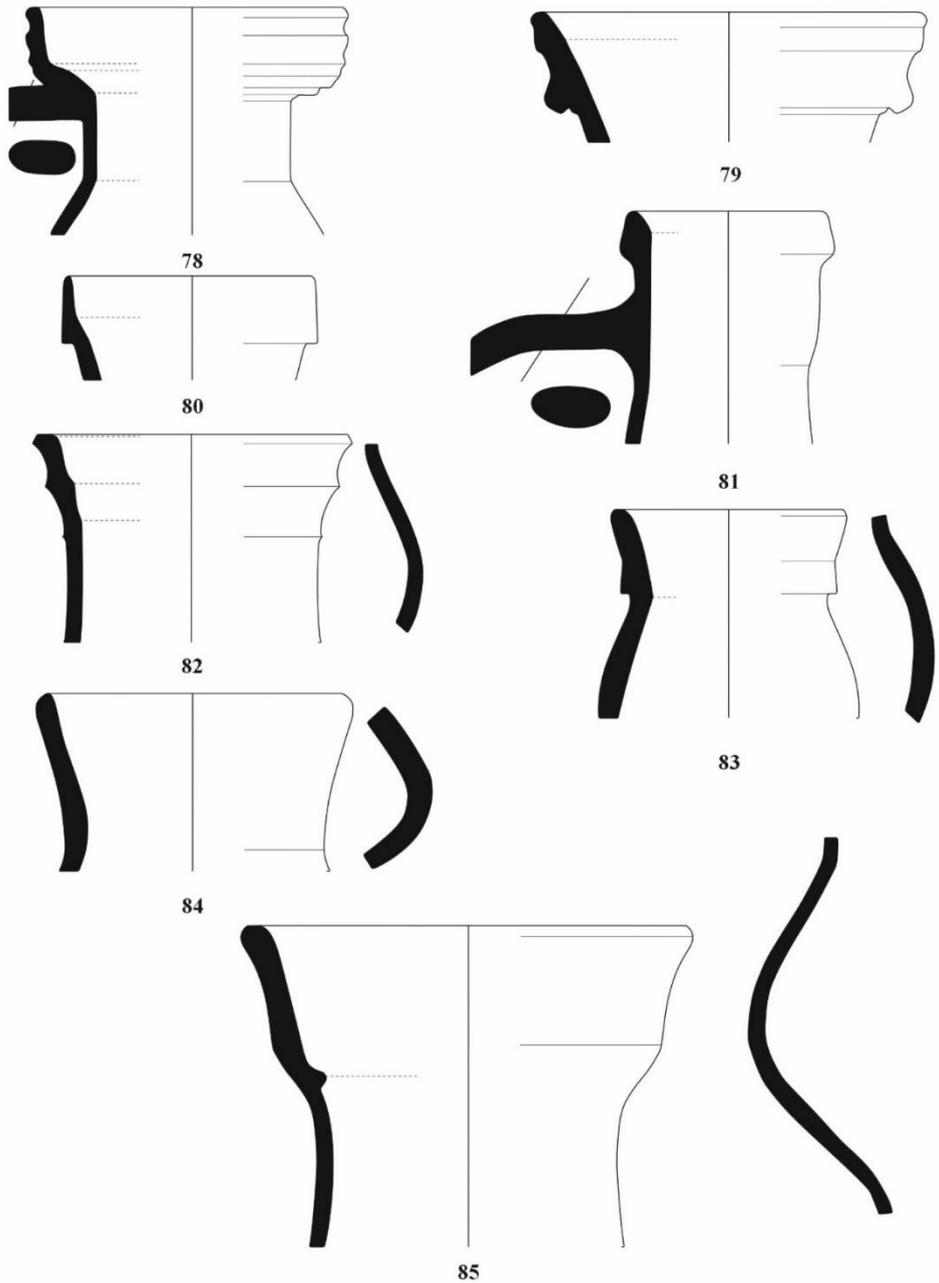
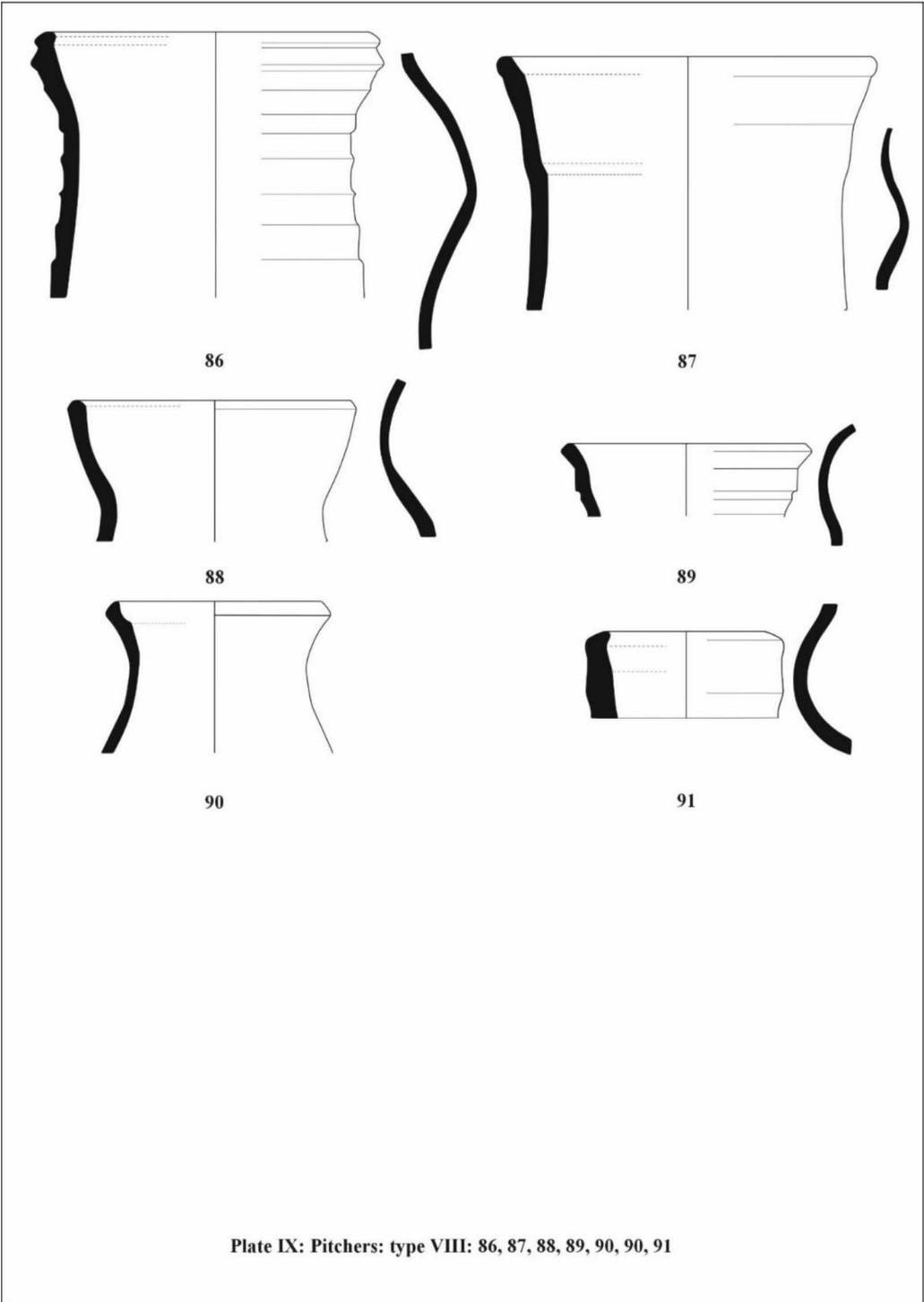


Plate VIII: Pitchers: type VI: 78, 79; type VII: 80, 81; type VIII: 82, 83, 84, 85



## On the Origin of Radagaisus' Men: The Victohali Contra the Goths

Oto MESTEK<sup>1</sup>

**Abstract.** *This study explores the ethnic origins and identity of the Radagaisus' army that invaded Italy in the early fifth century. Despite the fact that his people were referred to by the Romans as the Goths, their true identity remains unclear. Analysis of archaeological and historical sources suggests that Radagaisus and his men came from the northeastern part of the Great Danube Plain. Thus, they most probably were part of the Sarmatians and the Victohali tribe. The study also examines how tribal identities were shaped and redefined in the sources in the context of political and cultural changes. This case contributes to the broader discussion of barbarian tribal ethnicity and identity in Late Antiquity.*

**Rezumat.** *Acest studiu explorează originile etnice și identitatea armatei lui Radagaisus, care a invadat Italia la începutul secolului al V-lea. În ciuda faptului că poporul său era numit de romani goți, adevărata lor identitate rămâne neclară. Analiza surselor arheologice și istorice sugerează că Radagaisus și oamenii săi provin din partea de nord-est a Câmpiei Dunării Mari. Astfel, cel mai probabil au făcut parte din sarmați și din tribul Victohali. Studiul examinează, de asemenea, modul în care identitățile tribale au fost modelate și redefinite în surse în contextul schimbărilor politice și culturale. Acest caz contribuie la o discuție mai largă despre etnia și identitatea tribală barbară în Antichitatea târzie.*

**Keywords:** *Radagaisus, Goths, Victohali, Sarmatians, barbarian invasions.*

### Introduction:

In AD 405 a barbarian host led by King Radagaisus invaded Italy<sup>2</sup>. They wreaked havoc in the Roman Empire and plundered northern parts of Italy. Radagaisus supposedly planned to destroy the city of Rome. According to ancient sources, the barbarian host comprised over 400,000 men. The most powerful man in the western part of the Roman Empire *magister militum utriusque* Stilicho had to assemble a large army to face Radagaisus. In the spring and summer of 406 Radagaisus split his men into three parts and with his group he besieged the city of Florentia. At this moment, in August 406, Stilicho was able to defeat him in battle. After that, Radagaisus was executed and his men were either slaughtered, enslaved, or enlisted in the Roman army.

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<sup>2</sup> Sources mentioning King Radagaisus are listed in PLRE II, "Radagaisus", 934. See Aug. *Civ. Dei* V, 26; Aug. *Sermo* 105, 10, 13; Oros. VII, 37, 4 and 5; Olymp. *fr.* 9 (*Bibl. Cod. loc. cit.*); Prosp. Tiro s.a. 400; *Chron. Gall. ad 452* no. 50; Marcell. *com. s.a.* 406; *Addit. Ad Props. Haun. (marg.)* ad a. 405; Cass. *Chron. s.a.* 400; Jord. *Rom.* 321; and Zos. V, 26, 3.

This brief introduction shows that Radagaisus entered the Roman world as a sudden storm. There are no mentions of him before his army entered Italy in 405, and the sources describing his campaign are brief and concise. He left his imprint in history as a dangerous invader who the Romans still managed to stop and defeat. Such was Radagaisus' legacy as a violent and powerful raider who was defeated. However, we are still faced with the question of who Radagaisus and his men were.

The question of the origins of tribes and nations, which was popular among the previous generations of historians, seems to be outdated today but has still not been adequately answered in the case of Radagaisus' men. J. Wijnendaele analysed Radagaisus' defeat and the fate of his men after his death<sup>3</sup>. However, he did not pay much attention to his origins. With his fate already described, we can thus focus on the opposite direction – his origin. Analysing the ethnicity of Radagaisus' army and how it was perceived in the sources is essential while discussing the theories of barbarian ethnogenesis.

Our task is simplified by the fact that the route by which the barbarians came to Italy has already been reconstructed. Radagaisus is believed to have invaded the peninsula from the north via the Alps after crossing the Brenner Pass<sup>4</sup>. According to archaeological traces of the destruction dated to the early 5th century, he had previously passed through *Noricum*, through the towns of Flavia Solva and Aguntum<sup>5</sup>. His army crossed the Danube probably somewhere in the province of *Pannonia Valeria* and the local Gothic and Hunnic *foederati* assumed a neutral attitude toward his invasion<sup>6</sup>. The direction from which these people came can tell us more about them. We should thus try to determine the tribal identity of Radagaisus' warriors based on the areas from which they came and find a reason why the Roman sources identified them as the Goths.

Discussions about the ethnicity of barbarian tribes have been going on for quite a long time, but they have not ceased to be an important topic. For the historian, the primary concern is to work with the ethnic identity ascribed to the tribes by the Roman sources and how the tribes dealt with it later, when they were able to leave their own written records. The original identity was often forgotten and lost its meaning in the context of political and power changes. What reasons prompted Roman authors to attribute a Gothic identity to some tribes when they may not have originally claimed it? We can only speculate about the internal reasons since the tribes of the late fourth and early fifth centuries have left us no records. The Gothic ruler,

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<sup>3</sup> WIJNENDAELE 2016; 2018; 2019.

<sup>4</sup> WIJNENDAELE 2016, 269.

<sup>5</sup> See HUDECZEK 1977, 469; ALZINGER 1977, 403. The campaign of Radagaisus is also described in WOLFRAM 1988, 168–170.

<sup>6</sup> GRAČANIN 2006a, 42–43. The Greutungii Goths, Huns, and Alans under Alatheus and Saphrax were most probably settled in 380 in the province of *Pannonia Valeria* by Emperor Gratian (Jord. *Get.* 141 and Zos. IV, 34, 2). Their settlement there is discussed by WOLFRAM 1988, 132–133,250; LOTTER 2003, 72–74; HEATHER 1996, 135; MÓCSY 2014, 340–342; WIRTH 1999, 28,43; GRAČANIN 2006b, 84–85; MEIER 2019, 186.

however, as early as 412 spoke of a new land of Goths, *Gothia*, to replace the Roman Empire (Oros. VII, 43, 6, 5). We can thus assume that some idea of an ideological ‘Gothicness’ existed, at least in the minds of Roman historians. The expanding Gothic identity, which tried, unsuccessfully, to compete with the Roman conception of the world, clashed with the identity of other barbarian tribes that the Goths encountered. Thus, in our research, in terms of methodology, we are juxtaposing whether the practical effort of Gothic commanders to expand the ranks of their armies with members of other tribes, who then subsequently adopted a Gothic identity, or, on the contrary, the effort of Roman authors and historians to simplify their texts by assigning a Gothic identity to other barbarian groups to create one great Roman enemy, was of greater importance.

### Radagaisus’ people as the Goths

In the majority of sources, Radagaisus’ men are described as Goths<sup>7</sup>. Radagaisus himself was even referred to as *rex Gothorum*, a description he shared with his contemporary Alaric<sup>8</sup>. Orosius and the authors who copied his writings called Radagaisus a pagan and a Scythian<sup>9</sup>. Orosius’ goal was not to identify Radagaisus with the ancient tribe of the Scythians from the classical texts but to highlight the differences between Radagaisus and Alaric. The latter one was the Arian Christian and leader of the insurrection of Gothic soldiers within the Empire, while Radagaisus brought pagan barbarian hordes from across the Danube. The early sixth-century historian Zosimus gives a somewhat different description of Radagaisus’ army. According to his work under his command came to Italy up to 400, 000 men from Celtic and Germanic tribes across the Danube and Rhine (Zos. V, 26, 3). It is suggested that Zosimus wrongly merged Radagaisus’ invasion with the Great Rhine crossing of 406 into one event<sup>10</sup>. But what is important in his text is that he did not identify Radagaisus’ people with the Goths.

The modern historiography has taken the opinion of the late antique sources, that Radagaisus and his men were the Goths. Some authors even thought that Radagaisus’ people were part of the Ostrogoths, as the Visigoths were already on Roman soil<sup>11</sup>. This view persists

<sup>7</sup> Radagaisus is considered to be a Goth in Aug. *Civ. Dei* V, 26; Aug. *Sermo* 105, 10, 13; *Olymp. fr.* 9 (*Bibl. Cod. loc. cit.*); *Prosp. Tiro* s.a. 400; *Chron. Gall. ad 452* no. 50; *Addit. Ad Props. Haun. (marg.)* ad a. 405, and *Cass. Chron.* s.a. 400.

<sup>8</sup> For Alaric’s and Radagaisus’ titlature in Roman sources see for example HALSALL 2007, 202–207; KAMPERS 2008, 98, and MESTEK 2024. Of their contemporaries, only Orosius wrote about Alaric as a king (Oros. *Hist.* VII, 37, 2 and 17; VII, 43, 2). Other sources from the beginning of the fifth century called him a *dux* or φύλαρχος.

<sup>9</sup> Oros, *Hist.* VII, 37, 5: ‘Hic [Radagaisus] ... paganus et Scythia erat, ...’ Marcelli. *com. Chron.*, ad a. 406. ‘Radagaisus paganus et Scythia cum ducentibus milibus suorum totam Italiam inundavit.’ *Jord. Rom.* 321. ‘Hesperia vero plaga in regno Honorii imperatoris primum Radagaisus Scythia cum ducenta milia suorum inuandavit.’

<sup>10</sup> HEATHER 1995, 12 and HEATHER 1996, 147. According to T. Burns the Celts in the Radagaisus host could be rebelled *limitanei* and provincials from *Noricum*, *Pannonia*, and *Raetia*, who joined the marching host, see BURNS 1994, 198.

<sup>11</sup> Radagaisus was identified as a Goth in these studies: SEECK 1913, 375–7; SCHMIDT 1934, 265–7; STEIN 1959, 249–50; DEMANDT 2007, 175; MAENCHEN-HELFEN 1973, 60–61; LOTTER 2003, 92–93; KOKOWSKI 2007, 238; BEDNÁŘKOVÁ 2013, 85–86, 115; HARHOIU 1997, 28; TODD 2004, 146; KAMPERS 2008, 102; HALSALL 2007, 206–210; WOLFRAM 1988, 168–170;

among the researchers, although P. Heather has managed to disrupt it. In his writings, he rejected the traditional view, that the Visigoths were the Thervingi and the Ostrogoths were former Greuthungi. According to him, there were several, at least six, groups of the Goths. The Visigoths of the fifth century were formed from the Thervingi, the Greuthungi under Alatheus and Saphrax, the former Radagaisus' men, and some non-Gothic groups (the Alans and the Taifals)<sup>12</sup>. Acceptance of Heather's theories allows us further to research the origin of Radagaisus. Even for the later Procopius, the Goths were a much broader ethnic group, including the Ostrogoths, the Visigoths, the Vandals, and the Gepids (Procop. *Bell.* III, 2, 1). The situation in the *barbaricum* north of the Danube was probably much more complicated than the sources could tell us. It must be taken into account that other tribal groups may have been hidden under the name of the Goths. The Goths gained prominence with their victory at Adrianople and Alaric's sack of Rome in 410. For Roman authors, they overshadowed other barbarians – until the formation of Attila's Hunnic empire – and thus they became a cultural phenomenon and one of the labels used to describe foreign *gentes*.

The writings of P. Heather are important for another reason. He tried to determine where Radagaisus came from. The Goths of Alaric before their first invasion of Italy in 401 were stationed in *Illyricum* and they invaded the peninsula through the Julian Alps near Aquileia<sup>13</sup>. Before that, these Goths came to Thrace in 376 from the Romanian Plain and the Pontic steppe around the Dniester River. It is assumed that they crossed the Danube at the town of Durostorum (modern Silistra)<sup>14</sup>. In the case of Radagaisus only Zosimus tells us that he came from somewhere beyond the Danube and the Rhine. That is too vague. Heather assumed that Radagaisus' host set out from the area of the middle Danube west of the Carpathians<sup>15</sup>. He supported this claim by arguing that Italy and Rome were the targets of his campaign. The barbarians from the lower Danube, on the other hand, attacked Thrace and Constantinople. The route through the provinces of *Pannonia* and *Noricum* also indicates that Radagaisus' origin should be traced back to the middle Danube region. Besides Heather, P. Bystrický also tried to locate Radagaisus in this region<sup>16</sup>. Radagaisus most probably crossed the river somewhere in the province of *Pannonia Valeria*, as already mentioned in the introduction. However, there is

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GWYNN 2017, 37–38; BLECKMANN 2009, 237; KULIKOWSKI 2007, 171–173; POHL 2005, 53,73; MARTIN 1987, 38; MEIER 2019, 207–208, and MCEVOY 2013, 174–177.

<sup>12</sup> HEATHER 1996, 52–53; 130–138,149,176.

<sup>13</sup> HALSALL 2007, 201–202; WOLFRAM 1988, 151–153; HEATHER 1996, 146; KULIKOWSKI 2007, 170; MCEVOY 2013, 170–171; KULIKOWSKI 2019, 134–135, BURNS 1994, 178–193, and BOIN 2020, 169.

<sup>14</sup> KULIKOWSKI 2007n, 130.

<sup>15</sup> HEATHER 1991, 160,228; HEATHER 1996, 103,107, and HEATHER 2010, 173,182. Heather made this conclusion after the reading of the older studies of DEMOUGEOT 1969, 422–429; MAENCHEN-HELFEN 1973, 60–61 and WOLFRAM 1988, 169.

<sup>16</sup> BYSTRICKÝ 2008, 9. Bystrický connects the Romanian archeological sites of Crasna, Cipău, Valea Strâmbă, and Feldiora and Zărnești with Radagaisus, but does not provide any argumentation.

also the opinion that Radagaisus set out with his people from the Dniester region and crossed the entire *barbaricum*<sup>17</sup>.

Although most historians generally consider Radagaisus to be a Goth, there are also opinions that his identification as a Goth is at least questionable<sup>18</sup>. Even P. Heather has compromised his views, and although in his earlier studies, he considered Radagaisus' men to be the Goths (using the term 'Radagaisus' Goths'), in more recent works he has used the more modest-sounding term 'followers of Radagaisus'<sup>19</sup>. However, no one has attempted to answer the question of who Radagaisus' men were supposed to be if they were not Goths.

The inclusion of this barbarian group among Alaric's Goths between 408 and 410 is well documented. However, the previous development of the tribal identity of Radagaisus' group must be followed to better understand the whole process of tribal identity transformation. These processes may have been more complicated than we would expect and under greater influence of external factors.

### **The Danubian Regions before 405 AD**

The starting point of Radagaisus' invasion could be even more closely located in the northeastern part of the Great Hungarian Plain, also known as Alföld. This area is defined by the rivers Tisza, Mureş, and Körös. We can briefly look at the entire region of the Middle Danube to see which tribes lived there. In this case, we can combine the archeological findings with the records in the written sources. Here it should be noted that the author does not follow the older archeological view that tried to assign ethnic identity to specific archeological findings. On the contrary, it is appropriate here to apply the theories of M. Kazanski and B. Ciuperercă that the concentration of finds in a given area indicates that something that can be described as a center of power or tribal *regnum* was located there<sup>20</sup>. These *regna* can not be identified precisely with the tribal identities based solidly on the archeological finds. The finds can be, however, confronted with Roman written sources and thus we can describe this region.

If we proceed step by step in the area clockwise, we could describe the tribes who lived here in 400. In the Upper Tisza region, between the Hornad River and the foothills of the Carpathians, lived the Hasdingi Vandals<sup>21</sup>. They settled here probably during the Marcomannic wars and at the same time as Radagaisus they departed from here and migrated west. The

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<sup>17</sup> KAZANSKI 2012, 381–403. According to Kazanski it is possible to link Radagaisus with the area of the Sobari, Layo and Sumy-Sad, and the departure of his people to Italy with the disappearance of the Chernyakov culture around 400 AD.

<sup>18</sup> JAMES 2014, 55 and GOFFART 2006, 78.

<sup>19</sup> The most recent Heather' view is HEATHER 2020, 77–80. Heather did not emphasize that he no longer considers Radagaisus' people as Goths, but neither does he call them so.

<sup>20</sup> This theories are described in KAZANSKI 1992, 191–229; KAZANSKI 1998, 221–240; KAZANSKI 2007, 81–90, and CIUPERCĂ and MĂGUREANU 2008, 119–130.

<sup>21</sup> CASTRITIUS 2007, 25–45,47; MERRILS, MILES 2010, 30–35; NAGY 1993, 157–194; SOÓS *et alii* 2016, 49, STEINACHER 2016, 23–30.

Germanic Gepids lived at that time probably in the northern Carpathians and they moved to Alföld during the Hunnic period<sup>22</sup>. In the Eastern Carpathians in the author's opinion, we could locate the tribe of the Sciri<sup>23</sup>. The Goths are associated with the area of archeological sites of the Chernyakhov culture. This archeological culture was located on the northern coast of the Black Sea around the rivers Dniester and Dnieper and extended to the Lower Danube area, which is the Wallachian Plain in present-day Romania.<sup>24</sup> The Taifals, the allies of the Goths, lived west of them in Oltenia<sup>25</sup>. In 376 they, however, migrated to the Roman Empire and were defeated in the vicinity of the Danube and subsequently joined the Goths (Amm. Marc. XXXI, 9, 3). Some of the Goths, however, remained in the *barbaricum* after the arrival of the Huns. In the area between the rivers Danube and Tisza, from Banat in the south to the Devil's Dyke in the north lived the Sarmatians<sup>26</sup>. There originally lived a tribe of the Iazyges, with whom the Romans clashed since the first century AD. Later in the third century, they were joined by other Sarmatian groups, the Roxolani from the east, and the Iazygian identity slowly disappeared. Thus, in the fourth century, Ammianus Marcellinus wrote only of the free Sarmatians and *Sarmatae Limigantes*<sup>27</sup>. At the end of the fourth century the Danubian Sarmatians were significantly weakened by the Gothic attacks, Roman invasions and deportations, and their internal fighting between the *Argaragantes* and the *Limigantes*<sup>28</sup>. Thus they could not play a major political role on the Roman frontier.

We can notice that we have circled clockwise around the area of the Transylvanian Plateau, the Apuseni Mountains, and Alföld east of the Tisza. Here originally lay the Roman province of *Dacia*, which was abandoned in 271 by Emperor Aurelian<sup>29</sup>. But who lived in this area? In the 360s Roman historian and politician Eutropius wrote in his *Breviarium*, that the former province of *Dacia* was in his time inhabited by the Tervingi, Taifali, and Victohali (Eutr. VIII, 2). If the Taifals controlled the southern parts of the former province at the confluence of the Danube

<sup>22</sup> ISTVÁNOVITS 2000, 197–208; KHARALAMBEVA 2010, 245–248; HARHOIU 2013, 111–142, and SOÓS 2019, 697–751.

<sup>23</sup> There are several theories about where the Sciri lived before the arrival of the Huns. They could lived east of the Carpathians, see HEATHER 2010, 222. According to GOFFART 2006, 203–205, they lived in the area of the Lower Danube. Another possibility is that they lived north of the Black Sea, see TODD 2004, 223–225. The author favors Heather's position that they lived east of the Carpathians.

<sup>24</sup> For more about the Chernyakhov (or Sântana de Mureş) culture, see HEATHER 1996, 18–50; KOKOWSKI 2007, 199–218; ŠČUKIN *et alii* 2006, and BIERBRAUER 1994.

<sup>25</sup> HEATHER 1996, 100 and WOLFRAM 1988, 57–54.

<sup>26</sup> For the Sarmatians in the fourth century, see SULIMIRSKY 1970, 155–182; ISTVÁNOVITS, KULCSÁR 1999, 67–94; IVANIŠEVIĆ, BUGARSKI 2008, 39–61; LEBEDYNSKY 2014, 91–106; TĂNASE 2015, 127–151, and ISTVÁNOVITS, KULCSÁR 2017, 183–397.

<sup>27</sup> The *Limigantes* are mentioned in Amm. Marc. XVII, 13, 1; 21, and 29; XIX, 11, 1; 5, and 9. The free Sarmatians (*Sarmatae Liberi*) are called *Argaragantes* in Hier. *Chron. ad a.* 334 and this name is used by historians.

<sup>28</sup> According to Jerome the war between the *Argaragantes* and *Limigantes* happened in 334 (Hier. *Chron. ad a.* 334). For more about these events, see KOVÁCS 2013 and DOLEŽAL 2019.

<sup>29</sup> Eutr. IX, 15. For the dating see SOUTHERN 1999, 119–120; WATSON 1999, 155–156, and ARDEVAN, ZERBINI 2007, 204–207.

and Olt, and the Tervingi the eastern parts along the Carpathians, we can assume that the Victohali resided in the northwestern part of the province<sup>30</sup>.

