1st INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE

Ancient Greece and Ancient Iran
Cross-Cultural Encounters

ATHENS, 11-13 NOVEMBER 2006

Edited by Seyed Mohammad Reza Darbandi and Antigoni Zournatzi

National Hellenic
Research Foundation

Hellenic National
Commission for UNESCO

Cultural Center of the Embassy
of the Islamic Republic of Iran

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Athens 2008

In memoriam

MASSOUD AZARNOUSH

27 November 2008

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Preface

IT IS A GREAT PLEASURE AND HONOR for me to welcome, on behalf of the Hellenic National Commission for UNESCO, the publication of the proceedings of the First International Conference on 'Ancient Greece and Ancient Iran: Cross-Cultural Encounters'. The conference took place in Athens in November 2006 through the efforts of the Hellenic National Comission for UNESCO, the National Hellenic Research Foundation, and the Cultural Center of the Embassy of the Islamic Republic of Iran, with the active participation of the Iranian Cultural Heritage, Handicrafts, and Tourism Organization.

Supporting cultural activities in our country, the Hellenic National Commission for UNESCO sponsored this conference with the conviction that we were contributing to the promotion of multicultural dialogue, which is not only valuable but also imperative.

Since its inception in 1945, UNESCO has been dedicated to the propagation of culture, the promotion of cultural diversity, the expansion of education, the support of science, and the promotion of communication among peoples, with respect for human rights and the values of each civilization and culture.

In an era when many people like to stress the factors that supposedly differentiate our cultures, UNESCO opposes this rationale of conflict, promoting and developing those factors which unite civilizations — through an open and substantial dialogue, which is duly based on respect for the values of each civilization and culture. This dialogue, however, requires knowledge, a real knowledge of various cultures and their traditions, which will promote the coexistence in harmony of all people, encouraging them to thrive, to create, to dream.

This conference has exactly this goal. It focuses on the interaction between the ancient Greek and Iranian worlds in the domains of administration, art and architecture, religion, philosophy and literature. Twenty-four papers by distinguished European, Iranian, and American researchers investigate and illuminate two great civilizations, which met on the path of history and —even though at the beginning their paths collided— found their way to mutual acquaintance, respect, and osmosis.

Through the rapprochement of civilizations, we can attain self-knowledge as well as respect for diversity. We can attain a common culture, a culture of the peaceful coexistence of different civilizations and different peoples. Beyond its scientific importance, the conference and the present volume constitute a lasting contribution of our country to UNESCO's efforts to promote cross-cultural dialogue worldwide.

I would like to emphasize that today UNESCO functions as a laboratory of ideas and a standard-setter for the ethical issues of our times. The Organization serves as an agency for the dissemination and sharing of information and knowledge, while at the same time helping the member states to develop their human and institutional potential in various fields. UNESCO

promotes international cooperation, multicultural approaches, and peace amongst the 193 member states and its six associate members in the fields of education, science, culture, and communication.

Our planet needs now more than ever a universal vision for sustainable development, based on mutual respect amongst civilizations, on the observance of human rights, on respect for the environment, and on solidarity and communication.

EKATERINI TZITZIKOSTA
President of the Hellenic National Commission for UNESCO

Opening addresses

Dear Conference Participants, Friends, Distinguished Guests,

I would like to welcome you to the National Hellenic Research Foundation on the occasion of this First International Conference on 'Ancient Greece and Ancient Iran: Cross-Cultural Encounters'.

I would like to thank the coordinator of this conference, Dr. Antigoni Zournatzi, who has done her utmost, in collaboration with the Cultural Counselor of Iran in Athens, Mr. Mohammad Reza Darbandi, to bring this conference into being. When she first mentioned to me organizing this conference, it seemed to me something impossible, something unachievable. With the help of the Research Centre for Greek and Roman Antiquity, the Hellenic National Commission for UNESCO, the Cultural Center of the Iranian Embassy in Athens and all the patrons, this dream has become a reality today.

We can see the interactions between the ancient Greek and Iranian worlds in the areas of art, architecture, religion, philosophy, and literature. To be answered and ascertained here is in just what ways the two civilizations met.

I am sure that during this conference warm friendships will develop amongst you, and discussions at great length of various interesting topics will create the prerequisites for further collaboration.

I would like to thank all the speakers and all those who have helped in this undertaking.

I wish you a successful conference.

Professor DIMITRIOS A. KYRIAKIDIS
President of the National Hellenic Research Foundation, Athens

Reflections on the long-lasting relationship between Iran and Greece

Ladies and Gentlemen and Kind Hosts,

The common historical, cultural, civil, and spiritual roots of the Iranian and Hellenic worlds can be traced back to their millennial coexistence in the vast stretches of the Caucasus and Aral mountain regions. Their languages, myths, beliefs, values, and culture reveal the bonds of a shared history that goes back to their common Indo-European roots, antedating the migration of the Iranians toward the Middle East and the Hellenes toward the Balkans and the area around the Aegean Sea. Linguists and historians engaging in the comparative study of the ancient Iranian and Hellenic myths, customs, and dialects unanimously agree on the existence of this mutual cultural and historical background of the two great nations of Iran and Greece.

By the middle of the first millennium BC, these two nations had succeeded in establishing their own distinguished and remarkable civilizations

in two geographically and culturally distinct regions. They were also in confrontation with each other, defending their values in heroic clashes, which left a deep imprint on each other as well as on other cultures and nations. It is astonishing that they should have such similar destinies as they have had. As the contemporary French scholar Georges Salles writes in his introduction to the book by the eminent French archaeologist and Iranologist, Roman Ghirshman, *Perse. Proto-iraniens. Mèdes. Achéménides* (Paris, 1963): 'In studying the history of Greece and Iran and considering their geographical positions, it seems unlikely for them to have such identical destinies in their Golden Ages, as they were so far away from each other and lived in divergent geographical territories.'

The considerable presence of Persians in historical sources and philosophical treatises as well as in the works of the Hellenic tragic poets of the Classical period and the simultaneous presence of Greek men of culture and science in the Achaemenid court —not to mention the multifaceted economic, political, military, civil, and spiritual exchanges between the two peoples— paved the way for these two nations' mutual appreciation for each other. These encounters also made it possible for both peoples to develop a deeper, mutual understanding in subsequent centuries.

The military defeat of Darius III by Alexander's army did not lead to the spiritual and cultural demise of the Iranians. On the contrary, it made possible the spread of the cult of Mithras into Europe as far as the coasts of Ireland, and it ushered Mithraism to a prominent place in the religious beliefs and expressions of this extended domain for as long as five centuries. Relations between the Iranians and the Greeks took on new aspects following the spread of Christianity in the Greek world and that of Islam in Iran. Spiritual bonds were further strengthened owing to both the widely felt affinity between the Shiite and the eastern Christian (and especially the Orthodox) communities and the significant role of the Iranians in introducing Greek philosophy into the Islamic world.

The long-lasting historical, cultural, civil, and spiritual relations between the Iranian and Greek worlds did not end during the rule of Ottoman Turks in the Balkans and North Africa but continued in another form. During this period the Persian language —as the language of scholars at the Ottoman court— had a profound effect in the Balkan region. It is not surprising that a considerable number of Persian expressions and concepts —as well as philosophical, religious, and political terms— entered the vocabulary of the Turkish, Greek, Serbian, and other languages spoken in the area. At the same time, the existence of Greek philosophical, political, literary, scientific, and civil expressions and concepts in the Persian language offers further proof of the two peoples' mutual relationship. All these are eloquent confirmations of the ancient, long-lasting, and complex historical and cultural relations between the Greek and Iranian peoples.

In the national memory and perceptions of the Iranians, Greece is a pleasant and respected country. Recollections about the Greeks in the Iranian world are positive, vibrating with historical echoes of a country with a rich and long history — even if (one must acknowledge) the narrators of history have often strayed from impartiality and justice when evaluating the relations of the two nations in their frequent clashes and battles. Despite the bitterness and acrimony caused by unfortunate wars, the countless mutual experiences and ongoing dialogue of the two peoples contributed to the establishment of two of the world's greatest civilizations,

two civilizations instrumental in the development of science and culture, leaving enduring and splendid impressions in the memory of humanity.

Today more than ever before, Greece and Iran, relying on their rich past and their fruitful relations, need to play a role in promoting peace, tranquility, and comfort in the world. Now more than ever, people are worried about devastating wars and conflicts. Benefiting from their long history and common experiences, the Greek and Iranian nations should take the lead in creating a joint center of research, a valuable paradigm of an impartial approach which would greatly benefit present efforts toward tackling obstacles and problems and finding paths to solving the political, cultural, and economic dilemmas tormenting the modern world.

Therefore, as Director of the Research Institute of the Iranian Cultural Heritage, Hadicrafts, and Tourism Organization (ICHHTO), I wish to declare our readiness to join with the National Hellenic Research Foundation in the establishment of such an organization. The proposed institution could, in addition to studying the ancient past, investigate ways of achieving a world full of tranquility and peace under the umbrella of culture and civilization. May the two great nations of Greece and Iran, who have played a seminal role in shaping the course of human culture and civilization, play once again their historic role in shaping a peaceful and more prosperous future for the entire world.

In closing, I would like to thank the organizers of this important event, and particularly the National Hellenic Research Foundation, the Cultural Center of the Embassy of the Islamic Republic of Iran, and the Hellenic National Commission for UNESCO.

Dr. SEYED TAHA HASHEMI TOGHRALJERDI
Director of the Research Institute of ICHHTO
Deputy President of ICHHTO, Tehrān

I cordially greet you all, honored scholars of Iranian and Greek studies, who have gathered here to study the culture and history of the two countries, and I express my heartfelt thanks to the culture-loving and accomplished organizers of this conference, who have made this talk possible.

Iran and Greece are countries with ancient histories and have founded and fostered two valuable old civilizations. This is why cultural exchanges between these two great countries have continued since time immemorial, and each has found inspiration in the other in developing and deepening its own culture. Furthermore, according to Iranian myths, Iranians and Greeks (who were sometimes called Romans) are of a common ancestry.

The well-known Pīshdādī king, Fereydūn (whom I know as an Indo-European or at least Irano-Greek character identical with Perseus in Greek mythology) had three sons: Salm, Tūr and Īraj. He divided his vast empire among these three sons, giving the northern and eastern territories to Tūr, the western territories to Salm, and the central territories to Īraj, his youngest son. The land of Tūr is Tūrān, and the Turanids are his offspring. The land of Salm is Greece or Rome, and he is the forefather of the Greeks or Romans. The land given to Īraj is Iran, and the Iranians are his descendants. Based on the analogy of 'Iranians' and 'Turanids' which derive from 'Īraj' and 'Tūr', we can call Romans and Greeks the 'Salmanids'. In time of need,

Iranians used to ask the Romans (who included the Greeks) for help in view of this ancient and fundamental kinship. As an example, when Goshtāsp asked his father Lohrāsp for the throne and was denied, he left Iran resentfully and went to Rome. There he embarked upon heroic acts as an unknown person and impressed the Romans. He married Katāyūn, the caesar's daughter; and after revealing his identity, he returned to Iran backed by the Roman caesar and won the throne. If we come out of the nebulous world of myth and step into the historical age, we still find many connections between Iran and Greece. One example is Pythagoras, the renowned Greek thinker, who was familiar with and praised Zoroastrianism. Guided by a Zoroastrian priest named Zaratas, who lived in Babel, Pythagoras observed a forty-day fast and cleansed himself of carnal desires in order to achieve spiritual purity and enlightenment. After forty days, Zaratas put Pythagoras to a strange test and helped him to ascend up to heaven in full stature and to see the wonders of heaven and the hidden world with his own eyes. In the same manner, in his ontological school Plato, the famous Greek thinker, advocated ideas which can be easily compared with the teachings of Zoroaster, the great prophet of ancient Iran. This conformity of ideas between Plato and Zoroaster was well known to the renowned Iranian philosopher and cosmologist Sheykh-e Eshrāq (Shehāb-al-dīn Sohrawardī).

On the other hand, traces of the influence of the Greeks on Iranian culture can still be seen in some Greek words borrowed in the Iranian language. Words such as *ebenos*, *sandarac(h)* and *namus* can be cited as examples.

To conclude this short speech, I wish to emphasize the fact that Iranians and Greeks, two peoples of such brilliant, lofty, and ancient histories and cultures, are able to work together toward the development of the world and toward the achievement of peace and stability in this time of turmoil and enmity. Let us hope to see this ideal fulfilled to the best outcome for all.

<div style="text-align:right">

Professor Dr. MIR JALALEDDIN KAZZAZI
Allameh Tabātabāii University, Tehrān

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This is not just another international conference organized by the National Hellenic Research Foundation. It is of special importance in that it is dedicated to the relations of the Greek world with one specific country of the Middle East, namely Iran (or Persia, as it was known in ancient times). The interest in this subject is not simply academic but much broader. The meeting of the two cultures initiated a change of attitude. An analogous change of attitude is currently happening in other countries of the western world, particularly in France.

We have to admit that we, the Neohellenes, have maintained up to now an idiosyncratic attitude vis-à-vis other ancient civilizations of the Old World, whether they were contemporary with the ancient Greek civilization or not. We have often been on the defensive, and justifiably so to a certain extent, owing to outside attempts from time to time to disassociate us from the great achievements of our ancient Greek ancestors. Greece entered the arena of modern free European nations comparatively recently, having experienced a long period of foreign domination and internal political turmoil. Furthermore, since the second half of the nineteenth century, the Greek nation has been confined to a narrow space of the Balkan Penin-

sula. These factors contributed no doubt to the phenomenon of Greek introversion and explain the greco-centric character of our academic institutions, which still refrain from showing an interest in other ancient civilizations. To-date the Universities of Greece and Cyprus have not managed to create chairs for the study of the civilizations of Egypt, Assyria, Phoenicia and the Near East in general, let alone chairs for the study of the Americas or the Far East. The only exception was an initiative taken by Professor Spyridon Marinatos, who taught a course on Near Eastern civilizations at the University of Athens.

The Greek world (and in this I include Byzantium) had varied and close relations with all the Mediterranean countries and far beyond. It is a serious omission not to engage in scholarly research which will enable us to understand better our own political and cultural history with regard to those of the peoples with whom we had political and cultural encounters. In this respect, we have to follow the noble tradition of one of our great historians, Herodotus, who was convinced that in order to understand the reasons for the Greco-Persian Wars he had to inquire equally into the great accomplishments of 'both the Greeks and the barbarians'. Modern scholarship has given Herodotus his rightful place in modern historiography as a broad-minded researcher.

Of all the peoples of the Archaic, Classical and Hellenistic eras, the Persians came into the longest-lasting and most intense contact with the Greeks, and this phenomenon is vividly reflected in the Greek literary sources. The Greeks of Cyprus and Ionia experienced Persian presence and political influence over a number of years, and the Great King of Persia was the person to whom a number of Greeks fled when seeking refuge or revenge against their rivals. Greek artists worked at the Persian court, and Persian art exercised an influence on several aspects of Greek art. Whatever our feelings about the role of the ancient Persians, it is a fact that their nation created an empire that included a large part of the Hellenic world in the course of the Late Archaic and Classical periods. And the largest part of this empire was subdued in the late fourth century BC by Alexander. Greek art exercised an influence on Persian art, a topic which will, no doubt, be discussed during this conference. For all these reasons, it is imperative that modern Greeks and modern Persians, the Iranians, should get to know each other and look into their ancient past without prejudices in order to obtain a deep and impartial understanding of their common historical heritage. European and American scholars have long been active in the field of Persian studies. Symposia and exhibitions have been organized on this topic, and a major exhibition of the art of the Sasanians is currently on view in Paris.

During the last few years attitudes in Greek scholarship have been changing. Greek scholars are now eager to explore other regions of the ancient world and to understand interconnections across the extensive territory of the Old World. Several international conferences and exhibitions have been organized in Greece, and books have appeared on the theme of these interconnections. This is a hopeful sign and one which will certainly contribute to a better understanding among the descendants of ancient civilizations. It is with these thoughts that I hail this conference and its courageous participants from various parts of the world and express my deep appreciation to the organizers, namely, the National Hellenic Research Foundation, the Iranian Cultural Center and the National Hellenic Commission for UNESCO, with the active participation of Iranian scholars.

My particular thanks go to Mr. Mohammad Reza Darbandi and Dr. Antigoni Zournatzi, who have been the driving forces behind this conference. The proceedings of the conference (which, no doubt, will be promptly published) will constitute a serious contribution to scholarship. And they will hopefully inform the Greek ladies, who wear the precious golden bracelets with finials in the form of animals' heads created by Lalaounis in the 1960s and 1970s, that similar bracelets were worn by the Achaemenids in the fifth century BC.

Professor VASSOS KARAGEORGHIS
Director of the Foundation 'Anastasios G. Leventis', Nicosia

The need to prepare a welcoming address for our conference triggered memories more than half a century old of what Persia meant to the little Greek school boy that I was then. I realize now that words and expressions from Herodotus and later authors, which have passed into everyday speech, were more potent than any actual historical events. For example the word σατράπης, satrap, which figured as a compliment to a lady in a popular song (of the rebetiko tradition, to which nice boys were not supposed to listen) had acquired for me the erotic connotation of a generously endowed woman who completely dominates a man. In an entirely different context, 'earth and water' γῆ καὶ ὕδωρ expressed what pusillanimous persons, especially politicians, were ready to surrender to indigenous or foreign bullies in order to advance their careers.

The historical event that most impressed Greek schoolboys half a century ago was the glorious defeat of the Spartans at Thermopylae. (No wonder, for Greeks no less than Iranians are prone to celebrate defeats.) Unfortunately for the school boys, Herodotus had retained the Laconian dialect of Leonidas' speech in the famous answer of the Lacedaemonian king to Xerxes' envoy, who had demanded the immediate surrender of the Spartan army's weapons: μολὼν λαβέ = 'come and take them'. A Greek schoolboy could readily understand λαβέ 'take', but the aorist participle of the uncouth verb βλώσκω sounded utterly foreign to him. Thus in my brother's class, a boy who was asked to narrate these memorable events, confidently related how Leonidas, in reply to Xerxes' demand, mustered the little Persian he knew and uttered the words μολὼν λαβέ. Unbeknownst to the anonymous schoolboy, he was advancing the hypothesis (though he had never heard of the Indo-European family of languages) of a close linguistic affinity between Greeks and Persians, which made communication possible between the two. It is because we believe that communication between peoples —Greeks and Iranians, Easterners and Westerners— even though not in this imaginary Greco-Persian language, is both possible and profitable that we have come together today in order to explore the cross-cultural encounters between ancient Greece and ancient Iran.

Dr. MILTIADES HATZOPOULOS
Director of the Research Centre for Greek and Roman Antiquity
National Hellenic Research Foundation, Athens

In the Name of God

To begin with, I would like to express my thanks to the National Hellenic Research Foundation for taking the initiative to organize this conference, and to the National Hellenic Commission for UNESCO for their kind help. My thanks go also to the international scholars who have accepted our invitation, enriching scientifically this academic gathering. Thanks are also extended to all the ladies and gentlemen honoring this meeting with their kind presence, and to Dr. Antigoni Zournatzi, who through her relentless endeavor made this conference possible.

To put in perspective the importance of this conference, we may recall the place of Iran and Greece in world history. Of the over 190 countries in the contemporary world, only 12 can claim a written history that is more than two thousand years old. Among these countries, Iran and Greece have not only enjoyed a history that is several thousand years old; the Iranians and the Greeks have also had, very exceptionally, extensive cultural relations from ancient times until now.

Today we have gathered here to talk about the relations and contacts between these two ancient civilizations, which date back more than twenty-five centuries to the Achaemenid era (c. 550-331 BC), when the Persians and the Greeks met for the first time in Asia Minor. These relations were responsible for the fact that Herodotus (484-425 BC) began and ended his *Histories* with thoughts about Persia as well as for Xenophon's (430-355 BC) choice of Cyrus I (559-529 BC) as the ideal monarch in his *Cyropaedia*. Xenophon was especially impressed by the fact that the Persian kings treated men with justice.

The notoriety of Persian culture and science caused the sixth-century Greek philosopher Pythagoras to travel to Iran to learn about Persian culture; the Greek poet Aeschylus (525-456 BC) to create his masterpiece entitled *Persians*; Plato (428-347 BC) to devote part of his work to Persian morals and customs; and seven Greek philosophers, who were not in agreement with the religious dogma of the Byzantine empire, to seek refuge in the palace of the Sasanian king, Anūshirevān (AD 531-579).

Similarly, the Iranians paid great attention to Greek art. They used to perform Greek plays in the Iranian royal courts and showed an interest in the Greek language. In the time of the Parthian empire (238 BC-AD 226), coins were minted with Greek legends. Iranians thinkers, interested in Greek wisdom and philosophy, invited Greek philosophers and medical experts to Jondīshāhpūhr University. The great Persian poet, Ferdowsī (AD 940-1020), dedicated parts of his masterpiece, the *Shāhnāme* ('*Epic of Kings*'), to the life of Alexander; while the romantic poet Nezāmī Ganjavī (AD 1141-1209) entitled one of his works *Eskandarnāme* ('*Book of Alexander*').

There is no doubt that speaking about these relations will cause the removal of ambiguities and the ripening of the fruits of friendship between the two nations. Contrary to optical facts of Nature, as we get farther from a historical event, we discover more and more its hidden dimensions. Surely our present efforts in investigating the two civilizations will bring more results than our ancestors have achieved.

I continue to wonder at the fact that, after the many wars which have been waged between Iran and Greece, the two nations have always respected each other and continued to cherish their common history, leaving the negative effects of the wars behind. For now there remain only sweet memories in the minds of both peoples. At the present time, we Iranians

are the recipients of warm and hospitable treatment from Greek citizens, artists, writers, scholars and official authorities, who speak kindly about Iran and mention our glorious history and the friendship between our two nations. Likewise, after returning from visits to Iran, Greek journalists and tourists say that they have experienced the same feelings and treatment in Iran. Reviewing these positive and pleasant insights over the centuries has made these two ancient civilizations leave behind, very appropriately, the unpleasant stages in their common history — and move towards agreement and unanimity. Our task here is to discover the links that have connected these two civilizations, overlooking the difficult past.

In my estimation, the following may be responsible for the living spirit of closeness between these two civilizations:

1. *The belief in a divine religion.* Both Islam and Christianity are heavenly religions, and the Orthodox faith in particular has close ties with Islam. Both nations are deeply religious. Iran was the first ancient civilization to accept Islam and has defended it heartily for 14 centuries; and Greece welcomed Christianity from very early on and has practiced it for 20 centuries. Therefore there has been created a deep moral relation between our two countries, resulting in the forgetting of bitter past events.

2. *The existence of the Eastern spirit.* Although from a geographical point of view Greece is located in the West, from a cultural viewpoint it could be considered an Eastern country, with sympathetic, kind, family-oriented, hospitable, warm, and patriotic people. These qualities of the Eastern identity, which particularly characterizes the Greeks among Western nations, has helped the two civilizations come closer to each other, erasing unpleasant memories of the past.

3. *A pleasant acquaintance from a bitter encounter.* Wars inflict suffering generally on all sides involved, and sometimes the disasters caused will hardly be forgotten in the course of time. But occasionally wars may also lead to positive results and bring cultural and scientific developments, prosperity, and progress. The Persian-Greek Wars were of this character and led to a great cultural and philosophical revolution that extended all over Europe. The wars led the two nations to become familiar with and to influence each other, expanding their cultural horizons. These exchanges had such a profound influence that the two nations put aside their past hostilities. And today, 2,500 years later, we have gathered here willing to extend even further the good relations already existing between the two countries. I learned that nearly two months ago, there was published a book, entitled *Cultural Responses to the Persian Wars: Antiquity to the Third Millennium* (Oxford and New York, 2007), containing 16 articles about the wars' cultural effects on ancient Greece.

4. *The great culture of the Iranians.* Another factor that made bitter war memories fade was the great culture of the Persians, which deeply influenced even some Greek military commanders. The remarkable Persian characteristics were often praised and adopted by the Greeks. Montesquieu (the famous French sociologist) says that Persian culture was so attractive that Alexander, once he had entered Persia, abandoned his prejudices about it and even adopted Persian customs and traditions. The influences were so deep that not only have the two countries' writers and historians compiled books on this subject, but great European writers and historians have also written books dedicated to the issue and have often devoted some chapters of their other works to this topic.

5. *The fleetingness of the wars.* Another element which should not be neglected is the fleetingness of the wars. In the twenty-five centuries of their cultural and scientific relationships, only four wars have occurred between Iran and Greece, all of them in the remote past — which naturally could not leave everlasting impressions on their mutual relations.

Ladies and gentlemen, who have graciously listened to this overview of the relations between the two ancient civilizations of Iran and Greece, let me avail myself of this opportunity to express my thanks once again to all of you for your kind attendance and to wish you all every happiness and success.

SEYED MOHAMMAD REZA DARBANDI
General Director of Cultural Offices of I.R.I. in Europe and Americas, Tehrān

Closing addresses

As the First International Conference on 'Ancient Greece and Ancient Iran: Cross-Cultural Encounters' is coming to a close, I should like to thank in particular Dr. Antigoni Zournatzi of the National Hellenic Research Foundation and Mr. Mohammad Reza Darbandi, Cultural Counselor of Iran in Athens for their tireless efforts in organizing this meeting. Without the persistence and wonderful sense of organization that you two manifested this gathering would not have taken place.

This has been the very first scientific conference on the subject of ancient Iranian-Greek cultural relations jointly organized by Greeks and Iranians. We are at the beginning of a long path of scientific exchange. Joint exploration will hopefully enable us eventually to overcome the cultural prejudices that have traditionally dominated Greek and Iranian approaches to important shared moments in our two countries' historical and cultural heritage. Dr. Taha Hashemi, Deputy President of the ICHHTO, kindly informed me this afternoon of the outcome of his discussions with the Director of the National Hellenic Research Foundation, Professor Dimitrios Kyriakidis. I was happy to learn —and am happier to announce— that our two Organizations have decided to join forces in pursuing the goals of the present conference by creating a joint committee, with branches in both countries, in order to promote joint and multipartite research projects. This initiative aims to enable researchers in both countries —as well as any other students and scholars in the field— to undertake serious research, broadening our understanding of ancient Iranian and Greek cultural relations.

Over the course of the past three days we have heard several very stimulating lectures. The Iranian archaeologists in particular demonstrated a lively interest in identifying and discussing traces of Hellenic cultural influence on the material culture of Iran. I personally hope that our next gathering will encompass archaeological materials and cultural interactions across the wider spectrum of peoples and territories that formed a part of our common, ancient Iranian and Greek historical horizon.

Dr. MASSOUD AZARNOUSH
Iranian Center for Archaeological Research, ICHHTO, Tehrān

Ladies and Gentlemen,

As the present occasion draws to a close, I can but echo many of the sentiments already expressed by Dr. Azarnush. As he has aptly noted, this is the first conference on the subject of ancient Iranian-Greek relations to have been organized by representatives of the two countries in question. More than this, it is worth stressing that this event is intended to provide a foundation for future collaborative endeavors between Iran and Greece, both in terms of joint research projects and in terms of additional meetings of the stimulating kind we have just enjoyed.

Needless to say, a conference of this quality never simply occurs 'by itself'. It is only appropriate to mention, therefore, that we are greatly indebted to Dr. Antigoni Zournatzi of the National Hellenic Research Foundation and to Mr. Mohammad Reza Darbandi, the Cultural Counselor of the Embassy of Iran, for all that they have done to make this memorable event possible.

Quite apart from the intrinsic value of the presentations made by the array of notable scholars who took part in this international occasion, it has been a matter for great gratification to observe Iranian and Greek scholars each working to document the remarkably wide range of cultural interactions that may be said to characterize the nature of Iranian-Greek relations through an interval of multiple centuries. Last but not least, I would very much like to commend you —members of the audience— for your close engagement in the proceedings of the past few days. This helped in no small way to define the present conference as a singularly rewarding event that will long continue to be recalled with particular regard.

Professor DAVID STRONACH
Department of Near Eastern Studies, University of California, Berkeley

Dear Friends,

Our first conference on the encounters between the ancient Greek and Iranian cultures is now over. I would like to thank all the contributors, the lecturers as well as the chairs of the various sessions, for their valuable participation. Special thanks are due to Mr. Mohammad Reza Darbandi and to Dr. Antigoni Zournatzi for all their efforts towards the realization of this meeting.

This conference offered an opportunity for a fruitful international exchange on issues of historical importance to both of our countries. I am confident that it has also offered an opportunity for friendships to develop and plans for future common projects to be discussed. I would very much like to see you all traveling in the near future to Iran in order to attend a second meeting on the relations between ancient Greece and ancient Iran.

As Director of the National Hellenic Research Foundation, I would be most happy to sign an agreement for future collaboration between the Iranian and Greek centers that participated in this meeting. I look forward to the further strengthening of the academic effort which was inaugurated over the past few days as well as to the further opening up of our Greek-Iranian dialogue to the international community of scholars studying the encounters between our two cultures. The remarkable success of this conference offers ample encouragement to urge our politicians to institute more bilateral scientific agreements between our two nations. We have to start thinking in terms of creating a common research center for Greek-Iranian history —a center which could be even established immediately, initially as a 'virtual network'— with branches in the two countries.

With these thoughts, I wish you all a good trip to Delphi, a pleasant stay in Greece, and a most successful continuation of your researches.

Professor DIMITRIOS A. KYRIAKIDIS
President of the National Hellenic Research Foundation, Athens

Introduction

WHEN A PERSOPHILE MODERN GREEK and a modern Iranian philhellene set out two and a half years ago to organize in Athens an international meeting on the peaceful relations between ancient Greece and ancient Iran, our intention was not to deny before the eyes of the international community hundreds of years of Greek-Persian antagonism and encounters on the battlefield. The military genius and extraordinary feats of conquest of Cyrus the Great and Alexander the Great will always claim a prominent place in the annals of our respective local traditions and of world history. Such far-flung conquests, however, by both peoples also set the stage for broader patterns of cultural phenomena that greatly impacted the ancient world. Successive Persian and Greek rule over vast stretches of territory from the Indus to the eastern Mediterranean was instrumental in shaping an international environment in which people, commodities, technological innovations, as well as intellectual, political, and artistic ideas could circulate across the ancient world unhindered by ethnocultural and territorial barriers. This brought about cross-fertilization between the Greek and Iranian civilizations, between East and West.

Eminent researchers outside Greece and Iran have long devoted their studies to the details of these encounters attested in the literary record and in the constantly growing volume of archaeological documentation (both monumental and minute) brought forth by ongoing excavations. These new tendencies in historical and archaeological research have yet to find an adequate representation in the Greek and Iranian scholarly communities. Modern attempts to defend connections with a glorious past may well have played a role in shaping a long-standing Greek reluctance to devote more systematic attention to our ancestors' important and varied contacts with the outside world, as Professor Vassos Karageorghis has pointed out. The enthusiasm, however, with which leading scholars and institutions of research in our two countries and elsewhere have embraced the idea of an international forum on ancient Iranian-Greek cultural encounters bodes well for the future. And we are most proud and honored to have been joined in this peaceful, scientific initiative by an eminent array of scholars from Greece, Iran, Cyprus, Germany, Russia, France, the United Kingdom, and the United States, scholars who have been studying the interactions between the Iranian and Greek worlds. It is hoped that this conference will open a path to a lasting collaboration in the study of our common cultural heritage, bringing in more fruitful exchanges with the wider circle of the international scholarly community.

In the realization of this academic project, we are most happy to acknowledge moral and practical encouragement and support from many sides. In the spirit of UNESCO's world-wide dedication to the promotion of cross-cultural dialogue and understanding, the Hellenic National Commission for UNESCO placed the conference under its patronage. It has joined eagerly with the other major contributors to the effort, namely, the National

Hellenic Research Foundation and the Iranian Cultural Center in Athens, with the active participation of the Iranian Cultural Heritage, Handicrafts and Tourism Organization.

Generous contributions by the Alexander S. Onassis Public Benefit Foundation, the Hellenic Ministry of Culture, the Navarino Resorts, the Hellenic Parliament, the Archaeological Society at Athens, the Academy of Athens, and the Hellenic Ministry of Tourism – Greek National Tourism Organisation have enabled us to offer hospitality to our guests and have alleviated financial concerns connected with the prompt publication of the Proceedings.

For their warm welcome of and receptions organized for our guests during the conference, we are most grateful to the Byzantine and Christian Museum, the Islamic Collection of the Benaki Museum, and the European Cultural Centre of Delphi. The Hellenic Ministry of Culture kindly arranged visits of the conference participants to the National Archaeological Museum of Athens, the Athenian Acropolis and the archaeological site and Museum of Delphi, led by Ms. Andriani Bakandritsou and Mr. Soterios Raptopoulos.

To Ms. Aikaterini Michaelidou we owe the conception of the conference's logo, and to Ms. Angeliki Vossou the creation of the conference's website. We also wish to thank Ms. Elpis Kalofolia of the Benaki Museum; Ms. Gianna Athanasopoulou, Ms. Elena Grammatikopoulou, and Ms. Vassiliki Psilakakou of the National Hellenic Research Foundation; Mr. Rashid Mousavi, Mr. Mohammad Ajaz, and Mr. Amir Izadi of the Iranian Cultural Center in Athens; and Ms. Fenia Rougouni of the Hellenic National Commission for UNESCO. All generously gave us the benefit of their experience in practical and logistical matters related to the organization of the conference.

The present volume contains twenty-three papers (one in summary form) of the twenty-five papers presented at the National Hellenic Research Foundation in November 2006. In addition to these, we have accepted for inclusion in these proceedings a contribution by Dr. Athanasios Sideris, who was unable to attend the Meeting.

In its present and final form, this volume has benefited from the advice of Dr. Makis Aperghis, Dr. David Jordan, Professor Alexandros Kessissoglou, and Professor James D. Muhly on general editorial matters. Professors Hamid Algar, Martin Schwartz, and Muhammad Siddiq of the Department of Near Eastern Studies of the University of California at Berkeley and Dr. Massoud Azarnoush of the ICHHTO kindly agreed to come to our aid, Professor Schwartz and Dr. Azarnoush advising on the transliteration of Iranian terms and Professors Algar and Siddiq on the transliteration of Arabic terms.

Valuable assistance in editing the language of the texts has been provided by Ms. Helle Jacobsen, who also has translated two of the texts from Modern Greek, and Dr. Alexandra O'Brien. Mr. Kyriakos Grigoropoulos of the University of Athens has very helpfully assisted in checking references. Ms. Anna Katsoulaki was responsible for the artwork and cover design and Ms. Nelly Ioannou and Mr. Aristeides Liakopoulos for the editing of the illustrations and the layout of the volume. To all three of them as well as to Mr. Michalis Angelopoulos of 'Graphic Arts Metropolis S.A.' we are indebted not least for their efficient and amicable collaboration.

In preparing the publication, we were guided by a commitment to pre-

serve the contributors' various perspectives and points of emphasis. Editorial interventions have been mainly confined to formal and stylistic matters, as authors' preferences allowed. The transliteration of ancient Greek names is admittedly inconsistent (using 'c' in 'Acropolis' but 'k' in 'Alkibiades', for instance). In the case of toponyms, preference has been given to the spellings of Talbert, R. J. A. (ed.), *Barrington Atlas of the Greek and Roman World* (Princeton and Oxford, 2000) for ancient place names — and to those of Bartholomew, J. G. (ed.), *The Times Atlas of the World. Mid-Century Edition* (London, 1955-9) for modern ones.

As the proceedings of the First International Conference on 'Ancient Greece and Ancient Iran: Cross-Cultural Encounters' are about to go to press, the Greek-Iranian initiative which materializes in this volume is acquiring additional momentum with a formal agreement for scientific collaboration between the National Hellenic Research Foundation, the Hellenic Center for Marine Research, and the Iranian Cultural Heritage, Handicrafts, and Tourism Organization signed in Athens on 27 May 2008.

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Abbreviations

In addition to abbreviations listed in *American Journal of Archaeology* 111 (2007): 14-35, the following abbreviations are used:

AAH	Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae
AchHist II	Sancisi-Weerdenburg, H. and Kuhrt, A. (eds.) 1987. *The Greek Sources. Proceedings of the Groningen 1984 Achaemenid History Workshop.* Achaemenid History II. Leiden
AchHist III	Kuhrt, A. and Sancisi-Weerdenburg, H. (eds.) 1988. *Method and Theory. Proceedings of the London 1985 Achaemenid History Workshop.* Achaemenid History III. Leiden
AchHist IV	Sancisi-Weerdenburg, H. and Kuhrt, A. (eds.) 1990. *Centre and Periphery. Proceedings of the Groningen 1986 Achaemenid History Workshop.* Achaemenid History IV. Leiden
AchHist V	Sancisi-Weerdenburg, H. and Drijvers, J. W. (eds.) 1990. *The Roots of the European Tradition. Proceedings of the 1987 Groningen Achaemenid History Workshop.* Achaemenid History V. Leiden
AchHist VI	Sancisi-Weerdenburg, H. and Kuhrt, A. (eds.) 1991. *Asia Minor and Egypt: Old Cultures in a New Empire. Proceedings of the Groningen 1988 Achaemenid History Workshop.* Achaemenid History VI. Leiden
AchHist VIII	Sancisi-Weerdenburg, H., Kuhrt, A. and Root, M. C. (eds.) 1994. *Continuity and Change. Proceedings of the Last Achaemenid History Workshop,* April 6-8 1990, Ann Arbor. Achaemenid History VIII. Leiden
AchHist XI	Brosius, M. and Kuhrt, A. (eds.) 1998. *Studies in Persian History. Essays in Memory of David M. Lewis.* Achaemenid History XI. Leiden
AchHist XII	Kaptan, D. 2002. *The Daskyleion Bullae. Seal Images from the Western Achaemenid Empire.* 2 vols. Achaemenid History XII. Leiden
AchHist XIII	Henkelman, W. and Kuhrt, A. (eds.) 2003. *A Persian Perspective: Essays in Memory of Heleen Sancisi-Weerdenburg.* Achaemenid History XIII. Leiden
ACSS	Ancient Civilizations from Scythia to Siberia
AEMTh	Το Αρχαιολογικό Έργο στη Μακεδονία και Θράκη

AJNES	Armenian Journal of Near Eastern Studies
Akroterion	Akroterion. Journal for the Classics in South Africa
AnadoluMM	Anadolu Medeniyetleri Müzesi
AncSoc	Ancient Society
AnnAIHV	Annales du Congrès de l'Association Internationale pour l'Histoire du Verre
Annales HSS	Annales. Histoire, sciences sociales
AP	Arheoloski Pregled
ArsOr	Ars Orientalis
ASMOSIA	Association for the Study of Marble and Other Stones in Antiquity
ASP	Arabic Sciences and Philosophy
AWE	Ancient West and East
BAI	Bulletin of the Asia Institute
BCHP	Finkel, I. and van der Spek, R. J. *Babylonian Chronicles of the Hellenistic Period.* In http://www.livius.org/cg-cm/chronicles/chron00.html
BiOr	Bibliotheca Orientalis
BMGS	Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies
BullÉpigr	Bulletin épigraphique of the *Revue des études grecques*
Cahiers DAFI	Cahiers de la Délégation archéologique française en Iran
CFHB	Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae
CHI 2	Gershevitch, I. (ed.) 1985. *The Cambridge History of Iran.* Vol. 2. *The Median and Achaemenian Periods.* Cambridge
CHI 3	Yarshater, E. (ed.) 1983. *The Cambridge History of Iran.* Vols. 3.1 and 3.2. *The Seleucid, Parthian and Sasanian Periods.* Cambridge.
CIRB	Struve, V. V. (ed.) 1965. *Corpus Inscriptionum Regni Bosporani.* Moscow and Leningrad
DHA	Dialogues d'histoire ancienne
D.-K.	Diels, H. and Kranz, W. 1952. *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker.* 6th ed. Berlin
DPA	*Dictionnaire des philosophes antiques.* 1989-. Publié sous la direction de R. Goulet. Paris
DS	Daskyleion seal impression
EncIr	Yarshater, E. (ed.) 1985-. *Encyclopaedia Iranica.* New York. Initially London and Costa Mesa
EncIs	Gibb, H. A. R., Kramers, J. H., Lévi-Provençal, E. and Schacht, J. (eds.) 1960-. *Encyclopaedia of Islam.* 2nd ed. Leiden
Eulimene	Ευλιμένη. Μελέτες στην Κλασική Αρχαιολογία, την Επιγραφική, τη Νομισματική και την Παπυρολογία

Hesperìa	Hesperìa. Studi sulla grecità di Occidente
ICallatis	Avram, A. 1999. *Inscriptions grecques et latines de Scythie Mineure* III. *Callatis et son territoire*. Paris and Bucarest
IDidyma	Rehm, A. and Harder, R. 1958. *Didyma* II. *Die Inschriften*. Berlin
IGBulg	Mihailov, G. 1958-97. *Inscriptiones Graecae in Bulgaria Repertae*. Vols. I²-V. Sofia
IIlion	Frisch, P. 1975. *Die Inschriften von Ilion*. IK 3. Bonn
IK	Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien
IMylasa	Blümel, W. 1987-8. *Die Inschriften von Mylasa* I-II. IK 34 and 35. Bonn
IOlb	Knipovich, T. N. and Levi, E. I. 1968. *Inscriptiones Olbiae (1917-1965)*. Leningrad
IOSPE I²	Latyschev, B. 1916. *Inscriptiones Antiquae Orae Septentrionalis Ponti Euxini Graecae et Latinae*. Vol. I. 2nd ed. St. Petersburg
IPergamon	Fränkel, M. 1890. *Die Inschriften von Pergamon* I. Berlin
IPriene	Hiller von Gaertringen, F. 1906. *Inschriften von Priene*. Berlin
ISardis	Buckler, W. H. and Robinson, D. M. 1932. *Greek and Latin Inscriptions*. Sardis VII, 1. Leiden
JA	Journal asiatique
JSAI	Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam
KSIA	Kratkie soobshcheniya Instituta arkheologii AN SSSR
Le muséon	Le muséon. Revue d'études orientales
LF	Listy Filologické
LGPN II	Osborne, M. J. and Byrne, S. G. (eds.) 1994. *A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names* II. *Attica*. Oxford
LGPN IV	Fraser, P. M. and Matthews, E. (eds.) 2005. *A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names* IV. *Macedonia, Thrace, Northern Regions of the Black Sea*. Oxford
LICS	Leeds International Classical Studies
MedAnt	Mediterraneo antico. Economie, società, culture
M.-L.	Meiggs, R. and Lewis, D. 1969. *A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions to the End of the Fifth Century B.C.* Oxford
NABU	Notices assyriologiques brèves et utilitaires
OMS	Robert, L. 1969-90. *Opera Minora Selecta* I-VII. Amsterdam
PColZen	Westermann, W. L. (ed.) 1934-40. *Zenon Papyri. Business Papers of the Third Century B.C. Dealing with Palestine and Egypt*. 2 vols. Columbia Papyri, Greek Series, I-II. New York

PF, PFa	Persepolis Fortification tablet(s)
PFS	Seal attested by impression(s) on Persepolis Fortification tablet(s)
PG	Patrologiae Cursus Completus. Series Graeca. 1987-
PIHANS	Publications de l'Institut Historique et Archéologique Néerlandais à Stamboul
PKöln	*Kölner Papyri.* 1976-. Opladen
POxy	*The Oxyrhynchus Papyri.* 1898- . London
PT	Persepolis Treasury tablet(s)
PTS	Seal attested by impression on Persepolis Treasury tablet(s)
RLAC	Klauser, T. et al. (eds.) 1950-. *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum.* Stuttgart
SCE	The Swedish Cyprus Expedition
SCO	Studi classici e orientali
Simblos	Simblos. Scritti di storia antica
StTroica	Studia Troica
TAM V	Herrmann, P. (ed.) 1981 and 1989. *Tituli Asiae Minoris* V, 1-2. *Tituli Lydiae.* Vienna
ThesCRA	*Thesaurus Cultus et Rituum Antiquorum.* 2004-6. Los Angeles
Tod	Tod, M. N. 1933-48. *A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions from the Sixth Century B.C. to the Death of Alexander the Great.* Oxford
Topoi	ΤΟΠΟΙ. Orient—Occident
Transeuphratène	Transeuphratène. Pluridisciplinary Studies on a Province of the Persian Empire

Abbreviations of the names and works of classical authors follow the conventions in the *OCD*³ or LSJ or are otherwise self-evident. Translations of Greek and Latin works may be conveniently consulted in the Loeb editions unless otherwise indicated.

Sigla for Achaemenid royal inscriptions (e.g., DB, DNa, DSf, XPa) follow the convention used in: Kent, R. G. 1953. *Old Persian. Grammar, Texts, Lexicon.* 2nd ed. American Oriental Series 33. New Haven.

Stephen Tracy

Europe and Asia:
Aeschylus' Persians *and Homer's* Iliad[1]

I T IS NATURAL, even inevitable, that people from different places mis-
understand and distrust one another. The annals of ancient history and of
modern times are replete with examples that cannot be denied or glossed
over. Thoughtful persons, however, recognize that such automatic mistrust
of others is at root not justified. The great divide in the ancient Greek
world, as in the modern, was between Europe and Asia. Differences in lan-
guage, religion, and culture deepened that rift.

Herodotus' great history of the Persian Wars presents in epic scope (and,
of course, from a Greek point of view) the wars between the Greeks and the
Persians. The Persian potentate who did not understand the Greeks and did
not respect their gods is well depicted. King Darius at book five (105.1) asks
who the Athenians are and vows revenge for the burning of Sardis; Xerxes
lashes the Hellespont, chains it, and blasphemes it (7.34-5); at book seven
(105) he dismisses with a laugh Demaratos' description of Spartan valor and
discipline; and finally at book eight (53.2) his troops take the Acropolis,
slaughter suppliants, loot the sanctuary, and burn it completely.

The sculptures of the Parthenon, particularly the metopes, show how
this theme came to be expanded in the second half of the fifth century to a
generalized one of cultural and religious differences.[2] The metopes present a
series of variations on the theme of the representatives of order, moderation,
and humane civilization conquering the forces that threaten them. They
depict on the east end of the temple the Olympian gods defeating the gi-
ants, on the south side the human Lapiths over the half-man, half-beast
centaurs, on the north the Greeks fighting the Trojans and, on the west, the
Athenians repelling the invading Amazons. These last two are specifically
eastern enemies.

The Parthenon sculptures grew of course directly out of the experience
that the Greeks had of the Persian attempts to make Greece part of the
Persian empire in the years 490 and 480/79. The Athenians in response helped
create the Delian League in order to safeguard the Greeks against anoth-
er such invasion. They had started the first Parthenon as a thank offering
after their victory at Marathon in the year 490 BC; it was only partially con-
structed when the Persians returned in 480 and destroyed it. The Athenians
finally finished the building in a new form during the years 447 to 438, after
they had transferred the League treasury to Athens.[3] The Persians, then,
were not only foreigners and non-Greek speakers, they were enemies of
longstanding; the Greeks perceived that enmity as going all the way back
to the Trojan War and beyond.

Herodotus exploits this idea to good effect in his proem (1.1-5), where
he reports that 'Persian chroniclers' traced the origins of the conflict be-
tween the Greeks and the Asiatics back to mythical abductions of women,
initially by Phoenicians and Cretans. He adds that the Asiatics censured
the Greeks for overreacting to the theft of Helen by destroying Troy, the
act that became the primary cause of their enmity. (These rather humorous

mythical stories of abduction attributed to anonymous Persian chroniclers provide the historian with the perfect introduction to his grand presentation of the real reasons for the great conflict between Europe and Asia.) The Asiatics are the aggressors, whether it is the Trojan Prince Paris stealing away Helen or King Darius attempting to take Athens with his army at Marathon.

In view of these deep-seated traditions, on the one hand, of the Greek belief in their own cultural superiority and, on the other, of the enmity between Europe and Asia, particularly between Greeks and Persians, it is instructive to consider how two of the greatest poets that Greece produced represent the eastern enemy, namely the Persians as depicted in Aeschylus' *Persians* and the Trojans in Homer's *Iliad*.[4]

The *Persians* of Aeschylus is on many grounds a remarkable play. Produced in the year 472 BC, just seven years after the Persian defeat at Plataea, it is the earliest extant Greek tragedy and the only one to survive that overtly takes a historical event for its subject. Aeschylus depicts very daringly, it seems to me, the Greek victory from a Persian point of view. One can imagine that many in that first Athenian audience may not have been initially pleased at a play that depicted on their stage and at their holy festival that barbarous lot! The evidence of Persian depredation of the city and its sanctuaries was still very visible on that day when the play was first performed in late March of the year 472. Indeed, the ruined temples provided Aeschylus with the ideal backdrop for his play and for what he wanted to say.[5]

He has set the scene at the royal palace in Susa. In the foreground is the tomb of King Darius, the father of King Xerxes. A chorus of Persian elders enters; their first line, τάδε μὲν Περσῶν τῶν οἰχομένων ('Of the departed Persians these ...') perhaps caused a frisson of excitement, for the verb they use for depart or go, οἴχομαι, often means 'dead and gone'.[6] They may well then say here more than they can in fact know and so heighten the audience's expectations of what is to come.[7]

In any case, the poet uses the opening words of the chorus to set a foreign tone, to characterize these people as un-Greek. They live in the lap of oriental luxury. Their wealth and gold are stressed; indeed, the compound adjective πολύχρυσος ('rich in gold') recurs four times in these lines (3, 9, 45, 53). In line 5, to introduce Xerxes, the poet employs a grandiose epithet, 'Dariusborn' (Δαρειογενής); this is, of course, appropriate to the elevated language of tragedy as well as suitable for the King. But it also avoids the use of the normal Greek patronymic, that is, the genitive case of the father's name, and seems to contribute to the sense of 'otherness' that Aeschylus is creating in these lines. The place names, Susa (16), Ecbatana (16), and Kissia (17) are real as well as, we may suppose, somewhat exotic to Athenian ears. Beginning in line 21 comes a series of Persian names, some clearly real and some made up, Amistres (21), Artaphrenes (21), Megabates (22), Astaspes (22), Artembares (29), Masistes (30), Imaios (31), Pharandakes (31), and Sosthanes (32) – all reinforcing the foreign tone.[8]

The staging of the drama we can not know much about; but, if we can judge from the appearance of the ghost of Darius, it was probably carefully designed to present the Persians in visual terms as different, as the 'Other' in today's parlance. In any case, we know that Darius comes forth dressed in the full regalia of the King of Kings from his great tiara to his yellow slippers. The chorus' words at lines 660 to 662:

> Lift your saffron dyed sandal,
> display the crest of your royal tiara

specify this costume. Surely both the notion of supreme kingship and the costume were alien to Greek sensibilities. In sum, the playwright appears to have sought for verbal and visual effects to emphasize the strangeness, the foreignness of the Persians. This initially appealed, I suppose, to his audience's natural antipathy towards their hated foes. Almost everyone in that first audience had suffered severe property losses; and many, including the playwright, mourned for family members killed in the fighting.

Most importantly, the Persian setting created a distance, which allowed Aeschylus to turn the historical events described in the play into a paradigm of human behavior. In the *Persians* the poet depicts the Greek victory as a punishment meted out by the gods on the Persians and their king for their hybristic behavior. Appropriately, the ghost of Darius, an otherworldly figure who cares for his people, explicitly interprets the events in this way (790-838). In lines 818 to 822, Darius sums up his prediction of the bloody defeat of the Persians at Plataea in these words:

> Piles of dead bodies for generations to come
> will silently signal to the eyes of men
> that a mortal man ought not to think o'erweening thoughts.
> For hybris bursting forth in flower produced a crop
> of ruin, from whence it reaps to the full a harvest of tears.[9]

King Xerxes, then, as portrayed in the drama, exemplifies the Greek adage that any man who forgets his place and from pride oversteps the limits commits *hybris* and inevitably sows the seeds of *atē*, his own and his family's destruction.[10] Xerxes' appearance at the end of the play (908-1076) in rags and in mourning for his lost army is stark. This final scene forms the maximum contrast to the regal appearance of Darius in the immediately preceding scene. Xerxes at the close of the tragedy serves as a visual incarnation of the present fortunes of the Persian empire; Darius is a ghost of its past grandeur. How far they have fallen!

The gods smite the Persians. The Greeks at Salamis and Plataea are the means, the instrument of the gods. Thus, no Greek is mentioned by name in the drama; it is a victory of the Greek people, primarily the Athenians, and their gods. The great description of the battle of Salamis (353-428) and the prediction of the victory at Plataea (796-815) certainly called forth enormous pride from the audience. As they enjoyed the stirring account of the naval battle, they had before them on the stage an object lesson of what could happen to them if they succumbed to excessive pride and ambition. The drama, in short, lays out a verity of human existence that applies to all men, Persians and Greeks alike. The distance between them disappears in the larger paradigm.

From the opening lines of the play, even as he emphasizes their foreignness, Aeschylus endows the Persians with certain universal human traits. One sees, for example, immediately in the entrance song of the chorus of Persian elders their deep concern as they await news of the absent army, a concern that afflicts everyone the world over who has sent men off to war.[11] Moreover, Atossa, the queen, though regal and proper, is fundamentally a mother; she can not help asking as soon as she decently can for news of her son Xerxes. At line 296 she asks, 'Who has not died?' The mes-

senger understands what she desires to know and immediately responds at line 298, 'Xerxes himself lives'. She is understandably relieved that he has survived the slaughter. While the play surely appealed to the pride of the Athenians, it reminds them that they and their foes live in a common universe, that on some basic level they may not be so different. This is a remarkably enlightened presentation of their hated foe, especially when the wounds were so fresh, but not half as remarkable as Homer's depiction of the eastern enemy, the Trojans, in the *Iliad*.

The *Iliad* is a startling masterpiece for many reasons. It is in the first place a master storyteller's *tour de force* to introduce his main character, Achilles, in the first 430 lines of the initial book and then to remove him to his tent for the next 19 books. Nevertheless, though absent physically, the poet keeps our attention focused on him.[12] Homer also does something very unexpected with the story line. He recounts in vivid detail a quarrel between Agamemnon and Achilles, but does not directly narrate the fall of Troy, which is surely what the first hearers expected. Instead, he shows us what Hector means to his city, so that we understand that with his defeat and death Troy's fall is inevitable.

Moreover, Achilles and Agamamenon, the leading Greeks, are far from wholly admirable. The poem has scarcely begun when we hear Agamemnon speak very harshly to Chryses, the old Trojan priest, who has come to ransom his daughter (1.26-32). He threatens the old man with bodily harm, refuses categorically to return his daughter, and takes unseemly pleasure in describing the services she will render to him:

> Her I will not let go. Rather old age will come on her
> in my house, in Argos, far from her fatherland
> going up and down at my loom and servicing my bed.
> So go, do not anger me, so you may get home safer.

> τὴν δ' ἐγὼ οὐ λύσω· πρίν μιν καὶ γῆρας ἔπεισιν
> ἡμετέρῳ ἐνὶ οἴκῳ, ἐν Ἄργεϊ, τηλόθι πάτρης,
> ἱστὸν ἐποιχομένην καὶ ἐμὸν λέχος ἀντιόωσαν·
> ἀλλ' ἴθι, μή μ' ἐρέθιζε, σαώτερος ὥς κε νέηαι.
> (1.29-32)

The veiled threat in the last line makes him sound to my ears rather like a Mafia don in a B-grade Hollywood movie. How the ancient audience will have reacted exactly is hard to determine. What is clear is that Agamemnon, the commander-in-chief of the Greek army, is not put in a very good light in this encounter. He behaves badly; he mistreats and threatens an old priest.

Achilles, the hero of the piece, is, as a hero should be, larger than life. His birth from a goddess and a mortal guarantees his physical preeminence. When, for example, he contemplates at lines 190 to 191 of book one drawing his sword and killing Agamemnon, we have no doubt that he can do it. He is basically a great warrior who cares about his fellow soldiers; it was significantly he who summoned the assembly when he saw that the men were dying (1.54-6).[13] Moreover, he labors under the harsh fate of having chosen, by coming on the expedition, to die young but receive immortal fame. He is not, however, very likeable;[14] he is at points something of a mama's boy[15] and at others an awesome killing machine.[16]

By contrast the Trojan protagonists, Hector and Priam, are tragic human figures with whom we fully sympathize. They are the besieged and

doomed to lose. Hector in particular must face Achilles and yet knows, just as the audience does, that Achilles is invincible, that no one can stand up to him. Nevertheless, as the best fighter among the Trojans, he has no alternative but to meet him. Indeed, in response to his wife Andromache's pleas to stay on the battlement and not go out to face Achilles (6.406-39), he replies with sadness at lines 441 to 445:

> These things also trouble me, my wife, but terribly would I
> be ashamed before the Trojans and their long-robed ladies
> if I, like a coward, should skulk apart from the fighting.
> Nor does my spirit bid me, since I have learnt to be bold
> And always to fight in the front ranks of the Trojans.

Hector bears a terrible necessity. The Trojans are defending their families and their homes. And Homer shows us what is at stake by depicting their personal interactions. The meeting and parting of Hector and Andromache, for example, in *Iliad* book six is one of the greatest moments in western literature. The love they feel for each other and for their infant son, who we know will never grow to manhood, touches each reader/hearer.[17] The sense of longing and loss are overwhelming.

Indeed, these foreign enemies speak and behave just like Greeks. Only once in a while does the poet sound the note of their foreignness. At the opening of book three, for example, the moment has come for the great conflict to begin. Homer emphasizes it with an elaborate description of the opposing forces as they advance to battle. The Trojans come on with a noisy outcry (3.1-7) while the Achaeans advance in silence, 'breathing valor' (3.8). The contrast is stark and the reader has no doubt which force is superior. The cultural prejudice is unmistakable. This description of the Trojan host also no doubt suggested to Homer's audience the polyglot babble of assembled *barbaroi*.

Paris, the abductor of Helen, also makes his first appearance here at the opening of book three. Homer likens the dust raised by the advancing troops to a fog so thick on the mountains that one can see scarcely a stone's throw (3.10-14). Out of this opaque backdrop, as though a curtain has been pulled aside, Paris suddenly appears (3.16-20) wearing a leopard's skin and brandishing a bow to challenge the best of the Achaeans to single combat. No sooner, however, does he catch sight of Menelaus, Helen's former husband, advancing to accept his challenge than he withdraws into the host to escape death (3.30-6). His exotic dress and bow immediately suggest cultural differences.[18] The bow is the weapon *par excellence* for hunting. Real warriors in Homer fight at close quarters with spear and sword. Odysseus, for example, left his great bow at home in Ithaca when he went to Troy. Paris' dress and weaponry brand him as the archetypal Phrygian coward unable to stand up to a Greek warrior on the field of battle. He is also at times as the story unfolds the overly handsome oriental womanizer.[19] These are exceptions; for the most part, we forget that the Trojans are foreigners and empathize with their situation.

This sympathetic presentation of the Trojans prepares us for book twenty-four, when old King Priam goes to Achilles' camp to ransom Hector's body. Achilles' monumental rage at himself and at Hector for Patroclus' death continues even after he has killed Hector and abused his body. Although the funeral games for Patroclus in book twenty-three have begun his reintegration into human society, he remains basically, as book twenty-four opens, a towering

figure, death incarnate to the Trojans. Thus Homer portrays Priam's journey to Achilles' tent as a journey to the underworld. The old king has reached the tomb of Ilus and the river; night has come on (349-51). Hermes, who is here specifically described as having the staff 'with which he charms the eyes of the men he desires to charm or rouses again those sleeping' (343-4),[20] meets him and leads him across the river to Achilles' abode (352-467).[21]

In the magnificent ring composition that brings the poem to closure, here at the end, as at the opening in book one, the poet gives us an aged father who goes to the camp of his enemy to plead for the return of his child. No Agamemnon, Achilles relents but not without an internal struggle. True to himself, his motive is selfish. Priam appeals to him to think of his own father and reminds him of how much he, Priam, has endured even to the extreme of kissing the hands of the man who killed his sons (486-506). Achilles makes no answer but weeps; the two of them grieve, the one for his son, the other for his father, Peleus, and for Patroclus (508-12):

> Grasping the old man by the hand, Achilles pushed him gently back and the two of them remembered. Priam wept strongly for manslaughtering Hector as he crouched at the feet of Achilles, while Achilles was weeping, now for his father, now again for Patroclus. Their keening resounded throughout the house.

Here, finally, Achilles' anger is spent and he re-enters the human sphere. In a sublime gesture, when Hector's body has been readied, he himself lifts it onto Priam's cart (589). The two of them then sup together, and Achilles proposes a truce so that Hector may receive proper funeral rites. We know that the truce is temporary, that the fighting will resume on the twelfth day (667); but Homer ends his great epic with the shared grief and the funeral so nobly granted by Achilles to his hated foe.

Extraordinarily, the national poem of the Hellenes, these people whose creed from time immemorial was 'harm your enemies and help your friends',[22] affirms the common humanity of friend and foe. The eastern enemy, Homer makes his audience perceive as he ends his great epic, is also a human being who suffers.

Great artists, many of them, have the unusual ability to see more deeply into the human condition than most of us. Even so, given that both the epic singer and the tragedian needed to please their audiences, the power of what they have given their respective hearers is surprising. They directly challenged what must have constituted some of the most basic prejudices of their audiences. Moreover, Aeschylus himself had fought at Marathon and lost his brother Cynegirus there;[23] Homer too, as his sometimes gory descriptions of death in battle suggest,[24] knew well the horror of hand-to-hand combat. Both men no doubt also experienced the demonizing of and hate mongering towards the enemy in war time that demeans and dehumanizes so that the worst crimes perpetrated against them are somehow tolerable. Notwithstanding, they found it in themselves to remind their audiences that we all share a common humanity and are subject to the same laws of nature. We all love our families, suffer from various ills, have our hopes and our dreams (frequently vain ones at that), and eventually pass away. Clearly, ordinary Greeks/Athenians did not often rise to this vision. They tended rather to see the enemy as someone only to hurt or worse. Alas, not much in this world seems to change. Such behavior is drearily, not to say frighteningly, familiar to us in the present day.

¹ Earlier versions of this paper were presented on 5 July 2005 in Sydney, Australia, at the 20th International Congress of Historical Sciences and on 20 October 2006 as the first annual Eugene Schuyler lecture of the American Research Center in Sofia, Bulgaria.

² On the metopes and the sculptural program of the Parthenon, see Hurwit 1999: 169-88, 235 and Schneider and Höcker 2001: 142-52.

³ On the financing of the construction, Kallet-Marx 1989: 252-66 and Giovannini 1990: 129-48. Both conclude that the tribute from the allies was not the primary source of the funding.

⁴ The epic tradition as reflected in the *Iliad* does not mention the Persians or include any toponyms situated within the borders of modern Iran. In the catalog of the Trojans at the close of book two, the Paphlagonians (851-5) on the southern coast of the Black Sea near Sinope and the Halizones (856-7), who are probably to be located to the south of the Paphlagonians along the Halys River in central Anatolia, are the most remote allies to the east; to the south, the farthest away are the Carians (867-70) and Lycians (876-7).

⁵ At lines 807-15 Darius describes the destruction of Greek holy places by the army and blames the defeat on their *hybris* and godless intentions.

⁶ LSJ s.v.

⁷ Broadhead (1960: 38) comments that the word here is factual, meaning no more than generic 'go' (βαίνω). I do not think we can know for certain what the connotations of the word might have been for the ancient audience.

⁸ On these names, Broadhead 1960: 318-21. On the Greek of these Persians, see Kranz 1933: 71-112, 292 and Bacon 1961: 15-24.

⁹ Note the emphatic use of ὕβρις and ἄτη, the one at the beginning of line 821, the other the first word of line 822.

¹⁰ Herodotus (8.109.3) has Themistocles make the same point, 'We have not accomplished these things, but the gods and our ancestral heroes who begrudged it to one man, since he is godless and reckless, to be king of both Asia and Europe.' Surely he was aware of Aeschylus' depiction of the events in the *Persians*.

¹¹ The chorus moves from simple lack of news (14-15) to images of the groaning of the land and the foreboding of parents for their absent sons (61-4) to outright fear that Susa will be bereft of men and that they will hear the dirge of the women for the dead (115-25).

¹² Achilles withdraws with Patroclus and his companions to his encampment and ships at lines 306-7 of book one; he actually re-enters the fighting at the opening of book twenty, line 40 f., Patroclus' death is announced to him at the opening of book eighteen. In book nine, lines 182-655, we see him interact with the embassy that comes to entreat with him to return to battle.

¹³ Though withdrawn from the fighting himself, he observes what is happening on the field and, first, sends Patroclus to Nestor for news of the wounded (11.597-617), then, against his better judgement, agrees to Patroclus' plea to arm him and send him and the Myrmidons into battle to save his fellow soldiers (16.1-100).

¹⁴ On the specially marked nature of his language, Martin 1989: esp. 164-205, 220-30.

¹⁵ The scene in book one, lines 348-428, where he calls on his mother in tears for help, surely conveys an aspect of this.

¹⁶ Books twenty and twenty-one in particular.

¹⁷ *Il.* 6.394-496; see especially Hector's vain prayer for his baby son (476-81).

¹⁸ Commentators on the *Iliad* generally note the incongruity of Paris' costume and weaponry here; see, for example, Kirk 1985: 267-8.

¹⁹ See book three, lines 39-66 where Hector accuses him of being a womanizer and no fighter.

²⁰ The staff contributes to the otherworldly aura of this passage. Note that at *Odyssey* 24.1-10, Hermes leads the souls to the underworld with this staff.

²¹ The crossing place of the river is only mentioned explicitly on Priam's return to Troy (692-3).

²² On this creed, see, for example, Ferguson 1958: ch. 4 and Blundell 1989: ch. 2.

²³ Herodotus (6.114) names him without mentioning Aeschylus.

²⁴ The death of Polydoros from a spear driven right through him from the back, spilling his guts into his hands (20.413-18), and the wounding and beheading of Deukalion (20.478-83) are good examples.

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Angeliki Petropoulou

The Death of Masistios and the Mourning for his Loss (Hdt. 9.20-25.1)

For Hunter R. Rawlings

Introduction

HAD MARDONIUS WON the battle at Plataea, Masistios, the comman-
der of the Persian cavalry, who had fallen in a preliminary battle while
defending himself, would have become a hero of the Greco-Persian Wars.
Subsequently, however, Mardonius and his forces were annihilated. Hurt
Persian pride was not restored, until a few years later, when Boges, the gov-
ernor of Eion in Thrace, preferred to burn himself alive than to surrender
the city fort to the Athenians (Hdt. 7.107). From then on, in Xerxes' eyes, it
was Boges alone, of all the Persians killed by the Greeks, who had proven
himself a man.

Yet the Masistios episode occupies five times as much space as that of
Boges in Herodotus' text. In fact, it is the only account we possess of the
fighting and mourning practices employed during the Greco-Persian Wars
for the death of a Persian commander. In this paper, I shall re-examine the
text in order to argue, among other points, that: 1) Masistios was a skilled
and brave cavalry commander, and 2) there is a Herodotean emphasis on
Masistios' heroic features, which becomes evident both in the way he end-
ed his life and in the manner in which his body was treated by the Greeks
on account of his physical stature and beauty. Great physical stature was a
heroic attribute since Homer. A glorious death (καλὸς θάνατος) allowed
the victim to retain his beauty or to appear beautiful. Moreover, beauty
and great stature, as I shall further argue, are the superlative properties of
the Persian king. Thus the men, to whom the king gave the command of his
contigents, were accordingly hierarchically taller or more handsome than
their subordinates. As for the mourning practices, which were in accord
with Masistios' great renown, profuse lamentation was usually required of
the subjects of kings on the occasion of royal deaths, while cutting off ones'
own hair and the mane of one's horse is a custom peculiar to archaic soci-
eties of mounted warriors.[1] Finally, I will argue that Masistios' gold-bridled
horse is probably an indication that he had been recognized and rewarded
in the past by the king for his bravery.

I. The fighting preceding the death of Masistios (Hdt. 9.20-22.1)

Masistios enters the stage, when the Persian cavalry force under his com-
mand (τῆς ἱππάρχεε) is sent by Mardonius against the Greeks posted on
the lower hills of Cithaeron.[2] Mardonius makes this move,[3] because the
Greeks are not descending into the plain of Erythrai.[4] Masistios is intro-
duced as a man of great repute among the Persians, who is riding a richly
caparisoned gold-bridled horse of Nisaean breed, and is called 'Makistios'
by the Greeks. Then begins the description of the action that culminates in

the fight around Masistios' body, which serves as a prelude to the battle at Plataea and the death of Mardonius.

The Persian tactics are summarily described in a complex sentence, of which the first half (9.20, lines 5-6) is usually understood to describe two distinct manoeuvres.[5] The whole of the cavalry first advanced together, ὡς προσήλασαν οἱ ἱππόται. Then, having come fairly close to the Greeks, they (halted and) began a series of attacks, προσέβαλλον. These were made κατὰ τέλεα, which is always translated as 'by squadrons': i.e. one squadron after another charged to within shooting-range, launched their missiles, and then wheeled about.[6]

In Powell's *Lexicon*, however, the plural τέλεα, means 'regiments',[7] namely it denotes larger divisions of the Persian cavalry. This meaning is, I think, confirmed by Herodotus' use of the phrase κατὰ τέλεα in connection with the divisions into which the Persian army was organized. Κατὰ τέλεα denotes the manner in which: 1) the horsemen of the Persians and Medes, including the Persian-speaking Sagartians, and of the horse-riding nations to the northeast of Persia in general[8] were disposed and that in which 2) the Persian infantry and cavalry[9] divisions were arranged, their disposition κατὰ τέλεα occasionaly being contrasted with dispositions arranged κατὰ ἔθνεα ('by nations') of their allies.[10] According to Herodotus (1.103.1) the division *kata telea* was an innovation made in Asia, by Cyaxares, the king of the Medes. Recent studies confirm that the Persian army was organized in regiments of 1,000, which were divided into as many as ten companies or squadrons of 100 men, a notably small number.[11]

At Hdt. 9.20, therefore, the Persian cavalry seems to have been attacking in regiments of 1,000 men, rather than by squadrons of 100, which would have been extremely ineffective, given the numbers of the enemy posted on the hills of Cithaeron.[12] As to Masistios, whose horse is said at 9.22.1 to have kept in front of the others, προσβαλλούσης τῆς ἵππου κατὰ τέλεα ὁ Μασιστίου προέχων τῶν ἄλλων ἵππος,[13] he had evidently chosen to lead every single regimental attack in person,[14] for this is apparently why there was no one to replace him as commander of the τάξεις after his death.[15]

How powerful the blow caused by the regiment attacks was is described in the latter half of the sentence in question (9.20, lines 7-8). The Persian horsemen were not only doing the Greeks great harm, but were also constantly reviling them as women, which was the greatest insult for a Persian.[16]

It follows from the description above that Masistios refrained from launching a mass attack, which might have had no immediate results, given that the Greeks were protected by the high ground. Instead, he applied the tactic of successive attacks on a large scale, of which the aim was to force the Greeks either to flee[17] or to come down to the plain to charge them. In the latter case, he presumably expected them either to break up, while not yet in good order, or to be hard pressed,[18] since the Persian cavalry was a missile-throwing unit and never closed with any heavy infantry that was in good order.[19] In pursuit of their aim, the horsemen were causing heavy casualties[20] and insulting the virility of the enemy by means of what seems to be a stereotypical insult current in archaic patriarchal societies.[21] It is obvious that Masistios was both an expert commander, who caused extensive damage to the Greeks,[22] and a brave man. He was risking his life, by leading in person every attacking regiment in his command and, in doing so, rode ahead of the others.

Yet the Greeks held out, not abandoning their posts on the heights (9.21). The Megarians, however, who were in the most exposed position, were indeed hard pressed, and sent a herald to Pausanias to ask for men to take their place in turn (διαδόχους τῆς τάξιος). Otherwise, they threatened to abandon their post (ἡμέας ἐκλείψοντας τὴν τάξιν). Pausanias sought volunteers, but only the Athenians offered themselves, because 'they alone had a proper force of archers'.[23]

Thus three hundred men chosen for their merit,[24] who formed a *lochos* under the command of (τῶν ἐλοχήγεε) Olympiodoros,[25] the son of Lampon, undertook to take the place of the Megarians (9.22.1). They were drawn up 'in defence of'[26] all the other Greeks at Erythrai, οἱ πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν παρεόντων Ἑλλήνων ἐς Ἐρυθρὰς ταχθέντες, their purpose being to act as *promaxoi* in the Homeric sense[27] or in the way Tyrtaeus[28] encourages young Spartans to fight or die in battle.[29] Furthermore, they took with them the (whole) body of the (Athenian) archers, τοὺς τοξότας.

It is now commonly accepted that a λόχος is an infantry, rather than cavalry, unit.[30] It was one third of an Athenian tribal hoplite *taxis* made up of three *lochoi* of 300 men each, one *lochos* being contributed by each of the tribes' trittyes.[31] Since the commander of a *lochos*, the *lochagos*, was appointed by the tribe taxiarch,[32] of the 300 picked men a hundred were apparently drawn from each of the three *lochoi* that made up a tribal hoplite *taxis*. It is to be recalled that the γραφὴ λιποταξίου, i.e. the public indictment for abandoning one's post, could be brought only by the ταξίαρχος, the penalty being loss of citizen rights.[33] Olympiodoros is the earliest known Athenian appointed to the office of *lochagos*.[34] He probably belonged to the same property class[35] as the bulk of his picked hoplites, namely to the *zeugitai* (= third class from the top).[36]

As for τοὺς τοξότας,[37] they were *thētes*, i.e. Athenian citizens of the lowest class[38] who were not liable for military service as hoplites.[39] The Athenian archery force, which was apparently organized between 490 and 480 BC,[40] probably numbered 800:[41] i.e. the ratio of archers to the 8,000 Athenian hoplites at Plataea[42] was one to ten. If the number 800 is correct, the archers were nearly three times as many as the *promachoi*. The *toxotai* were regularly deployed on the flanks of the hoplite phalanx, unless the terrain permitted them to deploy behind the phalanx and shoot over it.[43] The hilly terrain of Cithaeron probably offered them an advantage. They could presumably shoot there over the *promachoi*, while posted above and beyond the two ends of the line of *promachoi*.

II. The heroic end of Masistios (Hdt. 9.22.1-3)

After the replacement of the Megarians, the Persian charges continue for some time, until Masistios' horse, which manages to keep in front (προέχων) of the others, is hit by an arrow in the flank. The horse rears up in pain and throws its rider. No sooner does Masistios fall to the ground, than the Athenians rush upon him (πεσόντι δὲ αὐτῷ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι αὐτίκα ἐπεκέατο). They catch the horse and eventually kill Masistios.

The episode of the fall and death of Masistios (9.22.1-2) focuses on the deeds of the three hundred picked men commanded by Olympiodoros, through whose son Lampon (II)[44] Herodotus presumably acquired his detailed information.[45] The presence of the archers, who are no longer mentioned, is suggested merely by their successful action, although the three

hundred picked men in action are collectively denoted as 'the Athenians'. The arrow that hit Masistios' horse in the flank, had been obviously fired by one of the archers[46] protecting the *promachoi*. The horse was hit in the flank rather than the head, chest, shoulders or belly, because the head of the Persian charger was protected by a frontlet, while pieces of armor covered the upper part of the body including the thighs of the rider.[47] 'The Athenians', who grabbed the horse and attacked Masistios, were among the 300 picked hoplites drawn up at the spot previously defended by the Megarians. It was an Athenian who eventually dealt Masistios a fatal blow,[48] though it was not Olympiodoros himself,[49] i.e. the *lochagos*. It is not surprising that Herodotus' informant (Lampon II, the son of Olympiodoros) failed to mention the names of those actually responsible for the fall and death of Masistios.[50]

The Persians are said to have remained unaware of these events (9.22.3).[51] The horsemen of the regiment performing the charge did not see Masistios fall off the horse or be killed because by that time the Persian cavalry were in the process of departing and wheeling about, οὔτε γὰρ πεσόντα μιν εἶδον ἀπὸ τοῦ ἵππου οὔτε ἀποθνήσκοντα, ἀναχωρήσιός τε γινομένης καὶ ὑποστροφῆς. Otherwise, one assumes, they would have either come to his rescue or to recover his body. Yet the very fact that they were moving in the opposite direction, when Masistios fell and was slain, suggests that they had just completed their mission. That is to say, they had launched all their missiles against the enemy.

What these missiles were we know from the description of a similar skirmish that occurred also prior to the battle of Plataea (9.49.1-2). When ordered by Mardonius to charge the Greek line, the Persian cavalry threw spears and arrows, thus inflicting casualties on the entire Greek army, ἐσα-κοντίζοντές τε καὶ ἐστοξεύοντες (9.49.2). Large bows (and arrows) and short spears,[52] i.e. shorter (and lighter) than those used by the Greeks,[53] were the main offensive weapons of the Persians,[54] παλτά[55] (and not ἀκόν-τια = javelins)[56] being the term used for these spears by Xenophon and later authors. Given that these two weapons differ in range, it is reasonable to assume that the Persians hurled their javelins only after they had shot all their arrows. A comparison with Scythian tactics of the time is not out of place.[57] It has been suggested that the Scythian form of battle began with a hail of arrows,[58] and ended with the use of short spears (in close combat).[59] The range of the Scythian 'composite' (i.e. made of more than one piece) bow[60] is estimated to be over 500 meters.[61] The bow used by the Persian horsemen was also composite, since they had inherited it from the Scythians and their confederates.[62] It clearly did not differ much in range from its Scythian prototype.

The effective range of the Greek bow, on the other hand, was probably only up to 150-200 m, an assumption based on the estimation that its furthest range was between 300 and 250 m.[63] We may thus assume that Masistios was at a distance of less than 150-200 m, when his horse was hit by an arrow. No other Persian casualty is recorded at 9.20-5. Whether Masistios still had his javelin in his hand, when he fell to the ground, or whether the only weapon he had left to defend himself with was the so-called *aki-nakēs*,[64] we shall never know. The *akinakēs* was the short dagger (also inherited from the Scythians)[65] hanging from the Persian horseman's belt along the right thigh,[66] which was employed in hand-to-hand combat. Masistios and his horsemen had no other defensive armor except for the

cuirass worn under their tunics,[67] on account of which they are occasionally called by modern scholars 'cuirassiers'.[68] Persian cavalrymen bearing shields do not appear until the mid-fifth century BC, the shield probably being introduced by Sakai horsemen serving as mercenaries.[69]

Yet, it is quite certain that Masistios managed to stand up again in order to defend himself, since he fell to the ground for a final time, when he died, οὕτω δὴ ἔπεσέ τε καὶ ἀπέθανε, as Macan remarked a hundred years ago.[70] In the meantime, the Athenians attacked him, obviously wielding their own superior weapon, i.e. the spear, the hoplite weapon *par excellence*.[71] The Greek spear was used for thrusting at close quarters, it was generally rather longer than the height of the bearer,[72] and it had a bronze spear-head.[73] Yet, initially the Greeks were unable to kill Masistios because he was wearing a cuirass of golden scales (θώρηκα χρύσεον λεπιδωτὸν) under his purple-red tunic (κιθῶνα φοινίκεον), and the blows on the cuirass had no effect, τύπτοντες δὲ ἐς τὸν θώρηκα ἐποίευν *οὐδέν*. In fact, the gold of Masistios' cuirass merely decorated scales of iron that could not be pierced by bronze spearheads.[74] Eventually, however, one of the hoplites 'realizing what was happening,'[75] μαθών τις τὸ ποιεύμενον, hit him in the eye. Thereupon Masistios fell to the ground dead.

The so-called 'Median'[76] costume of the Persians consisted of three pieces, namely a coat, a belted (sleeved) tunic and a pair of trousers,[77] the cuirass being worn underneath the tunic.[78] Herodotus uses the word *kithōna* to refer to the belted tunic of Masistios. With regard to its *phoinikion*[79] color, it should be noted that red, blue and purple were the hallmark of the rank and special social function of the Persian warriors.[80] Masistios' tunic was of the same color as that of the tunics (χιτῶσι φοινικοῖς) of the mounted associates of Cyrus, who were armed with the same weapons as the king (Xen. *Cyr.* 7.1.2).

Both the chest and the face of the opponent formed a typical target for the Greek hoplite,[81] and this was also true for Persian warriors. Cyrus the Younger, who wore no helmet in battle, met his death thanks to a blow with a javelin *under* his eye.[82] The Greeks, however, always had their heads protected by helmets, the eyes being the only area left uncovered.[83] Philip II of Macedon lost his right eye, when an arrow struck it at the battle of Methone in 355/4 BC (Just. *Epit.* 7.6.14).[84] As to the legendary Persian hero Esfandiyār, who was vulnerable only in the eyes,[85] he died after being shot with an arrow aimed at them.[86] Masistios was similarly hit in the eye, though he was probably wearing a helmet leaving the eyes unprotected.[87] However, it is highly unlikely that Masistios' eye was hit by a butt-spike, as Plutarch has it,[88] who calls the weapon an ἀκόντιον (= javelin).[89] For this part of the spear or javelin, which is known as σαυρωτήρ, στύραξ or οὐρίαχος,[90] was employed in downward thrusts and was commonly used to finish off a fallen enemy.[91] Masistios, on the other hand, fell *after* he had received the fatal wound, and, at the same time, died, as Herodotus describes.[92]

Though one against an indefinite number of hoplites, and despite the inferior weapon or weapons left at his disposal, Masistios was slain while defending himself on foot, καὶ αὐτὸν ἀμυνόμενον κτείνουσι (i.e., the Athenians). The Persians, whom Herodotus portrays as brave men,[93] were trained to fight both on horseback and on foot.[94] Masistios accordingly resolved not to give up the fight, i.e. to die, if necessary, with wounds 'in front', which was the essence of heroism, as Flower and Marincola aptly remark.[95] This sort of bravery the Persians esteemed most, even in an enemy, as is

shown by the story of Pytheas, the son of Ischenoos (Hdt. 7.181). Pytheas was an Aeginetan hoplite serving on one of the first three Greek vessels that fell into Persian hands. He showed such courage that he held out fighting to the point of being made 'mincemeat of' (ἐς ὃ κατεκρεουργήθη ἅπας, 7.181.1). However, the Persians, instead of killing him, dressed his wounds to save his life, and then displayed him in admiration to their entire army.

To return to the Athenians: after arresting the horse and slaying Masistios, they very probably stripped the precious gear off the charger and its rider. For, although the expedition to Plataea was a joint undertaking, Athens was justified in claiming the spoils she had won as an individual state.[96] The horse is the first booty from the battle of Plataea, as Asheri has astutely noted.[97] With regard to Masistios' gear, the Athenians dedicated his 'golden' cuirass on the Acropolis, where it was seen by Pausanias (1.27.1) among other ancient spoils.[98] In particular the armor and weapons won on the field of battle, were honorific, as the Greeks had always an admiration for victory and excellence in war.[99]

The 'fish-scale cuirass'[100] of Masistios was probably of gold-plated iron.[101] As has been previously mentioned, the gold was merely decorative, underneath lay strong scales of iron that could not be pierced by bronze spearheads. Three similar fish-scale cuirasses[102] have been excavated in the Treasury[103] of Xerxes at Persepolis. Hundreds of other such scale cuirasses found at Persepolis, which are, however, of iron,[104] are probably of the type described by Herodotus (7.61.1) as being worn by common soldiers. The cuirass of Masistios has not survived, but fragments of silver-plated or gilt copper scales, as well as of alternating bronze and iron scales, have been found in Greece.[105] The manufacture of various types of scale armor was particularly impressive among the Scythians;[106] since the sixth century BC, bronze or iron scales attached to a leather jerkin similarly protected the core of heavily-armored riders in a Scythian army.

The golden bit[107] and the splendid trappings (ἵππον...χρυσοχάλινόν τε καὶ ἄλλως κεκοσμημένον καλῶς, 9.20) of Masistios' Nisaean horse, have not survived either. The bit was evidently also made of iron, plated with gold, a common Persian technique.[108] Gold ornamentation on the bridle and reins was also a feature of the Scythian harness, whose degree of opulence indicated the wealth and nobility of the rider.[109] Despite the fact that 'Median bits,' are listed in a fourth-century inventory of objects in the Chalkotheke,[110] the spoils dedicated individually or collectively in Greek temples consisted entirely of the captured arms and armor, which were not reused or sold, although all the other spoils of the enemy became the profits of war.[111] In other words, there is a distinction to be made between *spoils* and *booty*. The golden bit and the splendid trappings of Masistios' horse are actually *booty*. That is to say, they cannot have formed part of the Masistios' cuirass dedication on the Acropolis.[112]

When Pausanias (1.27.1) visited the Acropolis, Masistios' golden cuirass was one of the two memorable items of ancient Persian spoils dedicated there. The other was a golden *akinakēs* said to have belonged to Mardonius,[113] of which we hear for the first time from Demosthenes (24.129). By Pausanias' time both these ancient spoils were deposited in the 'temple of Athena Polias'. Pausanias employs this name[114] to denote the eastern part of the Erechtheion, which had encased the still-functioning early Classical shrine of Athena Polias inside it.[115] The latter temple was built several years after the Persians had burned the so-called *Archaios Neos* (= 'ancient

temple').[116] In what manner Masistios' golden cuirass was exhibited inside the 'temple of Athena Polias', Pausanias does not say. Spoils might be hung up on walls or even from roof timbers.[117] Masistios' cuirass is absent from the fourth-century Erechtheion inventories, in which are listed a few weapons that might have been spoils, albeit not ancient;[118] two of these weapons, which are inventoried with their location, are said to be 'against the door-post.'[119] Masistios' cuirass had been evidently dedicated to Athena Polias, i.e. to Athena in her 'ancient function as mistress of the acropolis, protectress of the city'.[120] Exhibited in the temple of Athena Polias, the precious cuirass made manifest and proclaimed that with the help of the Protectress of the City the Athenians had dealt a shattering blow to Persian arrogance.[121]

It has been argued in the past[122] that the south frieze of the Athena Nike Temple, which shows a battle between Greeks and Persians, depicts the preliminary battle at Plataea, and that the slab in the left corner is an exact illustration of Masistios' fall. This view, however, has long been abandoned. Rather, the south frieze commemorates the battle of Marathon,[123] namely Athen's 'greatest moment of glory', in the words of Palagia,[124] who has recently re-examined the frieze and its interpetations.[125]

III. The battle over Masistios' body. The dead man's size and beauty (Hdt. 9.23.1-2, 9.25.1)

In all likelihood, the Athenian hoplites did not realize whom they had actually slain, until the entire cavalry returned to recover the body of the commander of the Persian horse (9.23.1). It was only then, when they saw the Persian cavalry ready to charge, that the Athenians appealed to the other Greek forces to come to their aid. In the meantime, a heavy (ὀξέα) battle took place over Masistios' body. The scene recalls the fierce fights over Sarpedon and Patroclus in the *Iliad*.[126] They were both leaders of contingents[127] fighting on the side of the Trojans and the Achaeans, respectively; and they both likewise fell on the battlefield, after fighting heroically.[128]

Masistios, who is fighting against the Greeks, is, in fact, the equivalent of Sarpedon. However, Sarpedon was stripped by the Achaeans only after the Trojans and the Lycians had fled in panic, struck by fear caused by Zeus (*Il.* 16.656-64). The Persians, instead, were presumably fighting over Masistios' despoiled body. Still, their motives cannot have been different from those of Homeric warriors. The ultimate aim of those fighting over an epic hero was to prevent the posthumous mutilation of the captured corpse and to give the body proper burial after recovering it.[129] The greater the hero, the greater the fear, lest the corpse be mutilated or deprived of the indispensable rites of burial.[130]

As a matter of fact, the Persians had already practiced mutilation of the emeny dead at Thermopylae (Hdt. 9.78.3). By order of Mardonius and Xerxes, they cut off and impaled the head of Leonidas, the leader of the Three Hundred,[131] and consequently probably feared reprisals.[132] On the other hand, the funeral seems to have been the last honor awarded by the Persian king to his high-ranking military officials who died during his campaigns. Such funerals, in which the normal burial practice was inhumation,[133] were regularly held with great pomp and magnificence.[134] A case in point is the beautiful funeral procession and the burial of Artachaies under a huge mound, held by Xerxes at the start of his Greek campaign (Hdt. 7.117).[135] Yet even when the Persians were eventually defeated at Plataea,

the supreme commander of the king's army was not to be deprived of burial. Mardonius' corpse had disappeared from the battlefield on the day after the battle (Hdt. 9.84.1).[136] Herodotus' text implies that it had been given secret burial overnight by someone, who had received great gifts from Mardonius' son Artontes to this end.

Consequently, the Persians fought over the body of Masistios in order to prevent its capture, which would have meant both that the corpse would be abused or mutilated and that it would be left unburied. The three hundred Athenians, at first, fighting as they did without any aid, were badly defeated and almost surrendered the body. When, however, the entire Greek infantry came to their rescue, the Persian horsemen were no longer able to hold their ground to pick up the body and so retired, after losing a considerable number of their men. Eventually, the commanderless Persian horsemen, being at a loss as to what to do next, decided to return to Mardonius. It is evident that the narrative at 9.23.1-2 is no longer presented from an Athenian viewpoint.[137] Herodotus seems to have also non-Athenian sources.[138]

After opposing and repulsing the Persian cavalry, the Greeks plucked up even greater courage (9.25.1) and the despoiled body of Masistios became the common trophy of all. They first placed it on a cart and carried it along the ranks of their forces; for the dead man was 'worth going to see'[139] on account of his size and beauty, ὁ δὲ νεκρὸς ἦν θέης ἄξιος μεγάθεος εἵνεκα καὶ κάλλεος, and the soldiers left their ranks and went up to see him. They then decided to descend further to Plataea (9.25.2). In what way, in the meantime, they disposed of the body of Masistios, we are not told.

Great size (μέγαθος) was certainly Masistios' distinguishing physical characteristic. As Asheri has remarked, the original, hypothetical form (*Masista*-) of his Persian name 'Masistios' recalls the superlative *maθišta*, which signifies 'the greatest'.[140] Masistios' great size was probably also alluded to in the name Μακίστιος (9.20.1) that the Greeks coined, since the Doric μάκιστος means 'tallest'.[141] On the other hand, his Greek name need not have been somehow assimilated to that of the name of the Greek hero Μηκιστεὺς,[142] one of the Seven against Thebes. For *Μακίστιος* is both a historical ethnic name denoting the citizen of Makistos[143] (a city in Triphylia built by Minyans)[144] and a cultic name of Heracles worshipped there in a shrine located on the coast.[145] Large stature and/or beauty or some other feature of manly beauty such as comeliness, bodily growth, strength (μέγεθος καὶ κάλλος or εἶδος/φυὴ/βίη) or even beautiful eyes, are heroic or royal features from Homer onwards. They are possessed by several heroes of the Homeric epics, both young and old, among whom are Nestor, Ereuthalion, Ajax, Patroclus, Odysseus, Telemachus and Laertes, the king of Ithaca, and the adolescent giants Otos and Ephialtes.[146] Ajax, in particular, who was second only to Achilles in prowess,[147] was the tallest man among the Achaeans, head and shoulders above any other Achaean (*Il.* 3.226-7).

In later times, μέγεθος remains a physical feature of heroes, though in a slightly different manner. All heroes, who are now perceived as dead mortals,[148] are necessarily beings of a greater size than the human,[149] a belief still alive in much later times.[150] Accordingly, any phantoms or skeletons mostly of warriors, in virtue of their great stature or size, were recognized as belonging to epic or local heroes. At the battle of Marathon, an Athenian named Epizelos, the son of Kouphagoras, was blinded, because he caught sight of a phantom resembling a tall hoplite, whose (huge) beard overshadowed his shield (Hdt. 6.117.2-3).[151] Ten years later, when a

group of Persians attacked Delphi, the local people witnessed two phantoms that resembled hoplites, although of a stature more than human. The phantoms pursued and killed the Persians, and were identified by the Delphians with their local cultic heroes Phylakos and Autonoos (Hdt. 8.38-9). At the bidding of the Delphic oracle, a Spartan official went to Tegea and discovered the tomb of Orestes, whose bones he identified with a seven-cubit-long (about 3.15 m)[152] skeleton buried in the courtyard of a Tegean smith (Hdt. 1.67-8). Similarly, also at Delphi's bidding, Cimon, after capturing Skyros, considered the remains of a man of great size, who had been buried there with spear and sword, to be those of the epic hero Theseus (Plut. *Thes.* 36.2-3).

Oversized Persian warriors such as Masistios, certainly made a strong impression on the Greeks, who seem to have been a comparatively small race, given that a four-cubit (about 1.80 m) man was regarded as remarkably tall.[153] How tall Masistios was there is no way of learning. Herodotus, however, recorded that, long after the battle of Plataea, when the Persian bodies were now bare of flesh and discarded, the people of Plataea found the skeleton of a man who was five cubits (about 2.25 m) tall.[154] The story need not be ficticious. The unknown dead Persian was 15 cm shorter than Artachaies, a Persian worshiped as a hero by the people of Akanthos, where he died and was buried.[155] Artachaies' height was four fingers short of five royal cubits, namely 2.40 m.[156]

If we now compare the height (2.25 and 2.40 m) of these Persians to the supposed height (3.15 m) of Orestes, we gain a better insight into why Masistios' body was 'worth going to see', on account of his size and beauty. In the eyes of the Greeks, Persian fighters much taller than 1.80 m could easily cross the threshold of the divine world, since the Greeks saw something divine in great stature and beauty,[157] especially when one of these features was possessed by a foreign man who had died in their country. Such was the case of Artachaies or of Philippos, the son of Boutakides, a rich man of Croton. Philippos was worshiped in a shrine built over his tomb, where he was propitiated with sacrifices by the people against whom he had fought, i.e. the Segestans in Sicily.[158] Philippos, an Olympic victor and the most handsome Greek of his time, who had followed Dorieus in his efforts to colonize Sicily, seems to be the first known historical person to be heroicized.[159]

The features of Masistios that are admired, recall those of Hector's body, which is similarly stripped by the enemy (*Il.* 22.367-71). The Achaeans, who have run up and now stand around him, gaze at him in admiration for his physique and comeliness (οἳ καὶ θηήσαντο φυὴν καὶ εἶδος ἀγητὸν, *Il.* 22.370). This is, in fact, the earliest instance in Greek literature of the beauty of a young man, who has attained a glorious death, i.e. a *belle mort.*[160] Whether Masistios was young and handsome too, who retained his beauty in death,[161] or whether his bravery made him appear beautiful,[162] is not the point here. What matters is that Masistios is presented as having heroic features, of which great stature was his salient, physical quality.

In what follows, I shall further argue that beauty and/or great height were similarly superlative natural properties possessed by the Persian king, who gave, accordingly, the command of his contigents or other high military posts to individuals hierarchically taller than their subordinates. These properties were greatly appreciated by the Persians, who likewise saw something divine or auspicious in them.

According to Herodotus,[163] among the countless numbers of men in Xerxes' army, there was not a man who for beauty and stature (κάλλος εἴνεκα καὶ μεγάθεος) was more worthy than Xerxes to wield such enormous power. As has been remarked elsewhere, Xerxes deserved his position as king.[164] The same was true of Cyrus and his nearest male ancestors who were his father Cambyses and his grandfather Astyages, that is, the kings of the Persians and Medes, respectively.[165] The only difference is that both Cyrus and his ancestors are mostly described in terms of their beauty. Cambyses, Cyrus' father, was the most handsome by far of the Persians, while Astyages, Cyrus' grandfather, was by far the most handsome of the Medes.[166] As for Cyrus, he was famous for his beauty throughout the ages. Even down to Xenophon's time, he was still described 'in word and song as having been most beautiful in form', εἶδος μὲν κάλλιστος.[167]

Persian royal beauty was intensified by the use of cosmetics and other paraphernalia. Astyages used to adorn himself with a line under the eyes, rouge and a wig, in accord with established Median custom (Xen. *Cyr.* 1.3.2). Cyrus perhaps saw to it that he looked taller than the physically large officials serving him on public occasions (Xen. *Cyr.* 8.3.14). This he achieved probably by wearing the so-called 'Median dress', which concealed personal defects and made the wearers look both very handsome and extremely tall (καὶ καλλίστους καὶ μεγίστους).[168]

As a matter of fact, Xerxes gave the command of his contigents and other high military posts to persons in hierarchic order who were taller and/or more handsome than their subordinates. Masistios, Tigranes and Artachaies are known to have been among the conspicuously tall high-ranking officers. Tigranes, the Persian general at Mycale, was the tallest and most handsome of 60,000 men in his army (Hdt. 9.96.2). Artachaies, the son of Artaios[169] and an Achaemenid by birth, is said to have been both the tallest Persian and the man with the loudest voice in the world (Hdt. 7.117). Notably, Artachaies' height, which was five royal cubits lacking four fingers (about 2.40 m),[170] is measured in a *royal* measure exceeding by three fingers the normal one. Might this be due to the fact that Artachaies was both an Achaemenid and an engineer in the service of the king? He was an overseer of the channel constructed across Athos and a man highly esteemed by Xerxes (Hdt. 7.22.2).[171] When he died of disease, Xerxes mourned him profoundly and had him borne out in an impressive procession and buried magnificently. The entire Persian army piled up earth, so as to form a mound, ἐτυμβοχόεε:[172] a miltary honor of which a parallel is to be found in the Homeric description of the interment of Patroclus.[173] It was undoubtedly on account of his great height and loud voice that the people of Akanthos, having been commanded to do so by an oracle, made sacrifice to him as a hero,[174] invoking him by name.[175]

In the Herodotean *Histories*, Masistios, Tigranes and Artachaies are tall and handsome, like the king, Xerxes, whom they serve, or like Cyrus, the founder of the Persian kingdom, whose portrait is drawn by Xenophon. When each of the three dies, he is mourned and/or buried like a hero. In Persian epic tradition preserved in the older parts of the *Shahnameh*, a chronicle covering the period from the creation of the world to the end of the Sasanian period,[176] princes, kings, and heroes in the kings' service, are often described 'as tall as cypresses and as fair as the spring'.[177] On horseback, the hero Esfandiyār was 'tall like a cypress tree',[178] and when he died, the 'tall cypress swayed and bent'.[179] Rostam, the greatest hero of Iran, in

addition to being prodigiously tall and handsome as a child,[180] also chose an appropriate horse to support his gigantic size and weight.[181] With this horse he was asked to defend the land of Iran.

That the Persians esteemed the physical beauty and/or great stature of their future king or of foreign officials, is also clear from a couple of passages from Plato.[182] According to *Charmides* 158a, Pyrilampes, when serving as an ambassador to the Great King or other people in the continent of Asia, was reputed to be more handsome and taller than the norm, καλλίων καὶ μείζων. *Alcibiades* 121d reports that the eunuchs attending the new-born royal child devise a way to make it most beautiful, ὅτι κάλλιστος ἔσται, which they accomplish, by means of moulding its limbs.

Thus the Persians shared similar concepts with the Greeks concerning manly or royal beauty and heroism. There was something divine or auspicious in beauty and in the stature of tall men. Xerxes had a divinely sent vision of a great and handsome man, who departed by flying away, which haunted the king's dreams on the eve of his expedition against Greece (Hdt. 7.12-18); it is to be noted that Herodotus drew this story from Persian sources.[183] The sacrifice of a handsome Greek hoplite, when the Persians caught the first Greek ship, was also auspicious. According to Herodotus, they took the most handsome hoplite on board and sacrificed him on the prow of the ship (Hdt. 7.180). The victim was a Troezenian called Leon (= 'Lion'), a name obviously indicative of his manly beauty. Thus, 'they made Leon an auspicious (διαδέξιον) victim for their enterprise'.

IV. The mourning for Masistios (Hdt. 9.24)

The last act is the mourning into which the Persian camp went for the dead Masistios. Although customs practiced at Persian royal or noble burials, mostly of the Achaemenid period, are attested in classical texts and archaeological finds,[184] Persian mourning practices are less well known.[185] In fact, the mourning of the death of Masistios is the only account we possess of Persian warrior mourning practices for the loss of a Persian cavalry commander.

According to Herodotus, when the horse arrived at the camp, the entire army and Mardonius 'made a very great mourning for Masistios',[186] πένθος ἐποιήσαντο Μασιστίου πᾶσά τε ἡ στρατιὴ καὶ Μαρδόνιος μέγιστον. They cut their own hair and the manes of their horses and yoke-animals, and they wailed without end, σφέας τε αὐτοὺς κείροντες καὶ τοὺς ἵππους καὶ τὰ ὑποζύγια οἰμωγῇ τε χρεώμενοι ἀπλέτῳ. Are we to understand, with regard to the phrase πᾶσά τε ἡ στρατιὴ, that, in addition to the Persians and the Medes, the contigents of the Bactrians, the Sacae, and the Indians[187] also performed the latter two mourning practices? There is evidence that on certain occasions mourning was required of all the king's subjects, though we do not know whether this obligation extended to non-Persian peoples subject to the king, such as the Bactrians, the Sacae and the Indians.

A case in point is Cyrus' deep mourning for his wife Cassandane, for the sake of whom he proclaimed that all his subjects should likewise go into mourning.[188] Similarly Admetus, the king of Thessaly, proclaims that all his Thessalian subjects should go into mourning for the death of his wife. It is required of them to shave their heads, to wear black-robed raiment, and to shear the manes of their chariot and single horses.[189] Alexander, the king of Macedonia, sent round orders for the entire 'land of the barbarians'

(i.e., Persia) to go into mourning for his companion Hephaestion.[190] In the case of the Lacedaemonians, whose royal funerals[191] are compared by Herodotus to those of the 'barbarians of Asia,'[192] the king was mourned not only by the Spartans but also by the *perioikoi* and the helots of Laconia and Messenia.[193] They were compelled to attend royal funerals in great numbers and wail profusely for the deceased. As for the funerals of the kings of the so-called Royal Scythians, all the peoples of the Scythian 'empire' participated in the funeral procession, and mutilated themselves.[194] The common denominator of all these practices is the obligation imposed on the king's subjects to participate, in one way or another, in the mourning for the honored or powerful deceased.

In connection with these, the verb κείρω is either translated as 'cut'/'shave' with reference to both the cutting/shaving of hair and the cutting/shaving of manes of the horses and yoke-animals (mules),[195] or as 'shave (off)' and 'cut' respectively[196] However, if we bear in mind at least Persian styles of hair and mane, we should render the word κείροντες rather more specifically. That is, the Persians 'cut their hair, moustache and beard, and shaved the manes of their horses'. To judge from the representations of Persian warriors on stone reliefs and other works of art, the Persians had long, neatly dressed hair, moustache, and long/short beards.[197] In accordance with usual Achaemenid fashion, Persian horsemen cut the manes of their horses short and straight.[198] This latter custom is better understood in the light of a similar Scythian practice. The Scythians cut the manes of their horses short in order to remove any obstacle to using their bows.[199] It is also likely that the Persians docked the tails of their horses too. This practice has left a remote echo in the Iranian epic *Shahnameh*. After Esfandiyār is killed by Rostam, his horse is led at the head of the funeral procession with its mane and tail docked.[200]

The Persian wailing, οἰμωγῇ, was so profuse that 'an echo [of grief] covered the whole Boeotia'.[201] This should not be taken as a Herodotean exaggeration. If we leave aside the Greek allies of Xerxes, Mardonius' total Persian forces at Plataea numbered 30,000.[202] It is no wonder that Boeotia resounded with their wailing. As for the duration of the mourning, it seems not to have been very long. It lasted perhaps two or three days, since Mardonius and his men finished their lamentations, when they learned that the Greeks were in the Plataean territory, whither they also moved (Hdt. 9.31.1): οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ Μαρδόνιον βάρβαροι ὡς ἀπεκήδευσαν Μασίστιον, παρῆσαν, πυθόμενοι τοὺς Ἕλληνας εἶναι ἐν Πλαταιῇσι, καὶ αὐτοί... .

It is worth noting that in the *Iliad* (23.1-23) only the Myrmidones are asked (by Achilles) to mourn for Patroclus. The rest of the Achaeans do not participate in their lamentation.[203] The cutting of hair as a 'sacrifice' to a war hero by his comrades is also practiced by the Myrmidones alone (23.135-6).[204] They cover Patroclus' body with locks of their hair as the funerary procession advances.[205] When the procession reaches the place of the pyre, Achilles too cuts a blond lock he has allowed to grow, with the intention of dedicating it to the river Spercheios, and places it in the hands of his dead comrade (23.141-2 and 152-3). The cutting off of the horses' and mules' manes, as a sign of 'honor', is attested in later times as a practice of the Thessalians[206] and the Macedonians.[207] The practice seems to be a custom peculiar to societies of mounted warriors, in whose countries the horse had played a preeminent role in warfare from time immemorial, Iran, Thessaly and Macedonia being among such countries.

As Flower and Marincola have noted, Herodotus reserves the information that Masistios was second in renown only to Mardonius (μετὰ δὲ Μαρδόνιον λογιμωτάτου) for the end of the story, where it explains more than anything else, the extent of the Persian grief. In fact, Masistios' reputation was not irrelevant to his superior rank in the Persian army. For Masistios was second only to Mardonius in command, as Asheri has remarked.[208] To what, however, did Masistios owe his reputation or position?

Masistios is mentioned for the first time by Herodotus (7.79) as the leader of the Alarodioi and Saspeires, the son of Siromitres, that is, as the commander of Xerxes' Caucasian infantry contigent. A year after, he is introduced again, but this time as the commander of the Persian cavalry (Hdt. 9.20). This change in status is usually accounted for by the assumption that he had been promoted in the reshuffle of the Persian command that took place between the campaigns of 480 and 479.[209] Masistios, however, is among the very few of Xerxes' leaders of contigents who are known to us only by their father's name.[210] Neither his ethnic origin (Persian or Mede), nor his tribe and/or clan name (Achaemenid) by which an aristocrat's status is defined in Herodotus,[211] is given. Nor does he seem to be related to the royal Achaemenid family, as most of Xerxes' commanders are.[212] Thus we do not know why Masistios was given the command of the Persian horse in the campaign of 479 BC.

We do have, however, one valuable piece of information: Masistios was riding a richly caparisoned gold-bridled horse of Nisaean breed, ἵππον ἔχων Νησαῖον χρυσοχάλινόν τε καὶ ἄλλως κεκοσμημένον καλῶς (9.20). Nisaeans were the most famous horses bred in antiquity. According to Herodotus (7.40.3), they came from the Nisaean plain in Media. This plain had been granted for the pasturing of royal horses and was said to have been seen by Alexander[213] on the road from Eşfahān and Bīsotūn to Hāmadān (Ecbatana).[214] The Nisaean horses are always attested as being: 1) better, larger or swifter than the others,[215] used only by kings,[216] 2) gold-bridled and beautifully caparisoned,[217] and 3) placed in a prominent position, whether before the cavalry division[218] or in the most conspicuous part of royal processions or marches, such as Cyrus' first procession from the palace (Xen. *Cyr.* 8.3.16) or Xerxes' march against Greece (Hdt. 7.40.2, 4).

These features of the Nisaean horses are confirmed by a very thorough description that goes back to Aristophanes of Byzantium (third or second century BC). 'They are beautiful and larger in size than the others, and are also obedient to the bridle and very daring in terrible wars; they are also trained to listen to word of command, and are aroused by the trumpet, while at the same time they are arrogant, of a most great size, with extremely pliant limbs and body, they carry their neck high, they are fleshy, and the earth rattles under their feet.'[219]

No doubt, Masistios deserved his Nisaean gold-bridled horse, which was beautifully caparisoned. It suited the size of its rider, just as Rostam's horse was appropriate to his gigantic size and weight;[220] and it was certainly obedient to the bridle, and was very daring, trained to listen to his rider, who was risking his life by riding ahead of every single division in his command.

According to the royal custom of πολυδωρία initiated by Cyrus, 'bracelets, necklaces and horses with golden bridles', were the most precious presents given by the Persian king, and none could have them except one to whom the king had given them.[221] Cyrus the Younger made gover-

nors of conquered lands those he saw risking their lives in war, to whom he also gave gifts, so that the brave would clearly be seen to be more prosperous, while cowards would be seen to be no better than slaves.[222]

In view of these, it seems very likely that Masistios' gold-bridled horse of Nisaean breed was a royal gift,[223] with which the king had probably rewarded him for his bravery, upon promoting him to the position of cavalry commander. The horse on which Mardonios fought at Plataea is said simply to have been a white horse, although there is no doubt that it was a Nisaean horse too.[224] White horses were sacred animals sacrificed to the sun (Xen. *Cyr.* 8.3.24). They drew the sacred chariot of Ahura Mazdā in Xerxes' march to Greece (Hdt. 7.40.4). The Nisaean horses are expressly said to be sacred,[225] and those colored white were evidently reserved for these two ritual occassions and for the members of the royal family.

Addendum

The greatest recorded height is that of the American Robert Pershing Wadlow, who was 2.72 m tall at the age of 22 (Guinness World Records 2008).

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[1] I am grateful to Professor Olga Palagia for her remarks upon the archaeology of the fifth-century Acropolis during the oral presentation of my paper. I also thank Dr. Judith Binder for reading and commenting on a rough draft of an early abstract of this paper. Last but not least, I thank Dr. Andrew Farrington for improving the English of my text. For any remaining errors, I alone am responsible. My transliteration of ancient Greek is admittedly inconsistent (using '–os' and '–ai' in 'Masistios' and 'Erythrai' but '–us' and '–ea' in 'Mardonius' and 'Plataea'). Greek and Latin authors are abbreviated as given in *OCD*³.

[2] The mountains dividing Attica from Boeotia. The first position the Greeks took up on their arrival in Boeotia, about three miles from Plataea; see Green's (1996: 241-3 and XIII) vivid description of the Greek route from Eleusis on the road to Thebes, based on his exploration of the area. For the strategic importance of the Greek position, see How and Wells 1928: 294 ad 19.3.

[3] He had probably grown impatient with the deadlock, see Flower and Marincola 2002: 139 ad 20.

[4] A Boeotian city on the northern slopes of Cithaeron, not far from the pass of Eleutherai (Jiftokastro) but some distance from Hysiai; see Müller 1987: 491-2; cf. 552 (map of the area of Plataea) and 554.

[5] So first Macan (1908: 630 ad 20.6), whose explanation is further elaborated by Lazenby (next note) and taken as more probable by Flower and

Marincola 2002: 139-40.

[6] See Lazenby 1993: 222.

[7] See Powell 1938: s.v. 'τέλος' 4.

[8] I.e., the Cissians, the Indians, the Bactrians and the Caspians recorded at Hdt. 7.86: see Hdt. 7.84-7.

[9] See Hdt. 7.211.3.

[10] See Hdt. 9.33.1.

[11] See Sekunda 1992: 5; cf. Tallis 2005: 215.

[12] For the Greek forces, see Green's (1996: 249) diagram.

[13] I follow Macan (1908: 632 ad 22.5) and Powell (1938: 318) who translate προέχων literally 'in advance of' and 'keep in front of', respectively. The Nisaean horses were swifter than the others and placed before the line of battle (τάξις); see page 21 and notes 215 and 218, below.

[14] At Hdt. 7.81 the *hekatontarchai* and *dekarchai* (= the leaders of squadrons/sections of ten men) were appointed by the *myriarchai* (= the commanders of 10,000 men); while the *chiliarchai* (= the commanders of 1,000 men) *and the myriarchai* were appointed by the chief commanders of national troops. Masistios was probably a *myriarchēs*. Cf. page 22, below.

[15] This, I think, is the explanation to the question raised by Macan 1908: 634 ad 17.

[16] See Hdt. 8.88.3 and 9.107.1 (first noted by Flower and Marincola 2002: 140).

[17] As suggested by Lazenby 1993: 223.

[18] As they were at Hdt. 9.49.2.

[19] See Shrimpton 1980: 32.

[20] Cf. Flower and Marincola 2002: 140.

[21] See *Il.* 2.235 and other Homeric examples cited by Masaracchia (1978: 161) and Flower and Marincola (2002: 140), respectively.

[22] In contrast to what Tallis (2005: 216) contends, there is no tendency, in Herodotus at least, to downplay the role of the Persian cavalry in battle. Unlike the Persian infantry, the Persian horse did not distinguish itself at Plataea, evidently because its expert commander (Masistios) had been killed at Erythrai; thus Herodotus (9.71.1) praises only the horse of the Sakai.

[23] See Lazenby 1993: 222, and earlier, Burn 1962: 516.

[24] On the meaning of λογάδες, see Amouretti and Ruzé 2004: 88. Hand-picked units usually number 300 or 1,000 men, see idem; cf., however, Flower and Marincola 2002: 141.

[25] See Kirchner 1903: no. 11389; Traill 2004: 450 ad 742775.

[26] For this notion, see LSJ s.v. 'πρό' A.I.3; cf. Powell 1938: s.v. 'πρό' 1.

[27] See Flower and Marincola 2002: 142 ad 22.1.

[28] See fr. 11, line 4 (West 1992: 175).

[29] Cf. fr. 10, line 1; fr. 11, lines 11-13 (West 1992: 174-6).

[30] See Bugh 1988: 11, n. 41; Cf. Flower and Marincola 2002: 141 at 21.3. Athens had no cavalry and no archers at the battle of Marathon, see Hdt. 6.112.1-2.

[31] See Bicknell 1972: 21 and n. 67.

[32] Develin (1989: 4) supposes that the institution of tribe taxiarchs coincided with that of tribally distributed generalships in 501/0 BC.

[33] See Todd 1993: 183.

[34] See Develin 1989: 4.

[35] I assume that the Solonian classes were already based not on income but on property, which was probably always the criterion for the *leitourgiai* (see Isae. 7.39).

[36] Only those belonging to the top three Solonian census classes were liable for military service as *hoplites*, see Bugh 1988: 26 and n. 97. Neither Olympiodoros nor his father Lampon or his presumed son Lampon II (see note 44, below) appear among the rich Athenians listed in Davies 1971.

[37] They should not be identified with the Athenian mounted archers (*hippotoxotai*) attested for the first time at Thuc. 2.13.8. The Greeks probably realized the effectiveness of *hippotoxotai* at Plataea (Hdt. 9.49.2). For the latter ones, see Spence 1993: 57-8. They were used for the cavalry charge.

[38] See Arist. [*Ath.Pol*] 7.3 and Harp. s.v. 'θῆτες' (cited with other evidence by Jones 1969: 142, n. 50). Cf. How and Wells 1928: 295 ad 22.1. See also Lammert 1937: col. 1854.

[39] See Bugh 1988: 26 and n. 97 (with earlier scholarship).

[40] See Bugh 1988: 13. It was evidently due to their experience at Marathon that the Athenians were able to organize an archery force, see Kromayer and Veith 1928: 45; Wardman 1959: 55. They seem to be the only Greeks who had *toxotai* at Plataea. The Greek prejudice against archers was rooted in the idea that bravery was a quality of those engaging in hand-to-hand combat, archers being despised as lacking in this quality, see Spence 2002: 55.

[41] See How and Wells 1928: 295 ad 22.1. According to Plut. *Them.* 14.2, at the battle of Salamis the Athenians had 720 archers fighting on board.

[42] See Hdt. 9.28.6.

[43] See Spence 2002: 56.

[44] A well-known public figure (soothsayer and sacred official) known chiefly for being one of the founders of Thurii and of the signatories to the Peace of Nicias. See Kirchner 1903: no. 8996; Trail 2002: 32 ad 601665 (testimonia); and mainly Stadter 1989: 83-4. See also Asheri 2006: 202-3 (with recent bibliography).

[45] This assumption, which rests on the connection of Olympiodoros with Lampon II, goes back to Busolt 1895: 727, n. 2. Cf., however, Flower and Marincola 2002: 142.

[46] See Lazenby 1985: 99.

[47] See Xen. *Cyr.* 7.1.2; For the hazard involved in the use of pieces of scale armor protecting both the horse's chest and the rider's legs, see Briant 2002: 537. For the 'armoured saddle', see Sekunda 1992: 22-3. Large-size scales found at Persepolis have been interpreted as being horse armor, see Miller 1997: 48.

[48] Thanks to a slip of the pen, Masistios is said to have been slain by the archers in Flower and Marincola 2002: 191.

[49] Cf. Macan 1908: 633 ad 13 'till the nameless one smote him in the eye'.

[50] For a different interpretation, see Boedeker 2003: 21; Tritle 2006: 219.

[51] Nyland (1992: 93-5) has convincingly argued that Herodotus had informants among the medizing Greeks who fought with the Persians at Plataea. It was probably from them that Herodotus (9.22.3-9.24) obtained the description of the Persian cavalry movements and fighting and mourning practices.

[52] See Hdt. 7.61.1: αἰχμὰς δὲ βραχέας εἶχον, τόξα δὲ μεγάλα. The bows were nearly three πήχεις long at the time of Xenophon, i.e., about one meter and a half; see Xen. *An.* 4.2.28.

[53] See Hdt. 7.211.2: καὶ δόρασι βραχυτέροισι χρεώμενοι ἤ περ οἱ Ἕλληνες. The length of the Greek spear was between 1.80 and 2.50 m, its weight between one and two kilos; see Debidour 2002: 38.

[54] See Hdt. 7.61.1, 84.1.

[55] A kind of light spear (javelin) still in use at the time of Cyrus the Younger; see LSJ s.v. 'παλτός' II (citing Xen. *Cyr.* 6.2.16); cf. Xen. *An.* 1.8.27.

[56] See Powell 1938: s.v. 'ἀκόντιον', 'Always as used by non-Greeks'.

[57] Briant (2002: 536) has compared the harassing tactics of the Persian cavalry at Erythrai and Plataea to those of the Bactrian nation of Scythians called Sakai by Herodotus (1.153.4). These tactics were employed because the Persians (like the Greeks) had not developed stirrups.

[58] See Rolle 1989: 66.

[59] See the golden comb from the unlooted side grave of the Solokha kurgan, which depicts the end of a Scythian battle, in Rolle 1989: 74-9 and color pl. 13.

[60] See Rolle 1989: 64, fig. 39.

[61] See Rolle 1989: 65.

[62] See Moorey 1985: 27.

[63] See Lazenby 1996: 144.

[64] See Hdt. 7.54.2. (καὶ Περσικὸν ξίφος, τὸν ἀκινάκην καλέουσι); Xen. *An.* 1.2.27.

[65] See Hdt. 4.62.2-3, 4.70. Cf. Moorey 1985: 27 (with reference to *akinakai* in early Caucasian graves).

[66] See Hdt. 7.61.1: πρὸς δὲ ἐγχειρίδια παρὰ τὸν δεξιὸν μηρὸν παραιωρεύμενα ἐκ τῆς ζώνης. Persians and other Iranians wearing *akinakai* or bringing them as a tribute are depicted in the reliefs adorning the monumental staircases of the Apadana at Persepolis and in other works of art, see Moorey 1985: 25, figs. 2-3.

[67] See Hdt. 7.61.1, cf. 7.84.1.

[68] See Hammond 1959: 246 and following note. For fourth-century 'cuirassiers', see Sekunda 1992: 25-6.

[69] See Sekunda 1992: 21-2.

[70] See Macan 1908: 633 ad 13.

[71] See Lazenby 1991: 96.

[72] See Anderson 1991: 22. Cf. Debidour 2002: 38. It was usually approximately 2 m, see the *OCD*[3] s.v. 'arms and armour'.

[73] Bronze was reintroduced for spear-heads in the sixth and fifth centuries, see Anderson 1991: 23-4.

[74] See page 14, below.

[75] As Flower and Marincola (2002: 143) accurately translate. That the μαθών 'suggests understanding based on observation' may mean that the cuirass was first seen when the tunic was torn by the blows.

[76] See Hdt. 1.135, 7.62.1; Strab. 11.13.9.

[77] See Moorey 1985: 23-4. Cf. Hdt. 7.61.1. For more information, see Sekunda 1992: 12-13.

[78] The latter is also suggested by the text at Hdt. 7.61.1, the *lacuna* in line 4 being supplemented with the phrase καὶ θώρηκας (Biel). Cf. How and Wells 1928: 152.

[79] See LSJ s.v. 'φοινίκεος' = purple-red.

[80] See Moorey 1985: 24.

[81] See Lazenby 1991: 93.

[82] See Xen. *An.* 1.8.6 and 1.8.27.

[83] Cf. Tritle 2006: 223, n. 35.

[84] I thank my colleague, Antigoni Zournatzi, for drawing my attention to the case of Philip.

[85] Puhvel 1987: 118.

[86] See Iran's national epic *Shahnameh*, Davis 1997: 414-17.

[87] Cf. Tritle 2006: 223, n. 35. For bronze or iron helmets worn by cavalrymen of superior rank, see Hdt. 7.84.1; Xen. *An.* 1.8.6.

[88] Plut. *Arist.* 14.6.9.

[89] At Plut. *Arist.* 15.1.1. The fight is described as a cavalry battle, ἱππομαχία, which presupposes that the horsemen are brandishing *akontia*, not *dorata*. Cf. Lazenby 1985: 99.

[90] See Anderson 1991: 24; Hanson 1991: 71-3.

[91] See Anderson, ibidem; Hanson 1991: 73.

