



ACTA UNIVERSITATIS UPSALIENSIS

BOREAS. Uppsala Studies in Ancient Mediterranean
and Near Eastern Civilizations

37

This book is dedicated to
Professor Emeritus Carl Nylander
on the occasion of his 88th birthday



Carl Nylander at the symposium in Istanbul, 2017. Photo P. Briant.

*A bowl of wine is the Mirror of Alexander. Look,
It displays the state of King Darius' realm to us!*
(Hafez)

Achaemenid Anatolia:
Persian Presence and Impact
in the Western Satrapies 546–330 BC

Proceedings of an International Symposium at the
Swedish Research Institute in Istanbul,
7–8 September 2017

Edited by

Ashk P. Dahlén



UPPSALA
UNIVERSITET

ACTA UNIVERSITATIS UPSALIENSIS

BOREAS. Uppsala Studies in Ancient Mediterranean
and Near Eastern Civilizations 37

Series editor: Gunnel Ekroth

Editor: Ashk P. Dahlén

Address: Department of Archaeology and Ancient History,
Box 626, SE-751 26, Uppsala, Sweden

The English text was revised by Everett Thiele

Abstract

Ashk P. Dahlén (ed.).

Achaemenid Anatolia: Persian presence and impact in the western satrapies 546–330 BC. Proceedings of an international symposium at the Swedish Research Institute in Istanbul, 7–8 September 2017. Boreas. Uppsala Studies in Ancient Mediterranean and Near Eastern Civilizations 37, Uppsala 2020. 270 pp., with 58 ills., ISBN 978-91-513-0794-7.

This volume contains 12 articles from an international symposium on Achaemenid Anatolia held in Istanbul in 2017. The symposium examined various aspects of the relationships between the Iranian world and Anatolia in the Achaemenid period with an emphasis on Persian structures, presence and impacts on local populations and cultures. The contributions discuss a wide range of topics and address a variety of perspectives, from material culture, archaeology, architecture, and art history to philology, history, literature, numismatics, and religion.

Keywords: Achaemenid, Iran, Persia, Ancient Anatolia, Asia Minor, Cyrus the Great, Darius the Great, Xerxes I, Artaxerxes II, Anahita, Anahit, Anaïtis, Artemis, Aristagoras, Artaphrenes, Croesus, Maussollos, Herodotus, Histiaeus, Xanthus of Lydia, Aesop, Persepolis, Pasargadae, Ionia, Lydia, Caria, Cilicia, Lycia, Phrygia, Sardis, Labraunda, Naxos, Avesta, Yasht, andron, architecture, authority, empire, archaeological excavations, pillar tombs, headgear, headdress, kandys, tiara, wine drinking, luxury, the Ionian revolt, storytelling, Persian, Iranian, Anatolian, Greek

Jacket illustration: Personification of Persian Anatolia by Jesper Blid.

© Respective authors

ISSN 0346-6442

ISBN 978-91-513-0794-7

Printed in Sweden by DanagårdLiTHO AB, Ödeshög

Distributor: Uppsala University Library, Box 510, SE-751 20 Uppsala, Sweden

www.uu.se, acta@ub.uu.se

Contents

<i>Ashk P. Dahlén</i> , Preface	7
<i>Pierre Briant</i> , On “Achaemenid impact” in Anatolia (reading notes)	9
<i>Elspeth R.M. Dusinberre</i> , Impacts of empire in Achaemenid Anatolia	37
<i>Susanne Berndt</i> , The upright tiara of the Persian king	65
<i>Jesper Blid</i> , The andron of Maussollos at Labraunda and its architectural sculpture	81
<i>Ashk P. Dahlén</i> , Living the Iranian dolce vita: Herodotus on wine drinking and luxury among the Persians	99
<i>Charles Gates</i> , Cilicia, 550–330 BC: Persians and locals	127
<i>Pontus Hellström</i> , A chariot at Labraunda	143
<i>Anders Hultgård</i> , Invoking Anāhitā – from Iran to Asia Minor	161
<i>Jan Köster</i> , Failed ambitions: Herodotus’ account of the Ionian revolt and its motivation	183
<i>Lynette G. Mitchell</i> , “What age were you when the Mede came?” Cyrus the Great and Western Anatolia	199
<i>Martin Seyer</i> , Pillar tombs and the Achaemenid rule in Lycia	217
<i>Richard Stoneman</i> , Xanthus of Lydia, Aesop and Persian storytelling	249
<i>Elspeth R.M. Dusinberre</i> , Concluding remarks	263

Preface

The mid-sixth century BC saw the formation of one of the ancient world's largest and richest empires, the first Persian Empire under the Achaemenid dynasty. After the conquests of Cyrus the Great its vast realms stretched from the Aegean Sea in the west to the Jaxartes River in the east. The empire's cosmopolitan policies, based on a shared economic relationship and a pluralistic administrative structure, heralded a period of astonishing cross-cultural fertilisation and innovation in different spheres of culture, trade and learning. These new developments were embraced and carried out in, among other regions, the highly multicultural setting of Achaemenid Anatolia.

This volume contains the proceedings of the international symposium *Achaemenid Anatolia: Persian presence and impact in the western satrapies 546–330 BC* that took place at the Swedish Research Institute in Istanbul on 7–8 September 2017. The aim of the symposium was to evaluate various aspects of the relationships between Iran and Anatolia in the Achaemenid period with an emphasis on Persian structures, presence and impacts on local populations and cultures. The fruitful interdisciplinary discussions at the symposium helped engender new research approaches and, I hope, advance knowledge in the still rather neglected field of Achaemenid studies.

The contributions in this volume discuss a wide range of topics and address a variety of perspectives, from material culture, archaeology, architecture, and art history to philology, history, literature, numismatics, and religion. As always, the editorial process of compiling multiple articles and bringing the final publication to press has taken more time than expected. That this volume can appear in an adequate form is the result of many favourable coincidences. I would like to thank the Swedish Research Institute in Istanbul, its director Johan Mårtelius and administrator Helin Topal, for their hospitality and support with the organisation of the symposium. I am very indebted to all the contributors who made this volume possible with their engagement in things Iranian and Anatolian, and especially Elspeth R.M. Dusinberre who enthusiastically consented to write the concluding remarks and also provided constant encouragement during the editorial process.

For generous financial support I have to thank the Royal Patriotic Society (Stockholm), the Editorial Committee of the *Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis*, Sven och Dagmar Saléns Stiftelse, Stiftelsen Långmanska kulturfonden, Stiftelsen Lars Hiertas Minne, Magnus Bergwalls stiftelse, and Vilhelm Ekmans universitetsfond. I am immensely grateful to Gunnel Ekroth who accepted the book for publication in the series *Boreas* of which she is the editor and to Jesper Blid who willingly agreed to have his artistic drawing of the bearded marble sphinx from the large Andron at Labraunda on the cover of this book. The sphinx and the surrounding images reflect central

Preface

Achaemenid iconography and ideas that are rendered in a local Anatolian style and thus perfectly embody the essential topic of this book. Finally, I owe a debt of gratitude to Brita Alroth for invaluable editorial remarks and comments and to Monica Scheer for translating Pierre Briant's paper from French.

Three contributions that were presented at the symposium in Istanbul could for various reasons not be included in this volume, namely Albert de Jong's paper on patterns of Iranian religion in Achaemenid Anatolia, Olivier Henry's reflections on Karia as a topos of Persian royal display, and lastly, Kaan İren and Sedef Çokay-Kepçe's overview of recent discoveries at Daskyleion in light of Achaemenid multicultural policy. Anders Hultgård and Jan Köster graciously accepted invitations to contribute to this volume. In order to ensure the high academic standard of the proceedings, an anonymous peer-reviewer has reviewed the papers submitted for publication. It is my pleasure to thank the reviewer for the careful review and suggestions for improvement.

While I have tried to make the stylistic form in this volume consistent within each article, I have not imposed uniformity of transcription of ancient personal and place names, but have allowed the contributors to employ the style of their own preference and also to transliterate the primary source languages as they choose. Each contribution reflects the personal character of its author who, of course, is responsible for the ideas or interpretations put forward in the article. Abbreviations of standard reference works, journals and book series follow the ones listed online by the *American Journal of Archaeology*. Abbreviations of ancient authors and works follow the list given in the fourth edition of *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, edited by S. Hornblower, A. Spawforth and E. Eidinow.

This book is dedicated to Carl Nylander, whose pioneering contributions on the architecture and culture of ancient Iran have served as a constant source of inspiration for scholars and students of Achaemenid studies. I am very delighted to celebrate his 88th birthday with a volume reflecting some of his far-reaching interests.

Marbella in February 2020
Ashk P. Dahlén

On “Achaemenid impact” in Anatolia (reading notes)

by

Pierre Briant

Abstract

The question of the influence of the Persians and Achaemenid imperial structures within conquered lands has been hotly debated for decades. With an eye to the example of Anatolia and the many attestations of cultural influences discovered there, this paper seeks to show the extent to which such evidence requires subtle interpretation. In fact, the evidence attests just as much to the autonomy of the local cultures as to reception of Persian and Iranian values and representations.*

Sources and problems

Marked by its dual characteristics of (imperial) unity and (regional) diversity, Achaemenid political formation has often been analysed using only one of these tools. Sometimes we insist on the great homogeneity of the empire, at the risk of giving the false image of a super-centralised political construction; sometimes (more often than not) we tend to insist on the great autonomy left to the local authorities, at the risk of instead emphasising a tendency towards fragmentation of responsibilities, or even the growing independence of local princes and Persian satraps. These are two pitfalls that should be avoided.¹

This problem has given rise to a very large number of synthetic studies and regional monographs, in the last thirty years in particular. I made a review of them in 1996 in my synthesis on the Persian Empire, translated into English in 2002, more particularly in the course of chapter 16 (“Pays, peuples et satrapies: un inventaire du monde achéménide”).² I again presented commented reviews in 1997³ and 2001⁴. I returned to this issue in a more

* Revised and expanded version of an article published in French in Winter & Zimmermann (2015, 175–193) under the title ‘À propos de l’“empreinte achéménide” (Achaemenid impact) en Anatolie (Notes de lecture)’. I warmly thank Ashk P. Dahlén for his friendly and generous offer, as well as Monica Scheer for her translation work. I am particularly pleased that this version appears in a volume offered as a tribute to Carl Nylander, with whom I have a long-standing relationship of esteem and friendship, and whom I had the great pleasure of meeting again at Istanbul at the symposium organised by Ashk P. Dahlén and the Swedish Research Institute in Istanbul.

¹ Briant 1987 = 2017a, 43–73.

² Briant 1996, 713–788; see 718–733, 761–764, 1034–1040, 1051–1052 for Asia Minor and Anatolia.

³ *BHArch* I, 15–27, 87, 94–97, 99–102.

⁴ *BHArch* II, 32–52, 148–156, 166–167, 172–184, 199–205.

recent study, which takes into account all the imperial territories, from Samarkand to Sardis.⁵

To study and analyse the presence and the activity of the imperial power implies, on one hand, that you distinguish the traces of what I long ago proposed to denominate “the imperial diaspora” in the Anatolian territories (as can be done in all regions of the empire);⁶ on the other hand, it requires that you identify the nature of the interventions of the imperial administration and its representatives in the daily life of the populations in all their ethnic, linguistic, cultural and religious diversity. The task is infinitely too vast to be treated within a communication. I will thus concentrate my efforts on a particular but very revealing aspect: the cultural exchanges between the Persians and Iranians of the provinces, on one hand, and, on the other hand, the elites of the countries included in the imperial satrapies. More precisely, I would like to return to the method that must govern the political interpretation of these exchanges, particularly by highlighting the borrowing, in the provinces, of Achaemenid images from the centre of the empire. This is the problem that I dealt with in *Bulletin d'histoire achéménide*, under the title “Images perses dans les provinces”,⁷ which include the relevant bibliography of the years 1996–2001.⁸ Regarding the publications published since 2001, my main objective, here and now, is by no means to pretend to be exhaustive.⁹ I will mention in a selective form studies that are directly part of my topic.¹⁰

This issue has continued to generate a large number of analyses, based on older iconographic corpora and corpora that have been uncovered and/or published more recently. Two symposia were held on this topic, one in Istanbul in 2005, the other in Aarhus in 2008; the first one treated Anatolia,

⁵ Briant 2016, 403–411.

⁶ I should mention in passing that the problem also involves studying the presence of Anatolian peoples in the royal residences of the centre of the empire or in other regions, in the form of delegations, or in the form of groups of workers (Elam. *kurtas*) requisitioned by the imperial administration. See bibliographic items in Briant 2017b, 836.

⁷ *BHach* I, 98–104; *BHach* II, 191–200, 200–206 (“Images royales perses et pouvoir achéménide”).

⁸ The publications of documents from Asia Minor and Anatolia and relevant interpretative studies are widely represented (*BHach* I, 90–91, 95–97, 99–102; *BHach* II, 166–167, 172–183, 192–194, 199–200).

⁹ See also Briant 2017a, 6–11.

¹⁰ The rise and renewal of studies on Achaemenid Asia Minor and Anatolia are marked by the publication of a large number of syntheses (e.g. Debord 1999; Dusiinberre 2013), and regional and/or local monographs (e.g. Casabonne 2004 on Cilicia; Dusiinberre 2003 on Sardis; Roosevelt 2009 on Lydia), or research reports on individual sites (e.g. Bakır 2012 on Daskyleion; Borchhardt & Pekridou-Gorecki 2012 on the necropolis of Limyra; Summerer, Ivantchik & von Kienlin 2011 on Kelainai and Phrygia), on regions (Henry 2013 [Caria]; Carstens 2009 [Caria]; Brun *et al.* 2013 [Caria-Lycia]), on a remarkable monument (Summerer & von Kienlin 2010 [Tatarlı]) or on a particular theme (Baughan 2013). Achaemenid Anatolia has become a subject of study in itself (see İren, Karaöz & Kasar 2017), as evidenced by the number of specialised symposia. Even before the 1997 Bandırma Symposium (Bakır *et al.* 2001), which presented itself as “the first International Symposium on Anatolia in the Achaemenid period”, two symposia were held in Bordeaux in 1986 and 1989 (Descat); another was held in Istanbul in 1997 on monetary circulation (Casabonne 2000); yet another in Rome in 1999 on Lycia and Lydia (Giorgieri *et al.* 2003); and, in more recent years, we have the 2005 Istanbul Colloquium (Delemen *et al.* 2007), the one in Aarhus in 2008 (Nielsing & Rehm 2010), and that in Münster in 2013 (Winter & Zimmermann 2015).

the second the Black Sea and its surroundings (including Anatolian regions, such as Paphlagonia and Caria, and the Caucasus). Both aimed to study the Achaemenid imprint in these territories. In both cases, the privileged documentation consisted of archaeological and iconographic corpora. The objectives of each of them coincided to a large extent:

The objective here is . . . to assess the extent of Persian impact on Anatolian societies . . . [This] impact was doubtlessly very strong. In many regions, the Persian model seems to be imposed upon societies despite the Persians’ respect for local cultures. In this context, we have to take into consideration, for example, numerous Persianizing works (reliefs, coins, seals...) all over Anatolia, from Ionia to Armenia (Urartu), from Paphlagonia to Cilicia.¹¹

The Aarhus Centre for Black Sea studies is currently working on the acculturation process from a distinctly Pontic perspective. The new project is devoted to the most significant phases of the Persian period, [and showing] how clearly the Achaemenids influenced other Anatolian regions as well.¹²

The issue of intercultural contacts in the Achaemenid Empire was also the subject of a specialised section at a colloquium organised at the Getty Research Institute and published in 2011.¹³ This section (“Perceptions and Constructions of Persia”) includes three papers that touch in all¹⁴ or in part¹⁵ on Anatolia, “Persianisation” and its limits. Unlike the two previous symposia, the theme was in principle reduced to the question of the inter-related relations and influences between Persians and Greeks, “and [their] effects upon constructs of identity for both peoples”: a choice that unfortunately does not take into account the ethno-cultural diversity in western Asia Minor, since “the Hellenic communities” were obviously not alone in relation to the representatives of the Achaemenid imperial power.¹⁶ Anatolia includes many communities fully constituted by their history, their language and writing, their habits and customs, their religions and their sanctuaries, whether they be Phrygians, Lydians, Carians, Lycians, Cilicians, not to forget (to the east) the Cappadocians or the Armenians.¹⁷ It is incidentally this diversity that makes the analysis of intercultural processes so complex; it is visible for example in the diversity of languages and scriptures,¹⁸ because, alongside the Greek inscriptions, there are also inscriptions in Phrygian, Lydian,¹⁹ Carian, Lycian, and Aramaic, as well as bilingual inscriptions (Lydo-Aramaic in Sardis, Caro-Greek in Kaunos), or trilingual inscriptions

¹¹ Introduction to Delemen *et al.* 2007, 3.

¹² Introduction to Nieling & Rehm 2010, 8 and 10 (here referring to Summerer & von Kienlin 2010).

¹³ Gruen 2011.

¹⁴ Miller 2011b.

¹⁵ Brosius 2011; Tuplin 2011.

¹⁶ Gruen 2011, 3. The participants did not fail to broaden the point of view defined by the organiser, see in particular Miller 2011b and Tuplin 2011.

¹⁷ See e.g. Toteva 2007. Benda-Weber (2005, 333–336), without forgetting to study the Persian or Greek *antiquaria*, and the processes of acculturation, devotes most of her analysis to what she calls *Autochthone Darstellungen der Lykier/Karer*; cf. also 336–350. See also Işık 2017.

¹⁸ See Briant 2006, 322–330. On the same topics, see Benvenuto, Pompeo & Pozza 2015; Benvenuto 2016.

¹⁹ See lastly Ivantchik & Adiego 2016 (Lydian inscription found in Kelainai in Phrygia).

(the famous trilingual of Xanthos), to which we must add the cuneiform inscriptions on some Daskyleion bullae.²⁰ In the same way, the iconographic expressions of Asia Minor cannot be reduced to what has long been called “Greek-Persian art”; the difficulty is to unravel the different cultural components of a sculpture or engraving, in the making of which one can find, at one and the same time, an Achaemenid (or “Persianising”) motif, the hand of a Lydian or Phrygian artist, and Greek influence (or the intervention of a Greek artist).²¹ For example, we find such terms as “Anatolo-Greek” or “Lydo-Greek”,²² the term “kleinasiatisch-gräko-persische” used by Şehrazat Karagöz to describe the material testimonies of the artistic production in Asia Minor of the Achaemenid period (between Daskyleion and Sardis),²³ the term “Perso-Anatolian”,²⁴ and the terminology of “Achaemenid koinē” used by Deniz Kaptan.²⁵

These issues are also central to recent monographs. I am thinking, for example, of Christopher H. Roosevelt’s book on the archaeology of Lydia. The author emphasises in the introduction that one of the essential problems he has had to face is “the degree to which we can identify broad cultural transformations associated with hegemonic change – especially from Lydian to Achaemenid – through the evidence of material culture”.²⁶ From this point of view, his conclusions are both firm and nuanced in highlighting “Persianisms”, which go hand in hand with “the continuation of Lydian traditions”.²⁷ On all these issues, there are also many interesting developments in Elspeth R.M. Dusingberre’s recent study *Empire, authority and autonomy in Achaemenid Anatolia*. After her previous work, centred on Sardis both Lydian and Achaemenid,²⁸ this book embraces a much larger territory, since it is devoted to the analysis of instruments and manifestations of imperial domination in Achaemenid Anatolia, and their relations with the instruments and manifestations of local autonomies.²⁹ Its chapters 4 (“Eating and drinking with class and style”) and especially 5 (“Dealing with the

²⁰ See Schmitt *ap.* Kaptan 2002, I, 194–197.

²¹ See the suggestive reflections of Carstens 2009, 15–21, 121–126.

²² *BHArch* 1, 100–101.

²³ Karagöz 2013.

²⁴ E.g. Nieswandt & Salzman 2015; Polat 2017; Diler 2017 (“Anatolian-Persian”); Çevirici-Coşkun 2018.

²⁵ Kaptan (2002, I, 3): “Since most of the Daskyleion seals reflect styles that do not coincide with the styles of the seals in the Persepolis seal studies, in the present volumes *Achaemenid Persian koinē* is preferred as a general term. These seals are, in fact, impressive work of Persian art, most of which can be attributed to the western part of the empire.” This category includes 70% of recognised seals (Kaptan 2013, 30). The author specifies that she uses this terminology to define and characterise objects that traditionally were included under the categories “Graeco-Persian” and “Persianizing” (Kaptan 2013, 30, n. 12). She goes further by suggesting “that at some level there was a convergence among cultures in the Achaemenid world, [and that] without that universal background there would be no Hellenistic art and culture” (ibid. 45); cf. also Kaptan 2017, 261. In a completely different argumentative context, I discussed (1979) the relevance of the notion of a “*koinē* achéménide”, which would pave the way to a Hellenistic *koinē* (RTP, 318–323). The term *koinē* is also offered by Baughan (2013, 233–235) (“A late Archaic West Anatolian *koinē*?”).

²⁶ Roosevelt 2009, 7.

²⁷ Roosevelt 2009, 199–201.

²⁸ Dusingberre 2003.

²⁹ Dusingberre 2013, 1–5.

dead”)³⁰ introduce and interpret a large number of archaeological and iconographic corpora; the same is true of its chapter 8 (“Empire and identity in Achaemenid Anatolia”), in the form of a conclusion.

Largely organised around the related notions of “Persian influence”³¹ and “cultural pluralism”,³² the anthology *The Persians. Power and glory in Anatolia*, edited by Kaan İren, Çiçek Karaöz and Özgün Kasar, eloquently testifies to the vitality of this research and the diversity of recently discovered documents.³³ Ten years earlier, this was also the scientific inspiration of the collection of articles edited by Askold Ivantchik and Vakhtang Licheli, about the relationship between “Achaemenid culture” and “local traditions” from Asia Minor to the Caucasus.³⁴

As we can see, the organisation of numerous specialised colloquia and the publication of collective books reflect the vigour that has characterised the discussions on this theme for many years, but has intensified since the excavation and publication of monuments of exceptional importance in Hellespontic Phrygia (Daskyleion³⁵ and Granicus Valley), Lydia (“Lydian Treasure”),³⁶ Lycia (from Xanthos to Limyra), and Great Phrygia (Tatarlı),³⁷ to mention only the most spectacular of them.³⁸ This theme was already at the centre of the Sardis study published by Dusingberre in 2003. Her conclusions were clear. Here are some excerpts:

The city of Sardis in western Turkey, once capital of Lydia and satrapal capital for the region of the Achaemenid Empire called Sparda, may serve as a case study for ways in which new discoveries combined with new approaches let us understand the manner in which Achaemenid presence affected local customs and social structures in one capital of the empire . . . Sardis affords a unique opportunity to examine the workings of the Achaemenid Empire in the western provinces.³⁹

This study of Sardis suggests a radical revision of conventional notions of imperial interactions in the Achaemenid Empire. The impact of Achaemenid presence in the literary and archaeological records was great. We see here a city that thrived under Achaemenid hegemony, that served as a locus for new creative endeavor within the framework of the empire. It is to be hoped that further work at Sardis and elsewhere will continue to develop and elaborate on this picture, filling out our conception of the operation and impact of the

³⁰ See also Baughan 2013, 233–266.

³¹ Polat 2017; Delemen 2017.

³² İren, Karaöz & Kasar 2017, x–xiii.

³³ İren, Karaöz & Kasar 2017.

³⁴ Ivantchik & Licheli 2007. An article also dealt with Sistan (Sajjadi 2007); see the last paragraphs of my article below.

³⁵ See Bakır 2012; İren 2010; İren & Yildizhan 2017; Gondet 2014. Elizabeth P. Baughan (2013, 281) reports the discovery in 2012 of a remarkable tumulus near Daskyleion, announced by Kaan İren on May 30, 2013 at the 35th Turkish Archaeology Symposium; see some remarks and photos in İren & Yildizhan 2017.

³⁶ Özgen & Öztürk 1996; Delemen 2017.

³⁷ See in particular the studies of Summerer & von Kienlin, and Summerer.

³⁸ Of course, we must now add Uzunyuva’s tomb at Mylasa (Rumscheid 2010), which is expected to be fully published; see introductory presentations in Konuk (2013, 111–112); and longer in Henry (2017, 360–365).

³⁹ Dusingberre 2013, 11.

Achaemenid Empire throughout its vast range, throughout the tremendous variety of cultures it encompassed.⁴⁰

As will be seen, commentators working on other materials in other regions have a less sharp point of view and leave a number of questions unanswered.⁴¹

The presence of the imperial diaspora and the institutions of Achaemenid territorial domination can easily be discovered using Greek literary sources, epigraphic documentation,⁴² which has been enriched by remarkable epichoric evidence in recent years,⁴³ and numerous studies of numismatics.⁴⁴ It is to another aspect that I would like to devote my communication. With the help of some examples chosen from recent research, I would like to return here (moreover in the form of methodological questions rather than assured answers) to the political inferences we are trying to draw from the examination of the archaeological and iconographic documentation.

At present, there are hundreds or, including coins, thousands of documented objects and monuments (in the generic sense of the term) which were struck, engraved, built, decorated, or inscribed during the Achaemenid period in Anatolia. The problem under discussion is an interpretative one, especially from a political and administrative point of view. To what extent does such cumulative documentation enable us to draw firm conclusions about the political integration of these regions into the empire? Or, in other words, to what extent does this literature reveal the strength and depth of imperial administration and Persian influences, and/or the uninterrupted vitality of indigenous traditions? In short, whenever we identify a Persian iconic marker on an object or a monument, must we conclude that it was developed or built at the initiative of the Persian imperial elite in Asia Minor, or by a local “Persianised” dynast? And what exactly does one mean by “Persianised”? Or again, should one postulate that, interesting in themselves in the context of art history, these “cross-fertilisations” are not relevant to feeding a discussion of a political and administrative nature?⁴⁵

⁴⁰ Dusinberre 2013, 217.

⁴¹ Since then, the author has refined her point of view in a notable way; see Dusinberre 2016, 126: “In the past, I have looked at [the mortuary remains of Achaemenid Anatolia] to support notions of an active participation in the imperial endeavor . . . The evidence may at the same time suggest resistance to imperial domination.”

⁴² I devoted three recent studies between 1998 and 2003 to the review of three fundamental Greek inscriptions (the Trilingual of Xanthos, Darioaphernes’ inscription, the Letter of Darius to Gadatas); they are found together, translated into English, in my collection *Kings, countries and peoples* (2017a), chs. 2–4, with updates in the Foreword, pp. 6–11. We can also mention the Greek inscription of Mylasa reread by Descat (2011). The author identified there an Old Persian term, or, more broadly, an Old Iranian term (**grastapatis*), which is the name of an existing institution in Hecatomnid Caria on the Achaemenid model (cf. Schwartz 2015, with my comments in Briant 2017b, 835–836).

⁴³ In addition to the now famous Greek-Carian inscription of Kaunos (Marek 2006, 119–121; Briant 2006, 322–327), one thinks in particular of the Lydian inscription of Koloe (near Sardis). It is a funeral inscription dated from an Artaxerxes and mentioning a satrap, probably the Rhoisakes known by Classical sources (Gusmani & Akkan 2004). On the Lycian epigraphy of Limyra, see Borchhardt & Pekridou-Gorecki 2012, where Greek epigraphy is treated by Wörle (2012, 411–457).

⁴⁴ E.g. Descat 1989; Casabonne 2000; Le Rider 2001, 2003; Casabonne 2004, 101–136, 188–223.

⁴⁵ On this discussion, see recently Draycott 2018 and 2019.

Some case studies

I will deal with just a few recent examples in the form of reading notes.

1. I will start from the results of an archaeological survey conducted in Paphlagonia by Roger Matthews and his team, and published in 2009 under the evocative title *At empire's edge: Project Paphlagonia. Regional survey in north-central Turkey*. The primary purpose of this work was not specifically to search for traces and remains of the Achaemenids. But nevertheless, the authors do not fail to introduce the problem when analysing the ceramics of the Iron Age. Their conclusion is very firm, and feeds the so familiar current debate on the Achaemenid impact. Here are a couple of excerpts:

What is beyond doubt is the difficulty in detecting archaeological evidence for an Achaemenid impact on many levels of society and culture across Asia Minor following its political absorption into that empire. An innovative suggestion by Root is that the apparent dearth of Achaemenid impact on the material and social culture of the western empire is the result of a deliberate policy of the Achaemenid rulers that for political and administrative reasons sought to play down the conspicuous presence of Persian power in the provinces on a variety of social/cultural levels. By this standard, the Achaemenid rulers' success in implementing a strategy of low-impact governance is appropriately measured through its minimal archaeological signature. *In any respect, it remains an elusive empire* [Ital. P.B.].⁴⁶

The Late Iron Age evidence from our survey is perhaps the most difficult of all to characterise and interpret, tempted as we are to adduce the available written sources, though from outside the region, as a framework for comprehension of the region's sociopolitical development through this period. What cannot be denied is the broad range of influences, from all points of the compass, on the communities of Inner Paphlagonia during the last centuries of the Iron Age, epitomised not only in their ceramic repertoires but most vividly in their varied and distinctive burial practices.⁴⁷

As we can see, to give a historical explanation of this “archaeological dearth”⁴⁸, the authors refer to the well-known question of an elusive empire, as reaffirmed by Heleen Sancisi-Weerdenburg in her paper of 1990. They also refer to what they call “an innovative suggestion” proposed by Margaret Cool Root,⁴⁹ according to which the Persian rulers “sought to play down the conspicuous presence of Persian power in the provinces on a variety of social/cultural levels”.⁵⁰ As a result, the diagnosis of Matthews and Glatz is

⁴⁶ Matthews & Glatz 2009, 155–156.

⁴⁷ Matthews & Glatz 2009, 161.

⁴⁸ But the insistence on this “dearth” is probably excessive; see in this sense the important methodological remarks of Blaylock (2017, 402–405).

⁴⁹ Root 1991, 3. See Root 1991, 1–7, and her conclusion, p. 22: “In short, I think there are ways of approaching the problem of Persian impact on the western reaches of the empire that suggest subtly nuanced but very assertive presence and cultural interaction. We need to break away from stereotypical formulae for assessing what is “Persian” and what is “Greek” if we are going to advance our discourse.”

⁵⁰ This is an idea that I introduced, worded differently, in an article published in 1987 (= Briant 2017a, 51–52): “Another possibility should not be ignored, namely that the Achaemenid authority could adopt, either willingly or of necessity, a local manner of presenting itself in order to impose its law and control. It is better not to argue by plumping for one or the other – central or local power – and preferable to examine the local ways and means used

rather pessimistic, or realistic (“it remains an elusive empire”), expressed in a gently ironic form (“the Achaemenid rulers’ success”).

The Paphlagonian case is all the more interesting since, at about the same time, Lâtife Summerer and Alexander von Kienlin carried out other researches in a very close region. They published the results in the proceedings of a symposium devoted to the Achaemenid impact. Our colleagues revisited and made new surveys of rock tombs that were already known, and they demonstrated the diversity of the many artistic influences on the construction and ornamentation of these tombs (*Fig. 1*). They concluded as follows:

The three massive, decorated tombs located at some distance from each other at the edges of cliffs in the Amnias Valley, provide important indications about emerging visual language and cultural identity in Achaemenid Paphlagonia. The design of the monuments is a hybrid of Greek, Achaemenid and local elements but stands independent of developments elsewhere in Anatolia. . . . Especially the Persian aspects of the monuments make tighter affiliations to the Persian sphere. The adoption of Persian architectural features and decoration motifs supports the notion that the Achaemenid impact on Paphlagonia was significant.⁵¹

Paphlagonia under Achaemenid domination (locally represented by Daskyleion’s satrap) is also known from Classical sources. In my synthesis, I proposed to consider the possibility that “the links were frequent and relatively intimate between the representatives of the imperial *diaspora* and the Paphlagonian aristocracy”.⁵² The problem has recently been completely re-examined by Peri Johnson in her *Landscapes of Achaemenid Paphlagonia*.⁵³ As a survey practitioner, she was able to offer a new image of the region under the Achaemenids, using different types of documents. She analyses the “tumuli of the Achaemenid elite” and the associated “fortified installations” (chapter 3), as well as the relations between the imperial authorities and the Paphlagonian elite (chapter 4: “Chieftdoms within the empire?”).⁵⁴ It is by no means my project to review an unpublished work

by the Achaemenid regime, case by case. A canal that has been dug using typically Bactrian techniques *could* have been done on the initiative of the Achaemenid authority . . . The sparseness of archaeological evidence for Persian cultural influence is the reflection of a deliberate policy employed by the Achaemenids and Persians themselves, who jealously guarded their ethnic-cultural, and thus political, identity – which is why I use the expression *ethno-classe*.” (I am much more nuanced today regarding the exclusiveness of the Persians of the diaspora on their own values; cf. Briant 2017a, 3–11.)

⁵¹ Summerer & von Kienlin 2010, 215–216. The authors also mention the “Greco-Persian” relief of Afirözü (fig. 18); cf. *HEP*, 699, fig. 55; Miller 2011, fig. 16, pp. 110–111. On the Achaemenid impact on the Paphlagonian tombs (before the publication of Summerer & von Kienlin), see the sceptical remarks of Tuplin 2011, 164, and Briant *BMCR*, 2018.03.17.

⁵² *HEP*, 719.

⁵³ Johnson 2010.

⁵⁴ Johnson (2010, 134) critically discusses the term “local chieftaincies” that I used in *HEP* (661), assuring readers that: “this discourse is largely irrelevant in the postcolonial disciplinary climate, and the study of chieftdoms in the frontier regions of the Achaemenid Empire is no exception”. Then follows an interesting (but somewhat lengthy) discussion of the concepts that (according to her) should be used in the context of the Achaemenid Empire. She concludes as follows (p. 193): “My survey of anthropological literature on the concept of ‘chieftdom’ reveals that it is a product of the European invention of ‘tradition’ during modern colonization. As a timeless ‘traditional’ society, the chieftdom is a pre-state and proto-complex political organization. Although ethnographical work around the world points to an impress-

(put at the disposal of the researchers by the author), but it is important to point out that the author tried to analyse a region like the interior of Paphlagonia, using all the documentation at our disposal. It can be seen that once placed in its proper context, the archaeological documentation is richer than might be hoped, even if it remains unsuited to offer solutions to our uncertainties about social stratifications and the changing relationships between the local elites and Achaemenid power.



Fig. 1. The façade of the Kalekapı Tomb at Donalar, Paphlagonia. Photo L. Summerer.

At the same time, it must be observed that however interesting it may be, the case of Paphlagonia is nothing but one example among many others throughout Anatolia; in many of the Anatolian regions, in fact, it is quite difficult to isolate, properly speaking, an “Achaemenid” period from the ceramic assemblages only.⁵⁵

2. We now turn to particular monuments. Let us first take the case of the Berber İni rock tomb in Caria, recently treated by Olivier Henry in an article

ive variety among societies that are considered to be chiefdoms, anthropological theories have built a type-society out of the variety and incorporated the type into evolutionary models of state formation that archaeology has subsequently adopted . . . It would be surprising if the complexity of these landscapes could be reduced to either ancient literary stereotypes or the ‘mobile nomads’ found in contemporary scholarship on Paphlagonia. Rather than suggesting specific interpretations of the settlement pattern, therefore, the more cogent conclusion is to emphasize generally that nomadic mobility and recalcitrant, trouble-making tribes are fabrications, and discourses of difference are thus shown to justify imperial incorporation.” (I note in passing that the author adopts the same conceptual approach that I adopted in Briant 1976 about the “brigands” in the Zagros in Achaemenid times and during the Macedonian conquest; on this subject see Balatti 2017, with my review in *Topoi* 22:2, 2018: 627–638.)

⁵⁵ The case of Armenia is analysed by Khatchadourian (2011, 484–492; 2016, 153–196); see also Kuntner, Heinsch & Avetisyan 2012, 403, who write: “Strictly speaking, our evidence for the Achaemenid time synonymously labelled Iron III in archaeological chronologies is limited to a few art objects and architectural features, the most conspicuous found almost exclusively in Erebuni, Argıştihenali and recently at Benjamin.”

with the programmatic title ‘Hekatomnos, Persian satrap or Greek dynast? The tomb at Berber İni’.⁵⁶ Dating from the first third of the fourth century, this tomb, quite exceptional, could be the tomb of Hekatomnos, as was already suggested by Louis Robert, some time ago. In this hypothesis, it will most probably have been conceived by his son Mausolus. According to Henry, Mausolus may have borrowed certain architectural features from Achaemenid Persia. Other influences could be added, coming from the Greek tradition. The author therefore asks the following question: “Did the Hekatomnids try to project the image of a certain independence from the central Persian Power?” And he concludes thus: “Between the two rivals, the Persian kingdom and the Greek world, the Hekatomnids appear to have used the power of the former in order to get closer to the latter”.⁵⁷ The uncertainty of the wording reflects, in my opinion, the ambiguity of the documentation.

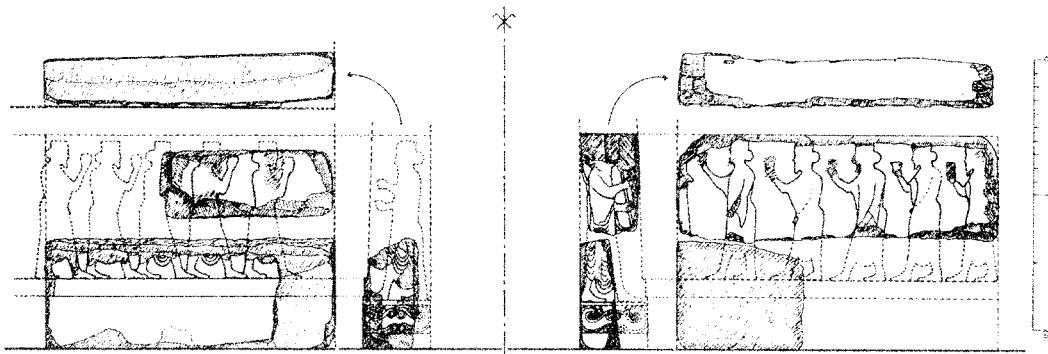


Fig. 2. Persepolitan style procession reliefs at Meydancikkale, Cilicia. Restored drawing by Françoise Laroche-Traunecker (after Laroche-Traunecker 1993, 27, fig. 7).

3. There is a fairly similar problem in Cilicia on the Meydancikkale site. Above the ramp leading to the site, two Aramaic inscriptions date from the Achaemenid era (though they are extremely patchy and uncertain).⁵⁸ Moreover, two carved blocks found on the ground are absolutely unique in the archaeology of the empire. These are the only two examples of Persepolitan-type reliefs found in a province (Fig. 2),⁵⁹ and most probably adorned the stairs of a monumental building, probably a palace (which no longer exists today; these blocks were re-used in a Hellenistic building).⁶⁰ But who decided to erect such a building and to carve such motifs from the centre of the empire? Two interpretations have been proposed: either it was the summer residence of a satrap of Cilicia (Tarsus), or it was the permanent residence of a Cilician dynast who was moved by a desire for Persian imitation.⁶¹ I still think of this example that “il est extrêmement risqué, voire

⁵⁶ Henry 2010.

⁵⁷ Henry 2010, 121.

⁵⁸ *BHach* I, n. 250; *BHach* II, 176–177.

⁵⁹ *BHach* I, 27, fig. 8; see however below pp. 25–26.

⁶⁰ On the discussions concerning the question of the original Achaemenid building, see my observations and remarks in 2017b, 829, n. 11, with reference to recent studies.

⁶¹ See bibliography and discussion in *BHach* I, 101–102; *BHach* II, 199–200; since then, Casabonne 2004, 151–165 (residence of a local dynast).

imprudent, de tirer des inférences politiques à partir du seul examen d’un témoignage iconographique *isolé*”.⁶²

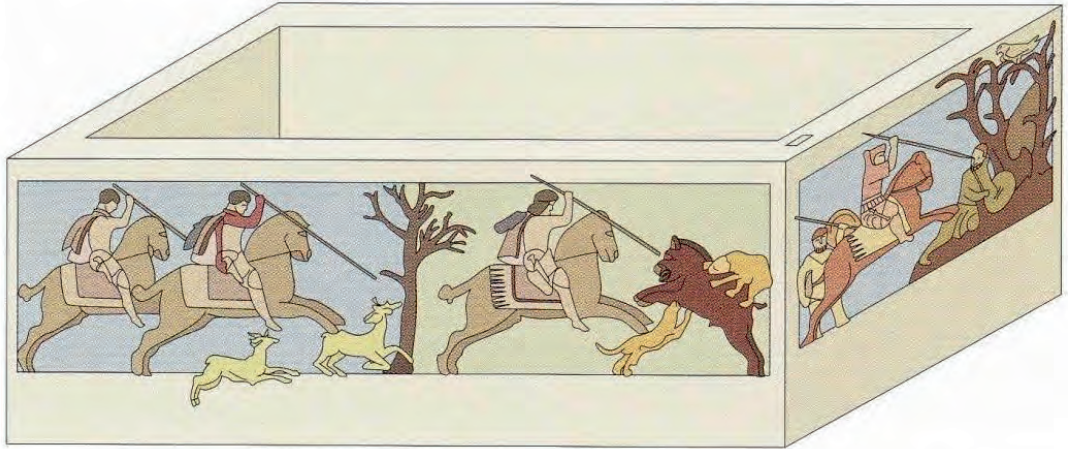


Fig. 3. Hunting and war scenes of the Çan Sarcophagus from the Granicus Valley, Hellespontine Phrygia. Drawing by C. Brian Rose (after Rose 2014, pl. 18).

4. Let us go back to an even more recent document, the famous Çan Sarcophagus, in the Granicus Valley. It is generally postulated to be less problematic, but it continues to pose questions, to which varied responses have been made.⁶³ What can be considered as reliable information is that the bones “belong to a young adult male who died in his twenties”, and one can easily agree on a first observation/interpretation, namely that the sculptures (the Hunting Scene and the War Scene, *Fig. 3*) “can be read as a biographical narrative highlighting the deceased man’s success in hunting and on the battlefield”.⁶⁴ Another statement (open to discussion) is that “Xenophon’s observations regarding Anatolia and Persian customs provide an invaluable framework for interpreting the iconography”.⁶⁵

Regarding the war scene, the authors estimate that “we have evidence for an Anatolian dynast from the western part of Hellespontine Phrygia fighting a Greek in or about the first quarter of the fourth cent. BC”.⁶⁶ As for C. Brian Rose, he makes the following suggestion:

All of these discoveries amply demonstrate the extraordinary potential of this area to clarify the funerary customs of the *Hellespontine Phrygian elite* [ital. P.B.], as well as their distinctive blend of Greek and Persian traditions. The evidence they supply is especially welcome in light of our difficulty in identifying and exploring the settlements associated with these nobles. The

⁶² *BHach* I, 102; from this point of view, the proposals of Dusinberre (2013, 99–101) must be considered with caution.

⁶³ On the different *tumuli* discoveries in the Granicus Valley, see Rose 2014, 72–103, 129–142. On the Çan Sarcophagus, see also Rose & Körpe 2016.

⁶⁴ Sevinç *et al.* 2001, 388.

⁶⁵ Sevinç *et al.* 2001, 388.

⁶⁶ Sevinç *et al.* 2001, 401–402. Ma’s proposal in 2008 to see a Mysian and not a Greek hoplite does not seem particularly convincing to me.

tombs may take us as close as we can get to the interior decoration of elite estates in the political and cultural orbit of Daskyleion.⁶⁷

I must say that I do not clearly see why the rider should necessarily be a representative of the Phrygian elite (local) – the same whom C. Brian Rose himself defines as “an Anatolian dynast from the western part of Hellespontine Phrygia”⁶⁸ – and not a distinguished member of the Persian diaspora of the Daskyleion region. Or, to be more precise, apart from an affirmed but questionable analogy with the Lycian “dynasts” (see below), I am not aware of any documentation whatsoever that would make it possible to decide between the two alternatives. Take for example, a Lydian stele at the Archaeology Museum of Manisa marked with Lydian, Persian and Greek features (*Fig. 4*).⁶⁹ Should such a document not rather be seen as a proof (or better: a clue) of the relationship and close collaboration between the Persians settled in the satrapy and the Phrygian aristocracy, such that it would be impossible to distinguish one from the other on a monument of this type?⁷⁰

5. All these examples take us back to an earlier (but still lively) discussion to which I have just referred: that is the Lycian testimonies.⁷¹ We know, on the one hand, how a whole current has insisted on the determining Persian influence on certain monuments of Xanthos and elsewhere,⁷² and, on the other hand, how Jürgen Borchhardt in the course of many studies on the reliefs of Limyra came up with what he called “the theory of dependence”: by which he means that the representation of a procession, to the heroön, brings together Artaxerxes II and the dynast Perikle in a scenography that would highlight the political dependence of the second compared to the first.⁷³ Without going into detail about the whole of a particularly nourished and contradictory file, I would like to underline two points.

⁶⁷ Rose 2007, 256.

⁶⁸ Rose 2014, 139.

⁶⁹ See Nieswandt & Salzman 2015, 97. The authors evoke two possible hypotheses about the horseman represented: either a representative of the Persian court, or an Anatolian who might have assimilated to the dominant Persians by being represented wearing a Medo-Persian garment. See also below (n. 86) the case of the tomb of Tatarlı.

⁷⁰ See Tuplin 2010, 192: “We know from textual sources that there were Persians in distant imperial provinces, but detecting them in the material record is extremely difficult. Every time a new monument, especially from a hitherto under-represented area, fails (yet again) to provide an unambiguous reflection of such people we are driven closer to a stark choice about native representatives of the imperial power: either they had a real aversion to imposing themselves directly upon the local cultural landscape or (on the contrary) they were extremely relaxed about an engagement with it. There is no middle ground. In the former case Persians of the diaspora will always be virtually invisible and the Perserie we do see in the provinces is almost entirely the reserve of an indigenous elite absorbing and copying modes of behavior.”

⁷¹ On the Lycian documentation, Hoff 2017.

⁷² See especially Shabbazi 1975.

⁷³ On the debates on Iranisation vs. Hellenisation against a Lycian background, see *HEP*, 519–521, 626–628, 689–692, 979–980, 1009–1010, 1021–1023, where bibliography and analyses are found; also p. 692, fig. 46 (drawings of the parades of the Limyra hero borrowed from Borchhardt; bibliographical references in *HEP*, 1021–1022); Borchhardt reiterated his interpretation in Borchhardt & Pekridou-Gorecki (2012, 282–283, 321) (“ein Art Untersatrap of the karischen Satrapen”) in the course of a fascinating exposition of the socio-political organisation of Perikle’s royal court, based on a spatial, iconographic and epigraphic analysis

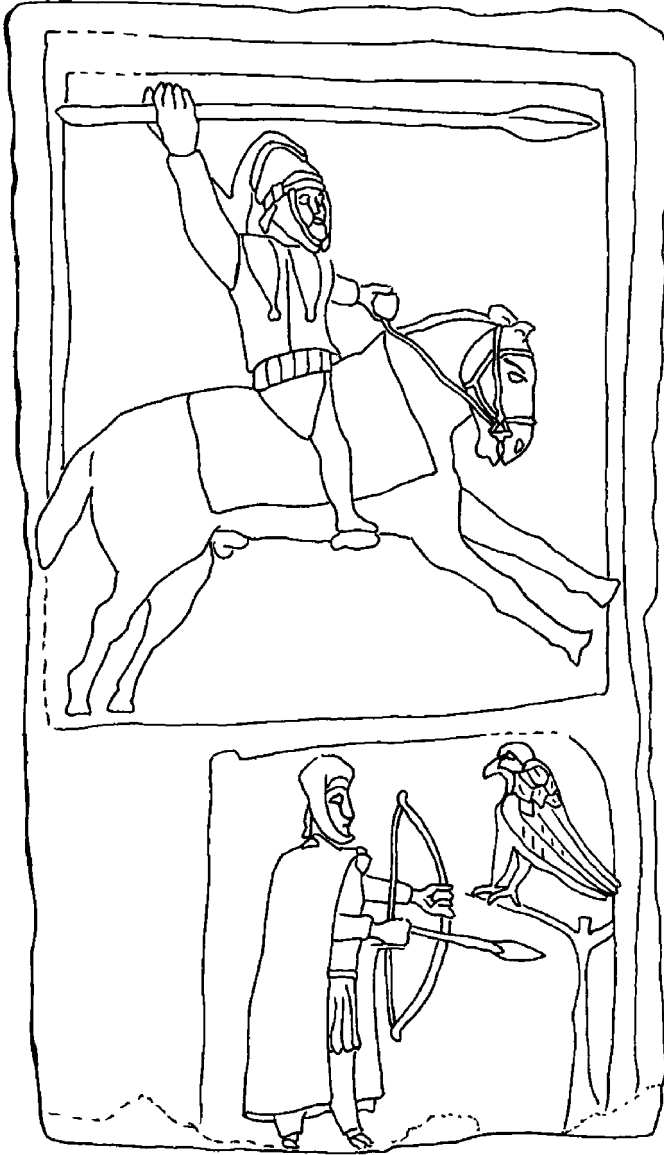


Fig. 4. Lydian warriors in Persian dress. Marble grave stele from Manisa. © P. Briant.

In terms of epigraphic documentation, the Greek epigram of Arbinas, composed by Symmachus of Pellana and engraved on the inscribed Pillar of Xanthos, was interpreted by Clarisse Herrenschmidt as a kind of resumption of an inscription of Darius the Great on the tomb of Naqsh-e Rostam.⁷⁴ But this Iranising reading is not the only possible one; as Pierre Lévêque immediately pointed out, one can make a Greek and/or Asia Minor reading

of the Limyra necropolis (253–276); we will find an update on the famous tomb of Artimas and its bilingual Graeco-Aramaic inscription, in pages (261–266, 310–312) which feed (in a Zoroastrian sense) the many contradictory discussions on Persian burial customs that this burial has aroused (see *HEP*, 923).

⁷⁴ Herrenschmidt 1985.

as well.⁷⁵ The publisher of the inscription, Jean Bousquet, for his part warned:

C'est sans doute vouloir trop préciser et remplacer une couleur générale indéniable par des allusions formelles. L'Achéen de Pellana exprime en vrai centon homérique des éloges convenant à un Lycien élevé à l'iranienne, on ne devrait pas aller plus loin. L'analogie ne peut servir de parallèle.⁷⁶

In other words, the epigraphic text is perhaps less marked by Achaemenid impact than might have been thought.

If we go back to the “theory of dependence”, we must emphasise that it has just been deconstructed in a systematic way in a recent article by Tuna Şare. The arguments presented deserve to be weighed. I shall summarise them. The author challenges two contradictory theses: one that makes Perikle an admirer of his Athenian namesake, set against the Persian rulers; and another that presents him as a loyal admirer of the Great King and his faithful subject. Detailed analysis of the various components of the heroon (the Caryatids, the friezes representing processions) shows, according to Şare, that the dynast is represented with all the splendour of his army, ready for combat, and all his wealth for everyone to see. It is not a local “pro-Persian” or “pro-Athenian” local dynast that we must see here; it is indeed “the King of Lycia” who is showing off in public: “The sculptural program of the Herōon at Limyra reflects Perikle’s kingly power and his *synoikismos* of Lycia in a unique Anatolian manner in an Anatolian context.”⁷⁷ Methodologically, the author insists on a very important aspect: the borrowings from the Achaemenid and Athenian repertoires do not change anything substantially. The very meaning given to figurative representations is anchored in the Anatolo-Lycian reality: “Perikle and his tomb should principally be considered as Anatolian”.⁷⁸ In other words, it is necessary to distinguish between the influences and borrowings, on the one hand, and the functional arrangement that gives its political and cultural meaning to the monument on the other hand; or, if you prefer, the borrowing of Persianising motifs does not necessarily mean Achaemenid impact (in the sense that this term is commonly used today).

6. In introducing her recent review of archaeological research in Achaemenid Anatolia, Lori Khatchadourian situates herself in the wake of the article published by Root in 1991. She writes that “two decades after Root’s defiant dictum, it can be said that the politics of meagerness in the archaeology of the Achaemenid Empire is on the wane”.⁷⁹ And, instead of a conclusion, she expresses her hopes for the future in two stages. The first is a simple observation: “More than half the publications cited in these pages have appeared since the turn of the new millennium, and as many as a third

⁷⁵ Lévêque 1985, 135.

⁷⁶ Bousquet 1992, 181.

⁷⁷ Şare 2013, 72.

⁷⁸ Şare 2013, 72.

⁷⁹ Khatchadourian 2012, 964. Cf. Root 1991; Khatchadourian 2012, 982.

have been published since 2005.”⁸⁰ The second reason for hope is that, “with the abundance of new evidence coming into view, mutterings over insufficient datasets will subside as the work of robust interpretation begins”. I feel myself in perfect agreement with the author, because, while it is true that “there is no automatic connection between the Achaemenid items and Achaemenid power”,⁸¹ the fact remains that the exponential growth in the number and quality of newly discovered and/or published monuments and objects (e.g. the bullae of Daskyleion and Seyitömer, the “Lydian Treasure”, the Çan Sarcophagus or the Tatarlı paintings) bring elements of knowledge which do not only add to what exists, but constitute in themselves a new documentation which, while giving rise to new questions, also modifies our perception.

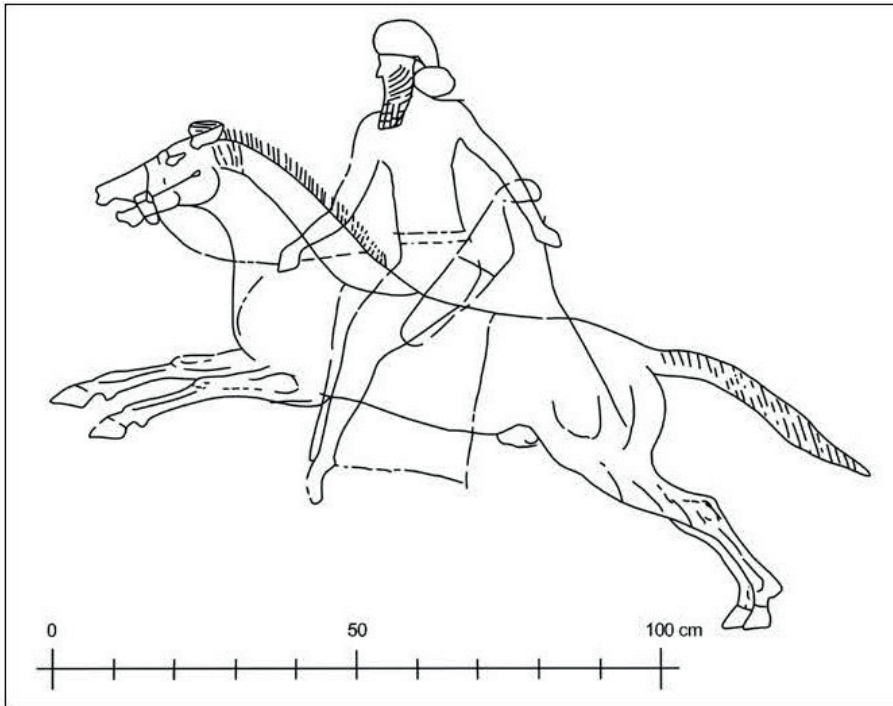


Fig. 5. The rock image of a “Persian” rider in Taymā’, modern Saudi Arabia. Drawing by Helga Kosak (after Jacobs & Macdonald 2009, 366, Abb.1b).

Khatchadourian also proposes not to focus on the reflection on the “impact” of the Persians in the empire. She explains it with the same reasons that Peter Magee independently reveals: speaking about archaeology in southeastern Iran, he expresses doubts about what he calls “the traditional approaches to the archaeology of the Achaemenid Empire, [i.e.] focus[ing] on the search for Iranian-inspired artefacts as evidence for the presence of ethnic Persians”. In fact, according to him, such approaches “do nothing

⁸⁰ See also Briant 2016 and 2017b. It should be emphasised that the acceleration of new documentary publications is not limited to Asia Minor or Anatolia, neither in archaeology nor iconography. It is a very good general trend in Achaemenid studies, including the last phase of the empire’s history (see Briant 2009).

⁸¹ Briant 2017a, 50 (= Briant 1987, 9).

more than to confirm or contradict the historical record”; and he makes the following proposition: “An approach that seeks to understand the social and economic impact of imperialism upon local populations and that contextualises these processes within propagandistic imperial records can lead to a more nuanced interpretation”.⁸² For her part, Khatchadourian considers that the “abused” term “impact” expresses an erroneous expectation that imperialism would be immediately revealed by “abrupt material ruptures and the diffusion of canonical artistic styles of a dominant group”.⁸³



Fig. 6. Detail of painting with Persian motifs from the tomb chamber near the village Tatarlı in western Anatolia. Photo L. Summerer.

7. However justified, such comments about methodological prudence of course do not mean that we should neglect the numerous and important recent studies on the Achaemenid impact.⁸⁴ This simply means (but it must

⁸² Magee 2004, 80, also referring to the introduction of Sancisi-Weerdenburg & Kuhrt (1990).

⁸³ Khatchadourian 2012, 964.

⁸⁴ See, in particular, Tuplin 2011, 161–168 with his pages on “The Persian Imprint”, and the archaeological-iconographic record by Miller 2011a, 334. Insisting that she does not consider herself a “historical colleague”, she starts with the following statement: “The archaeology of Anatolia in the Persian period has become a hot topic of late, in part sparked by important, if accidental, discoveries. But such discoveries fit into the context of a longer developing groundswell within scholarly interests that has seen the emergence of Achaemenid studies as an important new discipline, and against a backdrop of sustained hard slogging in planned and salvage fieldwork across the land. The predominant picture to date here, as elsewhere, is one of selective receptivity of Persian culture, rather than striking testimony to Persian presence. Nevertheless, I will argue that the specific pattern of changes that we see in the archaeological record is significant and informative, even if still sparse. It complements the literary record in one important aspect: the pattern of distribution of the

be remembered) that the results of these publications may be limited by an assessment of the Persian power density in the region. It may happen that the discovery of an impressive but isolated document arouses almost insoluble iconographic and historical problems, for instance the rock image of a “Persian” rider in Taymā‘ in Arabia (*Fig. 5*).⁸⁵ Interpretative problems are not lacking even when starting from a very impressive new “Persian” monument in a province, such as the Tatarlı Tomb, where the Great King is represented “in majesty” (*Fig. 6*).⁸⁶ In this case, as in many others (*Figs. 3–4*), the identity of the deceased is very difficult to establish with certainty.⁸⁷

In general, the ethnic and cultural identification of a deceased person on the basis of construction techniques, ornamental carvings, and/or the contents of the tomb (weapons, jewellery, coins, ceramics, etc.)⁸⁸ frequently raises problems and discussions, as Margaret C. Miller has once again pointed out regarding the identity of the person buried in the Lycian tomb of Karaburun and represented on the parietal paintings.⁸⁹ This is why, even if presented in the form of a hypothesis, the attribution of the tomb to a member of a Persian family of the Troad where the famous Polyxena Sarcophagus was found gives rise to serious doubts.⁹⁰ Uncertainty is removed in the exceptional case of the close association between an image and a text, as in the Egyptian-Persian example of the Djedherbes funerary stele in Saqqara (*Fig. 7*).⁹¹ This is unfortunately a type of monument we are not fortunate enough to have at our disposal in Anatolia.

(perhaps small) Persian population post-conquest. I have no new material to bring to bear to this discussion, but will sketch quickly the main types of material evidence, and then consider what seem to be significant characteristics. My focus is on the range of types, the wide dispersion, and the comparative speed of receptivity manifested; it may be possible to correlate the patterns of receptivity to the prior socio-political structures in the different regions” (p. 319).

⁸⁵ See Jacobs & Macdonald 2009; Briant 2016, 410–411.

⁸⁶ Summerer 2007a, 2007b, 2008, 2011; Summerer & von Kienlin 2010. I must say, however, that according to Summerer (2007b, 22–24), it is not the Great King who is represented; see in the same sense Diler 2017, 292, who considers it to be a Persian noble “emulating Persian royalty”. It may seem surprising that a Persian noble from Phrygia, and what more a representative of the local elite, has been represented according to the canons of royal iconography; but the character portrayed as “Persian” on the lower register of the famous Saqqara stele (below n. 91) offers a comparable example.

⁸⁷ Summerer (2008, 285): “The battle scene implies . . . that the tomb owner was a Persian or perhaps affiliated with the Persian army regardless of his ethnic origin.”

⁸⁸ From this point of view, Stein’s (2014) interpretation of “Achaemenid Tombs” in Hacinebi on the Euphrates will certainly raise objections. On the limits and possibilities of highlighting the Achaemenid presence through archaeology (in the very same region), see nevertheless the promising dynamic balance of Blaylock 2017.

⁸⁹ Miller 2011a, 321–324.

⁹⁰ The hypothesis is presented (cautiously but firmly) by Çevirici-Coşkun (2017, 212–214) (following a suggestion of Bakır), taking into account: (1) the sex (male) of the person buried in this way; (2) the presence of a Trojan scene on one of the walls of the sarcophagus; (3) the joint discovery of a Persian-type funeral chariot published by Kökten Ersoy in *IstMitt* 48, 1998, 107–133, see *BHach* II, 35–36. On the identity of the male occupant, see the discussion by Rose 2014, 95–103, which, without choosing, evokes “the Persians and their affiliates”; see now the detailed discussion of Draycott 2018, 30–41.

⁹¹ See *BHach* I, 34–35, 98–99 (drawing and bibliography). Not only is the bi-cultural iconography striking, with its Egyptian scene (upper register), just above a scene (lower register) where a motif (a Persian seated on a throne) seems to have been borrowed almost directly from the Persepolitan repertoire (although the metallic tiara with a floral pattern is a unicum). Moreover, on each side of the representation (vertical bands) and in the horizontal interval



Fig. 7. Drawing of the Djedherbes funerary stele in Saqqara (after Mathieson *et al.* 1995, fig. 3).

separating the two registers, we find hieroglyphic inscriptions and a demotic inscription which give the name of the deceased: “Djedherbes, son of Artam, born to the lady Tanofrether”. Djedherbes was born from the union between a Persian man and an Egyptian woman. Here, cross-cultural fertilisation is clearly and explicitly associated with a Perso-Egyptian intermarriage (see Briant 2017a, 14, 211, 239–241).

8. Until now, the satrapal residences of Asia Minor have been known through the Greek literary texts, which lead us to postulate that they were replicas of the Achaemenid royal residences. They are also known through the associated objects of all kinds: whether coins, ceramics, dishes, jewellery or seals, as in Sardis or Daskyleion, or even more spectacular, bullae that refer to the existence of satrapal archives (Daskyleion, Seyitömer).⁹² On the other hand, neither in Daskyleion⁹³ nor in Sardis⁹⁴ has the satrap’s palace (or palaces) been properly found. As for the palace, fortress and paradise of Kelainai (known through Herodotus, Xenophon and the tales of Alexander’s expedition), the first surveys that have been conducted there can possibly give rise to hope, but nothing more for the time being.⁹⁵

There is, however, an exception, not in Asia Minor, but in the Caucasus, in what today comprises Armenia, Georgia and Azerbaijan. Since the 1950s, several buildings have been excavated, and the excavations have intensified since the 1990s, thanks to the collaboration between German archaeologists and their colleagues in Georgia and Azerbaijan.⁹⁶ The work and findings can be followed in the reports prepared and published by Florian Knauf and his colleagues in the symposiums *Achaemenid impact* (2007) and *Kelainai I* (2011), and more specifically in *ARTA* 2007⁹⁷ and 2013,⁹⁸ the Achaemenid journal published online.⁹⁹

Major discoveries include a large number of campaniform columns, typical of Achaemenid architecture, but also small, extremely typified objects. More importantly; the excavations carried out on the Karačamirli site show the existence of a vast hypostyle building whose main features are very close to what we see in Susa and Persepolis. With regard to the question that arises (is it the residence of a local prince [“ein Vasalle”] or of a high-ranking Persian officer [“Achaimenidischer Beamte”]?), Knauf answers without hesitation that the majesty of such a construction and the adoption of architectural features of royal residences must certainly signify an Achaemenid imperial residence.¹⁰⁰ And, according to the author, this conclusion

⁹² See Kaptan 2002, 2010, 2013, 2017.

⁹³ The discovery of numerous blocks (often in re-used form) has made it possible to construct hypotheses on the urban planning (e.g. Ateşlier 2001, Erdoğan 2007), but this is still far from an exhaustive restitution of official buildings, which would be based on secure foundations.

⁹⁴ See Dusinberre 2003, 73–74; Roosevelt 2009, 77–80: “The majority of buildings for elite, royal, and/or public functions at Sardis remain better known from texts than from archaeology.”

⁹⁵ See Summerer, Ivantchik & von Kienlin 2011; the second volume (Ivantchik, Summerer & von Kienlin 2016) contains no Achaemenid contribution, apart from the publication of a very fragmentary Lydian funerary inscription, probably dated from the Achaemenid era (Ivantchik & Adiego 2016), and an article by Tuplin (2016, 15–27) on “the western establishment in Western Anatolia”, which only indirectly refers to Achaemenid Kelainai. Apart from the Tatarlı tumulus, which justified the launching of the program (Kelainai I, 33–61), no indisputable archaeological trace of Achaemenid buildings has to date been identified in Kelainai. Achaemenid ceramics were found, which might testify to Kelainai’s role as a staging post (Kelainai I, 250, 260). In all, the prospecting campaigns have essentially documented the Hellenistic and Roman periods, thanks to archaeological and epigraphic discoveries.

⁹⁶ See a short review in *BHArch* I, 25–26; *BHArch* II, 45–46, and several articles put together in Ivantchik & Licheli 2007, 47–128.

⁹⁷ Knauf *et al.* 2007.

⁹⁸ Knauf, Gagošidze & Babaev 2013.

⁹⁹ See also Babaev, Gagošidze & Knauf 2007; Khatchadourian 2016, 145–150.

¹⁰⁰ Knauf 2011, 406.

can be extended to all monuments of the same type found in the Caucasus (Azerbaijan, eastern Georgia, northern Armenia). An exhaustive review is available in the most recent study, where a special analysis is devoted to the Karačamirli site.¹⁰¹ Excavations have revealed large buildings at İdeal Tepe, with campaniform bases and a propylon, which opens onto a landscaped garden, a tangible Persian “paradise”,¹⁰² another palace was excavated at Gurban Tepe, which was designed according to the structure of Persepolitan palaces.¹⁰³ So it is actually a real “palatial complex”, which would be a satrapal residence. Finally, of all the examples known today, Karačamirli and associated sites are certainly the most eloquent and well-founded archaeological evidence of the Achaemenid impact in the provinces of the empire (*Fig. 8*).



Fig. 8. Reconstruction of the *propylon* of the garden (“paradise”) of the Persian settlement of Karačamirli in modern Azerbaijan (after Knauß, Gagošidse & Babaev 2013, fig. 14).

The only possible approximation is suggested by the results of recent excavations and prospecting on the Dahaneh-e Gholaman site in former Drangiana, where we know of the existence of a remarkable mural of

¹⁰¹ Knauß, Gagošidse & Babaev 2013.

¹⁰² The only comparable example is the “paradise” identified and analysed in Ramat-Rahel, near Jerusalem, thanks to archaeobotany, see Lipschits, Gadot & Langgut 2012, 71–74; Langgut *et al.* 2013; Mitchell 2016; Langgut 2017; Lipschits *et al.* 2017. We also know about a paradise in Daskyleion from a text of Xenophon and what is known today as a “bird paradise”, but to my knowledge no archeobotanical study has been conducted there (assuming stratigraphic conditions allow it); see in this regard the remarks of Gondet 2014: “Si un ‘paradis’ perse ou, plus prosaïquement, un vaste parc aménagé, a bien existé à Daskyleion et s’il est possible d’en retrouver et d’en étudier les vestiges, il pourrait constituer le point d’appui principal à une étude comparée des projets d’urbanisation et d’aménagement du territoire mis en oeuvre dans l’Empire achéménide.” There were certainly other paradises in western Asia Minor (Bulut 2017), but none has been spotted archaeologically; the highlighting of a paradise at Labraunda (Karlsson 2015) remains the domain of the hypothesis.

¹⁰³ Babaev, Mehnert & Knauß 2009.

typically “Persianising” inspiration (a chariot hunting scene).¹⁰⁴ Kourosh Mohammadkhani recently wrote about the site itself and new constructions that he identified there, comparing it with Karačamirli:

La présence d’un tel bâtiment à Dahaneh-e Gholaman, comme dans le Caucase, pourrait en outre montrer des liens entre le cœur de l’empire et la périphérie, qu’il s’agisse d’une influence politique (construction du bâtiment sur ordre royal) ou d’une influence culturelle, (décision du satrape ou gouverneur local de construire sur le modèle de Pasargades et Persépolis), ou encore de la présence de Perses dans cette région.¹⁰⁵

This synthesises in a few words the essence of the discussion on the Achaemenid impact, and at the same time clearly demonstrates how and why such a discussion cannot be conducted in Anatolia alone, without reference to the new documentation, which is available to us in many other parts of the empire, from the Indus to the Nile Valley.

Pierre Briant

3 rue du Grenier à sel

F-49123 INGRANDES-LE FRESNE SUR LOIRE

pierre.briant@college-de-france.fr

Abbreviations

BH Ach P. Briant, *Bulletin d’histoire achéménide* I, 1997; II, 2001.

HEP P. Briant, *Histoire de l’empire achéménide. De Cyrus à Alexandre*, 1996.

KCP P. Briant, *Kings, countries and peoples*, 2017a.

RTP P. Briant, *Rois, tributs et paysans*, 1982.

Bibliography

Abaev, I., G. Mehnert & F. Knauf 2009. ‘Die achaimenidische Residenz auf dem Gurban Tepe. Ausgrabungen bei Karačamirli. 3. Vorbericht’, *AMIT* 41, 283–321.

Ateşlier, S. 2001. ‘Observations on an early Classical building of the satrapal period at Daskyleion’, in *Achaemenid Anatolia. Proceedings of the First International Symposium on Anatolia in the Achaemenid period (Bandırma 15–18 August 1997)*, eds. T. Bakır, H. Sancisi-Weerdenburg, G. Gürtekin *et al.*, Leiden, 147–168.

Babaev, I., I. Gagoshidze & F.S. Knauf 2007. ‘An Achaemenid “palace” at Qarajamirli (Azerbaijan). Preliminary report on the excavations in 2006’, in Ivantchik & Licheli 2007, 31–45.

Bakır, T. 2012. ‘Dascylum (547–334 BC)’, in *Ord. Prof. Dr. Ekrem Akurgal 100 yaşında* (Anadolu, Suppl., 3:1), ed. O. Bingöl, Ankara, 1–30.

¹⁰⁴ See description in Sajjadi 2007, 148: “It shows a standing man, chariot rider, with a bow in his hand, shooting an animal, most probably a wild boar. The chariot rider, who is 22.5 cm tall, apparently first threw a lance (fig. 25) at the wild boar hitting its vertebral column, and following that, had shot an arrow hitting very near to the lance. He is preparing to shoot a second arrow at the animal (fig. 26). The hunting scene is 128 cm long and 37 cm high.” See also Sajjadi & Saber Moghaddam 2004.

¹⁰⁵ Mohammadkhani 2012, 16.

- Bakır *et al.* 2001 = T. Bakır, H. Sancisi-Weerdenburg, G. Gürtekin *et al.* (eds.), *Achaemenid Anatolia. Proceedings of the First international symposium on Anatolia in the Achaemenid period (Bandırma 15–18 August 1997)*, Leiden.
- Balatti, S. 2017. *Mountain peoples in the ancient Near East. The case of the Zagros in the first millennium BCE* (Classica et Orientalia, 18), Wiesbaden.
- Baughan, E.P. 2013. *Couched in the death. Klinai and identity in Anatolia and beyond*, Madison, Wisc.
- Benda-Weber, I. 2005. *Lykier und Karer. Zwei autochthone Ethnien Kleinasien zwischen Orient und Okzident* (Asia Minor Studien, 56), Bonn.
- Benvenuto, M.C. 2016. 'Appunti sulla rappresentazione linguistica dell'identità dell'aristocrazia dominante nella Frigia Ellespontica achemenide', *Linguarum Varietas* 5, 25–38.
- Benvenuto, M.C., F. Pompeo & M. Pozza, 2015. 'The multilingual urban environment of Achaemenid Sardis', *Studi et saggi linguistici* 53:2, 245–269.
- Blaylock, S. 2017. 'The Achaemenid level at Tille Höyük on the Euphrates and other evidence for Achaemenid archaeology in South-East Anatolia', in İren, Karaöz & Kasar 2017, 390–407.
- Borchhardt, J. & A. Pekridou-Gorecki 2012. *Limyra. Studien zu Kunst und Epigraphik in den Nekropolen der Antike* (Forschungen in Limyra, 5), Wien.
- Bousquet, J. 1992. 'Les inscriptions du Létôon en l'honneur d'Arbinas et l'épigramme grecque de la stèle de Xanthos', in *Fouilles de Xanthos IX*, ed. H. Metzger, Paris, 155–188.
- Briant, P. 1976. 'Brigandage, dissidence et conquête en Asie achéménide et hellénistique', *Dialogues d'histoire ancienne* 2, 1976, 163–258.
- Briant, P. 1982. *Rois, tributs et paysans. Études sur les formations tributaires du Moyen-Orient ancien*, Paris.
- Briant, P. 1987. 'Pouvoir central et polycentrisme culturel dans l'empire achéménide. Quelques réflexions et suggestions', in *Achaemenid history*, 1. *Sources, structures, synthesis. Proceedings of the Groningen 1983 Achaemenid History Workshop*, ed. H. Sancisi-Weerdenburg, Leiden, 1–31. (English version in *KCP*, 43–73.)
- Briant, P. 1996. *Histoire de l'empire perse. De Cyrus à Alexandre*, Paris.
- Briant, P. 1997. *Bulletin d'histoire achéménide*, I (Topoi, Orient – Occident, Suppl., 1), 5–127. Available online at <http://www.achemenet.com/pdf/bhachI/bhach1-00.pdf>
- Briant, P. 2001. *Bulletin d'histoire achéménide*, II (Persika, 1), Paris. Available online at http://www.achemenet.com/document/Briant_BhachII.pdf
- Briant, P. 2002. *From Cyrus to Alexander. A history of the Persian Empire*, tr. P.T. Daniels, Winona Lake, Ind.
- Briant, P. 2006. 'L'Asie mineure en transition', in *La transition entre l'empire achéménide et les royaumes hellénistiques (vers 350–300 av. J.C.). Actes du colloque organisé au Collège de France par la "Chaire d'histoire et civilisation du monde achéménide et de l'Empire d'Alexandre" et le "Réseau international d'études et de recherches achéménides"* (GDR 2538 CNRS), 22–23 novembre 2004 (Persika, 9), eds. P. Briant & F. Joannès, Paris, 309–351. (English version in *KCP*, 556–589.)
- Briant, P. 2009. 'The empire of Darius III in perspective', in *Alexander the Great. A new history*, eds. W. Heckel & L.A. Tritle, Chichester, 141–170. (Reprinted in P. Briant, *From Cyrus to Seleukos. Studies in Achaemenid and Hellenistic history*, Irvine 2018, 143–180.)
- Briant, P. 2016. 'Persia and the Persians', in *The world around the Old Testament. The people and places of the ancient Near East*, eds. B.T. Arnold & B.A. Strawn, Grand Rapids, 379–415. (Reprinted in P. Briant, *From Cyrus to Seleukos*, supra, 299–327.)
- Briant, P. 2017a. *Kings, countries and peoples. Studies in Achaemenid history*, tr. A. Kuhrt, Stuttgart.

- Briant, P. 2017b. ‘De Samarkand à Sardes via Persépolis dans les traces des Grands rois et d’Alexandre (Concluding remarks)’, in *Die Verwaltung im Achämenidenreich. Imperiale Muster und Strukturen/Administration in the Achaemenid empire. Tracing the imperial signature* (Classica et Orientalia, 17), eds. B. Jacobs, W.F.M. Henkelman & M.W. Stolper, Wiesbaden, 827–855.
- Briant, P. *BMCR* 2018.03.17, review of Fleischer 2017.
- Brosius, M. 2011. ‘Keeping up with the Persians. Between cultural identity and Persianization in the Achaemenid period’, in Gruen 2011, 135–149.
- Brun *et al.* 2013 = P. Brun, L. Cavalier, K. Konuk & Fr. Prost (eds.), *Euploia. La Lycie et la Carie antiques*, Bordeaux.
- Bulut, H. 2017. ‘Earthly paradises: Persian gardens and paradeisoi’, in İren, Karaöz & Kasar 2017, 174–183.
- Carstens, A.M. 2009. *Karia and the Hekatomnids. The creation of a dynasty* (BAR-IS, 1943), Oxford.
- Casabonne, O. (ed.) 2000. *Mécanisme et innovations monétaires dans l’Anatolie achéménide. Numismatique et histoire. Actes de la table ronde internationale d’Istanbul, 22–23 mai 1997* (Varia Anatolica, 12), Istanbul & Paris.
- Casabonne, O. 2004. *La Cilicie à l’époque achéménide* (Persika, 3), Paris.
- Çevirici-Coşkun, F. 2017. ‘The Polyxena Sarcophagus: a Persian aristocrat’s sarcophagus?’, in İren, Karaöz & Kasar 2017, 204–221.
- Çevirici-Coşkun, F. 2018. ‘An Anatolian-Persian tomb relief from Gökçeler in Lydia’, *AnatSt* 68, 119–130.
- Coşkun, G. 2011. ‘Achaemenid bowls from Seyitömer Höyük’, *Olba* 19, 57–79.
- Debord, P. 1999. *L’Asie mineure au IV^e siècle (412–323 a.C.). Pouvoirs et jeux politiques* (Études, 3), Bordeaux.
- Delemen, I. 2017. ‘Prestige objects (insignia) with Persian influences in Anatolia’, in İren, Karaöz & Kasar 2017, 238–251.
- Delemen *et al.* 2007 = I. Delemen, O. Casabonne, Ş. Karagöz & O. Tekin (eds.), *The Achaemenid impact on local populations and cultures in Anatolia (sixth–fourth centuries B.C.). Papers presented at the International Workshop, Istanbul 20–21 May 2005*, Istanbul.
- Descat, R. (ed.) 1989. *L’or perse et l’histoire grecque. Table ronde CNRS, Bordeaux, 20–22 mars 1989* (= *RÉA* 91:1–2), Bordeaux.
- Descat, R. 2011. ‘Autour de la tombe d’Hékatomnos. Nouvelle lecture d’une inscription de Mylasa’, *ZPE* 178, 195–202.
- Diler, A. 2017. ‘Iconography in Anatolian-Persian art: tradition, political realism and paradox’, in İren, Karaöz & Kasar 2017, 284–305.
- Draycott, C.M. 2018. ‘Making meaning of myth. On the interpretation of mythological imagery in the Polyxena Sarcophagus and the Kızılbel Tomb and the history of Achaemenid Asia Minor’, in *Wandering myths. Transcultural uses of myth in the ancient world*, eds. L. Audley-Miller & B. Dignas, Berlin & Boston, 23–70.
- Draycott, C.M. 2019. ‘Art history and Achaemenid history: or, what you can get out of the back end of a bull’, in *Visual histories of the Classical world. Essays in honour of R.R.R. Smith*, eds. C.M. Draycott, R. Raja, K. Welch & W.T. Wootton, Turnhout, 16–33.
- Dusinberre, E.R.M. 2003. *Aspects of empire in Achaemenid Sardis*, Cambridge.
- Dusinberre, E.R.M. 2013. *Empire, authority, and autonomy in Achaemenid Anatolia*, Cambridge.
- Dusinberre, E.R.M. 2016. ‘Resistance, revolt and revolution in Achaemenid Persia: a response’, in *Revolt and resistance in the ancient Classical world and the Near East. In the crucible of empire* (Culture and history of the ancient Near East, 85), eds. J.J. Collins & J.G. Manning, Leiden & Boston, 122–137.
- Erdoğan, A. 2007. ‘Beobachtungen zur achämenidischen Architektur Daskyleions’, in Delemen *et al.* 2007, 177–193.

- Giorgieri *et al.* 2003 = M. Giorgieri, M. Salvini, M.C. Trémouille & P. Vannicelli (eds.), *Licia e Lidia prima dell'ellenizzazione. Atti del Convegno internazionale Roma, 11–12 ottobre 1999*, Roma.
- Gondet, S. 2014. 'Daskyleion: une capitale achéménide. Un projet d'étude des organisations urbaines entre Anatolie et Iran'. Available online at <https://dipnot.hypotheses.org/850>
- Gruen, E.S. (ed.) 2011, *Cultural identity in the ancient Mediterranean*, Los Angeles.
- Gusmani, R. & Y. Akkan 2004. 'Bericht über einen lydischen Neufund aus dem Kayastrostal', *Kadmos* 43, 139–150.
- Henry, O. 2010. 'Hekatomnos, Persian satrap or Greek dynast? The tomb at Berber İni', in *Hellenistic Karia. Proceedings of the First International Conference on Hellenistic Karia, Oxford, 29 June–2 July 2006* (Études, 28), eds. R. van Bremen & J.-M. Carbone, Bordeaux, 103–121.
- Henry, O. (ed.) 2013. *4th century Karia. Defining a Karian identity under the Hekatomnids* (Varia Anatolica, 28), Istanbul & Paris.
- Henry, O. 2017. 'Hecatomnus, son of Hyssaldomus: a unicum in Persian history', in İren, Karaöz & Kasar 2017, 350–365.
- Herrenschmidt, C. 1985. 'Une lecture iranienne du poème de Symmachos dédié à Arbinas, dynaste de Xanthos', *RÉA* 87, 125–134.
- Hoff, C. 2017. *Identität und Politik. Kollektive kulturelle und politische Identität der Lykier bis zur Mitte des 4. Jahrhunderts v. Chr.* (Amaltheia, 1), Wiesbaden.
- İren, K. 2010. 'A new discovery in Dascylium: the Persian destruction level', in *Proceedings of the 6th International Congress of the Archaeology of the Ancient Near East 5 May–10 May 2009, "Sapienza", Università di Roma*, vol. 2, eds. P. Matthiae, F. Pinnock, L. Nigro & N. Marchetti with the collaboration of L. Romano, Wiesbaden, 249–263.
- İren, K. & H. Yildizhan 2017. 'Persian Dascyleum: a satrap center in southern Marmara Region', in İren, Karaöz & Kasar 2017, 332–345.
- İren, K., C. Karaöz & Ö. Kasar (eds.) 2017. *Persler. Anadolu'da kudret ve görkem/ The Persians. Power and glory in Anatolia*, Istanbul.
- Işık, F. 2017. 'Anatolia before the Persians', in İren, Karaöz & Kasar 2017, 24–49.
- Ivantchik, A. & I.X. Adiego 2016. 'Une inscription lydienne de Kelainai', in Ivantchik, Summerer & von Kienlin 2016, 289–299.
- Ivantchik, A. & V. Licheli (eds.) 2007. *Achaemenid culture and local traditions in Anatolia, southern Caucasus and Iran. New discoveries*, Leiden & Boston.
- Ivantchik, A., L. Summerer & A. von Kienlin (eds.) 2016. *Kelainai-Apameia Kibotos. Une métropole achéménide, hellénistique et romaine* (Kelainai, 2), Bordeaux.
- Jacobs, B. & M. Macdonald 2009. 'Felszeichnung eines Reiters aus der Umgebung von Taymā', *Zeitschrift für Orient-Archäologie* 2, 364–376.
- Johnson, P.A. 2010. *Landscapes of Achaemenid Paphlagonia*, PhD University of Pennsylvania. Available online at http://www.academia.edu/390917/Landscapes_of_Achaemenid_Paphlagonia
- Kaplan, D. 2002. *Achaemenid history*, 12:1–2. *The Daskyleion bullae. Seal images from the western Achaemenid Empire*, Leiden.
- Kaplan, D. 2007. 'A channel of communication: seals in Anatolia during the Achaemenid period', in Delemen *et al.* 2007, 275–290.
- Kaplan, D. 2010. 'Clay tags from Seyitömer in Phrygia', in *The world of Achaemenid Persia. History, art and society in Iran and the ancient Near East. Proceedings of a conference at the British Museum, 29th September–1st October 2005*, eds. J. Curtis & St J. Simpson, London, 361–368.
- Kaplan, D. 2013. 'Déjà vu? Visual culture in western Asia Minor at the beginning of Hellenistic rule', in *Shifting social imaginaries in the Hellenistic period. Narrations, practices, and images* (Mnemosyne, Suppl., 363), ed. E. Stavrianopoulou, Leiden & Boston, 25–50.
- Kaplan, D. 2017. 'Seals from Achaemenid Anatolia', in İren, Karaöz & Kasar 2017, 254–267.

- Karagöz, S. 2013. *Kleinasiatische-gräko-persische Kunsterwerke im Archäologischen Museum von Istanbul* (IstForsch, 54), Tübingen.
- Karlsson, L. 2015. ‘The sanctuary of Zeus with the double axe at Labraunda. From nature sanctuary to Persian *Paradeisos*’, in Winter & Zimmermann 2015, 75–82.
- Khatchadourian, L. 2008. *Social logics under empire: the Armenian ‘Highland satrapy’ and Achaemenid rule, ca. 600–300 B.C.*, PhD University of Michigan.
- Khatchadourian, L. 2011. ‘The Iron Age in eastern Anatolia’, in *The Oxford handbook of ancient Anatolia, 10,000–323 B.C.E.*, eds. S.R. Steadman & G. McMahon, Oxford, 464–499.
- Khatchadourian, L. 2012. ‘The Achaemenid provinces in archaeological perspective’, in *A companion to the archaeology of the ancient Near East*, ed. D.T. Potts, Chichester, 963–983.
- Khatchadourian, L. 2016. *Imperial matter. Ancient Persia and the archaeology of empires*, Oakland.
- Knauf, F. 2011. ‘Residenzen achaimenidischer Beamter und Vasallen’, in Summerer, Ivantchik & von Kienlin 2011, 391–410.
- Knauss, F., I. Gagoshidze & I. Babaev 2010. ‘A Persian propylaion in Azerbaijan. Excavations at Karačamirli’, in *Achaemenid impact in the Black Sea. Communication of powers* (Black Sea Studies, 11), eds. J. Nieling & E. Rehm, Aarhus, 111–122.
- Knauf, F.S., I. Gagošidse, I. Babaev 2013. ‘Karačamirli, ein persisches Paradies’, *ARTA* 004. Available online at http://www.achemenet.com/document/ARTA_2013.004-Knauss-Gagosidse-Babaev.pdf
- Knauf *et al.* 2007 = F.S. Knauf, N. Ludwig, G. Mehnert, U. Sens & D. Wicke, ‘Ein Perserbau auf dem Ideal Tepe bei Karačamirli’, *ARTA* 002. Available online at <http://www.achemenet.com/document/2007.002-Knauss.pdf>
- Konuk, K. 2013. ‘Coinage and identities under the Hekatomnids’, in *4th century Karia. Defining a Karian identity under the Hekatomnids* (Varia Anatolica, 28), ed. O. Henry, Istanbul & Paris, 101–121.
- Kuntner, W., S. Heinsch & H. Avetisyan 2012. ‘The Fortress of Aramus in Achaemenid times’, in *Persepolis and its settlements. Territorial system and ideology in the Achaemenid state* (Dariosh Studies, 2), eds. G.P. Basello & A. Rossi, Napoli, 403–416.
- Langgut, D. 2017. ‘The citrus route revealed: from Southeast Asia into the Mediterranean’, *Horticultural Science* 52:6, 814–822.
- Langgut *et al.* 2013 = D. Langgut, Y. Gadot, N. Porat & O. Lipschits, ‘Fossil pollens reveals the secrets of the Royal Persian Garden at Ramat Rahel, Jerusalem’, *Palynology* 37:1, 115–129.
- Laroche-Traunecker, F. 1993. ‘Les édifices d’époque archaïque et gréco-perse de Meydancikkale (Gülner)’, in *Les grands ateliers d’architecture dans le monde égéen du VI^e siècle av. J.-C. Actes du colloque d’Istanbul, 23–25 mai 1991* (Varia Anatolia, 3), eds. J. des Courtis & J.-C. Moretti, Paris, 13–28.
- Le Rider, G. 2001. *La naissance de la monnaie. Politiques monétaires de l’Orient ancien*, Paris.
- Le Rider, G. 2003. *Alexandre le Grand. Monnaie, finances et politique*, Paris. (= *Alexander the Great. Coinage, finances and policy*, Philadelphia, 2007.)
- Lévêque, P. 1985. ‘Observation sur la communication de Clarisse Herrenschildt’, *REA* 87, 135.
- Lipschits, O., Y. Gadot & D. Langgut 2012. ‘The riddle of Ramat Rahel: the archaeology of a royal Persian period edifice’, *Transeuphratène* 41, 57–79.
- Lipschits *et al.* 2017 = O. Lipschits, Y. Gadot, B. Arubas & M. Oeming, *What are the stones whispering? Ramat Rahel: 3000 years of forgotten history*, Winona Lake, Ind.
- Ma, J. 2008. ‘Mysians on the Çan sarcophagus? Ethnicity and domination in Achaemenid military art’, *Historia* 57:3, 243–254.

- Magee, P. 2004. *Excavations at Tepe Yahya, Iran, 1967–1975. The Iron Age settlement*, Cambridge, Mass.
- Marek, Ch. 2006. *Die Inschriften von Kaunos* (Vestigia, 55), München.
- Mathieson *et al.* 1995 = I. Mathieson, E. Bettles, S. Davis & H.S. Smith, 'A stela of the Persian period from Saqqara', *JEA* 81, 23–41.
- Matthews, R. & C. Glatz (eds.) 2009. *At empire's edge: Project Paphlagonia. Regional survey in north-central Turkey* (British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara, Monograph, 44), Ankara.
- Mellink, M.J. 1998. *Kızılbél. An Archaic painted tomb chamber in northern Lycia*, Philadelphia.
- Miller, M.C. 2003. 'Art, myth and reality: Xenophantos' lekythos re-examined', in *Poetry, theory, praxis. The social life of myth, word and image in ancient Greece. Essays in honour of William J. Slater*, eds. E. Csapo & M.C. Miller, Oxford, 19–47.
- Miller, M.C. 2007. 'The poetics of emulation in the Achaemenid world: the figured bowls of the "Lydian Treasure"', *Ancient West and East* 6, 43–72.
- Miller, M.C. 2011a. 'Town and country in the satrapies of Western Anatolia. The archaeology of empire', in Summerer, Ivantchik & von Kienlin 2011, 319–344.
- Miller, M.C. 2011b. "'Manners maketh man". Diacritical drinking in Achaemenid Anatolia', in Gruen 2011, 97–134.
- Mitchell, C. 2016. 'A *paradeisos* at Ramat Rahel and the setting of Zechariah', *Transeuphratène* 48, 77–91.
- Mohammadkhani, K. 2012. 'Une nouvelle construction monumentale achéménide à Dahaneh-e Gholaman, Sistan, Iran', *ARTA* 001. Available online at: <http://www.achemenet.com/document/2012.001-Mohammadkhani.pdf>
- Nieling, J. & E. Rehm (eds.) 2010. *Achaemenid impact in the Black Sea. Communication of powers* (Black Sea Studies, 11), Aarhus.
- Nieswandt, H.-H. & D. Salzman 2015. 'Eine Registerstele aus Alaşehir in Lydien. Anmerkungen zum Phänomen der anatolisch-persischen Kunst', in Winter & Zimmermann 2015, 83–133.
- Özgen, I. & J. Öztürk, with contributions by M.J. Mellink, C.H. Greenewalt, Jr., K. Akbiyikoğlu & L.M. Kaye 1996. *Heritage recovered. The Lydian Treasure*, Istanbul.
- Polat, G. 2017. 'Persian influence on stone carving in Anatolia', in İren, Karaöz & Kasar 2017, 186–201.
- Roosevelt, C.H. 2009. *The archaeology of Lydia. From Gyges to Alexander*, Cambridge.
- Root, M.C. 1991. 'From the heart: powerful Persianisms in the art of the western empire', in *Achaemenid history*, 6. *Asia Minor and Egypt: old cultures in a new empire. Proceedings of the Groningen 1988 Achaemenid History Workshop*, ed. H. Sancisi-Weerdenburg & A. Kuhrt, Leiden, 1–29.
- Rose, C.B. 2007. 'The tombs of the Granicus Valley', in Delemen *et al.* 2007, 247–264.
- Rose, C.B. 2014. *The archaeology of Greek and Roman Troy*, Cambridge.
- Rose, C.B. & R. Körpe 2016. 'The *tumuli* of Troy and the Troad', in *Tumulus as sema. Space, politics, culture and religion in the first millennium BC* (Topoi. Berlin studies of the ancient world, 27), eds. O. Henry & U. Kelp, Berlin & Boston, 373–385.
- Rumscheid, F. 2010. 'Maussollos and the "Uzun Yuva" in Mylasa: an unfinished Proto-Maussolleion at the heart of a new urban centre?', in *Hellenistic Karia. Proceedings of the First International Conference on Hellenistic Karia, Oxford, 29 June–2 July 2006* (Études, 28), eds. R. von Bremen & J.-M. Carbon, Paris & Bordeaux, 69–102.
- Sajjadi, S.M.S., 2007. 'Wall painting from Dahaneh-ye Gholaman (Sistan)', in Ivantchik & Licheli 2007, 129–154.
- Sajjadi, S.M.S. & F. Saber Moghaddam 2004. 'Peintures et gravures murales découvertes à Dahān-e Gholāmān, Sistān', *StIr* 33:2, 285–296.