### The Victohali and Radagaisus

We first encounter the Victohali in the controversial source *Scriptores Historia Augustae*. The alleged author Iulius Capitolinus mentioned them in a book about the emperor Marcus Aurelius<sup>31</sup>. According to the *SHA*, they participated in the wars against the Romans on the side of the Marcomanni, Quadi, and Sarmatians. The *SHA* is a problematic text, the analysis of which has been a concern of scholars since Hermann Dessau<sup>32</sup>. What is significant, however, is that a Roman author of the fourth century found it necessary to mention that the Victohali were one of the influential tribes on the Middle Danube. Furthermore, the Victohali are mentioned by Eutropius already quoted above and the last source where we can read about this tribe is the work of Ammianus Marcellinus. He wrote that during the internal war between the Sarmatians, the *Argaragantes* were defeated by the *Limigantes* and then fled to distant lands of the Victohali<sup>33</sup>. It could also be the same location as in Eutropius, since the distance of these lands is calculated from Roman *Pannonia* and beyond the Sarmatians, which would correspond to the regions beyond the Tisza River, or the western part of the former *Dacia*. Ammianus mentioned these events when describing the campaigns of Emperor Constantius II against the *Limigantes* in 357 and 358<sup>34</sup>, Jerome, however, dated these fights among Sarmatians in 334.

It is almost impossible to decide whether the Victohali were a Sarmatian or a Germanic tribe. Some authors consider the Victohali to be Germanic, but because we do not know their names or other documentation of their language it is impossible to decide<sup>35</sup>. H. Wolfram even thinks that there is corruption in the texts of Ammianus Marcellinus and Eutropius and the

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<sup>30</sup> According to the view of some historians the Victohali should have lived in this era in the area of the Mureş river, where they have come under pressure from the Gepids from the north. For a discussion of this theory, see ISTVÁNOVITS, KULCSÁR 2017, 219-222.

<sup>31</sup> *SHA*, *Aur.* XIV, 1. 'Profecti tamen sunt paludati ambo imperatores et Victualis et Marcomamnis cuncta turbantibus, aliis gentibus, quae pulsae a superioribus barbaris fugerant, nisi reciperentur, bellum inferentibus.' *SHA*, *Aur.* XXII, 1. 'Gentes omnes ab Illyrici limite usque in Galliam conspiraverant, ut Marcomanni, Varistae, Hermunduri et Quadi, Suevi, Sarmatae, Lacringes et Burei + hi aliique cum Victualis, Sosibes, Sicobotes Roxolani, Basternae, Halani, Peucini, Costoboci. Imminebat et Parthicum bellum et Britannicum.'

<sup>32</sup> Among the contemporary authors, the issues related to *SHA* are discussed by BIRLEY 2003, and KEMAZIS 2022.

<sup>33</sup> *Amm. Marc.* XVII, 12, 19: 'Qui [Sarmates] confundente metu consilia ad Victohalos discretos longius confugerunt, ...' The parts of Ammianus works dealing with campaign of 358 against the Sarmatians is discussed in DE JONGE 1977, 279-325.

<sup>34</sup> For more about Constantius' campaign see BARCELÓ 1992; KOVÁCS 2016, and SZIDAT 1972.

<sup>35</sup> BLECKMANN 2009, 197. The same discussion is in DOLEŽAL 2019, 237-8. There is also an opinion that they were closely related to the Sarmatians, see BATTY 2007, 361.

Victohali were part of the Hasdingi Vandals or even it was the same tribal group<sup>36</sup>. This perspective may be a bit overstated, but it demonstrates how little we know about the Victohali.

King Radagaisus and his men came from the area where, in the fourth century, the Sarmatians and Victohali lived. As mentioned above the Sarmatians were weakened at the end of the century. They did not disappear as a part of the Sarmatians remained in the Danube area under the rule of the Huns, as evidenced by the presence of their kings in the area still in 471 (Jord. *Get.* 277 a 282). Thus, the Sarmatians could not form the core of Radagaisus' forces. These most probably consisted of the Victohali. Given the nature of the migrating barbarian hordes in Late Antiquity, it would be a mistake to regard this marching host as ethnically homogeneous<sup>37</sup>. Besides the prevailing Victohali and Sarmatians, the king's warriors may have included members of the surrounding Germanic tribes, such as the Tervingi, Hasdingi, and Gepids.

We must also consider the tribal movement between 376 and 400. The Alans are a great example of this case. After the arrival of the Huns, some Alanic groups moved west. Some of them crossed the Danube in 377 with the Huns and joined the Goths, and were later defeated by Emperor Gratian in 380<sup>38</sup>. Another, apparently small group of the Alans crossed the Danube in 378 at Castra Martis but were also defeated by Gratian (Amm. Marc. XXXI, 11, 6). A prominent portion of the Alans, however, continued through the *barbaricum* further west and allied with the Vandals and Suebi. They invaded *Raetia* in 401 and eventually in 406 crossed the frozen Rhine and sacked Gaul<sup>39</sup>. Most obviously, on this journey, the Alans had to pass through the territory controlled by King Radagaisus. Thus, it is possible that some of the Alanic warriors decided to stay and reinforce the ranks of Radagaisus' army.

For some authors of the fourth century (Ammianus, Eutropius, the author of *SHA*) the Victohali were important enough that they found it necessary to mention them in their writings. Problematically, in other texts where we would expect to find references to the Victohali, they are absent. In the list of barbarian raiders defeated by Emperor Claudius II in another part of the *SHA*, the Victohali are missing<sup>40</sup>. Similarly, we do not find them in the Verona list written around 314<sup>41</sup>. Other tribes from the Middle-Danubian region are mentioned

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<sup>36</sup> WOLFRAM 1988, 58. A similar view that the Victohali were part of the Vandals and lived in the area of the upper Tisza at the end of the second and during the third century is also found in ISTVÁNOVITS, KULCSÁR 2017, 255,265.

<sup>37</sup> The discussions about polyethnicity and ethnogenesis of barbarian tribes and armies in Late Antiquity are long and often addressed in various studies. These discussions were started by WENSKUS 1961 and WOLFRAM 1988. For their critics, see GILLET 2002. Different views can be found in HALSALL 2007, 36–59; POHL, REIMITZ 1998; CURTA 2005; LIEBESCHUETZ 2015, 85–100, and MEIER 2019, 37–116.

<sup>38</sup> See footnote n. 4. This issue is discussed in more detail in GRAČANIN 2006b, 84–87.

<sup>39</sup> For more about the Great Rhine Crossing of 406, see GOFFART 2006, 73–118; HALSALL 2007, 210–212; LÓPEZ QUIROGA 2008; BACHRACH 1973, 51–55, and STEINACHER 2016, 39–67.

<sup>40</sup> *SHA, Claud.* 6, 2: 'Denique Scytharum diversi populi, Peuci, Grutungii Austrogoti, Tervingi, Visi, Gipedes, Celtae etiam et Eruli, ...'

<sup>41</sup> For more about this text, see BARNES 1982, 201–208.

here, the Quadi, Taifals, Vandals, Sarmatians, Sciri, Carpi, and Goths, but not the Victohali (*Provinc. Laterc. Veron. XIII, 25–36*). This may be because the list mentions only tribes flourishing under the rule of the emperors (*‘Gentes barbarae, quae pullulauerunt sub imperatoribus:’*). The Victohali living further away from the Roman border were not subjugated by the Romans and did not sign any kind of treaty with them. The Romans were then less interested in the tribes who did not neighbour their empire. This is evidenced by the Latin translation of an older text from the time of Constantius II, which states that Sarmatian tribes lived beyond the Pannonian provinces and did not describe the region any further (*Expos. mundi, 56–7*)<sup>42</sup>.

It is also possible that the dominance of the Victohali in the area east of the Tisza River and the former province of *Dacia* was a temporary phenomenon, catching the attention of only a few authors. The situation in the Carpathian region changed at the beginning of the fourth century after the campaigns of emperors Diocletian and Constantine the Great against the Carpi in 296, 302–303, and 317<sup>43</sup>. In the 330s the Sarmatian suffered several defeats. Their territory was raided by the Tervingi Goths, then invaded by Emperor Constantine, and ultimately they were even weakened by internal fights between the *Argaragantes* and the *Limigantes*. The elimination of the Carpi and the diminishment of the Sarmatians allowed the creation of a new regional power structure. The Tervingi Goths, Taifals, and the Victohali became the dominant tribes in the disputed area, as described by Eutropius (*Eutr. VIII, 2*). The Victohali’s dominance in the north-western regions of the former *Dacia* (basically Hadrian’s province of *Dacia Porolissensis*)<sup>44</sup> was established in the 330s or 340s. After that, the importance of this tribe declined, which was one of the factors why the Roman sources did not notice them.

If we accept Radagaisus and his men as part of the Victohali tribe, we could consider his departure to Italy in 405 as the end of the Victohali rule over the area of the Körös River and Apuseni Mountains. Radagaisus must have decided to leave his homeland after considering various push and pull factors<sup>45</sup>. Among obviously presumed reasons would be the looting of the Roman territory or the fear of the approaching enemies – the Huns. W. Goffart rejected the idea that Radagaisus’ invasion was triggered by the pressure and the harassment of the Huns. According to him, we should consider the options that Radagaisus was encouraged by the East Roman government to attack Stilicho or that it was his personal initiative inspired by Alaric’s success<sup>46</sup>. Other factors must be considered as well. The Victohali from the Mureş and Körös Rivers could have been attacked by the Tervingi Goths in the 370s and the 380s similarly to the

<sup>42</sup> The text *Expositio totius mundi et gentium* is discussed in ROUGE 1966; GALDI 2012, and LAMPINEN 2022.

<sup>43</sup> The Roman campaigns against the Carpi are discussed in BICHIR 1976, 137–158; ODAHL 2004, 24,59–60,91; BATTY 2007, 376–379; HEATHER 2010, 114–132; and WILLIAMS 2000, 76–77.

<sup>44</sup> OLTEAN 2007, 55–58 and BRODERSEN 2020, 171–173.

<sup>45</sup> Push and pull factors of migration were first defined by LEE 1966. They were incorporated into the research of barbarian migrations of Late Antiquity. For example, see HALSALL 2007, 418–420; HEATHER 2010, 28,33, and MEIER 2019, 114.

<sup>46</sup> GOFFART 2006, 78–80.

Danubian Sarmatians in the 330s. Athanaric's successful retreat from the Huns and his conquest of the *Caucaland* in 376 (Amm. Marc. XXXI, 4, 13) could indicate the final defeat of the Victohali in this region, although Ammianus wrote that the *Caucaland* was originally inhabited by the Sarmatians<sup>47</sup>. The retreating Tervingi were not the only barbarians who entered the lands east of the Tisza River. The other passer-by tribe, perhaps even more important, was the Alans from the east. As mentioned above, Alanic warbands entered the Roman territory in 377, 378, 401, and 406. They had to pass through Radagaisus' territory on their journey west. Despite Goffart's rejection, there was probably a slow domino effect started by the arrival of the Huns forcing other barbarians to move to the west. The position of the Victohali in Alföld was destabilised by the incursions by the Goths and Alans. Radagaisus probably recognized the necessity of leaving and marched with his people into Roman *Pannonia*.

### Why the Goths?

The remaining question is why the sources described Radagaisus' men as the Goths. For fifth-century sources, the Goths were more or less an ethnic label or a generic term. Only later texts from the first half of the sixth century distinguished between the Ostrogoths and Visigoths. Even at that time, it was an external designation. At the time when both of the Gothic kingdoms were fully established, their people referred to themselves simply as the Goths. But this was the culmination of all the events of the fifth century that gave rise to the fame of the *nomen Gothorum*.

The texts mentioning the Victohali were written between 369 and 400 and no fifth-century text mentioned them again<sup>48</sup>. The sources where the mentions of Radagaisus can be found were all written after 410 when Gothic leader Alaric sacked Rome. We could identify three historiographical tendencies dealing with the identity of Radagaisus and his men.

The first one could be called Latin-Christian. This historiographical point of view was formed by Radagaisus' contemporaries who lived at the edges of the empire and had the information probably from the Italian refugees. Their writings had a strong theological-apologetic theme that was set in the virtual dispute between Christians and pagans over the

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<sup>47</sup> The *Caucalandenses locus* described by Ammianus is identified with mountainous regions of Transylvania or the southeastern parts of the Carpathians, see CONSTANTINIU 2011, 52; HARHOIU 1997, 27; HEATHER 1996, 103, KULIKOWSKI 2019, 86; WOLFRAM 1988, 73.

<sup>48</sup> Eutropius wrote his work during the reign of Emperor Valens, in 369 or 370, see BIRD 1993, XIII and BLECKMANN, GROSS 2018, 4. The date of publication of Marcellinus' *Res gestae* is assumed to be between 392 and 400, and it was supposed to have been written during the 380s, cf. BARNES 1998, 54; KELLY 2008, 104; HANAGHAN, WOODS 2022, 1–16. Dating the *SHA* is a bit more difficult. The text itself claims to have been composed during the reigns of the emperors Diocletian and Constantine the Great, but analysis of the corpus suggests that it was composed sometime during the second half of the fourth century. Contemporary historiography states that the corpus was composed between 395 and 400, see SYME 1983, 129; BIRLEY 2006; ROHRBACHER 2016, 8, 146; and KEMAZIS 2022, 223–224. There are, however, also views that the *SHA* was written later in the 5th century, see SAVINO 2017, or, conversely, earlier between 360 and 380, see CAMERON 2010, 743–746.

fate of Rome<sup>49</sup>. The main theme of this group was created by Augustine and taken over from him by Orosius (See Aug. *Civ. Dei* V, 26; Aug. *Sermo* 105, 10, 13; Oros. VII, 37, 4 and 5). The focal point is the similarity and contrast between Alaric and Radagaisus. They both were Goths and enemies of Rome. While Radagaisus as a pagan was destined to fail, Alaric as an Arian Christian succeeded in conquering and sacking Rome<sup>50</sup>. For Augustine and Orosius it was more important Radagaisus' identity was a pagan and barbarian (Orosius referred to Radagaisus as a Scythian). In their writings, the king and his people were labeled as the Goths to make the difference between their paganism and Alaric's Christianity more apparent<sup>51</sup>. Eastern Latin authors (Marcell. com. s.a. 406 and Jord. *Rom.* 321) of the sixth century adopted Orosius' description of Radagaisus as a pagan and Scythian<sup>52</sup>.

The second group, which we can call Latin-Chronicler, was established in the middle of the fifth century. It consists of brief Latin texts in chronicle style, which Theodor Mommsen included in his edition of the *Consularia Italica*. They are a continuation of the earlier Christian chronicles of Eusebius and Jerome, which ended in 379. Concerning the events of the late fourth and early fifth centuries, these chronicles were based on a common template, the unpreserved consular *Fasti* that were written in Italy<sup>53</sup>. The purpose of these chronicles is to record the development of Christian society. A faithful record of the events is thus not to be found in these texts. These chronicles were written in a minimalistic style and they tried to make the individual entries as concise as possible. Radagaisus is thus described as *rex Gothorum* (Prosp. Tiro s.a. 400; *Chron. Gall. ad 452*, no. 50; and Cass. *Chron.* s.a. 400)<sup>54</sup>. However, his comparison with Alaric, which we have encountered in the previous type of sources, is absent. Yet Prosper Tiro, the author of one of the chronicles and a pupil of Augustine, must have known this view of the two barbarian invaders. However, his chronicle is the best illustration of his attempt to simplify the description of events when he erroneously dated Radagaisus' invasion of Italy to 400 and merged it with Alaric's first Italian campaign of 401–402 (Prosp. Tiro s.a. 400). This erroneous

<sup>49</sup> For more about these texts, see KEYS 2022; MECONI 2021; VAN NUFFELEN 2012, and WETZEL 2012.

<sup>50</sup> VAN NUFFELEN 2012, 181–184 and KAHLOS 2022.

<sup>51</sup> Here we may mention the contrast described by Orosius between Alaric and Radagaisus, where during the sack of Rome Alaric spared all those who sought refuge in the church spaces and forbade the sacking of the Christian temples (Oros. VIII, 39, 1), and Radagaisus, on the other hand, planned to sacrifice the Romans to pagan gods (Oros. VIII, 37, 4). However, the cultural assimilation of Alaric's Goths by the Romans may also have played a role here.

<sup>52</sup> Comes Marcellinus relied in his writing on the work of Orosius and subsequently Jordanes during writing his *Romana* copied Marcellinus' Chronicle, see TREADGOLD 2007, 233; CROKE 2001, 197–200; CHRISTENSEN 2002, 103–112; DOLEŽAL 2012, 30–33.

<sup>53</sup> On the Latin chronicles of the fifth century, see MUHLBERGER 1990; BURGESS, KULIKOWSKI 2013, 173–187; ZECCHINI 2006, 317–345.

<sup>54</sup> Among the authors of the Latin chronicles, Prosper Tiro titles Radagaisus and Alaric with the term *dux*. We can assume that the Gallic chronicler did so under the influence of his teacher Augustine, who also did not refer to the two barbarian rulers as kings.

simplification was subsequently adopted by Cassiodorus (Cass. Chron. p.a 400)<sup>55</sup>. Radagaisus is not mentioned in Jordanes' *Getica*, so we do not know how he was perceived in Cassiodorus' unpreserved and more extensive Gothic history. The view of Radagais as 'king of the Goths' is also preserved in an anonymous continuation of Prosper's *Chronicle* from the early seventh century (*Addit. ad Props. Haun. (marg.) ad a. 405*)<sup>56</sup>.

The last and third group of sources are Greek texts written as part of the late antique classicizing historiography. In this group, Radagaisus is mentioned by the significant author of the sixth-century Zosimus and his predecessor Olympiodorus of Thebes, whose work survives only in fragments. Zosimus held anti-Christian views<sup>57</sup>. Thus, we can not look for a dichotomy between Alaric's Christianity and Radagaisus' paganism in his work. In his text, which was written some 200 years after described events, we read that Radagaisus brought 400,000 men from Germanic and Celtic tribes from beyond the Danube and the Rhine into Italy (Zos. V, 26, 3: Ῥοδογαΐσος ἐκ τῶν ὑπὲρ τὸν Ἴστρον καὶ τὸν Ῥῆνον Κελτικῶν τε καὶ Γερμανικῶν ἐθνῶν ...). This passage is often considered an error<sup>58</sup>. As mentioned above, according to P. Heather, the later author here confused the Radagaisus invasion with the invasion of the Alans, Vandals, and Suebi in December 406<sup>59</sup>.

Zosimus based his description of the early fifth-century event on the fragmentary surviving work of Olympiodorus. Here, however, we encounter a few significant difficulties. Olympiodorus served as a diplomat in the service of the emperors Honorius and Theodosius II and came into contact with the rulers of the barbarian tribes on several occasions. He thus brings us valuable information and his diplomatic career makes him a reliable observer of foreign peoples. In a short fragment preserved in Photius' *Bibliotheca*, Olympiodorus uses Radagaisus' name in the form Rhodogaïσος and refers to his men only as Goths (Olymp. fr. 9 [*Bibl. Cod. loc. cit.*]). In his work, which ends in 425 and was most probably written in the 440s<sup>60</sup>, we would expect a different description of Radagaisus' men than the generalizing statement that they were Goths.

The main difficulty of Olympiodorus' fragments for our research is that his work began in 407 - the invasion of Gaul by the Vandals and Alans - was not incorporated into the excerpts of Emperor Constantine VII and we have only Photius' notes. His other readings may have influenced them. Radagaisus invaded Italy in 405 and was defeated in 406; Olympiodorus'

<sup>55</sup> Cassiodorus' *Chronicle* is analysed by KLAASEN 2010.

<sup>56</sup> This text is discussed in MUHLBERGER 1984.

<sup>57</sup> For more about Zosimus, see TREADGOLD 2007, 107–114; LIEBESCHUETZ 2006, 206–215; ZIMMERMANN, RENGAKOS 2022, 643–645.

<sup>58</sup> For a discussion of this error of Zosimus, see. PASCHOUD 1986, 200–201. Only VÁRADY 1969, 193,473, has suggested that Zósimos, by mentioning the Celts and the Rhine, was referring to the possible connection of the Vandal Silingi to the army of Radagais and its route through Raetia, where it seems to have approached the Rhine.

<sup>59</sup> HEATHER 1995, 12; HEATHER 1996, 147.

<sup>60</sup> BLOCKLEY 1981, 29; ROHRBACHER 2002, 75–76; TREADGOLD 2004, 727–729.

predecessor Eunapius ended his work in 404, and none of his surviving fragments mention Radagaisus<sup>61</sup>. For us, the key events have never been the primary concern of the Greek historiographical tradition. However, Olympiodorus may have analysed Radagaisus' invasion in the introduction to his history, which described the transitional period from 405 to 407 and served as a glorifying description of the career of the Roman commander Stilicho<sup>62</sup>. The surviving note of Photius about Olympiodorus' introduction, however, did not mention Radagaisus (*Olymp. fr. 1 [Bibl. Cod. 80]*). The barbarian king thus probably only played in the text the role of Stilicho's enemy, whose defeat was one of the crowning achievements of the Roman general. The surviving Photius' note mentioning Radagaisus refers to the events of 408<sup>63</sup>, when some of Radagaisus' former men were incorporated into Stilicho's army. Here Olympiodorus could already generalise, since he had already discussed the origins of these warriors in his introduction.

Assuming that Radagaisus was a Sarmatian or a Victohal and not a Goth, we must identify Olympiodorus' reason for this description. The author himself may have referred to Radagaisus as a Goth in an attempt to simplify his text like other fifth-century authors or Radagaisus' tribal identity may have been later modified by Photius because, from the reading of other authors, he considered Radagaisus to be a Goth. This second option should be also preferred because of how Zosimus worked with his source. If Olympiodorus had simply identified Radagaisus as a Goth in his introduction, then Zosimus should have adopted this ethnic characterization from him. However, as we know, Zosimus made a mistake in his description in his text, describing the invading host as Germanic and Celtic. Thus, it is possible that the reason for Zosimus' error was that he did not fully understand the original text of Olympiodorus. Olympiodorus could have characterized the 405 barbarians in an utterly different manner, and Zosimus, who relied entirely on his predecessors' works and his knowledge was probably limited to events of the late fifth century in the eastern parts of the empire, was not familiar with the Victohali and associated the Sarmatians with different events, and so the original text made no sense to him.

## Conclusion

While we need not accept the identification of Radagaisus' men with the Victohali tribe mentioned by the late fourth-century authors, several doubts arise regarding why his men should be considered Goths. Firstly, Radagaisus' origin from an area that only came under

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<sup>61</sup> Eunapius' work described the period from 270 to 404 and was probably written between 404 and 408. As in the case of Olympiodorus, this writing survives only in fragments and served as one of the sources for Zosimus. Eunapius was a sophist who, unlike his successor, did not serve the state. His ambitions were thus purely literary, and his history aimed to imitate the style of the classical authors. He thus paid little attention to contemporary wars against barbarians. For more on his work, see BLOCKLEY 1981, 1–26; ROHRBACHER 2002, 64–72; LIEBESCHUETZ 2006, 177–201.

<sup>62</sup> For more about Olympiodorus introduction, see MATTHEWS 1970, 88–89; BLOCKLEY 1981, 30; LIEBESCHUETZ 2006, 202.

<sup>63</sup> BLOCKLEY 1981, 30.

Gothic control in the mid-fifth century during Attila's era suggests that while Sarmatians, Vandals, or Gepids may have fought in his army, the Goths were not the essential part of his army. They did not control the eastern areas of Alföld, Apuseni Mountains, and western Transylvania by the end of the fourth century.

Equally important is the analysis of why Roman authors depicted Radagaisus as a Gothic king. All the sources describing Radagaisus' invasion were written after his death and crucially, after Alaric sacked Rome in 410. The significance of such an event need not be doubted<sup>64</sup>. The Goths thus confirmed their preeminence among barbarian tribes thirty years after defeating the Roman army at Adrianople. The Romans began to clash with the Goths as early as the first half of the third century, and the empire was most threatened by them in the 260s when they plundered Greece and parts of Asia Minor. At that time, however, the symbolic position of the greatest enemy of Rome was held by the young Sasanian Empire. The sack of Rome thus represented the pinnacle of Gothic military success, and Alaric could be seen as the empire's fatal enemy.

Consequently, of course, the Roman view of Alaric and his Goths differed markedly before and after 410. Unlike in the case of Radagaisus, we have sources predating 410 that mention Alaric. These are the works of the poets Prudentius and Claudian. However, we lack a view of Radagaisus written during his lifetime. His role in history was thus distorted by Alaric's sack of Rome, which took place four years after his death. As mentioned above, Augustine and his disciple Orosius needed Radagaisus to be a Goth to underscore the contrast between his paganism and Alaric's Arian Christianity, which they saw as the reason for Alaric's partial success and Radagaisus' complete defeat. For subsequent Roman historiography, it was expedient to retrospectively classify Radagaisus as a Goth. This narrative served to highlight Alaric's sack of Rome as a singular Gothic triumph amid ongoing Roman-Gothic conflicts. Alaric's first incursion into Italy in 401/402 was repulsed, and the great invasion of Radagaisus' second "Gothic" group in 406 was decisively defeated, Alaric's second Italian campaign in 408 failed to achieve any significant successes, and subsequent victories of Alaric's successor Athaulf in Gaul between 412 and 415 faded due to his assassination and subsequent subjugation of the Goths.

Rome needed a victory over the Goths, and the inconclusive outcomes of the clashes with Alaric in 402 and 408, or the signed agreement with the Gothic king Walia in 416, were not enough to compensate for the sack of Rome. The crushing defeat of Radagaisus was the answer to social demand. The executed king must have been a Goth, regardless of his actual origins. This intent can be seen in the emphasis placed by the authors on the description of the numerical strength of the king's army. The overestimation of the number of defeated barbarians was not mere rhetorical hyperbole, but it did save the Roman reputation from

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<sup>64</sup> On the catastrophe and demise of the Roman Empire according to the catastrophic discourse, see WARD-PERKINS 2005.

subsequent setbacks. Therefore, Radagaisus' Gothic identity was created by Roman sources probably due to the following events. If Alaric had not sacked the Eternal City in 410, the invaders of Italy in 405 might have been described very differently.

Radagaisus' men could not maintain their identity after the death of their king. We have no reports of another power faction among the Goths that would have continued the Radagais tradition. J. Wijnendaele believes that Alaric's successor Athaulf and his rivals, the brothers Sarus and Sigeric, were originally warriors in Radagaisus' army<sup>65</sup>, who fought for control of the Gothic army after Alaric's death. However, none of the Roman authors notes that any of them claimed Radagaisus' legacy. It was not until later, under the sons of Theodoric I, that the Gothic kings claimed the legacy of Alaric (Sidon. Apol. *Carm.* VII, 505). The tradition and identity of Radagaisus' former men with their history thus disappeared completely.

However, this was not the rule. P. Heather described the phenomenon of disappearing and reappearing tribes, where some barbarian groups managed to maintain their identity even under foreign rule<sup>66</sup>. Within the Gothic kingdom of Aquitaine, such case occurred. The Taifals, an old ally of the Gothic Tervingi from the lower Danube, joined the Gothic army at the same time as Radagaisus' men<sup>67</sup>. But we have evidence of their existence in Merovingian Gaul as late as the middle of the sixth century (Greg. Tur. *HF* IV, 18). Thus, unlike Radagaisus' men, the Taifals retained their identity throughout their coexistence with the Goths.

This study thus leads us to the conclusion that while we can consider barbarian identity as multilayered and performative<sup>68</sup>, we can raise some doubts about its fluidity. A society that was based on blood ties and oral tribal law could not accept new members very quickly<sup>69</sup>. Although opinions about the exclusivity of barbarian identity are sporadic<sup>70</sup>, we still have to reckon with this idea. Animosity between members of different tribes was only minimally documented in the sources. This is, however, due to the Roman authorship and one of the rare examples of such animosity is the relationship between the Goths and the Vandals in the early fifth century (Olymp. *fr.* 29 [*Bibl. Cod.* 80]). Rather than considering the identity of Radagaisus' men as fluid, we can describe it as externally generalized. Fluid were the descriptions of these tribes in Roman texts. The performativity of barbarian identity was two-sided. Tribes needed to impress their enemies or partners for political, prestigious, and ideological reasons. It was this context that later chroniclers worked with tribal identity. However, the Romans also worked with

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<sup>65</sup> WIJNENDAELE 2016, 274; 2019, 490.

