

## MICE DESTROYING AN ARMY (HDT. 2. 141) AND A SOLUTION OF THE TOCHARIAN PROBLEM

### I

The Book II of Herodotus' *Histories* is full of beautiful stories. One of them runs as follows:

The next king, I was told, was a priest of Hephaestus, called Sethos. This monarch despised and neglected the warrior class of the Egyptians, as though he did not need their services. Among other indignities which he offered them, he took from them the lands which they had possessed under all the previous kings, consisting of twelve acres of choice land for each warrior. Afterwards, therefore, when Sanacharib, king of the Arabians and Assyrians, marched his vast army into Egypt, the warriors one and all refused to come to his aid. On this the monarch, greatly distressed, entered into the inner sanctuary, and, before the image of the god, bewailed the fate which impended over him. As he wept he fell asleep, and dreamed that the god came and stood at his side, bidding him be of good cheer, and go boldly forth to meet the Arabian host, which would do him no hurt, as he himself would send those who should help him. Sethos, then, relying on the dream, collected such of the Egyptians as were willing to follow him, who were none of them warriors, but traders, artisans, and market people; and with these marched to Pelusium, which commands the entrance into Egypt, and there pitched his camp. As the two armies lay here opposite one another, there came in the night, a multitude of field-mice, which devoured all the quivers and bowstrings of the enemy, and ate the thongs by which they managed their shields. Next morning they commenced their fight, and great multitudes fell, as they had no arms with which to defend themselves. There stands to this day in the temple of Hephaestus a stone statue of Sethos, with a mouse in his hand, and an inscription to this effect: "Look on me, and learn to reverence the gods." (G. Rawlinson transl., with minor corrections).

The legendary character of the story is obvious even though Herodotus, rather typically, is able to confer an aura of historicity to his narrative by associating it with a real Assyrian king. If the recent commentary to Herodotus assures us that the Egyptian king of the story, Sethos, 'is certainly to be identified with Shataka's successor Shabatata (702–690 BC)',<sup>1</sup> then

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<sup>1</sup> D. Asheri, A. Lloyd, A. Corcella, *A Commentary on Herodotus: Books I–IV* (Oxford 2007) 342.

this is an untenable assertion. The commentator, Alan Lloyd, refers to an Ethiopian (or Nubian) king, but there is nothing in Herodotus to suggest Ethiopian origin of the priest of Hephaestus; moreover, this is hardly compatible with the exposition of events in Hdt. 2. 140–141, which includes the withdrawal of an Ethiopian king from Egypt and does not mention his or his successor's return to power in Egypt. In general, identifying a king assisted by mice with a historic ruler is a strange idea.

The involvement of Sennacherib (704–681) into this folklore story can be explained. We are told by Joseph that this Assyrian king went to the war against the Egyptians and Ethiopians. He spent a long time besieging Pelusium, but when he heard that Tirhaka, king of the Ethiopians, was coming and bringing great forces to aid the Egyptians he left Pelusium and returned back without success (*Ant.* 10. 1. 4). Moreover, another part of Sennacherib's army, that which besieged Jerusalem, suffered a catastrophic plague and also withdrew with no gain (*Ant.* 10. 1; cf. *2 Kings* 19: 35 f., *Isaiah* 37: 36). The expedition of Sennacherib was remembered, thus, as a case of a huge army's sudden and disastrous retreat, not inflicted by the might of the opposite force. It fit well with the story of a miraculous intervention.

While Herodotus was born about two hundred years after Sennacherib's death, the motif of mice destroying an army was known to a Greek poet who was possibly born when Sennacherib was still alive. The relevant information comes from Strabo (13. 1. 48):

The temple of Apollo Smintheus is in this Chrysa, and the symbol, a mouse, which shows the etymology of the epithet Smintheus, lies under the foot of the statue. They are the workmanship of Scopas of Paros. They reconcile the history, and the fable about the mice, in this following manner. The Teucri, who came from Crete (of whom Callinus, the elegiac poet [fr. 7 West], gave the first history, and he was followed by many others), were directed by an oracle to settle wherever the earth-born inhabitants should attack them, which, it is said, occurred to them near Hamaxitus, for in the night-time great multitudes of field-mice came out and devoured all arms or utensils which were made of leather; the colony therefore settled there.

The miraculous salvation is absent from Callinus' version, but the reverence to the mice is still there: by damaging the equipment of Teucrian warriors, mice indicated the new home for them. Since the basic motif, mice destroying an army, is common in both Callinus and Herodotus, while the distance in time between Sennacherib and Callinus is short, one is justified to assume that the basic motif is older than Sennacherib. Moreover, Callinus' version includes a prophecy, and such a prophecy naturally belongs to a time of the *Völkerwanderung*.<sup>2</sup> The Teucri were indeed one

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<sup>2</sup> Cf. the prophecy given to Odysseus about his wandering (*Od.* 11. 121–130).

of exemplary wandering peoples (Hdt. 5. 13, 7. 20; 75; Strab. 1. 3. 21, 13. 1. 48). However, by the time of Sennacherib, the *Völkerwanderung* in the Aegean area was over.