- Sancisi-Weerdenburg, H. 1990. ‘The quest for an elusive empire’, in Sancisi-Weerdenburg & Kuhrt 1990, 263–274.
- Sancisi-Weerdenburg, H. (ed.) 1987. *Achaemenid history*, 1. *Sources, structures, synthesis. Proceedings of the Groningen 1983 Achaemenid History Workshop*, Leiden.
- Sancisi-Weerdenburg, H. & A. Kuhrt (eds.) 1990. *Achaemenid history*, 4. *Centre and periphery Proceedings of the Groningen 1986 Achaemenid History Workshop*, Leiden.
- Sancisi-Weerdenburg, H. & A. Kuhrt (eds.) 1991. *Achaemenid history*, 6. *Asia Minor and Egypt: old cultures in a new empire. Proceedings of the Groningen 1988 Achaemenid History Workshop*, Leiden.
- Şare, T. 2013. ‘The sculpture of the Heroon of Perikle at Limyra: the making of a Lycian king’, *AnatSt* 63, 55–74.
- Schwartz, M. 2015. ‘On an Achaemenian and Sasanian position *grastapati-, Old Avestan Grāhma-, and Proto-Indo-European √g^hres*’, *ARTA* 005. Available online at http://www.achemenet.com/document/ARTA_2015.005-Schwartz.pdf
- Sevinç *et al.* 2001 = N. Sevinç, R. Körpe, M. Tombul, C.B. Rose *et al.*, ‘A new painted Graeco-Persian sarcophagus from Çan’, *Studia Troica* 11, 383–420.
- Shahbazi, S. 1975. *The Irano-Lycian monuments. The principal antiquities of Xanthos and its region as evidence for Iranian aspects of Achaemenid Lycia* (Institute of Achaemenid Research publications, 2), Tehran.
- Stein, G.J. 2014. ‘Persians on the Euphrates? Material culture and identity in two Achaemenid burials from Hacinebi, southeast Turkey’, in *Extraction and control. Studies in honor of Matthew W. Stolper* (SAOC, 68), eds. M. Kozuh, W.F.M. Henkelman, Ch.E. Jones & C. Woods, Chicago, 265–286.
- Summerer, L. 2003. ‘Achämenidische Silberfunde aus der Umgebung von Sinope’, *Ancient Civilizations from Scythia to Siberia* 9:1–2, 17–42.
- Summerer, L. 2007a. ‘From Tatarlı to Munich: the recovery of a painted wooden tomb chamber in Phrygia’, in Delemen *et al.* 2007, 131–154.
- Summerer, L. 2007b. ‘Picturing Persian victory: the painted battle scene on the Munich wood’, *Ancient civilizations from Scythia and Siberia* 13, 3–30. (Reprinted in Ivantchik & Licheli 2007, 3–30.)
- Summerer, L. 2008. ‘Imagining a tomb chamber. The iconographic program of the Tatarlı wall paintings’, in *Ancient Greece and ancient Iran: cross-cultural encounters. 1st International Conference. Athens, 11–13 November 2006*, eds. S.M. Darbandi & A. Zournatzi, Athens, 265–296.
- Summerer, L. 2011. ‘Die persische Armee in Kelainai’, in Summerer, Ivantchik & von Kienlin 2011, 55–62.
- Summerer, L. & A. von Kienlin (eds.) 2010. *Tatarlı. The return of colours*, Istanbul.
- Summerer, L., A. Ivantchik & A. von Kienlin (eds.) 2011. *Kelainai-Apameia Kibotos. Développement urbain dans le contexte anatolien. Actes du colloque international Munich, 2–4 avril 2009* (Kelainai, 1), Bordeaux.
- Toteva, G.D. 2007. *Local cultures of Late Achaemenid Anatolia*, PhD University of Minnesota.
- Tuplin, C.J. 2007. ‘The Achaemenid impact in Anatolia: a summary’, in Delemen *et al.* 2007, 291–298.
- Tuplin, C.J. 2010. ‘Significance of the Tatarlı Tomb Chamber’, in Summerer & von Kienlin 2010, 186–195.
- Tuplin, C.J. 2011. ‘The limits of Persianization. Some reflections on cultural links in the Persian Empire’, in Gruen 2011, 150–182.
- Winter, E. & K. Zimmermann (eds.), 2015. *Zwischen Satrapen und Dynasten. Kleinasien im 4. Jahrhundert v. Chr.* (Asia Minor Studien, 76), Bonn.
- Wörle, M. 2012. ‘Die griechischen Sepulkralinschriften von Limyra’, in Borchhardt & Pekridou-Gorecki 2012, 411–457.

Impacts of Empire in Achaemenid Anatolia

by

Elsbeth R.M. Dusingberre

Abstract

An explosion of discoveries and publications in the last two decades has enabled a nuanced and rich understanding of what life was like in Anatolia during the Achaemenid Persian period. This paper draws on some of those discoveries to demonstrate why the “authority–autonomy” model can offer a flexible and powerful tool for analysis. It focuses on two behaviours that demonstrate value systems: drinking and mortuary treatment. These form a lens through which we may understand aspects of the influence that the Persian presence had on the western satrapies, including local resistance or reconfiguration in response to imperialism.

This is a wonderful time in Achaemenid studies, a field that now boasts some of the richest and most creative areas of scholarly discourse and invention in the humanities. Thanks to the work of pioneering scholars in the later twentieth century and others who have followed in their footsteps, Achaemenid scholars have long understood that disciplinary boundaries across media could not and should not be maintained when it comes to researching the Achaemenid Empire. Recognising the importance of interdisciplinarity and cross-fertilisation across scholarly approaches remains a defining characteristic of Achaemenid studies, as demonstrated by the contributions to the conference on Achaemenid Anatolia sponsored in September 2017 by the Swedish Research Institute in Istanbul.¹ Indeed, most recent publications concerning the Achaemenid world draw on the rich opportunities and analytical frameworks of multiple disciplines in their presentation and interpretation of information.

The study of Achaemenid Anatolia is in certain regards at the vanguard of these developments. The numerous and varied studies of entire regions within Achaemenid Anatolia in the last twenty years have revolutionised our understanding of Achaemenid impacts on different peoples. Specific studies of individual artefacts or groups of artefacts have increasingly moved away from characterising them by ethnic monikers and toward embedding them within local, imperial, and international frameworks. Broad collections of materials enable new ways of considering people’s lifestyles, concerns, and value systems. The field has also gone far in its nuanced use and analysis of

¹ I am grateful to Ashk P. Dahlén for the invitation to participate in the conference, and also to the Swedish Institute for its superb hospitality and the example it sets to us all in fostering research and furthering international communication and understanding. I am also grateful to the anonymous reviewer of this contribution for helpful comments and suggestions; all remaining flaws are my own.

Persian, Greek, and other verbal resources for understanding the empire from within as well as without.

The authority–autonomy model for understanding imperialism

With much newly discovered material and improvements in interpretive nuance, Achaemenid Anatolia has become a fertile ground for reassessing the empire, its workings, and effects. When I wrote *Empire, authority, and autonomy in Achaemenid Anatolia* (2013) I was trying to think of a way to organise the vast amount of information available for reflecting on this part of the empire. After a number of false starts, I came to consider human behaviour to be the great organising feature of the Achaemenid Empire, often, if not always, transcending geographic boundaries. I ended up calling this approach to understanding empires an “authority–autonomy” model. In my exploration, I wanted to examine authority – I focused on imperial authority, but there are many kinds of authority that we could consider in parallel with autonomous agency.

I will outline the authority–autonomy model very briefly and then move on to consider drinking and dining behaviours as a case study for the way behavioural modification can be used both to cement a sense of empire and participation in imperial endeavour – and as a way to quietly rebel against it. This behavioural category, drinking and dining, also suggests a few options for combining textual, visual, and material culture to think about a problem. I will then briefly consider ways in which tombs might function within an authority–autonomy notional system to demonstrate and create social identity. In both cases, we can trace ways in which people both conformed to imperial expressions of authority and resisted them.

The authority–autonomy model frames the complex relations between imperial authority and various aspects of authority and autonomy within an empire.² This interpretive framework conceives of the empire as a web of relations that includes geographical ones but is not primarily determined by locale. It recognises the fact that different social groups such as priests or the military may have exercised particular sorts of authority and autonomy of their own. It explains such features of the Achaemenid Empire as the tremendous differences in mortuary treatments from one region to another, combined with simultaneous similarity in the mortuary inclusions of the elite no matter where they were buried. The authority–autonomy model is a shift in the way we might think about the Achaemenid Empire or, indeed, empires in general.

I use the term authority here to mean power with a claim to legitimacy, the justification and right to exercise that power.³ What distinguishes authority from coercion or force is its legitimacy. Leadership, persuasion,

² This discussion is drawn from Dusingberre 2013, 4–5 et passim.

³ For authority, see e.g. Buchanan 2003; Shapiro 2002. Definitions of authority vary widely from field to field; here I consider it as the potential or actual exercise of power with a sense of justification and legitimacy shared at least to some extent by wielder and recipient.

and influence play an essential role in manufacturing and sustaining legitimacy.⁴ When these qualities are lacking, other more charismatic leaders are likely to foment social movements or outright revolutions against existing authority. Thus for a socio-political entity to remain secure, a leader must possess acknowledged legitimacy of power in the eyes of the populace as well as military leaders, the administration, and the political apparatus.

Within this network of authority, groups or individuals possess agency. Such agency can run counter or parallel to perceived authority. Successfully allowing for or even implementing autonomous agency is a key element of long-lasting social structures such as the Achaemenid Empire. A major element in the authority–autonomy model is the empowerment of local populations; variability may suggest that the imperial administration did not care about something, or it may suggest just the opposite. A particular matter might be of such importance that it could become a meaningful way for a local populace to resist imperial domination. Or people might exercise autonomy in enacting social identities.

Thus the fabric of this inquiry has imperial authority as its warp, but its weft is autonomous agency. Particularly interesting is the variability in types of autonomy. Autonomy may be local. But autonomy may also spread across an issue regardless of geography; autonomy may emerge in a whole category of behaviour, such as funerary customs, religion, the military, gender definitions, or the education of children.

This article will explore two behavioural categories in slightly greater depth, in both of which we see clear evidence of imperial impact in Achaemenid Anatolia. The first of these is behaviour associated with drinking, the second funerary customs. We observe some very strong overarching similarities in the ways different administrative provinces of Anatolia responded to imperial authority in drinking practices, but some apparently local differences as well. And we can see both participation in the imperial endeavour and resistance to it within this behavioural category.

The analysis I present here is preliminary and probably simplistic, but as an overarching generalisation it appears that the administrative regional elites of Anatolia, a polyethnic group, may have modified their drinking behaviours in ways that reflected and reified imperial authority, while the nonelite participated in imperial construction and continuation in certain very important ways at the same time as they maintained local traditions and, to some extent, resisted imperial sway through their continuity of traditional behaviours.

⁴ Mommsen 1992, 46. For overviews of discussions concerning authority, focusing on political authority, see Simmons 2001; Christiano 2004. Power studies have formed a primary focus of study in social sciences, anthropology, psychology, and others. Since the writings of Gramsci 1971 and Foucault 1980 it has become common to consider power not only as a force that permeates into the “capillaries” of social interaction, but also as a collusive system of “hegemony” in which those being dominated participate in their domination as much as the dominating force itself. See Williams 1977, 110; Comaroff 1991, 23; Bourdieu 1977; Stoler 1997. For a revisionist approach to cognition and power, see McIntosh 1997.

Drinking with style

What you eat and drink; how, when, and where you eat and drink; with whom you eat and drink – these behaviours have agricultural and trade implications, nutritional and health consequences, impact on status and prestige, and potential for cementing old traditions and social structures or introducing new ones.⁵ It is clear that the Achaemenid imperial authority not only recognised but used all these features of eating and drinking, from presenting the tremendous feasts offered by its king to influencing the daily fare of the empire's inhabitants. For reasons of space the following discussion focuses on drinking rather than dining, but eating behaviours afford an equally illuminating approach to the questions explored here.

Most of what has been written about dining in Achaemenid Persia focuses on the King's Dinner – in part because the Greeks commented on it and in part because modern authors, like ancient ones, are flabbergasted by the size and quality of the meal.⁶ This was as true for the king's drinking as it was for his dining. The workers needed to turn the special ingredients of the royal table into a meal were numerous and impressive; a letter written by Alexander's general Parmenion after the battle of Issos, in which he made careful note of the king's baggage and attendants so they might be returned to him later, included the following list of those necessary for drinking (as well as dining) properly:⁷

- 329 Royal concubine musicians
- 46 Garland-makers
- 277 Cooks
- 29 Young kitchen helpers
- 13 Cooks who specialise in dairy dishes
- 17 Beverage-preparers
- 70 Wine-strainers (or -mixers?)
- 14 Perfume makers

For a total of 795 total kitchen- and banquet-workers

What the king drank was also important. Herodotus emphasised the exotic and specialised nature of the king's own beverage. Thus, for example: "When the Persian king goes to war, he is always well provided not only with victuals from home and his own cattle, but also with water from the Choaspes."⁸ This water was a special royal privilege and probably was prized for its health-giving qualities.⁹

How the king ate and drank was as important as how much and what. The prevalence at the Persian royal table of silver and gold cups for drinking wine was commented on repeatedly by the Greeks, to whom by the mid-fifth century the association of precious metal wine-drinking vessels with the

⁵ This discussion is drawn from Dusinberre 2013, ch. 4. See Bray 2003, 3.

⁶ See e.g. Lewis 1987, 80. The meals of Alexander are said by Athenaeus to have cost as much as those of the Persian king, see Lewis 1987, 81.

⁷ Athenaeus 13.608a.

⁸ Hdt. 1.118 (cf. 7.83).

⁹ Briant 2002, 263–264.

Persian elite had practically become a literary trope.¹⁰ Excavated examples of such vessels demonstrate they could be quite large, comfortable to hold a litre of wine or even a litre and a half.¹¹ And some of the precious-metal vessels were inscribed with the name of the king, affording them additional association and status even beyond their weight or size.¹²

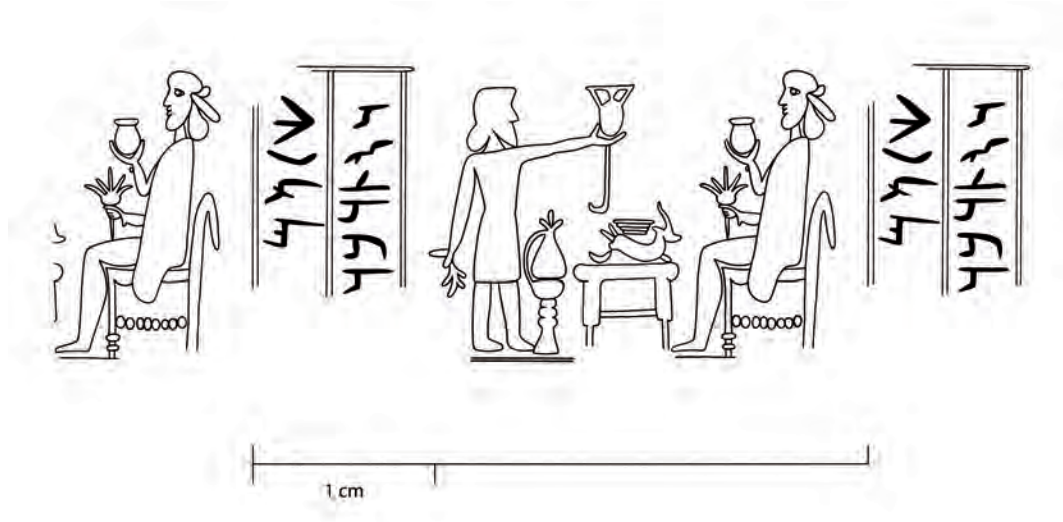


Fig. 1. Composite line drawing from impressions of PFS 535*. Courtesy of Mark B. Garrison, Margaret Cool Root, and the Persepolis Seal Project.

It is at this point impossible to offer a run-down of the Achaemenid-period diet for any region of Anatolia. However, there is quite extensive material evidence to shed light on drinking and dining behaviours. This is critical. In his seminal work, Michael Dietler differentiates between “entrepreneurial”, “redistributive”, and “diacritical” dining in a manner that applies also to drinking behaviours. Entrepreneurial dining is used to build prestige, redistributive dining is vast in quantity and legitimises or reiterates inequality in socio-political power, while diacritical dining differentiates food and dining behaviours to naturalise and perpetuate concepts of differing social status.¹³

Figure 1 shows the imagery on one of the seals used to ratify the tablets of the Persepolis Fortification Archive, PFS 535*.¹⁴ The seal’s imagery shows a wide variety of vessels in use, as well as an incense burner; the emphasis on elaborate shapes is a clear assertion of how much they mattered for power display. While textual material provides evidence for redistributive feasting in the Achaemenid Empire, material and visual culture demonstrate extensive diacritical activity in Anatolia.

¹⁰ E.g., *Ar. Ach.* 72–73: “And those pitiless Persian hosts! They compelled us to drink sweet wine, wine without water, from gold and glass cups.” See also *Hdt.* 1.188, 7.190, 9.80; *Xen. Cyr.* 5.2.7; *Xen. An.* 4.2.27, 4.4.21. See discussion in Simpson 2005, 104.

¹¹ Simpson 2005, 105–107.

¹² E.g., the silver Artaxerxes phiale in the British Museum with an inscription that specifically refers to it as a wine-drinking cup; see Gunter & Root 1998.

¹³ Dietler 1996; see also Wiessner 1996.

¹⁴ PFS 535* will appear in full documentary form in Garrison & Root forthcoming.

The only Anatolian site yet to have seen in-depth analysis and publication comparing pre-Achaemenid and Achaemenid ceramic assemblages, excavated through intensive controlled excavations, is Gordion.¹⁵ At this ancient site, once the capital of Phrygia, a notable change occurred at the beginning of the Achaemenid period, concentrated primarily in fine wares (those used for and visible while dining). This included both an increase in imports and a change in locally made pots to incorporate more vessels of distinctly Persian or Greek shape, finished in ways that increased their resemblance to the foreign imports and decreased their similarity to the vessels of Phrygian tradition.¹⁶ Such changes were seen throughout the entire assemblage, but they were most notable in the vessels used for the serving and consumption of wine.

The satrapal capital of Sardis offers some points of comparison with Gordion. Like Gordion, Sardis had a venerable tradition; home of the Lydian capital where king Croesus once ruled over all of western Anatolia, it was the satrapal capital for this area in the Achaemenid Persian Empire. Most notably, although the Lydian skyphos continues in use as a drinking cup, the Achaemenid bowl was introduced and used side-by-side with the skyphos.¹⁷ Judging by sherd counts, it is the more popular of the two wine cups through the Achaemenid period and also into the Hellenistic period after Alexander's conquest.

Two things are significant here. The first is that the Achaemenid bowls are made of local clay but decorated and fired very differently than the Lydian skyphos. Theirs is a tremendously standardised, probably centralised, production. The second point is even more important. One cannot drink out of these cups as one would out of the handled, footed skyphos. It requires a different grip, and significantly greater finesse not to spill.¹⁸

Both Sardis and Gordion demonstrate significant changes in the vessels used for eating and drinking during the Achaemenid period, both locally made and imported ones. Both show a widened sphere of interaction. At Gordion the quantity of Greek imports, for instance, skyrockets, while at Sardis, the local production of Persian-shaped vessels takes off.¹⁹

The picture is slightly more complicated than it might seem, however. Sardis sees a real shift in diet, as far as we can tell from the evidence available right now, and also in the ways foods are prepared.²⁰ This is surprising, as we might expect diet to remain fairly stable without evidence for major climatic change or similar changes to the local environment. Thus the food habits of Achaemenid Lydia may actually have seen a significant change in response to imperial Achaemenid presence. Under these circumstances, perhaps the retention of the Lydian skyphos is significant. Perhaps it mattered that nonelite people clung to this traditional vessel for centuries

¹⁵ See Henrickson 1993, 1994, 2005; Sams 1979, 1994; De Vries 1977, 1980, 1988, 1996, 2000.

¹⁶ Henrickson 1993, 132–139, 141, 144–147, nn. 173–174, 147–148, n. 188; Henrickson 1994, 113.

¹⁷ Dusingberre 1999, table 2; Dusingberre 2003, 190–191; Ramage 2004.

¹⁸ For the point that the cups become especially precarious if filled with wine above the point of carination, see Simpson 2005, 104–106.

¹⁹ Henrickson 1994; De Vries 1977, 1988, 2005; Dusingberre 1999.

²⁰ Dusingberre 2013, 127.

past the end of Lydian autonomy. Perhaps the skyphos even served as a symbol of Lydian identity, of resistance to imperial pressure, of provincial resistance occurring at the very same time as provincial participation in imperial endeavour. And perhaps it served these functions even if that was not the overt intention of the people using it. We will return to this point.

In addition to excavated ceramic evidence, Anatolia has produced quantities of Achaemenid-period metal wares, largely from mortuary contexts.²¹ Great similarity characterises the drinking vessels of precious materials, as well as those of inexpensive clay, across the Achaemenid Empire. Particular cup shapes clearly served as signifiers of elite status and indicated specific imperially charged drinking behaviours.

Feasting and drinking played an essential role in mortuary behaviour, probably in funerary rites and certainly in funerary goods. Elizabeth P. Baughan has shown that 80% of the pots in the tombs of Sardis are drinking vessels or unguentaria, and hence are associated with banqueting.²² Margaret C. Miller has demonstrated that the figured vessels of the Uşak tombs were made locally.²³ These vessels, and others from sites such as Sinope, demonstrate the degree to which the accoutrements of behaviours charged with imperial authority were adopted by the elite in Anatolia. And the precious materials of which such vessels were made include clear glass, for instance two examples from a tomb in Mylasa and fragments of another that was dedicated at the Temple of Artemis at Ephesos.²⁴

The visual language of funerary iconography emphasises the importance of drinking behaviours for the elite. Mortuary sculptures very frequently show male banqueters reclining on their left elbows against a pile of cushions, overtly raising a cup of specifically Achaemenid elite shape.²⁵ Often a female sits upright at the foot of the couch, her feet upon a footstool. She frequently holds a symbol of fertility in her hand, such as an egg or a budding flower. In this regard, the feasting behaviours of Achaemenid Anatolia depart radically from those of contemporary Athens, where “good girls” apparently did not participate in the male-dominated symposium. Instead we see here a visual representation that more closely resembles that most famous of kingly banquet scenes, carved on the walls of the seventh-century Assyrian king Ashurbanipal’s palace at Nineveh.²⁶

This brings us back to the participation of people in Achaemenid Anatolia in behaviours that helped to empower imperial authority. I wish to emphasise that the shapes of all the cups lifted by the men necessitate different drinking behaviours than did the pre-Achaemenid cups with handles and stable feet. Here it is not just what you drink, but how you drink, that is semiotically charged. It is laden with the message of participating in imperial authority.

²¹ Dusinger 2013, 128–136.

²² Baughan 2008, 287–292.

²³ Miller 2007.

²⁴ For the bowl from Ephesos, see Hogarth 1908. For two clear glass phialae from Mylasa, see Yağci 1995.

²⁵ Miller 2011; Dusinger 2013, 124, ch. 5.

²⁶ London, British Museum, inv. no. 124920.

Mortuary behaviours in an imperial context

Tombs exhibit a wide array of vessels associated with wine-preparation and public drinking behaviours, including cups for drinking wine, vessels for serving wine at the table, strainers and ladles, and even incense burners.²⁷ They offer up cups in shapes seen on the Apadāna reliefs at Persepolis and also elaborate rhyta and drinking horns with the foreparts of animals as terminals. As we have seen, representations of banqueters provide us with visual evidence of the ways these items were used and of the importance that the elite in the Achaemenid Persian Empire placed on proper dining behaviours.

Excavated mortuary assemblages reiterate this point. Roger Moorey isolated twenty-four grave groups at the Achaemenid-period military cemetery of Deve Hüyük.²⁸ These are *not* graves of the elite – yet nonetheless they frequently include a bronze Achaemenid bowl as part of their assemblage. Even non-elite graves might signal the influence of Achaemenid authority on a public behaviour. But at Deve Hüyük along with these status-laden bronze Achaemenid bowls we see local ceramic vessels in local shapes, including one with a built-in straw of a shape that has been called a “baby feeder”, but that may be a mug designed to let one drink a malted beverage without slurping up the detritus that floated on the surface of ancient brews.²⁹ These tombs thus parallel the occupational ceramic drinking assemblages that demonstrate the same point. Across the provinces of Anatolia, people of all social ranks participated in cementing Achaemenid imperial authority via their drinking behaviours – but at the same time people continued some of the traditions of yore alongside the new imperial norms. Thus their behaviours demonstrate a complex mixture of participation in elite imperial practices and retention of nonelite local traditions. They show both autonomy and authority.

Judith Butler has analysed the role of performance in creating and reifying societally determined roles.³⁰ She argues that what may seem to be natural coherences, such as gender or status distinctions, are actually culturally constructed through the repetition in time of stylised acts that establish the appearance and definition of a core “fact”.³¹ Thus, for instance, gender is grounded in performativity, rendered significant because of performance repetition or “iterability”.³² These performative acts need not be voluntary and indeed may be coerced by political or other agencies.³³

Although Butler’s work focuses on gender roles, it is significant here because of the importance it places on performance: what matters is not how you feel but rather how you behave. Performativity creates belonging. It creates a public connection regardless of the initial reason for performance – some may unthinkingly conform to particular behaviours, some may con-

²⁷ See Dusinberre 2013, ch. 4.

²⁸ Moorey 1980a.

²⁹ Moorey 1980a, no. 37.

³⁰ Butler 1999.

³¹ Butler 1999, 135–163.

³² In this, Butler (1993, 95) uses Derrida’s theory of iterability.

³³ Butler 1999, 171–190.

form because they see personal advantages in doing so, and some may have conformity thrust upon them. We cannot discern the motivational difference archaeologically. But when we understand the importance of performativity in creating and reiterating social roles, we see that the initial rationale for conforming to performative norms may have mattered greatly to a person, but it has very little effect on the cultural and political result of the person's actions. From the point of view of imperial authority in Achaemenid Anatolia, it was the performance – the practice of normative behaviours – that was key.

It is crucially significant that Achaemenid hegemony had such an impact on drinking behaviours. That impact extended not only to the elite; people at all levels of society bought into aspects of Persian imperial authority and were participating in its solidity and continuation. Their agency created imperial power.

At the same time, however, it is important to note the continuity of different local shapes and wares alongside the imperially charged ones in the different provinces. People at Sardis continued to use the skyphos throughout the Achaemenid period and into the Hellenistic period, alongside the Achaemenid bowl and its successor, the moulded bowl. People in Armenia continued to use local table amphorae, even as they both imported Achaemenid versions and made local versions of the imperial shapes.³⁴ And some people on the banks of the Euphrates may have sipped beer through straws even as they drank wine from Achaemenid bowls. Moreover, even when people used clearly Achaemenid imperial shapes, they may have used them in different combinations or to drink different beverages than was the imperial norm or desideratum.

This consideration of authority and autonomy, of local continuity under the imperial umbrella, demonstrates the fluidity of imperium, the possibility for local preferences and customs to continue even as they were being intermingled with the practices of imperial authority. Were these continuities subversive, or intentionally counter-imperial? This is a question that is extremely difficult to answer archaeologically. If we consider the question from a slightly different perspective, that of establishing social identity within or in opposition to the confines of imperial authority, we find interesting results. Here, mortuary remains provide us with excellent evidence.³⁵

Mortuary inclusions demonstrate a remarkable uniformity of social agenda and presentation in signalling membership in or allegiance to the imperial enterprise in Achaemenid Anatolia – particularly among those wealthy enough to be buried with prestige-laden items.³⁶ The mortuary assemblages of the elite display an almost astonishing conformity. Across the empire, the elite seemed much more concerned with demonstrating their social status than, for instance, their ethnicity. Thus they were buried with jewellery that looked alike no matter how many thousands of miles apart they lived. Their garments were tricked out with gold foil clothing appliques

³⁴ Sagona & Sagona 2004; Khatchadourian 2016, Khatchadourian forthcoming.

³⁵ The following discussion draws from and builds on Dusinger 2016.

³⁶ For the evidence supporting the assertions in this paragraph, see Dusinger 2013, ch. 5.

that drew on imperial iconography. As we have seen, they made plentiful use of drinking vessels in both clay and precious metals. And their seal stones drew on a focused iconography of power – power vested in Achaemenid authority, not in, say, a Lydian, Phrygian or Lycian background.³⁷

People's mortuary structures, however, add nuance and complexity to identity signalling. The variety in tomb types and markers is striking. Indeed, the frequently local, geographically bounded variability suggests that mortuary structures might serve as a way for different people living in Anatolia to claim particular autonomous identities drawing on a very wide array of options. This paper is necessarily selective in its discussion of mortuary evidence, but we will glance at a few samples.

The tumulus tombs of Sardis in Lydia are well-known.³⁸ The three largest of those in the great cemetery of Bin Tepe across the valley from Sardis date to the pre-Achaemenid Lydian kingdom, and indeed the largest of them is so impressive it warranted a description by Herodotus.

Lydia . . . has one structure of enormous size, only inferior to the monuments of Egypt and Babylon. This is the tomb of Alyattes, the father of Croesus, the base of which is formed of immense blocks of stone, the rest being a vast mound of earth. It was raised by the joint labour of the tradesmen, handicraftsmen, and prostitutes of Sardis, and had at the top five stone pillars, which remained to my day, with inscriptions cut on them, showing how much of the work was done by each class of workpeople.³⁹

In the Achaemenid period and probably in the Hellenistic, use of the tumulus cemetery at Bin Tepe increased dramatically, so that roughly 150 new smaller burial tumuli were constructed. The explosion of tumulus tombs at Bin Tepe seems to be related to a specific geographically-linked statement of social identity and social status, regardless of the ethnic origin of the person interred. It is paralleled by an explosion in the construction of small tumuli all over western Anatolia during the Achaemenid period.⁴⁰ These were often sited on ridges and in areas where they could be widely seen, emphasising the impact of their ideological statement. This was a land of tumulus-builders – but Persia was not.

Sometimes those tumuli covered sarcophagi are of particular interest; I pick two to mention here, both from Hellespontine Phrygia. The famous Polyxena Sarcophagus named after the Greek legend portrayed in low relief on one of its sides, dates stylistically to *c.* 500, making it the earliest relief sarcophagus known in Asia Minor.⁴¹ As Richard Neer has commented, the iconography of this sarcophagus, showing a brutal Greek invader, Pyrrhus, slaying a local princess, Polyxena, at a local site, Troy, takes on particular

³⁷ See e.g. Dusinberre 2010.

³⁸ Over 600 have been documented; Roosevelt 2009, 148. For Bin Tepe in general, see McLauchlin 1985; Dusinberre 2003, 2013.

³⁹ Hdt. 1.93.

⁴⁰ Dusinberre 2016, 129.

⁴¹ Sevinç 1996; Geppert 2006; Rose 2007. Spectacular bronze “bathtub” sarcophagi are of course a well-known Urartian phenomenon, but there are examples of bathtub sarcophagi also from eighth-century Babylonia, Assyria, and Elam. They are thus present in Anatolia in intriguing ways and from an early period, but should probably not be considered Anatolian in origin. See e.g. Wicks 2012 with extensive bibliography.

significance in the context of the Achaemenid Troad.⁴² Here is a complex interweaving of culture and identity indeed.

The images of the Çan Sarcophagus excavated from a second tumulus nearby, show a different possibility for rendering identity.⁴³ It dates to the first quarter of the fourth century and contained the body of a man in his twenties who died of severe injuries commensurate with a fall from horseback in the course of battle. Its portrayal of elite manly pursuits, hunting and fighting from horseback, apparently reflects this individual's life.

Externally visible grave markers included relief sculptures, very often emphasising male banqueters in the manner we have seen already. Sometimes banquet scenes were conjoined with others, occasionally showing a funerary procession and often showing elite masculine activities such as hunting from horseback.⁴⁴

A number of Achaemenid-period grave markers were inscribed, in Anatolian languages such as Lydian, Lycian, or Phrygian, in other languages such as Greek or Aramaic, or with two or even three languages as bilingual or trilingual inscriptions often conveying similar but not precisely the same texts and meanings.⁴⁵ If names of multiple generations in a single family are given, they do not necessarily adhere to a single ethnic or linguistic type. In this way the use of language in mortuary inscriptions emphasises a rich iteration of intertwined ethnic heritages and social identities, a point that is also made very clearly in such non-mortuary evidence as the famous Sacri-lege Inscription from Ephesos.⁴⁶

A different story of identity is told by the Klazomenian sarcophagi, which range in date from *c.* 550 to sometime after 450.⁴⁷ The visual language of masculine power is paramount on these sarcophagi, with their repeated themes of animal combat, divine control, and battle. The concepts of masculinity and power shown here connect the men of Ionia to the men of the rest of Anatolia. A sense of community created through banqueting, however, is not portrayed.

With such emphatic Greek social signalling taking place nearby on the western seaboard, the unique and highly visible tomb at Taş Kule takes on added significance.⁴⁸ About 7 km east of Phokaia, this freestanding tomb was cut from a single outcrop of limestone bedrock jutting above the surrounding valley floor. It dates to the second half of the sixth or early fifth century and includes a chamber in its lower portion, a false door, and a bowl-like hollow that may have been used as a fire bowl. Thus despite its unique nature it seems to shout out Persian connections, a statement made all

⁴² Neer, personal communication 12/2011; Dusinberre 2013, 271.

⁴³ Rose 2007, 254–255.

⁴⁴ See Dusinberre 2013, ch. 5.

⁴⁵ See e.g. Kahle & Sommer 1927; Donner & Röllig 1966–1969, nos. 262, 264; Hanson 1968, 3–5; Lipiński 1975, 162–171; Hanfmann & Ramage 1978, 55–56; Childs 1979, 97; Gusmani 1986, no. 1; Lemaire 1993, 1994, 2004; Kuban 1996, 133; Wörrle 1996–1997, 27; Sayar 2000, 2007; Röllig 2002; Schmitt 2002; Dusinberre 2003, ch. 5, app. 2; Gyax & Tietz 2005; Marksteiner 2005, 36; Jenkins 2006, 155–156; Roosevelt 2009, 155; Dusinberre 2013, ch. 5.

⁴⁶ Ephesus 1631; see Knibbe 1961–63; Robert 1967; Hanfmann 1987; Dusinberre 2003, 2013.

⁴⁷ For these, see Rumpf 1933, 67; Friis Johansen 1935, 182–188; *idem* 1942; Åkerström 1966, 129–130, 208, 231–232; Cook 1981, 148, 150, 153–154, pl. 22; Dusinberre 2013, 168–170.

⁴⁸ Cahill 1988, with refs.

the more emphatic through its contrast to the determinedly Greek nature of the contemporary Klazomenian sarcophagi displayed nearby.

Two Achaemenid-period tumuli at Gordion in Phrygia and the development of imperial elite culture

Two tumuli from Gordion provide extraordinary examples of the actual creation of elite social identity. By the middle of the sixth century, the elite burials of Gordion included tumuli covering both traditional Phrygian wooden chambers and also cremation burials.⁴⁹ I will here touch briefly on some aspects of the last two tumuli, which date to the Achaemenid Persian period at Gordion, both from the third quarter of the sixth century. Extravagantly wealthy, they highlight different processes in elite cultural development in the Early Achaemenid period.⁵⁰

Around 530–525 BC two people died at Gordion; their cremated remains were buried on the ridge to the northeast of the citadel mound under tumuli later excavated as Tumulus A and Tumulus E. At the moment it is impossible to determine the ethnicity of these individuals, but their interment at Gordion early in the period of Achaemenid dominance gives us a snapshot of elite concerns and practices here at the dawn of the Persian Empire.

These burials demonstrate certain connections to other parts of Anatolia in the Achaemenid period – for instance, in the inclusion of elaborate jewellery and furniture, imported or local artefacts with evocative iconography, and the fittings of vehicles that may have been used to draw the deceased's remains to their final resting places. In this way, they fit well into the impression we gain of the elite in Anatolia as a whole. But there are some spectacular elements to them that shed new light on the priorities of Gordion's ancient inhabitants and highlight aspects of changing behaviour.

Tumuli E and A demonstrate some of the processes that marked the creation of empire in the Achaemenid period. They highlight notions of social memory and shared ideology. And they show the development of the remarkable cohesion that united and defined the polyethnic elite of the Achaemenid Empire in terms of their outward, visible displays of status.

Tumulus E is a puzzle, but one with an exciting picture. It was large, fully 65 m in diameter. Its cremation burial has not yet been found, but during the excavations beginning April 17, 1950, Rodney Young's team sought industriously for a chamber tomb without locating one, and it is safe to assume that a cremation was there.⁵¹ Two pits under the tumulus yielded startling and important finds, however. One contained at least nine skeletons of horses and cattle, carefully arranged in concentric circles. Horse burials are known from many places, of course, and Gordion itself has several earlier

⁴⁹ Kohler 1980, 1995.

⁵⁰ The information presented here will be published in full in Kohler & Dusingberre forthcoming.

⁵¹ The excavations were recorded in Gordion Notebook 1 (1950, 131–187), Notebook 9 (1950, 1–27); Notebook 15 (1951, 1–99); Notebook 15 (1952, 101–119). See also Holzman 2016.

examples.⁵² But this assortment is unique. Even the remarkable kurgans of the Scythians have nothing like these concentric circles of horses and cattle, dissociated from a human burial.⁵³ The animals of Tumulus E were buried whole, such that their decaying bodies left vacancies in the clay overlying them; they were not consumed as part of a feast.

The other pit excavated within Tumulus E held a large deposit of metal artefacts including the iron fittings of two wheeled vehicles, dismantled at the time of their burial, now being studied by Gareth Darbyshire. There were additionally at least five horse bits of distinct shapes and sizes with iron mouthpieces and bronze cheekpieces. Most of them differ from each other noticeably but are of the same general family: single-jointed snaffles with long narrow cheekpieces curving forward at the ends towards the horse's nose. One, however, is strikingly different.

One of the horse bits is particularly elaborate. It is a single-jointed snaffle that has large bronze cheek-pieces and a mouthpiece made of iron with a wire twisted about it. The cheekpieces are decorated with palmettes that recall the painted warrior with his chariot on the walls of the tomb at Lycian Kızılbél.⁵⁴ They help provide a probable date for the Gordion bit of c. 530. The bit is completed by bronze rein rings in the form of rams' heads. When the horse was bridled, pressure on the reins would turn the rams' heads to the fore so that as the horse galloped forward anyone in its way would be confronted not only with its own onrushing head but also the fierce force of the little rams as well.

The great majority of the metal artefacts found in this pit consist of bronze vessels associated with drinking and feasting perhaps of a particularly heroic nature, including a bronze tripod cauldron and a large bronze dinos with iron loop handles as well as bronze bowls for drinking. The tripod cauldron had bronze legs ending in cast lions' feet. The bowl of the cauldron was shallow, and the legs were tied together under it by a tripartite iron bar riveted into each leg. The legs themselves were riveted onto the bowl in a manner that would have been overtly Archaic, or archaising, by the end of the sixth century. The large iron loop handles of the dinos ran through attachments shaped like simplified wings, shown in *Fig. 2*, a far cry from the elaborate dinoi of Gordion's illustrious past, but perhaps a reference to it, a recollection in the collective memory of those at Gordion now, as *Fig. 3* shows.

⁵² Tumulus KY and Tumulus D. For KY, see Kohler 1995.

⁵³ Two of the most spectacular nomadic burials are Arzhan Kurgan 1 and 2; the first of these (dating to the late ninth or early eighth century BC) included 140 horses and the second (dating to the middle of the seventh century) sixteen horses (plus 22 kg of gold). Interestingly, those horses that could be aged and sexed were all stallions age 12 and over – that is, stallions past the prime age for siring healthy foals (Bourova 2004). Thus the enormous display of wealth inherent in slaughtering and burying these animals may have done double-duty by culling the herds of less-desirable stock. For these burials, see e.g. Griaznov 1980; Rolle 1989; Bourova 2004; Chugunov, Parzinger & Nagler 2004; Zaitseva *et al.* 2007. I am grateful to Peter Kuniholm for his thoughts and bibliographic suggestions regarding the Scythians.

⁵⁴ For Kızılbél, see Mellink, Bridges & di Vignale 1998.



Fig. 2. Handle attachment from a very large bronze lebes cauldron from Tumulus E, Gordion B 426. Photo G. Bieg. © Gordion Archaeological Project.



Fig. 3. Handle attachment from a large bronze lebes cauldron from Tumulus MM, Gordion B 842. Photo G. Bieg. © Gordion Archaeological Project.

The deposits have no precise parallels and open our eyes to the variety of ways a vast expenditure of wealth might mark a burial. The metalwares as a group connect the presumed occupant of the tomb to the practices and expressions of elite male authority during the Achaemenid period in general. Indeed, throughout Anatolia the Achaemenid period saw an emphasis on elite masculine participation in communal drinking and in difficult endeavours on horseback, particularly hunting and fighting. But I find it intriguing

that the combination of horse sacrifice and the cauldrons resonates with Homeric overtones, and I think we should not dismiss the notion that such a reference to Greek heroic splendour might have been intentional in the case of Tumulus E. Indeed, Tumulus E perhaps offers additional support for the notion that Greek heroic epic had its roots in Anatolia.⁵⁵ This suggestion is augmented by the fact that the vessels in Tumulus E were emphatically “killed” – the legs of the tripod were torn off and bent, while the dinos was crushed and folded, as was at least one of the bronze bowls. The link between “killed” vessels and hero cult has been established elsewhere and underscores the connection here between Tumulus E, monu-mental burial, and heroic epic.⁵⁶

What a contrast we see when we turn to Tumulus A, a mound 31 metres in diameter that covered the cremated remains and exceptionally wealthy associated grave goods of a young female who was buried around 525 BC. This tumulus was to be an indicator of Rodney Young’s extraordinary luck as an excavator, for the Gordion Archaeological Project uncovered gold here on the very first day of excavations, March 27, 1950.⁵⁷ The cremation took place elsewhere, while a concave, circular, laid, white clay floor was created to serve as the base for the tumulus. A shallow pit was dug through this floor; the ashes and bone chips from the cremation were partly interred here and partly in a Lydian amphora with pendant hooks, resembling those from the destruction level at Sardis, that was placed on the clay floor next to the pit. With the bones and ashes were several teeth that were described by the excavator as being small, and therefore perhaps juvenile, as well as wisps of burned textile and angora rabbit fur. To the edge of the white floor were placed the iron fittings of a two-wheeled vehicle, carefully dismantled and stacked, and two horse bits.

This young female was buried with a remarkable quantity of objects. These included no fewer than eight lydions, of which at least three, according to Crawford Hallock Greenewalt Jr., were made in Lydia and indeed possibly at Sardis, at least three were local versions, and one – neither Lydian nor local – was painted with unusual wavy vertical lines to imitate the Lydian marbling technique.⁵⁸ All of the local lydions, the pseudo-marbled one, and one of the Lydian ones were severely burned, probably in the cremation fire, and might have contributed their scented contents to the overall impact of that blaze. Also burned with the body was a pair of elaborate boat-shaped gold earrings with beaded wire and granulation; another almost identical pair was not burned, but rather mixed with the ashes later.

The fact that the mortuary artefacts included two virtually identical pairs of earrings highlights an important point, first articulated by Jane Hickman

⁵⁵ For the connections between Anatolia and Greek heroic epic, see Bachvarova 2016.

⁵⁶ For an association of “killed” vessels with hero cult, see e.g. Antonaccio 1995, 200 et passim (esp. 54 for the lion-footed tripod in Grave 2 at Prosymna); for tripods in particular, see Boehringer 2001, 100, 156, 199.

⁵⁷ See Kohler 1980. R.S. Young published early announcements of his excavation of Tumulus A in Young 1950, 199; Young 1951, 11; Young 1952, 20.

⁵⁸ Greenewalt 1966. The three Lydian imports are decorated with streaky glaze and horizontal stripes, a standard surface treatment for Sardian Lydia of the time. See Gürtekin Demir forthcoming.

who is studying the jewellery from this burial. Far more jewellery is interred in Tumulus A than any person could have worn at any one time. It includes 161 gold and electrum objects, including beads, pendants and chains, earrings, bracelets, and various miscellaneous items including a probable rattle. Most of the jewellery was found with the bones and ashes in the burial pit. Some objects were melted or blackened, indicating they were placed with the burial at the time of cremation or soon after when the embers were still hot. Other objects appear in good or excellent condition and were probably placed with the burial after the embers had cooled. The various items include two pairs of earrings and at least two or perhaps as many as four necklaces, of which one was electrum and the rest gold.

Unmarried female burials were often very wealthy around the Aegean, but I wonder if there are other things going on here as well. Overall the quality of the jewellery in Tumulus A, with some notable exceptions, is not as good as that seen in the somewhat later Uşak tombs; those objects displayed more granulation and greater variety than these earlier artefacts from Gordion.⁵⁹ The material in Tumulus A, with its varied craftsmanship, is probably the product of multiple workshops. Some of it may have been imported from elsewhere in Anatolia, and Hickman draws particular connections to workshops at Sardis and Ephesos in her study.⁶⁰

The most probable explanation for the quantity of material found in Tumulus A is that it was tribute paid to someone important who died, an offering of homage, and/or a demonstration of collective grief that may have broader Anatolian links as well as simply being seen at Gordion.⁶¹ Herodotus tells that the tyrant of Corinth, Periander, who had close ties to the Lydians, added the jewellery of the women of Corinth to the grave of his wife Melissa (5.92f–g). Croesus of Lydia himself commanded that each of the Lydians should make offerings in honour of his dead son Atys (1.50). And a later Greek account⁶² describes a sacrifice by Midas of Phrygia of “what was most precious”, in order to propitiate the gods after an earthquake. The people threw “gold and silver and women’s jewellery” into the chasm left by the earthquake, which was followed by none less than Midas’ son Anchyros who realised human life was the most precious thing of all and hurled himself into the abyss. These stories of jewellery added as tribute in association with human death are borne out by the discovery in the Great Tumulus (Tumulus MM) at Gordion of dozens of bronze fibulae, apparently contained in a cloth bag and deposited at the bier of King Gordios, father of Midas himself – an offering that Richard Liebhart has long suggested should be understood as tribute.⁶³

This is interesting in itself, but there are two points of real significance here with regard to the issue of creating empire and crafting elite cohesion as an element of overarching imperial authority. One is that this is a part of the world where people were very aware of each other’s jewellery and wealth;

⁵⁹ Özgen & Öztürk 1996.

⁶⁰ Cf. Kohler & Dusinberre forthcoming.

⁶¹ I am grateful to Mark Munn for first suggesting this interpretation at the annual convention of the American Institute of Archaeology in San Francisco, January 2016.

⁶² Callisthenes, *FGrHist* 124.F.56, preserved in Plutarch, *Parallela minora* 5.306ef.

⁶³ Liebhart personal communication, summer 2016. For MM, see Young 1981.

these expressions of elite culture were on display and bore meaning. Another has to do with the communication of ideas through publicly visible signifiers.



Fig. 4. Gold lion's-head bracelet from Tumulus A, Gordion J 1. Photo G. Bieg. © Gordion Archaeological Project.

One of the most striking items from Tumulus A is a gold bracelet with lion's-head terminals, shown in *Fig. 4*. This is a splendid example of a shape that was common in the Achaemenid Empire. It provides a clear link between elite display at Gordion and elite display elsewhere in the empire. And the fact that a second, less-high-quality version of such a bracelet was also buried in Tumulus A, as seen in *Fig. 5*, reveals an aspect of how the process of elite homogenisation might have worked. That is, this example may have been produced by someone new to the field, as it were, an artisan who was emulating a model to create a new style now in demand by Achaemenid elites, rather than someone who had been brought up in that craft tradition.⁶⁴

⁶⁴ Jane Hickman, in Kohler & Dusinberre forthcoming, describes the technical differences that go along with the aesthetic style.



Fig. 5. Gold lion's head attachment for a bracelet from Tumulus A, Gordion J 13. Photo G. Bieg. © Gordion Archaeological Project.

We see here at Gordion less skilled, or perhaps less practised, workshops endeavouring to create the trademarks of elite expression in use at the same time as examples of the highest quality craftsmanship. This combination lets us see the noble locally-made artefacts of the later tombs in Achaemenid Anatolia as the expert result of traceable cultural and artistic developments. The increased communication across vast tracts of land, for which there is now much evidence in the Achaemenid period, enabled the sharing of ideas and behaviours to lead to a remarkable similarity of elite expression combined with continuity in particular local customs. The agency of the elite and the artefacts they displayed and used helped create and perpetuate cohesive imperial power at all levels of society.

Thus Tumulus A combines with Tumulus E to provide a remarkable snapshot of Gordion around 525. These tumuli draw on the pre-Achaemenid Phrygian past in their form, but through their contents demonstrate the cultural fluidity that characterised the development of elite behaviours in Anatolia at the beginning of the Achaemenid period. They highlight the wide reach of human interactions in the third quarter of the sixth century – in geographical, artisanal, visual, material, and behavioural terms. Thus they demonstrate what it meant to be a member of the elite at Gordion in the Early Achaemenid period, an identity that was apparently not Persian, Greek, Phrygian, Lydian, or any other specific ethnicity, but rather drew on and amalgamated the expressions of multiple elite behaviours and affiliations to

create something new. And they show us the apparent endpoint of a centuries-long tradition of elite burials that were vastly expensive in terms of labour and grave goods.

The tombs of the non-elite

But what about those who were not elite? Let us look again at Deve Hüyük, on the banks of the Euphrates, for it allows us some insight into the complex identities of non-elite people.⁶⁵ Grave goods include Caspian coarse-ware anthropomorphic lamps and a zoomorphic rhyton; Attic Greek vessels and two coins; Egyptian faience flasks and *wadjet* eyes; iron weapons, including the Persian short sword as well as spears, quiver elements and battle-axes; trilobate arrowheads; horse bits and a horse bell; terracotta rider figurines; bronze phialae and Achaemenid bowls; and many other items. From them we can see that the activities that united men in imperially charged ways – fighting, working with horses, drinking wine together in a particular manner using particular kinds of cups – formed a significant part of the behaviours attested at Deve Hüyük.

What makes this particularly interesting is that the Caspian pottery found in the graves of Deve Hüyük is by and large not fancy or elegant tableware, and may suggest the original geographic origin of at least some of the troops interred here. These non-elite graves thus demonstrate shared manly activities conducted by people who may have come to Anatolia from the distant Caspian, who fought using Achaemenid weaponry, and who used Greek and Egyptian imports at the same time as they drank from specifically Achaemenid wine cups. Deve Hüyük demonstrates the extraordinary intermingling of peoples, opportunities, and identities that the Achaemenid Empire might provide.

Cultural hybridity and social identity

Some of the most complex and famous tombs of Achaemenid Anatolia are of course those of Lycia. Even a cursory glance yields interesting results. The two tumulus tombs of Elmalı show interesting manifestations of autonomy and authority.⁶⁶ The tomb at Kızılbél is the earlier, dating probably to the third quarter of the sixth century.⁶⁷ Its walls were painted in a style that the excavators argue was local, incorporating as it does aspects of Greek, Urartian, and Assyrian techniques.⁶⁸ The paintings include images from the Greek traditions of Gorgons, Pegasus (steed of that native Lycian son, Bellerophon), and the murder of the Trojan prince Troilos by Achilles.⁶⁹

⁶⁵ Moorey 1980a.

⁶⁶ Investigation of these tombs started in 1970. See Mellink, Bridges & di Vignale 1998 with refs. Stella Miller-Collett is overseeing the final publication of Karaburun II.

⁶⁷ Mellink, Bridges & di Vignale 1998, 55.

⁶⁸ Mellink, Bridges & di Vignale 1998, esp. 57, 63.

⁶⁹ Mellink, Bridges & di Vignale 1998, 57–64; 58 (for Troilos).

The emphasis on Troilos acquires added significance in the face of real non-Greek hegemony and frequent Greek invasion; the dastardly assassination of a local prince by a Greek would have particular resonance here, just as that of the local princess did on the Polyxena Sarcophagus.

Tomb II at Karaburun dates to around 470 and includes a banquet scene on the west wall that provides important links to the Achaemenid elite elsewhere – not least in the manner in which the banqueter holds his drinking cup. Miller has demonstrated that the special three-fingered grip shown here bore particular significance; it was an assertion of Achaemenid cultural affiliation and a flagrant demonstration of wholesale adoption of a lifestyle and its behaviours.⁷⁰

Lycia's famous pillar tombs and other monuments warrant thoughtful discussion; due to space constraints in this paper I shall unfortunately omit them entirely here and look at two temple tombs instead. The notion of the temple tomb probably originated in Sardis, but its most famous expressions are in Lycia and Caria. One of the best-known Lycian tombs is the Nereid Monument, which dates to perhaps 390–380.⁷¹ It is thought to have been the tomb of the Lycian ruler Erbbina, who reunited eastern and western Lycia after a schism.⁷² Erbbina chose to have his tomb look like an Ionic Greek temple, a statement of grandeur and exalted self-image. Typical manly pursuits such as the mounted battle and mounted hunt shown in its sculptures connect him to the Achaemenid elite elsewhere, even as the style of the images and the shape of the monument connect him to Greece.

Particularly important, perhaps, is the relief showing an audience scene under a parasol, an image that links Erbbina to portrayals of the Persian king as directly as the tomb's form links him to Greek divinities. Indeed, the seated figure is shown wearing Persian military dress, while the suppliants appearing before him wear Greek garb, a specific reference to the reliefs at Persepolis. At a time when western Lycia had made claims to Persia in its iconography and style while eastern Lycia aligned itself with Greece, the scene on the Nereid Monument takes on additional significance. It demonstrates the reunification of Lycia as a province under the hegemony of its West Lycian elite.

The Mausoleum at Halikarnassos in Caria was a vast temple tomb with freestanding sculptures atop an enormous pedestal, perhaps a stepped pillar with sculpted reliefs.⁷³ It was built between 353 and 350 for the ruling couple Maussollos and Artemisia, who were siblings as well as spouses. The building was said to have been built by two Greek architects, Satyros and Pythios, and the reliefs were said to have been carved by the four greatest Greek sculptors of the age, Leochares, Bryaxis, Skopas of Paros, and Timotheus, each of whom was responsible for one side of the pedestal. It represents the apogee of the Achaemenid Anatolian temple tomb and of the pillar tomb.

⁷⁰ Miller 2011.

⁷¹ For the Nereid Monument, see Dusinberre 2013, 199–201 with refs.

⁷² As detailed in the trilingual Letoon inscription from Xanthus, for which see <http://www.achemenet.com> For dedications made by Erbbina, with geographical and historical background, see Rhodes & Osborne 2003, 58–63.

⁷³ See Dusinberre 2013, 201–205 with refs.

Significant in the context of this discussion is the social identity of Maussollos himself. Beneath the Mausoleum a number of alabaster jars were discovered, one with the quadrilingual cuneiform and hieroglyphic inscription “Xerxes, the Great King”.⁷⁴ Maussollos thus included in his mortuary monument unguent vessels for banqueting that bore direct reference to a special relationship with the Great King. But just as significant – and much more visible – is the presence of the greater than life size statues, generally called Maussollos and Artemisia, that stood with the gods and goddesses between the thirty-six columns of the temple tomb atop the pedestal.

Perhaps the most immediately apparent aspect of these statues is the clothing they wear; emphatically draped with extra folds and textures to highlight their opulence, the garments embody the figures within. In the context of fourth-century European Greek sculpture, with its emphasis on the naked youthful athlete, this is surprising. In the context of Achaemenid Anatolia, however, where garments and cloth were held in tremendous esteem and bestowed prestige on the wearer, where cloth and clothing were considered gifts fit for a king – both to give and to receive – the emphasis on clothing takes on new meaning. These elaborately draped figures, clothed so that the drapery itself is the most important visual aspect of the statue, were situated as humans amongst the gods. Wearing sumptuous garments, they associate themselves with the divine in a manner directly paralleling the visual identity of the Persian king himself. Here is a dynast who would be king – who fashioned himself on the model of the Great King, couched in the complex intercultural visual idiom of western Anatolia.

These monuments put in a different perspective the monument at Limyra constructed by the Lycian dynast Perikle around 360.⁷⁵ Limyra is not far from the Eurymedon River, where the Athenian navy had delivered a significant defeat to the Persians a century before. This tomb (like the name of its owner) made use of decorative schemes that very consciously drew on specific Persian adversaries for its inspiration – in this case, Athens. The heroon’s sculpted programme included cella friezes, caryatids, and acroteria; the sculptures reflect aspects of Persian iconography and overt association with the buildings of the Athenian acropolis, conveyed in a flagrantly and overtly Greek style like the great temple tombs of western Lycia and Caria. They emphasise Perikle’s announcement of his status as the first military king of Lycia, one who ruled independently of both Persian and Greek authorities. His sculptures suggest that he made use of mercenaries like the Persian king (drawing on wealth implied to be commensurate with that of the Persian king), that his significance paralleled that of the first king of Athens, Cecrops, and that he ruled by divine right. As Tuna Şare suggests, “the purpose behind the programme and the outcome are uniquely western Anatolian”.⁷⁶ In drawing on Persian, Greek, and Lycian expressions, this tomb trumpets its owner’s resistance to imperial domination, to domination by the dynasts of western Lycia, and to Greek domination as well. It is

⁷⁴ Moorey 1980b; Kuhrt 2007, fig. 7.4.

⁷⁵ See Borchhardt & Schiele 1976; Seyer 2007; Şare 2013; Dusingberre 2016, 135–137 with refs.

⁷⁶ Şare 2013.

interesting that Perikle is the last known dynast of Lycia; it is thought that his participation in one of the uprisings sometimes lumped together as the “Satraps’ Revolt” contributed to the end of Lycian semi-autonomy and the increase of Achaemenid imperial control over this part of the empire.⁷⁷

The impact of empire in Achaemenid Anatolia

This quick overview of two kinds of behaviours – drinking and dining, and mortuary practices – shows some of the impacts of Achaemenid imperialism on Anatolia and demonstrates the potential of the authority–autonomy model. In its simplest terms, the authority–autonomy model anticipates a good deal of cohesion in aspects of behaviour that mattered to the central authority, while great variability might reflect areas that were of lesser importance and thus could be less carefully regulated. Autonomy could be exercised by individuals or by groups of people; as we have seen, autonomy could be local, but might also extend across behavioural categories rather than simply be defined by regional traditions. The study of Achaemenid Anatolia helps us understand the priorities and workings of the Achaemenid Empire and, perhaps, sheds light on imperial workings in general.

Elsbeth R.M. Dusingberre

Classics Department
340 Eaton Humanities
248 UCB
University of Colorado
Boulder, CO 803090248
USA
ermd@colorado.edu

Bibliography

- Åkerström, Å. 1966. *Die architektonischen Terrakotten Kleinasiens* (ActaAth-4^o, 11), Lund.
- Antonaccio, C.M. 1995. *An archaeology of ancestors: tomb cult and hero cult in early Greece*, Lanham, Maryland.
- Bachvarova, M.R. 2016. *From Hittite to Homer. The Anatolian background of ancient Greek epic*, Cambridge.
- Baughan, E.P. 2008. ‘Lale Tepe: a late Lydian tumulus near Sardis. 3. The klinai’, in *Love for Lydia. A Sardis anniversary volume presented to Crawford H. Greenewalt, Jr.* (Archaeological exploration of Sardis, Report, 4), ed. N.D. Cahill, Cambridge, Mass., 49–78.
- Boehrer, D. 2001. *Heroenkulte in Griechenland von der geometrischen bis zur klassischen Zeit. Attika, Argolis, Messenien* (Klio, Beihefte, N.F., 3), Berlin.
- Borchhardt, J. & W. Schiele 1976. *Die Bauskulptur des Heroons von Limyra. Das Grabmal des lykischen Königs Perikles* (IstForsch, 32), Berlin.
- Bourdieu, P. 1977 (1972). *Outline of a theory of practice*, tr. R. Nice, Cambridge.

⁷⁷ Borchhardt & Schiele 1976; Seyer 2007.

- Bourova, N. 2004. 'Horse remains from the Arzhan-1 and Arzhan-2 Scythian monuments', in *Impact of the environment on human migration in Eurasia*, eds. E.M. Scott, A.Y. Alekseev & G. Zaitseva, Dordrecht, 323–332.
- Bray, T.L. 2003. 'The commensal politics of early states and empires', in *The archaeology and politics of food and feasting in early states and empires*, ed. T.L. Bray, New York, 1–13.
- Briant, P. 2002. *From Cyrus to Alexander. A history of the Persian Empire*, tr. P.T. Daniels, Winona Lake, Ind.
- Buchanan, A. 2003. *Justice, legitimacy and self-determination. Moral foundations for international law*, Oxford.
- Butler, J. 1993. *Bodies that matter. On the discursive limits of "sex"*, New York.
- Butler, J. 1999. *Gender trouble. Feminism and the subversion of identity*, New York.
- Cahill, N.D. 1988. 'Taş Kule: a Persian-period tomb near Phokaia', *AJA* 92:4, 481–501.
- Childs, W.A.P. 1979. 'The authorship of the Inscribed Pillar of Xanthos', *AnatSt* 29, 97–102.
- Christiano, T. 2004. 'The authority of democracy', *Journal of political philosophy* 12:3, 245–270.
- Chugunov, K.V., H. Parzinger & A. Nagler 2004. 'Chronology and cultural affinity of the Kurgan Arzhan-2 complex according to archaeological data', in *Impact of the environment on human migration in Eurasia*, eds. E.M. Scott, A.Y. Alekseev & G. Zaitseva, Dordrecht, 1–7.
- Comaroff, J. 1991. *Of revelation and revolution. Christianity, colonialism, and consciousness in South Africa*, Chicago.
- Cook, R.M. 1981. *Clazomenian sarcophagi* (Kerameus, 3), Mainz.
- De Vries, K. 1977. 'Attic pottery in the Achaemenid Empire', *AJA* 81:4, 544–548.
- De Vries, K. 1980. 'Greeks and Phrygians in the Early Iron Age', *From Athens to Gordion. The papers of a memorial symposium for Rodney S. Young held at the University Museum the third of May, 1975*, ed. K. De Vries, Philadelphia, 33–49.
- De Vries, K. 1988. 'Gordion and Phrygia in the sixth century B.C.', *Source. Notes in the history of art* 7:3–4, 51–59.
- De Vries, K. 1996. 'The Attic pottery from Gordion', in *Athenian potters and painters. The conference proceedings*, eds. J.H. Oakley, W. Coulson & O. Palagia, Oxford, 447–455.
- De Vries, K. 2000. 'The Nearly Other: the Attic vision of Phrygians and Lydians', in *Not the classical ideal. Athens and the construction of the Other in Greek art*, ed. B. Cohen, Leiden, Boston & Köln, 338–363.
- De Vries, K. 2005. 'Greek pottery and Gordion chronology', in *The archaeology of Midas and the Phrygians. Recent work at Gordion*, ed. L. Kealhofer, Philadelphia, 36–55.
- Dietler, M. 1996. 'Feasts and commensal politics in the political economy. Food, power, and status in prehistoric Europe', in *Food and the status quest. An interdisciplinary perspective*, eds. P. Wiessner & W. Schiefenhövel, Providence, R.I., 87–125.
- Donner, H. & W. Röllig 1966–1969. *Kanaanäische und aramäische Inschriften* 3, Wiesbaden.
- Dusinberre, E.R.M. 1999. 'Satrapal Sardis: Achaemenid bowls in an Achaemenid capital', *AJA* 103:1, 73–102.
- Dusinberre, E.R.M. 2003. *Aspects of empire in Achaemenid Sardis*, Cambridge.
- Dusinberre, E.R.M. 2010. 'Anatolian crossroads: Achaemenid seals from Sardis and Gordion', in *The world of Achaemenid Persia. History, art and society in Iran and the ancient Near East. Proceedings of a conference at the British Museum 29th September–1st October 2005*, eds. J.E. Curtis & St J. Simpson, London, 323–336.
- Dusinberre, E.R.M. 2013. *Empire, authority, and autonomy in Achaemenid Anatolia*, Cambridge.

- Dusingberre, E.R.M. 2016. 'Resistance, revolt, and revolution in Achaemenid Persia', in *In the crucible of empire. Resistance, revolt, and revolution*, eds. J.J. Collins & J. Manning, New Haven, Conn., 122–137.
- Foucault, M. 1980. *Power/knowledge. Selected interviews and other writings 1972–1977*, ed. C. Gordon, New York.
- Friis Johansen, K. 1935. 'Fragmente klazomenischer Sarkophage in der Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek', *ActaArch* 6, 167–213.
- Friis Johansen, K. 1942. 'Clazomenian sarcophagus studies. The earliest sarcophagi', *ActaArch* 13, 1–64.
- Garrison, M.B. & M.C. Root forthcoming. *Seals on the Persepolis Fortification Tablets 2. Images of human activity*, Chicago.
- Geppert, K. 2006. 'Überlegungen zum Polyxena-Sarkophag von Çanakkale', in *Tekmeria. Archäologische Zeugnisse in ihrer kulturhistorischen und politischen Dimension. Beiträge für Werner Gauer*, eds. N. Kreutz & B. Schweizer, Münster, 89–102.
- Gramsci, A. 1971. *Selections from the prison notebooks*, ed. and tr. Q. Hoare & G. Nowell Smith, New York.
- Greenewalt, C.H., Jr. 1966. *Lydian pottery of the sixth century B.C.: the Lydian and marbled ware*. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Pennsylvania.
- Griaznov, M.P. 1980. *Arzhan Tsarskii Kurgan Ranneskijskogo Vremeni*, Leningrad.
- Gunter, A.C. & M.C. Root 1998. 'Replicating, inscribing, giving: Ernst Herzfeld and Artaxerxes' silver *phiale* in the Freer Gallery of Art', *Ars Orientalis* 28, 3–38.
- Gürtekin Demir, G.R. forthcoming. *The Lydian pottery at Gordion* (Gordion Special Studies).
- Gusmani, R. 1986. *Lydisches Wörterbuch* (Ergänzungsband, I), Heidelberg.
- Gygax, M.D. & W. Tietz 2005. "'He who of all mankind set up the most numerous trophies to Zeus". The Inscribed Pillar of Xanthos reconsidered', *AnatSt* 55, 89–98.
- Hanfmann, G.M.A. 1987. 'The Sacrilege Inscription: the ethnic, linguistic, social and religious situation at Sardis at the end of the Persian era', *Bulletin of the Asia Institute* 1, 1–8.
- Hanfmann, G.M.A., & N.H. Ramage 1978. *Sculpture from Sardis: the finds through 1975* (Archaeological exploration of Sardis, Report, 2), Cambridge, Mass.
- Hanson, R.S. 1968. 'Aramaic funerary and boundary inscriptions from Asia Minor', *BASOR* 192, 3–11.
- Henkelman, W.F.M. 2010. "'Consumed before the King." The Table of Darius, that of Irdabama and Irtaštuna, and that of his Satrap, Karkiš', in *Der Achämenidenhof/The Achaemenid court. Akten des 2. Internationalen Kolloquiums zum Thema "Vorderasien im Spannungsfeld klassischer und altorientalischer Überlieferungen"*, *Landgut Castelen bei Basel* 23.–25. Mai 2007 (Classica et Orientalia, 2), eds. B. Jacobs & R. Rollinger, Wiesbaden, 667–775.
- Henrickson, R.C. 1993. 'Politics, economics, and ceramic continuity at Gordion in the late second and first millennium B.C.', in *Social and cultural contexts of new ceramic technologies* (Ceramics and civilization, 6), ed. W.D. Kingery, Westerville, Oh., 89–176.
- Henrickson, R.C. 1994. 'Continuity and discontinuity in the ceramic tradition of Gordion during the Iron Age', in *Anatolian Iron Ages 3. The proceedings of the third Anatolian Iron Ages colloquium held at Van, 6–12 August 1990* (British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara, Monographs, 16), eds. A. Çilingiroğlu & D.H. French, Ankara, 95–129.
- Henrickson, R.C. 2005. 'The local potter's craft at Phrygian Gordion', in *The archaeology of Midas and the Phrygians. Recent work at Gordion*, ed. L. Kealhofer, Philadelphia, 124–135.
- Hogarth, D.G. 1908. *Excavations at Ephesus. The Archaic Artemisia*, London.
- Holzman, S. 2016. 'Tortoise-shell lyres from Phrygian Gordion', *AJA* 120:4, 537–564.

- Jenkins, I. 2006. *Greek architecture and its sculpture in the British Museum*, London.
- Kahle, P. & F. Sommer 1927. 'Die lydisch-aramäische Bilingue', *Kleinasiatische Forschungen* 1:1, 18–86.
- Khatchadourian, L. 2016. *Imperial matter. Ancient Persia and the archaeology of empires*, Oakland.
- Khatchadourian, L. forthcoming. 'From copy to proxy: the politics of matter and mimesis in Achaemenid Armenia', in *The art of empire in Achaemenid Persia. Festschrift in honor of Margaret Cool Root*, eds. E.R.M. Dusingberre, M.B. Garrison & W.F.M. Henkelman, Leiden.
- Knibbe, D. 1961–1963. 'Ein religiöser Frevel und seine Sühne. Ein Todesurteil hellenistischer Zeit aus Ephesos', *ÖJh* 46, 175–182.
- Kohler, E.L. 1980. 'Cremations of the middle Phrygian period at Gordion', in *From Athens to Gordion. The papers of a memorial symposium for Rodney S. Young held at the University Museum the third of May, 1975*, ed. K. De Vries, Philadelphia, 65–89.
- Kohler, E.L. 1995. *The Gordion excavations (1950–1973). Final reports*, vol. 2. *The lesser Phrygian tumuli*, 1. *The inhumations*, Philadelphia.
- Kohler, E.L. & E.R.M. Dusingberre forthcoming. *The Gordion excavations, 1950–1973. Final reports*, vol. 2. *The lesser Phrygian tumuli*, 2. *The cremations*, Philadelphia.
- Kuban, Z. 1996. 'Ein Astodan in Limyra?', in *Fremde Zeiten. Festschrift für Jürgen Borchhardt zum sechzigsten Geburtstag am 25. Februar 1996*, eds. F. Blakolmer, K.R. Krierer & F. Krinzinger, Wien, 133–144.
- Kuhrt, A. 2007. *The Persian Empire: a corpus of sources from the Achaemenid period*, London.
- Lemaire, A. 1993. 'Deux nouvelles inscriptions araméennes d'époque perse in Cilicie orientale', *EpigAnat* 21, 9–14.
- Lemaire, A. 1994. 'Deux nouvelles stèles funéraires araméennes de Cilicie orientale', *EpigAnat* 23, 91–98.
- Lemaire, A. 2004. 'Nouvelle inscription araméenne de Cilicie orientale: Aigeai', *EpigAnat* 37, 88–90.
- Lewis, D.M. 1987. 'The king's dinner (Polyaenus IV 3.32)', in *Achaemenid history*, 2. *The Greek sources. Proceedings of the Groningen 1984 Achaemenid History Workshop*, eds. H. Sancisi-Weerdenburg & A. Kuhrt, Leiden, 79–87.
- Lipiński, E. 1975. *Studies in Aramaic inscriptions and onomastics* I (*Orientalia Lovaniensia analecta*, 1), Leuven.
- Marksteiner, T. 2005. 'Das achämenidenzeitliche Lykien', in *L'archéologie de l'empire achéménide: nouvelles recherches. Actes du colloque organisé au Collège de France par le "Réseau international d'études et de recherches achéménides"*, (GDR 2538 CNRS), 21–22 novembre 2003 (Persika, 6), eds. P. Briant & R. Bouchardat, Paris, 27–48.
- McIntosh, J. 1997. 'Cognition and power.' Paper delivered at the Society for Literature and Science Meetings.
- McLauchlin, B.K. 1985. *Lydian graves and burial customs*, Ph.D. dissertation, University of California at Berkeley.
- Mellink, M.J., R.A. Bridges, Jr. & F.C. di Vignale 1998. *Kızılbel. An Archaic painted tomb chamber in northern Lycia*, Philadelphia.
- Miller, M.C. 2007. 'The poetics of emulation in the Achaemenid world. The figured bowls of the "Lydian Treasure"', *Ancient West and East* 6, 43–72.
- Miller, M.C. 2011. "'Manners makyth man". Diacritical drinking in Achaemenid Anatolia', in *Cultural identity in the ancient Mediterranean*, ed. E.S. Gruen, Los Angeles, 97–134.
- Mommsen, W.J. 1992. *The political and social theory of Max Weber. Collected essays*, Chicago.

- Moorey, P.R.S. 1980a. *Cemeteries of the first millennium B.C. at Deve Hüyük, near Carchemish, salvaged by T.E. Lawrence and C.L. Woolley in 1913* (BAR-IS, 87), Oxford.
- Moorey, P.R.S. 1980b. 'Metal wine-sets in the ancient Near East', *IrAnt* 15, 181–197.
- Özgen, İ. & J. Öztürk, with contributions by M.J. Mellink, C.H. Greenewalt, Jr., K. Akbiyikoğlu & L.M. Kaye 1996. *Heritage recovered. The Lydian Treasure*, Istanbul.
- Ramage, A. BMCR 2004.02.21, review of Dusingberre 2003.
- Rhodes, P.J. & R. Osborne (eds.) 2003. *Greek historical inscriptions 404–323 BC*, Oxford.
- Robert, L. 1967. 'Sur des inscriptions d'Éphèse. Fêtes, athlètes, empereurs, épigrammes', *RPhil* 41, 7–84.
- Rolle, R. 1989. *The world of the Scythians*, Berkeley & Los Angeles.
- Röllig, W. 2002. 'Appendix 2. Aramaic inscriptions', in D. Kaptan, *Achaemenid history*, 12. *The Daskyleion bullae. Seal images from the western Achaemenid Empire*, Leiden, 198–210.
- Roosevelt, C.H. 2009. *The archaeology of Lydia, from Gyges to Alexander*, Cambridge.
- Rose, C.B. 2007. 'The tombs of the Granicus Valley', in *The Achaemenid impact on local populations and cultures in Anatolia (sixth-fourth centuries B.C.). Papers presented at the international workshop Istanbul 20–21 May 2005*, eds. I. Delemen, O. Casabonne, Ş. Karagöz & O. Tekin, Istanbul, 247–264.
- Rumpf, A. 1933. 'Zu den klazomenischen Denkmälern', *Jdl* 48, 55–83.
- Sagona, A.G. & C. Sagona 2004. *Archaeology at the North-East Anatolian frontier*, I. *An historical geography and a field survey of the Bayburt province* (Ancient Near Eastern Studies, Suppl. Series, 14), Louvain.
- Sams, G.K. 1979. 'Imports at Gordion. Lydian and Persian periods', *Expedition* 21:4, 6–17.
- Sams, G.K. 1994. *The Gordion excavations, 1950–1973: final reports*, vol. 4. *The early Phrygian pottery* (University Museum Monograph, 79), Philadelphia.
- Sancisi-Weerdenburg, H. 1997a. 'Crumbs from the Royal Table. Foodnotes on Briant (pp. 297–306)', in *Recherches récentes sur l'Empire achéménide* (Topoi, Orient – Occident, Suppl. 1), Lyon, 333–345.
- Sancisi-Weerdenburg, H. 1997b. 'Persian food. Stereotypes and political identity', in *Food in Antiquity*, eds. J. Wilkins, D. Harvey & M. Dobson, Exeter, 286–302.
- Şare, T. 2013. 'The sculpture of the Heroon of Perikle at Limyra: the making of a Lycian king', *AnatSt* 63, 55–74.
- Sayar, M.H. 2000. *Die inschriften von Anazarbos*, I. *Inschriften aus dem Stadtgebiet und der nächsten Umgebung der Stadt* (Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien, 56), Bonn.
- Sayar, M.H. 2007. 'Eskiçağ'da Çukurova'da Hilal ve Yıldızın Kullanımı', in *The Achaemenid impact on local populations and cultures in Anatolia (sixth-fourth centuries B.C.). Papers presented at the international workshop Istanbul 20–21 May 2005*, eds. I. Delemen, O. Casabonne, Ş. Karagöz & O. Tekin, Istanbul, 97–102.
- Schmitt, R. 2002. 'Appendix 1. Cuneiform inscriptions', in D. Kaptan, *Achaemenid history*, 12. *The Daskyleion Bullae. Seal images from the western Achaemenid Empire*, Leiden, 194–197.
- Sevinç, N. 1996. 'A new sarcophagus of Polyxena from the salvage excavations at Gümüşçay', *Studia Troica* 6, 251–264.
- Seyer, M. (ed.) 2007. *Studien in Lykien* (ErghÖJh, 8), Wien.
- Shapiro, S. 2002. 'Authority', in *The Oxford handbook of jurisprudence and philosophy of law*, eds. J. Coleman & S. Shapiro, Oxford.
- Simmons, A.J. 2001. *Justification and legitimacy. Essays on rights and obligations*, Cambridge.

- Simpson, St J. 2005. 'The royal table', in *Forgotten empire. The world of ancient Persia*, eds. J.E. Curtis & N. Tallis, London, 104–131.
- Stoler, A. 1997. 'On political and psychological essentialisms', *Ethos: Journal of the Society for psychological anthropology* 25:1, 101–106.
- Wicks, Y. 2012. *Bronze "bathtub" coffins in the context of 8th–6th century B.C.E. Babylonian, Assyrian and Elamite funerary practices*, Senior honours thesis, University of Sydney. Available online at https://ses.library.usyd.edu.au/bitstream/2123/8893/1/Wicks%2C%20Y_thesis_2012.pdf
- Wiessner, P. 1996. 'Introduction. Food, status, culture, and nature', in *Food and the status quest. An interdisciplinary perspective*, eds. P. Wiessner & W. Schiefenhövel, Providence, R.I., 1–18.
- Williams, R. 1977. *Marxism and literature*, New York.
- Wörrle, M. 1996–1997. 'Die inschriften am Grab des Apollonios am Asartaş von Yazir in Ostlykien', *Lykia* 3, 24–38.
- Yağcı, E.E. 1995. 'Akhaemenid cam kaseleri ve Milas Müzesinden yayınlanmamış iki örnek', *Anadolu Medeniyetleri Müzesi 1995 Yıllığı*, Ankara, 312–326.
- Young, R.S. 1950. 'Excavations at Yassihüyük-Gordion 1950', *Archaeology* 3, 196–201.
- Young, R.S. 1951. 'Gordium', *AnatSt* 1, 11–14.
- Young, R.S. 1952. 'Gordium', *AnatSt* 2, 20–22.
- Young, R.S. 1981. *Gordion excavations: final reports*, vol. 1. *Three great early tumuli [P, MM, W]* (University Museum Monograph, 43), Philadelphia.
- Zaitseva *et al.* 2007 = G.I. Zaitseva, K.V. Chugunov, A.Y. Alekseev, V.A. Dergachev, S.S. Vasiliev, A.A. Sementsov, G. Cook, E.M. Scott, J. van der Plicht, H. Parzinger, A. Nagler, H. Jungner, E. Sonninen & N.D. Bourova, 'Chronology of key barrows belonging to different stages of the Scythian period in Tuva (Arzhan-1 and Arzhan-2 barrows)', *Radiocarbon* 49:2, 645–658.

The Upright Tiara of the Persian King

by

Susanne Berndt

Abstract

This paper examines a piece of headgear, usually referred to in modern literature as a Phrygian or Persian cap, but variously described as *tiara*, *kurbasia* or *kidaris/kitaris* in the ancient sources. According to Greek texts only the Persian king had the right to wear the headgear in an upright position, usually referred to as *tiara orthé*. The cap was part of the so-called Median riding dress, and was worn together with trousers, a sleeved garment and a *kandys*, i.e. a cloak used as a mantle. On the basis of literary sources and iconographic evidence it is suggested that *tiara orthé* referred to the attached hood of a *kandys*, or alternatively another upper garment, in an upraised position, i.e. when it was worn upon the head. Xenophon, our earliest and most trustworthy source regarding the *tiara orthé*, explicitly wrote that only the king may wear the *tiara* upright, that is upon the head.

Introduction

This paper examines a piece of headgear, usually referred to in modern literature as a Phrygian or Persian cap, which the ancient sources variously described as *tiara*, *kurbasia* or *kitaris*. The ancient sources further told that it could be used in an upright position, *tiara orthé*, and that only the Persian king was entitled to wear it as such. Several scholars have discussed both the difference between the various terms and what the upright position may have signified.¹ There is today no consensus among scholars as to what the ancient sources actually meant by *tiara orthé*, i.e. the upright or upraised *tiara*.

The most characteristic feature of the headdress is its extended, forward-pointing, which sometimes is raised, but often lies gently forward or sideways. The cap is usually furnished with long ear flaps as well as a neck flap. The cap probably received its characteristic shape from the material from which it was originally made, and Gerard Seiterle has, in my opinion, convincingly demonstrated that the original material was the pouch covering the testicles of a bull.² Most probably other materials, such as wool and linen, were also used for the caps, in addition to leather.

¹ The literature is vast, but see e.g. Schlumberger 1971; *Reallexikon der Assyriologie und Vorderasiatischen Archäologie* IV (1972–1975), 357–359, s.v. Herrscher (W. Nagel); von Gall 1974; Eilers & Calmeyer 1977; Tuplin 2007.

² Seiterle 1985.

Literary sources

From the Classical period onwards three different terms, *tiara*, *kurbasia*, and *kitaris*, were applied by Greek authors for what appears to have been a more or less similar cap. Ancient sources confirm that the cap was regarded as a Persian or rather Median headdress and was part of the so-called Median (riding) dress, which besides the cap, consisted of *anaxyrides* (trousers), a sleeved *chiton* (tunic), and a *kandys*, i.e. a coat that functioned as a mantle since the sleeves generally remained unused.³ Iconographic evidence further attests that these articles of clothing were worn together, and often by horse-men (*Fig. 1*).⁴ It has proved difficult to distinguish between the three different terms referring to the headdress. It has been suggested that at least two of the words have different linguistic origins. *Kitaris* has been suggested to be of Semitic origin, *kurbasia* of Iranian origin, while *tiara* is of unknown origin,⁵ though in the literary sources it was used to describe a Persian or Median cap. Hence, both *tiara* and *kurbasia* were used to describe an item of headgear of Iranian use. We may further consider another aspect, namely that the various terms reflected the material of the cap rather than its design or origin. It is possible that one term referred to a cap of leather, while another term was originally used for those made from textiles, in particular wool. We may here note that the soft cap with which Persians are usually depicted appears to have been made of a very soft material, a woven/filted textile or thin smooth leather.

We have further to take into consideration the possibility that not all Greek authors were aware of the differences between these three terms, which would have contributed to the confusion, especially from the Hellenistic period onwards.⁶

Herodotos mentioned at least two of the terms, the *kurbasia* and the *tiara*, but plausibly also the third term *kitaris* (see below). The *kurbasia*, according to Herodotos, was a tall, stiff and erect cap worn by the Sakas, a Scythian people, while the *tiara* was used by the Persians. To explain *tiara*, Herodotos used the word *pilos*.⁷ A Greek *pilos* was made of filtled wool and was used as helmet padding.⁸ When comparing these descriptions with Greek icono-

³ For ancient sources, see e.g. Xen. *Cyr.* 1.3.2, 8.3.10, 8.3.13; Xen. *Hell.* 2.1.8; Xen. *An.* 1.5.8; Strab. 11.13.9; Curt. 3.3.19; Arr. *Anab.* 4.7.4. For modern scholars, Gow 1928, 144–146; Schoppa 1933, 47; Widengren 1956; Thompson 1965; Shahbazi 1992; Sekunda 2010, 255–260.

⁴ See e.g. images of horsemen in the Tatarlı tomb (Summerer 2010, figs. 3, 10a, b), or a statuette of a rider from the so-called Oxus Treasure (London, British Museum, inv. no. 124098) or images of Persian soldiers on the Alexander Sarcophagus (*Fig. 1*).

⁵ Widengren 1956, 234, 241; *Reallexikon der Assyriologie und Vorderasiatischen Archäologie* IV (1972–1975), 358, s.v. Herrscher (W. Nagel); *RE Suppl.* 14 (1974), 786, 792–793, s.v. Tiara (W. Hinz); Schmitt 1984, 468–469; Shahbazi 1992; Tuplin 2007, esp. 70–71, 78; *New Pauly* 14 (2009), 652–653, s.v. Tiara (R. Hurschmann). For references to various suggested etymological theories, see Beekes 2010, 694, 806, 1481. It has been suggested that *tiara* may be derived from the Old Persian word *civara* (begging dress), *RE Suppl.* 14 (1974), 787, s.v. Tiara (W. Hinz).

⁶ Plutarch variously used the terms *tiara* and *kitaris*, and according to him both were part of the Median dress (*Ant.* 54.8), while in another passage (*Them.* 29.5) he used both terms to describe the headgear.

⁷ *Hdt.* 7.64, 3.12.17, 7.61.3.

⁸ *New Pauly* 11 (2007), 258–259, s.v. Pilos (R. Hurschmann).

graphic material, we find that there are many variations of the cap. However, the *kurbasia* described by Herodotos may be compared with the stiff pointed caps worn by the so-called Scythian archers on Greek vases, especially in the black-figured ware.⁹ In addition to these stiff pointed caps, there are also representations of soft and loose caps that are usually worn together with trousers and long-sleeved garments. This type appears frequently in the later red-figured ware and was plausibly intended to represent Persians rather than Scythians.¹⁰ However, the distinction between these two groups is uncertain, and for our discussion it is sufficient to determine that in Greek as well as Persian images, both a pointed stiff cap as well as a looser soft cap were represented.



Fig. 1. Detail of the Alexander Sarcophagus. Alexander to left, and a Persian soldier dressed in riding dress (i.e. trousers, sleeved garment, kandys and Iranian headgear). Istanbul Archaeological Museum. Photo R. Slabke.

The stiff caps were preferably made of leather, while the soft caps were probably of very soft leather or wool, as Herodotos wrote that they were loose.¹¹ The top of such a cap is not upright but instead lies on the side of the head. Both types had side flaps as well as a neck flap. In Persian images these side flaps are often wrapped around the chin or jaws as protection. This is the type frequently depicted in Achaemenid art.¹² A good illustration of the distinction between these two types is provided by the wall paintings of

⁹ The Attic black-figure ware usually represents bowmen who are wearing stiff pointed caps and using so-called Scythian bows, i.e. sigmoid in shape (Ivantchik 2018), but who are not wearing trousers or long-sleeved garments (see e.g. the famous archer taking part in the Calydonian boar hunt on the François krater, c. 570 BC, Firenze, Museo Archeologico Etrusco, inv. no. 4209; *ABV*, 761.6, 682; *BADP*, no. 300000).

¹⁰ See e.g. a plate from Vulci, c. 500 BC (London, British Museum, inv. no. *E* 135; *ARI*², 78.93, 1623; *BADP*, no. 200621).

¹¹ Hdt 7.61.3.

¹² See e.g. a man in Median dress on a gold plaque from the Oxus Treasure (London, British Museum, inv. no. 1897, 1231.48/123949). The image is available online at <https://www.britishmuseum.org>

the Achaemenid tomb at Tatarlı, close to Dinar in Asia Minor. Two groups of armed horsemen, dressed in riding costume, approach each other. They are identically dressed except for the shape of their caps. The warriors, identified as Persians wear a low cap, probably to be identified as the soft *tiara*, while the other group, identified as Scythians, wear a cap with an erect stiff top, to be identified as the *kurbasia*.¹³

Let us now move on to the third term, the *kitaris* or *kidaris*. Herodotos may refer to the headgear as one used by non-royal Cypriots,¹⁴ while Theophrastos probably referred to it as a kind of Cyprian headgear.¹⁵ Many variations of a cap/helmet where the top is tipped forward are known from terracotta figurines from Kourion on Cyprus.¹⁶ The headwear appears to be a kind of helmet, and the versions dating to around 500 BC are in general quite tall.

To sum up so far, I would like to suggest that the *kurbasia* and the *tiara* were terms used for two similar types of essentially one headdress of Iranian origin, which because of their differing materials and methods of productions came to look different. The *kurbasia* was stiff and made of leather, while the *tiara* was soft and made of wool or perhaps soft leather. The word *kitaris* would originally have been applied to a similar looking headdress of non-Iranian origin, plausibly originating from Cyprus.

The literary sources provide us with some additional information regarding the *tiara*, namely that it was often used together with a band or diadem (διάδημα).¹⁷ Most certainly the band was wrapped around the *tiara* and such bands are known from the iconographic evidence.¹⁸ I have not, on the other hand, found any evidence for such bands being used together with the stiff *kurbasia*,¹⁹ which makes sense. A band was needed to keep a loose cap of soft material in place, while a stiff pointed cap of leather would not require a band.

¹³ Summerer 2010, 132, 136, fig. 3.

¹⁴ Hdt 7.90. Preserved manuscripts describe that non-royal Cypriots wore tunics, i.e. chitons (χιθών), but based on Pollux Onom. 10.162 de Pauw proposed that it should be emended to read *kitaris* (κῑτάριας), which in my opinion makes more sense, as Herodotos' comment follows a description of the type of headgear Cyprian princes wore. See the comment by Macan 1908, vol. 1:1, 113–114, nn. 3–4; How & Wells 1912, vol. 2, 160; Ritter 1965, 170–172; and the discussion by Tuplin 2007, 70, n. 16.

¹⁵ Theophrastos frg. 602 (preserved by the Suda, s.v. *tiara*). The Greek text Θεόφραστος δ' ἐν τῷ Περὶ βασιλείας Κυπρίων τὴν κῑτάριν, ὥς διάφορον may, as suggested by David C. Mirhady, be translated as "Theophrastos in the work On Kingship [says] the *kitaris* is Cyprian, on the grounds that it is something different." (Suda On Line, <http://www.stoa.org> s.v. *Τῑαρά*, no. 2). See also Tuplin 2007, 70.

¹⁶ See e.g. Buitron-Oliver 1996, pls. 19, 24, 25, 31.

¹⁷ See e.g. Xen. *Cyr.* 8.3.13; Plut. *Mor.* 488D; Dio Chrys. *Or.* 1.79; Lucian *Navigium* 30; Lucian *Reviviscentes sive Piscator* 35; Dio Cass. 36.1b.3, 36.52.3 (using ἀνάδημα for the band).

¹⁸ See e.g. coins of satraps, such as those from Mallos and Soloi, both in Cilicia (Hill 1900, 100, 149, pls. 17.9, 26.3).

¹⁹ Curtius 3.3.17–19, who wrote in Latin, labelled the Persian royal headgear as *cidaris* (instead of *tiara*), but noted that it was circumscribed by a band (*fascia*).

The *tiara orthé*

The *tiara* was often mentioned in connection with the Persian king, and he was the only one who was entitled to wear it in an upright position (*tiara orthé*) according to Greek authors. These statements have caused some confusion among modern scholars, because regardless of who wears the cap, it looks more or less the same in the iconographic evidence. The upraised look is also mentioned a few times together with the *kurbasia* and the *kitaris*, but it occurs most frequently with the *tiara*. The *kurbasia* was probably more or less always upraised as the descriptions reveal, while *kitaris* was used synonymously with *tiara*, at least from the Roman period onwards.

The earliest author to mention a *tiara orthé* is Xenophon,²⁰ who is the only contemporary source, and he was probably an eyewitness to the appearance of the upright *tiara*. He wrote:

τὴν μὲν γὰρ ἐπὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ τιάραν βασιλεῖ μόνῳ ἔξεστιν ὀρθὴν ἔχειν,

[the King alone may wear upright the tiara that is upon the head,]²¹

An important aspect here is the clarification that describing a *tiara* as upraised meant that it was worn upon the head. We may ask what the opposite of an upraised *tiara* was, which other men than the king were allowed to wear. If we base our answer on Xenophon's description of the upraised *tiara*, it should have meant that the opposite was a *tiara* lying down, and that it was not on the head. This may seem like as an odd inference to make from Xenophon's description, but let us now examine the iconographic material to search for a type of headgear that would correspond with such an interpretation.

Iconographic evidence

The Persian king is generally represented in public art in what is labelled as the court dress, which consisted of a long, loose, pleated robe with very wide sleeves, a kind of trumpet sleeves, accompanied with a cylindrical hat, sometimes fluted.²² This type of hat is usually thought to be of Assyrian origin and does not resemble the *tiara orthé*.²³ This dress, including the hat, appears not to have been documented in Greek art.²⁴ Greek contemporary illustrations instead adopted versions of the Median riding costume to

²⁰ Xen. *An.* 2.5.23; *Cyr.* 8.3.13.

