

NOSTOI

INDIGENOUS CULTURE, MIGRATION +  
INTEGRATION IN THE AEGEAN ISLANDS + WESTERN  
ANATOLIA DURING THE LATE BRONZE + EARLY IRON  
AGES

NOSTOI: INDIGENOUS CULTURE, MIGRATION + INTEGRATION IN THE AEGEAN ISLANDS +  
WESTERN ANATOLIA DURING THE LATE BRONZE + EARLY IRON AGES

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Cover design: Gökçen Ergüven

Printed by  printcenter (certificate no: 13779)

Sanayi Mah. Libadiye Sok. No: 3 4. Levent/İstanbul • P: +90 (212) 371 03 00

© Koç University Press, 2011

1st print: İstanbul, May 2015

Koç Üniversitesi Yayınları (certificate no: 18318)

Rumelifeneri Yolu Sarıyer 34450 İstanbul, Türkiye • P: +90 212 338 1797

kup@ku.edu.tr • www.kocuniversitypress.com • www.kocuniversitesiyayinlari.com

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Nicholas Chr. Stampolidis – Çiğdem Maner – Konstantinos Kopanias





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## Introduction

**THE CONFERENCE WAS HELD IN ISTANBUL AT THE RESEARCH CENTER FOR Anatolian Civilizations of Koç University (RCAC) from 31/3/11–3/4/11.** Its purpose was to offer to scholars of different disciplines a forum for the presentation of new finds and the discussion of innovative research results on various aspects of indigeneity, migration, exchanges, and the process of integration in local communities during the Late Bronze Age (LBA) and Early Iron Age (EIA) in both the Aegean Islands and the Western Anatolian Coast.

The vast number of presented papers show that there is a great interest for the subject of the conference. Scholars from Europe and the USA have contributed their valuable research to an exemplary course of the conference. J. David Hawkins, Penelope Mountjoy, and K. Aslihan Yener were the invited keynote speakers.

The great number of papers were divided into five thematic sections. These include:

- I: General
- II: Migration
- IIIa: Fieldwork a. Aegean
- IIIb: Fieldwork b. Anatolia
- IV: Trade
- V: Cult, Social, and Intercultural Aspects

The first section discussed the main topic of the conference from a general point of view. Hence, topics such as the history of West Anatolia and the Aegean during the LBA and EIA, exchanges in material culture, historical geography, material culture of the Anatolian Interface, and settlement patterns were discussed by Hawkins, Mountjoy, Pavúk, Becks, and Alpaslan. The second section discussed the topic of migration, especially during the transition from the LBA to the EIA and IA. The papers by Bachvarova, Aslan and Hnila, Kopanias, Fragopoulou, and Mac Sweeney discussed the topic of migration in different regions from a historical and philological point of view. The third section, Geography, was divided into two subsections: Aegean and West Anatolia. In this section, specific topics concerning the two geographical regions were presented in chronological order. Papers on excavations and philological questions in these regions, which discussed the interchanges of

the two regions in the LBA and EIA, were presented. Seroglou and Sfakianakis, Eerbeek, Vitale and Trecarichi, Georgiadis and Vlachopoulos, Earle, Girella and Pavuk, Dale, Coluccia, and Danile presented papers in the Aegean section. Yener, Yağcı, Ünlü, Hürmüzlü and Iversen, Momigliano and Aksoy, Kaiser and Zurbach, Krumme, Şahoğlu, Meriç and Öz, Günel, Votruba, Ersoy, and R. Aslan presented papers in the Anatolia section.

In the fourth section two papers on trade were presented. Michaelidou offered a paper on profit-oriented traders and concepts of measurement and value during the LBA in the Aegean and Anatolia, and Kozal a paper about imports from the Eastern Mediterranean during the LBA. The section on cult, social, and intercultural aspects turned out to be the largest in the conference. Religion, philology, historical geography, identification of social groups, exchanges in art and architecture, travelling artists and brides, colonialism, and burial rituals during the LBA and EIA were discussed in this section by Teffeteller, Mouton and Rutherford, Carstens, Zenoni, Simon, Giannakos, Vaessen, Maner, Mokrišová, Leriou, Mikrakis, Pieniżek, Cutler and Gorogianni and Fitzimons, and Agelarakis.

