

*P*OTESTARY POLITICAL CULTURES
IN CHANGE IN TIMES OF CHANGE:
INTERACTIONS IN THE AEGEAN REGION
AND THE EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN AT
THE END OF THE BRONZE AGE AND THE
BEGINNING OF THE IRON AGE

The transition from the Late Bronze Age to the Early Iron Age in the Aegean and more broadly in the Eastern Mediterranean is an epoch which is crucial, and a turning point for many changes, also because of the migratory movements in the region, resulting in considerable ethnic changes. This transformation of ethno-political entities was also a transformation of the potestary political systems, which were typical of the region. The great Hittite Empire disappeared; pressed by these invasions was Egypt during the epoch of Merneptah (1224–1214) and Ramesses III (1198–1166), and the States, which emerged in Western Asia Minor, and the Eastern Mediterranean, were new States, territorially and by population – with relatively small frames. Nevertheless, it appears in the written sources, the terms for designation of the power relations in these new States, which could due their origin to the potestary political systems of the preceding ethno-political collectives of the Late Bronze Age.

The important role of these terms to evidence the continuity between the Late Bronze Age and the Early Iron Age, determines the interest in this topic. The second, just as important reason for such an interest, lies in the fact that these terms are among the examples, used in the study, of the presence, in antiquity too, of the institution of the so-called King-Priest. The Bulgarian historical science, may be said to have a special interest in this institution, formulating a special notion of what it was. The Thracian King-Priests – mythical ones or real historical kings – both are presented as concentrating in their hands the ideological, respectively religious, civil and military power.¹ Some of the examples used in the

¹ See, f. ex., Ю. Кабакчиев, *Наблюдения върху тракийския социум от предимската епоха* (Summa Thracologiae 2), София 2001, 103.

analysis of this institution, belong to the area of the Aegean, and in the theoretical treatment the comparison with the power institutions of Eastern Mediterranean also took place.

What kind of institution is the King-Priest? I'll outline the standpoints quite cursorily. This notion reflects the process of sacralization of the emerging monocratic institution in the course of the so-called Politogenesis. To formulate this notion is reasonable, in view of the undiscussable and beyond doubt data about a sacralization of the supreme potestary personal magistratures at the end of the tribal epoch, as well as the epochs of the so-called Chieftdom and the so-called Early State. No doubt, deifying King-Priest, occupied an important position in the potestary political systems of these societies, and in some States during the epoch of antiquity, too.² But, the blaze of his aureole, the aureole of a **wa-na-ka**, who has a touch with the Gods, and is even their descendent, – if I use an example, namely from the region of the Aegean – does not diminish the authority of **lavageta** – a figure no less powerful. The short analysis of three examples from the epochs indicated in the Aegean and the Eastern Mediterranean can present approximately the next situation for the figure of the so-called King-Priest – real or only a fact of historiography.

I. The case of the title of *mar(on)-.

With certainty the title of ***mar(on)-** is attested as a title both in the inscription, discovered near Caminia in the island of Lemnos,³ and in the Etruscan

² This institution is still under discussion. See, f. ex.: M. Abélès, "Sacred Kingship" and Formation of the State', in H.J.M. Claessen, P. Skalník (eds), *The Study of the State*, The Hague 1981, 1–13; H. J. M. Claessen, 'Kingship in the Early State', *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 142 (1986), 113–127, < http://www.kitlv-journals.nl/files/pdf/art_BKI_1262.pdf >; R. Gundlach, 'Der Sakralherrscher als historisches und phänomenologisches Problem', in R. Gundlach, H. Weber (eds), *Legitimation und Funktion des Herrschers. Vom ägyptischen Pharao zum neuzeitlichen Diktator*, (Schriften der Mainzer Philosophischen Fakultätsgesellschaft E.V., 13), Stuttgart 1992, 1–22, and many other works. See on the institution in the potestary political systems of the Early Indo-Europeans: É. Benveniste, *Le Vocabulaire des Institutions indo-européennes 2: Pouvoir, droit, religion*, Paris 1969, 9–22, and many other works; on the institution in Creto-Mycenaean World: N. Marinatos, 'Divine Kingship in Minoan Crete', in P. Rehak (ed.), *The Role of the Ruler in the Prehistoric Aegean. Proceedings of a Panel Discussion presented at the Annual Meeting of the Archaeological Institute of America, New Orleans, Louisiana, 28 December 1992* (Aegeum 11), Austin–Liège 1995, 37–48, and many other works; on the institution in some Levantine societies: A. R. Johnson, *Sacral Kingship in Ancient Israel*, Cardiff 1967, 167; Ch. Grottanelli, *Kings and Prophets: Monarchic Power, Inspired Leadership, and Sacred Texts in Biblical Narrative*, Oxford 1999; N. Wyatt, 'Just how "divine" were the kings of Ugarit?', *Aula Orientalis* 17–18 (1999–2000), 133–141, and many other works. Naturally, thus presented bibliography is only illustrative.

³ See more recently on this inscription: H. Eichner, 'Neues zur Sprache der Stele von Lemnos (Erster Teil)', *Вопросы языкового родства. Международный научный журнал / Journal of*

inscriptions. Moreover, it's this title, which is reflected most probably in the personal name of Maron from Homer's epics (Hom. *Od.* IX, 196 sqq.).

The holder of the personal name of Maron in Homer's epics was this priest, namely, who gave a feast to Odysseus, after the hero set on fire Ismaros, the town of Kikones, situated on the Aegean coast of ancient Thrace, near the place of the founding of the future Greek colony of Maroneia. Maron was worshipped as a hero in a local cult at Maroneia, probably in a heroon, well proven by epigraphic data even during the Roman times.⁴

Homer's character Maron is a notorious figure, often serving to exemplify the concept of the King-Priest in the Bulgarian historical literature, as I briefly presented this concept above.

The title of *mar(on)- is well documented among the Etruscans and the Umbrians. Among the Etruscans, the lexeme is attested very often as a term designating a priest's office – with many cognate derivative forms like *marnu*, *marniu*, *marunu*, *marunux*, *maruxva*, *marunuxva*, *zilaθ maruxva*, *zilc marunuxva*, *marunuxva cepen* and others, and the verb *maru-* (*marv-as*) – expressing a realization of respective official functions. Judging by the Epigraphic data, the title was an office naming title, comparable by its parameters to the functionality of the Roman office *aedilis*, *aedile*, respectively, of *curule aediles*. Next, among the Umbrians this office title named one of the important secular magistratures. Like the Roman Aediles, Marones were registered as *collegia*, together with their presence in some cities *sine college*.⁵ Some scholars (f. ex., R. Hirata)⁶ represent the Etruscan and the Umbrian office of maron- as a term for an one-year office. It is worth noting that the eminent Roman poet Vergilius came most probably, from an old

Language Relationship. International Scientific Periodical, 7 (2012), 9–32; H. Eichner, 'Neues zur Sprache der Stele von Lemnos (Zweiter Teil)', *Вопросы языкового родства. Международный научный журнал / Journal of Language Relationship. International Scientific Periodical* 10 (2013), 1–42.

⁴ See, f. ex.: D. Detschew, *Die Thrakischen Sprachreste. 2. Auflage*, Wien 1976, pass.; an epigraphic confirmation from Maroneia of the epoch of Roman domination: '...ιερεὺς Διὸς καὶ Ῥώμης, Διονύσου καὶ Μάρωνος' (M. Raycheva, 'Dea Roma in Thrace', *Archaeologia Bulgarica* 1 [2015], 24–25).

⁵ See M. Паллоттино, 'Проблема этрусского языка', in *Тайны древних письмен. Проблемы дешифровки. Сборник статей*, Москва 1976, 378; on the composite (ξ) title *marunuxva cepen*, which was often combined with the title *zilaθ*, see, f. ex., R. Lambrechts, 'Une nouvelle lecture de CLE. 5441', *AC* 27 (1958), 113, with references to: C.I.I. 2057, S.III 329 de Musarna (T.L.E. 171), C.I.I. 2070 de Norchia (T.L.E. 165) and probably C.I.E. 5472 de Tarquinia (T.L.E. 137); see also: L. Aigner-Foresti, 'Sopravvivenza di istituzioni etrusche in eta imperiale', in G. Urso (ed.), *Patria diversis gentibus una? Unità politica e identità etniche nell'Italia antica. Atti del convegno internazionale di Cividale del Friuli, 20–22 settembre 2007*, Pisa 2008, 108 sqq., with lit.

⁶ R. Hirata, 'Eine Betrachtung über das etruskische Ämterwesen', *Das Altertum* 18 (1972), 163.

hereditary family of *marons*, as his family name implies.⁷ However, the fact of the existence of the collegia of Marones in ancient Italy leads to the hypotheses of a possible position of Vergilius himself as a priest of Apollo.⁸ Vergilius as a priest of Apollo, on the one hand, and the mythic-epic Kikonian priest of Apollo, Maron, on the other – this is a very interesting juxtaposition, but for now its analysis stays out of the problems under discussion.

As for the Aegean title, according to the data issued from the Lemnos' inscription, this is also an one-year term magistrature. In Homer's epics Maron, the priest of Apollo among the Kikones, is depicted as a priest of a sanctuary, located in a wood, and is very important for this ethno-political entity. It is not clear if this name-title designates a mandatory or permanent title, but certainly it is not a designation of a King-Priest, at least – in the sense, given to this notion in the Bulgarian historical literature of today.

There were two attempts to find a magistrate holding the authority of King-Priest in Lemnos.

