hence judges the oldest cuneiform text about Greeks (see Chapter 1, "Historical Background," note 15) to be "quite uncertain" (643), and states that there can be no question of any direct influence on Homer ("dass etwa von einem direkten Einfluss auf Homer... keine Rede sein kann,") (646).

1. "Who Are Public Workers"

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

1. For a historical survey see CAH III 3, including Braun (1982a), (1982b); Klengel (1980); Murray (1980). A keen and interesting study by Mazzarino (1947) is now outdated in some respects; see also A. Momigliano, Quattro contributo alla storia degli studi classici e del mondo antico (1969) 581–588. The names of Assyrian and Babylonian kings usually appear in four variants in our tradition, depending on the Hebrew Bible, the Greek Bible (Septuagint), the Latin Bible, and technical transcription of Akkadian, respectively. Here the (questionable) praxis of CAH7 is followed.

2. See Sendschirli I–V (the Turkish name of this site has been spelled Zinciri since the introduction of the Latin alphabet in Turkey); Landsberger (1948); more recent special studies are Winter (1973), Genge (1979), and a survey in van Loon (1991) 1–15.


5. See Chapter 1, "Writing and Literature in the Eighth Century."


11. The finds, mainly due to Giorgio Buchner, have never been fully published; the greatest sensation was created by the "cup of Nestor" in 1955. See G. Buchner in Rigdway and Ridgway (1979) 129–144 and (1982); Boardman (1980) 165–169; Kopcke (1990) 101–110; on Egyptian objects Hölbl (1979); on the documents for writing see Chapter 1, "Writing and Literature in the Eighth Century."

12. See Chapter 1, "Writing and Literature in the Eighth Century."

13. On sols see Chapter 1, "The Problem of Loan-Words," note 29. For "Chalkis" see M. Meier, -id-. Zur Geschichte eines griechischen Nominalsuffixes (1975) 52 ff.; Tarsii, foundry (Assyrian rasu); W. F. Albright, BASOR 81 (1941) 14 ff.; it is controversial whether Tarsii refers to Tarsos or to some place in Spain: M. Koch, Tarsisch (1984).

14. Od. 1.184; the place-name mentioned in this verse was controversial already in antiquity: Τέμεσον is the reading of the manuscripts and should refer to a place in southern Italy, but Steph. Byz s.v. Tamasos attests Τάμασος, i.e., a city in Cyprus; cf. Braun (1982a) 13; K. Hadjiioannou, AA 31 (1966) 205–210, suggested as τον "Αλάσων, Alasia being the Bronze Age name either of Cyprus or of the most important city of Cyprus (Enkomi).

15. H. W. Saggs, Iraq 25 (1963) 76–78; Braun (1982a) 15. The bronze plaques of King Hazaël, piously dedicated to Hera of Samos and Apollo of Eretria in consequence (see Chapter 1, "Oriental
Products in Greece,” note 14), may well have been looted at such an occasion. Eph’al and Naveh (1989) conclude from the inscription “What Hadad has given to Lord Hazael from Um,e3” that Hazael himself had taken the pieces as booty, but they do not see such a chance for Greeks (200).

16. Beloch (1913) I 2e 6 f.; L. W. King, JHS 30 (1910) 327–335; Luckenbill (1929); Mazarino (1947) 112–130; Braun (1982a) 1–5. “Javan” appears among the progeny of Noah in the “table of nations” in Genesis 10:2–4; his “sons” seem to refer to Cyprus, Tarsus, and Rhodes; see West (1985) 14 f.

17. An inscription of Esarhaddon has both names, *Iadana and *Iawan, and keeps them distinct; see Hirschberg (1932) 68; Borger (1956) 86 §57 line 10; cf. Luckenbill (1933), Braun (1982a) 3, 20; against Beloch and Mazarino, who identified both names. All the evidence about *Iadana and *Iawan is in S. Parpola, *Neo-Assyrian Toponyms (1970) 183, 186 f.