The conference was generously sponsored by the Alexander S. Onassis Foundation–Athens, Koç University, University of Crete, University of Athens and Mediterranean Archaeological Society (MAE). We are grateful to the RCAC, German Archaeological Institute Istanbul (DAI Istanbul), NIT, and IFEA, who have generously accommodated several of our speakers. The conference would not be possible without the help of several people, to whom we would like to extend very cordial thanks: Anthony Papadimitriou, President of the Onassis Foundation; Sami Gülgöz, former Dean of the College of Social Sciences and Humanities (CSSH) at Koç University; Scott Redford, former Director of the RCAC; Zeynep Kotevoğlu, Administrative Coordinator of CSSH Koç University; Maria Tsika, Director of University of Crete Estate Management and Administration Company; Stavroula Oikonomou and Yorgos Tassoulas of the Museum of Cycladic Art. Finally, we are grateful that Koç University Press has agreed to publish the proceedings of the conference and especially we are thankful to Defne Karakaya for her dedication, steadiness and meticulous work.

N. Chr. Stampolidis – Ç. Maner – K. Kopanias

PART 2

## **Migration**



# The Mushki/Phrygian Problem from the Near Eastern Point of View

PART 2

CHAPTER 8

KONSTANTINOS KOPANIAS

## Abstract

This paper presents an extensive analysis of the available Greek, Assyrian, Babylonian, and Achaemenid texts referring to the Phrygians and the Mushki, respectively. In recent years, several studies have been published which propose that these two ethnonyms did not refer to the same population group of the Early Iron Age. In this paper it is argued that the contrary was the case. It is also proposed that the Phrygians/Mushki may have been associated with the inhabitants of the country of Masha, which is mentioned in Hittite texts from the Late Bronze Age. The Phrygian migration, which is mentioned in the Greek sources to have taken place shortly after the Trojan War, is likely to have occurred much earlier and in many stages. It was not a massive movement of people, which came as conquerors in Anatolian, leaving a trail of destruction behind them. On the contrary, it was the migration of relatively small groups of people, which dispersed throughout Anatolia, from its west coast (mainly in the NW) and to the SE Anatolia, where they came into conflict with the emerging Neo-Assyrian empire during the 12th century BC.

*As the Macedonians say, the Phrygians were called Briges as long as they dwelt in Europe, where they were neighbours of the Macedonians; but when they changed their home to Asia, they changed their name also and were called Phrygians.*

HERODOT 7.73.

FOR A VERY LONG TIME, THE HISTORICITY OF THIS WELL-KNOWN PASSAGE of Herodot was taken for granted and, as a result, some scholars went for a ghost hunt. Not only did they try to discover similarities between the Phrygian and Thracian language and religion,<sup>1</sup> they also tried to find archaeological evidence for a Phrygian migration from Thrace to Anatolia in the EIA. This seemed to fit well with the Egyptian narration of the migration of the so-called *Sea Peoples* in the eastern Mediterranean, who were supposed to be responsible also for the destruction of the Hittite kingdom.<sup>2</sup> Nevertheless, the available evidence does not allow such certainty, and even the above mentioned passage of Herodot is not as trustworthy as it appears to be. Firstly, the source of this information has not been the Phrygians themselves, but the Makedonians, approximately 600 years after the alleged migration. Herodot cites no concrete sources and doesn't even explicitly mention that he himself agrees with this opinion. It is evident that this assumption was based primarily on the phonetic similarity of the two ethnonyms (i.e. *Phryges* and *Bryges*).

Later authors mention that the Brygians lived in Thrace,<sup>3</sup> in Chalcidice,<sup>4</sup> west of Edessa,<sup>5</sup> and also in the area of Dyrrhachion.<sup>6</sup> In Makedonia, some towns existed in later times with similar names: Brygion, Brygias, and Mutatio Brucida.<sup>7</sup> Unfortunately, we know nothing of the Brygians; we have no archaeological evidence that can be associated with them and help us pinpoint them on the map. Presumably, they spoke an Indoeuropean language which bore some similarities to Phrygian. The Thracian origin of the Phrygians is attested mainly by later authors, especially

1 e.g. Hutter 2006, 91; *contra* Strobel 2008b, 135.

2 Yasur-Landau 2010.

3 Herodot 6.45; Steph. B. s.v. Βρύκαι; Plin. Nat. 4.18. Many place names in Thrace and Troas were common: Strab. xiii.590; see also Thuc. 2.99; Suid. s.v. Θάμυρις; Tzetz. Chil. 3.812.

4 Lycoph. 1404; Steph. B. s.v. Κρονούσις. They are mentioned to have lived also further south, in the area of Mount Oeta and even in Attica: Thuc. 2.22; Strab. xiii. 621; Steph. B. s.v. Φρυγία and Φρίκιον; Eustath. ad Dionys. Per. 810.