The first one comes nearer to the Ideas of King-Priest in the Bulgarian historical literature. This was the attempt the Etruscan office title of *marunuxva cepen* to be interpreted as a designation of the Etruscan King-Priest, as a parallel to the Roman title of *rex sacrorum* (zile marunuxva – typologically corresponding to the Greek archon basileus, and *marunux paχaθuras* – a 'King of Backhantes').⁹ This interpretation is quite uncertain, at least because of the fact that the lexeme *cepen*, after Cortsen¹⁰ traditionally translated as 'priest', had been recently reinterpreted by Ignasi-Xavier Adiego as 'simplemente un cantificador'.¹¹

The second one – this was Fred Woudhuizen's attempt to see in the Lemnos inscription information about 'a certain Holoie from Phokaia, who is specified as king (*vanacasial* < Greek *wanaks*) over the Myrinians and Seronians, the places which, on the analogy of Phokaia, are likely to be situated in Aiolia, these deviations may plausibly be ascribed to the dialect of the indigenous population of

⁷ See, f. ex., E.S. Ramage, 'The Life of Vergil: An Investigation of the Historical Sources'. A Thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the Requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in the Department of Classics, The University of British Columbia. September, 1952', Ch. II.: 'Vergil's Birth, Family and Racial Stock', 6–20, especially p. 19; one of the references in the earlier literature of E. Ramage: M.L. Gordon, 'The Family of Vergil', *JRS* 24 (1934), 1–12.

⁸ See, f. ex., R.W. Raper, 'Marones: Virgil as Priest of Apollo', *CR* 27 (1913), 13–21; but cf. W.W. Fowler, 'Virgil, Priest of Apollo?', *CR* 27 (1913), 85–87; on 'Apollonean' motifs in the works of Vergilius: D. Lowe, 'Sabazius in the Aeneid (7.341–60)', *Vergilius* 58 (2012), 81–91.

⁹ А. Л. Янко, 'Царський титул у етрусків', *Древности* 12 (2013), 26.

¹⁰ S.P. Cortsen, *Die etruskischen Standes- und Beamtentitel durch die Inschriften beleuchtet*, København 1925, 70.

¹¹ I.-X. Adiego, 'Etrusco *marunuxva cepen*', *Studi Etruschi* 72 (2006), 214.

Mysia'.¹² However, the last published writing of this inscriptions doesn't attest to such a lexeme in the place in question of the inscription's text; one can see there the lexeme VANALΑΣIAL.¹³

The attempts for etymology of the name Maron present it as a name, originated from a lexeme meaning 'big, great'. I use this etymology as a point of departure to formulate, several years ago, a quite uncertain hypothesis.¹⁴ In my view, in this Kikonian office title we observe one of the final stages in the development of the ethnological so-called big-man; a final stage, when this office title, after a process of legitimation, became an upper sacral post, exercised some civil functions, too.

How reasonable was it to qualify the official title of maron as an ethnospecific variant of the potestary figure, designated by the ethnologists as a big-man? P. Carlier rejects similar categorization – as 'notables' or as 'big-men' – for potestary figures of Antiquity like Homeric basilees and Spartan Kings, since these categorizations represent 'méconnaître la spécificité de leur γῆρας'.¹⁵ Has this rejection a validity of my interpretation of the office title of Maron? In some degree – yes, but the main Idea of such a categorization as '(former) big-man' was to estimate the primary sense of an office title, in the text of Homer, designating a kind of high Priest.

If the name of Maron is Thracian, the search for a root with semantics 'big, great' is confirmed by a large number of cognate Thracian words, built from the same root. But we find typological parallels – in the functionality, as well as in the semantics – among the Lemnian and Etruscan systems of office titles. In such a case, we can ask whether this title was not taken by Kikones of Maron directly

¹² F.C. Woudhuizen, 'Etruscan origins', *Talanta* 34-35 (2002–2003), 66, with references to his earlier publications: J. Best, F. Woudhuizen, *Lost Languages from the Mediterranean*, Leiden 1989; F.C. Woudhuizen, *Linguistica Tyrrhenica, A Compendium of Recent Results in Etruscan Linguistics*, Amsterdam 1992; F.C. Woudhuizen, *Linguistica Tyrrhenica II, The Etruscan Liturgical Calendar from Capua, Addenda et Corrigenda ad Volume I*, Amsterdam 1998.

¹³ See Eichner, 'Neues zur Sprache der Stele von Lemnos (Zweiter Teil)', 6.

¹⁴ See S. Yordanov, 'Maron, le prêtre d'Apollon. Considérations sur le système de pouvoir politique de la Thrace homérique', in *Societas classica. Култури и религии на Балканите, в Средиземноморието и Истока II*. (Поредица д-р Никола Пиколо). Ред. колегия: доц. д-р Иванка Дончева, доц. д-р Стефан Йорданов, Искра Мандова, Велико Търново 2007, <<http://www.academia.edu/7697138/>>, 109 sqq. Similar was the etymology of this title made by V.I. Georgiev, accepting it as a derivation from the same root as Roumanian – from Daco-Moesian origin according to him – lexeme *mare* 'big'. See V.I. Georgiev, 'Tendances convergentes dans les langues anciennes de la péninsule Balkanique et de l'Asie Mineure du Nord-Ouest', in *Actes du premier Symposium International de Thracologie (Rome, 14–16 novembre 1977)*, Milan 1978, 32.

¹⁵ P. Carlier, 'QA-SI-RE-U et QA-SI-RE- WI-J A', in R. Laffineur, W.-D. Niemeier (eds), *Politeia. Society and State in the Aegean Bronze Age. Proceedings of the 5th International Aegean Conference / 5e Rencontre égéenne internationale, University of Heidelberg, Archäologisches Institut, 10-13 April 1994* (Aegeum 12), Liège – Austin 1995, 355.

from the language of the Balkan proto-Etruscans? I did not look for the etymology of the Etruscan title in literature. But if the Etruscan language was cognate of the Anatolian Hittite-Luwian languages, as some linguists think, we have to be able to find in these languages an etymological parallel to the Lemnian **maras** as well as of the Etruscan **maru-**, **marunuhi**. Indeed, such a parallel can be seen in the title of **maraza**, mentioned in the Xanthos' stele inscription. This Lycian title is translated as 'the judge' and has a regular formation by the suffix deriving *nomina agentis*, **-aza**, typical of the Lycian language.¹⁶ Therefore, **maraza**, **maras**, **marunuhi** and **Maron** are lexemes belonging to Hittite-Luwian languages and possibly – to cognate Etruscan language. This conclusion is likely to immediately raise the question of how such a title appears among a Thracian tribe **Kikones** and actually, if this appearance shows a continuity with peoples, ethno-politically dominating in Asia Minor during the Late Bronze Age.

I assume also that in the case of the mythical names such as **Mariwda**, **Maris**, **Mar** we observe a formal, homophonic coincidence with the name of **Maron** – the first ones representing a development of a root, which in many Indo-European languages arises in the designation for a member of the young men's degree in an age-set system of the tribal and of the early State epochs. This possibility is confirmed about the centauros-like **Mar** by his mythical biography – being a three-born creature etc.¹⁷

So, Thracian or Etruscan, are respectively a Tyrrhenian title? Both assumptions are relevant.

The Thracian affiliation of the title is acceptable for two reasons. The first, because of the existence of Thracian etymological parallels, it is relatively sure.

¹⁶ As a cognate to the Lemnian title of **maras** the Lycian title **maraza** was presented by J. Heurgon, 'À propos de l'inscription « tyrrhénienne » de Lemnos', *CRAI* 1980, 593, n. 36, with reference to E. Kalinka, 'Tituli Lyciae lingua Lycia conscripti', *TAM I*, Wien 1901, 44, côté nord, 4. See on this Lycian title: H. Craig Melchert, 'The Middle Voice in Lycian', *Historische Sprachforschung / Historical linguistics* 105 (1992), 189; on its regular word formation through the Lycian suffix for *nomina agentis* **-aza** see: A. Клухорст, 'Ликийский язык', in *Языки мира. Реликтовые индоевропейские языки Передней и Центральной Азии*, Москва 2013, 149 ('who judge', 'who govern'?). It is not sure that these two words are cognate. The Lycian word **mara** is a nominative form of **mere-** 'law' (a plural dative?), derivation from the verb **mar-** 'commander, ordonner'. See E. Laroche, 'La stèle trilingue récemment découverte au Létôon de Xanthos: le texte lycien', *CRAI* 1974, 123; I.-J. Adiego Lajara, *The Carian language. With an appendix by Koray Konuk* (Handbook of Oriental Studies. Section 1, The Near and Middle East; v. 86), Leiden 2007, 335; I.-X. Adiego, 'Two Readings notes to the Lycian text of the Letoon trilingual Stele', *Kadmos* 51 (2012), 95. Ignacio-Javier Adiego Lajara put in the family of the word **mere-** such personal names like Μαρως and Μαρως.

¹⁷ See on this possible connection with the 'warlike initiation': G. Dumézil, *Archaic Roman Religion. With an Appendix on the Religion of the Etruscans*, tr. by Ph. Krapp, foreword by M. Eliade, vol. I, Baltimore and London 1970, Johns Hopkins edition 1996, p. 678.

The second, because of the fact, that some authors, f.ex., the Russian historian Nemirovsky, consider the Etruscan word **maru-**, **marunuhi** to be a Thracian borrowing in the Etruscan language.¹⁸

On the other hand, the possibility that the word Maron is not a Thracian lexeme among the Kikones, has a great validity, having in mind the obstacle, that the three lexemes cognate to Maron, which we find in Anatolian languages and in the Etruscan language, are title names, while a similar title in the written sources about Thracians is not affirmed. Even if we observe derivations from the meaning 'big, great', these derivations in the languages of the Thracians and the Pelasgians are toponyms only. So, as for the name of Maron – a title, understood by Homer as a personal name, – the explanation using a Hittito-Luwian hypothesis, is, therefore, more acceptable.

