



OXFORD JOURNALS
OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS

The Early History of Syria and Asia Minor

Author(s): John E. Gilmore

Source: *The English Historical Review*, Jan., 1895, Vol. 10, No. 37 (Jan., 1895), pp. 1-18

Published by: Oxford University Press

Stable URL: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/547989>

JSTOR is a not-for-profit service that helps scholars, researchers, and students discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content in a trusted digital archive. We use information technology and tools to increase productivity and facilitate new forms of scholarship. For more information about JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.

Your use of the JSTOR archive indicates your acceptance of the Terms & Conditions of Use, available at <https://about.jstor.org/terms>



Oxford University Press is collaborating with JSTOR to digitize, preserve and extend access to *The English Historical Review*

JSTOR

THE ENGLISH HISTORICAL REVIEW

NO. XXXVII.—JANUARY 1895

The Early History of Syria and Asia Minor

THE countries in the interior of Asia Minor and Syria have never for long been the seat of one of the great oriental empires. Their populations include representatives of all the great races of mankind—Aryan, Semitic, Turanian (and, according to Genesis x. 6, also Hamitic—the Canaanites and Phœnicians). The internal history of one portion of this region is familiar to us all from our childhood, but of the mutual relations of the different divisions, before the foundation of the Persian empire, it is only recent investigations and discoveries that enable us to form any definite conception. The earliest record (to whatever date it may be assigned) which professes to deal formally with the ethnic relations of Western Asia is that contained in Genesis x. 2–4, 14–19.¹ In this document the nations of Asia Minor and Kappadokia are enumerated among the descendants of Japhet, kindred both to the Medes and the Ionians, while those of Palestine and Phœnicia are represented, like the Egyptians, as descendants of Ham, and the Syrians proper (Aram), and perhaps the Lydians, appear as Semites. This does not agree with the linguistic evidence, but it is well known that the latter cannot be depended on to determine ethnic affinities, while, in the absence of certain knowledge as to the principles on which the table of the descendants of Noah is constructed, it is, on the other hand, unsafe to base theories too exclusively upon it.² At least as early as the time

¹ Some Egyptian tribute lists (especially those of Thothmes III, recently examined by Mr. Tomkins in *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, ix. 227–280) are, indeed, of earlier date, but they deal with cities rather than nations.

² Compare F. Lenormant, *Histoire Ancienne de l'Orient*, p. 265 (9^e édit.)

of Gudea, ruler of the Babylonian town of Zerghul, or Sirpurra (*Tell-loh*), in the third millennium B.C., regular intercourse existed between the civilised states of Babylonia and Egypt and the Sinaitic peninsula. Probably the channel of communication was across the latter and the gulfs at the head of the Red Sea; but Palestine was the object of Babylonian military expeditions at a very early period.³ From incidental notices in the Pentateuch it would appear that at this time Palestine was still partly inhabited by a remnant of races—the Zuzim, the Rephaim, the Emim, the Horim, and the Anakim—of whom we know next to nothing and who were even then vanishing.⁴ The bulk of the population from the earliest time of which we have any record consisted of tribes akin to the Phœnicians, who in the Pentateuch are included under the general name of Canaanites or Amorites, and in the Egyptian records under that of Khal (or Khar) or Amaur. The outlying nations of Moab, Ammon, and Edom were, like the Israelites, of trans-Euphratean origin, and perhaps at one time shared with them the name of Hebrews.⁵

Our chief sources of information as to the condition of Palestine at this period are the biblical notices, covering a period of somewhat uncertain duration from the migration of Abraham to the Israelite invasion, the inscriptions and other records relating to the conquests of the Egyptian kings of the eighteenth and nineteenth dynasties, and above all the mass of correspondence (written in cuneiform characters, usually in the Assyro-Babylonian language, and coming for the most part from Palestine)⁶ addressed to Egyptian kings about the end of the eighteenth dynasty. From these various authorities, which agree fairly well together, it appears that the country was divided into a great number of petty states, often at war with each other when not restrained by the strong arm of a foreign conqueror, while the settled population was sufficiently sparse to allow space—as at the present day—for nomad tribes, such as that of Abraham and his descendants, whose position in relation to the petty settled communities is shown by such passages as Genesis xiv., xxi. 22–34, xxxiii. 6, xxxiv. The Egyptian kings of the eighteenth dynasty seem, on conquering Syria, to have in some few cases established an Egyptian governor, but more generally to have

³ Genesis xiv.; Schrader, *Cuneiform Inscriptions and the O. T.* i. 122; Rawlinson, *Five Monarchies*, i. 219; Sayce, *Herodotus*, pp. 369–71.

⁴ Genesis xiv. 5–6, xv. 20; Deut. ii. 10, 20, iii. 11, &c.

⁵ Cf. Lenormant, *op. cit.* ii. 174–8; Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, i. 14, 336 *seq.*

⁶ That this mode of writing was in use in Palestine, not only for international but also for local purposes, at this period appears from a fragment of a tablet containing a letter to the prince of Lachish from a neighbouring prince, discovered at Tell Hesi (Lachish) during the recent excavations. The derivation of the Phœnician alphabet from the Egyptian hieratic is assigned to the time of the Hyksos, or the eighteenth dynasty (Taylor *The Alphabet*, i. 145–6).

left the native princes in possession as tributaries, sometimes with the addition of an Egyptian commissioner. When the Egyptian power had become weak, as under the later kings of the eighteenth dynasty, feuds broke out between the various princes, as is shown by the Tell Amarna documents, which consist largely of complaints by certain rival rulers of neighbouring cities, each professing his own loyalty to the Egyptian government and imploring the help of the king or some Egyptian officer against his opponents.

The kings of the eighteenth dynasty had no powerful enemies to contend with in Asia, but with those of the nineteenth the case was different. Their opponents were a people called in Hebrew Chittim ('Hittites' in our version), in Egyptian Kheta, in Assyrian Khatti, and in Greek perhaps Keteioi.⁷ Some references to this people have been supposed to occur in an Egyptian inscription of the time of the twelfth dynasty,⁸ and in a work composed under Sargon of Agade, one of the early Babylonian kings; these, however, are very doubtful.⁹ The original seat of the Hittites was probably Kappadokia, which placed them in relations with both Asia Minor and Syria. They seem to have had some settlements in the latter country at an early period, but it was during the weakening of the power of Egypt at the end of the eighteenth dynasty that they suddenly developed into a great power, having its chief seats at Kadesh, on the Orontes, and (perhaps at a later date) Carchemish, on the Euphrates, and Pteria, in western Kappadokia.¹⁰ The Hittite power in Syria was already beginning to be formidable in the time of Thothmes III,¹¹ and the progress of the struggle which for a while made it paramount there instead of that of Egypt is seen in some of the Tell Amarna letters, dating from the time of his successors, those written from places in the north of Palestine complaining of the attacks of the Khatti, while those from the south make the like complaints respecting the Khabiri.¹² The Hittites at this period seem for a few generations to have submitted to the sway of a

⁷ *Odys.* xi. 521. Cf. Wright, *Empire of the Hittites*, p. 17; Lenormant, *op. cit.* i. 224.

⁸ Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, ii. 405.

⁹ See Sayce in *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, vii. 145.

