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SOMMAIRE
CONTENTS
I N H A L T

<i>ÉTUDES</i>	
FRED C. WOUDHUIZEN, Traces of Ethnic Diversity in Mycenaean Greece.....	5
ALIN FRÎNCULEASA, BIANCA PEDA, OCTAV NEGREA, ANDREI-DORIAN SOFICARU Bronze Age Tumularly Graves Recently Investigated in Northern Wallachia	23
ADRIAN ROBU, Le culte de Poséidon à Mégare et dans ses colonies	65
FLORINA PANAIT-BÎRZESCU, Le culte d'Apollon dans le cites grecques de la Mer Noire : l'apport de la documentation iconographique	81
VITALIE BÂRCĂ, Nomads of the Steppes on the Danube Frontier of the Roman Empire in the 1 st Century CE. Historical Sketch and Chronological Remarks	99
EMILIAN POPESCU, Municipium Tropaeum.....	127
<i>NOTES ET DISCUSSIONS</i>	
DAN DANA, RADU ZĂGREANU, Les indigenes en Dacie romaine ou la fin annoncée d'une exception : relecture de l'épithaphe CIL III 7635.....	145
SORIN COCIȘ, VITALIE BÂRCĂ, The Workshops and Production of "Sarmatian" Brooches (Almgren Group VII, Series I).....	161
<i>COMPTE RENDUS</i>	
A. Gramsch, U. Sommer, <i>A History of Central European Archaeology. Theory, Methods, and Politics</i> , Archaeolingua Series Minor 30, Budapest, 2011, 219 p. (<i>Alexandra Ghenghea</i>).....	177
Jan Bouzek, Lidia Domaradzka, Zofia H. Archibald (Eds.), <i>Pistiros IV. Excavations and Studies, Praha, Charles University in Prague</i> , 2010, 246 S., zahlr. Abb., 41 Farbtaf., 1 Beil. 4° (Studia Hercynia. 14) (<i>Victor Cojocaru</i>).....	180
O. Brandt, (éd.), <i>San Lorenzo in Lucina. The Transformations of a Roman Quarter</i> , Skrifter utgivna Svenska Institutet Rom, 4/61/Acta Instituti romani regni Sueciae, series in 4°, 61, Stockholm, Swedish Institute in Rome, 2012 (<i>Irina Achim</i>)	183
<i>IN MEMORIAM</i>	
GAVRILĂ SIMION (18. 11. 1928–28. 04. 2010) (<i>Sorin Ailincăi</i>)	187
EUGENIA ZAHARIA (29. 01. 1921 – 27. 06. 2010) (<i>Radu Harhoiu</i>).....	193
IVAN ORDENTLICH (18. 11. 1934 – 01. 10. 2011) (<i>Tiberiu Bader</i>).....	199
<i>ABRÉVIATIONS</i>	203

TRACES OF ETHNIC DIVERSITY IN MYCENAEAN GREECE*

FRED C. WOUDHUIZEN**

Abstract: The Indo-Europeanization of Greece was a long-term process, which, in my opinion, entailed at least three distinct phases, covering the period from *c.* 3100 BC to *c.* 1600 BC. The third and last phase consists of the arrival *c.* 1600 BC of the founding fathers of the royal houses and ethnic identities considered as truly Greek. From this time onwards, which in the modern literature is referred to as the Mycenaean period, the material provided by the literary sources becomes substantial and can even at times be supplemented by contemporary data from the Mycenaean Greek script, Linear B, just as well as from Egyptian hieroglyphic and Hittite cuneiform. This phase is preceded by, in archaeological terms, a Minyan one from *c.* 2300 BC onwards, which is characterized by the settlement of tribes of Thracian and Phrygian background, of which some information on interactions amongst each other and on their contacts with the royal houses considered as truly Greek is preserved in our literary sources by classical authors. The earliest phase is marked by the settlement of speakers of an Old Indo-European tongue, usually designated as Pelasgians, to whom the memory is almost obliterated, leaving us almost no more than some river- and place-names to rely upon. Now, if we are prepared to take the given scenario seriously, the process of intermingling between the various ethnic groups, made up of the newcomers of *c.* 1600 BC on the one hand and at that time indigenous population groups on the other hand, can be closely studied. In the following, then, the ethnic diversity of Mycenaean Greece and the process of intermingling between the various *ethnē* will be reconstructed in so far as the available data allow us to do so. In an appendix, finally, it will be investigated what the literary sources have to tell us on the hotly debated topic of possible political unity in Greece at some time during the Mycenaean period.

Key words: Indo-Europeanization, ethnic diversity, royal houses, Mycenaean period, inter-ethnic contacts.

Rezumat: Indo-europenizarea Greciei a fost un proces de lungă durată, care, în opinia mea, a cuprins trei faze distincte în perioada cca 3100 a. Chr. până în jur de 1600 a. Chr. A treia și ultima fază, din jurul 1600 a. Chr., este caracterizată prin apariția fondatorilor caselor regale și a identităților etnice considerate a fi cu adevărat grecești. Din acel moment, care în literatura științifică modernă este numit perioada miceniană, materialul documentar devine substanțial și poate fi suplimentat de datele din linearul B micenian, precum și de hieroglifile egiptene și cuneiformele hittite. Această perioadă este precedată din punct de vedere arheologic de helladicul mijlociu începând cu cca 2300 a. Chr., perioadă caracterizată de așezarea triburilor de origine tracică și frigiană, despre a căror interacțiune și despre ale căror contacte cu casele regale, considerate a avea o origine grecească, suntem informați din sursele literare ale autorilor antici. Faza cea mai timpurie este marcată de așezarea vorbitorilor de limbă indo-europeană veche, în mod obișnuit desemnați ca pelasgi, a căror amintire este aproape cu totul ștearsă, cu excepția unor toponime și hidronime. Așadar, dacă suntem pregătiți să luăm serios în considerare scenariul prezentat, procesul de amestec etnic dintre diversele grupe de populații, pe de o parte noii veniți din jurul anului 1600 a. Chr. și, pe de altă parte, grupurile autohtone de populație, poate fi mai bine studiat. Astfel, se va încerca reconstituirea diversității etnice a Greciei miceniene și a procesului de amestec dintre diversele *ethnē* atât cât ne permit sursele pe care le avem la dispoziție. În sfârșit, într-un appendix, va fi investigată imaginea ce reiese din sursele literare antice în legătură cu mult dezbătuta problemă a posibilei unități politice a Greciei miceniene.

Cuvinte cheie: Indo-europenizare, diversitate etnică, case regale, epoca miceniană, contacte interetnice.

I. INTRODUCTION

In my opinion, the Greek literary sources with a bearing on their distant past, which we now define as the Bronze Age, are not totally useless later concoctions. It is doubtless true that these sources have been tampered with under the influence of later political developments, but such secondary influences can

* I am indebted to anonymous reviewers for drawing my attention to some writing errors and suggesting improvements of the argument as well as of my English writing.

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be sorted out and neutralized by the use of contemporary data from archaeology and linguistics as provided by the Linear B texts or by evidence with reference to Greece by literate neighboring cultures like that of the Hittites and the Egyptians. In this connection it is worth realizing that there was no political purpose at all in the archaic or classical period behind the memory as preserved in the Homeric epics of a palatial realm in the region of Pylos, as the site was at that particular time nothing but a heap of rubble overgrown by weeds – that is to say until the American archaeologist Carl Blegen dug up the remains of the Late Bronze Age palace in the years preceding and following the Second World War. A similar argument may be used in the case of Mycenae, portrayed in Homer's *Iliad* and *Odyssey* as the seat of the most important kingdom, whereas in the Early Iron Age the site in question was a negligible and waning settlement. Only thanks to the digs by Heinrich Schliemann already during the late 19th century we now know of its richness during the Late Bronze Age. Finally, one wonders: what is the political or ethnocentric aim behind the memory of Thracians in the hinterland of Thebes in central Greece? A memory, the Bronze Age roots of which are now verifiable thanks to the Linear B legend *o-du-ru-wi-jo* "Odryasian" on inscribed stirrup jars from the destruction layer of the house of Kadmos at Thebes, c. 1350 BC, which, in view of their distribution pattern, were likely destined for the Theban hinterland.

If, then, we take the evidence from the Greek literary sources seriously and try to sort out their historical nuclei with the help of archaeological and contemporary literary data, it is possible, as I argued in my contribution to the *Journal of Indo-European Studies* 38 (2010) 41-131, to distinguish three phases in the process of the Indo-Europeanization of Greece:¹

- | | | |
|--------------------|-------------|---|
| 1. c. 3100 BC | EH I | Pelasgians (= Old-Indo-Europeans) |
| 2. c. 2300-2000 BC | EH III-MH I | Thracο-Phrygians (sometimes also confused with Pelasgians) |
| 3. c. 1600 BC | LHI | Greeks (= foreign invaders personified by Danaos from Egypt – Kadmos from Phoenicia – Cretans from Knossos, whose following intermingled with local populations groups) |

Of these phases, the memory to the earliest one concerning the Pelasgians in the sense of "Old-Indo-Europeans" is, quite naturally, most faint and almost solely traceable in residual linguistic sources like hydronyms, toponyms, and onomastics.