²¹ Xen. *An.* 2.5.23 (Loeb translation).

²² Schmidt 1953, pls. 98–99, 105, 121–123; von Gall 1974; Miller 1997, 156, fig. 12. Another type of crown that was crenelated is also known from the iconographic evidence (Schmidt 1953, pls. 22, 25, 26). The archer on Achaemenid coins (so-called darics) e.g. is wearing a crenelated crown (Calmeyer 1993).

²³ This type of hat is labelled as *mitra* by Shahbazi (1992), but a *mitra* is otherwise usually thought to be a band around the head (*Reallexikon der Assyriologie und Vorderasiatischen Archäologie* IV (1972–1975), 358, s.v. Herrscher [W. Nagel]; *New Pauly* 9 [2006], 89, s.v. Mitra [R. Hurschmann]).

²⁴ Miller 1997, 156.

represent foreigners or Barbarians of various origins, such as Scythians and Persians. As stated above, the *tiara* was part of this Median riding dress; i.e. it was worn together with *anaxyrides*, a sleeved tunic, and often a *kandys*.

The *kandys*

None of the warriors in the painted frieze of the Tatarlı tomb, mentioned above, wore a *kandys*, but in another frieze at the same tomb, there is a man plausibly represented as dressed in a *kandys*.²⁵ He is taking part in a procession, is wearing a *tiara* and apparently is a man of high status, as he is the only one seated in a chariot. His *kandys* was probably intended to imitate a fur trimming as indicated by the zigzag line along the front border. The earliest literary source to mention the *kandys* is again Xenophon, who described it as a purple cloak worn by high Persian dignitaries and the king.²⁶ It is therefore a garment we would expect the king to wear as part of his riding costume. There are very few preserved contemporary images of the king dressed in riding costume. There is a seal impression from Persepolis of Cyrus I, which, however, is not detailed enough to reveal any details of the dress.²⁷ There are a few monuments from Lycia and elsewhere which may represent the Great King,²⁸ but only the Heroon at Limyra depicts prominent men in riding costume. However, before discussing that monument we will examine another image of some accuracy that definitely represents the Persian king: the Alexander Mosaic from Casa del Fauno in Pompeii.²⁹

²⁵ Summerer 2010, figs. 21, 23, 28. For literature on the *kandys*, see e.g. Widengren 1956; Thompson 1965; Linders 1984; Knauer 1985.

²⁶ Xen. *An.* 1.5.8; *Cyr.* 8.3.13

²⁷ Hinz 1976, 53, figs. 16–17.

²⁸ The so-called Harpy Tomb or the Tomb of Kybernis from Xanthos (London, British Museum, inv. no. 1848,1020.1) has on the east frieze a seated man, who has been suggested to represent Xerxes I (Borchhardt 1980, 10, pl. 1b). He is not, however, represented in Persian clothing. The Nereid monument, also from Xanthos (London, British Museum, inv. nos. 1848,1020.62/B 879 and 1848,1020.97/B 903; for images, see the Online collection of the British Museum, <https://www.britishmuseum.org>), has been suggested to have two representations of Artaxerxes II (Borchhardt 2016, 403–404). Regardless of who the men are, the first image of the second frieze is of a seated man who is not dressed in riding dress, apart from the headgear. The second image of the fourth frieze is a banquet scene displaying a reclining man in Greek clothing. The so-called Satrap Sarcophagus from Sidon (Istanbul, Archaeological Museum) is suggested by Borchhardt (1983, 105–120, pls. 22 A–C) to include the Great King in three of the reliefs. The person in question is only depicted in riding dress in two of these, and regardless of who the person is supposed to represent (see e.g. the comments by Jacobs 1987, 73), the surface of the relief is too eroded to provide any details of the headgear.

²⁹ There are some Greek and South Italian vase representations, some of which may depict a Persian king in riding costume (see Gow 1928, 148–151; Tuplin 2007, 75–76, and the list provided by Schoppa 1933, 58–62), but most depict the Persian man, king or not, in a rather fanciful outfit; see e.g. the so-called Darios krater (c. 340–320 BC, Naples, Museo archeologico nazionale, inv. no. 81947/H3253; *BADP*, no. 9036829; Gow 1928, 148, n. 45; Tuplin 2007, 75). In addition to the vase images, there is a relief on the base of the statue of Polydamas from Olympia, where Darius II is represented, but there he is dressed more or less in a Greek manner, apart from his headgear. Unfortunately his head is not preserved well enough to be of much help (Olympia, Museum of the History of the Olympic Games of

The mosaic is considered to be a trustworthy copy of a painting of a battle between Darius III and Alexander. The mosaic itself dates to around 100 BC, while the original painting is thought to date close to the end of the fourth century BC (*Fig. 2*).³⁰ Darius is pictured in riding dress; his *tiara*, sleeved *chiton* and what probably is a *kandys* are all visible.³¹ The latter garment appears to have fur trimming as can be seen below his outstretched right arm. The Persian king appears to be the only Persian wearing a *kandys* in this image, which further distinguishes him from the other warriors. As this is one of the very few known illustrations of a Persian king wearing the *tiara* as part of the riding costume, its appearance has been much discussed. Darius' *tiara* is slightly taller than the others, and it has been suggested that some kind of internal supporting device may have been used to make it upright.³² However, there is no mention of any such device in the literary sources. On the contrary, the *tiara orthé* could easily be taken off; at least if we are to believe Plutarch, who wrote that the *tiara* could be thrown off after the diadem had been removed.³³ It is further doubtful whether the *tiara* of the king is really any different from the caps worn by the other Persian warriors in this mosaic. The tip of Darius' cap is not erect, but like the others is bent forward. The major difference is that the king is emphasised in the painting with a central, elevated position and by being slightly larger than the persons around him. The king's head is one of the few that are not depicted in profile. It is in a three-quarters view and therefore is the angle of his cap also different, which may contribute to its slightly more elongated look. A fallen Persian soldier almost directly beneath Darius is depicted from behind, but his face is reflected in the shield held before him (*Fig. 2*). The tip of his cap is not lying down but standing up, which further contradicts the suggested theory. We may in addition note that the diadem mentioned in the literary sources as wrapped around the *tiara*, is actually missing from Darius' headgear in the mosaic. How accurately the clothing was depicted in the original painting we do not know, nor do we know how trustworthy the painting's details were copied in the mosaic. Therefore, we have to be very cautious when interpreting this image.³⁴

Let us now examine other images of men in riding costume. Apparently the *kandys* is an important part of the riding costume which the king used. There were probably two types of *kandys*. The most common type appears to have had an attached hood, but there was probably also one without a hood, i.e. with only a neckline.³⁵ However, the only image I have been able to find

Antiquity, inv. no. Λ 45; Lippold 1950, 278, 284. An image is available online at http://odysseus.culture.gr/h/4/eh430.jsp?obj_id=11041

³⁰ Museo archeologico nazionale, Naples. It is suggested that it may be a copy of a painting by Philoxenos, *New Pauly* 1 (2002), 488, s.v. Alexander Mosaic (N. Hoesch).

³¹ For a discussion of this matter, see Linders 1984, n. 30; Knauer 1985, 622.

³² Shahbazi 1992.

³³ Plut. *Mor.* 488 D. Plutarch used the word καταβάλλω probably intending to indicate that the *tiara* was thrown off the head.

³⁴ Besides the Alexander Mosaic, the so-called Alexander Sarcophagus (Istanbul Archaeological Museum) from about the same time depicts a battle between Greeks and Persians, where the Persian soldiers are dressed in the riding costume, including the *kandys* (*Fig. 1*). However, the Persian king is not depicted, so it does not help us much regarding the *tiara orthé*.

³⁵ Widengren 1956, 237; Gervers-Molnár 1973, 5; Knauer 1985, 607–608, 613–614.

of a *kandys* without a hood is that of a young Greek woman dressed in a *kandys* on a grave stele from Attica,³⁶ while most Persian images do not allow one to decide whether a hood was attached to the *kandys* or not.



Fig. 2. Detail of the Alexander Mosaic, with Darius III in the centre. Museo archeologico nazionale, Naples. Photo D. & M. Hill Kleerup.

Be that as it may, the hood or capuche can be found on several figurines. A male silver figurine in Berlin depicts him with *anaxyrides*, a sleeved tunic, and a *kandys* with the hood lying on his back, i.e. in a non-upraised position.³⁷ What is interesting is that in spite of the hood of the *kandys* he is wearing a separate piece of headgear. Two male gold statuettes from the Oxus Treasure are similarly dressed, each wearing a *kandys* with an attached hood hanging down at the back (Fig. 3).³⁸ Apparently they are not using their hoods, but are instead wearing separate caps. A third example is a fragmented terracotta pitcher in the shape of a man from Sardis. The erect phallus forms the spout, while the man is dressed in trousers/*anaxyrides*, a shirt-like garment, *kandys*, shoes, but no headgear.³⁹ Also, his *kandys* has an

³⁶ Grave stele of Myttion, c. 400 BC (Malibu, The J. Paul Getty Museum, inv. no. 78.AA.57; Kingsley 1975; Linders 1984, 109, n. 16, fig. 2).

³⁷ Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Vorderasiatisches Museum, inv. no. VA 4852. For images, see e.g. Gow 1928, fig. 5, Shabazi 1992, pl. 57, fig. 18.

³⁸ London, British Museum, inv. nos. 123902, 123903. The two gold figurines standing in a chariot of the Oxus Treasure appear to be similarly dressed and not to be making use of their hoods (London, British Museum, inv. no. EPH-ME.490); see drawing of the back of one of the figurines in Gervers-Molnár 1973, fig. 18.

³⁹ Greenewalt 1971.

attached hood, lying on his back, i.e. in a non-upraised position. Even though he is not wearing a separate cap, he is not making use of the attached hood. Besides these figurines, there are probably more examples, but I am not aware of them because figurines are rarely pictured from behind.⁴⁰ Preserved reliefs usually depict men in profile, so in those cases it is uncertain whether a *kandys* is represented with a hood or not. On the Apadāna reliefs, for example, may the lining of the *kandys* just as well continue at the back into a hood as well as being part of a neckline.⁴¹

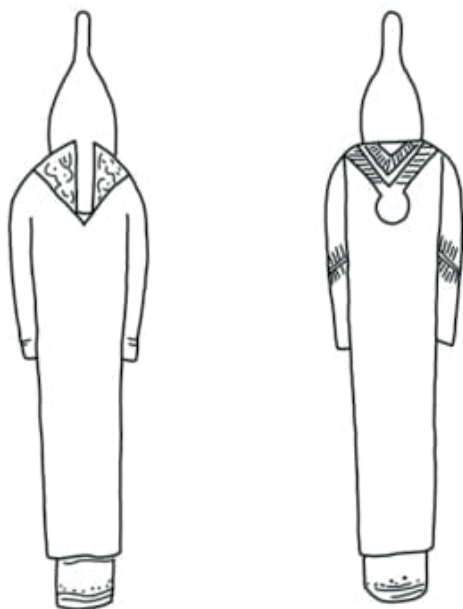


Fig. 3. The back of two figurines from the Oxus Treasure. Fifth century BC. London, British Museum, inv. nos. 123902, 123903. Drawing after J.E. Curtis in Gervers-Molnár 1973, fig. 8.

Let us now return to the Heroon at Limyra and the west frieze, where a prominent man, without a beard, is seen in profile on a horse dressed in riding costume.⁴² Borchhardt has suggested that he should be identified as the Great King,⁴³ but not all scholars agree, and other possible identifications have been proposed.⁴⁴ It is not my intention to discuss the identity of the man, but the relief is of some interest as he is dressed in a *kandys* and is wearing what I would like to interpret as a helmet, perhaps of leather. Below the helmet at the back, covering his neck, a strip of soft material is represented. This is not part of the helmet, but rather seems to be attached to his *kandys*, at least if we are to trust the published drawings (*Fig. 4*).⁴⁵ My

⁴⁰ For references to Scythians wearing sleeved coats with an attached hood, see Knauer 1985, n. 77.

⁴¹ Schmidt 1953, pls. 52, 57, 58.

⁴² Borchhardt 1976, 53, 50–60, pls. 23.4; 24.1, 4, 5; figs. 12–13 (the prominent man is no. 22);

⁴³ Borchhardt 2016, 405–406.

⁴⁴ Jacobs 1987, 71–73; Tuplin 2007, 76–77; Şare 2013, 64–68.

⁴⁵ Borchhardt 1976, figs. 12–13, no. 22. It is uncertain whether or not Borchhardt (1980, 53, 60) meant that he is wearing a helmet, resembling the so-called Phrygian helmet, with a Persian *tiara* underneath. Tuplin (2007, 76) interpreted it as Borchhardt suggested: namely that he is wearing a Phrygian hat over a Persian *tiara*.

interpretation is that he is wearing something underneath the helmet, and the most plausible thing to wear under a helmet is some kind of padding, i.e. a *pilos*. We may recall here that Herodotos used the word *pilos* in order to explain the Persian *tiara* (see above). Whether the suggested headgear under the helmet was attached as a hood to the *kandys* and worn upon the head, i.e. upraised, in this particular relief is, however, not possible to conclusively determine because of the poor state of the preserved relief,⁴⁶ and the uncertainty about whether it is really the king who is represented.



Fig. 4. Detail of the rider with *kandys* from the west frieze of the Heroon at Limyra (after Borchhardt 1976, fig. 12). The drawing by Jürgen Borchhardt was based on the surviving fragments of the relief.

With the possible exception of the Heroon at Limyra, we may conclude that in all other known iconographic images of a *kandys* with a hood attached, the hood is never used; instead the person in question wears a separate cap or none at all. When the ancient sources refer to the upraised

⁴⁶ The poor condition of the relief is made clear from a photo of the head in Şare 2013, fig. 10.

tiara, my interpretation is that they simply mean the hood of the *kandys* used upon the head,⁴⁷ i.e. in upraised position, as Xenophon explicitly wrote. It is further possible that this upraised hood was used by the king, like a *pilos*, below a helmet.

Further evidence for this theory of the upright *tiara* may be found in Greek vase paintings that indirectly refer to the Persian king, but in the disguise of king Midas.

King Midas in Persian dress

On a red-figured stamnos dated to around 450 BC (*Fig. 5*) King Midas is dressed as the Persian king in a scene that reflects the Greek perception of the Persian court.⁴⁸ Midas was a ridiculed figure in the Greek Classical world, and perhaps therefore was used as a metaphor for the Persian king.⁴⁹ Midas is depicted with ass's ears, which according to Ovid he hide beneath his purple *tiara*,⁵⁰ but in the vase painting the ears are made visible as they were characteristic attributes of Midas. Midas wears headgear and a long, draped dress. His upper garment is depicted in a strange manner and to some extent resembles the upper part of the Persian King's court dress with trumpet sleeves.⁵¹ The painted dress resembles a sleeved garment, but what is odd is that not only the arm but also the hand is covered by the "sleeve", which is probably a misunderstanding of the Persian garment it was supposed to imitate. Miller has suggested that the vase painter had misunderstood the draped sleeve of the Achaemenid royal robe,⁵² which is possible. We cannot, however, exclude the possibility that another foreign garment, such as the *kandys*, was intended to be represented. The earliest literary evidence of this garment in Greek sources comes, as previously mentioned, from Xenophon (c. 400 BC), while the *kandys* begin to appear in Attic art in the last quarter of the fifth century BC.⁵³ Hence around 450 BC, a *kandys* was probably not a familiar garment for the painter of this vase. It is possible that he only knew it from oral descriptions declaring that the sleeves were generally not used, and therefore did not know how to paint this detail.⁵⁴ It is further possible that the painter was not aware that the *kandys* and the robe of the royal court were two different garments, as both were worn by the king, which would also explain its appearance on the vase.

⁴⁷ We cannot exclude that other garments also had attached hoods.

⁴⁸ London, British Museum, inv. no. 1851,0416.9/E 447; *BADP*, 213470.

⁴⁹ Roller 1983; Miller 1988; Berndt 2018.

⁵⁰ *Ov. Met.* 11.181.

⁵¹ Schmidt 1953, pls. 98–99, 105, 121–123.

⁵² Miller 1988, 86.

⁵³ Linders 1984, 110, 112, 114. See e.g. the Talos vase, where Medea is wearing both a *kandys* and *tiara* (425–400 BC; Ruvo, Mueso Jatta, inv. no. 36933; *BADP*, 217518; *ARI*², 1338.1; Linders 1984, fig. 3). The so-called Peliades relief (Roman copy of an Attic relief from c. 420/10 BC) depicts Medea with a *kandys* where the sleeves are unused (Berlin, Antikensammlung, inv. no. Sk 925/K186).

⁵⁴ See Xen. *Cyr.* 8.3.10 who states that the horsemen inserted their arms into the sleeves in the presence of the king.



Fig. 5. King Midas as the Great King on a red-figure Attic stamnos from Chiusi, c. 450 BC. London, British Museum, inv. no. 1851,0416.9/E 447. © The Trustees of the British Museum. All rights reserved.

Let us now turn to the headdress Midas is depicted as wearing in the vase painting. According to the myth, he was supposed to hide his ears under a *tiara*, but in this scene he is not wearing the usual *tiara*, like the guard to the far left in front of him. It has been suggested that Midas is wearing a *sakkos*,⁵⁵ but I cannot see any reason why he would be depicted with a typically female head covering,⁵⁶ especially when the myth states that he wore a

⁵⁵ De Vries (1973, 39) interpreted Midas' headgear as being a *sakkos* that oddly was elaborated with the flaps of a Persian or Phrygian cap. Miller 1988, 81; *LIMC* 8 (1997), 849, s.v. Midas (M.C. Miller).

⁵⁶ On the *sakkos*, see e.g. Lee 2015, 159. Besides women, there are examples of male komasts represented with the turban or the *sakkos* in Greek vase paintings (Kurtz & Boardman 1986, 50–56).

tiara. There are two more vase images of Midas where he wears similar looking headgear that has this characteristic pouch at the back of the head.⁵⁷ Both vases, a krater and kylix, are unfortunately damaged at the upper part of the heads, but Midas as represented on the krater is definitely not wearing a *sakkos* or anything similar, while the Midas on the kylix has been interpreted as wearing a headband or the like.⁵⁸ Midas' beard and hair are similarly represented on all three images, and I would suggest that a similar headdress was intended for all three images, and the intention may have been to represent Midas with the *tiara orthé*, i.e. with an upraised hood, a concept with which the vase painters were not so familiar.

Several details in the painting of the stamnos support such an interpretation: a *sakkos* would have covered more of the hair, especially on the forehead, while a hood would leave both the fringe and the side hair visible, as in this case, and like on the krater where Midas is wearing a hood or cap. Furthermore, there is a thin black line below the upper loose part, which I think was intended to imitate the diadem or band used by Persians to keep the hood or *tiara* in place. Such a black line is also visible on the kylix, but it should be noted that in this image the fringe is missing, though that may be due to the dominant ass's ears with which Midas is represented. A hood attached to his upper garment would explain why the garment lacks a distinct neckline on both the stamnos and the kylix.

To conclude, the vase image on the stamnos is an illustration of the Greek perception of the Persian court and the king, and although the painter did not get all the details of Persian clothing correct, it is possible that he was aware that a *tiara orthé* was indeed the upraised hood of a *kandys*, although we cannot exclude other possible interpretations.

Susanne Berndt

Department of Archaeology and Classical Studies
Stockholm University
Wallenberglaboratoriet
SE-106 91 STOCKHOLM
susanne.berndt@antiken.su.se

Bibliography

- Beekes, R. 2010. *Etymological dictionary of Greek*, Leiden & Boston.
Berndt, S. 2018. 'The King has ass's ears! The myth of Midas's ears', in *The adventure of the illustrious scholar. Papers presented to Oscar White Muscarella* (Culture and history of the ancient Near East, 94), ed. E. Simpson, Leiden & Boston, 49–66.
Borchhardt, J. 1976. *Die Bauskulptur des Heroons von Limyra. Das Grabmal des lykischen Königs Perikles* (IstForsch, 32). Berlin.

⁵⁷ 1. Krater (450–425 BC), Lentini, Museo Archeologico, inv. no. 9131; *BADP*, 6908; *LIMC* 8 (1997), 849, s.v. Midas, no. 39 (M.C. Miller); Crispino & Musumeci 2008, 86. 2. Kylix (c. 440 BC), Vatican, Museo Gregoriano Etrusco, inv. no. 16585; *BADP*, 9513; *LIMC* 8 (1997), 849, s.v. Midas, no. 40 (M.C. Miller).

⁵⁸ De Vries 1973, 38–39; *LIMC* 8 (1997), 849, s.v. Midas, no. 40 (M.C. Miller).

- Borchhardt, J. 1980. 'Zur Deutung lykischer Audienzszenen', in *Actes du colloque sur la Lycie antique* (Bibliothèque de l'Institut Français d'Études Anatoliennes d'Istanbul, 27), Paris, 7–12.
- Borchhardt, J. 1983. 'Die Dependenz des Königs von Sidon vom persischen Grosskönig', in *Beiträge zur Altertumskunde Kleinasiens. Festschrift für Kurt Bittel*, eds. R.M. Boehmer & H. Hauptmann, Mainz am Rhein, 105–120.
- Borchhardt, J. 2016. 'Lycian dynasts and temple tombs', in *From Lukka to Lycia. The land of Sarpedon and St. Nicholas*, eds. H. İşkan & E. Dündar, Istanbul, 402–408.
- Buitron-Oliver, D. 1996. *The sanctuary of Apollo Hylates at Kourion. Excavations in the Archaic precinct* (SIMA, 109), Jonsered.
- Calmeyer, P. 1993. 'Crown I. In the Median and Achaemenid periods', in *Encyclopaedia Iranica* 6:4, ed. E. Yarshater, London, 407–408. Available online at <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/crown-i>
- Crispino, A. & A. Musumeci (eds.) 2008. *Musei nascosti. Collezioni e raccolte archeologiche a Siracusa dal XVIII al XX secolo*, Napoli.
- De Vries, K. 1973. 'East meets West at dinner', *Expedition* 15:4, 32–39.
- Eilers, W. & P. Calmeyer 1977. 'Vom Reisehut zur Kaiserkrone', *AMIran* 10, 153–190.
- von Gall, H. 1974. 'Die Kopfbedeckung des persischen Ornaments bei den Achämeniden', *AMIran* 7, 145–161.
- Gervers-Molnár, V. 1973. *The Hungarian szür. An Archaic mantle of Eurasian origin*, Toronto.
- Gow, A.S.F. 1928. 'Notes on the *Persae* of Aeschylus', *JHS* 48, 133–158.
- Greenewalt, C.H., Jr. 1971. 'An exhibitionist from Sardis', in *Studies presented to George M.A. Hanfmann* (Harvard University Monographs in Art and Archaeology, 2), eds. D.G. Mitten, J.G. Pedley & J.A. Scott, Mainz, 29–46.
- Hill, G.F. 1900. *BMC. Catalogue of the Greek coins of Lycaonia, Isauria, and Cilicia*, London.
- Hinz, W. 1976. *Darius und die Perser. Eine Kulturgeschichte der Achämeniden*, Baden-Baden.
- How, W.W. & J. Wells 1912. *A commentary on Herodotus*, Oxford.
- Ivantchik, A. 2018. 'Scythians', in *Encyclopaedia Iranica*. Available online at <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/scythians>
- Jacobs, B. 1987. *Griechische und persische Elemente in der Grabkunst Lykiens zur Zeit der Achämenidenherrschaft* (SIMA, 78), Jonsered.
- Kingsley, B. 1975. 'The stele of Myttion', *GettyMusJ* 2, 7–14.
- Knauer, E.R. 1985. 'Ex oriente vestimenta. Trachtgeschichtliche Beobachtungen zu Ärmelmantel und Ärmeljacke', *ANRW* II.12.3, ed. H. Temporini, 578–741.
- Kurtz, D.C. & J. Boardman 1986. 'Booners', in *Greek vases in the J. Paul Getty Museum*, vol. 3 (Occasional Papers on Antiquities, 2), eds. J. Frel & M. True, Malibu, 35–70.
- Lee, M.M. 2015. *Body, dress, and identity in ancient Greece*, Cambridge.
- Linders, T. 1984. 'The kandys in Greece and Persia', *OpAth* 15, 107–114.
- Lippold, G. 1950. *Die griechische Plastik* (HdA), München.
- Macan, R.W. (ed.) 1908. *Herodotus. The seventh, eighth, and ninth books*, Cambridge (digital version 2013).
- Miller, M.C. 1988. 'Midas as the Great King in Attic fifth-century vase-painting', *AntK* 31, 79–89.
- Miller, M.C. 1997. *Athens and Persia in the fifth century BC. A study in cultural receptivity*, Cambridge.
- Ritter, H.-W. 1965. *Diadem und Königsherrschaft. Untersuchungen zu Zeremonien und Rechtsgrundlagen des Herrschaftsantritts bei den Persern, bei Alexander dem Grossen und im Hellenismus* (Vestigia, 7), München & Berlin.
- Roller, L.E. 1983. 'The legend of Midas', *ClAnt* 2, 299–313.
- Şare, T. 2013. 'The sculpture of the Heroon of Perikle at Limyra: the making of a Lycian king', *AnatSt* 63, 55–74.

- Schlumberger, D. 1971. 'La coiffure du Grand roi', *Syria* 48, 375–383.
- Schmidt, E.F. 1953. *Persepolis I. Structures, reliefs, inscriptions* (OIP, 68), Chicago.
- Schmitt, R. 1984. 'Perser und persisches in der alten attischen Komödie', in *Orientalia J. Duchesne-Guillemin emerito oblata* (Acta Iranica, 23), Leiden, 459–472.
- Schoppa, H. 1933. *Die Darstellung der Perser in der griechischen Kunst zum Beginn des Hellenismus*, Inaugural Diss. Karl Rupprechts Universität, Heidelberg.
- Seiterle, G. 1985. 'Die Urform der phrygischen Mütze', *AntW* 16:3, 3–13.
- Sekunda, N.V. 2010. 'Changes in Achaemenid royal dress', in *The world of Achaemenid Persia. History, art and society in Iran and the ancient Near East. Proceedings of a conference at the British Museum 29th September–1st October 2005*, eds. J. Curtis & St J. Simpson, London, 255–274.
- Shahbazi, S. 1992. 'Clothing II. In the Median and Achaemenid periods', in *Encyclopaedia Iranica* 5:7, ed. E. Yarshater, London, 723–737. Available online at <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/clothing-ii>
- Summerer, L. 2010. 'Wall paintings', in *Tatarlı. The return of colours*, eds. L. Summerer & A. von Kienlin, Istanbul, 120–185.
- Thompson, G. 1965. 'Iranian dress in the Achaemenian period: problems concerning the kandys and other garments', *Iran* 3, 121–126.
- Tuplin, C.J. 2007. 'Treacherous hearts and upright tiaras. The Achaemenid king's head-dress', in *Persian responses. Political and cultural interaction with(in) the Achaemenid Empire*, ed. C.J. Tuplin, Swansea, 67–97.
- Widengren, G. 1956. 'Some remarks on riding costume and articles of dress among Iranian peoples in Antiquity', *Arctica. Studia ethnographica Upsaliensia* 11, 228–276.

The Andron of Maussollos at Labraunda and its Architectural Sculpture

by

Jesper Blid

Abstract

When Maussollos became a satrap of Karia in the early 370s, he initiated an ambitious building programme at the local sanctuary of Zeus at Labraunda. The programme included a ritual banquet building (andron), whose façade displayed an experimental and innovative combination of Doric, Ionic and Achaemenidising elements. This article proposes a new interpretation of the Achaemenidising sphinx akroteria of Maussollos' andron and their significance for the building and its dedicator.*

In 377/376 BC, Maussollos succeeded his late father, Hekatomnos, as Persian satrap and king of the Karians.¹ The wealth of the Hekatomnids was legendary, as attested by ancient authors,² and Maussollos and his successors used it to bolster the monumentalisation of Karian sanctuaries and cities, as well as to establish a vast system of fortifications. At the Karian sanctuary of Labraunda, a banquet hall (andron) of monumental proportions was erected as part of what may be the first building project of Maussollos.³ The term “andron” is derived from its appearance in the architrave inscription. The word is not, however, attested for sacred banqueting buildings before Maussollos' andron at Labraunda.⁴ The andron was an architectural statement that, at the time, surpassed all other buildings at the sanctuary and was, to a large extent, customised with a completely original blend of various cultural inputs by drawing on indigenous features as well as Achaemenid and mainland Greek elements. Fragments from two male sphinx akroteria were excavated in the vicinity of the building in 1953 and 1960.⁵ Scholars have suggested various answers to the questions of what these sphinxes

* I am grateful to Pontus Hellström, Susanne Berndt and the anonymous reviewer for their many helpful comments.

¹ However, the title “King of the Karians” “was originally a cultic kingship of limited political authority” (Ruzicka 1992, 157).

² Vit. 2.8.10 (Loeb translation): “He [Maussollos] was enriched by enormous revenues because he ruled over all Caria.” Isoc. *To Philip*, 103 (Loeb translation): “And mark also that Idrieus . . . is the most prosperous of the present rulers of the mainland.”

³ The exterior measurements of the Andron of Maussollos are 11.78 m by 20.865 m, which can be compared to the earlier and considerably smaller in-antis Temple of Zeus that measures c. 8.88 m by 12.07 m. For more information on the earliest phase of the temple at Labraunda, see Hellström & Thieme 1982, 39–42, pl. 38.

⁴ Hellström & Blid 2019, 273.

⁵ Cf. Gunter 1995, 21–30.

symbolised and who their Greek-style faces were intended to portray. This article aims to review these theories and propose an alternative identity for the sphinxes which is in line with what I believe was the overall intended ideological statement of the building and its architecture.

The andrones of Labraunda

Two monumental andrones were built at the sanctuary of Zeus at Karian Labraunda under Hekatomnid patronage. They are unique, and no direct comparanda have been found in any excavated buildings from Classical Antiquity. The Andron of Maussollos, which still preserves the name of its dedicator, must be the older of the two buildings.⁶ It was probably built soon after Maussollos' rise to power. The second dining hall, labelled Andron A, is slightly larger in plan and may have been built by Maussollos' brother and successor Idrieus; however, it was most likely erected before the death of Maussollos in 353/352. The two andrones are comparable in size and measure about 12 m in width and 21–22 m in length. They are equipped with a colonnaded Ionic front porch and an inner, rectangular cella with partly preserved remains of platforms along the walls, which were made of thick layers of fine plaster and were intended to carry banquet couches. The 10-metre beam span of the cella is among the largest of its time, a feat of engineering second only to the Parthenon.

By the time of its completion, the Andron of Maussollos was an architectural novelty in terms of both design and function. The architraval inscriptions of both andrones mention the term “andron” and contain a dedication to Zeus La(m)braundos, the local deity held in great esteem by the Hekatomnid family.⁷ The Hekatomnid function of the andron differs significantly from the andrones used for the more egalitarian Greek symposia.⁸ Unlike its Greek counterpart, the Hekatomnid andron presented a hierarchical stage of display, with the satrapal couple reclining in the axis of the doorway at the centre of the back wall of the building under an almost five-metre-wide niche. The niche itself probably displayed statues of Zeus and members of the Hekatomnid family. The composite function of the andrones is perhaps best described by Gretchen Umholtz, who states that “the Hekatomnids at Labraunda (and Maussollos at his tomb) repeatedly combined Greek with non-Greek architectural idiom and brilliantly clad non-Greek practices and institutions in Greek-style artistic splendour”.⁹ Maussollos' andron was furthermore fitted with a pediment window, a feature that is primarily found in temple buildings of the region, such as the Artemision of Ephesos, and probably served as a venue for epiphanies or religious dramas.¹⁰ This pediment window certainly testifies to the cultic

⁶ Hellström & Blid 2019, 250–253.

⁷ Ruzicka (1992, 30) argues that the Hekatomnids held a hereditary priestly office in the cult of Zeus at Labraunda.

⁸ Hellström & Blid 2019, 269–272.

⁹ Umholtz 2002, 276.

¹⁰ For a more in-depth survey of pediment windows, see Held 2005.

importance of the Andron of Maussollos.¹¹ It is plausible, I think, that the andron actually functioned as a repository for the cult statue of Zeus for a time while the Archaic temple of Labraunda was being rebuilt (perhaps during the 360s) as Maussollos' andron was the most monumental building of the sanctuary at that time.¹²

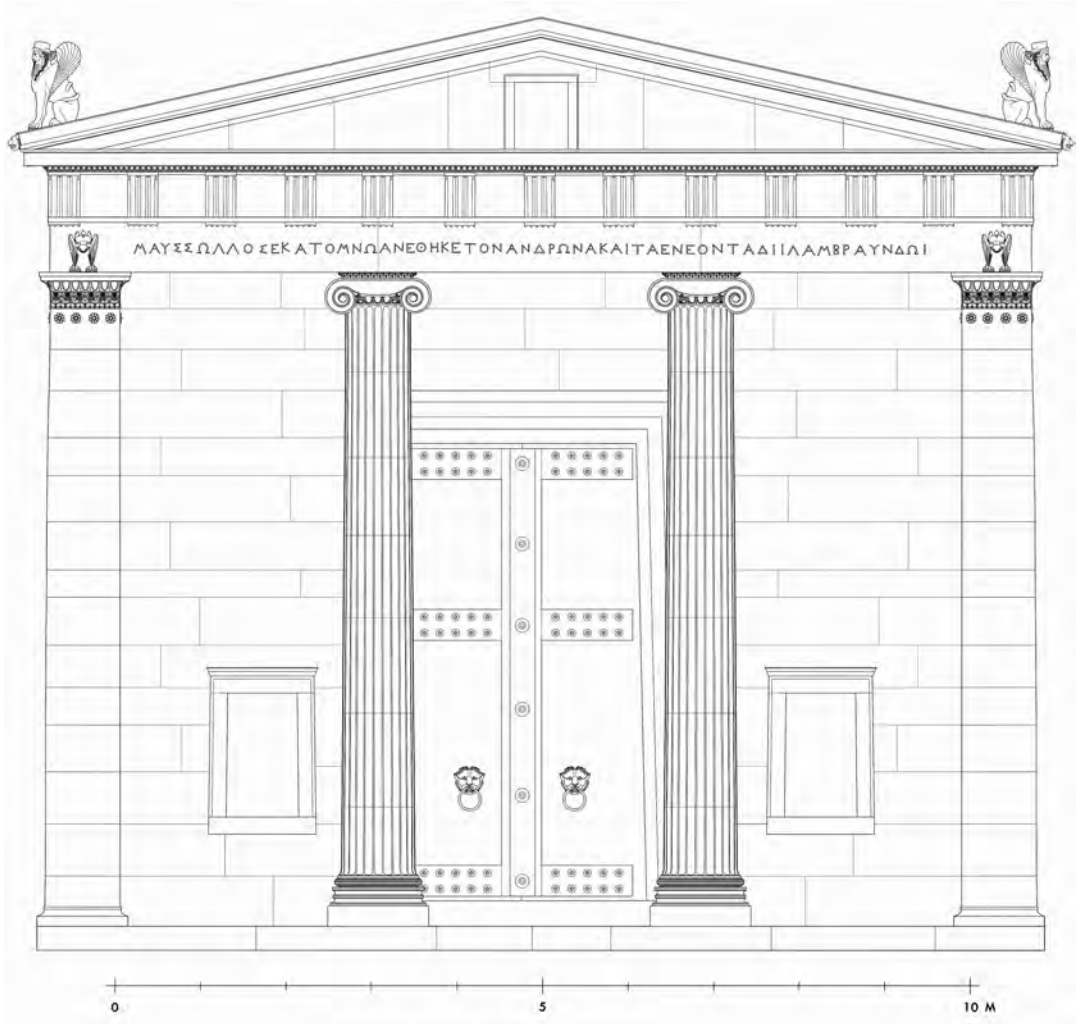


Fig. 1. The eastern façade of the Andron of Maussollos. Drawing by Jesper Blid.

The most conspicuous feature of the almost 11-metre-tall façade of Maussollos' andron is the combination of two archaistic Ionic columns in antis crowned by a Doric epistyle and frieze (Fig. 1). The motivation underlying this striking mix of the two orders has been explained, for instance in political terms, as expressing Maussollos' will to dominate various *ethnoi*, or

¹¹ Hellström & Blid 2019, 273.

¹² The walls of the Archaic in-antis temple of Zeus were completely dismantled when the building was transformed into a peripteral structure. This is clear from the Hekatomnid-style hook clamps that connected the new, added opisthodomos to the Archaic cella at the level of the toichobate; see Hellström & Thieme 1982, 40. For a tentative chronology on the peripteral temple of Zeus, see Hellström & Blid 2019, 253.

in stylistic terms, as alluding to the mixed architectural orders that occasionally occur in the great palaces of the Achaemenid Empire.¹³ I find most convincing the explanation that the tall and slender Ionic columns and their sculptured capitals may have been combined with the Doric frieze of alternating metopes and triglyphs in order to achieve a striking aesthetic effect.¹⁴ In other words, the mixture may have been an attempt to develop an original and memorable design by cherry-picking architectural elements from various building traditions.



Fig. 2. The south sphinx akroterion seen from the south (left) and east (right). Drawing by Jesper Blid.

¹³ For an overview of the research history of the building, see Hellström & Blid 2019, 274.

¹⁴ Hellström & Blid 2019, 274.

The overall Greek style of the main façade of the Andron of Maussollos was not without cultural references to the Achaemenid Empire.¹⁵ The antae capitals were crowned by akroteria, and finds from the area suggest the shape of Achaemenidising lion griffin protomes (*Fig. 2*).¹⁶ Several scholars have studied the preserved remains of two male sphinxes that may have served as lateral akroteria of the building,¹⁷ repeatedly highlighting the stylistic similarity of the sphinxes to royal Achaemenid court art. As Dusinberre argues, “outside, the andron was topped at its akroteria by two marble sphinxes that drew on the iconography of Persepolis, where sphinxes were associated with kingly responsibility for righteous harmony and peace, with added western Anatolian elements such as locks of hair behind the ears”.¹⁸ Ann C. Gunter has pointed out that sphinxes flanked a royal inscription at Persepolis in a manner similar to their placement at Maussollos’ andron.¹⁹ In connection with these Achaemenidising elements, it is interesting to note that Umholtz has noted that the “architraval arrogance” of individuals – in inscribing their names on the architrave of a building – is characteristic of the Hekatomnid building programme at Labraunda and is not directly comparable to the contemporary Greek world.²⁰ The visually imposing architraval inscription of the Andron of Maussollos advocates a connection between the dedicator and the supreme deity, resembling Achaemenid royal inscriptions. Such inscriptions serve as “textual images” adorning the façade and signify the power and prestige of the person behind the imagery.²¹ Perhaps Maussollos’ bold assertion of identity and patronage can be seen as a translation of the strategic use of inscriptions at the Persian court. The overall design of the andron thus seems to be the result of a deliberate combination of Greek, Anatolian and Achaemenid elements.

¹⁵ Karia was an independent satrapy within the Achaemenid Empire from the late 390s onwards; cf. Hornblower 1982, 34–36.

¹⁶ Hellström & Blid 2019, 257–261.

¹⁷ E.g. Ghirshman 1964; Gunter 1995; Stucky 1988, 2005; Carstens 2009, 2010, 2011; Dusinberre 2013. The two sphinx akroteria were found in the vicinity south of the Andron of Maussollos, and a metrological analysis presents additional evidence of their original association with the andron. Cf. Hellström & Blid 2019, 210, n. 417.

¹⁸ Dusinberre 2013, 232–233. Regarding the symbolic function of the sphinx motif in Achaemenid art, Gunter (1995, 27) states that “no written sources elucidate the meaning of the royal sphinx in Achaemenid or Achaemenid-inspired art” but suggests a connection to “beneficent guardianship; the sphinx may also be associated with a dimension of kingship itself”. Stucky (1988, 122–126) and Carstens (2010, 42–43) stress the function of sphinxes as guardians. Danner (1989, 74) proposes an apotropaic function of Greek sphinx akroteria, as a defence against, for instance, evil spirits.

¹⁹ Gunter 1995, 30.

²⁰ “Architraval dedicatory inscriptions by individuals seem to make a sudden and spectacular debut, not in the heart of the Greek world, but rather in Caria, with the imposing dedications of Maussollos and his brother Idræus in the sanctuary of Zeus at Labraunda” (Umholtz 2002, 262). Inscriptions occur, however, on the “architrave” in architectural frames of Greek funerary relief steles from the later fifth century onwards (Umholtz 2002, 276). Susanne Berndt has pointed out to me that an architraval inscription has been found in an earlier Phrygian context on the so-called Midas Monument.

²¹ See Finn (2011, 224) on royal inscriptions from the reigns of Darius the Great and his son Xerxes.

The sphinx akroteria and the image(s) of Zeus Labraundos

The sphinx akroteria of the Andron of Maussollos seem to combine Achaemenid and Greek elements. The appearance of the fully human heads is different from the overall Achaemenidising style of their bodies and has therefore been interpreted as the work of a Greek or local sculptor.²² Conversely, the face is adorned by an eastern-style beard and, on the head, the sphinxes wear a fillet and polos. This customisation appears deliberate, and scholars have proposed connections with both the royal court art of Persepolis and images of Zeus Labraundos. Several previous studies have tried to draw an ideological and/or ceremonial connection between the iconographic practices of the Achaemenid royal palaces and Maussollos' eccentric banquet building at Labraunda. Anne Marie Carstens, for instance, underscores the palatial connotation of sphinxes in the Achaemenid Empire by comparing the Labraunda sphinxes to practices at Persepolis.²³ What appears evident, however, is that the customised composition of the face and hairstyle of the sphinx akroteria deviates from the Persian practice and was thus intended to convey a certain meaning to the local beholders. Roman Ghirshman and, later, Carstens emphasise the similarity between the alleged indigenous characteristics of the sphinxes and depictions of Zeus Labraundos.²⁴ Carstens argues that there can be little doubt that these traits, including the polos, were intended to recall the ancient cult image of Zeus Labraundos that was kept in the temple of Labraunda.²⁵ According to Gunter, however, the polos is also an established feature of female sphinx akroteria and may thus be a genre-related topos rather than an emulation of the cult statue at Labraunda, *per se*.²⁶ The architectural context of the Andron of Maussollos does not necessarily corroborate the suggestion that the faces of the sphinx akroteria represent Zeus Labraundos. It is true that divinities and other mythological characters repeatedly appear as akroteria in the Greek world during the Archaic and Classical periods, but, to the best of my knowledge, no akroteria has been identified as the main deity of a temple.²⁷ According to the architrave inscription, "The andron (of Maussollos) and what was therein" was dedicated to Zeus Labraundos.²⁸ As mentioned before, the building might also have served a cultic function, as indicated by the pediment window. The andron is admittedly experimental and non-canonical, but the general composition of the akroteria appears Greek as the central akroterion, at least on Andron A, was floral, which is in line with Greek practices of arranging akroteria.²⁹

²² Gunter 1995, 26.

²³ Cf. Carstens 2011. Gunter (1995) and Dusinger (2013) have also stressed this connection.

²⁴ Ghirshman 1964, 355; Carstens 2009, 90–91.

²⁵ Carstens 2009, 90–91; 2010, 43; 2011, 129.

²⁶ Gunter 1995, 28. Danner (1989, 47) argues that Korinthian sphinxes, as a rule, wear the polos and that Attic sphinxes are also occasionally presented with this headdress.

²⁷ See Danner 1989, 86–87.

²⁸ I.Labraunda 14.

²⁹ Hellström & Blid 2019, 196. Reinhardt (2018, 352) observes that, "From the 5th century B.C.E. onwards, floral/figural . . . akroterial images are encountered as parallel phenomena". For another fourth-century example combining lateral sphinx akroteria with a central floral

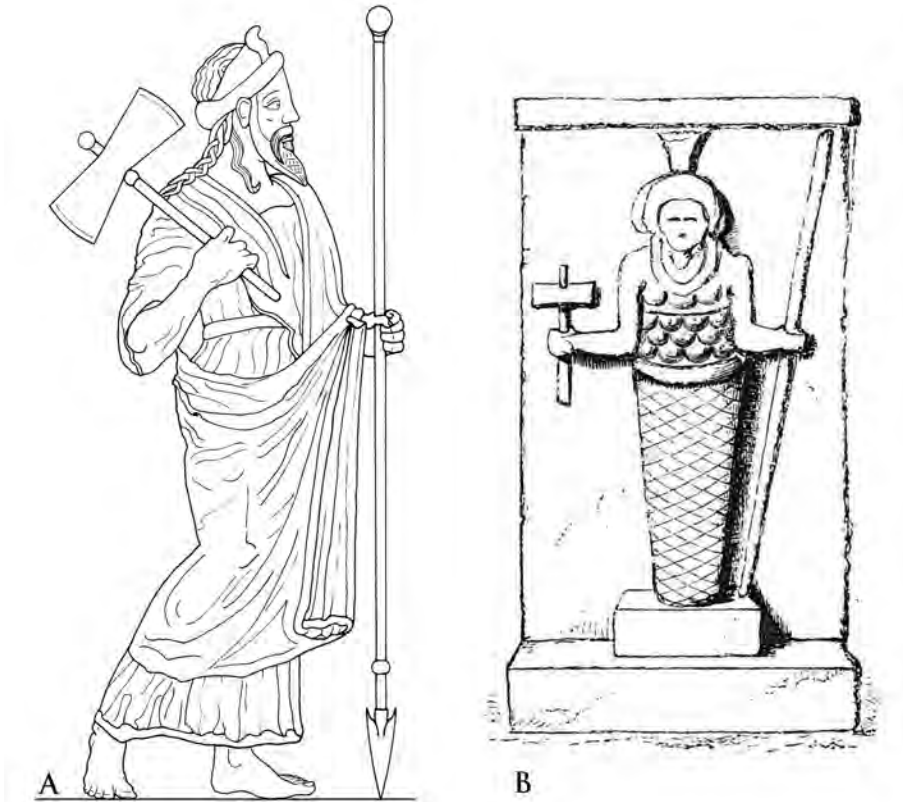


Fig. 3. Zeus Labraundos of the *contrapposto* type (a) and *xoanon* type (b) (a: drawing by Jesper Blid; b: after Alfred Laumonier 1958, pl. 3:1).

It is, however, interesting to examine further the proposed iconographic association between the heads of the sphinx akroteria and the ancient cult image of Zeus Labraundos by investigating the pictorial tradition of the local divinity. Strabo refers to the actual cult image of Labraunda as *xoanon*, with the epithet Zeus Stratios,³⁰ which may have been a small, perhaps Archaic, sculpture.³¹ The earliest visual representation of Zeus Labraundos is found on coins of Hekatomnos: “the figure is shown in a *contrapposto* stance, holding an axe over his right shoulder and a spear in his left hand. He is bearded and wears a chiton and himation. His hair falls in long locks down the back of his neck; the side locks are pulled together into a chignon, and he wears a wreath around his head” (Fig. 3a).³² It is thus clear that the Hekatomnids had close ties with the sanctuary of Labraunda from as early as the time of Hekatomnos.³³ However, the coin image of Zeus was, as Arthur B. Cook suggested in 1925, not a representation of the early, perhaps

akroterion: the Mourning Women Sarcophagus from Sidon (Istanbul, Archaeological Museum inv. no. 368), Fleischer 1983, 27–29, pls. 6–7, 10.

³⁰ Strab. 14.2.23 (Loeb translation). Hdt 5.119 (Loeb translation) also refers to the hieron of Zeus Stratios at Labraunda.

³¹ The statue might have been made of bronze, as proposed by Hellström & Thieme 1982, 32.

³² Gunter 1995, 57.

³³ A dedication by Hekatomnos has been found on the temple terrace at Labraunda, cf. Crampa 1972, 27 (I.Labraunda 27); Ruzicka 1992, 30; see also the article by Pontus Hellström in this volume.

Archaic, cult image of Labraunda but rather of a new type, which, to the best of our knowledge, dates back as far as the early period of Hekatomnid satrapal rule.³⁴ Representations of an archaising Zeus Labraundos, the *xoanon* type, appear on reliefs, as figurines and on Roman coins, but they are all probably later in date than the *contrapposto* type seen on the coin images of the Hekatomnid period (Fig. 3b).³⁵ On the *xoanon* type, Zeus is depicted in a stiff frontal stance, dressed in a tight-fitting garment, often with a reticulated pattern, and holding an axe and spear. This has led scholars to conclude that we are dealing with two distinctive types of visual representation, and that the Hekatomnids probably created the *contrapposto* type.³⁶ As for the source of inspiration of the latter type, Gunter has suggested that it may represent another image (at Labraunda) commissioned by the Hekatomnids. Stephen Ruzicka furthermore suggests that a dedication of Hekatomnos, which has been found at Labraunda, might be related to the statue of Zeus Labraundos of the *contrapposto* type similar to that which adorned the tetradrachms of the satrap.³⁷ The more archaising *xoanon* type may actually represent the cult image, which is, in my opinion, further supported by a representation of this type of Zeus standing inside an Ionic temple, as depicted on a coin issue of Geta.³⁸

If we return to the iconography of the sphinx akroteria from the Andron of Maussollos, the sculptural rendering of their facial features and hairstyle has been described as “peculiarly archaistic and severe”.³⁹ On the basis of this “archaisation”, a link with the ancient cult image of Zeus Labraundos (the *xoanon* type) has been suggested. In my opinion, however, it is, moreover, a methodological challenge to associate the sphinxes’ facial features with the ancient (Archaic) cult image of Zeus Labraundos, as no detailed representations of this type remain. Moreover, I think that the archaising characterisation has been slightly exaggerated. While the sculptural tradition in western Asia Minor was admittedly scarce in the fifth and early fourth centuries,⁴⁰ I consider the heads of these sphinxes to be part of a contemporaneous sculptural movement within the region of Karia; the best parallel to the sphinx akroteria is not the Archaic cult statue of Zeus Labraundos (whose detailed facial features are, in fact, unknown to us) but rather sculptures in the round and detailed reliefs of individuals usually identified as members of the Hekatomnid family (Fig. 4).

³⁴ Cook 1925, 597.

³⁵ For more detailed descriptions of the garments of Zeus, see Gunter 1995, 58–60.

³⁶ For summary of the previous research, see Gunter 1995, 59.

³⁷ Ruzicka 1992, 30–31. See also the article by Hellström in this volume.

³⁸ Gunter 1995, 59–60, fig. 28. Ruzicka (1992, 30) also argues that the image of Zeus depicted on the Roman coins could be the old *xoanon*. Both the *contrapposto* and the *xoanon* types are occasionally depicted wearing pendant, oval-shaped decorations on their chests, which have been interpreted in many different ways. I agree with Gunter (1995, 59), however, that identifying Zeus as “androgynous”, based on interpreting these as breasts, rests on very tenuous ground.

³⁹ Carstens 2010, 42.

⁴⁰ Pedersen 2017, 240.

The Hekatomnid portrait

Portraits that are commonly associated with members of the Hekatomnid family share many general traits with the image of Zeus Labraundos of the *contrapposto* type, where he is dressed in a *chiton* and himation. It seems, therefore, that Hekatomnos and his successors aspired to stress the visual connection between themselves and the image of the god of Labraunda. While some scholars have suggested visual associations between Maussollos and Herakles,⁴¹ other scholars have doubted this line of argument.⁴² In my opinion, the visual similarity between male members of the Hekatomnid family and Zeus Labraundos of the *contrapposto* type seems more obvious. This resemblance can be observed most clearly on a dedication relief from Tegea, which is now in the British Museum, where Zeus is flanked by Maussollos' siblings and successors Ada and Idrieus.⁴³ Inscriptions located above each figure identify all the characters. Even though the relief is admittedly stylised, it is clear that the general facial features and coiffure of Idrieus are almost identical to those of Zeus, albeit on a reduced scale.

While the hairstyles of the Hekatomnid portraits in several cases are similar to representations of Zeus Labraundos of the *contrapposto* type, the varied repertoire of headgear that appears on depictions of Zeus and/or the Hekatomnids does not seem to follow a strict formula. The style of the hair above the face of female portraits is often represented as superimposed rows of curls combined with a tight cap, a *sakkos* (Fig. 4d). Rows of curls also occur on male portraits, sometimes combined with various headdresses (polos, fillet, wreaths, etc.).⁴⁴ The fillet on the better-preserved sphinx akroterion from the Andron of Maussollos looks much like the typical Hekatomnid hairstyle, even though it does not have sculptured curls of hair (Fig. 4c).⁴⁵ Such curls might, however, have been painted on the smooth front surface of the fillet.

Much scholarship has focused on the style of various portraits associated with individuals of the Hekatomnid family. None of these, however, can be identified with certainty, apart from the portraits on the rather stylised relief from Tegea. Most consideration has been given to the colossal standing figures of the Maussolleion at Halikarnassos (e.g. Fig. 4a), and the so-called

⁴¹ See Ruzicka 1992, 49–50.

⁴² Waywell (1978, 24, 103) seems hesitant to acknowledge the visual association between Maussollos and Herakles. Also, Konuk (2013, 109, nn. 55–56) more recently demonstrated that the Koan coin issue, which is the basis for the alleged visual association between Maussollos and Herakles, existed before the time of Maussollos.

⁴³ London, British Museum, inv. no. 1914,0714.1. Zeus is depicted frontally, and, while the relief is broken just above the level of his feet, the rendering of the himation over his left leg may point to a *contrapposto* stance. The clothing of the figure is reminiscent of the presentation of the god on Hekatomnid coins. Photographs of the Tegea relief have been published in numerous volumes; see e.g. Hellström & Thieme 1982, fig. 10; Gunter 1995, fig. 26; Jenkins 2006, fig. 221.

⁴⁴ The hairstyle with superimposed curls also occurs on, for instance, Hermes Alkamenes.

⁴⁵ There is a large, marble head of a bearded male with a similar hairdo consisting of superimposed curls of hair at the archaeological museum at Bodrum (personal communication with Olivier Henry). From the photographs I have seen, it seems that the head originally wore an applicable item of headgear, similar to the banqueter of Iasos and the marble head that has been identified as Zeus and which is exhibited in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts.

Ada of Priene (*Fig. 4d*).⁴⁶ More recent additions to the corpus include a number of individuals who are depicted on a sarcophagus inside a monumental tomb, the so-called Uzun Yuva, at Milas, ancient Mylasa; some of the figures depicted are believed to be members of the Hekatomnid family (e.g. *Fig. 4b*).⁴⁷ The relief depicting a banqueter found at Iasos may be added to the list (*Fig. 4e*). Poul Pedersen has recently suggested that the individual on this relief from Iasos could be a member of the Hekatomnid family, based on a comparison with a reclining man depicted on the sarcophagus from the tomb at Milas.⁴⁸ The head of the Iasos banqueter has signs of a lost headdress, perhaps made from metal. The relief was found in a secondary context but was possibly part of a heroon dedicated to Maussollos and the Hekatomnids as there is epigraphic evidence of a “Maussolleion” at Iasos.⁴⁹

Geoffrey B. Waywell characterised the so-called Maussollos (*Fig. 4a*), which Charles Newton found at the site of the Maussolleion at Halikarnassos, as “a fine portrait of an Asiatic male type, generic rather than individualistic, with long hair that seems to have been fashionable for princes east of the Aegean in the fourth century”.⁵⁰ The best-preserved female portrait in the round is that from Priene which is usually identified as Maussollos’ sister Ada (*Fig. 4d*).⁵¹ Her facial features and hairstyle are very similar to another well-preserved female head that was found at the Maussolleion and is now also in the British Museum.⁵² Generic characteristics of the Hekatomnid portraits include sharp high-vaulted eyebrows, somewhat almond-shaped eyes frequently equipped with deep tear ducts, accentuated cheekbones and a slightly curved nose. The male family members usually have a deep line running from the lower part of the nose and following along the top of the moustache. Perhaps most notably, both male and female portraits feature a fleshy lower lip with a clear indentation at its centre.⁵³ The corners of the mouths are usually oriented slightly upwards, which gives an archaising

⁴⁶ These sculptures from Halikarnassos and Priene are now in the British Museum.

⁴⁷ The results of the investigations at the tomb complex have not yet been published, but various photographs of the tomb chamber and sarcophagus can be found online. Rumscheid (2010) identified the tomb as a proto-Maussolleion, as the monument seems unfinished and there are close stylistic similarities with the Maussolleion at Halikarnassos (Maussollos moved his capital to Halikarnassos from Mylasa). The theory of the archaeological expedition working at Uzun Yuva is that the tomb should be associated with Hekatomnos, the father of Maussollos. This view was also stated by Konuk (2013, 111). The base moulding of the Uzun Yuva monument seems, however, more stylistically advanced than what we see at the Andron of Maussollos at Labraunda. If Uzun Yuva had been the tomb of Hekatomnos, I think we would expect similar traits at Maussollos’ andron at Labraunda.

⁴⁸ Pedersen 2017, 241–242.

⁴⁹ Pedersen 2017, 242–243. For further information regarding the epigraphic evidence of a Maussolleion at Iasos, see Maddoli 2007, 248–271. Moreover, an altar dedicated to Maussollos is confirmed epigraphically at Labraunda; cf. Isager & Karlsson 2008.

⁵⁰ Waywell 1978, 41. Jenkins (2006, 210) describes the statue as follows: “at the very least we are given a record of the family likeness which, if not a portrait of Maussollos himself, is likely to be one of his ancestors: lion-maned, strong and even-featured, full-mouthed and with large, deep-set and hooded eyes.”

⁵¹ Carter 1983, 271–276, pls. 39–40; cf. Jenkins 2006, fig. 210.

⁵² Waywell 1978, pl. 16.

⁵³ The portraits found at the Sanctuary of Eschmun at Sidon, which have been reconstructed by Stucky (1988; 2005; see also Carstens 2010) as possible sphinx akroteria based on a comparison with Labraunda, feature similar lips. In my opinion, however, they lack the other facial features that characterise the portraits generally identified as Hekatomnids.

impression. Additional common traits are the slight double chin and lines on the forehead and neck indicating both maturity and corpulence. The hair on the male portraits is long and flows down at the back and/or over the shoulders. It is sometimes arranged as tresses or simply flows freely. The superimposed rows of curled hair above the face are seen on all female portraits and also, I believe, on Idrieus (and Zeus) on the Tegea relief. The representation of the banqueter on the worn relief from Iasos, furthermore, includes a somewhat similar fillet-shaped coiffure, even though the hair is clearly separated at the centre of the forehead and not arranged in curls.

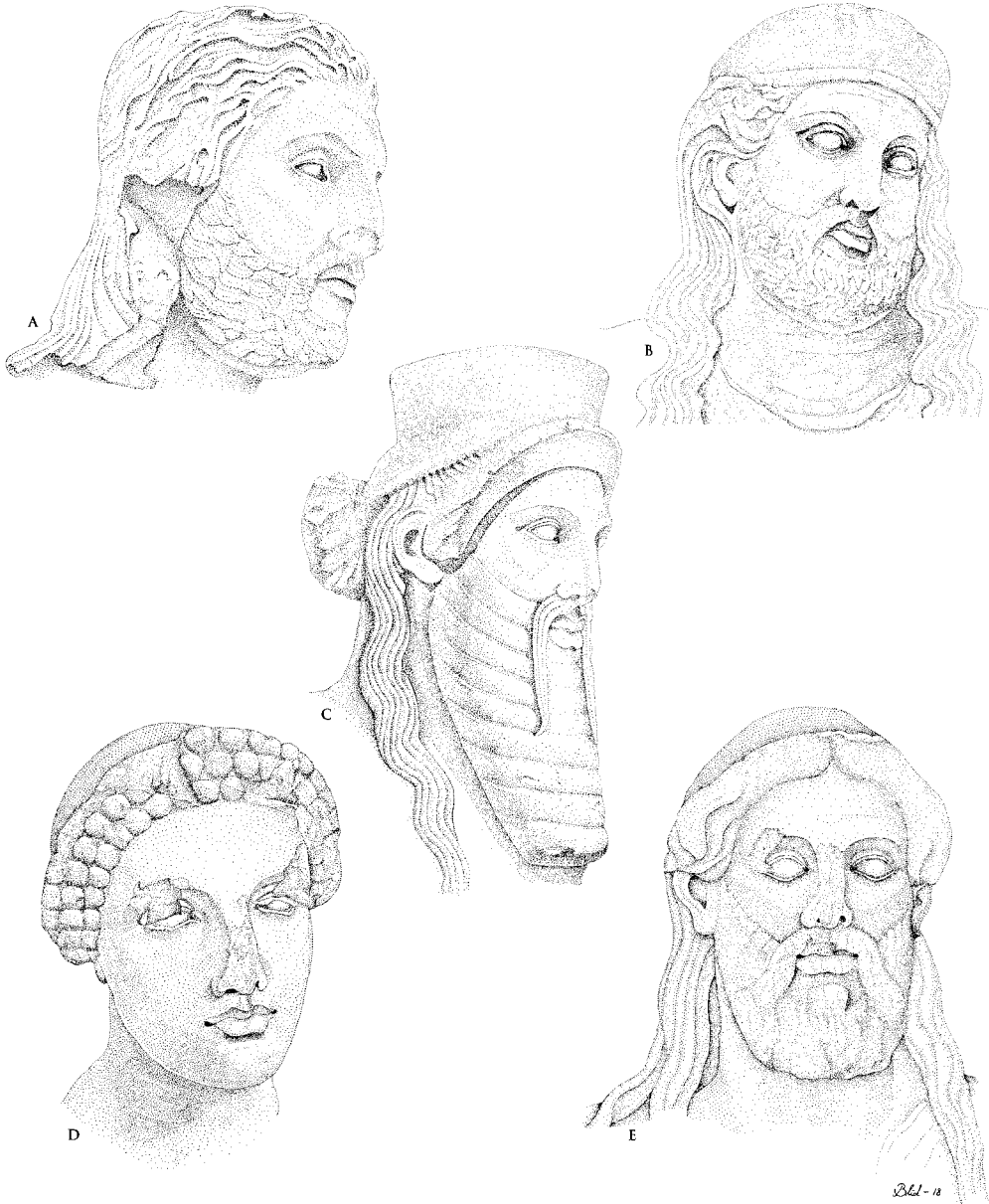


Fig. 4. Hekatomnid portraits: “Maussollos” from the Maussolleion (a); reclining man from the Uzun Yuva in Milas (b); sphinx akroterion from Labraunda (c); “Ada” from Priene (d); the banqueter from Iasos (e). Drawings by Jesper Blid.

Recently, scholars have begun to re-examine the sculptural representations of the Hekatomnid family. Olivier Henry sees a political message in the way the sculptures have repetitive and homogenous features rather than individual characters,⁵⁴ while Koray Konuk suggests that they signal the “birth of portraiture”.⁵⁵ In my opinion, the Hekatomnid portraits, to some extent, are both generic and individual. This could be explained in various ways. The differences between the portraits could result from different “hands” (sculptors), but we should also consider the possibility that they may vaguely recall characteristics of different members of the family.⁵⁶ The generic features, on the other hand, probably partly result from common sculptural practices in representing, for example, various facial traits and hair. In addition, the generic features also transmitted an immediate association with the ruling family, as Henry suggests,⁵⁷ however, this does not exclude that individual members of the family could be discerned by the ancient beholder on the basis of minor individualistic features applied to a more generic formula (as in Hellenistic ruler portraits).

It seems unlikely that the Hekatomnid portraits as we know them can be attributed to one individual sculptor. Brian F. Cook’s investigation of previous attributions of the Maussolleion sculptures to various hands highlights the methodological difficulties of the matter.⁵⁸ The portrait tradition may have been developed by an individual sculptor at the Hekatomnid court, but was then practised by various artisans, similarly to other traditions of ruler portraits in Antiquity. Be that as it may, the resemblances between the different Hekatomnid portraits are clear. The similarity between the so-called Maussollos from the Maussolleion and Ada of Priene has often been noted. Like Pedersen, I observe certain resemblances between the reclining man on the Uzun Yuva sarcophagus and the banqueter from Iasos.⁵⁹ These similarities include the way the hair is folded over the ears and the other traits mentioned previously. The reclining man on the Uzun Yuva sarcophagus, however, is obviously depicted as more mature. I believe we can also include the facial features of the sphinx akroteria from the Andron of Maussollos at Labraunda within this portrait context, although the appearance of its eastern-style beard is more stylised.

The identity of the sphinx akroteria

While sphinxes are usually depicted with generic faces, the sphinxes from Labraunda have very distinctive facial features, which, based on available comparanda, could be associated with portraits of members of the Hekatomnid family (*Fig. 4*). A visual connection with the ancient cult image

⁵⁴ Henry 2017, 115.

⁵⁵ Konuk 2013, 111.

⁵⁶ An individualistic representation of the various members of the Hekatomnid family could, for instance, be argued based on the pictorial programme on the sarcophagus of the Uzun Yuva in Milas; cf. Konuk 2013, 111.

⁵⁷ Henry 2017, 114.

⁵⁸ Cook 1989, 31–44; 2005, 19–28.

⁵⁹ See Pedersen 2017, 241–242.

of Zeus at Labraunda of the *xoanon* type is difficult to ascertain, owing to the lack of detailed comparative material. Yet, on a generic level, there seems to be a visual connection between (1) the sphinx akroteria, (2) the image of Zeus Labraundos of the *contrapposto* type and (3) the Hekatomnid royal portrait (which was deliberately similar to that of Zeus). On a more detailed level, however, there is insufficient evidence to suggest that the *contrapposto*-type Zeus and the Hekatomnid portraits resembled each other so closely that an ancient beholder could not differentiate between the two. In a hypothetical context where the characteristic attributes such as Zeus' axe and spear were missing, only the facial features could indicate the identity of the person depicted. In such a case, would it be impossible to distinguish a head of Zeus from that of a male Hekatomnid satrap?

A head that has tentatively been identified as Zeus, based on its style and size, and that is said to originate from Milas is exhibited in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts.⁶⁰ Sockets on top of the head show that it once wore headgear, like the banqueter from Iasos. A polos or crown has been suggested, but neither can be proven conclusively. This so-called Zeus from Milas shares a few facial traits with the Hekatomnid portraits, most notably the rendering of the eyes. Overall, however, it does not resemble any of the previously addressed (Hekatomnid) sculptures very closely. Even though there is perhaps insufficient evidence to actually identify the Boston head as Zeus instead of, for instance, a Karian ruler of the mid-fourth century, we can say with some confidence that the "Zeus" head and the Hekatomnid portraits belong to different visual categories. While, admittedly, no detailed depictions of Zeus that can be identified beyond doubt are available from the region, the Boston head – if it does represent Zeus – may suggest that, despite vague (and, perhaps, deliberate) resemblances, the Hekatomnid portraits are clearly distinct from depictions of the supreme god.

As mentioned before, general tendencies in sculptural renderings of various features could at any time in history naturally result in generic traits. However, in the case of "the Hekatomnid portrait" it could be argued that individual features were added with a certain precision in order to reach beyond a mere generic formula. The facial features unite the various representations of the Hekatomnids in recognizable ruler portraits meant to distinguish them from other mortals.⁶¹ It appears, furthermore, that a will to create "individual portraits", or customised iconography, is also evident on contemporaneous portraits of satrapal coins of Asia Minor, even though these are not as detailed, obviously, because of their small size.⁶² It seems that, by the fourth century, the ruling elite in Asia Minor generally felt a greater urge to distinguish themselves by means of visual "individuality".

⁶⁰ Accession no. 04.12. See Cook 1925, 597–598, pl. 28; Laumonier 1958, 64, pl. 3:4.

⁶¹ Waywell (1978, 24) suggests that the marriage customs of the Hekatomnids – whereby brother married sister – are similar in a way to those of the Egyptian royal family, which "indicates that they saw themselves as more than mere mortals".

⁶² See the great variation in coin images of fourth-century satraps of Asia Minor in Weisser 2006, 75–85. Bodzek (2014, 64) states concerning the nature of fourth-century satrapal coinages of Asia Minor that "satrapal coinages should be considered mostly not institutional but individual and personal".

Aesthetic fluidity and cultural allegory

The Andron of Maussollos at Labraunda is among the earliest known monumental buildings to have been dedicated by the satrap.⁶³ It was, in its entirety, customised in a previously unseen fashion, including new ways of combining the Doric and Ionic orders. The style was based on both earlier Ionic traditions and “top modern” features of mainland Greece, and the Achaemenid style of male sphinx akroteria. Another important feature is the architraval inscription that opens with the name of the dedicator himself, Maussollos. The inscriptional pride can perhaps be compared to the arrogance that Waywell saw manifested in the Hekatomnid portrait of the so-called Maussollos from the Maussolleion (even though his exact identity, apart from being a member of the Hekatomnid family, is unknown).⁶⁴ When studying the andrones, it seems clear that neither their various architectural members nor their overall composition sought to replicate exactly their sources of inspiration. Rather, originality seems to have been the aim – and creating something original always involves a process of modification. This goes for the pulvinus decoration of the column capitals as well as the acanthus design on the sides of the anta capitals. With the fluent aesthetics that they display, the sphinx akroteria were no exception to this rule. Thus, every feature of the andron – from its architectural sculpture to the architraval inscription – has an original design and appearance. The interior of the building was, moreover, equipped with another unique feature, namely a deep niche that was presumably used for displaying statues of Zeus and the ruling satrapal couple. Based on all these features, it seems likely that the dedicator took an active part in the building process. The choice of sphinx akroteria was part of a tradition in the Aegean, although their Achaemenidising appearance clearly positioned the satrap within the Persian hierarchy by “link[ing] Mausolus to the divine imagery of the Persian king”.⁶⁵

It is thus likely that an ancient visitor to Labraunda would have been stunned by the monumentality of the Andron of Maussollos, which at the time of its completion surpassed all other buildings at the sanctuary, in terms of both size and grandeur.⁶⁶ The building displayed a daring experimentation with the Ionic and Doric orders, the name of the dedicator was displayed in an unusual (if not previously unseen) fashion,⁶⁷ and, finally, at the level of the marble cornice, high above ground, the faces of the Achaemenidising sphinxes reminded one of the image of the patron and dedicator – both king and satrap. Some twenty years later, a visitor to Halikarnassos would have had a similar experience, but obviously on an even grander scale, when gazing up at the tomb and family heroon of Maussollos, which presented a

⁶³ Maussollos also dedicated a stoa at Labraunda (I.Labraunda 13), which may be older than or contemporaneous with his andron.

⁶⁴ Waywell 1978, 16–26.

⁶⁵ Dusinberre 2013, 243.

⁶⁶ Apart from the stoa and Andron of Maussollos, Labraunda was, at the time, a small-scale sanctuary, presumably featuring only a sacred grove, a propylon and a small in-antis temple; cf. Hellström forthcoming.

⁶⁷ With the possible exception of the considerably earlier Phrygian architraval inscription mentioned in n. 20 above.

vast sculptural display of the satrap and his lineage, and which dominated the urban landscape.

The entire aesthetic paradigm surrounding the Andron of Maussollos was customised to produce the greatest possible impact in terms of monumentality and authority of the self-assertive ruler and dedicator of the building.⁶⁸ The complexity of Maussollos' andron may have been a way of promoting a satrap who was new to his post. The references to Achaemenid court art, such as the sphinx akroteria and the griffin protomes on top of the anta capitals, provided political gravitas. Furthermore, placing the Hekatomnid royal portrait on the sphinx as a heraldic symbol further personalised the building and gave it an unprecedented character in the Aegean world.

Jesper Blid

Department of Archaeology and Classical Studies
Stockholm University
Wallenberglaboratoriet
SE-106 91 STOCKHOLM
jesper.blid@antiken.su.se

Bibliography

- Bodzek, J. 2014. 'Achaemenid Asia Minor. Coins of the satraps and of the Great King', in *First international congress of the Anatolian monetary history and numismatics 25–28 February 2013, Antalya. Proceedings*, eds. K. Dörtlük, O. Tekin & R.B. Seyhan, Antalya, 59–78.
- Carstens, A.M. 2009. *Karia and the Hekatomnids. The creation of a dynasty* (BAR-IS, 1943), Oxford.
- Carstens, A.M. 2010. 'The Labraunda sphinxes', in *Achaemenid impact in the Black Sea. Communication of powers* (Black Sea Studies, 11), eds. J. Nieling & E. Rehm, Aarhus, 41–46.
- Carstens, A.M. 2011. 'Achaemenids in Labraunda. A case of imperial presence in a rural sanctuary in Karia', in *Labraunda and Karia. Proceedings of the international symposium commemorating sixty years of Swedish archaeological work in Labraunda. The Royal Swedish Academy of Letters, History and Antiquities, Stockholm, November 20–21, 2008* (Boreas. Uppsala Studies in Ancient Mediterranean and Near Eastern Civilizations, 32), eds. L. Karlsson & S. Carlsson, Uppsala, 121–131.
- Carter, J.C. 1983. *The sculpture of the Sanctuary of Athena Polias at Priene*, London.
- Cook, A.B. 1925. *Zeus. A study in ancient religion*, vol. 2. *Zeus god of the dark sky (thunder and lightning)*, Cambridge.
- Cook, B.F. 1989. 'The sculptors of the Mausoleum friezes', in *Architecture and society in Hecatomnid Caria. Proceedings of the Uppsala Symposium 1987* (Boreas. Uppsala Studies in Ancient Mediterranean and Near Eastern Civilizations, 17), eds. T. Linders & P. Hellström, Uppsala, 31–44.
- Cook, B.F. 2005. *Relief sculpture of the Mausoleum at Halicarnassus*, Oxford.
- Crampa, J. 1972. *Labraunda. Swedish excavations and researches III. The Greek inscriptions*, Part 2. 13–133 (ActaAth-4^o, 5:3:2), Stockholm.

⁶⁸ This happens at a time when akroteria generally seem to be gaining a more important role in the self-representation of commissioners; see Reinhardt 2018, 339–346.

- Danner, P. 1989. *Griechische Akrotere der archaischen und klassischen Zeit* (RdA, Suppl., 5), Roma.
- Dusinberre, E.R.M. 2013. *Empire, authority, and autonomy in Achaemenid Anatolia*, Cambridge.
- Finn, J. 2011. 'Gods, kings, men. Trilingual inscriptions and symbolic visualizations in the Achaemenid Empire', *Ars Orientalis* 41, 219–275.
- Fleischer, R. 1983. *Der Klagefrauensarkophag aus Sidon* (IstForsch, 34), Tübingen.
- Ghirshman, R. 1964. *Persia from the origins to Alexander the Great*, tr. S. Gilbert & J. Emmons, London.
- Gunter, A.C. 1995. *Labraunda. Swedish excavations and researches II:5. Marble sculpture*, Stockholm.
- Held, W. 2005. 'Kult auf dem Dach. Eine Deutung der Tempel mit Treppenhäusern und Giebeltüren als Zeugnis seleukidischer Sakralarchitektur', *IstMitt* 55, 119–160.
- Hellström, P. 2019. 'Early Labraunda. Excavations on the temple terrace 1949–1953', in *Karia Arkhaia. La Carie, des origines à la période pré-hekatomnide*, eds. O. Henry & K. Konuk, Istanbul, 61–88.
- Hellström, P. & J. Blid 2019. *Labraunda 5. The Andrones*, Stockholm.
- Hellström, P. & T. Thieme 1982. *Labraunda. Swedish excavations and researches I:3. The Temple of Zeus*, Stockholm.
- Henry, O. 2017. 'Quel(s) portrait(s) pour les Hékatomnides?', *Bilder der Macht. Das griechische Porträt und seine Verwendung in der antiken Welt*, eds. D. Boschung & F. Queyrel, Paderborn, 101–120.
- Hornblower, S. 1982. *Mausolus*, Oxford.
- Isager, S. & L. Karlsson 2008. 'A new inscription from Labraunda. Honorary decree for Olympichos: I. Labraunda no. 134 (and no. 49)', *EpigAnat* 41, 39–52.
- Jenkins, I. 2006. *Greek architecture and its sculpture in the British Museum*, London.
- Konuk, K. 2013. 'Coinage and identities under the Hekatomnids', in *4th century Karia. Defining a Karian identity under the Hekatomnids* (Varia Anatolica, 28), ed. O. Henry, Paris, 101–121.
- Laumonier, A. 1958. *Les cultes indigènes en Carie* (BÉFAR, 188), Paris.
- Maddoli, G. 2007. 'Epigrafi di Iasos. Nuovi supplementi 1', *PP* 62, 193–372.
- Pedersen, P. 2017. 'The Tothenmahl tradition in Classical Asia Minor and the Mausolleion at Halikarnassos', in *Cityscapes and monuments of western Asia Minor. Memories and identities*, eds. E. Mortensen & B. Poulsen, Oxford & Philadelphia, 237–255.
- Reinhardt, C. 2018. *Akroter und Architektur. Figürliche Skulptur auf Dächern griechischer Bauten vom 6. bis zum 4. Jahrhundert v. Chr.*, Berlin.
- Rumscheid, F. 2010. 'Maussollos and the "Uzun Yuva" in Mylasa: an unfinished proto-Maussolleion at the heart of a new urban centre?', in *Hellenistic Karia. Proceedings of the First International Conference on Hellenistic Karia, Oxford, 29 June–2 July 2006* (Études, 28), eds. R. van Bremen & J.-M. Carbon, Bordeaux, 69–102.
- Ruzicka, S. 1992. *Politics of a Persian dynasty. The Hecatomnids in the fourth century B.C.*, Norman & London.
- Stucky, R.A. 1988. 'Sidon – Labraunda – Halikarnassos', in *Kanon. Festschrift Ernst Berger zum 60. Geburtstag am 26. Februar 1988 gewidmet* (AntK-BH, 15), ed. M. Schmidt, Basel, 119–126.
- Stucky, R.A. 2005. *Das Eschmun-Heiligtum von Sidon. Architektur und Inschriften* (AntK-BH, 19), Basel.
- Umholtz, G. 2002. 'Architraval arrogance? Dedicatory inscriptions in Greek architecture of the Classical period', *Hesperia* 71:3, 261–293.
- Waywell, G.B. 1978. *The free-standing sculptures of the Mausoleum at Halicarnassus in the British Museum. A catalogue*, London.

The andron of Maussollos at Labraunda

Weisser, B. 2006. 'Herrscherbild und Münzporträt in Kleinasien', in *Das persische Weltreich. Pracht und Prunk der Großkönige* (Historischen Museum der Pfalz Speyer), eds. E. Rehm & H. Externbrink, Stuttgart, 70–85.

Living the Iranian Dolce Vita: Herodotus on Wine Drinking and Luxury among the Persians

by

Ashk P. Dahlén

Abstract

Commensal behaviour, and in particular wine consumption, is an important field to which strategies of self-identity can be applied. The ethnographic surveys of the Ionian historian Herodotus focus on the cultural and social differences that he believes separate other peoples from the Greeks. This paper examines in what ways he associates wine drinking among the Persians with cultural sophistication, luxury and the good life in general. The dominant view among Greek writers of the Classical period was that luxury was reducible to decadence, and Herodotus is no exception. His detailed accounts of excessive Persian wine drinking and a decaying Persian society are the outcomes of his idea of historical causation, which predominantly is applied to the Achaemenid Empire. Even if he is inclined to explain cultural differences by reference to climate, geography and political system, analysing how these differences arise and change with time, he resorts to literary images and stereotypes about Persian society. This narrative feature, which ultimately derives from his background as oral performer, prevents him from grasping the ideological dimensions of the Persian display of luxury.

Introduction

Wine was a key cultural phenomenon in Achaemenid Iran, as is evident in its widespread prestige, appeal and consumption. In Herodotus' words the Persians were exceptionally fond of wine, and his proverbial account of their practice of taking counsel on important matters whilst drunk is well known. But is there any historical truth to these and other descriptions that we encounter in the *Histories*? Real historical processes often inform Herodotus' narrative, but sometimes his discourse engenders a constellation of literary motifs, themes and images for rhetorical purposes, generating arguments and entertaining audiences. For many Greek writers of the Achaemenid period the Persian came to represent the "foreigner" (βάρβαρος) *par excellence*, and modern scholars have observed that they often ascribe drunkenness to the Persians and in particular depict their king as a dedicated wine drinker.¹ The aim of this paper is to examine the use of wine and its social significance in Persian society as depicted by Herodotus. The *Histories* represents an interesting case because of its paradigmatic impact as a source for later historians and also because of its variegated, ambivalent canvas of Iranian matters. The

¹ de Jong 1997, 373; Briant 2002a, 286–292; Hobden 2013, 92.

following discussion focuses on fundamental aspects of wine drinking perceptions and explores in what ways Herodotus associates Persian wine consumption with cultural sophistication, luxury and the good life in general. The Hellenistic philosopher Heraclides of Pontus interpreted these characteristics as positive qualities that liberate and elevate the spirit, but the dominant view among Greek writers of the Classical period was that luxury (τρυφή, literally “softness” or “delicacy”), perceived as passion for sensual pleasures, was reducible to decadence.²

Archaeological evidence as well as historical and literary material indicates that the local elites in Anatolia, Thrace, Macedonia and Greece proper, were influenced by Achaemenid cultural customs through the import of goods (such as table products) and the local imitation of lavish Persian lifestyle (rhytons, furniture, parasols, peacocks, etc.).³ Particularly intense cultural interaction occurred in the western satrapies of Anatolia, where Achaemenid settlements were common after the mid-sixth century. Margaret C. Miller has revealed the widespread adoption of Iranian drinking practices, for instance the holding of bowls on fingertips, and argues that it reflects a conscious choice by the local elites to embrace Persian status symbols.⁴ These types of borrowing were followed by a change of patterns of social behaviour that indicate that Persia became a model for cultural identity. As Maria Brosius has observed, the diffusion and adoption of Persian lifestyle was not imposed from above, but was indirectly encouraged to bind the local elites to the Achaemenid court.⁵ In the realm of ideas this process stimulated new cultural syntheses and redefined self-conceptions. The early Ionian inquiries into Persian history and ethnography by Dionysius of Miletus, Charon of Lampsacus, and Hellanicus of Lesbos represent creative intellectual responses to a changing world with a dynamic Iranian presence in the Hellenic sphere.⁶ There are plenty of stories in Herodotus’ narrative about contacts between Persians and Greeks, which display that cultural interaction and transfer developed on multiple levels and in many directions.

² Heraclides writes in his dialogue *On pleasure*: “For, more than any other people in the world, they [i.e. the Persians and the Medes] devote themselves to pleasure and luxury, and yet at the same time they are the noblest and the bravest of the barbarians. In fact, enjoyment of pleasure and luxury is the mark of free men; it liberates and elevates the spirit. Conversely, to live a life of hard labour is the mark of slaves and men of low birth.” (Ath. 7.512a–b). Cf. Briant 2002a, 287–288; Briant 2002b; Sancisi-Weerdenburg 1987. All translations of classical texts are cited, if not stated otherwise, from the English editions published in the Loeb Classical Library.

³ Cf. Miller 1997. The local imitation of Persian luxury is reflected in Herodotus’ account of Polycrates, the tyrant of Samos (3.125).

⁴ Miller 2011. The Persian practice of holding the cup on the fingertips is attested in Xenophon’s description of the Achaemenid cup-bearer: “Now the cup-bearers of those kings have an exquisite way of serving the wine: they pour it without spilling a drop and they present the cup with three fingers; they proffer the cup on the tips of their fingers and offer it in the most convenient position for the drinker to take hold of it.” (Cyr. 1.3.8). Significant changes in vessels in Sardis and Gordion, with the introduction of Iranian shapes, demonstrates as Elspeth R.M. Dussinberre (2013, 125–129) has shown, that Persian influence extended through all levels of society. By using luxury wine drinking vessels made of bronze, silver and gold that in obvious ways reflected central Achaemenid style and iconography in particular, the local Anatolian elites signified their adherence to the cosmopolitan Achaemenid Empire.

⁵ Brosius 2011.

⁶ Morgan 2016, 190.

Herodotus' sources on Persian matters

Herodotus was born in 484 BC in Halicarnassus, a Dorian πόλις predominantly Ionian in culture, as an Achaemenid citizen (OPers. *bandaka*) of Xerxes I. We do not know exactly when the *Histories* was written (perhaps around 430–425 BC) since nowhere does he claim to have been an eyewitness or participant in the events that he describes; he only records conversations with those who were. Herodotus certainly had direct experiences of Persians and their customs and practices from cosmopolitan Halicarnassus, which long had served as a bridge between Asia and Europe, as well as from his travels to the satrapies of Babylon and Egypt. Given that his aim was to write the story of the so-called Persian Wars, one wonders why he did not visit Pārsa, i.e. Persia proper. In contrast to ancient Greek usage he never refers to the Persian people as Medes even if he is somehow unaware of their common Iranian ancestry. His sources on Persian history, geography, and society were heterogeneous, and it is a difficult task to identify potential informants as sources of specific information because of his unsystematic handling of oral material. Herodotus' attribution of information to collective informants, such as when he uses the phrase “the Persians say” (λέγουσι Πέρσαι) (1.2), or cites “the learned men among the Persians” (Περσέων λόγιοι) (1.1), does not indicate that “real” Persians gave him that information but merely suggests the existence of an oral tradition. The overwhelming part of his material actually derives from anonymous oral traditions that are very difficult to assess. His background as an oral performer is reflected in his own statement that his Persian “logos”, and by extension the work as a whole, is said to derive its authority from his personal knowledge (οἶδα) (1.131).⁷

Herodotus' narrative is built from smaller narratives often told in rich detail and occasionally equipped with verbatim reports of conversations. He did not speak any language other than Greek but he recounts conversations at the inner circles of the highly organised and hierarchically structured Achaemenid court. Sometimes he records his inability to arrive at a reliable answer to a subject or admits that he knows different versions of a story and has selected one in preference to others. Earlier Greek *Persica* and reports from people who had visited Pārsa undoubtedly provided him with much information.⁸ Evidence from the Persepolitan Archives demonstrates that the Achaemenid administration employed Greeks at a level where official communications were easily accessible to them. Even if Greek professionals, such as physicians, cupbearers, artists, and concubines, served in high positions at the wider court, his narration of speech and dialogue, as an inheritance from epic and tragic poetry, should be assessed with much

⁷ For Herodotus' background as an oral performer and use of oral tradition, see Evans 1991, 89–146.

⁸ This category includes descendants of people who had resided in the central Achaemenid province of Pārsa, such as the Athenian general Themistocles and the Spartan king Demaratos. The latter had, according to David M. Lewis (1985, 105), accessible descendants in the Kaikos Valley, and there is some reason to believe that Herodotus had visited southern Mysia (Hdt. 2.10.1).

caution.⁹ Among his informants were possibly Iranian travellers and exiles to Athens, such as Zopyrus the Younger, grandson of Zopyrus the Elder who recovered Babylon in the name of Darius the Great (3.160), as well as eminent officials in the imperial establishment. He may have met and spoken with members of the satrapal families of Tissaphernes in Caria and Pharnabazus in Dascyleium that descended from Hydarnes and Artabazus, two of Darius' accomplices. Besides imperial beneficiaries, proprietors, priests and merchants, the wider Iranian diaspora consisted of thousands of estate workers, soldiers and guards needed to maintain peace and security. Many Persian settlements in Anatolia endured until Late Antiquity. It is thus very difficult to identify the sources for his information on Persian matters and his potential motives for including certain accounts and excluding others.¹⁰

Wine drinking in Iranian sources

Before we discuss the complex issue of the veracity of Herodotus' accounts of Persian drinking customs it is necessary to initially consider Iranian source material from the Achaemenid period and beyond. The cumulative evidence of historical, archaeological and literary sources undoubtedly reveals the cultural complexity and social prominence of wine drinking in ancient Iran. The Persepolis Fortification Tablets (PF), dating from the 13th to the 28th year of the reign of Darius the Great, i.e. 509–494 BC, mention that wine was used as a common ration for different categories of functionaries and courtiers, including priests who received it as payment for performing ritual services.¹¹ As a rule the archival tablets at Persepolis include letters from an official ordering his subordinate to dispense some amount of wine to specific persons or groups. Princess Irdabama, a highly successful businesswoman, who possessed her own land and work force, once delivered by far the largest amount of wine ordered by a member of the royal family, exceeding 2360 quarts, to Susa.¹² The material even contains numerous records of wine rations to animals, normally horses, used in the royal courier system.¹³ The documentation from the Persepolitan Archives attests that the Magi (Elam. *maguš*, OPers. *magu-*) in charge of the sacrifices at the tomb of Cyrus the Great received rations of wine for themselves from the administration. Wine was also used in sacrifices in honour of Iranian and Elamite gods and sacred physical spaces, such as mountains and rivers:

⁹ The form and structure of Herodotus' language and his characters all testify to the pervasive influence of the Greek epic, which is natural given the Ionian tradition of writing historical epic. Homeric language and narrative techniques, such as ring-structure, are especially apparent in speech and composition. Cf. Evans 1991, 5.

¹⁰ Hegyi 1973, 83.

¹¹ Garrison 2017. Strabo mentions that Xerxes assigned the Anatolian city of Lampsacus that "abounds with vines" to Themistocles to supply him with wine for the worship of Priapus (Strab. 8.1.12).

¹² PF 737. 1 quart = 0,97 litres.

¹³ PF 1757–1764.

Turkama the priest (Elam. *šatin*) received 57 quarts of wine, supplied by Ušaya and used them for the gods: 7 quarts for Ahuramazda, 20 quarts for the (Elamite) god Humban, 10 quarts for the river Huputiš, 10 quarts for the river Rannakarra, 10 quarts for the river Šaušaunuš.¹⁴

The above reference demonstrates, as Maria Brosius has shown, that the notion that the cult of Ahuramazda (“Lord of Wisdom”), the highest deity of Zoroastrianism, was connected with the Magi alone must be dismissed.¹⁵ The responsibilities of the Magi, who upheld the religious ceremonies of the Median population of Pārsa, differed from those of an ordinary priest (Elam. *šatin*). The Magi performed the *lan* ceremony linked with Ahuramazda in their capacity of ritual experts, and their mediation allowed the wine sacrifice to be consumed after its consecration:

Hatarbanuš the *magus* (Elam. *makuš*) received 300 quarts of wine supplied by Ašbaštiya for the libation of the *lan* (*religious ceremony*) for one year. Year 23. At Ankarakkan.¹⁶

The use of wine in religious sacrifices is attested by literary evidence, such as Herodotus’ account of Xerxes pouring wine out of a golden goblet into the Hellespont (7.54), and Aeschylus’ description of Queen Atossa preparing a libation to raise the deceased Darius.¹⁷ Herodotus’ contradictory statement that the Persians do not employ libations (1.132), followed by descriptions of libations performed by the Magi, can be explained by the fact that Greek forms of libations are absent in Iranian rituals.¹⁸ It is not entirely clear from the narrative context whether Herodotus’ and Aeschylus’ descriptions should be interpreted as representations of Iranian or Greek rituals. The term wine is absent in the oldest parts of the Avesta, the primary collection of Zoroastrian religious texts. It first appears in the *Vendīdād* (The law of repudiating the demons) (14.17), which most likely was composed in the Arsacid period or the Late Seleucid period. The Avestan word *maδ(a)-* (“intoxication”) is attested in the Hōm Yašt and other parts of the Avesta in relation to the *haoma*, a plant of unknown origin. In the Pahlavi literature this term is translated as *md* and pronounced *may* (which is the New Persian word for “wine”). Several chapters of the *Nērangestān*, a Pahlavi commentary on the Avesta dating from the Sasanian period, are devoted to priests reciting holy texts drunk on wine during religious festivals.¹⁹ The obvious paradox is how wine could be almost unknown in the Old Avesta and how the Sasanian priests, who used a non-intoxicating plant such as *haoma* in the *yasna* rite, could be unaware of its original intoxicating effects. The botanical identity of the *haoma* is still unknown and there is a lack of convincing evidence that would allow us to identify the intoxicating *haoma* as wine.

¹⁴ PF 339, tr. Brosius 2000, no. 192.

¹⁵ Brosius 2000, 90.

¹⁶ PF 759, tr. Brosius 2000, no. 193. Cf. Henkelman 2018. The status and role of Zoroastrianism in Achaemenid society has been and still is a highly debated subject among modern scholars. For a non-essentialist approach, see Kreyenbroek 2010.

¹⁷ Aesch. *Pers.* 609–618.

¹⁸ de Jong 1997, 353.

¹⁹ Kreyenbroek 2004, 321.



Fig. 1. Drinking bowls and spouted amphorae carried by Lydian tribute bearers on the southern wall of the Apadāna at Persepolis. Photo J. Barnes.