5 Strab. vii.326–7; Steph. B. s.v. Βρύξ.

6 Strab. l.c.; Appian, App. BC 2.39; Scymn. 433, 436.

7 Steph. B. s.v. vv.; It. Hieros. p. 607.

Strabo<sup>8</sup> and Stephanus Byzantius.<sup>9</sup> According to Xanthus,<sup>10</sup> their migration took place after the Trojan War, and, according to Conon,<sup>11</sup> 90 years before that.

In the Homeric poems there is an apparent contradiction to the information provided by Herodot. Not only there is no mention of a Phrygian migration from Thrace or elsewhere, but on the contrary, the Phrygians appear to have lived already for a long time in the area of Sangarios.<sup>12</sup> Priamos, long before the Trojan War, fought as their ally against the Amazons and also his wife, Hekabe, was Phrygian. If we take into account the longevity of Priamos, it seems that Homer assumed that the Phrygians must have been present in Anatolia for at least one or two generations prior to the Trojan War, or even longer.

But also Herodotus' information on the subject of the Phrygian migration is rather contradicting. He mentions that the Phrygian language was the most ancient one, more ancient even than the Egyptian (based on the well-known experiment by the Pharaoh Psammetichos<sup>13</sup>), which leads indirectly to the conclusion that the Phrygians formed an *ethnos* at a very early stage of the human history. He also mentioned an older expedition of "*...the Mysians and Teucrians which before the Trojan war crossed the Bosphorus into Europe, subdued all the Thracians, and came down to the Ionian sea, marching southward as far as the river Peneus.*"<sup>14</sup> According to Herodot, this expedition forced the Thracian Bithynians to cross the Hellespont and find refuge in Anatolia.<sup>15</sup> When Darius sought information about the Paeonians, he was told by one of them that "*the towns of Paeonia lay on the Strymon, a river not far from the Hellespont, and that they were colonists from the Teucrians of Troy.*"<sup>16</sup> Athenaeus connects this Teucrian and Mysian expedition with Midas.<sup>17</sup> This comes as no big surprise, since after the 5th c. BC the Greeks considered the

8 Strabo vii.295, x.471.

9 Steph. Byz. s.v. Φρυγία.

10 Strab. xiv.680.

11 Phot. Cod. p. 130.

12 Hom. Il. 2.862, 3.185, 10.431, 16.717, 24.535.

13 Herodot 2.2. See also Paus. 1.14.2; Claudian, in Eutrop. 2.251; Appulei. Metam. xi.762. Significant is also the Phrygian legends of a great flood, connected with the king Annacus or Nannacus (Zosim. 6.10; Suid. s.v. Νάννακος; Steph. B. s.v. Ἰκόνιον), and also the belief that the Phrygians have been the first to adopt idolatry (Orac. Sibyll. 1.196, 262, 266; 7.12–5).

14 Herodot 7.20.

15 Herodot 7.75.

16 Herodot 5.13.

17 Athen. 15.683.

Mysians, the Trojans,<sup>18</sup> and the Teucrians to be closely related to the Phrygians.<sup>19</sup> The Mysians were also called Thracians and their language was said to have been a mixture of the Phrygian and the Lydian.<sup>20</sup> They were so intermingled with the Phrygians that their frontiers could scarcely be distinguished.<sup>21</sup> Also, the name of the Mygdonians was often used synonymously with that of the Phrygians,<sup>22</sup> and in Homer<sup>23</sup> the leader of the Phrygians is called Mygdon. According to Stephanus Byzantius,<sup>24</sup> Mygdonia was the name of a district in Great Phrygia and also in Makedonia. At a later time the Mygdonians disappear from history, probably being absorbed by the Phrygians. The expedition of the Mysians and Teucrians, which according to Herodotus took place before the Trojan War, was believed to be related with the migration of the Phrygians and Lydians, who followed Pelops to the Peloponnesos.<sup>25</sup> This shows that there was a tradition, according to which the Phrygians already lived in Anatolia many generations before the Trojan War.

Phrygians were also considered to be close relatives of the Armenians.<sup>26</sup> In the army of Xerxes, these two nations appear under one commander and use the same armor; according to Herodotus,<sup>27</sup> this was because the Armenians were descendants of the Phrygians. Eudoxos<sup>28</sup> mentions the same and moreover alludes to a similarity in the languages of the two peoples.<sup>29</sup> Nevertheless, Phrygia stretched to the east only to the river Halys and had no common border to Armenia. East of Halys lay Paphlagonia and Cappadokia,<sup>30</sup> and there is no mention in the available texts that the Phrygians were somehow related to the Paphlagonians or to the Cappadocians. The inhabitants within the Halys bend were called “White Syrians” (Leucosyroi)

18 Ross 2005, 312–3; Sowa 2008, 22. In Homer's *Iliad*, the Trojans appear to speak a different language than their allies, but, interestingly, the name Hector is said to be Phrygian: Hesych. s.v. Δαρειός.