<sup>66</sup> HEATHER 1998.

<sup>67</sup> The question of exactly when the Taifal joined the migrating Goths is a bit more complicated. It could have happened shortly after the Danube crossing in 376, when we know that under the command of the Gothic chieftain Farnobius, the Taifal fought alongside the Goths. However, they could have joined later, as the Taifalos were stationed as Laetae in Italy and Gaul.

<sup>68</sup> HALSALL 2007, 36–59.

<sup>69</sup> For more about the barbarian society, see MURRAY 1983 and MODZELEWSKI 2004.

<sup>70</sup> For references to the exclusivity of the tribe of the Heruli, see HEATHER 1998, 108.

identity with deliberate intention, so that it would fit into their narrative, which was the case with Radagaisus. The externally generalized identity of these barbarians thus was a performance of Roman politics and historiography.

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## Byzantine and Post-Byzantine Liturgical and Devotional Objects from Cilicia (Southern Turkey)

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**Abstract.** *In this paper we present 95 Byzantine and Post-Byzantine liturgical and devotional objects stored in eight local museums in Cilicia in southern Turkey. This corpus provides detailed analysis of several groups of metalwork. The study aims to illuminate the religious life of Christian communities in Byzantine and Post-Byzantine Cilicia.*

**Rezumat.** *În această lucrare prezentăm 95 de obiecte liturgice și devoționale bizantine și post-bizantine, depozitate în opt muzee locale din Cilicia, sudul Turciei. În acest corpus sunt detaliate mai multe grupuri ale acestei metalurgii. Scopul este cel de a face lumină asupra vieții religioase a comunităților creștine din Cilicia bizantină și postbizantină.*

**Keywords:** Liturgical objects, devotional objects, reliquaries, crosses, Cilicia, southern Turkey, Byzantine metalworks, Byzantine archaeology.

*Dedicated to the 82<sup>nd</sup> birthday of Werner Seibt*

### 1. Introduction

The Greek term “liturgy” literally translates to “work for the people” and is better understood as ‘public service’ or “public work”.<sup>4</sup> Liturgical objects are the ones which are used in the course of the divine services. From the Late Antique period through the end of the Byzantine Empire and beyond in the Post-Byzantine period, liturgical objects were used for the

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<sup>4</sup> For a handbook of the history of the Byzantine liturgy, cf. WYBREW 2013 (with several editions) for the stages, periods, ceremonies and theological thoughts which contributed to the Byzantine liturgical development.

preparation and celebration of the Eucharistic rites, and these objects are documented in both written sources and archaeological records. They provide important evidence for the development of Christian liturgical and artistic practices. Most of these items are bronze objects, but mother-of-pearl, terracotta, soapstone, slate and alabaster are also used. Some were properly used for ecclesiastical ceremonies and others are linked to individual devotional practices<sup>5</sup>.

Recently there have been a number of books, articles and graduate theses on Byzantine liturgical materials, especially on reliquary (encolpion) crosses, from the excavated sites and museums in Turkey. Although there has been impressive recent study and publication on Byzantine liturgical material in Turkey, these publications do not seem to be widely known outside Turkey. Some of these sites and museums are as follows (from north-west to south-east) (fig. 1/1): for whole Turkey, e.g., with an integrative approach to the study of Byzantine liturgical objects in Turkey<sup>6</sup>, for Syrian relics in Turkish museums<sup>7</sup>, for some liturgical material in the Museum of Kırklareli<sup>8</sup>, Bathonea<sup>9</sup>, Byzantium/Constantinople<sup>10</sup>, Archaeological Museums of Istanbul<sup>11</sup>, Haluk Perk Collection in Istanbul<sup>12</sup>, Troy<sup>13</sup>, Çobankale (Byzantine Bapheus) in Bithynia<sup>14</sup>, Museum of Bandırma<sup>15</sup>, Turkish National Forces – Kuvâ-yi Milliye-Museum of Balıkesir<sup>16</sup>, Barcın Höyük, 4 km west of Bursa<sup>17</sup>, Archaeological Museum of Bursa<sup>18</sup>, Museum of Bolu<sup>19</sup>, Annaea near Kuşadası<sup>20</sup>, Ephesus<sup>21</sup>, Iasos<sup>22</sup>, Sardis<sup>23</sup>, Aphrodisias in Caria<sup>24</sup>,

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<sup>5</sup> FRAZER, CUTLER 1991.

<sup>6</sup> cf. ACARA 1990; 1998a; ACARA ESER 2007; RATLIFF 2012; MİMİROĞLU, ÜNLÜLER 2018.

<sup>7</sup> AYDIN 2009c.

<sup>8</sup> UYGUN YAZICI 2023.

<sup>9</sup> ENEZ 2019.

<sup>10</sup> GILL 1986.

<sup>11</sup> ATASOY 2005a.

<sup>12</sup> ATASOY 2005b.

<sup>13</sup> KIESEWETTER 1999, including a Byzantine bronze reliquary cross found by E. Lafli in 1997.

<sup>14</sup> SAYIN, SEÇKİN 2023.

<sup>15</sup> ALTUN 2020.

<sup>16</sup> SİDDİKİ 2023.

<sup>17</sup> VORDERSTRASSE 2016.

<sup>18</sup> ELYİÇİT 2022.

<sup>19</sup> BARIŞ 2011.

<sup>20</sup> ALTUN 2015.

<sup>21</sup> PÜLZ 2019; 2020.

<sup>22</sup> BERTI 2012.

<sup>23</sup> WALDBAUM 1983.

<sup>24</sup> For 20 crosses from excavated burial contexts in Aphrodisias, cf. JEFFERY 2023 with an extensive bibliography.

Nysa<sup>25</sup>, Hierapolis<sup>26</sup>, Archaeological Museum of Denizli<sup>27</sup>, Aezani<sup>28</sup>, Amorium<sup>29</sup>, Sagalassus<sup>30</sup>, Archaeological Museum of Burdur<sup>31</sup>, Antioch of Pisidia<sup>32</sup>, Museum of Marmaris<sup>33</sup>, Patara in Lycia<sup>34</sup>, St. Nicholas Church at Myra in Lycia<sup>35</sup>, the Sion Treasure from Lycia a Dumbarton Oaks Museum<sup>36</sup>, Museum of Side<sup>37</sup>, Anemurium<sup>38</sup>, Arslan Eyce Private Amphora Museum in Taşucu in Cilicia<sup>39</sup>, Isauria<sup>40</sup>, Museum of Silifke<sup>41</sup>, Elaiussa Sebaste<sup>42</sup>, Archaeological Museum of Mersin<sup>43</sup>, the *tell* site of Yumuktepe in Mersin<sup>44</sup>, Archaeological Museum of Adana<sup>45</sup>, Museum of Anatolian Civilisations in Ankara<sup>46</sup>, Erimtan Archaeology and Art Museum in Ankara<sup>47</sup>, Boğazköy (Hittite *Ḫattuša*) in Galatia<sup>48</sup>, Gümüşler or Eski Gümüşler (“Old Silver”) Monastery, 10 km north-east of Niğde<sup>49</sup>, Museum of Niğde<sup>50</sup>, local museums in Cappadocia<sup>51</sup>, necropolis site of Dikmen in Sinop on the southern Black Sea littoral<sup>52</sup>, Museum of Giresun<sup>53</sup>, Comana Pontica<sup>54</sup>, Museum of Tokat<sup>55</sup>, Archaeological Museum of Kahramanmaraş<sup>56</sup>, Antioch-on-the-Orontes<sup>57</sup>, Sulumağara in

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<sup>25</sup> PEKER 2018.

<sup>26</sup> CAGGIA 2014; SELSVOD 2025.

<sup>27</sup> ÖZDEMİR, ÖZTAŞKIN 2010.

<sup>28</sup> CESUR 2019.

<sup>29</sup> SCHOOLMAN 2010; YAMAN 2012; and LIGHTFOOT 2017.

<sup>30</sup> CLEYMANS, TALLOEN 2018.

<sup>31</sup> AYDIN 2009b; METİN 2019.

<sup>32</sup> RUGGIERI 2009.

<sup>33</sup> AYDIN 2021.

<sup>34</sup> ŞAHİN 2010.

<sup>35</sup> ACARA 1998b; 1999; BULGURLU 2005.

<sup>36</sup> ŠEVČENKO 1992.

<sup>37</sup> AYDIN 2009b.

<sup>38</sup> RUSSELL 1989.

<sup>39</sup> AYDIN 2007.

<sup>40</sup> GOUGH 1958; BUSCHHAUSEN 1962–1963.

<sup>41</sup> BUYRUK 2014a.

<sup>42</sup> RICCI 2010; FERRAZZOLI 2012; BORGIA 2021.

<sup>43</sup> GOUGH 1975.

<sup>44</sup> KÖROĞLU 2002; 2004; 2010a; 2010b; 2015.

<sup>45</sup> AYDIN 2010a; BUYRUK 2014b.

<sup>46</sup> AYDIN 2002; 2003; ACARA ESER 2005; 2010.

<sup>47</sup> KOÇYİĞİT 2018.

<sup>48</sup> BÖHLENDORF ARSLAN 2012; 2019.

<sup>49</sup> FAYDALI 1992.

<sup>50</sup> MİMİROĞLU, ÜNLÜLER 2018.

<sup>51</sup> ÜNLÜLER 2019.

<sup>52</sup> KÖROĞLU, VURAL 2016.

<sup>53</sup> BUYRUK 2013.

<sup>54</sup> ACARA ESER 2015; 2019.

<sup>55</sup> ŞAHİN 2017.

<sup>56</sup> AYDIN 2007.

<sup>57</sup> LAFLI, BUORA 2020.

İslahiye (ancient Nicopolis) in the extreme east of Cilicia<sup>58</sup>, Archaeological Museum of Malatya<sup>59</sup> and Archaeological Museum of Erzurum<sup>60</sup>. We do not claim, however, that this list is a comprehensive accounting of all recent publications on Byzantine liturgical finds from Turkey.

Beside these individual, mostly Byzantine small finds-focused studies, there are also some brief notes on scattered examples of liturgical material, especially crosses, discovered during excavations, field surveys and rescue operations in various parts of Turkey reported in four Turkish archaeological periodicals of the General Directorate of Cultural Monuments and Museums, a subdivision belonging to the Turkish Ministry of Culture and Tourism, on the regular fieldworks undertaken in Turkey, mostly, however, without any illustration or detailed information. These periodicals are ‘Kazı Sonuçları Toplantıları’ (Turkish annual meetings for the results of excavations, abbreviated as KST) from 1979 to the present, ‘Araştırma Sonuçları Toplantıları’ (Turkish annual meetings for the results of archaeological field surveys, abbreviated as AST) from 1983 to the present, and ‘Müze Çalışmaları ve Kurtarma Kazıları Sempozyumu’ (Turkish annual meetings for the results of museum work and rescue excavations, abbreviated as MKKS or MÇKKS) from 1990, and 2001 to the present, all four of which are available online on the website of the Turkish General Directorate of Monuments and Museums.<sup>61</sup>

In these preliminary find reports, published mostly in Turkish language and very briefly, some of the Byzantine liturgical material have been dated by comparison to other datable objects, such as coins, or dated erroneously, their find-contexts are not clearly defined, their association with other materials (for example with other grave goods) was not reported, and so far no typology has been established. In addition, the issues related to their function, production, distribution and chronology have not been taken sufficiently into account. A comprehensive study covering all these new finds of Byzantine liturgical material from Anatolia has not been carried out, and very little archaeometric research concerning them has been undertaken. As the focus of the current paper is the material from Cilicia, we did not compile any bibliographic list of Byzantine liturgical finds presented in these periodicals.

In this paper the region in question is Cilicia with the local museums from west to east, Alanya (ancient Corecesium), Anamur (ancient Anemurium), Silifke (ancient Seleucia ad Calycadnum), Mersin (ancient Zephyrium), Tarsus, Adana and Osmaniye (fig. 1/2). Geographically Cilicia is located on the south-eastern Mediterranean coast of the Anatolian peninsula. It extends along the Anatolian Mediterranean coast from Pamphylia in the west to the Nur Mountains in the east, which separate it from Syria. Ancient Cilicia was naturally divided into Cilicia Trachea in its western part and Cilicia Pedias in its eastern part. It was one

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<sup>58</sup> FEUGÈRE 2008.

<sup>59</sup> AYDIN 2007; 2010b; YAŞAR, YAVUZ 2022.

<sup>60</sup> OKUYUCU 2023.

<sup>61</sup> <https://kvmgm.ktb.gov.tr/TR-44758/yayinlarimiz.html> (accessed 1 January 2024).

of the most important regions of the Graeco-Roman world in the East and can be considered as the birthplace of Christianity. Since the Muslim conquests of the seventh century AD, Cilicia had been a frontier province of the Muslim world and a base for regular raids against the Byzantine provinces in Anatolia. During the First Crusade, the region was controlled by the Armenian Kingdom of Cilicia.

Between the years 2001 and 2022, 95 Late Antique, Byzantine and Post-Byzantine liturgical objects were studied in these museums by E. Laflı (in Adana, Tarsus, Silifke, Alanya and Gaziantep between 2001 and 2007), by A. Çetingöz (in Mersin and Kahramanmaraş between 2021 and 2022) and by Ms Göknuur Geçimli (in the Archaeological Museum of Hatay in 2019) who also took the photos of these objects. In this article especially liturgical objects from the Museums of Mersin, Tarsus and Adana in eastern Cilicia were considered (cf. table 1 below). The most represented museum is the Archaeological Museum of Mersin with its 41 objects by far, and no object from the Museums of Anamur as well as Osmaniye was considered, as the Christian finds from Anemurium excavations at the Museum of Anamur were already published by James Russell<sup>62</sup>, and the Museum of Osmaniye has been inaugurated in 2013 and is not open yet. Although most of the parts of the Turkish provinces of Kahramanmaraş and Hatay lie in the territories of ancient regions of Commagene, Cappadocia and Syria, 20 liturgical objects from the Archaeological Museum of Kahramanmaraş (near ancient Germanicea Caesarea) which was seriously damaged during the earthquakes of February 2023, were considered hereby whereas the large liturgical collection of the Archaeological Museum of Hatay (ancient Antioch-on-the-Orontes), also damaged by these earthquakes, must be excluded due to the high number of finds, except cat. nos. 7 and 85–86. Also, a specimen (no. 83) has been included from the Archaeological Museum of Gaziantep in south-eastern Turkey, as it is significant for a better understanding of Byzantine liturgical objects in Cilicia.

This paper discusses 95 pieces of liturgical material from a time span from the fourth–fifth century to the beginning of the 20th century, providing an overview of types, their material, typologies, artistic development, and epigraphic content as well as iconographic decoration. Chronologically, reliquary at cat. no. 66 is from the fifth century, and thus one of the earliest finds. The latest objects are from the 19th–20th century Post-Byzantine ones. Most of the liturgical material in Cilician museums are by acquisitions by local sellers, and therefore, their provenances are not known, but most of the material examined in this corpus must originate more or less within the territories of Byzantine Cilicia. Only 12 of these objects are excavated or known with their provenances, e.g., (from west to east) in Coropissus in Isauria (no. 56), Çırğa in the region of Mut in Isauria in north-western part of Cilicia (no. 66), Elaiussa Sebaste in eastern Rough Cilicia (no. 22), Yumuktepe (nos. 14 and 30), a *tell* site with a Medieval-Armenian layer, located in the metropolitan area of mod. Mersin, several find-spots in Tarsus,

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<sup>62</sup> RUSSELL 1989.

i.e., the Roman baths (nos. 4–5 and 11), St. Paul's well (no. 12) and the Roman street (no. 89), Samandağ (no. 85) and Seleucia Pieria (no. 7), both in the territories of ancient north-western Syria. Except for a few studies, such as a cross found in Cilicia<sup>63</sup>, a group of gold and silver objects from a Byzantine church at Pompeiopolis in Mersin, now in the Hermitage in St. Petersburg and published by André Grabar (1896–1990) in 1951<sup>64</sup>, Christian objects found in Anemurium by J. Russell<sup>65</sup>, polycandela from Elaiussa Sebaste by Marco Ricci<sup>66</sup>, other Byzantine small finds in Elaiussa Sebaste by Adele Federica Ferrazzoli<sup>67</sup> and inscribed small objects from the same site by Emanuela Borgia<sup>68</sup>, a cross by mother-of-pearl excavated at the Castle of Alanya in 2004<sup>69</sup>, a specific treatment of relics in Cilicia<sup>70</sup>, reliquary crosses from the Museums of Adana (ten pieces<sup>71</sup>) and Silifke (six pieces; including our cat. no. 9 below<sup>72</sup>) by Hasan Buyruk, some crosses and other liturgical material from Yumuktepe by Gülgün Köroğlu, including our cat. nos. 14 and 30 below<sup>73</sup>, three censers from the Archaeological Museum of Mersin again by Köroğlu, including our cat. nos. 61–63 below<sup>74</sup>, nos. 81 and 83 by Meryem Acara<sup>75</sup>, no. 7 by Jacqueline Lafontaine-Dosogne (1928–1995)<sup>76</sup>, no. 66 by Michael Richard Edward Gough (1916–1973)<sup>77</sup> and other scholars, no. 56 by Ayşe Aydın<sup>78</sup>, no. 89 by Işık Adak Adibelli<sup>79</sup> and no. 82 by the authors of this article<sup>80</sup>, the rest of 85 objects presented in this study and other liturgical finds from Cilicia have not been published previously. An ongoing graduate thesis on the liturgical finds at the Archaeological Museum of Adana is in progress.

As liturgical objects of Medieval Armenian Cilicia are only limitedly known, a part of these finds reflect especially religious life and practices of Post-Byzantine Christian minorities in Cilicia, e.g., Armenians, Arab Christians, Greeks, Latin Catholics and perhaps Maronites; however, no object with an Armenian inscription has explicitly been detected in any of the eight local museums in Cilicia.

<sup>63</sup> ANONYMOUS 1856.

<sup>64</sup> Cf. cat. no. 66 below and GRABAR 1951.

<sup>65</sup> RUSSELL 1989.

<sup>66</sup> RICCI 2010.

<sup>67</sup> FERRAZZOLI 2012.

<sup>68</sup> BORGIA 2021.

<sup>69</sup> ARIK 2006, 216, 227, fig. 10.

<sup>70</sup> AYDIN 2009a.

<sup>71</sup> BUYRUK 2014b.

<sup>72</sup> BUYRUK 2014a.

<sup>73</sup> KÖROĞLU 2002; 2004.

<sup>74</sup> KÖROĞLU 2015.

<sup>75</sup> ACARA 1990, which encapsulates findings from her larger study in her doctoral thesis.

<sup>76</sup> LAFONTAINE-DOSOGNE 1967.

<sup>77</sup> GOUGH 1958.

<sup>78</sup> AYDIN 2010a.

<sup>79</sup> ADAK ADIBELLİ 2013, 22–24, cat. no. 6; 28, fig. 6–7.

<sup>80</sup> LAFLI, BUORA 2020.

In this corpus entry for each find is given as completely as possible with at least the following information included: catalogue number in boldface, reference to images (within parentheses), name of the museum and its accession number, measurements, the facts concerning the provenance, classification by typology, typological *comparanda* through some main publications where applicable, and a date. Complete bibliographies are given for few finds at the end of each entry that have been previously published. Detailed physical descriptions of the objects are offered for two reasons: the generally poor state of photographs, which obscures important details in their reproductions<sup>81</sup>; and the importance of individual motifs in the reconstruction of the original iconography. For a better understanding of the crosses we offer drawings of each objects on fig. 3, 5, 7–8 and 10.

In this catalogue, the rationale for assigning a liturgical material to one century or another is based on the general observations, parallels and style; therefore, the dates assigned here to religious objects are conservative and should be considered as rough approximations. In our opinion, as imprecise as such proposed dates may be, it is better to assign a probable date than to offer none at all.

As for the organization of this catalogue, we sorted our material first according to their types, and then to their chronological order. In some parts, however, our corpus is problematic due to some technical issues: for example, the cross at cat. no. 6 is not securely a mediaeval object which remains a vexing problem that cannot be answered satisfactorily, as analogies are unknown to us. Descriptions for the crosses at cat. nos. 10–15 are not sufficiently provided. Cross at cat. no. 43 is a modern cross, i.e. from the 19th–20th century, however, we still included it to prove existence of such objects in a Turkish archaeological museum. Although cross at cat. no. 55 is not a Byzantine object, it is important to evidence the existence of the Post-Byzantine Byzantine communities in Kahramanmaraş. Eleven objects at cat. nos. 67–71 and 72–77 as well as six objects at nos. 90–95 do not have sufficiently distinctive characteristics to be considered liturgical or devotional objects of the Byzantine or even Post-Byzantine periods, or perhaps some of them did not function as ritual objects in religious practices at all; but they bear Eastern Christian religious symbolics, and are, therefore, significant to reflect religious sense in daily life of the Post-Byzantine Christian population in southern Anatolia.

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<sup>81</sup> As the photos in this corpus were taken in the 2000s, most of the photographs of crosses and encolpia are of very low quality: many were not taken frontally with distortion of the size of the crosses. In some cases, the alignment of the photos is broken; they are either artificially elongated (cat. no. 9), or, conversely, compressed (cat. no. 11). The other bad photos are included cat. nos. 29–32 and 56–65. As stated immediately above, the Archaeological Museum of Kahramanmaraş as well as other museums in this part of Turkey, i.e., Hatay, Adıyaman, Gaziantep and partially Adana, were seriously damaged during the devastating earthquakes in Turkey as well as Syria in February 2023. These recent earthquakes have prevented us from re-examining objects and obtaining accession numbers and measurements in the Archaeological Museums of Adana, Kahramanmaraş and Hatay, as they also remain as closed for a certain period. We, therefore, used these former photos of some liturgical objects that we have taken with an analogue camera between 2002 and 2007.

Table 1. Catalogue number of 95 liturgical objects in the local museums in Cilicia without the objects stored in the Museums of Anamur and Osmaniye, but with some objects in the Archaeological Museum of Hatay and Gaziantep (museums in alphabetical order)

<b>Adana</b> (nine objects in total)	Nos. 1–3, 56, 66–67, 70–71 and 80
<b>Alanya</b> (six objects in total)	Nos. 44–46, 81, 83 and 86
<b>Gaziantep</b> (one object)	No. 85
<b>Hatay</b> (three objects)	Nos. 7 and 87–88
<b>Kahramanmaraş</b> (20 objects in total)	Nos. 47–55, 72–77 and 91–95
<b>Mersin</b> (41 objects in total)	Nos. 13–43, 57, 61–63 and 90 (seven pieces)
<b>Silifke</b> (11 objects in total)	Nos. 8–9, 58–60, 68–69, 78–79, 82 and 84
<b>Tarsus</b> (nine objects in total)	Nos. 4–6, 10–12, 64–65 and 89

To add new examples of inscribed objects to the existing corpus of Byzantine *instrumenta inscripta*<sup>82</sup>, we examine 19 inscribed objects in Cilician museums which we summarize in table 2 below:

Table 2. Genres and catalogue numbers of the 20 inscribed objects in this corpus

Crosses (eleven objects in total)	Nos. 7–10, 13, 24, 29–30, 44, 46 and 48
A censer	No. 5
A reliquary box	No. 66
Moulds or plates (three objects in total)	Nos. 68–69 and 85
A mother-of-pearl buckle	No. 73
A St. Menas pilgrim flask	No. 88
A reliquary diptych	No. 92
An icon	No. 93

Nos. 92–93 are partially Old Church Slavonic; the rest of the inscriptions are all in Greek.

## 2. Catalogue – Metal crosses (fig. 1–10)

In the Byzantine period, an enormous number of metal crosses was manufactured, sometimes including relics, to be worn around the neck. Although we can believe that the major production centre of Byzantine bronze crosses was in Constantinople, several manufacturing sites are referred in the scholarly literature between Rome (for example in Crypta Balbi) in the West and Chersonese in the East, while the production of reliquary (encolpion) crosses in Kiev-type has been supposed in the capital of Russia, since they were

<sup>82</sup> RHOBY 2010. For such objects at Elaiussa Sebaste, cf. BORGIA 2021.

found here in contact with the ashes of the fire that took place in 1208<sup>83</sup>. It is also hypothesized that they were produced in the Syrian-Palestinian area, at least from the tenth to the 12th century, but numerous crosses from the fifth century onwards are present in a very large area in the Near East. So far, the typologies of crosses were studied for the architectural plastic of Byzantine Asia Minor<sup>84</sup>, but not on liturgical objects yet.

It has been calculated that more than a thousand crosses are preserved in Turkey, Greece and rest of the Balkans<sup>85</sup>, to which must be added those from the Russian area<sup>86</sup>, Central Europe (Great Moravia) and Italy. The bronze crosses were especially popular between the ninth and 13th centuries. The frequent recurrence of similar object genres in Byzantine art, coupled with the region's historical developments – particularly the flourishing of devotional practices in the tenth and eleventh centuries – complicates precise dating of the Cilician crosses. The present corpus of metal crosses in the local museums of Cilicia is significant, as it offers several typological variants of Christian cross in Cilicia and it confirms their almost infinite variation in the Byzantine East.

**No. 1.** A pectoral cross with nut-eye decoration from Adana (fig. 2-3/1)

Archaeological Museum of Adana, acc. no. 58.7.197.

*Measurements.* H. 64 mm, W. ca. 43 mm.

*Description.* A bronze cross, equipped in this type of crosses as usual with a hanger placed transversely<sup>87</sup>. It has more developed vertical arms as in the Latin crosses, which are widened at the ends, like its horizontal arm. Towards the edges transverse lines and three nut eyes for each side.

The shape and decoration unite our piece to numerous “Kreuzfibeln” [cruciform brooches] which were popular in Central Europe, in the Balkan area, along the coasts of the eastern Mediterranean and in particular in the Syrian-Palestinian as well as Egyptian-Coptic area starting from the end of the fifth and the second half of the sixth century<sup>88</sup>, but the form continues even after the year 1000.

*Dating.* Sixth or tenth–11th century.

**No. 2.** A processional cross from Adana (fig. 2-3/2)

Archaeological Museum of Adana, acc. no. 4.22.72.

*Measurements.* H. ca. 72 mm, W. ca. 42 mm.

<sup>83</sup> For encolpia see CAMPBELL, CUTLER 1991; FRAZER, CUTLER 1991; VIKAN 2011; DRPIĆ 2018; PEKER 2018; AYDIN 2021; SAYIN, SEÇKİN 2023. Also cf. WALTER 1997.

<sup>84</sup> NIEWÖHNER 2020.

<sup>85</sup> DIACONU 1977, 125; MĂNUCU-ADAMEȘTEANU *et alii* 2008, 305.

<sup>86</sup> PESKOVA 2012.

<sup>87</sup> On pectoral reliquary crosses, cf. PITARAKIS 2006; 2008; MUSIN 2011; RYABITSEVA 2012.

<sup>88</sup> STRZYGOWSKI 1904, 337, no. 7051.

*Description.* A bronze Latin cross with the extremities of the arms which are very developed with a concave termination and discs at the vertices, i.e., terminated in epimela (rounded ends). In the discs decoration formed by double concentric grooves along the edges and engraved decoration especially at the ends of the arms. At the bottom tip for inserting the cross into a support. This typology is very common and continues even after the year 1000.

For Byzantine procession crosses with figural depictions in general, see COTSONIS 1994, 40–54.

*Dating.* Sixth–eighth or tenth–11th century.

**No. 3.** A processional cross from Adana (fig. 2/3)

Archaeological Museum of Adana, acc. no. 81.71.71.

*Measurements.* H. ca. 62 mm, W. ca. 60 mm.

*Description.* A Latin cross with arm ends very developed with concave termination and discs at the vertices, and a small tip at the bottom for insertion into a support. Towards the end of each arm a circular rib that plastically resolves the nut-eye decoration. According to Vincenzo Ruggieri, similar cavities were arranged to accommodate enamels or glass pastes<sup>89</sup>. This decoration appears in other crosses dated to the same period<sup>90</sup>.