[92] See text, above. Plutarch's (*Arist.* 14.2-6) description has several errors. I note here only his statement that Masistios after his fall could not stand up again on account of the weight of his armor. Yet the armor of the Persian cavalry, which was the same as that of the infantry, seems to be light; see Hdt. 7.61.1 and 7.84.1.

[93] See Flower and Marincola 2002: 15.

[94] As stated in the DNb inscription engraved on the façade of Darius I's tomb, see Kent 1953: 140.

[95] Flower and Marincola 2002: 142 ad 22.2.

[96] Cf. Miller (1997: 44), though she speaks of *booty* rather than of *spoils*, i.e., captured arms and armor.

[97] See Asheri 2006: 204.

[98] See text and notes 120 and 121, below.

[99] See Jackson 1991: 230.

[100] Called so, because the scales looked like those of fish, see Hdt. 7.61.1 (the *lacuna* is supplemented with the phrase 'and cuirasses').

[101] As first assumed by Thompson 1956: 283; cf. Miller 1997: 48.

[102] See Miller, ibidem.

[103] For that building, see, e.g., Koch 2001: 63-7.

[104] See Miller 1997: 48.

[105] Ibidem.

[106] See Rolle 1989: 67-8 and fig. 42 on p. 69.

[107] According to Suda (s.v. 'Λεοννάτος') the Nisaean horses originating from Phasis were all gold-bridled and positioned in front of the line.

[108] See Thompson 1956: 283-4.

[109] See Rolle 1989: 109.

[110] See Miller 1997: 49.

[111] On these two practices the lexicographers base their distinction between the words 'σκῦλα' and 'λάφυρα', respectively. See Pritchett 1991: 132; cf. Jackson 1991: 228-49.

[112] As Miller (1997: 49) assumes.

[113] Pausanias questions whether the Athenians ever really got it as a spoil, his arguments exerting influence even today, see Harris 1995: 204-5, 217.

[114] For the application of this term to the Erechtheion, see Harris 1995: 201.

[115] See Hurwit 2004: 71 and fig. 51 on p. 58.

[116] Hurwit 2004: 68.

[117] See Jackson 1991: 233.

[118] See Harris 1995: 206-8, ns. 6, 11-12, 14-16.

[119] Harris 1995: 208, nos. 14-15.

[120] See Parker 2005: 397.

[121] Cf. Jackson 1991: 235.

[122] See Furtwängler 1895: 446.

[123] See Palagia 2005: 184-5.

[124] Palagia 2005: 184.

[125] Harrison (1972: 354-5) first argued in favor of the battle of Marathon.

[126] Both examples are cited by Flower and Marincola 2002: 143.

[127] Sarpedon, an ally of the Trojans, is the leader of the Lycians, see *Il.* 2.876. Patroclus is replacing Achilles as the leader of the Myrmidones, see *Il.* 16.65.

[128] See *Il.* 16.419-665 (Sarpedon); 17.1-18.238 (Patroclus).

[129] On these two themes, examined in connection with heroic death in the epic, see Vernant 1982: 63-71.

[130] See Vernant 1982: 64-70.

[131] Impaling a corpse or a head was a Persian practice; see Hdt. 3.125.3; 6.30.1.

[132] Beheading was held to be a barbarian atrocity, deviating from the Greek code of good conduct, and it was avoided as a form of legal punishment, see Visser 1982: 405-6. See, however, Lampon's proposal to Pausanias at Hdt. 9.78.3.

[133] See Briant 2002: 95. According to Hdt. 1.140.2, the Persians interred the corpse after covering it with wax. Cf. Strab. 15.3.20. Burial in the earth inside coffins was a tradition among the Persians. See Razmjou 2005: 154-5.

[134] See Curt. 3.12.14.

[135] See page 18, below.

[136] It is evident from Hdt. 9.83.2 that the Greeks left the despoiled bodies of the Persians on the battlefield, until they were bared of flesh; then they collected the bones and dumped them at some place.

[137] On this latter point, cf. Flower and Marincola 2002: 138-9.

[138] See note 51, above.

[139] See Powell 1938: s.v. 'ἀξιοθέητος'; cf. Flower and Marincola 2002: 145.

[140] See Asheri 2006: 200.

[141] See Flower and Marincola 2002: 139, cf. earlier, Boedeker 1996: 226.

[142] A possibility taken into consideration by Flower and Marincola 2002: 139.

[143] See Steph.Byz. s.v. 'Μάκιστος'; cf. Strab. 8.3.13, lines 1-6.

[144] Mentioned by Herodotus at 4.148.4. See Müller 1987: 798-800.

[145] See Müller 1987: 799.

146 See *Il.* 2.58 (Nestor), 7.155 (Ereuthalion), 7.288 (Ajax), 23.66 (Patroclus); *Od.* 11.337 (Odysseus), 18.219 (Telemachus), 24.253, 374 (Laertes), 11.309-317 (Otos and Ephialtes).

147 See *Il.* 2.768-9.

148 See Burkert 1985: 203.

149 See Eitrem 1929: 54-5.

150 See Paus. 6.5.1: μέγιστος δὲ ἁπάντων ἐγένετο ἀνθρώπων πλὴν τῶν ἡρώων καλουμένων.

151 He was a local Greek hero who was fighting on the side of the Persians during his appearance. See Kearns 1989: 44-5; Scott 2005: 395-6.

152 For measures of length, see the *OCD*³ s.v. 'measures'.

153 See Verdenius 1949: 296.

154 See Hdt. 9.83.2.

155 See Hdt. 7.117, and page 18, below. For Akanthos, see Müller 1987: 140-1.

156 For the royal cubit, see note 152, above.

157 Cf. Verdenius 1949: 298. For the Greeks, see *Od.* 15.251, 23.156-7, 24.373-4.

158 See Hdt. 5.47. The Segestans were Elymoi, who had become hellenized by that time, as noted by Visser 1982: 410 and n. 25.

159 See Lipka 2002: 248, n. 68.

160 A subject treated by Vernant 1982: 59-63.

161 As Tyrtaeus (fr. 10, lines 29-30 [West 1971: 174-5]) claims in connection with the brave and good-looking warrior fighting in the front line for his country, see Robertson 2003: 67.

162 See Robertson 2003: 67-8.

163 See Hdt. 7.187.2.

164 See Verdenius 1949: 295.

165 See Xen. *Cyr.* 1.2.1. Cf. Hdt. 1.107-13. For the genealogy of Cyrus by Ctesias, which is regarded as more genuine, see Herrenschmidt 1987: 62-3.

166 See Xen. *Cyr.* 1.3.2: Περσῶν μὲν πολὺ κάλλιστος ὁ ἐμὸς πατήρ, Μήδων μέντοι...πολὺ οὗτος ὁ ἐμὸς πάππος κάλλιστος.

167 See Xen. *Cyr.* 1.2.1.

168 See Xen. *Cyr.* 8.1.40-1. These manners aimed at enhancing the majesty of the royal person, see Azoulay 2004: 149-50.

169 See Hdt. 7.22.2.

170 See page 17, above.

171 See Hdt. 7.117.1.

172 The verb ἐτυμβοχόεε occurs for the first time in Herodotus, see Powell 1938: s.v. (at *Il.* 21.323 appears the noun τυμβοχόη). The equivalent Homeric expression is χυτὴν ἐπὶ γαῖαν ἔχευαν, see *Il.* 23.256 and the following note.

173 See *Il.* 23.256-7. See also Petropoulou 1988: 491-2. Briant (2002: 95) has compared this collective raising of a mound to the equivalent Scythian practice attested at Hdt. 4.71.5.

174 On the parallel of Brasidas (Thuc. 5.11) and Aratus (Plut. *Arat.* 53) Visser (1982: 411 and n. 27) has suggested that the Acanthians worshiped Artachaies as a city founder. This is not supported by the evidence. Artachaies was an enemy, not a savior of the city, in which he was eventually worshiped, as the above two men were.

175 As Patroclus was invoked during his cremation by Achilles, who was making libations of wine, drawn from a mixing bowl, onto the the earth (*Il.* 23.220-1).

176 See Puhvel 1987: 117-22. For more information, see de Blois 1998: 474-5.

177 See *Shahnameh*, Davis 1997: 24, 39 (of Feraydun); 29 (of the three sons of Feraydun); 43 (of Iraj).

178 Ibidem: 386.

179 Ibidem: 414.

180 Ibidem: 105.

181 Ibidem: 132-3.

182 See Tuplin 1996: 156.

183 See Hdt. 7.12.1: ὡς λέγεται ὑπὸ Περσέων.

184 See Razmjou 2005: 154-6.

185 Practices of public mourning are attested at Hdt. 3.66.1, 8.99.2.

186 As is translated by Macan 1908: 635 ad 24.2.

187 They fought with Mardonius at Plataea, see Hdt. 9.31.3-4.

188 See Hdt. 2.1.1: αὐτός τε μέγα πένθος ἐποιήσατο καὶ τοῖσι ἄλλοισι προεῖπε πᾶσι τῶν ἦρχε πένθος ποιέεσθαι.

189 Eur. *Alc.* 425-9: πᾶσιν δὲ Θεσσαλοῖσιν ὧν ἐγὼ κρατῶ/ πένθους γυναικὸς τῆσδε κοινοῦσθαι λέγω/κουρᾷ ξυρήκει καὶ μελαμπέπλῳ στολῇ/τέθριππά θ' οἳ ζεύγνυσθε καὶ μονάμπυκας/ πώλους, σιδήρῳ τέμνετ' αὐχένων φόβην.

190 See Arr. *Anab.* 7.14.9: πένθος ποιεῖσθαι περιηγγέλη κατὰ πᾶσαν τὴν χώραν τὴν βάρβαρον.

191 On that subject, see Hodkinson 2000: 262-3; Scott 2005: 246-9.

[192] Hdt. 6.58.2.

[193] See Scott 2005: 249 ad 58.3.

[194] See Hdt. 4.71.1-3, and Hartog 1988: 142-3.

[195] See Flower and Marincola 2002: 144 ad 24; Waterfield 1998: 550.

[196] See How and Wells 1928: 295 ad 24; Rawlinson 1942: 668.

[197] See Bovon 1963: 592, fig. 16; Koch 2001: 13, fig. 15, and pp. 38-9, figs. 54-7.

[198] See Stronach forthcoming [2008]. I thank Professor David Stronach for drawing my attention to this custom.

[199] See Rolle 1989: 109.

[200] See *Shahnahmeh*, Davis 1997: 418.

[201] See Flower and Marincola 2002: 145.

[202] See Green 1996: 249.

[203] See *Il.* 23.6-9, 12-16, 108-10. On the mourning practices, see Petropoulou 1986/87.

[204] Cf. *Od.* 24.46.

[205] See Richardson's (1993: 184 ad 135-7) comments.

[206] See Eur. *Alc.* 428-9; Plut. *Pel.* 33.2-4.

[207] See Plut. *Alex.* 72.3.

[208] See Asheri 2006: 206.

[209] See Burn 1962: 516, n. 15. Cf. Green 1996: 245.

[210] See Balcer 1993: 159, no. 190 (it should be corrected to 192). Unfortunately, I have had no access to Balcer's *The Persian Conquest of the Greeks* (Constance, 1995). Other Persian warriors in Mardonius' army, known only by their father's name, are: Azanes son of Artaios (7.66.2), Artayntes son of Ithamitres (7.67.2), Dotos son of Megasidros (7.72.2), Vadres son of Hystanes (7.77), and Mardontes son of Vagaios (7.80).

[211] See Briant 2002: 331. For members of the Achaemenid clan not related to the family of Xerxes, see Burn 1962: 335-6.

[212] For the members of the Achaemenid royal family in Xerxes' army, see Burn 1962: 333-5.

[213] See Briant 1990: 100, citing Arr. *Anab.* 7.13.1.

[214] See How-Wells 1928: 145 ad 40.2.

[215] See Hdt. 7.40.3, 3.106.2; Eust. *Il.*: vol. I, 439, line 15; Suda s.v. 'Νίσαιον'.

[216] See Eust. ibid.

[217] See Hdt. 7.40.3; Xen. *Cyr.* 8.3.16; Arr. *Fr.* 12, line 13 = Suda s.v. 'Λεοννάτος'.

[218] See Arr. *Fr.* 12, line 13 = Suda s.v. 'Λεοννάτος'.

[219] See Ar.Byz. *Epit.* 2.593.

[220] See pages 18-19, above.

[221] See Xen. *Cyr.* 8.2.7-8. Chariots with gold-bridled horses are also attested in the Old Testament, as a royal gift of Darius, see I *Esdras* 3.6.

[222] See Xen. *An.* 1.9.14-15. Cf. Tuplin 1990: 25 and n. 16.

[223] For a similar interpretation based on biblical (*Esther* 6.8) evidence, see Briant 1990: 100.

[224] See Hdt. 9.63.1.

[225] See Hdt. 7.40.2.

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Kyriakos Tsantsanoglou

Magi in Athens in the Fifth Century BC?

THE DERVENI PAPYRUS is named after the site in Northern Greece where it was found close to Thessaloniki, in whose Archaeological Museum it is now preserved. It is the only papyrus found in Greece and is one of the oldest surviving Greek papyri, if not the oldest; it dates from around 340-320 BC, roughly during the reign of Alexander the Great. Twenty-six columns of the book, of which only the upper half survives in varying states of preservation, have been reconstructed. The composition of the book copied in the papyrus can be dated to about a century before the roll was written, possibly the last quarter of the fifth century BC, the years of Socrates' activity in Athens. The book's topic has been contested, but a general description of it as religious-philosophical would not be out of place. We shall discuss briefly the religious part (the first six or seven columns of the roll). Its philosophical part (cols. VIII-XXVI, which also happen to be better preserved) we can only say now presents a physical cosmogony, an allegorical description of the creation of the world, supposedly concealed in the verses of a hymn attributed to Orpheus.[1]

Since magi are mentioned only in column VI, I print below the text of this column with a rough translation:[2]

Column VI

[   ]χοὴ καὶ θυσ[ί]αι μ[ειλ]ίσσουσι τὰ[ς ψυχάς,]
ἐπ[αοιδὴ δ]ὲ μάγων δύν[α]ται δαίμονας ἐμ[ποδὼν
γε[νομένο]υς μεθιστάναι· δαίμονες ἐμπο[δίζουσι τὰς
ψ[υχὰς τιμω]ροί. τὴν θυσ[ία]ν τούτου ἕνεκε[ν] π[οιοῦσ]ι̣[ν
5   οἱ μά[γο]ι, ὡσπερεὶ ποινὴν ἀποδιδόντες. τοῖ<ς> δὲ
ἱεροῖ[ς] ἐπισπένδουσιν ὕ[δω]ρ καὶ γάλα, ἐξ ὧνπερ καὶ τὰς
χοὰς ποιοῦσι. ἀνάριθμα [κα]ὶ πολυόμφαλα τὰ πόπανα
θύουσιν, ὅτι καὶ αἱ ψυχα[ὶ ἀν]άριθμοί εἰσι. μύσται
Εὐμενίσι προθύουσι κ[ατὰ τὰ] αὐτὰ μάγοις· Εὐμενίδες γὰρ
10   ψυχαί εἰσιν. ὧν ἕνεχ[εν ὁ μέλλων ἱ]ερὰ θεοῖς θύειν
ὀ[ρ]νίθ[ε]ιον πρότερον [ἐκθύει ψυχαῖς, ὅ]σαις ποτὲ [δεῖ]ται,
ἐπ[άγει] τε καὶ τὸ κλ[ηρωθὲν τοῖς θεοῖς,] οὐχ ὅσα [ἐ]πὶ
τῶν [.... (.)]αινεθ.[±17   ]τουτο.[
ὅτι̣ ο[τ]ῶν ἄλλ[ων

… drink-offering and sacrifices appease the [souls], while the inc[antation] of the **magi** is mighty enough to drive away (or 'to change') the *daimones* who have been hi[ndering]; *daimones* hind[er the] so[uls as aven]gers. This is why the magi perform the sacrifice, just as if they are paying retribution. And on the offerings they pour water and milk, from which they also make the libations to the dead. Innumerable and many-knobbed are the cakes they sacrifice, because the souls too are innumerable. Initiates make a preliminary sacrifice to the *Eumenides*, in the same way as the magi; for the *Eumenides* are souls. On their account, [anyone who is going] to sacrifice

to the gods first [sacrifices] a bird [to the souls], to as many as he [requi]res, and [offers] in addition what was all[oted to the gods], not as many as in the case of the … recommended (pl.)… this … that … of the others …

In the columns prior to VI, the Derveni author is mainly interested in the salvation of the souls and the means of achieving it.[3] Since one of the preconditions for this was, as in most known religions, an impeccable and guiltless life, in default of which the souls were subject to punishment by the *Erinyes*, the author gives an account of the nature and the jurisdiction of these deities and instructs on the specific rites that should be perfomed and the offerings they should be given. In column VI of the papyrus, the magi are mentioned. The restorations of the mutilated text are not all indisputable, but the basic meaning is not seriously affected. For instance, in the first line of column VI, instead of τὰ[ς ψυχάς], it might seem preferable to supplement τὰ[ς Ἐρινῦς], who were, as we said, the principal object of the previous columns. *They* were the deities who avenged wrongful acts committed during one's lifetime, so it is to *them* that people should offer sacrifices in order to appease them. However, the second half of the sentence, ἐπ[αοιδὴ δ]ὲ μάγων etc., shows clearly that the author is speaking about rites of the magi. If the latter belong to the well-known Iranian priestly caste, then Greek god-names must be excluded. The verb μειλίσσουσι is used especially for appeasing or propitiating the dead. In Aeschylus' *Libation Bearers* 15, the libation is offered as νερτέροις μειλίγματα; and in the same poet's *Persians* 610, the libation of the Iranian queen is also offered as νεκροῖσι μειλικτήρια. In both instances libations are poured as appeasement or propitiation for the dead, i.e., for the souls. So, supplementing τὰ[ς ψυχάς] in line 1 is by no means unlikely.

Why was it necessary for the souls to be placated? I suppose that the motive was primarily a desire of the living to appease the souls with regard to their own persons. But, apart from this rational truth, eschatological beliefs considered the souls as restless in both meanings of the word: uneasy and agitated, but also sleepless and wakeful. On the one hand, the souls of victims of violent death are restlessly seeking to be avenged. On the other hand, the other souls are also restless in their new environment, especially since they have to face the hostile guards of Hades and prove that they are clean and free from guilt before being allowed into certain privileged quarters. There are a host of references attesting what Greeks, popularly or officially, believed on such matters. These references have many times been collected and discussed, from Rohde's old but invaluable *Psyche*[4] to Sarah Johnston's recent *Restless Dead*,[5] from which I borrowed the expression I used previously.

What do we know of magi engaged in sacrifices? Diogenes Laertius (1.6) states that 'the magi are engaged in paying service to the gods in sacrifices and in prayers', θυσίας τε καὶ εὐχάς. The papyrus speaks in this column of sacrifices (and libations), but also of prayers or incantations. Lines 4-8 consider the magi responsible for the entire sacrificial ritual. Apparently, only the magi were thought of as having the power through their sacrificial rites and incantations to affect the behavior of *daimones* and to propitiate souls. Herodotus (1.132) offers an interesting piece of information which helps us understand the ritual situation underlying the physical theory proposed by the author: τῶν δὲ (sc. Περσῶν) ὡς ἑκάστωι θύειν θέληι, ἐς χῶρον καθαρὸν ἀγαγὼν τὸ κτῆνος καλέει τὸν θεὸν [...], ὁ δὲ τοῖσι πᾶσι Πέρσηισι κα-

τεύχεται εὖ γίνεσθαι καὶ τῶι βασιλέι [...]· διαθέντος δὲ αὐτοῦ μάγος ἀνὴρ παρεστεὼς ἐπαείδει θεογονίην, οἵην δὴ ἐκεῖνοι λέγουσι εἶναι τὴν ἐπαοιδήν· ἄνευ γὰρ δὴ μάγου οὔ σφι νόμος ἐστὶ θυσίας ποιέεσθαι.[6] In other words, the performance of a sacrifice in Persia involved the necessary presence of a magus singing a theogonical hymn. This is exactly what the author refers to as the course of action followed by the μύσται, the Greek initiates apparently modeling on the magi — except that what was sung during the sacrifices of the initiates was a theogonical hymn attributed to Orpheus. This the author of the Derveni book professes to interpret as an allegoric account of a physical cosmogony.

The sacrifices and the prayers performed by ordinary Persians, in the presence of a magus, are addressed to the dead, apparently their own family dead, their ancestors.[7] The equivalent of the Greek 'blessed souls', δίκαιοι or ἥρωες, is the Persian *artāvan-* (Avestan *ašauuan*), who are also mentioned in Greek sources as ἀρταῖοι and ἀρτάδες.[8] There is evidence from Iranian and Greek sources about offerings, mainly apotropaic, made to them. Let us remember the repeated references to such prayers and offerings in Aeschylus' *Persians* and the awe-inspiring rites for evoking the ghost of Darius in the same play, which must reflect Iranian practice.

We do not know yet who the avenging *daimones* who impede the souls are. The expression δαίμων τιμωρός is not uncommon in later literature and usually designates the *Erinys* or a δαίμων ἀλάστωρ. But also, without a specific reference, the expression means simply 'tormenting fate'.[9] Older references in the Pythagoreans speak of impure souls that were not allowed to approach each other, much less to come close to the pure ones, as they were fettered in infrangible bonds by the *Erinyes*. This activity of the *Erinyes* is actually depicted on several vase-paintings, where they appear guarding, whipping, or tying sinful souls.[10] All this is, however, Greek eschatology, whereas the Derveni author seems to be speaking about Iranian concepts. According to him the hindering by the *daimones* could, in Iranian religious teaching, be averted by the sacrifices of the magi. Who are then these hindering *daimones*?

Demons, in the negative sense of the term, did exist in the Old Persian and Zoroastrian religion. The *daēuuas*, or evil spirits, were a numberless horde of demons personifying human ills (Sickness, Sleep, Violence, Death, Fever, the Evil Eye, Drunkenness, Drought). *Aŋgra Mainiiu*, the evil spirit *par excellence*, was their leader. But, although the *daimones* of the Derveni text seem to be hostile to souls, they must not be identified with these *daēuuas*. It is clear from the context that what we are looking for is the Persian equivalent of the Greek *Erinyes*, the female spirits who, casting sharp glances (γοργῶπις, ὀξεῖα), guard human behavior (ὁρῶσαι πάντα); who avenge and punish, but act under the instructions of *Dikē*, whose attendants they are; who, though frightening, are also kind and beneficial (Εὐμενίδες); who are powerful (πότνιαι) and awful (ambivalently: both reverend, Σεμναί, and horrible, δεινῶπις); who are on guard to ensure that the natural order is kept (especially that the sun keeps its set limits) and to punish any transgression against it;[11] who are armed, winged, and move invisibly in the air (ἠεροφοῖτις). Their Iranian counterpart must have been the *fravarti-* (Avestan *frauuaṣ̌i*), as they are described mainly in *Yasht* 13, the *Frawardin Yasht*. They were immortal spirits, whose existence was external to human life and being, and so they could guard and observe human behavior and haunt sinful souls. They were assistants of Ahura Mazdā in

supporting and sustaining the material world, the sky, the earth, the waters, life; they were powerful and awful; they flew armed through the air; they gazed with sharp looks; they were in constant conflict with the *daēuuas*, who threatened the natural order. It was the special task of the **fravarti-* to ensure that the sun, the moon, and the stars moved forwards —they had stood motionless in the past through the agency of the *daēuuas*— and that they moved in their preordained paths. Finally, they were also thought of as the good souls of the faithful. There are some doubts as regards their gender. (If they were male, the similarity with the *Erinyes* would be less striking.) The mystery is aggravated because, apart from the descriptions in *Yasht* 13, no certain pictorial representation of the **fravarti-* has survived. However, though several etymologies of the Avestan term are proposed, it is certain that grammatically it is feminine, being an abstract, the physical sex thus being attracted by the grammatical gender (cf. Greek parallels such as Μῆτις, Δίκη, Ὧραι, etc.).

Sacrifices offered as retribution is a quite common concept in Greek thought. Σπονδαί (the libations that accompany sacrifices) as well as χοαί (the libations that are offered separately, being poured profusely on low altars, ἐσχάραι, sacrificial hearths, or straight into hollows in the ground) are used for the same category of chthonian recipients: the souls of the dead and the *daimones*. They consist of water and milk, they are, in other words, what Greeks would call νηφάλιαι χοαί, i.e., wineless libations. In Sophocles' *King Oedipus* (100, 481) the libations to the *Eumenides* are wineless, consisting of honey and water. One should not forget the common folk etymology deriving μειλίσσω, μείλιγμα, 'appease, appeasement', from μέλι, 'honey'. In the Scholia to Aeschines (i.188) the offerings to the *Eumenides* are also wineless, but they consist of sweet cakes and milk. If the use of honey for appeasement depends on a folk etymology, I believe that the wineless libation depends on another. We have seen that the sacrifices to the punishing daimones are offered as ποινή, penance for the dead man's wrongdoings. Another name for the *Erinyes* was Ποιναί. A soul that was clean and pure (therefore not liable to punishment) was ἄποινος. In a gold leaf from Thessaly,[12] the dead man is accepted into the holy meadow of Hades: ἄποινος γὰρ ὁ μύστης. The word means 'not liable to punishment' but also 'wineless'. The fact that Sophocles calls the *Eumenides* δαίμονες may not be significant, since the word may well mean 'gods'. But the fact that the Derveni author calls them ψυχαί, 'souls' (the spiritual and immortal part of mortal and, in particular, of dead human beings) is especially important. A similar reference to the *Erinyes* had been formerly read in another column of the papyrus, but the reading proved to be erroneous.[13] Yet, there can be no doubt that the Derveni author's teaching extended this doctrine to the *Erinyes* as well. The concept was not completely unknown. In Aeschylus' *Seven against Thebes* (70, 976-7 = 987-8) *Erinys* is identified with the soul of Oedipus, and in Apollonius Rhodius (3.704) with the soul of Medea. Actually, Erwin Rohde had already identified them with the souls of the victims of violent death, mainly based on modern concepts of ghosts, revived corpses, zombies, and draculas.[14] It seems, however, that the *Erinyes/Eumenides* of the Derveni author are identified with the *daimones* mentioned by several authors from Hesiod to Plato and the Derveni author himself, being the souls of outstanding men distinguished for righteousness and piety during their lifetime. They were not merely honored but were also entrusted with certain duties, such as guarding the entrance to Hades.

As far as the Iranian equivalents are concerned, I do not know whether the Derveni author's suggestions are demonstrable or not — nor whether they are to be followed or not. It is, nevertheless, worthwhile to detect them. And it is very likely that the ψυχαί in general must be equated with what the Iranians called *uruuan-*, the souls of the δίκαιοι or righteous among them with the *artāvan-*, and the souls of prominent personalities with the **fravarti-*. As in Greek religion, it is natural that the borderline between the different categories was not strictly defined. The living relatives of a deceased person would naturally characterize their dead as righteous, therefore *artāvan-*, so that the term ended up denoting the souls of the ancestors. The notion of a prominent personality is also vague, and so the number of the **fravarti-* multiplied. The assignment of certain duties to these souls may have also affected their essence and their number. For instance, when the **fravarti-* started being considered protective spirits of the mortals, they were identified with ancestral spirits, each mortal claiming his own **fravarti-*.

I return to the Derveni author's statements regarding the initiates who are supposedly following the model of the magi. I was not able to find explicit Iranian references to the concept of sacrifices offered as penance, which, as mentioned above, is quite common in Greek thought. It is, however, obvious that this is a universal notion, not limited to one people or one religion. There is abundant evidence for Iranian libations to the souls. Yet, I was unable to find a clear reference to wineless libations to them. Strabo (15.3.14) speaks of Iranian magi performing a libation of olive oil, milk, and honey, but not to the dead. In Aeschylus' *Persians*, the Queen offers to the dead Darius libations of milk, honey, water, and wine. And we learn that exactly the same libation was offered to the dead by the Parsis: fresh milk, pure water, *sherbet* (= μελίκρητον, 'diluted honey'), and wine. Elsewhere, however, also in Aeschylus' *Persians*, the offering to the dead, called πελανός, was made of meal, honey, and oil. To what extent, however, Aeschylus' references reflect actual Iranian practices is uncertain.

If the evidence concerning libations to the souls is somehow confused, the offering of πόπανα ('cakes' or 'pancakes') is clear. Πόπανα or πέμματα or πλακοῦντες were perhaps the most usual sacrificial offerings made by people who could not afford to sacrifice animals. Even ὀμφαλωτὰ πόπανα (round cakes with a navel or knob in the middle) are known, some times even with more than one navel. Now, this sacrificial cake is well attested in the Iranian tradition. It is called *drōn* (Middle Persian) or *draona-* (Avestan), it is about the size of the palm of the hand; it is made of wheat flour, water, and a little melted butter, and is fried. These pancakes were offered to the **fravarti-*, to Sraosha (the spirit that has a prominent role in the judgment of the dead and whose spokesperson is the cock) as well as to other spirits. It is remarkable that in ceremonies a special kind of *drōn* was used, which was marked on one side with three rows of three dents, nine in all, made with the finger-nail before frying. Three auspicious words were pronounced thrice while these dents or navels were being made. This nine-naveled cake was called *frasast*.[15] According to the Derveni text, the cakes offered to the souls and the navels upon the cakes are innumerable because, as the rationalizing author states, the souls are also innumerable. This is a widespread concept both in Iranian and in Greek religious thinking. For the first I conveniently refer to the report in Diogenes Laertius (1.7), that the magi used to teach that the air is full of εἴδωλα, where the sense of εἴδωλα is not 'shapes', as it is usually translated, but 'souls', as in Homer (εἴδωλα καμόντων). Iranian sources confirm this

concept. At *Yasht* 13.65, we read about the *fravarti- that they were a vast crowd of 'many hundreds, many thousands, many tens of thousands'. The same concept, some times with the gods or *daimones* instead of souls, has been ascribed to Thales (A 22 D.-K.), the Pythagoreans (B 1a [i.451.3] D.-K.), Heraclitus (A 1 [i.141.11] D.-K.), Empedocles (A 31 D.-K.); it is explicitly stated by Plato (*Leg.* 899 b), figuratively by Aristotle (*Gen. anim.* 762 a 21), and playfully by Aristophanes (*Eccl.* 1073), Callimachus (*Ep.* 4 Pf.) and others.

We read then: 'Initiates make a preliminary sacrifice to the *Eumenides*, in the same way the magi do; for the *Eumenides* are souls.' We are not told who these initiates —Eleusinian or other— are. Πολυόμφαλα πόπανα are, however, mentioned by Clement of Alexandria (*Protr.* 2.22.4) in a list of the occult objects contained in the *cista mystica* of Eleusis. The fact that the same sort of cakes recur here in the framework of initiation rites of cathartic and propitiatory character, modeled on Oriental religious practices which were concerned with the souls of the dead ancestors and the *daimones*, cannot be insignificant. In any case, the initiates (μύσται) appear again in the Derveni papyrus under different designations, usually οἱ γινώσκοντες; and it must be to them that the entire Derveni book was addressed. As for the *Eumenides*, the placated *Erinyes*, to whom the initiates make preliminary sacrifices in the same way the magi do, they are obviously the equivalent of the Iranian hindering *daimones* we saw before, after changing (μεθιστάναι = 'drive away' but also 'change') to beneficial spirits due to the power of the offerings of the magi.

Up to now our approach to the text of column VI has been literal, and we have taken everything that the author claims as objective truth. I shall not conceal the fact that much of what we supported has been disputed by several scholars. Who are the magi that are mentioned three times in column VI, and who are the initiates that follow their doctrines and practices? It was contended that already in the fifth century magi might generally denote Oriental sages, including Babylonian priests. Others maintain that the magi of column VI are Greek priests of a private religious group. Others claim that 'magus' means 'charlatan', and that such a charlatan is here promoting the religious doctrines and ceremonies of column VI.

To start with the last objection, it is true that the word μάγος was used by rationalizing intellectuals in a pejorative sense. So Sophocles makes Oedipus in his *King Oedipus* (387) call the seer Teiresias a magus and a begging priest. In the Hippocratic treatise *On the Sacred Disease* (1) the author attacks μάγοι τε καὶ καθάρται καὶ ἀγύρται καὶ ἀλαζόνες, who pretend to possess superior knowledge and promise to cure epilepsy with purification rituals and incantations. Possibly Heraclitus (22 B 14 D.-K.) did the same, accusing them of initiating people into the mysteries in an unholy way. I have no doubt whatsoever that the persons accused are the same as those mentioned in the Derveni book, only that here they are not accused. Their doctrines and practices are mentioned approvingly as models to be followed by the initiates. The author may well be considered a charlatan, but he does not refer to the magi (or to himself, naturally) as charlatans. Can the magi be Greek priests of a private religious group? It is practically certain that the author is a religious professional (*mantis*, *telestēs*, mystagogue), whose aim is to initiate his followers into an unorthodox religious confession. But when a Greek religious professional states that the initiates follow or must follow the magi, can he mean some other Greek religious professionals? If he was a magus himself, would he not use a different ex-

pression? For instance, not 'This is why the magi perform the sacrifice', but 'This is why we (or 'we the magi') perform the sacrifice'. Finally, if there existed such a category of priests named 'magi', should we not possess at least a single testimony about them in the enormous surviving body of literary, epigraphic, and papyric texts?

That the author refers to Iranian magi, presenting them as venerable models of wisdom and piety, is, at least in my view, the most likely explanation of column VI. That he possesses, however, an accurate and not a vague knowledge of the magi, that he does not use the word as an umbrella term denoting Eastern wise religious men, and that his particulars are correct and not (occasionally) fabricated is something I cannot assert.

Let us then return to the heading of my paper: 'Magi in fifth-century BC Athens?' I do not know whether the Derveni book was written in Athens or whether it was written by an Athenian. It is true that the most serious proposals made so far for its authorship locate it in this city. Does this mean that Iranian magi teaching their religious doctrines frequented Athens? The pieces of evidence we possess are not important and certainly do not allow us to seek in antiquity for the counterparts of present-day traveling Eastern mystics. We know the case of Zopyrus the physiognomist, who is described by Aristotle (32 Rose) as a Magus coming to Athens from Syria. Not only did he judge Socrates' character from his facial characteristics, but he also predicted his execution. Another philosophizing Persian in Athens is Mithradates, son of Rhodobates, who dedicated a statue of Plato in the Academy (Diog. Laert. 3.25) — obviously after his death. He may be the same as the Chaldaean who was received by Plato in his old age, as is mentioned by Philodemus in his account of the history of the Academy (133 f. [Dorandi 1991]). Mithradates' presence, however, cannot date before the mid-fourth century and is too late, therefore, for the Derveni book. In any case, sages of this sort must have been traveling to or even have settled in the western satrapies of the Persian empire and in eastern Greek cities. Conversely, Greeks (mainly East Greeks) must have traveled to and from Persian cities.

A considerable number of East Greeks, mainly Ionians, settled in Athens, many of them employed as teachers of rhetoric and philosophy. We all speak of the revolution which the Ionian physicists initiated in Greek thought, and of the numerous innovative ideas, theories, and methods they introduced. However that may be, we usually approach this revolution or innovation in a rigid way, as if it were synonymous with rationalization or secularization. The Derveni book shows that there were exceptions to the rule, allowing for a meeting and a fusion of religion and cosmology, perhaps under the influence of Iranian teaching. We have seen a number of instances from column VI. I would claim that many more examples can be found in the rest of the book. The emphasis on eschatology and the worship of souls, the identification of *Eumenides* (the placated *daimones*) with souls, the primary role given to the sun in the creation of the world — all seem cognate with Iranian concepts. Finally, the only god of the Achaemenid house and the supreme deity in the creation of the world, Ahura Mazdā (meaning 'Lord Wisdom'), does not differ from the Derveni author's Νοῦς, ('Mind', 'Wit'), who is described as 'mightiest' and 'king' and who decided and effected Creation. All these ideas appear in the teachings of other Greek intellectuals as well, so that we might possibly speak, with Walter Burkert, of common possessions inside a Near Eastern-Mediterranean *koinē*.[16] What is important with the Derveni book is not so much that it mentions some ideas or practices that

may or may not be identified with Iranian equivalents, but that it is the first text that expressly documents this borrowing.

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[1] For a complete account of the excavation and the archaeological find, see Themelis and Touratsoglou 1997. A full edition of the text of the papyrus, with long introduction, commentary, and a full set of photographs: Kouremenos et al. 2006. Previous editions: Janko 2002; Jourdan 2003; Betegh 2004.

[2] Some improvements in relation with former editions, ours included, have been inserted into the text. Some of them have been suggested by Professor R. Janko during a lecture given in Edinburgh on 1 November 2007. He has also added one more certain reference to magi in column III.

[3] See Tsantsanoglou 1997: 93-128.

[4] Rohde 1898.

[5] Johnston 1999. From the enormous amount of literature in between Rohde and Johnston, I would like to single out Kalogerakos 1996.

[6] 'When one (of the Persians) wishes to sacrifice to each of the gods, he leads the victim to a clean place and invokes the god [..], but he prays that it turns out well for all the Persions and the king [...]. While he distributes it, a Magus stands by and chants a theogony, because such is the chant as they say. Actually, their law does not permit them to perform sacrifices without a Magus.'

[7] Cf. also Hdt. 7.191; Strab. 15.3.14; Lucian 38.7, 9; Paus. 5.27.5.

[8] Hesych. s.vv. 'ἀρτάδες' and 'ἀρταῖοι'; Hellanicus, *FGrHist* 4 F 60.

[9] I use to term *daimones*, in order to distinguish from the later, consistently negative notion of 'demons'.

[10] Sarian 1986.

[11] This specific task of the *Erinyes* is actually discussed in Kouremenos et al. 2006 (col. IV), with reference to Heraclitus fr. B 8 + B 94 (D.-K.).

[12] Chrysostomou 1991: 372-97 (= 1998: 210-20); *BullÉpigr* 1999: 285, 2000: 401.

[13] Tsantsanoglou 1997: 93, 99-100

[14] Rohde 1898: 269-70.

[15] The offering of a πόπανον ἐννεόμφαλον is mentioned in an inscription from the Asklepieion of Pergamun (see Habicht 1969: no. 161). On the loaves of bread, of the size of the palm of the hand, offered as oblations (πρόσφορα, λειτουργιές) for the Holy Communion in the Eastern Orthodox church, there are also three rows of three dents, symbolically representing the Orders of angels, prophets, apostles, hierarchs, martyrs, monastic saints, and three other classes of saints. (The parallel was suggested to me by K. Rhomiopoulou.)

[16] Burkert 2003: 133.

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Massoud Azarnoush
Hājīābād and the Dialogue of Civilizations

Extensive administrative reforms carried out by Ardashīr I (AD 226-241), the founder of the Sasanian dynasty, provided the kingdom with wealth and power unknown under the Arsacid Parthians and enabled the King of Kings to play a more ambitious role in the international arena. This hitherto unrivaled power was demonstrated first and foremost by the military victories of Shāhpūhr I over Gordian III, Philip the Arab, and Valerian. Shāhpūhr I won the war, but his successors were unable to win the peace. Further ferocious military contests took place under Shāhpūhr I's greatgrandson, Shāhpūhr II (AD 309-379), who ruled the kingdom for a good part of the fourth century, and only ended with the defeat and death of Julian the Apostate in 363. It was probably in or around AD 363 that the Manor House of Hājīābād was built or redecorated.

Hājīābād, a large village when the excavations began in the late 1970s and now a town, is situated southwest of the modern city of Dārāb in the heartland of the Sasanian kingdom (Fig. 1). The latter city, located some 280 km east of Shīrāz (the capital of the province of Fārs in southern Iran), stands at the site of Dārābgerd, the abandoned provincial capital of eastern Fārs and the first seat of Ardashīr I (Fig. 2).

During the summer of 1977, a mound to the north of Hājīābād was bulldozed, apparently for agricultural purposes. In the process, the discovery of numerous fragments of stucco demonstrated the archaeological importance of the mound and prompted the Iranian Center for Archaeological Research (ICAR) to undertake its first season of excavations at the site.[1] As a result, parts of an impressive architectural complex, which was labeled the Sasanian Manor House of Hājīābād, were found.

Differences in the respective dimensions, accessibility, and arrangement of the units of the excavated complex, the presence or absence of decoration in a given room or courtyard, and the type of decoration used in them point to possible functional distinctions (Fig. 3).

Area A, comprising a number of axially approached units of larger dimensions decorated mainly with murals (Loci 131, 149, 178, 214, 221), was probably ceremonial or public. Area B, consisting of a number of laterally approached, small, independent units (Loci 134, 139, 167, 182, 209, 215), can be interpreted as private apartments. A religious function can be suggested for the laterally approached units of Area C (Loci 104, 107, 108, 114, 147), which are closer in dimensions to those of Area B

Fig. 1
Topographic map of Iran showing the approximate locations of some of the major urban centers and the city of Dārāb (to the east of Shīrāz).

Fig. 2
Parts of eastern Fārs showing the locations of Dārābgerd and Hājīābād (After Azarnoush 1994: fig. 2).
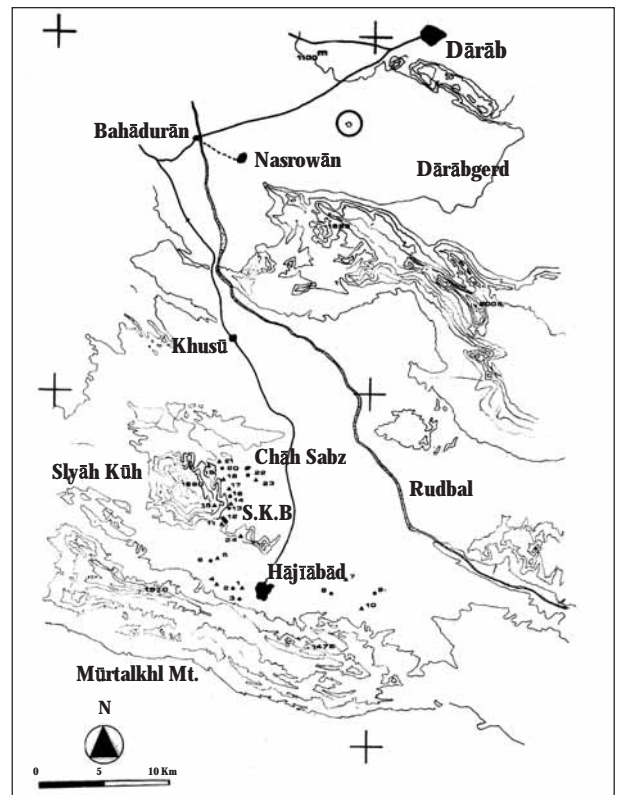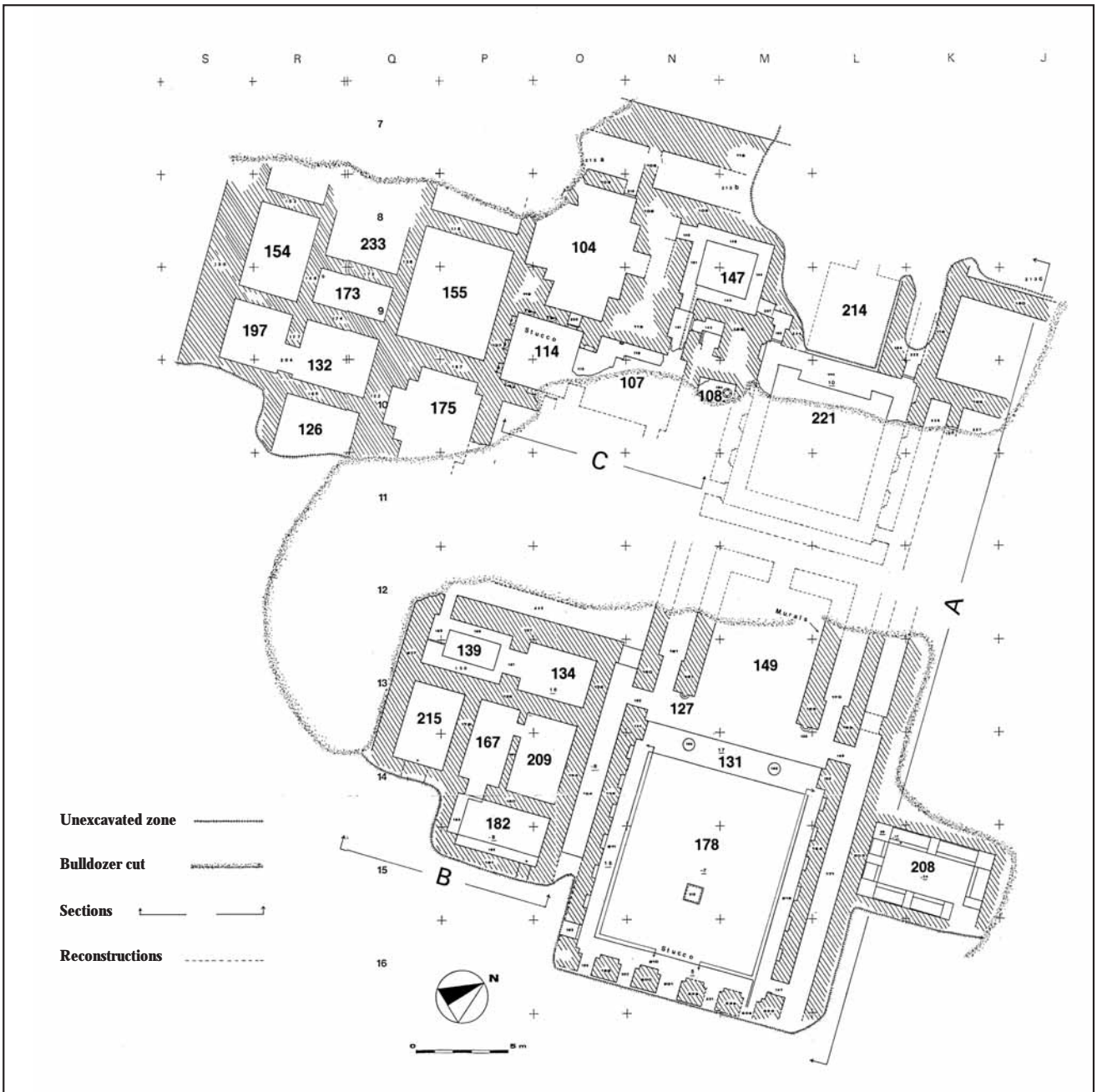
Fig. 3
Plan of the excavated complex with a tentative reconstruction of Area A. (Adapted from Azarnoush 1994: pl. C.)

Fig. 4
Mural. Under-life-size male portrait. Photo: M. Azarnoush.

Fig. 5
Stucco. Rectangular block decorated with rosette and palmetto motifs. Photo: M. Azarnoush.
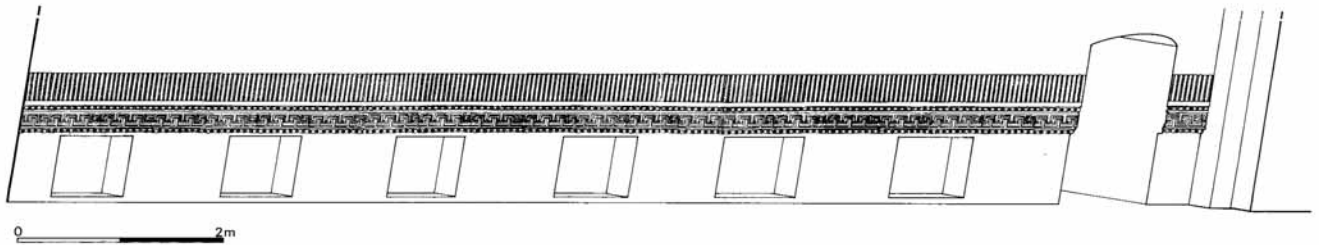
Fig. 7
Tentative reconstruction of Wall 125 in Courtyard 178
and its decorative order. (After Azarnoush 1994: pl. B[3].)

than those of Area A. Two of them were densely decorated with stuccos. The remaining, partially or fully excavated units (Loci 205 and 208 to the east of Area A; and 126, 132, 154, 155, 173, 175, 197, 233 to the west of Area C) are labeled Area D. Unlike the three preceding areas, however, this heading does not denote any specific and uniform function. Units assigned to this area most likely formed a part of either the public (Area A) or the private (Area B) quarters of the complex.

Murals which, as mentioned above, formed a part of the decoration of the excavated building were restricted to parts of the public area. They include both ornamental and figural motifs. Figure 4 shows one of the figural murals, which consist mostly of over-life-size and under-life-size portraits.

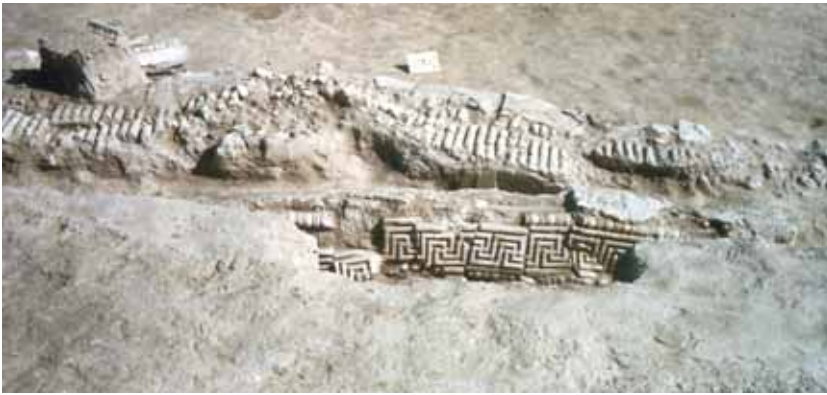Although not the only decorative medium used, stucco played an important role in the adornment of this building. The decorative stucco works fall into several categories. There are floral, geometric or abstract patterns, architectonic elements, and figural motifs. Before embarking on the main subject of this discussion, I briefly review some of the main stucco works of every category.

Figure 5, for instance, shows a rectangular plaque with a rosette and palmetto between two listels. Although the original location of this element inside Locus 104 is unknown, it is, nevertheless, obvious that it was made to be employed in continuous decorative patterns. The half rosette to the right end of the plaque could be completed only if another plaque of its kind were placed next to it. Another type of rectangular stucco block excavated, this time with intertwined swastikas and astragals (Fig. 6), was also made to be employed in a continuous decorative pattern as shown by the hypothetical reconstruction (Fig. 7). Figures 8 and 9 show, respectively, the partially preserved base and shaft of a miniature, engaged column and a similar architectonic element of bigger size applied to a pillar next to *Eyvān*[2] 149.

Fig. 8
Stucco. Partially preserved base and shaft of a miniature engaged column. Photo: M. Azarnoush.

Fig. 9
Stucco. Engaged column (Locus 127) and scattered remains of a bust in front of it. Photo: M. Azarnoush.

Fig. 10
Stucco. Large-scale bust of Shāhpūhr II (AD 309-379). Photo: M. Azarnoush.

Fig. 11
Stucco. A medium-size male bust. Photo: M. Azarnoush.

Fig. 12
Stucco. Medium-size male bust probably depicting Bahrām Kūshānshāh. Photo: M. Azarnoush.

Figural stuccos may be divided into several groups (human, fauna, and fantastic beings), each composed of several subgroups. This is particularly true of representations of human figures, which comprise busts and statues of various sizes. One bust, which depicts a Sasanian King of Kings (Fig. 10), and several unidentifiable male personages constitute the group of the large-scale busts. Each Sasanian King of Kings had one or more distinctive forms of crown. The crown of the King of Kings depicted here can be recognized as one of the two forms of the crown worn by Shāhpūhr II, thus allowing the identification of the royal bust as a representation of the latter monarch and offering, simultaneously, a *terminus post quem* for the excavated structure or its redecoration.

The medium-sized busts were applied to circular plates which, judging from a completely preserved example, were approximately 34 cm in diameter and 2.6 cm thick (Fig. 11). The male personages depicted remain unidentifiable in all but four instances: namely, three busts that can be identified as representing Shāhpūhr II (in addition to the large-scale bust mentioned above) and a fourth one that most probably depicts Bahrām Kushānshāh, one of the vassal-kings of the Sasanians (Fig. 12).[3]

I introduced the busts very succinctly, but statues and statuettes call for more detailed discussion. Remains of several slightly-under-life-size statues of women were discovered in the niches around the interior of Room 114 of the excavated building (Fig. 13). Figure 14a-e includes some of the least damaged fragments of this type.[4] Examination of the latter fragments and the still standing examples shows that each statue was made of several parts that were modeled separately, almost entirely in the round, and then assembled. In some of the niches the statues are still standing to almost their original height. Extremely eroded though these may be, they

Fig. 13
Unit 114 during excavation.
Photo: M. Azarnoush.

offer nonetheless an understanding of the general appearance of the figures. The women are dressed in long robes that fall in rich folds around their feet (Fig. 14e). They cover their left breast with the left hand and —as the position of the fingers on one of the fragments indicates (Fig. 14d)— gently hold the skirt of the robe with the right hand.

There are two types of statuettes, clothed and nude. Representative of the first type is an acephalous statuette of a woman rendered in high, almost three-dimensional relief (Fig. 15). Very much like the statues, the figure is dressed in a long robe with ample folds that fall around her feet, her left hand rests on her left breast, and her right hand is placed on the right thigh. The unnaturally large distance between the figure's folded arms and her thorax is to be explained by her unusually broad shoulders. The figure's right knee is slightly bent and turned inward in a rather graceful movement.

The second type comprises several statuettes of nude women (e.g., Fig. 16). They, too, are modeled in very high relief and could be easily perceived as statuettes in the round, were they not meant to be attached to a wall. The female statuettes in Figure 16 have a rather elaborate hairdo which forms a globular tuft at the top and three rows of semispherical

a b c d
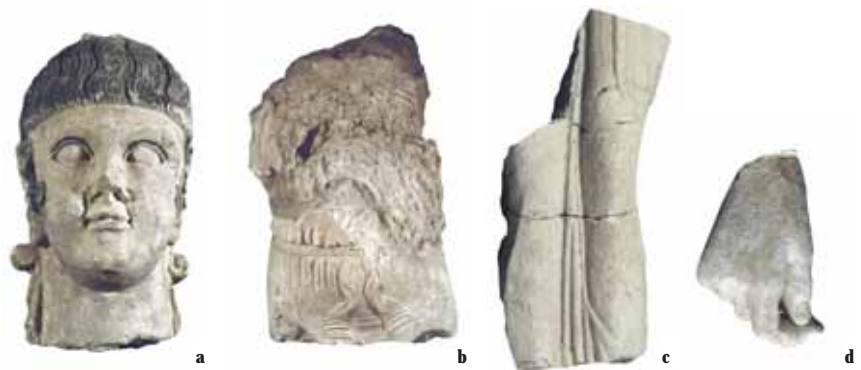
Fig. 14a-e
Stucco. Partially preserved head, torso, legs, hand, and feet of a large-scale, dressed female figure.
Photo: M. Azarnoush.

e

forms, which suggest hair curls, regularly and tightly arranged, below. A diadem in the form of a simple fillet with an oval bead at the center ends, on either side, in a lozenge-shaped, leaf-like decorative element. Several locks of hair spreading out from beneath the diadem cover the temples and hang over the cheeks and down on the shoulders, framing the figure's double necklace. Only the right breast is visible; the left one is hidden by the woman's right hand. She also covers her pudendum with her left hand. As in the preceding example, the right knee is slightly bent and turned inward in a rather graceful movement.

Finally, there were several figurines of nude male children (e.g., Fig. 17). They are individually set within keyhole-shaped miniature niches which probably were attached to the upper parts of the walls inside Room 114. They all have chubby, round faces and curly hair and hold a bunch of grapes in each hand. The hair is adorned in each instance with three heart-shaped ornaments, placed one on either side of the head above each ear and the third one above the forehead. The figures are standing, resting their weight on their left leg, their flexed right knee extending slightly forward.

As far as one can tell, all of the busts found at Hājīābād represent male mortals. The statues and statuettes, on the other hand, are a totally different case. For reasons that are briefly discussed below, the latter images most likely represent, I suggest, one or more divine beings and were placed in the excavated building for cultic purposes.

While the setting of the statues (i.e., their prominent display on a pedestal within a niche under a cupola) can be said to confer on them spe-

cial significance, leads to the divine identity of the sum of the female sculptures found at the site are supplied by (a) the gesture of covering the left breast with the left hand of the statues that occupied the niches around Locus 114 and their miniature replicas; and (b) the nudity of some of the female statuettes as well as the child figurines. Whereas in western art both male and female mortals could be shown naked from at least a certain period onward, in the East nudity was reserved for particular divinities. The Iranians were particularly heedful in this regard. For instance, in his description of the habits of contemporary Iranians, the Latin historian Ammianus Marcellinus, a contemporary of Shāhpūhr II, states that:

> Most of them are so covered with clothes gleaming with many shimmering colours, that although they leave their robes open in front and on the sides, and let them flutter in the wind, yet from their head to their shoes no part of the body is seen uncovered.[5]

In the art of the ancient Near East, both nudity and the gesture of supporting the breasts[6] were specifically associated with fertility goddesses. Indeed, we may recall that it was the discovery of numerous nude female figurines in the proximity of the temple of Ishtar in Babylon that allowed the excavator to determine the identity of the building even before the discovery of the cylinder of Nabonidus.

Closer in time to the statues and statuettes discussed here are the numerous figurines from Seleucia on the Tigris, which illustrate different variations of this iconographic type. According to van Ingen, '[a]lmost surely to be identified with her [i.e., the oriental goddess of fertility] are the representations of a nude woman standing with her arms in one of several positions' found at that site. 'The type with clasped hands, which is found among the earliest known figurines from Babylonia and was very popular in the third and second millennia B.C., is represented by only two examples from Seleucia', and (according to van Ingen's investigation) was not used to any great extent during the Seleucid and Parthian periods. But 'the type in which the woman presses or supports her breasts, which was also used from the earliest times, continued in popularity during the later periods…'[7] Another variant shows one of the arms resting on the figure's side and the other on her breast,[8] as in the statues and the clad statuette mentioned above. On yet another variant of the type, one hand is placed on the breast while the other one covers the pudendum,[9] like the nude statuettes of Hājīābād. Although not as frequent as the nude types, clad examples of this Mother Goddess were not rare. An interesting specimen is the cult image of the Temple of Ishtar of Agade in Babylon.[10] The examples from Hājīābād evidently constitute some of the latest manifestations of the ancient and widely popular iconographic type of the oriental goddess of fertility and love, who 'nourishes humanity on her breast'.[11]

The counterpart of this mighty goddess in the Iranian, and especially in the Zoroastrian, worldview was Anahita (Av. *Arəduuī Surā Anahitā*; Gk. Ἀναῖτις). Herodotus (1.1.131) claims that the Iranians had 'learnt to sacrifice to the Heavenly Aphrodite from the Assyrians and Arabians', implying that the syncretism of the cult of Anahita with that of the Mesopotamian fertility goddess dated from the Achaemenid period. On the evidence of Berossus (*FGrHist* 680 F 11), reported by Clement of Alexandria (*Protr.* 5.57), one may suggest that the custom of setting up cult statues of the goddess was also introduced relatively late in Iran proper. According to this account, Artaxerxes II (404-359/8 BC) was the first to erect statues of Anahi-

ta in various important administrative centers of the Achaemenid empire.

Specialists in Iranian religion have recognized that some aspects of the cult of Anahita recall that of the Mesopotamian goddess Ishtar-Inanna.[12] The limited space of this article prevents any detailed discussion in this regard, particularly with reference to Hājīābād where, in addition to the statues and statuettes, several common Ishtar-Anahita symbols were found (see below). In the light of this information, the clad statues around Locus 114 as well as the clad and nude female statuettes may well depict Anahita, the great Iranian goddess of water and fertility.

Figurines of nude male infants, more or less similar to those from Hā-jīābād, have been found at various sites of the ancient Near East. Their headdress, however, is not always as neatly fashioned as it is in the cases of those from Hājīābād. In some instances, the tripartite headdress resembles three tufts of hair[13] or, in Legrain's description of one of the latter examples, '[t]he head wears a three-pointed wreath, or else the hair is artificially waved'.[14] Other examples show a shaven head except for the tufts.[15] The examples from Hājīābād are distinguished from these other examples by their clearly formed, tripartite, heart-shaped headdress.

Nude male infants are commonly identified as representations of young Eros or Tammuz[16] or Amorino.[17] It is far from certain that these identifications are valid in all cases; some at least of these figurines may have been votive offerings or may have had a merely decorative purpose.[18] These interpretations are still convincing, however, in the cases of figurines that share one of the attributes of the Mother Goddess, such as the pomegranate,[19] or were found in sanctuaries, like the Amorini of Taxila which were enshrined in a very important stupa-shrine.[20]

The grape is a well-known symbol of fertility connected with Dionysiac cult.[21] And the heart-shaped elements of the headgear of the figurines from Hājīābād recall the ivy wreaths worn during the lavish festivals in honor of Dionysus.[22] There can be little doubt that our figurines were in some way connected with a fertility cult, in all likelihood with the cult of the Iranian fertility goddess, Anahita, attested at the site. Unfortunately, the specific connection eludes us.

As I have already mentioned above, at Hājīābād statues and statuettes occur in association with several other figural motifs, almost all of which can be assigned a religious significance. These include lion heads, zebus and, perhaps more notably, two human-headed, winged bulls that were discovered, respectively, one prior to and one during our excavation of the site (Fig. 18).

The two anthropomorphic monsters are executed in high relief. Their crowned heads are almost three-dimensional. The crown is composed of a flat rim at the top under which there is a wider area composed of 14 petals or flutings. Eight spiral curls of hair, in two groups of opposing directions, spread out between this area of the crown and the diadem underneath. The creatures have long, pointed, vertical bull's ears. A long cluster of hair, made of several serpentine locks, hangs on either side of the head. The monster has a narrow moustache and a long, flat-cut beard made of parallel horizontal and slightly convex bands. Two wings, each comprising four large flat bands, presumably the feathers, spread outward from the area behind the ears and the hair clusters. The folded bull's legs are schematically rendered by a combination of two conical projections and several incised lines.

In addition to their role as the guardians of Assyrian and Achaemenian palaces, the supernatural character of these anthropomorphic monsters is

Fig. 18
Crouching human-headed bull.
Photo: M. Azarnoush.

Fig. 19
Naqsh-e Rostam. Rock-relief.
Investiture of Narsē (AD 293-302).
Photo: M. Azarnoush.

Fig. 20
Aphrodite Pudica.
Capitoline Museums MC 0409.
(Courtesy Capitoline Museums.)

well attested. In ancient Babylonia, for example, human-headed bulls were held to represent Gibil and Nusku, the gods of fire or lamps, companions of Shamash.[23] Sasanian human-headed bulls have been identified as representations of Gōpatshāh, who is mentioned and described in the Middle Persian text *Mēnōg ī Khrad* (or '*Spirit of Wisdom*')[24] and whose main task was to purify the water of the seas.[25] This 'immortal ruler of the region of glory', according to another Middle Persian text, the *Dādīstān ī Dēnīg* (or '*Religious Judgments*')[26] is also considered to be the spiritual chief of the Iranian Garden of Eden or original, mythical homeland of the Iranians, the Ērān-Wēj.[27] The presence of Gōpatshāh, therefore, confirms the religious context in which the statues and statuettes presented here are used.

My main purpose in the present discussion, however, is neither to establish the character of the excavated building nor to prove the religious function of some of its various areas. This discussion about the sculptural finds from Hājīābād enables me to present a few stylistic comments about some of these works which seem to lead to important cross-cultural comparisons.

The treatment of the drapery of the clad, acephalous statuette of the goddess described above (Fig. 15) may well be based on earlier Hellenistic models. No Hellenistic model can account, however, for this figure's unusually broad shoulders. An explanation for this feature is to be sought instead in Avestan descriptions of Anahita as a 'robust young lady'.[28] The loss of the head of the statuette precludes any accurate estimate of the figure's proportions. Her extremely wide shoulders are nonetheless closely comparable with those of the female figures, also interpreted as representations of Anahita, on contemporary rock reliefs, such as the third-century relief of Narsē at Naqsh-e Rostam VIII (Fig. 19). The Hājīābād statuette is fully compatible, therefore, with both Avestan descriptions of Anahita and the Iranian canon of beauty current in the fourth century.

The proportions of the nude female figures discovered at the site are markedly different. They have elongated bodies that rise to a height of almost eight times the height of their head, and their gestures and nudity are most unusual compared to both representations of Anahita in Sasanian art and the description of this goddess in the *Ābān Yasht* of the Avesta. It would seem legitimate, therefore, to look for a different (i.e., a non-Iranian) source

of artistic and/or religious inspiration in this case. Looking for such a source, the present author came across the statue of Aphrodite Pudica, presently in the collection of the Capitoline Museum (Fig. 20).[29] All characteristics of this remarkable work are comparable with those of our statuettes from Hājīābād, the proportions, the nudity, and the gesture of the hands.

Any assessment of the route or extent of the distribution of this hypothetical prototype, nevertheless, seems impossible at the present stage of knowledge. It is extremely hard to estimate how the idea reached Hājīābād and the artist who created the stuccos of the excavated complex. Undoubtedly, more work is necessary in this regard. Future excavations on the sites of this and earlier periods in the zone between the eastern Mediterranean and the Iranian plateau will hopefully reveal further examples which make the connection between the prototype and Hājīābād's nude statuettes.

If this comparison is accepted as valid, it suggests that during a turbulent period of almost constant wars between the East and the West, artistic interactions never ceased. Unlike the military leaders, artists (and via them the people) probably continued talking to each other in a language other than that of the sword.

[1] Most of the information in this article derives from the present author's previous, more detailed reports on the excavations at Hājīābād: Azarnoush 1983, 1984a,b, 1986 and, in particular, 1994. This information is provided by the first (and at the time of the above mentioned publications, the only) season of excavations.

[2] An Iranian term for an architectural unit which is walled on three sides and open on the fourth side onto an open space, usually a courtyard.

[3] Kushānshāh, the king of Kushānshahr, was the title of Sasanian governors of the eastern provinces of the kingdom, which roughly included present-day Afghanistan, parts of Central Asia, and western India.

[4] Fragments a-d were found during the bulldozing activities prior to the excavations.

[5] Amm.Marc. 23.6.84 (trans. Rolfe, J. C. [Loeb]).

[6] Langdon 1914: 60.

[7] van Ingen 1939: 18.

[8] van Ingen 1939: 19, pl. II 15-18.

[9] van Ingen 1939: 19, pl. II 14.

[10] Reuther 1926: 144, pl. 43a,b.

[11] Langdon 1914: 60.

[12] Boyce 2001: 1005; Schwartz 1985: 670.

[13] Marshall 1951: vol. 2, p. 530, no. 85; van Ingen 1939: 198, no. 704.

[14] Legrain 1928: 209, no. 6, fig. 2.

[15] Marshall 1951: vol. 2, p. 709, no. 73.

[16] Legrain 1928: 209, no. 6.

[17] Marshall 1951: vol. 2, p. 530, no. 85.

[18] van Ingen 1939: 22.

[19] van Ingen 1939: 22.

[20] Marshall 1951: vol. 1, p. 328.

[21] In connection with the Sasanian period, see especially Carter 1968: 121-46; Ettinghausen 1972: 3-10; Shepherd 1966: 289-311.

[22] A good example of this crown can be seen on a coin from Naxos with the effigy of the god (Chamoux 1963: pl. 79). For a brief description of the festivals, see Chamoux 1963: 289-311.

[23] Amiet 1961: 139.

[24] von Gall 1980: 245, n. 13; Lukonin 1967: 155-6, 179.

[25] *Dînâ-î Maînog-î Khirad* LXII.32-6 (West 1965: vol. 3, pp. 111-12). See also *Bundahish* XXIX.5 (West 1965: vol. 1, p. 117 and n. 6).

[26] *Dâdîstân-î Dênîg* XC (West 1965: vol. 2, pp. 256-7).

[27] *Dînâ-î Maînog-î Khirad*, XLIV.24-35 (West 1965: vol. 3, p. 86-7).

[28] *Âbân Yašt* IV.15, XXX.126 (Darmesteter 1883: 52-84).

[29] Fuchs 1979: 239, pl. 257. The photograph Fig. 29 of the statue of Aphrodite Pudica (Capitoline Museums MC 0409) is after http://en.museicapitolini. org/ percorsi/percorsi_per_sale_museo_capitolino/gabi netto_della_venere/statua_della_venere_capitolina

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SARA ALINIA

Zoroastrianism and Christianity in the Sasanian Empire (Fourth Century AD)

IN THE EARLY Byzantine/Sasanian periods, the Greco-Roman and Iranian worlds at times experienced a mutually antagonistic political coexistence, while at other times an atmosphere of peace and commercial and cultural interaction prevailed. This article deals with an important aspect of Greco-Iranian relations in late antiquity: the religious and political antagonism of the later Roman and Sasanian empires as a result of the development of Christian communities in the Iranian world in the fourth century AD.

During the first decades of Sasanian rule (224-226 and after), Christians had remained outside the compass of the political conflict between the Byzantine and Sasanian states. Although their negative treatment by the Sasanian authorities is attested twice during the third century, Christians in Iran generally enjoyed religious freedom, and their religion spread rapidly.[1]

In the fourth century, the Sasanians gradually became aware of the extent and significance of the development of Christianity, particularly after the eruption of conflicts within the Christian community. In the first decade of the century, the bishop of Ctesiphon, Papa, decided that it was time for the administrative unification of the autonomous Christian communities under the supervision of an archbishop, the Καθολικός.[2] Papa had realized that the administrative progress achieved as well as the religion's growth called for this administrative change. It would appear, however, that Iran's Christians were not ready for such reforms, and his plans did not come to fruition. His rivals reacted fiercely, and he was soon deposed. However, this development did not bring an end to this internal conflict.[3] The Zoroastrian priesthood was keeping a close eye on the conflicts between the Christians, and they probably assumed that these events were related to Byzantine foreign policy toward the Sasanian empire.

The uneasiness of the Zoroastrian priests was soon confirmed. After the Edict of Constantine (AD 313), the legalization of the Christian religion resulted in its solemnization in the Greco-Roman world. In becoming the Greco-Roman world's official religion, Christianity had acquired the strength it had been seeking.[4] But Constantine's political and religious measures also had repercussions for the fate of Christians residing beyond the Roman-Sasanian borders.

Constantine's Edict caused problems and uneasiness for the *Shāhanshāh* ('King of Kings') and the Zoroastrian priesthood. The existence of a strong Christian minority near the western borders of the Sasanian state was viewed by the Sasanian authorities as possibly leading to political instability. From being persecuted, Christianity had now developed into a powerful religion with influence both on the internal political sphere as well as on relations between the later Roman empire and Sasanian Iran. The conflict of the Zoroastrian clergy with the Christian subjects of the *Shāhanshāh* would be the main theme in the political and diplomatic affairs of the two empires in subsequent centuries.

The political importance which Constantine attributed to the Christian communities of Sasanian Iran soon lead to diplomatic actions. A few years following the edict, he wrote a letter to Shāhpūhr II (AD 309-379), congratulating him on his positive attitude toward the Christian population and officially asking the Sasanian king to undertake the task of protecting the Christian population inside Sasanian Iran.[5] The Roman emperor apparently attempted for the first time to point out officially to Shāhpūhr that the Christian communities of the Sasanian empire were an important factor in the political relations of the two empires. Constantine's move was part of his general policy of supporting Christianity as a means of inspiring and ensuring internal political stability in his empire as well as the expansion of Roman influence in western Mesopotamia.[6] Additionally, Constantine's letter was a move unexpected by the Sasanians, since no official persecution had taken place prior to that time.[7] And it was a *de facto* interference in the internal politics of the Sasanian empire, which disturbed Shāhpūhr.

The repercussions of Constantine's letter were severe for the Christians of Sasanian Iran. The Zoroastrian clergy now favored a policy of hostility toward the Christians. The argument that the Christians were proxies for the Roman emperor was promoted skillfully and was later used as the main reason for subsequent persecutions of Christians.[8]

In 339 the *Shāhanshāh* ordered the first official persecution of his Christian subjects. Some Christians were accused of collaboration with the Romans. Specifically, Shāhpūhr had ordered Iranian Christians to perform military service in the Sasanian corps preparing for war against the Romans. However, the Sasanian authorities encountered problems. The Christians refused to participate in the campaigns of Shāhpūhr, stating such action would be against the principles of their religion.[9] Shāhpūhr was disturbed by their attitude, and he considered it a ploy, a means for the Christians to prevent the reinforcement of his army against the Roman emperor.[10] Shāhpūhr then asked the Christians to pay for exemption from their military duties in the campaign that he was preparing. In fact, through his minister of finance, he was asking for the payment of a double tax by the Christians. According to the orders of the king, Symeon, bishop of Ctesiphon, was to collect these taxes from the Christian communities.[11] The refusal of Symeon to collect these enormous taxes tested the patience of the king.[12] Symeon's behavior offended the *Shāhanshāh*, and simultaneously an official accusation was made that this attitude of the Christians put the security of the Sasanian empire at risk.[13] The reason stated was that, along with the financial loss, the Sasanian armies were being deprived of a vital part of their manpower.

The Zoroastrian clergy kept a close eye on these developments, and in 322 the Zoroastrian Chief Priest was informed of the negative policy of Roman authorities towards the Zoroastrian communities of the Roman empire (in Asia Minor). According to the Zoroastrian clerics of these communities, the Romans had banned the Zoroastrians from performing their rituals.[14] Consequently the clergy informed the king about this difficult situation, and Shāhpūhr ordered a series of temporary persecutions of his Christian subjects.[15]

The first official persecution took place in 339.[116] It was the appropriate time for the Zoroastrian clergy to enforce a policy of persecution of these communities, since the Roman emperor Constantine had just died and the Roman empire was in turmoil due to the Arian heresy.[17] The Zoroas-

trian priests temporarily managed to prevent the new Roman emperor from interfering in the internal politics of Sasanian Iran by using his influence on the Christian communities. As a result, a major part of the Christian population sought refuge in neighboring Roman territory. Of those remaining behind, some were forced to embrace the Zoroastrian religion, while others became martyrs. Many skulls of Christians were dedicated in the temples of Anahita, a reminder of the hard policy of Shāhpūhr and the Zoroastrian clergy.[18]

A brief image of these persecutions of the Christians of the Sasanian empire is presented in the hagiographic texts of Shāhpūhr's reign.[19] The main element of this policy was conversion. The Zoroastrian priests are presented as forcing Christians to accept the Zoroastrian faith and to declare an official submission to *Shāhanshāh* in order to avoid death. Influenced by the literary tradition of the New Testament, the authors of these sources present a cruel picture of the Zoroastrian priests testing the stamina and faith of the Christians. The torture methods of the Zoroastrian priesthood are described vividly in these texts, and there is also a clear picture of the traditional methods of interrogation in use in the Sasanian empire.[20] The Zoroastrian priests are described as 'ἀσεβέστατοι' who '…πάντας τοὺς χριστιανοὺς ἐκόλαζον πικρῶς'.[21] The attitude and the methods of the clergy are combined with one of the most important themes of hagiographic narration, the conflict between Christian ideology and Zoroastrian rituals.[22]

During the forty-four years of Zoroastrian persecution of Christians, Constantine the Great's successors were not able to react effectively against the policy of the Sasanian kings due to internal problems in the Byzantine empire (such as Arianism), the fragile situation at the northern frontier of the empire, and the seven-year military conflict with Shāhpūhr II's army. After the treaty of 363, the policy of persecutions was the most important subject in the diplomatic relations between the two empires. The outcome of the struggle on the battlefield had an effect on the persecution of Christians: Sasanian Iran had the tactical advantage and was able to determine political and military developments.

In the 363 treaty there was no reference to religious issues or to the presence or intervention of religious officials in the negotiations of this treaty.[23] However, the terms of the handover to the Sasanians by the Romans of geographical regions and important urban centers (such as Nisibis) were directly related to religion, since these regions were inhabited in large part by Christians.[24] Moreover, this treaty probably provoked the strong reaction of the local population, who were hoping to prevent the cession of these lands to the Sasanians.[25] Eventually, the populations of Nisibis and of these other areas were forced to move and were settled in other Roman cities.[26] As a result, in the newly empty lands where Christians had previously been living, the Zoroastrian clergy settled a population with Zoroastrian beliefs.[27]

Although the Christian communities were not drastically reduced by these measures, it was made quite clear by the Sasanians that the same measures would be taken by the king and the clergy in the future if necessary. Nevertheless, despite the severity of this persecution, the Christians continued to resist and exist. They were reduced in number and in influence, but not for long. The persecution of Shāhpūhr II led to a short-term peace that would last to the end of the fourth century. Following the ces-

sation of the persecutions, Christianity gradually revived and expanded in the subsequent decades.[28]

The following sixteen years saw the Christian faith in Sasanian Iran presumably much strengthened, since its communities reached almost the same level of prosperity they had enjoyed in the years prior to 337. The success of the Zoroastrian clergy in the previous years had not had a lasting effect. The Zoroastrian priesthood realized that defeating the Christian faith in the Sasanian empire was not going to be easy. The triumph they had experienced previously over Manichaeism would not be repeated in the case of Christianity.

The long-term Sasanian persecution of the Christians is seen as a severe response to the effort of the Christians to spread their faith within this empire as well as a response to the Roman authorities who were contributing to the expansion of Christianity in Iran. The *Shāhanshāh* demonstrated his power to the Roman emperor while at the same time defending the Sasanian empire's prevailing religion. This religious conflict in Sasanian Iran was an aspect of the political antagonism between the Greco-Roman and Iranian worlds in late antiquity. In this spirit of political antagonism the two civilizations coexisted.

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[1] The development of the Christian communities in newly founded cities, like Ardashīr-Khurre, contributed to the expansion of Christianity (Chaumont 1964: 187). The Manichaean 'heresy' contributed substantially to the development of the Christian communities. Manichaeism had a strong influence on Sasanian society and provoked the hostility of Zoroastrian clergy. Hence the Christians were able to escape persecutions, see Hutter 1993: 10. Moreover, the Roman persecutions of the Christians of the Roman empire caused the Sasanian king to keep a friendly attitude towards Christianity.

[2] Asmussen 1983: 931.

[3] In the Christian communities there was a large distance between the Greek-speaking and the Syriac-speaking Christians, see Asmussen 1983: 930-1.

[4] Ostrogorsky 1989: 106-7.

[5] Euseb. *Hist.eccl.* 4.13.

[6] Ostrogorsky 1989:106.

[7] It is likely that Constantine's letter was a result of the initial pressure against the Christians of the Sasanian empire. Constantine's Edict of religious tolerance gave the opportunity to the Sasanian authorities to take these decisions. However, there are no sources for the first persecutions against the Christians of Sasanian Iran.

[8] See Waterfield 1973: 19; Christensen 1944: 266. It is remarkable that many Christian clerics were educated in Constantinople. Their long term presence in the Roman empire provoked the reaction of the Zoroastrian priesthood, who accused the Christian bishops of collaboration with the Roman authorities and conspiracy against the Sasanian king (Garsoïan 1983: 573).

[9] Boyce 1985: 119.

[10] The refusal of the Christians was probably motivated by Roman policy. The Romans had urged the Christian subjects of Shāhpūhr II not to serve under his command in his military operations. Their aim was to prevent the reinforcement of the Sasanian troops with a vital part of the men of military age in the Iranian population.

[11] The decision of Shāhpūhr to ask for double the amount of money was intended to force the Christians to serve him in the battlefield. He was aware that only a small portion of the Christian population would be able to pay this double tax. At the same time, his decision was also a punishment for the disobedience of his subjects (Frye 1964: 42).

[12] Waterfield 1973: 19; Brock and Ashbrook Harvey 1987: 64.

[13] Waterfield 1973: 19-20.

[14] Boyce 1985: 119.

15 The policy of reprisals from the Sasanian-Zoroastrian side was expected. Only a few years after the solemnization of Christianity, the pressure of the Roman authorities against the Zoroastrian communities of Asia Minor was an important event for the religious life of the Roman empire.

16 According to the Μαρτύριον τῶν ἁγίων καὶ ὁσιομαρτύρων Ἰωνᾶ καὶ Βαραχησίου, the persecution against Christians took place in AD 337 (Delehaye 1971: 421).

17 Ostrogorsky 1989: 107-9.

18 Duchesne-Guillemin 1983: 885.

19 The hagiographic texts are not always a reliable research source since, obviously, the aim of these texts is not historical but hagiographic. In the case of the Sasanian persecutions against the Christians, the hagiographic sources provide valuable and otherwise unknown details related mainly to the daily life of the period (Asmussen 1983: 935-6).

20 The burning clod, snail, and pitch were among the methods the priests used in order to force Christians to deny their faith. The pouring of lead on the eyelids and the ears of the victims was a common phenomenon. See Delehaye 1971: 430.

21 Delehaye 1971: 422.

22 One of the main dogmatic differences between the two religions was the Zoroastrian belief concerning the salvation of the soul. See Asmussen 1983: 338-9; Boyce 1985: 120.

23 Zos. III.31.1. According to the treaty of AD 363, the Romans gave the Sasanians the city of Nisibis, Siggara and the fort Castra Maurorum (without their population) and the Roman guards who found shelter in the Roman empire. The Roman emperor was prohibited from supporting in any way the Arsacid king of Armenia, in case the emperor was asked by him (Amm.Marc. 25.7.9-12). Ṭabarī (Bosworth 1999: 63) reports that the Romans gave Shāhpūhr I

only Nisibis (cf. Joshua *Chron.* 7 [Wright 1882]). The result of these terms was the drastic reduction of Roman influence in the Armenian region. See Chrysos 1978: 28; Synelli 1986: 42.

24 Verosta 1964: 551.

25 Amm.Marc. 25.9.3; cf. Zos. III.32; Eutr. 10.17; Malalas (Thurn 2000) 336; *Chronicon Paschale* (Migne, *PG* 92) 554. See also Chrysos 1978: 28; Synelli 1986: 42.

26 The Sasanian and clerical persecutions inspired fear amongst the Christian population. According to Muhammad Ibn Jarīr Ṭabarī (Bosworth 1999: 62), the Christian inhabitants, fearing for their security, abandoned Nisibis. The Theological School of Nisibis was also transferred to the nearby Edessa (Waterfield 1973: 20).

27 After the abandonment of Nisibis by the Christians, the city was inhabited mainly by Zoroastrians who were brought from the areas of Eṣṭakhr, Eṣfahān and elsewhere in the Sasanian empire. Ṭabarī (Bosworth 1999: 62-3) claims that when the news reached Shāhpūhr, he decided to transfer to and settle in Nisibis twelve thousand people of good social status from Eṣṭakhr, Eṣfahān and other regions.

28 Relations with the Roman empire were improved after the rise of Shāhpūhr III (AD 383-385) and Bahrām IV Kermānshāh (AD 388-399), both of whom favored friendly relations with the Roman state. Shāhpūhr III released the Christian prisoners, since he considered that the taxes they could pay as free citizens were important for the state (Asmussen 1983: 933). According to Ṭabarī (Bosworth 1999: 46-7), these two kings ruled in a righteous way. Shāhpūhr III was murdered by men of the state (*al-'uzamā*) and the nobility (*ahl al-buyūtāt*). The same happened to Bahrām IV Kermānshāh. The prolonged conflicts in the western and eastern frontiers had caused great financial casualties to the Sasanian empire; a peaceful period of coexistence was necessary for both empires (Synelli 1986: 50-1).

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Evangelos Venetis

Greco-Persian Literary Interactions in Classical Persian Literature

GRECO-IRANIAN CULTURAL RELATIONS have always been an important branch of Hellenic and Iranian studies with specific importance for both civilizations, especially when these represent respectively the West and the East. Due to the vast lack of textual sources (in particular from the Persian side), Greco-Persian literary relations have been and still remain a largely unexplored field. Hence, due to the almost complete lack of primary sources, it has been widely believed amongst scholars that Greeks and Iranians did not have any serious literary interactions in the ancient and the medieval times. This belief seems no longer to be justified.

The lack of primary sources did not prevent modern research from tracing hints of literary interactions between the Greeks and the Iranians in fragmentary sources or related texts. Richard Davis' series of lectures (compiled in the form of a book entitled *Panthea's Children)* and Thomas Hägg and Bo Utas' *The Virgin and Her Lover* are groundbreaking works for the study of ancient Greek novels and their relation to Persian literature in late antiquity/pre-Islamic times and the medieval/early Islamic period.[1] This article highlights briefly the contributions of these two works, analyzes existing methodological problems, and suggests new areas of research in the field of Greco-Persian literature.

Richard Davis' work is a brief but useful introduction to the theme of mutual interaction between ancient/medieval Greek and Persian literature. Davis suggested that in ancient Greek novels one can trace themes and motifs which have been interpreted as Persian in origin. Proceeding to the tenth century AD, Davis suggested a similar influence of Greek literature of late antiquity on medieval Persian versified romances. The influence in both cases was identified in various forms, such as the *repertoire* of stories, the names of persons and places, and various motifs regarding the development of the plot (for example the love between a young prince and a princess, their initial temporary happiness, their separation, and the ultimate union of the two lovers).[2]

Thomas Hägg and Bo Utas' work has coincidentally been, at least in terms of publishing dates, the continuation of Davis' introduction and is the first systematic work in the field. Utas and Hägg have edited and analyzed the fragmentary texts of the ancient Greek novel *Metiochos and Parthenope* and the medieval Persian romance *Vāmeq o 'Adhrā*, the title of which is considered to be the Persian equivalent of the Greek title. In their study, they provide a complete critical edition of the Greek and Persian primary materials and an English translation with critical and explanatory notes; they try to find the literary intermediaries between the two texts; and finally they attempt to reconstruct the plots of the Greek novel and the Persian epic poem. Of the original Greek text little has survived: a major papyrus fragment, references to Greek literature of the Roman period, and the depiction of the heroes in mosaics of the third century AD. As for the Persian text, there is a large fragment in the Lahore library and a few pages

in the twelfth-century Persian prose romance *Dārābnāme* ('*Book of Darius*'). The comparison of the Greek and the Persian accounts shows that the Persian poet 'Unṣūrī apparently used the Greek novel as his model.

The two Scandinavian scholars have insightfully suggested that the connection between the two accounts can be seen in various elements: the stories (in the state in which they have been preserved) have strikingly common themes regarding location, the social class of the heroes, and the development of the plot. The names of the main heroes in the Persian account are Arabicised/Persianised forms of Greek names (Fuluqrāt for Πολυκρά-της). The female protagonist is the daughter of King Fuluqrāt, and both accounts place the story at the court of Polycrates in Samos. The basic story may be attested in other intermediary eras: for example, the *Metiochos and Parthenope* story was popular in the early Byzantine and Middle Eastern literary tradition, e.g., in the form of *The Martyrdom of St. Parthenope*.[3]

Hägg and Utas' work forms the beginning of a scholarly exchange concerning this specific story and, further, the study of Greco-Iranian literary traditions. This field poses many problems concerning the methodology and the sources that an expert needs to explore in order to achieve fruitful results. In discussing Utas and Hägg's work, one touches on methodological issues related to the study of a greater number of accounts in Greek and Persian literature. There are a multitude of problems that a researcher of Greco-Iranian literary studies encounters and that need to be resolved in the future. First, there is the scarce evidence of written accounts, most of which are in a fragmentary condition. This situation is worsened by the fact that information can be found in various kinds of archaeological and artistic sources (e.g., papyri, mosaics, paintings). This makes the study of a theme multidimensional and calls for collaboration between scholars from various fields.

Further problems derive from the period *per se* (second century AD to eleventh-fourteenth centuries AD), during which the Greco-Iranian literary interaction took place, and from the lack of intermediary texts, which makes comparisons problematic. Questions arise about the transformations that this story went through as well as its incorporation of elements from other stories over time.

Thirdly, the study of these texts has shown that, although they share similar themes and names, the plots have been slightly or dramatically revised in the process of being copied and adapted. Thus the evidence of the development of the stories remains incomplete, and any effort at its complete reconstruction remains unsuccessful at present. This could be resolved partially with the careful study of the greater spectrum of manuscripts and sources which exist in various collections and remain hidden or largely unknown.

A fourth issue is the historical and cultural context in which Greco-Iranian literary interaction took place, including the geographical magnitude (from the eastern Mediterranean to Pakistan-North India and Central Asia) in which the Greek and Persian literary elements are attested. Greek literary elements go back to ancient times; and although in some cases they seem to be foreign to the Islamic ethos, they became dominant in Persian literary works. Thus, there is, for example, the supposedly Greek motif of two lovers who are temporarily separated and after many adventures are reunited. How can someone merge this pre-Islamic and pre-Christian motif with the Islamic ethos?

The answer lies in the analysis of the historical and social background

of the Persian texts. Various literary elements, attested in the various genres of Persian literature of the Ghanzavid period onward, pose many problems concerning their role in the plot. The issue of romantic love is predominant in many accounts, and its presence and extensive use cannot be explained only in literary terms. For example, in the cases of the Persian prose romances *Eskandarnāme* and *Dārābnāme*, the theme of love is strong. Based on the scarce sociological information about the relation between literature and society in the early Islamic period, one cannot explain the contradictory combination of having literary accounts of romantic love for public entertainment in a society whose worldview strongly urges the confinement of such love to the domestic sphere of daily life. These accounts actually show that, during the Turkish dominion over the eastern Islamic world, there was not such a strict distinction between the public and private spheres of life when the issue was entertainment.[4] It is here that a strong fusion of history and literature is attested in these works. This contradiction needs to be explored and explained adequately in literary and historical terms in the future.

What kind of Greek and classical Persian accounts could be studied in order to promote research in this little known field of Hellenic-Iranian studies? The above cited features are actually attested in a large spectrum of works in Greek and Persian literature. Various Hellenistic novels which have been preserved, intact or not, contain rich material in terms of content, motifs, and style. Novels such as Achilles Tatius' *Adventures of Leucippe and Clitophon*, Longus' *Daphnis and Chloe*, as well Chariton's and Apuleius' works are examples of the popularity that the Greek novel enjoyed in late antiquity.[5]

Such novels have influenced strongly the genre of hagiographic accounts of Byzantine literature; and as a result, motifs going back to Hellenistic times have been preserved and are widely attested in texts from medieval times. It is an intriguing endeavor to explore the extent of interaction between the Greek and Persian literary traditions of this period and to find common motifs and features between them.

Additionally, the well-known Greek *Alexander Romance* is a significant example of Greek influence on medieval Persian works. The Greek literary tradition of the *Alexander Romance* was vivid during Byzantine times, and various forms of this romance have been preserved in late Byzantine works. Simultaneously, this romance entered the Persian tradition in the form of a Pahlavi translation in the Sasanian period, and it has henceforth had considerable and multiple impact on various Persian literary accounts of the early Islamic period. The inclusion of *Alexander's Reign* in the *Shāhnāme* resulted from the strong influence of the Pseudo-Callisthenes tradition on Persian literature.[6] Firdawsī's supreme poetic art, the *Shāhnāme*, became the masterpiece of Persian epic literature and had a strong impact on Persian epic works, poetic or prose, in subsequent centuries. Along with the inclusion of Alexander's story, various motifs of probable Greek origin entered this section of the *Shāhnāme*. Motifs (such as extensive travels, campaigns in the East and West, and tenuous love affairs) were introduced, preserved, and transmitted in the Persian literary tradition mainly through the *Shāhnāme*, if not earlier.

When one reads a Persian poem or prose account, the Greek motifs and influence are not evident at first sight. But the role of love in Persian romances is quite similar to its role in the Greek romances of the Hellenistic

period and late antiquity. The Hellenistic novel or romance influenced (in terms of repertoire and motifs) the development of this genre in pre-Islamic (Parthian, Sasanian) and Islamic Iran, and contributed (in combination with the pre-Islamic and Islamic Iranian fiction tradition) to its establishment in Persian literature.[7] Several features of the Hellenistic novel—such as travel (especially sea travel), love (along with the motifs of temporary separation of the two lovers and their overcoming intervening obstacles before their final reunion), generosity, chastity, forgiveness, honesty, and bravery—owe their existence in the Persian accounts to a Greek tradition elaborated in the Hellenistic era.[8] In both the Persian and the Greek literary traditions, the spirit of youth and adventure predominate

Arabicized and Persianized Greek names abound in classical Persian accounts, revealing the close literary contact between the two peoples. The transmission of these features from the Greek to the Persian tradition most likely took place in the Parthian and especially the Sasanian periods through the translation of Pseudo-Callisthenes' *Alexander Romance* as well as through oral tradition.[9] Hellenic influence is attested in the *Vāmeq o 'Adhrā* and other Persian romances of the eleventh century.[10] This influence could have taken place either directly (from Greek to Persian, Pahlavi, or New Persian) or through Arabic translations.

Along with the *Shāhnāme*, *Eskandarnāme*, and *Dārābnāme,* the so-called secondary Persian epic romances (such as *Garshāspnāme, Shahriyārnāme, Barzūnāme, Banūgoshaspnāme* and many others) are full of Greek literary elements. A systematic study of these accounts in comparison with the Greek romances of late antiquity and medieval times can be fruitful in revealing the extent of Greco-Persian literary interaction.

In sum, the aim of the preceding discussion has been to highlight the importance of the future study of literary interactions between the Greek and Iranian worlds in late antiquity and medieval times. The analysis of the two modern works above clearly indicates that the present is a turning point in terms of research for the field of Greek-Persian literary studies worldwide. The establishment of a new research field into a subject which has remained neglected for centuries is a fortunate development. In subsequent decades, it is expected that Davis' and Hägg and Utas' works will urge other scholars, amongst them Greeks and Iranians, to explore this new field.

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[1] Davis 2002; Hägg and Utas 2003.

[2] Sheikh Bīghamī 1974: 5.

[3] Hägg and Utas 2003: 12.

[4] See the case of the *Eskandarnāme* anonymous Persian prose romance (Afshār 1343/1964).

[5] Hägg 1983: 3-4.

[6] Firdawsī's (Bertels 1966-8): verses 1-1931.

[7] Sheikh Bīghamī 1974: 5-7; Davis 2002: 16.

[8] See Hägg 1983: 3-4. Concerning the oral tradition and the minstrels in the royal court in Islamic Iran, see Boyce 1957; Sheikh Bīghamī 1974: 1.

[9] See the present author's forthcoming book about the *Eskandarnāme* prose romance. For the translations of the Greek account of Pseudo-Callisthenes, see Hägg 1983: 140-1.

[10] Davis 2002: 29-31.

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Garth Fowden

Pseudo-Aristotelian Politics and Theology in Universal Islam

OPEN THE STANDARD Oxford English translation of Aristotle's complete works, revised in 1984, at the Contents, and you will see that of 2465 pages of text, no fewer than 484 —roughly one fifth— are taken up by titles whose 'authenticity has been seriously doubted' or whose 'spuriousness has never been seriously contested', as the editor has it. In earlier times there were far larger quantities of suspect Aristotle in circulation. Some of these works were among his most influential, in Arabic and Latin as well as Greek — the *Secret of secrets*, for example, or the *Theology of Aristotle*, to both of which the present paper pays particular attention. Although these Arabic and Latin versions might derive in one way or another from Greek sources, these were not necessarily by Aristotle, and anyway the Arabic translators often added extra matter of Iranian or Indian provenance or their own devising. The authentic works, whether done into Latin directly from the Greek or by way of Syriac and Arabic, were rendered either more or less literally. By contrast, those Pseudo-Aristotelian treatises which reached Europe from the East intimately reflected the tastes and preoccupations of the inhabitants of the caliphate — who were, of course, far from being uniformly Muslim.

As it happens, the very first Aristotelian text rendered into Arabic appears to have been a largely spurious one, though modern scholars speculate about fragments of genuine Aristotle it may have contained. Conventional wisdom holds that the second Abbasid caliph, al-Manṣūr, inaugurated the translation movement by commissioning versions of various Greek, Persian and Syriac books including some of Aristotle's logical treatises.[1] Al-Manṣūr reigned from AD 754 to 775. The Aristotle translations must have been executed in the very first years of his rule, if they really were done either by the famous Iranian scholar-administrator Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ, who was put to death c. 756, or conceivably by his son who was also dead by 760.[2] Our source for Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ's involvement is a report by the hugely learned tenth-century Baghdadi bibliophile Ibn al-Nadīm. The same writer records something else, which has been found far less interesting, namely that:

> Sālim, surnamed Abū 'l-ʿAlā', was the secretary of [the Caliph] Hishām b. ʿAbd al-Malik… He was one of the best stylists and most eloquent (speakers). He translated (*naqala*) the letters of Aristotle to Alexander, (or) they were translated for him (*nuqila lahu*) and he made corrections (*aṣlaḥa*).[3]

In other words, Muslims' familiarity with Aristotle goes back at least to the closing decades of the Umayyad dynasty: Hishām reigned from 724 to 743, and Sālim also served his successor al-Walīd II (743-744).[4] Our almost complete neglect of this fact[5] reflects anachronistic concern with the authentic Aristotle to the exclusion of Pseudo-Aristotle, to whom the *Letters* indubitably belonged. Nobody in the eighth century had the means to make this distinction which seems so crucial to us. Readers happily accepted as genu-

ine Aristotle a version of a correspondence mentioned by various Greek and Latin authorities,[6] and also known, to a limited extent, from Pseudo-Callisthenes' popular and imaginative Greek Alexander Romance, a product, as it seems, of the third century AD[7] and eventually translated into a spectrum of other languages, including Arabic.[8]

Some or all of the Aristotle-Alexander correspondence translated — quite possibly straight from Greek— under Sālim's supervision may have survived in a collection of 16 letters addressed mainly by Aristotle to Alexander, but also containing two letters from Alexander to Aristotle and three letters exchanged between Aristotle and Alexander's father Philip. The correspondence is preserved in two early-fourteenth-century Arabic manuscripts in İstanbul, first noticed in the 1930s. It was published spasmodically and in fragments, and printed as a whole for the first time only in 2006.[9] The collection apparently lacks its original title; we may call it, neutrally, the 'Alexander file'. What it conveys —partly through transitional passages between the items of correspondence— is an episodic narrative of Alexander's career, along with a summary education in the art of governance, military tactics, ethics, cosmology and metaphysics, reminding us that in Islam it was no less essential to the political thinker than to the theologian to know what God is.[10] The value of studying philosophy is strongly emphasized in the opening sections. That any of the letters substantially derive from authentic Aristotelian writings is on balance doubtful;[11] but at least one of them, translated from the *De mundo* also addressed to Alexander, had certainly circulated as 'Aristotle' long before Islam.[12]

As for the 'corrections' Sālim made to his original, they apparently ran to sizable insertions, if we may judge from the Alexander file. These insertions included, for example, the version of the *De mundo* therein contained, if it really was based on the Syriac translation rather than the Greek;[13] there are also passages that reflect the Muslim Arab milieu, and others variously related to the Sasanian sphere.[14] In fact, the cultural stratigraphy of these texts is extremely complex, and since one of its elements derives from an East Roman military manual (the so-called *Stratēgikon* of Maurice) composed between about 592 and 610,[15] it may be that the Greek original emerged, or at least was still in course of formation, as late as the seventh or even early eighth century.[16] But however long it took the Alexander file to reach the point at which Sālim could impart something like its present form by overseeing a process of translation and editing, there is no doubt that an exceptional person in his privileged position, and resident in Syria, could by the second quarter of the eighth century have acquired more than a smattering of both Greek and Iranian culture.[17] We should perhaps imagine the culturally eclectic but linguistically Greek original being finalized in Syria,[18] though that need not exclude an earlier, more purely Hellenic phase.

The Alexander file, whose at least partially Umayyad date is perhaps confirmed by the fact that Ibn al-Muqaffa' quoted two of the letters it contained,[19] has for us a double interest. On the one hand, it rather reminds us of the 'phantom inscription' that survives only in its impress on the earth where the stone that bore it once fell. Just as what had been monumental incised letters with their play of light and shade are reduced to a dim reverse image to be read off the soil by archaeologists, so in the Arabic Alexander file we glimpse aspects of the sixth- and early-seventh-century Greek world otherwise mostly lost to us. Justinian the Davidic and Christian em-

peror cedes ground to Alexander the ancient philosopher-king, whose familiarity is attested by the popularity of the Alexander Romance;[20] military and political theory are reunited after their unnatural separation by fifth- and sixth-century emperors who had resided at Constantinople and left war to their generals;[21] and Iran is woven skillfully into a seamless fabric reflecting —especially as viewed from Syria— a reality our Greek sources cannot deny, but plainly resent.[22] Above all, Hellenism and Iranism appear as the natural antecedents, not the vanquished antithesis, of an Umayyad —and increasingly Muslim— civilization.

But besides illuminating the world in which it emerged, and allowing early Muslims to discuss the proper use of absolute power with the authority —and neutrality— of a distant past, the Alexander file also points forward to the genre of so-called *Fürstenspiegel* or 'Mirrors for princes', manuals of advice for rulers, which had been anticipated already in the Greek world[23] but became especially popular in later Islam.[24] In particular, the beginning of its longest section, *Al-siyāsatu 'l-ʿāmmīya —Policy toward the common people*[25]— is elaborated in the opening discourse of the famous *Sirr al-asrār* or *Secret of secrets*, a voluminous manual for princes again addressed by Aristotle to Alexander. Though some of its disparate parts existed earlier, the *Secret* seems to have come together c. 950-987. It was eventually translated into both Persian (which will have helped it spread in the Indian world too) and Ottoman Turkish.[26] The *Secret* differs from the Alexander file in that it ranges more widely if not necessarily deeply, while excluding the narrative element. Besides politics and military affairs it embraces almost encyclopaedic discussions of medicine (including diet and personal hygiene), physiognomy, magic, astrology, alchemy and other subjects vital for the prince to know about if he is to meet the Platonic ideal that he 'truly possess expert knowledge' (although this ideal is not explicitly invoked by the *Secret*).[27] But these things are also of concern to the rest of mankind as well.[28] The prince is portrayed as one who must aspire not just to expert but to universal knowledge, without which he can hardly expect to control his subjects.[29] The ultimate application of such knowledge may, as appears at the end and culmination of the *Secret*, be the Hermetic science of manufacturing magical talismans; but the key to everything is the exercise of reason — even talismans are but the exploitation of a law of nature, namely that 'to every physical category corresponds a higher category'.[30] 'O Alexander', declares Aristotle near the beginning of the *Secret*,

> now I will tell you a short maxim which alone would have sufficed even if I had not told you others. O Alexander, reason is the head of policy… It is the chief of all praiseworthy things, and the fountain-head of all glories.[31]

In other words the *Secret* is no mere accumulation of technical and (pseudo-)scientific knowledge, but is founded on philosophical concepts and intended, indeed, as an introduction to a philosophical way of life. 'He who abstains from little gains much' is one of the fundamental principles of Aristotle's advice to his royal master.[32]

The universal perspective was of course already implicit in the epistles addressed by Aristotle the most erudite of all philosophers to Alexander the world-conqueror; but in the *Secret of Secrets* the idea really takes on flesh and blood. At one point Aristotle goes so far as to present Alexander with a precursor of the academic handout, the so-called 'Circle of Political Wisdom', which he describes as 'the essence of this book':

> I have invented for you a diagram according to wisdom, philosophy and law. It is eight-sided and will inform you of everything that is in the world. It comprehends the government of the world and comprises all the classes of the people, and the form of justice required for each of them. I have divided this figure according to the divisions of the heavenly spheres: each division corresponds to a class (of people).[33]

Clearly this universalist dimension is an important reason why the *Secret* became so enormously popular: it contained something for almost everyone, in convenient summary form.[34] In its Latin translations, as the *Secretum secretorum*, it was one of the most widely read books of the European Middle Ages.[35] But the Arabic original also did well,[36] and was surely helped to do so, in a Muslim commonwealth no longer dominated by men of Arab birth and culture, by the space it gave to Iranian —particularly Sasanian— wisdom, literature and institutions.[37] This Iranian dimension is already there in the Alexander file, but much less conspicuously. The Alexander file's strong narrative strand tends to foreground the political clash between Hellenism and Iranism, as when Alexander writes to Darius:

> From Alexander, who is devoted to religion and is striving to support justice, who rejects the might of tyranny and defends manliness, who aspires to take after (his) Roman (*Rūm*) ancestors and the eminent among the Iranians, to Darius the leader of the Iranians, who rules over them without having the right to do so, who has turned religion into defence serving his kingship, his meditation serving his stomach, his mind serving his senses.[38]

Even here, it is recognized that there is something to be admired among the Iranians too; and in general a lot of Sasanian material is woven into the Alexander file's fabric.[39] Still, it no more treats Iran as a cultural equal than does, say, the sixth-century East Roman historian Agathias, for all his undeniable interest in the subject. For an Arabic writer who puts Iran centrestage we have to turn to one who is himself an Iranian, namely Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ in his almost contemporary *Book of Kalīla and Dimna*, another early 'Mirror for princes'.[40] Here we see the Greek and Iranian tributaries to the Muslim mind just beginning to unite their flow, a process which has advanced much further by the time we get to the *Secret*.[41]

Despite occasional Qurʾānic phraseology,[42] sometimes plainly interpolated, neither the Alexander file nor the *Secret* is religious in tone to the point of invoking scripture apodeictically. Nor, on the other hand, are they secular, since they constantly invoke God; and this neutrality was another reason why they circulated widely —at least, the *Secret* did— without falling foul of Islam's vivid sectarianism. It also permitted the *Secret* to pass in reasonably faithful translations[43] to the Christian world of the Latin West. Instead of depending on scripture for their arguments, Alexander and Aristotle cultivated a distinctive and personal aura of authority.

The Greeks and Romans had already depicted Alexander as a philosopher of sorts, and collected his wise sayings. Jews and Christians went so far as to make him a monotheist. Muslim writers adapted this approach to their own purposes.[44] The Qurʾān presented Dhū 'l-Qarnayn as something of a prophet, preaching to the peoples of the West.[45] By the mid-eighth century at the latest, this mysterious figure was understood to be none other than Alexander;[46] and the prophetic view of Alexander's career had been much

developed by the time of the Persian poet Neẓāmī Ganjavī (1141-1209).[47] In the *Secret*, Aristotle reminds him that 'the king whom God has chosen to rule over his people…is like a god' to the extent that he fosters justice.[48]

As for Aristotle himself, the *Secret*'s preface speaks of him as:

> outstanding for his majesty of character, his pleasing way of life and his godly learning. For this reason many learned men number him among the prophets. I have seen in numerous histories of the Greeks that God vouchsafed him this revelation: "Indeed, you are more deserving to be called an angel than a man"…There are different traditions about his death. It is contended by some…that he was lifted up to heaven in a column of light. By following his good advice and obeying his commands, Alexander achieved his famous conquests of cities and countries, and ruled supreme in the regions of the earth far and wide.[49]

Rather than conferring on his teachings the credentials of dogma, this religious-sounding vocabulary was simply the most widely understood code the author disposed of in order to underline Aristotle's exceptional intellectual and spiritual authority, which Alexander translated into universal political omnipotence as well. It represents a perfectly natural development from the already very high Roman and late Greek view of Aristotle: Cicero placed him next after Plato; John of Damascus accused his opponents, the 'Jacobites' who rejected the definition of Christ's nature propounded at the Council of Chalcedon in 451, of treating him as the Thirteenth Apostle; while the eighth-century Syriac-speaking monk David bar Paulos declared that '[n]one in any age was wise like he'.[50] Covering all conceivable knowledge,[51] his writings were insured against Christian or Muslim prejudice by being earlier than both New Testament and Qur'ān, and derived from observation and reasoning, not the gift of any angel, even if Aristotle himself had something angelic about him.

From the sixth century the *corpus Aristotelicum* began to be transferred into Syriac, and from the 750s into Arabic. The Arabic-speaking world both assimilated and remoulded this authentic Aristotle according to its own criteria. The *Politics* was apparently ignored,[52] perhaps because it failed unambiguously to endorse the monarchic ideal (despite the author's approval of monarchy if advised by a true philosopher, i.e. himself, in *On kingship*);[53] but starting c. 830 and continuing through the tenth century, sustained attention was given to the *Metaphysics*. Book Lambda, where Aristotle finally gets to his doctrine of the ultimate cause, the unmoved mover, was translated about six times.[54]

Soon after the first *Metaphysics* translation, and drawing on it, there emerged another classic of pseudo-Aristotelianism, the so-called *Theology of Aristotle* compiled c. 840 in the circle of the first serious Arabic philosopher, al-Kindī (d. c. 866). The *Theology*, only parts of which survive, brought together translated and edited texts by, but not attributed to, the late Platonist philosophers Plotinus (205-270) and Proclus (412-485) —and perhaps others too— in a sort of metaphysics handbook designed to complete the task Aristotle had only partially discharged in his own *Metaphysics*.[55] Discussion of the nature of God, notoriously depicted by the Qur'ān in terms alternately anthropomorphic and transcendent,[56] had recently gained impetus and indeed political resonance from the clash between strictly scripturalist theologians like Ibn Ḥanbal (780-855) and the Muʿtazilites who, forcefully backed up by the Caliph al-Ma'mūn (813-833), used reason to

probe the modes of divinity.[57] Al-Ma'mūn was even said to have seen Aristotle in a dream and been reassured by the great sage as to the validity of personal, rational judgment (*ra'y*).[58] The surviving parts of the *Theology* in fact concentrate mainly on the soul. What they do say about God amounts to a re-reading of Plotinus' and (to a lesser extent) Proclus' One in the light of scripture so that, for example, God —rather than just Intellect— is imagined to be a conscious creator and providential supervisor of all being, rather than a sublimely unaware emanator of it.[59] The *Theology* preserves, nevertheless, much of Plotinus' apophaticism, his belief that it is not possible to describe the One; and accordingly it eschews talk of God's attributes. It thereby implicitly takes sides against the scripturalists, who had found in the Qur'ān no fewer than 99 different descriptive names for Allāh.[60]

If the Alexander file and the *Secret* addressed themselves to a historical reality that had evolved far beyond the historical Aristotle's *Politics* and the Greek *polis*, the *Theology* somewhat similarly (and self-confessedly[61]) aimed to complete the *Metaphysics*. In both cases the authentic Aristotle is being not just re-read as in the still-influential Alexandrian commentary tradition,[62] but extended to meet the demands imposed by the late antique world of universal monotheisms such as Christianity or Islam, and universal states such as Rome, Iran and, above all, the caliphate.

> Let us...mention now...what we wish to explain in this book of ours, namely universal knowledge (*'ilm kullī*), which is a subject by which we complete the whole of our philosophy,

as Aristotle is made to say in the *Theology*.[63] By the standards of the age, this was at times done with some skill, since it is by no means clear that even the alertest minds —al-Fārābī (d. 950/51), for instance, or Ibn Sīnā (d. 1037)— could tell the difference, at least as regards the *Theology*, between Aristotelian doctrine and what we (not they) call pseudo-Aristotelian.[64] For the classical Islamic thinkers of the ninth and tenth centuries, Aristotle had become the completest possible mind and the universal authority (alongside the Qur'ān) even in theology. He no longer necessarily needed Alexander's support: the *Theology* too is addressed to a prince, but to al-Kindī's courtly pupil Aḥmad b. al-Mu'taṣim, not the mythical Macedonian.

Had princes been Pseudo-Aristotle's only readers, the remarkable expansion and dissemination of both theological and secular learning achieved by this literature might never have occurred. In fact there was a much wider audience in the shape of the growing administrative class charged with governing the vast Abbasid empire, and the various smaller states into which it disintegrated during the tenth century.[65] In Latin translation, both the *Secret of secrets* (*Secretum secretorum*) and excerpts from the Proclan section of the *Theology* (*Liber de causis*) were then lapped up in the West too from the twelfth century onwards, thanks to the rise of secular education which not only met growing administrative needs but also stimulated the more rational theology of scholasticism.[66] In fact, the Arabic pseudo-Aristotelica are still often studied mainly as background to the extraordinary popularity of the Latin translations and the vernacular versions they spawned. But on the present occasion what interests us is Pseudo-Aristotle's fortune in Islam. A few brief indications about the later phases of this story must suffice, since this is as yet largely unexplored territory.

If al-Kindī's extracts from Proclus' (that is, Pseudo-Aristotle's) *Elements of theology* enjoyed huge success among the Latins, very few manuscripts of the original Arabic version survive, and research has so far shown only relatively limited use of it by Arabic philosophers after al-Kindī.[67] Its brevity, clarity and division into brief logical propositions and proofs general enough to be applicable in various situations will have given it the air of being just a schematic summary of the Arabic Plotinus (that is, Pseudo-Aristotle) *in usum scholarum*, a guide to that text's much more personal explorations of the soul's search for reality. The fact that al-Fārābī and Ibn Sīnā had made no explicit reference to the Proclus extracts did not help either. The Plotinus translations offered, by contrast, an enjoyable challenge. Al-Fārābī quotes them, and Ibn Sīnā even wrote a commentary. Most influential in the long term, though, was al-Suhrawardī, the Iranian sage put to death in 1191 at Saladin's behest because he held —tactlessly, given Crusader pressures in the region— that God can raise up prophets whenever he sees fit (i.e. even after Muḥammad).[68] Al-Suhrawardī's so-called 'illuminationist' philosophy was in part inspired by the Arabic version of Plotinus' *Ennead* 4.8.1 on the experience of shedding the body and beholding 'the sublime light high in that divine place' — though, realizing al-Kindī's 'Aristotle' could not possibly have said this, al-Suhrawardī reattributed the idea to Plato.[69] Illuminationism was systematized by Mullā Ṣadrā (d. 1640) and other representatives of the seventeenth-century Iṣfahānian renaissance, and is still today influential in the schools of Qom where the Iranian clerical elite is formed.

Besides his reverence for Greek philosophy, al-Suhrawardī also felt a strong romantic attachment to the spiritual culture of pre-Islamic Iran, and in particular to the legendary monarch and ascetic Kay Khusraw, whom he elevated to the status of a prophet of light alongside Zarathustra himself.[70] Recent investigation of two large seventeenth-century composite manuscripts from Iṣfahān has shown how, beside al-Suhrawardī himself, later illuminationists also read both the *Secret of secrets* and the *Theology of Aristotle* (the Plotinus section).[71] Their political —and more general philosophical— conceptions were therefore a mixture of Iranism and Hellenism, as well as the fundamentals of the Islamic tradition. All three tributary streams tended to reinforce the notion —congenial to the Safavids— that the ruler is God's vicegerent on earth. The dynasty's founder, Shah Ismā'īl (1501-24), claimed to be the reincarnation of both Kay Khusraw and Alexander as well as Muḥammad.[72]

More recent Iranian regimes have emphasized the glories either of the Achaemenids and Sasanians (the so-called Pahlavi dynasty) or of Islam, without wanting to mix them. But the revolution of 1979 owed a not very widely understood debt to illuminationism as well, and through it to Greek philosophy, including Pseudo-Aristotle. During the earlier part of his life spent as student and then teacher at Qom, the Imam Khomeini took an at that time unfashionable interest in the mystical and gnostic rather than just the more legalistic aspects of the Muslim tradition, and so became a —not uncritical— reader of the *Theology of Aristotle*. Khomeini's thought was overwhelmingly dominated by Mullā Ṣadrā. 'Mullā Ṣadrā! Who will make you understand who Mullā Ṣadrā is?', exclaimed Khomeini in one of his courses. 'He managed to resolve problems about the resurrection that had defeated even Ibn Sīnā.' Though Khomeini acknowledged Ibn Sīnā's great intellectual acuity, he declared 'his errors in metaphysics [to be] extremely numerous', and his Greek philosophy

of little value to those who truly seek God. Real wisdom and light come from the Qur'ān and the traditions, mediated by such as Mullā Ṣadrā — 'Muslim wisdom and gnosis do not come from Greece or the Greeks'. To convince oneself of this, according to Khomeini, one need only compare on the one hand 'the books and writings of the world's great philosophers —though their knowledge too comes from the source of revelation—…, [books] of which the most elevated and subtle is perhaps the *Theology*…of Aristotle', with on the other hand 'the perceptions present in the pure religion of Islam and in the great Muslim sages and gnostics'. 'To derive, then, all wisdom from Greece, and to deem the Muslim sages followers of Greek wisdom', is to reveal one's ignorance both of the books of the Muslim sages, and at the same time of the contents of 'the Holy Book and the traditions of the Infallibles'. 'If it were not for the Qur'ān, the gateway to knowledge of God would be forever closed. Greek philosophy is something quite different, which' —Khomeini concedes— 'is of great value in its own way. It proceeds by argument, but one does not in that way acquire knowledge. The Prophet's mission wrought a great change in the domain of knowledge. The arid philosophies of the Greeks… which had and still have their merits, have been transformed for the contemplative masters into an effective gnosis and true contemplation.'[73]

Whatever it loses in comparison with the luminaries of Islamic gnosis, the *Theology of Aristotle* is still studied in Iran and treated with reverence, though even in the schools of Qom it is now understood that its doctrines are those of Plotinus not Aristotle.[74] Nor is it the only symptom of the continuing stimulus offered by Greek thought. The revolution put into practice a new political concept, that of the *vilāyat-i faqīh*, the governance or guardianship of the jurist.[75] In its absoluteness, this concept takes us back not just to the early centuries of Islam we have been looking at, but behind that —via al-Fārābī's *Principles of the opinions of the people of the excellent city*— to the Platonic ideal of the philosopher-king.[76] Yet there is no necessary contradiction between revolution in the name of Islam and the illumination that had its roots in the Greeks, for the Imam Khomeini could not have led the revolution so successfully had he not first been immersed in and disciplined by the philosophy of, above all, Mullā Ṣadrā.[77] Hence the invocation of Plato's and Plotinus' influence already on the first page of a recent study of Khomeini's political thought and action.[78] Indeed, given the authority and influence enjoyed by those who have received the traditional religious education, it would be reasonable to claim that Iran is the only place in the world today whose public doctrine is based on a reading — however selective— of Greek philosophy very much in the spirit in which it was read in the latest phase of the ancient tradition, in Alexandria, taking account of the adjustments which have had to be made —and were already being made then— in order to reconcile the sages of Antiquity with the doctrines of scriptural monotheism.

Illuminationism also fertilized universalist currents of thought at the Indian and supposedly Sunni court of the Mughal Emperor Akbar (1556-1605), who backed an eclectic religion emphasizing reason and light.[79] Admittedly Shiism influenced Akbar, and notably his successor Jahangir, alongside Sunnism.[80] Additionally, the need to reconcile India's Hindus provided a pressing political motive for credal flexibility. But the Sunni world had not grown entirely immune to philosophy, even after the orthodox Hanbalite reaction sealed by the career of Ibn Taymīya (d. 1328).[81] Since my concern has mainly been with the interaction between the cultur-

al worlds of Greece, Arabia and Iran, I would like to conclude by glancing at the Turks, who as intruders into all three were well placed to bring about a synthesis of the universalist elements in their thought worlds, which (as we have seen) tended to associate political omnipotence ('Alexander') with intellectual omniscience ('Aristotle') and a positive attitude towards human rationality and, therefore, human diversity — since experience teaches that there is more than one way to the truth.

Consider, for example, the library of Mehmet II, the conqueror of Constantinople.[82] It almost goes without saying that this collection included the pseudo-Aristotelian *Secret of secrets*; it may also have contained the Alexander file. Ibn Sīnā and al-Suhrawardī were there too, and a Greek translation of Thomas Aquinas' *Summa contra Gentiles*, copied by one of Mehmet's court scribes with illuminated decorations in the Ottoman style.[83] By far the best surviving manuscript of the *Theology of Aristotle* was copied at Edirne in 1459[84] —if not for Mehmet II himself, then for someone close to his eclectic circle. And what remained of the Platonist Gemistos Plethon's collection of *Magical oracles transmitted by the Magi of Zoroaster*— after the Greek Patriarch had burned it — was translated into Arabic c. 1462 in this same milieu,[85] whose horizons embraced Latin Europe (or at least Italy) and West Asia, not just the eastern Mediterranean, and also the ancient world as well as the revealed religions of Christ and Muḥammad. Mehmet was keen to attract eminent Iranian scholars to his court, since they were considered among the most learned of their age;[86] while on his western flank the Aristotelian Cretan convert to Rome, George Trapezuntius, flattered him for his commitment to Aristotelianism, and notoriously proposed he assume universal rule over Christians as well as Muslims.[87] Had Mehmet not been unavailable to meet him when he visited İstanbul for that very purpose, the new Alexander[88] might have found his Aristotle, and a correspondence might have ensued in which the Latin world's revived appreciation of Greek philosophy would have been put at the service of a renascent, rational, militarily vigorous and credally tolerant Islam (always of course within the limits of the politically possible).

As for us, our aspirations are different. As Jocelyne Dakhlia recently put it, 'to discover today, in Islam, *endogenous* formulations of political universalism and an a-religious understanding of good government, should not be seen as just one more accessory piece of knowledge'.[89]

[1] Gutas 1998: 29-32.

[2] van Ess 1991-7: 2.27; D'Ancona 2005c: 202 (reading 'al-Manṣūr' for 'al-Ma'mūn').