19 Wittke 2004, 69–75.

20 Strab. xii.572.

21 Strab. xii. 564; xiii.629. See also Hom. Il. 2.862; Dionys. Per. 810; Suid. s.v. οὐδὲν ἦτρον.

22 Paus. 10.27.1.

23 Hom. Il. 3.186.

24 Stephanus B. s.v. Μυγδοῖα. See also Strab. xiv.681; Schol. ad Apollon. Rhod. 1.936, 943, 1115.

25 Athen. Soph. 14.21. Pausanias (5.25.6) mentions that some Phrygians from the Scamander area even reached Sicily.

26 Greppin and Diakonoff 1991, 727.

27 Herodotus 7.73.

28 Steph. B. s.v. Ἀρμενία; Eustath. ad Dion. Per. 694.

29 Both names were used as synonyms: Anecd. Graec. Oxon. iv. p. 257, ed. Cramer.

30 Strobel 2008b, 126.



by the Greeks and “Cappadocian Syrians” by the Persians.<sup>31</sup> Both terms probably referred to a Luwian speaking population living within the Halys bend and also in north Syria.

In conclusion, the available Greek texts do not offer a clear picture about the origin of the Phrygians. According to them, several migrations took place over the Hellespont in both directions. From the 5th c. BC onwards, various peoples either claimed to be related with the Phrygians, or others thought that about them: the Paiones, Bryges, Mygdones, Troes, Teukroi, Mysoi, and Armenians. It appears that, in the Greek texts, the term *Phrygian* does not necessarily describe one *ethnos*, but is used either as a geographic term or describes a group of people who spoke a more or less similar language. Interestingly, as we are informed by Hesychius,<sup>32</sup> the name *Phrygian*, in the language of their kindred Lydians, meant “freemen”, i.e. it alludes to a social status not an ethnic or tribal association.

Unfortunately, we do not know how the Phrygians called themselves. What we know for certain is that the ethnonym *Phrygian* was used *only* by Greek and later Latin authors. So, how were they called by all others? A very good and, as a matter of fact, the only candidate is the ethnonym *Mushku* or *Mushki*, which is

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31 Herodot 1.6. Herodot 7.72: “*The Paphlagonians in the army had woven helmets on their heads, and small shields and short spears, and also javelins and daggers; they wore their native shoes that reach midway to the knee. The Ligyes and Matieni and Mariandyni and Syrians were equipped like the Paphlagonians. These Syrians are called by the Persians Cappadocians.*”

Herodot 5.49: “*The lands in which they dwell lie next to each other, as I shall show: next to the Ionians are the Lydians, who inhabit a good land and have great store of silver.*” (This he said pointing to the map of the earth which he had brought engraved on the tablet.) “Next to the Lydians,” said Aristagoras, “you see the Phrygians to the east, men that of all known to me are the richest in flocks and in the fruits of the earth. Close by them are the Cappadocians, whom we call Syrians, and their neighbors are the Cilicians, whose land reaches to the sea over there, in which you see the island of Cyprus lying. *The yearly tribute which they pay to the king is five hundred talents. Next to the Cilicians, are the Armenians, another people rich in flocks, and after the Armenians, the Matieni, whose country I show you.*”

Herodot 1.72: “*Now the Cappadocians are called by the Greeks Syrians, and these Syrians before the Persian rule were subjects of the Medes, and, at this time, of Cyrus.* For the boundary of the Median and Lydian empires was the river Halys, which flows from the Armenian mountains first through Cilicia and afterwards between the Matieni on the right and the Phrygians on the other hand; then, passing these and still flowing north, it separates the Cappadocian Syrians on the right from the Paphlagonians on the left. *Thus the Halys river cuts off nearly the whole of the lower part of Asia from the Cyprian to the Euxine sea. Here is the narrowest neck of all this land; the length of the journey across for a man traveling unencumbered is five days.*”

