Phrygians – Tocharian – Baleful signs – Ebola – The Islamic Empire – The temple of Kellis – Buddhism in Gandhara – The Lost City of Salt – The Udruh Project

# Aspects of globalisation

Mobility, exchange and the development of multi-cultural states

**Most people will consider globalization as a 20th and 21st century phenomenon. Today's world is one of unprecedented connectivity, trade and mobility. There is no doubt that globalization has made a significant impact on contemporary society, in both positive and negative ways. It has brought greater wealth to many countries and a far wider availability of foreign goods that were hitherto difficult to obtain. People have greater mobility and economic freedom than ever before, and the ability to seek out better job opportunities or living conditions in other parts of the world. But globalization and the increased entanglement of local economies, cultures and state institutions, has also resulted in an increased exposure to economic woes, social troubles, or state collapse elsewhere. The banking crisis, the current migrant crisis, a growing distrust in the capacity of political leaders and state institutions to deal with local or national problems, and a wide-spread sense of losing one's cultural identity and the ensuing need to 'take back control' (think of Brexit, or the election of Donald Trump in the USA) are all directly related to global connectivity; to globalization.**

All this, of course, is not new, and aspects of globalization have been extensively studied. What few people realize, however, is that many of the results of globalization and indeed the phenomenon itself are no recent developments but instead hark back to much earlier times. Economic crises engulfing vast parts of the world, massive population movements resulting from and leading to social unrest and even state collapse, civil wars and even a sense of 'taking back control'; it all happened before. Looking at the effects, benefits and drawbacks of connectivity – then and now – may provide us with some much needed references as to why things happened, were we come from, and where things may be heading to. By looking back, we may see the future, or at least may understand how to handle what is coming towards us.

Leiden University has an international – indeed, a global – reputation for excellent research in the Humanities. In this publication, some of the University's most promising scholars in the Humanities present their research into various aspects of the 'entangled' world. This booklet is divided into three sections, each highlighting distinct aspects of globalization.

Papers in part 1 focus on the mobility of people and the resulting spread of the most elementary identity markers of all; language and script. Even though many of us today may think of our language as something that belongs 'here' and that helps define who were are –Dutch, British, French, German, or even 'European', most of the languages that are spoken by the majority of people in the Netherlands and indeed, in Europe and America, did not in fact originate in those parts, but may well have come from the Russian steppe. Moreover, languages that are related to, say, English and Dutch, were for a long time spoken in western China, as well as in Turkey. How did these languages arrive here and there, where they spoken by people akin to us, or adopted by local societies? Similarly, the letters that are used in this book, although they are frequently described as the 'Roman' alphabet, have a far more complex and foreign pedigree than most of their users may think. Leiden-based research is now questioning old assumptions regarding the origin of our script, and may provide new answers to the questions how, why, when and where our script was first developed. But we are also investigating how that script is used in contemporary society, with the rise of new (social) media, such as Twitter.



**By looking back, we may see the future, or at least may understand how to handle what is coming towards us.**

Part 2 includes two papers that highlight how some of the first empires dealt with multiculturalism, especially how various population groups, with their own traditions, histories, and religions could be accommodated within a single political body. One example comes from the Dakhla Oasis in Egypt, where Leiden-based researchers have uncovered the remains of a shrine dating to the Roman period, which incorporates Greek, Roman, and Egyptian architectural and pictorial elements – suggesting a flexible and inclusive approach to local faith and religion. The other case study also comes from Egypt, this time in the early Arab period. By analysing numerous 7th century AD papyri, this study highlights how the new Arab rulers and the local Greco-Roman-Egyptian populations communicated and (re)negotiated their respective positions within the newly formed Islamic Empire. The new overlords accommodated their subjects by, e.g. using Greek alongside Arabic in the administration, and by allowing many local customs and identities to endure, whilst at the same time stressing the authority of the new religion (Islam) over the realm. Under the Arabs, religious practice was perhaps less malleable than in previous eras, but its absorptive potential could (and did) serve as a unifying factor throughout the empire, conferring a common identity to all believers.