[3] Ibn al-Nadīm, *Kitāb al-fihrist* 131. For my translation of this rather compressed text I have been guided by the paraphrase in 'Abbās 1988: 30-1. (The translation by Dodge [1970: 257-8] reads '*Epistle*' incorrectly.) Evidently Ibn al-Nadīm had seen a manuscript under this title attributed to Sālim, but suspected it could not have been translated by him in person because, unlike most translators from the Greek at this early date, his name was not Christian. As Hishām's secretary he will though have employed men fluent in Greek: Fowden 2004: 269-70. Judging from the section-heading and immediately adjacent entries, Ibn al-Nadīm's concluding observation that 'there is a collection of about 100 folios of his letters' refers not to Aristotle's letters to Alexander, but to Sālim's work as caliphal secretary, the remnants of which are collected by 'Abbās (1988: 303-19).

[4] Fowden 2004: 262-3.

[5] Cf. Gutas 1998: 23-4 (glancing allusions to the *Letters*); Leder 1999: 26 (Aristotle-Alexander correspondence enters Arabic with [much later] *Sirr al-asrār*, on which see below); Dakhlia 2002: 1192 n. 5, 1199 (Islamic political thought begins with Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ). An exception is 'Abbās 1988: 31.

[6] Plezia 1977: 13-14, 16-18, 28, 30-1.

[7] Jouanno 2002: 26-8.

[8] On the Arabic version, see Doufikar-Aerts 2003.

[9] Maróth 2006 (Arabic text with English introduction, separately paginated). The Arabic text of the letters ends on p. 133; cf. 81 (Introduction), and Bielawski and Plezia 1970: 21. On the structure and history of the collection, and its lack of an original title, see Grignaschi 1967: 215-23. Among the shortcomings of Maróth's edition, which is to be used with extreme caution: no discussion of the two main manuscripts or others containing part of the work; no indication when sections of the text appear in one manuscript but not the other (see, e.g., Grignaschi 1993: 225, on the note printed by Maróth at the top of p. 85 [Arabic]). As for Grignaschi's various contributions, they are often hard to follow and heavily hypothetical. I abstain from enumerating every point on which I disagree with these two scholars.

[10] On Islamic political thought as an outgrowth of metaphysics, see Crone 2004: 169-70.

[11] Carlier 1980; Weil 1985.

[12] Maróth 2006: 108-30 (Arabic). Cf. Besnier 2003; Raven 2003. Another compendium that includes the *De mundo* is the seventh-century Syriac ms. B.L. Add. 14658, embracing logic, physics and ethics but not politics: Hugonnard-Roche 2004: 108-11, 119. Among Greek references to the Alexander-Aristotle correspondence, the one most likely to allude to some form of the original from which the Arabic Alexander file was translated is John Philoponus (d.c. 570), *In Categorias* p. 3: αἱ ἐπιστολαὶ ἢ ὅσα ἐρωτηθεὶς ὑπὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Μακεδόνος περί τε βασιλείας καὶ ὅπως δεῖ τὰς ἀποικίας ποιεῖσθαι γεγράφηκε ('the letters, or what he [Aristotle] wrote —when asked by Alexander the Macedonian— on kingship and how to found colonies'). The context is a conventional discussion of how to categorize Aristotle's works. Philoponus is the only ancient authority known to have stated that these lost but apparently genuine writings were actively solicited by Alexander (cf. Plezia 1977: 10-11), while the Alexander file supplies the actual letter of request: Maróth 2006: 85-7 (Arabic). The letter from Aristotle which follows, often known as the *Risāla fī siyāsat al-mudun* or *Letter on policy towards the cities* (Maróth 2006: 88-101 [Arabic]) may in some way derive from the *On kingship*, about which, though, we know very little: see Ross' meagre collection of testimonia and fragments; also Laurenti 2003: 380-1 (authenticity), 460-2.

[13] Grignaschi 1996: 109-13; Maróth 2006: 81-3 (Introduction). Note, though, that the abridged Arabic version of the *De mundo* in ms. İstanbul, Köprülü 1608, appears to be both the oldest, and based on the Greek: Raven 2003: 482.

[14] Grignaschi 1975, with the criticisms of Maróth 2006: 67-71 (Introduction); Grignaschi 1996: 109-11; Shaked 1984: 41-9.

[15] Grignaschi 1975: 39-50, 198-221; cf. Dennis 1981: 16.

[16] Grignaschi 1975: 49-52, 62.

[17] On the late Umayyad intermingling of Hellenism and Iranism, especially in Syria, see Fowden 2004: 296-302. For a possible specific source for Sālim's knowledge of the Sasanians, see ibid. 218. Sālim was a *mawlā*, and it has been thought he was Iranian (Grignaschi 1965-6: 12, 25; Latham 1983: 161; Fowden 2004: 262; van Bladel 2004: 155-6); but Ibn al-Nadīm, *Kitāb al-fihrist* 305, is not evidence for that, *pace* Zakeri 2004: 188-9.

[18] Cf. Manzalaoui 1974: 218, and Maróth 2006: 76 (Introduction).

[19] Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ: Boyce 1968: 27-9. Alexander

file: Maróth 2006: 102-5 (Arabic; French trans. Grignaschi 1965-6: 63-6). Unfortunately, Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ's lost Arabic translation of the *Letter of Tansar* is preserved only in an inflated thirteenth-century retro-translation into Persian. But the fact that he and Sālim were contemporaries who both frequented the court milieu (in which there had been some continuity despite the change of dynasty) encourages one to suppose Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ knew Sālim's *Letters*, and that the Alexander file, since it contains (albeit in elaborated form) the letters Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ quotes, may therefore in some way reflect Sālim's compilation. Both Grignaschi (1965-6: 16-21) and Maróth (2006: 71-3 [Introduction]) argue for the Alexander file's priority to Ibn al-Muqaffaʿ. For another allusion to something like the Alexander file in a mid-eighth-century source, see Grignaschi 1975: 52-3, on al-Masʿūdī, *Murūj al-dhahab* §558.

[20] Compare A. Kaldellis' recent disinterment of a whole circle of intellectual dissenters from the Justinianic vision, among them John Lydos with his interest in constitutional or republican ideals of government: Kaldellis 1999, 2004a,b, 2005a,b. Alexander was also seen as an eschatological ruler yet to come, or identified by some with Heraclius: Reinink 2002.

[21] Kaldellis 2004b: 66; cf. O'Meara 2003: 174-7, on the coverage of both military and political theory in the anonymous and fragmentary dialogue *On political science*, perhaps an implicit criticism of Justinian.

[22] Cf. Kaldellis 2004b: 120-8.

[23] Cf. Justinianic advisers like Agapetos the deacon of Haghia Sophia or the anonymous author of the dialogue *On political science*. On the Alexander Romance as a type of *Fürstenspiegel*, see Jouanno 2002: 191-6. P. Hadot 1972 on *Fürstenspiegel* moves straight from East Rome to the Latin West without the slightest reference to the Islamic development of the genre, typifying the traditional approach to which the present article offers an alternative.

[24] Crone 2004: 148-64.

[25] Cf. Netton 1997. The treatise is summarized by Latham (1983: 157-61) in such a way as to illustrate the appropriateness of the title.

[26] On the Badawī edition and the English translation by Ali, see Bibliography. On two more recent editions, see van Bladel 2004: 151 n. 1. Cf. also Zonta 2003: 648-51; Forster 2006: 1-112, esp. 11-19 (date), 39-41 and 108-11 (genre: *Fürstenspiegel* and encyclopaedia), 44-7 (Persian and Turkish trans.). On the relationship with *Al-siyāsatu 'l-ʿāmmīya*, see Manzalaoui 1974: 156-7, 241-2; van Bladel 2004: 154-5, 162; Forster 2006: 56 n. 298.

[27] Plato, *Politicus* 293c, *Euthydemus* 291cd.

[28] This point is underlined at *Sirr al-asrār* 100 (trans. Ali 205).

[29] Cf. the Syriac inscription allegedly found in an old royal tomb ('I…acquired the extreme knowledge of creation'): *Sirr al-asrār* 165 (trans. Ali 261); also Murray 1978: 119-22.

[30] *Sirr al-asrār* 156-68 (trans. Ali 252-63), esp. 156 for the quotation (trans. Ali 254), and 166-7 (trans. Ali 262; Hermes Trismegistus).

[31] *Sirr al-asrār* 75 (trans. Ali 182).

[32] *Sirr al-asrār* 79 (trans. Ali 186). The most theoretical philosophical section comes at 129-34 (trans. Ali 227-32), an account of Intellect (*ʿaql*), universal Soul, matter and body. Forster (2006: 74) sees this as beside the point in a political treatise; but if scientific knowledge is power, so is spiritual knowledge or gnosis: cf. page 72, below, on the Imam Khomeini.

[33] *Sirr al-asrār* 126 (trans. Ali 226). Cf. Manzalaoui 1974: 160: 'The belief…in "correspondences" between three entities, the individual man, or "microcosm", the universe, or "macrocosm", and the state, or "body politic", made it possible to attach both philosophical concepts, and practical rules of, for example, hygiene, to a treatise in the form of a *Fürstenspiegel*.' The *Secret* was neither the first nor the last text in which either Alexander himself was held to have catalyzed encyclopaedism (Pliny, *Naturalis Historia* 8.17.43-4, also referring to Aristotle), or else the Romance took on encyclopaedic dimensions (Sawyer 1996: 135).

[34] A point emphasized at 117 (trans. Ali 219).

[35] Murray 1978: 120; Williams 2003; Forster 2006: 127-9.

[36] Forster 2006: 12-14, 30, 37, 47.

[37] E.g. *Sirr al-asrār* 73 (trans. Ali 180), on kings' generosity and avarice (cf. Shaked 1984: 41-9); *Sirr al-asrār* 126-7 (trans. Ali 226), the 'Circle of Political Wisdom', identified as Sasanian by Ibn Khaldūn, *Muqaddima* 1.64-5 (trans. Rosenthal 80-1) (cf. Forster 2006: 62 n. 336); and *Sirr al-asrār* 140-2 (trans. Ali 240-1), the story of the Jew and the Zoroastrian (cf. Forster 2006: 76-8). See further van Bladel 2004: 151-72.

[38] Maróth 2006: 47 (Arabic), 47 (Introduction; trans. slightly emended).

[39] See note 14, above.

[40] On the Middle Persian version from which the Arabic was translated, see Niehoff-Panagiotidis 2003: 14-19.

[41] *Sirr al-asrār* 86, 97, 107 (trans. Ali 193, 204,

212), invoking the sages of India, Rome and Iran, but especially of Greece. For further background, see Capezzone 2004: 149-54. There is a subtle analysis of the *Secret*'s wide-ranging debts to Greek erudition in Manzalaoui 1974: 194-238.

[42] Alexander file: Maróth 2006: 47 (Arabic: Alexander exhorts Darius to 'command right and forbid wrong'; cf. Qur'ān 3.104, 110, 114), 78 (Arabic: cf. Introduction 60-1); Grignaschi (1975: 198-221) finds only occasional and dim echoes. *Sirr al-asrār*: 165 line 14 (trans. Ali 260-1).

[43] See e.g. Forster 2006: 123.

[44] Grignaschi 1993: 206-21; Doufikar-Aerts 2003: 82-117.

[45] Qur'ān 18.84-8.

[46] Nagel 1978: esp. 76-7; van Bladel 2007: 65; cf. Abbott 1957-72: 1.50-6.

[47] Hanaway 1998; de Blois 1998.

[48] *Sirr al-asrār* 125 (trans. Ali 224); also, on the king's manifestation of God's true sovereignty, 165 (trans. Ali 261).

[49] *Sirr al-asrār* 67-8 (trans. Ali 176). 'Aristotle' underlines his sole responsibility for Alexander's victories at 152-3, 163, 164 (trans. Ali 250, 259, 260). On the Greek background of the passage quoted, see Manzalaoui 1974: 189-91.

[50] Cicero, *De finibus* 5.3.7; John of Damascus, *Contra Jacobitas* 10; David Bar Paulos translated by Brock 1984: V.25.

[51] I. Hadot 2002: 193.

[52] Pellegrin 2003: 199.

[53] Miller 1995: 191-3. On *On kingship*, see note 12, above.

[54] A. Martin 1989; Martini Bonadeo 2003; Bertolacci 2005: especially 244-5, 270-3, on the popularity of Book Lambda.

[55] D'Ancona 2005c: 203-10; D'Ancona and Taylor 2003 (on the Proclus texts only). For the current editions and translations, see Bibliography. Note that the title *Theology of Aristotle* is usually employed to denote only the Plotinus extracts. On the more comprehensive —if strictly speaking hypothetical— *Theology* which preceded or accompanied the formation of the Plotinian *Theology*, see D'Ancona and Taylor 2003: 625-9. For a brief comparison of Plotinus' and Proclus' theology, see D'Ancona 2005a: 29-30.

[56] Anthropomorphic: 5.64, 7.54, 20.5, 23.27. Transcendent: 42.11 ('There is no other thing like him').

[57] For the controversies under al-Ma'mūn and his successors, see, e.g., Zilio-Grandi 2005: 145-7.

[58] Gutas 1998: 96-104.

[59] *Theology of Aristotle*: Adamson 2002: 151-5. Plotinus: 5.8.7.1-16 (and, on the Arabic version, D'Ancona 2003b). Proclus, *In Parmenidem* 953-61.

[60] Adamson 2002: index s.v. 'God'. On Allāh's 'most beautiful names', see Qur'ān 7.180, 17.110, 20.8.

[61] See the Preface 3-7 (trans. Lewis 486-8).

[62] Ferrari 2005: 360-1.

[63] *Theology of Aristotle* 5-6 (trans. Lewis 487; also [as here] Adamson 2002: 29).

[64] D'Ancona 2003a: 98-103.

[65] Gutas 1998: 107-16; cf. Murray 1978: 121-4. This wide dissemination of pseudo-Aristotelian political thought, and a certain immunity to censure conferred by its supposedly pre-Islamic date, gave it an advantage over the less approachable but undeniably contemporary political writings of such as al-Fārābī, well discussed by Crone (2004: 167-8, 170-87, 193-6), who gives virtually nothing on Pseudo-Aristotle. In any case, there was no demand for systematic political philosophy under an absolutist regime. The authors of 'Mirrors for princes' sought not to change the polity but to provide moral antidotes to the corruption that beset any prince as the price of power: an admirable realism, well illustrated by Aristotle when he responds to Alexander's enquiry whether he should execute the Iranian nobles: Maróth 2006: 102-5 (Arabic; French trans. Grignaschi 1965-6: 63-6); *Sirr al-asrār* 68-9 (trans. Ali 177).

[66] Murray 1978: 121-4, 218-27. *Secretum secretorum*: note 33, above. *Liber de causis*: D'Ancona and Taylor 2003.

[67] D'Ancona and Taylor 2003: 636-40.

[68] Walbridge 2005: esp. 217 on prophets.

[69] Al-Suhrawardī, *Ḥikmat al-ishrāq* §171 (trans. Corbin 155), alluding to *Theology of Aristotle* 22 (trans. Lewis 225). Plotinus himself made no reference to light in this passage; but cf., e.g., 5.3.17.28-30 (not included in the *Theology*).

[70] Corbin 1971-2: 2.96-104.

[71] Endress 2001: esp. 46 no. 46, 48 no. 54.

[72] Babayan 2002: xxviii-xxx.

[73] Extracts translated by Bonaud 1997: 49-50.

[74] I am indebted for information about the *Theology* in contemporary Iran to Professors Mohammad Fanaei Eshkevari (Qom), Mahmoud Binaye Motlagh (Eṣfahān) and Mahdi Ghavam Safari (Tehrān), whom I met at a conference on Plato and al-Suhrawardī held in Athens in February 2006.

[75] Algar 1985: 25-166; Moin 1999: 225-6, 294-7, and further references in the index s.v. '*velayat-e faqih*'; V. Martin 2000: 160-3, 170.

[76] V. Martin 2000: 32 n. 16, 35 n. 29, 162; O'Meara 2003: 191-3 on al-Fārābī.

[77] V. Martin 2000: 41, 45-7, 153-4, 170, 202-3 ('a subtle unseen authority behind the visible jurisprudential one').

[78] V. Martin 2000: ix. O'Meara (2003) breaks new ground in describing the political dimension of late Platonism and tracing its influence — but only as far as al-Fārābī.

[79] Corbin 1971-2: 2.353-8; 4.28-9, 58; Ahmad 1965.

[80] Ansari 1965: 380b; Schimmel 1993: 327b.

[81] Gutas 1998: 166-72.

[82] Raby and Tanindi 1993: esp. 49, 62, 78-9, 150-1, 172-3, 178-9; Gutas 1998: 174-5. For the availability in Bayazit II's library, which included his father's, of a wide selection of works in or translated from Persian and Greek as well as Arabic and Turk-ish, see Maróth 2002: esp. 120-1 (the manuscripts of the Alexander file), 127, 128 (*Sirr al-asrār*), 130-1; also Maróth 2004.

[83] Raby 1983: 20, 29, and fig. 42. Aquinas's criticism of Ibn Sīnā and Ibn Rushd (Averroes) will have attracted Mehmet, who organized a disputation aimed at sustaining al-Ghazālī against his philosophical critics: Gutas 1998: 174.

[84] The colophon is printed in Badawī's edition, p. 50. Mehmet was intermittently resident at Edirne during 1459: Babinger 1978: 162, 172, 173. My thanks to Dimitri Gutas for help with Aya Sofya 2457.

[85] *Pace* Gutas (1998: 174), there is no evidence that the Plethon translation was done at Mehmet's personal initiative: see the carefully worded discussion by Nicolet and Tardieu 1980: 55.

[86] Babinger 1978: 490-2; Inalcik 1973: 166-7.

[87] Monfasani 1976: 131-6, 184-94.

[88] Babinger 1978: 499-500; Raby 1983: 18-19.

[89] Dakhlia 2002: 1206.

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Michael N. Weiskopf

The System Artaphernes-Mardonius as an Example of Imperial Nostalgia

TWO ACCOUNTS survive of the measures undertaken by Artaphernes, satrap at Sardis, to re-establish the normal workings of administration in his Ionian sectors. The first, and shorter, a fragment of Diodorus (10.25), indicates the satrap followed the advice of Greek wiseman Hecataeus, gave the Ionians back their laws, and set down tribute fixed on the ability to pay. It is the second, longer account, found in Herodotus 6.42-43, which creates difficulties due to its statements that the results of Artaphernes' assessment remained in place into Herodotus' time and that Mardonius established democracies in Ionia (although tyrants later reappear in the narrative). Some have attempted resolutions by means of grammar, others by means of mathematics.[1] I believe that major difficulties may be set aside by regarding Herodotus' account as an example of an imperial nostalgia. One can consider the words Herodotus speaks to be the result of his Ionian informants thinking about what they remembered about Achaemenid administration and comparing those recollections to what they had already experienced of Athenian rule.

My decision to view this passage as example of imperial nostalgia —a favorable recollection of previous imperial administrators summoned up by the misdeeds of present rulers— has been prompted by Pierre Briant's inquiries into Greek inscriptions mentioning Achaemenid administrators and by my own inquiries into the better-documented colonial empires of the past century. It has long been known from Tacitus (*Ann.* 3.60-3) that Greek cities held the practices of the Achaemenid (as opposed to the Greeks' present — in this case, Roman) administrators as models to be followed. Achaemenid participation in local civic life was not a recollection to be suppressed. Professor Briant has brought into clearer focus epigraphical evidence for such. At Sardis, on a wall detailing the important events and decisions affecting a precinct of Zeus, is preserved (with spelling error) the inscription which once occupied the statue base of a monument set up by the Achaemenid official Droaphernes.[2] From Magnesia comes the Roman-era stone bearing the so-called Gadatas-brief, the content of which derives from an earlier period and was assembled by someone with knowledge of Achaemenid history and chancery practices in general. The letter is precisely the type of document to be displayed to someone wondering how to treat the temple and its precinct.[3]

In the course of my own inquiries into empires of the past century, I have found numerous parallels to Herodotus' favorable account of the system Artaphernes-Mardonius. I begin with the pre-Heisei era Japanese empire. When Koreans were interviewed long after the passing of Japanese rule, they described the Japanese as:

> [those] whose organization impressed me. They planned things. They came with blueprints. They built things that worked. The bridge they built in our village lasted through all the rains and flooding…One thing the Japanese

did at this time was to record the ownership of each farm property, because before, Koreans had no documentation of ownership. For generations, Koreans just said so-and-so's rice fields are next to so-and-so's…[4]

Imperial nostalgia comes into clearer focus in the case of the German colonial empire, dismantled by the Versailles papers, its inhabitants transferred to new lords as spear-won. In West Africa, in the city of Kribi in Cameroun, the local inhabitants annoyed their French overlords by saluting the statue of their former German warrior-administrator Hans Dominik. When the French took down the statue, the inhabitants saluted the still-inscribed statue base. When the French threw the statue base into the river, the inhabitants saluted the site of the monument.[5] In German East Africa (Tanzania) we can trace the hardening of the inhabitants' perception of their new British masters. By the end of 1918 word had gone out among the Wasuaheli that: 'The Germans speak harshly, but they have good hearts. The British speak nicely, but they have hard hearts.'[6] Finally, a remarkable parallel from German Samoa, today's West Samoa. Shortly after the Tripartite Treaty assigned Samoa to Germany in 1900, the first royal governor, Dr. Wilhelm Solf, summoned the Samoan notables and outlined the structure of provincial government. However, this pronouncement was followed by many years of work by a German-Samoan *Land- und Titelkommission* which set down land-ownership, rights to honorary titles, and alterations to the 1900 pronouncement. When Samoa passed as spear-won to the New Zealanders (occupiers adept in public drunkenness and incompetent in maintaining public health), the inhabitants began to wish for the return of their German administrators, a number of notables sending a letter to Solf in 1923 asking him to return. The work of Solf and his second in command, Schultz-Ewerth, governor from 1910, was fondly remembered by the Samoans: Solf's portrait continued to hang in the residence of the Samoan head of state, he was spoken of favorably during Samoan preparations for independence in 1954, he was honored with coinage in 1980, and even into my day the Samoans consult the records of the *Land und Titel-Kommision*, die *Gruendstuckbueche*r and the *Personenstandregister*. And they point to German economic activity as forming the foundation for the modern Samoan economy, a foundation which survived in spite of New Zeeland mismanagement.[7] It is into this array that I place Herodotus' account of Artaphernes and Mardonius.

Herodotus 6.42 is an account bracketed by the concepts of utility and stability. It describes the quite useful activities of Artaphernes. By compelling the Ionians to place their disputes under arbitration and by measuring their land, he establishes a rule of law based upon the clear delineation of possessions. By setting tribute based upon these measurements, he provides a statement of the responsibilities of the local government toward the satrapal government, based upon those resources possessed by the local state and its members. Note the qualities assigned to Achaemenid administration in Herodotus:

• Rational — careful measurement before assessment. The administration, which investigates local conditions, can be shaped to accommodate them.

• Precise and transparent — the measurement is carried out using a well-known and easily convertible standard. (Herodotus and Ionians would know the parasang.)

• Just — since the amounts assessed are nearly the same as those which existed before the disturbances. The Ionians are not financially punished by the assessment paralleling a putatively weaker time of Achaemenid administration.

• Efficient and stable — Herodotus implies that assessment activities took one year; the assessment was done once and was done right, hence it lasted in place into Herodotus' day. Artaphernes' activities are thus conducive to peace, conducive to stability, and not a source of resentment. Artaphernes is not described, as would later be Aristeides, as accomplishing something impossible (so Diod. 11.47.1-2). Nor are his activities from a time of Kronos (Plut. *Arist.* 24.3) threatened with immediate degeneration by the posturing of transitory demagogues. In silence, the account damns the fibrillations of reassessment and the punishments under Athenian rule.

The characteristics noted in Herodotus' account of Artaphernes' settlement are mirrored elsewhere in his work: in his accounts of Achaemenid finances and in his accounts of Achaemenid engineering (both real and expected projects). Achaemenid metal work set the standard which others hoped and tried to emulate. The story of Aryandes' silver (Hdt. 4.166) makes clear that Achaemenid authorities offered honest and stable bullion. Herodotus 3.96 accepted the view that smelted bullion was stored in a uniform and accountable form, which precluded a Lydian-style rolling around in the gold-dust (cf. Hdt. 6.125). Known and convertible standards were used for assessment in the Empire as a whole (cf. in Babylon, Hdt. 1.192). Darius' activities (Hdt. 3.89) are Artaphernes' writ large. The king established a rule of law based upon the delineation of his own property, the appointment of local custodians of that property, and the setting down of responsibilities to the crown based upon the measurement of resources. Uncertainty and disorder are banished.

Here I must digress to Darius as *kapēlos*. The terms 'father' and 'despot' have very much a moral quality about them. A father will try to see only the best in his family members and treat them mildly in hopes of increasing their goodness. The despot looks down upon those he rules and at the same time fears, sees only the worst, sees only threats, and so acts harshly in order to defend his wrongfully-occupied position. But the *kapēlos* does not deal in moral characteristics; he relies upon physical characteristics which can be observed and which can be measured. Morality plays a role only when those entrusted with the observation and measurement falsify their data. Then, the ruler, if just (as suggested in the Polyaenus anecdote [7.11.3]) intervenes.[8]

The Achaemenid organizational ability in carrying out complex and large projects attracted Greek attention and makes frequent appearance in Herodotus. The realities of engineering, such as the Bosporus bridges and Xerxes' canal at Athos (Hdt. 4.83 ff.; 7.6, 8, 22 ff.), the road system (Hdt. 5.52-3; 8.98), the siege works at Soloi (5.115) and the reports of dam and irrigation projects in Central Asia (3.117) —all carried out with resources mustered from different portions of the empire— are complemented by the wonders of technology, for instance, Xerxes' threat to terraform Thessaly into a lake (Hdt. 7.130), the battlefield plan to place a dam across to Salamis (Hdt. 8.97.1),[9] and Mardonius' ability to signal events across an island network (Hdt. 9.3).[10] But Mardonius' first experimentation with technology is overshadowed by the amazing event Herodotus records at 6.43.

In the next year, spring 492, Mardonius journeys down to the coast. The other generals —with the arms and other men summoned up in the time of

emergency (cf. Hdt. 5.102.1)— have been demobilized.[11] Mardonius conducts joint sea and land maneuvers, taking command of the fleet. When he lands in Ionia, he accomplishes a great, amazing act, which particularly attracted Herodotus' attention, because the historian believed a similar one had been discussed in the Achaemenid heartland: Mardonius puts an end to the rule of tyrants and establishes democracies. I call attention to the context of Mardonius' actions. He commands a fleet moving unchallenged along the coast of Asia. He lands in Ionia. He establishes democracies. This is not a parody of the Athenian establishment of democracy in Asia, but rather the rational manner in which that establishment should have taken place — in the course of a well-planned campaign, in the absence of in-fighting among rival commanders, and without the thrashing of pirates' oars propelled by the whims of *Peithō* and *Anankaíē* (Hdt. 8.111, 121). Mardonius represents Empire, but it has not become a tyranny. Mardonius' expedition, if we strip away attempts to anticipate the future (6.43.4-44.1), becomes one of inspection, correction, and exploration. I believe a chief goal of his expedition was to determine the present efficacy of joint land and sea maneuvers in maintaining peace. The visit to Ionia, certainly not Mardonius' only landing point, may have included some ceremonial aspect, for instance, honoring the Ionians' gods (cf. Xerxes in Hdt. 7.43).[12] The results obtained beyond the Hellespont, including losses of men and materiel, were part of the gaining of a better view of the far western frontier, including the geographic and climatic challenges for which the Achaemenids would attempt to design solutions.[13]

If Herodotus is relating an account of Achaemenid administration which portrays it as just (and the Athenian, by implication, as unjust), then I may begin to remove some difficulties in the interpretation and use of Herodotus' account. Herodotus' statement about the permanence of Artaphernes' assessment should be not used to indulge in the curious argument that the Achaemenids never abandoned past financial claims to any breakaway portion of their realm. Thus, I forgive Tissaphernes' (and Pharnabazus') decades-worth of back-taxes. They do not receive a bill for a near century's-worth of back-taxes, the amount perhaps lessened by the ancestral Achaemenid custom of forgiving debts outstanding from the previous king's reign (Hdt. 6.59). Thucydides 8.5, the passage used as evidence for this debt, is introducing us to Tissaphernes and explaining why he is anxious to obtain the services of Spartans as spear-bait. The satrap has been unable to maintain the baseline of his administrative responsibilities: keeping order and forwarding tribute. The Athenian activities preventing transmission of tribute from the Greek (*Hellēnidōn*) cities are those taking place during Thucydides' narrative, activities which must have included operations parallel to those undertaken later by Xenophon and his friends against the estate of Asidates (Xen. *Hell.* 7.8.7 ff.) and raids on tribute caravans such as the one recorded in Nepos (*Dat.* 4). Thucydides' use of the term *neosti* is reflective of the Great King's continued exasperation, which prompts Tissaphernes to introduce another foreign army into the King's House. The various agreements between Achaemenid and Spartan authorities which appear later in Thucydides' narrative seem to be focused on preventing such raiding activities and on regulating Spartan movements by making Achaemenid authorities responsible for provisioning, while denying supplies to the Athenians (cf. Thuc. 8.18, 37, 58; 8.43 represents the hyperventilation of Lichas and Tissaphernes).[14]

I have suggested that Herodotus' account, as a means of criticizing Athenian claims, portrays Mardonius, sacker of Athens, as the establisher of democracies in Ionia. Attempts to explain what is meant by democracy here are inconclusive and have advanced little since How and Wells' commentary published in 1912.[15] I feel justified in dismissing the Mardonius-democrats because of their flagrant absence not only in the narratives of Mardonius' reappearance in Greece, but also in the speeches assigned to participants in the Xerxes campaign. A most obvious place to introduce Mardonius' earlier activities and the democrats appointed by him would have been in book 8. But when Alexander of Macedonia speaks the words of Mardonius —who speaks the words of the Great King (Hdt. 8.140; cf. 9.4 ff.)— to the Athenians, the kinsmen of the Ionians, there is no mention of how Mardonius has benefited the Ionians in the past (cf. Diod. 11.28).

What remains, then, of the System Artaphernes-Mardonius? Perhaps, the command to be responsible; and a foundation for a future administration based upon, number one, the satrapal expectation that individual communities would turn to arbitration, and, number two, an assessment carried out, as Gerassimos Aperghis suggests, on a macro-level.[16] Fulfilling financial obligations to the Achaemenid administration becomes the responsibility of the community as a whole. I hesitate to see any form of *Assessorismus*, the imposition of a uniform bureaucratic straight-jacket.[17] Nor do I see the mechanical implementation of an *Eingeborenenrecht*, a legal system in which native laws and customs, once collected by or presented to an imperial authority, must await that authority's approval for their continued existence.[18]

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[1] See, in the first place, Scott's recent commentary on Book Six with extensive references to earlier treatments of these problems (Scott 2005: esp. 185-203, and 533-45 [Appendix 11]). See, in addition, Briant 2002: esp. 154-7 (with notes on p. 906), and 493-7 (with notes on p. 953). I note that Scott's explanation (pp. 193, 543) for Herodotus' invoking of *es eme* (6.42.2) relies upon the existence of a Peace of Callias, the view being that Achaemenid administration was evil and that this evil would persist today in places if they were not protected under Athenian hegemony. Of value, but not cited in Scott, are the contributions of Wallinga 1989 and Corsaro 1989. Equally useful are the two separate pieces by Stadter and Flower, respectively, in the recent English-language, publisher-generated collection of essays on Herodotus by Dewald and Marincola (2006).

My reference to grammar and mathematics (cf. note 8, below, on Tuplin 1997) is not meant to be facetious, but rather to sum up verbally the many attempts I found when I first examined this topic in 2002 to save the phenomena that (1) Artaphernes'

assessment persisted, (2) cities paid funds and resources to the Athenians during the same time period, and (3) there existed a direct relationship between the assessments made, respectively, by Artaphernes and Aristeides. In addition to the works cited above, see Murray 1966 (falling back to Grote's distinction between an amount assessed and an amount actually collected) and Evans 1976.

Samons (2000) offers general, salutary observations about the limited evidence available concerning the early financial affairs of Athenian rule. Samons (45-6 with n. 82) notes Athenian arrogance as well as Herodotus' understanding of the irony engendered in the view that Athens saved Hellas from the Achaemenids but does not bring to bear our passage as reflecting the view of those 'liberated'. In his discussion of Aristeides (pp. 84-91, esp. n. 37 on pp. 90-1) we see reflections of the previous scholarly debates over assessment and amounts actually collected. 'Public relations' represents the minimum requirement for the Athenians' refusal to use the Achaemenid assessment (cf. pp. 252, 330-2).

One work which I find to have advanced the analysis of Herodotus is Bloesel 2004. As Steinbock (2006) aptly points out in his excellent review of Bloesel's work, the latter scholar 'argues that Herodotus, in search of a higher truth, radically altered his source material to stylize his Themistocles as an incarnation of fifth-century Athens with all its contradictions, thus implicitly chastising its unbridled imperialism in his own time . . .' Bloesel discusses Artaphernes (pp. 301-3), arguing that Herodotus' listeners would perceive the tie between Achaemenid and Athenian tribute because 'es primaer diese Abgaben waren, die einerseits von den Athenern als Basis ihrer Herrschaft angesehen wurden und andererseits als schwerste Belastung die Buendner zu Revolten aufstacheten'. Bloesel holds the view that Achaemenid administration was maleficent, that the Achaemenids claimed *de iure* tribute after 479 (p. 306), but not that the (nostalgic, or merely disgusted) Ionians themselves were able to offer an account which portrayed Achaemenid administration as a 'golden age'. Jung 2006 (which I have not been able to consult) should also be of value to those wishing to examine changing perceptions of the Achaemenid far western border wars.

[2] Briant 1998.

[3] See Briant 2003. Since the inscription was meant to be accepted as real by the literate public of the second century AD, an examination of Chariton's romance (the now standard edition by Reardon places the novel not much before Nero's time), set in part in the Achaemenid empire, might provide indications about what the public would associate with the Achaemenid empire. Cf. Pers. 1.134. Also discussed by Schwartz 2003 (*non vidi*).

[4] I have drawn these statements from Kang (2001: esp. 10-13). The Koreans interviewed were those who emigrated to America and settled in the San Francisco Bay area (pp. xi-xv). The 'black umbrella' is Japanese rule. The interviews were done in the later 1990s (cf. p. 150).

[5] See the documents and photograph in Zeller 2000: 137-8, 319 item 119, and photograph on p. 105.

[6] '*Wadatschi maneno makali lakini roho mzuri; wengereza maneno mazuri lakini roho kali*'. This statement, given in Kisuaheli, appears in print in early 1919 (e.g., von Lettow-Vorbeck 1919: 16, 111). For internal date, see Schnee 1919: 435, cf. p. 415.

[7] Solf has been the subject of two biographies, the first publishing extracts from his papers: von Vietsch 1961: 352-66 (Solf's account of his difficulties with Samoan notables); additional analysis is offered by Hempenstall and Mochida 2005. Solf's speech to the Samoan notables is printed on pp.

134-6 of Gruender's (1999) collection of the relevant primary source material. For the German administration in Samoa in general, see Hiery 2001. I own a copy of the coin mentioned, minted for Samoa in Singapore. Solf's portrait (i.e., physical appearance) is accurate, but his title and province are given anachronistically as 'Governor of Western Samoa' rather than 'royal governor of Samoa'. For the present-day use of German-period records, see the 2 July 2002 entry in the guestbook by Kappus n.d. at www.traditionsverband.de; also www.samoareisen.de.

[8] As regards the topics raised, including the digression, I confine myself to citing these scholars, from whose works additional bibliography might be generated: Zournatzi 2002a,b; Tuplin 1989, 1997; van Alfen 2004-5. The Polyaenus anecdote is not cause to suggest Darius halved Artaphernes' assessment as argued by Georges 2000: esp. 34.

[9] To be complemented by Strab. 9.1.13 and Ctesias, *FGrHist* 688 F 13(30). See Wallinga 2005: 65.

[10] The reality of which is dismissed quickly by Flower and Marincola 2002: 105. Briant (2002: 371, and note on p. 928) regards Achaemenid practice as the model for signaling in Aeschylus. During the last century the heliograph, used commonly in Deutsch Ostafrika, could transmit signals up to 150 km using the sun (see Schnee 1920: 55-6, s.v. '*Heliographen*').

[11] Cf. Scott. 2005: 194, 483-4 with n. 17. He is not the first to assign an unnecessary, degenerate 'oriental' distrust to the Great King in the making of appointments.

[12] On Xerxes' visit, see the interesting comments by Gnoli 1998. I note that Datis uses Greek myth in the form of Medus to lay claim to Athens (Diod. 10.27). Perhaps it is not improper to suggest some propagandistic use of foreign mythology or syncretism by Mardonius — when could one first see the footsteps left behind by Rostam in the Achaemenid Far West?

[13] On Mardonius' expedition in general, use as starting point Briant 2002: 156-7 (with notes on pp. 906-7), 496-7 (with notes on p. 953); Scott 2005: 192-203, 482, 542-5. In reference to solutions designed, I note Wallinga's comment (2005: 152-3): 'I would indeed say that it is perfectionism rather than the enormity of their war aims that explains the extreme care with which the Persian staff planned the whole expedition and the final blow in particular.' How did the Achaemenids, an inland power, perceive the sea? I note that one of the first images in Xenophon's *Hellenica* (1.1.6) is of Pharnabazus riding his horse into the surf in defense of his satrapy. Above, I noted Mardonius' chain of fire signals

across the islands. How does one transform excellence in horsemanship and in communications (roads included) into a mastery of the sea? Perhaps the Achaemenids viewed the sea in two fashions:

- First, as a flooded landscape in which only the mountain tops (i.e., the Mediterranean islands) were visible; Mardonius' island-signals can be seen as an adaptation of the means by which signaling was done from high point to high point on the Asia mainland.

- Second, as a form of desert inhabited by bandits (i.e., pirates; cf. Wallinga 2005: 76-7), from which only limited sustenance might be drawn (i.e., food —fish— but no potable water), dotted with oases (islands, ports), and subject to its own form of sandstorms —as Mardonius discovered at Athos.

Such dangers, plus the ability to manipulate the 'desert' only on its edges (e.g., constructing Xerxes' canal = making a passable road), can account easily for the desire to take 'extreme care'. There also existed the expectation that elements of the Achaemenid fleet could communicate with each other and with the islands by means of (fire) signals. This stands behind the anecdote concerning Miltiades' expedition to Paros, during which the Parians believe they have received a signal from Datis (Steph.Byz. s.v. 'Πάρος' [= Ephorus, *FGrHist* 70 F 63]; cf. Scott 2005: 630-47).

[14] Scott 2005: 540-1 with ns. 24-5 (on the treaties) with bibliography.

[15] How and Wells 1912: 80. Cf. Scott 2005: 542-5; Briant 2002: 497 (sounding much like How and Wells), 953.

[16] Aperghis 2004: 140-1 (general discussion on pp. 139-42).

[17] Hdt. (1.135) suggests just the opposite. Cf. Tuplin 1987: 109-60 (esp. 109, 111-12, 145-6, 157-8).

[18] E.g., the view proposed in Frei and Koch 1996. A recent work which discusses this 'theory of imperial authorization' in connection with Anatolia is Fried 2004 (esp. 108-55). Of the documents she handles, only the Myous-Miletus land dispute (see Tod no. 113) is germane here (cf. Scott 2005: 534-8, esp. 537 n. 17, and 538 n. 18). But I note that the surviving traces of the term 'King' on Fragment A offer no hint of legal context and that the arbitration comes to end prematurely when it is abandoned by the city of Myous.

Final note:

Because a moral, non-academic obligation and responsibility kept me from attending the conference in person, I have decided to leave my words as they were spoken. I thank Antigoni Zournatzi, David Stronach, and Makis Aperghis for their suggestions and for arranging for my words to be spoken. I also thank Molly Samson for her assistance in preparing the copy needed for publication.

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Askold I. Ivantchik

Greeks and Iranians in the Cimmerian Bosporus in the Second/First Century BC: New Epigraphic Data from Tanais

THE PRESENT paper focuses on the relations between the Greeks and Iranians in the Cimmerian Bosporus and, more specifically, in Tanais. Founded by the Greeks of the Cimmerian Bosporus in the first quarter of the third century BC, this city was isolated geographically from the very beginning from other Greek settlements (the closest ones are situated on the Bosporus) and was surrounded by the Sarmatians, local Iranian-speaking tribes. Information about the city's civic institutions is mainly available from local inscriptions, the overwhelming majority of which date from the second and third centuries AD. These inscriptions attest that a very high percentage of the city's population bore Iranian names; they (or their ancestors) originated without doubt from the Sarmatian milieu. In the second and third centuries AD this phenomenon was typical of the Bosporan Kingdom as a whole but was especially accentuated in Tanais. Such onomastic evidence —derived primarily from the long lists of names recorded in inscriptions of local *thiasoi*— accounts, moreover, for almost half of the available linguistic materials that give us some idea of the Sarmatian language, including its particular character as an Iranian language of the northeastern group and of its kinship with modern Ossetic.

From the epigraphic record it also emerges that during the second and third centuries AD the civic community of Tanais included two subdivisions, the *Hellēnes* and the *Tanaitai*, headed by a *hellēnarchēs* and 'archons of the *Tanaitai*', respectively. The civic administration was controlled, in turn, by royal legates sent from Pantikapaion in order to ensure its loyalty to the Bosporan kings. As far as one can tell from their names, the civic subdivisions of the community had an ethnic origin. In the Roman period, however, the Tanaitai were highly hellenized and probably considered themselves Greek.

Up until recently, the ethnic and internal political situation in Tanais during the first three centuries of its existence remained unattested in contemporary written sources and could only be reconstructed by extrapolation from the evidence of later inscriptions and by interpretation of archaeological data. A recent study of the inscriptions kept in the storehouses of the Tanais Museum allowed me to identify fragments of three inscriptions, which were discovered in the course of the archaeological exploration of the site and which shed new light on this problem.

All three inscriptions were engraved on the carefully smoothed surface of limestone slabs or blocks. Their letters were carved along pre-prepared baselines but are rather carelessly executed; letter heights vary inside the lines. There is use of lunar *sigmas* and *epsilons*, cursive *alphas* and *kappas* with *hastae* not joined together. The carving of the letters and overall execution of the inscriptions are so similar that it can be assumed that they were all made in the same workshop, if not by the same stone-carver. The character of the script makes it possible to date all three inscriptions to the second century or the first half of the first century BC (cf., e.g., *CIRB* 27). These inscriptions are, thus, the earliest ones found to date in Tanais.

For a long time no inscriptions of any date preceding the first century AD had been recorded here. In 1970 Dmitrii Shelov wrote:

> The fact that so far —despite the very large scale of the excavations carried out at the Nedvigovskoe city-site— not one fragment of an inscription which could be dated to the pre-Polemon period has been found, obliges us to assume that in the future as well inscriptions of that kind will not be discovered and that in Tanais the custom of carving inscriptions on stone only appeared in the first centuries AD.[1]

These pessimistic words were repudiated even before they were published. An inscription of the Hellenistic period had been discovered in Tanais in 1969 (no. 1, below). However, as this find had not been published and lay forgotten in the Museum's storehouse, it eluded the attention of scholars studying Tanais for almost 40 years. The presence of Hellenistic inscriptions in Tanais first became known through Yuri Vinogradov's publication of another early text (no. 3, below) in 1995.[2]

1. The first fragment (Tanais Museum no. КП7[7]/АТГ) was discovered in 1969.[3] The inscription had been carved on a block of yellowish limestone, and the fragment measured 10.1 x 6.9 cm; its surviving thickness was 4.4 cm (Fig. 1). The surviving part of the inscribed surface (9.2 x 6.1 cm) had been smoothed carefully, but all of the other sides were chipped. The height of the letters varies between 1.0 and 1.6 cm and the average distance between the lines of the inscription is 0.4 cm. Five lines of the inscription survive.

Fig. 1
Inscription from Tanais. Tanais Museum КП7(7)/АТГ.

> [- - -]
> [- - - θι]ασεῖτ[αι οἱ περὶ ἱερέα τὸν δεῖνα τοῦ δεῖνος]
> [- - - καὶ πατέρα συ]νόδο[υ τὸν δεῖνα τοῦ δεῖνος]
> [- - -καὶ] φιλά[γαθον τὸν δεῖνα τοῦ δεῖνος]
> [- - -καὶ νε]ωκόρ[ον- - -]
> [- - -].ν Κυ[- - -]
> [- - -]

[…] the *thiasōtai* [directed by the priest so-and-so, the father of the sy]nod [so-and-so,] the *phila*[*gathos* so-and-so, the *ne*]*ōkor*[*os* so-and-so…]

The genre of the text can be reliably determined from the surviving letters of line 1. It is evidently an inscription made by a *thiasos*, a cultic association of private character. As is usual in inscriptions of this type, there is in the beginning a list of persons, who held prominent offices in the *thiasos*: the priest, the father of the synod, and the *philagathos*. All these offices are well known from previously published inscriptions of *thiasoi* originating from the Bosporus (in Tanais among other places). The mention of a νεωκόρος in line 4, however, was somewhat unexpected. Among *thiasoi* attested within the territory of the northern Pontic region, this office is recorded only once, in an inscription of the second century AD from Hermonassa, mentioning a νακόρος. He would appear, moreover, to have been the head of the *thiasos*.[4] His name stands first on the list, before the name of the priest, which in other instances heads the list of the leading people of the *thiasos*. In around the same period ἡ ναυκόρος was one of the main offices —if not *the* main office— in the association of the worshippers of the Mother of the Gods in Lydia known as δοῦμος.[5] In the Tanais inscription, on the other hand, the *neōkoros* is mentioned at the end of the list, af-

ter the priest, the father of the synod, and the *philagathos*. It may be assumed that the office of the *neōkoros* was less important in the *thiasos* that had erected this inscription.

This difference between the two Bosporan inscriptions, which are separated by two centuries, is in keeping with the general trend in the development of the meaning of the term as it can be traced from other sources. Νεωκόρος (variants: νακόρος, ναοκόρος, ναυκόρος, νεοκόρος, νηοκόρος, νειοκόρος) and the virtually synonymous ζάκορος originally designated members of the temple staff below the highest rank. Their role and importance in various sanctuaries could differ considerably. In some instances (for example, in the temple of Artemis at Ephesus in the fourth century BC) this term was even used to designate the high priest, but that was an exception from the general rule. The status of the *neōkoros* for the city cult of Artemis in Amyzon in Caria was also likely quite high, as can be seen from a city decree of 321/20 BC (he was neither a priest nor the treasurer of the temple, however).[6] According to the decree, the *neōkoros* had been appointed in accordance with a proposal made by the satrap and confirmed in his position by the Delphic oracle. In connection with this appointment, both he and his son (who were evidently Persian — their names were Βαγαδάτης and Ἀριαράμης) were granted citizenship and a number of privileges (*ateleia*, *proedria* et al.). During the Hellenistic era, the importance of the *neōkoroi* was on the increase everywhere, and by the end of the first century BC the term had become an honorary title for quite high-ranking individuals associated with different cults, including that of the emperor. It was also at that time that the term began to be associated with cities housing emperors' temples. Later the Romans regulated this practice, and a city's right to bear the title of *neōkoros* was granted through a special resolution of the Senate.[7]

Neōkoros or *zakoros* is rarely encountered as a designation for a leading office in a thiasos, although such instances have been recorded.[8] In the association (ὀργεῶνες) of the worshippers of the Mother of the Gods based in the Peiraieus, the *zakoroi* were appointed by the current priestess (the head of the association, elected by the drawing of lots for one year) from among former priestesses (*IG* II/III² 1328, ll. 16-17). The responsibilities of the *zakoros* were, on the one hand, to assist the officiating priestess and, on the other, to keep her under control. Two decrees of different date inscribed on the same stone reflect the changes in the status of the *zakoros*. In a decree of 183/2 BC a *zakoros* was appointed, like the priestess, for one year, and it was forbidden for a person to be reappointed to this office until each of the former priestesses had held the post once. Yet in a decree of 175/4 BC the association cancelled this rule and appointed a certain Metrodora *zakoros* for life (*IG* II/III² 1328 = Sokolowski 1969: 48).[9] Thus, the inscription from Tanais discussed here is one of the rarest pieces of evidence testifying to the existence of the office of *neōkoros* in a *thiasos* of the Hellenistic period.

In line 5 there are probably preserved the ending of a name (of an honored individual? of one of the leaders of the *thiasos*?) in the accusative and the beginning of a patronymic. In front of the *nu*, the upper corner of a letter has survived, which cannot be identified (it is clear, however, that it cannot be an *omicron*). Names beginning with Κυ- that have been recorded in the Bosporus are confined to Κυλιανις (*CIRB* 162 and a new tomb-stone from Myrmekion[10]) and Κυραθων (*CIRB* 617, 618, 690, 1179, 1266).

Fig. 2
Inscription from Tanais. Tanais
Museum ΚΠ301/ΑΓ100/30.

2. Only two small, joining fragments of the second inscription have survived (Tanais Museum no. ΚΠ301/ΑΓ100/30) (Fig. 2). The whole measures 21.8 x 12.8 cm in area, and the thickness of the slab of yellowish limestone, on which the inscription has been carved, is 9.1 cm. Both fragments were discovered in a layer of rubble from the monumental entrance of the *agora*.[11] The uppermost fragment was more weathered and charred. As in the case of the first inscription, the front surface of the stone had been carefully smoothed, while the left edge and rear surfaces had been only roughly worked and bear toolmarks. The remaining surfaces were chipped. Traces of decoration (possibly a representation of a pediment) survive in the upper left corner. The epigraphic field (21.1 x 11.4 cm) was chipped at the top, to the right, and at the bottom. The left margin is 0.6 cm wide and the height of the letters 1.0-1.8 cm. The average distance between the lines is 0.4 cm. Twelve, partially preserved lines of the inscription survive on the stone. The presence of decoration on the top left corner indicates that the preserved portion of the text must have been near the beginning of the inscription, although it is not possible to establish the number of missing lines.

> [- - -]
> *vac. 3 litt.* Δ[- - - ἑλλη]-
> *vac. 2 litt.* νάρχ[-? - - -]
> Ἀπολλώ[νιος- - -]
> Δημήτρι[ος - - - καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ]
> 5   θιασῖται[- - -]
> Τανάεϊ χρ[- - -]
> Σφανος Πι[- - -]
> Σαυρου Πο[- - -]
> *vac. 7 litt.* Η[- - -]
> 10 Ἀρτεμίδ[ωρος τοῦ δεῖνος - - -]
> Ἑστιαῖος [τοῦ δεῖνος - - -]
> Δ . . . . ΝΥ[- - -]
> [- - -]

[… *hellē*]*narch*[*ēs* …] Apollonios […], Demetrios [… and other] *thiasōtai* […] to Tanais […] Sphanos, son of Pi[…], son of Sauros, Po[…], Artemid[oros …], Hestiaios […]

In line 2 the restoration ἑλληνάρχης (proposed by Sergei Tokhtas'ev) is based on the surviving letters NA and partly surviving letters *rho* (a vertical *hasta* following NA) and *chi* (the bottom corner). If this restoration is correct, important conclusions follow on from it. The earliest reliable mention of the office of ἑλληνάρχης —one of the main offices in Tanais during the Roman period— was previously offered by an inscription from this city dating from AD 188 (*CIRB* 1242). The term was also restored in another text (*CIRB* 1260a) from the reign of Tiberius Iulius Eupator (AD 153/4 - c. 170/1). If we accept the restoration proposed here, the present inscription would provide the earliest extant mention of this office as well as evidence for its existence in Hellenistic Tanais. A reference to an *hellēnarchēs* in this context, would be unthinkable without a system in which the two communities of the *Hellēnes* and the *Tanaitai*, headed by an *hellēnarchēs* and 'archons of the *Tanaitai*', respectively, existed side by side as in the Roman period. The existence of such a system in pre-Polemon Tanais had been previously assumed on the mere basis of indirect, mostly archaeological, indications.[12]

The new text from Tanais would offer direct confirmation that the office of the *hellēnarchēs* existed in Tanais in the pre-Polemon period and was not an innovation of the Roman era. Since the term in question is here restored on the basis of three letters and the minimal remains of a fourth one, however, this conclusion is not as firm as we would have desired.

The office of the *hellēnarchēs* could be mentioned at the beginning of an inscription as a part of a (quasi-) dating formula, ἐπὶ τοῦ δεῖνος ἑλλη-νάρχου (cf. *CIRB* 1246, 1248, 1250). In this case, we would restore the term with a genitive ending. Another possibility is that the individual, who is named in line 1 of the inscription, and must have thus occupied one of the most important offices in the *thiasos*, was also a *hellēnarchēs*, either current or former; in this case, the word would have been in the nominative case.

As is customary in inscriptions of this genre, at the beginning of the text there is a list of persons holding various leading positions in the *thiasos*. Here the initial letters of two names have survived: Ἀπολλώνιος (in Tanais only this name from those beginning with the letters Ἀπολλω- has been recorded to date) and Δημήτριος — both of which are perfectly ordinary theophoric Greek names. After the words 'and the other *thiasōtai*' there follows, as usual, a list of the members of the *thiasos*.

Right before this list, however, at the beginning of line 6, there stands the name Tanais in the dative, Τανάεϊ, declined as an i-stem (cf. Τανάεως: *CIRB* 1237, ll. 17/18) instead of the usual dental stem (for example, Τανάϊδος: *CIRB* 1259, l. 6, et al.).[13] The dative case can be explained most convincingly in this context by the suggestion that here an offering is being made by the *thiasōtai* to the river god Tanais; a possibility that it refers to a city god is less likely (see below). It is possible, therefore, that the *thiasos*, which erected this inscription and made the corresponding offering, was specifically a *thiasos* of worshippers of the river god. The remaining letters, χρ[, of line 6 could belong to the name of the object offered to the god, most likely something made of gold (for example, a figurine or a vessel). Another, less likely possibility is that the surviving letters begin the list of names, which continue in the subsequent lines. We might then restore a name, such as Χρύσιππος, Χρυσίων, Χρυσέρως, Χρύσος (all attested in Tanais: *CIRB* 1280, l. 17; 1284, ll. 15-17; 1285, l. 12; 1287, l. 10; 1260a, l. 20; 1277, ll. 16/17; 1242, ll. 15/16).

This dedication makes it possible, in my view, to understand more clearly another extremely important inscription from Tanais. The inscription, which has long been the subject of controversy and is dated to AD 104 (or year 401 of the Bosporan era), was set up by members of a *thiasos* celebrating the day of Tanais, (*CIRB* 1259, ἄγοντες... ἡμέραν Τανάϊδος). After the word ἄγοντες, there is a *thēta*, which was not noted in the original publication.[14] Anton Salač,[15] who first drew attention to this letter, interpreted it as a numeral (9) and suggested that the immediately following letter should be restored as a *pi*. This led him to interpret the passage as 'celebrating the 89th day of Tanais', assuming that what was being referred to was the 'birthday of the city', the anniversary of its reconstruction after it had been destroyed by Polemon. The editors of the *CIRB* confirmed the presence of a *thēta* on the stone but rejected the suggestion that some traces of a *pi* survived. In their collation (due to Anna. I. Boltunova) it is stated that after the *thēta* 'the edge of the slab had been broken off, and there had probably been another letter there'. The translation they provide is 'celebrating the 9th (?) day of Tanais'. In his brief commentary on this inscription, Vinogradov[16] rejected the interpretation of the *thēta* as a numeral and

suggested the reading ἄγοντες θε[οῦ] ἡμέραν Τανάϊδος. He did not reject, however, the idea that this passage might be understood as a reference to the rebirth of Tanais and further suggested that the 'official rebirth' of the city after the rout at the hands of Polemon would have followed on from a special edict issued by Sauromates I in the first year of his reign (AD 93). In my opinion, the reading θε[οῦ] should be accepted, but there are no grounds for interpreting the 'day of Tanais' as the day of the city's birth. Without a doubt, a feast of the latter kind would have been of an official, not a private, nature; and a grand stele bearing a relief would have been erected on the occasion by the whole of the civic community, not just by a private association, like a *thiasos*. Neither are there any grounds for linking this *thiasos* with the cult of *Theos Hypsistos*, as suggested by Salač, something with which Vinogradov expressed cautious agreement. The context clearly implies that the *thiasos* in question was connected with the cult of Tanais and the celebration of the day dedicated to this deity.

The new text examined here strongly corroborates the latter interpretation. Firstly, it supplies yet another piece of evidence for the existence in Tanais of a *thiasos* linked with the worship of a deity named Tanais. Secondly, since this text predates the rout at the hands of Polemon, it shows that the earlier hypothesis linking the veneration of a deity bearing the name Tanais with the re-birth of the city has no solid foundation. The two inscriptions at our disposal indicate instead that a *thiasos* of worshippers of a deity bearing the name Tanais already existed in Tanais in the second century or the first half of the first century BC — and that it was still functioning two centuries later, having survived Polemon's rout.

The question then arises as to whether this cult had been the cult of the river god or the city god. Vinogradov considered that the first suggestion was impossible, but serious doubts have surfaced in this regard. In fact, the local cult of Tanais is only attested so far in two inscriptions of private associations, and this circumstance would not appear to support the suggestion that the cult was of an official kind. In addition, there is no proof that 'Tanais' was the official name of the city. As we know (see pages 96-7, above), in the Roman period and perhaps from the very moment of its foundation, the urban community consisted of two subdivisions known as the *Hellēnes* and the *Tanaitai* (direct evidence is provided by *CIRB* 1243), and each of these two groups had its own leaders. It would be extremely unusual for the official name of the city to coincide with the name of one its subdivisions. In fact, there is not a single inscription testifying to the use of 'Tanais' as the official name of the city. When the city is referred to as a whole, the designations used are τῇ πόλει καὶ τοῖς ἐμπόροις or τῷ ἐμπορίῳ. To judge from *CIRB* 1237, 'Emporion' was indeed a designation for a city within the Bosporan kingdom: Zenon, son of Zenon, refers to himself as having been 'sent by the king to Emporion'. This is not the only such case in the Greek world. Other cities had used this name as well, the best known of these being the Massaliote colony in Spain. The '*archon* of Tanais' mentioned in the same inscription is —to judge from the context— synonymous with the 'archon of the Tanaitai' referred to in other inscriptions. That is, he was the head not of the whole city, but only of the Tanaitai. This is, incidentally, the only instance in which the name 'Tanais' is mentioned in a political and administrative context. The city was better known, of course, by this name beyond the confines of the Bosporan kingdom, as can be deduced from references to it in literature (Alexander Polyhistor, *FGrHist*

273 F 36 [= Steph.Byz. s.v. ʿΤάναϊς̓]; Strab. 11.2.3; Ptol. III.5.12, V.9.16, VIII.18.5). Yet Alexander Polyhistor, who provides the earliest extant reference to the city, confirms the information provided in the inscriptions when he states that Tanais was also called Emporion.[17] The fact that the city was known to the outside world by the name of Tanais does not imply in the least that Tanais was its official name. It is well known, for instance, that Pantikapaion was often referred to as Bosporus and Olbia as Borysthenes. These designations, however, were never used as their official names in local documents. If Tanais had not been the city's official designation, it is highly unlikely that the city god bore this name. Τανάει in line 6 must refer, therefore, to the river god, in connection with whose cult a *thiasos*, which probably played a significant role in the life of the city, had been set up.

To all appearances, the first two of the surviving names of the members of the *thiasos* listed at the bottom of the fragment are Iranian. Neither of them has been encountered earlier. The name Σφανος probably reflects the form *Spāna- < *Spa-āna- and incorporates as its first element the stem span-, 'dog';[18] the name has been created with the help of the (pro)patronymic suffix *-āna.[19] Similar 'canine' names were widespread among Iranians, including those belonging to a Scythian-Sarmatian milieu. A similar name, Išpakā(ia) < *spaka- or *spakāya ('dog, canine'), was used by one of the Scythian kings mentioned in Akkadian texts in the seventh century BC;[20] the same name, in the form Σπ[α]κος, occurs in an Olbian inscription of the second century AD (*IOSPE* I² 133).[21] In Herodotus (1.110) the feminine form of this name, Σπακώ, is borne by Cyrus' wet-nurse.[22]

The second name, Σαυρος, is probably the hypocoristic of one of the names containing the element *sāv-, 'black' (Ossetic *saw*, Avestan *syāva-*). Only the initial *rho* from the second element has survived in the hypocoristic. A similar name, extended by the suffix -*aka*-, is recorded in a fourth-century inscription from Hermonassa (*CIRB* 1099, l. 12: Σευ-ρ-αγ). Names containing the element *sāv-* are encountered in Bosporan inscriptions: Σαυαγος (*CIRB* 67, l. 8); Σαυαγας (*CIRB* 1099, l. 6), Σαυανων (*CIRB* 1279, l. 8), Σαυροφου (*CIRB* 698, l. 2), and also, it would seem, Βαγδοσαυος < *bağda-saw, Σοζιρσαυος < *sozir-saw, Γοδοσαυος < *ğud-saw (*CIRB* 1282, ll. 18, 19; 1287, l. 29).[23] To this category there also belongs the ethnonym Σαυδαραται < *sav-dara-tæ[24] from the Protogenes decree (*IOSPE* I² 32, B, l. 9).[25] They coexisted with names that probably stemmed from another Iranian dialect, in which the pronunciation of the word was closer to Old Iranian and Avestan *syāv-. It was precisely this form which provided the basis for the names Σιαυακος (*CIRB* 1242, l. 18; 1279, l. 18), Σεαυαγος (*CIRB* 67, l. 8), Σιαυος (*IOSPE* I² 103, l. 3; *IO1b* 52, l. 3). The names Ἀρτεμίδωρος and Ἑστιαῖος in the last lines are perfectly ordinary Greek names.

It is hardly surprising that two of the six surviving names in this inscription are Iranian. From the archaeological evidence —including that gleaned from the excavation of the necropolis— it has long been pointed out that non-Greeks constituted a significant part of the population of Hellenistic Tanais.[26] We now have at our disposal evidence pointing to the ethnic roots of this population, which was evidently called *Tanaitai* by the Greeks. It was by then probably very much hellenized, but the roots in question are Iranian.

No conclusions can be drawn from the inscription regarding the social status of the *thiasōtai* Sphanos and Sauros. It is well known that access to

some at least of the *thiasoi* was open not only to citizens but also to foreigners and even slaves and freedmen.[27] Membership of a *thiasos* (assumed in this case to be the *thiasos* of worshippers of Tanais) tells us nothing, therefore, about status or citizenship. It might still be assumed, however, that this inscription indicates one of the ways of bringing Greeks and barbarians closer together in Tanais. It is unlikely that non-Greeks enjoyed rights of citizenship (not at any rate during the early period of the city's existence), and their access to the civic community would have been possible only through extensive hellenization. Membership of a private association, like a *thiasos*, in which all members were equal regardless of their ethnic origin and social status, would have been, of course, a very effective way of bringing together different ethnic groups. Considering the unusual demographic situation and dual (quasi-)ethnic inner structure of Tanais, it is perhaps no coincidence that there is such a high proportion of inscriptions concerning *thiasoi* among the surviving epigraphic documents from Tanais. And indeed, all three of the known Hellenistic inscriptions from this city belong precisely to this category. Could this circumstance reflect the special importance enjoyed by *thiasoi* in Tanais from early on as a means of enabling the city's mixed population to overcome traditional social barriers?

3. The third, and last, inscription (Tanais Museum nos. КП301/АГ100/3 and 75) was carved onto a profiled, quadrangular or square limestone base of small dimensions (Fig. 3). Only two joining fragments of the lower part of the front surface bearing the inscription and a portion of the lower right corner of the base (which does not connect to the other two fragments) have survived. The dimensions of the two joined fragments are 14.5 x 8.6 cm and they are 4.5 cm thick. The uninscribed corner fragment measures 14.1 x 5.3 cm and it is 19.1 cm thick. The fragments were found in Trench XIX in 1993 in the debris from the collapsed walls of a house of the fourth-century AD , where they had been put to secondary use as building material.[28] The inscription's front surface, which is now badly weathered, was carefully smoothed, while the bottom was only roughly worked. Tool traces are visible on the surviving right edge. The other surfaces are chipped. Along the bottom edge of the front surface there is a band in relief c. 5 cm wide and 1.2 cm higher than the main epigraphic field. Part of the inscription is carved onto this band. The epigraphic field (12.5 x 8.5 cm) is arranged in the recessed part of the surface and on the profiled band in the lower part of the base and is chipped at the top and sides. Eight lines of the inscription survive. The width of the lower margin is 0.3 cm, the height of the letters 1.0-1.6 cm and the average distance between the lines 0.5 cm. The style of the writing is similar to that of the two preceding inscriptions: lunar *sigmas* are used as before. But two different forms of *ōmega* are encountered: a cursive one in the upper part of the inscription and a non-cursive one in the lower part. Neither is the *epsilon* lunar.

Vinogradov provided a preliminary publication of the inscription, complete with a photograph, restoration, and translation of the text, as well as a

Fig. 3
Inscribed limestone base from Tanais. Tanais Museum КП301/АГ100/3 and 75.

short commentary.[29] His reading (with corrections of obvious errors in lines 4 and 5: ποήσα[σθαι instead of ποή[σασθαι and Πατρί]ῳ instead of Πα-τρῴ]ῳ) is as follows:

[- - -]
[- - -]δώρου [τοῦ δεῖνος]
[- - -ἔ]δοξε τῷ [δήμῳ· ἐπαινέ-]
[σαι τὸν δ. τοῦ δ. καὶ στ]εφανοῦ[σθαι χρυσῷ ?]
[στεφάνῳ τήν τε εἰκόν]α ποή[σασθαι αὐτοῦ]
5   [καὶ ἀναθεῖναι e.g. Διὶ Πατρῴ]ῳ vac.

[- - -]δὲ τῶν *vel* δ ἐτῶν [- - -]
[- - - ἀνα]στὰς συστρ[ατιώτῃ?]
[- - -] οὐδ' ἰδιο[- - -]

Vinogradov interpreted the inscription as a fragment of a decree issued in the name of the *dēmos*. On the basis of this interpretation, he further stated that the inscription made it possible 'to draw a line under the discussion about the circumstances pertaining to the founding of Tanais'. He believed it had confirmed totally Shelov's suggestion that, right up until the time the Bosporus was incorporated into the state of Mithridates Eupator, Tanais remained an independent *polis* with its own civic community.

Vinogradov's conclusion, which has been accepted by a number of scholars,[30] would seem to be rather hasty, since his reconstruction of the text is not the only one possible. The reconstruction τῷ [δήμῳ in line 2, on which Vinogradov's hypothesis is based, is in fact no more than one of a number of possible alternatives. Firstly, the part of a letter, which survives on the stone to the right of *tau*, could just as easily belong to an *omicron* as to an *ōmega*, thus allowing a restoration το[ῖς instead of the proposed τῷ. Secondly, regardless of one's restoration of the article, δήμῳ is not the only conceivable restoration of the party that issued the resolution. In particular, one thinks of various expressions designating *thiasoi* or their members, including τῷ κοινῷ, τῷ συστήματι, τοῖς θιασώ/ίταις, τοῖς ὀργεῶσι(ν), τοῖς ἐρανισταῖς, τοῖς Σαραπιασταῖς (*vel sim.*) and so on. Honorific decrees of *thiasoi*, which employ the same phraseology as decrees issued by *poleis*,[31] are known from a number of Greek cities.[32] And in most of these instances formulas with ἔδοξε or δεδόχθαι are used. Any of these variants would appear to be more likely in this case, although there are only indirect arguments to support this suggestion. As pointed out above, at present we know of only three inscriptions from Tanais dating from the Hellenistic period; and all three are similar to each other with regard to both the way in which they have been executed and the script used. These similarities make it possible to assume that the inscriptions originated from the same workshop. Since the first two inscriptions were inscriptions of *thiasoi*, one can assume that the third inscription was of the same genre. Furthermore, one should note that the script of this last inscription is the most careless of the three. If the inscription in question had been a public decree, one would certainly expect more careful workmanship than in the cases of private *thiasoi* inscriptions.

In line 1, the ending of one of the numerous Greek names terminating in -δωρος has survived. In Tanais the following examples have been recorded: Ἀθηνόδωρος, Ἀγαθόδωρος, Διόδωρος, Μενίδωρος, Ἡρόδω-ρος, Θεόδωρος. The name most probably belonged to the eponymous magistrate (see, for example, a number of Attic and Callatian decrees is-

sued by *thiasoi*, which begin with the dating formula ἐπὶ τοῦ δεῖνος ἄρ-
χοντος or ἐπὶ βασιλέως τοῦ δεῖνος). By analogy to the preceding inscrip-
tion (see no. 2, above), one could tentatively suggest that this magistrate
was a *hellēnarchēs*.

According to Vinogradov, an individual deemed worthy of public praise
due to his services was honored with a wreath (ll. 3-4: στ]εφανοῦ[σθαι
χρυσῷ ?] / [στεφάνῳ). To judge from the dimensions of the pedestal, he
was also feted with a small portrait statue dedicated at the temple of a de-
ity, whose name has not survived but was restored by Vinogradov *exempli
gratia* (l. 5). Vinogradov's restoration of the list of honors is most probably
correct. The reading στ]εφανοῦ[σθαι in line 3 is by no means binding, how-
ever. One could read instead the genitive of the personal name Στεφάνου
or another name with the same ending, such as, Φιλοστεφάνου, Τηλεφά-
νου, Χαιρεφάνου and so forth (although, admittedly, the latter names are
not attested so far in Tanais). The surviving letters would then belong to
the patronymic of the individual honored, and the list would have been
shorter or would have continued in the lower part of the epigraphic field.
Furthermore, the more or less standard list of honors featured in the in-
scription would be equally appropriate in a decree of a *polis* and in a reso-
lution of a *thiasos*. Here the following restoration might be suggested: - - -
ἔ]δοξε το[ῖς θιασ(ε)ῖταις· *vel sim.* ἐπαινέσαι τὸν δ. Στ]εφάνου. The same
lines interpreted as a motivating formula in a resolution of a *thiasos* could
read: - - -ἔ]δοξε το[ῖς θιασ(ε)ῖταις· *vel sim.* ἐπειδὴ ὁ δ. Στ]εφάνου, fol-
lowed by a description of his services to the *thiasos*. Due to the fragmen-
tary state of the text, any restoration must be considered provisional.

Vinogradov assumed that an epigram, which was not directly linked
with the decree, had been inscribed in the lower part of the epigraphic
field. The surviving word fragments are too small, however, to allow any re-
liable restoration. It seems more reasonable to assume that the text of a de-
cree adopted by a *thiasos* or a *polis* continued onto the lower part of the
pedestal. In line 7 the ending -στας leaves scope for too many variant
restorations for one to opt for any particular one. As for the second word,
the restoration συστ[ρατιώτῃ is not the only possibility, either, especially
since it has proven impossible to find traces of the *rho* on the stone. Here,
for example, the word σύστημα —one of the words used, although less fre-
quently,[33] to designate associations or colleges, similar to the word σύνο-
δος— could have also fitted. In short, since the context is missing, any
restoration can be no more than hypothetical.

Starting from the assumption that what we have before us is not a state
decree but a resolution adopted by a *thiasos*, the following alternative
restoration is possible. Since we have neither the beginning nor the end of
the inscription, and the length of the line cannot be determined, the sepa-
ration of the text into lines is tentative.

    [- - -]
    [Ἐπὶ τοῦ δεῖνος- - -]δώρου [ἑλληνάρχου ?]
    [- - -ἔ]δοξε το[ῖς θιασ(ε)ῖταις· *vel sim.* ἐπαινέσαι]
    [τὸν δ. τοῦ δ. καὶ στ]εφανοῦ[σθαι χρυσῷ ?]
    [στεφάνῳ τήν τε εἰκόν]α ποή[σασθαι αὐτοῦ]
5   [καὶ ἀναθεῖναι - - -]ῳ *vac.*
    [- - -] δὲ τῶν [- - -]
    [- - -]ΣΤΑΣ ΣΥΣΤ[- - -]
    [- - -] οὐδ' ἰδιο[- - -]

[… Under so-and-so, son of …]doros, [… the *thiasotai*] decided: [to offer praise to so-and-so, son of so-and-so, and] to crow[n him with a wreath…].

Summing up, we can say that, despite their fragmentary nature, the inscriptions presented here provide us with valuable new information about the history of Tanais in the Hellenistic era. They demonstrate first and foremost that the *thiasoi* played a special role in the society of Tanais not only in the Roman but also in the preceding period. And the inscriptions confirm the assumption arrived at from other evidence (in particular by Shelov) that there had been a considerable local element (*Tanaitai*) in Tanais as early as the Hellenistic era. These barbarians were probably of Iranian (Sarmatian) origin and were in close contact with the Greeks; in particular, both barbarians and Greeks were members of the same *thiasoi*. Furthermore, we have added two new names to the list of Iranian names in Tanais and the North Pontic region as a whole. These are, moreover, of a significantly earlier date than the bulk of such names both from Tanais and from the other cities of the region, in particular Olbia. If the restoration of the word ἑλληνάρχης in one of the inscriptions is correct, it confirms Shelov's assumption that a dual socio-ethnic structure (that is, a structure consisting of the two communities of the *Tanaitai* and the *Hellēnes*, which were led, respectively, by the '*archontes* of the *Tanaitai*' and the *hellēnarchai*) existed in Tanais in the Hellenistic era. We have also gleaned some new information about the *thiasoi* in Tanais themselves during the period in question. One of the new inscriptions mentions the office of the *neōkoros*, which has not previously been attested in connection with the *thiasoi* of Tanais, and which was generally rare in the *thiasoi* of other parts of the classical world as well. In addition, it has emerged that there was in the city a cult of Tanais (most likely a river god), and it is highly likely that his worshippers had come together in a *thiasos*.

On the other hand, the widely accepted notion that one of the inscriptions confirms the existence in Hellenistic Tanais of a civic community, which possessed a democratic structure and was independent of the kingdom of the Bosporus, has been shown to be ill founded. Despite the fact that the restoration of the word δήμῳ in the third inscription cannot be ruled out, a formula pertaining to a *thiasos* (or another similar private association) could be just as likely in this context. Accordingly, the inscription could belong to the same category as the other two texts presented here and could be a record of a resolution of a *thiasos*. Thus, the suggestion that Tanais was independent in the Hellenistic period and that there was a democratic constitution in the city remains, as before, very much hypothetical, bereft of any direct confirmation from the sources.

[1] Shelov 1970: 199.

[2] Arsen'eva et al. 1995: 216 with fig. 2 (= 1996: 63-5 with fig. 5).

[3] Trench IV, in rubbish discarded to the West of Room T in a mixed level (Field No. 1131).

[4] *CIRB* 1054, dating from the reign of Cotys II (AD 123/4-132/3).

[5] *TAM* V,1: 179, l. 4, dated to AD 172/3; cf. *TAM* V,1: 269, l. 4. See Buresch 1898: 58-72; Sokolowski 1955: 52; Robert 1958: 127-8, no. 100 (= *OMS*: vol. I, 426); Herrmann 1962: 37-8; Lane 1976: 34-7; Petzl 1978: 748-54.

[6] Robert and Robert 1983: 97-118. At Delos, however, the status of the *neōkoros* in the city cults (of Apollo, Artemis or Asklepios) was considerably lower. See, for example, the city decree, dating from 181 BC, regulating their status: *IG* XI 4, 1032 = Sokolowski 1962: 52, p. 105-7; Bruneau 1970: 502-3.

[7] See Hanell 1935: 2422-4; Savelkoul 1988: 277-9; Burrell 2004: 3-6. On *neōkoroi* and *zakoroi* and their role in different city cults, cf. also Georgoudi 2005: 56-60.

[8] Poland 1909: 387. Cf. the above-mentioned *thiasoi* of the Roman period operating in Hermonassa and Lydia.

[9] See Foucart 1873: 22-4; Jones 1999: 264-5; Arnaoutoglou 2003: 114; Lupu 2005: 53-4. On *zakoroi* both in Athens and outside it, see also Robert 1960: 316, no. 2 (= *OMS*: vol. II, 832). One piece of evidence stems from the Black Sea region. In Dionysopolis: *IGBulg* I² 21, l. 3 (third century BC) there is mention of a *zakoros* of Demeter. However, it is impossible to judge from the inscription how significant her status was.

[10] Tokhtas'ev 2006a: 72-9; 2006b: 181-92, with a correction of the word Κυαιανις carved on the stone.

[11] The fragments were excavated in Trench XIX in 1993 (Quadrant 8, Field No. 551) and 1994 (Quadrant 9, Field No. 2270).

[12] See Shelov 1970: 212-21, with references to previous publications. However, the contrary opinion prevails in the recent publications, according to which this dual structure appeared only in the third quarter of the second century AD, i.e., at the moment when it is mentioned for the first time in *CIRB* 1242. Its emergence is explained by the penetration in Tanais of a new wave of Sarmatians. See, for example, Dan'shin 1990: 51-3; Zavoikina 2004: 163-77. The main argument in favor of this hypothesis is the fact that *hellēnarchai* and 'archons of the Tanaitai' are not mentioned in the earlier texts, i.e., a typical *argumentum e silentio*. It should be noted, however, that even in the later period they are mentioned almost exclusively in official building inscriptions (*CIRB* 1242, 1243, 1245-51a, 1256, 1258) and other similar texts (*CIRB* 1237, a dedication made by the royal legate) but are not attested in private inscriptions, like those of the *thiasoi*. (In the inscription *CIRB* 1260a, the *hellēnarchēs* is mentioned not as an official, but as a member of the *thiasos*). The inscriptions pre-dating the mid-second century AD, which were known to earlier scholars, were all private ones. Thus, the silence of the latter inscriptions about the *Hellēnes* and the *Tanaitai* can be explained by their genre. According to another hypothesis, Tanais during the pre-Polemon period was a barbarian town of the *Tanaitai*, and the Greeks only appeared there as late as the early first century AD and created a separate community, which coexisted with the old community of the *Tanaitai* (see Molchanov 1976: 75-7). This hypothesis contradicts the available evidence and has not found any supporters.

[13] The form Τανάεως is found in an anonymous *Periplous of Pontus* dating to the sixth century (Ps.-Arrian [Diller 1952] 10 r 26, p. 131; 12 r 12, p. 132) but already as a generalization of toponyms ending in -ις, gen. -εως (Δανάπρεως ibid. 16 v 1). Cf. also in personal names, such as Κινώλεως (*CIRB* 961, first century AD), together with Κινώλιος (*CIRB* 306, first century BC/first century AD), Sarmatian Ραδαμασεως (*CIRB* 36, l. 22, third century AD). Noted by S. R. Tokhtas'ev, *per epist*. For this phenomenon, cf. Dovatur 1965: 819-20, §II.A.12.

[14] Knipovich 1949: 117-18.

[15] Salač 1950: 302 ff.

[16] Arsen'eva et al. 1995: 222, n. 13. Unfortunately Vinogradov did not complete before his death the special article on this inscription announced here, in which he had been planning to present his arguments in detail. These arguments were published only in a highly abbreviated form.

[17] See Bosi 1984: 96; Tokhtas'ev 2006c, 43-4, n. 123.

[18] Cf., for example, the Avestan composite name *Spō.pad-* (Bartholomae 1904: 1623; see also Zgusta 1955: 148, §219). To the transition **sp-* > **sf-* cf. Σφαροβαις (*CIRB* 956) and Σπαροβαις (*CIRB* 965) to **spara-*.

[19] An explanation of the name, suggested by Tokhtas'ev.

[20] Ivantchik 1993: 78-9, 94; 1996: 81-3, 99, 185-6. Cf. Tokhtas'ev 2005a: 101.

[21] This restoration was proposed by Zgusta (1955: 148) and accepted in *LGPN* IV s.v.; Latyshev (*IOSPE* I² 133) read the name as Σπ[ο]κος.

[22] For other parallels, including modern Ossetic 'canine' names, see Grantovskii 1970: 266; Mayrhofer 1973: 170. Cf. similar German and Celtic names: McCone 1987: 104 ff., with bibliography. Cf. also Ivantchik 2005: 175-89.

[23] Abaev 1979: 290, 305.

[24] Abaev 1979: 305; cf. Tokhtas'ev 2005a: 75-6.

[25] For these names, see Tokhtas'ev 2005b: 25-6 with bibliography and possible variant interpretations (cf. Avestan *sauuah-*, 'force'). In any case, their Iranian origin can hardly be doubted.

[26] Shelov 1970: 195-225.

[27] See as early as Foucart 1873: 5-12; Poland 1909: 271-329. Arnaoutoglou (2003: 159-61) notes that the role of these 'marginals' has been exaggerated and that most of the members of the *thiasoi* were, after all, citizens. It is, however, undeniable that foreigners, freedmen, and slaves also had ac-cess to the *thiasoi*. For a detailed account of the relationships between citizens and non-citizens within Athenian cultic associations, see Ferguson 1944: *passim*; Jones 1999: 249-67. Cf. also Harland 2003: 89-112, mainly on the basis of materials originating from Asia Minor.

[28] Quadrant 9, Field Nos. 229+232; Quadrant 8, Field No. 768.

[29] See Arsen'eva et al. 1995: 216, fig. 2 (= 1996: 63-5, fig. 5).

[30] See, for example, Fornasier 2001: 91-5; Tokhtas'ev 2006c: 38 n. 99.

[31] See Foucart 1873: 12-20; Poland 1909: 423-45; Arnaoutoglou 2003: 125-44.

[32] For example, in Athens: *IG* II/III² 1249-355. In the Pontic region a whole series of such decrees originated from Callatis: *ICallatis* 35-47. See also the recently published collection of inscriptions of Dionysiac *thiasoi*, most of which consisted of decrees: Jaccottet 2003: vol. II.

[33] See Poland 1909: 158.

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CHRISTOPHER TUPLIN

The Seleucids and Their Achaemenid Predecessors: A Persian Inheritance?

Introduction

THE SELEUCID EMPIRE arose from whatever Alexander did to the Achaemenid empire. If he destroyed it, then it is unwise to expect much continuity (above a level at which people are indifferent to the identity of the power that distantly encompasses their local lives and perhaps above the level of the ongoing practicalities of administration). But if he preserved as well as destroyed —if he was 'the last Achaemenid'[1]— the picture might be different. If even he was seduced by that which he might have been expected to wreck, is it not plain that his successors, consolidating his achievement in a spirit of grim competition, were not about to slice the cord of history? Well, perhaps not. Alexander had little time to engineer deep change, so it might be precisely the successors to whom that task fell. Still, it is not surprising that a by-product of the flowering of interest in Achaemenid history over the last generation has been the inscribing of Alexander and the Seleucids into the extended reach of that history.[2] Constraints of space mean I shall not deal with Alexander separately, though some relevant issues will find their way into the discussion as part of the context for Seleucid behavior. I shall simply observe that Alexander was a conqueror *par excellence* and that conquerors are apt to want both to insist upon caesura (to win plaudits from disadvantaged erstwhile subjects) and upon continuity (to avoid instability and to win plaudits from advantaged erstwhile subjects, for whom a continuing role in managing and profiting from imperial power takes precedence over affront at a change of royal identity). In these circumstances, talk of Alexander as the 'last Achaemenid' should not surprise. But my feeling is that that phrase (which was in any case originally used by Briant in quite restricted contexts) serves better as an arresting image for one strand in what was inevitably a multi-strand story than as a summary of that story's overall impact.[3] Nor do I intend to pursue 'continuity' in any philosophically subtle fashion.[4] I want merely to present certain issues and draw some comparisons *seriatim* and (perhaps) simplistically. What I have to say is perhaps in the end little more than a pedestrian and inexhaustively documented gloss on the sort of sceptical position already expressed briefly by historians such as Austin.[5] It perhaps also recalls the sort of 're-macedonization' of Alexander and his successors of which Briant has recently complained in a discussion of Billows' treatment of the Mnesimachus text.[6] But I do not think that the view of the Seleucids for which I wish to argue is inconsistent with a continued willingness (which I share with Briant) to detect the vestiges of Achaemenid administrative arrangements in that famous document.

General factors in favor of continuity do exist. We are dealing with two monarchic tributary empires in overlapping geographical spaces, and there

is a diachronic narrative linking the two. Moreover, Seleucus kept his Iranian wife Apame, so he and his half-Iranian son Antiochus were perhaps not wholly hostile to Iranian heritage.[7] But if continuity is non-banal, there must be more to it than that. I note immediately that widespread monetization is a significant novelty in the tributary environment[8] and that the narrative involved rapid conquest, brief uneasy stability, a generation (at least) of instability, and the disaggregation of the Achaemenid state. So, unless appeal to the Achaemenids (whether through a carefully spun version of Alexander or simply over his head) had a large and explicit role in creating stability, continuity seems unlikely to be a major part of the picture.

I shall pursue the topic for the most part under two major headings, territory and kingship, and I shall be concerned broadly speaking with political issues. But before moving to those, I would like to mention (but with even less pretension than elsewhere to be systematic) one aspect of administration.

Fiscal administration and resource management

Aperghis' recent analysis of the Seleucid economy conveys an impression of real Achaemenid inheritance in fiscal matters. This is plainly fair in various ways, both great (the maintenance of the principle of a tributary system) and small (continuity in specific taxes in specific places, e.g., the slave-sale tax of Achaemenid and Hellenistic Babylonia). Moreover, the separate existence of a royal and a satrapal economy postulated by the pseudo-Aristotelian *Oeconomica* (a key text for the early Hellenistic fiscal system) does resemble the economic system of the Persepolis region around 500 BC. (In both contexts this royal economy is much less visible in the surviving record.) But one can also find problems, both on a broad and a local level.

On a broad level, Aperghis takes Achaemenid imperial tribute to have been proportionate to population,[9] whereas (if I understand aright) he thinks population-based taxation was not a fundamental principle of Seleucid tribute-raising, since head-tax comes low down Pseudo-Aristotle's list, and he takes the first item in that list (land tax) to be based on average produce. This sounds like quite a major difference. Perhaps in this case one can eliminate the difficulty by questioning the premise. That premise is heavily based on an interpretation of Strabo's statement (11.3.18) that tribute was proportionate to 'the size and power of the territory' and on a claim that the figures in Herodotus' tribute list make sense viewed in these terms. But the Strabo passage may not bear the weight of such an interpretation, and one could certainly quibble about some of the moves involved in matching Herodotus' figures to postulated population figures. More fundamentally, there is a real question about the status of those figures, because what we know about the fiscal exploitation of Achaemenid Babylonia makes it hard to see that anyone would or could ever have produced a meaningful official figure for 'the tribute of Babylonia', and there is no reason why things should have been different elsewhere.[10] The impression from Babylonian documents is of the variety of taxes and bases for taxation and of its non-proportionality to a simple population head-count. In fact, the multiplicity of ways of directing resources to the imperial state is rather reminiscent of the world of Pseudo-Aristotle, and we may, after all, be in the presence here of continuity, not dislocation.

Moving to a more detailed level, Aperghis detects a parallel between management of commodity stocks and oversight of tax collection at Persepolis either side of 500 BC and similar functions in the Seleucid empire.[11] A crucial point in the argument is that in another part of the Persepolis system economic officials have the titles decurion and centurion (commanders of ten and a hundred), while the Mnesimachus document from Sardis reveals a tax district called a chiliarchy (command of a thousand). The repeated use of quasi-military titles in broadly fiscal contexts *is* indeed striking. The problem is that one cannot make officials at chiliarch level in the two systems correspond without an overall reconstruction of one or other system that diverges from the simplest reading of the evidence peculiar to that system— to be precise, one must postulate levels of officials in one or other system that are not attested or *prima facie* required. Perhaps this exemplifies the mixture of continuity and dislocation one should expect when one system yields to another (especially when the bodies of evidence are 200 years apart) — or perhaps the presence of chiliarchs, centurions and decurions is a coincidence signifying only that in a militarily active world resource management may take on a military color. At Persepolis it is the management of workers (not the collection of natural commodities) that involves a quasi-military hierarchy of supervisors. At Sardis we probably have a landscape that had been explicitly organized to provide troops. If there is continuity, it is of a general sort — and in this particular case one may be more impressed by the discontinuity represented by the fact that Hellenistic kings, unlike their Achaemenid predecessors, did not practice the bureaucratically managed quasi-enslavement of deported worker groups.[12]

Before leaving management of natural resources I should like to note a famous passage of Polybius. In 10.28 he speaks of the *qanāts* (underground water-channels) of the desert of northern Iran and explains that in Achaemenid times those who created such channels and brought water to previously uncultivable land were given the right to exploit that land (presumably free of impost) for five generations. This is key evidence for the deliberate Achaemenid promotion of agricultural resources and acquires additional resonance in the light of the Achaemenid-era *qanāt* system uncovered in the Khârga Oasis of western Egypt.[13] The reason Polybius mentions the phenomenon is that Arsaces attempted to impede Antiochus III's military progress across the region by destroying some of the *qanāts.* Antiochus responded by sending cavalry to prevent them doing so, and that is the end of Polybius' interest in the matter. But it has been claimed on the basis of this evidence that local people subsequently appealed to Antiochus to offer the same favorable fiscal arrangement to enable re-creation of such *qanāts* as had been damaged and that this illustrates continuity in resource management based upon historical recollection.[14] This conjecture is presumably based on the assumption that the only reason Polybius could have known about the Achaemenid background is that it was raised in the context of subsequent repairs to the irrigation system. But is that a compelling assumption? The oddity of the situation —that water could be available in an apparent desert to those who knew where to look for it in hidden underground channels— is quite enough to have stimulated the curiosity that leads to Polybius' footnote on the matter. Moreover, it sounds from the context as though in the late third century the system was not sustaining much agricultural production anyway: otherwise why the talk of marching through a desert? I do not, of course, *know* that Antiochus did not subse-

quently order fiscally advantageous private investment in the revival of north Iranian agriculture. But nothing plainly requires us to believe it, and the case perhaps illustrates the dangerous attractiveness of the principle of Achaemenid-Seleucid continuity.

Territory

From land as an object of agricultural exploitation let me now move to land as an object of politics. The broadly tripartite post-323 division of Alexander's empire into European, Asian, and African sectors does recall the macro-political conditions of 386-343, when the King's Peace and the Egyptian revolt confined Achaemenid power to Asia. But little of interest actually follows from this or from other aspects of the empire's geographical extent.

Seleucus' early abandonment of India *was* probably in line with effective late Achaemenid conditions. More interesting is the region from Central Anatolia to the Caspian. This was a stable (if not well-documented) part of the Achaemenid realm. But for much of the Seleucid period it was an independent region (albeit a sub-divided one), normally exposed to nothing more threatening from the south than marital politics.[15] Although Antiochus III did interfere rather more robustly,[16] it would be contentious to claim that the region was a genuine part of the Seleucid empire, much of which just happened to be out of central control for much of the time. There *is* a difference of profile, a significant difference, given the region's Iranian character. (It is the locus for several dynasties claiming Achaemenid or Achaemenid-period connections).

Much stress was rightly laid by Sherwin-White and Kuhrt on the Seleucid desire to control the Upper Satrapies as far as Bactria.[17] Closer at hand Persia and Media are presumed stable (if rarely visible) parts of the system until the second century. But this contributes little or nothing in our present context. Seleucus repossessed Bactria because it had been Alexander's and offered valuable resources. The wish to rule beyond the Zagros primarily discloses ambition for power, not a specific desire to restore the Achaemenid dispensation. The un-Achaemenid assignment of a co-ruler to the region (see below) underlines the point.[18] In the West, Virgilio's claim that the location of high-status viceroys at Sardis reproduces Achaemenid dispositions seems to me off the mark.[19] There are few true parallels, and Seleucid rulers surely acted *despite* the analogy of the younger Cyrus not because of it.[20] An astronomical diary entry, in which the King moves from Sardis to Syria and gets elephants from Bactria, may evoke the Achaemenid world's unification of East and West.[21] But distant east-west interaction is not a Seleucid prerogative. We have a Greco-Aramaic text from Kandahar in which a king speaks of sending emissaries to Antiochus, Ptolemy, Magas, and Alexander to convey a message about peaceful coexistence.[22] Use of Aramaic in eastern Iran is an Achaemenid legacy (directly attested in late Achaemenid official letters from Bactria),[23] but the king is Ashoka, his message proclaims Buddhist values, and we are quite outside the confines of Seleucid authority. The situation says more about the alteration produced by Alexander than about continuity from the world of Darius.

For later Hellenistic observers, the post-323 dispensation was and remained a Macedonian empire.[24] But when Justin (38.7.1) makes Mithridates Eupator say that Alexander and Seleucus were first and second

founders of the Macedonian empire, as Cyrus and Darius were of the Persian one, he is affirming a parallel, not continuity. He does so, moreover, simply because he can claim descent from both sides. And his observation plainly provides no certain evidence for Seleucid views — though Seleucus might have approved the implication that he consolidated and strengthened the structure created by Alexander.[25] A celebrated observation in Demetrius of Phaleron's *On Fortune* (fr. 81 [Wehrli 1949] = *FGrHist* 228 F 39 = Polyb. 29.21) pictured the Macedonians as quasi-colonial squatters amidst the prosperity of the Persians and predicted that they would have security of tenure only until Fortune decided on some other dispensation. Polybius' willingness to associate fulfilment of this prophecy with the fall of Perseus confirms that he did not think an Asiatic setting or Achaemenid-Seleucid continuity to be a significant element in the situation — reasonably enough, given that Demetrius describes the Persians as people whose very name had disappeared with the onset of the Macedonian era. Without prejudice to the personal and non-territorial component in what was meant when Antigonus and the rest eventually declared themselves kings, what was at stake in the post-323 period was the fate of Alexander's empire, not that of the Achaemenid king. (This is reflected in the fact that Diodorus' phrase for supreme power —ἡγεμόνα τῶν ὅλων— is applicable both to those who were regents for Alexander's legitimate successors and to those, like Antigonus, who aspired to sideline them.[26]) It is true that, while the Ptolemies exploited the figure of Alexander,[27] the Seleucids perhaps did so rather less aggressively.[28] But Babylonian texts occasionally label Seleucid monarchs Macedonian, and at his death Seleucus I was seen in Greek and non-Greek sources as engaged on a Macedonian project.[29] Claims that the so-called Dynastic Prophecy shows that the Seleucids drew a contrast between Alexander and the Achaemenids that favored the latter are contentious. Any such contrast was for Babylonian hearts and minds; it cannot be taken as safe evidence about the Seleucids' general conception of their empire.[30] (Since one might claim the Seleucids made special efforts to play the Babylonian king —there is, for example, more evidence of Seleucid than Achaemenid temple-building[31]— then, whatever we make of the Dynastic Prophecy, they were perhaps following a non-Achaemenid line. Of course, foundation of Seleucia as the 'royal city' shows that there were limits to playing the Babylonian king.)

Assimilation of Seleucids and Persians has been claimed in material that certainly or putatively emanates from a Ptolemaic environment. A remarkable recent example is Pfrommer's thesis about the Alexander Mosaic, namely that the historical image of Alexander fighting Darius also serves as a metaphorical image of Ptolemies fighting Seleucids, in which the Seleucids are assimilated to the Persians.[32] I am not sure that scholarship on the Alexander Mosaic has yet really come to terms with this thesis or the wealth of observation about the *Realien* of the picture that underpins it (much of which may be chronologically and culturally valid in any case). It must also be said that the specifically Ptolemaic or Seleucid elements are among the most unclear parts of the iconographic evidence. But the reason the idea might be entertained at all is, of course, that there are other texts that are traditionally taken to disclose the same Seleucid-Persian assimilation. When Ptolemaic kings campaigned in Syria-Mesopotamia, they liked to claim to have recovered religious valuables stolen by the Persians.[33] But, despite what is sometimes said, it is not certain or indeed likely that they

actually called Seleucid territory 'Persia'[34] or its ruler 'philopersian'.[35] There can also be no guarantee that a fragmentary anonymous elegiac poem (known from a papyrus found in Egypt) refers to the Seleucids as 'Medes'.[36] Moreover, if we must allow the possibility that the Rhodians and the Romans cast Antiochus III in the role of an Achaemenid invader during the conflicts of the early second century,[37] we must also insist upon doubting that they were trading on Seleucid self-representation in doing so.[38] A similar point applies to Parthian-Achaemenid links. The emergence of Parthia as a major power engendered an Achaemenid style foundation myth. (Arsaces allegedly had the help of six companions, just like Darius.[39]) But there is no reason to think that this is because they had to stake a claim against the putatively 'Persian' Seleucids, and some think the myth was not created until long after the event.[40] One should also not forget that the Arsacids were adept hellenizers as well.

In this context it is worth digressing briefly to consider the Iranian heartland. Persis displayed no uniform hostility to the new order. Alexander's elimination of Iranian satraps provoked no trouble. (A self-styled 'King of the Persians and Medes' was betrayed by a fellow-Iranian: Arr. *Anab.* 6.29.3.) And the local population, enamored of a Persian-speaking Macedonian satrap, played an active role in early diadochal struggles. Persepolis hosted a great feast for 'the gods and Philip and Alexander' before the showdown between Eumenes and Antigonus (Diod. 19.22) and Antigonus' proclamation as King of Asia after it (19.46-8). Both times Persians played second fiddle to Macedonian dynasts in the shadow of palatial ruins symbolizing the passing of the old order. But it was an important second fiddle, and we are told that all the instruments of luxury in which Persia still abounded were in evidence. Signs of internal disorder are not, it is true, entirely absent.[41] But it was not until a century after Antigonus' acclamation that native rulers (*frataraka*) reappeared in Persia. And it seems that even then they were loyal Seleucid subjects, who only asserted autonomy very shortly before falling victim to Parthian overlordship.[42] Much of the little we know of them is based on their coins (an entirely Greco-Macedonian phenomenon in this region). And, although some of the iconographic repertoire has an Achaemenid allure, the first autonomous prince (Vadfradad I) signalized his new status with a purely Hellenic image of himself crowned by Victory. This is not a simple story of Achaemenid continuity (note that only two *frataraka* used Achaemenid royal names[43]), and there is a wider issue about Alexander's legacy. The Parthians and Sasanids did trade upon the Achaemenid inheritance, both in challenging Rome[44] and more locally. Mithradates II put a relief near that of Darius at Bīsotūn (though so did the subordinate of a Seleucid governor a generation earlier),[45] and there are Sasanid reliefs by the Achaemenid tombs at Naqsh-e Rostam.[46] But what we see of the Iranian historical tradition in Sasanid and post-Sasanid times down to Ferdowsī's *Shāhnāme* accords modest importance to the Achaemenids, and some of that is due to the need to account for Alexander — a figure of evil in the Zoroastrian tradition, but in the National Epic a magical hero, one eventually seen as the elder half-brother of the Iranian king whom he defeated. None of this need go back very early, but it presupposes a historical vacuum. The fall of the Achaemenid dynasty seems to have evoked a remarkable degree of careless equanimity. It may not be wholly exaggerated to suggest that the sense of Achaemenid continuity in Persis was no stronger than that in eastern Anatolia or Armenia — and that there

was little cause for Seleucids to play at being Achaemenids, when the Persians themselves seemed not much bothered about doing so.

Returning more strictly to the topic of imperial territory, the Achaemenids represented their empire through verbal and pictorial lists.[47] The situation in and after 323 did lead to talk of Alexander's empire in terms of satrapy-lists.[48] But that was a practical matter, and such discourse did not recur in Seleucid ideological contexts. Official talk of Lower and Upper satrapies is not demonstrably Achaemenid in inspiration,[49] is arguably inconsistent with Achaemenid centre-periphery conceptions, and —when joined with dual kingship (see below)— is profoundly un-Achaemenid. The allegation that there were 72 satrapies (App. *Syr.* 59) has no genuine Achaemenid analogue (for all that 'satraps' could be responsible for more modest areas than the large provinces with which we normally associate them[50]), and retention of the term 'satrapy' by Alexander and his successors must be set against the post-Alexandrine tendency to call a satrapy's highest officer *stratēgos*, not satrap. The claim that the diplomatic formula 'kings, dynasts, cities, peoples (ἔθνη)' is a Seleucid inheritance from the Achaemenid period[51] is unpersuasive. Both empires embraced different forms of local polity, of course. But (even though one might at a pinch say that kings+dynasts and peoples corresponded to the lists of lands/peoples in Achaemenid royal inscriptions and indeed to the implications of the phrases 'King of Kings' and 'one king of many, one master of many' encountered in those same texts)[52] the Seleucid phrase is certainly *not* Achaemenid in its Hellenic insistence upon *poleis* and was surely not created with an eye to the Persian past. So too Hellenistic equation of the state with 'the king's *pragmata*':[53] as an expression of personal kingship, this may be consistent with Persian, old-world Macedonian, and Hellenistic ideas.[54] But its non-territoriality is at odds with Achaemenid conceptions.[55] Moreover, it is driven more by a desire to avoid kingliness being compromised by fluctuations in territorial control than by a desire to keep territorial claims unbounded. There is no hint of any Achaemenid claim there may have been to universal rule.[56] Indeed there is a business-like color to the locution that is at odds with such flights of fancy. (One thinks more of Seleucus' complaint that being King means that one has to write a lot of letters.[57])

I have three further observations prompted by Achaemenid empire-lists. First, in one case the reader is asked to look at the king's throne-bearers and see that 'the spear of the Persian man has gone far' (DNa §4). Alexander claimed the Great King's territory as 'spear-won land' (Diod. 17.17.2), a concept fitfully current until the second century.[58] But I doubt that this is a significant parallel. The rather legalistic Greek idea was viable without promptings from Achaemenid ideology. It is, after all, merely a special version of a standard Greek word for war captive (αἰχμάλωτος). And in all other respects, of course, the concept connotes disruption, not continuity: Briant has recently underlined once again the importance of Darius' insistence upon the *Persian* character of the empire (for all its multi-ethnic composition), but (that being so) the replacement of a Persian by a Macedonian spear makes all the difference in the world.[59]

Second, Achaemenid empire-lists enshrine the centrality and privilege of certain areas.[60] Modern stress on the Seleucid East has been matched by argument about what counted as the empire's heartlands, with Sherwin-White and Kuhrt laying great stress on Seleucid engagement with Babylonia.[61] But in our present context, it is less important to debate the compet-

ing claims of Syria and Mesopotamia or of Antioch and Seleucia on the Tigris[62] than to insist that the very choice marks a discontinuity. The Achaemenid heartlands were Persia, Elam, and Media; that imperial control could be decided in Babylonia in 401 carries no more weight against that proposition than the fact that Antigonus and Eumenes fought in Paraetacene in 317/6 says in favor of a long-term centrality of western Iran in the geography of power in Seleucid times. Appian's description (*Syr.* 1) of Antiochus III as 'king of Syria and Babylonia and other nations' and of Seleucus I as ruler of 'Asia around the Euphrates' may warn against syro-centrism (never mind aegeo-centrism), but they would be quite inappropriate for an Achaemenid king. The center of gravity shifted westwards after Alexander, and this is not a casual difference. If we say there is continuity here, we are using language arbitrarily. One may add that, if the drawing of a line between Lower and Upper regions (and between two kings) seems inconsistent with this sort of statement, it is certainly not inconsistent in a way that takes us back to the old order.

Third, the Achaemenid royal army (as represented in Herodotus and the Alexander historians) was in principle drawn from all the empire's peoples. This may have been for ideological show rather than military use. But neither the show army nor the real army recurs in Seleucid guise, not least because replacing Iranian infantry with Macedonian-style *phalangites* (of whatever ethnic origin) destroyed continuity. Here the narrative is crucial: a Macedonian military machine defeated the Achaemenid one. And the issue of whether Iranians were incorporated in that machine (already live under Alexander) is in the long term less important than its basically different nature.[63]

One aspect of Seleucid rule was settlement of people far from their places of origin. This happened under the Achaemenids too, of course, but I see no profound continuity. Military *katoikiai* —if a valid category at all[64]— may be functionally analogous to the processes that brought Iranians to western Anatolia or kept Jews at Elephantine.[65] But whatever the civic nature or military or fiscal purpose of Seleucid city-foundations,[66] they are ventures for which the Achaemenids provide no plainly relevant parallels.[67] Dandamaev's suggestion that things like 'the assembly of the Elders of the Egyptians' or the 'settlement of the Egyptians' in Achaemenid Babylonia are a precedent for *politeumata* in Jerusalem, Babylon, or Susa strikes me as perverse.[68] The sort of culturo-political *apartheid* in the background puts the Hellenistic phenomenon in an entirely different class. A proper analogy would have to involve Iranians and Iranized non-Iranians in, e.g., Sardis or Memphis, but they did not create *politeuma*-like groups. The truth is that the Seleucids painted the imperial map Greek linguistically and culturally in a way that the Achaemenids did not paint it Persian. Greek may not have been the official language of the Seleucid empire,[69] but it was one in which the rulers could write to their agents in any region of the empire. Contrast an Achaemenid situation in which Aramaic served as a linguistically foreign written medium for communication between Persian officials. Both empires worked in a multilingual environment. But the cases are not parallel, and the focused association of power with a single language gave Greek great advantages. (Concomitantly the Seleucid king did not, so far as we know, speak to the world monumentally in anything but Greek.) In a famous Zenon papyrus (*PColZen* 66), a man complains he has not been paid because he cannot speak Greek; it is hard to imagine a

Persian equivalent. The Seleucid era was the 'era of the Greeks' (I *Macc.* 1.10). As for non-linguistic cultural markers, there is no competition. Directly visible Persian material is notoriously scarce, and the sort of indirect effects described by Dusinberre are elusive compared with those of hellenization.[70] One does not need to pretend that hellenization was universal or a deliberate policy of the kings or something that only started after Alexander (it is crucial that it did not) to see that the Seleucid imprint was different from and unrelated to any Achaemenid precedent. For much of the Near East, the late fourth century was a new beginning.

Kingship

One thing that was not new was royal rule. The character of a monarchic empire is heavily dependent upon the character of the royal office, its interaction with other (lesser) sources of authority, and the image it projects to its subjects. So, does the Seleucid king cut a figure like that of the Achaemenid king?

The Hellenistic world produced theoretical treatments of kingship, though there is little to link them with the Seleucids.[71] (This is one aspect of a generally weak link with patronage of intellectual or literary endeavor.[72] In this they resemble the Achaemenids, but hardly from a deliberate desire for continuity. It is more likely a consequence of taste and/or having multiple capitals.) Kingship texts highlight the king's relationship to god (he imitates but serves god, is king because god made him so, and is to his subjects as god is to men or the universe) and to law (he is animate law, this being part of what makes him god-like, but, though inauditable, must obey the law and behave justly), assert ethical imperatives (self-control, moderation, philanthropy etc.), and tend to suggest that the king's aim should be peace and justice, not war and conquest.[73] The attempt to reconcile autocracy and Hellenic morality is plain. I start with two remarks about law.

First, although something resembling animate law occurs in Xenophon's depiction of Cyrus' empire, there are also parallels in Archytas of Tarentum (where νόμος ἔμψυχος is an aspect of the νόμος-ἁρμονία analogy) and Aristotle ('to go to a judge is to go to justice, since the judge tries to be, as it were, δίκαιον ἔμψυχον'), and the idea need have no deep-seated Persian association at all, even in Greek terms.[74] There are certainly no Persian terms in which such a concept is part of Achaemenid ideology. The royal *dāta* of which we hear in Darius' Bīsotūn inscription and in Babylonian documents is (it seems) a somewhat less rarefied concept.[75] Second, the underlying idea appears in a famous Seleucid context, Antiochus' marriage to Stratonice. In Plutarch (*Demetr.* 38) Seleucus affirms that whatever the king ordains is just and honorable, if it be conducive to the common good. But in Appian (*Syr.* 61) he goes further: 'I shall not apply to you the customs (ἔθη) of the Persians and other nations rather than the universal *nomos* that what the king ordains is right.' Allusion to Persians calls to mind general claims about incest, more precise reports that certain kings contracted incestuous marriages, and Herodotus' very particular story about Cambyses, who was told by the magi that marrying his sister was against Persian custom but validated by the principle that the King may do anything.[76] Did Seleucus really risk evoking this well-known tale? Or has a historian put it in his mouth to invite a critical response to pseudo-Achaemenid behavior? Either way, was Seleucus actually looking to Achaemenid precedent? It was not the most

extreme abnormal marriage in the Seleucid royal family,[77] but the others can all postdate Ptolemaic adoption of the practice (though Ogden thinks otherwise), so the present case perhaps stands alone. Since Antiochus was also becoming joint-king, Darius' inheritance of wives from Cambyses and Smerdis might have had some analogical impact.[78] But Seleucus' protestations (and what I assume may be the invention of the Antiochus-Stratonice love-story) do, on the face of it, suggest that playing the Achaemenid was not part of a publicly avowed policy. While on the subject of royal women, it is worth noting that there is no need to entertain Carney's tentative suggestion of a Persian or Near Eastern background to the emergence of the title *basilissa*.[79] As the rest of her paper makes clear, the phenomenon is perfectly explicable in terms of the political consequences of Alexander's career and the claim of royal status by his generals. The stage on which these consequences were played out —and on which, as Carney notes, the allegation was made that well-connected *hetairai* demanded, or were accorded, treatment as *basilissai*— was the (former) Achaemenid empire. But that is a contingent fact of no more than banal significance.

Theoretical discourse plays down pursuit of military conquest as a defining characteristic of kingship, but some believe that actual royal ideology was closer to the implications of Suda, s.v. 'βασιλεία', and had a substantial military component.[80] If so, this might be a contrast with the Achaemenid situation, since the monumental iconography of that period notoriously avoids actively military themes. Admittedly, smaller-scale iconography (seal stones, private funerary monuments) is a different matter, and Darius' avowed virtues include personal military prowess.[81] So the picture is ambivalent. Some Seleucids certainly fought a lot (and in person[82]), and ten died in battle. Royal dress is military; and a cliché resumes the ruling power as 'king, friends and army'.[83] But we lack the boasts about military action found in Ptolemaic texts,[84] and the iconography of Seleucid kingship is not particularly militaristic. On coins the slightly aggressive visage of Seleucus I gives way to something variously seen as heroic, reserved or 'gaudente'.[85] Non-portrait images rarely insist on warfare; war-elephants are the commonest item here. And some other relevant icons (shields, mounted warriors) seem to belong only on bronze issues — hardly the medium for tremendously cogent ideological statement. In other media, the Louvre Antiochus III is a soldier-king but lacks clear parallels. And there is no evidence for the equestrian or cuirassed statues or depictions of military events attested (if not commonly) for other rulers.[86] Perhaps Austin is right to envisage the Seleucids as bluff soldiers to whom intellectual artistic pursuits meant little,[87] but they barely advertised or made a virtue out of the fact. Adoption of cognomina such as Nicator or Callinicus seems a modest step, and van Nuffelen suggests that these were in any case only retrospectively assigned to Seleucus I and Seleucus II during the reign of Antiochus III as an aspect of the newly-created royal cult.[88] Mehl inferred an especially military orientation to Seleucid royal ideology from a supposedly distinctive attachment to the notion of spear-won land, but he over-states the evidence.[89] Antiochus III and IV subordinate the principle to contractual argument where such argument is available. Its use to justify the invasion of Thrace reflects the lack of other justification and says no more than the act of aggression in itself.[90] So, perhaps there was less distance in military ideology between the Seleucid and Achaemenid manner than some imply. What about other aspects of royal style?

Neither Alexander nor the Seleucids used the titulature of Achaemenid royal inscriptions. (In Babylon they are sometimes 'King of Lands', normal in later Achaemenid times, but not standard in the Macedonian era, absent from business documents after Philip III, and abandoned after Antiochus II.[91] In the Borsippa Cylinder Antiochus I has a set of titles of good Babylonian pedigree but no Achaemenid resonance.[92]) Instead Alexander was 'King of Asia', a term that claimed Darius' property without claiming his title or identity.[93] Antigonus was acclaimed as King of Asia at Persepolis in 316,[94] and the term appears in various Seleucid contexts. There was allegedly a deal in 301 under which Ptolemy was to get Coele Syria, while Seleucus would be King of Asia (Polyb. 5.67.10). And the title is used of Seleucus I in Appian (*Syr.* 60) and of various monarchs in *Maccabees* and Josephus.[95] Whether this reflects a real titular protocol —one certainly not apparent in primary epigraphic sources— or merely an understandable shorthand by which the Seleucid realm is envisaged as Asia[96] is debatable, but perhaps relatively unimportant. The terminology places Seleucid monarchs firmly in the world of Alexander, not of Darius. Rather over a century into the Seleucid era, Antiochus III became 'Antiochus the Great' after his eastern expedition and 'the Great King' after retaking Coele Syria.[97] While the first of these can be explained in terms of Alexander (assuming that 'Alexander the Great' is an early Hellenistic locution, which is not formally demonstrable[98]), the second is more interesting. There *are* descriptions of Antiochus I as 'Great King' in texts from Babylonia —the Borsippa Cylinder (where it appears with other titles of good Babylonian pedigree but not normally found in this era), a couple of astronomical texts, a king-list death-notice, and some business documents from 265-261 BC in which the date-formula names 'Antiochus the Great King and Antiochus, his son, the King'[99]— but they are not the norm and nothing of the sort occurs under Antiochus' predecessor Seleucus I or his successors until well into the reign of Antiochus III. There is a temptation, therefore, to think that the latter's decision to resuscitate the title is significant, and even that what it signifies is that (with conquests in the east and south) he has now reconstituted the old empire and can claim the Achaemenid king's sobriquet. But another possible explanation is that it was a response to Ptolemaic adoption of the title 'Great King' after the much-hyped Laodicean War: no one normally claims that the Ptolemies had a settled policy of Achaemenid assimilation, so it appears that one did not need such a thing to think of using the title. It is, I suppose, possible that Ptolemy, in turn, was responding to the knowledge that his Seleucid adversaries *sometimes* claimed the title — but this would be more cogent if we could be sure (as we cannot) either that this also happened outside Babylonia or that the Ptolemies knew and cared about Babylonian titularies. I cannot wholly resist the thought that, in the case of Antiochus I, we are dealing with a Babylonian peculiarity, one that arose because of the joint rule of two kings, both called Antiochus, whom scribes felt a special urge to distinguish as senior and junior partners. (We shall see more evidence for Babylonian unease about dyarchy shortly.) In short, the truth about Seleucid 'Great Kings' remains elusive. But there is certainly no *consistent* assertion of Achaemenid continuity to be found here.

The king dressed in Macedonian style — boots, cloak, *kausia.* Evidence about Demetrius' remarkable extravagance suggests that royal clothing was usually modestly decorated. Since, moreover, purple was available to his

Friends, only the diadem really set the king apart.[100] Its relationship to Achaemenid royal dress code is contentious, but in the round Hellenistic and Achaemenid *mores* were not identical. This is an area where Alexander disrupted more than he continued.[101] Hoepfner has claimed that the Charonion at Antioch shows a Seleucid ruler in oriental dress. But there is no reason to identify either of the figures as the king,[102] although the unfinished monument is linked to a story about plague and Antiochus IV in Malalas. As far as I know no text proves that Seleucid rulers engaged in Babylonian rituals or wore Babylonian clothes. Even Kuhrt and Sherwin-White do not explicitly claim this in the case of Antiochus I's laying of bricks at Borsippa.[103] Given the controversy about someone's wearing of Elamite dress during the Babylonian New Year Festival in 538,[104] it would be nice to have specific evidence on the point. But maintenance of Hellenic costume would fit nicely the pattern of 'ethnopower games' described by John Ma.[105] (Nor should one forget, incidentally, that Seleucid rulers sometimes entered Babylonian temples to carry out rituals 'in the Greek fashion'.[106])

Another way in which the Seleucid monarchy is unlike its Achaemenid predecessor is that from the mid-290s there were often two or even three kings.[107] There is no Achaemenid parallel for this (relevant precedents are post-Alexandrine Macedonian — Philip III Arrhidaeus and Alexander IV; Antigonus and Demetrius), and it is quite at odds with any normal understanding of Achaemenid ideology. It also (incidentally) appears to have worried the Babylonians: there is a chronicle text reporting material about Antiochus (son of Seleucus I) and the temples of Sin which apparently belongs during the joint rule of Seleucus and Antiochus but nonetheless describes Antiochus, not as 'King', but as 'son of the King of the succession house (*bīt redûti*)', a traditional Babylonian designation for the Crown Prince. If the date is sound, what we have here is a sign of Babylonian unease with the concept of dyarchy: it was tolerable to date business documents by the two kings, but in a narrative record that dealt only with Antiochus, it evidently felt odd to describe him as king.[108]

A concomitant of dyarchy is that, after Seleucus, the king does not have his own regnal year. Instead time is counted from the start of Seleucus' rule of Babylonia—an entirely novel system, copied by Parthians but otherwise unparalleled. From one viewpoint, it insists upon the seamless identity of the royal dynasty. However, although the Achaemenids had a strong sense of dynasty (albeit one retrospectively invented by Darius I), I doubt this has much bearing. The Macedonians already had a strong sense of royal family as well.[109] From another viewpoint, the Seleucid era almost gives the state an existence independent of the kings, who become life-time magistrates or managers of a business. I exaggerate, but the package of dual kingship and common era really is far removed from the Achaemenid model.

Failure to develop a ritual of royal investiture is a further symptom.[110] The king might attend a New Year festival in Babylon, whose rituals involved reaffirmation of submission to Marduk,[111] but this was for Babylonian eyes and was not a *sine qua non* of kingship. There was no elaborate process of universal import that marked elevation to royal status, and one even starts to wonder how *special* royal status was. That living kings could be gods —by the decision of an individual Greek city or (but only over a century into the Seleucid era) by their own order[112]— was, of course, something and (although one struggles to envisage what it meant to them) should certainly not be entirely downplayed.[113] But one thing is clear: no

Achaemenid King was a god, and any Greek misconceptions there may have been about this were not what underlay Hellenistic practice. The heritage is from Alexander, not Darius.[114] There is also no continuity between the Seleucid relationship with Apollo (itself arguably a secondary response to Antigonid and Ptolemaic pretensions) and the Persian one with Ahura Mazdā. We are in two different worlds here.[115] I would add that talk about the *tychē* of the King can primarily be seen in a Greek cultural context. That was the context within which Eutychides' influential statue of the Tyche of Antioch was commissioned under Seleucus I. And if the Arsacids adopted a Greek icon of Tyche honoring the king on their coins, it would seem perverse (and is certainly contentious) to insist that Greco-Macedonians speaking of the *tychē* of the King were 'really' talking about Iranian *x^var∂nah*.[116] The suggestion that τò θεῖον in a letter of Antiochus III might be hellenized *x^var∂nah* is, if anything, even more off the mark.[117]

The world of the court is different too. There is almost no *evidence* of systematic royal nomadism of the sort attributed to Achaemenid rulers.[118] Perhaps the existence of several capitals suggests it. But what, then, about the implications of dual kingship: should there be two nomadic circuits? In any event, Persepolis seems to be out of the loop. On the allied matter of civil public ceremonial (city entrances, royal progress through the empire, festival events), exiguous evidence about Achaemenid practice can be mixed with material about Alexander and various Hellenistic rulers to yield a picture in which continuity is both assumption and conclusion.[119] But little material is Seleucid (especially if we insist, as we should, that Babylonian texts are pertinent only to Babylonia). And one wonders if Antiochus IV's Daphne festival (Polyb. 30.25-6) is really legitimate evidence of the manners of earlier Seleucid kings or of a specifically Achaemenid hinterland. (The details seem to presuppose little more than Greek megalomania.) People spoke of the ὄγκος of the Syrian court (Plut. *Agis* 3), but it is in general hard to grasp how lavish the physical setting of Seleucid kingship was. They did little new building in the Babylon or Susa palaces[120] and actually left Ecbatana stripped of decoration (Polyb. 10.27). What happened in new capitals is unknown. That Dura or Ai Khanum (where elements of both Persepolitan and Babylonian palatial traditions can be spotted) is a fitting guide begs questions, particularly where Antioch is concerned.[121] One wonders whether division of resources inhibited not only artistic patronage but conspicuous monumentalization of royal power.[122] Development of a positive discourse about *tryphē* certainly confirms that kings did not live an austere life (at least when not on campaign) and that this could (and had to) be spun as a proof of power and kingliness. That was a different attitude from the one Greeks had tended to take about Achaemenid luxury.[123] But one cannot (of course) infer that it was the luxury that had changed. The earlier model certainly supplied some validation for regal display — not to mention for succumbing to the temptations of pleasure.[124] It is worth remembering, however, that this applied to Ptolemies as well as Seleucids and that we cannot establish that the precise *mores* of self-indulgence were at all the same.