32 Hesychius s.v. Βρύγες.

first attested in Assyrian texts of the 12th c. BC.<sup>33</sup> The Mushki are first mentioned during the reign of Ninurta-apil-Ekur, in the first quarter of the 12th c. BC, and then in texts of Aššur-dan I.<sup>34</sup> It is mentioned that the latter defeated them in the city Quba, but no information is provided about the place of their origin or the time of their arrival in that region. During the reign of king Tiglatpileser I, it is mentioned that they have been living in the area of Alzu and Purulumzu already for fifty years, i.e. since ca. 1165 BC.<sup>35</sup> This area is probably located between the Arsaniyas river (=Murat Su) and the Kashiari range (=Tur 'Abdin).<sup>36</sup> The previous population of this area joined a rebellion against the Assyrians early in the reign of Tukulti-Ninurta I (1244–1208 BC). The retaliation of the Assyrian king was very harsh and a large part of the population was annihilated and possibly this allowed the migration of Mushki, at first probably as tributaries of the Assyrians.<sup>37</sup> During the reign of Tiglatpileser I, an army of 20,000 Mushki invaded Kadmuḫu,<sup>38</sup> led by five kings, but the Assyrians were able to defeat them in battle.<sup>39</sup> The Mushki are no longer mentioned in relation to Alzu and Purulumzu, so it is unclear, how long they remained there.<sup>40</sup>

They are probably mentioned again during the reign of Aššur-bel-kala.<sup>41</sup> Later, in 885 BC, Tukulti-Ninurta II campaigned against them in the city of Piru.<sup>42</sup> Aššurnasirpal II received, in 883 BC, from Kadmuḫu and from the Mushki bronze vases, cattle, sheep, and wine as tribute.<sup>43</sup> The exact location of the Mushki is never mentioned in the Assyrian texts, but it is evident that they lived east and southeast of Tabal.<sup>44</sup> In texts from the reign of Sargon II, the Mushki are mentioned again, and for the first time we are informed of their king's name, which was *Mita*.<sup>45</sup> Sargon mentions that Mita was not subdued by his predecessors, probably Tiglatpileser

33 About the Assyrian sources on Mushki see esp. Wittke 2004, 27–55, and also Sowa 2008, 17 ff.; Bryce 2009, 557. For the historic reconstruction I follow here, mainly Radner 2006.

34 Radner 2006, 147–8.

35 Wittke 2004, 32–5 cat. nos. M4–M6.

36 Bryce 2009, 567.

37 Bryce 2009, 360, 567.

38 Bryce 2009, 359–60.

39 Röllig 1997, 493.

40 Wittke 2004, 81 ff.; Radner 2006, 148.

41 RIMA 2, p. 101: ii 11 f.

42 RIMA 2, p. 177: 121.

43 RIMA 2, p. 198: i 74.

44 Röllig 1997, 493.

45 Fuchs 2001.

III and Salmanassar V.<sup>46</sup> The Mushki king allied himself with Pisiris of Karkemish and, in 717 BC, took part in a rebellion against the Assyrians.<sup>47</sup> Sargon retaliated,<sup>48</sup> but Mita kept close relations with King Ambaris of Tabal, King Kiakki of Šinuhtu, and King Rusa I of Urartu.<sup>49</sup> Nevertheless, Urartu was defeated in battle by the Assyrians and lost its influence on Tabal.<sup>50</sup> The city of Melid was lost in 712 BC to the Assyrians and also Gurgum one year later.<sup>51</sup> Mita had to remain neutral as the Assyrians attacked Tabal and, in 709 BC, he sent gifts to Sargon II, which the latter understood as tribute.<sup>52</sup> In the Assyrian texts we hear nothing about the death of Mita and no other Mushki king is mentioned by name. An oracle from the reign of King Asarhaddon, mentions the king of Mushki as an ally of the Cimmerians and also Mugallu of Tabal. Rölli<sup>53</sup> assumes that this oracle should be dated around 675 BC, when the Assyrians fought unsuccessfully against Mugallu. Nevertheless, this alliance could have been older, so we could view the year 675 BC just as a *terminus ante quem* for it. In another fragmentary oracle of the same time, a person named Mita is mentioned as the “*master of the city [lacuna]*,” but we cannot be certain about his identity.<sup>54</sup>

The Greek sources allude to the existence of at least three different kings with the name Midas.<sup>55</sup> The first one was a powerful king who ruled over Phrygia and Lydia. He lived, according to Eusebios, between 738/7–696/5<sup>56</sup> BC and dedicated his throne in Delphi.<sup>57</sup> Another Midas, mentioned by Hellanikos,<sup>58</sup> lived during the 26th Olympiad (c. 675 BC). A third Midas was a contemporary of the Persian king Cyrus and lived around the middle of the 6th c. BC.<sup>59</sup> The dates mentioned by Eusebios for the first Midas, the ruler of Phrygia and Lydia, correspond well with those of the Assyrian texts from the time of Sargon II. It is very improbable that two different kings with the same name ruled exactly in the same time in