Religion did not only spread through conquest and empire building, but often spread – and still spreads – as a consequence of trade. Part 3 includes contributions that highlight the role of trade and trade routes in the spread of religions and cultures. Trading contacts were not only of pivotal importance for the spread of faiths, but often had an impact on their iconography and related rites. Buddhism, for example, spread as a consequence of early trade routes that connected India to the Far East, but many early depictions of the Buddha also betray early contacts with the Hellenized Kingdoms of Central Asia. We see similar patterns of cultural mingling as a result of trading contacts in other regions. In collaboration with local partners, archaeologists from Leiden University are uncovering the remains of important trading centres in Jordan and Saudi Arabia, bringing to light remarkably advanced, but culturally hybrid societies that thrived in seemingly uninhabitable landscapes. These remote places were inhabited not because of the local resources, but because they were part of a wider world; they connected different regions and were vital conduits, not only of goods, but also of ideas and people.

Connectivity, entangled worlds, globalization. These are buzzwords that have dominated political and academic discourse over the past decade. But they matter, because they provide us with a framework to better conceptualize the ways in which societies are shaped, how they rise and fall, change and endure. On behalf of Leiden University and its Knowledge Exchange Office, LURIS, we hope that the studies presented in this publication may inspire the reader to rethink aspects of our own society. Aspects that strike us as familiar and 'modern', but that are as ancient as human society itself.

**Ivo de Nooijer,**
**Director of Luris**

*Luris is the Knowledge Exchange Office of Leiden University and Leiden University Medical Center (LUMC) and connects academics of both organisations with the market and society at large, in order to make the most of their scientific knowledge.*

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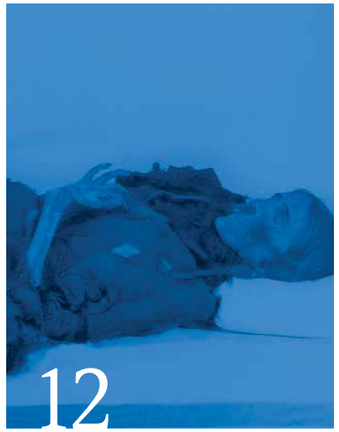


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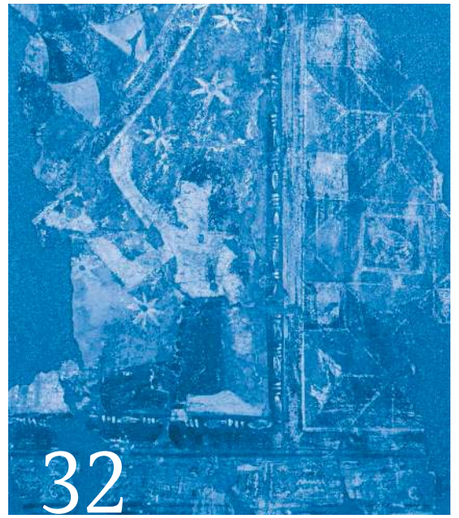


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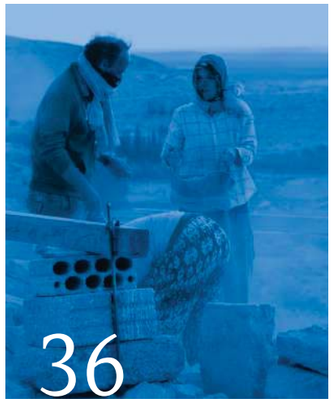


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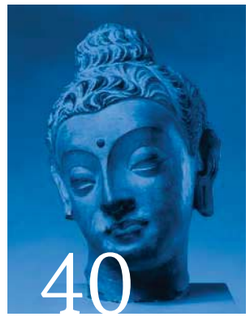


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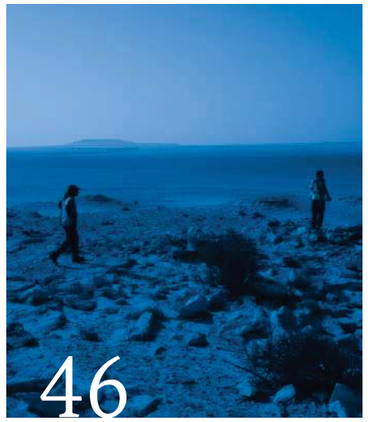


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# In the footsteps of the Phrygians.

