PERSIAN RESPONSES

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Political and Cultural
Interaction with(in)
the Achaemenid Empire

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PREFACE

This volume derives from a panel ('Persia and the Greeks: Reactions and Receptions') which formed part of the Celtic Conference in Classics held at l'Université de Rennes II in September 2004. Not all papers presented then are included here, and some papers included here were not presented on that occasion – which is part of the reason why the title of the present volume differs from that of the panel.

I am immensely grateful to Anton Powell for undertaking to publish the book under the Classical Press of Wales imprint. I am also grateful to Lloyd Llewellyn-Jones for his part in organizing the conference-panel and to Pierre Brulé and his colleagues in Rennes for providing a context within which we could flourish.

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Christopher Tuplin
July 2007

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ABBREVIATIONS

In the case of Greek and Latin literary authors, abbreviations of author-names and titles follows normal conventions, for which see listings in e.g. S. Hornblower and A. Spawforth, *Oxford Classical Dictionary* (third edition, 1996), H.G. Liddell and R. Scott, *Greek-English Lexicon* (ninth edition, Oxford 1925–1940). Sigla for Achaemenid royal inscriptions (e.g. DB, DNa, DSf, XPa) follow the convention used in R.G. Kent, *Old Persian* (second edition, New Haven 1953). Abbreviations for other non-classical sources, fragmentary or non-literary Greek texts, reference works and modern periodical publications are given below. However, abbreviations that are used only in the chapters by Henkelman/Kleber, Raimond or Tuplin are given at the start of the notes to the relevant chapters.

Non-classical sources, fragmentary or non-literary Greek texts, reference works

BM	British Museum (inventory number)
CVA	*Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum*
FGrH	F. Jacoby, *Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*
IG	*Inscriptiones Graecae*
IK	*Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien* (Bonn, 1972–)
LGPN	P.M. Fraser and E. Matthews, *Lexicon of Greek Personal Names* (Oxford 1987–)
LIMC	*Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae* (Zurich, 1981–)
ML	R. Meiggs and D.M. Lewis, *A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions* (Oxford, 1968)
NN	sigla of unpublished Persepolis Fortification Texts (transcriptions by R.T. Hallock)
PF	Text in R.T. Hallock, *Persepolis Fortification Tablets* (Chicago, 1969)
PFa	Text in R.T. Hallock, *CDAFI* 8 (1978), 109–36
PFS	Seals preserved as impressions on Persepolis Fortification Tablets (see M. Garrison and M.C.Root, *Persepolis Seal Studies. An Introduction with Provisional Concordances of Seal Numbers and Associated Documents on Fortification Tablets 1–2087*, Leiden, 1996/98 and *Seals on the Persepolis Fortification Tablets*

	I: *Images of Heroic Encounter*, Chicago, 2001)
PTS	Seals preserved as impressions on Persepolis Treasury Tablets (see E.F.Schmidt, *Persepolis* II, Chicago, 1957)
RLA	*Reallexicon der Assyriologie* (Berlin, 1932-)
Sardis VII	W.H.Buckler and D.M.Robinson, *Sardis* VII: (1) *Greek and Latin Inscriptions*, Leiden, 1932
SEG	*Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*
SNG	*Sylloge Numorum Graecorum*
TL	J. Friedrich, *Kleinasiatische Sprachdenkmäler* VII. Lykische Texte (Berlin, 1932), 52–90. (The material in this publication is derived from E.Kalinka, *Tituli Asiae Minoris* I: *Tituli Lyciae lingua Lycia conscripti* [Vienna, 1901].)

Periodical publications

AA	*Archäologische Anzeiger*
AAH	*Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*
AASOR	*Annals of the American Schools of Oriental Research*
AC	*Antiquité Classique*
AfO	*Archiv für Orientforschung*
AHB	*Ancient History Bulletin*
AJA	*American Journal of Archaeology*
AK	*Antike Kunst*
AMI	*Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran*
AMS	*Asia Minor Studien*
AnAnt	*Anatolia Antiqua*
ANES	*Ancient Near Eastern Studies*
ASAE	*Annales du Service des antiquités d'Égypte*
ASNP	*Annali della Scuola Normale Superiori di Pisa*
BagM	*Baghdader Mitteilungen*
BAI	*Bulletin of the Asia Institute*
BASOR	*Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*
BASP	*Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists*
BCH	*Bulletin de correspondance hellénique*
BICS	*Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies*
BIFAO	*Bulletin de l'Institut français d'Archéologie orientale*
BMQ	*British Museum Quarterly*
BSOAS	*Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*
CDAFI	*Cahiers de la délégation archéologique française en Iran*
C&M	*Classical et Mediaevalia*
CP	*Classical Philology*

CQ	*Classical Quarterly*
CRAI	*Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres*
DHA	*Dialogues d'histoire ancienne*
EA	*Epigraphica Anatolica*
EL	*Études de lettres*
GJ	*Geographical Journal*
HSF	*Historische Sprachforschung*
ICS	*Illinois Classical Studies*
IEJ	*Israel Exploration Journal*
IstMitt	*Istanbuler Mitteilungen*
JAC	*Journal of Ancient Civilizations*
JAOS	*Journal of the American Oriental Society*
JARCE	*Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt*
JCS	*Journal of Cuneiform Studies*
JDAI	*Jahrbuch des deutschen archäologischen Instituts*
JEA	*Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*
JHS	*Journal of Hellenic Studies*
JNES	*Journal of Near Eastern Studies*
JRA	*Journal of Roman Archaeology*
JRAS	*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*
JSS	*Journal of Semitic Studies*
LCM	*Liverpool Classical Monthly*
MDAI(A)	*Mitteilungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts (Athen)*
NABU	*Notes assyriologiques brèves et utilitaires*
NC	*Numismatic Chronicle*
OA	*Oriens Antiquus*
OGIS	*Orientis Graecae Inscriptiones Selectae*
PCPS	*Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society*
PdP	*Parola del passato*
PG	*Patrologia Graeca*
PL	*Patrologia Latina*
PMLA	*Publications of the Modern Language Association*
RA	*Revue archéologique*
RDAC	*Report of the Department of Antiquities of Cyprus*
REA	*Revue des études anciennes*
REG	*Revue des études grecques*
Rev.Eg.	*Revue d'Égyptologie*
RN	*Revue numismatique*
SIFC	*Studi italiani di filologia classica*
SovArkh	*Sovyetskaya arkheologiya*
ST	*Studia Troica*

Abbreviations

TAPhA	*Transactions of the American Philological Association*
Trans	*Transeuphratène*
WZKM	*Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlands*
ZA	*Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*
ZDMG	*Zeitschrift der Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*
ZPE	*Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*

INTRODUCTION

Christopher Tuplin

In its early days the modern institution of Achaemenid Studies was marked by colloquia (the Achaemenid History Workshop, 1981–90) and associated publications (*Achaemenid History* I–VIII, 1987–94) of quite wide thematic remit and relatively disparate contents. In more recent times conferences relevant to Achaemenid history have tended to become more thematically focused, whether in terms of geographical scope (e.g. Anatolia, Transeuphratene) or type of evidence (coinage, archaeology, historical author). This is a natural and proper development. Nonetheless there is still room for the older model, and this is perhaps particularly true in the case of a volume that goes out under the imprint of a press whose publications are primarily addressed at what we must still call (for want of a better word) classicists. The focused conference-volumes to which I have just referred are for the specialist Achaemenid Studies audience called into existence since the later 1970s. The present volume will, I trust, be read by that audience, but I hope that its wide range of contents may also serve to give to a professional but non-specialist audience some taste of the great variety of subjects and types of discourse that are at home within study of the Achaemenid Empire. The broad theme of political and cultural interaction is driven by no governing thesis about politics, culture or the way in which individuals or groups impact upon one another. It simply affirms the banal fact that the empire was immensely diverse and is known to us (as is all of antiquity) through verbal and non-verbal sources that are marked (and perhaps marred) by their own cultural characteristics. All serious engagement with the Achaemenids must keep this fact in mind at all times, and the chapters that make up this volume exemplify the point in a number of different ways. In the order in which they are presented we move from issues in Greek historiography through a series of regionally focused studies and then back to Zarathushtra, Alexander the Great and the early modern reception of Persepolis. For the purposes of the brief introduction to their contents that follows here I group the chapters slightly differently.

Greek historiography
There are all sorts of means – with many degrees of indirectness – by which

genuine information about Persia and its empire might have reached the
Greek sources now available to us. One may hope that sometimes it was
a matter of direct contact between a Persian source and a Greek author,
though this is not a situation that is explicitly attested particularly often or
always to entirely satisfactory effect. The claim that Darius III's battle-order
for Gaugamela fell into the hands of the Macedonians and informs the
historiography of that battle might be contrasted not only with Herodotus'
un-Persian 'Persian' documents (the tribute and army lists) but also with his
unblinking assertion that Persian *logioi* trace the origin of Greco-Persian
conflict to the abductions of Io, Europa, Medea and Helen. Still his ability
to make that unblinking assertion no doubt says something about the nature
of Greek cultural interaction with Persians in the classical period, and
NICHOLAS SEKUNDA's chapter reminds us of a much less well-known but
(in its identification of the Persian source) much more specific example from
the hellenistic era. Whether or not Boxus acquired his hellenic language and
mentality in Persis itself, a plausible if not demonstrable proposition, he was
as happy as his anonymous forbears to contribute to a Greek aetiological
project, and Agatharchides was as happy as Herodotus to regard what he was
told by a Persian as authoritative – indeed happier, for Herodotus had his
own take on the ultimate origin of the Persian Wars, whereas Agatharchides
is evidently content with the story of Erythras.

Later we shall see an acknowledgment of Persian authority in a different
intellectual field (philosophy), but for the moment we must stick with
historians and consider the figure of Tissaphernes, whose treatment in Greek
historiography is evoked in two chapters. GABRIEL DANZIG notes a tension
between the way in which Xenophon represents Tissaphernes in *Anabasis*
and Cyrus' father Cambyses in *Cyropaedia* and uses an examination of this
tension as a way of articulating more clearly Xenophon's attitude to one
aspect of the art of leadership. Set in a general context of approbation, the
speech of a father to his son (*Cyropaedia* 1.6.2–46) arguing that deception is
part of the armoury of a good military leader is, on the face of it, a peculiarly
authoritative utterance, and one likely to be expressive of Xenophon's own
view of the matter: it is certainly widely understood in that way. How, then, is
it to be squared with the equally common understanding that Tissaphernes'
deception of the (admittedly sadly gullible) Clearchus in *Anabasis* is not an
outstanding example of leadership skill deployed in loyal service of his royal
master but an appalling example of perfidy? As often with Xenophon, the
answer lies in (i) returning to the text, reading carefully what the author
actually makes Cambyses say and replacing one's simplistic recollection of
the passage with a more precise understanding and (ii) remembering that
individual passages need to be judged in the context of a system of values that

emerges from the entire Xenophontic corpus. Approval of deception in fact comes with significant qualifications and its utility has to be balanced against the persuasive power of conspicuous honesty, for its misuse, however effective on a particular occasion, will undermine a leader's future ability to secure desirable outcomes by exploiting a reputation for moral probity. Leadership involves tough choices: it is not a simple art, and Xenophon's discourse about it (as about all subjects) is not simple. So far as Persian response is concerned, however, his willingness to incorporate Persians in that discourse, though familiar, bears reiteration.

For Danzig, Tissaphernes is primarily a spring-board for the consideration of Xenophontic values. It is, however, implicit in his discussion that Tissaphernes is not to be judged by different criteria from those that apply to Greeks: Persians might conceivably have distinctive characteristic strengths and failings, but the same could probably be said of e.g. Spartans, and it is not obvious that Persians seem to Xenophon to represent a categorically different type of human being. The same applies to Thucydides. His treatment of Tissaphernes, discussed in JOHN HYLAND's chapter, is also predicated on the assumption that the same principles of rational calculation apply to a Persian as to a Greek – and indeed that the context within which calculations have to be made and decisions taken about the pursuit of the state's interest is not radically dissimilar to that familiar in the Greek world. This does not mean, however, that Thucydides is entirely right in what he says about Tissaphernes: he was right that the satrap did not want either Athens or Sparta to triumph (hardly surprising since his job was to serve the interests of the Persian King) but his conviction that he actively sabotaged the Spartan war-effort is not persuasively grounded and overall his treatment may be marred by failure to consider or inability to find out about other factors in the Eastern Mediterranean or further afield which had a bearing on Tissaphernes' non-deployment of the Phoenician fleet. Thucydides is rarely thought of as a source for Achaemenid history in the same way that Xenophon and Herodotus are and it is clear that there is no powerful reason to reassess this state of affairs. Thucydides was committed to dealing with Tissaphernes by the latter's active involvement in the Peloponnesian War (by contrast any Persian dimension prior to 412 could, Thucydides believed, be largely ignored) and he was committed to allocating him a lot of space by his relevance to a persistent Athenian belief in the possibility of Atheno-Persian co-operation – a belief which Thucydides was concerned to controvert, not just as a matter of historical judgement but as a message for his contemporary Athenian audience. None of this is anything to do with study of the Achaemenid empire in its own right: Thucydides' Persian response is strictly part of Greek history.

Persian display

Greeks (and other imperial subjects too) knew that the Great King was exceedingly rich and they associated both kings and satraps with a degree of magnificence beyond the reach of citizens in city-state republics. The danger that lavish royal bounty might corrupt poor Greeks who came into too close contact with it could not be ignored. At the same time, in the light of Xerxes' defeat, it was inevitably tempting to dwell on the contrast between grand display and military failure (the shimmer of gold in the text of Aeschylus' *Persians* comes to mind here) and even to conclude that the former reflected or engendered a mentality that accounted for the latter. Historians have been ready to assume that this gave rise (in Greek minds in general and in classical historiography in particular) to a fully developed discourse about the self-indulgent luxury of the Persian court. Of course, if one draws a distinction between, on the one hand, the fact that Persian environments are reported to contain plenty of gold and silver and, on the other hand, the composition of elaborate descriptions of hedonistic living, one would have to say that surviving classical historians are at least a little disappointing in the latter respect. The contrast in a famous passage of Xenophon between Agesilaus sitting on the grass and the satrap Pharnabazus about to sit (until he thought better of it) on fine rugs is rather small beer and, in general, denunciation of luxury tends to be implicit in relatively unextravagant description of its instruments. Even Ctesias seems more interested in conspiracy and cruelty than in conspicuous consumption. But Ctesias is known only through epitomes and fragments, the fourth-century historians of Persia are barely preserved at all – and anyway is there not the evidence of Athenaeus? Well, perhaps not. In her discussion of the question DOMINIQUE LENFANT observes that Athenaeus' treatment of the *tryphē* of the Persians is intrinsically problematic, because it is based on out-of-context quotation and is dealing with a semantically and morally tricky entity. Her conclusion is that Athenaeus' judgement about the components of *tryphē* and his personal antipathy to the phenomenon as a feature of his own times inform the selection and presentation of material. We cannot be sure to what extent his sources characterized particular phenomena as examples of *tryphē* (whether they literally used that word or indicated something similar in different terms); and this means that we cannot actually be sure to what extent the lost classical sources for Achaemenid history discerned *tryphē* – especially *tryphē* in a heavy sense of the word – as a defining feature of the Achaemenid state or its royal court. That they knew, and reported, that Persia was different can scarcely be doubted: but the response to difference may not always have been hectic denunciation.

Among many markers of royal magnificence, the Great King's garments must have been one of the most notable. In his *Life* of Artaxerxes II (24)

Plutarch speaks of 'the gold, the *kandys* and the 12,000 talents' [!] worth of adornment (*kosmos*) that always enclosed the body of the king', though he does so in order to underline the fact that nonetheless the king was able to put up with the hardship of a military campaign as well as any common soldier – so there is no complaint about ennervating luxury here or presumably in the fourth-century source (Dinon?) upon whom Plutarch was drawing. One may also set this image of the King dripping with wealth alongside a different Greek *topos* about royal dress, namely the proposition that only the King may wear his tiara upright. My own chapter seeks to establish what this might be supposed to mean and in what sense it can be made to square with other evidence about royal head-gear. The answer to the first question is that it must indicate a specially stiffened version of the soft hat (bashlyk) that is normally associated with the Iranian riding costume. The answer to the second is: not without some discomfort. For the hat in question can only be seen in Greek representations (and even then surprisingly rarely), whereas it is absolutely certain that the King also sometimes wore a quite different sort of head-gear, one which is ignored in Greek representations and probably in Greek texts as well. One must conclude that, although the Great King had different dress-codes for different circumstances and although individual Greeks must have encountered these different dress codes, the Greek imagi-nation was primarily seized by the one with military overtones. In view of the implications of Lenfant's discussion of Athenaeus, this conclusion is at least somewhat less surprising than it might otherwise have seemed. The truth is that the Greek response to the Achaemenid Empire was *not* simply to see it as a contemptible reservoir of effete orientals, and that something of the original shock experienced by sixth-century Anatolian Greeks at the arrival of a new 'Median' enemy survived deep into the classical era.

Regional studies
Two chapters look at Achaemenid Anatolia. In the first FRÉDÉRIC MAFFRE lays out textual and archaeological evidence for the role of individual non-Iranians in the governance of Hellespontine Phrygia. The picture that emerges is quantitatively skewed towards Greeks from Anatolia and elsewhere, but one should no doubt be wary of assuming that this wholly reflects reality: the existence of a Greek historiographical tradition and the absence of non-Greek ones inevitably tips the balance hugely in one direction. The key principle is that the Great King and his satraps were perfectly happy to run the empire in part through members of non-Iranian elites, so long as their position in the hierarchy of authority remained relatively modest; and there is no reason why this should not have applied fairly equally to Greek and non-Greek elites. Over time the distinction

might, of course, become slightly complicated by the exposure of the latter to hellenization, but at the relatively low level of clarity with which Helle-spontine Phrygia can be seen one cannot make much of this possibility. In another part of Anatolia, however, there is a little more to be said, as is shown by ERIC RAIMOND's evocation of aspects of Greco-Lycian accul-turation as it played out against the background of Achaemenid imperial rule, though his concern is not with the governance of the region in the Achaemenid interest or with the direct intrusion of Persians into the cultural process. This was, in fact, a cultural process with a long history (one which challenges simplistic notions about hellenic and non-hellenic and the impact of the first on the second) and it is necessary to rehearse aspects of this history in order to put the Achaemenid imperial period into context and to preserve a sense of proportion: Lycia produces some notable bits of Perso-Anatolian or Perso-hellenic material (e.g. the Payava Sarcophagus, the Karaburun tomb or the frieze on Pericles' Limyra monument) and these are prominent in discussions of Achaemenid Anatolia and as sources for Persian *Realien*. But this is not the only – or perhaps the main – cultural story of region during this era. Rather we should focus on the continuing health of distinctively Lycian culture, the philhellenism of the Lycian dynasts and social elite and the absence of passive hellenization: it was possible to pick and choose. Perhaps Persian authority served to empower Lycian identity because it empowered the Lycian elite (there could be a connection with Maffre's material here) or perhaps the particular pattern of interaction between hellenic and Lycian outlined in the early part of Raimond's chapter served to keep Greek influence at arm's length – which may only be another way of saying that historical depth (and geographical isolation?) gave Lycian culture an unusually strong character. In any event, it was not the Persians' business to interfere, and the material reflection of a Persian dimension in Lycian iconography will be just another example of Lycians picking and choosing.

Greco-Persian interaction has tended to dominate engagement with Achaemenid history, especially among those approaching it from a classical background. But the Achaemenid imperial state had to interact with a variety of distinct cultures, some of which had a coherent literate cultural history that was very much longer than that of the Greek-speakers of the Aegean basin, Thrace and western Anatolia. Two chapters illustrate aspects of this important fact.

The picture of Darius I's generally benign relationship with Egypt from which ALAN LLOYD starts is, of course, partly informed by Greek sources – including Greek sources on the other Achaemenid rulers (notably Cambyses) with whom Darius is liable to be contrasted – and one of the monuments he

discusses is (albeit relatively scantily) attested in Greek and Roman sources. But this classical component remains well in the background in a chapter that investigates the direct engagement between Persian ruler and Egyptian subjects in the context of two rather different pieces of public building-work. In one case the argument minimizes such engagement. The temple at Hibis bears cartouches containing the name of Darius but these do not prove any significant degree of personal involvement on the king's part in the phase of building that took place during his time. The presence of a royal name on an Egyptian monument had always been in principle consistent with a variety of scenarios. There is no reason to suppose that this principle did not still apply during the Achaemenid era, and no positive reason to see the Hibis building-work as more than a piece of local initiative that was eventually date-stamped with the mark of the current pharaoh. The Nile-Red Sea canal is more complex – a grander project and one producing commemorative texts that are more varied (verbal presentation is in both Egyptian and three cuneiform languages) and distinctive (free-standing monumental stelae carrying narrative or commentary on the project, not mere generic cartouche decoration). The Egyptian-language stela-faces insert Darius into a near-pure Egyptian iconographic and literary context (the only oddities are representation of subject-peoples on a stela and the Persocentric listing of those peoples), and even the cuneiform faces, though bearing texts conforming to the standard typology of Achaemenid royal inscription, have a partly Egyptian appearance. Nonetheless there is no doubting that the Persian King has ordered a Persian enterprise with a Persian agenda. Greek sources knew, or thought they knew, that Darius was reviving an Egyptian project, that of Necho. But neither Egyptian nor Persian text chooses to make anything of that. The Egyptian text just treats Darius as the legitimate pharaoh without further comment, and the rhetoric that insists upon a king outperforming all predecessors takes precedence over the *topos* (illustrated in the discussion of Hibis) in which a king is moved to act by a report that a piece of work has been abandoned. The Persian text – more expressive of the *actual* power-relationship – simply makes no concession at all to the idea that Darius is an *Egyptian* ruler and therefore does not seek to assert any continuity (even a competitive one) with an Egyptian predecessor. Thus, although there is no doubt of Darius' direct involvement in the project, the engagement of ruler and subject displayed here is not much less impersonal than at Hibis. Egyptians had to have a pharaoh, so assimilation of Darius (or any other Achaemenid) into an Egyptian discourse is not a judgment on that king's actual or perceived attitude to Egypt; and, in his own discourse, Darius was always simply a Persian. Naturally this assessment can only technically apply to the particular texts in front of us. Perhaps there were other contexts in

which agents of Persian authority found it useful to dwell on the king's role as pharaoh or in which Egyptians might acknowledge with pleasure or pain the differences between successive foreign pharaohs: but, if so, they were ones that did not generate monumental texts.

Herodotus knew that Darius had a favourite wife called Artystone (7.69), and the domains of this lady and of her son Arsames (also known to Herodotus) figure in the chapter by WOUTER HENKELMAN and KRISTIN KLEBER. But most of the material with which they are concerned lies quite outside surviving Greek representations of the empire – not just because heartland Persia in general and Persepolis in particular are seldom explicitly evoked in pre-Alexander sources (cf. Root) but also because, whatever part of the world one is looking at, Greek historiographical discourse does not concern itself with the deployment of labour or the documentary paper-trail to which it gave rise: a Greek author might tell us that a king built a fine palace or a city-state a specially pretentious temple but would never pay much heed to the mechanics of the enterprise. This is not, of course, a specially Greek failing: we know about the building-work at Matannan and other such matters thanks to the survival of documentary archives (a survival dependent on accidents of material and climate) and not through the existence of a different historiographical mentality among authors writing in Akkadian or Elamite. The particular interest of the material in this chapter is twofold. First, the text published here provides a new illustration of the kings' exploitation of their subjects' resources for their own benefit. The forms of such exploitation varied (in the present case it was very direct), but from the subjects' point of view this was always, no doubt, the principal species of interaction with the Achaemenid imperial state. Secondly, the particular location in which this direct form of exploitation was being enacted makes the document stand out from a wider group of texts in which Babylonian labour is only deployed as far east as Elam. For here we are beyond the Zagros and in the heartland of the empire, and this means in turn that the document becomes part of the pre-history of a phenomenon (the centrally-organized use of foreign labour) attested in a quite different and profoundly important archive, that of the Persepolis Fortification tablets. We cannot quite say with absolute confidence that we are thus enabled to see exactly the same process through two different administrative viewpoints, because during the period of a decade and a half which elapsed between YOS 7,187 and the earliest Fortification tablets the imperial system suffered a major upheaval associated with the brief reign of Bardiya (Smerdis) and Darius' subsequent seizure of power – a story that started less than a year after YOS 8,187 was written. But there was continuity as well as disruption across 522–521, and it is very hard to believe that there was no system in place in Persis in 523 for the local

management of the workers supplied by Eanna of Uruk. Military conquest had given access to new resources: the Persian response was surely to organize those resources properly as soon as possible.

The limits of cultural response
Careful reading of the iconography of the decorated walls of Persepolis has played an important part in contemporary understanding of the character (or the projected character) of Achaemenid kingship and thus of the entire Achaemenid imperial project: indeed MARGARET ROOT's 1979 book on *The King and Kingship in Achaemenid Art* stands chronologically at the beginning of the first quarter-century of modern Achaemenid studies. Scholars pride themselves on trying to read pictures (as well as texts) through the imagined eyes of properly-informed contemporaries. But not all contemporaries were properly-informed and, in the context of a world-empire embracing multiple ethno-cultural groups, there must have been an expectation, indeed intention, that royal monuments would be viewed by people whose information was markedly different from that of their designers or their royal master. Root's chapter explores this by speculating about the response of a classical Athenian visitor to Persepolis to the Apadana stairway panel that depicts Greeks bringing gifts to the Great King. This is a complex exercise, partly because one of the gifts is not of objectively clear identity (i.e. *we* do not claim to know what is involved and so cannot set up a clear disjunction between our reaction and that of the putative classical Athenian visitor) and partly because the associations of particular objects (or of their iconographic representation) in that Athenian's mind are necessarily an object of speculation. But students of Athenian cultural history do standardly profess an ability to speculate in a proper fashion about Athenian 'values', so the exercise is certainly valid, and the thought-experiment is useful not only for the light it casts upon the emergence and reinforcement of Greek stereotypes about Persia but also (equally or more importantly) as a means of sharpening our response to the Apadana stairway project. Conscious as we are that the monument as a whole is intended to evoke ideas of order, stability and co-operation, we must not lose sight either of the fact that these ideas are persuasive rhetoric (otherwise known as spin) – which we are probably quite good at remembering – or of the potential for some dissonance (accidental or deliberate) when the individual images were viewed by interested parties – which is perhaps more easily forgotten and may be a lesson that does not only affect Greeks.

Some of the dissonance investigated by Root is linked with the fact that classical Athens could be receptive to Persian cultural goods as well as hostile to Persian political demands and cultural values. Everything depended on circumstance and context. This point also emerges from the

chapter by PHIROZE VASUNIA. That Greek intellectuals should be open to – even celebratory of – Persian wisdom is not necessarily a paradox. The general context – discourse about cosmogony, the good life and what lies beyond conducted by philosophers from a tradition not particularly sympathetic to prevailing democratic values – was not hostile and circumstances were variously propitious: the empire did bring potential purveyors of information about Persian wisdom into contact with the Greek world (the word *magos* discloses this, whatever the negative associations it had from the start in certain circles) and the Pythagorean strand (home-grown but edgily 'other') in one strand of Greek wisdom enabled engagement with the outsider. But it *was* a selective engagement, based on oral generality not textual specificity, focused on a relatively narrow doctrinal area and always in danger (as the hellenistic aftermath showed) of being inundated by a wash of more or less wholly inauthentic garbage: for the modest but (intellectually speaking) tolerably serious interest shown by Platonists and Pythagoreans opened the doors to a Greek Zoroaster of dismally low intellectual pretensions, though quite high market success. Moreover, the seeds of such cultural sell-out were always there: we should not forget that the first surviving Greek-language reference to Zoroaster, in the Lydian author Xanthus, is associated with talk about magi copulating with their mothers or (as Vasunia highlights) that the desire to claim some sort of validation by appeal to the ancient (or in Aristoxenus' case not-so-ancient) wisdom of the east turned into a matter of partisan Greek-on-Greek competition. Thus does the agonistic temperament intrude into what (we might think) ought to be the calm world of philosophical speculation. One is tempted, naturally, to describe that temperament as a distinctively hellenic disposition, but in truth we know nothing about the world of Iranian magi of the fifth and fourth centuries BC that actually precludes the existence of doctrinal dispute or personal rivalry in that sphere as well. To deny it (without evidence) would surely expose one to the dread accusation of 'orientalism', a concept briefly evoked by Vasunia and much hyped in the world of post-colonial *Angst* that so many historians of classical and Achaemenid antiquity claim to inhabit. But to affirm it (with no more evidence than the hints of doctrinal unorthodoxy noted by Vasunia or the potential for differentiation afforded by a putative Babylonian element in western Zoroastrianism) is perhaps just to be guilty of a different form of orientalism – a special case of the self-satisfied ethnocentrist unwillingness to acknowledge that other people may actually be different from oneself. To return from these dangerous heights to a more mundane issue: it would be nice to be more sure than the evidence can apparently allow just how much of the Plato-Zoroaster link is simply due to the inventiveness of the great man's pupils. Even if the *Alcibiades* is

authentic, its deployment of Zoroaster might justly be called a rhetorical flourish rather than a declaration of philosophical engagement, and Plato's other references to Persia have little to offer in this direction.

Post-antique reception

Vasunia describes his chapter as an exercise in *Rezeptionsgeschichte*, and it is one in which we are shown that 'reception' can, over time, take both more and less responsible forms. Two further chapters deal with a much later stage in the reception of Achaemenid Persia, focusing particularly on its heartland capital, and provoke a similar thought.

Prior to the start of proper excavation of the site in the 1930s, many modern travellers had already left a literal mark upon Persepolis. Some did so damagingly, by writing upon the monuments or by removing bits of them. Others were more benign: as the tendency for the place to be a mere sideshow to more pragmatic ventures gave way in the 1810s and 1820s and later to a more purposive engagement with the ruins, visitors attempted to clear parts of the site and to record what was there in reasonably sober descriptions or drawings or (from 1858) photographs. ST JOHN SIMPSON's paper outlines some features of this process, and calls special attention to the contribution of Lieutenant-Colonel Stannus, not hitherto one of the more celebrated names associated with Persepolis. Stannus was the first person to make moulds of the sculptures (this was two decades before Lottin and seven before Giuntini) and as such he made a significant contribution to raising the profile of Persepolis in the west, both through the original display of his material in the British Museum and then through its re-display in 1865 at a time of a general further increase in interest in Persian antiquities.

Simpson's discourse belongs entirely in a context where the identity of the Marv Dasht remains as Persepolis is generally accepted (and with the decipherment of cuneiform eventually guaranteed) and there is no ambivalence about the issue. LINDSAY ALLEN is primarily concerned with an earlier stage, when the European and the Iranian-Islamic identities of the site co-existed and interacted. The proponents of these identities were different in character. Persian visitors were heir to a literary tradition that enshrined Persepolis in the mythistorical construct of Iranian history, and some of them carved *Ozymandias*-like poems on the stones of Persepolis. European visitors scratched mundane self-advertising graffiti, were brought to the site in the first place by politics and commerce, and effected a self-referential intellectual appropriation of the place that gave off a vaguely colonialist smell. (Curzon's rather positive construction of the graffito phenomenon is interesting here.) But the site's failure to fit classical norms or yield an obvious explanation of function rendered such visitors (few of whom paid any heed to Persian or

Arabic texts) open to on-the-spot native commentary, and there was perhaps some pragmatic interest in not remaining wholly aloof. From the vantage point of modern scholarship, the results varied. Continued use of the names Chilminar or Takht-i Jamshid did no harm but retention of the notion of 'harem' in the designation of part of the terrace was rather unfortunate, whatever Herzfeld's need to keep in with the local authorities. The persistence of stories about systems of wind-swept underground tunnels deceived no one in the long run, but association of Persepolis with the Iranian Nowruz (an idea current since the eighteenth century) has had a long history and exerted a surprisingly strong influence upon the scholarly literature. On the other hand, the first identification of Chilminar as Persepolis represents a rather more satisfactory example of native-European interaction: this identification crystallized in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century and its tendency to embrace all of greater Istakhr, not to say Shiraz as well, reflected contemporary Persian attitudes and was coloured by a shared ascription of importance to Alexander's destruction of the great royal city of Fars.

Alexander's Persian Empire?

And so we return to the most conclusively violent response to the Achaemenid Empire by someone whose political and cultural background placed him outside its literal and conceptual frontiers. The *doyen* of modern historians of Achaemenid Persia, Pierre Briant, first suggested that Alexander might be viewed as 'the last Achaemenid' back in the early days of the invention of Achaemenid Studies and returned to the idea at the conclusion of his great work, a history of the Persian Empire specified in both French and English versions as running from Cyrus to Alexander – not to Darius III. The end of great empires is liable to be untidy, and at some level there is bound to be continuity as well as disruption. This is particularly true where there is a relatively sharply defined act of conquest, as in the case of the demise of the Achaemenid Empire, if only because the conqueror will have an interest in stressing both phenomena: disruption in order to win plaudits from disadvantaged erstwhile subjects, continuity in order to avoid instability and 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' is not surprising. ROBIN LANE FOX's chapter argues, however, that the idea is misleading. There were certainly different phrases in Alexander's engagement with the problem of succession to Achaemenid rule, but over and over again phenomena that have sometimes been viewed through an Achaemenid prism can better be seen through a Greek

or Macedonian or (most importantly?) Alexandrine one, and in the long run what the conqueror crafted was a new kingship of Asia, exercised from a point within the bounds of Darius III's realm (even literally from the palatial environments that had been familiar to his Iranian predecessors) and associated with some desire for (non-equal) partnership with those who represented the old empire's elite, but entirely distinctive in its fundamental character. Persian colour in the King's entourage or physical environment and the fitful aspiration to 'include' Persians in the imperial project should not be confused with the perpetuation or revival of Achaemenid Kingship. In the end, the king who affirmed the dead Darius by the savage punishment of his murderer and was a pragmatic 'lover of Cyrus' affirmed and loved himself and his own glory a very great deal more – and could hardly otherwise have achieved all that he did. Moreover, 'the Achaemenid Empire was only a phase in Alexander's career' – or so Alexander had hoped. There was no point in being the 'last Achaemenid' in Arabia, Carthage or Italy – or, actually, in Macedonia and Balkan Greece – and, while Alexander's unfulfilled future cannot entirely dictate our reaction to his actual past and present, it warns us to keep things in perspective. Alexander turned out not to be the 'first' anything (since his realm fell apart) and he was not the 'last' anything either: he was simply himself and all attempts at lapidary categorization are bound to misrepresent a unique reality. Such a misrepresentation would be unfair not only to Alexander the conqueror but also to the remarkable Empire that was his victim.

THUCYDIDES' PORTRAIT OF
TISSAPHERNES RE-EXAMINED

John O. Hyland

One of the major features of the renaissance of Achaemenid Persian studies since the early 1980s has been historiographical re-examination of the Greek texts that provide the narrative framework for Persian political history. The need for a close re-studying of the Greek historians was eloquently expressed by Heleen Sancisi-Weerdenburg in a paper given at the 1984 Achaemenid History Workshop:

> ... The frequently repeated statement as to the bias of the Greek sources should not therefore be followed by an attempt to check the Greek information against Iranian evidence that is so often deficient, but by an analysis of the literary and intellectual mould into which these data were inserted. This seems the only way to dehellenise and decolonialise Persian history.[1]

But, however many advances have been made since 1984, the work of re-examining Greek historical writing on Persia is still far from complete. One area of continued neglect is Thucydides' history of the Peloponnesian War, the only contemporary source for the dramatic intervention of Darius II and his satraps in the affairs of the Greek world at the end of the fifth century BC. Thucydides' attitude towards Persia has not been treated in a comprehensive way since Antony Andrewes' frequently-cited 1961 article on 'Thucydides and the Persians', which concentrates on the composition of the history and Thucydidean omissions, but says very little about the historian's actual treatment of Persian characters in his narrative.

Modern scholarship has had a great deal to say about Thucydides' only major Persian character, the famous satrap Tissaphernes, but studies of Tissaphernes in Thucydides have lacked a historiographical focus. They can be divided into two broad groups – on the one hand, those that try to suggest alternative explanations for the satrap's actions, arguing that Thucydides misinterprets Tissaphernes' motives; on the other, those that accept Thucydides' reconstruction of events. Both approaches, though, share a desire to establish an official historical version of what actually happened and why this

Persian official behaved as he did. Neither involves the all-important consideration of Thucydides' motives, the attempt to show why the historian chose to present Tissaphernes in a certain way and rejected the interpretations of his contemporaries. In this paper, I hope to shed some light on the choices that faced Thucydides when writing about Tissaphernes and his aims in portraying the satrap as he did, and to place his presentation of Tissaphernes in a wider context of late fifth- and early fourth-century Athenian attitude towards Persia.

Thucydides and Persia

Thucydides' history as a whole concentrates on the story of the Athenian empire and the reasons, above all internal ones (cf. 2.65.12), for its ultimate collapse. Although he mentions that both Athens and Sparta sought the support of the Great King from the outbreak of the war (2.7.1), Thucydides spends little time on Persian matters in the early books. Andrewes suggested in his 1961 article that Thucydides' avoidance of Achaemenid material, particularly his failure to mention a peace treaty with the King referred to by the orator Andocides (3.29), stems from an ignorance of Persia's importance in Greek politics before 412.[2] But Thucydides' involvement in the highest levels of Athenian government during the Archidamian War at a time when Athens was actively seeking Persian alliance (4.50.3), makes this explanation somewhat doubtful. I argue elsewhere, following suggestions in recent studies of Thucydides' narrative techniques by Tim Rood and Jonathan Price, that the historian made deliberate choices to omit or exclude Persian-related events from the narrative when he found them irrelevant for the course of the war and his portrayal of Athenian behaviour.[3]

As a result of the scarcity of Persians throughout most of the *History*, readers of Thucydides are often startled when they turn to Book Eight, in which the Achaemenid empire enters the war and the historian lavishes an unprecedented amount of space on a Persian character, the satrap of Sardis responsible for Persia's initial alliance with Sparta, Tissaphernes. Thucydides refers to Tissaphernes ninety-two times in Book Eight, far more than even the famous Athenian exile Alcibiades. In the entire history, only Alcibiades and Brasidas are mentioned more often.[4]

Why should Thucydides give so much attention to Tissaphernes, who was only the first of Persia's representatives in the Ionian War? He did not play a decisive role in the war, unless to prolong it until his replacement Cyrus could arrive with greater enthusiasm for the Spartan cause.[5] If one considers the historian's selective treatment of earlier Persian material, it seems likely that Thucydides concentrates on Tissaphernes not from a deep interest in the Achaemenid aspect of the war, but because he considered this particular Persian a central figure in the story of Athens' internal decline.[6]

Tissaphernes, exactly because he failed to contribute in a significant way to Sparta's victory over Athens, was a crucial figure in a great political question that gripped the Athenians throughout the oligarchic coup of 411, the campaigns of the Ionian War, and beyond: was it possible that Persia and the King might be persuaded to transfer their friendship to Athens and save the city from its enemies? Athens' anticipation of salvation from the east continued long after the Achaemenid empire had made a decisive commitment on behalf of the Spartan alliance. Tissaphernes' conflicts with his Spartan allies in the early years of the Achaemenid intervention provided evidence for many Athenians that hope remained.

Thucydides' treatment of Tissaphernes' plans and of Athenian hopes for Persian aid constitutes a complete, carefully thought-out approach to a controversial subject, which the historian found of the highest importance. It is partly for this reason that Thucydides' eighth book contains certain unusual stylistic features, that he interjects authorial opinion into the narrative (8.46.5; 56.3; 87.4), that he includes and explicitly argues against alternative versions of events (8.87.2–6).[7]

Tissaphernes' introduction and motives for war with Athens

As one might expect from Thucydides' earlier treatment of Persian topics, Tissaphernes appears only when the narrative of the Greek war requires his presence. Thucydides introduces him as 'the general of the coastal area for King Darius' (βασιλεῖ Δαρείῳ τῷ Ἀρταξέρξου στρατηγὸς ἦν τῶν κάτω),[8] but feels no need to provide information on the satrap's personal background or the circumstances in which he attained his office.[9]

The context for Tissaphernes' first appearance in Thucydides is a Spartan debate over the best target for the offensive of 412.[10] Messengers from the Ionian cities, arriving in Sparta to lobby for support against Athens, were accompanied and supported by an emissary of Tissaphernes, conveying the satrap's promise to provide supplies for Peloponnesian troops in Ionia (8.5.4). At this point Thucydides presents the underlying thoughts that drove Tissaphernes to seek out alliance with Sparta (8.5.5).

This introduction to the Achaemenid intervention in the war makes it clear that Persia's quarrel with Athens could not be easily resolved. Thucydides' presentation of Tissaphernes' initial motives for seeking out Spartan alliance bears comparison with his earlier discussion of the Macedonian king Perdiccas' relationship with the Spartans. Perdiccas had come to the support of the Spartan general Brasidas' campaigns in Thrace and had offered to pay half of the Spartans' wages. The Macedonian-Spartan alliance had turned sour, though, after disputes about the goals of the campaign, and Perdiccas had first protested by lowering the Spartans' pay (4.83), and finally switched sides and joined the Athenians (4.128).

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Thucydides writes that Perdiccas had been afraid of Athens because of past disputes, but that his primary motive for alignment with Sparta was the need for help against an internal revolt (4.79.2). In 412, Tissaphernes had one similar reason for seeking out the friendship of Sparta, the need to put down the revolt of the Persian rebel Amorges. But, although Thucydides mentions that the Great King had ordered Tissaphernes to crush Amorges' uprising, he gives pride of place to a more permanent goal for the Persian satrap, the need to recover the tribute of the Greek cities along the Anatolian coast, the collection of which was made impossible by the very existence of the Athenian empire (8.5.5).

Amorges' depredations in Caria were a threat to Tissaphernes alone, whereas the need to recover lost revenues also drew the attention of his colleague Pharnabazus, who shared Tissaphernes' goal of collecting tribute from the coastal cities by destroying Athenian power in Anatolia (8.6.1; cf. 8.99). For Thucydides, the satraps' assignment to recover tribute from Athenian-controlled cities was not only the reason that Persia went to war, but a reason for it to continue its participation in hostilities after Amorges had ceased to matter. The tribute issue was a crucial point of difference between the Athenian and Achaemenid empires that could prevent any efforts at peaceful co-existence. There might be no accommodation between the two great powers until neither impeded the other's ability to expand, and this helps to explain why Persia, unlike Perdiccas of Macedonia, was unlikely to allow differences with the Spartans to drive it into Athens' arms.

Alcibiades and the hope of Persian aid for Athens

Throughout the early events of Book Eight, Tissaphernes gives no sign of a change in purpose. His primary mission, despite the elimination of Amorges, remains the recovery of tribute and territory for the King, to be achieved by co-operation with the Spartans. Tissaphernes' relationship with Sparta, though, grew shaky in the winter of 412/11, due to a series of disagreements over treaty terms (8.36, 43) and the rate at which the satrap paid the Peloponnesian fleet (8.29).[11] Matters came to a head in a quarrel between Tissaphernes and the Spartan envoy Lichas over the territorial claims of the King, in which Thucydides makes Lichas address the satrap with colorful Herodotean overtones, expressing outrage that Darius should claim control of all lands held by his ancestors, since such a formula might imply the enslavement of much of Hellas to the Mede (8.43.3). Tissaphernes walked out of the negotiations, and the Peloponnesians temporarily broke off contact with him and withdrew from Miletus to Rhodes, bringing the alliance to a low point (8.44).

In the context of these events, Thucydides begins to suggest that the

satrap might undergo a change of heart. The historian introduces Tissaphernes' new motives, which play such an important role in the rest of Book Eight, after rewinding his narrative by several months to focus on the machinations of Alcibiades.[12]

Thucydides does not give Alcibiades all the credit for Tissaphernes' growing fear and mistrust of his Spartan allies. As he notes, the root of Tissaphernes' suspicion of the Spartans was his argument with Lichas (8.52). Alcibiades, though, has already appeared at several points in the history as a character who tells his audience what they want to hear, builds on their fears and ambitions, and drives them towards bold execution of decisions which they have already considered but not acted on (6.93; 7.18; 8.6.3).[13] It is not surprising, then, that Thucydides introduces Tissaphernes' change of policy in the form of advice from the Athenian exile. The historian uses the character of Alcibiades, in a lengthy segment of indirect speech to Tissaphernes, to introduce the complex strategic issues facing the satrap, and to explore the much-hoped-for possibility that Persia might be persuaded to side with Athens. Thucydides prefaces the Athenian's advice with the statement that Alcibiades became Tissaphernes' 'teacher in all things' (διδάσκαλος πάντων γιγνόμενος, 8.45.1), but he will return to Tissaphernes' thoughts at the end of the section to examine the extent of the satrap's agreement with Alcibiades' instructions (8.46.5).[14]

Alcibiades begins by suggesting a series of specific measures to reduce Tissaphernes' expenses, including the reduction of Peloponnesian wages by half (8.45.2). He then turns to the wider strategy of the war and the question of how Greek alliances may bring the greatest benefit to Persia. He warns Tissaphernes against reliance on Sparta, counseling him against bringing a Phoenician fleet into the Aegean or paying for more Peloponnesian ships (8.46.1). To do either, Alcibiades argues, would tip the strategic balance heavily in Sparta's favour, to the great disadvantage of the King. If Persia allows the Spartans to extend their military dominance to the sea as well as the land, the King would lose any chance of alliance with one limited Greek power against another, and would face great expense and danger (μεγάλη δαπάνη καὶ κινδύνῳ) in any future warfare against the Greek world. It would be far less costly (βραχεῖ μορίῳ τῆς δαπάνης) to promote long-term conflict among the Greeks (8.46.2).[15]

The language of cost and expense follows naturally from Thucydides' belief in the great wealth of the Achaemenid empire. This wealth is characterized by extreme generosity, and a number of examples of Achaemenid largesse occur throughout the history: Xerxes' letter promising to spare no expense (δαπάνη) to aid Pausanias (1.129.3); the reference to the custom of Persian royal gift-giving during Thucydides' digression on Thrace (2.97.4);

the land grants to Themistocles (1.138.5) and the Delian refugees (5.1); and of course the promised subsidies for Peloponnesian fleets in Book Eight. Thucydides recognizes, though, that the King and his satraps are concerned for the conservation of wealth as well as its redistribution. He states later in the book that Tissaphernes would gain greater credit with the King if he could achieve his goals while spending less money (8.87.5), and attributes to the satrap a fear that Pharnabazus would accomplish his objectives at less cost (again δαπάνη, 8.109).[16] Alcibiades' emphasis on the financial risks of the Greek situation, therefore, is a deliberate appeal to the sentiments and interests of his Persian patron.

He bolsters his argument with an explicit comparison between the empires of Athens and Persia. Athens, Alcibiades states, is the ideal ally for the Persian King because of their shared imperial experience, and would be willing to hold empire in common with the King (εἶναι κοινωνοὺς αὐτῷ τῆς ἀρχῆς). As a maritime power, it has no reason to challenge Persia's claim to dominance on land. Above all, the Athenians share Persia's taste for conquest, and would be willing partners in the enslavement (ξυγκαταδουλοῦν) of the Ionian islands and the Greeks of Asia. Sparta, on the other hand, with its talk of liberation of the Greeks (ἐλευθερώσαντας), is the opposite of everything Persia and Athens stand for (8.46.3). It is understandable that Tissaphernes requires the removal of Athenian power from Asia, but he must not allow the Spartans to grow too strong in the process. As soon as possible, Alcibiades argues, once both sides are appropriately weakened, Tissaphernes must turn against Persia's true enemy and expel the Spartans from the territory of the King (8.46.4).

Thucydides treats Tissaphernes' response to Alcibiades' suggestions with great care (8.46.5). He states that the satrap agreed with Alcibiades 'for the most part' (τὸ πλέον), a qualification which indicates that Tissaphernes did not follow all of the exile's advice.[17] In a rare expression of authorial voice in the narrative, he adds that it is necessary to determine Tissaphernes' motives from the actions that he took (ὅσα γε ἀπὸ τῶν ποιουμένων ἦν εἰκάσαι). Listing the actions by which Tissaphernes showed his agreement with Alcibiades, Thucydides mentions the reduction of the Peloponnesians' pay and the satrap's decision not to support them with a Phoenician fleet. These events convince him that Tissaphernes' unwillingness to aid the Peloponnesians was 'too obvious to miss' (τά τε ἄλλα καταφανέστερον ἢ ὥστε λανθάνειν). He says nothing, though, about Tissaphernes' response to the suggestion that Persia should join forces with Athens.

Alcibiades spends the rest of Book Eight in efforts to bring Tissaphernes over to the Athenian side. Thucydides portrays his attempts as unsuccessful, but emphasizes that the Athenians thought otherwise, convinced by the

claims that Alcibiades made in order to negotiate for his own recall from exile. Athenians from all walks of political life were willing to consider Alcibiades' terms in the hope that alliance with the Great King was a real possibility. Oligarchs like Peisander used the potential friendship of the King as a reason for the abolition of democracy, since common wisdom had it that Persia would not support popular government (8.48.1, 53).[18] Thucydides writes that the naval *okhlos*, although angered by threats to the democracy, was placated by the thought that the King might agree to pay its wages (8.48.3).[19]

Thucydides presents Alcibiades' efforts to seduce Tissaphernes in two phases. In the first, playing on the satrap's distrust of the Spartans, Alcibiades employed simple persuasion. Thucydides writes that he tried his hardest, as he was competing for great stakes (περὶ μεγάλων ἀγωνιζόμενος, 8.52), but was unable to win Tissaphernes over to friendship for Athens, and the negotiations between Tissaphernes and an Athenian embassy led by the oligarch Peisander were unsuccessful (8.56). According to Thucydides, Alcibiades acted as Tissaphernes' spokesman and disguised his lack of influence over the satrap by presenting the envoys with overly harsh terms for Persian support. Peisander and his colleagues were forced to walk out of the talks before Tissaphernes could declare his unwillingness to help them.[20]

After this failure, Alcibiades lost the confidence of the oligarchs, who subsequently dropped their efforts at winning Persian aid but successfully overthrew the government. Alcibiades transferred his attentions to the naval men on Samos, dedicated to restoring the democracy, and promised them the support of Tissaphernes and the King if they could bring about his recall from exile. The democratic leader Thrasybulus met with Alcibiades, escorted him back to the fleet, and secured his election as general. Alcibiades' claims of Persia's sympathy for Athens continued to convince his audience, although Thucydides states that they were greatly exaggerated (ὑπερβάλλων ἐμεγάλυνε τὴν ἑαυτοῦ δύναμιν, 8.81.2). He reports Alcibiades' promise that Tissaphernes was willing to melt down and coin his own bed to keep the Athenians supplied, and would bring the Phoenician fleet to help the Athenians rather than the Peloponnesians, as long as they recalled Alcibiades and treated him well (8.81.3).[21]

Alcibiades had recognized, despite his grandiose boasts, that simple persuasion would not be enough to win Tissaphernes over. In the second phase of his relationship with Tissaphernes, therefore, Thucydides makes him turn to a strategy of coercion, trying to use his new authority as Athenian general to intimidate the satrap (8.82.3). When Tissaphernes left for Aspendus to assemble the Phoenician fleet that he was supposed to lead up in support of his allies, Alcibiades set out after him with a small naval squadron, claiming he would either bring the Phoenicians over to the Athenian side or prevent

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them from joining the Spartans (8.88). His actual plan, Thucydides writes, was to convince the Peloponnesians of Tissaphernes' friendship to Alcibiades and Athens, thus driving a rift between the allies and forcing Tissaphernes to take Athens' side.

A serious fracture did in fact develop between Tissaphernes and his allies, and the Spartan fleet, convinced that the Phoenicians would never come, sailed up to the Hellespont to seek assistance from Pharnabazus. Alcibiades, returning to Samos, reported 'that he had diverted the Phoenician fleet from coming to the Peloponnesians and that he had made Tissaphernes friendlier to the Athenians than before' (ἀγγέλλων ὅτι τάς τε Φοινίσσας ναῦς ἀποστρέψειε Πελοποννησίοις ὥστε μὴ ἐλθεῖν καὶ τὸν Τισσαφέρνην ὅτι φίλον πεποιήκοι μᾶλλον Ἀθηναίοις ἢ πρότερον, 8.108.1). This version of events seems to have gained popularity, and appears in Isocrates' speech in defence of Alcibiades' son almost fifteen years later as one of Alcibiades' many benefactions to Athens (16.20).

Thucydides' account of Tissaphernes' actual decision not to bring the fleet (8.87), however, has nothing to say about Alcibiades, and it is clear that the historian does not share in the belief that Alcibiades played any significant part in sending the Phoenicians home.[22] Immediately after Alcibiades' final optimistic report to the Athenians, Tissaphernes sets out for the Hellespont to repair his alliance with Sparta (8.109).

For Thucydides, despite the initial convergence of Tissaphernes' actions with Alcibiades' advice to harm the Spartans, there was never a real chance that Athenian hopes of Persian friendship would be fulfilled. The historian's treatment of Alcibiades' relationship with Tissaphernes, with its increasing divergence between Alcibiades' advice and Tissaphernes' actual actions and motives, constitutes an extended and careful argument against the idea that Persia could have been brought over to the Athenian side. Thucydides attempts to show as clearly as possible that whatever Tissaphernes thought, he did not give serious consideration to a friendship with Athens, which remained Persia's rival in empire despite all of Alcibiades' imaginative promises of partnership.

Tissaphernes' fear of Sparta and the strategy of balance

It is doubtful, given Thucydides' careful undermining of Alcibiades' statements about Tissaphernes, that he relied on Alcibiades as a source for the satrap's motives.[23] His statement on the necessity of inferring Tissaphernes' intentions from his actions (8.46.5) implies that the historian did just that, reconstructing what Tissaphernes was likely to have thought based on his own views of the satrap's subsequent behaviour and the interests of the Persian empire.

Why did Thucydides believe that Alcibiades was so unsuccessful at winning Tissaphernes over? There is of course the issue of the Ionian cities and Persia's lost tribute, but Peisander and the Athenian embassy that met with Tissaphernes showed themselves willing to concede all this in exchange for the friendship of the King (8.56.3). There must have been further reasons for Tissaphernes' reluctance, and Thucydides finds them in the satrap's conflicting fears.[24]

The one Athenian who speaks out against the likelihood of Persian support for Athens, Alcibiades' bitter enemy Phrynichus, states that even if the Great King did not distrust the Athenians, it would be difficult for Persia to switch sides with a Spartan army present in its territory (8.48.4). Thucydides had commented earlier on Phrynichus' intelligence (8.27.5), and he certainly shares his analysis of the unlikelihood of Persian aid, which the historian introduces shortly after Alcibiades' advice to Tissaphernes.[25] Phrynichus' warning, disbelieved by the Athenians in their deep hope for Persian aid, is confirmed in Thucydides' comments on Tissaphernes' aversion to joining the Athenians, which emphasize the satrap's fear of his Spartan allies (8.52; 8.56.2–3). If he had been swayed by the apparent willingness of the Athenians to concede tribute and territory, Tissaphernes would have to count on retaliation by the sizeable Peloponnesian fleet.

When the Athenian embassy went home and Tissaphernes concluded a new treaty with the Peloponnesians, Thucydides takes care to insist that the agreement did not reflect a new Persian eagerness to help the Spartan cause. The satrap sought out yet another arrangement with the Spartans, Thucydides writes, in accordance with a general plan to balance both Greek combatants against each other (ἐπανισοῦν τοὺς Ἕλληνας πρὸς ἀλλήλους, 57.2), weakening both sides.[26]

The historian explains Tissaphernes' alleged divide-and-conquer strategy as the logical response to his fears of both the Athenian and Spartan armies on his borders (57.1). He wished to bring the Peloponnesians back to Miletus, supply their crews, and prevent their disagreement from degenerating into outright hostility. The tension with Sparta could not be allowed to escalate for two reasons: first, because it might weaken the Spartans enough to bring about an Athenian victory, which was hardly in Tissaphernes' interests, and second, and most importantly (ἔτι δὲ ἐφοβεῖτο μάλιστα), because open conflict with his former allies could drive the Peloponnesians to ravage the satrap's territory in search of food and supplies. The threat of Spartan violence against Tissaphernes' lands was precisely what Thucydides believed responsible for checking the Persian flirtation with Peisander's Athenian embassy.[27]

In the face of the competing Athenian and Spartan threats to his satrapy, Tissaphernes' only option, as Thucydides saw it, was to support the Spartans

for the time being and help them to keep the Athenians at bay, despite his deeper misgivings about Spartan ambitions in Asia Minor. The historian compliments Tissaphernes' handling of the situation as a model of rational political thought (πάντων οὖν τούτων λογισμῷ καὶ προνοίᾳ, 8.57.2).[28]

The apparent reconciliation and third treaty between the Persians and Spartans, failed, however, to convince the Greek world that Tissaphernes was not harbouring a secret preference for Athens. As we have seen, the majority of Athenians were ready to believe Alcibiades' promises of Persian friendship. While Thucydides takes care to emphasize his own opinion that Tissaphernes did not actually favour Athens in any way, he also writes that the majority of the Peloponnesians came to believe in Alcibiades' influence over the satrap. The growing tension between the allies in the summer of 411 centred around the belief that Tissaphernes was betraying the Spartans and 'atticizing' at the Athenian exile's instigation (8.78; 83.1; 85.2; 87.1).

The climax of Thucydides' portrayal of Tissaphernes comes with the satrap's journey to Aspendus to meet the Phoenician ships which, according to the terms of the third treaty, he was to bring into the Aegean in support of the Spartans and their allies. The report of the satrap's departure begins a lengthy explanation of the reasons for which Tissaphernes failed to bring the promised fleet. Thucydides acknowledges that the subject is a matter of great disagreement (8.87.2–3), and proceeds to demonstrate the scale of the controversy by listing several alternative versions of Tissaphernes' motives, a tactic common in Herodotus but rare in Thucydides' history.[29] The variant explanations are as follows:

1. Tissaphernes wished to delay a decision and weaken the Peloponnesian fleet (ἵνα διατρίβῃ τὰ τῶν Πελοποννησίων), as also suggested by the negligence of his deputy Tamos in paying the Peloponnesians' wages.

2. Tissaphernes wished to extort money from his Phoenician crews in exchange for sending them back home (for, the historian adds, he had no intention of using them).

3. Tissaphernes actually went to Aspendus to justify himself against the attacks being made in Sparta, with the sincere intention of raising the full complement of promised Phoenician ships.

As Thucydides' language has made clear from the start, the historian finds the third version unacceptable. Tissaphernes' fear of his Peloponnesian allies and wish to limit their power throughout Book Eight make it impossible for the historian to believe that Tissaphernes had any desire to help them win the war. The second suggestion is strange for Thucydides in implying a satrapal motivation unconnected to Greek events, but may have been recorded out of a simple interest in the money-making stratagem involved. It is unsurprising, then, that when Thucydides gives his verdict

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on Tissaphernes' actual motives, he chooses something much like the first variant. The historian is convinced that the satrap could have handed immediate victory to the Spartans if he had brought them the Phoenician ships in a timely fashion (8.87.4), and takes the fact that Tissaphernes did not do so as solid proof that he never wanted to.

It is important to stress, however, that Thucydides' solution to the problem (8.87.4), expressed boldly in authorial first person as the clearest explanation possible (ἐμοὶ μέντοι δοκεῖ σαφέστατον εἶναι), is not completely identical to the first variant. The satrap made the decision not to bring the Phoenician fleet, Thucydides believes, not only to weaken the Peloponnesians, but to bring about weakness and stalemate for all the Greeks (διατριβῆς ἕνεκα καὶ ἀνοκωχῆς τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν).

In his explanation of the affair of the phantom fleet, Thucydides hammers home the theme that he has stressed throughout Book Eight. Tissaphernes' mistreatment of his Spartan allies cannot be taken as evidence of favouritism, for it is always balanced by an equal desire to bring harm to the Athenians. Despite the boasts of Alcibiades and the accusations of the Spartans, Tissaphernes' actions do not imply an interest in the benefit of Athens. They are calculated for the advantage of Persia alone, and do not require sympathy for either side in the wars of the Greeks.

Tissaphernes' apology: in search of a Persian version

As Book Eight comes to an end, Thucydides' explanation of the events surrounding Tissaphernes and the early tensions in the Spartan-Persian alliance is clear. He shares a common assumption with the Peloponnesians and Alcibiades' supporters in Athens, the view that Tissaphernes deliberately sabotaged the Spartan war effort. He diverges from popular belief by rejecting the idea that Tissaphernes' hostility towards the Peloponnesians required friendship for Athens.

But the widespread Greek belief in Tissaphernes' wish to undermine his allies contained a series of problems and logical inconsistencies. Thucydides' endorsement of this conspiracy theory makes his account problematic as a source for Tissaphernes' actual intentions and the policies of Darius II during the Peloponnesian War. Although he may be correct to argue that Persia had no interest in alliance with Athens, Thucydides fails to present a convincing case for Tissaphernes' desire to harm the Peloponnesians.[30]

First and foremost, it remains unclear, beyond vague notions of decay and loss of time for the Greek combatants, what Tissaphernes stood to gain in the long run from failing to bring the Phoenician fleet into the Aegean.[31] It seems plausible, on the contrary, that the fleet could have been the solution to all the satrap's problems and fears as Thucydides presents them.

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According to the terms of the third treaty quoted by Thucydides, the requirement for Tissaphernes to provide wages for the Peloponnesians would have ended with the arrival of the Phoenician ships (8.58.5). The loss of guaranteed funding would have been a serious blow to Peloponnesian strength, and the presence of a naval force of his own, outnumbering the Spartans, would have gone far to calm Tissaphernes' fear of Peloponnesian raids against his territory. The Greek cities of Anatolia might have thought twice about expelling Persian garrisons or refusing to pay tribute with several hundred Phoenician triremes anchored offshore. Thucydides makes Tissaphernes fear that Pharnabazus would steal his credit for successes over Athens (8.109). What better way to forestall his rival than bringing the Phoenician fleet into action?

As an afterthought, having already given his own verdict on the reasons for Tissaphernes' failure to bring the fleet, Thucydides refers to and summarily dismisses the satrap's official explanation of his actions, that he had not succeeded in collecting the full number of ships that the King had ordered him to assemble.[32] For Thucydides, this is a mere excuse (πρόφασις), because Tissaphernes could have achieved great royal favour by going into action and winning a victory with the smaller contingent of ships, thereby saving the King extra expense (87.5). Thucydides discounts this Persian version because of his pre-existing theory on Tissaphernes' motives, but also because of his belief in the importance of wealth and its conservation for the Great King, and his faith in Achaemenid military power. He considers it a fact that Tissaphernes' intervention with a fleet would have brought the war to a decisive end.

He does not mention another version of Tissaphernes' motives, which appears in Diodorus and probably comes from the fourth-century universal history of Ephorus. Although the account of Ephorus-Diodorus follows Thucydides on Tissaphernes' secret strategy of balancing off the Greek powers (13.37.4–5), it puts a different self-justification in the satrap's mouth, making him claim that he sent the ships back home because of threats to Phoenicia from the Kings of the Arabs and the Egyptians (13.46.6).

A small number of modern scholars have accepted this explanation as the true cause of Tissaphernes' failure to bring the ships, pointing to possible evidence of unrest in Egypt in 411.[33] The majority of historians have been more cautious on the subject, doubting the seriousness of the trouble in Egypt.[34] Where did Ephorus obtain such specialized information on Tissaphernes if not from Thucydides? Bruno Bleckmann's recent work on the Ionian War makes the disquieting suggestion that he invented it, with reference to Persia's mid-fourth-century wars against independent Egypt.[35]

The episode raises the possibility, however, that events elsewhere in the Achaemenid empire, unaddressed due to Thucydides' strict focus on the

Greek players in his narrative, affected Tissaphernes' use of the fleet. An interpolated passage in Xenophon's *Hellenica*, for instance, refers to the end of a serious Median revolt in 409 (1.2.19).[36] Closer to the Aegean world, the rise of Evagoras of Salamis and his wars against Phoenician Cypriote tyrants, roughly contemporary to the events of Book Eight, may have given the Levantine Phoenician kings cause for alarm and a reluctance to leave their own coasts unguarded.[37] In searching to connect these events with Tissaphernes' actions in Thucydides' narrative we enter the realm of speculation, but it is clear at least that Thucydides' narrow focus on the Greek world deprives us of a full understanding of the Phoenician fleet affair.

As for Thucydides' claim that Tissaphernes paid the Peloponnesians insufficient wages in order to hinder their fighting ability, there are countless references to difficulties encountered by fourth-century Greek cities and generals in raising funds for their troops.[38] Why should Tissaphernes' failure to provide complete pay for the Spartan fleet be different? Early in Alcibiades' time at Tissaphernes' court, Thucydides makes him dismiss Ionians who have come to ask the satrap for money, protesting that Tissaphernes is waiting for funds from the King and is in financial difficulty (8.45.6). It is quite plausible that the royal demand for arrears of tribute placed a serious strain on the satrap's resources while he attempted to keep the Peloponnesian fleet supplied.[39]

Financial hardship and the rapid rise in the numbers of Peloponnesian ships seem obvious explanations for Tissaphernes' reductions in Peloponnesian pay. At the outset of the Ionian War in 412, it seems likely that Tissaphernes shared the belief that Thucydides claims was prevalent throughout the Greek world (8.2.2, 24.4–5), that the Athenian empire would not survive one summer's fighting.[40] For a short war one could afford to be generous, but the prolonged nature of the naval campaigns and the increasing size of the forces involved could have led naturally to a recalculation of how much the satrap could afford to spend. Even Cyrus, the enthusiastic supporter of the Spartans who saw the war through to the finish, refused to raise the rate of pay back to the full drachma a day promised at first by Tissaphernes (Xenophon *Hellenica* 1.5.4–7).[41]

One fourth-century source, a continuator of Thucydides' history, supports the idea of financial difficulty as the root of the satraps' failure to pay acceptable wages. The Oxyrhynchus historian claims that the King was to blame, and that he habitually provided his lieutenants with insufficient funds at the start of military campaigns (22.2).[42] Unfortunately, the fragmentary nature of the Oxyrhynchus narrative and our ignorance of the author's identity make it difficult to establish a wider context for his opinions on the Persian empire or to speculate on his sources.[43] But his comment supports our pre-existing

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doubts about Thucydides' reconstruction of Tissaphernes' motives, and reminds us that parts of Thucydides' audience might have disagreed with his interpretation of events.

Conclusions

Thucydides' portrayal of Tissaphernes and the Persian empire, therefore, contains serious flaws, and the modern historian must proceed with extreme caution in using Book Eight as a source for Achaemenid policy towards the Greek world. Unfortunately, despite its problems and incompleteness, the history of Thucydides is the only coherent source. Fragments of later Greek evidence, like the passages in the Oxyrhynchus historian or Diodorus, do not offer any sort of large-scale alternative version that may be preferred to that of Thucydides. Even if they were complete, they would no doubt present difficult historiographical problems of their own.

Achaemenid sources for the period, which might help to construct a more balanced account of events, are almost entirely non-existent. The three surviving royal inscriptions of Darius II confine themselves to recitation of royal genealogy, assertion of the power of Ahuramazda and notification of building work at Susa and so shed no light on his relations with the Greek world. No references to the Peloponnesian War appear in Babylonian legal documents or Egyptian papyri. The only non-Greek text that refers to Persia's role in the Greek war is the Lycian inscription on the Xanthus Stele (TL 44), broken in parts and only partially translatable. While it contains some interesting references to Tissaphernes' activities in Lycia and to the involvement of a Lycian dynast with the Spartans and Persians during the war, it adds little to our knowledge of broader Achaemenid policy towards the Greeks.[44] Tissaphernes' surviving coinage cannot be dated to precise periods of his career and is of little use in the reconstruction of satrapal grand strategy.[45]

We are left with Thucydides, then, and must ask what can be gained from his problematic portrayal of Tissaphernes' behaviour towards Athens and Sparta. It is possible to make a positive answer to this question. Thucydides' treatment of the Persian intervention in 412–411, while inadequate to explain why the Great King's subordinates acted as they did during the early years of the Ionian War, does provide powerful evidence for Athenian views of Achaemenid Persia at a decisive moment in the history of both. Thucydides is by no means representative of Athenian popular opinion, but he reveals a great deal about contemporary attitudes towards the Persians through his criticism.

Thucydides' portrayal of Persia and Tissaphernes was almost certainly meant to influence contemporary political debate at Athens.[46] There is considerable controversy over the time-frame of Thucydides' writing, but

the desire for alliance with the Great King was a major issue in Athenian politics in both periods which have been suggested for the composition of Book Eight.

If Thucydides was working on Book Eight soon after 411, he would have been aware of Alcibiades' continuing efforts to bring Persia over to Athens' side (Xenophon *Hellenica* 1.3.8–13).[47] As late as 407, after Darius' appointment of Cyrus the Younger to revitalize the war effort against Athens, Xenophon reports that the Athenians sent envoys asking Tissaphernes to intervene on their behalf (*Hellenica* 1.5.8–9).[48] A fragmentary inscription that might date to this period (*IG* I³ 113), granting proxeny to Evagoras of Salamis, contains a rider which mentions Tissaphernes ([Τιο]σαφρένεν, 38–9) and seems to refer to the King as an ally ([Ἀθεναῖος καὶ βασιλέα καὶ τὸς ἄλλ[ος χσυμμάχος], 35–6).[49] If Thucydides was aware of these events, his treatment of Tissaphernes' motives makes particular sense as a reaction against the unreasonable optimism of his countrymen.

Similar considerations will have influenced the historian, perhaps to an even greater degree, if one accepts the arguments for a later period of Thucydidean composition in the post-war era, possibly well into the 390s.[50] Thucydides' prophetic statements on Sparta's threat to the Persian possession of Ionia, put into the mouth of Alcibiades as a warning to Tissaphernes (8.46.4), are easily understood if written while Spartan armies made war on the same Tissaphernes for control of the Ionian cities, from 399 to 395. From 397 on, the Athenian exile Conon worked to assemble a Persian fleet that would drive the Spartans from the Anatolian coasts. As Athens itself began to dream of rebuilding the empire, the populist politicians Epicrates and Cephalus argued for official alliance with Persia, and in 396 Athenian ambassadors tried to reach the King (*Hellenica Oxyrhynchia* 10.1).[51]

Alcibiades' exploits came back into the spotlight with the trials of his son between 397 and 395; in one of the surviving speeches for the defense, Isocrates reminds the audience of Alcibiades' success with Tissaphernes and the Phoenician fleet (16.20), while the prosecution, represented in Lysias 14, attacks Alcibiades' failure to live up to his promises of Persian gold (14.37).