¹⁰ Kadesh and Carchemish had been amongst the dependencies of the eighteenth dynasty. Each had then its own king, but whether these were Hittites or belonged to races whom the Hittites afterwards subdued or displaced does not appear; probably the former was the case (see Brugsch, *op. cit.* ii. 2-8).

¹¹ Sayce, *ubi supra*, vii. 269-70; Brugsch, *loc. cit.*

¹² Conder regards the Khabiri as 'Hebrews,' and sees in them the invading Israelites under Joshua, thus placing the Exodus under the eighteenth dynasty, though all the evidence is in favour of its having been under the nineteenth. Sayce more probably makes it equivalent to 'confederates.' Even if Khabiri answer to עבריי, the term is applicable to all the descendants of Abraham and Lot and not merely to the Israelites. Joseph speaks of Canaan as the 'land of the Hebrews' (Genesis xl. 15), where 'the Hebrews' cannot mean merely his own family. Even were Khabiri limited to Israelites, it appears that the latter sometimes took part in the local wars in Syria during their sojourn in Egypt (1 Chron. vii. 21).

single supreme king,¹³ whose vassals included both the Hittite rulers of various cities, and foreign princes, and whose empire extended from Mysia and Karia, in Asia Minor, to the Euphrates on the east and the centre of Palestine on the south, as we learn from the list of those engaged against Rameses II at the battle of Kadesh. This included a great part of the Asiatic possessions of Egypt, but when that power revived under the nineteenth dynasty a determined effort was made by the great princes Rameses I, Seti I, and Rameses II to recover what was lost, thus leading to a prolonged struggle with the Hittites, which culminated in the defeat of the latter in the sixth and a treaty of peace in the twenty-first year of Rameses II.¹⁴ Palestine at least was preserved for a time to the Egyptian empire, and the Hittite confederacy seems soon afterwards to have broken up. Probably it was much weakened by the attack of northern Asiatics with European allies, some of them, perhaps, its revolted vassals who were repulsed from Egypt by Rameses III, but who had previously overrun the land of the Kheta.¹⁵ These invaders established a colony in Palestine itself, the Pelesta known to the Israelites as Philistines. The removal of the Hittite power paved the way for the Israelite conquest in the generation following Rameses II, when Egypt had again become weak, and there was no strong local state. Egypt probably disregarded the destruction of Amorite petty states, which owed her only nominal allegiance, while her supremacy to at least as great an extent was probably acknowledged by the Israelites in the time of the judges.¹⁶

From the thirteenth to the eighth or seventh century B.C. central Palestine was occupied by the Israelites, with a few scattered Canaanite communities, such as Jebus. The Israelites were at first usually subject to some powerful neighbour, but in the eleventh and tenth centuries B.C., under David and Solomon, they rose to the position of an imperial state, ruling all Syria as far as the Euphrates, and afterwards always maintained a position of independence, and often of power, till subdued by the great Assyrian and Babylonian kings of the eighth, seventh, and sixth centuries B.C. East of them lay the territories of Ammon, Moab, and Edom, peoples who were

¹³ The names of four such—Sapalili, his son Maura-sira, and his sons Mautenara and Khetasira, contemporaries of the first three kings of the nineteenth dynasty—are known.

¹⁴ A curious memorial of the relations of Rameses II and the Hittites exists in his name engraved (incorrectly, and therefore probably by a foreign hand) beside a Hittite inscription, near the 'Niobe' of Sipylos (see *Trans. Soc. Bibl. Archæol.* v. 158). As this is not far from the 'Pseudo-Sesostris,' it affords some excuse for the statement of Herodotos (ii. 106).

¹⁵ See Wilson, *Egypt of the Past*, p. 523; Brugsch, *op. cit.* ii. 154; Lenormant, *op. cit.* ii. 309 *seq.*

¹⁶ This is nowhere expressly stated, but friendly relations with Egyptians are enjoined in the law (*Deut.* xxiii. 7), and good relations seem always to have prevailed between Israel and Egypt.

akin to them in race and language, but who never attained any political importance, and whose civilisation was probably low. The southern part of the coast was occupied by the Philistines, an immigrant tribe unconnected with their neighbours, who, in spite of their position, seem to have shown no aptitude for trade, their tastes being wholly warlike. North of them lay the Phœnicians, the great maritime traders of ancient times, who, shrinking from war, were always ready to pay tribute to their more powerful neighbours, obtaining in return facilities for their commerce, while at Carthage, where they had no such neighbours—though even there they at first paid tribute to a petty Numidian prince—they developed an empire of their own, but maintained it almost wholly by mercenary forces. Their commercial instincts led them to spread themselves over the known world of the day, and they carried the arts and civilisation of western Asia and Egypt to Europe, north Africa, and perhaps Arabia and even India.

In northern Syria, between the Euphrates and the Mediterranean, were two rival races, the Hittites and the Aramæans, each divided into a number of separate states; but while the importance of the former was declining that of the latter was growing commercially at least, if not politically, at this period. The Hittites formed one of the two great channels by which the civilisation of the East was transmitted to the West; their influence, however, unlike that of the Phœnicians, was exercised overland, and rather as conquerors or powerful neighbours than as traders; but the presence of Hittite merchants or settlers in foreign cities is shown from Genesis xxiii. (at Hebron), and from the seals of private individuals with Hittite writing found at Nineveh along with others inscribed in Phœnician.¹⁷ After the final overthrow of the south-eastern power of the Hittites by Sargon, in the eighth century B.C., their commercial position was taken by the Aramæans, whose language became thenceforth, till it was in part supplanted by Greek, that of commerce and diplomacy in western Asia.¹⁸

¹⁷ See Sayce, in *Trans. Soc. Bibl. Arch.* vii. 302. Their commercial importance also appears from the existence of the standard 'Mina of Carchemish,' one of the Hittite capitals (see Head, *Historia Numorum*, pp. xxxii, xlvii-xlviii). This was the origin of the lighter of the two standards of weight used by the Greeks; both came originally from Babylon, the lighter overland through Carchemish and Lydia, the heavier by sea through Phœnicia; the latter was the origin of the Æginetic, the former of the Euboic or Attic stater. The latter, that of Hittite derivation, ultimately prevailed. Of the two systems of writing used by the Greeks, one, the ordinary alphabet, was of Phœnician, the other, the Asiatic or so-called 'Kypriote' syllabary, probably of Hittite origin. These, like the metrological systems, serve as indications of the two channels of commercial intercourse.

¹⁸ As such we find it used on dockets on contracts of the seventh century B.C., the body of which is Assyrian, found at Nineveh (see Taylor, *The Alphabet*, i. 252-6), as the language which the ministers of Hezekiah expected an Assyrian general to employ in diplomatic negotiations (2 Kings xviii. 26), as that which (rather than the local idiom) the Jews adopted during their captivity in Babylon, and under the Achaemenidae

The Hittites disappear from Egyptian records after the time of Rameses III, and we never again hear of them as forming a state under a single ruler, but as governed by many different kings¹⁹ and serving as mercenaries (1 Sam. xxvi. 6, 2 Sam. xi. 21, 2 Kings vii. 6). Except during intervals of Assyrian or Israelite domination the chief local power in northern Syria seems to have been an Aramæan one, at first Zobah, afterwards Damascus. The Hittite possessions in the Orontes valley had passed from them, Kadesh, the southern capital, disappearing from history after the time of Rameses II;²⁰ but Carchemish, on the Euphrates, continued the capital of a Hittite state till its capture by Sargon in B.C. 717, and traces of the local religion probably continued to survive in the peculiar rites practised at Bambyke or Hierapolis, the city which took its place and flourished down to the establishment of Christianity.