But what can be the link between a story of the Teucri and a story of an Egyptian king? Fortunately, there is much more to say about the Teucri and the *Völkerwanderung*. At the end of the Bronze Age the East Mediterranean was affected by large scale destruction. Many fortified cities were ruined and burned, several areas became depopulated. Egyptian sources make us realize that the operating force behind many local catastrophes of the period were certain peoples who ‘made conspiracy in their islands’. They are now commonly called the Sea Peoples.<sup>3</sup> The Egyptians managed to defeat their coalition in land and sea battles in the eighth year of Ramesses III (1184–1153).<sup>4</sup> Both a vivid account of these events written in the name of the pharaoh and an outstanding artistic representation have been preserved on the walls of a temple at Medinet Habu. Egyptian sources mention several names for the Sea Peoples. One finds among them *Tkkr* (in some sources they figure as *Tkr*), and they are commonly identified by scholars with the Teucri (Τευκροί).<sup>5</sup> This identification is based not only on phonetics, but also on the correspondence between the area of activity of the Sea Peoples and various ancient traditions that bring Teucer to Cyprian Salamis (Isocr. 9. 18; Strab. 14. 6. 3, Paus. 1. 3. 2; Tac. *Ann.* 3. 62), Phoenicia (Verg. *Aen.* 1. 619), Egypt (where he is sent in Euripides’ *Helen*) and a son of Teucer to Cilicia (Strab. 14. 5. 10). There is also a strong tradition of Teucer moving to Spain (Strab. 3. 4. 3; Sil. Ital. 3. 368, 15. 192; Pomp. Trog. 44. 3. 3; Philostr. *Vit. Apoll.* 5. 5),<sup>6</sup> while the Egyptian *Story of Wenamun*, written not very long after the assault upon Egypt by the Sea Peoples, portrays the *Tkr* as a significant sea power of the region. However, they were not only a *sea*

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<sup>3</sup> N. K. Sandars, *The Sea Peoples* (London 1978); R. Stadelmann, “Seevölker”, *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* (Wiesbaden 1984) V, 814–822; F. Schachermeyr, *Die ägäische Frühzeit*. Bd. 5: *Die Levante im Zeitalter der Wanderungen* (Wien 1982); R. Drews, *The End of the Bronze Age: Changes in Warfare and the Catastrophe* (Princeton 1993); E. D. Oren (ed.), *The Sea Peoples and Their World: A Reassessment* (Philadelphia 2000); A. Mederos Martín, “La crisis del siglo XII a. C. Pueblos del Mar y guerra de Troya ca. 1215–1175 a. C.”, *SPAL* 16 (2007) 93–154.

<sup>4</sup> According to a recent version of standard chronology: K. A. Kitchen, “The Historical Chronology of Ancient Egypt”, *Acta Archaeologica* 67 (= Suppl. 1: Absolute Chronology, ed. by K. Randsborg) 1996, 12. For an alternative chronology see P. James et al., *Centuries of Darkness* (London 1991), note esp. 229.

<sup>5</sup> See, for instance, *Cambridge Ancient History*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. (Cambridge 1975) Vol. II, Part 2, 376 (R. D. Barnett), 508 n. 3 (W. F. Albright).

<sup>6</sup> See also A. Mederos Martín, “Una colonización competitiva. TKR, MSWS y las tradiciones de fundación de Massia (Murcia) y Sexi (Granada)”, *Anales de prehistoria y arqueología* 19–20 (2003–2004) 123–141.

people. Since the invaders are shown at Medinet Habu with their women and children, it is clear that many of them planned to settle in Egypt. This is especially relevant to the *Plst* = Philistines and *Tkkr*, for both are presented in the pharaoh's account as cut off from their lands and looking for a new home.<sup>7</sup> Although the invasion of Egypt failed, both the *Plst* = Philistines and *Tkkr* were able to occupy the sea coast just north of Egyptian borders.

Many northerners were hired by pharaohs as mercenaries both before and after their effort to invade Egypt in the eighth year of Ramesses III.<sup>8</sup> Sources show that they became an influential group in Egypt.<sup>9</sup> These facts may explain how a Teucrian story could have taken root in Egyptian soil. Further, we know that the mouse was a significant cult object, manifested in golden models of the mice, among the Philistines, formerly one of the Sea Peoples (*1 Samuel* 6: 5, 18).<sup>10</sup> Furthermore, there is an additional option of how the basic story could have been transmitted. Herodotus mentions 'the Camp of the Tyrians' (where dwell the Phoenicians) in Memphis, in the vicinity of the temple of Hephaestus (2. 112). The temple of Hephaestus is almost certainly the same as in 2. 141. Probably, Phoenician soldiers were brought to Memphis by Persian kings, while local people gave the name to the place after the most famous of the Phoenician cities. In terms of Persian administration, Phoenicia included the city of Dor. But we know from the *Story of Wenamun* that this city was for some time occupied by the *Tkr* (and we also know from the same source that a ruler in Byblos had a name composed of two parts, 'Tkr' and 'Baal'). Therefore it is likely that the descendants of once powerful *Tkkr* were present among the dwellers of 'the Camp of the Tyrians'. In any case it is significant that the motif firmly associated with the Teucri appears in connection with a country (that is, Egypt) easily accessible by the *Tkkr*.