Records in the Elamite tablets attest that there was a special wine department in Persepolis with stations and warehouses in various places in the Pārsa region. The Apadāna reliefs give great prominence to the visual representation of different forms of wine vessels, displayed in the Lydian

and Armenian tribute bearers (*Fig. 1*) and various seals used in the Fortification Archive. The Achaemenid royal inscriptions are almost entirely silent on the subject of wine, except for an Old Persian inscription in the name of Artaxerxes II Mnemon in which the word *bātugara-*, interpreted as wine cup or saucer, occurs once.²⁰ Archaeological evidence suggests that the ancient Persians commonly used pierced vessels, so-called rhytons (Greek “pourers”), in the shape of animals and imaginary creatures, for pouring the wine into a mouth or a bowl (*Figs. 2–3*). This quintessential Persian form of vessel is noticeably absent from depictions at Persepolis that portray official delegations from foreign lands. Vessels, bowls and cups of silver and gold were devised by the Achaemenid court from the sixth century and made for wine drinking according to standardised ideals. The historian Dinon of Colophon mentions that the Persian king had a passion for large golden bowls and drank from a special egg-shaped cup.²¹ The eunuch courtier Bagoas tried to assassinate Darius III by pouring poison into this cup, but the king uncovered the plot and compelled him “to take his own medicine”.²² According to Ctesias, clay vessels were only used for serving wine among the Persian elite when the host wanted to insult a person.²³

Evidence of the central role of wine drinking is also found in the Persian epic tradition, which reflects a long oral tradition that can be traced back to pre-Achaemenid times. The Old Persian epic has disappeared but fortunately it has left some traces behind, mainly those in the eleventh century *Shāhnāma* (Book of Kings) but also in earlier Pahlavi material, such as the *Kārnāmag ī Ardaxšēr ī Pābagān* (Book of the Deeds of Ardashir, Son of Pabag) that narrates the story of the founder of the Sasanian dynasty. Wine and feasting (Pahl. *bādag ud bazm*) are fundamental to many parts of the stories, and the attitude to wine drinking is entirely favourable. Mas‘udi Marvazi, Daqiqi, Ferdousi, and other early Persian epic poets describe excesses in the use of wine, inevitable for the heroic genre, with sympathy. In Ferdousi’s *Shāhnāma* the discovery of wine is associated with the early king Hōšang (Av. Haošyaṇha) and the institution of the Sade festival, an account that probably reflects a popular Sasanian tradition. The first Iranian king to actually engage in a wine feast with musicians and singers is his grandson Jamshid (Av. Yima Xšaēta), who according to ancient legends established the Nowruz festival.²⁴ We know very little about the value of wine in Achaemenid medicine. Ferdousi mentions the narcotic use of wine in the story of Rudābeh’s delivery of Rostam, when she has to undergo a caesarean section (therefore called *rostanzād* in Persian).²⁵ The medical use of intoxications probably has antecedents among Iranian peoples beyond the Achaemenid period, since Herodotus records that the Iranian Scythians administered hemp for narcotic purposes.

²⁰ Lecoq 1997, 266. The first element, deriving from Old Persian *bāta-* “wine”, is attested in Iranian loanwords in other languages. Cf. Tavernier 2007, 147, 273.

²¹ Ath. 11.503f.

²² Diod. Sic. 17.5.6.

²³ Ctesias *ap.* Ath. 11.464a.

²⁴ Ferdousi 2015, 1, 23 (ll. 54–56).

²⁵ Ferdousi 2015, 1, 152 (ll. 1464–1467).

Greek representations of Persian wine customs

Forming part of Herodotus' ethnographic excurses on the customs of foreign nations – among them the Persians, the Scythians, the Babylonians, and the Nubians – are some intriguing observations about wine and drunkenness. Herodotus' ethnographic claim that the Persians “are very fond of wine” (οἶνον δὲ κάρτα προσκέσται) (1.133) is not unexpected given that ancient Greek writers comment so frequently on the topic. The Persian propensity for wine is unanimously represented in Greek descriptions of Iranian commensal practices. The word κάρτα means not only “very” but also “extremely” or “exceptionally”. Some scholars, such as Hanneke Wilson, have interpreted κάρτα in this passage as “excessively”, arguing that Herodotus is condemning a general practice of heavy drinking among the Persians.²⁶ Herodotus is intrigued by this foreign drinking habit and therefore he mentions it, but since he is not judgemental here and does not explicitly disapprove of the Persian use of wine, Wilson's reading is questionable. Herodotus' ethnographic statement is important since it indicates that the Persians drank wine more than other peoples, or at least that it occupied a more pivotal role within their culture.²⁷ Literary evidence indicates that the typical daily fare in Iranian society, as well as the regular ration for personnel in the multi-ethnic Achaemenid army, consisted of bread, meat, and wine, a feature that fundamentally contrasts with the frugality of the ancient Greek cuisine (2.164–168). The intrinsic association in the *Histories* between contemporary Persians and the enjoyment of good things reflects this basic dichotomy between Persian luxury and Greek poverty as envisaged in commensal practices, particularly those related to wine drinking.

The Achaemenid Empire covered a vast and highly organised territory. Fast and effective networks made it possible for the Persian elite to obtain exclusive wines from distant places, such as Armenia, Sogdia, Macedonia, Carman and Cilicia. Xenophon mentions that Artaxerxes II Mnemon has his “vintners scouring every land to find some drink that will tickle his palate” and refers to the abundance of wine at the king's banquet in providing a description of pernicious luxury.²⁸ From an Achaemenid point of view the variety of drinks and dishes at the king's table was not a matter of sheer self-indulgence, but served as a symbol of the power of the Persian king and elite and his capacity to attract tribute.²⁹ The royal cupbearers were excellent wine connoisseurs, well versed in the knowledge of different wines and their customs. They were among the king's most trusted courtiers and were

²⁶ Wilson 2003, 126.

²⁷ In contrast to Herodotus' general observation Plato (*Laws* 637d–e) and Xenophon are concerned exclusively with the excessive drunkenness of the Persians, not with their drinking or non-drinking of wine. Xenophon gives a sarcastic description of excessive drinking at the Persian symposium: “They had also the custom of not bringing pots into their banquets, evidently because they thought that if one did not drink to excess, both mind and body would be less uncertain. So even now the custom of not bringing in the pots still obtains, but they drink so much that, instead of carrying anything in, they are themselves carried out when they are no longer able to stand straight enough to walk out.” (*Cyr.* 8.8.10).

²⁸ Xen. *Ages.* 9.3.

²⁹ Briant 2002b, 209.

charged with managing all the wine-pourers and tasters at the court. According to Heraclides of Cumae the symposium customarily took place after dinner, making it a feast within a feast.³⁰ At the court the king, reclining on a couch, would call up a dozen guests into his presence to drink with him attended by servants, singers, and musicians. Except at public festivals the king and his guests dined in separate rooms, divided so that he could see them, but they could not see him.³¹ The existence of a well-defined court protocol reflected a strict ranking of the guests according to social status, royal favour and the power structure of empire.



Fig. 2. Achaemenid silver and partially gilt rhyton with ibex protome from Yerezh (modern Altıntepe), Armenia Minor. Fifth century BC. Photo F. Vandewalle.

Heraclides mentions that the king “does not drink the same wine” as his companions but has his own choice wine.³² It is not entirely clear from the context if the king was the only one allowed to drink his choice wine, or if his cup was filled from a jug reserved for his sole use. In either case the court protocol was envisioned by the necessity to take precautions for the king’s security and protect the royal drink from poison. According to the polymath Posidonius of Apamea, Darius III exclusively drank wine from

³⁰ This division of eating and drinking is also reflected in Iranian epic material. Ferdousi (2015, 4, 664, l. 1081) sings in the *Shāhnāma*: “When they had eaten bread, they turned to wine” (*co nān kh’orda shod, jān-e may kh’āstand*). Cf. Ferdousi 2015, 3, 166, ll. 789–796.

³¹ Ath. 4.145–146.

³² Ath. 4.145c.

Chalybon (Helbon), a district on the slopes above Damascus. The Macedonian author Polyaeus states that the king's wine menu in Ecbatana differed from that in Susa and Babylon, where half the wine was from grapes and half from the palm.³³ He gives a comprehensive list of his breakfast and dinner, which is said to have been inscribed on a pillar in the royal palace. Even if this report is undoubtedly fictitious, it corresponds to evidence from the Persepolitan Archives, since the emphasis in both sources is on cereals, meat and wine.³⁴ There are no systematic classifications of different kinds of wine by place of origin, vinification methods, vintage, or variety, in Greek writings from the Classical period, but Xenophon has recorded the importance of quality wine among the Persian elite in one of his descriptions of Cyrus the Younger:

Κῦρος γὰρ ἔπεμπε βίκους οἴνου ἡμιδεῖς πολλάκις ὅποτε πάνυ ἡδὺν λάβοι, λέγων ὅτι οὐπω δὴ πολλοῦ χρόνου τούτου ἡδίοι οἶνω ἐπιτύχοι· τοῦτον οὖν σοὶ ἔπεμψε καὶ δεῖται σου τήμερον τοῦτον ἐκπιεῖν σὺν οἷς μάλιστα φιλεῖς.

[For example, when Cyrus got some particularly good wine, he would often send the half-emptied jar to a friend with the message: "Cyrus says that he has not chanced upon better wine than this for a long time; so he sends it to you, and asks you to drink it up today in company with the friends you love best."]³⁵

We know very little of public commensal practices of ordinary citizens in Achaemenid Pārsa. As far as one can tell there were no dedicated drinking places such as wine bars, but private houses, yards and gardens served as locales for wine drinking among ordinary people. The bulk of information concerns the societal elite and in particular the royal court. The Greeks prided themselves on drinking moderately and contrasted this virtue with the tendency of other cultures, particularly the Scythians, to drink to excess and to be given to intoxication. They unanimously portray the Achaemenid kings as passionate drinkers and generally judge Persian society and culture by what the rulers drank and how they drank it. According to Athenaeus the Persian king was allowed to get drunk in public once a year on the Mithrakāna (OIr. **Mithrakāna*-), the autumn festival dedicated to Mithra, the Iranian divinity of covenants and oaths. On this occasion he danced "the Persian" (περσικόν, sometimes interpreted as a type of shield-dance) alone and in a state of intoxication while everyone else abstained from dance.³⁶ From Athenaeus's report it seems as if the normal court etiquette, according to which the king dined in private, alone or in the company of his wife, children or younger siblings, was suspended during the festival.³⁷ Athenaeus

³³ Polyaeus, *Strat.* 4.3.32.

³⁴ According to the Elamite evidence the king received an amount varying from 750 to 6900 litres of wine when on the move (PF 728 and PFa 311). Cf. Henkelman 2010.

³⁵ Xen. *An.* 1.9.25.

³⁶ Ath. 10.434d–f. The interpretation of περσικόν as a shield-dance derives from Xenophon's description in *An.* 6.1.10: "Lastly, he danced the Persian dance, clashing his shields together and crouching down and then rising up again; and all this he did, keeping time to the music of the flute." I am grateful to Margaret C. Miller for drawing my attention to a visual portrayal of a Persian dance that occurs on an Achaemenid scaraboid from about 400 BC (Malibu, J. Paul Getty Museum 81.AN.76.88). Here a Persian man is dancing in a gentle, swaying or whirling posture, not unknown in Greek art.

³⁷ Ath. 4.145d. Cf. *Vit. Artax.* 5.5.

reports that Darius the Great ordered the inscription “I was able to drink a good deal of wine and to bear it well” to be carved on his tomb.³⁸ This story is clearly a misrepresentation, but it bears some striking similarities to what actually is stated in Darius’ tomb inscription, known as a Fürstenspiegel, regarding his ability to exert control over his impulses:

naimā kāma tya shauθ iṣ tunuvatahyā rā°diy miθa kariyaiṣ naimā ava kāma tya tunuvā shauθaiṣ rādiy miθa kariyaiṣ tya rāstam ava mām kāma martiyam draujanam naiy dauštā am iy naiy manauviṣ amiy tyāmaiṣ dartana yā bavatiy daršam dārayāmiy manahā uvaipašiyahyā daršam xšayamna amiy.

[It is not my desire that the weak should have harm done him by the strong, nor is it my desire that the strong should have harm done him by the weak. The right, that is my desire. To the man who is a follower of the lie I am no friend. I am not hot-tempered. What things develop in my anger, I hold firmly under control by my thinking power. I am firmly ruling over my own impulses.]³⁹

Athenaeus’ rendering of Darius’ inscription indicates that Hellenistic writers had some access to information about Achaemenid royal inscriptions but that they interpreted them according to their own ideological concerns and priorities.⁴⁰ From Darius’ words “ruling over my own impulses” (*uvaipašiyahyā xšayamna*) we can infer that the Persians were well aware of self-destructive drinking and the effects of habitual drunkenness. This is reflected in Plutarch’s report that Cyrus the Younger prided himself on his ability to drink more than his brother and carry it better.⁴¹ Non-excessive drinking and the acquisition of a moderate intoxication seem to have been the general norm in Persian society. Wine drinking was fully embedded in everyday life and extreme drunkenness was frowned upon, as is evident from Herodotus’ account of Cambyses (see below). Strabo and Athenaeus mention that the food portions of the Persians were varied but relatively modest, and this may also have applied to their drinking habits.⁴² The redactor of Esther 1.3–8 states that wine drinking was not obligatory at Achaemenid royal banquets, since the king had instructed his officials “to treat each guest according to his own wishes”.

In one of the most cited passages in the *Histories* Herodotus remarks that the Persians normally deliberate important matters when drunk on a copious amount of wine and review their decisions the next day when sober, or vice versa. A decision that can survive drunkenness is described as being unshakable:

ταῦτα μὲν νυν οὕτω φυλάσσεται, μεθυσκόμενοι δὲ ἐώθασι βουλευέσθαι τὰ σπουδαιέστατα τῶν πρηγμάτων: τὸ δ’ ἂν ἄδη σφι βουλευομένοισι, τοῦτο τῇ ὑστεραίῃ νήφουσι προτιθεῖ ὁ στέγαρχος, ἐν τοῦ ἂν ἐόντες βουλευόμενοι, καὶ ἦν μὲν ἄδη καὶ νήφουσι, χρέωνται αὐτῷ, ἦν δὲ μὴ ἄδη, μετιεῖσι. τὰ δ’ ἂν νήφοντες προβουλευόμενοι, μεθυσκόμενοι ἐπιδιαγινώσκουσι.

³⁸ Ath. 10.434d.

³⁹ DnB, author’s translation after Kent 1953, 140.

⁴⁰ Another Greek rendering of the inscription appears in Strabo 15.3.8.

⁴¹ *Vit. Artax.* 6.3.

⁴² Strab. 15.3.22; Ath. 4.145e.



Fig. 3. Achaemenid silver and partially gilt rhyton with Caspian red deer protome, discovered in the region of the Black Sea. Late fifth or early fourth century BC. Used with permission of the George Ortiz Collection.

[Moreover, it is their custom to deliberate about the gravest matters when they are drunk; and what they approve in their deliberations is proposed to them the next day, when they are sober, by the master of the house where they deliberate; and if, being sober, they still approve it, they act on it, but if not, they drop it. And if they have deliberated about a matter when sober, they decide upon it when they are drunk.]⁴³

⁴³ Hdt. 1.133.3–4. Herodotus is not alone in describing serious discussion taking place over wine or claiming that decision-making involves drunkenness among the Persians. This pas-

Herodotus offers no explanation or comment to this ethnographic account and it can be read in several ways. It has amusing connotations and must have seemed abnormal to his audience, since it differs from Greek customs. Still it represents decision-making as a thoughtful act based on sound discretion and equilibrium between opposing qualities, features that resonate well with the major tenets in Iranian religious philosophy, i.e. the balance of the cosmic opposites in the universe. Far from being regarded as undesirable and immoderate behaviour, drunkenness is grasped as a transformed state of consciousness that is as valuable as sobriety. Neither drunkenness nor sobriety is inherently good or bad, but they are complementary states essential to a balanced existence. Wine drinking and even drunkenness can be seen as conducive to education in temperance or moderation if it is practised in banquets that are well-presided over. It releases the spirit, loosens the tongue, and makes people daring and willing to speak the truth. It is not far-fetched to think that the ancient Iranians believed in the idea that man sees more clearly when drunk since it is a major theme in later Persian literature, which recounts royal and heroic legends deriving from ancient oral traditions. In the *Shāhnāma* important undertakings, such as councils and military campaigns, are decided upon to the accompaniment of wine. Kay Khosrow, usually identified with Cyrus the Great, drinks wine for a whole week during an assembly with his nobles, and the Sasanian king Khosrow Anōshiravān listens to the discourses of his minister Bozorgmehr while drinking wine.⁴⁴

The strong association of wine with feasting indicates its high status in the Achaemenid period, and banquets were often – and depending on the context, important – social and political occasions. The Persian symposium functioned as a podium for reinforcing group identity, demonstrating class distinction, and cementing social alliances. The practice of discussing public issues at banquets or symposia was foreign to mainland Greece, where political debate and decision-making were confined to the central public space (*ἀγορά*) of the city-state. In Achaemenid Iran drinking as a social activity was combined with the intellectual activity of deliberating and decision-making, not exclusively among the elite but, as Herodotus indicates, on all levels of society. There are also no indications that women were excluded from banquets and symposia or that their drinking was looked down upon. In contrast to mainland Greece, public drinking was not a gender-exclusive activity; women as well as men were fully included in its performance of status and identity. The association of drinking women and sexual activities, so common in Greek culture, seems to be absent among the Persians. This difference is reflected in Herodotus' account of the feast prepared by Amyntas I of Macedon for the Persian envoys of Darius:

ὥς δὲ ἀπὸ δείπνου ἐγένοντο, διαπίνοντες εἶπαν οἱ Πέρσαι τάδε. ξεῖνε Μακεδῶν, ἡμῖν νόμος ἐστὶ τοῖσι Πέρσησι, ἐπεὰν δείπνον προτιθώμεθα μέγα, τότε καὶ τὰς παλλακὰς καὶ τὰς κουριδίας γυναῖκας ἐσάγεσθαι παρέδρους. σύ

sage recurs in a truncated and distorted form in Plutarch (*Mor.* 714a–c), Strabo (15.3.20), Athenaeus (192c), and Maximus of Tyre (22.4c–f).

⁴⁴ Ferdousi 2015, 1, 455 (ll. 97–98); 4, 664 (l. 1081). Ferdousi (2015, 3, 1, l. 9) suggests that a person under the influence of wine is more likely to speak their hidden thoughts and desires: “In wine too thou wilt show thy quality, and to thine own locked door thyself be key.”

νυν, ἐπεὶ περ προθύμως μὲν ἐδέξαο μέγας δὲ ξεινίζεις, διδοῖς δὲ βασιλεῖ Δαρεΐῳ γῆν τε καὶ ὕδωρ, ἔπει νόμῳ τῷ ἡμετέρῳ. εἶπε πρὸς ταῦτα Ἀμύντης ὁ Πέρσαι, νόμος μὲν ἡμῖν γε ἐστὶ οὐκ οὗτος, ἀλλὰ κεχωρίσθαι ἄνδρας γυναικῶν· ἐπεῖτε δὲ ὑμεῖς ἐόντες δεσπότες προσχηρίζετε τούτων, παρέσται ὑμῖν καὶ ταῦτα.

[After dinner, the Persians said to Amyntas as they sat drinking together, “Macedonian, our host, it is our custom in Persia to bring in also the concubines and wedded wives to sit by the men after the giving of any great banquet. We ask you, then, (since you have received us heartily, are entertaining us nobly and are giving Darius our king earth and water) to follow our custom.” To this Amyntas replied, “We have no such custom, Persians. Among us, men and women sit apart, but since you are our masters and are making this request, it shall be as you desire.”]⁴⁵

The socialising of “proper” women at symposiums was taboo in ancient Macedonia and mainland Greece, where women were insulated from many spheres of public life. By convention, the symposium was confined to males, and any women present were musicians or prostitutes. Women drinking wine were generally not looked upon favourably, and those who drank wine were suspected of losing their moral bearings and being prone to sexual promiscuity. In the rest of the anecdote, Herodotus exploits the rationale of this misogynistic custom to its limit as the Persians, well-lubricated with wine and allured by feminine beauty, attempt to enjoy the women’s bodies: “When the women had done as they were bidden, the Persians, flushed as they were with excess of wine, at once laid hands on the women’s breasts, and one or another tried to kiss them” (5.18). Since it is highly unlikely that the royal envoys of Darius after receiving the marks of vassalage should demand the “concubines and wedded wives” of Amyntas’ court for sexual company and try to rape them, Herodotus’ handling of the story should be read as a form of artistic mimesis with strong ideological undertones. The setting of the anecdote has many parallels in Greek mythic and folkloric traditions, and it is not implausible to think that these women’s bodies are featured to symbolise the Hellenic world and its vulnerability to barbarian penetration and enslavement.⁴⁶ The description of the fatal symposium in which the envoys finally are murdered at the instigation of Amyntas’ son Alexander, reflects Herodotus’ notion of the hazardous nature of intermingling with women and his negative sentiment about luxury and pleasure.

The practice of drinking wine mixed with water (sometimes seawater) was a distinctive mark of Greek cultural identity in Antiquity. The Greeks had strict rules for mixing the two in the appropriate proportions for different social occasions. By contrast the Iranian peoples, such as Persians, Medes, and Scythians, drank it unmixed, a custom considered both eccentric and

⁴⁵ Hdt. 5.18.2–3. Visual representations of women alongside men in symposiums in the art of Achaemenid Anatolia suggest, as Elspeth R.M. Dussinberre (2013, 124, 140) has shown, that Persian notions of social status, class and style influenced drinking behaviours among the Greek population of Anatolia. The frequent presence of women at drinking parties is also reflected in Iranian epic material.

⁴⁶ For Homer’s analogy linking the rape of women with the rape of territories, see Nagler 1974, 44–60.

harmful by Greek writers.⁴⁷ In his highly satirical play *The Acharnians* Aristophanes complains, “And those pitiless Persian hosts! They compelled us to drink sweet wine, wine without water, from gold and glass cups.”⁴⁸ Herodotus records that the Spartan king Cleomenes learned the barbarian way of drinking wine from some Scythian envoys and ultimately went mad from it (6.84.1–3). This episode indicates that the theme of drinking undiluted wine had become a symbol of degeneracy in contemporary Greek literature. From the fourth century drinking unmixed wine was no longer a clear-cut cultural distinction between Persians and Greeks, but had become a source of dispute among many Greeks, probably due to Iranian acculturation. Xenophon speaks of Greeks drinking large cups of undiluted wine, and Plutarch refers to Greeks indulging in undiluted wine at “wild parties” organised by Alexander in honour of the Indian philosopher Calanus.⁴⁹ It is well known that Alexander preferred to drink unmixed wine, from large golden cups in the Achaemenid manner. Chares of Mytilene mentions that his court historian Callisthenes, great-nephew of Aristotle, once refused to drink at a symposium organised by the young conqueror since he did not want to be in need of Asclepius’ draughts.⁵⁰

Wine as a marker of cultural sophistication

In the *Histories* wine is a mark of civilisation and cultural sophistication. Herodotus includes it among the “good things” (ἀγαθός) in life. This is reflected in his account of how Cyrus the Great incites the Persians to revolt against Astyages, the king of the Medes, by promising them imminent wealth and luxury (1.126). One day Cyrus makes his people clear a field of thistles to illustrate their present condition of enslavement, and the next day he serves them a banquet with much wine as a symbol of the prosperous life to come if they win their freedom.⁵¹ The purpose of Herodotus’ anecdote is to explain the cause of Cyrus’ rise to power and to highlight the conflict between Cyrus and the Medes, as he defines the condition of the Persian tribes as a form of “enslavement” (δουλοπρεπέα). The uprising was engendered by Cyrus’ vision of political freedom, but more importantly, in Herodotus’ view, it succeeded because of the Persians’ desire to pursue a lifestyle focused on the good things embodied in wine drinking, as well as an insatiable lust for lavish comfort. Cyrus generally enjoys enormous prestige in Greek literature and it is not entirely clear from the narrative context if he considers luxury to be a mark of free men or only performs a trick to

⁴⁷ The Persians did filter the wine, and according to Alexander’s general Parmenion, seventy wine strainers were found among the kitchen personnel of Darius III after the battle of Issus (Ath. 13.608a). This is confirmed by the existence of filters, including on a rhyton, which suggests that the Persians sieved the wine as it was poured and that the liquid was impure as a result of its storage in earthen containers. Cf. Gignoux 1999, 39.

⁴⁸ Ar. *Ach.* 72–73.

⁴⁹ Xen. *Sym.* 2.23; Plut. *Vit. Alex.* 70.1–2.

⁵⁰ Ath. 434d.

⁵¹ According to Ctesias and Xenophon the young Cyrus served as cupbearer at Astyages’ table and in that capacity drew the attention of Astyages himself.

provoke his own people. Nonetheless his monarchical rule brings civic freedom (ἐλευθερία) as well as the strength and stability needed to have an empire.⁵² When the Lydian king Croesus made preparations to march against Cyrus and invaded the Cappadocian city of Pteria he made the tragic error of disregarding the advice of his counsellor Sandanis, who pointed out that the affluent Lydians would gain very little from conquering a territory of water-drinkers:

ὦ βασιλεῦ, ἐπ’ ἄνδρας τοιούτους στρατεύεσθαι παρασκευάζει, οἱ σκυτῖνας μὲν ἀναξυρίδας σκυτίνην δὲ τὴν ἄλλην ἐσθῆτα φορέουσι, σιτέονται δὲ οὐκ ὅσα ἐθέλουσι ἀλλ’ ὅσα ἔχουσι, χώρην ἔχοντες τριχέαν. πρὸς δὲ οὐκ οἶνω διαχρέωνται ἀλλὰ ὕδροποτεύουσι, οὐ σῦκα δὲ ἔχουσι τρώγειν, οὐκ ἄλλο ἀγαθὸν οὐδέν. τοῦτο μὲν δὴ, εἰ νικήσεις, τί σφέας ἀπαιρήσεις, τοῖσι γε μὴ ἔστι μηδέν; τοῦτο δέ, ἢν νικηθῇς, μάθε ὅσα ἀγαθὰ ἀποβαλέεις· γευσάμενοι γὰρ τῶν ἡμετέρων ἀγαθῶν περιέζονται οὐδὲ ἀπωστοὶ ἔσονται.

[“O King, you are getting ready to march against men who wear trousers of leather and whose complete wardrobe is of leather, and who eat not what they like but what they have; for their land is stony. Further, they do not use wine, but drink water, have no figs to eat, or anything else that is good. Now if you conquer them, of what will you deprive them, since they have nothing? But if on the other hand you are conquered, then look how many good things you will lose; for once they have tasted of our blessings they will cling so tightly to them that nothing will pry them away.”]⁵³

It is interesting that Herodotus mentions that the Persians originally were water-drinkers due to their harsh environment and modest living conditions. Wine is an indication of cultural sophistication, but in his descriptions of the Persians it is also intimately associated with luxury. Before Cyrus’s arrival on the scene, the Greeks considered luxury to be a distinct characteristic of Lydia. Its capital Sardis was renowned for the lavish lifestyle of its rulers and Croesus is proverbially associated with the degenerative effect of wealth. In the same story Herodotus clarifies that in comparison to the Lydians the Persians had “no luxury (ἄβρὸν) and no good things (ἀγαθὸν)” – including wine – before their conquests (1.71.4). His assertion that the early Persians did not consume wine is difficult to corroborate, since we do not have much reliable information about the court protocol in Cyrus’s reign. All descriptions of Pasargadae are of later date, and archaeological findings do not give unequivocal evidence on whether the Persians produced wine before becoming sedentary. Even if their nomadic lifestyle did not accommodate viticulture they could still obtain wine through contact and trade. Herodotus’ sketch of the region of Pārsa in the early sixth century BC and of its inhabitants as hunter-gatherers lacks historical accuracy and consistency. His assertion that the Persians were ignorant of weaving and only made clothing of animal skins is inaccurate given their close economic, social and cultural relations with the Elamites, but it is intended to contrast their original toughness with contemporary Greek conceptions of Persian costume as flowing robes and trousers of soft materials. Herodotus exaggerates their primitive

⁵² Cf. Mitchell 2014.

⁵³ Hdt. 1.71.2–3. If we are to believe Herodotus, Cyrus makes the same military miscalculation with regard to the Sakas that Croesus made with regard to the Persians (1.207.3).

lifestyle in order to make them conform more closely to an idealised conception of uncivilised man. The general impression one gets from the *Histories* is that there was no Persian culture, or history for that matter, before Cyrus.

Classical and modern historians have emphasised that the ethical pattern of Cyrus' conquests went beyond the inter-tribal struggles of the Mesopotamian warrior states, which destroyed cities and deported large populations as part of their policy.⁵⁴ This view has been partly revised in contemporary scholarship demonstrating the pervasive influence of Near Eastern traditions on Cyrus' policies in Babylon and exhibiting how he manipulated local traditions to legitimise his conquests and rule.⁵⁵ Cyrus' major political innovation in comparison with his Mesopotamian and Elamite predecessors was not his religious tolerance or pragmatic treatment of new subjects, which were quite common in ancient, polytheistic empires, but the larger scale of his political venture and the enduring legacy of his cosmopolitan vision. His conquests were followed by a period of peace and prosperity within the empire – the *Pax Persica* – that facilitated extensive communication, the development of international trade from the Aegean Sea to India, and the economic growth of cities in Iran and Central Asia. The citizens of the empire became accustomed to regulated, cooperative relations with their neighbours and turned into active participants in an extensive network of social, cultural and intellectual interactions. The cosmopolitan worldview of the Achaemenids is elegantly represented in the architectonic narrative of Persepolis where foreign peoples are portrayed, not as inferior or humiliated enemies, but as individuals and with respect for their local cultures.⁵⁶ Herodotus never comments on the pluralistic foundations of Cyrus' and Darius' governmental and legislative policies or considers the cosmopolitan features of their political legacy. He remarks instead on the Persians' cultural adaptability and is quite confident that they are more adaptive to foreign cultural customs (νόμαιοις) than others. Their adaptive ability creates opportunities for innovative learning and gives them the ability to experiment, but above all it makes them copy the luxurious ways (εὐπαθείας) of their subjects. In the case of Persians luxury is highly infectious, since it can be transmitted from one people to another through imitation:

Ξεινικὰ δὲ νόμαιοι Πέρσαι προσίενται ἀνδρῶν μάλιστα. καὶ γὰρ δὴ τὴν Μηδικὴν ἐσθῆτα νομίσαντες τῆς ἑωυτῶν εἶναι καλλίῳ φορέουσι, καὶ ἐς τοὺς πολέμους τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους θώρηκας· καὶ εὐπαθείας τε παντοδαπὰς πυνθανόμενοι ἐπιτηδεύουσι, καὶ δὴ καὶ ἀπ' Ἑλλήνων μαθόντες παισὶ μίσγονται.

⁵⁴ Cf. Cuyler Young 1988, 42; Dandamaev & Lukonin 1989, 348, 367.

⁵⁵ As shown by Amélie Kuhrt (1983) the *Cyrus cylinder* was closely modelled on Neo-Assyrian prototypes, not only in form but also regarding the policy of rebuilding Babylon and re-establishing citizen's rights and local cults. It is clear that Cyrus' decrees were intended primarily for Babylon and Western Iran since only gods, peoples, and places from these parts of the empire are mentioned in the text. See also van der Spek 2014.

⁵⁶ Nylander 1979, 355.

[But the Persians more than all men welcome foreign customs. They wear the Median dress, thinking it more beautiful than their own, and the Egyptian cuirass in war. Their luxurious practices are of all kinds, and all borrowed: the Greeks taught them pederasty.]⁵⁷

It is commonplace among Greek writers to claim that the Persians, and in particular their elite, became corrupted by luxury and were subjected to its corrosive effects as a result of the early conquests. Plato's polemical statements that Cyrus' children were "bursting with luxury and lack of restraint" and that Cambyses' rule was destroyed because he was "maddened by drunkenness and lack of education" are typical of their representations of Persian decadence.⁵⁸ The notion that luxury unmistakably causes society to lapse into moral corruption and military weakness is further elaborated by Xenophon in the final chapter of the *Cyropaedia*.⁵⁹ His conclusion is that the contemporary Persians have lost the honourable virtues bequeathed by Cyrus and no longer are reputable enemies. The Greeks clearly did not invent the luxurious habits of the Persian elite out of nothing, but their obsession with the subject as a literary *Leitmotif* and the resulting misrepresentation of Persian matters is best explained with reference to the Athenian ideal of austerity of lifestyle and eschewal of luxury in the Classical period.⁶⁰ The Athenian statesman and lawmaker Solon expresses this critical attitude toward wealth in a conversation on happiness (εὐδαιμονία) with Croesus very close to the start of the *Histories*:

ἐμοὶ δὲ σὺ καὶ πλουτέειν μέγα φαίνεαι καὶ βασιλεὺς πολλῶν εἶναι ἀνθρώπων· ἐκεῖνο δὲ τὸ εἶρεό με, οὐκ ἔγω λέγω, πρὶν τελευτήσαντα καλῶς τὸν αἰῶνα πύθωμαι. οὐ γάρ τι ὁ μέγα πλούσιος μᾶλλον τοῦ ἐπ' ἡμέρην ἔχοντος ὀλβιώτερος ἐστί, εἰ μὴ οἱ τύχη ἐπίσποιτο πάντα καλὰ ἔχοντα εὖ τελευτῆσαι τὸν βίον. πολλοὶ μὲν γάρ ζάπλουτοι ἀνθρώπων ἀνόλβιοι εἰσὶ, πολλοὶ δὲ μετρίως ἔχοντες βίου εὐτυχέες. ὁ μὲν δὴ μέγα πλούσιος ἀνόλβιος δὲ δυοῖσι προέχει τοῦ εὐτυχέος μοῦνον, οὗτος δὲ τοῦ πλουσίου καὶ ἀνόλβου πολλοῖσι· ὁ μὲν ἐπιθυμίην ἐκτελέσαι καὶ ἄτην μεγάλην προσπεσοῦσαν ἐνείκαι δυνατώτερος, ὁ δὲ τοῖσιδε προέχει ἐκείνου· ἄτην μὲν καὶ ἐπιθυμίην οὐκ ὁμοίως δυνατὸς ἐκείνῳ ἐνείκαι, ταῦτα δὲ ἡ εὐτυχίη οἱ ἀπερύκει, ἄτηρος δὲ ἐστί, ἄνουςος, ἀπαθὴς κακῶν, εὐπαις, εὐειδής.

⁵⁷ Hdt. 1.135.1.

⁵⁸ Pl. *Leg.* 695b. In the words of Plato, the decline of the Achaemenid Empire was due to the fact that the royal children, in particular Cambyses and Xerxes, were educated by women and eunuchs in the Median style: "It was a womanish education, conducted by the royal harem. The teachers of the children had recently come into considerable wealth, but they were left alone, without men, because the army was preoccupied in the field." (Pl. *Leg.* 694e). Xenophon dates the gradual political decline of Persia from the reign of Cambyses to its final deterioration during Artaxerxes whom he claims became "the victim of wine" and gave up the salubrious exercise of hunting (*Cyr.* 8.8.12). Plato's statement is pure fantasy since the children of the Achaemenid kings and the sons of courtiers and nobles were formally educated to a high standard by Magi and other royal tutors, and also received rigorous training in agriculture, horsemanship and archery. In contrast to Plato, Herodotus depicts the culture of the Persian court as possessing an intellectual sophistication equal to that of the Greeks (cf. Briant 2002a, 522). According to Ferdousi (2015, 3, 166–167, ll. 799–803) the art of drinking wine was an important item in the programme of education of Iranian princes. He tells for instance that Zoroaster's patron Kavi Goshtāsp taught his son Pēshōtan among other things the proper etiquette for drinking wine.

⁵⁹ Xen. *Cyr.* (8.4.1–27, 8.8).

⁶⁰ See Kurke 1992.

[To me you seem to be very rich and to be king of many people, but I cannot answer your question before I learn that you ended your life well. The very rich man is not more fortunate than the man who has only his daily needs, unless he chances to end his life with all well. Many very rich men are unfortunate, many of moderate means are lucky. The man who is very rich but unfortunate surpasses the lucky man in only two ways, while the lucky surpasses the rich but unfortunate in many. The rich man is more capable of fulfilling his appetites and of bearing a great disaster that falls upon him, and it is in these ways that he surpasses the other. The lucky man is not so able to support disaster or appetite as is the rich man, but his luck keeps these things away from him, and he is free from deformity and disease, has no experience of evils, and has fine children and good looks.]⁶¹

In the Classical period the word *τροφή* had largely negative associations in mainland Greece and was associated with the Persian *βάρβαρος*. It was not until Hellenistic times, when enormous treasures entered Athens in the wake of Alexander's conquests, that luxury ceased to be an iconic symbol of decadence. No longer exclusively understood as a force of historical degeneration, it became a sign of prestige and power with reference to Iran – as in the case of Heraclides.

Wine and madness: the case of Cambyses

Drinking wine undiluted is invoked in the *Histories* as a cause of madness, as noted in the fate of Cleomenes of Sparta. Herodotus' description of Cambyses also evokes the portrait of a paranoid personality and has some striking similarities with Cleomenes. Cambyses receives the most negative portrayal among the Achaemenid kings in Herodotus' account, for obvious reasons second only to Xerxes, the demolisher of the Acropolis. The Ionian historian attributes the king's madness primarily to his lack of respect for Egyptian religious cults and customs, but mentions that the Persians themselves attribute his personality disorder to drunkenness (*φιλοινία*, "love for wine"), thereby indicating that his commensal behaviour diverged from the social norm in his own society (3.34). He uses the words "half mad", "mad" or "madman" on several occasions when narrating Cambyses' decisions and activities from the moment he slides into lunacy until his inglorious end. The Persian king is charged with desecrating the corpse of the pharaoh Amasis (3.16.1–4) and committing sacrilege against the divine bull Apis, the animal incarnation of the god Ptah.⁶² He not only scorns the religious sensibilities of his Egyptian subjects but commits atrocious acts against his own people: marrying his own sister (according to Egyptian custom) and then killing her when she becomes pregnant, ordering the execution of his brother Smerdis, and shooting the son of his most faithful servant (3.30–32; 3.34–35). After recording these many instances of Cambyses' deranged behaviour Herodotus justifies his explanation of the king's megalomaniac insanity:

⁶¹ Hdt. 1.32.5–6.

⁶² Herodotus admits that the burning of Amasis was a transgression of Persian religious rules but he mistakenly states that they believe "fire is a god" (3.16.2–3).

πανταχῇ ὅν μοι δῆλα ἐστὶ ὅτι ἐμάνη μεγάλως ὁ Καμβύσης· οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἱροῖσιν τε καὶ νομαίοισιν ἐπεχείρησε καταγελᾶν. εἰ γάρ τις προθείη πᾶσι ἀνθρώποις ἐκλέξασθαι κελεύων νόμους τοὺς καλλίστους ἐκ τῶν πάντων νόμων, διασκεψάμενοι ἂν ἐλοίατο ἕκαστοι τοὺς ἑωυτῶν· οὕτω νομίζουσι πολλόν τι καλλίστους τοὺς ἑωυτῶν νόμους ἕκαστοι εἶναι. οὐκὼν οἶκός ἐστι ἄλλον γε ἢ μαινόμενον ἄνδρα γέλωτα τὰ τοιαῦτα τίθεσθαι· ὥς δὲ οὕτω νενομίκασιν τὰ περὶ τοὺς νόμους πάντες ἄνθρωποι, πολλοῖσιν τε καὶ ἄλλοις τεκμηρίοις πάρεστι σταθμώσασθαι, ἐν δὲ δὴ καὶ τῷδε.

[I hold it then in every way proved that Cambyses was quite insane; or he would never have set himself to deride religion and custom. For if it were proposed to all nations to choose which seemed best of all customs, each, after examination, would place its own first; so well is each convinced that its own are by far the best. It is not therefore to be supposed that anyone, except a madman, would turn such things to ridicule. I will give this one proof among many from which it may be inferred that all men hold this belief about their customs.]⁶³

This statement demonstrates that Herodotus is explicitly conscious of the relativity of cultural customs, i.e. the notion that each people makes sense of its own customs on its own terms.⁶⁴ Cambyses' madness represents a kind of ὕβρις or reckless arrogance that brings disaster on itself. Herodotus seeks the source of his madness, but leaves it open whether it was caused by his sacrilege against the Apis, as his Egyptian sources seem to believe (3.27–29), or a hereditary disease, possibly epilepsy (3.33). The ring structure of the narrative suggests that the cause is focused upon Cambyses' slaying of the Apis, since in the end the king dies after injuring his thigh at the very spot where he struck at bull. Iranian religious and mythical motifs are prominent in the narrative, and the ritual slaying of bulls, often connected with legendary figures and deities, such as Yima and Mithra, might very well have been distorted into an act of madness, so as to denigrate the Persian king.⁶⁵ The image of the mad ruler also emerges in the description of Cambyses' ill-prepared expedition against the Nubians, called Ethiopians in the narrative. Here his military folly is the main feature of an account that seems to have been modelled on Homer's story of the blameless Ethiopians.⁶⁶ Among the luxurious gifts Cambyses offers to the king of the "milk-drinking" Nubians is a jar of precious palm-wine. After learning about its manufacture and delighting in its flavour, the Nubian king identifies the consumption of wine as the only way in which his people are inferior to Persians: they drink it, the Ethiopians do not (3.20–23).

Since Cambyses is portrayed as an excessive drinker there is, in the words of James S. Romm, an implicit critique of Persian sophistication at work: "The Ethiopian king praises wine as a salutary beverage, capable of extending the lifespan of those who drink it; whereas in fact it has the

⁶³ Hdt. 3.38:1–2.

⁶⁴ According to Herodotus the Persian idea of cultural and ethnic superiority is based on a preconception of their central position in the world: "They [the Persians] honor most the peoples nearest to themselves, next the people next to those, and others in proportion to their remoteness, and those dwelling furthest from themselves they hold in the least honor." (1.134)

⁶⁵ See Konstantakos 2016, 54–57.

⁶⁶ Cf. Hdt. 3.21.2. See also Balcer 1987, 83, 85.

opposite effect on Cambyses.”⁶⁷ The tragic image of Cambyses culminates when he proceeds to kill his royal cupbearer, the son of the Persian noble Prexaspes, a member of the highest nobility and a royal messenger, after having learned that his own people attribute his madness to his taste for strong wine:

λέγεται γὰρ εἰπεῖν αὐτὸν πρὸς Πρηξάσπεα, τὸν ἐτίμα τε μάλιστα καὶ οἱ τὰς ἀγγελίας ἐφόρεε οὗτος, τούτου τε ὁ παῖς οἰνοχόος ἦν τῷ Καμβύσῃ, τιμὴ δὲ καὶ αὕτη οὐ σμικρὴ· εἰπεῖν δὲ λέγεται τάδε. Πρηξάσπες, κοῖόν με τινὰ νομίζουσι Πέρσαι εἶναι ἄνδρα τίνας τε λόγους περὶ ἐμέο ποιεῦνται; τὸν δὲ εἰπεῖν ὃ δέσποτα, τὰ μὲν ἄλλα πάντα μεγάλως ἐπαινέαι, τῇ δὲ φιλονίῃ σε φασὶ πλεόνως προσκεῖσθαι. τὸν μὲν δὴ λέγειν ταῦτα περὶ Περσέων, τὸν δὲ θυμωθέντα τοιάδε ἀμείβεσθαι. νῦν ἄρα με φασὶ Πέρσαι οἶνῳ προσκείμενον παραφρονεῖν καὶ οὐκ εἶναι νοήμονα· οὐδ’ ἄρα σφέων οἱ πρότεροι λόγοι ἦσαν ἀληθέες.

[He said, as they report, to Prexaspes – whom he held in particular honor, who brought him all his messages, whose son held the very honorable office of Cambyses’ cup-bearer – thus, I say, he spoke to Prexaspes: “What manner of man, Prexaspes, do the Persians think me to be, and how do they speak of me?” “Sire,” said Prexaspes, “for all else they greatly praise you, but they say that you love wine too well.” So he reported of the Persians. The king angrily replied: “If the Persians now say that it is my fondness for wine that drives me to frenzy and madness, then it would seem that their former saying also was a lie.”]⁶⁸

It is well known that Herodotus’ derogatory account of Cambyses stands in marked contrast to existing epigraphic and monumental sources. As is widely acknowledged in modern research, the entire story is a fictitious invention based on combined Egyptian and Persian propaganda transmitted and represented in accordance with Herodotus’ own agenda. There seem to have been no sacrileges committed by Cambyses against Egyptian gods or temples, and no Memphite bull seems to have been slain in his reign in Egypt. Archaeological evidence shows that Cambyses maintained satrapal order and engaged in systematic preservation of religious cults in order to display continuity.⁶⁹ He is depicted on a hieroglyphic stele as kneeling before the Apis as a pious worshipper and pursuing his father’s policy of religious tolerance. His treatment of the local cults was probably selective, since fiscal documentation in the Demotic Chronicle indicates that his reforms focused on curbing the immense power of some temples that had been favoured under the Saïtes.⁷⁰ Herodotus was probably misled by an anti-Persian tradition that prevailed among some of his informants who may have been descendants of the priests whose revenues and privileges had been curtailed (3.16.5; 3.30.1). The stories about the king’s atrocities against his

⁶⁷ Romm 1992, 58.

⁶⁸ Hdt. 3.34.1–3. Cf. 3.74–75.

⁶⁹ Cambyses represented himself as a proper Pharaoh, adopting indigenous titles and performing rituals in the conventional fashion. Cf. Brosius 2000, nos. 19–22. On the primary evidence, see e.g. Lloyd 1988, 64–65.

⁷⁰ Brosius 2000, no. 24. Cf. Boyce 1982, 74. Nor do we have evidence from Babylonian material of misbehaviour on Cambyses’ part. His eight years as crown prince, at times as the satrap of Babylonia, his masterly campaigns and policies in Egypt, Libya and northern Nubia, which brought these areas into the empire, indicate sound decisions and rulership.

own family that form the basis of Herodotus' account come from Darius and his fellow conspirators, who generated such themes in order to defame him.⁷¹ Herodotus' account of Cambyses cannot be claimed to represent historical facts but, philosophically speaking, it reveals that wine is a *pharmakon*; it can be both a remedy and a poison depending on whether or not one knows how to use it.⁷²

Herodotus' criticism of luxury

The corrupting effect of good things on human nature and the conduciveness of a wealthy environment to luxurious living and its accompanying customs, is a recurrent theme in the *Histories*. Herodotus generally contrasts the poverty and sparse life-style of the Greeks, in particular the Spartans, with the lavish lifestyle of the Persians to provide an explanation of Xerxes' military setback in Greece (9.82). The experience of the Persian Wars constitutes the overall historical backdrop of his theoretical analysis, which is not unexpected since the military conflict brought the Persians perilously close and made them a fact of life for the vast majority of Greeks. As a result of the Persian invasions, the notion of cultural self-consciousness intensified among the mainland Greeks and gave rise to Panhellenic ideas. Many Greek writers (Ctesias, Plutarch, Isocrates, and to a lesser extent Herodotus) resorted to polemical stereotypes about the splendour of the Persian palaces, banquets, costumes, leisure and sexual pleasures, to make them more manageable psychologically. The Greeks were particularly impressed by the luxury of the king's table and the opulence of his banquets and drinking parties. Aelian wrote in literal terms that the Persians "exhibit their luxury in the pleasures of the bed", referring to their habit of having many wives and concubines.⁷³ The concept of *τροφή* thus relates to a broad range of cultural and social practices involving various types of pleasure, in particular gastronomic and erotic.

The Persians play a dominant and more or less uniform part in Herodotus' ethnographic treatment of *τροφή* and his central distinction between "hard" and "soft" societies. As noted above, he recalls their hardiness and dignity in past times, asserting they lacked luxuries and good things, such as wine, before Cyrus' conquest of Lydia. When the Median noble Artembares suggests that Cyrus ought to abandon the small and harsh land of Pārsa and occupy a more prosperous territory, Cyrus warns his fellow Persians that they cannot expect to inhabit affluent lands and remain rulers over men: "Soft lands breed soft men; wondrous fruits of the earth and valiant warriors grow not from the same soil" (9.122.3). This apothegm on softness (*μαλακία*) closes the *Histories* and virtually celebrates the Persian king as a powerful model of wise counsel. Interestingly the Greek word *μαλακία* has

⁷¹ See e.g. Briant 2002a, 97–106. In contrast to his father, Cambyses did not receive an official grave.

⁷² This theme is also elaborated in the story of Cyrus' expedition against the Sakas, where he secures an early victory by means of a trick with wine (Hdt 1.212).

⁷³ Ael. *NA* 1.14.

strong moral, psychological and sexual implications in addition to its physical and social connotations. It means not only “softness” but in a transferred sense also “effeminacy” and “weakness”. In the latter meaning it is associated with feminine social identities and is used metaphorically of male individuals and whole societies with regard to social behaviour improper to manhood. A logical consequence of this primitive notion of gender is that a loss of masculinity reduces a biological male to effeminacy.

In Herodotus’ view external factors, such as climate and geography, are primary factors in the evolution of human society. The Persians initially led hard lives and the severe land made them tough and brave warriors, similar to the Greeks, but they soon became “softened” by the increasing cultural sophistication and luxuries that resulted from their empire building. A process of social change occurred in which they gradually abandoned their originally semi-nomadic life on the Iranian plateau and embraced a cosmopolitan and mercantile lifestyle. Their capacity for acculturation is already displayed when Cyrus borrows the attire and urbanite culture of the Medes after his conquest of Ecbatana. The *Histories* is replete with examples of “soft” societies succumbing to “hard” invaders and “soft” invaders capitulating to “hard” societies, but his implicit theory of historical causation is almost exclusively applied with reference to the Persian people in order to display the weaknesses of the Achaemenid Empire. There are no signs in Herodotus’ narrative of Lydian or Assyrian political decadence or martial weakness, despite the fact that luxury was a characteristic of both these peoples.

Herodotus’ notion of the transition from primitive society to universal empire is essential to the thematic structure of the *Histories*, but is incoherent as an account of historical change since the model he established for the Achaemenid Empire cannot easily be applied to the defeat of Athens in the Peloponnesian War. More importantly, the Persians followed Cyrus’ precedent and continued to inhabit and rule from Pārsa. Even if they were transformed by the power and wealth of their vast empire they never forsake their relatively small and harsh land on the Iranian plateau. Herodotus’ general model of the rise and fall of empires is problematic because it ignores the underlying mechanisms of the successful maintenance of the Achaemenid Empire and the continued reproduction of its ruling class from the time of Cyrus down to his own time. In spite of his claim that the Persians are unbiased with regard to foreign customs, he is hesitant to attribute their military and political successes to their adaptive capacity. The problem with Herodotus’ scheme escalates when he resorts to stereotypes about Persian luxury to explain political and cultural developments during the reigns of Cyrus’ successors. The assertion that Persian society gradually underwent a continuous process of “softening” or decay after Cyrus, with a brief recovery under Darius, is highly questionable since he completely avoids answering the question of what kept the declining empire together for more than a century. Instead of providing a political, military and social analysis, he adopts the spectre of decadence to disguise Persian realities. In this respect Pierre Briant convincingly argues that the dominant place of *τροπή* provides simplistic explanations of the political development and

social structures of the Achaemenid Empire, and generally results in the absence of a coherent notion of the evolution of human society.⁷⁴

The idea of hard culture as an explanatory principle of imperial expansionism is important enough to form the final paragraph of the *Histories* and runs as a key theme throughout the whole work in many variations. Focusing on the rise and fall of empires, Herodotus implicitly formulates a theory of historical causation that unequivocally serves to set Persian luxury and decadence against Greek austerity and rigour.⁷⁵ He refers to the hardness of Greek culture at the time of the Persian Wars and reprimands the Athenians for becoming “soft” due to wealth and influence acquired from their successful defence of the Attica Peninsula. Writing in the early years of Peloponnesian War, he finds clear parallels between Persian and Greek imperialism in his descriptions of the corruptive activities of several Athenian leaders following Xerxes’ withdrawal from mainland Greece. Some of his stories reveal that Persia was a powerful model in his own day. In the scene after the battle of Plataiai when the Greeks create a lavish Persian banquet, Pausanias “could hardly believe his eyes for the good things set before him” (9.80). The Spartan king laughingly ridicules the opulent lifestyle of the Persians questioning why they ever bothered to occupy Greece (9.82). But as Herodotus’ audience knew, Pausanias soon afterwards embraced luxurious Persian practices (regarding clothing, bodyguards, and dining) and was stripped of his power under accusation of treasonable negotiations with Persia. His narration of the story therefore serves as an ironic symbol of the weakening of Greece by Persian wealth and luxury.⁷⁶

Herodotus’ notion of a decaying Persian society generates a collection of stereotypes about Persians as being servile, effeminate and weak. These representations usually have less to do with documented inquiry or empirical observation than ideological standpoints and literary rhetoric. In the end he never endorses a clear-cut moral dichotomy between Persians and Greeks, or thinks that the two cultures are generically opposed to each other. Cultural characteristics are not immutable, but subject to dynamic change due to climate and environment.⁷⁷ Herodotus believes that the νόμος (custom-laws) of a people is an outgrowth of its φύσις (natural order) but in some respects he agrees that sociocultural surroundings have a more direct, immediate effect than biological factors. His distinction between hard and soft societies is not only a way of reading the dynamic of history, but is also a geographical category. Persians and Greeks are placed at the centre of the world on Herodotus’ historical map, a natural sphere of cultural mixtures, in

⁷⁴ Briant, 2002a, 14, 535. Cf. Briant 2002b, 201.

⁷⁵ Cf. Hdt. 7.102.1, 8.26.3, 9.82.

⁷⁶ Thucydides completes this story in The Peloponnesian War, revealing that Pausanias used to dress in Persian clothes and set his table in a Persian fashion (τράπεζάν τε Περσικὴν παρτίθετο) (Thuc. 1.130). The good living that in Herodotus was enjoyed by the Persians and by implication threatened Greeks had five centuries later become a Roman habit.

⁷⁷ Herodotus is open-minded toward Persian culture overall, and many have noted his fair-mindedness. He portrays the Persians as truth-speaking and morally righteous, and when they commit wicked acts they are often represented as transgressing the moral and religious standards of their own culture. He explicitly commends the Persian practice of weighing good deeds against misdeeds before turning their anger into punishment (cf. 1.136–137).

contrast to the edges of the earth inhabited by Scythians, Nubians, and other peoples immune to outside influence.⁷⁸ Persians and Greeks have very much in common, since they both adopt foreign customs and are transformed by contact with each other. According to Herodotus this interaction is particularly evident in Ionia, which in his view, represents the centre of the world. The historical predicament of both peoples is very similar as they are living at the juncture between an original hardness and a potential softness, perhaps much more similar than Herodotus sometimes is willing to admit.

Conclusion

Greek literature reflects multifaceted views of the Persians. In Herodotus' case Persian customs and practices related to wine drinking facilitate a primary theme that stimulates ethnographic reflection on the evolution of human society. His treatment of Persian wine drinking is complex and ambiguous, since he relies on a limited repertoire of stereotypes to produce a recognisable representation of the Persians. The issue of how much empirical authenticity that can be deduced from the *Histories* regarding Persian drinking practices is an ambivalent subject. As we have seen above, Greek categories and assumptions dictated his portrayal of the subject to a higher degree than any duty of historical accuracy. His conception of "historical truth" is also unlikely to be same as ours since the modern distinction between representation (fiction) and reality (non-fiction) cannot be precisely applicable to his writings.⁷⁹ The sensational nature of several of Herodotus' descriptions ultimately derives from his background as an oral performer and suggests that they were intended largely for entertainment and instilling moral values. For instance, his assertion that the Persian king makes political decisions whilst drunk and reviews them in a sober state may not have any reference within the historical narrative. Nowhere in the *Histories* are Persians portrayed as engaging in policy making in inebriated state, not to speak of banquets or drinking parties, which were considered external manifestations of Persian wealth and luxury by Greek writers.

Wine is, philosophically speaking, a *pharmakon* in the *Histories* with regard to human nature; it acts as both a remedy and a poison, depending on the context. It is a sign of cultural advancement and sophistication, but in Herodotus' descriptions of the Persians it is also intimately associated with luxury and softness. We do not know if he had any personal antipathy toward the phenomenon of *τροφή* but he systematically takes the word in a pejorative sense. The overall theme of Persian softness not only aims at reminding his audience of the deleterious effects of luxury but also at representing the Achaemenid Empire as culturally decadent and militarily weak. His notion of Persian society as in a state of constant decline is largely informed by ideological premises, which provided an expedient justification of Greek moral superiority and patriotism. The moral lesson for his audience was not only that luxury is harmful to the people who enjoy it, but that it

⁷⁸ See Redfield, 2002, 39–40.

⁷⁹ Flower 2006, 278.

involves a process of acculturation that could undermine Greek identity and self-localisation.⁸⁰ Drinking wine the Persian way, i.e. undiluted, is also invoked as a cause of madness in the *Histories*. The similarities between Cambyses and Cleomenes are striking as regards madness resulting from wine. In Herodotus' case, drinking patterns constitute an important area to which strategies of self-identity can be applied and play a decisive, effective role in the ethical construction of the Persians.

Herodotus writes of the differences that distinguish the Persians from other peoples but he is relatively unsuccessful in understanding how their world works objectively. He is correct that wine was not only consumed as part of the daily diet in ancient Iran, but that it also was employed in ceremonies, often being poured as a libation as prayers were said. He underscores the extravagance of the Persian banquets and symposiums, and interprets these phenomena as mere culinary lavishness and drinking to excess. Herodotus is inclined to explain cultural differences by making reference to climate, geography and political system, analysing how these differences arise and change with time, yet he never grasps the philosophical dimensions of the Persian display of luxury. For the Achaemenids luxury was not merely a sign of the paramount position of the elite, especially of the king, but it played an important part in "the redistributive system of interchange between king and subject in view of social and political relations".⁸¹ The Persian elite consciously employed *τροφή* as a matter of state policy. It not only embodied refinement, wealth and power, but also provided an opportunity for rewarding royal loyalty and implementing political strategy. The banquets and symposiums were inherently public and political acts, central to the construction of royal identity, demonstrating that the empire was a supreme player on the world stage. The prosperity of the empire was ultimately a manifestation of the favour of Ahuramazda and the other gods (*aniyāha bagāha*), and royal prestige depended upon exhibiting it.⁸²

Ashk P. Dahlén

Department of Linguistics and Philology
Box 635, Uppsala University
SE-751 26 UPPSALA
ashk.dahlen@lingfil.uu.se

⁸⁰ This theme is more fully elaborated by Xenophon in his long speech to the Greek army, as he seeks to convince the commanders of the mercenaries to return to Greece after Cyrus' death. The narrative expresses the sense of being potentially lost in a remote, alien environment, and the danger of cultural displacement illustrated by the alluring luxury of Persia and the erotic pleasures of its seductive women (Xen. An. 3.2.25).

⁸¹ Wiesehöfer 2001, 41.

⁸² The Old Persian expression *auramazdā utā aniyāha bagāha* ("Ahuramazda and the other gods") appear in numerous Achaemenid royal inscriptions, e.g. Darius' trilingual inscription on Mount Behistun (DB 4.60–61) (Kent 1953, 132).

Bibliography

- Balcer, J.M. 1987. *Herodotus & Bisitun. Problems in ancient Persian historiography* (Historia, Einzelschriften, 49), Stuttgart.
- Boyce, M. 1982. *A history of Zoroastrianism*, vol. 2. *Under the Achaemenians* (Handbuch der Orientalistik), Leiden & Köln.
- Briant, P. 2002a. *From Cyrus to Alexander. A history of the Persian Empire*, tr. P.T. Daniels, Winona Lake, Ind.
- Briant, P. 2002b. 'History and ideology: the Greeks and "Persian decadence"', in *Greeks and barbarians*, ed. T. Harrison, New York, 193–210.
- Brosius, M. (tr. and ed.) 2000. *The Persian Empire from Cyrus II to Artaxerxes I* (LACTOR, 16), London.
- Brosius, M. 2011. 'Keeping up with the Persians. Between cultural identity and Persianization in the Achaemenid period', in *Cultural identity in the ancient Mediterranean*, ed. E.S. Gruen, Los Angeles, 135–149.
- Cuyler Young, T., Jr. 1988. 'The early history of the Medes and the Persians and the Achaemenid Empire to the death of Cambyses', in *CAH IV. Persia, Greece and the Western Mediterranean c. 525 to 479 B.C.*, eds. J. Boardman, N.G.L. Hammond, D.M. Lewis & M. Ostwald, second edition, Cambridge, 1–52.
- Dandamaev, M.A. & V.G. Lukonin 1989. *The culture and social institutions of ancient Iran*, Cambridge.
- Dusinberre, E.R.M. 2013. *Empire, authority, and autonomy in Achaemenid Anatolia*, Cambridge.
- Evans, J.A.S. 1991. *Herodotus, explorer of the past. Three essays*, Princeton, N.J.
- Ferdousi, A. 2015 [1394]. *Shāhnāma* (Book of Kings), 4 vols., ed. J. Khāleqi-Motlaq, Tehran.
- Flower, M. 2006. 'Herodotus and Persia', in *The Cambridge companion to Herodotus*, eds. C. Dewald & J. Marincola, Cambridge, 274–289.
- Garrison, M.B. 2017. *The ritual landscape at Persepolis. Glyptic imagery from the Persepolis Fortification and Treasury Archives. From lectures delivered at the Collège de France, November 2009* (Studies in Oriental Civilizations, 72), Chicago.
- Gignoux, P. 1999. 'Matériaux pour une histoire du vin dans l'Iran ancien', in *Matériaux pour l'histoire économique du monde iranien* (Studia Iranica, 21), eds. R. Gyselen & M. Szuppe Paris.
- Hegy, D. 1973. 'Historical authenticity of Herodotus in the Persian "Logoi"', *Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 21, 73–87.
- Henkelman, W.F.M. 2010. "'Consumed before the King." The Table of Darius, that of Irdabama and Irtaštuna, and that of his Satrap, Karkiš', in *Der Achämenidenhof/The Achaemenid court. Akten des 2. Internationalen Kolloquiums zum Thema "Vorderasien im Spannungsfeld klassischer und altorientalischer Überlieferungen"*, Landgut Castelen bei Basel 23.–25. Mai 2007 (Classica et Orientalia, 2), eds. B. Jacobs & R. Rollinger, Wiesbaden, 667–775.
- Henkelman, W.F.M. 2018. *Achaemenid history*, 14. *The other gods who are. Studies in Elamite-Iranian acculturation based on the Persepolis Fortification texts*, Leiden.
- Hobden, F. 2013. *The symposion in ancient Greek society and thought*, Cambridge.
- de Jong, A. 1997. *Traditions of the Magi. Zoroastrianism in Greek and Latin literature* (Religions in the Graeco-Roman world, 133), Leiden, New York & Köln.
- Kent, R.G. 1953. *Old Persian. Grammar. Texts. Lexicon* (American Oriental series, 33), New Haven, Conn.
- Konstantakos, I.M. 2016. 'Cambyses and the sacred bull (Hdt. 3.27–29 and 3.64): history and legend', in *The art of history. Literary perspectives on Greek and Roman historiography*, eds. V. Liotsakis & S. Farrington, Berlin & Boston, 37–72.

- Kreyenbroek, P.G. 2004. 'Ritual and rituals in the Nērangestān', in *Zoroastrian rituals in context* (Studies in the History of Religions, 102), ed. M. Stausberg, Leiden & Boston, 317–332.
- Kreyenbroek, P.G. 2010. 'Zoroastrianism under the Achaemenians: a non-essentialist approach', in *The world of Achaemenid Persia. History, art and society in Iran and the ancient Near East. Proceedings of a conference at the British Museum 29th September–1st October 2005*, eds. J. Curtis & St. J. Simpson, London & New York, 103–109.
- Kuhrt, A., 1983. 'The Cyrus Cylinder and Achaemenid imperial policy', *Journal for the Study of the Old Testament* 25, 83–97.
- Kurke, L. 1992. 'The politics of ἄβροσύνη in Archaic Greece', *ClAnt* 11, 91–120.
- Lecoq, P. 1997. *Les inscriptions de la Perse achéménide. Traduit du vieux perse, de l'élamite, du babylonien et de l'araméen*, Paris.
- Lewis, D.M. 1985. 'Persians in Herodotus', in *The Greek historians. Literature and history. Papers presented to A.E. Raubitschek*, ed. E. Antony, Saratoga, 101–117.
- Lloyd, A.B. 1988. 'Herodotus on Cambyses. Some thoughts on recent work', in *Achaemenid history, 3. Method and theory. Proceedings of the London 1985 Achaemenid History Workshop*, eds. A. Kuhrt & H. Sancisi-Weerdenburg, Leiden, 55–66.
- Miller, M.C. 1997. *Athens and Persia in the fifth century BC. A study in cultural receptivity*, Cambridge.
- Miller, M.C. 2011. "'Manners makyth man". Diacritical drinking in Achaemenid Anatolia', in *Cultural identity in the ancient Mediterranean*, ed. E.S. Gruen, Los Angeles, 97–134.
- Mitchell, L.G. 2014. 'Herodotus' Cyrus and political freedom', in *Perceptions of Iran. History, myths and nationalism from Medieval Persia to the Islamic Republic* (International library of Iranian studies, 37), ed. A.M. Ansari, London & New York, 101–118.
- Morgan, J. 2016. *Greek perspectives on the Achaemenid Empire. Persia through the looking glass*, Edinburgh.
- Nagler, M.N. 1974. *Spontaneity and tradition. A study in the oral art of Homer*, Berkeley, Los Angeles & London.
- Nylander, C. 1979. 'Achaemenid imperial art', in *Power and propaganda. A symposium on ancient empires* (Mesopotamia. Copenhagen studies in Assyriology, 7), ed. M. Trolle Larsen, Copenhagen, 345–359.
- Redfield, J. 2002. 'Herodotus the tourist', in *Greeks and barbarians*, ed. T. Harrison, New York, 24–49.
- Romm, J.S. 1992. *The edges of the earth in ancient thought. Geography, exploration, and fiction*, Princeton, N.J.
- Sancisi-Weerdenburg, H. 1987. 'Decadence in the empire or decadence in the sources? From source to synthesis: Ctesias', in *Achaemenid history, 1. Sources, structures and synthesis. Proceedings of the Groningen 1983 Achaemenid History Workshop*, ed. H. Sancisi-Weerdenburg, Leiden, 33–45.
- Tavernier, J. 2007. *Iranica in the Achaemenid period (ca. 550–330 B.C.). Lexicon of Old Iranian proper names and loanwords, attested in non-Iranian texts* (Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta, 158), Leuven.
- van der Spek, R.J. 2014. 'Cyrus the Great, exiles and foreign gods: a comparison of Assyrian and Persian policies in subject nations', in *Extraction & control. Studies in honor of Matthew W. Stolper* (Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilizations, 68), eds. M. Kozuh, W.F.M. Henkelman, C.E. Jones & C. Woods, Chicago, 233–264.
- Wiesehöfer, J. 2001. *Ancient Persia from 550 BC to 650 AD*, London & New York.
- Wilson, H. 2003. *Wine & words in classical antiquity and the Middle Ages*, London.

Cilicia, 550–330 BC: Persians and Locals

by

Charles Gates

Abstract

Cilicia in the Achaemenid Persian period was comprehensively examined by Olivier Casabonne in 2004, with a complementary evaluation of archaeological evidence by Charles Gates published soon thereafter. This paper will review and update their findings. Focus will be on excavated sites. Of excavations now completed, key sites are (west to east) Nagidos, Meydancikkale, Kinet Höyük, and (southeast of Cilicia) Al Mina. Ongoing excavations at such sites as Kelenderis, Soloi, Sirkeli, and Tatarlı have yielded new evidence, with the possibility of more to come. Persian presence will be tracked, with evidence that attests to the ordinary life of local Cilicians also noted.*

How can we address the grand aims of this symposium – illuminating the relations between the Great King and his satraps, the elite of Persian society, in the western provinces – when examining a region that offers evidence that is fragmentary and, for the most part, modest? Such is the challenge we face when evaluating the place of Cilicia in the Achaemenid Empire.

Persian Cilicia was thoroughly examined by Olivier Casabonne in his book of 2004, *La Cilicie à l'époque achéménide*: textual, archaeological, and numismatic evidence. In 2005, I summarised the archaeological evidence, but in the context of the history of archaeological research in Cilicia in all periods.¹ In this paper I will again focus on the archaeology, my particular interest. I shall revisit the major sites presented in those works of some fifteen years ago, with an updating of findings (*Fig. 1*).²

Meydancikkale

Let us begin in the west, in Rough Cilicia, at Meydancikkale. Meydancikkale is a hilltop fortress, some 15 km inland as the crow flies, a large rocky plateau c. 750 m × 150 m, 700 m high.³ Excavations began in 1971 under the direction of Emmanuel Laroche. Georges Le Rider and then Alain

* Thanks to Marie-Henriette Gates for reading my paper at the symposium in Istanbul, for many helpful suggestions, and for preparing the maps, and to Pierre Briant for directing me to recent studies of Meydancikkale.

¹ C. Gates 2005a. For a review of Casabonne 2004, see C. Gates 2005b, 789–790.

² For Achaemenid Cilicia, see Salmeri 2004, 191–198; Ünal & Girginer 2007, 207–214; Dusinberre 2013, *passim*.

³ Davesne & Laroche-Traunecker 1998; Casabonne 2004, 151–165; C. Gates 2005a, 62–63.

Davesne continued the work from 1981 until 1997, with Le Rider joining the team to participate in the publication of a spectacular coin hoard of the mid-third century BC.⁴

The citadel was used by pre-Persian dynasts of the seventh and sixth centuries BC, Achaemenid Persians, and Hellenistic Ptolemies. We might wonder why, because the access is difficult; today the site lies off the main road from the coast to the Anatolian plateau (from Silifke to Karaman). As Davesne noted, the location surely had value as a fortified outpost from which both the coast and the timber-rich Taurus Mountains could be patrolled.⁵ Kelenderis (see below), the closest coastal harbour, would have served as its port.⁶



Fig. 1. Map. Cilicia in the Persian period.

For the Persian period, attention has focused on two large blocks and two fragments with relief sculpture, men in procession whose manner and style are similar to those processing at Persepolis. The date is tentatively late fifth–early fourth century BC.⁷ These blocks were not found in situ; the two large blocks were found 30 m south of Building A, the two smaller fragments on the east slope of the cliff.⁸ Their original context is unknown. One would imagine them as prominently placed on an important building, such as a palace.⁹ The main candidate for this palace has been Building A, the

⁴ Davesne & Le Rider 1989.

⁵ Davesne, Lemaire & Lozachmeur 1987, 379–381.

⁶ Zoroğlu 2014, 205; Autret *et al.* 2014, 597–599.

⁷ Davesne & Laroche-Traunecker 1998, 293–306. Late fifth–mid-fourth centuries, see Casabonne 2004, 158. See also Briant 2001, 51, 199–200.

⁸ Laroche-Traunecker 1993, 28.

⁹ Davesne & Laroche-Traunecker 1998, 300; Casabonne 2004, 162, 164–165; see also the contribution by Pierre Briant in this volume.

largest surviving structure of the southern half of the site. This is a Hellenistic structure, however. It has been dated to 246 BC, when forces of Ptolemy III recaptured this region.¹⁰ Indeed, the famous coin hoard noted above was found buried in this building, at the edge of Room VII. Moreover, its function is uncertain. It is good-sized but not immense (26.50 m × 19.50 m) and its unusual plan does not easily suggest its purpose, whether domestic, religious, administrative, or military.

For our purposes, the key question is whether or not Building A had a Persian predecessor. If a Persian version existed, it could well be the place where the reliefs were displayed. Davesne stated that this earlier building did exist, but without supplying the evidence for it.¹¹ Unfortunately, *Gülner* III, the final report of excavations in this building promised many years ago,¹² has not yet appeared, and so we do not have an authoritative presentation of the evidence for an earlier building. The fullest statement I have found is by Casabonne, who describes differences in masonry type and orientation between the upper wall foundations (Hellenistic) and the courses below, evidence seen in particular of walls of rooms I, III, VI, VII, and VII. He interprets the lower foundations as belonging to a Persian period building, which consisted of these rooms just listed. The other rooms of Building A – Rooms II, IV, and V, located on the west side – do not have such underpinnings, and thus are understood as an enlargement added as part of the Hellenistic construction.¹³

Two recent articles, one by Didier Laroche, another by Winfried Held and Deniz Kaplan, both published in 2015, address the question, but with opposite views. Taken together, they demonstrate the need for a complete report on what exactly was found during the excavations and soundings conducted in Building A. Without this data, speculations about the architecture and function of this building will continue unbounded.

Didier Laroche, in the course of an examination of the function of (Hellenistic) Building A, disputes the claim of a Persian antecedent. But these remarks are given as an aside, without any consideration of the details presented by Casabonne.¹⁴ Laroche is interested in how the building fits into its larger Hellenistic context, which he explores through a comparison with the palace at Iraq al-Amir, Jordan.

Winfried Held and Deniz Kaplan, in contrast, assume right from the start that Building A existed in the Persian period, based on the declarations of Davesne *et al.* and Casabonne.¹⁵ They take their argument much further, though. They present five limestone capitals of Persian type, found in the fortified entrance of the site in secondary Hellenistic and Byzantine contexts, and argue that these originally stood in Building A, both on the stylobate of the entrance and in Room III. Room III would thus be not a courtyard (as others have understood it) but a hypostyle hall. Their final conclusion is that

¹⁰ Davesne & Le Rider 1989, 345; Davesne & Laroche-Traunecker 1998, 66.

¹¹ Davesne & Laroche-Traunecker 1998, 297, with references in n. 31 to preliminary reports in Laroche & Davesne 1981, 361–364; Davesne, Lemaire & Lozachmeur 1987, 377–379.

¹² Laroche-Traunecker 1993, 25, n. 31; Davesne & Laroche-Traunecker 1998, 297, n. 31.

¹³ Casabonne 2004, 158–162.

¹⁴ Laroche 2015, 1, 3–4.

¹⁵ Held & Kaplan 2015, 175–176.

Building A is a Persian building, the residence of a Persian satrap, a small version of the Palace of Darius the Great at Persepolis. Both the central core (Rooms I, III, VI–VIII) and the western rooms of architectural phase 2 (Rooms II, IV, and V) are not Hellenistic but Persian. Only minor changes would have been made in the Hellenistic period.¹⁶ This thesis, although valuable for highlighting architectural details heretofore ignored, cannot be considered conclusive. It rests on weak premises: the dating of the architecture to the Achaemenid period cannot be assumed; that the capitals originally came from Building A cannot be proven; and the plans of Building A (if we subtract the columns restored in Room III by Held and Kaplan) and the Palace of Darius the Great have little in common.

Other Persian period finds include the fortified entrance,¹⁷ rebuilt in various periods but with an Aramaic inscription marking the Persian version, and a tomb on the west slope of the site, robbed, but tentatively dated by another Aramaic inscription to the late fifth or early fourth centuries BC, like the reliefs.¹⁸ Other finds, such as pottery, have as yet received only passing mention. But we should not expect much; erosion and frequent rebuilding on this rocky hilltop have prevented rich accumulations of cultural remains such as pottery.

The Aramaic inscriptions have supplied the ancient name of the site: Kirši bîrtâ, meaning the “fortress of Kirshu”. This place name appears in the chronicles of the Neo-Babylonian king, Neriglissar. From those documents we learn that this fortified city belonged to Appuašu, king of Pirandu; it contained a palace; and it was burned by Neriglissar in 557 BC. Appuašu, however, managed to escape.¹⁹ Casabonne speculated that with its king still alive, the kingdom of Pirindu may have continued in its Rough Cilician territory into the Achaemenid Persian period.²⁰ If true, this might explain the continuing use of the site. Moreover, since the date the Persians took over Meydancikkale is uncertain,²¹ with no sure evidence for a Persian presence until the later fifth century BC, it allows us the possibility of imagining Meydancikkale inhabited without break through the sixth and fifth centuries BC.

Tatarlı Höyük

The reliefs at Meydancikkale, exceptional attestations of an official Persian presence, have now been complemented by a similar find at Tatarlı Höyük. Tatarlı is an impressive multi-period site in eastern Cilicia, well situated on a major north-south route from the sea to the mountains on the east and north. It has been under excavation since 2007 by a team from Çukurova

¹⁶ Held & Kaplan 2015, 180–189.

¹⁷ Davesne & Laroche-Traunecker 1998, 73–244.

¹⁸ Davesne & Laroche-Traunecker 1998, 307–344. For uncertainty concerning the readings and dating of the inscriptions, see Briant 1997, 26–27, 96–97, n. 50; Briant 2001, 49–51.

¹⁹ Grayson 2000, 103–104; Desideri & Jasink 1990, 168–175.

²⁰ Casabonne 2004, 164–165.

²¹ Zoroğlu 2005, 395.

University led by K. Serdar Girginer.²² The relief, found in 2013, shows feet only, but they are unquestionably the feet of a Persian processing to the left.²³ The broken stele was found still mounted in its socle. A second block, in front, was used for offerings; many astragali were found here. This installation was set up next to a formal gate and paved ramp that led from the lower town and several springs up to the top of the citadel and its temple, on the northeast slope of the mound. The road is interpreted as a “sacred way” already active in the second millennium BC, repaired and reused in the Neo-Hittite and Persian periods.²⁴ Apart from plain pottery, Tatarlı has not yielded further evidence of the period 550–330 BC (= Late Iron Age III a), but we have grounds to hope for more.

Kinet Höyük

The most important site for stratigraphy of the Persian period continues to be Kinet Höyük, located in southeastern Cilicia. This multi-period harbour town was excavated from 1992 to 2012 by Bilkent University, under the direction of Marie-Henriette Gates.²⁵ The final reports are in preparation, but will take many years to complete.

Kinet Höyük has been identified as Bronze Age Izziya and Classical Issos, the city near which Alexander defeated Darius III.²⁶ It is, so far, the only significant settlement with sixth–fourth centuries BC remains in the coastal plain where the battle took place.²⁷

The Persian period at Kinet is represented by three main architectural levels, Periods 5, 4, and 3B, excavated on all four sides of the top of the mound. Period 5 is the earliest, very tentatively dated to c. 550–480 BC, corresponding to the beginning of Persian rule.

Textual sources indicate Cyrus the Great took over Cilicia peacefully, with the support of the local rulers, known as Syennesis – who continued in that position at least until the end of the fifth century BC.²⁸ Archaeological excavations have little to say about this early period, and indeed the results from Kinet do not give a clear picture either. On the west side of the mound, the architecture of this period is poorly defined by the fragmentary remains of casual outdoor enclosures. Associated pottery, still under study, is currently dated early-to-mid sixth century BC, too early for this period; it can be considered residual, from the preceding level, Period 6. Could this represent a gap in occupation at Kinet, marked by a phase of squatters?

The understanding of this period was complicated in 2007 by findings from Operation U on the south slope. Here, massive sunken foundations of Period 5 were discovered, well stratified between Period 4 above and Period

²² Cilician Chronology Group 2017, 173–176.

²³ Girginer *et al.* 2015, 444, fig. 10.

²⁴ Girginer *et al.* 2015, 434–436.

²⁵ M.-H. Gates *et al.* 2014; Cilician Chronology Group 2017, 176–181.

²⁶ C. Gates 2015, 83.

²⁷ C. Gates 2015.

²⁸ Casabonne 2004, 165–167; C. Gates 2015, 84.

6 below, but in a small exposure.²⁹ Their limited extent, 6 m by 11 m (= 66 m²), formed two small rooms, perhaps casemates. The foundations were over 2 m deep, and 1.10 m–1.40 m wide. They consisted of packed gravel and cut pieces of local conglomerate poured into sunken trenches – very different from the stone masonry that characterises Kinet wall foundations, which stand on floor surfaces rather than in trenches cut below them. The sunken gravel foundation type is unique at Kinet Höyük and otherwise unattested in Cilicia. This peculiar building technique is, however, characteristic of palatial architecture at Susa, from the reign of Darius the Great onwards.³⁰

Particularly striking is the similar way of demarcating the edges of the foundation trench. At Kinet, this is done with a single course of small stones.³¹ At Susa, this edge sometimes, but not always, continues down in the section, lining the foundation trench with a wall of sun-dried mud bricks.³²

Unfortunately, the Kinet building's superstructure had been stripped away and there were no associated finds. What this fragment was part of, on the south edge of the 22 m-high mound, can only be guessed: part of a platform or terrace, a tower, or simply a massive wall? Its robust foundations suggest an official building serving an administrative or military function. If so, could the Kinet building have been commissioned by the imperial administration as a hilltop outpost or fortress in this location, commanding access both to the sea and to the nearby Amanos Mountains, rich in timber for ship-building, and iron for weaponry?

This building was replaced by structures of typically local masonry, foundations of naturally shaped river stones, in Period 4, with two phases, c. 480–400 BC.³³ Here and elsewhere on the high mound, rooms were furnished with peculiar clay features, benches of clay with round holes cut out of them, holes of diameters ranging from 8 to 32 cm.³⁴ These features, unique at Kinet, are interpreted as supports for amphoras or round-bottomed containers. The many amphora fragments found, together with imported fine wares, suggest the buildings may have served commercial rather than domestic purposes. The pottery shows trade connections between Kinet and the larger East Mediterranean region, but no visible Persian presence.

Circumstances changed dramatically with the return of large-scale construction in Period 3, whose two phases, 3B and 3A, span two centuries: Late Persian to Middle Hellenistic. It began when a new city wall was built around the mound in the early fourth century BC, a period when the Persians were reasserting themselves in southern Anatolia, as they faced military challenges in Cyprus and the Levant.³⁵ The fortifications consisted of stone foundations over 2 m high, with towers or buttresses, and a cobblestone glacis. Amphora fragments and Attic black-glazed sherds have supplied the date.

²⁹ C. Gates 2015, 84–87.

³⁰ Ladiray 2010, 161–163 and *passim*; Boucharlat 2010, 385–392.

³¹ C. Gates, 2015, 86–87, figs. 4–5.

³² Ladiray 2010, 161–162, figs. 129–130.

³³ C. Gates 2015, 86–88.

³⁴ C. Gates 2015, 88, fig. 7.

³⁵ C. Gates 2015, 87–91, fig. 11.

On the north side of the mound, where the longest stretch of circuit wall was exposed, the fortification wall connected to a large terraced complex of rooms likely used for military purposes.³⁶

On the east side of the mound, portions of a massive, terraced building with thick walls suggest a public or military building, a cousin of the gravelled building of Period 5 mentioned earlier.³⁷ However, the techniques of construction were different. Its foundations, a socle built on ground level, not in sunken trenches, were made of naturally shaped river stones; on these, good sections of mud brick superstructure were preserved. And it was clearly built later. Because construction details such as brick size correspond with the well-dated architecture of Period 3B discovered on the north side of the mound, this building is now dated to 400 BC or soon thereafter. In addition, its architectural layout and mud brick sizes recall buildings from inland sites to the northeast, at Hacinebi on the Euphrates and at Oylum Höyük near Kilis, buildings tentatively dated to the Persian military presence in the fourth century BC.³⁸

On the west side overlooking the sea, the citadel was entered through a grand gate, 5 m wide and protected by a tower.³⁹ The gate's unusually well-built threshold consisted of a single course of large limestone blocks, trimmed flush on top but left irregular in the invisible sections below, and plastered with cement-like mortar. It opened onto a gravelled court. The gate's doorjambs were set on upright limestone bases; the southern one still had traces of painted plaster, red (west face) and yellow (north face). The elegance of this construction is unparalleled elsewhere at Kinet Höyük.

This citadel and the North complex continued in use, with modifications, for some 200 years into the Hellenistic age (Period 3A). It was abandoned and deliberately filled in during the second century BC.

Until 2011, the excavators had the impression that Persian Kinet was a hilltop fortress, without a lower city. That year, the adjacent BP gas facility, located between the mound and today's seacoast, was marked for re-zoning by the local government, and the empty field at the centre of the facility needed an archaeological check. No one expected anything to be found, since the ancient shoreline was thought to lie further inland. But, in a two-week campaign, and below 2 m of sterile erosional deposit, all three trenches yielded substantial occupational levels from the earlier Hellenistic to Persian periods, into the fifth century BC.⁴⁰ Here, then, overseen by Kinet's high citadel behind it, lies the port town of Issos, whose harbour sheltered Cyrus the Younger's fleet of sixty ships.⁴¹ These findings also give invaluable information about the actual location of the Iron Age shoreline.

³⁶ C. Gates 2015, 91–93, fig. 12.

³⁷ C. Gates 2015, 93–94, fig. 13.

³⁸ McMahon 1996; Özgen & Helwing 2003, 69, 76; Özgen *et al.* 2004, 340–341.

³⁹ C. Gates 2015, 89–90, figs. 8–9.

⁴⁰ C. Gates 2015, 94–95, figs. 14–15.

⁴¹ Xen. *An.* 1.4.1–3.

Al Mina

The last of the excavated sites with important information about Persian period settlement is Al Mina. Although not in Cilicia proper, it lies close-by to the south, and it occupies an important place in the archaeology of the Northeast Mediterranean. This small (2ha) harbour settlement in the estuary of the Orontes River was excavated in 1936–1937 by Leonard Woolley, with reports on its stratigraphic sequence and findings published soon after.⁴² The exceptional quantities of early Greek pottery excited classical archaeologists as a sign of an important contact point between the Greek world and the traditional cultures of the Near East, particularly during the formative centuries of Greek culture in the Iron Age. The site has been much discussed. Although no further excavations have taken place, publications of pottery continue to appear, and the controversy over the nature of its ancient settlements is not yet settled.⁴³

The Persian period consists of three architectural levels: 4, 3, and 2.⁴⁴ Woolley dated the beginning of Level 4 to *c.* 520 BC, following a 30-year gap after the end of the previous Level 5. This starting date is uncertain, however, and as a result, the length of the gap in settlement is unknown. Thus, as at Kinet and elsewhere, the establishment of Achaemenid rule in the region is not well attested.

The architecture and overall town plan of the three levels are similar. Level 4 established the pattern; Levels 3 and 2 represent successive re-buildings.⁴⁵ Streets crossing at right angles form a regular town layout. No structures were identified as serving civic, religious, or domestic functions. The architecture instead consisted of large rectangular buildings, similar in plan, that Woolley identified as warehouses because of their stocks of merchandise. These buildings have a central court with rooms arranged on three sides; the fourth side opens directly onto the street.⁴⁶ Finds include Attic pottery and Attic silver tetradrachms, many of them local imitations.

Level 3, destroyed by fire *c.* 375 BC, gives the best evidence for the varied contents of warehouse rooms: oil and wine jars, mass-produced local juglets, and Attic red-figure aryballoi, cheaply made for export. But finds from Level 3 also include Phoenician and Aramaic inscriptions scratched on potsherds; fractional coins – the tiny denominations used in daily life – many of which came from Arados, the important Phoenician city off the Syrian coast; and tombs beneath the floors, stone sarcophagi or stone-lined cists, a practice recalling burials at much earlier Late Bronze Ugarit.⁴⁷ Do these finds indicate a Phoenician city? Some scholars have thought so.⁴⁸

⁴² Woolley 1938a & 1938b; summary in Woolley 1959, 153–167; C. Gates 2005a, 52–56.

⁴³ For up-to-date bibliographies, see recent studies by Alexander Vacek (2012, 2017), even though his work focuses on pre-Persian levels.

⁴⁴ C. Gates 2005a, 54–56.

⁴⁵ Woolley 1938b, 133–150.

⁴⁶ Reconstruction drawing and plan, see Woolley 1938a, 14–15, figs. 3–4.

⁴⁷ C. Gates 2005a, 55–56, with references.

⁴⁸ Elayi 1987.

Nagidos

Of other sites currently or recently under excavation in Rough and Smooth Cilicia, a few have attested Persian period remains. On coastal Rough Cilicia, three cities were said to have been founded by Greeks: Nagidos, Kelenderis, and Soli. The ancient attestations were all written much later, however, and thus might not necessarily record reality of earlier times.⁴⁹

Excavations were conducted at Nagidos by Mersin University under the direction of Serra Durugönül from 1998–2002, with a comprehensive final report published in 2007.⁵⁰ The earliest finds included Cypriot and Cilician ceramics and some terracotta figurines of the mid-seventh to the mid-sixth centuries BC, but no architectural remains.⁵¹ From the mid-sixth to the mid-fifth centuries BC, the first century of Persian control, finds were few.⁵² From the mid-fifth century BC, however, ceramics, coins, architectural finds, and tombs indicate the city regained prosperity, which would continue through the rest of the Persian period and beyond, until the abandonment of the city in the second quarter of the second century BC.⁵³

Of particular interest are the fortifications on a hilltop overlooking the sea, with construction begun in the fourth century BC, later expanded in the Hellenistic period.⁵⁴ The fortifications include towers. Tower 1, from the first phase, is set not in the fortification wall itself, in contrast with the three Hellenistic towers, but on a high point of the land enclosed by the wall. Durugönül connects this plan with similar tower plus fortification combinations in Persian-period Lycia and Caria. In those regions, the tower was used as the symbol of the ruling family.⁵⁵ Durugönül accepts the same interpretation for this construction at Nagidos.⁵⁶ However, after the lengthy hiatus in settlement, mid-sixth–mid-fifth centuries BC, such a sudden ascendancy of a prominent family or local commander is difficult to accept. The building of Tower 1 may not reflect social hierarchy but have some other explanation altogether. In any case, we might note the coincidence of the date of construction with that of the hilltop fortifications at Kinet Höyük (Issos), where no such central tower was discovered, and see both as examples of military architecture created in response to the troubled times facing the Persian Empire in the East Mediterranean.

Kelenderis

Kelenderis, excavated by Levent Zoroğlu since 1987, was settled at the latest in the early seventh century BC. Little is known of its early centuries,

⁴⁹ Arslan 2001; Keen 2002, 37–38. On the Greek presence in Cilicia, see Salmeri 2004; Hansen & Nielsen 2004, 1211–1222.

⁵⁰ Durugönül 2007 (in Turkish, but with an extended summary in English).

⁵¹ Durugönül 2007, 43–112, 413–415.

⁵² Durugönül 2007, 415–418.

⁵³ Durugönül 2007, 9–42, 112–154, 369–390, 418–423, 435–436, 439–446.

⁵⁴ Durugönül 2007, 9–13, 407–409.

⁵⁵ Marksteiner 1999. For a summary of Lycian and Carian examples, see Marksteiner 2005, 37–38.

⁵⁶ Durugönül 2007, 9–11, 407–409.

however, for the many Roman and later remains of this continuously inhabited harbour town have hindered exploration of earlier settlement, apart from random tombs.⁵⁷ In 2005, Zoroğlu discussed the meagre evidence for the Persian period.⁵⁸ He notes that the harbour at Kelenderis would have served the presumed Persian garrison stationed at the inland fortress of Meydancıkkale. Noted also is the presence of Kelenderis on the Athenian Tribute Lists of the later fifth century BC, although what that tells us about the relationship of this city with Athens on the one hand and the Persian Empire on the other hand is uncertain.⁵⁹

Of the archaeological evidence, one particularly intriguing item is a fragment of the city wall found lying below a later mediaeval reconstruction; the two periods are clearly distinguished by different masonry techniques.⁶⁰ The dating of the lower segment is uncertain, although Zoroğlu hesitantly proposed *c.* 425–400 BC. He does connect it with the fortification wall at nearby Nagidos, however, which, as we have seen, Durugönül would place in the early fourth century BC. Could the wall at Kelenderis perhaps be dated at this time, too?

Persian Kelenderis has also produced ceramic evidence, from the city excavations and from graves. Zoroğlu characterised this as small amounts of Attic black-figure, red-figure, and black glaze; and much greater quantities of pottery either locally made or imported from Ionia, Phoenicia, or Cyprus, including trade amphorae frequently found in the East Mediterranean.⁶¹ Current research, however, is dramatically redefining our knowledge of this evidence. Vessels with band-painted decoration, popular in the fifth and fourth centuries BC, have long been associated with Kelenderis; indeed some time ago Zoroğlu proposed they were produced there,⁶² but his view was not generally accepted. Such pottery, frequently found in the East Mediterranean, at coastal sites in southern Turkey, Syria, and Israel, to a lesser degree on Cyprus and in Egypt, but only rarely in Lebanon, was instead generally considered to be East Greek wares imported from the Aegean. However, recent scientific analyses of the clay composition of kiln wasters from secondary contexts at Kelenderis and of band-painted plates, etc., from sites in the East Mediterranean, including Kinet Höyük and Al Mina, have confirmed Zoroğlu's hypothesis, by demonstrating that all these ceramics were produced at Kelenderis.⁶³ This research, together with a related study of Cretan pottery in the Levant,⁶⁴ invites a reassessment of trade relations between coastal cities of Cilicia and indeed throughout the entire East Mediterranean during the Persian period.

⁵⁷ Zoroğlu 1994. On the harbours of Kelenderis, see Zoroğlu 2014.

⁵⁸ Zoroğlu 2005; summarised in 2014, 204–205.

⁵⁹ Salmeri 2004, 193–194; Zoroğlu 2005, 397.

⁶⁰ Zoroğlu 2005, 396–397, fig. 2; 2014, 205, fig. 5:2, fig. 8 (colour photo).

⁶¹ Zoroğlu 2005, 398–399, fig. 6, for an Attic lekythos.

⁶² Zoroğlu 1994, 62.

⁶³ Many thanks to Gunnar Lehmann for sharing with me a draft of the forthcoming article he has written together with Yiftah Shalev, Hans Mommsen, David Ben-Shlomo, Małgorzata Daszkiewicz, Gerwulf Schneider, and Ayelet Gilboa, 'The Kelenderis pottery workshop(s): newly identified agents in the East Mediterranean exchange network in the Achaemenid period'.