The Seleucid king was not unseen or inaccessible in the way Greeks believed of Achaemenid kings. Chiliarch stories are not a Seleucid *topos*, and the new term *aulē* reflects a more open conception of the court's character.[125] Comparison between the hierarchical arrangement of Alexander's Susa and Opis feasts and Heraclides' account of the Achaemenid king's 'dinner' falters precisely because the extreme seclusion of the king himself

is not reproduced.[126] More generally, the Hellenistic royal banquet does not seem to be seriously dependent on an Achaemenid model.[127] Official grading of royal Friends (admittedly only from the time of Antiochus III), stories in which kings use trickery to escape from their courtiers or are called mad for wanting to,[128] a paucity of episodes of licensed free speech[129] — all evoke an oppressive formalism not characteristic of the Achaemenid court, perhaps (paradoxically) because the qualitative difference between the Great King and others had been so much clearer. In both systems people noted the king's power to make or break a courtier.[130] But when a decree from Ilium repeatedly sees Antiochus' achievements as mediated through his Friends and the army, it is hard to imagine them having spoken of the Achaemenid king in such terms.[131] Friends are a crucial element in the exercise of power, who 'could absolutely not be left out'.[132] But they are assistants and functionaries, not the components of an aristocracy — a profound difference, even if in both cases we are dealing with a largely ethnically homogeneous dominant class.[133]

Among the activities shared by the Persian king and his aristocracy, hunting occupied a place of some importance and was perhaps invested with symbolic significance. It is far from clear, however, that this leaves any mark on their Seleucid successors.[134] Indeed, although hunting is a significant theme in Macedonian contexts both before and during Alexander's reign, and although stories told about Seleucus and other Successors imply that at the start of the Hellenistic period the idea that good rulers ought to be good hunters continued to have some potent currency,[135] the theme does not seem to be prominent in later Seleucid history. Anecdotes about Demetrius' behavior in captivity or Antiochus IX sneaking off with two or three slaves to go hunting may even suggest that a view emerged that proper kings have better things to do than hunt.[136]

One context in which Greek cities encountered royal Friends is benefaction. The generosity of the Achaemenid king to subjects who served him well was famous. Thucydides contrasted it with a Thracian model in which the subject brought gifts to the king (2.97.3-6). This is artificial (gifts passed both ways, and the Apadana frieze show them coming to the king) but may capture a real perception about the ideological centre of gravity.[137] Hellenistic kings are generous too, but both directions are stressed. Consider Antiochus and Erythrae.[138] The Erythraeans sent an embassy to report that honors had been voted for the king, brought a crown and a gift of gold, expatiated on their goodwill to the dynasty and to the city's benefactors — and requested increased civic privileges. The king responded that, wishing to match his ancestors' benefactions, he would grant tax exemptions. He then asked the city to remember its benefactors. This coziness is typical of the interactions discussed in John Ma's book on Antiochus III. It is a rhetoric of the relations between ruler and ruled that, like Ilium's references to the king's Friends, is unimaginable in an Achaemenid context.

Conclusion

Wider issues of discontinuous rule, enclaves, and special deals with individual communities could be discussed here, though to do so would demonstrate nothing very surprising: it would have been wholly impractical to alter the somewhat patchwork nature of the existing empire. I cannot imagine it occurred to anyone to try.[139] But space is limited and I must end. As

promised, methodological sophistication has not been prominent. But my investigation was prompted by nothing more sophisticated than the discovery that the feeling that the Seleucid empire was a sort of reincarnation of the Achaemenid one —a feeling not without sponsorship from prominent students of the former[140] and (I think) rather prevalent among students of the latter— seemed to sit awkwardly with what emerged from a modest investigation of the relevant evidence. I have therefore done nothing more complicated than list some *prima facie* reasons for caution. I am, of course, well aware that the evidence is surprisingly patchy. But that certainly does not make caution less necessary: if the argument from silence is dangerous for the Seleucid historian,[141] this cuts both ways and is a reason for being wary about assertions of continuity.

It is also possible that a generally synchronic treatment elides some significant diachronic variation. Perhaps Antiochus III, the Great King, *did* feel a parallel with the pre-Macedonian dispensation more strongly than was normal. But other signs of this remain elusive. In *Syrian Wars* 1 Appian says that Antiochus claimed the Hellespont, Ionia, and Aeolis because they had been subject to 'kings of Asia' in the past. 'King of Asia' as a title has a primarily post-Achaemenid resonance, as we have seen, but 'kings of Asia' in a discursive context may include the Achaemenids as well[142] — though it lays no stress whatsoever upon their distinctive importance. They do certainly appear in *Syrian Wars* 12, where rule over Aeolians and Ionians is said to be non-negotiable 'since they had been long accustomed to obey even the barbarian rulers of Asia'. But *that* passage makes reference to Achaemenid rule in western Anatolia sound more like an ancillary argument in favor of Seleucid control or an interesting historical parallel than a proclamation of Achaemenid-Seleucid continuity: to say, in effect, that the Aeolians and Ionians must accept Seleucid Greco-Macedonian rule because they had once accepted barbarian rule is to use an a *fortiori* argument that is actually based on the *difference* between the two dispensations. It is also worth noting that, although an Achaemenid-based claim could have been made for Thracian territory, in that case Antiochus contented himself with an appeal to the precedent supplied by Seleucus (Polyb. 18.51; Livy 33.40). We can choose to say that his notion of Achaemenid heritage was formulated in terms of the King's Peace of 387/6 and so limited to Asia. But one might wonder why he should be so unambitious.

The real truth behind all these passages may be that, when dealing with Aegean Greeks, it was not likely to be particularly productive to base a claim to authority explicitly and directly upon Achaemenid precedent. Even if Antiochus *did* see himself as *Darius redivivus*, it would normally be better not to mention the fact.[143] And that observation may have wider ramifications: on the one hand, it might mean that less general evidence of Achaemenid-Seleucid continuity survives than could have been the case; but, on the other hand, it may also make us wonder how sensible it was for the Seleucids to maintain or proclaim such continuity in the first place.

The idea of ruling Anatolia and Western Asia from a Syro-Mesopotamian center and through a largely Greco-Macedonian *ethno-classe dominante* may indeed be hard to imagine without the earlier Achaemenid project of ruling a similar area from an Irano-Mesopotamian centre through a largely Persian *ethno-classe dominante*. And any Seleucid stress on Macedonian identity might be said to echo Achaemenid stress on Persian identity.[144] But the interest lies in the differences between the two dispensations.

[1] Briant 1979: 1414 (= 1982: 330), 2002: 876.

[2] As far as the Seleucids are concerned, the crucial text is, of course, Sherwin-White and Kuhrt 1993.

[3] See Lane Fox 2007. The multiple strands must always be kept in view. Any continuity implicit in Alexander's performative 'recognition' (*gignōskō*) of ownership of a piece of territory in *IPriene* 1 (Ma 2003a: 246-7) must be set against the disrupting fact of the military conquest which made it possible in the first place. Briant's recent criticism (2007: 332) of Ma's description of the situation and preference for translating *gignōskō* simply as 'decide' does not alter things, since the basis for decision is supposed to be knowledge about existing, Achaemenid-period, arrangements.

[4] That is one reason for not trying to elucidate Achaemenid-Seleucid continuity by comparing and contrasting continuities between the Neo-Assyrian or Neo-Babylonian empires and that of the Achaemenids.

[5] Austin 2003: 128.

[6] Briant 2007: 336.

[7] Any claim to Achaemenid descent through Apame (Tarn 1929; Rostovtzeff 1935: 65; contrast Smith 1988: 26) would give this extra resonance — though it might still be of superficial signficance in most contexts. Other members of the dynasty contracted Iranian marriages (cf. below), and two royal children —one the future Antiochus IV— seem to have had Iranian names (cf. Mehl 2000: 18-26; Boiy 2004: 148). Wiesehöfer (1996b: 32) deduces Apame's maintenance of close relations with her Bactrian homeland from *IDidyma* 479-80, Plin. *HN* 6.49 and Robert 1984: 467-72, which may go beyond the evidence. Sherwin-White and Kuhrt 1993: 25-7, also cited by Wiesehöfer, do not draw this inference.

[8] Aperghis 2004 describes a general situation profoundly different from the Achaemenid empire; and the claim of Davies (2006: 81) that the proportion of Gross National Product passing through the King's hands was at modern levels takes us into a quite different world

[9] Aperghis 2004: 51-8.

[10] Jursa forthcoming.

[11] Aperghis 2004: 264-6, 289.

[12] In another part of the Hellenistic world, Davies (2004) detects an Athenian (indeed Lycurgan) model behind Ptolemaic fiscal administration; so, even if Manning's summary (2003: 141) may sound like something that could have been said of the Achaemenid king, there is also a new element.

[13] Briant 2001.

[14] Briant 1990: 58.

[15] The evidence can be gleaned from Ogden 1999: 127-40 or (more briefly) Wiesehöfer 1996b: 49, n. 89.

[16] Sherwin-White and Kuhrt 1993: 190, 193-7.

[17] Sherwin-White and Kuhrt 1993: *passim* but esp. 91-113.

[18] The alleged desire to name the Indian Ocean Seleucis or Antiochis (Plin. *HN* 2.167-8) sits ill with early withdrawal from India, but the claim says something about perceptions of the personal ambition of early Seleucid rulers.

[19] Virgilio 1999: 125, 128.

[20] There is a strange half-parallel between Achaeus' abortive *anabasis* and Cyrus': Achaeus also deceived his troops about the target of their march but then actually turned back from Lycaonia to Pisidia.

[21] Sachs and Hunger 1988: no. –273.

[22] Canali de Rossi 2004: nos. 291-2 (trans. in, e.g., Thapar 1973: 260). See also Merkelbach 2000.

[23] Cf. Graf 2000. For the letters (still not fully published) from Bactria, see Shaked 2004.

[24] Examples can be found in various authors, e.g., Diodorus (18.52, 54, 56; 19.52, 62; 20.20; 31.19), Justin (36.1.10, 3.8; 41.2.1, 4.5), Strabo (11.7.2, 9.1, 11.6; 13.5, 6; 15.3.3, 24; 16.1.18, 23, 24), Josephus (*AJ* 12.322, 434; 13.1, 3, 7, 8, 43, 62, 213, 273), Polybius (3.59 [*Alexandrou dynasteian*]; 29.21), Livy (45.9.2), Arrian (*FGrHist* 156 F 30), Memnon (*FGrHist* 434 F 12[5]), Appian (*Praef.* 9). For these and others, cf. Edson 1958. (The inference that the Seleucid empire was a Macedonian state in which Macedonians were the dominant people—not just one whose ruling dynasty was Macedonian in origin—is seductive but not essential here.) Moralizing discourse had Macedonians degenerate into Syrians (Livy 28.17.11), the term that Polybius prefers for them (Muccioli 2004: 145).

[25] Compare Arrian's perception of Seleucus I as the greatest of Alexander's successors (7.22.5), a view reflected also in App. *Syr.* 55, 61.

[26] Regents: Diod. 18.3.1, 36.6, 47.4. Antigonus: Diod. 18.50.4, 54.5 (cf. Plut. *Eum.* 12). The phrase either designates Alexander's empire or deliberately looks away from any of the imperial polities that provided the historical context. It is worth stressing that it is a Diodoran locution that is not peculiar to this context: cf. 1.17.3 (Osiris), 70.9 (Egyptian king),

2.32.3 (Cyrus), 14.27.1 (Cheirisophus commanding the 10,000), 15.8.2 (Tiribazus as commander-in-chief against Evagoras), 17.23.5-6 (Memnon as commander-in-chief against Alexander).

²⁷ In his *Encomium to Ptolemy* (17.18) Theocritus imagined the deified Ptolemy I next to Alexander ('a harsh god for the Persians') in the house of Zeus, Ptolemy II's pageant in 275/4 included Greeks cities freed from Persian servitude by Alexander, the priest of the state cult of Alexander figured with the king in dating formulae (though later overshadowed here as elsewhere by the state cult of the Ptolemies). Erskine (1995) discerns deliberate exploitation of Alexander and Aristotle in the Museum project; Fraser (1996) argues that Ptolemaic propaganda attributed to Alexander many Greek foundations actually due to the Seleucids; and an Alexandrian scholar (Eratosthenes) fantasized about the brotherhood of man. The hijack of Alexander's funeral car was a constitutive moment of the Ptolemaic kingdom; others realized that the best way of neutralizing Ptolemy's coup was to ignore it.

²⁸ But cf. Muccioli 2004: 127 ff.

²⁹ Memnon, *FGrHist* 434 F 1(8.1); *BCHP* 9 (a new edition of Grayson 1975a: no. 12). See Briant 1994a.

³⁰ For various views of the Dynastic Prophecy (BM 40623 = Grayson 1975b: 28-9, 30-7; but note a new interpretation of II.24 in van der Spek 2003: 319-20), see, e.g., Sherwin-White and Kuhrt 1993: 8; Kuhrt and Sherwin-White 1994: 324; Mehl 2000: 34-7; van der Spek 2003: 311-40; Shahbazi 2003; Muccioli 2004: 133 f.; Neujahr 2005.

³¹ After Cyrus, the Achaemenids have little to show (whatever we make of claims that Xerxes actually destroyed Babylonian temples). Szelenyi-Graziotto's claim (1996: 175) that BM 36613 (Sachs 1977) speaks of Artaxerxes IV (as distinct from Alexander the Great) doing restoration work is not obviously right.

³² Pfrommer 1998: esp. 98-102.

³³ Winnicki 1994; Devauchelle 1995: 71-2. Muccioli (2004: 129) suggests a parallel or connection between this and (historically dubious) claims that Seleucus I or Antiochus I restored the Tyrannicides statues to Athens.

³⁴ This understanding of the Pithom Stele is questioned by Lorton 1971, Bresciani 1978: 33, n. 18, Winnicki 1990, followed by Barbantani 2001: 168.

³⁵ Zauzich (1984: 193) disputes this reading of a Karnak ostracon (for which cf. Bresciani 1978). See more fully Winnicki 1991: 89-91. Barbantani (2001: 168) ignores these doubts, while Funck (1996b)

tries to carry on as though they did not exist (201-2, 204), compounding the problem (202-6, 208-13) with forced interpretations of the Gurob Papyrus (the only Persian element here is the name Aribazus), the Adulis inscription (can a text identify the Seleucids with their Achaemenid '*Amtsbrüder*' when the former are not actually mentioned?), and Welles 1934: no. 5 (where the claim that Seleucus' self-confidence in his rights as king when addressing the Milesians in 288/7 is based on 'his inheritance from Achaemenids and Alexander as *rex Asiae*' [p. 213] does not amount to serious evidence of Seleucus' Achaemenid consciousness).

³⁶ Lloyd-Jones and Parsons (1983: no. 958 [commentary]) take this view, interpreting the text as a celebration of Ptolemaic victories. Ma (2003b: 193) prefers to see Seleucid court poetry, though without elaborating. (Bar-Kochva 1973 took a similar view.) In the light of Barbantani's discussion of readings of the poem in general and the Medes in particular (2001: 63-72, 164-72), one feels little confidence that the Medes must be the Seleucids or indeed confidence in any proposition on the issue—although, given analogies between the Persian invasions and the third century Celtic threat to Greece, the view (endorsed by Barbantani 2001: 72) that the poem's Medes are neither Seleucids nor contemporary Persians but the Achaemenids seems perfectly reasonable.

³⁷ Cf. Livy 33.20; Flor. *Epit.* 1.24.12; Plut. *Flam.* 11; Alc.Mess. 5 (Gow and Page 1985) (= *Anth.Pal.* 16.5); Enn. fr. 378 (Vahlen 1903) = 369 (Skutsch 1985), with Mastrocinque 1983: 123-5.

³⁸ When one of Antiochus' advisors implicitly compares the Romans with the Persians (Livy 35.17), he is not using a rhetoric in which Persia is a benign model. The ambassador who boasted that Antiochus' army contained Dahae, Medes, Elymaeans, and Kadusioi was spinning the truth, not affirming his royal master's Persian credentials.

³⁹ Arrian, *FGrHist* 156 FF 30-1. There were other versions too: cf. Neusner 1963; Wiesehöfer 1996a: 130-3; Hauser 2005: 170-85.

⁴⁰ Neusner 1963. Hauser (2005: 170-85) stresses the unreliability and relatively late date of all versions.

⁴¹ Polyaen. 7.39; Wiesehöfer 1994b: 60, 125; Sekunda 2007.

⁴² Wiesehöfer 1994a, 1994b: 101-38, 1996a: 110.

⁴³ Wiesehöfer 1996b: 36: the *frataraka* 'verstanden sich ... nicht als Achaimeniden und Grosskönige'. A recent discussion of an architectural feature on certain *frataraka* coins concludes that it is inspired by the Zendān-e Soleymān (Pasargadae)

and the Ka'ba-ye Zartosht (Naqsh-e Rostam) but that there is no reason to assume that 'the *frataraka* or their moneyers…had any real idea of what the buildings' *original* function may have been' (Potts 2007: 296).

[44] Wiesehöfer 1986, 1996a: 167-8, 288 (citing other literature). For a skeptical treatment cf. Potter 1990: 370 f., stressing the absence of references to the Achaemenids in Sasanian texts.

[45] Canali de Rossi 2004: nos. 274-5; Sherwin-White and Kuhrt 1993: 223 (and pls. 27-8).

[46] Wiesehöfer 1996a: pls. XXI-XXII.

[47] See the lists of lands/peoples incorporated in various royal inscriptions, and the Apadana gift-bearers and thone-bearers in reliefs at Persepolis and Naqsh-e Rostam. For a convenient presentation of this much-studied material, see Briant 2002: ch. 5.

[48] Cf. Jacobs 1994; Klinkott 2000.

[49] Cf. Briant 2002: 746.

[50] Appearance of the figure in an Achaemenid narrative context in *Esther* is not, of course, genuine Achaemenid evidence.

[51] Briant 1990: 46.

[52] Lists: cf. note 47, above. King of Kings: *passim* in royal titulary. 'One king of many, one master of many': DNa §1, DSe §1, DSf §1, DE §1 and frequently in Xerxes' texts. (This appears in a formula asserting that Ahuramazda made so-and-so 'king, one king of many, one master of many'.)

[53] Cf. texts translated in Austin 1981: nos. 125, 175, 176 (b), 180 (b) (3), 182 (l. 5), 184, 186, 196 (l. 29), 203 (l. 32), 209 (l. 32), 230. Note also οἱ τὰ βασιλικὰ πραγματεύοντες (*IPergamon* 158).

[54] Wiesehöfer 1996c: 60; Virgilio 1999: 117.

[55] *Pace* Sherwin-White and Kuhrt (1993: 119), I doubt that Greeks called Hellenistic kings 'King PN' rather than 'PN, king of GN' because they were using the terminology they used to use of the Achaemenid king.

[56] How far that claim is implicit in the Achaemenid king's self-description as 'king in this earth far and wide' is debatable. Diadochal ἡγεμονία τῶν ὅλων (cf. above) should probably not be seen in this sort of universalist light: even *PKöln* VI 247.I.18-27, which says that Antigonus aspired to rule the *oikoumenē*, immediately glosses this as 'acquiring control of affairs like Alexander'. Occasional application of *šar kiššati* ('king of the world') to Alexander (Sachs and Hunger 1988: no. −330) or Antiochus I (Kuhrt and Sherwin-White 1991) only has Babylonian resonance.

[57] Cf. kingship as ἔνδοξος δουλεία (Ael. *VH* 2.20).

[58] Mehl 1980/81. The concept is reflected in a Boscoreale painting in which Macedonia leans on a reversed spear contemplating a submissive seated Asia (Smith 1994: 109-13 with figs. 3-5; Virgilio 1999: 73 ff.).

[59] Briant forthcoming b.

[60] The arrangement of names varies in detail, but Persia, Elam, and Media are plainly the central places from which the rest stretch out to east or west.

[61] Sherwin-White and Kuhrt 1993.

[62] Ma (1999: 7-8) insists on the importance of Syria. The use of *Seleucis* (*OGIS* 219, 229; Strab. 16.2.4; App. *Syr.* 55) to describe Northern Syria or even (at least originally) a wider Syro-Anatolian area (cf. Musti 1966: 61-81; Sève-Martinez 2003: 235; Muccioli 2004: 126) does not on the face of it favor Mesopotamian pretensions; nor does the lack of Babylonian Friends (Savalli-Lestrade 1998: 223). The absence of Syrians and Babylonians from Seleucid armies (Walbank 1988: 110-12; Mehl 2000: 31) gives the two regions a shared, if somewhat peculiar, characteristic.

[63] The question whether Alexander's *epigonoi* correspond to the later Achaemenid *kardakes* (Briant 1999a) or were a novelty (Lane Fox 2007) is also thus relatively unimportant. Ma (2003b: 186) claims that the 'variegated armies fielded by the Seleucids…were manifestations of "imagined empire"', but the data in Sherwin-White and Kuhrt (1993: 53-6, 212-14), which he cites, really do not support this in any fashion parallel to, e.g., Herodotus' Army List (7.61-99). The absence of Syrians and Babylonians (cf. note 62, above) is striking here.

[64] Cohen 1991; Aperghis 2004: 96.

[65] Cf. Porten 1968; Tuplin 1987; Sekunda 1985, 1988, 1991.

[66] Mehl 1991: 106; Aperghis 2004: 89-99.

[67] Incorporation of an Achaemenid fortress (*Erk Kala*) in a much larger civic site (*Gyaur Kala*) at Antioch in Margiana is a fine visual symbol of the point (Williams et al. 2002: 18 fig. 1), unfortunately unsupported by historical narrative or documentary gloss (as Košelenko et al. 1996: 130-7 makes clear). On a much smaller scale, when the important Achaemenid period site at Meydancık Kale (Cilicia) became a Seleucid fort, it acquired a gymnasium (*SEG* 31 [1981]: 1321; Ma 2003b: 184). Ma (2003b: 184) has drawn attention to the *Hyrkanioi Makedones* in Lydia as a palimpsestic reflection of the historical change of the late fourth century, but also of continuities. He adds, 'this community … turned itself into a Greek *polis*, but that is another

story': indeed it is, and this other story compromises talk of continuity. It would be good to know more of Cyreschate *alias* Cyropolis, perhaps the closest thing to an Achaemenid city-foundation alleged by any surviving sources; but I doubt it would change the general picture, and one must fear that what we *do* know from Alexander historians is contaminated by Greco-Macedonian practice.

[68] Dandamaev 1992: 176-7.

[69] Sherwin-White and Kuhrt 1993: 326.

[70] Dusinberre 2003.

[71] Representative texts are the Stobaeus excerpts of Ecphantus (4.6.22, 4.7.64-6), Diotogenes (4.7.61-2) and Sthenidas (4.7.63) and the *Letter of Aristeas* (on which cf. Murray 1967).

[72] Cf. Austin 2000. Beaulieu (2007) has suggested that there was Seleucid promotion of Esagila astronomical scholarship.

[73] Compare an early prefigurement in Theophrastus, *On Kingship* 2 (*POxy* 1611.38): the true king made by the scepter not the spear. But contrast a more robust viewpoint in Suda s.v. 'βασιλεία': 'it is neither nature nor justice which gives monarchies to men but the ability to command an army and handle affairs competently...Alexander's natural son was in no way helped by his kinship with him because of his weakness of spirit, while those who had no connection with Alexander became kings of almost the whole inhabited world.'

[74] Xen. *Cyr.* 8.1.21 (βλέπων νόμος); Archytas ap. Stob. 4.1.135 (νόμος ἔμψυχος); Arist. *EN* 1132a22 (ὁ γὰρ δικαστὴς βούλεται εἶναι οἷον δίκαιον ἔμψυχον). Some think that Xenophon's concept is a weaker one than νόμος ἔμψυχος anyway (Azoulay 2006: 146).

[75] Stolper 1993: 60-2, and 1994: 340, n. 14; Briant 1999b: 1135.

[76] Hdt. 3.31. On Achaemenid incest, cf. Herrenschmidt 1994; Ogden 1999: 126.

[77] Ogden 1999: 124 f., 128, 133 f.

[78] Ogden 1999: 125.

[79] Carney 1991: 158.

[80] Suda: cf. note 73, above. Military component: Sève-Martinez 2003: 238.

[81] Cf. DNb.

[82] Memnon (*FGrHist* 434 F 1[9]) writes that Antiochus I spent his reign fighting to protect his ancestral realm (itself created by his father's conquests); Polybius presents Antiochus III's early years as a series of wars (5.41-2, 45, 49, 51, 58; Austin 2000: 133), and his later ones were very active ('son

règne prend des aspects de longue patrouille armée': Ma 2003a: 244). See Austin 2003: 124-6.

[83] Austin 1986: 462.

[84] Cf. the Gurob Papyrus (Burstein 1985: no. 98), and stelai from Pithom (Brugsch 1894; Naville 1902), Adulis (Burstein 1985: no. 99), and Raphia (Thissen 1966).

[85] Fleischer 1996; Smith 1988: 112; Virgilio 1999: 70.

[86] Louvre Antiochus: Smith 1988: 112, cat. no. 30. Equestrian/cuirassed statues: *IPergamon* 246 (= *OGIS* 332); Plin. *HN* 35.93; Hannestad 1996: 84-6; Smith 1988: 32, 67, 82. (But most royal statues seem to have been naked in any case. In general, divine attributes were perhaps more common than military ones: Smith 1988: 38-45.) Military events: Smith 1988: 9-14. Seleucid iconography is in short supply, of course: famous images, such as the Alexander Mosaic, Vergina Hunt, Boscoreale fresco-cycle, Aldobandini Wedding, all come from other milieus.

[87] Austin 1986.

[88] van Nuffelen 2004: 293-8.

[89] Mehl 1980/81.

[90] Polyb. 5.67 (Antiochus III), 28.1.4, 20.6-9 (Antiochus IV). Thrace: Polyb. 18.51.3-6 = Livy 33.40.4-6.

[91] Oelsner 1964; Joannès 2007: 101 f. Boiy (2004) does not appear to comment on this matter.

[92] Kuhrt and Sherwin-White 1991.

[93] Plut. *Alex.* 34; Just. *Epit.* 11.14.6. Bessus allegedly followed suit (Arr. *Anab.* 3.25.3; Curt. 6.6.13), Aristobulus (*FGrHist* 139 F 51) claimed Cyrus was so described on his tomb, and Berossus (*FGrHist* 680 F 9a) used it of Cyrus. There is also a pre-Alexandrine background. Different views have been taken about the significance of the title (Fredericksmeyer 2000; Nawotka 2004), but at best it is a non-formal Greek way of describing the Persian king: its elevation to titular formality affirms difference more than similarity or continuity.

[94] Diod. 19.48.1; Polyaen. 4.6.13. (Antigonus' ambitions are already expressed in terms of 'Asia' in 18.47.5, 50.2, 54.4.) Despite this he showed no real interest in Iran or Central Asia. 'Asia' seems to symbolize the Alexandrine inheritance without necessarily meaning what it says geographically: cf. Diod. 21.1.4b, where Antigonus, 'King of Asia', fights *inter alios* Seleucus, 'King of Babylonia'.

[95] I *Macc.* 8.6, 12.39, II *Macc.* 3.3; Jos. *AJ* 12.119. Similarly we have the (Seleucid) diadem of Asia in I *Macc.* 11.13, 13.32; Jos. *AJ* 13.113.

[96] Cf. Diod. 19.55.7 f., 21.1.1; Euph. fr. 174

(Powell 1925); App. *Syr.* 1, 55; *OGIS* 253 (Burstein 1985: no. 41); *Oracula Sibyllina* 3.314-18 (Geffcken 1902) (cf. Muccioli 2004: 149); Syncell. 329, 330, 343 (Mosshammer 1984); Euseb. *Chron.* 247-8 (Schoene 1967); Malalas 196-8 (Dindorf 1831).

[97] Ma 1999: 272-7.

[98] Recent discussions: Cagnazzi 2005; Rubincam 2005.

[99] Borsippa Cylinder (Kuhrt and Sherwin-White 1991); Sachs 1955: 1224, 1232; BM 35063 (which applies it to Antiochus II as well); Jursa 2007: 185 f. An isolated Greek text (Suda s.v. 'Σιμωνίδης') calls Antiochus I μέγας.

[100] Royal dress: Plut. *Ant.* 54. Demetrius: Plut. *Demetr.* 41; Duris, *FGrHist* 76 F 14. Friends in purple: Plut. *Eum.* 8.

[101] If the diadem *did* come from Achaemenid practice (Smith [1988: 35-8] argues robustly that it had a purely Greek background), Alexander did not wear it with tiara or *kitaris*, and subsequent use by diadochs is Alexandrine, not Achaemenid heritage.

[102] Hoepfner 2000: 68 n. 245. Charonion: G. Downey 1961: 103-4, pl. XVI; Perdrizet and Fossey 1897: pl. II.

[103] Kuhrt and Sherwin-White 1991.

[104] Cf. Kuhrt 1997: 300-2.

[105] Ma 2003b: 188-9.

[106] *BCHP* 6 (van der Spek 2007: 294-6), 9 (a new edition of Grayson 1975a: no.12), 11, 18 (van der Spek 2007: 284-8); Sachs and Hunger 1989: no. –168.

[107] It starts before 18 November 294 (BM 109941) and is attested under Seleucus I and Antiochus I, III and IV. A trio of kings appears in one text in August 266.

[108] On this cf. van der Spek 2007: 273, 290-4. The chronicle is *BCHP* 5 (a new edition, with additional fragments, of Grayson 1975a: no.11).

[109] Seleucid appeal to the ancestors (Rostovtzeff 1935) and their eventual enrolment in a royal cult is perhaps another aspect of this, and perhaps more explicit than is attested in an Achaemenid context. The example in the Gadatas Letter (M.-L. 12, l. 27) has become a contested example: Briant 2003: 138-9; Tuplin forthcoming.

[110] Seleucus made Antiochus king simply by giving a speech to an army muster: App. *Syr.* 61. (Plut. *Demetr.* 38 calls it an ἐκκλησία πάνδημος.) There may, of course, have been some sort of public acclamation of the new king, as apparently in Egypt (Polyb. 15.25.11 — a passage which also involves the army, interestingly).

[111] Antiochus III did so in April 205 (Sachs and Hunger 1989: no. –204; Boiy 2004: 155), and there is other evidence of his contact with the New Year Temple: in 188/7 he was given a crown of 1000 shekels (a *Greek* procedure) by the priests of Esagila and then visited the New Year Temple to receive a purple garment once owned by Nebuchadnezzar (Sachs and Hunger 1989: no. –187A; Boiy 2004: 156). Straight after defeat by Rome, the king was using Babylonian religious institutions to insist that his royal status was undiminished.

[112] For recent discussion of Seleucid royal cult, cf. Debord 2003; van Nuffelen 2004 (who *inter alia* reaffirms that it was not created before the second decade of Antiochus III's reign).

[113] Chaniotis (2003) provides a particularly lucid exposition of the general topic of Hellenistic royal divinity.

[114] Badian's suggestion (1996) that the idea of the Achaemenid king as *isotheos* was in the background to Alexander's engagement with divinity does not alter the situation.

[115] It is hard to judge which of the two was more serious. But, e.g., Demetrius' use of Dionysus to sum up an attitude to kingship conjoining energetic activity and lavish enjoyment of the consequences of power involves a very different sort of religious-intellectual environment.

[116] For an individual's *tychē* in classical Greek usage, cf. Aeschin. 3.157-18 (also 114, 134-6, 253); Dem. 18.212, 252-75; Din. 1.30-3, 41, 77, 91 (with Nilsson 1971: 200-18); Eutychides: Balty 1981; Burn 2004: 136-7 (fig. 77). (Meyer [1996], however, alleges the statue represents Antioch, not its *tychē*.) Arsacid images: Calmeyer 1979: 349 fig. 2. An oath by the *tychē* of the King sworn by Magnesian *katoikoi* in *OGIS* 229: 61 perhaps derives from the general military oath (Strab. 12.3.31 [Pontus], with Bikermann 1938: 97). Tyche appears on Seleucid coins (often minted with military contexts in mind). Calmeyer's equation of *tychē* and *x́arᵊnah* (1979) is justly criticized by Jacobs (1987). Boyce's citation of Plut. *Artox.* 15 in favor of such an equation (1982: 255, 302) is *mal à propos* since the passage speaks of the king's *daimon,* not *tychē.* Two passages in Plut. *Alex.* 30 do at least use the word *tychē*, or one does. That in 30.12 should perhaps read *arkhēn* (Hamilton 1969 ad loc.). But the reference in both cases is to the *tychē* of the Persians (not the king) and, in any event, as de Jong (1997: 300) notes, Plutarch (or his source) may be using purely Greek ideas. (A remark about *phōs* [light] in the same chapter is a much more plausible allusion to *x́arᵊnah*.) *Pace* Shahbazi (1980: 135), *CIG* 2693 does not provide Achaemenid-

period evidence for the *tychē* of a Persian king: see Hornblower 1982: 252, n. 241. (What was published as *CIG* 2693 turns out to be two unconnected texts of widely different date, *IMylasa* 9 and 339.) I do not think that any overlap with Ishtar (McKenzie 1996) greatly affects the issue.

[117] Herz (1996: 34) appears to claim this of Welles 1934: no. 36 and *ISardis* 22. The second cannot, *pace* Herz, be given a Persian environment by association with Robert's reading of the Droaphernes inscription (1975), since that reading is flawed (Briant 1998); and no good cause is shown why the εὐσέβεια πρὸς τὸ θεῖον cliché in these texts and elsewhere should be invested with special meaning.

[118] Strab. 11.13.5 (Ecbatana, the winter capital for Macedonians and Parthians) is a rare exception. On Achaemenid practice cf. Briant 1988; Tuplin 1998. Antiochus III's 'patrouille armée' (cf. note 82, above) is, of course, a different matter.

[119] Entrances: there is no Achaemenid evidence except *UET* 4.48, 49 (Joannès 1988). Briant (1988, cf. 1994b: 283 n. 1) claims that the similarity of Arr. *Anab.* 3.16.3 and Curt. 5.1.17 f. (Alexander/Babylon, 331 BC) to Hellenistic events (and one might add Arr. *Anab.* 1.16.3 [Sardis]; Curt. 5.2.19 [Susa]) and the assumption that the 331 event follows Achaemenid models permits application of Hellenistic evidence to Achaemenid context. Macedonian evidence (Marsyas, *FGrHist* 135/136 F 21: 'whenever the king enters the city, he is met by someone with a *gyalas* full of wine; taking it, he pours a libation') may not undermine this in that Near Eastern people would perhaps have done these things for Achaemenid kings and would therefore carry on doing them. But continuance of the practice does not show us Seleucid kings allowing or encouraging something profoundly alien to their background. —Royal progress: all the evidence (Briant 1988) seems to be Achaemenid or Alexandrine, and some is specifically military. —Festivals: there is no detailed Achaemenid evidence from a non-military context. *Pace* Briant (2002: 199 f.), I find association of Callixeinus' description of Ptolemy II's *pompē* with Theopompus, *FGrHist* 115 F 263a (on Artaxerxes III's invasion of Egypt), unenlightening.

[120] Bernard 1976: 256-7; Boucharlat 1990: 151 (but contrast Potts 1999: 337).

[121] Ai Khanum: Bernard 1976: 248-51; Sherwin-White and Kuhrt 1993: 134-6. Dura: S. B. Downey 1986. The arguments in Nielsen 1999: 113-16 for Achaemenid influence at Antioch are necessarily rather speculative. Davies (2006: 86) says of Hellenistic palaces in general that they simply took further 'the kind of investment in space and decoration that had been indulged in by Cypriot or Sicilian tyrants, Macedonian monarchs, or the gentry of Athens and Eretria'. Achaemenid practice is no more than part of the background to the varied role of gardens in Hellenistic palaces described in Nielsen 2001.

[122] Apart from the Nikatoreion at Seleucia on Sea (App. *Syr.* 63) there seems little sign of grand funerary monuments. Incidentally, I cannot make much sense of Burn's claim (2004: 44) that the facades of Macedonian tombs copied those of palaces 'as was the case with Achaemenid architecture'.

[123] Heraclides Ponticus' association of *tryphē*, *megalopsychia*, and bravery among the barbarians (Ath. 512AB) may be an early example of Hellenistic repositioning rather than an aberrant classical view.

[124] There were also the temptations of sadism: rebels suffered unpleasant punishments reminiscent of Persian practice (Polyb. 5.54.6, 10; 8.21.3).

[125] Chiliarchs: Briant 1994b: 291-8. *Aulē*: Funck 1996c: 52-5.

[126] Susa: Chares, *FGrHist* 125 F 4; Opis: Arr. *Anab.* 7.11.8. King's Dinner: Heraclides Cumaeus, *FGrHist* 689 F 4. The comparison is made in Murray 1996: 20. Peucestas' sacrifice (Diod. 19.22) recalls Opis and perhaps does not need a Persian hinterland (*pace* Wiesehöfer 1994b: 53).

[127] The royal banquet is an odd mixture of lavish consumption, egalitarianism and intellectual activity (Murray 1996). Its size may transcend precedents in Greek symposium culture, but Alexander's 100-couch pavilion predated the Asiatic expedition (Diod. 17.16.4), so gigantism was not simply due to the adoption of Achaemenid *mores*.

[128] Polyb. 5.56, 26.1; Diod. 31.16, 34.34.

[129] Sherwin-White and Kuhrt 1993: 137. Kingship theory tried to claim it should be otherwise (e.g. *Letter of Aristeas* 125). Teles 23 (Hense 1969) compares citizens with power, responsibility and παρρησία to exiles (evidently ones in royal service) who command city garrisons, govern peoples or get δωρεαὶ μεγάλαι καὶ συντάξεις; Savalli-Lestrade (1998: 353) argues that, in view of the examples Teles cites just afterwards, receipt of gifts is linked with the person who is πάρεδρος καὶ σύμβουλος and who must (to make the admittedly captious parallel with the city) be assumed to possess παρρησία.

[130] Polybius' comment (5.26.13) that royal courtiers were like reckoning counters that can be worth a copper or a talent recalls a remark of the Persian Orontes (Plut. *Mor.* 174B) that a king's friends are like a mathematician's fingers—the latter can make them represent units or tens of thousands and

the king can make his Friends omnipotent or almost powerless.

[131] *OGIS* 219 (Burstein 1985: no. 15). It is also impossible to conceive of an Achaemenid king addressing a grandee comparable with Zeuxis as 'father' (Jos. *AJ* 12.148).

[132] Davies 2002: 5.

[133] Cf. Mehl 2003: 154-5; Sève-Martinez 2003: 242; also Ma 1999: 123-30, and Smith 1988: 21 ('the oligarchic infrastructure of Hellenistic monarchy'). On the ethnic composition of the 'ruling class' (a somewhat misleading term: Mehl 2003: 155, 159-60) I tend to sympathize with Savalli-Lestrade (1998: 223-34) against Carsana (1996; and Mehl 2003) and think (with Ma 2003b: 187) that Habicht (1958) got it pretty much right.

[134] The rule that no one should pre-empt the King may have been temporarily adopted by Alexander: Briant 1994b: 302-7.

[135] General Macedonian context: Briant 1991; Tripodi 1998; Carney 2002. Successor hunting stories: Briant 1991: 222-5. There are also notable early Hellenistic hunting images, e.g., the Vergina fresco and the Alexander Sarcophagus.

[136] Plut. *Demetr.* 52; Diod. 34.34.

[137] Fezzi 2001 is a recent review of opinions about this passage.

[138] *OGIS* 223 = Welles 1934: no. 15 (Burstein 1985: no. 23).

[139] Parallels between Antiochus III's Jewish proclamation (Jos. *AJ* 12.138 ff.)—whose authenticity is doubted by Gauger (2000: 123)—and *Ezra* 1 (Sherwin-White and Kuhrt 1993: 51-2) or 7.13-14 (Briant 1990: 58-9) are in a sense unremarkable; and when the case is further assimilated (Sherwin-White and Kuhrt 1993: 41-2) to the Seleucid alliance with Lysimachea (*Illion* 45 = Burstein 1985: no. 22) or the status of Aradus (Strab. 16.2.14; Polyb. 5.68.7), we stray into things hard to envisage in an Achaemenid context. The idea that bilateral relations were renewed or confirmed on the accession of each king (Austin 2003: 123) also goes beyond anything plainly attested for Achaemenid conditions.

[140] There is, e.g., a sort of Achaemenid wash over the edifice of Seleucid kingship brilliantly evoked in Ma 2003b.

[141] Austin 2003: 133.

[142] Muccioli 2004: 142.

[143] Cf. Austin 2003: 128: 'no Seleukid ruler ever contemplated linking himself to the Persian past.'

[144] Kuhrt 2002: 25.

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G. G. Aperghis

Managing an Empire – Teacher and Pupil

THE ACHAEMENID EMPIRE endured for over 200 years, which was certainly no accident. A good organizational base was required and this had fortunately been established by Cyrus and Darius the Great and remained more or less intact until the end.

Alexander the Great brought about a complete military and political upset with his conquests in the East but does not seem to have made much impact in the area of administration of his new empire. Of course, he probably had very little time to do so, perhaps only the two years between his return from India and his death in Babylon in 323 BC. But even then, one gets the impression that he had little inclination for administrative activities, preferring instead to concentrate his attention on future military campaigns, such as the projected conquest of Arabia or even the West. It seems, however, that the empire continued to function satisfactorily, as in the days of Darius III, and thus made no urgent demands on his attention. We do know that Alexander had left many Persian satraps in place or appointed others to ensure continuity, although in many cases Greeks cooperated closely with them or, perhaps, kept an eye on them.[1] We do not know for certain what happened at the lower levels of the administrative structure, but we can guess. There was no need to make any change. Indeed, where would Alexander have been able to find all the experienced junior administrators required to run such a huge empire?

The turmoil of the Wars of the Successors soon gave way to the establishment of the Seleucid empire in most of Alexander's Asian territories, commencing in 312 BC. This also endured for nearly 200 years as an empire, until the final loss of Mesopotamia to the Parthians in 129 BC.[2] Again, this was no accident. A good organizational base was again required and this had been created by the first two kings, Seleukos Nikator and his son Antiochos I, building on Achaemenid prototypes, as I will attempt to show.

For the administration of the Achaemenid empire in general, Briant and Tuplin provide useful syntheses and references.[3] For some aspects of the financial administration, my own work may be useful. It is based on a computer-aided analysis of the Persepolis Fortification texts (PF),[4] which has helped me describe the commodity-based system for receiving taxation and making administrative payments in the Persian heartland, something which may have been applicable in the satrapies also.[5] For details of the administration of the Seleucid empire, my book on the *Seleukid Royal Economy*, contains much of the background material for this paper and most of the references that are not directly listed here.[6]

I will try to show, with a number of examples, that the Seleucids continued many of the administrative practices of the Achaemenids. This is not intended to be a comprehensive treatment of each example or even a complete list of similar administrative practices. My purpose is to support the idea of a high degree of continuity in the administration of the two empires.[7]

Some examples have already received considerable attention from other scholars, and I will pass over these quickly, wishing to concentrate on areas that have been examined very little or not at all. These turn out, in fact, to be areas of major administrative importance, where, if it could be shown that Seleucid practices were very similar to those of the Achaemenids, one would be justified in characterizing the Achaemenids as teachers and the Seleucids as their pupils, as the title of this paper implies.

Satrapies and hyparchies

The first example, the overall administrative structure of the empire, is the easiest to observe in the sources. The division into satrapies certainly continued. Indeed the Achaemenid terms *satrapeia* and *satrapēs* are still used in the Seleucid period, although more often the chief civil/military administrator of the satrapy is given the title of *stratēgos.* Territorial subdivisions of satrapies are still the *hyparchiai*, under hyparchs. Only after 200 BC were the *hyparchia* and the hyparch replaced by the *meridarchia* and meridarch respectively in one newly-conquered region of the empire, Coele Syria and Palestine. Some geographical changes in the satrapal system were of course effected by the Seleucids. For example, a new satrapy of the Erythraean Sea was created sometime in the reign of Antiochos III or perhaps slightly later, but this was only natural when this area began acquiring economic importance after the expedition of Antiochos III to the Persian Gulf in 205 BC.[8]

Land grants

The system of land grants to royal relatives and officials under the Achaemenids is present under the Seleucids. One may, of course, argue that this was not something particularly new to the Greeks, as it had been practiced by the kings of Macedonia also. The Seleucids, however, introduced a significant variant: they permitted some land grants to be attached to a city, thereby becoming part of city land and, effectively, private property, whereas Achaemenid land grants and, indeed, many of those of the Seleucid kings also were held in usufruct, i.e., they could be revoked by the king for any reason, e.g., if the royal relative had fallen out of favor or the official's term of office had ended. I have argued that the Seleucids permitted attachment to a city in order to strengthen its economy, because of their preferential need for taxation revenue in coin, which a city was better able to provide than the countryside.[9]

Military colonies

The establishment of smallish military colonies and the granting of military fiefs (*katoikiai*, *klēroi, ḫaṭru*) are something common to both Achaemenids and Seleucids. One major difference, however, is the widespread founding of new cities by the Seleucid kings, which had no counterpart in the Achaemenid empire. I have argued that cities were not created *primarily* for military reasons, in order to control subject populations, but for economic ones, so that centers of exchange could be established for under-urbanized areas. Such centers would facilitate the use of coin, the medium *par excellence* that the Seleucids needed for their tax receipts and in which they made the bulk

of their administrative payments, principally to their armed forces. Consequently, there were very few new Seleucid city foundations in western and southern Asia Minor (a relatively urbanized region, but also a fluid frontier area which military colonies could secure better), whereas northern Syria, northern Mesopotamia, the Tigris-Diyala region, the Persian Gulf, and Bactria saw the founding and re-founding of many large cities.[10]

Temples

The treatment of temples by the Seleucid kings essentially mirrored that of the Achaemenids. Temples in Mesopotamia, Asia Minor, Judaea and elsewhere were generally wealthy and prestigious institutions, run by and essentially for the benefit of local elites. Not only was the political support of the temples useful in controlling subject populations, but they also served as economic centers from which the kings could expect to derive revenue. The financing of temple repairs, royal donations of various kinds and gifts of land were means of showing goodwill (*euergesia*) towards the temples and maintaining good relations.[11]

Now I shall deal with administrative practices of the Achaemenids and Seleucids that have not received so much comparative attention.

The Royal Road

We are informed by Herodotus (5.52-4) about the Royal Road between Sardis and Susa. It was divided into 112 stages (average length 120 *stadia*, or roughly 22 km), served by rest stations, where travelers on official business could be supplied with rations or a courier might receive a change of horses. The Persepolis Fortification tablets give us details of a continuation of the Royal Road as far as Persepolis and beyond, northwards in the direction of Media, via Pasargadae, and eastwards to Carmania. The fast couriers or *pirradaziš* are identified in many cases when they received rations at rest stations.[12] It is reasonable to suppose that Alexander the Great followed the Royal Road on his way from Susa to Persepolis, Pasargadae, Ecbatana and on to Bactria; while his general, Krateros, returned from India with the bulk of the army along 'the road through the Arachotians and Zarangians to Carmania' (Arr. *Anab.* 6.17.3).[13]

It is most unlikely that such valuable arteries of communication would have been abandoned by the Seleucids, and there are two pieces of literary evidence that suggest that they were not. Pliny (*HN* 6.63) mentions *bēmatistai* of Seleukos I surveying routes in the Upper Satrapies, while the Parthian Stations of Isidore of Charax may well reflect part of an earlier Seleucid Royal Road.[14]

Epigraphic evidence is also available. The first piece is a Greek-inscribed milestone found close by Persepolis, 3 km southwest of the village of Marvdasht (illustrated in Rahbar, this volume: 370, Fig. 3):

> Side 1: ΣΤΑΔΙΟΙ / ΕΞΗΚΟΝ / ΤΑ   (60 *stadia*)
> Side 2: ΣΤΑΔ / ΕΙΚΟΣΙ   (20 *stadia*)

Callieri,[15] who first described this milestone, suggested that the 60 *stadia*, or about 11 km, on the one side refer to the distance from Persepolis, which is in fact about correct from Marvdasht. As to the 20 *stadia*, or 3.7 km,

he did not exclude the possibility that this distance might be pointing to some Seleucid foundation on the Persepolis plain.

Bernard,[16] who added his own remarks to Callieri's article, suggested that the milestone lay on the main Persepolis-Susa route. He considered that, after the crossing of the Kor River, just south of its junction with the Pulvar and roughly at the modern bridge, the Pol-e Khān, the route split into two branches. The northern, more difficult, but shorter branch moved in a northwesterly direction towards Ardakān, but before arriving there swung west and traversed the so-called Persian Gates at the Tang-e Khās to reach the Fahliyān region. There it was joined by the southern, easier, but longer branch that had made a detour via Shīrāz. Bernard considered that the milestone may have been located at Marvdasht, pointing towards Persepolis on the one hand and to the river crossing on the other. The distances are about right, as the Kor is indeed roughly 3 km from Marvdasht. But there is a problem, as the supposed location of the find is not actually at Marvdasht, but 3 km to its southwest, which would place the milestone, assuming that it was recovered *in situ*, roughly at the river crossing.

In my analysis of travel routes from Persepolis, as derived from the Persepolis Fortification texts,[17] I reached virtually the same conclusions as did Bernard concerning two branches of the Royal Road to Susa. I also considered the crossing of the Kor River as the junction of these two branches when one came from Persepolis. I located an important travel station, *Hadaran*, at or near Marvdasht, roughly 3-4 km from the river crossing. One other station, *Antarrantiš*, needed to be positioned between this point and *Tirraziš* (Shīrāz) and is likely to have been located at Zarqān, which is in fact noted as a medieval rest stop and is 2 *farsakhs* (ancient parasangs) or roughly 11 km from the crossing.[18] Thus, a milestone in the immediate vicinity of the Kor River crossing would not only fit the find spot but would be pointing with the correct distances to two likely rest stations. Furthermore, a traveler joining the main road from the northern branch would find before him at the junction a milestone pointing to the distances to rest stops in both the directions he could now travel in.

The second piece of epigraphic evidence is a fragment of a Greek-inscribed milestone from Pasagardae that might be dated roughly to the turn of the fourth and third centuries BC:[19]

> Side 1: [E]Κ ΠΑΣ / Α[ΡΓΑΔ] / ΩΝ ΑΠΟ / ΤΩΝ Ε / ....
> (From Pasargadae... from / by way of E..)
> Side 2: ΑΠΟ ΤΟΤΙ[..]/ ... / [..]Ε ΠΑΣΑ[Ρ] / [ΓΑ]ΔΑΣ
> (From X... .E Pasargadae)

This milestone is quite different in nature from the one near Marvdasht. It was found in the fortress of Tall-e Takht and supplies the name of the location, Pasargadae. The inscription is 10 lines long on one side and 11 on the other and probably referred to two locations that could be reached from Pasargadae, including their distances. However, the readings of the inscriptions raise questions.

The two 'from's on Side 1 are puzzling, but *apo tōn* might also be rendered 'by way of', thus defining a particular route by which Pasargadae was left passing through some location or people E... From the Persepolis Fortification texts there is clear evidence of a route arriving from Persepolis at Pasagardae and continuing in the direction of Media.[20]

One would then expect side 2 to start with the same two words, *apo tōn*, and some other location or people, indicating the particular route by which Pasargadae was approached. But the reading of the inscription, if correct, does not quite give this. Furthermore, one would have expected ΕΙΣ (to) before Pasargadae, rather than a word ending in *epsilon*.

What one can reasonably conclude, however, from the presence of Greek-inscribed milestones in the Pasargadae-Persepolis area is that the Achaemenid routes continued to be maintained by the Seleucids, as long as they directly controlled this region.

Financial organization

The next example is more difficult and concerns the financial administration of the two empires. For details in the Achaemenid period, we have recourse to the Persepolis Fortification tablets, which give us an idea of the procedure of collecting commodity taxation revenue and storing it in a large number of storehouses in the wider Persepolis region —which was to become the Hellenistic satrapy of Persis— and later distributing this as supplies or rations for the needs of the king and his court, officials, travelers, workers and animals. What we see is an organization headed by the chief administrator, Parnaka, who ranked as the equivalent of a satrap in this core area of the Achaemenid empire in the time of Darius I, and another official, Ziššhawiš. Under these two, there seems to have been a division into regions and then into districts. In each district, a number of storehouses were run by 'grain handlers', 'wine carriers' etc. under a district officer. These officials were responsible for the safekeeping of the commodity stocks in the storehouses and their issuing to the intended recipients. A separate set of officials, so-called 'deliverers', seem to have cooperated with them regarding the movement of commodities into storehouses as taxation receipts or inter-storehouse transfers. I have argued that the 'deliverers' were tax collectors, while at the same hierarchical level as the district officer stood an *ullira*, translated 'delivery man', who was in my view the tax assessor of the district. Thus, one group of officials saw to tax assessment and collection and another group safeguarded the commodity stocks and issued them as payments. The *ullira*, in fact, 'signed' the accounts of storehouses with his seal alongside that of the storehouse itself. This was a clever administrative system, as it required two separate branches of the financial administration to agree and so keep an eye on one another.[21]

The system appears to have continued in operation, with one major change, in the Seleucid period. The authority for financial administration vested in an Achaemenid satrap was removed and placed in the hands of a *dioikētēs*, the senior financial administrator of a satrapy, reporting directly to the king. In other words, 'Ziššhawiš' of the Persepolis Fortification tablets was to become independent of 'Parnaka'. The two branches of the financial administration continued, however, as the Greek *oikonomos* now looked after the funds received from taxation and made payments when required, while the *eklogistēs* apparently assessed the taxes and rents due, which were then collected by *logeutai*. It made no difference to the organizational structure that, increasingly, taxation revenue and administrative payments were now being made in coin rather than in kind.[22]

Control of expenditure

Finally, I come to an area of administration that is likely to provoke considerable disagreement on the part of numismatists and has in fact done so already: the question of Seleucid coinage. It is quite clear that coinage was an essentially Greek practice in the Classical and Hellenistic periods and was never really much adopted in the Achaemenid empire, other than in its Mediterranean fringe. Yet I will argue that the system of control that the Seleucids implemented for their coinage issues was based on Achaemenid prototypes of organization. This is the subject of research in progress,[23] which has involved the creation of a computerized database of all known Seleucid coin types to Antiochos III, those that have been catalogued in the comprehensive *Seleucid Coins*,[24] along with all control mark occurrences, i.e., monograms and symbols.

Normally two monograms appear on the reverses of Seleucid coins (about 55% of the cases). It is generally agreed that these mostly represent names of officials, and current thinking is that they were mint officials. But why two monograms? This is quite unlike normal Greek practice, where there is typically just one monogram, which depicts the name of the city or magistrate responsible for the coin issue or the *archōn* in whose year it was minted. Furthermore, a symbol also appears on the reverses of Seleucid coins about one third of the time. This can be recognized as the mark of a mint in only a very small fraction of the occurrences and then only for established Greek cities of western Asia Minor. It is generally agreed that the major Seleucid mints of Seleucia on the Tigris and Antioch did not use mint marks, and I have argued against the supposed mint marks of Laodicea and Ecbatana. So what do monograms and symbols on Seleucid coins signify?

The answer, I believe, lies in the Achaemenid practice of controlling their (commodity) expenses, as shown in the Persepolis Fortification tablets. For a commodity issue from a storehouse in payment, a small cuneiform tablet was prepared as a receipt. Two seals were usually impressed on it, that on the left edge being the seal of the storehouse and that elsewhere of the recipient, often an official known as an 'apportioner', who distributed the commodity rations to people and animals in his care. In fact, the quantities of rations were calculated according to well defined rules concerning the entitlements of different categories of recipients, both persons and animals. Thus, with the seals, we have on record the two parties to the transaction: issuer and recipient. The transaction tablets were collected by accountants, and 'journals' were prepared on larger tablets listing the year's transactions. From the 'journals', 'account' tablets could be inscribed giving balances of commodities brought forward from the previous year, income and expenditure for the current year and balances carried forward. This was an intelligent system, since the issuers could be checked regarding the stocks of commodities they were responsible for in their storehouses and the recipients as to the real level of their needs.[25]

Now let us replace the Achaemenid system of payment in commodities with the Seleucid system of payment in coin. In my view, the two monograms on Seleucid coins usually represent issuer and recipient. The former was typically an official of the financial administration and, for major issues, the *dioikētēs* of a satrapy. His monogram usually appears in the left field of the coin reverse, just as the Achaemenid issuer placed his seal on the left edge of the tablet. For less important issues, the monogram of a

more junior financial administrator might be applied. The recipient of new coinage, shown by the second monogram, was typically a civil/military official, an army commander or a junior financial administrator requiring additional funds for his particular area of jurisdiction.

Seleucid coinage was, in fact, a replacement coinage for the 'Alexanders' and other international currencies that circulated freely in the empire, as these gradually declined through wear and tear. The Seleucids never made any effort to impose their own currency within the borders of their empire, as the Ptolemies did; and royal Seleucid coinage circulated in a distinct minority well into the second century BC. Thus, new Seleucid issues were generally minted in small quantities from many mints, wherever a need arose to make payments that could not be met from reserves held locally. There were, of course, extensive coinage issues from time to time at important centers, such as Seleucia on the Tigris and Antioch, for the purpose of financing major military campaigns.[26]

In the Achaemenid case, a second seal is sometimes missing from a transaction tablet. This typically happens when the recipient was a highly enough placed person to be able to authorize supplies with just his own seal. Such recipients were usually senior officials of the king's court or administration, the more important 'apportioners' (referred to as 'chiefs of workers') and regional administrators responsible for many storehouses.[27] In the Seleucid case, one monogram may also be missing (in about 30% of the cases). Sometimes this happens because the monogram is too worn to be detected or has been punched off the flan; so the true occurrences of only one monogram are probably considerably fewer. Again, it seems that the one monogram is typically that of a senior official, either on the financial or on the civil/military side, in the case of major issues, and might be that of a junior official for less important ones.

It would appear then that this system of identifying issuer and recipient for administrative payments has certain common features in the two empires, but there is clearly a major difference also. When new coins were minted with the monogram of a recipient, this monogram was useful as a control only while the batch of coins was being prepared and then shipped to the recipient. Once in the recipient's hands, the new coins would probably be added to old coins already in his possession, and administrative payments would be made from a mixed lot.

What of the symbols on Seleucid coins, which are clearly not marks identifying mints in the vast majority of cases? Again, it is to the Achaemenid system that one may look. On the tablet recording the issuing storehouse and the recipient 'apportioner', frequently a third party appears: the end-user of the commodities, the workers or animals that are to be fed. Again, this can be seen as a system of management control — the Achaemenid administration wished to check whether its commodity stocks were being utilized correctly. For example, it could make sure that rations were being issued according to the regulations that it had established for different hierarchical levels of officials and different worker and animal categories.

This is what I believe the symbols also indicate on Seleucid coins: the end-users. I have argued that the greater part of the expenses of the Seleucid empire was for the purpose of paying the armed forces, and that this was required essentially in coin. The three most common symbols on Seleucid coins are the ANCHOR, the HORSE and the DOLPHIN, and I have tried to show that these represent the Seleucid army (often only infantry), cavalry

and Mediterranean navy and occur in the relative proportions one would expect for payments to these branches of the armed forces, given what we know about their numbers and rates of pay. In the same vein, the ELEPHANT symbol should denote the Seleucid elephant corps and the HORNED HORSE the Seleucid elite. Other symbols appear to indicate different branches or elements of the Seleucid armed forces and administration.

Seleucid coin varieties with symbols appear about one third of the time. I consider that they were probably minted in just the right quantities for specific military payments to be made. A good example is the DOLPHIN symbol, which has been considered the mint mark of the port city of Laodicea in Syria, but is, in my view, the symbol of the Seleucid Mediterranean navy, whose main base was indeed at Laodicea. These coins, tetradrachms and drachms, are virtually always minted with the effigy of Seleukos I and in his name, even by his successors. It would seem that this was acceptable to the sailors and marines manning the fleet, mainly foreign mercenaries.

From excavations at Seleucia on the Tigris and Uruk, we possess a number of inscribed sealings, which are lumps of clay often attached around strings fastening sacks or packages. On some of these sealings appear exactly the same symbols that we find on Seleucid coins, indicating that, perhaps, the sacks or packages contained newly minted coins with the exact same symbols, denoting the intended military end-user of the consignment.[28]

This Seleucid method of controlling coinage based on Achaemenid organizational prototypes was not, in fact, introduced by the Seleucids, but by Alexander the Great. A study of his coinage[29] shows that from the very beginning, starting in c. 332 BC, his only mint in the East, Babylon, was minting coins nearly always with two monograms and frequently with symbols, unlike his other mints further west which continued with Greek organizational prototypes in their usage of monograms and symbols. The large number of symbols utilized by Alexander especially in the period 325-323 BC, when he had returned from India, can be correlated with the huge quantities of gold and silver coins needed in order to make payments of many different types and to many different categories of recipient in a relatively short period of time: different branches of the armed forces, veterans being disbanded, debts of soldiers settled, dowries for marrying Persian women, expenses for Hephaistion's funeral, athletic and music games, sailors being hired for the planned Arabian campaign etc. Here symbols to designate the intended end-users would certainly have proved very useful in avoiding confusion and allowing proper control to be exercised.

The Royal Road, again

There is another possible piece of evidence for a Seleucid Royal Road. One of the symbols used on Seleucid coins is, in fact, the caduceus of Hermes, patron god of travelers. This symbol points, as I have already indicated, to a particular end-user, some element of the armed forces or department of the administration. This is pure speculation, of course, but I wonder if coin varieties with the CADUCEUS were prepared to pay a corps of royal messengers, the Seleucid equivalent of the Achaemenid *pirradaziš*. Certainly, the coins with this symbol seem to come from three distinct mints: Sardis, Antioch and somewhere in Drangiane or Arachosia which one might envisage as being on a likely Seleucid Road Road.[30]

Conclusions

I have tried to show, with a series of examples, that the Seleucid kings derived many administrative practices from the Achaemenids, which they sometimes modified to suit new conditions. When the Greeks arrived in Asia under Alexander, they had no experience of governing an empire, but they found an effective system in place. They were wise enough to adopt it in its main elements, modifying it where necessary, thus showing themselves apt pupils of able teachers.

[1] Greek financial administrators in at least some satrapies reported directly to the king, something which Griffith (1964) called 'an experiment in government', but the situation is not clear-cut. It is discussed in Aperghis 2004: 266 and was, in any case, short-lived since, after Alexander's death, there was no central authority strong enough to impose it.

[2] Aperghis 2004: 19-27 for a historical summary.

[3] Briant 1996: 369-487; Tuplin 1987.

[4] Hallock (1969, 1978) has translated 2,120 texts, but at least as many more have only been transliterated to the present date.

[5] Aperghis 1996 attempts to work out the travel routes from Persepolis in all directions, so as to establish a general geographical framework for the region into which the villages and storehouses mentioned in the PF can be fitted. Aperghis 1997 discusses the question of what was done with surpluses from the storehouses after the needs of the administration had been satisfied. Aperghis 1998 analyzes the different categories of text in the PF and tries to show how each can be interpreted. It deals in more detail with those texts which point to commodities received as tax. Aperghis 1999 studies the uses of seals on the cuneiform tablets containing the texts and shows how they can be interpreted to describe the system of storehouse administration, the roles of the different officials involved and the procedures followed. Aperghis 2000 discusses the status of the main category of workers in the PF, the *kurtaš*.

[6] Aperghis 2004.

[7] A number of scholars have also pointed to continuity, e.g., Briant 1979, 1982a, 1990; Kuhrt and Sherwin-White 1994.

[8] For the Achaemenid satrapal administration, Briant 1996 is useful at several points, with further references. For the Seleucid case: e.g., Bengston 1944: 12-64; Bikerman 1938: 197-207; Sherwin-White and Kuhrt 1993: 42-8; also Aperghis 2004: 269-73 (*meridarchia*).

[9] For Achaemenid land grants, Briant 1996 is useful at several points, with further references. For the Seleucid case: e.g., Funck 1978; Kreissig 1977; van der Spek 1993, 1998; see also Aperghis 2004: 99-107.

[10] For Achaemenid colonization, Briant 1996 is useful at several points, with further references. For the Seleucid case: e.g., Briant 1978, 1982a; Cohen 1991; Ma 1999: 35; also Aperghis 2004: 89-99, 189-205, and Aperghis 2005, with further references.

[11] For the Achaemenid treatment of temples, Briant 1996 is useful at several points, with further references. For the Seleucid case: e.g., Sherwin-White and Kuhrt 1993: 59-61; van der Spek 1985, 1987; also Aperghis 2004: 107-111, 166-8, 207-8, with further references.

[12] Aperghis 1996.

[13] Briant 1996: 369-89 is useful on the Achaemenid communications network, with references.

[14] Sherwin-White and Kuhrt 1993: 61-2 for a discussion; Schoff 1989 for the Parthian Stations.

[15] Callieri 1995: 70-3.

[16] Bernard 1995: 79-82.

[17] Aperghis 1996.

[18] Bernard 1995: 81-2.

[19] Lewis 1978: 160-1 (pls. 135-6); Stronach 1978: 161-2 for a parallel Aramaic inscription; Bernard 1995: 75.

[20] Aperghis 1996.

[21] Aperghis 1998, 1999.

[22] Aperghis 2004: 269-83.

[23] The discussion that follows is based on a book in preparation entitled 'Seleukid history, administration and royal ideology from coins'.

[24] Houghton and Lorber 2002.

[25] Aperghis 1997, 1998, 1999.

[26] Aperghis 2004: 213-46 on Seleucid coinage.

[27] Aperghis 1999: 180-3.

[28] Rostovtzeff 1932; McDowell 1935: esp. 43 and 127.

[29] A complete catalogue is presented in Price 1992.

[30] Houghton and Lorber 2002: coin varieties nos. 241.1, 242.1 from Drangiane or Arachosia; countermarks on nos. 21.2, 21.3 and 347 from Antioch, 315 from Smyrna or Sardis, and 525.1 from Sardis.

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David Stronach

The Building Program of Cyrus the Great at Pasargadae and the Date of the Fall of Sardis

T HROUGHOUT the long career of Ernst Herzfeld, which spanned the first half of the twentieth century, the date when all major construction took place at Pasargadae was profoundly misunderstood. Herzfeld, who never considered the possibility that Pasargadae's strangely unassuming cuneiform inscriptions in the name of Cyrus the Great (559-530 BC) could have been erected by Darius (522-486 BC) as an instrument of the latter's late sixth century policies, felt obliged by the 'modest' tenor of the inscriptions to place all significant building activity at the site within the first few, supposedly satrapal years of Cyrus' reign. Indeed, Herzfeld's arguments were only conclusively refuted in 1970 when Carl Nylander demonstrated that the ubiquitous, technologically advanced ashlar masonry at Pasargadae was incontrovertibly dependent on Lydo-Ionian conventions that could only have become available to Cyrus following his capture of the Lydian capital. Accordingly, a detailed review of the probable history of stone construction at Pasargadae during the reign of Cyrus may not only throw new light on the beginnings of monumental Achaemenid art and architecture, but may also have a bearing on the contentious issue of the date of the fall of Sardis.[1]

Herzfeld and Nylander

When Ernst Herzfeld embarked on his first studies of Pasargadae at the beginning of the twentieth century it was at a time when the identity of the site was still not wholly certain. It was also at a time when the study of Achaemenid art and architecture was very much in its infancy. As a result, it was far from unreasonable for Herzfeld to look to the site's still visible cuneiform inscriptions in order to discover the true identity, and date, of the long famous but still mysterious ruins located beside the so-called Gabr-e Mādar-e Soleymān or 'Tomb of the Mother of Solomon' in the Dasht-e Morghāb or 'Plain of the Water-bird.'

The cuneiform inscriptions that were still to be seen at Pasargadae at the time of Herzfeld's first visit in 1905 were only two in number. Each was an example of the same trilingual Old Persian, Elamite and Babylonian text reading 'I, Cyrus, the King, an Achaemenid'.[2] To his credit Herzfeld immediately recognized that this once broadly distributed foundation inscription could be understood to convey the message 'I, Cyrus, the King, an Achaemenid (built this monument)'.[3] He also understood that the one surviving relief in Gate R, the site's monumental gatehouse, was a protective winged genius in the age-old tradition of Near Eastern (and, above all, Neo-Assyrian) apotropaic doorway figures.[4] In other words he never held that the Winged Figure, with its divine headdress and supernatural wings could be a portrait of Cyrus, even if one of the site's no longer extant foundation inscriptions (beginning with the words 'I, Cyrus…') was known, from various prior records, to have stood above the relief until, most probably, the 1860s.[5]

Where Herzfeld may be said to have erred in particular —and this misunderstanding proved to have an adverse effect for many years on subsequent studies of the chronological evolution of monumental Achaemenid art and architecture— was in his interpretation of the laconic CMa text. Given that this text was at first very naturally presumed to be one that Cyrus himself had erected, and given the fact that, following the fall of Babylon in 539 BC, Cyrus was clearly content to let his name be associated with a string of extravagant Mesopotamian royal titles in his celebrated clay foundation cylinder from Babylon,[6] Herzfeld, a careful historian, drew the seemingly logical conclusion that Cyrus had composed the CMa text using the modest title 'king' while he was still no more than a satrap of Astyages, the last king of Media.

Locked into this understandable but unfortunate line of reasoning, Herzfeld concluded that Cyrus had built the great monuments of his capital in a single burst of concentrated activity during the first decade of his thirty-year reign (between 559 and 550) when his inherited possessions may not have extended too far beyond the borders of modern-day Fārs. Furthermore, Herzfeld found what he assumed to be important confirmation of this line of reasoning when, during his 1928 season at Pasargadae, his excavations in the latest of Cyrus' palaces, Palace P, exposed doorway reliefs with fragmentary, truncated representations of a royal figure[7] inscribed with the legend 'Cyrus, the Great King, an Achaemenid'.[8] From the enhanced nature of Cyrus' title Herzfeld duly concluded that the reliefs in question had been carved in 550, i.e directly after Cyrus had deposed Astyages, and had, hence, thrown off his (presumed) vassal status.

Thanks to arguments of this kind Herzfeld effectively divorced the birth of monumental Achaemenid art and architecture from any of the effects of Cyrus' extraordinary career of conquest beyond the borders of Iran. In one case, for instance, when Herzfeld thought he could detect signs of Greek influence in the horizontally fluted tori of Palace P,[9] he failed to follow up the implications of his perfectly valid observation on the grounds that the date of the completion of this and all other major buildings at Pasargadae was historically too early for Cyrus to have had any direct contact with the East Greek world. In a second case his flawed chronological assumptions obliged him to propose that the earliest sixth century conventions governing the depiction of voluminous pleated costumes arose initially in Iran, not Greece.[10] And thirdly, his high chronology forced him to argue that Cyrus was in a position to erect Old Persian inscriptions in the first decade of his reign, i.e. some thirty years before Darius' express claim to have introduced this latest of all cuneiform scripts.[11]

Most confusing of all, perhaps, was Herzfeld's insistence that, with only a very few minor changes, the way that Cyrus' sculptors represented Persian court dress in the mid-sixth century was already closely similar to those conventions that obtained at the end of the sixth century and later. The implication, in other words, was that there was no clear distinction between 'early Achaemenid art' at Pasargadae and 'mature Achaemenid art' at Persepolis. Thus the supposedly 'frozen' condition of monumental Achaemenid art through most of the fifth and the fourth centuries also appeared to extend back, at least in certain contexts, to an alleged (and improbable) moment of *ex-novo* birth shortly before 550 BC. Apart from all else, this chronological straightjacket obliged Herzfeld, a consummate classical scholar, to omit all reference to the explicit statement of Strabo that

'Cyrus held Pasargadae in honor because he there conquered Astyages the Mede in his last battle, transferred to himself the empire of Asia, founded a city, and constructed a palace as a memorial of his victory'.[12]

Certain of the first vital steps towards a clearer understanding of the true chronology of monumental construction at Pasargadae came with the publication of Carl Nylander's lucid study, *Ionians in Pasargadae*, in 1970. Nylander demonstrated that the entire technical apparatus of big stone construction at Pasargadae —at the tomb of Cyrus, at the site's three pala-tial buildings (Gate R, Palace S and Palace P) and not least in the fabric and finish of the great stone platform that stands on the western flank of the Tall-e Takht— was based on Lydo-Ionian masonry techniques. This obser-vation is substantiated by the presence of dove-tailed clamps, anathyrosis joints, and a host of other telling architectural details that can be found in each of the major stone buildings at the site.[13]

Nylander's next logical step was to point out that the technology behind such finely shaped and jointed stonework could only have been brought to Iran from Ionia and Lydia following Cyrus' conquest of Sardis, an event that is more often than not ascribed to the year 547.[14] There is, however, continued spirited debate over the year in which this key event took place; and it is in this seemingly intractable context, where the paucity of surviv-ing archival sources has allowed scholars to posit dates for the fall of Sardis at various points from the early 540s to the late 540s, as well as into the ear-ly 530s, that a new, detailed examination of the patterns of primary con-struction at Pasargadae may be in order.[15]

Suggested dates for the fall of Sardis

As is well known, much of the debate over the date of the fall of Sardis hinges on a passage in the Nabonidus Chronicle — a now far from com-plete tablet that begins with a description of the accession of Nabonidus in Babylon and which ends in the period after Cyrus' capture of Babylon in 539 BC. In Nabonidus' ninth regnal year (547/546 BC) the account makes reference to a campaign of Cyrus in the following terms:

> In the month of Nisan Cyrus (II), king of Parsu,
> mustered his army and crossed the Tigris below
> Arbail. In the month Iyyar [he marched] to Ly[dia].
> He defeated its king, took its possessions. (and)
> stationed his own garrison (there). Afterwards the king
> and his garrison was in it.[16]

Unfortunately, the name of the land is broken away and even the reading of the damaged first sign as LU is anything but certain.[17] As a consequence, scholars have continued to put forward alternative readings for the initial sign, each of which could suggest still other restorations.[18]

One Assyriologist of note, Joachim Oelsner, who re-examined the tablet in 1997, recently advanced a proposal that the name of the land to which Cyrus marched began with a Ú.[19] As Oelsner points out, the avail-able space for the name of the land in question is also entirely adequate for the (very conceivably indicated) name of Urartu.

On the other hand it is not easy to account for Urartu's re-emergence —or persistence— down to this late date.[20] Thus, while Oelsner takes the view that Urartu had been in the hands of the Medes for over fifty years

and that the local population only rebelled following Cyrus' victory over Astyages, Rollinger prefers to believe that Urartu survived whatever pressures the Medes were able to exert on the region — and that it only fell, as a direct result of Cyrus' long reach, in 547.[21]

In so far as a remnant of the once powerful kingdom of Urartu could perhaps have managed to linger on in, say, the vicinity of Lake Van for the sixty-year interval between 607 BC (the last time that a Babylonian army is known to have marched in and near 'the district of Urartu')[22] and 547, Rollinger's reconstruction of events is not without attraction. But if it is recalled that Darius lists the land of Armenia among his various possessions in his Bīsotūn inscription of c. 519,[23] and that the Babylonian version of this same text persists in referring to 'Urartu' instead of Armenia, an alternative scenario assuredly deserves to be considered. That is to say that an early Armenian kingdom could well have taken shape at some date within the first half of the sixth century BC; and, if this should have been the case, this new polity would appear to have been an entity of sufficient substance to have attracted Cyrus' early attention.[24]

Yet other comments are owed to Mallowan. He was far from persuaded that Cyrus would have attacked Lydia in 547 because of what he saw to be a significant discrepancy between the account in the Chronicle and that to be found in Herodotus, i.e. between the time that Cyrus crossed the Tigris in April/May and the time that he eventually attacked Sardis, when (according to Herodotus) winter was already imminent.[25] Mallowan was also careful to note that, while the text of the Chronicle is no longer preserved from the middle to the end of the 540s, the text for 546 is in fact preserved — and that it makes no reference to any events associated with Cyrus. In Mallowan's estimation, therefore, the city could have fallen at any time between the early summer of 545 and 540. But Mallowan is clearly not comfortable with a date towards the lower end of this interval and he urges the consideration of a date 'as near to 545 as possible'. He does so, it is worth mentioning, not from any perspective governed by the likely duration of Cyrus' program of construction at Pasargadae, but rather 'on grounds of historical probability… for Cyrus must have required some years to consolidate his conquests in Asia Minor before proceeding to attack Babylonia, his most valuable prize.'

As for archaeological evidence from Sardis itself, the closely dated Greek pottery associated with the widespread destruction level that can be linked to the city's fall clearly has to be taken into account; and, as Cahill and Kroll indicate in their recent exploration of this and other related matters, the greatest number of datable ceramics from the destruction level 'comes from houses on the east side of the fortification [in sector MMS].' In this sector, moreover, twenty-five seasons of continuous excavation have not revealed any material found in or under the destruction level that has to be dated after c. 550 BC.[26]

If we discount Herodotus' (1.72) claim that 'the boundary between the Median and Lydian empires was the river Halys', and if Median dominion can now be understood to have been of a far more restricted nature,[27] Oelsner's new reading could indicate that Cyrus felt it necessary to undertake certain military operations beyond the existing western borders of his rule in order to prepare for any hostilities that might arise between himself and Croesus, who, according to Herodotus (1.73), 'had a craving to extend his territories'. In setting out with this and other strategic concerns in mind,

Cyrus could certainly have elected to cross the Tigris below Arbail (instead of using one of the more traditional, up-river crossing points at either Nineveh or the Wana Ford)[28] in order to remind the Babylonians of his unusual competence, not to mention exceptional mobility, before leading his army deep into Anatolia.

Further, it is not difficult to concur with Rollinger's suggestion that, notwithstanding the quite southerly point at which Cyrus crossed the Tigris, he could have then struck northwestwards to the region of the present-day Tur Abdin highlands. Here a number of routes, familiar to the Assyrians (as well as to the Babylonians, at least after the collapse of Assyria in 612 BC),[29] could have given Cyrus ready access to the eastern Anatolian plateau where it can be assumed that he gave his attention to the reduction, and subsequent occupation, of the region identified by the Chronicle as 'Urartu'.[30]

In addition, *if* 547 BC did indeed become an exceptionally crowded year, such a pattern of events could explain why Croesus —aware of Cyrus' protracted and not-too-distant activities, and anxious to protect his own possessions to the west of the Halys— took steps to cross the river and to draw up his forces somewhere on the trans-Anatolian highway. If, moreover, the subsequent, inconclusive battle in the vicinity Pteria (Hdt. 1.76) was followed by a calculated pause before Cyrus pressed on to surprise Croesus before the walls of Sardis, Herodotus' early winter date for the siege and fall of the city could be counted as not necessarily out of order.[31]

At the same time, however, if the land to which Cyrus marched in 547 should have been coterminous with a region that most Babylonians still thought of as 'Urartu', it is inconceivable that this same year would have witnessed a further, successful advance on Lydia without the text of the Chronicle (which is very largely complete for the year in question) including some reference to such a noteworthy event. On present evidence, in other words, Cyrus' march on Sardis has to be attributed to a later year.

Lydia's royal builders

The first Lydian king to use fine stone architecture on an appreciable scale was Alyattes, the father of Croesus. It was the conquests of Alyattes (c. 610-560 BC) that transformed this once circumscribed kingdom from a local principality into a major polity and it appears to have been the new-found prosperity of Sardis that enabled this same ruler to make generous use of the advanced ashlar masonry that was beginning to come into fashion in, not least, the East Greek world.[32] In a word, the whole newly available apparatus of big stone construction —apparently restricted to the sphere of public works— was used to celebrate Lydia's rise to imperial status.

The best surviving expression of this new departure is represented by the fine limestone and marble ashlars that were used to construct the tomb chamber of Alyattes, even if the chamber itself was designed to stand deep within the fabric of a vast tumulus.[33] Moreover, even if only a single marble stylobate can be used to demonstrate that the newly available standards of masonry were used to construct freestanding stone structures at Sardis, it is clear from the substantial remains of an imposing stone terrace that was recently exposed on the flanks of a northern spur of the city's lofty acropolis that Croesus was more than ready to proclaim his wealth and vaunted

status by boldly reshaping the contours of his capital with soaring terraces clad in finely dressed ashlars.[34]

These dazzling advertisements for the latter-day achievements of the Mermnad dynasty can hardly have failed to impress Cyrus, whose personal regard for masonry of the highest standard is more than adequately documented in his own subsequent programs of big stone construction at Pasargadae. It would have been nothing less than astonishing, in fact, if he had not at once realized that Sardis and adjacent parts of western Asia Minor exhibited state-of-the-art architectural elements that he could borrow and adapt for his own purposes. To this end the skilled surveyors, architects and masons who had been employed in Croesus' numerous building projects would appear to have been transported in appreciable numbers to southwestern Iran. This is not only demonstrated by technical and still other characteristic features that are manifest in Cyrus' elegant stone buildings at Pasargadae, but also by a parallel decline, in general terms, in the quality of masonry that came to be available at Sardis itself.[35]

Planning at Pasargadae

In 1954 Henri Frankfort volunteered one of his few wholly errant opinions when he wrote that Cyrus' building program at Pasargadae reflected 'the character of a settlement of a nomad chief'.[36] In reality, this was anything but the case. As Herzfeld was the first to appreciate, each major monument, with the solitary exception of the great stone platform that juts out from the western side of the Tall-e Takht (Fig. 1), was laid out in accord with a single, uniform orientation.[37] Subsequent excavations in the 1950s and 1960s also demonstrated that the 'royal garden', adjacent to Palace P, had the same orientation;[38] and, in the past few years, a number of non-invasive geomagnetic surveys have demonstrated that still other, hitherto unexamined tracts of ground to the south and southeast of the royal garden were landscaped according to this same strict alignment.[39]

In contrast, it is well known that Assyrian cities were never rigidly orthogonal in character,[40] and no Iranian site of pre-Cyrus date is known to have exhibited a uniformly oriented plan either.[41] On the other hand, if we keep in mind the many closely related building practices that came to be attested in Fārs and western Asia Minor from the middle years of Cyrus' reign onwards, it is not difficult to guess where the inspiration for the unified orientation of Pasargadae's freestanding stone buildings came from.

With special reference to building practices within the Iron Age, the earliest extant evidence for orthogonal town planning appears to come from a number of Greek cities in southern Italy that date back to at least the seventh century BC. As Ward-Perkins has observed, however, this does not mean that planning of this order was first conceived of in any such distant location. Rather, formal planning of this kind may well have had its genesis in western Asia Minor. That is to say that, while there were few opportunities for radical reconstruction in the long-established cities of Ionia, some of which were founded as early the tenth century, there was every opportunity, on the part, for example, of the Milesians, to introduce these principles in their seventh century colonies in the central Mediterranean region.[42] In sum, the type of rigorous, uniform orientation that was to leave such a strong mark on the character of Pasargadae would seem to find its closest antecedents in various parts of the Mediterranean world
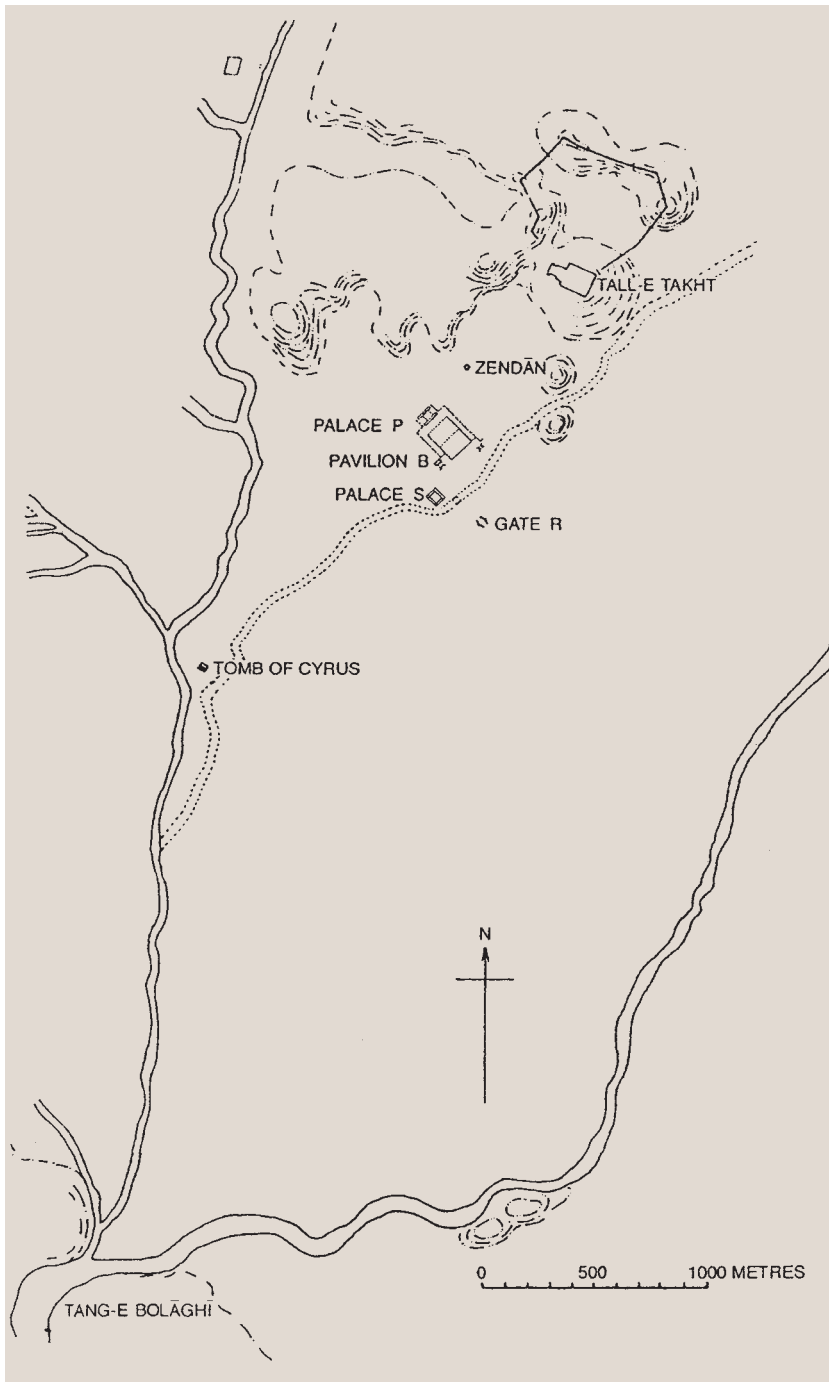
at a time not too long before the inception of Cyrus' substantial building
program.[43]

Construction at Pasargadae

As far as I can see, all of Cyrus' major buildings were not only part of a sin-
gle master plan, but they were very probably founded within a few years of
each other. Furthermore, the available evidence suggests that Cyrus
presided over an extended program of construction at Pasargadae that is
much more likely to have lasted for a period of close to 15 years than to one
of say, little more than half this duration (such as would have to be invoked

if Cyrus only turned to the task of founding his new capital after the fall of Babylon in 539 BC or even after the subsequent installation of his son, Cambyses, as king of Babylonia in the spring of 538).[44]

The one individual monument that most visibly supports the case for the longer of the two just-mentioned intervals, i.e. from a date in the mid-forties down to 530 BC, is the great stone platform (Fig. 2) on the Tall-e Takht or 'Throne Hill'. The construction of this impressive feature (such as was probably intended to support the western end of a never-realized residential palace) was a massive and time-consuming undertaking. Indeed, if the construction of the later, admittedly larger, stone platform at Persepolis continued unabated through the greater part of Darius' thirty-six-year reign, it is all the more likely that the longer of the two intervals under consideration was needed to bring the so-called Takht-e Mādar-e Soleymān or 'Throne of the Mother of Solomon' to what was in the end a relatively advanced state of completion.[45]

In addition, there is now broad agreement that the finished appearance of the greater part of the fine stone masonry of the Takht was intended to look very much like that of the carefully dressed ashlars that are attested on a mid-sixth century altar of Poseidon from Cape Monodendri, in the vicinity of Miletus.[46] In the present context it may also be of relevance if I recall a visit that Professor George Hanfmann made to Pasargadae in 1969, at a time when he had already been directing the excavations at Sardis for more than a decade. The two of us were engaged in looking at the refined appearance of a number of the few fully dressed blocks that stand near the base of the Tall-e Takht (Fig. 3) and, at that moment, while we were examining the finely drafted margins (c. 5 cm wide and worked with neat flat chisels at right angles to each raised, central panel marked by delicate point stippling), I suddenly heard my intent companion say, in an almost awed voice, 'I see the hand of a Sardian mason!' At least to my mind, this flash of recognition from an individual who possessed an unsurpassed knowledge of the ashlars of Sardis is not undeserving of mention beside the measured testimony of Darius, who records, in the text of his celebrated DSf inscription from Susa, that 'the stonecutters who wrought the stone…were Ionians and Sardians'.[47]

Since the tomb of Cyrus (Fig. 4) clearly represents a structure that would have epitomized the concept of a new dynastic seat (and since Cyrus himself would have been abundantly aware of the extraordinary resources that were committed to the creation of royal tombs at Sardis), it is only logical to infer that the construction of the tomb was given equally early and close attention. In addition, the tomb stands out as a second structure that offers an unusually direct reflection of the presence of skilled architects and masons from Lydia and Ionia. Not only are the individual moldings almost all Ionic in appearance, but these same features can be seen to articulate the structure of the building in a manner that accords with the conventions of Ionic architecture.[48]

At the same time it must be stressed that no matter how much the tomb may owe to the canons of one or another architectural style, it was in many ways a highly original structure made, in all probability, to the prescriptions of Cyrus himself. It had to satisfy the standards, choices and beliefs of the founder of Pasargadae.

As part of his comprehensive review of conceivable sources of inspiration for the design of the tomb, Nylander is among those who have kept in mind the possibility that the stepped stages of a Mesopotamian ziggurat could have inspired the adoption of a six-stepped plinth. As he chose to put matters, if any monument of this kind could have influenced Cyrus, it would surely have been the ziggurat associated with the temple of Marduk at Babylon: 'the main sanctuary of the world's greatest city, 90 m high, modern, impressive and beautiful…and the most impressive construction Cyrus had ever seen.'[49]

Although only a combination of sources —namely Herodotus' description (1.181), the dimensions of the monument provided by the Esagila Tablet and the testimony of modern excavations— can be used to arrive at a tentative reconstruction,[50] I find it extremely difficult to detect any correspondence between the profile based on these calculations (Fig. 5) and the very different rhythms that are evident in the stepped plinth of Cyrus' tomb. Even if the first step of the mudbrick ziggurat is markedly tall, and even if the first tier of the tomb of Cyrus is also relatively tall (Fig. 6), the presence of a rough, undressed protective band at the base of this latter stone tier indicates that the final, intended ground surface was raised to a level where this protective projection would never have been seen (Figs. 6 and 7). As a consequence, the three lower tiers were almost certainly given
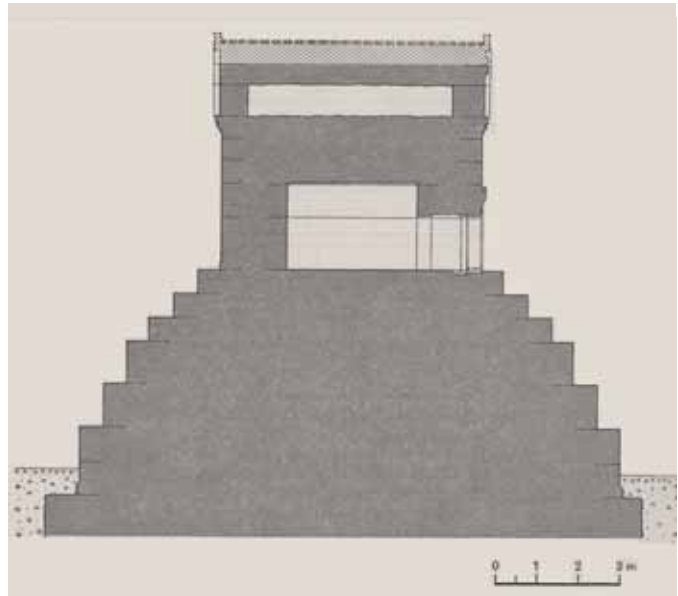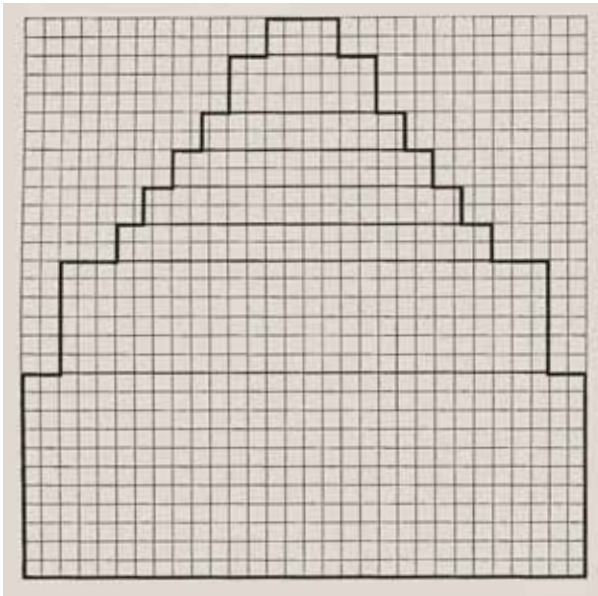
Fig. 5
A reconstruction of the stepped
profile of the ziggurat of Babylon.
Six variously sized, receding tiers
support a two-tiered sanctuary.
(After Nylander 1970: fig. 33.)

Fig. 6
Section through the long axis of
the tomb of Cyrus. The drawing
also indicates the ground level
that was probably associated with
the finished monument.
(After Stronach 1978: fig. 12.)

a uniform *visible* height of 1.05 m[51] — an arrangement that served to complement the more modest (and again uniform) height of each of the three upper tiers. In short, the first three steps can be compared to the customary three steps of a *krēpis* (the standard formal base of a Greek temple or other monumental building)[52] and the second set of smaller steps documents a further taste for tripartite elements quite apart from an interest in the rhythmic graduation of various key features (including the stone courses of the tomb chamber), each of which diminish with increasing height.

In so far as the plinth of the tomb clearly reflects such well known Ionic elements, it does in the end seem very unlikely that Cyrus and his architects were influenced, at least in this instance, by the design of any ziggurat, either Mesopotamian or Elamite. This finding is also strengthened, it

Fig. 7
The tomb of Cyrus. The top
course of the roof and the missing
portion of the rosette at the apex
of the entrance gable are each
restored, as is the ground level
that was probably associated with
the completed monument.
(After Stronach 1978: fig. 21.)
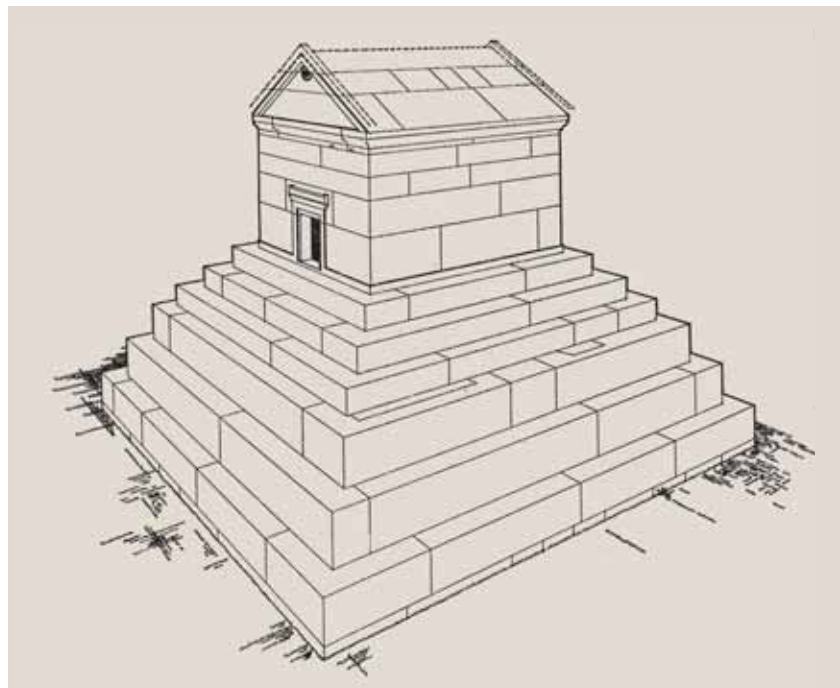
might be added, by strong hints that the design of the monument owes more than a little to the design of earlier (or marginally earlier) funerary monuments from Anatolia.[53]

The question might also be raised as to whether any given parts of the tomb came to be invested with religious significance. It is certainly hard to believe that this would not have been the case; and, at least with reference to the two sets of three steps that make up the height of the plinth (Fig. 7), it may perhaps be relevant to note that the standard form of Persian stone altar, from at least the second half of the reign of Cyrus onwards, exhibits opposed, tripartite stepped elements.[54]

Whether or not the now incomplete and severely damaged raised disc or rosette at the apex of the entrance gable of the tomb of Cyrus (Fig. 7) was a device with specific religious connotations, or was never intended to be more than a skeuomorphic echo, in stone, of the decorative end of a wooden ridge pole, may never be known. All that can be said is that no exactly similar rosette is known from any other source.[55]

Four other major buildings —Gate R, Palace S, Palace P and the Zendān— also call for further review in the present context.[56] In the case of Gate R (Fig. 8), it is a somewhat anomalous structure in which both conservative and innovative traits are present. With reference to traits of the former kind, the tall rectangular hall echoes a standard Iranian Iron Age plan in which two
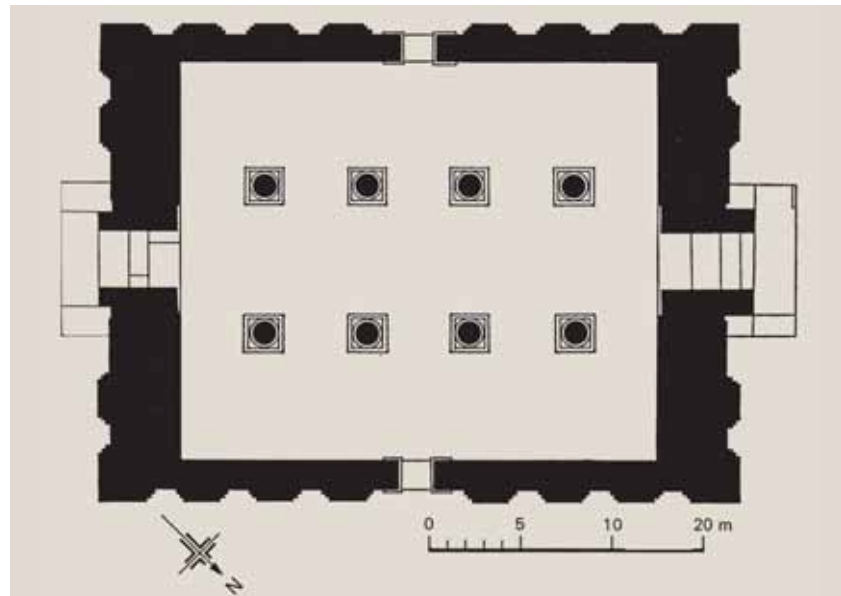
rows of four freestanding columns support the roof. In addition, the building's original complement of eight doorway sculptures (including the opposed, paired colossi that once flanked the main outer and inner entrances) were each most probably related, in one sense or another, to Assyrian imagery of the late eighth or early seventh centuries BC.[57]

Where more innovative elements are concerned, the presence of four axial doorways (Fig. 9) reminds us of Cyrus' characteristic interest in making his palatial buildings visible —and approachable— from different angles. In this connection, moreover, the gate stands apart from any perimeter wall. In fact, this tallest of all the buildings at Pasargadae (with columns that once rose to an estimated 16 m in height) can be acknowledged as the earliest freestanding gate yet known from the ancient world.

If there is one simple indication as to the likely pace of construction at Gate R (where assorted clues point to a relatively early beginning for the work), this could be said to come from one of the more impressive accoutrements of the already mentioned Winged Figure (Fig. 10). In replacing the horned headdress of earlier Assyrian protective doorway figures,[58] Cyrus elected to introduce the *hmhm* crown of Egypt — a cogent indication, I believe, that Babylon had fallen into Cyrus' hands at some moment shortly before the proposed design for this particular relief underwent final review. In other words such a crown was either intended to reflect Cyrus' ultimate intent, following the capture of Babylon, to include Egypt within the bounds of his dominions or, at the very least, it was meant to mark the extension of Cyrus' realm to the region of the Levant, where Egyptian imagery had long been employed.

The location that was selected for Gate R is also of interest. Intriguingly, it faces east. It is apparent, therefore, that Cyrus deliberately constructed a point of entry that called for all visitors to approach the new capital from the east (rather than from either of the site's more natural, northern or southern approaches). As a result ordinary travellers no doubt found themselves obliged to follow a north-south route that passed, like the present modern highway, well to the east of Pasargadae. Such an arrangement may not only have heightened any visitor's sense of anticipation as the royal abode drew near, but it may also have been designed to allow Cyrus to

Fig. 10
The Winged Figure in Gate R.

take full advantage of the wooded and well-watered Tang-e Bolāghī —a narrow cliff-lined valley on the line of a more direct route to the south— as a valued asset over and above the numerous contiguous gardens that were already planned to stand in the area of the main palaces.[59]

Just as Gate R undoubtedly served as a model for the 'Gate of All Lands' at Persepolis, both Palace S and Palace P (Fig. 11) contain elements that came to be incorporated in later Achaemenid palaces. Palace S, especially, represents the closest approach to the consummate audience hall of the reign of Darius: the uniformly tall, square-shaped Apadana.

Nonetheless, as a still experimental structure, Palace S (Fig. 12) visibly echoes such well known earlier phenomena as the tall eight-columned halls of Iron Age Iran;[60] certain formative corner 'towers' that were once used to strengthen the design of early first millennium 'manor houses' in Luristan;[61] and, the low-ceilinged porticos that were present in the Iron Age architecture of both Hasanlu and Bābā Jān.[62] At the same time the bold new concept of an open four-sided plan marked by spacious, shaded porticoes (with double rows of columns) on each side of the building (Fig. 13) clearly draws on the design of the early Ionic dipteral temple,[63] an elegant new architectural form that evolved during the second quarter of the sixth century BC (even if temples of this kind were typified by continuous colonnades that rose to the full height of the building).

Fig. 11
Plan of the royal garden. Continuous lines represent attested stone water channels; dashed lines represent postulated channels. The axial 'vista of power' stands in line with the external throne-seat at the mid-point of the 'throne portico' of Palace P. (After Stronach 1989: fig. 2.)

Fig. 12
The one intact column from the eight-columned hall of Palace S. The tall, unfluted column (here capped by its oft-illustrated stork's nest) stands 13.10 m above the level of the pavement. The four white limestone drums of the column rest on a monolithic, black limestone base. Seen from the east in December 1961. Photo: D. Stronach.
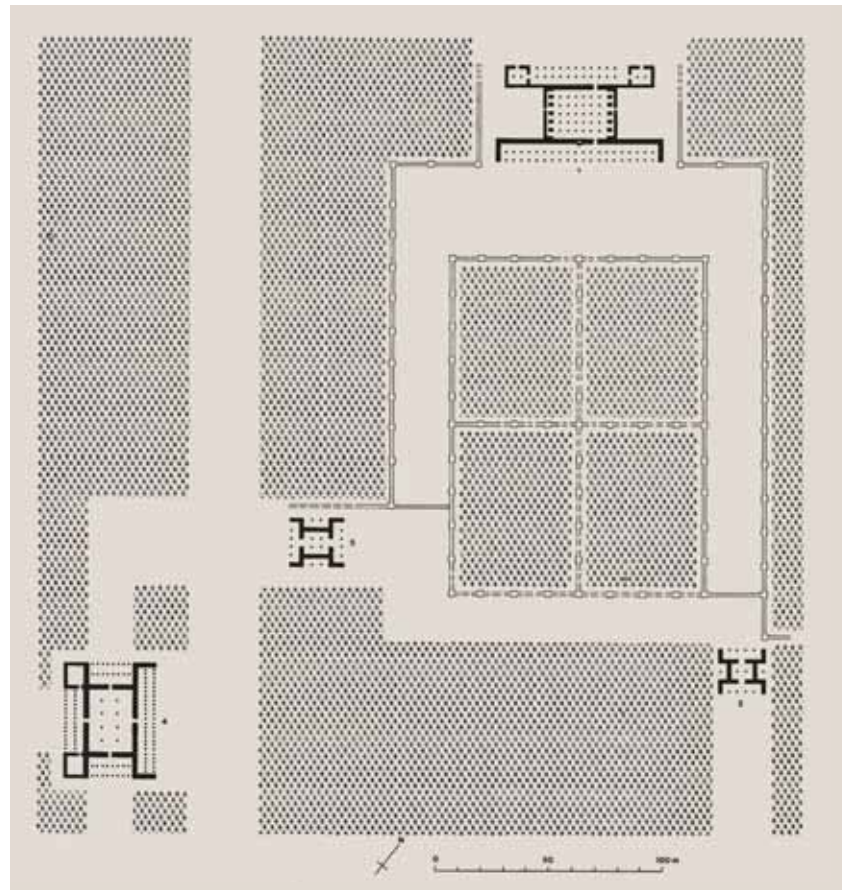
As far as a proposed date in the mid-forties for the beginning of the work on such monumental palatial structures as Gate R and Palace S is concerned, it might be objected that the prominent use of Assyrian or Assyrian-related apotropaic doorway figures in each of these buildings[64] does not sit well with a pattern of conquest in which Mesopotamia as a whole only fell to Cyrus in 539 BC. On the other hand, if we take account of Cyrus' ability to march through the Assyrian heartland with impunity from 547 onwards, it can hardly be maintained that it was necessary for him to conquer Babylon before he could begin to make use of the rich (and conveniently 'orphaned') Neo-Assyrian sculptural heritage. Indeed, his determination to borrow extensively from the vivid monumental imagery of Assyria, especially at the outset of his building program, would seem to have been driven by two considerations: the fact that there was no corpus of significant local stone sculpture on which to draw and a knowledge that the winged colossi of Gate R, as well as the other Assyrian-related figures that he chose to borrow —and adapt— were each in their own way unmistakable markers of formidable, extended power.[65]

In the framework of an enquiry in which dates of construction are of special interest, Palace P (Fig. 14 and Fig. 15) stands out as the one building at Pasargadae that Cyrus never came close to completing. That is to say that not one of the thirty stone columns (disposed in five rows of six columns in the finely paved central hall) was more than one drum high when Cyrus' death in battle on his
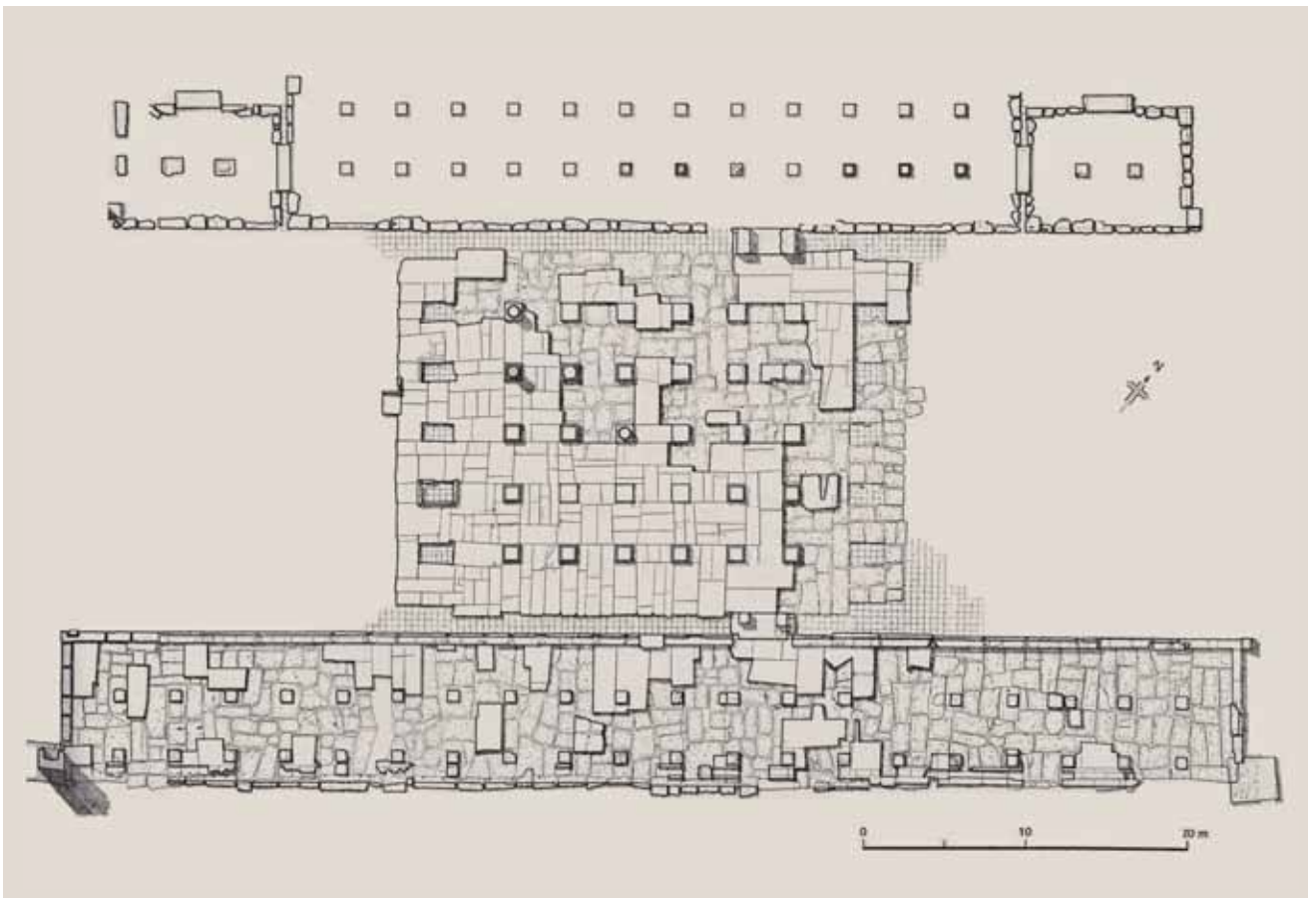
distant northeastern frontier, at approximately sixty years of age, appears to have brought all work at Pasargadae to an abrupt halt.[66]

The main —no doubt unanswerable— question posed by this circumstance is whether Palace P represents an outright addition to Cyrus' original plan or whether the master plan of the 540s included an 'inner palace' that was then extensively redesigned in the course of the 530s in order to take account of the latest contemporary innovations in fine stone architecture.

If we look at the nature of the individual elements that were introduced during Cyrus' lifetime (as opposed to the inscriptions and doorway reliefs

Fig. 13
F. Krefter's revised reconstruction of the original appearance of Palace S.
(After Stronach 1978: pl. 53b.)

Fig. 14
Plan of Palace P.
(After Stronach 1978: fig. 40.)

that were added, as has been noted above, early in the reign of Darius), there are various indications of the building's less than very early date. Thus, while the exquisite, horizontally fluted tori (Fig. 16) were very possibly intended to stand comparison with the earlier exemplars of this form in the archaic temple of Artemis at Ephesus (a building funded by Croesus near the beginning of his reign),[67] this relatively rare form of torus appears to have remained in vogue during the 530s. Equally, the long paved 'throne' or 'garden' portico, with its two rows of twenty columns (Fig. 14), would seem to owe a particular debt, as Nylander first observed,[68] to the elongated proportions of a Greek *stoa* — an architectural form that appears to be less obviously cited, at least to my eye, in the variously sized porticoes of Palace S.[69]

While Cyrus' special interest in the use of black and white stone elements is amply documented in both Gate R and Palace S,[70] certain unusually conspicuous uses of black and white stone were at one time visible in Palace P. Apart from the fact that the two opposed monumental doorways in the latter structure were no doubt intended from the first to be constructed from black stone, the opposed inner and outer limits of the long throne portico were originally picked out by two complementary bands of dark limestone. The first of these took the form of a ribbon of dark stone that ran along the top of the otherwise white stone bench that occupied the whole length of the rear edge of the portico, and the second consisted of a band of similar black stone that was let into the white stone pavement of the portico close to its outer edge (Fig. 15).[71]

In both the main hall and the throne portico these bichromatic effects were complemented by finely carved column bases in which the lower half of the first step was constructed from black stone (Fig. 16). At least one aim of this

innovation may have been to distinguish the base of each otherwise white column base from the dazzling white pavements in which they were set.

Interestingly enough, this same innovation also occurs in the stone column bases from Cyrus' only other known palatial establishment: that at Borāzjān, located some 30 km inland from the modern city of Būshehr on the east coast of the Persian Gulf. The excavator of Borāzjān A. A. Sarfaraz, notes that construction at the site 'was probably started during the latter part of the reign of Cyrus'; that work at the site 'was never completed'; and that this particular location may reflect 'the new far-flung maritime interests of the Achaemenians from c. 539 BC onwards'.[72] While Boardman suggests that the building operations at Borāzjān could have been sandwiched between the programs of construction at Palace S and Palace P,[73] it is more likely, I submit, that the work at Palace P and Borāzjān was begun at much the same moment, i.e, during Cyrus' later years, when various other building projects at Pasargadae had conceivably reached their term (and when, as a consequence, significant numbers of skilled workers would have been freed for other tasks).

There is one further innovation at Borāzjān that also calls for comment. In the case of this newly discovered site, a smooth black torus was substituted for the horizontally fluted white torus that dignified the otherwise similar column bases at metropolitan Pasargadae.[74] Thus, although it has been asserted in the past that the Achaemenids never used contrasts in color to draw attention to the presence of separate stone elements, there is now at least one documented exception to this general rule.

In keeping with the fact that not more than a limited number of years were devoted to the construction of Palace P during the reign of Cyrus, not all the stone elements of the adjacent royal garden (Fig. 11) would appear to have been given a final dressing and placed in position by the time of Cyrus' untimely death.[75] In terms of the history of palace and garden architecture it cannot be denied, therefore, that a notable debt is owed to Darius the Great for bringing both Palace P and its most closely associated garden to a substantially finished condition.

With reference to the hypothesis, first set out nearly two decades ago, that the royal garden could represent a *chahār bāgh* or fourfold garden (Fig. 11),[76] it may be appropriate to explore the extent, if any, to which the recent above-mentioned geomagnetic surveys can be said to have either weakened or strengthened this proposal. For example, it is apparent that, at a point where Sami elected not to speculate on the existence of any water channel,[77] and where I could only trace the opposed extremities of a channel,[78] the latest available magnetic image now fully affirms the existence of an intermediate SW-NE conduit.[79]

Somewhat surprisingly, this same magnetic imagery offers no more than certain quite limited hints that a parallel channel (on the southeastern border of the garden) once completed the design. But in so far as the otherwise quadrilateral interior space would seem to require such a conduit, Boucharlat and Benech count its original presence as 'probable'.[80] Indeed, partly because Sami found that certain parts of the stone water channels had already been removed prior to the summer of 1950,[81] and partly because the paved floor of the closest adjacent stone building, Pavilion B, was found to be marked by 'numerous scars from plough shares',[82] it is very possible that deep ploughing in the immediate vicinity of this south-easterly channel accounts for this ambiguity.

Fig. 16
Detail of a stone column in Palace P. The horizontally fluted torus is carved in one piece with the drum above. Photo: O. Kitson.

Fig. 17
The Zendān from the west in 1963.
Note the remains of the staircase
that led to the single immured
room nearly eight meters above
ground level. Photo: O. Kitson.

Boucharlat and Benech's findings also prove that the postulated open, longitudinal line of sight from the throne —the 'vista of power' in the lexicon of modern landscape architects[83]— was without a stone water channel. In one sense this is a disappointment: a further stone channel would have left no doubt that a *chahār bāgh* was intended. On the other hand, the arguments that were first employed in 1989 to suggest that Cyrus planned to lay out a distinctive fourfold garden in the vicinity of Palace P would appear to remain unimpaired.

As far as certain other observations are concerned, the recent discovery that the royal garden was bordered by a number of related quadrilateral garden spaces lying further to the south and to the southeast[84] almost certainly accounts for the presence of the long, almost continuous stone bench that occupies the northeastern portico of Palace S (Fig. 11). Also, while we now know that the longitudinal line of sight was not itself marked by a water channel, Roaf's early surmise that this was very possibly the case[85] remains helpful. It reminds us that such an arrangement could well have been part of an initial plan — and that this detail could have been countermanded in line with a number of economies that Darius felt it necessary to make in order to free experienced stone masons for other tasks.[86]

The last monument that calls for notice in this brief survey is the so-called Zendān-e Soleymān or 'Prison of Solomon' (Fig. 17), a tower-like structure that displays a quality of masonry that is closely comparable to that found in the tomb of Cyrus. Nevertheless two of its individual features would appear to identify it as a second major building that was still very probably in the course of construction during the later years of Cyrus' reign.

In the first place, even if denticulation (that is, the translation of wooden beam ends into stone dentils) was a far from unknown element in the Ionic entablature of the mid-sixth century, it is still apparent that, while incontrovertible dentils are conspicuous by their *absence* in the tomb of Cyrus, they are decidedly present, in a fully evolved form, in the surviving fabric of the Zendān.[87]

A second possible indication of a date late in the reign of Cyrus for the completion of the Zendān may be said to come from Nylander's penetrating exploration of the characteristics of three rosettes of a known Ionic type that adorn a large fragment of white limestone that chanced to be found on the Tall-e Takht during the early 1950s.[88] In as much as this displaced, carved stone is now known to have almost certainly come from one of the Zendān's two original door leaves,[89] Nylander's finding that the rosettes were carved 'between 540 and 530' is striking.[90]

Concluding remarks

It is unfortunate that no strictly contemporary, local inscriptions (let alone coin hoards or sealed deposits of closely datable pottery) can be used to underpin the dates that have been advanced in the foregoing pages for Cyrus' diverse constructions at Pasargadae. As a result, the various chronological boundaries that have just been ascribed to his individual building projects must remain, to a large extent, hypothetical. At the same time I

wish to reiterate that Cyrus would have had great difficulty in bringing so many major structures to completion without the benefit of a program of construction that spanned something approaching the whole second half of his eventful reign.[91]

As far as the testimony of archival sources is concerned, it has already been underscored that, if the name of the land to which Cyrus marched in 547 is now to be most probably read and restored as U[rartu], and if the Nabonidus Chronicle makes no mention of Cyrus' activities in the following year, the campaign against Croesus would have to have taken place in one of the years when the Chronicle leaves us in the dark, i.e., in 545 or not long thereafter.[92]

In support of this proposition it is also worth turning to certain considerations that have received little attention in prior discussions. Needless to say, Cyrus is known to have conducted separate campaigns against countries of widely differing wealth and power; and, especially with reference to encounters with lesser polities, there would have been numerous occasions when terms such as those that were used to describe the climactic events of the campaign of 547 would have been applicable. Thus generic statements to the effect that Cyrus defeated 'a king' (who was presumably not considered memorable enough to earn the distinction of being named), that he took steps to acquire this same ruler's (unspecified) 'possessions', and that he stationed his 'garrison' in a city or fortress that also seems not to have warranted the provision of a name, would each suggest that the ultimate destination of the expedition of 547 was one of less than imperial rank. Indeed, even if Cyrus remained 'afterwards' for an unknown length of time (a circumstance that may point to Cyrus' subsequent involvement in the affairs of the land that he had occupied), the decidedly incurious tone of the Chronicle —terse as that tone normally is— could very well suggest that Babylonian interest in this exploit was chiefly occasioned by the fact that it had begun with a crossing of the Tigris at a point uncomfortably close to home.

Beyond this observation, however, there is another perspective that cannot be overlooked. The early part of Cyrus' career was marked by two stunning victories, each of which had compelling strategic implications for the Babylonians, and each of which might have called, therefore, for treatment of a similar kind in the Chronicle.

In the case of Cyrus' victory over Astyages, at a date in or near 550, the Chronicle's account runs, in part, as follows:

> Astyages mustered his army and marched against
> Cyrus, king of Anshan, for conquest…The army
> rebelled against Astyages and he was taken prisoner.
> They handed him over to Cyrus.Cyrus (marched) to
> Ecbatana, the royal city. The silver, gold, goods,
> property…which he carried off as booty (from)
> Ecbatana he took to Anshan.[93]

It is apparent, in short, that the scribe who was responsible for this extended entry felt free to write at some length and to name salient rulers and salient locations. By this same token it is extremely difficult to suppose that the relevant entry for 547 (see page 151, above) could refer to Cyrus' attack on Sardis without the scribe either choosing to name such a considerable city or without expressly identifying Croesus, who was not only the ruler of Lydia but also, as Herodotus relates (1.74), the brother-in-law of Astyages.

In summary, if the language of the Chronicle suggests that the land that Cyrus attacked in 547 was one of less than pre-eminent rank, and if both the closely dated pottery from the destruction level at Sardis *and* the beginnings of monumental stone construction at Pasargadae can be seen to call for a date for the fall of Sardis as soon as possible within the 540's, there would seem to be a welcome measure of agreement with Wade-Gery's longstanding preferred date of 544. Nevertheless, in reserving as much time as possible for Cyrus' comprehensive program of planning and construction at Pasargadae, it may be appropriate to point to 545 as the most likely date for the moment when Cyrus, reached, besieged, and captured Sardis.

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[1] I would very much like to express my appreciation to the organizers of the recent conference in Athens for providing an exceptional forum in which it proved possible to examine connections between ancient Greece and ancient Iran in a singularly fruitful manner. In my own case the invitation to participate encouraged me to return to certain abiding concerns that emanate from prior work conducted at Pasargadae as well as from an invaluable interval spent at Sardis, at the kind invitation of Professor Crawford H. Greenewalt, Jr., as a member of the 1982 Sardis Expedition.

I also wish to thank Nicholas Cahill, Crawford Greenewalt, Christopher Ratté, Michael Roaf, and Matt Waters for generous help while this paper was in preparation.