The renewed hopes of Persian alliance and the references to Tissaphernes' role in the last war make the first half of the 390s a likely context for Thucydides' treatment of Persia. As the Athenians argued about the legacy of Alcibiades and tried to win the favour of the Great King, one can imagine the ageing Thucydides recording his version of events, trying to come to an understanding of why Tissaphernes had acted as he had, so that his audience could draw informed lessons from the past for the coming conflict.

For Thucydides, Achaemenid Persia was a dangerous neighbour, trusted too much by the gullible population of Athens, a natural enemy to any

Greek *polis* with ambitions for empire. It was not, however, a strange 'Other,' constantly surprised by the customs of the Greeks, but a great power that used its might in ways quite familiar to fifth-century Athenians. Tissaphernes, its chief representative for Thucydides' Athens, shares the rational qualities of Greek politicians, the calculation (λογισμός) and foresight (πρόνοια) that Thucydides attributes to the likes of Pericles, Hermocrates, and Nicias.[52] There is no sign in Thucydides' narrative, unlike the accounts of Herodotus and Ctesias, of Persian policy depending on the whims of vindictive queens or eunuchs. Nor is there moral condemnation of the Greeks for medizing, which Thucydides recognizes as a necessity in the real world of the late fifth century.

Above all, for Thucydides and his contemporaries, the Achaemenid empire was not a power in decline. He gives no hint of the fourth-century trope of Persian decadence, of the later cliché that Persia relied on diplomacy and gold because of the weakness of its arms. In Thucydides' version of events, Tissaphernes could have easily brought up the Phoenician fleet and annihilated the Athenians in 411, and the fact that he did not was a matter of strategic choice. Thucydides' portrayal of Tissaphernes' motivation by fear is not based on a conception of the Persians as cowardly or effeminate, but rather the historian's belief in the power of common human emotion over the decisions of Greek and non-Greek statesmen alike.

Thucydides writes of a war in which words lost their meaning, a time in which old enemies could become friends and the necessity of the moment always overruled tradition and bygone history. His treatment of Persia is not a lament at collaboration with the Mede, nor a Panhellenic exhortation to bring about Greek unity through war against the Barbarian. On the contrary, it is a practical criticism of his countrymen, desperate for help, who assumed that Persia would act against its natural interests and come to their aid, that Persian conflict with Sparta had to result in assistance for Athens. Achaemenid Persia, as represented in the character of Tissaphernes, was a force to be reckoned with in Thucydides' world, never to be taken lightly. It would always pursue whatever policy brought it the greatest benefit, a policy unlikely to involve sincere co-operation with Sparta or the rival empire of Athens.

Conference in Classics who heard or read my paper, especially Christopher Tuplin and Lloyd Llewelyn-Jones, who organized and ran the panel on Persia and the Greeks and gave me the chance to present my work to such a distinguished gathering of scholars. I owe a final word of gratitude to Barry Strauss for first encouraging my interest in Tissaphernes.

Notes

[1] Sancisi-Weerdenburg 1987, 131.

[2] Andrewes 1961.

[3] cf. Price 2001, 368; Rood 1998, 154.

[4] For Tissaphernes' appearances in Thucydides, see Schrader 1998, 1839. Alcibiades appears 100 times over all (53), followed by Brasidas in second place with 94 mentions (259), Tissaphernes in third, Demosthenes in fourth place with 90 (376), and Nicias in fifth with 87 (1095). After these individuals the numbers drop off sharply; Perdiccas of Macedon, in sixth place, appears only 53 times (1583).

[5] Lewis 1977, 132 n. 139 and Andrewes et al. 1981, 290 find it significant that Thucydides finds no need to mention Tissaphernes when he addresses the Persian factor in Athens' defeat, referring only to Cyrus (2.65.12).

[6] cf. Aidonis 1996, 96–7.

[7] Belief in the incompleteness of Book Eight on stylistic grounds goes back to antiquity (Dion. Hal. *Thuc.*16). Modern scholars, while agreed on Thucydides' authorship of Book Eight, are divided on the issue of its composition. Those supporting its incompleteness include Lewis 1977, 85, Andrewes et al. 1981, 1–4, Rawlings 1981, 176–7, Westlake 1985, Allison 1997, 95, and Cawkwell 1997, 135 n. 15. Proponents of its thematic unity include Delebecque 1965; 1967, Connor 1984, 217–18, Erbse 1989, Forde 1989, 117 n. 2, and Rood 1998, 251–84. I am sympathetic to the middle ground established by Kallet 2001: 'The book has some undeniable rough spots and curious features that may be best explained by the hypothesis that Thucydides had not entirely polished it to his final satisfaction, and the book has a narrative and thematic coherence and an intimate connection with the rest of the history' (227). Few support the extreme argument of Konishi 1987 or Munn 2000, 325–7, both of whom suggest that the ending of Book Eight in 411 was deliberately chosen as the closing point of the history.

[8] All Greek passages follow the Oxford Classical Text. English translations are taken with some modifications from the Lattimore translation of Thucydides.

[9] Ctesias (*FGrH* 688 *F* 53) reports that Tissaphernes was appointed to the satrapy of Sardis as a reward for suppressing the rebellion of the previous satrap, Pissouthnes; for attempts to establish the chronology, see Lewis 1977, 24 n. 132 and Petit 1981, 13–14. Non-Greek sources on Tissaphernes are virtually non-existent. His name, Old Persian *Çiçafarna*, appears in Elamite transcription on at least two unpublished tablets and an inscribed seal from the Persepolis Fortification archive (NN 548, 16, [HAL]*zí-ut-ra-bar-[na]*; NN 2184, 17, [HAL]*zí-ut-ra-ba[r-na]*; PFS 36*, [DIŠ]*zí-iš-šá-bar-na*); see Jones 1999, 52 and Garrison and Root 2001, no. 5. The texts in the Fortification archive, though, date between 509 and 494, and there is no evidence for a connection between these individuals and their famous namesake. Tissaphernes remains unmentioned in the Murâšu and other 5th-century Babylonian business archives, although they refer to a number of Persians prominent in Greek historical texts (see Stolper 1985, 63–6, 90–2).

Our only information on Tissaphernes' family comes from a Lycian inscription which gives his patronymic as *Widrñnah* (TL 44 c 11–12), Old Persian *Vidarna* or Hydarnes. Although the name was also borne by a close associate of Darius I (DB 2.21, 24; 4.84; Hdt. 3.70) and his son (Hdt. 7.83, 211), it was a common Iranian name, and there is no evidence that ties Tissaphernes to the famous Hydarnes family. cf. Cook 1983, 167; Westlake 1985, 43 n. 6.

[10] Kallet 2001 is right to argue that a long digression on Tissaphernes' background would have disrupted the narrative here, which is limited to the satrap's motives for contacting Sparta (242 n. 51).

[11] On the specific details of the wage disputes, expressed by Thucydides in unusually convoluted language, see Thompson 1965, Andrewes et al. 1981, 70–2, and Pearson 1985.

[12] Scholars have argued for more than a century over the reason for the temporal dislocation at 8.45.1 (ἐν δὲ τούτῳ καὶ ἔτι πρότερον, πρὶν ἐς τὴν Ῥόδον αὐτοὺς ἀναστῆναι, τάδε ἐπράσσετο, 'but at this time and even earlier, before they moved to Rhodes, the following happened'). I agree with the position expressed by Connor 1984, 220, Rood 1998, 263, and Gribble 1999, 196–7, that this is a literary technique applied for a specific purpose in the narrative, rather than an indication of incomplete composition, as assumed by Andrewes et al. 1981, 93–5.

[13] Gribble 1999, 199. It may be worthwhile to compare Herodotus' presentation of Xerxes' reception of advice from Artemisia of Halicarnassus (8.103: ἥσθη τε δὴ τῇ συμβουλῇ Ξέρξης. λέγουσα γὰρ ἐπετύγχανε τά περ αὐτὸς ἐνόεε ('Xerxes was pleased with her counsel; for speaking it she expressed just what he himself thought'); cf. Harrison 2000, 86.

[14] Rood 1998, 268 and Kallet 2001, 96 argue for Herodotean echoes in Thucydides' presentation of a Greek advisor influencing Persian decisions. But in Herodotus as well as Thucydides the Persians pursue their own agendas as well as Greek advice.

[15] cf. Forde 1989, 190–2 and Gribble 1999, 198 on Thucydides' depiction of Alcibiades' preference for diplomacy over direct action; on the recurrence of the expense-sparing theme in Thucydides, see Ober 1998, 75, 111.

[16] Kallet 2001, 262, 277.

[17] Andrewes et al. 1981, 103; cf. Gribble 1999, 201 n. 111: 'Note the ambiguity of this passage, which might mean either "Alcibiades advised Tissaphernes, and Tissaphernes followed this advice," or "A's advice in fact coincided with T's already-formulated plans, giving T confidence in A." Is the focus of διενοεῖτο merely on Tissaphernes' thoughts or on his actions?'

[18] Despite the protests of Herodotus (3.80.1; 6.43.3), Thucydides' Athenians persist in the belief that the Persian empire is naturally hostile to democratic political systems. Their insistence on Persia's unwillingness to accept the form of their government is particularly ironic in light of the presence of Athenian-style democracies like Miletus among Persia's allies against Athens; cf. Gorman 2001, 217.

[19] On Thucydides' disdain for popular democracy in Book Eight, see Connor 1984, 277.

[20] Compare Thucydides' version of Alcibiades' deception of Spartan ambassadors at 5.45; cf. Gribble 1999, 203. Hatzfeld 1940, 238–9, Lewis 1977, 92, and Keen 1998, 100 n. 45 all believe that Persian negotiations with Athens were actually serious, aimed at securing Athens' withdrawal from Asia Minor by diplomatic means.

[21] cf. Gribble 1999, 200–1.

[22] Gribble 1999, 202 suggests that Thucydides' emphasis on Alcibiades' lack of actual influence with Tissaphernes foreshadows the episode that occurred shortly after the end of Thucydides' narrative (Xen. *Hell.* 1.1.9), in which Tissaphernes seized Alcibiades at the Hellespont and imprisoned him for a month.

[23] The main argument for Alcibiades as Thucydidean source is made by Brunt 1952 and by Delebecque 1965 and 1967; it has drawn a number of critics, most recently Gribble 1999, 162–4. It should be noted that on at least one occasion in Book Eight, Thucydides infers Alcibiades' motives in much the same way as he deals with Tissaphernes (ὡς εἰκός, 8.88). Lang 1996, 290 emphasizes Thucydides' negative presentation of Alcibiades' competition with Phrynichus (8.50–51), which is unlikely to stem from pro-Alcibiades source material.

[24] Lang 1996, 291 demonstrates that Thucydides uses the same language, involving participles of knowledge and fear, to explain the motivations of Tissaphernes and of Athenian and Spartan statesmen such as Cleon (4.27.3–4, 28.2), Brasidas (5.8.1), Agis (5.71.3), and Phrynichus (8.50.1, 68.3).

[25] On Phrynichus' speech as a counterweight to Alcibiades' advice to Tissaphernes, see Bloedow 1973, 35; Gribble 1999, 200.

[26] For other strategies of balance between two hostile powers in Thucydides, see the Corcyraean debate in Book One, and the dilemma of Camarina, caught between Athens and Syracuse (6.88); cf. Lateiner 1976, 269 n. 6.

[27] Wilamowitz 1908, 594 found Tissaphernes' fear of the Spartan fleet in 8.52 and 8.56.2 incompatible with his fear of a superior Athenian fleet in 8.57.1. Andrewes et al. 1981, 132 is more cautious, but agrees that 'if not an absolute contradiction (the Athenians might win even if numerically inferior), there is certainly a wide differ- ence of emphasis, enough to raise the possibility that the two chapters were written at different times: 56.2 goes with 45 f. and 52, but 57 might be earlier'. Tissaphernes' worry over Peloponnesian threats to his province in 57.1, however, occurs alongside his concerns about the superiority of the Athenian fleet, but corresponds with his fear of the Peloponnesians in the earlier passages. It is easier to take Thucydides as suggesting that Tissaphernes' fears of the Spartans and Athenians co-existed, rather than positing different layers of composition within 8.57.1.

[28] On λογισμός and πρόνοια see Westlake 1985, 46; Aidonis 1996, 95–6.

[29] Lateiner 1976, 267–9 lists other instances of variant versions and admissions of uncertainty in Thucydides' history, such as the argument over responsibility for the war's outbreak (2.5) and the scandal over the profanation of the Mysteries (6.60).

[30] Nevertheless, many modern scholars have accepted Thucydides' explanation of Tissaphernes' reasons for delaying the fleet, including Olmstead 1948, 358–63, Petit 1981, 68, and Briant 1996, 614. Aidonis 1996 expresses some doubts but is ultimately inclined to trust Thucydides' explanation 'as it is a very rational one' (101). Dissenters from Thucydides include Andrewes et al. 1981, 290 and Westlake 1985, 47, who consider the historian's portrayal of Tissaphernes faulty due to unfinished composition, but have faith that he might have reached more satisfactory conclusions if he had time to revise and extend his work.

[31] cf. Keen 1998: 'This has been taken seriously by many, but Tissaphernes had little to gain from such a policy when under orders to collect the tribute from his territory' (1998, 100).

[32] The actual number promised is not given in Thucydides. Lateiner 1976, 279 is inclined to see the figure in the three hundred triremes that appear in Ephorus-Diodorus (13.36.5, 37.4, 46.6).

[33] Lewis 1958 lays out the argument based on references to Egyptian revolt in two different collections of published papyri, Cowley 1923, no. 27 = Porten and Yardeni 1986, A4.5 and Driver 1954, nos. 5, 7, 8 = Porten and Yardeni 1986, A6.7, A6.10, A6.11. (Christopher Tuplin notes that a further tiny fragment, Porten and Yardeni 1999, D6.12 fr. g, may also be relevant.) Lewis' arguments are supported by Andrewes et al. 1981, 290 and Keen 1998, 101.

[34] Lateiner 1976, 279–80; Petit 1981, 68 n.4; Kagan 1987, 212–13; Briant 1996, 613–14; Debord 1999, 216.

[35] Bleckmann 1998, 50.

[36] cf. Olmstead 1948, 363–4.

[37] cf. Olmstead 1948, 367; Munn 2000, 144. On Evagoras' early career, see Costa 1974, 41–2.

[38] For a list of occurrences, see Pritchett 1971, 24–9.

[39] Murray 1966 argues that Tissaphernes was only responsible for the tribute from his own tenure of office, not the arrears from the time of Pissouthnes' revolt (148–9).

[40] Kagan 1987, 73–4.

[41] M. Cook 1990, 82; Keen 1998, 102–3.

[42] The chapter number follows the text of Chambers' Teubner edition.

[43] On the *Hellenica Oxyrhynchia*, see Bruce 1967; McKechnie and Kern 1988; and Chambers 1993. Recent scholarship, exemplified by Shrimpton 1991, 184–95, has tended to reject the identification of the anonymous author as Theopompus of Chios, more popular early in the 20th century, although the recent study of Bleckmann 1998, esp. 31–40, attempts to revive Theopompus as a candidate. Shrimpton 1991 and Chambers 1993 support the other major option among known lost writers, Cratippus of Athens, referred to briefly by Dionysius of Halicarnassus and Plutarch, but the case cannot be made conclusively, and McKechnie and Kern 1998, 9–14 reject both Cratippus and Theopompus.

[44] For the text of the Xanthus stele, dated to the late 5th or early 4th century, see Kalinka 1901, 38–48, and Borchhardt et al. 1997–9, 17–55. Tissaphernes is mentioned four times (c 1, 11, 14, 15) in the Lycian inscription on the north face of the stele, but does not appear in the short Greek inscription or the Lycian B inscription that follow it. His initial appearance takes place in the context of the Peloponnesian War, as he is said to be fighting alongside the Spartans or their allies against Athenians (*trbbi: atãnas: zxxãte*, c 1–3). In the following sentence (c 3–4), as interpreted by Melchert 1993b, 34, the author of the inscription, presumably the dynast of Xanthus, claims to have acted as judge or arbiter (*maraza*) between the Persians and Spartans. The remaining lines of the inscription, which contain a number of major breaks, contain no further mention of Greeks and seem to deal with Persian activities involving Xanthus (c 11–15), which remain unclear but may possibly involve Lycian payment of tribute (*tlli-*, c 15, tentatively restored as the third person singular of the verb 'to pay' by Melchert 1993a, 77).

[45] A handful of coins are inscribed with the name of Tissaphernes, one in Lycian (a silver stater from Xanthus published in Hurter 1979, 99–101) and three in Greek (small bronze denominations from the Mysian town of Astyra on the Gulf of Atramyttium, published in Cahn 1985). C.M. Harrison 1982, esp. 102–14, 134, is justifiably

sceptical about a number of other pieces that have been attributed to Tissaphernes, based on the supposed identification of the satrap's portrait on coins which do not bear a name.

[46] Munn 2000, 315–16 makes a strong case for the idea that Thucydides wrote to influence contemporaries, not simply for posterity.

[47] For the early dating of Book Eight, see Andrewes et al. 1981, 4.

[48] Lewis 1977, 131 n. 134.

[49] Costa 1974, 46 associates the inscription with Tissaphernes' trip to Aspendus, and suggests that Evagoras served as an intermediary in negotiations between the satrap and the Athenians; Lewis 1977, 129–30 is more cautious about interpretation and prefers a slightly later date, closer to the appointment of Cyrus. Munn 2000, 200 suggests a late dating in 405/4, after the accession of Artaxerxes II and Cyrus' disgrace at court. Unfortunately, there is no way to establish a date based on the actual content of the inscription. The restoration of the famous populist politician Cleophon as the Κλεο- who proposed the rider mentioning Tissaphernes and the King remains uncertain; cf. Develin 1989, 192.

[50] Scholars who argue for a late phase of composition rely on so-called 'late references' in the text, such as the aorist 'obituary' passage on King Archelaus of Macedon (2.100.2), who died in 399; cf. Hornblower 1987, 152. I am not convinced by Munn's argument (2000, 323) that the composition of the entire history belongs to so late a period. The suggestion of Pouilloux and Salviat 1983 that the Spartan Lichas, whose death Thucydides refers to at 8.84.5, was the same man as a Thasian archon attested epigraphically in the 390s, was refuted conclusively by Cartledge 1984.

[51] Strauss 1986, 105–7.

[52] Westlake 1985, 46.

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XENOPHON'S WICKED PERSIAN
OR, WHAT'S WRONG WITH TISSAPHERNES?
XENOPHON'S VIEWS ON LYING
AND BREAKING OATHS

Gabriel Danzig

Introduction

Most readers of *Anabasis* emerge with an impression of the Persian satrap Tissaphernes as a wicked man. After swearing to observe peaceful relations with the Greek army and to lead them safely outside of the Persian domain, he deceived their leader Clearchus, lured him into a trap, and executed him together with the other Greek leaders.

This behaviour is roundly condemned by several characters in the book, including Xenophon himself. The most emphatic condemnation comes from Cleanor. Speaking to Ariaeus, Cleanor calls Tissaphernes a godless villain (ἀθεότατος and πανουργότατος, 2.5.39), and later refers to the perjury and impiety of the king, and the faithlessness (ἀπιστίαν) of Tissaphernes (3.2.4–6). The character Xenophon speaks of the perjury and faithlessness (ἀπιστίαν again) of the barbarians, referring obviously to Tissaphernes and the king (3.2.8). These speeches create a strong negative impression of Tissaphernes, and modern readers have mostly followed suit. Cawkwell calls Xenophon's Tissaphernes 'a monster of perfidy', and suggests that Xenophon is guilty of some misrepresentation and exaggeration.[1] Hirsch suggests that the image of Tissaphernes 'may have helped create the negative stereotype of the cunning and treacherous Oriental' (1985, 22). He argues that Xenophon has created 'a portrait of the Persian satrap that verges on the diabolical', calls Tissaphernes 'a monster of cunning and treachery', and says that Xenophon has created 'the most damning possible portrait', suggesting that he too finds Xenophon's account biased against Tissaphernes.[2]

The main reason these readers abominate Tissaphernes is that he uses unfair tactics, deceiving the Greek leaders, and then violating his oath to destroy them. But would Xenophon condemn Tissaphernes for this reason? A review of Xenophon's writings as a whole, especially *Cyropaedia*, shows that rather than abominating the practice as taking unfair advantage of the

enemy, Xenophon enthusiastically recommends it. In the sixth chapter of the first book of *Cyropaedia*, Cyrus' father offers his son a wealth of practical military advice. Among other things, he advises young Cyrus to use any unfair method to take advantage of the enemy and destroy him, just as is done in hunting animals (1.6.26–41). He says

> ἀλλ' εὖ ἴσθι ὅτι δεῖ τὸν μέλλοντα τοῦτο ποιήσειν καὶ ἐπίβουλον εἶναι καὶ κρυψίνουν καὶ δολερὸν καὶ ἀπατεῶνα καὶ κλέπτην καὶ ἅρπαγα καὶ ἐν παντὶ πλεονέκτην τῶν πολεμίων.　　　　　　　　　　　　　　(1.6.27)

> But, let me tell you, the man who proposes to do that must be designing and cunning, wily and deceitful, a thief and a robber, overreaching the enemy at every point.　　　　(This and other translations of *Cyropaedia* by W. Miller)

When Cyrus expresses shock at such a recommendation and asks why there has been no training in these subjects if they are truly advisable, his father points out that this is exactly what they learned to do in hunting animals. Against animals they used nets, pits, and traps instead of facing them in a fair fight. Cyrus' father asks:

> οὐ πάντα γιγνώσκεις ταῦτα ὅτι κακουργίαι τέ εἰσι καὶ ἀπάται καὶ δολώσεις καὶ πλεονεξίαι;　　　　　　　　　　　　　　(1.6.28)

> Why, do you not know that all this is villainy and deceit and trickery and taking unfair advantage?

These passages contain some of the most striking immoralist rhetoric in all of ancient Greek literature, comparable to the speeches of Thrasymachus and Callicles in Plato. But whereas Plato dramatizes immoralism in order to refute it, Xenophon presents it as sage fatherly advice, and leaves it unrefuted. Cyrus' father's words have not aroused as much attention as Plato's advocates of evil, but that seems to be due to Xenophon's unpretentious style – a quality which has led some students of the classics to underestimate his mental faculties – and to his relative obscurity in modern scholarship. Many would want to dismiss these passages from *Cyropaedia* as contradictory to the moralistic spirit of the bulk of Xenophon's writings. But although they are presented in a mildly humourous manner, there are some good reasons to take them seriously.

Although *Cyropaedia* is an historical work in some sense, describing an historical figure involved in historical events, it is also a philosophical work, describing the career of an ideal military and political leader.[3] Xenophon is not compelled to defend his own actions or those of his friends and acquaintances here, or to make his words conform to the known opinions of any historical figure, as he arguably did in some of his other writings. For these reasons, *Cyropaedia* may offer a clearer picture of Xenophon's beliefs

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and assumptions than do his other writings, and may provide keys for interpreting some of them.[4] The speech of Cyrus' father to Cyrus seems to provide a particularly valuable statement of Xenophon's own opinions.

It may seem doubtful that a literary artist would use a character in a composition as a mouthpiece for his own views. Modern critics have taught us to be wary of identifying authors' views with the statements of characters, even in the case of someone like Plato who seems to use Socrates as a mouthpiece for his own philosophic ideas.[5] But ancient readers were of a different mind. They routinely credited authors with holding beliefs set forth by characters in their writings. Homer, for example, was often praised or criticized for statements made by one or another of his characters. Plato records that Phoenix's words to Achilles concerning the bribability of the gods (*Iliad* 9.497–501) were thought to represent Homer's own opinion (*Republic* 364d–e). Socratic writers were also thought to be expressing their own opinions through the words of their characters. In *Symposium* 8.9–10, 32–4 Xenophon attacks Plato for the words he puts into the mouth of Phaedrus. (He refers to him as Pausanias – out of either carelessness or disdain; and perhaps also to indicate that he has Plato's work in mind.) Aristippus is reported to have said that Xenophon was in love with Cleinias – apparently on the basis of the speech made by Critobulus in *Symposium* (Diogenes Laertius 2.48–9). While it may seem illogical to identify an author with the speech of his characters, there is surely no law forbidding an author from presenting his own ideas in the mouth of a character. And given the Greek propensity for dramatic presentation, the temptation to do so must have been powerful. Obviously not all speeches of all characters can be identified with the author, but we have to consider the possibility that some of them are 'authoritative' in this sense.

The speech of Cyrus' father is an especially good candidate. Cyrus' father is barely a character at all. He has played little dramatic role at this point in the narrative, and although his name was given early on as Cambyses (1.2.1), it is not mentioned even once in chapter 6, where Xenophon refers to him only as Cyrus' father. Because of this relative anonymity, and because we know nothing about his character or motives, it is impossible to interpret the views he presents as idiosyncratic. He is introduced for one purpose only: to offer military advice to his son on the eve of his departure for war. Nothing suggests that the advice is ill-considered; on the contrary, after hearing it Cyrus goes on to lead a very successful military and political career putting his father's advice into practice.[6] This advice includes the immoralist advice we have mentioned. As Gera says, 'The Persian king encourages his son actually to use such deceitful, unprincipled measures against the enemy in his forthcoming campaign...' (1993, 69). Xenophon does not portray this advice in a sinister

light, and, as we have said, although Cyrus objects at first to his father's outrageous suggestions, his father overcomes his objections and persuades him to accept them.

Another reason to privilege this discussion is its dramatic implausibility. It is hard to imagine that Cyrus' father has never spoken with his son and heir previously about these subjects, which include some very basic camping instructions. It seems obvious that Xenophon has chosen a convenient occasion for presenting a lengthy summary of useful military and political advice. This is reinforced by the observation that many issues discussed here recur in *Memorabilia* (Books 2–3 *passim*), *Constitution of the Lacedaemonians* (2.6–7; 4.2), *Cavalry Commander* (1.24, 26; 3.1; 4.6, 12, 17–18; 5.2, 9, 15; 6.2,4; 8.8; 9.8) and elsewhere. The speech seems to be a summary of Xenophon's own useful advice for military commanders. Such a summary is especially appropriate in a work that Xenophon says he wrote in order to show how it is possible to actually rule over many men. Indeed, as Gera comments, Cambyses' discussion with his son offers us a better glimpse of Cyrus' education than any other part of the book (1993, 50). And that makes it more difficult to dismiss the advice offered here as less than serious.

The context that Xenophon provides seems to serve both to soften the effect of the frank advice it contains, and to render it especially authoritative.[7] It is understandable that a father will speak frankly with his son and that he will give him the most useful advice possible, advice which he thinks will contribute to his son's success. A successful king might well have advice concerning the conduct of war and the treatment of enemies that he does not publish widely, but does offer to his son. By presenting the advice as a king's legacy to his son, Xenophon prepares the reader to regard this advice as sincere, well-intentioned and authoritative.

The fact that the advice goes contrary to the moralistic tenor of much of Xenophon's writings – just as it goes contrary to the education that Cyrus has received – is not a sign that Xenophon is pulling our legs, but may indicate that something especially important is being said.[8] We may note that although these are the clearest expressions of immoralism in Xenophon's work, they are by no means unparalleled. In *Constitution of the Lacedaemonians* Xenophon praises the institution of theft (κλέπτειν and ἀπατᾶν: 2.5–9). In *Cavalry Commander* he discusses taking advantage of enemies (4.7–20). He speaks of the importance of cheating (ἐξαπατητικόν, 4.12) and stealing from the enemy (4.17), and compares war to the behaviour of animals (4.19–20). He says that the commander 'must know…how to steal the things of the enemy' (5.2), and adds, 'for truly nothing is more profitable in war than deception' (5.9). He praises Spartan stealing practices not only in *Constitution of the Lacedaemonians*, but also in *Anabasis* (4.6.14–15),

emphasizing that it is not stealing that is punished, but getting caught.[9] Xenophon seems to have had a special proclivity for trickery that was not universally approved in antiquity. While Xenophon suggests using traps and nets to catch deer, his late admirer Arrian criticizes those methods and avers a preference for open combat.[10] The similarity between the advice offered by Xenophon in his own voice in these compositions and that given by Cyrus' father seems to confirm our suggestion that Cyrus' father functions partly as a mouthpiece. The passage from *Cyropaedia* goes further than these other passages: Xenophon may find it easier to do so when safely attributing his words to a barbarian monarch.[11]

But if these passages do represent Xenophon's reflections on the nature of political and military activity, we are confronted with a difficult paradox. How is it possible that the author of these words would also portray Tissaphernes as a monster? What has Tissaphernes done other than to put into practice the advice of Cyrus' father in a very effective manner? I will explore this question in the remainder of the chapter.

Double standards?

It is of course possible that Xenophon is being inconsistent in placing Tissaphernes in a negative light.[12] Many of Xenophon's portraits in *Anabasis* seem to be written from a partisan perspective, and the portrait of Tissaphernes is no exception. While highlighting Tissaphernes' treachery and deception, Xenophon makes short shrift of his loyalty (πίστις) to the king – the very opposite of treachery – even though that trait becomes perfectly obvious to a careful reader, and even though he acknowledges Tissaphernes' useful service to the king elsewhere (*Hellenica* 3.1.3). In the very beginning of *Anabasis* Tissaphernes reports to the king that Cyrus has designs on the throne (1.1.3). This is often taken as an early sign of his perfidy. But although modern translations usually miss the ambiguity, the word used here (διαβάλλει) means to make a hostile report, not necessarily a false one. There is no good reason to believe that Tissaphernes was wrong about Cyrus: Xenophon never says that Cyrus was innocent, and he does not report that Cyrus' mother thought so either. Instead, he says that she supported him because she loved him more (1.1.4). After his brother displays an admirable clemency by releasing him, Cyrus repays him by vowing to do exactly what he was accused of doing, and begins an elaborate plot to depose and kill his brother. This seems to show that Tissaphernes' suspicions were right on target (contrast Hirsch 1985, 22).

Tissaphernes' loyalty becomes clear in the aftermath of the battle. He does not consider supporting the Greeks, who have attacked his king but instead works against them consistently. The very deed for which he is so

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widely criticized – the deception and destruction of Clearchus and the other Greek leaders – is actually an example of his πίστις, his loyalty, to the king. Xenophon makes it quite clear that Tissaphernes acted in collusion with the king (2.6.1; 3.1.35; 3.2.4), although he never praises him for this. Even when Tissaphernes engages in some conspiratorial talk with Clearchus (2.5.23), he is actually loyally advancing the king's own agenda. Similar things may be said on behalf of Orontas, a relative of the king, whom Cyrus punishes for the 'treachery' of assisting his king (1.6.1–11). But Xenophon never praises either of them.

Just as he provides a biased view of Tissaphernes, so too Xenophon is remarkably successful in presenting his own cohorts in an unfairly positive light. After all, they were engaged in a treacherous and unjusti-fied conspiracy.[13] As we have noted, Cyrus may well have been aiming at deposing his brother even before he was imprisoned. And Xenophon offers little justification for the conspiracy even after the arrest. He reports that Cyrus wanted never to be in a position of weakness again (1.1.4), a wish that would justify any individual in conspiring against any king. The rest of the crew are not particularly savory figures either. Clearchus was condemned to death by the city of Sparta for disobeying his rulers (2.6.3–4). Proxenus has abandoned his homeland, claiming that Cyrus is more important to him than all that, and has persuaded Xenophon to do so as well (3.1.4). Xenophon has compounded the crime by disobeying Socrates.

And these conspirators are not above using deception either. Cyrus uses deception against his brother and against his own troops in order to prepare his fratricidal assault on the king (1.1.6, 8; 1.2.1; 1.4.20–1), and Xenophon finds nothing to object to in this behaviour. As Hirsch comments, 'There seems to be a double standard in operation, with a blind eye turned to the sins of Cyrus' (1985, 24). Clearchus is deeply involved in the deception of Cyrus' Greek troops as well, and even goes so far as to reassure them by saying that he would never prefer the friendship of barbarians (1.3.5), which, as Hirsch points out (1985, 24–5), is exactly what he has done. But while Xenophon does criticize Meno severely, he does not criticize Cyrus or Clearchus for their misdeeds,[14] instead presenting himself and his comrades as sympathetic figures, and flawlessly gliding over the evidence to the contrary. It is a tribute to his art that generations of readers have come away on the whole with admiration for them.

But what explains the double standard? Clearly it cannot be attributed to anti-Persian sentiment, since Cyrus is a Persian. Hirsch finds no explanation, and winds up acknowledging that we still need to inquire 'into Xenophon's ulterior motives in attacking the king and Tissaphernes' (32). But we can of course explain it in a very simple way: perhaps the only thing wrong with

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Tissaphernes is that he is on the wrong side. We frequently find that human beings judge the faults of their enemies more severely than they do the faults of their friends. There is nothing wrong with that: as Xenophon frequently says, justice is helping friends and harming enemies (see e.g. *Cyropaedia* 1.6.31; 8.7.28).

The admirable Tissaphernes

But we should also consider the possibility that Xenophon does express a consistent judgment about the tactics and skills he deems virtuous. Given his advocacy of the use of κακουργία, it would seem more consistent if Xenophon admired rather than condemned Tissaphernes. Obviously the text does create a negative image of him, and it would be absurd to say that generations of readers have missed the point. But it is possible that, despite the general impression, Xenophon expected some readers to come to an opposite conclusion.[15] Scholars have suspected something like this. There is a minority opinion which provides a more positive view of Xenophon's Tissaphernes. Thus, although Higgins refers to him in the first instance as 'mendacious' (1977, 10), he goes on to refer to him, in comparison with Clearchus, as 'a greater master of deceit' and to say that his 'assault upon the Greek commanders is considered and astute' (1977, 87–8). Similarly, Hirsch, who calls Tissaphernes a monster, also refers to him as 'a master at winning false trust' and someone who 'played his hand perfectly' (1985, 27–8). Can we go a step further, in light of the *Cyropaedia* passages, and really rehabilitate Tissaphernes?

The strongest criticisms of Tissaphernes are those we quoted above. But these occur in a particular dramatic context: immediately after the murder of the generals. They are voiced in a public forum and are designed in part to encourage the troops to take confidence despite the catastrophic loss of their leaders. This rhetorical purpose is enough on its own to explain the harsh words against Tissaphernes. We cannot be sure, then, that Xenophon the author shares these judgements. Cleanor, who makes the most emphatic speeches against Tissaphernes, is characterized consistently as a man of great moral indignation (see 2.1.10; 4.6.9) with a special interest in religious matters (see 6.4.22). Both Xenophon and Cleanor say that the result of Tissaphernes' falsehood is that the gods will punish the Persians and aid the Greeks (3.1.21–2; 3.2.6). This may reflect Xenophon's belief about the role of the divine in punishing perjury,[16] and similar statements are made also by Agesilaus in a similar situation (*Agesilaus* 1.13 = *Hellenica* 3.4.11). But it may also be seen within its rhetorical context. As Hirsch notes, the speeches made by Cleanor and Xenophon involve 'rhetoric, hyperbole and, in Xenophon's case, some rather dubious rationalizations' (1985, 31).

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Rather than judging Tissaphernes on the basis of the public statements of his enemies, we should see what kind of conclusions the text as a whole prepares us for. Our evaluation of Tissaphernes is very much dependent on our opinion about the nature of negotiations in general. Xenophon displays a special interest in the tactics of successful negotiations throughout *Anabasis*, focusing our attention on this issue from the very beginning of the book, where we learn about the treacherous plots in the royal family, and the role Tissaphernes played in them. Later, he describes at length the negotiations between the Greeks and the Greek messenger, Phalinus, who comes from the king (2.1.7–23). In this context, Xenophon presents a series of Greek replies, seemingly designed to illustrate the difference between effective and ineffective negotiations. Cleanor, for example, claims that the soldiers would rather die than give up their arms, and we are meant to see that this is an ineffective reply that reveals more fear than confidence.[17] Other Greeks offer 'gnomic' responses that fail to address the situation effectively.[18] Xenophon (or Theopompus)[19] ridicules himself in this context, offering a fancy reply that allows Phalinus to mock him as a young 'philosopher,' who is foolish (ἀνόητος) if he thinks he can fight the king (2.1.13). Xenophon is not willing to confirm the disgraceful story that some Greeks tried to sue from a position of weakness for the king's friendship, promising him good service in return for mercy, but he does mention it (2.1.14).[20]

The scene leads up to a revealing though not yet fatal mistake by Clearchus. Clearchus makes a direct appeal to Phalinus, banking on the fact that he is a Greek who ought to be concerned about his reputation back home, and asks what his advice would be. Phalinus answers that the Greek army has not one chance in a thousand of surviving, and therefore ought to surrender. Instead of badly needed encouragement for the troops, Clearchus receives a discouraging blow, and from someone whom he has allowed to speak as a friend. In this case, Clearchus is able to recover by an adroit reply, but the characteristic mistake – a humanitarian appeal to someone playing the role of enemy – has been made. This whole interchange, together with the concluding negotiations, is important because it focuses our attention on the issue of effectiveness in negotiations, and warns us about Clearchus' fatal reliance on the humanity of his enemy. Thus even without any knowledge of *Cyropaedia*, the astute reader might become disposed, through the process of reading, to be critical of Clearchus' later gullibility.

Not only does Xenophon direct us away from humanitarian appeals, he also directs us towards a recognition of the vital importance of deception and bluff in negotiations. Earlier in the story, Clearchus himself provides a model of the astute use of bluff. When the king's messenger says that the king will regard any advance or retreat as a cause for war, Clearchus refuses

to say whether he will remain in place or not, instead merely repeating the king's offer: if we advance or retreat it means war (2.1.21–3). He has not altered the conditions set by the king, but has merely made the threat his own. This comes in very useful. When the Greeks accidentally run into one wing of the king's camp in their attempt to sneak away without his knowledge, the Persians interpret it as a declaration of war, and waves of panic spread through their army (2.2.18). The king swiftly comes to terms with Clearchus, and we see that Clearchus' bluff was useful precisely because it helped expose the bluff of his adversary. We see how foolish it would have been for Clearchus to believe that his enemy was as powerful as he pretended, or to appeal to him as a fellow human being. We see how important it is to issue threats rather than sue for peace. This scene too can be seen in contrast to Clearchus' later negotiations with Tissaphernes, where he practices the opposite tactics. The fact that at one point he was prudent only makes his later folly all the more discreditable.

Clearchus is clearly the loser in the battle of nerves that is waged between him and Tissaphernes. Although Xenophon refrains from insulting him in his brief eulogy (2.6.1–15), he does show us his flaws. He praises him by calling him fond of war and fitted for war, but also describes him as a harsh leader who was unable to win troops to follow him out of friendship and love. He does not say a word in praise of Clearchus' judgment or his ability to negotiate under pressure, crucial qualities in his interaction with Tissaphernes. Xenophon departs from our only other evidence concerning this incident (Ctesias 688 F27) by having Clearchus himself insist on the fateful meeting with Tissaphernes (2.5.30). And by having some of the soldiers object to Clearchus' plan of bringing all the generals into Tissaphernes' camp (2.5.29), Xenophon highlights Clearchus' folly and shows us that Tissaphernes' deception was not unpredictable. The fact that some Greeks guessed Tissaphernes' intentions shows that his actions were not as shocking as Clearchus' were foolish.

If we compare Clearchus with other leading figures in Xenophon's writings we are struck by the divergence. Clearchus lacks the aggressive confidence that characterizes other heroes and fails to make the appropriate distinctions between friends and enemies. Whereas genuine Xenophontic heroes such as Cyrus the Great behave humanely only after victory, Clearchus tries to make that move while in a position of perceived weakness, both in his initial negotiations with Phalinus and in the end with Tissaphernes. Rather than displaying confidence in his own position and awareness of the weaknesses of the enemy, Clearchus dwells morbidly on the weakness of his own position and on his own fears (2.4.5–7, 18). Somewhat later Xenophon indicates that soldiers ought to be thinking not about what they will suffer next, but about

what they will do next (3.1.41); and this is something Clearchus failed to do. In his negotiations with Tissaphernes, Clearchus is obsessed with demonstrating his own good will, and does so by openly stressing the weakness of his own position as a means of inspiring Tissaphernes' confidence (2.5.9–12). He is completely successful in this, and because Tissaphernes has no doubts about his intentions, he is able to destroy him without much difficulty. This is the very opposite of bluff. As Hirsch says, Clearchus is portrayed as 'utterly naïve, foolish and trusting' (1985, 28).

Tissaphernes, on the other hand, is a master negotiator. The ironies in his great speech to Clearchus have been frequently noted.[21] But this irony is aimed more at the reader than at Clearchus. With regard to Clearchus, Tissaphernes is downright deceptive. His special technique is the mixing of threats with sweet talk. Although nominally involved in a friendly discussion, he manages to spend most of his speech (2.5.17–22) listing the military advantages he enjoys and describing the ease with which he could destroy the Greeks, thereby increasing Clearchus' distress and ensuring his agreement to the fatal plan. He explains that these thinly-veiled threats are really meant as proof of good-will: 'With so many ways of making war against you, and none of them involving any risk, why would I choose the one method that alone is impious to the gods and shameful to men?' The irony is that Tissaphernes does indeed plan to use precisely this most odious method. But why did he not use the other methods if they were so readily available?

Tissaphernes says that he has refrained from destroying the Greeks because of his desire to prove himself a loyal ally and gain their allegiance. In retrospect it is clear that this is a lie. But then why did he not attack the Greeks directly? Christopher Tuplin has suggested to me that Tissaphernes might have hesitated to liquidate the military asset represented by the Greek army, even entertaining hopes that, with the (internally divided) leadership removed, he would be able to gain control of it. Ariaeus' claim that Clearchus had plotted against them (2.5.38–40) would have served such a purpose quite well. But it is also possible that Tissaphernes did not believe himself capable of defeating the Greek forces without suffering serious losses. Either way, it is possible to see his behaviour as both rational and in keeping with some of the advice offered by Cyrus' father. If Tissaphernes was not as confident as he pretended of his ability to destroy the Greek army by conventional means – and even after the murder of the generals, he was unable to finish off the rest of the Greeks – deception may have been the only (apparently) reliable method available; and even if the other options could have been essayed, Cyrus' father would agree that deception when used against enemies is legitimate, and that one should avoid direct military confrontation if at all possible (*Cyropaedia* 1.6.26, 41).

On this reading, Tissaphernes' threats to destroy the Greek army were bluff. And Clearchus swallowed them whole. Tissaphernes clinched the sale by offering Clearchus a role in his own circle of allies and hinting at ambitions against the king. This would tempt anyone, but particularly someone like Clearchus who has already conspired with another satrap against the king. Here Tissaphernes seems to have assimilated Cyrus' father's advice about learning the nature of the prey before stalking it (*Cyropaedia*, 1.6.36, 39).

In short, Tissaphernes seems to be a model of good strategy, albeit on the wrong side of the conflict. Xenophon has carefully prepared the reader during the earlier part of *Anabasis* to admire the skills Tissaphernes displays in negotiations, and to perceive the folly of Clearchus. He has emphasized effectiveness and the use of bluff as the standard for judging negotiations between hostile groups of men, and has shown the ineffectiveness of relying on the humanity of the enemy. In all these ways, Tissaphernes stands out as a model of good behaviour.

It is Meno rather than Tissaphernes who receives the full brunt of Xenophon's disapproval in *Anabasis* (2.6.21–9); and he is blamed for crimes that Tissaphernes never committed. His chief aim was wealth, not honour or rule; he took advantage of his friends rather than his enemies; and he boasted publicly of his wicked deeds. Tissaphernes on the other hand seems interested simply in defeating his enemy and serving his king, neither of which seem to be objectionable aims in Xenophon's book.[22] Moreover, although Xenophon clearly has this incident in mind in his discussion of the degeneration of Persia in the last chapter of *Cyropaedia*, he does not name Tissaphernes as one of his examples of wicked Persians (8.8.4).

The problem with perjury

But despite this, it is difficult to conclude that Xenophon admires Tissaphernes. There must be something wrong with a man who not only failed to obtain his ends, but also earned an evil reputation to boot. Perhaps perjury is not such a clever tactic after all. Although Cyrus' father recommends κακουργία in his speech to his son, he seems less enthusiastic about verbal deception, and he never recommends perjury. Through his story of the old Persian education (1.6.31–4) he does recommend the use of verbal deception, but he does not offer examples of how Cyrus might make use of it. In the lengthy description of deceptive techniques in *Cavalry Commander*, Xenophon mentions only examples of deceptive tactics, not of lying or perjury (4.18–20; 5.8–15). It seems that Xenophon was more hesitant about the use of verbal deception and perjury than about the other forms of κακουργία recommended by Cyrus' father. But why?

One cannot dismiss the possibility that there is no *good* reason at all. Xenophon may have simply accepted his society's distaste for lying and its extreme censure of oath-breaking at face value. Sociologically, the oath was an extremely important institution in ancient Greece,[23] and the greatest religious sanctions were invoked to insure its observance. In the absence of a modern police force, the sanctity of an oath was an indispensable means of insuring compliance with agreements. Combining what we today might think of as distinct religious and moral sanctions, the sanction against perjury was quite powerful, as we see from the rhetoric used by Cleanor and Xenophon. The severity with which perjury was judged may have been internalized by Xenophon and accepted as self-evident.

And yet, side by side with the Greek horror at oath-breaking, was a tradition of oath breakers starting from Odysseus' grandfather Autolycus. As Hirsch argues, the Greeks were actually more tolerant of liars and perjurers than the Persians were (1985, 18–20).[24] Aristophanes was able to make jokes about oath-taking in his comedies, and he portrays Xenophon's teacher, Socrates, as remarking that he does not accept oaths, since the gods are not acceptable currency at his school (*Clouds* 247–8). This glib way of dispensing with oaths is humorous because of the sanctity in which they were ordinarily held by the Greeks. But at the same time, this joking is only possible because that aura of sanctity was not unimpeachable. If societal values were this ambivalent, it is hard to see Xenophon as simply reflecting them unreflectively.

Aside from these general considerations, there are special reasons to expect that Xenophon would have done some thinking about oaths. Not only was he the student of a philosopher who was accustomed to call contemporary practices into question, he was the student of one who was accused of a callous disregard for the sanctity of oaths. It is hard to imagine that a student of Socrates, familiar with Aristophanes' *Clouds*, would accept uncritically his society's negative attitude towards oaths. This suggests that there are reasons for Xenophon's failure to recommend perjury despite his advocacy of κακουργία.[25]

We might find a reason in Xenophon's attitudes towards the friend-enemy distinction. In his speech to his son, Cyrus' father recommends the use of κακουργία against enemies, and only in rare circumstances against friends. In *Anabasis*, Xenophon singles out Meno for disgrace in part because he used evil tactics against friends rather than enemies (2.6.21–9). Unlike other forms of evil-doing, perjury involves a violation of trust, deceiving another not merely concerning one's intended course of action, but also concerning the nature of the relationship between the two parties. An oath or promise implies a degree of friendship or alliance, at least as far as its terms

are concerned. The violation of that oath is thus a betrayal of trust, formally similar to the violation of a genuine friendship. Swearing an oath with the intention of violating it is like raising a white flag, and then shooting the enemy soldiers who come to offer help. This practice could be defended on the grounds that forming a false friendship is a legitimate act of hostility against an enemy in time of war. But it is more offensive than other forms of deception because it deceives with regard to the nature of the relationship, blurring the distinction between friend and enemy. But although this may possibly explain Xenophon's dislike of perjury in part, he never formulates it as an objection.[26]

More prominent in the text is the idea that perjury alienates the gods and leads to their active hostility. Both the character Xenophon and Agesilaus say this to their troops after different instances of Tissaphernes' perjury (*Anabasis* 3.1.21–2; *Agesilaus* 1.13 = *Hellenica* 3.4.11). Even if their situation made such statements rhetorically necessary, they would not have made them if they could not count on a large number of troops to agree, and they may well have believed them themselves. Xenophon consistently presents himself as a pious man, so we might attribute his disapproval of perjury to this kind of practical religious motive. Dillery has argued that Xenophon sees the gods as a decisive force in history, and that the durability of regimes is a sign of divine favor earned by the pious actions of men (1995, 179–94). Statements to this effect can be found not only in the mouths of characters in Xenophon's narratives, but also in Xenophon's authorial voice.[27] And Xenophon frequently exhorts his students to cultivate the friendship of the gods just as they would the friendship of human beings, because these friendships may come in useful (see *Cavalry Commander* 9.8–9; *Cyropaedia* 1.6.3–4).

But it is not always clear what Xenophon means by affirming the power of the gods. The conversation of Socrates in *Memorabilia* 1.4 offers the most thorough discussion of the topic in Xenophon's writings, and yet it contains some serious ambiguities. Socrates' main argument here, as in *Cavalry Commander* 9.8–9, is not for divine interference in the affairs of men, but for divine communication with chosen persons. However, in order to convince Aristodemus of the gods' power, he also asks the rhetorical question: 'Do you not see that the wisest and most enduring of human institutions – cities and nations – are the most god-fearing, and that the most thoughtful period of life is the most religious?' (*Memorabilia* 1.4.16). In the context, Socrates seems to imply that piety leads the gods to grant longevity to human institutions.[28] But that is not what he says. He does not speak of the action of the gods, nor does he make clear the causal relationships between wisdom, endurance and piety. The passage can easily be understood in a naturalistic mode: because piety contributes to the health

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and strength of society, the wisest institutions behave piously, thereby gaining longevity. The idea that the value of piety is perceptible to human reason seems supported by the second half of the sentence, where Socrates affirms that the most thoughtful periods of life are the most pious. The fact that pious behavior has an effect on human and political matters, but has little effect in controlling oceanic disturbances, as Xenophon's sailor notes with distress in *Oeconomicus* (8.16), suggests that piety's main effect is not dependent on divine action. On this view, Xenophon is concerned primarily with the social and political effects of piety.

In any case, side by side with the affirmation of the power of the gods, Xenophon also presents discussions of the practical effects of piety and impiety, honesty and deceptiveness. These discussions show the harm that is caused by impious behavior, and may represent a naturalistic description of the action of divine providence – Xenophon often speaks of the gods as the causes of events whose natural causes he has described in detail (see e.g. *Anabasis* 7.7.7).[29] In these discussions, Xenophon treats perjury as a severe form of verbal deception. He argues that while deception can be useful, it can also be dangerous when used for the wrong purpose and when its practice becomes public knowledge. In such cases, it harms the trust of the political leader and thereby affects both his ability to create and maintain a political community and his ability to negotiate with foreigners. This political focus is understandable given Xenophon's lifelong concern with the conditions that make effective leadership possible. Since a chief aim of any political leader is to maximize the number of his followers and the degree of their devotion to him, it is understandable that Xenophon would view any act that weakens those bonds as a serious mistake.

The damage of dishonesty

Xenophon discusses the problematic status of verbal deception in the speech of Cyrus' father (*Cyropaedia* 1.6.31–4), a speech which, as I have argued, is aimed as much at the reader as at Cyrus himself. Cyrus' father wishes to encourage his son to make use of all kinds of unfair tactics in his war against Assyria. But because these tactics were abominated in Persia at the time, Cyrus naturally objects to his father's suggestions on the grounds that this was not taught in school. Cyrus' father neutralizes this criticism with a story that explains why these tactics were not taught publicly in Persia despite their legitimacy: in the past Persian children were taught publicly that lying, cheating and slandering are permissible when used against enemies, and even when used against friends for their own good. But when some students misused this knowledge for their own personal interest, a blanket decree was issued that the young men should always tell the truth and never deceive, on

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pain of punishment.[30] The prohibition was instituted for practical reasons only, and therefore when the young men grow older, they may be taught the truth – that deception is permissible – just as it is permissible to discuss the truth about sexual matters with adults, but not with children.[31] Despite the dangers of the irresponsible use of deception, Cyrus' father recounts this story to Cyrus on the eve of his departure in order to persuade him that he should feel no qualms about violating the principles of his education by using these tactics, including verbal deception, against his enemies in war.

Although clothed in an historical guise, this story seems to be intended more as a parable, explaining the complex moral and political status of deception in contemporary society, than as a description of Persian history. The parable teaches that deception is permissible when used for a good purpose, but that because its power can be abused by the unvirtuous[32] its permissibility must be kept secret from society as a whole, and communicated only to the virtuous, who are here roughly identified with those of mature age.[33] On this view, Tissaphernes' deception would be open to criticism only if its aims are unworthy.

But in other places, Xenophon reveals additional problems with the use of verbal deception. In the disputed final chapter[34] of *Cyropaedia* Xenophon discusses the degeneration of Persian political strength and attributes it to ἀσέβεια as manifest in the Persians' failure to keep their oaths. Xenophon says that he knows (οἶδα) that in earlier times the kings abided by their oaths and pledges in all circumstances:

> I know for example that in early times the kings and their officers, in their dealings with even the worst offenders, would abide by any oath they might have given, and be true to any pledge they might have made. For had they had not such a character, and had they not been true to their reputation, not a man would have trusted them, just as not a single person any longer trusts them now that their lack of character is notorious; and the generals of the Greeks who joined the expedition of Cyrus would not have had such confidence in them even on that occasion. But as it was, trusting in the previous reputation of the Persian kings, they placed themselves in the king's power and had their heads cut off.[35] And many also of the barbarians who joined that expedition went to their doom, some deluded by one promise, some by another.
>
> But at the present time they are still worse, as the following will show: if for example anyone in the olden times risked his life for the king, or if anyone reduced a state or a nation to submission to him, or effected anything else of good or glory for him, such an one received honour and preferment; now on the other hand, if anyone seems to bring some advantage to the king by evil-doing, whether as Mithradates did, by betraying his own father Ariobarzanes, or as a certain Rheomithres did, in violating his most sacred oaths and leaving his wife and children of his friends behind as hostages in the power of the king of Egypt – such are the ones who have the highest honours heaped on them.

> Witnessing such a state of morality, all the inhabitants of Asia have turned to
> wickedness and wrong-doing. For whatever the character of the rulers is, such
> also that of the people under them for the most part becomes.
>
> (*Cyropaedia* 8.8.3–5)

Here Xenophon returns to the events of *Anabasis*, and offers reflections in
his own mouth on the value of observing oaths. He offers an overwhelmingly
practical analysis centering on the importance of maintaining a reputation
for honesty which applies both to oath-breaking and to other forms of verbal
dishonesty (εἴτε δεξιὰς δοῖεν). He argues that it is important to be true to
one's reputation on the grounds that otherwise one cannot maintain that
reputation.[36] His emphasis is not on oath-breaking itself, but on the public
knowledge and reward of such behaviour. And therefore he highlights the
folly of publicly rewarding those who are known to have committed wrongs.
The depth of Xenophon's belief on this subject can be seen when we reflect
that he does not claim any direct evidence of the honesty of earlier Persian
society. His 'knowledge' of it is only a deduction that he draws on the basis
of his own premises.[37]

In other contexts also Xenophon displays a special concern with the
maintenance of public propriety. In describing Meno he emphasizes not
only his mistreatment of friends, but also his public boasting about his own
wickedness (*Anabasis* 2.6.27). In *Constitution of the Lacedaemonians* (2.8–9)
he notes that the Spartans both encourage theft and punish those who are
caught at it, and he defends what to others may have seemed like an absurd
practice. In these cases, it is the public knowledge of what has been done, not
necessarily the deed itself, which is objectionable.

From this point of view, Xenophon would have no grounds for objection
to verbal deception if it is used for a good end, and if its practice is kept from
the public view. As we have seen, both Cyrus the younger and Clearchus
practice deception with impunity in *Anabasis*. The attack on Persia, which
was nearly successful, would not have been possible without their use of
deception. These deceptions did not cause Cyrus to lose the trust of his
troops, but on the contrary many left the king to join his forces (1.9.29).
Although both of these men come to a bad end, Xenophon does not attribute
this to their deceptions, and in fact he praises Cyrus for his honesty and faith-
fulness (πίστις). In these cases the use of deception did not cause a serious
decline in Cyrus' reputation, even though it became known to the troops.

On this view, it is not easy to see what Tissaphernes did wrong. His aim
of destroying the king's enemy is a defensible one: certainly Tissaphernes did
not display the evil aims of someone like Meno. While verbal deception and
perjury are potentially very dangerous tactics, Tissaphernes did not have any
other reliable way to achieve his end. He carefully planned a story to cover his

tracks, and might have succeeded were it not for Xenophon's quick thinking in unmasking him (2.5.41–42). Tissaphernes' greatest mistake may have been getting caught. But given the serious effects of the public knowledge of false oaths, this was a grave failure.

Conspicuous honesty in *Agesilaus, Cyropaedia* and *Anabasis*

If the main problem with deception is its effect on one's reputation, then the prime advantage of honesty should also be found in the reputation one gains by displaying it. In *Agesilaus*, Xenophon praises the Spartan king for his display of honesty and piety, and underlines the political benefits of such a practice.[38]

Tissaphernes swears to observe a truce with Agesilaus during which time he says he will send messengers to the King requesting freedom for the Greek cities of Asia. Agesilaus apparently had not consulted with Xenophon or heard any rumours about Tissaphernes' character,[39] for he readily agreed to the truce, and rigorously observed it. Tissaphernes used the truce as a cover to raise troops in violation of his oaths. He regarded this as a good way of taking unfair advantage of the enemy, and believed that Agesilaus was angry at him for breaking his oath (*Agesilaus* 1.15 = *Hellenica* 3.4.12). But despite becoming aware of Tissaphernes' perfidy, Xenophon tells us, Agesilaus continued to observe his side of the bargain (*Agesilaus* 1.11 = *Hellenica* 3.4.6). He was not angry, but with a radiant countenance announced that he was grateful to Tissaphernes for alienating the gods from his own cause (*Agesilaus* 1.13 = *Hellenica* 3.4.11; see *Anabasis* 3.1.21–2, 2.6). And, according to Xenophon, Tissaphernes did suffer terribly for his crime. Outfoxed by Agesilaus, Tissaphernes was executed by the king he had served so devotedly.

This discussion occurs within an apologetic context. One of Xenophon's aims in *Agesilaus* is to counter contemporary criticisms of Agesilaus, apparently including the criticism that he was deceived and outmanoeuvred by Tissaphernes, just as Clearchus had been before him. Xenophon defends the king not merely by pointing to his great piety (although he does that as well), but also by arguing that his apparent naiveté was part of a grand strategy in which it was he who outmanoeuvred Tissaphernes. Agesilaus showed him up as a perjurer and made him distrusted everywhere, while securing for himself an excellent reputation (*Ag.* 1.12). Later 'when war was declared and cheating (ἐξαπατᾶν) became holy and just in consequence, [Agesilaus] showed Tissaphernes to be a child when it comes to deception' (*Ag.* 1.17). Agesilaus thus beat Tissaphernes at his own game, actually displaying a greater sophistication in deception than his seemingly clever rival. Agesilaus' display of conspicuous honesty contributed not only to the defeat and execution of Tissaphernes, but also brought long-lasting political benefits to Agesilaus

himself. Xenophon devotes an entire chapter of his encomium (3.1–5) to a description of the achievements Agesilaus accomplished by means of the reputation he gained for honesty. He says that

> Agesilaus had such respect for religion that even his enemies considered his oaths and his treaties more to be relied upon than their own friendship with one another: for there were times when they shrank from meeting together, and yet they would place themselves in the power of Agesilaus.　　　(3.2)

And he goes on to list the many occasions on which this reputation brought him advantage. Xenophon seems to be saying that Agesilaus' critics ought not to judge him a simpleton, but should reflect on the advantages of a policy of conspicuous honesty.

We may gain a further insight into the peculiar value of religion in this connection. Agesilaus honoured his word not because he trusted Tissaphernes, but because he had sworn an oath in the name of the gods. Xenophon discusses his reputation for honesty as an aspect of his εὐσέβεια (*Agesilaus* 3.2,5). Even though Tissaphernes' treachery released him from the obligation to maintain his side of the agreement, Agesilaus chose to be punctilious about it because of the gods. By making his adherence to oaths dependent on religious conviction alone, he showed it to be unconditional, inviolable and hence completely reliable.[40] We may doubt whether Agesilaus was truly as sophisticated as Xenophon presents him. But it is clear that Xenophon defends his display of seemingly naïve honesty and piety by insisting on its practical advantages.

Conspicuous honesty is an important theme throughout Xenophon's writing.[41] Cyrus makes use of it in *Cyropaedia* 4.2.42–4, in order to maintain the allegiance of the Median cavalry in spite of their king's potential opposition. He asks his own troops, who have control of the booty, to delay its distribution, and even to allow the foreign troops to take charge of it, arguing that it would be a greater gain to

> show that we mean to be fair and square (δικαίους φαινομένους), and by such dealing to secure greater affection from them than we already have... To secure a present advantage would give us but short-lived riches. But to sacrifice this and obtain the source from which real wealth flows, that – as I see it – could put us and all of ours in possession of a perennial fountain of wealth.

Indeed, these tactics enabled Cyrus to pry the cavalry loose from his uncle's control, which proved instrumental in the conquest of his empire.

Xenophon returns to this topic at the end of *Anabasis*, and there too his discussion of the virtue of honesty is overwhelmingly practical. Here is a short passage from his speech to Seuthes:

> The most important thing is never to make yourself untrustworthy (ἄπιστον)

in what you say. For I see that the words of the untrustworthy wander about in vain, without power or honour. But as for those who are conspicuous (φανεροί) in their concern for honesty, their words, if they make any requests, are no less able to accomplish something than the force of others. And if they wish others to behave themselves I know that their threats can accomplish this no less than the actual punishments of others. And if such men make a promise to someone, they accomplish no less than others do when giving a gift.　　　(7.7.23–4)

Here it is true that Xenophon is seeking to persuade Seuthes to honour his word, and we cannot be certain that this is really what he believes. But if we view it together with the other passages we have seen, a consistent argument emerges concerning the political value of maintaining a reputation for honesty.

Conclusion
Xenophon provides material for understanding Tissaphernes in different ways. Modern scholars tend either to condemn him for his immorality, or to praise him for his clever use of it. But Xenophon also provides material for an evaluation of his behaviour in practical terms. Perjury is an exceedingly dangerous tactic that is liable to produce grave problems if it is discovered. It is far wiser for a political leader to cultivate a reputation for honesty and piety.

　　This kind of argument, the defence of moral or pious behaviour on prudential grounds, is reflected in several ancient writers. In *Republic*, for example, Plato presents Cephalus as defending a conventional morality, Thrasymachus a more sophisticated immoralism, while Socrates offers a defence of morality on unconventional, ultimately self-interested grounds.[42] This may have been a common tactic for the Socratic school. Opposed to some manifestations of late fifth-century and early fourth-century immoralism, they could combat it only by offering a defence of morality that is more sophisticated than the arguments of the immoralists.

　　But the tactic was not unique to the Socratic school. Thucydides famously contrasted the justice-based reasoning of Cleon, who advocated executing the Mytilenaeans, with the prudential reasoning of Diodotus who advocated sparing them (3.36–49). Similarly, Isocrates in his *Letter to Nicocles* argued that moral behaviour is the most effective means of maintaining rule. Xenophon undoubtedly was familiar with these authors, and he adopts a similar strategy in *Cyropaedia*, where he begins with the aim of simply finding the most effective means of gaining and maintaining rule, and then goes on to show how admirable Cyrus' effective means actually were. In *Hiero*, he portrays Simonides persuading a tyrant that treating his subjects well would be in his own interest. These writers had gone beyond moralist/

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immoralist debates in order to discover that moral or pious behaviour has a political power all its own. It is a lesson that some of our contemporary political leaders would do well to learn.

Notes

1 1972, 25. Cited with approval by Stronk 1995, 19.

2 Hirsch 1985, 26–7.

3 Gera 1993, 2 sums up a widespread view as follows: 'the narration of the life and deeds of Cyrus the Great is, in essence, a convenient framework, a peg upon which Xenophon hangs reflections and ideas of his own... Thus Xenophon improvises freely with the facts of Cyrus' life, altering historical circumstances to suit his literary and dramatic purposes, even while making use of the narrative framework which the historical Persian's well-known deeds provide'. For Due 1989, 30 *Cyropaedia* 'is not really history, but a little more fictitious than e.g. the content of the history of Thucydides'. Cicero too saw the work as fictional: see *AQF* 1.1.23. Tuplin 1997 argues that we cannot be sure of the extent of Xenophon's inventiveness even here: much of the work is 'consistent with the view that Xenophon is making selections dictated by a didactic or ideological agenda among the range of descriptions of institutions and stories of events which could be heard directly or indirectly from contemporary Persian sources' (153). Still, Tuplin would grant Xenophon at least as much latitude as Thucydides had, particularly in composing the speeches.

4 I do not suggest that Xenophon expected his readers to dutifully consult *Cyropaedia* in conjunction with their reading of his other works. Each work is meant to be read as an independent whole. *Cyropaedia* is useful only for confirming interpretations that are suggested by a careful reading of the other texts in their own right.

5 See Press 2000 for a variety of views on this subject.

6 For Cyrus' use of his father's advice, see Due 1989, 92–114. For other discussions of the scene cf. Gera 1993, 50–72; Nadon 2001, 164–78.

7 This seems to be a general technique that Xenophon employs when he wishes to say things that may shock. Compare the use he makes of the atmosphere of a drinking party to offer revelations about Socrates (*Symp.* 4.27; 8.5). See Danzig 2005.

8 As Cyrus' father notes, Cyrus' education has deliberately omitted some valuable truths. See below.

9 In the latter text there is an explicit analogy with military trickery. Although (the character) Xenophon is teasing Cheirisophus when he praises Spartan thievery, he is not necessarily disingenuous in his praise. For recent discussion of Spartan thievery see Link 2004.

10 *Cynegeticus* 24.4.

11 Further confirmation of Xenophon's sympathy with these ideas may be found in his Socratic writings. Although Xenophon is generally reluctant to attribute politically offensive opinions to Socrates, he does portray him as saying things similar to those said by Cyrus' father. See *Mem.* 3.1.6; 4.2.12 ff. Similar ideas can be found in Plato as well, where they are often dismissed as 'ironical'. Thus in *Republic* Socrates argues, on the basis of Polemarchus' statements, that the just man is also a good thief (334a–b), and in *Hippias Minor* he argues that it is better to deceive willingly than unwillingly.

However these passages are to be interpreted in the final analysis, the fact that this kind of sentiment appears in both Plato and Xenophon suggests that it did not seem absurd to either of them and that Socrates may have said such things, whether ironically or not. One might rather suspect that his students have toned it down a bit, or placed a positive spin on these discussions in the interests of their own Socratic apologetics.

[12] See Hirsch 1985, 26.

[13] On the character flaws of Xenophon's companions, see also Higgins 1977, 83–6 and Tuplin 2003, esp. 145–6.

[14] For this reason, it would be a mistake to think that Clearchus has 'gotten what he deserves' for deceiving the Greeks. If Xenophon had wished to make this point, he could have offered criticism of Clearchus for using deception somewhere in his narrative. The obituary notice (2.6.1–15) is critical in various ways, but not on this point.

[15] The idea that a writer would have a variety of audiences in mind when writing may seem fairly obvious but it is not always taken into account. Xenophon makes his awareness of the different needs of different kinds of audiences reasonably clear in *Cyropaedia*. See below note 31.

[16] See Dillery 1995, 108–9, 184. I discuss this in more detail below.

[17] The same mistaken emphasis on the possibility of defeat appears in the peroration of the Assyrian king in *Cyr.* 3.3.45. See Tatum 1989, 92–3.

[18] See Higgins 1977, 86.

[19] Both readings occur in the manuscripts. Perhaps 'Xenophon' is the right reading: it is characteristic of Xenophon to have others ridicule him in his writings (see also *Mem.* 1.3.11 and *Anab.* 3.1.7) but he may have regretted giving this privilege to Phalinus and revised the text accordingly. Theopompus appears nowhere else in *Anabasis*.

[20] His lack of certainty on this point seems odd if in fact he was present as he claims. Perhaps he feigns ignorance in order not to speak ill of his fellow Greeks?

[21] See Higgins 1977, 87; Hirsch 1985, 27. It is baffling to note the persistence of the view that Xenophon is incapable of irony in spite of this speech.

[22] Xenophon praises such aims in *Cyropaedia* 8.8.3–5, quoted below.

[23] The Oath-Project organized by A. Sommerstein and J. Fletcher should shed more light on this subject. In the meantime see Verdier 1991, Sommerstein and Fletcher 2007. There are also two older works on the subject: Hirzel 1902; Plescia 1970.

[24] See also Walcot 1977.

[25] It is of course possible that he omits to condone perjury out of consideration for his audience's sensibilities. The idea that writers are sometimes reluctant to speak their minds openly on subjects that could win them reprobation is characteristic of the Straussian school of thought, which has not been widely accepted in modern scholarship, in part because of legitimate concerns about a methodology that starts from the premise that authors do not always say what they mean. While we cannot dismiss the Straussian hypothesis out of hand, it is not easy to discover a means of verifying it.

[26] Although he does distinguish between what is permissible in time of war – when enmity has been declared so to speak – and what is permissible in time of peace. See *Agesilaus* 1.17, quoted below.

[27] See *Hellenica* 5.4.1. See also *Cyr.* 4.2.1, where Xenophon comments that the arrival of the Hyrcanians was providential (θείως πως).

[28] In the previous sentence, Socrates has asked, 'Do you think that the gods would have implanted in us the belief that they are able to do good and ill, if they were not able

to, and that human beings would be deceived throughout all time and not notice it?' Clearly Socrates wishes to press his interlocutor to believe in the power of the gods. And yet, according to the logic of Socrates' question, it is only those who believe that the gods have implanted such a belief in us who must confess their power.

²⁹ See also Cyrus' reference to himself as the one 'to whom the god has given the power to deal with you as he will' (3.1.6). In the preceding narrative, there was, of course, no specifically divine action: Cyrus' victory, accomplished by his own powers, can be referred to as the act of the god because all human victories can be attributed to the god. See also *Mem.* 4.4.21–4.

³⁰ It is interesting to note that the spread of conspicuous lying and the subsequent degeneration of Persia occurs only after lying has been eliminated from the curriculum and outlawed.

³¹ This passage offers some insight into Xenophon's thoughts about censorship and has implications for our understanding of his own writings. Xenophon makes it clear that there are subjects that must be kept from virgin ears, even if many adults know them perfectly well. Presumably, then, Xenophon would not have wanted to discuss such subjects openly in writings that would be available to a broad audience. We do not need any complex theories of political esotericism in order to understand Xenophon's concern. Even in our permissive society the placing of restrictions on the contents of public media through a system of 'ratings' for movies meets with few objections. Xenophon's concern for propriety in public discourse may help explain his portrait of Tissaphernes. Given the disreputable tactics Tissaphernes used, Xenophon would have wanted to portray him as a monster. At the same time, since mature adults will also be reading the book, he would not have made the portrait unambiguous.