46 Fuchs 1994, 234:152.

47 Fuchs 1994, 93:72–3.

48 Fuchs 1994, 109–10:119–20.

49 Fuchs 1994, 35:22 ff.

50 Fuchs 1994, 124:199 ff.

51 Fuchs 1994, 127–8:218.

52 Fuchs 1994, 234:152; 128:152 ff.

53 Rölli<sup>53</sup> 1997, 493.

54 Rölli<sup>54</sup> 1997, 493.

55 DeVries 2008, 30–1; Strobel 2008b, 140–1.

56 Hienon.chron. Arm. 742/1.

57 Herodot 1.14.

58 FgrHist 4, F 85a.b.

59 Herodot 1.35, 45.

neighbouring kingdoms, Midas in western and central Anatolia and Mita in the land of Mushki, east of Tabal, while the Greek knew only the western one and the Assyrians only the eastern one. Evidently, Midas/Mita must have been the same person and consequently the Assyrian term Mushki was used to define also the Phrygians.<sup>60</sup> If this was not the case, this means that the Assyrian texts never mentioned the Phrygians, despite the fact that they knew the Lydians.<sup>61</sup> There is also an additional indication for the connection of King Mita to the Phrygians: the well-known black stele of Tyana, which bears a Phrygian inscription with the name of Mita.<sup>62</sup> Nevertheless, it was recently proposed<sup>63</sup> that the Phrygians and the Mushki were different people and were associated with one another at some point of their history, possibly after the conquest of the latter by the Phrygian king Midas. The author of this paper also subscribes to this assumption, but with a slight, though significant, modification; namely that the Phrygians and Mushki belonged to a different *genos* (clan) of the same *ethnos*,<sup>64</sup> a fact that made their “amalgamation” easier in the eyes of their neighbors. But before we take a closer look on that, let us first turn to the available non-Assyrian sources.

In the early 8th c., Yariris, the ruler of Karkamiš, boasts that he heard his name in *mu-sá-za* (Lydish), *su-ra-za* (possibly Phoenikish?), and *mu-sà-ka-za*, a term that probably refers to the language of Mushki.<sup>65</sup> Also in the Old Testament a people called *Mešeš*, possibly the Mushki, is connected with Tabal.<sup>66</sup> The land of Mushku (*kurMu-uš-ki-né*) is also mentioned in an inscription of King Rusa II of Urartu, dated in 670 BC, together with *Hatte* and *Halitu*, a place in southeastern Anatolia.<sup>67</sup> In all three cases, it is unclear whether these particular terms are used to define only the people east of Tabal, or are used as a general ethnonym that includes also the Phrygians in the west.

60 Meriggi 1964; Börker-Klähn 1997, 249. The *Moschoi* (Herodot 3.94; 7.78), who later lived in Kolchis, could also be related with the Mushki/Phrygians. Stephanos B. (s.v. Μόσχοι) noted: “Μόσχοι, Κόλχιον ἔθνος προσεχὲς τοῖς Ματιηνοῖς. Ἐκαταίος Ἀσία.” “*Moschoi, a Kolchian nation that lives next to the Matienoi, as Hecataeos* (of Miletos, c. 550–476 BC).”

61 Wittke 2004, 72.

62 Mellink 1991, 625; Hawkins 1993. Also, one Mushki depicted on a relief in the Assyrian palace of Horsabad wears a Phrygian fibula: Röllig 1997, 495.

63 Röllig 1997, 495; Bryce 2009, l–li.

64 The terminus *ethnos* is used here in the Herodotian sense, i.e. in the sense of a (sometimes fictional) common ancestry and cultural/spatial affinity, not in biological/racial terms. For the complex problem of ‘ethnicity,’ see Gates 2002; Killebrew 2005; Bahrani 2006, 51 ff.