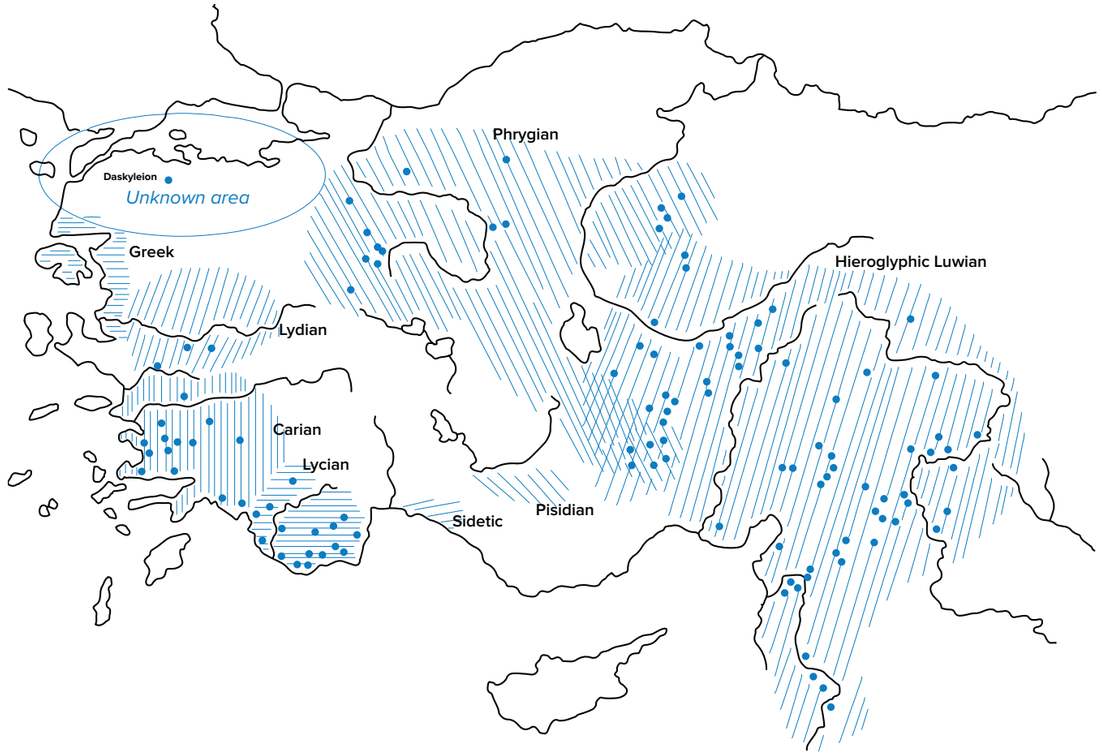
## Understanding migrations and cross-cultural contacts in Iron Age Anatolia.


**Alwin Kloekhorst**

studied Comparative Indo-European Linguistics at Leiden University and defended his PhD thesis in 2007 (published in 2008 as *Etymological Dictionary of the Hittite Inherited Lexicon* by Brill). In 2008, he was awarded with a VENI-grant by NWO for conducting a research project on the accent system of Hittite, resulting in the 2014 monograph *Accentuation in Hittite* (published by Harrassowitz Verlag). In 2012, Kloekhorst was appointed as assistant professor of Comparative Indo-European Linguistics at the Leiden University Centre for Linguistics. In 2015 he received a VIDI-grant from NWO for the research project *Splitting the mother tongue: the position of Anatolian within the Indo-European language family.* As part of a larger research consortium, he was awarded, together with Alexander Lubotsky, a HERA research grant from the European Research Council for conducting the project *The linguistic landscape of North West Anatolia in pre-Roman times.*