*Dating.* Sixth or tenth–11th century.

**No. 4.** A pectoral reliquary cross from Tarsus (fig. 2–3/4)

Museum of Tarsus.

*Measurements.* H. ca. 66 mm, W. ca. 62 mm.

*Provenance.* Excavated in the Roman baths in Tarsus, which is known as *Altından Geçme* (“Do not pass under”), referring to insecure appearance of the gate. The Roman baths of Tarsus are located east of St. Paul’s well and were built in the second or third century, most of which was destroyed during the earthquakes in the sixth century. The unaffected eastern part of the building was later used as a glass workshop in the Byzantine period. The building was excavated by the Museum of Tarsus in the 2000s, but the results of these rescue excavations were not published.

*Description.* Made of iron, heavily weathered and flaked. Rust-coloured incrustation on surface with areas of brown splotchy discolouration which needs conservation. The upper part reveals the original coupling of another half, which has disappeared. Arms spread towards the ends.

*Dating.* Sixth or tenth–11th century.

**No. 5.** A processional cross from Tarsus (fig. 2–3/5)

Museum of Tarsus.

*Measurements.* H. ca. 69 mm, W. ca. 68 mm.

*Provenance.* Excavated in the Roman baths in Tarsus.

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<sup>89</sup> RUGGIERI 2009, 72.

<sup>90</sup> LECLERQ 1927, particularly c. 3105, fig. 3405.

*State of preservation and description.* Fragmented at the ends of three arms.

Made of iron. The arms are slightly flared towards the ends, so that each has a trapezoidal shape. Each of the flaring arms ends in two circular finials, three of which are broken. The very damaged surface does not allow any decoration to be recognised. The cross may have been used in the ceremony for the purification of water.

*Dating.* Sixth or tenth–11th century.

**No. 6.** A processional cross from Tarsus (fig. 2–3/6)

Museum of Tarsus.

*Measurements.* H. ca. 42 mm, W. ca. 40 mm.

*Description.* A beautiful example in embossed silver. The horizontal arms end with a series of parallel raised elements: along them four transversal bands and granules. The vertical rod is twisted and decorated with an enveloping band, which is also decorated with granules.

Analogies to this cross are unknown to the authors of this paper.

*Dating.* Post-Medieval?

**No. 7.** A funerary cross from Seleucia Pieria (fig. 2–3/7)

Archaeological Museum of Hatay, acc. no. 8734 R.

*Measurements.* H. ca. 271 mm, W. ca. 135 mm.

*Provenance.* Found in *Kaboussié* (Kapisuyu in Turkish, means literally “gate of water”) on 5 April 1938<sup>91</sup>, which is in the neighbourhood of the district of Samandağ in the south-eastern Turkish province of Hatay on the border to Syria.

*Description.* In bronze, with a pointed end to be fixed on a wooden support. Latin cross with roundels on both sides of the arm ends. On the main face there is an inscription incised within a mixed-line frame at the edges, i.e., KY(PIE) MNHC <C> ΘHTI (horizontal) CYMEΩNH – TOY APXIMANΔPHT where good memory is recommended which is a common formula corresponding to the *bonae memoriae* of the Christian inscriptions in Latin) for the salvation of Symeon, Archimandrite of the Great Monastery.

The typology of the cross is already attested in the sixth century in Coptic Egypt<sup>92</sup>, but the typological characteristic of the circular appendages at the corners and the lettering of the inscription, for example the form of the alpha, may be dated to the Middle Byzantine period, as various other crosses from Corinth or Cappadocia at Dumbarton Oaks indicate and for Middle Byzantine crosses in general<sup>93</sup>.

Kapisuyu, i.e., find-spot of this piece, is located near the Mediterranean coastline and in the western slopes of the Nur (Amanus) Mountains. Around 300 BC Seleucids founded the port city of Seleucia Pieria in Kapisuyu. The site lost its importance after the great earthquake in AD 528. As the ancient port of Antioch, Seleucia Pieria was located not far from the monastery on

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<sup>91</sup> LAFONTAINE-DOSOGNE 1967, 164–166.

<sup>92</sup> STRZYGOWSKI 1904, 340 ff.

<sup>93</sup> SANDIN 1992; TAFT 1997; ACARA ESER 2007; JEFFERY 2023, 196–197.

the “Wondrous Mountain” or the “Admirable Mountain” where St. Symeon Stylites the Younger dwelt in the sixth century. Here Symeon, Archimandrite of the Great Monastery, who was the head of the herd and buried in Antioch-on-the-Orontes, had to perform his service<sup>94</sup>. In the Middle Ages the village took the name of Port Saint Symeon (Samandağ in Turkish) which was the medieval port for the Frankish Principality of Antioch and located on the mouth of the Orontes River. The Genoese landed here in September 1097, a month before the siege of Antioch and stayed for a year. In November 1097, the Crusaders besieging Antioch were heartened by the appearance of reinforcements in the Genoese squadron at here, which they were then able to capture.

According to the Bollandist G. B. du Sollier (1669–1740), St. Symeon of Aegeae (= Laiazzo or Ayas, mod. Yumurtalık in Adana) in Cilicia Pedias who lived in the sixth century would have been revered as Archimandrite Symeon on July 26/27 in the Eastern calendars.

*Dating.* Sixth or tenth–11th century.

*Reference.* LAFONTAINE-DOSOGNE 1967, 164–166, fig. 111.

**No. 8.** A cross from Silifke (fig. 2–3/8)

Museum of Silifke.

*Measurements.* H. ca. 79 mm, W. ca. 81 mm.

*Description.* Almost in the shape of a typical Greek cross, although the upper arm is slightly shorter. Extremities of the arms are very developed with concave termination with circles at the vertices. Completely smooth surface. There is an incised inscription on the obverse.

*Dating.* This type of flat crosses, which was developed from former models, is generally dated to the Post-iconoclasm period, i.e., tenth–12th century.

**No. 9.** Rear part of a bivalve reliquary cross from Silifke (fig. 2–3/9a–b)

Museum of Silifke, acc. no. 1447.

*Measurements.* H. 71.5 mm, W. 51.5 mm, Th. 4 mm.

*Provenance.* Confiscation on 9 March 1973.

*Description.* Nimbate Mother of God is portrayed here, in her usual attitude of praying and with a long dress, whereas H. Buyruk who published it previously identifies her as St. George<sup>95</sup>. Letters of the upper part (MHP – ΘΥ, Μητηρ Θεού) allude to the Theotokos and, therefore, qualify the representation as that of the Virgin. This feature became popular after the year 843, i.e., after the end of the Byzantine iconoclastic struggles between proponents and opponents of religious icons, and its highest concentration occurs in the 11th and 12th centuries<sup>96</sup>. On this type of crosses the most common subjects are the Theotokos and St. George. The oblong rendering of the face of the Virgin Orans (praying), a well-known Orthodox Christian depiction

<sup>94</sup> LAFONTAINE-DOSOGNE 1967, 83.

<sup>95</sup> BUYRUK 2014a, 506.

<sup>96</sup> WALTER 1997, 197–198.

of the Virgin Mary in prayer with extended arms, is typical of the mid-13th century, cf. the cross from the town of Ajud, Romania<sup>97</sup>.

*Dating.* 11th century.

*Reference.* BUYRUK 2014a, 506, cat. no. 3, 511, fig. 5–6.

**No. 10.** A reliquary (encolpion) cross from Tarsus (fig. 2–3, 10)

Museum of Tarsus.

*Measurements.* H. ca. 71 mm, W. ca. 39 mm.

*Description.* In the front face, in the centre Christ with a nimbus, covered with an interior tunica, above the sun and the moon. On the sides, the Virgin and St. John with their respective captions. The depiction of Christ, particularly the widening of the robe at the body's sides, closely resembles to a Byzantine cross dated between the eighth and 12th centuries, auctioned by Artemide Kunstauktionen in Vienna in December 2023 Available at: <https://www.artemideauktionen.at/auction/view/907/995?lang=en> (accessed on 1 January 2024).

*Dating.* 11th century.

**No. 11.** A pectoral cross from Tarsus (fig. 2–3/11)

Museum of Tarsus.

*Measurements.* H. ca. 48 mm, W. ca. 51 mm.

*Provenance.* Excavated in the Roman baths in Tarsus.

*Description.* The iron cross, heavily encrusted and in need of restoration, appears to feature a crucifix in relief. A leaf of an Old Russian encolpion?

*Dating.* The shape of the arm terminations of the cross is typical of the 12th century.

**No. 12.** Crosses within suspension chain for a chandelier from the St. Paul's well in Tarsus (fig. 2–3/12)

Museum of Tarsus.

*Measurements.* H. main cross ca. 132 mm, W. ca. 129 mm, H. other cross ca. 52 mm, W. ca. 39 mm, total L. of chain ca. 910 mm.

*Provenance.* Excavated in the St. Paul's well in Tarsus in 1999 which is claimed to have belonged to Paul the Apostle (then named Saul) when he lived in Tarsus. The still-serviceable well, made of mostly rectangular-cut stones, measures 115 cm in diam. at the top and has a depth of ca. 38 m. This well and the ruins of St. Paul's house in the former Armenian quarter of Tarsus were unearthed during a rescue excavation in 1999. The so-called Roman street of Tarsus and the Roman baths are located nearby.

*Description.* At the top, a hook supports a chain at the centre of which is a cross with polyhedral arms. Below this, a smaller cross of a different typology, possibly serving as a decorative or structural element.

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<sup>97</sup> RYABITSEVA 2012, 531, fig. 3/1.

For this typology, cf. PÜLZ 2020, 86, pl. 31, no. K 7.

*Dating.* Medieval period.

**Bronze, silver and iron crosses in the Archaeological Museum of Mersin (fig. 4–7)**

**No. 13.** A bronze processional cross with an inscription (fig. 4–5/1)

*Measurements.* H. ca. 262 mm, W. ca. 128 mm.

*Description.* Byzantine cross with semicircles on the horizontal arms and at the top of the central one. At the bottom the lateral corners end with three semicircles. On the horizontal arm an inscription of that only TOY ΑΓΙΑ [-]ΥΕC[--- can be read. There is another vertical inscription on the vertical arm, in which a roundel appears at the bottom where probably the face of Christ was engraved. The lower part of the vertical arm is decorated towards the edge with two marginal rows of engraved circles that are four in number.

This is an unique processional cross; for this typology, cf. PÜLZ 2020, 86, pl. 32, no. K 6.

*Dating.* 12th–14th century.

**No. 14.** A bronze (Armenian?) cross without decoration (fig. 4–5/2)

*Measurements.* H. ca. 213 mm, W. ca. 136 mm.

*Provenance.* Excavated in the Medieval layer of Yumuktepe.

*Description.* Cross in smooth foil with flat circles at the ends of the arms. In the lower part a shaped plate for inserting the cross into a support.

For this typology, cf. PÜLZ 2020, 85–86, K 5.

*Dating.* First half of the seventh century? (uncertain date).

**No. 15.** An iron cross (fig. 4–5/3)

*Measurements.* H. ca. 143 mm, W. ca. 116 mm.

*Description.* A plain cross formed by two overlapping arms with rounded ends. Two holes at the ends of the vertical arm indicate that it was nailed onto a support. It could be part of a candlestick perhaps a polycandelson or something similar.

Plain.

For this typology, cf. PÜLZ 2020, 86, pl. 32, no. K 9.

*Dating.* Medieval period.

**No. 16.** A bronze cross with incised decoration (fig. 4–5/4)

Acc. no. 18.6.1.

*Measurements.* H. 70.2 mm, W. 47 mm.

*Provenance.* Acquisition from Mr Süha Civelek on 28 March 2018.

*Description.* Cross that must have been hung on a chain, as shown by the hanger at the top. The decoration of the body consists of five die eyes, one of which is in the center of the cross itself.

For this typology, see PÜLZ 2020, 87, K 11.

*Dating.* Fifth–seventh or tenth–11th century.

**No. 17.** A bronze cross with incised decoration (fig. 4-5/5)

Acc. no. 07.17.5.

*Measurements.* H. 25 mm, W. 14 mm.

*Provenance.* Acquisition from Mr Mehmet Sur on 23 July 2007.

*Description.* Very similar to the previous one, with triangular arms, concave at the ends.

*Comparandum and dating.* Same as cat. no. 16.

**No. 18.** A bronze cross with incised decoration (fig. 4-5/6)

Acc. no. 07.18.9.

*Measurements.* H. 22 mm, W. 15 mm.

*Provenance.* Acquisition from Mr Hamza Şeker on 23 July 2007.

*Description.* Very similar to the previous one. Nonetheless, it appears to be a low-quality product, as demonstrated by the different shape of the ends of the arms, which are respectively concave (horizontal arm on the left), straight (horizontal arm on the right) or curved (vertical arm).

*Comparandum and dating.* Same as cat. no. 16.

**No. 19.** A bronze cross with incised decoration (fig. 4-5/7)

Acc. no. 07.18.11.

*Measurements.* H. 26 mm, W. 15 mm.

*Provenance.* Acquisition from Mr Hamza Şeker on 23 July 2007.

*Description.* Very similar to the previous one. Arm ends were cut irregularly.

*Comparandum and dating.* Same as cat. no. 16.

**No. 20.** A bronze cross with incised decoration (fig. 4-5/8)

Acc. no. 07.6.12.

*Measurements.* H. 23 mm, W. 15 mm.

*Provenance.* Acquisition from Mr Yusuf Söyleme on 23 July 2007.

*Description.* Similar to the previous one, but made with greater care. Horizontal arm with concave endings and vertical arm with slightly curved endings. Larger hook. The edges are rounded.

*Comparandum and dating.* Same as cat. no. 16.

**No. 21.** A bronze cross with incised decoration (fig. 4-5/9)

Acc. no. 07.18.8.

*Measurements.* H. 39 mm, W. 28 mm.

*Provenance.* Acquisition from Mr Hamza Şeker on 23 July 2007.

*Description.* A double line is engraved transversely near the ends of the arms, distinguishing it from other crosses in this typology.

Type I of Ephesus.

Comparandum. Prominently identical to an example from Ephesus<sup>98</sup> from which it differs in the wolf's teeth incisions at the end of the transverse arm and at the lower end.

*Dating.* Fifth–seventh or tenth–11th century.

**No. 22.** A reliquary cross with incised decoration from Elaiussa Sebaste (fig. 4–5/10)

Acc. no. 11.5.5, excavation acc. no. ES 10 TR 664.

*Measurements.* H. 32 mm, W. 16 mm.

*Provenance.* Excavated in Elaiussa Sebaste in 2010.

*Description.* Similar to the previous ones, with a lower vertical rod that is longer than the other arms.

Type I of Ephesus.

Comparandum. A similar one was excavated in a grave numbered as 18 at the atrium of the Lower City Church in Amorium, and dated to the 11th century, LIGHTFOOT *et alii* 2008, 446, 462, fig. 6.

*Dating.* Fifth–seventh or tenth–11th century.

**No. 23.** An iron cross (fig. 4–5/11)

*Measurements.* H. ca. 60 mm, W. ca. 48 mm.

*Description.* Similar to the previous ones, but with rather short arms (= Greek cross).

*Dating.* Early Byzantine period.

**No. 24.** A bronze cross with incised decoration (fig. 4–5/12)

Acc. no. 05.5.7.

*Measurements.* H. 40 mm, W. 34 mm.

*Provenance.* Acquisition from Mr Ahmet Karaca from Adana on 15 December 2005.

*Description.* Greek cross with narrower horizontal arm. The vertical rod has expanded terminations. Probably equipped with decoration of which very little remains. It seems a K can be read at the end of the right horizontal arm.

*Dating.* Fifth–seventh or tenth–11th century. According to LOOSLEY LEEMING 2018, 637, pl. IV, nos. 37–38, the typology could be dated between the tenth and 14th century.

**No. 25.** A bronze cross with incised decoration (fig. 4–5/13)

Acc. no. 07.22.2.

*Measurements.* H. 61 mm, W. 51 mm.

*Provenance.* Acquisition from Mr Ali Öksüzer on 23 July 2007.

*Description.* Foil cross to which two semicircular ends are added, each decorated with a nut eye at the ends of the transversal arm. In the upper part of the vertical rod before the hanger, a second nut eye is added.

Comparandum. A very similar cross was put up for sale in the Gallery Zak' Antiquities (Mishriky) in Jerusalem, said to come from Jerusalem and dated around 600 Available at:

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<sup>98</sup> PÜLZ 2020, 86, pl. 32, no. K 6.

<https://zaksantiquities.com/shop/artifacts/bronze-artifacts/byzantine-floral-cross/>

(accessed on 1 January 2024).

*Dating.* Medieval period.

**No. 26.** A bronze cross with relief-cast decoration (fig. 4–5/14)

Acc. no. 09.9.36.

*Measurements.* H. 36 mm, W. 29 mm.

*Provenance.* Donation by Mr Yusuf Selçuk Tanrıkulu on 3 December 2009.

*Description.* Greek cross with large circular endings which are similar to dice eyes, but more three-dimensional, and upper hook. In the centre a smaller circle has an internal half-circle in relief. Four short rays depart from the central part.

*Comparanda.* A very similar cross was found in Isaccea in northern Dobruja in Romania dated to the 10th–14th century<sup>99</sup>. Another very similar cross was put up for sale by Gallery Ancient & Oriental in London (category SKU, CY-52, Available at : <https://www.antiquities.co.uk/shop/ancient-jewellery/enkolpia-crosses/selection-of-late-roman-byzantine-bronze-cross-pendants/> (accessed on 1 January 2024).

*Dating.* Tenth–14th century.

**No. 27.** A bronze cross with incised decoration (fig. 4–5/15)

Acc. no. 01.28.2.

*Measurements.* H. 68 mm, W. 51 mm.

*Provenance.* Acquisition from Mr Süha Civelek on 21 December 2001.

*Description.* Greek cross with trefoil expansions on the ends of the arms, with a nut eye inside each of the circular elements. At the intersection of the arms there is a protruding element, perhaps to accommodate an enamel part.

Type VIII of Ephesus, cf. PÜLZ 2020, 88, K 17.

*Dating.* Eighth–12th century.

**No. 28.** A bronze cross with relief-cast decoration (fig. 4–5/16)

Acc. no.

*Measurements.* H. 60 mm, W. ca. 48 mm.

*Description.* Greek cross with endings decorated with three half-circles and arms that are furrowed with deep grooves. A circle in the centre.

*Dating.* Eighth–12th century.

Crosses at cat. Nos. 29–32 below represent a well-known type of enkolpia.

**No. 29.** A bronze reliquary cross with relief-cast decoration (fig. 6–7/1)

Acc. no. 07.14.3.

*Measurements.* H. 80 mm, W. 37 mm.

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<sup>99</sup> LOOSLEY LEEMING 2018, 636, pl. 3, no. 30.

*Provenance.* Acquisition from Mr Mehmet Sur on 23 July 2007.

*Description.* In the remaining valve there is the depiction of Virgin Mary as orans. In the upper part Greek letters, which are not very legible and are referring to the Virgin. The Virgin is depicted in the traditional orans posture (*expansis manibus*), with her arms raised in prayer, her robes falling in rigid folds. Large hook that was supposed to bring together the two valves.

Type I of Ephesus, cf. PÜLZ 2020, 97, K 44.

*Dating.* Tenth–11th century.

Pectoral reliquary cross.

**No. 30.** A bronze reliquary cross with incised and relief-cast decoration (fig. 6–7/2)

*Measurements.* H. ca. 76 mm, W. ca. 49 mm.

*Provenance.* Excavated in the Medieval layer of Yumuktepe.

*Description.* Hookless. Simple Greek cross with curved arms. Engraved decoration depicting Virgin Orans with halo and dress decorated by three oblique lines engraved to signify her dress. Above the engraved nimbus inscription of which only the first letter (M) and the penultimate letter (X) can be recognised, alluding to the Virgin as the mother of Christ.

At the end of the transversal arm there are non-legible engraved decorations.

Type I of Ephesus.

*Dating.* 11th–12th century.

*Reference.* KÖROĞLU 2002, 111–112; KOÇYİĞİT 2018.

**No. 31.** A bronze reliquary cross with incised decoration (fig. 6–7/3)

Acc. no. K.80.6.2.

*Measurements.* H. 70 mm, W. 48 mm.

*Provenance.* Acquisition from Mr Murat Ertem from Adana on 12 June 1980.

*Description.* Cross without hook and with three small holes (one in the center and the other two on the right and lower arms) for fixing to a support. The Virgin has her arms raised: her dress between her head and her waist forms a kind of circle in the central part of the cross.

*Dating.* 11th–12th century.

**No. 32.** A bronze reliquary cross with incised decoration (fig. 6–7/4)

*Measurements.* H. ca. 46.2 mm, W. ca. 38 mm.

*Description.* Cross with two hooks at the ends of the central rod. The Virgin Orans has her arms raised. Engraved transversal lines towards the ends of the arms.

*Dating.* 11th–12th century.

**No. 33.** A bronze reliquary cross (fig. 6–7/5a–b)

*Measurements.* H. ca. 63 mm, W. ca. 33 mm.

*Description.* Cross with a broken hook. Probable representation of the Virgin, which is not clearly legible. Smooth at the back.

*Dating.* Medieval period.

**No. 34.** A bronze reliquary cross (fig. 6–7/6)

Acc. no. 09.9.37.

*Measurements.* H. 53 mm, W. 36 mm.

*Provenance.* Donation by Mr Yusuf Selçuk Tanrıkulu on 3 December 2009.

*Description.* Cross with a broken hook. Probable representation of the Virgin, which is not clearly legible. Smooth at the back.

It corresponds to a cross type produced in Bulgaria in the tenth century<sup>100</sup>.

*Dating.* Tenth century.

**No. 35.** A bronze reliquary cross (fig. 6-7/7)

Acc. no. 07.2.6.

*Measurements.* H. 52 mm, W. 24 mm.

*Provenance.* Acquisition from Mr Hasan Civelek on 23 July 2007.

*Description.* Encolpion-type of cross with a large hook, which must have supported the two valves. Indistinguishable decoration.

*Dating.* Medieval period.

**No. 36.** A bronze reliquary cross (fig. 6-7/8)

Acc. no. 07.10.1.

*Measurements.* H. 67 mm, W. 38 mm.

*Provenance.* Acquisition from Mr Yusuf Söyleme on 23 July 2007.

*Description.* Encolpion-type of cross with a double hook above and below (partly fragmented). Indistinguishable decoration.

*Dating.* Medieval period.

**No. 37.** A bronze reliquary cross with incised decoration (fig. 6-7/9)

Acc. no. 06.8.31.

*Measurements.* H. 72 mm, W. 59 mm.

*Provenance.* Acquisition from Mr Ahmet Karaca from Adana on 6 June 2006.

*Description.* Similar to cat. no. 16 (fig. 4-5/4). It must have been hung on a chain, as shown by the hanger at the top. The decoration of the body consists of five die eyes, one of which is in the center of the cross itself.

*Comparandum and dating.* Same as cat. no. 16.

**No. 38.** A bronze cross (fig. 6-7/10)

Acc. no. 07.18.10.

*Measurements.* H. 30 mm, W. 22 mm.

*Provenance.* Acquisition from Mr Hamza Şeker on 23 July 2007.

*Description.* With semicircular section arms with a wider band towards the ends. A central element (a flower?) applied to the centre.

*Comparandum.* Entirely similar to a cross in the Benaki Museum in Athens<sup>101</sup>.

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<sup>100</sup> DONCHEVA, BUNZELOV 2015-2016, 308.

<sup>101</sup> BALDINI LIPPOLIS 1999, 148, no. 7.

*Dating.* Early seventh century.

**No. 39.** A bronze cross (fig. 6-7/11)

Acc. no. 17.6.1.

*Measurements.* H. 35 mm, W. 25 mm.

*Provenance.* Acquisition from Mr Ebu Talip Aktanbaş on 22 November 2017.

*Description.* Greek cross with shaped arms with polygonal section, which are wider towards the ends.

For this typology, see BALDINI LIPPOLIS 1999, 148, no. 6.

*Dating.* Early Byzantine period (?).

**No. 40.** A bronze cross (fig. 6-7/12)

Acc. no. 04.25.7.

*Measurements.* H. ca. 38 mm, W. ca. 29 mm.

*Provenance.* Acquisition in 2004.

*Description.* Arms with polygonal section, which are wider towards the ends. In the centre there is a circular part with a central X motif which appears in Isaceas in Romania in the 13th–14th century<sup>102</sup>.

*Dating.* 13th–14th century.

**No. 41.** An iron cross (fig. 6-7/13)

Acc. no. 07.6.9.

*Measurements.* H. 33 mm, W. 25 mm.

*Provenance.* Acquisition from Mr Yusuf Söyleme on 23 July 2007.

*Description.* Similar to the previous cross with polygonal section arms and a quadrangular part in the centre.

*Dating.* 13th–14th century.

**No. 42.** A bronze cross with incised decoration (fig. 6-7/14)

Acc. no. 07.12.1.

*Measurements.* H. 31 mm, W. 23 mm.

*Provenance.* Acquisition from Mr Yusuf Söyleme on 23 July 2007.

*Description.* Maltese cross with concave endings, decorated with four *Kreisaugen* (=dice eyes). Termination of a pocket or shoe strap. Upper part of the application ending in a cross (type D 22 of Ephesus<sup>103</sup>). In some cases, this type has been found in burials associated with the remains of male individuals<sup>104</sup>. The type has a wide diffusion ranging from Rome to Crimea. It is assumed that it was produced at Crypta Balbi in Rome as well<sup>105</sup>. For the presences in Ephesus see PÜLZ 2020, pl. 3, T 27–31.

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<sup>102</sup> MĂNUCU-ADAMEȘTEANU 1984, 637, pl. 4, nos. 37–38.

<sup>103</sup> PÜLZ 2020, 14.

<sup>104</sup> PÜLZ 2020, 37.

<sup>105</sup> PAROLI 1997, 253.

*Dating.* First half of the sixth century.

**No. 43.** A silver cross with relief-cast decoration (fig. 6–7/15)

Acc. no. 80.6.4.

*Measurements.* H. 52 mm, W. 34 mm.

*Provenance.* Acquisition from Mr Murat Ertem from Adana on 12 June 1980.

*Description.* A late pectoral cross, likely owned by an individual of Catholic confession. The arms of the cross terminate in trefoil expansions, with a flat support at the top. On the front a crucifix.

*Dating.* It is a modern object, i.e. from the 19th–20th century, however, we included it to prove existence of such objects in a Turkish archaeological museum.

### **Three crosses in the Museum of Alanya (fig. 8)**

The three metal crosses in the Museum of Alanya serve as rare material reminders of Eastern Christianity in the region between western Cilicia, eastern Pamphylia, and south-western Isauria during the Byzantine and Post-Byzantine periods, even though numerous churches are known from the coastal sites, such as Hamaxia, Coracesium, Laertes, Syedra, Iotape, Selinus, Kaystros, Nephelion, Juliosebaste and Antiochia ad Cragum in western Rough Cilicia.

**No. 44.** A bronze cross with incised decoration (fig. 8/1a–b)

*Measurements.* H. 137 mm, W. 72 mm.

*Description.* A very well preserved cross.

Arms of this medium-size processional cross expand at the ends. With a lightly incised and ordinarily indicated full-length, single male figure standing frontally and imposingly in the middle, who has outstretched arms and is wearing a long-sleeved garment, an exclusive dress of holy figures in Christian iconography. The abstract depiction of the male figure features elongated facial proportions, while his long robe, the most detailed element, is marked by lozenge-shaped geometric patterns. Incised lines on this long garment indicate geometric patterns with detailed rendering, although the lines of the drapery and the figure are quite cursory. The incised lines are rendered in an outline technique, with minimal modelling. The outstretched arms of the figure in this manner are making a supplicating gesture, i.e., orans. His curled fingers (only four of which are shown) are extended, spread apart, palms facing outward and are clumsily defined. His feet are positioned in profile on the groundline which is a part of the main frame that has a lower border and slopes slightly. The soles of his sandals (or slippers or boots) are incised as well, slightly indented in profile. At the top of the scene a Syriac cross with equal arms. On his right a (dedicatory ?) inscription with crudely incised and randomly placed retrograde letters in four lines which slope downward from left to right and read  $\Delta\Gamma\text{H} / \Omega\Gamma\text{H} \text{K}\Omega / \text{E TANTHN} / \Omega\text{C}$ . A palm branch on his left which

rises above a conical elevation. For the presence of the same motif, in different forms, in other crosses see PÜLZ 2020, K 45–46, p. 97 and 52, p. 99. The back of the cross is undecorated.