³² This story is consistent with Xenophon's general belief that τὰ πολιτικά should be taught only to the σώφρων. (See for example *Memorabilia* 1.2.17.) That belief seems to imply that τὰ πολιτικά includes teachings, such as the permissibility of lying for a good purpose, which can cause harm if not applied responsibly. Cyrus' father's unconventional advice to his son thus may offer us a glimpse of the kinds of teachings that make up τὰ πολιτικά.

³³ Compare Plato's manner of dealing with the training of judges: he only exposes them to injustice after they have reached the age of forty, on the grounds that by this age their characters will have been formed and will resist corruption (*Rep.* 409b).

³⁴ Hirsch revives the suggestion that the last chapter is non-Xenophontic (1985, 91–7) and is answered by Due (1989, 16–22).

³⁵ This description of Persian honesty accords neither with Xenophon's account of the meeting, in which some of the soldiers objected to the plan, nor with Ctesias' account, in which Clearchus went against his will (688 F27).

³⁶ In *Memorabilia* 1.7, Xenophon's Socrates says that a reputation can be maintained only if it is based on reality. Still, the younger Cyrus seems to be a partial exception to this rule as far as a reputation for πίστις is concerned.

³⁷ Hirsch's argument that Xenophon was aware of the importance of honesty in Persian society hardly seems persuasive. Xenophon does not present Persians as models of honesty and fidelity in *Anabasis*, and offers no evidence of any knowledge of the central importance of this value in their society. Even if historically speaking Persian rulers did encourage the observance of honesty by their dependents and others, as Hirsch argues, this does not necessarily mean that it was widely practiced or known to Xenophon.

[38] Even though it is an encomiastic and apologetic work, we can still learn something serious from it – not only about the historical Agesilaus, but also about the attitudes of Xenophon and his audience towards deception. He could not praise Agesilaus for embodying virtues he or his audience views as vices, nor denigrate Tissaphernes for vices they view as virtues. Any sense that Spartans were normally liable to make an (official) virtue out of mendacity (Powell 1994, 284–7) adds piquancy to the situation.

[39] His friend Lysander heard something of the story of the 10,000 (3.4.2), but Agesilaus shows no sign of any knowledge of the incident, or of Tissaphernes' later deception of Dercylidas. One wonders how close Xenophon and Agesilaus really were at this time.

[40] The Greeks were well aware of the political use of religious and moral behaviour. Among many examples in Herodotus: Croesus advises Cyrus to prevent the despoliation of Sardis by confiscating the spoil and telling the soldiers that a tenth part will be given to Zeus (1.89) and Deioces creates and uses a reputation for justice as a tool for gaining supremacy in Media (1.96).

[41] Note also *Memorabilia* 1.1.2, where Socrates is said to have been conspicuous in offering sacrifices.

[42] For references to the debate over Plato's defence of justice, see Danzig 1998.

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ON PERSIAN *TRYPHĒ* IN ATHENAEUS

Dominique Lenfant

As is well known, *Deipnosophistae* is a text in which Athenaeus affects to provide his friend Timocrates with an account of a banquet attended by some extremely learned guests whose conversation is largely made up of quotations from literary authors.[1] Accordingly, Athenaeus is best known as an author who transmits *verbatim* material from lost works of Greek literature: in fact, in its present – incomplete – state, *Deipnosophistae* mentions some 800 writers and 2500 works.[2] Every kind of Greek author is represented, from Homer to the hellenistic period: some are well known, some less so, and others not at all. Athenaeus is thus a source of information about the reception of all sorts of writings but more specifically about the contents of works that are not preserved in a manuscript tradition. Of course, the interpretation of *Deipnosophistae* and its relation to its sources is not an easy matter: Athenaeus' purpose was not to give us a digest of 2500 pieces of Greek literature, and this fact is not without its effect upon his way of selecting, cutting and even interpreting the texts that he seems to quote or paraphrase. In other words, when reading about Persians in Athenaeus, we have to ask whether we are learning the opinion of Greeks who were contemporary with the Achaemenid Empire or that of a writer who lived more than 500 years later.

With some 130 allusions and citations distributed through almost all of the 15 books of his *Deipnosophistae*,[3] Athenaeus is one of the richest Greek sources on Achaemenid Persia, especially where details about life at court are concerned – the luxuries that surrounded the Great King and the staff that served him, the customs of the Royal Table, and the Greeks who visited the Empire as envoys or lived within its confines as refugees. *Deipnosophistae* is thus a text of more than passing interest for students of Greek relations with Persia.[4]

A particularly striking feature of its allusions to Persia is the vivid illustrations that it provides of Persian so-called *tryphē*. The term *tryphē* is notoriously difficult to translate, but it generally designates an immoderate

and enfeebling addiction to sensual pleasures. Unlike the English term 'luxury', it is nearly always disparaging[5] and moralistic, although those who use it may not be immune to a degree of fascination with what they are condemning.[6] Furthermore, since it can relate to various sorts of practices and since the type of pleasure involved can be erotic or gastronomic or the result of drunkenness, luxury, material comfort or plain indolence, there is no universal translation for it.[7] The task of finding one is not made any easier by the changes that have occurred in western moral values, not just between antiquity and the end of the twentieth century but even between the first half and the end of the twentieth century: a notion such as 'debauchery', for example, may now seem rather old-fashioned. But, even when such a term was still in common use, it would probably not have been applied to someone who had a taste for gastronomic variety or to people who, like the Sybarites, forbade the establishment of noise-producing crafts (such as those of blacksmiths, carpenters and the like) within the city, their object being to avoid having their sleep disturbed in any way: in some contemporary societies, indeed, the latter might perhaps be seen as a legitimate ecological stand against sound pollution.[8] It will be readily understood that the word *tryphē*, whether applied to the Persians or not, had a strong affective value, but a very low descriptive one.

Because of these two features (a work based on supposed quotation and problems about the semantics of *tryphē*), one may wonder whether Athenaeus' illustrations of Persian *tryphē* can be treated as actual evidence by a modern historian and, if so, as evidence about what.

Deipnosophistae and Greek ideas on *tryphē*

Tryphē is a polemical theme that goes back to classical times, that is to those Greeks who were contemporary with the Persian Empire: the word is well represented in Aristophanes and Plato, but was also to be found in lost historians of the fourth century and the hellenistic period such as Theopompus,[9] Ephorus, Phylarchus, Posidonius, Timaeus and Aristoxenus.[10] Some components of the *topos* already existed before the end of the fifth century BC, but with the invention and spread of the word *tryphē* that *topos* took on new dimensions.

As an author who quotes many lost historians, Athenaeus provides us with a copious collection of examples of *tryphē* – it is, in fact, the largest preserved anthology on the subject[11] – and by studying it one can get a better understanding of the associations of *tryphē* in the minds of Greeks of the classical and post-classical era, especially as applied to whole nations.

First of all, *tryphē* was conceived as a possible element of affinity between nations and consequently as a cause of political alliance. For instance,

Athenaeus, whose source here seems to be Critias,[12] says:

> Now the Thessalians are generally admitted to have been the most extravagant
> (πολυτελέστατοι) of all the Greeks in the matter both of clothing and food;
> this in fact was their reason for bringing the Persians into Greece, since they
> emulated Persian luxury (*tryphē*) and extravagance (πολυτέλεια).

In other words, a common taste for *tryphē* was the cause of Thessalian
collusion with the Persians in the second Persian war. One is bound to say
that the assumptions about historical causality implicit in this proposition
are simplistic and intellectually impoverished (not to say simply irrational)
by comparison with Herodotus' explanation of the situation in terms of
the ambitions of a Thessalian aristocratic family in a context of internal
political rivalries.[13] Secondly, *tryphē* appears to be infectious, since it can
be transmitted from one nation to another through imitation: for example,
the *tryphē* of Colophon was imitated by Miletus, whose *tryphē* was in turn
imported into other neighbouring cities.[14] Last but not least, *tryphē* leads to
the weakening and destruction of the nations or kings who indulge in it: this
well-known process was exemplified in the cases of Sybaris, Miletus, Persia
and Sardanapalus' Assyria.[15]

Tryphē and Persians in Athenaeus

Rules of this sort about ethnic *tryphē* are by no means confined to Persians
or even to barbarians in general: the Deipnosophists also consider as *tryphē*
the behaviour of people who are culturally-speaking much closer to home,
e.g. various figures in the *Odyssey* (not only Penelope's suitors but also
Odysseus' companions and the Phaeacians[16]), Spartans[17] and contemporary
Romans.[18] In other words, in the eyes of Athenaeus, *tryphē* was something
that could occur at any time and in any society. This being so, the Persians
were no longer locked into a Greek-barbarian dichotomy,[19] as had been the
case for some of the classical writers who painted a picture of Persian *tryphē*
and decadence.[20]

Nonetheless, the Persians do occupy a significant place in the roll-call of
dissolute (τρυφεροί) nations, as is clear from three facts. First, there are some
fifteen passages about Persian *tryphē*.[21] Secondly, the Persians are mentioned
in each of the thematic sections of Book 12 (the one devoted to *tryphē*)[22]
and are the only nation of which this is true. Lastly, they head the catalogue
of nations who became famous for *tryphē* (12.513e)[23] – a position that
Athenaeus justifies by virtue of their chronological priority.[24]

Illustrations of Persian *tryphē* in Athenaeus' work are of various sorts.[25]
They include the numerous staff that attend to the king's food and drink or
to his sleeping arrangements,[26] the king's eternal search for new pleasures[27] –
especially pleasures provided by new foods[28] – and the rewards offered by the

king to those who discover them; one may also mention the so-called golden water that is specially reserved for the king.[29] Then there is the fragrant 'badge of rank which the Persian kings placed on their heads',[30] the golden stool (*diphros*) on which the king steps to dismount from his chariot and the stool-bearer (*diphrophoros*) who follows him for this purpose,[31] the luxurious throne[32] and the huge quantity of precious metals in the royal bedroom,[33] the seasonal migrations of the king,[34] and the 300 concubines and music-players who 'sleep throughout the day in order to stay awake at night'.[35]

These illustrations all have a point in common: they concern the Great King, even in the section of Book 12 that is supposed to deal with the Persian *ethnos* (528e). In fact, the shift from Persians in general to their king and the tendency for interest to be directed exclusively at the king are quite normal in Greek literature: the *tryphē* of the Persians is really the *tryphē* of their king. This seems to be something of a novelty: it is not the same for other peoples in Athenaeus' catalogue, including those who have a monarch, such as the Lydians. No doubt this can be explained by the fact that Greek ideas about the contrast between Greeks and Persians had a substantial political component.

There are two exceptions in *Deipnosophistae* to this concentration on the *tryphē* of the King. The first concerns the wives of Artabazus and Mentor, who are taxed with *tryphē* because they were attended by Cypriote women who

> in their desire to please the women who summoned them, made ladders of themselves so that the women riding in carts could mount or dismount on their backs.[36]

But, this is arguably only a partial exception: the wives of the king's generals who use other women as the king uses a *diphros* are doing just what he does and simply represent the reproduction of royal behaviour in aristocratic circles.

The second case is more surprising. In a brief section of Book 12 devoted to different views about pleasure, Athenaeus provides a long quotation from Heraclides of Pontus' *On Pleasure* which presents pleasure as a good thing, and the Persians and Medes as a model:

> All persons, at any rate, who pay court to pleasure and choose a life of luxury (*tryphē*) are lordly and magnificent, like the Persians and the Medes. For more than any other men in the world they court pleasure and luxury, yet they are the bravest and most lordly of the barbarians.

The philosopher goes on to describe the Athenians as having achieved greatness as long as they enjoyed luxury and had slaves carrying

> folding stools for them so that they should not sit as chance might have it. Such, then, were the men who won the battle of Marathon.[37]

Such outright praise of Persians and their *tryphē* in a fourth-century author[38] is eccentric, even in a philosophical context: in Xenophon's *Cyropaedia*, by contrast, Persians only serve as a positive model so long as they do not exclusively indulge in pleasure and luxury.

Tryphē and the historical critic

In the light of this description and analysis of the features of Persian *tryphē* as viewed by Greek writers, one may wonder whether their presentation of the topic can enlighten us about anything other than Greek views. This question is especially relevant when *tryphē* is offered as an explanation.

For example, the seasonal migration of the Persian court from one royal residence to another (winter in Susa, summer in Ecbatana, autumn in Persepolis and the remaining portion of the year in Babylon) is mentioned as the first illustration of Persian *tryphē*.[39] Quite apart from the fact that the term *tryphē* implies a non-historical moral judgment, it has been argued that, although climatic considerations could have played a part, political reasons are likely to have been at least as decisive a motivation for the practice, in so far as the king reaffirmed his power by regular journeys of this sort through his domains.[40] In a case like this modern historians may choose to disregard the explanation while accepting the description as valid and interesting evidence[41] – what Pierre Briant usually describes as a distinction between *le noyau informatif achéménide* and *l'interprétation grecque*.[42]

Unfortunately, it is sometimes impossible to draw this distinction, because there are cases where it is obvious that a supposedly historical proposition has actually been prompted by the notion of *tryphē* and its association with ruin. For instance, according to Clearchus, Darius III brought his kingdom to defeat because of his unrestrained search for pleasure.[43] This is certainly an explanation frequently encountered in Greek writings,[44] but it is not a very convincing one. In a second example, Artaxerxes III Ochus is said to have had a frugal life-style and to have ruled for a long time because he practised justice.[45] Such a statement may come as a surprise to readers of other sources such as Plutarch's *Artaxerxes*, which recounts the fratricides committed by Ochus and reports that he 'outdid all his predecessors in blood-thirstiness and cruelty'.[46] The explanation may be that we are dealing with an *exemplum*: Ochus' frugality was perhaps invented (by Athenaeus' source?) precisely in order to provide a contrast with the luxurious tastes of his eventual successor Darius III and an explanation of the fact that he reigned for a longer period.[47] In a case like this one clearly has to be rather wary of the comments about *tryphē* and it may seem that they have little of interest to offer to the modern historian of Persia.

The verdict of *tryphē*: Athenaeus or his sources?
Qualification of certain types of behaviour as *tryphē* might nevertheless be considered as evidence about Greek perception and representation of Persian kings. But whose perception? In other words, is Athenaeus merely reproducing his sources' opinion and reflecting an old tradition dating back to the times of the Achaemenid Empire or is he sometimes the author of that verdict? I shall argue that *Deipnosophistae* is not just providing a compilation of his sources.

First, Athenaeus has a personal, explicit and negative opinion of *tryphē*. There are allusions to *tryphē* in nearly every book, but they appear especially in Books 4 (on the meals of different peoples), 6 (on flatterers: flattery by subordinates is closely tied to their superiors' *tryphē*) and above all in Book 12, the subject of which is explicitly and exclusively 'those persons who made themselves notorious for their *tryphē*'.[48] In fact, Book 12 is one of the few that is exclusively devoted from one end to the other to a single theme, and this fact already suggests that it was an important theme in Athenaeus' mind.[49] Moreover, Book 12 has another distinctive feature: it is an anthology that is directly presented by Athenaeus to Timocrates without any claim that it reproduces the conversation of the deipnosophists.[50] Now, Athenaeus explicitly reproves *tryphē*, not only at the beginning, where he contrasts pleasure with virtue and affirms that 'to pursue pleasures recklessly is to hunt pain',[51] but also later on in the book, where he argues that it is better to be thin than to put on weight through indulging in *tryphē* (552f) and that the Romans 'did a good job when they banished the Epicureans Alcaeus and Philiscus from the city' (547a), and where Gorgias' mode of life, which was diametrically opposed to *tryphē*, is clearly valued (547f–548a).

Of course, Athenaeus also reproduces divergent opinions on pleasure,[52] and, as most of his sources on Persian *tryphē* are now lost, one might suppose that he is simply preserving Greek reactions dating back to the Achaemenid period or not very much later than Alexander's conquest – the reactions, that is, of writers of *Persica* such as Dinon and Heraclides of Cyme, Alexander historians such as Aristobulus, Chares of Mytilene and Amyntas, and fourth-century philosophers such as Clearchus of Soli, Heraclides of Pontus, Theophrastus and Aristoxenus.

But it might also be the case that Athenaeus' own views are not without effect on the way he selects, quotes and presents his sources, and that his method of work does not always do justice to the real meaning of the original text. This can be exemplified by the passage of Heraclides of Pontus quoted above.[53] That passage presents the Persians as a positive model of hedonism – or that, at least, is the impression given by the way in which Athenaeus excerpts Heraclides' words without providing even a few introductory words

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to enlighten the reader about its original context. But it has been convincingly argued that, in the light of Heraclides' general philosophical position and known aversion from hedonism, the passage in question must be ironical and depend on a 'shocking inversion of established commonplaces':[54] the Persians, who are usually taxed with cowardice, are called 'the bravest and most lordly of the barbarians'; the slaves who carry stools (*diphroi*) for Athenians are like a parody of the stool-bearer (*diphrophoros*) of the Persian king;[55] and the idea that such men would have won at Marathon is contrary to the usual view that *tryphē* leads to military weakness.[56] What we have in Heraclides' *On Pleasure* is, in fact, the sort of paradoxical and ironical praise that was practised by sophists, a provocative reversal of common assumptions and a demonstration *e contrario*.

From an historical point of view, the most that one can conclude from the text is that the Persian *diphros* and *diphrophoros* were well known among educated Greeks in the middle of the fourth century BC and could be considered by them as an illustration of *tryphē*. But we also see how much caution is needed when dealing with a text seen through Athenaeus' eyes: in this case, the latter was not aware of any irony and consequently gave a misleading impression of the transmitted text and of the sort of feelings Greeks might have toward Persians. We are dealing with a bad case of decontextualization – something of which Athenaeus may have been himself a victim, if he either read only this passage of Heraclides' work or extracted it from a pre-existing anthology.

Conversely, instead of an absence (of the original context), it may be an addition – that of the new context into which the quotation is inserted – that has a misleading effect. In fact, qualification of a piece of behaviour as evidence on *tryphē* is sometimes Athenaeus' interpretation, and not that of his source. A clear example, in a non-Persian context, is provided by a quotation from Homer: Athenaeus writes in Book 1 that, because of their *tryphē*, 'the suitors' arms were so flabby (*or*: delicate) that they could not even begin to stretch the bow'.[57] But the epic only mentions the failure of the delicate arms of the first suitor and does not link it with his dissolute life. Strictly speaking, the appearance of *tryphē* here results from Athenaeus' interpretation.[58]

Returning to Persian *tryphē*, it is clear that description of behaviour as *tryphē* did already occur in some of Athenaeus' sources: it appeared frequently in the text of Clearchus' *On Modes of Life*,[59] and appears also in a quotation from Chares of Mytilene (514e–f).[60] However, such description was also sometimes lacking – as far as we can tell – in his source. There is, for instance, no proof that Dinon considered the golden stool (*diphros*) of the king or his fragrant badge of rank to be manifestations of *tryphē*,[61] and the same may be said about Agathocles' reference to the water reserved for the king.

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In other words, when we are dealing with writers such as the *Persica*-authors Dinon and Heraclides of Cyme who are scarcely known to us outside the pages of Athenaeus, we cannot infer from Athenaeus' interpretation that their work focused on, or even included polemic about, Persian *tryphē*.[62] Moreover, in the case of Heraclides, Athenaeus himself gives us a piece of evidence that points in the opposite direction, when he transmits his description and explanation of the king's dinner as an occasion of parsimonious and well-calculated food-distribution: it appears that in providing this account Heraclides was actually contesting commonplaces about Persian *tryphē* and arguing that they rested on a misunderstanding.[63] Even when dealing with an author such as Clearchus who undoubtedly denounced *tryphē*, great care is required in reconstructing his work, as has been convincingly demonstrated by Jan Bollansée, because Athenaeus' selection of material is uneven and misleading.[64]

This sort of selective reproduction is one of the reasons why Athenaeus' testimony about earlier writings is simply biased, and his propensity for reproducing selectively can even operate within a single excerpt. This can be seen in his quotation of the final chapter of *Cyropaedia* (8.8):[65] whereas Xenophon's original chapter is distinguished by an alternation between τότε and νῦν (then and now) – that is, between the virtuous Persians of old times and the voluptuous ones of today – in Athenaeus' truncated quotation, this alternation has disappeared and there is almost nothing about virtuous Persians.[66] Of course, that selection fits very well with Athenaeus' purpose, which is to illustrate Persian *tryphē*,[67] but it involves cuts that could not be suspected if Xenophon's text had not been independently preserved.[68] It might be added that this extract appears in *Deipnosophistae* as the last of a series of quotations on Persian *tryphē*, is the harshest and most unambiguous of the set, and – as an apparent climactic conclusion – may (unduly) colour the reader's reaction to the quotations that precede.

We may conclude, then, that Athenaeus' obsession about *tryphē* was not necessarily that of his sources, and such a conclusion should influence our understanding of Greek writings about Persians in the fourth and third centuries BC.

Conclusion

Examination of Athenaeus' treatment of Persian *tryphē* might be expected to provide information about at least three different topics: Greco-Roman ideas on the Persian Empire, Greek feelings during the Achaemenid era, and (perhaps) life in Achaemenid Persia. In fact, seen from a Roman imperial vantage-point, the notion of Persian *tryphē* was a long-established common-place, already attested in classical times, and its alleged debilitating effects had apparently been confirmed by the fall of the Empire. Yet, in Athenaeus'

time, *tryphē* was no longer considered to be an especially Persian feature –
on the contrary, it seemed to be a rather widespread phenomenon. It was no
longer something with which to berate an enemy, but a potentially universal
disease that could even threaten Roman society.[69] Athenaeus was certainly
concerned about the preservation of literary patrimony but, beyond that,
his purpose probably had less to do with history than with ethics. Within
a framework of this sort, *tryphē* has turned from a polemic and political
theme into a moralistic one.

On the face of it *Deipnosophistae* seems to be a valuable source of evidence
about Greek perceptions of the Persian world during classical and hellenistic
times. It shows the success of the *tryphē* theme in Greek historiography
and there is no doubt that this success had consequences that a modern
historian might deplore: for moralism often leads to a paucity of political,
economical, military or social analysis and provides over-simple explanations
for political decline and interstate alliances.[70] If we consider that Book 12
is not only the book on *tryphē* but also the most 'historical' of the books of
Deipnosophistae,[71] *tryphē* seems to have damaged historiography more surely
than it damaged the moral and political state of nations.

Yet such a picture is in turn over-simple, because Athenaeus is not a pure
copyist: he has his own personal negative opinion of *tryphē*, and his method
of quotation gives a biased idea of the contents of his sources, sometimes
because he himself only had an indirect and very partial knowledge of the
quoted texts, sometime because his personal interpretation may distort or
even caricature the meaning of the original. *Tryphē* was probably a far less
prevalent theme in earlier historiography than one assumes from a reading
of Athenaeus, and in some cases (e.g. Dinon or Heraclides of Cyme)
one may even suspect that the theme was absent, despite the misleading
contrary impression created by Athenaeus. Yet these writers of *Persica* are
an important source of evidence about the Greek perception of the Persian
Empire in fourth-century BC Asia Minor. In short: before taking information
from Athenaeus about the Persian Empire and the way it was perceived by its
Greek contemporaries, it is essential to conduct a thorough critical analysis of
the available text, of the author's views and of his method of working.[72]

Notes

[1] The standard edition of Athenaeus is still that of Kaibel (1887–90). The English
translations quoted below are those of Gulick (1927–41). On Athenaeus in general, see
the introduction of Rodríguez-Noriega Guillén 1998, Braund and Wilkins 2000 and the
introduction of Jacob 2001. On Athenaeus' working methods, see Jacob 2000 and 2004.
On historians in Athenaeus, see Zecchini 1989 and Lenfant (forthcoming a), with earlier
bibliography. On *tryphē*, see Passerini 1934, Tondriau 1948, Bonamente 1980, Cozzoli

1980, Heinen 1983, Nenci 1983, Wilkins 2000 (chap. 6), Gambato 2000. On *tryphē* in certain lost historians mainly known through Athenaeus, see Bollansée (forthcoming) on Clearchus, Schepens (forthcoming) on Phylarchus.

² According to the cover-page of Gulick's translation. See also Jacob 2004, 148.

³ Book 7 is the only one without a word about Persians. References to Persia in the *Deipnosophistae* are listed by Lenfant (forthcoming b).

⁴ See the index of Briant 2002 s.v. Athenaeus and Lenfant (forthcoming b).

⁵ The case of the Lagids who chose for themselves the epithet *Tryphon* (see Tondriau 1948; Heinen 1983, 119–20) seems to be exceptional (see Bollansée [forthcoming]), and it concerns political practice, rather than historiography and moralizing writings. Azoulay 2004 claims that a virtuous *tryphē* appears in Xenophon's *Cyropaedia*; it is, however, striking that the precise term *tryphē* never occurs in the *Cyropaedia*. That does not weaken Azoulay's analysis as a whole, but it does make his use of the term *tryphē* questionable. On the connotation of *tryphē* and related words, see Wilkins 2000, 272–5 and Bollansée (forthcoming).

⁶ It is nevertheless striking and significant that the term *tryphē* is never used by Athenaeus about the most ostentatious displays of luxury that he describes: first, Caranus' banquet, 'a Macedonian dinner surpassing in sumptuousness (πολυτέλεια) any that had ever been given anywhere' (3.126e), which is described at length in Book 4 (128c–130d) and is probably the one that displays most material luxury (copious food, luxurious vessels and sumptuous gifts to the guests); second, the sumptuous and extraordinary procession of Ptolemy II Philadelphus, the description of which occupies no fewer than 17 pages of the Loeb edition (5.196a–203b).

⁷ In her Italian translation of Athenaeus' Book 12, Maria L. Gambato used the neologism 'voluttuosità' (Gambato 2001, 1267 n. 3, comments on the difficulty in translating the Greek word) or, in her 2000 paper, 'voluptuousness', which is a very attractive solution, although it may not clearly capture the disparaging connotation. But, even Gambato did not always feel able to translate *tryphē* with that term.

⁸ 12.518c–d.

⁹ 'L'autore che ha fatto l'uso maggiore [del topos della *tryphē*] è stato senza dubbio Teopompo il quale lo ha applicato a quasi tutti i protagonisti delle sue storie, a partire da Filippo II di Macedonia' (Bonamente 1980, 150). Cf. Passerini 1934, 45–51.

¹⁰ Cf. Bonamente 1980; Passerini 1934; Bollansée (forthcoming) n. 33.

¹¹ Athenaeus' collection is in fact without competitor, since we have lost the *Peri Biōn* (*On Modes of Life*) of Clearchus of Soli, a disciple of Aristotle who wrote in the first half of the 3rd century BC: this treatise was, according to Jan Bollansée, an 'investigation into the different manners in which a person can shape his life, or a society can go about its business' and every mode of life was illustrated with historical (or at least historiographical) *exempla*. As has been convincingly argued by Bollansée (forthcoming), the treatise was probably far from being exclusively devoted to *tryphē*, but it nevertheless contained a number of illustrations – which we know precisely because Athenaeus quoted them in Book 12.

¹² That is at least true for the basic affirmation, which is connected with Critias in 12.527b. The present text (14.663a) lacks any indication of source.

¹³ Another example, based on Phylarchus, concerns the people of Colophon who 'were in the beginning rigid in their discipline, but after they had drifted into luxury they contracted friendship and alliance with the Lydians' (12.526a).

[14] 12.524b (after Clearchus of Soli). See also 12.540f (on Polycrates of Samos, who was supposed to have emulated 'the effeminate practices of the Lydians'), 4.141f–142b (on Spartans, whose luxury supposedly began 'in imitation of court pomp' [Gulick translates 'the regal court *of Persia*', although there is no reference to Persia in the Greek text and there were other hellenistic models in the 3rd century BC, the era of Areus and Cleomenes], maybe also 12.522a (on the people of Croton who, according to Timaeus, 'drifted into luxury after the destruction of the Sybarites', although the causal relation is not clearly expressed). Nenci 1983, 1027–8, putting together all of the allusions, thinks that we can even track the epidemic – from Persians to Lydians and then both to Greeks and to Etruscans, Samnites, Messapii, Greeks in Italy, and among them Sybarites and lastly Croton.

[15] 12.520c, 523e–f, 539b, 528e–529d.

[16] 1.17b, 10f, 14c.

[17] 4.141f.

[18] At the end of Book 6, Larensis gives a long speech in which he contrasts the 'moderate and highly virtuous' Romans of early times with those of his own day, who indulge in luxury (272d–275b), and says that Lucullus was the first to have introduced *tryphē* into Rome (274f).

[19] That in selecting items Athenaeus is far from systematically contrasting Greeks with Barbarians can be seen in many cases. See, e.g., Lenfant 2002, 71.

[20] See e.g. Briant 1989; Tuplin 1996, esp. 161–3; Hutzfeldt 1999.

[21] Excluding the allusions to Sardanapalus.

[22] These successive sections are on: different opinions about pleasure (ἡδονή, 510b–513e); catalogue of voluptuous (τρυφεροί) nations and cities (513e–528e); catalogue of voluptuous individuals (528e–544a); schools of philosophers claiming the pursuit of a life of pleasure (*tryphē*, 544a–548c); *exempla* of sobriety as opposed to *tryphē* (548c–f).

[23] In a way, they might be considered as also heading the catalogue of τρυφεροί individuals (12.528e), which alludes to 'all the rulers of Asia'. It is true that Ninyas and Sardanapalus are mentioned first, but these rulers were described in Ctesias' *Persica* and might have been assimilated to Persians, as the king of Persia is mentioned, in 529d, between two descriptions of Sardanapalus.

[24] Athenaeus provides a way of contesting that priority when he alludes to Lydians (515d) or to Sardanapalus, but in fact Lydians and Assyrians, as oriental subjects of the Achaemenid Empire, were in a way assimilated to Persians. The latter became the first and most notorious paradigm of *tryphē*, perhaps because of works such as Xenophon's *Cyropaedia* and *Agesilaus*, or Plato's *Laws* (1.637e, cited by Athenaeus 10.432a–b ; cf. 3.693a–695e, on the education of Cyrus' and Darius' sons).

[25] I take into account only explicit references to *tryphē*, as it would beg the question to presuppose a negative meaning in other cases.

[26] 4.144b (after Xenophon's *Agesilaus*). Cf. 12.515a–d (after Xenophon's *Cyropaedia*).

[27] 4.144e–f (after Theophrastus), 12.539b (after Clearchus), 12.545a–546c (after Aristoxenus).

[28] 12.514e and 529d–e (after Clearchus). Cf. 12.515a–d (after Xenophon's *Cyropaedia*), on inventive cooks who attend to the king.

[29] 12.515a (after Agathocles).

[30] 12.514a (after Dinon).

[31] 12.514a–b (after Dinon). On the royal *diphros*, see Lenfant (forthcoming c).

[32] 12.514c (after Heraclides of Cyme).

[33] 12.514e–f (after Chares of Mytilene and Amyntas).

[34] 12.513e.

[35] 12.514b (after Heraclides of Cyme).

[36] 6.256c–f. A similar account is told in Plutarch, *Moralia* 50d, and appears as an *exemplum* in moralistic literature on flatterers – the very theme of Athenaeus' Book 6.

[37] 12.512a–d.

[38] Heraclides of Pontus lived from *c.* 390 to after 322 BC: *Der Neue Pauly* 5.374; Gottschalk 1980, 2–5.

[39] 12.513f.

[40] Briant 1988 and 1996, 199–204 (= 2002, 186–92).

[41] Of course, that does not mean that such evidence is necessarily truthful. For a general treatment of the topic see Tuplin 1998.

[42] Briant 1996, 16 (= 2002, 7: 'kernel of Achaemenid facts' and 'Greek interpretation').

[43] 12.539b.

[44] Cf. Briant 2003, 133–59.

[45] 12.548e.

[46] §30, 9. Ael. *VH* 2.17, also speaks of the bloody cruelty of Ochus towards his subjects, and according to Val. Max. 9.2.7 he murdered a hundred relatives when he came to the throne (cf. Just. 10.3.1).

[47] The source on Ochus might be Clearchus, whom Athenaeus has mentioned not long before when talking about Gorgias and who is given as the source of the contrary *exemplum* of Darius III.

[48] 12.510b.

[49] That *tryphē* and κολακεία, considered as bringing about decadence, are among Athenaeus' privileged themes and criteria of selection for political historiography has been stressed by Zecchini 1989, 121 and *passim*.

[50] This anthology is announced by Athenaeus to Timocrates at the end of Book 11 (509e) and, at the start of Book 12, Athenaeus affects to regret having made a promise that, at Timocrates' insistence, he must now keep (12.510b). It is the only book where there is no allusion to a deipnosophist speaking and producing citations. It is true that there is certainly a gap at the end of the introduction, just after the announcement of the theme (510b), and Kaibel tried to fill it by supplying the words 'hear then what the Deipnosophists said on this subject' (I, xxiv). But, as Gulick rightly says, Athenaeus 'drops the banquet and discourses in his own name' (p. 293 n. a). In fact, within Book 12, the speaker who refers to 'his Alexandrians' could be Athenaeus (541a), and there are also direct addresses from Athenaeus to Timocrates (550f–551a, 552f).

[51] 510c, 511a.

[52] For instance, the views of hedonistic philosophers who recommend the pursuit of *tryphē* (544a–546c) or conversely that of Clearchus, who warned his readers of the danger generated by *tryphē* and *hybris* (541e).

[53] 12.512a–d.

[54] Gambato 2001, 1272 n. 1. The fragment had already been treated in a similar way by Wehrli 1969, 21–2 (text = fr. 55), 77–8 (commentary); but in his view, rather than being ironical, the quotation must be part of a dialogue in which two persons presented

opposed views, as in fr. 50 of Aristoxenus: 'Das Plädoyer zu Gunsten von ήδονή und τρυφή gibt sicher nicht Herakleides eigene Meinung wieder, in einer anschliessenden Gegenrede muss es darum widerlegt worden sein (fr. 57–61 oder Teile davon)'.

[55] Cf. 12.514a–b (after Dinon).

[56] Cf. Gambato 2001, *ibidem*.

[57] 1.17b, where the term ἁπαλός ('flabby') refers to *Odyssey* 21.151.

[58] On Homer in *Deipnosophistae*, see Bouvier (forthcoming) and Bréchet (forthcoming).

[59] See Bollansée (forthcoming).

[60] It also occurs in a quotation from Heraclides' *Persica*, but not about a Persian (517b).

[61] On these fragments of Dinon and the attention that should be paid to the introductory words and the cutting of the fragment, see Lenfant (forthcoming a), especially the contribution on Herodotus' quotations in *Deipnosophistae*.

[62] Each case should be assessed by considering Athenaeus' methods of quotation, which often makes it possible to know whether a fragment is paraphrase, summary, or literal quotation and to identify Athenaeus' own words. See Lenfant (forthcoming a). For this assessment of Dinon's and Heraclides' fragments, see Lenfant (forthcoming c).

[63] Cf. 4.145a–146a = *FGrHist* 689 F 2, text and commentary in Lenfant (forthcoming c).

[64] Bollansée (forthcoming). The same has been argued about Phylarchus: see Schepens (forthcoming).

[65] 12.515a–d, quoting some parts of *Cyropaedia* 8.8.15–17, 19–20.

[66] More precisely: Athenaeus has dropped the τότε of §§ 19 and 20.

[67] Athenaeus', and not Xenophon's word, as has been seen above.

[68] On Xenophon's citations by Athenaeus in general, see Maisonneuve (forthcoming).

[69] Zecchini (forthcoming).

[70] See the general statements of Bonamente 1980.

[71] Zecchini 1989, 205.

[72] Lenfant (forthcoming a).

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4

TREACHEROUS HEARTS AND UPRIGHT TIARAS: THE ACHAEMENID KING'S HEAD-DRESS

Christopher Tuplin

Introduction

Nearly eight months after leaving Sardis, the Ten Thousand were on the River Zab. Relations with the Persians under Tissaphernes were tense, with accusations that the Greeks were plotting an attack. Clearchus met with Tissaphernes to clear the air and, in Xenophon's account, Tissaphernes ended his speech thus: 'the *tiara* on the head only the King may have upright, but the *tiara* in the heart someone else as well could perhaps, with your support, easily have [upright]'.[1] What does he mean?

In the real world many wear a *tiara*, but only one may wear it upright. Strict logic dictates that in the world of the heart many have a (non-upright) *tiara* but only an exceptional person can have an upright one. But this is senseless since a non-upright *tiara* does not command the intellectual or emotional value connoted by ἐπὶ τῇ καρδίᾳ ('in the heart'). The only *tiara* worth having in the heart is upright, so logically Tissaphernes' point must be that control of the Ten Thousand would make it easy to turn a private upright *tiara* into a public and real one – i.e. usurp the throne.[2]

But is Tissaphernes being logical? People who talk about the King's upright *tiara* are thinking more about (precisely) the King's upright *tiara* than about masses of non-upright *tiara*s, so, when they move into metaphor, they may do so selectively. Suppose Tissaphernes meant that, while only the King may wear a real upright *tiara*, someone who had the Ten Thousand's services could pretend to himself he was king. Is it impossible that Xenophon's words might be a way of saying this? The logical reading effectively insists that the '*tiara* in the heart' exists before the Ten Thousand's involvement (an involvement which can make it real), but this is merely a product of a stylistically dictated structural parallel between 'the *tiara* on the head' and 'the *tiara* in the heart'.

Linguistically, then, we cannot decide whether Tissaphernes envisages merely feeling he has quasi-royal status or actually turning such a feeling

into reality. Perhaps the ambiguity is intentional. His comments correspond
to Clearchus' argument that employment of the Ten Thousand would allow
him to be the 'greatest possible friend' to his neighbours and, if threatened,
to go around as *despotēs* (*Anabasis* 2.5.15). This veiled remark evokes the
prospect of freedom and local 'empire' supported by Greek co-operation
which Agesilaus later held out to Pharnabazus,[3] and Tissaphernes' response
acknowledges the appeal to personal ambition and hints at a resemblance to
the rebel Cyrus without unequivocally voicing treasonous intentions. Though
equally veiled, Tissaphernes' comment is more colourful, and is immediately
preceded by the statement that he has an *erōs* – a passion – to be trusted by
the Greeks. (Reference to *erōs* makes talk of one's heart very fitting.) The
reader may detect overstatement, which sits ill with Tissaphernes' protesta-
tions. But the hard-headed Clearchus does not notice. Thus does Xenophon
use royal dress-protocol to characterize actors in his historical drama.

Metaphor recurs in Plutarch's *Artoxerxes* 28. The heir-apparent Darius is
allowed to wear an upright *kitaris*, whereupon Tiribazus seditiously remarks
that this is of no use to those who do not attempt ὀρθοῦσθαι τοῖς πράγμασι
('show sound political judgement') – a play on ὀρθός = upright and straight,
correct. Whatever the Old Persian was for (a) *orthē kitaris* and (b) making
correct decisions, I am confident this passage is the creation of a Greek
author, Plutarch or his source Dinon, just as it is a purely Greek joke when
Aristophanes says the cock has an *orthē kurbasia* and wakes people with an
ὄρθριον song (*Birds* 487 f.). The same is likely to be true in our *Anabasis*
passage; however, since Xenophon may have heard Clearchus report on his
meeting, it is not technically impossible that he retails Tissaphernes' words.
What would make it impossible is the discovery that the royal protocol
involved did not exist (or not in the form Xenophon suggests). Some modern
discussions approach or even reach such a suggestion, and that is a cue to turn
from literary speculation to vestimentary *Realien*.

Greek literary sources
The idea that the king had an 'upright' hat is advanced in relation to *tiara*,
kidaris and *kurbasia*.[4] The idea that the king is the only person who has an
upright hat is only explicitly advanced in relation to *tiara* and *kurbasia*[5] but
is surely implicit in the other passages cited in n. 4, including those about
the *kidaris*. We have seen that the heir wears one, but this clearly does not
compromise the basic principle. More problematic are Herodotus' Sakan
upright pointed *kurbasiai* – a unique association of ὀρθότης with non-royal
hats.[6] Pointed (as distinct from upright) shape does not appear in descrip-
tions of royal head-gear, so it may be that the silhouette or overall appearance
of royal hats differed sufficiently from the sort of extravagantly pointed Saka

hats represented on royal monuments for it to be unreasonable to regard the latter as a species of *lèse-majesté*.[7] An alternative explanation might be that uniquely royal upright headgear did not yet exist at the time to which Herodotus' words and the images at Behistun and Persepolis relate. But, although neither Herodotus nor Aeschylus speaks of the *orthotēs* of royal headgear, and the earliest surviving source on upright royal headgear (Aristophanes' *Birds*) dates from 414 BC, later texts do connect the *orthē tiara* with incidents during the reign of Xerxes and we should perhaps avoid declaring them anachronistic unless we have no other option.

The sources imply a hat which can be both 'ordinary' and *orthē* and which (consequently) is a type also worn (in its 'ordinary' form) by non-royals.[8] An explicit contrast between *orthē* and κεκλιμένη or ἐπτυγμένη καὶ προβάλλουσα εἰς τὸ μέτωπον is sometimes drawn.[9] Only two of the texts which allude explicitly to *orthotēs* convey anything further. (i) Aristophanes (*Birds* 487 f.) says the cock, alone of birds, has an upright *kurbasia*. He probably has in mind the combined effect of the cock's comb and lappets, which does vaguely resemble that of the soft hat frequently assigned to Persian figures in artistic depictions. It follows (perhaps) that specifically royal headgear had lappets too, and this is indeed true of Aeschylus' royal – but not explicitly upright – *tiara* in *Persians* 661. (ii) Plutarch (*Moralia* 488D) says that Xerxes put aside his diadem and lowered (καταβαλών) his upright *tiara* when meeting his brother Ariamenes, who disputed his right to the throne. So undoing the upright effect was comparatively easy (or so Plutarch or his source supposed).

A third literary (perhaps, more accurately, sub-literary) text introduces the *kitaris* in an unexpected context and is worth comment, if only because it has not figured previously in the literature about Achaemenid royal head-gear. A scholiast on Oribasius (11A.22 [2.83.23 Raeder]) cites the third book of a Persian History (*Persika*) by an unnamed author (perhaps, but not uncontroversially, Ctesias) for the proposition that *kitaris* is the name of the *basilikos pilos*, and he does so in order to explain a passage (reproduced by Oribasius) in which Dioscurides describes the acanthus (3.17). The stem of the plant (says Dioscurides) is 'towards the top surrounded at intervals by little leaves and some longish hyacinth-like quasi-*kitaria*, from which (emerges) the white flower'. The interest here resides, of course, not in Oribasius' comment (in itself comparatively banal) but in the implications of Dioscorides' description. But the upshot of a fuller examination of the passage (the details of which I reserve for an appendix) is that it is too much in need of interpretation to be able to cast much independent light.

The inter-relationship of *tiara*, *kurbasia* and *kitaris* as category-designations is problematic:

(a) Comparison of Herodotus 5.49.3 and 7.61 f. shows that *tiara* and

kurbasia are interchangeable designations and can be applied to (precisely) the sort of hat Aristophanes' image seemed to have in mind.[10]

(b) Sources speak of a *tiara orthē*, *kurbasia orthē* and a *kitaris orthē* so the tradition could be said to treat *tiara*, *kurbasia* and *kitaris* as interchangeable. (*Tiara* and *kitaris* actually come together in a story about Demaratus unacceptably requesting the privilege of entering Sardis wearing an upright hat.[11] This is the only occasion on which surviving sources describe a specific incident with more than one terminology.)

(c) The scholiast on Plato *Republic* 553C equates *tiara* and *kurbasia* and adds that some people equate them with *kitaris*. The only objection advanced to such a view is that Theophrastus said the *kitaris* was Cypriot, but it was certainly not *only* Cypriot, and Cleon's statement that the Cypriot *kordulē* corresponds to Athenian *krōbulos* and Persian *kidarion* can evoke a *tiara*-related image for the *kidarion*:[12] for Xenophon's Mossynoecans wear leather Paphlagonian-style *kranea* which have a *krōbulos* in the middle and are τιαροειδῆ (*Anabasis* 5.4.13). Pollux 7.58 also equates *tiara*, *kurbasia* and *kitaris* (and adds *pilos* – a term variously associated with *tiara*, *kitaris* and *kurbasia* by Herodotus, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Hesychius and the scholiast on Oribasius[13]), and 10.162 may intend a similar claim, while Hesychius equates *tiara* and *kitaris*.[14]

(d) In favour of distinguishing *kitaris* from *tiara*/*kurbasia* are the following considerations.

• Strabo 11.13.9 names both *tiara* and *kidaris* as 'Median' hats for a cold climate. But as he also names the *pilos* – associated with *tiarai* and/or the *kitaris* by Herodotus, Hesychius, Pollux and the Oribasius scholiast – one wonders how distinct he knew the three to be. Plutarch's reference in *Antony* 54 to Μηδικῇ ἐσθῆτι τιάραν καὶ κίταριν ὀρθήν ἐχούσῃ is so out of line that one is uneasy about seeing it as anything but an error.

• *Tiara* and *kurbasia* are independently attested as names of non-royal hats, indeed as descriptions of a characteristic non-royal headgear.[15] But there is no uncontested attestation of *kitaris* as something that non-royal Persians wear. (The Strabo passage just cited is a contested example. A common emendation of Herodotus 7.90 assigns the *kitaris* to non-royal Cypriots, and later sources certainly envisage such a thing.[16])

• Some texts treat *kitaris* as the distinctive royal hat (the functional equivalent of modern 'crown') without describing it as *orthē*.[17] There are no comparable texts about royal *tiarai*/*kurbasiai*, though there are, of course, texts which mention the king's *tiara* without commenting on its upright shape.[18] This situation recalls the lack of uncontested uses of *kitaris* for non-royal Persians: the word has a more decidedly royal resonance.

The cogency of these considerations is very uncertain, but it is clear that

if there is an odd-man-out, it is the *kitaris*. But what would this mean in practice? Five possibilities appear:

(a) upright shape is a distinctive royal characteristic found in a single hat-type which is labelled *tiara, kurbasia* or *kitaris*;

(b) upright shape is a distinctive royal characteristic found in more than one sort of hat;

(c) the *kitaris* was a quite different royal headgear from the upright *tiara/kurbasia*, and sources which write of an upright royal *kitaris*[19] simply wrongly apply one royal marker (upright shape) to another royal headgear;

(d) *kitaris* was the name for an upright *tiara/kurbasia*;

(e) *kitaris* was the name for part of a *tiara* – the part made upright to produce an upright *tiara* – and was apt to *pars pro toto* use. (But this is really a special version of solution (a).)

At first sight option (c) is attractive but, on reflection, one is bound to wonder why Plutarch and Arrian (or their sources) should make such a large error. If there is error at all, option (d) is perhaps more credible; and it may be just as credible that it is the texts assigning the king a *kitaris* without calling it upright which are misrepresenting their sources – in which case we are back to options (a) and (b).

Other evidence
Greek literary sources pose a problem. Can other sources help?

1. *Non-Greek literary sources*
The only non-Greek literary source is the Bible's use of 'royal *keter*' to describe the headgear of Queens Vashti and Esther (Esther 1.11, 2.17) and the honoured commoner Mordecai (6.8). Later on Mordecai wears a 'gold crown', which may or may not be the same.[20] *Keter* is plainly cognate with *kidaris* and, despite appearing biblically only in a Persian context, is apparently semitic (the root sense being 'surround'),[21] so it is conceivable that it reflects an (officially-used?) Aramaic term for Persian royal headgear.[22] But I suspect that using *keter* to elucidate the upright *tiara* is a case of *obscurum per obscurius*. One cannot even be certain that – as an object with a distinctive shape – the royal *keter* is the same as the royal *kidaris* or the postulated non-royal *kidaris* of Cyprus (where a Phoenician semitic term would, of course, be perfectly at home). The same caution applies to the *kidaris* of Pontic, Armenian or Commagenian Kings[23] – as, indeed, it does (*mutatis mutandis*) to the *tiara orthē* encountered in a Parthian context.[24]

2. *Iconography*
What about iconography? There are very large numbers of surviving

Achaemenid-era representations of Iranian figures, the great majority of which assign them various forms of soft headgear which envelop ears and chin as well as the crown of the head and are associated with trousered riding costume.[25] Herodotus' (non-royal) *tiara* or *kurbasia* (also described as a soft *pilos*) is such a hat; and many depictions match the Aristophanes scholiast's talk of a hat folded towards the forehead.[26] So, what hat is the King depicted wearing? Is it distinctive? Can we see that there was a headgear confined to him and his heir apparent?

Examination of the King's headgear as depicted at Behistun, Persepolis and Naqš-i Rustam reveals *prima facie* three types: a low crenellated crown, a higher crenellated or serrated hat and a higher plain hat.[27] But there may only be two, since (as Henkelman 1995 has made clear) all plain hats *could* originally have had crenellations, either in paint or as metal attachments. (I assume the distinction between crenellation and serration is not – at least for our present purposes – substantively significant, and in what follows I use those two terms – and the adjective 'dentate' – more or less interchangeably to designate a crown which is presumably of rigid material and has an upper surface which resembles battlements, a saw or, especially where small objects are in question, a comb with widely spaced and slightly splayed teeth.)

All the figures invoked in the previous paragraph certainly represent the King. Identifying many others of which this is uncontroversially the case is not all that easy, but (leaving aside for the moment a small number of fairly secure Greek items to which we shall return shortly) most people would include – or acknowledge a case for including – figures shown on the following objects: the fragmentary remains of monuments which once lined Darius' Nile-Red Sea Canal, a seal bearing the name of King Darius and showing a crown-clad figure in a chariot hunting a lion, a Dascylium seal-impression (apparently inscribed with the name of King Artaxerxes) and a painting on the interior of a shield on the Alexander Sarcophagus which closely reproduces the royal audience scene from the centre of the Apadana stairway composition (i.e. a firmly authenticated royal representation), a seal stone from Anapa on which the putatively royal figure worships a lion-borne image of Anahita, a Persepolis seal-impression (PTS 26) showing a quasi-audience-scene (a seated figure in dentate crown is approached by a similar figure (with Ahuramazda's disk above), and countless darics and sigloi with their various versions of a crown-wearing 'archer'.[28] (Among the things that I do *not* include here are Persepolis images of what is often called a 'royal hero' confronting and mastering an animal or monster:[29] this is an icon of the successful challenge of Good to Evil which doubtless says something about the world – not to say cosmos – within which, thanks to the will and power of Ahuramazda, the Achaemenid King exercises rule, but which represents

the proposition in mythological or generic terms and through a figure whose clothing and head-gear – a plain low or medium-high band – differ from authenticated Persepolitan royal figures.[30])

So far as head-gear is concerned the novelties provided by these extra items come in the audience scenes: the sarcophagus painting shows a tall hat with blue circles and (apparently) no crenellation. The blue circles are potentially consistent with Persepolis, where such decoration would be painted and is therefore now lost; but the hat's lack of crenellation conflicts with the assumption made above that all Persepolis royal hats originally had this feature. Should we abandon that assumption? It is true that crenellations are not *confined* to the King, even at Persepolis. A three-dimensional beardless head with a crenellated hat may be a prince or princess, just as figures from the Oxus Treasure *could* represent kings, and women on a Dascylium Stele, the Pazyryk tapestry and a Louvre seal might be princesses;[31] but what about the palace attendant and the noble who have headgear with this feature?[32] The phenomenon is so rare that it is hard to regard it as anything but a whimsical variation (cf. Roaf 1983, 78). But the fact that it was not a lethally dangerous one (which I infer from the failure of anyone to have the figures 'corrected') does show that there was no ultimately binding mystique surrounding use of crenellation on royal head-gear, and this may be more understandable if there were versions of that head-gear which lacked it. Such a condition would technically be satisfied if the King sometimes wore an entirely different sort of thing on his head – e.g. a soft hat which was not susceptible of being given a crenellated or dentate shape: we shall be returning to such a possibility later – but would be more pointedly satisfied if (as the sarcophagus painter shows) he sometimes wore a tall cylindrical hat which differed from those also worn by courtiers only by the (now mostly lost) surface decoration.[33] I stress the word 'tall': there is no ground here for discerning kings or princes among the modestly numerous figurines of persons wearing low or medium-height cylindrical (but uncrenellated) hats which derive from various places in the western parts of the empire.[34] I do not say that I can prove none of these were intended by their makers as images of the King, only that there is no evidence that compels this conclusion – and that it is inconceivable that they were all so intended.

The other novelty provided by reproductions of the Apadana audience scene is the portrayal on Dascylium seal 4 of the king wearing the sort of vertically fluted tall hat ('feather-crown') encountered on the head of numerous non-royal figures (both 'nobles' and guards) at Persepolis.[35] If we accept this evidence (which does represent an interpretative response to a series of less than perfectly preserved *bullae*), the King is wearing what otherwise appears to be a non-royal hat – and this on a seal which is inscribed with what appears

to be the name of King Artaxerxes. As possible parallels one may cite another seal (now in Moscow) which bears the name of King Artaxerxes and shows an armed figure wearing a 'feather-crown' leading a group of presumed Egyptian captives, as well as two unlabelled seals, one from Kerch, on which a similar figure both leads captives and spears an Egyptian opponent, and one from Sardis showing a simple seated figure.[36] But the iconographic significance of royal-name seals has to be decided on a case-by-case basis, for the presence of the King's name does not necessarily demonstrate the presence of the King. Among examples not mentioned so far several show versions of the 'heroic encounter', a category (also frequent on anonymous seals) whose acceptance as actual evidence for royal dress could be described as a *petitio principii* (see above and below); one (on a Dascylium seal) is accompanied by a picture of winged man-bulls who are clearly not depictions of the King, and a third (SXe) has a figure in indeterminate headgear and clothing, which seem to differ from that of the 'archer', offering a somewhat obscure circular object (a wreath?) to a tree. On the other hand, PFS 11 (= SDf) shows two dentate-crown wearers facing one another across an altar with Ahuramazda's winged disk overhead – an item which (as a truncated and aberrant worship scene) arguably has as much right to inclusion in my list of additional royal representations as the truncated and aberrant audience scene on PTS 26.[37] So far as the Moscow Artaxerxes seal is concerned, since the armed figure corresponds to one way in which (as we see at Persepolis) a generic 'Persian soldier' might be represented, it is hard to disprove the proposition that his function here is to symbolize Persian military might rather than to depict a victorious *king* – especially since there are other (anonymous) seals which use (differently clad) Persian soldiers in comparably symbolic fashion.[38] In the case of the Dascylium seal it is the distinctively royal iconography of the scene as a whole which guarantees that the central character is meant to be the King, whatever he wears on his head, and any attempt to determine whether a King might actually have worn such a hat (whether at a formal audience or elsewhere) is trapped in a vicious circle.

The uncertainties exposed in the previous paragraph exemplify what is actually a more widespread problem. My additional list of royal representations included the 'archer' depicted on darics and sigloi. The assumption that this represents the King is a controversial one: some would prefer to see him as a 'royal hero' or (a similar idea in different form) a symbol of the kingdom figured in military terms.[39] In one sense the dispute is not terribly important: the dentate hat worn by 'archer' is in any case clearly possible for a King, so the decision that the 'archer' is meant to be the King adds nothing to the catalogue of royal hat-types. There is nonetheless a reason why it matters. A figure with broadly similar clothing and head-gear appears many times in

similar or (more often) different poses or scenes – not least various forms of that 'heroic' encounter which at Persepolis involves a figure distinct from the king[40] – on sealings at Persepolis, on seal-stones produced elsewhere, and on coins (other than darics/sigloi) produced at Anatolian and Levantine mints.[41] So what happens when we find comparable scenes on comparable objects which involve figures with a different type of hat[42] or even, very occasionally, darics/sigloi with an archer who is beardless and wears a soft hat?[43] Are we to take these substitutions as evidence about possible actual royal head-gear? The prudent response must be that, so long as there is any question about the iconic status or intent of dentate-crowned figures of the standard daric/siglos issues, we cannot properly treat these as royal images, even at Persepolis. The King may have worn head-gear other than the crenellated objects and (perhaps) high uncrenellated cylinders so far considered, but we have not yet seen compelling evidence that this was the case.

In search of further images of the Great King we must look further afield, and in practice this means turning to Greek material.[44] The only certain examples originating in or close to the Achaemenid period are representations of Darius II on the Pulydamas Base (Olympia), Darius III on the Alexander Mosaic, the Darius Vase and two other vessels (all of these are in Naples), and an anonymous *basileus* and *basilissa* on a mid-fifth-century oinochoe in the Vatican.[45] Between them these six items provide four different results. One, the Pulydamas Base, is unclear: Darius wears a soft hat with lappets, but surface damage conceals everything save the conical profile. The Alexander Mosaic is clear and shows something distinctly *orthē* by comparison with other Persians in the scene – an impressive testimony, given the quality of the draughtsmanship. The Darius vase, by contrast, is whimsically fantastical, and looks as though it may have been influenced by Aristophanes' cock.[46] That perhaps shows that the painter intends an *orthē kurbasia*, but – serration apart – the royal hat differs from other Persian hats more by being taller than by being more upright. (The same observations apply to the other Naples vessels.) As for the King on the Vatican oinochoe, his hat betrays no *orthotēs* at all.

Both royal depiction and upright headgear have been sought in various other quarters. But of nearly twenty further vase-images which have been called (Persian) kings or which share iconographic features with those which have been called kings, only two might reasonably be regarded as deliberate attempts at an upright hat.[47] Even so, they resemble the hat of a deceased Persian on (respectively) an Egyptian stele and a Lycian fresco[48] – i.e. this is a profile which can emerge where there is no question of royal status – and both images must be seen against a broader genre background in which an ordinary soldier's hat can sometimes be shown rising high above the head.[49]

Moreover, although Persian/oriental dress and iconography (specifically the audience-scene) was applied to various mythological rulers in vase-painting, I have so far found no specially 'upright' head-dresses.[50] Photographs of possibly relevant items are not always readily accessible, so a counter-example may await discovery; but the general principle will survive that vase-painters did not behave as though the Persian King had a distinctive upright hat. For the sake of completeness I should also note here the one Greek vase representation of a dentate crown on a sherd from Gordium. I have no idea if it is meant to be a King, though, if it is, it (of course) adds nothing new to our understanding of the varieties of hat worn by Achaemenid rulers.[51]

If there are a few upright hats among putatively royal vase-images, do they appear elsewhere? Sakan hats are clearly not relevant,[52] but three other lots of material need mention.

First, hats with high rounded lateral profile, viz. the balloon-shaped hats worn by nobles and others on the Persepolis reliefs and the hats on figurines from the Oxus Treasure, Bin Tepe and Erivan.[53] These go together because (some of) the latter group have on occasion been identified with the Persepolis hats, thus (allegedly) showing that the latter were not really balloon-shaped at all. Others would deny this, adducing different three-dimensional figures, one in a private collection in Iran, the other in Cleveland.[54] But, either way, the Persepolis items cannot represent the uniquely royal *tiara orthē*, and of the others only OT-1, 2 and 2a are potentially relevant, insofar as the upper part of the hat *could* represent the result of stiffening an otherwise soft object. (Compare and contrast two other items, a figurine in Berlin and a engraved box-lid from the Oxus Treasure.[55]) There is no independent reason to regard these objects as representing the Great King.

Second, some sculpture. The heads from Amathus and Heraclea have never been said to illustrate the *tiara orthē*, though in both cases the head-gear does lack clear folds.[56] But such claims have been made about three items from prestige monuments in Lycia and Sidon.[57] I am not sure the top of the Nereid monument general's hat did not originally bend forward, but the seated figure on the Satrap Sarcophagus does have a head-dress with conical profile (more pronounced than on the Pulydamas Base: cf. n. 45), though otherwise uncertain character.[58] (Von Gall compared post-Achaemenid hats encountered in Fars, Eastern Anatolia, and Northern Iraq.[59]) As for the figure in the middle of the Limyra West frieze, Borchhardt originally saw his head-gear as a Phrygian leather or felt hat worn over a Persian *tiara*,[60] but later declared it an example of a *tiara orthē*.[61] The truth is unclear from photographs, but as the tip bends forward *tiara orthē* seems an inappropriate description. In any case, Borchhardt's claim (1983, and elsewhere) that these figures actually depict the Great King cannot really be entertained (Jacobs 1987, 71 f.), and

any suggestion that local potentates were iconographically treated as if they were the Great King or even permitted actually to dress like him[62] would blow a small or large hole in the principle that the upright *tiara* was reserved for the King himself. Koch's identification of another Limyra item as a *tiara* is accompanied by an explicit denial of the principle; but the image does not demand such a description.[63] More notable, and less often mentioned, are Cypriot items which show Phrygian caps (sometimes with a fairly erect tip) as a feature of Persizing dress in the Achaemenid period.[64] These may cast light not only on the Limyra frieze (where other figures wear Phrygian helmets) and the Nereid monument but also the erect conical hats of the Satrap Sarcophagus and the Pulydamas Base. But, the last item aside, none shows the King, so what we see cannot be a uniquely royal upright *tiara*.

Finally a small group of coins, which I mention for the sake of completeness, as I cannot conceive that the (mostly) small items in question have much to tell us.[65] Alexander's head-dress on the reverse of the Porus coins is actually a crested helmet of Northern Greek or Thracian type and not Persian at all;[66] the Kios hat is clearly not *orthē*, the Sardis one no more so than the hats on various Kourion terracottas and 'Persian riders' or persons depicted on Limyra Grave F.11 and vases from Paris and Seattle,[67] and any uprightness elsewhere may only illustrate the occasional vagaries of die-cutters. Moreover, the context for claims about these coins is a thesis about representations of Alexander on Anatolian and Levantine issues (Debord 2000). But Alexander did not adopt the *tiara orthē*!

Conclusions
Where does all this leave us? We know the appearance of the late hellenistic Armenian, Pontic and Commagenian *kidaris*, and of the *tiara orthē* awarded by Parthian kings as a sign of honour.[68] But it is the Achaemenid one we are after, and modern scholarship variously identifies it as (i) an erect version of the 'Median' riding-costume soft hat, (ii) the cylindrical, crenellated head-dress found at Persepolis, (iii) the bulbous 'Median' hat of the Persepolis reliefs, or (iv) hats worn by *prima facie* non-royal figures on certain provincial monuments; and, when dissociating *kitaris* from *tiara* and *kurbasia*, it sees the *kitaris* as either the crenellated head-dress or a diadem around the *tiara*.

Views (iii) and (iv) are quite inconsistent with the Greek sources, since the hats involved are not uniquely royal; and view (ii) presupposes systematic Greek misunderstanding: the real rule, that only the King may wear a tall hat (a crenellated one – plain ones are worn by non-royal courtiers), was misstated as a rule that only he may wear an upright one. I do not think this is a tolerable solution: there are too many texts referring to too many contexts for it to be plausible that they have all conformed the information in their

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sources to a misconception. So, what our sources intend should be a filled-out or stiffened soft hat; and, if the *tiara orthē* really was confined to the King, the Alexander Mosaic provides our only unequivocal visual evidence. Goldman 1993 seeks to problematize this evidence (by declaring it to be an apparently arbitrary piece of pictorial hellenization), but his positive position – which does not seem to me to be very clearly worked out – appears to be open to the same objection as identification of the upright *tiara* as a tall cylindrical head-dress. The only valid alternatives to accepting the evidence of the Alexander Mosaic are either that no representation of the *tiara orthē* survives or that non-Persians could wear it without *lèse-majesté*, in which case the conical Pulydamas Base and Satrap Sarcophagus models might be what we are looking for. But that is hardly an economical solution. As for the *kitaris*, I cannot see that the iconographic evidence alters things. We cannot assume that sources name every object revealed by iconography and, read without prejudgment, the texts do not demand that *tiara*, *kurbasia* and *kitaris* be radically different sorts of thing. Plutarch *Antony* 54 remains problematic, since it uniquely includes both *tiara* and *kitaris orthē* in the royal dress of Median and Armenian Kings. This makes no sense of what we otherwise see and read of either Achaemenid Persian or late hellenistic Armenian or Parthian usage. If taken seriously as evidence about Achaemenid hats, it must mean that *kitaris* designates either part of a *tiara* or something added to a *tiara*. But the latter is unconvincing (the argument for its being a diadem is weak, and no other suggestion is offered),[69] while the former is only a special case of the view that *tiara*, *kurbasia* and *kitaris* essentially denote the same thing. So, authorial or scribal inadvertence remains the best available explanation.[70] The existence of three names (*tiara*, *kurbasia*, *kitaris*) for one thing is certainly disconcerting. It is, of course, possible that Greeks used as synonyms words which properly designated different soft hats. Yet, since *kitaris* (semitic) and *kurbasia* (Iranian) are of distinct origins and *tiara* remains etymologically unexplained, the trio may represent terminology from differing language-groups.

So: we have no reason to deny there was a distinctively upright royal head-dress, based on the soft hat of the Median riding costume, but this belief is almost entirely dependent on Greek written sources. The Alexander Mosaic is a slender confirmation, for if the whole thing were a Greek myth, it would simply be part of the myth.[71] The fact that this upright hat is unseen at Persepolis does not prove it did not exist, only that the dress-code shown there resolutely puts the King in a different, historically Perso-Elamite, costume. But what, then, do we make of the fact that Greeks reveal no awareness of that costume?

There are two contexts where the upright hat is mentioned: proclamation of oneself or someone else as King or acknowledged heir (the remark of

Tissaphernes with which we started belongs here); and public ceremonies –
Cyrus' procession in *Cyropaedia* VIII, the (aborted) procession of Demaratus
into Sardis, and the formal meeting of Xerxes (who claimed the kingship)
and his elder brother Ariamenes (who disputed his right). It is entirely fitting
that Aristophanes remarks on the cock/King 'strutting about' as well as on
his upright *kurbasia*. The two contexts overlap, of course, since proclamations
of Kingship are public events. Without prejudice to debates about New Year
festivals and the like, the Persepolis reliefs may be read as evidence about
a dress-code for public ceremonial. What Greek texts suggest – if reliable
– is that there existed a parallel ceremonial dress-code in which the King
appeared in Median, not Perso-Elamite, guise and that, despite the setting of
the most unequivocal visual evidence, this should not be seen as just a matter
of military as against civilian practice, since the contexts provided by Greek
texts are mostly, on the face of it, non-military. Our view is apt to be that
Perso-Elamite robes look inherently 'ceremonial', the riding-costume func-
tional; but Xenophon is clear that Median clothing could be visually splendid
(and Xerxes once gave a gold-studded *tiara* to the Abderites: Herodotus
8.120[72]), and we should not be misled by the unpainted state of the Perse-
polis reliefs. The King was not dressing down when he wore his upright *tiara*,
merely acknowledging a different component of the amalgam of North and
South which was the Achaemenid Empire.

This clarification does not explain why Greek sources speak only of the
King's upright *tiara* and not of his mural crown or crenellated head-dress.
Evidently it was not a straight choice. Either Greeks encountered the King
in Median more often than in Perso-Elamite ceremonial mode or that mode
impressed them more powerfully for other reasons. I cannot see why the
former should have been the case (would the King *only* dress *à la Mède* when
meeting embassies in Susa?), so I suspect we are dealing with an aspect of that
reaction to the Persians which sometimes led Greeks to call them Medes.
The Achaemenid empire was encountered first as an invasive military threat
and one associated in men's minds with the Median impact in Anatolia. The
men of Marathon were noted as the first to face up fearlessly to the previ-
ously terrifying Median name and Median dress (Herodotus 6.112). Greek
and Anatolian iconography testify to the continuing dominant importance
of the Median Persian in mental pictures and actual encounters through the
classical period, for, whatever the problems surrounding some aspects of the
dress worn by Persian figures, it is certain that they have soft enveloping hats
on their heads and trousers on their legs: the garb of the 'Persian' guards at
Persepolis or Susa or the archer figure on darics and sigloi leaves almost no
impact on Greek representations. In these circumstances, just as an engaging
story about the earlessness of the False Smerdis in Herodotus 3.69 reflects

an unspoken assumption that Persian Kings wore hats that covered their ears (Demandt 1972), so, even if Greeks encountered both Median and Perso-Elamite royal ceremonial, the former was privileged in their imagination. The only danger with this line of thought is that, pursued single-mindedly, it could yield the conclusion that, although the upright *tiara* existed, the entire suggestion that it was worn in contexts other than purely military, is a product of Greek stereotyping. These further elusive – not to say treacherous – possibilities of the royal *tiara* I shall kind-heartedly leave for others to pursue.

Appendix

The relevant part of the acanthus description (Dioscorides 3.17) reads thus:

καῦλον λεῖον, δίπηχυν, πάχος δακτύλου, ἐκ διαστημάτων πρὸς τῇ κορυφῇ φυλλαρίοις περιειλημμένον καί τισιν οἱονεὶ κιταρίοις ὑπομήκεσιν ὑακινθώδεσιν, ἐξ ὧν τὸ ἄνθος λευκόν.

There *are* textual hazards. (i) πρὸς τῇ κορυφῇ ought to mean 'near the top' and this seems an odd thing to say of a feature – inflorescence – which is present along most of the flower-stalk. It is true that there can be a gap between the basal leaves and the point at which the flowers start, but the few other uses of *koruphē* in Dioscorides hardly justify stretching the concept of 'top' as one would need to in order to make this a justification for the text.[73] An alternative would be to emend the text putting πρὸς τῇ κορυφῇ before ἐκ διαστημάτων, so that it goes with πάχος δακτύλου and underlines the comparative thickness of the stalk right to the top. (For what it is worth Pseudo-Dioscorides may have read it thus.[74]) (ii) More seriously, some editors have declared κιταρίοις a false reading (albeit one pre-dating Oribasius) and replaced it with κυτταρίοις.[75] A case can certainly be made for this alternative: the word κυττάρος or κυττάριον is associated with a variety of cell-like structures or close-fitting rounded receptacles,[76] an idea which could at a pinch be applied to the features making up the acanthus flower. The counter-argument rests on the fact that Oribasius already had κιταρίοις and the contention that that reading matches botanical reality more exactly.

Each acanthus flower consists of a white petal enclosed by a calyx. The upper part of the calyx is rather prominent and often purplish in colour; the lower part tends to be somewhat hidden between the petal and a spiny bract, the latter being a much more striking feature in actual specimens than it sometimes seems to be in photographs. I take Dioscorides' φυλλάριον to refer to the bract – which does look like a leaf, especially as its contours resemble on a smaller scale the plant's basal leaves (the ones famous from their repro-

duction in Corinthian column capitals) – and κιτάριον to the upper part of the calyx, the lower part being ignored as comparatively invisible.[77] (The problem with κυτταρίοις is that the set-up seems inadequately cell-like for the word to be appropriate, even with the addition of οἱονεὶ and ὑπομήκεσι – or that any 'cell' would have to consist of calyx and bract together, in which case there is no referend for φυλλάρια.)