[2] In the sigla employed by Kent (1953: 116) this is the 'Cyrus Morghāb a' or 'CMa' inscription.

[3] Cf. Frankfort 1996: 351.

[4] Cf. Sarre and Herzfeld 1910: 159-60.

[5] For further remarks on the date of the removal of the upper part of this monolithic white stone door jamb, see Stronach 1978: 48.

[6] See, conveniently, Pritchard 1969: 316.

[7] Herzfeld 1929: pl. 3.

[8] This so-called garment inscription represents the CMc text in Kent's (1953: 116) list of Old Persian inscriptions, even if, in fact, no OP version has so far come to light.

[9] Herzfeld 1941: 239.

[10] Herzfeld 1941: 260-1. But for conclusive indications that this proposal has no merit, see Nylander 1970: 132. Also, for indications that the Palace P sculptures are most likely to have been erected c. 510 BC, see Stronach 1978: 97.

[11] On the introduction of Old Persian cuneiform, early in the reign of Darius, in or near 519 BC, see Schmitt 1990: 56-60; also Stronach 1990. For further comment on Darius' role in introducing the trilingual CMa-CMc texts at Pasargadae in the late sixth century, see especially, Stronach 1997: 49.

[12] Strab. 15.3.8.

[13] For further details and analysis, see especially Nylander 1970, Stronach 1978, and Boardman 2000.

[14] See, for example, Hanfmann 1962: 30, where the 'Persian era' at Sardis is denoted as beginning, without equivocation, in 547. In recent years it is also true that most works on Achaemenid Iran have tended to acknowledge, implicitly if not explicitly, the relevance of this oft-cited date. Thus Root (1979: 37), no doubt mindful of the late season in which Sardis is reputed to have fallen (Hdt. 1.78), remarks that 'by 546 Cyrus had pushed his way to Sardis, and the wealth of Croesus lay at his feet.' For his part, Nylander (1970: 127) asserts that Lydian construction techniques reached Pasargadae at a date 'after 546'; and, with a slightly more optimistic view of when local construction could have begun, I originally proposed that Cyrus' prolonged effort to complete the great stone platform on the Tall-e Takht could have lasted from 546 to 530 (Stronach 1978: 22).

[15] For a suggested date in 541, see Johannès 2002: 95; and for a suggestion that Cyrus might have conquered Lydia *after* the fall of Babylon, see Rollinger 2003: 314, n. 124.

[16] Grayson 1975: 107-8.

[17] Cargill 1977, with previous bibliography.

[18] For a selection from the 'plethora of restorations' that have been offered over the years, based, for the most part, on arguments of historical probability, see Cahill and Kroll 2005: 606.

[19] Oelsner 1999-2000: 378 ff.

[20] As S. Kroll (2003: 281) has pointed out, no more than very limited evidence points to the continued existence of a coherent, functioning Urartian state after c. 640 BC.

[21] Rollinger 2003: 315, n. 128.

[22] Grayson 1975: 19.

[23] Kent 1953: 119.

[24] For the unquestionably anachronistic use of the term 'Urartu' in the Babylonian version of Darius' Bisitun inscription, see especially von Voigtlander 1978: 57-60 and Stronach 2007: 167-8.

[25] Mallowan 1972: 7, n. 34. In accord with the details of Herodotus' account, in which Croesus, at the moment of his return to his capital, is said to have 'sent instructions to his allies to send troops to Sardis after an interval of four months' (Hdt. 1.78), it is usually presumed that Cyrus' surprise advance on Sardis took place close to the onset of winter, in either late October or November.

[26] Cahill and Kroll 2005: 601-2.

[27] See especially Rollinger 2003.

[28] See Stronach 2003: fig. 8.

[29] Note 22, above. Cf. also Rollinger 2003: 315, n. 128; Radner and Schachner 2001: 761; and Parpola and Porter 2001: map pages 3-4.

[30] It is also important to take account of later evidence. Thus, even if we can only speculate that Cyrus reached 'Urartu' by way of the Tur Abdin, it has begun to emerge that the Tur Abdin region played a key role in at least two of Darius' encounters with the Armenians in 522/1. In the first encounter, in December 522, his forces presumably had to cross the Tigris before clashing with the Armenians 'in a district by name Izala' (Kent 1953: 124) — a district that can now almost certainly be identified with the Tur Abdin uplands. See especially Potts forthcoming, with bibliography.

[31] I must confess that I share Pierre Briant's sense of surprise that, according to Herodotus' account, 'the initiative was not Cyrus's at all' (Briant 2002: 34).

[32] On the introduction of fine stone masonry in Lydia, and its various primary uses in Lydian Sardis, see Ratté 1993.

[33] The almost certainly correct identification of the monument rests on both Herodotus' detailed description (Hdt. 1.93) and 'a group of early sixth century Lydian pottery fragments' that were recovered from the tomb chamber (Ratté 1993: 5, n. 13).

[34] For the stylobate, see Greenewalt et al. 1994: 29-31; also, for details of the characteristics of the remarkable terrace wall in the 'ByzFort' sector of the site, see especially, Greenewalt 1990, Greenewalt et al. 1987, Greenewalt et al. 1990, and Ratté 1993.

[35] Cf. Ratté 1993: 11.

[36] Frankfort 1996: 351.

[37] Herzfeld 1929: 10.

[38] Stronach 1978: 107 ff. with fig. 48.

[39] Boucharlat and Benech 2002: 18. A less definitive magnetic image also appears in Boucharlat 2002: 280 with fig. 2.

[40] With reference to Khorsabad, for example, Frankfort (1996: 145) remarks that, while 'the planners aimed at regularity', their frequent deviation from the right angle was due to 'imperfect methods of surveying'.

[41] The plan of Tepe Nūsh-e Jān offers but one illustration of the scant regard for uniform orientation that obtained in Media down to at least the end of the seventh century. As far as the local brick masons were concerned, the main priority was to make optimal use of the limited space that was available on the summit of the mound. Cf. Stronach and Roaf 2007: fig. 1.9.

[42] Ward-Perkins 1974: 23 ff.

[43] Although the Greeks themselves attributed the invention of formal orthogonal planning to Hippodamus of Miletus, who lived and worked in the fifth century BC, it is now clear that this tradition is suspect. At best, Hippodamus is now thought to have only 'rationalized and codified' the type of plans with which his name is associated. See especially Ward-Perkins 1974: 16.

[44] On Cambyses' possible elevation to this time-honored distinction, see especially Kuhrt 1987: 51.

[45] It can be presumed that finely dressed ashlars once clad the entire monument to a height of at least 14 m. Cf. Stronach 1978: fig. 5.

[46] A point first made by Nylander (1970: 85 with fig. 27).

[47] Kent 1953: 144.

[48] Nylander 1970: 95 ff.

[49] Nylander 1970: 99.

[50] Nylander 1970: 100 with fig. 33.

[51] Stronach 1978: 29 (with pls. 31a-b).

[52] Nylander 1970: 88; Boardman 2000: 53.

[53] Not least with reference to the enigmatic Pyramid Tomb at Sardis. Cf. Ratté 1992: 160 with fig. 16; also Stronach 1978: 40-2 and Boardman 2000: 53-5.

[54] Stronach 1978: 141 with fig. 72.

[55] Michael Roaf (1983: 136 with fig. 147) has volunteered the view that the device in question could be thought of as one more variant of the 'winged disk'. I am far from convinced that this is the case; but in looking for clues that might reveal the personal beliefs of Cyrus, it has to be conceded that this enigmatic feature will always call for detailed attention.

[56] For the derivations of these various labels, see, conveniently, Stronach 1978: 44, 56, 78, and 117.

[57] Stronach 1978: 51 ff.

[58] Cf. Stronach 1978: pl. 188.

[59] Considerations of this kind may also have a bearing on why Cyrus elected to build his tomb well to the south of the palace precinct, not far from the Tang-e Bolāghī, in an area that was no doubt intended to have a separate, secluded ambience. Note also that the ancient, and *public*, eastern approach to Pasargadae is clearly indicated in Talebian, this volume: 186, Fig. 15a.

[60] See, for example, Dyson 1989: fig. 11 and Young and Levine 1974: fig. 37. Also, for details of the long internal mudbrick benches that stood in the largest of the columned halls at Godīn Tepe (features which Cyrus translated into permanent outdoor stone seating in the main porticoes of Palace S and Palace P) see Young and Levine 1974: figs. 37 and 38.

[61] Goff 1969: fig. 2.

[62] Dyson and Muscarella 1989: fig. 1; Goff 1969: fig. 4.

[63] Boardman 2000: 61.

[64] For further details concerning the borrowed elements in question, see especially Kawami 1972: 146-8 and Stronach 1997: 43-5.

[65] Cyrus' keen awareness of Assyria's once preeminent position presumably encouraged him to refer to '…. my predecessor King Ashurbanipal' in the text of his famed Cylinder, found in Babylon, in 1879. See Walker 1972: 158-9. It is also worth noting that, apart from those Assyrian sculptures that the Persians could have conceivably detected and examined in, say, the ruins of Nineveh, they may have been able to view other monumental reliefs in less disturbed conditions at sites such as Arbail (modern Erbil). For tentative indications that this once important Assyrian regional center could have remained a key hub of local Median authority in the northeastern part of the Trans-Tigridian corridor during the interval between Assyrian and Achaemenid rule, see Stronach 2003: 247.

[66] Since it was left to Darius to transform Palace P into a usable structure, there is for the moment no available evidence to suggest that Cyrus' son and successor, Cambyses II (530-522), made any attempt to complete his father's projects. There are indications, however, that Cambyses sought to construct his own separate dynastic seat in the fertile Dasht-e Gohar, a few kilometers to the north of Persepolis. See especially Tilia 1978: 73 ff. and, more recently, Stronach 2001: 100-1.

[67] Stronach 1978: 85.

[68] Nylander 1970: 121.

[69] But cf. also Nylander 1970: 118 and fig. 39.

[70] See Nylander 1970: 142-3; also Stronach 1978: 44, 59-63, and 66.

[71] Stronach 1978: 89-91 with pl. 85b.

[72] Sarfaraz 1973: 188. Cf. also Sarfaraz 1971.

[73] Boardman 2000: 66.

[74] For a general view of the excavated column bases at Borāzjān see, conveniently, Boardman 2000: illustration on p. 65.

[75] In particular, the number of toothed chisel marks on certain of the stones would suggest that they were only installed after the local, general introduction of this highly effective tool somewhere in the last decade of the sixth century BC. Cf. Stronach 1978: 100 and 109-10.

[76] Stronach 1989: 482.

[77] Sami 1971: Enclosed folded plan. As far as I can ascertain, this plan may be based on one that was prepared at the time of the short excavations carried out by the Archaeological Service of Iran in the spring of 1971. Cf. Stronach 1978: 110, n. 4.

[78] Stronach 1978: fig. 48.

[79] Boucharlat and Benech 2002: 18.

[80] Boucharlat and Benech 2002: 16.

[81] Sami 1971: 96.

[82] Stronach 1978: 111.

[83] Stronach 1994: 8.

[84] Boucharlat and Benech 2002: 17.

[85] Roaf 1989: fig. 2.

[86] For evidence that suggests that the incomplete stone columns in the thirty-columned hall of Palace P were completed in wood and plaster, see, conveniently, Stronach 1978: 85. Note too that Cyrus' manifest desire to make optimal and very visible use of the new standards of stonework that were available to him following the unmatched extension of his power to the Aegean could very well have contributed to his inspired decision to introduce immaculately dressed water channels and basins in a choice garden setting. At the heart of an already impressive site, it was no doubt foreseen that the king's ranking guests would sit at ease and contemplate the delights of this, the most memorable of royal gardens.

[87] The few examples of possible dentils that can be detected on the tomb of Cyrus are too infrequent and too poorly shaped (with sometimes diagonal walls) to support assertions that formal rows of dentils

were at any time contemplated. Although full certitude is lacking, the cuttings could have been introduced in order to hold repair plugs. See Stronach 1978: 42 with figs. 13-15. With reference to the general introduction of dentils, Barletta (2001: 145-6) refers to 'building models' to suggest that dentils 'as a decorative motif' first appeared in and near Asia Minor in 'the late seventh or early sixth century BC'.

[88] Sami 1971: illustration opposite p. 139.

[89] Stronach 1978: 125-6 with figs. 64 and 65a.

[90] Nylander 1970: 139-41.

[91] For the similar, stately pace of most stone construction at Persepolis, see Roaf 1983: 150 ff. with figs. 152-6.

[92] On the basis of his readings of synchronisms in Herodotus, Wade-Gery (1951: 219, n. 38) long ago suggested that Cyrus' Lydian campaign took place in 544 BC.

[93] Grayson 1975: 106.

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Mohammad Hassan Talebian

Persia and Greece: The Role of Cultural Interactions in the Architecture of Persepolis-Pasargadae

CULTURAL interaction is frequently discussed as one of the most important constructive factors in history in general and in art and architecture in particular. Without dwelling on the chronological and archaeological details of the interaction between the Greek and Persian civilizations, the present paper describes the constructive role of this interaction in the past and compares it with contemporary occurrences. Historical experience has shown that if an interaction occurs in the direction of cultural continuity and/or in the atmosphere of a historical-cultural advantage, there follows a breakthrough in art and architecture. This becomes clear in Iranian culture, particularly during climactic periods such as that of the Achaemenids. Recognition and analysis of the process of architectural evolution and of individual contributions to it by various civilizations —and especially that of Greece— provide us with insights that can also be instructive for the genesis of modern theories.

Takht-e Jamshīd (Persepolis) (Figs. 1, 13, 19a) and Pasargadae (Figs. 3 and 15) have been chosen as case studies of the constructive role of Iranian-Greek

Fig. 1
Persepolis, seen from
the northwest.
Takht-e Jamshīd Library Archive.

cultural interaction in the evolution of Iranian architecture during the Achaemenid period.[1] By juxtaposing these ancient paradigms with modern urban and architectural developments in the same region, we can better understand the reasons for both the positive results of cultural interaction in the past and the emergence of problems in modern times.

Aspects of Iranian-Greek cultural interactions at Pasargadae and Persepolis

Adaptation of artistic and architectural styles without creativity is not likely in pioneering and history-making civilizations. Cultural interaction leads to the creation of new architectural forms and artistic styles which include elements of the art of the original 'mother civilization'. The main issue addressed in this paper is not the chronology of the process of adaptation, but rather the quality of that interaction which has given rise to the formation and flourishing of architectural art on a global scale. In the past, creativity was accomplished by artists and architects adapting the experiences of the people who preceded them. This process was quite legitimate and deemed to be 'cultural'. Adaptation was not in the contemporary form of a mere *copy*, but rather past experience was accompanied by the creations of the new generation. These not only contained the values of the contemporary era, but also preserved the values of past generations. Monuments of art and architecture handed down these timeless values to later generations.

Iranian art and architecture have undergone continuous transformations, turning points and climaxes, varying with the quality of interaction between civilizations and the exploitation of historical experiences. The present generation may find it fruitful to pause and ponder these issues. In order to identify the features and the importance of these cultural interactions with regard to their architectural and urban contexts — in Persia and Greece in particular— we shall attempt to investigate contemporary interactions in the region of Parsa and Pasargadae. In order to understand the origins of this process and Achaemenid attitudes to the globalization of art and architecture, it will be useful to review briefly the major events in the region in the mid-sixth century BC, the time when Cyrus the Great was founding the Persian empire.

Cyrus' accomplishments in the artistic domain are primarily represented by the monumental remains at Pasargadae, which reflect a combination of elements derived from the artistic traditions of his various subjects. The site was also embellished with a royal garden (Greek *paradeisos*). His interest in incorporating artistic and architectural motifs from elsewhere in the empire caused him to bring to Pasargadae, among other workmen, Lydian and Ionian craftsmen and stone-carvers to work in the construction of his palaces shortly after the Persian conquest of the Lydian kingdom in 547 BC.[2] Some aspects of the work of these foreign craftsmen —such as smoothly-carved columns (i.e., without fluting) and stone bases with tori (Fig. 2)— are not seen elsewhere in Iran, not even in Persepolis.[3] Other aspects —such as the use of the Greek technique of *anathyrosis* (i.e., of joining ashlars or column drums tightly together without the use of mortar, by creating a carefully-smoothed

Fig. 2
Pasargadae, Palace P.
Columns with bases with
horizontally fluted tori.
Photo: M. H. Talebian, 2006.

band around the edges of the surfaces to be joined and leaving the inner core recessed and rough-hewn)[4]— are attested in later Achaemenid construction, for example, at Persepolis.

Traces of Greek architectural style are also found in two other monuments in Pasargadae: namely, the platform of the Tall-e Takht and the tomb of Cyrus.[5] Two other monuments in Asia Minor, the so-called Pyramid Tomb at Sardis and a tomb at Taş Kule in Phocaea, provide evidence for the same interaction.[6] A historical note by Xenophon (*Cyr.* 7.3)[7] concerning the burial of the Persian Abradatas, who was killed during the battle of Sardis, may be a clue to the identification of the tomb at Sardis. Cyrus left Sardis before this tomb was finished. Nevertheless it is possible that the builders of his own tomb were inspired by the plan of the tomb at Sardis, which also belonged to a Persian. The tomb of Taş Kule has also been suggested to be the burial place of a Persian noble who died at least a century after the reign of Cyrus the Great.[8]

As to the *paradeisoi*, it should be said that they are Persian in origin. In fact, their popularity in the empire exemplifies a reverse process of influence. It was Cyrus who initiated the development of gardens at Pasargadae (Fig. 3). Their geometric layout was purely Persian, as were the cultivation of various plants, the construction of water courses, irrigation, pavilions,

Fig. 4
Pasargadae, Tall-e Takht.
Stone fragment with rosette
decoration in relief
discovered in 2006.
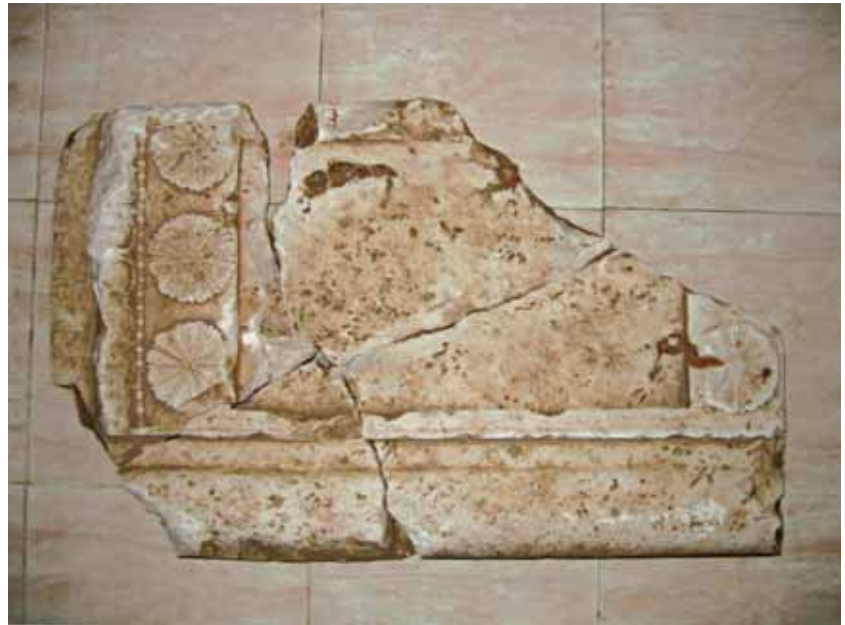
Fig. 5
Pasargadae. 'Dove-tail' clamps.
Takht-e Jamshīd Library Archive.

palaces, and bridges at Pasargadae, all of which continued until the Islamic period. A century and a half after Cyrus the Great, excellent examples of such *paradeisoi* were constructed at Sardis by Prince Cyrus, the younger son of Darius II, who was proud of his cultivation of trees in accordance with Persian custom (Xen. *Oec.* 4.20-5). Similar *paradeisoi* were created in Syria for Persian administrators.[9] Here one can note that the process is interaction rather than adaptation: the latter being one-way, while the former is mutual. Many fire-altars and Persian temples, similar to but smaller than the Ka'ba-ye Zartosht, exist in Asia Minor (for example, at Xanthos).[10]

The twelve-leaf flower symbol —seen at both Pasargadae (Fig. 4) and Persepolis— is also found off the west coast of Asia Minor on the Greek island of Samos.[11] The rosette motif was common in both Mesopotamia and ancient Greece, and it was due to the interaction of the Persians with the cultures of these areas that such forms appeared in Persia.

Other affinities with the Greek world, this time in stone construction, are attested by the use of toothed chisels at Susa and Persepolis[12] and by the practice of joining stone blocks with 'dove-tail' clamps (Fig. 5), a practice that spread eventually from Pasargadae to Persepolis. Nylander's detailed, technical study shows the close connections of the early occurrences of 'dove-tail' clamps at Pasargadae with early Ionian examples,[13] thus confirming the presence of Ionian and Lydian masons at Pasargadae. The fluting of columns at Persepolis and Susa is another example of dynamic interaction between Greece and Persia.[14] The presence of Ionian and Lydian workmen in Persia is also referred to in tablets from the Persepolis Fortifications and Treasury (PF 1577, PFa 18 and 30, PT 37).[15]

The use of columns and platforms, other important aspects of Achaemenid architecture, were both at home in the Iranian plateau. Examples of columned architecture are offered by the Median monuments, for instance, at Nūsh-e Jān, Bābā Jān and Godīn Tepe, as well as by the rock tombs at Sakāvand near Kermānshāh in the Median heartland. The platforms (Figs. 6 and 14) have parallels, for example, in Greek temples; but the practice of locating sacred places on high spots may also be compared with earlier Elamite and Mesopotamian practice (Fig. 7).

The Achaemenids' promotion of a lasting, universal artistic and architectural paradigm becomes clearer when one considers the well-known figure of the Winged Genius at Pasargadae and the famous foundation inscription (DSf) of the Apadana of Darius at Susa. The Pasargadae figure incorporates elements from the artistic traditions of a number of the Achaemenids' subject cultures: the face itself is Persian, but the robe is Elamite, the crown Egypto-Phoenician, the wings are inspired by Assyrian art, and the delicate folding of the cloth may be of Greek origin.[16]

In his Susa inscription, Darius mentions the different materials used in the construction of his palace and their respective places of origin. The text of this inscription is ingeniously written to display the extent of the empire rather than indicate the details of the materials. It is in this inscription that the Great King mentions the role of Ionian and Lydian artisans in the construction of the Apadana.[17]

The contributions of various civilizations in the construction of the Apadana illustrates the significance of a multicultural collaboration re-

Fig. 6
Pasargadae. Tall-e Takht.
Photo M. H. Talebian

Fig. 7
Elamite ziggurat
at Choghā Zanbīl.

Fig. 8
Persepolis. Polychrome
glazed bricks. Takht-e
Jamshīd Library Archive.
Photo: M. H. Talebian, 2003.

sulting from the uniquely organized Achaemenid administration as well as the full cooperation between artisans and artists from various regions. The imperial Persian state, which so greatly affected developments in the ancient Near Eastern and Greek worlds during the sixth, fifth and fourth centuries BC, united a large number of nations and civilizations in a single world empire and employed a unique ideology, along with symbols and concepts of universal cultural interactions. It is this universal character of Persian imperial rule and the use of other civilizations' expertise in the context of Iranian culture which are also reflected in the synthesis of Iranian and foreign elements that led to the formation of a distinct, composite Achaemenid style in architecture. One concludes that Achaemenid policy was generally based on tolerance and not on the imposition of the ideas of the rulers on their subject peoples.

In what follows, we shall investigate and criticize contemporary urban and architectural interventions in Iran carried out in cooperation with the West with regard to restoration in general and architectural and urban studies in the Parsa-Pasargadae region in particular. This includes important comparisons with the past.

Modern Interventions

Architectural Aspects

The first period of restoration at Persepolis and Pasargadae occurred between 1931 and 1939 and was undertaken following scientific excavations by archaeologists in this region. Ernst Herzfeld[18] and Erich Schmidt carried out restoration activities in three areas, and in each instance their activities damaged the authenticity of the excavated sites. These activities included, firstly, the reduction in height of mudbrick walls at the Apadana, the Treasury and elsewhere, as well as the reconstructions of the buildings' plans (with baked bricks instead of original mudbrick materials, due to insufficient knowledge about workmanship) and the drainage system of the complex;[19] and secondly, the elimination of historical layers and the use of inappropriate conservation methods, which resulted in the discoloration of the glazed bricks and stone reliefs. Thus, a part of the architectural identity of the complex as represented by color was lost (Fig. 8).

At the same time, the earlier archaeological, artifact-oriented understanding of Persepolis resulted in an emphasis on certain vertical and horizontal elements (such as stone columns and huge mudbrick walls approximately three meters in height) as being the most representative elements of the architecture of this period. Fragments of the original, painted and patterned materials, which are equally important for appreciating the architecture of the site, were transported out of Persepolis as debris. Such earlier approaches resulted in the destruction of historical levels and jeopardized the authenticity of the complex.[20]

In Persepolis and Pasargadae, problems were also caused by the interventions of western architects and conservators who subscribed only to their own cultural perspective and did not recognize the continuity of the local Iranian tradition. A case in point is the modern lack of adequate appreciation of the character of Pasargadae as a sacred site in various successive

periods, for which evidence exists even today. In the Islamic period, this site was known as the 'Tomb of the Mother of Solomon'. During the Atābakān period (AD 1148-1287), approximately 700 years ago, a mosque was constructed around the tomb of Cyrus the Great, encompassing the tomb itself. The construction of the altar and portico, Islamic inscriptions and tombs, as well as the Mozaffarī caravanserai and nearby gardens indicate that throughout the ages sacred associations were a constant feature of this site.[21] Unfortunately, due to a misinterpretation of 'authenticity' by Italian experts (from IsMEO) and their misunderstanding of the traditional and symbolic importance of the sacred attributes of the place, stones from the area around the tomb were 'restored' to their original position.[22] Such removal of artifacts from their cultural contexts resulted in the elimination of major Islamic layers and gave rise to historical conservation problems.

Urban Aspects

During the time of the Pahlavi dynasty (1924-1979), national beliefs in general and the historical identity of the country in particular were appropriated to serve the establishment's political ambitions. That establishment did not believe in the values of the Islamic period and did not regard all preceding eras with equanimity. The Pahlavis favored the pre-Islamic period, especially the Achaemenid era. Thus, the Pahlavi period marks the decline in importance of historical continuity and architectural patterns that embodied the local culture.

The disruption of the traditional cultural sequence was further promoted by the celebration of the 2,500th Anniversary of the Iranian Monarchy — a festival designed to glorify the tradition of monarchy in Iran (Fig. 9). Festivities, held at both Persepolis and Pasargadae by the last king of the Pahlavi dynasty,[23] brought about a French expert's extensive interventions, which seriously damaged the historical authenticity of the city of Parsa. Unfortunately, these interventions were so great that much of the original
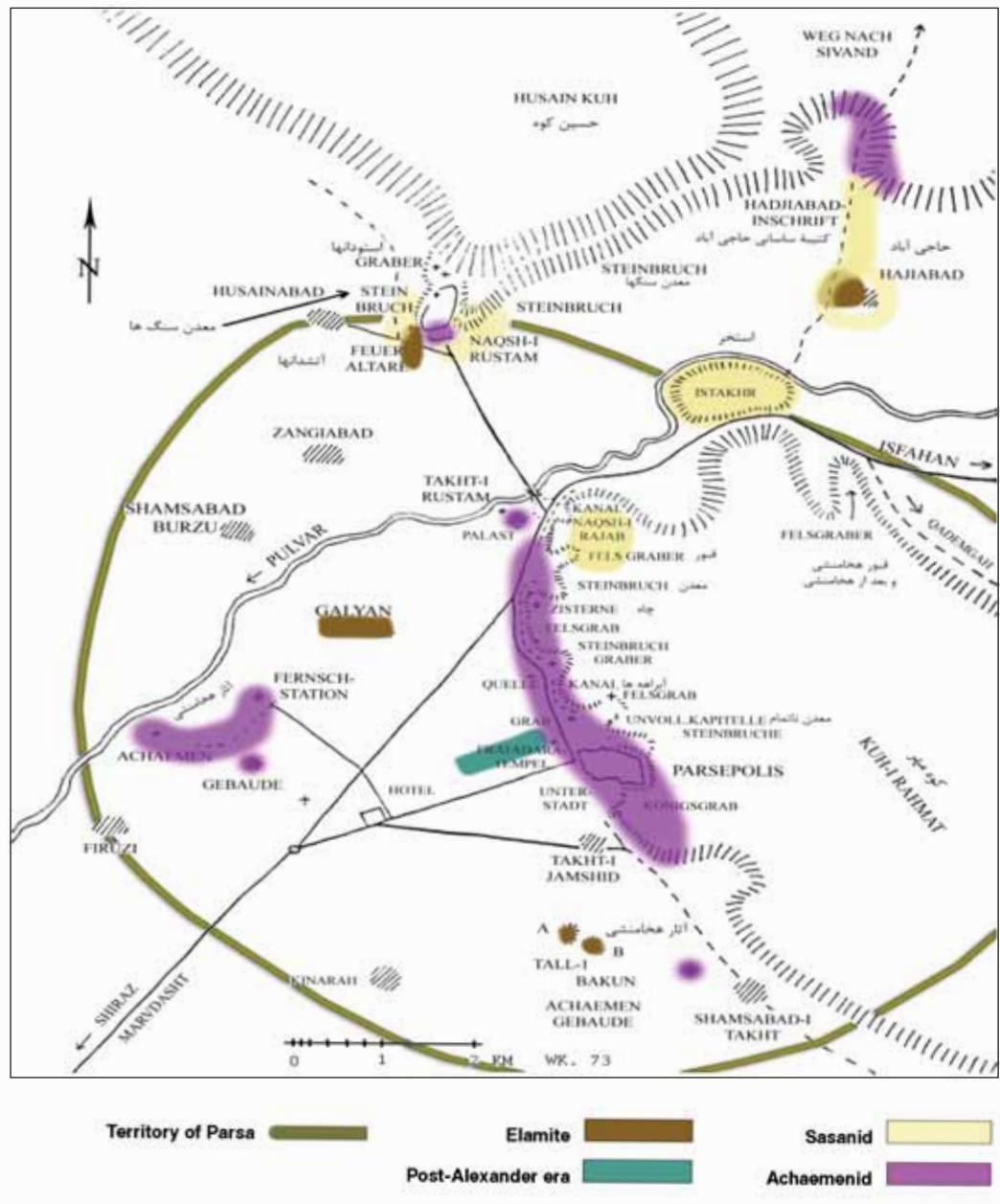
Fig. 10
The city of Parsa
in various historical
periods. Takht-e
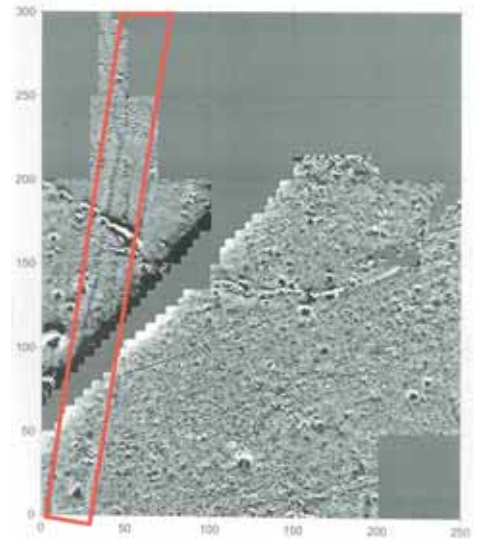Jamshīd Library
Archive. Prepared
by M. H. Talebian.

layout of the historical gardens, rivers, water-courses, and the enclosures of the imperial citadel, as well as the relationship of these features to the city and its people, have been obscured, thus rendering an accurate historical reading of the site impossible.

Investigation of the natural and historical settings of Persepolis and Pasargadae with the aid of recent archaeological survey methods highlights, once again, the consequences of arbitrary urban interventions within this World Heritage region. Persepolis belongs to a larger complex known as the city of Parsa, which encompasses various sites dating from prehistoric to Islamic times (Fig. 10).[24] From the perspective of structural and spatial relations, the area constitutes an integrated complex, within which each feature must be preserved —from communication paths to hydraulic and agricultural systems— in order to relate to all others in maintaining the integrity of this historical region. Following the investigation of
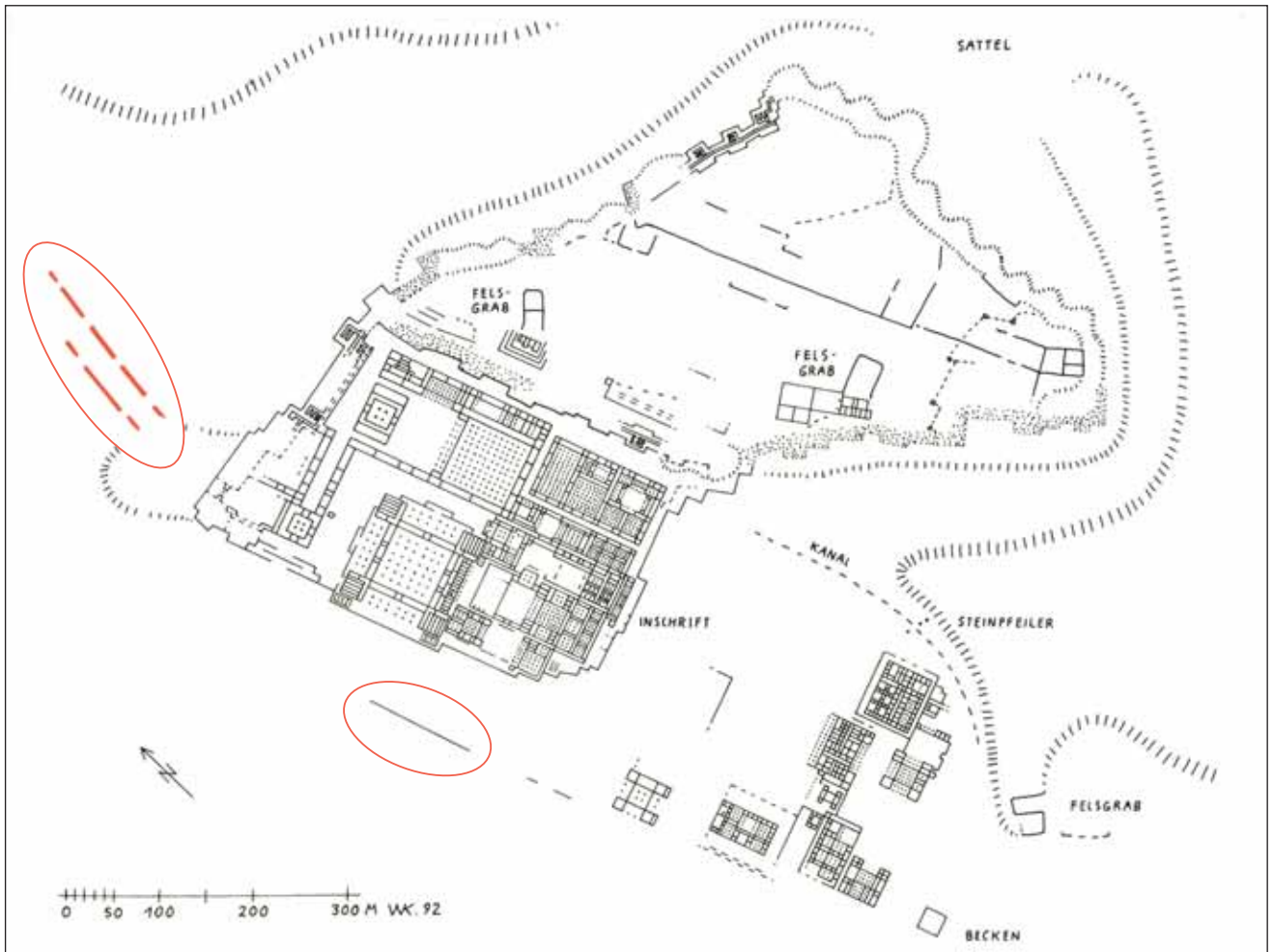
the region of the city of Parsa in 2003 and 2004 with the aid of geophysical instruments and matrix methods, hitherto unknown historical structures were revealed. The map of Blundell, printed in London in 1893, shows that the construction of Persepolis and its surrounding walls imposed a hierarchy upon the complex.[25] This picture is very different from the present appearance of Persepolis. For example, at the northeastern corner of the platform there is a huge stone wall, the construction of which dates back to the Achaemenid period. This wall has been traced from Mount Rahmat to Naqsh-e Rajab (Fig. 11a-b). Due to the numerous interventions related to the festivities of the 2,500th Anniversary, traces of the walls at the eastern side of the platform have been lost. Thanks to recent geophysical investigation, traces of ancient irrigation canals have been found at the southwestern side of the 'royal tent complex', which seem to replicate the Pasargadae garden and irrigation systems but were destroyed during preparations for the 2,500th Anniversary Festival. Furthermore, evidence of ancient branches of the Kor River and of agricultural *karts* in the area is provided by old aerial photographs of this region (Fig. 12). Clearly the meaning of Persepolis as a historic and World Heritage site is present in such environmental and historical patterns.

Other activities carried out (without regard for the contemporary historical context) as part of the preparations for the 2,500th Anniversary include the following: the elimination of many of the mudbrick structures,

Figs. 11a-b
a. Persepolis.
b. Geophysical survey of the enclosure discovered in 2003.
(After Aminpur 2003.)
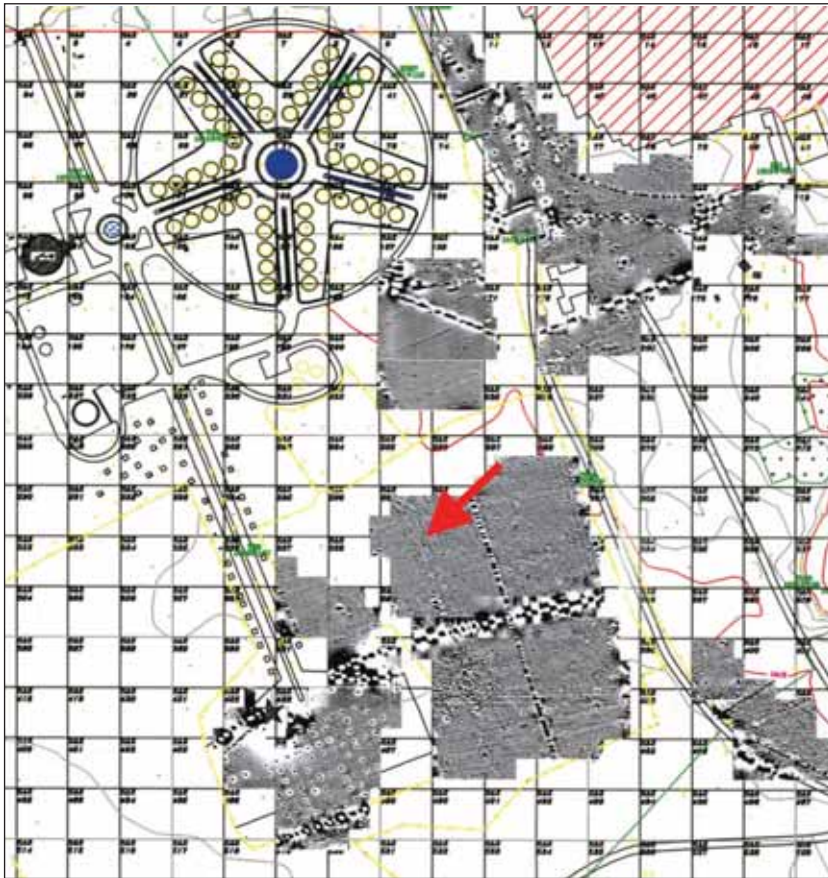
Fig. 12
Probable water canal
of the Kor River. Takht-e
Jamshīd Library Archive.

Fig. 13
Persepolis from the east.
Takht-e Jamshīd Library
Archive.

the construction of the tent complex, the construction of a new road from Marvdasht to Persepolis (which interfered with the historic caravan route) and, finally, the planting of trees (Fig. 13). All of these activities have seriously compromised our perception of the continuity of cultural heritage in these sites.[26] Furthermore, at the city of Parsa, the change of the pilgrims' route —from the perimeter of the southern precinct (*Barzan*) towards the northwest, up to the historical city of Eṣṭakhr— conceals the main entrance of Persepolis at the southern wall of the platform (Fig. 14) and with it the main aim of Darius the Great in constructing the platform of Persepolis.

Similar alterations have also taken place at Pasargadae. Iranian architecture is governed by a hierarchical pattern, proceeding from the gate to the tomb. Passing through the Gate Pavilion —the main entrance of Pasargadae adorned with the famous relief of the Winged Figure— functioned as a consecration for the pilgrims. The pilgrims' path complied with traditional urban hierarchies: it proceeded from the gate to the garden and palaces and, thence, to the tomb. However, this path is now reversed, following modern urban planning interventions (Fig. 15a-b). These recent changes and the drastic alteration of historic paths, along with their itineraries, have led to the loss of the historical perspective which informed the original setting. Thus, the contemporary visitor is no longer able to comprehend the spatial-historical relationships that determined the original meaning of these sites.

In order to comprehend the true meaning of Persepolis and Pasargadae, one should consider their extant structures in the context of anthropological and cultural landscapes as well as in relation to the belief systems that contextualize these sites. The elimination of any of these contextualizing factors inevitably hinders a clear perception of the historical and cultural continuity in these areas.
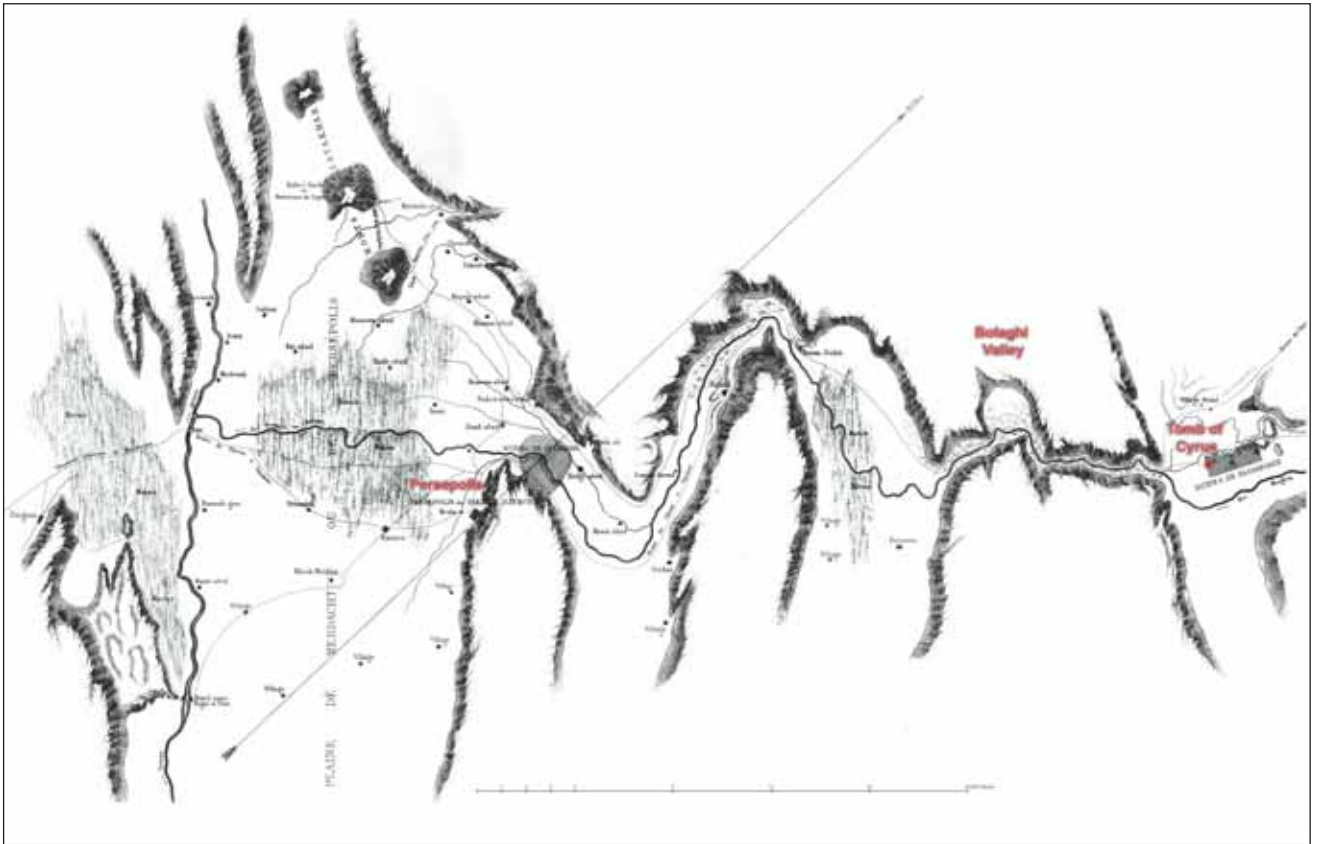
Aspects of the Cultural Landscape

The Parsa-Pasargadae cultural landscape[27] has many and varied structures which are the result of historical and natural interaction. The Flandin and

Coste map of 1841 (Fig. 16, cf. Fig. 17) shows the approximate extent of the region beginning at the plain of Morghāb and continuing onto the plain of Marvdasht.[28] The importance of this map is that it displays the 'mental' territory of the landscape as well as the consistency of the natural and historical features. Settlements and various historical structures —together with contemporary features, such as villages, *qanāts*, gardens, mountains and sacred points, mines, roads and, of course, the people— show a kind of continuity in the Parsa-Pasargadae region as well as a concentration of cultural values, which reached their climax during the Achaemenid period.[29]

For example, the network of quarries shows that Persepolis depended upon the activity of workers at these quarries (Fig. 18). This dependence is further illustrated by the hydraulic system and its *qanāts*, as well as by canals from the dam of Darius and the city of Eṣṭakhr as far away as Persepolis (Fig. 19a-c). The existence of routes and communication structures between numerous historical mounds, gardens, and other historical points of the region between Persepolis and Pasargadae reveals, once again, the importance of historical space in urban settings and cultural landscapes, as well as the importance of dependence upon communication networks, including the evolving routes of nomads (Fig. 20). Sacred mountains, burial chambers (or *ostudāns*), a diversity of burial customs, and continuity of sacredness in different periods are, among other things, clues to the importance of the preservation of integrity. Furthermore, defensive and administrative structures (which once provided security) and urban systems in the region have themselves become part of the intangible heritage that has survived until the present.[30] An overview of the values present in the cultural landscape shows that some of those values, such as sa-
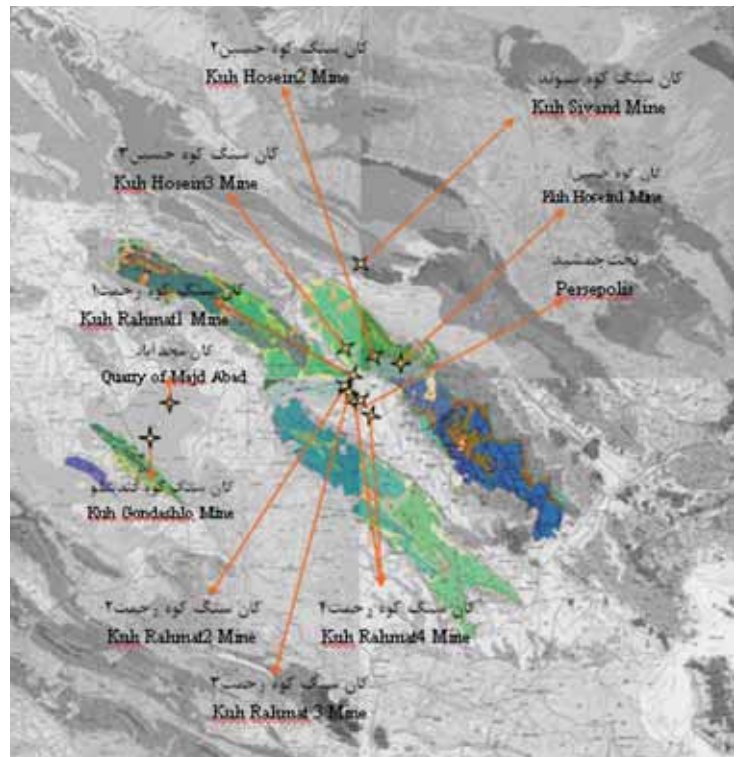
Fig. 15a-b
Historical (above) and present-day (below) entrances into Pasargadae. Takht-e Jamshīd Library Archive.

Fig. 16
The Parsa-Pasargadae cultural landscape. (After Flandin and Coste 1976: pl. 57.)
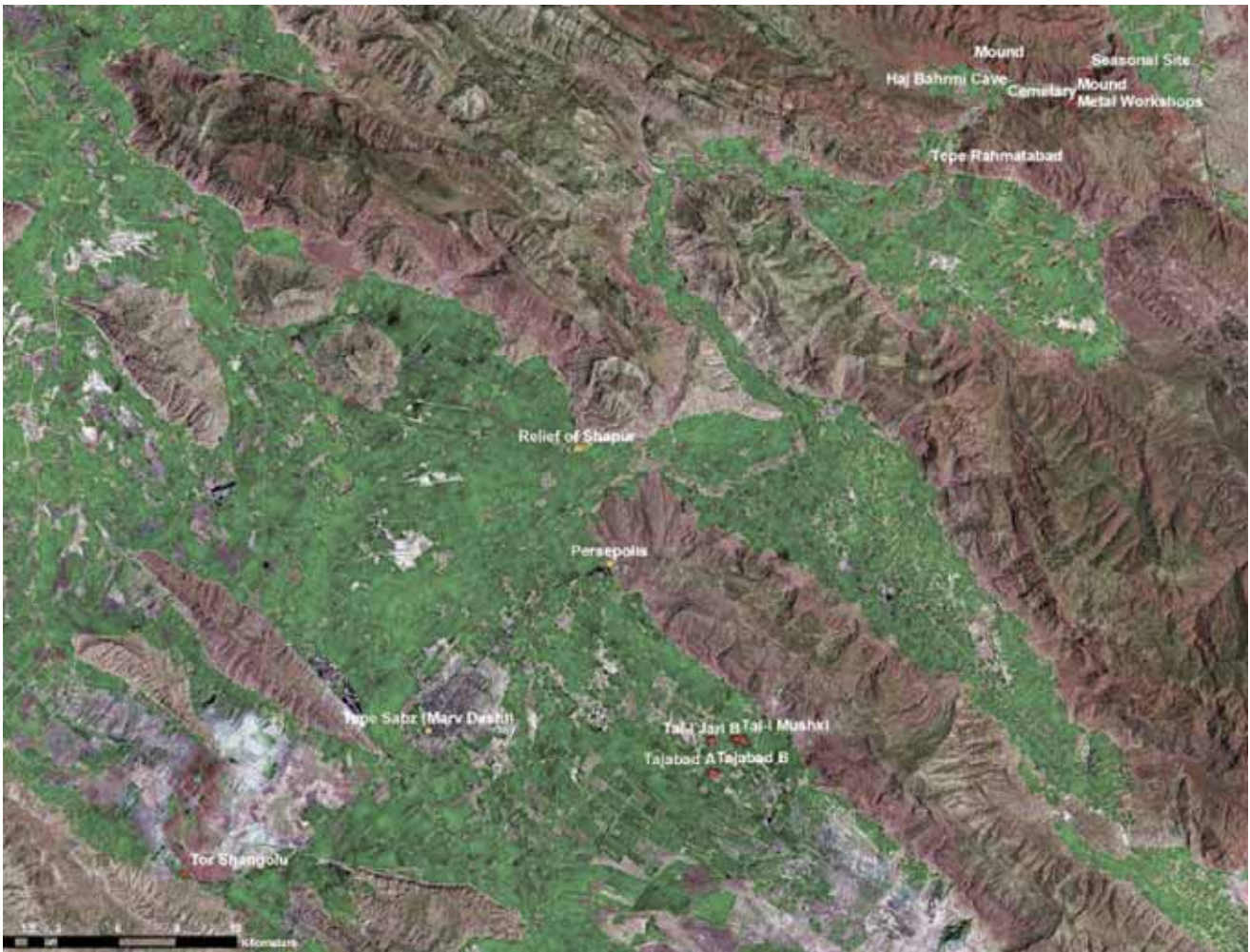
Fig. 17
Satellite image of the
Parsa-Pasargadae area.
Takht-e Jamshīd Library
Archive, Landsat.

Fig. 18
Network of quarries in the
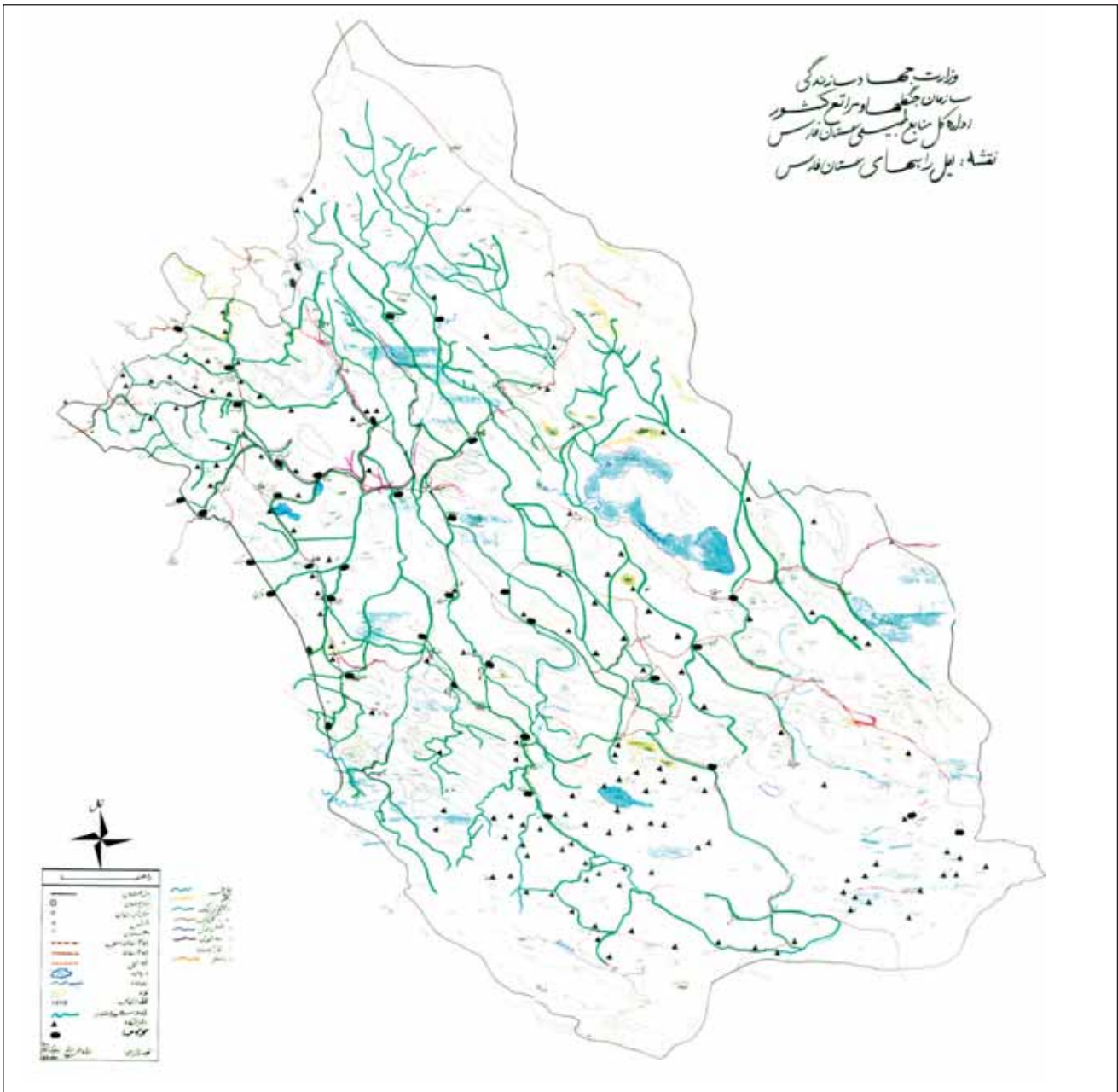Persepolis area.
(After Aminpur 2003.)

Fig. 20
Traditional tribal routes in
Fārs which are still in use.
Natural Resources
Organization of Fārs,
Tribal Office.

cred values and the social organization of nomadic tribes and villages, were inherent within the culture and have continued subconsciously.

Heavy (e.g., petrochemical) industries —which seem inappropriately positioned given the archaeological importance of the region— are located near the main road to Persepolis. The construction of a sugar factory brought with it the foundation of the city of Marvdasht. All these are consequences of modern engineering developments which are invariably followed by the discontinuity of various historical structures.

Conclusion

The study of urbanism and architecture on a global scale is only valid when the collaborative manner and role of each culture is appreciated. In

addition to respecting various cultural contexts, lessons are to be learned from related historical experiences. The technical expertise and creativity of past generations must be considered. The importance of continuous architectural and urban planning as a cultural phenomenon must also be emphasized. The study of architecture and urban planning should be carried out irrespective of political disputes, should be free from biased notions of imposition of a dominant civilization over others, and should be solely at the service of various cultures and civilizations. In respecting the cultural variety of artists, architects, and urban planners, we can find a common language which is in harmony with the ongoing interaction among cultures and has a unique significance.

[1] Takht-e Jamshīd, the ritual capital of the Achaemenid empire, was founded on the basis of a plan (as indicated by the evidence of underground canals) by Darius the Great around 515 BC. His constructions were expanded by those of his successors, Xerxes and Artaxerxes I. With some delay, a few more structures were added under Artaxerxes III (see, e.g., Shahbazi 2004: 18-20). This site was included in UNESCO's World Heritage list in 1979. Pasargadae, the first capital of the empire, was founded in about 535 BC (but cf. note 2, below) by the empire's founder, Cyrus the Great, and includes the first known examples of Iranian creativity in horticulture and ingenuity in hydraulics. The site includes the tomb of Cyrus the Great as well as private and audience palaces. Pasargadae was included in UNESCO's World Heritage list in 2004.

[2] For Cyrus' architectural program at Pasargadae, see Stronach 1978 and this same scholar's most recent discussion in the present volume: 149-73.

[3] Boardman 2000: 64.

[4] Boardman 2000: 22.

[5] Boardman 2000: 32 and 52. The stepped form of the tomb may have developed from Elamite architecture as seen in the ziggurat of Choghā Zanbīl in Fig. 8.

[6] Boardman 2000: 34 and 55.

[7] See Hanfmann 1983: 42, 103.

[8] Cahill 1988.

[9] Dandamaev 1989: chs. 31-9.

[10] Allen 2005: 94.

[11] Nylander 1970: 140-1.

[12] Nylander 1970: 32.

[13] Nylander 1970: 63-7.

[14] The Persian architects of the Apadana at Persepolis, however, preferred columns with 48 flutes — a number greater by far than that of their Greek counterparts.

[15] See Briant 2002: 430 and 434.

[16] Stronach 1978: 44-9 and this volume: 159-62 *passim*, with Fig. 8 on page 159 and Fig. 10 on page 161.

[17] DSf ll. 22-51: '…This palace which I built at Susa, from afar its ornamentation was brought… The cedar timber, this —a mountain by name Lebanon— from there was brought. The Assyrian people, it brought it to Babylon; from Babylon the Carians and the Ionians brought it to Susa… The ornamentation with which the wall was adorned, that from Ionia was brought… The stone columns which were here wrought, a village by name Abiradu, in Elam – from there were brought. The stone-cutters who wrought the stone, those were Ionians and Sardians… The men who wrought the wood, those were Sardians and Egyptians…' (Kent 1953: 144; see also Curtis and Tallis 2005: 56).

[18] Herzfeld 1929-30.

[19] Schmidt 1953: 210-11.

[20] Rahsaz 1982-3.

[21] Sami 1960; Sedaqatkish 2001. For a photograph of the tomb of Cyrus and the associated remains of the thirteenth-century mosque, see Stronach, this volume: p. 157, Fig. 4.

[22] Tilia 1972: 66-7.

[23] The 2,500th Anniversary of the Iranian Monarchy was held at Takht-e Jamshīd and elsewhere on 12-19 October 1971 (*The Newspaper of the 2,500th Anniversary* 1971: 4). A place close to Takht-e Jamshīd was chosen for the construction of the so-called 'village of tents' as the residence of invited world leaders and international figures. The 'village' was constructed in a star shape and, at each terminal, a street was named after each continent. These streets led to a vast square decorated with water views, fountains and flower beds. The village was constructed by the famous French designer,

Jansen (*The Newspaper of the 2,500th Anniversary* 1971: 1). The tents were furnished with apartments for high-ranking guests. The work was undertaken between 1969 and 1971, and the site of Persepolis was simultaneously illuminated by Philips. The Persepolis sound-and-light program was produced by S. M. Mousavi exclusively for this ceremony.

[24] Kleiss 1992: 155-66.

[25] Aminpur 2003: 5-15.

[26] *The Newspaper of the 2,500th Anniversary* 1971.

[27] Cultural landscape is a recently introduced scholarly concept which concerns not only natural, historical, cultural and contemporary views of the past but also the quality of dynamic continuity of a region.

[28] Flandin and Coste 1976: pl. 57.

[29] Sumner 1986: 30-1.

[30] Talebian 2005: 165-70.

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MARGARET COOL ROOT

Reading Persepolis in Greek – Part Two: Marriage Metaphors and Unmanly Virtues

Introduction[1]

THIS PAPER is Part Two of a pair of explorations in which I consider the imagery of the Apadana at Persepolis through the eyes of a hypothetical normative Athenian (male) citizen of the classical age. He is traveling as an autonomous adult sometime within the long century from about 460 to sometime in the mid-300s BC.

In Part One, I discussed the costuming and offerings of the Group XII delegation of gift-bearers on the Apadana. On the north facade of this great audience hall, and again on the east facade, the original central panels portray Darius I enthroned, with Xerxes behind him, receiving a bowing official who announces the imminent commencement of a ceremony. On Wing A, Persian nobles in their alternating courtly and military aspects are gathered behind the royal space — anticipating the imperial event. On Wing B, gift-bearers from twenty-three lands stand poised to bring forward their symbolic treasures to the Great King. Group XII of the Apadana gift-bearing delegations represents a collective notion of the *Yaunā*. It is by this term *Yaunā* that the Persians refer to 'Ionians' and to 'Greeks' more comprehensively, without further individualization (Fig. 1a-c).[2] Interestingly, this particular delegate group is fraught with interpretive mysteries. Thus, its detailed exploration is significant on many levels as a case study in assessing original Achaemenid intention and eventual Greek reception.

Here in Part Two, I consider our Athenian's reading of two larger elements of the Apadana program: the portrayal of elite Persian manhood (Wing A) and the portrayal of the extended metaphorical scheme of gift-bearers being led solemnly by the hand toward the king (Wing B) (Fig. 2a-b).[3]

In Part One, I articulated many parameters of the entire project of 'reading Persepolis in Greek'. Here, I only reiterate two important points.

(1): The project is an experiment that does not focus on any one very specific historical moment in an ever-changing century of both Athenian and Achaemenid vicissitudes on the world stage. I am of course aware that relationships and realities shifted dramatically across the long century: from the rise of Perikles and the Athenian empire in the wake of the repulse of Achaemenid forces from the mainland, to the plague and trauma of the Peloponnesian War, to the unraveling power of Athens over coastal and island territories of the Aegean (and the resurgence of Achaemenid control over much of this arena), to the ever more obvious threat of a new engulfing empire under Philip II of Macedon. In essence, my experiment highlights the problems with the bland periodization of Athenian 'classical' culture in traditional scholarly discourse — particularly in sweeping overviews. By its imagining of a commonality of Athenian reception of Achaemenid art across the arc of this historically fraught time, I hope to subvert the whole concept of 'the classical age' as an effective framing of cultural life. At the same time, however, I hope also to allow the pretense
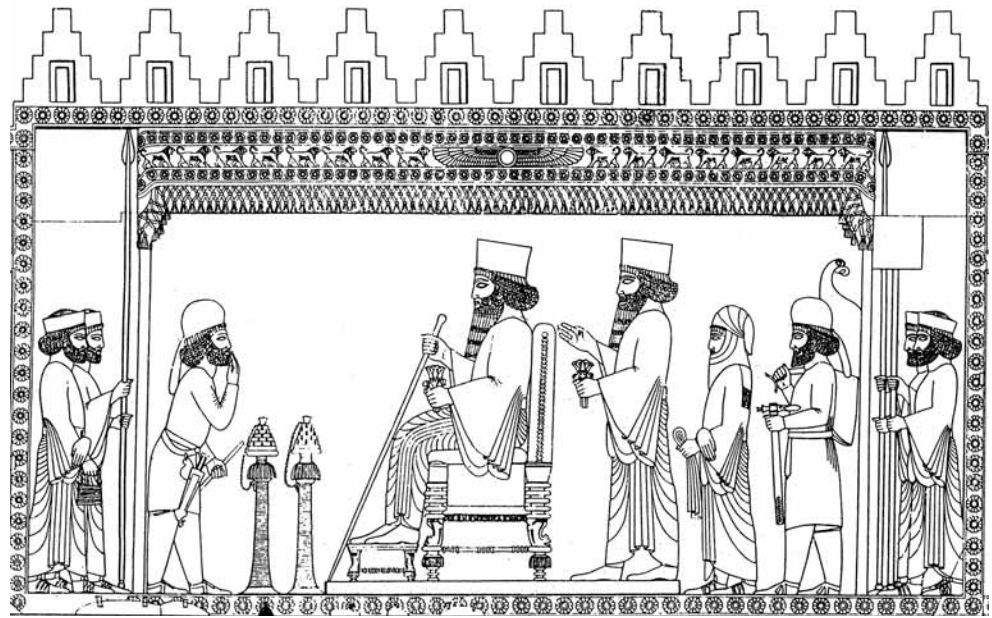
of a commonality of ethos and opinion on the part of our Athenian traveler across the long century to highlight the way in which modern western scholarship has tended to nurture this very notion. Was there really a personage who obediently lived and received culture on the terms blueprinted by our literalistic readings of ancient tragedians, satirists, docudrama writers, philosophers, and politicians?

(2): The goals and theoretical limitations of my characterization of a 'normative' Athenian citizen have a certain legitimacy; but they require explanation. My hypothetical figure is imagined to be a well-read and visually-attuned elite personage of substance. He is an engaged citizen. For the purposes of this experiment of the mind, he is, however, a *representation*.

By definition, a representation is an interpretation — not a genetic blueprint of any actual human being. Also by definition, a representation may be paradoxical. It may simultaneously be essentializing or idealizing (reducing the subject to an improbably simplified nature); it may also be multivalent (forcing the subject to vibrate with competing indicators of thought and reaction). Our Athenian is a representation based upon ways in which elite Athenian social life is produced as normative in much current western scholarly interpretation of the classical age. Relevant here, for instance, is his fit within the patriarchal environment of classical Athens. Any *real* male Athenian would have individual and particular relationships to the complexities of gender identity, class, and politics of his time. But I cannot deal with such individualized potentials in this exercise any more than I can create shifting frames of his resonance with Persepolis on a year-by-year continuum of historical events.

Through the lens of our fictitious and essentialized personage, I do hope, however, to explore one subtle possibility in how we think about Greece and Persia here. To wit: The still-prevalent modern western notion of a polarized worldview of Greek versus Persian deserves to be complicated with a notion of ambiguity. Many key classical texts offer a more fluid embrace of relationships with the Achaemenid empire during the long classical century than modern western tradition has typically admitted.[4] Our Athenian traveler may have been more open-minded to multiple perspectives on what he saw in Persepolis than modern western understanding of that world scene likes to imagine.

In the end, the project suggests a range of clear cross-cultural disjunctures between two very different worldviews. These disjunctures are situated (1) between probable Achaemenid *intention* in the *designing* of the monument (c. 515 BC) and (2) the plausible range of Athenian *reaction* to the completed edifice when our hypothetical traveler visited it fifty or more years later. Yet I posit ultimately that, in art as in life, dangerous cross-cultural misunderstandings *may* sometimes have been mitigated through the intervention of human agency in the form of social dialogue.

WING A: Men in a line, all dressed up and holding hands

Dress and adornment

On Wing A of the Apadana, the Persian nobles stand with their lower bodies in discrete, invariable, and self-contained gridded space (Fig. 3). They are heavily swathed in their elaborately tailored Iranian riding costume or their elegantly draped court robe. (Both costumes were originally embellished with colorful painted designs).[5] The two alternating types of garments carried great social distinction and prestige in Achaemenid culture.[6] Thus, the sumptuous attire of the nobles bespeaks access to privilege and to symbolic associations of the two garment types. These associations relate to indigenous Elamite courtly traditions in Southwest Iran (for the robe) and to notions of pan-Iranian identity in the manly arts of horsemanship, hunting, and warfare (for the riding costume). Furthermore, the earrings, bracelets, and torques these nobles display were signs of royal favor. They were among the kinds of gifts given by the king to loyal members of his inner circle and to trusted allies throughout the empire.[7]

But how would our Athenian greet the vision of these heavily ornamented, elaborately and completely clothed Persians lined up to await the pleasure of their king? The Athenian manly ideal in the classical age stressed heroic nudity or semi-nudity as a representational designation of mortal masculinity.[8] Nuances of this undeniable phenomenon have received much attention in recent scholarship. Osborne, for instance, emphasizes significant negotiations of masculinity and citizen identity being played out in representational discourse across the classical century. He traces a shift in the fifth century away from full nudity in representations of *mature* (bearded) Athenian mortals and a relegation of full nudity to a *youthful* (still beardless) ideal. It is crucial to recognize, however, that his distinction of this representational shift relating to youthful versus mature men remains within options of full nudity or partial nudity (a clothed state that is nevertheless physically revealing). Athenian representational practice for mortal Athenian men (and the terms of masculinity it negotiated) continued throughout the classical century to be at odds with Persian conventions for representations of themselves.

The Persian visual conventions of masculinity, as we can understand them from the official art of the Achaemenid court, called for an elaborate decorum of male bodily cover. Representations of five of the 23 subject peoples on the Apadana display visions of ethnic dress that reveal parts of the body. There is never a hint of revealed genitalia. These costumes seem intended specifically to describe localities of particularly warm climate. Delegation XIV (Indians) is the only group shown bare-chested. Even here, the lead delegate in this group wears a himation-type garment over the kilt so that only one arm and shoulder are exposed.[9]

For representations *of Persians themselves* in monumental sculpture, the consistency of the convention of full coverage is striking. This consistency renders the sole exception in the monumental tradition as we know it very dramatic even in its discreetness of bodily revelation. The exception I speak of is the bare-armed royal hero imagery portrayed as a kind of protective device in inner doorways of many of the palaces on the Persepolis Takht (Fig. 4a-b).[10] Interestingly, this representational type signifies the abstract notion of 'a Persian man,' which we hear of in Achaemenid royal texts.[11] The imagery takes bodily representation of Persian-ness to a mythical realm of composite heroic identity. The king is 'a Persian man'. The king is heroic in this capacity. Therefore, by collective extension of the Persian family, every 'Persian man' is something of a king and something of a hero.

The ceremonial paradigm of full coverage is parodied on three cylinder seals used on the Elamite Persepolis Fortification tablets dating between 509 and 494 BC.[12] Here variations on a theme of *coitus a tergo* are portrayed. In each of these cases the figures are fully clothed. Also in each of

Fig. 4a-b
a. Royal hero relief.
Throne Hall (Hall of 100
Columns), Persepolis.
Photo: M. C. Root.
b. Royal hero relief, detail.
Throne Hall (Hall of 100
Columns), Persepolis.
Photo: M. C. Root.

these three cases the sex act occurs between two males. These seals reflect a parallel glyptic production active in Persepolis of representation of *heterosexual* encounters front-to-back at the same period in the reign of Darius I. (An example from a different subset of tablets in this same archive does show a female figure as the subject of the action. Still, the figures are fully clothed.) The fact of depicting the sex act among fully clothed figures does not seem to emerge out of a restriction against portraying the male organ. Rather, the seals seem to make bawdy fun of the whole situation.

PFS 189 shows the man who comes from behind, lifting the garment of the fellow bent down before him. He is poised to penetrate either with his own penis, a dagger, or a dildo. On the other two seals we seem to have an exaggerated penis on full display merging from the clothes of the man behind. On all the examples (including the heterosexual encounter) the recipient of sexual action bends down to perform some busy-work with bundles — much like some heterosexual erotic encounters on Athenian pots.[13]

On many seals in the Fortification tablet corpus ithyphallic animals are explicitly portrayed.[14] So too, the male organs on the lion and bull emblems on the palaces of Persepolis are highly visible reminders of sexual potency of the male and fecundity more all-encompassingly.[15] It seems that the depiction of sexually explicit anatomy was generally displaced to the animal world in Persian culture. This is not to suggest that representations of human nudity and sexual anatomy were forbidden by some sort of morality legislation. From among the seals on the Elamite Persepolis Fortification tablets we have one image of a frontal human female nude — portrayed as the winged creature controlled by the hero.[16] And from slightly later, on the Persepolis Treasury

tablets, we have several seals displaying nudity. One seal portrays a frontal nude Bes, with his characteristic dangling penis.[17] Another depicts two nude humans in coitus a tergo.[18] Additional seals on the Treasury tablets also depict apparent nudity. They are not necessarily products of local workshops — but they are seals used in the public administrative arena of Persepolis.

Let us move now from the aspect of coverage of the male body to issues of the manner of dressing. Among the stereotypes that Edith Hall argues were repeatedly attributed by Athenian dramatists to the Persians, the following elements loom large: materialism, affectation of elaborate garments, the conspicuous display of jewelry-as-wealth, and subservience. [19] Athenian playwrights frequently made correlations of these Persian traits and the affectations of Athenian females.[20] Furthermore, *sumptuous* apparel was considered an unmanly thing in life practice as well as in the art of classical Athens.[21] Elaborate and all-covering robes worn by men related to the archaic age of tyrants in Athens and to the realm of satraps and kings in the contemporary currency of the Achaemenid empire. A Greek god (especially Dionysus) might be shown in art as fully clothed in rich robes; but such images were echoing visions of royalty in the Greek imagination.[22]

A well-known Athenian red-figure belly amphora by Myson probably dates to about 475.[23] It is a good example of an Athenian-produced representation of a king from the old days, portrayed in sumptuous robes. King Croesus of Lydia is enthroned in splendor — but on a funerary pyre as it is being lit. Herodotus (1.86 ff.) describes the divine intervention leading to the rescue of Croesus and his welcoming into the court circle of the conquering Persian, Cyrus II. This story is contradicted by a late Babylonian royal text of Nabonidus, which claims that Croesus was put to death.[24] Whatever happened to Croesus in actuality, the Athenian imagination was apparently captivated by the notion of kings (and tyrants like the Athenian Hippias himself) finding hospitality in the opulent surroundings of the Persian court and effectively becoming Persian. There was a threat here that demanded neutralization through narratives and representations that contained it, tamed it. Herodotus first read his history to a mid-fifth century Athenian audience and the text remained part of the fabric of educated life thereafter. The pot painting by Myson conveys a rather similar message to that solidified in the Herodotean narrative some years later. It suggests that Croesus will live to see a new day. The 'libation' he pours may save him in either of two ways. (1) It may make a favorable impression on the gods, so that they will intervene on his behalf. Or (2) the liquid may actually put out the flames that otherwise would engulf him. In either case, there is a humorous element in the scenario. The lavishly arrayed figure deals with his pyre problem in regal fashion, sitting elegantly, with total confidence, on a richly carved throne perched above it all. The fact that his perch is a funerary pyre is more than a narrative device. It seems meant to echo and make a joke about the royal dais (and the blazing fire altar upon it?) that becomes an iconic feature of the Achaemenid representations of kingship ritual and Persian kingship.

This painting in conjunction with the Herodotean narrative is instructive here. It shows a certain fascination with the collusive nature of kings and tyrants. For Athenians who resisted the prospect of any triumphant re-installation of a tyrant at home, this collusive collegiality was symbolized by the attention to adornment characteristic of the needs of royal presentation. The notion that these notables (including ex-patriot Athenian types!) might stick together literally like birds-of-a-feather in their flowery robes and their jewelry was surely disturbing. The humorous element in Myson's por-

trayal is real.[25] Equally real is the undercurrent of anxiety that both encouraged the humor and made it socially affective as a neutralizing agent.[26]

References to Xerxes' tearful ripping away of his robes in Aeschylus' *Persians* uses the royal garment as a tragic signifier of great irony. At 270-318, his mother describes her vision of the yoked pair of women —one personifying Greece and the other Asia— whom Xerxes has harnessed to his chariot. It is interesting here that the Asian is dressed in lavish garments, while the Greek woman is dressed plainly. In the course of the long popularity of *Persians* later in the century, this will have become a nostalgic conceit — far from the reality of elite lifestyle in Athens. When Greece throws off the yoke, Xerxes shreds he royal garments in despair as his father looks on with pity. Near the close of the drama (1660-8), Xerxes laments with the chorus that he was moved to tear his clothes while witnessing the mass drowning of his men. Here, the notion of his royal garments stripped away is coupled with notions of strength, power, and friendship stripped away: 'In my shame I gave joy to our enemies/And strength is wholly destroyed/My bodyguard's gone, I am naked/Stripped of friends, tricked at sea…'[27] The self-inflicted act exposes his male body — but not to the heroic nudity which is the prerogative of a Greek masculine ideal. Instead, this exposure leads to ultimate vulnerability. It is theatrically the ironic inverse of a *heroic* nudity or semi-nudity. It is a fraught exposure of body through violated garments that conjures up visions of compromised mythic normative females (such as abducted Lapith women on the Parthenon south metopes) or dangerously transgressive mythic females (such as the attacking Amazons on the shield of Athena Parthenos, who wear their tunics deliberately pulled down to bare a breast).[28]

This dramatic feature of *Persians* opens up the question of how most appropriately we can understand the human sympathy for the Persian king that is sometimes ascribed as a motive in Aeschylus' play. The sympathy feels to me very laden, very charged with gendered discomfort and ambivalence.[29] Xerxes' rending of his beautiful robes in repeated performances on the Athenian stage throughout the classical era had the potential to reinforce the symbolic complexity of Athenian reaction to Persian sartorial splendor and courtly behavior. It had the potential repeatedly to reinforce the polarization in notions of Athenian manliness in contrast to Persian effeminacy.

In the (male) Athenian construction of representations of the elite *female*, opulence of dress and bodily accoutrements was admissible. Such displays were even encouraged as exemplary, when properly orchestrated for public view. The 'luxury culture' that Miller explicates primarily channels the growing classical Athenian fascination with conspicuous display onto the women of the social order.[30]

Evidence includes the sculptured stone grave stelai of the classical age. These monuments were commissioned or bought ready-made for very public viewing in the cemetery of Athens and neighboring Attic communities. They served as monuments for and to affluent families as complete social units — not merely as markers of a single individual's grave.[31] Unlike the imagery of funerary stelai in earlier times, these classical monuments often portray women.

The elite woman in such cases is typically shown with a passive affect — sometimes standing, but more often seated in a languid mode. One convention is to portray the woman fingering or admiring her jewelry (or looking into her jewelry box) (Fig. 5).[32] In other cases, she may be portrayed somewhat distractedly spinning wool (an aspect of her productive capaci-

ty). In still other cases, stress is on the female's *re*-productive capacity, as she is shown with a child. These conventions of portrayal all share varying visions of the female of the affluent household as an iconic family asset.[33]

The shift in costly funerary display from dominant focus on the virile warrior-athlete family member to numerically imposing options that include a range of visions of the privileged domestic female surely resulted from the confluence of several social factors.[34] The new representational paradigms of female display in this particular medium were, in other words, brought about by interests much more complex than a sentimental desire to memorialize a particular beloved woman for her own sake as a cherished individual. These family status markers were purchased by men for public viewing by men in a man's public space where the elite women of the sort depicted would venture only in tightly controlled circumstances.[35] The representations of wealthy, domestically-framed females were one way of staking the claim of family solidarity, identity, internal loyalty, and cohesiveness. This strategy of family portrayal was especially significant as it reflected the social impact and implications of Perikles' exclusionary law of 451 BC, which dictated that Athenian citizenship had to be based on the Athenian-ness of the mother as well as the father.[36] The funerary stelai portraying iconic females became, then, a form of *masculine* self-representation in the sense that these monuments were both directed by male perceptions of the meanings of the female and intended to serve the interests of the male in the social order. Further, the renderings of females provided a pretext by which the patriarchal family unit could open-

ly depict visions of its literal and symbolic wealth as a mode of resistance in a political environment where there was a theoretical downplaying of status differentials.[37] These wealth (the jewelry gazers), procreative strength (the infant-holders), and a flourishing, well-managed household economic base (the spinners) — all frequently accompanied by serving maids/slaves. I am not denying other, more sentimental and personal, meanings in these grave markers. But those meanings are traditionally emphasized in the literature and need no introduction to the record.

In sum, the depiction of an elegantly dressed woman and her jewelry had achieved iconic status in Athens of the classical age, serving as a channeling mechanism for patriarchal pride and family interest in the recording of status. The monumental depiction of a *male* member of the same elite household, categorized with reference to conspicuous displays of wealth and seated leisure, would have been inappropriate. This is the position our Athenian traveler would have held.

Spatial restraint

The gridded representation of nobles on Wing A is part of a tradition of imagery at home in Egypt and Mesopotamia. The nobles of Wing A display energy and activity within their confines. But no one would argue that they flaunt action poses analogous to the riders on the Parthenon frieze. This is not their purpose. Formally and structurally, they are more similar to the elders/eponymous heroes on the east frieze of the Parthenon (and even the gods!), who chat amongst themselves as they await the mortal procession. The figures on Wing A exist in a world of contained (and therefore tensional) imminence. They are all about showing the backbone of loyalty drawn up behind the king, anticipating the reaffirmation of their bonds.

Our Athenian would probably see these nobles at first in opposition to manly action figures of the Athenian milieu. The spatial restraint of bodies is a hallmark definition of ideal female conduct played out in Greek sculpture in direct contrast to the externalized projection into space of male representational deportment.[38]

A comparison of the typically windswept semi-nudity of males in action stances on classical funerary reliefs is in diametric contrast to the immobile, passive renderings of women from the same social ranks depicted in the same artistic medium (as we have just seen). Similarly, the internalized, contained patterning of females on the east side of the Parthenon frieze is in marked contrast to the lively diagonals and aggressively overlapping presentations of males on the west, south, and north (Figs. 6-7).[39]

The containment of the Persian nobles would be read in Greek as a marker of the feminine. Furthermore, in the particular representational context of the Apadana, the nobles would seem to be enacting fawning, subservient behavior in relation to the king — an affirmation of their effeminacy and weakness.[40] By extension, the nobles on Wing A would have appeared, in their docile incorporation to the king's hegemonic project (along with their dress and accoutrements of courtly life), like the embodiment of the docile, well-displayed wife awaiting her husband's approval. A related possible association would be reminiscence of the meek maidens doing their orchestrated duty in the performance of some public ritual (such as the Great Panathenaia imagined on the Parthenon frieze) — the only type of occasion when these good virgins got out in public to be scrutinized physically as potential marriage-mates.[41]

Touching and feeling, holding hands and flowers

To make matters even more open to cross-cultural misunderstanding, many of the Persian nobles on Wing A hold hands and touch each other in gestures of familiarity. These are attitudes meant in the context of the Achaemenid court to display trust, the intimacy of closely connected extended clan loyalties, and solid collective identity within the esteemed patriarchal core of Persian noble families (see Fig. 3).[42] A fifth-century Greek reading of this type of interpersonal exchange taking place among elaborately draped and bedecked males would not, however, suggest such elite male bonding in the performance of rituals of state. It would recall, instead, a trope of the softness and emotionalism of female domains in collusion with their subservience to the dominant male (as noted above). [43] In particular, our distinguished Athenian might be reminded with alarming specificity of representations of *young girls* caught up in performances of their collective ritual activities (Fig. 8).[44] The aspect of young girls as yet untamed in marriage was a threatening specter in the classical Athenian male worldview. This would increase the bizarre associations of the Wing A representational mode for our Athenian.

It is alternatively possible that our visitor from Athens would look at these gestures of intimacy and think of sympotic painted vessels bearing depictions of bawdy, drunken male revelers, homoerotic encounters, or related scenes in which behavior has veered out of control. Self-control and

comportment appropriate to the social setting are hallmarks of Athenian notions of masculine virtue. Thus, the projection of these intimate affectations between males specifically on a monumental representation of imperial ritual performed by the (effeminately attired) highest echelons of Persian nobility before and for their king might be particularly shocking. They might suggest a court circle operating beyond the bounds of behavior appropriate to its particular social setting.[45]

Sutton has argued for the emergence in Athens of a visual discourse on public displays of 'shameless' sexuality as a vehicle of social commentary on Foreignness/Otherness.[46] His thesis may lend validity to the idea that our Athenian would read the discrete intimacies of the Apadana nobles as preludes to the full-blown stereotyped homoerotic depravity of the foreign Other depicted on the type of sympotic vessels he analyzes. Our Athenian might, in other words, be culturally predisposed to make lewd assumptions about the Persians displayed on Wing A.

The joking tone of the Persepolis seals of erotic encounter discussed earlier here offers another possibility. These seals relate across the cultural divide to the remarkable Athenian red-figure oinochoe in Hamburg depicting a Persian about to be taken sexually from behind by a Greek youth who clutches his penis in hot pursuit.[47] The bearded Persian is dressed in a tight-fitting spotted riding costume and turns his face fully frontal. His hand gesture ostensibly connotes fear; but there is an element of ambiguity and parody in the portrayal. A caption has the Persian saying 'I am Eurymedon; I stand bent over.' The speaking caption clearly relates the representation to the historical Battle of Eurymedon, as McNiven argues; and on one level the painting seems to be a straightforward statement of Greek victory over the 'barbarian' — transposed to a sexual arena. Yet it is also clearly making irreverent fun, with a hint of the burlesque. The scene pokes fun at the Greek as much as the Persian, really. We can well imagine that a *Persian* encountering this pot might be extremely offended at first sight. But we also know now from the seals on the Fortification tablets that this Persian would have ultimately had the capacity to find the representation worthy of a laugh. Perhaps there might even be a space for cultural rapprochement here in the neutralizing capacities of ribald humor among men.

Flowers and pomegranates

The nobles on Wing A, like the king and crown prince, frequently hold flowers or pomegranates. Through the eyes of our Athenian, this would once again signal effeminate behavior. The depictions would be reminiscent of a long tradition of representations of females in cult processions as well as freestanding female dedicatory representations. In particular, pomegranates and lotuses are linked in Greek iconography to Persephone and hence to many rituals relating to females and death. Images of flower-holding by young girls have strong associations with pre-nuptial rites and marriage rituals as well as with Persephone and with visions of the bride of Hades (the girl who dies before marriage).[48]

It is against the entire backdrop presented above that we must see our Athenian reacting to the bejeweled and elaborately garbed Persian nobles in Persepolis. The total effect of the nobles of Wing A on our Athenian would be to see these Persian men displayed in demeaning effeminacy that made multiple allusions to a woman's world.

Where are the (restrained) Persian females?

It is also against the backdrop presented above that we should ponder our
Athenians reaction to the very *lack* of human-form representations of
women on the Apadana. In Persepolis, the human-form representation of
royal women on official public monuments does seem to have been avoid-
ed (as far as *we* know them from extant remains). Elements of femaleness
and fecundity are encoded in the Apadana reliefs in abstract reference
through the profusion of rosettes, among other motifs. Such allusions
would require explanation in order for our Athenian to appreciate their
full meaning as richly-motivated surrogates for the human female.[49]

The avoidance of human-form female representation on the Apadana and
similar public ceremonial structures may have been due to a particular tradi-
tion of decorum.[50] Just as we have noted earlier (in relation to male nudity
and to sexual allusion), it is nevertheless abundantly clear (in relation to rep-
resentations of female personages) that there was no moral code forbidding
the production or display of representations of women altogether. It is with
this awareness that the presence of the fifth-century Greek statue of 'Pene-
lope' excavated in the Persepolis Treasury must be interpreted.[51] The ques-
tion of its status as war booty or diplomatic gift is beyond my scope here. Ei-
ther is plausible. What matters for the present discussion is this: The archae-
ology of the statue does not permit us to understand the nature of its intend-
ed location within the Treasury complex at the moment of the sacking of the
Takht by Alexander's troops. We cannot say whether the statue was meant to
be viewed and admired — and if so, in what type of physical display. Neither
can we say if the statue was moved to the Treasury from an original display
position in a more public building (inside the Apadana, for instance) as the
attack drew imminent.[52] There is no evidence that allows us to assume that the
statue was hidden away in ignominy specifically because it represented a fe-
male. Its discovery in the Treasury does not prove such a position.

Hints at a tradition of precious metal sculpture of royal wives exist in the
sources. Such works rarely survive. If the Achaemenid king did commission

portrayals of his wives in gold for palatial installations, we will not expect to retrieve the remains.[53] The possibility of fine renderings of Achaemenid royal women in metal should not surprise us in view of the extraordinary life-sized bronze statue of the middle Elamite queen Napir-Asu wondrously preserved from the ruins of Susa.[54] Yet such monuments would have been set up in interior spaces. We have no indication so far *from imperial centers in the Achaemenid heartland* (from Persepolis and Susa) of the kind of public monumental display of mortal female personages that we have so briefly outlined above in classical Athens. There is, however, secure evidence of such representations produced for courtly social settings in western reaches of the empire.[55]

Many images of refined women were produced on portable and luxury objects to serve the elites of the Achaemenid court — both in the heartland and in satrapal settings. Such representations include imagery on seals. And seals (since they were often used specifically in public contexts as sealing agents) cannot be considered 'private' items simply by definition. It is important to work with seals known through their impressions in actual contexts of social usage.[56] We see these images in excavated glyptic iconography as well as on many works of luxury art produced in far-flung regions of the empire-proper and at its margins.[57]

Our Athenian might view the Persian discretion in the portrayal of women in Persepolis as another sign of the weakness of the Persian male. The lack of visible human-form representations of women in an extended sculptural display of social demographics of the empire might suggest (at least subconsciously) a Persian inability to harness the female to the goal of presenting the wealth and power of a man's world.

There is a paradox here. For the Athenian, the representation of women on public monuments reveals and signifies male capacity to control display of a social group (women) who were very restricted in their actual *self*-presentation in public. In the Persian context, elite women had far more social freedom and mobility.[58] Thus our Athenian might well have felt shocked in three ways. (1) Men on the Apadana and in life seem to comport themselves like women. (2) Women are conspicuously *not* on public sculptural display on the Apadana, making the visual experience in Persepolis really very different from that in classical Athens. And (3) women *are* conspicuously in evidence (as powerful court figures, estate owners, and long-distance travelers) in actual life-practice, where good Athenian women would not have been. Such was the case with Darius' wife, Artystone. We know her as Irtašduna on the Persepolis Fortification tablets, where she uses a most distinctive seal during ration procurements in her extensive trips (Fig. 9).[59] Her seal is lush with references to dynastic fecundity. Significantly, it embeds a scene of heroic encounter within this landscape of symbols — not an imagery of the female in her boudoir.

WING B: Men led by the hand

On Wing B, a Persian usher (in alternating court robe or Iranian riding costume) takes the leader of each delegate group by the hand. Each group is thus prepared for the imminent movement into place before the king. Mentally we are meant to transpose each group into an actualized scenario, moving up the stairs and into the audience hall where a performance of gift-giving probably occurred in real life. At the same time, the sculptural *representation* of gift-giving is a grand metaphor for the empire itself.

Within the context of earlier Mesopotamian and Egyptian traditions, the hand-holding motif is directly and deliberately resonant with iconography of pious petitioners led before a divinity or a divinized king. Liminality, trepidation, and promise of incorporation infuse the motif in both Mesopotamian and Egyptian terms.[60] Although the Mesopotamian tradition often used a gesture of leading by the wrist rather than the hand, the *meaning* was very close in Mesopotamian cult presentation scenes. It is clear that the Apadana was designed to work upon important populations within the newly expanded empire by prompting recollections of familiar, highly-charged imagery. The imagery in the case of the hand-holding motif related to cult settings that created a sense of inclusion for the personage being led forward in this way. It becomes particularly interesting that the over-all message of the Apadana presents an ecumenical vision of an imperial family. Each potential non-Persian member-group of this family of peoples is on the verge of moving from the limbo of imminence into the realm of a new order of existence. The intent of the rendition on the Apadana was to convey a sphere of highly idealized harmony in which the king and his crown prince were elevated to a godlike status; the Persians at large were elevated to the realm of lesser divinities serving as ushers and protectors; and the family of peoples were elevated to the status of those admitted to the inner circle of allegiance to and dependence upon the all-knowing god-king and judge.

What of the resonances of this motif among Greeks?

In the Archaic period (apparently dating before the designing of the Persepolis Apadana), some Attic black-figure pot paintings are known that depict Athena leading Herakles by the wrist into the presence of Zeus, enthroned on Olympus.[61] The vase painting tradition depicting this format for the introduction of Herakles was confined to a series of small cups and seems to have been quite short-lived. It may have been inspired by the fame of the so-called Introduction Pediment once embellishing a temple on the Athenian Acropolis.[62] The valence of this imagery depicting Herakles' imminent apotheosis is rather similar to that of the Mesopotamian and Egyptian meanings of the motif. The appearance of the motif on the pediment of a major Acropolis public monument highlights the possibility that the planners of the Apadana had access to its significance in the Athenian realm at the time when the Achaemenid representational program was be-

ing developed. Informants on issues of meaning in Athenian society would have included the banished tyrant, Hippias, himself as an ex-patriot at the Persian court. Furthermore, we cannot admit the presence of Greek artisans in Persepolis without acknowledging that their presence must have added some features of information-sharing on themes and design at a certain level of creative discourse and implementation.[63]

A continuation of that idea for the motif in Athenian art is exemplified in a scene on a cup by Douris. Here, Hephaistos is taken by the wrist to return him to Olympus.[64] Another archaic Greek use of the gesture of leading someone by the hand or wrist involves scenes of mythological marriage and abduction. Based on the Homeric allusion to the gesture of taking a person by the wrist as χεῖρ ἐπὶ καρπῷ (*Il.* 24.671; *Od.* 18.258), the motif carries meanings of the affirmation of legal transactions, with the inescapable overtones of possession and power.[65] It is this stream of meaning that gains special hold in late archaic Athenian art and then achieves elaboration in presentation and range of interpretive nuance in the classical age. As a motif of mythological abduction, the motif occurs as early as the Late Geometric period. The earliest closely datable use of the gesture in a mythological *wedding* scene occurs on the red-figure kylix by Euphronios from the Athenian Akropolis, showing the union of Peleus and Thetis. Here, Peleus takes Thetis firmly by the wrist.[66]

By the mid-fifth century, the gesture becomes a dominant expression of the moment at which the *mortal* bridegroom takes hold of his bride to lead her from her father's home to her new life in the home of her husband's family. The action sometimes modulates to a taking by the hand — much like the Apadana gesture (Fig. 10a-b).[67]

Pottery decorated with wedding imagery of this type has been found in the form of dedications made by brides to Nymphe in her shrine on the south slope of the Acropolis. The decorated pots were used in actual ceremonies first; and the uses of some of the shapes so decorated (such as loutrophoroi) included the ritual bathing of the groom as well as the bride. Thus these painted pots were not limited in their visual accessibility to a closed female circle. Similarly, numerous examples have been excavated from houses, demonstrating again that the imagery must have been widely visible in the world of men as well as women.[68]

An interesting anomaly in the pot painting repertoire actually reinforces the charge of the imagery as (1) laden with liminality and (2) infused with a tension about the reluctance of the person led as well as the vulnerability and neediness of the person being led as destiny is confronted. This unusual example is the poignant polychrome white lekythos rendering by the Brygos Painter produced shortly after 480. It is the earliest known example of this painting technique used on a funerary lekythos. This alone suggests that the example might continue to seem unusual even if we had a larger repertoire of material extant for discussion. It depicts an epic tragic scene: Aeneas grasping the pathetic, aged Anchises (his father) by the wrist to lead him away from Troy as it is sacked by the Greeks.[69] The application of the imagery to this narrative context of Trojan defeat and humiliation is intriguing. During the classical era emerging from the invasions of the Achaemenid forces, there was, in the Athenian imagination, a lively equation of the mythical Trojans of epic fame and the historical Persians. The placing of the Trojan Anchises in the position usually occupied by a helpless young girl being led away for abduction or marriage suggests that the Brygos Painter was

playing with an ironic inversion of the imagery. This capacity by an outstanding creative figure to negotiate the image in this way actually reinforces the power and pervasively accepted reading of the *main* cultural meaning of the motif already by this time.[70] The Brygos Painter was manipulating a tradition in a way that could be successful because of the firm embeddedness of the evolved normative meaning of the motif as an imagery of marriage.

The gesture also acquires a closely related funerary application in artistic representation of the classical period, particularly in association with unwed females of marriageable age at the time of death. Hermes is depicted leading the deceased female away by the hand or wrist toward a transition to the netherworld.[71] Indeed, there are increasing instances of the taking specifically by the hand in these scenes — seeming to reflect a sentimental softening of the motif. Allusions to Persephone as the bride of the underworld enrich the echoing of mortal bridal imagery.[72]

Unquestionably, our hypothetical Athenian associated the pivotal Apadana image of being led forward solemnly by the hand with bridal and funerary contexts specific to young females. More generally, the depictions of gift-bearing figures disposed in static hieratic sequence will have reminded him of a category of cult imagery at home, where again the human actors are tightly controlled females. This is what we see, for instance, on Locrian plaques showing ritual presentations, sometimes including offerings of garments and vessels (see Fig. 8).[73] The imagery of presentation on many of the Locrian plaques relates closely to the formal and iconographical messages conveyed through the gift-bearing delegation of the *Yaunā* on the Apadana.[74]

Concluding suggestions

The overwhelming message of the Apadana program in the Athenian imagination of the classical age must have been one that invited (even demanded) a bristling, gendered reaction from our traveler on some level. Repeatedly, imagery and modes of presentation seem to speak of the view of things posited by Edith Hall in the wake of the profound impact of Said's *Orientalism*: Persians in the Athenian imagination = stereotypes of feminized opulence, weakness, and a masculine culture of subservience.[75] I have attempted to indicate some ways in which the Persian cultural situation offered a very different paradigm of manly virtue (and of the place of the female within that paradigm). There is more to be done on this topic. Even from this brief review, it is clear, nevertheless, that there was a seeming ut-

Fig. 10a-b
a. Athenian red-figure pyxis by the Wedding Painter. Paris, Louvre L 55. (Adapted from Oakley and Sinos 1993: fig. 90.)
b. Apadana Wing B, east facade. Detail of hand-holding. Photo: M. C. Root.

ter polarity of worldviews on notions of manliness and its metaphorical aspects between Athens and Persia. Yet we cannot ignore the possibilities of human intervention in Persepolis.

Evidence from the Persepolis Fortification tablets invites consideration of real-time social discourse in the dynamic social arena of people coming and going in Persepolis at 509-494 BC. As already noted, these tablets are very public visual productions, even though the seals impressed upon them are frequently thought of as elements of the 'minor arts.' The tablet landscapes were sealed in public in front of an array of individuals — including high administrators and travelers of all sorts. Numerous seals used on these documents offer humorous versions of motifs that are portrayed with magnificent decorum on the walls of Persepolis. One example will serve. PFS 46 renders a version of the Apadana hand-holding motif — here populated by raucous creatures instead of subdued gift-bearers (Fig. 11a-b).[76] There was clearly no restriction on re-inventing official imagery of palatial sculpture in a humorous way. The irreverence of PFS 46 was operating within some accepted courtly norm.

A study of the physical modes of seal application on these tablets reveals yet another level of discourse. The seals are often applied to the tablets in ways that alter and play with the basic designs carved on them. These applications reveal a lively culture of shared humor; shared conversation about imagery; shared interest quite literally in manipulating the impressions of seals. Some of these manipulated seal impressions on the tablets produce variant presentations of official artistic motifs — such as the Apadana procession and the emblem of the royal hero.[77] All of this helps demonstrate that Persepolis was the kind of place where travelers interacted in a culturally discursive setting with the administrators who ran the business of the region.

Albeit some years before the arrival of our Athenian there, this evidence of seal play on the Fortification tablets offers some hope that indeed the sculptures of the Apadana might have been explained by a local court guide to our visitor from Athens. Human-to-human interaction may have negotiated culture-shock and may have made some sense of the apparently dramatic disjunctures between Greek and Persian notions of manly virtue and admissible metaphors of male social integration. These disjunctures, which seem so polarizing from within the now-silent static confines of the modern scholarly imagination, may not have been so rigidly oppositional when experienced within the worldly cacophony of a great imperial center.

Plutarch and Philostratus (centuries after the period we are discussing here) embroider a voyeuristic notion of the gossipy,

Fig. 11a-b
a. PFS 46 on PF 217 RV.
Persepolis Seal Project.
b. Composite drawing of PFS
46. Persepolis Seal Project

talkative aspect of Persian court life. On the one hand, this literary motif can be used to emphasize a sinister aura about the Persians as a Greek of the classical age would have perceived them.[78] On the other hand, it can also remind us that conversation and exchange of ideas is considered (in modern western treatments of ancient Greek social history) a civic (male) *virtue* of Athenian (democratic) culture.

Must we feel compelled to imagine that sophisticated Athenians really saw this aspect of the world around them as an automatically negative value when they witnessed it (and participated in it) during their visits to the Persian court? Is it possible, if we go all the way back to Herodotus, that his sidebar exegesis on variant possible modes of rulership of Persia (3.80-8) might reflect bemusement at an actual courtly ambiance of lively exchange? His access to official Persian sources for the main narrative of Darius' rise to the throne is proven by comparison with Darius' Bīsotūn inscription.[79] Thus we can also postulate that Herodotus had witnessed open courtly chatting at various satrapal installations about options on this or that situation. He thought his Athenian audience would find such an idea interesting and amusing. Indeed, he says as much at 3.80 — noting that words were spoken amongst the Persians in their debate on how to choose a form of government, that some Greeks find incredible. So he staged his humorous exploration of the idea of open discourse around the momentous events of Darius' ascendancy. Embedded in the humor and ostensible improbability of the whole thing, are hints of a real understanding of manly virtues as the Persians may have conceived them. These virtues (mentioned in numerous texts of Darius beginning with Bīsotūn) include truthfulness, loyalty, and cooperativeness. It may be that one form of accepted and expected demonstration of these particular virtues at the Persian court lay in the willingness to speak truth to power — in a willingness to express opinion forthrightly to the king. The social environment in which our Athenian found himself just may have been less dark than Bengtson described it 40 years ago:

> We cannot ignore the dark shadows that developed even in Darius' day – shadows that grew deeper the longer the empire existed. Without any doubt, the Persian concept of the sovereign and his relation to his subjects was quite incompatible with the western, and in particular, the Greek ideal of freedom. For the Great King, all his subjects, irrespective of station or origin, were in the final analysis his slaves…[80]

Another factor may have assisted our Athenian to negotiate ostensible disjunctures between his reading of the Apadana program and Achaemenid intent. Athenians were well-schooled in the intellectually and emotionally participatory aspects of the theater. Falkner suggests complex ways in which the Athenian *theatês* (the male Athenian theatrical audience) negotiated the gender-coded range of reactions he was meant temporarily to allow himself to be susceptible to for the purposes of the dramatic experience.[81] Perhaps that acculturated ability to suspend rigid gender binaries in order to enter into the performative dynamics of layered metaphor and meaning may have made our Athenian more intuitively open to nuanced readings of the sculptural vision of empire on the Apadana than we moderns have tended to be. If our interpretation of how our Athenian will have reacted to Persepolis is based *solely* on a comparison of resonances of each aspect of the program in each culture, we will have to admit the utter po-

larity of cultural expression of manly virtue between east and west. We will have to suppose that there was a complete inability to bridge the divide. Yet we know that many elite Greeks lived well and apparently at ease within the embrace of Achaemenid ideology and its visual expressions. And we know that the entire program of Achaemenid art was strategically structured to imply a sense of entitlement and incorporation to the virtuous ally.[82]

Thus to summarize. Our Athenian *might* encounter the Apadana and see his worst nightmare carved in stone: a scene out of an Aristophanes comedy of reversal — where his gender-controlled world has been turned upside down; where he has entered a 'city of women;' where he sees himself (a foreign visitor far from his friends at the gymnasium) cast in the role of subservient female led around by the hand with his nuptial treasures, like an anxious bride.[83] Yet, along with the presentation of possibilities for radically disjunctive cultural meaning between intent and reception, I have also attempted to present some evidence for possible rapprochement one-to-one.

It is worth closing with the hope that our Athenian may have had recourse to conversation, to human interaction, and even to a sense of humor in Persepolis that allowed him to look twice and to see the world from a different point of view.

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[2] Root 2007a.

[3] Other (more abstract) elements of the Apadana program also deserve discussion as they might have resonated with an Athenian audience. These I must, however, defer to another publication.

[4] Gruen 2007, with Morris 2007 and Root 2007b. I thank Erich S. Gruen for his kind invitation to participate along with Sarah Morris in an intensive, stimulating workshop dialogue on matters of Greeks and Persians held at the Getty Villa in October 2007. This collegial exchange was tremendously helpful to me in finalizing aspects of my paper here.

[5] Tilia 1978: 31-69, on added color in Persepolis. For colorful patterns on renderings of these garments on baked brick reliefs at Susa: Caubet and Muscarella 1992. Nagel in press, presents preliminary results of new field work on polychromy in Persepolis which was most generously facilitated by many Iranian colleagues and multiple official Iranian auspices during the summer of 2007.

[6] Root 2008a, on the court robe and its resonances; Root 1979, index under Iranian riding costume, for the military riding habit and its prestige at the court as well as for the symbolic distinctions between the two garments.

[7] Aspects of royal gifting of precious objects in the Achaemenid court are discussed in Gunter and Root 1998 and in Nimchuk 2002. For royal gifting specifically of torques, note, e.g., the statue of Ptah-hotep, an Egyptian collaborator (a treasury official in the reign of Darius I), who wears a persianizing robe and an elaborate Persian torque terminating in recurved ibexes: Bothmer 1960: 76-7 and pls. 60-1. Anderson (2002: 191-2) discusses the special status of Arabians at the Persian court (as recounted by Herodotus 3.4-9 and 3.97) for their assistance in the first Achaemenid conquest of Egypt. He reminds us that the unusual addition of a torque of honor to the personification of Arabia on the facade of Tomb VI (Artaxerxes III) seems a very specific reference to the Arabians' assistance this time in the *third* conquest of Egypt.

[8] Scholarship on male nudity in Greek art is extensive. A great deal of the discourse is considered (from one particular vantage point) in Clairmont 1993: 137-59, with extensive bibliography to that date. More recent commentaries, in a literature that has expanded remarkably since Clairmont, include Osborne 1998a and 1998b; and now Hurwit 2007.

[9] The five groups wearing garments that reveal part of the body are (Schmidt 1953): XIV (Gandharans? = bare-legged, pl. 40); XVIII (Indians = bare-legged/bare-chested except for draped lead delegate with one arm and shoulder bare, pl. 44); XX (Arabians = one arm and shoulder bare, pl. 46); XXI (Drangianians? = legs bare/one arm and shoulder bare, pl. 47); XXIII (Ethiopians = one arm and shoulder bare, pl. 49).

[10] Root 1979: 303-8, on the royal hero; Root 1990, on the symbolic assertiveness of the bared-arm gesture of the Persepolis hero sculptures; Garrison and Root 2001: 53-60 and iconographical Appendix listing seals on the Persepolis Fortification tablets that also present the heroic image with revealed arm.

[11] The association of the idea of 'a Persian man' of official text rhetoric with the hero of the Persepolis sculptures was first contemplated in Root 1979: 303-8.

[12] PFS 189 on PF 1154 RV and PF 1101 LE; PFS 1058 on PF 1101 LE; and PFS 1628 on PF 2065 RV and LE. The PF texts are translated in Hallock 1969 under their PF numbers. The seals are cataloged in Garrison and Root forthcoming. Garrison and Root 2001 introduces the archive as a whole as well as the seal project. See Garrison 2000: 150 and fig. 31 (which needs to be re-oriented 90 degrees clockwise), for a brief commentary on PFS 1058 in the context of a wide range of imagery offered by this seal corpus.

[13] E.g., the Attic red-figure cup tondo by Douris, now in Boston: Boardman 1975: fig. 297. The interesting question of relationships between these two representational traditions (Persian glyptic and Attic pot painting) must be deferred. Douris was active *roughly* between 500 and 460 (Boardman 1975: 138); but the use dates of seals on the (dated) Persepolis Fortification tablets are far more precise if we want to attempt to establish precedence.

[14] Garrison and Root 2001, iconographical appendices listing seals with ithyphallic animals from the seals of heroic encounter.

[15] Root 2002: 201-3, 2003: 22-5.

[16] PFS 1485: Garrison and Root 2001: cat. no. 112.

[17] PTS 64s: Schmidt 1957: 38-9 and pl. 13.

[18] PTS 52s: Schmidt 1957: 35 and pl. 12 (where the scene is described as 'two wrestlers [?]').

[19] Hall 1991: e.g., 70, 80-1, 136-7.

[20] Tuplin (1996: 174) emphasizes this also — although he sees the correlation as one that diminishes (rather than enhances) the evidence that Greeks considered Persian costume effeminate.

[21] I discuss this issue, with references, at some length in Root 2007a. There, the focus is on how our Athenian might have reacted to the garment of the *Yaunā* on the Apadana.

[22] E.g., Boardman 1975: fig. 256 (Munich 2645 from Vulci) for the exterior of the famous Athenian red-figure cup by the Brygos painter.

[23] Louvre G 197, from Vulci: Boardman 1975: 112 and fig. 171; DeVries 2000: fig. 13.9.

[24] Dusinberre 2003: 35, n. 16.

[25] DeVries 2000: 358-9, also sees humor in the representation and discusses different aspects of its interpretation.

[26] Miller (1998), in her characteristically learned analysis of a group of Attic pot paintings representing Midas as Great King, has a very different interpretation of the valences of such depictions. She sees them as intending to be straightforward — but frequently failing in accuracy of depictions of the elaborate garments because of misunderstandings of the original sources. I would see lavish potentials for a kind of burlesque on the regalia of Persian kingship. The ultimate Italian marketing destination for some of these pots raises issues beyond the scope of this paper.

[27] Lembke and Herington 1981: 90-1.

[28] Tournikiotis 1994: 119-24 on the south metopes; Harrison 1981 on the shield of Athena.

[29] Many issues relating to interpretations of pity and sympathy in Greek tragedy are discussed in Sternberg 2005 — her own introductory essay as well as Johnson and Clapp 2005 and Falkner 2005.

[30] Miller 1997: e.g., 188-217. Her discussions of specific persianizing and Persian accoutrements are an additional feature of interest. But I am limiting myself here to the broad notion of luxury and conspicuous display of wealth and opulent dress.

[31] Reeder 1995: 138-9; Clairmont 1993: esp. 66.

[32] E.g., the grave stele of Kallistrate, illustrated here: Reeder 1995: 138-9. Saint Louis Art Museum 4:1933 (Clairmont 1993: cat. no. 1.284); and the often-illustrated stele of Hegeso, where the woman is seated with her jewel box open on her lap as she fin-

gers an item, her servant attending her: Athens National Museum 3624 (Clairmont 1993: cat. no. 2.150). These two examples can be seen as exemplifying the range of jewelry-related depictions in the comprehensive catalogue of classical Attic grave reliefs by Clairmont (1993).

[33] Root 2007a, particularly on the motif of the female spinner.

[34] Reeder (1995: 138-9) stresses, for instance, the notion of nostalgia in an age of political/military disillusionment. Osborne (1998b: 26-32) sees the shift as relating to the rise of democratic social structure which, in his view, encouraged the flattening of expressions of status differential. See commentary on this economic factor here below.

[35] Clairmont 1993 paints a picture of entire families (including the women) participating in cemetery outings. It is, however, widely accepted now that good Athenian women got out in public very little except in the performance of ritual obligations. These obligations did, of course, include visits to the city cemetery in the company of the males of the house to perform rituals; but we cannot imagine these women strolling around the Kerameikos together in any free sense, admiring the depiction of this or that woman-friend.

[36] Patterson 1991.

[37] In this sense, I have a different interpretation of the issue than Osborne (1998b: 26-32). He sees that '…the discourse of the cemetery continued to be about men and manliness…'; he does not see the representations of women as, in effect, visual representations of manly virtues, as I am suggesting. In emphasizing the flattening (the evening out) of status markers on the monuments, he does not see the deployment of female imagery of opulence as a mechanism of veiled perpetuation of the urge to display wealth and status. See Humphreys 1996: 79-134, on family memorials and status in classical Athens; Leader 1997 on issues of gender and status relating to these grave monuments.

[38] Sourvinou-Inwood 1995: 254.

[39] Noted in Root 1985.

[40] Hall 1991: 80.

[41] E.g., Goff 2004: 114. The literature on women in Greek patriarchal society is now vast. I do not pretend to supply a representative range of commentary here. Brulé 2003 is one recent broad overview characterizing the roles and lives of women in the social nexus of classical Athens. Numerous other studies referred to in this paper deal with specific issues relevant here. Many others are discussed in Root 2007a.

[42] The sartorial code reflects the interest in displaying alternation within the ranks of Persians between the courtly sphere (the pleated, sleeved robe) and the military sphere of the Iranian equestrian (with three-piece tunic, trousers, and long-sleeved coat). The old view that the alternation of costume depicted an alternation of Medes and Persians has been widely rejected now among specialists.

[43] Hall 1991: 81-4.

[44] E.g., Locrian plaques of the mid- to late fifth century: e.g., Prückner 1968: 65-6 and pl. 11.1. See also Attic vase paintings of such scenes: e.g., Oakley and Sinos 1993: fig. 59 (the black-figure lekythos by the Amasis Painter) and figs. 54-8 (a red-figure lebes gamikos by the Syriskos Painter). Such images of chain-dancing girls reach back ultimately to earlier times, when boys and girls are shown dancing together in hand-holding chains (e.g., Oakley and Sinos 1993: fig. 52 [the topmost frieze on the François Krater by Kleitias and Ergotimos], and even further back to Late Geometric imagery of the ninth century.) But in the classical age the representations are by contrast tightly restricted to all-female figures.

[45] Roisman 2005 offers an important discussion on notions of Athenian manly virtue in a larger frame than the discourse on nudity *per se.*

[46] Sutton 2000.

[47] See McNiven 2000: 88-9 and figs. 3.6-3.7.

[48] Sourvinou-Inwood 1995: 248-52.

[49] Root 2003 on some aspects of the symbolism of fecundity on the Apadana and on the issue of the presumed absence of females. I hope to address some of these problems in a sequel to this paper.

[50] This subject demands attention in another venue. It is complicated by the fact that a significant strain of Elamite tradition emphasized the representation of royal women. The Achaemenids derived a great deal of artistic as well as bureaucratic inspiration from their sustained integration into southwestern Iran earlier in the first millennium (viz., the entire forthcoming volume in which Root 2008a will appear). It may be that our sampling of Achaemenid evidence differs significantly in *genre* of representation and *venue* of display from the sampling of monumental sculpture we have from Elam. See, e.g., the Elamite material presented in Harper et al. 1992: 127-35).

[51] Palagia, this volume: 223-37.

[52] The Treasury complex served multiple purposes over time. The installation of the original central panels of the Apadana in a ceremonial/cult courtyard of the Treasury, probably in the reign of

Artaxerxes III, is but one indication of the fluidity and multiplicity of functions of the building. It is also important to note that other freestanding sculptures from the site were discovered by the excavators in secondary positions. See Schmidt 1957: 66-75.

[53] Root 1979: 129, on the gold statue of the favored royal wife of Darius, Artystone, described by Herodotus (7.69). See below on the seal of this Artystone.

[54] Tallon 1992: 132-5.

[55] The lavish sculptural program of the tomb of the fourth-century Carian satrap, Mausolus, at Halicarnassus was commissioned by his sister-wife Artemisia. Her own large-scale representation is included (viz., e.g., Jenkins and Waywell 1997: fig. 5a). It is beyond the scope of this paper to discuss the implications of the Masusoleum program when viewed as a reflection of Achaemenid imperial patronage in the wider hegemonic sphere (and employing some high-level Greek sculptors). Also note, for instance, the grave stele from Daskyleion, which portrays a crowned female banqueting with a reclining male (Boardman 2000: fig. 5.61).

[56] E.g., sealings from the Hellespontine Phrygian satrapal capital of Daskyleion: Kaptan 2002: fig. 249 (DS 83) and fig. 297 (DS 101). A sealing from Achaemenid Gordion, shows a Greek style nude 'bather' type but was used on a wooden box — probably in a private setting: see Dusinberre 2005: fig. 66 and pp. 70-1.

[57] Note, for instance, the ivory relief plaque from Demetrias, northern Greece, depicting an elite female banqueting with a reclining male (Boardman 2000: fig. 5.83b). The well-known textile from Pazyryk in Siberia is often cited as an example of a courtly representation of a female clearly reflecting a tradition of representation in the Achaemenid court — here integrated into luxury arts used beyond the strict purview of the empire at its *northeast* margins.

[58] Brosius 1996 remains the classic presentation of textual evidence for the lifestyles of elite Persian women.

[59] PFS 38: Garrison and Root 2001: cat. no. 16. See also Root 2003: 27-30 (placing the seal in the context of larger issues in female self-representation at the Persian court).

[60] Root 1979: 227-84, esp. 263-72; 1985.

[61] Shapiro 1989: 113-24. The famous lip-cup by Phrynos is in the British Museum (B 424: Beazley 1956: no. 168; illustrated in Boardman 1985a: 123.2).

[62] Shapiro 1989: pl. 6c and fig. 5, and pp. 21-4, n. 28. Dating of the Introduction Pediment ranges from the 560s to the 540s. Here I am not entering into the debate on the chronology of archaic Greek art, except to note that it is based on a relative scheme of significant and notorious fluidity (viz., Ridgway 1977: 7-9; Boardman 1985a: 193-5; Root 1986-7).

[63] The complexities of these issues are argued in Root 1979 and modulated somewhat in Root 1990.

[64] Boardman 1975: fig. 295.2, from Vulci.

[65] Neumann 1965: 59-66; Sutton 1989: 344-5. On the gesture in Greek vase painting I am indebted to Sutton's discussions here and (more fully) in Sutton 1981. Jenkins (1983: 139) runs through the earlier anthropological discourse on the gesture, with special reference to van Gennep's classic analysis (e.g., van Gennep 1960: n. 19, pp. 123-4).

[66] Athens, Acropolis Museum 176.

[67] E.g., the red-figure loutrophoros in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts (03.802) discussed at length by Sutton 1989. Sutton (p. 334) suggests a date for this particular loutrophoros of shortly before about 425 BC.

[68] Oakley and Sinos 1993: 43, on the various contexts of excavated examples of these pots in Athens. Goff 2004: e.g., 247-61, on nuances of clientele and reception of Greek painted pottery.

[69] Oakley 2004: 104 plus fig. 64 and pl. VIa.

[70] We could even postulate that based on the Sicilian findspot of the pot, the core meaning was well understood in Magna Graecia as well as at Athens.

[71] One well-known example is the marble grave lekythos depicting Myrrhine taken intimately by the hand by Hermes, while three onlookers witness her departure: Athens 4485 (Boardman1985b: fig. 154).

[72] On the complex intertwining of marriage and death iconography in classical Athens, see, e.g., Ferarri 2002: 190-4; Oakley 1995; Sourvinou-Inwood 1995: 301-18; Rehm 1994.

[73] Compare Prückner 1968: Abb. 5 and pp. 42-3.

[74] Root 2007a.

[75] Hall 1991: *passim*; Said 1978.

[76] Garrison and Root forthcoming, for the catalog entry on PFS 46.

[77] Root 2008b, on the humorous applications of PFS 66*c (to be cataloged in Garrison and Root forthcoming) and PFS 17 (cataloged in Garrison and Root 2001).

[78] Allen 2005: esp. 56-7.

[79] Kent 1953: 117-35 and 160.

[80] Bengtson 1968: 18-19.

[81] Falkner 2005: e.g., 168-70. I am inspired by Falkner's discussion here — but not implying that he himself makes this connection.

[82] Discussed at length in Root 1979, with many elaborations in later works, some of which are cited in this paper.

[83] E.g., Goff 2004: 205-11, on the 'city of women'.