18. II. 13, 685. U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, Die Ilias und Homer (1916) 227 n. 1, wrote: “Die Ionier sind mit den Athenern identisch”—for him, this is a “late” interpolation; he was unaware of the importance of Euboea and Athens in the eighth century. The problem about *Iαθόνες is that especially in the Attic/Ionian dialect ἄ ν ὄ νες disappeared early and contraction occurred, resulting in ἄ νες. It has been suggested that *Iαθόνες is much older than the eighth century; see J. Chadwick in Greece and the Eastern Mediterranean in Ancient History and Prehistory, Studies Presented to F. Schachermeyr (1977) 106–109: “A group of the Mycenaean inhabitants of Greece called themselves *Iαθόνες” (109). Yet it is a fact that the uncontracted form remained in current use, and this is hardly a result of the epic tradition: It must have been used by non-Ionians, i.e., Dorians and Cyprians; Tarsus, Cyprus, and Rhodes were prominent in the view from the East (see note 16 above); people from these places will have referred to Euboeans and Athenians as ἰανεῖς. For Persians speaking of ἰανεῖς, see Aesch. Persae, Aristoph. Achi. 104. Even the “Ionians” of Sicily do not stem from Asia Minor, but from eighth-century Naxos. The “Ionian” sea seems to mark the Euboean-Naxian route to Italy and Sicily (although the development from *Iαθόνες to ἣ νες is not without difficulty either).

19. Stele of Kition: Luckenbill (1927) II §§ 179–188; cf. §§ 70,
ORIENTAL PRODUCTS IN GREECE

1. See Poulsen (1912), Dunbabin (1957), Akurgal (1968), Herrmann (1975), Helck (1978), Boardman (1980), Braun (1982a), Kopcke (1990); cf. also Introduction at note 16.


9. II. 23.741–745; Od. 4. 615–619; for the shield of Achilles, II. 18, see Fittschen (1973). The bronze and silver bowls have been comprehensively treated by Markoe (1985); earlier studies include K. Kübler, Kerameikos V 1 (1954) 201–205; Canciani (1970); Carter (1972); Imai (1977); Borell (1978) 74–92. See, in general, Curtis (1988), esp. G. Falsone, “Phoenicia as a Bronzeworking Centre in the Iron Age,” 227–250.


15. Coldstream (1969), (1982) 268 f.; on Beloch, see Introduction at note 15 and below, note 37. There are Greek testimonies as to Phoenicians at Rhodes (Ath. 360 f. = Ergias, FGrHist 513 F 1; Polyzos, FGrHist 521 F 6), and Zeus Atabyrios at Rhodes seems


32. For an Assyrian image of a goddess with high hat (polos)
at Samos, dated to the reign of Sargon II, see Jantzen (1972) B 165 pl. 69; Herrmann, Gnomon 47 (1975) 398; Helck (1979) 184-186; see also Kranz (1972).

33. See A. L. Oppenheim, “The Golden Garments of the Gods,” JNES 8 (1949) 172-193; Fleischer (1973) 96 and (on the fillet, “Rückentaeenie”) 50 f.; Börker and Klähn (1973) 45. Ishtar is said to “hold keppe” (e.g., “Descent of Ishtar” 27, ANET 107); according to B. Landsberger, WZKM 56 (1960) 121-124 and 57 (1961) 23, this is a jump rope, “Springseil” (AHw 467); Landsberger refers to representations of the goddess on seals as such as W. H. Ward (1910) nos. 912-92; in these the “rope” in the hands of the goddess, though, is meant to be the seam of her garment lifted up by her; cf. Helck (1971) 112 f. Still the similarity to the ribbons the goddess is holding at Ephesus and Samos (Fleischer 102-111) is highly suggestive.


40. Van Loon (1974) 23; cf. Boardman (1980) 57 with n.73; “Techniques such as these cannot be learned by observation.”


42. Herrmann prefers to think the tympanon found in the Idaean cave (see note 13 above) was imported from the East; (1975) 304; contra, Blome (1982) 16.


45. Corinth: Hdt. 2.167.2; Athens: Diod. 11.43.3.

46. See J. Boardman, “Amasis: The Implications of His Name,” in Papers on the Amasis Painter and His World (Malibu 1987), 141-152.