The Hittite power in Kappadokia, which formed the link between Syria and Assyria on one side and Asia Minor on the other, probably began earlier than in the south and east, and lasted longer; but of its history we know even less, since (except during the period when it formed a part of the great empire which contended with Rameses II) it did not come in contact with nations like Assyria and Egypt, whose annals have come down to us. The extent of the dominion of the Hittites is largely gathered from the localities in which monuments bearing inscriptions in their peculiar writing, or showing their characteristic art, have been found. The site of Kadesh, their southern capital, was certainly in the neighbourhood of the lake of Homs, on the Orontes, either at Tell Neby Mendeh, on the river about four miles south of the lake, where a mound and extensive ruins exist, as supposed by Major Conder,²¹ or, as Mr. Tomkins thinks more probable, at the north end of the lake, where an ancient dyke and remains of a great platform with corner towers still exist;²² but no excavations have been made in this district, and

as that of documents intended for the western part of their empire (Ezra iv. 7), and of the inscriptions on coins and weights intended for use there, even in Greek districts (Taylor, *op. cit.* pp. 256-9), while under the Parthian and Sassanian dynasties it became the vernacular of Babylonia, and supplied the Semitic element of the strange mongrel dialect known as Pehlvi (Haug, *Essays*, pp. 81-92; Taylor, *op. cit.* pp. 228-55). The important inscriptions found at Sindjirli, in North Syria, belonging to about B.C. 850-720, are mostly in a dialect which resembles Hebrew tinged with Aramaic; but one, addressed to Tiglath Pileser, king of Assyria (B.C. 745-27), is said to be in pure Aramaic, of which it is one of the earliest monuments (Nöldeke, *Z.D.M.G.* 1893, p. 99).

¹⁹ So in the time of Solomon (1 Kings x. 20) and of Jehoram (2 Kings vii. 6-7), and in Assyrian accounts of invasions by Asshurnasirpal (B.C. 885) and his successors.

²⁰ Unless the reading 'the land of the Hittites unto Kadesh,' in 2 Sam. xxiv. 6, supported by some manuscripts of the LXX, be adopted for the unintelligible Tachtim-Chodshi. In this case it formed part of the immediate territory of Israel in the time of David.

²¹ *Twenty-one Years' Work in the Holy Land*, pp. 151-56.

²² Tomkins, in *Trans. Soc. Bibl. Arch.* vii. 393-406; Wilson and Edwards, *Egypt of the Past*, p. 414.

consequently no Hittite sculptures or inscriptions discovered.²³ At present Hamath is the most southern point at which such have been found *in situ*. Further north, in or near the Orontes valley, Hittite rock reliefs have been discovered near Antioch, apparently beside a road leading from Carchemish to the sea, which was traced by Boscawen from the former as far as Tell Erfad (Arpad), where there is a large mound covering the remains of the ancient city. Similar reliefs exist in the mountains near Alexandretta.²⁴ Kilikia was probably occupied by either the Hittites or some cognate race. Monuments of Hittite origin have been found in this region; ²⁵ representations which recall those of Carchemish and Boghaz-keui, or Pteria, occur on late Kilikian coins,²⁶ and Tarkutimme, the king whose name occurs on the famous bilingual Hittite-Assyrian silver boss, seems to have reigned in this district.

The eastern territory of the Hittites, near the Euphrates, has yielded many important memorials of their art and writing, found at Jerabis (Carchemish) and Birejik. The road connecting their possessions in this district with those in Kappadokia and Asia Minor is marked by the sculptures found at Merash and in the neighbouring passes on the route from Carchemish to the Halys; similar remains have been found at Ghurun, in eastern Kappadokia, on the road from Malatiyeh to Boghaz-keui.²⁷ In Kappadokia and Lykaonia their monuments are specially numerous and important; besides those already mentioned there are sculptures or inscriptions at Ibreez,²⁸ Tyana, and other places, and above all at Boghaz-keui, near the Halys, apparently the chief seat of Hittite power in the north; and at Euyuk, a few miles distant,²⁹ where the sculptures are the most extensive and important remains of Hittite art known. West of the Halys, in districts which were probably at one time dependent on the Hittites rather than a part of their immediate territory, examples of their art and writing exist at Ghiaour Kalessi, in Phrygia, and at several places on or near Mount Sipylos. The period of Hittite influence over the Pelasgic and other races of Asia Minor west of the Halys may be safely regarded as contemporary with the great development of their power in Syria when under a single supreme monarch. This is shown by the names of Dardanians, Mæonians (or Ilians), and other peoples of Asia Minor, which occur in the list of their vassals on the monu-

²³ The masonry of the dam across the Orontes, which forms the lake, is said to resemble that of the Dunek Tash at Tarsos, which is also in a Hittite district. The latter is described by Barker, *Lares and Penates*, pp. 132-4.

²⁴ Sayce, in *Trans. S. B. A.* vii. 269-306.

²⁵ *Ibid.* vii. 306.

²⁶ *Ibid.* p. 250.

²⁷ *Ibid.* pp. 305-6.

²⁸ Lenormant, *Hist. Anc.* i. 414.

²⁹ Sayce, in *Trans. Soc. Bibl. Arch.* vii. 249; Wright, *Empire of the Hittites*, pp. 59-61; Ramsay, in *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, xv. 103 *seq.*; Van Lennep, *Asia Minor*, ii. 109-58. The last writer describes the ruins at both places in great detail, with illustrations.

ments of Rameses II, and is to some extent confirmed by the occurrence of the latter's cartouche with a Hittite inscription near Mount Siplyos. East of the Halys their power probably lasted longer, and they may have continued to exercise some control in Lydia.³⁰

The Hittites made use of an elaborate form of hieroglyphic writing, in the decipherment of which little progress has been made. From it was probably derived at an early period the Asianic or so-called 'Kypriote' syllabary, which, after being largely used in Asia Minor and Kypros, was finally everywhere superseded by alphabets of Phœnician origin, though some characters borrowed from it were retained by the Lykians and Karians. The Hittites themselves (perhaps owing to the unsuitability of their own script for literary works) for certain purposes made use of the writing, if not the language, of the Assyrians and Babylonians,³¹ and at last, in Kappadokia, they borrowed an alphabet (about B.C. 700) from some of their Greek neighbours,³² which they then in their turn transmitted to Phrygia and perhaps other countries. Shortly afterwards³³ the advanced guard of the great Iranian immigration reached Kappadokia. While Armenia and Media became completely Iranianised both in religion and language, the process was less complete in Kappadokia. The royal power was seized by an Iranian dynasty, who retained it till the Christian era.³⁴ Zoroastrianism was well established as a native cult in certain cities and districts,³⁵ and the Kappadokian months in the Florentine hemerology have Iranian names. On the other hand rites and beliefs of non-Iranian and probably, in part at least, of Hittite origin continued to exist in many places,³⁶ and the name of 'Syrians,'³⁷ 'White Syrians,'³⁸ or 'Assyrians,'³⁹ given to the Kappadokians testified to the belief of the Greeks in their former connexion with Syria and the Euphrates. The diversity of race and language amongst the Kappadokians of the first century B.C. is attested by Strabo (xii. 1-2).