A story of mice destroying an enemy's army may seem more logical and natural than the version told about the Teucri. However, the better version is not necessarily the earlier. The *raison d'être* of the both is probably etiological. Mouse as an object of veneration must have seemed strange to the people for whom the origin of the cult fell in oblivion. A story came to

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<sup>7</sup> W. F. Edgerton, J. A. Wilson, *Historical Records of Ramses III* (Chicago 1936) 1, 30 f. and G. Hölbl, "Die historischen Aussagen der ägyptischen Seevölkerinschriften" – S. Deger-Jalkotzy (ed.), *Griechenland, die Ägäis und die Levante während der "Dark Ages" vom 12. bis zum 9. Jh. v. Chr.* (Wien 1983) 121–138, esp. 134 f.

<sup>8</sup> The most important group among such mercenaries were the Shardana (*Šrdn*); see: G. Cavillier, *Gli Shardana nell' Egitto Ramesside* (Oxford 2005); Stadelmann (n. 3) 817; Sandars (n. 3) 30, 34, 109, 118 f., etc.

<sup>9</sup> See, for instance, J. H. Breasted, *Ancient Records of Egypt* (Chicago 1906) IV § 397, 403, 410; Idem, *A History of Egypt* (London 2<sup>nd</sup> 1948) 497, 500.

<sup>10</sup> See further O. Margalith, *The Sea Peoples in the Bible* (Wiesbaden 1994) 35–38.

circulate among the Teucri that the mice became their benefactors because they indicated to them their new home country. The possible strength of the association between the Teucri and the Troad is shown by Aeschylus (*Ag.* 113), Herodotus (2. 118) and later the *Aeneid* where the words ‘Teucrian land’ and ‘Teucri’ are used synonymously with the words ‘Troad’ and ‘Trojans’. According to Herodotus, some descendants of the Teucri were still in the Troad in the late sixth century (5. 122). However, only a fraction of the Teucri kept living in the Troad; most had left. The old story of finding new permanent home with the help of mice no longer fit with the situation of the dispersal, but the veneration of mice had been preserved. Then there emerged a new version of the story, recorded by Herodotus and also, as we will immediately see, by Chinese sources.

## II

In 1820 Abel-Rémusat brought to light a Chinese version of the story of mice destroying an army.<sup>11</sup> I reproduce it below in the English translation by Samuel Beal.<sup>12</sup> The text was composed in the seventh century. The place of action is now the Tarim Basin, the invaders are the Hiung-nu (in contemporary rendering, the Xiongnu) and the main recipient of miraculous salvation is the king of Kustana (that is, Khotan):

In the west of the capital city 150 or 160 *li*, in the midst of the straight road across a great sandy desert, there are a succession of small hills, formed by the burrowing of rats. I heard the following as the common story: ‘In this desert there are rats as big as hedgehogs, their hair of gold and silver colour. There is a head rat to the company. Every day he comes out of his hole and walks about, when he has finished the other rats follow him. In old days a general of the Hiung-nu came to ravage the border of this country with several tens of myriads of followers. When he had arrived thus far as the rat-mounds, he encamped his soldiers. Then the king of Kustana, who commanded only some few myriads of men, feared that his force was not sufficient to take the offensive. He knew of the wonderful character of these desert rats, and that he had not yet made any religious offering to them; but now he was at a loss where to look for succour. His ministers, too, were all in alarm, and could think of no expedient. At last he determined to offer a religious offering to the rats and request their aid, if by these means his army might be strengthened a little. That night the king of Kustana in a dream saw a great rat, who said to him, “I wish respectfully to assist you. Tomorrow morning put your troops in movement;

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<sup>11</sup> J.-P. Abel-Rémusat, *Histoire de la ville de Khotan, tirée des annales de la Chine et traduite du chinois* (Paris 1820) 47–50.

<sup>12</sup> *Si-vu-ki. Buddhist Records of the Western World*, transl. from the Chinese of Hiuen Tsiang by S. Beal (London 1884) II 315 f.

attack the enemy, and you will conquer.” The king of Kustana, recognising the miraculous character of this intervention, forthwith arrayed his cavalry and ordered his captains to set out before the dawn, and at their head, after a rapid march, he fell unexpectedly on the enemy. The Hiung-nu, hearing their approach, were overcome by fear. They hastened to harness their horses and equip their chariots, but they found that the leather of their armour, and their horses’ gear, and their bow strings, and all the fastenings of their clothes, had been gnawed by the rats. And now their enemies had arrived, and they were taken in disorder. Thereupon their chief was killed and the principal soldiers made prisoners. The Hiung-nu were terrified on perceiving divine interposition on behalf of their enemies. The king of Kustana, in gratitude to the rats, built a temple and offered sacrifices; and ever since they have continued to receive homage and reverence, and they have offered to them rare and precious things.