47. Arist. Polit. 1278a: δύολον τὸ βάπτασμα ἢ ἕξινον, δύσ-περ ὁ πολλοὶ τουτού καὶ νῦν. Slave women were “taken” and traded as weavers: Il. 6.290 f., 23.263; Od. 15.418; cf. Helck (1979) 226 on Egypt. On the “craftsmen’s tax” (χειρωποτέλειας, Arist. Oik. 1345b7) and its Persian background see M. Wörnle, Chiron 9 (1979) 91 f.

**WRITING AND LITERATURE IN THE EIGHTH CENTURY**


2. See M. P. Nilsson, Opuscula Selecta II (1952) 1029–56 (originally published 1918); Jeffery (1961) 22; Helck (1979) 165–167. It must still be stressed that the use of aleph, jod, waw to indicate $a, i, u$ is common in Aramaic from early times; in form, Greek Y is almost identical with Semitic waw; f is a variant of it.

3. For the dependence of the Phrygian script on the Greek, see Heubeck (1979) 78 against R. S. Young, Proc. Am. Philos. Soc. 107 (1963) 362–364. Phrygian script seems to be in evidence since about 725 B.C., although a later dating was advocated by A. M. Snodgrass, The Dark Age of Greece (1971) 349 ff.; more likely it arrived
on the route from Cilicia to Gordian rather than from either the Troad or Ionia; see “Historical Background,” note 26, above.

4. Hdt. 5.58; ποιητός was the designation for a “writer,” a secretary in archaic Crete; L. H. Jeffery and A. Morpurgo Davies, Kadmos 9 (1970) 118–154 and SEG 27, no. 631.


14. Ugaritic alphabets: KTU 5.6; for earliest “Phoenician” alphabets see note 1, above.


18. Gallin (1971); KTU 5.7; in Hebrew: Lachish Letters (1938) 79 f.; KAI no. 194; A. Lemaire, Inscriptions hébraïques I: Les ostraca (1977) 11 f.; KAI 43.12; cf. Masson (1967) 64. The Akkadian word for writing tablet is different, le'u, Hebrew
NOTES TO PAGES 30–31


27. Eur. fr. 627; there is a proverb “older than the leather [scroll],” Όργανος τῆς διάθεσις, *Diogen.* 3:2 (Porphyrios, *Gr. I* 214); cf. Zenob. 4.11; Porphyry in *Schol. B Il. 1.175*; Hschr. δ 1902 attests the term διαθεσιολογός for Cyprus (see note 8, above), which sounds archaic and may refer to the use of leather scrolls.
8. This is following Masson (1967), although the words treated in nn. 9–11, 16, 19, 21–26, 31–33, and 36 are missing in her collection.

9. Akkadian lipa, accusative lipâ, frâ, employed especially in magic; see AHw 555. It is true there are Indo-European comparative materials for Greek lipa; Chantraine (1968/80) 642.

10. Through Latin similis it even reached German, Semmel; see Szemerényi (1974) 156; Chantraine (1968/80) 996.


13. The Semitic word, however, is not documented but has been inferred; G. Garbini, Riv. di Studi Fenici 3 (1975) 15 f.


15. Ibid. 212.

16. Ibid. 660.


18. Sendershiri V 119 ff. with pl. 58; specialists are still discussing to what extent this should be considered as a precursor or an early form of minted money; see M. S. Balough, AIA 67 (1963) 208 and in D. G. Mitten et al., eds., Studies Presented to G. M. A. Hanfmann (1971) 1–7; N. F. Parise, Dialoghi di Archeologia 7 (1973) 382–391.

19. The Semitic parallel is mentioned in LSJ, not in Masson (1967); “hypothèse . . . en tout cas aberrante”: Chantraine (1968/80) 1247. Semitic haš is H in the Greek alphabet, but Akkadian hur-asha corresponds to Greek χρυσός; the name Ham is Xαυ in the Septuagint; Mount Hazzî is rendered Κάσιον ὄρος (cf. Hemberg [1950] 129, 320)—there are no phonetic rules in loan-words. Haraš is used in the sense of “writing,” Gilgamesh I 1.8.