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Olga Palagia

The Marble of the Penelope from Persepolis and Its Historical Implications

A LIFE-SIZE Greek lady in the Severe Style was excavated in Persepolis by the Oriental Institute of Chicago in 1945 and is now in the Archaeological Museum of Tehrān (inv. no. 1538) (Figs. 1-2). It lay scattered in three fragments in the ruins of the Persepolis Treasury, headless torso lying in Corridor 31, shattered right hand in Hall 38.[1] The circumstances of discovery recall the destruction of Persepolis by Alexander the Great in spring 330 BC (Arr., *Anab.* 3.18.11-12). Before torching the palace, Alexander removed the gold stored in the Treasury and allowed his army to plunder the rest of its contents. According to Curtius' graphic description (5.6.5), '[the soldiers] hacked to pieces with axes vases that were precious works of art . . . Statues were dismembered and individuals dragged away the limbs they had broken off'. This explains why the rest of the statue was never found: it was probably carried away as a souvenir. It is interesting that the obvious Greek provenance of the statue did not save it from destruction. Its placement in the Treasury is no less intriguing. Gift or loot? This question has always haunted scholarship on the statue. But new evidence has come to light that may help resolve the problem.

Arrian (*Anab.* 6.30.1) reports that when Alexander returned to Persepolis in 324 he regretted his action. And when the ambassadors of the Greek cities came to see him at Babylon shortly thereafter, he went so far as to promise repatriation for a number of statues looted by Darius I and Xerxes from Ionia and Greece in the 490s and 480s (7.19.2). These included the bronze Apollo Philesios by Kanachos, taken from Miletus in 493 in retaliation for the Ionian revolt, the bronze Tyrannicides by Antenor, a statue of

Fig. 3
Poseidon, Apollo and Artemis. Parthenon east frieze. Acropolis Museum 856. Photo: O. Palagia.

Artemis Kelkaia, and a bronze statuette of a female water-carrier dedicated by Themistokles, all plundered from Athens in 479, and a cult statue of Artemis removed from Brauron at the same time. Those statues were distributed to various centres of the Great King's domain, Sardis, Ecbatana, Susa, Pasargadae, Babylon and Persepolis. We do not know if they were placed on public display, with the exception of Themistokles' Water-Carrier, which ended up in the sanctuary of the Mother of the Gods at Sardis. The exiled Themistokles tried to persuade the satrap of Lydia to return it to Athens, but his request was turned down. The Tyrannicides were probably repatriated after Alexander's death, either by Seleucus I or his son Antiochos I; Seleucus was also responsible for the return of the Apollo Philesios to Miletus.[2]

The Penelope of Persepolis sits on a stool, legs crossed, head bent (Figs. 1-2). She wears a chiton and a himation covering her head, back and lower body. The head with the neck, both forearms, left hand, lower legs and feet, along with most of the seat, are missing. The fragmentary right hand has a groove running along the palm, indicating that it held a rod-like metallic object, now lost.[3] The stool was placed on top of a wool basket: the round outline of its shaft is now visible underneath the seat.[4] The stool was pieced, its underside carrying anathyrosis and circular holes for attachment on either side. Three holes remain at the rear, two in front, but their original number is unknown. The figure is composed as a relief, with only one good view, showing her torso frontal while the legs and right arm are in profile. The pose is awkward but the drapery in front appears sophisticated, especially the loose ends of the chiton folds over her midriff and the himation draped over the thighs. This transition from the old to the new is a characteristic of the Severe Style. The drapery over her torso anticipates the gods on the east frieze of the Parthenon, especially Artemis (Fig. 3); but her stiff pose and flat composition indicate an earlier phase closer to the metopes of the temple of Zeus at Olympia.[5]

The statuary type had long been known from two headless marble sculptures of the Roman imperial period. Both were found in Rome and are now in the Vatican Museum. In the Galleria delle Statue, a statue of a figure sitting on a rock has been restored with a non-pertinent head (Fig. 4), while a fragmentary relief in the Museo Gregoriano Profano (formerly in

the Museo Chiaramonti) (Fig. 5) preserves the wool basket and the left hand resting on it.[6] In 1891 Studniczka associated the ex Chiaramonti relief with a Severe Style head in Berlin (Figs. 6-7), also from Rome, showing a woman leaning her head on what appear to be the remnants of her right hand.[7] The Berlin head wears a broad headband, probably a *sakkos*, underneath a himation drawn up over her head. The bangs over her forehead recall the hairstyle of the Severe Style Artemision God.[8] There are two other copies of the head, both with a Roman provenance, one in Copenhagen and the other, heavily battered, in the Museo Nazionale in Rome.[9] The head in the Museo Nazionale has a flat surface on the right side of the head for the attachment of a separtely carved hand. Sadly, all three copies of the head lack their noses.

Studniczka's reconstruction shows her leaning her head on her right hand in an attitude of dejection, left hand resting on the stool (Fig. 8). Variants of this reconstruction combining different elements of the various copies were produced by Treu (1882-1916), Langlotz (1961) and Gauer

Fig. 4
Penelope. Vatican Museum 754. Plaster cast in Basel, Skulpturhalle.
Photo: H. R. Goette.

Fig. 5
Penelope. Vatican Museum 1558. Plaster cast in Munich, Museum für Abgüsse Klassischer Bildwerke.
Photo: Museum.

Fig. 6
Head of Penelope. Berlin, Staatliche Museen Sk 603. Photo: G. Gens (FA Cologne, Arachne, neg. no. Sperg 000522-01-2270).

Fig. 7
Head of Penelope. Berlin, Staatliche Museen Sk 603. Photo: G. Gens (FA Cologne, Arachne, neg. no. Sperg 000522-05-2270,4).

(1990).[10] The motif of the head leaning on the hand was challenged by Stäh-ler, who was the first scholar to take account of the groove in the right palm of the Persepolis statue.[11] He reached the conclusion that her right hand held out a wreath by comparison with a later variant represented on a stater from Thebes from c. 446-426 BC, showing a seated woman holding out a helmet in her left hand, right hand placed on hip.[12] But the metallic, rod-like object in Penelope's right hand need not rule out its traditional placement on the right cheek. A new reconstruction in plaster created for the Museum für Abgüsse klassischer Bildwerke in Munich adds a spindle in the right hand supporting the head, thus identifying the figure with Penelope (Fig. 9).[13]

The prototype most probably did represent grieving Penelope waiting for Odysseus,[14] judging by the numerous reproductions in other media that circulated in the fifth century. It was obviously both popular and accessible, inspiring a spate of reproductions in a wide range of regions, the earliest dating from 460 BC.[15] Only a few examples need be cited here. A number of clay 'Melian' reliefs combine her with Odysseus and other figures at the moment of recognition.[16] A gold ring in New York naming her in the Dori-an dialect (ΠΑΝΕΛΟΠΑ) includes Odysseus' bow thus evoking the slaying of the suitors.[17] An Attic red-figure skyphos of c. 440 in Chiusi represents her in front of her loom, attended by her son Telemachos, while the other side shows Odysseus being recognized by the old servant washing his feet.[18] This vase has prompted the suggestion that the seated Penelope was in-vented by a famous Severe Style painter and was subsequently adapted in-to other media.[19]

In the second quarter of the fifth century Polygnotos of Thasos painted a series of works inspired by the life of Odysseus, a *Nekyia* or *Descent in-to the Underworld* for the Lesche of the Cnidians at Delphi (Paus. 10.28-31), *Odysseus stealing the bow of Philoktetes on Lemnos* for Athens (Paus. 1.22.6), and *Odysseus slaying the suitors* for the temple of Athena Areia at Plataea (Paus. 9.4.1). He may have painted further Odysseus themes, for

example at Thespiai, where we are told that a work of his of unknown subject was restored by Pausias in the fourth century BC (Plin. *HN* 35.123). A seated Penelope contemplating her fate could easily have formed part of any number of Odysseus compositions. It has been suggested that the pictorial prototype of the seated Penelope was invented by Polygnotos in his painting at Thespiai.[20] But other possibilities present themselves, not least a picture of the massacre of the suitors, with which indeed she seems to be associated on the New York ring on account of the addition of Odysseus' bow. The attribution of the Penelope prototype to Polygnotos is an attractive suggestion that goes back a long way and has met with wide acceptance. In addition, Pliny (*HN* 34.85) reports the little-known fact that Polygnotos was not only a famous painter but also a bronze sculptor. It is not unlikely that he may have turned his own design into a statue. But this remains in the realm of speculation.

The appearance of an 'original' Greek marble version at Persepolis has generated endless discussion as to its provenance, date, and relation to the Roman copies and adaptations, which were obviously based on another original that survived into the Roman imperial period.[21] A case of two identical originals is attested before this time by the bronze Apollo Milesios by Kanachos, carried away by Darius I in 493 BC, and its wooden contemporary replica by the same artist in Thebes.[22] One assumes a duplicate dedication, especially as later replicas of earlier types are unheard of in the archaic and classical periods.[23] Such retrospective tendencies are only common from the first century BC onwards.

The Persepolis statue (Fig. 1) has been considered a marble copy of a bronze original or a second marble original. There is no consensus over its date. Most scholars place her in the decade 460-450 BC but she is probably closer to the mid-fifth century on account of her affinity to the Parthenon frieze. A minority view considers her either a High Classical or a Rich Style imitation of a Severe Style prototype despite the fact that we have no evidence of reproductions of Severe Style originals in the second half of the fifth century.[24] The more 'archaic' appearance of the Roman copies has prompted the suggestion that the Persepolis statue was created one, two or more decades after the putative prototype which is reflected in the Vatican copies. It is not safe, however, to make stylistic arguments based on Roman copies, as these may be contaminated by retrospection or other tendencies. The stylistic differences detected between the Persepolis torso and the Roman copies need not reflect two originals created at different times but may be attributed to the whims of the copyists. On present evidence, it is safer to assume that two versions of the Penelope were created at the same time, that is, around the middle of the fifth century, in order to be set up at different locations.[25] Because the Persepolis statue was created long after the Persian raids of the first quarter of the fifth century, it was probably not loot but a gift from a Greek city to the Great King.[26] The historical context may well be mounting opposition against Athenian oppression in the middle years of the century, when the Delian League was gradually transformed into an Athenian empire. After the disaster of the Athenian fleet in Egypt in the mid-450s there were movements of rapprochement between Ionian cities and the Persians, e.g., Erythrai and Miletus.[27] In 440/39 Samos solicited Persian support in its attempt to secede from the Athenian alliance[28] and there may have been other, unrecorded cases of allies looking eastward.

The origin of the Persepolis statue has been tentatively placed on an unspecified Greek island or on Samos, in Cyzicus, Colophon, Phocaea, Thessaly, Sparta, even Athens.[29] Despite the fact that there was no Severe Style in East Greece, her style is often described as Ionian.[30] Because the motif of the woman seated in dejection was later adapted to represent a variety of figures, like Electra on 'Melian' plaques or Demeter on the Parthenon frieze and possibly other local deities and personifications,[31] the identification of the Persepolis statue with Penelope has been questioned. She has been interpreted instead as Aphrodite mourning for Adonis, perhaps dedicated at Phocaea by Aspasia;[32] as a city personification like Larissa, created by the Phocaean artist Telephanes for the Thessalians;[33] as Hellas waiting to be liberated from the Persians by the Athenians and their allies[34] or to be rid of Athenian domination with the assistance of Persia[35] or as Eleutheria ('Freedom') on the evidence of a fourth-century coin type from Cyzicus.[36] In sum, its findspot in the Persepolis Treasury has affected the interpretation of its iconography, which has been invested with a political significance.

There is, however, one factor that has not been taken into consideration in the discussion of the Persepolis statue, and that is the provenance of its marble. Olmstead, who first published the torso, identified it as Greek island marble.[37] This was contested by Langlotz, who remarked that the marble is similar to that of many sculptures from Ephesus and therefore must come from that area.[38] Discussion of the marble soon stopped as other scholars only knew the statue from plaster casts in European collections or from photographs. The present writer had the opportunity to view the statue while it was on display on the loan exhibition 'Forgotten Empire. The World of Ancient Persia' in the British Museum in autumn 2005. The coarse-grained white marble (Fig. 10) with its sugary, sparkling texture can be readily distinguished as the dolomitic marble quarried at Cape Vathy on the island of Thasos in northern Greece. In the absence of scientific tests determining its provenance, one can only compare its appearance to other
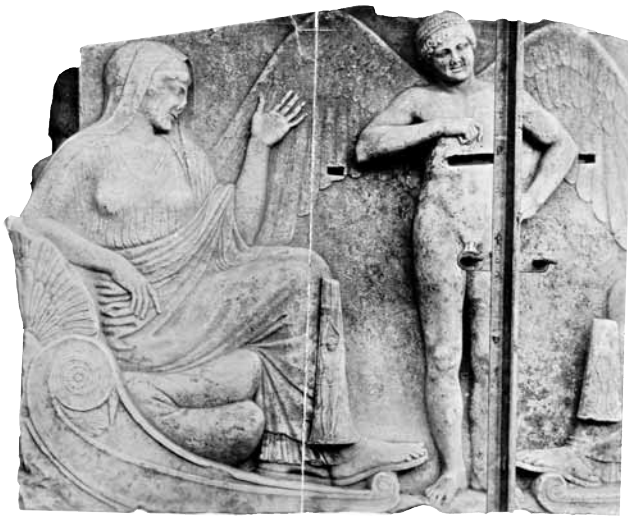
sculptures in Thasian marble in Greek museums, for example a grave relief from Dikaia in Thrace in the Athens National Museum (inv. no. 40) (Fig. 11).[39] Thasian marble was widely exported in the Roman empire and extensively employed for the Roman sculptures at Ephesus (for example, in the Parthian Monument),[40] which explains why Langlotz believed it was local. It was not, however, much exported in the sixth and fifth centuries BC, except to the Greek cities on the Thracian coast, for example, Neapolis (modern Kavala), Abdera, Dikaia and Maroneia. The sculptural production of these cities was very limited at that time and is usually credited to Thasian workshops.[41] A probable Thasian work carved in Thasian marble is a Severe Style grave relief from Komotini in the Archaeological Museum of Thessaloniki (inv. no. 1251).[42] It has been suggested that Thasian marble also found a market in Magna Graecia in the fifth century, but the few Thasian marble sculptures assigned to South Italy are in fact pieces of doubtful provenance in American museums.[43] Until further evidence becomes available, the South Italian connection remains *sub judice.*

In sum, if the Persepolis statue is in Thasian marble, it must come from a Thasian workshop which operated either on the island or in the cities on the opposite coast. What do we know of Thasian sculpture in the Severe Style? Not much. Apart from a fine banquet relief in a style related to that of Paros, now in the İstanbul Museum (inv. no. 1947),[44] we hear from Pausanias (5.25.12-13; 6.11.2) of bronze statues of Herakles and the Olympic victor Theagenes dedicated by the Thasians at Olympia, probably in the second quarter of the fifth century. Bronze sculptural production indicates prosperity. Thasian history in the fifth century is marked by the struggle to stave off the encroachment of Athens, in an effort to maintain control of the gold mines on Mount Pangaion in Thrace. Thasos' revolt from the Delian League in 465 ended in disaster. After a three-year siege and a vain appeal to Sparta for help, Thasos surrendered to Kimon in 463 and gave up its dependencies on Thrace.[45] Financial recovery seems to have returned sometime between 446 and 444, when Thasos' annual tribute to the Al-

liance rose steeply from 3 to 30 talents.[46] It was precisely at that time that the most famous Thasian artist of all time, the painter Polygnotos, returned to settle on the island, as is indicated by the lists of *theoroi* from the 440s.[47]

If the statue of Penelope was created by a Thasian workshop, then it cannot have been plundered by the Persians, who did not raid either Thasos or the opposite coast in the mid-fifth century. Xerxes and his army were lavishly entertained on the island when making their way to Greece in 480 BC.[48] The memory of good relations presumably remained, and the Persepolis statue could conceivably have been offered as a gift to his successor, Artaxerxes I. This would have constituted an act of defiance against Thasos' Athenian allies, perhaps a secret attempt to curry favour with the Persians, an attempt that has eluded our literary sources. The Thasians had, after all, secretly solicited the aid of Sparta in the 460s (Thuc. 1.101.1). Regardless of whether the Persepolis statue represents Penelope or not, it is likely that its true significance lies not in its iconography but in its putative association with Polygnotos, which makes it into a hallmark of Thasian art. The prototype of the Roman copies was a second original, which must have been taken to Rome because all copies were found in Rome. If this second original stood on the island, it may well have been removed by Mark Antony after the battle of Philippi in retaliation for Thasian support of Brutus and Cassius.[49]

As luck would have it, the closest stylistic parallel to the Penelope can be found in another Severe Style sculpture in Thasian marble found in Rome: the Boston Throne (Figs. 12-15).[50] This appeared in the antiquities market in Rome in 1894, having reportedly come to light in the area of the Gardens of Sallust, not far from the findspot of its 'twin', the Ludovisi Throne, which was excavated in 1887.[51] The Ludovisi Throne ended up in the Museo Nazionale in Rome, whereas the Boston Throne was acquired by E. P. Warren, who took it to his property, Lewes House in Sussex in 1896, and eventually sold it to the Boston Museum of Fine Arts in 1908. The surface of the marble was covered by accretions, so-called root marks, but was cleaned with a razor prior to shipment to America.[52] If we compare photos of the present state of the relief (Figs. 14-15) with those taken before the sculpture was over-cleaned (Figs. 12-13), we can appreciate how the almost lifeless appearance of the Boston Throne is due to the removal of its original surface.

Both the Boston and the Ludovisi Thrones have long been considered of South Italian origin. They were first associated with Lokroi Epizephyri-oi by Amelung in 1913, and the connection was reinforced by Ashmole in 1922 on the basis of the so-called Ionian style of the Locrian pinakes.[53] An alternative interpretation has associated them with the temple of Venus at Eryx in Sicily on account of the proximity of their findspots to the alleged whereabouts of the temple of Venus Ericyna in Rome.[54] The fact, however, that no Thasian marble sculptures are securely attested in Magna Graecia in the fifth century, combined with the feeble surface and the uncertainty over the findspot of the Boston Throne, has raised doubts over its authenticity. Despite brave attempts to defend it on technical grounds, mainly on the part of Ashmole and Young in the 1960s, Herrmann and Newman, and Ohnesorg in the 1990s, a shadow of a doubt has lingered.[55]

We have already seen, however, that fifth-century sculptures in Thasian marble are more likely to have been produced in northern Greece. A northern Greek connection for the Boston Throne had already been suggested by Bakalakis in 1955. He pointed out the similarity of the volutes of the Boston Throne to a corner akroterion in Thasian marble from an altar found in Maroneia and now in the Komotini Museum (inv. no. 936).[56] The connection was taken up by Herrmann in 1995, but he only went so far as to postulate a sculptor from the northern Aegean active in Italy.[57] An association of the Throne with the workshop of the Penelope, however, may help resolve the problem.

It is not my intention to discuss the complex problems issuing from the unusual iconography of the Boston Throne,[58] only to demonstrate its stylistic affinities to the Penelope. The front of the Throne represents what appears to be a weighing of souls (Figs. 12-13). The side panels show an old woman, possibly one of the Fates (Fig. 14), spinning the fate of one of the souls, while a naked youth plays his lyre on the other side (Fig. 15). A Thracian connection can be detected in the features of the so-called Fate, who

Fig. 14
Boston Throne. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 08.205. Photo: Ashmole Archive. King's College, London.

Fig. 15
Boston Throne. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 08.205. Photo: O. Palagia.

is portrayed like a Thracian slave woman as we know them from Attic red-figure vase-painting. An Attic red-figure skyphos in Schwerin showing Herakles going to a music lesson includes his old slave woman, Geropso, whose features recall those of the Boston 'Fate'.[59]

The eyes, lips and chin of the Penelope head in Berlin (Fig. 7) are very close to those of the lyre player on the side panel of the Boston Throne (Fig. 15). Penelope's gesture is repeated in the grieving woman on the right of the front face of the Throne, while her pose with frontal torso in chiton and profile legs in himation finds a close parallel in the woman on the left (Figs. 12-13). As for the Thasian connection, we need only compare the physique of the lyre player to the banqueting hero on the Thasian relief in İstanbul[60] and observe the thick cushions in two layers represented both on this relief and on the Throne. In sum, the close similarities between the Penelope and the Boston Throne point to a common workshop, operating in the northern Aegean. This would easily explain the use of Thasian marble and would remove some of the strongest objections to the Throne's authenticity. The Boston Throne and its counterpart, the Ludovisi Throne, may well have stood on Thasos and have been removed to Rome along with the second original of the Penelope.

In conclusion, we suggest that the Penelope from Persepolis was made around the middle of the fifth century and offered by the city of Thasos to the Great King. It was probably chosen not for its subject matter but for its connection with the famous Thasian artist Polygnotos and must document otherwise unattested diplomatic relations of the island with Persia despite its membership of the Delian League. The situation in the northern Aegean in the mid-fifth century was perhaps more fluid than our sources seem to suggest.

[1] Olmstead 1950; Schmidt 1957: 66-7, pls. 29-30; Gauer 1990 with earlier references; Hausmann 1994: 292, no. 2b; Curtis 2005: 118, fig. 6; Curtis and Tallis 2005: 244, no. 441; Kader 2006: 59-60, cat. no. 5.

[2] Apollo Philesios: Paus. 1.16.3, 2.10.5, 8.46.3 (returned by Seleucus), 9.10.2. Strocka 2002; Palagia 2006b: 264.

Tyrannicides: Arr. *Anab.* 3.16.7-8 (returned by Alexander); Paus. 1.8.5 (returned by Antiochos); Val.Max. 2.10 (returned by Seleucus).

Artemis Kelkaia: Arr. *Anab.* 7.19.2.

Themistokles' Water-Carrier: Plut. *Them.* 31.1-2.

Artemis Brauronia: Paus. 8.46.3.

[3] Olmstead 1950: pl. 12A; Schmidt 1957: fig. 9; Eckstein 1959: figs. 3-4; Kader 2006: 39, figs. 2.14 b and d.

[4] Ohly 1957: fig. 7; Eckstein 1959: fig. 12; Langlotz 1961: fig. 8a-b; Kader 2006: 39, figs. 2.12-13.

[5] As pointed out by Studniczka 1891: 18. Cf. also Kader 2006: 34, fig. 2.8 (Olympia metope of Stymphalian birds).

[6] Statue: Galleria delle Statue 261 (Vatican Museum 754). Fuchs 1963: no. 123; Hausmann 1994: 291, no. 2a-1; Andreae and Presicce 1996: 386, fig. 1a-b, cat. no. 6.2; Kader 2006: 31, 56-7, figs. 2.4, 2.6a-d. Relief: Museo Gregoriano Profano, ex Chiaramonti (Vatican Museum 1558). Fuchs 1963: no. 341; Fuchs 1983: 482, fig. 566 (dated to 440-430 after a prototype of 460-450); Hausmann 1994: 292, no. 2c; Andreae and Presicce 1996: 386, fig. 3; Sinn 2006: 77-83, cat. no. 18, pls. 19-20,1; Kader 2006: 34, 57-8, figs. 2.9a-d.

[7] Berlin, Staatliche Museen Sk 603. Hausmann 1994: 292, no. 2d-1; Andreae and Presicce 1996: 436, cat. no. 6.5; Kader 2006: 60-1, figs. 2.20a-e. For the reconstruction (Fig. 8), see Studniczka 1891: 17; Studniczka 1911: fig. 47; Olmstead 1950: fig. 1. Plaster casts after Studniczka's reconstruction: Ohly 1957: fig. 8; Kader 2006: figs. 2.30a, 2.32a-f.

[8] Athens, National Museum X 15161. Kaltsas 2002: no. 159.

[9] Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek 1943. Gauer 1990: 33, fig. 2; Andreae and Presicce 1996: 386, fig. 4; Moltesen 2002: no. 85; Kader 2006: 62, figs. 2.15a-d, 2.16a-b.

Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano 580. Paribeni 1953: no. 78; Hiller 1972: fig. 13; Hausmann 1994: 292, no. 2d-2; Andreae and Presicce 1996: cat. no. 6.4; Kader 2006: 61, figs. 2.17a-b, 2.18, 2.32a-f.

[10] Gauer 1990: 37, fig. 3; Kader 2006: 67-9, figs. 2.31b, 2.32a-f, 2.33a-f.

[11] Stähler 1990.

[12] Kraay and Hirmer 1966: no. 451; Gauer 1990: 37, no. 27, fig. 8. The legend ΘEBA either identifies the figure as Thebes or stands for ΘΕΒΑΙΟΝ.

[13] Kader 2006: 69-74, figs. 2.34a-h.

[14] Ohly 1957; Eckstein 1959; Fuchs 1963: no. 123; Hiller 1972; Hausmann 1994: 295; Moltesen 2002: 266; Kader 2006: 29-30.

[15] Copies and adaptations in marble and the minor arts are listed in Gauer 1990: 32-6; variants: ibid. 36-7.

[16] Gauer 1990: 34; Hausmann 1994: 294, no. 33; Andreae and Presicce 1996: 386, fig. 6, 439, cat. no. 6.11; Kader 2006: 29-30, figs. 2.3a-d; Stilp 2006: 100-1, 200-5, cat. nos. 65-72, pls. 29-31.

[17] Velay Collection. Plaster impression in Oxford. Boardman 1970: 215, pl. 656; Hausmann 1994: 292, no. 5; Kader 2006: fig. 2.2a.

[18] Museo Nazionale 1831. Gauer 1990: 33, no. 8, fig. 4; Hausmann 1994: 293, no. 16; Andreae and Presicce 1996: 440, cat. no. 6.13; Kader 2006: figs. 2.1 and 4.1.

[19] Cf. Langlotz 1951: 167; Fuchs 1963: no. 341; Gauer 1990: 47-8; Kader 2006: 46-7.

[20] Gauer 1990: 49.

[21] For a summary of the various arguments, see Ridgway 1970: 101-3; Gauer 1990: 50-1.

[22] Note 2, above.

[23] On contemporary duplicate originals, see Ridgway 1984: 8.

[24] The dates suggested for the Persepolis torso are:
460-450 BC: Olmstead 1950: 11; Ohly 1957: 435; Eckstein 1959: 148; Fuchs 1983: 482.

460-440 BC: Kader 2006: 48, 63. (She considers the Persepolis statue a variant of a prototype dating from 470-460. This alleged early figure is reflected in the two sculptures in the Vatican and the heads in Berlin and Rome.)

c. 450 BC: Hiller 1972: 61; Hausmann 1994: 292, no. 2b; Özgan 2000: 284; Moltesen 2002: 266 (after a prototype of c. 460).

c. 440 BC: Gauer 1990: 51.

c. 400 BC after a prototype of 460-450: Langlotz 1951: 168; Langlotz 1961: 81; Fuchs 1963: no. 341; Stähler 1990: 8.

[25] As was suggested by Ridgway 1984: 8, pl. 16.

[26] *Contra,* Olmstead 1950: 11 (looted from Colophon c. 430); Robertson, note 34, below. On gift-giving to the Great King, and his expectation to receive the best and most valuable products of a region, see Briant 2002: 394-7.

[27] Meiggs 1972: 112-18; Powell 2001: 45-9; Rhodes 2006: 46-7.

[28] Thuc. 1.115-17. Rhodes 2006: 67-8.

[29] Greek island: Fuchs 1963: no. 341. Samos: Ohly 1957; Hiller 1972. Cyzicus: Stähler 1990. Colophon: Olmstead 1950. Phocaea: Langlotz 1961. Thessaly: Langlotz 1951. Sparta: Eckstein 1959. Athens: Robertson 1975: 210.

[30] Cf. Hausmann 1994: 292, no. 2b; Kader 2006: 47 with n. 35.

[31] Electra on 'Melian' clay reliefs: Gauer 1990: 34, no. 13; Andreae and Presicce 1996: 388, fig. 9; Kader 2006: fig. 2.2b; Stilp 2006: 102-4, 208-12, cat. nos. 78-81, pls. 34-6. Demeter on Parthenon frieze: Langlotz 1951: fig. 11. Local personifications and minor deities on coin types: Langlotz 1951: 162-3, figs. 7-10.

[32] Langlotz 1961.

[33] Langlotz 1951.

[34] Robertson (1975: 210) suggested that copies of the statue were distributed by Athens to cities of the Delian League as a reminder of Greek areas still under Persian rule, and that the Persepolis statue was looted from one of these cities.

[35] Gauer 1990.

[36] Stähler 1990. Coin of Cyzicus: Kraay 1976: pl. 56, 967.

[37] Olmstead 1950: 10.

[38] Langlotz 1961: 72.

[39] Kaltsas 2002: no. 109.

[40] Herrmann and Newman 1995: 78, fig. 9. On the export of Thasian marble, see Herrmann 1999.

[41] Terzopoulou 2000; Skarlatidou 2001.

[42] Despinis et al. 1997: no. 8, fig. 22.

[43] E.g., head of a youth in the Cleveland Museum of Art 28.195: Herrmann 1990: 77-8, figs. 5a-b. It appears that Parian marble was the dominant medium in the marble sculptural production of Magna Graecia: Barletta 2006: 94-100.

[44] Ridgway 1970: 46, figs. 62-5; Grandjean and Salviat 2000: fig. 161.

[45] Thuc. 1.100.2 and 101; Diod. 11.70.1; Plut. Cim. 14.2. Green 2006: 138-9.

[46] Pouilloux 1954: 74.

[47] Pouilloux 1954: 73, 262, Cat. I.

[48] Hdt. 7.118. On connections between Persia and Thasos, see Boardman 2000: 249, n. 179.

[49] On Thasos and Mark Antony, see Dunant and Pouilloux 1958: 55-6.

[50] Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 08.205. The stylistic affinity between the two was pointed out by Studniczka 1911: 124, fig. 48; Langlotz 1961: 81, fig. 28. On the circumstances of discovery of the Boston Throne, see Newman and Herrmann 1995: 103; Hartswick 2004: 121-4, figs. 3.29.

[51] Rome, Palazzo Altemps. Hartswick 2004: 119-21, figs. 3.28.

[52] Ashmole 1965: 59; Young and Ashmole 1968: fig. 14 (photo before cleaning); Sox 1991: 59; Newman and Herrmann 1995: 107, fig. 5 (photo before cleaning).

[53] For the Locrian connection, see Ashmole 1922; Sourvinou-Inwood 1974; Simon 1977; Mertens-Horn 1997; Ohnesorg 2005: 188-9. South Italian connection also accepted by Newman and Herrmann 1995: 107.

[54] Torelli 1977: 590-2; La Rocca 1997; Ohnesorg 1997/98: 134. Cf. discussion in Hartswick 2004: 121. On the temple of Venus Ericyna in Rome, see Hartswick 2004: 73-82.

[55] Young and Ashmole 1968; Newman and Herrmann 1995; Ohnesorg 1997/98, 2005: 184-9.

[56] Bakalakis 1955: 4-5, 11. Followed by Langlotz 1975: 123-4, 153.

[57] Newman and Herrmann 1995: 105, fig. 4; Herrmann 1997: fig. 12.

[58] Questions of iconography are discussed in Sourvinou-Inwood 1974; Simon 1977; Berando di Pralormo 1997.

[59] Staatliche Museum KG 708. Schulze 1998: 127, pl. 28,1.

[60] Note 44, above.

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Antigoni Zournatzi

Cultural Interconnections in the Achaemenid West: A Few Reflections on the Testimony of the Cypriot Archaeological Record

U P UNTIL about three decades ago, archaeological inquiries into Cyprus' (Fig. 1) two-century-long and eventful relationship with the Achaemenid empire (c. 545-c. 330 BC)[1] were focused almost exclusively on a scattering of important archaeological findings that were seen to echo the narrow focus of our texts on the political and martial aspects of Cypro-Persian encounters. A Cypro-Syllabic inscription on a bronze tablet, reportedly found in the Western Acropolis of Idalion before 1850, offered testimony about an otherwise unattested siege of that important inland Cypriot city by 'Medes' (i.e., Persians) and by troops from Kition, the main Phoenician center on the island.[2] The substantial remains of a siege mound excavated by the Northeast Gate of Palaipaphos in the 1950s and 1960s illustrated a second, well-known instance of armed conflict involving the Persians. Dated on the basis of ceramic evidence to c. 500, the siege ramp and associated traces of counter siege operations spontaneously lent themselves to an interpretation as relics of the siege of this city by Persian troops at the time of the Cypriot uprising of the 490s.[3] In turn, the remains of two important edifices, one excavated at Vouni between 1928 and 1939 and the other at Palaipaphos in 1952-1953, presumably reflected the political repercussions of the revolt.

The extensive remains of the impressive, fortified palace on the hilltop of Vouni on the northwestern coast of the island (Fig. 2) were dated by the excavator, Einar Gjerstad, on ceramic evidence between c. 500 and c. 380 BC.[4]
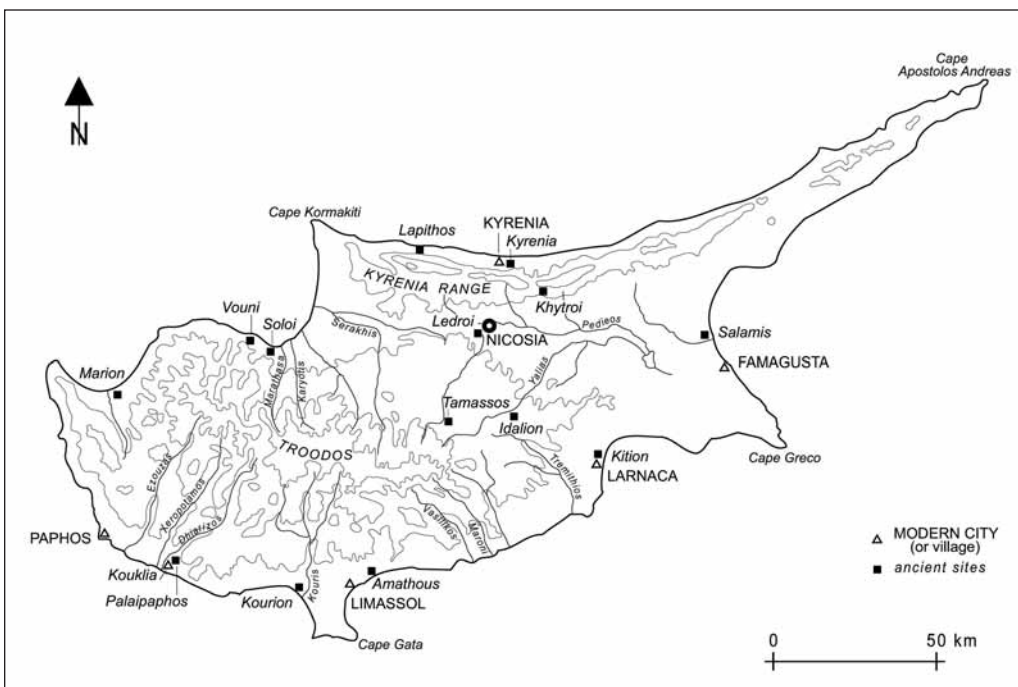
Fig. 2
The 'palace' at Vouni,
viewed from the east.
(Courtesy of the Director,
Cyprus Department
of Antiquities.)

The complex —erected on a naturally defensible location overlooking the capital city of the kingdom of Soloi and lacking any traces of destruction in its earlier phases that could be connected with the protracted Persian siege and capture of Soloi in the 490s (Hdt. 5.113.2)— was interpreted by Gjerstad as a strategic control point, built after the Cypriot Revolt by puppet kings of the Persians from the neighboring coastal city of Marion in order to safeguard a sensitive area of the island.[5]

In the case of the building on the Hadji Abdullah plateau at Palaipaphos, it was not possible to establish a close chronological correlation with the Cypriot Revolt, since the bulding's construction is only approximately datable by the associated pottery to the Cypro-Archaic II period (600-475 BC).[6] However, the building's fine, drafted ashlar masonry and 'many small rooms and narrow corridors arranged on symmetrical axes' were seen to echo Achaemenid stonework and the plans of Persepolitan structures.[7] As such they also seemed to allow —especially in the light of evidence (supplied by the adjacent siege mound) for the Paphians' fierce resistance against the Persians— a perception of the structure as a *Perserbau* or a 'Persian commander's residence' or 'headquarter of a Persian garrison' erected in the wake of the revolt.[8]

Starting in the 1980s, a growing interest in the investigation of the material culture of the Persian period in the territories of the Achaemenid empire at large also led to more detailed scrutiny of the Cypriot archaeological evidence. Today the earlier interpretations of the buildings at Vouni and Palaipaphos as imperial administrative and/or military control points —and with them the notions of a permanent Persian presence on and rigorous control of the island— have lost much of their earlier ap-

peal.[9] The results of more recent inquiries have still provided us with additional insights into the potential of the Cypriot archaeological record to broaden our perspective on Cyprus' cultural interconnections with the Achaemenid world. This presentation considers briefly some of the relevant instances and the issues they raise.

Outside the putative close affinities of the Palaipaphos building with Achaemenid architecture, earlier recognized traces of Persian impact on Cypriot material culture used to be confined to a limited range of items. A hellenized double-bull-protome capital, possibly of Hellenistic date, offered the most conspicuous (though relatively late) manifestation of Cypriot Salamis' exposure to the Achaemenid world.[10] At the monumental complex of Vouni, whose architecture displayed no obvious Achaemenid style elements,[11] allusions to the imperial environment derived from four darics and a handful of precious vessels and bracelets with calf's heads finial, all of which formed a part of the Vouni Treasure.[12] Precious metal bowls and bracelets with finials in the form of heads of animals were popular in the Near East and the eastern Mediterranean before the Achaemenid period. The profiles of two of the Vouni silver bowls (Fig. 3) are specifically associated, however, with the Persian period and Achaemenid tastes, being attested among other instances in Achaemenid pottery from Pasargadae and on the Persepolitan Apadana reliefs, where they are repeatedly encountered on bowls (almost certainly of precious metal) brought by different foreign delegations as gifts or tribute to the Great King.[13] The $\bar{o}mega$ shape of some of the Vouni bracelets is also characteristic of variations of such popular jewelry favored by the Persians;[14] and much the closest parallels for the modeling of the calf's heads finials are provided by the two similarly $\bar{o}mega$-shaped bracelets that formed a part of the treasure excavated by David Stronach at Pasargadae in 1963, some thirty-five years after the discoveries at Vouni.[15] Finally, terracotta figurines, deposited piously as offerings in Cypriot sanctuaries, showed Iranian attire.[16] Though in general these figures are rendered in a summary way, there are a number of instances when the modeling or color suggests that they wore hoods with flaps and long trousers (anaxyrides).[17] Examples of such figurines from the Temple of Apollo Hylates at Kourion, studied by John Howard and Suzanne Halstead Young in the 1950s, were dated to the period before 490 BC; and the introduction of the iconographic type was linked to the establishment of Persian rule on the island.[18]

To date the volume of the relevant materials from Cyprus is still relatively limited.[19] Over the past three decades, however, studies by Thierry Petit,[20] Christopher Tuplin[21] and others demonstrated that the materials

Fig. 3.
Silver bowls from the Vouni Treasure. Fifth/fourth century BC. Cyprus Museum. Left: D. 9.6 cm; right: D. 14.2 cm. (Courtesy of the Director, Cyprus Department of Antiquities.)

Fig. 4
The Kiti hoard of darics.
Cyprus Museum Kiti
1978/XII-19/3-8.
(Courtesy of the Director,
Cyprus Department
of Antiquities.)

for the study of Cypriot contacts with the Achaemenid world can be derived from an additional number and variety of archaeological artifacts.

The circulation of Achaemenid coins in Cyprus is now attested by at least one small hoard of six darics discovered in the sea by the village of Kiti on the southeastern coast of the island in 1978 (Fig. 4).[22] The Achaemenid profiles of the Vouni bowls can be seen to represent a larger group of Achaemenid shapes of drinking vessels attested on the island in metal, ceramic, and in one instance in stone.[23] The examples of Achaemenid or Achaemenid style jewelry have also been increasing, and testimony about their appeal to the local aristocracy is offered by the torque and earring of the bust that served as the reverse device of the gold numismatic issues of the last Salaminian rulers.[24]

While figures with Iranian trousers and hoods had been known earlier, a chance discovery in the storerooms of the Cyprus Museum in 1987 revealed a still closer familiarity of Cypriot artists with the details of Iranian garb. A complete set of Iranian clothes, characterized by a hood with lappets, trousered costume, and a coat with sleeves (the *kandys*) was found to be featured on a hitherto unpublished limestone statuette, which is reported to have been found on Cyprus and which possibly also depicts (albeit in very rudimentary fashion) two further familiar details of Iranian appearance: namely, an *akinakēs* and a torque (Fig. 5).[25] The production of this iconographic type in Cyprus is now attested by at least two further examples in stone: one elaborately executed limestone life-size headless statue excavated in Pyla to the west of Kition in the late nineteenth century (Fig. 6), and a votive limestone statuette from Kourion now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York.[26] As Mitford has pointed out, the plinth of the latter statuette bears a dedicatory inscription in the Cypriot syllabic script characteristic of the coastal area of Kourion during the fourth century BC, which provides *a terminus ante quem* for the execution of the statuette.[27]

Terracotta and stone statues and statuettes of individuals in the Iranian attire as well as precious metalware and jewelry of Achaemenid shapes continue to provide, as before, the most 'visible' leads to Cyprus' connec-

tions with the imperial environment. Awareness is increasing, however, that the spectrum of the archaeological evidence for Cypro-Persian interactions, is not determined solely by the number of occurrences of 'pure' Achaemenid types and forms. The variety of such less conspicuous expressions of contacts began long ago to be exposed in the cases of gems.

Achaemenid style seals are so far represented on the island by a single example. This is a still unpublished cylinder seal, discovered during the excavations of a late Archaic rural sanctuary at the site of *Peristeres* in ancient Marion by the Princeton Cyprus Expedition under the direction of William A. P. Childs. On a photograph of a modern impression of the seal kindly provided by Expedition member, Joanna S. Smith, who will publish the object, the cylindrical sealing surface bearing the device appears to be extremely worn. On close inspection it is still possible to discern, however, the heraldic motif of an individual clad in the long, ceremonial 'Persian' robe and struggling with two 'standing' animals, probably lions,[28] a motif widely attested on seals and sealings coming from the heartland of the empire as well as the western provinces, sometimes from Achaemenid administrative contexts.[29]

The find from Marion is the only example of an Achaemenid style cylinder seal known so far from Cyprus. And to my knowledge, there is only one other postulated instance of the representation of Persian figures on a gem from Cyprus, namely, on a pear-shaped pendant of pink chalcedony, now in London.[30] Relations with the Achaemenid world may be, however, echoed (as suggested by earlier scholars) by a small number of other seals — most of which, admittedly, are far from as well provenanced as one would like and which represent different shapes, styles, and iconographic traditions that are at once alien to the local Cypriot repertory and widely distributed in the Achaemenid realm.[31]

One group evidencing Near Eastern influence are at least seven Neo-Babylonian style pyramidal or conical chalcedony seals which bear on their flat, sealing surfaces the more or less standardized devices of one or two priests or worshippers depicted in profile before an altar and/or religious symbols (Fig. 7).[32] In one case, Cypriot use is implied by a Cypro-Syl-

Fig. 5
Limestone male statuette with *kandys*. Cyprus Museum 1968/V-30/684. H. 0.65 m. (Courtesy of the Director, Cyprus Department of Antiquities.)

Fig. 6
Limestone male figure wearing a coat with sleeves. Bequest of John Ringling, 1936. Collection of the John and Mable Ringling Museum of Art SN28.1928. Dated in the Museum's records to the Hellenistic period, 325-250 BC. H. 1.25m. (Copyright Collection of the John and Mable Ringling Museum of Art the State Art Museum of Florida.)

Fig. 7
Neo-Babylonian style
pyramidal stamp seal from
Larnaka and modern
impression. Larnaka
Museum E 3. L. 2 cm.
(Courtesy of the Director,
Cyprus Department
of Antiquities.)

labic inscription rendering the proper name Ζωσικρέϝο(ν)τος.[33] Vassos
Karageorghis[34] first drew attention to the presence of a number of exam-
ples of seals of this type in Cyprus; they were later drawn into discussions
of Cypro-Persian contacts by Petit[35] and Tuplin.[36] As their name indicates,
such seals were initially at home in Mesopotamia at the height of the Neo-
Babylonian period in the seventh and sixth centuries BC. Discussing them
in the present context may seem an anachronism. However, these were
nonetheless used both within and outside Babylonia during the Persian
period and, as shown not least by excavated specimens from Cyprus (Pa-
phos, Amathous and Larnaca-*Turabi Teke*, respectively),[37] they occur in
archaeological assemblages as late as the Roman period. Their use in an
Achaemenid imperial administrative context, long attested in Babylonia[38]
and Persepolis,[39] is also documented at the Achaemenid satrapal center of
Daskyleion in Hellespontine Phrygia.[40] The moment when Neo-Babylon-
ian style seals were introduced to Cyprus cannot be identified precisely.
The majority of the specimens reported as coming from the island were
obtained in the antiquities market, and three of the four pieces coming
from controlled excavations were found in burials of the Hellenistic and
Roman periods.[41] On the whole, however, the lack of evidence for close
contacts between Cyprus and the Neo-Babylonian state during the sev-
enth and earlier sixth centuries and the use of such seals in the ensuing
Persian era (notably in an imperial administrative environment) support
speculation that hardstone Neo-Babylonian style seals were introduced to
the island in the latter era.

Other seals that have been more or less securely associated with Cyprus
represent different expressions of a widespread phenomenon of hybridiza-
tion that was characteristic of seal production in the territories of the
Achaemenid empire.[42] Aside from Achaemenid cylinder seals *per se*, the
traditional Assyro-Babylonian cylinder seals in use during the Achaemenid
period were enriched with Iranian sacred symbols or with characteristic
Persian figures and activities.[43] During the same period, the pyramidal type
of seal, also at home in Mesopotamia before the Achaemenid period, be-
came widespread throughout the empire, with a breakdown of the tradi-
tional motifs in favor of a mixture of styles.[44] Various examples in the cor-
pus of such seals put together in two complementary publications by John
Boardman feature devices in Achaemenid style, motifs of Achaemenid or
other Near Eastern origin rendered in different local styles, or motifs of
Greek origin rendered in Greek style, the whole displaying inscriptions in

a variety of languages.[45] It was also during the same period that motifs alluding to an Achaemenid environment made their appearance on scarabs, scaraboids, and rings — types of seals that were traditionally favored by the inhabitants of Syro-Palestine and the Greek districts.[46]

In the case of Cyprus, devices alluding to Achaemenid art and also rendered in Achaemenid style are depicted on a conoid stamp seal from the Ashmolean[47] and on a gem (perhaps a cut scaraboid, acording to Boardman) once in the Southesk Collection[48] which have been reported to have been 'bought' and to 'come' from Cyprus, respectively (Fig. 8a-b).

With reference to the two seals now in Péronne and in Boston, the traditional Neo-Babylonian scene of worship on Mesopotamian pyramidal stamps has been replaced, in the former instance, by a motif of a griffin attacking a stag and, in the latter instance, by a mythological episode that features Herakles and the Gorgon (as Mistress of Animals) holding two lions (Fig. 8c-d).[49] Both of these devices are executed in Greek style; and it is only the pyramidal shape of the seals, which had become canonical in the empire, that serves to allude to the Achaemenid world. The use of the Péronne stamp in a Cypriot context is indicated by a Cypro-Syllabic inscription (rendering the genitive of the proper name Ἀκεστοδάμω),[50] which to all appearances was added after the motif was carved. In the case of the pyramidal stamp in Boston, the gem's Cypriot provenance postulated by Boardman would appear to be justified by an attested predilection of Cypriot seal engravers for 'mythological stories with a strong narrative content'.[51]

Possible Cypriot connections have been tentatively suggested, among others, in the case of the gold ring depicting a sow, which is of unknown provenance and is now in the Borowski Collection;[52] in the cases of three more pieces (a scaraboid, a scarab, and a gold ring, each featuring a lion or a boar motif) excavated at Sardis in the early twentieth century (Fig. 8e-g);[53] and in the case of another scaraboid depicting a sow in the Hindley Collection in Toronto.[54] Boardman characterizes them as seals 'of Greek styles with devices..., all of probable Anatolian (or Greek Cypriot) origin'.[55] The reference to a possible Greek Cypriot origin underlines the uncertainties that stand in the way of modern attempts to estimate the role of the Cypriots in contemporary developments in seal production and use.[56]

Fig. 8 a-g
Drawings of seal impressions.
a. Impression of a green jasper conoid stamp seal with winged and horned lion. Ashmolean 1891.654. 1.6 x 1.8 cm. (After Buchanan and Moorey 1988: pl. XVIII, no. 567.)
b. Impression of a green jasper conoid stamp seal (or cut scaraboid) with Bes-sphinx. Ex Southesk Collection. L. 1.7 cm. (After Carnegie 1908: vol. I, pl. 16.O.19.)
c. Impression of a blue chalcedony pyramidal stamp seal with griffin and stag. Museum of Péronne. L. 1.9 cm. (After Reyes 2001: 165, fig. 435.)
d. Impression of a blue chalcedony pyramidal stamp seal with Herakles and Gorgon. Boston Museum of Fine Arts 95.80. L. 1.9 cm. (After Boardman 1970a: pl. 846.)
e. Impression of a haematite scaraboid with crouching lion from Sardis. İstanbul Archaeological Museum 4639. L. 1.7 cm. (After Dusinberre 2003: 267, fig. 79 [reversed].)
f. Impression of a carnelian scarab with boar from Sardis. İstanbul Archaeological Museum 4632. L. 1.3 cm. (After Dusinberre: 2003: 267, fig. 78 [reversed].)
g. Impression of a gold seal ring with walking lion from Sardis. İstanbul Archaeological Museum 4636. L. 1.6 cm. (After Dusinberre 2003: 265, fig. 73 [reversed].)
Drawings: Anna Ghamaryan.

a.   b.   c.

d.   e.   f.   g.

The small number of 'hybrid' seals associated so far with the island
might point to the conclusion that 'there were no customers for such cul-
tural hybrids' in Cyprus'.[57] The potential for hybridization, however, which
is to be *a priori* expected on the margins of an empire, was evidently in-
herent in the cosmopolitan Cypriot environment.[58] Glimpses into the var-
ied manifestations of fusion of elements that were at home in Persian
iconography and architectural expressions in Cypriot creations are offered,
for instance, by Persian period representations of the characteristically
Cypriot sculptural type of 'temple-boys' wearing hoods with lappets[59] and
by the combination of the Achaemenid-inspired double-bull-protome with
a Greek style Caryatid on the capital from Salamis.[60] Evidence for artistic
interaction is also detected in stylistic aspects of Cypriot works. Franz-
Georg Maier, for instance, has long pointed out the synthesis of Egyptian,
Assyrian, and Achaemenid symbols of power and religious authority —a
combination of elements that can be traced to no single tradition— in the
iconography of the so-called head of a Paphian priest-king excavated from
the debris of the Palaipaphos siege mound.[61] Assyrian and Achaemenid in-
fluence has been specifically proposed with reference to 'the very elabo-
rate, carefully executed beard' of the represented figure.[62]

The Achaemenid stylistic affinities of this work also emerge from
Glenn Markoe's subsequent study of another locally made limestone head
of a bearded male votary from Lefkoniko, a village near Salamis (Fig. 9). In
keeping with general trends in Cypro-Archaic sculpture, the head shows,
as Markoe's detailed analysis indicates, influence from both the Greek and
the Near Eastern artistic traditions. The influence of sixth-century East
Greek art is perceptible in particular in the disposition of the mouth and
the supple modeling of the face. Near Eastern influence is represented, in
turn, by the figure's conical headgear, its 'large, almond-shaped eyes and
"feathered" eyebrows' (which 'are typically Syrian in form and styliza-
tion')[63] as well as by the general treatment of the figure's hair and beard,

which point to an even broader, 'longstanding Near Eastern stylistic tradition prevalent in the North Syrian and Assyrian mainland throughout the first half of the first millennium BC.'[64] The general conformity to the broader, traditional Near Eastern artistic idiom notwithstanding, certain details in the execution of the latter features betray, as Markoe argued, indebtedness to stylistic developments that were particular to Achaemenid art and datable as early as the Bīsotūn relief of Darius I (c. 520-518 BC).[65] One such development was the depiction of the beard and rear hair bunch as composed entirely of snail curls, whereas they were commonly rendered by means of alternating registers of vertical strands of hair and rows of curls in earlier Neo-Assyrian art. These stylizations, moreover, which were to attain considerable currency in Cypriot sculpture,[66] may well have been transmitted to Cyprus not too long after their evolution in Persian art. *A terminus ante quem* for their appearance in Cyprus is provided —with as much certainty as the dating of the Cypriot Revolt and the Palaipaphos siege mound to c. 500 would allow— from their occurrence in the modeling of the head of the Paphian priest king. The fine state of preservation of the latter work which is believed to have been placed originally, like the rest of the complete and fragmentary sculpture and inscribed stones recovered from the mound, in a nearby open sanctuary, would allow the placing of its production to 'sometime in the closing decade of the sixth century or slightly before, i.e., c. 515-500 BC'.[67] According to Markoe the 'flatter, two-dimensional treatment' of the forehead curls of the Lefkoniko head, which is 'more akin to the style worn by the two attendants on the Bīsotūn relief', might point to a still more rapid transmission of these stylistic developments in Achaemenid sculpture to Cyprus.[68]

The foregoing examples do not exhaust the range of Cypriot artifacts that have been associated with Cypro-Persian encounters.[69] And it is at least a fact that references to Persia remain a relative rarity in the Cypriot archaeological landscape, where the majority of outside influences appear to come from Greece, Egypt, and Phoenicia. Even this limited sample, however, which alludes to affinities with the imperial cultural environment, offers useful vistas onto the varied interconnections between Achaemenid and local traditions and practices — and raises questions about Cypriot receptivity to imperial tastes and the luxuries of the Achaemenid court.

The iconographic type of individuals in Iranian costume (often depicted as riders) became more or less ubiquitous in the arts of the eastern Mediterranean during the Persian period.[70] The limestone and terracotta statues and statuettes depicting figures in Iranian attire found on the island were still certainly produced in local Cypriot workshops. They thus represent a Cypriot component to a widespread *koinē* of representations of such figures in the Persian era. Are they, however, representations of Cypriots who had adopted the sartorial habits of the imperial elite? Or is it possible that their production aimed to satisfy (at least at given moments) the particular preferences of an Iranian clientele established on the island? Could their offering in Cypriot sanctuaries supply indications for syncretism between Cypriot and Persian divinities and cults for which other evidence is not available?[71]

Emulation of Persian tastes by the local elites —a widely attested phenomenon throughout the Persian realm— can explain, at least in part, the presence locally of Achaemenid types of precious metalware and jewelry

as well as the evident preference for Achaemenid style jewelry for the adornment of the bust which appears on the reverse of gold fourth-century Salaminian numismatic issues. Simultaneously, however, since precious metals received by the Achaemenids from their subjects as tribute were likely regularly in the form of finished objects,[72] these same items might offer insights into the workings of Achaemenid tributary realities as well as to Cypriot contributions to the production of 'Achaemenid' metalwork. Considering the Cypriots' easy access to precious metal supplies and their distinguished tradition in metalworking since prehistoric times, tributary demands in the form of precious items would have been especially apposite in the case of Cyprus.[73] Such demands, which imply a local production of 'Achaemenid' precious metalware, could further support Dyfri Williams' recent suggestion that the two *ōmega* shaped bracelets with calves' heads finials in the Pasargadae Treasure, which are stylistically akin to the Vouni examples, could have been manufactured on the island of Cyprus.[74]

From the Achaemenid cylinder seal excavated at Marion and the handful of Neo-Babylonian and hybrid seals of types that were current in the empire and also associated with Cyprus, one could hardly infer a transfer to the island of Achaemenid bureaucratic functions.[75] However, such seals, whose places of production and whose users remain unknown, continue to pose questions about the Cypriots' exposure to trends in seal production current in the Achaemenid world — especially in view of the prominent tradition of seal cutting in archaic and classical Cyprus.

The Achaemenid stylizations detected in Cypriot sculpture are no less intriguing. The iconographic type, for instance, of the 'Persian man' was widely common in the arts of the eastern Mediterranean; and Cypriot representations of individuals in the Iranian garb could be more directly inspired from first-hand observation of the essentials of Persian appearance at, say, those moments of known Persian military expeditions to the island. Models for the local production and adaptation of Achaemenid shapes in tableware and jewelry would have been just as readily available to Cypriot craftsmen, since Achaemenid metalware circulated widely and, as suggested above, was possibly produced on the island on Persian demand (and, logically, to Persian specifications). Whether or not the range of Achaemenid or Achaemenid-inspired artifacts in circulation in the empire's western provinces could also be responsible for the seemingly rapid transmission of characteristic stylistic features of Achaemenid monumental sculpture to Cyprus is more difficult to answer.[76]

Although so far unattested on Cyprus, Achaemenid sculptural works were not exclusively on view in homeland Iranian settings. In particular, at least the copies of the Bīsotūn relief of Darius, which were sent to the provinces in the early 510s,[77] and the same ruler's statue from Susa commissioned in Egypt[78] would make it difficult to preclude that Achaemenid sculptural models were accessible to Cypriot sculptors in the late sixth century when Achaemenid stylistic elements make their appearance in local sculpture.[79] The active involvement of Greek craftsmen in the early Persian rulers' building and sculptural programs in Iran and the roughly contemporary introduction of snail curls in both Greek and Cypriot art[80] might also imply a path of transmission of Achaemenid stylizations to the island through, say, Ionian art, whose dialogue with Cypriot sculpture is well attested. Cyprus' voluminous sculptural production through the Archaic

period leaves open, however, yet a third possibility. That is, the possibility of a direct exposure of Cypriot craftsmen to Achaemenid monumental art. References to Cypriots remain difficult to ascertain among the hosts of foreign craftsmen whose skills were employed, according to Achaemenid inscriptions, in the construction and decoration of Persian palaces in Iran.[81] Nonetheless, at a time of flourishing Cypriot sculptural activity, which has left numerous traces both on the island and abroad, Cypriot sculptors may well have been a sought-after resource by imperial rulers embarking on ambitious projects of palace construction.

Future finds and specialist studies may enable us to place in clearer perspective the stylistic affinities between Cypriot and Achaemenid sculpture. At least on present evidence, however, the material culture of Cyprus, on the far western fringe of the Persian empire, might not offer merely distant, indirect echoes of artistic developments in the Persian heartland. At least Cypriot competence in the domain of sculpture could imply that Cypriot craftsmen, who adopted Achaemenid elements in their own creations, may have also literally had a hand, as active participants in the multicultural creative processes that led to the formation of Achaemenid art, in bringing such elements into physical existence.

[1] For the history of Cyprus under Persian rule, see, in the first place, Hill 1940: 111-55; Stylianou 1989: 413-85.

[2] Masson 1983: no. 217, l. 1.

[3] See, conveniently, Maier and Karageorghis 1984: 192-203, with references to earlier excavation reports and studies of the finds.

[4] For a detailed report of the excavations of the palace and Gjerstad's chronological arguments, see Gjerstad et al. 1937: 111-290; a summary is offered in Gjerstad 1948: 23-9.

[5] See Gjerstad et al. 1937: 287-8; Gjerstad 1948: 477.

[6] *Contra* Iliffe and Mitford's (1953) preliminary dating of the life-time of the building to the fifth and fourth centuries, see Schäfer 1960: 169-75.

[7] See Schäfer 1960: 174; Maier and von Wartburg 1985: 155.

[8] See, e.g., Iliffe and Mitford 1953; Schäfer 1960; Meiggs 1972: 481.

[9] For the general lack of evidence for a permanent Persian presence in Cyprus, see, in the first place, Petit 1991: 163, 166-70, Tuplin 1996: esp. 48-9. Against the function of the building at Palaipaphos as a Persian control point, see, e.g., Maier 1985: 33, n. 7, 1989a: 17. Hoewever, despite views to the contrary (e.g., Collombier 1991: 32; but see Zournatzi 2005: 43, n. 121), a close connection of the emergence of Vouni with the Cypriot Revolt remains difficult to dismiss. The palace, earlier interpreted mainly as a lookout on the rebellious city and area of Soloi, was in fact important for the strategic defense of the entire island against incursions from the adjacent Ana-

tolian coast, and especially from the Aegean, where most outside threats to Persian control of Cyprus are known to have originated in the course of the Persian period. This complex, which on current evidence did not predate the revolt, was in an ideal position to monitor maritime traffic from the northwest. At the same time, it guarded the coastal plain of Soloi which was the gateway to the main land corridor that led to the interior (and copper-mining districts) of the island as well as to the important eastern Cypriot cities of Salamis and Kition (Zournatzi 2003a).

[10] See Ghirshman 1964: 352-3 with fig. 454; Karageorghis and Vermeule 1966: 24-5, no. 90, pl. XIX; Tuplin 1996: 53, with further references.

[11] The monumental design of Vouni may well represent, however, an example of composite provincial Achaemenid palace architecture, as suggested by Stern 1982: 58-60 and Zournatzi 2003a.

[12] Darics: Gjerstad et al. 1937: 238 and 244, no. 292s, pl. XCV; see now also Michaelidou-Nicolaou 2006: 21-3, fig. 3 on p. 21, with earlier bibliography. Bowls: Gjerstad et al. 1937: 238, nos. 292b-c, pls. XC and XCII. Bracelets with calves' heads finials: ibid: 238, nos. 292e-g, pls. XCI-XCII.

[13] For the Vouni examples, see Gjerstad et al. 1937: pl. XC 4 and 6-7 (silver); cf. a similar example in bronze on pl. LXXXVIII 11 (424). Depictions of similar bowls on the Persepolitan Apadana reliefs are illustrated in Schmidt 1953: pls. 30-41 *passim*. For excavated specimens in ceramic from Pasargadae, see Stronach 1978: 242-3 and pl. 173. The wider currency of such bowls outside Iran is indicated not least by their mass production in ceramic at the Persian satrapal center of Sardis (e.g., Dusinberre 2003: 172-95).

[14] See Amandry 1958: 20.

[15] National Museum of Iran no. 3183. Stronach 1978: 168, no. 1, fig. 85/4, pls. 146-7; color illustration in Curtis and Tallis 2005: 137, no. 152. On the possible Cypriot connections of the Pasargadae bracelets, see page 254 and note 74, below.

[16] References to earlier known examples of figurines of individuals dressed in the Iranian costume (mainly riders) are conveniently collected in Zournatzi 1989: 127, n. 3(a); cf. Tuplin 1996: 54-6. For an example in bronze which was reportedly excavated in the sanctuary of Apollo at Idalion, see now Reyes 1992: 245.

[17] *Anaxyrides*: Hdt. 7.61.1. Clearly indicated by color on, e.g., a terracotta figurine from Limassol (Limassol Museum 2/158) in Karageorghis n.d.: no. 156 and cover photograph. For other elements of Iranian equestrian apparel depicted on such sta-

tuettes, see, e.g., a stone figurine of a rider sitting on a saddlecloth with fringed edges from the 'palace' of Amathous in Hermary 2000: 129-30, no. 851, pl. 66, and further examples in Tuplin 1996: 50-1.

[18] Young and Young 1955: 99-211 *passim*. From subsequent investigations (see, e.g., Moorey 2000: 480) it emerges that figurines of this type came into general currency in the western provinces of the empire in the fifth and fourth centuries and their production outlived the empire.

[19] This is not entirely surprising, since Persian presence is known to have left very few traces on the ground. See the various papers addressing this topic with reference to a number of the empire's provinces in Briant and Boucharlat 2005.

[20] Petit 1991.

[21] Tuplin 1996: 48-61.

[22] Cyprus Museum 1978/XII-19/3-8 ('Kiti Hoard'). Michaelidou-Nicolaou 2006; initially announced in Karageorghis 1979: 676.III with fig. 1 on p. 672 and fig. 7 on p. 675. Another daric, presently in the Gunther Collection of the Cyprus Museum (Michaelidou-Nicolaou 2006: 21 [with fig. 4], 23), is without known provenance.

[23] Relevant examples are cited in Petit 1991: 171-2; Tuplin 1996: 53 with ns. 118-19. For a unique, unfinished phiale with an offset, everted rim of locally quarried stone from the 'palace' at Amathous interpreted as a model of either a vase or, more likely, a bowl of an incense burner, see Hermary 2000: 144, no. 964, pl. 82.

[24] Markou (2007: 288-9 with pl. III.8) suggests the Persian origin of the torque and cites (on p. 289 and n. 57) a North Syrian parallel of the sixth century (in Maxwell-Hyslop 1971: 268, pl. 217) to the earring of the figure. For parallels to the figure's penannular earrings with globules around the edge, see also Curtis and Tallis 2005: 145, nos. 177 and 179.

[25] Zournatzi 1989.

[26] For the Pyla statue, which is dated in the J. and M. Ringling Museum's records to the 'Hellenistic period, 325-250 B.C.', see Zournatzi 1989: 128, n. 9, with earlier bibliography; cf. Tuplin 1996: 56, n. 133 (3-4). For the Kourion statue (New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 74.51.2339), see Mitford 1971: 54-6, no. 22, fig. on p. 54; Zournatzi 1989: 133 and 134 (Appendix). Tuplin (1996: 56, n. 133[5]) notes yet another occurrence of a 'cloak with arms' on a statuette in Iranian attire from Golgoi (?), illustrated in Hermary 1989: no. 547.

[27] Mitford 1971: 55.

[28] Joanna S. Smith, personal communication.

²⁹ See, e.g., Garrison and Root 2001 for the numerous variations of the motif of 'heroic encounter' attested on seal impressions on the Persepolis Fortification tablets. For examples of the motif on clay sealings, probably remnants of an administrative archive, discovered at the site of the Persian satrapal center of Daskyleion, see Kaptan 2002: figs. 75-9 (DS 11 and DS 12) on which, however, the motif appears on pedestal animals.

³⁰ See Boardman 1970a: 316 and 322, pl. 891, color illustration no. 4 on p. 304.

³¹ For the *koinē* in seals circulating in the Achaemenid empire, see, e.g., Dusinberre 2003: 158-71 and the works cited in n. 2 (p. 158).

³² See, conveniently, Reyes 2001: 139-42, nos. 328-35. For two possible derivatives/'local imitatives' of Neo-Babylonian seal designs, see ibid. 139-40, nos. 327 and 328.

³³ Reyes 2001: 141, no. 334, fig. 340. For the inscription, see Masson 1983: 344 and 421, no. 353, fig. 109 on p. 345.

³⁴ Karageorghis 1988: 804 with n. 17, and fig. 24 on p. 805.

³⁵ Petit 1991: 171 with n. 28 (identified as Achaemenid [sic!] style gems).

³⁶ Tuplin 1996: 48.

³⁷ Paphos Museum 2595/3. Karageorghis 1988: 804 with fig. 24 on p. 805; Reyes 2001: 140, no. 330, fig. 336.
   Amathous T 11/19. Karageorghis 1988: 804, n. 17; Reyes 2001: 139, no. 326.
   Larnaca. Ashmolean, Oxford 1896-1908 C. 337. Myres 1897: 153, fig. 9; Buchanan and Moorey 1988: 82, no. 564; Reyes 2001: 140, no. 329, fig. 335.

³⁸ See, e.g., Zettler 1979: esp. 258-60, 266.

³⁹ For impressions of Neo-Babylonian style stamp seals on Persepolis tablets, see Schmidt 1957: 38, nos. 61 and 62, pl. 13 (PT6 215, PT4 774, PT6 293); Root 1998: 277 (Appendix II), pls. 10-12; Garrison 2000: 142-3, fig. 20.

⁴⁰ Kaptan 2002: vol. 1, pp. 106-7, and vol. 2, pp. 3 and 154, figs. 3-4 (DS 1); cf. vol. 2, pp. 150 and 244, figs. 460-1 (DS 179) for possible traces of another Neo-Babylonian style seal on a fragmentary bulla. For an actual find of a Neo-Babylonian style chalcedony stamp seal in a sixth-century context at Daskyleion, see Bakır 2001: 175-6 with fig. 13 on p. 180 (mentioned in Kaptan 2002: vol. 1, p. 107 with n. 8), who suggests an Achaemenid administrative use.

⁴¹ See note 37, above. Judging from its material, the fourth piece (Cyprus Museum A.I. 2684) —a faience conoid from Aghia Irini Level V, which is dated to the first half of the sixth century, thus to the Neo-Babylonia period— may not be an import but a local imitation (Reyes 2001: 139-40, 142, no. 328, fig. 334).

⁴² For the cosmopolitan character of Achaemenid glyptic, see, more recently, Boardman 2000: 150-74; Merrillees 2005: esp. 26-43.

⁴³ See Zettler 1979; Merrillees 2005: no. 31.

⁴⁴ On the emergence of non-Babylonian pyramidal stamps, see now Root 1998, with earlier bibliography.

⁴⁵ Boardman 1970b, 1998.

⁴⁶ See Boardman 1970a: 303-27.

⁴⁷ Buchanan and Moorey 1988: 82, no. 567, pl. XVIII.

⁴⁸ Boardman 1970b: 35-6 and 44, no. 168; see earlier Carnegie 1908: vol. I, 206, no. O 19, pl. 16.O.19.

⁴⁹ For the seal in Péronne, see Boardman 1970a: 309, pl. 847, 1970b: 26, 40, no. 13, pl. 2; Decaudin 1987: 223, no. 2, pl. LXXXIV; Reyes 2001: 165, no. 431, fig. 435. For the seal in Boston, see Boardman 1970a: 309 and 351, pl. 846, and 1970b: 26 and 40, no. 12; Reyes 2001: 152, no. 366, fig. 373.

⁵⁰ Masson 1983: 349-50, no. 363 and fig. 118.

⁵¹ Reyes 2001: 148.

⁵² Boardman 1998: 3.

⁵³ Boardman 1998: 11, no. 196.1, fig. 19. See now also Bernheimer 2007: 67-8, GF-2, identifying the ring as a Lydian or East Greek work of the late sixth or early fifth century BC.

⁵⁴ Curtis 1925: nos. 99, 98 and 90, respectively, and pls. 9, 11; Boardman 1970b: 45, nos. 194-6, pl. 8 (cf. idem 1998: 3); more recently, Dusinberre 2003: 267 and 269 with fig. 79 (IAM 4639), p. 267 with fig. 78 (IAM 4632), p. 264 with fig. 73 on p. 265 (IAM 4636). Dusinberre (p. 264) identifies them as '[s]eals carved in imperial koine styles apparently of local Sardian production'.

⁵⁵ Boardman 1998: 11, no. 194.1, pl. I, 9.

⁵⁶ Cf. Boardman 2000: 155 and fig. 5.2 on p. 154 (a stone tabloid coming 'probably from Syria or Cyprus').

⁵⁷ Tuplin 1996: 48.

⁵⁸ See, in particular, Counts 2008, with relevant bibliography.

⁵⁹ Beer 1994: nos. 110, 164, 205, dated, respectively, to 425-400 BC, 'probably second quarter' of the fourth century, and 350-300 BC.

⁶⁰ See note 10, above.

[61] Merseyside County Museums, Liverpool, KA 730. E.g., Maier 1989b: 378-9, figs. 40.1-2.

[62] Maier 1989b: 379.

[63] Cyprus Museum 1940/XI-4/1. Markoe 1987: 121 with n. 19.

[64] Markoe 1987: 120 with n. 9.

[65] Cf. Markoe 1987: 120, n. 12 (who dates, however, the relief to 522-519 BC).

[66] Cf., among other instances, Curtis and Tallis 2005: 245, no. 442 (dated to c. 475-450 BC).

[67] Markoe 1987: 121.

[68] Markoe 1987: 121, n. 18.

[69] For more extensive references to the relevant types of artifacts, see Petit 1991; Tuplin 1996: 48-60.

[70] For the widespread phenomenon of representations of 'Persian' riders, see Moorey 2000, with references to earlier discussions.

[71] For the varied views expressed concerning these still open questions with respect to the Cypriot examples, see Young and Young 1955: 196-7, 200, 230-1 (c.f. Moorey 2000: 480-3); Zournatzi 1989: 134; Petit 1991: 173; Tuplin: 1996: 55-6.

[72] For this Achaemenid practice, explicitly stated by Herodotus (7.119) in the case of the Greek cities of Thrace, see Zournatzi 2000: 249-52.

[73] The tribute due to Persian authorities by the fifth Persian *nomos*, of which Cyprus formed a part, was assessed to a total of 350 talents of silver (Hdt. 3.91). Although gold and silver do not occur, at least not in any significant quantities, on the island, a surplus in these metals could accumulate as a result of the island's lucrative trade in native bronze and the coastal Cypriot cities' involvement in transit trade. Precious metals are also attested among the Cypriots' earlier compulsory contributions to Hittite and Assyrian monarchs (see, e.g., respectively, Güterbock 1967: 75 and Malbran-Labat 2004: 348). For the island's contribution to the production of luxury vessels of precious metals during the Archaic period, see Markoe (1985: e.g., 3-4, 87-9). The importance of Cyprus to the Achaemenids as one of their main western suppliers of precious metals may be alluded to by the inclusion of three archaic Cypriot silver issues among the coins of the southeast foundation deposit of the Apadana (see Zournatzi 2003b: 18-19).

[74] Williams 2005: 111.

[75] The use of seals in administrative contexts is generally very poorly documented in Cyprus until the Hellenistic period. See Reyes 2001: 166, with references.

[76] Usually depicted in a more or less summary way and in miniature, figures on metalware, coins, and seals can hardly be envisaged, of course, as links in the transmission of stylistic minutiae of Achaemenid monumental sculpture.

[77] The dissemination of copies of the Bīsotūn relief and inscriprions by Darius I (explicitly stated in DB §70) is evidenced by fragments of the relief found in Babylon (e.g., Seidl 1976: Taf. 34.1) and of the inscription in Babylon, Elephantine, and perhaps Susa (see, conveniently, Briant 1996: 135-6 and documentary note on p. 928).

[78] See Curtis and Tallis 2005: 99, no. 88, with bibliography. The shoulders and head of the statue are broken off, but judging from the figure's Persian robe, it is more than likely that the head of the king (and, thus, the details of the hair and beard) would have been executed in Persian style. Cf. S. Razmjou's reconstruction of the original appearance of the statue on p. 99, and a fragment, 'possibly of a royal head from a monumental statue', perhaps a twin to the statue of Darius I, from Sousa on p. 100, no. 89.

[79] For other examples of Achaemenid statuary and circulation of Achaemenid sculpture in the west, see Dusinberre 2003: 79-90; Curtis and Tallis 2005: 99, no. 87; Stronach forthcoming [2008]: e.g., n. 37. See also the Achaemenid style reliefs at Site B at Meydancık Kale (Davesne and Laroche-Traunecker 1998 with figs. 1-10 and 15 ['Bloc 1']), aptly described (p. 393) as 'témoins d'un art "officiel"… fidèle à celui de la capitale du Grand Roi'. Though ascribed to a considerably later date (end of the fifth or beginning of the fourth century BC [p. 300]) than the Cypriot examples discussed here, these reliefs still offer a valuable indication of the potential for reproduction of the Achaemenid style in monumental sculpture in the West.

[80] Markoe (1987: 121, n. 14, following Ridgway 1977: 107-8) inclines to ascribe the more or less contemporary appearance of this element to Cypriot and Greek sculpture to Oriental/Persian influence.

[81] For Lewis' suggestion that certain workmen, who are designated as *kupirriyaš* in the Persepolis tablets, could be Cypriots, see, e.g., Tuplin 1996: 43. On the other hand, if the largely Greek-speaking Cypriots lived and worked side by side with Aegean Greeks in the Aegean, on Cyprus, and in Naucratis (see, e.g., Kourou et al. 2002: esp. 73-7), this may have made the necessity of distinguishing between the two groups less than urgent for the Persians. Cypriots could thus be designated by the generic term *Yaunā* used for all the Greeks.

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Yannick Lintz

Greek, Anatolian, and Persian Iconography in Asia Minor: Material Sources, Method, and Perspectives

WESTERN ANATOLIA occupies a central place in the study of the cultural contacts between the ancient Greeks and Iranians, in particular during the Achaemenid period. Before Margaret Cool Root's important contribution to the subject some fifteen years ago, hellenocentrism was responsible for a tendency, attested in both historical and archaeological studies, to minimize the impact of Persian culture on the western part of the empire.[1] Awareness that certain objects from Asia Minor offer evidence for cultural exchange between the Persians and the Greeks can be traced to Fürtwängler's rigorous archaeological study published in 1903, wherein a distinct Greco-Persian style, in particular in seals, is defined.[2] Though this classification has been available for more than a century and subject to further detailed investigation in Boardman's seal studies,[3] it has not been universally accepted.[4]

A number of recent publications of archaeological artifacts of the Persian period from Asia Minor now offer a broader basis for reconsidering this area of research. In her impressive study of the clay sealings discovered by Ekrem Akurgal in 1956 in the Achaemenid satrapal center of Daskyleion in Hellespontine Phrygia, Deniz Kaptan was able to identify, in addition to seal impressions that are representative of 'Greek styles', no less than three groups of clay sealings whose iconographic themes exhibit different degrees of affinity with the Persian artistic environment and are classified under 'Court', 'Achaemenid Persian *koine*' and 'Persianizing' styles.[5] Recent discoveries and rediscoveries have further enriched the corpus of Persian images of Asia Minor. Some of the more notable instances are the Çan sarcophagi, the sarcophagus of the Dedetepe Tumulus near Çanakkale, and the painted beams in Munich and Afyon, which are being investigated by Lâtife Summerer in the context of the funerary complex of Tatarlı near Kelainai in Phrygia.[6] One can easily perceive the importance of a systematic collection of Achaemenid documentary remains from Asia Minor in a *catalogue raisonné*, in order to have a more precise vision of Greek and Achaemenid cultural interactions in the sixth through the fourth centuries BC.[7]

In this paper I should like to offer a preliminary presentation of the work which I have undertaken in this direction. I will begin by defining the methodology I have used for this study and move on to the different categories of objects examined in the corpus, such as it stands today. For each of these categories there are still questions and queries.

Methodology

The first step was to define the geographic parameters within which to carry out this study. The study is limited to the regions of Hellespontine Phrygia, Phrygia, Lydia, Lycia and Caria. Excavated materials from the Ionian Greek cities are also taken into account where appropriate.[8] Since the re-

search is based on a very systematic study of archeological collections, it is necessary to work in the museums which keep this material and information (inventories and archives). The materials collected to date comprise objects from twenty-three museums[9] as well as from the archaeological storeroom at Sardis in western Turkey. It was also necessary, of course, to trace the history of the collections and their movements. For example, the Manisa Museum deposited artifacts in the new Pergamum Museum; the Museum at Sahili, near Sardis, deposited objects in the Manisa Museum when it closed its doors. Most of the sealings of Daskyleion studied by Kaptan at the University of Ankara are now in the Museum at Bandırma with new inventory numbers, but some of this material remains in Ankara.[10]

Within these parameters, an inventory of the objects was essential. The study of published materials has enabled me to put together an initial corpus. My sources include archival documents, such as the archives of the Archaelogical Museum in İstanbul —an invaluable source of information for archaelogical discoveries made in Turkey until the 1960s— and the Louis Robert archive donated to the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres in 1998. The latter allows one to consult the files which Robert compiled, region by region, during his travels throughout Asia, as well as his excavation logbooks, especially from the sites of Amyzon in Caria and Klaros. As mentioned, documentary research is conducted along with study visits to the museums and, if possible, consultation of their inventories. Usually the objects are not identified as Achaemenid in these collections. Access to the museum lists and photographs is therefore also essential. When an inventory for a collection is lacking, I request permission for access to the material from certain sites and study the objects case by case. I was thus able to examine all twenty-five cases from Metzger's excavations on the Lycian acropolis at Xanthos in 1962, which had never been opened from the moment Metzger had hastily packed and sent them to the Archaeological Museum in İstanbul I also began to work through the storerooms of the museum at İzmir; random sampling from the cases containing materials excavated at the Greek sites of the Ionian coast showed that there were Achaemenid objects.[12]

This inventory of what is an important body of material quickly obliged me to create a database in which to register the collected data. The model of the form provides information for some thirty different fields. The information includes material aspects of the object, such as technique, dimensions and materials employed; a detailed description; geographical details, such as the site in which it was discovered and its place of production; the history of the object subsequent to its discovery.

A central question comes to the fore regularly: how to select an Achaemenid object amongst a much wider archaelogical field? I have tried to be practical in my approach. Figured objects (for instance, the rich corpus of sealings at Daskyleion) are in principle easier to distinguish on the basis of iconographic repertories or styles which have been identified. In practice, the approach is more complex than at first appears, as the iconography is clearly not the only criterion used to identify the Persian affinities of an object. The latter can also take the form of abstract decoration. I am thinking of certain architectural elements in stone or clay or clearly recognizable techniques in gold and silver pieces. My current inclination is rather to be inclusive with the material, and I have thus adopted certain straightforward principles: an object is considered to be Achaemenid if it

can be shown that the commissioner of the object, its owner, or the craftsman was of Persian origin or had political or cultural links to the Achaemenid empire. The provenance of an object is of paramount importance. At present certain objects are problematic in that they are often considered to be of Achaemenid origin because they were produced during the period of Achaemenid domination. Such examples are the lions found in Xanthos in 1988 and 1998, currently dated to the sixth century BC.[13] While these lions lack obvious Achaemenid characteristics, they nevertheless belong to a group of comparable sculptures, a more precise analysis of which might enable us to discern their artistic origins. Roosevelt's recent study of a group of 19 symbolic door stelai from western Anatolia shows that it is possible to distinguish among elements of different traditions when working with a small group of sculptures of known provenance. (Seventeen of these stelai came from a small area around Sardis.[14]) This brings me to a question that I have to ask myself for each of the objects in the corpus: what criteria can be used to distinguish the Anatolian character (here, essentially Phrygian, Lydian or Lycian) from the Persian or Greek? An interesting track to take (but not the only one) is to look at works which are considered to be 'archaic' and which might allow one to trace iconographic or technical development or discontinuities. The architectural earthenware fragments from Gordion in Phrygia, some of which are dated to the turn of the seventh to the sixth century BC, offer a good illustration of continuity of traditions with respect to both the techniques and the repertory of decorative elements used. In what is already a difficult exercise of characterizing different cultural elements, the Achaemenid dimension has an additional difficulty: it is not just a question of defining an influence or a tradition, but also of judging the extent to which the production of a certain object might reveal a political context, reflecting the nature of Achaemenid domination in Asia Minor.

The corpus

Having outlined the principle methodological tools used in the investigation, I should now like to present a summary of the corpus. There are two main categories of objects: architectural elements (for example, from funerary contexts and public monuments) and objects produced by craftsmen, which circulated either through commerce or inside the imperial adminsitration. This distinction is important in the analysis and understanding of the object in question.[15] We know that an image on an artifact makes sense in relation to the function of this artifact. For instance, an image of a Persian on a gold pendant has not exactly the same significance as on a public monument.

The first category encompasses objects of stone, clay material, and wood as well as frescos. The stone objects are the most varied as well as the most numerous. In this group the stelai have traditionally formed the basis for investigation, but there are also interesting examples of complete and fragmentarily preserved sarcophagi.[16] Most famous among these are the sarcophagi discovered in the Granicus Valley. They are decorated, respectively, in two different iconographic styles. Despite peculiarities in its details, one of the styles is clearly Greek. The other one has a pronounced Persian flavor. I will not go into detail here regarding each of these categories. Many of the architectural elements included in the corpus have found their way into museum storerooms and courtyards without any certain indication of
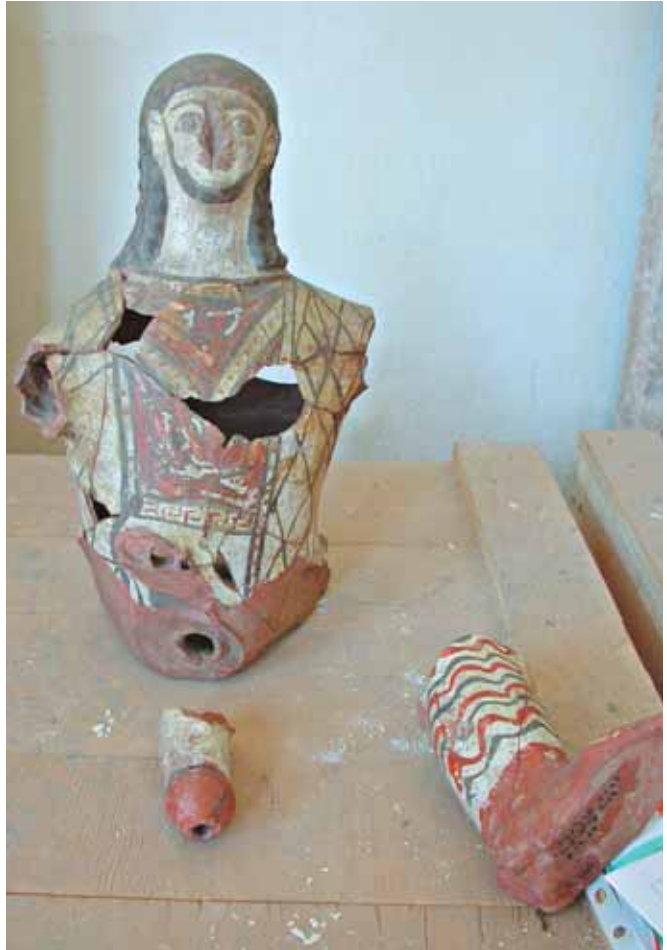
Fig. 1
Electrum duck-shaped pin-head from
Elmalı. Seventh century BC. Antalya
Museum 4.16.86. H. 1.7 cm, W. 2.35 cm.
(Courtesy Esra Akça, Archaeologist
in the Museum.)

Fig. 2
Gold lamb pendant from Akhisar
(Thyatira). Sixth century BC. Manisa
Museum 5289. H. 1.4 cm, W. 2.9 cm.
(Courtesy Muesser Tosunbaş, Director
of the Museum.)

Fig. 3
Fragmentary terracotta horseman from
Sardis. 550-540 BC. Manisa Museum 4360.
H. 36 cm, W. 20 cm; foot: H. 17 cm, W. 13
cm. (Courtesy Muesser Tosunbaş,
Director of the Museum.)

Fig. 4
a. A winged horned lion-griffin
on a pale blue chalcedony seal
set in silver from Sardis. Fifth century
BC. İstanbul Archaeological Museum
4642. H. 2.4 cm, W. 1.5 cm, Th. 1 cm.
(Courtesy Ismaïl Karamut, Director of
the Museum.)
b. Modern impression.

provenance. Stylistic comparisons may allow one to postulate some hy-
potheses. The corpus of fragments from frescoes, which are mostly Phry-
gian and Lydian in origin, is particularly rich. These need to be analyzed
with reference to the group of frescoes preserved *in situ* in Elmalı.[17]

The craft objects can be divided into four groups based, again, on the
materials in which they were manufactured (metal, earthenware, seals and
ivory). Metal objects include a collection of gold jewelry discovered in Ly-
dian sites. An initial stylistic and technical study of the jewelry indicates the
survival of a number of Lydian traditions during the period of Achaemenid
domination as well as developments (for example, between the seventh and
eighth centuries BC), which may allow a more precise dating of the corpus
to slowly emerge. From a methodological standpoint, it seems important to
be able to date these objects precisely before attempting an interpretation
of their cultural implications. A considerable number of these metal ob-

jects were originally used as decorative elements, for example, on furniture. The objects from the excavations at Sardis are of this type.[18]

Earthenware objects with figured decoration, including anthropomorphic vases and figurines, were mostly brought to light in earlier excavations. Objects in ivory, on the other hand, come from more recent excavations. Clay and ivory production in Achaemenid Anatolia remains poorly studied.

Seals are among the better studied items in the Achaemenid empire, and there are already two important published corpora of seals from Sardis and Gordion.[19] It would still be useful to have a systematic inventory including unpublished specimens in the Turkish museums' glyptic collections. Furthermore, since inventories regularly specify the sites at which the seals were found, it should be possible to draw up a map bringing together iconographic types and provenances for these objects.

One can also approach the corpus by means of the iconographic themes represented. There are nine such themes, and each of them admits further subdivisions.[20] A detailed study of such themes could elucidate the geographical characteristics of the iconographic repertoire employed throughout western Anatolia. For instance, one finds details in hunting scenes depicted on artifacts from Hellespontine Phrygia that are not attested in analogous scenes on objects coming from Lycia. Other scenes seem to be identical regardless of their place of production or patterns of diffusion. This latter category would seem to correspond more with images associated with imperial iconography (e.g., court scenes and religious ceremonies).

Fig. 5
Priest on a marble stele from Kayseri.
Fifth/fourth century BC. Ankara,
Museum of Anatolian Civilizations
114.181. H. 56 cm, W. 36 cm, Th. 28 cm.
(Courtesy Hikmet Denizli, Director
of the Museum.)

Fig. 6
Priest on a fragmentary marble stele,
from Daskyleion. Fifth century BC.
İstanbul Archaeological Museum 5391.
H. 63 cm, W. 57 cm. (Courtesy Ismaïl
Karamut, Director of the Museum, and
Şeharazat Karagöz, Archaeologist in the
Museum in charge of Sculpture.)

Fig. 7
Priest on a clay sealing
from Daskyleion.
Fifth century BC.
Bandırma Museum Erg. 254. H. 3.3 cm,
W. 3.2 cm, Th. 1 cm. (Courtesy Elma
Kaya, Director of the Museum, and
Tomris Bakır, Director of the excavations
at Daskyleion.)

In conclusion, the corpus, which currently numbers almost one thousand works coming from about twenty museums in western Turkey, is not exhaustive, but is undoubtedly representative. It is hoped that it will offer a closer view of regional characteristics. And it would be desirable to be able to compare Lydian and Phrygian workmanship; to examine the particularities of, say, the iconography of Hellespontine Phrygia; and to try to determine the respective areas of influence of the cultures that coexisted in Achaemenid Asia Minor. It would be important to develop this study within a diachronic framework between the sixth and fourth centuries BC. Thus it is essential to try to date these objects much more precisely than they generally have been dated to the present. Going beyond artistic and stylistic analysis, the bringing together of this archaelogical documentation and the textual evidence ultimately ought to enable a truly historical interpretation of the impact of Achaemenid rule in Asia Minor.

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[1] Root 1991: 7.

[2] Fürtwangler 1903: 116-24.

[3] Boardman 1970a,b.

[4] Regarding the non-adoption of his classification, see Mendel's (1912-14: I, 281) approach to the composition of the Lycian reliefs of Belenkli (ancient Isinda): 'the strangeness of the composition, the contrast between the means at the disposal of the sculptor and the difficulty of the subject chosen, everything here suggests an influence from the outside, which cannot be Greek and which must be Oriental.'

[5] Kaptan 2002: vol. 1, pp. 106-93.

[6] For the Çan sarcophagi, see Sevinç et al. 2001: 383-420. For the Dedetepe sarcophagus, see Sevinç et al. 1993: 305-27. For the beams in Munich and Afyon, see the earlier publication by Calmeyer (1992). Lâtife Summerer is currently working on a detailed publication of this material, see also this volume: 265-99.

[7] Such a catalogue will be discussed further below.

[8] No systematic study of this material has as yet been carried out. The large number of cases (100) in the Archaeological Museum of İzmir, containing material from the Ionian cities will require a separate, special study.

[9] These are the archaeological museums of Afyon, Ankara (Museum of Anatolian Civilizations),

Antalya, Aydın, Bandırma, Bodrum, Burdur, Bursa, Çanakkale, Eskişehir, Fethiye, Gordion, Kütahya, İstanbul (Archaelogical Museum), İzmir (Archaeological Museum and Museum of Art and History), Manisa, Marmaris, Milas, Muğla, Ödemis, Pergamum and Uşak.

[10] See Kaptan 2002.

[11] Metzger 1963.

[12] See note 8, above.

[13] Des Courtils and Laroche 1999: 372.

[14] Roosevelt 2006: 65-91.

[15] Achaemenid coins are not automatically included in the corpus. However, I try to identify these in museums, taking note of their provenance when known, since they can obviously provide important information for dating purposes.

[16] Among numerous studies, the most exhaustive one is that of Nollé (1992).

[17] Mellink 1998.

[18] Waldbaum 1983.

[19] For Sardis, see Curtis 1925. For Gordion, see Dusinberre 2005.

[20] The nine themes are: court ceremonies, worship and ritual, the Persian hero, hunting and combat, feasting, funeral processions, the human figure, animals, decorative motifs.

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Lâtife Summerer

Imaging a Tomb Chamber: The Iconographic Program of the Tatarlı Wall Paintings

Introduction

T HE PAINTED beams of the chamber of the Tatarlı tomb represent the largest ancient wood painting with figural representations ever found. It is dated to the mid-fifth century BC by stylistic criteria.[1] The wooden tomb chamber survived intact until 1969, when it was partly destroyed by looters and a number of its painted beams were carried off. The remaining wall beams were dismantled during a rescue excavation in September 1970 and brought to the Afyon Museum, where they are currently stored.[2] Recently, the two best preserved beams of this tomb chamber (presumably sawn off during the raid in 1969) were discovered by the author of the present article in the Archäologische Staatssammlung in Munich.[3]

The Tatarlı Tumulus is located some 30 km northeast of Dinar, on the road from the royal city of Kelainai to Gordion. It was constructed on a natural, rocky hill (Fig. 1). The tumulus is six meters high and has a diameter of 50 meters. Within it, a dromos (with barrel-shaped roof built of stone) led to a stone chamber (L. 2.50 m, W. 2 m, H. 1.85 m), the interior of which was lined with beams of juniper and cedar of various sizes (Fig. 2). Four to eight beams lined each of the side walls, and seven beams the gabled roof of the chamber.[4] The slabs were placed one above the other and connected by various kinds of joinery. The wooden chamber was finished in the interior but left rough on the exterior, which was protected by an outer stone chamber and finally covered with an earthen hill. No pavement on the floor has been found. The construction of the Tatarlı tomb generally corresponds to that of the Gordion tumuli.[5] It is the latest example of the typical Phrygian wooden tombs known so far. The stone chamber with *dromos*, which is lacking in Phrygian tumulus tombs, seems to follow a Lydian tradition.[6]

The tomb was found in great disorder, but at least its architecture could be documented. According to the excavator, the structure had been altered and reused several times in antiquity. In the tomb chamber itself, only some Roman coins, pottery sherds, and glass fragments were discovered. Judging by the skeletal remains, 15 humans had been buried in the tomb over the course of time.[7]

The Tatarlı Tumulus presents us with the only painted, wooden tomb chamber known to be preserved from antiquity. The reason this chamber was found in such excellent condition was probably that it was protected from the pressure of the earth fill above it by the outer stone chamber. The round logs over the roof provided additional protection.[8] In the interior of the chamber, the faces of the wooden beams were flattened out and smoothed in order to create a surface for painting. As only parts of the paintings are preserved, it is not clear whether the original painting program adorned the whole chamber or only the upper portions of the walls. Although in some places a preliminary reddish coat of stucco is discernible,[9] the figures were as a rule
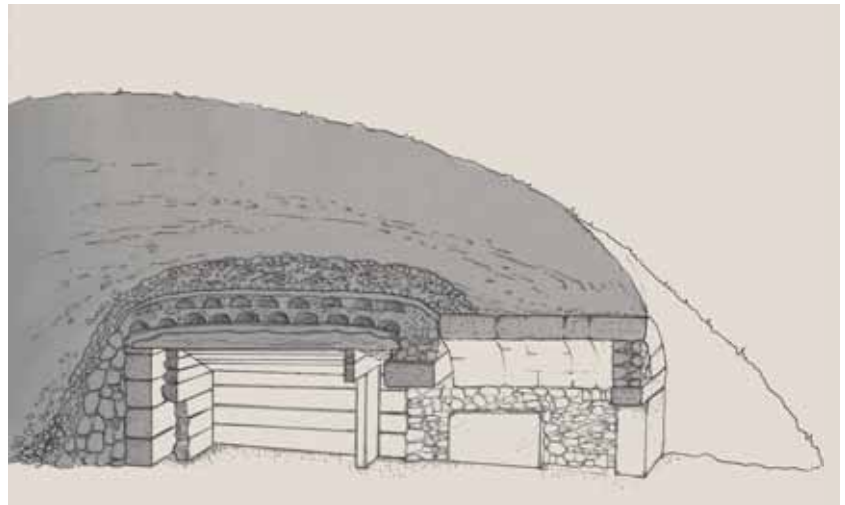
first outlined by incision and then the colors were applied directly onto the wood surface.

This paper offers a preliminary exploration of the iconographic program of the tomb, focusing on its potential to contribute to our understanding of cross-cultural relations between Anatolians and Persians in a Phrygian context. It addresses the following questions: What subjects are chosen for the imaging on the walls? Which iconographic conventions are used? Does the range of subject matter help to recognize an iconographic program? And if so, what does the iconographic program of the Tatarlı tomb reveal about the visual language of the Phrygians compared with those of their neighbors in Lycia, Lydia, and Hellespontic Phrygia? By comparing the variety of themes represented at Tatarlı with representations from other tomb contexts, this paper aims to reveal the particularities of the paintings of the Tatarlı tomb and to offer a better understanding of the place of the Phrygian visual language between 'Anatolian pictorial tradition' and 'Persian iconography'.

Subject matter of the painted friezes

The walls of the chamber are separated into friezes by painted straight baselines and double wave bands (Fig. 3). Some friezes are fitted in the

height of one beam, while others straddle over two timbers. The frieze decoration in zones of varying height follows a principle of the oriental artistic tradition.[10] Preliminary sketches were first incised on the smoothed surface, final outlines in black. The solid colors for human and animal figures and designs were various shades of red, brown, gray or blue, black and white. We do not know whether the walls were originally decorated completely with painted friezes, since on some beams (especially on those of juniper) the surface is completely destroyed. Some beams are covered by a white, misty layer (probably calcium carbonate created by humidity and temperature variations), and little of the painting is visible.[11]

North wall

The north rear wall is the best preserved and documented part of the chamber. The specific positions of the five upper beams in particular can be reconstructed fairly accurately from a photograph that was taken while they were still *in situ* (Figs. 4 and 5).[12] The lower part of the wall, corresponding to the three lower beams of timber, was cut off in the middle already in antiquity to create a niche (H. 0.75 m, W. 0.50 m) for secondary burials. Numbers incised by ancient woodworkers are clearly visible on the upper five beams, indicating that the slabs were labeled by the ancient woodworkers counting from below. On the other hand, the subject matter of some friezes suggests a *boustrophēdon* arrangement starting from the top. In this study the friezes are introduced in the latter order.

N8-7 FRIEZE 1: Heraldic crouching felines

The first frieze was originally straddled over two beams (Figs. 3 and 4). The topmost beam (N8) was already destroyed at the time of the excavation. On the portion of the frieze preserved on N 7 (L. 1.15 m, H. 0.15 m), a representation of a pair of heraldic felines facing each other is suggested by the animals' bodies. It is difficult to say if lions, panthers, or sphinxes are represented, since their heads (once painted on the topmost beam) are now missing.[13] The felines are crouching on their rear legs, raising one paw towards each other, tails held upwards. The creatures are outlined in black and painted red. A similar composition is represented on the lintel of the southern, front wall of the chamber.

Feline imagery, which is represented twice in the Tatarlı tomb chamber, was particularly popular in the archaic funeral art of Anatolia, mainland Greece, and Etruria.[14] Crouching or heraldic felines usually occur on the lintel or pediment of grave monuments and may be interpreted as tomb guardians. This topmost position may indicate the priority of this imagery.[15] Among representations of antithetic felines, the composition of the Tatarlı tomb finds its closest parallel on the Phrygian rock-cut grave of Yılan Taş.[16]
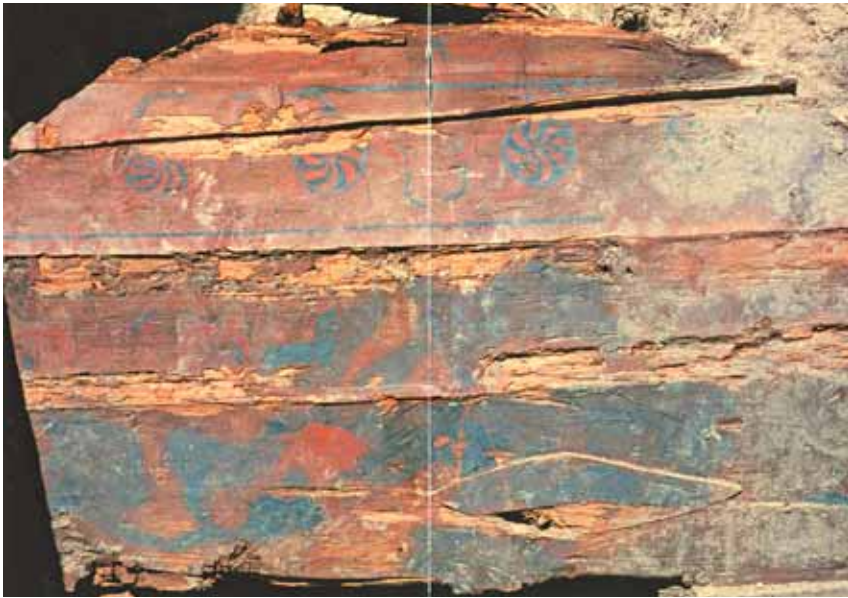
N7-6 FRIEZE 2: Two pairs of warriors (weapon dancers)

The second frieze, beginning on the lower portion of N7 and continuing onto N6 immediately below it (Figs. 3 and 4),[17] depicts two pairs of opposing warriors. The heads of the warriors, painted on the (now) extensively damaged joining edges of the two beams, are almost completely destroyed; only the upper parts of three of the warriors' identical, crested helmets are visible on N7. Their armor and weapons are also identical; apparently they

Fig. 3
Reconstruction of the north wall
of the Tatarlı Tumulus.
Drawing: Ingrid Dinkel and
Alexander von Kienlin.

all wore greaves and bore large shields, sickle-shaped daggers, and lances. Their round, gently convex shields with crescent décor conform to East Greek examples.[18] The helmet type itself is not recognizable, but its crest consists of a single strand slanting backwards from the calotte.[19] The antithetic grouping, identical armor and weapons, and not least the lunging stance of the warriors with clearly raised heels do not point to a simple rendering of a duel, as the excavator supposed,[20] but rather to an armed dance. Dancers equipped with helmet, shield, and spear occur often on Greek vases.[21] A close iconographic parallel is offered by the representation decorating a red-figure hydria in New York.[22] Two armed men stand in front of each other, mirror-inverted. Like the warriors of the Tatarlı frieze, they are depicted in a lunging position with arms drawn back. The flutist between the warriors leaves no doubt that this is a dance, not a fight.

On the wooden frieze there is an oddity about the warriors facing to the right. It is not clear with which arm they are holding their shields. Since the shields are shown in the foreground and cover the body completely, one might think that they hang on the warriors' right arm. As the right arm is raised and swings the sickle-shaped dagger backward, however, it could not be carrying the shield, which would seem thus to levitate in the air. This inconsistency is certainly not a painting error. Such an error could have been easily corrected by the artist by painting over it. One ought to understand instead that the artist changed his model intentionally in order to conform to an Anatolian convention of strict symmetrical representation, as can be observed on the Late Hittite reliefs from Karatepe.[23] Sickle-shaped daggers, which are quite unusual in Greek representations of weapon dances, also seem to be a local peculiarity, since the use of war sickles (*drepana*) is well attested in Anatolia.[24] The representation of a weapon dance in a tomb context is not astonishing, since pyrrhic dances played an important role during the funeral rites.[25]

N5 FRIEZE 3: Chariot convoy with striding human figures

Beneath the armed-dance frieze, on N5 (L. 1.91 m, H. 0.22 m), is depicted a chariot procession headed by two large-scale human figures (Figs. 3 and 4).

Proceeding from left to right, there are three chariots moving to the right,[26] each drawn by a pair of horses; the horses in the background are indicated by the double contour lines of the foreground horses.

The chariots have large wheels with eight spokes. The solid box is curved at the upper rim. Rectangular objects painted on the side of the box would seem to represent quivers. Apparently this is a convoy of armored war chariots. According to a traced drawing executed immediately after the excavation, a standing driver holding the reins was visible at the time on the third chariot from the left, but this figure is no longer discernible.[27] It is to be assumed that in each chariot there would have been at least one occupant controlling the reins, which are attached directly onto the horses' necks. The high, curved draft pole, which is linked to the neck yoke by two vertical lines, is visible on the first chariot from the left. The specific details of these chariots, such as the high draft pole, the style of the box, and the type of the horses, as well as the harnessing, also occur in the chariots of the battle frieze on the east wall, but are otherwise unattested. Compared with those of their counterparts on the east wall, the small proportions of the horses on this frieze are striking.

In front of the chariot convoy, two figures (oversized in relation to the chariot) are shown heading to the right with large strides. Their upper bodies, including shoulders and heads, are not preserved. The figure on the left wears a short, white *chiton*.[28] His legs and arms are painted red. He is carrying in his right hand a long object which is slightly curved at its lower end. Only the rear of the second figure is visible. His right hand is empty, but no further details are discernible. There was possibly a third striding figure in front of him. Unfortunately the right half of the frieze is extensively damaged, and the parts that are still intact are covered here and there by a calcareous layer, so that only some diffuse traces of color are discernible. Therefore it is difficult to know how this frieze continued and whether or not the large-scale human figures were a part of the chariot convoy.

N4 FRIEZE 4: Winged running bulls with 'panthers' and birds (hunting scene?)

N4 is the best preserved timber of the chamber. It was repaired before painting. A lozenge-shaped part in the middle was cut out, probably because it was damaged, and replaced by another piece of wood.[29] This frieze shows six winged bulls running to the left (Figs. 3 and 4). They are not lined up behind one another, but their bodies are overlapping so that the hindquarters are visible only in the case of the first bull from the right, close to the viewer. The outlines of these monsters are painted in black; the bodies are alternately painted red and black.[30] The straight wings are separated into two sections: a crescent-shaped shoulder decorated with dark dots and a terminating unit structured by means of alternating red and black stripes. The horns are thick at the base and spiral out to a pointed terminus. The details of the small heads are not well indicated. The rounded eyes differ in size and color. The forelegs are stretched forward, suggesting fast running. The tails, rolling up over the back of the creatures (rendered in each instance as a double-lined semicircle between the neck and wing of the monsters behind) are a notable feature of these creatures.

Behind the last bull in the line, a white, misty layer seems to be forming over some images. Only patches of red and black color are visible, pos-

sibly traces of a smaller animal figure, perhaps a panther.[31] On the far right, two birds with extended wings and heads pointing toward the ground are possibly flying downward or diving. Their bodies are decorated with scales, and their wings are painted with alternating red and black stripes.

Below the birds, there is a fragment of a figure and an arch-shaped black object, the identity of which remains obscure.[32] Still further below we see an animal painted black with red dots. Its thick red outline may indicate the presence of a second animal in the background. The long tail, which rolls up at the end, is painted red. As far as can be seen, the animal is rushing forward and turning its head around. The animal's slim head and pointed ears could suggest its identification as a dog. However, its paws, long tail, outstretched forelegs, treading rear legs, and not least the creeping movement, indicate that a feline, possibly a panther, is depicted instead. A similar figure of a panther with its head turned backwards occurs in the hunting scene of the so-called Satrap Sarcophagus from Sidon, dated to around 400 BC.[33]

Next to the rear leg of the animal, a red-painted field, which resembles a human leg striding to the right, might be all that remains of a person painted behind the 'panther'. Finally on the far right end of the frieze, approximately level with the birds, there is a thick, curved, red-painted line, at the lower end of which hang six petals. This seems to be a plant, probably a branch with a flower, symbolizing nature.

Winged bulls have a long tradition in Near Eastern art.[34] The well-known Marlik Beaker (12th/11th century BC) is decorated with winged bulls flanking a tree.[35] Processions of walking, winged bulls are depicted on some ivories from Hasanlu.[36] They also occur in the Achaemenid minor arts and, in monumental form, on glazed-brick reliefs at Susa.[37] Running winged bulls in crowded groups appear in hunting scenes on Urartian bronze belts.[38] However, aside from the winged bulls, these Urartian mythological hunting scenes of the seventh century BC (which form repetitive patters of symmetrically juxtaposed pairs of animals) bear no similarity to the composition on the wooden frieze.

An Archaic period parallel to the winged bulls of the Tatarlı painting may be provided by two winged bulls that are shown below the handles of a Caeretan hydria of about 530 BC and flank a hunting scene with deer.[39] However, in this instance we are dealing with an isolated heraldic composition, which is not integrated in the hunting scene.

To the best of my knowledge, a large herd of winged bulls running with outstretched legs, as depicted on the wooden frieze, is not attested elsewhere. Compared with other Near Eastern examples, the winged bulls from Tatarlı show similarities in the conception of the separated wings but differ with respect to their type and details. In contrast to the stubby body proportions of Persian bovines, the Tatarlı bulls have small heads and slim bodies with thin legs. Moreover, they have neither spiral curls on the front nor a straight vertical chest nor a ruff separating the head from the neck, which are typical of bulls depicted in Achaemenid art. In typological and stylistic terms (see especially the curved contours of chest and neck), the Tatarlı bulls are more closely comparable with linear drawing of bulls in Phrygian vase painting of the Middle Iron Age.[40] The depiction of the tail rolled-up in a semicircle occurs on an ivory relief plaque from Gordion.[41] At the same time, however, the composition of bulls with overlapping bodies would seem to be more at home in East Greek art.[42] Furthermore, the

representation of birds with outstretched wings corresponds with bird depictions in archaic Greek art[43].

In the present, fragmentary state of Frieze 4, its overall theme is difficult to decipher. The fixed orientation of the animals to the left may well indicate the direction in which the image should be read. The turned back head of the 'panther' (or panthers?) might further suggest a *boustrophēdon* arrangement, in which the frieze of the winged bulls constitutes a continuation of the frieze with the chariot procession immediately above. If this assumption is correct, the large-scale striding human figures on Frieze 3 could be seen in relation to the hunting scene below. On the other hand, as has been noted, the paintings on the right half of Frieze 4 are lost or covered by a calcareous layer, and the gap between the striding human figures and the panther is about 0.60 m. Thus, at present it is not possible to draw any secure connection between these two friezes. It is hoped that, after a thorough cleaning of the surface of the painting, our comprehension of the whole scene will improve.

N3 FRIEZE 5: Walking man with furniture (symposium or audience scene?)

As noted above, the middle part of the lower north wall was cut off to make room for secondary burials (Figs. 3 and 5). To the right of the cutting, on the surviving section of the third beam from below (L. 1.30 m, W. 0.30-0.32 m, Th. 0.15-0.30 m), there was painted a multifigured scene, which is unfortunately barely legible today. Probably due to the two knotholes in the lower part, the baseline of the frieze is placed about 0.10 m above the lower edge of the beam. The vertical red line on the far right is probably the lateral border of the frieze. Next to this line there is an object —possibly a chair— with two legs and a seat outlined in red (H. 0.035 m, W. 0.05 m). Some diffuse yellow, black and red traces around this chair-like object suggest a seated human figure, which is not clearly discernible however. Some 0.5 m to the left, a male figure facing left is clearly visible. He is wearing shoes (outlined in red and painted red), trousers (outlined in black and painted black), and a knee-length red tunic (which is similarly outlined with a fine red line). He is holding in his hands an unidentifiable object. Although his head is not clearly visible, he is possibly wearing a tiara. In front of and behind the man, there are more traces of red color. On the left there is one more furniture-like object, perhaps a stool or a table with four legs. The surviving beam part to the left of the cutting also bears painting traces, which are currently illegible.

The poor state of preservation of the paintings precludes certainty about the subject of the scene represented. One can provisionally suggest a connection with the private sphere, possibly an audience or a symposium scene.

South wall

From the southern, front wall of the chamber there is only one beam preserved, presumably a lintel. According to the excavator, the south wall was originally entirely closed and our lintel was the only part of its timberwork that was left *in situ* when it was dismantled in the 'Hellenistic or Roman period'.[44] This suggestion, however, would seem to be based on the premise that the *dromos* was added later.[45] This can be excluded for two reasons. Firstly, any modification of a chamber without access would require at least partial destruction of the tumulus. Secondly, the hypothesis that the *dro-*
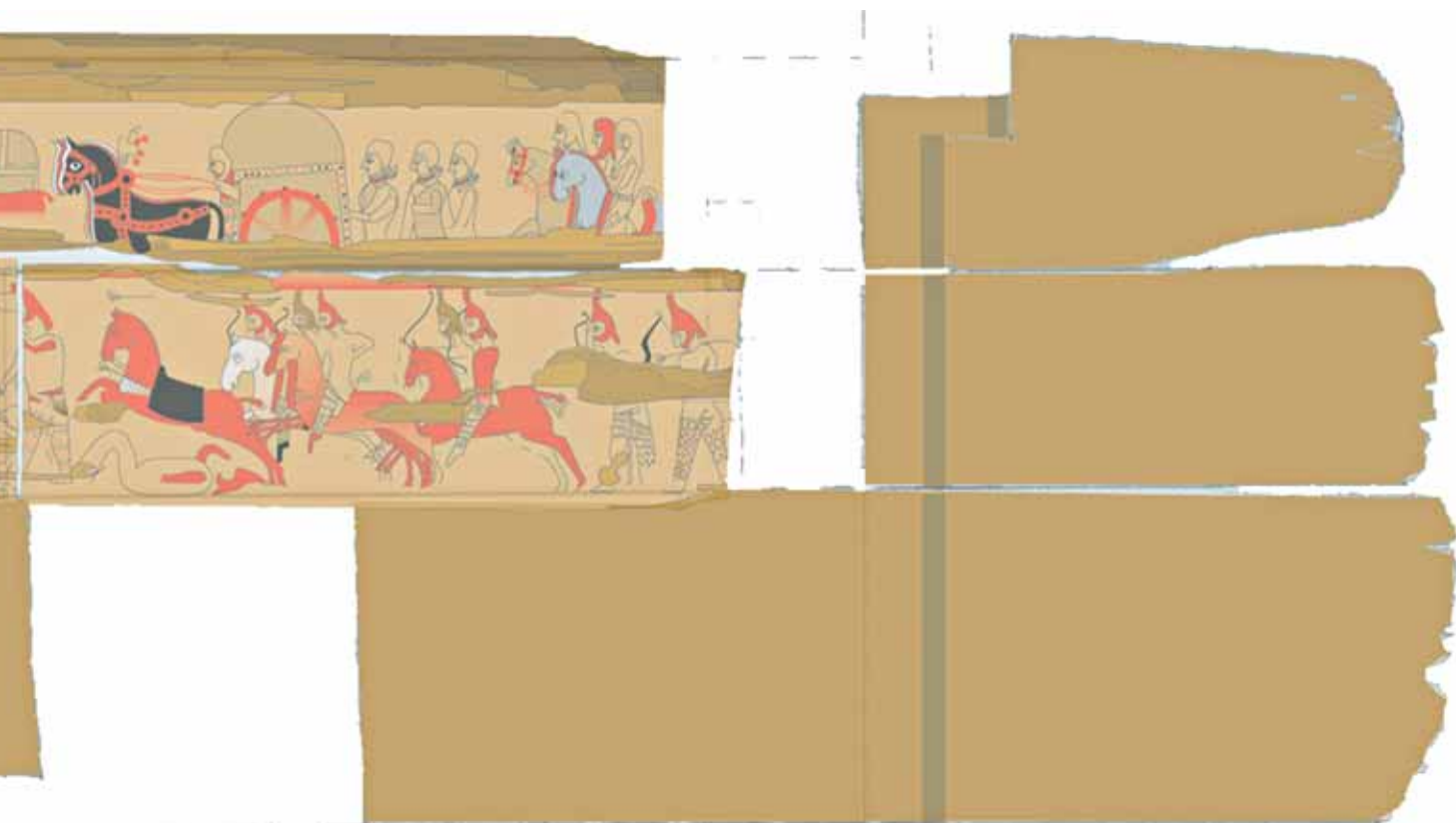
mos was a later addition implies that the exact position of the tomb chamber was known. Therefore, it seems more reasonable to assume that the south wall was conceptualized from the first phase of construction as a doorway (see Appendix).

S1 FRIEZE 1: Antithetic, walking felines

The painted surface (L. c. 1 m, H. 0.20 m), which apparently did not fully cover the face of the lintel beam (L. 2.40 m, W. 0.30 m), is now largely destroyed. According to Uçankuş, there were visible two antithetic felines, which he calls 'sphinxes', even though the upper parts of the figures (including the heads) were not preserved. The excavator notes that, unlike their counterparts on the north wall, the felines on the lintel beam were represented in action with rear- and forelegs grounded. The figures were drawn with thick black outlines and filled with brick-red color. Even though we were able to identify this lintel beam in the depot of the Afyon Museum, its advanced stage of deterioration (due to years of neglect since excavation) makes it impossible to verify Uçankuş' description. Only traces of red color can be discerned.

East wall
The exact positions of the beams on the east wall are less well known, since this wall was not adequately documented during the excavation. The excavator states only that the villagers took timbers from this wall, without offering any indication as to the number and respective positions of the missing timbers. As far as one can tell from a photograph of the north wall taken *in situ* (two beams, one of them superimposed on the other), must have been sawn off recently. Corresponding measurements prove that two tim-

bers in Munich are these missing beams of the east wall (Fig. 6).[46] It is not clear whether more beams were taken from this wall by the looters.[47]

E4 FRIEZE 1: Chariot convoy scene

The upper frieze illustrates a procession scene. A total of 19 human figures, 16 horses, and two chariots can be identified.[48] Given the respective lengths of the Munich beam (2.12 m) and the east wall (2.50 m), the frieze must have contained originally a larger number of figures. Indeed, one more figure is visible on a beam section in the Afyon Museum that was sawn off the northeast corner of the wall. The other end, on the southeast side, has also been identified, although this does not exactly fit with the Munich timber. The combined length of the Munich beam and sections of the same timber in the Afyon Museum is about 2.30 m. This leaves a gap of 0.20 m.[49]

The procession is moving from right to left. The representation repeats a similar composition twice: two chariots with charioteers are accompanied by riders and attendants on foot. Two attendants lead the horses and head the convoy. They are wearing red tiaras and red garments that cannot be further determined. A striking detail is the vertical stripe in white or black, which seems to suggest an undergarment or the trimming of a coat.[50] The first horse is painted gray or blue, has a red saddle with an upwards-curved front section, on which lies a white load. The man walking in front of the horse is probably leading it, though no reins are discernible. The front part of the mane of the second, originally brown-painted, horse is wound up in a cone shape.[51] Instead of a saddle, a large black cloth covers the back and neck of the horse (Fig. 7). An attendant walks beside the horse; his hand resting on the withers of the animal is a well known motif in both Anatolian and Persian procession scenes.[52]

Fig. 7
Detail of the Convoy Frieze.
Photo: Kai Uwe Nielsen.

Another chariot with charioteer follows the two leaders of the horses. The charioteer and his attendants wear the same garments which are white with a red stripe.

The white-painted chariot with a large red wheel is drawn by two horses, decorated with tassels and attachments with red, ball-shaped bunches rising from the back of their necks. Remarkably, one set of reins is attached to the front screen of the chariot while the chariot leader holds another set.

The curved, top edge and the lateral rails of the chariot box are reserved from the white painting and dotted with black and red to suggest nails. The man in the chariot is wearing a white coat with sleeves that appear to be hanging empty at his sides. Curled strokes drawn along the edge of the coat indicate a fur trim. This is apparently a schematic rendering of a *kandys,* the traditional Iranian coat with sleeves, also worn by the Medes and Persians.[53] The top of the man's head is destroyed, but his brown tiara is still visible and distinguishes him from the other male figures of the frieze, who wear red tiaras. Indications of his higher status are offered by his considerably larger size compared to the rest of the figures of the frieze, by his seated position, as well as by the spear bearers following the chariot (Fig. 8). Interestingly, they are carrying their lances with the tips pointing downwards.[54] Infantry units carrying reversed spears in the Persian army are mentioned by Herodotus (7.41, 55) as 'Immortals'.[55] According to the description of Herodotus, however, the butts of these reversed spears were decorated with golden pomegranates, which are not indicated on the wood painting. As Nigel Tallis pointed out, the unit of reversed-spear bearers in the Persian army probably goes back to an Assyrian military tradition, since (apart from the present wood painting) the only extant visual evi-

dence for spear bearers carrying their spears pointing downwards is offered by a fragmentary Assyrian relief depicting a military parade.[56] Spear bearers escorting a chariot convoy are not unknown in procession scenes.[57] The wooden frieze presents, however, the first evidence for the depiction of reversed spears in such scenes.

The spear bearer depicted closer to the chariot holds in his outstretched right hand an object[58] which, considering his military capacity, could be interpreted as a standard. However, the object's small scale would rather suggest a fan, like the one shown on the painted fresco of Karaburun II.[59] Fan-bearing figures first appear in Near Eastern iconography.[60]

Behind the spear bearers, four riders are drawn up overlapping in an echelon. They wear trousered costumes and red tiaras and are each armed with a *gōrytos*.[61]

On the second sawn-off part of the frieze, an attendant leading a pack-horse follows the riders (Fig. 9). He is wearing the same costume as the other horse leaders and spear bearers. The horse is colored white and carries on its red saddle a box-shaped load with a semicircular top.[62] The frame trim and the vertical stripes on the semicircular top are still visible: obviously, this object is a chest.