⁶⁴ Gilboa *et al.* 2017; see also Autret *et al.* 2014, although the focus is on the Hellenistic and Roman periods.



Fig. 2. Map Smooth Cilicia in the Persian period, with the main rivers indicated: (a) Cydnos (mod. Berdan, or Tarsus); (b) Saros (mod. Seyhan); and (c) Pyramos (mod. Ceyhan).

Further east, on the cusp between Rough and Smooth Cilicia, the harbour site of Soli (Roman Pompeiopolis), excavated since 1999 by Remzi Yağcı of Dokuz Eylül University, Izmir, has also yielded evidence for the Persian period.⁶⁵ Fifth–fourth centuries BC (Period III) levels on the mound at Soli have yielded Attic black figure and red figure vessels with Dionysiac scenes, Bes figurines, a terracotta of the Mother goddess with her baby, and a cylinder seal with a depiction of a horse, said to be Persian. In contrast, Persian period remains at nearby Yumuk Tepe (Mersin) are insubstantial,⁶⁶ and Gözlükule-Tarsus has yielded nothing. The Persian settlement at Tarsus clearly lay elsewhere, not yet discovered.

Tepebağ Höyük and Sirkeli Höyük

East of Tarsus in central Smooth Cilicia, in soundings carried out in 2013–2016 by Fatma Şahin at Tepebağ Höyük, a large mound in the centre of Adana, ceramics and some terracotta figurines of the Persian period (Period IV; Level 6) were recovered.⁶⁷ Sirkeli Höyük, 40 km east of Adana on the Ceyhan River, where excavations have been conducted since 2006 under the direction of Mirko Novák, Bern University, also has Persian period remains.

⁶⁵ Cilician Chronology Group 2017, 153–156. For the seventh–sixth centuries BC, see Yağcı 2013.

⁶⁶ C. Gates 2005a, 57–58; Cilician Chronology Group 2017, 156–161.

⁶⁷ Cilician Chronology Group 2017, 163–166.

These belong to Iron Age III or, in the terminology used by this project, Neo-Cilician Period 6.⁶⁸ Other sites in eastern Cilicia relevant to our discussion have already been presented: Tatarlı and Kinet Höyük.

Summary and conclusion

The archaeological remains from Persian-period Cilicia refuse to cohere into a tidy narrative. Each site explored has something different to contribute. Processional reliefs from Meydancıkkale and Tatarlı illustrate imperial connections under official patronage. The Tatarlı stele, erected alongside a sacred way, and its astragali, point to the ceremonial and ritual. Military architecture from Kinet – substantial buildings, a new citadel – indicates the strategic importance of this seaside town, Issos. Fortifications in Rough Cilicia, at Nagidos, Kelenderis, and Meydancıkkale, perhaps contemporary with the fortress at Kinet, may also reflect military concerns of the Persian Empire in its later phase. Ceramic evidence, notably from Kelenderis, Kinet Höyük, and Al Mina, testify to ongoing maritime commerce. Aramaic inscriptions, at Meydancıkkale and Al Mina, indicate supra-regional links.

I also note that geography impedes the concept of a Cilician unity. The topographic map (*Fig. 2*) shows the contrast between the flat plain of Smooth Cilicia and the Taurus Mountains and foothills. Within the plain itself, secondary mountain ranges divide the eastern sector from the western. As a result, Kinet, Sirkeli, and Tatarlı in the east would have had different histories than Soli, Tarsus, and Yumuk Tepe to the west, not to mention the cities of Rough Cilicia even further west.

The Cilician plain, today's Çukurova, has filled with erosion brought by the several rivers that emerge in the mountains and flow to the sea. Today, with bridges and highways, travel from one section of the plain to another would seem straightforward. In former times, it was far more difficult. The rivers created serious barriers for east-west travel, and instead oriented traffic along their banks, from the north down to marshlands and the sea.⁶⁹ Those difficulties still exist, here and there. When three of us tried in 2016 to drive west from Kinet Höyük via Yumurtalık on the coast to see the ancient city of Mallos and its port, Magarsos, we could not do it. Getting there required first driving north toward Adana, crossing the Ceyhan River at an appropriate bridge, and then driving all the way south to Mallos.

All this leads us to conclude that whatever the larger hold on the region by the Persian Empire, local interests, local ways of doing things remained dominant. Beyond those formal and official remains that catch the eye, such as architecture and sculpture, the other archaeological components of this period – ceramics, small finds of all types, faunal and botanical materials (the analyses of which have yet to make their mark) – offer an accurate view of daily life in this region, where local practice endured despite imperial ambitions from outside.

⁶⁸ Cilician Chronology Group 2017, 169–173.

⁶⁹ For river traffic in Cilicia, although with a focus on the second millennium BC, Oruç 2013.

Charles Gates

Bilkent University

Faculty of Humanities and Letters

Department of Archaeology

TR-06800 Bilkent, ANKARA

gates@bilkent.edu.tr

Bibliography

- Arslan, N. 2001. 'Kilikia bölgesindeki Grek kolonizasyonu', *Olba* 4, 1–17.
- Autret *et al.* 2014 = C. Autret, M. Dillon, J. Lund, N. Rauh & L. Zoroğlu, 'The trading networks of ancient Rough Cilicia', in *Häfen und Hafenstädte im östlichen Mittelmeerraum von der Antike bis in byzantinische Zeit. Neue Entdeckungen und aktuelle Forschungsansätze/Harbors and harbor cities in the eastern Mediterranean from antiquity to the Byzantine period. Recent discoveries and current approaches, Istanbul, 30.05.–01.06.2011* (Byzas, 19), eds. S. Ladstätter, F. Pirson & T. Schmidts, Istanbul, 593–618.
- Boucharlat, R. 2010. 'Autres travaux de Darius et ses successeurs', in *Le palais de Darius à Suse: une résidence royale sur la route de Persépolis à Babylone*, ed. J. Perrot, Paris, 374–419.
- Briant, P. 1997. *Bulletin d'histoire achéménide* I (Topoi, Orient – Occident, Suppl. 1), 5–127.
- Briant, P. 2001. *Bulletin d'histoire achéménide* II. 1997–2000 (Persika, 1), Paris.
- Casabonne, O. 2004. *La Cilicie à l'époque achéménide* (Persika, 3), Paris.
- Cilician Chronology Group 2017. 'A comparative stratigraphy of Cilicia. Results of the first three Cilician chronology workshops', *Altorientalische Forschungen* 44, 150–186.
- Davesne, A. & G. Le Rider 1989. *Gülner II. Le trésor de Meydancikkale*, Paris.
- Davesne, A. & F. Laroche-Traunecker (eds.) 1998. *Gülner I. Le site de Meydancikkale. Recherches entreprises sous la direction d'Emmanuel Laroche (1971–1982)*, Paris.
- Davesne, A., A. Lemaire & H. Lozachmeur 1987. 'Le site archéologique de Meydancikkale (Turquie): du royaume de Pirindu à la garnison ptolémaïque', *CRAI* 131:2, 359–382.
- Desideri, P. & A.M. Jasink 1990. *Cilicia. Dall'età di Kizzuwatna alla conquista macedone*, Firenze.
- Durugönül, S. (ed.) 2007. *Nagidos. Results of an excavation in an ancient city in Rough Cilicia/Doğluk Kilikia'da bir antik kent kazısının sonuçları*, Antalya.
- Dusinberre, E.R.M. 2013. *Empire, authority, and autonomy in Achaemenid Anatolia*, Cambridge.
- Elayi, J. 1987. 'Al-Mina sur l'Oronte à l'époque perse', in *Phoenicia and the East Mediterranean in the first millennium B.C. Proceedings of the conference held in Leuven from the 14th to the 16th of November 1985* (Studia Phoenicia, 5; Orientalia Lovaniensia analecta, 22), ed. E. Lipiński, Leuven, 249–266.
- Gates, C. 2005a. 'The place of the Achaemenid Persian period in archaeological research in Cilicia and Hatay (Turkey)', in *L'archéologie de l'empire achéménide: nouvelles recherches. Actes du colloque organisé au Collège de France par le "Réseau international d'études et de recherches achéménides."* (GDR 2538 CNRS), 21–22 novembre 2003 (Persika, 6), eds. P. Briant & R. Boucharlat, Paris, 49–69.
- Gates, C. 2005b. 'Tracking the Achaemenid Persians in Anatolia [review article]', *AJA* 109:4, 789–792.
- Gates, C. 2015. 'Kinet Höyük (Classical Issos). A harbor town in southeast Cilicia during the Persian and Hellenistic periods', *Journal of Eastern Mediterranean Archaeology and Heritage Studies* 3:2, 81–104.

- Gates *et al.* 2014 = M.-H. Gates, C. Gates, S. Redford & A.A. Eger, 'Excavations at Kinet Höyük and Hisn al Tinat', in *Hatay Arkeolojik Kazı ve Araştırmaları* (Mustafa Kemal Üniversitesi Yayın, 50), eds. A. Özfirat & Ç. Uygun, Antakya, 157–171.
- Gilboa *et al.* 2017 = A. Gilboa, Y. Shalev, G. Lehmann, H. Mommsen, B. Erickson, E. Nodarou & D. Ben-Shlomo, 'Cretan pottery in the Levant in the fifth and fourth centuries B.C.E. and its historical implications', *AJA* 121:4, 559–593.
- Girginer *et al.* 2015 = S.K. Girginer, Ö. Oyman-Girginer, H. Akıl, M. Cevher, İ. Aklan & M.C. Fırat, '2013 Yılı Tatarlı Höyük Kazısı', *Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı* 36:2, 431–446.
- Grayson, A.K. 2000. *Assyrian and Babylonian chronicles* (reprint of 1975 edition), Winona Lake, Ind.
- Hansen, M.H. & T.H. Nielsen (eds.) 2004. *An inventory of Archaic and Classical poleis. An investigation conducted by the Copenhagen Polis Centre for the Danish National Research Foundation*, Oxford.
- Held, W. & D. Kaplan 2015. 'The residence of a Persian satrap in Meydancikkale, Cilicia', in *Mesopotamia in the ancient world. Impact, continuities, parallels. Proceedings of the seventh symposium of the Melammu project held in Obergurgl, Austria, November 4–8, 2013* (Melammu Symposia, 7), eds. R. Rollinger & E. van Dongen, Münster, 175–191.
- Keen, A.J. 2002. 'The *poleis* of the southern Anatolian coast (Lycia, Pamphylia, Pisidia) and their civic identity. The "interface" between the Hellenic and the barbarian polis', in *Greek settlements in the eastern Mediterranean and the Black Sea* (BAR-IS, 1062), eds. G. Tsetschladze & A. Snodgrass, Oxford, 27–40.
- Ladiray, D. 2010. 'Les données archéologiques', in *Le palais de Darius à Suse: une résidence royale sur la route de Persépolis à Babylone*, ed. J. Perrot, Paris, 160–223.
- Laroche, D. 2015. 'Retour sur Meydancikkale: l'Anatolie entre l'empire perse et l'hellénisme', in *De Samarcande à Istanbul: étapes orientales. Hommage à Pierre Chuvin*, vol. 2, ed. V. Schiltz, Paris, 1–9.
- Laroche, E. & A. Davesne 1981. 'Les fouilles de Meydandjik près de Gülnar (Turquie) et le trésor monétaire hellénistique', *CRAI* 125:2, 356–370.
- Laroche-Traunecker, F. 1993. 'Les édifices d'époque archaïque et gréco-perse de Meydancikkale (Gülnar)', in *Les grands ateliers d'architecture dans le monde égéen du VI^e siècle av. J.-C. Actes du colloque d'Istanbul, 23–25 mai 1991* (Varia Anatolica, 3), eds. J. des Courtils & J.-C. Moretti, Paris, 13–28.
- Marksteiner, T. 1999. 'Überlegungen bezüglich einer strukturellen Verwandtschaft achämenidenzeitlicher Gipfelbefestigungen des Südwestlichen Kleinasien', *Olba* 2, 313–321.
- Marksteiner, T. 2005. 'Das achämenidenzeitliche Lykien', in *L'archéologie de l'empire achéménide: nouvelles recherches. Actes du colloque organisé au Collège de France par le "Réseau international d'études et de recherches achéménides," (GDR 2538 CNRS), 21–22 novembre 2003* (Persika, 6), eds. P. Briant & R. Boucharlat, Paris, 27–48.
- McMahon, A. 1996. 'The Achaemenid-Hellenistic occupation at Hacinebi', in G.J. Stein, R. Bernbeck, Ch. Coursey *et al.*, 'Uruk colonies and Anatolian communities: an interim report on the 1992–1993 excavations at Hacinebi, Turkey', *AJA* 100:2, 222–229.
- Oruç, S.Z. 2013. *Harbor settlement patterns of the second millennium BC in Cilicia and the Amuq*. Unpublished MA thesis, Bilkent University.
- Özgen, E. & B. Helwing 2003. 'On the shifting border between Mesopotamia and the West: seven seasons of joint Turkish-German excavations at Oylum Höyük', *Anatolica* 29, 61–85.
- Özgen *et al.* 2004 = E. Özgen, B. Helwing, A. Engin, A. Greaves & Ö. Erdem, 'Oylum Höyük, 2002', *Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı* 25:2, 339–344.

- Salmeri, G. 2004. 'Hellenism on the periphery: the case of Cilicia and an etymology of *soloikismos*', in *The Greco-Roman East. Politics, culture, society* (Yale Classical Studies, 31), ed. S. Colvin, Cambridge, 181–206.
- Ünal, A. & K.S. Girginer 2007. *Kilikya-Çukurova. İlk çağlardan Osmanlılar dönemi'ne kadar Kilikya'da tarihi coğrafya, tarih ve arkeoloji*, Istanbul.
- Vacek, A. 2012. *Greek and related pottery from Al Mina. A case study of production, consumption and distribution of Greek pottery in the eastern Mediterranean from the 9th to the end of the 7th century BC*. Unpublished PhD dissertation, University of Oxford.
- Vacek, A. 2017. 'Al Mina and changing patterns of trade: the evidence from the eastern Mediterranean', in *Interpreting the seventh century BC. Tradition and innovation*, eds. X. Charalambidou & C. Morgan, Oxford, 47–59.
- Woolley, L. 1938a. 'Excavations at al Mina, Sueidia, I. The archaeological report', *JHS* 58, 1–30.
- Woolley, L. 1938b. 'The excavations at al Mina, Sueidia, II', *JHS* 58, 133–170.
- Woolley, L. 1959. *A forgotten kingdom. Being a record of the results obtained from the excavations of two mounds Atchana and Al Mina in the Turkish Hatay*, revised edition, London.
- Yağcı, R. 2013. 'Problematizing Greek colonization in the Eastern Mediterranean in the seventh and sixth centuries BC: the case of Soli', in *Rough Cilicia. New historical and archaeological approaches. Proceedings of an international conference held at Lincoln, Nebraska, October 2007*, eds. M.C. Hoff & R.F. Townsend, Oxford, 6–15.
- Zoroğlu, L. 1994. *Kelenderis I. Kaynaklar, kalıntılar, buluntular*, Ankara.
- Zoroğlu, L. 2005. 'Kelenderis in achämenidischer Zeit', in *Synergia. Festschrift für Friedrich Krinzing*, vol. 2, eds. B. Brandt, V. Gassner & S. Ladstätter, Wien, 395–400.
- Zoroğlu, L. 2014. 'Kelenderis'in limanları ve çapalama yerleri', in *Häfen und Hafenstädte im östlichen Mittelmeerraum Mittelmeerraum von der Antike bis in byzantinische Zeit. Neue Entdeckungen und aktuelle Forschungsansätze/ Harbors and harbor cities in the eastern Mediterranean from antiquity to the Byzantine period. Recent discoveries and current approaches*, Istanbul, 30.05.–01.06.2011 (Byzas, 19), eds. S. Ladstätter, F. Pirson & T. Schmidts, Istanbul, 199–224.

A Chariot at Labraunda

by

Pontus Hellström

Abstract

There are few traces of Persian presence and influence at Labraunda besides the sphinx akroteria of the Andron of Maussollos. In the present paper I suggest that there may be eastern connections for another sculptural monument, which was found on the temple terrace, a relief that on each of its long sides shows a chariot drawn by two horses. It has been published as a statue base either commemorating an athletic victory or associated with the Hekatomnids. On top of the chariot box a bronze statue appears to have stood.

It is unlikely that this is a statue base of a victory monument. A more probable alternative would be that the sculpture symbolised and displayed the aristocratic status of the donor or even the apotheosis of one of the Hekatomnids. I suggest, however, that the chariot has eastern connections, one possible link being the empty Achaemenid chariot of “Zeus” (Ahuramazda), known from Herodotus, Xenophon and Curtius. The chariot base furthermore shows striking similarities with a neo-Hittite monument at Çineköy near Adana, where the Storm-god is standing on a base formed as a chariot drawn by two bulls. This parallel indicates that the figure standing on the Labraunda chariot may have been a statue of Zeus Labraundos. It is suggested that a dedication by the satrap Hekatomnos, also from the temple terrace, could belong to the same monument.*

There are few obvious traces of Persian presence in the sculptural remains at Hekatomnid Labraunda. The closest references to Achaemenid iconography are the sphinx akroteria of the Andron of Maussollos,¹ to which the possible Achaemenid anta akroteria of the andron can now be added.² In this paper I suggest that another sculptural monument may have been overlooked as of possible Persian – or eastern Anatolian – influence, a relief sculpture of a chariot drawn by four horses, two on each side.³ On the best-preserved side the heads of the horses, which were carved in the round, are missing, as are also the rear parts of the wheels, projecting backwards (*Fig. 1*). The chariot box has no frame or other details. The wheels are 8-spoked as on many

* I am grateful to the participants at the conference for constructive feedback. The paper has especially benefited from the helpful advice of Susanne Berndt, Jesper Blid, Marianne Wifstrand Schiebe, and Traugott Schiebe.

¹ Gunter 1995, 21–30, 61–62.

² Hellström & Blid 2019, 257, 261, fig. 463; see also the article by Jesper Blid in this volume.

³ Gunter 1995, 38–41 (no. 12, inv. no. B 209), 62. The length is 92 cm and the width 33 cm; the height at the front is 48.5 cm, but at the rear it is 4 cm shorter, or 45 cm. In the centre it is only 34.5 cm high. Ann C. Gunter (1995, 29, n. 88) hinted that the relief might be an Iranian dedication, as noted by Anne Marie Carstens (2009, 89, n. 78), without discussing this possibility further, however. It is not one of her interpretation alternatives.

Persian chariots, and not 6-spoked as often on Ionian chariots, or 4-spoked as on many Greek chariots.⁴ The other side also showed two horses and a chariot, but it is rather badly damaged and weathered (*Fig. 2*). On the front there is a figure wearing a long *chiton*, interpreted as the victory goddess Nike (*Fig. 3*). The head – also sculpted in the round as the heads of the horses – is missing, and the figure is very badly weathered. The back of the chariot is plain (*Fig. 4*). The rear parts of the wheels, which projected backwards, are broken off. The upper surface is uneven, following the outline of the horses shown on the long sides. The top of the chariot box is flat. It is approximately square in plan, measuring about 30 by 30 cm (*Fig. 5*), and has two square dowel holes (W. 5 cm by L. 6.3 cm; depth 2 cm). The one to the left is fully preserved and continues forward in a foot-shaped cutting, 13.5 cm long. Of the other, to the right, placed further back, only half remains; there may also be traces of a second foot-shaped cutting in front of this dowel hole, but the surface is too heavily eroded to make this more than a possibility. Further towards the front, in the centre of the top surface between the two pairs of horses, is an oblong cutting, 10.8 cm long by 3.2 cm wide and 4 cm deep. Its short ends are inclined and it widens downwards, which shows that this is a hole for a lifting device, a lewis.⁵ Such holes only occur on stones placed well above eye level. It therefore indicates that the sculpture was standing on a pillar or foundation at least a couple of metres high. A square dowel hole on the underside shows that it was fastened on a block below. The dowel holes and the foot-shaped cutting on top of the chariot box mark the positions of the feet of a bronze statue,⁶ which would have been standing on top of the chariot box. The size of the foot cutting, including the dowel hole and a 3 cm margin behind the dowel hole, indicates a possible height of the statue of c. 1.4 m.

The sculpture was found in the southeastern part of the temple terrace in 1949.⁷ It was published by Ann C. Gunter as the statue base of an athletic victory monument, if it was not directly linked to the Hekatomnids in a different way.⁸ For more than one reason, however, it seems unlikely that this is a victory monument. The cuttings in the top of the chariot show that a statue, a hypothetical charioteer, was standing on top of the box and not on the considerably lower “floor”. As pointed out by Gunter a more logical recon-

⁴ Gunter 1995, 41; Waywell 1978, 18, 68.

⁵ This simple kind of lewis hole is not like those apparently created by Hekatomnid architects (Pedersen 2011, 368–378; see also Koenigs 2015, 34–36). Its use in the present relief base does not, however, necessarily mean a later date; the mason who cut the lewis hole may just have been working in a different tradition.

⁶ Foot-shaped cuttings indicate bronze statues, such as those of children on the exedra in front of the North Stoa on the Temple Terrace at Labraunda (Tobin 2014, 56, fig. 45; cf. e.g. Homolle 1899, 386, the bronze statues of Idrieus and Ada at Delphi). Marble statues had a plinth at the bottom, which fitted into a cutting in the sculpture base (Gunter 1995, 31–34, fig. 10, the marble statue of the girl with the goose; Waywell 1978, 49, pls. 45:2–4, 46; Jeppesen 2002, 155, 169–170, figs. 16.1, 17.6, 18.1, Maussolleion marble sculptures).

⁷ Find spot, see Gunter 1995, 15, fig. 2; on its possible original position see the discussion below.

⁸ Gunter 1995, 41, 62; for the date there is no hard evidence but iconographical and stylistic parallels indicated to Ann Gunter (1995, 40–41) that it is of Hekatomnid date; Angeliki Kosmopoulou (2002, 64–65, 68, 194–196, no. 31, pl. 50) also dates it to the mid-fourth century.

struction would place a torso on the chariot box. She added that this cannot be reconciled with the feet-shaped cuttings, and she therefore suggested that the cuttings were made in connection with later reuse.⁹ This would seem to leave us with a base originally without a statue. I know of no parallel, however, for an athletic victory monument consisting of an empty racing chariot. Other objections can be made against the interpretation of the base as part of a victory monument. If it commemorates an athletic victory at one of the Greek games, it is unlikely that it was a racing victory by one of the Hekatomnids; no Hekatomnid competed at any Greek games so far as we know. And it seems unlikely that some other athletic victory would be celebrated with a horseracing team. I furthermore doubt that the figure at the front is the goddess Nike. I would rather suggest that this figure is a charioteer.¹⁰ In fact, the long *chiton* worn by charioteers can easily be misinterpreted as female dress. One example is a charioteer found in the pronaos of the Temple of Athena at Priene, which has frequently been identified as a female figure.¹¹ If a charioteer was at the front of our quadriga instead, it would be even less likely that it is the base of a monument of some other athletic victory. In short, as a statue base of a victory monument our sculpture is not convincing. Its top is uneven and only the rear part could serve as a base for a statue. For this I can quote no parallels in Classical Greek art. And the statue would not have been facing the long side of the base (the sculpturally most important side) but its front end.



Fig. 1. The Chariot relief base, left side. Photo A. Nilsson. © Labraunda archives.

Gunter suggested that an alternative explanation would link the Labraunda base directly with the Hekatomnids. A hypothetical chariot group from Priene,¹² including not only the charioteer just mentioned but also

⁹ Gunter 1995, 38.

¹⁰ Charioteer on Maussolleion frieze, see Jenkins 2006, 219–220, fig. 219. For pictures of some other charioteers, see Tancke 1990.

¹¹ Carter 1983, 270.

¹² Carter 1983, 266.

possibly Ada, the satrap, apparently pointed in this direction.¹³ The sculpture could then have been a kind of small-scale version of the chariot group at the summit of the Maussoleion or of the hypothetical Priene chariot group. It is no doubt possible that the monument at Labraunda may also have carried a statue of one of the Hekatomnid satraps. The chariot relief might then have symbolised and displayed the aristocratic status of the donor in the same way as many other chariot representations of Late Classical and Early Hellenistic times. Aristocratic display is the general interpretation of chariot friezes on tomb monuments as also the chariot frieze on the Maussoleion at Halikarnassos, which probably ran behind the columns.¹⁴ Alternatively the group can be interpreted as a representation of the apotheosis of one of the Hekatomnids.¹⁵ The unique shape of the Labraunda statue base would perhaps not be an obstacle for such an interpretation.

That the chariot would be suitable for a satrap is also indicated by the 8-spoked wheels, which seem to define the chariot as Persian.¹⁶ Indeed, the size of the wheels also points in the same direction. Geoffrey B. Waywell noted that the wheels of the chariot at the summit of the Maussoleion in Halikarnassos are strikingly large compared with those of the normal Greek racing chariot.¹⁷ Those large wheels appear to represent a Persian type, which rules out the possibility of the chariot having been of the light racing type common in mainland Greek art. The wheels of the Labraunda chariot are even proportionally larger than those at the summit of the Maussoleion. Thus even the wheel size shows that our chariot is Persian. Another detail could also indicate eastern influence. It combines relief sculpture with sculpture in the round for the heads of the horses, the head of the figure at the front, and the rear part of the wheels. I know of no Greek parallels for this kind of combination of sculptural techniques.¹⁸ In neo-Hittite art of the eighth century BC, however, there occur animal figures with bodies in relief combined with heads sculpted in the round.¹⁹

Opposite page. Fig. 2 (top). The Chariot relief base, right side. Photo P. Hellström.

Fig. 3 (left). The Chariot relief base, front with figure of Nike or charioteer. Photo P. Hellström.

Fig. 4 (right). The Chariot relief base, rear. Photo P. Hellström.

Fig. 5 (bottom). The Chariot relief base, top surface. Photo P. Hellström.

¹³ Carter 1983, 268–271; Jenkins 2006, fig. 245 (the charioteer); Gunter 1995, 41 (she does not further explore the subject).

¹⁴ Jeppesen 2002, 154, figs. 9.18, 25.5; Cook 2005, 32–34, 100–115, pls. 46–63; Jenkins 2006, 219. The position of the frieze is probable but not finally established (Cook 2005, 32–34).

¹⁵ For a discussion of the various suggested interpretations of the significance of the Maussoleion quadriga, see Waywell 1978, 21–25. In his opinion it is probable that Maussollos was present in the chariot, in human or divine form (Waywell 1978, 25), either alternative apparently being a case of apotheosis.

¹⁶ Gunter 1995, 41; Waywell 1978, 18, 68.

¹⁷ Waywell 1978, 17, fig. 2, 18, 22. For an alternative drawing of the Maussoleion chariot, see Jeppesen 2002, 74, fig. 8.15a.

¹⁸ See also Gunter 1995, 40, n. 142; Kosmopoulou 2002, 10.

¹⁹ See e.g. a Neo-Hittite double sphinx base from Zincirli (Pasinli 1992, fig. 113), and gate sculptures at Karatepe (Hawkins 2003, 133, pls. 2b–c; Çambel 1999, pls. 6, 85, 87) and at Göllüdağ in Kappadokia (Aro 2003, 301–302, 309–310, pl. 8).

A chariot at Labraunda



The empty divine chariot

As pointed out above our sculpture would be rather unique as a statue base in a Classical Greek environment, since its top is not horizontal and only its rear part could serve as a base for a statue. Assuming, however, that the hypothetical statue standing on the chariot box was a later addition, as suggested by Gunter,²⁰ the chariot relief would not be a statue base but a sculpture in its own right. The chariot would then originally have been empty. This recalls Herodotus' description of the procession where Xerxes, following the empty ceremonial chariot of Zeus, rode out of Sardis with his army:

First went the baggage train and the beasts of burden, and after them a mixed host of all sorts of nations, not according to their divisions but all mingled together; when more than half had passed there was a space left, and these latter came not near the king. After that, first came a thousand horsemen, chosen out of all Persians; next, a thousand spearmen, picked men like the others, carrying their spears reversed; and after them ten horses of the breed called Nesaeon, equipped with all splendour. The horses are called Nesaeon because there is in Media a wide plain of that name, where the great horses are bred. Behind these ten horses was the place of the sacred chariot of Zeus, drawn by eight white horses, the charioteer on foot following the horses and holding the reins; for no mortal man may mount into that seat. After these came Xerxes himself in a chariot drawn by Nesaeon horses; his charioteer, Patiramphes, the son of Otanes a Persian, standing beside him.²¹

This chariot was again mentioned by Herodotus at the crossing of the Hellespont:

This done, they crossed over, the foot and horse all by the bridge nearest to the Pontus, the beasts of burden and the train of service by the bridge towards the Aegean. In the van came the ten thousand Persians, all wearing garlands, and after them the mixed host of divers nations. All that day these crossed; and on the next, first the horsemen and they that bore their spears reversed; these also wore garlands. After them came the sacred horses and the sacred chariot, then Xerxes himself and the spearmen and the thousand horse, and after them the rest of the host. Meanwhile the ships put out and crossed to the opposite shore. But I have heard ere now, that the king crossed last of all.²²

For a third time we read about the chariot when Xerxes failed to recover it from the Paeonians, with whom it had been left, when he continued south towards Athens:

in Siris he had left the sacred chariot of Zeus when he was marching to Hellas, but in his return he received it not again; for the Paeonians had given it to the Thracians, and when Xerxes demanded it back they said that the horses had been carried off from pasture by the Thracians of the hills who dwelt about the headwaters of the Strymon.²³

²⁰ Gunter 1995, 38.

²¹ Hdt. 7.40 (Loeb translation).

²² Hdt. 7.55 (Loeb translation).

²³ Hdt. 8.115 (Loeb translation).

The chariot of Zeus was also mentioned by Xenophon in his description of the sacrificial procession of Cyrus the Great:

Next we shall describe how Cyrus for the first time drove forth in state from his palace; and that is in place here, for the magnificence of his appearance in state seems to us to have been one of the arts that he devised to make his government command respect. Accordingly, before he started out, he called to him those of the Persians and of the allies who held office, and distributed Median robes among them (and this was the first time that the Persians put on the Median robe); and as he distributed them he said that he wished to proceed in state to the sanctuaries that had been selected for the gods, and to offer sacrifice there with his friends.

“Come, therefore, to court before sunrise, dressed in these robes,” said he, “and form in line as Pheraulas, the Persian, shall direct in my name; and when I lead the way, follow me in the order assigned to you. But if any one of you thinks that some other way would be better than that in which we shall now proceed, let him inform me as soon as we return, for everything must be arranged as you think best and most becoming.”²⁴

...

Next after the bulls came horses, a sacrifice for the Sun; and after them came a chariot sacred to Zeus; it was drawn by white horses with a yoke of gold and wreathed with garlands; and next, for the Sun, a chariot drawn by white horses and wreathed with garlands like the other. After that came a third chariot with horses covered with purple trappings, and behind it followed men carrying fire on a great altar. Next after these Cyrus himself upon a chariot appeared in the gates wearing his tiara upright, a purple tunic shot with white (no one but the king may wear such a one), trousers of scarlet dye about his legs, and a mantle all of purple. He had also a fillet about his tiara, and his kinsmen also had the same mark of distinction, and they retain it even now. His hands he kept outside his sleeves. With him rode a charioteer, who was tall, but neither in reality nor in appearance so tall as he; at all events, Cyrus looked much taller. And when they saw him, they all prostrated themselves before him, either because some had been instructed to begin this act of homage, or because they were overcome by the splendour of his presence, or because Cyrus appeared so great and so goodly to look upon; at any rate, no one of the Persians had ever prostrated himself before Cyrus before. Then, when Cyrus's chariot had come forth, the four thousand lancers took the lead, and the two thousand fell in line on either side of his chariot; and his mace-bearers, about three hundred in number, followed next in gala attire, mounted, and equipped with their customary javelins.²⁵

Finally the divine ceremonial chariot was mentioned by Curtius, in this case in the procession before the battle of Issus:

It was an ancestral custom of the Persians not to begin a march before sunrise. When the day was already bright, the signal was given from the king's tent with the horn; above the tent, from which it might be seen by all, there gleamed an image of the sun enclosed in crystal. Now the order of march was as follows. In front on silver altars was carried the fire which they call sacred and eternal. Next came the Magi chanting their traditional hymn. These were followed by three hundred and sixty-five young men clad in purple robes, equal in number

²⁴ Xen. *Cyr.* 8.3.1–2 (Loeb translation).

²⁵ Xen. *Cyr.* 8.3.12–15 (Loeb translation). Mary Boyce (1982, 214) assumes that Xenophon's detailed description was probably drawn from such a procession arranged by Cyrus the Younger when he was gathering his forces in Asia Minor.

to the days of a whole year; for the Persians also divided the year into that number of days. After that, white horses drew the chariot consecrated to Jupiter; these were followed by a horse of extraordinary size, which they called the steed of the Sun. Golden wands and white robes adorned the drivers of the horses.²⁶

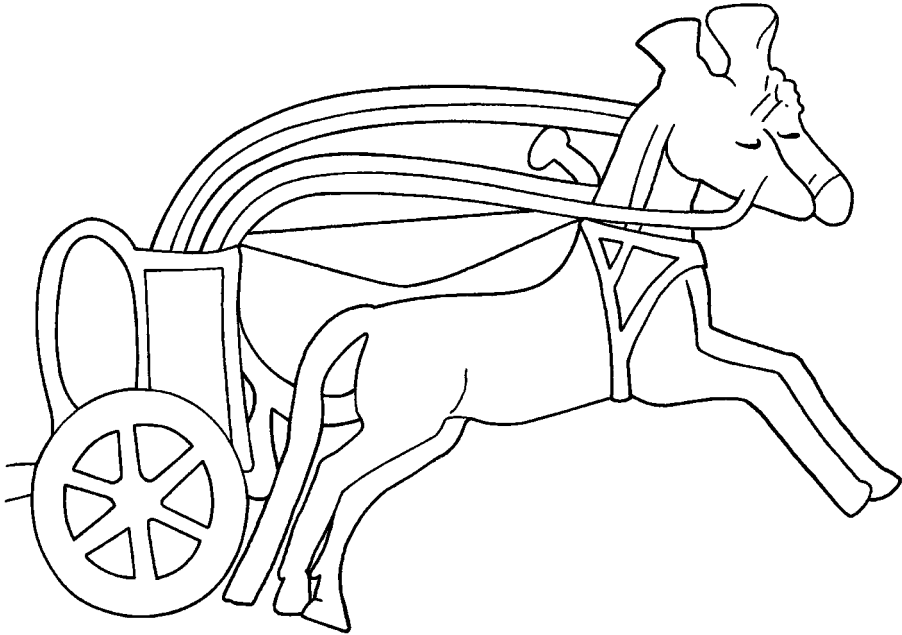


Fig. 6. Urartian war chariot relief from Van. Drawing by Jesper Blid.

The origin of the Achaemenid empty divine chariot in the Classical sources has been traced back to ancient Urartu by Peter Calmeyer.²⁷ In the period up to about 750 BC all Urartian inscriptions of annalistic character describing military conquests begin with a formula phrased like “The chariot of the god Haldi departed; he invaded the land of the enemy”. Occasionally it says “With terrifying Haldi, with the might of Haldi, the king departed, Haldi at the lead.” Calmeyer links these formulas to a relief from Van dating to about 800 BC, which shows an empty war chariot without any charioteer (*Fig. 6*). It is drawn by two horses. Under the horses were the almost completely destroyed remains of two fallen warriors.²⁸ The relief appears in fact to be an illustration of those texts. Calmeyer also suggests that we can see the divine chariot in a Neo-Assyrian relief of Sanherib’s conquest of Lachish about 700 BC. The empty chariot of Zeus, or Ahuramazda, described in the Classical sources, does not, however, occur in Achaemenid relief sculpture.²⁹ It could anyhow be suggested that the Labraunda relief shows a Persian ceremonial empty chariot of Ahuramazda (i.e. Zeus) with a charioteer at the front.

²⁶ Curt. 3.3.8–11 (Loeb translation).

²⁷ Calmeyer 1974, 54–55, 63–64, pl. 12:1.

²⁸ Restored, see Calmeyer 1974, pl. 12:2.

²⁹ Chariots do occur in the Persepolis reliefs, such as a royal chariot with huge wheels which are 12-spoked (Schmidt 1953, 83–84, pl. 52).

A neo-Hittite divine chariot

We should perhaps now consider whether it is at all likely that an empty chariot was dedicated to Zeus Labraundos. The reason why the Achaemenid chariot in Herodotus' account was empty was in all likelihood that in Iranian religion there was no image of Ahuramazda, although this does not mean that he was invisible.³⁰ In Greek, Ahuramazda was translated as Zeus, who was worshipped as Zeus Labraundos at the Hekatomnid main sanctuary at Labraunda.³¹ Assuming that an image of the chariot of Ahuramazda was dedicated at this site, the chariot could have been empty. If we interpret the present chariot relief as showing an empty chariot, however, it would mean that the cuttings for a statue standing above the chariot box would have to be from later reuse. I am, however, not convinced that a statue was added to the chariot at a later date. Assuming that the chariot originally carried a statue standing above the chariot, it can be argued that the statue was an image of Zeus. In that case the chariot could perhaps still have been regarded as equivalent to the chariot of Ahuramazda, being a Karian interpretation of the Achaemenid war chariot. This is an alternative that appears possible, especially considering the find of a neo-Hittite chariot group excavated in 1997 at Çineköy in the province of Adana in Cilicia, southeastern Turkey (Fig. 7).³² This monument, which is exhibited in the Adana museum, has a base of basalt in the shape of a chariot drawn by a pair of bulls. The chariot is formed as a walled city.³³ A 1.90 m tall limestone cult statue of the Storm-god was standing on the chariot. A bilingual inscription is cut on the basalt base, hieroglyphic Luwian on the rear side, Phoenician on the front. The inscription was made by king Warika, in Assyrian sources attested as king Urikki of Que, an Assyrian ally, or vassal.³⁴ He was king for at least some thirty years, *c.* 738–709, and the date of the inscription is probably close to the end of this period.³⁵ A similar neo-Hittite monumental statue of the Storm-god was found at Karatepe in numerous fragments. It is exhibited in the Karatepe-Aslantaş open-air museum.³⁶ It did not, however, stand on a chariot but on a base of two bulls. It carries a Phoenician inscription made by Azatiwatas, whose reign probably reached into the early seventh century BC.³⁷

³⁰ Boyce 1982, 179 (having quoted Hdt. 1.131): "Herodotus' explanation of why the Persians made no statues seems wide of the mark, since the Iranians . . . conceived the divine beings anthropomorphically; but they were undoubtedly accustomed to worshipping them through natural phenomena."

³¹ Zeus Labraundos was not an Olympian god but a local Karian god of Anatolian origin, in whose temple stood a famous ancient cult image. On coins and reliefs he is invariably shown holding the double-axe, the *labrys*. The Karian name of Zeus was probably Tarhunt (Adiego 2007, 147–148, 331–332; Herda 2013, 432–433; Karlsson 2013, 184–185; Hellström 2015, 115), a name previously carried by the main Luwian god, the Storm-god Tarhunt (Hutter 2003, 220–224).

³² Tekoğlu & Lemaire 2000, 961–966, figs. 1–3.

³³ The chariot base measures 2.10 m by 1.50 m; it is 0.95 m high (Tekoğlu & Lemaire 2000, 966).

³⁴ Aro 2003, 288, 327; Bryce 2003, 103–104; Gilan 2015, 173–174.

³⁵ Tekoğlu & Lemaire 2000, 1003–1004; Aro 2003, 288.

³⁶ Çambel 1993, 496–497, 509, pl. 54.

³⁷ Aro 2003, 327.



Fig. 7. Çineköy' Neo-Hittite chariot drawn by two bulls, with statue of Storm god. Drawing by Jesper Blid.

The Çineköy statue group figuring the Storm-god on a chariot drawn by bulls is a striking possible parallel for the Labraunda chariot base. It is true that it is just over 300 years older than the beginning of the Hekatomnid period. But the Cilician kingdoms did not end with the eighth century,³⁸ and

³⁸ Simon 2014, 100.

there is no reason to assume that all sculptural tradition in Cilicia was wiped out under Assyrian and Babylonian rule, even if Karatepe may have been destroyed by the Assyrians.³⁹ During the first period of Persian sovereignty, from c. 542 to 401 BC, the Cilicians appear to have enjoyed a relatively high degree of autonomy under a line of local kings, and in the fourth century Cilicia was directly governed by a Persian satrap.⁴⁰ It is therefore conceivable both that Cilician sculpture continued in the neo-Hittite tradition and that older cult and ruler statues could still be seen.⁴¹ The similarities between the Çineköy divine chariot and the Labraunda chariot group are so apparent that some sort of connection appears likely. I therefore propose that the statue standing on the present chariot base depicted Zeus Labraundos, standing on a divine Persian chariot.⁴²



Fig. 8. The Hekatomnos dedication. Photo A. Nilsson. © Labraunda archives.



Fig. 9. Close up of the Hekatomnos dedication. Photo A. Nilsson. © Labraunda archives.

Concluding thoughts

The question still remains on what occasion the chariot and its hypothetical statue may have been dedicated at Labraunda. One possibility is that the monument was a dedication to Zeus Labraundos after a successful military campaign by one of the Hekatomnid satraps. Therefore I would like to propose that an inscription found on the same terrace could belong to the chariot base. This is a dedicatory inscription by Hekatomnos (*Figs. 8–9*), found on the temple terrace, about 20 m east of the front of the Temple of Zeus.⁴³ The upper right-hand corner of the inscribed stone, with more than half of the inscription, and the bottom left-hand corner are broken off. The original dimensions are preserved, however, and the inscription can be reasonably well restored.⁴⁴

³⁹ Çambel 1993, 497. On Iron-Age Cilicia, see Hawkins 2000, 39–45.

⁴⁰ Bryce 2003, 105–106.

⁴¹ On neo-Hittite ruler statues, see Aro 2003, 328–337.

⁴² The alternative, which cannot be excluded although I find it less likely, would be that the chariot carried a statue of one of the Hekatomnids, in which case it could be a representation of an apotheosis, an option already mentioned above.

⁴³ Gunter 1995, 52–53 (B 181); find location, fig. 2.

⁴⁴ I.Labraunda 27; Crampa 1972, 27–28, pl. 8.

Ἑκατόμνωσ Ὑσσαλδωμ[ου ἀνέθηκε Διὶ Λαμβραύνδω]

This stone has been identified as a statue base. Since the marble block is only 23–27 cm thick, it is apparently part of a so-called orthostate statue base.⁴⁵ The length of the inscribed block is 106.5 cm, and the height is 87 cm. The upper and lower edges are slightly profiled. There is *anathyrosis* on the bottom edge and on the left and right-hand edges; the upper edge, which is roughly worked and preserves dowel holes,⁴⁶ has what may be remains of *anathyrosis*; the rear is roughly worked. The inscription starts 1.5 cm from the left edge and 13.5 cm from the upper edge. The restoration precisely fills the whole width of the front face.

The chariot base was found *c.* 7 m to the southwest of the so-called Propylon Y, a simple propylon structure erected at the east end of the pre-Hekatomnid temple terrace. As suggested above, the chariot base was probably placed on a pillar of gneiss, perhaps about two metres high. A sizeable foundation for such a pillar would therefore be needed. A large foundation of gneiss ashlar, *c.* 1.6 m square, is actually present at the southwestern corner of Propylon Y.⁴⁷ It can therefore be suggested that the chariot relief may have been placed on this foundation (*Fig. 10*). As regards the Hekatomnos dedication, it was found 18 m from the southwestern corner of Propylon Y, where the large foundation is situated. The pillar carrying the quadriga would have needed a marble facing on all sides. One such facing block may have been the Hekatomnos inscription, probably placed at the top of the pillar below the quadriga. If the 106.5 cm long inscription was attached to the northern side, other marble blocks, perhaps 25 cm thick, would have faced the pillar on the other sides.⁴⁸ At the top of the marble-faced pillar there would have been a crown moulding and a low base carrying the quadriga. It can be added that in Hekatomnos' time there appear to have been only two buildings on the temple terrace, the pre-Hekatomnid temple *in antis* and Propylon Y. A retaining wall forming the southern border of the terrace,⁴⁹ the so-called Omega wall, ran from the gneiss foundation at the southwestern corner of Propylon Y towards the temple. The foundation, which is suggested to have carried both the chariot relief and the Hekatomnos inscription, adjoins the retaining wall and may date back to the Early Hekatomnid period. There is, however, only circumstantial evidence for the proposed connection between the Hekatomnos inscription and the quadriga. It remains pure speculation and is only a possibility. If my hypothesis is correct, however, it would follow that the chariot relief is earlier than both the Maussolleion at Halikarnassos and the Temple of Athena at Priene. It could then have served as inspiration for those chariot groups, of which the one at Priene also remains hypothetical.

⁴⁵ Jacob-Felsch 1969, 65–66.

⁴⁶ Crampa (1972, 27) gives no details on the dowel holes, nor does Gunter (1995, 53).

⁴⁷ Hedlund 2014, fig. 3; Hellström 2019, fig. 36 (at the southern part of the west wall of Propylon Y).

⁴⁸ The *anathyrosis* on the sides of the Hekatomnos block indicates that other marble blocks were attached on both sides.

⁴⁹ Westholm 1963, 26, 30–31, fig. 15, wall no. 6b; Hellström 2019, 66–69, figs. 1, 45–56, 72.



Fig. 10. Hypothetical monument placed by the southwestern corner of the propylon of the temple terrace at Labraunda. Here the chariot relief is combined with the statue of Zeus Labraundos, depicted on the tetradrachms of Hekatomnos. The dedicatory inscription of Hekatomnos (I. Labraunda 27) is placed on the northern side of the base. Drawing by Jesper Blid.

I will end by suggesting an occasion when Hekatomnos could have made a dedication to Zeus like the one hypothetically suggested here. This concerns Hekatomnos' Cypriot expedition. From Diodoros we know that the Cypriot cities of Amathus, Soloi and Kition appealed to Artaxerxes II Mnemon for assistance in 390, when Evagoras of Salamis had conquered most of the other cities of Cyprus, and that Artaxerxes agreed to take action.⁵⁰

he sent letters to the cities situated on the sea and to their commanding satraps to construct triremes and with all speed to make ready everything the fleet might need; and he commanded Hecatomnus, the ruler of Caria, to make war upon Evagoras. Hecatomnus traversed the cities of the upper satrapies and crossed over to Cyprus in strong force.⁵¹

Diodoros says nothing more about the expedition of Hekatomnos, which perhaps means that it was successful. It is not possible to know whether there were any battles or not.⁵² In response to Athenian naval activity along Anatolia's western coast, Artaxerxes may have ordered Hekatomnos back from Cyprus, probably in early 388.⁵³

A few years later, in about 386, when Evagoras was active again, Diodoros claimed that Hekatomnos was acting against the interests of Artaxerxes, supplying Evagoras with money.

from Hecatomnus, the lord of Caria, who was secretly co-operating with him, he got a large sum of money to support his mercenary troops.⁵⁴

In agreement with Stephen Ruzicka I do not find this very convincing.⁵⁵ As argued by Ruzicka it is more likely that this story was "fake news". The aim of Evagoras may have been to encourage his Egyptian allies to give him more support. Or, if Evagoras assumed that Hekatomnos would lead the expected new Persian attack on Cyprus, he may have anticipated that such discrediting and damaging information would reach Artaxerxes and cause him to remove Hekatomnos from command. Indeed Hekatomnos had nothing to gain by acting against the king.

Assuming that Hekatomnos' Cypriot assignment was successful, a dedication at Labraunda of a Persian war chariot with a bronze statue of Zeus could be an attractive possibility. It could even be suggested that the

⁵⁰ Diod. Sic. 14.98.

⁵¹ Diod. Sic. 14.98.3–4 (Loeb translation). The passage is confused, see Hornblower (1982, 37–38, n. 10) and Ruzicka (1992, 21, n. 19). According to Theopompos (*FGrHist* 115) Autophradates (the satrap of Lydia?) also received the same order, but he is not mentioned again in connection with the war (Hornblower 1982, 37, n. 11; Ruzicka 1992, 20, n. 17). Ruzicka (1992, 21, n. 19) points out that given the time needed for ship construction and final preparations, the crossing could not have taken place before 390/389, spring 390 probably being the earliest possible date. The war on Evagoras did not end until the late 380s with a larger Persian attack that did not involve Hekatomnos (Diod. Sic. 15.2. 1–4; 15.8.1–9.2).

⁵² Ruzicka (1992, 21–22) thought that the lack of information might mean that there were no significant battles to report, and that Evagoras chose not to confront Hekatomnos.

⁵³ Ruzicka 1992, 24.

⁵⁴ Diod. Sic. 15.2.3 (Loeb translation). The date of Hekatomnos' pretended double-dealing: after the King's Peace (Costa 1974, 55; Hornblower 1982, 38, n. 13).

⁵⁵ Ruzicka 1992, 26–29. See also Hellström 2009, 37, n. 63.

hypothetical statue of Zeus standing on the chariot was in fact the image we see on the obverse of the tetradrachms of Hekatomnos.⁵⁶ The figure of the god is shown in *contrapposto* stance, which would tally with the dowel hole to the right on top of the chariot box being placed further back than the one to the left (Fig. 5).

Pontus Hellström

S:t Eriksgatan 109

SE-113 30 STOCKHOLM

pontus.hellstrom@antiken.uu.se

Bibliography

- Adiego, I.J. 2007. *The Carian language*, Leiden & Boston.
- Aro, S. 2003. 'Art and architecture', in *The Luwians*, ed. H.C. Melchert, Leiden & Boston, 281–337.
- Boyce, M. 1982. *A history of Zoroastrianism*, vol. 2. *Under the Achaemenians* (Handbuch der Orientalistik), Leiden & Köln.
- Bryce, T.R. 2003. 'History', in *The Luwians*, ed. H.C. Melchert, Leiden & Boston, 27–127.
- Calmeyer, P. 1974. 'Zur Genese altiranischer Motive II. Der leere Wagen', *AMIran* 7, 1974, 49–77.
- Çambel, H. 1993. 'Das Freilichtmuseum von Karatepe–Aslantaş', *IstMitt* 43, 495–509.
- Çambel, H. 1999. *Corpus of hieroglyphic Luwian inscriptions 2. Karatepe–Aslantaş. The inscriptions: facsimile edition*, Berlin & New York.
- Çambel, H. & A. Özyar 2003. *Karatepe – Aslantaş: Azatiwataya. Die Bildwerke*, Mainz.
- Carstens, A.M. 2009. *Karia and the Hekatomnids. The creation of a dynasty* (BAR-IS, 1943), Oxford.
- Carter, J. 1983. *The sculpture of the Sanctuary of Athena Polias at Priene*, London.
- Cook, B.F. 2005. *Relief sculpture of the Mausoleum at Halicarnassus*, Oxford.
- Costa, E.A., Jr. 1974. 'Evagoras I and the Persians, ca. 411 to 391 B.C.', *Historia* 23, 40–56.
- Crampa, J. 1972. *Labraunda. Swedish excavations and researches III. The Greek inscriptions*, Part 2. 13–133 (ActaAth-4^o, 5:3:2), Stockholm.
- Gilan, A. 2015. 'A bridge or blind alley? Hittites and Neo Hittites as cultural mediators', in *Ein Pluriverses Universum. Zivilisationen und Religionen im antiken Mittelmeerraum* (Mittelmeerstudien, 7), eds. R. Faber & A. Lichtenberger, Paderborn, 167–189.
- Gunter, A.C. 1995. *Labraunda. Swedish excavations and researches II:5. Marble sculpture*, Stockholm.
- Hawkins, D. 2000. *Corpus of hieroglyphic Luwian inscriptions 1. Inscriptions of the Iron Age*, 1. Text, Berlin & New York.
- Hawkins, J.D. 2003. 'Scripts and texts', in *The Luwians*, ed. H.C. Melchert, Leiden & Boston, 128–169.
- Hedlund, R. 2014. 'Antae in the afternoon: notes on the Hellenistic and Roman architecture of Labraunda', in *Ααβρυς. Studies presented to Pontus Hellström*

⁵⁶ Ruzicka (1992, 30) suggested that the Hekatomnos dedication belonged to a Hellenised image of Zeus, "probably much like that which adorned Hekatomnos' tetradrachms"; Konuk 2003, 104–106, fig. 89; 2013, 105–106, pl. 2:15. On the images of Zeus Labraundos, including the coin image of the statue in *contrapposto* stance, see Gunter 1995, 57–60; see also the contribution by Jesper Blid in this volume.

- (Boreas. Uppsala Studies in Ancient Mediterranean and Near Eastern Civilizations, 35), eds. L. Karlsson, S. Carlsson & J. Blid Kullberg, Uppsala, 57–70.
- Hellström, P. 2009. 'The palace of Vouni revisited', *Medelhavsmuseet. Focus on the Mediterranean* 4, 28–42.
- Hellström, P. 2015. 'A cultic theatre at Karian Labraunda. The monumental stairs and the propylon courtyard', in *Antike. Architektur. Geschichte. Festschrift für Inge Nielsen zum 65. Geburtstag*, eds. S. Faust, M. Seifert & L. Ziemer, Aachen, 107–120.
- Hellström, P. 2019. 'Early Labraunda. Excavations on the temple terrace 1949–1953', in *Karia Arkhaia. La Carie, des origines à la période pré-hekatomnide*, eds. O. Henry & K. Konuk, Istanbul, 61–88.
- Hellström, P. & J. Blid 2019. *Labraunda. Swedish excavations and researches 5. The Andrones*, Stockholm.
- Herda, A. 2013. 'Greek (and our) views on the Karians', in *Luwian identities. Culture, language and religion between Anatolia and the Aegean*, eds. A. Mouton, I. Rutherford & I. Yakubovich, Boston & Leiden, 421–506.
- Homolle, Th. 1899. 'Inscriptions de Delphes', *BCH* 23, 374–388.
- Hornblower, S. 1982. *Mausolus*, Oxford.
- Hutter, M. 2003. 'Aspects of Luwian religion', in *The Luwians*, ed. H.C. Melchert, Leiden & Boston, 211–280.
- Jacob-Felsch, M. 1969. *Die Entwicklung griechischer Statuenbasen und die Aufstellung der Statuen*, Waldsassen.
- Jenkins, I. 2006. *Greek architecture and its sculpture in the British Museum*, London.
- Jeppesen, K. 2002. *The Maussolleion at Halikarnassos 5. The Superstructure. A comparative analysis of the architectural, sculptural, and literary evidence* (Jutland Archaeological Society, Publications, 15:5), Aarhus.
- Karlsson, L. 2013. 'The sanctuary of the weather god of heaven at Karian Labraunda. A Bronze Age cult exposé for Robin Hägg', in *Perspectives on ancient Greece. Papers in celebration of the 60th anniversary of the Swedish Institute at Athens*. (ActaAth-8°, 22), ed. A.-L. Schallin, Stockholm, 173–189.
- Koenigs, W. 2015. *Der Athenatempel von Priene*, Wiesbaden.
- Konuk, K. 2003. *From Kroisos to Karia. Early Anatolian coins from the Muharrem Kayhan collection*, Istanbul.
- Konuk, K. 2013. 'Coinage and identities under the Hekatomnids', in *4th century Karia. Defining a Karian identity under the Hekatomnids* (Varia Anatolica, 28), ed. O. Henry, Paris, 101–121.
- Kosmopoulou, A. 2002. *The iconography of sculptured statue bases in the Archaic and Classical periods*, Madison.
- Littauer, M.A. & J.H. Crouwel 1979. *Wheeled vehicles and ridden animals in the ancient Near East*, Leiden.
- Pasinli, A. 1992. *Istanbul archaeological museums*, Istanbul.
- Pedersen, P. 2011. 'The Ionian Renaissance and Alexandria seen from the perspective of a Karian-Ionian lewis hole', in *Labraunda and Karia. Proceedings of the international symposium commemorating sixty years of Swedish archaeological work in Labraunda. The Royal Swedish Academy of Letters, History and Antiquities, Stockholm, November 20–21, 2008* (Boreas. Uppsala Studies in Ancient Mediterranean and Near Eastern Civilizations, 32), eds. L. Karlsson & S. Carlsson, Uppsala, 364–388.
- Ruzicka, S. 1992. *Politics of a Persian dynasty. The Hekatomnids in the fourth century B.C.*, Norman & London.
- Schmidt, E.F. 1953. *Persepolis 1. Structures, reliefs, inscriptions*, Chicago.
- Simon, Z. 2014. 'Awarikus und Warikas. Zwei Könige von Hiyawa', *ZA* 104, 91–103.
- Tancke, K. 1990. 'Wagenrennen. Ein Friesthema der aristokratischen Repräsentationskunst spätklassisch-frühhellenistischer Zeit', *JdI* 105, 1990, 95–127.

A chariot at Labraunda

- Tekoğlu R. & A. Lemaire 2000. 'La bilingue royale louvito-phénicienne de Çineköy', *CRAI* 144:3, 961–1006.
- Tobin, F. 2014. 'Appendix: The exedra of Demetrios, son of Python, at Labraunda', *OpAthRom* 7, 54–57.
- Waywell, G.B. 1978. *The free-standing sculptures of the Mausoleum at Halicarnassus in the British Museum. A catalogue*. London.

Invoking Anāhitā – from Iran to Asia Minor

by

Anders Hultgård

Abstract

The character and functions of the Persian goddess Anāhitā as described in Iranian traditions, mainly Yašt 5 in the Avesta, are compared with what is known of her cult in Armenia and Asia Minor. Here Greek inscriptions, information in classical texts and early Armenian writers provide the comparative material. The main question addressed is that of change and continuity. The answer is complex. On one hand the image of the goddess is presented in a language of cult common to religions of Asia Minor. On the other hand some clear correspondences with the Persian Anāhitā indicate the survival of ancient Iranian tradition.

Introduction

Inscriptions from Asia Minor as well as literary texts attest the cult of a goddess called Anaïtis, who is generally recognised as being the Iranian goddess Anāhitā, with her full Avestan name *Arəduuī Sūrā Anāhitā*.¹ In the Avesta one of the most important sacrificial hymns is dedicated to her (Yašt 5). In Achaemenian times her worship spread westwards from Iran through Syria, Armenia and Anatolia, and reached the boundaries of Europe. The goddess gained increased popularity by being identified with other female deities of Asia Minor, especially Artemis. Among the pre-Christian Armenians she became the chief deity. My aim is to follow the spread of her cult and attempt to elucidate the transformations that may have modified the perception of the goddess from how she was known in ancient Iran.

Admittedly there is an imbalance with respect to the quantity of the source material as well as its dating. The Avestan hymn was composed in the middle of the first century BC and offers a comprehensive picture of the ideas associated with Anāhitā. By contrast, the Greek inscriptions, the classical authors and the Armenian tradition all stem from the Roman imperial period and are less informative about what was thought of the goddess. I do not claim to have used all known epigraphic sources from Asia Minor mentioning Anaïtis, but the corpus on which I base my investigation provides, I believe, sufficient reference material. Pictures of female figures from Iran have been thought to represent Anāhitā, but this identification is far from certain, and interpretations differ considerably.² The subject needs a

¹ The form Anaïtis could be explained by the fact that ancient Greek lacked an internal aspirate (communication by Margret C. Miller).

² See Wikander 1946, 60–63; Ringbom 1957; Bier 1985; Boyce 1985.

study of its own, which would be beyond the scope of the present contribution. This fact notwithstanding, I have illustrated my text with some pictures considered to represent the goddess.

Anāhitā in Iranian traditions

In Iran the image of the goddess developed over centuries, probably acquiring new elements along the way. Different interpretations have been proposed as to the origins of her cult.³ The Indo-Iranian background is accepted by most scholars.⁴ Herman Lommel emphasised the complete concordance with the Vedic goddess Sarasvati. Anāhitā's original Iranian name *Harahvatī would have been replaced by one of her epithets.⁵ Georges Dumézil saw in Anāhitā the Iranian representative of an Indo-European theology that associated a multivalent goddess to the three-functional system of deities.⁶ Mary Boyce advocated the fusion of an eastern water goddess *Harahvati (the Indian Sarasvati) with a planetary divinity *Anāhiti who according to her had been long known to the western Iranians.⁷ The influence of a Mesopotamian (or Elamite) goddess, be it Ishtar, Inanna or Nanaia, is often assumed.⁸ Emile Benveniste took this line of interpretation one step further, stating that Anāhitā was a goddess of foreign origin and “a recent introduction into the Avestic Pantheon”.⁹ Albert de Jong considered it “very likely that Anāhitā was originally a western Iranian goddess” who had absorbed many traits from Semitic female deities.¹⁰

For our purpose the question of origins is not essential. We base our study on the fact that the Iranians, at least from Achaemenian times onwards, worshipped a goddess known as *Arəduuī Sūrā Anāhitā* “the Moist (or the Capable), the Mighty, the Immaculate (or the Unbound)”.¹¹ The last of these three epithets became the name of the goddess. The hymn dedicated to her is composed in an eastern Iranian language, and the mention in the Old Persian inscriptions from Susa and Ekbatana (see further below) attests her presence in western Iran as well. Yašt 5 of the Avesta stands out as the main source. This *yašt* is generally considered to belong to an early stratum of Avestan traditions. The present text of Yašt 5 appears to be a conglomerate of tradi-

³ A useful survey is given by Kellens 2002–2003a, 317–320.

⁴ In addition to Hermann Lommel and Georges Dumézil we mention Geo Widengren (1968, 35–36, 144–145), Gherardo Gnoli (1974), Antonio Panaino (2000), and Pierre Lecoq (2016, 70).

⁵ Lommel 1954. According to Elsas (1986, 278) the evidence for this identification is not conclusive.

⁶ Dumézil 1968, 104–107.

⁷ Boyce 1982, 202, 1990.

⁸ Duchesne-Guillemin 1973, 106; Boyce 1982, 203; 1990; Elsas 1986, 279; de Jong 1997, 106; Hjerrild 2009.

⁹ Benveniste 1929, 27–28, 38–39, 61–63.

¹⁰ de Jong 1997, 104–106.

¹¹ For the interpretation “the Capable”, see Kellens 2002–2003a, 321–322. The adjective *anāhita-* is usually translated by “immaculate” or “pure”, but the primitive meaning may have been “unbound”; see Oettinger 1983, 365–366; Skjærvø 2003, xxiii; and the discussion in Kellens 2002–2003a; 2002–2003b, 826–828.

tions associated with Anāhitā that were put together for liturgical use.¹² We have to assume the existence of orally transmitted Anāhitā hymns that originally were recited by priests in the various places where the goddess was worshipped. Part of these hymnic texts would have been included in the present *yašt*. The precise ritual contexts in which the Avestan hymn was used in ancient times cannot however be determined. Anāhitā is praised as a water goddess in the *yasna* ceremony, which in its main form has an ancient origin.¹³ Chapter 65 of the Yasna is introduced by a quotation from the Anāhitā Yašt (stanzas 1–5) but otherwise consists of an invocation directed to the personified Waters recited at the moment when the priests handle the ritual water. Furthermore she is conspicuously absent from the long list of divinities that are addressed in Yasna chapter 1. We are thus left with Yašt 5 for the Avestan description of Anāhitā.

One is immediately struck by her connection with the waters. She is the personification of the great mythical river Arədvī, which “broad and mighty” (*pərəθwī.frakā-*) flows forth from Mount Hukairya into the lake Vourukaša. The outflow of that one stream of water pours forth over all the seven continents of the earth (stanzas 1, 3–5; 15, 96).

Anāhitā is hailed as “the trustful one” (*ašaonī-*), who increases herds and possessions, and favours prosperity.¹⁴ She is invoked for making the seed of males efficient (*yaoždađāiti*) and the womb of females fertile. She also gives them an easy birth and ensures that the milk will come at the right time.¹⁵ The young girls who will marry pray to her for good works (or fertility?) and for a valiant husband (stanza 87). Anāhitā guards and protects men and women in all the groups of Iranian society (stanza 6). The main part of the hymn consists of a “catalogue of worshippers” enumerating the many persons who brought offerings to the goddess, starting with Ahura Mazda himself (stanzas 16–83). Their prayer follows the same formulaic pattern (taking the example with Yima):

təm yazata yō Yimō . . . āaṭ hīm jaiḍiaṭ . . . auuaṭ āiaptəm dazdi mē, vaṇ^{hi} səuuište Arədvī Sūre Anāhite yaθa . . . daθaṭ ahmāi taṭ auuaṭ āiaptəm Arəduuī Sūrā Anāhitā.

[To her sacrificed Yima . . . he asked of her . . . give me this favour, good and mighty Arədvī Sura Anāhitā, that... Arədvī Sura Anāhitā gave him then this favour.]¹⁶

The boons that were sought of Anāhitā by her worshippers reveal much of her character. The predominance of the wish for victory and supremacy is striking. The wording “that I may be victorious” (*yaṭ bavāni aiβivaniia*)

¹² See e.g. Lecoq 2016, 241.

¹³ See Lecoq 2016, 151.

¹⁴ Stanza 1: *vəθβō.frađanəm ašaonīm, gaēθō.frađanəm ašaonīm, šaētō.frađanəm ašaonīm*.

¹⁵ Stanza 2: *yā vīspā hāirišiš huzāmitō dađāitiyā, vīspanəm hāirišinəm dāitīm raθβīm paēma auuabaraiti*, cf. stanza 5.

¹⁶ Yašt 5.25–27. Unless otherwise noted, all translations are the author’s. In three cases Anāhitā refuses to give the worshippers what they ask for, namely Aži Dahāka, Fraŋgrasyan and the descendants of Vaēsaka.

recurs frequently.¹⁷ Some stanzas repeat the wish for supremacy over peoples, demons, humans and some other figures using the formula: “that I may be supreme ruler over...” (*yaθa azəm upəməm xšaθrəm bavāni...*).¹⁸ Thus the ability to give victory and rulership turns out to be a prominent feature of Anāhitā.

The epithets with which she is hailed show further qualities. She is a healing goddess (*baēšaziiā-*), an enemy of the demons (*vīdaēuuā-*), and the glory (*xvarənah-*) over which she rules is great (stanza 121; also 96). Her protective function is emphasised in stanza 89. Ahura Mazda has made her a guard (*nipatār-*) and she is said to protect (*nipaiiemī*) all that is good and created by Ahura Mazda and that originates in the good cosmic order (*aša-ciθra-*).

The goddess drives a chariot with four white horses (stanza 12), which is also said of Mītra and Sraoša (stanza 12). Unique however is the detailed description of her physical appearance. Several stanzas dwell on this aspect (stanzas 7, 64, 78, 123, 126–129). Her arms are said to be beautiful and strong; she comes in beauty (*srīra-*) and gracefulness (*zuš-*; stanza 7). The Avestan epithets describe her as a young girl, beautiful, upright (*ərəzvant-*) and carrying her girdle high (*uskāt yāsta-*). The attractive bodily appearance of the goddess is also expressed by the terms *sispata-* (from the stem *spāy-* “to swell”) and *huraoda-* (literally “of delightful growth”). Her face is shining (*bāmīia-*) and noble (*āzāta-*). She manifests herself holding a golden breast cloth (123). She is dressed in a fine garment full of golden folds (126). Her shoes have golden laces that cover the ankles (64). She holds the sacrificial twigs in her hand (*barəsmōzasta*) showing both her golden ear-rings; around her beautiful neck she wears a necklace (127). She has fastened her waist high to display her well-shaped breasts “that they be attractive” (*yaθaca aṇhəm niuuāzāna*). On her head she has bound a golden diadem (*pusā-*) adorned with hundred gems (128).¹⁹ The hymn concludes by associating Anāhitā with the beaver (*baβrī-*) that lives by waters. Her garment is made of the skins of many beavers. The image of a water goddess developed at the beginning of the hymn is thus resumed. The vivid description of the goddess given in her hymn has sometimes been thought to reflect a statue, but this seems improbable with respect to the ancient date of Yašt 5.²⁰

Diachronic overview

In what follows an overview is presented of the sources mentioning Anāhitā outside the Avesta. It begins with the Achaemenian period.

Anāhitā first appears in the Old Persian inscriptions of Artaxerxes II Mnemon at Susa and Ekbatana.²¹ She is invoked with two types of formulas. The first one expresses the king’s dependence on divine support for his

¹⁷ Stanzas 34, 38, 54, 73 (“we”), 82, 109, 113. Once we meet with the expression “that I may have as many victories (*vərəθra hacāne*) as the other Aryans” (stanza 69); also stanza 86.

¹⁸ Stanzas 22, 26, 46, 50.

¹⁹ The meaning of *straṇha-* here rendered with “gem” is uncertain.

²⁰ Widengren 1968, 35; Lecoq 2016, 240.

²¹ Kent 1953, 154–155.

building activity: “by the will (*vašna-*) of Auramazda, Anāhitā and Mithra I built this palace (*apadāna-*)”. The second one is a prayer: “May Auramazda, Anāhitā and Mithra protect me from all evil” (*mām pātuv hacā vispā gastā*). The fact that Anāhitā is mentioned before Mithra indicates the high status of the goddess in Late Achaemenian milieus. Plutarch tells that Artaxerxes II Mnemon appointed his concubine Aspasia to be priestess of “the Artemis in Ecbatana whom they call Anaïtis” so that she might be “pure” (ἀγνή) for the rest of her lifetime.²²

According to Berossos, the same Artaxerxes had cult statues of the goddess erected in the main centres of his empire.

Berosos says that this king was the first to set up a statue of Aphrodite Anaïtis in Babylon, Susa and Ekbatana for the Persians (?) and Bactra, Damascus and Sardes, and to proclaim that it be worshipped.²³

There is no serious reason to deny the authenticity of the information given by the Babylonian chronicler. It is in agreement with the fact that the same king was the first to introduce Anāhitā in the royal Achaemenian inscriptions.²⁴

The Parthian kings are usually considered to have been less devoted to their inherited religious tradition than their Achaemenian predecessors. The impact of Hellenistic culture cannot be denied, to be sure. The kings represented themselves as *philhellenoi* and on the coinage they struck the same honorary titles as those of their neighbouring Hellenistic rulers: *euergetēs* (“benefactor”), *epiphanēs* (“manifest divinity”) and *sōtēr* (“saviour”).²⁵ On the other hand the persistence of Iranian tradition is indicated by the circumstances that Zoroastrian ideas seem to have exerted their strongest influence on the Greco-Roman world precisely in the Parthian period, and that the sacred texts of the Avesta continued to be faithfully transmitted by the priests. There is no explicit mention of Iranian deities on the Parthian coins, but a female figure of varying appearance is usually shown on the reverse (*Fig. 1*). With respect to her outer form she resembles the image of Greek goddesses, especially Tyche, Artemis and Nike. This does not imply that the Parthian rulers worshipped these Greek goddesses; rather they could have used them to represent different aspects of their own great goddess Anāhitā. This would be in agreement with the testimony of Diodorus Siculus (first century BC) that the Persians of his time worshipped Anāhitā as the foremost deity: τιμᾶται δὲ καὶ παρὰ τοῖς Πέρσαις ἡ θεὸς αὕτη διαφερόντως.²⁶

In the Sasanian period the leading role of Ahura Mazda in the pantheon becomes obvious once again. The formula “Ahura Mazda and the gods” (*ohrmazd ud yazdān*) in the royal inscriptions points to that fact. The other deities, among them Anāhitā, are here grouped together, seemingly as less important. However, the investiture of king Narseh (end of the third century)

²² *Vit. Artax.* 27.

²³ Berossos in Clem. Al., *Protr.* 5.65.3; Agathias *Hist.* 2.24 (cf. Wikander 1946, 61). The meaning of Ἐκβατάνοις Πέρσαις seems unclear to me.

²⁴ Cf. Wikander 1946, 65.

²⁵ See Sellwood 1980.

²⁶ *Bibl. Hist.* 7.77.8.

by a goddess, presumably Anāhitā, on a rock relief at Naqsh-e Rostam in Pārsa suggests a far more prominent position of the goddess in the Sasanian pantheon than appears from the inscriptions (Fig. 2).²⁷ Some terracotta figurines (headdresses) dated to the Parthian or Sasanian period are thought to represent the goddess.²⁸ A couple of times she is actually mentioned by name. Shapur II says that “we established a fire (*ādur*, Greek *pyreion*) at Xosro-Ādur-Anāhīd, for the soul (*urwān*; Greek *mneia*) of our daughter Ādur-Anāhīd, queen of queens”.²⁹ The early Sasanian kings confirmed the high-priest Kerdīr’s outstanding position. We learn from his inscriptions that they made Kerdīr “lord of ritual” (*aywēnabed*) at the fire temple of Anāhīd-Ardašīr and so also at the fire temple called “Lady Anāhīd” (*bānūg Anāhīd*) in Staxr.³⁰



Fig. 1. Parthian silver tetradrachm depicting Phraates IV. On the reverse the king is enthroned with a bow. Before him a goddess holds a cornucopia and tends a diadem. On her head is the emblem of Tyche. After Sellwood 1980, 161.

These texts were redacted in the Early Islamic period, but by and large transmit traditions current in Sasanian and even Parthian times. References to Anāhitā are less common. She has lent her name to the planet Venus, and in that capacity she could be invoked as a star divinity. As a goddess to be worshipped in the public cult she seems to have played a limited role in the Zoroastrian milieu that compiled the Pahlavi texts.³¹ She is nevertheless one of the many Zoroastrian divinities presented in chapter 26 of the *Bundahišn* (Primal creation) where the text runs:

hamāg ābīh Ardwišūr ay ī Anāhīd, mād ī ābān, ud tōxm ī narān ka az xōn pālūd
ēstēd ud mādagān-iz ka zāyēnd ud didīgar ābus bawēnd, xwēškārīh Ardwišūr.

²⁷ It is less probable that the female figure shown represents the queen Shapurdukht. An investiture scene requires a deity in this position.

²⁸ See Pope & Ackermann 1938, 216–217.

²⁹ Shapur I’s inscription (ŠKZ), also referred to as Res Gestae Divi Saporis (RGDS), at the Ka‘ba-ye Zartosht (Back 1978, 331).

³⁰ Sasanian inscriptions KSM (at Sar Mashhad), KNRm (at Naqsh-e Rostam), and KKZ (at Ka‘ba-ye Zartosht). See Back 1978, 410.

³¹ As name of the planet, see *Bundahišn* 5, A.2–3, *Wizīdagīhā ī Zādspram* 30.7–13; de Jong 1997, 105.

[All waters are of Ardivisur, that is to say of Anāhīd, mother of waters. When the seed of the males is purified from blood and also when the females give birth, and become pregnant again, this is the work of Ardivisur.]³²



Fig. 2. Sasanian rock-relief depicting the investiture of king Narseh at Naqsh-e Rostam, Iran. The king, the second large figure from the right, receives the ring of power (Pahl. *farshiang*) from Anāhitā. A young prince is standing between them. To the left are two Persian dignitaries. The goddess wears a cloak that falls from her shoulders and floats behind her in great fluttering waves like those at the hem of her dress. Photo D. Delso.

In another passage, Ardwīsūr Anāhīd is called *pid ud mād ī ābān* (“father and mother of the waters”).³³ Anāhīd’s connection with the waters also appears in the idea that the “glory” (*xwarrah*) of Zoroaster had been preserved in a lake under the protection of the goddess:

ēn sē pus ī Zarduxšt čiyōn Ušēdar, Ušēdarmāh ud Sōšyans rāy gōwēd kū pēš
kū Zarduxšt be juft, ēg-šān xwarrah ī Zarduxšt andar zrāy ī Kayānsē pad nigās-
dārīh ō ābān xwarrah ī ast Anāhīd yazd abespārd.

[With respect to the three sons of Zoroaster, namely Ušedar, Ušedarmah and Sošyans, one says: before Zoroaster died (wedded?), the glory of Zoroaster was consigned to be protected for them by the Glory of the waters, who is the goddess Anāhīd, in the lake Kayanse.]³⁴

The words “one says” indicate that this piece of myth, though not preserved in the actual Avesta, nevertheless belongs to ancient oral tradition. The short Pahlavi treatise entitled *Avdēh u sahīkēn ī Sakīstān* (The wonders and the

³² *Bundahišn* 26, § 90. Text established from TD1, DH and TD2. The numbering of paragraphs follows Anklesaria (1956).

³³ *Bundahišn* 3, § 17.

³⁴ *Bundahišn* 33, § 36.

magnificence of Sakistan) explains why these are greater than those of other lands. Anāhīd is thought to dwell there and grant her worshippers what they pray for:

pas Frēdōn ō war ī Frazdān šud u-š az Ardwišūr Anāhīd āyaft xwāst, ud pad abāz ārāstan ērān šahr ud xwarrah kayān abārīg yazdān.

[Then Fredon went to lake Frazdan and sought a favour from Ardwisur Anāhīd, and for the restoration of the Iranian realm and the Kayanid glory with (?) the other gods.]³⁵

As pointed out by Bo Utas, the text of this paragraph seems too confused to clarify the relation between Anāhīd and “the other gods”.³⁶ The lakes mentioned, Kayānsē and Frazdān, are derived from Avestan tradition and belong to the world of myth rather than to natural geography.³⁷ This is also true of the great Ardisur River.

Diffusion of Anāhitā and her cult

A range of evidence shows that from the Iranian lands worship of the goddess penetrated into other areas. It is probable that this diffusion began in Achaemenian times when Persian dominance reached its widest extent. It seems that Artaxerxes II Mnemon in particular promoted the spread of Anāhitā and her cult outside Iran proper. Stig Wikander has argued that the king’s establishment of fire temples was intimately bound up with the spread of the Anāhitā cult.³⁸

Anāhitā in Mesopotamia and Syria

As noted above Berossos lists Babylon as an important centre of Anāhitā worship, a fact that would have decisively helped spread the cult in Mesopotamia. In the third century CE Mani founded his new religion in Mesopotamia, which at that time was a crucible of different religious traditions. It comes as no surprise to find the mention of Anāhitā in an apotropaic text in Manichaean Middle Persian.³⁹ The goddess is called upon together with the Jewish Adonai to fulfil the wish of the person who performed the magical rite:

u-š pad-iš bast dahan ī wispān mardōhmān, Adonay . . . ud Anāhīd

[And he bound with it the mouth of all men, Adonai . . . and Anāhīd.]⁴⁰

³⁵ *Awdih ud Sahīgih ī Sakistān* § 8.

³⁶ Utas 2013, 116.

³⁷ Cf. Utas 2013, 115.

³⁸ Wikander 1946, 52–101.

³⁹ M8430 and M439; transcribed text in Durkin-Meisterernst 2004.

⁴⁰ Durkin-Meisterernst (2004) suggests that Anāhīd here represents Ishtar/Venus.

In Syria a cult centre existed in Damascus according to Berossos, but no further evidence has survived. Some terracotta tables found in Palmyra show the image of a goddess with the inscription Anahīt (*'nhyt*), indicating a cult of Anāhitā in that town.⁴¹

Anāhitā in Hellenistic-Roman Egypt

The most comprehensive collection of magical papyri stems from Egypt. These texts sometimes use the epithet “Persian” (Περσία) when referring to Artemis-Hekate.⁴² Here the epithet evokes the Artemis-Persia of Asia Minor who also includes Anaïtis. In one spell “Persian” is listed together with “Lydian” as epithet of the goddess (*PGM* 4.2714–2717). The same spell also combines “Persian” with the magical name SEBARA AKRA (2781) where the first element might derive from the Middle Iranian expression *sē bār* “thrice, triple”. If so, it would contain an allusion to the threefold appearance of the goddess mentioned in the invocation: “crossroad goddess, triple-headed, bringer of light” and “goddess of three ways” (2724–2729).⁴³ Taking AKRA as the Greek adjective ἀκρά (fem.) “high, excellent” or the noun ἀκρόν “top, height” the combination SEBARA AKRA may allude to the character of the Persian goddess as triple-headed or more generally as “thrice-excellent”. The epithets *barza* and *barzou* attributed to the main goddess of the magical papyri are certainly of Iranian origin and could reflect worship of Anaïtis (see below).

Anāhitā in Armenia

Bordering northwestern Iran is Armenia, and the evidence suggests that Anāhitā (Old Armenian *Anahit*) was the most important deity among the pre-Christian Armenians. Since Armenia was ruled by the Achaemenians the introduction of her cult goes back to that period. Part of western Armenia was known as “the land of Anaitis”.⁴⁴ Strabo points to the great significance of the Anāhitā cult to the Armenians. As for ritual he remarks that in the province of Akilisene the Armenian elite sent their daughters to serve as temple prostitutes for the goddess before they got married. Their esteem, Strabo points out, was still unharmed.⁴⁵

The story told by Plutarch about the Roman army crossing the river Euphrates is set in western Armenia and shows the importance of the Anāhitā cult. A good omen occurred:

Cows sacred to the Persian Artemis whom the barbarians beyond Euphrates venerate most among the deities, are grazing (there). They are used exclusively for sacrifice. Otherwise they rove free in the countryside. They bear as marks of the goddess a torch. To capture them when they are needed is not an easy thing and no small enterprise. When the army was crossing Euphrates, one of them came to a certain rock considered sacred to the goddess and stopped on it.

⁴¹ Teixidor 1981.

⁴² *PGM* 4.2271, 2715, 2781.

⁴³ All English translations are from H.D. Betz' edition *The Greek magical papyri* (1992).

⁴⁴ Dio Cass. 36.48.1, 53.5.

⁴⁵ Strab. 11.16.

She lowered her head like those who are bound and offered herself to be sacrificed for Lucullus.⁴⁶

For evidence coming directly from Armenian tradition we have to pass to the fifth century CE when the Armenian language was first recorded in written texts. The Armenian translator of the *Alexander Romance* chose to render the Greek goddess Hera with Anahit,⁴⁷ thus emphasising her character as a supreme divinity. The information of the early Armenian writers, foremost Agathangelos shows Anahit's priority in the public cult.⁴⁸ Several temples were dedicated to her, and the Armenian kings seem to have been much concerned to sacrifice in person at the cult sites of the goddess. It is said of Tirdat before he was converted to Christianity that he went with his noblemen "to the province of Ekeleats to the village of Erēz to the temple of Anahit in order to sacrifice there (*mehean anahtakan zi and zohs matusc'en*)".⁴⁹ There the goddess had an altar (*bagin*) with an image (*patker*) where offerings of crowns and thick branches of trees (*psaks ew t'awosts caroc' nuērs*) were presented (*Fig. 3*).⁵⁰ Further cult places of Anahit are mentioned by the classical authors, such as at Artashat on the river Araxes at its confluence with the river Metsamor and at Erazamoyñ in western Armenia. In the southeast, "at the borders of Armenia", in Yashtishat, on the summit of the mountain Karkē at the river Euphrates, there three altars (*bagink'*) were still standing at the end of the third century CE. The first was the temple of Vahagn (the Iranian Vərəθragna), the second was dedicated to Anahit, and the third was the temple named for the goddess Astlik ("little Star"), called the spouse of Vahagn. In that place Anahit seems to have been worshipped under the name *Oskemawr* "the Golden-mother", and the altar was called after her "golden-built of the Golden-mother goddess" (*baginn isk yays anun anuaneal oskehat oskemawr dic'*).⁵¹ Faustos Buzandac'i mentions a cult place of Anahit on the Lion Mountain (*Arewc' leārn*) near Erez, and the site was called "the throne of Anahit" (*at'or Anahtay*).⁵²

Agathangelos as well as the Greek *Life of St. Gregory* preserves some epithets of Anahit showing what she was invoked for. They are as follows:

manawand aysm meci Anahitay or ē p'ark' azgis meroy ew kec'uc'ič'
[this great lady Anahit who is the glory of our race and gives life] (§ 53)

mayr amenayn zgastut'eanc', barerar amenayn mardkan bnut'ean
[mother of all virtues, benefactor of all human nature] (§ 53)

mec Anahit, orov keay ew zkendanut'iwn krē erkirs hayoc'

⁴⁶ Plut. *Luc.* 24.6.

⁴⁷ § 129, 205.

⁴⁸ The Armenian text of Agathangelos is transmitted in a standard version denoted Aa. However, there existed an earlier Armenian text that is preserved in a Greek translation as *Life of St. Gregory* denoted Vg. For the history of transmission, see Garitte 1946; Winkler 1980.

⁴⁹ Agathangelos, § 48.

⁵⁰ Agathangelos, § 49, 786. Thomson (1976, 460) thinks that Agathangelos had no real idea of the cult devoted to Anahit at Erez, but drew on biblical lore.

⁵¹ Agathangelos, § 806.

⁵² *History* 5.25. The name possibly referred to a rocky outcrop resembling a throne, or it might be a misinterpretation of Ādur-Anāhīd, the name of some fire temples in Sasanian Iran.

[the great Anahit who gives life and fertility to this our land of Armenia] (§ 68)

cnund ē mecin arin Aramazday.
[offspring of the great and noble Aramazd] (§ 53)

mec Anahit tiki
[great lady Anahit] (§ 53, § 59)

oskemawr oskecin dic'
[golden-mother, golden-born goddess] (§ 809)



Fig. 3. Head from a bronze statue representing Anāhitā, in the guise of Aphrodite. Satala, Armenia minor. Circa second century BC. British Museum, London. Photo C. Raddato.

In the *Life of St. Gregory* Anahit is rendered as Artemis, and some of the epithets appear in a different form:

great Artemis who gives our race the greatest glory and life (Vg § 5)

great goddess (Vg § 8)

great Zeus and Artemis, givers of good things (δοτήρες τῶν ἀγαθῶν) to all Armenia (Vg § 11)

Characteristic of the Armenian Anahit is her close relationship with the land and the nation. Her life-giving function is also emphasised.

Anāhitā in central and northern Asia Minor

Crossing the borders of western Armenia, travellers arrived in Pontos and Cappadocia. Worship of Anāhitā under the name Anaïtis is recorded in these regions by classical writers as well as on inscriptions and coins.

Pontos was ruled in Hellenistic times by a dynasty of Iranian origin, the kings usually bearing the names Mithradates. In Strabo's description, the town Zela appears as a religious centre for the cult of Anaïtis.⁵³ The rituals are performed in great sanctity. A large number of temple servants are attached to the holy place. The inhabitants of Pontos all swear oaths by the goddess for their most important matters. The significance of the Anaïtis cult is confirmed by coins struck under Trajanus with the following inscription on the reverse: ΘΕΑ ΑΝΑΕΙΤΙC ΖΗΛΕΙΤΩΝ "goddess Anaïtis of the Zela people".⁵⁴ In Pontic Comana, there used to be processions with the goddess (ἐξοδοὶ τῆς θεοῦ) twice a year. The associated festival attracted both men and women from the surrounding countryside. Local people brought votive offerings (κατ'εὐχὴν) to her. A multitude of women are prostitutes, most of them temple servants. The goddess in Pontic Comana is most probably to be identified with Anaïtis.⁵⁵ In Pontos we learn that she was thought to uphold confidence in oath swearing. She also came to be associated with the rites of votive offerings.

In Cappadocia Iranian influence was prominent. Strabo describes the ritual performed by the Magi in fire temples called πυραιθεῖα, which he glosses as a sort of sanctuary worthy of notice (σηκοὶ τινες ἀξιόλογοι).⁵⁶ In the middle is an altar (βωμός) with glowing ash on which the Magi keep a fire constantly burning. The Magi enter daily and chant for about an hour before the fire, holding their bundles of twigs. He adds that the same ritual is also performed in the shrines of Omanos and Anaïtis. What the Iranian priests recited at the fire altars of Anaïtis we do not know, but hymns and prayers to the goddess would be a natural supposition. Material similar to that found in the actual Anāhitā Yašt would have been used as well as other hymnic compositions now lost.

A funeral inscription engraved on a marble slab (now in Aksaray) speaks of nine atonement offerings to "the goddess in Comana" (ἡ ἐν Κομάνοις θεός) and then declares that these should be brought to "Zeus from Thymnasa, and Zeus Pharnaoua and Anaïtis".⁵⁷ The "goddess" in Cappadocian Comana is usually interpreted as the goddess Ma, but the presence of Iranian personal names and divine epithets (i.e. Pharnaoua) suggests that "the goddess in Comana" could just as well refer to Anāhitā.

Her name, Anaïtis, occurs in an inscription on a stone altar from Ortaköy together with two epithets, the Greek Μέγιστη, "the very Great One", and the Iranian BAPZOXAPA.⁵⁸ Three women, who are temple servants, pray to the goddess to be safe (literally: "unharméd", ἀνεπηρέαστοι) together with

⁵³ Strab. 12.3.37; cf. also Olshausen 1990, 1870.

⁵⁴ Olshausen 1990, 1871.

⁵⁵ Strab. 12.3.32, 7.3.36.

⁵⁶ Strab. 15.3.15. For a discussion and commentary of Strabo's account, see de Jong 1997, 121–156.

⁵⁷ Published by Aydaş 2002, and reconsidered by Debord 2005.

⁵⁸ Published by Harper 1967.

their children throughout life (διὰ βίου). The interpretation of *barzokhara* is disputed. Rüdiger Schmitt derived *barzo* from an Iranian (non-Persian) form **brzi-* “high” with the Greek connective vowel -o- and saw in *khara* the designation of Mount Harā. He arrived at the interpretation “von der hohen Harā stammend”.⁵⁹ Wikander pointed to personal names like Barzapharnēs and interpreted *barzo* as an Iranian form of Vedic *vārcas* “splendour, glory”; the second element *khara* was explained by him as a rendering of Middle Iranian *xwarr* with the Greek ending -a. Wikander was not convinced by Schmitt’s explanation, pointing out that the word order of the expression *Harā bərazaitī* is never reversed in the Avesta.⁶⁰ In my view Wikander was on the right track. The second element *-khara* most probably represents the Old Iranian *xvarənah-* (Mid. Ir. *xwarrah*). In Yašt 5 Anāhitā is invoked for giving *xvarənah-* (stanza 86). The goddess proclaims that she has been given the task by Ahura Mazda to protect creation with her *xvarənah-* (stanza 89), and in stanza 96 it is said that she rules over *xvarənah-*. The first element *barzo* is more difficult to interpret however. It can be connected with Avestan *barəz-* “high, exalted” (Mid. Ir. *burz/borz*) or with *bərazant-* “high, tall”, which is actually applied to Anāhitā (Yašt 5.15). The word *barəz-* makes better sense and should be compared with the epithet *nabarzes* of Mithras, interpreted in his mysteries as “the exalted, victorious Man”.⁶¹ I propose tentatively that the epithet *barzokhara* means ‘having exalted, victorious *xvarənah*’.⁶² The meaning of the Iranian term comes close to the Greek *nikēphoros* that occurs in an inscription (first century BC) from Comana as an epithet of the city’s goddess. The council (*gerousia*) honours Mithratokhmes (“offspring of Mithra”) also named Ariobarzanes, “the priest of the goddess who brings victory (τὸν ἱερέα τῆς νικηφόρου θεᾶς)”. The Persian names in the inscription and the evidence of Strabo suggest that the goddess mentioned could refer to Anaïtis.

The survival of Iranian elements in divine names and epithets of the Greco-Roman world also occurs elsewhere. Popular religion as manifested in the magical papyri knows for example the name BARZOU PHERBA attributed to Hekate-Artemis in a spell dedicated to Selene.⁶³ A divinity BARZA also occurs in a love spell offered to “the star of Aphrodite”, and in one of the two passages she receives the epithet “great” (μεγάλη).⁶⁴ In these cases the words *barzou* and *barza* should no doubt be connected with the *barzo-* in the epithet *barzokhara*.

⁵⁹ Schmitt 1970.

⁶⁰ Wikander 1971.

⁶¹ Cf. Hultgård 2004.

⁶² The word *bəraz-* “high, exalted” may have acquired the additional meaning “exalted by victory, triumphant”. The -o- in *barzokhara* can be explained as the connective vowel of compounds frequently attested in the Avesta.

⁶³ PGM 4.2622–2707.

⁶⁴ PGM 4.2891–2942.



Fig. 4. Sasanian silver ewer with gilded background and depiction of semi-nude females within arcades. These dancing females are probably connected with the cult of Anāhitā. Iran, sixth century. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. After Harper 1979, 109–111, fig. 59.