20. AHw 48a; on distributive ana in Greek see T. Horovitz, Von Logos zur Analogie (1978) 137–144.
21. AHw 898; cf. 650. H. Kronasser, Kratylos 7 (1962) 163, maintains that qanu was borrowed indirectly, "höchstwahrscheinlich durch mehrere analogische Sprachen."

22. Akkadian țidu: see AHw 1391.1; "zum Bauen und Verputzen": Hebrew rit; the Semitic parallels are not mentioned in the etymological lexicons of P'siscoq, Frisk, and Chantraine, nor in Masson (1967). On a possible association with "Titans" see Chapter 3, "From Atrothesis to the 'Deception of Zeus,'" notes 28–29.


24. AHw 522; J. P. Brown (1968) 182; Szemerényi (1974) 149. The mirage of an "Aegean" suffix -ithos created by the adaptation to Greek is no argument against this derivation: see note 11 above on lekane.

25. AHw 332; Hammerdinger (1970) 45; the axe (hashed) is now attested as the symbol of the weather god carried in procession at Bronze Age Emar; Arnaud (1985/87) no. 369 line 45. Salonen (1974) also compares Greek sphen, wedge, with Akkadian suppinu; but according to AHw 1060 the meaning of this word is unclear.

26. AHw 627; tent, also in Aramaic; Szemerényi, Gnomon 53 (1981) 114; cf. Hebrew miškan, abode.


28. Szemerényi, Gnomon 43 (1971) 647 and (1974) 156, referred to Akkadian bel qattu, "Lord of Hand," which, however, means "guardian": AHw 120; but in Hittite the same expression (always with Sumerian-Akkadian spelling: EN qati) means "craftsman": J. Friedrich, Hethitisches Wörterbuch (1952) 271. The Hittite word may well have been the model for cheironax, either directly or indirectly.

29. Laroche (1973); for Soloi as place-name see above, "Oriental Products in Greece," note 13.

30. Masson (1967) 86; lis occurs a few times in Homer; the normal Greek word, leon, seems to come from Egypt; see J. C. Billigmeier, Talanta 6 (1975) 1–6.


32. Hebrew hārub; J. P. Brown (1968) 178–182; the harpe is specially used by orientalizing Perseus; see Jameson (1990) 218. But there is a satisfactory Indo-European etymology too: Chantraine (1968/80) 114. For σούλον see Szemerényi, Gnomon 53 (1981) 115; for ὀφθαλμος Akkadian šalālu, to loot; AHw 1142, with imperative šallā! (cf. Zeus Syllanios and Athana Syllania in the Spartan Rhetra, Plut. Lyc. 6). There is no Indo-European etymology for machomai, and "la structure de μαχομαι est restreinte obscure"; Chantraine (1968/80) 674. For maha/mahā see HAL 541: 537.

33. See AHw 34 s.v. alalu, "a cry used at work." Of course exclamations can originate spontaneously (Chantraine [1968/80] 530), but "Hurrh!" has both its (Germanic) etymology and its diffusion in European warfare.


37. Astour (1965) went furthest in this sport. There remains the old equation of Lapetos, father of Prometheus, with Japhet, son of Noah (see West [1966] 202 f.); but also meteor, god of waters, father of the Nereids, is remarkably similar to the Semitic word for river. Akkadian nārā, Hebrew nahār. See for Agelatas Chapter 2, "Asclepius and Agelatas," note 8; for Tethys, Chapter 3, "From Atrothesis to the Deception of Zeus," note 15; for Lamia, Chapter 2, "Lamia, Lamia, and Gorgo," note 10; for Titans, Chapter 3, "From Atrothesis to the Deception of Zeus," notes 28–29.


39. HAL 878—no Semitic word in origin; cf. J. P. Brown (1968) 166–169; Chantraine (1968/80), without presenting the Semitic words, declares: "L’hypothèse d’un emprunt sémitique . . . n’est acceptée par personne."

2. "A Seer or a Healer"

"CRAFTSMEN OF THE SACRED"

1. The expression is used in Plat. Phdr. 248d. For a modern investigation into the interrelation of magic and scientific medicine see G. E. R. Lloyd, Magic, Reason and Experience (1979); on "craftsmen of the sacred" see Burkert (1982a) and (1987a) 31.