In this cross a symmetrical style is applied while the rendering of the figure and its drapery take on an abstract form. The crown of hair around the head and the detail of the two feet equally oriented to the right can be found on a cross, put up for sale by Auction 22 of Bertolami Fine Art S.r.l. in Rome, Lot 59 Available at : <https://bertolamifineart.bidinside.com/en/lot/3430/croce-bizantina-in-bronzo-x-xii-secolo-dc/> (accessed on 1 January 2024).

Comparandum. KATSIOTI 2011, 412, cat. no. 131, from the Archaeological Museum of Nisyros, acc. no. 3218.

*Dating.* Tenth–12th century.

**No. 45.** A bronze cross with relief-cast decoration (fig. 8/2a–b)

*Measurements.* H. cross 81 mm, W. 47 mm.

*Description.* The typology of the cross is a usual one. A multifigured composition with Theotokos in the middle in orans and with busts of the four evangelists in medaillions placed on each side of the cross. The Virgin, haloed and depicted in the typical orans position, raises her hands in prayer and forearms in an open-palm gesture. The edges of her garment draped over the wrist and fall on either side in a symmetrical pattern of folds. The Virgin is wrapped in the maphorion which crosses over the chest in a succession of tight folds. Her face, though heavily worn, exhibits exaggerated, caricature-like features, suggesting the original detailed portrayal has largely eroded. The ghost of portraits is preserved, but the facial features are almost entirely worn so that their identification is only possible through other similar crosses with the same composition.

Comparanda. For a similar one at the Ephesus Museum in Selçuk, acc. no. 1/32/90, cf. JEFFERY 2023, 194, fig. 1. A very similar cross is preserved in the Metropolitan Museum in New York (acc. no. 2018.870.3). Another one is housed in the Royal Ontario Museum in Toronto (acc. no. 994.220.134.2).

*Dating.* 11th century or later.

**No. 46.** A silver cross with relief-cast decoration (fig. 8/3a–b)

*Measurements.* H. cross 72 mm, W. 41 mm.

*Description.* Depicts the Crucifixion, with a nimbed Jesus wearing a long garment featuring linear folds, rendered in an outline technique which is quite cursory. In the composition and in the outline effect around the scarcely detailed form of the anatomy, it is similar to some other crosses in Cilicia. On each side of the cross two figures. On top of Jesus moon and sun as well as an envelop-like box for the inscription INRI.

There is an inscription engraved on two sides of Jesus: ΑΕΩΝ / ΔΟ[-]Α

It is a luxuriant and slightly three-dimensional Balkanic encolpion with a high quality silver.

*Dating.* 11th–12th centuries.

**Bronze crosses in the Archaeological Museum of Kahramanmaraş** (fig. 9–10)

We have documented nine bronze crosses in the Archaeological Museum of Kahramanmaraş most of which belong probably to the Armenian population living in this region during the Byzantine and Post-Byzantine periods.

**No. 47.** A bronze reliquary cross with relief-cast decoration (fig. 9–10/1)

*Measurements.* H. ca. 91 mm, W. ca. 53 mm.

*Description.* This cross typologically resembles the K 18 type from Ephesus, characterized by semicircular arm endings and triangular-shaped arms. In the circles at the ends of the arms there are busts of the evangelists. Typologically it is similar to other crosses present in various sites in the Aegean and the Black Sea area, from Athens to Ukraine.

*Comparandum.* Type IX of Ephesus<sup>106</sup>.

*Dating.* 12th–13th century.

**No. 48.** A bronze cross with an incised inscription (fig. 9–10/2)

*Measurements.* H. ca. 86 mm, W. ca. 84 mm.

*Description.* Greek cross type IV of Ephesus, for an example from the area of the basilica of St. John at Ayasuluk, see PÜLZ 2020, 86, pl. 31, no. K 7 with an oval application (gem?) set in the centre. A letter in Greek on each arm. This type originated in the Early Byzantine period, but remained in use through the Middle Byzantine period.

*Dating.* Tenth–11th (?) century.

**No. 49.** A bronze cross without decoration (fig. 9–10/3)

*Measurements.* H. ca. 112 mm, W. ca. 87 mm.

*Description.* Latin cross with expanded arms, equipped with circular appendages at the corners. In the upper and lower parts eyelets. Part of a chandelier chain.

*Dating.* 11th–12th century.

**No. 50.** A bronze cross with relief-cast decoration (fig. 9–10/4)

*Measurements.* H. ca. 58 mm, W. ca. 49 mm.

*Description.* In the circles at the end of each arm there are busts of the evangelists. Typologically it is similar to other crosses present in various sites in the eastern Mediterranean.

*Comparandum.* Type IX of Ephesus<sup>107</sup>.

*Dating.* Seventh century.

**No. 51.** A bronze cross without decoration (fig. 9–10/5)

*Measurements.* H. ca. 67 mm W. ca. 49 mm.

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<sup>106</sup> BALDINI LIPPOLIS 1999, 148, nos. 8–12; PÜLZ 2020, 94–95.

<sup>107</sup> BALDINI LIPPOLIS 1999, 148, nos. 8–12; PÜLZ 2020, 88–89, K 20.

*Description.* Greek cross type I of Ephesus with arms expanded towards the ends and decorated corner protuberances; cf. PÜLZ 2020, 102, pl. 42, no. 60.

*Dating.* 11th–12th century.

**No. 52.** A bronze cross without decoration (fig. 9–10/6)

*Measurements.* H. ca. 41 mm, W. ca. 38 mm.

*Description.* Cross like the previous one, but smaller in size; cf. PÜLZ 2020, 102, pl. 42, no. 60.

*Dating.* 11th–12th century.

**No. 53.** A bronze cross without decoration (fig. 9–10/7)

*Measurements.* H. ca. 52 mm, W. ca. 48 mm.

*Description.* Small cross with elongated drop-shaped arms. In the upper part there is a ring for hanging, which is connected to the hook. Four short rays depart from the centre of the cross.

For some resemblance to the cross type K 88 of Ephesus, cf. PÜLZ 2020, 93.

*Dating.* 11th–12th century.

**No. 54.** A bronze cross without decoration (fig. 9–10/8)

*Measurements.* H. ca. 47 mm, W. ca. 39 mm.

*Description.* Greek cross with semicircular arms, triangular in shape, widened towards the ends. In the central part squared with a central X motif.

*Dating.* 11th–12th century.

**No. 55.** A bronze cross with relief-cast decoration (fig. 9–10/9)

*Measurements.* H. ca. 73 mm, W. ca. 51 mm.

*Description.* A cross perhaps belonging to an individual with Catholic confession. Very elaborate with trefoil endings and two protruding points. In the center a rather schematic crucifix is placed. At the top there is a hook.

Although this is not a Byzantine object, it is important to evidence the existence of Post-Byzantine Byzantine communities in Kahramanmaraş archaeologically.

*Dating.* Late 17th–18th century.

### **Censers**

The censers (θυμιατήρια) with three eyelets for suspension, characteristic of Early Byzantine liturgical practice, are attested in the sixth-century mosaics of the Basilicas of San Vitale and Sant'Apollinare in Classe in Ravenna. During the Byzantine period, hanging censers were their common feature; thus, these objects became themselves focus of devotion and functioned as ritual objects in churches, monasteries, houses and graves. Censers in hemispherical form are present in the Coptic liturgy from the sixth to the eighth century<sup>108</sup>. A miniature in the Gellone Sacramentary in the Bibliothèque Nationale de France (shelfmark

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<sup>108</sup> STRZYGOWSKI 1904, 282, no. 9112, and nos. 9109 and 9111; 282, pl. 32.

Latin 12048), which was made shortly before the 19th century for the Diocese of Meaux in Paris, shows the Virgin with a cross in her left hand holding a hemispherical censer in her right hand [*Sacramentarium gelasianum*, folio 4].

Similar small censers are also present in Sicily<sup>109</sup>, particularly in the Museo archeologico regionale Paolo Orsi in Syracuse, Sicily. An example was found in Paternò, Catania, Sicily<sup>110</sup> and another seven (one from Palazzolo Acreide in Syracuse, Sicily and the other from Granmichele, Catania, Sicily) are kept in the Museo archeologico regionale Paolo Orsi. Orsi suggests that their small size and the absence of lids indicate a private devotional use, such as in domestic altars or funerary contexts, a practice documented as still in use in mid-20th century Greece. They were also hung above the tombs, which would explain the origin of most of the Sicilian specimens in cemeteries. Recent excavations have shown how they could be arranged in burials, e.g., in tomb no. 268 in Iasos, Caria, south-western Turkey<sup>111</sup>.

Several Byzantine bronze censers in hexagonal, square and urn shapes are curated in the collection of Dumbarton Oaks<sup>112</sup>. Most of them originate from Egypt or Syria, and are dated by Ernst Kitzinger (1912–2003) to the sixth and also to the seventh century, while Paolo Orsi (1859–1935) proposed a chronology between the sixth and eighth centuries<sup>113</sup>. Martín Almagro Gorbea dealt especially with the polyhedral censers, for which he offers a distribution map<sup>114</sup>, which is today largely outdated.

On the antiques market, Byzantine censers with a hemispherical body appeared on several occasions, equipped with three hangers that allowed suspension by means of chains. We have already mentioned the one beaten by Christie's on 24 November 2008 lot 52 <[https://www.christies.com/en/lot/lot-5152429?ldp\\_breadcrumb=back](https://www.christies.com/en/lot/lot-5152429?ldp_breadcrumb=back)> (accessed on 1 January 2024). Another one was at the antique dealer Edgar L. Lowen no. 8765 in USA and dated between 500 and 800 <<https://edgarlowen.com/byzantine-art-sales.shtml>> (accessed on 1 January 2024), a rather generic date that could also apply to our two specimens in Cilicia.

Both Coptic and Syrian censers can have a smooth ring foot or three feet, as in our case and in another example of the Museo archeologico regionale Paolo Orsi<sup>115</sup>.

The censers from Cilicia that we present below illustrate the region's participation in broader Byzantine liturgical traditions. Their varying shapes, iconographic programs, and inscriptions reflect both the artistic innovations and devotional practices prevalent in southern Asia Minor from the fifth to seventh centuries AD. Within a broader archaeological

<sup>109</sup> ORSI 1912, 187–188.

<sup>110</sup> FERRARA 1892, 409.

<sup>111</sup> BERTI 2012, 195.

<sup>112</sup> THACHER (ed.) 1967, 34–35, nos. 122–125.

<sup>113</sup> ORSI 1912, 187–188.

<sup>114</sup> ALMAGRO GORBEA 1964–1965, 194, fig. 6.

<sup>115</sup> NUZZO 2011, pl. 12a.

record, Cilician censers relate to other known collections as well, e.g., to Dumbarton Oaks and Metropolitan Museum of Art.

**No. 56.** A censer from Coropissus (fig. 11/1a–c)

Archaeological Museum of Adana, acc. no. 1019.

*Measurements.* H. 75 mm, W. 50 mm.

*Provenance.* Found in the extramural (chora) church of Dağpazarı in Isauria in 1959.

Dağpazarı, identified with Byzantine Coropissus, is a village located in the Taurus Mountains, approximately 35 km north-east of Mut in the region of Rough Cilicia on the border to Isauria.

*Description.* A bronze hexagonal censer, sides of which are enclosed by twisted columns ending with an arched top. The columns, equipped with base and capital, alternately have a foot and the eyelet for the suspension chain at the top. Each face in form of recessed arched niches is containing a single figure wearing similar cloths in the same way, with drapery folds of similar style.

The dedicatory inscription ‘Υπὲρ / εὐχ- / ῆς / Θεοδώ- / ρου (“for the prayer of Theodoros”) underscores the censer’s role as a votive offering, possibly in fulfilment of a vow for divine intervention or salvation. It is divided into five faces around the central one that depicts Christ. The formula ὑπὲρ εὐχῆς also appears on a silver censer of the Bayerisches Nationalmuseum in Munich<sup>116</sup>. It means that the object represents the fulfilment of a vow and is often followed by the hope of the bidder’s salvation. Among the objects that make up the Sion Treasure found in the early 1960s in Kumluca in Lycia, now at Dumbarton Oaks Museum (acc. nos. BZ.1963.36.1-3,11 and BZ.1965.1.1,5,12), which is dated to the period of Justin or Justinian (527–565), there are six censers, including a unique peacock censer<sup>117</sup>. This treasure is an extensive and varied group of liturgical objects and church furnishings, much of which is housed in the Archaeological Museum of Antalya, with a few pieces in private collections. Almost all the objects in the treasure are of exceptionally high quality, and many were in excellent condition when they were found, like the patens. Often the donors of this kind of treasures like the Sion Treasure are church officers, such as clergy, bishops, priests or deacons. Perhaps our Theodoros mentioned here was also a religious personality.

The faces flanking the figure of Christ present two apostles (Peter and Paul?). Their heads are covered by a hood. They wear a cloak that descends behind their body and they are holding a censer and a book (= gospel or a sacred text). Two archangels are following and kneeling down in front of Christ (fig. 11, 1a). Opposite to the depiction of Christ, where the first part of the

<sup>116</sup> BAUMSTARK, BORKOPP-RESTLE 1998, 42.

<sup>117</sup> SCHOOLMAN 2010, 18.

bidder's name is placed (Θεοδῶ ---), a man with his arms crossed over his chest (fig. 11/1b). According to Ayşe Aydın, who published this piece in 2010, this figure is a martyr<sup>118</sup>.

Although Aydın identifies the figure opposite Christ as a martyr, the lack of specific iconographic features or inscriptions suggests the figure could also represent a generic devotee or clerical figure.

In addition to the image of Christ, censers of hexagonal shape, especially the silver ones, with images of saints present the images of Saints Peter and Paul, the Virgin Mary and the archangels as well as some apostles, for example, e.g., Saints James and John as on a censer in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (acc. no. 1985.123).

Censers with a triangular or hexagonal body are known from Coptic Egypt<sup>119</sup> and from Cyprus. From the Monastery of Acheiropoietos in Lambousa near the village of Karavas, Kyrenia (Girne) in Northern Cyprus a well-known silver censer is known which is curated at the British Museum and belonged to the so-called first treasury of Cyprus that controlled stamps placed at the court of Byzantium during the beginning of the seventh century. In our case the shape of the sides recalls that of the female baptismal basins of the Byzantine period.

The church, where this piece was found, is believed to be of funerary use and located outside the city walls of Coropissus (ancient Dalinsandus). It is dated to the late fifth century by several scholars<sup>120</sup>.

Therefore, it is likely that fire with this censer was carried out for the start-up or consecration of the building. Also, for this reason, as well as for stylistic reasons, it is part of the phase of Theodosian art that characterizes other works in Isauria in the inner, mountainous part of southern Asia Minor, such as the reliquary of Conon of Bidana who was a martyr saint from a village called Bidana, lying close to the city of Isaura in the province *Isauria*. Conon became the central martyr figure of his home region in Late Antiquity, and although he may not have actually died as a martyr, his cult disseminated rapidly through the Mediterranean world<sup>121</sup>.

*Dating.* Mid-fifth–early sixth century.

According to Aydın, our bronze censer is placed at the origin of the series of silver censers which, due to the intrinsic value of the metal, bear the imperial stamps and, therefore, date from the sixth to the beginning of the seventh century<sup>122</sup>.

*Reference.* AYDIN 2010a; KÖROĞLU 2015, 71, pl. 11.

**No. 57.** A complete censer from Tarsus (fig. 11/2)

Museum of Tarsus.

<sup>118</sup> AYDIN 2010a, 306.

<sup>119</sup> LAFONTAINE-DOSOGNE 1967, particularly c. 27, fig. 4068; DE STEFANIS 2003, 282, pl. 32.

<sup>120</sup> GOUGH 1975; HILL 1979.

<sup>121</sup> PILHOFER 2018, 102, 231–240.

<sup>122</sup> AYDIN 2010a, 316–317.

*Measurements.* H. censer ca. 62 mm, complete H. 242 mm, W. censer ca. 74 mm.

*Description.* The presence of a dark green patina, common in ancient bronze objects due to oxidation over centuries, confirms the censer's antiquity.

Resting on three slightly splayed feet, the hexagonal body with a triple stepped rim and base, the flat-topped rim with three pierced loops for suspension, the three suspension chains attached to a central distribution loop. Noteworthy is the complete preservation of the hanging chain.

*Dating.* Sixth–seventh century.

**No. 58.** A censer from Silifke (fig. 15/1)

Museum of Silifke.

*Measurements.* H. ca. 84 mm, Diam. ca. 79 mm.

*Description.* Hemispherical body, supported by three smooth feet. These three hemispherical censers at cat. nos. 58, 59 and 60 in Silifke, typical of Early Byzantine liturgical objects, likely played a role in smaller ecclesiastical ceremonies, emphasizing their portability and practical use during processions or household devotions.

The outer edge of no. 58 is reinforced by a plain protruding strip, an element that also appears in contemporary Coptic censers<sup>123</sup>. The same detail is also found on a censer from Antioch of Pisidia, published by Vincenzo Ruggieri<sup>124</sup>. In our case, the eyelets are arranged following the trend of the wall and not transversely to it. It has no suspension chains.

There is a certain typological similarity in censers' design between neighbouring regions, e.g., Syria and Cyprus, as well as Cilicia.

*Dating.* Sixth–seventh century.

**No. 59.** A censer from Silifke (fig. 15/2)

Museum of Silifke.

*Measurements.* H. ca. 89 mm, Diam. ca. 81 mm.

*Description.* Hemispherical in shape like the previous one, its edge is formed by a twisted cord, with external suspension rings perpendicular to the wall.

A similarly shaped censer was sold in Tajan Auction House in Paris in lot no. 292, with a false indication as “Roman period, third century”, cf. <[www.tajan.com/pdf/8822pdf](http://www.tajan.com/pdf/8822pdf)> (accessed on 1 January 2024).

*Dating.* Sixth–seventh century.

**No. 60.** A complete censer from Silifke (fig. 17/4)

Museum of Silifke.

*Measurements.* H. whole item ca. 371 mm, Diam. basin ca. 86 mm.

*Description.* Complete specimen, typologically similar to the previous ones. Here it is combined with polycandela to highlight the identity of the hanging system with chains that

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<sup>123</sup> STRZYGOWSKI 1904, 282, pl. 32; LAFONTAINE-DOSOGNE 1967, particularly c. 27, fig. 4068.

<sup>124</sup> RUGGIERI 2009, 69–71.

arise from a cruciform element. The tub has a simple rounded edge, underlined on the outside by a groove, and a flat foot for support.

*Dating.* Sixth–seventh century.

**Five other bronze censers from the Museums of Mersin and Tarsus (fig. 13)**

**No. 61.** A censer from Mersin (fig. 12/1)

Archaeological Museum of Mersin, acc. no. 00.16.1.

*Measurements.* H. basin 53 mm, rim Diam. 88 mm, base Diam. 38 mm, Th. 1.6 mm, Diam. second piece 70 mm, Th. 3 mm.

*Provenance.* Confiscation by the Prosecution Office of Mersin on 8 November 2000.

*Description.* It consists of two pieces. The first piece has a roughly hemispherical tank with a ring-shaped foot and a flattened and exverted bag, expanding outward. The rim of the container has been thickened and pulled outwards. Three hanging loops are placed on the upper plane of the mouth. Chains in the shape of an “8” are attached to the hanging rings. Three chains on top join with a hook. Outside the censer, under the rim and below the base there are double and single incised grooves. Conical shaped base of the incense burner spreads outwards. There are two concentric incised lines and single groove-shaped circles on the inside of the base.

The second object delivered to the museum along with the first one is shaped like a semicircular swell in the middle. It is a rising circular piece. Around the middle bulge, one end is extended. There are circular cut decorations and perforated decoration with sliced outer edge. It is possible that it was used as a lid on the incense burner.

*Dating.* Sixth–seventh century.

*Reference.* KÖROĞLU 2015, 67–68, cat. no. 2, 72, pls. 15–17 with drawing.

**No. 62.** A censer from Mersin (fig. 12/2)

Archaeological Museum of Mersin, acc. no. 00.16.1.

*Provenance.* Acquisition.

*Measurements.* H. basin 45 mm, H. chain 285 mm, H. whole item 330 mm, mouth Diam. basin 103 mm, base Diam. basin 45 mm, mouth Th. 6 mm on the edge and 2 mm on the body.

*State of preservation and description.* Intact except some dents on the body of the incense burner.

Small tank with recessed top and flattened rim at the top. The rim of the spherical body, squat, small bowl shaped vessel is thickened and slightly pulled out. It has three lobes on the upper plane of the mouth, extending parallel to the edge of the mouth. The base of the censer consists of four interlocking concentric rings.

There are three hanging loops. Second one right next to the breakage of the hanger ring. The chains that connect with the upper hook have a few double S rings and two flat plates in

the body. The chains that connect with the upper hook have a few double S rings and two flat plates in the body.

While the outer surface is polished, the inner surface is rough. Hooks and thin strap on hanging loops by passing thin metal sheets with rounded ends cut from shaped metal sheet.

*Dating.* Sixth–seventh century.

*Reference.* KÖROĞLU 2015, 67, cat. no. 1, 71–72, pls. 12–14 with drawing.

**No. 63.** A censer from Mersin (fig. 12/3)

Archaeological Museum of Mersin, acc. no. 00.16.3.

*Provenance.* Confiscation.

*Measurements.* H. 105 mm, mouth Diam. 116 mm, base Diam. 38 mm, Th. 3 mm, W. relief area 55 mm, L. relief area 365 mm.

*State of preservation and description.* There are breaks, cracks and crushes at the corner of the mouth.

Its swollen body rises straight. The corner of the mouth closes slightly inward. Only one of the three hanging rings on the upper plane of the mouth can be seen. It is not available because the two hanging rings and the section in between are broken. Its narrow and high conical-shaped base compared to the body expands outwards.

There is a relief cross in the middle of its pedestal. A horizontal band surrounds the body of the incense burner from the outside. There are horizontal relief grooves on the outside and on the upper part of the moulded relief band at the bottom. Highly stylized human figures in relief on the body of the incense burner processed. Hair, clothing, gender and identification of highly stylized human figures are not given. Just their frowning brows, almond-shaped eyes and mouths. Instead of clothes, the figures are engraved with simple engraved shapes. One of these scenes is crucifixion, rendered in a rather primitive manner, and the other is the scene of the meeting of Mary and Elizabeth.

*Comparandum.* A similar scene on a censer with a H. of 96 mm was offered for sale by MA & Shops on 1 January 2024 in Ashkelon, Israel <<https://www.ma-shops.co.uk/shick/item.php?id=559>> (accessed on 1 January 2024).

*Dating.* Sixth century.

*Reference.* KÖROĞLU 2015, 68, cat. no. 3, 73, pls. 18–21 with drawing.

**No. 64.** A censer from Tarsus (fig. 12/4)

Museum of Tarsus.

*Measurements.* H. ca. 89 mm, W. ca. 76 mm.

*Description.* Censer basin with an octagonal section and a reverse edge, flattened at the top and another edge at the bottom. Three shaped feet.

Censers with polygonal sections are frequent. The number eight which has a religious meaning, is also present frequently in the plan of baptismal basins.

*Dating.* Sixth–seventh century.

**No. 65.** A censer from Tarsus (fig. 12/5)

Museum of Tarsus.

*Measurements.* H. ca. 91 mm, Diam. ca. 85 mm.

*Description.* Hemispherical open-worked basin. In the upper part, vegetal motifs around ovules in relief with crowning triangular elements. Between these designs there are rectangles that incorporate an X motif.

*Dating.* Sixth–seventh century.

### **Other liturgical finds**

**No. 66.** St. Conon's reliquary box from Çırğa in Isauria (fig. 13/1a–c)

Archaeological Museum of Adana, acc. no. 972 or 3791.

*Measurements.* H. 46 mm, W. 10 mm, L. 46 mm, Th. 3 mm, H. semicircular lid 28 mm.

*Provenance.* Found by a farmer in 1957 in the church of Çırğa near Adrassus<sup>125</sup>, and subsequently published by Michael Gough in 1958<sup>126</sup>.

*Description.* Formed by the union of very thin sheets of silver, the decoration of which was obtained by pressing them on a mould which was probably of wood. On the long sides within a circle Christ enthroned with a scepter in the raised right, flanked by two apostles (Peter on the right and Paul on the left) each with the sign of the cross. On the sides in rectangular fields delimited by a motif of beads, in the position of prayers, on the left St. Conon and on the right St. Thecla. Some scholars have identified a provincial school in Cilicia with slightly different stylistic, technical, and iconographic features that would have created some works starting from the mid-fifth century, including the present casket which was placed by André Grabar in connection with a medallion found with other gold and silver objects in a Byzantine church at Pompeiopolis in Mersin, now in the Hermitage in St. Petersburg and with the small gold medallion from Adana depicting scenes from the life of Christ (sixth century), now in the Archaeological Museums of Istanbul (fig. 14)<sup>127</sup>. Excavations carried out between 2001 and 2005 in the Basilica of San Pietro in Canosa di Puglia in Italy have brought to light fragments of another box similar to this one<sup>128</sup>.

In the long front side (fig. 13/1b) in a beaded circle Christ nimbed on a blessing throne and his head is flanked by a star and a cross between Saints Peter and Paul. On the sides, in rectangular panels, which are similarly beaded, St. Conon is figured in a praying position with a surcoat that ends in a triangle towards his knees, also with a halo and flanked by two crosses. As said above, St. Conon of Bidana is a local saint of Isauria, who lived in Isaura Palaea (mod.

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<sup>125</sup> PILHOFFER 2018, 255.

<sup>126</sup> GOUGH 1958.

<sup>127</sup> GRABAR 1951.

<sup>128</sup> NUZZO 2011.

Zengibar Kalesi near Bozkır), renamed Leontopolis under the emperor Leo I (457–474) which is located 110 km south of Iconium (mod. Konya).

On the back side (fig. 13/1c) in the tondo Saints Peter and Paul are depicted on the sides of the cross that surmounts a lamb. In the two-lateral panels, St. Thecla is figured, also in a praying position, with a halo flanked by two crosses and at her feet two animals.

The saint, identified by Gough as the Virgin<sup>129</sup>, was interpreted by Grabar as St. Thecla, the great saint of Seleucia ad Calycadnum in Rough Cilicia, who had a sanctuary here that became the destination of many pilgrims. She is depicted, based to an iconography borrowed from Daniel in the lions' den (according to Daniel 6: 1–28 in Bible), or from St. Menas of Egypt, flanked by two animals. A very similar depiction on a reliquary fragment is now curated in the Bayerisches Nationalmuseum in Munich<sup>130</sup>.

A headless statuette of a woman between two lions in the Museo archeologico provinciale Francesco Ribezzo in Brindisi has interpreted as a fifth century work depicting St. Thecla<sup>131</sup>. The association of St. Thecla with one or two lions is relatively common in European Christian iconography up to the 19th century and finds precedents on earlier examples where a catalogue of 16 ampullae with St. Thecla depictions is listed. It is well known that in the sanctuary of St. Thecla in Seleucia there were many votive animals and a zoo was created to entertain the pilgrims' children<sup>132</sup>. In our reliquary, St. Thecla wears a sort of hood on her head with two rows of pearls hanging over her ears and a long veil. St. Conon instead wears an open tunic under which a shirt can be seen.

On each of the shorter sides there are a bust of an emperor and an empress on either side of a jeweled cross. They should be figuring the Holy Great Sovereigns Constantine and Helena, based on their common iconography of the late fourth century that was taken up during the period of Theodosius, i.e., 372–395.