Anaïtis in western Asia Minor

In western Asia Minor worship of Anaïtis is particularly attested for Lydia, and in all probability was introduced in Achaemenian times.⁶⁵ The mention of Berossos that Artaxerxes II Mnemon had a cult image of Anaïtis erected in Sardis supports this assumption, as does the concentration of Anaïtis-inscriptions to Lydia. Her worship is not known from other provinces in the region, such as Lycia and Pamphylia.⁶⁶ Tacitus reports that the inhabitants of Hierocaesarea, also known as Hierakome, were convinced that “king Cyrus” founded their sanctuary of Anaïtis, here called *Persica Diana*.⁶⁷ The statement could refer to Cyrus the Great but it is more probable that the younger Cyrus is meant.⁶⁸ Pausanias reports that Cappadocians and Lydians both claim that the cult statue of Artemis belongs to them and remarks that the Lydians have a sanctuary (*hieron*) of Artemis Anaïtis.⁶⁹ He perhaps refers to the same sanctuary in another passage where the goddess is called “the Persian Artemis”.⁷⁰

The relatively large number of inscriptions dedicated to Anaïtis in western Asia Minor constitute a valuable source of information on the cult of the goddess.⁷¹ The inscriptions are found on different types of monuments, such as dedication altars, tombstones, and honorary stelai. They often originate from sanctuaries. The monuments known as the Leyden-stelai all seem to derive from a sanctuary of Anaïtis somewhere in the region of Maeonia.⁷²

The epithets and rites associated with Anaïtis in the inscriptions show great diversity. In the first place she is qualified as μεγάλη (“great”), and as θεά (“divine” or “goddess”).⁷³ She is frequently invoked as Μητηρ Ἀναεῖτις (Mother Anaïtis).⁷⁴ The word “Mother” may here refer to the Anatolian goddess Mētēr but can also be interpreted as an epithet: Anaïtis the Mother. One inscription actually uses “mother” in this way.⁷⁵ The personal name *Mādbōg* in Iran meaning “having been saved by the Mother” points to Anāhitā as mother goddess.⁷⁶ Anaïtis was thought to manifest herself in a visible manner, that is to be *epiphanēs*. A certain Theophronos who had inherited the office of priest of the goddess was responsible for “the very visible manifestation of Anaïtis Artemis” (*epiphanestatos*).⁷⁷ She is a god-

⁶⁵ Cf. Debord 1986.

⁶⁶ For Lycia, see Frei 1990, 1850.

⁶⁷ Tac. *Ann.* 3.62.

⁶⁸ Wikander 1946, 85 considered the statement to be a late legend without historical value. Martin P:son Nilsson (in Wikander 1946, 85, n. 2) proposed instead that the cult was in fact not introduced by Cyrus the Great but by the younger Cyrus. In this he is followed by Boyce & Grenet (1991, 202).

⁶⁹ Paus. 3.16.8–9.

⁷⁰ Paus. 7.6.6–7.

⁷¹ Keil (1923, 250) listed no less than 44 attestations of Anaïtis worship including some literary evidence. Since then several new inscriptions have turned up.

⁷² Robert 1958, 136; Diakonoff 1979, 141.

⁷³ For μεγάλη, see Diakonoff 1979, nos. 1, 4, 5, 11, 12, 13. For θεά, see Diakonoff 1979, nos. 6, 8, 10, 13.

⁷⁴ Diakonoff 1979, nos. 3, 8, 9, 11, 15, 36, 40, 41, 43; cf. also nos. 15, 17.

⁷⁵ Diakonoff 1979, no. 8.

⁷⁶ Wikander 1946, 116–117.

⁷⁷ *OGIS*, no. 470, lines 19–20.

dess who listens to and answers the prayers of her worshippers, as expressed by the epithet ἐπήκοος. She is also qualified as βοηθός (“who gives help”).⁷⁸ Further epithets reveal new aspects of her character. She was thought to have emerged “from sacred waters”: Ἀναεῖτις ἡ ἀπὸ ἱεροῦ ὕδατος.⁷⁹ An epithet like “Azita” emphasised her association with a local place and its cult.⁸⁰ She was also invoked as “lady” (κύρια) and she could appear as a “family goddess” (ἡ συγγενική θεός).⁸¹ Another epithet is Ἀξιοττήνη or Ἀξιοττηνός, which indicates her association with the god Mēn.⁸²

Anaïtis is in addition associated with a particular form of personal religion that appears in a number of Greek inscriptions found in eastern Lydia and some adjacent districts. This type of personal religion is characterised by a person’s (people’s) confession of having committed an offense against the deity (or deities), which is then followed by divine punishment. This leads to a change of mind; an act of atonement is performed and the deity is praised.⁸³ The inscriptions display a common formulaic pattern distinguished by some key terms as ἡμάρτησεν (“she or he committed an offense”), κολασθεῖς (“having been punished”), ἱλασάμενος (“having propitiated [the deity]”), (ἀπὸ) νῦν (“from now on”), and a form of the verb εὐλογεῖν (“praise”) or εὐχαριστεῖν (“give thanks to”). The kind of offense committed is less often stated. An example where it is explicitly mentioned occurs on a marble stele from Sandal. A man who out of ignorance cut down trees in the sacred grove of Zeus Sabasios and Artemis Anaïtis was punished, but he prayed to the deities (εὐξάμενος) and set up the monument in gratitude.⁸⁴ The monuments (stelai, altars) of this genre are preferably dedicated to indigenous deities, mostly Men Motylleites and Anaïtis. These monuments with their confession inscriptions enforce the personal relationship that bound the worshippers to their goddess.

Discussion

We have followed the diffusion of Anāhitā and her cult from Iran to westernmost Asia Minor. The main question posed, i.e. that of transformation and continuity, will have a complex answer. Let us first look at the nature and functions of Anāhitā in comparing the description of Yašt 5 with what is told about her in the sources from Armenia and Asia Minor.

Armenian tradition hails Anahit with the epithet *mec* (“great”) which emphasises the might and importance of the goddess. In Greek texts she is

⁷⁸ Diakonoff 1979, nos. 10, 27.

⁷⁹ Diakonoff 1979, no. 23.

⁸⁰ Diakonoff 1979, nos. 11, 13.

⁸¹ That is how I interpret the expression. For the inscription, see Diakonoff 1979, no. 14.

⁸² Diakonoff 1979, nos. 3 and 21. In no. 21 it is said that the persons who erected the funeral stele “set up the staves (σκῆπτρα) of Aksiottēnos and of Anaïtis”. For Mēn Aksiottēnos, see Varinlioglu 1991, no. 2.

⁸³ Steinleitner 1913 collected a considerable number of such inscriptions. This type of monument and its underlying idea is discussed by Robert 1964, 23–30. Confession inscriptions dedicated to Anaïtis are found in Diakonoff 1979, nos. 4, 5, 8, 11, 12, 20, 31, 44; Herrmann & Malay 2007, no. 85.

⁸⁴ Diakonoff 1979, no. 20.

referred to by the corresponding epithets *megalē* (“great”) and *megistē* (“greatest”). These are applied to other female deities in the Greco-Roman world as well, but there is also a line of thought connecting the Iranian tradition with the Armenian and Asia Minor attestations. The Armenian and Greek epithets could at the same time reflect the concepts *masita-* (“large, great”) and the corresponding noun *masah-* attributed to Anāhitā in her aspect of a mighty river goddess (Yašt 5.3); an echo of the word *sūra-* (“mighty”) in her complete name may also be heard. Similarly, the epithet *bānūg* (Lady) attributed to Anāhitā in the Sasanian inscriptions connects her with the Armenian *tikin* and the Greek *κυρία* in a Lydian dedication, both meaning “Lady” or “Ruler”.⁸⁵ Other female deities of Asia Minor are also worshipped with the epithet *κυρία*. The Kyme aretology says that Isis is “Ruler (*κυρία*) of war, thunder and rains”.⁸⁶ An inscription from Paphlagonia calls her *κυρία Ἰσις* (Lady Isis); so also on a marble pillar from the temple of Augustus in Ancyra.⁸⁷ The Hellenistic-Roman Isis had more success and spread over a much wider area than the Anāitis cult. In Asia Minor the two goddesses shared common attributes, but it seems that the Anāitis cult did not develop a mystery character similar to that of the Isis worship.

The epithet *epēkoos* of Anāitis may be compared with what is said about Anāhitā: that she is *paitišmarəmnā*, i.e. listens to the prayers of the worshipper.⁸⁸ Moreover in the Avestan hymn worshippers ask a favour of Anāhitā which they are accorded by sacrificing (formula cited above). This relationship corresponds to the idea underlying the epithet *epēkoós*. On the other hand this epithet is also attributed to various deities in the eastern part of the Hellenistic-Roman world. The inscriptions range in time from the first century BC to the third century CE. In Asia Minor we find *epēkoós* in dedications to Isis (Lydia) and to the “Mother of gods” (Pisidia).⁸⁹ Male deities and groups of deities also receive the epithet.⁹⁰

Anāitis is also associated with the idea of being *epiphanēs*; that is, she was thought to manifest herself in a visible manner. The descriptions of Anāhitā’s appearance in Yašt 5 are clearly in agreement with that idea. The *yašt* gives a vivid image of what the goddess looks like when she becomes *epiphanēs* to the worshipper. Anāitis’ epithet of being “very manifest” (see above) is also attributed to other deities in Asia Minor. In an inscription from Knidos mentioning “the very great and manifest god Helios” (*μέγιστος καὶ ἐνφανέστατος*).⁹¹ The emphasis on gold in the epithets of the Armenian Anahit recalls the repeated references to gold and being golden in the description of Anāhitā in the Avesta.⁹² On this point, I believe, there is a direct

⁸⁵ Diakonoff 1979, no. 22.

⁸⁶ *RICIS*, no. 302/0204 lines 41, 42, 54.

⁸⁷ *RICIS*, no. 309/0401 and 311/0101.

⁸⁸ Yašt. 5.123: *zaōθre vācim paitišmarəmnā* where *zaōθre* (from *zaotar-* “sacrificial priest”) stands for the genitive and where the verb *paitišmar-* in the medium means “to remember repeatedly for oneself”.

⁸⁹ *RICIS*, no. 303/0201; Iversen 2015, no. 10.

⁹⁰ Blümel 2004, no.16: dedication to an unknown god qualified as *ἀγαθός, κρυπτός, ἐπήκοος* (“good, hidden, listening”); *OGIS*, no. 383, lines 59–60, Nemrud Dag: Antiochus I refers to *δαίμοσιν ἐπήκοοις* (“the divinities who listen”), that is the deities of Commagene.

⁹¹ Blümel 1992, no. 91.

⁹² Yašt. 5.64, 78, 123, 126–128.

continuity. The same holds for the epithet *barzokhara*, which has preserved indigenous Iranian tradition and expresses the ability of the goddess to bring good fortune to her worshippers. The character of the Avestan Anāhitā as a water and river goddess finds an echo in the inscription from Lydia calling her “Anāitis of the sacred waters” (see above). This correspondence suggests a direct link to Iranian ideas.⁹³

Looking at the things for which Anāitis was invoked we may discern further traits in the image of the goddess that correspond to what is told of Anāhitā in the Iranian *yašt*. Anāitis is a healing goddess; she cures sickness and other forms of bodily suffering.⁹⁴ This recalls the Iranian epithet *baēžaziia-* (“healing”) given to Anāhitā in *Yašt* 5.1. Generally speaking Anāitis provides protection and favours wellbeing.⁹⁵ She is praised for salvation (σωτηρία) without further precision.⁹⁶ The Iranian *yašt* indicates a close relationship between individual worshippers and the goddess. The fact that Anāitis figures prominently in the particular form of personal religion described above is in line with that relationship.

A separate problem is raised by the identification of Anāhitā with the Greek Artemis and Aphrodite, as well as with Anatolian goddesses like Mētēr and the Phrygian Ma. The equations are expressed in new combinations where both names are included. The goddesses with whom Anāhitā is identified are mostly mentioned first, thus we have: Artemis Anāitis, Aphrodite Anāitis and Mētēr Anāitis.⁹⁷ How were such compound deities conceived of by people worshipping them? Is it the Greek goddess that stands in the foreground, though in her Persian aspect, just as she manifests herself in local variants?⁹⁸ Conversely when she appears as Anāitis Artemis, do we have to interpret this differently?⁹⁹ Anāitis is sometimes referred to by the name “the Persian goddess” or “the Persian Artemis”.¹⁰⁰ The mention of Artemis alone can in some cases be supposed to refer to Anāitis. The equation of Anāhitā with Artemis was probably facilitated by striking similarities in function and character between the two deities.¹⁰¹

When it comes to ritual we have practically no information on the ceremonies and sacrifices performed in honour of Iranian Anāhitā. The original setting of the *yašt* dedicated to her seems no longer accessible. Part of it recurs in the *yasna* service (*Yasna* 65). It can be assumed that materials from the present *Yašt* 5 were recited in the shrines dedicated to Anāitis during the rituals of the Magi as described by Strabo and Pausanias. Particulars of the sacrificial rite with which Anāhitā should be approached

⁹³ Emphasised also by Robert 1976, 44–46.

⁹⁴ Diakonoff 1979, nos. 2, 7, 11, 28, 33.

⁹⁵ Diakonoff 1979, no. 21; Harper 1967.

⁹⁶ Diakonoff 1979, no. 41.

⁹⁷ For Artemis Anāitis, see Naour 1983, 108–109. Dedication from Maonia; Paus. 3.16.8. For Aphrodite Anāitis, see Clem. Al., *Protr.* 5.65.3; Anāitis Aphrodite, see Agathias, *Hist.* 2.24.

⁹⁸ E.g. Artemis Astia, *SEG* 58, 2008 (2012), no. 1211. Iasos, Caria. Dedication of an andron (late fourth to third century BC) to the goddess Artemis.

⁹⁹ *OGIS*, no. 470. Lines 5–6 and 19–20 mentions a certain Theophronos who inherited his priesthood of “Anāitis Artemis”.

¹⁰⁰ For Artemis Persia, see Diod. Sic. 5.77.6–8. For Persikē Artemis, see Paus. 7.6.6–7. Brosius (1998) proposes a reference to the Greek Artemis having adopted some Persian features.

¹⁰¹ See Hjerrild 2009 and especially Sansalvador 2016.

are however given in the Iranian hymn. The goddess expects the worshippers to bring her well-prepared libations of *haoma* and milk.¹⁰²

Rituals associated with Anāhitā are recorded however for Armenia and Asia Minor. As noted above ritual prostitution was practised by high-ranking young women in Akilisene as temple servants of the goddess. It could be inferred from the wording of Strabo that this was also the case among the Iranians: “all the sacrificial rites of the Persians are also observed by the Medes and the Armenians, those of Anaïtis preferably by the Armenians”. Then follows the mention of the sacred prostitution in Akilisene. There is little explicit evidence of such a practice in ancient Iran, but it cannot be excluded altogether.¹⁰³ Images of young women displaying their sexual attractiveness on Sasanian silver vessels and ewers have been interpreted as depicting temple servants, the attendants or hierodules of Anāhitā (Fig. 4).¹⁰⁴

An overview of the date of the epigraphic material mentioning Anaïtis in Asia Minor shows that almost all inscriptions belong to the Roman imperial period. Assuming that the impetus to the Anaïtis cult came in Achaemenian times, the rarity of inscriptions from the Hellenistic period seems strange. This fact might be explained by different circumstances, but it nevertheless raises a problem.

In conclusion, many epithets and functions of Anatolian Anaïtis correspond to what is said of Anāhitā in Yašt 5. The Armenian idea of Anahit however shows some independent features. At the same time, most epithets of the inscriptions dedicated to Anaïtis are also attributed to other deities in Asia Minor. They reveal a language of cult that was common to that area and in a wider perspective to the eastern part of the Greco-Roman world. On the other hand, the survival of the name Anaïtis, and the presence of a pure Iranian epithet *barzokhara* as well as of otherwise rare elements such as the invocation of Anaïtis as a water goddess, suggest continuity with Iran. The mention of Anaïtis as the Persian goddess or the Persian Artemis indicates that the knowledge of a Persian origin was still alive in the Roman imperial period. This would also imply that people could identify some traits in the image of Anaïtis and her cult as Persian.

Anders Hultgård

Gråmesvägen 6

SE-756 52 UPPSALA

anders.hultgard@teol.uu.se

¹⁰² Yašt 5.8: “who will praise me, who will sacrifice to me with haoma and milk libations purified and well filtered” (*kō mqm stauuay, kō yazāite haomauaitibiio gaomauaitibiio zaoθrābiiō yaoždātābiiō pairiaŋhuštābiiō*).

¹⁰³ As also stated by Wikander 1946, 89.

¹⁰⁴ Farridnejad 2015, 25–31; Howard 1994, 50. These Sasanian vessels and ewers are in the possession of various museums, such as the State Hermitage Museum, the National Museum of Iran, the Cleveland Museum of Art, and Metropolitan Museum of Art.

Abbreviations

- OGIS* *Orientis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae*, 2 vols., ed. W. Dittenberger, Leipzig 1903, 1905.
- PGM* *Papyri Graecae Magicae. Die griechischen Zauberpapyri*, hrsg. und übers. von K. Preisendanz. 2. verb. Aufl., durchgesehen und hrsg. von A. Henrichs, Stuttgart 1973–1974.
- RICIS* *Recueil des inscriptions concernant les cultes isiaques (RICIS)* (Mémoires de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres, 31), 3 vols., ed. L. Briault, Paris 2005.

Bibliography

- Agat 'angeloy Patmut 'iwn Hayoc', eds. G. Ter-Mkrtch'ean & St. Kanayents', Tibilis, 1909.
- Anklesaria, B.T. 1956. *Zand-Ākāsīh. Iranian or Greater Bundahišn*, Bombay.
- Aydaş, M. 2002. 'A priest of the goddess Ma at Komana. (An inscription in the Aksaray Museum)', *EpigAnat* 34, 23–27.
- Back, M. 1978. *Die sassanidischen Staatsinschriften. Studien zur Orthographie und Phonologie des Mittelpersischen der Inschriften zusammen mit einem etymologischen Index des mittelpersischen Wortgutes und einem Textcorpus der behandelten Inschriften* (Acta Iranica, 18; Texte et mémoires, 8), Téhéran & Liège.
- Benveniste, É. 1929. *The Persian religion according to the chief Greek texts*, Paris.
- Bier, C. 1985. 'Anāhīd, iv. Anāhitā in the arts', in *Encyclopaedia Iranica* 1, ed. E. Yarshater, London, 1009–1011.
- Blümel, W. 1992. *Die Inschriften von Knidos*, I (Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien, 41), Bonn.
- Blümel, W. 2004. 'Neue Inschriften aus Karien II: Mylasa und Umgebung', *EpigAnat* 37, 1–42.
- Boyce, M. 1982. *A history of Zoroastrianism*, vol. 2. *Under the Achaemenians* (Handbuch der Orientalistik), Leiden & Köln.
- Boyce, M. 1985. 'Anāhīd, i. Ardwišūr Anāhīd/ii. Anaitis', in *Encyclopaedia Iranica* 1, ed. E. Yarshater, London, 1003–1006.
- Boyce, M. & F. Grenet 1991. *A history of Zoroastrianism*, vol. 3. *Zoroastrianism under Macedonian and Roman rule* with a contribution by R. Beck (Handbuch der Orientalistik), Leiden, New York, København & Köln.
- Brosius, M. 1998. 'Artemis Persike und Artemis Anaitis', in *Achaemenid history*, 11. *Studies in Persian history: essays in memory of David M. Lewis*, eds. M. Brosius & A. Kuhrt, Leiden, 227–238.
- Debord, P. 1986. 'La survie des cultes iraniens en Anatolie. L'exemple d'Anaïtis en Lydie', in *Les grandes figures religieuses. Fonctionnement pratique et symbolique dans l'Antiquité. Besançon 25–26 avril 1984* (Lire les polythéismes, 1; Centre de recherches d'histoire ancienne, 68; Annales littéraires de l'Université de Besançon, 329), Paris, 85–91.
- Debord, P. 2005. 'La déesse Ma et les hirondelles blanches', *RÉG* 118, 15–30.
- Diakonoff, I. 1979. 'Artemidi Anaëiti anestesēn. The Anaëitis-dedications in the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden at Leyden and related material from Eastern Lydia. A reconsideration', *BABesch* 54, 139–188.
- Duchesne-Guillemin, J. 1973. *Religion of ancient Iran*, Bombay.
- Dumézil, G. 1968. *Mythe et épopée I. L'idéologie des trois fonctions dans les épopées des peuples indo-européens*, Paris.
- Durkin-Meisterernst, D. 2004. 'The apotropaic magical text M 389 and M 8430/1 in Manichaean Middle Persian', *Aram* 16, 141–159.

- Elsas, C. 1986. 'Aradvī Sūrā Anāhitā', in *Wörterbuch der Mythologie*, Abt.1. *Die alten Kulturvölker*, Bd. 4. *Götter und Mythen der kaukasischen und iranischen Völker*, eds. H.W. Haussig & C. Colpe et al., Stuttgart, 275–286.
- Farridnejad, Sh. 2015. 'The iconography of Zoroastrian angelology in Sasanian art and architecture', in *Spirits in transcultural skies. Auspicious and protective spirits in artefacts and architecture between East and West*, eds. N. Gutschow & K. Weiler, Cham, 19–42.
- Frei, P. 1990. 'Die Götterkulte Lykiens in der Kaiserzeit', in *ANRW II. Prinzipat*, Bd. 18:3, ed. W. Haase, Berlin & New York, 1729–1864.
- Garitte, G. 1946. *Documents pour l'étude du livre d'Agathange* (Studi e testi, 127), Città del Vaticano.
- Gnoli, Gh. 1974. 'Politique religieuse et conception de la royauté sous les Achéménides', in *Commémoration Cyrus. Actes du congrès de Shiraz 1971 et autres études, rédigées à l'occasion du 2500^e anniversaire de la fondation de l'empire perse. Hommage universel*, 2 (Acta Iranica, 2), eds. J. Duchesne-Guillemin, P. Lecoq & J. Kellens, Téhéran & Liège, 117–190.
- The Greek magical papyri in translation, including the Demotic spells*, vol. 1. *Texts*, ed. H.D. Betz, 2nd ed., Chicago 1992.
- Harper, P.O. 1979. 'Court silver of Sasanian Iran', *Highlights of Persian art*, ed. R. Ettinghausen & E. Yarshater, Boulder, 97–115.
- Harper, R.P. 1967. 'A dedication to the goddess Anaitis at Ortaköy, north of Aksaray, (Nitalis?)', *AnatSt* 17, 193.
- Herrmann, P. (†) & H. Malay 2007. *New documents from Lydia* (DenkschrWien, 340; Erg.bände zu den Tituli Asiae Minoris, 24), Wien.
- Hjerrild, B. 2009. 'Near Eastern equivalents to Artemis', in *From Artemis to Diana. The goddess of man and beast* (Acta Hyperborea, 12), eds. T. Fischer-Hansen & B. Poulsen, Copenhagen, 41–49.
- Howard, K. (ed.) 1994. *The Metropolitan Museum of Art guide*, New York.
- Hultgård, A. 2004. 'Remarques sur les repas culturels dans le mithriacisme', in *Le Repas de Dieu. Das Mahl Gottes. 4. Symposium Strasbourg, Tübingen, Upsal, Strasbourg 11–15 septembre 2002* (Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament, 169), ed. C. Grappe, Tübingen, 299–324.
- Iversen, P. 2015. 'Inscriptions from Northwest Pisidia', *EpigAnat* 48, 1–85.
- de Jong, A. 1997. *Traditions of the Magi. Zoroastrianism in Greek and Latin literature* (Religions in the Graeco-Roman world, 133), Leiden, New York & Köln.
- Keil, J. 1923. 'Die Kulte Lydiens', in *Anatolian studies presented to Sir William Mitchell Ramsay* (Publications of the University of Manchester, 160), eds. W.H. Buckler & W.M. Calder, Manchester, 239–266.
- Kellens, J. 2002–2003a. 'Le problème avec Anāhitā', in *Orientalia Suecana* 51–52, 317–326.
- Kellens, J. 2002–2003b. 'Langues et religions indo-iraniennes', in *Cours et travaux du Collège de France. Annuaire* 103^e année, Paris.
- Kent, R.G. 1953. *Old Persian. Grammar. Texts. Lexicon* (American Oriental series, 33), New Haven, Conn.
- Lecoq, P. 2016. *Les livres de l'Avesta. Les textes sacrés des Zoroastriens ou Mazdéens*, Paris.
- Lommel, H. 1954. 'Anahita – Sarasvati', in *Asiatica. Festschrift Friedrich Weller. Zum 65. Geburtstag gewidmet von seinen Freunden, Kollegen und Schülern*, eds. J. Schubert & U. Schneider, Leipzig, 405–413.
- Naour, Ch. 1983. 'Nouvelles inscriptions du Moyen Hermos', *EpigAnat* 2, 107–141.
- Oettinger, N. 1983. *Untersuchungen zur avestischen Sprache am Beispiel des Ardvīsūr-Yašt*, Habilitationsschrift, München.
- Olshausen, E. 1990. 'Götter, Heroen und ihre Kulte in Pontos – ein erster Bericht', in *ANRW II. Prinzipat*, Bd. 18:3, ed. W. Haase, Berlin & New York, 1865–1906.
- Panaino, A. 2000. 'The Mesopotamian heritage of Achaemenian kingship', in *The heirs of Assyria. Proceedings of the opening symposium of the Assyrian and*

- Babylonian Intellectual Heritage Project held in Tvärminne, Finland, October 8–11, 1998* (Melammu Symposia, 1), eds. S. Aro & R.M. Whiting, Helsinki, 35–49.
- Pleket, H.W. 1958. *The Greek inscriptions in the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden at Leyden*, Leiden.
- Pope, A.U. & P. Ackermann. 1938. *Survey of Persian art. From Prehistoric times to the present*, vol. 1, *Text: Pre-Achaemenid, Achaemenid and Sasanian periods*, London.
- Ringbom, L.-I. 1957. *Zur Ikonographie der Göttin Ardivi Sura Anahita* (Acta Academiae Aboensis, Humaniora, 23:2), Åbo.
- Robert, L. 1958. 'Inscriptions grecques de Sidè en Pamphylie (époque impériale et Bas-Empire)', *RPhil* 32, 15–53.
- Robert, L. 1964. *Nouvelles inscriptions de Sardes*, fasc. 1. *Décret hellénistique de Sardes, dédicaces aux diex indigènes, inscriptions de la synagogue*, Paris.
- Robert, L. 1976. 'Monnaies grecques de l'époque impériale, 1. Types monétaires à Hypaipa de Lydie', *RN* 18, 25–48.
- Sansalvador, A.V. 2016. 'Iranian Anāhitā- and Greek Artemis: three significant co-incidences', in *Sahasram Ati Srajas. Indo-Iranian and Indo-European studies in honor of Stephanie W. Jamison*, eds. D. Gunkel, J.T. Katz, B. Vine & M. Weiss, Ann Arbor, 433–443.
- Schmitt, R. 1970. 'BAPZOXAPA – ein neues Anāhitā-Epitheton aus Kappadokien', *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung* 84:2, 207–210.
- Sellwood, D. 1980. *An introduction to the coinage of Parthia*, London.
- Skjærvø, P.O. 2003. *An introduction to Young Avestan*. Available online at <http://www.harvard.edu/webpub.pdf>
- Steinleitner, F. 1913. *Die Beicht im Zusammenhang mit der sakralen Rechtspflege in der Antike. Ein Beitrag zum näheren Kenntnis kleinasiatisch-orientalische Kulte der Kaiserzeit*, Leipzig.
- Teixidor, J. 1981. 'Anaeitis', in *LIMC* I, 754–756.
- Thomson, R.W. 1976. *Agathangelos. History of the Armenians*, translation and commentary, Albany.
- Utas, B. 2013. *From Old to New Persian. Collected essays* (Beiträge zur Iranistik, 38), eds. C. Jahani & M. Fallahzadeh, Wiesbaden.
- Varinlioglu, E. 1991. 'Vier Inschriften aus Lydien', *EpigAnat* 18, 91–95.
- Widengren, G. 1968. *Les religions de l'Iran*, Paris.
- Wikander, S. 1946. *Feuerpriester in Kleinasien und Iran* (Skr. utg. av Kungl. Humanistiska Vetenskapssamfundet i Lund, 40), Lund.
- Wikander, S. 1972. 'BAPZOXAPA', *Acta Orientalia* 34, 13–15.
- Winkler, G. 1980. 'Our present knowledge of the History of Agat'angelos and its oriental versions', *Revue des études arméniennes* 14, 125–141.

Failed Ambitions: Herodotus' Account of the Ionian Revolt and its Motivation

by

Jan Köster

Abstract

This paper deals with the so-called Ionian Revolt (499–494 BC) and its depiction in the *Histories* of Herodotus. The focus is on the question of how personal ambitions and external constraints like social or hierarchical tensions influence the behaviour of the main characters. The aim is to shed light from a different angle on the causes and the course of the revolt. Particular attention is paid to the identification of narrative patterns and structural parallels.

Introduction

The failure of the Ionian Revolt is a much-noted disaster of historic proportions and a crucial event within the Greco-Persian Wars.¹ The main (and in many respects only) source for the uprising is the *Histories* of Herodotus. This opus and its trustworthiness have been discussed many times before. Without doubt, the way in which Herodotus depicts the Ionian Revolt is not unproblematic.² If only because of the time lag between the uprising and Herodotus' writing, caution must be exercised.³ Reconstructing the real events is often difficult, if not impossible. By concentrating on narrative composition, however, new perspectives arise. In particular, it is worth ex-

¹ The sack of Miletus in 494 BC inspired the poet Phrynicus to compose a tragedy of the same title, which is said to have traumatised the Athenian people (Hdt. 6.21.10).

² Donald Lateiner (1982, 129): "Herodotus' account of the Ionian Rebellion is unsatisfactory in the following respects: his narrative of facts is skimpy and fragmented; his attribution of trivial motives to the Ionians, especially to individuals, seems to have been biased by hostile sources, hostile especially to Histiaeus and Aristagoras; the absolute chronology of the revolt is the despair of commentators and historians; even the relative chronology poses problems; the biographical elements are full of the romantic, the fabulous, and the melodramatic; Herodotus' own condemnatory stance towards the Ionians as a group (1.143; 5.28, 69) and towards the revolt as a hopeless gesture (5.35, 97.3, 105.1; 6.3.1) colors the entire narrative; and Herodotus' notorious, if exaggerated, weakness in strategic questions, military and political, makes the modern historian's task all the more difficult."

³ There are more than fifty years between the events dealt with in the books and Herodotus' presence – a temporal gap that, of course, had to lead to (unintentional) deviations. Moreover, he had to rely on basically oral traditions and a few written chronicles. Undoubtedly, he was a pioneer in many ways and Cicero did not call him the "father of history" without reason (Cic. *Leg.* 1.5). On the other hand it is a truism that the *Histories* are not a factual account, but a piece of carefully composed and skilful crafted literature with Homeric influences (see Fehling 1971, 74; Murray 1988, 463; Bichler & Rollinger 2001, 15). Some special features, like his preference for the actions of individuals (Hdt. 1.1.0) rather than communities, must always be considered.

ploring what motives for action Herodotus assigns to his main characters and how he works with structural parallels in telling his narratives.

In 499 BC, on the eve of the Ionian Revolt, Asia Minor has for almost fifty years been under Persian control. Darius the Great holds supremacy and the satraps rule the provinces as his viceroys. Locally, however, there are various forms of governance. In the case of Ionia, the power over the *poleis* lies with the tyrants. Some of these local Greek elites were exceptionally powerful and influential. One of the most successful ones seems to have been Histiaeus, the tyrant of Miletus, who became a highly appreciated personal counsellor to the Great King at Susa.⁴ His career shows that the power structure of the Persian Empire offered room for individual advancement. To enhance one's personal power it was crucial to be in favour with the Great King.⁵ This concept promotes any kind of actions that benefit the Great King and fuels the ambitions of those who strive for higher positions. Of course, there is a risk of tensions within the imperial hierarchy if the Great King's minions come into conflict with each other, as is the case in Herodotus' account on the Ionian Revolt. It seems as if a conflict of competences between tyrant and satrap as well as a craving for power on both sides were influencing factors in the outbreak of the rebellion.

The Naxos campaign – a dispute over respective areas of authority

According to Herodotus, it all began with a group of influential men from Naxos who had been banished from their homeland.⁶ As old friends of Histiaeus, they came to Miletus to ask for military support in reclaiming their lost power. Maybe they thought that the powerful Ionian metropolis alone would be able to help them. But in any case, they were obviously willing to risk an armed conflict between the so far independent Cyclades

⁴ Of course it would have been difficult to rule Miletus from Susa. Therefore he entrusted the government of his city to his cousin and son-in-law Aristagoras. Herodotus calls Aristagoras not the tyrant of Miletus, but its *ἐπίτροπος* (Hdt. 5.30.2). Aristagoras is portrayed as a kind of deputy while the *tyrannis* is left to Histiaeus. It is impossible to decide whether Herodotus describes the power relations correctly or if he deliberately devaluates Aristagoras' role as an independent actor in order to increase the role of Histiaeus as a driving force in the Ionian Revolt. However, the existence of close family and political relationships between the two figures is beyond question.

⁵ Pericles B. Georges (2000, 13): "All this implies that Greeks of Histiaeus' status, tyrants of major Greek poleis, could attain status identities within the Persian system comparable to those of high-ranking Persians, at least in the eyes of Ionians before the revolt and the Persian Wars. Such possibilities could well have been especially rich under Darius, a usurper who was open to new men. To secure his rule he had to put down revolts throughout the empire and needed to construct from scratch a personal network of new alliances, not only among the Persian nobility, but also among the provincials . . . On the same lines, Darius created personal relations of dependency and reward among the Greek and Carian tyrants. Histiaeus himself became ktistes of Myrkinus while uniquely remaining titular tyrant of Miletus; thereafter he became a syssitos and symboulos of Darius at Susa (5.24.4) as well, with direct access to his person . . . Histiaeus at Susa was not a pampered political prisoner."

⁶ Hdt. 5.30.1.

and the Persian Empire.⁷ Aristagoras, the executive tyrant of Miletus, was indeed eager to help because he hoped to gain control of Naxos himself.⁸ It seems to have been a welcome opportunity to extend his own domain beyond the original borders of the Milesian territory. But Aristagoras was not able or willing to act in this matter alone. The text states that he lacks δύναιμις to help the exiles. Alfred D. Godley translates δύναιμις as “rights”.⁹ But it does not seem to refer to a legal basis, but to inability in a military sense. Naxos is said to have many warships and more than 8,000 men under arms,¹⁰ obviously too many for the Milesian forces. Therefore, Aristagoras proposes to ask the satrap Artaphrenes for assistance, obviously believing his plans would be supported by the Persian authorities.

The words are cleverly chosen because by stressing a military inability the question of whether or not the Milesian tyrant was dependent on the permission of the satrap is left completely unaddressed. Aristagoras thus appears more independent than he actually was. This impression is further strengthened in his answer to the Naxians, where Aristagoras calls the satrap Artaphrenes the governor of all coastal inhabitants in Asia (τῶν δ' ἐπιθαλασσίων τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίῃ ἄρχει πάντων).¹¹ He also mentions the close family ties of Artaphrenes to Darius. Interestingly, he does not refer to Artaphrenes as a superior, but a friend, who will do whatever Aristagoras and the exiled Naxians desire (τοῦτον ὧν δοκέω τῶν ἀνδρᾶ ποιήσῃν τῶν ἂν χρηζόμεν).¹² At first it seems, as if Herodotus wanted to portray Aristagoras as being particularly pretentious by claiming close friendship to the satrap. But on the other hand, the text does not raise any doubts concerning his statement. For Aristagoras actually does persuade the satrap to send ships and troops (even more than he demanded originally).¹³ If Herodotus really intended to portray Aristagoras as a bragger,¹⁴ one might expect a different dialogue in which Aristagoras would have been presented in a more negative light. But he is successful and the satrap appears to be immediately willing to support the Milesian tyrant in every respect.

The conversation is also remarkable in another respect. Aristagoras said that if Artaphrenes supports the efforts, he could win the islands as new territory for the Great King (νῆσους βασιλείῃ προσκτήσῃ).¹⁵ It is certainly no coincidence that Aristagoras does not speak of gaining land for Artaphrenes but for Darius (Aristagoras was said to have hoped to gain control of Naxos himself). It would be a mere quibble if Artaphrenes were not to respond in a similar way: he says Aristagoras' proposal was of benefit to the royal house (οἶκος βασιλέος).¹⁶ This utterance has a false bottom, too.

⁷ The fact that, according to Herodotus, the exiles hoped that Naxos would surrender immediately does not minimise the risk of a major conflict (Hdt. 5.30.6).

⁸ Hdt. 5.30.3. As Kienast (2002, 4) has mentioned, this seems to have been a “rein persönliches Motiv” of Aristagoras.

⁹ See Hdt. 5.30.3 (Loeb translation).

¹⁰ The numbers seem quite high. Probably, the 8,000 refer to both the Naxians and their allied forces. Cf. How & Wells 1957, 11.

¹¹ Hdt. 5.30.5.

¹² Hdt. 5.30.5.

¹³ Hdt. 5.31.4

¹⁴ E.g. Kienast (2002, 7) calls Aristagoras “großspurig und anmaßend”.

¹⁵ Hdt. 5.31.2.

¹⁶ Hdt. 5.31.4.

Artaphrenes may remain unmentioned by name but, of course, he is also a member of the royal family, and newly acquired territory would fall within his authority. It seems to be important for Herodotus to play with these nuances. Both sides see an advantage for themselves, but hide their ambitions by emphasising a profit for their overlord. As a result, tyrant and satrap seem to be of almost equal rank. This apparent equality is further strengthened by Aristagoras' promise to pay for the campaign¹⁷ and Artaphrenes' assurance that the ships would be ready for him (τοὶ ἔτοιμοι).¹⁸ The arrangement thus appears almost like a deal. It is important that Artaphrenes does not claim leadership of the campaign at any point; he only pledges his support to the Milesian tyrant, who even bears the costs of the venture. Guidance and execution are still in the hands of Aristagoras. At least that is how Herodotus depicts it in this scene.

Since even Artaphrenes is not allowed to decide on this matter alone,¹⁹ he contacts the Great King to ask for approval.²⁰ It might even have been possible for Aristagoras to contact Darius directly via Histiaeus. But it would not have been wise. Aristagoras calls Artaphrenes a friend. Therefore, contacting him first and winning him as supporter is logical. Otherwise, Artaphrenes might have felt passed over. In this way, the satrap also assumes (partial) responsibility for the usefulness and the success of the mission.

After the Great King gives his approval, Artaphrenes provides ships and troops as promised. At this point another actor enters the stage, which is of crucial importance for the further developments. Artaphrenes appoints a commander (στρατηγός) for the Persian army: Megabates, also a member of the royal family and close relative of Darius.²¹ He is no direct deputy of the Great King like his cousin Artaphrenes, but belongs to the inner circle. A man of his rank might have a hard time dealing with a power-hungry local tyrant like Aristagoras. Problems appear to be inevitable. It is not surprising that the passage to Naxos turned out to be ill fated.

Herodotus only gives a closer look to one episode that illustrates the tensions between the Persian commander and the Milesian tyrant. When during an inspection Megabates finds no guards on one of the ships from Myndos, he immediately executes disciplinary measures by putting the captain of the ship, Scylax, through one of the oar holes.²² Since Scylax is a friend of Aristagoras, the tyrant asks Megabates to release him. But Megabates refuses. Finally, Aristagoras frees the punished captain without approval. Megabates gets angry and confronts Aristagoras. But Aristagoras is not impressed. He asks rhetorically whether Megabates was not sent by

¹⁷ Hdt. 5.31.2.

¹⁸ Hdt. 5.31.4.

¹⁹ It is difficult to decide whether Darius' consent was indeed obligatory or if Artaphrenes only wanted to be reassured.

²⁰ Hdt. 5.31.4.

²¹ Hdt. 5.32. Georges claims (2000, 15) that Darius appointed Megabates, but the subject of the sentence is quite clearly Artaphrenes (ἐξουτοῦ τε καὶ Δαρείου) (Hdt. 5.32). Later, Aristagoras also considered Artaphrenes to be the one who has chosen Megabates (Hdt. 5.33.4). The equipping of the ships and the appointment of Megabates must be related to Artaphrenes. But at least it is possible that Darius himself suggested choosing Megabates as commander.

²² Hdt. 5.33.2.

Artaphrenes to obey his (Aristagoras') orders. He even tells Megabates to mind his own business.²³ Out of revenge, Megabates is said to have informed the Naxians about the approaching army, thwarting the joint venture.

The fact that Aristagoras initially sought dialogue rather than confrontation has been interpreted by scholars as a sign of weakness. In fact, it is difficult to imagine that the holder of the "overall command of the armada", as Pericles B. Georges called Aristagoras,²⁴ would ask instead of giving an order. On the other hand, it would be just as wrong to deduce that he held a lower rank as Dietmar Kienast did.²⁵ If Megabates had been superior in any way to Aristagoras, he could have punished him for insubordination as he did the Myndian captain, and he would not have tolerated Aristagoras' harsh words. But the Milesian tyrant was obviously untouchable.

However, the testimony that he committed treason because of the dissent does not seem very credible. In the end, it would have harmed him too.²⁶ This imputation, regardless of its veracity, should be considered as a sign of how toxic the atmosphere between the Persian commander and the Milesian tyrant must have been. Megabates was not willing to cave in to Aristagoras, but he could not command him either. Megabates' only chance is to denounce Aristagoras to Artaphrenes and the Great King afterwards – and indeed Aristagoras is afraid of that. For even if Aristagoras were right in this matter, his word would stand against that of a member of the royal family. In this situation both were in danger of losing face. Megabates had to maintain the discipline on his ships, and Aristagoras had to stand up for one of his men.

The disagreements seem to continue throughout the campaign. Herodotus gives no further details, but the results are quite clear. Despite their large number of ships and troops, the Ionian-Persian army is unable to conquer heavily fortified Naxos. After a four-month siege, Aristagoras' funds are depleted and large parts of the army have to withdraw.²⁷

²³ Hdt. 5.33.4.

²⁴ Georges 2000, 16.

²⁵ According to Kienast (2002, 7) Aristagoras was nothing more than a guide ("Wegführer") for the Persian army: "Das Kommando des Aristagoras erstreckte sich also allenfalls auf die milesischen Schiffe. Erst als ihm seine Bitte abgeschlagen wurde, befreite Aristagoras eigenmächtig den Skylax. Als Megabates darüber in Zorn geriet, soll ihm Aristagoras erklärt haben: 'Hat Artaphernes dich nicht zu mir geschickt, daß du mir gehorchst und fährst, wohin ich befehle?' (5.33.4). Aristagoras leitete also aus der Tatsache, daß er den Persern als Wegführer dienen sollte, Rechte gegenüber Megabates ab, die ihm eigentlich nicht zukamen. Wie bei den übrigen dem Aristagoras in den Mund gelegten Äußerungen läßt Herodot auch hier den milesischen Tyrannen großspurig und anmaßend erscheinen."

²⁶ Georges (2000, 16): "... it is hard to believe that Megabates himself ruined a project so dear to his King as well as to his own prospects. . . The alleged betrayal of Megabates therefore belongs with other elements of an exaggerated, but not fundamentally mistaken, version of events that saw the Megabazids, and afterwards Artaphrenes, consciously manoeuvring to destroy the power of the Milesian tyrants in Thrace and Ionia, and to end the city's anomalous independence."

²⁷ Hdt. 5.34.3.

Political upheaval in Ionia

Aristagoras faces a desperate situation. He is unable to meet the demands for further payments,²⁸ the campaign is a strategic disaster and he is in danger of being denounced by Megabates.²⁹ He fears that the *tyrannis* might be taken away from him.³⁰ At this point, it gets a little bit weird. Histiaeus is said to have sent an encrypted message to Aristagoras commanding him to rebel. Herodotus states that Histiaeus wanted to return home from Susa and hoped that in the event of a rebellion the Great King would send him to solve the problems.³¹ It is hardly imaginable that Histiaeus would take such a gamble because of homesickness – especially since the consequences were completely unforeseeable. But that is the role Herodotus gave him.

Aristagoras consults with his loyal followers (στασιώται) about what to do next. With the exception of Hecataeus, who is portrayed by Herodotus as the wise admonisher,³² everyone is in favour of a rebellion.³³ The decision is made and preparations for the uprising are immediately underway. First, an agent (Iatagoras) is assigned to gain control of the fleet that was deployed for the Naxos campaign, based at Myus. Iatagoras successfully arrests the fleet's commanders (στρατηγοί), all Greek by name and most probably tyrants like Aristagoras.³⁴ Obviously, Iatagoras was able to rely on broad support from the ship's crews. Otherwise, such a coup would not have been possible.

After gaining command of the fleets, Aristagoras dares to revolt openly. In addition to those who already have been arrested by Iatagoras, the remaining tyrants are captured; some are banished and others handed over to their cities for punishment. Aristagoras himself resigns from office and reorganises the polis of Miletus by establishing a democratic system (ισονομίην ἐποίηε τῇ Μιλήτῳ)³⁵ – for Aristagoras only a means to an end. On the basis of what Herodotus tells us, Aristagoras seems to have been primarily concerned with saving himself (and himself alone).³⁶ However,

²⁸ Walter (1993, 277) sees the threat of impoverishment as one of the main reasons for Aristagoras' actions: "Es liegt also auf der Hand, daß Aristagoras nicht vom Verlust seiner Herrschaft, sondern auch seines Status' als Aristokrat überhaupt bedroht war, für die Reichthum eine unabdingbare Voraussetzung bildete, Verarmung aber den Absturz bedeutete."

²⁹ Hdt. 5.35.1. Whether or not Aristagoras was allowed to give him orders is of no importance after the defeat. The Persian commander could argue that Aristagoras had caused a lack of discipline within the army by repealing a justified punitive measure. Aristagoras could be considered as an incapable commander by the Persian authorities after hearing this.

³⁰ Hdt. 5.35.1. According to Georges (2000, 18) Aristagoras would be deposed by Histiaeus. But Herodotus does not comment on this matter. In case of doubt, it would be Darius who would order the deposition of Aristagoras.

³¹ Hdt. 5.35.3.

³² In the speech of Hecataeus, Herodotus plays with future events. The proposal to use Didyma's treasures to gain an advantage in the coming battles and prevent them from being plundered (Hdt. 5.36.3), seems to refer to the actual lootings at the end of the revolt. Later on, he will once again warn Aristagoras of strategically unwise action, but will again be unheard (Hdt. 5.125).

³³ Hdt. 5.36.1–2.

³⁴ Hdt. 5.37.1. Among the arrested was at least one tyrant. Darius himself is said to have appointed Coes as ruler of Mytilene (Κῶν Ἐρξάνδρου, τῷ Δαρείῳ Μυτιλήνην ἐδωρήσατο Hdt. 5.37.1). This passage can be understood as a further indication of the high position and close relationship to the Great King the tyrants could achieve. Presumably the other στρατηγοί also were tyrants.

³⁵ Hdt. 5.37.2.

³⁶ One could draw parallels to Cleisthenes. See Georges 2000, 19.

this is only one side of the coin. That Aristagoras wanted to solve a political impasse into which he had maneuvered himself is one side – the other is that the ships' crews and the inhabitants of the Ionian cities were willing to support his revolt. Herodotus gives no details.³⁷ But there must have been a deep dissatisfaction among the Greeks of Asia Minor. The crucial question is, why?

One might consider economic reasons. But the assumption that Ionia was experiencing an economic depression at the end of the sixth century BC has already been refuted by Jack Martin Balcer in all desirable clarity.³⁸ Herodotus also leaves us no doubt that Ionia is booming at this time. He describes Naxos as the most prosperous island in the region and Miletus as the ornament of Ionia (ἡ Μίλητος αὐτὴ τε ἐωυτῆς μάλιστα δὴ τότε ἀκμάσασα καὶ δὴ καὶ τῆς Ἰωνίης ἦν πρόσχημα).³⁹ The archaeological evidence is clear too. Apart from the lively minting of coins,⁴⁰ there were numerous big construction projects. Miletus built at least two new monumental temples⁴¹ of expensive marble in the second half of the sixth century, which would not have been affordable for a weakened city. However, one has to be careful about making over-general observations in this context. The large-scale construction projects in particular were presumably prestigious ventures of the tyrants. Therefore, only limited conclusions can be drawn about the situation of the ordinary people from these building activities.

Conceivably, not everyone could benefit from the increasing prosperity. It is conspicuous that Artaphrenes, after defeating the Ionian Revolt, has the land surveyed and the tribute fixed. Herodotus sees this measure as very positive; it helped to pacify Ionia.⁴² Obviously, these matters were previously less rigorous or not regulated at all, which could have led to abuse and inequality. Small landowners in particular could have been at a disadvantage. This inequality could have led to tensions within the population.

³⁷ It is typical for Herodotus to focus on individuals and their actions, neglecting groups and societies as driving forces – so did Lang (1968, 27): “It is also true that Herodotus tends to see undertakings in personal terms, so that the Ionian Revolt could never be for him the expression of group policy but had to be initiated and carried through by individuals. And so it was necessary for Herodotus to view the unsuccessful Ionian Revolt as the work of individuals who acted either in despite of warnings or from over-vaulting personal ambition.”

³⁸ See Balcer 1991, 57–62.

³⁹ Hdt. 5.28.

⁴⁰ See Pfeiler 1966, 15.

⁴¹ Architectural fragments from an Archaic well indicate that the temple of Athena was built in the last quarter of the sixth century BC (Niemeier 1999, 396). Also in the case of the Aphrodite temple on the Zeytintepe everything points to the temple being completed in the late sixth century BC (Graeve 2013, 9).

⁴² Hdt. 6.42.1–2. According to Herodotus, the total amount of taxes paid by the Ionians after the reform by Artaphrenes was equal to the level before the revolt. However, if it was not a question of reducing or increasing taxes as a whole, the reform could only have been about redistributing the burden. Georges (2000, 34), on the other hand, is critical of the reorganisation of taxes by Artaphrenes: “His policy made no sense . . . and it confirms him as a vindictive incompetent whom Darius could ill afford to keep in place.” But this opinion contradicts Herodotus' assessment that the measure had contributed to the pacification of Ionia.

As the current situation was sustained by the tyrants, the democratically-minded forces may have gained momentum until a critical point was reached. This kind of a domestic political crisis (στάσις)⁴³ is well-known from other places and times in the Greek world.⁴⁴ Indeed, it is striking that the first actions of the rebels are directed against the tyrants.⁴⁵ However, Georges' assertion that the Ionian Revolt initially merely sought to abolish the tyrants, while the Persian rule over Ionia was to continue, seems to go too far.⁴⁶ It exaggerates one single aspect and contradicts Herodotus' depiction of events.⁴⁷ Of course, caution must be exercised on this issue, since Herodotus needs the Ionian Revolt as a central pillar of his monumental tale about the Greco-Persian Wars. But there is no reason to ignore his view on the events.

⁴³ Walter (1993, 277) in particular tried to show that the Ionian Revolt was not planned as a rebellion but grew out of a political impasse, which can be seen in Herodotus' choice of words: "Aufstand heißt bei Herodot stets ἀπόστασις, während das Simplex (στάσις / στασιώτης / στασιάζω) bis auf eine unsignifikante Ausnahme immer etwas anderes meint, nämlich Streit, militärische Stellung, Thronfolgestreit, Zwietracht im Kampf gegen einen auswärtigen Feind oder eben innenpolitischer Kampf zwischen Aristokraten, wofür sich allein ca. zwanzig Belege finden, überwiegend im athenischen Kontext. Klärend wirkt Hdt. 5.36.2: Hekataios rät von einer ἀπόστασις ab, obwohl er zu den συστασιῶται des Aristagoras gehört und diese Gruppe nicht etwa verläßt, sondern ihr auch später noch angehört (5.125). Mit dem Begriff kann also keine Aufstandsgruppe gemeint sein, sondern nur die Anhängerschaft des Aristagoras im innenpolitischen Kampf." However, the moment they reject the advice of Hecataeus and decide to rise up (ἀπίστασθαι, Hdt. 5.36.2, 4), this distinction is no longer valid. The origin may have been a στάσις, but the result must be regarded as a ἀπόστασις.

⁴⁴ Walter (1993, 275): "Die permanente Stasis als Merkmal der Politik in archaischer Zeit auch in Ionien vermochten die Perser nicht zu beseitigen, aber mit der massiven Unterstützung der bestehenden Tyrannen verschoben sie die Gewichte erheblich."

⁴⁵ But the consequences for the deposed rulers seem to have been rather harmless. With the exception of Coes, who was stoned to death by his former subjects (Hdt. 5.38.2), most of them could leave unharmed. They even reappeared as negotiators for the Persian cause at the end of the Ionian Revolt (Hdt. 6.9.2–4, 6.13.2). Herodotus writes that Aristagoras handed over the tyrants to please the *poleis* (τούτους δὲ φίλα βουλόμενος ποιέεσθαι τῆσι πόλεσι ἐξείδου Hdt. 5.37.2). This statement can be understood in two ways: he handed them over either because the *poleis* wanted to punish their tyrants themselves or because he knew that they wanted their former rulers unharmed (or at least they were not driven by thirst for revenge). The fact that most *poleis* let their tyrants go is more a sign of the latter. One would also wonder why the democrats so readily accepted a former tyrant (Aristagoras) as their new leader, if there was a radical aversion against the tyrants (as persons) across Ionia. A later statement by Herodotus (after the death of Aristagoras) suggests a kind of antipathy to Aristagoras. He writes that the Milesians were glad to be rid of Aristagoras (Hdt. 6.5.1). But this statement was made towards the end of the uprising after various military setbacks. Therefore, conclusions on public opinion regarding Aristagoras at the beginning of the uprising should not be drawn from this statement.

⁴⁶ Georges (2000, 25): "The Ionians had already achieved their main goals of overthrowing their tyrants and taking control of their ships and their own waters to defend their autonomy. They now wanted, in all probability, to guarantee their gains by diplomatic agreement while continuing to serve Persians ambitions, as they had done since the days of Cambyses."

⁴⁷ Objected by Kienast (2002, 17): "Daß die Jonier noch bis zur Ankunft des athenischen Flottenkontingents auf eine friedliche Übereinkunft mit Artaphernes gehofft hätten, wie Georges meint [23ff.], geht aus dem Bericht des Herodot nirgends hervor, sondern steht im Widerspruch zu dessen Angaben. Die Jonier hatten sich mit dem Abfall der Flotte und der Vertreibung der Tyrannen rettungslos kompromittiert und wußten das. Mit der Bestellung von Strategen und der Entsendung des Aristagoras nach Griechenland bereiteten sie daher alles auf einen Waffengang mit Persien vor."

Ionian's assault on Persian rule

According to Herodotus, the rebellion began with the dismissal of the tyrants, but in the same breath he mentions that from the very beginning Aristagoras had done everything he could to harm the Great King (πᾶν ἐπὶ Δαρείῳ μηχανώμενος).⁴⁸ This could be a retrospective reconstruction, but Herodotus might just as well have captured the true spirit of the revolt. Further developments confirm this impression. There can be no talk of restraint on the part of the Ionians after the deposition of the tyrants.⁴⁹ Instead, Aristagoras takes well-aimed steps to strengthen his own power and influence, while weakening Persia. It cannot be precluded that many of his followers were primarily interested in the abolition of the *tyrannis*, but the *tyrannis* cannot be separated from the Persian suzerainty. By deposing the tyrants, they automatically entered into an open conflict with Darius – and Aristagoras seems to have been well aware of this.

There were probably many reasons why the Ionians were willing to take this step. Apart from any internal tensions that might have existed, the immediate events during the Naxos campaign are also likely to have played a major role. Megabates was obviously a very strict commander. The punishment of Scylax described by Herodotus could represent the general treatment of the Ionians by the Persians within the fleet. It is difficult to speak of abuse in this case, since Herodotus gives a reason for Megabates' actions. But it certainly had a negative impact on the morale of the troops.⁵⁰ There is another factor whose effect should not be underestimated: the joint venture did not succeed in taking Naxos – even after four months – despite the enormous number of troops. The Ionians witnessed how the supposed superpower Persia failed to conquer a single Greek island. This moment of Persian weakness could have been a deciding factor.⁵¹ With that in mind, a successful armed uprising may have seemed achievable.

Aristagoras' further steps fit perfectly into this picture. Instead of starting negotiations with the Persians, as one would expect from Georges' theory, he sets off immediately to the Greek mainland to win allies for the fight against the Persians.⁵² Whether he really asked the Spartans even to attack

⁴⁸ Hdt. 5.37.1. A similar statement is made again later when Aristagoras deliberately causes unrest in Paeonia to hurt Darius: οὐδ' ὦν οὐδὲ τούτου εἵνεκα ἐποίηε ἀλλ' ὅπως βασιλέα Δαρεῖον λυπήσειε (Hdt. 5.98.1).

⁴⁹ Georges (2000, 24): "Nor did the Ionians make any move during the months afterward that the Persians could construe as hostile."

⁵⁰ Herodotus depicts the Ionian ships' crews generally as undisciplined and squeamish. They are said to have complained before the battle of Lade about the strenuous preparations and finally went on strike (Hdt. 6.12.2–4).

⁵¹ Kienast (2002, 17–18) has already highlighted the importance of the Persian failures. "Daß die Griechen Kleinasien nach dem Abfall der Flotte diesen Waffengang nicht vermeiden wollten, ist aus ihrer Sicht heraus verständlich. Die Verletzlichkeit der persischen Macht war ihnen schon bei dem mißglückten Skythenzug des Dareios bewußt geworden. . . Die vier Monate dauernde vergebliche Belagerung von Naxos hatte dann erneut die Grenzen der persischen Macht gezeigt. Konnte doch eine relativ kleine Insel selbst der mächtigen und modernen persischen Flotte und größeren persischen Streitkräften mit Erfolg Widerstand leisten. Daß in dieser Zeit Überlegungen über die Möglichkeiten und über die Grenzen der persischen Macht angestellt werden konnten und mußten, erscheint selbstverständlich."

⁵² Hdt. 5.38.2.

Susa⁵³ cannot be clarified in retrospect. It could be an invention of Herodotus. But a Greek campaign against the Persian heartland would have been a blessing for Aristagoras. Even in the event of failure, it would have distracted the Persians' attention from Ionia and given him valuable time to strengthen his position at the coast and prepare fleet actions. The Spartans refuse, but Aristagoras is able to persuade Athens and Eretria to send help. Their contribution is small (only 25 ships),⁵⁴ but not without value for Aristagoras.

After returning to Miletus, Aristagoras sends messengers to cause unrest among the Paeonians in Phrygia.⁵⁵ Obviously he wanted to create another sideshow of war to extend the revolt and to distract the Persians. The next blow is directed against Sardis, the seat of the satrap and administrative centre of the region – a clever chess move. Artaphrenes is one of the most dangerous opponents of Aristagoras. Eliminating him would severely weaken Persian power in western Asia Minor and encourage the revolt. Moreover, the Ionian war chest would greatly benefit from the city's riches. Under the command of Aristagoras' brother, the Ionian army sets out from Ephesus to invade Sardis.⁵⁶ With the exception of the heavily fortified citadel, they take control of the entire city in a single stroke.⁵⁷

There is no mention of whether or not they besieged the citadel, but apparently they immediately began to plunder the city. According to Herodotus, an Ionian soldier sparked a fire that accidentally spread all over the city. Even the temple of Cybebe fell victim to the blaze.⁵⁸ It is important to note that the Greeks are not portrayed as arsonists or desecrators of temples in this scene. It is just depicted as a case of negligence.⁵⁹ The Ionians then withdrew from the city. The Lydians and Persians of the citadel made a sortie into the *agora*,⁶⁰ but perhaps the Ionians actually fled from the fire or in fear of Persian reinforcements that were already approaching.

The response of the Persian Empire is prompt and fierce. They encounter the Ionians at Ephesus, defeating them devastatingly.⁶¹ It is a disaster for the rebels. Many are killed (including the commander of the Eretrians), and the survivors are scattered.⁶² Moreover, the Athenians abandon the Ionians.

The Ionians react to the severe setback with another offensive. Thanks to successful fleet operations, they gain control of Byzantium and thus the

⁵³ Hdt. 5.49.7.

⁵⁴ Hdt. 5.99.1.

⁵⁵ Hdt. 5.98.

⁵⁶ Hdt. 5.100.

⁵⁷ It seems as if the inhabitants had retreated to the fortress and abandoned the city without a fight, as the word of the approaching army was spreading.

⁵⁸ Hdt. 5.102.1.

⁵⁹ Herodotus' comparatively detailed explanatory statement shows that a conflagration of this size was no matter of course for his readers. The assertion that it was an accident had to be underpinned by (seeming) facts: Only by mentioning that the roofs of the houses were covered with dry, easily inflammable reeds (Hdt. 5.101.1) does he make a single source of fire seem to be credible.

⁶⁰ Hdt. 5.101.2.

⁶¹ Hdt. 5.102.2. It does not seem as if the Ionians were caught on the run. Instead, Herodotus depicts it as if the Ionians had deliberately awaited the Persians at Ephesus to face the final battle on known terrain. Attempts to entrench themselves in the city of Ephesus are not reported.

⁶² Hdt. 5.102.3.

Hellespont. Furthermore, they can win new allies: parts of Caria and the polis of Caunus are joining the revolt. Caunus in particular seems to have been willing to take part because of the attack on Sardis (καὶ γὰρ τὴν Καῦνον πρότερον οὐ βουλομένην συμμαχεῖν, ὥς ἐνέπρησαν τὰς Σάρδεις, τότε σφί καὶ αὕτη προσεγένετο).⁶³ Seen in this light, the attack on Sardis may have been a lost battle, but it was also a strategic success. As before, it took only a single blow of sufficient strength to ignite the fire of rebellion elsewhere. For there will not have been aversion against the Persians in Ionia only. In the depiction of Herodotus, it seems as if stoking these tensions and lighting wildfires everywhere within the empire was a central part of the Ionians tactics. This impression is further strengthened by the Cypriot Revolt.

The Cypriot Revolt as a structural parallel

In paragraphs 5.104–116, Herodotus deals quite extensively with the events in Cyprus in 498 BC. After learning of the Ionian uprising, Onesilus overthrows his older brother, Gorgus (king of Salamis). The former king escapes to the Persians. Onesilus is able to persuade the other Cypriot kings to join his cause and to rebel against the Persian suzerainty. Only the city of Amathus remains loyal to the Great King. In response, it is besieged by Onesilus and his allies.

The parallels to the Ionian Revolt are remarkable. The initiator of the revolt is once again an ambitious representative of the nobility who takes the opportunity to instigate a coup. Herodotus depicts Onesilus as only acting because of anti-Persian motives, but one may also assume he had a personal interest in the Salaminian throne. Herodotus' *Histories* do not give any clear indications of a domestic political crisis. But the fact that he, like Aristagoras, is supported by a group of loyal στασιῶται⁶⁴ points to tensions within society, which he could use to his advantage. Unlike Aristagoras, however, he leaves the established political system untouched. He neither rejects the royal status, nor does he take action against the institution of kingship in the other cities. It seems as if there was no democratically minded movement and no dissatisfaction with the local rulers. The support for his cause must primarily be based on a general rejection of the Persian suzerainty.⁶⁵ Only Amathus had to be fought by Onesilus, as it was loyal to the Persians and a threat to his plans, just as the other tyrants were to Aristagoras.

However, the siege of Amathus must be aborted prematurely, as Onesilus is informed of an approaching Persian army. He asks the Ionians for help, who respond by immediately sending their fleet. Indeed, the Ionians reach Cyprus before the Persians.⁶⁶ It is only logical that the Ionians are willing to

⁶³ Hdt. 5.103.2.

⁶⁴ Hdt. 5.104.2. According to Walter's (1993, 277) argumentation, this could be a sign of a domestic political impasse that resulted in open rebellion.

⁶⁵ In the case of Salamis, it could be considered whether Gorgus was so unpopular that Onesilus was able to take power solely on account of his person. But that would not explain why the other kings joined his cause.

⁶⁶ Hdt. 5.108. Considering the distances, the chronology seems somewhat doubtful, of course. Although an army was already gathering, it is said that there was enough time for a message

help. Thanks to their numerous operations, the entire western coast of Anatolia is now in turmoil. If it would be possible to free Cyprus, a strategically important goal would be achieved and the Persians would be severely weakened. Of course, the Persians are also aware of this fact, which is why they react so quickly to the new threat.

In the ensuing battle, the Cypriots face the Persian army on land, while the Ionians encounter the Phoenicians at sea.⁶⁷ Once again the Greek fleet proves its military worth. The Phoenician, the only sea power of equal rank to the joined Ionian Fleet, is defeated. This important victory for the revolt (and in particular for the Ionians) turns out, however, to be futile, as the Persian army under Artybius crushes the Cypriots. The Ionians have to withdraw. According to Herodotus, the king of Curium, Stesantor, played a decisive role in this defeat by betraying his allies and leaving the battlefield prematurely. Onesilus was killed and the Cypriot coalition collapsed.⁶⁸ Within the following three months, the Cypriot *poleis* fall one by one after being intensely besieged by the Persians. The last city to fall is heavily fortified Soloi.⁶⁹ Persian domination is restored. Herodotus does not report any punitive measures. Neither do the *Histories* mention any personal or political consequences. With the reinstatement of Gorgus in Salamis, the Persians seem to have restored the pre-revolt status quo.

It is not to be the only setback for the rebels. The Persians are now mobilising their troops on multiple fronts. The Persian general, Daurises, succeeds in reclaiming the Hellespont, which had been conquered shortly before by the Ionians. Then he marches on Caria.⁷⁰ Although the rebels finally manage to eliminate Daurises' host, after several heavy defeats in pitched battles by setting an ambush,⁷¹ they move into a defensive mode. Hymaees, another Persian commander takes over Aeolia.⁷² Finally, Otanes and Artaphrenes themselves go to battle against the rebels. They subdue Aeolian Cyme and advance into the Ionian heartland. Clazomenae falls victim to their onslaught.⁷³ The Ionians are losing ground. The Persians have triumphed over the revolts instigated by the Ionians and can now concentrate on Ionia itself.

Apparently clinging to the old tactics of opening new fronts, Aristagoras begins one last desperate attempt to turn the tide by leaving Miletus to establish a base of operations in Thrace. The campaign fails. Aristagoras is killed in battle.⁷⁴ However, his death does not mean an end to the revolt. Under the leadership of Pythagoras, Miletus continues to fight. The remaining allies also remain loyal to the cause.

to the Ionians, the preparation of the fleet and the trip to Cyprus. Either Onesilus had to have very good informants or the Ionians must already have set out much earlier. It is also possible that the Ionian Fleet, in view of its operations off the Carian coast, could have travelled directly to Cyprus from there.

⁶⁷ Hdt. 5.122.1.

⁶⁸ Hdt. 5.113.

⁶⁹ Hdt. 5.115.

⁷⁰ Hdt. 5.117.

⁷¹ Hdt. 5.119–121.

⁷² Hdt. 5.122.

⁷³ Hdt. 5.123.

⁷⁴ Hdt. 5.126.

To end the insurrection once and for all, the Persians send their ships and troops straight to Miletus. At first, they try to persuade the Ionians to give up.⁷⁵ However, none of the rebels are willing to surrender.⁷⁶ According to Herodotus, they train intensively for the decisive naval battle.⁷⁷ The exercises are described as very strenuous, however, they lead to unrest among the Ionians (it could even be called mutiny). In view of the situation, the Samians betray their allies and withdraw with their comparatively large fleet followed by the Lesbians. Weakened and disunited, the Ionians are defeated by the Persians in the naval battle of Lade. After an intensive siege, Miletus falls. The remaining Ionian *poleis* are conquered shortly afterwards. The Ionian Revolt is over.

It is conspicuous how very much Herodotus' depictions of the Ionian Revolt and the Cypriot uprising resemble each other. There are clear structural parallels in the way Herodotus narrates the stories. At the beginning a single, ambitious man from the local ruling family exploits (or even provokes) a domestic crisis to expand his own position of power. He can rely on a group of loyal confidants as well as broad support among the population. The ensuing revolt is explicitly directed against the Persian suzerainty. At first it is quite successful. Thanks to clever tactics and allied support, a military victory over the Persians seems possible. In the decisive battle, however, disagreements, opportunism and a lack of faith in the common cause lead to defeat. Another important element is betrayal by a particularly valuable ally: the Samian fleet for Ionia, and Stesantor and his war chariots for Cyprus. The latter does not even appear in the *Histories* elsewhere. It seems as though Herodotus only introduces him to call the traitor by name, for the way in which he tells his story requires significant deeds to be committed by concrete individuals.⁷⁸

The end of the turmoil

Both Aristagoras and Onesilus died in battles during the revolt. They share this fate of a premature death with another protagonist of the uprising: Histiaeus. According to Herodotus, it was the secret message of the actual

⁷⁵ Hdt. 6.9. According to Herodotus, the Persians feared the strength of the Ionians, so they tried to persuade at least some of the Ionians to surrender. That would have weakened their enemy. To this end, they had the deposed tyrants send messages to their former subjects to negotiate a capitulation. Regardless of the strength of their opponents, however, the Persians have often tried to negotiate, e.g., during the siege of Phocaia, Harpagus offered to spare his enemies if they capitulated, although his army clearly outnumbered the Greeks (Hdt. 1.164.1–2).

⁷⁶ Hdt. 6.10.

⁷⁷ Herodotus depicts it as if the Persians thought they could not defeat the revolt without destroying the Ionian fleet first. This could be another retrospective reconstruction that plays with the superiority of the Ionians at sea, like Hecataeus' admonition did before. However, to the Persians, the Ionian fleet, which had previously successfully defeated the Phoenician fleet, was an element of uncertainty without any doubt. Thus, it was only logical to destroy the fleet before besieging the cities.

⁷⁸ One could argue that the Samians, as a collective, decide to betray the Ionians. But also in this scene a person is named: Aeaces, the former tyrant of Samos. He persuades the Samians to commit treachery. Hdt. 6.13.2.

tyrant of Miletus that triggered the revolt. In the further course of the uprising, however, Histiaeus only plays a minor role. Although Herodotus gives him attention (there is a long dialogue between him and Darius),⁷⁹ the episodes dealing with him have almost no effect on the actual progression of the revolt. As if they were detached from the main events, they form a kind of parallel plot. After Darius sends him, as he had planned from the very beginning, as a negotiator to pacify Ionia, he first comes to Sardis.⁸⁰ From there he has to flee, because Artaphrenes recognises him as one of the supposed initiators of the revolt. Purportedly with the intention of secretly taking command of the Ionians, he travels to Chios, where he is arrested for being an agent of Darius.⁸¹ He is able to convince the Chians that he is actually an enemy of the Great King. The messages he sends to his Persian allies in Sardis are intercepted by Artaphrenes. Many of his contacts are exposed and killed. Trying to return to Miletus, he is repelled and injured.⁸² With the help of the Chians and Lesbians, he manages to assemble a small fleet and conquer Byzantium. From there he operates as a pirate for some time. Finally, he is captured by the Persian commander Harpagus and taken to Sardis, where Artaphrenes has him impaled. The death sentence is executed without consulting Darius. Herodotus writes that Artaphrenes feared that if Histiaeus were pardoned by Darius⁸³ he would have become an influential figure at court again (αὐτίς μέγας παρὰ βασιλείῃ γένηται).⁸⁴

Obviously, Artaphrenes, being a satrap, regarded the tyrant of Miletus as a real opponent. The fact that Histiaeus was personally trusted by the Great King must have been an important factor in this situation. By blaming him for initiating the revolt Artaphrenes used the perfect opportunity to get rid of an annoying rival. It is difficult to ascertain whether or not Darius ordered a burial with honour for the deceased, as Herodotus writes,⁸⁵ but it certainly reinforces the picture which Herodotus wanted to paint: Histiaeus as a close friend of the Great King and powerful actor within the Persian Empire, a Greek tyrant who appeared to be equal of rank to a Persian satrap.

What the three protagonists (of which Histiaeus is undoubtedly the most dazzling figure) in Herodotus' portrayal of the Ionian Revolt have in common is excessive ambition, which precipitates them into ruin. Their ambitions are very personal in nature and are always aimed at gaining more power.⁸⁶ Herodotus ascribes them an anti-Persian stance, but this seems to be merely a means to an end for them rather than an inner conviction. Aristagoras considers the Persians to be valuable allies as long as they are useful. When his own position is at risk, he does not hesitate to turn against them. Histiaeus is said to have only instigated the uprising for the purpose of

⁷⁹ Hdt. 5.106.1–6.

⁸⁰ Hdt. 5.35.4.

⁸¹ Hdt. 6.2.2. According to Georges (2000, 14), an accurate estimate of what Histiaeus actually was.

⁸² Hdt. 6.5.2.

⁸³ Herodotus himself is of the opinion that Darius would have forgiven Histiaeus (Hdt. 6.30.1).

⁸⁴ Hdt. 6.30.1.

⁸⁵ Hdt. 6.30.2.

⁸⁶ In the case of Onesilus, this cannot be judged clearly, since Herodotus characterises him in little detail compared to the others.

returning to his homeland and regaining power there. Herodotus sketches a quite distressing form of irresponsible opportunism that is finally punished by the failure of these selfish ambitions. Seen in this light, the struggle for freedom was more likely a struggle for more power, in which ambitious individuals abused the people for the sake of their own plans. At the same time the common rebels were lacking in discipline and willingness to take action in decisive situations.

That the Persians, after triumphing over the Ionian uprising, only temporarily reinstated the tyrants and soon thereafter established democracies in all Ionian *poleis*,⁸⁷ was probably only partly due to the sentiment in the cities.⁸⁸ It is also conceivable that they wanted to prevent further unrest caused by overly powerful and ambitious local rulers.

Jan Köster

The Berlin-Brandenburg Academy of Sciences and Humanities
Jägerstraße 22/23
DE-10117 BERLIN
jan.koester@bbaw.de

Bibliography

- Balcer, J.M. 1995. *The Persian conquest of the Greeks 545–450 B.C.* (Xenia, 38), Konstanz.
- Bichler, R. & R. Rollinger 2001. *Herodot* (Studienbücher, Antike, 3), Hildesheim.
- Fehling, D. 1971. *Die Quellenangaben bei Herodot. Studien zur Erzählkunst Herodots* (Untersuchungen zur antiken Literatur und Geschichte, 9), Berlin.
- Georges, P.B. 2000. 'Persian Ionia under Darius. The revolt reconsidered', *Historia* 49, 1–39.
- Graeve, V. von 2013. 'Das Aphrodite-Heiligtum von Milet und seine Weihgaben', in *Sanktuar und Ritual. Heilige Plätze im archäologischen Befund* (Menschen – Kulturen – Traditionen, 10; ForschungsCluster, 4), eds. I. Gerlach & D. Raue, Rahden, 5–17.
- Herodoti Historiae. Libri V–IX*, ed. C. Hude, Oxford 1951.
- Herodotus. Vol. III. *Books V–VII* (Loeb), tr. A.D. Godley, London & Cambridge, Mass. 1928.
- How, W.W. & J. Wells 1957. *A commentary on Herodotus, with introduction and appendixes*, vol. 2. *Books V–IX*, Oxford.
- Kienast, D. 2002. 'Bemerkungen zum Jonischen Aufstand und zur Rolle des Artaphernes', *Historia* 51, 1–31.
- Lang, M. 1968. 'Herodotus and the Ionian Revolt', *Historia* 17, 24–36.
- Lateiner, D. 1982. 'The failure of the Ionian Revolt', *Historia* 31, 129–160.
- Murray, O. 1988. 'The Ionian Revolt', in *CAH IV. Persia, Greece and the Western Mediterranean c. 525 to 479 B.C.*, eds. J. Boardman, N.G.L. Hammond, D.M. Lewis & M. Ostwald, second edition, Cambridge, 461–490.

⁸⁷ Hdt. 6.43.3.

⁸⁸ Lang (1968, 35): "That the Ionian Revolt was a general movement with definite political aims rather than the whim of those adventurers is confirmed by the Persian measures taken to complete the pacification. That is, the Persian administration was wise enough to see that removing the causes of dissatisfaction was the best prevention of new attempts; hence Artaphernes forced a kind of federalism and uniform administration on them (vi. 42), and Mardonius instituted democracies in the place of tyrannies (vi. 43)."

- Niemeier, W.-D. 1999. ““Die Zierde Ioniens”. Ein archaischer Brunnen, der jüngere Athenatempel und Milet vor der Perserzerstörung’, mit Beiträgen von A.M. Graeves & W. Selesnow, *AA*, 373–413.
- Pfeiler, B. 1966. ‘Die Silberprägung von Milet im 6. Jahrhundert v. Chr.’, *SNR* 45, 5–25.
- Walter, U. 1993. ‘Herodot und die Ursachen des Ionischen Aufstandes’, *Historia* 42, 257–278.

“What Age Were You When the Mede Came?” Cyrus the Great and Western Anatolia

by

Lynette G. Mitchell

Abstract

At some point in the 540s BC Cyrus the Great conquered Sardis and ordered the Greek cities of Asia Minor to be brought into subjection. The main sources for Cyrus' conquest of western Anatolia have normally been the Greek narrative traditions and the Babylonian chronicles. In recent years, both have been shown to be problematic. By pushing back on these sources, and by bringing in fresh forms of evidence, it will be argued that it is possible to draw a significantly more nuanced picture of Cyrus' imperial vision that balanced military conquest with the needs for stability, security and economic prosperity.*

At some point between the capture of Astyages, the king of the Medes, in 550 BC and the taking of Babylon in 539 Cyrus the Great besieged and seized Sardis, and his generals overran and took control of western Anatolia.¹ It has sometimes been suggested that, unlike Darius the Great, Cyrus' imperial vision was limited, but this essay, through consideration of Cyrus' conquest of western Anatolia, will argue that Cyrus did have an imperial project, even if it was different from the more studied imperial vision of Darius, and bore the marks of an ideology and structural strategy aimed in the first instance at creating stability and restoring prosperity after the violent rupture created by conquest. This essay then will try to mark out a difference between the imperial strategies of the two kings that is often obscured by treatments about the imperialism of the Persian kings in general, if indeed Cyrus thought of himself as “Persian” at all.

One of the main issues for this period is the question of sources, so this essay will begin by looking at what is normally considered to be the main evidence, especially the Greek narratives, taking a generally sceptical approach to what they can tell us about the conquest of Asia Minor by Cyrus and his generals. While it is probably not possible or beneficial to discard them completely, by trying to draw on a wider pool of evidence, including Greek lyric poetry and coinage, the essay will then reflect on the extent to which Cyrus managed to create stability and even prosperity through the

* I would like to thank the organisers of the conference at the Swedish Institute for allowing me to participate, and fellow conferees' generous comments on my paper. I would also like to thank Professor Robin Osborne and Dr Emma Nicholson for reading drafts of the current chapter, and helping me to clarify thoughts.

¹ The dates for both events come from the *Nabonidus chronicle* (Grayson 1975a, 7.2.1, 3.5).

maintenance of existing political and economic infrastructures in a region he had ravaged with war.

The problem of sources

Our main evidence for Cyrus' attack on the cities of western Asia Minor is the Greek historian, Herodotus, and perhaps also the Babylonian Chronicle, the *Nabonidus chronicle*, although many of the important details given by Herodotus are insecure, and the reading of the *Nabonidus chronicle* at this point in the text is uncertain.

In the first instance, the date of the conquest of Lydia cannot be fixed with confidence. From the *Nabonidus chronicle* we know that Cyrus was campaigning in 547/6 BC, and that he crossed the Tigris below Arbela, but the destination of the campaign is unclear since the cuneiform at this point cannot be read with certainty.² It was long thought that the campaign of 547 was against Lydia, but an alternative reading of Urartu has gained recent support, although there is still no consensus and the scholarly world is fairly equally divided on which reading should be accepted.³ In fact, there are reasons to lack confidence that this was the year of the campaign against Lydia apart from problems with the *lacuna* in the cuneiform, since the *Chronicle* suggests that in this year Cyrus was the aggressor, while in Herodotus (whose account is also not above suspicion – more on this below) it is Croesus who initiated the campaign out of fear of Cyrus, revenge for Astyages and on the encouragement of the Delphic oracle (among others).⁴

Further, the *Nabonidus chronicle* also says “he [Cyrus] killed” (*iduk*) its king (*šarra-šu*) (obscured by Grayson's original translation, based on the supposition that this must be the Lydian campaign).⁵ On the other hand, two of our Greek sources, Herodotus and Ctesias, agree (although they do not agree on other matters) that Croesus was originally taken captive by Cyrus, but then was taken by Cyrus to the Median heartland around Ecbatana: Herodotus says that Cyrus rescued Croesus from the pyre (so intended to kill him but did not), took him to Ecbatana and kept him as an advisor,⁶ while Ctesias says he was given a city near Ecbatana, Barnene.⁷

However, as suggested above, Herodotus' account (the main Greek narrative for the conquest of Lydia, which gives no indication of a date) is also problematic on other matters. In the first place, Herodotus' account suggests that the Median Empire pressed upon the Lydians as a result of a battle at the beginning of the sixth century between Alyattes, the father of Croesus, and Cyaxares, the father of Astyages. The conflict began (according to Herodotus) because of a dispute over Scythians who had taken refuge

² Grayson 1975a, 7.2.15–17.

³ See e.g. Rollinger 2009; on the other side, Dusinberre 2013, 276, n. 58, is not necessarily convinced.

⁴ Hdt. 1.46–56.1, 71.1, 73–75.

⁵ See Lendering 2008–2009, although Lendering accepts the reading Urartu rather than Lydia.

⁶ Hdt. e.g., 1.153, 155–156, 207–208.

⁷ Ctesias F9.5; cf. F9a. van der Spek (2014, 234, n. 1, 256, n. 184), however, thinks that Lydia should be read in the cuneiform, and so thinks that Croesus died there.

with Alyattes, although this story also contains common folkloric elements known elsewhere from Herodotus (and the Greek tradition more generally): the Scythians are said to have cooked and served up Median boys to the king in revenge for his treatment of them.⁸ Herodotus says the conflict between them continued for five years, but then the final battle was brought to an end because of an eclipse of the sun, when “suddenly day became night”, an astronomical event Herodotus says was predicted by Thales; peace was made, and it is generally presumed (if not exactly stated by Herodotus) that this was the point when the Halys River became the border between Lydia and Media.⁹

However, there are two problems with Herodotus’ account of the battle between these two kings and their empires, and the way the conflict was brought to an end. The first is that serious doubts have been raised over the account on the eclipse, both in regard to whether Thales would have been able to predict such an eclipse, and whether the eclipse that did happen in the early sixth century (in 585 BC) fits the account given by Herodotus.¹⁰ Secondly, and more importantly, Herodotus’ account of the battle between Alyattes and Cyaxares assumes there was a Median Empire, as do other stories in Herodotus, especially the Cyrus birth story, which set out even more plainly the transference of empires from the Medes to the Persians. The difficulty here is that the idea of a Median Empire (which we also find in Ctesias) no longer has much credibility, especially since there is very little trace of such an empire outside the two Greek authors, and especially not in the archaeological record. The Medes do appear to have had centres in the northern Zagros: Ecbatana (modern Hamadan) was the principle Median city, and there are forts at Baba Jan Tepe in Lorestan and Nush-e Jan Tepe south of Hamadan, and a fortified palace at Godin Tepe,¹¹ though all seem to have been peacefully abandoned, possibly at the end of the seventh century.¹² In fact, it is unclear what kind of “domination” (if that is how we should see it)¹³ the Medes exercised after the fall of the Assyrian Empire, in which they were involved as allies of the Babylonians.¹⁴ In any event, it is very likely to have been less organised than Herodotus suggests, although the Medes’ activities around Harran in northern Syria, a former Assyrian centre, in the 550s (by then a Babylonian city) probably means it was more extensive than

⁸ Hdt. 1.73–74.

⁹ Hdt. 1.74; cf. 72.

¹⁰ See Mosshammer 1981.

¹¹ Kerkenes Dağ in Anatolia was originally thought to be Median, but is now recognised as a city with a Phrygian character (Summers draws back from calling it a “Phrygian” city), although the excavation team still think it should be equated with Herodotus’ Pteria. Newsletters on the excavations are available on the Kerkenes Project at: <https://sciences.ucf.edu/anthropology/kerkenes/overview> See also Draycott & Summers 2008; Summers 2008. Kerkenes was a large and obviously important city on the Anatolian plateau which was destroyed in the mid-sixth century, consistent with the story in Herodotus about the conflict between Croesus and Cyrus, which says that Croesus captured “the city of the Pterians” (Hdt. 1.76).

¹² See e.g. Liverani 2003, 2–4.

¹³ Tuplin 2004.

¹⁴ The fall of the Assyrian Empire at the end of the seventh century had been brought about through an alliance of the Babylonians and the Medes. Cf. Grayson 1975a, 7.3.29; Kuhrt 1995, 544–546.

has sometimes been supposed.¹⁵ Nevertheless, however one views the problem, and from wherever he found his material, Herodotus' account of the Median Empire, despite its internal coherence within his text, does not stand well against other tests of historicity. As Sancisi-Weerdenburg says in her important article of 1988: "To put it bluntly, if it were not for Herodotus and his successors, the very existence of a Median state would be unknown to us."¹⁶ So while much of the narrative that we have for the fall of Sardis and the treatment of the Greeks of Asia Minor comes from Herodotus, it needs to be treated with caution and verified from other evidence wherever possible.

Cyrus in western Anatolia

That said, we do know that Sardis was taken after a siege (the walls were breached), and brutally so, as the excavations at the city demonstrate.¹⁷ As we have seen, Herodotus tells us that Croesus initiated the campaign, although he may have been provoked by the fact that Cyrus was already in Anatolia. Certainly once Croesus crossed the Halys and took the city of Pteria,¹⁸ Cyrus seems to have quickly engaged him there (which suggests that Croesus was drawn across the Halys because Cyrus was in the region). After an inconclusive battle, Croesus returned to Sardis to see out the winter, but Cyrus unexpectedly followed him, and after a siege at Sardis lasting fourteen days Cyrus defeated Croesus and took Sardis.¹⁹ Herodotus also says that once the Ionians and Aeolians of Asia Minor heard of the fall of Sardis they sent a delegation to Cyrus asking for the same terms as they had had with Croesus,²⁰ but that Cyrus rejected their appeal because, unlike the Milesians (who had made terms – more on this below), the rest had not agreed beforehand to defect or to side with him against the Lydians.²¹ Herodotus says that in light of that response the Greeks all built defensive walls (although there is evidence to suggest many cities already had walls, or at least partial walls; even Herodotus says that the Phocaeans had walls already, paid for by the ruler of Tartessus, Arganthonius, because he had

¹⁵ In the early years of the reign of Nabonidus the king of the Babylonians, the Medes were causing problems for the Babylonians at Harran (*Sippar cylinder* of Nabonidus: Schaudig 2001, 2.12). Cf. Beaulieu 1989, 108–115. Paul-Alain Beaulieu (2000, 311, n. 7) thinks they must have had control of Harran. The control of Harran, together with the other known centres, looks as if the aim of the "Medes" (if they could be classed as an ethnic group) was to control the Silk Route as the "robber-barons" trading in horses and camels had done in the Assyrian period, as Karen Radner (2003, esp. 52) suggests.

¹⁶ See esp. Sancisi-Weerdenburg 1988; Sancisi-Weerdenburg 1994, 39–55; essays in Lanfranchi, Roaf & Rollinger 2003; Rollinger 2009. Cf. Tuplin 2004.

¹⁷ Cahill 2010.

¹⁸ Pteria has been associated with Kerkenes. On Kerkenes, see n. 11 above. Stephen Mitchell (1999, 187–188) accepts the city is Pteria, but follows Summers, at the time, in thinking it was Median; later discoveries have made this conclusion unlikely, and Summers has reviewed his earlier conclusions.

¹⁹ Hdt. 1.76–84.

²⁰ Hdt. 1.141.

²¹ Hdt. 1.76.3.

heard the power of “the Medes” was growing),²² and that the Ionians (except the Milesians) met in the Panionium to discuss what to do; they decided to send to Sparta for help, although the Spartans in the end only issued Cyrus with a warning which they did not follow through.²³

The Milesians, on the other hand, seem to have struck a deal with Cyrus. Already from the late seventh or early sixth century BC they appear to have had a different kind of relationship with the Lydians than the other Ionians, even if not to the degree or entirely in the way Herodotus suggests. Herodotus says that Thrasybulus, the ruler of Miletus, had negotiated the bonds of friendship (*xenia*) and alliance (*summachia*) with Alyattes, ruler of Lydia in about 611 BC, to bring an end to a conflict that had lasted many years.²⁴ David Asheri suggests that Cyrus renewed this treaty with Miletus, presumably in an attempt (as the Lydians had done) to divide the Ionians by giving the Milesians favourable terms,²⁵ though Gorman notes that even under Croesus Miletus must have been tribute-paying like all the rest of the Ionians,²⁶ even if they retained a special status as allies.²⁷ As we shall see, however, there might be a completely different way of understanding this special arrangement between Miletus and Sardis as one based on economics rather than friendship (or as well as friendship), since Miletus and Sardis seem to have had a “fiscal understanding” based on the interconnection between their coinage issues which continued in the transition from Croesus to Cyrus, and which both promoted trade across the Mediterranean and also supported the local economy, while at the same time enhancing the financial possibilities for both centres.

The other Greeks of Asia Minor, however, were brought more forcefully under Cyrus’ control. Herodotus tells us that after the taking of Sardis Cyrus put a Persian called Tabalus in charge of Sardis (although apparently with little military support), but appointed a Lydian called Pactyes to be responsible for the revenues (*ho chrusos*) of the city,²⁸ which was probably an attempt to ingratiate himself with the local elite. According to Herodotus Pactyes rebelled immediately, however, and, hiring mercenaries and persuading “those on the coast” (probably predominantly Greeks),²⁹ he laid siege to Tabalus in Sardis.³⁰ When Cyrus heard (Herodotus says he was by then on the way east to Ecbatana),³¹ he sent a Mede called Mazares to the

²² On walls in Asia Minor generally, see Vergnaud 2012. For the generosity of Arganthionius of Tartessus, see Hdt. 1.163.

²³ Hdt. 1.141, 153.1–2. The Spartans were also *philoi* of Croesus (Hdt. 1.6.2), and did not come when Croesus had asked them to support him against Cyrus during the siege of Sardis (Hdt. 1.82–3).

²⁴ Hdt. 1.22.4.

²⁵ Cf. Hdt. 1.169. See also Asheri, Lloyd & Corcella 2007, 173; Rubinstein 2004, 1084.

²⁶ Cf. Hdt. 1.6.2, 27.1.

²⁷ Gorman 2010, 123–126.

²⁸ Hdt. 1.153.3.

²⁹ Cf. Hdt. 1.161.

³⁰ Hdt. 1.154.

³¹ Hdt. 1.153.3, 155.1.

Lydians with an army and a carrot-and-stick offer: either they settled down or they would be sold into slavery.³²

Unsurprisingly, faced with this threat, the Lydians, according to Herodotus, abandoned Pactyes, who fled with his army to the Aeolian city of Cyme.³³ Mazares then began attacks on those cities that had helped Pactyes lay siege to Sardis, and Herodotus says he “enslaved” the people of Priene, although van der Spek thinks that what Herodotus means is that they were deported.³⁴ Nevertheless, it seems that some remained since the city contributed ships to the battle of Lade and, if Herodotus’ information is right, Bias of Priene spoke at a meeting at the Panionium soon after the conquest of Ionia was complete.³⁵ Herodotus says Mazares then overran the plain of the Maeander and took Magnesia, though at this point he fell ill and died.³⁶ Herodotus then says Cyrus sent another Median general against the Greeks, Harpagus, who was very close to Cyrus; according to Herodotus it was Harpagus who led the insurgency against Astyages,³⁷ and he had also been with Cyrus at the battle for Sardis.³⁸

Some of the Greeks, particularly the Phocaeans and Teans, escaped by sea (although Herodotus says half of the Phocaeans returned and that they later took part in the battle of Lade in the Ionian Revolt with three ships; we also know that they later started minting coins in the sixth century).³⁹ The rest of the Aeolian and Ionian cities were taken, except for Miletus which was not attacked because of the treaty with Cyrus.⁴⁰ When the islanders saw the treatment of the mainland Greeks at the hands of Harpagus, Herodotus says they also surrendered (except Samos, where the Aeacid dynasty ruled), even though the islanders had not been subject to the Lydians and had had a “ritualised friendship” (*xenia*) with Croesus.⁴¹

Elsbeth R.M. Dusinger notes that the importance of these western Anatolian cities for Cyrus is indicated by the high-ranking generals Cyrus

³² Hdt. 1.156.2. Herodotus credits Croesus with the idea for leniency (Hdt. 1.155), though it must surely have always been Cyrus’ plan, if indeed Croesus was still alive at this point (see above).

³³ Hdt. 1.157.1. When Mazares found him gone Herodotus says he sent to the Cymaeans and demanded that they surrender him. There seems to have been some disagreement about what to do with him since he had come as a suppliant, but they were concerned about the dangers of keeping him, so sent him on to Mytilene. The Mytileneans, however, had no such qualms and intended to give Pactyes up to Mazares in exchange for money (1.160.1–2), so the Cymaeans then sent him to the Chians. The Chians were also offered a reward for his surrender, and removed him from the temple where he had taken refuge, and handed him over to Mazares in return for land on the mainland (Hdt. 1.160.3–4).

³⁴ On the “enslavement” of the people of Priene, see Hdt. 1.161; van der Spek 2014, 258.

³⁵ For the battle of Lade, see Hdt. 6.8.1; Asheri, Lloyd & Corcella 2007, 183. For Bias of Priene, see Hdt. 1.170. On the possible dates for Bias, see Asheri, Lloyd & Corcella 2007, 189.

³⁶ Hdt. 1.161.