Asia Minor west of the Halys and of Lykaonia was divided amongst a large number of tribes—Lykians, Solymi, Pamphylians, and Pisidians on or near the south coast; Karians, Lydians,

³⁰ Whether the Tibarenians and Moschians, who occupied a part of Kappadokia and were dangerous enemies of the Assyrians, were of Hittite origin or not it is impossible to say. The latter are connected with Mazaka by Josephus (*A. J.* i. 6, but see Moses of Chorene, i. 13, p. 39). Compare Lenormant, *Hist. Anc.* i. 299.

³¹ We see this from some of the Tell Amarna documents, from inscriptions found at Kaisariyeh or Zela, in Kappadokia (*Proceedings of the Soc. Bibl. Arch.* v. 41-6, vi. 24), and from clay tablets also coming from Kappadokia (*ibid.* vi. 17-24).

³² See Ramsay, in *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, xv. 122-7; Perrot, *History of Art in Phrygia*, p. 9.

³³ About B.C. 650; see Rawlinson, *Herodotus*, i. 678-9.

³⁴ Diodoros, xxxi. p. 147.

³⁵ Strabo, xv. p. 326.

³⁶ *Ibid.* xii. p. 5 seq.

³⁷ Herodotos, i. 72; Eustath. *ad Dionys. Perieg.* 772; Nicolas of Damascus, fr. 49.

³⁸ Strabo, xii. 19; Ptolemy, v. 6.

³⁹ Dionys. *Perieg.* 772; Skylax, *Peripl.* p. 32; Apollon. Rhod. ii. 948; with the scholia *in loc.*

Phrygians, Mysians, Dardanians, Bithynians, and Paphlagonians on the west and north. The majority of these were of Aryan race, and were settled there probably long before the Iranian occupation of Kappadokia and Armenia. Greek writers represent the Phrygians as nearly related to the Armenians, whom they allege to have been their colonists, and to have spoken a similar language.⁴⁰ But if we are justified in regarding the Aryan Armenians, like the Aryan Kappadokians, as Iranians, which the Phrygians certainly were not, this view is untenable; and there is no special resemblance to Armenian in the language of the Phrygian inscriptions.⁴¹ It is a matter of greater doubt whether the Phrygians, Bithynians, and Mysians reached Asia Minor by way of Thrace or overland. The former opinion is asserted by most ancient writers,⁴² and amongst modern ones by MM. Perrot and Chipiez⁴³ and others; the latter, which is *prima facie* more probable, is adopted by Duncker and Rawlinson.⁴⁴ Perhaps the true explanation of these stories of migrations from Thrace to Asia is that fugitives from the Phrygian and other colonies in Europe returned to their native country when pressed by the native Illyrian or Make-donian tribes.⁴⁵ It is difficult to determine when the Phrygians and Mysians (whencesoever they came) first settled in Asia Minor. They were there when the 'Iliad' was composed, and were believed by the Greeks to have been there at the period of the Trojan war, and it is unsafe to assume, on the merely negative evidence of their name not appearing in Egyptian records,⁴⁶ that the Phrygians were not there in the time of Rameses II and Rameses III.

The Phrygians and their neighbours were, no doubt, at one time vassals of the Hittite rulers of Pteria. The earliest monuments existing in the country are those of a distinctly Hittite character, constructed by the suzerains in the days of their greatest power in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries B.C.⁴⁷ Native Phrygian art dates at least as early as 1000 B.C.⁴⁸ It is derived from the older

⁴⁰ Herod. vii. 73; Steph. Byzant. s.v. 'Ἀφρευία.

⁴¹ See Rawlinson, *Herodotus*, i. 677-89, iv. 67-8; Lenormant, *Les Origines de l'Histoire*, ii. 323-9; Perrot and Chipiez, *Art in Phrygia, &c.*, pp. 2-3.

⁴² Xanthus, frag. 5; Herodot. vii. 73-5; Thukydides, iv. 75; Xenophon, *Anabasis*, vi. 2; *Hell.* i. 3, 2; scholiast on Apollon. Rhod. ii. 181; Strabo, x. 3, p. 363; *Plin. H. N.* v. 32, p. 80; Stephan. Byzant. s.v. *Ἐπίγες, Βιθύνια*.

⁴³ *Op. cit.* pp. 1-3.

⁴⁴ Perrot and Chipiez (*op. cit.* p. 222) regard the Phrygians as settlers from Thrace about the twelfth century B.C., in a space left vacant by the great migratory movement recorded in the Egyptian documents of the twentieth dynasty, and as establishing themselves first in the Sipylos district, a colony represented by the Tantalos legend of the Greeks. This state ceased to exist in the tenth or ninth century B.C., but had colonised the Sangarios valley, the later Phrygia, where the monuments date from the eighth and seventh centuries B.C., the period of the Midas-Gordios dynasty.

⁴⁵ Something of this kind is hinted at in the story in Nicolas of Damascus, fr. 71; Constant. Porphy. *De Themat. Asiæ*, pp. 11-13; Eustathios *ad Dionys. Perieg.* 326.

⁴⁶ As is done by Perrot and Chipiez, *op. cit.* p. 5.

⁴⁷ See Ramsay, in *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, iii. 29; Perrot and Chipiez, p. 79

⁴⁸ See Ramsay, in *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, iii. 257 seq.

oriental civilisation of the Hittites of Kappadokia (Pteria), but has a style of its own ; monuments of this period are usually uninscribed.⁴⁹ The names of Phrygian kings which occur in the Homeric poems, such as Phorkys, Askanios,⁵⁰ Dymas and his son Asios,⁵¹ Otreus and Mygdon,⁵² show no connexion with the later dynasty of Midas and Gordios.⁵³ In the next period Phrygian art was at its best, and is an improvement on that of the Hittites. The most important works are a considerable number of rock-cut tombs, of which the most characteristic decoration is a sort of chessboard pattern on the façade, but there are sometimes sculptures in relief or in the round. There are also important remains of cities and fortresses largely cut in the rock near the ' tomb of Midas ' (identified by an inscription), and at Pishmish Kaleh, and most, if not all, the few extant Phrygian inscriptions in an alphabet of Greek origin are of the same date. To this period we may probably assign the powerful dynasty of kings styled alternately Midas and Gordios, of which the Greeks had some slight knowledge.⁵⁴ Their greatest prosperity was probably between B.C. 800 and 670, when the Phrygian state suffered so terribly from the invasion of the Kimmerians that King Midas slew himself,⁵⁵ and Phrygia never recovered its independence, but became first a vassal state of the Lydians,⁵⁶ still under the house of Midas, and then a satrapy of the Persian empire. 'The Greek influence, passing over Lydia, affected the Phrygian art. The tombs

⁴⁹ See, however, Perrot and Chipiez, p. 94, where mention is made of a brief inscription in the Asianic or 'Kypriote' syllabary on a tomb at Delikli Tach (in Phrygia), which for artistic reasons may be attributed to an early date.