In the centre of the curved lid a square field. After an empty space at the edges of the lid a band of running animals in relief, which is divided by vegetal elements and fillers. An onager, a horse, a bear and a zebu, the latter of which was characteristic for Seleucia and Syria, are recognized from the left. Next to each one a smaller animal or a snake, a lizard and a bird. Behind the bear, Grabar recognized a spear and above the onager a round object, which in his opinion could be the evil eye. In this way Grabar meant here the series of images with an apotropaic function. This does perhaps not exclude other interpretations, namely that the theory of animals, both ferocious and domestic, rather alludes to a state of peace that would manifest itself in the earthly paradise and that will occur again in the fullness of time. This is

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<sup>129</sup> GOUGH 1958, 246.

<sup>130</sup> Cf. BAUMSTARK, BORKOPP-RESTLE 1998.

<sup>131</sup> Cf. JURLARO 1960.

<sup>132</sup> KÖTTING 1950, 156.

also a common subject of the period of Constantine the Great, i.e., 306–337, that we find e.g., on the mosaics of the Basilica di Santa Maria Assunta in Aquileia, Italy.

Moreover, at the end of the fifth century on the floor mosaics from the West, such as, for example, on the mosaics in the right side-chapel of the three-apsed basilica in Teurnia, Carinthia, Austria, which was probably built while the whole territory was under the control of the Goths employed by Ravenna, ferocious and domestic animals can be seen in the same panel of a mosaic.

In the first publication of the reliquary, Gough interpreted the inscription engraved in dots above the animalistic frieze as Ὑπὲρ ἀναπαύσεως τοῦ μακαρ(ί)ου Ταράσης δῖς (=For the repose of the blessed Tarasis). Grabar identifies here the donor Tarasis son of Tarasis or Latinized as Tarasius with a priest mentioned in two other inscriptions found about 20 km from Çirga<sup>133</sup>. Moreover, this identification, already advanced by Gough, is not shared by all, and most recently Karl Feld intended the name as an abbreviation of Tarassikodissa which would have been an Isaurian male name attested in the case of a well-known Byzantine general<sup>134</sup>. According to Claudia Nauerth and Rüdiger Warns, the inscription may have been affixed even at a later time<sup>135</sup>.

*Dating.* Fifth century.

*Main references.* GOUGH 1958; GRABAR 1962; PILHOFER 2018, 228, 255–260, fig. 5.11.

*Further readings on St. Thecla and St. Conon.* For St. Thecla, see BUSCHHAUSEN 1962–1963, 148–150; DAVIS 2001; NUZZO 2011, 365–367; PILHOFER 2023; and for St. Conon, see PILHOFER 2020.

As stated above, five objects at cat. nos. 67–71 are not completely liturgical or devotional objects, and perhaps some of them did not function as ritual objects in religious practices at all; but they bear Eastern Christian religious symbolics, and are, therefore, significant for reflecting daily life of the Post-Byzantine Christian population in southern Anatolia.

**No. 67.** A medallion with the image of St. George from Adana (fig. 15/3)

Archaeological Museum of Adana, acc. no. 1626.

*Measurements.* H. ca. 57 mm, W. 55 mm.

*Description.* Roughly triangular medallion with a mixtilinear edge, decorated with perpendicular carvings towards the outside and underlined on the inside by a series of alternating scrolls. On the main face on the background which is engraved with engraved dots, St. George on horseback, to the right, in military dress and with a fluttering cloak, spears the dragon with his spear, which has a spiral-shaped and scaled body. As widely known, this

<sup>133</sup> GRABAR 1962.

<sup>134</sup> FELD 2005, 238.

<sup>135</sup> NAUERTH, WARNS 1981, 59.

specific iconography in the Byzantine tradition is related to the victory of good over evil. Because of the small size of the object, facial features of the figures are rendered in a preliminary manner and so the eyes have the shape of perforated circles.

*Dating.* Because of its style, material, and craftsmanship, it should be dated to the 17th century or even later.

**No. 68.** A mould for devotional (forging metal?) objects (?) from Silifke (fig. 15/4) Museum of Silifke.

*Measurements.* Pres. H. ca. 246 mm, max. W. 131 mm.

*Description.* Part of a limestone tondo with the scene of the annunciation. On the left St. Gabriel the Archangel with a radiate halo, holding a flower in her right hand (lily?). His lowered left hand turns to the Virgin, kneeling to the right, with his arms crossed on her chest and her head surrounded by a radiate halo, on which a ray of light descends through the dove of the Holy Spirit. Above the head of the Virgin the announcement of the Good News in three lines, i.e., Εὐαγ- / γέλι<ω>- / ον which may refer to the gospel in Christianity. Facial features and drapery of St Gabriel are rendered in a very summary way. Around the archangel's neck there is a sort of collar that widens like a fan.

The flat edge is raised, as if it was to adapt to another valve. Perhaps this is a stuff printing for garments.

The rendering of the images is simplified and in the manner of folk art.

*Dating.* A Post-Byzantine folk art of the mid-19th century.

**No. 69.** A marble plate (game board or mould?) from Silifke (fig. 15/5) Museum of Silifke.

*Measurements.* H. ca. 155 mm, max. W. 124 mm.

*State of preservation and description.* Three fragments reassembled and mended.

The complete form of the marble object as well as its function are not recognizable (game board?), which bears some engraved figures. On the right side two Greek crosses, of which the second, in the centre, has larger dimensions; below there is a standing figure with raised arms which is hardly recognizable. In the central part above, a standing figure, with right arm raised and feet in profile; this gesture typically signifies Christian iconography. Below a bird (perhaps peacock?) in profile, to the left. A long beak, a kind of feather on the head and the plumage are clearly indicated: the legs are spread apart, one to the right and one to the left. The left side is occupied by a partly fragmentary field, in which a wavy line and another central motif appear, which is no longer recognizable.

On the left side, inside the meandering line, appear single letters in Greek characters (Α, Β, Γ, Δ) perhaps part of an alphabet.

*Dating.* Middle Byzantine period (?).

**No. 70.** Part of a buckle for liturgical vestments from Adana (fig. 15/6) Archaeological Museum of Adana, acc. no. 3872.

*Measurements.* H. ca. 76 mm, W. ca. 82 mm.

*Description.* Mother-of-pearl valve which still retains the shape of the oyster, decorated with the image of a saint on horseback (St. George?) hitting a fallen warrior with his spear. His holiness is indicated by a circular halo. The horse is covered with a double-edged saddle cloth. The fallen man appears unarmed and wears a long tunic, fastened at the waist by a double belt.

The piece was used together with another one to decorate the buckle of a liturgical vestment, probably a cope or tarpaulin adapted in Greek Orthodox monasteries. Similar specimens are exhibited in the Archaeological Museum of Mersin as well as in the small museum of the Great Meteoron Holy Monastery of the Transfiguration of the Saviour in Thessaly. Most likely it derives from a liturgical vestment of a high-ranking religious dignitary in Cyprus.

*Comparanda.* There are three large collections of Byzantine and Post-Byzantine mother-of-pearl buckles carved in almond-shaped, shallow shells in the Archaeological Museum of Kayseri (ancient Caesarea), Nevşehir and Niğde<sup>136</sup>, all in Cappadocia. Also in other parts of Turkey there are several such objects of Post-Byzantine folk arts, including crosses by mother-of-pearl<sup>137</sup>: in the Museum of Çorum in Galatia there is large collection of bronze liturgical material with two mother-in-pearl which are extremely similar to the ones in Cilicia and Kahramanmaraş, in the Museum of Yozgat (a medallion), in the Museum of Yalvaç (Pisidian Antioch; a mother-in-pearl medallion featuring the Image of Edessa where the face of Jesus appeared miraculously on a piece of cloth that was sent to King Abgar), in the Archaeological Museum of Şanlıurfa (a medallion with Virgin Mary and Infant Jesus, encircled by an inscription in Armenian; acc. no. 13644, acquisition, Diam. 28 mm, Th. 3 mm), in the Archaeological Museum of İzmir, in the Museum of Bandırma, in the Museum of Tekirdağ (three pieces) and in the Museum of Edirne (one piece). In the Hagia Triada Greek church in Urla, İzmir which was built in the mid-19th century such finds were excavated in a bothros and remain unpublished. All these examples, especially those from Cappadocian museums, have a close resemblance to each other in material, composition, manner of carving, workmanship, iconography, themes and style. The themes on mother-of-pearl buckles are especially recalling religious scenes on contemporary Post-Byzantine metalwork.

*Dating.* 17th–19th century.

**No. 71.** A devotional image from Adana (fig. 15/7)

Archaeological Museum of Adana, acc. no. 3733.

*Measurements.* Pres. H. ca. 125 mm, max. W. ca. 56 mm.

*Description.* Mother-of-pearl valve worked to form the silhouette of a bishop saint. His holiness is indicated by the circular halo. The saint has a long beard and smooth hair that goes

<sup>136</sup> MİMİROĞLU, ÜNLÜLER 2018.

<sup>137</sup> As indicated above, a cross by mother-of-pearl was excavated at the Castle of Alanya in 2004, cf. ARIK 2006, 216, 227, fig. 10.

down to the shoulders. His right hand is raised in the typical gesture of the Byzantine blessing, with three fingers upwards. The fact that the stole falls straight suggests that he is a bishop. The stole itself bears decorations in the shape of a cross.

*Dating.* 1750–1850.

### **Mother-of-pearl buckles as carved shells in the Archaeological Museum of Kahramanmaraş (fig. 16)**

The folk art of mother-of-pearl inlays on wooden and on other media is very frequent in the Ottoman and Turkish Kahramanmaraş and Gaziantep region, perhaps this local art has relationships with Post-Medieval art of mother-of-pearl in the same region. Although thematically these artefacts do not belong to our corpus, we still included them, as they are not well known in the present scholarly literature of Post-Byzantine Asia Minor.

Here is a catalogue of six mother-of-pearl buckles as carved shells in the Archaeological Museum of Kahramanmaraş:

**No. 72.** A mother-of-pearl buckle figuring Infant Jesus (fig. 16/1)

*Measurements.* H. ca. 72 mm, W. ca. 84 mm.

*Description.* The scene depicts Infant Jesus, placed on the cradle and swaddled. On the right St. Mary in an act of adoration and on the left St. Joseph. In the centre is a stable window, with a chrismon-shaped grille.

*Comparanda.* There are two exact parallels, the first one is from the Archaeological Museum of Mersin, and the second one from the Museum of Bandırma in north-western part of Turkey. Their style, manner of engraving and the subject are so similar to this example in Kahramanmaraş that they may most probably have been produced in the same workshop, if not by the same craftsman.

*Dating.* 17th–19th century.

**No. 73.** A mother-of-pearl buckle figuring Constantine the Great (fig. 16/2)

*Measurements.* H. ca. 79 mm, W. ca. 84 mm.

*Description.* The scene depicts Constantine the Great standing, who died in 337, founder of Constantinople and the first Christian Roman Emperor, dressed in a cloak with embroidered stars, over a tunic. In his right hand he holds the scepter and in his left the cross. On his head a crown. Above his right hand is part of an engraved letter Ko[νσταντίνος].

In the free spaces floral elements.

*Dating.* 17th–19th century.

**No. 74.** A mother-of-pearl buckle figuring a bird (fig. 16/3)

*Measurements.* Pres. H. ca. 84 mm, W. ca. 91 mm.

*Description.* Part of a scene that perhaps was completed in the other valve. An eagle (?) or peacock (?) facing right, touches an altar (?) with its beak. In the left corner floral motif.

*Dating.* 17th–19th century.

**No. 75.** A mother-of-pearl buckle figuring Christ (fig. 16/4)

*Measurements.* Pres. H. ca. 76 mm, pres. W. ca. 69 mm.

*Description.* Part of Christ with halo holding the cross in his left hand. He wears a dalmatic.

The same decoration appears on the bottom right.

*Dating.* 17th–19th century.

**No. 76.** A mother-of-pearl buckle figuring a saint (fig. 16/5)

*Measurements.* H. ca. 83 mm, W. ca. 95 mm.

*Description.* Perhaps this piece was used as a reliquary. A saint with halo on horseback to the left, a second figure lying on the ground. Perhaps Saint Martin cutting half of his cloak.

*Dating.* 17th–19th century.

**No. 77.** A mother-of-pearl buckle figuring the adoration of Infant Jesus (fig. 16/6)

*Measurements.* H. ca. 68 mm, Diam. ca. 64 mm.

*Description.* This piece with adoration of the Infant Jesus was used as a pendant. The Virgin on the left and Saint Joseph on the right: both with rays branching out at the top of their heads. In the centre is the Infant Jesus, also adored by the ox and the donkey. From above God the Father and the Holy Spirit. In the centre a small star or chrism.

*Dating.* 17th–19th century.

### **Polycandela**

According to Donald M. Bailey there is “an immense variety of detail in polycandela”<sup>138</sup>. As polycandela exist for a long period of time, they date from the fifth to the 11th century. Many were undoubtedly in use in ecclesiastical buildings, but certainly many others were used in private homes as well. They could have been made of silver, brass or bronze. They generally have three suspension chains and sometimes four. The chains can come together at the top in a ring (in the simplest type) or be hung on a complicated hook, of the form that could also be used for the suspension chains of fireplaces.

In 2010 Maria Xanthopoulou listed about twenty flat-band type polycandela with six circular holes<sup>139</sup>. As mentioned above, perhaps cheaper types of polycandela formed from bronze sheets could exist, such as those parts of which were found in the basilica of Elaiussa Sebaste.

The dates assigned here for our seven polycandela from Cilicia, i.e., seventh–tenth centuries, should be considered as rough approximations, and could chronologically be extended to a wider extension.

**No. 78.** A bronze cross attached to a suspension element from Silifke (fig. 17/1)

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<sup>138</sup> BAILEY 1996, 107.

<sup>139</sup> XANTHOPOULOU 2010, cat. nos. LU 2.001–2.021.

Museum of Silifke.

*Measurements.* H. ca. 78 mm, W. 38 mm.

*Description.* A perforated disc with a Maltese cross hangs from an upper element with a hook.

*Dating.* Sixth–seventh century.

**No. 79.** A suspension element with a polycandelon hook from Adana (fig. 17/2)

Archaeological Museum of Adana.

*Measurements.* H. whole item ca. 114 mm, W. cross 35 mm.

*Description.* A perforated disc with a Maltese cross hangs from an upper element with a hook, from which three small chains interspersed with three solid discs hang, each of which holds a hook.

*Dating.* Sixth–seventh century.

**No. 80.** A bronze cross attached to a suspension element with polycandelon hook from Silifke (fig. 17/3)

Museum of Silifke.

*Measurements.* H. ca. 87 mm, Diam. cross-medallion 24 mm.

*Description.* The cross is made up by two strips, widened towards the ends and joined in the centre. It has two holes at the ends of the vertical arm.

It finds many parallels with similar crosses: e.g., from the Balkan area such as Justiniana Prima (mod. Caričin Grad), Serbia and from Salona (mod. Solin), Croatia, but the type was popular in Asia Minor<sup>140</sup> as well, and in Syria, as shown by the present example and other specimens published in this article. Among the closest *comparanda* there is an example from Felix Romuliana (mod. Gamzigrad) in Serbia where a cross like ours with an identical hanging system is placed at the top of a polycandelon<sup>141</sup>.

Justiniana Prima would have been used only for about 80 years, precisely from around 530, i.e., before Justinian proclaimed his hometown as an ecclesiastical archdiocese, to 615, when the Avars destroyed it, which caused its final abandonment. This chronology could also be valid for our cross, while taking into account that similar hanging systems were also used for other liturgical furnishings, such as for example hemispherical censers. Another certain element of *comparandum* comes from the basilica on the agora of Elaiussa Sebaste, where a type of polycandelon formed by cold-pressed bronze sheets was reconstructed, which seems to have hung in the centre of each arch. A cross found here has the same suspension hook and hole in

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<sup>140</sup> For the examples at the Archaeological Museums of Istanbul see ATASOY 2005a, 104, cat. no. 174, dated to the sixth and seventh centuries.

<sup>141</sup> DUVAL, POPOVIĆ 1984, 132–140.

the lower part<sup>142</sup>. It has been assumed that such objects were produced by local workshops, following a design and taste widely diffused by centralized “ateliers” specialized in bronze<sup>143</sup>.

*Dating.* Sixth–seventh century.

**No. 81.** A polycandelon from Alanya (fig. 18/1)

Museum of Alanya, acc. no. 3.10.80.

*Measurements.* H. ca. 358 mm, Diam. disc ca. 184 mm.

*Description.* The crown is made up of a simple metal band, with six circular holes for inserting glass lamps. It is supported by three chains formed in the lower part by a series of rings to which elongated and enlarged sheets in the centre are attached, which is an unusual shape for this kind of objects (see an example at the British Museum<sup>144</sup>, and a silver polycandelon from Lampsacus in the Troad<sup>145</sup>). For similar suspension systems, see a polycandelon from Bursa in north-western Turkey, now at the Rijksmuseum in Leiden<sup>146</sup>; also two polycandela from Sardis<sup>147</sup>.

A specimen with an identical crown is curated in the Archaeological Museums of Istanbul<sup>148</sup>, which was found in Kastamonu in northern Turkey and dated to the fifth and sixth centuries.

*Comparanda.* SCHLUMBERGER 1893, 442 (11th–12th century); FAIDER-FEYTMANS 1952, 191, s. 15, pl. 65, s. 15 (“lustre de synagogue”; sixth century); WALDBAUM 1983, 101, pl. 38, no. 589; GAWLIKOWSKI, MUSA 1986, 153 (early eighth century, from Jordan); CAPUTO 1987, 228, fig. 19 (two examples from the seventh–eighth century, from the Severian basilica in Leptis Magna); ENGLE 1987, 35, fig. 22; BÉNAZETH 1992, 264, no. AF 1329 (Islamic, tenth century, from Edfu in Egypt); BAUMSTARK, BORKOPP-RESTLE 1998, 93, no. 92 (fifth–sixth century, from Syria).

*Dating.* Sixth–seventh century.

*Reference.* Our polycandelon is considered in ACARA 1990, 55, no. 15, fig. 12 and dated to the sixth century.

**No. 82.** A polycandelon from Silifke (fig. 18/2a–b)

Museum of Silifke.

*Measurements.* H. ca. 247 mm, Diam. disc ca. 87 mm.

*Description.* Almost identical specimen, with a similar suspension system. There is only a little ring under the hook which distinguishes it from the other examples.

<sup>142</sup> RICCI 2010, 255, fig. 236.

<sup>143</sup> RICCI 2010, 258.

<sup>144</sup> BAILEY 1996, 107–108, Q 3933.

<sup>145</sup> BAILEY 1996, 565–578.

<sup>146</sup> ANONYMOUS 1986, 173, no. 248.

<sup>147</sup> WALDBAUM 1983, 101, pl. 38, nos. 591–592 (with further bibliography).

<sup>148</sup> ATASOY 2005a, 98, cat. no. 164.

Comparandum. For an example at the Archaeological Museums of Istanbul, cf. ATASOY 2005a, 98, cat. no. 164 (see previous example).

*Dating.* Sixth–seventh century.

**No. 83.** A polycandelon from Alanya (fig. 18/3)

Museum of Alanya, acc. no. 12.2.79.

*Measurements.* Diam. disc 148 mm.

*Description.* The crown appears to be of the simplest type, with three circles for accommodating the lamps, interspersed with three smooth, transverse rods. The hooks for the chains are not seen, so it is probable that the suspension system was different and consisted of movable rods that allowed this crown to be raised above the support surface.

For the simplicity of execution, the polycandelon is comparable to another example in the British Museum which is dated to the sixth–seventh century<sup>149</sup>, from Sidon, Lebanon). Another identical example in the Archaeological Museums of Istanbul is dated to the sixth and seventh centuries<sup>150</sup>.

Comparanda. WULF 1909, 211, pl. 59, no. 1006 (seventh century, from Giza, Egypt); LECLERQ 1927, 140, cat. no. 5796, pl. 64 (sixth–seventh centuries).

*Reference.* The specimen has already been considered in ACARA 1990, 56, no. 16, fig. 13 and dated to the seventh century.

*Dating.* Sixth–seventh century.

**No. 84.** A polycandelon from Silifke (fig. 18/4)

Museum of Silifke.

*Measurements.* Diam. disc 213 mm.

*Description.* The chains are made up of a series of rings interspersed with perforated discs and are connected to a central part that encloses a Greek cross with extended arms within a disc. The motif, although rendered differently, is present in a polycandelon at the British Museum<sup>151</sup>, dated to the sixth–seventh century).

The crown, worked with the usual “openwork” system, alternates within a band delimited by two wide edges and six circular holes for the lamps, between which Greek crosses are placed. For similar crowns, but with an additional cruciform motif in the centre, cf. an example from Heraklion on Crete (with different chains)<sup>152</sup>.

*Dating.* Sixth–seventh century.

### Miscellaneous liturgical objects (fig. 19–20)

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<sup>149</sup> BAILEY 1996, 107–108, Q 3932.

<sup>150</sup> ATASOY 2005a, 105, cat. no. 175.

<sup>151</sup> BAILEY 1996, 108, Q 3935.

<sup>152</sup> See also WULF 1909, cat. no. 1011 from Luxor, Egypt (for the cross) and no. 1007 from Smyrna, Turkey (for the hook); XANTHOPOULOU 2010, 303, cat. no. LU 5.008 (Early Christian or Medieval period).

**No. 85.** A casting mould of a pilgrim flask with the depiction of St. Symeon Stylites the Younger from Gaziantep (fig. 19/1)

Archaeological Museum of Gaziantep, acc. no. 145.

Acc. no. 145.

*Measurements.* H. 135 mm, Diam. ampulla 75 mm, W. 95 mm.

*Find-spot.* *Mons admirabilis*, mod. Samandağ in the province of Hatay in south-eastern Turkey?

*Typological description and state of preservation.* A steatite (soapstone) casting valve for a lead eulogy ampulla inscribed in Greek which is reduced today to two fragments. The other side of the ampulla – presumably with the representation of a Patonce cross – had to be prepared with another valve, now lost. Currently we do not know any lead ampullae produced with our mould from Gaziantep.

The flattened, hexagonal body of a small, handleless, nearly globular flask appears at the center of the mould. In its lower part the ampulla presents two circular recesses for fixing another piece and another similar recess is visible in the upper part. There is also a trapezoidal recess towards the lower edge which corresponds to another decorated “basket”, weaving in the upper part for the neck of the flask. Its two fragments do not match perfectly.

*Epigraphic description.* The inscription, placed between two flat bands, reads “Εὐλογία [Κ]υρίου καὶ τοῦ Ἁγίου [θαυματοῦρ]γου”, meaning “Eulogia of the Lord and the saintly thaumaturgist”. A double bar marks both the beginning and end of this inscription. Among the double bars, at the top, there are some unclear letters, possibly as ΥΓΙΑ = ὑγία or ὑγία for “health!”. This acclamation can sometimes be found in some Christian texts on small objects in this position<sup>153</sup>.

*Decoration.* Another decorated band with crossed elements alternating with full circles delimits the field, which is divided into two parts. In the upper one there is the well-known figure of St. Symeon Stylites the Younger who is seated in the middle (in fact the legs had atrophied for long permanence on a column) flanked by two angels in a gesture of veneration, perhaps waving palm leaves. Below, in a lower part, which is very damaged, flanking the column are two stylized knights riding two mounts in a heraldic position, with a very thin stem and a small cubic base: behind each of them is a cross, in the manner of the cruciferous lambs that appear in Western art in the Early Middle Ages, i.e., seventh century. The column appears

<sup>153</sup> The practice of distributing stamped bread is known as *hygieia* and this practice was identified at pagan shrines by some scholars, as the precursor of the later Christian practice of distributing *eulogia*: NOWAKOWSKI 2018, 140, 199. Cf. for “ὑγεία” in the reliquary of Conon: [NOWAKOWSKI 2018, 91, E01085 <<http://csla.history.ox.ac.uk/record.php?recid=E01085>> (accessed on 1 January 2024)]; or “ὑγία” in an inscribed horse brass with Greek invocations, found in Iconium in Lycaonia, dating probably to the seventh century: [NOWAKOWSKI 2018, 91, E0092 <<http://csla.history.ox.ac.uk/record.php?recid=E00927>> (accessed on 1 January 2024)]; or in a Greek invocation of Theodotos, probably a Montanist martyr from Ancyra: [NOWAKOWSKI 2018, 91, E00991 <<http://csla.history.ox.ac.uk/record.php?recid=E00991>> (accessed on 1 January 2024)].

very thin: this goes parallel with the tradition that assigns a considerable height to the (second) column of Symeon. The presence of the two knights constitutes an unicum and would justify an innovation comparable with a late dating.

*Comments.* The cult of Saint Symeon (or Simeon) Stylites the Younger (also known as “St. Symeon of the Admirable Mountain”; 521–† May 24, 592) is well attested by pilgrimage objects: so far we know ca. 40–50 Late Antique terracotta tokens, ca. 16 lead medaillons<sup>154</sup> and corresponding two Middle Byzantine moulds, but no lead ampullae yet, except our mould from Gaziantep.

Stylites were ascetics who lived on platforms atop columns and Syria was home to large numbers of stylites<sup>155</sup>. As the life of St. Symeon Stylites the Younger from Antioch-on-the-Orontes records, at the age of only six years he retired to John the Stylite, where he remained until the age of twelve or thirteen years. Initially he had a forty-foot column erected for himself, then moved to Seleucia ad Belum (today Qennisrin, near mod. ‘Is, Syria) on a new column for eight years, before, in 541, the monks built on *Mons admirabilis* (“wondrous mountain”, mod. Samandağ), named after the miracles he worked there, 17 km south-west of Antioch-on-the-Orontes, on halfway between Antioch and Aleppo, a monastery with a new column in the middle of an octagonal court, where he remained for another fifty years<sup>156</sup>. As a consequence, he became the most famous stylite of the sixth century and his fame produced numerous pilgrimages, made during his life and after his death. Thus, *Mons admirabilis* functioned as a pilgrimage site until the arrival of the Arabs. His celebrity supplanted that of St. Symeon Stylites the Elder (ca. 389–459), who was the first stylite and whose column was venerated at Qal’at Sim’ān (سَمْعَانِ قَلْعَة in Arabic) in Syria.<sup>157</sup> After the reconquest of the area by Byzantine troops in 969, the monastery and the cult of St. Symeon Stylites the Younger started to flourish again. As part of this development, the production of pilgrim’s eulogies was reintroduced there until 1074. The site was visited by many pilgrims and monks from afar and the nearby harbour site became known as “Portus St. Symeonis”, the main port of call for the principality of Antioch which was established as a consequence of the First Crusade in 1098.

Initially – during his lifetime – the pilgrim’s eulogies were first made of stamped earth, clay, mixed with wax and objects of the saint himself like hair, who himself gave it to visitors (σφραγίδες in Greek). Stylite figures also appear on small bottles that might have been used to collect oil taken from the lamps at Symeon’s tomb in Antioch-on-the-Orontes<sup>158</sup>. The tomb was part of a large monastic complex – built upon the site of his second pillar – that drew numerous pilgrims even during Symeon’s lifetime. Those objects were no longer produced after the Arab

<sup>154</sup> LIBERTINI 1930, 79–84; XYNGOPOULOS 1948, *eulogia passim*.

<sup>155</sup> RATLIFF 2012.

<sup>156</sup> LAFONTAINE-DOSOGNE 1967, 85–86.

<sup>157</sup> For the site and materials from there, cf. GÉRARD *et alii* 1997; SODINI *et alii* 2011; and SODINI 2012.

<sup>158</sup> PÜLZ 2020, 96.

conquest in the 630's. Yet sometime after the Byzantine reconquest of 969, a production of lead medallions and ampullae was initiated. They were produced by casting moulds like the one we are dealing with.