To formulate such a hypothesis, I borrowed the Idea from the old conjecture of V. Georgiev, seeing a considerable number of Etruscan borrowings in the Thracian languages, including the ethnonym Kikones itself, which is almost completely identical with the name of the Etruscan mythological hero Cicun.¹⁹ I will suppose something more, namely – the possibility of a settling down in Kikonía of an Etruscan population or, as some authors have insisted recently, of a Luwian population; a population, dominating over the local Thracian population by the system of so-called ethnic super-stratification. Such a supposition corresponds very well with our knowledge about the situation in the North Aegean at the end of the Bronze Age and the beginning of the Early Iron Age. In this region on the mytho-epic Sintiés of Lemnos a certain Tyrrhenian population reigns supreme. According to D. Briquel, this political supremacy of the Tyrrhenians over the Sintiés in the Aegean was effected as an episode of their migration to the west.²⁰ This supremacy was reflected in the text of Homer's epics, too – in the information that the Lemnos' ruler sent to the warriors besieging Troy, a wine, exchanged with them for cattle, hides, copper and iron (Hom. *Il.* VII, 465–475); information, presented the Luwian or proto-Etruscan population of Lemnos linked to the Troad.²¹

¹⁸ See (including for other possible Pelasgian borrowings): А.И. Немировский, *Этруски. От мифа к истории*, Москва 1983, 103–105, 116, 121, and others.

¹⁹ Etruscan variant of the mythical hero Cicon? See Hipponax frg. 4 a (ap. Hesych., s.v., cited after *Greek Iambic Poetry. From the Seventh Centuries BC*, ed. and tr. by D.E. Gerber: *Archilochus. Semonides. Hipponax* [Loeb Classical Library, 259], Harvard 1999, 356–357). Hipponax represents Cicon as a fabulous musician. See O. Masson, 'Sur un papyrus contenant des fragments d'Hipponax (P. Oxy. XVIII. 2176)', *REG* 62 (1949), 305–306.

²⁰ D. Briquel, *Les Pélasges en Italie. Recherches sur l'histoire de la légende*, Rome – Paris 1984, 411, n. 30, cited after F.S. Jiménez, 'Tirrenos en el Egeo: Problemática general y tendencias de la investigación', *Habis* 22 (1991), 21, n. 6.

²¹ Moreover, the archaeological data depict a very active role of the Aegean, including North Aegean (Thasos, Chalkidiki) in the trade with metals. See for details, with references: K. Kopa-

A similar situation depicts in the island of Imbros the analysis of V. Tzymbursky and recently of Szolt Simon.²² Another possible point of the Tyrrhenian presence in the North Aegean can be found out via the Herodotean toponym Crestona vs. Crotona / Cortona.²³ All this corresponds in some degree to the mytho-epic information about the movements of population from Western Asia Minor, including Troad with its population, Luwian by ethno-linguistic characteristic. Such a supposition corresponds also to the Mytho-epic tradition of the temporary living of the Trojans of Aeneas in Thrace,²⁴ more precisely, in the town of Aenus (Ainos).²⁵ And, probably, not there only, at least, in Samothraki – having in view the epic information that the first place which was visited by Aeneas in Thrace, was the temple of the Great Gods of Samothraki (Servius ad Vergil., *Aeneid*. III, 287–288). It corresponds, after that, to the presence in South-West Thrace of the region, which I will call the ‘Thracian Philistia’, nevertheless according to G. Bonfante this region is rather an ‘Illyrian (or Epirotian) Philistia’.²⁶ I have in mind, of course, the myth of one-time naming of the river Strymon after the name of Philistine (more precise: Παλαιστῖνος), a mythical narration (Ps.-Plut. *De Fluviis* XI. Strymon, 1156 E – 1157 A),²⁷ whose existing transforms the name of Philistia into a migratory horonym, persisting in the western part of Aegean Thrace, too. The second migratory Philistia was the recently discovered Philistia in the region of the so-called Neo-Hittite kingdoms.²⁸ And the third one – the Philistia of the Bible.

nias, ‘From the Mythical Atreus to the Ruler Attarissiya. Aegean Kingship in the Late Bronze Age through the Prism of Near Eastern Texts’, in D. Panagiotopoulos, I. Kaiser, Ou. Kouka (eds), *Ein Minoer im Exil. Festschrift für Wolf-Dietrich Niemeier* (Universitätsforschungen zur prähistorischen Archäologie. Band 270. Aus dem Institut für Klassische Archäologie der Universität Heidelberg), Bonn 2015, 218.

²² See В.Л. Цымбурский, ‘Фрако-хетто-лувийские формульные соответствия: их типы и возможности хронологии’, in *Индо-иранское языкознание и типология языковых ситуаций: сборник статей к 75-летию проф. А. Л. Грюнберга (1930–1995)* СПб. 2006 (used via the interactive edition, URL: < http://morebo.ru/images/zoo/Cum/10_tsum_fraco_hett.pdf >, accessible August 2016), pass.; Z. Simon, ‘Zur vorgriechischen Geschichte von Imbros aus philologischer Sicht’, *Ancient West & East* 14 (2015), 1–21.

²³ See more in F.S. Jiménez, ‘Tirrenos en el Egeo’, 20–21, including n. 4.

²⁴ See in details at R.B. Lloyd, ‘Aeneid III and the Aeneas Legend’, *AJPh* 78 (1957), 382–400.

²⁵ Besides the text of Vergilian Aeneid, the information about foundation of Ainos by Aeneas was confirmed by other ancient authors, like Ammianus Marcellinus XXVII, 4 and Pomponius Mela II, 2.

²⁶ See G. Bonfante, ‘Who Were the Philistines’, *AJA* 50 (1946), pass.

²⁷ Cited after the translation in English: Pseudo-Plutarch, *About Rivers and Mountains and Things Found in Them*, tr. by Th.M. Banchich, with S. Brill, E. Haremza, D. Hummel, and R. Post (Canisius College Translated Texts, Number 4), Buffalo 2010, < <http://www.roman-emperors.org/Pseudo-P Revised.pdf> >, 10–11.

²⁸ On this new discovered Levantine location of the name Philistia in forme of Palastin (and other forms), see, f. ex: Y. Harrison, ‘Neo-Hittites in the “Land of Palistin”’: Renewed Investigations at Tell Ta’yinat on the Plain of Antioch’, *Near Eastern Archaeology* 72/4 (2009), 174–189; C. Steitler,

Where is the homeland of these three Philistia? For now and according to my personal level of knowledge – just a rhetorical question.²⁹

The data thus enumerated gives us just some elements of a great chronological puzzle, having in mind that from the time of the first registration of the movement of Peleset, Teresh and others to the South, on the one hand, to the probable date of the setting of the stele of Caminia, on the other hand, lies a great chronological period, which needs further studies in the future for an exact picture, at least partly, of the chronology of these events. But if the Kikones of Maron are Tyrrhenians or respectively Luwians, and if the Proto-Etruscans governed Lemnos, whether they settled here or just used the island as *sui generis* Aegean Lipari,³⁰ these populations – Pelasgian, Tyrrhenian and Thracian – persist actively in the region until the time of its final inclusion in the system of the Greek colonies here. This ethnolinguistic situation can be depicted as '(...) la existencia en el norte del Egeo de un mosaico étnico y lingüístico en el que conviven, entre otras, unas gentes conocidas genéricamente con el nombre de pelasgos y otras con el de tirsenos...';³¹ whereas the ethnopolitical situation presents both Pelasgians and Tyrrhenians participating in the raids against the South of the Sea Peoples,³² judging by the data of the Diodorus on talassocracies in Aegean – in different chronological period. As for the consequences of this ethnic superstratification, it may be more reasonable to present it as Michel Lejeune does, namely as a situation, when '(...) Lemnos n'a pas cessé pour autant d'être un pays pélasge (pas plus qu'on n'a cessé de parler latin à Rome sous les Tarquins)'.³³ And the last one, just to note – I still hope that the exact chronological picture of these events will be established by a further complex analysis of the so-called list of thalassocracies after the Trojan war, together with the others records. In this connection the assertion by Diodorus (VII, fr. 11, Vogel = Euseb. *Chron.* I p. 225 Sch.) can be cited, that after the Trojan

²⁹ 'The Biblical King Toi of Hamath and the Late Hittite State 'P/Walas(a)tin', *Biblischen Notizen* 146 (2010), 81–99; A. Yasur-Landau, *The Philistines and Aegean migration at the end of the Late Bronze age*, Cambridge 2010, 162 sqq., and others.

³⁰ See on this problem, f. ex.: O. Margalith, 'Where Did the Philistines Come From?', *Zeitschrift für Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 107 (1995), 101–109; L. de Light, 'An "Eteocretan" Inscription from Praisos and the Homeland of the Sea Peoples', *Talanta* 40–41 (2008 – 2009), 151–172, and many other works.

³¹ See on the possible Tyrrhenian piracy in Aegean area, f.ex.: M. Gras, 'La piraterie étrusque en mer Égée: mythe ou réalité?', in *L'Italie préromaine et la Rome républicaine*, Rome 1976, 341–370.

³² J. Martínez-Pinna, 'Los pelasgos', in *La prehistoria mítica de Roma. Gerión* VI (2002), 111.

³³ See A.B. Сафронов, 'Греческая традиция о пеласагах и тирсенах в Анатолии и ее египетские соответствия', in *Индоевропейское языкознание и классическая филология – XIX. Материалы чтений, посвященных памяти профессора Иосифа Моисеевича Тронского / Indo-European Linguistics and Classical Philology – XIX. Proceedings of the 19th Conference in Memory of Professor Joseph M. Tronsky. 22–24 июня 2015 г. – June 22–24, 2015, Санкт-Петербург 2015*, 803–810

³⁴ M. Lejeune, 'Un Phocéen à Lemnos?', *CRAI* 1980, 603.

war, the Aegean sea was dominated by Lydians and Maeonians for a period of 92 years, by Pelasgians for 85 years, by Thracians for 79 years, etc., thus representing as masters of the Aegean sea both Tyrrhenians (= Lydians and Maeonians?) and Pelasgians. These problems merit to be put under additional discussion.³⁴ The final detail in connection with this problem I will mention, is the presence near the Struma (ancient Strymon) in its upper course of the figure scene on a plate which represent a hero and a boat – in a scene very similar to similar representations in Mycenaean art.³⁵ The appurtenance of this monument to the material evidence of the Thraco-Pelasgian participation in Aegean talassocracies is quite possible.