⁵⁰ *Il.* ii. 863.

⁵¹ *Ibid.* xvi. 717-9.

⁵² *Ibid.* iii. 185-7; *Hymn to Aphrodite*, 111-2.

⁵³ In Eusebios, however (*Chron. Armen.* ii. p. 123; *Chron. Lat.* fo. 36), Midas (Midas in Armenian) appears as contemporary with Pelops, Rameses II, and the foundation of Troy; Tantalos appears as king of Phrygia somewhat earlier (*Chron. Arm.* ii. p. 119; *Chron. Lat.* fo. 34). Other writers make 'Midas' subsequent to Homer (Diogenes Laert. i. 89, p. 23); others attribute to Homer an epitaph written for 'Midas' and inscribed on the tomb of his father Gordios (Diog. Laert. *loc. cit.*; Ps.-Herodot. *Vita Homeri*, 2, p. 562).

⁵⁴ Midas, the founder of the dynasty, was the son of a peasant, and in consequence of an oracle was made king by the Phrygians (whose previous constitution is apparently regarded as a republic) to quell intestine disturbances, a story which reminds us of that of Deiokes (Arrian. *Exped. Alex.* ii. pp. 85-7). Justin, xi. 7, has a similar story, but in it Gordios himself is made king. To his son and successor Midas I is ascribed the foundation of Ankyra (Pausanias, i. 4, 5) and other towns (Strabo, xii. p. 57), and the introduction of the orgiastic rites which were so striking a feature of the Phrygian religion. Compare Diod. iii. 59. In Hyginus, *Fab.* 191, 274 Midas is made a son of Kybele. Konon, *Narrat.* i., gives another account of the elevation of Midas to the throne. The Greeks agreed in regarding the dynasty as very wealthy (Aelian, *V. H.* xii. 45, &c.); the temporary inclusion in their empire of some of the maritime cities of Asia Minor is, perhaps, indicated by the attribution of a thalassocracy for twenty-five (in Synkellos, p. 181 B, 25 or 6) years, by Eusebios (*Chron. Arm.* i. 321), though the date assigned, 289 years after the Trojan war, seems rather too early.

⁵⁵ See Ramsay, in *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, iii. 30; Strabo, i. 3, p. 97; Plutarch, who (*De Superstitiōne*, p. 293) ascribes his suicide to superstitious fears caused by dreams; Euseb. *Chron. Arm.* ii. 181.

⁵⁶ Herodotos, i. 35.

at first show a mixture of Greek art with oriental sculpture, but the latter gradually disappears.⁵⁷

Of the history of the Paphlagonians before their conquest by the Lydians, along with the other inhabitants of Asia Minor, in the fifth century B.C.,⁵⁸ we hear little. In dress they resembled both the Kappadokians and Phrygians,⁵⁹ and their few remaining monuments are like the Phrygian, though with some distinguishing characteristics.⁶⁰ No Paphlagonian inscriptions are known to exist, but in race and language they were probably closely connected with their Phrygian and Bithynian neighbours, though their position near the coast, on the highway between the great Greek emporium of Sinope and the Kappadokian capital at Pteria, may have brought them earlier under Hellenic influence. Their religion had the same general characteristics as that of the rest of northern and central Asia Minor, but some points in which it differed from that of the Phrygians are mentioned by Plutarch.⁶¹

For the early history of Lydia our chief authorities are Herodotos and the native historian Xanthos, who apparently made use of official records,⁶² but whose work is unfortunately only known to us in the shape of fragments from the recension of it made by Dionysios of Mytilene. Greek legends represented the region of Mount Sipylus, on the coast of Lydia, as occupied at an early period by a Phrygian race, and connect it with the story of Tantalos and Pelops, whom they placed in the fourth generation before the Trojan war,⁶³ and who had regular maritime intercourse with the Peloponnesos. Tantalos, the capital of their kingdom, was, according to the legend, destroyed because Tantalos had incurred the wrath of the gods.⁶⁴ Existing remains in this district are of two classes, one consisting of sculptures accompanied by Hittite inscriptions, such as the two figures near Nymphii, beside the road from Smyrna and Ephesos to Sardis, which Herodotos regarded as monuments of the conquests of Sesostris,⁶⁵ and the statue cut in the rock near Magnesia, called by most Greek writers Niobe, by Pausanias (iii. 22, 4) Kybele, close to which are both Hittite inscriptions and the cartouche of

⁵⁷ Ramsay, *ubi supra*.

⁵⁸ Herodot. i. 28.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.* vii. 72-3.

⁶⁰ Perrot and Chipiez, *Phrygia*, pp. 192-211.

⁶¹ *De Iside et Osiride*, c. 9, p. 674.

⁶² Nic. Dam. fr. 49.

⁶³ Eusebios (*Chron. Arm.* ii. p. 123) and Synkellos (128 B) make Pelops contemporary with a Midas, king of Phrygia, and Dardanos, king of Ilios or Troas. At p. 119 Eusebios makes Tantalos king of the Phrygians *quæ etiam Macones vocabantur*; Diodoros (iv. 74) makes Tantalos dwell *περὶ τὴν νῦν ὀνομαζομένην Παφλαγονίαν*, whence he was expelled by Ilos son of Tros.

⁶⁴ Strabo, i. 3, p. 17, p. 92; xii. 8, 1, pp. 63-4, pp. 77-8; Sophokles, *Antigone*, 840, and Schol. Triklin. *in loc.*; Aristoteles, *Meteor.* ii. 7, p. 67; Athenæos, xiv. 625-6 (who makes Tantalos rule in Lydia, Phrygia being a portion of his empire); Pausanias, i. 21, 5; iii. 22, 4; v. 13, 4; vii. 24, 7; viii. 2, 2-3.

⁶⁵ Herodot. ii. 106; Sayce, *Herodotos*, pp. 180-81, 426, 434; *Soc. Bibl. Arch. Trans.* vii. 264-8, 439-40.

Rameses II.⁶⁶ Another set of monuments (but closely connected with the former) consists of the remains of a rock-cut fortress and a tomb which in the opinion of Ramsay has a close resemblance to those of Phrygia proper.⁶⁷ From the Greek legends and the character of these remains Professor Ramsay's conclusion that 'Sipylos was an early seat of the old Phrygian civilisation, of which the path westward is marked by the religious centres it established, that of Zeus Bennios and the Benneitai at the head waters of the Tembris, that of Coloe in the Katakekaumene, finally that of Sipylos,' appears justified, but there is less foundation for his further assumption that the Atyadae, the first Lydian dynasty, were the priestly suzerains of the district of Sipylos, the later rulers of it being contemporary with the earlier kings of the second dynasty, or Herakleidae, who represent the establishment of a central power at Sardis, having its relations rather with the Kappadokian power at Pteria, with which its capital was connected by the 'Royal Road' passing through Phrygia proper, than with Greece, with which the legends closely connect the rulers of Sipylos.⁶⁸ Sardis, according to Strabo (xiii. 4, p. 151), was founded after the Trojan war, and therefore later than the date assigned by Herodotos for the commencement of the Herakleid dynasty.⁶⁹ The Atyadae are not connected by ancient writers with Sipylos.⁷⁰ In the 'union of native Indo-European with oriental religions which produced the peculiar worship of Asia Minor,' of which the orgiastic rites in honour of Kybele and the existence of priestly sovereignties at the great religious centres were characteristic features, the oriental element was apparently immediately at least of Hittite origin, though it may have come ultimately from Babylon or Syria.⁷¹

Whatever may be said about the half-mythical Atyadae, the account of the dynasty of the Herakleidae given by Herodotos (i. 7) points to their oriental origin, and we may reasonably assume with

⁶⁶ *Soc. Bibl. Arch. Trans.* vii. 440, plate 5; *Proc.* v. 148; Ramsay, in *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, iii. 39 seq., 63; Stewart, *Ancient Monuments in Lydia and Phrygia*, pp. 1-2, plate 2; Van Lennep, *Asia Minor*, ii. 305-25.