As our inscription expressly states, it is – or rather it contains – an “εὐλογία”. This Greek term means adulation, praise, blessing or gift and applies to several categories of objects. It refers to a divine blessing and in relation to the saints it has the meaning of contact relics which were usually given to visitors and pilgrims. That's known to have been done at the site in the case of St. Symeon in Late Antiquity<sup>159</sup>, and may be surmised also for the later period. In general, they could be tokens containing eulogy dust, or containers filled by an eulogy, in terracotta, metal or glass, but by the Middle Byzantine period there were apparently understood as metal-cast medallions, which did not contain any contact relic. They were given to pilgrims and served as an attestation of the pilgrimage accomplished or as a gift for the faithful who remained in their homeland. They have various formats and different iconography, often adapted to the saint worshipped in famous shrines, but also referring to important points of Christian doctrine. Most often many craftsmen used iconographies already employed for other saints: it is typical the case of St. Symeon Stylites the Younger for whom images related to St. Symeon Stylites the Elder were used as a paragon. But it should also be stressed that it is difficult to distinguish depictions of the two saints on objects without inscriptions.

We know several moulds for both the ampullae and the medallions. Very similar is a mould from Jerusalem, somewhat smaller, which was used for the preparation of Late Antique ampullae related to the Monza-Bobbio group which was found in 1903 in the excavation within the Latin cemetery of Mount Zion, a broad hill south of the Old City's Armenian quarter<sup>160</sup>. The hemispherical holes for fixing the corresponding valve and the lower recess for casting the molten metal appear in such moulds. Yet the moulds for the lead medallions of St. Symeon Stylites the Younger have a different form: one was found in 1969 at al-Fawz on the road from Aleppo to Laodicea ad Mare (mod. Latakia), and is now housed in the Louvre<sup>161</sup>. The Kelsey Museum of Archaeology of the University of Michigan in Ann Arbor preserves a second example, dated to the tenth century (acc. no. 87.517).

Among the devotional objects related to St. Symeon Stylites the Younger there is a certain variety in the scenic motives and the circumscriptions to be detected, although the representation of the saint between the two angels is a constant feature. Below, St. Martha from Edessa, the mother of St. Symeon Stylites the Younger, and Conon, the saint's disciple, have to be expected, because they were always depicted on the Late Antique tokens. St. Martha suggested a monastery to be built around the column on the Mountain of Miracles and spent most of her time at the base of the column; therefore, she was depicted on some of the

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<sup>159</sup> VERDIER 1980, 28.

<sup>160</sup> PICCIRILLO 1994, 585, fig. 1 (mould A) and 586, fig. 2 (mould B).

<sup>161</sup> LAFONTAINE-DOSOGNE 1967, 145.

medallions made in honour of the stylite. Yet, in our case on our matrix the unusual scene of the two figures on horseback, which somehow recalls St. Menas flanked by two camels, appears to be peculiar, perhaps for reasons of size. It is reminiscent of the antipodal representations of the warrior-saints, i.e., St. Theodore the Recruit or St. George, very common in Byzantine art since the tenth century. Yet on the mould, any accompanying inscription to the depictions is lost.

So far, Late Antique terracotta tokens, and medallions and ampullae of Middle Byzantine period are known to be related to the cult of St. Symeon Stylites the Younger. In 1967 Jacqueline Lafontaine-Dosogne with Bernard Orgels has counted 19 terracotta tokens housed in the Archaeological Museum of Hatay. Many more can be added, e.g., in the Franciscan School and Church of Aleppo there were five other terracotta tokens before the Syrian War. Furthermore, Lafontaine-Dosogne recorded eleven lead medallions related to the cult of St. Symeon Stylites the Younger<sup>162</sup>, to which must be added the other five considered by Philippe Verdier from the north American and west European collections<sup>163</sup>. In our case the field is clearly divided into two parts and the presence of the two people on horseback at the base of the column appears as an innovative element. As it is an evolved type, it belongs to a period between 969 and 1074. Being repetitive scenes, probably the vitality of the subjects and their representations was very long. There is no doubt that the pilgrimages to the monastery where St. Symeon Stylites the Younger had lived, enjoyed a great popularity already in the Early Byzantine period, as testified by e.g., the Anonymous Pilgrim of Piacenza, a sixth-century pilgrim from Piacenza in northern Italy who traveled to the Holy Land at the height of Byzantine rule in the 570s and wrote a narrative of his pilgrimage.

*Dating.* Between 969 and 1074 in which period *Mons admirabilis* functioned as a pilgrimage site and production centre as a revival during the Byzantine reoccupation.

*Reference.* LAFLI, BUORA 2020. The piece was reported by J. Leroy to Jacqueline Lafontaine-Dosogne and, therefore, is quoted in LAFONTAINE-DOSOGNE 1967, 171. For further reading on Christian pilgrimage sites in Syria, cf. PEÑA 2000.

**No. 86.** An oinophoros from Alanya (fig. 19/2)

Museum Alanya.

*Measurements.* Diam. ca. 109 mm, Th. 44 mm.

*Provenance.* It is possible that this piece was transferred from a local museum in Pisidia (Isparta, Burdur or Yalvaç) to Alanya.

*Description.* Its clay is orange mixture with brown engobe, a very similar fabric and colour to Sagalassian red-slipped-ware. A damaged specimen without the neck and the (abstract?) scene with figures and floral as well as geometric ornaments on the body is practically illegible.

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<sup>162</sup> LAFONTAINE-DOSOGNE 1967, 146.

<sup>163</sup> VERDIER 1980.

Only in the main face an external band with running dogs or hares that wraps another band with raised circles is discernible.

Comparanda. For Sagalassian oinophoroi from Seleucia Sidera in Pisidia<sup>164</sup>.

*Dating.* Late sixth–seventh century.

**No. 87.** An ampulla from Hatay (fig. 19/3a–b)

Archaeological Museum of Hatay.

*Measurements.* H. 94 mm, Diam. 79 mm, rim Diam. 32 mm, Th. 28 mm.

*Description and state of preservation.* Brownish clay. Partially spoiled in the mouth. Two small handles flank the short neck which opens with a mouth with a thickened edge. The original lid is missing.

Compared to many similar containers, our example does not show images of saints or inscriptions relating to them. However, on both sides it presents motifs that are very common on the ampullae dedicated to holy personalities.

Here on side A we see a six-petaled flower with small circles in relief between the petals themselves. Before the circular border there are also curvilinear motifs and all around a circular crown with small circles in relief.

On side B there is the Greek cross which often appears on the medallions of St. Symeon Stylites the Younger. It has raised edges and a midline in the arms. Small circulars before the raised edge.

Comparandum. KATSIOTI 2011, 416, cat. no. 140, from the Archaeological Museum of Nisyros, acc. no. 257, dated to 560–619.

*Dating.* Late sixth–seventh century.

**No. 88.** A St. Menas pilgrim flask from Hatay (fig. 19/4a–b)

Archaeological Museum of Hatay, acc. 19098.

*Measurements.* H. 103 mm, Diam. 81 mm, rim diam. 41 mm, T. 29 mm.

*Provenance.* Antioch-on-the-Orontes?

*Description and state of preservation.* Brown-greyish clay. Partially fragmented in the upper part of the mouth. The ampulla has a damaged surface, but not so much that the descents of the two faces are not recognizable.

On side A, St. Menas of Egypt appears in military dress with his arms raised in the gesture of praying. Above two crosses or rather flowers, i.e., lilies that he seems to be holding in his hand. On the sides appear two barely recognizable camels. Similar to an ampulla at Louvre [acc. no. E 24445, AF 795; <<https://collections.louvre.fr/en/ark:/53355/cl010044390>> (accessed on 1 January 2024)], the camels depicted here have their heads down and bodies rendered schematically.

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<sup>164</sup> LAFLI 1999; 2004.

On side B in the centre a Greek cross, surrounded by an inscription Εὐλ[ογίης τοῦ] Ἁγίου Μηνά (“the blessing of the Holy Menas”) in turn bordered by a decorative band.

Comparandum. SKABAVIAS 2007, 18.

*Dating.* Late sixth–seventh century.

**No. 89.** A tondo fragment of a plate from the Roman street in Tarsus (fig. 20/1)

Museum of Tarsus, excavation acc. no. T.03.8J.ün.13.

Measurements. H. 43 mm, tondo Diam. 120 mm, W. 180 mm.

*Provenance.* Excavated in the Roman street of Tarsus which was accidentally unearthed in a construction pit in 1993. The street was constructed probably in the first century and excavations were carried out here between 1993 and 2001. In addition to the street, there are ruins of a pool in the middle of the courtyard of a building, which has a single room and a mosaic-covered courtyard, thought to have been used as a residence, to the southwest of the street. These buildings and a columned platform located just southwest of the street as well date back to the fourth and fifth century. Most of the finds from these areas are from the Roman period, and almost no liturgical object of Early Byzantine period is known.

*Description.* An African red-slipped ware dish with a stamped common depiction of a certain miracle of Christ, i.e., healing the man born blind according to the Gospel of John 9:1–12 where Christ is facing and wearing nimbus cruciger.

*Dating.* 550–600.

*Reference.* ADAK ADIBELLÌ 2013, 22–24, cat. no. 6, p. 28, fig. 6–7 with further *comparanda*, such as a very similar example on a red-slipped plate fragment from the Agora of Smyrna.

Even though most of the objects between cat. nos. 90 and 95 below are modern and not Byzantine, archaeologically they are representations of the Post-Byzantine Christian communities in southern Anatolia, and serve as social documents for increasing our understanding of the 19th–20th century in southern Anatolia. Adding these entries will help to illuminate the proper historical and cultural context of these geographies, and expand our knowledge in sociological and anthropological terms.

**Nos. 90.** Seven Post-Byzantine bronze and iron bells from Mersin (fig. 20/2a–b)

Archaeological Museum of Mersin.

Measurements. H. 48–135 mm, Diam. or W. 39–99 mm.

*Description.* In the Byzantine and Post-Byzantine Orthodox Churches there is a long and complex history of small bells, with particular bells being rung in particular ways to signify different parts of the divine services etc. This custom was particularly sophisticated in the Byzantine Church.

The small bells from Mersin can be single or part of a set of bells for symbolic use. Almost all of them consist of a cup-shaped cast metal resonator with a flared thickened rim and a

pivoted clapper hanging from its centre inside. Note the variety of shapes (hemispherical, truncated cone or quadrangular section), dimensions and material. Some of them have no liturgical purpose.

*Dating.* Late Medieval and Post-Medieval periods.

**No. 91.** A bronze applique from Kahramanmaraş (fig. 20/3)

Archaeological Museum of Kahramanmaraş.

Measurements. H. 81 mm, W. 57 mm.

*Description.* The very original image represents a flower with two leaves, but at the same time suggests the idea of an angel with two wings.

*Dating.* Medieval period?

**No. 92.** A reliquary diptych from Kahramanmaraş (fig. 20/4)

Archaeological Museum of Kahramanmaraş.

Measurements. H. 124 mm, W. each plate 73 mm.

*Description.* A brass diptych (perhaps initially triptych) figuring Christ Pantocrator on the left wing and John the Baptist on the right. A diptych is any object with two flat plates which form a pair, often attached by hinge.

On the left image Christ held the open gospel with his left hand, while his right hand is in the act of blessing. On the right, bearded John is holding a child in his hand in a tub. His head is located in the center of a large sunken halo and two wings emerge from the shoulders.

The inscription on the left wing at the top is IC XC (Jesus Christ) in Greek and in the middle ГДЪ ВСАДЪРЖИТАЛЬ (Lord Almighty) in Old Church Slavonic. The inscription on the right wing at the top is сѢМЪ ІОАННЪ КРАСТѢАЛЬ (St John the Baptist) in Old Church Slavonic as well.

A popular object in Late Ottoman–Early Republican Anatolia

*Dating.* It is obviously a Russian production of the early 20th century.

**No. 93.** A reproduction of the Kazan Icon of the Holy Virgin from Kahramanmaraş (fig. 20, 5)

Archaeological Museum of Kahramanmaraş.

Measurements. H. 224 mm, W. 140 mm, Th. 21 mm.

*Description.* This is a late 19th century Russian reproduction of the famous Our Lady of Kazan icon, also called Mother of God of Kazan, which is of the highest stature within the Russian Orthodox Church, representing the Virgin Mary as the protector and patroness of the city of Kazan in south-western Russia, and a palladium of all of Russia and Russians, known as the Holy Protectress of Russia. As is the case for any holy entity under a Patriarchate in communion within the greater Eastern Orthodox Church, it is venerated by all Orthodox faithfuls. According to legend, the icon was originally acquired from Constantinople, lost in 1438, and miraculously recovered in pristine state over 140 years later in 1579. Two major cathedrals, the Kazan Cathedral, Moscow, and the Kazan Cathedral, St. Petersburg, are

consecrated to Our Lady of Kazan, and they display copies of the icon, as do numerous churches throughout the country. The original icon in Kazan was stolen, and probably destroyed, in 1904.

The icon in Kahramanmaraş depicts, as in the rest of the reproductions of the Kazan Icon of the Holy Virgin, the Virgin Mary presenting her son on her left arm to the viewer. Christ has his right hand raised in a gesture of blessing with the index and middle fingers joined to refer to the two natures of Christ and his thumb locks over the other fingers to signify the Holy Trinity.

Inscriptions in Greek in black paint flanking the Virgin's head: ΜΡ ΘΥ, which summarize Μητέρα Θεού (Mother of God). While all other inscriptions on Russian icons are generally in Old Church Slavonic, Russian iconography nonetheless kept this abbreviation in Greek as the identifying mark of Mary. The inscription in Old Church Slavonic at the bottom is Казанскіа П Б (The Kazan Holy Virgin).

Most probably this icon must be originated from a local (Armenian?) Orthodox church or private church in Kahramanmaraş. It is unknown if Russian icons were common in Armenian Orthodox churches during the Late Ottoman period in Asia Minor.

*Dating.* Late 19th century.

**No. 94.** A bronze figurine of the crucified Christ from Kahramanmaraş (fig. 20/6)

Archaeological Museum of Kahramanmaraş.

*Measurements.* H. 173 mm, W. 81 mm, Th. 12 mm.

*State of preservation.* Warm medium brown surface with remains of a dark brown surface, although most of its patina has worn away.

*Description.* Crucified Jesus Christ figurine of a cross produced by cold cast bronze. The statuette is a variation of the Cristo morto (Dead Christ) composition invented by Giambologna (1529–1608). The theme of the Crucified Christ on several different scales was popular among the Catholic communities in the Ottoman Empire during the 19th century. The present bronze is most closely related to usual crucifixion crosses made by cold cast bronze, most probably produced in Italy or Austria. Although numerous examples of corpus figures are known to have been produced in workshops in Italy, Austria or Switzerland during the 19th century, the present example is notable for its find-spot as Kahramanmaraş in south-eastern Turkey. Most probably it must originate from a local (Armenian?) Catholic church or private house in Kahramanmaraş.

*Dating.* Skepticism about its chronology derives from several factors: the detailed musculing of the anatomy and hair, its considerable weight, and the style; therefore, it should be dated into the late 19th–early 20th century.

**No. 95.** A bronze figurine of the crucified Christ from Kahramanmaraş (fig. 20/7)

Archaeological Museum of Kahramanmaraş.

*Measurements.* H. 121 mm, max. W. 36 mm.

*State of preservation.* Dark green patina.

*Description.* Similar to no. 92 above, except his hands above his head.

*Dating.* Late 19th–early 20th century.

### **3. A concluding remark**

Given the detailed nature of our corpus, the significance of the objects is obvious in terms of their contribution to understanding the religious life in Byzantine and Post-Byzantine Cilicia. These objects tie explicitly to the region of Cilicia and its historical role as a crossroads of different Christian traditions, including Byzantine, Armenian and Arabian influences. This could ground the descriptions within the broader historical narrative between the East and West of Byzantium.

#### **Acknowledgements**

All dates are AD unless otherwise stated.

Authorization to publish Byzantine and Post-Byzantine liturgical objects in the Museums of Adana, Tarsus, Silifke and Alanya was granted with two authorizations to E. Laflı by the Turkish Ministry of Culture and Tourism, Directorate of the Monuments and Museums on 31 January 2005 and enumerated as B.16.0.AMG.0.10.00.01/707.1.(9)-9714- (Archaeological Museum of Adana) and on July 4, 2007 and enumerated as B.16.0.KVM.200.11.02.02.14.01.222.11.(TA07.40/C) 116544 (Museum of Tarsus). The necessary documentation was assembled during June 2001 and December 2007, and photos of the liturgical objects in these four museums were taken by E. Laflı.

Authorization to publish Byzantine and Post-Byzantine liturgical objects in the Archaeological Museum of Mersin in the course of her doctoral thesis was granted by the Museum Directorate of Mersin on 7 September 2022 to Ms Alev Çetingöz (Dokuz Eylül University, Izmir) under of permit E-52654627-155.03-2889360. The photos of the liturgical objects in the Archaeological Museum of Mersin were taken by A. Çetingöz in December 2022.

Authorization to publish Byzantine and Post-Byzantine liturgical objects exhibited in the Archaeological Museum of Kahramanmaraş was granted by the General Directorate of Monuments and Museums of the Ministry of Culture and Tourism of the Republic of Turkey to E. Laflı on 9 December 2004 under of permit B.16.0.AMG.0.10.00.01 / 707.1 / 14 (030317). A recent permit (E-44692667-900-1421208) granted by the Museum Directorate of Kahramanmaraş on June 2, 2021 was received by Mrs Alev Çetingöz who also took the photos of the liturgical objects in the Archaeological Museum of Kahramanmaraş in December 2021. We thank Ms Çetingöz for her photographs from Kahramanmaraş, and Mr Seydihan Küçükdağlı (Culture and Tourism Department of Kahramanmaraş), for the permission to Mrs Çetingöz.

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All the drawings of crosses on figs 3, 5, 7–8 and 10 were drawn by Ms Leyla Özlüoğlu (Izmir) in 2024 for which we would like to thank Ms Özlüoğlu sincerely.

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All photographs and drawings of the objects are not to scale.

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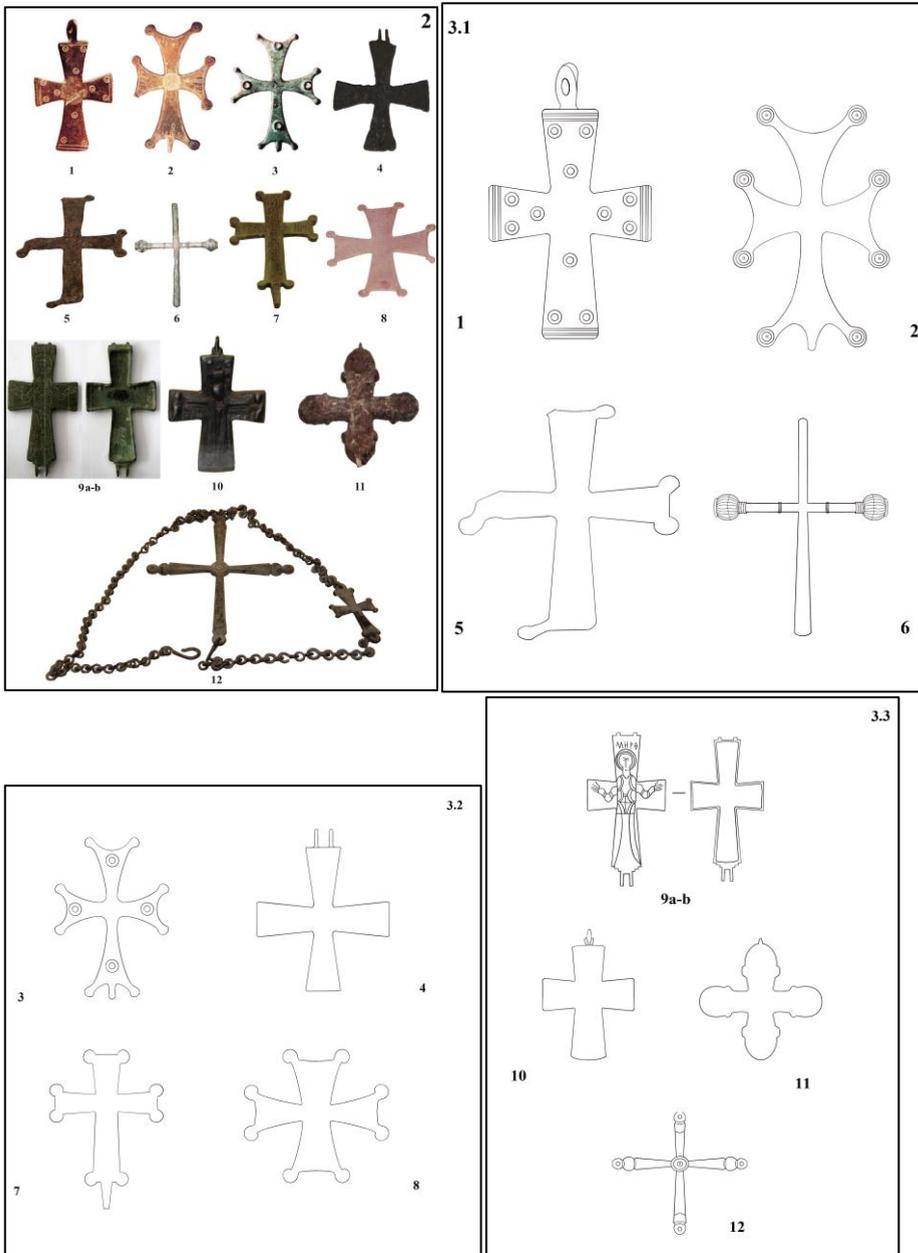
## Illustrations



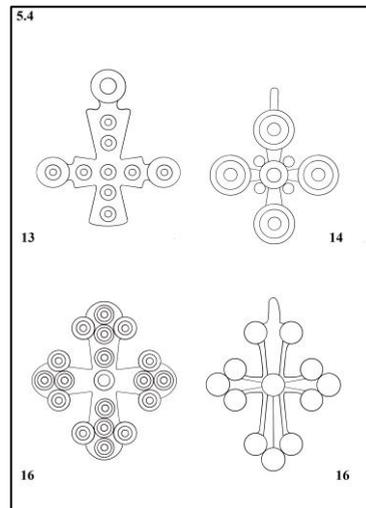
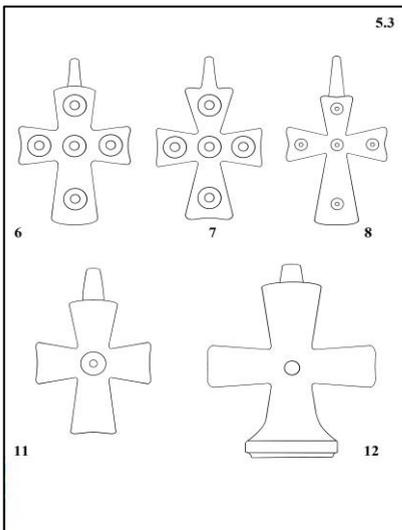
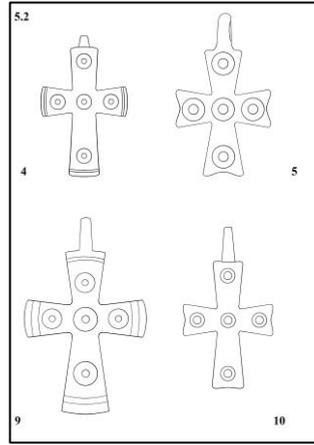
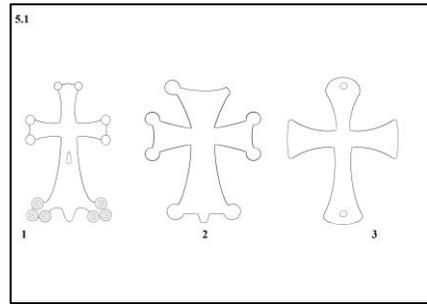
Fig. 1. 1 – Places referred to in Cilicia (drawn by F.H. Kaya, 2024);



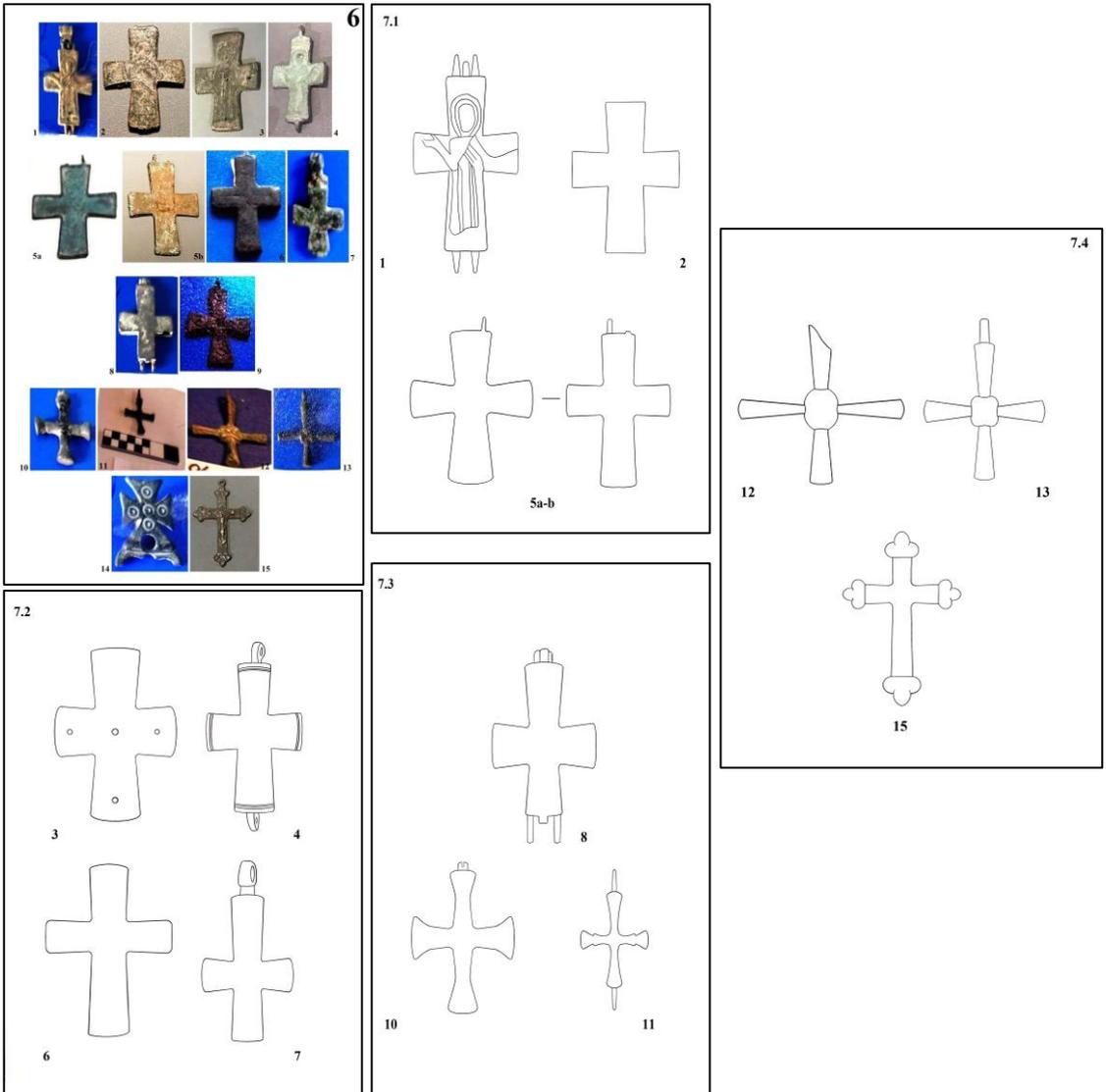
Fig. 1. 2 – Places referred to in rest of Turkey and the Near East (drawn by F.H. Kaya, 2024).



**Figs 2-3.** Bronze, silver and iron crosses from Cilicia: *1* – A pectoral cross with nut-eye decoration from Adana; *2-3* – Two processional crosses from Adana; *4* – A pectoral reliquary cross from Tarsus; *5-6* – Two processional crosses from Tarsus; *7* – A funerary cross from Seleucia Pieria; *8* – A cross from Silifke; *9a-b* – Rear part of a bivalve reliquary cross from Silifke; *10* – A reliquary (encolpion) cross from Tarsus; *11* – A pectoral cross from Tarsus; *12* – Crosses within suspension chain for a chandelier from St. Paul’s well in Tarsus.