The point of the comparison probably consists in two things: (a) the (imperial) purple colour – this being the part of the reference of ὑακινθώδης (the other part being a similarity in general shape to the hyacinth petal) – and (b) a resemblance of the relation between calyx and corolla (seen from the side) to some late classical vase-depictions of the Persian kings' headgear in which its higher part rises quite clear of the forehead and crown and there is sometimes almost a sense of it being anchored only at the back of the head.[78] It must be conceded that, although the front edge of the calyx does sometimes have slight indentations, we are a long way from the extravagantly serrated profile of the vase-hats; if anything, it is the bracts (and the basal leaves) that recall this feature. (Perhaps this fact had some – strictly illogical – impact on Dioscorides' choice of comparison.) One might wonder why Dioscorides felt it necessary to reach for a comparison of this sort at all. It may be relevant that the whole ensemble is botanically speaking somewhat distinctive. The casual observer might think that the flower consists of two petals (one purplish, one white); but Dioscorides appreciated the truth of the matter, and his unusual way of designating the calyx – with a simile drawn from an unrelated field – was perhaps his reaction to what he perceived to be an unusual situation.[79]

Notes

In addition to standard abbreviations the following are used in this chapter.

Atlas	L.Palma di Cesnola, *A Descriptive Atlas of the Cesnola Collection of Antiquities in the Metropolitan Museum of Art* I (Berlin 1885), II–III (New York, 1894–1903)
CBS	tablet in the Collection of the Babylonian Section of the University Museum, Philadelphia
SD	inscribed seal of Darius (cf. Schmitt 1981)
SD²	inscribed seal of Darius II (cf. Schmitt 1981)
SX	inscribed seal of Xerxes (cf. Schmitt 1981)
SA³	inscribed seal of Artaxerxes III (cf. Schmitt 1981)
OT-1	Oxus Treasure (cf. Dalton 1964)

[1] *Anab.* 2.5.23: τὴν μὲν γὰρ ἐπὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ τιάραν βασιλεῖ μόνῳ ἔξεστιν ὀρθὴν ἔχειν, τὴν δ' ἐπὶ τῇ καρδίᾳ ἴσως ἂν ὑμῶν παρόντων καὶ ἕτερος εὐπετῶς ἔχοι.

[2] This also has the merit of making καὶ ἕτερος stand in the most straightforward

relationship to what is actually said about βασιλεῖ μόνῳ.

³ Xen. *Hell.* 4.1. 36. The satrap can increase his own *arkhē*, instead of the King's, and rule over his current fellow-slaves.

⁴ *Tiara orthē* Xen. *Anab.* 2.5.23; *Cyr.* 8.3.13; Arr. *An.* 3.5.23; Clitarch. 137 F 5; Phylarch. 81 F 22; Plut. *Mor.* 488D; Luc. *Pisc.* 35; *Navig.* 30; Dio. Chr. 13.24. *Tiara recta*: Sen. *Ben.* 6.31.12. *Kidaris orthē*: Plut. *Art.* 26, 28; *Mor.* 340C; Arr. *An.* 6.29.3; Plut. *Them.* 29. *Kurbasia orthē*: Ar. *Av.* 487; sch. Pl. *Rep.* 553C.

⁵ *Tiara*: Xen. *Anab.* ; Clitarch.; Phylarch.; Dio. Chr.; Sen. ll. cc. *Kurbasia*: Ar.; sch. Pl. *Rep.* ll. cc.

⁶ 7.64.2: περὶ μὲν τῇσι κεφαλῇσι κυρβασίας ἐς ὀξὺ ἀπηγμένας ὀρθὰς εἶχον πεπηγυίας.

⁷ Herodotus' description presumably corresponds to the tall, pointed hat worn by Skunkha on the Behistun depiction of Darius' defeated enemies and by Scythian representatives on royal tomb-façades at Naqš-i Rustam and various monuments at Persepolis (cf. n. 52).

⁸ This is true of all texts using *tiara* and *kurbasia*. One *kitaris* text – Plut. *Mor.* 340C – might in isolation have been taken to say simply that the hat was of an upright appearance; and the non-royal Persian *kitaris* is perhaps a null-class (cf. below at nn. 16–17).

⁹ Phylarch. 81 F 22 = sch. Ar. *Av.* 487b.

¹⁰ When Dion. Hal. *AR* 2.70 describes the Salian priest's *apex* (or *pilos*) as a *kurbasia* he is, judging from Schäfer 1980, associating the latter with something other than what sources on Persian head-gear have in mind. The suggestion (RE s.v. *korybantes*, Seiterle 1985, 10) that there is an etymological connection between *korybantes* and *kurbasia* is also unenlightening in the present context.

¹¹ Phylarch. 81 F 22 (*tiara*); Plut. *Them.* 29 (*kitaris*).

¹² Theophr. fr. 602; Cleon *Cypriaca* I (ap. sch. Ar. *Nub.* 10).

¹³ Hdt. 7.61.1 (*tiara*); Hesych. s.v. *kitaris* (*tiara, kitaris*); Dio. Hal. *AR* 2.70 (*kurbasia*); schol. Oribas. 11A. 22 (2.83.23 Raeder) (*kitaris*).

¹⁴ Hesych. l.c. – Pollux's list of female clothing in 5.96 includes ἡ δὲ τιάρα καὶ κυρβασία, Περσικαί, on the face of it (but perhaps misleadingly) distinguishing between the two terms.

¹⁵ *Tiara*. In Hdt. 7.61 ff. *tiarai* (glossed as *piloi apagees* [soft]) are the headgear of Persians, Medes, Hyrcanians, Bactrians, Sogdians, Areians, Chorasmians, Parthians, Gandarians, Dadicans and Persian Gulf Islanders. For other attestations cf. Hdt. 1.132, 3.12, 8.102; Clitarch. 137 F 5; Phylarch. 81 F 22; Strab. 11.13.9; Plut. *Mor.* 173D, 565A; Max. Tyr. 20.7e, 33.2d; Polyaen. 7.11.2; Pollux 5.96, 7.58, 10.162. *Kurbasia*. Hdt. 5.49; Ar. fr. 559 KA; Pollux 7.58; sch. Plat. *Rep.* 553C.

¹⁶ MSS have τὰς μὲν κεφαλὰς εἰλίχατο μίτρῃσι οἱ βασιλεῖς αὐτῶν (sc. Cypriots), οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι εἶχον κιθῶνας, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα κατὰ περ Ἕλληνες. Pauw proposed κιτάριας, comparing Pollux 10.162: ἡ δὲ καυσία, πῖλος Μακεδονικὸς, παρὰ Μενάνδρῳ, ὡς τιάρα Περσικῶς. καὶ κυρβασία δὲ Ἀριστοφάνης ἐν Τριφαλῆτι εἴρηκε... Ἡρόδοτος δὲ καὶ κίταριν. This emendation (rejected in Hude's Oxford text, accepted in Rosen's Teubner) is frequently treated in modern literature as certain, with no reference made to its status. See Ritter 1965, 170 f. for a defence, drawing on evidence for a Cypriot *kitaris* in Theophrastus, Hesychius and Cleon (cf. nn. 12, 69).

¹⁷ Nic. Dam. 90 F 66(45); Ctes. 688 F 15(50). In Curt. 3.3.19, Itin. Alex. 64 and Hesych. s.v. *kitaris* the word is glossed as the name of the king's head-gear. In Arr. *An.*

4.7.4 we read that Alexander adopted the *kitaris* and ἐσθὴς Μηδική. In the light of the statement in Plut. *Alex.* 45 that he did not adopt Median *tiara* or *esthēs* the inference has been drawn that *tiara* is not the same as *kitaris* (Eilers and Calmeyer 1977, 183) – a dubious argument, however, given the contradiction about adoption of Median *esthēs*.

[18] Aesch. *Pers.* 661; Plat. *Rep.* 553C; Eratosth. 241 F 30; Polyaen. 7.12; Dio Chr. 4.66; Max. Tyr. 20.9e.

[19] i.e. Plut. *Art.* 26, 28; *Them.* 29; *Mor.* 340C; Arr. *An.* 6.29.3.

[20] 8.15. Salvesen 1999, 39 n. 19 claims that Mordecai's *keter* is not, in narrative terms, the same as the golden crown. I am not sure that this is obviously true; but in any case 8.15 describes the clothing of Mordecai in royal garments, so the 'great golden crown' is relevant to the present enquiry. (The Hebrew word here is *âtar*, which – like *keter* – has a root sense of 'surround'.)

[21] In Rabbinic texts *keter* is often used for 'crown' (sometimes with the verb 'tie') and for 'crownlets' on letters. It appears once in a Dead Sea Scroll in an unclear context. For details cf. Salvesen 1998, 1999. Salvesen's rejection of a connection with Arabic *katara* (hump) on the grounds that it would point to a hat of the wrong shape (something like that on the Alexander Mosaic: see below) might be said to beg the question.

[22] Eilers 1954/6, 331 postulated Aram. *kitra'it = 'surroundingly'.

[23] Plut. *Pomp.* 33, 42; Phil. *Vit. Moys.* 2.116.2; Wagner and Petzl 1976, 213 (l. 6). The last of these makes clear that the *kidaris* of Antiochus of Commagene is a five-pointed hat, a new departure to be contrasted with his father's conical headgear.

[24] Joseph. 20.67 reports the Parthian practice of permitting honoured people to wear a *tiara orthē* and sleep on a golden bed. Boehmer and von Gall 1973, 75 identify the Izates to whom Artabanus gave these rights as the person on the Batas-Herir relief, who wears a head-dress also known from the earliest *frataraka*-coins (Bagadates). Von Gall calls this the 'spitze Tiara' and associates it with the satrap-sarcophagus head-dress (see below p. 76; it is not specially similar) as well as (apparently) with Commagenian phenomena discussed in Young 1964, 29 ff. (with plates 11–12).

[25] It would be a preposterous bibliographical undertaking to attempt to document this proposition fully. Those seeking some flavour of material from a variety of sources might start by searching out the appropriate parts of the following: Schmidt 1953, 1970 (Persepolis and Naqš-i Rustam reliefs); Dalton 1964 (Oxus Treasure plaques); Babelon 1893; Zahle 1982; Mildenberg 1993, 2000 (coins); Boardman 1970a (Greek seal-design); Bovon 1963; Raeck 1981 (Greek vases); Mellink 1973; Moreno 2000 (wall-painting); Kleeman 1958; Borchhardt 1968, 1976; von Graeve 1970; Jacobs 1987; Childs and Demargne 1989; Nollé 1992 (sculpture); Stern 1982, 165 f.; Bisi 1990; Elayi 1991; Moorey 2000 (terracotta figures). Goldman 1993, figs. 1–2 assembles a modest number of items from various sources.

[26] sch. Ar. *Av.* 487b.

[27] The various forms are conveniently summarized at Roaf 1983, 132 (fig. 132), after illustrations in von Gall 1974.

[28] Egyptian Canal monuments, summarized in Roaf 1983, 132 (fig. 132): Shalluf stela – Roaf 1974, 82 (fig. c), Calmeyer 1976, 82 (fig. 6); Louvre stela – Roaf 1983, 132 (fig. 132); lost stelae – von Gall 1974, 148 f. (fig. 1), pl. 33.2, Calmeyer 1989, 58 (fig. 4). (References to the Serapeum in Roaf l.c. are actually to the two lost Canal stelae.) Darius Seal (BM 89132) = SDa: Roaf 1983, 132 (fig. 132); Cook 1983, pl. 33;

Collon 1987, no. 558. 'Archer' of darics and sigloi: Roaf 1983, 132 (fig. 132); Carradice 1987, plates XI–XV. Dascylium seal no. 4: Kaptan 1996, 260 (fig. 1); 2002, 1.31–40, 2.50–55, plates 47–59; cf. Briant 1997, 16 (fig. 2); Stronach 2002, 401 (fig. 9); and (less completely) Miller 1997, pl. 28. Alexander Sarcophagus: von Graeve 1987, 137; Briant 1996, 223 (fig. 9a) = Briant 2002, 209 (fig. 14). PTS 26: Schmidt 1957, 28, pl. 8 (no. 26); Calmeyer 1977, 193 (fig. 1) = Calmeyer 1989, 52 (fig. 1). Anapa seal: Boardman 1970, no. 878; Collon 1987, no. 432; Briant 1996, 265 (fig. 30a) = 2002, 253 (fig. 37a). In another audience scene (in which the seated figure is approached by a horse!) on a sealing from Babylonia (Legrain 1925, no. 984; Briant 2000, 103 [fig. 2c]) the head of the 'king' is incompletely preserved: to judge from the published drawing he *may* not have been wearing the dentate crown, but the situation is too unclear to admit of further comment.

[29] Schmidt 1957, pl. 144–7; Koch 1992, fig. 91.

[30] The head-gear is also found on servants: e.g. Koch 1992, fig. 90. (The low cylindrical head-gear on the bronze figure in Schmidt 1957, pl. 31.8 perhaps also exemplifies this 'servile' use.) Root 1979, 306 not unreasonably connects the 'hero' figure with the generic 'Persian man' mentioned in some royal inscriptions. See also Moorey 1988, 235. Something else I exclude is the horse-riding hunter on OT-1, 22 (a gold scabbard cover). Stronach 1998 sees him as a depiction of one of Darius I's royal ancestors (perhaps Achaemenes himself) – an Achaemenid king on an artefact of Achaemenid date, therefore, but in such a special sense that the tall, quasi-Assyrian hat he wears yields no evidence about actual Achaemenid royal headgear.

[31] Beardless head with crenelated hat: Roaf 1983, 132 (fig. 132); Porada 1965, pl. 45; Koch 1992, 243 (fig. 172). Oxus Treasure: OT-1, 1, 38 (Dalton 1964, nos. 1, 38); OT-1, 85 (Abdullaev and Badanova 1998, 214 [fig. 6.3]: this figure most unusually – indeed disconcertingly – combines dentate crown and trousers). Dascylium Stele (Istanbul Inv. Nr. 5763): Borchhardt 1968, pl. 40.1, 50.1; Jacobs 1987, pl. 13.1; Nollé 1992, 16f. and pl. 3. Pazyryk tapestry: Borchhardt 1968, pl. 51.1; Moorey 2002, 208 (fig. 1). Louvre Seal (AO 223559): Collon 1987, no. 658; Koch 1992, 246 (fig. 174); Moorey 2002, 209 (fig. 2).

[32] Palace attendant: Roaf 1983, 132 (fig. 132), from Tilia 1978, 63 (fig. 10), pl. XXXIX (figs. 51–2). Noble with crenellated hat: Roaf 1983, 132 (fig. 132) and pl. XXXV.

[33] Jacobs (1987, 73; 1994, 138) declines to regard crenellation as a mark of royalty.

[34] *Stone.* Stoclet head: Traunecker 1995, pl. V. 1; Pope 1938, pl. 108E. Louvre E14699: Traunecker 1995, pl. V. 2. Michaelides Head: Michaelides 1943, 91 f. (fig. 36). (Note that the relief figures at Meydancık – cf. Miller 1997, fig. 30 – correspond to courtiers, not royal figures in terms of Persepolis-derived iconography.) *Terracotta.* Lusingh Scheurleer 1974, pl. 7a–c, 7d–f [= Petrie 1910, pl. 36 (16)], 8a [= Bissing 1930, 236 f.]; Fitzgerald 1931, pl. 34.2; Tufnell 1953, 378 pl. 33.7, 17–19 (just heads); Avigad 1960, pl. 10B; Ciasca 1963, pl. 16, 19.1; Negbi 1966, pl. 11 (65); Bisi 1990, pl. 5.2. The 'Cypriot tiaras' (?) in Karageorghis 1990 lie outside this (already heterogeneous) group.

[35] Hinz 1969, pl. 32; Roaf 1983, 11 (fig. 4); Koch 1992, 125 (fig. 85), 253 (fig. 180).

[36] Moscow: Schmitt 1981, pl. 5 (SA³b); Briant 1996, 227 (fig. 12c) = 2002, 215 (fig. 18c). Kerch: Briant 1996, 227 (fig. 12a/b) = 2002, 215 (fig. 18a/b). Sardis: Curtis 1925, 46 pl. XI. 25 (no. 123). It should be noted that there are times when one cannot be quite sure if the artist intends a feather- or dentate crown: e.g. Boardman 1970, no.

83; Stern 1982, 196 (fig. 316) = Collon no. 423. The feather-crown on the Moscow seal (SA³b) is somewhat differently represented from that on the item from Kerch; but it is not a normal dentate crown.

[37] SDb–d = PTS 1–3 (heroic encounter): Schmidt 1957, 18–9, pl. 3. SDe = PFS 7: Garrison and Root 2001, 68 (no. 4), pl. 4 (heroic encounter). SDf = PFS 11 (see text): Garrison 1998, 127. SDg = PFS 113 = PTS 4 (heroic encounter): Garrison and Root 2001, 88 (no. 19), pl. 13; Schmidt 1957, 19, pl. 4. SXa–d = PTS 5–8 (heroic encounter): Schmidt 1957, 20–2, pls. 4–5. SXe (see text): Perrot/Chipiez 1892, title page, 453 (fig. 217); Briant 1996, 246 (fig. 24a) = Briant 2002, 235 (fig. 30); Brosius 2000, 51 (drawings); and Schmitt 1981, fig. 2 (photograph). Schmitt questions the object's authenticity as a royal seal though not as a possible product of the Achaemenid period. Xerxes on Dascylium *bullae* (heroic encounter; winged man-bulls): Balkan 1959, pl. 33a–d; Garrison and Root 2001, 35. Darius II on a Memphis sealing (only part of a lion's leg survives): Petrie, 1910, pl. 36.22 = Schmitt 1981, pl. 3 (SD²a). For other quasi-worship scenes involving dentate-crown-wearing figures cf. Pope 1938, pl. 123B, 123H.

[38] cf. especially two seal-images which like the Moscow and Kerch items are clearly related to Behistun: (a) PTS 28 = Schmidt 1957, 29, pl. 9, where a figure whose head-dress is too ill-preserved to categorize leads captives while spearing another enemy; (b) the seal of Minû-ana-Bēl-dānu on CBS 1594 (24 March 414: Stolper 2001, 103–11), where a figure with a dentate crown stabs a kneeling Scythian in front of two standing Scythian figures with hands bound behind them. (A curious feature of this image is that the expected winged disk is replaced by what looks like an outsized bee or wasp. One recalls the association of Persians and bees discussed in Roscalla 1998, 97–103 – though with no confident understanding of what the seal-cutter was up to.) For some other 'victorious Persian' scenarios with various hats cf. e.g. PTS 29–30 = Schmidt 1957, 29, pl. 9; Collon 1987, nos. 744, 745, 747; Porada and Buchanan 1948, no. 833; Pope 1938, pl. 108E; Dalton 1964, no. 114.

[39] For a specific further development of this cf. Dusinberre 2002, who extends possible divine overtones in the 'archer' to the figures in soft hat on so-called satrapal coins.

[40] It is striking that 'heroic encounters' other than on the walls of Persepolis generally involve figures with a dentate crown not the band of the palace reliefs. Moorey 1988, 235 remarks that it is as if the King wanted to stress a separation between himself and the generic hero, whereas his subjects wanted to stress an assimilation.

[41] *Persepolis seals.* PTS 2–17, 22–4, 26, 39, 58, PFS 7, 79, 113, 139s, 301, 326, 970, 1155, 1189, 1428s. *Seals elsewhere.* Collon 1987, nos. 418, 420–5, 427, 428, 747, 754; and *passim* in any collection of Achaemenid seal(ings) one cares to consult. (For a parallel to the Darius seal, without royal inscription, cf. Boardman 2000, fig. 5.10.) *Coins.* Archers: Babelon 1893, pl. 3.14–5 (Mallus); ibid. pl. 32.5; Kraay 1974, 950; Weiser 1989, pl. 20.34; Mildenberg 1993, pl. 12.106 (Pharnabazus?); Kraay 1974, 1026 (Tarsus); Mildenberg 1993, pl. 7.30 (Samaria); ibid., pl. 12.100 (Sidon); ibid., pl. 12–13.108–123; Mildenberg 1998, pl. 61.80–7 ('späte Reichsgeld'). Seated figure with dentate crown: Mildenberg 1993, pl. 7.28–9; 1998, pl. 60.61 (Samaria); Mildenberg 1993, pl. 7.32; 1998, pl. 60.63 (Judaea). King in chariot: Babelon 1893, pl. 6.15; Kraay 1974, 1054, 1058; Briant 1996, 624 (fig. 43a, b) = 2002, 606 (fig. 50a, b); Mildenberg 1998, pl. 18.15 (Sidon); Babelon 1893, pl. 9.1–4 (Bagoas in Egypt); Briant 1996, 625 (fig. 43d, e) = 2002, 606 (fig. 50d, e) (Samaria). Heroic encounter: Babelon 1893,

pl. 29.23; Kraay 1974, pl. 61.1057; Mildenberg 1993, 12.102 (Sidon); Deutsch and Heltzer 1997, pl. 5.10; Mildenberg 2000a, pl. 8.1, 9.11 (Samaria). Isolated head with dentate crown: Weiser 1989, 267 f., pl. 16.6, 17.6A (pseudo-owls); Mildenberg 1993, pl. 7.32; 1998, pl. 21.12–13, pl. 28.1a (Judaea). The obverse of the Philisto-Arabian issue in Mildenberg 1997, pl. 2.34 has the look of a royal head (reminiscent of the Gordium fragment: below n. 51), but Mildenberg regards it (like ibid. 29–33, which are of different appearance) as representing a native Arabian ruler or deity. Stern 1982, 221 (fig. 370) is another potential 'Persian king'. *Vessel-decoration*. Outside the realm of coins and seals cf. e.g. Moorey 1988, 234 f. and pl. II–III.

⁴² At Persepolis consider e.g. PTS 21 (Schmidt 1957, 26, pl. 7, worship of Anahita); PTS 33 (ibid., 30, pl. 10, bareheaded beardless figure shooting rearing lion); PTS 37 (ibid., pl. 11, heroic encounter), PTS 59 (ibid, 37, pl. 13, bareheaded figure in heroic encounter); PTS 60 (ibid. pl. 13, heroic encounter), PFS 82* (Garrison 1998, 124 [fig. 7], winged-disk figure with soft hat). Most of the 'heroic encounters' in Garrison and Root 2001 are in this category (quite apart from the fact that the non-dentate repertoire extends beyond standard 'Persian' to include examples with Assyrian clothing), and in one case, PFS 196 (Garrison and Root 2001, 326 [no. 224], pl. 124), the 'hero' has an uncrenellated cylinder (cf. n. 33). Further afield cf. variations on heroic encounter/master of animals on Boardman 1970b, no. 82; Legrain 1925, nos. 937, 939, 943; Ravn 1960, nos. 162, 164; Kraeling 1953, 124 (fig. 6.9); Delaporte 1910, nos. 402, 643; Delaporte 1920/23, pl. 107.38 (A1243); Weber 1920, 113; a truncated audience-scene on Louvre AO 2405 (Ward 1910, 338 no. 119); a kneeling firing archer with soft (or no) hat (Kraay 1974, no. 1032 [Tarsus]); a seated 'king' on Boardman, 1998, fig. 3 = Briant 2001, 192 (Lydian seal); Mathieson et al. 1995 (Saqqara stela: here the headgear is a peculiar sort of ornamented metallic [?] diadem). Cf. also n. 38.

⁴³ Carradice 1987, 77; Weiser 1989, 281.

⁴⁴ Egyptian representations of the Great King as pharaoh are, of course, unhelpful. For a slightly unusual (but still unhelpful) example cf. Traunecker 1995.

⁴⁵ Darius II: Pulydamas Base: Demandt 1972, pl. xxiii. 5. Darius III: Alexander Mosaic: Demandt 1972, pl. xxiii. 7; Cohen 1997, pl. III; Moreno 2000, plates I, XV. (I assume that this accurately reflects an early hellenistic original.) Darius Vase: Demandt 1972, pl. xxiii. 6; Koch 1992, 218 (fig. 160); Moreno 2000, 115 (fig. 64). Naples 3220 and 3256: Villaneuva-Puig 1989, 287 (figs. 4, 5). (Naples 3220 also appears in Cohen 1997, 67 [fig. 41a].) *Basileus* and *basilissa* (Vatican 16536): Demandt 1972, pl. xxii. 2 (king only); Raeck 1981, fig. 58. At a later date one might note the depiction of Xerxes on the West Terrace of Nemrud Dagh (Wagner 2000, 39 Abb. 52), where the head-dress flops forward like that of any ordinary Persian.

⁴⁶ Brenne 1992, 178–85 (with fig. 9) detects the influence of (very early) comedy upon what he takes to be a depiction of the Persian king wearing a crown modelled after a cock's comb on an ostracon cast against one Callixenus (Agora P7103). I am unsure about this interpretation of the illustration, but there is in any case no question of the headgear being 'upright' in any significant sense. (For the wider use of cock's comb serration as a mark of royal dress cf. Brenne 1992, 181 with nn. 88–91.)

⁴⁷ Louvre CA 2980: Devambez 1973, 713 (fig. 1). Dresden Albertinum 374: Schauenburg 1975, pl. 40.2. Items which fail the test are Raeck 1981, nos. 551, 554, 556, 565, 567, 570, 585, 593, 594, 598, 612; Athens 12489 (Schauenburg 1975, pl. 39.1–2); Florence 3845 (Schauenburg 1975, pl. 38.1); Seattle Cs 20.13 (Schauenburg 1960, pl.

6); Gela IIIJ 44.6 (*CVA* Gela 3 pl. 44.1, 6, 7); Istanbul (unpublished: cf. Miller 1988, 83). If Sekunda 1992, 13 is right that the male figure on Tübingen E67 (= Raeck no. 598; cf. Demandt 1972, abb. 4) is independently proved to be a king (specifically the ghost of Darius summoned from the dead in Aeschylus' *Persians*) by his purple-and-white garb, then we have here a firm case of a Great King with a non-upright soft hat.

[48] Memphis: Ray 1988, 273 (fig. 24); Goldman 1993, fig. 1.12 (both after Bissing 1930, 237). Lycian wall-painting (Karaburun): Mellink 1973, pl. 46; Jacobs 1987, pl. 5.2.

[49] cf. Raeck 1981, nos. 393, 553, 560, 581.

[50] See *LIMC* s.vv. Alexandros [Paris], Busiris, Cepheus, Midas, Priam; Alföldi 1955; Miller 1988, 1995, 2000; DeVries 2000.

[51] Mellink 1991, 140 (fig. 17); Voigt and Young 1999, 197 (fig. 1).

[52] Skunkha (Behistun): Hinz 1969, pl. 26a; Koch 1992, pl. 2. Apadana Gift-Bearers: Schmidt 1953, pl. 37B; Koch 1992, 109 (fig. 63). Saka on royal tomb façades: Schmidt 1970, fig. 44 (nos. 15, 24). So too the much less extravagantly pointed head-gear of Apadana Delegation XIX (Schmidt 1957, pl. 45; Koch 1992, pl. 16), widely regarded as representing the Skudra (Thracians?).

[53] Persepolis (King's weapon-bearer): Koch 1992, 98 fig. 47. Persepolis (servant): Koch 1992, pl. 28. Oxus Treasure: OT-1, 2, 2a, 4, and the unnumbered BM 124098 (Dalton 1964, vi; Smith 1931), variously illustrated in Dalton 1964, pl. II, XIII and an unnumbered supplementary plate at the end of the volume (upper figure); Smith 1931, pl. XIIa; Eilers and Calmeyer 1977, 183 (fig. 5); Calmeyer 1987/90, 616 (fig. 3). (The model chariot drawn in Dalton 1964, xl [fig. 21] – now BM 132256 – contains a seated figure with a hat resembling that of BM 124098; but the figure's head is now missing: Barnett 1962/3, pl. XLIXb; Dalton 1964, vi and unnumbered supplementary place [lower figure].) Bin Tepe: Briant 2001, 36 (fig. 2), from Kötken Ersoy 1998, figs. 6, 7. Erivan: Arakelyan 1971, 146 (fig. 2); Eilers and Calmeyer 1977, pl. 26.2. One might also include here the figure on the Aršam seal (Briant 2001, 60 [fig. 11]; Boardman 2000, fig. 5.21) or PTS 55 (Schmidt 1957, 36, pl. 13); the rider on the obverse of certain Tarsiote coins (Casabonne 2000, 72–3 ['Types D2–D4], 77 [Type F3], pl. V. 6, 7: 'bashlyk formant coque'; Kraay 1974, no. 1032; Mildenberg 1993, pl. 11[88]), and some 'Persian riders' (cf. n. 67), e.g. Carrière and Barrois 1927, no. 58, Negbi 1966, no. 101.

[54] Koch 1992, fig. 161; Ghirshman 1964, frontispiece and fig. 295.

[55] Berlin figurine: Koch 1992, pl. 36. (For another similar figure see Pope 1938, pl. 108BC.) Oxus Treasure: OT-1, 179 (Dalton 1964, xxxviii [fig. 19]; Koch 1992, 249 [fig. 178]).

[56] Amathus: Petit 1991, pl. x. 2–3; Petit 1996, pl. vii. 1. Heraclea: Akurgal 1986, 9 ff.; Cahn and Gerin 1988, pl. 3B. Summerer 2005 suggests that there was originally a metal diadem around the upper part of the head-dress. She leaves open whether the figure represented a satrap or the Great King.

[57] Nereid Monument, Frieze II no. 879(5): Childs and Demargne 1989, pl. 59.1–2. Satrap Sarcophagus: Boehmer and Gall 1973, pl. 32.2. Limyra West Frieze: Borchhardt 1976, fig. 12 (no. 22), pl. 24.1; Borchhardt 1990, 169 (57) = Borchhardt 1993, pl. 21.

[58] Since drafting this I have been able to inspect the sarcophagus in Istanbul. The shadow cast by the overhanging edge of the relief area makes it hard to see the top of the hat of the seated satrap, but there is no reason to posit anything but an even-edged and unmoulded shape. The hat of the mounted figure overlaps the decorated strip above the

relief area; the sculptors simply never cut the decorative pattern at the relevant place, leaving a flat surface to paint on. The overall shape is much as on the seated figure, if perhaps slightly less sharply pointed. The intrusion of the edge of the overhang above the relief area creates the impression of a distinction between the roll over the forehead and the rising section of the hat which may be misleading. At the point at which the decorative pattern hits the blank to-be-painted-on part of the hat there is a slight sense of indentation, and there is also a slight bulge in the lower back part of the hat; but neither of these is really significant.

[59] Von Gall 1988, 322. Persis: Wagner and Petzold 1976, pl. VIIId (Mithridates I Kallinikos); Boehmer and Gall 1973, pl. 32.1 (Bagadata). Eastern Anatolia: Alram 1986, pl. 5.142–5; Von Gall 1988, 321 fig. 1f (Cappadocian kings); Alram 1986, pl. 6.174–82 (Armenian kings). Northern Iraq: Boehmer and Gall 1973, 68 fig. 2; Von Gall 1998, 321 fig. 1e (Izates [?], on the Batas Harir relief).

[60] Borchhardt 1976, 53, 60, with the reconstructed drawing in 1976, fig. 12 (no. 22). The colour drawing in Borchhardt 1990, 169 (57) = Borchhardt 1993, pl. 21 makes it looks more like a single piece of head-gear.

[61] 1983, 220. It should be stressed that the figure, though in the middle of the frieze, is not *prima facie* the principal figure of the composition: that is the armed man mounting a chariot at the right-hand end (and at the head of the serried ranks of troops). The equivalent figure in the similar East frieze appears on Borchhardt 1976, fig. 15 (no. 17) with head-gear somewhat like that of Darius in the Alexander Mosaic, but a fair degree of restoration is involved.

[62] The former suggestion is at least envisaged by Briant 1996, 626 = Briant 2002, 608. Childs and Demargne 1989, 265 seem to think that local dynasts (but not satraps) could wear an upright *tiara* in imitation of their ultimate sovereign. Von Gall 1998, 323 speaks of an upright bonnet ('aufrechte Haube'), but distinguishes it from the *tiara orthē*, calling it the mark 'einer selbständigen, zwischen Satrap und Grosskönig stehenden, Rangstellung'.

[63] Koch 1993, 131. Limyra Grave F. 8: Bruns-Özgan 1987, 105 ff., pl. 17.1.

[64] Zournatzi 1989, pl. XXX–XXI; Hermary 1989, 219–35 (nos. 444–475); Borchhardt, 1976, pl. 48.1–2 = Ergulec 1972, C48 (Istanbul 3355) pl. XLIII; *Atlas* I cxx 876 = Myres 1914, 1231; *Atlas* I cii 675 = Myres 1914, 1350. Seiterle 1985, 7 f., 10, seems to see all *tiarai* or *kurbasiai* and (perhaps) all forms of (soft) head-gear worn by Persians as Phrygian caps (a head-gear, in his view, made of bull-hide taken from around – and including – the scrotum). This strikes me as unsustainably over-inclusive.

[65] (1) Memphis: Debord 2000, pl. xxxix 1–4 = Debord 1999, pl. xi 1–4. (2) Unknown mint: Debord 2000, pl. xxxviii. 5 = Debord 1999, pl. xi 5. (3) Kios: Debord 2000 pl. xxxviii 11–13 = Debord 1999, pl. xi 10–12. (4) Babylon ('Porus' coins): Debord 2000, pl. xxxix 8–9 = Debord 1999, pl. xii 10–11. (5) Sardis: Debord 2000, pl. xxxix 4–6 = Debord 1999, pl. xii 5–7. (6) Hierapolis: Seyrig 1971, pl. 2.9; Debord 1999, pl. xii 8; Casabonne 2000, 92 (fig. 8).

[66] cf. Price 1982, 76; Lane Fox 1996, 99.

[67] Seattle CS 20.13: Schauenburg 1960, pl. 6. Louvre CA 3825: Kahil 1972, 273 (fig. 3), 275 (fig. 4). Limyra grave F. 11: Bruns-Özgan 1987, pl. 31–2. Kourion terracottas: Young and Young 1955, 202. The corpus of 'Persian riders' is not comprehensively published anywhere; a fair proportion of material can be traced directly or indirectly through Stern 1982, 165 f.; Bisi 1990; Elayi 1991; Moorey 2000. For examples relevant

here see Carrière and Barrois 1927, nos. 43, 54; Negbi 1966, no. 101; Higgins 1954, no. 1553; Petrie 1909a, pl. 40.42, 46; 1909b, pl. 29(80); 1910, pl. 42 (136–8).

[68] Parthian honorific *tiara orthē*: Boehmer and von Gall 1973, 68 (fig. 2). *Kitaris* in Commagene, Armenia, Pontus: Plut. *Pomp*. 33, 42; Wagner and Petzold 1976, 213 (l. 6). Depictions: Wagner and Petzold 1976, pl. VIIIa, e, f (Antiochus: Commagene), pl. VIIIb (Tigranes: Armenia).

[69] (1) The reading of Curt. 3.3.19 as indicating the identity of *cidaris* and (blue-white) diadem (Briant 1996, 229 [but not 2002, 217!]; Jacobs 1994, 135 f.; Salvesen 1998, 68; 1999, 40) is debatable. More probably Curtius means that the king's *cidaris* had a diadem, just as Xenophon says his *orthē tiara* had one (*Cyr*. 8.3. 13; cf. Plut. *Mor*. 488C; Luc. *Pisc*. 35, *Nav*. 30) and Alexander put one on a *kausia* (Ephipp. 126 F 5). (2) The case is not helped by the fact that LXX translates *keter* in *Esther* as *diadēma* (this resembles other cases in which hellenistic authors use 'diadem' as the natural designation of royal headgear because that was a hellenistic norm: Ritter 1965, 12) or Hesychius' report (s.v. *kittaris*) of a Cypriot diadem called *kitaris* (which proves nothing about Achaemenid headgear; and cf. n. 16). (3) Not only can a diadem be associated iconographically both with soft hats and crowns (cf. the textual evidence of Curtius and Xenophon above) but there is apparently no requirement for it to appear in royal depictions; its absence from Darius' head on the Alexander Mosaic (n. 45) is very striking, especially as some of the non-royal figures have one.

[70] Plutarch is describing the dress of Antony's sons: Ptolemy has boots, cloak and diadem-adorned *kausia*, his brother the garb of Median and Armenian kings; this surely also included distinctive features other than head-gear, and in a moment of inattention Plutarch substituted τιάραν for some such feature. Alternatively it is a textual problem, produced by an intrusive gloss.

[71] Von Gall's detection of descendants of the royal head-gear of the Alexander Mosaic in hellenistic Cappadocia (1988, 322), Commagene and Armenia is not of much help, since the hats involved are of rather varied aspect: see Von Gall 1988, 321 fig. 1g, h, i, and add the 'pointed tiara' of Young 1964, 30 and pl. 11.

[72] On other aspects of this incident cf. Lenfant 2002.

[73] 1.4.1 (κατὰ κορυφήν), 2.54.1 (κατὰ τῆς κορυφῆς), 2.126 (μεχρὶ κορυφῆς).

[74] *caulem habens lenem duorum cubitorum longum, crassum ad digiti modum in superiori parte. ad summum caput habet folia minuta sublonga inter quae nascuntur semina in modum psittaciorum ex quibus flores subalbidi emergunt* (Kästner 1896, 592.5 f.).

[75] This is the reading in Sprengel 1829 (followed by Kästner 1896) and is also presumed in W.H. Ryff's 1543 translation of Dioscorides where the relevant word becomes *nucamenta* = pine-cones (cf. Theoph. *HP* 3.3.8, 3.7.3; Hesych. K 4747 for association of *kuttaros* with the pine). In Ps.-Dioscorides ἐκ διαστημάτων πρὸς τῇ κορυφῇ φυλλαρίοις περιειλημμένον καί τισιν οἰονεὶ κιταρίοις ὑπομήκεσιν ὑακινθώδεσιν, ἐξ ὧν τὸ ἄνθος λευκόν is replaced by *ad summum caput habet folia minuta sublonga inter quae nascuntur semina in modum psittaciorum* (? *pistaciorium*) *ex quibus flores subalbidi emergunt*, which casts no clear light on the situation. Kästner 1896, 585 f. oddly says Ps.-Dioscorides was right to excise reference to κυτταρίοις because no one could compare the *folia ornativa* of the acanthus with '*alveoli*' – an irrelevant remark, since we are not here talking about the decorative *basal* leaves of the plant. His further remark that the author rightly compares the '*capsulam acanthi*' with the pistache plant seems equally mysterious in the light of illustrations of the latter in e.g. Polunin 1969, pl. 69 and 1980,

39 (17); but the fact (unnoted by Kästner) that Diosc. 1.124 says pistaches are like στρόβιλοι (i. e. pine-cones: cf. above) may cast light on how κυτταρίοις could turn into pistache-like *semina*. None of this gives κυτταρίοις any special validity as a reading.

[76] Cell of a honey-comb (Ar. *GA* 760b34, 770a29; Ar. *HA* 551b5, 554a18, 555a1; Suda K 2786–2787) or wasp's nest (Ar. *Vesp.* 1111) and by analogy a similar feature of the Egyptian bean (Theoph. *HP* 4.8.7). Acorn-cup (Hesych. E 7647; Lycophron ap. Eratosth. fr. 81 Strecker [schol. Ar. *Pax* 199]; Suda K 2786. Male flower of the pine (Theoph. *HP* 3.3.8, 3.7.3; Hesych. K 4747 [cf. schol. *Vesp.* 1111]; Suda K 2787). Premature growth of a pomegranate (Suda K 2786). *Glans penis* (Hesych. K 4747) or a baby's penis (Ar. *Th.* 516). Joint-sockets (πυθμένες) (Hesychius K 4747). The pinnacle of heaven (Ar. *Pax* 199; Suda K 2786).

[77] In Dioscorides φυλλάριον can designate leaves on a plant's stem as distinct from the leaves (φύλλα) at the base (e.g. 4.27.1), but can also apply to something which is not botanically a leaf, viz. the umbel or dense head of flowers at the top of the plant (1.4.1): cf. Polunin 1969, 564 figs. 3 and 5 (Cyperus fuscus 1829 and Cyperus longus 1830).

[78] cf. the Darius Vase (n. 45) and some representations of mythical rulers which adopt a similar iconography (e.g. *LIMC* Bousiris 3, 4, Priam 98, 99, Alexandros 48, Kepheus 5,10; Alföldi 1955, fig. 11).

[79] For a (botanical) description of acanthus cf. Polunin 1969, 393; 1980, 422. For pictures cf. Polunin 1969, pl. 130; 1980, pl. 45; Blamey and Grey-Wilson 1993, pl. 134; Baumann 1993, figs. 367–9. My understanding of the plant was transformed by the opportunity to examine actual specimens and to discuss them with Leander Wolstenholme and Wendy Atkinson (Department of Botany, National Museums and Galleries on Merseyside), to both of whom I am immensely grateful for their interest and expert advice.

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5

DARIUS I IN EGYPT: SUEZ AND HIBIS

Alan B. Lloyd

Unlike Cambyses and Xerxes, Darius I gets a good press for his Egyptian policy in both ancient and modern literature. Polyaenus[1] speaks of his offering a hundred gold talents for the discovery of a new Apis bull; there is Egyptian evidence of his interest in the continuation of Amasis' policy of codifying Egyptian law;[2] and modern scholars point to several examples of a concern for Egyptian cults.[3] In this paper I want to look at two events which took place in Egypt during the reign of Darius to try to deepen our understanding of the precise context within which they and comparable activities took place. These episodes are the construction of a Red Sea canal through the Wadi Tumilat on the north-east frontier, and Darius' involvement, or alleged involvement, in building work at the temple of Hibis in the Khargeh (or Kharga) Oasis in the Western Desert (see map, *Fig.* 1).

Suez

There are three surviving multilingual stelae recording the construction of a canal between the Nile and the Red Sea by Darius I, though a fourth is known to have existed.[4] All three are very badly damaged.[5] The most complete is the Tell el-Maskhuteh monument which is a round-topped stele of classic type made of rose granite. When complete it was about 3.15 m high and 2.10 m broad. It lay on a hill 1 km south of Tell el-Maskhuteh about 350 m from the canal itself.[6] In this case there is reason to believe that the cuneiform text was placed on another stele rather than on the back of the stele bearing the hieroglyphic text. The Kabret stele[7] is also of the round-topped variety and is made of rose granite. It was originally of about the same size and was erected on a hill 3 km south of Kabret. It bore the hieroglyphic text on one side and cuneiform texts in Old Persian, Elamite, and Babylonian on the other, and it was only this monument which preserved the cuneiform text in a reasonably complete form.[8] The Suez stele had the same form and format as the other two. It was erected 6 km north of Suez on a slight hill. It probably bore the Egyptian and cuneiform texts on both sides
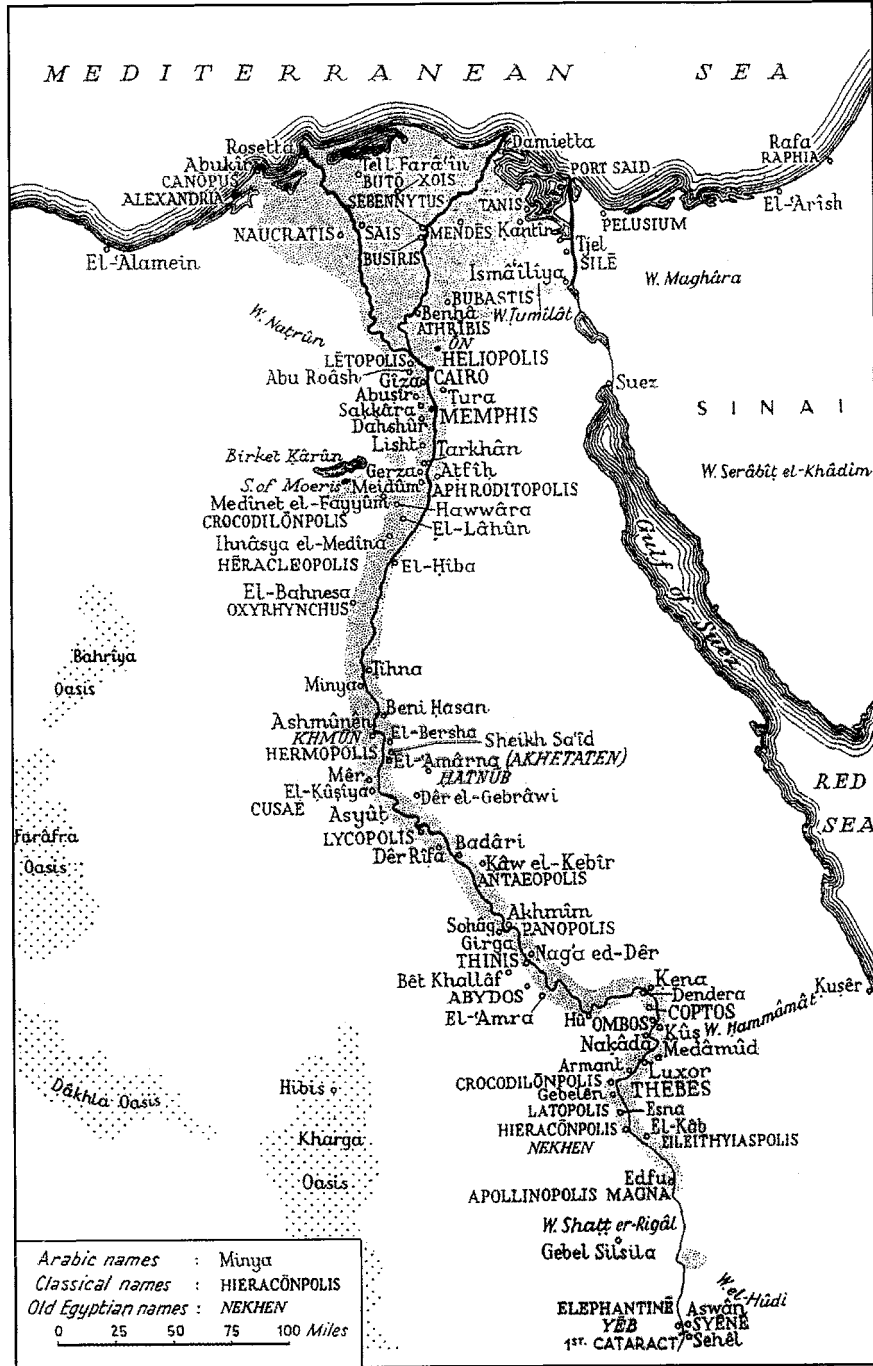
Fig. 1. Map of Egypt (from A.H. Gardiner, *Egypt of the Pharaohs*, 1961, courtesy of Oxford University Press).

of the same stele. Whether Egyptian or cuneiform, the stelae texts will have been designed to serve the same function, i.e. to fix and eternalize what they describe in a position of physical prominence.

The hieroglyphic texts

As always, text and the setting on the monument must be taken together. Since the Tell el-Maskhuteh stele is the best preserved, I shall concentrate most comment on that, drawing in the other two stelae as appropriate.

The layout is typically Egyptian (see *Fig.* 2). The vault of heaven lies along the semi-circular top of the stele and below that appears the winged disc of Horus the Behdetite. On the left side, running from top to bottom, we find a *was*-sceptre, symbolizing 'power', and we can be confident from the Kabret Stele and many parallels that this would have had a counterpart to the right. The *was*-sceptres serve not only to separate heaven and earth but also to indicate that the entire cosmos is created and maintained by divine power, and this extremely common graphic formula marks out the subject matter of the stele as of cosmic significance, i.e. we are dealing with a cosmogram. The centre of the lunette is occupied by a vertical cartouche containing the name of Darius in hieroglyphs with the solar disc and feathers on top. This surmounts and is plainly part of a classic scene of two Nile gods binding plants around the *sma*-sign which symbolized unity.[9] Clearly the group is intended to make the point that Darius, in association with the sun god, is the unifier of Egypt, one of the classic roles of the Egyptian king. In the vertical texts on either side of the relevant Nile god, the deity verbally confers blessings on Darius, including *ḥꜤw m nsw-bit(y)*, 'appearance in splendour as King of Upper and Lower Egypt'. Below the left-hand figure we read: *di.n.(i) n.k tꜣw nb(w) fnḫw nb(w) ḫꜣswt nb(wt) pḏwt nb(wt)*, 'I give to you all lands, all Fenkhu, all foreign lands, and all bows'. It is evident from the Kabret Stele that the right-hand figure's equivalent was: *di.n.(i) n.k pꜤt nb(t) rḫyt nbt ḥꜣw nbw nb(w)*, 'I give to you all aristocracy, all lap-wing folk, and all Hau-nebu.' Both texts are making the point that Darius' kingdom/ empire is being presented to him as a gift by Egyptian deities in traditional pharaonic terms. Below that register there survives in whole or in part a list of 15 subject countries (originally 24, as shown by the remains on the Kabret Stele). Since these are listed in an order reflecting standard Persian practice whereby the Iran provinces are given precedence,[10] the list must derive from a Persian source, but it is presented in a classic Egyptian manner whereby the names are written in hieroglyphs within ovals which represent conventional-ized fortified walls. Each is surmounted by an equally conventionalized repre-sentation of an enemy in the guise of a suppliant with upraised arms.[11] The list is topped by a damaged text which can be reconstructed as: *di.n.(i) n.k*

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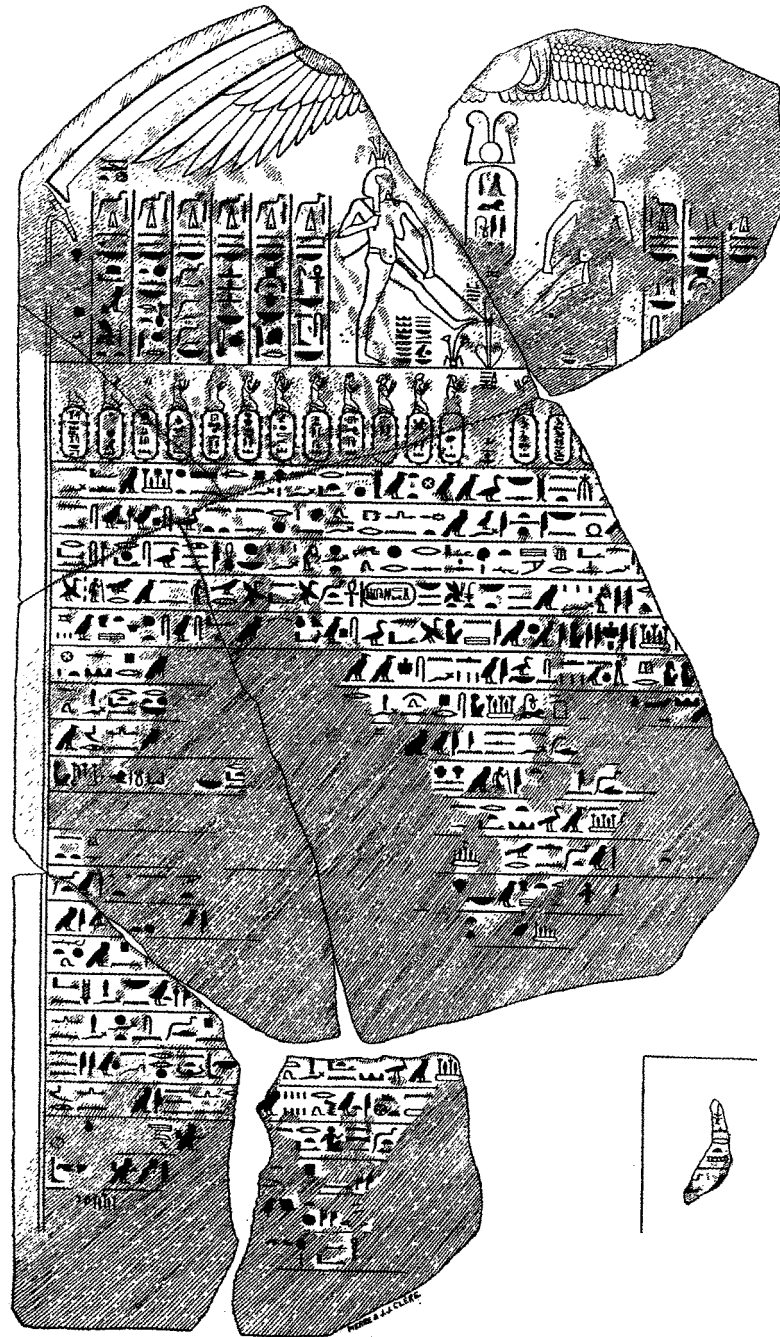
Fig. 2. The Tell el-Maskhuteh Stele.

t3w nb(w) h3swt nb(wt) m i3w n-hr.k, 'I give to you all lands and all foreign lands in adoration before you.'

The bulk of all three stelae was taken up by a well-cut hieroglyphic text in good, though not perfect, classical Egyptian. In all cases it is written in horizontal lines from right to left, and in all three cases it is very badly damaged. It is clear that the texts of the Tell el-Maskhuteh and Kabret Stelae are not identical, the major difference being the non-appearance of the long programmatic introduction of the Maskhuteh text in the Kabret stele. However, it is evident that, despite differences of detail, the Tell el-Maskhuteh and Kabret texts are essentially the same and that they both broke down into four sections.

A. An introduction recounting the king's status and validation in traditional terms. B. A narrative of events leading to the cutting of the canal. C. A section in which courtiers praise the ruler's efficacy in traditional Egyptian terms. D. The instruction of the king to record the events on a stele and the execution of that command.

A. The Tell el-Maskhuteh text is quite well preserved and may be translated as follows:

> ... born of Neith, mistress of Sais, image of Re, he whom he (sc. Re) placed on the throne to complete that which he had begun...of all that which the sun's disc encircled, when he was (still) in the womb and had not come forth on earth, because she (sc. Neith) knew that he was her son, bequeathing to him...her hand carrying the bow before her to cast down his enemies every day as she did for her son Re, that (?) he might be powerful...his enemies in all lands, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt Darius, may he live for ever, the Great One, the King of Kings, the...[son of Hy]staspes, the Achaemenid, the Great One. He is her valiant son...

B.–D. The text is too damaged to justify producing a translation here, but the narrative of events is clear. It runs as follows: Darius was in his palace in Persia. The issue of a water link between Egypt and Persia was raised, the rationale being the delivery of tribute. Inspectors were required to go to Egypt in order to dig a canal and this was done. This made it possible for a large fleet laden with goods/tribute to sail from Egypt to Persia. The text then proceeds to describe the praise for this achievement by princes and inspectors, clearly cast in the traditional terminology of royal omniscience and omnipotence. Darius then orders the achievement to be recorded on a stele. This was a statement that what had been done had no parallel in earlier times.

This text shows a marked effort to present Darius as a classic Egyptian Pharaoh, and he has been fully assimilated into the ideology of Egyptian kingship. The format of the stele is standard, presenting the entire content as

a cosmic event transcending the specific situation. The monument's narrative stance is, as usual, third person, a feature which admirably fits the didactic and explicatory function of such texts. There is an insistence on the king's status as the child of the gods, and his role as unifier of Egypt is strongly emphasized, a role which forms a fundamental part of the ideology of Egyptian kingship from the very beginning of Egyptian history. The gods are also said to present a series of blessings of the traditional kind which enhance his kingship. The presentation of the captive nations in the format used here is not normal on stelae but has numerous parallels in other epigraphic contexts. Its presence may well be a concession to the Achaemenid taste for grandiloquent descriptions of imperial conquests.

The introductory section of the inscription has a clear Saite resonance in its emphasis on Neith and thereby insists on the principle of continuation. The other terminology used is all of standard pharaonic type, apart from the concession to Achaemenid terminology at the end. The narrative section follows the standard *Königsnovelle* pattern[12] and in its detailed comments refers to the concept of *hu*, 'authoritative utterance', a standard element in Pharaoh's apparatus of government. In its discussion of the king's creating water where there was previously none the text is strikingly reminiscent of the Redesiyeh inscription of Seti I[13] and the Kuban stele of Ramesses II.[14] Indeed, the king's involvement with water is a recurrent Pharaonic theme.[15] It should also be noted that the text makes it clear that, at least from an Egyptian perspective, the key function of the canal was the delivery of goods or tribute from Egypt to Persia, and we should make allowance for the possibility that this talk of wealth leaving Egypt for Persia appears here because it reflects a major area of Egyptian resentment.[16]

This monument contains much the longest governmental statement of Darius' pharaonic status in any text, but we should not use it to develop the thesis that he was uniquely favoured in this respect. The Egyptians had no alternative but to convert foreign rulers into Pharaohs because the Pharaonic office, with all its ramifications, was the basis of the Egyptian state. Without Pharaoh there was no state, and investing Darius with this role cannot be taken to mean any more than that.

The Old Persian text
The Old Persian text only survives in readable form on the Kabret stele, though fragments were discovered at the other sites.[17] It forms part of a monumental statement which retains a number of Egyptian features (see *Fig.* 3): the sky hieroglyph appears in curved form following the line of the top of the stele; the *was*-sceptres also feature on either side; and cartouches are used to present the king's name, though in cuneiform script. The winged disc at the
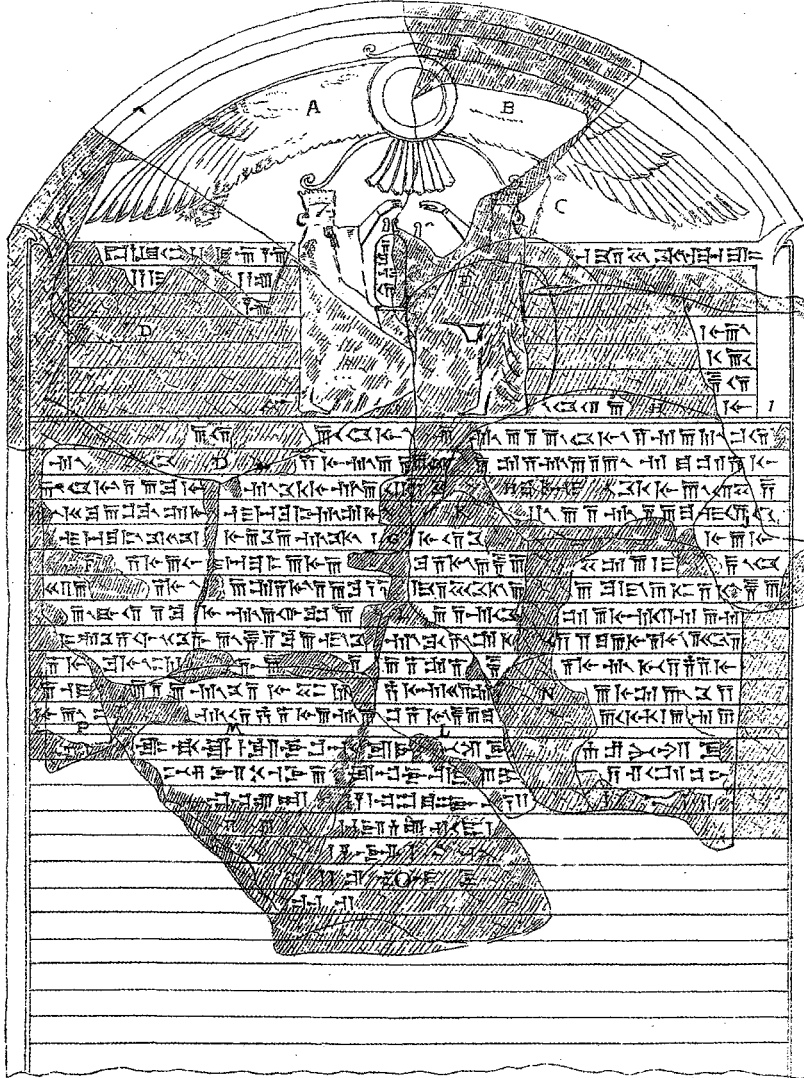
Fig. 3. The Kabret Stele, cuneiform versions.

top corresponds to that on the hieroglyphic version but derives from Iranian tradition in which the wings would normally have been horizontal; they have assumed a curved shape here only because of the design of the lunette in which they appear, but there is, nevertheless, a striking visual correspondence to the winged disc in the Egyptian version.[18] The Nile gods which feature below the disc on the Egyptian version are replaced by two facing figures of

Darius himself in traditional Achaemenid dress. The text breaks down into four sections: A. Darius' signature expressing his imperial claims and his lineage in traditional Achaemenid terminology; B. An acknowledgement of the pre-eminence of Ahuramazda, his creative role, and his appointment of Darius as king; C. A second signature of Darius in different terms from A but with identical import; D. Darius' account of his conquest of Egypt, the construction of the canal, and its outcome. It may be translated as follows:

A. Darius the Great King, King of Kings, King of Countries, king in this great earth, son of Hystaspes, an Achaemenian.

B. A great god is Ahuramazda who created yonder sky, who created this earth, who created man, who created happiness for men, who made Darius king, who gave Darius the king this great kingdom, possessed of good horses and of good men.

C. I am Darius, Great King, King of Kings, king of provinces of all kinds of people, king in the great earth, far and wide, son of Hystaspes, an Achaemenian.

D. Darius the King says, 'I am a Persian; from Persia I seized Egypt; I gave order to dig this canal from a river named Nile which flows in Egypt, to the sea which goes from Persia. Afterwards this canal was dug thus as I had ordered, and ships went from Egypt through this canal to Persia thus as was my desire.'

This inscription is, to say the least, perfunctory, and there is no attempt whatsoever to provide a translation or even a paraphrase of the Egyptian text. There is not even an indication of the purpose of the canal beyond indicating that a water-link was established between Egypt and Persia. The narrative stance is first person, and the tone is one of national pride and imperial arrogance, an attitude typical of Achaemenid texts and strikingly illustrated on the statue of Darius discovered at Susa in 1972.[19] At one point on the statue we find a statement which makes the Persian perception of Egypt's position crystal clear. It reads: 'Here is the stone statue that Darius the king ordered to be made in Egypt so that whoever sees it in the future will understand that the Persian warrior governs Egypt.'[20] The tone of the Kabret stele is identical and is uncompromisingly Persocentric, with no concession whatsoever in its content to the Egyptian context. Nevertheless, the very existence of this text may indicate some small acknowledgement of Egyptian susceptibilities. The inscription is, in fact, rather unusual. If we review the extant Old Persian texts, we find that they focus on genealogy, the pre-eminence and workings of Ahuramazda, moral issues, and imperial conquests. We do get occasional texts which commemorate the construction of palaces or parts of them, but great engineering works of this sort do not seem to have attracted epigraphic recognition. We must, therefore, ask why

it was written at all. It might be argued that it is, in effect, a statement of imperial power, springing organically from the statement that Darius had gained control of Egypt, but there is another more probable explanation, i.e. that its creation is the nearest thing to a concession to the Egyptian context that we get. An inscription commemorating the construction of a canal is well within Egyptian norms, e.g. the well-known inscription of Senwosret III at the First Cataract,[21] and Egyptians would expect something comparable to accompany Darius' canal. The Persians may well have recognized that themselves, but it is equally possible that high-ranking Egyptian priests or officials pressed for it on their own initiative. If so, the Persian attitude may well have been that, since the Egyptians were keen to have such texts, the Persians had better provide a standard Achaemenid equivalent in the form of a text in Old Persian, Elamite, and Babylonian. The Egyptian and Achaemenid texts then become parallel epigraphic events reflecting the same activity but, at the same time, reflecting the different agenda of the two cultures, the one being the equivalent of the other, but in no sense a translation.

Hibis

The city of Hibis (Egyptian *Hbt*, 'City of the Plough') was the capital of the Khargeh oasis in the Western Desert.[22] Its major temple was the temple of Amun, and this is often said to have been built by Darius I, though it has long been recognized that work was also subsequently carried out there in the XXXth Dynasty and the Ptolemaic Period. But the research carried out there in the late 1980s by E. Cruz-Uribe has in fact established that the traditional attribution to Darius I is quite unsound. On the basis of a careful analysis of the architecture and decoration, Cruz-Uribe argued that there were five pre-Ptolemaic phases. Phase I: Saite, more specifically the reign of Psammetichus II, who built the earliest part of the temple and decorated part of it. Phase 2: Darius I 'renewed' this work and did a substantial amount of decoration. Phase 3: Darius II(?) continued that work. Phase 4: Achoris built the hypostyle N and set up two statues. Phase 5: XXXth Dynasty kings built and decorated Portico Q.[23]

There can be little doubt that Cruz-Uribe's analysis is in most respects correct, and that his identification of these five building phases is fundamentally sound. That, in itself, strikes a mortal blow at the notion that the first temple was built by Darius I. However, I should like to go further and ask the basic question: 'In what sense, if any, was Darius involved in this work?' The statements of Cruz-Uribe and the large number of parallel claims in literature all raise a major issue: how far does the presence of a royal cartouche indicate royal involvement or even central government's knowledge of the enterprise? Need it be any more than a date stamp applied to a project which was entirely

the result of local enterprise and funding? Two points need consideration.

In the first place, the relationship between the cartouches and the context where they appear is problematic. Cruz-Uribe points out that in the majority of cases where they occur they are not sculpted but are painted on in blue.[24] They could, therefore, have been added to scenes which already existed, i.e. since it is clear that the earliest extant building phase is Saite, the walls where the painted cartouches occur may themselves be of Saite date and the appearance of the painted cartouches of Darius may simply reflect the resumption of architectural interest in the Persian Period.

The second issue requiring discussion is the question of the extent to which alleged royal initiatives in monument construction reflect the realities of the situation. When we look at our Egyptian textual material, it quickly becomes clear that royal involvement can take any form between close control and the most cursory of rubber stamping.

The great dedicatory inscription of the first regnal year of Ramesses II at Abydos indicates the closest of royal involvement in the completion of his father's temple there.[25] He had found the work abandoned, summoned his courtiers and officials, and after a considerable preamble embarked on a detailed programme of instructions:

> ... His Majesty decreed that orders be given to the Superintendent of Works. He assigned soldiers, workmen, sculptors...to build his father's sanctuary, to restore what was ruined in the necropolis, even his father's Mansion of Justification.

> Now, he began to fashion his image in Year 1, the offering being doubled in the presence of his spirit, and his temple supplied in the proper manner (so that) he might meet his requirements.[26]

The *Dream of Nectanebo* presents us with a rather different scenario. This narrative text (which was current both in Greek and Demotic versions) describes how king Nectanebo was informed in a dream by the god Onuris that the construction of his temple of Isis at Sebennytus had been abandoned.[27] This proved to be true, and the king appointed an agent to organize its completion who turned out to be a complete disaster. From our point of view the interest of this saga is that it indicates an altogether more hands-off approach in which the king entrusts the work to an agent.

A royal agent also appears in the stele of Peftuaneith (a text dating to the end of the XXVIth Dynasty), but here he functions in a very different way.[28] Amongst other things this worthy held the office of High Steward, and he tells us that he informed the king about the poor state of buildings at Abydos and was then ordered to set things to rights. This he did, clearly with some royal assistance, but it is not clear what exactly this involved. The temple of Khentiumentyu was restored and re-equipped, and it was properly

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endowed. He also restored the House of Life, established an endowment, and provided a new divine barque. All this may well have been done through the resources supplied at his importuning from the crown, but there are also activities that are presented as a matter of personal initiative, for he himself transferred income and a ferryboat from an unnamed count to the temple. In this case the work at Abydos is not presented as being a royal enterprise at all but rather as having proceeded entirely from the initiative of Peftuaneith himself, and his personal initiative even went so far as identifying resources which could be appropriated to serve his end.

The *Petition of Peteese* in Papyrus Rylands IX takes us into a very different world again.[29] This Demotic papyrus dates from the reign of Darius I and retails the history of a notable family of Teuzoi in Upper Egypt going back to the beginning of the XXVIth Dynasty. At 7.6 ff we are given an account of some restoration work on the main temple of Teuzoi carried out by Peteese, son of Ieturou. This began with the staff and endowment, and then he proceeded to building works and the creation of statues in the following terms:

> ... he caused a house to be built measuring 40 divine cubits by 40 divine cubits, with a rope of land about it for (its) courtyard; and he caused his temple place to be built.

The run of the narrative presents these actions as ones that were carried out by Peteese on his own initiative. The king is mentioned at the beginning of the episode, where he gives Peteese the brief of inspecting Ptores, and Peteese duly reports to the Shipmaster of Heracleopolis, but there is no mention whatsoever of detailed instructions about renovation in any temple. The prime concern of the Shipmaster was the removal of anomalies in the taxation of Teuzoi which had arisen in the troubled times before the establishment of the XXVIth Dynasty. Presumably the resources for Peteese's activities were drawn from the tax rebate which the Shipmaster ordered to be paid, but there is no explicit statement to this effect.

Our examples have revealed a surprising range of possibilities for royal involvement in planning and executing building projects. In the first instance, the king is intimately involved in the project, shows all the initiative, and gets involved in all the decision-making down to minute details, and no doubt there were many cases throughout Egyptian history where this was the case. In our second example the initiative is not presented as coming from the king but from a divine being who has to prod him into action, and, when he does act, he does this through an agent rather than taking things vigorously in hand himself. The Peftuaneith stele again presents the king as anything but the prime mover. His attention is drawn to the problems at Abydos by

Peftuaneith, and, apparently with periodic royal support, it is he who carries the project through, and with a considerable degree of personal initiative. Our last text presents the building work at a temple as entirely the result of personal initiative, as are all the ancillary activities which the papyrus describes. The one thing which all of these activities would have in common is that, however great or small the royal involvement may have been, if there were any inscriptions set up to commemorate his activities, they would all without exception have attributed the work to the king who was reigning, or thought to be reigning, at the time.