⁶⁷ Ramsay, *Journ. of Hell. Stud.* iii. 33-68; Perrot and Chipiez, *Phrygia*, pp. 14 seq.

⁶⁸ Sayce, on the contrary (*Soc. Bibl. Arch. Trans.* vii. 273), regards the legends of the Atyadae as a reminiscence of the occupation of Lydia by the Hittites (*i.e.* the ruling power in Kappadokia), and the rise of the Herakleidae as coeval with the overthrow of Hittite domination in the country.

⁶⁹ 505 years before B.C. 687 = B.C. 1192.

⁷⁰ Xanthos (iv. *ap.* Steph. Byzant. *s.v.* 'Ἀσκάλων) regarded the house of Tantalos as vassals of the Atyadae, making Askalos brother of Tantalos and son of Hymenaeus leader of an expedition sent by Akiamos, the Atyad king of the Lydians and founder of Askalon, to Syria, an expedition which suggests a reminiscence of the invasion of Palestine by the Hittites in the time of Rameses II, or of the great invasion of the Hittite and Egyptian territories by the northern nations repulsed by Rameses III. (Compare Xanthos *ap.* Athen. viii. 346.) Xanthos (fr. 13 *ap.* Parthen. *Erot.* 33) made Niobe daughter of Assaon, not of Tantalos.

⁷¹ Compare Sayce, *Herodotos*, pp. 430-1.

Professor Sayce⁷² that they were at the outset 'Hittite satraps of Sardes, whose power increased as that of the distant empire declined, and who finally made themselves independent rulers of the Lydian plain.'⁷³ Herodotos places their accession early in the twelfth century B.C.; he tells us little of their history, and that little disagrees with the information given by other writers, who probably followed the native historian Xanthos. Their connexion seems to have been rather with the east than with the Greeks, who had closer relations with the more inland Phrygians, and their power was inconsiderable, no important conquests being ascribed to them even by the native historian.⁷⁴ With the overthrow of the dynasty of the Herakleidae and the establishment of that of the Mermnadae by Gyges early in the seventh century B.C., an event related by many Greek writers,⁷⁵ we reach firmer ground. Under the kings of this dynasty, which reigned probably between B.C. 687 and 545, Lydia, while on the one hand at first (as we learn from the annals of Asshur-bani-pal) occupying a position of nominal vassalage to Assyria, which had not long before overthrown the Hittite kingdom of Carchemish (and thereby, perhaps, weakened that of Pteria), and on the other cultivating close relations with the Hellenic cities not only of Asia but even of Greece proper, gradually reduced under its sway the whole of Asia west of the Halys. The progress of these conquests was, indeed, checked by the Kimmerian invasion in the reigns of Gyges and his son, but Lydia was not so much weakened by it as some of the neighbouring states, and availed itself of their greater distress to include them in its empire. By the time of Alyattes, to whose reign probably belong many of the conquests which Herodotos ascribes to Kroesos, Lydia was in a position to maintain a long war on equal terms with the great Median monarchy, which had in conjunction with Babylon overthrown the Assyrian empire and divided its possessions, and had now, assisted perhaps by the wave of immigration which about this time substituted Iranian dynasties, language, and religion in Armenia, and partly in Kappadokia, for those previously existing there, extended itself to the Halys. The two empires were very unequal in extent, but the Lydians had the advantage of greater wealth and

⁷² *Op. cit.* p. 427.

⁷³ Herodotos (i. 7) represents them as at first ministers or viceroys of the Atiyadae (ἐπιγραφθέντες), then obtaining the sovereignty ἐκ θεομορίας.

⁷⁴ A thalassocracy is, however, ascribed by Diodoros and Kastor (*ap. Euseb. Chron.* i. p. 321, ii. p. 137, to the Lydians for ninety-two years following the Trojan war (B.C. 1183-1091), falling just after the date assigned to the accession of the Herakleidae by Herodotos (see Müller, *Castoris Reliquiae*, p. 180). The narratives contained in Nic. Dam., fr. 49, imply regular intercourse of Lydia with the Greek city of Kume, the Phrygians and other neighbouring nations, the Syrians of Kappadokia (= Hittites), and even Babylon in the time of the Herakleidae.

⁷⁵ Herod. i. 7-13; Xanthos; Nic. Dam. fr. 49 *ad fin.*; Plutarch, *Quaest. Graec.* p. 538, &c.

somewhat higher civilisation. The decisive struggle was postponed by the intervention of the Babylonian king and Syennesis of Kilikia, but when it was renewed a few years later between the Persian inheritor of the Median empire and Kroesos the latter speedily succumbed, the Lydian monarchy ceased to exist, and all Asia Minor became part of the possessions of the Achaemenidae (about B.C. 545). The monuments of the Lydians are few, the most important being the tumuli in the necropolis of Sardis, near Lake Koloe, where the remains of the huge tomb of Alyattes, described by Herodotus, are still to be seen.⁷⁶ Of Lydian inscriptions there are only a few very brief and of doubtful origin,⁷⁷ and it is not even certain to what family the language belonged. The most important monuments the Mermnadae have left are their coins, and they were perhaps the first to issue money authenticated by the stamp of the state, their wealth in precious metals turning their attention in this direction.⁷⁸ Of the other peoples inhabiting the north of Asia Minor the Dardanians and Mysians, who were undoubtedly Aryan, included amongst their cities Ilios or Troy, which occupies so prominent a place in Greek legends. They were amongst the vassals of the Hittites in their wars with Rameses II, and the excavations of Schliemann have revealed to us the numerous destructions and rebuildings of the Trojan city on the hill of Hissarlik.⁷⁹ The style of art and civilisation revealed by these excavations is rude, but the inhabitants (in this respect apparently superior to their Mykenæan contemporaries) were acquainted with writing, some of the objects found by Schliemann bearing inscriptions in the Asiatic syllabary.⁸⁰

The Karians occupied the country between Lydia and Lykia. They claimed relationship with the Lydians and Mysians, and had common religious rites, these three nations being alone admitted to the temple of Zeus Karios at Mylasa, from which all others, even the Kaunians, whose language was the same as that of the Karians, were excluded.⁸¹ They seem, like the Lykians, to have been united in a loose federation, with republican institutions. As in some other cases in Asia Minor the federal assembly was held not in

⁷⁶ Perrot and Chipiez, *History of Art in Phrygia, Lydia, &c.* p. 258 seq.

⁷⁷ One at Ephesos of a few letters, and one lately found in Egypt (Sayce, in *Academy* March 1893, p. 248).