A lavishly decorated chariot follows the pack-horse. It is drawn by four horses, shown again in echelon, painted black, white, red, and again white. They have bright red bands on their foreheads with pendent red tassels and bands. Red straps are tied on the shoulder and rear with terrets and round discs. Each horse is decorated with a tassel, the same as the first chariot. The solid chariot box has a semicircular top and a large red wheel with eight spokes and is studded with nails. No traces of color are discernible on the

Fig. 9.
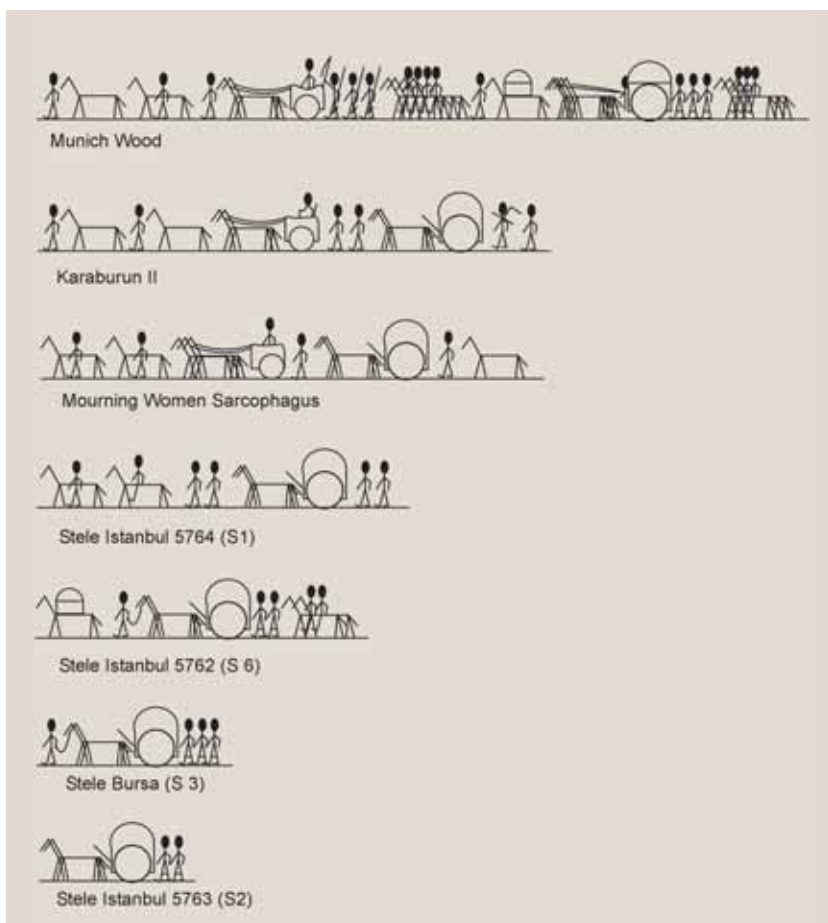Detail of the Convoy Frieze.
Photo: Kai Uwe Nielsen.

chariot frame and top, but the wooden surface is somewhat darker here than the surrounding background. Probably the artist used stain instead of color in order to represent the wooden material of the chariot. Indeed, some red and black spots along the trim of its frame, which probably represent nails, indicate clearly the wooden construction of the cart. The posture of the chariot driver seems peculiar. His body is formed only by a rectangle with a zigzag pattern representing his trousers. His tiara with round comb corresponds to the headgear of the other male figures of the frieze. He is holding red-painted reins in the crook of his arm; no hands are drawn. It seems that the artist had problems drawing this figure. Possibly, such a figure was absent in the original composition that he used as a model. The artist must have created it himself, squeezing it into the narrow space between the horses' tails and the rim of the cart.

Three attendants follow the chariot. They have no beards, bear no tiaras or armor, and their hair reaches down to the neck, where it rolls upwards. While their garments are not further distinguished, their neckbands are indicated with red paint. This is obviously a representation of women. The cap-like hairstyle with upward curving ends is familiar from representations of Persian women.[63]

The preserved portion of the procession ends with a group of three overlapping figures of riders. Judging by the *gōrytos* which is suspended on the side of the rider closest to us, they must represent another cavalry unit.

Similar chariot convoy scenes are known from funerary monuments of the Achaemenid period. The early-fifth-century wall paintings of Karaburun II in northern Lycia[64] and the mid-fourth-century balustrade frieze of the Mourning Women Sarcophagus from Sidon[65] provide close iconographic parallels (Fig. 10). The so-called Greco-Persian grave stelai from Daskyleion show abbreviated renderings of such procession scenes.[66] A synopsis of the known convoy scenes, roughly sketched in Fig. 10, shows that the frieze painted on the Munich timber (with its at least 20 human figures, 16 horses, and two chariots) is the longest procession scene of this type known so far. A *harmamaxa* pulled by a *quadriga*, as in the Tatarlı frieze, is depicted on the Mourning Women Sarcophagus; in all of the other convoy scenes the closed chariot is drawn by a *biga*. The motif of the three women following the closed chariot is also to be found on the stele from Sultaniye in Bursa, while on two further stelai (İstanbul 5762 and 5763) the number of women following the closed chariot is reduced to two.[67] On the other hand, the motifs of the saddled horse carrying a chest and the cavalrymen at the end of the convoy occur only on stele S 6. As it has already been mentioned, the representation of the man in white *kandys* sitting in the chariot appears only in the wall painting from Karaburun.

Despite variations in their respective numbers of figures and other details, the structural and iconographic overlap among these scenes dating from the late Archaic through the late Classical period is striking. Therefore, it is widely believed that all of these convoy scenes refer to a particular type of public procession, though exactly what type has been debated.[68] The fact that such procession scenes occur only on grave monuments led to

their interpretation as representations of an *ekphora*. Since an *ekphora*
presupposes that the deceased is taken along, some scholars have identi-
fied the closed chariot as a funeral cart. According to this interpretation,
the round top on the cart represents a sarcophagus of wood or clay, since
stone would have been too heavy.[69] This sarcophagus would have then been
supposedly covered with a cloth. But the interpretative model of a 'coffin
on a chariot' has a problem: the chariot appears to be too small to trans-
port a body in the normal extended position. As a solution to this problem,
Margaret Weller assessed the possibility that the viewer may be seeing on-
ly the short side of the sarcophagus, which would have been placed cross-
ways to the direction of travel.[70] This explanation has been accepted by
some.[71] Peter Calmeyer and Suad Ateşlier, who generally agree with the
hearse model, attempted to vary this model slightly and reached, indepen-
dently of each other, the same conclusion.[72] They do not see a coffin on the
chariot, but a diagonally extended, wooden chariot body, on which the
corpse lies and which is covered by a cloth top.[73]

Indeed, on the Munich wood painting it is clearly visible that the chari-
ot frame and the top are two separate parts. As the nailed frame indicates,
the parapet of the chariot was made of wood. The unpainted surface of the
round top does not give any indication of its material. It could be a sepa-
rate wooden lid or a canopy made of canvas. Therefore, the evidence of the
wood painting does not support the hypothesis of a cloth-covered hearse.

The interpretation of the closed chariot as hearse poses a further prob-
lem: who is the seated dignitary on the second chariot shown on the de-

tailed representations of the Karaburun II wall paintings and the Munich wood painting? According to Machteld Mellink, he is the tomb owner; in other words, this is the epiphany of the deceased participating in his own funeral procession, while the closed chariot is carrying only the grave offerings.[74] If one accepts this proposition, one would have to explain why such a figure is missing from the abbreviated convoy scenes on the grave stelai. The representation of the seated dignitary was apparently not essential for the understanding of the scene.

However, the funeral cortege interpretation has been challenged in recent scholarship. There are repeated attempts to identify the chariot convoys as displays of worldly wealth. According to Margaret Nollé, the wife of the owner of the tomb traveled along in the closed chariot, protected from foreign eyes.[75] The latter scholar identifies this chariot with a travel chariot mentioned in the written sources as *harmamaxa* (e.g., Hdt. 7.41, 83). In her opinion the depiction of the woman in the closed chariot in the role of a precious possession of the deceased represents his higher social position. Jacobs sees the procession as the celebration of a religious festival, such as that rendered on the steps of the great reception hall at Persepolis.[76] According to Jacobs, the closed chariot contains a holy object that is protected from the profane surroundings by being covered with a cloth. Neither of these interpretations is particularly convincing, however, since we lack any evidence for them.[77] Firstly, there is no reason for the tomb owner's wife to be hidden, since Persian women are usually shown in pictorial scenes. Secondly, it is not explained why the supposedly hidden women or hidden religious objects appear only on grave monuments.[78]

Although the wooden frieze depicts the most detailed convoy scene known to date, it contains no essentially new elements that could point clearly to the occasion of the procession. The only additional motif is the group of reversed-spear bearers. As has been noted, military units, mounted or on foot, usually appear in these detailed procession scenes. But the large number of warriors escorting the convoy on the wooden frieze is exceptional. Considering this strong military presence, the scene of the departure of a warrior in the present funeral setting could be interpreted as the departure of the deceased to war, as shown on the west wall of the tomb chamber in Kızılbel.[79] According to this interpretation, the closed chariots could be seen as means of transportation of military equipment or (taking up again the hypothesis of the harem wagon) of the womenfolk of the deceased, as recently suggested by Borchhardt.[80] The presence of women in a 'war campaign' scene is not astonishing, since rich nobles in the Persian army were allowed to take their entire household, including their wives, to campaigns.[81] Thus, convoy scenes with closed chariots and women could have symbolized the high status of an aristocratic local warrior in the Persian army.[82] In the case of the Tatarlı paintings, such an interpretation might even imply a link between the convoy procession moving to the left and the battle scene depicted on the frieze below (in which the Persians are moving to the right) if the two scenes were read in *boustrophēdon* manner. And a further link between the two friezes could be provided by their respective, white-painted chariots, which are depicted one above the other. This interpretation, however, which seems to make sense when one looks at the Tatarlı frieze in isolation, would appear to be difficult to apply to the other convoy scenes, particularly to those depicted on the grave stelai, where one would have to explain why an ordinary means of transportation

was so prominently featured on a grave monument. Furthermore, the chariot of the seated dignitary, the supposed grave owner, differs from the war chariot of the battle frieze in its construction and armor. It is rather somberly decorated, inappropriate for a departure for war. On the other hand, the presence of the military in the convoy of the Tatarlı frieze does not argue against the funeral purpose of the procession.[83] At any rate, the warriors, either mounted or on foot, belonged to a part of the procession not deemed essential and omitted in most cases (Fig. 10).

Two varying interpretations of the Anatolian convoy scenes have been proposed by several scholars: funeral cortege or escorted conveyance of religious or secular significance. Given the evidence at hand, taking this scene to be a funeral cortege seems more sensible. Firstly, the lamenting figures leading the convoy in the balustrade frieze of the Mourning Women Sarcophagus can only be meaningfully explained within the context of a funeral.[84] Secondly, it is obvious that the closed chariot was the most important part (i.e., the core) of the procession, as the most abbreviated representations of this type of scene on the grave stelai from Daskyleion show. This item alone was sufficient to promote an understanding of the image. All other figures, including the man sitting in a chariot, could be left out, since they occur only on the detailed depictions. Thus, the chariots with the round top cannot be perceived merely as means of transport. They must have also had a symbolic meaning connected with their appearance on grave monuments. The recent finds of two-wheeled vehicles in tumulus tombs in Lydia, Phrygia, and Hellespontine Phrygia confirm this assumption. The two-wheeled chariots were dismantled prior to the entombment, and only wheels and harness elements were placed in the *dromoi* of the tumuli.[85] It seems a reasonable assumption that the two-wheeled chariots with round top, as represented in the procession scenes, were employed during the funerary ritual and were subsequently buried in such a way that they could never be used again. In which ritual exactly were they employed, however, and what were they transporting?

A representation of a two-wheeled, animal-drawn chariot with rounded top on a recently discovered fragmentary relief-vase of the Hittite period shows that this type of vehicle had a long presence in Anatolia.[86] As far as one can tell, this chariot was also represented within the context of some kind of a procession. This suggests an old Anatolian survival and coherence of local tradition, emphasized by the native Anatolian character of the closed chariot. Descriptions of funerary rituals in Hittite texts may also offer clues to the function of such chariots in funerary contexts. According to one text, a statue of the deceased was transported to the tomb in a chariot accompanied by the *taptara*-women (old/wise women).[87] Additionally, a number of animals, especially horses, were involved in the sacrifices performed as a part of the funeral ceremony.[88] The presence of both the women walking behind the closed chariot and the riderless horses (Figs. 6 and 7) in the convoy scenes can be understood in the context of such funerary rites. Although caution is called for in comparing descriptions of Hittite rites with Phrygian and other Anatolian iconography of the fifth century BC, a long-term continuity of funeral rites in Anatolia seems plausible.

Consequently, the chariot convoy scenes on Anatolian grave monuments can be interpreted as references to a funeral cortege.[89] An assumption that the closed chariot transported an effigy of the deceased, in accordance with a surviving Hittite tradition, could further explain the chariot's

central role in the funeral cortege. This still leaves unclear, however, the identity of the seated dignitary.

E3 FRIEZE 2: Battle scene

The frieze below shows a battle scene of grander type (Fig. 6). The iconographic aspects of this battle frieze have been discussed in detail by the present author elsewhere, and only a brief description is given here.[90] There are two groups of warriors converging toward the center. In the middle of the depiction, the respective leaders of the two parties are standing in front of each other. The leader on the left is plunging his dagger into the belly of his adversary with his right hand while he is gripping him by the beard (Fig. 11). As opposed to Achaemenid monumental art, which only depicts royal combat against animals and fantastic creatures, the motif of the triumphant hero killing a human or animal enemy or a monster is well known in numerous variations in the Persian minor arts.[91]

Fig. 11
Detail of the Battle Frieze.
Photo: Kai Uwe Nielsen.

While the party on the left consists of three archers on foot, seven riders, and a chariot with a driver and one archer,[92] the party on the right has eleven warriors in total. The military units of the former party —infantry, cavalry and chariotry— are conveyed in close formations, which characterize them as a well organized and equipped army. Their commander, who is the most carefully painted figure of the whole frieze, is conveyed as the superior warrior.

The five archers on foot and six riders advancing from the right represent the defeated enemy. Their weakness is shown not only by their inferior number, but also by the lack of a chariot, indicating their poor military equipment. Their leader is about to be killed. One defeated warrior is already dead, lying underfoot, while one of the riders has fallen off his injured horse. The warrior on foot on the far right has been hit in the neck by an arrow. Only the five horsemen and an archer on foot in the middle seem fit for battle. However, an arrow flying overhead, above the injured horse, tells us that these warriors too are about to be put out of action.

Both of the opposing groups are shown in oriental costumes. The warriors on the right side are uniformly dressed in the trousered attire traditionally worn by nomadic horsemen. The clothing of the troops on the left is more variegated: the infantrymen, including the commander, are wearing the so-called Achaemenid robe and crenellated crowns that are worn by Persian figures in monumental Achaemenid reliefs.[93] The leader is shown in a more elaborate robe, carrying his quiver and bow over his shoulder. The mounted archers are clad, like their opponents, in the nomadic riding costume. Contrary to the warriors on foot, who bear the Persian round bow, quivers and daggers, the riders are armed with Scythian-type bows and quivers like the warriors of the group on the right.

The warriors on foot advancing from the right also carry battle axes hanging down from the waist. Despite similarities in dress and equipment, the opposing groups are clearly distinguished by their respective headdresses. The warriors coming from the left wear either crenellated crowns or tiaras with a round comb, while their opponents, coming from the right, uniformly wear tall tiaras with pointed peaks which slant backwards.

Evidently, this is a depiction of a battle between Persians and another Near Eastern group. The uniform rendering of the enemies in nomadic dress, pointed headgear, and identical equipment surely identifies them as a specific ethnic group. Their 'otherness' is expressed clearly by their pointed hats, which are not worn by any of the Persian warriors. Although peaked hoods are usually associated with the Iranians and especially with the Scythians, or Sacae, the ethnicity of the enemies cannot be determined precisely.

Peter Calmeyer and Jürgen Borchhardt have both seen the battle scene as a historical depiction with biographical significance for the tomb owner.[94] As the present author has argued elsewhere, there is no secure evidence connecting it with any specific historical event.[95] Firstly, no details of the natural setting of the event are depicted. Thus, the locality of the battle remains unknown. Secondly, none of the warriors is personalized sufficiently to be interpreted as a depiction of a specific historical individual. The battle scene could have been an imaginary creation depicting in an abstract manner all Persian victories over nomadic enemies or even a conflation of events related to a number of separate successful campaigns. However, the fact that (contrary to the other examples of bat-

tle representation known from Anatolia, such as the one in the Karaburun tomb) the enemies are not Greek but pointed-hat Iranians is noteworthy. The scene may represent a battle of significance in the history of Anatolia and may even be a copy of a lost original.[96] Or the model may have been a generic battle representation possibly transmitted on tapestries or objects of the minor arts.[97] Even if the question of the historicity of this composition remains open, the tomb owner's preference for a representation that glorified Persian power must not be without significance. Such a choice may have been meant to emphasize a national or political affiliation with the Persian empire and could indicate that not only Persian artistic conventions but also Persian ideology and political values were appropriated in Phrygia.

West wall

No descriptions or *in situ* photographs are available in the case of the west wall of the chamber. Uçankuş merely notes that the west wall was also destroyed in its lower part in antiquity in order to create new grave niches.[98] In the storage area of the Afyon Museum, there are some slabs with roughly cut ends, but none of them are labeled by the excavator as belonging to the west wall. A beam part, which bears a lap joint on its right end, was sawn on that end by a chainsaw in modern times. It can be assigned to the second row of the wall from bottom up (see Appendix). Another beam part, described by the excavator as coming from the 'side wall', is also a part of the west wall. Both ends of this beam have been sawn in modern times. At present, it is not clear whether timbers were taken from the west wall by the tomb raiders.

W FRIEZE 1: Human figures with animals (sacrificial scene?)

This beam part (L. 1.20 m, H. 0.22 m, Th. 0.10 m) was roughly cut at one end in antiquity and recently sawn at the other end. The excavator was able to discern on it a fragmentary image consisting of two men moving to the left and perhaps another man walking to the right and leading a large animal (probably a bull) painted red and black.[99] The men were wearing short white garments and 'knee-length white socks' while their thighs were painted red. Judging by the size of the figures, the frieze must have straddled over two beams. Unfortunately, the paintings are hardly visible today due to the advanced stage of fading. Only some red color traces are discernible. Judging by the traced drawing of the excavator, these figures must have worn costumes similar to those worn by the attendants of the Lycian wall paintings of the chamber of Karaburun Tomb II.[100] Although the subject matter of the frieze cannot be determined, the animal, perhaps a bull, recognized by the excavator might suggest a sacrificial scene.

W FRIEZE 2: Procession of human figures?

This beam (L. 1.68 m, H. 0.45 m, Th. 0.25 m) was positioned in the second row from the bottom. It has a corner joint on its right end abutting on the north wall. Its left end was sawn recently (see Appendix).

The surface of this beam is poorly preserved. Despite the fact that the painting is barely visible, one can see a red line dividing the area into two zones.[101] Above the baseline, some fragments of a multifigured scene can

be seen. There are five black- and four red-painted fields which suggest a procession of draped figures. A distinct geometric motif in the middle consists of six horizontal stripes and an arch-shaped crowning. This frieze also seems to have been straddled over two beams, so that the heads of the figures were painted on the upper timber. Due to the poor condition of the paintings at present, it is not possible to know what subject matter was represented here. It is to be hoped that this frieze will be more visible after surface cleaning.

The iconographic program

The paintings on the walls of the Tatarlı tomb chamber are only partially preserved, due to destruction in antiquity and modern looting. Dismantling and displacement have also caused severe damage. Some of the surviving beams have lost paint through years of neglect following excavation. Most of the friezes remain blank and little pictorial detail survives.

Since nearly all of the preserved beam parts yield at least some color traces, it can be supposed that the entire tomb chamber was painted originally. At present, however, we are only able to examine approximately 12 m^2 of painted surface on ten different friezes, and the surviving traces on some of them are not informative about their subject matter. Furthermore, the precise positions of some beams are unclear (see Appendix).

Best preserved and documented by the excavators is the north wall consisting of eight beams divided into five friezes. The east wall was destroyed by looters. Evidently, the two beams in Munich belong to this wall. Whether the timber part with the barely visible paintings (probably a procession scene) is from the east wall or not is unclear. The west wall remains obscure. From the vague description of the excavator, one beam can be tentatively assigned to it. The south, front wall yielded only one lintel beam. Based on this preliminary stage of reconstruction, the iconographic program of the mural decoration can be interpreted as follows: (1) The entrance of the grave chamber is the boundary between the 'real world' and the burial, which is watched by the heraldic felines depicted on the lintel beam, and (2) the space within the chamber is a tunnel to the realm of the dead; the north, rear wall of the chamber shows at the top again the 'death-watching' felines; (3) below them two pairs of warriors perform the dance of death. (4) The frieze with the convoy of chariots presumably alludes to a departure for war. It is not clear, however, how this scene is linked with the large-scale striding men; (5) while in the scene below, the running winged bulls, 'panthers', and birds may represent a (mythical?) hunt. (6) The poorly preserved frieze with chair-like furniture and a walking man further below possibly depict an audience scene or a symposium — a scene from aristocratic life transferred into the afterlife. On the east wall, (7) the convoy scene moving from right to left possibly represents a funeral cortege. (8) The most striking representation in the tomb is that of the battle between Persians and their pointed-hat enemies, emphasizing the power and glory of the Persians. The battle scene, apparently adopted from official Achaemenid iconography, implies that the tomb owner was a Persian or perhaps a non-Persian affiliated with the Persian army. Further leads to an Iranian affiliation are offered by the Iranian dress of the Persian military units in the convoy scene of the upper frieze. In such a context, a battle scene picturing a Per-

sian victory could be interpreted as an expression of loyalty (as well as a confession) of the tomb owner toward the ruling Persians. (9) On the west wall, on the opposite side of the chamber, we see a representation of men with an animal, possibly a sacrificial and/or funerary scene. (10) The illegible, fragmentary frieze below it may have depicted a procession with human figures.

The iconographic themes of heroic battles, warriors departing for war, symposia, funeral processions, hunting, pyrrhic dancers, audiences, sacrifice, and heraldic or crouching felines are all part of the pictorial repertory of grave monuments in Anatolia of the Persian period.[102] What is new in the Tatarli tomb is that the iconographic program establishes concrete links between all of these themes and Persia. Considering especially the tomb's proximity to the Achaemenid royal residence at Kelainai, the prominent presence of the Persian army in the iconographic program of the tomb chamber may allude to the political environment in this region.[103] The case of Pythios, a rich resident of Kelainai, who participated in Xerxes' campaign against Greece (Hdt. 7.27-39), provides an example of the local elite's role in the Persian army.

Warfare as well as procession and audience scenes are among those inspired by Persian iconography. In comparing the battle scene on the wooden frieze with the wall painting of Karaburun Tomb II, one concludes that the Karaburun painting consisted of a single pair of warriors[104] and a mounted Persian warrior killing a crouching Greek enemy,[105] following a western model. At Tatarlı, however, a Persian battle scheme was used. As noted, the composition of the convoy scene finds correspondences in the fresco of the Karaburun tomb and on the grave stelai from Daskyleion, but Tatarlı yields many more Persian items, such as costumes, saddle blankets and horse harnesses. The hunting scene of the Tatarlı tomb with the herd of the winged bulls, panther, and birds is quite unusual and otherwise unattested.

Compared with the Kızılbel tomb, there are differences in themes, motifs, details and style. The Kızılbel chamber (which is fifty or sixty years earlier than the Tatarlı and Karaburun tombs) does not yield Persian inspired themes or eastern iconography; but its figural friezes (Pegasos, Chrysaor and Troilos, warrior's welfare) have the strongest Greek associations.

Regarding the organization and execution of the design, Tatarlı has more in common with Kızılbel (see especially the uneven height of their friezes) but differs from Karaburun, where a major frieze runs above a blank dado and along three walls of the chamber.

In Tatarlı, the multifaceted interplay of friezes presents an association of both eastern and western elements with local Phrygian tradition. For example, the frieze with the winged bulls, which is unattested in funerary contexts elsewhere, has stylistic ties with early Phrygian art but also incorporates Near Eastern iconographic elements and East Greek features of composition. Other remarkable features of the Tatarlı wall paintings include the warrior dancers with their peculiarly Anatolian sickles.

The custom of decorating the interior of buildings with paintings was widespread in Anatolia in the Achaemenid era. According to a quotation from Chares of Mytilene (Ath. 575),[106] there existed, in both public and private contexts, a common iconographic repertory, which included particular images of a certain love story. Archaeological evidence for such wall paintings is extremely rare.[107] However, the painted tomb chambers could be offering reflections of analogous wall paintings in temples and mansions.

Concluding remarks

At present, the iconographic program that was originally drawn up on the walls of the Tatarlı chamber can be only partially recovered.[108] This preliminary study of the surviving imagery can tentatively elucidate the ways in which people living in Phrygia were represented in art and in which their visual language and aesthetic perceptions had been shaped. The themes represented on the walls of the chamber can be interpreted as images of commemoration (battle, departure for war, hunting) and as images of celebration (funeral convoy, sacrifice, and weapon dance), which largely correspond to the subject matter of the pictorial decoration attested on other funerary monuments in Anatolia. This suggests that there existed a broader Anatolian iconographic repertoire which was appropriate for funeral contexts.

Although some of the iconographic features of the Tatarlı tomb paintings may emanate from local tradition, there is a notable prevalence of elements of Persian inspiration. Such images were apparently *de rigueur* for the social identity of the local elite. Following a model set by Persian kings, the tomb owner of the Tatarlı Tumulus selected images emphasizing military virtue, aristocratic life and ceremonial pomp.[109]

Rising to a height of only 6 m, the Tatarlı Tumulus seems very modest by comparison with other known tumuli from around Gordion and Sardis. Considering the painting technique used and the poor rendering of the figures (especially of the hands and faces), its wall paintings do not display high standards of quality, either. The increasing number of tumuli may signify social mobility. Choice of tomb structure and decoration may have been meant to make a statement about the social identity of the deceased.

Even if only incompletely recovered, the iconographic program has great consequences for our understanding of the ways in which people living on the borders of Phrygia in the fifth century chose to represent themselves in the context of their personal memorials, as well as of the ways in which local traditions of tomb painting might be modified under the impact of Persian ideology and artistic taste. Tatarlı is a valuable resource for the study of the cultural impact of Persian rule in Anatolia. The old Phrygian tradition of grave chambers constructed out of wood was taken up and further developed with the addition of a protecting stone chamber of Lydian type and a *dromos*.[110] This tomb was then decorated with images indebted to both the Anatolian and Achaemenid Persian traditions.

Located at a distance of approximately thirty kilometers northeast of Dinar, the Tatarlı tomb lies in the border region between Lydia and Phrygia. Modern historians locate in Tatarlı the Roman city of Metropolis and at Dinar the Achaemenid royal residence of Kelainai, which ancient authors describe as being situated near the sources of the Maeander River.[111]

The discovery of the Tatarlı wood paintings alerts field archaeologists to a task of urgent importance. The Tatarlı tomb preserves in its wood paintings what has been irretrievably lost in the temples, palaces, and public and private buildings of the ancient world. Our only hope of discovering samples of ancient wood paintings lies where the prevailing burial custom was that of a built tomb chamber, covered by an earthen tumulus. Tumuli are not infrequent in the region of Kelainai and are prevalent in the plain around Tatarlı and Šuhut. Interestingly, the imposing grave monument of the celebrated Athenian statesman Alkibiades, who was killed in 404 BC by the satrap Pharnabazos, was located in a village called Melisse,

which Athenaeus (574-5) locates between Synnada (Šuhut) and Metropolis (Tatarlı).[112] Thus, the plain of Tatarlı in the vicinity of Kelainai is a most promising region for further exploration.[113]

Appendix

Tatarlı Project:
Reconstructing a Wooden Tomb Chamber
Alexander von Kienlin

Although the wooden tomb chamber in the Tatarlı Tumulus had survived intact, it was partly destroyed by looters in 1969. The remaining wall beams were dismantled after a rescue excavation and brought by the authorities to Afyon, where they are still stored in the depots of the local museum. About 85% of the wooden walls —25 beams of cedar and juniper in total— survive; however, some beams are in poor condition due to insect infestation and rot. They also have suffered severe damage through dismantling and removal. Some beams were cut in two or even in more pieces and sawed at their ends for storage and dendrochronological sampling. The juniper beams are particularly badly damaged due to poor post-excavation conservation.

After recovering the Tatarlı tomb chamber with its robbed beams, both authors of this paper started a project to reconstruct it as completely as possible, in order to preserve it for future generations. The goal of this project is to rebuild this exceptional grave monument with its restored timbers and wood paintings for the public to view in the Museum of Afyon. The reconstruction project has just started. However, the identification of the timbers creates enormous problems, since they were not labeled appropriately prior to dismantling after the excavation.

According to the excavation report, the tomb consists of a wooden chamber which was mantled with a stone chamber and expanded with a barrel-shaped *dromos* (Fig. 2). It was covered with an earthen tumulus; its construction corresponds to the Gordion tumuli. The height of the tumulus is 6 m and its diameter is 50 m. The wooden chamber is 2.5 m by 2 m large and 1.85 m high. It was constructed of juniper and cedar beams that were 20-30 cm wide and 2-2.5 m long. The beams were placed one above the other and connected by different kinds of joinery. The timbers were flattened out on the inner side, but left rough on the exterior.

Already at the very beginning of the investigation, the architectural construction of the tomb chamber could be generally understood. Thus, we are able to assign at least the painted beams to their original positions on the walls of the tomb chamber. Detailed measurements of the timbers and beam parts confirm the description of the excavator Hasan Uçankuş regarding the dimensions of the tomb chamber.

The most complete wall of the chamber is the northern rear wall, which originally consisted of eight timbers, although the topmost beam was already missing at the time of the excavation. The upper portion of this wall was composed of four trapezoidal slabs of smaller size, forming a pediment. The timbers of the roof rested on the sloped edges of the pediment without being connected by joints.

The original positions of the beams of the north wall could be easily identified by the labels attached prior to the dismantling of the tomb cham-

ber and transferring of the timbers to the Afyon Museum. Furthermore, two photographs of this wall *in situ* are helpful for reconstruction (Figs. 4 and 5). Thus, nine wood pieces, which come from at least seven beams, could be reassigned to the north wall (Fig. 3). As noted above, the topmost beam was already missing during the excavation, having probably been destroyed by damp. A niche cut into the three lowest timbers of the north wall was used to deposit skeletal remains. The left part of the beam in the second row counting from bottom up is missing, as well as some of the timber ends which originally had notches for cross-lap joints. Some beams bear count marks incised as parallel strokes. Obviously, the timber paneling of the wall was consecutively numbered starting from the bottom.

The side walls were connected to the rear wall using cross-lap joints in the corners (Fig. 3). The left intersections of the two timbers currently in Munich fit perfectly with two cut beam edges in the Afyon Museum. These two small pieces could be accurately identified in the excavator's photograph showing the *in situ* context of the chamber's northeast corner (Fig. 5). Thus, we can surely assume that the two beams in Munich were originally at the top of the east wall (Fig. 6). Two further beam parts can be assigned to the Munich beams by their form, the structure of the wood, corresponding sizes and other details. As we can see from the one preserved timber of the south wall, the upper beams of the side walls were connected to the front wall with cross-lap joints, while the lower timbers had housing joints. Two fragments in Afyon yield corresponding notches, so we can assume that they are the southern edges of the Munich beams. However, they do not fit the cut ends of the Munich timbers end-to-end, since there are gaps of 15-20 cm (Fig. 6). Such missing wood slices, also observed on other timbers, were probably sawn for dendrochronological sampling.[114]

One more beam —now cut into five pieces— can be assigned to the east wall. The particular structure of the wood, along with the corresponding measurements, proves that these beam parts belong together. However, there is still a gap of about 50 cm. The original position of this beam can be revealed using several criteria: the right edge yields a ten-centimeter-wide notch for the housed joint with the south wall, while the left end shows a notch for a cross-lap joint, which fits perfectly with a corresponding notch on the third beam (counting from the bottom) of the northern rear wall. The position of the middle part of the beam can be determined from the mortise of a wooden tenon on the topside of the beam, which corresponds with a similar mortise on the underside of the lower Munich beam. Further tenon mortises on the other three beam fragments indicate their exact positions in relation to each other. The bottom beam of the east wall cannot yet be identified.

The reconstruction of the western wall is far from complete. Only three beam parts could be assigned to their original positions. Two of them bear some trace of painting, while the surface of one piece is completely destroyed. Two beams with painting also yield incised count marks in the form of crosses.

The southern wall must have been removed or destroyed already in antiquity, since the excavator found only one beam *in situ*.[115] The beam has notches on both edges, which require cross-lap joints to the side walls. Furthermore, the sloped edges of this beam point to a pediment corresponding with that on the opposite rear wall. Thus, we are able to ascertain the exact position of this beam. It yields two mortises for wooden tenons on its upper side, which originally connected with the topmost beams (which have

not survived). At its bottom, the lintel bears two wide notches requiring two symmetrical vertical piles which functioned as a structural reveal. The notches of the housed joints on the beams at the side walls and the mortises at the south wall clearly show that the south wall was constructed in a different way than the other walls of the tomb chamber and must have had a doorway right from the beginning. Thus, contrary to the suggestion of the excavator, the *dromos* was not a later addition.[116]

[1] Summerer 2007a: 143; Kuniholm, Newton and Griggs in Summerer 2007a: 153-5.

[2] The preliminary excavation report by Hasan Uçankuş was first published in 1979 and reprinted in 2002.

[3] Zahlhaas 1995: 50, pl. D. Summerer 2007a: 129-56; Summerer and von Kienlin 2007a: 84-94, 2008.

[4] Uçankuş (1979: 308 = 2002a: 25) mistakenly describes all timbers as juniper. On the identification of the Tatarlı wood, see Kuniholm, Newton and Griggs in Summerer 2007a: 153-6. Uçankuş (1979: 308 = 2002a: 25) describes the roof of the chamber as vaulted but, according to Alexander von Kienlin (see Appendix), the roof was gabled, as was the case in the tomb chamber of the Tumulus MM at Gordion.

[5] Tumuli with built chambers with gabled roofs and finished only in the interior follow a Phrygian tradition in funerary architecture (Kohler 1995) as do the grave chambers at Kızılbel and Karaburun (Mellink 1975: 25; 1976: 537-47; 1978: 171-4; 1998: 7-20).

[6] The Lydian tumuli are studied in detail in the doctoral dissertation of Christopher Roosevelt (2003), which is due to be published soon.

[7] Uçankuş 1979: 308-9 = 2002a: 25.

[8] The excavator describes layers consisting of stone blocks, pebbles, clay, tree boles and logs, with the latter placed directly upon the roof of the tomb chamber (Uçankuş 1979: 306 = 2002a: 24).

[9] Studies on the painting techniques and color pigments used are forthcoming by Erwin Emmerling, Stephan Demeter and Heinrich Piening.

[10] See, for example, the uneven friezes of the Kızılbel tomb (Mellink 1998).

[11] Expert cleaning could reveal the painted surface. Conservation work, including consolidating and cleaning, will be carried out by Stephan Demeter and Erwin Emmerling.

[12] Uçankuş 1979: fig. 12 = Uçankuş 2002a: color fig. 4.

[13] Uçankuş (1979: 310) calls them 'sphinxes'.

[14] Felines on funerary monuments: Gabelmann 1965; Müller 1978; Woysch-Méautis 1982. Phrygian rock-cut tombs: Haspels 1971: figs. 129-34. In Etruria: Steingräber 2006: 8.23, 8.49-50, 61, 74-5, 95, 130.

[15] Hölscher 1973: 19. According to Mertens-Horn (1986: 21-2), the images of heraldic lions must have generally imparted a measure of importance to buildings and monuments.

[16] Haspels 1971: 132, fig. 141 right, in-text fig. 5 (drawing). Haspels dates this grave monument generally to the sixth century BC.

[17] The beam below is somewhat taller and longer (H. 0.19 m, L. 1.56 m).

[18] For example, on the paintings of the Clazomenian sarcophagi (Cook 1981: pl. 62,1) and in simplified variations on the architectural terracottas from Pazarlı (Åkerström 1966: pls. 92.2 and 96.1). Separately made bronze-shield décor has been found in Olympia (Philipp 2004: 386-7, 388-9 with pls. 94.2 and 96.1-2). For the use of this décor on shields, see Vaerst 1980: III, 693-6.

[19] Similar helmets occur on two Anatolian reliefs, from Konya (Sekunda 1992: 24 left) and Bozkır (Sekunda 1992: 25 below).

[20] Uçankuş 1979: 310-11. A number of the details of the color drawings of the armed dancers published by Uçankuş (2002a: fig. 5, 2002b: 403) are inaccurate.

[21] Poursat 1968: figs. 6-32; Delavaud-Roux 1993: *passim*; Ceccarelli 1998: pls. 3-14; Lesky 2000: figs. 3-29.

[22] Poursat 1968: fig. 16; Delavaud-Roux 1993: 91, cat. no. 18.

[23] Çambel and Özyar 2003: pls. 36-7.

[24] Sekunda 1996: 7-17. A warrior with a sickle-shaped dagger depicted on a limestone relief was seen and drawn by Charles Texier in Konya in 1849 but is now lost (Texier 1849: pl. 103; Sekunda 1992: fig. 24; Greenewalt 1997: fig. 13). An iron sickle was excavated at Sardis in a military context datable to the mid-sixth century BC near a city gate (Greenewalt 1997: fig. 11). According to Greenewalt (p. 12), however, the identification of this sickle as a weapon of war remains tentative, since the assemblage also included non-military objects.

[25] Literary sources on the *hoplomachia* and armed dances: Wheeler 1982: 223-33. Pyrrhic dances in funeral contexts: Lonsdale 1993: 252, fig. 28. On the relief of the Polyxena Sarcophagus two pairs of warriors are shown on tiptoe to indicate that they are pyrrhic dancers (Sevinç 1996: fig. 12). The remark of Lesky (2000: 231), 'mit diesem Bild (Polyxena-Sarkophag) ist zum erstenmal im griechischen Bereich der Waffentanz im Begräbnisritus belegt', is incorrect. See the armed dancers in the well known scene of *ekphora* of a kyathos in the Bibilothèque Nationale in Lesky 2000: fig. 14.

[26] The detail photograph (Uçankuş 2002a: color pl. 7) is reproduced backwards.

[27] See also the color reconstruction published by Uçankuş (2002a: fig. 7, 2002b: 404).

[28] Uçankuş (1979: 313 = 2002a: 31) describes the color of the garment as 'yellow'.

[29] This patched piece, visible in the photographs that were taken *in situ*, is now missing; it was probably lost when the chamber was dismantled.

[30] Uçankuş (1979: 314 = 2002a: 32) mentions the presence of dark blue paint on the wings of the bulls. This is no longer visible to the naked eye and is to be verified by scientific analysis.

[31] Uçankuş (1979: 314) thinks that another bull was depicted here.

[32] Uçankuş (1979: 315 = 2002a: 32) supposes that it belongs to the headdress of a human figure. Judging from its proportions, however, there would not be enough space for such a figure here.

[33] Kleemann 1958: pl. 2b; Borchhardt 1968: 167, pl. 54.1. A panther is also depicted in the hunting scene of a frieze from Silifke (Borchhardt 1968: pl. 54). For Persian panther hunts, see Borchhardt 1968: 166-70; Fornasier 2001: 249.

[34] In Assyrian and Achaemenid monumental sculpture, winged bulls are often depicted with human heads (see, e.g., Boardman 2000: pls. 3-4, fig. 5.35). For winged bulls as enemy creatures, see Garrison and Root 2001: 313-21.

[35] Porada 1969: 98-107, figs. 61, 63 and 64.

[36] Muscarella 1980: 108-12, 190-1.

[37] On a piece of a gold gate-band: Curtis and Tallis 2005: 97, no. 84. On a lapis-lazuli disc: Curtis and Tallis 2005: 96, no. 78. On glazed-brick reliefs at Susa: Ghirshman 1964: 142, fig. 142.

[38] *Urartu* 1991: 156-7, fig. cat. no. 14. Winged bulls with bird-shaped rear part also occur in Urartian iconography: Zahlhaas 2000: 22-4, cat. nos. 5 and 6; Eichler 1984: 44-5, pl. 6.1.

[39] Hemelrijk 1984: pls. 116-17.

[40] Sams 1974: 172, fig. 4.5.

[41] Uçankuş 2002b: 441 with fig. lower left.

[42] See, for example, the herd of cattle of Geryoneus on a bronze pectoral from Samos dated around 700 BC (Brize 1985: pl. 15).

[43] Brize 1985: pl. 15.

[44] Uçankuş 1979: 307 = 2002a: 24.

[45] Uçankuş does not give any reasons for this suggestion.

[46] Calmeyer 1993: 305-34. For evidence that the Munich timbers are the missing timbers from the Tatarlı tomb, see Summerer 2007a: 143-4; Kuniholm, Newton and Griggs in Summerer 2007a: 153-6. The combined length, end to end, of these beams and the remaining parts in the Afyon Museum is about three meters, which fits the length of the side walls.

[47] Uçankuş (1979: 308 = Uçankuş 2002a: 24) notes only that the west and north walls yielded niche openings.

[48] Calmeyer (1993: 10) identifies only 18 human figures, seemingly having missed one of the riders.

[49] This part was possibly sawn off for dendrochronology samples, for which see Kuniholm, Newton and Griggs in Summerer 2007a: 153-5.

[50] A dress with vertical stripe is also worn by the painted figure of the Aktepe tomb in Lydia: Özgen and Öztürk 1996: figs. 80 and 81. Male figures wearing garments with plastically differentiated middle stripes with small circles on them, imitating

buttons, are shown on the gold plaques of the Oxus Treasure (Curtis and Searight 2003: figs. 4 and 25).

51 This custom of binding horse manes upwards comes from Iran and is familiar in Anatolian art of the Persian era: e.g., Koch 1992: figs. 65-8 (Persepolis Apadana reliefs); Bruns-Özgan 1987: pl. 1.4 and Dusinberre 2003: fig. 32 (Xanthos reliefs); Boardman 2000: fig. 5.85b (pottery sherd from Maşat Höyük); Boardman 2000: fig. 5.14 (a cylinder seal from Greece).

52 For instance, on the balustrade frieze of the Mourning Women Sarcophagus, on a procession frieze from Xanthos, as well as on the reliefs of the Apadana at Persepolis (Metzger 1975: 219).

53 The fur trim of the *kandys* is clearly visible on a golden statuette in the chariot of the Oxus Treasure (Curtis and Tallis 2005: fig. 258) and on the wall paintings of Tomb II at Karaburun (Mellink 1973: 298, pl. 46.9).

54 Calmeyer (1993: 10) calls these lance bearers 'bodyguards' but does not mention the particularity of their downward-pointed lances.

55 Head 1992: 10; Sekunda 1992: 7.

56 Tallis 2005: 215, fig. 62.

57 On the Stele of Elnâf from Daskyleion the painted spears of the warriors are not preserved (Borchhardt 1968: 193, pl. 47,2). The spear bearers in the convoy scene of the Amathous Sarcophagus are additionally equipped with round shields (Tatton-Brown 1981: 79-80, pl. 17; Petit 2004a: fig. 2). They wear *himation*-like garments but no shows.

58 Calmeyer (1993: 10) seems to have missed this detail.

59 The fans on the Karaburun II wall painting have a rectangular shape (Mellink 1971: 252-3, figs. 20 and 23).

60 Fan bearers in the paintings of the palace of Ashurnasirpal at Nineveh: Nunn 1987: pl. 126. Fan bearers played a significant role as a sign of high authority and prestige. See also Miller 1997: 202-3.

61 Riders escorting chariot convoys are known from Anatolian procession scenes. See, in particular, the Stele of Elnâf (Borchhardt 1968: 192-4, pl. 44.2; Nollé 1992: 11-16, cat. no. S1, pl. 1.2) and the rock-cut relief of a tumulus in Çeçtepe (Fıratlı 1970: figs. 81 and 84). Unfortunately, the latter relief has been entirely destroyed by looters. Riders are also depicted in the procession relief of the Amathous Sarcophagus (Tatton-Brown 1981: pl. 17; Stylianou 2007: 34-116).

62 This type of saddle also occurs in the wall paintings of Karaburun II (Mellink 1974: 356, pls. 67.11-12, 68.13). A woman seated on a saddle raised

on both sides is shown on a stele from Daskyleion (Nollé 1992: 27, 59-60, pl. 8).

63 Borchhardt 1968: pls. 50.1 and 51.1.

64 Mellink 1973: 298-9, pl. 46, fig. 10; 1974: 355-9, pls. 67-8, figs. 11-13. Unfortunately, there is no good photograph of the whole frieze published yet. For a detailed color photograph of the seated dignitary and servants, see Bingöl 1997: pl. 8.1-2.

65 Fleischer 1983: 44-58, pls. 36-9.

66 Nollé 1992: pls. 2, 5, 8a.

67 These figures have been interpreted as male by some authors (e.g., Fleischer 1983: 48), but Nollé (1992: 18, pl. 3) correctly points out that they cannot represent male attendants because they wear long garments and carry no weapons.

68 Metzger (1975: 209-11) points out the diverging elements of processions and the need for a differentiation between convoys with and without a closed chariot. He distinguishes among 'ekphora, convoi funèbre, cortège de dignitaires'.

69 Weller 1970: 219-27; Fleischer 1983: 47-54.

70 Weller 1970: 225-7.

71 Fleischer 1983: 47-54.

72 Calmeyer 1993: 12; Ateşlier 2002: 77-95. Apparently, Ateşlier did not take notice of the Munich frieze.

73 See the diagonally extended chariot bodies in Ateşlier's (2002: figs. 8 and 9) reconstructions of the chariots on the Daskyleion stelai (İstanbul 5763 and 5764). A chariot with a yoke width of 2.25 m from Tomb 47 in the necropolis of Salamis in Cyprus (Karageorghis 1967: 78-9) has generally been cited as evidence in support of the hypothesis of the diagonally extended hearse. However, this chariot belongs to the seventh century and is a very rare example. Cart and chariot finds from the tombs in Salamis are usually of small dimensions (Crouwel 1985: 212-14). It would be quite unusual to transport the corpse diagonally to the direction of travel; the rare representations of *ekphora* always show the corpses lying on chariots with the head in the direction of travel (Kurtz and Boardman 1985: fig. 51a; Crouwel 1985: figs. 2 and 3).

74 Mellink 1971: 253-4, 1973: 298-301. Crouwel (1985: 212) also thinks that the closed chariots contained paraphernalia.

75 Nollé 1992: 88-92.

76 Jacobs 1992: 24-7.

77 The interpretation as a *Haremswagen* is largely based on written references to Persian women traveling in tents, which were curtained on all sides and

set upon a wagon (see Nollé 1992: 64-5, 91). Some clay or stone chariot models with an arch tilt and partly drawn curtains from Cyprus show a woman sitting inside (Crouwel 1985: fig. 1; Hermary 2000: 131, cat. no. 868, pl. 69). However, as chariot models with male passengers show (see Crouwel 1985: fig. 1 SM4), the use of tilt vehicles was not reserved exclusively for women. On the basis of stone and clay models of two-wheeled carts with a u-shaped top from Cyprus, Petit (2004b) argues that such chariots represent the Persian *harmamaxa* mentioned in written sources. Petit does not include the representations of covered chariots in Anatolian convoy scenes in his discussion. I owe thanks to Thierry Petit for sending me a copy of his paper.

[78] As far as I can see, the *Haremswagen* interpretation has not received wide acceptance. Borchhardt (1968: 195; 1970: 372-80), who originally agreed with the interpretation of a funeral cortege, seems to have changed his opinion. In the case of the wooden frieze, this same scholar thinks that the aristocratic tomb owner was represented in the open chariot, while his wife traveled in the closed chariot (Borchhardt 2002: 95-6).

[79] Mellink 1998: 59, pls. 6 and 7.

[80] Borchhardt 2002: 95.

[81] According to Herodotus (7.28-39), Pythios was allowed to take his whole household, wife and other belongings along to the campaign.

[82] Borchhardt (2002: 96) thinks that the aristocratic grave owner demonstrated his higher rank by taking his wives along to war: 'Der phrygische Vasall bezeugt seine Lehnstreue, betont in der Ausfahrtsszene seinen Rang …'

[83] For the participation of the military units in funeral processions, see (despite the chronological difference) a text describing the death of the first king of the Third Dynasty of Ur, Ur-Nammu (2112-2095 BC): 'After having died in battle, the king Ur-Namma is brought to Ur, and the soldiers who marched with him into battle follow him towards the underworld in tears' (Tinney 1998: 27-8).

[84] Tearing of clothing and hair is well attested as an expression of grief in written sources as well as in iconography (Huber 2001: 32-45, 159).

[85] Kökten Ersoy 1998: 107-33; Ateşlier 2002: 85-6. In the case of the Gümüşçay grave, the remnants of two wheels, one on top of the other, are found leaning against the sarcophagus (Sevinç 1996: 252, fig. 4). Two-wheeled carts and chariots are also attested in tomb contexts in Cyprus (Crouwel 1985: 212-14) as well as in Etruria (Camerin 1998: 673-82).

[86] Ediz et al. 1999: fig. 8; Yıldırım 2005: 768, fig. 1.

On the poorly preserved frieze of the vase, a closed chariot is recognizable. The white, painted vertical lines on the arched siding suggest an open railing with vertical supports. The brown painted topmost line may indicate a cloth cover. Contrary to the closed chariots of the procession scenes of the Achaemenid period, this Hittite chariot is constructed with four wheels. The fragments of this vase were found together with another, better preserved, vase with scenic reliefs (Sipahi 2000: 63-85, with a detailed description and photographs).

[87] van den Hout 1994: 62. The effigy of the dead king served the ideology of immortality,

[88] van den Hout 1994: 63. Horse sacrifices in burials: Carstens 2005: 59-72.

[89] For the funerary celebration represented on the Polyxena Sarcophagus, see Sevinç 1996.

[90] Summerer 2007b.

[91] Boardman 2000: fig. 5.15; Garrison and Root 2001: 217-308, pl. 218.1; Kaptan 2002: vol. 1, pp. 57-8, and vol. 2, pp. 157-64.

[92] Calmeyer (1993: 13) lists only six riders and two archers on foot. He seems to have missed the head of the archer on the outer edge and a rider.

[93] Curtis and Razmjou 2005: 68-73.

[94] Calmeyer 1993: 14-15; Borchhardt 2002: 96.

[95] Summerer 2007b.

[96] Depictions of historical events on the so-called *tabulae* are mentioned by some ancient authors. According to Pliny (*HN* 35.55), an illustration of the historical defeat of the Magnesians was painted on wood by the Greek artist Boularchos about 700 BC. Herodotus (4.88) mentions wooden *pinakes* with a representation of Darius' floating bridge and the Persian army crossing the Bosporus (cf. Hölscher 1973: 36; Borchhardt 2002: 93-4).

[97] See, for example, the poorly preserved battle representation on the *klinē* of the Aktepe tomb (Özgen and Öztürk 1996: 42, fig. 78).

[98] Uçankuş 1979: 308.

[99] Uçankuş 1979: 316, fig. 25 = 2002a: 33.

[100] Bingöl 1997: pl. 8.2.

[101] The drawing published by Uçankuş (1979: fig. 27) seems upside down; the beam itself is labeled as coming from the southeast corner, and the author describes the red borderline as being below the figures.

[102] Strathmann 2002: 170-8.

[103] Briant 1996: 205; Summerer and von Kienlin 2007b: 74-87.

[104] Mellink 1972: 23-4. See also the battle rep-

resentations on the stele from Yalnızdam (Bruns-Özgan 1987: pl. 20.2) and on the sarcophagus from Çan (Sevinç et al. 2001: fig. 11).

[105] Cohen 1997: figs. 11-18.

[106] The context is the Near Eastern love story of Odatis and Zariadres. They met in dreams, fell in love, and finally Zariadres located Odatis and carried her off despite the objections of her father. The narrative concludes with the remark: 'Now this love affair is held in remembrance among the barbarians who live in Asia and it is exceedingly popular; in fact they picture this story in their temples and palaces and even in private dwellings; and most princes bestow the name Odatis on their own daugthers' (trans. Ch. Burton Gulick [Loeb]).

[107] See, for example, the wall paintings of the so-called Painted House in Gordion, which is supposed to be a temple (Mellink 1980: 91-8, figs. 3-6).

[108] These remarks are offered here as a tentative and interim comment at a preliminary stage of the conservation and reconstruction project of the Tatarlı tomb. A long term conservation project, including the cleaning and consolidation of all of the paintings, has just started (see http://www.fak12.uni-muenchen.de/ka/varia/Summerer-ProjektHolzmalerei.html).

[109] For aristocratic burial customs, see Carstens 2005: 57-72.

[110] At Gordion the wooden tomb chambers, mostly found in a fragile state and collapsed, have yielded no traces of painting (Young 1981: 263-4; Kohler 1995: 176).

[111] Ruge 1931: 1496. The city of Kelainai and its vicinity are poorly known archaeologically. Aside from the travelers of the nineteenth century, the only attempt to locate the royal palace was undertaken by the historian Müller (1997: 129-45), who relied, however, exclusively on ancient written descriptions. For a reliable identification of sites, a detailed archaeological survey, which takes into account the visible remains, is also needed. Other than the Tatarlı tomb, archaeological evidence for this region's connections with the Achaemenid world is confined so far to a large, illegally excavated hoard of Persian *sigloi* from Dinar (Carradice 1998: 65-81). In the Hellenistic period the name of Kelainai was changed to Apameia (Strab. 12.8.15). The importance of Kelainai during the period of Persian rule in Anatolia was due to its location on the Royal Road from Sardis to Susa. According to Xenophon (*An.* 1.2.9), Xerxes constructed a palace on the acropolis of Kelainai immediately after his defeat at Salamis Another palace, surrounded by a large *paradeisos* full of wild animals, was built at the foot of the acropolis by Cyrus the Younger (Xen. *Hell.* 4.1.15). Xenophon (*An.* 1.3.7-8) calls Kelainai the largest city in Phrygia. Possibly it functioned, simultaneously, as a satrapal seat.

[112] After the battle of Aigospotamoi, Alkibiades took refuge in Phrygia with a view to securing the aid of Artaxerxes II against Sparta. He was living with Timandra in the Phrygian village of Melisse (Diod. 14.11). The Spartans induced the Persian satrap to kill Alkibiades. According to Plutarch (*Alc.* 39), Lysander sent an envoy to Pharnabazos, who then dispatched his brother to Phrygia. In 404 BC Alkibiades was about to set out for the Persian court, when his residence was surrounded and set on fire. Seeing no chance of escape, he rushed out on his assassins, dagger in hand, and was killed by a shower of arrows (Lehrmann 1996: 501-2).

[113] This is particularly true at present, when so many tombs are endangered because of the material treasures they contain. For instance, in 1967 the Archaeological Museum of İstanbul acquired a silver belt of Phrygian type, said to have been excavated in a small tumulus tomb near Dinar (Eckert 1998: ch. 3.1.1.3). For the looting of Lydian tumuli, see Roosevelt and Luke 2006: 173-87.

[114] Kuniholm, Newton and Griggs in Summerer 2007a: 153-6.

[115] Uçankuş 1979: 307 = 2002a: 24.

[116] Uçankuş 1979: 307 = 2002a: 24.

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The Achaemenid Lion-Griffin on a Macedonian Tomb Painting and on a Sicyonian Mosaic

T HE INTERACTION between the Achaemenid empire and Macedonia was one that lasted just under two centuries. At times, such as the late sixth to early fifth century, the relationship must have been one of great intensity. However, for the most part, it practically fell into abeyance, as in those times that Achaemenid sway did not reach as far as the Macedonian corner of the northwestern Aegean. Nonetheless, even in these periods, subsequent to the *Mēdika*, the Great King, his power, and his dominion were still great. We could well imagine that they would have been part of the tales retold in Macedonia; information, accurate or distorted, on his empire would have been topical — even when Macedonia had to face serious threats from other quarters, and concerns with eastern lands must have been of secondary importance. In such an environment, any objects deriving from an Achaemenid source may, in the right context, still have been welcome; the reflected glory of Achaemenid might and wealth may have shone upon any Macedonian possessing and utilizing them, even if at times pan-Hellenic rhetoric, which maligned the empire, was also adopted in Macedonia.[1]

This complex relationship did not come to an abrupt halt with Alexander's conquests. The *Nachlass* of the empire during Alexander's brief rule and in the dominions of his successors in the East has been commented upon extensively.[2] It is also the case that the formal demise of the Achaemenid empire did not signal the end of the impact that the arts and crafts which had flourished within its borders had on the core area of the Macedonian kingdom. Material that dates to this period —that is, to the latter part of the fourth century BC— will be the principal focus of this paper.

Most of the relevant archaeological material at hand (and there is no great surfeit) derives from funerary contexts. Of this the majority is iconographic, though a small number of artifacts that betray eastern connections have also been excavated from graves and published, at least in a preliminary fashion. Very briefly they may be listed as: a gold ring from a grave at Pydna with a female figure (of a type commonly met on 'Greco-Persian' gems) seated on an Achaemenid-type throne;[3] an unpublished stamp seal of Neo-Babylonian type (but in all likelihood Achaemenid in date) from the same site;[4] the faience leg casings of Achaemenid type of a funerary bier excavated at Pella;[5] a woman's gold hair ornament from the area of Poteidaia/Kassandreia;[6] a wall painting in a tomb that pictures a textile type best associated with the Achaemenid sphere;[7] and a glass beaker from Derveni Grave B.[8] All these finds have formal characteristics which derive from the former Great King's realm.[9] The furniture-related items and the glass beaker find analogues at the very center of the empire, not only on the reliefs at Persepolis, but also among finds made in the provinces. The hair ornament and the type of female figure pictured on the Pydna ring are best paralleled on rings and seals of a more personal nature, a category of objects to which the seal of Neo-Babylonian type also belongs.
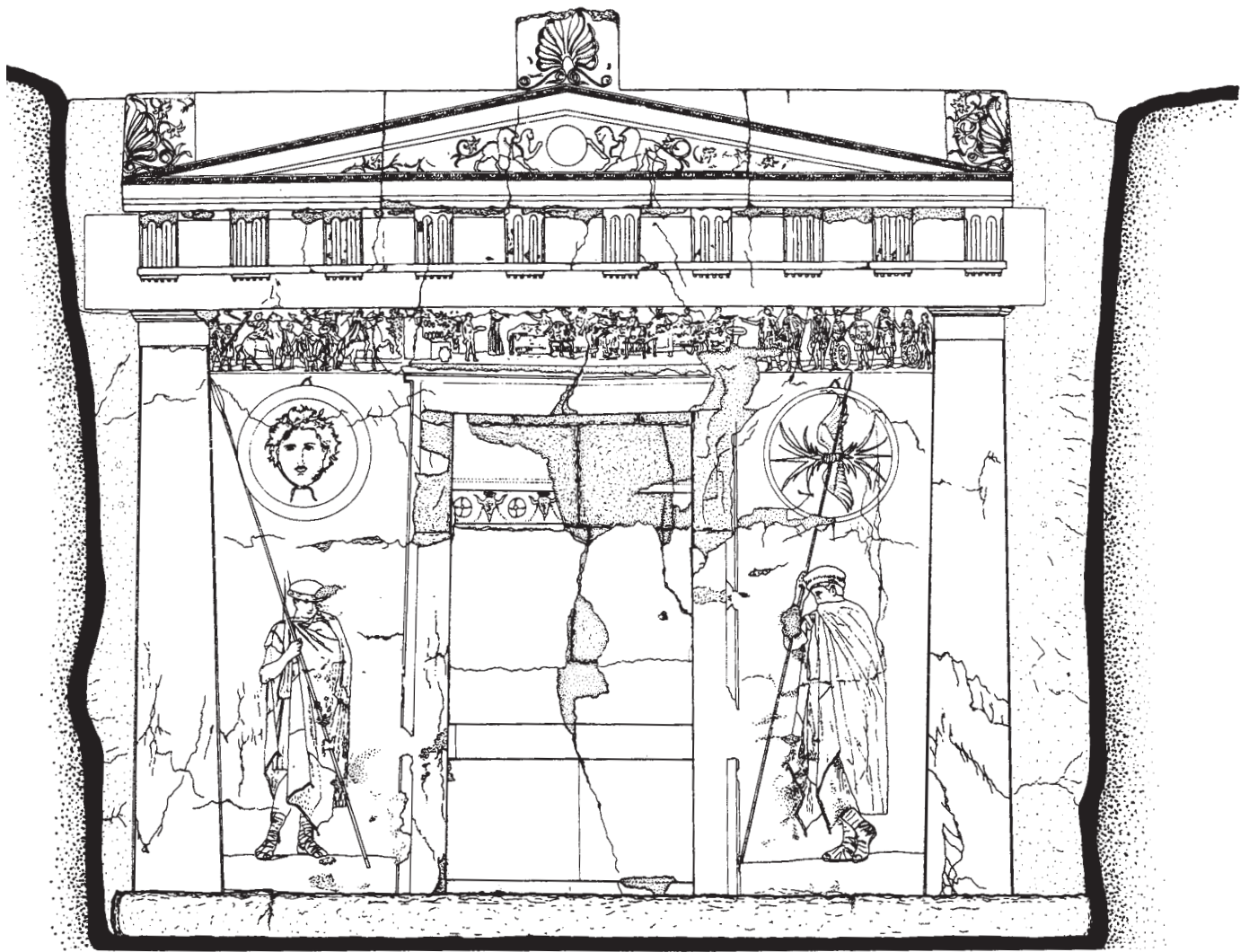
Fig. 1
Drawing of the facade of
the Macedonian tomb at Agios
Athanasios. Last quarter of the
fourth century BC.
(After Tsimbidou-Avloniti 2005:
98, fig. 20. Courtesy of the 16th
Ephoreia of Prehistoric and
Classical Antiquities,
Thessaloniki.)

The items or representations that have already been identified as be-
traying links with the Achaemenid world present no great hazards. I shall
start this paper, however, with an example which illustrates the difficulties
that may be involved when trying to determine the *immediate* origins of an
eastern feature in late-fourth-century Macedonian works. The question
may be posed as follows: Is the feature or item under examination a direct
borrowing from the output of craftsmen who worked within the borders of
the Achaemenid empire or, alternatively, from southern Greece where it
had been adopted at an earlier stage? The example in question is a repre-
sentation of two griffins, or rather lion-griffins, on the pediment of a re-
cently published Macedonian tomb at Agios Athanasios, twenty kilometers
west of Thessaloniki (Figs. 1-2). The tomb has been dated to the last quar-
ter of the fourth century. Both the facade of the structure and its chamber
bear painted decoration. On the facade, the doorway is flanked on either
side by a spearman, above whom hangs a shield; the frieze bears a repre-
sentation of a symposium, with guests arriving from the left, and guards-
men on the right. The acroteria bear floral compositions. Within the cham-
ber, above the solidly red-painted lower walls, runs a frieze of alternating
bucrania and rosettes; the upper wall and vault are white. In the upper part
of the back wall there is a partly preserved painting of a shield.[10]
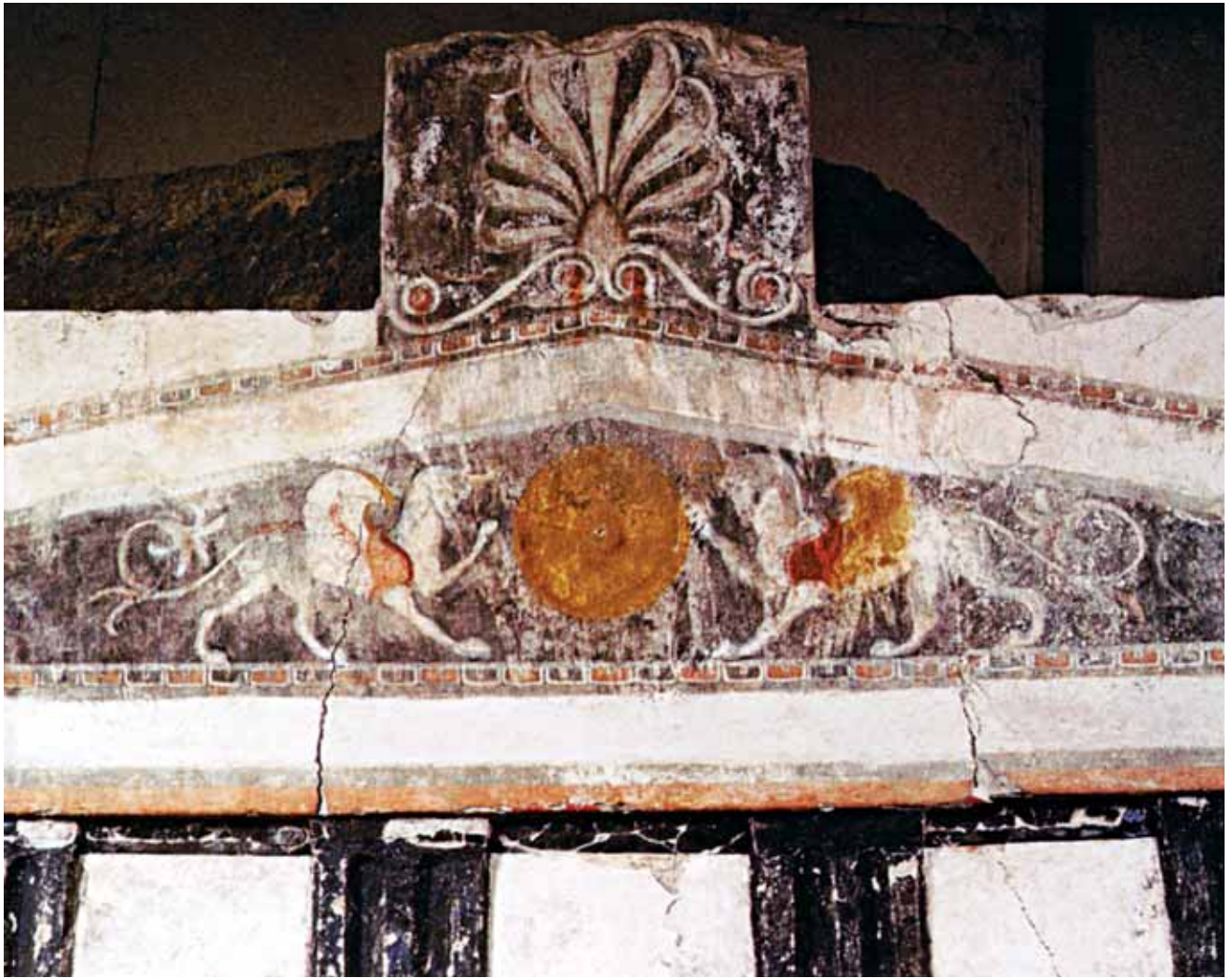
The excavator of the tomb, Tsimbidou-Avloniti, has described the painted composition in the pediment. The center is occupied by a circular gold-colored element which is flanked on either side by a heraldic lion-griffin whose tail ends in a floral spray. Similar floral sprays decorate the corners of the triangular field. Tsimbidou-Avloniti has noted the eastern features of these beasts,[11] though they do bear further scrutiny. The basic character of these hybrids is leonine, but the creatures are horned; curved, crescent-shaped wings, with a distinctly defined forepart, spring from their shoulders. As pointed out by Tsimbidou-Avloniti, these creatures differ from the type of griffin best attested in the Greek world during the fourth century, which is characterized by a raptor's head and angular wings and bears, more often than not, a scalloped crest along the back of the head and the neck.[12] The griffins on this tomb are best seen as examples of the Achaemenid type of horned and winged lion, commonly referred to as a lion-griffin. Although by no means unknown in the Greek world, their wing type follows the standard form seen on Achaemenid winged hybrids.[13] The heraldic lion-griffins painted in a zone on the walls of the looted Tomb I of the Great Tumulus at Vergina, in which two ceramic vessels dated to 350 or slightly later were found, are similar creatures. But with their pronounced backward-growing horns, they differ substantially enough to dismiss the idea that the very same mod-

el served for both.[14] Furthermore, the Agios Athanasios lion-griffins also bear simple crests of a type that can be seen on Achaemenid griffins, even though on the latter examples the crest is sometimes segmented.[15] A closer, though very poorly preserved, parallel to the Agios Athanasios lion-griffins on a floor mosaic of the first quarter of the fourth century from Olynthos testifies to prior knowledge of the lion-griffin in the northern Aegean region,[16] on the very threshold of the Macedonian kingdom.

The vivid red and gold sub-fields on the hybrids' wings on the Agios Athanasios pediment could be interpreted as conveying in paint the divisions seen on wings and other body parts of creatures on Achaemenid jewelry that would have been filled with brightly colored enamel or stone, or similarly differentiated body parts of beasts on textiles.[17]

However, if this was so, was the model an item produced within the Achaemenid empire or a southern Greek reflection of such an item? For in an early fourth-century Attic red-figure scene that pictures the Greek myth of two Arimasps battling against a griffin, the hybrid creature is depicted as a lion-griffin and the treatment of its body and wings clearly shows that jewelry with cavities filled with brightly colored material was known at that period to Athenian craftsmen, even though the preserved material may suggest that this was a rather rare phenomenon.[18] Furthermore, on an Attic funerary stele of the late fifth century the treatment of the wings of the sphinxes with foreparts (which are clearly outlined with a raised perimeter) provides a further parallel to our lion-griffins.[19] Of course, any painted embellishment these sculpted sphinxes might have carried may have either rendered the similarity closer or more distant, the latter if the wings' forepart and the chest were treated as one field, as was the case with Attic sphinxes of the Archaic period.[20] Another Attic stele, the only one on which lion-griffins are certainly represented, can be dated to this same period (Fig. 3).[21] Here, too, the wings of the beasts have a pronounced forepart, but it is not raised to the extent of those of the Athenian sphinxes or of our Macedonian lion-griffins.

In the light of these two Attic funerary stelai, the colored subdivisions of our lion-griffins cannot be said to establish the creatures' direct dependence on models that derived from the Achaemenid realm. Nonetheless, the possibility of such an origin cannot be dismissed, since the pronounced foreparts of the wings are not exclusively Athenian. They are also characteristic, for instance, of the lion-griffins on a fourth-century phiale from the Rogozen Treasure found in northern Bulgaria.[22] The phiale, identified as a Greek product, need not be dependent on Attic prototypes and may well reflect types current in Achaemenid western Anatolia.[23] Consequently, the detail of the colored subdivisions may be noted along with other eastern iconographic features of the Agios Athanasios lion-griffins. Given the earlier Athenian parallels for these divisions, however, they do not necessarily establish an unmediated link with the Achaemenid world.[24]

The horns of the Agios Athanasios lion-griffins, which extend in a downward single curve from the upper forehead, supply further associations with the Achaemenid East. Achaemenid lion-griffins are ordinarily equipped with long curved horns characteristic of goats or ibexes.[25] Nonetheless, the griffins

Fig. 3
Attic grave stele. Late fifth century BC. British Museum. (Copyright the Trustees of the British Museum.)

on at least one Achaemenid stamp seal are equipped with a type of horn closely related to those borne by the Agios Athanasios lion-griffins, though they have a double curve, a feature usually seen on Achaemenid bulls.[26] This double-curved horn can be carried by other Achaemenid animals, such as a series of dismembered lion heads on a glazed tile from Susa.[27] Even more strikingly, lion-griffins on a cylinder seal in at least one instance have exaggerated horns of this type.[28] The specific horn type on the Agios Athanasios lion-griffins is best seen as a development of the double-curved horn characteristic of Achaemenid bovines.[29]

Consequently, our Macedonian lion-griffins do betray Achaemenid features. But they also differ from most of their known Achaemenid counterparts, in that their hind legs are not those of an avian (such as can be seen on most seals and on monumental reliefs as well) but are those of a lion.[30] Leonine hind legs have been identified as a trait of griffins attributable to the Greek sphere.[31] Nonetheless, horned and winged lions are not unknown in the iconography that emanated from within the Achaemenid empire, as 'Lydian-Achaemenid' stamp seals datable to the late sixth century (as well as a cylinder seal) indicate.[32] A similar creature appears on a ring excavated in a fifth-century grave at Hacınebi.[33] Thus, even though raptor-griffins with fully leonine bodies did have a long history in the Greek crafts by the late sixth and early fifth centuries,[34] it may be best to see these lion-griffins as also being predominantly at home in the western reaches of the empire (perhaps specifically in Asia Minor)[35] and adjoining regions, instead of baldy terming them Greek.

Fourth-century Athenian knowledge of the lion-griffin is not only attested by the red-figure pelike and funerary stele noted above. The creature also appears (along with its raptor-type cousin) on the Xenophantos lekythos as prey in an eastern hunt.[36] And two representatives of the species are shown in a combat with Arimasps on the throne of the Priest of Dionysos Eleuthereus at the Theater of Dionysos.[37] The lion-griffins on both of these works differ from those of the Agios Athanasios pediment in that the horns of the former are upright like those of an ibex or goat, while those of the latter are of the backward-growing type, also met on the griffins of the frieze of the cist grave in the Great Tumulus of Vergina.[38] Clearly, the Agios Athanasios hybrids were based on different models. Similar horns, though slightly more upright, are carried by the lion-griffins that flank a Master of the Beasts on the Kamini Stele (a relief that is usually dated sometime in the second half of the fourth century)[39] as well as on the Olynthian mosaic mentioned above.

With the exception of the rhyton I have discussed elsewhere, there are no other details in the paintings of the Agios Athanasios tomb that show formal or iconographic features which can be ultimately linked with the Achaemenid sphere.[40] The paintings' associations lie primarily with the practices and funerary ideology of the Macedonian elite, aspects of which may have been shared with peoples farther east. But formal iconographic elements unequivocally dependent, if only ultimately, on Achaemenid prototypes, such as the lion-griffins, do not occur in them.

The lion-griffins do not exist alone on the pediment. The gold-colored circular element which they flank has been interpreted by Tsimbidou-Avloniti as a disc representing the sun.[41] Although heraldic compositions consisting of a central object flanked by a variety of creatures are a feature of Greek funerary art,[42] the Achaemenid associations of the lion-griffins would

warrant an inquiry into further possible links that the composition as a whole may have with the Achaemenid sphere. However, I know of only a small number of representations which may be closely compared with the pedimental scene of two beasts flanking a circular element. One of these, depicting two winged lions approaching a rosette, is repeated twice on opposite sides of a bronze bowl purportedly found at Hāmadān.[43] The second one, on a partly preserved cylinder seal impression, shows a circular element consisting of circles linked to one another by short bars and flanked by two hybrids.[44] While solar interpretations could be proposed for these scenes, I am not certain whether they are mandatory, especially in the case of the latter.[45] One may also wonder if an astral central element flanked by Achaemenid-looking royal sphinxes on a jug excavated at Alishar refers to a similar prototype.[46]

Far more common in the known Achaemenid repertoire, which is primarily comprised of seals and sealings, are compositions in which fantastic creatures appear below either a winged disc or a winged disc from which a male figure springs.[47] The interpretations offered for what was actually signified by these motifs vary. They include interpretations of the figure emerging from the winged disc as Ahura Mazdā or a specific figure's genius, and of the winged disc as symbolic of the sun.[48]

Does the Agios Athanasios pedimental composition have any relationship with these scenes from the Iranian world? Although objects and information could have reached Macedonia from the Achaemenid empire from as early as the third quarter of the sixth century, it is after Alexander's conquests that we are able to document an appreciable increase of reflections of Achaemenid types on local material culture.[49] Given the date of the tomb (c. 325-300) and the nature of the lion-griffins, the possibility that the decoration of the pediment offers a reflection, however distant, of an Achaemenid model cannot be ruled out. If it is dependent on a scene where animals flank a circular element, then its translation is rather straightforward. However, one might also consider the possibility that our Macedonian composition alludes to a scene with a winged disc or a male figure/winged disc combination. This possibility would require us to envisage a far more complicated process of transmission. If the pedimental composition is attributed in its entirety to Achaemenid inspiration (and one accepts, simultaneously, that the central disc depicts the sun, as Tsimbidou-Avloniti suggested), then the painter (and/or his commissioner) would have 'translated' the Achaemenid winged motif into a representation of the sun. During the period in question, the sun was often portrayed in anthropomorphic form as a youth with a rayed nimbus,[50] and this is certain for Macedonia as excavations at Ouranopolis have shown.[51] But there was a parallel tradition within the Greek world of representing the sun as a rayed disc, as coins from the same city show.[52] The latter scheme, of course, lends support to Tsimbidou-Avloniti's interpretation of the disc.

Does this interpretation hold, however? With the knowledge that derives from excavating the tomb, Tsimbidou-Avloniti only distinguishes some shading that endows the 'shield-like' circular element, which she identifies as a solar disc, with a degree of convexity.[53] And, indeed, the sun would not have been inappropriate on a funerary monument, as it would have represented the negation of one of the most feared aspects of the abode of the dead: the dark and the gloom.[54] Furthermore, contemporary evidence offered by the Derveni Papyrus shows that at least some Macedonians were

very sensitive to the fundamental role that the sun played in the creation and maintenance of the cosmic order.[55] Nonetheless, at least from the published photograph, it would appear that the disc may be provided with a rim and a molding at its center, two features which would allow it to be identified, alternatively, as a mesomphalos phiale. In the Greek sphere, phialai were predominantly used for pouring libations, and thus it is that they found a place in funerary practices and iconography.[56] If the central element of the pedimental composition is identified as a phiale, then the composition matches many later heraldic scenes in Macedonia and elsewhere in the Greek world where the central element is often a vessel.[57] It may be noted that a mesomphalos phiale actually occupies the central field of a mid-fourth-century Athenian stele.[58]

The very configuration of the Agios Athanasios pedimental composition may be closely compared to a Greek tradition of placing a circular element in the center of a field, which dates at least as far back as the fifth century and becomes very common in the Hellenistic period. A stele from Thespiai, Boeotia, dated to c. 440, shows that a shield, or shield-like object, was not out of place on the pediment of funerary monuments.[59] In Macedonia itself, a shield or a rosette can be found in the same position on a painted stele dated to slightly before 350.[60] On Attic stelai a circular element (in all likelihood a shield) can be seen in the same field from at least the first half of the fourth century onward.[61] Arvanitopoulos would identify the central element in the pedimental field of the funerary Stele of Choirile from the Macedonian foundation of Demetrias in Thessaly as a libatory phiale,[62] although rosettes are more frequently seen in this position.[63] In Macedonia the Tomb of Lyson and Kallikles, from the end of the third century, provides in the lunettes of its transverse walls the most monumental example of this conception: the circular element is a large shield, which echoes the shield on the back interior wall of the Agios Athanasios tomb.[64] The structure and individual elements of the Agios Athanasios composition may, then, be compared both to schemes that derive from the Achaemenid sphere and to schemes found in a Greek milieu, a small number of which predate it.

The final major features of the Macedonian funerary mural are the floral sprays in the corners of the pediment and on the tails of the lion-griffins. Floral motifs are by no means alien to the domain of hybrid creatures in various Achaemenid media. This is most obviously the case with the bearded sphinxes included on the reliefs at Persepolis. They are set side-by-side with stylized trees, which also occur elsewhere within the iconographic program.[65] That the association was more than fortuitous is indicated by the fact that the two motifs are paired together on a fragmentary plaster mold (of early Hellenistic date) said to have come from Alexandria.[66] There the probable semantic associations with fecundity, prosperity, and abundance inherent in the combination of these motifs are hinted at by the further inclusion in the scene of aquatic birds, a motif that refers to fertility and abundance in Ptolemaic art.[67] Both these spheres also came under the purview of the Achaemenid Great King.[68] In Achaemenid glyptic art, fantastic beasts are also regularly shown in scenes that are flanked by and/or incorporate stylized vegetation;[69] and indeed such florals are not restricted to scenes which include hybrids.[70]

In the Greek sphere, parallels for our vegetation-sprouting griffins can be found on an early-third-century funerary Hadra hydria. The use of Hadra hydriai as cinerary urns provides supporting evidence that such imagery was

deemed appropriate within the Greek world for the realm of the dead.[71] By the late fourth century, fertile and luxuriant landscapes with clement weather had long been associated in the Greek world with those realms of the dead reserved for the more fortunate.[72] And the discovery of gold lamellae that point to such expectations in a number of Macedonian graves indicate that such ideas were current in fourth-century Macedonia.[73] The hybrid, floral-sprouting beasts, depicted as guardians on the Agios Athanasios tomb, may also make reference to such expectations.[74] The lion-griffin's appearance on other tomb monuments and furnishings — foremost on the Alexander Sarcophagus,[75] but also on the Hadra hydria, the Burgon Lebes of c. 300-250 BC from Athens[76] and slightly earlier Apulian funerary amphorae,[77] the tomb at Belevi, and the earlier cist tomb from the Vergina Great Tumulus — underlines its appropriateness in funerary contexts.[78] This is particularly the case in the Apulian sphere, where it can be further noted that on one, and possibly two, funerary kraters the tails of the lion-griffins sprout floral sprays.[79] These funerary associations are at variance with the beast's role in the Achaemenid East prior to Alexander. To my knowledge, there is only one occasion on which a lion-griffin is certainly documented in such a role: at Kalekapı in Paphlagonia, thus, significantly, in the western part of the empire, where it appears in the company of many other creatures.[80] Although our knowledge of the various aspects of funerary practices across the vast expanses of the Achaemenid realm is admittedly limited, the current dearth of evidence for the presence of the lion-griffin in the funerary sphere does contrast with the creature's far more noticeable role in the funerary imagery of the later fourth century in western regions of the former empire and beyond. Despite these hybrids' definite funerary associations in the Greek world, it should be noted that they were not the only ones that lion-griffins, particularly floral-sprouting examples, possessed — as is clear by their appearance on fourth-century Apulian horse muzzles, which suggests that they could also be more generally apotropaic.[81]

In the final analysis, the lion-griffins of the Agios Athanasios tomb only betray their own ultimate Achaemenid origins. It is not possible to determine if the entire composition had a solar emphasis that is dependent on an eastern model,[82] or if the lion-griffins were incorporated into a scheme derived in the Greek tradition in which the central element was a shield or a phiale.

In his discussion of the lion-griffins on an Apulian amphora of c. 300, Hannah pointed out their Achaemenid associations and proposed that these hybrids —especially when they bore bull horns— could symbolize in the Achaemenid sphere 'perpetual death and rebirth'. He extended this interpretation to lion-griffins in the Greek world as well.[83] If this interpretation holds for the Agios Athanasios composition, then it would support the view that the central disc is solar in nature, as the hybrid creatures would combine with it to form a coherent whole with an eschatological meaning. The complete iconographic scheme may have been adopted directly from an eastern model with a similar meaning. However, as the above discussion showed, the Greek lion-griffin was not restricted to funerary contexts (witness the Olynthian mosaic and the Apulian muzzles, though these creatures do not carry bull horns). And when they do appear in such contexts, as on the Burgon Lebes, they normally carry goat or ibex horns. Furthermore, the lion-griffin is not conspicuous in the known, albeit still limited, corpus of funerary iconography of the Achaemenid empire; and where it is —on the Kalekapı tomb facade— its horns are those of a gazelle. On the basis of the

evidence currently available, Hannah's suggestion that lion-griffins in the Greek sphere retained an eschatological meaning inherited from their Achaemenid bull-horned counterparts can only be accepted as a possibility, and as one restricted to their occurrence in the funerary sphere.

The central circular element in the Agios Athanasios pediment also brings to mind the rosette carved in relief at the apex of the northwest pediment of the tomb of Cyrus. In endeavoring to explain the significance of this rosette, which has been identified as an original feature of the tomb,[84] attention has been shown, among others, to Curtius Rufus' testimony (3.3.8) that an image of the sun (*imago solis*), enclosed in crystal, was set above the Great King's tent.[85] Although Cyrus' tomb held a certain fascination for Alexander historians, and as tempting as it may be to see a connection between the rosette preserved on its northwest pediment and the circular element on the tomb of the Macedonian buried at Agios Athanasios, any such link will have to be very tenuous indeed.

Despite details that betray an ultimate indebtedness to Achaemenid models, the painting of the Agios Athanasios pediment as a whole may also fit comfortably into the local repertoire. Whether or not its central circular element was preceived as a solar disc or a phiale, the composition could still be interpreted through a local filter and assigned a meaning which, although perhaps not alien to the Achaemenid sphere, was nonetheless at home in Macedonia and the southern Greek world. It is noteworthy that the context in which the Agios Athanasios lion-griffins, and pedimental scheme as a whole, are employed differs from those of their best parallels as yet known from the Achaemenid sphere.

The same may well be true of a work discovered in southern Greece, at Sicyon, but possibly created under Macedonian influence. The work in question is a pebble mosaic, specifically that on the threshold of a room which, had the entrance been off-center, would have satisfied the usual criteria in order to be termed an *andrōn*.[86] The mosaic of the main room consists of a large floral rosette composition. The threshold mosaic pictures a solitary lion-griffin (Fig. 4), and we may suspect it was considered suitable to grace the liminal space of an entranceway owing to its apotropaic character.[87] Griffins, shown either in heraldic arrangements or in combat groups (with either animals or Arimasps) are not uncommon on floor mosaics of *andrōnes*. Lone griffins are also known on other thresholds.[88] Most of the relevant examples date to the late fourth century and the Hellenistic period. Unlike most of these other examples, however, the Sicyonian griffin is of a distinctly Achaemenid type, which is also encountered on the fragmentarily preserved floor mosaic from Olynthos noted above. As with its counterparts on the Agios Athanasios tomb pediment, it has crescent-shaped wings and an Achaemenid-type horn. More importantly, its internal coloring refers —far more clearly than that of the lion-griffins of the Agios Athanasios pediment— to the internal divisions of animals on Achaemenid works. The strong Achaemenid nature of this lion-griffin sets it apart from its counterparts on other Greek mosaics.

The published report on the Sicyonian mosaics' excavation leaves many questions unanswered. The precise findspot of the mosaics (the floral composition of the main room and the griffin on its threshold) is not given, and there is no mention of any other elements of the building to which they belonged. The mosaics stand effectively out of context and can only be dated on stylistic criteria. The excavator's dating of the mosaics to c. 400[89] has not

Fig. 4
Lion-griffin on a pebble mosaic from Sicyon. Fourth century BC. Photo: Gösta Hellner. (Copyright Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Athens.)

found support among later commentators, and it has not been possible to reach a consensus. Two dominant views hold the field. According to one of these views, the mosaics would have been laid in c. 360-340; the other, and most recently argued, view would downdate them to the end of the fourth century.

The former view is largely based on the relatively limited use of polychromy and the lack of modeling and shading in the Sicyon mosaics compared to similar mosaics from Pella.[90] The Sicyonian examples are thus held to be earlier than the Pella ones (dated to the end of the fourth century), but they are deemed later than the stylistically more primitive examples from Olynthos, a city that was destroyed in 348.[91] To support this dating, appeal has also been made to Robertson's argument that the rosette floral patterns of the Sicyonian and other examples from Pella and Vergina reflected the floral paintings by the Sicyonian painter Pausias, who is believed to have been active around the middle years of the fourth century.[92]

However, Robertson's suggestion has not met with universal approval. Its critics have pointed out that the passage of Pliny (*HN* 35.123-5) on which it is based refers to Pausias' garlands and not specifically to floral compositions, such as those seen on the mosaic floors.[93] It could be noted that floral compositions related to those seen in the mosaics are known in South Italian vase painting even earlier than the mid-fourth century.[94] Building on the South Italian associations of the Sicyonian and Macedonian floral mosaics, Pfrommer argued that the Sicyonian mosaics should be substantially downdated, indeed to as late as the very end of the fourth century.[95] Arguing on a close analysis of the forms of the florals, he has brought out additional connections between the Sicyonian mosaic on the one hand and its Macedonian counterparts on the other. He places the Sicyonian mosaics within the wider milieu of Macedonian artistic production, in which elabo-

rate floral *Rankenornamentik* compositions were developed largely on the basis of prototypes from southern Italy. He concluded that the Sicyonian floral mosaic should date to the very end of the fourth century, if not slightly later.[96] Thus, in contrast to the previously held view that the Sicyonian mosaic belongs to a group that inspired the Macedonian ones, Pfrommer theorized that the former mosaic actually reflects artistic trends seen on a wider range of Macedonian works, including floor mosaics.

Pfrommer's conclusions about the date and background of the Sicyonian floral floor mosaic would apply to the lion-griffin mosaic which accompanies it. It could be objected that the latter mosaic lacks such technical details as terracotta and lead strips, as well as the modeling, which characterize the Macedonian figural mosaics. But allowance could be made for regional differences in the wider development of pebble mosaics, as has been pointed out in the past,[97] even among works which belong to the same general domain. If Pfrommer's dating were to be followed, then the idea could be entertained that the two Sicyonian mosaics date even as late as the re-foundation of Sicyon by the Macedonian Demetrios Poliorketes in 303. Such a scenario would provide a convenient conduit through which artistic details developed in a Macedonian milieu could be transferred to the recently re-established city.

If the griffin mosaic does date to the later years of the fourth century, then the inclusion of the Achaemenid-type lion-griffin would fit into a wider pattern where motifs derived from the recently-conquered Achaemenid empire were incorporated into the material culture of the Macedonians, who returned to the west. This phenomenon can be best documented for the first generation of returning veterans. It is in such a context that the Achaemenid-type legs for a funerary *klinē* in a cemetery of Pella can be best interpreted; the same holds true for the painting of an Achaemenid-type textile on a Macedonian tomb at Dion. The Kamini Stele, which bears versions of a Master of the Beasts wearing a Persian robe and the characteristic Achaemenid motif of a lion attacking a bull, was found at the site of a Macedonian garrison at Athens, indeed one of Demetrios'. It is possible that it too was a Macedonian-inspired, and even commissioned, work.[98] One may also wonder if the griffins on the Burgon Lebes reflect developments in the same artistic environment.[99]

Étienne has noted two further monuments which may be associated with Demetrios Poliorketes and display forms derived from an Achaemenid milieu: namely, a double-bull-protome capital from Salamis, which he suggests may have carried a statue of Demetrios, and the double-bull protomes on the Bull Monument on Delos.[100] Neither of these structures is linked beyond doubt with this particular Macedonian, but Tréheux has made the case for the latter being so.[101] In this context it is not impossible that the eastern form (established by its close iconographic relationship to such beasts known from bracteates and textiles) of the lion-griffin on the Sicyonian mosaic is also a relic of a similar, Macedonian-generated, process of transmission. It should be noted, however, that Sicyon was under the control of a number of Macedonian strongmen between the time of Alexander's death and the Lamian War, which saw Demetrios' capture and destruction of the city and its subsequent re-foundation. If the construction of the floor post-dated Alexander, then it cannot be ruled out that the lion-griffin motif was introduced when the city was under the sway of another Macedonian. Sicyon may well have been controlled for a time by Polyperchon,[102] and I have argued elsewhere

that there is good evidence that he too was not averse to adapting Achaemenid prototypes to a Macedonian milieu in southern Greece, even if these adaptations may not have been ultimately successful.[103]

However, the history of Sicyon also allows for another interpretation. If Pfrommer's dating were to be rejected and one towards the 350s or 340s preferred, the Macedonian connection could still be retained, since from the period of Philip's reign onwards Sicyon was often in the Macedonian camp.[104] Consequently, important artistic links existed between this southern city and the court at Pella, and Robertson has shown how craftsmen and artists could have moved between the two centers.[105] Philip's court was by no means alienated from the Achaemenid world, and items which could have served as prototypes for representations, such as the lion-griffin mosaic, could have reached Macedonia.[106] It is possible that an Achaemenid item was the model for the threshold mosaic as early as the 350s and 340s; an Achaemenid form was used as an apotropaic symbol in a position (the threshold) which in the wider Greek world, just as in the East, attracted such symbolic representations and related practices.

The Sicyonian lion-griffin mosaic may represent the end point of a transmission process via which Achaemenid motifs reached the western Aegean through a Macedonian conduit. In this particular instance the motif was subsequently adapted to a cultural function long known in the Greek world, namely, the marking and elaboration of a liminal site, that of a threshold. Of course, the introduction to the western and northern Aegean of motifs and forms which were derived from the Achaemenid empire was restricted neither to the post-Alexander period (as, for example, the Attic red-figure pelike with a lion-griffin and the Olynthian mosaic mentioned above demonstrate) nor exclusively to Macedonian channels. Nonetheless, the Macedonian associations of Sicyon do provide a coherent context in which the Achaemenid-derived lion-griffin can be placed, and so the possibility deserves consideration. The testimony of this lion-griffin and its counterparts on the Agios Athanasios tomb reinforce the view that elements of Achaemenid material culture did reach the western shores of the Aegean and were adapted to local contexts and practices, enriching the scope of local expressions and contributing to their further development.

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[1] See Paspalas 2000: 552, 2006: 101-3, 113-14.

[2] See the important studies by Briant (1982) and Sherwin-White and Kuhrt (1993).

[3] Besios and Pappa n.d.: 188 Γ/C; Tsigarida and Ignatiadou 2000: 61, fig. 57; Paspalas 2000: 548-50, fig. 2.

[4] Paspalas 2006: 111.

[5] Lilibaki-Akamati 1995; Paspalas 2000: 534-5 with fig. 1.

[6] Korres 1960: 119-20 with fig. 1; Tsigarida and Ignatiadou 2000: 89-90 with fig. 96; Paspalas 2000: 551.

[7] Boardman 1970; Paspalas 2000: 551.

[8] Ignatiadou 1997: 108-14; Themelis and Touratsoglou 1997: 79-80, no. B45, pl. 93 (D. Ignatiadou); Paspalas 2006: 112, fig. 8.

[9] The Pydna ring is said (Tsigarida and Ignatiadou 2000: 61, fig. 57) to have been found in a fifth-

century grave, though the excavator has informed me that the grave should date to the second half of the fourth century: Paspalas 2000: 534. The other items have fourth-century contexts.

[10] Tsimbidou-Avloniti 2005: 109-49, pls. 24-5 and 27-41.

[11] Tsimbidou-Avloniti 2005: 111-12.

[12] Eg. Delplace 1980: figs. 131-7. Also seen on the early-fourth-century Lycian Sarcophagus, excavated at Sidon: Schmidt-Dounas 1985: 26-7, 88-92 (110-17 for date), pl. 21. A clay sealing from Samaria pictures such a creature: Leith 1997: 205, pl. 23.1. Sealings from Daskyleion show that images of raptor-griffins with crescent wings did circulate in the western reaches of the Achaemenid empire: Kaptan 2002: vol. 1, pp. 166-7, and vol. 2, p. 128, figs. 343-4 (DS 122), attributed to her 'Persianizing' category, for which see Kaptan 2002: vol. 1, p. 107.

[13] Greek example: the griffin (with raptor head) on the coins of Abdera of the end of the fifth and early fourth century is sometimes shown with crescent-shaped wings which refer back to the Archaic-period type, see May 1966: 195-6, pl. 16 nos. 293-300 and 309-11, pl. 17 nos. 313-15 and 318-22.

[14] For pottery date see Drougou 2005: 24-6. A wider date of c. 350-325 for the construction of the tomb was argued for, largely on the basis of an analysis of its murals, by Andronikos (1994: 49, 69, 129 [for date], figs. 6-8, pls. 3, 4, 10). Closer parallels for the Vergina lion-griffins are to be found on Tarentine terracotta reliefs that have been dated to the third quarter of the fourth century: Herdejürgen 1971: 62 and 69, no. 72, pl. 21.

[15] See Schmidt 1957: 70-1, pl. 39, no. 2 (bronze sheet raptor-griffin with a segmented simple crest); 18, no. 1, pl. 3 (sealing with raptor-griffin with simple crest); 18, no. 2, pl. 3 (sealing with lion-griffin with segmented simple crest); 22, no. 9, pl. 5 (sealing with lion-griffin with 'dentate' crest). Merrillees 2005: 62, no. 46, pl. 19; 63, no. 49, pl. 19; 64-5, no. 55, pl. 21. More ornately decorated crests: ibid. 66-7, nos. 57 and 59, pls. 22-3; Dalton 1964: 14, no. 28, pl. 12.

[16] Robinson 1933: 7, fig. 1, pl. 14a; Salzmann 1982: 100, no. 80, pl. 16.2. Note too the similar, but wingless, hybrid feline used as a mount by Dionysos on an Attic red-figure hydria (of c. 400) excavated at Pella: Drougou 2000: 189-91, Farbtafel IV.2, pls. 32 and 35.1.

[17] Jewelry: e.g., Miho Museum 1997: 87-90, no. 38 (= Williams 2005: 111, color pl. 10); Dalton 1964: 32-4, no. 116, pl. 1. Textiles: Rudenko 1970: 298, fig. 140, pls. 175 and 177 (top left). See, too, the schematic rendering of the lion's musculature on the lion-

bull combat group from the western part of the façade of Palace H at Persepolis: Schmidt 1953: pl. 203D. It may be noted that the breasts and wings of Greek sphinxes of the Archaic period could be intricately painted, but no direct links can be made between such known examples and the griffins on the Agios Athanasios pediment (see note 20, below).

[18] See M. Miller 1997: 58, pl. 18. The horn of this griffin is of the same backward-growing type as seen on the later Vergina tomb and Tarentine terracottas (see note 14, above). For the Arimasp myth, see Gorbounova 1997.

[19] Dehl 1981: 164, no. 1, pl. 48; Woysch-Méautis 1982: 134, no. 362; Clairmont 1993: vol. II, 102-3, no. 2.154.

[20] See Brinkmann 2003: cat. nos. 70, 132, 153, 160, 305, 314. See also terracotta sphinxes of the Archaic period from Olympia: Moustaka 1993: 104-15, pls. 86-94.

[21] Smith 1916: 73-4, fig. 4; Dehl 1981: 165, no. 10, pl. 52.1, and p. 171; Woysch-Méautis 1982: 13, no. 382, pl. 63; Vedder 1985: 255, no. L14, and pp. 44, 100, 131-4. Luschey (1954: 246) suggested that it may not be Attic. The creatures of a fragmentary funerary monument from Eretria (von Mercklin 1926: 106-7, Beil. 3.1; Auberson and Schefold 1972: 170, dated after c. 350; Woysch-Méautis 1982: 136, no. 383, pl. 63) have also been identified as griffins, but the remains of their thin necks and scalloped crests show that they were of the raptor type which was also widely used in the funerary iconography of Attica.

[22] See Fol et al. 1986: 47, no. 97, p. 16 (B. Nikolov) for eastern links. Archibald (1998: 265) argues that on the grounds of style the phiale cannot be dated before c. 350. It may be noted that the tails of these lion-griffins appear to merge with the inverted palmettes that separate each heraldic pair.

[23] Kull (1997: 691) recognizes in it a 'graeco-persischen Stil'. See also Marazov 1996: 30-2; Agre 1997: 437-8. Abka'i-Khavari (1988: 105) ascribes it to his 'Spätzeit'.

[24] However, the feature of internal colored segments does distinguish the two griffins of the Agios Athanasios tomb from other crescent-shaped winged lion-griffins painted in Macedonian funerary contexts (see note 14, above; Sismanidis 1997: pl. 5β; Hannah 1990: 243, n. 16), though this distinction may be due to differences in the scale of these far smaller images. In many cases these latter lion-griffins share the field with those of the raptor type more commonly found in the Greek world (see, e.g., the griffins on the klinē of a Macedonian tomb dated to the second half of the third century: Androni-

cos 1984: 35, figs. 13-14; Sismanidis 1997: 89 and 91). Nonetheless, the possibility cannot be dismissed that these lion-griffins may well be versions based ultimately on prototypes from the Achaemenid sphere that have shed the colored subdivisions and so render the wings' feathers and other body parts far more naturalistically. They may, equally, belong to the category of archaizing Greek griffins and other hybrids (see Luschey 1954), the bodies of which do not betray any knowledge of the colored segmentation of their eastern counterparts. Hybrid types are known, however, within the Greek sphere. The griffins in an animal combat group have crescent wings but raptors' heads and scalloped crests, see Vermeule 1987: 30-1, fig. 2a-b. Ibid. 32 for 320-280 BC date. See the later bronze appliqués of lion-griffins (but without horns) with scalloped crests from the Mahdia Wreck: Barr-Sharrar 1994: 562-4, fig. 6. See also note 12, above.

[25] Amandry 1959: 40-1; Pfrommer 1990: 202; Merrillees 2005: 66, no. 58, pl. 22.

[26] See Curtis and Tallis 2005: 92, no. 67 (lion-griffin), and pp. 96-7, nos. 78 and 84 (bulls, all winged); Merrillees 2005: 65-6, no. 56, pl. 22.

[27] Susa: Harper et al. 1992: 230-1, no. 158.

[28] Merrillees 2005: 64-5, no. 55, pl. 21.

[29] The horn of a winged bull on an Achaemenid stamp seal closely approaches those of the Macedonian lion-griffins: Curtis and Tallis 2005: 92, no. 66.

[30] Avian hind legs: Merrillees 2005: 51 no. 13 and pl. 6, 62 no. 46 and pl. 19, 63 nos. 48-9, pl. 48, 66 no. 58, pl. 22 (lion-griffins) and 78-9 no. 87, pl. 32 (raptor-griffin); Curtis and Tallis 2005: 92, no. 67; Dusinberre 2003: 271-3, nos. IAM 4642, IAM 4528, IAM 5134, and figs. 84, 87 and 89. A number of sealings of Kaptan's 'Achaemenid Period *koine*' from Daskyleion bear such lion-griffins (Kaptan 2002: vol. 2, p. 62 and figs. 83-4 (DS 14), p. 65 and figs. 95-7 (DS 18), p. 70 and figs. 112-15 (DS 26 and DS 27). See also Kaptan 2002: vol. 1, p. 107 for a definition of the '*koine*' and the identification of the western Achaemenid empire as the source of some of its constituent pieces. See also the stamp seal in Buchanan and Moorey 1988: 70, no. 467, pl. 15, and the impression in Collon 1996: 69j, fig. 2, pl. 12. An example (though not horned) on a gold plaque: Dalton 1964: no. 28, pl. 12. Susa brick reliefs: de Mecquenem 1947: 70-2, fig. 39, pl. 81; Harper et al. 1992: 240, no. 169. See too the horned wingless lions on a gold arm band (Rehm 1992: 43-4, 70, no. A. 117, Abb. 52 [from Manisa]) and on the Duvanli amphora-rhyton (Marazov 1998: 182-3, no. 117). Related creatures on monumental Achaemenid reliefs can even be more composite in

nature, as they may be equipped with a scorpion's tail. See: Schmidt 1953: pls. 116 (Throne Hall), 145 (Palace of Darius), 196 (Harem of Xerxes), all with angular rather than curved wings. See also the impressions in Collon 1996: 70f,i with fig. 4 and pls. 14 and 25, and 74a with fig. 10 and pl. 20 (possibly leonine hind legs); Bregstein 1996: 59, fig. 6, pl. 10; Kaptan 2002: vol. 2, p. 59 and figs. 75-6 (DS 11).

[31] von Gall 1966: 21, 1999: 152 (specifically with reference to Achaemenid period examples).

[32] Özgen and Öztürk 1996: 140, no. 95 (= Boardman 1998: 11, no. 123.2); for date and characterization, see Spier 2000: 331; Dusinberre 2003: 273-4, nos. IAM 4579 and IAM 4527, figs. 88 and 92. For western Anatolian parallels (but with avian hind legs), see further Boardman 1970: 35, no. 4 with pl. 1, and p. 132; Boardman 1998: 11, no. 195.1. Cylinder seal: Merrillees 2005: 64-5, no. 55, pl. 21. The beast may well appear on the following sealings from Persepolis: Garrison and Root 2001: 137, no. 61 (PFS 1072), pl. 38a; 304-5, no. 208 (PFS 266), pl. 113a-c; 306, no. 209 (PFS 523), pl. 114a-b; 340-1, no. 235 (PFS 17), pl. 130a-c; 388-9, no. 275 (PFS 146), pl. 152d; 391-2, no. 277 (PFS 54), pl. 154a-c; 392-3, no. 278 (PFS 761), pl. 155a. Note that the horned and winged lion on an Achaemenid gold roundel in Chicago (Kantor 1957: 11-13, pls. 1, 3, 7, 8) has leonine hind legs, but a very similar creature, though lacking horns, on a roundel from the Oxus Treasure (Dalton 1964: 14, no. 28) has avian hind legs.

[33] McMahon 1996: 227, fig. 14A.

[34] See Dierichs 1981. Furthermore, it may be noted that the earliest issues of Abderan coins of the third quarter of the sixth century carry a griffin with an avian head but feline hind legs (May 1966: pl. 1). This feature was retained throughout the history of this mint. For archaic examples from non-Greek centres in Anatolia, see Åkerström 1966: 218-20, fig. 70, pls. 87.5 and 94; Hostetter 1994: 14-15, figs. 39-42.

[35] As seen by Pfrommer 1990: 205-6.

[36] For the lion-griffin, and the debate on the origins of this vessel, see most recently M. Miller 2003: esp. 21 with figs. 2.1-2.3, and pp. 39-40.

[37] Maass 1972: 65-9, pl. 3a,d. These lion-griffins have segmented simple crests for which Achaemenid examples exist (see note 15, above).

[38] Similar horns are carried on what may be called lion-like griffins on the Regina Vasorum, though the head type of these creatures differs markedly from that of the lions on the same vessel (Waldhauer 1933: 35-6, fig. 1, pl. 2).

[39] Boardman 2000: 182, fig. 5.64.

[40] For a discussion on the rhyton held by one of the symposiasts, see Paspalas 2006: 107-11.

[41] Tsimbidou-Avloniti 2005: 114.

[42] For fourth-century examples, see Woysch-Méautis 1982: 132-3, nos. 342-51 and 353-4, pls. 57-9.

[43] Curtis and Tallis 2005: 118, no. 112. A sealing from an Achaemenid cylinder seal carries a scene of a winged disc supported by two winged human figures, where the central element is a rosette: Merrillees 2005: 81, pl. 34b (D. Collon).

[44] See Garrison 2000: 146, PFS 108*, fig. 24, pl. 25.24.

[45] Given the fact that the bottom of the circular element is not preserved and that it occupies a relatively high position in the composition, it cannot be ruled out that it may be the upper part of a stylized tree. For approximate parallels, see Merrillees 2005: 136-7, fig. 20d, nos. 50 and 81, pls. 20 and 29. See also Legrain 1925: 336, nos. 845 and 850, pls. 38 and 55 (sealings on tablets from Nippur).

[46] Most conveniently illustrated in Boardman 2000: 200-1, fig. 5.85a.

[47] E.g., Legrain 1925: 349, nos. 953-4, pls. 45, 58, 59; Porada 1948: no. 817, pl. 122; Merrillees 2005: 64-5, no. 55, pl. 21, p. 66, no. 58, pl. 22, pp. 73-4, no. 73, pl. 27, p. 77, no. 84, pl. 30; Frankfort 1939: 221, pl. 37.l. For a winged disc flanked by hybrids on the monumental reliefs at Persepolis, see Schmidt 1953: 83, pl. 22 (Apadana, eastern stairway).

[48] For various interpretations: Roaf 1983: 133-8; Kaim 1991; D'Amore 1992: 210-11; Rehm 1992: 268-75; Stronach 1998: 234-5.

[49] Paspalas 2000: 550-5, 2006: 106-12.

[50] See further in Parisinou 2004: 32-3.

[51] See Tsigarida 1999: esp. 1239-41 with fig. 8.

[52] Mørkholm 1991: 60, pl. 5.75, no. 75 on p. 246 (to be read with Tsigarida 1999: 1239-40). Moreover, it was appropriate to include in funerary contexts objects decorated with the iconographic scheme of a rosette flanked by wild animals in the northwestern Aegean at least as early as the beginning of the third quarter of the sixth century, as excavated finds have shown, see Despini 2000: 277-80, nos. 1-2 and 4, figs. 1-3, 8-9, 11 (from Sindos). A rosette could also be surmounted by heraldic lions (see Chrysostomou and Chrysostomou 2004: 472, fig. 20, from Archontiko, Pella), thus indicating that these two iconographic elements could be combined in various schemes. At Thasos a gold diadem with a rosette flanked by lions and raptor-griffins was dedicated as a votive offering at the Artemision even earlier. See Grandjean and Salviat 2000: 297, fig. 259; Treister 2001: 24 (suggesting a date in the first half of the sixth century on stylistic considerations).

[53] Tsimbidou-Avloniti 2005: 111.

[54] Bennett 2000: 57-8. Note, too, the contrast the Macedonian poet Poseidippos draws, not long after the construction of the Agios Athanasios tomb, between the sun and Hades (Bastianini et al. 2001: 105, col. XV, 17-18). This contrast can be documented earlier in Greek funerary epigrams, such as that on the late-fifth-century Attic stele of Ampharete (Peek 1955: 479, no. 1600).

[55] Betegh 2004: esp. 224, 230-5, 276, 327, 330-48; Kouremenos et al. 2006: 30-1, 151-2, 180, 197-9, 202, 205-8, 269-70.

[56] See most recently Guimier-Sorbets and Morizot 2006: 123.

[57] A painted stele from the Macedonian foundation of Demetrias, dated to the first half of the third century, carries a representation of two (lion-?) griffins on either side of a vessel (Rouveret 2004: 25-6, no. 1).

[58] See Clairmont 1993: vol. II, 339, no. 2.348d (for the date, see *LGPN* II: 202, Ἡδυλίνη [3]). For later examples see Woysch-Méautis 1982: 132, nos. 342-7, pl. 57.

[59] Kaltsas 2002: 100, no. 178 ('discus or shield') of c. 440 BC.

[60] Saatsoglou-Paliadeli 1984: 28-43, no. 2, pls. 6-7.

[61] Posamentir 2006: cat. no. 50. For later fourth-century examples, see Clairmont 1993: vol. I, 385, no. 1.472; vol. II, 602-3, no. 2.487, and pp. 469-70, no. 2.391. See note 58, above, for a mesomphalos phiale in this position.

[62] Arvanitopoulos 1928: 154, figs. 183-4, pl. 5.

[63] For Macedonian examples, see Saatsoglou-Paliadeli 1984: 55-64, no. 5, pls. 12-13; 165-9, no. 22, pls. 45-6; 211-13, no. 37, pl. 60. Other objects can be seen in this position. See, for example, Kaltsas 2002: 145-6, no. 279 (flower), of c. 410-400 BC; Arvanitopoulos 1928: 149 with figs. 176-9, p. 162 with figs. 195-6 and pl. 10 (pomegranate).

[64] S. Miller 1993: pls. II-III.

[65] See, e.g., Schmidt 1953: pls. 19 (Apadana, eastern stairway), 54 (Apadana, northern stairway), 62 and 69 (Council Hall), 135D (Palace of Darius). See also the poorly preserved hybrid positioned by floral chains from a monumental brick relief from Susa in de Mecquenem 1947: 82, fig. 52.8.

[66] Parlasca 1955: 142, fig. 5, 2005: 196, fig. 5.

[67] Also seen on faience vessels, e.g., Daffa-Ni-

konanou 1987: 269-73, figs. 2-3, pls. 56-7; Alexandrescu 1989: 306, pl. 49.1-2. The lion-griffin, either in hunt scenes or alone in a field, also appears on these vessels (Alexandrescu 1989: 306-7). See further Nenna and Seif el-Din 2000: esp. 84-6.

[68] Darius' Bīsotūn inscription evinces concern for animal and human fecundity and prosperity: Kent 1953: 120, DB §14, and p. 132, DB §60. See now also Skjærvø 2005: 66-7, 69-70, 76.

[69] E.g. Merrillees 2005: 64-5, no. 55, pl. 21, and p. 67-8, no. 62, pl. 24.

[70] Merrillees 2005: 62, no. 44, pl. 17; 63, no. 50, pl. 20; 69-70, no. 65, pl. 24.

[71] Picard 1938-9: 5, 7, 15; Guerrini 1964: 12, no. B33, pl. 34 (Gruppo B, 310-290 BC); Enklaar 1985: 142-3 (c. 235-220 BC or slightly later). Englezou (2005: 375, n. 326) identifies the hindquarters of these 'winged lions' as fish tails. For photographs of the hydria without the neck (which has been shown not to belong), see Zervoudaki 1997: 126, figs. 28-30. Lion-griffins whose horns appear to turn into floral sprays grace the side of a Scythian quiver cover: Reeder 1999: 228-32, no. 105, esp. pl. on p. 230 (fourth century). For other lion-griffins on Scythian scabbard covers: ibid. 254, no. 122 (straight wings); Cahen-Delhaye 1991: 104-7, no. 55.

[72] Cole 2003: esp. 195-7, 199, 212-13. Such beliefs are also referred to via the image of the fruit tree on an Attic funerary base: Kosmopoulou 1998: fig. 1 on p. 534, 538, 542-3. Some of these hopes could be crystallized into 'Dionysian' iconography, such as the vine frieze in the chamber of the Macedonian tomb of Poteidaia (Sismanidis 1997: 28, figs. 2-3, and title page), though other types of vegetation could also be painted on the walls of contemporary Macedonian tombs: Themelis and Touratsoglou 1997: 60, figs. 14-17 (Derveni Tomb B).

[73] See now Hatzopoulos 2006.

[74] For griffins as guardians in the Greek world, see Kirchner 1987: 149-50 with n. 21. A seated griffin or winged lion appears on a gold funerary mouth covering (without context, but best paralleled by northern Aegean finds): Amandry 1953: 37, no. 52, pl. 12. Such mouth coverings, though, could carry a wide range of themes, not all of which have immediately recognizable funerary meanings: Laffineur 1980: 360-72, nos. 30-44, figs. 29-43; Despini 1998; Oikonomou 2003: 66-81, nos. 41-115 (many without a secure find context). See Archibald 1998: 171-3, for their wider Balkan context.

[75] von Graeve 1970: 28-9, pls. 4.1-3, 5.2, 6.1-2, 7.1-2. Houser (1998: 284) sees the lion-griffin heads along the base of the lid of the sarcophagus as bear-

ing three 'horns or protrusions'. They possess only two horns, between which is the griffin's crest. For the view that the sarcophagus was not originally intended for Abdalonymos but for Mazaios and so should date to c. 328, see Heckel 2006.

[76] Barnett 1986: esp. pls. 6-8 and 11.8.

[77] Schauenburg 1987: 203, figs. 6-7 (I owe my knowledge of this reference to the kindness of Dr. I. McPhee) (= Hannah 1990: 241-5, pl. 47); 1973: pl. 83.2 (but with straight wings); 1974: 171-2, fig. 43.

[78] Belevi: Praschniker 1979: 89-91, figs. 71-9; Fleischer 1979: 142-4, figs. 112-14. See also the sarcophagus, identified as being of Parian marble, that carries heraldic lion-griffins in each of its lid's pediments: Hitzl 1991: 188, no. 26, fig. 77 (dated to the second half of the fourth century).

[79] For a definite parallel see Schauenburg 1987: fig. 7. For a possible one, see idem 1974: 171-2, fig. 43.

[80] von Gall 1966: esp. 16, 21-9, fig. 1, pl. 2.2-3. For the links between the relief lion head and neck (the remains of a once more complete beast) from the Yılantaş Lion Tomb (Haspels 1971: 129-33, 138, figs. 141, 143-4, 148) and lion-griffins, see von Gall 1999: 152. Note too the raptor-griffin on the Lycian Sarcophagus (note 12, above). Lion-griffins (their true identity is evidenced by the feathers on their shoulder) do indeed appear as minor details on the 'throne stages' on the reliefs of the royal tombs IV, V and VI at Naqsh-e Rostam (Schmidt 1970: 98, 100, 106, pls. 60, 63, 71, 72A-B), though it is by no means certain that they carry any specific funerary associations. Their position on the reliefs of the tomb of Darius and Tombs II and III are taken by similar creatures, though there is no indication that they are winged (ibid. 86, 92, 95, pls. 22A, 25, 32, 43A-B, 50, 51A-B). Related horned lions also appear in monumental, non-funerary Achaemenid contexts as column capitals both at Pasargadae (Stronach 1978: 61, fig. 29a-b, pl. 55a; Calmeyer 1981: 35-7, figs. 6-7 and possibly fig. 9) and Persepolis (Schmidt 1953: 80).

[81] See Pernice 1896: esp. 6-7 (= Delplace 1980: 200); von Bothmer 1990: 122, no. 95e (with photograph on p. 96), figs. 9-11 (D. Cahn). Similar creatures, but without floral sprays, are shown on a fourth-century bronze sheet from Dodona (Delplace 1980: 200, fig. 239). Whatever the hybrid's funerary associations, it is unlikely that they were retained by the lion-griffin protome used as a minting mark on an early-third-century issue of the Paionian king Audoleon (Price 1991: 151-2, no. 651, pl. 36). Nor is it necessary to believe that a pair of gold earrings in the form of lion-griffins, from a grave dated to the second half of the fourth century excavated at Pydna (Pandermalis 2004:

126, no. 6 [M. Besios]), carries any specific funerary content. The same must hold true for third-century earrings (found mainly in Egypt and the eastern Mediterranean), which carry the horned head of a lion-griffin (Pfrommer 1998: 80-3, fig. 10.4-5).

[82] Solar associations of griffins, especially raptor-griffins, in the Near East: von Graeve 1970: 47-8; Borowski 2002: 406. Solar/Apolline associations of the Greek raptor-griffin: Delplace 1980: 365-76; Bevan 1986: 299-300, 306 and 308.

[83] Hannah 1990: 244-5. Hannah posits Dionysian-cum-funerary associations for the lion-griffin's presence elsewhere.

[84] Stronach 1971; 1978: 35-7, fig. 19, pl. 28c.

[85] von Gall 1979: 273-8. For other interpretations, see Kleiss 2000: 167.

[86] Orlandos 1941-4: 59-60, fig. 3; Robertson 1967: 134, pl. 22; Salzmann 1982: 112, no. 118, pls. 20 and 21.1-6, color pl. 101.1. For the frequency of pebble mosaics in *andrōnes*, see Westgate 1997-8: 94-7.

[87] For the apotropaic aspect of floor mosaics, see Dunbabin 1999: 8. For thresholds as liminal areas and the locus for numinous powers, see Parker 1983: 350 (as evidenced by a fourth-century Cyrenaean law). For the magical importance of gates, entrances, and thresholds in the Greek world and a discussion of the possible links with Near Eastern beliefs, see Faraone 1992: 7-9, 18-29, 58, 61-4. See too Dickie 2001: 44, 109.

[88] See Guimier-Sorbets 1999: 20.

[89] Orlandos 1941-4: 59. As far as can be ascertained by the inadequate information supplied by Orlandos (1941-4: 59), the area in which the mosaic was found may possibly be located between the points L1, L2 and L3 on Map III of Lolos 1998.

[90] Salzmann 1982: 125. Arguments summarized in Dunbabin 1999: 6, 9, 14-15. See also Guimier-Sorbets 1993b: 136-40.

[91] Succinctly argued by Robertson 1982: 245.

[92] Robertson 1965: 83, 1982: esp. 246-7. See also Guimier-Sorbets 1993a: 129-30.

[93] Bruneau 1976: 22, n. 53; Pfrommer 1982: 127-8; Villard 1998: 214-16.

[94] Pfrommer 1982: 127.

[95] Pfrommer 1982: esp. 134; 1987: 129-30 with n. 823; 1993: 35 with n. 340 on p. 85, and p. 41 with n. 442 on p. 89. Supported by Ciliberto 1991: 18-25. Villard (1998: 213-14) suggests that the mosaic dates after the mid-century mark, but not subsequent to Demetrios' destruction of Sicyon. Westgate (1997-8: 103, pl. 6 caption) dates it to the period of the 'old city'. Daszewski (1985: 48 with n. 165) dates the mosaic to the late fourth century, as does Votsis 1976: 583-4.

[96] See previous note. Villard (1998: 216-21) also argues for a link with southern Italy.

[97] See Dunbabin 1999: 8, who dates, however, the Sicyonian floral and lion-griffin mosaics to the mid-fourth century (p. 11, fig. 8). Westgate (2002: 224-5) raises the possibility that the modeling achieved by some mosaicists at Pella was a result of the extraordinarily plentiful funds to which their Macedonian commissioners had access. One may also wonder if the lack of modeling of the Sicyonian lion-griffin could be due to the fact that it was directly inspired by a flat item, such as a bracteate or a textile, rather than being conceived of as a three-dimensional representation of a living hybrid.

[98] This has already been suggested by Olga Palagia, as noted in Boardman 2000: 182.

[99] Lion-griffins are to be seen, however, on an early-fourth-century Attic funerary stele (note 21, above).

[100] Étienne 2002: 270-1.

[101] Tréheux 1986: esp. 306-9, 1987: 171-2 and 181-4. For a recent restatement of the case for Antigonos Gonatas, the other main contender, see Hintzen-Bohlen 1992: 91-9.

[102] Griffin 1982: 77.

[103] Paspalas 2005.

[104] Griffin 1982: 76-9. See also Lolos 1998: 59-62.

[105] Robertson 1982: 244-7. See also Moreno's (1998: esp. 12-17) more ambitious claims regarding the authorship of the purported original works of the Sicyonian school that he sees reflected in some of the mosaics at Pella.