65 Wittke 2004, 65–75 cat. no. M38.

66 Gen. 10:2; 1. Chr. 1:5,17; Hes. 27:13 κτλ. Meshesh: Astour 1976, 569; Wittke 2004, 77–80 cat. nos. M41–2.

67 Wittke 2004, 55–8 cat. nos. M31–3.

In Babylonian texts of the Achaemenid period, the term *lu muškaja* is used several times.<sup>68</sup> In this case we can safely assume that the term refers also to the Anatolian Phrygians and not only to the Mushki east of Tabal, because a group of people known as *Muškaja u Sapardaja*, namely “*Phrygians and Lydians*,” is sometimes abbreviated as “*Mushkaja*”. On the contrary, in the texts from Persepolis this term is never used as an ethnonym. It occurs only once, and only as the name of a Carian: “*Muškaja LUKarkaja*” (=“*Phrygian, the Carian*”).<sup>69</sup> The ethnonym *Mushki* is absent not only from the Elamite texts, but also from the royal inscriptions.<sup>70</sup> This is very surprising because the whole of Anatolia, including Phrygia, was under Persian rule at the time, and an inscription in Phrygian was even discovered in Persepolis. According to Herodot,<sup>71</sup> the third Satrapy consisted of the Hellespontians, Phrygians, Thracians, Paphlagonians, Mariandynians, and Syrians, meaning here the Cappadocians. Nevertheless, in the Behistun inscription of Dareios, only following Satrapies, are mentioned: Sparda (=Lydia), Yauna (=Ionia), Katpatuka (=Cappadocia), and Armina (=Armenia).<sup>72</sup> Phrygia is missing, as on all other inscriptions. So, there are two possibilities: either Phrygia was divided upon its neighbours (i.e. Lydia, Ionia and Cappadocia), or the Persians used another name for it. It is possible that under the term *Sparda* (=Lydia) the Persians meant also ‘Phrygia’, since at the time of its conquest Phrygia was already absorbed by it. The above-mentioned phrase “*Muškaja u Sapardaja*”, and its abbreviated form “*Muš-kaja*”, could be an indication in favor of this assumption. Nevertheless, since the ethnonym *Muškaja* is used so seldom, we have to assume that there was another term in use. There are two candidates for that: either the term *Yauna*,<sup>73</sup> which would then refer not only to the Ionians, but also to the Phrygians, or, more convincingly in my opinion, the term *Skudra*.<sup>74</sup> As proposed by Henkelman and Stolper,<sup>75</sup> the term ‘Skudra’ doesn’t “*simply equal either ‘Phrygian’ or ‘(Asian) Thracian.’ Rather, we hypothesize that the name, as we find it used in Persian sources, is an outside denominator referring to what actually was an ethnically and culturally diverse complex including Thracian and Phrygian elements.*” This would explain the fact,

68 Stolper 1985, 79; Henkelman–Stolper 2009, 298 n. 75; see also Zadok 2005.

69 Henkelman–Stolper 2009, 289.

70 Tavernier 2008, 63; Henkelman–Stolper 2009, 297.

71 Herodot 3.90–4.

72 Marek 2010, 205.

73 Klinkott 2001, 136: “Yauna ushkahya [= die Ionier des Fest- bzw. Binnenlandes] mit den Phrygern zu verbinden...” Gropp (2001, 39–40) identified alternatively *Skudra* with the Paphlagonian Pontos.

74 Henkelman–Stolper 2009, 297–8.

75 Henkelman–Stolper 2009, 299.

that the ‘Skudrians’ are mentioned in the *Fortification Archive* in Persepolis more often than any other foreign group.<sup>76</sup> If this is correct, then it would also explain the fact, that the Greek authors from the 5th c. onwards insisted to relate the Phrygians with the Thracians.

We can now evaluate briefly the archaeological evidence for a Phrygian migration. As Killebrew recently noted, “*the idea of a Phrygian migration from Europe to Asia Minor at the end of the Bronze Age has been generally abandoned by Anatolian archaeologists. There is no evidence of any newcomers after the destruction of Hittite sites...*”<sup>77</sup> There are indeed no archaeological finds (including the *Grey* and the *EIA Handmade Ware*), that can be used as a proof for a ‘Phrygian’ mass migration from Thrace.<sup>78</sup> Moreover, there is no considerable stratigraphical hiatus between the LBA and the EIA in several important Hittite centers in Anatolia. Even in Hattusha, the stratigraphical evidence doesn’t clearly suggest a destruction caused by foreign invaders, but can be explained in terms of a gradual deurbanization, which could be the reason for the use of locally produced and handmade pottery. Additionally, several important Phrygian sites (e.g. Gordion and Dorylaion) also have LBA layers.<sup>79</sup> Especially in the case of Gordion, the careful excavation showed a stratigraphic continuation between the “Hittite period” in the LBA and the EIA, or at least a very short hiatus.<sup>80</sup> Maybe there is even a connection between the occupation of the *Land of Masha* by Hartapu in the early 11th c. BC and the building of the “king’s residence” on the citadel, as was suggested by Strobel.<sup>81</sup> The fact that the names of both Midas/Mita and Gordios/Kurtis are Luwian is not without relevance and probably shows that the royal family of the city of Gordion tried to connect itself with the royal dynasties of the LBA period.<sup>82</sup>