II. The case of the title of palmus.

A similar situation represents to us the next title, which in my opinion survived from the Bronze Age epoch, and which had been a part of the titulature of the Hittito-Luwian peoples of Western Asia Minor. The word in question is the lexeme palmus, presented by the scholars as the Lydian word for king, naturally, following almost literally the data of the written sources, including the data of lexicographers.³⁶ As the Russian linguist Shevoroshkin has shown, most probably the word had the sense 'who leads; a leader'.³⁷ However, it is important that in a previous publication I pay attention, that palmus had been a title in the potestary political system of ancient Troy, too.³⁸ I mean, the short information in

³⁴ See the analysis in Bulgarian historical literature, with a view to the Thracian presence between 'talassocrats': C. Lazova, 'The Thracian thalassocracy and the literary tradition during the Late Antiquity', in *Thracia* 8, Serdicae 1988, 17–22

³⁵ See in details: G. Tončeva, 'Sculptures monumentaux de l'Âge de bronze récent et de l'Âge de fer ancien en Bulgarie', in *Thracia* 6, Serdicae 1984, 72–92; A. Göttlicher, 'Strukturen einer antiken maritimen Sakralkultur', in H. Angelova, *Thracia Pontica* 6.2. *In honorem Mihaili Lazarov*, Sofia 2003, 99–104.

³⁶ See, f. ex.: Ém. Boisacq, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque, étudiée dans ses rapports avec les autres langues indo-européennes*, Heidelberg – Paris 1916, 744; A. Carnoy, *Dictionnaire étymologique du proto-indo-européen*, Louvain 1955, 53; В.В. Шеворошкин, *Лидийский язык*, Москва 1967, 66. The most important mentions in the sources: Strab. *Geogr.* XII 4,5; Eustathii *Thess. Commentarii ad Homeri Iliadem*, vol. 1, p. 574, line 22 sqq.; Hipponax, *Fragmenta* (TLG), frg. 3; frg. 3a, lines 1-2; frg. 4, lines 1-2; frg. 4a, line 1; 42; 72; Aesch. *Frg.* 437; Lycophron, *Alexandra* (TLG), 691-697; Scholia ad Lyc. Alex. (TLG), 690, line 46–693, line 3: Hesychius *Lex.* (TLG), 253, line 1–257, line 3. See also: *De Aeschyli copia verborum capita selecta*, Scripsit Wolfgangus Aly, Berolini 1906, p. 17–18, and others.

³⁷ Two other attempts for etymology: F.C. Woudhuizen, 'Lydian: separated from Luwian by three signs', *Talanta* 16 (1984–85), 101–102; O. Haas, 'Zum lydischen Sprache', *Die Sprache. Zeitschrift für Sprachwissenschaft* 8 (1962), 179.

³⁸ Ст. Йорданов, 'Към проучването на владетелската институция в Западна Мала Азия и Егейска Тракия през омировата епоха', *Епохи* 12 (2004), 111–126.

Homer's epics about a Trojan hero, bearing this title as a personal name (Hom. *Il.* XIII, 788 sqq.). In the commentary texts of Homer's epics, this name, Palmus, was categorized as an echo of the identical Lydian word for king.³⁹ But whether this king is a (real) king, having in mind a real monocratic institution, if in Homer's text this hero, although a noble man, was fighting under the leadership of the famous Trojan prince Hector? Besides, in Lydia itself, the title was in competition with three other supreme titles which were possibly designations of the Lydian ruler. These three titles are **λαῖλας**, explained by Hesychius as a tyrant among the Lydians,⁴⁰ the title of ***koalddein**, and the title of **hantawatti-**. The title of **hantawatti-** is well registered in the records as a ruler's title among the Hittite-Luwian peoples of Western Asia Minor;⁴¹ a title, which was presented, according to the supposition of I. Yakubovitch, in the personal name of Candaules of the Lydian ruler from Herodotean Lydian logos.⁴² But the Thraco-Phrygian etymol-

³⁹ R. Janko, *The Iliad: A Commentary*, vol. IV, books 13–16, Cambridge 1992, 143. The word **qualmli-** occurred in the Lydian texts, see R. Gusmani, *Lydisches Wörterbuch. Mit grammatischer Skizze und Inschriftensammlung*, Heidelberg 1964, 179, 276.

⁴⁰ **Λαῖλας** is a word, which has been plausibly analyzed as a cognate word of Hittite **lahhiyala-** 'warrior': Gusmani, *Lydisches Wörterbuch*, 275, with ref.; more about the words, cognate to the Lydian lexeme, and their etymology: S. Nikoloudis, 'The ra-wa-ke-ta, Ministerial Authority and Mycenaean Cultural Identity', M.A. Dissertation Presented to the Faculty of the Graduate School of The University of Texas at Austin in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy. The University of Texas at Austin, December 2006 < <http://repositories.lib.utexas.edu/bibstream/handle/2152/hikoloudis67970.pdf?sequence=2> >, p. 207 sqq. A formal objection against the cognation of the Lydian and the Hittite word was formulated by Yakubovich: 'Lyd. **λαῖλας** is unlikely to represent an Anatolia cognate of Hitt. **lahhiyala-**, since the regular possessive suffix in Lycian is **-l(i)-**, not ****la-**.' (I.S. Yakubovich, *Sociolinguistics of the Luwian Language*, vol. I [The University of Chicago. Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations and Department of Linguistics. A Dissertation submitted to the Faculty of the Division of the Humanities in Candidacy for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy], Chicago 2008, 119–120, n. 38).

⁴¹ The lexeme ***hantawa-**, translated as 'king', was explained as a derivation from the verb ***medh-** 'to lead' (according to the supposition of В.В. Иванов, 'Балто-южноанатолийские изоглоссы', in *Балто-славянские исследования. XV. Сборник научных трудов*, Москва 2002, 238 sqq.), having very suggestive Anatolian parallels: Cuneiform Luwian **handawates**, acc. **handawaten** 'supreme authority, king' (H. Craig Melchert, *Cuneiform Luwian lexicon* [Lexica Anatolica 2], Chapel Hill 1993, 52), Hieroglyphic Luwian **REX-ti-** (J.D. Hawkins, *Corpus of hieroglyphic Luwian inscriptions*, I. *Inscriptions of the Iron Age*, Berlin – New York 2000, 62), Lycian **χῑtawat(i)-** 'ruler, king', **χῑtawata-** 'rule, kingship' (H. Craig Melchert, *A Dictionary of the Lycian Language*, Ann Arbor – New York 2004, 84), analyzable as ***'front-leader'** (I use here the references of V. Blažek, review of the book of B. Vyčpěl, *Studie k šlechtickým titulům v germánských, slovanských a baltských jazycích* [A study on the aristocratic titles in the Germanic, Slavic and Baltic languages], Brno 2004, *Baltistica* 41 [2006], 514).

⁴² '... according to Herodotus [I 7], Greeks referred to the Lydian king Candaules as Μυρσίλος, ... [thus] ... one of the ways to interpret this statements is to assume that this was a throne name of the ruler whose title was ***hantawa-** 'king'. (Yakubovich, *Sociolinguistics of the Luwian Language*, 119–120).

ogy of the name of Candaules confirms the information of Hipponax about the meaning ‘dog throttler’ (Hipponax, frg. 3 a, West), so, maybe it is more reasonable to accept the opinion of Massimo Forlanini, that we see in this case ‘une étymologie anatolienne, d’un *hantawatti-, (que) nous donnerait un titre, déformé par la suite par une étymologie phrygienne’.⁴³ Of course, the ‘Hipponactean’ etymology of the name of Candaules is rather Thracian, than Phrygian. Very interesting is the title of ***koalddein**, attested by an information of the lexicographer Hesychius (κοαλδδεῖν·Λυδοὶ τὸν βασιλέα). This title represents a derivation from the Anatolian root ***hwald** (= Indo-European ***waldh**), cognate to the (Balto)-Slavic ***voldy** and to the Phrygian (ξ) βαλλήν.⁴⁴

The title of **palmus** has also an ‘Etruscan link’, since it was mentioned as a personal name in Vergilius’ Aeneid (*poplite Palmum / succiso volvi segnem sinis*, X 699–700); the hero – holder of this name, was among the first victims of the Etruscan king Mezentius, taking the side of Latines in battles.⁴⁵ In this case, however, it is possible for the ‘Etruscan link’ to be false and the title to be introduced in the Vergilian narration on the basis of his good knowledge of Homer’s epics. This title is of interest for us because of two other characteristics.

In the first place, this is the appearance of the title in the North Aegean and more exactly in the Aegean coast of Thrace. A text from a fragment by the poet Hipponax narrates about the mytho-epic hero Rhesus, who is categorized as the palmus of Aenos (Ainos) (Hipponax, frg. 41, Diehl).⁴⁶ Is in this way the information of Vergilius about the settling of the Trojans of Aeneas in Thrace when they found the town of Aenos, whose mythical ruler was categorized using a Luwian title confirmed? This categorization makes him the king ‘King’ by name – if we translate the title and the name of the ruler of Aenos (Ainos), because, as is well known, the lexeme Rhesus was interpreted as the Thracian word for king or ruler.⁴⁷ A coincidence – yes, but I would say, in a significant place.

A very significant confirmation that the appearance of palmus in Aenos was not accidental, is the name of the Thracian leader Πείρωξ Ἰμβρασιδης about whom Homer’s epics narrate. According to the observations of V. Tsymbursky, this name: firstly, it is linked to the mythology of Trojan Lycia, because

⁴³ M. Forlanini, ‘Remarques sur la dynastie hittite: avant et après Boğazköy’, in BCILL 100: *Hethitica* 14 (1999), 23, n. 16.

⁴⁴ See more detailed in E. Kaczyńska, ‘Phrygian Glosses in Pseudo-Plutarch’s Work De Fluviiis’, *Lingua Poznaniensis* 53 (2011), 59 sqq.

⁴⁵ See in general: N. Adkin, ‘The Etymology of segnis in Vergil’, *AC* 76 (2007), 173.