What are the implications of this argument for our temple at Hibis? I concede that it contains texts that speak of Darius renewing the temple, e.g.:

> The king, Darius, he has made as his monument for his father Amun-Re [lord of Hibis, great god, powerful of strength, making for] him a temple in beautiful, white stone of Meskat, its name being 'Enduring are the effective powers of Mesutre'. It is Seshat who constructed its walls, formed as beneficent works of eternity. It is Resyninebef who decorated its scenes. There is not another sovereign like Pharaoh, king of Egypt, lord of the two lands, Darius, [great ruler of all the rulers,] and of all foreign lands.[30]

Certainly, the claim of Darius' authorship here is clear and unequivocal, but I repeat that such claims are very much a traditional feature of Egyptian temple epigraphy, and in this case the straightforward historicity of the claim is not strengthened by parallel statements that the gods Seshat and Ptah were responsible for construction and decoration of the temple. How, then, do we interpret the presence of Darius' cartouches at Hibis? Clearly, we cannot assume simply from the presence of these texts that Darius I had any personal involvement in the work. Indeed, when we remember that in our discussion of the Suez texts we found Darius making his decisions from a palace in Persia, it seems in the highest degree improbable, despite the relative efficiency of communications in the Persian Empire,[31] that he even knew anything of what was needed or going on in a minor temple out in the western desert. It is by no means out of the question that the building work in the Persian Period was the result entirely of local initiative and funded from local resources. It is, of course, possible that the priests sought and gained the *imprimatur* of the satrap at Memphis, but that would probably have been the outer limit of Persian governmental involvement. The cartouches of Darius are likely to have been no more than a date stamp, and, to judge from the apparent haste with which they were painted on to the monument, they were added very much as an urgent afterthought.[32]

Conclusion

It is time to summarize. There is no doubt that the image of Darius' inter-action with his Egyptian satrapy is more flattering than that of any other Persian ruler of the country, but we should beware of seeing this as an expres-sion of benign concern on the part of the King. Our analysis has shown the Egyptians doing what they had to do in order to customize Darius for Egyptian consumption: to them Pharaoh was the state – there was no other formulation available – and Darius, as the state, was cast into that mould in classic Late Period terms, despite the explicit concession that he was an absentee landlord based in Persia who had imperial responsibilities which covered a large part of the known world. The hieroglyphic Suez text, in its reference to the transport of tribute out of Egypt, may well be reflecting resentment at the siphoning off of Egypt's wealth to a foreign site – and it is well worth remembering that the purpose of the canal is not stated to be fiscal in the cuneiform version, so the Egyptian observation is not echoing a Persian prototype. Nevertheless, even if this resentment is genuinely there, the overall stance of the hieroglyphic texts was, and had to be, that Darius was Pharaoh in the fullest sense. When we turn to the cuneiform record, we are in a different world; we are confronted with a context and iconography which are overwhelmingly part of classic Achaemenid royal discourse and which convey a strong sense that the military might of the Great King had prevailed over Egypt and that Egypt was firmly under his control. Whatever the Egyptians might do or say under the pressure of their own ideological imperatives, as far as the Persians were concerned, the construction of the canal in all its aspects was the Great King being Great King.

As for the Hibis material, our analysis has effectively removed this temple from the list of Darius' achievements in Egypt. We must not, of course, forget that there is evidence of services to Egyptian cults in the reign of Darius. The Apis cult and the temple at Edfu are both beneficiaries, and we can see good reasons why this should be so: both cults were popular, and that at Edfu had a particular relationship with kingship. Therefore, beneficence to such cults could not fail to raise Darius' stock amongst the elite of the kingdom, and we can be confident that it was intended to do just that. However, whilst work at Hibis would be theoretically perfectly compatible with such an agenda, our discussion has demonstrated that there is no good reason to accept the time-honoured view that Darius was actively involved on this site. Overall, we must read Darius in Egypt as we read Darius everywhere else, i.e. as a hard, arrogant, calculating, and ruthlessly efficient organizer with a keen percep-tion of how to preserve his personal property, that personal property which we are accustomed to designate by the term 'Persian Empire'.

Notes

1 7.11.7.

2 Spiegelberg 1914, 30 ff.

3 e.g. Olmstead 1948, 141 ff.; Cook 1983, 60, 72; Ray 1988, 262–4; Briant 2002, 472–84.

4 The Serapeum stele. Fragments were deposited in the Louvre Museum in 1886, but all trace of them has been lost: see Roaf 1974, 79.

5 The standard discussion is that of Posener 1936, 48–87. See also Ménant 1887, 143–55; Roaf 1974, 79–82; Tuplin 1991.

6 Posener 1936, 50–63.

7 Also called the Chalouf/Shallûfa stele.

8 For the Persian text (DZc) see Kent 1953, 146–7. The Babylonian and Elamite version are discussed in Scheil 1930.

9 Exactly the same motif occurs on the front and back of the base of the famous colossal statue of Darius discovered at Susa in 1972 (Roaf 1974, 74). This extraordinary monument was made in Egypt from greywacke extracted from the quarries in the Wadi Hammamat and subsequently almost certainly set up in Heliopolis (Razmjou 2002, 84).

10 cf. Young 1988, 89.

11 For a detailed discussion of this motif see Roaf 1974.

12 This common literary motif presents the king in association with his advisors discussing the solution to a particular problem. The advisors are portrayed as being quite unable to find a solution, and it is left to the king to provide it. This he does to ecstatic applause from all around him. For a detailed discussion of this motif see Hermann 1938.

13 Lichtheim 1976, 52–4.

14 Kitchen 1996, 188–93.

15 On this issue see Lloyd 1975–88, III, 11.

16 A.R. Meadows (in Curtis and Tallis 2005, 183) aptly describes the exploitative ethos of Achaemenid administration thus: 'The backbone...of Achaemenid administration is easily laid bare. The king at the centre controlled a network of governors dedicated to the transfer of wealth from the peoples of the empire to their great king'.

17 For details see references in n. 5 above.

18 cf. Curtis and Tallis 2005, 76. In this example of the motif the circle in the centre encloses an image of Ahuramazda, as often, but this embellishment is by no means obligatory.

19 See above n. 9.

20 P. Briant in Curtis and Tallis 2005, 14.

21 Breasted 1906–7, I, 290–2.

22 For the site in particular and the Khargheh Oasis in general see Porter and Moss 1927–, 277–80; Winlock et al. 1941; Helck and Otto, 1972–, II, 1181–2; Wilkinson 2000, 235–8.

23 For details of this excellent body of work see Cruz-Uribe 1986, 1987, 1988.

24 Cruz-Uribe 1987, 225.

25 Kitchen 1996, 162–74.

26 Kitchen 1996, 170.

27 For the Greek version (text in P. Leiden I 396) see Barns 1956, 29–36; Reardon

1989, 655, n. 1, 677, n. 38. A discussion of the Demotic version (P. Carlsberg 562) will be found in Ryholt 1998 and 2002. There can be little doubt that the Greek version is essentially a translation of the Demotic text (see Tait 1994, 214).

[28] For a full translation see Lichtheim 1980, 34–5.

[29] For this uniquely fascinating text see Griffith 1909.

[30] North Reveal of Gateway to Hypostyle B: Cruz-Uribe 1988, 114, cf. 155, 167.

[31] Curtis and Tallis 2005, 186; Young 1988, 90–1.

[32] We should almost certainly interpret the presence of Darius' cartouche not far away at Qasr el-Ghuieta in a similar light (for this discovery see Cruz-Uribe 2001). Since the Oases formed part of the Saite kingdom, they were incorporated as a matter of course into Persian Egypt and would have been particularly welcome to the Achaemenid exploitative economy because of the access which they gave to the valuable transit trade from, amongst other places, Central Africa.

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6

INDIGENOUS ARISTOCRACIES IN HELLESPONTINE PHRYGIA

Frédéric Maffre

Introduction

Achaemenid power in the satrapy of Hellespontine Phrygia made regular use of Greeks from many different geographical backgrounds. These aristocratic adventurers undertook a variety of functions and seem, in fact, to be omnipresent and essential for the efficient operation of regional Persian administration. At least, this is the way they are presented by Greek sources.

My aim in this paper is to show that such a picture is neither objective nor completely typical of the integration of the local elites in the system of Achaemenid rule between the middle of the sixth century BC and Alexander's conquest of western Anatolia in 334 BC.

A new reading of the Greek texts and a comparison with archaeological evidence and with the iconography of funerary monuments from the area show, on the contrary, that the regional Persian authorities were willing to receive and to employ at the court of Dascylium representatives of all of the ethnic groups under their rule. The argument is based on the data assembled in five tables which are grouped together in an Appendix at the end of the main text.

1. Greek sources
1.1 *Data*

The bulk of the data about relations between Achaemenid power and local societies living in the satrapy of Hellespontine Phrygia (which lay south of the Sea of Marmara: see MAP 1) comes from Greek literary sources. The information tabulated in this paper is derived from a prosopographical study of all individuals and groups of people who worked in the political, administrative or military sector, whatever their origin or ethnic group – Persian, 'oriental', Greek, Phrygian, Bithynian, Paphlagonian, Mysian etc.

According to the Greek sources, there are:
(a) 70 people from Iran or belonging to the oriental sphere.
(b) 41 Greeks (entries without asterisk in TABLE 1): in this group we can

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distinguish 29 Greeks from the cities of Western Asia Minor and 12 from Europe or the islands.

(c) Seven Anatolians (entries with one asterisk in TABLE 1): the lieutenants of the Phrygian king Gabaedus (no. 2) who kept their aristocratic prerogatives after the conquest of their country by the Achaemenids, two kings of Paphlagonia, Corylas and Otys (nos. 37–8), Bithynian troops and the Mysians used by the satrap Pharnabazus (nos. 39–40), Paphlagonians working for the satrap Arsites (no. 58), and Phrygians who fought at the battle of Gaugamela (no. 59). All of these troops had commanders who were incorporated into the Persian military system and who had more or less important responsibilities.

1.2 *Analysis*

The most important groups are the Iranians and the Greeks.[1] The prominence of the first group arises from the fact that Greek writers were interested in reporting the actions of the Great King's regional representatives and their relatives and of Achaemenid high officers who were merely passing through the satrapy of Hellespontine Phrygia. Members of this last group confronted Greek troops – especially Athenians, Spartans and their allies from Asia Minor – and negotiated with Greek representatives. Several other references point to the presence of Persians without allowing us to know their names or their precise roles.

The importance of literary evidence for our knowledge of Iranian elements within the society of the Achaemenid province is evident from a statistical observation: it supplies us with 70 anthroponyms, whereas only some 29 persons are identified thanks to funerary monuments, bullae and a wood painting.[2] Pharnabazus, Artabazus and Orontes appear both in the accounts of Greek writers and in epigraphical texts, and Pharnabazus and Orontes also issued coins bearing their names.

The Achaemenid administration employed people belonging to the Iranooriental sphere but did not do so exclusively. Greek supporters from Europe and Asia offered their services, and literary sources testify to the fact. It is possible to fill out this picture of the internal running of the administration by compiling a corpus of the individuals involved as well as a list of their functions.

The most important ethnic group is that of the Greeks. It is composed of:

(a) Men from Greek cities in Asia Minor, most of them belonging to the elite.[3]

(b) Exiles who wished to continue their career, at no matter what cost. Such men sought a role in the Achaemenid system of occupation and supervision

as intermediaries between the conquerors and the Greek native population. Themistocles, Pausanias or Demaratus clearly wanted to show their willingness to adopt a pro-Persian stance; and we note that the Great King encouraged them to do so.

(c) Greeks from Europe who represented their cities and co-operated with Persians because of an alliance (TABLE 2). In some cases individuals worked for the satraps without any official authorization. Timotheus and Chares[4] were in this situation. Lysander's unauthorized attacks on Pharnabazus' property occurred at a time of good relations between Persia and Sparta when he was supposed to be co-operating with the satrap. Such Greeks, though allies of the Dascylium government, had links with it that were limited in time and based solely on the defence of identical interests. When that situation passed, every one of them regained his independence.

Turning next to TABLE 3, we see that men from Asia are the most important group, and we get the impression that the natives of Greek cities in the satrapy of Hellespontine Phrygia had a privileged place in the Achaemenid system.

The reasons for these people being at the court of the satrap or otherwise in contact with him were many. Calligeitus of Megara, Timagoras of Cyzicus, Nicophemus, Conon (all of whom visited Dascylium regularly) and the one thousand Milesians were exiles. Conon, in addition to being an exile, was a competent military ally who got in touch with Pharnabazus from a base in Cyprus. All of these men collaborated with the Dascylium authorities because they made large profits by doing so. Demosthenes describes the case of Mentor and Memnon of Rhodes thus:

> Memnon and Mentor, the sons-in-law of Artabazus, were young men, enjoying unexpected good fortune through their relationship to Artabazus. What they wanted was to govern the country peaceably without delay, and to win distinction without warfare and peril.[5]

Apollophanes of Cyzicus was a *xenos* of Pharnabazus, and thus close to his family, as Nicogenes would have been too under Xerxes' reign with a satrap whose name is unknown. We know nothing about the reasons that caused Arthmius of Zeleia, Timocrates of Rhodes and Agavus to frequent Dascylium. We can, nevertheless, imagine that for most of them presence at the court of the satrap brought prestige and wealth.

Study of Greek texts gives some information about functions of these men as well. Greeks were employed when it was necessary to be in diplomatic contact with the Greek world (Asiatic or European). This is important because it demonstrates that relations with subject indigenous societies were maintained not (or not only) by the Persians themselves but by representatives of the relevant local Anatolian society. Comments by

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Thucydides and Plutarch[6] on the role of Themistocles ('...because of the reputation he already enjoyed and the hope which he kept suggesting to him that he would make all Hellas subject to him'; 'now as he was going down to the sea on his commission to deal with hellenic affairs...') unconsciously disclose a feature of Persian policy: the use of ethnic elites to manage the affairs of each ethnic group.

The sources also indicate that Greeks played an essential role in the surveillance and management of conquered areas. Analysis of their responsibilities reveals several features:

• supervision of territory in the Achaemenid zone but containing Greek cities
• military responsibilities in the satrapal army
• exercise of multiple concurrent functions.

The married couple Zenis and Mania (was she of Greek, Lydo-Phrygian or Phrygian origin, as the anthroponym might suggest?[7]), Philiscus, Eubulus and perhaps Hermias enjoyed more important responsibilities than those of the individuals mentioned earlier. Mentor and Memnon of Rhodes were, of course, more than ordinary Greek subordinates because they belonged to the Pharnacid family as a result of the marriage of one of their sisters to the satrap.

The literary evidence also suggests that native aristocrats were not numerous and were distant from the inner circle of power. TABLE 1 reveals only seven such individuals or ethnic groups (those marked with one asterisk) working for the satrap and the Achaemenid regional authorities.

The first reference, from Xenophon's *Cyropaedia*,[8] relates to the conquest of Hellespontine Phrygia by a Persian army in *c.* 540, and reports that the lieutenants of the Phrygian king decided to side with the Persians and integrate their forces with those of the Achaemenid conqueror in order to preserve their aristocratic prerogatives. We do not know, however, at which level of the administrative hierarchy they were themselves employed. Those who offered resistance to the Achaemenid progress were deprived of their rights, losing their horses and exchanging their weapons for slings.

A little more information about the involvement of Anatolian ethnic groups (and more precisely aristocracies) in the political and military life of the satrapy can be gleaned from events at the end of the fifth and beginning of the fourth century. Two Paphlagonian 'kings' subject to the Great King are mentioned in literary sources. The first, Corylas, is once actually described as governor (*arkhōn*) of Paphlagonia,[9] even if what is said about him elsewhere in Xenophon's text does not picture him as a provincial official but as a (recalcitrant) local dynast. Greek sources were not interested in throwing light on the actions of native kings but in drawing attention

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to their insubordination in order to underline the weakness of the Great King and the fragility of his empire. The second man, Otys, according to Xenophon, refused to obey an order from the Great King, then rebelled against Artaxerxes II in *c.* 395.

The local troops of these two rulers were supposed to protect the region, to intervene against any hostile force (for instance the remnants of the Ten Thousand or Agesilaus' expeditionary army), and to obey Persian orders in the army of the Great King when he decided to make war. The nature of the relationship of dependence and its place within the Persian system were thus ignored by Greek writers. For them the presence of indigenous troops in Achaemenid ranks simply indicated (or was taken as indicating) a balance of power between winners and losers. Nevertheless, literary and archaeological information reveals that, in the third quarter of the fourth century BC, Paphlagonians worked for the satrap of Hellespontine Phrygia. Whatever we make of the Perso-Anatolian block from Afirözü and other monuments from Paphlagonia,[10] we might assume that some parts of the region were supervised by the Achaemenid authorities, with the Paphlagonian kings playing only a subordinate role.

Finally, there are four references to the use of indigenous troops by the regional Persian authorities. Bithynian and Mysian contingents (nos. 39–40), no doubt commanded by native chiefs, served Pharnabazus; Paphlago-nians (no. 58) supplied Arsites with men at the battle of Granicus in 334 BC, and we know that Phrygians (no. 59) also participated in the battle of Gaugamela in 331 BC – though it is not clear that they were from the satrapy of Hellespontine Phrygia rather than that of Great Phrygia.

Information about the use of Anatolian aristocrats is thus rare. Only two pieces of evidence (from the beginning of the Achaemenid occupation and, in the case of Mania, from the beginning of the fourth century) mention a special relationship between the Persian authority and persophile Phrygian nobles. Thereafter we have real difficulties in imagining an integration of the Phrygian, Mysian, Bithynian and other elites in the system of occupation of the territories of the Great King.

2. Anatolian elites under Achaemenid domination seen through the funerary monuments

2.1 *Perso-Anatolian funerary monuments*

For more than a century, archaeologists have been discovering stelae and graves that display Perso-Anatolian iconography. Perso-Anatolian art is characterized by the presence of a number of Achaemenid themes (hunting, fighting, banquets, processions, scenes of daily life) or details (weapons, clothes and horse postures).[11] The style of the relief-carving is quite different

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from that of the iconography of imperial palaces in Iran: an Anatolian touch left its mark on the monuments from western Asia Minor, and it is certain that these fine works were created by craftsmen and artists from Asia (Greek, Phrygian, Mysian and so on). Kaptan has stressed, in this connection, that Perso-Anatolian art 'reflects the sophisticated cultural and artistic involvement between the Persians and the natives of the western sphere of the empire'.[12] Many of the bullae from Dascylium that she has studied display it perfectly.

Ten stelae, graves or rock-front tombs of this stylistic type (TABLE 4, A–J) and two further tombs, recently discovered in the Granicus valley which do not belong to Perso-Anatolian art (TABLE 4, K and L), show the integration of local aristocracies into the system of Persian occupation in the satrapy of Hellespontine Phrygia. By way of contrast and comparison, TABLE 5 lists Perso-Anatolian monuments from the area that may be linked with oriental aristocrats.[13] Two of them carry an Aramaic inscription, ensuring their Achaemenid date and oriental association.

2.2 *Attribution to the local elite and its integration in regional occupation*
The first three stelae in TABLE 4 have a Phrygian inscription[14] as well as Perso-Anatolian iconography.

Manes stele (A). This shows a banquet, several persons, and some utensils identical to those of the Sultaniyeköy stele (TABLE 5, O). There may have been other registers on the stele showing hunting and a procession.

Vezirhan stele (B). The subject matter includes a banquet and hunting, but a non-Persian subject is also present, perhaps to be identified as a representation of the Phrygian Great-Mother with two birds and two lions. So, if there is identification with the Achaemenid way of life elsewhere in the monument, Phrygian culture is represented by this goddess, as well as by the use of the Phrygian language. But there is also a secondary Greek inscription in the name of Callias, son of Abictus, which Neumann dates to the late fifth century or the beginning of the fourth century, and Brixhe to some time before the middle of the fourth century.[15] 'Abictus' may be a Phrygian name, whereas Callias is, of course, Greek. Callias could, therefore, be a hellenized Phrygian working for the Persians, and since 'Kaliya' – which could be the Phrygian equivalent of Callias – already appears in the Phrygian text, it looks as though Callias/Kaliya initially opted to use his mother tongue on the monument and then later decided to advertise his Greek credentials. Clearly, however, this remains speculative.

Afşarievvel stele (C). Here we see a rider going to the left. It is difficult to say whether there is another register, and the damaged state of the stone makes it hard to analyse the iconography.

The inscriptions on these three monuments could be either funerary or votive. That on the third is illegible. Brixhe and Lejeune[16] note that the poor quality of the stone 'décourage tout essai de translitération. Son assignation au paléo-phrygien est, dans ces conditions, possible, sans plus.'

There are several indications of a link between the owners of these monuments and Achaemenid power.

1. The association of Perso-Anatolian iconography[17] and Phrygian text could mean that the Phrygians were not only important persons in Phrygian society but had also adopted the customs of the conquerors. It remains uncertain whether they were active members of the Achaemenid administration.

2. Adoption of the Achaemenid way of life did not automatically transform such men into actors on the Persian political stage. But several paragraphs of Xenophon's *Cyropaedia*[18] and Herodotus' *Histories*[19] indicate that, during the conquest of territories in western Asia Minor, some Persian officers sought to appeal to the goodwill of local elites. The stelae and the literary evidence complement each other here.

3. The Manes stele was found two kilometres from Hisartepe, the site of the Achaemenid regional capital. It is no coincidence that its find-spot, like that of many other stelae, is near Dascylium. Manes evidently hoped to claim membership simultaneously of the highest class of Phrygian society and of the circle of subordinates of the satrap. Manes was buried near the Achaemenid capital in the same way as Addâ (Sultaniyeköy stele: TABLE 5, O) and Elnaf (TABLE 5, M), both of whom were of Semitic origin and had graves marked by a large stele bearing several registers with identical iconographical themes and inscriptions giving no information about their responsibilities or position in the Achaemenid military hierarchy. Whatever their origins, these people accepted identical funerary customs (high stele, several registers, identical themes and so on).

4. The votive stele from Vezirhan in Paphlagonia seems to indicate that its Phrygian owner accepted the Achaemenid way of life and played a role in the management of the satrapy's Bithynian territory. The distance of the find-spot from the decision-making centre in Dascylium may explain the presence of some indigenous themes in the iconography. Even his hellenization did not change the owner's relationship with the Persians.

The uninscribed monuments are more difficult to interpret since the identity of the owners cannot readily be determined.

The monuments in question (TABLE 4, D–L) have many elements of Achaemenid inspiration. The most impressive item is the sarcophagus from Çan in the Troad (D), where the clothing and the subject-matter are unambiguous: hunting and a victorious struggle against a Greek or autochthonous enemy. The origin of the deceased is doubtful, but his face

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and the absence of a tiara in the hunting scene encourage us to see him as
a native or a Greek.[20] If this is right, the quality of the monument tells us
something about the wealth and the importance of the tomb-owner in his
society and his acculturation to the ruling model.

The discovery of a block (I) engraved with a Perso-Anatolian banquet in
Paphlagonia is striking, since it contradicts the impression given by Greek
sources that the area remained independent of the Great King. The style of
the carving does not permit us to infer anything certain about the origin of
the deceased. He could be a local aristocrat working for the Persians rather
than a Persian or other easterner.

The Tosya stele (E), also from Paphlagonia, is the most surprising
monument in the catalogue because of the number of the registers (five),
the subject-matter, and the fact that it does not confine itself to traditional
Perso-Anatolian imagery. The man with a flower in his hand recalls images
of women on gems and on bullae from Dascylium,[21] but this sort of scene
from daily life is unique on a monument of the present sort. The same applies
to the child playing with a goose. According to Durugönül, the stele was
commissioned by the winner of the combat in the second register, a noble
and possibly a member of the ruling indigenous dynasty.

There are two further Paphlagonian items in the shape of the tomb façades
of Kalekapi. The bestiary on the façade at Yilantaš (F) seems to display the
influence of Achaemenid iconography, and more precisely that of the Iranian
royal palaces. If we follow the view of von Gall,[22] the lion-relief is inspired
by Achaemenid imagery, as is that of the griffin, but the tomb-owner was
a Phrygian prince who would have known the form of that mythical animal
through the gift of a Persian griffin cup. Other possible sources of knowledge
are clay seals on official documents or a visit to Achaemenid official buildings.
At the same time the style and the presence of the eagle or the bull with
unicorn's head takes us away from eastern influences and closer to Paphlago-
nian culture. One of the blocks of the façade of Büyük Arslantaš (G) lying
on the ground in front of the tomb bears the image of a lion. It is about five
metres long and looks like those carved in relief on Iranian palaces. Here
too the tomb-owner will have been an indigenous noble, whose taste was
influenced by Achaemenid art.

The Bergama museum stele (J) has two registers showing figures on
horseback. It is not certain that this monument is directly relevant in the
present context, but hunting is a very common theme in Perso-Anatolian
iconography. The deceased may have played a role in regional administra-
tion under the reign of Darius I since Aeolis, and the area of Pergamum in
particular, was sometimes under control of the authorities of Dascylium.

Finally, the two sarcophagi from the Troad (K and L) were probably

connected with the satrapal court at Dascylium: the Polyxena sarcophaghus is a purely Greek object, but a deer-form ivory handle and some table legs in the Dedetepe tumulus exhibit Persian influences. According to Rose,[23] these tombs 'were undoubtedly associated with the court of the Persian satrap of Hellespontine Phrygia at Daskyleion', and the sarcophagi seem to show Graeco-Persian interaction during the classical period in Troad.

3. Conclusions

The Achaemenids seized the opportunity to keep elite members of subject societies on their side. At the same time as they forged links with Greek communities, and especially with their aristocracy, the authorities of Dascylium took other elites into account as well. The most notable example is that of Phrygia. Its integration into the structures of Achaemenid occupation began with the conquest of Hellespontine Phrygia, when several Phrygian aristocrats sided with Persia. The local domination of such aristocrats was then recognized and encouraged by the regional Persian administration.[24]

The situation remained the same during the occupation, even if Greek literary sources do not talk much about it. The Manes stele underlines the relationship (as perhaps also do Phrygian graffiti on pottery from Dascylium), revealing a story of successful integration. Even if we are unable to understand the Phrygian text, the iconography and the find-spot indicate that Manes belongs to the Phrygian elite and, therefore, exercised some responsibility under the satrap. It is not a simple phenomenon of copying: Manes belonged to the collaborationist ruling class.

The association of Phrygian text and Perso-Anatolian iconography invites a reading of the monument on two overlapping levels. The first addresses the ethnic community of the owner and its codes, and says in effect 'I belong to the highest class of my society.' The second is a message for the Achaemenids: 'I work for you and I recognize the benefit of your presence.' Native and foreign cultural markers produce a homogeneous situation in which the different aristocracies became similar even if the power was not divided equitably between them.[25]

The discovery at Heraclea of Bithynia of a statue-head with *tiara* (H) that may portray a local dynast or aristocrat (maybe even a Persian) shows that the system worked out with the Phrygians did not preclude close links between the Achaemenids and Bithynian aristocrats. The persistence of connections between the city and Persian imperial power is indeed very striking.[26] Just after the Persian defeats at Plataea and Mycale, Heraclea refused to join the Delian league.[27] In the fourth century (around 364) a Persian, Mithridates, an early dynast of the Pontic house in Mariandynia (?),[28] was a threat to the autonomy of the city. The Heraclean tyrant Clearchus, once a mercenary in

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the service of Mithridates, maintained good relations with Persia by sending regular embassies to Susa.[29] Later, the Persian princess Amestris, who was the wife of Dionysius of Heraclea, deeply influenced the destiny of the city. A new piece of evidence emerged recently in the shape of an inscription from Sinope. This carries the text of an alliance between that city and the tyrant family of Heraclea Pontica in which the Great King is mentioned.[30] It is an additional reason to think that close links were possible between a Greek city (especially its Greek elite) and the Persians.

Finally, our investigation produces a slightly different image of the relationship between the aristocracies that came together in the satrapy, and reveals the political cosmopolitanism of the court of Dascylium. It is not surprising that the Greeks were well represented,[31] even if indigenous aristocracies – Phrygian, Mysian, Paphlagonian or Bithynian – held important roles. Nevertheless one must keep a sense of proportion. Walser has observed that, although the royal court itself included Greeks – doctors, architects, stone-cutters and so forth – they had no influence on royal decisions and their function was, above all, to be servants.[32] Exactly the same applies to the various ethnic groups associated with regional Persian government.

APPENDIX

TABLE 1. Integration of local elites of Hellespontine Phrygia in Achaemenid administration.

No[33]	Name	Role	References[34]
1	Greeks of the Hellespont	Alliance (?) with Hystaspas and Cyrus the Great.	Xen. *Cyr.* 7.4.9
2*	Lieutenants of the Phrygian king Gabaedus	Alliance with Hystaspas and Cyrus the Great.	Xen. *Cyr.* 7.4.10–11
3	Hegesistratus, son of Peisistratus	Tyrant of Sigeion, working for Darius and Xerxes (?).	Hdt. 5.94
4	Pytharchus of Cyzicus	Cyrus the Great's donation of seven cities. Attempt at tyranny.	Athen. 1.54
5	Daphnis of Abydos	Tyrant under the reign of Darius I.	Hdt. 4.138
6	Hippoclus of Lampsacus	Tyrant[35] under the reign of Darius I.	Hdt. 4.138; Thuc. 6.59.3
7	Aeantides of Lampsacus	Tyrant under the reign of Darius I. Son of Hippoclus.	Thuc. 6.59.3
8	Herophantus of Parion	Tyrant under the reign of Darius I.	Hdt. 4.138
9	Metrodorus of Proconnesus	Tyrant under the reign of Darius I.	Hdt. 4.138

10	Aristagoras of Cyzicus	Tyrant under the reign of Darius I.	Hdt. 4.138
11	Ariston of Byzantium	Tyrant under the reign of Darius I.	Hdt. 4.138
12	Miltiades the Athenian of Chersonesus	Tyrant under the reign of Darius I.	Hdt. 4.138
13	Coës, son of Erxander and leader of Mytile- naeans	As a reward, appointed tyrant by Darius I.	Hdt. 4.97; 5.11; 37
14**	Unknown man from the Aeolid	Role in the regional administration under the reign of Darius I ?	Radt 1983, 53–68. Table 4, J.
15**	Unknown man from Heracleia	Dynast, tyrant, aristocrat, satrap? (head of statue)	Akurgal 1986, 9–14; Summerer 2005. Table 4, H
16**	Unknown man from Paphlagonia	Noble working for the Persians or Persian noble ?	Donceel-Voûte 1984, 104–110. Table 4, I
17**	Unknown man from the Troad[36]	Noble working for the Persians ?	Sevinç 1996; Sevinç et al. 2001, 384; Rose 2007. Table 4, J
18**	Unknown man from Paphlagonia	Noble working for the Persians ?	Durugönül 1994, 1–14. Table 4, E
19	Cyzicenes	Faction? Treaty with Oebares.	Hdt. 6. 33
20	Themistocles	Donations of income from several cities (including Lampsacus, Percote and Old Scepsis), lands and troops under the reign of Xerxes I and Artax- erxes I.	Thuc. 1.138.5; Athen. 29F; Themist. 20.39; Aristodem. *FGrHist* 104, fr. 10.5 and Schol. Ar. *Eq.* 84
21	Nicogenes	Links with influential persons in the imperial heartland under Xerxes I.	Plut. *Them.* 26.1
22**	Manes of Phrygia	Role in the regional administration under the reign of Darius I / Xerxes I ?	Gusmani and Polat 1999, 137–151. Table 4, A
23**	Unknown man from Phrygia	Role in the regional administration under the reign of Darius I ?	Exhibition Catalogue 1983, B 146. Table 4, B
24**	Unknown man from Phrygia	Role in the regional administration?	Brixhe and Lejeune 1984, 68–69, B-02. Table 4, C
25	Pausanias?	Donation of income from Colonai by Xerxes I ?	Thuc.1.131.1; *Epist. Themist.* 16.6
26	Demaratus	Dynast. Donation of income from 3 cities under the reigns of Darius I and Xerxes I.	Hdt. 6.70; Xen. *Hell.* 3.1.6; Athen. 1.30a
27	Gongylus	Dynast. Donation of income from 4 cities under the reigns of Darius I and Xerxes I.	Xen. *Hell.*3.1.6

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TABLE 1 (Cont.)

28**	Unknown man from Paphlagonia or Phrygia?	Noble working for Persians ?	Gall 1999, 150. Table 4, F
29**	Unknown man from Paphlagonia or Phrygia?	Noble working for Persians?	Gall 1999, 154. Table 4, G
30**	Unknown man from Troad[37]	Noble working for the Persians ?	Sevinç et al. 2001, 384; Rose 2007. Table 4, K
31	Arthmius of Zeleia	Agent of a satrap to Athens.	Dem. 9.3.41–44; 15.271–2; Aeschin. 3.258–259; Din. 2.24–25; Harpoc. *s.vv. Arthmios, atimos*
32	Delians	Received in Atramyttium by Pharnaces.	Thuc. 5.1.1
33	Calligeitus of Megara, son of Laophon	Resorts to the court of Pharnabazus. Agent of a satrap sent to Sparta.	Thuc. 8.6.1
34	Timagoras of Cyzicus, son of Athenagoras, (and/or agents of the city)	Resorts to the court of Pharnabazus. Agent of a satrap sent to Sparta. In Plutarch's version, the Cyzicenes are supported by Pharnabazus.	Thuc. 8.6.1; Plut. *Alc.* 24.1
35	One thousand citizens of Miletus	Received in Blaudà by Pharnabazus[38]. Allies of Persians.	Diod. 13.104.5–6
36	Alcibiades[39]	Donation of an income of fifty talents from Gryneum by Pharnabazus.	Nep. *Alc.* 9.3
37*	Corylas	King of Paphlagonia, ally to Artaxerxes II, *arkhōn* of the area for Pharnabazus.	Xen. *An.* 5.5.12, 22; 5.6.11; 6.1.1–14; 7.8.25
38*	Otys[40]	King of Paphlagonia, ally. Rebel against Artaxerxes II *c.* 395.	X. *Hell.* 4.1.3–28; *Ages.* 3.4; *Hell.Ox.* 21. 6 – 22. 1–3; Plut. *Ages.* 11; Athen. 144f; 415d; Nep. *Dat.* 2.4
39*	Bithynians	Pharnabazus' allies. Supply troops, therefore leaders.	Xen. *An.* 6.4.24, 5.7, 26–31
40*	Mysians	Pharnabazus' *prophylakē.* Supply troops, therefore leaders.	Xen. *Hell.* 4.1.24
41	Zenis of Dardanus	Governor of a part of Troad on behalf of Pharnabazus. Dynast.	Xen. *Hell.* 3.1.10–15
42	Mania of Dardanus	Governor of a part of Troad on behalf of Pharnabazus. Dynast / tyrant. Zenis' wife.	Xen. *Hell.* 3.1.10–15
43	Midias	Offers to control Mania's area. Tyrant. Pharnabazus does not agree.	Xen. *Hell.* 3.1.14–28; Polyaen. 2.6

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44	Conon	Vice-admiral of the royal fleet. Under the command of Pharnabazus.	Xen. *Hell.* 2.1.29; 4.3.10–14, 8.1–8, 13–15; *Hell. Ox.* 19. 1–2; Diod. 13.106; 14.39.1
45	Nicophemus of Athens	Pharnabazus puts him in charge of a garrison on the island of Cythera.	Xen. *Hell.* 4.8.8
46	Apollophanes of Cyzicus	Pharnabazus' host. He organizes a meeting with the satrap and Agesilaos.	Xen. *Hell..* 4.1.29; Plut. *Ages.* 12.1
47	Timocrates of Rhodes	Pharnabazus' representative. Carries a sum of money in Europe.	Xen. *Hell.* 3. 5. 1–2; *Hell. Ox.* 7. 2
48**	Unknown man[41] (Çingene Tepe, Troad)	Role in the regional administration under Pharnabazus?	Körpe et al. 2001, 181–192; Sevinç et al. 2001, 383–420. Table 4, D
49	Philiscus of Abydos	Ariobarzanes' *hyparch*. Tyrant.	Xen. *Hell.* 7.1.27; Dem. 23.141; Diod. 15.70.2; Burnett and Edmonson 1961, 79–80
50	Agavus	Ariobarzanes' subordinate (?) and Philiscus' friend.	Dem. 23.202
51	Astyanax of Miletus	Athlete invited by Ariobarzanes to his table.	Athen. 413b
52	Eubulus of Bithynia	Tyrant. Ariobarzanes' *hyparch* (?) of the districts of Assos and Atarneus.' Later Artabazus' *hyparch* (?).	Str.13.1.57; Theopomp. *FGrHist* 115. fr. 291; Arist. *Pol.* 2.7.17
53	Hermias of Bithynia	Tyrant. Artabazus' hyparch (?) of the district of Atarneus. Later Orontes' hyparch (?).	Diod. 16.50.7, 52.5–7; Str. 13.1.57; D.L. 5.3, 27; Suda *s.v.* Hermias; Did. *in Dem.* col. 4.59 - col. 5.21, 5.66 – 6.18; Str. 13.1.67
54	Mentor of Rhodes	Noble working for Artabazus; later for Arsites (?). Responsible for the army.	Dem.23.154–159; Diod. 16.52.1–7; Str. 13.1.57
55	Administrators (τοὺς ἐπιμελητάς)	Appointed by Hermias and kept by Mentor for a time.	Arist. *Oec.* 2.2.28
56	Memnon of Rhodes	Military leader under Artabazus and, later, Arsites.	Dem. 23.154–159; Diod. 17.7.3, 18.2, 19.4; Polyaen. 5.44.5; Arr. *An.* 1.12.8–10
57	Clearchus of Heracleia	Ariobarzanes' subordinate (?) (*praefectum*) and/or Artabazus'?	Just. 16.4.1–10; Memn. *FGrH* 434. F1. 4

TABLE 1. (Cont.)

58*	Paphlagonians	Arsites' allies. Supply cavalry, and therefore leaders.	Diod. 17.19.4
59*	Phrygians	Troops (cavalry?) at Gaugamela.	Curt. 4.12.11
60	Chares of Mytilene	Working for Darius III, then Alexander.	Athen. 514e

TABLE 2. The commitment of European Greeks to the satrapy of Hellespontine Phrygia.

European allies of the Persians of Dascylium	Post	Origin	References
Aristeus, Aneristus, Nicolaus, Pratodamus, Timagoras, Pollis	Peloponnesian embassy to Pharnaces (but never reached Dascylium).	Corinthian Spartan, Tegean, Argive	Thuc. 2.67.1
Dercylidas	Navarch, then harmost; ally of Pharnabazus in 411.	Spartan	Thuc. 8.61–62
Clearchus, son of Rhamphias	Navarch; ally to Pharnabazus in 411.	Spartan	Thuc. 8.80.1–3; Xen. *Hell.* 1.1.35; 1.3.17
Helixus of Megara	*Stratēgos*, working for Clearchus, and ally of Pharnabazus.	Megarian	Thuc. 8.80.3
Mindarus	Nauarch in 411/0.	Spartan	Thuc. 8.99; Diod. 13.45–46 and so on
Hermocrates	*Stratēgos*; ally (?) in 411–410 of Pharnabazus who gave him money.	Syracusan	Xen. *Hell.* 1.1.31
Anaxibius	Navarch in 400; ally of Pharnabazus.	Spartan	Xen. *An.* 7.1.2; 2.4
Aristarchus	Harmost of Byzantium in 400; ally of Pharnabazus.	Spartan ?	Xen. *An.* 7.2.7; 2.12
Lysander	Acts on his own initiative (?), unfriendly relations with Pharnabazus.	Spartan	Plut. *Lys.* 19.7 – 20.5
Citizens of Corinth	Agreement with Pharnabazus during naval expedition in 393.	Corinthians	Xen. *Hell.* 4.8.8; Diod. 14.84.5
Thrasybulus of Steiria	Official in command of forty ships; satrap Pharnabazus' ally (?).	Athenian	Xen. *Hell.* 4.8.25–27, 31

Antalcidas	Official in command of the Spartan navy; Ariobarzanes' host and ally.	Spartan	Xen. *Hell.* 5.1.28 etc.
Timotheus	Mercenary chief working for Ariobarzanes.	Athenian	Dem. 15.9; Nep. *Timoth.* 1.2
Agesilaus	Mercenary chief (?) working for Ariobarzanes.	Spartan	Xen. *Ages.* 2.26
Apollodorus	Mercenary chief working for Artabazus.	Athenian	Paus. 1.29.10
Athenodorus	Mercenary chief working for Artabazus and for the Great King.	Athenian (Imbros)	Dem. 23.12; Aen. Tact. 24.10–14; Plut. *Phoc.* 18.6; Ael. *VH* 1.25; Polyaen. 5.21; Tod 1948, 149 (Cius)
Chares	Mercenary chief paid by Artabazus during his revolt.	Athenian	Diod. 16.22.1–2; 34.1; Schol. Dem. 3.31; Schol. Dem. 4.19; *FGrHist* 105. fr. 4
Pammenes	Mercenary chief paid by Artabazus during his revolt.	Theban	Diod. 16.34.1–2

TABLE 3. The origin of individuals working for the Persian authorities in Dascylium.

	Origin	*Name*[42]
Greeks from Asia	*Satrapy of Hellespontine Phrygia*	
	Greeks of the Hellespont	?
	* Abydus[43]	Daphnis, Philiscus, Agavus (?)
	Aegae (Aeolid)	Nicogenes
	* Cyzicus	Pytharchus, Aristagoras, group of Cyzicenes, Timagoras and/or representatives of the city, Apollophanes
	* Dardanus	Zenis, Mania (or indigenous woman ?), Midias (?)
	Heracleia and cities of Bithynia	Clearchus, Eubulus, Hermias
	* Lampsacus	Hippoclus, Aiantides
	Mytilene	Coës

TABLE 3. (Cont.)

	* Parion	Herophantus
	* Proconnesus	Metrodorus
	* Sigeion	Hegesistratus
	* Zeleia	Arthmius
	Cities of the Aeolid	Appointed by Hermias and kept by Mentor for a time
	Out of satrapy	
	Rhodes	Timocrates, Mentor, Memnon
	Miletus	A thousand Milesian followers, Astyanax (?)
Greeks from outside Asia	Byzantium	Ariston
Greek exiles from Europe and islands	Athens	Peisistratids, Miltiades, Themistocles, Alcibiades, Conon, Nicophemus
	Delos	Population
	Eretria	Gongylus
	Megara	Calligeitus
	Sparta	Pausanias, Demaratus
Greek allies from Europe and islands		See TABLE 2
Native peoples from Asia except Greeks	Phrygian	Lieutenants of the king Gabaedus (no. 2), nos. 23, 24, Manes (no. 22)
	Bithynian	no. 15 (or Persian?), Chiefs of troops allied to Pharnabazus (no. 39)
	Mysian	no. 14 (?), chiefs of Pharnabazus' *prophylakē* (no. 40)
	Paphlagonian	nos. 16 (or Persian?), 18 (?), 28 (?), 29 (?), Corylas?, Otys?, chiefs of Arsites' horsemen (no. 58)
	Troad	nos. 17 (or Greek?), 30 (or Greek?), 48

No.	Title	Type	Inscription	Description	Date
A	Manes stele (coastal Phrygia)[44]	Funerary	Phrygian	Banquet	First half of the fifth century[45]
B	Votive stele of Vezirhan (Bithynia)[46]	Epitaph? Dedication?	Phrygian Greek	1- Cybele and animals 2- Banquet 3- Hunting	First quarter of the fifth century[47]
C	Stele of Afşarievvel (Bithynia)[48]	Funerary	Phrygian	1- Rider 2-?	Sixth–fourth century
D	Sarcophagus of Çingene Tepe (Çan, Troad)[49]	Funerary		1- Hunting 2- Combat between riders and Greek soldiers	400–375
E	Tosya stele (Paphlagonia)[50]	Funerary		1- Plant decoration 2- 'Combat' between two soldiers 3- Rider 4- Persian smelling a flower 5- A child and a goose	Late sixth century
F	Tomb façade of Yilantaš (Paphlagonia)[51]	Funerary		Fighting between animals, (griffin)	Fifth–fourth century
G	Tomb façade of Büyük Arslantaš (Paphlagonia)[52]	Funerary		Ruined. Blocks at foot of the cliff include reliefs of lions	Fifth–fourth century
H	Marble statue-head from Heraclea of Bithynia[53]	Decoration ?		Head of satrap with tiara[54]	Reign of Darius I or c. 540–530
I	Block from Afirözü (Paphlagonia)[55]	Funerary pillar?		Banquet with two men (?) and a servant	c. 500
J	Stele of unknown provenance (Aeolid ?)[56]	Funerary		1- Hunting 2- Rider	c. 500
K	Marble sarcophagus from Kizöldün tumulus[57] (Troad)	Funerary		Reliefs depicting Neoptolemos' murder of Polyxena	Last quarter of sixth century BC
L	Single-chamber marble tomb from Dedetepe tumulus[58] (Troad)	Funerary		Various grave-goods	c. 500–450 BC

TABLE 5. Other Perso-Anatolian funerary monuments from the vinicity of Dascylium.

M	Elnaf stele[59]	Funerary	Aramean	1- Procession 2- Funerary convoy (?)	Last[60] quarter of sixth century
N	Twin stele[61]	Funerary		1- Funerary convoy (?) 2- Banquet	Last quarter of sixth century
O	Sultaniyeköy stele[62]	Funerary	Aramean	1- Banquet 2- Funerary convoy 3- Hunting	Late sixth or early fifth century
P	Stele fragment with anthemion from Dascylium[63]	Funerary		Veiled seated woman and 4 women attendants	Late sixth century
Q	Relief fragment from Dascylium[64]	Funerary		Magus holds a bunch of twigs, in front of door	First third of fifth century
R	Lost slab from Yeniceköy[65]	Funerary		Combat between 3 horsemen and 2 fallen soldiers	Fifth century
S	Relief fragment (slab) near Dascylium[66]	Funerary		2 priests holding *barsom* in front of door. 2 heads of a bull (?) and a ram	Late fifth century
T	Aksakal stele[67]	Funerary		1- Funerary procession 2- Banquet (?) 3- Hunting (?) Small left side: 2 women sitting on mules. Small right side: one mule pulling high box	After 440
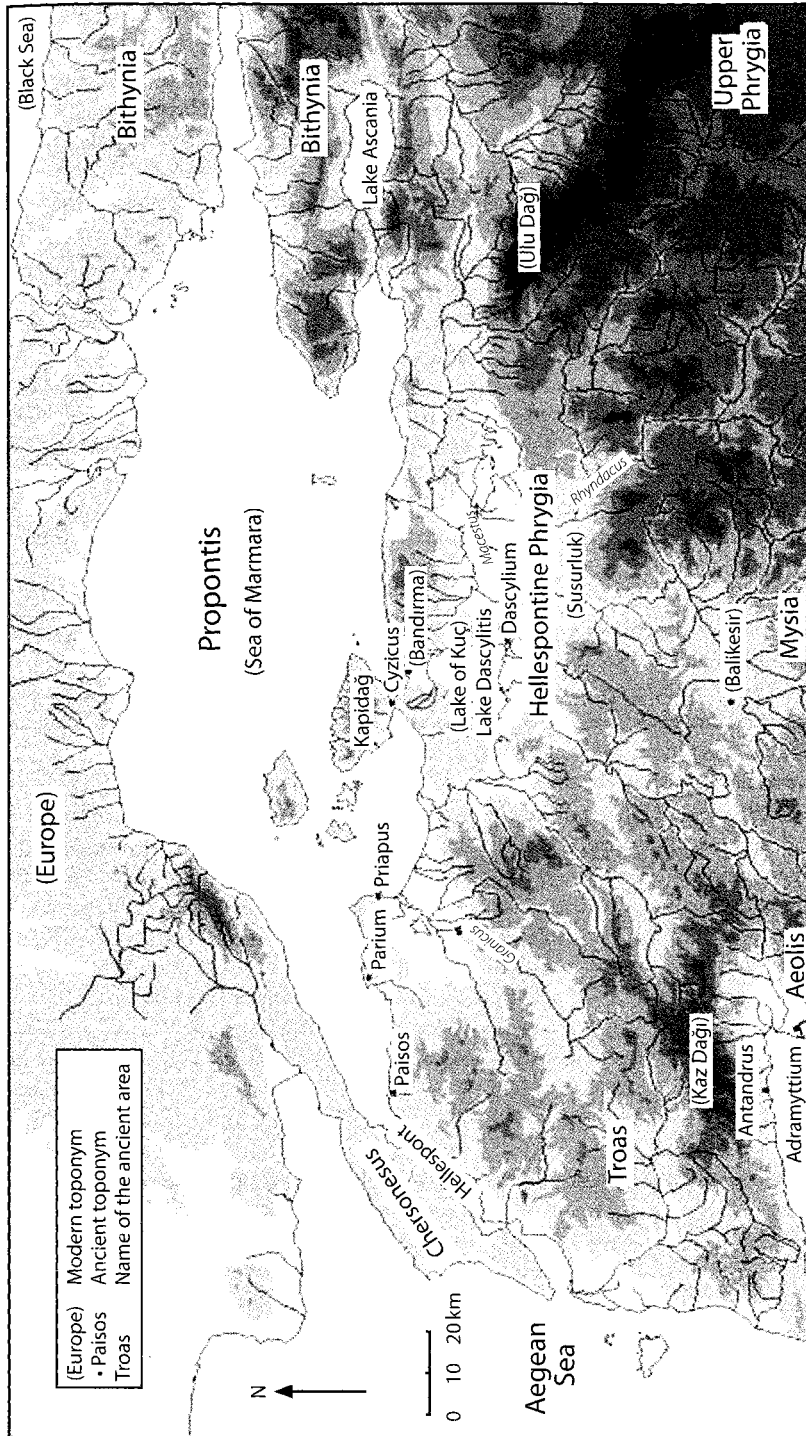
Map 1. The Northwest of Anatolia

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Notes

1   A study of the Iranians appears in Maffre 2007.

2   These figures are derived from the table presented in Istanbul (cf. previous note).

3   See Austin 1990 on relations between the Greek elite and the Persians.

4   According to Berlin 2002, 146: 'If Deposit 3 indeed reflects the activities of Chares and his fellow Athenians living at Sigeion, it is possible to see the Achaemenid basins (pale porous) as evidence for a kind of "ritual rapprochement" between the Athenian usurper and his nominal Achaemenid rulers.'

5   Dem. 23.157 (Loeb translation, adapted).

6   Thuc. 1.138.2; Plut. *Them.* 30.1 (Loeb translation).

7   cf. Berlin and Lynch 2002, 175: 'the fourth century BC Troad may be seen as a "zone of osmosis" where cultural elements were mixed and matched'.

8   Xen. *Cyr.* 7.4.10–11.

9   The relevant passage of Xenophon's *Anabasis* (7.8.27) is of doubtful authenticity. Some have even suggested that it comes from another *Anabasis*, perhaps that of Sophaenetus.

10   See TABLE 4, I and other monuments E, F, G.

11   Dr O. Casabonne has drawn my attention to the hunting party engraved on a pithos before the Achaemenid period. The closest parallels come from artefacts of Iranian, Scythian, Assyrian and central Asian origin. Nevertheless, the style is quite different from the Perso-Anatolian iconography. See Yayali 2000, 143.

12   Kaptan 2002, 4.

13   There are many funerary monuments which are classified in the Perso-Anatolian group. But chronology is sometimes questionable. So we have included only monuments whose date is reasonably certain.

14   The archives at Persepolis contained one Phrygian text: Friedrich 1965, 154; Tavernier 2002, 145; Brixhe 2004, 118–27. There is also a Phrygian inscription on a small cylinder (now in the Museum of Science at Buffalo) with the name 'Manes', whose geographical origin is unknown: Brixhe 2004, 126–7. It certainly belongs to a Phrygian, and perhaps an aristocrat.

15   Neumann 1997, 29; Brixhe 2004, 51, 66.

16   Brixhe and Lejeune 1984, 68–9, B-02 and pl. 42, 2.

17   Jacobs 2002, 383–8.

18   Xen. *Cyr.* 7.4.10–11: aristocracy of Hellespontine Phrygia; 8.6.1: population of Paphlagonia (i.e. the aristocracy and the troops) followed Cyrus to Babylon voluntarily.

19   Hdt. 1.141, 169: Milesians as allies of Cyrus the Great.

20   Körpe et al. 2001, 184.

21   Boardman 1970, figs. 283, 289, 294, 297, pl. 876, 891, 903; Kaptan 2002: DS 83

22   Gall 1966, 13–21 and 1999, 150–2.

23   Sevinç et al. 1998; Rose 2007.

24   This is inferred from the inclusion of the Phrygian aristocrats, with their weapons, alongside the troops of Hystaspas.

25   The funerary monuments confirm Xen. *Cyr.* 7.4.10–11. On King Gabaedus cf. *Cyr.* 2.1.5 and possibly 4.2.30.

26   If Summerer 2005 is right, the relationship would be very close.

27   Just. 16.3.9–10 connects Heracleot refusal to pay tribute to Athens with Lamachus'

trip to this city in 424/3 *ob amicitiam regum Persicorum*. Later, however, the silence about Persian authority in Xenophon's *Anabasis* seems to suggest that Sinope and Heraclea were not part of the empire in summer 400: see Tuplin 2007.

28 Bosworth and Wheatley 1998, 159.

29 *Suda* s.v. *Klearchos*. Memnon *FGrHist* 434 F1 (1.4).

30 French 2004, 1–4.

31 Under Pharnabazus, seven men are Greek (nos. 33, 34, 36, 44, 45, 46, 47). We do not count one thousand citizens of Miletus (no. 35) exiled from their city and received by the satrap. We do not know whether 41, 42 and 43 are Greek.

32 Walser 1984, 20–6.

33 One asterisk: Anatolians known from literary sources; two asterisks: Anatolians known from inscriptions or funerary monuments.

34 The entries are not exhaustive.

35 After being overthrown by the Athenians, Hippias (Thuc. 6.59.4) took refuge in Sigeion, then with the tyrant Aeantides, and finally with Darius.

36 The Sarcophagus (*c.* 500 BC: with reliefs depicting Neoptolemos' killing of Polyxena) was discovered in Kizöldün tumulus near the modern city of Biga in Troad. Another marble sarcophagus, without reliefs, was buried next to the Polyxena sarcophagus around the middle of the 5th century BC.

37 At the nearby site of Dedetepe, a tumulus covered a single-chamber marble tomb probably built in the early 5th century BC.

38 It is often supposed that when Diodorus speaks of Pharnabazus in XIII, he normally means Tissaphernes. Nevertheless, I believe that it is really Pharnabazus who is directly implicated in this story. This line of argument is expanded in my thesis: Maffre 2002.

39 The example is doubtful according to Hatzfeld 1940, 342 and Debord 1999, 189.

40 He surely is identical with Gyes (*Hell. Ox.*), Thys and Thuys (Nep. *Dat.*; Theop. 115 F179).

41 Berlin 2002, 141 states, without explanation, that this sarcophagus must belong to an Achaemenid magnate or aristocratic family.

42 The numbers (e.g. no. 14) refer to TABLE 1.

43 The asterisks indicate the cities of Hellespontine Phrygia and Troad.

44 Gusmani and Polat 1999, 137–51.

45 Brixhe 2004, 74: 'premier quart du Ve siècle?'.

46 Exhibition Catalogue 1983, B 146; von Gall 1989, 147.

47 Brixhe 2004, 66–7 puts the monument and Phrygian text at the end of the 5th century, the Greek text being added one or two generations later.

48 Brixhe and Lejeune 1984, 68–69 (B-02).

49 Körpe et al. 2001.

50 Durugönül 1994, 1–14. The Perso-Anatolian iconography is mixed with local imagery.

51 von Gall 1966, 13–21 and 1999, 150–2.

52 von Gall 1966, 13–21 and 1999, 150–2.

53 Akurgal 1986, 9–14.

54 Dating of Akurgal 1986, 14; Cahn and Gerin 1988, 20. For Briant 1996, 720, it could be a representation of the tyrant Clearchus.

55 Donceel-Voûte 1984, pl. 5, 2–4.

56 Radt 1983, 53–68.

[57] Sevinç 1996; Sevinç et al. 2001, 384; Rose 2007.

[58] Sevinç 1996; Sevinç et al. 2001, 384; Rose 2007.

[59] Zick-Nissen 1966; Dupont-Sommer 1966, 44–57; Metzger 1971, 508.

[60] Lemaire 2000, II, 1 and 2001, 24 lowers the date to the second half of the 5th century BC on paleographic criteria. Bernard 1969: 20, underlining the difficulty of precise dating, used A. Dupont-Sommer's date (*c.* 400 BC).

[61] Zick-Nissen 1966, 579; Nollé 1992, 130.

[62] Altheim-Stiehl, Metzler and Schwertheim 1983, 7.

[63] Bakır 1995, 274 and 2001, 174 and fig. 6.

[64] Mellink 1960, 68; Bernard 1969, 24–6.

[65] Munro and Anthony 1897, 158; Hasluck 1906, 27–8; Munro 1912, 66, fig. 2; Macridy 1913, 354–5 and fig. 5–6.

[66] Macridy 1913, 348–52; Bernard 1969, 25; Nollé 1992, 38–9.

[67] Zick-Nissen 1966, 579; Bernard 1969, 19.

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7

HELLENIZATION AND LYCIAN CULTS
DURING THE ACHAEMENID PERIOD

Eric A. Raimond

Introduction

Interest in Lycia has a long history, but the modern era of Lycian studies began in the 1950s, the publication of the first in the *Fouilles de Xanthos* series in 1958 being an obvious early milestone. The modern era of Achaemenid studies is somewhat shorter: Hallock's publication of *Persepolis Fortification Tablets* in 1969 is in retrospect a major landmark, but its impact was slow in coming, and the real beginning probably lies in the 1970s. From the start the discipline has been characterized by a wish not only to do justice to the regions of the empire as well as its centre but also to achieve a more balanced perspective upon the story of relations between Greeks and Persians. In this context, Lycia has made a significant contribution, because systematic work had already been under way there for some time. Not only did Lycia already provide notable examples of the Achaemenid impact in Anatolia (the catalogue of material has grown through the addition of new items and improved understanding of existing ones) but the hellenic aspects of long-familiar structures such as the Harpy Tomb, Inscribed Pillar or Nereid Monument gave Lycia a role in what quickly emerged as a by-product of Achaemenid studies, namely a consciousness of continuity between the later Achaemenid period and the hellenistic era. For that continuity was a matter not just of survivals from the Achaemenid system but also of prefigurements of the process of hellenization characteristic of the new world order ushered in by Alexander the Great, and Lycia was clearly in principle a rich hunting-ground for such prefigurements.

But, in between the search for Achaemenid images and fascination with hellenic allure, there is a danger (at least for those whose primary object of study is not Lycia) that the Lycians and their cultural characteristics get slightly lost to view, the issue of hellenization is seen in rather black-and-white terms and its progress is assessed rather too optimistically. The purpose of this chapter is to expand briefly upon this point. I shall be concerned much more with Greeks and Lycians than with Persians: indeed

Persians as such will hardly figure. But the era during which Lycia lay within the political shadow of the Great King and his Anatolian satraps is a distinct one within Lycian history, and Lycia's cultural characteristics are part of the story of interaction between the external political and cultural forces that helped to shape it.

Hellenization and Bronze Age Lycia

Hellenization is generally regarded as a process that is posterior to the elaboration of Greek civilization. Once it had come into existence, hellenism was exported to a barbarian Orient; and after the Persian Wars the so-called barbarian was represented in Greek literature as a Persian whom it was necessary to distrust (Baslez 1984, 186–7). A careful examination of the Homeric epics – texts that stand at the dawn both of historical Greek times and of Greek literature and formed a cultural reference point for any educated Greek, the 'basis of all the classical pedagogical tradition' (Marrou 1948, 38) – shows a different reality.

Many oriental elements in Homeric epic draw upon a composite cultural fund. First of all, the onomastics of the princes of Homeric Ilion are similar to those of the princes of Wilusa, a place that can be identified as the Luwian Troy.[1] Some Homeric toponyms can be connected to Hittite ones.[2] Gods who fight for the Trojans may have Luwian names. The pantheon of Homeric Ilion has a Luwian structure. An Anatolian Prayer in *Iliad* 3.276–80 speaks of the Storm-God (Zeus) of Mount Ida, the Sun (Helios), who sees and hears everything (as in the Hittite texts), forces of nature (rivers and lands), and infernal gods. Several Homeric terms may also be derived from Luwian words. For example, Ἴλιος αἰπεινή (*Iliad* 13.773) translates *alati* [uru]*Wilusati* (KBo IV 11, 45–6). The composition of some parts of the Homeric poems looks like a calque of Hittite literary sub-texts. For example, as J. Puhvel (1993) has argued, *Iliad* 24.471–73 (γέρων δ' ἰθὺς κίεν οἴκου, τῇ ῥ' Ἀχιλεὺς ἵζεσκε Διὶ φίλος. ἐν δέ μιν αὐτόν εὖρ') may translate a Hittite sequence: ᴸᵁŠU.GI-*ma hūdak É-ri aras kuwapi A.NARAM* ᵈIM *ēskatti n-an-pat anda wemiyat.* Some stories in the Homeric tradition seem to incorporate Asianic customs.[3] And there are parts of the Homeric text that can be seen as Asianic legends, hellenized and integrated into the epic material.

The 'Lycian heroes cycle' (Raimond 2004a, 91) in the *Iliad* is a good example of a 'Graeco-Asianic' text of this sort – a product both of hellenism and of a Hittite-Luwian civilization that left a deep cultural mark on Anatolia from the second millennium BC to the Roman period. Even the name of Homer's Lycian princes have a Luwian origin. Thus, the archer Pandarus has been recognized in the Lycian noun *Pñtre*, which is attested in *Pñtrenehi*, a title often applied to the Lycian Goddess (TL 94, 102, 109,

112; N 320, 329). The name is also very close to the Carian toponym Panda, which was the site of a sanctuary of the Mother of Sipylus (*IK* 8.89–90, see Raimond 2004a, 113–16). The hero is the son of Lycaon but, despite a popular etymology often quoted by scholars, it is impossible to explain this patronym in terms of the Greek word for wolf. Lycaon certainly does not derive from the Greek noun λύκος (*contra* Marcinkowksi 2002) but is actually a hellenization of the Luwian anthroponym ᵐLukkawani, 'inhabitant of Lukka Lands', attested in a fragmentary Hittite text (KBo XL 17, 4' = 1121/c; see also Lebrun 2002a, 252–3). Pandarus is also protected by Apollo Lycegenes, '*Lyke-born', in other words 'born in the Lukka Lands'(see Raimond 2004c). Sarpedon (Raimond 2004a, 117–19), whose name derives from the Luwian noun ᵍⁱˢSarpa ('cypress') or from *saripedan* ('higher plain') – also attested in Lycian B as *Zrppedu* (TL 44d 6; Sevoroskin 1968, 483; *LL²*, 114) – is the son of Zeus and of the Lycian princess Laodameia. He takes precedence over his cousin Glaucus and inherits the Lycian kingship from his mother in accordance with the Lycian matrilinear system of succession – for, despite the doubts expressed by T.R. Bryce (1986, 153–4; see also Melchert 2003, 123), I remain convinced by the 'Lycian matrilinearity' described by Herodotus (1.173) and also attested in Nicolaus of Damascus (*FGrH* 90 F103k). Homeric scholiasts did not understand this fact and tried to find other explanations. The divine origin of Sarpedon, as a son of Zeus, may also have a bearing upon his precedence.

After Sarpedon's death, Glaucus succeeds him. As the bearer of a Greek name, he personifies hellenic Lycia and inherits Bellerophon's kingship from male ancestors. His grandfather, the Corinthian hero Bellerophon, whose adventures are related during Glaucus' meeting with Diomedes (*Iliad* 6.119–236), also belongs to the Greek tradition. However, the story belongs to an authentic Asianic cycle too: Bellerophon has to fight against the Solymeans, famous as enemies of the Lycian king Iobates, and, according to Herodotus (1.173), the first inhabitants of the area. He also has to overcome the Chimaera, who was worshipped near the site of a source of fire that could not be extinguished by water – one that still exists.[4] It is possible that the paintings of Kızılbel depict events from this Bellerophontic legend (Mellink 1998, 26–32 and 52).

The Graeco-Asianic aspect of the *Iliad* and the various other oriental elements found both in the epics and elsewhere in Archaic literature (see West 1999) suggest that we should see hellenism as a sort of melting-pot of different oriental cultures, and from this point of view the main originality of Greek civilization would lie in its ability to integrate many elements from different origins and to do so in a creative manner. At the same time, however, hellenism does seem to have influenced other civilizations, so

that hellenization is, so to speak, consubstantial with hellenism. Thus, the Homeric cycle of the Lycian princes resulted from an Asianic tradition that was both integrated into Greek mythology and also hellenized: this exemplifies the way in which Asianism both helped to form Greek culture and was later transformed by hellenism.

Relationships between Greeks and Lycians in pre-Achaemenid times
The process of hellenization in Lycia can also be studied through the long story of relations between Greeks and Lycians. The occurrence of Lukka people or Termilæ in Linear B tablets shows that the inhabitants of Lycia were already known to Bronze Age Greeks. To be more precise: the anthroponyms *ru-ki-jo* = Λύκιος (PY Gn 720.2 (dative), Jn 415 (=08)) and *ru-ki-ja* = Λυκίας/Λυκία (PY An 724 (=32), 13) may indicate that the Hittite toponym Lukka was employed by Mycenaeans – G. Steiner (1993, 123) has suggested that the Hittite chancellery popularized its use in other kingdoms – while the anthroponym *te-mi-ro* (Da 1338), derived from an ethnic (Landau 1958, 216), suggests that the epichoric name of the Lycians, *Tr)mmili*, was also known further afield, and in particular in the Mycenaean kingdoms.

Greek literature also preserved a memory of close connections between Lycians and Greeks. In the Homeric Bellerophon legend, the Argive king Proetus married the daughter of a Lycian king, and we may speculate that matrimonial politics linked Achaeans and Lycians. The Arzawian letters (Moran 1992) provide an analogy: Pharaoh Nimuwariya (Amenhotep III) asks the Arzawian King Tarhundaradu for the hand of his daughter in marriage. In the Homeric tale Bellerophon has to take an inscribed tablet with him to the Lycian King, and this can be compared with the wooden tablet recovered at Ulu-Burun (Bass 1987; Shear 1988, 187). These indications suggest that Greeks and Anatolians had a diplomatic correspondence during the Bronze Age. Moreover, Strabo (8.6.11) reports that the wall of Tiryns was erected by seven Lycian Cyclops. But, as we saw above, the *Iliad* provides no real reason for seeing any of this as evidence for the hellenization of Lycia in the Bronze Age or during the period of composition that lies behind the more-or-less definitive Homeric texts of the seventh century BC.

Hittite cuneiform documentation also provide indications of diplomatic and military contacts between Lycians and Greeks during the Bronze Age. From a letter of the Great King (Muwattali II or Hattusili III) to the King of Aḫḫiyawa we discover that Tawagalawa (= Eteoclus), brother of the Achaean King, has been in the Lukka lands and at Millawanta (= Miletus). J. Freu has argued that this Mycenaean prince came to Anatolia (probably with an army) to resolve the problems caused by a campaign launched by Piyaramadu from Millawanta or the Aegean islands (Freu 1998, 106 with nn. 38, 50).

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In that case the episode could be associated with the burning of Attarimma (Termessus) and conquest of Dalawa (Tlos), and Mycenaean soldiers might have settled in the area during this period.

Archaeological evidence points to commercial contacts between Lycia and the Mycenaean world. As C.B. Mee (1978, 150) noted in his survey of Aegean trade and Anatolian installations in the second millennium BC, the pottery found on the southern coasts and in the region of the lakes derived from exchanges with Mycenaean palaces. Mee also shows that certain Lycian sites were engaged in commercial activity as early as the second millennium BC, viz. Telmessus (Mee 1978, 145), Cap Gelidonya (ibid. 128), Beylerbey (ibid. 124) and Dereköy (ibid. 126). The discovery of the remains of a ship near Cape Gelidonya may indicate that people were sailing along the Lycian coastline for the purpose of trade or piracy during the first part of the twelfth century BC (Giveon 1985, 101).

During archaic times, Lycians must have had very close contacts with Rhodes. The requirements of coastal navigation created natural ties between Rhodes and Lycia (Bresson 1999, 99), and later on there are indications of Rhodian influence in Lycian coinage of the classical period. For example, there are some Ialysian imitations in the Asyut hoard (*c.* 475 BC). The contemporary circulation of Lycian and Rhodian coins may indicate that Lycia was quite heavily involved in trade exchanges in the Mediterranean. The Decadrachm Hoard, probably found somewhere in Lycia and buried in *c.* 465–460 BC, suggests that Lycians used Rhodian coins. Among the hoard's 1700 coins, by far the largest group is that from Lycia (comprising 56% of the total). The next largest groups are Cameirian (17%) and Athenian (11%), and the Cameirian coins are associated with six rare coins from Lindus and three, also rare, from Carpathus. This coinage may have been issued from or for Rhodians in Lycia, in order to pay mercenaries (Bresson 1999, 103).

But the strength of the relationship with Rhodes should not be exaggerated. First, although some believe that archaic pottery shows that Rhodian (and Samian traders) enjoyed something of a monopoly (Metzger 1972, 188–89; Zimmermann 1993, 110, n. 1), A. Bresson has observed that so-called Rhodian pottery was produced by East Greeks, and that it is difficult to identify specifically Rhodian production in this group (Bresson 1999, 123, n. 46).

Secondly, in 691 BC (Ruge 1938, 1876; Bresson 1999, 101–2) Lindians settled on the eastern coast of Lycia and founded Phaselis, a colony that maintained good relations with its mother city (*Lindos* 2C, xxiv, with note ad loc.). But, although the cities of Corydalla and Gagae were also considered Rhodian by Hecataeus and Ptolemy, Bresson (1999, 101–2) has demonstrated that this claim is very doubtful, and has also observed that no ancient

source postulates a Rhodian origin for Rhodiapolis: the case resembles that of the mythic origin of Iberian Rhode, both legends being simply the product of similarity in sound (Rouillard 1991, 93, with n. 45–6 and 288–9; see also Bresson 1999, 122, n. 36). The hypothesis of widespread Rhodian colonization in south-eastern Lycia must therefore be regarded as very doubtful: Lycians had dealings with Greeks, but resisted the establishment of Greek settlements within their territory. Phaselis was, of course, a Rhodian colony, but it is the exception that proves the rule: it lay in the extreme eastern part of the area, was long considered to be in Pamphylia and, although it did join the Lycian league for a short time during the second century BC, it only definitively became a member at the end of the Roman Republican period (Bresson 1999, 102). We should see it as having been settled in a contactzone between Lycians, Pamphylians and Pisidians, the existence of which is exemplified by the rock of Marmares (Keen 1996b, 118), a Pisidian fortress that threatened the Phaselitans and was eventually destroyed by Alexander the Great at their request.