Already in 1823 Klaproth noted the striking similarity of this story with that told by Herodotus,<sup>13</sup> and Stephanie West drew fresh attention to the parallel in an important paper published in 1987,<sup>14</sup> but I am not aware of any resolute attempt to account for this fact. We can find a solution, I suggest, by taking together not just two, but all three mice and army stories.

The basic motif is peculiar and not spread world-wide.<sup>15</sup> One version of the story is related to the Teucri and the Troad, another to the kingdom of Khotan in the Tarim Basin. The third is placed in Egypt, but has no support in local tradition and presents the local king, not known from Egyptian sources, acting against Egyptian habits and assaulting Egyptian warriors; it is thus an imported story, and one may think of the role of the Teucri=*Tkk* in bringing it to Egypt. As for the Tarim Basin, there is vast archaeological evidence of people from the west penetrating this area during second and early first millennia BC.<sup>16</sup> Since the end of the nineteenth century,

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<sup>13</sup> *Journal Asiatique* 3 (1823) 307 f.

<sup>14</sup> S. West, “And It Came to Pass That Pharaoh Dreamed: Notes on Herodotus 2. 139, 141”, *CQ* 37 (1987) 262–271, esp. 269 f. The parallel is not referred to in Asheri et al. (n. 1). A. B. Lloyd. *Herodotus. Book II* (Leiden, etc. 1994) 2, 104 displays some awareness of the fact that there are folklore parallels to the story.

<sup>15</sup> Only one more (and actually the only) item is referred to in S. Thompson, *Motif-Index of Folk-Literature*, K 632. 1; see further: W. F. O’Connor, *Folk Tales from Tibet* (London 1906) 133–140. Tibet, from where this version comes, was in touch with Khotan over centuries. The version from Tibet is clearly late, as also Stephanie West sees it.

<sup>16</sup> As crucial evidence the mummies of Europoid physical type can be cited. See: K. Han, “The Physical Anthropology of the Ancient Populations of the Tarim Basin and Surrounding Areas”, in V. H. Mair (ed.), *The Bronze Age and Early Iron Age Peoples of Eastern Central Asia II* (Philadelphia 1998) 558 ff.; J. P. Mallory, V. H. Mair, *The Tarim Mummies. Ancient China and the Mystery of the Earliest Peoples from the West* (London 2000).

the documents of Tocharian languages found in this area have become known. Tocharian languages, preserved in two main versions, proved Indo-European. The Tocharian came thus from the west. Now, the Teucric were identified with *Tkkr/Tkr*. But it is obvious that the Tocharians (Greek Τόχαροι, Latin *Tochari*, Sanskrit *Tukhāra* or *Tokhāra*)<sup>17</sup> can be the same ethnic name. We are dealing, then, with originally one people, not three, who, in the course of their wandering, spread basically the same story of mice destroying an army.

The similarity of the names is so striking that the identity of Τευκροί, *Tkkr/Tkr* and the Tocharians can be taken as a reasonable hypothesis even without the story of the mice. In combination with it, this hypothesis seems unavoidable.

Various archaeological materials found in the Tarim Basin and nearby were interpreted as pointing to the Tocharians.<sup>18</sup> It seems to follow from our discussion that the corresponding proposals must be limited to the Late Bronze – Early Iron Age.<sup>19</sup> This does not undermine the value of those observations concerning the plausible cultural links between local and distant cultures which do not fit within the specified period. There is no reason to think of only one migratory wave from the west. But not all such waves are related to the Tocharians.

One more observation seems appropriate. Some of the Sea Peoples are shown on the reliefs in Medinet Habu with the characteristic high headdress commonly called the ‘feathered crown’, and the *Tkkr* are among them.<sup>20</sup> A man with such a headdress can also be seen on a roughly contemporary ivory box from Enkomi, Cyprus (Fig. 1). It was plausibly suggested that this man is a *Tkkr*.<sup>21</sup> Recently, a bronze figurine of a man with a similar headdress has been uncovered at Jinsha site, Chengdu, Sichuan province (Fig. 2); it has been dated to Late Shang to Western Zhou period (that is, late second – early first millennium BC).<sup>22</sup>

<sup>17</sup> For the list of the names see A. Hermann, “Tocharoi”, *RE* 2. Rh. 6 (1937) 1633.

<sup>18</sup> Among the recent attempts: A. A. Ковалев, “Древнейшие миграции из Загроса в Китай и проблема прародины тохаров”, in *Археолог: детектив и мыслитель. Сборник статей к 77-летию Л. С. Клейна* (Санкт-Петербург 2004) 249–292.

<sup>19</sup> Important study by R. Heine-Geldern, “Das Tocharerproblem und die Pontische Wanderung”, *Saeculum* 2 (1951) 225–255 fits with this requirement, though I would think about somewhat different course of events.

<sup>20</sup> R. Herbig, “Philister und Dorier”, *Jahrbuch des deutschen archaologischen Instituts* 55 (1940) 58–89; Hölbl (n. 7) 133.

<sup>21</sup> Sandars (n. 3) 200, Fig. 131, cf. 202, Fig. 132; G. A. Wainwright, “A Teucrican at Salamis in Cyprus”, *JHS* 83 (1963) 146–151.