[106] For such considerations, see further Paspalas 2006: 101-3, 113-14.

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Despina Ignatiadou

Psychotropic Plants on Achaemenid Style Vessels

THE FUNDAMENTAL character of the 'Achaemenid' or 'International Achaemenid Style' on vessels has proven problematic for some time.[1] This style is to be found on glass and metal vessels, primarily of open shape, and decorated with grooves, bosses and petals. Decoration including the more typically Persian animal figures and design complexes occurs rarely. Similarly gods, royalty or other human figures dressed in local costumes (which would prove valuable as a means of attributing these artifacts to a particular cultural context) are absent. Thus, we must ask ourselves, what makes these vessels Achaemenid?

The objects in question have not been found solely within the boundaries of the empire or in conquered areas. In fact, not only have examples been found outside the empire but they also seem to have been manufactured outside it. However, while the shapes of these vessels vary with adaptation to local styles, the decoration of the vessels seems to conform to a common set of guidelines. Thus vessels found in Greece, Egypt or Lydia incorporate this Achaemenid style decoration on Greek, Egyptian and Lydian shapes, respectively.

One factor that seems to apply to all the examples is the tightness of their dating. The emergence of this 'International Style' is very datable to somewhere around the establishment of Achaemenid rule — although the Assyrian (and sometimes the Elamite) inheritance is recognizable. During the Achaemenid period, the style attains its greatest coherence and diffusion. This decorative style outlives the empire, as shapes and decoration survive for a short time in the Hellenistic period until they are transformed by evolution.

The occasion for the manufacture of these vessels in areas outside the empire can be explained only partially by the fact that those areas were conquered for some period of time. Egypt was under Persian rule during a considerable part of the Achaemenid period, and Egyptian finds are not lacking; specimens survive among the contents of hidden treasures. Ancient Thrace and Macedonia were part of the empire for a few decades at the end of the sixth and the beginning of the fifth centuries BC, and several vessels have been found in the area of ancient Thrace.[2]

Greece —especially northern regions such as Macedonia and Thrace— is a good example of a region both neighboring the empire and being part thereof for some time; Greece provides, therefore, a good case study. The Greek finds date prior to the conquest through almost the two centuries afterwards, to the end of the fourth century. This must mean that there was a local demand for these vessels, not only from Persian individuals and the other members of the administration, but also from the local ruling class.[3] Several finds have come from burials, the context of which leaves no doubt as to the Greek identity of the deceased.

The small number and high value of the finds, along with the fact they have been found in wealthy contexts, indicates that the vessels were not used by the general population. To mention but a few examples: silver

Achaemenid style bowls have been found in graves of the Archaic period in Sindos,[4] Vergina,[5] Chalcidice,[6] and Archontiko.[7] A fifth-century BC example was found in Kozani,[8] and a late classical one in Nikesiane.[9] A silver gilt jug and two silver phialai were found in the late Classical Derveni, Tomb B.[10] Colorless glass vessels from many rich burials of the late Classical period are also decorated in the Achaemenid style.[11]

To the examples of actual vessels one can add two instances of their representation: a phiale decorating the capital of the archaic temple of Parthenos in ancient Neapolis (present day Kavala);[12] and the phialai adorning the ceiling of the fourth-century BC Tholos in Epidaurus.[13] Significant finds include the capitals of the temple of Apollo in Moschato, Karditsa region, which date to the middle of the sixth century BC. They are decorated with vegetal motifs similar to those on Achaemenid style vessels.[14]

All these related finds come from distinguished contexts. The seven burials which produced these objects were clearly wealthy. There is no evident religious association for the burials in Archontiko and Derveni, but some of the other burials arguably were those of priests or priestesses. This may be the case for the Sindos burial while the Vergina one is thought to have contained the body of a woman who was a queen and high priestess.[15] The Kozani vessel bears a dedicatory inscription to a temple of Athena. Thus the possibility arises that the vessel had been placed in the grave of a priest who served in the temple. It is not a surprise then that the three non-vessel finds are all in the form of architectural decoration on temples.

Although jugs are encountered, the vessels themselves are mostly phialai. The phiale is the chief libation vessel, and its use is widely attested in Greek iconography. When occasionally used for drinking, it was as a special ritual drinking vessel appearing in the hands of gods, heroes, and the heroized dead. Mortals might perhaps drink from a phiale when carrying out libation rites at the beginning of banquets.[16]

The use of the Achaemenid style decoration mainly on phialai is perhaps connected to the special ritual use of those vessels. One need take only one more step to consider their decoration as sacred as their function. The motifs that dominate the decoration of Achaemenid style vessels might be imbued with religious significance. And to determine what that significance might be, one might look at what is the basis for the motifs.

The vegetal decoration of Achaemenid style vessels

The so-called 'bosses' and 'petals' which dominate the vegetal decoration on the majority of vessels are in reality based on elements of three existing plants. Bosses and petals appear alone or in combination. Either incised or in relief, they form decorative elements on the almost flat underside of these shallow vessels. They are visible in the negative on the inside, or the inside remains undecorated. On tall and wide-mouthed shapes (like beakers and rhyta) the design covers the entire outer surface of the vessels and is often combined with other elements like grooves or other incised motifs. On deep or tall shapes with a neck, such as calyx cups and jugs, the design completely covers the walls of the vessels up to the shoulder.

These three plants are rendered on vessels fabricated in various workshops within the empire as well as in unconquered areas. But these plants were not wide-ranging edible plants such as those upon which all the local populations would have relied for survival. While their depiction is wide-

spread, the natural range of these plants was limited to particular areas of the ancient world; it would appear that the artisans were sometimes depicting plants they themselves had never actually seen.

It is therefore arguable that these plants owe their recurring appearance not to their nutritional importance or local cultivation but to their ideological and religious importance. And this may be related to the fact that these three plants —the water lily, the almond and the poppy— are all important psychotropic plants and/or powerful poisons.

1. The opium poppy or papaver somniferum

This plant appears in decorations in the form of long petals or long-petalled rosettes.

Since prehistory, long petals have been one of the most popular decorative elements on vessels. Petals are combined with other motifs only rarely and usually cover the entire outer surface of the base of shallow vessels. On deeper or taller shapes they climb up the walls to mid-height or almost to the rim. Sometimes they are arranged close together, and their starting point appears disconnected from the center of the base of the vase. In such cases they are incorrectly interpreted as flutes or ribs, or grooves; but their upper tips —which remain rounded— still echo the original rosette from which they evolved.

The rosette has also had a long life in the history of decoration, appearing many times on all kinds of materials. The earliest examples of vessels with a rosette appeared in eastern Anatolia in the sixth and fifth millennium (Fig. 1).[17] Long thought to be the stylized representation of a flower, the rosette has been recently argued by the present author to represent instead a very beautiful element of an actual plant, namely the somniferous poppy. The inspiration for the creation of multi-petalled rosettes is the petalled element on top of the poppy seedpod (Fig. 2)[18] which is emulated in dress pins, 'melon' beads and certain kinds of pottery.[19] Multi-petalled rosettes often decorate different kinds of bowls. An excellent Greek example is the handle-less skyphos of colorless glass from Aineia (Fig. 3).[20]

The somniferous poppy, a tall plant with red or white flowers, is used today for the production of heroin, morphine and codeine, and has also been used since ancient times for the extraction of opium, an important medicine in antiquity. The sap which is processed to produce opium appears as drops along incisions made on the seedpod of the plant. Opium's main use is that of a sedative facilitating sleep (hence the name of the plant *papaver somniferum*), a strong painkiller, and a poison. Other species of the poppy have other medicinal properties, being used against infections or intestinal upset. Ancient authors elaborate on the poppy. In addition to specific uses, we are informed of methods of application, it being usually either swallowed or its fumes inhaled. Opium preparations were also used as enemas, ointments, or eye drops.[21]

The poppy is native to central Anatolia as is the cult of the goddess Cybele. It is logical then that the plant became associated with the most important deity of the region where it was cultivated for millennia. The rosette is often to be found decorating the headdress of this goddess, who is also shown holding a poppy seed in her hand. It has also been suggested that in aniconic scenes it represents the goddess.[22]

2. The water lily or 'lotus'

Two kinds of water lilies are also depicted on Achaemenid style vessels. They are both of the species *nymphaea*: the white one (*nymphaea alba*)
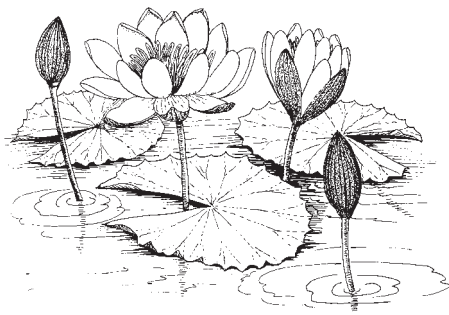

Fig. 1
Rosette on Tell Halaf type pottery.
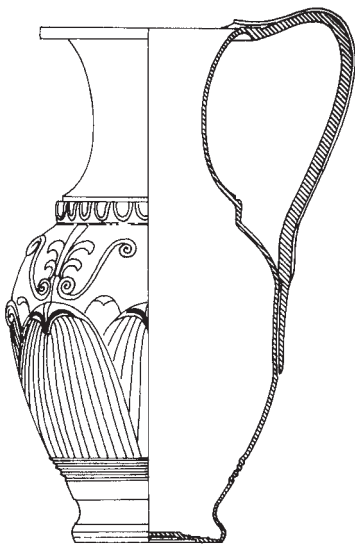(After Wilson 1994: fig. 8:6.)

Fig. 2
Rosette of natural poppy seedpod.
(© Erowid.org)

Fig. 3
Rosette on a glass handleless skyphos from Aineia.
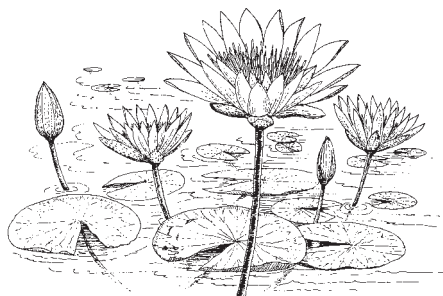(After Vokotopoulou 1990: fig. 28b.)
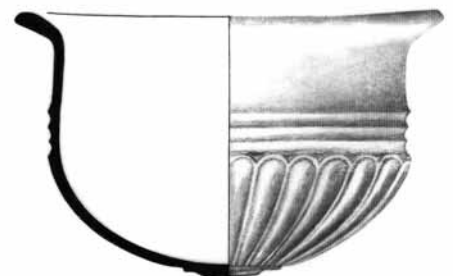
Fig. 4
White lotus plant.
(After Wilson 1994: fig. 3:7.)

Fig. 5
White lotus on a silver jug
from Derveni. (After Themelis
and Touratsoglou 1997: 68.)

Fig. 6
Blue lotus plant. (After Wilson
1994: fig. 3:8.)

and the blue one (*nymphaea caerulaea*).[23] Their common name, 'lotus', has apparently survived since antiquity. Herodotus mentions water lilies appearing on the flooded Nile, and he says they were called lotuses by the Egyptians.[24]

White lotus ('*nymphaea alba*'): On vessels this flower appears as wide, rounded petals and sepals with parallel ridges (Fig. 4). It is usually incorrectly identified as *nymphaea nelumbo* (the so-called Indian lotus, with heart-shaped petals in three rows), which, as Shefton observed, is indigenous to Asia and common in Asian art. The species encountered in the West is *nymphaea alba* (white lotus), which is indigenous to Egypt and appears in pharaonic art. The grooved petals depicted in art are in reality the ribbed green sepals and petals of the white lotus flower.[25] This kind of *nymphaea* appears on metal and glass vessels, although more rarely than the lanceolate petals of the blue lotus.[26] A silver jug decorated with white lotus was found in Derveni, Tomb B (Fig. 5),[27] and another one was found in Nikesiane, Tomb C.[28] A colorless glass handle-less skyphos, from Kitron in Pieria, is also decorated with this plant.[29]

Blue lotus ('*nymphaea caerulaea*'): On vessels this flower appears consisting of narrow pointed petals and sepals, often called lanceolate leaves (Fig. 6).[30] The petals appear either smooth or grooved, or ribbed. Like the rosettes they are attested from the sixth or fifth millennium on polychrome pottery of the Halaf culture in western Mesopotamia.[31] In northern Greece the petals of the blue lotus do not appear on metal or glass ware.[32]

Lotus buds: These appear as almond-shaped elements pointing upwards and combined with not yet fully open flowers of the plant. This combination appears on an Achaemenid style inscribed phiale of the fifth century BC from Kozani (Fig. 7)[33]— as well as on the phiale carved on the capital of the Parthenos Temple in ancient Neapolis.[34] It is very difficult to tell, however, which species of the plant is depicted on them.[35]

Lotus seedpods: Lotus plants have a seedpod similar to that of the poppy. This is possibly depicted on ancient vessels but not easily discernible from the poppy seedpod.

Depictions of nymphaeas are abundant in Egyptian art, and their presence is highly symbolic, mainly with the blue lotus representing Lower Egypt. It also symbolizes the death and resurrection of Osiris (and perhaps also the god himself) because it blooms on three consecutive days, opening in the morning and closing about noon. The Pharaoh appears to hold
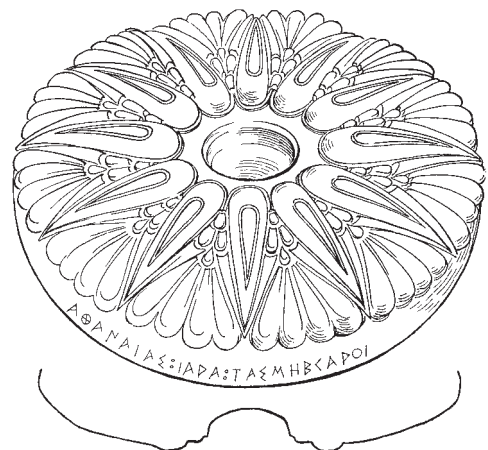
Fig. 7
Lotus flowers and buds on
a silver phiale from Kozani.
(After Kallipolitis and Feytmans
1948: fig. 9.)

nymphaeas in scenes of ritual libation. On his golden shrine, Tutankhamun holds a bouquet of nymphaeas and poppy flowers, while pouring a liquid into the right hand of his queen. Another bouquet can be seen in the hands of the queen in a similar scene elsewhere on the same find. The nymphaea and the poppy, as well as the mandrake, appear in several scenes suggesting ritual healing involving these sacred narcotic plants.[36] Such images are not limited to Egyptian art. In a statue carved in Egypt but found at Susa, Darius is holding a lotus flower in his left hand.[37] Additionally, on seals and rings, a goddess (usually identified as Anahita) holds a lotus flower.[38]

In the nineteenth century it was known that the lily had narcotic powers. And in 1941, when scientists were looking for opium substitutes, experiments with nymphaeas were carried out. It was then realized that powdered rhizomes of white lotus, when preserved in alcohol, 'were able to induce a deep and profound sleep in mice, dogs and eels after an initial spasmolytic action'. The effects on human behavior were also observed, and the flowers of nymphaeas were reported 'to be narcotic and to provoke a hypnotic state when ingested'.[39]

3. The almond

The almond tree is represented on Achaemenid style vessels by its seeds and leaves. Since the former are not readily recognizable, however, their representations are often described as lobes or bosses. During the fifth and sixth centuries BC, and while Lydia was a Persian satrapy, Lydian silver vessels of excellent quality were decorated with almond-like relief elements.[40] The same motif appears on fifth- and fourth-century BC vessels found in Thrace[41] and Egypt.[42]

Among Achaemenid style finds from northern Greece the almond motif appears on three glass vessels: a phiale from the sanctuary of Demeter in Dion,[43] a glass hemispherical skyphos from the suburb of Neapolis in Thessaloniki,[44] and a beaker from Derveni (Fig. 8).[45] On all three vessels the almonds are placed pointing downwards and it is perhaps this orientation that suggests their identification as almonds and not as lotus buds. Furthermore, when the decoration consists of almonds and pointed leaves, the latter are not the usual lanceolate petals of the blue lotus; they seem to be rather the leaves of the almond tree.[46] A good example of the combination can be seen on the hemispherical skyphos from Neapolis, Thessaloniki (Fig. 9).[47] There the almonds are combined with plain (seen from above) and ribbed (seen from below) pointed almond-tree leaves.

The decoration of the fourth-century BC silver phiale from Nikesiane (Fig. 10)[48] is very difficult to decipher. At first glance it appears to consist of the usual combination of lotus flowers and buds. The 'buds', however, are pointing downwards (as if they are depicted upside down) and look surprisingly similar to almonds. Additionally, the center of the vessel is occupied by a large multi-petalled rosette of a form that is reminiscent of analogous rosettes on earlier Cretan and Phoenician bowls.[49] The rosette can be interpreted as a reference to the seedpod of the lotus or the poppy. This combination of elements of the three different plants on the phiale from Nikesiane could reflect a random choice of motifs by a local artisan, or it could be a deliberate effort to combine elements from all three plants on the same vessel.

We are not sure how these vessels were designated in antiquity. Most scholars hesitate to call them 'almond phialai' since no such phialai are
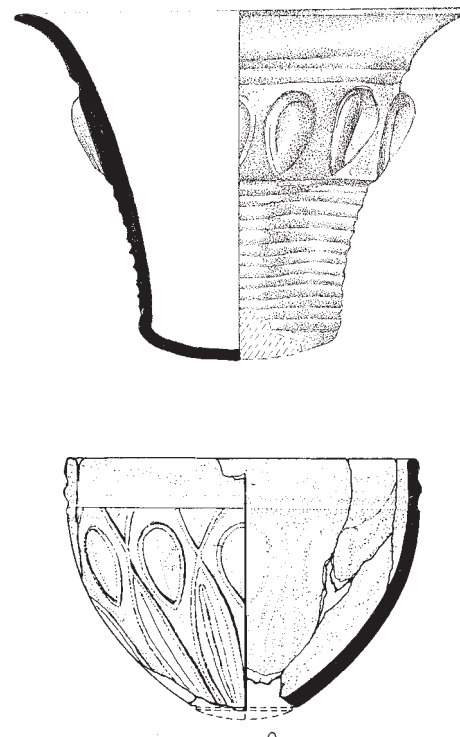
Fig. 8
Almonds on a glass beaker from Derveni. (After Themelis and Touratsoglou 1997: 80.)

Fig. 9
Almonds and almond-tree leaves on a hemispherical glass skyphos from Neapolis, Thessaloniki. (After Daffa-Nikonanou 1985-6: fig. 1.)

Fig. 10
The silver phiale from Nikesiane. (After Lazarides et al. 1992: 22-3, fig. 3.)
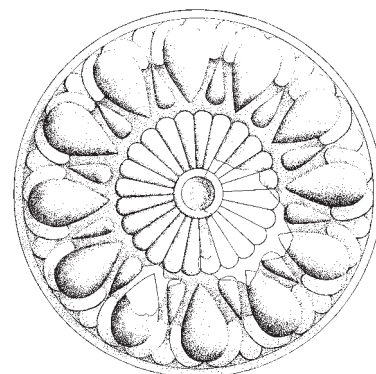
mentioned by ancient authors. However, Athenaeus makes reference to 'nut phialai' (καρνωτὰς φιάλας); and while he comments that all hard-shelled fruits were called nuts (κάρυα), he also indicates that, according to Heracleon of Ephesus, the former designation applied even to almonds.[50]

The almond decoration appears to originate on metal vessels unearthed in the so-called Midas tomb in Phrygia and may allude to Phrygian mythology. According to myth, the first almond tree grew on the spot where the bloody male genitals of Agdistis fell. Agdistis was the early, hermaphrodite form of Cybele, the main Phrygian goddess. When Nana, the daughter of the Phrygian river Sangarius put an almond in her bosom, the almond assumed phallic characteristics, and she conceived Attis.[51] Hippolytus refers to the Phrygians' perception of the almond as the source of Being. He also refers to a dramatic performance of a hymn praising Attis as the offspring of the almond.[52] Additionally, the Greek word for almond (*amygdalon*) has the same root as several other words associated with Phrygia.[53]

The first mention of the almond in ancient Greek literature is in a fifth-century BC Attic comedy by Eupolis. Here we are informed that in the Thracian festival of Kotytia the initiates used to take an oath 'by the almond'.[54] The other Thracian connotation originates in Thracian mythology according to which the mythical Thracian king Kotys, the founder of the royal dynasty, is an ancestor of Attis.[55]

Besides being edible, the almond has been used for its cosmetic and medicinal oil. The most aromatic oil is that taken from the bitter almond. It is also used as a cough suppressant and as a mild sedative. This harmless oil can yield hydrocyanic acid on hydrolysis, which is why bitter almonds are poisonous when swallowed; a mere handful is rapidly lethal. On the other hand, smaller, controlled doses can be beneficial. Heavy drinkers who wanted to remain sober after a banquet were advised to chew five or six bitter almonds on an empty stomach prior to consumption of alcohol.[56] Besides counteracting drunkenness this practice had also other useful effects, namely, improving respiration and digestion. In small doses the poison from the bitter almond can also be used as a psychoactive drug.

Concluding remarks

In ancient times, probably only members of the priesthood (especially priestesses) distributed medicines and poisons, both of which were designated in Greek by the term *pharmakon*, alluding to the dual nature of the products of certain plants.[57] Medicines relieved the believers' physical pains; poisons gave the very ill or old a painless death and thus eventually an eternally painless afterlife. In the spiritual realm the psychoactives created a feeling of bliss and religious ecstasy.

The almonds, lotuses, and poppies that dominate the decoration of Achaemenid style vessels should probably be understood as more than merely aesthetically pleasing motifs on expensive tableware. It is almost certain that the vessels upon which these motifs occur were used in religious and ritual practices, such as funerary rituals, rites performed by kings or high priests, or customary banquet libations.

Given the properties of these plants and their uses in antiquity, the International Achaemenid style might be perceived as an expression of a sacred decorative vocabulary, which evolved over several centuries to reach its peak in the Achaemenid period. Perhaps this happened because the cult

of the deity with whom it was associated fell under the auspices of the authorities and thus took the form of a state cult. Thus vessels produced in different eras, regions and cultures were similarly decorated to serve common religious practices.

It is difficult to tell with certainty whether this decorative vocabulary is pointing towards a particular god or goddess. Yet the symbolism we are able to decipher points to a powerful deity, most probably a female one. Various peoples gave her different names: Ishtar, or Aphrodite, or Anahita, or Cybele. Whatever her name, the goddess had vast jurisdiction over mankind and nature. She was Potnia Theron, the Great Mother, the Great Goddess.

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[1] Melikian-Chirvani 1993; Ignatiadou 2004b and in press a.

[2] For Achaemenid style vessels from Thrace —often referred to in the bibliography, especially by Bulgarian archaeologists, as 'Thracian' vessels— see Marazov 1996: nos. 79, 85, 86, 117, 124, 172, 174-6; Minčev et al. 1987: no. 275; Archibald 1989: 17-18, 1998: 179-80, figs. 7.2-3, pls. 7 and 8.

[3] Zournatzi 2000.

[4] Vokotopoulou et al. 1985: 233-5, no. 374, inv. no. MTh 8575.

[5] Andronikos 1991: 3, fig. 2.

[6] Hassel 1967: 201, fig. 1, pl. 49, inv. no. 0.37894.

[7] Chrysostomou and Chrysostomou 2005: 516, fig. 16.

[8] Kallipolitis and Feytmans 1948-9: 92-6, figs. 8 and 9, inv. no. 589 (this is sometimes also incorrectly referred to as no. 549). Another, contemporary silver example is part of the Stathatos Collection in Athens: Amandry 1963: 260-2, pl. XXXVII, fig. 156, inv. no. 175.

[9] Lazarides et al. 1992: 22-3, fig. 3, pl. 8, inv. no. A 868+2744.

[10] Themelis and Touratsoglou 1997: 66 (inv. nos. B 18 and B 19) and 68 (inv. no. B 14).

[11] Ignatiadou 2002, 2004a.

[12] Touratsoglou 1997: 358, fig. 458.

[13] Pfrommer 1987: 106, pl. 54a-b.

[14] Intzesiloglou 1994: pl. 108.

[15] Kottaridi 2004: 139-40.

[16] Gunter and Root 1998: 23-4.

[17] A number look surprising similar to some Achaemenid vessels, e.g. Mellaart 1965: 67-8, fig. 40m (from Hajji Muhammad); Perkins 1949: fig. 2.19 (from Tell Halaf).

[18] On long petals and rosettes, see Ignatiadou 2004b: 190-1, in press a,b. The author is preparing an extensive article on the poppy and opium.

[19] Kritikos and Papadaki 1963; Mitsopoulos-Leon 2001; Merrillees 1962.

[20] Vokotopoulou 1990: 61, fig. 28b, pl. 35b, inv. no. MTh 7551.

[21] On the poppy and opium see Dioscorides, 4.63-6; cf. Kritikos and Papadaki 1963.

[22] Simpson 1998: 637-9; Roller 1999: figs. 4, 11; Vassileva 2001: 59.

[23] Schoske et al. 1993: 54-8.

[24] Hdt. 2.92.6: ἐπεὰν πλήρης γένηται ὁ ποταμὸς καὶ τὰ πεδία πελαγίσῃ, φύεται ἐν τῷ ὕδατι κρίνεα πολλά, τὰ Αἰγύπτιοι καλέουσι λωτόν.

[25] Shefton 1993 (esp. n. 4) and 2000; Gilbert et al. 1976: nos. 2 and 14 (an alabaster lotus-shaped cup and an alabaster lotus-shaped lamp, respectively).

[26] Pfrommer 1987: 86-91, pls. 43b, 50f, 52-3, 60-1.

[27] Themelis and Touratsoglou 1997: 68, pls. 10 and 71, inv. no. B 14.

[28] Lazarides et al. 1992: 26-7, pl. 10a, inv. no. A 2584.

[29] Ignatiadou 2004a: inv. no. Py 10804.

[30] Rotroff 1982: 3, pl. 94, no. 55; Shefton 1993:

179, n. 7; Pfrommer 1987: 75-9, pls. 6-8, 10.4-6, 11-12, 15, 45j; 47c, 48e, 50a.

[31] Mellaart 1965: 119-20 and fig. 107.

[32] The two silver phialai from Derveni Tomb B are decorated with a kind of lanceolate leaf, see Themelis and Touratsoglou 1997: 66 (inv. nos. B 18 and B 19). I have doubts concerning their identification with the blue lotus; they can be the kind of chrysanthemum called in antiquity 'caltha'. I also have doubts about the similar identification of the lanceolate leaves on Hellenistic mold-made bowls (e.g., Akamatis 1993: pls. 3-162).

[33] See note 8, above.

[34] See note 12, above.

[35] The effect is encountered on vessels from Rogozen (Marazov 1998: no. 79) and occurs on pottery from Crete as early as the late seventh century BC (Platon 1945-7: 59-60 no. 51D, 68-9 no. 118, figs. 16 and 18 nos. 79 and 80).

[36] Gilbert et al. 1976: pl. 9.

[37] Curtis and Tallis 2005: no. 88.

[38] Moorey 1979: fig. 30b.

[39] This started in 1822 with reports on a species found in the Antilles. In 1910 a narcotic compound was isolated from *nymphaea lutea,* see Emboden 1978.

[40] Toker 1992: nos. 152-4; Özgen and Öztürk 1996: 19, 55, cat. nos. 33-41, 45.

[41] Marazov 1998: no. 86 (from Rogozen).

[42] Pfrommer 1987: pls. 9, 19b, 21-23a, 48c-e, 50e.

[43] Pandermalis 1999: 67.

[44] Ignatiadou 2002: 15, fig. 5; Daffa-Nikonanou 1985-6: fig. 1, inv. no. MTh 11545.

[45] Ignatiadou 2002: 13, fig. 3; Themelis and Touratsoglou 1997: 79-80, pl. 93, inv. no. B 45.

[46] Ignatiadou in press c.

[47] See note 44, above.

[48] See note 9, above.

[49] E.g., Stampolidis and Karetsou 1998: no. 313.

[50] Ath. 502B: Σῆμος δ᾽ ἐν Δήλῳ ἀνακεῖσθαί φησι χαλκοῦν φοίνικα, Ναξίων ἀνάθημα, καὶ καρυωτὰς φιάλας χρυσᾶς; and Ath. 52B: Ἡρακλέων δέ φησιν ὁ Ἐφέσιος· κάρυα ἐκάλουν καὶ τὰς ἀμυγδάλας.

[51] Paus. 7.17.10-11: νομίζουσί γε μὴν οὐχ οὕτω τὰ ἐς τὸν Ἄττην, ἀλλὰ ἐπιχώριός ἐστιν ἄλλος σφίσιν ἐς αὐτὸν λόγος, Δία ὑπνωμένον ἀφεῖναι σπέρμα ἐς γῆν, τὴν δὲ ἀνὰ χρόνον ἀνεῖναι δαίμονα διπλᾶ ἔχοντα αἰδοῖα, τὰ μὲν ἀνδρός, τὰ δὲ αὐτῶν γυναικός· ὄνομα δὲ Ἄγδιστιν αὐτῷ τίθενται. θεοὶ δὲ Ἄγδιστιν δείσαντες τὰ αἰδοῖά οἱ τὰ ἀνδρὸς ἀποκόπτουσιν. ὡς δὲ ἀπ᾽ αὐτῶν ἀναφῦσα ἀμυγδαλῆ εἶχεν ὡραῖον τὸν καρπόν, θυγατέρα τοῦ Σαγγαρίου ποταμοῦ λαβεῖν φασι τοῦ καρποῦ· ἐσθεμένης δὲ ἐς τὸν κόλπον καρπὸς μὲν ἐκεῖνος ἦν αὐτίκα ἀφανής, αὐτὴ δὲ ἐκύει·

[52] Hippol. V.9.1-2: Ἔτι δὲ οἱ Φρύγες λέγουσι τὸν πατέρα τῶν ὅλων εἶναι ἀμύγδαλον· ... οὕτως, φησί, Φρύγες τὸν <πατέρα> ἀμύγδαλον καλοῦσιν, ἀφ᾽ οὗ προῆλθε καὶ ἐγεννήθη ὁ ἀόρατος, 'δι᾽ οὗ τὰ πάντα ἐγένετο καὶ χωρὶς αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο οὐδέν'; and Hippol. V.9.7-8: τοιγαροῦν, φησίν, ἐπὰν συνέλθῃ ὁ δῆμος ἐν τοῖς θεάτροις, εἰσιών τις ἡμφιεσμένος στολὴν ἔξαλλον, κιθάραν φέρων καὶ ψάλλων, οὕτως λέγει ᾄδων τὰ μεγάλα μυστήρια, οὐκ εἰδὼς ἃ λέγει· Εἴτε Κρόνου γένος, εἴτε Διὸς μάκαρ, εἴτε Ῥέας, μέγα χαῖρε <θεός>, τὸ κατηφὲς ἄκουσμα Ῥέας Ἄττι· σὲ καλοῦσι μὲν Ἀσσύριοι τριπόθητον Ἄδωνιν, ὅλη δ᾽ Αἴγυπτος Ὄσιριν, ἐπουράνιον Μηνὸς κέρας Ἑλληνὶς σοφία, Σαμόθρακες Ἀδάμ<να> σεβάσμιον, Αἱμόνιοι Κορύβαντα, καὶ οἱ Φρύγες ἄλλοτε μὲν Πάπαν, ποτὲ δ᾽ <αὖ> νέκυν ἢ θεὸν ἢ τὸν ἄκαρπον ἢ αἰπόλον ἢ χλοερὸν στάχυν ἀμηθέντ᾽ ἢ <τ>ὸν πολύκαρπον ἔτικτεν ἀμύγδαλος, ἀνέρα συρικτάν.

[53] *Mygdon* is the name of the eponymous hero of the Phrygians, and his son Koroibos is mentioned in the Trojan War as a *Mygdon* Phrygian. *Mygdonia* is an epithet of Cybele and there are also two regions with the name Mygdonia. The first is Phrygia, especially the area around the capital city of Gordion. The second is a region in Aegean Thrace (cf. Roscher: s.v. 'Mygdon, Mygdonia').

[54] Eup. 70: ἀλλ᾽ ἐξολεῖς με ναὶ μὰ τὴν ἀμυγδαλῆν. Cf. Lozanowa 1997.

[55] Lozanowa 1997: 467.

[56] *Praecepta salubria* 69 (Bussemaker 1862): Τηροῦσιν ἀμέθυσον ἄνδρα τὸν πότην Ἀμύγδαλα Θάσια πικρίζοντά τε, Βρωθέντα πέντε τάχα ὑπὲρ πεντάδα, Πλὴν ἀσίτῳ φάρυγγι καὶ πρὸ τῆς μέθης.

[57] Cilliers and Retief 2000: 89.

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ATHANASIOS SIDERIS

Achaemenid Toreutics in the Greek Periphery

Introduction

THE DIFFICULTY inherent in modern attempts to arrive at a clear definition of 'Achaemenid toreutics' is notorious. A multitude of metal vases and utensils, of assorted metals and styles, varying workmanship, often of dubious or unknown origin, are gathered under this rubric. Their production spans approximately two and half centuries, and their find spots are scattered from the Middle East and the eastern Mediterranean to southern Russia and the Caucasus. The trade and exchange of similar artifacts between the Greek world and the East dates back to the Mycenaean period and continued until the era of the Byzantine and Sasanian empires. However, outside the period of the Achaemenid empire, this phenomenon was rarely of significance. If did not exert great influence on art history and lifestyle or have great socio-economic implications.[1]

It is generally assumed that an official toreutic production related to the royal court did exist in Achaemenid Persia. This is based on Greek literary testimonia, most of which relate to the two major military confrontations between the Greeks and the Achaemenid empire: the Persian Wars and the campaign of Alexander. The same sources also mention the *spolia,* which are often regarded as the source of all Achaemenid influence on Greek artistic production, in particular in toreutics and ceramics.[2] The idea of a court toreutic art would seem to be corroborated by the few finds from the palaces and the royal cities of Persia. However, what can truly be classified as royal court toreutics is still a matter of controversy. Scholars tend to ascribe the best of the gold and silver vases in the Achaemenid collections of Western museums —in particular those which lack traits obviously common to other cultures such as Egyptian, Greek, or Scythian— to such official production. On the other hand, scholars remain indecisive concerning both artifacts found in distant parts of the empire and those showing an amalgamation of traits.[3] Comparison of the shape, decorative motifs, and iconography of such artifacts with those of analogous objects appearing on the monumental reliefs in Persepolis does provide some assistance.[4] Further comparative material is provided by Achaemenid jewelry and gems, although studies of the latter categories of artifacts face similar problems of undocumented origin and dubious geographical classification.[5] The fact remains that many works of toreutic, clearly related to finds from Persia itself, have been found on the fringes of the empire and beyond.

On the Greek mainland there have been only a few finds of Achaemenid 'Court Style' metalware, although persianizing pieces are often mistaken for Achaemenid.[6] In the Greek milieu and in areas where there was contact with Greeks —such as Syria, Cyprus, Anatolia, Thrace, the northern Pontic region, and the Caucasus— similar finds are more frequent, but they have never attracted the interest of scholars as a whole. This is certainly due both to the lack of contextual data (since many of the best known items come from undocumented or illicit excavations) and to the

fact that the traffic of illicitly excavated objects stimulated a production of almost undetectable forgeries.[7]

The aim of this paper is to suggest a provisional working classification for this class of objects and to set them, as much as possible, within a comprehensive context of production, circulation, and spheres of artistic influence.

Materials and technique

Although the bronze artifacts are the most numerous, there is also an unparalleled high percentage of silver and gold artifacts. The actual numbers depend, of course, upon what one decides to acknowledge as Achaemenid or Achaemenid-derived items. Nevertheless, it would still appear that approximately one sixth of all known metal vases of the Achaemenid period (of either documented or undocumented origin) are made of precious metal. Furthermore, close to five percent of these precious metal artifacts are of gold.[8]

The sources for the metals were mostly located within the borders of the empire, and conflicts over their control were often the direct or indirect cause of military campaigns. The copper came from various locations in Asia Minor (mostly from the Antitaurus and southern Taurus Mountains in Cilicia), from the area of Sinope and Trapezus, or from Cyprus, Syria, and Afghanistan. The silver came from the mines of Astyra in Asia Minor, from deposits in the north of the Cilician Taurus, from Phasis and other locations in Colchis, from the Crimean peninsula, and undoubtedly from mines in northern Iran and Afghanistan. Gold was obtained mainly from the auriferous rivers of Asia Minor and Macedonia (Pactolus, Hermus, Echeidoros and Strymon) but also from deposits in eastern Anatolia (Malatya, Mardin), Macedonia and Thrace (Thasos, Pangaion, Dysoron, Prasias, Rhodope) and further deposits in Colchis, Armenia, Egypt and even in the Urals and the Altai Mountains.[9]

Most of the known toreutic techniques —including casting, hammering (free and on a matrix), embossing, engraving, chasing, and amalgam, leaf and foil gilding— were involved in the creation of these vases. One peculiarity of Achaemenid toreutics of the late sixth through the early fourth centuries is the application on silver surfaces of contour repoussé gold figures, cut from a relatively thick gold foil. A similar technique is at times used with silver-on-silver pieces. In other cases the gold figures are totally smooth, without any repoussé detail, and appear inlaid rather than applied. The most outstanding examples include some phialai and bowls, a horse-head rhyton, and a buck-protome rhyton (Fig. 1) coming from Iran, Lydia, and the southern Pontic coast (Samsun and Sinope areas).[10] The figures and motifs engraved on the vessels appear to be the products of two different methods. In one, the lines are shallow and sketchily traced with a fine burin, while in the other they are much deeper and bolder, revealing the use of a harder and stronger chisel.[11]

Fig. 1
Buck-protome silver rhyton with gold foil decoration, said to be from the Sinope area. First half of the fourth century BC. George Ortiz Collection, Geneva. H. 23.5 cm.
(After Ortiz 1996: no 206.)

Metrology

It has been posited that all ancient vessels of precious metal (and indeed all precious metal artifacts) were made in conformity with weight and coin standards in use in given areas and periods.[12] This theory, initially applied to Greek precious metal toreutics (following some successful conversions of the respective weights of such pieces to ancient standards), has also been applied to Achaemenid gold- and silverware. As has been rightly pointed out, however, fluctuations in the weight of the *siglos*, along with our poor knowledge of its *precise* weight for any particular period, allows for such manipulation of conversions that round figures may be obtained from almost any weight.[13] Thus, although it has been shown that precious metal vases could serve as monetary instruments in the Near East (and probably also in Greece), it is not possible to arrive at any safe conclusion regarding the areas of manufacture of the 'Achaemenid' precious metal artifacts from their actual weights. The information on the weight of a vase becomes much more valuable, of course, when it is inscribed on the vase itself. For instance, a late-fourth-century silver calyx, recently discovered in Thrace, bears an inscription expressing its weight in a particular numismatic unit (tetradrachms of Alexander).[14]

Patterns of production

Scholars have long been aware that the findspot —actual or alleged— of an Achaemenid or persianizing metal vase does not necessarily provide leads to the vase's place of production. Equally, many objects show eclectic tendencies and integrate, more or less successfully, characteristic elements of a number of different local traditions. The brief review of some such cases in the following section, together with many others cited repeatedly in the relevant literature, illustrate the complexity and multitude of the factors and the dynamics involved in these vessels' creation and exchange. Often artifacts have traveled far from their place of production, and artists and artisans from their place of origin. Moreover, the same workshop (if not the same artist) could produce vases of varying styles.[15]

   An exhaustive list of all hypothetical production patterns (which could cross-combine the ethnicity and artistic training of an artist with the location of a workshop) would be unnecessarily long. Nevertheless, we may have a closer look at some cases which, according to the finds, would be more common and plausible. In addition to the creations of the royal court workshop(s) —necessarily expressing the tastes of king and nobility— there was also a significant regional production located often, but not exclusively, in the satrapal capitals. In both cases (court and regional workshops) foreign artisans probably worked beside local craftsmen trained in different traditions and with varying skills. Beyond the borders of the empire there were also some persianizing workshops, which either copied slavishly the types favored by the Achaemenid court or produced works whose shapes, decorative themes, and styles variously reflect Achaemenid influence. This need not mean that all production from such centers conformed to Achaemenid standards, nor that all artisans at a given workshop were similarly receptive to the impact of Achaemenid preferences. The vagaries of taste were certainly related to fashion as well as to political alliances and dependence. After the fall of the empire, some regional workshops continued or even intensified their production, manufacturing familiar

Fig. 2
Bronze *Lotosphiale* said to
be from Macedonia. Late sixth
century BC. Benaki Museum,
Athens. D. 20 cm.
Photo: A. Sideris

Fig. 3
Silver *Blütkelchphiale* with gold
animal frieze around
the omphalos, from Sirolo,
South Italy. Second half
of the sixth century BC. D. 20 cm.
(After Landolfi 2000: pl. 6.)
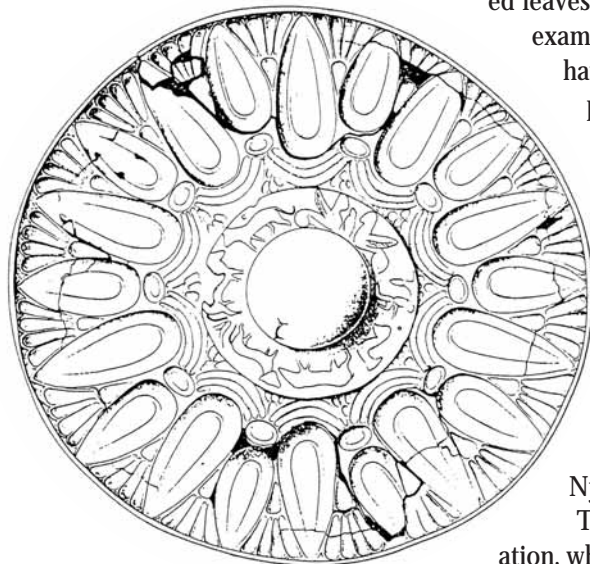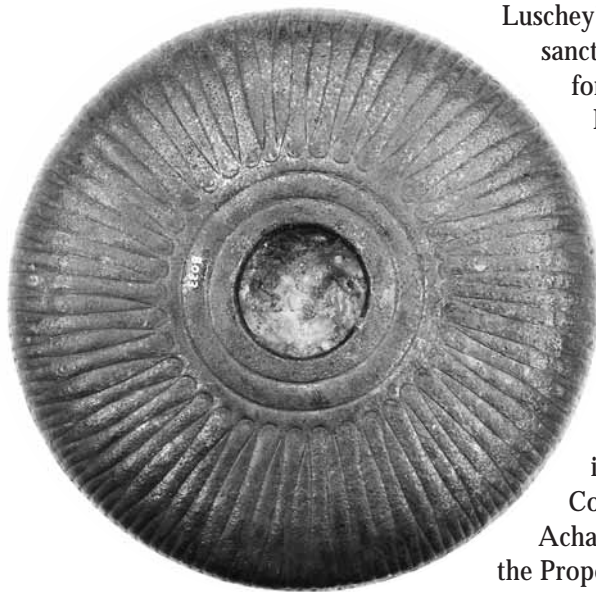
or adapted shapes attuned to the tastes of the new Greek hegemony. It would appear that the location of such workshops is related to the supply of precious metal on its way from the Persian treasuries to Macedonia and southern Greece.[16]

Shapes, workshops, circulation

The phiale

Most popular among the shapes of Achaemenid toreutic are the phialai in their manifold variations. Most of them are mesomphalic and have a more or less marked shoulder, which divides the vessel into a concave body and a straight or convex rim. The body may be lobed, fluted, ribbed, or decorated with various radiating leaf patterns.[17]

One of the most common oriental shapes in Greece during the second half of the sixth century is the phiale with a combination of pointed leaves — usually only engraved, though occasionally embossed (*Lotosphiale* in Luschey's classification). This type appears in large numbers in Greek sanctuaries (Perachora, Argos, Olympia, Delphi, Acropolis, Dodona, for example), but is also known from funerary contexts (Troizen, Macedonia, Bosnia, and Sicily) (Fig. 2). The regular material for these phialai is bronze, but a few are of silver (such as those from Ritsona and the Troad) or gold (Thrace). The type is rather an Assyrian creation, which gained much popularity in seventh-century Phrygia.[18] The 'Greek version' probably appeared in the first half of the sixth century but became popular in southern Greece, Macedonia, Thrace, and northwestern Asia Minor during the second half of the sixth through the fifth centuries. It remains unknown in other parts of the empire. The bronze *Lotosphiale* belongs to a Greek persianizing production, with its main workshop probably situated in Corinth. The precious metal examples are supposed to be an Achaemenid regional production somewhere in Aegean Thrace, but the Propontis area is an equally plausible candidate.[19]

Another phiale type has a body decorated with long and relatively large pointed leaves and between them a varying number of thinner round-ended leaves (*Blütkelchphiale* in Luschey's classification). The silver and gold examples are as frequent as the bronze. The earliest silver examples have a repoussé collar decorated with animal figures around the omphalos — possibly from Rhodes, and from Sirolo in South Italy (Fig. 3). Bronze and precious metal examples are known from various parts of the empire, including Susa, Luristan, Akhalgori, Zentşirli, Sardis, Ionia and Ialysos. An early silver-gilt example was found in Delphi; it was held by one of the chryselephantine statues of an Ionian votive offering (Fig. 4). A very homogenous silver series with lotus-flower treatment of the leaves and gilt omphalos appeared around 500 in Macedonia and Thrace (Kozani, Sindos, Vergina, Chalcidice, Rogozen). The type enjoyed a period of revival in the fourth century with finds mainly from areas adjacent to the Black Sea (Bandırma, Nymphaion, Rogozen, Agighiol, Vani, Uliap).[20]

The early type of the *Blütkelchphiale* seems to be an Ionian creation, which gained some popularity in the eastern parts of the empire. The

series (dated to around 500) is an Achaemenid regional production, made in Macedonia or in a colony of the northern Aegean coast. The phialai of the fourth century come from at least two different workshops: one located on the eastern coast of the Black Sea and the other in northwestern Asia Minor.

The type of phiale that is usually called 'Achaemenid' (*Buckelnphiale* of Luschey's classification) is the most widespread in the empire but less common in Greece, where in early dates it is found only in sanctuaries. It is decorated with large lobes of varying number and combinations. Lydia and Georgia have produced the greatest number of these finds. A variant of the early fifth century is decorated between the lobes with an s-shaped, double duck-head motif, from which emerge two palmettes. Two such phialai were found in Rhodes[21] and one in Georgia (Fig. 5). The motif of the double duck-head is already known from a late-sixth-century bronze incense burner from Lydia (Fig. 6). The type of lobed phiale continued into the fourth century but was never very popular in Greece.[22]

It is hard to establish a provenance for the few lobed phialai of Greece and Thrace, but they were probably Anatolian imports. It seems that there was an Achaemenid workshop in Sardis and a regional one in Ionia (to which the variant with the duck-head motifs may be assigned).[23]

Along with the above types, there were, of course, both many plain phialai and some with a simpler design. The noteworthy variants include a shallow type with lanceolate leaves, a similar shape with radial fluting, and a form with horizontal ribbing.[24]

The type with radiating, more or less stylized, pointed leaves and a rosette in the center (*Blattphiale* in Luschey's classification), while familiar in the eastern parts of the empire (Susa, Ur, Oxus), was more widespread in Greece and in areas of Greek contact (Acarnania, Derveni, Naip in the Propontis, Bandırma, Prusias, Halicarnassus, Kourion, Algeti in Georgia, Tuch el-Karamus in Egypt) (Fig. 7).[25] This type was an Achaemenid court creation of the second half of the sixth century. It became more popular, however, through its persianizing revivals of the late fourth century in 'ex-Achaemenid' regional centers, which might be situated in Bithynia or the Propontis and in Egypt.[26]

The rhyton and the amphora

The Achaemenid animal rhyta are also numerous, continuing and blossoming from a long Near Eastern tradition. Both of their main variants —with animal head and animal protome, respectively— inspired similar works which combined elements and styles from the Greek, Thracian, Scythian, and Syrian traditions.[27] In several cases the supposedly 'purely' Achaemenid works are found together with Greek examples, especially in Thrace and Scythia. Two almost identical horse-protome rhyta come, respectively, from Thrace (Borovo) and Bactria (possibly Takht-i Sangin). The first is part of a treasure including some 'more Greek' vases, and the second belongs to another treasure including mainly Achaemenid and Achaemenid-derived early Hellenistic silverware.[28] Two fourth-century
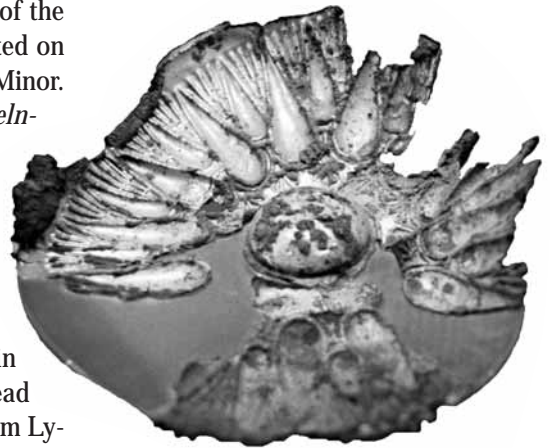

Fig. 4
Silver-gilt *Blütkelchphiale* from Delphi. 550-525 BC. Delphi Museum. Photo: A. Sideris.

Fig. 5
A silver *Buckelnphiale* variant with 's-like' duck heads, from Kazbeg, Georgia. Early fifth century BC. D. 18.4 cm. (After Boardman 2000: fig. 5.73a.)

Fig. 6
'S-like' duck head ornament on a bronze incense burner from Lydia. Late sixth century BC. Uşak Museum. (After Özgen and Öztürk 1996: no. 73.)

bull-head rhyta from the Cimmerian Bosporus and Yerevan in Armenia combine figures of Greek style on the neck with an animal head close to eastern prototypes (as represented by a bronze bull-head rhyton found in Samos, dated to the end of the seventh century and attributed to a northern Syrian workshop).[29] From Yerevan come also a horse-protome rhyton and a unique horse-and-rider rhyton, both in mixed style ('Greek' vertical fluting of the horn and 'Achaemenid' treatment of the horses and rider), more appropriate to local production (Fig. 8).[30]

Another typical shape is that of the amphora with zoomorphic handles. Several examples are known, with some of the best coming from Thrace and the southern Pontic coast.[31] A pair of handles belonging to a similar vase combines the winged goats of the main handle with a Greek satyr's head on its lower attachment. On the body of another amphora are featured folded lotus leaves — a recurrent motif on fourth-century silver oinochoai and early-third-century silver bowls.[32] The amphora with zoomorphic handles has no direct parallels in Greek toreutics before the mid-fourth or early third century, and the two known examples are rather peculiar in shape and decoration.[33] There are however two bronze Pegasus-shaped handles from Dodona (Fig. 9), dated in the third quarter of the sixth century and usually considered as oinochoe handles, which could be plausibly restored as amphora handles imitating Achaemenid models.[34]
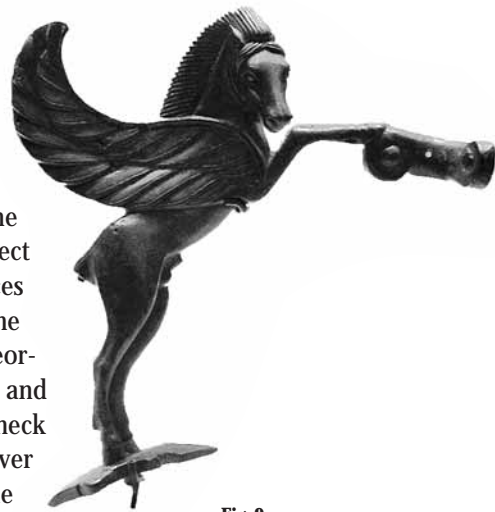
The beaker and the calyx

The horizontally ribbed beaker is one of the shapes represented in the Persepolis relief sculptures. The extant silver examples come from Macedonia, Thrace, Bithynia and Georgia.[35] A further type of beaker is similar in

appearance to some of the vertically fluted amphorae (without their zoomorphic handles). This beaker has a calyx-like form divided into a convex belly and a concave neck (both initially of equal height) similar to some finds from Lydia dated to the late sixth century.[36] An example from Deve Hüyük, of the late fifth or early fourth century, is already wider than its earlier parallels. Its body is adorned with a fine tongue pattern and its shoulder with a tress (Fig. 10). It is a direct antecedent of the well established series of Macedonian calices and of the 'high' calices series, dating from the second half of the fourth century and the early third century.[37] From Sairkhe, Georgia, comes a beaker of the same general shape, but with lobes and palmettes on the shoulder and engraved animal figures on the neck (Fig. 11). The Macedonian calices seem equally related to a silver bowl with boldly shaped tongue decoration on the body and the neck collar. This vase was found at Vouni, Cyprus, in a palatial context dated c. 400 which also included a Greek silver skyphos and some Achaemenid gold bracelets (Fig. 12).[38]

The oinochoe

The most characteristic type of Achaemenid oinochoe is known from finds in Iran, Lydia and Egypt. Besides the horizontal ribbing, its distinctive trait is a lion head on the upper handle attachment biting into the vase's rim. Quite common is also the type with trefoil mouth, a collar or ridge around the base of the neck, and a stylized calf's head on the upper handle attachment. Finally there is a type of small pitcher with round rim and a loop-handle rising high above it. Often there are palmettes on the handle attachments, tongues on the body of the vase, and a rosette underneath. Most of these vases have been found in Lydia.[39]

The alabastron

The alabastron, a rather rare toreutic shape, is also frequently encountered in Lydia. Its body may be decorated with zones of engraved figures or decorative motifs. On the upper part of the body two duck-shaped lugs are

Fig. 10
Silver calyx beaker from Deve Hüyük. Late fifth or early fourth century BC. Vorderasiatisches Museum, Berlin. H. 11 cm. Photo: A. Sideris.

Fig. 11
Silver calyx beaker with engraved animal figures on the neck, from Sairkhe, Georgia. Fifth century BC. H. 15 cm. (After Gagoshidze 2003: no. 29.)

Fig. 12
Silver calyx bowl from Vouni, Cyprus.
c. 400 BC. Archaeological Museum,
Nicosia. H. 9.6 cm. Photo: A. Sideris.

usually applied, but on one example of unknown provenance with a slightly sharper profile, these are replaced by finely cast ram heads.[40]

The incense burner

The use of incense burners in ceremonial and banquet contexts is well attested in Persepolitan sculpture, Iranian seals and textiles, and in Clazomenian and Attic pottery. There are two variants: free-standing and hand-held. The bronze handle of a now missing sixth-century hand-held incense burner from Lydia has a stem of octagonal section, from which emerges a loop of narrower section, terminating in a duck's head (Fig. 13). It looks very much like the finial of another bronze handle of the same date found in Delphi. On the latter example, however, the loop is not closed and terminates in a snake's head (Fig. 14). Both are decorated on their front finials with a lion (though of differing style and position).[41]

The ladle

Ladles were as popular in the Persian as in the Greek world, with their shape remaining practically unaltered for centuries. On Achaemenid ladles, the handle finial is a ring or a closed loop (suitable only for hanging from a nail), decorated usually with calf and lion heads. In some cases the ring is formed by the bodies of two confronted animals, with foreparts in the round and hindquarters in relief. Greek ladles have an open loop usually terminating in a duck's head (though occasionally in a canine head), a finial allowing them to hang from the rim of a crater.[42] An exceptional late-sixth-century ladle from Lydia has its faceted stem topped by a ring formed by the bodies of two winged lions. The attachment to the bowl is also shaped as a winged lion flanked by two sphinxes of apparently Greek style. These features lead us to another example, almost a century later in date, which also has the characteristic faceted stem topped by two volutes in the manner of a stylized Ionic capital. A ring, now lost, was probably soldered above these volutes. On the inside of the bowl is found a finely chased, gilt figure of a sphinx, seated before a spray and encircled by a wreath of laurel (Fig. 15). The composition, style, and technique are reminiscent of the engraved Greek silver kylikes from Thrace and Scythia.[43]

Other shapes

Among the remaining shapes that occur are lydia, jars, dishes, spoons and a few situlae, (Troy, Vani in Georgia).[44] There are also strainers of both Achaemenid and Greek design, the former ones with calf-head finials and lotus attachments, and the latter ones with duck-head finials and palmette attachments.[45] Finally, a skyphos of Greek or Lydian shape (the foot is missing) bears engraved decoration in four zones, two ornamental and two figurative. Among the figures are sphinxes, lionesses and stags; the details are reminiscent of a silver alabastron from Lydia, as well as of Clazomenian black-figure.[46]

Conclusion

Many of the persianizing metal vases of the mid-sixth to the late fourth centuries could be considered both part and not part of the Achaemenid

Fig. 13
Duck head finial of a bronze incense burner from Lydia. Late sixth century BC. Uşak Museum. (After Özgen and Öztürk 1996: no. 74.)

toretic assemblage. They belong to this assemblage in the sense that they are produced mostly within the empire by craftsmen who were subjects of the Great King. They might also be considered as being outside this assemblage since their creators are believed to be Greeks, Lydians, Thracians, Iberians and others whose lands came under Persian control. Moreover, these latter works were often endowed with richer repertoires of shape, subject, and decoration than those attested by the 'royal court' models. Their craftsmen obviously had, or had quickly developed, technical skills exceeding those required for official manufacture. Such vases were probably also highly appreciated for their artistic and aesthetic value (in addition to their intrinsic one, since they were often made of precious metal); and their presence among the gifts brought to the king, as shown on the Persepolis Apadana reliefs, seems entirely justified.

By the mid-sixth century there were persianizing workshops on the Greek mainland (Corinth and elsewhere) which were copying in bronze earlier Phrygian and Anatolian models until the early fifth century. The few remaining vases seem to be imports.[47] At around 500 there was a workshop in Macedonia or on the northern Aegean coast manufacturing an elaborate series of *Blütkelchphialen*, probably along with some of the early beakers. Some of the late-fourth-century *Blattphialen* were possibly still being produced in the same center.[48] In Thrace the majority of the persianizing vases of the sixth and fifth centuries were imports from the neighboring areas of the empire.[49] During the fourth century, however, there were several workshops (or, as suggested, one traveling workshop[50]) in the territory of the Odrysians. These workshops (or workshop) may have been responsible for various phialai and oenochoai (such as those in the Agighiol and Rogozen treasures), along with a number of fourth-century cylindrical beakers, and some head- and protome rhyta (Poroina, Poltava).[51] The Propontis, with its many Greek colonies, seems to have been active throughout the period here discussed. To workshops of this region may be attributed the late-sixth- and early-fifth-century precious metal *Lotosphialen*, along with the fifth- and fourth-century protome rhyta found in Thrace, and probably the exceptional gold vases of the Panagyurishte Treasure.[52] Bithynia is another candidate for the fourth-century *Blattphialen* and some of the *Blütkelchphialen,* along with some of the fourth-century ribbed beakers. In Lydia, and most probably in Sardis, there was an important workshop active by the mid-sixth century and into the early fifth century. This workshop produced figured and plain *Buckelnphialen*, at least two types of oenochoai, lydia, some alabastra, calyx-shaped beakers, incense burners and probably also some utensils, such as ladles and sieves.[53] The Ionian production still resists closer identification of its workshops. Nevertheless, one may ascribe to it the creation of the *Blütkelchphiale* around the middle of the sixth century and probably that of the duck-head phiale in the early fifth century.[54] To at least two Ionian workshops of the second half of the sixth century should be attributed two alabastra and a skyphos with engraved figures, as well as an engraved ladle of the late fifth century.[55] On the southern coast of the Black Sea, in all probability in Sinope, there was another important regional toretic center. In addition to some of the early *Buckelnphialen,* this center is the best candidate for the production of the finely decorated amphorae with zoomorphic handles of the late sixth and early fifth centuries. To this workshop may also be ascribed the fine late-fifth- and fourth-century Greek style head rhyta,[56] as well as some

Fig. 14
Snake-head finial of a bronze utensil handle from Delphi. Late sixth century BC. Delphi Museum. Photo: A. Sideris.

Fig. 15
Silver ladle with faceted stem and engraved medallion, said to be from Ionia. c. 400 BC. Once in the Norbert Schimmel Collection, New York. H. 19.2 cm. (After Muscarella 1974: no. 73.)
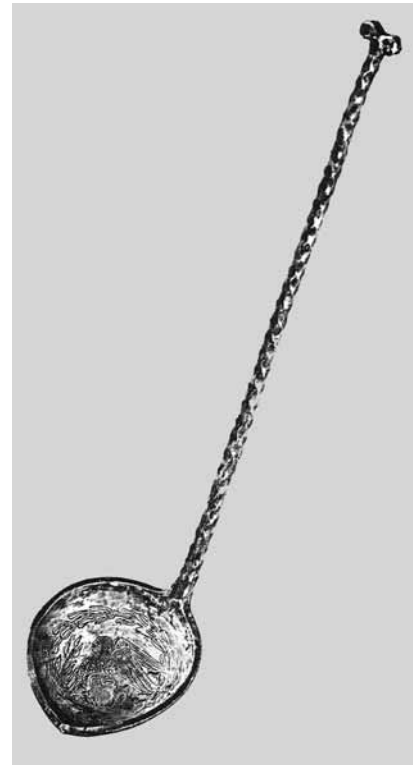
fourth-century protome rhyta of Achaemenid 'Court Style'.[57] To a fifth-century Georgian workshop are usually attributed some *Blütkelchphialen*, a number of beakers and a situla.[58] In the Crimea (most likely Olbia), a sixth- and fifth-century workshop produced some of the early persianizing rhyta. In the following century similar production comes from another workshop, probably in Pantikapaion.[59] Regarding Egypt, there is no established Greco-Persian connection in toreutics before Alexander. Nevertheless, a workshop there, active in the first years of the Ptolemaic period, does seem responsible for a late series of phialai (of almost all discussed types), for some persianizing oinochoai, as well as for a variety of adaptations of calyx-shaped beakers and bowls, and perhaps also for a rhyton.[60]

Most of the above centers, along with their Achaemenid or persianizing works, also produced other toreutic series closer to traditions other than the Achaemenid (for instance, Greek, Scythian, Thracian, Celtic, Urartian, Assyrian). The study of these series, together with the Achaemenid-related production, would contribute significantly to our understanding of the complex artistic and cultural relationships between Persia, Greece and the peripheral world, over which the two powers fought for more than two centuries.

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[1] There is, however the exception of the plentiful Phoenician toreutics of the eighth and seventh centuries. All dates in this paper are BC.

[2] Collections and discussions of the sources are offered by Cook 1983; Kuhrt 1995; Briant 1996. For issues related to the spoils, see Miller 1997: 29-41, 43-62. For Achaemenid influence on Attic pottery, see Hoffman 1961; Shefton 1971; Miller 1993.

[3] Moorey 1974; Muscarella 1977; Boardman 2000: 184-94.

[4] Calmeyer 1993, with an overview of earlier discussions.

[5] A useful overview of these various problems is offered by Boardman 2000: 152-74.

[6] Miller 1997: 41-3, 47-50.

[7] Muscarella 1977 and 1980. Items in Iranian collections may also be of controversial authenticity: Boardman 2000: 246, n. 130.

[8] This estimate is based upon review of a representative sample of relevant published material.

[9] Tsikopoulos 1979: 96-103; Toker 1992: 18-19.

[10] For a general account on the technique and some phialai and bowls, see Moorey 1988: 231-46. Silver-on-silver figures: Özgen and Öztürk 1996: 87-9, nos. 33-5. Horse-head rhyton: Harper et al. 1984: 15, fig. 12. Samsun example: Akurgal 1966: 218, pl. 67. Buck-protome rhyton (possibly from Sinope): Ortiz 1996: no. 206.

[11] For example, we may compare the lines of two engraved silver alabastra from Lydia in Özgen and Öztürk 1996: 124-5, and 238-9, nos. 78 and 228.

For a similar difference in the treatment of the engraving on a calyx from Georgia and a beaker from Thrace, see Gagoshidze 2003: 28-9; Minčev et al. 1987: 180, no. 275. Engraving procedures and tools: Eluère 1990: 176.

[12] Vickers and Gill 1994: 33-52, with earlier bibliography.

[13] Harris 1995: 276-7; Miller 1997: 61.

[14] For the function of precious metalware as monetary instruments, see Zournatzi 2000: 697-8, n. 90. For the inscribed calyx, see Kitov 2005: 91, 94, fig. 144; the inscription reads ʽΣεύθου ὀλκὴ τετράδραχμα ἀλεξάνδρεια ΔΙΙΙΙʼ. A list of Greek metal vases with inscriptions is given in Sideris 2002: 177-80.

[15] Boardman 2000: 186, fig. 5.67; Ebbinghaus 1999: 405-6.

[16] The most privileged areas in this respect seem to have been Bithynia and the Propontis. For the wealth transfer from Persia to Greece, see Völcker-Jansen 1993: 187; Touratsoglou 2000: 97-101; Sideris 2000: 30.

[17] An overview is offered by Abka'i-Khavari 1988.

[18] For listings of bronze phialai, see Luschey 1939: 121-4; Payne et al. 1940: 148. For a recent bronze find from the Peloponnesus, see Konsolaki-Giannopoulou 2003: 132, fig. 23 (erroneously dated to the fourth century). Seven unpublished bronze phialai of this type found in Macedonia are in the Benaki Museum, Athens, inv. nos. 8027, 8032-7; for another one from Sindos, see Vokotopoulou et al. 1985: 64, no. 90. For the silver (four intact, one fragmentary) and gold (two intact, one fragmentary) phialai, see Payne et al. 1940: 148; Oliver 1977: 27, no. 3; Minčev et al. 1987: 157, no. 223; Archibald 1998: 318. For the Phrygian forerunners, see Young 1981: 233-6, pl. 68-70.

[19] For the Corinthian origin of the bronze examples, see Payne et al. 1940: 149. Archibald (1998: 177 and 318) privileges the Aegean provenance for the precious metal examples.

[20] For the early Ionian phialai with decorated collar, see von Bothmer 1984: 21, no. 12; Landolfi 2000: 140, pl. 6. For a listing, see Luschey 1939: 95-121, and 1983: 318; Archibald 1998: 179-80. The Delphi phiale is Delphi Museum inv. no. 9898 (see Amandry 1939: 96). For the Macedonian and the fourth-century series, see Fol et al. 1989: nos. 2 and 81; Marazov 1996: 24-9.

[21] See Triantafyllidis, this volume: 356 and Fig. 3, suggesting that the two phialai from Rhodes were 'probably made with the same mold' as the only other known specimen of this type of phiale from Kazbeg (page 357, Fig. 4) also illustrated here in Fig. 5.

[22] For listings and discussion, see Luschey 1939: 41-76; Moorey 1988: 231-46; Abka'i-Khavari 1988: 91-137. For Lydia, see Özgen and Öztürk 1996: 87-93, 97, nos. 33-41, 45. For Thrace, see Fol et al. 1989: 88-90, no. 42. For Georgia, see Gagoshidze 2003: 7-9, 13, 17, 19, 21. For the double duck-head motif, see Laurenzi 1936: 179, fig. 168; Boardman 2000: 191-2, fig. 5.73; Özgen and Öztürk 1996: 118-19, no. 73. For late-fourth-century examples from Macedonia and Egypt, see Lazarides et al. 1992: 22, fig. 3, pl. 8; Pfrommer 1987: 142-59, pl. 17-25.

[23] Boardman (2000: 191 and n. 133 on p. 247) speaks generally of 'Anatolian origin'. The 'lyre-palmette' motif is mainly known, however, from Milesian Fikellura pottery and Sardian architectural terracottas (Özgen and Öztürk 1996: 25, fig. 23).

[24] For examples with horizontal ribbing from Lydia, see Özgen and Öztürk 1996: 99-100, nos. 47-8. Radial fluting from Thrace and Georgia is to be seen on the specimens in Fol et al. 1989: 77, 86-7, 103-7, 109-11, 138-41, nos. 26, 40-1, 62-9, 73, 77, 79, 101-4; Gagoshidze 2003: 16, 19.

[25] See the listings in Luschey 1939: 125-32; Oliver 1977: 24, no. 12; Pfrommer 1987: 81-5, 248-50. For a set of five phialai from the Propontis, see Delemen 2006: 259-60, fig. 9.

[26] Some recently found fourth-century examples from Bactria are presented in Inagaki et al. 2002: 99 and 243, nos. 97-9.

[27] Among earlier studies on Greek and Achaemenid rhyta, see in particular Tuchelt 1962; Marazov 1978; Pfrommer 1983: 265-85. For more recent, comprehensive presentations, see Ebbinghaus 1999; Manassero 2003.

[28] For Achaemenid and Greek rhyta found together, see Marazov 1998: 222-5; Manassero 2003: 188-9, 193-4. For the Borovo rhyton, see Marazov 1998: 137 and 223, nos. 61 and 174. For its Bactrian twin and other Achaemenid rhyta, see Inagaki et al. 2002: 99-112 and 244-5, nos. 116-9 and 122.

[29] For the rhyton from the Cimmerian Bosporus, see Marazov 1974. For the Yerevan bull-head rhyton, see Arakelian 1971: 149-54; Boardman 2000: 187.

[30] For the Yerevan horse rhyta, see Arakelian 1971: 144-9. For the Samos rhyton, see Vokotopoulou 1997: 60, 223, no. 26.

[31] Amandry 1959: 38-56; Ortiz 1996: no. 205; Marazov 1998: 182-3, no. 117.

[32] Pfrommer 1990; Boardman 2000: 189, fig.

5.72, and n. 128 on p. 246 (for the latest finds). For the folded lotus leaf, see Shefton 1993; Stoyanov 2005.

[33] Ortiz 1996: no. 153 is a janiform head-vase with ibex handles said to be from the Sinope area. Marazov 1998: 144-5, no. 71, shows a gold amphora with embossed figures on the body and centaur handles from Panagyurishte.

[34] The handles —one of them in the Louvre (inv. MNC 1241), and its counterpart in the National Museum, Athens (inv. Kar. 71)— are almost identical, see Dieterle 1999: nos. F242 and F243, and n. 789, with earlier bibliography.

[35] Miller 1993: 114-15; Archibald 1998: 179-84; Williams 2000: 267, fig. 10.

[36] Özgen and Öztürk 1996: 110-11, nos. 65 and 66. For a related example from Yerevan, see Arakelian 1971: 153, fig. 10.

[37] The calyx beaker is exhibited in the Vorderasiatische Museum in Berlin but not registered in the concordance list presented in Moorey 1980: 143-4 (also citing museum entries from Deve Hüyük). For the Macedonian and the 'high calyx' series, see Pfrommer 1987: 56-61, 69-73.

[38] For the Georgia beaker, see Gagoshidze 2003: 28-9. For the Vouni calyx bowl, see Gjerstad et al. 1937: 238, no. 292, pls. XC 6 and XCIIc.

[39] All these types are represented in the Lydian repertory (e.g., Özgen and Öztürk 1996: 74-81, nos. 11-22).

[40] Özgen and Öztürk 1996: 121-5, 238-9, nos. 75-8, 228 (nos. 78 and 228 with engraved figures). For the alabastron with ram-head lugs (whose authenticity is uncertain), see *Catalogue of Sothby's sale 1314*, lot 119.

[41] Özgen and Öztürk 1996: 115-9, nos. 71-3. The (unpublished?) Delphi handle is Delphi Museum inv. 3509.

[42] For the Lydian ladle, see Özgen and Öztürk 1996: 152-3, no. 107. For further examples from Bactria, see Inagaki et al. 2002: 49, 120, 235, 245.

[43] For the engraved sphinx ladle, see Muscarella 1974: no. 73. For the engraved kylikes, see Gorbunova 1971; Galanina and Gratch 1987: no. 117; Marazov 1998: 175, 181, nos. 104 and 116.

[44] von Bothmer 1984: 22-3, no. 15; Gagoshidze 2003: 7-9, 13, 16-17, 19, 21 and 27.

[45] Özgen and Öztürk 1996: 109, no. 64; von Bothmer 1984: 43, no. 67.

[46] von Bothmer 1984: 37, no. 49.

[47] For Corinth, see Payne et al. 1940: 149. For imported bronze phialai, see, for example, Perdrizet 1908: 90, nos. 418-20. For early North Syrian and Anatolian metalware imported in Greece, see the overview by Boardman 1980: 65-70 and 88-9.

[48] Marazov 1998: 150-1. Archibald (1998: 179) proposes to locate the workshop of the 'c. 500' series in Chalcidice. For the fourth-century phialai, see von Bothmer 1984: 47-8, nos. 75 and 79; Sideris 2000: 17.

[49] Treister 1996: 206, with earlier bibliography.

[50] Painter 1989: 75-6.

[51] For the 'Odrysian workshop(s)' in general, see Treister 1996: 210-11. For the beakers, see Archibald 1998: 181-4. For the rhyta, see Manassero 2003: 61-3 and 104-6.

[52] For the *Lotosphialen* see Oliver 1977: 27, no. 3; Minčev et al. 1987: 157, no. 223. The Propontis origin of the protome rhyta has been particularly stressed by Marazov (1978: 142-50) and partly accepted by Ebbinghaus (1999: 396 and 404-6). A newly found, and still unpublished, protome rhyton from Thrace has an unusual centaur finial (from the Dalakova Tumulus, Sliven region).

[53] Özgen and Öztürk 1996: 55-6.

[54] Laurenzi 1936: 179; Boardman 2000: 191-2.

[55] Özgen and Öztürk 1996: 124-5 and 238-9; von Bothmer 1984: 37, no. 49; Muscarella 1974: no. 73.

[56] Pfrommer 1983: 265-8, figs. 31-2 and 39; Ortiz 1996: nos. 152 and 154; Marazov 1998: 140-1, no. 67; Ebbinghaus 1999: 397-405; Inagaki et al. 2002: 37 and 233, no. 19. Two more, recently found silver head rhyta from Thrace are not yet published. The first is a calf head with a scene of the Calydonian boar hunt on the neck (from Malomirovo, Zlatnica region, Historical Museum, Sofia). The second is a ram head with a scene of suppliants at an altar (from Dalakova Tumulus, Sliven region, exhibited in the Museum of the Archaeological Institute, Sofia).

[57] Marazov 1998: 137 and 223, nos. 61 and 174; Ebbinghaus 1999: 390-7, fig. 1b; Inagagki et al. 2002: 109 and 244-5, no. 116; Manassero 2003: 88-91 and 111.

[58] Gagoshidze 2003: 7-9, 13, 16-17, 19, 21, 27.

[59] Treister 1996: 74-5, 211-12; Manassero 2003: 29-35, 52-3, 68-9.

[60] Pfrommer 1987: 54-5, 63-8, 73-4.

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Pavlos Triantafyllidis

Achaemenid Influences on Rhodian Minor Arts and Crafts

RHODES' geographical location at a major crossroads of maritime traffic between the Aegean and Cyprus and the southeastern Mediterranean played a crucial role in promoting the power and prosperity of the Rhodian state.[1] The far-ranging contacts of the island since prehistoric times, and especially during the early Iron Age, were responsible for the Rhodians' firsthand knowledge of artistic developments in the Near East. Imported luxury artifacts of bronze, silver, gold, ivory, glass, and faience (all apparently created in the Near East) were dedicated by pilgrims as votive offerings at the local Geometric and Archaic period sanctuaries and deposited as grave goods in burials of important individuals in the extensive cemeteries of Ialysos and Kamiros.[2]

Among these imports there are a number of interesting objects datable to the eighth or seventh century BC, which bear similarities to pieces from workshops in the wider Iranian region and may supply evidence for contacts between Rhodes and pre-Achaemenid Iran. The bronze pendants, all of them items of personal adornment, from the sacred *apothetai* of the temples of Athena at Ialysos,[3] Kamiros,[4] and Lindos[5] are decorated with antithetically placed protomes of wild goats (Fig. 1) which are attached to either a cylindrical foot with a central hole or to a circular base. The iconographic type of two of the protomes, and especially the antithetic arrangement of these animal figures, bear resemblances to Near Eastern works,[6] such as the Luristan bronzes[7] and metal artifacts from the area of the Caucasus.[8]

An important find from a seventh-century grave of a nobleman or priest at Daphne in Ialysos may provide another link with the Iranian world. This is a solid bronze crowning of a scepter in the form of a wild goat, cast in one piece with its small, narrow rectangular base with hole for attachment to a wooden or metal shaft (Fig. 2).[9] The features of the animal that are most emphasized in the modeling are its horns and smooth musculature. Small bells would presumably have been attached to the two rings hanging from its ears and to a now missing third ring suspended from the perforated tail of the animal. These bells would have produced a rhythmic sound upon striking or shaking the shaft. Similar types of zoomorphic mace- or scepter-heads have been found in the Heraion of Samos,[10] and recent research has attributed them to workshops of northwestern Iran or Western Asia.[11]

Iranian influence on Rhodian minor arts and crafts becomes clearly visible toward the end of the sixth century BC, when the Persians came to power. Achaemenid metalwork was to exert a strong influence on Greek metalwork, glass production, and even pottery[12] down to the time of Alexander's campaigns and the early Hellenistic period.

Achaemenid inclination towards luxury, physical comfort, and the conspicuous display of wealth defined a new lifestyle for the Greeks.[13] Achaemenid styles, particularly in tableware, became fashionable. They were imitated in the various workshops of the urban centers of the Aegean and the Greek mainland and gave rise to new creations which reflect an amalgam

Fig. 1
Bronze pendant decorated with protomes of wild goats. Sacred Deposit of the Temple of Athena at Lindos. Seventh century BC. National Museum of Copenhagen. H. 7 cm, D. (base) 3.5 cm.

Fig. 2
Bronze crowning of a scepter in the form of a figurine of a wild goat. Daphne (Ialysos) Tomb 7. Seventh century BC. Rhodes Archaeological Museum. H. 6.8 cm, L. (base) 2.2 cm, W. 1.2 cm, Th. 0.6 cm. (After Maiuri 1923-4: 262, fig. 162.II.2.)

Fig. 3
Silver Achaemenid bowl.
Ialysos Tomb 61. Late sixth/early
fifth century BC. Rhodes
Archaeological Museum.
H. 5.8 cm, D. 18 cm.
Photo: Argiro Chrisanthou.

of Achaemenid and various local features. The complex patterns of artistic interaction make it difficult to define boundaries between 'pure' Achaemenid types and imitations or adaptations. The degree of influence of Persian elements on Greek artifacts is still very much an issue open to further research and discussion.

Among the finest characteristic examples of Achaemenid metalware found in Rhodes are two nearly identical silver phialai —one fragmentary, the other surviving intact (Fig. 3)— from Ialysos Tombs 61 and 72 of the late sixth or early fifth century BC.[14] The interior of the bowls is decorated with a rhythmic pattern of alternating almond-shaped lobes and elaborate motifs of double pairs of swan heads[15] connected with lotus flowers and palmettes cast in relief. The only known parallel to these bowls, found in Kazbeg in the Caucasus, was probably made with the same mold and is inscribed with an Iranian name in Aramaic (Fig. 4).[16] These three luxurious phialai, which to all appearances were produced in the same eastern Achaemenid workshop, are prestige goods reflecting the wealth and high aesthetics of their owners.

The representations of a lion with half-open mouth found on Rhodes have been attributed to Achaemenid influence on Rhodian minor arts and crafts. The type is attested locally by the lion-head finials of five bracelets of silver and one of bronze which were excavated at Kamiros, presumably in the cemetery.[17] The lion heads of one of the silver examples are covered with gold foil; those of the bronze bracelet are silver-plated. Variations in the technique and decoration of these bracelets might suggest that they came from more than one burial.[18] Similar bracelets were found in Sardis[19] and Gordion[20] and occur in private collections.[21]

Another lion protome —this time of cast, transparent, colorless glass— was found in one of the sacred deposits of the temple at Kamiros but is now lost.[22] According to the Italian excavators' report, this lion was depicted in relief with a full mane and vivid, naturalistically rendered features. It was probably the bottom of a glass rhyton or fluted cup, a vessel type that was very popular in Achaemenid Persia though rarely attested in glass (as in the example from Persepolis[23] and the similar example in the Miho Museum[24]).

The iconographic type of the seated lion is seen on the unique colorless glass scaraboid of the late seventh or early sixth century BC from Tomb 8 at Annuackia in Ialysos (Fig. 5).[25] This and other examples of the type in the minor arts of the eastern Mediterranean[26] echo the zoomorphic features of the lions and lion-griffins depicted in Achaemenid reliefs and architectural sculpture[27] as well as on Achaemenid gold and bronze work found, among other places, on the Greek mainland.[28]

Glass working, which had flourished in Mesopotamia during the Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian periods, was also an important aspect of luxury object production in workshops active during the Achaemenid and early Hellenistic periods. The materials normally used were either colorless or naturally colored glass, the transparency of which allowed the glassmakers to imitate not only different kinds of semiprecious stones but also the gold and silver vessels favored by the Achaemenid court. The magnificent glass vessels of Achaemenid style were made in molds, ground, and the decoration was carefully applied by cold-cutting of the glass with sharp tools. These techniques were known to earlier Assyrian glassmakers. The Achaemenid glass vessels were used as tableware for banquets both in the royal

court and in the homes of wealthy nobles.[29] Along with luxurious metal vessels, they were the prime objects meeting the new demands from wealthy consumers in the Near East. They circulated far and wide as prestigious gifts. But they could also reach the Aegean through itinerant craftsmen, tradesmen, or travelers who had acquired them in the large eastern Mediterranean markets — or even as loot seized by mercenaries campaigning in the East.

The earliest known Rhodian example of a luxury, colorless glass vase which imitates the Achaemenid style was found in Tomb 68 in Ialysos in a context dated to the late sixth or the fifth century BC. It is a plain alabastron of greenish hue, probably ground or hot-formed, with a short body and delicate, vertical ring-handles with knobbed trails (Fig. 6).[30] The shape imitates that of earlier Assyrian prototypes attested in glass and stone, such as the alabastra (made of alabaster) of the sixth century BC from Nimrud[31] and the glass alabastron from the Cesnola Collection.[32] The alabastron shape is also seen in cosmetic stone bottles found in the Persepolis Treasury,[33] and in the elongated glass alabastra from Samos[34] and Rhodes[35] of the late fifth and fourth centuries BC, respectively. The late Archaic glass alabastron from Rhodes has been assigned to a series of alabastra with small elongated bodies found on Cyprus[36] and in a Persian-period tomb at ʿAtlit[37] on the northern coast of Israel. This industry undoubtedly continued a long tradition of fine glass vessel production that is attested most prominently by finds from the Assyrian palaces at Nimrud. However, during the Achaemenid period the lead in the manufacture of such glass vessels may well have been taken by western Iran.[38]

Among the early examples of Achaemenid style vessels from Rhodes, there is a fragment of a bowl of colorless glass, dated to the late sixth or early fifth century BC, from Tomb 32 at Marmaro in Ialysos.[39] It has an s-shaped profile and an everted rim, which is engraved with oblong, rounded petals. The shape is similar to that of the now lost glass bowl from a Persian-period tomb in Babylon[40] and of another bowl now at Ihringen in Germany,[41] dated to the early fifth century BC. Rounded petals were also used in the decoration of Achaemenid metalwork. The decoration of the fragment from Rhodes finds nearly identical parallels in the motifs of a glass bowl from Sairkhe in Georgia which is securely dated to 450-400 BC,[42] a bowl of the second half of the fifth century BC from Aslaia in Cyrenaica,[43] a bowl now in Tehrān,[44] and another one in the Eliahu Dobkin Collection of the Israel Museum.[45]

The substantial number of fourth-century luxury glass vessels from Rhodes may be divided into two main categories: vessels imitating the Achaemenid style and vessels of 'Rhodio-Achaemenid' style. The first category comprised calyx cups[46] of both the mesomphalos (Fig. 7)[47] and the skyphoid[48] varieties, dated from the second century through the fourth quarter of the fourth century BC. The glass is of very good quality. The decoration, engraved on the exterior of the bowl and around the concave omphalos (or the undecorated 'shield' of the base), consists of long, rounded petals of irregular outline radiating out from the base. On the tips of the petals there are faint triangular interlays, an echo of the decorative lobes popular in Assyrian and Achaemenid metalwork. Above the interlays, at the height of the shoulder, there is a cut-out horizontal band decorated
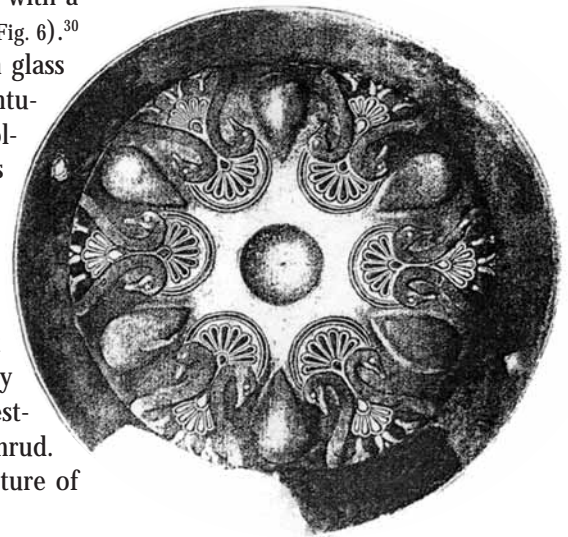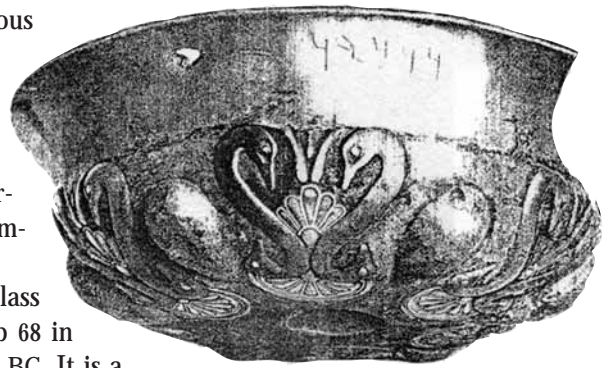
Fig. 4
Achaemenid silver bowl from Kazbeg, Caucasus. Late sixth/early fifth century BC. Historical Museum, Moscow. H. 5.5 cm, D. 18.4 cm.

Fig. 5
Colorless glass scaraboid. Anoakia (Ialysos) Tomb 8. Late sixth/early fifth century BC. Rhodes Archaeological Museum. D. 2.2 cm, Th. 0.4 cm. Drawing: Manolia Skouloudi.

Fig. 6
Cast glass alabastron. Ialysos
Tomb 68. Late sixth/early fifth
century BC. Rhodes
Archaeological Museum.
H. 7.8 cm, Th. 0.4 cm.
Photo: Georgios Kassiotis.

Fig. 7
Cast glass mesomphalos calyx.
Rhodes, Ancient Necropolis
(Atsidis plot) Tomb 33.
375-350 BC. Rhodes
Archaeological Museum.
H. 6.1 cm, D. 10.6 cm.
Photo: Sokratis Mavrommatis.

with an engraved net-diamond pattern. Both the shapes of these vessels (which are reminiscent of metal and clay prototypes) as well as their decoration are unusual. Parallels in glass are offered by calyx cups from Beroia,[49] Aineia,[50] Mylasa[51] and Amisus.[52] The net-diamond pattern recalls bowls of the late eighth or the seventh century BC from Nimrud.[53]

The shallow, slightly carinated phialai from Rhodes are decorated with engraved narrow lancet leaves or rounded petals radiating around the undecorated base and rising up to the horizontal grooves on the shoulder, in which triangular interlays are formed (Fig. 8).[54] We observe a similar decorative scheme on a number of glass skyphoi of the late fourth and the early third century BC found on the island.[55] Outside the island, this decorative combination is echoed by phialai from Ephesus,[56] Caunus[57] and Lousoi[58] and others in the Budapest,[59] Toledo,[60] and Corning[61] Museums. Various combinations of the motifs are seen on glass calyx cups and skyphoi from Macedonia,[62] Asia Minor (especially Gordion),[63] and the Euxine.[64] The naturalistic rendering of the elongated lanceolate leaves on the glass phialai and skyphoi from Rhodes is encountered on metal vessels of Asiatic origin, such as the silver Achaemenid mesomphalos phiale in the Römisch-Germanisches Zentral Museum of Mainz,[65] the gold-plated silver phiale of the Oxus Treasure,[66] and the silver phialai from Persepolis.[67]

Typological and archaeometric study has allowed us to identify a quite separate group of engraved phialai found in Rhodes as products of the local Rhodian glass workshop.[68] The glass of the latter vessels is colorless or greenish and of a quality somewhat inferior to that of Achaemenid style vessels found on Rhodes. Material analysis has revealed that it contains a higher percentage of lime and that its composition closely matches that of analyzed chunks of raw glass and colorless cullets that were recovered from the fourth-century glass workshop of the ancient city of Rhodes.[69] The main characteristic of such locally produced glass vessels is their cold-cut decoration with unusual vegetal patterns (Fig. 9).[70] The designs are of a floral-geometric kind, most commonly depicting a rosette with continuous fluted petals or intersected by an eight-pointed star or a highly schematic, continuous pattern of elongated leaves, rendered with much narrower incisions and grooves. These unique vegetal compositions radiating from the undecorated base up to the carinated shoulder of the vases have an unmistakable geometric quality and diverge from established patterns of Achaemenid glass decoration. Concerning the question of the protoypes of these decorative patterns, I think that a closer look at Achaemenid artifacts suggests a clear influence derived from the decorative geometric patterns of Persian weaving and tapestry. At Persepolis, details of such patterns are preserved on incised drafts of the decoration of the royal robe,[71] of the *phalara* of the horses represented on the reliefs of Xerxes' palace,[72] and of the canopy of the royal throne on the audience relief of the eastern stairway of the Apadana.[73]

The commonest shape of Rhodian glassware of the late fourth and early third centuries BC is the undecorated, shallow carinated phiale with slightly everted rim (Fig. 10),[74] sometimes of the mesomphalos type,[75] resembling the earlier glass mesomphaloi phialai from Gordion,[76] Persepolis[77] and the Corning Museum of Glass.[78] The shape of the undecorated Rhodian glass phiale undoubtedly originates from both Achaemenid metal prototypes[79] and the Rhodian metalworking tradition.[80]

The bronze skyphos, found in the votive deposit of the sanctuary of Athena at Kamiros and dated to the second half of the fourth century BC, has been identified as an example of Achaemenid metalwork of the late Classical period.[81] Its shape recalls Macedonian calyx cups of the fourth century BC[82] as well as some of the bowls that are carried as gifts by Asiatic delegations in the reliefs of the Apadana.[83]

During the late fourth and early third centuries, Achaemenid influences on Rhodian art are also evident in pottery. Two representative examples are a calyx cup from Ialysos[84] and a krater (inv. no. 25113) from the ancient city of Rhodes.[85] The latter vase, which is provided with handles in the form of terracotta figurines of Pan, has proven to be an authentic work of the Rhodian or Cretan pottery workshop. The potter who created this krater, decorating it with figurative anthropomorphic terracotta handles (a most unusual element in the Greek pottery and metalwork tradition[86]), was clearly inspired by the type of the Achaemenid silver amphora-rhyton with a side spout attached to one of the two zoomorphic handles,[87] even though to date examples of this type of amphora are not known from Greek territory.

The Achaemenid elements attested in the Rhodian archaeological record, and local production, can be explained as a result of the socio-political and economic relations between Rhodes and the Achaemenid realm. After the *synoikismos* and during a period when 'every Greek city had the possibility of a better chance for prosperity' (Diod. 12.1.3-4), the city and island of Rhodes attracted many foreigners, both transients (such as mercenaries, traders, slaves, and craftsmen) as well as more permanent residents, including artists seeking opportunities for wealth. The brisk commercial relations of the island with both the East and the West would have especially attracted traders, craftsmen, and artisans. Through such foreign craftsmen and contact with Eastern workshops, Rhodian glass and metal workers and potters would have learned of new artistic trends and Achaemenid prototypes, thus creating new Rhodian styles.

What little is known from literary sources about the relations between Rhodes and the East during the fifth and fourth centuries suggests that Rhodian familiarity with the Achaemenid cultural environment may have been further promoted by the island's political contacts with the empire.[88] Rhodes appears to have first attracted Persian attention during the time of the Ionian Revolt of the 490s. Already by the late sixth century the Persians had acquired a strong fleet, and their imperialist expansion aimed at control of important, well-sited harbors whence it would be possible to further promote their political and economic influence in the Mediterranean. The Persian plan to use the island as a base for attacks against the cities of the Ionian rebels at that time did not materialize.[89] In the Chronicle of the temple of Athena at Lindos, there are references to Persians in Rhodes, mainly in lists of votive offerings that were presented by rulers and common people during the siege of Lindos by Datis.[90] Written testimony about the relations between Persians and Rhodians includes references to the compulsory participation of Rhodians in the Persian fleet that fought at Salamis in 480 BC (Diod. 11.3.8; cf. Hdt. 7.93 and Aesch. *Pers.* 891) and in the expedition of Cyrus against his brother Artaxerxes (Xen. *An.* 3.3.16-20,

Fig. 8
Cast glass phiale. Rhodes, Ancient Necropolis (Koukouvai plot) Tomb 17. 350-325 BC. Rhodes Archaeological Museum. H. 4.1 cm, D. 14.7 cm. Photo: Sokratis Mavrommatis.

Fig. 9
Cast glass phiale. Rhodes, Ancient Necropolis (Skoni plot) Tomb Complex 2. 375-350 BC. Rhodes Archaeological Museum. H. 3.6 cm, D. 12.4 cm. Photo: Sokratis Mavrommatis.

Fig. 10
Cast glass, undecorated
mesomphalos phiale. Rhodes,
Ancient Necropolis (Gennadiou
Street) Tomb 2. Late fourth/early
third century BC. Rhodes
Archaeological Museum.
H. 3 cm, D. 12.5 cm.
Photo: Sokratis Mavrommatis.

4.15-16, 5.8).[91] It would further appear that a political alliance between the Rhodians, the Athenians, and the Persians was signed following the naval battle against the Spartans at Cnidus in 394 BC (Diod. 14.83-4). In this period, Rhodes was a strong and secure naval power together with Byzantium and Chios, but experienced political interference from Persian-controlled Asia Minor. The island was annexed by the Carian satrapy of the Persian state under Mausolus (355/4-346 BC) and his sister Artemisia. It was during the latter period of Carian-Persian political interference in local affairs that Achaemenid influence on Rhodian glassmaking was strongest. Rhodians also served the Achaemenid court. It is known, for instance, that the Rhodian Timokrates served at Artaxerxes side[92] (Paus. 3.9.8). Another Rhodian, Mentor, is called satrap of Atarneus in northern Ionia (Diod. 16.42, 45, 47),[93] while between 338 and 336 BC Memnon served under Darius and against the troops of Alexander (Diod. 17.7).

Achaemenid influences on Rhodian minor arts and crafts can thus be understood with reference to both the island's cosmopolitan milieu and its intense contacts with the Achaemenid world during the late Classical and early Hellenistic periods. Following a local tradition that dated from the Archaic period onward, the Rhodian glass industry continued to produce opaque, core-formed vessels. Rhodian workshops, however, also started producing, simultaneously, transparent vessels equal in quality to those of the products of the Macedonian glass workshop. In adapting current Achaemenid trends (no doubt in response to the demands of the market), the Rhodian glassworkers not only created a 'Rhodio-Achaemenid' style but also invented new shapes and decorative schemes for tableware. Despite the strong external influences on both pottery and glass production, the Rhodian workshops had their own independent development. Rhodian products, including elaborate glass, metal and clay artifacts, were famous for their successful fusion of Achaemenid motifs and local tradition. Marveling at the creativity and competitive character of the Rhodian workshops, Athenaeus (469D) observed that the Rhodians created their famous *hēdypotides* vessels in direct response to the production of the 'therikleian' ones by Attic workshops in order to compete successfully with their mainland Greek rivals.

[1] Triantafyllidis 2000: 99; Papachristodoulou 2001: 253; Filimonos-Tsopotou et al. 2006: 17.

[2] Filimonos-Tsopotou et al. 2006: 24-7.

[3] Martelli 1988: 109, n. 48.

[4] Bernardini 2006: 48-50, no. 16, pls. IX, XXI-XXII (eighth-seventh centuries BC).

[5] Blinkenberg 1931: 104, nos. 224-7, pl. 11 (seventh century BC).

[6] Muscarella 1988a: 181, no. 297; Bernardini 2006: 49. Other parallels from Greece are cited in Marangou 1996: 159, no. 254; Bouzek 1997: 189, fig. 211, no. 2.

[7] Amiet 1976: 89, 91, no. 198. For the Luristan bronzes, see Muscarella 1988a: 112-21, 1988b: 33-44; Schmid 2006: 240-1, fig. 2.

[8] Herrmann 1968: 31, fig. 26; Bouzek 1997: 190, figs. 220 no. 11, 236; Bernardini 2006: 49.

[9] Inv. no. 1341. Maiuri 1923-4: 258-62, fig. 162 (Tomb II); Triantafyllidis 2008: 90-4.

[10] Jantzen 1972: 62-3, no. B 1666, pl. 58; Stampolidis 2003: 480, no. 872.

[11] Moorey 1974: 192-3, fig. 2.6.

[12] For the adoption and adaptation of the forms of Achaemenid 'International Style' metalware vessels in Attic pottery, see Miller 1993: 113-36.

[13] Drougou and Touratsoglou 1997: 92, 135-6; Triantafyllidis 2000: 64, 91-2; Boardman 2000: 208-9.

[14] Laurenzi 1936: 179-83, figs. 168-9; Muscarella 1977: 194; Pfrommer 1987: 181-2; Miller 1997: 43 with n. 63, fig. 11; Boardman 2000: 19; Filimonos-Tsopotou et al. 2006: 38; Triantafyllidis 2005-6: 125-6, fig. 11.

[15] For swans' heads as ladles in Achaemenid art, see Muscarella 1977: 182, no. 138.

[16] Abka'i-Khavari 1988: 106, 117-8, no. F1C16, n. 78, fig. 2; Miller 1997: 43, n. 64; Boardman 2000: 191, figs. 5.73a-b, n. 133 on p. 247.

[17] For the silver bracelets, see Marshall 1911: 99-100, nos. 1201-4 and 1206-7, pl. XIII; Muscarella 1977: 195; Miller 1997: 43, n. 62. For the example in bronze, see Marshall 1911: 100, no. 1205, pl. XIII; Muscarella 1977: 195; Miller 1997: 43, n. 62.

[18] Miller 1997: 43.

[19] Koch 2001: 35, fig. 52b.

[20] Amandry 1958: 17, pl. 13.39.

[21] Inagaki et al. 2002: 247, nos. 151-4 (sixth-fourth centuries BC).

[22] Jacopi 1932-3: 365, fig. 111. For the dating of the temple deposit, see Filimonos-Tsopotou et al. 2006: 29-30.

[23] Fukai 1977: 20, fig. 8; von Saldern 2004: 108-9, pls. 96 and 104; Schmidt 1957: pl. 66.

[24] Catalogue of Ancient Glass: 196, no. 59; Triantafyllidis 2001: 15, Tables 1 and 2.

[25] Unpublished material.

[26] Similar representations of seated lions occur, for instance, on a gold ring from Tomb 42 at Marmaro in Ialysos (Laurenzi 1936: 160, no. 1, fig. 146), on seals from Sardis (Dusinberre 2003: 269 and 271-3, nos. 4525, 4528, 4642, 4580, figs. 81, 84, 86, 87), and on a haematite scaraboid from Sardis (Boardman 1970: 185-6, pl. 390).

[27] Koch 2001: 10, 30, figs. 12a-b and 59. Schmidt 1957: pls. 66, 69, 93, 145-147A.

[28] For examples in gold, see Inagaki et al. 2002: 246-7, nos. 145-6 (late sixth-fourth centuries BC).

Compare the seated bronze lion from Elis (Arapogianni 2002: 227, pl. 56B, dated to the early fifth century BC) and the handles in the form of a seated lion-griffin from Thessaly (Luschey 1938: 76-8, Abb. 1-2).

[29] Triantafyllidis 2001: 13; von Saldern 2004: 106-15.

[30] Maiuri 1923-4: 320-4; Triantafyllidis 2003: 132-3, fig. 4.

[31] Stampolidis 2003: 408.

[32] Karageorghis 2000: 190, no. 309 (eighth-sixth centuries BC).

[33] Schmidt 1957: pl. 65.1

[34] Triantafyllidis 2002: 28-9.

[35] Triantafyllidis 2000: 85-6, 154-5, no. 15; 2001: 13, Table 1, nos. 3-10, with examples in glass and exhaustive bibliography.

[36] Barag 1985: 69, no. 45, fig. 4, pl. 5; Triantafyllidis 2000: 172, no. 1.

[37] von Saldern 1970: 227, no. 54, fig. 49; Triantafyllidis 2000: 172, no. 2.

[38] Israeli 2003: 25.

[39] Unpublished material.

[40] Reuther 1926: 209-11, fig. 107b, pls. 65 and 109a (Tomb 109); Triantafyllidis 2000: 186, no. 64, pl. III.60.

[41] Hiller 1998: 301-4, fig. 6; Triantafyllidis 2000: 186-7, no. 65, pl. III.61; von Saldern 2004: 110, n. 19.

[42] Makharadze and Saginashvili 1999: 11-17; Triantafyllidis 2000: 173, no. 6, pl. III.5.

[43] Vickers 1972: 15-16, figs. 1-2; Triantafyllidis 2001: 14.

[44] Guide to the Glassware and Ceramics Museum of Iran: without page number; Triantafyllidis 2000: 173-4, no. 10, pl. III.9; Seipel 2000: 206-7, no. 199; Triantafyllidis 2001: 14.

[45] Israeli 2003: 50, no. 28.

[46] Triantafyllidis 2000: 72-4.

[47] Triantafyllidis 2000: 128, no. 1 (375-350 BC).

[48] Triantafyllidis 2000: 130-3, nos. 2-3 (350-300 BC).

[49] Touratsoglou 1986: 641-3, fig. 5.

[50] Vokotopoulou 1990: 61-2, no. 15, fig. 29, pl. 35.

[51] Erten 1996: 312-16, pls. II, IV and V; Triantafyllidis 2001: 14.

[52] Akkaya 1997: 132; Triantafyllidis 2001: 14, n. 40.

[53] Triantafyllidis 2000: 73; von Saldern 2004: 55, fig. 8b.

[54] Triantafyllidis 2000: 75-9, 134-9, nos. 4-7 (375-300 BC).

[55] Triantafyllidis 2000: 82-4, 148-53, nos. 12-14.

[56] Oliver 1970: 9-11, no. 1, fig. 3.

[57] Roos 1974: 18, 40, no. 42, pls. 3 and 14 (first half of the fourth century BC).

[58] Shauer 2007: 371-2, Abb. 1-2 (second half of the fourth century BC).

[59] Barkóczi 1996: 117, no. 375, pls. XXXIV and LXXIII.

[60] Grose 1989: 87, no. 34, figs. 34a and 48; Triantafyllidis 2001: 14.

[61] Goldstein 1980: 50-1, fig. 12; Triantafyllidis 2001: 14.

[62] Ignatiadou 2002: 11-12, figs. 1-2.

[63] For the examples from Gordion, see Jones 2005: 108-13. For other Achaemenid glass bowls from Asia Minor, see Akat et al. 1984: 22 and 53, no. 80, fig. 30; Triantafyllidis 2001: 14, ns. 48 and 52.

[64] Triantafyllidis 2001: 14-15, ns. 43 (Tyras), 44 (Kurdjhips Kurgan), 62 (Algeti), 69 (Hermitage Museum), 70 (Tolstaya Mogila).

[65] Pfrommer 1987: 250, no. KBk 27, pl. 49a-b; Triantafyllidis 2000: 77, fig. 19.

[66] Pichikyan 1997: 362-3, no. 38.192, fig. 20; Triantafyllidis 2000: 77.

[67] Abka'i-Khavari 1988: 123-4, no. F2d9, fig. 5; Triantafyllidis 2000: 77.

[68] Triantafyllidis 2000: 80-1; Rehren et al. 2003: 39.

[69] Triantafyllidis 1998: 32-3, fig. 9, and 2000: 39, fig. 4.

[70] Triantafyllidis 2000: 140-5, nos. 8-10 (fourth century BC). For a nearly identical pattern, see the glass calyx cup from Semionovka Barrow 20, Ukraine: Simonenko 2003: 42-3, fig. 2.1; von Saldern 2004: 111.

[71] Koch 2001: 48, figs. 71-3.

[72] Koch 2001: 61, fig. 99.

[73] Koch 2001: 66, figs. 106 and 108-9.

[74] Triantafyllidis 2000: 87-9, 158-65, nos. 17-21 (late fourth/early third century BC).

[75] Triantafyllidis 2000: 156-7, no. 16 (late fourth/early third century BC).

[76] Jones 2005: 104-8, figs. 8.3 and 8.4 (two glass bowls, mid- or late eighth/seventh century BC).

[77] Schmidt 1957: 91, pl. 67.3 (before 330 BC).

[78] *The Corning Museum of Glass*: 14 (500-400 BC).

[79] Abka'i-Khavari 1988: 122, no. F2c10, fig. 4 (Ras Shamra); Tsetskhladze 1994: 200-1, figs. 6 and 7.

[80] Triantafyllidis 2000: 88-9, 157 (late fourth/early third century BC).

[81] Inv. no. M 1630. Triantafyllidis 2005-6: 126, fig. 12.

[82] Rolley 2006: 314.

[83] Pfrommer 1987: 222, no. KaB A 82, pl. 62.A 82; Abka'i-Khavari 1988: 97, 108, no. T1c7, fig. 8; Miller 1993: 113-14, pl. 48.1; Calmeyer 1993: 152, pl. 49; Boardman 2000: 184, fig. 5.65; Zournatzi 2000: 685-6, fig. 2; Koch 2001: 35-6, figs. 50, 53a, 65; Schmidt 1957: pls. 31B, 34B, 38B.

[84] Laurenzi 1936: 161, no. 12 (Marmaro Tomb 42, fourth century BC); Pfrommer 1987: 63; Triantafyllidis 1999: 221, n. 19.

[85] Zervoudaki 1984: 124-32, pls. 45-50.

[86] Zervoudaki 1984: 135.

[87] Amandry 1959: 38-43, pls. 20.3, 24; Zervoudaki 1984: 132-5. The type of the amphora rhyton is depicted on the reliefs of the Apadana: e.g., Schmidt 1957: pl. 29B. See also von Gall 1999: 154, fig. 9; Koch 2001: 34-5, figs. 47 and 50; Zournatzi 2000: 685 (from Duvanli), fig. 1; Boardman 2000: 187-9, figs. 5.69, 5.71, 5.72.

[88] Discussions of the relevant textual evidence are offered by Triantafyllidis 2000: 100-1 and Papachristodoulou 2001: 253.

[89] Kelly 2003: 185.

[90] Blinkenberg 1912: 317-457, nos. 5 and 6, 1941: 149-99; Triantafyllidis 2000: 101, n. 421; Papachristodoulou 2001: 255; Kosmetatou 2004: 148, n. 43; Nielsen and Gabrielsen 2004: 1202; Papachristodoulou 2006: 16, 40.

[91] Berthold 1980: 35; Triantafyllidis 2000: 101.

[92] Papachristodoulou 1994: 84; Triantafyllidis 2000: 101, n. 429.

[93] Starr 1975: 69; Papachristodoulou 1994: 89; Triantafyllidis 2000: 101, n. 430.

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Historical Iranian and Greek Relations in Retrospect

IRAN AND GREECE, the homes of two great civilizations, were of tremendous importance in the ancient world, particularly from the sixth century onward. Iran and Greece became neighbors following Cyrus' occupation of the wealthy Anatolian state of Lydia. However, neighborly relations soon became frosty; tension between the Eastern power, Iran, and that of the West, Greece, resulted in open hostilities. While the Greek-Persian Wars caused considerable suffering and loss on both sides, it was through these trials that Greek culture developed and matured. Greece gained an increased sense of identity and self-awareness, providing fertile ground for the arts, especially sculpture. The Greeks believed their victory to have been achieved through divine assistance and thus commenced a program of temple and statuary construction as a means of offering thanks to their gods.

Even before the Persian Wars, Greeks were famous for their scientific knowledge and artistic skill, and many Greeks were employed at the Persian court. The end of the sixth century saw the development of incipient democracy in Greece alongside rule by tyrants in some cities. Nevertheless, when opportunity permitted, the Athenian assembly did what it could to bring down such tyrants, some of whom found refuge in Susa. The son of Peisistratos, Hippias, found himself seeking refuge at the Achaemenid court, having imposed a short-lived reign of terror on the Athenians. Furthermore, Hippias has been said to have played a significant role in Darius' decision to pursue war against Athens. It was information provided by him that the Persian army used en route to Marathon (Hdt. 6.102, 107), the Persians themselves being familiar only with coastal Ionia and the north Aegean region.

The Persian court sheltered a number of important Greeks. One of them was Histiaios, the tyrant of Miletus, who ended up in Darius I's court (Hdt. 5.23-4).[1] The king was suspicious of him and therefore kept him close as his personal advisor. Histiaios in fact became fluent in the language of his new home and conversed with the king directly and not via an interpreter. Other significant Greeks who found favor with Persia were Pausanias, King of Sparta and hero of Plataea (e.g., Thuc. 1.128.4-129), and Themistokles, the hero of Salamis (e.g., Thuc. 1.138.2).[2]

Reflecting the vast expanse of his empire —from the Indus to Ionia— Darius employed artisans from far and wide in the construction of his palaces at Susa and Persepolis. Among these workers were Ionian stone masons, including the famous fifth-century sculptor Telephanes, as Pliny (*HN* 34.19.68)[3] tells us. Nevertheless, the completed works remained thoroughly Persian in appearance without obvious Greek artistic influences.

As is well known, Alexander himself ordered the fiery destruction of Persepolis, a command which, as Curtius (5.7.3-7)[4] records, Alexander subsequently regretted. Furthermore, following his conquest of Persia, we are told that he found himself to have been gravely mistaken with regard to his preconceptions about the Persians. That Alexander intended to live per-

manently in the region is testified by the Greek scientists and artisans he brought with him as a means of introducing Greek culture into the conquered territories. He encouraged marriages with Persian women among his generals and soldiers and provided a large number of Persian youth with a Greek education.

Alexander and his army marched on through the east of the Persian empire intending to reach India. However, they were forced to turn back due to hardships and exhaustion. En route westward, Alexander married Roxana, daughter of a local satrap. In order to further cement Greek-Iranian relations, upon his return to Susa, a mass wedding took place between some of his soldiers and Iranian women. Alexander's apparent fascination with the local culture irritated his generals as they witnessed him —according to Diodorus (17.75)[5]— disporting himself in Persian dress, kneeling before the Iranian queen and, furthermore, permitting prostration in his own court. Further efforts to encourage the intermixing of the two cultures included the foundation of a number of Greek cities (possibly as many as 70, if we are to believe Plutarch [*Mor.* 328E]),[6] almost half of which were located between Parthia and India in the eastern empire.

Alexander's early death not only left his ambitious plans unfulfilled, it also jeopardized the unity of the empire he had so newly conquered. Ultimately the empire split into separate territories, each under the rule of one of his former generals. It was to Seleucus that the governance of Asia fell. While Alexander's efforts at the hellenization of the local population proved to have little long term success, the artistic-cultural legacy he left behind is still to be seen.

Recent archaeological surveys and excavations in Iran have brought to light a number of examples of Greek material culture: pottery, stucco works, rock reliefs, statuary, architectural elements (e.g., Fig. 1) and, perhaps most significantly, inscriptions (e.g., Figs. 2-4, 7). Such artifacts can be divided into three main groups: objects with Greek subjects made by and for Greeks; objects with Greek subjects, made for Greeks but also including Iranian imitations and usually not produced in the standard Greek style (presumably due to manufacture by either inexperienced Greeks or Iranian artisans); and finally, objects with Greek motifs copied and used exclu-

Fig. 1
Ionic capital from the temple
of Laodicea, Nahāvand.
Nahāvand Museum. Unpublished.
Photo: M. Rahbar.

Fig. 2
Greek inscription
of Antiochos III. 193 BC.
Once stood at the entrance
of the temple of Laodicea,
Nahāvand. National
Museum of Iran.

sively by Iranians and still in use. Among motifs included here are vine leaves and bunches of grapes (often appearing as decorative motifs on stucco) as well as acanthus leaves. Similar motifs which continued to be used into the Islamic period include figures of the Nike type, meanders, and rows of repeated swastikas.

A number of the above-mentioned objects have been found in various sites in Iran. In 1978 a Greek inscription was found at Marvdasht on a stone whose shape resembles that of the battlements of Persepolis. This artifact is a milestone indicating on one side the distance from the departure point, and on the other side the distance to the arrival point (Fig. 3).[7]

The Greek script saw its most widespread use in Iran in the early Arsacid period, being thereafter largely replaced by Pahlavi. Greek script was occasionally used until as late as the early Sasanian period, and the trilingual inscription of Shāhpūhr I at Kaʻba-ye Zartosht includes a Greek version.

As we know, Shāhpūhr II destroyed Susa, later founding a new city,

Fig. 3
Milestone discovered near
Persepolis. Seleucid period.
The inscription reads,
on the one side, '60 *stadia*'
and, on the other, '20 *stadia*'.
Photo: A. Kabiri.
(After Kabiri 1373/1994.)
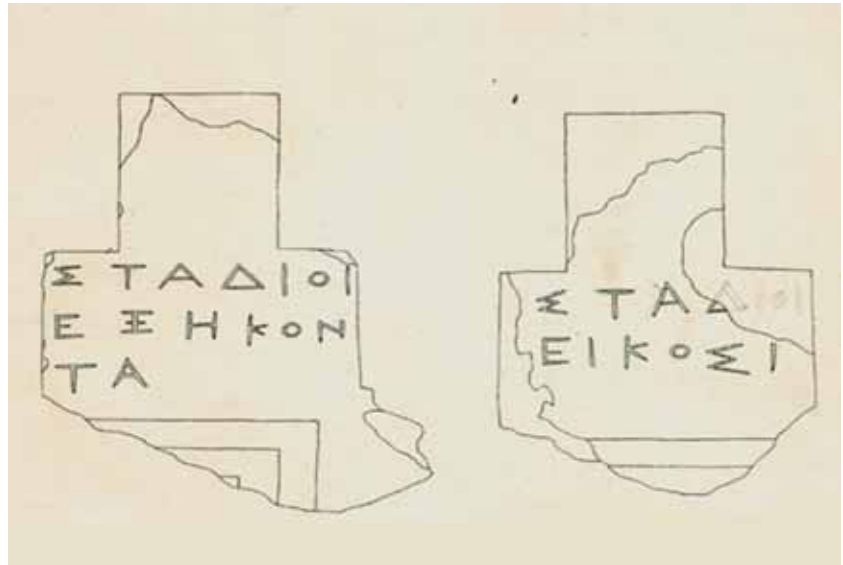
Fig. 4a-b
Greek inscription from
Eyvān-e Karkhē.
Probably from the reign
of Shāhpūhr II (AD 309-379).
Cultural Heritage Office
of Khūzestān. Unpublished.
Photo: M. Rahbar.

which was laid out on a Hippodamian plan and which has since been iden-
tified with Eyvān-e Karkhē. At Eyvān-e Karkhē a local showed me in 1993
another Greek inscription engraved on a stone fragment found at the north
of the site (Fig. 4a-b). Presumably this inscription is to be associated with the
Christians of Susa who acted as a Roman 'fifth column'.[8]

In 2000 I excavated a tomb site near Eyvān-e Karkhē datable to the first
century BC. Finds at this site include a number of precious stone objects
possibly of Greek workmanship engraved with a number of Greek figures
such as Athena and Hermes (Fig. 5).[9]

Fig. 5
Carved figures on finger-ring bezels
discovered in chamber tombs at Sāleh
Dāwūd, near Eyvān-e Karkhē. Pathian
Period. Ahvāz Museum, Khūzestān.
(After Rahbar 2000.)

Also worthy of mention here is the striking marble statue found near Borāzjān in southwestern Iran. This is probably a Greek-made piece from a local temple. It depicts Marsyas seated, wearing the skin of a fawn and recognizable due to his syrinx and flute (Fig. 6a-b).[10]

Finds from the recent excavations at Bīsotūn include a pot with the Greek name ΝΙΚΑΓΙΔΟΣ stamped on its handle (Fig. 7).[11] Perhaps this Νίκαγις was an inhabitant of western Iran?

Despite these above-mentioned discoveries, a comprehensive picture of Hellenic influence on Iranian culture during the Hellenistic era is still lacking, and on the whole there is a dearth of material evidence about the cities built by Alexander and the Seleucids. In this connection, the finds made at Nahāvand call for special attention. The Greek inscription (Fig. 2), which was accidentally discovered at that site in 1843, indicating the existence there of a Greek temple, is perhaps the most concrete testimony available so far about Seleucid presence in Iran. Several years later, the same site yielded a number of bronze statues.[12] In 2005, surveys and soundings conducted in order to locate the temple led to the discovery of an Ionic capital (Fig. 1) and a beautiful footstool.[13] Limited though they may be, these archaeological finds, combined with the evidence of written sources and surveys, can be seen to confirm the existence of a Seleucid building at this site.

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[1] See Badi 1965: 255.

[2] See Zarinkoob 1985: 174-5.

[3] See Zarinkoob 1985: 223.

[4] See Kasravi 1950: 43; Zarinkoob 1985: 215-47.

[5] Pirnia 1963: 1650.

[6] Pirnia 1963: 2054.

[7] Kabiri 1373/1994; Callieri 1376/1997.

[8] Rahbar 2000.

[9] Rahbar 2000.

[10] Rahbar 1999.

[11] Motarjem 2000.

[12] Rahbar 1976.

[13] Rahbar 2005; Rahbar and Alibaigi n.d.

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Shahrokh Razmjou

Persia and Greece: A Forgotten History of Cultural Relations

Abstract

THE TWO ANCIENT CIVILIZATIONS of Persia and Greece coexisted for almost 200 years. This long period is often remembered only for the wars fought between them, and cultural contacts are almost ignored. The traditional view, fabricated mainly in the mid-nineteenth century and afterwards, was of the relationship being one of complete hostility and an exaggerated conflict between East and West. Today it has become clear that the wars had strong economic roots and that contacts were based more on dialogue and cultural exchange than hostility. Classical sources indicate that the main aim of the Achaemenid kings was to punish Athens for the burning of Sardis and that Greece was not primarily a territorial claim; similarly the Athenian campaign in Egypt had no territorial objectives but had strong economic roots. Soon afterwards, Persia and Athens became closer, and by the end of the period they were actually allies.

Despite political problems, Persia and Greece —not only during the post-war period but also during the wars— had strong cultural exchanges. The Persian kings were never opposed to Greek art and culture. They supported Greek temples and funded or promoted the construction of Greek-style buildings in their territory, from Petra to Xanthos, Ephesus, and Halicarnassus. They also admired and acquired Greek works of art, which were respectfully kept in royal archives. The Greeks also had an interest in Persian art and culture. Finds from Greece show that Greek artisans were interested in Persian artistic elements. Some elements reached Italy via the Greeks and continued on into other European art.

Unfortunately, in many modern texts the existence of Greek artifacts in Iran and of Persian artifacts in Greece is rarely seen as evidence of direct cultural or diplomatic contact. Aside from the arts, Greeks (e.g., Herodotus) who traveled freely inside the Persian territory admired the sophistication of its 'fast-messengers', satrapal system, and road network. Greeks also sought employment in various positions within the empire. There were also close scholarly contacts. For example, Plato invited the Magi to Athens after his trip to the Persian empire, and Anaxagoras went to Athens and lectured about Persian astronomical theories.

Even after the fall of the Achaemenids, the Seleucid king Antiochos (who was Greek educated) proudly represented himself with the support of Darius and Xerxes at Commagene. Within the cultural identity of Europe, the Greeks and Persians were seen together beyond the context of conflict. For example, Raphael in his *School of Athens* has painted Zoroaster. Similarly, Handel composed his opera *Serse* ('*Xerxes*'), which focused on love and human relationships not on war.

Unfortunately, the complex cultural dialogue between Persia and Greece has been, until very recently, almost completely neglected in the modern academic texts, and some misinterpretations of ancient authors have been

taken as facts. Even the word 'barbarian', used by the Greeks to refer to 'non-Greeks', is often understood through its later (Roman) meaning. This biased perspective was primarily shaped in nineteenth-century Europe as a result of contemporaneous politics, informed especially by the conquest of Greece by the Ottoman Turks and its struggle for independence. Archaeological finds and textual sources have been misinterpreted or neglected in order to adhere to this perspective, but in reality the evidence tells a totally different story.

Recently, a more holistic approach to the subject and a more critical analysis of the data has shown how these two civilizations had close cultural ties and influenced each other in art, architecture, language, religion, astronomy, and philosophy. Ignoring this dialogue will deprive both civilizations of most of their legacy evident through their cultural contacts. The current traditional view needs serious revision to recover the fruits of this cultural interaction that endured for centuries until modern times.

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