The memories to the following phase are also extremely sparse, but from now on there are some more historical tangible aspects – be it still in bits and pieces. This period, which is typified by the introduction of Minyan ware in archaeological terms, is usually considered as the one of the "arrival of the Greeks", but in actual fact it happens to be dominated by Thracο-Phrygian population groups. Mostly, the memory to these population groups appears more or less disguised in the form of Mycenaeanized royal houses, what I have called the local allies of the foreign conquerors Danaos and Kadmos, whose arrival can be situated c. 1600 BC (see below). With these Mycenaeanized royal houses I refer to the one founded by Neleus in Messenian Pylos and the "autochthonian" Athenian royal house as represented by Erekhtheus or Erikhthonios. These shared with the foreign conquerors the Mycenaeanization of their material culture as represented in archaeological terms by Late Helladic I.² In the long run, through mixed marriages, these Thracο-Phrygians also infiltrated the royal houses founded by the foreign conquerors from c. 1600 BC onwards. Free Thracο-Phrygians in the Early Mycenaean period (c. 1600-1350 BC), who preserved their original cultural features like Minyan ware, only lingered on in the region of Iolkos, where the royal house as represented by Kretheus, Pelias, and Akastos belongs to the so-called "Minyische Schicht"³ and central Greece, in the regions of Orkhomenos and Phokis, situated in hinterland of Thebes. A complicating factor in distinguishing this Thracο-Phrygian layer is that its population groups are sometimes also called Pelasgians.⁴

In the eyes of the Greeks themselves, their coming into being as a people or ethnogenesis was the result of conquerors coming from Egypt, as in the case of Danaos and his followers, Phoenicia, as in the

¹ Cf. Woudhuizen 2010, p. 110, Table V.

² See van Binsbergen, Woudhuizen 2011, p. 243, Fig. 14.1.

³ Van Binsbergen, Woudhuizen 2011, p. 242.

⁴ Woudhuizen 2010, p. 61-69.

case of Kadmos and his followers, and, finally, Cretans from Knossos, who settled in Krisa at the coastal region of Phokis. Thus Danaos founded the royal house of the Danaids in the Argolis, Kadmos that of the Kadmeians in Thebes, Boiotia, and the Kretans from Knossos were responsible for the introduction of the cult of Apollo Delphinios in Delphi. From an archaeological point of view, these events can be dated to the Middle Helladic III/Late Helladic I transitional period, *c.* 1600 BC. In most instances, this date actually serves as the starting point of our “historical” sources, addressed here as the literary tradition, as visualized in the stemmata presented in our Figs. 1-3 below.

Only in incidental cases kings ruling before this date are mentioned, like presumably in the case of Teutamias emigrating with his Pelasgian following from Thessaly to Krete, where he married the daughter of the eponymous Kretheus and became the father of Asterios, who in turn begot Minos, Sarpedon and Rhadamanthys as sons,⁵ Kekrops (Athene), and Kretheus — Sisyphos — Salmoneus (Iolkos — Korinthos/Ephyra — Elis/Akhaia).

II. MAIN DISTINCT ETHNICS DURING THE MYCENAEAN PERIOD

If it is allowed to include data from the Homeric epics, which, as we know since the decipherment of Linear B by the British architect Michael Ventris in 1952, provide the closest comparable evidence for the Mycenaean Greek language and, as has been argued by many scholars, also in content are rooted in the Mycenaean period, we happen to be confronted with the following three ethnonyms of primary importance:

(1) Danaoi (Δαναοί)

According to Pausanias, *Description of Greece* VII, 1, 7 this ethnonym, derived from the founding father of the Argive royal house, Danaos (Δαναός, cf. the related *da-na-jo* in Linear B texts from Knossos),⁶ refers to the Argives, whereas according to Pindaros, *Pythian Odes* 4, 48 it has an even wider connotation and next to a form of address to the population of the Argolid also functions as such for the population of Sparta or Lacedaimon. It is first encountered in the contemporary epigraphical record in form of Egyptian *Tanayu*, used in a text from year 42 of Tuthmosis III, i.e. 1437 BC (*wr n tīn3y ḥ3st* “chief of the Tanayu”).⁷ Against the backdrop of the literary tradition, which, as we have noted in the above, informs us that the Danaoi originate from Egypt, more in particular from Khemmis, presumably the one in the delta, it is interesting to observe that the Egyptians preferred this particular ethnonym from the various ones in circulation. As we have just noted, the root on which this ethnonym is based consists of PIE **dānu-* “river”.

(2) Kadmeians (Καδμείονες, Καδμείοι)

This ethnonym, which derives from the name of the founding father of the Theban royal house, Kadmos (Κάδμος), is preserved in its two variants in Homeros, *Iliad* IV, 385 and IV, 391. Kadmos himself, or his father Agenor, originated just like his followers from Phoenicia, more in specific either Tyros or Sidon.⁸ However, against the backdrop of the correspondence in name, the region of *Qedem* inland from Byblos as mentioned in the story of Sinuhe may come into consideration as well (early 12th dynasty, i.e. late 20th century BC). This name has been explained as a reflex of Semitic *qdm-* “east”.⁹ It has been argued by Frank Starke that the name Kadmos features in form of *Katamu-* in a Hittite text from the reign of Muwatallis II (1295-1271 BC), who is specified as the ancestor of Tawagalawas and reported to have received the control over islands, probably situated in the Aegean, from the king of Assuwa, likely to be identified with Piyamakuruntas featuring as such in the annals of the Hittite great king

⁵ For the dating of this event in Middle Bronze Age times, see van Binsbergen, Woudhuizen 2011, p. 275.

⁶ See Ventris, Chadwick 1973, glossary, s.v. or, more recently, Aura Jorro 1985, s.v.

⁷ See van Binsbergen, Woudhuizen 2011, p. 327; chronology according to Kitchen 1996 and 2000.

⁸ Edwards 1979, p. 46-47, note 50.

⁹ Woudhuizen 2007, p. 726, note 9; Woudhuizen 2010, p. 60, note 27.

Tudḫaliyas II (1425-1390 BC), in exchange of the marriage of his daughter to the latter (KUB 26.91). Now, *Tawagalawas*, most famous from the Tawagalawas-letter (KUB 14.3)—in line with Smit 1990-1, Gurney 2002, and Freu 2008: 114-115 to be assigned to the reign of Muwatallis II instead of that of Ḫadḫusilis III (1264-1239 BC) as the majority of the scholars in the field want to have it¹⁰ –, has been convincingly identified since the time of Emil Forrer (1924) with Eteokles (Ἐτεοκλῆς, cf. the Linear B patronymic in texts from Pylos *e-te-wo-ke-re-we-i-jo* “son of Eteokles”), a descendant of Kadmos according to the Greek literary tradition. It must be admitted in this connection that the dates between the various classes of sources vary. Thus *Katamu-* dates to the period of the Assuwan league in the late 15th century BC, whereas his presumed namesake Kadmos founded Thebes *c.* 1600 BC. Similarly, Tawagalawas is a contemporary of Muwatallis II, active *c.* 1280 BC, whereas his namesake Eteokles embodies the last upsurge of resistance against Mycenaean supremacy, in archaeological terms datable to *c.* 1350 BC (he is followed up by Thersander, the son of his brother and rival, Polyneikos, who cannot be classified otherwise than as an Argive vassal-king, see Pausanias, *Description of Greece* IX, 5, 7 and cf. Woudhuizen 1989: 201). Nevertheless, even taking into consideration the linguistic problems regarding the identification of *Katamu-* in KUB 26.91 as indicated by Katz 2005: 424,¹¹ the cumulative evidence of the sequence of the two names in the right order is too attractive to dismiss out of hand. To this comes, that the given identification can be further underlined by the evidence of a Luwian hieroglyphic seal from Thebes, published by Porada 1981-2 as her no. 25 and treated by Güterbock in an appendix to Porada’s contribution. In my opinion, it features (1) the name of a Luwian great king Tarḫuntmuwas, secondarily changed into Tarḫuntwalwas, (2) the figure of a person seated on a throne, in other words of a king, presumably one without experience in writing in Luwian hieroglyphics, and (3) the name of a subordinate functionary *Wastizitis*. The Luwian great kings in question are most likely to be identified as successors of the king of Assuwa, Piyamakuruntas, of the late 15th century and predecessors of the Arzawan king Tarḫundaradus (*c.* 1350 BC), who, in the El-Amarna texts from the reigns of Amenhotep III (1391-1353 BC) and Akhenaten (1353-1337 BC), is attributed with the status of an equal, i.e. great king, and requested to send a daughter for marriage. Now, it is highly attractive to interpret the evidence of this seal as the instrument with which the king of Thebes (= the man seated on a throne) could exercise his control over islands, given in loan in exchange of the betrothal of his daughter to the Assuwan king, by means of a lower functionary of the latter king during the period of his successors.¹² Finally, it may be relevant in this connection to observe that in a Linear B text from Thebes, TH Of 27.3, the adjectival derivative of the name of a Pylian functionary, *pu₂-ke-qi-ri*, is associated with a developed form of the ethnonym *a-ka-wa-ja-*, *a-ka-i-jo*. It seems likely, namely, to infer from this evidence that the distinction of the Pylian functionary by the ethnonym *Akhaian* stressed his foreign nature, and, by means of implication, might suggest that the ethnonym Kadmeians was already in use in the Thebaid during the Late Bronze Age.¹³

(3) Akhaians (Ἀχαιοί)

This ethnonym is attested for three different regions in Greece. First of all, it occurs in southern Thessaly, in the region of Pharsalos and, specified as Phthiotis, the region of Mount Othrys, the plain of Halmyros, and the northern coast of the gulf of Pagasai, which means including the coastal town of Iolkos.¹⁴ Secondly, it is introduced in the region of Elis, presumably by Salmoneus, the brother of the king of Iolkos, Kretheus (Strabo, *Geography* VIII, 3, 31-2; Apollodoros, *The Library*, I, ix, 7; Diodoros of Sicily, *The Library of History* IV, 68, 1-3), although his followers are specified in the last mentioned

¹⁰ Most recently Beckman e.a. 2011, p. 101; p. 119-120.