<sup>22</sup> X. Yang (ed.), *New Perspectives on China's Past. Vol. 2: Major Archaeological Discoveries in Twentieth-Century China* (New Haven – London 2004) 147–149, esp. Fig. 54 d–e.



Fig. 1. Ivory box from Enkomi

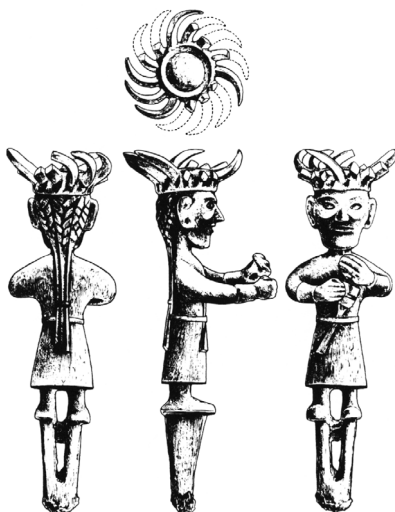


Fig. 2. Bronze figurine from Jinsha site, Chengdu, Sichuan province

### III

I anticipate one's surprise. Linguistics strongly suggests that the Tocharian language originated in Western Europe,<sup>23</sup> while one finds the Teucri and *Tkkri* active in the Eastern Mediterranean. We shall shortly see that there is no contradiction between these two facts.

The origin of the Sea Peoples is a matter of ongoing debate. Some scholars think of them as a regional phenomenon, some believe they are from Caucasus, and still others believe that the Sea Peoples came from Europe. The problem is that they left no distinctive archaeological traces. However, their ships, as shown on the reliefs in Medinet Habu, are distinctive.<sup>24</sup>

The ships of the Sea Peoples are of a type not previously seen in the Mediterranean. (1) Their bow and stern are symmetrical and (2) both are decorated with swan (or wild goose) protomae. (3) They do not show a smooth arc at the hull, but rise abruptly, almost at a right angle.

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<sup>23</sup> See, for instance, J. P. Mallory, D. Q. Adams (eds.), *Encyclopedia of Indo-European Culture* (London – Chicago 1997) 591: 'Surprisingly Tocharian seems to share more vocabulary with Germanic than with any other Indo-European stock and in general its lexical and morphological closest kin seem to be with the western Indo-European languages rather than with those of the eastern rim'.

<sup>24</sup> It was repeatedly emphasized in scholarly literature that artistic representations of the Sea Peoples on the walls of a temple at Medinet Habu are highly characteristic and therefore basically reliable.



Wolfgang Kimmig has pointed out the striking similarity of this type to European *Vogelbarken*.<sup>25</sup>

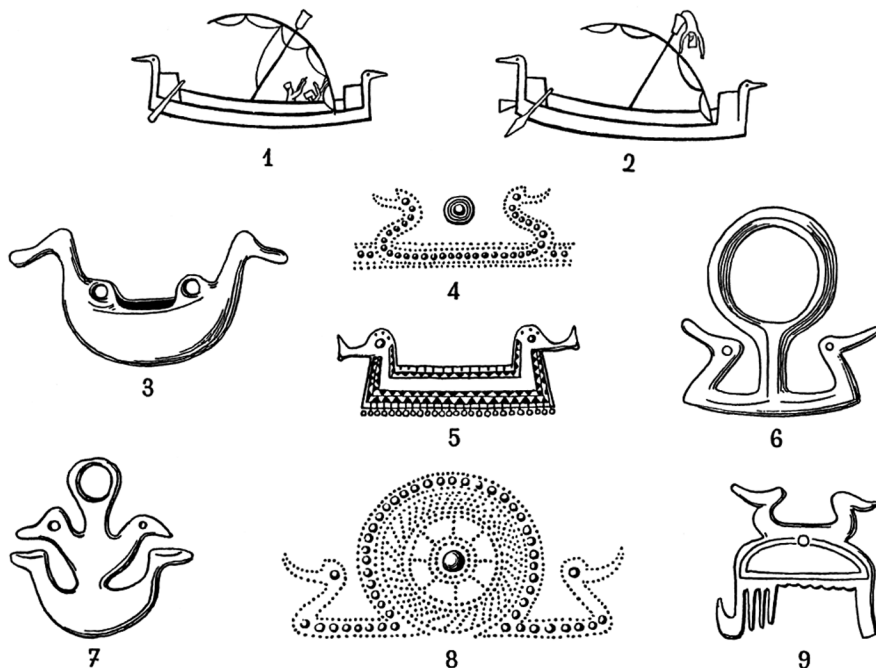


Fig. 3. The ships of the Sea Peoples (1–2) and European *Vogelbarken* (after W. Kimmig)

He introduced, however, an inaccurate formulation that seems to have escaped the attention of his learned readers. He presented the parallels to the ships of the Sea Peoples as “donauländische Vogelbarken”. In reality, of the three most striking examples, Fig. 3.4 comes from Rossin, Pomerania, 3.5 from Ancona, Italy, and 3.8 from Lavindsgaard, Denmark;<sup>26</sup> moreover, 3.8 displays close parallels to *Vogelbarken* from Bjerresjö, Skåne, and

<sup>25</sup> W. Kimmig, “Seevölkerbewegung und Urnenfelderkultur”, in: *Studien aus Alt-europa* (Bonn 1964) I, 220–283, esp. 224.