Thirdly, the Lindian chronicle reports on a victorious campaign of the Lindian tyrant Cleoboulus in Lycia. This may date from the end of sixth century BC (*Lindos* 2C xxiii, with note ad loc.; Bresson 1999, 102), but it is not ascribed any precise motive or linked with a specific geographical area: the Lindians 'did not have their eyes on the region situated west of Cape Hiera Akra and the Chelidonians islands' (Bresson ibid.). The so-called dedication of Lakios, the founder of Phaselis, may indicate a campaign against Solymeans in the mountainous regions located between Phaselis and the area of Gagae, Corydalla and Rhodiapolis. The attempt of the Rhodians to subjugate this geographical zone supposedly occurred during a short period at the end of the sixth or beginning of the fifth century BC, but if so, it had no permanent effect, except perhaps for control of Megiste (Bresson 1999, 102), and the truth is that that island could have been conquered either by Cleoboulus or during the Athenian Empire. In any event, Rhodian control of Megiste is wellattested from the fourth century BC onwards (Bresson 1999, 104) when it had a strategic role, its main activity being trade in wood exported from the Carian and Lycian coasts to destinations in Syria, Cyprus and Egypt. According to M. Zimmermann, the long Rhodian presence in Megiste explains Rhodian influence in central Lycia, particularly in the area of funerary customs – rocktombs, also known as 'Lycian tombs', were unknown in Rhodes, apart from a single example, but are well-attested in the subject Peraea. But, in general, although 'contacts with Rhodes did generate some real influence, in the long run they had no significant impact on the development of Lycian society, which followed its own course' (Bresson 1999, 101). If this is true of Rhodes, it is *a fortiori* liable to be true of other possible sources of Greek influence and

– to stress one particular aspect – although cultural interactions must have happened during the archaic period, it is impossible to discern any traces of such influences in the sphere of religion.

Greek acculturation of dynastic Lycia

Attic and East Greek pottery starts to appear in Xanthus as early as 550 BC (Metzger 1972, 188–9), and that may indicate that some degree of hellenization had begun in the town by that date. In the fifth century BC, the paintings at Kızılbel show a degree of Greek acculturation further east in the Elmalı plain as well: for example, a frieze which represents a seated old man, two horses and three men walking, a prince on a seat and a suppliant, has been compared with Polygnotus' chalice (Metzger and Moret 1999, 304). It was probably at much the same date that the Harpy Tomb was erected in the agora at Xanthus. The main group (a large figure of the God Triton, in front of which there is the smaller figure of a suppliant) is an example of archaic Greek art and has been compared to the Laconian reliefs of Chrysapha (Tritsch 1942, 43), and the sculptural decoration as a whole is influenced by the Ionian School (Demargne 1958, 44).

Several other Lycian monuments display distinctive elements of Greek artistic style: examples include the funeral chambers of the Lions Tomb, the Wrestlers Pillar and the pillars of Isinda and Trysa (Akurgal 1941, *passim;* Demargne 1958, 32, 34), and the reliefs of the Sarpedoneion, which have such a hellenic allure that they have been taken to be Greek works of art (Robertson 1975, 403–4; Childs and Demargne 1989, 376). The Nereid Monument may have been built by Lycians accustomed to Greek art (Smith 1900, 69, 71; Childs 1981, 69, 71). Themes adopted from Achaemenid ideology were hellenized (Martin 1994, 574–5). The base of the Payava sarcophagus shows a new hellenizing style, where the movement and the physiognomy of the fight are modified. Audience scenes on the pediment of the Nereid Monument or in part of the frieze at Trysa display a Greek tonality in 'the form of the bodies, the treatment of the draperies and of the dresses, even if they are Persian' (Martin 1994, 576–7). P. Demargne (1974b) has divided the process of hellenization in Lycian art into four stages – advanced archaism (Lycia influenced by the Ionian School), sub-archaism (480–430 BC), badly digested Atticism (430–400 BC), Atticism (400 BC to Macedonian Conquest). Nevertheless, what the works themselves reveal above all is a *mixture* of epichoric, Persian and hellenic elements: classical Lycia affords no examples of pure Greek art, and an edifice such as the Nereid Monument, whatever its Greek components, could not have been built in any Aegean Greek city-state. Moreover, the dynasts seem to play with the Graeco-Lycian ambiguity of the mythological figures represented in public works of art.

After the Battle of Eurymedon (468 BC), some Lycian cities were forced to join the Delian League and to pay tribute, a situation that lasted until their rebellion and the death of the Athenian general Melesander in the 420s (Thucydides 2.69). It may have been in the context of Xanthus' submission to the Athenian Empire that Kuprlli I erected Heroon G on the acropolis – a building that A.G. Keen (1996) has identified as a Sarpedoneion. Even if the dynast's wish had been to lay emphasis on 'his connection with the Lycian people' (Keen 1996a, 241), the actual representation of the hero was hellenized.

The Kuprllid Chronicle (i.e. the main Lycian text on the so-called Inscribed Pillar or Xanthus Stele; it is also the longest surviving Lycian text on any monument) pictures the Xanthian dynasty as quite heavily involved in Greek affairs, particularly during the Peloponnesian War. From this document we learn, for example, that Terbinimi I of Limyra (Keen 1998, 156) overcame Melesander's troops (TL 44a, 44–5) and that Kherei/Gergis of Xanthus probably fought against the same enemy (TL 44a, 48) and may have acted as an arbiter either between Spartans and Persians or between Athenians and Persians (TL 44c, 4). One non-narrative feature is also of particular interest: the appearance of the Lycianized forms of certain Greek theonyms – Zeusi for Zeus, Leththi for Leto and Erikle for Heracles. This sort of transcription is very unusual in Lycia. Generally, Zeus becomes Trqqas, Leto the anonymous Divine Mother or 'Mother of the sanctuary here'. The Lycian equivalent for Heracles is unknown, but the Graeco-Asianic god of Telmessus (and of the Lycian borders), Kakasbos, is assimilated to him. According to a recent hypothesis of H.C. Melchert, the god Santa may have been mentioned in Lycian documents, and we know that this Luwian god is generally translated as Herakles. The presence of Lycianized theonyms in the Kuprllid Chronicle suggests, therefore, that the deities involved had been integrated into the Xanthian pantheon as Panhellenic gods.

It is not only gods' names that can look hellenic: there are Greek anthroponyms as well, and at a high level of society. As early as the fifth century BC, a dynast named Athenagoras (Neumann 1996, 147) used the Lycian name Tenegure (after an apocope of the initial vocal in Lycian: see Neumann in M 217). He issued coinage (see Bryce 1986, 165; *LL*^{2}, 109; Keen 1998, 67), which provides two occurrences of the name: Tenegure (M 217a = Babelon 1901–32, II, 187, *obverse*) and Tenagure (M 217b = *SNG* Aul. 4123, *obverse*). In the fourth-century Lusñtre, a Lycianized form of the well-known Greek name Lysander, is mentioned in inscriptions from Myra (TL 90) and Limyra (TL 103–4), and Keen (1998, 139) has suggested that this may be an indication of name-exchange between Lycian and Spartan families, which (to judge from Diodorus 13.70.4 and Plutarch *Lysander* 5)

could be a result of Lysander's policy of establishing *xenia* relations in the eastern Mediterranean. Even more striking is Perikle/Pericles of Limyra, whose (celebrated) Greek name is matched by a culturally philhellenic policy reflected in the town-planning and architectural programme of Limyra: for example, the Heroon has an amphiprostyle plan derived from those of Callicrates in Athens, Caryatids like those on the Erechtheion, and an atticizing sculptural style. Moreover, some of the characters figured in the audience scene wore the *himation*.

Use of the Greek language (not just of Greek names) probably also increased during the Achaemenid period. It was a means of communication for Lycian elites (Asheri 1983, 121–3), and the presence of Greek-speaking foreigners is also suggested by six graffiti on vases from the acropolis of Xanthus,[5] the most developed of which was incised on an Attic sherd at the beginning of the fifth century BC by one Cimmerius, maybe an East Greek (Metzger 1972, 163–79; Le Roy 1981/3, 222). Greeks served the courts of kings and dynasts of the Achaemenid empire as experts in divine consultation (particularly in the interpretation of Delphic oracles), doctors, sculptors, scribes[6] or gymnastic specialists, artists and poets; experts of this sort can be considered as agents of hellenization (Robert 1975; 1978a, 6).

But it is important to notice that, despite increased use of Greek, Lycian remained the language of administrative authority. In bilingual inscriptions where the Lycian and Greek versions are not parallel it is always the Greek one that is condensed and devoid of reference to the city-authorities. Greek is obviously subordinate to the epichoric language.[7] A similar situation is visible in the raw statistics. According to Le Roy (1981/3, 219), the corpus of 204 Lycian documents comprises 172 purely Lycian texts, 20 Graeco-Lycian bilinguals *lato sensu*,[8] one trilingual inscription (from the Letoon), a Graeco-Aramean pseudo-bilingual, six Greek graffiti, three inscriptions in Aramaic and one in Carian. Thus, only 11% of epigraphical texts are plurilingual, and only 5% are non-Lycian texts. The Greek texts are sometimes metrical: at the dynastic courts, it seems, Greek language was (at least in part) a *technē* that Greek experts could use to exalt the glory and value of Lycian princes in verses composed of epic and lyric quotations (Le Roy 1981/3, 217, 222, 223). More generally, Keen (1998, 67) has proposed the following typology of epigraphical texts written in the two languages:

1. Lycian funerary inscriptions, more or less translated into Greek (TL 23)
2. Decrees, also translated from Lycian, such as the Letoon Trilingual (N 320), Pixodarus' Fees Decree (TL 45) – also known as the 'Second Trilingual' (Bousquet 1986) – and a fragmentary text from Isinda (TL 65), though this last is sometimes dated to the Ptolemaic period.
3. Dynastic propaganda texts, such as the Inscribed Pillar of Xanthus (the

Kuprllid Chronicle) and the Arbinas inscription. In these cases the Greek
and Lycian texts are not translations of one another, but nonetheless convey
the same message. The relationship between parts of the lengthy Kuprllid
Chronicle and the 12-line Greek epigram that appears together with it on
the Xanthian Inscribed Pillar is a notable example: the epigram's celebration
of military prowess corresponds to the overall tenor of the Chronicle, and
some (e.g. Cau 2003, 53, 62) specifically link the sacking of many citadels
and erection of numerous trophies mentioned in the epigram (TL 44c 26,
30 = ML 93.7, 11) with specific military operations and the consecration of
sanctuaries narrated in the Chronicle (TL 44b 11–23, 47–57), while others
(e.g. Keen 1998, 133) see the killing of seven adversaries in the epigram (TL
44c 29 = ML 93.10) as part of the defeat of Wakhssepddimi in the Chronicle
(TL 44a 48–9).

  Greek is clearly important (Le Roy has suggested that it may have been
the language of the Lords of Lycia) but its epigraphic use is still subject to
some limits. Le Roy (1987) believes that, in the later Achaemenid period, the
Carian Hekatomnids imposed Greek as an official language in Lycia. Keen
(1998, 68) seems to accept this hypothesis, but also thinks that (by contrast
with the situation in Caria) 'there is no evidence that the Lycians in classical
times maintained any strong traditions about their own autochthony'. In
support of this view he cites the Herodotean tradition that Lycians originally
came from Crete, the engagement with Greek mythology displayed by some
of the fragments of Menecrates of Xanthus, and the existence of Lycian
references to the text of Homer. In Graeco-Lycian mythology, Termileans or
Lycians *are* often seen as newcomers. These legends perhaps reflect ancient
waves of migration: Sarpedon and the Termileans, Lycus, son of Pandion.
Nevertheless, these migrants often encounter native people: Termileans
confront Solymeans, Bellerophon is sent to the court of the Lycian King. The
Solymeans (the supposed first inhabitants of Lycia) are expelled, but only as
far as Milyas or the eastern coast of Lycia, and their memory was kept alive,
particularly through cult, for example that of Solymean Cronus at Tlos. (The
relevant legend recorded by Plutarch *De Defectu Oraculorum*, 21.) So it is
hard to know whether the Lycians still had a strong tradition of their own
autochthony in the Achaemenid period. Nonetheless we should certainly
not assume any lack of sense of distinctive identity, and in my opinion, Greek
texts and artistic illustrations of Homeric work attest the philhellenism of
certain dynasts rather than their wish to acculturate to a Greek model.

**Continuity of Luwian cults and Greek assimilation in the Achaemenid
period**
Thanks to an improved understanding of the corpus of epichoric inscriptions,

we can now see many cults in Achaemenid Lycia that continue Luwian religious tradition. Bilingual Graeco-Lycian texts have established certain equivalences between Lycian and Greek deities, and a number of other assimilations can be observed or deduced from surviving documentation. Careful examination of the texts allows us to propose the following equivalences:

Function	*Lycian theonym*	*Greek theonym*
Storm-God	Trqqas (of Solymeans)	Kronos
	Trqqas Pihesi (Lightning)	Zeus Solymeus
	Trqqas	Zeus
Sun-God	Ddeweze	Helios
		Sozon
Moon-God	Arma	Erme
Mother-Goddess	Qebeliya	
	*Suwa/Suwai	Syessa
	Leθθi	Leto
Gods of nature	Maliya	Athena
	Ertemi	Artemis
	Qeli	Demeter ?
War-Gods	*(Y)arri (?)	Ares
	Xaxxakba	Kakathibos
		Kakasbos

The Lycian theonym Trqqas derives from the Luwian divine name Tarḫunt. This god is the chief deity in the pantheons of several Lycian towns. At Tlos a parallel can be established between an epichoric religious law (TL 26: see Raimond 2002, 125)[9] and Plutarch's account (*De Defectu Oraculorum*, 21) of a Solymean cult devoted to Cronus. At Isinda the Storm-God may have the title Pihesi, which I have interpreted as a haplology of the Luwian adjective Piḫassassi, with a weakening of the *ḫêt* sound in Lycian (TL 65).[10] On that basis Trqqas is a Storm Lightning God close to the Hesiodic Pegasus (cf. Hutter 1995). A coin from Termessos[11] seems to reflect links between Zeus Solymeus, Pegasus and lightning. The Trqqas who functioned as protector of the Xanthian House was assimilated to Zeus, to judge from a comparison between the Lycian (Kuprllid) Chronicle and the Greek epigram on the Xanthian Inscribed Pillar.[12]

Whereas Cronus looks to be simple *interpretatio graeca* of a Lycian deity, the assimilation of Trqqas to Zeus may have another sense, a political one: the philhellenic policy of the Kuprllids, notably Arbinas, certainly helps to create such an impression. Yet Zeus does translate an indigenous reality into a Greek one and provide a link between local traditions and hellenism. So far as acculturation of indigenous traditions is concerned, Pericles of Limyra

took another step when he erected an altar to Zeus with a Greek dedication (*SEG* 41.1382, see Wörrle 1991, 203–17; Raimond 2004a, 172–3). This altar plays an important role in the policy of Pericles. The dedication is written in Greek – which had already been promoted as the official language in the Limyrean dynast's realm – and Pericles takes the title of 'King of Lycians', thus asserting his claim to rule the whole area.

The assimilation of Maliya to Athena may also reflect this dynastic policy of acculturation to Greek civilization. The reasons for such an assimilation have been much discussed. Scholars initially suggested that there was a Polias aspect to both divine figures.[13] But that hypothesis was founded on misinterpretation of *Wedrenni* (a title of Maliya) as 'of the city'. The Letoon Trilingual has proved that the Lycian noun for *polis* was *teteri*,[14] while better understanding of Hieroglyphic Luwian has confirmed the existence of a noun *mini* = 'town', corresponding to Lycian *menna*.[15] Moreover, the title *Wedrenni* is only attested in the single city of Rhodiapolis (TL 149 and 150).[16] It would be better therefore to follow Bryce and identify *Wedri-* as the word for 'country' rather than 'town'.[17] I believe that a second title, Eriyupama, offers another way of linking Athena and Maliya. The Asianic Goddess is called Eriyupama at Wazzis (Phellos). J.D. Hawkins[18] proposed the translation 'the highly-exalted (?)', but I have argued that we should understand it as 'who overcome the enemy'.[19] Maliya Eriyupama, who was worshipped by the Kuprllids, could also have been venerated as Athena *Ptoliporthos*, 'who sacks cities' – a title that appears in the Greek epigram on the Xanthian Inscribed Pillar (TL 44c 26 = ML 93.7). This warrior aspect may link the Lycian Goddess and Athena.[20]

Ambiguities of Greek deities in Achaemenid Lycia

Not all equivalences between Lycian theonyms and Greek ones are straightforward, however. Trqqas-Zeus and Maliya-Athena are well established, but other cases involve significant dilemmas, particularly as regards the origin of the deities involved. Archaic Greek literature sometimes provides an Anatolian (even Lycian) background for what otherwise appear to be panhellenic deities, and linguistic analysis can confirm such suggestions.

Consider, for example, Apollo, who is linked to Lycia by the *Homeric Hymn* and the tragedians.[21] He is Lycegenes, '*Lyke-born', a residual form from the Hittite toponym Lukka.[22] He is absent from Linear B documentation, if we leave aside as doubtful a fragment (out of context) ending] *pe-ro*, which might be restored as [*A*]*pero*$_2$[= *Apellôn* (*DMic* 2.113). On the other hand, we find a very interesting theonym in the thirteenth-century treaty between the Hittite Great King Muwatalli II and the Trojan prince Alaksandu/Alexander.[23] In the list of Trojan gods that appears in this text

we find (after a lacuna) the sequence]*Appaliunas* in the place of a Sun-God. Restoration of the divine determinative allows us to read [d]]*Appaliunas* and interpret it as the archaïc form of Apollo: Apely.[24] Apollo could thus be identified as a Sun-God at Luwian Troy. It is true that this god would be a *hapax*: the Luwian Sun-God is generally called Tiwat (or Tiwaza in the first millennium BC). But in view of the connection between this putative Luwian Apollo of Wilusa-Troia and Apollo Lycegenes from the Homeric Troad and of the general association of Lycia and Apollo in archaic Greek literature, I am convinced that Apollo was indeed the Sun-God (or one of the Sun-Gods) of Lukka, i.e. Bronze Age Lycia (Raimond 2004c, 133). In Achaemenid times, however, Apollo disappears from epichoric inscriptions in Lycia. Only the theophoric anthroponym Pulenjda, used in a Graeco-Lycian text (TL 6) as an equivalent for Apollonides, suggests that there may have been an epichoric theonym *(A)pulen – the Lycian form of Apollo.

Artemis looks like a LAMMA deity, a divine protector of nature in Asianic pantheons. (For the concept see e.g. McMahon 1991, 2 f. LAMMA is a Sumerian logogram.) Her most important sanctuaries, apart from Brauron, are in Anatolia, at Ephesus,[25] Perge and so forth, and the claim that she appeared in Linear B tablets as 'A-te-mi-to/ε' was abandoned more than thirty years ago.[26] Not only (then) is Artemis not mentioned in Bronze Age Greek documentation, but the theonym cannot be explained by a Greek etymology. The genitive *Artemidos* is an analogic form created on the model of the Greek third declension, whereas the archaic genitive *Artemeis* is a Graeco-Asianic form. The theonym Artemis could derive from a Luwian root *Arta-*, attested in *Artali*, a title given to the Storm-God in the Kululu tablets (frg. 10),[27] and this root could also have produced the Lycian theonym Ertemi, an epichoric equivalent of Panhellenic Artemis (Burkert 1985, 149, 407). Moreover, Artemis was worshipped in Lycia, mainly in Comba[28] and Lagbe.[29] So Apollo's sister could be an Asianic goddess, with a Luwian origin rather than a Greek one. Against this thesis of Asianic origin, however, one must note the fact that the divine twins already had a panhellenic aspect in Achaemenid times.

The case of Leto is also problematic. Leto only has a minor status in mainland Greece, so we may speculate that she originates elsewhere – either in Anatolia (perhaps even in Lycia, where she is attested in an epichoric form) or in eastern Crete, where she is the eponym of the city of Lato. Did she perhaps accompany Sarpedon and the Termiles to Lycia in Minoan times? We cannot yet answer this question. But a Lycian legend related by Menecrates of Xanthus in the fourth century BC (and repeated later by Ovid and Antoninus Liberalis) does show Leto coming to Lycia as a foreigner.[30] During the reign of Arbinas a cult of the goddess was also founded at the Letoon, and on that occasion the dynast invited a Thessalian priest to

organize the cult.[31] But despite the fact that she had an unknown origin, the goddess was treated as a Panhellenic goddess and was assimilated to the Lycian divine Mother in the fourth century BC.

The War-God Ares is another interesting example. On the one hand, the theonym is attested in Linear B inscriptions, under the form *Are*.[32] On the other, it could derive from the name of the Luwian War-God Yarri,[33] with whom Ares shares certain characteristics.[34] Ares also has some peculiar features in SW Anatolia: for example, in Pisidia, Pamphylia and northern Lycia, he is linked to the bull. I have argued that elsewhere (Raimond 2004b) that this shows we are dealing with a syncretism of the Storm- and War-God.

These ambiguities about the origin of major panhellenic deities must have allowed Lycian dynasts both to keep close links with local traditions and to favour Greek acculturation at the same time. Integration of these ambiguous deities could be accepted without problem by the indigenous people, while their panhellenic aspect was exploited in the foreign policy of the dynasts. The Lycian princes may have made use of these 'Asianic-Panhellenic' deities just as (for example) they had perhaps already made use of mythic kinship with Greek or other Anatolian cities. The latter is confirmed retrospectively in hellenistic documents. There are two interesting examples from the reign of Antiochus III: the *syngeneia* between Xanthus and Ilion, mentioned by a decree in honour of the rhetor Themistocles in 196 BC (*SEG* 33.1184), and the kinship between the Seleucid king and the Apollonian triad worshipped at Xanthus (Ma 2000, 324–5, no. 23). Kinship with Troy allowed the Lycian elite to be re-connected with the real or imaginary past of the Homeric epic, where Lycian Pandarus was a vassal of Priam and Sarpedon the 'rampart'of Ilion, and this *syngeneia* was to be very important during the conflict with Rhodes when it justified the representations in support of Lycia made to the ten Roman commissars by two Ilian citizens, Hipparchus and Satyrus (Polybius 22.5.1–10). Kinship between Antiochus III and Apollo was an element in Seleucid royal ideology. At the same time, the cult of the Apollonian triad (already favoured by Arbinas, following his foundation of a cult of Leto) developed further in hellenistic Lycia, notably in Xanthus, and was of use to both Seleucid and Xanthian authorities. Antiochus needed a firm and loyal base in Lycia, while Xanthus, like most other Anatolian cities, tried to maintain some sort of autonomy in its relations with hellenistic kings. In these circumstances the Apollonian triad and its clergy served as mediators, and the king gave his rights over the city of Xanthus to the city's gods (Robert 1983, 161; Boffo 1985, 319). But, as J. Ma has noted, the Lycians followed local custom and put Apollo second within the triad, despite the view of the Seleucid chancellery that the god deserved primacy (Ma 2000, 240). So the consecration of Xanthus seems to have resulted from a real compromise between Antiochus III and the city.

Conclusion

The influence of hellenism and the impact of hellenization in Anatolia are very complex issues. Asianic and Greek civilization were already entwined by the time of the Homeric texts, Lycian legends belonged from the outset both to hellenism and to Asianism, and Lycia remained an area of distinct cultural identity. That was still the case during the Achaemenid period, when it is particularly clearly exemplified by continuity with the Bronze Age in the religious sphere: judging from epigraphic material Lycian gods were (almost all of them) Luwian. It is, of course, true that during the fifth and fourth centuries BC cultural characteristics associated with the Greek city-states acquired increasing influence throughout the Mediterranean. The resulting linguistic and artistic impact of Greece is very obvious, and Lycian dynasts were quite willing to approve the incorporation of hellenic elements in various forms of public representation. At the same time they also made attempts to reconcile Luwian tradition and hellenism, and promoted culturally ambiguous figures such as the members of the Apollonian triad or assimilations such as as Zeus-Trqqas. The general setting was one of selective and (in significant measure) politically motivated philhellenism, not wholesale hellenization: for the most part that still lay in the future.

Abbreviations

In addition to standard abbreviations the following are used in this chapter.

CTH   E. Laroche, *Catalogue des textes hittites*, Paris, 1971.

DMic.   F. Aura Jorro, *Diccionario Grieco-Español Anejo I–II, Diccionario Micénico, volumen I (1985)–II (1993)*, Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Madrid.

KBo   *Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköy*, I–XVII = WVDOG 30, 36, 68, 70, 72, 73, 77, 78, 79, 80, 82, 83, Berlin.

Lindos   C. Blinkenberg, *Lindos. Fouilles de l'acropole 1902–1914*, II: *Inscriptions*, Berlin and Copenhagen, 1941.

LL²   H.C. Melchert, *Lycian Lexicon* [Lexica Anatolica 1], 2nd edn, Chapel Hill, NC 1993. *LL* = first edn, 1989.

M   O. Mørkholm, G. Neumann, *Die lykische Münzlegenden*, Göttingen, 1978.

N   G. Neumann, *Neufunde lykischer Inschriften seit 1901* [Österr. Akad. d. Wiss. Phil.-hist. Klasse, Denkschrift 135 = Ergänzungsbände zu den *TAM* 7], Vienna, 1979.

PY   *Siglum* for Linear B texts from Pylos. See E.L. Bennett and J.-P. Olivier, *The Pylos Tablets Transcribed*, Rome, 1973–6.

Notes

[1] D.D. Luckenbill noted the analogy between the name of Alexander and the Wilusan prince Alaksandu who concluded a vassal-treaty with King Muwatalli II. P. Kretschmer

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1924 connected this Wilusan prince with the Trojan prince Alexander-Paris, and also suggested that another Wilusan prince, Kukkunni, could be the Greek Cycnus. At the same time he quoted Stephanus of Byzantium's note concerning Motylus of Samylia (Caria), who welcomed Paris and Helen. Güterbock 1986, 35 considered Alaksandu and Kukkunni as Hittitised forms of Greek names, whereas C. Watkins 1986, 48–9 regards them as Anatolian anthroponyms, thereby following a hypothesis of F. Sommer. On Priam and Paris, see Watkins 1986, 57. Luwian onomastics in the Homeric tradition: see Lebrun 1998, 153–5 and Latacz 2002, 146 ff. For Wilusa = Troy see Latacz 2002, 98 ff.

² For example, *pergamon*, the name of the Trojan acropolis (*Il.* 24.700) derives from Luwian *pargamus* (Wathelet 1988, I, 686–7, no. 196).

³ Deiphobus marries Helen after the death of his brother Paris in the *Little Ilias*, summarized by Proclus. This practice is quoted by the Hittite Code (§ 193). Patroclus and Hector's funerals (*Iliad* 23 and 24) are very similar to Hittite royal funerals, as described in *CTH* 450. Similar necromantic rituals are performed both by the Hittites (*CTH* 446 and 449) and Odysseus (*Odyssey* 11).

⁴ See Lalagüe-Dulac 2002, esp. 131 (testimonies of travellers' diaries), 133 (literary citations of Antigonus of Carystus [3rd century BC] who connects the fire with Mount Chimaera and the altar of the Chimaera, mentioned by Quintus of Smyrna), 135–6 (scientific explanations of the natural phenomenon), 136–8 (connection of the sanctuary with baths). The site, and ancient testimonies relating to it, are discussed in Lenfant (forthcoming).

⁵ Graffiti on vases from the Xanthus acropolis: 6 are in Greek, 11 in Lycian.

⁶ Le Roy 1981–3, 223 with reference (n. 30) to the lists of Hoffstetter 1978.

⁷ Le Roy 1981–3, 221 with references (225, n. 22) to TL 56, 70, 134, 139, 143. The Greek version of the Letoon Trilingual (N 320) is also slightly condensed compared with the Lycian. (For a new translation of the Lycian version, see Raimond 2004d.)

⁸ i.e. every Lycian inscription inscribed together with a text in another language, even if one text is not necessarily the translation of the other.

⁹ cf. Raimond 2004a, 151–5 (philological edition).

¹⁰ cf. Raimond 2004a, 161–6 (philological edition and commentary on the text; on the weakening of *hêt*, see 164).

¹¹ cf. Malten 1925, 153 et fig. 63; see also Laumonier 1958, 206; Raimond 2004b, 303 and 2004a, 183.

¹² Neumann 1979, 260.

¹³ Barnett 1974, 902 (Hawkins); Laroche 1979, 115; Bryce 1986, 178; Keen 1998, 203.

¹⁴ cf. Carruba 1978, 166 and n. 12; Lebrun 1982, 129.

¹⁵ Neumann 1974, confirmed from the corpus of hieroglyphic Luwian inscriptions of J.D. Hawkins by Lebrun 2002b, 43–50.

¹⁶ Raimond 2004a, 246.

¹⁷ Bryce 1986, 173 n. 1

¹⁸ Hawkins, in Barnett 1974, 902.

¹⁹ Raimond 2004a, 246 and 2005.

²⁰ For the hypothesis of a warrior Maliya, see Barnett 1974, 901; Bryce 1983, 6.

²¹ *Homeric Hymn to Apollo*, 179–180: ὦ ἄνα, καὶ Λυκίην καὶ Μῃονίην ἐρατεινὴν καὶ Μίλητον ἔχεις. Aeschylus, *Seven against Thebes* 145–146: καὶ σύ, Λύκει᾽ ἄναξ, Λύκειος γενοῦ στρατῷ δαΐῳ. P. Mazon (Budé edn) translates thus: 'And you, God who destroyed

wolves, destroy the army of our enemies'. Contrast LSJ s.v. λύκειος: 'Lycian God, be a very wolf to the enemy'.

[22] See Raimond 2004a, 133–5 and 2004c, 133.

[23] *Treaty of Muwatalli II and Alaksandu* (*CTH* 76 = Beckman 1999, no. 13) 4.27–29.

[24] Brixhe 1976, 138 and n. 14.

[25] Morris 2001.

[26] Christidis 1972.

[27] Lebrun 1987, 261, n. 44.

[28] Raimond 2004a, 252–5.

[29] Otto 1984, 103.

[30] Ovid *Met.* 6.317 ff.; Ant.Lib. 35. See Raimond 2004a, 218–24.

[31] *SEG* 39.1414.

[32] Mc 4462. cf. *DMic.* I, 96, with references.

[33] On Yarri, see Otten 1976–80.

[34] See my forthcoming study, 'Remarques sur l'origine du dieu Arès'.

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BABYLONIAN WORKERS IN THE PERSIAN HEARTLAND: PALACE BUILDING AT MATANNAN DURING THE REIGN OF CAMBYSES

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The purpose of this chapter is to draw attention to an Akkadian document from the reign of Cambyses which attests the use of Babylonian workers at a royal site in Persia. The reason for doing so is that it has a bearing on the management of labour near the heart of the Persian Empire prior to the period covered by the Persepolis Fortification archive. That archive reveals a highly complex system for controlling the collection of agricultural commodities and their disbursement to officials, travellers, workers and other authorized recipients. It is arguably the most important body of material about Achaemenid history that has still not been fully exploited by historians of the empire, and anything that casts light upon its prehistory, however briefly, is accordingly also of considerable significance.

Achaemenid use of Babylonian temple labour
At the very beginning of his reign over Babylonia Cyrus the Great commissioned extensive construction works at Lahīru in the Transtigridian region. The purpose seems to have been to transform the town into a fortress that could control the eastward route and as such must have been part of a vast programme designed to consolidate and control the newly founded Empire.[1] Local populations were involved in the realization of the programme; in the case of Lahīru the workers conscripted for the remodelling of the town were Babylonians. The Achaemenid kings normally recruited such labourers both among the holders of military fiefs and the dependent personnel of the temples, the *širkū* (oblates). A proportional work assignment (*mišhu*) was imposed on the temples who themselves were responsible for the finance and organization of the labour required by the state.[2] In applying this system, the Achaemenids followed the practise of their predecessors in Babylon. A dossier recently presented by Paul-Alain Beaulieu illustrates, for example,

the contribution of the Eanna temple of Uruk to the construction of the North Palace of Nebuchadnezzar II at Babylon.[3]

Workers were also recruited for another project started by the early Achaemenid kings: the development of the regional economies of Khūzestān and Fārs in southwestern Iran. We are particularly well informed on what may be labelled the 'Persepolis economy' during the reign of Darius I. The Persepolis Fortification texts document the employment of vast groups of Ionians, Egyptians, Carians, etc. Such workers may not only have been active in agricultural labour *per se*, but must have been active in the construction and maintenance of irrigation works, roads, plantations, palaces and estates. Workers from Babylonia are again found in this context, both as common labourers and as specialized craftsmen.

Though the use of Babylonian corvée labour in Iran must have been a very regular phenomenon, actual links between the Babylonian dossier that documents the recruitment of workers, and the Elamite Fortification tablets from Persepolis that document their employment, are rare. This is why the text edited below, YOS 7, 187, is of such great interest. The document records the recruitment of agricultural workers of the Eanna temple to work at the palace of the king in a town named, on the basis of the reading proposed in this paper, 'Matnānu'. This place may be identified with Matanna(n), a town (or village) in the region northwest of Persepolis and well attested in the Fortification tablets:

40 ^{lú}engar^{me}[^{š} ^{d}ištar unu]g^{ki}	1
šá ^{md}nà-du-ibila ^{lú}šà.tam é.an.na a-*šú*	
šá ^{m}*na-di-nu* a ^{m}*da-bi-bi u* ^{md}30-lugal-urù	
^{lú}sag lugal ^{lú}en *pi-qit-tu$_4$* é.an.na	
a-na ^{m}*la-a-ba-ši* a-*šú šá* ^{md}*na-na-a-*šeš-mu	5
^{lú}engar ^{lú}rig$_7$ ^{d}innin unug^{ki}	
id-di-nu ^{lú}erín^{meš} a$_4$ 40	
ib-ba-ak-ma dul-lu ina é.gal	
šá lugal *šá ina* ^{uru}*ma-at-na-a-nu*	
ip-pu-šu ki-i mam-ma ina lib-bi-šú-nu	10
a-na a-šar šá-nam-ma it-tal-ku	
^{m}*la-a-ba-ši hi-ṭu šá* lugal *i-šad-da-ad*	
^{lú}*mu-kin-nu* ^{md}nà-tin-*it* a-*šú šá* ^{m}*ina*-é-sag-gìl-numun	
a ^{m}lú-^{d}be ^{md}en-sum-ibila a-*šú šá* ^{md}amar.utu-mu-mu	
a ^{md}en-a-urù ^{md}innin-na-mu-urù a-*šú*	15
šá ^{m}*gi-mil-lu* a ^{m}*kur-ri-i*	
^{lú}umbisag ^{m}*gi-mil-lu* a-*šú šá* ^{md}*in-nin*-numun-mu	
unug^{ki} iti.šu u$_4$.8.kam mu.⌜*7*⌝.k[am]	
^{m}*kam-bu-zi-iá* [lugal tin.tir^{ki}]	
lu[gal.kur.kur]	20

40 farm workers (*ikkarātu*) [of the Lady of Uru]k, whom Nabû-mukīn-apli, the administrator (*šatammu*) of Eanna, son of Nādin, descendant of Dābibī and Sîn-šarru-uṣur, the royal intendant of Eanna (*ša rēš šarri bēl piqitti Eanna*) gave to Lâbâši, son of Nanāja-ahu-iddin, the farm worker, the oblate (*širku*) of Ištar of Uruk, these 40 workers he will take to perform the work at the palace of the king, which (lies) in the town of Matnānu. In case anyone of them should go to another place, Lâbâši will bear the punishment of the king.
Witnesses: Nabû-uballiṭ, son of Ina-Esagila-zēri, descendant of Amēl-Ea, Bēl-nādin-apli, son of Marduk-šumu-iddin, descendant of Bēl-aplu-uṣur, Innin-šumu-uṣur, son of Gimillu, descendant of Kurî.
Scribe: Gimillu, son of Innin-zēru-iddin.
Uruk, 8. Du'uzu, year *7 of Cambyses,[4] [King of Babylon], Ki[ng of the Lands].

The organization of the temple's labour teams

Documents from Sippar and Uruk attest to the fact that the *qīpu*, a royal commissioner in the temple, organized the corvée obligation of the temple to the king.[5] The temple administrator (*šatammu*) assisted him in this capacity, especially with regard to the sensitive issue of manpower, an area in which the interests of the crown and that of the temple could easily clash. The official *rab širkī*, head of the oblates of the temple, was responsible for the perform-ance of public works outside the town. He had a special affiliation with the *šatammu*. A second intermediary, who organized the labour together with the *rab širkī*, was under more direct command of the *qīpu*.[6]

YOS 7, 187 deals with the recruitment of forty labourers to work at a palace in the town of Matnānu. In Sippar, the troops levied for corvée should normally consist of fifty workers, plus a few craftsmen and armed guards.[7] The forty ploughmen of our text might nevertheless represent a complete team since the full number could often not be reached due to a general shortage of workers. Lâbâši/Nanāja-ahu-iddin, the individual who is held responsible for the recruitment of the *ikkarātu*, appears in three other texts from the Eanna archive. In YOS 17, 297, an *imittu*-debt note, he owes 160 *kor* of dates to the temple. The field, property of the temple, is situated near the sluice of the Bitqu channel, a tributary of the Takkīru canal. On the same day (5.VII.1 Nbk IV) he witnessed another *imittu*-text for a field situated on the same canal (YOS 17, 296). Two days before he had likewise functioned as a witness together with two members of the committee estimating the harvest[8] in an *imittu*-document[9] for a *līmu*-field in a neighbouring strip of land. All three documents were issued at *Bitqu-ša-Bēl-ēṭir*. Perhaps he took part in the annual estimation of the harvest in the area of his responsibility.

Lâbâši's personal status is that of a dependant of the temple (*širku* or oblate) and his occupation is *ikkaru*, agricultural worker. Unfortunately the text does not give us an administrative title that would explain his leadership

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of the workers. We can try, however, to assign him a position through comparison with other texts that shed light on administrative structures.

Three titles in the lower or intermediate agricultural hierarchy are possible: *gugallu* ('canal inspector'), *rab epinni* (head of a plough team) and *rab ešerti* (decurion).

The 'canal inspector' (*gugallu*) was responsible for gathering the harvest and for the maintenance of the local irrigation system. To conduct the latter task, workers from adjacent date groves were assigned to him.[10] However, since the *gugallu*-payment was imposed on Lâbâši's own field,[11] it is unlikely that he himself was a *gugallu*. The *rab epinni* ([lú]gal [giš]apin) in Sippar was the head of a plough team consisting of three to four ploughmen.[12] In Uruk, the *rab epinni* had broader functions; he also oversaw the dues of the farmers to the temple and assigned the areas of field to be worked by each plough team,[13] but it is not clear whether they took part in the procedure of the estimation of the harvest to represent the interests of the farm workers. Jursa (1995, 10) mentions some *rab epinni* who were responsible for larger teams of workers, for instance the *rab epinni* Šamaš-ahu-uṣur, who had 33 workers in ten plough teams under his command.

The *rab ešerti* 'overseer over ten' was in principle a foreman of ten workers.[14] In OIP 122, 172 the *rab ešerti* Nergal-ina-tēši-ēṭir/Zabidāja is responsible for ten plough teams, in this particular case 54 individuals.[15] In this text, a plough team consisted of three to six individuals but in general we have to reckon with smaller teams of three to four workers. The forty farm workers in the text presented above are likely to be members of ten plough-teams liable to royal corvée work. Lâbâši/Nanāja-ahu-iddin was probably a higher-ranking *rab ešerti* who took responsibility for ten teams.[16] The existence of decurions is not a special characteristic of the agricultural management; they also appear in animal husbandry and it seems that the work force of the temple was in general structured in these groups of ten. Decurions are mentioned most frequently in texts pertaining to gangs performing corvée work,[17] and they feature in warranty deeds for the delivery of oblates[18] and recruitments.[19]

Lists of recruited workers[20] and especially letters[21] attest to the fact that the flight of oblates was a major problem. Lâbâši was personally liable for the appearance of his gang in Matnānu. If he failed to take them to perform the work, he was subject to royal jurisdiction as the immediate interests of the crown were involved.

Matanna(n) in the Fortification Texts

Hitherto, the name of the town mentioned in YOS 7, 187 was read as Baṭnānu ([uru]*Ba-aṭ-na-a-nu*), and since this name is not attested elsewhere, the

town's location could not be determined.[22] As the reading of *ma-* instead of *ba-* is unproblematic, one may safely assume that the text speaks of Matnānu, evidently the Akkadograph of Matanna(n), a place mentioned in the Fortification Tablets.

The geographical name Matanna(n), of uncertain origin and etymology, occurs in 24 Fortification texts (including entries in so-called 'journals').[23] Various spellings occur: ^{AŠ}*ma-da-na*, ^{AŠ}*ma-da-na-iš*, ^{AŠ}*ma-tan-na*, ^{AŠ}*ma-tan-na-an* and ^{AŠ}*ma-tan-na-um*.[24] As Metzler (1977, 1057) surmised, the name is likely to be identical with that of *Maitona*, a town mentioned by Ptolemy and situated in Persis (*Geogr.* VI.4.6). An estimation of Matannan's location may be attempted on the basis of the connections with other towns that can be established by means of the use of seals, joined occurrences of place names and the personnel involved. From this it appears that Matannan must be situated somewhere between Persepolis and Kaupirriš. The latter town can plausibly be identified as Kāmfīrūz, about 110 km northwest of Persepolis.[25]

From the Fortification texts, it appears that Matannan was probably a village of modest size (rather than a real town), mainly defined by the local *partetaš* (plantation or 'paradise': cf. Gk. *paradeisos*), and by the *ulhi* ('house, domain') of queen Irtaštuna (Artystone) and that of her son, prince Iršama (Arsames). Matannan does not seem to have been situated on one of the royal roads. Of 24 texts pertaining to Matannan, all dated in years 20 to 25 of Darius I (502/1–497/6 BC),[26] 8 are published and 16 are known from unpublished editions by R.T. Hallock.

The plantation at Matannan is mentioned once, in PF 0144, a document recording the deposit of *kazla* fruit at the disposal of the supply official Bakabana, at the *partetaš* of Matannan. The figs, dates and *tarmu* (emmer) produced at Matannan and nearby Kukannakan that are listed in the account text NN 2368 may (in part) pertain to the same plantation. In the Fortification texts, *partetaš* are often the localities for the production and storage of fruit.[27]

Two letter-orders, NN 0761 and NN 0958, refer to the domains of Irtaštuna, the daughter of Cyrus II and wife of Darius I, and her son Iršama at Matannan.[28] The unpublished texts are given here in translation only:

NN 0761[29]
To Šalamana speak, the woman Irtaštuna speaks as follows: 'Issue 3000 quarts of grain, from my domain (*ulhi*) at Matannan to Muddawiš! Umaya (is) the *hirakurra*'.[30] (In) the 20th year, (this letter was issued at) Persepolis.

NN 0958[31]
To Ušaya speak, Iršama speaks as follows: 'Issue 1000 quarts of *tarmu* (emmer) from my domain (*ulhi*) at Matannan to Šuruba! In the 24th year. Masdumatu (is) the *hirakurra*'.

As the above documents indicate, members of the Persian nobility were personally involved in the management of their domains and had their secretaries issue letters to order certain transactions. The domains probably were not directly controlled by the authorities in Persepolis, but were co-opted as administrative cells that could handle transactions between estate owner and the Persepolis economy at large. This would explain their relatively infrequent occurrence in the Fortification archive. The domain of Iršama is not attested elsewhere in the archive, but the prince does occur several times in the company of his mother, receiving various commodities at a royal estate.[32] That both had a domain at the same place, Matannan, is therefore not surprising. As for Irtaštuna, Matannan was not her only domain. Five other letter-orders mention her *ulhi* at Mirandu/Uranduš and Kukannaka (the latter may have been close to Matannan; cf. n. 25).[33] The domain at Matannan is probably referred to in a grain inventory; in this text the place is labelled *humanuš*, 'village'.[34]

Many Fortification texts mention Irtaštuna's name. Her economic activities are sometimes referred to in texts on her domains, and sometimes in texts documenting receipts of (special) rations by members of her labour force and the deposit of commodities. The latter two types of texts, though not stating so explicitly, may well be related to Irtaštuna's domains too. Thus, various kinds of *tarmu* (emmer) as well as figs 'of/for Irtaštuna' were deposited at Matannan, presumably at her *ulhi*.[35] Likewise, the *kurtaš* ('workers') and *pašap* women of Irtaštuna stationed at Matannan were probably active at the queen's domain.[36]

Strictly speaking, the Fortification texts do not provide evidence for the existence of an actual residence of Irtaštuna and/or Iršama at Matannan, i.e. a palace or other residential building that could be identical with the one mentioned in YOS 7, 187. The term *ulhi* in NN 0761 and NN 0958 need not refer to a palatial structure (a 'house' in the literal sense) since it is often used for 'domain' in the Fortification tablets (cf. Briant 2002, 445–6). It seems likely, however, that there was indeed a residence at Matannan. Irtaštuna's possessions at Matannan, like those at Kukannaka, probably functioned as a productive unit intended for the maintenance of her household, but that does not preclude that they also served as residence.[37] An argument in favour of the latter is the presence of a *partetaš*; such plantations were sometimes the *locus* of royal feasts (Henkelman 2006, 371–2 and forthcoming). More generally, many Achaemenid paradises throughout the empire seem to have included or have been adjacent to smaller or larger palaces (see Tuplin 1996, 107–8). It is true that none of the texts documenting foodstuffs dispensed 'before Irtaštuna' can be connected to Matannan, but this may be fortuitous.[38] Indeed, there is a single text about *razi* food being consumed 'before the king'

at Kukannaka (PF 0718) indicating that this place probably had a residence. In case of Matannan, a clue to the same effect can be found in NN 1876, a receipt of grain issued at Matannan for a period of two months to a *kursura rabbaka*, 'conscripted painter'. The same verb from which *kursura* is derived, *karsu-* ('to paint'), appears in the famous Susa Charter (DSf, Elamite version l.37) in connection with the decoration of palace walls; such may also have been the task of the painter at Matannan.[39]

In short, there is reason to believe that Irtaštuna's domain at Matannan included a real residence and that this may have been the same as the palace commissioned by Cambyses in the sixth or seventh year of his reign. The structure need not have been very extensive. Rather, we probably should envisage a building similar to the Achaemenid stone 'pavilions' found throughout Fars.[40] During Irtaštuna's visits, such a building might have been used in conjunction with the tents of the queen and her household.

As noted above, Irtaštuna was the daughter of Cyrus II and thus (half-) sister of Cambyses II. If it is true that her domain at Matannan was the same as the palace commissioned by Cambyses according to YOS 7, 187, it is not likely that the queen inherited the palace directly from her brother. It is more likely that Darius I appropriated and re-allocated the former king's possessions. The new king may have had a special motive, however, for granting Matannan to Irtaštuna. As daughter of Cyrus the Great and sister of Cambyses, but also as a politically 'neutralized' consort of Darius I, queen Irtaštuna may have been considered to be the appropriate person to manage (some of) the remaining assets of her brother's House. It may be noted that Udusa/Atossa, the other surviving daughter of Cyrus, is not very prominent in the Fortification archive (PF 0162, PF 0163). In contrast to what the Greek sources suggest, Irtaštuna may well have been the head of the Teispid family at the Persian court: but for Herodotus she is simply the wife whom Darius loved most (VII.69).

The rise of the Persepolis economy

One of the most distorting characteristics of the Persepolis Fortification texts is the fact that the texts come from a very limited time span (Darius years 13–28 = 509/8–494/3) and that as much as 46% of the dated texts are from two years (Darius years 22–23 = 500/499–499/498). This makes it very hard to establish medium- and long-term patterns in the administration of the Achaemenid heartland economy. In fact, its lack of depth in time renders the Fortification corpus a tricky historical tool, for it tends to blind us to the long-term continuity of bureaucratic and administrative practises and institutions throughout the Middle and Neo-Elamite and early Achaemenid periods. There is, for example, evidence for a centralized redistribution

economy in eastern Khūzestān in the mid-seventh century that has a number of traits that recur in the Persepolis economy (Stolper 1978; Henkelman 2006, 14–5). Another case is that of the sixth-century Acropole archive from Susa, in which a number of bureaucratic terms and procedures are used that can also be found in the Fortification texts.

The documentation from Achaemenid Babylonia adds to the evidence on the development of regional institutional economies in south-western Iran. Most texts relating to Babylonian presence in late-sixth-century Iran are legal documents drafted among Babylonian merchants, such as the eleven texts, dated to the reigns of Cambyses II and 'Bardiya',[41] dealing with 'Humadēšu' i.e. Uvādaicaya/Matezziš in the immediate vicinity of the place where later Persepolis would be built.[42] Documents on work in Iran are scarce and often not very informative about the precise destination of the recruited workers. Apart from Lahīru in the Transtigridian region, Susa and 'Elam' are mentioned as the places where workers are sent to perform corvée work in the king's service.[43]

Two texts on work in Iran refer explicitly to the Persepolis region. One is a letter, TCL 9, 85, that mentions 37 individuals sent to Humadēšu. The precise context is unclear, but the greeting formula used indicates that the sender was from Uruk.[44] Unfortunately the letter is undated, so that it is not helpful in reconstructing the rise of the Persepolis economy.[45] That leaves only the text under discussion, YOS 7, 187, documenting the recruitment of *ikkarātu* from Eanna for construction work (*dullu*) at Matannan. Evidently, the forty men sent to Matannan in Cambyses' seventh year must have been enlisted on the rosters of the labour managers in Fārs and on this basis regular rations must have been provided for them. The texts drafted to account for such rations are likely to have been similar to the many Fortification texts on rations for Babylonians and other foreign work forces.[46] In other words, YOS 7, 187 is the first indirect proof that a predecessor to the Persepolis bureaucracy from the reign of Darius must already have been in place in Fārs under Cambyses. As such it is a tantalizing reminder that Darius did not create *ex nihilo* the vast and complex Persepolis economy documented by the Fortification texts.

Abbreviations

In addition to standard abbreviations the following are used in this chapter.

AnOr 8   A. Pohl, *Neubabylonische Rechtsurkunden* I, Analecta Orientalia 8, Rome 1933

Camb   Cambyses (in date-formulae)

Cyr   Cyrus (in date-formulae)

Cyr.   J.N. Strassmaier, *Inschriften von Cyrus, König von Babylon*

BIN 1   C.E. Keiser, *Letters and Contracts from Erech written in the Neo-Babylonian Period*, Babylonian Inscriptions in the Collection of J.B. Nies 1, New Haven, 1918

BIN 2   J.B. Nies and C.E. Keiser, *Historical, Religious and Economic Texts and Antiquities*, Babylonian Inscriptions in the Collection of J.B. Nies 2, New Haven, 1920

Dar   Darius (in date-formulae)

NBC   Inventory number of tablets in the Nies Babylonian Collection, Yale

Nbk   Nebuchadnezzar (in date-formulae)

Nbn   Nabonidus (in date-formulae)

OIP 122   D.B. Weisberg, *Neo-Babylonian Texts from the Oriental Institute Collections*, Oriental Institute Publications 122, Chicago, 2003

TCL 9   G. Contenau, *Contrats et lettres d'Assyrie et de Babylonie*, Textes cunéiformes, Musée du Louvre 9, Paris, 1926

UCP 9/1   H.F. Lutz, 'Neobabylonian administrative documents from Erech', University of California Publications in Semitic Philology 9.1, 1–115, 1927

YBC   Inventory number of tablets in the Yale Babylonian Collection

YOS 3   A.T. Clay, *Neo-Babylonian Letters from Erech*, Yale Oriental Series 3, New Haven, 1919

YOS 6   R.P. Dougherty, *Records from Erech, time of Nabonidus*, Yale Oriental Series 6, New Haven, 1920

YOS 7   A. Tremayne, *Records from Erech, time of Cyrus and Cambyses*, Yale Oriental Series 7, New Haven, 1925

YOS 17   D.B. Weisberg, *Texts from the time of Nebuchadnezzar*, Yale Oriental Series 17, New Haven, 1980

Notes

[1] Joannès 2005, 187.

[2] The royal household could, however, also participate in financing the work that was eventually carried out by temple personnel: cf. Beaulieu 2005, 67.

[3] Paul-Alain Beaulieu is currently preparing a monograph in which this corpus will be published. An overview and preliminary results can be found in Beaulieu 2005.

[4] The lower part of the sign is broken, i.e. year 6 or 7 is possible. Judging by the appearance of the group of signs after collation, year 7 is more likely.

[5] For Sippar see Bongenaar 1997, 40 ff. and MacGinnis 2003; for Uruk see Beaulieu 2005, 55–61.

[6] Beaulieu 2005, 61, especially n. 31.

[7] MacGinnis 2003, 97.

[8] Gimillu/Ahulap-Ištar/Hunzû is known as *ēmidu*, 'estimator of harvest' (AnOr 8, 30 and YOS 6, 232).

[9] YOS 17, 293, issued on 3.vii.1 Nbk IV.

[10] Jursa 1995, 53.

[11] YOS 17, 297.

[12] Jursa 1995, 10 f.

[13] Personal communication by B. Janković who will elaborate on this in her forthcoming dissertation on agriculture in Uruk. In BIN 2, 108, the [lú]gal [giš]apin Ina-silli-Nanāja/Ištar-šumu-usur, Nanāja-ereš/Mukkēa and Kudurrānu/Liblut, take an oath to the effect that they have not hidden any land from the Lady of Uruk and that they have not imposed any land of the *ikkarātu* (agricultural workers who are personally dependent on the temple) on *errēšu* (rent-farmers) or *vice versa*. Despite the usage of the verb *emēdu* this text does not refer to an estimation of the harvest but rather to the assignment of land for ploughing (*contra* Kümmel 1979, 98, who listed the three individuals as estimators). The text should be viewed in connection with YBC 4000, edited in Janković 2005, 167 ff.

[14] In reality, he was responsible for 10–13 individuals, cf. Bongenaar 1997, 42, 130.

[15] The colophon assigns the responsibility for ten plough teams to him: pap 10 [giš]apin[meš] *ina* igi N. In BIN 1, 112 (Nbk 19) he is designated as *rab ešerti*.

[16] These suggestions are preliminary. B. Janković will treat the hierarchical structure of the *ikkārātu* in her forthcoming dissertation.

[17] Bongenaar 1997, 42 f. and 130. See also UCP 9/1 ii 24, collated and re-edited by Beaulieu 2005, 55 ff.

[18] For example NBC 4516.

[19] In YOS 6, 151 the decurions are responsible for the levy of archers.

[20] See, e.g., *Cyr.* 292, cf. MacGinnis 2003, 102 f. and 109–13.

[21] See, e.g., YOS 3, 69, 125, 146; BIN 1, 13 and 40.

[22] Zadok 1985, 72; Joannès 2005, 189, n. 20.

[23] The texts and journal entries mentioning Matannan are: PF 0144; PF 0166; PF 0167; PF 0168; PF 1236; PF 1857, 17–20; PF 1945, 4–6; PF 1947, 74–5; NN 0260, 4; NN 0279; NN 0760; NN 0761; NN 0958; NN 1238; NN 1550; NN 1669; NN 1685; NN 1734; NN 1876; NN 2081; NN 2368; NN 2450; NN 2485; NN 2497. (For the sigla used for Fortification tablets see the List of Abbreviations at the start of this volume.)

[24] See Vallat 1993, 162 s.v. Madanaš and 177 s.v. Matanna(n).

[25] Matannan is connected with Rakkan in the Persepolis area (PF 1947,74–5); there is also an indirect connection with Tirazziš (Shiraz) via the place Kukannaka (NN 0260). Via seal PFS 0013 (with Matannan on PF 0166, PF 0167, PF 0168, NN 1685 and NN 2081) Matannan is connected with Baktiš (e.g. PF 0169), Kaupirriš (e.g. PF 0178) and Kurra (e.g. PF 0178), three places that also occur with seal PFS 0003, the regional seal of the Kāmfirūz area. Other seals that connect Matannan to this area are PFS 0008, PFS 0143, PFS 0206 and the seal identified by Hallock as 'N 122'.

[26] According to R.T. Hallock's manuscript, a possible non-joining fragment of text NN 0760 contains the name Matannan. If the fragment indeed belongs to NN 0760, the earliest occurrence of Matannan in the Fortification texts is in Darius years 17–19 (the date of NN 0760).

[27] See also the grain ration issued to Marka the *miktam huttira* ('fruit producer, fruit preparer') at Matannan (PF 1945, 4–5). On plantations in the Fortification archive see Tuplin 1996, 93–6, 178–82; Uchitel 1997; Briant 2002, 442–4, 466, 942–3;

Henkelman 2006, 359–62, 371–2.

[28] On Irtaštuna in the Fortification tablets see Cameron 1942; Lewis 1977, 22; *idem* 1984, 599; *idem* 1985, 110; Garrison 1991, 7–10; Koch 1994, 134–6; Brosius 1996, 97, 125–9; Garrison and Root 2001, 83–5; Briant 2002, 446, 463, 920; Henkelman forthcoming. Note that, according to Herodotus (VII.69), Artystone was king Darius' favourite wife; the king is said to have commissioned a gold statue of her.

[29] Seal: PFS 0038 (the personal seal of queen Irtaštuna) on left edge, right edge, upper edge and reverse.

[30] Hinz (1973, 94; cf. Hinz and Koch 1987, 669) interprets *hirakurra* as the Elamograph of Old Persian **ira-kara* ('wörtlich "Energie-Macher", also etwa "Kommissar"').

[31] Seal(s): unidentified traces on the reverse, upper edge and left edge.

[32] See PF 0733, PF 0734 and PF 2035. Compare also PF 0309 (Iršama orders 300 quarts of grain for Uparmiya/Parmys, the daughter of Bardiya).

[33] See PF 1835, NN 1137 and NN 2523 (Mirandu/Uranduš), PF 1836 and PF 1837 (Kukannaka). PF 1838 and PF 1839 are similar letter-orders from Irtaštuna, but do not mention a place name or the term *ulhi*. As Brosius (1996, 126 n. 15) surmises, the occurrence of the names of Šalamana, plausibly Irtaštuna's steward at Matannan and Kukannaka, and that of Irtima the *hirakurra*, elsewhere linked to Kukannaka, makes it likely that these texts relate to the domain at Kukannaka. Other domains: PF 1855 (*ulhi* of Ramannuya; no place name given); PFa 27 (*ulhi* of the royal woman Irdabama at or near Šullaggi); NN 1133 (*ulhi* of Karma; no place name given); NN 1548 (*ulhi* of Untukka; *idem*).

[34] PF 1857, 17–20: grain stored at the *humanuš* Matannan in accordance with a document provided by Irtaštuna. The text provides rare information on the administrative links between a semi-autonomous domain and the central bureaucracy. Apparently, Irtaštuna's staff had to account for the grain (and other products) harvested and/or stored at her domain and this information was processed at Persepolis.

[35] PF 0166 (7100 quarts *tarmu hadatiš*), PF 0167 (540 quarts *tarmu hadatiš*), NN 1685 (2530 quarts *tarmu hadatiš* and 400 quarts *tarmu kurrusam*), NN 2081 (2100 quarts *tarmu hadatiš*), PF 0168 (570 quarts figs). NN 2450 (1030 quarts *tarmu hadatiš* and 200 quarts *tarmu kurrusam*) and NN 2485 (710 quarts *tarmu hadatiš* and 710 quarts *tarmu kurrusam*) mention Matannan, but not Irtaštuna. Both tablets have an impression of PFS 0206, a seal also used on texts recording deposit of commodities for Irtaštuna at Matannan (PF 0166, PF 0167, NN 1685, NN 2081). NN 1669 documents the deposit of 2930 quarts *tarmu hadatiš* at Matannan; the seals on this tablet have not been identified as yet. Note also NN 0260 for the transport of 8410 quarts (of grain) to Matannan. On *tarmu* see Henkelman forthcoming.

[36] *Kurtaš* of Irtaštuna: NN 0279 (792 quarts of flour for 132 workers). PF 1947, 74–6 documents the receipt of 357.5 quarts of flour by 42 *kurtaš* at Matannan; it is unclear whether these also belong to Irtaštuna's work force. *Pašap* women of Irtaštuna: PF 1236 (50 quarts grain for 3 mothers), NN 1734 (35 quarts of beer for 4 mothers), NN 2497 (100 quarts of beer for 12 mothers). NN 1550 records the allocation of 20 quarts of beer for 3 mothers, *pašap* women at Matannan, but does not mention Irtaštuna. Compare also NN 1238 (10 quarts of beer for 20 *sitmap* women of Irtaštuna at Matannan).

[37] Matannan probably produced various kinds of grain and fruit, whereas Kukannaka may have produced wine and livestock (cf. Brosius 1996, 126).

[38] The fact that some letter-orders mention a second place name from which the letter was sent does not mean that Irtaštuna never visited her domains: orders issued by her

on the spot logically are not documented in the Fortification archive. Letter-orders with a second place name are: NN 0761, concerning Matannan (sent from Persepolis) and NN 2523, concerning Mirandu/Uranduš (apparently sent from Susa; cf. Henkelman 2006, 133 n. 65 and forthcoming).

[39] Vowel colour in CVC signs often is ambiguous in Elamite; there is therefore no problem in deriving the form *kur-su-ra* from *karsu*, 'to paint'. Compare *kur-su-ib-ba* (PF 1007) and *kar-su-ip* (PF 1110). Conscripted painters occur a number of times in the Fortification texts (PF 1007, NN 1313, NN 1321, NN 1341, NN 2102, NN 2439 [all at Kaupirriš]). The precise status implied by *rabbaka* (lit. 'bound, chained') is unclear. Other painters occur in PF 1110 and PF 1111 (at Itema), PF 1169 (no place name), NN 0898 (female painters; no place name), NN 1117 (Egyptian painters travelling on the royal road). On the DSf passage see Hinz 1971, 23; Steve 1974, 143–5.

[40] Remains of 'pavilions' have been found at Tepe Sūrūvān/Gīnğīn, Farmešğān, Borāzğān and, perhaps, Tepe Pahnu, Tell-e Zohak and Fīrūzābād. See Henkelman 2006, 74 (with references).

[41] As it remains unclear which Bardiya is referred to, I prefer not to identify him with Smerdis.

[42] For a listing of the Humadēšu texts see Zadok 1976, 67–78, to which add Ashmolean 1924.1642, published by McEwan (1984, 65–6), and BM 74457, published by Weszeli (1996, 472–3, 476 no. 2). On the texts see also Stolper 1984, 306–8; *idem* 1990, 168–70 with nn. 12, 21; Graziani 1991, xvii n. 20, xxi, xxviii, 8–11; Zawadzki 1995; Briant 2002, 72, 86–8. Though the Humadēšu texts have no direct bearing on the rise of the Persepolis economy in the late-6th century, they are an important witness to the larger story of intensified commercial activity in late Neo-Elamite and early Achaemenid southwestern Iran (cf. Henkelman 2006, 19–22, 268–71).

[43] Lahīru and Elam: Dandamaev 1992. Elam: Zadok 1995. Elam and Susa: MacGinnis 2002.

[44] As M. Jursa points out (personal communication), the sender Nidintu could be identical with the sender of the letter BM 114600 (Camb 1).

[45] The letter was sent from an unknown location, along with the workers, probably to Uruk. The gang is supposed to receive rations and equipment for one year. The addressee is Nādinu, whom Zadok 1976, 69 tentatively identified with Nādinu/Balāṭu, the *šākin ṭēmi* of Uruk until Cyr 1. Chronological considerations, and the fact that the letter belongs to the Eanna archive, rather suggest the identification of the addressee with the temple scribe (*ṭupšar* Eanna) Nādinu/Bēl-ahhē-iqīša/Egibi (in office from Nbn 12 to Camb 4). As no patronymic is given, the identification remains speculative.

[46] An example is PF 0868, a text on grain rations for 56 Babylonian workers in Dar 28. For the Babylonians in the Fortifications archive see Stolper 1984 and Henkelman 2006, 271 n. 619 (with references).

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9

READING PERSEPOLIS IN GREEK: GIFTS OF THE YAUNA

Margaret Cool Root

Introduction

This chapter is the first of two investigations in which I consider how a hypothetical upper-class Athenian citizen of the classical age would have responded to the program of Achaemenid art known from the Persian heartland capital at Persepolis. The focus here is on his reaction to the 'Greek' delegation of gift-bearers on the Apadana, a group whose unusual assortment of gifts has not received adequate scholarly comment. The second investigation examines his reading of the extended metaphor of the Apadana reliefs.[1] My procedure will be to interrogate the scene in terms of Achaemenid art and then to explore the ways in which an Athenian might have interpreted it according to his own world-view and perceptions of appropriateness.

My hypothetical Athenian's visit to Persepolis belongs in the long century from about 460 to right before 330, and I picture his reactions in terms of the culture of what conventional terminology calls the classical age. That is, of course, an artificial concept. To be sure, the Athenian socio-political landscape shifted greatly across these years. Nevertheless, there was sufficient broad uniformity of referential experience to validate the invention of a generic elite Athenian traveler – one who is not tied to a specific point of flux within the century and is not meant to be seen as micro-historically defined. The purpose of his invention in this way is to allow contemplation of broad issues in *cross-cultural* encounter with Persia that emerge from the experiment.

The visit comes after the Apadana was completed. The foundations were laid by 515 (Root 1986–7), and the sculptural program was designed during the reign of Darius (522–486), though work continued into that of Xerxes (486–465) (Root 1979, 86–95). There is therefore no question of our culturally-attuned classical Athenian influencing the formulation of Achaemenid art as we see it at Persepolis. That art was essentially a dynamic response to Egyptian and greater Mesopotamian traditions (Root 1979) and, although the current project raises the possibility that Darius' designers

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considered the probable reception of the program *by then-contemporary Greeks*, the era of planning was simultaneous with the Greek archaic period – well before our hypothetical Athenian visited Persepolis. Stories told by a traveler such as ours upon his return home might have had an impact on Athenian art or literary production, but that topic (cf. Root 1985) is not explicitly discussed here

I select an *Athenian* visitor so that I can use Attic cultural production as my main point of reference without repeatedly justifying an assumption of access to this production and acquaintance specifically with Athenian cultural norms and social values.[2] This Athenian is a fully invested citizen; and essentially by definition he is thus a male.[3] Although constructions of gender were not rigidly binary in classical Athens,[4] I am portraying our visitor as a notional normative male, perforce without humanizing shades of personal experience and self-identification. *As* a male, our man could know not only the imagery of the masculine civic realm of his environment but also the imagery mainly visible on objects used by females in their domestic and ritual activities. The various corners of the Athenian household were not, after all, closed to the Athenian male in the way the outside world was largely closed to a good Athenian woman (Nevett 1999).

I will not rehearse the case for the *actual* presence of Athenians in Persepolis, though I think it very strong.[5] The present exercise does, however, presuppose a willingness to suspend traditional views on the isolation of Persepolis – views that persist at least tacitly despite many efforts to shift them.[6] There were also non-Persepolitan venues and mechanisms for Athenian encounter with the Apadana program,[7] but I place our visitor on the imperial citadel at the heartland capital as a way of highlighting the performative agenda of a visual environment meant to engage a world of receivers.[8]

The Old Persian word *Yauna* (Ionian) connoted any and all Greeks, regardless of origin.[9] The Achaemenids did acknowledge variations (texts allude to the varied locations of so-called Yauna) but the overriding feeling is of collectivity. Although none of the Apadana delegations is labeled, the force of scholarly argument strongly favors identifying Group XII as these Yauna; the group is best understood as depicting an idea that could in principle incorporate populations of mainland Greek states and all the colonial entities of the Greek diaspora as well as East Greece.[10]

The Achaemenid clustering of all Greeks under one rubric might seem a dismissive neutralization of the variety of Greek cultural and political experience. But we might also detect a wish to create unity in diversity out of the dispersed and varied realities of being Yauna. The theme of unity in diversity is important in the larger context of Achaemenid imperial construction (Root 1990) and seems also to be operative in a range of subsets of association

between specific peoples (e.g. Iranians) rendered on the Apadana.[11] This reductive attitude has a place in Greek thought too, since a sense of group identity based on common language did exist (in part fostered by contact and conflict with the Persian Empire) and could on occasion supersede the inter-state rivalries of Greek *Realpolitik* (Hall 1989, esp. 4–13). So, although the collective notion of Greekness appeared with different force among Persians and Greeks, the idea was foreign to neither. This will have affected our Athenian's reading of the Apadana according to the date and his attitude to panhellenism. He might bridle at being portrayed as 'just another Yauna' or the collective vision might reinforce his fluctuating sense of solidarity with all Yauna. Ambivalence of this sort appears in Herodotus[12] and can reasonably be thought part of the experience of the classical Athenian. But whatever the political circumstances of the moment, it is hard to imagine our Athenian being *un*interested in how the Yauna were portrayed.

Especially *because* the Apadana delegate groups have no captions, they invite oral commentary – with visitors pointing out representations of peoples, musing about their intended identities and the meanings of their gifts. It is clear from Aeschylus' *Persians* that Athenians understood that Persians called all Greeks 'Ionians' (Hall 1989; Tuplin 1996, 134). Thus our Athenian visitor will have appreciated that he himself was (by projection) portrayed as part of the collective Yauna bearing gifts to the Persian king along with Greek peoples securely within imperial control at the time of his visit. Across the long century, this will have sparked varying responses. In what follows I aim to create an impressionistic sense of the range of possible reactions.

The Apadana

The official art of the Achaemenid kings addressed diverse viewers with messages that could be read against a varied cultural backdrop while retaining some overarching homogeneity of intended meaning. A key element was to convey an ideology of harmonious hegemony that dovetailed with the textual rhetoric of royal display inscriptions (Root 1990).

The Apadana is the most explicit and publicly accessible material expression of Achaemenid Persian imperial ideology at Persepolis. If its three great columned porticoes are taken into account, it covers the largest area of any edifice on the citadel; the platform upon which it sits (higher than that of any other building) and its lofty and variegated columns render it the most imposing structure in elevation; and the horizontal plan of public space makes the visitor approach its lavishly decorated north stairway across the large open courtyard that separates it from the Gate of All Lands.[13]

At two corners of the Apadana, foundation deposits include inscriptions engraved trilingually on silver and gold tablets. The words frame the empire

in terms of the lands at the far reaches of its four corners and the deposits thus make the corners of the actual structure an implicit allegory for the fixing of the corners of the empire achieved by assertive power. Up above, the reliefs extending across the stairway façades leading to the north and east porticoes represent the empire metaphorically in the form of a gift-giving procession. This ceremony embodies the result of the outward-directed conquest that anchors the building's foundation: the symbolically-charged channeling to the center of the goods, services and co-operative spirit that will enable the reciprocal relationship between ruler and ruled to thrive.