¹¹ Note, however, that the syllable *-na* following the sequence *Katamu-* is likely to be explained as the A(m/f) sg. ending in *-na*, because the king of Assuwa is subject of the phrase, cf. Beckman 2011 e.a., p. 134-135.

¹² Woudhuizen 2009, p. 205-209.

¹³ Woudhuizen 2009, p. 183, note 6.

¹⁴ Sakellariou 2009, p. 97, with reference to Herodotus, *Histories* VII, 132; 173; 185; 196-198.

source somewhat vaguely as “Aiolians”, in a period which according to our reconstruction is anterior to the invasions by the foreign conquerors Danaos, Kadmos, and the Cretans from Knossos, and, subsequently, in Messenian Pylos, by Neleus (Νηλεΰς, cf. the Linear B MN *ne-e-ra-wo* [D sg.] in a text from Pylos),¹⁵ the grandson of Salmoneus, who, according to Diodoros of Sicily, *The Library of History* IV, 68, 3-6, was accompanied, amongst others, by *Akhaians* from *Akhaia Phthiotis* (Ἀχαιῶν Φθιωτῶν). Accordingly, the Pylians are referred to as Ἀχαιοὶ in Homeros, *Iliad* XI, 759. We might even add that in the text of the Phaistos disc the son of Neleus, Nestor is addressed as “great (man) in Ḫiyawa”,¹⁶ with the typical Luwian variant of Hittite Aḫḫiyā or Aḫḫiyawa, characterized by aphaeresis and further attested in cuneiform for texts from Ugarit¹⁷ and in Luwian hieroglyphic for one from Çineköy.¹⁸ It lies at hand to connect this latter migration archaeologically with the introduction of Late Helladic I material at Pylos and tholos tombs at Koryphasion and Peristeria.¹⁹ Note in this connection that the earliest Linear B text discovered thus far, on a roundish stone object which came to light in Olympia in a Middle Helladic III/Late Helladic I transitional layer, dated c. 1600 BC, contains the sequence *a-qa-jo*, which might be a reflex of “Akhaios” (OL Za 1).²⁰ Yet another royal name closely associated with Olympia and Mount Olympos in the Peloponnesos (= island of Pelops) is Pelops, who, according to Strabo, *Geography* VIII, 5, 5, entered this region with *Akhaians* from *Akhaia Phthiotis*. Moreover, even the latter’s father, Tantalos, enjoyed his famous Olympian dinner here, and his son Pelops is recorded to have ruled at Pisa, i.e. precisely in the district where Olympia is situated (Graves 1990, 2: 25 [108.c]; Apollodoros, *Epitome* ii, 8). Unfortunately, literary tradition does not provide us any clues at what exactly was the relationship between the various branches of Akhaians in the region of Elis as represented by Salmoneus and, as far as Messenia is concerned, Neleus on the one hand and Tantalos and Pelops on the other. In the third place, it seems likely that the ethnonym Akhaia in this early period had a bearing on the population of Attika. A first indication in this connection is provided by the toponyms *Attika* and *Mopsopia*, which are derived from the Phrygian GN *Attis* and MN *Mopsos*.²¹ Much more straightforward is the case forthcoming from the Kretan hieroglyphic seal # 293 likely to be attributed to an Athenian owner as he identifies himself as “Athen(ios), representative of Ḫiyawa”.²² The role of this Athenian merchant in trade between the continent and Minoan Krete, which is further stressed by his recurrence in the legend of clay bar # 050 from Knossos, may have been of importance because of the metalliferous mines at Laurion.²³ At any rate, it is tempting to suggest on the basis of the given hieroglyphic evidence that we are dealing here with a dim reflection of the myth of Theseus’ heroic victory over the Minotaur, which certainly antedates the downfall of the Minoan thalassocracy after the for northeastern Krete disastrous Santorini-eruption at the end of Late Minoan IB, c. 1450 BC.²⁴ Whatever one may be apt to think about this latter suggestion, we may reasonably conclude that the ethnonym Akhaians was used in three different regions of Greece during the early Mycenaean period, namely Akhaia Phthiotis and Thessaly in the northeast, Elis and Messenia in the west, and Attika in the southeast. Its indigenous nature may receive further emphasis from

¹⁵ See Ventris, Chadwick 1973, glossary, s.v. or, more recently, Aura Jorro 1985, s.v.

¹⁶ Achterberg e.a. 2004, p. 94.

¹⁷ Singer 2006.

¹⁸ Woudhuizen 2011, p. 241-243.

¹⁹ Van Binsbergen, Woudhuizen 2011, p. 243, Fig. 14.1.

²⁰ See Owens 1998-9, p. 143-145.

²¹ Cf. Linear B *mo-qo-so* in a text from Knossos, see Ventris & Chadwick 1973, glossary, s.v. or, more recently, Aura Jorro 1985, s.v., and Hittite and Luwian *Muksas* from the Madduwattas text, KUB 14.1, § 33', 75 and the Luwian hieroglyphic texts from Çineköy § [1] and Karatepe §§ 21, 21', 58, 58', see Woudhuizen 2011, p. 241-258; the latter name originates from *Mopsops*, and is of the same type as Pelops, Kekrops, etc., recalling Phrygian Phainops and Merops, see Woudhuizen 2010: 67; its Phrygian nature is now confirmed by its discovery in form of *Muksos* in the late 8th century BC tumulus MM at Gordion, see Liebhart, Brixhe 2009, p. 145; p. 155, Fig. 5.

²² On the correspondence of the MN Αθηναῖος to Phrygian *Atanies*, see Waanders, Woudhuizen 2008-9, p. 183.

²³ Woudhuizen 2009, p. 79; p. 91-95.

²⁴ Woudhuizen 2009, p. 56; p. 75, Fig. 20.

the fact that the root of the ethnonym presently under discussion can by means of lenition ultimately traced back to PIE **ak^wā-* “water” and is related to the river-name *Akhelōios* (Ἀχελῷος) in Phthia, which in turn is based on Phrygian *akkalos* “water”.²⁵ Finally, it deserves our attention that in the field of international politics the Hittites, in contradistinction to the Egyptian preference for *Tanayu* “Danaoi”, used a reflex of the ethnonym Akhaians in the form of *Aḫḫiyā* or *Aḫḫiyawa*, first attested in the shorthand form for the so-called Madduwattas-text (KUB 14.1, § 1, 1; etc.) dating to the reign of the Hittite great king Arnuwandas I (1390-1370 BC), and continuously used afterwards in the more elaborated version up to the reign of Tudḫaliyas IV (1239-1209 BC), during whose reign the Mycenaean Greeks lost their foothold in western Anatolia, *Millawanda* or *Milawata* “Miletos” and hence, from the Hittite point of view, their relevance on the international scene. We cannot end this section without mentioning the fact that the identification of Hittite *Aḫḫiyā* or *Aḫḫiyawa* with the Greek ethnonym *Akhaians* as first suggested by Forrer in 1924 is strongly reinforced by the fact that the MN associated with the earlier shorthand version of the Madduwattas-text from the early 14th century BC, *Attarissiyas*, whose function is specified as LÚ “man”, corresponds to Greek *Atreus* (Ἀτρεύς, cf. the related TN in Linear B texts from Pylos *a-te-re-wi-ja*),²⁶ the son of Pelops and the first Pelopid ruler of Mycenae. In the course of time the *Aḫḫiyawan* ruler, especially so in the Tawagalawas-letter from the reign of Muwatallis II and dealing with the specifics of the political situation just after the Trojan War of c. 1280 BC,²⁷ became recognized as an equal by his Hittite colleague, and hence addressed as a LUGAL.GAL “great king” (as in KUB 14.3, § 6, 13; § 10, 44; § 15, 55).²⁸ Note finally, that Tawagalawas is addressed in the same letter as a brother of the king of *Aḫḫiyawa* (KUB 14.3, § 8, 61), but this does not necessarily mean, like in the case of Menelaos being the brother of Agamemnon, that he is regarded as a great king as well: the term can also be used as a reference to vassal-kings or be a reflex of a real kinship relation as the royal families of the various kingdoms were frequently tied to each other by intermarriage.²⁹

The three ethnonyms discussed in the above are undoubtedly the most important ones during the Mycenaean period. Nevertheless, they are not exclusive but coexisted with other ethnonyms, like:

(4) Lakedaimonians

ra-ke-da-mi-ni-jo (most frequently attested) or *[ra-]ke-da-mo-ni-jo* “Lakedaimonian”, related to the country name *Lakedaimon* (Λακεδαίμων), as recorded for a Linear B text from Thebes.³⁰

(5) Ionians

i-ja-wo-ne Ἴάωνες “Ionians” featuring in a Linear B text from Knossos.³¹

²⁵ Woudhuizen 2010, p. 62, note 30. Note that the given PIE root is already presented in Sakellariou 1977, p. 234-235, and maintained in Sakellariou 2009, p. 98-99, note 73. As it seems, ethnonyms derived from a word for “water”, “river” or “sea” were highly fashionable among the Greeks, because next to *Danaoi* < PIE **dānu-* “river” and *Akhaioi* < Proto-Indo-European (= PIE) **ak^wā-* “water”, it might reasonably be suggested that *Iaōnes* < *Ijawone* (see below) confronts us, in like manner as in the case of Anatolian ethnonyms like *Kataones* and *Lykaones*, with an ethnic derivative in *-(w)on-*, related to Luvian *-wana-* for the same function, of the Semitic root *ya(m)-* “sea” just like Assyrian *Yam(a)n(ai)*, etc. “Tonian” (cf. Sakellariou 2009, p. 489-516).