**Figs 4-5.** Bronze, silver and iron crosses in the Archaeological Museum of Mersin: 1 – A bronze cross with an inscription; 2 – A bronze (Armenian?) cross without decoration; 3 – An iron cross; 4-9 – Six bronze crosses with incised decoration; 10 – A reliquary cross with incised decoration from Elaiussa Sebaste; 11 – An iron cross; 12-13 – Two bronze crosses with incised decoration; 14 – A bronze cross with relief-cast decoration; 15 – A bronze cross with incised decoration; 16 – A bronze cross with relief-cast decoration.



**Figs 6–7.** Bronze, silver and iron crosses in the Archaeological Museum of Mersin: 1 – A bronze reliquary cross with relief-cast decoration; 2 – A bronze reliquary cross with incised and relief-cast decoration; 3–4 – Two bronze reliquary crosses with incised decoration; 5a–b – A bronze reliquary cross without decoration; 6–8 – Three bronze reliquary crosses without decoration; 9 – A bronze reliquary cross with incised decoration; 10–12 – Three bronze crosses; 13 – An iron cross; 14 – A bronze cross with incised decoration; 15 – A silver cross with relief-cast decoration.

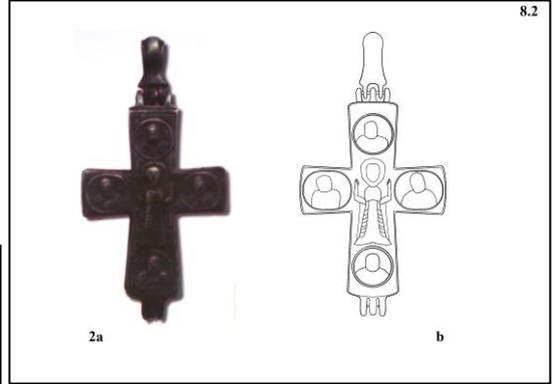
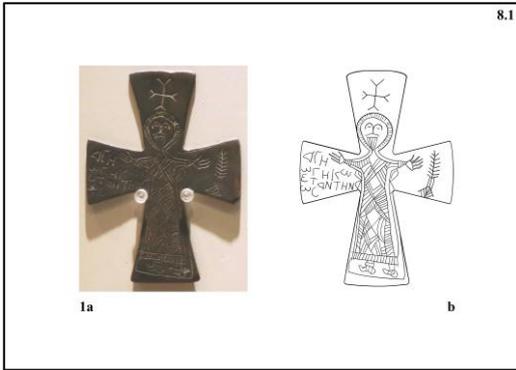
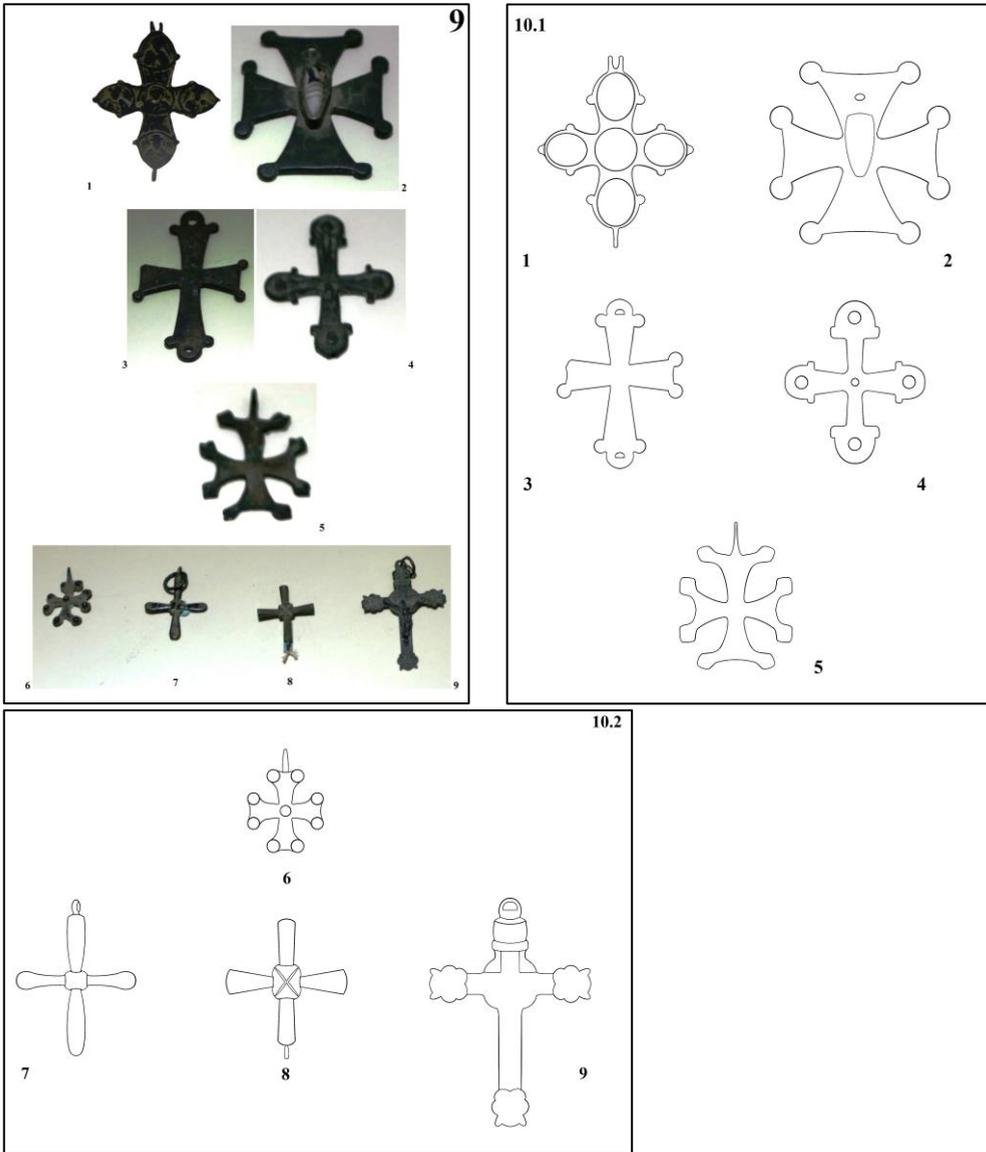


Fig. 8. 1-3 – Three bronze and silver crosses in the Museum of Alanya.



**Figs 9–10.** Bronze crosses in the Archaeological Museum of Kahramanmaraş; 1 – A bronze reliquary cross with relief-cast decoration; 2 – A bronze cross with an incised inscription; 3 – A bronze cross without decoration; 4 – A bronze cross with relief-cast decoration; 5–8 – Four bronze crosses without decoration; 9 – A bronze cross with relief-cast decoration.

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Fig. 11. 1a-c – A censer from Coropissus; 2 – A complete censer from Tarsus.

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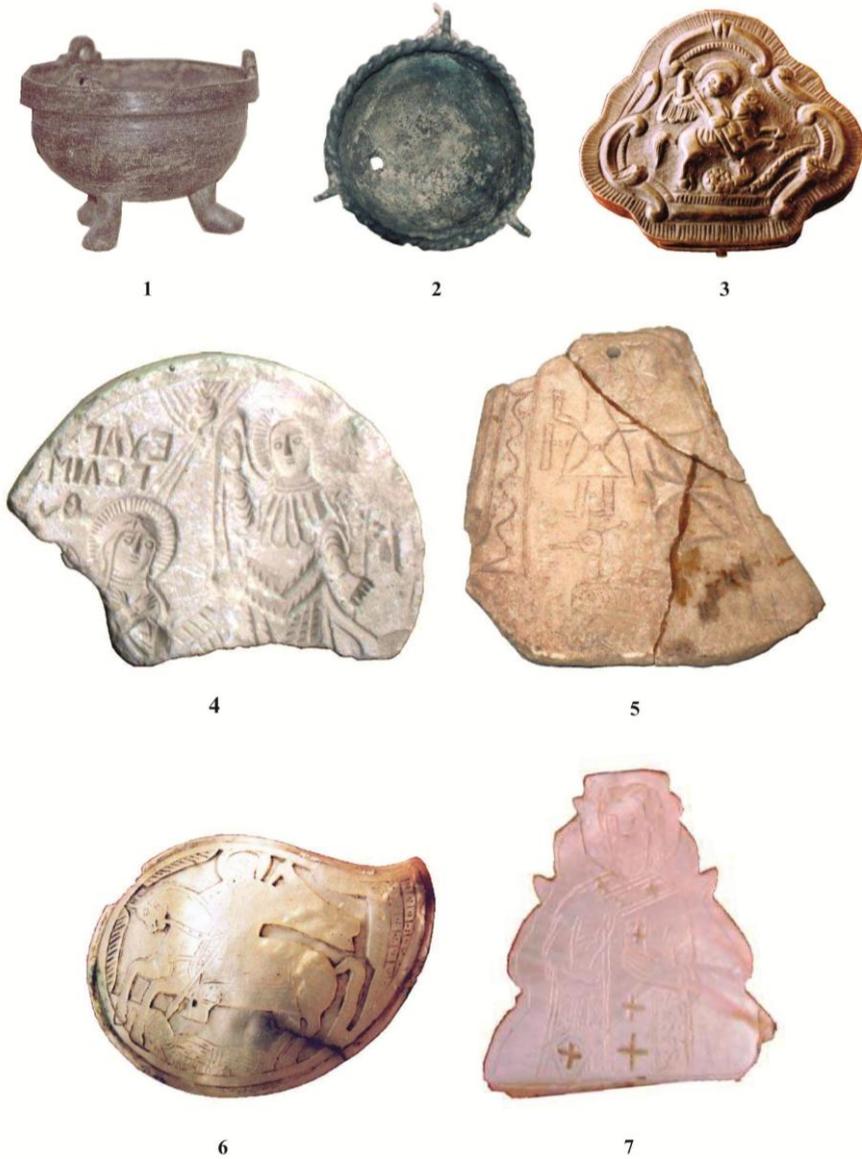
Fig. 12. Five other censers from the Museums of Mersin and Tarsus: 1-3 – Three censers from Mersin; 4-5 – Two censers from Tarsus.



**Fig. 13.** 1a-c – St. Conon's reliquary box from Çirga in Isauria, today in the Archaeological Museum of Adana.



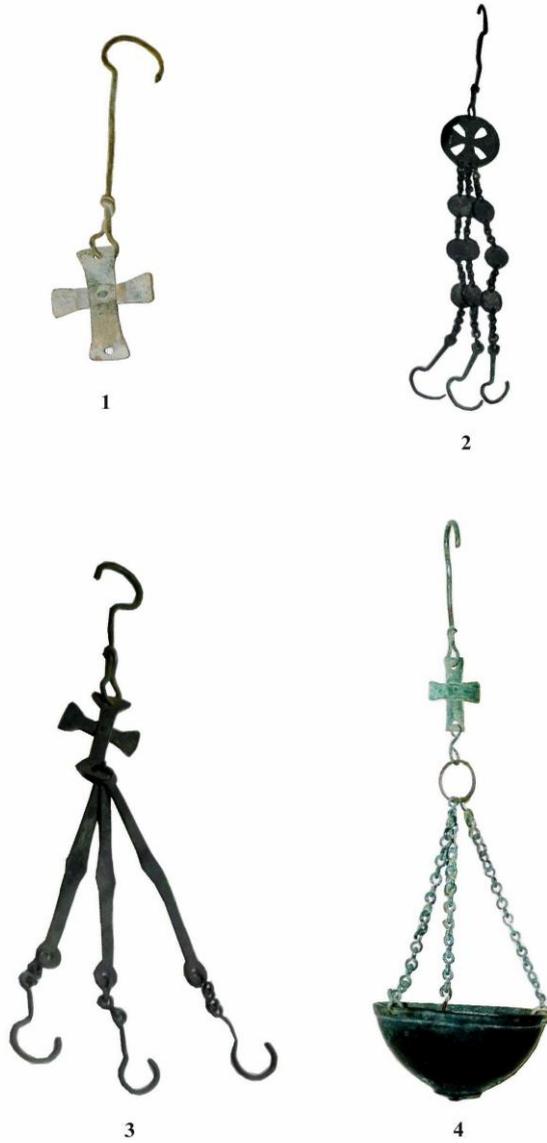
**Fig. 14.** A small gold medallion from Adana depicting scenes from the life of Christ (in the center the Nativity and Flight to Egypt), sixth century, Archaeological Museums of Istanbul.



**Fig. 15.** 1-2 - Two censers from Silifke; 3 - A medallion with the representation of St. George of Adana; 4 - A mould for devotional objects (?) from Silifke; 5 - A marble plate from Silifke; 6 - Part of a buckle for liturgical vestments from Adana; 7 - A devotional image from Adana.



Fig. 16. 1-6 – Six mother-of-pearl buckles from the Archaeological Museum of Kahramanmaraş.



**Fig. 17.** 1 - A bronze cross attached to a suspension element from Silifke; 2- A suspension element with a polycandelon hook from Adana; 3 - A bronze cross attached to a suspension element with polycandelon hook from Silifke; 4 - A complete censer from Silifke.



**Fig. 18.** 1 - A polycandelon from Alanya; 2a-b - A polycandelon from Silifke; 3 - A polycandelon from Alanya; 4 - A polycandelon from Silifke.



**Fig. 19.** 1 - A casting mould of a pilgrim flask with the depiction of St. Symeon Stylites the Younger from Gaziantep; 2 - An oinophoros from Alanya; 3a-b - An ampulla from Hatay; 4a-b - A St. Menas ampulla from Hatay.



**Fig. 20.** Miscellaneous liturgical objects: 1 - A tondo fragment of a plate from the Roman street in Tarsus; 2a-b - Seven Post-Byzantine bronze and iron bells from Mersin; 3 - A bronze applique from Kahramanmaraş; 4 - A reliquary diptych from Kahramanmaraş; 5 - A reproduction of the Kazan Icon of the Holy Virgin from Kahramanmaraş; 6-7 - Two bronze figurines of the crucified Christ from Kahramanmaraş.



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*Numismatics*

## Numismatic Material of the XVIII-XX Centuries from the Lands of the Village of Ulanovo and the Village of Kulaevo in the Pestrechinsky District of the Republic of Tatarstan

Maria M. TRUSHINA<sup>1</sup>, Maxim V. TRUSHIN<sup>2</sup>

**Abstract.** *Modern Russian archaeologists and other representatives of historical science are quite actively exploring ancient coins found in various regions of the Russian Federation. A fairly significant part of the research concerns the history of ancient coins discovered on the territory of the Volga region and Tatarstan, in particular. There is practically no data on numismatic material from the Pestrechinsky district, which determined the relevance of this work. The analysis of the coin collection from two settlements of the Pestrechinsky district was carried out using the methodology proposed by K.V. Gorlov and colleagues, as well as with the help of other scientific and methodological works. Coins of different denominations were described — from half a penny to 5 kopecks, issued under 9 different emperors (empresses) at 5 mints without marks and with marks of 4 mintmasters, made of copper alloy and having 4 types of edge.*

**Rezumat.** *Arheologii ruși moderni și alți reprezentanți ai științelor istorice explorează destul de activ monedele antice găsite în diferite regiuni ale Federației Ruse. O parte destul de semnificativă a cercetării se referă la istoria monedelor antice descoperite pe teritoriul regiunii Volga și Tatarstan, în special. Practic nu există date despre materialul numismatic din Districtul Pestrechinsky, care a determinat relevanța acestei lucrări. Analiza colecției de monede din două așezări din Districtul Pestrechinsky a fost realizată folosind metodologia propusă de K.V. Gorlov și colegii săi, precum și cu ajutorul altor lucrări științifice și metodologice. Au fost descrise monede de diferite denumiri-de la jumătate de bănuț la 5 copeici, emise sub 9 împărați diferiți (împărătese) la 5 monetării fără mărci și cu mărci de 4 monetărimaeștri, din aliaj de cupru și având 4 tipuri de margine.*

**Keywords:** *Ancient coins, Pestlets, Tatarstan, Ulanovo, Kulaevo, archeology.*

### Introduction

Banknotes in the form of coins are widespread monuments of antiquity. According to I.G. Spassky, several million ancient coins were stored in museums of the USSR<sup>3</sup>. The coins were in various places (in the soils of rural, urban and natural territories, in the foundations and walls of buildings, etc.) in the form of collections (treasures), and separately, as efforts archaeologists, researchers, and ordinary people. The features of monetary accounting and circulation, the monetary system of the Russian state, types of coins, changes in the coin

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<sup>3</sup> SPASSKY 1970, 5.

system and its reforms, technology and raw material base of coin production are considered in detail in monographs by Russian historians, archaeologists and numismatists<sup>4,5,6</sup>. Currently, publications devoted to the description of ancient coins are also appearing<sup>7</sup>, but most of the research works are presented in the form of scientific articles.

Modern Russian archaeologists and other representatives of historical science are quite actively exploring ancient coins found in various regions of the Russian Federation<sup>8,9,10,11</sup>. Both classical research and the application of methods of physics and chemistry are carried out<sup>12,13,14,15</sup>. A fairly significant part of the research concerns the history of ancient coins discovered on the territory of the Volga region and Tatarstan, in particular<sup>16,17,18,19,20</sup>. However, there is no data on numismatic material from the Pestrechinsky district, which determined the relevance of this work.

### Materials and methods

The place and time of collection of numismatic material. The search for coins was carried out on the territory of private garden plots located in the villages of Ulanovo (Fig. 1a) and Kulaevo (Fig. 1b) of the Pestrechinsky district of the Republic of Tatarstan (RT)<sup>21</sup>. The coins were discovered during seasonal (spring and autumn) digging of the earth to a depth of 30 cm, as well as after heavy rains during visual inspection of the earth's surface. The collection was carried out during 2018-2023, as well as in the earlier period (1991-2017).

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<sup>4</sup> FEDOROV-DAVYDOV 1963; 1985.

<sup>5</sup> SPASSKY 1970.

<sup>6</sup> UZDENNIKOV 1986.

<sup>7</sup> GUSEV 2021.

<sup>8</sup> ABRAMZON *et alii* 2023.

<sup>9</sup> BUGARCHEV, KRYLASOVA 2023.

<sup>10</sup> GORODILOV, KONONOVICH 2023.

<sup>11</sup> TATAUROV *et alii* 2023.

<sup>12</sup> KURGANOV, GORLOV 2014.

<sup>13</sup> KARAMBAKHSHOV *et alii* 2018

<sup>14</sup> BAZHIN *et alii* 2022.

<sup>15</sup> GIZHEVSKY *et alii* 2023.

<sup>16</sup> BUGARCHEV 2021.

<sup>17</sup> VALEEV, BUGARCHEV 2022.

<sup>18</sup> BUGARCHEV, SHAYKHUTDINOVA 2022.

<sup>19</sup> KOZLOV 2023.

<sup>20</sup> VOLKOV *et alii*, 2023.

<sup>21</sup> KULAEVO 2006.

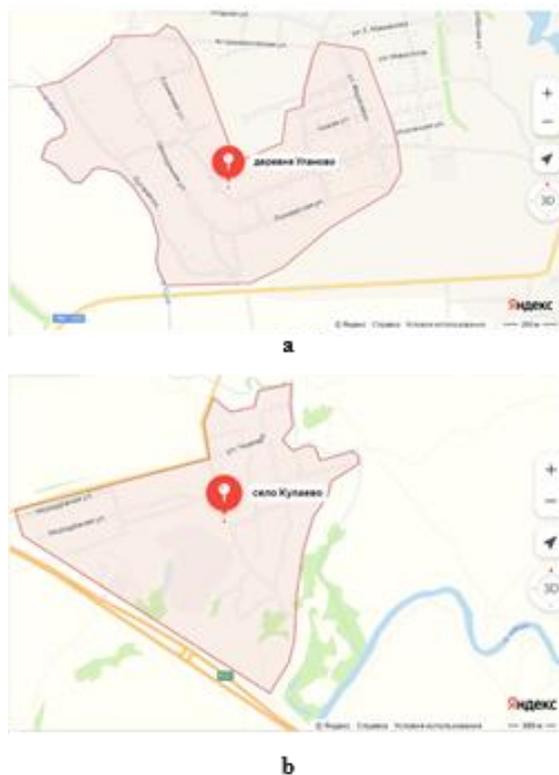


Figure 1. The layout of the settlements of Ulanovo and Kulaevo in the Pestrechinsky district of the Republic of Tatarstan.

Cleaning of coins from dirt deposits was carried out by mechanical processing – washing in a soap solution, surface treatment of coins with a toothbrush and a soft abrasive (toothpaste) was carried out. Harder deposits (patina – a thin corrosive layer: on the surface of the coins were removed using a Hammer MD050B mini drill (rotation speed – 15,000 rpm) and two nozzles (Fig. 2).

The analysis of the collected collection of coins was carried out using the methodology proposed by K.V. Gorlov and colleagues<sup>22</sup> as well as with the help of other scientific and methodological works by Spassky, Uzdenikov, Golovchenko<sup>23</sup> and Gusev.

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<sup>22</sup> GORLOV *et alii* 2023.

<sup>23</sup> GOLOVCHENKO 2020



Figure 2. A tool for cleaning coins from solid deposits (Hammer MD 050 B mini drills with nozzles). (photo by the authors).

### Results and discussion

*Description of the numismatic collection.* The total number of coins found was 25. They were characterized by the material of manufacture (type of metal), denomination, date of minting, mint, mintsmeister, herd and other parameters (Table 1).

Table 1. Description of the numismatic collection from the lands of the village of Ulanovo and the village of Kulaevo in the Pestrechinsky district of the Republic of Tatarstan.

№	The Issuer	Nominal value	Date of minting, years.	Place of coinage	Material	Edge	The Mintsmeister	The Mint	Place of detection
1	The Russian Empire / Peter the Great	Denga	1700	Moscow	Copper Alloy	Smooth	Not specified	The embankment	Ulanovo
2	The Russian Empire / Anna Ioannovna	Polushka	1735	Yekaterinburg	Copper Alloy	Шнуровидный	Not specified	Yekaterinburg	Ulanovo

3	The Russian Empire / Anna Ioannovna	Denga	1736	Yekaterinburg	Copper Alloy	Сетчатый	Not specified	Yekaterinburg	Ulanovo
4	The Russian Empire / John III (?) Elizabeth Petrovna (?)	Polushka	1741	Yekaterinburg	Copper Alloy	Шнуровидный	Not specified	Yekaterinburg	Ulanovo
5	The Russian Empire / Elizabeth Petrovna	Denga (3 pieces)	1748	Yekaterinburg	Copper Alloy	Сетчатый	Not specified	Yekaterinburg	Ulanovo
6	The Russian Empire / Catherine II	Polushka	1767	Yekaterinburg	Copper Alloy	Рифленый	Not specified	Yekaterinburg	Ulanovo
7	The Russian Empire / Catherine II	5 kopeck	1790	Anninskoye village of Perm province	Copper Alloy	Mesh	Not specified	Anninsky	Ulanovo
8	The Russian Empire / Catherine II	1 kopeck	1793	Yekaterinburg	Copper Alloy Mesh	Mesh	Not specified	Yekaterinburg	Ulanovo
9	The Russian Empire / Paul I	Polushka	1798	Lower Suzun	Copper Alloy	Cord-shaped	Not specified	Suzunsky	Ulanovo
10	The Russian Empire / Alexander I	1 kopeck	1814	Yekaterinburg	Copper Alloy	Smooth	NM (Nikolai Mundt, 1810-1821)	Yekaterinburg	Kulaev
11	The Russian Empire /	1 kopeck	1820	Lower Suzun	Copper Alloy	Smooth	AD (Alexander	Suzunsky	Kulaev

Numismatic Material of the XVIII-XX Centuries from the Lands of the Village of Ulanovo and the Village of Kulaevo  
in the Pestrechinsky District of the Republic of Tatarstan

	Alexander I						Deichman, 1818-1821)		
1 2	The Russian Empire / Alexander I	2 kopeck	1822	Yekaterinburg	Copper Alloy	Smooth	FG (Franz Hermann, 1818-1823)	Yekaterinburg	Ulanovo
1 3	The Russian Empire / Nicholas I	2 kopeck	1827	Yekaterinburg	Copper Alloy	Smooth	IK (Ivan Kolobov, 1825-1830)	Yekaterinburg	Ulanovo
1 4	The Russian Empire / Nicholas I	2 kopeck	1838	Lower Suzun	Copper Alloy	Smooth	Not specified	Suzunsky	Ulanovo
1 5	The Russian Empire / Nicholas I	1 kopeck	1843	Yekaterinburg	Copper Alloy	Smooth	Not specified	Yekaterinburg	Ulanovo
1 6	The Russian Empire / Nicholas I	Denezhka	1851	Yekaterinburg	Copper Alloy	Smooth	Not specified	Yekaterinburg	Ulanovo
1 7	The Russian Empire / Alexander III	2 kopeck	1889	St. Petersburg	Copper Alloy	Corrugated	Not specified	St. Petersburg	Ulanovo
1 8	The Russian Empire / Nicholas II	1 kopeck	1900	St. Petersburg	Copper Alloy	Corrugated	Not specified	St. Petersburg	Ulanovo
1 9	The Russian Empire / Nicholas II	1 kopeck	1905	St. Petersburg	Copper Alloy	Corrugated	Not specified	St. Petersburg	Ulanovo
2	The Russian	½	1911	St.	Copper	Corr	Not	St.	Ulanovo

0	Empire / Nicholas II	kopeck		Petersbu rg	Alloy	ugat ed	specifi ed	Petersb urg	vo
2 1	The Russian Empire / Nicholas II	3 kopeck	1913	St. Petersbu rg	Copper Alloy	Corr ugat ed	Not specifi ed	St. Petersb urg	Ulan vo
2 2	The Russian Empire / Nicholas II	1 kopeck	1916	St. Petersbu rg	Copper Alloy	Corr ugat ed	Not specifi ed	St. Petersb urg	Ulan vo

Thus, the collection included coins of different denominations – from half a penny ( $\frac{1}{4}$  kopeck) to 5 kopecks, issued under 9 different emperors (empresses) for 5 mints without marks and with marks of 4 mintsmasters, made of copper alloy and having 4 types of edge.

As noted above, there is no data in the scientific literature on collections of ancient coins collected on the territory of the Pestrechinsky district. The only mention of the discovery of an ancient coin in 1811 to the east of the Pestretsov border is the work of A.V. Lyganov and colleagues<sup>24</sup> on the survey of the Pestrechinsk parking lot. The coin itself was not described. It is interesting to compare our data with the results of colleagues analyzing ancient coins from the village of Rozhdestveno in the Laishevsky district of Tatarstan<sup>25</sup>. A.I. Bagarchev and E.F. Shaikhutdinova describes a collection of 170 coins of the XIII-XV centuries, including coins of the Suzdal-Nizhny Novgorod Principality. The authors conclude that there was active trade in these places (the village of Rozhdestveno is located 45 km south of Kazan) by the XV century, that is, before the capture of Kazan by Ivan IV Vasilyevich. As for the collection presented in this work, its coins belong to a later period. As noted by local historian V.A. Sergeev<sup>26</sup>, the villages of Ulanovo and Kulaevo (since 1735 - Spasskoye Kulaevo) The Kazan district with migrant peasants from Uglich and Kostroma were transferred to the "serving people" by Lyutkin in 1553 (the oldest coin described in this work dates back to 1700).

In **conclusion**, it should be said that the vast majority of the described coins are finds from D. Ulanovo and only two coins were discovered on the territory of the modern village of Kulaevo. This fact can be explained as follows. The village of Kulaevo, located mainly on the left bank of the Shimelka River, gradually shifted to the right bank (most of the population of the left bank were Old Believers and the peasants were bought out by Kazan merchants-Old Believers in 1861), currently not a single house remains on the left bank of the Shimelka River.

<sup>24</sup> LYGANOV *et alii* 2012.

<sup>25</sup> BUGARCHEV, SHAYKHUTDINOVA 2022.

<sup>26</sup> SERGEEV 2016.

No coin searches were conducted in these places. However, the discovery of coins from the era of Alexander I (1814 and 1820) indicates that the settlement of the right bank of the Shimelka River took place already at the beginning of the XIX century.

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