³⁷ There is, of course, no need to believe Herodotus’ revenge story. Herodotus says Astyages tricked Harpagus into eating his son at a banquet; according to Herodotus this trick was Astyages’ revenge for Harpagus not carrying through with the murder of the baby Cyrus (1.107–119), which is itself a story drawn from Near Eastern royal pseudo-autobiographies (Drews 1974, 387–393; Kuhrt 2003; Henkelman 2006). On the Sargon myths behind Herodotus’ Cyrus stories, see Lewis 1980; Cooper & Heimpel 1983.

³⁸ Hdt. 1.80.2.

³⁹ Hdt. 1.165.3, 6.8.1, 11.1–12.4, 17.1, cf. 4.138.2.

⁴⁰ Hdt. 1.169.

⁴¹ Hdt. 1.27.5. For ritualised friendship, see Herman 1987.

deployed against them,⁴² who were probably members of the increasingly “international” court he seemed to have developed around him.⁴³ In fact, it may be that Cyrus did not think of himself primarily or even necessarily as a “Persian” as such.⁴⁴ Yet, however much of Herodotus’ detail we believe of the Anatolian campaign, it is significant that Cyrus used Median generals in Asia Minor, not least because this determined how the Greeks of Asia Minor perceived their conquerors: as Medes.⁴⁵

Even without Herodotus’ testimony, Archaic poetry tells us something of the attitude to the conquest of the Greek cities by Cyrus’ armies. Xenophanes’ poem of the end of the sixth century (Xenophanes himself a citizen of Colophon) suggests that the Greeks of Asia Minor thought of their conquerors as Medes, and that the conquest was also something that they thought of with regret:

One ought to say such things by the fire in the winter months
lying on a soft couch, feeling replete,
drinking sweet wine, quietly chewing on seeds:
“Who are you, where are you from? Come, how old are you?
What age were you when the Mede came?”⁴⁶

The reference to the Medes does not mean, of course, that Cyrus himself was thought of as a Mede (despite Herodotus saying that Cyrus was a donkey: a

⁴² Dusinberre 2003, 36.

⁴³ Herodotus says he kept Astyages at his court until his death, while Ctesias says Cyrus honoured him like a father and married his daughter, Amytis (Hdt. 1.130.3; Ctesias F9.1). Briant (2001, 33) says that Cyrus “took care to conduct himself as Astyages’ successor”, and the *Sippar cylinder* of Nabonidus seems to confirm that Astyages was taken into Cyrus’ court, and perhaps given territories in Barcania (Schäudig 2001, 2.12, 1.29), although Justin 1.6.16 says he was given the Hyrcanians to rule because he did not want to return to Media. As for Nabonidus, the *Nabonidus chronicle* says he was captured in Babylon (3.16), and the *Dynastic prophecy* says: “A king of Elam will arise . . . he will remove him (Nabonidus) from his throne . . . the king of Elam will change his place and settle him in another land” (Grayson 1975b, 2.17–21). Berossus also says he was expelled from Babylon and given Carmania as his residence (BNJ 680 F 9a; on Nabonidus’ fate, see Beaulieu 1989, 231). Certainly Babylon was taken not by Cyrus himself but by Ugbaru, the governor of the country of Gutium (*Nabonidus chronicle*, Grayson 1975a, 7 7.3.15; see Briant 2002, 41–42). On uncertainties regarding the fate of Croesus: see above.

⁴⁴ In Babylonian contexts, Cyrus consistently styled himself as king of Anshan, see e.g. the *Cyrus cylinder* 20–22. An earlier Babylonian text from Sippar (before Cyrus took Babylon) also gives Cyrus the title “Cyrus, king of Anshan” (Schäudig 2001, 2.12 1.27: *ku-ra-āš lugal kur an-za-an*). In the *Nabonidus chronicle* (Grayson 1975a, n. 7) he is both titled as ^m*Kur-aš šar An-šan*, Cyrus king of Anshan, and ^m*Kur-aš šar* ^{kur}*Par-su*, Cyrus king of Parsu (Pārsa): 2.1, 15, although Pierre de Miroschedji (1985, 298) suggests that the title “king of Parsu” might be the result of a scribe of a later period mistakenly using the title current in his own time. Potts (2010, 7–28) argues for an extreme view that Cyrus was not ethnically Persian, but Elamite; note also the Hellenistic *Dynastic prophecy* in which Cyrus is called *šār* ^{kur}*Elamti* ^{kir}, King of Elam (Grayson 1975b, 27–40 [2.17, 20]). It does seem unlikely that Cyrus saw himself as an Achaemenid (e.g., Waters 1996; for the opposite view, see Vallat 2011). Christopher J. Tuplin (1994, 253, cf. 256) however, argues against the conclusion that “Cyrus was (or projected himself as) anything but Persian” even if we accept the proposition that “Cyrus was not an Achaemenid and was posthumously hi-jacked by Darius in an act of self-legitimation.”

⁴⁵ See esp. Tuplin 1994. Cyrus is said to have acquired the loyalty of the Median army under the command of Harpagus in 550 when they defected from Astyages during his attack on Cyrus (*Nabonidus chronicle*, Grayson 1975a, 7.2.2; Hdt. 1.123–127).

⁴⁶ DK 2, B 22.

half-caste) since he was not personally involved in the attacks on the Greek cities, but possibly only that the attacks were remembered as Median.⁴⁷ Another fragment of a poem by Xenophanes talks about a time before “hateful tyranny” (*tyranniēs stugerēs*) when no less than a thousand men of Colophon, having learned luxury from the Lydians, attended the assembly wearing flowing robes, their hair long, and drenched in perfume.⁴⁸ In fact the two fragments of Xenophanes taken together may suggest that there was a difference between the perception by the Greek cities of the rule of Croesus and that of Cyrus. While it is likely that Xenophanes’ poems reflect the concerns of his own time (at the end of the sixth century during the rule of Darius) rather than specifically the time of Cyrus, it also seems that the Greeks of Asia Minor were more willing to support Croesus against Cyrus, or at least not to stand against him, or came to remember Croesus as the lesser evil, which may then have been reflected in at least a retrospective preference for Lydian rule. Nevertheless, as we shall see, at Colophon the pre-Cyrus constitution seems to have continued, so that while under Lydian rule the citizens of Colophon apparently remembered themselves as having wanted and been able to express their political freedom in the assembly, after the conquest of Cyrus a certain political apathy had set in, possibly because of the violence of the original attack by the Median generals, which promised the threat of further violence if the Colophonians (or any of the other Greeks of Asia Minor) stepped out of line.⁴⁹

Cyrus’ policy in western Anatolia

Yet, having felt the might of Cyrus or at least his Median generals, the subjection of the Greeks of Asia Minor appears to have been tempered with

⁴⁷ It is not clear who was responsible for the idea of a “Median Empire” or at which point it entered Greek thinking and literature. It is possible that the “Median Empire” could be an invention of Herodotus or of the Greek oral tradition more generally, since it might have been the Greek view that since Cyrus had control of a Median army then he must have also controlled a Median Empire. However, the invention of the “Median Empire” is almost certainly linked to the related trope of the “succession of empires” (which appears in Herodotus and even more clearly in Ctesias, although both are related to different versions of the Cyrus birth story), which itself looks like it has roots in the Near East. It shares a didactic “theology” with other Near Eastern literature including the *Curse of Agade* and the Sumerian King Lists, which assume that kingship will move around because the gods ordain it will be so (van de Mieroop 2007, 42–44). Cf. Cooper & Heimpel 1983, 69–74. It is of course also the case that Herodotus is interested in the rise and fall of empires more generally, which he also thinks is divinely ordained, so he may have imported both together into his narrative. Johannes Haubold (2013, 78–98), in developing a subtle and sophisticated argument, thinks that the succession of empires, including a narrative of destructive Medes in opposition to the piety of Nabonidus, is Babylonian, as a means of distancing the Babylonians from imperial history. However, Herodotus also says that he had the Cyrus birth story from the Persians (Hdt. 1.95.1), although he knew of at least three others, which may mean the succession of empire is a Persian conceit. It is possible, of course, that all these narratives were interchangeable within a general framework of a succession of empires, just as there were different versions of the Sumerian King List.

⁴⁸ DK 22, B 3.

⁴⁹ We can perhaps only take the notion of apathy so far, since it was in the last third of the sixth century (at around the time of Xenophanes’ poems) that the Colophonians started to mint their own coins. See Kim & Kroll 2008.

leniency. It is unclear to what extent Cyrus interfered with internal politics of individual Greek cities, although it seems that for the most part he left them undisturbed. (Xenophanes’ poem suggests that the men of Colophon could go to the assembly but that they no longer bothered.) The Hellenistic Heracleides Lembus says that Cyrus dissolved the constitution of Cyme and set up a monarch,⁵⁰ which Michel M. Austin thinks is too random to have much credibility, and Agathocles of Cyzicus (also Hellenistic in date) says that Cyrus made a gift of seven cities (including Cyzicus) to his friend (*philos*) Pytharcus of Cyzicus,⁵¹ who tried unsuccessfully to make himself tyrant of Cyzicus. As Austin points out, this does not mean that he had political control of the cities (although he probably had access to their revenues and resources, just as Themistocles later was given Magnesia, Lampsacus and Myous by Xerxes),⁵² and it was Pytharchus who tried to establish himself as ruler of Cyzicus, not Cyrus who put him there.⁵³ On the other hand, there may also have been tyrants in Ephesus who relied on the regime in Sardis,⁵⁴ although there is no indication they were established by Cyrus.⁵⁵ The Suda says that Aristarchus of Athens was invited to Ephesus as their ruler as a result of Harpagus’ attacks.⁵⁶ In any case, the Suda suggests that Aristarchus was invited to Ephesus by the Ephesians rather than by the conquerors, so this does not look like Cyrus’ interference so much as an attempt by the Ephesians to settle their internal affairs which had been disturbed as a result of Harpagus’ attacks. Further (as regards Colophon), Aristotle says that it was an oligarchy (based on land-holding) before the Lydian conquest,⁵⁷ and it is generally assumed it remained as such well into the fifth century.⁵⁸ What seems to be happening then is that Cyrus allowed the Greek cities to rule themselves as they wished in order to create political stability. While Ephesus (or at least the Ephesian elite) felt comfortable with – or even felt the need for – a dynast (dynasts established in cities by election or invitation were not unknown, such as Miltiades, again from Athens, who in the sixth century became ruler of the Dolonci at their invitation),⁵⁹ the Colophonians retained their limited constitution.

Likewise, there seems to have been no interference with the Council of the Panionium, despite its disruptive potential. The Panionium was a council limited in number to the twelve Ionian cities who participated in the festival of the Panionia. Although principally a religious organisation, a kind of amphictyony, it was also political or at least could readily be politicised. Lene Rubinstein argues (probably rightly) that there must have been political institutions prior to Cyrus’ invasion of western Anatolia, since Herodotus says that Cyrus opened negotiations with the Ionians for submission before

⁵⁰ Heracl. Pont. *Peri Polit.* 11.4–5.

⁵¹ *BNJ* 427 F 6.

⁵² *Them.* 1.138.5.

⁵³ Austin 1990, 295–298.

⁵⁴ Suda, s.v. Hipparchus; cf. Berve 1967, 2, 577; Karwiese 1991.

⁵⁵ Berve 1967, 1, 100; 2, 577.

⁵⁶ Suda, s.v. Aristarchus; Berve 1967, 2, 577; Gehrke 1985, 57–58; cf. Rubinstein 2004, 1071.

⁵⁷ *Ar. Ath. Pol.* 4.1290b14–17.

⁵⁸ Gehrke 1985, 80, n. 1.

⁵⁹ *Hdt.* 6.34.1–36.1.

his invasion of Asia Minor.⁶⁰ The early politicisation of the council is also suggested by Herodotus' claims that Thales recommended at some unspecified time before the defeat of Ionia establishing a single *bouleutērion* at Teos and reducing the status of the cities to that of *demes*,⁶¹ although this comment also appears to indicate that they did not have a permanent building for meetings. In any case, Herodotus says that the Ionians continued to meet at the Panionium even after the conquest, and that their discussions were political in nature (he says, for example, that they considered the suggestion of Bias of Priene for the Ionians to resettle as a group on Sardinia).⁶² We next hear of the Panionium in the context of the Ionian Revolt in 499,⁶³ so there seems to have been no longer-term attempt by the Persians, even under Darius, to close it down, suppress it or prevent it meeting.

Cyrus (or at least his agents) also seems to have held back from interfering in the local economies of the Greek cities. Despite the fact that Cyrus is alleged (by Herodotus) to have mocked the Greek use of market-places (*agorai*),⁶⁴ the conquerors did not attempt to tamper with local economic arrangements, but rather seem to have supported them, or at the very least let prior conditions continue. For example, there had been electrum coins minted at Sardis since the late seventh century.⁶⁵ Throughout the sixth century these were produced in fractional denominations marked with a lion's head, until a coinage reform in the mid-sixth century introduced a bimetallic series in gold and silver, again in small fractional denominations but now stamped with the device of confronting heads of a lion and a bull.⁶⁶ Even after Cyrus took Sardis, the mint continued to produce the coins of Croesus, though now only in their largest denominations (the gold stater, the "Croesid", and the silver siglos or shekel, which was worth one twentieth of the stater), the fractional coins having been abandoned.⁶⁷ The Croesids were continued until the late sixth century, when Darius replaced the lion-bull types with an explicitly Persian royal device of the archer king.⁶⁸ Significantly, even when the Persian coinage of Darius was introduced, the siglos at least was really intended for use in the local Greek economy of Asia Minor and not for wider use in the empire.⁶⁹ Some of the Greek cities in Asia

⁶⁰ Hdt. 1.76.3. See Rubinstein 2004, 1056.

⁶¹ Hdt. 1.170.3.

⁶² Hdt. 1.171.1–2.

⁶³ Hdt. 6.7.

⁶⁴ Hdt. 1.153.1–2. The point of the anecdote is to mark a distinction between Greeks and Persians; compare the comments by Demaratus to Xerxes before the Persian army, having crossed the bridge over the Hellespont, moved into Europe (Hdt. 7.101–4).

⁶⁵ Robinson 1951; Kraay 1976, 20–26.

⁶⁶ On Croesus' coinage reform, see Kroll 2010, <http://sardisexpedition.org/en/essays/latw-kroll-coins-of-sardis#king-croesus-and-coinage-reforms> Cf. Kraay 1976, 30–31. That the so-called Croesids date to the period before the fall of Sardis has now been confirmed by coins found in the excavations at Sardis (Cahill & Kroll 2005).

⁶⁷ Kroll 2010, <http://sardisexpedition.org/en/essays/latw-kroll-coins-of-sardis#croeseid-coins-and-their-persian-legacy> A hoard from about 500 BC discovered at Old Smyrna included two late lion-bull sigloi and twenty-six 1/6th staters from Phocaea; as Kroll comments: "altogether a rather typical mixed hoard of western Asia Minor silver with the local Greek silver providing the fractions and the Lydian and Achaemenid sigloi providing the higher-value pieces".

⁶⁸ Kraay 1976, 32; Carradice 1987, 73–95.

⁶⁹ Kraay 1964, 83–84; Carradice 1987, 89–90.

Minor (or at least their dynasts) had also been minting coins prior to the arrival of Cyrus, and coinage systems supported sophisticated economic networks.

A case in point is Miletus. Miletus was known for its trade in luxury items, with trading networks in the Archaic period reaching across the Mediterranean, as well as to colonies in the Black Sea. It also had interests in another important sixth century trading centre: Naucratis in Egypt, in which other Greek cities (especially the Ionian cities of Teos, Chios and Phocaea) were involved.⁷⁰ At Miletus, Bärbel Pfeiler argues there were two concurrent coin types issued from the mid-sixth century.⁷¹ She suggests that the 1/12th silver stater of Miletus with a lion protome on the obverse and a floral design in an incuse square was supposed to provide an exchange mechanism with the electrum coins (especially from Sardis) already in circulation on the basis that a 1/12th electrum stater could be exchanged for ten 1/12th silver staters, which were much more manageable coins than the tiny electrum fractionals. These coins were used for trade with Lydian gold staters and for exchange in the Aegean, where the standard was the silver Aeginetan stater of approximately 12 grams, so ten Milesian 1/12th staters could be exchanged for one Aeginetan stater. At the same time, the Milesians also struck electrum staters bearing a recumbent lion, which because of their high value, Pfeiler argues, were designed for international trade. However, since the Lydian silver stater was not easy to exchange with the Milesian 1/12th stater, the Milesians extended the series of fractional denominations so that it was possible to exchange with the Milesian 1/12th stater and the Lydian stater (six 1/8th staters were equivalent to one Lydian stater, and three of them to a Lydian 1/2 stater). Pfeiler suggests that these new silver fractional issues were intended for domestic use, but the main point for our purposes is that the two coinage systems of Miletus and Sardis were interdependent, and remained so during the transition from Croesus' to Cyrus' rule.

In any case the coins of Miletus (both the silver and the electrum coin issues) had as their emblem (and the emblem of Miletus and the Milesians) the reclining or protome lion on the obverse, and the floral design in the incuse square on the reverse, and these designs continued from the sixth to the fourth centuries. In fact, other Greek cities also found their own emblems for their coinage, such as the stag for Ephesus which may date as early as the seventh century, or the seal for Phocaea whose earliest coins come from the same hoard as the Ephesian coins,⁷² despite the generally wide array of coin

⁷⁰ For Milesians at Naucratis, see Hdt. 2.178.3; for Milesian trade more generally, see Gorman 2001, 47–59. For the Greeks at Naucratis more generally, see Austin 1970, 22–33; Braun 1982, 37–43; Boardman 1999, 117–132. The Egyptian Pharaoh regularised the arrangements of the Greek settlement in the mid-sixth century (Hdt. 2.178.1–2).

⁷¹ Pfeiler 1966, 5–26

⁷² An electrum coin type, dating to the seventh century, generally thought to be Ephesian because of the stag device stamped on it, were electrum and date to the seventh century. This issue bore the legend “I am the *seima* of Phanes”. The identity of Phanes is unknown, though Kraay (1976, 23) suggests he might be a local dynast. The issue includes small fractionals (including a 1/96th) which bears only the head of the stag. Although some have thought the coin may be Halicarnassian rather than Ephesian because of a possible link between the name and Halicarnassus, this idea has not achieved widespread acceptance, especially since another fractional coin has been found near Ephesus (Konuk 2012, 45–48). Even if a dating of 560 for the Artemisium hoard were accepted (as has been suggested) this issue would still pre-date

types in Asia Minor in this early period.⁷³ Nevertheless, both changes in the coinage at Miletus, and indeed continuities of the types at Sardis in the transition from the rule of Croesus to Cyrus, almost certainly were based on economic considerations, not on changes in the political situation.

Conclusions

Cyrus and his army were brutal conquerors. However, that does open up questions about how the post-conquest cities were managed and how the post-conquest situations were stabilised. At Sardis there seems to have been some attempt at reconciliation. Pactyes was given control of the administration of the treasury in what was obviously an impressive financial centre. However, the Lydian chose to rebel. The Greek cities of Asia Minor, on the other hand, had options, which they had passed up, perhaps on the false hope that the Greeks of the mainland would save them. The attacks of Mazares, and then Harpagus, were swift and violent. Some Greeks escaped by sea, but generally the Greeks of Asia Minor were forced to accept conquest. However, after the initial shock, by and large their political and economic systems seem to have been left intact, and indeed to have prospered. In fact, there was a continuation of the pre-Cyrus financial coordination between the centre at Sardis and the local communities, especially Miletus, to optimise their ability to trade locally but also across the Mediterranean. Indeed, the special treatment of Miletus takes on a different aspect if viewed in this regard. The long-term prosperity of the Greek cities was strongly in Cyrus' interests,⁷⁴ under Darius the Great these western Anatolian cities raised a combined tribute of 400 talents.⁷⁵

Cyrus' understanding of empire could be interpreted in one of two ways. The first is that he was interested only in conquest, had little sense of the administration of the empire and little imperial vision as such, and simply left things to prosper or not as he moved onto his next conquest. That might be suggested by the fact that "governors" in centres like Sardis could establish local power bases for themselves, as did the renegade Oroetes who was appointed as governor (*hyparchos*) of Sardis by Cyrus,⁷⁶ although most of his improprieties belong to the period of Cambyses' reign.⁷⁷

However, as this essay has argued, there seems to be something more in Cyrus' approach to empire; after the brutality of the conquest he allowed peace in Asia Minor to flourish by leaving the Ionians to look after their own affairs, both economic and political, and in particular largely leaving the economic relations between Sardis and Miletus (and particularly the

Cyrus. There were also Phocaeen "seal" coins in the hoard (Kraay 1976, 21). Cf. van Alfen & Bransbourg 2013.

⁷³ Konuk 2012, 45; cf. Kraay 1976, 22.

⁷⁴ Cf. Kraay 1976, 35–36.

⁷⁵ Hdt. 3.90.1.

⁷⁶ Hdt. 3.120.1, 122.1.

⁷⁷ Oroetes set himself up some distance away in Magnesia, and arranged the death of Polycrates of Samos as well as other high-ranking Persians, including the satrap of Dascyleium (Hdt. 3.120–128), and was himself executed by Darius.

interconnections between the two coinage systems) untouched. Whereas it would be important in the context for Darius to introduce a new currency at Sardis that supported his imperial values, Cyrus’ continuation of the Sardian coinage served a different kind of stabilising purpose. In allowing the Greek cities to continue with their own local coinages (and so re-affirming local identities), but also to maintain an existing fiscal infrastructure that encouraged trade not only across the Aegean but also across the Mediterranean, he was able to calm a turbulent and unstable political situation. It perhaps says something that Harpagus was able to levy troops from the Ionians and Aeolians in the 540s (if Herodotus is right) for the Persian campaigns in Caria and Lycia, and may mean that Harpagus stayed in Asia Minor to govern the region, at least for a time, perhaps until the appointment of the Persian Oroetes.⁷⁸ Even if the troops were levied under duress, they needed to be trustworthy enough, or “on-side” enough, not to rebel or to change sides (as Astyages’ army had done ten or so years before). Indeed, within the last third of the sixth century, right at the end of Cyrus’ life (he died in 530),⁷⁹ more Greek cities had the confidence to mint their own coins.⁸⁰

Further, Cyrus, it seems, also brought the Ionians into the heart of his empire in other ways. Carl Nylander and David Stronach have argued that craftsmen from Lydia and Ionia had been used in the building of the pavilions at the garden palace at Pasargadae and so their very Ionian aesthetic was part of building a Persian imperial ideology in a tangible as well as abstract sense.⁸¹ These employed craftsmen from Ionia may have been forced deportees from Asia Minor, but Cyrus (like his Assyrian imperial royal predecessors, with whom he often drew connections), seems to be deliberately situating himself within a Near Eastern (especially Assyrian and Babylonian) royal ideology by creating a garden palace to reflect his empire.⁸²

Dusinberre has argued for an authority–autonomy model for Persian imperialism,⁸³ although understandably her discussion concentrates for the most part on the period from Darius the Great, where it can be seen most clearly that top-down means of control were supported by the more subtle ideological signposts of empire, such as seals, roads, gifts, elite fashion, etc. Nevertheless, Cyrus appears to have had similar motivations, even if his methods were different from those of his successor and had possibly more emphasis on restoration and autonomy than authority, and on keeping things largely the same in order to restore stability. While Darius may have actively

⁷⁸ Hdt. 1.171, 3.120.1.

⁷⁹ Dubberstein 1938; Parker & Dubberstein 1942, 12. Gilbert J.P. McEwan (1984, no. 123) suggests a slightly later date in October/November 530.

⁸⁰ On the coins of Colophon, which are dated to the last third of the sixth century, see Kim & Kroll 2008. On the coins of Phocaea, see n. 72 above.

⁸¹ Nylander 1970, esp. ch. 4; Stronach 1978, 20, 21–23, 42–43, 72–73, 84–85.

⁸² For Cyrus’ Assyrianising/Babylonianising, e.g., the apotropaic monsters and the four-winged genius on Gate R at Pasargadae, see Stronach 1978, 51–52, 54. For the reference to Ashurbanipal’s foundation inscription on the *Cyrus cylinder* (43), see Kuhrt 1983. On offerings made to Sargon of Akkad in the Ebabbar at Sippar (as Nabonidus had also previously made), see Kennedy 1969, 79; Kuhrt 2003, 356. Cf. Glassner 2004, no. 53. On the monumental gate at Tol-e-Ājori, see Askari Chaverdi, Callieri & Gondet 2013; Askari Chaverdi, Callieri & Matin 2014, 2017. See also van der Spek 1982.

⁸³ Dusinberre 2013, 4–8.

encouraged Persian-friendly dynasts in the Greek cities, Cyrus seems to have allowed existing political structures to continue (or at least let local communities decide on political regimes for themselves), even the potentially disruptive political collaboration of the Panionium (although it had not been at all effective in the lead-up to Cyrus' invasion). Likewise, Darius changed the coinage at Sardis to a new imperial type, though even then the original issue was on the same weight standard as the previous Lydian-type issue.⁸⁴ On the other hand, Cyrus allowed the Croesid coinage of Sardis to continue and to provide support for international trade for the Greeks while not meddling with the local coinages of the cities or their local economies. Finally, Cyrus was inclusive in his attitude to the Greeks of Asia Minor, and showed their importance to him. Far from seeing them simply as subject peoples on the fringes of his empire, he brought them to the heart of it and at his palace at Pasargadae made their aesthetic part of his own imperial vision.

Cyrus' imperial ambition seems to have centred on the acquisition of wealth as much as on power, if the two can be differentiated. However, in order to control western Anatolia he needed to follow violence with quietness and restoration. It is possible to see this elsewhere in his conquests, most clearly in the taking of Babylon (which was the bread-basket of the empire under Darius, or at least Darius' army):⁸⁵ the violence of Cyrus' attack at Opis⁸⁶ was balanced by the fact that Babylon itself was almost certainly taken peaceably by one of Cyrus' generals⁸⁷ (despite the exhortatory proclamations by the Jews that Babylon would be destroyed, and the Hellenistic *Dynastic prophecy* that the reign of Cyrus marked a bad period for Babylon),⁸⁸ and Cyrus himself was, and represented himself as being, the restorer of gods and temples.⁸⁹

It has long been assumed that Cyrus looked to Media for the structure of administration he needed to support his empire, although the ghost of the "Median Empire" seems now for the most part to be vanquished, and it seems likely that Cyrus had to look elsewhere for his imperial models. What Cyrus seems to have done is to stabilise this region in his new "empire" by appointing *hyparchoi* to manage it, but leaving most existing structures alone, so that the cities would become politically quiet, retaining and even enhancing their prosperity, a prosperity from which Cyrus himself would benefit.

Nevertheless, some of the evidence for this region in this period is difficult, especially the sources traditionally taken to be central. The

⁸⁴ Kraay 1976, 32–33; Kroll 2010, <http://sardisexpedition.org/en/essays/latw-kroll-coins-of-sardis#croeseid-coins-and-their-persian-legacy>

⁸⁵ Hdt. 1.192.

⁸⁶ *Nabonidus chronicle*, Grayson 1975a, 7.3.12–14.

⁸⁷ *Nabonidus chronicle*, Grayson, 1975a, 7.3.15–16.; Hdt. 1.191 gives a rather different account.

⁸⁸ On the destruction of Babylon, see Jeremiah 25.12, 50–1; Isaiah 47; *Dynastic prophecy*, Grayson 1975b, 2.17–24.

⁸⁹ For Cyrus as restorer of gods and temples, see the *Cyrus cylinder*. On bricks stamped with Cyrus' name from Uruk and Ur, see Waters 1996; Gadd & Legrain 1928, 58 no. 194. The Hebrew Bible (Chronicles 2.36.22–23; Ezra 1.2–4, 5.13–6.12; cf. Isaiah 44.28) says that Cyrus was also responsible for the rebuilding of the temple in Jerusalem, although most Old Testament scholars now agree the rebuilding of the temple should be dated to the reign of Darius, see esp. Albertz 2003, 119–123; Edelman 2005, 151–208.

Nabonidus chronicle presents problems because of its poor state of preservation at a critical point. Herodotus, on the other hand, whose narrative has long been thought to be key to our understanding of Near Eastern history, is seriously problematic as a strictly historical source. While he maintains an internal coherence for his story of Cyrus, it remains very much a “Greek” story told from a Greek perspective for a Greek audience.⁹⁰ He creates a wonderful literary narrative, but the historicity of his account does not stand up to other external evidence or at least needs to be modified by it. Yet we should not judge his work according to such unnuanced terms as “reliability”; Herodotus may be the first Greek prose historian, but his interests are as much (if not more) literary, political, and Greek as they are historical, at least in a modern sense.

However, the evidence that we have suggests that for Cyrus winning the peace was as important as success in battle, and points towards an understanding of the needs of empire, and an imperial ideology as well as a sense of imperial structures. In fact the life of the Greeks in Asia Minor became peaceful and safe under Cyrus’ rule, even if current realities left room for dreaming of past freedoms:

Who are you, where are you from? Come, how old are you?
What age were you when the Mede came?

Lynette G. Mitchell

Department of Classics and Ancient History
Amory Building, Rennes Drive
University of Exeter
EXETER EX4 4RJ
United Kingdom
l.g.mitchell@exeter.ac.uk

Bibliography

- Albertz, A. 2003. *Israel in exile. The history and literature of the sixth century B.C.E.* (Studies in biblical literature, 3), tr. D. Green, Atlanta.
- Asheri, D., A.B. Lloyd & A. Corcella 2007. *A commentary on Herodotus books I–IV*, eds. O. Murray & A. Moreno, Oxford.
- Askari Chaverdi, A., P. Callieri & S. Gondet 2013. ‘Tol-e Ājori, a new monumental building in Pārsa: preliminary cross interpretations from recent surveys and excavations works around Persepolis (2005–2012)’, *ARTA* 006, 1–45.
Available online at http://www.achemenet.com/document/ARTA_2013.006-Askari-Callieri-Gondet.pdf
- Askari Chaverdi, A., P. Callieri & E. Matin 2014. ‘Tol-e Ajori: a monumental gate of the early Achaemenian period in the Persepolis area. The 2014 excavation season of the Iranian-Italian project “From palace to town”’, *AMIT* 46, 223–254.
- Askari Chaverdi, A., P. Callieri & E. Matin 2017. ‘The monumental gate at Tol-e Ajori, Persepolis (Fars). The new archaeological data’, *IrAnt* 52, 205–258.
- Austin, M.M. 1970. *Greece and Egypt in the Archaic age* (Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society, Suppl., 2), Cambridge.

⁹⁰ Cf. Pelling 1996; Chiasson 2012; Mitchell 2014.

- Austin, M.M. 1990. 'Greek tyrants and the Persians, 546–479 B.C.', *CQ* 40:2, 289–306.
- Beaulieu, P.-A. 1989. *The reign of Nabonidus, king of Babylon 556–539 B.C.* (Yale Near Eastern researches, 10), New Haven & London.
- Beaulieu, P.-A. 2000. 'The Sippar cylinder of Nabonidus (2.123A)', in *The context of scripture*, 2. *Monumental inscriptions from the biblical world*, eds. W.W. Hallo & K. Lawson Younger, Jr., Leiden, Boston & Köln, 310–313.
- Berve, H. 1967. *Die Tyrannis bei den Griechen*, 2 vols., München.
- Boardman, J. 1999, *The Greeks overseas. Their early colonies and trade*, rev. ed., London.
- Braun, T.F.R.G. 1982. 'The Greeks in Egypt', *CAH* III:3. *The expansion of the Greek world, eighth to sixth centuries BC*, eds. J. Boardman & N.G.L. Hammond, Cambridge, 32–56.
- Briant, P. 2002. *From Cyrus to Alexander. A history of the Persian Empire*, tr. P.T. Daniels, Winona Lake, Ind.
- Cahill, N. 2010. 'Sardis, 2010', <http://sardisexpedition.org/en/essays/kst-cahill-kst-2010>
- Cahill, N. & J.H. Kroll 2005. 'New Archaic coin finds at Sardis', *AJA* 109:4, 589–617.
- Carradice, I. 1987. 'The 'regal' coinage of the Persian Empire,' in *Coinage and administration in the Athenian and Persian empires. The Ninth Oxford Symposium on Coinage and Monetary History* (BAR-IS, 343), ed. I. Carradice, Oxford, 73–95.
- Chiasson, C.C. 2012. 'Myth and truth in Herodotus' Cyrus logos', in *Myth, truth, and narrative in Herodotus*, eds. E. Baragwanath & M. de Bakker, Oxford, 213–232.
- Cooper, J.S. & W. Heimpel 1983. 'The Sumerian Sargon legend', *JAOS* 103:1, 67–82.
- Draycott, C.M. & G.D. Summers 2008. *Sculpture and inscriptions from the monumental entrance to the palatial complex at Kerkenes Dağ, Turkey* with contribution by C. Brixhe (Oriental Institute publications, 135; Kerkenes Special Studies, 1), Chicago.
- Drews, R. 1974. 'Sargon, Cyrus and Mesopotamian folk history', *JNES* 33:4, 387–393.
- Dubberstein, W.H. 1938. 'The chronology of Cyrus and Cambyses', *AJS* 55:4, 417–419
- Dusinberre, E.R.M. 2013. *Empire, authority, and autonomy in Achaemenid Anatolia*, Cambridge.
- Edelman, D.V. 2005. *The origins of the 'second' temple. Persian imperial policy and the rebuilding of Jerusalem*, London & New York.
- Gadd, C.J. & L. Legrain 1928. *Ur excavations: texts I. Royal inscriptions*, London.
- Gehrke, H.-J. 1985. *Stasis. Untersuchungen zu den inneren Kriegen in den griechischen Staaten des 5. und 4. Jahrhunderts v. Chr.* (Vestigia, 35), München.
- Glassner, J.-J. 2004. *Mesopotamian chronicles* (Writings from the ancient world, 19), ed. B.R. Foster, Atlanta.
- Gorman, V.B. 2001. *Miletos, the ornament of Ionia. A history of the city to 400 B.C.E.*, Ann Arbor.
- Grayson, A.K. 1975a. *Assyrian and Babylonian chronicles* (Texts from cuneiform sources, 5), Locust Valley, N.Y. & Glückstadt.
- Grayson, A.K. 1975b. *Babylonian historical-literary texts* (Toronto Semitic texts and studies, 3), Toronto & Buffalo.
- Henkelman, W.F.M. 2006. 'The birth of Gilgameš (Ael. NA XII.21). A case-study in literary receptivity', in *Altertum und Mittelmeerraum: Die Antike Welt diesseits und jenseits der Levante. Festschrift für Peter W. Haider zum 60. Geburtstag* (Oriens et Occidens, 12), ed. R. Rollinger & B. Truschnegg, Stuttgart, 807–856.
- Herman, G. 1987. *Ritualised friendship and the Greek city*, Cambridge.

- Karwiese, S. 1991. ‘The Artemisium coin hoard and the first coins of Ephesus’, *RBN* 87, 1–28.
- Kennedy, D. 1969 ‘Realia’, *RAssyr* 63:1, 79–82.
- Kim, H. & J. Kroll 2008. ‘A hoard of Archaic coins of Colophon and unminted silver (CHI.3)’, *AJN* 20, 53–103.
- Konuk, K. 2012. ‘Asia Minor to the Ionian revolt’, in *The Oxford handbook of Greek and Roman coinage*, ed. W.E. Metcalf, Oxford, 43–60.
- Kraay, C.M. 1964. ‘Hoards, small change and the origin of coinage’, *JHS* 84, 76–91.
- Kraay, C.M. 1976. *Archaic and Classical Greek coins*, London.
- Kroll, J. 2010. ‘The coins of Sardis’, <http://sardisexpedition.org/en/essays/latw-kroll-coins-of-sardis>
- Kuhrt, A. 1983. ‘The Cyrus Cylinder and Achaemenid imperial policy’, *Journal for the Study of the Old Testament* 25, 83–97.
- Kuhrt, A. 1995. *The ancient Near East c. 3000–300 BC*, 2 vols., New York & London.
- Kuhrt, A. 2003. ‘Making history: Sargon of Agade and Cyrus the Great of Persia’, in *Achaemenid history*, 13. *A Persian perspective. Essays in memory of Heleen Sancisi-Weerdenburg*, eds. W. Henkelman & A. Kuhrt, Leiden, 347–361.
- Lanfranchi, G.B., M. Roaf & R. Rollinger (eds.) 2003. *Continuity of empires (?)*. *Assyria, Media, Persia*. [Proceedings of the International Meeting in Padova, 26th–28th April 2001] (History of the ancient Near East, Monographs, 5), Padova.
- Lendering, J. 2008–2009. ‘Nabonidus Chronicle’, *Livius*. Available online at http://www.livius.org/cg-cm/chronicles/abc7/abc7_nabonidus4.html
- Lewis, B. 1980. *The Sargon legend. A study of the Akkadian text and the tale of the hero who was exposed at birth*, Cambridge, Mass.
- Liverani, M. 2003. ‘The rise and fall of Media’, in Lanfranchi, Roaf & Rollinger 2003, 1–12.
- McEwan, G.J.P. 1984. *Late Babylonian texts in the Ashmolean Museum* (Oxford Editions of Cuneiform Texts, 10), Oxford.
- Miroschedji, P. de 1985. ‘La fin du royaume d’Anšan et de Suse et la naissance de l’Empire perse’, *ZA* 75:2, 265–306.
- Mitchell, L.G. 2014. ‘Herodotus’ Cyrus and political freedom’, in *Perceptions of Iran. History, myths and nationalism from Medieval Persia to the Islamic Republic* (International library of Iranian studies, 37), ed. A.M. Ansari, London & New York, 101–118.
- Mitchell, S. 1999. ‘Archaeology in Asia Minor 1990–98’, *AR* 45, 125–192.
- Mosshammer, A.A. 1981. ‘Thales’ eclipse’, *TAPA* 111, 145–155.
- Nylander, C. 1970. *Ionians in Pasargadae. Studies in Old Persian architecture* (Boreas. Uppsala Studies in Ancient Mediterranean and Near Eastern Civilizations, 1), Uppsala.
- Parker, R.A. & W.H. Dubberstein 1942. *Babylonian chronology 626 B.C.–A.D. 45* (Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization, 24), Chicago.
- Pelling, C. 1996. ‘The urine and the vine: Astyages’ dreams at Herodotus 1.107–8’, *CQ* 46, 68–77.
- Pfeiler, B. 1966. ‘Die Silberprägung von Milet im 6. Jahrhundert v. Chr.’, *SNR* 45, 5–26.
- Potts, D.T. 2010. ‘Cyrus the Great and the kingdom of Anshan’, in *Birth of the Persian Empire*, eds. V. Sarkhosh Curtis & S. Stewart, London, 7–28.
- Radner, K. 2003. ‘An Assyrian view on the Medes’, in Lanfranchi, Roaf & Rollinger 2003, 37–64.
- Robinson, E.S.G. 1951. ‘The coins from the Ephesian Artemision reconsidered’, *JHS* 71, 156–167.
- Rollinger, R. 2009. ‘The Median “Empire”, the end of Urartu and Cyrus’ the Great campaign in 547 BC (Nabonidus Chronicle 2, 16)’, *Ancient West & East* 7, 49–63.

- Rubinstein, L. 2004. 'Ionia', in *An inventory of Archaic and Classical poleis. An investigation conducted by the Copenhagen Polis Centre for the Danish National Research Foundation*, eds. M.H. Hansen & T.H. Nielsen, Oxford, 1053–1107.
- Sancisi-Weerdenburg, H. 1988. 'Was there ever a Median empire?', in *Achaemenid history*, 3. *Method and theory. Proceedings of the London 1985 Achaemenid History Workshop*, eds. A. Kuhrt & H. Sancisi-Weerdenburg, Leiden, 197–212.
- Sancisi-Weerdenburg, H. 1994. 'The orality of Herodotus' *Medikos Logos* or: the Median empire revisited', in *Achaemenid history*, 8. *Continuity and change. Proceedings of the last Achaemenid History Workshop, April 6–8, 1990 – Ann Arbor, Michigan*, eds. H. Sancisi-Weerdenburg, A. Kuhrt & M.C. Root, Leiden, 39–55.
- Shaudig, H. 2001. *Die Inschriften Nabonids von Babylon und Kyros' des Großen samt den in ihrem Umfeld entstandenen Tendenzschriften* (Alter Orient und Altes Testament, 256), Münster.
- Stronach, D. 1978. *Pasargadae. A report on the excavations conducted by the British Institute of Persian Studies from 1961 to 1963*, Oxford.
- Summers, G.D. 2008. 'Periodisation and terminology in the Central Anatolian Iron Age: archaeology, history and audiences', *Ancient Near Eastern Studies* 45, 202–217.
- Tuplin, C.J. 1994. 'Persians as Medes', in *Achaemenid history*, 8. *Continuity and change Proceedings of the last Achaemenid History Workshop, April 6–8, 1990 – Ann Arbor, Michigan*, eds. H. Sancisi-Weerdenburg, A. Kuhrt & M.C. Root, Leiden, 235–256.
- Tuplin, C.J. 2004. 'Medes in Media, Mesopotamia, and Anatolia: empire, hegemony, domination or illusion?', *Ancient West & East* 3:2, 223–251.
- Vallat, F. 2011. 'Darius, l'héritier légitime, et les premiers Achéménides', in *Elam and Persia*, eds. J. Álvarez-Mon & M.B. Garrison, Winona Lake, Ind., 263–284.
- van Alfen, P. & G. Bransbourg 2013. 'Until the iron resurfaces: the Phocaeans in the West', *American Numismatic Society Magazine* 12:3, 7–17.
- van de Mieroop, M. 2007. *A history of the ancient Near East, ca. 3000–323 BC*, 2nd ed., Malden, MA, Oxford & Carlton.
- van der Spek, R.J. 1982. 'Did Cyrus the Great introduce a new policy towards subdued nations? Cyrus in Assyrian perspective', *Persica* 10, 278–283.
- van der Spek, R.J. 2014. 'Cyrus the Great, exiles, and foreign gods. A comparison of Assyrian and Persian policies in subject nations', in *Extraction & control. Studies in honor of Matthew W. Stolper* (Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization, 68), eds. M. Kozuh, W.F.M. Henkelman, C.E. Jones & C. Woods, Chicago, 233–264.
- Vergnaud, B. 2012. *Recherches sur les fortifications d'Anatolie occidentale et centrale au début du premier millénaire av. J.-C. (X^e–VI^e s.)*, Université Michel de Montaigne-Bordeaux 3.
- Waters, M.W. 1996. 'Darius and the Achaemenid line', *Ancient History Bulletin* 10, 11–18.

Pillar Tombs and the Achaemenid Rule in Lycia

by

Martin Seyer

Abstract

This article deals with the Lycian pillar tombs, the most enigmatic tomb type in this region, which first appeared at around the time of the Persian conquest of Xanthos in the mid-sixth century BC. After an overview of the illustrated examples from the Archaic period the focus is placed on the Lion Tomb from Xanthos, which has to be regarded as the archetype of this tomb type. In investigating the iconographic program that partially differs from the others it is suggested that its owner – most probably a Lycian – was inaugurated as the first local dynast under Persian rule.

The Persian conquest of Lycia and the appearance of pillar tombs

With the capture of Xanthos by the Persian army under the leadership of Harpagos in about 545 BC, Lycia (*Fig. 1*)¹ became part of the Persian Empire.² In Xanthos a potentate, a so-called dynast, was established; his successors attained the greatest importance as rulers within Lycia and dominated the political landscape for approximately 150 years.³ Only at the beginning of the fourth century BC in Limyra in eastern Lycia did a rival dynasty emerge which wielded control over all of Lycia until the so-called Satraps' Revolt of the 360s BC.⁴

The question whether the form of rulership of the dynasts in Lycia represented an innovation of the Persians, or whether the new potentates took over an already existing system of leadership is a subject of controversy in the scholarship. Whereas the thesis that the establishment of a ruling dynasty in Xanthos goes directly back to the Persians is supported by, for

¹ Before the Persian conquest, the territory of Lycia, as far as it can be understood as a political entity, seems to have been limited to the Xanthos Valley, and since Xanthos was probably the only significant settlement, its capture was synonymous with the capture of Lycia (Bryce 1983, 32; 1986, 100). See also Keen 1998, 39.

² Following the traditional scholarly opinion based on the satrap list of Herodotus, Lycia formed a part of the first satrapy and, as a consequence of the participation in the Satraps' Revolt of c. 360 BC, was affiliated to Caria (Hdt. 3.90). In contrast to this is the theory of Bruno Jacobs (1993, 63–69; 1994, 136–138), according to which Lycia was already a unity subordinate to Caria before the uprising, and therefore belonged to the second satrapy.

³ The scholarly literature on the form of rulership of the dynasts in Lycia is extremely extensive. On this issue, see e.g. Childs 1981; Bryce 1983; 1986, passim; Zimmermann 1992, esp. 10–27; Keen 1998, passim; Borchhardt 1998; 2000; Behrwald 2000, 10–22; Domingo Gygax 2001, 68–92. On the related discussion in connection with Lycian pillar tombs, see Marksteiner 2002, 230–232.

⁴ Bryce 1980; 1986, 111–114; Kolb & Kupke 1992, 15; Keen 1998, 154–170.

example, Trevor R. Bryce and Bruno Jacobs,⁵ Antony G. Keen and Martin Zimmermann have expressed the opinion that the dynastic system had already existed in Lycia prior to the Persian conquest.⁶ In fact, the practice of leaving conquered regions under the control of local potentates conforms absolutely to Persian customs. While Achaemenid rulers in states such as, for example, Babylon or Egypt endeavoured to take over the title and status of the conquered monarchs themselves,⁷ rulers of less important regions which were ready to surrender were set up as client kings. In this regard, although there are no historical sources for the situation in Lycia, this circumstance is nevertheless attested by Xenophon for Cilicia and Cyprus.⁸ The hypothesis that Xanthos was already ruled by a princely house before the Persian conquest is supported by the archaeological evidence. In the course of the French excavations, a building on the Lycian acropolis was brought to light that was probably constructed in the seventh century BC and was destroyed by a massive conflagration approximately in the mid-sixth century BC. Based on its form and dimensions, the strength of its walls and the organisation of its rooms, this structure has been interpreted as a palace or the residence of a ruler.⁹

At around the same time as the Persian conquest of Xanthos, that is, roughly around the mid-sixth century BC, the pillar tomb type¹⁰ appeared in Lycia; it can thus be identified as the oldest monumental tomb form in Lycia after the tumulus type, which likely appeared in the seventh/sixth century BC.¹¹ Pillar tombs (*Fig. 2*) consist in general of a long, pier-like shaft, of at least approximately quadratic cross section, which normally rises up above a base consisting of a level rock surface or a one-stepped or multi-stepped socle. The tomb chamber is generally carved out of the shaft towards its upper end, or may also be set up on top of it and circumscribed by orthostats on the exterior. A covering panel constitutes the upper closure which projects over the shaft on all four sides and is frequently stepped on its upper or lower side. As with the majority of other tomb types in Lycia, pillar tombs could also carry relief decoration; this generally reflects the deeds of the deceased and is normally located on the exterior of the grave chamber. In addition, three examples are provided with an inscription in the Lycian language.¹²

⁵ Bryce 1983; 1986, 101; Jacobs 1987, 27–29. Due to the twofold similarity in names of Lycian dynasts and members of the house from which the conqueror of Xanthos originated, Jacobs thought of the possibility that a family of Persian origin was installed in Xanthos.

⁶ Keen 1998, 38–40, 76–82; Zimmermann 1992, 21, n. 34.

⁷ Tuplin 1987, 111, n. 14; Dandamaev 1989, 55 (Babylonia), 76–77 (Egypt).

⁸ Xen. *Cyr.* 7.4.1–3; 8.6.8. Cf. Dandamaev 1989, 24, n. 4; Briant 1996, 75–76.

⁹ Metzger 1963, 16–19.

¹⁰ Fundamental for the pillar tombs, see Deltour-Lévie 1982. In addition to the fifty known pillars included in the catalogue of Thomas Marksteiner 2002, 219–225, a further example from Arsada has been presented by Havva İşkan (2005). Another one is probably built into the fortification wall of Tlos (Hülken 2006 1, no. 3). On two relief fragments from Xanthos which perhaps belong to one, perhaps also to two additional pillars, see Hoff 2017, 506, cat. P 80–81, with earlier bibliography.

¹¹ On the discussion of tumulus research in Lycia, see Hülken 2011; 2016.

¹² Kalinka 1901, 32 TL 34, 38–48 TL 44, 52 TL 50.

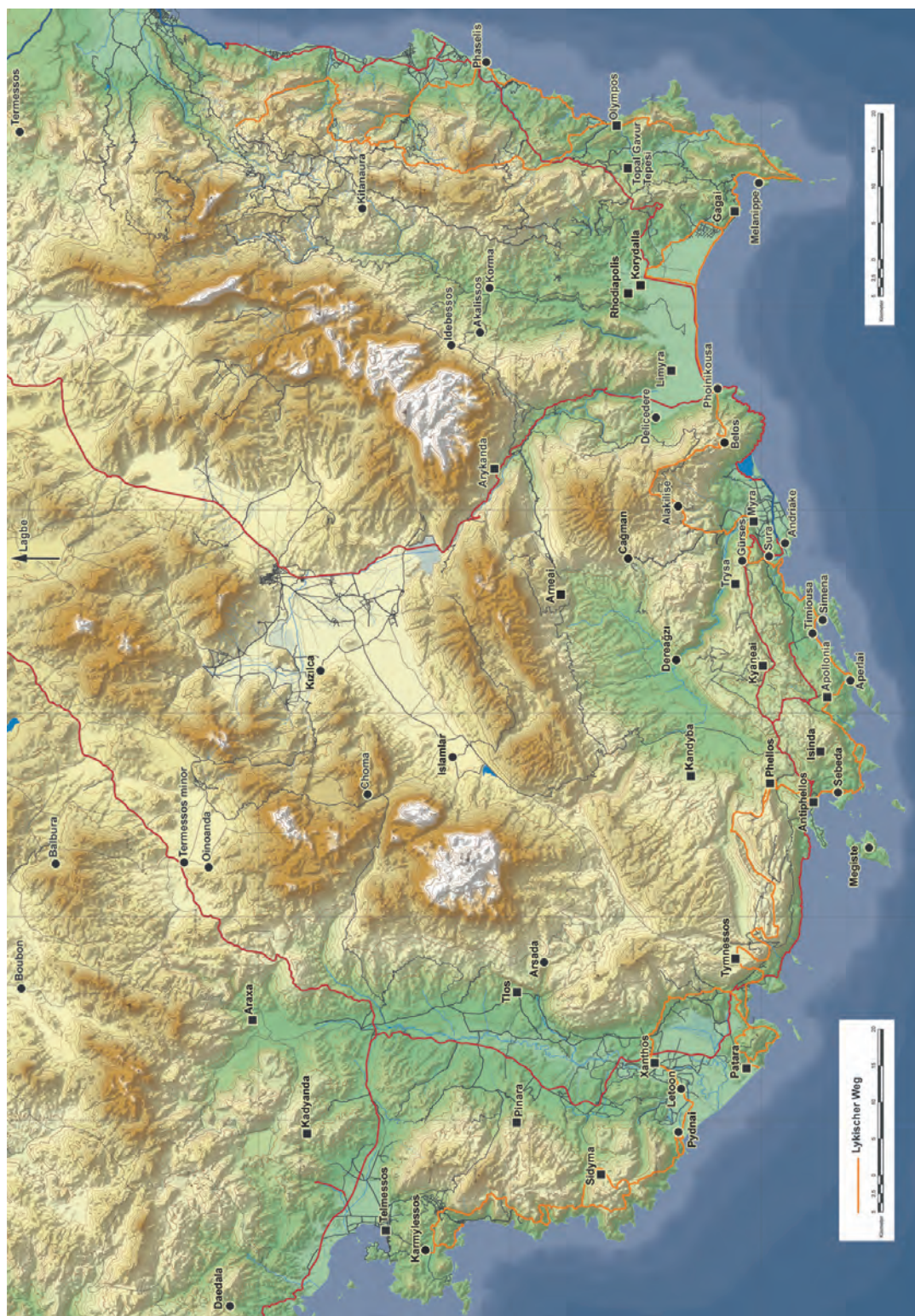


Fig. 1. Map of Lycia, after Kuban 2012, Karte 1.

As before, the type of the pillar tomb is still enigmatic in many aspects, since a number of questions – for example its origin and genesis, or the precise social circle that was entitled to burial in such a tomb – are still not completely resolved.¹³ A total of six pillar tombs are found at Xanthos, and these date between the mid-sixth century and about 400 BC.¹⁴ Due to the privileged location of their erection,¹⁵ their monumental dimensions, the iconography of their sculptural decoration, as well as unequivocal passages in the various inscriptions of the inscribed pillars, they are all viewed as the burial locations of representatives of the ruling class, the so-called dynasts,¹⁶ and there can be no doubt about this classification.



Fig. 2. Harpy Monument. Photo M. Seyer.



Fig. 3. Pillar Tomb of Limyra. Photo N. Gail. © ÖAW/ÖAI.

Based on the interpretation of the pillars from Xanthos, the view that this tomb type generally was an exclusive burial form of Lycian dynasts¹⁷ is nevertheless problematic for a number of reasons. Burial in pillar tombs probably originally represented an exclusive domain of the ruling class, yet over the course of time it was nonetheless adapted for a larger group of representatives of the aristocratic elite of Lycia.¹⁸ This process is clearly

¹³ The fundamental function of the pillar as a tomb monument has in general not been doubted. Only Jürgen Borchhardt proposed the view that they were cenotaphs for warriors who had fallen abroad. Cf. Borchhardt 1998, 155–156; Borchhardt *et al.*, 1997–1999, 37–38; Borchhardt 2000, 79–80, 88–89; 2003, 49–50; 2015, 17–18.

¹⁴ Demargne 1958.

¹⁵ On the characteristic features of the site of installation of the pillars in general, see Deltour-Levie 1982, 194–195. On that of the pillars from the Archaic period, see Draycott 2007, 105.

¹⁶ For the attempt to ascribe the individual buildings to the known ruling personalities from Xanthos, see Keen 1992.

¹⁷ See e.g. Kjeldsen & Zahle 1976, 44; Zahle 1980, 38; Deltour-Levie 1982, 205; Keen 1992, 53; Zimmermann 1992, 17–19; Buschmann 1993, 432; Kolb 1996, 69.

¹⁸ Seyer forthcoming.

visible not least from a consideration of the pillars from Hoyran¹⁹ and Limyra (*Fig. 3*),²⁰ the two latest examples of pillar tombs in Lycia,²¹ since both of these cannot obviously be viewed in the context of sepulchral objects of the ruling class. The reliefs of both monuments are each concentrated on the front face, thereby differentiating them from the Archaic and Early Classical pillar tombs whose pictorial decoration in each case is equally distributed on all four sides. This accentuation of a main facade can be explained by a differing zeitgeist, due to the increased influence of Greek culture in Lycia in the late fourth century BC.²² These two tombs indicate that the type of the pillar tomb was also in use many decades after the end of the dynastic system of rule in Lycia.²³

The earliest pillar tombs: difficulties in dating

More difficult than a definition of the chronological end is, however, the determination of the origin and genesis of the Lycian pillar tombs, since no architectonic forerunners are known, and this tomb type, by all appearances, was uniquely and solely limited to the cultural landscape of Lycia. Accordingly, the emergence of the form is also assessed in different ways. Their origin in the Anatolian cultural landscape or – even more specifically conceived – in the Lycian region²⁴ has been proposed in the scholarship, just as has a connection of the development with the conquest of Xanthos by the Persians in c. 545 BC.²⁵

In general, six pillars are viewed as the earliest representatives of this tomb type; due to the style of their reliefs they can be assigned to the Archaic period. This group includes the Lion Tomb from Xanthos, the Wrestler Relief from Xanthos, which was perhaps also equally part of a pillar tomb, the pillars from Trysa and Gürses as well as Pillar Tomb 1 from Isinda and Pillar Tomb 2 from Tüse.²⁶ With two additional reliefs from Xanthos²⁷ as well as Pillar Tomb 3 from Asaraltı,²⁸ which generally is not

¹⁹ Deltour-Levie 1982, 41–49, figs. 19–24; Marksteiner 2002, 225, cat. 47 with bibliography.

²⁰ Seyer 2003; Marksteiner 2002, 225, cat. 50.

²¹ The pillar from Hoyran has been dated to the late fourth century BC (Deltour-Levie 1982, 49) or the Hellenistic period (Zahle 1979, 337, n. 150), the one from Limyra to the later fourth century BC (Seyer 2003, 220–223; see also Seyer forthcoming, n. 62).

²² On a transition, often postulated in scholarship, of the pillar tombs from burial structures to stelai, see Seyer forthcoming.

²³ As a result of the so-called Satraps' Revolt of the 360s BC, the influence of the Lycian dynasts was broken, whereby Caria attained a dominant role under Maussollos, who extended his rule to Lycia.

²⁴ See e.g. Deltour-Levie 1982, 200; Işık 2001, 126; Işkan 2005, 127.

²⁵ Marksteiner 2002, 232–233, who nevertheless pointed to the theoretical character of the consideration.

²⁶ In addition to the list in Catherine M. Draycott (2007, 107–114) citing the extensive bibliography on this monument, the observations on the pillar tombs and their pictorial themes by Corinna Hoff (2017) as well as the remarks on the pillar tomb from Isinda by Fabienne Colas-Rannou (2009) and on the Lion Tomb by Martin Seyer (2016) should also be mentioned.

²⁷ 1. Istanbul, Mus. inv. no. 1450, see Demargne 1958, 33–34, pl. 4; cf. Hoff 2017, 45, 506, cat. S 80. 2. Istanbul, Mus. inv. no. 2301, see Demargne 1958, 34–35, pl. 4; cf. Hoff 2017, 45–46, 506, cat. S 81.

²⁸ Recently, see Hoff 2017, 55–56, 441, cat. S 9.

named together with these in the scholarship, two if not three examples can be appended to this series.²⁹ Nevertheless, the dating for this group as well is not undisputed, since an earlier chronological estimate in the late seventh or the first half of the sixth century is contradicted by a later date, after the mid-sixth century BC, resulting in a discrepancy of almost 100 years. All of the attempts to create a chronological designation of these tombs were chiefly based on a stylistic analysis of their reliefs. In this way, to support the earlier as well as the later date, each of the advocates has adduced numerous comparisons and stylistic elements from the Anatolian and Greek cultural regions as well as from Near Eastern art,³⁰ without having yet reached a fundamental consensus.³¹

A possible reason for this uncertainty might lie in the extremely scant number of sculpted objects from this time period in Lycia, which precludes a classification on a broader basis. With a total number of fewer than ten preserved sculpted objects it is to a certain degree conceivable that the personal taste of the client also had an influence on the subject depicted, and this is even more likely given the fact that, during the Archaic period, apparently no unified canon of forms had been established. The appearance or disappearance of stylistic elements on works of art of stone, ceramic or terracotta, above all in important centres of Asia Minor and of the Greek and Near Eastern world therefore does not necessarily presuppose a parallel development in a remote provincial region such as Lycia. The difficulty of arriving at a dating for Lycian sculpture of the Archaic period exclusively on the basis of stylistic analysis is also indicated not least by the fact that chronological classification of numerous, in part excellent sculpted reliefs on important tombs of the Classical period is equally problematic, although for this period a far more extensive corpus exists for comparative studies.³²

²⁹ According to Laurence Cavalier, both reliefs from Xanthos are elements of pillar tombs, see Cavalier 2006, 335, 342–343, 353. The question is unresolved whether both fragments, in spite of their differing find spots, belong to one or to two different tombs. On this, see Rudolph 2003, 54–55; Hoff 2017, 38.

³⁰ For an extensive overview of the differing attempts to date the Lycian pillar tombs of the Archaic period, see Hoff 2017, 38–45; for this reason this information will not be repeated here.

³¹ The fact that this contradiction continues in the most recent research is reflected for example in the current attempt by Hoff (2017, 44–45) to situate the Archaic pillar tombs of Lycia considerably before the mid-sixth century BC due to the stepped hairstyle of certain figures. In this regard, Hoff points to the Daedalic style, characteristic of this hairstyle, with a floruit lasting only until the end of the seventh century BC; the stepped hairstyle is not attested on datable monuments created after the mid-sixth century. As evidence, she adduces comparisons from the region of the minor arts of Sparta, Ephesus and Miletus, which were all produced before the mid-sixth century BC. In contrast, however, Marksteiner had already confirmed that the usage of this hairstyle in purely Greek art was indeed limited to works of the early and high Archaic period, yet the corresponding representation of hairstyles in Archaic Lycian art can very well be demonstrated also after the mid-sixth century BC. Marksteiner (2002, 236–237 with nn. 157–158) supported this statement with a representation from the decorative scheme of the tumulus of Kızılbel in the Milyas, a monument which is commonly dated to the third quarter of the sixth century BC. With the representation of long hair, we are therefore probably dealing with a regional idiosyncrasy, perhaps based on contemporary costume, and not with a dating criterion that is oriented in similar circumstances to examples from Greek art.

³² For this problem, see Seyer forthcoming.

The more than 100 year-long, ongoing, controversial discussions regarding the Archaic sculpted reliefs of Lycia therefore tellingly reveal that an approximate dating to a few years, exclusively on the grounds of stylistic investigations, is hardly possible. A precise chronological classification would, however, be of particular importance, precisely for the Archaic pillar tombs – and here, primarily, for the Lion Tomb, probably the oldest example of the group.³³ By means of such a classification, a crucial statement regarding the origin and genesis of this tomb type could be made. An early dating would therefore provide evidence of the existence of pillar tombs before the conquest of Lycia by the Persians in the 540s BC, whereas in contrast the later dating would at least be judged as an indication that the altered political circumstances in Xanthos favoured the emergence of a new tomb type for the burial of the rulers.³⁴ The question of the patron of the Lion Tomb is therefore closely connected with the appearance of the ruling system of the so-called dynasts in Lycia.



Fig. 4. The Lion Tomb in a drawing by George Scharf (after Jenkins, 2006, 161, fig. 151).

³³ The Lion Tomb is cited as the oldest datable tomb of Xanthos by, for example, des Courtils 2003, 105; Kolb 2008, 57; Keen 1992, 62–63; as the oldest pillar tomb of Lycia e.g. Akurgal 1941, 1; Jacobs 1987, 29; Marksteiner 2002, 233, 289; İşkan 2005, 127 (together with the pillar from Trysa); Colas-Rannou 2009, 473.

³⁴ On the consequences resulting from the various dating attempts, see Marksteiner 2002, 279–280; 2005, 212–213.

Regional peculiarities of illustrations

As mentioned already, the six pillar tombs which can indubitably be assigned to the Archaic period – pillar tomb 3 from Asaraltı as well as the two reliefs from Xanthos, which probably were equally elements of one, possibly also two different pillars – were decorated with reliefs. For these early examples of Lycian sepulchral art, the following subjects are represented.³⁵

Lion Pillar from Xanthos (*Fig. 4*)

W-side:³⁶ lion attacking a bull; S-side: remains of a seated figure (left), hero killing a lion (right); E-side: lion attacking a bull; N-side: shield triumph (left), rider pursued by a male figure (right).

Relief from a Pillar Tomb from Xanthos (so-called Wrestler Pillar)

Two wrestlers (left), cithara player (middle), male figure – athlete? (right).

Pillar Tomb 1 from Isinda

W-side:³⁷ two male figures swinging clubs (left and right), male figure leading horses, dog (middle); S-side: two hunters pursuing two stags (left), shield triumph of a warrior above eight opponents (upper register, right), captured enemy (lower register right); E-side: three warriors in a scene of shield triumph with conquered adversaries at their feet; N-side: two musicians (left);³⁸ two wrestlers (right); male figure – athlete? (middle).

Pillar Tomb from Trysa

Side a:³⁹ military campaign with at least five people moving left; Side b: procession of at least five people moving left; Side c: remains of one, probably also two horses as well as a rider; Side d: crouching lioness.

Pillar Tomb from Gürses

Side a: enthroned figure in the middle, two figures behind and one in front of it; striding figure (right); Side b: military campaign with at least five people moving left, led by an aulos player; Side c: hunting of fleeing ibexes in two superposed registers; Side d: two people striding towards each other.

³⁵ The catalogues of Marksteiner (2002) and Draycott (2007) provide brief descriptions of the monuments with reference to the scholarly literature; a compilation of the pictorial themes is given in Hoff (2017, 173), for which reason only a key-word reference to the depicted themes appears here. For reasons of completeness, the reliefs from the pillar tombs of Asaraltı as well as those from Xanthos in the Istanbul Museum are also included here, although the dating of the pillar from Asaraltı is uncertain, and the connection above all of relief inv. no. 2301 to a pillar tomb is, in my opinion, questionable due to its poor quality. See in this regard also the suggestion of Marksteiner (2002, 244), who assigns the representation to the area of “folk art” due to the rough sculptural workmanship and the rather unskilled composition.

³⁶ The attribution of the reliefs to the various sides of the monument follows Demargne 1958, 30. Cf. also Seyer 2016, 69, n. 14.

³⁷ The attribution of the reliefs to the various sides of the monument follows Akurgal 1941, 52–97.

³⁸ While the instrument of the leading figure can be clearly identified as a cithara, the instrument of the rear figure is not preserved. Due to the position of the arms of the musician, Akurgal (1941, 93–94) proposed the interpretation of it as a diaulos.

³⁹ The description of the various sides follows Marksteiner 2002, 214–215.

Pillar Tomb 2 from Tüse

Side 1:⁴⁰ crouching lioness with the head of a cervid; Side 2: crouching lion; Side 3: banquet; Side 4: at least three standing figures.

Pillar Tomb 3 from Asaraltı⁴¹

Three scenes, probably following each other in a row like metopes: standing figure turning to the right (left), seated person (middle),⁴² an enthroned figure and a standing figure turning towards it.

Relief fragment inv. no. 1450 from Xanthos (Istanbul Museum)

Standing warrior with lance.

Relief fragment inv. no. 2301 from Xanthos (Istanbul Museum)

Standing warrior with horse and fallen soldier.

This collocation shows that the iconographic programme of the pillar tombs in most cases appears uniform.⁴³ It is therefore scarcely surprising that the great majority of the illustrations, such as representations of warriors and hunters, battle and throne scenes as well as scenes from the palaestra indicate the aristocratic virtues of the tomb patron. Although most of the motifs are widespread in the funerary art of Anatolia, it is nevertheless noteworthy that a number of reliefs have regional specialities as their subject, or display iconographic characteristics, that can be viewed as such.

Amongst these can be mentioned at the outset the motif of the shield triumph, in which the victorious warrior triumphantly raises aloft the captured shield of his defeated opponent.⁴⁴ This subject, which is found on the Lion Pillar (*Fig. 5*) as well as on two sides of the pillar at Isinda,⁴⁵ probably represents a genuine Lycian creation, since during the Archaic and Classical period it is encountered in no other cultural region than Lycia.⁴⁶ In contrast, it apparently enjoyed great popularity here, since it is also found on tomb monuments of the Classical epoch, for example on the Inscribed Pillar (*Fig. 6*)⁴⁷ and on the Dancers' Sarcophagus⁴⁸ from Xanthos, as well as on a

⁴⁰ The description of the various sides follows Marksteiner 2002, 241–242.

⁴¹ The reliefs from the pillar tomb of Asaraltı are included here in spite of the uncertainty in their dating. Whereas in general the monument is assigned to near the end of the sixth or beginning of the fifth century BC, Hoff (2017, 55–56) proposed a date in the fourth century BC. Decisive for this dating is the fact that the reliefs – like those from the late pillar tombs of Hoyran and Limyra – are concentrated on one side instead of being equally distributed on all four sides.

⁴² The description by Claudine Deltour-Levie (1982, 113), the discoverer of the relief decoration, diverges however from the illustration (*fig. 92*), since this shows a recumbent figure as well as a standing figure turned towards it.

⁴³ See also Marksteiner (2002, 146), who equally already pointed out the uniformity in motifs of the sculpted decoration of the Archaic pillar tombs from Lycia.

⁴⁴ For a consideration of the motif of the shield triumph on the Archaic pillar tombs from Lycia, see Marksteiner 2002, 253–256.

⁴⁵ Akurgal 1941, *figs. 7–8*, pls. 6, 9; Marksteiner 2002, *figs. 145, 147*, pls. 158–159.

⁴⁶ This circumstance was already pointed out by Akurgal (1941, 64, n. 26).

⁴⁷ Demargne 1958, 79–105; 1974, 113–115; Zahle 1979, 326, cat. 13; Bruns-Özgan 1987, 290, cat. V 6; Borchhardt *et al.* 1997–1999, 17–56.

⁴⁸ Demargne 1974, 79–103; Zahle 1979, 328, cat. 19; Bruns-Özgan 1987, 285–286, cat. S 26.

rock tomb in Tlos.⁴⁹ Closely connected with the shield triumph is the motif of the capture of the shield, frequently represented in the art of the Classical period in Lycia, but seldom found in other cultural regions.⁵⁰ Above all, the continuous representation on the rock tomb in Tlos, in which the various phases of the battle with the capture of the shield and shield triumph are portrayed, makes it clear that the latter scene expresses the victorious outcome of the battle and consequently is to be viewed as a symbol of the triumph over the defeated opponent. A representation on the Inscribed Pillar of Xanthos is to be interpreted somewhat differently than the scene in Tlos. Here the victorious warrior, who can only be the tomb patron, snatches the shield away from an already conquered opponent, whereas behind him six additional shields are presented. The number of the shields, seven in all, does not arise by chance, but makes reference to the phrase in the Greek epigram on the north side of the pillar,⁵¹ in which the tomb patron prides himself – in addition to other deeds – on having killed seven Arcadian hoplites in one day.⁵² With the illustration on his tomb, this individual points to a historical event and, therefore, to one of the most important experiences in his life.



Fig. 5. Lion Tomb from Xanthos, north side. Photo R. Hügli.

⁴⁹ Zahle 1979, 325, cat. 8; Bruns-Özgan 1987, 156–157, 272–273, cat. F 29. Akurgal (1941, 63, n. 21) mentioned an additional rock tomb with the representation of a shield triumph in Pinara, which nevertheless is only known from a drawing by Charles Fellows (*Ausflug nach Kleinasien und Entdeckungen in Lykien*, a German translation of Fellows 1852 by Julius Theodor Zenker, pl. 6, fig. 78). This illustration as well as the corresponding illustration in Akurgal (1941, 62, fig. 9) make it clear, however, that this is the tomb mentioned already in Tlos.

⁵⁰ Cf. e.g. Borchhardt 1975, 125–126; Bruns-Özgan 1987, 232–235; Marksteiner 2002, 253–254, nn. 281, 282.

⁵¹ On the Greek epigram of the Inscribed Pillar, see e.g. Bousquet 1975, 138–141; Bryce 1986, 97–98; Jacobs 1987, 59–60; Zhuber-Okrog 1990, 225–226. An excellent analysis and interpretation of the text is provided by David Asheri (1983, 85–105).

⁵² The connection between the representation and the text was already recognised by Pierre Demargne (1958, 88).

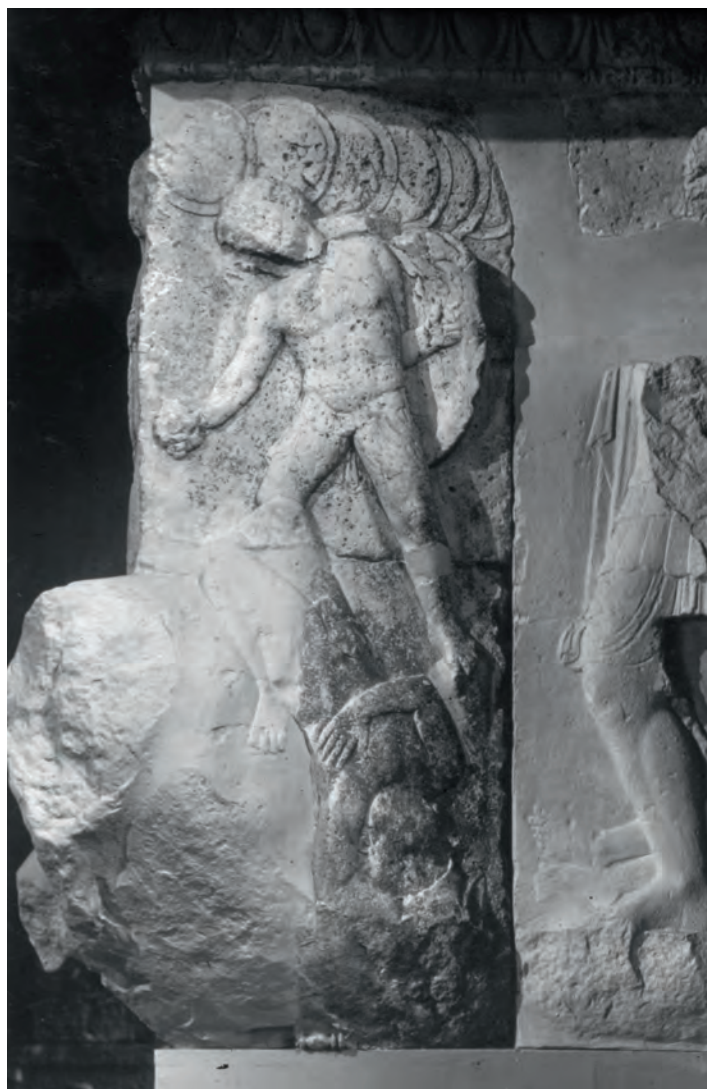


Fig. 6. Inscribed
Pillar, shield triumph,
after Demargne
1958, pl. 30.



Fig. 7. Relief plaque with depiction of wrestlers from Xanthos, after Marksteiner 2002, pl. 165.



Fig. 8. Lion Tomb from Xanthos, east side. Photo R. Hügli.



Fig. 9. Detail of the Lion Tomb from Xanthos, south side. Photo R. Hügli.

It is also possible that the representations of two wrestling athletes on the so-called Wrestler Pillar from Xanthos (*Fig. 7*) as well as the scene of two wrestling athletes depicted on the pillar from Isinda⁵³ are to be viewed as regional peculiarities, which were likewise designed to emphasise aristocratic or ruling virtues. This interpretation might at first glance seem unusual, since images of wrestling and boxing contests have a long tradition in Near Eastern and Egyptian art, and are also known in Greek art since the geometric period.⁵⁴ The significance that should be attributed to superiority in wrestling, amongst the virtues of Lycian rulers, can be learned from the Greek epigram of the Inscribed Pillar, in which the tomb owner, while listing his deeds and merits, also extols his physical mastery in wrestling: “It was [Ke]r[r]is(?), the son of Harpagos, having excelled in all respects the youth of his day in his prowess at wrestling”.⁵⁵ It is therefore highly likely that the pictorial images on the Archaic pillars and the verse on the Inscribed Pillar make the same assertion, and that the latter is to be understood as a verbalisation of the older illustrations.⁵⁶ Naturally, in the final analysis this construal cannot be proven, which is why until now the reliefs have also been interpreted as scenes of the general aristocratic self-representation in the framework of a victory celebration⁵⁷ as well as an illustration of funeral games.⁵⁸ According to Catherine M. Draycott, the scenes, by contrast, ought far more to reflect the financial capabilities of the tomb owner rather than his physical ones, since, based on her interpretation, with the illustration the patron wished to portray himself as an actual or potential sponsor of large-scale agonistic celebrations.⁵⁹ In any event, the appearance of musicians and athletes together is to be judged as a local iconographic peculiarity that actually alludes to agonistic events in the context of a celebration. Since this has no parallels, in particular in the repertoire of Greek representations, it can arguably be viewed as a creation of the Lycian artists, perhaps to highlight a “Lycian element”.⁶⁰

The Lion Tomb

Iconography: Lycian and oriental features

Generally speaking, the pictorial programme of the Archaic pillar tombs, with the exception of a few regional peculiarities, is relatively uniform and predominantly comprises illustrations that demonstrate the aristocratic

⁵³ Akurgal 1941, fig. 12, pl. 12; Marksteiner 2002, fig. 148, pl. 161.

⁵⁴ Hoff 2017, 209–214. Cf. also Marksteiner 2002, 264–266.

⁵⁵ Translation after Bryce (1986, 97).

⁵⁶ The images of wrestlers were also interpreted in this manner by Colas-Rannou (2009, 470).

⁵⁷ Akurgal 1941, 96.

⁵⁸ Demargne 1958, 52. Colas-Rannou (2009, 470) argues on good grounds against the interpretation of the reliefs as an illustration of funeral games.

⁵⁹ Consequently, Draycott (2007, 116–117) assigned the wrestling scenes not to her “skill based” group but rather more to her “economic based” group within the representations on Archaic pillar tombs.

⁶⁰ Marksteiner 2002, 264. In the process, Marksteiner pointed to the circumstance that the Lycian images would be oriented towards Greek prototypes.

virtues of the tomb owner. Nevertheless, with the Lion Tomb of Xanthos⁶¹ an example exists which at least partially differs from the others, as its pictorial programme exhibits “Lycian elements”. It also, however, includes representations with oriental references, which perhaps can provide further information about the character of the tomb owner. The pillar, discovered by Charles Fellows during his first expedition to Lycia in 1838, originally was raised in the northeastern region of Xanthos, just inside the later North Gate. In contrast to its reliefs, which during the course of excavations in 1843 were sawn off and brought to the British Museum, the shaft of the tomb monument remained in Xanthos. While this element was indeed rediscovered during excavations by the French under Pierre Demargne, the original site of erection of the monument could no longer be identified.⁶² The former appearance as well as the orientation of the tomb in the landscape are in any case certain, due to a drawing made immediately after the discovery by George Scharf (*Fig. 4*). Since, as already mentioned, the exact dating of the monument on the basis of stylistic analyses has until now led to no uniform agreement, this study will attempt to investigate again whether more detailed information can be gained from an analysis of the iconography of the pictorial programme.⁶³

Only the main area of the left field is preserved from the north side (*Fig. 5*), which was originally divided into two pictorial fields by a vertical fillet. This displays a warrior moving to the left with a Corinthian helmet in the gesture of the shield triumph; behind him, a rider moving to the right is depicted, pursued by a smaller male figure. The imagery of the no longer preserved pictorial field at the right was hypothetically reconstructed by Ekrem Akurgal as a scene of single combat.⁶⁴ If one interprets both the triumphant figure and the rider as the tomb owner, and the smaller figure as an attendant,⁶⁵ then we have two scenes with the themes of “triumph in battle” and “victorious homecoming”, which are only indirectly related in terms of content, displayed next to each other.

On the east side (*Fig. 8*) a male lion with a mighty mane rends a bull. He squats on his paws and bites down with his teeth into his prey, which lies on its back. Only the head and parts of the neck of the bull are recognisable. The head, which is almost sculpted in the round, projects out on the south side of the monument (*Fig. 9*).

Only two fragments are preserved from the images on the south side (*Figs. 9–10*). The right one shows the representation of single combat between a naked man and an upright lion. The man stands in profile facing right, grabbing the lion with his hand by the ear and stabbing it in the breast with a sword held in his other hand. The predatory animal – also in profile, yet with

⁶¹ Fellows 1852, 168, 449, 499; Perrot & Chipiez 1892, 384–389, figs. 277, 280; Smith 1892, pl. 2; Pryce 1928, 118–122; Akurgal 1941, 3–51; Demargne 1958, 29–33; Deltour-Levie 1982, 157–159; Marksteiner 2002, 220, cat. 11, 234–238, *passim*; Rudolph 2003, 35–41; Draycott 2007, 107–108; Seyer 2016; Hoff 2017, *passim*.

⁶² Demargne 1958, 29–30, pl. 3.

⁶³ A first investigation in this matter has been undertaken by the author (Seyer 2016), upon which parts of the results presented here are based.

⁶⁴ Akurgal 1941, 32 with fig. 5 (the two Lycian inscriptions reproduced in this illustration are not verified in the inventory), 41, pl. 5.

⁶⁵ The representations were also interpreted in this manner by Marksteiner (2002, 237).

face forwards – stands upright on one rear leg and places its other leg against the upper thigh of its adversary. With its right front paw, it catches at the man's upper arm, and stretches its other paw towards the face of its combatant. The imagery on the west side (*Fig. 11*) forms a pendant to the east side; it depicts a lioness, crouched on her paws, with her gaze turned frontally out of the pictorial field. The sex of the creature can be determined by the absence of a mane as well as the strongly prominent teats. On her front paws rests a cub, whose head is also depicted in frontal view. The lioness is about to tear apart an exceptionally small bovid that lies on its back; its left front hoof is visible beneath the chaps of the predator.⁶⁶

Repetition of a motif: the taurophonos leon

The great significance that this motif has on the Lion Tomb is striking, as it is depicted almost identically on two sides of the monument, therefore occupying half of the entire pictorial surface.⁶⁷ Also noteworthy is the fact that both groups are depicted in symmetrical fashion, and both move in the same direction, namely, from north to south. The repetition of a motif on the same structure in Lycia is not unique; it is also encountered, for example, on both friezes of the Heroon of the dynast Perikle from Limyra, as well as on a number of Lycian sarcophagi of the Classical period.⁶⁸ As Gerhart Rodenwaldt already judged from the example of the Amazon Sarcophagus in Vienna, the doubling of a motif is not a result of the lack of imagination of the artist, but instead signifies the representative-decorative function of the tomb monument.⁶⁹ In this connection Rodenwaldt tellingly refers to the parallels in Lycian funerary art.

The repetition of a narrative frieze is already encountered in Assyrian art on the throne pedestal of Shalmaneser III, on which his political successes are illustrated.⁷⁰ This repetition is also present in the art of the Persian Empire, where above all in the palaces of Persepolis a variety of motifs appear in double form.⁷¹ Jürgen Borchhardt described the symmetrical repetition as well as the doubling of a motif as a stylistic device of the art of the Persian court,⁷² and Ilse Kleeman also identified the cumulative recurrence of the same reliefs as a stylistic stratagem of court art, representing a

⁶⁶ The reconstruction of this depiction, which resulted from the description of the reliefs by Arthur H. Smith (1892, 47) as a lioness with a number of cubs, could be rectified by an investigation of the monument in the British Museum by the author (Seyer 2016, 69–72).

⁶⁷ For a possible reason why the lion on one side is represented as a male and on the other side as a lioness – and furthermore as a mother, see Seyer 2016, 78. The interpretation of the double representation of the lions by Fernande Hölscher (1972, 14–23) needs to be corrected, since this is based on the reconstruction of the west side as a scene of a peaceful lioness with three cubs.

⁶⁸ See the discussion on this theme in Borchhardt (1976, 76–80), with reference to numerous examples from Greek and Near Eastern art.

⁶⁹ Rodenwaldt 1933, 1051.

⁷⁰ Moortgat 1967, 141–143, fig. 269; Mallowan 1966, 444–450 with good illustrations on pp. 448–449.

⁷¹ Schmidt 1953, *passim*. An extensive listing of all examples is found in Borchhardt 1976, 78.

⁷² Borchhardt 1976, 78.

continuation of the Assyrian tradition.⁷³ Although the illustration of the two lions tearing bulls apart on the Lion Pillar does not represent an exact mirror of the same image, it nevertheless is a doubling of the motif of the *taurophonos leon* in a symmetrical rendition,⁷⁴ whereby one can at least conclude that this theme held particular significance.



Fig. 10. Lion Tomb from Xanthos, south side, after Akurgal 1941, pl. 3.



Fig. 11. Lion Tomb from Xanthos, west side. Photo R. Hügli.

The theme of the *taurophonos leon* had no parallels in Lycian funerary art in the Archaic period, while in contrast the lioness resting on her paws and looking of the picture frame is attested twice more in archaic images on the

⁷³ Kleeman 1958, 117.

⁷⁴ In this connection it should be noted that the narrative friezes such as, e.g., on the throne of Shalmaneser III or on the Heroon of Limyra also display differences in many details.

pillar monuments from Trysa and Tüse.⁷⁵ Above all, the correlations with the fragment from Tüse are noteworthy, since the lioness conforms stylistically to the one from Xanthos, and furthermore is attacking an animal that is represented as a cervid reduced to its head alone.

A lion attacking a bull is found in the painted decoration of the tumulus of Kızılbel in Milyas, which borders the core territory of Lycia immediately to the north; here, the lion is integrated into a hunting scene with a number of archers.⁷⁶ Machteld J. Mellink dated this tumulus to the third quarter of the sixth century BC,⁷⁷ thereby placing it seemingly near in date to the two depictions of *taurophonoï leontes* from Xanthos.⁷⁸ From the Archaic period itself, as mentioned, there are no parallels in Lycia, yet a number of images from the Classical epoch, such as in the gable of the Lion Tomb in Myra⁷⁹ or on the Lion Sarcophagus in Xanthos,⁸⁰ provide evidence for the high status of this subject.

The topos of the *taurophonos leon* harks back to an age-old tradition and is a frequently used theme in inscriptions, literature and art, both in the Near Eastern and the Greek cultural realms; consequently, numerous connotations were associated with it.⁸¹ The superior role of the lion in all aspects of Near Eastern ruler ideology has been worked out by, for example, Elena Cassin.⁸² On the Lion Tomb of Xanthos the representations on the east and west sides without doubt reflect the sovereign self-conception that is based on oriental prototypes,⁸³ yet they presumably include further assertions. Thus, following a notion put forward by Edith Porada, they very probably represent power and authority or, allegorically, the heroic triumph,⁸⁴ or they assume the function of guard or protector of the tomb.⁸⁵ Glenn E. Markoe furthermore interpreted the illustration of the bull-killing lion in Xanthos as a symbol of

⁷⁵ On Trysa, see Marksteiner 1991/1992, 69–74, figs. 2, 4; 2002, fig. 137, pl. 151. On Tüse, see Geppert 1995, 173–177, pl. 53:1; 1998, 215–224, fig. 60, pl. 36:1; Marksteiner 2002, 223, cat. 35. For a short observation of the two fragments in Trysa and Tüse in comparison with the bull-killing lioness from Xanthos, see Seyer 2016, 74–75.

⁷⁶ Mellink 1998, 37–38, 61, pls. 36b, 37, 30b, 31a–b.

⁷⁷ Mellink 1998, 55.

⁷⁸ In this connection it is noteworthy that the majority of the motifs visible on the Archaic pillar tombs of Lycia can also be observed in the remaining decorative imagery from the tumulus at Kızılbel, which can absolutely be explained by the common cultural background of the two regions as well as by a similar status of the tombs, see also Marksteiner 2002, 246.

⁷⁹ Borchhardt 1975, 129–135, fig. 29, pls. 69, A, B; Zahle 1979, 340–341, cat. 49; Bruns-Özgan 1987, 268, cat. F 18.

⁸⁰ Demargne 1974, 46–60, pls. XXII–XXIV (esp. 21:2, 3; 22); Zahle 1979, 328, cat. 15; Bruns-Özgan 1987, 285, cat. S 25. For a listing of two additional lion fight scenes in Lycian funeral art, see Seyer 2016, 76.

⁸¹ The scholarly literature on this theme is accordingly extensive and does not need to be exhaustively listed here (representative are Hölscher 1972 and Markoe 1989).

⁸² Cassin 1981. On selected aspects, see Seyer 2007, 35–42. Recently Hoff (2017, 273–277) has briefly addressed this theme in connection with her observations on Lycian reliefs.

⁸³ Cf. Marksteiner 2002, 288. Akurgal (1941, 107–108) also recognised oriental influence in this subject. Since the Lycians, in his opinion, either avoid oriental motifs or transform them to have Greek signification, he pointed increasingly to Greek examples. For a short discussion of this issue, see Seyer 2016, 76.

⁸⁴ Porada 1950; 1962, 156.

⁸⁵ Hölscher 1972, 19–20; 63–67; Marksteiner 2002, 247 with additional bibliography in n. 217.

the military virtues of the deceased and pointed explicitly to the context of the representation with the shield triumph on the north side.⁸⁶

Amongst the numerous interpretative possibilities of the *taurophonoí leontes* with regard to the discussion of the Lion Tomb, an additional connotation suggests itself which is directly connected with the political events of the mid-sixth century BC in Lycia as well as with the persona of the tomb patron. As mentioned already, the Lion Tomb is viewed as the oldest pillar tomb not only of Xanthos, but also of Lycia by a majority of scholars.⁸⁷ If the tomb was in fact constructed after the Persian conquest, then one would conjecture that its constructor was that very ruler who was set up by the Persians or was confirmed in that position by them.⁸⁸ This assignment of power by the Achaemenid rulers at the same time justified his legitimation as potentate over Xanthos and thereby probably over all of Lycia. Since this event represented a key feature in the career of the individual, it should be expected that reference would be made to it in some form in the illustrations on the tomb. In fact, this appears to be reflected in the pictorial programme of the Lion Tomb not only in the self-representation of the tomb patron but also in the allusions to the dynasty of the Achaemenids.

In this regard, the two-fold illustration of the bull-killing lions needs to be addressed first. The idea that was connected with the topos of the *taurophonos leon* was not only widespread in oriental art and literature, but was also deeply entrenched in literature⁸⁹ and Archaic sculpture⁹⁰ in Athens and the rest of Greece up until the period of the Persian Wars. Strikingly, the motif completely disappeared after 490 BC from the repertoire of Attic sculpture, leading Markoe to the conclusion that in it a symbol of royal power was recognised, a power that was closely related to the oriental monarchy and in particular to the dynasty of the Achaemenids.⁹¹ The adversarial reaction of Athens towards the Persians in connection with the invasion and the destruction of the sanctuaries led, following Markoe's plausible observations, to an almost fifty-year avoidance of a subject that had become unacceptable in the official art of Attica due to its association with the Achaemenid kingship. Only in the later fifth and fourth centuries BC did representations with obvious association to the orient reappear.⁹² The fact

⁸⁶ Markoe 1989, 110. Markoe was not able to comment on the representation of the west side of the tomb, since the iconography of the group was not yet known at that time.

⁸⁷ On this, see above.

⁸⁸ Keen (1992, 62–63) already expressed this view.

⁸⁹ The earliest formulation of this concept is found – even before the first appearance of the actual term ταυροφόνος – in Homer, e.g. Il. 15.630–636; 16.487; 17.541–542; 18.579–584. For a list of additional passages in the *Iliad* in which a hero is described as an attacking lion as an expression of heroic aggression, see Markoe 1989, 115.

⁹⁰ Hölscher 1972; Markoe 1989.

⁹¹ Markoe 1989, 109.

⁹² Amongst these artefacts are numbered, for example, a red figure *oinochoe* on which, in addition to the motif of a lion attacking a horse, a person in oriental dress is represented, in this manner displaying an eastern connection (Miller 1997, 56, figs. 14, 15); a red figure amphora, on which a lion is attacking a deer and which is probably to be interpreted in similar fashion (Miller 1997, 56, fig. 16). In addition, the “Kamini Stele” of the fourth century BC can be mentioned. This establishes a reference to Persia not only via the illustration of an attacking lion and a “Master of the Animals” in Persian clothing, but also due to its cultural

that the motif of the bull-killing lion was not only related to the dynasty of the Achaemenids but also could indicate a specific great king is suggested by the monument of Krateros in Delphi. The *taurophonos leon* mentioned in the inscription, who was defeated by Krateros together with Alexander the Great on the Syrian border, does not refer to an arbitrary lion who was killed during the course of an organised hunt, but rather refers to the Achaemenid ruler Darius III who was defeated in the battle at Gaugamela.⁹³



Fig. 12. Coins from Sardis, after Kroll 2010, 148, fig. 8.

Although indeed the Persian Wars took place about fifty years after the construction of the Lion Tomb, and the dedication and erection of the Krateros monument even more than 200 years after the Persian conquest of Xanthos, nevertheless since the connotation associated with the topos of the bull-killing lion harks back to a long tradition, it is not unlikely that it was also widespread in Asia Minor already long before the defeat by the Persians. Accordingly, it may well have been introduced into the pictorial repertoire of Lycian art before the conquest of Xanthos. This circumstance in no way contradicts the possibility that the statements associated with it were adapted and transferred to the Achaemenid ruling house; and this is even more likely as the Achaemenids always represented themselves as legitimate heirs of earlier empires, a position which was expressed for example in the conscious adoption of older pictorial traditions.⁹⁴

historical context, since it is interpreted as part of a proxeny monument honouring an Achaemenid ambassador, see Bivar 1970.

⁹³ Seyer 2007, 143–164. This term was also interpreted in the same manner by Stavros Paspalas (2000).

⁹⁴ On the self-representation of the Achaemenids as heirs to older empires, and the adoption of iconographic models from Assyrian art, see Seyer 2007, 43–45, 48–51. On that note, the criticism by Hoff (2017, 43–44, n. 372; 320–321, n. 3121) of the formulation of this idea first

Numerous objects of minor arts provide evidence of the dissemination of the topos of the lion attacking a bull into the western provinces of the Achaemenid Empire, and these impressively attest to the fact that the context of this subject was understood as a symbol for the monarchy, above all in Anatolia. This is also supported by the fact that these artefacts primarily are seals and coins, and are therefore objects with an “official character”. The lion functioned as a symbol of royal power in Babylon and Lydia in particular. Thus, the lion, as well as the fight between lion and bull, was used as a royal emblem in the art of the Lydian rulers.⁹⁵ Significantly, the motif was adopted in the early coinage of Croesus, in slightly altered form with lion and bull protomes turned towards each other (*Fig. 12*).⁹⁶ As arises from larger coinings, on which the lion forces the bull down with an extended paw,⁹⁷ these protomes are an abbreviated version of the *taurophonos leon*. Examples for this topos in the minor arts are also found from Sardis, nevertheless from the Achaemenid epoch, as for example this seal in the form of a weight (*Fig. 13*).