²⁶ See Ventris, Chadwick 1973, p. 178 or, more recently, Aura Jorro 1985, s.v.

²⁷ Van Binsbergen, Woudhuizen 2011, p. 249.

²⁸ See Beckman e.a. 2011.

²⁹ Cf. Beckman e.a. 2011, p. 120.

³⁰ Aravantinos e.a. 2001, p. 395-396. The sequence *[ra-]ke-da-mo-ni-jo u-jo* (TH Gp 227.3), literally “Lakedaimonian son”, does not refer to a son in the physical sense, but, like Ugaritic *bn* “son” in *bn lky* “representative of the Lycians”, Cretan hieroglyphic and Cypro-Minoan *pi-ni* (= Semitic *ben* “son”) (Woudhuizen 2006, p. 76-77; Woudhuizen 2009, p. 46) as well as Luvian hieroglyphic *na-* or *nawa-* “son” (Woudhuizen 2011, p. 346; p. 348), to a functionary of inferior rank.

³¹ Note that a reflex of this ethnonym also features in Egyptian texts, once as the first element of the MN *Iun-Tursa* (*iwnn twrš3*) attested for the text on a sarcophagus from Gurob from the Ramesside period during the 13th century BC (Bagnasco Gianni 2012, p. 54; cf. Pallottino 1947, p. 52-53) and secondly in the combination *Iunia A'a* (*iūwny 3 [?]*) “Great Ionia” from the inscriptions on the statue bases from the temple tomb of Amenhotep III (1391-

(6) Dorians

do-ri-je-we, D sg. of the MN Δοριεύς, related to the ethnonym Dorians, as recorded for a Linear B text from Pylos.

(7) Peraibians

pe-ra₃-go (Περαίβοι) “Peraibians” also encountered in a Linear B text from Pylos.

(8) Odrysians

o-du-ru-wi-jo “Odryisian”, an ethnic derivative of the ethnonym Ὀδρύσσαι “Odrysians”, found among Linear B inscriptions painted on inscribed stirrup jars as discovered in the “House of Kadmos” at Thebes, i.e. before its subjection to the Mycenaean *koinē* c. 1350 BC, which were produced in Krete and destined for transport to the Theban hinterland, where the realm of the Thracian king *Tereus* (Τηρεύς) was situated in the early Mycenaean period, at the time of the Theban king Labdakos and his Athenian colleague Pandion. Note that our reconstruction of free Thracians in the hinterland of Thebes during the early Mycenaean period is further underlined by Homeros, *Iliad* XIII, 301-302, according to which Ares leaves Thrace in order to fight with the Ephyri (= region of Korinthos) and Phlegyans (= region of Phokis; Loeb translation: “—these two [Ares and his son Rout] arm themselves and go out from Thrace to join the Ephyri or the great-hearted Phlegyans, (...)—”)—ergo: the Thrace in question must be situated in Central Greece.

(9) Minyans

me-nu-wa or *me-nu-a₂* “Minyas (Μινύαξ)”, MN attested for Knossos as well as Pylos related to the ethnonym Minyans (Μινύα).³² The Minyans are attested for the region of Orkhomenos in central Greece, where the famous tholos tomb of Minyas, discovered by Heinrich Schliemann, came to light, and in Triphylia (river-name Μινυήϊος, see Homeros, *Iliad* XI, 722-726; place-names Lepreon, Makistos, Phrixai, Pyrgos, Epion, and Noudion, see Herodotos, *Histories* IV, 148). It also deserves attention in this connection that the first rulers of the royal house of Iolkos, Kretheus, Pelias, and Akastos represent the so-called “Minyische Schicht”.³³ Owing to Schliemann’s epoch-making find of what is known as the “tomb of Minyas”, the pottery characteristic of the phase anterior to the Mycenaean period, that of the Early Helladic III and Middle Helladic periods, is baptized Minyan ware. But it should be stressed that in the hinterland of Thebes, the regions of Orkhomenos and Phokis, as well as in that of Iolkos Minyan ware remains in use up till the Late Helladic IIIA1/2 transitional period, c. 1350 BC. According to Michel Sakellariou (2009: 680), the ethnonym Minyans derives from the PIE root **minu-* “small”, which in turn derives from PIE **mei-* “less”.³⁴

1353 BC) at Kom el-Hetan, cf. van Binsbergen, Woudhuizen 2011, p. 327, with reference to Brandenstein 1948 and Sourouzian, Stadelmann 2005, respectively.

³² See Ventris, Chadwick 1973, glossary, s.v. or, more recently, Aura Jorro 1985, s.v.

³³ Van Binsbergen, Woudhuizen 2011, p. 242.

³⁴ Mallory, Adams 2007, p. 317; p. 319. On the analogy of the fact that *Midas*, the Phrygian royal name *par excellence*, is attested already during the Late Bronze Age from Krete in the south (as *mi-da* in the Linear A text HT 41.4) through the region of northern Thessaly and southern Macedonia up to the northeastern Anatolian country of *Pahhuwa* (as *Mita* of *Pahhuwa*; cf. also the Luwian hieroglyphic sealing catalogued by Herbordt 2005 as her no. 241, reading *mi-ti-sa₅*), it may reasonably argued that the royal name *Minyas* also travelled with the Thracians and Phrygians in their peregrinations to the southern Pontic coastal regions as reflected in the saga of the Argonauts (see Woudhuizen 2012) and, through the means of dynastic intermarriages, ended up as the Urartian royal name *Minua*. Similarly, the Wilusian (= Trojan) royal name *Walmus* as attested for the Milawata-letter (CTH 182) from the reign of the Hittite great king Tudhaliyas IV (1239-1209 BC, see Beckman e.a. 2011, p. 123-133) is related to *Almos* or *Halmos* as featuring in the royal house of Korinthos or Ephyra in the same manner as the FN *Welena* (Jeffery 1990, p. 90, pl. 7, 1: *Feλεναί* [D sg.]) to *Helena* and the Anatolian TN *Walma* to *Holmoi*, etc.

(10) Kretans

ke-re-te-u “Kretheus (Κρηθεύς)”, MN attested for the Pylos tablets and also occurring in Homeros, *Odyssey* XI, 237.³⁵ It may reasonably be argued that this MN in fact confronts us with an ethnonym, “Kretan”, especially so in view of the fact that the heros eponym of the Kretans, Κρητεύς, also occurs in variant writing Κρεθεύς (Diodorus of Sicily, *The Library of History* IV, 60, 2), characterized by lenition.³⁶ According to literary tradition, the daughter of this latter Kreteus or Kretheus married Teutamos, who with his Pelasgians migrated from Thessaly to Krete and with his wife begot Asterios, the father of Minos, Sarpedon, and Rhadamathys.³⁷

For the pertinent references of the ethnonyms presented sub 4-8, see Ventris Chadwick 1973, glossary, s.v., or more recently, Aura Jorro 1985-1993, Woudhuizen 1989, p. 200, and cf. Sakellariou 2009, p. 490 and van Binsbergen & Woudhuizen 2011: 295. There may have been more ethnonyms, going unrecorded thus far, but in any case it is clear that in reality the ethnic picture of Mycenaean Greece was more complex than as sketched in the first part of this section.

Particularly confusing in this context is the cumulation of ethnonyms with which the population in the hinterland of Thebes is addressed, ranging from *Thracians* through *Minyans* to *Phlegyans* (in which latter form I cannot help but to suspect a distortion of the ethnonym *Phrygian*, which occurs in epichoric sources as *Vrekun-* (W-01, § 1)³⁸ < PIE **b^hrǵ^h(i)-* “high”). To a lesser extent, the same verdict applies to the population of the region of Iolkos, being variously referred to as *Minyans* and *Akhaians*, not to mention the rather indistinctive *Aiolians*. I think this confusion is the result of the fact that these regions lay at the margins of the ones of interest to the ancient authors, and that therefore the information at their disposal was garbled from the beginning.