<sup>26</sup> Provenance is given in G. Kossak, *Studien zum Symbolgut der Urnenfelder- und Hallstattzeit Mitteleuropas* (Berlin 1954) 121, Taf. 8–10, whose work Kimmig used. Curiously, another scholar who used the same study came to the same conclusion as Kimmig – see: H. Henken, *Tarquiniia, Villanovans and Early Etruscans* (Cambridge, Mass. 1968) 2, 514–517, 537, 568–570. All these scholars at some moment just forget about Scandinavian materials.

Siem, Jutland.<sup>27</sup> One can say thus that *Vogelbarke* is well-attested also for Scandinavian or Nordic culture.

We need not discuss here the question of where the *Vogelbarke* originated, whether in the Danube valley or (as I believe) in Scandinavia. It can be seen from illustrations assembled by Kimmig as well as from substantial additional data that *Vogelbarke* typically means a ship transporting the sun, while the ships shown on the reliefs in Medinet Habu are designed for a military action. Meanwhile the representation of ships that suggest no immediate connection with the solar cult and yet, more importantly, display all three features characteristic of the ships of the Sea Peoples can be found on Scandinavian rock carvings (Fig. 4).

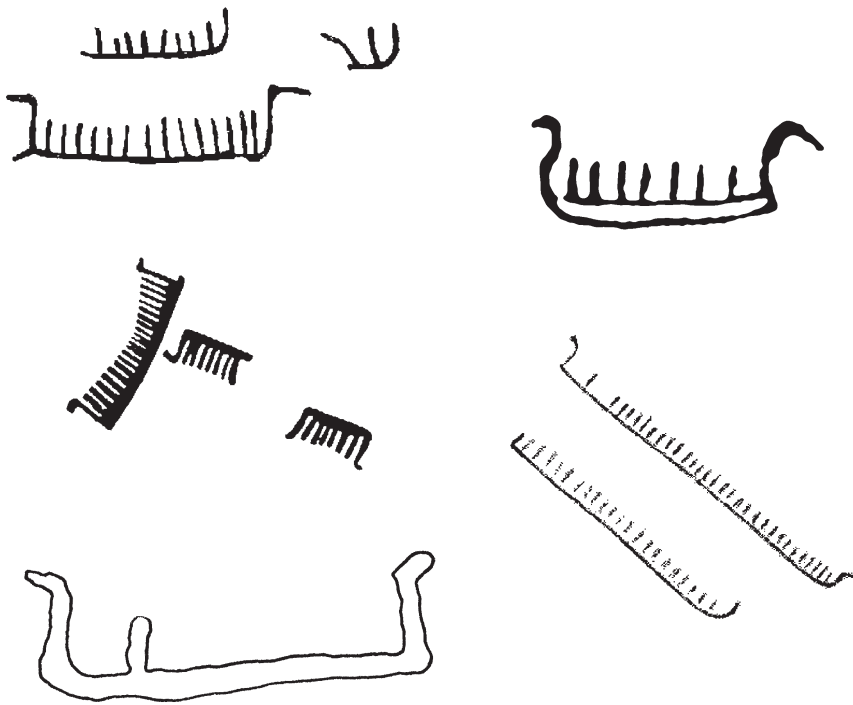


Fig. 4. Rock carvings from Rogaland, Bohuslän and Östergötland

<sup>27</sup> See further: C.-A. Althin, *Studien zu den bronzzeitlichen Felszeichnungen von Skåne* (Lund – København 1945) I, 184–187, Abb. 94–98; G. von Merhart, *Hallstatt und Italien. Gesammelte Aufsätze zur frühen Eisenzeit in Italien und Mitteleuropa*, hrsg. von G. Kossack (Mainz 1969) Taf. 44, 47, 48; J. Bouzek, *The Aegean, Anatolia and Europe: Cultural Interrelations in the Second Millennium B. C.* (Praha 1985) p. 174, fig. 87.12; p. 177, fig. 88.5.

Given the vast number of ship representations on Scandinavian rocks, it is fair to say that the type we are interested in is rare. However, its distribution covers southern Norway (Rogaland),<sup>28</sup> western Sweden (Tanum<sup>29</sup> and Kville,<sup>30</sup> Bohuslän, and nearby island Tjörn<sup>31</sup>) and eastern Sweden (Skälv and Herrebro, Östergötland).<sup>32</sup> So its poor incidence in terms of numbers could be due to its relative insignificance for cultic purposes (it may be characteristic that in no case a divine figure appears near or on a ship of the type in question). It is also worth noting that the ships with identical bow and stern constitute a larger (though, again, relatively insignificant) type among the Scandinavian petroglyphs; Tacitus mentions their existence in Sweden (*Germ.* 44), they are shown on early mediaeval stones from Gotland, and were used by the Vikings.