⁴⁶ See on the localization of Ainos of Hipponax rather near the mouth of Strymon, then the mouth of Hebros: В.Л. Цымбурский, ‘Гомеровский эпос и легендарная традиция Анатолии’, in *Азия – диалог цивилизаций*, Санкт-Петербург 1996, 324–325, n. 10.

⁴⁷ See, f. ex., A. Cuny, ‘Le nom de Rhésos chez Homère’, *REA* 11 (1909), 211–215.

of its role as the eponym of Trojan Lycia's settlement of **Πειροσσός**; secondly, it is etymologically linked to Hittite-Luwian theonym of **ḫPirwa**. All this permits, as Thymbursky states, to formulate a twofold interpretation – in the regional Aegean-Thracian context, on the one hand, and an explanation, having in view the Hittite-Luwian mythology of the Bronze Age, on the other hand. However, the analysis of Thymbursky goes to the deepest levels of the historical phenomenon lying behind the Homer's names – he linked these names with the Hermes Imbrasos, worshipped in Imbros, and with the information of Herodotus V 7, that the Thracian kings worshipped in a separate ruler cult Hermes and represented themselves as descendants of Hermes.⁴⁸

In the second place, in its use during the Iron Age, among the authors such as Hipponax and Aeschylus, the word *palmus* denominates the gods – exactly, god Hermes⁴⁹ and the Master of the Gods – literally **θεῶν πάλμυς** – Zeus. Evidently, during the Iron Age this word was used just like the word *wa-na-ka* in the Cretan-Mycenaean epoch, whose development in the Classical epoch designated the gods in the Greek language.

What do we see? Maybe – a lexeme for designation of a King-Priest, as has been supposed for the lexeme *wa-na-ka*? Completely possible.⁵⁰ How, exactly, and in what way in this case the data and the Ideas of the political anthropology can help us? Due to the studies on this scientific subject was observed the existence among many peoples, regardless of their ethno-linguistic affiliation, and regardless of which corner of the earth they live in – that means, of course, the question is about a typological phenomenon, – a specificity, which is spread more widely. It was widespread among the Indo-European peoples too, without representing a typical Indo-European feature, as Dumézil has asserted about the so-called tripartite Ideology.

The word is about the presence, almost universal, in the potestary political systems of the Peoples during the epochs of the Politogenesis as well as of the so-called Early State, of the person – legitimated or not – of a respectable sacral leader sharing presumably representative political functions, and together with him – the presence of one or more military leaders, usually the leaders of the

⁴⁸ Цымбурский, 'Фрако-хетто-лувийские формульные соответствия', pass.

⁴⁹ It was significant the translation of the idiom **Κυλλήνης πάλμυς** by Skinner as 'sultan of Cyl-lene', using a title with the characteristic of a monocratic ruler. See J.E. Skinner, *The Invention of Greek Ethnography. From Homer to Herodotus*, Oxford – New York 2012, 92.

⁵⁰ See, f. ex., Woudhuizen, 'Lydian: separated from Luwian', 101– 102, who depicts this term as 'owing to the religious character of the Lydian kingship, most plausibly derived from Hittite **kalmuš** "lituus", another important Luwian symbol of divine power', supposing together with this that the adjective **palmata** for the official **toga** of the Etruscan *Lucumones*, is cognate to **palmus**.

so-called men's societies of the age-set system. After the emergence of the State, very often between these two supreme political institutions arises a competition, including a hard struggle, with the final goal being who of these two proto-kings should be the real monocratic institution of the ruler, of the King. And more often this competition was unsuccessful for the sacral Chief-Priest / King-Priest.⁵¹

Is it possible for the Lydians palmus to be the designation for this sacral King-Priest, while the designation for the real monocratic ruler to be another designation – most probably, the term *hantawatti*-? Such a question may be asked about the system of power relations among the Kikones, too, as well as about the Tyrrhenians from Lemnos. At least – because of the political situation of the 'safe living' in Ismaros of the deifying Maron, while against Troy fight the Kikonian leaders, designated in Homer by the term archon and most probably representing military leaders of the men's societies. It is highly likely that among the Kikones, the Tyrrhenians and the Pelasgians can be observed the situation, which Dean Miller has outlined on the base of the Celtic and other examples – a dual kingship consisting of a sacral ruler and a military leader or leaders.⁵² The priestly functions of the Etruscan marones may be a significative fact which outlines the position of Homer's hero Maron. *Essenes* at Ephesos were members of the priests' Collegium⁵³ – and together with this, this religious title was glossed as 'king', probably designating 'kings' in a priests' collectives – almost like *marones* among the Etruscans. This categorization is possible for the 'name'-title of Maron, too, and in this respect A. Janko has rightfully presented the title of **maron* as King-Priest;⁵⁴ but – king not in the sociopolitical entity as a whole, in one of its subordinated collectives only.

⁵¹ On the situation, when 'a ruler with high status and the limited power', sharing his power with 'a powerfull minister, or a regent, or a council' – in fact, sharing power with a mighty co-ruler – and, as this situation is sometimes presented, for the *coup d'état* of 'major-domos', see, f. ex.: Claessen, 'Kingship in the Early State', 115–116. Briefly on the possibility for the existence of similar model of power relations in ancient Greece: J.P. Crielaard, 'The "Wanax To Basileus Model" reconsidered: Authority and ideology after the collapse of the Mycenaean palaces', in A. Mazarakis-Ainian (ed.), *The 'Dark Ages' Revisited: An International Symposium in Memory of William D. E. Coulson. University of Thessaly, 14–17 June 2007*, Volos 2011, 104.

⁵² See D. Miller, 'Royalty and Mythology: Connections and Similarities between Ireland's Kings and Monarchy in the Classical World and elsewhere', *Ulster Journal of Archaeology* 67 (2008), 107–111.

⁵³ See briefly on the linguistic aspect of this 'ruler's title' further down, in the discussion of G. Rubio of the title *seren*. More on this title: C. Picard, *Ephèse et Claros*, Paris 1922, 190–197; C. Talamo, 'Sull' Artemision di Efeso', *PP* 39 (1984), 207–213; J.N. Bremmer, 'Priestly personnel of the Ephesian Artemision: Anatolian, Persian, Greek and Roman aspects', in B. Dignas, K. Tampedach (eds), *Practitioners of the Divine. Greek Priests and Religious Officials from Homer to Heliodorus*, Cambridge, MA, and London 2008, 43–50; and others.

⁵⁴ See *supra*, n. 9.

Which the parameters of the potestary political systems in the North Aegean were, is a question, needing further investigations, but – a question, dooming to the impossibility of complete answer because of insufficiency of the records' data. In any case, neither the data about the title of *maron, nor the data about the title of palmus, support the quest for some kind of monocratic institution in this area, and furthermore, the quest for a King-Priest in the sense, given to this notion in contemporary thracological research.

A theoretical possibility for a positive answer to all these questions exists, but for now – unless new written data or new Ideas for interpretation of the data are introduced, this possibility remains out of a certain definite answer.

III. The case of the titles of tyrannos and wa-na-ka.

The analysis of two other titles – well known and many times interpreted – the titles of tyrannos and wa-na-ka, shows a somewhat different situation.

In the case of the potestary political systems of some Creto-Mycenaean States, the presence of the pair consisting of a sacral ruler – **wa-na-ka** – and of a supreme military leader – **rawaketa**, seems to be clearly observed. Of course, despite the relatively abundant data, there is no unity in interpretations. The data from Phrygia introduce some hesitation in such an interpretation. In the inscription of Midas the Phrygian ruler was presented simultaneously as vanakt and lawageta.⁵⁵ The next specificity can be seen in the fact that during the Classical period of the Greek history, none of these two titles takes over the functions of designation in essence the Idea for a monocratic ruler, for a king, concentrating the supreme efficient prerogatives in his hands on an almost full scale.

The centre of this Idea became a title, also actively interpreted, especially as regards to its origin, which is still debatable. This title, **tyrannos**, was a title probably already existing during the Bronze Age. Through a certain Early Iron Age mediator, he penetrated into potestary political systems of archaic and classical Greece. The title existed in three ethnopolitical and chronological variants, if we define them as one and the same title, etymologically related, because of their derivation from one and same root. The word is about the titles as follows: the Greek title of **tyrannos**; unregistered unknown **Lydian variant of the title**, supposed as the prototype of the Greek title; the title **tarwanis** (nom., sg.) designated the local rulers or some high dignitary in the so-called Neo-Hittite kingdoms; the title

⁵⁵ See recently on the inscription of Midas: F. Ruppenstein, 'Did the terms 'wanax' and 'lawagetas' already exist before the emergence of the Mycenaean palatial polities?', *Göttinger Forum für Altertumswissenschaft* 18 (2015), 91–107.

of **seren** among the Philistines. A recently realized attempt for an etymological explanation of the word **tarwanis** represents this Luwian word as a derivation from the verb **tarh(u)-** ‘to be mighty’.⁵⁶ Despite some opinions rejecting the cognation between the titles of **seren** and **tarwanis**, yet it is in my opinion, one and same title, which seems to follow the migratory horonym Philistia and emerges both in the two points of the Levantine coast, where two Philistia were registered. However, the title was usually presented as missing in the North Aegean Philistia. But, is it really missing there, if, for example, its presence in Lydia was hypothetical only? A list of the attempts for etymology of the title tyrannos gives us an Idea of the possibility of the existence of the title among the ethno-political entities in the North Aegean.