⁷⁸ The relation of the Mæonians to the Lydians is obscure; Herodotus (i. 7) and Strabo (xiii. 4, p. 151) make Mæonians an earlier name of Lydians. Others regard them as a distinct though probably kindred race whom the Lydians conquered (see Rawlinson, *Herodotus*, i. 344).

⁷⁹ Schliemann, *Troy, passim*; Baumeister, *Denkmäler*, s.v. &c.

⁸⁰ It is possible that some interference of the Hittites on behalf of Troy is represented by the legend of Memnon and the Amazons. The former was represented as sent by the 'Assyrians,' whom later Greek writers regarded as then ruling Asia (Ktesias, *Pers.* iii. 23; Kephallion, frag. 1; Moses of Chorene, i. 18 and 31).

⁸¹ Herodot. i. 171; Strabo, xiv. 2, p. 205.

any town, but at the temple of Zeus, called by the Greeks Chrysaoreus, near the place where Stratonikeia was founded under the Seleukidae.⁸² Karia never formed a single monarchy till the time of the Achaemenidae, when the Greek dynasts of Halikarnassos established a regular kingdom, which lasted till the Makedonian conquest. Though the Karians do not figure in history as a powerful or conquering people, and were often vassals of others, they were much given to warlike pursuits, both by sea and land. In early times they carried on piratical expeditions over the Aegaeon,⁸³ a fact attested by the discovery of remains of a Karian character in some of the Greek islands in ancient⁸⁴ and modern⁸⁵ times. The suppression of these expeditions was attributed by the Greeks to Minos of Krete,⁸⁶ the expulsion of the Karians from the islands to the Ionians and Dorians χρόνῳ ὑστερον πολλῶ.⁸⁷ They continued to be a maritime people under the Achaemenidae, furnishing seventy ships to the fleet of Xerxes.⁸⁸ Their roving propensities found scope in serving as mercenaries abroad; the Kerethite troops of David were probably Karians.⁸⁹ Herodotos (i. 171) says they served in the fleet of Minos when he required; Gyges of Lydia employed Karian mercenaries, according to Plutarch,⁹⁰ and their service in Egypt is attested by Herodotos,⁹¹ and by Karian *graffiti* existing there.⁹² Further evidence of their military tastes is to be found in the invention of various parts of armour ascribed to them by Herodotos (i. 171), Anakreon, and Alkaeos,⁹³ and in their titles for Zeus, Stratios, Labrandeus ('of the dull axe'),⁹⁴ and Chrysaoreus.

Considerable architectural remains, especially tombs, usually tumul, but in some cases built of blocks of stone, pottery resembling archaic Greek, and other objects, have been found in Karia.⁹⁵ These probably belong to the early period, before the rise of the dynasty of Mausolos, under whom the country became largely hellenised. The chief relics of the Karian language are *graffiti*, the work of Karian mercenaries or travellers in Egypt, which are written in an alphabet derived partly from the Greek, partly from the Asianic syllabary.⁹⁶

⁸² Strabo, xiv. 2, p. 207. ⁸³ Thukyd. i. 8; Philip. Theang. fr. 3. ⁸⁴ Thukyd. i. 8.

⁸⁵ Perrot and Chipiez, *op. cit.* pp. 328-30, 399-400; Bent, in *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, v. 50, ix. 32-87). ⁸⁶ Thukyd. i. 4, 8.

⁸⁷ Herod. i. 171.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.* vii. 93.

⁸⁹ The scholiast on Plato, *Laches*, 187, says they were the first to adopt the profession of mercenaries, citing Archilochos (fr. 24), Ephoros (lib. i.), Philemon (*Gamos*, fr. 2), Euripides, and Kratinos.

⁹⁰ *Quaest. Graec.* iv. 538.

⁹¹ ii. 152, 154, iii. 11.

⁹² Sayce, in *Trans. Soc. Bibl. Arch.* ix. 112-54.

⁹³ *Ap.* Strab. xiv. 2, p. 208.

⁹⁴ *Λυδοὶ γὰρ λάβρον τὸν πέλεκυν ὀνομάζουσι*, Plut. *Q. G.* p. 538, where he gives a strange story to account for the origin of the axe borne by Zeus Labrandeus. The double axe by itself or carried by the god occurs on a coin of Mylasa (Head, *Historia Numorum*, pp. 528-9; compare p. 533), and on buildings there (Fellowes, *Asia Minor and Lycia*, p. 277).

⁹⁵ Perrot and Chipiez, *op. cit.* pp. 309-30.

⁹⁶ Sayce, *loc. cit.*

The relation of the Leleges to the Karians, like that of the Mæonians to the Lydians, is obscure. Herodotos (i. 171) regards them as the same people, but other writers⁹⁷ distinguish them. The native historian, Philip of Theangela,⁹⁸ represents the Leleges as serfs of the Karians, like the Helots in Lakonia and the Penestæ in Thessaly. They are said at one time to have occupied a large portion of Asia Minor, the islands, and Greece.⁹⁹ The ethnic affinities of the Lykians are still uncertain. Herodotos (i. 173) makes them settlers from Krete in the time of Minos, afterwards reinforced by a Greek colony from Athens; but their language, unlike Phrygian, has very little resemblance to Greek. Greek writers call the people, as a whole, Λύκιοι, and the country Λυκία, and in the Greek version of the bilingual native inscriptions ΛΙΚΙΟΙ, ΛΙΚΙΑ, are found, and in the Egyptian records they appear among the enemies of Rameses III as Luku¹⁰⁰ or Leka; but in the vernacular inscriptions the people are called Tramelè, corresponding to Τερμύλαι,¹⁰¹ which Herodotos says was their earliest name, and that by which their neighbours designated them even in his time.

The constitution of Lykia was a federal republic, and lasted almost without interruption till the first century A.D., though under the Achaemenidae the Lykian, like the Karian and Greek cities, were generally governed by local dynasts.¹⁰² In later times at least the federal assembly met not always at one particular city or temple, as usual in such cases, but at a city selected for the occasion.¹⁰³ Another peculiarity unusual in ancient times was that the cities had a different number of votes, according to their importance. The Lykians took part in the great Asiatic invasion of Egypt, and are said by Kallistratos¹⁰⁴ to have joined with the Treres in a successful attack on Sardis; but they seem generally to have abstained from warlike expeditions outside their own country, though they furnished

⁹⁷ Homer, *Il.* x. 428-9; Philip. Theang. *Kavika*, fr. 1; Strabo, vii. 7, p. 114 (who attributes the tombs and ancient habitations still existing in Karia to the Leleges).

⁹⁸ Fr. 1. Compare Plutarch, *Q. G.* 46, p. 530.

⁹⁹ See the passage cited by Rawlinson, *Herodotus*, i. 289.

¹⁰⁰ Wilson and Edwards, *Egypt of the Past*, p. 489.

¹⁰¹ Hekataeos, iv. *ap.* Steph. Byzant. *s.v.* Τερμίλη, calls them Tremilae. Stephanos derives the name (in the form Τερμίλης) from Tremilos, father, according to Panyasis, of Tlos, Xanthos, Pinaros, and Kragos (who are all eponyms of Lykian cities): τούτους δὲ τοὺς Τερμιλέους Λυκίους Βελλεροφόντης ὠνόμασεν. Compare Menekrates, *Lykiaka*, fr. 2; Pausanias, i. 19, 4. Probably the true explanation is that of Fellowes (*op. cit.* p. 414, &c.), that Tramelè was the name of the chief tribe occupying Xanthos and its vicinity.