III. ETHNIC INTERMINGLING

From the starting point of Greek collective memory, which we have assigned to the beginning of Late Helladic I, c. 1600 BC, onwards, literary tradition informs us about the intermingling which took place between the foreign conquerors and the local population groups. The following data are of interest in this respect:

(1) Argolis

A. the MNs *Abas*, *Akrisios*, and *Proitos*, which feature in the stemma of the Danaid royal house from the second generation after the founding father, Danaos, are of Thracio-Phrygian type.³⁹ Note in this connection also that according to Pausanias, *Description of Greece* VII, 1, 6, the sons of *Akhaios*, Arkhander and Arkhiteles, marry daughters of Danaos, namely Skaia and Automate.

B. After Eurystheus, the last ruler of the Danaids or, since the time of Perseus, Perseids, the royal house in the Argolid, comes by means of intermarriage between the two dynasties (the mother of Eurystheus, Nikippe, was, according to literary tradition, a daughter of Pelops),⁴⁰ into the hands of the descendants of Pelops, who, according to Strabo, *Geography* VIII, 5, 5, came to the Peloponnesos with *Akhaians* from *Akhaia Phthiotis*. Because of this fact, Homeros, *Odyssey* III, 251, qualifies Argos as *Akhaian*. Note in this connection that the change in royal house from Danaids to Pelopids may well correspond in archaeological terms with the change from shaft graves to tholos tombs, c. 1450 BC, in the capital, Mycenae.

(2) Thebaid

A. Kadmos, from Phoenicia, marries Harmonia, the daughter of the Thracian GN Ares.⁴¹

B. Phoenician followers of Kadmos marry with part of the local inhabitants, the Aones, while others, the Hyantes, prefer to emigrate and look for a new homeland (Pausanias, *Description of Greece*

³⁵ See Ventris, Chadwick 1973, glossary, s.v. or, more recently, Aura Jorro 1985, s.v.

³⁶ Cf. Sakellariou 2009, p. 407.

³⁷ Van Binsbergen, Woudhuizen 2011, p. 275 with reference to Strabo, *Geography* X, 4, 6; Diodorus of Sicily, *The Library of History* IV, 60, 2; V, 80, 1.

³⁸ See Waanders, Woudhuizen 2008-9, p. 195-196.

³⁹ Brixhe, Lejeune 1984, p. 146-147, G 166: *Ab(a)s*; Woudhuizen 2010, p. 69; cf. Woudhuizen 1989, p. 196.

⁴⁰ See van Binsbergen, Woudhuizen 2011, p. 244.

⁴¹ Detschew 1976, p. 24.

IX, 5, 1). In my contribution to the Fourth International Congress of Thracology I have argued that Aones, on the analogy of the fact that their heros eponym Aon is a developed form of original Saon, is a later form of original Saones, and that this population group is to be identified with the *Thracian Saoi*.⁴²

(3) **Krisa**

It may reasonably be assumed, even though this is not explicitly related, that the Cretans from Knossos who settle at Krisa intermingled with the local “women and daughters”, perhaps after having slain their husbands and boyfriends (*Homeric Hymn to Pythian Apollo* 388 ff.).

Even though we know little about the Phrygian language, and even less about the Thracian one, on the basis of the data available to us it can positively be determined that both these languages belong with Greek to a developed phase of Indo-European, distinguished as such by, among other features, the use of the augment in the formation of the past tense in the verbal conjugation, and, within this group, to the *centum* subgroup characterized by the preservation of a velar reflex of the palatals **ǵ* and **ǵʰ*,⁴³ to which also Illyrian belongs. As a matter of fact, detailed study of the Phrygian language points out that it is, as already observed by the ancient Greeks themselves (Plato, *Kratylos* 410), the closest cognate to Greek.⁴⁴ The same verdict, but based on much less material, not to say only a hand full of inscriptions,⁴⁵ also applies to Thracian, of which genetic relationship the ancients themselves were aware, again (Xenophon, *Anabasis* VII, 2, 31: the Thracian king Seuthes speaks of common offspring [συγγενεῖς] of his own people with the Athenians, no doubt referring to the marriage of the daughter of the Athenian king Pandion, Prokne, to his Thracian ally in Phokis, Tereus, cf. our remarks on this alliance in the above). However, instead of considering the Phrygian and Thracian languages as queer forms of Greek, our historical reconstruction as presented in the above rather suggests that the foreign conquerors from Egypt, Phoenicia, and Crete in the process of intermingling dropped their own languages and went over to those of the local population groups, so that, with some exaggeration perhaps, Greek should come into consideration as a queer form of Thracophrygian! In any case, it is clear that Kadmos and his Phoenicians did not speak Greek, but a Semitic vernacular, that a similar verdict may as well apply to the Kretans from Knossos, as all the available evidence suggests that, before the Mycenaean invasion of c. 1450 BC, on this island with its proverbial many languages Luwian and Semitic were the dominant ones (see Woudhuizen 2009: chapters I and II), so that this leaves us only with the possibility that Danaos and his followers introduced the Greek tongue—the only thing we know for sure in this respect is that the name Danaos (Δαναός) is of clear Indo-European antecedents, as it is derived from the PIE root **dānu-* “river” (see above).

IV. PELASGIANS

As we have noted, the evidence on the Pelasgians in the sense of “Old-Indo-Europeans” is most faint and in the main has a bearing only on hydronyms, toponyms, and onomastics. As I have argued in Woudhuizen 2010: 93-110, of special importance within this category of evidence are the characteristics of the so-called “Northwest Block” (amongst which TNs in *-st-*, like *Makistos*, *Karystos*, *Lykastos*, *Phaistos*, and river-names in *-apa* and *-dān* like *Asopos*, *Eridanos*, *Apidanos*, and *Metapa* [Linear B of Pylos *me-ta-pa*]), and correspondences with Celtic, like roots in *nem-*, *mid-*, *brig-*, *teuta-* and *khthon-* (χθών “earth” < PIE **dʰeǵʰōm-* by *metathesis qualitatis*; cf. Gaulish **gdonio-* or *χtonio-* “earthling, man”).⁴⁶ To these latter can be added a MN like *Adrastos*,⁴⁷ TNs like *Argos* (Ἄργος),⁴⁸ Aitolian *Kalydon* (Καλυδών, cf. Scottish *Celyddon*, *Calidonia* or *Caledonia*), and the river-name *Alpheios* (Ἀλφειός, cf. Celtic *Albion* < PIE **albʰo-* “white”). To the former the TNs *Ephyra* (Ἐφύρα, cf. the ethnonym

⁴² Woudhuizen 1989, p. 196.

⁴³ Woudhuizen 2010, p. 45-51.

⁴⁴ See Waanders, Woudhuizen 2008-9.

⁴⁵ Woudhuizen 2000-1; Brixhe 2006.

⁴⁶ Cf. Woudhuizen 2010, p. 105-108.

⁴⁷ Ἄδραστος; if the Celtic GN *Adreste*, as presented by Meid 2007, p. 119 and 2010, p. 100 (my thanks are due to professor Meid for kindly sending me a copy of these two books), is not more properly to be represented as *Andreste* as argued by Vennemann 2003, p. 351; in the latter case we could refer to the lenited Gaulish variant *Atreste*, see Evans 1967, p. 144.

⁴⁸ Cf. Delamarre 2003, s.v. *arganton* < PIE **h₂erǵ-* “white”.

Eburones < PIE **h₁epero-* “boar” by lenition) and *Arnē* (Ἄρνῆ, cf. Dutch *Arn-hem*, *Arne-muiden* alongside the Italic river-name *Arnos*, the Lycian TN *Arîna* < IE Anatolian *arinna-* “source”, etc.).

In myth, one of the earliest events with a historical nucleus may be, as we have noted in the above, the story about Teutamias emigrating with his Pelasgian following from Thessaly to Krete, where he married the daughter of the eponymous Kretheus and became the father of Asterios, who in turn begot Minos, Sarpedon, and Rhadamanthys as sons.⁴⁹

APPENDIX: UNITY OF THE MYCENAEAN KINGDOM

In his dissertation entitled *The kingdom of Mycenae, A Great Kingdom in the Late Bronze Age Aegean* of 2009, of which the market edition appeared in 2010, Jorrit Kelder put the question whether there was at some point in its history a great king in Mycenaean Greece on the record from the Mycenaean point of view. Anatolian specialist were already convinced that this question could be answered in the affirmative because of the fact that the ruler of Aḫḫiyawa is addressed as an equal and, what is more, attributed with the title LUGAL.GAL “great king” in the so-called Tawagalawas-letter (KUB 14.3, § 6, 13; § 10, 44; § 15, 55), dating from the reign of Muwatallis II (1295-1271 BC) as we have already mentioned in the above.⁵⁰ But such an attitude is far and away traceable among specialists in Linear B or Mycenaean studies more in general. In his contribution to the latest volume of *A Companion to Linear B*,⁵¹ entitled “The geography of the Mycenaean Kingdoms”, John Bennet purposely leaves out the title LUGAL.GAL in his enumeration of titles attributed to Aḫḫiyawan dignitaries in the Hittite sources (p. 161: LÚ, LUGAL, period!). It may be that Kelder, in his enthusiasm, went one step too far in suggesting that at the time of the attestation of a Mycenaean great king there was only one *wanaks* “king” in the entire country, likely situated by him in the capital Mycenae.⁵² I would rather agree with Eric Cline in his introduction to the recent edition of the Aḫḫiyawa texts⁵³ that there may have been more royal houses centered in the various palaces of Mycenaean Greece, like Pylos in Messenia and Thebes in Boiotia, in other words more *wanakes* (Fάνακες) “kings”,⁵⁴ but that these other kings were, of course, subject to the king of Mycenae or, to be more specific, vassal-kings.⁵⁵ At any rate, this would be the mirror-image of the situation in Anatolia, where the Hittite great king was a great king indeed because of his many vassal-kings all over the country!