Fig. 13. Seal from Sardis, after Dusingberre 2010, 185, fig. 11.

The preeminent significance that this subject also had for the self-representation of the Achaemenids can be recognised by the fact that illustrations with this motif decorated the façades of the staircases of all of the important administrative buildings and palaces in Persepolis (*Fig. 14*).⁹⁸ The continuity of this motif in the palatial architecture caused Markoe to

presented by the author (Seyer 2016, 76–81) should only be regarded in a very limited manner.

⁹⁵ Cf. e.g. Hanfmann 1983, 6, 95; Pedley 1968, 72.

⁹⁶ Kraay 1966, pls. 177:584, 178:590; 1976, 24.

⁹⁷ E.g. Hanfmann 1975, fig. 12.

⁹⁸ Schmidt 1953, pls. 19, 20, 53, 61 (Apadāna), 62 (“Council Hall”), 132, 133, 152, 153 (Palace of Darius the Great), 161, 168, 169 (Palace of Xerxes I), 203D (Palace H).

describe it as a “dynastic badge” or “imperial blazon”,⁹⁹ whereas Margaret Cool Root had already characterised the battle between lion and bull, in view of its heraldic function, as an “insignia of royal power”.¹⁰⁰

The double representation of the *taurophonos lion* on the Lion Tomb was certainly connected with a specific statement related to the tomb patron, and therefore it is not impossible that it was exclusively intended to emphasise the physical superiority of a local potentate, or to express one of the connotations mentioned above. In view of the significance of this motif and its strong relationship, in the oriental tradition, to the house of the Achaemenids, it stands to reason that the tomb owner wished to indicate his close association to the Achaemenid Empire. This interpretation is very probable given the fact that it appears on a tomb monument which was erected approximately at the time of the Persian conquest of Xanthos, and whose owner may well have been a local magnate set up by the Persians.



Fig. 14. Bull-slaying lion. Relief on a staircase to the Palace of Darius the Great, Persepolis. Photo A. Terentiev.

An oriental motif: the lion-conquering hero

In answer to the question of whether the pictorial programme contains still more subjects with similar connotations to the bull-killing lion, the lion conqueror on the south side is of great significance, since it can support the interpretation proposed here. This image, which is located to the right, next to the opening of the tomb chamber, has received great scholarly attention. Researchers already recognised in it the oriental motif of the triumph over a lion in single combat and compared it to the associated reliefs in Perse-

⁹⁹ Markoe 1989, 104.

¹⁰⁰ Root 1979, 236.

polis.¹⁰¹ Rodenwaldt and Akurgal also emphasised its oriental character.¹⁰² In his interpretation, Akurgal reached the conclusion that although the motif might be oriental, the stylistic language is Greek. Following in the tradition of Rodenwaldt, Akurgal saw the reason for this in the fact that the Greek artists had little experience in the rendering of oriental motifs, forcing them to make an adaptation in the Greek manner.¹⁰³

Akurgal recognised this Hellenisation in two characteristics in particular. He saw the decisive point in the frontal view of the lion head, which has no pendant in oriental iconography and ought to embody the apotropaic meaning of the animal.¹⁰⁴ As an additional significant alteration of the motif towards a Greek fashion, Akurgal pointed to the circumstance that the claws of the left paw of the lion would come into contact with the chin of its adversary. He compared this gesture with that of the battles between Herakles and the centaurs in Greek art, and interpreted it as a supplication for mercy.¹⁰⁵ This interpretation is not convincing, however, even if it has been accepted by some scholars.¹⁰⁶ This notion, and those following from it, are rather characterised by a strongly hellenocentric conception of Classical archaeology in the first half of the twentieth century; this perception takes too little account of the assertions associated with the pictorial programme of a local potentate in Asia Minor.

In particular, a comparison with the imagery in the single combat scenes of Darius the Great or Xerxes I in Persepolis, which date to a few years later,¹⁰⁷ reveals that the scenes on the Lion Tomb follow the same scheme and represent only a slight variation (*Fig. 15*). In the Persian images, the adversary of the royal hero – which might be a lion, a bull, or a hybrid creature – attempts to grasp the hero's upper arm with its forepaw, while pressing its other extended paw against his upper body. The difference between the representations of the forepaws on the Lion Tomb is in this regard marginal. Leaving aside the similarities in motif, the images also display a further parallel in the site of application: the image of the lion killer on the monument from Xanthos is located near the entrance to the tomb chamber, and the illustrations from Persepolis all decorate the embrasures of a variety of entrances.¹⁰⁸

The precise model for the motif of the lion-smiting hero in Xanthos is unknown. Rodenwaldt already recognised that the Lycian relief is a number of decades older than the representations at Persepolis and therefore could not have been influenced by them; he therefore pointed to probable fore-runners from the pre-Achaemenid period,¹⁰⁹ in whose tradition the Persian

¹⁰¹ Fellows 1852, 449, 499.

¹⁰² Rodenwaldt 1933, 1029; Akurgal 1941, 19.

¹⁰³ Rodenwaldt 1933, 1028–1030; Akurgal 1941, 22, 110–111.

¹⁰⁴ Akurgal 1941, 43–51.

¹⁰⁵ Akurgal 1941, 23–24.

¹⁰⁶ E.g. Hölscher 1972, 16. Marksteiner (2002, 249, n. 235) expressed cautious scepticism and referred to a comparable Cypriot terracotta.

¹⁰⁷ Schmidt 1953, pls. 114–117, 144–146, 195, 196.

¹⁰⁸ Akurgal (1941, 107) already noted this circumstance. On how the location of the single combat scenes at Persepolis, always found in the same buildings, supports the stereotypical nature of the representations, see Seyer 2007, 45.

¹⁰⁹ Rodenwaldt 1933, 1029.

tradition can also equally be detected. Numerous images from a variety of artistic genres are adduced as mediators of the depiction. On the one hand, examples from the area of large-format art can be mentioned, such as a scene of Assurbanipal in which the king boasts that he first wounded a lion with an arrow and ultimately killed it with a dagger.¹¹⁰ Nevertheless, objects of minor arts and here, primarily, the seal impressions of the Assyrian kings, may also have played an important role as prototypes for the image (*Figs. 16–17*).

The influence of Greek stylistic forms on the images on the Lion Tomb was without doubt given far too much importance by Akurgal. The attack of the forepaws of the Xanthian lion towards the face of its enemy is rather to be viewed as a local, probably somewhat provincial variant of the gesture, rather than as representing “Greek sensibility”. The figure of the lion conqueror itself also stylistically follows oriental prototypes, so that this also probably represents a local modification of a model from the pre-Achaemenid period.¹¹¹

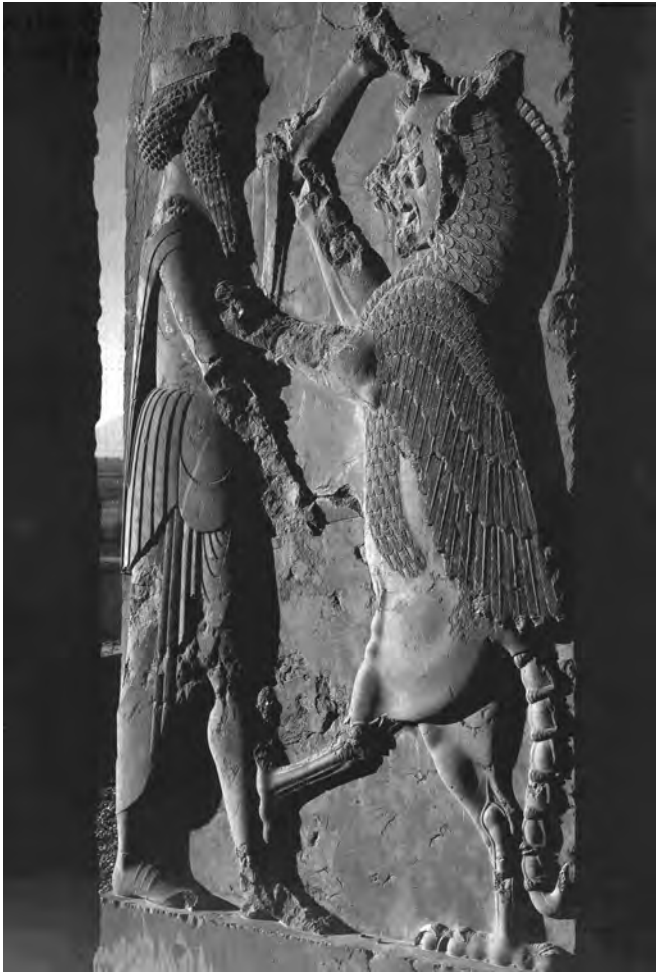


Fig. 15. Bas-relief from the Palace of Darius the Great in Persepolis. Photo M. Samei.

¹¹⁰ Barnett 1976, pls. 49, 50; Farkas 1974, 55, pl. 19.

¹¹¹ Akurgal (1941, 110; 1993, 153) himself often emphasised the characteristically local features of early Lycian sculpted works.



Fig. 16. Stamp seal of Shalmaneser III, after Zazoff 1983, pl. 38.4.



Fig. 17. Seal from Blisnitza, after Boardman 1970, pl. 824.

The iconographic programme: a political statement

Just as with the representations of the *taurophonoï leontes*, the subduing of the lion in single combat is not to be understood as an arbitrary motif illustrating the *res gestae* of the deceased. In selecting this topos, the tomb patron consciously drew on a time-honoured subject of the self-representation of oriental rulers in order to elevate his status, or at least to indicate an association with them. An overriding concept certainly lay behind the pictorial programme of the tomb, whereby the apparent references, which display the lion-conquering hero in the self-representation of an oriental potentate, make an interpretation of the bull-killing lion as an allusion to the Achaemenids – who always portrayed themselves as the legitimate successors of older empires – very likely indeed. The significance of the lion killer is also elevated by the fact that it is situated to the right of the entrance to the tomb chamber; this side can be designated as the main façade, which received an accordingly elevated representative function.

Against this background it is appropriate to cast a brief glance at the remaining pictorial themes and to examine whether the pictorial programme was perhaps intended to convey a more concrete statement than has previously been recognised.¹¹² Remains of a seated figure turned towards the centre of the image, as well as a chair with a backrest, can also be detected on the south side as well, to the left near the opening into the tomb chamber (Fig. 10). The area immediately to the right of this is not preserved, precluding a reliable reconstruction of the scene. Whereas Arthur H. Smith and Frederick N. Pryce postulated a second opening into the tomb chamber at

¹¹² The pictorial programme was interpreted by Akurgal (1941, 43) as a general representation of the *res gestae* of the deceased; in this interpretation he was followed, for example, by Hölscher (1972, 18). Cf. in contrast Marksteiner (2002, 288–289), who emphasised the ruler-prestigious character of the pictorial programme of Archaic pillar tombs.

this place,¹¹³ Akurgal spoke against this, and completed the scene with the seated figure, via analogy with the Harpy Monument, as a scene of the veneration of the dead.¹¹⁴ In turn, Hanns Gabelmann rejected this interpretation; according to his plausible considerations, the relief decoration of the pillar tomb in total glorifies the life of the ruler, and for this reason he thought it more likely to be a motif of illustrious character, such as an audience scene, rather than a scene connected with the cult of the dead.¹¹⁵ Even though the scene cannot be completed with certainty due to its poor state of preservation, it had a prestigious function, if only due to the fact that it is located on the entrance side and depicts an enthroned figure – without doubt the tomb owner – and was designed to elevate his status.¹¹⁶

The bull-killing lions on each of the narrow sides do not need to be readdressed here, as they have already been extensively discussed. On its preserved relief surface, the north side displays a warrior in the pose of the shield triumph, and his victorious homecoming on horseback accompanied by an attendant. The theme of this imagery is too general to be able to conclude whether it is simply the representation of a symbolic triumph over a conquered enemy in the sense of a genre scene, or whether it represents a historical event. The fact that the motif of the shield triumph in Lycian funerary art could very well be employed for the visualisation of an actual event is illustrated in this regard by the corresponding scene on the Inscribed Pillar of Xanthos.¹¹⁷

The pictorial programme of the Lion Tomb thus displays a variety of elements that do indeed permit conclusions regarding the persona of the tomb owner and, therefore, also a rough dating of the monument. The fact that such a dating, based exclusively on stylistic analyses, has not led to a satisfactory result makes it impossible to avoid focussing more closely on the hermeneutic of the representations in the context of the historical circumstances at approximately the time of its construction, in addition to making observations on style.¹¹⁸

It is therefore no coincidence that the erection of probably the oldest example of this tomb type, with which representative funerary architecture in Lycia reached a new dimension, falls in the years around the Persians'

¹¹³ Smith 1892, 47; Pryce 1928, 118. Demargne (1958, 31) also believed that he had seen the remains of a second opening.

¹¹⁴ Akurgal 1941, 30–31.

¹¹⁵ Gabelmann 1984, 37–38. Jacobs (1987, 46) also considered the possibility of an audience scene, without however definitively concluding that such was the case. Marksteiner (2002, 266) also expressed an opinion on the interpretation of the scene. Anyway, his statement, "Unfortunately, the state of preservation of the pictorial field admits only speculation with regard to what is arguably the earliest throne scene in Lycian art" appears somewhat cryptic.

¹¹⁶ On further scenes with enthroned figures in Archaic Lycian art and on comparisons with the representation on the Lion Tomb, see Marksteiner 2002, 266–269.

¹¹⁷ On this, see above. Equally to be evaluated as a historical scene is, e.g., the battle scene on the tomb of Tebursseli in Limyra, since the explanatory relief inscription (TL 104) makes clear that the scene is a representation of the victorious battle of Perikle of Limyra against the dynast of Xanthos, Arttumpara. Cf. Borchhardt *et al.* 1988, 98–123; Borchhardt *et al.* 1997–1999, 69–85.

¹¹⁸ Marksteiner (2002, 287) also recognised the necessity of this more multi-layered approach to the monument, since "...eine Deutung der Reliefprogramme nur auf der Basis einer der politischen Situation Rechnung tragenden, kulturräumlichen Zuweisung der Bildwerke erfolgen [kann]".

seizing of power. This can be viewed as evidence that a causal relationship exists between the altered power relationships in Xanthos and the development of the first monumental tomb type.¹¹⁹ This circumstance also lends particular significance to the double illustration of the *taurophonos leon*, since this pictorial topos, in addition to many other connotations, can be interpreted as an allusion to the Achaemenid ruling house.

In connection with the lion-conquering hero on the south side in particular, which can be judged as a conscious citation of an age-old oriental motif, this special accentuation counts as support for the theory that the Lion Tomb should in fact be ascribed to a potentate who was appointed by the Persians after the conquest of Xanthos. That this individual wished, via the use of the topos of the lion killer, to express the legitimacy of his rule as well as an eminent association with the Achaemenids, can be seen not least in the fact that this representation remained unique in Lycian funerary art. Apparently none of his successors deemed it either necessary or helpful to substantiate their own claim to power by means of this oriental topos or with its related allusions to a foreign ruling house. In contrast, the representation of the bull-killing lion tellingly was accepted into the funerary art of Lycia of the Archaic and Classical periods. Since this motif allowed a broad spectrum of interpretations, it could be understood in a variety of ways.

It is therefore completely probable that this potentate was in fact a Lycian who was appointed by the Persians, or who was confirmed in his post as a Persian vassal. The employment of autochthonous elements in the pictorial programme, such as the shield triumph on the north side, which conceivably alludes to a specific historical event, supports this viewpoint. Obviously, the question cannot be answered whether this image was also intended to express the Lycian origin of the tomb owner. Since, however, the image constitutes the oldest example of this motif, one which was often repeated in a number of representations in Lycian funerary art up until the Classical period, at the very least with it a tradition was founded for the illustration of triumphal scenes in Lycia. The regional character is thereby further strengthened by the circumstance that the employment of the subject is limited to this particular cultural landscape.

Finally, an allusion to the Lycian origin of the tomb owner can also be seen in the type of the pillar tomb itself. The Archaic pillars of Lycia and, above all, the Lion Tomb, are absolutely the oldest exemplars of this genre. As long as pillar tombs are known from no other cultural region than from Lycia, it can be assumed that this type of grave represents an exclusively Lycian, autochthonous form.¹²⁰ The question of possible architectonic predecessors has also received far too much scholarly attention, since the pillars are not a complex building form that necessarily required such forerun-

¹¹⁹ On this, cf. Marksteiner (2002, 233), who expressed the same viewpoint.

¹²⁰ The pillar tombs were already regarded as an “old indigenous form” by Rodenwaldt (1933, 1029), and Fahri Işık (2001, 123–126) and Havva Işkan (2005, 127–128) also saw the origin of the pillar tombs in Anatolia and – even more precisely – in Lycia. Işık based his hypothesis on the one hand on stylistic analyses, which allowed him to date the tomb before the mid-sixth century BC, and on the other hand on the viewpoint that the erection of a royal monument at the time of the dramatic fall of Xanthos would have been impossible.

ners,¹²¹ here, the requirement of the client for a monumental, prestigious tomb form was probably sufficient for the creation of a prototype.

On the Lion Tomb, therefore, autochthonous elements, such as the architectural form or the depiction of the shield triumph, encounter pictorial motifs that can definitely be viewed as conscious allusions to the Achaemenid Empire. In the context of the political and historical events of the time, the Lion Pillar Tomb can indeed be understood as the tomb monument of an individual who was appointed by the Persians as a potentate in Xanthos. The indigenous elements point to his origin from Lycia, whereas the oriental motifs in the pictorial programme are to be interpreted as an emphasis of his legitimation by the Achaemenid ruling house.

Martin Seyer

Austrian Archaeological Institute
Austrian Academy of Sciences
Franz Klein-Gasse 1
AT-1190 VIENNA
martin.seyer@oeai.at

Bibliography

- Akurgal, E. 1941. *Griechische Reliefs des VI. Jahrhunderts aus Lykien*, Berlin.
- Akurgal, E. 1993. 'Die einheimischen und fremden Elemente in der lykischen Kunst und ihre Eigenheiten', in *Akten des II. Internationalen Lykien-Symposiums, Wien, 6.–12. Mai 1990*, 1 (DenkschrWien, 231; Ergänzungsband zu den Tituli Asiae Minoris, 17), eds. J. Borchhardt & G. Dobesch, Wien, 149–159.
- Asheri, D. 1983. *Fra ellenismo e iranismo. Studi sulla società e cultura di Xanthos nella età achemenide*, Bologna.
- Barnett, R.D. 1976. *Sculptures from the North Palace of Ashurbanipal at Nineveh (668–627 B.C.)*, London.
- Behrwald, R. 2000. *Der Lykische Bund. Untersuchungen zu Geschichte und Verfassung* (Antiquitas, Reihe 1, 48), Bonn.
- Bivar, A.D.H. 1970. 'A Persian monument at Athens, and its connections with the Achaemenid state seals', in *W.B. Henning memorial volume*, eds. M. Boyce & I. Gershevitch, London, 43–61.
- Boardman, J. 1970. *Greek gems and finger rings. Early Bronze Age to Late Classical*, Oxford.
- Borchhardt, J. (ed.) 1975. *Myra. Eine lykische Metropole in antiker und byzantinischer Zeit* (IstForsch, 30), Berlin.
- Borchhardt, J. 1976. *Die Bauskulptur des Heroons von Limyra. Das Grabmal des lykischen Königs Perikles* (IstForsch, 32), Berlin.
- Borchhardt, J. 1998. 'Gedanken zur lykischen Gesellschaftsstruktur unter persischer und attischer Herrschaft', in *Light on top of the Black Hill. Studies presented to Halet Çambel*, eds. G. Arsebük, M.J. Mellink & W. Schirmer, Istanbul, 155–169.
- Borchhardt, J. 2000. 'Dynasten und Beamte in Lykien während der persischen und attischen Herrschaft', in *Variatio delectat. Iran und der Westen. Gedenkschrift für Peter Calmeyer* (Alter Orient und Altes Testament, 272), eds. R. Dittmann, B. Hrouda, U. Löw, P. Matthiae, R. Mayer-Opificius & S. Thürwächter, Münster, 73–140.

¹²¹ For a listing of possible forerunners, see Marksteiner 2002, 232–233.

- Borchhardt, J. 2003. 'Lykische Inschriften im archäologischen Kontext', in *Licia e Lidia prima dell'ellenizzazione. Atti del Convegno internazionale Roma, 11–12 ottobre 1999*, eds. M. Giorgieri, M. Salvini, M.-C. Trémouille & P. Vannicelli, Roma, 37–67.
- Borchhardt, J. 2015. '“Die Gräben klagen, die Kanäle antworten ...”. Siedlungsstrukturen in Lykien', in *Turm und Tor. Siedlungsstrukturen in Lykien und benachbarten Kulturlandschaften. Akten des Gedenkkolloquiums für Thomas Marksteiner in Wien, November 2012* (Forschungen in Limyra, 7), eds. B. Beck-Brandt, S. Ladstätter & B. Yener-Marksteiner, Wien, 9–80.
- Borchhardt *et al.* 1988 = J. Borchhardt, G. Neumann, K.J. Schulz & E. Specht, 'Die Felsgräber des Tebursseli und des Pizzi in der Nekropole II von Limyra', *ÖJhBeibl* 58, 73–154.
- Borchhardt *et al.* 1997–1999 = J. Borchhardt, H. Eichner, M. Pesditschek & P. Ruggendorfer, 'Archäologisch-sprachwissenschaftliches Corpus der Denkmäler mit lykischer Schrift', *Anzeiger der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-Historische Klasse* 134:2, Wien, 11–96.
- Bousquet, J. 1975. 'Arbinas, fils de Gergis, dynaste de Xanthos', *CRAI*, 138–150.
- Briant, P. 1996. *Histoire de l'empire perse. De Cyrus à Alexandre*, Paris.
- Bruns-Özgan, C. 1987. *Lykische Grabreliefs des 5. und 4. Jhs. v. Chr.* (IstMitt-BH, 33), Tübingen.
- Bryce, T.R. 1980. 'The other Pericles', *Historia* 29, 1980, 377–381.
- Bryce, T.R. 1983. 'Political unity in Lycia during the “dynastic” period', *JNES* 42, 31–42.
- Bryce, T.R. 1986. *The Lycians I. The Lycians in literary and epigraphic sources*, Copenhagen.
- Buschmann, K. 1993. 'Hızırlık bei Fethiye: das altlykische Telebehi', *Araştırma Sonuçları Toplantısı* 10, 1992, 429–437.
- Cassin, E. 1981. 'Le roi et le lion', *RHR* 198, 4, 355–401.
- Cavalier, L. 2006. 'Observations sur l'architecture de Xanthos à l'époque archaïque', *REA* 108:1, 327–354.
- Childs, W.A.P. 1981. 'Lycian relations with Persians and Greeks in the fifth and fourth centuries re-examined', *AnatSt* 31, 55–80.
- Colas-Rannou, F. 2009. 'Image et société en Lycie au VI^e siècle avant J.-C.: le pilier d'Isinda et son programme iconographique', *REA* 111:2, 453–474.
- des Courtils, J. 2003. *Guide de Xanthos et du Létôon*, Istanbul.
- Dandamaev, M.A. 1989. *A political history of the Achaemenid Empire*, tr. W.J. Vogelsang, Leiden, New York & Köln.
- Deltour-Levie, C. 1982. *Les piliers funéraires de Lycie* (Publications d'histoire de l'art et d'archéologie de l'Université catholique de Louvain, 31), Louvain-la-Neuve.
- Demargne, P. 1958. *Fouilles de Xanthos I. Les piliers funéraires*, Paris.
- Demargne, P. 1974. *Fouilles de Xanthos V. Tombes-maisons, tombes rupestres et sarcophages*, Paris.
- Domingo Gygas, M. 2001. *Untersuchungen zu den lykischen Gemeinwesen in klassischer und hellenistischer Zeit* (Antiquitas, Reihe 1, 49), Bonn.
- Draycott, C.M. 2007. 'Dynastic definitions: differentiating status claims in the Archaic pillar tomb reliefs in Lycia', in *Anatolian Iron Ages 6. The proceedings of the Sixth Anatolian Iron Ages colloquium held at Eskişehir, 16–19 August 2004* (Ancient Near Eastern Studies, Suppl., 20), eds. A. Sagona & A. Çilingiroğlu, Leuven, 103–134.
- Dusinberre, E.R.M. 2010. 'Lydo-Persian seals from Sardis', in *The Lydians and their world*, ed. Nicholas D. Cahill, Istanbul.
- Farkas, A. 1974. *Achaemenid sculpture* (Uitgaven van het Nederlands Historisch-Archaeologisch Instituut te Istanbul, 33), Istanbul.
- Fellows, Ch. 1852. *Travels and researches in Asia Minor, more particularly in the province of Lycia*, London.
- Gabelmann, H. 1984. *Antike Audienz- und Tribunalszenen*, Darmstadt.

- Geppert, K. 1995. 'Zwei archaische Grabpfeilerreliefs mit Löwendarstellung aus Tüse', in *Lykische Studien 2. Forschungen auf dem Gebiet der Polis Kyaneai in Zentrallykien, Bericht über die Kampagne 1991* (Asia Minor Studien, 18), ed. F. Kolb, Bonn, 173–177.
- Geppert, K. 1998. 'Das reliefverzierte Pfeilergrab in Tüse', in *Lykische Studien 4. Feldforschungen auf dem Gebiet der Polis Kyaneai (Yavu-Bergland). Ergebnisse der Kampagnen 1993/94* (Asia Minor Studien, 29), ed. F. Kolb, Bonn, 215–224.
- Hanfmann, G.M.A. 1975. *From Croesus to Constantine. The cities of Western Asia Minor and their arts in Greek and Roman times* (Jerome Lectures, 10), Ann Arbor.
- Hanfmann, G.M.A. 1983. *Sardis from Prehistoric to Roman times. Results of the Archaeological Exploration of Sardis, 1958–1975*, Cambridge, Mass. & London.
- Hoff, C. 2017. *Identität und Politik. Kollektive kulturelle und politische Identität der Lykier bis zur Mitte des 4. Jahrhunderts v. Chr.* (Amaltheia. Studien zur Archäologie und Geschichte des Mittelmeerraumes, 1), Wiesbaden.
- Hölscher, F. 1972. *Die Bedeutung archaischer Tierkampfbilder* (Beiträge zur Archäologie, 5), Würzburg.
- Hülten, O. 2006. *Gräber und Grabtypen im Bergland von Yavu (Zentrallykien). Studien zur antiken Grabkultur in Lykien* (Antiquitas, Reihe 3, 45:1–2), Bonn.
- Hülten, O. 2011. 'Considerations on the tumuli of Lycia in the pre-Classical period', *Anatolia Antiqua* 19, 495–514.
- Hülten, O. 2016. 'Tumuli in Lykien. Ein Überblick über den Forschungsstand', in *Tumulus as sema. Space, politics, culture and religion in the first millennium BC*, 1 (Topoi. Berlin studies of the ancient world, 27), eds. O. Henry & U. Kelp, Berlin & Boston, 475–490.
- Işık, F. 2001. 'Zur Entstehung der Pfeilergräber in Lykien', in *Anatolia in daylight. Essays in honour of Cevdet Bayburtluoğlu*, eds. C. Özgünel, O. Bingöl, V. İdil, S. Doruk, K. Gökay & M. Kadioğlu, Istanbul, 123–131.
- İşkan, H. 2005. 'Das Pfeilergrab von Arsada', in *Grabtypen und Totenkult im süd-westlichen Kleinasien. Internationales Kolloquium in Antalya, 4.–8. Oktober 1999* (= *Lykia* 6, 2001/2002), eds. H. İşkan & F. Işık, Istanbul, 125–130.
- Jacobs, B. 1987. *Griechische und persische Elemente in der Grabkunst Lykiens zur Zeit der Achämenidenherrschaft* (SIMA, 78), Jonsered.
- Jacobs, B. 1993. 'Die Stellung Lykiens innerhalb der achämenidisch-persischen Reichsverwaltung', in *Akten des II. Internationalen Lykien-Symposiums*, vol. 1 (DenschrWien, 231; Ergänzungsband zu den Tituli Asiae Minoris, 17), eds. J. Borchhardt & G. Dobesch, Wien, 63–69.
- Jacobs, B. 1994. *Die Satrapienverwaltung im Perserreich zur Zeit Darius' III* (Beihefte zum Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients, Reihe B, 87), Wiesbaden.
- Jenkins, I. 2006. *Greek architecture and its sculpture in the British Museum*, London.
- Kalinka, E. 1901. *Tituli Lyciae lingua Lycia conscripti* (Tituli Asiae Minoris, 1), Wien.
- Keen, A.G. 1992. 'The dynastic tombs of Xanthos—who was buried where?', *AnatSt* 42, 53–63.
- Keen, A.G. 1998. *Dynastic Lycia. A political history of the Lycians and their relations with foreign powers, c. 545–362 B.C.* (Mnemosyne, Suppl., 178), Leiden, Boston & Köln.
- Kjeldsen, K. & J. Zahle 1975. 'Lykische Gräber. Ein vorläufiger Bericht', *AA* 1975, 312–350.
- Kjeldsen, K. & J. Zahle 1976. 'A dynastic tomb in central Lycia. New evidence for the study of Lycian architecture and history in the Classical period', *ActaArch* 47, 29–46.
- Kleeman, I. 1958. *Der Satrapen-Sarkophag aus Sidon* (IstForsch, 20), Berlin.

- Kolb, F. 1996. 'Überlegungen zur politischen Geographie Zentrallykiens in klassischer Zeit', in *Fremde Zeiten. Festschrift für Jürgen Borchhardt zum sechzigsten Geburtstag am 25. Februar 1996 dargebracht von Kollegen, Schülern und Freunden*, vol. 1, eds. F. Blakolmer, K.R. Krierer, F. Krinzinger, A. Landskron-Dinstl, H.D. Szemethy & K. Zhuber-Okrog, Wien, 65–78.
- Kolb, F. 2008. *Burg – Polis – Bischofssitz. Geschichte der Siedlungskammer von Kyaneiai in der Südwesttürkei*, Mainz.
- Kolb, F. & B. Kupke 1992. *Geschichte Lykiens im Altertum* (Zaberns Bildbände zur Archäologie, 2), Mainz.
- Kraay, C.M. 1966. *Greek coins*, New York.
- Kraay, C.M. 1976. *Archaic and Classical Greek coins*, Berkeley.
- Kroll, J.H. 2010. 'The coins of Sardis', in *The Lydians and their world*, ed. N.D. Cahill, Istanbul, 143–156.
- Kuban, Z. 2012. *Die Nekropolen von Limyra. Bauhistorische Studien zur klassischen Epoche* (Forschungen in Limyra, 4), Wien.
- Mallowan, M.E.L. 1966. *Nimrud and its remains*, vol. 2, London.
- Markoe, G.E. 1989. 'The "lion attack" in Archaic Greek art: heroic triumph', *CIAnt* 8:1, 86–115.
- Marksteiner, T. 1991/1992. 'Ein Grabpfeilerfragment aus Trysa', *ÖJh* 61, 69–74.
- Marksteiner, T. 2002. *Trysa – Eine zentrallykische Niederlassung im Wandel der Zeit. Siedlungs-, architektur- und kunstgeschichtliche Studien zur Kulturlandschaft Lykien* (Wiener Forschungen zur Archäologie, 5), Wien.
- Marksteiner, T. 2005. 'Überlegungen zu den lykischen Pfeilergräbern der archaischen Periode', in *Grabtypen und Totenkult im südwestlichen Kleinasien. Internationales Kolloquium in Antalya, 4.–8. Oktober 1999* (= *Lykia* 6, 2001/2002), eds. H. İşkan & F. Işık, Istanbul, 211–220.
- Mellink, M.J. 1998. *Kızılbel. An Archaic painted tomb chamber in northern Lycia*, Philadelphia.
- Metzger, H. 1963. *Fouilles de Xanthos II. L'acropole lycienne*, Paris.
- Miller, M.C. 1997. *Athens and Persia in the fifth century B.C. A study in cultural receptivity*, Cambridge.
- Moortgat, A. 1967. *Die Kunst des Alten Mesopotamien. Die klassische Kunst Vorderasiens*, Köln.
- Paspalas, S.A. 2000. 'The *taurophonos leon* and Craterus' monument at Delphi', in *Periplous. Papers on Classical art and archaeology presented to Sir John Boardman*, eds. G.R. Tsatskheladze, A.J.N.W. Prag & A.M. Snodgrass, London, 211–219.
- Pedley, J.G. 1968. *Sardis in the age of Croesus*, Norman.
- Perrot, G. & C. Chipiez 1892. *History of art in Phrygia, Lydia, Caria, and Lycia*, London.
- Porada, E. 1950. 'An Assyrian bronze disc', *BMFA* 48:271, 2–8.
- Porada, E. 1962. *Alt Iran. Die Kunst in vorislamischer Zeit*, Baden-Baden.
- Pryce, F.N. 1928. *Catalogue of sculpture in the Department of Greek and Roman antiquities of the British Museum I:1. Prehellenic and early Greek*, London.
- Rodenwaldt, G. 1933. 'Griechische Reliefs in Lykien', *Sitzungsberichte der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, phil.-hist. Klasse* 27, Berlin, 1028–1055.
- Root, M.C. 1979. *The king and kingship in Achaemenid art. Essays on the creation of an iconography of empire* (Acta Iranica, 19), Leiden.
- Rudolph, C. 2003. *Das 'Harpyien-Monument' von Xanthos. Seine Bedeutung innerhalb der späarchaischen Plastik* (BAR-IS, 1108), Oxford.
- Schmidt, E.F. 1953. *Persepolis I. Structures, reliefs, inscriptions* (Oriental Institute publications, 68), Chicago.
- Seyer, M. 2003. 'Ein Pfeilergrab mit Totenmahl-Darstellung aus Limyra', *ÖJh* 72, 207–226.
- Seyer, M. 2007. *Der Herrscher als Jäger. Untersuchungen zur königlichen Jagd im persischen und makedonischen Reich des 6.–4. Jahrhunderts v. Chr. sowie*

- unter den Diadochen Alexanders des Großen* (Wiener Forschungen zu Archäologie, 11), Wien.
- Seyer, M. 2016. 'Zum Löwengrab von Xanthos', in *Angekommen auf Ithaka, Festgabe für Jürgen Borchhardt zum 80. Geburtstag*, eds. F. Blakolmer, M. Seyer & H.D. Szemethy, Wien, 67–82.
- Seyer, M. forthcoming. 'Vorbild im Monumentalen. Zur Adaption dynastischer Grabanlagen in Lykien', in *Greek monumental tombs. Regional patterns and their reception within the Aegean world during the Classical and Hellenistic periods, Berlin, 10–11 February 2012*, eds. C. Berns & C. Huguenot, Berlin.
- Smith, A.H. 1892. *A catalogue of sculpture in the Department of Greek and Roman antiquities, British Museum I*, London.
- Tuplin, C.J. 1987. 'The administration of the Achaemenid Empire', in *Coinage and administration in the Athenian and Persian empires. The Ninth Oxford Symposium on Coinage and Money History* (BAR-IS, 343), ed. I. Carradice, Oxford, 109–166.
- Zahle, J. 1979. 'Lykische Felsgräber mit Reliefs aus dem 4. Jahrhundert v. Chr. Neue und alte Funde', *Jdl* 94, 245–346.
- Zahle, J. 1980. 'Lycian tombs and Lycian cities', in *Actes du colloque sur la Lycie antique* (Bibliothèque de l'Institut Français d'Études Anatoliennes d'Istanbul, 27), Paris, 37–49.
- Zazoff, P. 1983. *Die antiken Gemmen* (HdArch), München.
- Zhuber-Okrog, K. 1990. 'Zeugnisse lykischer Dynasten', in *Götter, Heroen, Herrscher in Lykien. Katalog zur Ausstellung auf der Schloss Schallaburg*, Wien, 225–227.
- Zimmermann, M. 1992. *Untersuchungen zur historischen Landeskunde Zentral-lykiens* (Antiquitas, Reihe 1, 42), Bonn.

Xanthus of Lydia, Aesop and Persian Storytelling

by

Richard Stoneman

Abstract

This paper argues that Xanthus of Lydia was working in a tradition of storytelling – romantic tales of kings and princesses – that originated in Persia. The story of Croesus and Cyrus is analysed to show that the version given by Nicolaus of Damascus probably goes back to Xanthus, and presents a more “Persian” account of the episode than Herodotus’. Herodotus’ less favourable view of Cyrus fits the Greek style of storytelling associated with Aesop and the *Life of Aesop*. Aesop, who in the *Life* is the slave of a certain Xanthus, thus embodies the opposition between two different approaches to storytelling about the past.

The content of Xanthus’ work

Xanthus of Lydia (*FGrHist* 765) deserves our attention as an author who wrote what must have been, when it survived, the fullest early account of Lydian affairs, continuing at least up to the Persian conquest by Cyrus in 546 BC. Dionysius of Halicarnassus calls him “as experienced as anyone in the practice of ancient history and regarded as second to none in reliability in *patria*”.¹ Athenaeus quotes Ephorus for the information that he was “older than Herodotus and gave him his *aphormai*”, presumably “starting points”.² Ephorus’ periodisation has not always been accepted, though the *Suda* seems to agree, stating that he was born at the time of the capture of Sardis. Whether he means the capture by the Persians in 546 BC or the sack by the Ionians in 498, this makes him older than Herodotus (b. probably 484). Dionysius of Halicarnassus lists a number of authors, including Hecataeus, Acusilaus and Charon of Lampsacus, as “living before the Peloponnesian War”, while Xanthus is “born a little before the Peloponnesian War and living down to the time of Thucydides”, and the third item of his tricolon, Herodotus, is “born a little before the Persian Wars and living down to the time of Thucydides”.³ None of the thirty-three fragments of Xanthus collected by Felix Jacoby shows any overlap with the narrative of Herodotus, and Jacoby accepted the implication of Dionysius that he was a younger contemporary of Herodotus, which cohered with his belief that Herodotus

¹ Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 1.28.2, T8.

² Ath. 12.1, 515 DE, T5.

³ *Thuc.* 5.1.

had invented the art of history more or less single-handed. (Only Hecataeus and Hellanicus qualify as predecessors of Herodotus.)⁴

The question is impossible to determine, though Lionel Pearson accepted the dating before Herodotus.⁵ But we can probably agree with Dionysius that Xanthus, and the other authors he lists, represent a different style of history from Herodotus: they did not, he says,

join their inquiries together into a continuous whole, but separated them by nations and cities . . . with the aim of bringing to the attention of the public traditions preserved among the local people, <and> written records preserved in sacred or profane archives. . . Among these sources were to be found occasional myths, believed from time immemorial, and dramatic tales of upset fortunes, which seem quite foolish to people of our day. The style which they all employed was for the most part the same (at any rate among those who used the same dialect): clear, ordinary, unaffected, concise, suited to the subject and displaying none of the apparatus of professional skill; nonetheless a certain grace and charm attends their works, some more than others, and this has ensured their preservation.⁶

A second question that has dominated discussion of Xanthus is whether the long account of Lydian history in books 4, 6 and 7 of Nicolaus of Damascus' general historical work is derived from Xanthus.⁷ (The alternative is that it is based on Ephorus, but the latter must in turn have made use of Xanthus, though Diogenes Laertius 6.101 says that Xanthus' text was expanded in Hellenistic times by one Menippus.) While the introduction to the most recent edition of Nicolaus' fragments, by Edith Parmentier and Francesca P. Barone,⁸ never mentions Xanthus once, Pearson was reasonably confident that Xanthus' work lay behind much of what Nicolaus wrote, while Robert Drews thought he used a revised edition of Xanthus.⁹ It seems reasonable, when considering the scope of Xanthus' history, at least to reflect on what is to be found in Nicolaus.

Aesop the *logopoios*

This is the more pertinent as my purpose in this paper is to try to characterise the kind of stories that Xanthus was telling.¹⁰ I take part of my inspiration from another curious *testimonium* in the Suda. This work tells us in its entry on Aesop (Aisopos) that he was "Samian or Sardian . . . house-slave of Xan-

⁴ Jacoby 1909, 113; cf. 118: "die griechische Horographie als Zweig der historischen Schriftstellerei ist jünger als Herodot".

⁵ Pearson 1939. Robert Drews (1973, 91) places Xanthus later than Herodotus.

⁶ Translation from Fowler 1996, 63, with minor changes.

⁷ *FGrHist* 90 F15–22, 44–47, 62–68.

⁸ Nicolas de Damas (2011).

⁹ Pearson 1939, 122, caution on 129; Drews 1973, 122. Jan P. Stronk (2010, 79) accepts Xanthus and Ctesias as the major sources for Nicolaus' Lydian chapters. Mark Toher (1989, 160) speaks of the "futility of attempting to reconstruct the narratives of such authors as Xanthus and Ctesias from the remains of Nicolaus' universal history". Hans Diller (1971 [1956]) is also somewhat sceptical.

¹⁰ Momigliano 1975, 7: "what Xanthus did for the Lydians" was to start a genre of writing.

thus the Lydian, but others say he was that of another Samian, Iadmon”.¹¹ This assertion is based on the fictional “Life of Aesop”, in which the clever Phrygian slave is acquired by a philosopher named Xanthus, who is impressed by his skill in cross talk. While it is quite possible that the compiler of the *Suda* is simply in a muddle here, I would like to use the collocation of these two writers or *logopoioi* as a way of exploring the quality of Xanthus’ writing. Leslie Kurke, in her very stimulating book *Aesopic conversations*,¹² set out to define the transition from an epic, heroic view of the world to a rational, critical one through the emergence of prose; in Herodotus, only Aesop and Hecataeus are characterised by the term *logopoios*,¹³ and Kurke sees this as a signal that these two authors are doing something special, with which Herodotus himself, with some reservations, identifies. She concludes:

Aesop is emblematic of all those elements in the *Histories* that make Herodotus himself a *logopoios*, so that by tracking Aesop and his characteristic discourses in the text we can come to understand Herodotus’s embrace of this problematic mode as both narratologically and politically consequential.¹⁴

In one sense *logopoios* means little more than “writer in prose”, as in Pindar’s characterisation of his predecessors as *kai logioi kai aidoi*.¹⁵ A *logos* in Greek can be many things, but at its simplest it is a story; perhaps the fashionable modern use of the word “narrative” to encompass “explanation” or “account” brings us close to its range. Herodotus, Hecataeus, Xanthus and Aesop were all tellers of stories; what do they have in common, and how do they differ? Let us have a look at the stories we know that Xanthus told.

Xanthus’ stories

His range of subjects is wide. He includes a considerable amount of information and speculation on geographical and geological matters (F13), which impressed Eratosthenes and after him Strabo. He discussed place names, and is evidence for a good many toponyms in ancient Lydia (F1, 2, 24, 25, 26). But he also told a good many stories about the ancient kings of Lydia, as well as discussing myths of the Trojan War (F21), and at least two of his fragments concern the Syrian city of Ascalon and its goddess Atargatis (F8, F17). The connection in the latter case (also in F20) is that Tantalus and Ascalus were brothers; the latter was appointed general by King Akiames of Lydia. In the course of the campaign against Syria he fell in love with a girl and then founded a city which he named after himself. This story, it may be noted, was also told by Nicolaus (F18). Continuing conflict with Syria seems

¹¹ Hdt. 2.134.3–4.

¹² Kurke 2011.

¹³ Already observed by Aly 1921/1969, 212.

¹⁴ Kurke 2011, 381–382.

¹⁵ Pind. *Pyth.* 1.94, cf. *N.* 6.45.

to be indicated by F17:¹⁶ another Lydian general named Moxus conquered the city and pitched Atargatis and her son Ichthys into the lake for their insolence, and they were eaten by the fish. Atargatis is the fish-goddess Derceto so it is natural that her son is called Fish, less natural that throwing them into a lake was a way to finish them off. A version of the story is also in Nicolaus (F16): Moxus had obtained a great reputation for his bravery and justice, and went on to conduct a long siege of a city named “Crabon”: “after besieging it for a long time he sacked it, and led its people to a lake where he drowned them for their impiety.” Surely “Crabon” must be a corruption of “Askalon”, and this is the same story shorn of its goddess and her piscine son.¹⁷

Syria, or Assyria, also appears in F20 (c), which tells us that one Philottos of Assyria, who lived on Mount Sipylos, was the father of ten children by Niobe, but was killed while hunting a bear. Xanthus seems to have told the story of Niobe at some length, reporting that she was not the daughter of Tantalus, but of Assaon. After the death of Philottos, her father wished to marry her himself; when she refused, he invited her children to a feast and burnt them to death. Niobe then threw herself from a rock (or in another version turned into a rock), and Assaon too committed suicide. Both versions of Niobe’s end are attributed to “the Lydian” (by Parthenius and Eustathius, F20a and b), as is also a variant of her father’s name, Asonides.

None of the fragments concerns the Persian Wars or the conquest of Sardis, though these subjects bulk large in Nicolaus. Unless Xanthus concentrated exclusively on ancient history, it is hard to imagine that he left them out, and also hard to imagine where Nicolaus – or, for that matter, Herodotus – got their accounts from.¹⁸

Xanthus discussed the arrival of the Phrygians in their current home (F14). He wrote about the sons of Atys, Lydus and Torebus (also in Nicolaus F15), but Dionysius of Halicarnassus castigated him for not mentioning the ruler of Lydia called Tyrrenus, whom the Tyrrenians remembered as founder of their own colony (*apoikia*). He remembered King Alkimos of Lydia, pious and gentle (F19), as well as the less gentle Kambles (F18; called Kamblites in Nicolaus F22),¹⁹ whose greed was so insatiable that he ended up eating his wife. He also wrote of King Adramyttes (F4),²⁰ who was the first to make eunuchs of women: the Suda tells the same thing of Gyges, adding that it served to keep them forever young, and Eustathius says that Athenaeus reports the same thing of Polycrates of Samos.²¹ He also mentioned the death of Astyanax and therefore must have covered the Trojan War.

¹⁶ Ath. 8.37, 346E.

¹⁷ Parmentier and Barone note that the name Crabos must be corrupt, and suggest that it is a corruption of another city-name, Nerabos, but do not adduce this passage of Xanthus.

¹⁸ Most of the scurrilous detail about Lydian luxury in Ath. 12.11–12 seems to come from Clearchus, not Xanthus.

¹⁹ Nicolaus seems here far from the other witnesses. Cf. Toher 1989, 168–169.

²⁰ Ath. 12.11, 525 DE.

²¹ The origin of eunuchism is a kind of topos: the Persian queen Atossa was famed for having introduced the use of castrated males at court: *de mulieribus* 7, citing Hellanicus *FGrHist* 4.F178 (Gera 1997, 8, 146–148).

Xanthus and folktale

Nearly one hundred years ago, Wulf Aly examined the stories that are told by Xanthus and set them in a context of folk-tale story patterns.²² He also adduced Nicolaus, F 44 and 63, as evidence for Xanthus' account of the strife of the two sons of Alyattes, and the story of Sadyattes and the wife of Miletus, which he compares with the Masistes story in Herodotus 9. Whether or not one accepts these episodes as Xanthian – and it seems to me likely that they are – Aly does the service of setting Xanthus' fragments in the wider context of Ionian storytelling of the period 600–450 BC, which he characterises as “delighting in narrative” (his word is *Erzählungsfreudigkeit*), in contrast to *historie*, which “heisst wissenwollen”.²³ These stories are of a kind with Herodotus' story of Gyges, with the three versions of the childhood of Cyrus that were known to Herodotus, and, as already noted, with the Masistes story in Herodotus 9.

Aly also notes the appearance of *Märchen* or folktales in the probably contemporary Charon of Lampsacus.²⁴ In F12a, Rhoecus of Cnidus rescues an oak tree that is about to be felled; the tree nymph in gratitude becomes his lover but he is later blinded when she doubts his fidelity. The story of the Grateful Dead also occurs, and in F7 another common story pattern appears: the daughter of King Mandron of the Bebryces betrays an imminent attack to the Greek colonists, who then overcome the Bebryces in a surprise attack. The story-pattern is so common that it is hardly to be imagined that, when told in full, the daughter did not also fall in love with the Greek commander, thus motivating her betrayal of her people. The same story-pattern seems to be present in the tale of King Akiames, above, who fell in love with a girl during his campaign against Ascalon. Again, the fragment does not tell the whole story, but there has to be some point in the information that he fell for the girl, and it seems likely that this is another case of the girl who betrays her people to the enemy general she loves.

It is a cliché to describe such stories as “oriental”, and the parallels with later examples such as *The Thousand and One Nights* have often been drawn. There is an element of the grotesque, and of the marvellous, in many of them; but in addition, the folktales are composed into longer narratives to which it is not unjustified to give the name “romance”.²⁵ It is rather notable that this kind of storytelling does not seem to have been characteristic of the mainland Greeks before the time of Herodotus. Arnaldo Momigliano in his work on biography pointed out that Herodotus had access to long stories of this kind about Orientals, but not about his Greek protagonists.²⁶

²² Aly 1921/1969, 220–226.

²³ Aly 1921/1969, 235. Pearson (1939, 117) speaks of “fondness for anecdotes”.

²⁴ Pearson (1939, 150) declines to decide whether he was before or after Herodotus. In the opinion of Drews (1973:25), Charon probably flourished in 430s/420s, like Xanthus and Hellanicus.

²⁵ Legends grow and are combined together to form something that can be called romance, see Braun 1938, 3.

²⁶ Momigliano (1993, 34), controverting Jacoby (1909, 113) who believed there were no biographies at this period.

Persian storytelling: Xanthus, Ctesias and Herodotus

I would like to explore the possibility that this kind of storytelling became popular in Ionia as a consequence of Persian rule. But before looking at story-types, we should consider what Xanthus is reported to have written about the Persians themselves. He is said to have written *Magika*, i.e. a work about the Magi, which Jacoby regarded as a separate book, and in addition to have written something about Empedocles. (Momigliano saw in this a candidate for an early “biography”.) Peter Kingsley has argued persuasively that what Xanthus said about Empedocles probably formed part of the work on the Magi, and furthermore that there was no separate book of *Magika*: Clement, who uses the expression (F31), is similarly referring to a portion of the chief work, the *Lydiaka*.²⁷ F31 is the source for the notorious information that the Magi have sexual intercourse with their mothers, daughters and sisters, and practise a kind of “free love”. F32 quotes Xanthus for the information that Zoroaster lived 6000 years before “Xerxes’ crossing”.²⁸ Without going into the thorny problems regarding the date of Zoroaster (whom I regard as probably an older contemporary of Hystaspes, father of Darius the Great)²⁹ we may at least note that Xanthus had something to say about the founder of the Achaemenid religion. Presumably he obtained his information through conversation with Persians.

Is there something characteristic about Persian storytelling? A student of mine once emailed me, a week before his exam, with the question “Is there a difference between Assyria, Babylon and the Persian Empire, or do they all refer to the same thing?” While my advice to the student (who was clearly beyond saving at this stage) was to look at an atlas, his question does draw attention to a tendency to “lump” anything oriental in distinction to the Greek world.³⁰ And it is certainly true that it is impossible to draw sharp boundaries, linguistic or of any other kind, among the cultures of the ancient Near East. Daniel Selden has eloquently explored the literary “map” that enabled stories from the *Tale of Ahiqar* to the *Alexander Romance* to spread across the whole ancient world, and has associated this with the creation of a cultural continuum through the succession of Near Eastern empires that culminated in the Achaemenid Empire and the succeeding Macedonian Empire.

Daryavauš’s imperium, then, sustained itself through two mutually contradictory political impulses: on the one hand, a unified state within whose boundaries all local particularities were resolved into a homogeneous imperial space; on the other, an eclectic agglomeration of alien communities, which persisted as irregular, arbitrary, and potentially refractory components of an always as yet untotaled empire.³¹

It was the Persian Empire that facilitated, if it did not originate, the spread of the kind of storytelling that became familiar to us through the Ionian writers,

²⁷ Kingsley 1995, 184, 187.

²⁸ Diog. Laer. I.2.

²⁹ Stoneman 2015, 89–98.

³⁰ The Greeks themselves were prone to confuse Assyria and Babylon, see Braun 1938, 74.

³¹ Selden 2012, 29–30.

not to mention Jewish tales like Judith and Esther.³² But perhaps we can say more. If we look to later evidence, there is quite a lot that can be said about Persian storytelling as such. I touched on this in a paper published in 2012, and more recently Josef Wiesehöfer has emphasised the importance of the narratives about the Persian court found in Ctesias as an element in the origin of Romance.³³ Both Herodotus and Ctesias provide us with a number of stories about the Persian court. These go beyond folktale, though many of the elements are traditional narrative building blocks, and are developed into substantial romances. The childhood of Cyrus is a case in point, about which Herodotus says that he knew three different versions. The motif of the child brought up by strangers and recognised as heir to the throne by his comportment is a story familiar in both Near Eastern and Indo-European legend, being told of Sargon of Akkad, Moses, Semiramis (Ctesias), Cyrus, Alexander in the *Dārābnāma* (Book of Dārāb) and Romulus and Remus, and of Ardashir in the Sasanian *Kārnāmag ī Ardaxšēr ī Pābagān* (Book of the deeds of Ardashir, son of Pabak).³⁴ Ctesias deliberately gives a different version from that of Herodotus, and we know from Xenophon and Athenaeus that Persians told traditional tales in some form about the exploits of Cyrus.³⁵ In such a case the narrative has become so extended that it may reasonably be called a romance.

Ctesias, incidentally, says that he got his information from consulting the *basilikai diphtherai* (“royal archives”), which is the Greek for *Shāhnāma*. Compare the reference in Esther 10.2 to *grammata mnemosyna ton hemeron* (notes recording the events of the days). One wonders, however, whether Ctesias’ *diphtherai* may be a fictional ploy on a par with the casket in which Antonius Diogenes pretends that *The wonders beyond Thule* was discovered (111b).

Other examples of such extended stories include the several variant versions of the death of Cyrus. The story of Xerxes’ passion for his niece and its consequences, told in Herodotus Book 9, falls into a pattern of “family romances” that reappears frequently in Persian literature, including in the mediaeval *Vis o Rāmin* (Vis and Rāmin) of Fakhroddin As‘ad Gorgani, a story originally belonging to the Parthian era. It is also in Xanthus’ account of Niobe, and Semiramis is said by Justin (I.2.10) to have desired her son. The *Kārnāmag ī Ardaxšēr ī Pābagān* also contains the motif of the princess who falls for her father’s enemy, which resembles the Greek tale of Scylla and Minos, and appears, by implication, in Xanthus’ story of the capture of Ascalon as well as in Charon of Lampsacus’ story of Princess Lampsake

³² Braun (1938) however, sees such stories, and those of Sesostriis, as *oppositional* to Persian rule. Persians apparently also were familiar with Greek myths, if Herodotus 1.1 is to be believed (Fowler 1996, 84).

³³ Stoneman 2012. Wiesehöfer (2013, 137) cites Jacoby for the description of Ctesias as “one of the fathers of the historical romance”. Such considerations militate against the view of Momigliano (1975, 149 e.g.) that Hellenistic Greeks, at least, took little from the east because of their lack of languages. But he also says, of Zoroastrianism, “The Persians, like the Jews, may have enjoyed writing what they expected their Greek neighbours to be anxious to hear” (Momigliano 1975, 142).

³⁴ Stoneman 2015, 223–225, drawing on Kuhrt 2003. See also Drews 1974. For the *Kārnāmag ī Ardaxšēr ī Pābagān*, see Grenet 2003.

³⁵ Xen. Cyr. 1.2.1; Ath. 14.33 (633) = Dinon F9 Lenfant.

(F7). There is a similar episode also in *Vis o Rāmin*. The Persian tale of Zariadres and Odatis, which was gathered by Alexander's chamberlain Chares, became the later Persian story of Zarēr,³⁶ and has affinities with the story of Panthea in Xenophon's *Cyropaedia*, suggesting that Xenophon based his tale on a Persian source. Ctesias' story of Stryangaeus and Zarinaea also involves sibling marriage,³⁷ though this may be a Greek interpretation of what a Persian story ought to be like, as with the tradition in *de mulieribus* about Rhodogyne, who does not appear to be historical. The story of Esther and the Persian king found in the Book of Esther, though essentially Jewish in its quality and tendency, and drawing in part on Babylonian sacred tales, also exhibits this Persian fondness for romantic narratives.³⁸

Achaemenid storytelling seems thus to have a particular character. The Persian evidence for professional storytelling goes back to the Parthian period,³⁹ with the institution of the *gōsān*, but it is natural to suppose that similar professionals travelled the Achaemenid Empire as well, even as they still do in present-day Iran (though television is fast making them obsolete).⁴⁰ Such traditions may have affinities with Assyrian storytelling, if we may infer from the similarity of the story of the origins of Sargon to that of Cyrus, but the practice presents itself as something new in the Ionian far west of the empire. It provided a framework for the construction of tales about the ancient kings of Lydia. Not only the stories of Niobe and of Moxus at Ascalon fit the pattern, but the story of Gyges and Candaules, which does not have a direct Persian parallel, seems interestingly similar in its emphasis on court intrigue, sexual scandal, death and punishment.⁴¹ And perhaps it is worth mentioning Midas, whose story reaches its crisis when his beloved daughter is turned to gold, as another example of the prominence of a daughter in a royal story. The story of Camblites, who was so consumed by hunger that he ate his own wife, has its most obvious affinities, however, with the tale of Erysichthon, who in Greek legend came from Thrace.

Cyrus and Croesus

The story of Cyrus and Croesus is an interesting test case. The earliest Greek allusion, by Pindar (P.1.184) simply refers to Croesus' *philophron areta*, in contrast to the evil tyrant Phalaris. The versions by Bacchylides and Herodotus both emphasise the king's relationship to the god Apollo: this is really a story about the power of a Greek god. Did Xanthus tell this story? Aly argued that the cruelty of Cyrus in setting Croesus to be burned alive is

³⁶ Boyce 1955.

³⁷ Ctesias T14a; Nicolaus *FGrHist* 90.F5; *de mulieribus* 2 (Gera 1997, 64–100); *POxy.* 2330.

³⁸ Discussed in Stoneman 2015, 56–57, 192–194.

³⁹ Boyce 1983; 1957; 2003. Yamamoto (2003, xx) criticises Boyce's belief that oral storytelling in Persia disappeared after the Arab conquest.

⁴⁰ Yamamoto (2003) offers a detailed exploration of the origins and role of the storyteller or *naqqāl* from Abbasid times onwards. See esp. 21–22 on their rise and decline in modern times. See also Wood 1997, 119–121, with illustration.

⁴¹ Diller (1971, 463) states that Herodotus' version of the Gyges story cannot be a reworking of a decades-old Persian story. But why not?

unlikely to have been in Persian tradition.⁴² Certainly Persians are unlikely to have presented him as a villain as in Herodotus and Bacchylides. Here I would like to look at the subtly different narrative of the scene given by Nicolaus of Damascus (F68). It begins with the statement that “Cyrus, by his natural virtue, felt pity for Croesus. And (*kai*) the Persians built a great pyre for Croesus upon a high place, from which they would be able to observe the events.” The narrative thus begins with a tension between Cyrus and the Persians. The story continues with Croesus’ dignified advance to the place of execution, his call for his son to exchange some last words with him, and his tears. He explains to his son that he is in the wrong for having declared war on the Persians, and must take his punishment. As Croesus was ascending the pyre, “the Sibyl was seen descending from the heights in order to observe for herself what was going on . . . Soon she broke out (in hexameters) ‘Wretched people, why do you hasten to do what is not *themis* (lawful)? Supreme Zeus will not permit it, nor Phoebus, nor the famous Amphiaraus. At once, obey the infallible oracles of my verses, lest you perish unpleasantly for your insane opposition to the god.’”

The Persians believed that the Sibyl’s apparition was a set-up by Croesus (Persians were notorious for not understanding oracles, as Herodotus remarks),⁴³ but when Croesus in a melancholy tone pronounced the name of Solon, Cyrus became curious and ordered the pyre to be extinguished. However, it was burning fiercely by now; Croesus turned his eyes to heaven and called on Apollo. At once it began to rain and the flames subsided. The Persians, shaken, now “understood the oracle of the Sibyl and the predictions of Zoroaster”. The meaning of this last allusion is concealed in the lost portions of Nicolaus, but Parmentier and Barone suggest that Nicolaus is following Xanthus, who was the first writer of Greek to mention Zoroaster. It was as a result of this dramatic episode, Nicolaus continues, that the Persians abandoned the practice of burning the dead. Cyrus now made Croesus his friend and treated him with honour.

In contrast to Herodotus, this is a very Persian-focused version of the story. Though we cannot know what was in the lost portions of the text, the role of Apollo in rescuing Croesus is not linked to previous devotion to the god. In this narrative, a more important role is taken by the Sibyl (Persian? Erythraean?). The emphasis on Zoroaster and the *aition* for Persian avoidance of cremation is notable, and suggests a Persian milieu for the creation of the story. Furthermore, Cyrus comes out of the story comparatively well. At the very beginning we are told that he feels pity for Croesus, but apparently Persian custom is too strong for him: in Herodotus, by contrast, it is Cyrus himself who has the pyre built. Also, Croesus admits that he is guilty and deserves his punishment, before being forgiven following the divine intervention.

There is no proof that Nicolaus got his story from Xanthus, but he must have got it from somewhere since it differs significantly in tone and detail from the versions of Herodotus and Bacchylides.⁴⁴ Despite the allusion to

⁴² Aly 1921/1969, 233.

⁴³ Hdt 8.77 and 9.42–43; Stoneman 2011, 51.

⁴⁴ Xenophon’s treatment in the *Cyropaedia* differs again: 1.5, 2.1, 4.1, 2, 6.2, 7.1–4, 8.2.

Solon, the colour of the story is more Persian than Greek. The central roles played by the Sibyl and Zoroaster, as well as the more favourable presentation of Cyrus, suggest a Persian origin for the version. If Nicolaus' source was not Xanthus, directly or indirectly,⁴⁵ it is difficult to think of another candidate. Is it legitimate, then, to surmise that Xanthus in his *Lydiaka* included a kind of "Croesus Romance", which Herodotus was able to use and adapt to his more Hellenic presentation, in which Apollo and the trustworthiness of oracles are for the first but not the last time emphasised in his *History*? Pearson had an alternative interpretation for the differences from Xanthus in this story and in other details, namely that "There is no evidence that in any instance Herodotus actually followed or copied the account of Xanthus. There are a number of instances where he seems deliberately to differ from him, but there is no conclusive proof that this difference is not due to ignorance".⁴⁶ The caution is salutary, but it leaves the form of Nicolaus' version unaccounted for, and so I cautiously suggest the possibility that it is another example of Xanthus telling a story on a Persian model.

Asia Minor has many claims to be regarded as the birthplace of Greek storytelling. As Tim Whitmarsh has perceptively observed, most of the Greek novelists originate from this region: Xenophon from Ephesus, Chariton from Aphrodisias, where I would like to think that he might have been inspired to write the now-fragmentary *Ninus and Semiramis* by the centrality of those Assyrian royal personages in the founding myth of his city.⁴⁷ The novel *Metiochus and Parthenope*, set in the court of Polycrates on Samos, is a rare example of a story that went the other way, being adapted into the Persian novel *Vāmeq o 'Azrā* (Vāmeq and 'Azrā).⁴⁸ But maybe the Greek author derived his plot from a Persian one originally. Who knows?

Aesop's new style of storytelling

The mention of Samos brings us back to that loquacious slave of the philosopher Xanthus, Aesop the Phrygian. Aesop is relevant to the story of storytelling in two ways: first, as author of beast-fables and second, as subject of a picaresque *Life*. The beast fable seems to have originated in Sumer,⁴⁹ but it was endemic in India before the time of Herodotus, whose story of Hippocleides dancing away his marriage seems to derive from an Indian prototype.⁵⁰ The *Pañcatantra* ("Five treatises") began to achieve currency in the west following a translation into Persian and then Syriac in Sasanian times,⁵¹ but such fables were clearly circulating long before then.

⁴⁵ It might have come via Ephorus, or the mysterious Xenophilus (*FGrHist* 767).

⁴⁶ Pearson 1939, 134.

⁴⁷ Whitmarsh 2013.

⁴⁸ Hägg & Utas 2003. For later ramifications of Greek novels in Persian, Dick Davis 2002.

⁴⁹ West 1984.

⁵⁰ Hdt. 6. 127–129 with Macan's note. Aristophanes refers at *Av.* 470–5 to a story about the lark which has an Indian original as we know from Aelian *NA* 16.5, perhaps originally from Megasthenes (F 59 Schwanbeck).

⁵¹ Olivelle 1997, xliii

They early became attached to the name of Aesop and were collected in the third century BC by Demetrius of Phaleron.⁵² Cyrus himself tells a fable about fish.⁵³ Leslie Kurke has argued for an important role for the Aesopic style of narrative in the emergence of Greek literature. Rather than long, titillating and sometimes improbable adventures of royal personages, they take the form of short, pithy tales, often in dialogue, with an ethical point. This is the Socratic side of Greek writing. A stray piece of information in Diodorus Siculus (9.28) tells us that “Aesop flourished at the same time as the Seven Sages, and said that these men had no idea how to keep company with a dynast. For in fact, one must live with such men either as little as possible or as sweetly as possible”. The same aphorism is uttered by Aesop in Plutarch’s *Life of Solon*, when he encounters the sage at the court of Croesus; Solon caps it with the modification, “No, by Zeus, but as little as possible or as virtuously as possible”.⁵⁴ How to live with an autocrat is a theme that reappears many times in Greek literature, from Pindar’s admonitions to Hieron to Xenophon’s dialogue of Simonides and Hieron.⁵⁵ Greek writing in some way defines itself through its opposition to the Persian style of storytelling in which kings and princesses are central.

The *Life of Aesop* is also very pertinent here. In many respects it is a classic oriental tale, and comparable with one of the oldest and most successful of all oriental tales, the *Tale of Ahiqar*. First known in an Assyrian context, and allegedly studied by Democritus in his researches in Mesopotamia, this achieved huge popularity throughout the regions encompassed by the Achaemenid Empire. Selden has provided a neat summary of its spread from fifth century BC Egypt (first attested in Aramaic) to other languages from Demotic Egyptian to Syriac and eventually Latin and Turkish.⁵⁶ At least one episode in the *Life of Aesop*, his engagement to build a flying machine for King Nectanebo of Egypt, is derived from a similar episode in *Ahiqar*. Though the story in this form must belong to the fourth century BC, well after the activity of the authors we have been considering in this paper, the story-patterns go back much further. But the story itself is of less importance for our purpose than the kind of things Aesop does in the story. We first meet him outwitting his prospective purchaser, Xanthus, in clever cross-talk, and his skill in putting people down by his quick wits continues throughout the book. But there is also something oracular about Aesop: he explains dreams, he solves riddles, and even his fables (of which there are few in the *Life*) may be seen as oracles of a kind, wisdom wrapped up in obliquity. Aesop persuades Croesus not to attack Samos by telling him a fable;⁵⁷ and Croesus gladly accepts his advice. (Aesop “then wrote down for the king all the sayings and fables that are even now still recounted, and deposited them in the library”.) Kurke points out

⁵² West 1984.

⁵³ Kurke 2011, 398, 400.

⁵⁴ Plut. *Sol.* 28; Kurke 2011, 131. Alexis’ comedy *Aesop* featured an encounter with Solon, see Perry 1952, T33–38.

⁵⁵ Stoneman 1984.

⁵⁶ Selden 2012, 20, 26 (citing Wills 1990). See Conybeare, Harris & Lewis 1913; West 1969; Luzzatto 1992.

⁵⁷ Wills 2002, 97–100. It is either Bias or Pittacus in Hdt. 1.27.

that the Herodotean version speaks of Croesus accepting (*hupolabonta*) the advice, the term usually employed for following the advice of an oracle.⁵⁸

Kurke draws attention to a passage in Plutarch's *On the malice of Herodotus* (40, 871 D), where he writes: "No longer, fabricating his own *logoi*, does he attribute them to Scythians or Persians or Egyptians, just like Aesop to his crows and apes; but now using the persona of the Pythian god himself, he thrusts Athens away from pride of place at Salamis . . ." She comments, "the ultimate outrage as far as Plutarch is concerned is Herodotus's co-opting of the Delphic oracle as mouthpiece for his own 'fabricated' Aesopic *logoi*. For this is to take the Delphic god, who stands at the apex of the Greek system of prophetic power and elite *sophia*, and reduce him to its nadir, to the figure of Aesop, or worse – to an animal character within an Aesopic tale."⁵⁹

The Aesopic impetus in Greek literature is characterised by its propensity to tell tales with a serious point, and is bound up with the centrality of the god Apollo, and of oracles as a way of communicating with the divine, in Greek civilisation. By contrast, the Persian style of narrative that appears also in Xanthus is dominated by titillating and, dare I say, sometimes rambling stories about royal personages. Herodotus is the first of many Greek writers to consider how to handle oriental despots. The challenge posed by the difference of "oriental despotism" and the Greek idea of freedom is encapsulated by the confrontations between the sage Aesop (or Solon) and the monarch Croesus, but also between the clever slave Aesop and his dim master, Xanthus the philosopher. Can it be just a coincidence that the representative of Greek wisdom is pitted against a man with the name of one of the best-known purveyors of Persian storytelling?

Richard Stoneman

Department of Classics and Ancient History
Amory Building, Rennes Drive
University of Exeter
EXETER EX4 4RJ
United Kingdom
r.stoneman@exeter.ac.uk

Bibliography

- Aly, W. 1921/1969. *Volksmärchen, Sage und Novelle bei Herodot und seinen Zeitgenossen. Eine Untersuchung über die volkstümlichen Elemente der altgriechischen Prosaerzählung*, Göttingen.
- Boyce, M. 1955. 'Zariadres and Zārēr', *BSOAS* 17:3, 463–477.
- Boyce, M. 1957. 'The Parthian gōsān and Iranian minstrel tradition', *JRAS* 89:1–2, 10–45.
- Boyce, M. 1983. 'Parthian writings and literature', in *Cambridge history of Iran*, vol. 3:2. *The Seleucid, Parthian and Sasanid periods*, ed. E. Yarshater, Cambridge, 1151–1165.

⁵⁸ Kurke 2011, 128.

⁵⁹ Kurke 2011, 386.

- Boyce, M. 2003. 'Gōsān', in *Encyclopaedia Iranica* 11:2, ed. E. Yarshater, London, 167–170.
- Braun, M. 1938. *History and romance in Graeco-Oriental literature*, Oxford.
- Conybeare, F.C., J.R. Harris & A.S. Lewis 1913. *The story of Ahiqar. From the Aramaic, Syriac, Arabic, Armenian, Ethiopic, Old Turkish, Greek and Slavonic versions*, second ed., Cambridge.
- Davis, D. 2002. *Panthea's children: Hellenistic novels and medieval Persian romances* (Biennial Yarshater Lecture Series, 3), New York.
- Diller, H. 1971. 'Zwei Erzählungen des Lyders Xanthos [1956]', in *Kleine Schriften zur antiken Literatur*, eds. H.-J. Newiger & H. Seyffert, München, 451–463.
- Drews, R. 1973. *The Greek accounts of eastern history*, Washington & Harvard.
- Drews, R. 1974. 'Sargon, Cyrus and Mesopotamian folk history', *JNES* 33:4, 387–393.
- Fowler, R.L. 1996. 'Herodotos and his contemporaries', *JHS* 116, 62–87.
- Gera, D. 1997. *Warrior women. The anonymous Tractatus de Mulieribus* (Mnemosyne, Suppl., 162), Leiden, Boston & Köln.
- Grenet, F. 2003. *La Geste d'Ardashir fils de Pâbag. Kārnamag ī Ardaxšēr ī Pâbagān*, traduit du Pehlevi, Die.
- Hägg, T. & B. Utas 2003. *The virgin and her lover. Fragments of an ancient Greek novel and a Persian epic poem* (Brill Studies in Middle Eastern Literatures, 30), Leiden & Boston.
- Jacoby, F. 1909. 'Über die Entwicklung der griechischen Historiographie und den Plan einer neuen Sammlung der griechischen Historikerfragmente', *Klio* 9, 80–123.
- Kingsley, P. 1995. 'Meetings with Magi: Iranian themes among the Greeks, from Xanthus of Lydia to Plato's Academy', *JRAS* 5:2, 173–209.
- Kuhrt, A. 2003. 'Making history: Sargon of Agade and Cyrus the Great of Persia', in *Achaemenid history*, 13. *A Persian perspective. Essays in memory of Heleen Sancisi-Weerdenburg*, eds. W. Henkelman & A. Kuhrt, 347–361.
- Kurke, L. 2011. *Aesopic conversations. Popular tradition, cultural dialogue, and the invention of Greek prose*, Princeton, N.J.
- Luzzatto, M.J. 1992. 'Grecia e vicino Oriente: tracce della "Storia di Ahiqar" nella cultura greca tra VI e V secolo a.C.', *Quaderni di Storia* 36, 5–84.
- Momigliano, A. 1975. *Alien wisdom. The limits of Hellenization*, Cambridge.
- Momigliano, A. 1993. *The development of Greek biography*, Cambridge, Mass. & London.
- Nicolas de Damas. *Histoires*, eds. E. Parmentier & F.P. Barone, Paris 20112011.
- Olivelle, P. 1997. *The Pañcatantra. The book of India's folk wisdom*, Oxford.
- Pearson, L. 1939. *Early Ionian historians*, Oxford.
- Perry, B.E. (ed.) 1952. *Aesopica. A series of texts relating to Aesop or ascribed to him or closely connected with the literary tradition that bears his name*, Urbana, Ill.
- Selden, D. 2012. 'Mapping the Alexander romance', in *The Alexander Romance in Persia and the East* (Ancient narrative, Suppl., 15), eds. R. Stoneman, K. Erickson & I.R. Netton, Groningen, 19–60.
- Stoneman, R. 1984. 'The ideal courtier: Pindar and Hieron in *Pythian* 2', *CQ* 34, 43–49.
- Stoneman, R. 2011. *The ancient oracles. Making the Gods speak*, New Haven & London.
- Stoneman, R. 2012. 'Aspects of Persian storytelling', in *The Alexander Romance in Persia and the East* (Ancient narrative, Suppl., 15), eds. R. Stoneman, K. Erickson & I.R. Netton, Groningen, 3–18.
- Stoneman, R. 2015. *Xerxes. A Persian life*, New Haven.
- Stronk, J.P. 2010. *Ctesias' Persian history* I. *Introduction, text and translation*, Düsseldorf.
- Toher, M. 1989. 'On the use of Nicolaus' historical fragments', *ClAnt* 8, 159–172.

- West, M.L. 1969. 'Near Eastern material in Hellenistic and Roman literature', *HSCP* 73, 113–134.
- West, M.L. 1984. 'The ascription of fables to Aesop in archaic and classical Greece', in *La fable. Huit exposés suivis de discussions. Vandœuvres–Genèves 22–27 août 1983* (EntrHardt, 30), eds. F.R. Adrados & O. Reverdin, Genève, 105–136.
- Whitmarsh, T. 2013. 'The romance between Greece and the East', in Whitmarsh & Thomson 2013, 1–22.
- Whitmarsh, T. & S. Thomson (eds.) 2013. *The romance between Greece and the East*, Cambridge.
- Wiesehöfer, J. 2013. 'Ctesias, the Achaemenid court and the history of the Greek novel', in *The romance between Greece and the East*, eds. T. Whitmarsh & S. Thomson, Cambridge, 127–141.
- Wills, L.M. 1990. *The Jew in the court of the foreign king: ancient Jewish court legends* (Harvard Dissertations in Religion, 26), Minneapolis.
- Wills, L.M. 2002. *The quest of the historical gospel. Mark, John, and the origins of the gospel genre*, London & New York. (Includes at 180–215 an English translation of the *Life of Aesop*.)
- Wood, M. 1997. *In the footsteps of Alexander the Great. A journey from Greece to Asia*, London.
- Yamamoto, K. 2003. *The oral background of Persian epics. Storytelling and poetry* (Brill Studies in Middle Eastern Literatures, 26), Leiden & Boston.

Concluding Remarks

by

Elspeth R.M. Dusinberre

The contributions to this volume, and the symposium hosted in 2017 by the Swedish Research Institute in Istanbul from which they originated, demonstrate the degree to which Achaemenid Studies as a discipline has developed in the last few decades since the conference on Achaemenid Anatolia in Bandırma in 1997, and at the same time highlight the extent to which certain questions or issues remain unresolved and still thorny. I wish here to present a few very brief remarks concerning the chapters presented in this volume and to comment on some of the directions the field might now take. None of this would have been possible without the efforts and hospitality of Ashk P. Dahlén and Johan Mårtelius in Istanbul and subsequently, and to them go great gratitude and thanks for their generosity and for furthering Achaemenid Studies as a discipline overall.

Rethinking textual evidence

Five of the papers included in this volume draw primarily on textual sources for their discussion: those by Dahlén, Hultgård, Köster, Mitchell, and Stoneman. Of those, Köster, Mitchell, and Dahlén deal in particular with Herodotus and offer new ways to evaluate and use the *Histories* as evidence for actions and behaviours in Achaemenid Anatolia, often balancing Herodotus' narrative with other sources including non-textual. Stoneman seeks to deploy Xanthus and Aesop in a culturally embedded approach to history and narrative, while Hultgård offers new ideas about Persian cult in Anatolia by thinking across textual and chronological boundaries. Each of them demands of us that we rethink the Greek sources that for so long were the primary – or even only – source upon which scholars drew. And each of them demonstrates in very different ways that the long-standing question of how we might best use Greek and non-Greek textual sources remains vivid and important in Achaemenid Studies.

Köster addresses Herodotus' description of the Ionian Revolt to demonstrate the ways in which the author's particular narrative structure and compositional shaping determined not only the manner in which he described the revolt but also the very elements he selected to include. The detailed narrative investigation that characterises this chapter highlights the new insights that can emerge from careful reading of the text itself. This

contribution to the volume thus demonstrates the significance of close analysis *within* the text, not just analysis that includes other sources as well. It demands disciplinary expertise and emphasises the significant understanding that grows from thoughtful cohesive literary analysis.

Mitchell's use of lyric poetry to add nuance to Herodotus' descriptions is particularly interesting in the light it sheds on Greek representation of emotions surrounding the Achaemenid conquest. Her use of local coinage and minting practices to illuminate practical choices made and opportunities available around the time of that conquest is profoundly thought provoking. Although the difficulties surrounding the chronology of early coins continue to make it difficult to say anything very definite, Mitchell's careful and thoughtful approach offers a new and exciting way to rethink Herodotus and the familiar story of conquest he tells. Thus the coinage of Sardis demonstrates Cyrus' concern not only with conquest (as Herodotus describes) but also with empire-building; the choices he made and those he allowed the Ionian city-states to make were pragmatic and economic but also embedded in his imperial vision.

Using Herodotus as a source for studying the Achaemenid Empire is, of course, a subject of recurring concern for scholars. Dahlén, too, dives deep into Herodotean interpretation, this time with a close analysis of those passages describing Persian drinking practices and a careful and wide-ranging discussion of their broader cultural contexts and implications. He makes clear that Herodotus emphasises Graeco-Persian relations as a series of transformative interactions between societies: far from the traditionally-held notion of a clash of opposites, he points out, Herodotus never endorses a moral dichotomy between Greeks and Persians. Dahlén takes the question of wine drinking as a case study and brings in a sweeping array of other sources, bringing additional texts to bear on the question and then augmenting the discussion further by a detailed consideration of archaeological evidence. His investigation demonstrates that Herodotus can be used as a springboard for deep understanding of Greek notions and Persian actions, but that in-depth consideration of multiple sources is necessary to comprehend both what happened at the Achaemenid court and what were the reasons underlying those actions. Among the important points he makes is that the *Histories* provide an important source for understanding Greek reactions, even as they highlight particular non-Greek behaviours in the Achaemenid Empire that are richly worth investigating in their own right and from multiple perspectives.

Stoneman's chapter moves past Herodotus; he considers other narrative sources written in western Anatolia and demonstrates the variety of storytelling traditions from which they originated. His intriguing exploration of Persian storytelling and the affinities it bore to the work of Xanthus embeds the novelists of Asia Minor in a tradition with great chronological and geographical extent. The analysis he provides of Aesop and the very different notions and approaches employed by that author suggest the range of choices available to those crafting and listening to stories in Archaic and Classical Asia Minor. Stoneman thus provides rich ground for re-considering Herodotus and his narrative approaches, even as he opens new avenues to understanding the history of the Achaemenid Empire in Anatolia.

Hultgård pushes the textual evidence brought to bear on Achaemenid Anatolia in both geographical and chronological ways through his investigation of the cult of Anāhitā. By including contemporary inscriptional evidence he can consider the Greek literary sources through a different lens. The much later written texts of Armenia and the Avesta afford another way of understanding the goddess and her cult. These multidirectional approaches allow for a wholly different understanding of the cultic landscape in the Achaemenid period, one that is not visible from any one type of source alone, but that the wide variety of resources employed offers in clearer sight. The result is a case study in simultaneous deployment of vastly different types of evidence, all textual, to understand a broad problem.

Rethinking visual and material evidence

Many of the chapters in this volume are examples of that challenging, important, and illuminating exercise: reconsidering material and visual evidence in light of new discoveries. They contribute important insights to the discussion of the Achaemenid Empire overall and Achaemenid Anatolia in particular, and they do it in a variety of ways. Thus Briant's synthesising overview of recent publications highlights particular overarching questions of importance: How much should we care about "Persianising" as a concept? How great was the impact of Achaemenid imperialism on different peoples? How important is the question of ethnicity, and how can the ethnicity of individuals be determined? How should the study of Anatolia be interwoven with that of other regions of the empire?

Two chapters here focus on Labraunda, those by Blid and Hellström. Blid's reanalysis of the Andron of Maussollos grounds appreciation of the dynast's aspirations in nuanced understanding of his actions, the architecture within which those actions took place, and various of the sculptures created by the Hekatomnids. Blid's emphasis on Hekatomnid deployment of Greek, Achaemenid, and Anatolian characteristics underscores the subtlety and richness of Maussollos' message and the plurality of cultures within which he embedded his operations. Blid sums up, "In my opinion, the Hekatomnid portraits are, to some extent, both generic and individual." This openness to fluid ambiguity and multiple simultaneous interpretations underlies Blid's convincing discussion and indeed is shown by him to be essential.

A similar recognition underlies Hellström's analysis of the chariot statue base at Labraunda. Carefully crafted so that it displayed simultaneous links to the empty Achaemenid chariot of the sun, the ancient Hittite chariot of the Storm-god, and the chariot of Zeus Labraundos himself, this monument too drew on and proclaimed multiple traditions, multiple interpretations, at once. Even if, as Hellström suggests, the statue was dedicated for a specific purpose, its multivalent presentation would allow for fluid reinterpretation over time. Thus Labraunda demonstrates in multiple instances the complexity of artistic production and interpretation (ancient as well as modern) in Achaemenid Anatolia.

Seyer's discussion of the Lycian pillar tombs begins by re-addressing a much-discussed knotty problem: their chronology. As he comments, there are over 100 discussions addressing the dating of the pillar tombs. His consideration of the iconographic programs of the early tombs and the ways in which the Lion Tomb is distinctive, demonstrates the important insights that may come from reinterpreting evidence. By considering an enormous array of evidence, including Assyrian, Achaemenid, and Greek as well as Lycian and other Anatolian, Seyer redirects the question away from the style of the tomb's iconography and toward the identification of the individual for whom the tomb was built. This reframing of the question allows at last for a persuasive conclusion to be posited (the Lion Tomb and hence all datable pillar tombs postdate Achaemenid arrival in Lycia) and highlights the value of creative reinvestigation in understanding the impact of the Achaemenid Empire.

Berndt offers a fresh discussion of Persian royal headgear, focusing on the so-called upright *tiara*. Her exhaustive research into literary and visual evidence overturns previous notions of what exactly that might have looked like or how it functioned and demonstrates the significance of the comment in Greek texts that only the king could wear the upright *tiara*. Because this cap was part of the standard riding dress, the attached hood of a sleeved cloak, the distinction between the king's use and that of all others would have been all the more apparent. Again, Berndt dives deep into evidence both old and new to embed her discussion in an empire-wide investigation and offers new conclusions in response to a long-standing question.

New archaeological evidence

One of the most exciting papers presented at the 2017 symposium in Istanbul was that of Kaan İren and Sedef Çokay-Kepçe, who provided an overview of recent discoveries at Daskyleion and investigated multiculturalism and pluralism in elite display. Although that paper could not be included in this volume, it demonstrates the degree to which our understanding of the empire will continue to grow and change as new material emerges from the ground. My own contribution to this volume is a reminder of the fact that sometimes "new" material was in fact excavated long ago, and that ongoing efforts to publish legacy data will also contribute to the discussion. In the case of both Gordion and Daskyleion, these discussions largely addressed the behaviours and concerns of the wealthy elite; it is to be hoped that ongoing excavations will increasingly bring to light the actions and ideas of non-elite people in Achaemenid Anatolia as well.

It is exactly that which so singles out Gates' chapter. This synthesis of Cilicia's archaeology pulls together military establishments, harbour foundations, fortresses, and processional reliefs to demonstrate the ways in which such monuments might function both in practical and perceptual ways simultaneously. Excavations at Kinet Höyük in particular show the interplay between imperially charged power architecture and the buildings and lives of normal people, the impact that increased or decreased imperial interest and

control might have on the lifeways and practices of a site's inhabitants. Gates makes the important point that the archaeological evidence from Cilicia "refuse(s) to cohere into a tidy narrative", and this is perhaps one of the greatest contributions that new archaeological evidence will provide. Empires are messy. They sprawl. They employ different strategies in different places, and individual people respond in different ways. As more archaeological evidence comes to light, our understanding of the Achaemenid Empire will certainly grow and develop, and it will certainly not cohere into a tidy narrative. This is exciting.

An important recognition to come from the symposium in Istanbul and the contributions to this volume is that new discoveries burgeon in Achaemenid Studies today, and there are a lot of directions and approaches that are proving fruitful. Some of these discoveries come from new evidence being published; some emerge from considering a problem with a broader understanding of evidence available; and some grow out of careful and thoughtful reconsideration of an issue, examining the same evidence with new eyes or new ideas.

One remarkable thing to have emerged from the symposium is recognition of the variety of issues and approaches being pursued by scholars working in Achaemenid Studies today, and the productive enthusiasm that marks their pursuit. It is, after all, not so many years since the great patriarch of Achaemenid archaeology, Carl Nylander, wrote:

Achaemenid [artistic] creations have often been written off as the technically accomplished but somewhat tired and uninspired end product of the long Near Eastern development, an uninteresting and innocuous "art de bonne compagnie qui vous reserve ni surprise ni deception".¹

The contributions to this volume demonstrate the degree to which now the Achaemenid Empire provides a fertile landscape in which ideas may flourish. It is a landscape with constantly new evidence coming to light and endless possibility for consideration and reconsideration of broader issues and problems or specific and important questions.

¹ C. Nylander, 'Achaemenid imperial art', in *Power and propaganda. A symposium on ancient empires*, ed. M. Trolle Larsen, København, 1979, 348.

ACTA UNIVERSITATIS UPSALIENSIS

BOREAS. Uppsala Studies in Ancient Mediterranean and Near Eastern Civilizations

Editor: Gunnel Ekroth

1. Carl Nylander: Ionians in Pasargadae. Studies in Old Persian architecture. 1970.
2. Gun Björkman: Kings at Karnak. A study of the treatment of the monuments of royal predecessors in the Early New Kingdom. 1971.
3. Margareta Lindgren: The people of Pylos. Prosopographical and methodological studies in the Pylos archives. Part I. Prosopographical catalogue of individuals and groups. 1973. Part II. The use of personal designations and their interpretation. 1973.
4. Excavations in the Barbouna area at Asine. Edited by Inga and Robin Hägg. Fasc. 1. 1973. Fasc. 2. 1978. Fasc. 3. In preparation. Fasc. 4. 1980.
5. Birgitta Bergquist: Herakles on Thasos. The archaeological, literary and epigraphic evidence for his sanctuary, status and cult reconsidered. 1973.
6. From the Gustavianum Collections in Uppsala [1]. 1974.
7. Robin Hägg: Die Gräber der Argolis in submykenischer, protogeometrischer und geometrischer Zeit. 1. Lage und Form der Gräber. 1974.
8. Gisela Walberg: Kamares. A study of the character of palatial Middle Minoan pottery. 1976.
9. From the Gustavianum Collections in Uppsala, 2. 1978.
10. Gisela Walberg: The Kamares Style. Overall effects. 1978.
11. Gertie Englund: Akh – une notion religieuse dans l’Egypte pharaonique. 1978.
12. Magnus Ottosson: Temples and cult places in Palestine. 1980.
13. Sundries in honour of Torgny Säve-Söderbergh. 1984.
14. Lana Troy: Patterns of queenship in ancient Egyptian myth and history. 1986.
15. Gifts to the gods. Proceedings of the Uppsala Symposium 1985. Edited by Tullia Linders and Gullög Nordquist. 1987.
16. Gullög C. Nordquist: A Middle Helladic village: Asine in the Argolid. 1987.
17. Architecture and society in Hecatomnid Caria. Proceedings of the Uppsala Symposium 1987. Edited by Tullia Linders and Pontus Hellström. 1989.
18. Brita Alroth: Greek gods and figurines. Aspects of the anthropomorphic dedications. 1989.
19. Stig Forsberg: Near Eastern destruction datings as sources for Greek and Near Eastern Iron Age chronology. Archaeological and historical studies. The cases of Samaria (722 B.C.) and Tarsus (696 B.C.). 1995.
20. The religion of the ancient Egyptians. Cognitive structures and popular expressions. Proceedings of Symposia in Uppsala and Bergen 1987 and 1988. Edited by Gertie Englund. 1989.
21. Economics of cult in the ancient Greek world. Proceedings of the Uppsala Symposium 1990. Edited by Tullia Linders and Brita Alroth. 1992.
22. From the Gustavianum Collections in Uppsala, 3. 1993.

23. Kerstin Höghammar: Sculpture and society. A study of the connection between the free-standing sculpture and society on Kos in the Hellenistic and Augustan periods. 1993.
24. Religion and power in the ancient Greek world. Proceedings of the Uppsala Symposium 1993. Edited by Pontus Hellström and Brita Alroth. 1996.
25. Peter E. Blomberg: On Corinthian iconography. The bridled winged horse and the helmeted female head in the sixth century BC. 1996.
26. Katarina Nordh: Aspects of ancient Egyptian curses and blessings. Conceptual background and transmission. 1996.
27. Johannes Siapkis: Heterological ethnicity. Conceptualizing identities in ancient Greece. 2003.
28. The Hellenistic *polis* of Kos. State, economy and culture. Proceedings of an International Seminar organized by the Department of Archaeology and Ancient History, Uppsala University, 11–13 May, 2000. Edited by Kerstin Höghammar. 2003.
29. Erika Weiberg: Thinking the Bronze Age. Life and death in Early Helladic Greece. 2007.
30. Hedvig Landenius Enegren: The people of Knossos. Prosopographical studies in the Knossos Linear B archives. 2008.
31. Lena Sjögren: Fragments of Archaic Crete. Archaeological studies on time and space. 2008.
32. Labraunda and Karia. Proceedings of the International Symposium commemorating sixty years of Swedish work in Labraunda. The Royal Swedish Academy of Letters, History and Antiquities Stockholm, November 20–21, 2008. Edited by Lars Karlsson and Susanne Carlsson. 2011.
33. Marina Weilguni: Streets, spaces and places. Three Pompeian movement axes analysed. With an appendix by Karin Fridell Anter. 2011.
34. Ancient ports. The geography of connections. Proceedings of an international conference at the Department of Archaeology and Ancient History, Uppsala University, 23–25 September 2010. Edited by Kerstin Höghammar, Brita Alroth and Adam Lindhagen. 2016.
35. ΛΑΒΡΥΣ. Studies presented to Pontus Hellström. Edited by Lars Karlsson, Susanne Carlsson and Jesper Blid Kullberg. 2014.
36. The pyramids. Between life and death. Proceedings of the workshop held at Uppsala University, Uppsala, May 31st – June 1st, 2012. Edited by Irmgard Hein, Nils Billing and Erika Meyer-Dietrich. 2016.
37. Achaemenid Anatolia: Persian presence and impact in the western satrapies 546–330 BC. Proceedings of an international symposium at the Swedish Research Institute in Istanbul, 7–8 September 2017. Edited by Ashk P. Dahlén. 2020.

Distributor: Uppsala University Library, Box 510, SE-751 20 Uppsala

www.uu.se, acta@ub.uu.se

ISSN 0346-6442