As Frederico Giusfredi⁵⁷ says, the word tarwanis was, practically, not presented by the cognates in the other Hittito-Luwian languages; the etymological parallels can be found in the Greek title of tyrannos and in the Philistine title of seren only.⁵⁸

The most frequent representation of the cognation between the Greek tyrannos and the Luwian tarwanis can be illustrated by the summary of this problem, made by M. Munn; he writes:

‘The hieroglyphic Luwian texts from Carchemish and elsewhere also reveal the origin of the word tyrant, Greek *tyrannos*, in the title *tarwanis*. Phonologically, *tarwan-* was pronounced **trun-* in Luwian. (*Troiva*, ‘Troy’, from Hittite *taruisa* › **truisa*, is a parallel.) Luwian **trun-* could have yielded the pronunciation **turan-*, and hence *tyrannos* in Greek. Rulers in northern Syria, Cilicia, and Cappadocia in the early Iron Age commonly identified themselves in their monumental inscriptions by the title *tarwanis* (...) The rulers who claim this title often also describe their leadership as *tarwanati* (ablative), usually translated “by (or: with) justice.” The administration of justice was a distinctive attribute of Midas’ kingship, as Herodotus and other sources attest, and it was generally a fundamental positive attribute of tyranny. It is certainly significant that this form or attribute of rulership, *tarwanati*, appears prominently alongside the favor of Kubaba in monuments justifying the authority of Anatolian rulers.”⁵⁹

⁵⁶ F. Giusfredi, ‘The problem of the Luwian title tarwanis’, *Altorientalische Forschungen* 36 (2009), 140–145, esp. 143.

⁵⁷ Giusfredi, ‘The problem of the Luwian title tarwanis’, 141.

⁵⁸ An other etymology, which seems to me inadmissible: **taru-wani* ‘habitant de l’arbre’, signe même de la solidité du pouvoir’ (R. Lebrun, ‘Propos relatifs à l’arbre dans l’Anatolie antique’, in M. Mazoyer et al., *L’Arbre: symbole et réalité* [Journées Universitaires de Hérissou], Paris 2003, 70).

⁵⁹ M. Munn, *The Mother of the Gods, Athens, and the Tyranny of Asia. A Study of Sovereignty in Ancient Religion*, Berkeley – Los Angeles – London 2006, 116–117.

Using the bibliographical information on the attempts for etymology of the word **tyrannos**, made by Jules Labarbe, one can see a long history,⁶⁰ which was ended by him with an epitaph for the possibility to find out an exact etymological decision.⁶¹ Regardless of such a kind of a skepticism, the attempts are continuing to this day, but enlarging the analytical basis with the alternative opinion, that the lexeme was semitic, not Indo-European, thus giving grounds for two groups of explanations, 'pro' (Indo-European origin) and 'contra' (Indo-European origin).⁶²

⁶⁰ J. Labarbe, 'L'apparition de la notion de tyrannie dans la Grèce archaïque', *AC* 40 (1971), 471–478. As the etymological explanations of the word *tyrannos* were presented by Jules Labarbe, one can begin with the attempt by the German linguist Ad. Bezzenger to find out a cognation between *tyrannos*, on the one hand, and Lithuanian and Latvian words for notions 'to hold', 'to keep'. It followed the attempt by W. Prellwitz for confrontation with words 'de vieil indien qui expriment, les uns une idée de vivacité et de diligence, les autres une idée de force et de domination' (1902). W. Brandenstein had given as an example the name of the mytho-epic ruler Tur-nus attested by Vergilius' *Aeneid*, to which Th. Lenschau added the name of his sister Iuturna, deified by the Romans (1943). According to É. Boisacq the word *τύραννος* would be a Phrygian word (1916), and A. Van Windekens had looked in this word a Phrygian root meaning « gonfler », which elucidated as cognate to the root of the same Sanscrit words, used by W. Prellwitz (1948) for its etymology. On the base of the hieroglyphic Hittite data A. Heubeck in the work cited below (n. 62) explained it as an issue from a term having the primary sense 'judge' (1961). M. Hammarström (1921) also orientates his quest into an Etruscan parallel, expressing the opinion – 'souvent reprise' (f. ex., by Edg. H. Sturtevant, 1923–1924, J.B. Hofmann, 1950, A. Severyns, 1968) – that there was 'un lien avec Turan, le nom étrusque de Vénus-Aphrodite; ce nom aurait désigné la « Dame », la « Maîtresse », et se serait masculinisé, dans le grec *τύραννος*, pour être appliqué à un « seigneur »'. A Pelasgian origin tried to find Vl. Georgiev and A. Van Windekens; Van Windekens presented the lexeme as a derivation from a Pelasgian root meaning « apte à agir », « puissant » (see references at J. Labarbe, 'L'apparition de la notion de tyrannie', 478–479; in his representation of the etymological search of Bezzenger and Prellwitz Jules Labarbe follows the information in: Ém. Boisacq, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque*, 992, s. v. *τύραννος*). Also for M. Budimir *seren* / *sĕrān* represents a Pelasgian (Pelastian) word, 'another alloglottic adaptation of the original form of Greek *τύραννος* "ruler"' (M. Budimir, cited after: R. Katinić, *Ancient Languages of the Balkans. Part One*, The Hague and Paris 1976, 69–70 and n. 88 at p. 70 – the paragraph 2. 'Pre-Greek', 2. 3. 'The Pre-Greek Linguistic Stratum', 2. 3. 5. 'Pelastian'). See for the juxtaposition of these lexemes, following the assertion of M. Budimir: Немировский, *Этрусски. От мифа к истории*, 31.

⁶¹ Labarbe, 'L'apparition de la notion de tyrannie', 478–479. R. Beekes also writes: 'A Pre-Greek word. None of the alternative hypotheses is plausible.' (R. Beekes, *Etymological Dictionary of Greek. With the assistance of Lucien van Beek*, vol II [Leiden Indo-European Etymological Dictionary Series. Edited by Alexander Lubotsky. Volume 10/2], Leiden – Boston 2010, 1520).

⁶² A brief bibliographical information, exemplifying two groups of opinions: the opinions 'pro': A. Heubeck, *Praegreca. Sprachliche. Untersuchungen zum Vorgriechisch-indogermanischen Substrat*, Erlangen 1961, 68–70; F. Pintore, 'Seren, tarwanis, tyrannos', in F. *Studi orientalistici in ricordo di Franco Pintore*, a cura di O. Carruba et al., Pavia 1983, 285–322; W. Helck, 'Ein sprachliches Indiz für die Herkunft der Philister', *Biblische Notizen* 21 (1983), 31; J. Strange, 'The Philistine City-States', in M.H. Hansen (ed.), *A Comparative Study of Thirty City-State Cultures*, Copenhagen 2000, 135–136, and others; the opinions 'contra': G.A. Lehmann, 'Die "Seevölker"', in H. Müller-Karpe (ed.), *Herrschaften an der Levantküste* (Jahresbericht des Instituts für Vorgeschichte der Univ. Frankfurt a/M 1976), München 1977, 104, n. 33; E. Edel, 'Bemerkungen

In that list of the etymologies of the word **tyrannos**, I would like to take into consideration two problems.

The first one, this is the different linguistic appearance of the title among the Luwians in comparison with its appearance among the supposed prototype for the Greek title of archaic and Classical times, as well as with its appearance among the Philistines. A difference in the suffixal formation in these three cases needs a further analysis, and some phonetic differences need explication, too. These differences are not explained by the solution, advanced by Yakubovich in the article, dealing with these problems, namely – in a research labyrinth so typical of the hard research problems.⁶³ The explanation given by John Strange (< Hieroglyphic Hittite **'sarauanas'** or **'TRW-na-s'**)⁶⁴ is also a solution to the problem, showing the presence in a supposedly Hieroglyphic Hittite prototype of the Philistine word **seren** the suffix **-wanna**, which in my view is not presented there.

Two authors pay attention to the fact that **seren** was formed through a suffix, which differs by its phonetic aspect from the suffix in the word **tarwanis**. According to G. Garbini both in the Bible and in a few number of Ugaritic texts, one may observe the Anatolian **sar-**, **ser-** 'superior' and the suffix **-en**.⁶⁵ Gonzalo Rubio sees also the same suffix in **seren**, exemplifying its presence 'in designations of political authorities in Anatolian languages' by the Phrygian **ballēn** and the Lydian words **essēn** 'king' and **palēn** 'chief'.⁶⁶ But such a suffix can be found in Western Asia Minor only in the functionality to form Nomina agentis. There are

zu Helks Philisterartikel in BN 21', *Biblische Notizen* 22 (1983), 7–8; I. Yakubovich, 'Labyrinth for Tyrants', *Studia Linguarum* 3 (2002), 112–113; Z. Simon, 'Die angenommenen hethitisch-biblischen kulturellen Parallelen: Das Problem der Vermittlung', *Biblische Notizen* 156 (2013), pass., and others. Two groups of opinions were just mentioned, without any discussion, by Ł. Niesiołowski-Spanò, 'Early Alphabetic Scripts and the Origin of Greek letters', in P. Berdowski, B. Blahaczek (eds), *Haec mihi in animis vestries templa. Studia Classica in Memory of Professor Lesław Morawiecki*, Rzeszów 2007, pass.; I. Singer, 'Origin of the Sea Peoples', in M. Heltzer, E. Lipiński (eds), *Society and Economy in the Eastern Mediterranean (1500 – 1000 B. C.). Proceedings of the International Symposium held at the University of Haifa from the 28th of April to the 2nd of May 1985* (Leuven 1988, 243; I. Malkin, 'Philistines and Phokaians: comparative hinterlands and Middle Grounds', in R. Rour (ed.), *Contacts and acculturations en Méditerranée occidentale – Hommage à Michel Bats. Actes du colloque d'Hyères, 15–18 septembre 2011* (Bibliothèque d'Archéologie méditerranéenne et africaine, 15; Études massaliètes, 12), Paris -Aix-en-Provence 2015, 138, and others.

⁶³ See Yakubovich, 'Labyrinth for Tyrants', 93–116.

⁶⁴ Strange, 'The Philistine City-States', 130.

⁶⁵ F. ex., by G. Garbini, 'On the Origin of the Hebrew-Philistine Word **seren**', in A.S. Kaye (ed.), *Semitic Studies. In Honor of Wolf Leslau. On the Occasion of his Eighty-fifth Birthday November 14th 1991*, vol. I, Wiesbaden 1991, 515–519. Cited via W.G.E. Watson, 'Ugaritic Onomastics (4)', *Aula Orientalis* 13 (1995), 226.