Propelling ships by paddling rather than rowing was another longstanding tradition of Scandinavian seafaring. Petroglyphs, archaeological finds, and testimony by Tacitus agree on this point.<sup>33</sup> Now, while Egyptian ships on the reliefs in Medinet Habu are shown as equipped with rowlocks, those of the Sea Peoples are not, which apparently means that they were propelled by paddles.

There is, however, one seemingly disturbing point. While the ships of the Sea Peoples are shown to rely on sail, there is widespread belief, based on both petroglyphs and the mentioned passage by Tacitus, that the sail was unknown in early Scandinavia. But I find it unbelievable that such a discovery as old as the sail had not reached Scandinavia by the first century AD; nor does it seem likely to me that it was unknown in the latter half of the second millennium BC. We should think instead about particular features of our sources. The representations of ships on the Scandinavian rock carvings typically belong to the cultic sphere.<sup>34</sup> It is easy to see that a ship transporting the sun or a god or the dead should not depend on capricious winds. So the sun ship on an Attic geometric cup has neither mast nor sail,<sup>35</sup>

<sup>28</sup> E. Fett, P. Fett, *Sydvestnorske Helleristninger* (Stavanger 1941) Pl. 39 D.

<sup>29</sup> P. Gelling, H. E. Davidson, *The Chariot of the Sun* (London 1969) 34, Fig. 16.

<sup>30</sup> Å. Fredsjö, *Hällristningar i Kville härad, Kville socken* (Göteborg 1981) 112, 91 Pl. III.

<sup>31</sup> J. Pettersson, G. Kristiansson, *Hällristningar på Tjörn* (1977) 118. Fig. 75 (not reproduced in this paper).

<sup>32</sup> A. Nordén, *Felsbilder der Provinz Ostgotland* (Hagen i. W. – Darmstadt 1923) Taf. 43, 54.

<sup>33</sup> A. Nordén, “Die Schiffbaukunst der nordischen Bronzezeit”, *Mannus* (1939) 347–398, esp. 391–394.

<sup>34</sup> See O. Almgren, *Nordische Felszeichnungen als religiöse Urkunden* (Frankfurt am Main 1934); P. Gelling, H. E. Davidson, *The Chariot of the Sun* (n. 29); J. Coles, *Shadows of a Northern Past. Rock Carvings of Bohuslän and Østfold* (Oxford 2005).

<sup>35</sup> J. S. Morrison, R. T. Williams, *Greek Oared Ships* (Cambridge 1968) Pl. 6 c.

though sailing was common in the Aegean of that as well as of earlier times. The absence of a mast and sail on carvings can be thus due to a certain religious logic and the corresponding cultic tradition. It is, further, possible that early Scandinavians used a removable mast, as in Homer. This could have misled Tacitus' informant. One may also think about particular conditions of seafaring that made the use of a sail unwelcome; or about particular conditions and tactics of raiding. It is not impossible after all that the raiders of Scandinavian descent adopted extensive use of sailing only when they found themselves in Mediterranean waters. All these qualifications admitted, one can hardly avoid the conclusion that a rock in Järrestad has preserved evidence of a Bronze Age Scandinavian ship with a sail (Fig. 5). It is remarkable, further, that the yard of the Järrestad ship curves down, and while this feature is not at all common in Mediterranean Bronze Age ships, it is characteristic of the ships of the Sea Peoples as they are shown at Medinet Habu.<sup>36</sup>



Fig. 5. Rock carving from Järrestad

Thus, the presented material strongly confirms, on the one hand, Kimmig's general idea of the European provenance of the Sea Peoples ship type, but, on the other hand, points to Scandinavia rather than the Danube valley as the region of its origin.<sup>37</sup>

To be sure, the Sea Peoples were a coalition. The likely Scandinavian origin of their ship type means that the Sea Peoples may have included groups that ultimately came from north-western Europe, that is, from those parts of Europe where the formation of the Tocharian language should have taken place. I am not aware of likely traces of the Tocharians in Scandinavia, but they seem to be found nearby, in the Netherlands and

<sup>36</sup> S. Wachsmann, *Seagoing Ships and Seamanship in the Bronze Age* (London 1998) 252 f. Egyptian ships at Medinet Habu display, however, the same feature.

<sup>37</sup> It is also worth noting that the horned helmets of the Shardana and the decoration of their shields, both shown on Egyptian monuments (cf. n. 8), find good parallels in contemporary southern Scandinavia and that attaching importance to migratory birds (as manifested in the decoration of the Sea Peoples ships) is natural for the people who experience severe winters.

northern Germany. The variants of the ultimately common name of the Τευκροί = Tkkr = Tocharians are recognizable, I suggest, in such Germanic ethnic and geographical names as *Tencteri*, *Tungri*, *Texuandri*, *Toxandria*.