**Hundreds of people are gathering at the shores of the Aegean Sea; men, women and children alike. One by one, they get on board of small boats that will bring them across the waters to the lands on the other side. Lands that they have never set foot on before, but which, despite their anxiety about the journey, they are determined to reach. Because they know that these lands are prosperous and the people living there are wealthy. And because they hope that they will be able to share in that prosperity, so that their life there will be better than the one they had thus far. So much better that no boundary can stop them, not even large stretches of waters.**

This scene will in most readers undoubtedly bring up associations with recent news reports about Middle Eastern refugees that try to reach Europe by crossing in small rubber boats the water ways that divide the Greek islands from the Turkish coasts. The scene is also applicable to many other migration waves that throughout history have taken place across these waters, however. Since times immemorial the Aegean Sea, the Dardanelles, the Sea of Marmara and the Bosporus form the most important natural boundary between Europe and the Middle East, whereas Anatolia (the Asian part of Turkey) can be viewed as forming the bridge between these two regions. It has therefore always been this area where East and West collide, and through which populations groups had to pass in order to migrate from the one region into the other.
To the modern mind it may seem obvious that these migrations would




Languages of 2nd and 1st millennium BC Anatolia. Hatched areas indicate the approximate distribution of the various languages. Dots designate findspots of relevant inscriptions.

take place from the Middle East into Europe, but this certainly has not always been the case. In fact, at the dawn of human civilization, it was Mesopotamia (modern-day Iraq) that was the most prosperous region in the world, and therefore many population groups from Europe tried to reach this mythically wealthy land by crossing the waterways that divided Europe from Anatolia. There is evidence that already in the third millennium BCE several population groups from Europe must have entered Anatolia in this way. One of these groups founded the Hittite Empire, which during the second millennium BCE dominated the Anatolian highlands for centuries, and which in the 16th century BC was even able to plunder Babylon, the most important city in the world of that time. During the Hittite rule of Anatolia, there was little room for groups to enter Anatolia from Europe, but after the fall of the Hittite empire around 1200 BCE, we see a major increase of population groups crossing the seas from West to East: Mysians, Phrygians, Greeks, Celts, and possibly also Armenians, all migrate into Anatolia in search for a better life. Only when the power of Mesopotamia declined and larger civilizations arose in Europe, we see that the wave of migrations started to move the other way around. The Persians, for instance, made an attempt at conquering Greece, being warded off by the Greeks in several battles at sea. Later on, the Turks were more successful. After migrating into Anatolia from Central Asia, they were in the 15th century able to conquer Byzantium and with it the Byzantine Empire, penetrating into Europe.

It may be clear that the modern-day migrations from Syria and Iraq into Europe through Turkey are no isolated case, but are part of a larger pattern that has existed for millennia. This everlasting going back and forth of different population groups through Anatolia has made this area home to intriguing places that show all kinds of ethnic mixtures. In Istanbul, for instance, Roman, Byzantine and Ottoman architecture stand side by side, and the city has been home to dozens of different ethnic groups, speaking a multitude of different languages.