⁶⁶ See G. Rubio, 'Philistine religion', in L. Jones (ed.), *Encyclopedia of religion*, 2nd ed., Detroit 2004, < <http://www.academicroom.com/topics/philistin.html> >, p. 7102.

in the Hittito-Luwian languages the suffixes, similar to its phonetic aspect, but exercising other functionalities. In return, in Thraco-Pelasgian tribal languages, there are presented not a few examples of a practically identical suffix, with the functionality in question – of the Nomina agentis forming suffix. Such a suffix was presented in the word *seren* and together with this is clearly attested in the Etruscan theonym *Turan*.⁶⁷ Was in these cases the suffix a Luwian morpheme, or he attested another ethno-linguistic of these two names, as well as of the term *seren*?

This suffix, **-wanna**, occupies a very specific place in the Hittito-Luwian languages. Usually its well attested role as a marker of origin or of ethnicity was analysed. But this suffix is attested to fulfil some different function, which can to be presented with a relatively many examples. A suffixal formation via this suffix can be seen, for example, in the word *tadawanni* ‘father-like’ – a derivation from the word **tad(i)** ‘father’. Comparable examples are the words like *arawann(i)* ‘free man’ (noun), *haz(iy)ann(i)* ‘major’ (noun) and others.⁶⁸ And what is important, one can find in Hittito-Luwian languages an unique case of a term formed

⁶⁷ There are many examples among the Thracian Sprachreste in which the suffix **ān** was presented, including lexemes, designating power relations, as follows: the theonyms **Τῑτᾱν** and **τῑτᾱνες** – pre-Greek names, derivations from the root *dei-, whose suffixal ending was compared by Chantraine with the same suffixal ending in the ethnonyms Athamanes, Akarnanes and others; the glosses **τίται** ‘mighties’, **τίταξ** ‘ruler, king’, attested by Hesichius; the lexeme **τῑτῑνη** ‘Queen’ (see on this group of lexemes, with litt.: Ст. Йорданов, ‘Поглед върху социално-нормативната култура на трако-пеласгийската етнокултурна общност’, *Епохи*. Година II, 1994, книжка 4, 54–69); the term **πρωταννῖς** ‘public office’ – a lexeme having cognate words in many other Indo-European languages, such as the theonym Aphrodite, Bithynian ruler’s name **Πρωσίας**, the name of the capital of Bythnia, **Προῦσα**, and others (see more: Ст. Йорданов, ‘Богинята на любовта в мегарона на властта: Наблюдения върху потестарно-политическата система на палеобалканските народи’, in *България, българите и Европа – мит, история, съвремие*. Т. II. Научна конференция, 31 октомври 2007, Велико Търново 2008, 93–104); the paleobalkan lexeme **κάρινα**, Laconian Greek word **κάρανος** ‘head, point’, which is comparable to the ancient Macedonian ruler’s name **Κάρανος**, as well as to the substract – in Greek and in Etruscan language) lexeme **Κορωνή** (for the nature of a title of the ruler’s name **Κάρανος** from the ancient Macedonian dynastic myths see, f. ex.: E. Grzybek, ‘Zu Philipp II und Alexander dem Grossen’, *Ancient Macedonia IV. Papers read at the Fourth International Symposium Held in Thessaloniki, September 24–25, 1983*, Thessaloniki 1986, 225–226, incl. n. 9). Some lexemes can be added, which were not a part of socio-political terminology, but were formed with the same suffix, which documents relatively high vitality of the suffix among the Thraco-Pelasgian group of languages. These lexemes are, as follows: *mēdy-an- ‘rider’, reconstructed by Vl. Georgiev as a theonym (Вл. Георгиев, *Траките и техният език*, София 1977, 61, 112); **γέρανος**, with very close Baltic etymological parallels – the Lythuanian *gervė* and Old Prussian *gerwe*, both having the same meaning as the Greek substrate word – ‘crane’ (see Ém. Boisacq, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque*, s. v. **γέρανος**).

⁶⁸ See Luwian Corpus, Hieroglyphic Vocabulary < <http://web-corpora.net/LuwianCorpus/search/>, accessible August 2016 >, pass. See for the word *tadawanni* or *tatawanni* also: Melchert, *Cuneiform Luwian lexicon*, 223.

through this suffix designating power relations' phenomenon, namely, the case of the pair of the Hittite word **kuri(e)waneš** – a designation for the independent rulers of the kingdoms, bordering the Hittite Empire, and of the word **kulawaneš** – a designation for the vassal rulers, the latter – explained as a derivation of the Hittito-Luwian **kula** 'army, crowd'.⁶⁹ Harry Hoffner Junior also notes that the **kulawan(n)i-**, usually translated (and interpreted) as 'military', recently was re-interpreted as an (still obscure) term, denoting a kind of vassal (İR).⁷⁰

V. Tsymburskiy has elucidated the Luwian **-wanna** as corresponding to the Lycian suffix **-añña/-eññi-** and to the Lycian B suffix **-(e)wññi-**, and together with this – to the Thracian suffix **-ην**. In all cases, the suffix was illustrated by the examples showing its functionality to form toponyms and ethnonyms. V. Tsymburskiy has not explained this suffixal correspondence; he only stated, that this correspondence reflected also a Thraco-Slavic innovation – an idea of Trubachev, according to him, an idea, by L. Gindin passed over without any reason.⁷¹ As can be seen on the base of the examples, used by Gonzalo Rubio, as well as on the base of the examples of the presence of the suffix in the Thracian area in its capacity to form the potestarian terms, the suffix possessed also the functionality to form nouns (as a result of processes of substantivation?). Some individual examples of close functionality of the Luwian suffix **-wan(ni)**, were illustrated above, therefore the possibility exists that the functionality of this suffix can be confirmed exactly in the lexeme **tarwanis**. As can be seen, the terms like **kuri(e)waneš** and **kulawaneš** were developed namely through this suffix. E. Forrer thinks that the word **kuri(e)waneš** had been borrowed from the Greek **κοίρανος**. On the contrary, L. Gindin and V. Tsymburskiy estimated, that this Hittite word with the typical suffix **-wanna** can not originate from non-Greek **κοίρανος** and that they are two separate words – derivations of different roots. In this case we can assume that the word, borrowed from a Pelasgian prototype, was transformed in Hittito-Luwian language through the cognate suffix **-wanna**. It can be assumed also, that similar was the case of the Luwian word **tarwanis**, which, as was already stated, had no Hittito-Luwian cognates and was formed just by the same mechanism of the borrowing process.

The situation thus outlined, poses many problems which need additional elucidations, including the problem of further clarifying the questions: where the meeting of the two linguistic massives – the Thracian and the Luwian – leads to an 'absorption' of the foreign toponymy via the transformation of the Luwian

⁶⁹ See Л.А. Гиндин, В.Л. Цымбурский, *Гомер и история Восточного Средиземноморья*, Москва 1996, 120–121.

⁷⁰ See H.A. Hoffner, 'Thoughts on a New Volume of a Hittite Dictionary', *JAOS* 120 (2000), 74.

⁷¹ Цымбурский, 'Фрако-хетто-лувийские формульные соответствия', *pass.*

suffix by the practically identical Thracian suffix and where we observe actually the Thracian formations using this suffix. As regards to the terms analysed which belong to the potestarian sphere, I think that the availability of two groups of terms has to be accepted – the first one, the Thraco-Pelasgian term, reflected in the name of Turan and in the title of seren, and the second one, the Luwian lexeme tarwanis. The Old Greek lexeme tyrannos can be borrowed from the Thraco-Pelasgian lexeme or from some among the Hittito-Luwian languages of Western Asia Minor – Lycian, Lydian, Carian – but it can not be borrowed from the Luwian language.

There were the examples which show that the Philistine, and the semitic terms for a leader were delimited. As I. Shai points, during the Iron I period Philistine rulers were called seranim, but the kings during the 8th – 7th centuries B. C. – f. ex., Ikausu, the Ekron's ruler, was called with the semitic term šar, thus attesting to the abandonment of the Philistine title and the adoption of the semitic one.⁷² What is important in my view, is the clear difference between the two titles.

The second problem, the problem of the root etymology of this term, I am inclined rather to accept the explanations of Bezzenger, Hammerstrom and others, who look for an etymology of the title, as nowadays can be categorized, Thraco-Pelasgian, deriving it from an etymon with some phonetic and semantic cognates in the Sanskrit and Baltic languages. This explanation clarifies the term tyrannos as 'a keeper of power; who holds the power'. The problem needs additional analysis.

To this supposition can be also added the arguments of culture-historical nature.

As was reminded above, Hammerström searches for the word to the term closest to **tyrannos** in the name of Turan, and as it is known, in the Etruscan inscriptions the name of Aphrodite was written, probably in translation, as Turan.⁷³

⁷² I. Shai, 'The Political Organization of the Philistines', in A.M. Maeir, P. de Miroschedji (eds), *"I Will Speak the Riddles of Ancient Times"*. *Archaeological and Historical Studies in honor of Amihai Mazar on the Occasion of his Sixtieth Birthday*, vol. I, Winona Lake 2006, 357, n. 73. See also: Yasur-Landau, *The Philistines and Aegean migration*, 313.

⁷³ A monographic investigation on the goddess: D. Mendelsohn, 'The Etruscan Aphrodite'. A Thesis for The Special Individualized Program. Presented in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts at Concordia University, Montreal, Quebec, Canada. November 2001, viii + 112 p. It has to be noted that, as G.M.A. Hanfmann have marked: 'In Etruria, [however], the great goddess par excellence was Turan (G.M.A. Hanfmann, 'An Etruscan Goddess', *Fogg Art Museum Annual Report 1955-1956* (1955-1956), pass.]. However, it is worthy of note that it was Aphrodite namely who was the principal goddess in the Troy's pantheon, or at least she was quiet actively worshiped there [see, f.ex.: E.L. Brown, 'Linear A on Trojan Spindlewhorls, Luwian-Based WANAX at Cnossus', in G. Schmeling, J.D. Micalson (eds), *Qui miscuit utile dulci: Festschrift Essays for Paul Lachlan MacKendrick*, Wauconda, IL, 1998, 64, with references).