¹⁰² Strabo, xiv. 3, p. 213 *seq.*; Head, *Hist. Num.* p. 571. From the inscription on the Xanthos obelisk it appears that the dynasts of that city, which had been remarkable for its obstinate resistance to the Persian conquest, were probably Persians or Medes. Some Persian as well as native names of dynasts also occur on coins. Lykian independence of the Achaemenidae is rhetorically asserted by Isokrates (*Paneg.* p. 82).

¹⁰³ Strabo, xiv. 3, p. 214.

¹⁰⁴ *Ap.* Strab. xiii. 4, 8, p. 154.

fifty ships to the fleet of Xerxes, and were an important maritime power even in the time of Strabo, and when invaded made a desperate resistance.¹⁰⁵ The numerous Lykian monuments still existing, the earliest of which date probably from the seventh or sixth centuries B.C., show, along with striking local features, a gradually increasing hellenisation, the sculptures before the middle of the fourth century B.C. exhibiting all the characteristics of good Greek work of the time. Another evidence of Greek influence is found in the existence of theatres in most of the cities.¹⁰⁶ Though Lykian inscriptions are numerous, many (some as early as the fifth century B.C.) are also bilingual Greek and Lykian. The Lykian alphabet, like the Karian, was partly of Greek origin, partly derived from the Asianic syllabary. After the time of Alexander it, with the language, seems to have gone out of use, the later coins bearing Greek legends only. Of the early religion of the people little is known; but, to judge from the sculptures,¹⁰⁷ they seem to have adopted Greek myths as early as the sixth century B.C., unless, indeed, the borrowing was the other way.

Pamphylia, as its name implies, was occupied by mixed races, both Greek and 'Barbarian.' The coast towns seem to have been originally Greek colonies,¹⁰⁸ but during the Persian supremacy they tended to become barbarised. Inscriptions on coins of Aspendos of this period are in a local non-Greek alphabet, while on those of Side they are in Aramaic.¹⁰⁹ Arrian¹¹⁰ says that in Alexander's time the Sidetans spoke a barbarous dialect peculiar to themselves.

The native religion of most of the peoples of Asia Minor was characterised by nature worship, the chief god being Attys or Sabazios, apparently a solar deity, whom in some aspects the Greeks identified with Zeus.¹¹¹ Superadded to this was the worship of the Asiatic goddess, Ishtar, or Nana, or Beltis, at Babylon, Ashtoreth in Phoenicia, Atargatis or Derketo at Bambyke, which the Hittites of Carchemish and Pteria borrowed from Babylonia, modified to some extent, and introduced into Kappadokia, whence it travelled to the west of the Halys and there became associated with the native orgiastic rites. The goddess was there called Ate or Kybele (Matar Kubile in a Phrygian inscription), and under the latter name was adopted into the Greek pantheon, while at Ephesos and Magnesia she was for some reason identified with Artemis, and at Lagina, in Karia, with Hekate,¹¹² while Attys was confounded with

¹⁰⁵ Herodotos, i. 176.

¹⁰⁶ The Ionians of Asia set over them as kings Lykians of the house of Glaukos, according to Herodotos, i. 147. Compare Pausanias, vii. 3, 4.

¹⁰⁷ Such as the 'Harpy Monument.'

¹⁰⁸ Kallinos *ap.* Strab. xiv. 4, p. 219; Herodotos, iv. 80; Theopompos, fr. 111.

¹⁰⁹ Head, *op. cit.* pp. 582, 586.

¹¹⁰ *Exped. Alex.* i. 26, p. 74.

¹¹¹ Sayce, *Herodot.* p. 431; Ramsay, in *Journal of Hell. Stud.* iii. 46, 56.

¹¹² Perrot and Chipiez, *op. cit.* pp. 304-5. The goddess of Bambyke in Greek eyes

her companion Tammuz or Adonis. This cultus survived the fall of the native dynasties and the disuse of the local languages on both sides of the Halys. Its ritual was carried on by wealthy priestly colleges, whose members were commonly, as at Bambyke, eunuchs (*galli*) and whose heads sometimes exercised sovereign power over the districts round the temples, as at one of the Komanas, where the high priest in the time of Strabo (xii. 2) ranked only second to the king of Kappadokia and was almost an independent prince. The high priests of Zeus in Morimene¹¹³ and of Men and Selene at Kabeira¹¹⁴ enjoyed similar privileges. In Phrygia, at Pessinous,¹¹⁵ and at the shrine of Zeus Bennios,¹¹⁶ and in Lydia, perhaps, at Sipyios and Koloe,¹¹⁷ a similar state of things existed. Traces of establishments of the same kind are found in the priestly colleges attached to the temples of Apollo at Branchidae, near Miletos, and of Artemis at Ephesos, but here the Greek colonists, though adopting the local worship, deprived the priesthood of political power.¹¹⁸ The legend respecting the flood, which was localised at Apameia-Kibotos, in Phrygia, where it is commemorated on coins as late as the third century A.D., may also have been originally an importation from Babylon, transmitted through Carchemish (where it formed one of the local traditions inherited by Bambyke¹¹⁹) and Kappadokia.¹²⁰ Kappadokia and Asia Minor formed one of the channels through which Babylonian myths (such as those relating to Herakles and those of Ishtar and her lovers, which in Asia Minor were told of Kybele and Attys¹²¹) were introduced into Hellenic mythology, which in its origin was of course Aryan, and therefore unconnected with them. The Iranian immigration in the seventh century B.C. led to the introduction of Zoroastrianism at certain places in Kappadokia and Pontos. It was still flourishing at Zela and elsewhere in the time of Strabo, but had adopted the corrupt local practices of Hierodouloi and priestly rulers.¹²² Even in Phrygia¹²³ and in Lydia¹²⁴ some of the rites of Zoroastrianism were in use in Roman times.

JOHN E. GILMORE.

partook of the characters of Hera, Athene, Aphrodite, Selene, Rhea, Artemis, Nemesis, and the Moerae (*De Dea Syra*, 32, p. 248). Strabo identifies the goddess worshipped at the two Komanas with Enyo, or the Tauric Artemis (xii. 2, p. 5, pp. 40-41).

¹¹³ Strabo, xii. 2, p. 8.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.* xii. p. 39.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.* xii. 5, p. 57.

¹¹⁶ Ramsay, p. 47.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.* p. 38 seq.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.* p. 51.

¹¹⁹ *De Dea Syra*, 12, p. 236.

¹²⁰ Hermogenes, fr. 2; Steph. Byzant. s.v. Ἰκόνιον.

¹²¹ The latter, however, were also imported through Phœnicia in the more familiar forms of the legends of Aphrodite and Adonis; some of the Herakles legends were also of Phœnician origin.

¹²² Strabo, xi. 8, p. 431; xii. p. 43.

¹²³ Nic. Dam. fr. 128, where the custom of exposing the bodies of the dead in the case of priests is represented as Phrygian.

¹²⁴ Pausanias, v. 27, 3.