Nevertheless, Kelder’s thesis can be substantiated by evidence from the Greek literary sources which he, as a trained archaeologist rather than an ancient historian, up to and including Homeros purposely avoided relying on in laying the foundation of his case. In so doing, the following data are, in my opinion, of relevance:

- (1) At the time of the Trojan war, assignable to c. 1280 BC owing to a reference to it in the Hittite Tawagalawas-letter (see in the above), Sparta or Lacedaimon (of which a related ethnonym is, as we have seen, already attested in Linear B texts from Thebes) falls under the authority of the brother of king Agamemnon of Mycenae, Menelaos, who is a king himself, but, as clearly indicated by

⁴⁹ For the dating of this event in Middle Bronze Age times, see van Binsbergen, Woudhuizen 2011, p. 275.

⁵⁰ See most recently Beckman e.a. 2011: 101-122.

⁵¹ Duhoux, Morpurgo-Davies 2011.

⁵² Kelder 2008.

⁵³ Beckman e.a. 2011.

⁵⁴ Note that LSJ, s.v. ἄναξ, G ἄνακτος, bears testimony of the form Fάνακες as attested from an inscription from Argos. Similarly, LSJ, s.v. records the related form of address of the Dioskouroi, ἄνακες. Accordingly, for the unattested plural of Linear B *wanaks* “king”, *wanakes* comes into consideration in like manner as the most commonly used *wanaktes*.

⁵⁵ Beckman e.a. 2011, p. 6 with reference to the Homeric expression from the *Iliad* I 442, etc. ἄναξ ἀνδρῶν “king of kings (lit.: of men)” (note, however, that, as I have stressed in van Binsbergen, Woudhuizen 2011, p. 205, this form of address is once used for another king, Eumelos of Volos, in Homeros, *Iliad* XXIII, 288, who is merely a vassal-king and of minor importance at that. It would be better to point in this connection that Agamemnon is solely and once addressed by means of the superlative βασιλεύτατος, namely in Homeros, *Iliad* IX, 69.); cf. my review of Kelder 2010, Woudhuizen 2011a, p. 144.

Homer, inferior in rank in comparison to that of his brother. This becomes evident if we realize that Menelaos' wife, Helena, has been kidnapped by Alexander or Paris of Troy, but that in response to this *casus belli* the gathering of the troops for the ensuing war is Agamemnon's prerogative.

- (2) According to the literary sources the realm of Pylos in Messenia, a palatial site founded by king Neleus, has been subjected to Mycenae in a war waged by Herakles, no doubt in the name of his half-brother Eurystheus, king of Mycenae at the time, in which he kills all of Neleus' sons, except the youngest, Nestor. There can be little doubt, therefore, that at the time of the Trojan War Nestor, though an important advisor, is in fact a vassal-king of Agamemnon.
- (3) Similarly, the Thebaid is according to the evidence of the literary sources subjected to the Argolid in the war of the epigonoι, which Thebes lost. In the aftermath, Thersander, son of Polyneikos, is installed in the Thebaid as an Argive (read: Mycenaean) vassal-king. As I have argued in 1989, this event can be dated to the Late Helladic IIIA1/2 transitional period, *c.* 1350 BC, when the so-called "House of Kadmos" is burned down and the subsequent palace and the material culture associated with it conforms to the Mycenaean *koinē*.
- (4) For the absence of any data on the Athenian royal house between the reign of Theseus, which falls into the period of the Minoan thalassocracy and hence before the for Minoan Krete disastrous Santorini-eruption at the end of Late Minoan IB, *c.* 1450 BC, and that of his successor during the Trojan war (*c.* 1280 BC), Menestheus, it cannot be determined at what time the king of Athene became subject to his Mycenaean overlord, but one thing is clear: Menestheus had no other option but to follow the leadership of Agamemnon.

On the basis of the foregoing data, then, it may safely be concluded that presumably from *c.* 1350 BC onwards, but certainly at the time of the Trojan war, the rulers of the various palatial sites in the Greek mainland, viz. the kings of Sparta, Pylos, Thebes, [Orkhomenos], and Athene, were vassals of their overlord, the king of Mycenae.

I. FOREIGN CONQUERORS

site	conqueror	subjected/expelled
1. Argolid ⁵⁶	Danaos from Egypt	Pelasgos/Pelasgiotans
2. Thebaid	Kadmos with Phoenicians	Aones and Hyantes
3. Krisa	Cretans from Knossos	women & daughters

II. LOCAL CONQUESTS OR MIGRATIONS

site	conqueror/migrant	subjected/enemies
1a. Elis	Salmoneus with Aiolians from Iolkos	(Pelasgians or Minyans)
1b. Pylos in Messenia	Neleus with Akhaians of Phthiotis from the region of Iolkos	Leleges or unspecified local inhabitants
2a. Attika	Erekhtheus/Erikhthonios from Athens (Akhaian)	Eumolpos with Thracians at Eleusis
2b. Attika	Pandion, son of Erekhtheus/Erikhthonios, in alliance with Tereus and his Thracians from Daulis	Labdakos, grandson of Kadmos, of Thebes

⁵⁶ Includes Argos, Mycenae, and Lacedaimon according to Pindaros, *Pythian Odes* 4, 48.

III. CHANGE IN ROYAL HOUSE OF MYCENAE

site	old royal line	new royal line
3a. Argolid	daughters of Danaos	married by sons of Akhaïos, Arkhander and Arkhitelos
3b. Argolid	Perseids, descendants of Danaos	Akhaïans of Phthiotis under Pelops

Diagram 1. Overview of the ethnic relevant data.

I. LITERARY SOURCES

1. Kretheus — Salmoneus — Sisyphos (Schachermeyr 1983, p. 212)
2. Erekhtheus — Eumolpos (c. 1600 BC)
3. Neleus — Khloris (great-granddaughter of Minyas)
4. Pandion — Labdakos — Tereus (15th century BC — c. 1350 BC as *terminus ante quem*)
5. Proitos — Bellerophon — Iobates (Lycia)
6. Theseus — Minoan thalassocracy (c. 1450 BC as *terminus ante quem*)
7. Eurystheus — Herakles — Neleus/Nestor
8. Pelopids (tholos tombs, c. 1450 BC as a *terminus post quem*)
9. Eteokles — Polyneikos (Mycenaean conquest of the Thebaid, c. 1350 BC)
10. Agamemnon — Thersander (Paus. IX, 5, 7: abortive first attempt to attack Troy, which ends in failure in Mysia)
11. Agamemnon — Menelaos — Nestor — Idomeneus — Menestheus — Askalaphos & Ialmenos — Sarpedon (Lycia) — Glaukos (Lycia) (Trojan War, c. 1280 BC)
12. Kodros — Sea Peoples (Ionian colonization of western Asia Minor, c. 1190 BC as a *terminus post quem*)

II. HISTORICAL TEXTS (Hittite/Luwian/Cretan hieroglyphic)

1. Katamu- “Kadmos”, “great-grandfather” of Tawagalawas “Eteokles” — Tarḫuntmuwas/Tarḫuntwalwas of Assuwa or Arzawa — Tudḫaliyas II of Ḫatti (1425-1390 BC) [KUB 26.91; cylinder seal Thebes no. 25]⁵⁷
2. Attarissiyas “Atreus”, “man of Aḫḫiyā” — Madduwattas — Kupanta-Kuruntas of Arzawa — Tudḫaliyas II of Ḫatti (1425-1390 BC) [KUB 14.1]
3. Nestor, “great (man) in Ḫiyawa” — Idomeneus — Tarḫundaradus of Arzawa — Tudḫaliyas III of Ḫatti (1370-1350 BC) [Phaistos disc; Bryce 2010, p. 145-148]
4. Tawagalawas “Eteokles”, “brother of the king of Aḫḫiyawa” — Muwatallis II (1295-1271 BC) [KUB 14.3]

Diagram 2. Overview of the synchronisms from the various classes of sources.

⁵⁷ As the Hittite text, just like the Tawagalawas-letter [KUB 14.3], likely dates from the reign of Muwatallis II (1295-1271 BC), “great-grandfather” on the Hittite side actually entails as much as 5 generations and therefore must be taken for the more general “ancestor”, see Beckman e.a. 2011, p. 134-139.