If we disregard the theory of a Phrygian migration from Thrace at the end of LBA, then we can assume that, just as the Lykians, the Lydians and the Carians, also the Phrygians have been in Anatolia already during the LBA.<sup>83</sup> If the Ethnonyms *Phrygian* and *Mushki* indeed referred to the same group of people,<sup>84</sup> we could also assume that they were somehow connected with the *Land of Maša*,

76 Henkelman–Stolper 2009, 306.

77 Killebrew 2005, 46 n. 44.

78 Strobel 2008b, 136.

79 Berndt–Ersöz 2006, XX.

80 Voigt 2002, 192; Kealhofer 2008; Bryce 2009, 260.

81 Strobel 2008a, 665; see also Wittke 2004, 64.

82 Strobel 2008b, 142.

83 Strobel 2008b, 124.

84 Ponchia 2008.

which was located within the area of the later Phrygia Proper.<sup>85</sup> But, apart from the phonetic affinity of the terms *Mushki* and *Masa*, the available circumstantial evidence cannot support such an assumption, no matter how appealing it seems.<sup>86</sup>

The only finds that can be connected to the Phrygians with a degree of certainty are the Phrygian inscriptions. Since the radical re-dating of the Gordion stratigraphy in recent years,<sup>87</sup> based on dendrochronological and C-14 data, the early Phrygian inscriptions should probably be dated accordingly to the 10th c. BC.<sup>88</sup> The Phrygian inscriptions were found mainly west of the Halys river, in Phrygia Proper. East of Halys, in the area called Cappadocia, there are no Phrygian inscriptions before the 8th or even the 7th c. BC. It is very probable that during this time the population east of the Halys was still speaking a Luwian language.<sup>89</sup> Nevertheless, we should keep in mind that the use of a particular script was not confined only to members of one particular ethnic group. Phrygian inscriptions “have been found over a large area, part of which can hardly be considered as Phrygian in a political sense...” This suggests “that a larger geographical area than what was actually Phrygian territory was to some extent under Phrygian cultural influence” in the 8th and 7th c. BC.<sup>90</sup> There seem to have been noticeable differences in the pottery west and east of the Halys bend in the period from the 12th to the 9th c. BC. Pottery from within the Halys bend bears greater similarity to that of SE Anatolia and North Syria. These differences seem to indicate the existence of different ethnic groups in these two regions, something that would agree with the Classical Greek sources, which locate Phrygia west of Halys and Cappadocia on the east. But we should keep in mind that pottery can be used only as a denominator of the *cultural* identity, which often differs from the tribal and ethnic identity; e.g. as in the case of the Galatians, who settled in central Anatolia in the 3rd c. BC, but still remain invisible in the material record.<sup>91</sup>

In conclusion, it is probable that during the LBA various population groups lived in Anatolia, who spoke a language similar to Phrygian,<sup>92</sup> but didn't leave an

85 For a detailed discussion, see Wittke 2004, 185–90; see also Strobel 2008d, 28–9; Hawkins 1998, 29–30. For its location, see Haider 2003, 184f.: “...*Maša* wohl im Raum zwischen *Adyon*, *Kütahya* und *Eskisehir*...”

86 Hutter 2006, 84. It was also suggested that this term should be identified with the later Greek term *Maionia*, in my opinion, not so convincingly: see Beekes 2002.

87 DeVries 2008, 31–4; see also Strobel 2008b, 137.

88 Strobel 2008b, 139.

89 Strobel 2008b, 130.

90 Berndt–Ersöz 2006, XXI.

91 Derks–Roymans 2009, 2.

92 Strobel 2008b, 135: “*Es spricht nichts dagegen, Träger der phrygischen Sprache bereits in der bithynisch–nordphrygischen Kulturregion der Frühbronzezeit I und II zu sehen*”

identifiable material imprint. We should better describe these groups as clans and not as an *ethnos* (in the Herodotian sense). After the collapse of the Hittite central power, several of these clans migrated: some went to Thrace, some settled in the region west of Halys, and some reached the southeastern Anatolia and soon came into conflict with the Assyrians. Some of these clans underwent a form of ethogenesis.<sup>93</sup> They remained relatively separated from each other for several centuries, so it comes as no big surprise that they had a different development in all aspects.

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*und somit als bronzezeitliche Bevölkerung Nordwestanatoliens. Gleiches gilt für die mit ihnen eng verwandten Myser. Dabei ist aber keineswegs von einem einheitlichen prhygischen Volk auszugehen, sondern vielmehr von einer Reihe von Stämmen bzw. Bevölkerungsgruppen."*

93 Strobel 2001, 46.



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