On the original central panel of each façade, the king is enthroned under a baldachin with his crown prince standing behind him. The royal pair receive a bowing official who announces the imminent start of events (*Fig.* 1). On Wing A, to the rear of the central panel, files of Persian nobles in alternating court robes and riding costume chatter amongst themselves – until those towards the front (nearest the royal group) become still in anticipation of the ceremonial soon to commence. On Wing B, approaching the king and crown prince from the other side, twenty-three groups of gift-bearing delegations representing peoples of the empire wait in precise formation. A Persian usher takes the leader of each group by the hand in preparation for the moment when they are led before the king. We are meant to imagine the groups moving up the stairs and into the audience hall where a ceremony of gift-giving probably occurred in actuality. At the same time, the sculptural representation of gift-giving is a metaphor for the empire itself. The original central panels were moved, probably in the reign of Artaxerxes III (359–338), to a prominent columned room within the Treasury[14] and replaced by the panels displaying heraldic flanks of honour guards that remain *in situ*
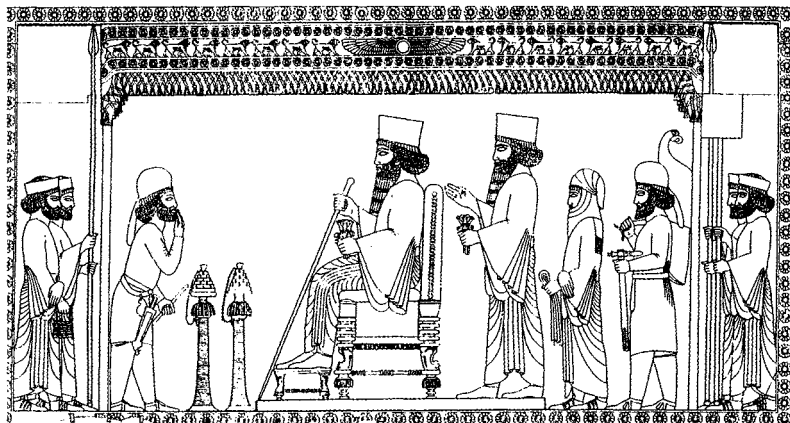
Fig. 1. Apadana Original Central Panel, east façade (adapted from Tilia 1972, Fig. 3).

today. But even for a visitor arriving after this change had been made, the meaning of the processional representation will have been obvious.

The apparel of the Yauna

All the figures in Group XII (*Fig.* 2 a–b) wear a smooth high boot that extends halfway up the calf and is tipped up slightly at the toe. The figures in Group VI (Lydians) wear the same type of footwear. This is a version of the Greek traveling boot, perhaps a fitting acknowledgement that any Yauna in Persepolis has made a long journey. Our Athenian would recognize the object (despite its somewhat un-Athenian form) but might be startled at the clothing with which it is associated. For, instead of other traveling gear, such as the broad-brimmed hat (*petasos*) or traveling cloak (*chlamys*),[15] the delegates wear long, elaborately draped robes. These garments are interesting in their own right.

All delegates wear a crinkly undergarment (*chiton*) with a generously-sized overgarment (*himation*) draped on top. The *himation* has a border indicated by incision and a tassel at each corner.[16] In the classical period, Athenian men

Fig. 2a. Apadana Group XII – north façade (drawn by Y. Keshtkar).

Fig. 2b. Apadana Group XII – east façade (drawn by Y. Keshtkar).

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went about the city wearing only a *himation* (Geddes 1987), usually revealing much of the upper body.[17] The two-part garment of the Ionian delegation recalls the sartorial custom of the archaic period among mature elite males of East Greece and hellenized western Anatolia,[18] but it would have evoked a bygone era and perhaps had a slightly exotic feel for our Athenian visitor. Would he see this sumptuous archaic dress as a simple reflection of the early date of the sculpture? Or might he consider it in more complex terms? Could it, for example, be read as a nostalgic anachronism invoking memories of former kings and tyrants, from Croesus to the Peisistratids, befriended by the Achaemenid court?

Herodotus wrote of such figures,[19] and the Athenian's imagination was infused with the narratives of Herodotus. One of Herodotus' anecdotes (6.125) comes to mind. Alcmeon, son of Megacles the Athenian, was invited by Croesus, the fabulously wealthy king of Lydia, to take as much gold from his treasury as he could carry on his person. Alcmeon dressed in voluminous garments and put on his most capacious boots. Thus outfitted, he crammed every available crevice of his clothing and body with gold dust from Croesus' treasury. Croesus was so amused that he rewarded Alcmeon with even more gold. Our Athenian might himself laugh at the sight of these sculptured Yauna, who would look to *his* eyes as if they were dressed in burlesque fashion to take advantage of the *Persian* king just as Alcmeon took advantage of Croesus. Or he might remember another Herodotus story about the Persian Artaphernes (Darius' brother) challenging Histiaeus of Miletus about the Ionian revolt (6.1). Histiaeus pretends to know nothing. Artaphernes replies that it was Histiaeus himself who *made* the [metaphorical] shoe that the tyrant Aristagoras (the nominal leader) then put on. Recollection of this story would give our Athenian cause for unease as he made his way to visit the Persian king.

But there are other possibilities. The completely swathed bodies of the Yauna could be a piece of flagrant Persian ignorance about contemporary Greek fashion and custom and recall Herodotus' account of Artaphernes asking (in ignorance or with irony) who these Athenians *are* and where in the world they come from (5.73). Or the whole garment business might be seen as an insulting feminization of the Greek male – an assault on the public discourse of masculinity conveyed in the nude or semi-revealed bodies of the Athenian male. In classical Athens, a taste for Persian costume developed after the Persian Wars. Persianizing garments – in the form of a modified *chiton*-like dress or the sleeved jacket (*kandys*) – appear with pattern-woven or embroidered decoration. Elite Athenian women (and their children) were the consumers of this fashion. Only foreign males would otherwise wear such things (Miller 1997, 155–70, 249–50); an Athenian *male* would eschew

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them as a sign of effeminacy and feminizing luxury. Similarly, the boots worn by the Yauna might recall Aristophanes' jokes about a type of Persianizing or Persian-import footwear (called *Persikai*) worn only by women and children (Miller 1997, 153–4, 250).

The gifts of the Yauna: overview

Seven of the eight Ionians bear gifts. (The leader, led by the hand, carries nothing, as is the case with the other twenty-two delegate groups.) They bring three types of gifts: (a) unadorned bowls and beakers, carried one in each hand by three figures, for a total of six vessels on each façade; (b) folded textiles carried by two figures on each façade: on the north, each of two men holds one set in each hand (for a total of four bundles), whereas on the east, each man carries only one bundle supported by both arms (for a total of two folded bundles); (c) rounded objects (balls of wool? or something else?) carried by two figures on each façade: each figure holds two (for a total of four objects on each façade). In this case differences between the two façades complicate interpretation of a gift that is particularly enigmatic and also particularly rich in interpretive potential for our Athenian.

The vessels: description

On the north façade, the first two gift-bearers each hold two Achaemenid beakers ornamented by an encircling ridge at the base of the rim. The third man holds two unadorned Achaemenid deep bowls with strongly everted rims (*Fig.* 3). On the east, the initial gift-bearer holds two Achaemenid beakers decorated with horizontal fluting. The second and third gift-bearers each carry two Achaemenid deep bowls, unadorned except for a single horizontal ridge at the shoulder and with the same strongly everted rim seen already on the north (*Fig.* 4).

It is generally assumed that all vessels shown as gifts on the Apadana were intended to represent metal versions of their respective forms. This idea

Fig. 3. Apadana Group XII, vessels on the north façade, detail of *Fig.* 2a.

Fig. 4. Apadana Group XII, vessels on the east façade, detail of *Fig.* 2b.

seems logical as a way of explaining why vessels that are quite plain (like the ones brought by Group XII) are suitable for a grand presentation ceremony. Sami characterizes Group XII as bringing 'vessels full of precious things' and the Babylonians of group V (carrying similar shapes) as bringing 'vessels full of gold and silver' (1955, 20 and 19 respectively). Dutz and Matheson (1998, 54) pick up on this, stating that Group XII bring 'cups of precious material, probably dyes'. Sami's suggestion can be neither refuted nor verified from the visual evidence. It reflects his concern to explain the vessels' relatively small size and plain forms in comparison with the amphorae of the Lydians (Group VI) or the truly outstanding amphora brought by the Armenians of Group III (Schmidt 1953, pls. 32 and 29, respectively). Unassuming as the vessels of Group XII may seem, it is interesting to note that six is the largest number of vessels brought by any delegate group.[20]

Beakers

The roughly cylindrical Achaemenid beaker (often flaring slightly toward the lip and with a rounded base) develops out of earlier Near Eastern metal prototypes (Calmeyer 1993, 154).[21] Very few actual metal examples have been retrieved (Miller 1993, 114–15), but a beautiful glass version was discovered in fragments in the Persepolis Treasury (Schmidt 1957, pl. 67, 10). It would have been considered as precious as a version in gold or silver, if we can believe Aristophanes' quip at *Acharnians* 74 (Goldstein 1980, 49 n. 13). A stone (alabaster?) beaker was unearthed in Sami's excavations on the citadel; it too would have had some cachet.[22] At the other end of the spectrum, plain ceramic versions of coarse fabric were discovered below the citadel during restoration work.[23]

Cylindrical Achaemenid beakers were adapted by classical Athenian potters working in black-gloss technique, which simulates the hard sheen of metal. But in the process the beaker acquired a flat base and a handle – becoming effectively a mug. Thus, although closely related to the Achaemenid beaker and often fluted like the eastern metal prototypes, it was really a different vessel (Miller 1993). Miller has discovered only one example of a true cylindrical beaker depicted in an Attic symposium scene.[24] This suggests very limited usage of the form in elite male domains.

Bowls

The broad open vessels with everted rims depict what archaeologists call Achaemenid deep bowls. They are a hallmark of the western Iranian repertoire during the Achaemenid empire (Dusinberre 1999 and 2003, 176–8). A plain bronze example of just such a vessel was excavated from the Persepolis Treasury (*Fig.* 5). A version in coarse clay but with well-controlled

Fig. 5. Bronze bowl from Persepolis Treasury (adapted from Schmidt 1957, pl. 68, 1).

horizontal fluting has been reconstructed from fragments discovered below the Persepolis citadel.[25]

The vessel form was also welcomed beyond the Iranian heartland. Elite Lydians appropriated it in the metallic (and probably glass) versions used in court circles. Lydians of lesser social status adopted it in ceramic versions, as is clear from the archaeological record at Sardis. These appropriations were part of an embrace of Achaemenid dining customs as well as an emulation of a particular vessel shape (Dusinberre 1999 and 2003, 172–95). We see something here of the ambiguity in Group XII between Ionians and Lydians (cf. n. 10), for these vessels seem more closely associated with Lydia than East Greece: although the deep bowl was used broadly in the empire, excavated examples are less prominent in East Greek contexts than in Lydian or Phrygian ones.[26]

The situation in Athens is as interesting and dynamic as in Lydia, but in differing social ways. The deep bowl was already emulated enthusiastically in Athens – first in its original metallic manifestations – before the Persian invasions. By the post-invasion classical era, Athenian potters were imitating the shape in black-gloss ware and adapting it to local tastes in drinking cups, adding handles and pedestal feet to merge it with formal attributes of the kylix (Miller 1993, esp. 137–41) (*Fig.* 6). But Miller emphasizes that, while the initial emulations in metalware were an elite phenomenon, the Athenian black-gloss adaptations were probably 'designed for the less wealthy' (Miller 1993, 137; 1997, 253). Moreover she has found only one depiction of the deep bowl on an Athenian pot – a red-figure cup showing an *oriental* symposiast.[27] Given the huge numbers of preserved drinking vessels bearing depictions of symposia, we must infer that black-gloss adaptations of Achaemenid deep bowls were not common accoutrements of the Athenian male domain of dining.
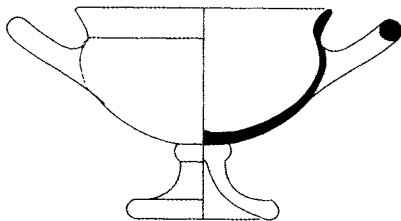
Fig. 6. Profile of Athenian black–gloss deep bowl with handles and foot, Athens Agora P 16535 (adapted from Miller 1993, pl. 31, 5).

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A fragmentary terracotta plaque from the Locrian sanctuary depicts
a female carrying a deep bowl in a cult procession (Prückner 1968, pl.
5, 3). Evidence is limited and we cannot make a quantitatively valid surmise.
Nevertheless it is important to note that there is a close link between the
Achamenid deep bowl and the shallow bowl. These deep bowls (like the
shallow bowls the Greeks call *phialai*, which also descend from eastern proto-
types) were almost exclusively used by women in domestic or religious ritual
contexts. Our Athenian will have known that the deep bowls brought by the
Yauna belonged to a female world back home.

The vessels: analysis
Our visitor will also have understood that both the beakers and the bowls
carried by Group XII were Persianizing forms (cf. Miller 1993, 139–40). He
might know too that the bowls and beakers had been adopted and adapted by
Athenian potters and in this sense could be considered Greek. But he would
surely be struck by other aspects of the symbolism of these offerings:
(1) The vessels brought by the Yauna are the pure Achaemenid forms, *not* the
Athenian adapted forms (handles and stems for bowls; mug handle and flat
bottom for beakers) that had evolved by the classical age.
(2) Despite the fame of Greek metalware and of pottery-making and deco-
rating in the Greater Mediterranean, the gifts of the Yauna aggressively deny
any allusion to the prestigious commodities that really declared Greekness.
This is the case even if we accept the rather compelling thesis of Vickers
(1985) that black- and red-figure painted vessels were a poor-man's metalware
and largely an export medium.
(3) The black-gloss ware that our Athenian knew as the medium for the
vessel types shown on the Apadana was a product of relatively low status
and cost: an odd type of gift for the collective Greeks to be giving to the
Great King.
(4) Black-gloss adaptations of Achaemenid deep bowls and beakers seem to
be associated with humble contexts and with females and Orientals – not
with the world of the Greek citizen male, let alone the elite of that world.

The vessels carried by the Yauna were surely meant to be made of prestige
materials – precious metal or glass. They were not intended to depict the
pottery versions of such forms documented in the imperial heartland and
in western regions of the empire. Thus our Athenian's personal cultural
associations with these forms are out of synch with the intentions of the
monument.

I doubt that the vessels of Group XII (or of other delegations bringing
open bowls and beakers) were meant as containers of valuable materials rather
than intrinsically valuable items. The small, narrow-necked jars brought in

baskets by the Indians (Group XVIII) are more likely than an open vessel to be offered for the prestige substance held within.[28] Our Athenian might also observe that the Yauna are only one of ten groups bearing these same vessels. They are a bizarre choice to represent the hallmark Greek culture of any region, and all the more so because they cluster the Yauna with a very improbable set of peoples. In addition to the Yauna, deep bowls or cylindrical beakers are brought by six Iranian peoples: Group I (Medes), Group III (Armenians [north only]), Group IV (Areians), VII (Arachosians), Group XIII (Parthians), and Group XV (Bactrians).[29] Of these, four also bring a splendid camel and would be notably exotic to a Greek eye (IV, VII, XIII, and XV). Additionally the bowls or beakers are brought by three peoples west of the Iranian heartland: Group V (Babylonians), Group VI (Lydians), and Group VIII (Cilicians).[30]

Calmeyer (1993, 160) has proposed that Achaemenid bowls appear in the hands of so many delegate-groups because the aim is to depict *not* the uniqueness of discrete peoples but the existence of an *international type* in vessel taxonomy that was universalized through the social mechanisms of imperial power. He thus posits a political message, a material proclamation of the cultural homogeneity produced by empire. Schmidt had previously suggested that the lack of variety in vessel forms (not least in Group XII) was merely the result of an efficient sculptural production process divorced from programmatic considerations (Schmidt 1957, 95). This seems unlikely to me, especially given the care sometimes taken to represent idiosyncratic gifts (including vessels), and I prefer Calmeyer's idea. Schmidt did hazard an alternative thesis, 'that the approximate forms (and the weights?) of the tribute vessels were determined by decree' (Schmidt 1957, 95), but considered this less plausible than the notion that it was all based on expediency. To me, his alternative hypothesis is more compelling. It foreshadows more recent claims that the weights of precious metal vessels in the Achaemenid empire are a sign that they were standardized commodities for storage and exchange at registered value (Gunter and Root 1998, with bibliography) and is consistent with Calmeyer's political interpretation.

The plethora of precious metal vessels brought by the Yauna would thus have been intended as a sign of registered wealth – even though the decorative detailing of the particular vessels is not especially remarkable. The imperial standardization of the vessels packages the collective Greek entity of the Yauna together with selected Iranian and western peoples, and the gift of vessels expresses the absorption of Greekness within the homogenized imperial family rather than its cultural distinctiveness. If people were on hand to explain the intended meaning to visitors from foreign lands, our Athenian might have found this packaging either comforting (even glamorous) or

distasteful (even frightening). If he was left totally to his own associations, he would have found the vessel iconography baffling at best, at worst insulting of manhood and Greekness.

Folded textiles

We come next to the folded lengths of cloth brought on each façade by two members of Group XII (*Fig.* 7). The tassels at the corners of the cloth brought by the second cloth-carrier on the east façade indicate that this gift consists of folded sets of the same two-part garment the Yauna themselves are wearing in the reliefs:[31] the first cloth-carrier is bringing the crinkly undergarment, while the second brings the *himation* with tasseled corners. Presumably, on the much-degraded north façade each cloth-carrier brings the complete two-part set, since each carries two packets of textiles. As we saw, the Yauna resemble several Iranian groups in bringing Achaemenid vessels to the King, and something similar applies here, since five Iranian peoples (all wearing the three-piece Iranian riding costume) also bring their distinctive garment as a gift[32] (*Fig.* 8).

The Yauna thus stand out as *one of only two non-Iranian delegations* to bring their own clothing to the king. The other non-Iranian group is the Arabian delegation (Group XX), which brings a single *himation*-like length of cloth with tasseled corner that mimicks what they themselves wear (Schmidt
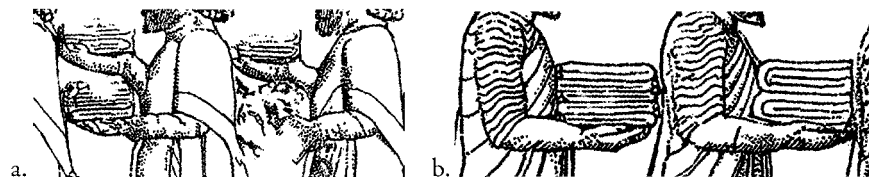
Fig. 7. Apadana Group XII textiles (a) north façade (b) east façade (details of *Fig.* 2a).

Fig. 8. Apadana Group I (Medes), schematic drawing of east façade (adapted from Dutz and Matheson 1998, 59).
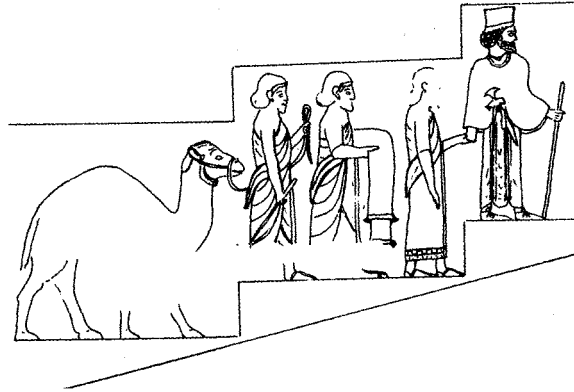
Fig. 9. Apadana Group XX (Arabians), schematic drawing of east façade (adapted from Dutz and Matheson 1998, 49).

1953, 77 and pl. 76) (*Fig.* 9). The Arabians were privileged participants in the Achaemenid world who were excused payment of annual tribute because of their special status as guiders in the desert (Anderson 2002). We may infer that to offer one's own clothing (and thus be linked with the family of Iranian peoples) was meant to suggest honour. The fabric of the Yauna costumes would have been emblematic of the high-status textile industries famously operated by Ionians of East Greece (as well as producers of dyes and fabrics from e.g. Tyre or Sardis),[33] and the reliefs may have received painted ornamentation to suggest the richly dyed and embroidered textiles associated with centers to the west.

Our Athenian might associate the gifting of garments at the Persian court with a particularly ominous story told by Herodotus (9.107 ff.). A beautiful and elaborately decorated multi-colored robe was woven for Xerxes by his wife Amestris. The king's mistress, Artaynte, demanded it as a way of forcing him to demonstrate that he esteemed her more highly than his wife. Despite his efforts to shift her interest to other opulent gifts, Xerxes was in the end forced to hand over the robe. Thus are gifted robes portrayed as pawns in the backstabbing female harem intrigues of the Persian court – hardly the context with which our manly Athenian would like to associate himself.

The actual *visual portrayal* of garment presentation provokes other unsettling associations, and the fact that the formula is unique among textile-bearers on the Apadana raises questions about the intentions of the Apadana designers at this point.

The Ionians hold the cloth in neat bundles laid along their forearms, which bend at a rigid ninety-degree angle from upper arms that are pressed tight to the sides of their torsos. The folded format does not encourage consideration of the visual quality of the fabric but speaks primarily to the height and heft of the stack. The only detailing evident in the carving itself

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is the set of tassels already noted. The passive bodily containment of each carrying figure emphasizes the restrained momentum toward the destination of the commodity rather than the grandeur of the gift as such.

By contrast, all other groups bringing any loom-made garment or textile bear the items forward in a display mode that directly engages the viewer with the surface and form of the commodity. All these other representations also assert the agency of the carrier through the swelling modeling of the outstretched hand that bulges out from behind the cloth as it pushes it toward the gaze of the viewer. A good example is Group V (Babylonians). (Fig. 10) Here the textile gift is a lavishly finished thing – heavy with a deep sumptuous fringe of tassels carried to show off its heft and its decorative features (Schmidt 1953, pl. 31; Walser 1966, pl. 43). On the north, the textile appears plain because it presents the non-fringed end; but it is held in the same display manner. The view on the east façade makes it reminiscent of the royal canopies on the original central panels of the Apadana (see *Fig.* 1 above). Such display presentations go back ultimately to Near Eastern prototypes in the early days of city-state emergence, such as the Uruk Vase from the protoliterate period, on which the priest-king and a royal servant ostentatiously carry forward an elaborately woven gift for Inanna.[34] Millennia later, on the Black Obelisk of Shalmaneser III, fringed textiles are brought as tribute hanging from a rod[35] (*Fig.* 11).

Why did the Apadana designers decide to portray *only* the Yauna delegation carrying their garments in this unique way, one which is simply not part of the Greater Mesopotamian repertoire for textile display by males (or females) in ritual or political ceremonial? A fragmentary tomb painting at Harta in NW Lydia (*Fig.* 12) provides an analogy, but it was surely inspired by Achaemenid prototypes such as the Apadana reliefs rather than the reverse.[36] There is an Egyptian feel to the iconography – an almost hieroglyphic compactness of composition[37] – and one recalls nome-offering scenes in which the bounty of the provinces is held along the forearms of nome-personifications.[38] One might speculate that an Egyptian way of portraying offering-bearers entered the representational tradition of western Anatolia during the earlier first millennium (before the arrival of Cyrus) and that it is this tradition that was the proximate source of the unique format used for the Yauna gift-bearers. But no monument survives to illustrate such a speculation.

One thing is clear, however. The inescapable Greek associations of folded cloth discreetly carried in a tidy bundle are with women: women carefully putting away the fruits of domestic labor in chests or carrying them in representations on rather humble votive objects. Emblematic of this is the famous Locrian plaque depicting a woman stowing folded cloth in a large chest,[39] (*Fig.* 13) but the scene type exists also on white ground lekythoi[40] (used in
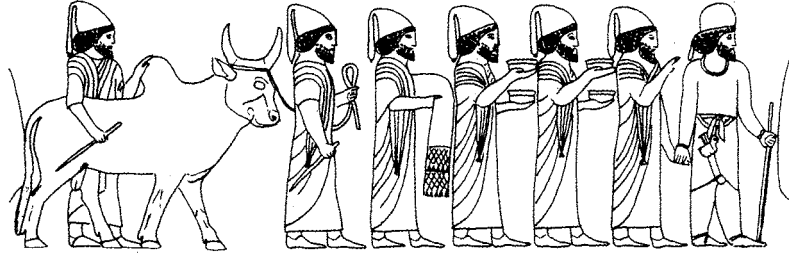
Fig. 10. Apadana Group V (Babylonians), schematic drawing of east façade (adapted from Dutz and Matheson 1998, 58).

Fig. 11. Black Obelisk of Shalmaneser III, Nimrud, detail of textiles, British Museum ANE 118 885 (adapted from Börker-Klähn 1982, cat.no.152).

Fig. 12. Bearer of folded textiles, Harta tomb painting (adapted from Özgen and Öztürk 1996, Fig. 65).

Fig. 13. Detail of Locrian plaque showing woman with folded textile, Taranto Museo Nazionale I.G.8332 (adapted from Prückner 1968, pl. 4, 4).

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family funeral rites) and will have been familiar to our Athenian visitor. Read by an Athenian male, therefore, the behaviour of the cloth-carriers of Group XII will have seemed utterly female. The spectacle of clothing as commodity rather than display-object may also have evoked in our visitor the wider association of women with wool-working: this was a matter both of domestic fact (Barber 1994; Reeder 1995, 200–2) and literary and visual representation in media thoroughly accessible to the male observer.[41] Female manipulation of wool was metaphorically entangled with aspects of female sexuality, the mysteries of procreation, fate, and the weakness of the female compared to the masculine warrior.[42] All of this would be disquieting, and the reflection that male textile-workers did also exist would be small consolation, since they were low-status professional craftsmen and, among other things, produced elaborate woven products for elite women's garments (Miller 1997, 155–7).[43] The visual association of females and wool-working was clear and relentless. The work was necessary and was valued; but it was also a trope for gendered disparagement when linked in any way to a male. A passage in Athenaeus quoted and discussed by Briant (2002, 284 and 282–6) sums up the effeminacy of Oriental kings by describing Sardanapalus 'who lived with his concubines dressed as a woman and spinning wool in their company' – an image which encapsulates the inevitable and disdainful reaction to association of the male with spinning-and-weaving.

Is there any way of finding more manly overtones for this gift of the Yauna? If we ignore the tassels (which prove that the *intended* meaning of the cloth was a garment), the cloth might conceivably be interpreted by our Athenian as the folded linen sails of a warship, brought as a form of weapon-gift to the Great King. Aristophanes quipped that the *peplos* of Athena carried in the procession of the Great Panathenaia was large enough to hoist as a sail on a ship, so the visitor could even (with some irony?) connect a popular commentary on a procession of state ritual and cult at home with the performance of kingship at Persepolis. But there is no Greek iconographical tradition of men carrying sails like this, and Aristophanes is simply making a joke about the colossal scale of Athena Parthenos (about eight times life-size). In any case, the *sail* of an Athenian warship was not emblematic of its military importance. Trireme sails were used for travel in open water (De Graeve 1981, 180–1) but stowed away during battle, when it was the oars and metal-sheathed ram that mattered. The truth is that the look of the Yauna carrying their modest packets like girls patiently carrying bundles to-and-fro at home would overwhelm any conceivable reminiscences triggered by the Apadana of war stories involving mighty triremes with full sails to the wind returning home victorious on the open sea.

Strabo (15.3.18) describes elite Persian youths being taught to make

weapons, weave linen cloth, and fashion hunting nets as well as to pursue the manly arts of war and sport. This commentary (written well after the life of our Athenian visitor) reinforces the classical testimony that insists upon the oddities of Persian manly custom, not least their bizarre effeminacy. By contrast, the accepted norms of western elite manly virtue insist upon a deep divide between work appropriate to the female and work admissible for an Athenian man of substance. In this Greek context training in humble work such as weaving is absurd.

Rounded objects: the problem
The rounded objects carried by two Ionians at the end of the group on each façade are the most puzzling gifts. It is not clear what category of thing they represent, and the fact that they look quite different on the two façades adds interpretive complexities (*Fig.* 14 a, b).

On the north façade, they look perfectly spherical and have no carved detailing. On the east, they are slightly more conical than spherical, appear somewhat flattened at the bottom and are embellished (by careful carving) with irregular wavy horizontal ridges. It is possible that wavy horizontal lines were added in paint on the north, with no vestige surviving. But there are no visible incised guidelines to prove this. The differences in shape remain in any case. We thus have two options: (1) the balls on the north were meant to look the way they look now – possibly once embellished with added paint and possibly not; or (2) they are in an unfinished state, blocked out as spheres awaiting further shaping and detailing to make them match what we see in fully realized form on the east façade.
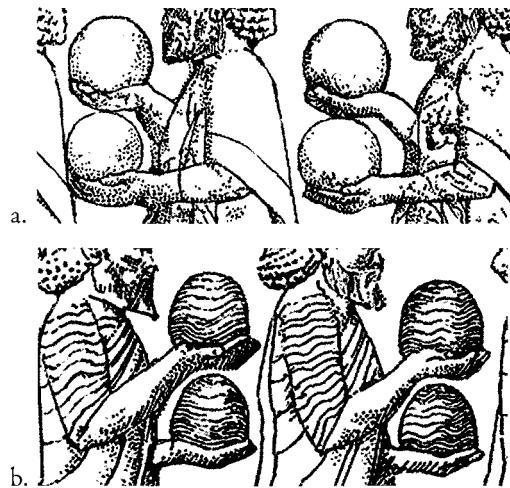
Fig. 14 a, b. Apadana Group XII, rounded objects (a) north façade (b) east façade (details of *Fig.* 2a, b).

The first option acknowledges that the objects on north and east may not have been intended to depict the same category of thing. This is possible: there are several instances in which the gifts of identical gift-bearers on north and east differ for certain (see n. 32 and below). Moreover, the figures of Group XII on the north façade look in other respects finely finished in terms of their carving (e.g. Dutz and Matheson 1998, 52, far left; *pace* Koch 2001, 18–19): this supports the view that all of Group XII (north) looks now the way it was intended to look with the possible exception of added decorative coloration. The second option forces us to look to the east façade to understand what the north façade was intended to portray and to dismiss the look of the north as immaterial. This requires the rounded objects to be the sole exception in an otherwise highly finished section. But the perfectly spherical objects on the north do not resemble roughly blocked out passages of relief meant to presage the objects of the east. Rather, they look finely finished in their own terms.

Scholarship has universally assumed that the intent was to depict the same category of thing on both façades. This is the case even when the occasional commentator has noted the physical differences between north and east. The rounded objects are almost always described as balls of wool.[44] Sporadic cautions or queries tend to be ignored,[45] and the range of interpretive possibilities has been severely limited by the universal practice of assuming that the smooth spherical shapes of the north façade are identical in functional definition with the conical and horizontally wavy-ridged examples on the east. There are two questions to consider: what object did the Apadana designers intend to represent? and what would be the classical Athenian associations of the object in question? I shall consider a series of possible answers, noting as appropriate the different ways in which these work for the north and the east façade renderings.

Rounded objects: balls of wool?

The near-universal view of the renderings on both north and east is that they are balls of wool. This is understandable. It represents a compromise interpretation, one that works remotely to moderately well for the two distinct looks of the objects – whether we imagine that those on the north were fully finished or not. It is the easy way out.

Representations of wool-working implements in Near Eastern regions occasionally indicate the look of wool wrapped around a distaff. It may appear as a ball-shaped form or as a more elongated form articulated with horizontal bands.[46] Representations of thread wound around a spindle tend to show the thread clearly in a horizontal or slightly diagonal patterning.[47] Representations of balls of wool in isolation (attached neither to distaff nor

to spindle) are extremely rare (or non-existent) in the art of pre-hellenistic Greater Mesopotamia (see below). Within that iconographical tradition, then, the Apadana gifts (seen as isolated balls of wool) stand out as most distinctive.

The rarity of representations of balls of wool not affixed to spinning implements in pre-hellenistic Near Eastern art is especially notable because the significance of wool as a coveted product is clear from the texts. Dyed wool (presumably in balls) appears in Assyrian lists of tribute and booty as a prized commodity,[48] and the vividness of richly dyed unwoven wool in the Assyrian imperial imagination is shown by a simile in the royal annals: 'I dyed the mountains with their blood like red wool.'[49] The importance of wool as a valuable agricultural product emerges early and persists in the Achaemenid empire.[50] There are also erotic and magical associations.[51] Wool and wool-working thus has many resonances that might have fed the imagination of the Apadana designers. Yet a representational tradition for the ceremonial bringing of wool is lacking.

Quasi-spherical items depicted in the tribute procession of the Black Obelisk of Shalmaneser III from Nimrud might *conceivably* be balls of wool or in some cases balls of spun flax (*Fig.* 15). On face D2 one figure holds a smooth spherical item cupped in the palm of each hand in an inelegant forecast of the Apadana formula. But in other respects the formal relationship seems weak.[52] Furthermore, the accompanying epigraphs do not support the idea of balls of wool. The captions make reference to raw metals (silver, gold, copper, lead), vessels and garments (Yamada 2000, 257). Woven fringed textiles are depicted, draped across carrying poles, but no mention is made of
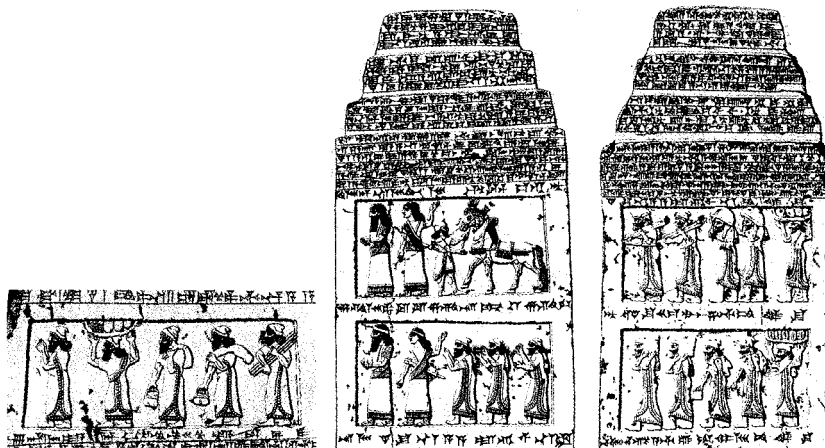
Fig. 15. Black Obelisk of Shalmaneser III, Nimrud, rounded objects, British Museum ANE 118 885 (adapted from Börker–Klähn 1982, cat. no.152).

wool or flax as raw materials. So, all things considered, the Black Obelisk is probably not a Mesopotamian prototype for representation of balls of wool on the Apadana. The specifically *striated* rounded items on the Black Obelisk resemble stacked anklets from the royal tombs of Nimrud (Bogdanus 2005, pl. 23) and this, combined with the references to precious metals in the epigraphs, prompts me to interpret *all* the rounded items as clumsy representations of jewelry (e.g. anklets) and lumps of un-worked metals.

At present I know of only one unequivocal example in pre-hellenistic Near Eastern art of the depiction of large spherical balls formed of long strands of a spun or twisted textile or fibre substance. This is the rendering of balls of twine for net-making on a hunt relief from Ashurbanipal's Northwest Palace at Nineveh[53] (*Fig.* 16). Here, the twine is wound into a ball in a realistic manner. The orientation of the strand switches direction repeatedly, in a criss-crossing method that enables the ever-enlarging ball to maintain its spherical shape. As noted earlier, Strabo remarks at 15.3.18 that elite Persian youth were instructed in the fashioning of hunters' nets. If Strabo's information reflects an accurate tradition of ethnographic knowledge reaching back from Augustan Rome to Achaemenid times, it suggests the possibility that the Apadana designers were imagining the rounded objects as balls of *twine* for netting. (The twine would be wound crisscross on the north into spheres that originally bore painted detailing, but loosely and horizontally into more conical shapes on the east.) Is such a gift plausible here? The raw materials for the netting of the seaman might have been thought an appropriate gift from the Yauna. Or the objects could be balls (north) or coils (east) of rope for sail rigging. Bearing in mind Strabo's report that the Achaemenids considered the making of nets and other implements for war and the hunt an honorable and noble act, gifts from the Yauna in the form of the materials for such projects is rather an appealing option.

In sum, the intention on the Apadana may have been to show balls of washed, carded, and sumptuously dyed wool.[54] This would accord well with references in the Assyrian annals to dyed wool as a prestige item. It would fit with the fame of western reaches of the empire in the arts of luxury dyes and textiles. The interpretation works moderately well in relation to both façades, and creates an obvious thematic link with the gift of woven garments. On the other hand, the idea of balls of twine or rope for net-making or sail-lines also works moderately well with the look both of the north and the east. In this case, the intended allusion would be to Greek maritime skill.

What would our Athenian visitor make of any of this? Depictions of balls of wool are much more common in Greek than Near Eastern art. From the archaic period onwards the Attic vase painting tradition is replete with images of mortal women working wool – including many examples in which

balls of wool are prominent. A famous black figure lekythos by the Amasis Painter shows women weighing out ovoid balls of wool. A particularly interesting fifth-century example is a white lekythos decorated by the Pan or Brygos Painter (*c.* 470). It portrays a woman stuffing a pillow case with large ovoid balls of wool mounded in a wool basket (*kalathos*) at her feet. The *kalos* inscription ('the young girl is beautiful') suggests to some that the representation is of a prostitute; but opinion is divided, with others insisting that the scene illustrates the domestic virtue of a good Athenian female.[55] This controversy recurs in relation to many other relevant scenes on painted pottery. Some convey mixed messages. Others seem unequivocally to display prostitutes working wool. Still others use the imagery of wool-working in ways that commingle work, courtship, and play in an intriguing layering of innuendo. The innuendo is inevitably bound up with the female and the balances of virtue and danger to the male lurking in her being and (by extension) in the tools of her work.[56] But the crucial point is that Athenian women of all stripes had a hand in wool working. The very ambiguities suggest that, however we view the evidence, our Athenian will have taken no comfort in identifying with the Yauna on the Apadana meekly carrying wool to the Persian king.

As for balls of twine or rope for sail rigging: to an elite Athenian of the classical age, the idea of being linked by association with the humble craft of net-making or the equally humble role of the sailor would be distasteful. Our man would have no visual tradition of artistic representation to aid in his reactions to the Apadana imagery if he read it as twine for net-making or rope for rigging. But perhaps worse, the visualizations he *could* draw upon would be those of voyeuristic exposure to the underbelly of life at the dockyards of the Piraeus or some similar distanced relationship to the world of sailors and mercenaries.

Rounded objects: ostrich eggs or cakes?

An exquisite seal used on the Persepolis Fortification tablets (PFS 535*) shows a banquet scene in which a seated figure reverently holds an ostrich egg (Garrison and Root, forthcoming) (*Fig.* 17). Another seal in the same archive (PFS 263) shows a combat in which the hero tackles an ostrich, with a large egg in the field between them (Garrison and Root 2001, cat. no. 289) (*Fig.* 18). Perhaps we are to understand that the hero has thrown the egg at the ostrich as if it were a slinging or hurling stone (see below). Ostrich eggs were certainly coveted throughout the ancient Greater Mediterranean, both as a banqueting delicacy and an item to be decorated as a *tour de force* in fragile luxury craft-production (Garrison and Root 2001, 407), and the notion that such things might appear as gifts on the Apadana is well within the realm

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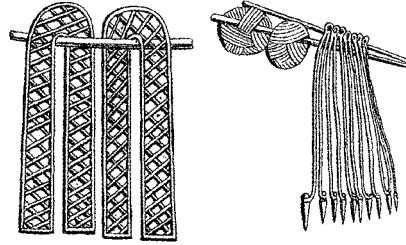
Fig. 16. Balls of twine from hunt relief of Ashurbanipal at Nineveh (after Rawlinson 1875, pl. CXXIV, 4).

Fig. 17. Composite drawing of PFS 535* (Garrison and Root, forthcoming).

Fig. 18. Composite drawing of PFS 263 (Garrison and Root 2001, cat. no. 289).
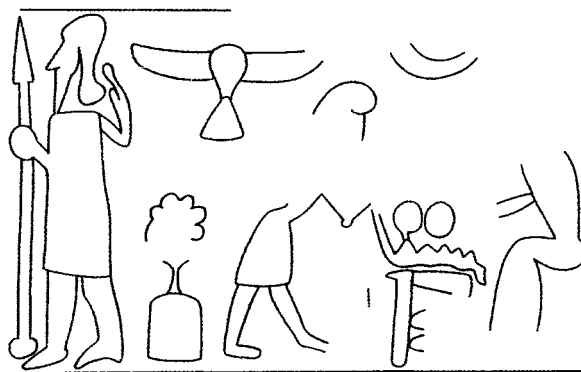
Fig. 19. Composite drawing of PFS 1360 (Garrison and Root, forthcoming).

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of the plausible. Still, the identification is not particularly convincing: on neither façade are the rounded objects sufficiently like what we see so clearly on the elegant PFS 535* to be really satisfactory.

Substantial spherical or rounded cakes are an important element of the banquets rendered on several seals of the Fortification corpus (e.g. PFS 1360, Garrison and Root forthcoming) (*Fig.* 19). These scenes have ritual and ceremonial overtones. Given the symbolic associations and uses of such cakes in a variety of cultural contexts (see below), it is a viable thesis that large beautiful cakes served as special gifts to the Persian king[57] and might appear on the Apadana.

Even in contemporary Iran fine leavened holiday-breads sweetened with honey are often large round or rounded objects, sometimes decorated on the outside (Wulff 1966, 295). An Elamite precursor is seen in the six large round cakes depicted alongside a fish on a well-known Neo-Elamite relief from Susa depicting a seated spinner before a food-laden table (Muscarella 1992, 200–1) (*Fig.* 20). On the other side of the banquet table, across from the spinner and her servant, are vestiges of a larger-scale figure dressed in a garment with fleecy layers – a divinity or possibly a deceased ruler who is the recipient of the offering of fish and cakes overseen by the spinning female. This entire Neo-Elamite scene probably has a funerary ritual signifi-cance that connects spinning (and fate) with a symbolic banquet,[58] and it completes a circle in the pre-Achaemenid Near Eastern visual tradition

Fig. 20. Spinner relief from Susa, Musée du Louvre Sb 2834 (adapted from Muscarella 1992, 200, no. 141).

by linking the symbolic agencies of wool-working, the mythological and mystical associations of the female worker, and rituals incorporating feasting protocols for a deity or (quasi-divine or deceased?) ruler. The monument is particularly relevant because it was excavated at Susa and comes from the era of pre-Achaemenid Persian cultural assimilation within the Elamite orbit. That it is unique in the archaeological record of Elam at that period is an accident: the artifact surely stands for a larger repertoire of which we have only this vestige.[59] Elam was critical in the formulation of Achaemenid visualizations of dynastic ritual and empire, and the spinner relief from Susa deserves consideration in any attempt to explain the intention of the Apadana designers.

From our Athenian visitor's point of view eggs or cakes would, again, evoke the female domain. This works at the mundane level of cooking or barnyard-work, but also (perhaps) in more abstract ways. The visitor might, for example, think of the sexually suggestive cakes associated with some female cults[60] or of the turns of phrase from which contemporary scholars have deduced an Athenian ideology in which the role of the female body in procreation is metaphorically figured as that of an oven in bread-making (duBois 1988) or of the actual large leavened breads used in Athenian marriage rituals, where they are replete with fertility symbolism of powerful universality (Vérilhac and Vial 1998, 348–57). None of this would be remotely comforting in the context of collective portrayal of Greek males on the walls of Persepolis (cf. Root forthcoming). Nor, perhaps, would another more venturesome possibility. Athenians (we are told) believed that the Acropolis was guarded by a great snake, to which every month they served a honey cake. On a famous occasion the snake's failure to eat the cake presaged temporary Persian occupation of the Acropolis (Herodotus 8.41). Athens recovered from that blow and went on to create an empire; but the visitor to Persepolis might see on the Apadana the spectacle of Greeks (theoretically including the Athenians) offering cakes to the Persian King [61] – an ironic inversion of their feeding of their guardian snake.

Rounded objects: votive or cultic orbs?
At Parthian Old Nisa, a series of votive balls were excavated from the Round Hall. They are hollow spheres roughly in keeping with the scale of the balls on the Apadana. Some bear the widely-spaced impressions of coins on the exterior and some have seeds inside to produce a rattling sound (Invernizzi 2001, 307–8 and fig. 9). The archaeological context of the find (replete with sculptures of dynastic implication) suggests a royal or ancestor cult, and these balls evidently performed some ritual functions in relation to the structure and the performances enacted therein. Hollow spheres have obvious potential

symbolic aspects as surrogates for the womb. Balls containing seeds press this even further towards allusion to (dynastic) fertility. Similarly, one might see impressions of royal coins (especially portrait coins) into the surface of hollow balls as a ritual related to dynastic succession. With luck we shall eventually learn more about these artifacts and identify similar ones in other Iranian contexts – perhaps even discovering a link to Achaemenid imperial times.[62] In the meantime it is interesting to contemplate the idea that the Yauna of the Achaemenid imperial imagination might specifically and exclusively have been singled out to present such an object on the Apadana.

Would the objects have meant anything to our Athenian visitor in such terms? Prückner saw the balls offered by young girls on many Locrian plaques as constructed cult objects and cautiously accepted their identification as astrological orbs evoking the cosmos or alluding to Orphic mysteries (Prückner 1968, 48). There is plenty of evidence for shaped objects suggestive of human sexual physiology in Athenian votive contexts relating to fertility. Conceivably, our Athenian might see the spherical objects on the Apadana as some such items – balls with seeds for a Demeter and Persephone cult, perhaps. Alternatively one might think of the primordial omphalos of Delphian Apollo, originally envisaged as a cult object in the form of a conical stone or a large egg standing on end (Roscalla 1998, 34). That would avoid gender problems but surely be equally discordant with the Apadana setting.

Rounded objects: balls for games?

The Persian court was known for the intense training of its youth in horsemanship. This raises the question of early forms of polo using wooden or weighted leather balls. Some of the wooden polo (Gitcho) balls from a thirteenth-century AD tomb in Japan look about the same diameter as the objects carried by the Yauna.[63] But we have no evidence for this early form of polo in the Achaemenid era. (The traces are in Sasanian Iran and Han China.) But, even if we did have such evidence, why should the Yauna, of all peoples, be depicted bringing a gift that would be more appropriate to hard-riding East Iranians?

The same problem confronts us with the possibility that the Yauna's gift are spherical footballs for a team sport of kickball. This sport is documented as early as the Warring States period in China, contemporary with Achaemenid times. Moreover non-functional spherical 'presentation' footballs (made of leather covered in silk) are known from Japan (Bower and Mackenzie 2004b, figs. 23.4 and 23.6), and such things could plainly have been fitting gifts for a king of Persia. Again, however, evidence is lacking in the Persian context: we can prove neither that the Great King knew of the game nor that he thought the Yauna did.

In classical Athens competitive ball sports for males were not the normal athletic activity they were in Sparta (Poliakoff 1987, 107).[64] Two Athenian relief panels discovered built into the Themistoclean wall originally adorned separate statue bases of the archaic age (*c.* 510–500). They depict youths playing ball sports and may be taken to represent a larger oeuvre on that theme popular in the sixth century (Boardman 1978, figs. 241 and 242). But by the classical era, the visual record we are able to assess is insistent upon the connection of girls and women with ball-playing. Toy balls become a persistent and pervasive element in the Athenian iconography of girlhood and in the practice of female cult as illuminated in the archaeological record. Child brides offered their toy balls to Artemis on the first day of the marriage ritual (Cantarella 1987, 45; Brulé 2003, 129, 172). The commingling of balls of wool, implements of wool-working (such as the *kalathos*), and playing with toy balls (or fruits as surrogates) is a particularly relevant phenomenon in the Athenian representational repertoire (*Fig.* 21). Ferrari sees the scenes of wool-working in vase painting as really commenting upon the relation of women's work and women's play in the domestic sphere. Very often the woman who sits there working with balls of wool is in the company of others who 'play a game of knucklebones or smell flowers and toss balls'.[65] These combined ball-playing and wool-working scenes often evoke courtship (Ferarri 2002, 31 and figs. 65–7). A number of the Locrian cult relief plaques depict young females offering balls (as noted above) (*Fig.* 22). Some are smooth spheres; some are decorated with a band and parallel zigzag patterns; and still others are spheres covered with an all-over pattern of raised dots.[66] This last group links visually with some depictions of balls of wool on Athenian vases (e.g., Ferrari 2002, figs. 26 and 56). Indeed, any of the balls shown on these plaques might plausibly be meant to indicate wool *or* toy balls. It is also plausible that

Fig. 21. Attic red–figure kylix interior, showing woman juggling balls (or spherical fruits) with her kalathos nearby, Musée du Louvre C 331 (adapted from Ferrari 2002, fig. 22).

Fig. 22. Locrian plaque showing female holding large 'ball', listed as Scaglione Collection 13 (adapted from Prückner 1968, pl. 28, 5).

there were lively double entendres operating on these votive plaques – just as there were on many of the vase paintings of wool-working that include females playing with their toy balls.

Rounded objects: sling shots and hurling stones

The rounded objects on the north façade could conceivably represent stones for slinging or hurling. Either of these identifications would necessitate considering that a change was made for the depiction on the east. This, as we have already discussed, is perfectly plausible.[67]

Slingers were an important feature of the military might of the Achaemenid empire, as were hurlers.[68] Foot soldiers followed Assyrian precedent in using rounded stones for sling-shot,[69] and the war ships of the Persian fleets sometimes acted essentially as launching platforms for slingers. Two seals used on the Persepolis Fortification tablets bear images incorporating spherical projectiles associated with slings (*Fig.* 23 a, b). PFS 57* shows a hero holding a sling, with a spherical shot tied to his wrist (Garrison and Root 2001, cat. no. 239). PFS 10 shows a figure who has just hurled a spherical projectile with his sling (Garrison and Root 2001, cat. no. 251). This evidence reinforces the classical testimonia about the importance of slingers in the Achaemenid military. It also suggests a relatively high status for the weapon, for the slingers in these images appear in scenes of heroic encounter and the seals bearing the motifs belong to men of high administrative standing. If the designers of the Apadana depicted Yauna bearing a gift of shot for slinging, their intent would arguably have been positive.

As with vessel types, it is generally assumed that delegates depicted on the Apadana bring examples of their own *distinctive* weaponry. But such evidence as we have tells against this view in the present case. Xenophon
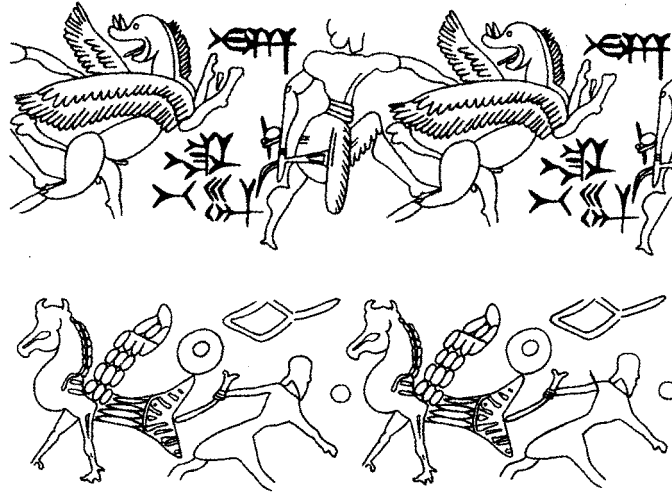
Fig. 23 a, b. Composite drawings of PFS 57* and PFS 10 (Garrison and Root, 2001, cat. nos. 239 and 251).

(*Anabasis* 3.3.17), writing at the turn to the fourth century, describes Persian sling-stones as substantial (large enough to fill the hand) and contrasts them unfavourably with the much smaller and longer-range shot used by Rhodians. The Apadana objects certainly fill the hand, and could not possibly represent the sort of small lead shot known archaeologically from about 400 BC and associated by some with the Rhodian type noted by Xenophon.[70] Xenophon's portrayal of slingers as an established part of the king's armed forces *in each satrapy of the empire* (*Oeconomicus* 4. 5–6) even invites the possibility that the Yauna were specifically depicted on the north bearing shot for slings in order to acknowledge their thorough embrace within the imperial family: we may recall Calmeyer's thought-provoking hypothesis on the symbolic value of showing generic Achaemenid beakers and bowls brought by group XII (see above).

Although Xenophon (*Cyropaedia* 7.4.15) states that Cyrus considered slings a servile weapon, the Persepolis glyptic evidence suggests that Xenophon is here transferring an elite Athenian viewpoint disdainful of slingers to his *Perse imaginaire*. In other words: our Athenian is not likely to have appreciated any link with slingers in positive terms. The Rhodian specialism was eccentric, and the textual tradition otherwise connects Greek use of the weapon with rustic Cretans or with Sicilians. Pritchett's collection of material (1991, 4–32) does suggest that slinging was a more signficant, if unheroic, feature of Greek warfare than the textual sources imply. But clearly among Greeks it enjoyed the lowest status of all military services

(Pritchett 1991, 53). The best that can be said of sling-shot from the elite Athenian vantage point is that (unlike balls of wool) it did at least belong to the domain of warfare, not the domain of women. Faint praise.

Hurling-stones were a major feature of defensive warfare throughout the ancient world. Stone-hurlers play a prominent role in depictions of citadel defence on the late Achaemenid-period Nereid Monument in Lycia (Childs 1978, 77). Actual artillery balls of Achaemenid date are documented by a notable find from Paphos, where they are associated with the military events of the 490s. They are typically spherical with one flattened side, although some appear fully rounded and some seem to have two flattened sides. The large ones in the cache, measuring between 18 and 22 cm in diameter and weighing up to 20 kg, were surely used for hurling with both hands or from catapults.[71] Such stones would, of course, be a challenge to carry one-handed with the effortless grace we see on the Apadana. But this is where art takes over: the way in which things (and even kings) are carried on the Apadana is meant to signify an ideal state of willing cooperation, not to be realistic (Root 1979, 131–61).

The defensive character of hurling stones must be considered the defining element in any attempt to determine the intentions of the Apadana designers in putting them into the hands of the Yauna. The period during which the north façade was designed and carved was right around the turn from the sixth to the fifth century. This invites the hypothesis that the imagery on that façade was produced in direct historical response to the sack of Miletus in 499. In other words, the Yauna may be depicted bringing hurling stones to the Persian king as a symbol of capitulation.

As for the Athenian response, a passage in Euripides *Phoinissai* suggests pervasive familiarity with stone-hurling as a defensive technique:

> How am I to tell how Kapaneus went mad?
> For grasping the rungs of the long ladder
> He ascended and boasted thus
> That not even the sacred fire of Zeus would
> Hold him back from seizing the city and its lofty towers.
> Calling out these things *while being stoned*,
> He crept up having drawn his body under his shield
> Passing up the smooth rungs of the ladder.
> (1,172–78 [emphasis mine]: Childs 1978, 70–1)

But more specifically relevant to possible Athenian associations in Persepolis may be the fact that the defenders of the Athenian Acropolis in 480 are said to have rolled boulders down on the Achaemenid forces (Herodotus 8.50 ff.). The motif of Athenian heroes defending the Acropolis was portrayed on the exterior of the shield of the colossal statue of Athena Parthenos in a scene

in which the attacking Amazons functioned as an allegorical substitute for the Persians. In Harrison's reconstruction of one copy of this monument a mighty stone-hurler appears in a prominent position at the top of the shield, with a pile of stones at his feet (Harrison 1981, 313 and ill. 6)[72] (*Fig.* 24). The stone-hurling defender of Athens can claim a mythological association with Athena herself, since the stone is Athena's weapon and it is she who first brought stones for the building of the Acropolis (Harrison 1981, 310),[73] but the saga of a stone-hurling last-ditch defence of the Acropolis may also be echoed in the rows of column drums dramatically displayed in the fabric of the post-destruction Themistoclean north wall of the Acropolis, looking down upon the agora. While it is generally understood that these and other architectural remnants of archaic structures on the Acropolis were embedded in the wall as a war memorial (Rhodes 1995, 32–3 and fig. 19), Wrede (1996) has specifically suggested that these particular column drums had a special memorial charge because they had literally been used as hurling stones in the defensive action. This hypothesis may be impossible to prove, but it is nonetheless intriguing. It suggests the possibility of a strong emotive reminder to every classical Athenian male (on a daily basis) *not only* of the Persian sack of his city, *but also* of the hurling of stones as a mythologized act of heroism.

Looking at the matter in these terms our visitor's response to the Apadana objects might be positive. But there are possible grounds for ambivalence as well. According to Plutarch (*Pericles* 20–1), the sculptor Pheidias portrayed

Fig. 24. Hypothetical reconstruction of the original shield of Athena Parthenos, upper portion (adapted from Harrison 1981, ill. 4).

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himself as the stone-hurler on Athena's shield. If this tradition had any currency in the classical century, our Athenian would surely be disdainful of the association with a low-status stone carver.[74] Added to this issue of class, the issue of gender emerges again. A *topos* in Greek narratives of city sieges assigns the throwing of things from rooftops to females.[75] Stone-hurling is an act of defensive desperation when the enemy is at the gate. In the context of historical Miletus, hurling stones would conjure up ignominious memories best forgotten for our Athenian. In the context of historical Athens, hurling stones might inspire some nostalgic pride in our man on his home turf as he cast a patriotic gaze up along the north wall of the Acropolis. But a vision experienced in Persepolis of the collective Yauna carrying hurling stones to the Persian king as their weapon of record would surely be shameful.

Rounded objects: beehives?

Walser, while interpreting the rounded objects on the north and east façades as balls of wool, acknowledged that those on the east (with slightly flattened bottoms and wavy horizontal striations) look basket-like (Walser 1966, 88). If we take seriously (as we must) the shape of the east façade renderings, with their ridging and more conical shape, the beehive becomes a viable alternative interpretation, not least because the items on the north could have been intended to be finished in the same way.[76] (The scale is rather small for beehives, just as it is exaggerated for balls of wool, but realistic scale is subverted frequently on the Apadana reliefs in exchange for iconic effect.) More precisely, the east façade objects could represent either the type of beehive made by bonding coils of grass and overlaying them with mud (so-called 'skep' beehives, dome-shaped objects resembling an inverted basket) or the type formed by multiple overlapping stacks of clay rings. Skeps are a traditional and very ancient type of beehive, still in use today wherever beekeeping and basketry traditions coincide, while an old tradition of beehive manufacture from three stacked clay rings was still practiced in Iran in the 1960s (Wulff 1966, 153). In dimensions these actual clay beehives conform nicely to what we see on the Apadana, as does an actual ceramic hive from the Athenian Agora, dated to about 400 (Crane 1999, fig. 26).[77]

An intriguing comparandum comes from a fragment of an ivory panel of furniture inlay excavated at Susa. It depicts a male figure holding a dome-shaped object with regular horizontal striations on the open palm of his outstretched hand[78] (*Fig.* 25). This figure is surely part of a longer processional scene, which might have echoed the effect of the Apadana reliefs in condensed form. Pierre Amiet has described the object as something unidentifiable (functionally) that is in the form of a hive ('ruche') and notes that one can imagine a connection to the 'pelotes de laine (?) présentées par

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Fig. 25. Ivory plaque (detail) from Susa, Tehran, National
Museum of Iran, 6810 (adapted from Amiet 1972, Fig. 32).

les porteurs à Persépolis'. The relationship with the objects on the east façade
is indeed clear, but the conclusion I draw is that the item on the Susa ivory
lends credence to interpretation of the Apadana item as a beehive.

The Susa ivory is carved in a hybrid Egyptianizing style, probably reflecting
Levantine manufacture, and the facial characteristics of the figure holding the
beehive suggest he is Egyptian or Ethiopian,[79] so it casts no direct light on
the next question, which is why the Apadana designers might have shown
Yauna offering beehives.

A gift of beehives would bring Group XII (east) into line with other
delegations that offer some type of living animal – if the beehives are assumed
to be inhabited.[80] There is ample historical and ethnographic documentation
for the transport of live beehives, so the idea of bringing them from the far
west is not fantastic. If we focus on the bees themselves (rather than their
honey), we might recall the suggestion that the Persians identified *themselves*
with bees (Roscalla 1998, 97–101) and wonder whether the gifted beehives
were supposed to be a symbolic affirmation by the Yauna of the value of
Persianness. A different possibility is that the Apadana designers were aware
of the association of bees with Ephesus or with the Delphic Oracle and
thought a beehive an appropriate symbol of the Yauna on that ground.[81]
Alternatively we may choose to focus not so much on the bees as on their
productive capacity. Honey was a coveted commodity in antiquity, but it was
cultivated widely and there is no obvious reason why it should specifically be
associated with the Yauna. Bee-keeping and honey-production had venerable
associations with the state in Egypt (Brewer 2002, 453; Foster 2002, 303
n. 4),[82] there is evidence for bee-keeping as a royal activity in pre-Achaemenid
Mesopotamia (Frame 1995), and honey seems to have figured in Achae-
menid court ritual and ceremonial dining practice.[83] In the light of this (and
of the more general ideological representation of the Achaemenid king as

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horticulturalist: Briant 2003) it is possible that the beehive was regarded by the Apadana designers as a gift that resonated honorably with the privilege of service to court life and the royal persona.

How would our Athenian visitor view the representation of male Yauna as the stewards of beehives brought to the king of Persia? Since bees had supposedly guided colonists from Athens to Ionia (Cook 1895, 8) there might seem to be something appropriate about this. But various other thoughts present themselves.

(1) Dutiful wives were equated with bees. The *locus classicus* is Xenophon's *Oeconomicus* of the early fourth century (Pomeroy 1994), but the association goes back at least to the archaic age of Semonides,[84] and Plutarch reiterated the theme centuries later (Pomeroy 1999). The sinister version of the metaphor is exemplified in Hesiod where parasitical women are like bees inside the hive filling their bellies through the work of others and perpetrating a curse upon men (Pomeroy 1995, 2–4 and *passim*). There is also a link between women and bees in religious contexts. Thesmophoric women in the sequestered practices of the cult of Demeter were called bees (Goff 2004, 127; Cook 1895, 14), Apollo's oracular agency at Delphi was activated by priestesses called 'bees' (*melissae*) (Cook 1895, 6); and the *melissae* of Ephesus were famous. Priestesses as bees were mediators of all sorts of chthonic mysteries in Greek ritual. These female associations, whether with good or bad women, would again be discordant for our Athenian spectator.

(2) Herodotus (7.61) says that the Greeks called the Persians drones (κηφῆνες) and Aeschylus describes Xerxes' army as a 'stinging swarm' (*Persians* 126f.). Such passages are probably not (*pace* Roscalla 1998) evidence that Persians represented themselves as bees. Rather, they belong in the same sort of context as Aristophanes *Wasps* 1075–90, where elderly Athenians dress as wasps to symbolize the sting they once inflicted upon the barbarian at Marathon as punishment for the Persian destruction of their 'hives'. The result of their heroic 'sting' is that 'among the barbarians it is said even now that there is nothing more manly than an Attic wasp'. The metaphor, appropriate to the Persians because they were numerous and intent upon violence, is applicable to the other side as well. This might be a rather more attractive association for our visitor – though the Aristophanic geriatrics are hardly unambiguously admirable figures.[85]

(3) Honey is quite widely linked with the bestowal of wisdom and eloquence (Cook 1895, 3–8), and Greek tradition from at least the fifth century saw the phenomenon of ox-born bees, born when Leo approaches Taurus at the vernal equinox, as symbolic of the regenerative power of spring (Kitchell 1989). The ubiquitous Lion and Bull symplegma at Persepolis might actually help to draw the visitor's mind to that idea. In any event, these

quite positive associations could make beehives seem to be a gift appropriate (or appropriately flattering) to the Great King. Another possibly relevant story is that in which Herodotus recounts that bees occupied the severed head of Onesilus, prime instigator of the Cypriote contribution to the Ionian revolt (5.113). Because the bees filled his head with honeycomb, Onesilus was worshiped as a semi-divinity. But if our Athenian's thoughts turned from beehives to the bee-filled severed head of a Yauna who dared to resist the king, he might feel queasy about his own impending audience.

Conclusion

In the process of reading Group XII of the Apadana in Greek, I have worked along two tracks of investigation: one running through Achaemenid studies and the other through classical studies.

First, the Achaemenid side: Group XII has previously attracted only limited attention; none of it focused on the symbolic significance of their gifts in the larger metaphorical display on the Apadana. I have made some suggestions about what the Apadana designers may have had in mind and noted the tension between distinctiveness and collectivity in the representations of imperial subject-peoples. The important visual differences between the rendering of the rounded objects on the north and east façades preclude definitive determination of what kinds of things they are meant to depict, but it is better to accept this uncertainty than to opt for an unsatisfying but categorically stated interpretation.

Second, on the classical side I have offered an impressionistic and selective sample of associations potentially triggered by our Athenian's encounter with the vision of the Yauna in Persepolis. My sample derives from a free-associative exercise based on an imperfect, personal, and non-encyclopedic relationship to the world of our Athenian. That is, I have simply asked myself what things come to mind if I put myself in the position of the Athenian visitor looking at Group XII. From there I have followed ideas up to a certain point. More could be done – especially, I think, with the reading of the rounded objects and more particularly there in relation to bees and honey. But, impressionistic as it is, I believe that the exercise is a useful strategy in cross-cultural analysis between Greeks and Persians. It is, of course, an intrinsic feature of the exercise that some of the visitor's putative ideas may seem rather whimsical or tangential.

The project of considering the reading of Persepolis in Greek has touched not only upon how our Athenian reader received its messages but also upon how the designers of the program may have targeted the iconography of Group XII in consideration of the Yauna's reception of it. Did the planners consciously anticipate Greek readings of the representation? If so, did they

aim to provoke positive, empire-affirming responses among the Yauna – or did they aim to insult and psychologically destabilize them? It is my opinion that the intent of the Achaemenid program was to incorporate. Veiled threat and coercion may be here, but so are notions of collective ceremonial affirmation. And the intended effect was a resolution of these competing energies into a freighted but positivist whole.

Although some of the Greek readings envisage a validating reception by our Athenian, most thrust him into a feminizing context that seems destined to alienate him. The vocabulary, syntax, and meta-narrative of garments, gifts, and demeanour almost always lead the Greek reader into a zone where his misogynistic, patriarchal upbringing will make him shudder. If so, this suggests a great gulf of cross-cultural miscommunication. Some of the problem has to do with changing times between the designing of the Apadana and our visitor's admission to the Persepolis citadel in the long classical century. Other aspects of the problem may reside in truly different constructions of what cultural value and dignity of experience are all about. There is a circularity of argument here. For the construction of a notion of Athenianness was partly based on antithesis and antagonism to a Persian norm of cultural value and process. If our Athenian visitor perceived his manliness insulted by the representational codes of Achaemenid art and by the ceremonial codes of performance at the court, did this provoke a cultural backlash that lent force to anti-Persian notions of the feminized barbarian?

Hall (1989, 74) emphasizes the importance of the impact of actual experience on the inexorable enhancement of such stereotyping in Athenian tragedy. As our Athenian walks along the Apadana façade, are we witnessing one such piece of actual experience? Are we face to face with one type of repeated cross-cultural encounter that encouraged the formulation and reformulation of the gendered tropes of demeaning stereotype about Persian imperial society that increasingly charged the classical testimony? Did familiarity, tragically infused with oppositional notions of gendered representation, breed contempt?

Notes
[1] See Root (forthcoming).

[2] I shall also introduce comparative material from Magna Graecia, but it is widely acknowledged that this reflects models from Attic visual culture: cf. Prückner 1968, 1, and Ridgway 1981, 154, no. 7, regarding the Locrian votive terracotta plaques, discussed several times below.

[3] e.g. Cantarella 1987, 38; Loraux 1993, 16; Roisman 2005, 1.

[4] e.g. Lewis 1997–8, 84; Foxhall and Salmon 1998; Osborne 2000, 40.

[5] Root 1980, 1985 on various aspects of the accessibility of Persepolis; Hall 1989, 74, reaffirms the viability of this claim; likewise Tuplin 1996, 138 (with caution).

[6] Raaflaub (2004, 201) reviews the evidence, previous analysis, and factors suggesting that ancient evidence for visitors at Persepolis may only be the tip of the iceberg.

[7] The Achaemenid art known from Persepolis was not limited to that city. The Apadana scheme was apparently rendered in painted mural form as a temporary measure at Susa after the destruction of the palace, and a range of evidence – from portable arts to monumental vestiges – discloses echoes of the imagery far to the west. Extensive Athenian emulation and adaptation of Achaemenid Persian visual culture (Miller 1997) presupposes multiple modes of exposure to models.

[8] On Persepolis as ceremonial site cf. Briant 2002. The densely metaphorical visual program was not a blueprint for a specific ceremony portrayed in literal terms (Root 1979 and 1990), but insistence upon a vision of a world of peoples convening at Persepolis is not accidental: there were certainly occasions when this is what happened. Greater Persepolis was an administrative site receiving travelers on imperial business from all over the world *and* a ceremonial capital (Garrison and Root 2001).

[9] Brinkman 1989; Hall 1989, 77–8; Sancisi-Weerdenburg 1980, 2001.

[10] The issue is largely whether Lydia should be imagined as including the Yauna for the purpose of this particular metaphorical representation of imperial identity. Schmidt 1953, 88 was tentative, and Sami 1955, 20 considered the group to be Lydian. But by 1970 Schmidt had resolved his reservations thanks to correlation with the labeled tomb-façade figures (1970, 152–3) and this view now holds sway – although most commentators acknowledge ambiguities. Walser, for instance (1966, 86–8), emphasized the western aspect of Group XII but articulated the ambiguities between Group VI (almost universally identified as Lydians) and Group XII. Some commentators maintain that Group XII combines Ionians and Lydians (e.g. Dutz and Matheson 1998). Jacobs 1982, 83–4 unusually proposes an Indian identity for Group XII (see below). The functions of the various representational and textual listings of imperial peoples were fluid. In particular, the Yauna and Lydians (Sardians) were liable to coalesce or disaggregate according to rationales that are not always clear to us. The Yauna are not present at all on the base of the Egyptian statue of Darius excavated at Susa in 1972 (Roaf 1974; Koch 1993, 108–9); but on the tomb of Darius, a Yauna personification does appear (with a caption) and the figure is separate from the Lydian.

[11] This is a topic requiring fuller analysis elsewhere; but hints of its importance run through the present discussion. See also Root (in press and forthcoming).

[12] Relevant passages include 1.72 ff.; 5.96, 101; 6.20. On Xenophon's characterizations of this shifting ethos of identity and Greekness see Dillery 1998, esp. 27–31.

[13] Gate of All Lands: Schmidt 1953, 65–8. Gate and Apadana: Root 1979, fig. 8. Decorations: Schmidt 1953, 70–90; Root 1979, 86–95 and fig. 10.

[14] Tilia 1972, 127–8, esp. 205–8. Although opinion is not unanimous, this late dating seems increasingly sound to me.