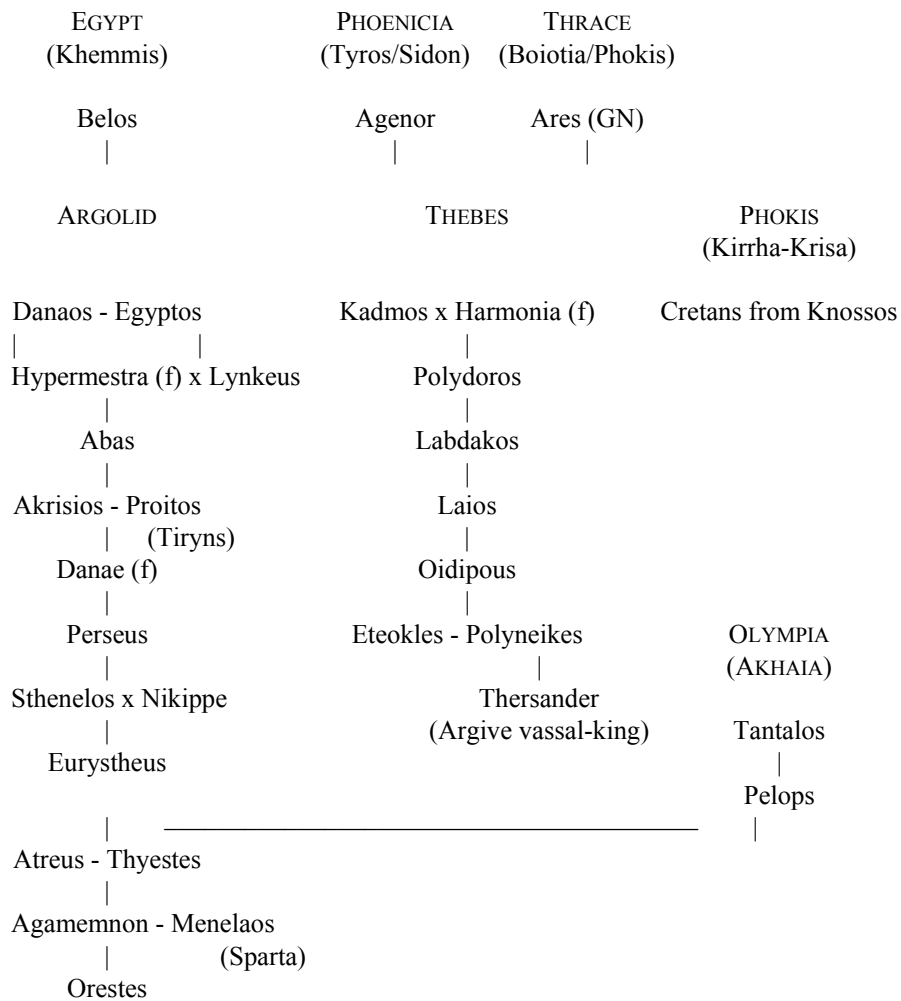


Fig. 1. Stemmata (after Schachermeyr 1983).

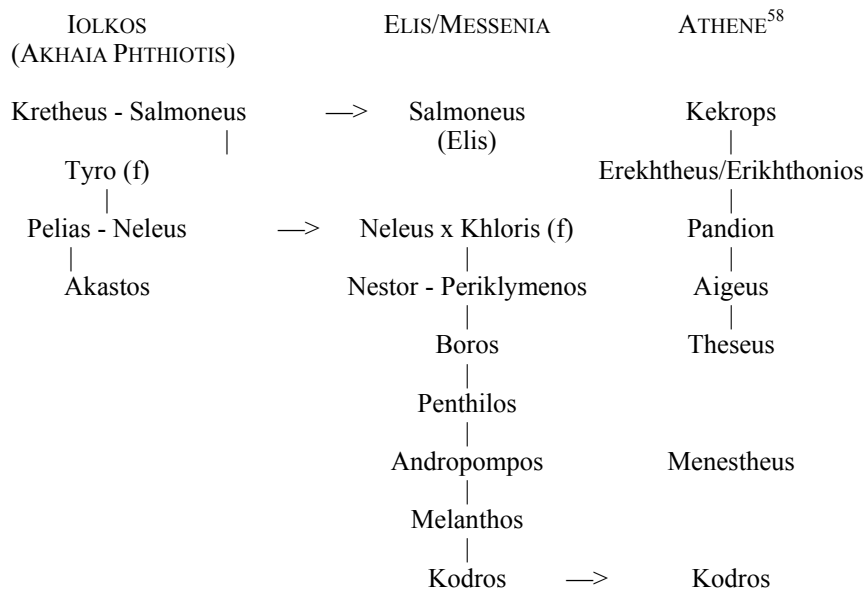
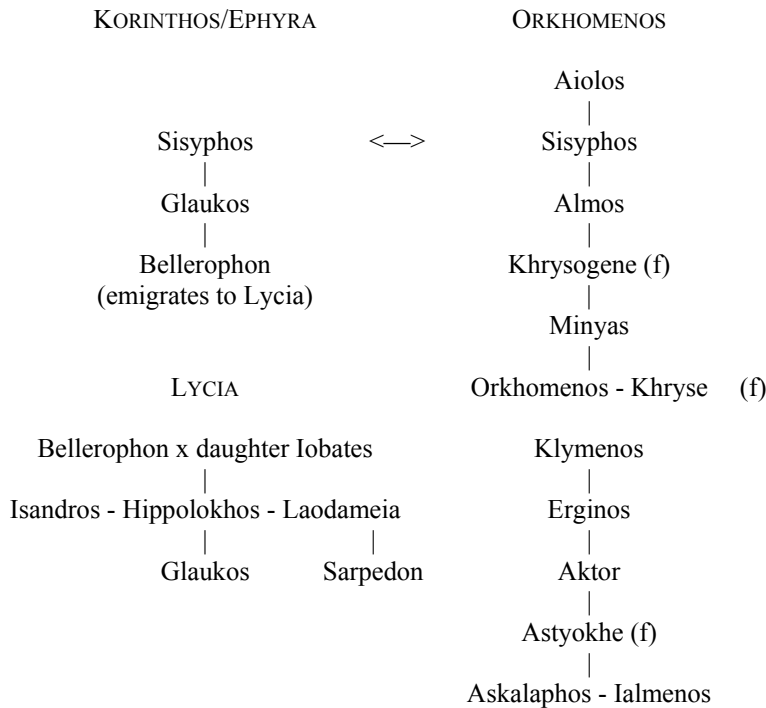


Fig. 2. Stemmata (continued).



⁵⁸ Departing from the royal line as reported by Herodotos and Hellanikos (Jacoby 1957, p. 449 “Herodot kennt nur Kekrops (VIII 44) — Erechtheus (ebd. ausdrücklich als Kekrops Nachfolger bezeichnet) — Pandion — Aigeus (I 173)”, the war waged by Erekhtheus (Ἐρεχθεύς) against Eumolpos (Εὐμόλπος) with his Thracians at Eleusis, presumably situated in the period of the invasions by Danaos and his following, Kadmos and his Phoenicians, and the Cretans from Knossos, is logically followed by the war waged by Erekhtheus’s son and successor Pandion (Πανδίων) against Labdakos (Λάβδακος), the grandson of Kadmos; in this latter war Pandion receives support from the Thracian king *Tereus* (Τηρεύς), living, as we have noted in the above, in the region of Daulis in the hinterland of Thebes. Note that Thebes was assisted in its war against Argos by Phlegyans, reported to live in Daulis and Gyrtion (Sakellariou 2009, p. 730), and “mercenaries from Phokis” (Pausanias, *Description of Greece* IX, 9, 1).

alternatively

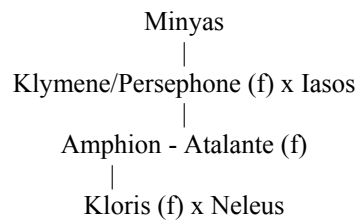


Fig. 3. Stemmata (continued).