*Tencteri* of the Roman writers appear in manuscripts of Ptolemy's *Geography* as Τέγκεροι or Τέκκεροι (2. 11. 9). In the times of Caesar, they dwelled in what is now the Netherlands (*B Gall.* 4. 1). It is clear from a report by Tacitus (*Hist.* 4. 64 et al.) that the Tencteri and the Tungri were two different peoples in the first century AD, but this was not necessarily so one thousand years earlier. On the one hand, *Tencteri*, *Tenkeri* / *Tekkeri* are obviously reminiscent of *Tkkr*. On the other hand, *Tungri* may be related to Τευκροί: one compares, for instance, two variants of a Greek name as Τυνδάρεως and Τευδάρεως or two forms of the same verb as τυγχάνω and τεύξομαι.

Toxandria, a region to be located in northern Belgium and the southern part of the Netherlands, is frequently mentioned in mediaeval sources; however, it appears already in Ammianus Marcellinus (17. 8. 3). Pliny locates in that region, by the river Scalda = Scheldt, the Texuandri. He notes that they are known under many particular names (*HN* 4. 106). One can see that various testimonies point to essentially the same region. To be sure, a degree of caution is necessary when one tries to identify the “original” home of a people that, in the course of its wandering, reached both modern Israel and modern China. Concerning the Tungri, we have an assertion by Tacitus (with no further authority cited) according to which they came one day as invaders to the left side of the Rhine. More precisely, he says that ‘the people who first crossed the Rhine, and expelled the Gauls, and are now called Tungri, were then named Germans; which appellation of a particular tribe, not of a whole people, gradually prevailed; so that the title of Germans, first assumed by the victors in order to excite terror, was afterwards adopted by the nation in general’ (*Germ.* 2). However, the Rhine is a long river; and if the Tungri crossed the low Rhine, we are still within the same region.<sup>38</sup>

It is a rare case when one understands what the name of a given people means. However, Τευκροί as well as *Tocharoi*, etc. can be possibly related to Indo-European \*toksom, ‘bow’,<sup>39</sup> and thus the name can be interpreted

<sup>38</sup> It may be relevant to note that ‘there is a unique Tocharian-Germanic isogloss in that Tocharian A *koläm* ‘boat’ and Tocharian B *kolmo* ‘boat’ would appear to be cognate with Old High German *skalm* ‘boat’ – Mallory, Mair (n. 16) 289. The use of boats and ships was of high importance in the Netherlands until recent times.

<sup>39</sup> Cf. J. P. Mallory, D. Q. Adams, *The Oxford Introduction to Proto-Indo-European and the Proto-Indo-European World* (Oxford 2006) 246: ‘...\*tóksoṃ ‘bow’ (Grk *tóksōn*, which must go back to the Bronze Age at least as it is attested in Mycenaean *to-ko-so-wo-ko* ‘bow-makers’, Skyth *taxša*)’.

as the ‘archers’ – all the more so that the tradition presents Τεῦκρος as a famous archer.<sup>40</sup> To be sure, such a proposal requires a further examination, and the meaning of the name is, after all, a rather insignificant point. Of more importance is that linguistics seems in a good agreement with the emerging route of the migration from north-western Europe to the Tarim Basin through Greece and Anatolia, for it was suggested that Tocharian ‘established later relationships with Greek after earlier relationships with languages further to the northwest.’<sup>41</sup>

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В своем очерке египетской истории Геродот рассказывает о царе по имени Сетос. Он называет его жрецом Гефеста и утверждает, что царь этот безрассудно пренебрегал сословием египетских воинов и потому остался без их поддержки, когда на Египет напал могущественный враг. Однако царя спасли мыши, которые, обрушившись на вражеское войско, съели всю его амуницию. За два века до Геродота Каллин упоминает весьма сходную историю: тевкрам было велено оракулом поселиться в той стране, где на них нападут порождения земли. В Троаде, куда тевкры приплыли с Крита, мыши съели всю их воинскую амуницию. Сюжет о мышах, делающих войско бессильным, попал в Египет вместе с тевкрами, которых ученые давно отождествляют с *Tkkr* египетских источников – одним из “народов моря”. История, в высшей степени близкая той, что рассказана Геродотом, всплывает в китайском сочинении VII в. н. э. Действие на сей раз происходит на территории Таримского бассейна (в современном западном Китае). Здесь же были обнаружены памятники тохарского языка – самого восточного из всех индоевропейских языков. Фонетика позволяет предположить, что тевкры, *Tkkr* и тохары – одно и то же имя, а появление связанного с тевкрами редкого мотива как в Египте, в котором тевкры, несомненно, бывали, так и в Таримском бассейне, где жили тохары, делает эту связь в высшей степени вероятной. Если лингвистика показывает, что тохарский язык должен был сформироваться скорее на западе Европы, нежели в Восточном Средиземноморье, то это затруднение вполне устранимо. Облик кораблей “народов моря” ведет нас в Скандинавию, тогда как локализуемые преимущественно в Нидерландах такие этнонимы и топонимы, как *Tencteri*, *Tungri*, *Tehuandri*, *Toxandria*, могут иметь общее происхождение с Τεῦκροί, *Tkkr* и “тохарами”.

<sup>40</sup> Н. Frisk, *Griechisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* (Heidelberg 1960) s. v. Τεῦκρος, cites A. J. van Windekens for the idea that this name means ‘archer.’

<sup>41</sup> Mallory, Mair (n. 16) 286.