But why – in translation? Because both names actually mean ‘the Mistress’, ‘the Lady’, or ‘the Queen’, therefore the name of this goddess is a cognate of the term tyrannos⁷⁴. As for the name Aphrodite, such a meaning was defined a relatively long time ago. I also tried to propose additional arguments for this meaning, supposing that we can see the title of *prytannis* behind the goddess’ name. The Etruscan goddess Turan takes her name from a word belonging to the language of the Pelasgians, or of the Proto-Etruscans of North Aegean or respectively Western Asia Minor. An interesting confirmation can be found in the fact, that in some monuments, mostly in pictures on mirror surfaces, together with explanatory inscriptions, the goddess is accompanied by an attendant, who can be more exactly categorized by the Latin term *minister* and who is bearing the name Atunis or sometimes Turnu.

Atunis corresponds to the semitic notion for master, and the cult of Turan, as was estimated, was considerably influenced by the semitic cult of Aphrodite Urania. And as can be seen, when the Etruscans had translated into their native tongue the names probably taken from this semitic cult, they had used the lexemes, cognate namely to the supposed prototype of the Greek word tyrannos. Together with this, by their phonetic pattern and distinctly, by their suffixal endings, these lexemes gravitate to a small group of terms in the potestary political systems of the Palaeo-Balkan peoples, where can be found out the same suffix ending as in the theonym Turan.

All this information gives a basis to formulate a preliminary solution, which assumes the functioning in Pelasgo-Tyrrhenian area of a title, which had been the prototype for the three analyzed titles, and by which had been borrowed the Etruscan, the Greek and the Luwian variants. As for the likely connection of the Etruscan goddess to the Aegean, there is an uncertain mention of her name in an inscription on a helmet from Olympia, in whose analysis was again posed the question was the ethnonym Tyrrhenians a theophoric name.⁷⁵ A connection of Turan with the North Aegean can be found also in the fact that ‘in a group of ornatrices whose function is that of the Charites and the Horai, but who bear individual Etruscan names’, we see among these names the name *Ayviser*, according to

⁷⁴ Instead of the authors who supposed the cognation between Turan and tyrannos, mentioned above (n. 62), can be added also: G. Herbig, ‘Kleinasiatisch-etruskische Namengleichungen’, *Sitzungsberichte der Königlich Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-philologische und historische Klasse* 1914, 2. Abhandlung, 28; R. Bloch, *The Etruscans (Ancient Peoples and Places)*, New York 1958, 153; G.A. Wainwright, ‘The Teresh, the Etruscans and Asia Minor’, *AS* 9 (1959), pass.; A.J. Pfiffig, *Die Etruskische Sprache*, Graz 1969, pass.; M. Cristofani, *Introduzione allo studio dell’ Etrusco*, Firenze 1973, pass., and others.

⁷⁵ See A.W.J. Holleman, ‘Did the Emperor Claudius have Etruscan Blood in his Veins?’, *AC* 57 (1988), 299–300, n. 2, with references.

E. Benveniste – corresponding to the name **Ἀξίερος** of Samothrace.⁷⁶ The appearance of Turan on a mirror picture together with the child **Marísisminθians**,⁷⁷ also can be interpreted as evidence of this connection.

I suppose that in this case the continuity from the Bronze Age to the Iron Age was effectuated in a process, starting from the Pelasgians and influencing the Tyrrhenians and Luwians, and not the other way around.

If one tries to present in brief the semitic solution of the etymology of the term *seren*, one has to start with the assertion that *seren* is not cognate to *tarwanis* and respectively to *tyrannos* and that has to be analysed separately from them. This analysis of the term *seren* lies on the idea of a common semitic root *sVrw(-ay)-, sVran ‘leader, ruler’ with derivation in Ugaritic *srn*, the Philistine *sērānīm* and Arabian *sarw* ‘leader, chief’. P.N. Nikkel enumerates the Phoenician **שר**, the Ugaritic *šr*, the Akkadian *šarru(m)*, and the Egyptian *śr*.⁷⁸ V. Orel and O.V. Stolbova classified these words in a broader proto-Afrasian etymological word’s family of **sarar-/*saran-** ‘chief’, consisting of Old Jewish **sarānīm** ‘Philistine chiefs’ (pl.), Arabian **sarār** ‘aristocracy’, pl. **saraw-at-** ‘chiefs’, West Chadic language ***cāra[m]-**.⁷⁹

This explanation is far from being undebatable. This ‘semitic’ (or afasian) solution is possible, but can not present a good decision in regards to the suffixal ending of the Philistine word, having in mind that the Ugaritic one was estimated to be an Indo-European borrowing, too. This situation means that the two cases of word formation through the suffix -en- in semitic examples can not to be semitic.

The last problem I will outline in brief. According to MacLaurin’s presumption, the Bible’s text had registered in the Philistine town of Ascalon the appearance of a variant of the title **wanax**. McLaurin even admits a possible functioning of the collegia of the tyrannoi/seranim together with collegia of the anakim, also having a certain Aegean prototype.⁸⁰ This supposition seems well founded for the ‘republican’ Philistine cities, reasonably included by Hansen, the editor-in-chief of

⁷⁶ Cited from: Dumézil, *Archaic Roman Religion*, 683.

⁷⁷ Dumézil, *Archaic Roman Religion*, 677 – 678, with references.

⁷⁸ P.N. Nikkel, ‘Sounds of War: Historical, Chronological and Literary Implications of Military Vocabulary in Exodus 15, Judges 5 and I Samuel 17’. Thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for Doctor of Philosophy. University of Sheffield Department of Biblical Studies, September 2007, 163.

⁷⁹ See O.V. Столбова, *Сравнительно-историческая фонетика и словарь западночадских языков*. – В: *Африканское историческое языкознание*, Москва 1987, cited after В.Э. Орел, О.В. Столбова, ‘К реконструкции праафразийского вокализма’, *Вопросы языкознания* 5 (1988), 75. The same etymological words’ family had been depicted by A. Cuny, ‘Questions gréco-orientales. XIII. Gr. τύραννος, philist. serān-’, *REA* 24 (1922), 89–92.

⁸⁰ E.C.B. MacLaurin, ‘Anak/Ἀναξ’, *Vetus Testamentum* 15 (1965), 468–474.

the miscellany consecrated to polis type State formations of the antiquity, analyzed in this volume in the article by John Strange.⁸¹ The hypothesis of MacLaurin was, of course, very uncertain, but not completely unfounded.⁸² Just to mention that the title of anax was registered as a collective magistrature also in others cases. There were some data for deducing the possibility to see in the holders of the gentile Anakim a designation of their political position as members of a wanaktes' collegia of public offices, having in view the data about an identical functionality of an Cyprian collegia of princes. In the text of the Aristoteles' frg. 532 (reflecting his *Cyprian politeia*) where ἄνακτες καὶ ἄνασσαι were presented as designations of a collective phenomenon – the sons and the brothers of the basileus, respectively his daughters and sisters (Aristot., fr. 532, Gigon = Harpocration, Lexikon, ed. Bekker, p. 18, 4–6). Something very similar depicts V. Shkorpil about the ancient Bosphorus' kingdom.⁸³ These data show that in some cases the tyrannos is a master in the sense of a very high dignitary, but not a monocratic ruler.

The interpretation of this title, proposed by McLaurin, is uncertain, but very important in view of the outlined probability that the titles' pair of sacral King and King – military leader, could be attested in this corner of the Eastern Mediterranean, too.

* * *

A few remarks in conclusion:

The analysed ruler's titles as a whole do not exemplify the notion of King-Priest in the sense, actively presented in the Bulgarian historical literature, presenting him as a supreme ruler, concentrating all potestarian functions – the religious power, as well as the political and the military ones. On the contrary, the examples like the title of maron, title of palmus and the title of wanaka show the presence in the societies of the Late Bronze Age and the Early Iron Age of the double kingship, consisting of a sacral ruler and of a military leader.

⁸¹ Strange, 'The Philistine City-States', 129–140.

⁸² Peter Machinist is categorical in his rejection of this hypothesis. See P. Machinist, 'Biblical Traditions: The Philistines and Israelite History', in E.D. Oren (ed.), *The Sea Peoples and Their World: A Reassessment* (University Museum Monographs 108; University Museum Symposium Series 11), Philadelphia 2000, 66–67.

⁸³ Literally: 'Нам кажется, что пантикапейские аристократы носили имя ἄνακτες, т. е. повелители, князья [...] Эти цари властвовали, по нашему мнению, не по очереди, а одновременно, подобно двенадцати египетским вельможам, составившим во время анархии заговор и провозгласившим себя царями (Diod. I 66, 1). Число Археанактидов на Боспоре, было, конечно, гораздо меньше, и они царствовали или сообща, или в разных частях Боспорского царства, не теряя единство власти.' (В. Шкорпиль, 'Археанактиды', in *Известия Таврической ученой архивной комиссии Год тридцать первый*, no 54, Симферополь 1918, 56]

The situation of this period shows an active influence between the principal ethnolinguistic massives in the Aegean and the Eastern Mediterranean.

The analysis thus presented proposed solutions, quite few in number, and unsolved problems – so many in number. It is evident that some of the linguistic problems have to be resolved more precisely, some of the proposed etymologies have to be checked and more grounded. But it is evident even now, that the etymology of the words used to designate the titles, are of great importance – the determining of a primary and of the resultant semantics gives good possibilities for interpretation. It is evident also, that in principle the determination of the exact place in the potestary political systems of the offices, designated by titles, helps the analysis considerably.

As for the potestary political systems of the Aegean and Eastern Mediterranean, they are presented by a relatively great number of invariants, correlating between one another without any metaphysics, and actively influencing one another in a clear traceable continuity between the Late Bronze Age and the Early Iron Age – a process marked by an active presence of Thraco-Pelasgians as well.

Stefan Yordanov

st_iordanov@yahoo.com

St Cyril and St Methodius
University of Veliko Turnovo
Veliko Turnovo
Bulgaria