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ABRÉVIATIONS

- ActaAntArch – Acta Antiqua et Archaeologica. Acta Universitatis de Attila József Nominatae, Szeged.
- ActaArchCarpathica – Acta Archaeologica Carpathica, Krakow.
- ActaAnthung – Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae, Budapest.
- ActaArchHung – Acta Archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae, Budapest.
- ActaDebr – Acta Classica Universitatis Debrecienensis, Debrecen.
- ArchHung – Archaeologia Hungarica. Dissertationes Archaeologicae Musei Nationalis Hungarici a Consilio Archaeologorum Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae redactae, Budapest.
- ActaMN – Acta Musei Napocensis, Cluj-Napoca.
- ActaMP – Acta Musei Porolissensis, Zalău.
- Alba Regia – Alba Regia. Annales Musei Stephani regis, Székesfehérvár.
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- AMNG I.2 – B. Pick – K. Regling, Die antiken Münzen Nord-Griechenlands I.2. Die antiken Münzen von Dacien und Moesien, Berlin, 1910.
- Analele Banatului – Analele Banatului, Muzeul Banatului, Timișoara.
- AncSoc – Ancient Society, Katholieke Universiteit te Leuven, Leuven.
- ANRV – Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt. Geschichte und Kultur Roms im Spiegel der neueren Forschung. Herausgegeben von Hildegard Temporini und Wolfgang Haase, Berlin-New York.
- Antaeus – Antaeus, Communicationes ex Instituto Archaeologico Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae, Budapest.
- AP URSS – Arheologichni pam'yatki URSS, Kiev.
- Apulum – Apulum. Buletinul Muzeului Unirii Alba Iulia, Alba Iulia.
- ArchPolski – Archeologia. Rocznik Instytutu Historii Kultury Materialnej Polskiej Akademii Nauk, Wrocław-Warszawa-Kraków-Gdańsk.
- ArheologijaKiev – Arheologija. Nacional'na akademiya nauk Ukraini. Institut Arheologii, Kiev.
- ArhMold. – Archeologia Moldovei, Institutul de Arheologie, Iași.
- ArhRozhledy – Archeologické Rozhledy, Praga.
- ARMSI – Analele Academiei Române. Memoriile Secțiunii Istorice, București.
- ASGE – Arheologicheskij sbornik Gosudarstvennogo Ermitaya, Leningrad.
- AȘUI – Analele Științifice ale Universității „Al. I. Cuza” Iași.
- BAR Int. Ser. – British Archaeological Reports, International Series, Oxford.
- BMA – Biblioteca Memoriae Antiquitatis, Piatra-Neamț.
- BerRGK – Bericht der Römisch-Germanischen Kommission des Deutschen Archäologischen Institutes, Frankfurt am Main.
- BMA – Biblioteca Memoriae Antiquitatis, Piatra-Neamț.
- BullÉp – Bulletin épigraphique, Paris.
- CAB – Cercetări Arheologice. Muzeul Național de Istorie, București.
- Carpica – Carpica, Carpica. Complexul Muzeal „Iulian Antonescu” Bacău, Bacău.
- Cercetări Arheologice – Cercetări Arheologice, Muzeul Național de Istorie a României, București.
- CCA – Cronica Cercetărilor Arheologice din România, București.
- CIL – Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum, Berlin.
- CIRB – Corpus Inscriptionum Regni Bosporani, Moskva-Leningrad, 1965.

- CCDJ – Cultură și Civilizație la Dunărea de Jos, Muzeul “Dunării de Jos”, Călărași.
- Dacia – Dacia. Recherches et découvertes archéologiques en Roumanie, București, I-XII (1924-1928); Nouvelle Série: Revue d'archéologie et d'histoire ancienne, București.
- DMÉ – Debreceni Déei Múzeum Évkönyve, Debrecen.
- Drevnejšij temenos Ol'vii – Drevnejšij temenos Ol'vii Pontijskoj, MAIET Supl. 2, Simferopol, 2006.
- Eurasia Antiqua – Eurasia Antiqua. Deutsche Archäologisches Institut, Berlin.
- EphemNap – Ephemeris Napocensis, Cluj-Napoca.
- EpigrAnat – Epigraphica Anatolica. Zeitschrift für Epigraphik und historische Geographie Anatoliens.
- FGrHist = F. Jacoby (éd.), *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*, Berlin (et Leyde) 1923-.
- FolArch – Folia Archaeologica, Budapest.
- FHDR I – *Fontes ad historiam Dacoromaniae pertinentes / Izvoare privind Istoria României I*, București, 1964.
- FÖ – Fundberichte aus Österreich, Wien..
- Fuchs, Skulptur⁴ – W. Fuchs, *Die Skulptur der Griechen*⁴, München, 1993.
- HD – Epigraphische Datenbank Heidelberg.
- Histria IX – M. Alexandrescu-Vianu, *Histria IX. Les statues et les reliefs en pierre*, București-Paris, 2000.
- Historia – Historia. Zeitschrift für alte Geschichte, Leipzig.
- IDRE I – C. C. Petolescu, *Inscriptions de la Dacie romaine. Inscriptions externes concernant l'histoire de la Dacie (Ier – IIIe siècles) I. L'Italie et les provinces occidentales*, București, 1996.
- IG VII – W. Dittenberger (éd.), *Inscriptiones graecae VII : Megaridis, Oropiae, Boeotiae*, Berlin 1892.
- IGBR I² – G. Mihailov, *Inscriptiones graecae in Bulgaria repertae*, Sofia, 1970.
- ILS – H. Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae selectae*, I-III, Berlin, 1892-1916.
- IOIb – T. N. Knipovich, E. I. Levi, *Inscriptiones Olbiae (1917-1965)*, St. Petersburg, 1968.
- IOSPE I² – V. Latyshev, *Inscriptiones orae septentrionalis Ponti Euxini I²*, Darmstadt, 1965.
- ISM I – D. M. Pippidi, *Inscriptiones Scythiae Minoris graecae et latinae I. Inscriptiones Histriae et vicinae*, București, 1968.
- ISM – D. M. Pippidi (éd., vol. I : *Histria et vicinia*), I. Stoian (éd., vol. II : *Tomis et son territoire*), A. Avram (éd., vol. III : *Callatis et son territoire*), *Inscriptiones grecques et latines de Scythie Mineure*, Bucarest-Paris 1983-1999.
- ISM II – I. Stoian, *Inscriptiones Scythiae Minoris graecae et latinae II : Tomis et territorium*, București, 1983.
- Istros - Istros. Buletinul Muzeului Brăilei. Brăila.
- JAMÉ – Jóna András Múzeum Évkönyve, Nyíregyháza.
- JRGZM – Jahrbuh des Römisch Germanischen Zentralmuseums zu Mainz, Mainz.
- KBN – Korpus Bosporskih nadpisej, Moskva-Leningrad.
- KESAM – Kocheniviki evraziskij stepi i antichnyj mir, Novohercassk..
- KSIA – Kratkie soobshcheniya Instituta arheologii, Moskva.
- LIMC – Lexicon iconographicum mythologiae classicae, Zürich, 1981–1999.
- Materiale (MCA) – Materiale și Cercetări Arheologice, Institutul de Arheologie Vasile Pârvan, București.
- MemAntiq. – Memoria Antiquitatis, Piatra-Neamț.
- MFME – A Móra Ferek Múzeum Évkönyve, Szeged.
- MIA – Materialy i issledovanya po arheologii SSS, Moskva-Sk.Petersburg
- MittArchInst – Mitteilungen des Archäologischen Instituts der Ungarischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Budapest.
- Mousaios – Mousaios. Buletinul Științific al Muzeului Județean Buzău NAV - Nizhnevolzhskij arheologicheskij vestnik. Volgogradskij gosudarstvennyj universitet, Volgograd.
- Nilsson, GGR I² – M. Nilsson, *Geschichte der griechischen Religion, I. Die Religion Griechenlands bis auf die griechische Weltherrschaft*, München, 1955.
- Památky Archeologické - Archeologický Ústav Akademie Věd České Republiky, Praha.
- RE – G. Wissowa (ed.), *Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, Stuttgart, München.
- PBF – Prähistorische Bronzefunde, München.

- PAS – Praehistorische Archäologie in Südosteuropa, Berlin.
- PAV – Peterburgskij arheologičeskij vestnik, Sankt Peterburg.
- Pontica – Pontica. Studii și materiale de istorie, arheologie și muzeografie, Constanța.
- Pontus, Paphlagonien, Bythynien, Berlin, 1957.
- PZ – Praehistorische Zeitschrift, Berlin–New York.
- RA – Rossijskaya Arheologiya. Institut arheologii Rossijskoj akademii nauk, Moskva.
- Rapoartele M.N.A. – Rapoartele Muzeului Național de Antichități, București.
- Revista Muzeelor – Revista Muzeelor, București.
- RevBistriței – Revista Bistriței. Complexul Muzeal Bistrița-Năsăud, Bistrița.
- RG – W. H. Waddington, E. Babelon, Th. Reinach, *Recueil général des monnaies grecques d'Asie Mineure*². 1, Pont et Paphlagonie, Paris, 1904–1925.
- RÖ – Römisches Österreich, Wien.
- Rphil (Botez) – Revue Philologique, Paris.
- SA – Sovetskaya Arheologiya. Institut arheologii Akademii nauk SSSR, Moskva.
- SAA – Studia Antiqua et Archaeologica, Iași
- SCIV(A) – Studii și cercetări de istorie veche (și arheologie), Institutul de Arheologie “Vasile Pârvan” București
- Studii și Cercetări de Antropologie – Studii și Cercetări de Antropologie, Institutul de Antropologie Fr. Rainer, București.
- SAI – Studii și articole de istorie, București.
- SGE – Soobshcheniya Gosudarstvennogo Ermitaya, Leningrad.
- SEG – *Supplementum epigraphicum graecum*, Leiden 1923-1971, Alphen aan den Rijn 1979-1980, Amsterdam 1979-2005, Boston 2006.
- SCIV(A) – Studii și Cercetări de Istorie veche și Arheologie, București.
- StCl – Studii Clasice, București.
- Stratum plus – Stratum, Vysshaya Antropologicheskaya Shkola, Chișinău.
- StSatu Mare – Studii și comunicări, Satu Mare.
- SNG BM – Sylloge nummorum graecorum, The British Museum, IX/1. The Black Sea, London, 1993.
- SNG von Aulock – Sylloge nummorum graecorum, Deutschland, Sammlung von Aulock.
- Thrac-Dacica – Thrac-Dacica, Academia Română, Institutul Român de Tracologie, București.
- Tyragetia – Tyragetia. Arheologie Istorie Antică, Muzeul Național de Arheologie și Istorie a Moldovei, Chișinău.
- VDI – Vestnik drevnei istorii, Institut vseobshchej istorii Rossijskoj akademii nauk, Moskva.

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