The reason that we know so much about the ethnolinguistic history of Anatolia, is the fact that already very early on in history writing was being employed by the people living there. The earliest written texts from the area date to ca. 2000 BCE. Ever since that moment we have an ongoing documentation (of more than 4000 years!) on the history of Anatolia and the many different peoples that have dwelled there. Just like the peoples whose histories these documents describe, the texts themselves are very diverse, being written in all kinds of different languages and scripts. In the second millennium BC the majority of sources consist of clay tablets written on in the cuneiform script, which contain texts written in Old Assyrian, Hittite, Hattic, Hurrian, Luwian and Palaic. At the same time many rock inscriptions appeared in Anatolia that were written in an indigenous hieroglyphic script and contain texts in the Luwian language. From the beginning of the first millennium BC alphabetic scripts are introduced into Anatolia. In the West and South languages are written in varieties of the Greek alphabet (Greek itself, but also Phrygian, Lydian, Carian, Lycian, Milyan and Sidetic), whereas in East Anatolia variants of the Phoenician alphabet are used to write Semitic languages like Phoenician, Sam'alic and Aramaic. Around the beginning of the common era Latin is introduced together with its script, and a few centuries later, when the Turks arrive, the Arabic script is used for writing Turkish, a situation that lasts until the beginning of the 20th century. All these documents tell the ethnolinguistic history of Anatolia, and therefore the history of the interaction between East and West.

It may be clear that the modern-day migrations from Syria and Iraq into Europe through Turkey, are no isolated case, but are part of a larger pattern that has existed for millennia.

However, not all parts of Anatolia are as well covered by written documents as others. The biggest gap in our knowledge of the ethnolinguistic map of Anatolia is its North-Western part: we have hardly any sources

that give us information about the peoples that lived there and the languages they spoke in the period before the Roman era, i.e. in the second and first millennium BC. This gap in our knowledge is unfortunate, since it is exactly this area that forms the narrowest part of the Anatolian 'bridge', through which all peoples migrating from East to West or vice versa must have crossed. Moreover, this area is home to Troy, the famous city that, according to the epics of Homer, was the scene of the Trojan war. Despite its global fame, we have no concrete evidence about the ethnicity of the people who lived in Troy during the times in which Homer's stories are set, nor about what language its inhabitants spoke. This unfortunate situation may completely change, however, because of exciting new discoveries from Daskyleion (30 km south of the Sea of Marmara).

At the time of the Persian reign of Anatolia (ca. 550-330 BC), Daskyleion was the seat of the satrap (governor) of the province Hellespontine Phrygia that controlled the Dardanelles, and it therefore was then the most important city in this region. During recent excavations at Daskyleion, executed by the University of Muğla under the direction of prof. Kaan İren, hundreds of potshards have been unearthed with graffiti on them. A preliminary study of a part of these graffiti, conducted by prof. Alexander Lubotsky and dr. Alwin Kloekhorst during a field trip to the site in the summer of 2012, showed that in that sample at least three different languages could be identified, namely Greek, Phrygian, and Lydian. This indicates that in pre-Roman times also this area was home to a mixture of ethnicities, some of which at that moment in time had been present in Anatolia for more than two millennia (Lydians), whereas others had migrated into Anatolia only relatively recently (Greeks and Phrygians).

With the results of this 2012 preliminary research in hand, Lubotsky and Kloekhorst joined a larger, international research consortium, which in the summer of 2016 was awarded by the European Research Council with a large research grant to carry out the project *Multilingualism and Minority Languages in Ancient Europe.* This has allowed Lubotsky and Kloekhorst to enlarge their team with PhD-student Aljoša Šorgo. Together they will conduct the sub-project called *The linguistic landscape of North West Anatolia in the pre-Roman period.* The main bulk of the research will consist of producing a full description and analysis of all the graffiti that thus far have been excavated at Daskyleion. Over the course of several seasons at Daskyleion, each graffito will be extensively studied and published, detailing all relevant epigraphic, philological and linguistic aspects. This collection of graffiti will then serve as a basis from which to reconstruct the nature and origins of the Phrygian and other languages of 1st millennium BC North-Western Anatolia. Additional information, from historical (2nd and 1st millennium BC) sources, archaeological data, and historical and contact linguistics, will be fed into this reconstruction and are expected to result in a better understanding of the origins of the Phrygian language (and its speakers) and its influence on other languages in the area. In this way, the project aims to paint a detailed picture and more complete understanding of the ethnolinguistic make-up of the border area between Europe and the Middle East in pre-Roman times and its development through time, filling an important gap in our knowledge.