[15] Achaemenid texts sometimes differentiate *petasos*-wearing Ionians from the generic Ionian rubric (e.g. DNa: Kent 1953, 138). But representations of Ionians in the Achaemenid program eschew portrayal of this distinctive hat (cf. Rollinger 2006).

[16] A beautiful photograph of one of the north façade Yauna shows the tassels clearly: Dutz and Matheson 1998, 52, far left. The *chiton* is shorter on the north façade than on the east. On both façades the *himation* is draped to pass under the figure's right arm and over his left shoulder – it is thus displayed in mirror image on the two façades. On the north, where the hem of the *himation* is in full view, we see an incised border, possibly indicating that it was marked out to receive paint here. (For evidence of painted garment decoration cf. Tilia 1978.)

[17] cf. e.g. the marshals on the Parthenon frieze: Jenkins 1994, 97, fig. 90.

[18] cf. e.g. the statue of Chares of Teichioussa, from Didyma (British Museum B 278): Ridgway 1977, 125–6, pl. 31.

[19] 1.86–92, 153–8; 5.96; 7.7.

[20] cf. Calmeyer 1993, 152. Group XV (Bactrians [north]) also depicts six vessels divided between beakers and deep bowls (Schmidt 1953, pl. 41).

[21] Schmidt 1953, 95 calls them cups. The north side beakers have convex sides, the east sides concave sides.

[22] Sami 1955, ill. following 90.

[23] Tilia 1972, 246 and pl. CXXXIII, fig. 24.

[24] Miller 1993, 126–7: British Museum 95.10–27.

[25] Bronze: Schmidt 1957, pl. 68, 1. Clay: Tilia 1972, 246 and pl. CXXXIII, fig. 25.

[26] Dusinberre 1999, fig. 2. 101–2 lists published *excavated* Achaemenid bowls.

[27] Miller 1993, 114: Ashmolean Museum 1966.688.

[28] Schmidt 1953, 89 (pl. 18) describes '... pairs of jar-shaped objects (of gold or filled with gold dust?)', alluding to Herodotus 3.94. Schmidt also mentions contents in the case of the vessel brought by Group XXIII (Ethiopians). The vessel is rounded and the rounded lid is held carefully closed by the bearer. Schmidt 1953, 90 (pl. 49): '...vessel with lid, contents problematic'.

[29] Schmidt 1953, pls. 27, 29, 30, 33, 39, and 41. Group III (north) clearly included two vessels (probably deep bowls) in addition to the massive elaborate amphora brought both on north and east; unfortunately vandalism has obliterated anything but the rough contours of these two north façade vessels. On the east façade the great amphora is the only vessel gift.

[30] Schmidt 1953, pls. 31, 32, and 34.

[31] This was noted by Walser 1966, 88, with pl. 60.

[32] Iranian groups that bring the riding costume also bring a horse. They are: Group I (horse only on the north façade), III (with the garment only brought on the north, where the horse is absent; and horse only the east, where the garment is absent), IX, XI, and XVI (where horse and garment occur consistently together): Schmidt 1953, pls. 27, 29, 35, 37, and 42. Group IV (Arians) include a lion-skin with head attached among their gifts, but this is unlikely to be a garment (e.g. for use in cold weather), partly because the head is still attached, partly because an entirely similar gift is brought by Indians on the fragmentary stairway façade of Artaxerxes I (Tilia 1972, pl. CLX, figs. 78–9). The meaning of this gift is probably more symbolic, perhaps recalling ritual uses of lion skins with the heads attached worn by cult performers e.g. on Neo-Assyrian reliefs from Nineveh.

[33] cf. Walser 1966, 88. Jacobstahl 1938 deserves notice and should be read with the close associations between Sybaris and Miletus (e.g. Hdt. 6.20) in mind.

[34] Moortgat 1969, fig. 9 (pl. 20). I shall discuss this tradition further elsewhere.

[35] Börker-Klähn 1982, 190–1, cat. no. 152. See drawing at 152b and photo of section D4.

[36] Özgen and Öztürk 1996, 36–9 and 68. The original painting included an extended procession that with other possible links with the Apadana (e.g. a horse-drawn chariot and vestiges of numerous other human figures in a long file). The other finds include a ceramic Achaemenid deep bowl (Özgen and Öztürk 1996, fig. 67): in light of Dusinberre's work, this is a further indication of a tomb and assemblage reflecting the cultural impact of the Achaemenid empire. The radiocarbon date for Harta is 365 +/- 70, but stylistic criteria suggest an earlier date.

[37] Compare the way in which delegates carry their Achaemenid vessels, with hands held palm up as on an Egyptian offering relief (Root 1979, 146–7).

[38] Those commissioned for the Temple of Hibis are exemplary: Root 1979, pl. XXXVI.

[39] Prückner 1968 pl. 4,4: Taranto Museo Nationale I. G. 8332. For other women carrying folded cloth as offerings on the Locrian plaques see Prückner 1968, pls. 5, 1 (Heidelberg), 2 (Paris) and fig. 6, where the woman carries the cloth (laid upon an animal-footed stand) balanced atop her head. None of the plaques seems to derive from a matrix dating before *c.* 470 and most of the reliefs were probably generated at dates stretching well into the second half of the 5th century. A few plaques are from grave and domestic contexts rather than from the sanctuary (Prückner 1968, 1), so they circulated outside the strictly female domain of the cults of Persephone, Demeter and Aphrodite..

[40] e.g. Oakley 2004, fig. 6 – a white lekythos near the Providence Painter dating *c.* 460 BC, currently in a German private collection.

[41] Ferrari 2002 (vase paintings); Clairmont 1993, no. 1.176: Berlin, Pergamon Museum 737 (a famous grave-stele in Berlin emblematic of the monumental tradition); Furtwängler 1883–7, text accompanying pl. XIX; Pomeroy 1994, *passim* but, e.g., 58–65.

[42] Near East: Hoffner 1966, Chapman 2004, 48–50. Greece: Weinberg and Weinberg 1956, Brulé 1987, D'Ambra 1993, 100–3, Ferrari 2002. Note also Goff's commentary (2004, 243–7) on the relationship between female communities at Locris, the poetry of Nossis and a gynocentric ritual subculture invoking a poetics of weaving in connection with dedications of woven garments.

[43] This was more telling than their work on a figural tapestry given to Athena quadrennially at the Great Panathenaia (Mansfield 1985, 2–7) – the one displayed ostentatiously, only partially folded, on the east of the Parthenon frieze (Jenkins 1994, pl. III). The professional male weaver might work on a highly prized ritual garment such as this one, but his status remained extremely low (see, e.g., Scheid and Svenbro 1996, 23).

[44] Jacobs 1982, 83–4 abnormally identifies Group XII as Indians, largely because he discerns balls of 'Indian wool' (i.e. cotton) – a better commodity than sheep's wool (Hdt. 3.106) and a much more worthy royal gift.

[45] Schmidt 1953, 88, was admirably circumspect in simply describing the physical look of the things. Walser 1966, 88 interpreted them as balls of wool, but articulated the unusual aspect of such a reading (cf. Koch 2001, 18). Dutz and Matheson 1998, 54 stand

out for noting a possible alternative interpretation (see below n. 76). Villing 2005, 236 still categorically calls them 'balls of wool' (on both façades) without qualification.

[46] Ball-shaped: Renda 1993, 178, B101, item on far left (Roman period Phrygian stele). Elongated and striated: Muscarella 1992, 200–1 (8th–7th century BC spinner relief from Susa).

[47] Renda 1993, 114, B101 – item to the right of the distaff.

[48] e.g. 'blue-dyed wool, purple-dyed wool': Pritchard 1950, 283.

[49] Shalmaneser III (858–824 BC): Pritchard 1950, 277.

[50] See e.g. Root 2005 on wool in late prehistoric semiotic systems, and Olmstead 1948, 80, 193, on transactions from Achaemenid Babylonia involving large quantities of wool.

[51] Erotic: Westenholz 1992, 383. Magical: e.g. the Neo-Elamite spinner relief from Susa again (Muscarella 1992), and a Neo-Hittite grave-stele from Maras, Turkey: Bonatz 2001, 70–1.

[52] Börker-Klähn 1982, no. 152: British Museum ANE 118885. The tray carried by a figure on face C2 holds loaf-shaped items with wavy horizontal striations parted in the middle. These could indicate either spun wool or flax fibres wound into loosely-shaped balls or prepared and dyed fibres already wrapped around distaffs, ready for twisting into thread. These items vaguely resemble what we would need to posit for the east façade renderings on the Apadana. The items carried directly above (face C1) are smooth and so more akin to the renderings on the Apadana north façade. On face A5 a figure carries a tray containing one striated form and three smooth ones. These may all be meant to indicate the same commodity, perhaps suggesting that the items shown on faces C1, C2 and A5 may also depict one and the same kind of thing. Those on face A5 are flattened on the top; those on C1 are mixed – with one clearly spherical and the others flattened at the top; and those on C2 (all striated) are manifestly spherical to oval. The differences may be due to clumsy workmanship where the carving meets the upper limit of the picture frame. The flattening on top rather than bottom is distinctive and different from what we see on the east façade of the Apadana.

[53] Rawlinson 1875, pl. CXXIV, fig. 4 (Northwest Palace, Room R), as on British Museum ANE 124893: Curtis and Reade 1995, 85.

[54] Similar-looking balls of hand-wound yarn may still be seen (Walser 1966, 88).

[55] Amasis Painter: Barber 1994, fig. 9.4: Metropolitan Museum of Art 31.11.10. Pan or Brygos Painter: Oakley 2004, 26 and fig. 5: Arthur M. Sackler Museum, Harvard University, 1991.28; Reeder 1995, cat. no. 46. Oakley 2004, 26 denies that the woman in the second case is a prostitute, partly because white ground lekythoi were not sympotic vessels for the male domain but part of family funerary ritual paraphernalia. Lewis 2002, 98 agrees that the *kalos*-name in itself cannot prove that she is a prostitute. Others (Williams 1983, Reeder 1995, 211) assert the opposite viewpoint, Reeder seeing the bodily presentation of the woman as another sign of prostitute status. Ferrari 2002 reviews the question in a larger discussion of women and wool-working in Athenian culture.

[56] Herodotus (1.92) has Croesus kill his half-brother Pantaleon (whose mother was an Ionian) by having him dragged over a carding comb.

[57] e.g. Briant 2002, 291, on Xen. *Cyr.* 8.8.16 and cakes in court rituals of dining and imperial splendour.

[58] A harbinger of the New Testament loaves and fishes? Muscarella 1992 notes the

funerary possibilities (referring to a suggestion by Hrouda), but is sceptical. This interpretation forges a link with a Neo-Hittite funerary stele from Maras, where Bonatz 2001 finds allusions to necromancy.

[59] The Susa relief was made of bitumen compound (cf. Deschesne 1992) and was probably replicated through a molding process, with hand-worked details added to individualize the basic matrix-produced object.

[60] Demeter cults incorporated honey-and-sesame cakes shaped like genitalia along with other symbolic apparatus (Olender 1990; cf. Goff 2004, 128). Sexually-allusive confections may have included round cakes suggestive of the womb: see, e.g., the Locrian plaques on which girls bring spherical objects with raised dot pattern suggestive of pubic hair (e.g. Prückner 1968, pl. 6, 1; see also below).

[61] More venturesome ideas (prompted by duBois 1988, 121 and 116): (a) Two Aristophanic jokes – the Great King on a pile of dung and the dung-cakes upon which Peisthetaerus' dung-beetle is fed – evoke a scatological interpretation of the round objects. (b) The story (Hdt. 8.137), in which a loaf baked for Perdiccas by the king's wife swelled to twice its proper size, portending the former's emergence as ruler of Macedonia, suggests bread as a symbol of empire.

[62] Clay items like these (usually broken into uninteresting-looking bits) are notoriously neglected by field archaeologists and in categorization for storage and publication. A good example is the hollow balls used in late prehistoric accounting practices (discussed in Root 2005, with references to the studies by Denise Schmandt-Besserat).

[63] Bower and Mackenzie 2004a, fig. 22.7 – the larger pair of balls.

[64] Plato recommends competitive stone hurling and slinging as a form of military training (*Laws* 834; Pritchett 1991, 1, 55). But this very exhortation itself suggests that the practice was *not* a prominent feature of Athenian life for the well-bred man (see further below on sling shots and hurling stones).

[65] Lissarague 1995, 95; Ferrari 2002, 26, with, e.g., figs. 15, 22, 23, 29.

[66] Prückner 1968, pl. 28, 5 (Scaglione Collection 13); pls. 7, 1–2 (Amsterdam, Allard-Pierson Museum 1817 and Tübingen, Sammlung des Archäologischen Instituts der Universität 2033c); and pl. 6, 1 (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, no number cited).

[67] The Medes (Group I) on the east façade bring multiple vessels, multiple pieces of jewellery, and one sheathed *akinakes*, along with the three-part riding-costume (Schmidt 1953, pl. 27). The north has suffered damage to the upper parts of the gift-bearing figures, but it is certain that the gifts are radically different. On the north we have a horse (with its handler), three figures bearing the tripartite riding-costume, and one further figure. His gift is indeterminate because of damage, but only one of the three other gifts shown on the east can have been present. The change between north and east is dramatic no matter which two items are left out. Group III (Armenians) is also radically different as between north and east. On the north we see the tripartite riding-costume plus two vessels held by one figure; on the east, we see a horse and one elaborate amphora (Schmidt 1953, pl. 29).

[68] Briant 2002 discusses various texts describing cohorts of slingers among the Achaemenid forces: e.g. 341 (Xen. *Oec.* 4.5–6); 362 (Xen. *Cyr.* 6.2.36); 733 (Diod. 19.21.3); 231 (Strabo 15.3.18); 796 and 865. Pritchett's detailed account (1991, 1–67) gives this topic the attention it deserves in the history of military techniques.

[69] Hrouda 1965, pl. 60, 1: Sennacherib's palace at Nineveh, British Museum 124775;

Pritchett 1991, 33.

[70] Small lead sling-shot is known from 4th-century finds. Foss 1975 argues that this was a Greek invention adopted by Achaemenid armies around 400. Briant 2002, 1037–8 dissents.

[71] See Maier and Karageorghis 1984, 198 f. A single ball of somewhat similar type has been found at Phocaea, possibly associated with a Persian attack *c.* 540 (Özyigit 1994; Briant 1994). On questions posed by these discoveries see Pimouguet-Pedarros 2000. Other caches of hurling stones demonstrate continuity from Achaemenid into hellenistic times (Marsden 1973, 222–8; Landels 1981; Pritchett 1991, 39–43).

[72] Harrison reconstructs these stones on the basis of compositional arguments and the presence of stock-piled stones in earlier city-siege scenes (e.g. Troy on the François Vase) and on Achaemenid period city-siege scenes from Lycia. See Childs 1978, 77, fig. 29.1).

[73] This aspect of Athena relates to metaphorical valences of stones in Greek myth and literature particularly relevant to the ideology of Athenian autochthony as treated by duBois (1988, 86–109): notably, stones as the seed of the earth.

[74] On Pheidias' portrait cf. Harrison 1981, 309–10. I am far less sceptical than is Harrison of the idea that the late tale of embedded portraiture had a basis in 5th-century discourse on the monument.

[75] I thank Christopher Tuplin for this point.

[76] Not that we have to assume this: north and east façades may simply have depicted different objects. Dutz and Matheson 1998, 54 speak of the possibility that the objects depict 'honey-combs', probably a mistranslation of 'bee-hives'.

[77] This Athenian item differs only in the absence of ridging and in a very slight flattening at the crest of the dome shape.

[78] Amiet 1972, 321–2 and fig. 32: Tehran, National Museum of Iran, 6810.

[79] But ancient Egyptian beehives in representations such as that on the XXVI Dynasty Tomb Chapel of Pabasa seem to be tubular in form (Houlihan 1996, 189–91, fig. 130).

[80] Group I (east) (Medes) and Group XII (north *and* east) are the only groups not bringing a live animal – *unless* the rounded objects of Group XII are beehives. If *both* versions of Group XII actually included or were intended to include beehives, then the east façade Medes are a unique anomaly.

[81] Ephesus: the bee appears on Ephesian coins (Cook 1895). The strength of this association is suggested by its use by the mint in hellenistic Susa, resulting from Ephesian deportations to Susa (Newell 1938, 115–23, 475–6). Delphi: see below.

[82] Large storage-jars of honey form a Syrian gift to the pharaoh Sahure in the Fifth Dynasty but I know of no Egyptian depictions of live beehives being brought as tribute.

[83] e.g. Briant 2002, 243, 245, 286, 291; Sancisi-Weerdenburg 1995.

[84] Haas 1981, 114–16; Sussman 1984, 84; Pomeroy 1995, 49–52.

[85] Aristophanes' comic thrust here must be read in light of the complexities of the Athenian re-invention of Marathon in the political environment of the 420s (Schreiner 2004, 32–3).

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10

BOXUS THE PERSIAN AND
THE HELLENIZATION OF PERSIS

Nicholas Sekunda

Introduction
In the aftermath of Alexander's conquests, Greeks and hellenic culture pene-
trated many parts of the Near East that were remote from the shores of the
Mediterranean. The purpose of this chapter is to set an individual hellenized
Persian alongside the evidence for a Greek presence in what had been the
heartland of the Achaemenid Empire and to suggest that he exemplifies the
cultural effect that this Greek presence might sometimes exert on members
of the native Persian population. The suggestion (as will become clear) is
necessarily speculative, but where material is in any case meagre the historian
must be prepared to articulate all the possibilities.

Boxus and myths of origins
Boxus the Persian is only known through the Greek geographical writer
Agatharchides of Cnidus. The most complete version of the relevant passage
of Agatharchides is preserved in the *Bibliotheke* of Photius (Phot. 441b16–
442b23 = Henry 1974, 134–8 = Burstein 1989, 42–5), while a much more
concise version is given in Strabo. Photius summarizes Agatharchides' discus-
sion of the various suggestions as to how the Red Sea received its name. The
first explanation is that the sea is called 'red' because the mountains to the
western side of the Arabian Gulf shine like burning coals. The second is that
when the sun rises its rays cause the sea to appear blood-red to observers. The
third story is Argive in origin, and is attributed to Deinias of Argos (*FGrH*
306 F7), who wrote an *Argolica* in the second half of the third century BC.
According to this story the Argive hero Perseus travelled to Persia and gave
the Persians their name through one of his descendants. He also engendered
a son named Erythras (cf. Gk. *erythros*, 'red'), and from this person the
name was given to the sea. It has been suggested (Marcotte 2001, 429) that
the aim of Agatharchides, as paraphrased by Photius, was to show that this
explanation of the name was wrong.

Photius next tells us that

the fourth and true account, however, is one which he learned (μεμάθηκε) from a Persian. His name, Agatharchides says, was Boxus; and he had become Greek in language and thought (γνώμη). He had left his fatherland and was living in Athens. The account given by this Persian goes as follows...

(translation Burstein 1989, 43–4)

According to this account the sea was named after one Erythras, a Persian by race and the son of Myozaeus who, during the times of the Median Empire, lived not far from the sea opposite some islands that were uninhabited. Erythras built a raft and crossed to an island in order to reach some horses and a herdsman who had sailed out to it. According to Paul Goukowsky (1974, 118) the island settled by Erythras can only correspond to the island of Qeshm. Erythras later peopled the island and settled other uninhabited islands in the sea, which became called the Sea of Erythras. This, Photius assures us, is 'the Persian account'. Strabo (16.4.20 [779]) repeats the information that Agatharchides reports the story from Boxus, but without the further detailed information about the origins of Boxus quoted above.

Etymological myth-making about the origins of the Persian race probably goes back as far as the direct contacts between Greeks and Persians following the conquest of Lydia in 547 BC. According to Diodorus (10.27) already by 490 BC a myth existed that an Athenian Medus, upon being deprived of his kingdom by the Athenians, had founded the kingdom of Media. It was on this mythological basis that the Persian general Datis demanded the surrender of the Athenians before the battle of Marathon. Raubitschek (1957) suggested that 'the old song of Datis...How I am delighted and rejoiced and elated', at line 291 of the *Peace* of Aristophanes, parodies the preamble of this address of Datis to the Athenians. (On this passage see also Molitor 1986; Cagnazzi 1999, 382–4; Olson 1998, 128–9.) The same individual, a son of Medea, is first mentioned in surviving literature in Hesiod's *Theogony* (1001), where he is called Medeius. It is thus possible that the etymological myth of the founder of the Median nation goes back into the seventh century or even earlier (as Braun 1982, 29). In a similar way the Argive hero Perseus had become identified as the founder of the Persian nation by the time of the Persian invasions of Greece. Herodotus (7.150) records that Xerxes sent a herald to Argos stating that the Persians believed themselves to be descended from Perses, the child of Perseus by Andromeda (Braun 1982, 31).

How much the Persians themselves actually believed these Greek myths is unknown. It could be argued that they were rather using Greek myth for their own political purposes. Even if the myth concerning Erythras was originally of Persian origin, it is difficult to know how much the lines in

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Photius preserve the original form of the legend of Erythras, transmitted to us as it is through the double filter of the hellenized Persian Boxus and the Greek Agatharchides, as Goukowsky (1974, 118) has pointed out. So far as we know, the Greeks first came across mythological material concerning Erythras when Nearchus the Cretan travelled to the area in 325 BC (Arrian *Indica* 37.2–3; Burstein, 1989, 44 n. 1; Goukowsky 1974, 120–2). At any rate Agatharchides, as reported by Photius, believes this to be 'the Persian account' and (for that reason) authoritative and credible. By contrast he denounces any connection between the Persians and Perseus (Photius 442b23–444a19 = Henry 1974, 138–43 = Burstein 1989, 45–9). Much of this denunciation is given over to a lengthy rant about silly mythological stories. But he also alleges that Perseus and the Persians cannot be connected because Persians 'do not pronounce *Pérsas* with an acute accent on the first syllable, but *Persâs*, placing a circumflex accent on the final syllable' (trans. Burstein). Could this observation have come from the Greek-speaking Persian Boxus?

Boxus: name and origins
Agatharchides is known to have worked in Alexandria during the reign of Ptolemy VI Philometor (180–145 BC) as a secretary to one of his ministers, Heraclides Lembus. He tells us that he derived the material for his work *On the Red Sea* from the royal archives in Alexandria and in part from eye-witnesses and merchants. Agatharchides also tells us, however, that he wrote his work in old age, and that he would have written more but for his advancing years and for the fact that the persecutions of Ptolemy VIII Euergetes compelled him to abandon the undertaking and remove himself from the capital (Fraser 1972, 173–4 with n. 185 at 779). It is safe to conclude, therefore, that his work only reached its final form and was published some time not too long after the accession of Ptolemy VIII Euergetes in 145 BC. The fact that Photius tells us that Agatharchides had learned (μεμάθηκε) the explanation from Boxus may imply direct personal contact, as Christopher Tuplin has suggested to me. According to Fraser, the reference to Boxus moving to Athens 'gives grounds for supposing that when Agatharchides left Alexandria he settled in Athens' (Fraser 1973, 775 n. 168). Therefore Boxus, like Agatharchides, would have moved to Athens around 145 BC, but can we establish precisely from where?

The personal name Boxus is certainly Iranian. It is spelt Βόξος in the manuscripts of Photius and of Strabo with the exception of one, which reads Βῶξος. One supposes, therefore, that the form with the *omicron* was found in the original manuscripts of Agatharchides, on which both Photius and Strabo are based. It should be noted, however, that the two forms alternate in other

sources too, as will be clear from what follows. The name is a Greek form of the original Iranian name *Buxša*. It was listed as an Iranian personal name, and was interpreted as a shortened or hypocoristic form of the personal name *Bagabuxša* 'freed by God' by both Justi (1895, 72b s.v. Buχša, 'verkürzt aus Bagabuχša') and Stonecipher (1918, 35, 46; cf. also Woelk 1966, 98). The name also occurs at least 14 times at Persepolis in the Elamite form *Pukša* (Mayrhofer 1973, 220, no. 8.1370: 'Kurzform zu *Baga-buxša*').

The personal name Boxus is epigraphically attested in Lower Asia in a single inscription from the city of Pisidian Antioch (Sekunda 1991, 109–10) which records a dedication made by one Preimos, a slave of Antiochus son of Boxus. Here the Greek form of the name takes an *omega*. The inscription was originally published by J.R. Sitlington Sterrett (1888, 280 no. 400) and the name was at first considered to be Celtic, possibly borrowed from Galatia (Arkwright 1918, 63). It was only later realized that the name is Iranian (Robert 1963, 321 n. 1; Zgusta 1964, 130 §201).

Pisidian Antioch was settled from Magnesia on the Maeander (Strabo 12.8.14) in the third century BC, possibly by Antiochus II but much more probably by Antiochus I (Bernard 1987, 107 n. 12). It is reasonable to believe that the personal name Boxus was transferred from Magnesia to Pisidian Antioch upon the founding of the city. The ultimate home of the personal name may have been the cosmopolitan city of Ephesus, which lay in the next river valley lying to the north of Magnesia, for the *neokoros* of the Artemision at Ephesus was called Megabyzus, the Greek version of the Persian personal name *Bagabuxša*, (Benveniste 1966, 108–13; Bremmer 2004) of which the hypocoristic form was *Buxša*, or Βόξος. It is possible that Antiochus son of Boxus was of Persian origin, but more probably the name had been borrowed into a Greek family.

The name Boxus is also attested in Bactria. Curtius (9.7.4, 7, 8) mentions that a Bactrian named Boxus became involved in the revolt of the Greek settlers in Bactria in 325 led by Athenodorus. His rival Biton had Athenodorus assassinated by Boxus, who is specifically called a Bactrian. Following this Boxus was immediately put to death. (On these events see Holt 1988, 82–5; 2005, 111–13.) The Greek form of the personal name which would have appeared in the original Greek source used by Curtius, with either an initial *omicron* or *omega*, was lost when the name was transcribed into Curtius' Latin, and the incident does not appear in any other of the parallel Alexander histories written in Greek. The degree of hellenization in Bactria, lying as it did on the steppe border of the Alexandrine and later Seleucid Empires, was arguably higher than in any other Iranian province of the hellenistic world. This was largely due to the extensive scale of Greek settlement, including a substantial number of colonists from the Maeander valley (Bernard 1987).

In onomastic terms, then, a case could be made for Boxus 'the Persian' moving to Athens either from Lower Asia or from Bactria. Such an interpretation would, however, run contrary to the precise words of Agatharchides, that Boxus 'had left his fatherland (*patris*) and was living in Athens'. The most natural way of understanding the words of Agatharchides is to suppose that Boxus had come to Athens from Persis itself. This is true both for general reasons (where else should Boxus 'the Persian' have come from?) and in particular because he is, after all, being cited for information about the sea that lies adjacent to Persis. Furthermore, it needs to be stressed that Old Iranian onomastics are, but for a few arguable dialect forms, largely regionally undifferentiated (Briant 1984, 89) and so the fact that the name is attested in Bactria in no way permits us to suppose that the personal name is specifically 'Bactrian'.

On this basis, then, we are entitled to suggest that Boxus was a Persian who left Persis shortly after 145 BC.

Greeks in hellenistic Persis

We know very little about hellenistic Persis from the sparse historical and archaeological evidence, and Wiesehöfer's examination of the topic leads him to the conclusion that it is hardly possible to determine to what extent Persis was 'hellenized' during the third and second centuries BC (1994, 138; 1996, 110). We might briefly, at this point, review the evidence for the presence of Greek settlers in Persis during the hellenistic period. The number of Greeks settled in any area of the hellenistic Orient would surely have been a deciding element in the degree to which it became hellenized.

We know of the existence of a single Greek city called Antioch in Persis, from an inscription (*OGIS* 233, translated Sherwin-White and Kuhrt 1993, 162–3) recording correspondence between the Antiochenes in Persis and the Magnesians on the Maeander concerning the establishment of a new festival in honour of Artemis Leucophryene. From the contents of this letter we learn that the city had been founded in the reign of Antiochus I (281–261 BC), and that colonists from Magnesia on the Maeander were sent to strengthen the number of citizens. The city is also mentioned in *OGIS* 231, which records the residence of King Antiochus III in the city. Nothing further is known about this city, but it is generally located on or near the Persian Gulf at Bushehr or Borazjan – although the possibility that it could have been in the vicinity of Persepolis has also been mooted (Talbert 1985, 71; Roueché and Sherwin-White 1985, 9 n. 18).

The presence of Greeks at Persepolis is certainly suggested by the existence of monolingual Greek altars for Zeus Megistos, Apollo, Helios, Artemis and Athena, dated to the first half of the third century (Herzfeld

1936, 44; Robert 1967, 282; Sherwin-White and Kuhrt 1993, 76). Perse-
polis – which back in 317/16 had hosted a great sacrificial feast for 'the gods
and Philip and Alexander' before the showdown between Eumenes and
Antigonus, and had been witness to Antigonus' proclamation of himself as
'King of Asia' after it – seems to have survived as an important city during
the hellenistic period, but whether any form of organized city life existed
for the Greeks there is completely unknown.

Outside the cities of Persis, there is some evidence for Seleucid military
settlements in the satrapy from two passages in Polyaenus (7.39, 40), which
I give below in the translation of Krentz and Wheeler (1994, 695).

The first (7.39) reports the stratagem by which one Seiles cornered and
eliminated a group of Persian rebels.

> Desiring to kill 3,000 Persian rebels, Seiles alleged that Seleucus harshly threat-
> ened him in a letter, and that by an alliance with the rebels he wished to take
> the initiative. To draw up a plan, he arranged for them to meet at the village
> called Rhanda. They believed him and came. But he concealed 300 Thracian
> and Macedonian cavalry and 3,000 heavy infantry (*hoplitai*) at a deep marshy
> hollow at the foot of the village and ordered them, when they saw a small bronze
> shield (*pelte*) raised, to charge forth and kill all the rebels assembled there. The
> small shield was shown and with a charge they killed the 3,000 Persians.

In his account of the events of 317 BC Diodorus (19.27.5) mentions a group
of 500 Thracian cavalry 'from the upper (ἄνω) *katoikiai*' in the army of
Eumenes. Bar-Kochva (1976, 33) has suggested that these troops are to be
associated with the 300 Thracian and Macedonian cavalry and 3,000 heavy
infantry (or, as Bar-Kochva wrongly puts it, '3,000 Thracian and Macedonian
infantry and the same number of similarly constituted cavalry') mentioned in
the first stratagem of Polyaenus (and indeed with the Thracians who fought
at Raphia in 217: Polybius 5.65, 79), and that the Seleucus in question in
Polyaenus is 'probably the founder of the dynasty'. Although Bar-Kochva's
association of these groups of soldiers is (of course) speculative, I am inclined
to accept the identification of Seleucus with Seleucus Nicator, a view also
shared by Grainger 1990, 213 and countenanced by Wiesehöfer 1994, 60,·
125. It was only after the defeat of Nicanor in Mesopotamia in 312/1, that
Seleucus won over Susiane, Media and 'some of the adjacent lands' (Diodorus
19.92.5), which probably included Persis, so this incident must have taken
place at a later date.

Stronach (1978, 155–6) has identified a destruction level in the Achae-
menid citadel at Pasargadae which can be dated by coin evidence to the end
of the reign of Seleucus I. I suggest that we should associate this with the
Polyaenus passage, so that the destruction level at Pasargadae and the revolt
of the 3,000 Persians are both symptoms of unrest in Persis shortly before

Seleucus' death in 281 BC. Seiles was presumably governor of Persis at the time. The personal name Seiles (Σείλης) is to my knowledge unattested elsewhere, but I presume it can be connected with the form Σέλης, which has been noted in two examples from Macedonia (*LGPN* IV, 307). I would therefore suppose that Seiles was a Macedonian.

The second Polyaenus passage (7.40) also deals with the suppression of dissent, but this time by a Persian.

> Learning that 3,000 colonists (*katoikoi*) in Persia were hatching a plot, Oborzus dispatched them with guides who led them to a place in Persia called Comastas, where they were numerous villages, a large population, and many road-stations (*stathmoi*). After each was lodged in a different road-station and a strong guard surrounded the villages, each station-master got his own lodger exceedingly drunk and killed him. The 3,000 bodies, buried during the night, disappeared.

The personal name Oborzus mentioned here corresponds to the Old Iranian Vahbarz. The names Baydad (Bagadates) and then Vahbarz are found on the *frataraka* ('governor') coinage from Persis, now thought to have been struck during the second century (Sherwin-White and Kuhrt 1993, 30; Wiesehöfer 1994, 115–29). It can be assumed that this coinage was struck at a time when Persis had become either partially or fully independent of Seleucid rule, and before the period when Persis fell under full Parthian rule. The Oborzus of the Polyaenus passage is surely to be identified with the second of these rulers. (Wiesehöfer 1994, 110 remarks that no one has doubted this view since it was articulated by Justi 1895, 341.) The precise dating of the *frataraka* coinage, and therefore of the second incident mentioned by Polyaenus, is notoriously difficult, but it is not necessary for my purposes to go through the evidence here once again.

Given the recurrence of the figure of 3,000 (Persian rebels and the infantry who killed them in the first passage, *katoikoi* in the second passage), it is tempting to suggest that the hoplites were settled on the estates of the Persian rebels, and were the ancestors of the later *katoikoi*. This suggestion is, of course, highly speculative: the *katoikoi* are not, after all, specifically said to have been Greek. But the presence of 3,000 Greek *katoikoi* in Persis, in addition to the urban Greek population, clearly cannot be ruled out. It should also be noted that, if the *katoikoi* were in fact Greek, it does not necessarily follow that Vahbarz was simply motivated by a pre-existing or acquired anti-Greek sentiment: what prompted his action was the fact that the *katoikoi* were plotting, not that they were Greek. At the same time the result may have been a loosening of Seleucid authority (cf. Wiesehöfer 1994, 127).

When Demetrius II crossed into Mesopotamia to retake the province from the Parthians in 141 BC, his aim is stated to have been to take 'possession of the Upper Satrapies' which implies that Persis was no longer under Seleucid

rule at that date. In the same passage Josephus (*Ant.* 13.185: trans. Marcus) further informs us that

> Greeks and Macedonians living in this region were in fact continually sending envoys to him, promising to go over to him, if he would come to them, and to join him in making war on Arsaces, the king of the Parthians.

In a later passage (13.186) Josephus adds that 'the people of the country received him gladly, he gathered a force together and made war on Arsaces'. Justin (36.1, trans. Yardley) tells us that

> The peoples of the east were not unhappy to see him come because of the ruthlessness of Arsacides, King of the Parthians, and also because, after growing used to the old empire of the Macedonians, they found the high-handedness of their new rulers difficult to bear. Assisted by reinforcements from the Persians, the Elymaeans, and the Bactrians, Demetrius put the Parthians to flight in a series of battles.

The assumption among modern historians (cf. Will 1982, 407–9; Wiesehöfer 1994, 129) is that the contemporary ruler (*frataraka*) of Persis had lent support to Demetrius (Wiesehöfer identifies the ruler in question as Vadfradad I), and the words of Justin at face value imply that it was native Persian troops who had been sent, not Greeks. This is surely strong evidence for a favourable attitude on the part of the native Persians towards the Greeks.

The subsequent campaign of Demetrius against the Parthians ended in disaster, and resulted in the decisive end of Seleucid rule in the Upper Satrapies. The city of Antioch in the Lower Tigris valley that later became Charax Spasinou ceased minting coins during the first reign of Demetrius II (146–139 BC), and Mørkholm (1970, 31, 42) has suggested that the city passed out of Seleucid control at this time. Similarly the latest Seleucid coins to have been found at Susa are a small number of bronzes of Demetrius (Le Rider 1965, 310).

Antiochus VII Sidetes made the final attempt to regain the eastern provinces, and got as far as Media before the campaign ended in disaster in 129 BC. Once again Justin (38.10) tells us that 'many kings of the east met Antiochus on his march, offering him themselves and their kingdoms, and expressing the greatest detestation of Parthian pride'. Vadfradad II or one of his successors may have been among the kings of the east who lent their support to Antiochus. Once again we have possible evidence for the favourable attitude of the native Persians towards the Greeks.

Conclusion
To return to Boxus. He had lived in Persis and he became 'Greek in language and thought (γνώμη)'. Clearly here at least is one native Persian who had

become hellenized. It cannot, of course, be *proved* that this hellenization occurred before he left his native country. Agatharchides' evidence, as preserved in Photius, does not distinguish between that scenario and the alternative one, namely that Boxus acquired his Greek culture through residence in Athens. But the evidence just considered plainly establishes that the first scenario is possible. He could have learned his Greek at Antioch in Persis, the most important city of the satrapy, or in one of the less important Greek urban settlements, such as the Greek community in Persepolis, or perhaps even in one of the *katoikiai*, if they were Greek, and he must surely be considered as potential further evidence for some degree of hellenization in Persis.

Boxus 'had left his fatherland and was living in Athens'. As stated above, Agatharchides left Alexandria in 145 BC, and at some later point probably moved to Athens where he met Boxus. Is it possible to connect Boxus' departure from Persis with the events described above? I am indebted to Marek Olbrycht for the suggestion that Boxus may have left Persis as an envoy despatched by the current Persian native ruler to the court of Demetrius II. This need not have taken place as late as 141 BC. Bearing in mind Josephus' statement that the Greeks and Macedonians living in the Upper Satrapies were continually sending envoys to him, the Persian embassy might have been sent soon after the beginning of Demetrius' reign in 146 BC, and Boxus might have been prompted to travel on to Athens, a great centre of learning at the time, by a desire to learn more about Greek culture. In any event, we do not need to think of him as a 'displaced person', unable to return to a Persis annexed by the Parthians: there is every sign that the native dynasts continued to rule in Persis at least down to the expedition of Antiochus Sidetes. Furthermore, although Boxus 'had left his fatherland and was living in Athens', we do not know how long he stayed there. For all we know he returned to Persis shortly after his meeting with Agatharchides.

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11

THE PHILOSOPHER'S ZARATHUSHTRA

Phiroze Vasunia

Introduction: cross-cultural translation

The fascination with Zarathushtra first enters western literature in Greek texts from the fifth and fourth centuries. In this chapter, I would like to suggest that Greek intellectuals in the fifth and especially the fourth century made competing but different appeals to Zarathushtra. The disciples of Pythagoras, on the one hand, and the members of Plato's Academy, on the other, both invoked Zarathushtra (or Zoroaster) in their work, during the era that followed the wars between the Greeks and the Persians. At a time when we would expect to see reluctance about the acceptance of Iranian culture and ideas, we see instead a prominence and an attention given to an Iranian figure among the Pythagoreans and the Platonists. Why do these Greeks so avidly and insistently appropriate Zarathushtra, and what are the consequences of this appropriation? Did Zarathushtra's teaching and ideology pose any challenges to Greek conceptions of philosophy and religion? What does it even mean for a Greek to invoke Zarathushtra in the Greek language in a Greek text? In what follows, I would like to discuss the portrayal of Zarathushtra in the Greek material from the classical period and thereby also offer some responses to these difficult questions.

Let me note at the outset that the use of Zarathushtra by Greek sources upsets conventional scholarly views about the implacable hostility of the Greeks and Persians in the fifth and fourth centuries, just as the appeal to Zarathushtra also contravenes what we might be led to expect by the widespread negative portrayal of Persians in Greek art and literature. Given the scholarly attention directed at the events of Marathon and Salamis, it may surprise some to see Zarathushtra appear in Greek texts as a venerable object of interest rather than as a source of derision. In fact, although a full-scale military presence in mainland Greece occurred only in the years 490 and 480–479, the archaeological and iconographic evidence indicates that there was considerable receptivity to Iranian cultural influence in mainland Greece, the northern Aegean, and western Anatolia. Since the bulk of

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this essay is concerned mainly with claims made by Greek elites, it should especially be noted that Iranian themes and styles may have assisted social stratification in the fifth and fourth centuries and that these foreign elements probably found their most eager recipients among the upper echelons of Greek societies.[1] Admittedly, scholars have found it easier to trace influence in the other direction, and to argue for significant Greek impact on Iranian art and culture in places such as Pasargadae, Persepolis, and Susa. While the details of this cross-cultural interaction have only just begun to emerge in any meaningful way, suffice it to say that the evidence points to a greater degree of interaction and receptivity than has been previously accepted. Such things as Greek luxury toreutic, textiles, clothing, jewellery, seals, and even court ceremonial and court settings show recognizable marks of Iranian influence. On the other hand, Greek and Ionian culture left an impact on Persian sculpture and statuary at the same time that Greeks themselves also fought for the Persian king. An important general context for Greek uses of Zarathushtra, then, is the receptivity on both sides to foreign elements and a sense of cultural inter-connectedness.[2]

The use of Zarathushtra by Greeks also raises the question of cross-cultural translation, in this case the translation of a figure from Iran to Greece. In her study of the image of Zoroaster, Jenny Rose states that there are two kinds of cross-cultural translation, the 'academic' and the 'imaginative'.[3] As Rose's own book demonstrates, this dichotomy scarcely begins to account for the multilayered representation of Zarathushtra in the Greek texts, even in the early period, as he performs the roles of magus, prophet, philosopher, and astrologer. Nor does the Greeks' receptivity to Persian culture in itself explain the complex and multi-faceted representation of Persians in general and Zarathushtra in particular in Greek literature. The topic brings into focus fantasies and distortions, anxieties and appropriations, and interpretations and misinterpretations. It involves questions of ethnicity and identity, and it pertains to the relationship between the self and the other and between Greek and barbarian. But it is hard to evaluate these representations and the relationships that they describe in any straightforward sense, not least because of the complicated and shared histories of the Greeks and the Persians. Thus, the issue of Greek receptivity is complicated by the reality of Persian imperial and political rule in western Asia, since the Persians ruled over several Greek communities in the region of Asia Minor, including, of course, the home cities of Ionian intellectuals such as Herodotus. As Strabo observed, 'the Persians of all the barbarians became the most famous among the Greeks, because none of the other barbarians who ruled Asia ruled Greeks'.[4] The Persians had a special place among barbarians, and this invariably shaped the kind of othering to which they were subject in Greek material.

The particular features of this translation into Greek also mean that our subject is part of the study of Orientalism and part of the history of representations of the 'Orient'. Any informed approach to Zarathushtra arrives at its subject today through accumulated layers of European Orientalism. While I emphasize that contemporary reflection on Zarathushtra is necessarily triangulated through centuries of Orientalist scholarship, I do not suggest that we should set aside such scholarship entirely, despite the criticisms to which it has been subjected in the last twenty-five years. But it is important to state that some of the most prominent features of this kind of Orientalism may discourage critics from considering those qualities in the ancient texts to which they need to pay attention if they are to understand the place of Zarathushtra in ancient Greece. I have referred already to the receptivity on the part of the Greeks to Iranian practices. I refer also to questions of agency, representation, and the desire on the part of some Greeks to speak for, and on behalf of, another culture. As Edward Said noted, the exteriority of Orientalist texts can be traced back to early Greek sources, including (moreover) one source that is often quoted in connection with Zoroastrianism:

> Orientalism is premised upon exteriority, that is, on the fact that the Orientalist, poet or scholar, makes the Orient speak, describes the Orient, renders its mysteries plain for and to the West. He is never concerned with the Orient except as the first cause of what he says. What he says and writes, by virtue of the fact that it is said or written, is meant to indicate that the Orientalist is outside the Orient, both as an existential and as a moral fact. The principal product of this exteriority is of course representation: as early as Aeschylus' play *The Persians* the Orient is transformed from a very far distant and often threatening Otherness into figures that are relatively familiar (in Aeschylus' case, grieving Asiatic women). The dramatic immediacy of representation in *The Persians* obscures the fact that the audience is watching a highly critical enactment of what a non-Oriental has made into a symbol for the whole Orient.[5]

This presumption to represent the Orient can be a problematic element in the oldest forms of Orientalism, and indeed we see evidence of it in Greek texts about Zarathushtra. As Said implied, these texts are laying the basis for the creation of Orientalist categories and stereotypes in the later selective construction of antiquity. It would be worthwhile, given enough time, to explore the dialectical relationship between the ancient sources and Orientalist scholarship. But I also add the qualification that, in the case of the Greek Zarathushtra, an attention to exteriority, surface, and techniques of representation alone is an insufficient condition of analysis. For one thing, a deeper appreciation of Zarathushtra's place in Greek culture arises when these representations and their underlying structures are linked to social and political contexts in Greece and Iran. For another, Plato and his

contemporaries are also working through specific Iranian oral traditions, which should therefore be read against the Greek philosophical texts.

What happens to an oral tradition when it enters a literate society in another culture? In the fifth and fourth centuries, there were no written texts in Iran that mentioned Zarathushtra. Such documents as Darius' cuneiform inscription at Behistun refer explicitly to Ahura Mazda and not to his prophet. Although he lived in about 1200 BC, Zarathushtra's name first appears in Iranian written records as late as the fifth and sixth centuries CE.[6] But the historical Zarathushtra becomes a figure of memory and of oral tradition in Iran, and the recollections surrounding him were being received in Greece and refracted through Greek lenses already in the fifth century BC. To borrow a concept from Maurice Halbwachs (one since developed further by Jan Assmann in connection with Moses), classical Greek culture was at this stage the beneficiary of an Iranian collective memory, or mnemohistory, of Zarathushtra.[7] It is the reception of this mnemohistory, or *Gedächtnisge-schichte*, that makes possible the translation from Iranian Zarathushtra into Greek Zoroaster.

The Greek Zoroaster is the result of a transformative process that leads from memory to alterity or from recollection to otherness, but not just to any alterity or any otherness. The Greek Zoroaster is an acceptable image of Zarathushtra; he is an assimilable other. No matter how receptive the Greeks remained to non-Greek categories of thought, they were never quite able to embrace the foreignness of Zarathushtra, fully and in his absolute singularity, and for them Zoroaster never really approximated Zarathushtra. In this sense, for the Greeks, he occupies a place in the history of self-definition (*Eigengeschichte*) more than he does in the history of the other (*Fremdges-chichte*), and it is only a slight overstatement to claim, as Michael Stausberg does, that 'Zoroaster' gives scholars a case-study in the 'European history of religion' (*Europäische Religionsgeschichte*) and not in the 'history of religion in Europe' (*Religionsgeschichte Europas*).[8] Accordingly, my interest here is less in assessing the truth or authenticity of a particular representation of Zarathushtra and more in understanding how this figure was used and creatively appropriated by Greek elites.

Although I am attempting a mode of reception-history, or *Rezeption-sgeschichte*, in relation to Zarathushtra, I do not on these grounds alone exclude Iranian traditions from the discussion, and, on the contrary, wish to insist on their relevance to the analysis. The Greek sources used ideas and doctrines connected with this figure for different purposes, and emphasized different features of the Iranian material to suit their own purposes. For instance, Aristoxenus makes use of the fundamental dualism in Zoroastrian thought, that is, the struggle between Ahura Mazda and Ahriman, to forge

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a connection between Pythagoras and Zarathushtra. The details of Iranian dualism are well known, and do not bear repetition here.[9] But it will be important to recall the dualism of the ancient Zoroastrian world-view in looking at Greek philosophical texts that bear on the relationship of Pythagoras and Plato.

No less important than dualism to Zoroastrian thought is the apocalyptic and eschatological tradition, and we find this too being shaped and altered to illustrate different aspects of Greek thought. The details can be recounted here only very briefly.[10] According to Zoroastrian tradition, the souls of the dead are evaluated on the basis of thoughts, words, and actions when they come to the Cinwad Bridge (*cinwad puhl*), and then are sent over to heaven, hell, or the 'place of mixture'; wherever the souls end up, there they await the end of time. How does the end of time happen? Zoroastrians devised a great world calendar of twelve thousand years. At the end of the first three thousand years, Ahura Mazda gives form to the material world, and after another three thousand years, Ahriman comes and pollutes the creation. In the period from the year 6,000 to just before the year 9,000, Ahriman causes havoc and destruction. In the year 8,970, Zarathushtra is born, and a time of goodness follows. The year 9,000 marks the beginning of his millennium, and also the beginning of human history. In the year 9,970, there will occur the appearance of the first World Saviour, who is called Ukhshyat-ereta (Ushedar, in Pahlavi); in the year 10,970, there will occur the appearance of the second World Saviour, who is called Ukhshyat-nemah (Ushedarmah); and in the year 11,943, there will occur the appearance of the third and final World Saviour, Astvat-ereta, the true deliverer and Saoshyant who will be born from a virgin. He will bring about the resurrection of the dead, the Last Judgement, and the ultimate conquest of evil. In the year 12,000, historical time will come to an end, the Kingdom (Khshathra) of Ahura Mazda will flourish on earth, and he will rule for eternity. Even this crude and over-hasty summary of the Iranian evidence will be useful in thinking about Greek texts below, for example, the source that says Plato himself was born from a virgin.

Let us turn now to the figure of Zoroaster in the Greek sources. If we consider the evidence from the fifth and the fourth centuries, we shall see that Greek men of letters used this venerable figure out of a desire to connect themselves and their teachers to an ancient eastern wisdom. The Greeks were vying with each other, and they did not hesitate to seek the sanction of the name of Zoroaster in their own philosophical endeavours.

Zoroaster, Aristoxenus and Pythagoras

I shall begin with the Pythagoreans and then turn to Plato and the members of the Academy. In an important essay published in 1990, Peter Kingsley

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has covered some of this ground in relation to the Greek origin of the sixth-century dating of Zoroaster. I accept many of Kingsley's arguments, as also the claims made in a subsequent essay of 1995, and will refer to some of the same sources, but would like to draw out some of his conclusions more fully.[11] Kingsley argues that the sixth-century dating of Zarathushtra comes from Greek sources and not from Persian, Babylonian, or Jewish sources. In particular, he traces the claim to Aristoxenus, who lived in the fourth century and who is supposed to have stated that Pythagoras met a Chaldaean called 'Zaratas', which is the Aramaic name for Zarathushtra. This passage from Aristoxenus, who was associated with Pythagorean theories, also brings up the issue of dualism, and it is through this topic that we might also usefully approach the question of the Greek Zarathushtra. Dualism is one area – the apocalyptic and eschatological traditions are another – where an Iranian influence on classical Greek and Roman culture is not just plausible but likely.

In a fragment preserved by Hippolytus (*c.* 170 to 236 CE), the philosopher and musician Aristoxenus is said to have remarked on a meeting between Pythagoras and Zoroaster. Aristoxenus is perhaps more famous today as a musical theorist, but he was also a philosopher and an important student of Aristotle, and is said to have heaped insults upon his teacher when Aristotle made Theophrastus his official successor as the head of the Lyceum.[12] Hippolytus writes:

> Diodorus the Eretrian and Aristoxenus the musician state that Pythagoras visited Zaratas the Chaldaean, who taught him the doctrine that for all things there are two primal causes, father and mother. And father is light and mother darkness; and the parts of light are warmth, dryness, lightness, and quick movement, whereas those of darkness are cold, moisture, weight, and slowness. Out of these the whole world is made, out of female and male. They say that the world is constituted according to the laws of musical harmony because the sun's full period is harmonic. Concerning the things that are derived from earth and from the universe, these authors claim that Zaratas sets forth the following doctrine: there are two daimons, one celestial, the other chthonic; the chthonic, which is water, brought about the creation of things on the earth; the celestial, which is fire, partakes of the air and is hot and cold. Hence, it is maintained that none of these destroys or defiles the soul, for these daimons constitute the essential nature of all things. It is said that the eating of beans is forbidden because Zaratas declared the bean was already in existence when at the very beginning of the universe the earth was still in the process of being compounded and formed.[13]

The claims made by Aristoxenus – the attribution of this passage to Diodorus the Eretrian is untenable – can be understood as follows: first, Pythagoras met Zoroaster. Second, Zoroaster is said to have taught Pythagoras about

dualism and two primary principles and to have shown that the cosmos and the great harmony of the world is made out of these two principles. And third, Zoroaster is also said to have declared a ban on the eating of beans. The passage is clearly an amalgam of Pythagorean and Neopythagorean elements, as the ban on the eating of beans indicates. But the passage is also interesting since it shows an Iranian connection in the references to dualism and Zaratas the Chaldaean.

Why is Zoroaster presented here as a Chaldaean? The name Zaratas itself is Aramaic and points to a Babylonian background. In fact, Zoroaster is often described in later Greek and Latin texts as a Chaldaean or Babylonian astrologer.[14] After Cyrus' capture of Babylon in 539, Zoroastrianism began to be practised in Mesopotamia, and a slippage between Persian and Babylonian ideas occurs in Greek texts. In part, this may reflect increased contact between Persian and Babylonian cultures, and in part a cultural association in the minds of the Greeks. The Ionian Greeks had already been absorbed into the Achaemenian empire after the fall of Sardis in the 540s, and they were well placed to receive oral and written accounts of cross-cultural contact between Persians and Babylonians. Written material would have included texts such as the Akkadian edict on the Cyrus-Cylinder that binds the king closely to the region and even presents him as a worshipper of Marduk. Hebrew texts such as Second Isaiah, which promotes Cyrus' political activities, and Ezra, which proclaims the return of Jews to Jerusalem, also evoke a strong Zoroastrian presence in Babylon.[15] Babylonian thought was to exert an influence on Zoroastrianism, perhaps in relation to Zurvanism.[16] At any rate, as Mary Boyce writes, after the conquest of Babylon, 'more Zoroastrian priests must have gone to live there, some to care for the needs of Persian officials and others, some probably simply to study further – for Babylonian lore, especially in the fields of astronomy and astrology, was to contribute largely to the development of Zoroastrian scholasticism by western Iranian priests'.[17] Hence, the Persian Magi are said to be Chaldaean, and so is their founding figure Zoroaster.

The close association between Babylon and astrology is also responsible for the idea of Zoroaster as a Chaldaean, especially given the perceived etymology of Zoroaster's own name among Greeks in all periods. The Greeks believed that Zoroaster's name, Ζωροάστρης and its variants, meant 'star-worshipper' or 'star-diviner', that is, someone who practices divination from stars. This followed from the letters *astr* (-astr-) in the middle of the name; these letters very closely resembled the Greek word for 'star', *astron* (ἄστρον, which occurs more often in the plural form, ἄστρα 'stars') or *aster* (ἀστήρ). Hence, 'Zoroaster' was interpreted as *astrothutes* (ἀστροθύτης) or 'star-diviner', an explanation we find already in fourth-century writers such

as the historian Dinon and Plato's friend Hermodorus.[18] Some writers also used the initial letters of the name (Ζω-) and took the name to mean 'living star'.[19] Others remarked on the perceived fire in stars and connected this fire to the importance of fire in Zoroastrianism.[20] Various suggestions were forwarded in antiquity by writers at different times, but it was certainly the stellar element in Zoroaster's name that attracted many of these would-be etymologists. The fact that he is called a Chaldaean is thus a reference to this etymology and to the Babylonian associations of Iranian religion. It is also worth mentioning that Alexander conquered Babylon in 331, which was around the time, or just before the time, when Aristoxenus did most of his writing. Aristoxenus may be reflecting an increased knowledge about Babylonian thought that was trickling back to Greece as the result of the Greco-Macedonian conquest. Indeed, the importance given to the principle of time in Zoroastrianism, the concept called Zurvan, is dated after the Persian conquest of Babylon.

So it is interesting that a colleague and friend of Aristoxenus, namely, Eudemus of Rhodes (later fourth century), is said by Damascius to give us information on dualism and time in one of his writings:

> Of the Magi and the entire Aryan race,[21] as Eudemus also writes, some call the whole of that which is intelligible and unified Place [*Topos*], and others Time [*Chronos*]; from this either a good god and an evil daimon have separated, or light and darkness before these, as some say. However this may be, they also posit, after the undifferentiated nature, the double series of higher beings, of which Oromasdes governs one and Arimanius the other.[22]

Eudemus is drawing attention here to dualism in the context of Zurvan, or the principle of time, and of course situating these concepts in relation to Ahura Mazda and Ahriman. Further, Eudemus' passage runs parallel to Aristoxenus' comments on primordial duality, and reaffirms that the Iranian notion of dualism was probably of importance to Pythagorean thinkers, who must have seen similarities between Iranian dualism and early Pythagorean teaching.

Iranian dualism was of interest not only to the Pythagoreans but also to other thinkers. Another fourth-century author, the historian Theopompus, also refers to dualism, but the context of his statement is obscure. In his essay on Isis and Osiris, Plutarch discusses dualism and says that it was also a concern for Theopompus.

> Some believe that there are two gods, rival craftsmen as it were, the one the creator of good things, the other of evil things. Others call the better divinity, god, and the other daimon, as does Zoroaster the Magus, who (they say) lived five thousand years before the Trojan War. Zoroaster called the former Horomazes and the latter Arimanius; furthermore, he showed that one was more like light than anything else apprehended by the senses, the other more

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like darkness and ignorance, and Mithras midway between the two; hence, Mithras is known to the Persians as the mediator...[23]

Plutarch then describes what he characterizes as Zoroastrian beliefs and rituals and offers mythical details about the two gods and the struggle between good and evil. In a comment that is reminiscent of Eudemus, he writes that 'Horomazes is born from the purest light and Arimanius from darkness', and hence, by referring to the birth of the deity, calls into question the basic Zoroastrian tenet that Ahura Mazda is eternal. It may be that on this topic Plutarch is reporting a variant tradition, even one held by Zoroastrians. He then continues:

> Theopompus says that, according to the Magi, for three thousand years each of the two gods is alternately supreme and in subjection, and that during another period of three thousand years they fight and are at war, each upsetting the work of the other; but that in the end Hades is left behind, and mankind will be happy, neither needing food nor casting shadows; and that the god who brought this to pass is quiet and at rest for a time, on the whole not a long one for a god, but a reasonably long one for a man asleep. Such, then, is the character of the mythology of the Magi.[24]

Plutarch mentions Theopompus as a source only for this section of his essay, and he leaves us uncertain about how much he is taking from the fourth-century historian and how much from other sources. Regardless of the source, the passage presents a mixture of Iranian and non-Iranian ideas, but is closer to the Iranian tradition than the comments made by Aristoxenus. Iranian sources also state that humankind will be happy after the Renovation and that 'when the time of the Renovation is near, the material beings will stop eating and live without food'.[25] Further, the division of sacred history into three periods of three thousand years resembles Iranian doctrine in some respects, although a 'genuine correspondence with Theopompus' division of the cosmic history has so far not been found' in Zoroastrian or Zurvanite material.[26] The idea that humans will no longer cast a shadow is inconsistent with orthodox Zoroastrianism,[27] as is the notion that Ahura Mazda will rest.[28] On the subject of dualism, however, it is significant that when Diogenes Laertius mentions Persian dualism, he also refers to Theopompus, as well as to Aristotle, Hermippus, and Eudoxus.[29] These men are not easily classified into any one school, but the evidence indicates that Persian dualism was at the least a subject of interest among the later contemporaries of Plato as well as the Pythagoreans.

Nevertheless, Aristoxenus was the first Greek on record to make Pythagoras a student of Zoroaster. This relationship was then repeated and embellished as it was handed down in the tradition beyond the fourth century. Alexander Polyhistor, who was born in about 105, wrote that Pythagoras studied with

Zaratas, and much later, Clement of Alexandria also said that Pythagoras was an ardent pupil of Zoroaster the Persian Magus.[30] For his part, Apuleius noted that Pythagoras was among the captives taken by Cambyses in his invasion of Egypt and that Pythagoras' teachers were the Persian Magi and especially Zoroaster, the high priest of all divine mysteries; and Apuleius also implied that Pythagoras learned magic from Zoroaster.[31] In fact, the encounter between Pythagoras and Iranian learning seems to have become something of a commonplace since authors as diverse as Augustine, Pliny, and Plutarch refer to it, whether they speak generally of Magi or specifically of Zoroaster.[32] But the pattern for the later descriptions of the meeting between Pythagoras and Zoroaster seems to have been set largely by Aristoxenus in the fourth century.

In thinking about Aristoxenus' work, it will help to recall his attitudes to Plato and the Academy. As scholars have noted, Aristoxenus evinced a deep hostility to Plato and the Platonists and to the Academy in general; Kingsley speaks of 'Aristoxenus' hostility to virtually everything taught in Plato's Academy'.[33] Aristoxenus, who was himself from southern Italy, where Pythagoras also lived, had an allegiance to Pythagoreanism at a time when Pythagoreanism was being redefined in opposition to Athenian Platonism and Aristotelian thought.[34] This was a charged situation, for Plato's friends and students commonly used the name Zoroaster in their writings: as we shall see, Eudoxus and Aristotle suggested a chronological relationship between Zoroaster and Plato; Heraclides of Pontus wrote a work called *Zoroaster*; and Hermodorus was one of those who explained Zoroaster's name etymologically as *astrothutes* (ἀστροθύτης) or 'star-diviner'.[35] Aristoxenus set himself as a defender of Pythagoreanism against the Platonists, and one way for him to champion Pythagoras was to attach him to Zoroaster. This was not a hard connection to make because of the thematic overlaps between early Pythagoreanism and Zoroastrianism, to which I have already alluded. Moreover, Pythagoras also had an interest in reincarnation, according to the Pythagoreans in the fifth century and according to Philolaus of Croton. Given the importance of reincarnation to Zoroastrian apocalyptic thought, it was also possible to link the two systems together on these grounds. Both on internal and external grounds, then, Aristoxenus found it convenient to stake a claim to Zarathushtra and to make him Pythagoras' own teacher.[36]

It is striking that the figure to whom Pythagoras is attached is a Persian and a foreigner. To some extent, perhaps, the convoluted political situation of the Greece of the fourth century provides an explanation. Let us recall, further, Pythagoras' value as a problematic marker of identity and Greekness. It is Pythagoras who travels to other lands on account of *theōria* and *sophia*, two linked concepts that are also the preoccupations of the Seven Sages. But any

attempt to give a fixed definition of Pythagoras' identity is beset by contradictions, inconsistencies, and improbabilities. 'Pythagoras is both human and divine, a Greek and not a Greek, a man of both science and mysticism, a student of Barbarian wisdoms and a purely Greek philosopher.'[37] In this respect, Pythagoras reminds us of the assertion that all identity is virtual, with no real or bounded existence as a fixed entity. Claude Lévi-Strauss said that 'identity is a kind of virtual foyer to which we have, perforce, to refer to explain a number of things, but which has never had any real existence',[38] and François Hartog, following Lévi-Strauss, writes that

> Pythagoras shines in the sky of Greek *sophia*, but as soon as you try to pin him down, he disperses into a shower of stellar bodies that are themselves all of different ages. He is assuredly a point of reference, but perhaps only because there is something about him that is always elusive.[39]

Pythagoras is both same and other, and what the figure of Pythagoras suggests is the difficulty and, indeed, impossibility of holding on to a notion of pure Greekness; he suggests that identity is always informed by otherness, and that the same is always infiltrated by the other.

> He is one of the figures through whom Greek culture manifested the place that it had made for otherness. In other words, he represented a device for both opening outward and checking from within, expressing both unease and confidence, recognition and incomprehension, translation and treachery...[40]

Given this flexible role that Pythagoras occupies in Greek culture, then, an association with Zarathushtra is perhaps not entirely surprising.

Zoroaster and Plato

According to the elder Pliny, both Eudoxus and Aristotle stated that Zoroaster lived six thousand years before the death of Plato.[41] However, the date given by Eudoxus and Aristotle differs from an earlier author's reckoning in a small but crucial detail. Xanthus of Lydia had claimed that Zoroaster lived six thousand years before Xerxes crossed the Hellespont – not before Plato's death, but before Xerxes' crossing.[42] We would translate that into the statement that Zoroaster lived six thousand years before 480. Xanthus was born at the start of the fifth century, and was the first person on record to write in Greek explicitly about Zoroaster and Iranian religion. Xanthus also left behind remarks about the Magi and the intercourse they had with their mothers, daughters, and sisters, a theme that is widely reported by Greek and Latin authors about the Magi.[43] Soon after Xanthus, for instance, Ctesias narrates an anecdote that involves a similar claim about incest.[44] Concerning the figure of six thousand years, it should be said that the date is not as far-fetched as it may first seem, and indeed it may reflect an awareness

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of the Zoroastrian world calendar, which, as noted above, was divided into four sections of three thousand years each. Scholars have rightly suggested that a date of six thousand years reflects an Iranian style of chronological reckoning.[45] But clearly Eudoxus and Aristotle have modified Xanthus' dating of Zoroaster in one respect, and they have done so by connecting the Persian figure to Plato.

Why was the date modified in this way? In the first place, there was the authority and sanction of the name Zoroaster, and the desire on the part of Plato's students to connect the philosopher with the founding figure of Iranian thought. The disciples of Plato, urged by a desire to find an origin for themselves as far back as possible, deliberately made Zoroaster a precursor of Plato, or Plato a reincarnation of Zoroaster. Thus, as Émile Benveniste and Werner Jaeger observed, Plato's teaching was said to complement and complete Zoroaster's life and work.[46] A second reason for the change in date was that people in the Academy saw similarities between Zoroastrianism and Platonic dualism, and they wished to bring back a representative of the same ideas. In this view, the Academy's attitude to Zarathushtra was one of reverence, and its 'enthusiasm for Zarathustra amounted to intoxication, like the rediscovery of Indian philosophy through Schopenhauer'.[47] I would like to suggest also that passages in Plato's work inspired his students and members of the Academy to link his name with Zoroaster. This will be evident from a consideration of two passages of Plato that already caught the eyes of commentators in antiquity, and that were marked as important by Plato's students. They come from the *Greater Alcibiades* and Book 10 of the *Republic*.

In antiquity, the *Alcibiades* was regarded as the best introduction to Plato's thought, and no one ever doubted that Plato composed the dialogue. Other dialogues of Plato did sometimes come under suspicion, but not the *Alcibiades*. The *Axiochus*, which may also contain references to Iranian doctrine,[48] was clearly said to be not by Plato. Aristoxenus himself said that Plato had plagiarized most of the *Republic* from Protagoras; and Crantor (another author writing in the late fourth century) said that he stole ideas from Egyptians.[49] But the *Alcibiades* was frequently read and often cited under Plato's name (Apuleius famously quotes the very part of it that we are about to read), and, according to Diogenes Laertius, some critics even said it was the earliest dialogue that Plato composed.[50] In fact, the authenticity of the dialogue was first doubted only in the early nineteenth century. Some scholars still seem reluctant to set aside such doubts, but Nicholas Denyer's introduction to his commentary should satisfy many critics,[51] and, whether or not one believes in the authenticity of the dialogue, one still needs to acknowledge that it was considered from a very early date to have been composed by Plato himself.

In the dialogue, Socrates says to Alcibiades:

And when the heir of the kingdom is born, all the subjects of the king feast; and the day of his birth is for ever afterwards kept as a holiday and time of sacrifice by all Asia; whereas when you and I were born, Alcibiades, as the comic poet says, the neighbours hardly knew of the important event. After the birth of the royal child, he is tended not by an unworthy woman-nurse, but by the best of the royal eunuchs who are charged with the care of him, and especially with the fashioning and right formation of his limbs, in order that he may be as shapely as possible; since this is their calling, they are held in great honour. When the boys reach the age of seven years, they begin to associate with horses and horse-trainers and to go hunting. And when the boy reaches fourteen years, he is taken in charge by officials known among the Persians as royal tutors, four men in the prime of life who have been selected because they have been judged to be the most excellent of the Persians, that is, the wisest man, the most just man, the most temperate man, and the bravest man. The first of these gives instruction in the magian doctrine of Zoroaster, the prophet of Horomazes, which is the worship of the gods, and teaches him also the duties of kings; the most just man teaches the boy to be truthful throughout life; the most temperate forbids him to allow any pleasure to rule over him, that he may be accustomed to be free and a king – ruler of himself first, and not a slave; the most valiant trains him to be bold and fearless, telling him that if he fears he is to consider himself a slave; whereas Pericles gave you, Alcibiades, for a tutor Zopyrus the Thracian, a slave of his who was past all other work.[52]

Given the limited evidence from pre-Sasanian Iran on religious education – there is little apart from the *Herbedestan* – modern scholars have not been able to judge the authenticity of the details given here on the topic. Some have seen similarities between the teachings of the Academy and the claims about the four cardinal virtues.[53] The Platonic scholia also signal the importance of this passage in other details. Part of the commentator's interest falls on the words 'seven years' since, according to the scholiast, 'Zoroaster upon reaching the age of seven became silent and only after his thirtieth year instructed the king in his whole system of doctrine'.[54] And then the name Zoroaster itself earns a comment from the scholiast: 'Zoroaster is said to have lived six thousand years earlier than Plato. Some authorities call him a Greek, while others claim that he belonged to those people who migrated from the mainland above the great sea and that he learned all wisdom from the good daimon, that is to say, effective mind; indeed, his name translated into Greek means 'star-diviner'.[55] What is noticeable about this comment is that it thematizes elements, such as the date and the etymology of the name, that already attracted attention in the fourth century. The scholiast's comments signify that these themes remained important into the hellenistic and Roman periods.

If we consider the myth of Er in Book 10 of the *Republic*, we find that this part of Plato, too, attracted comment by later writers. In a confusing passage in his commentary on the *Republic*, Proclus writes that Colotes of Lampsacus, who was born in around 310, and was a student and follower of Epicurus, argued that Zoroaster was the source of the myth, and not someone called Er; Colotes even adduced a book bearing Zoroaster's name from which Plato allegedly derived his material. Proclus says that he too has seen four books of a Pamphylian Zoroaster son of Armenius, of which he can quote the opening lines and describe the contents. The books mention a Cyrus, who may or may not be the king of Persia, and also refer to Necessity, which is likened to the air. There are also several astrological observations in these books, according to Proclus, and their gist is to refute the cycle of motion put forward in the *Politicus* (269e). Proclus adds that some authorities claimed that Zoroaster was in fact Er's teacher, but these may be associating the Pamphylian Zoroaster with the other Zoroaster. Still other sources, whom Proclus knows, say that the name of Zoroaster's father was Armonius and not Armenius, while some take Armenius as Er himself.[56] Needless to say, Proclus' remarks have proved difficult to follow, and he moves closer to currents in Neoplatonist thought and far from Plato's *Republic* or any Iranian knowledge of Zarathushtra.

Long before Proclus, however, Plato's work had evoked an interest in Iranian religion. Arnaldo Momigliano said that Plato 'made Persian wisdom thoroughly fashionable' in the fourth century.[57] I have already mentioned some of the relevant names: Dinon, Heraclides of Pontus, Eudemus of Rhodes, Eudoxus, and then Colotes at the end of the fourth century. One might also recall the passage quoted above from Theopompus, who said that Ahura Mazda and Ahriman would rule for three thousand years before the start of the golden age. Indeed, in a manner that is very striking, Plato's own name continued to be linked to Zoroaster. According to the later tradition, Plato was said to have travelled widely during the first half of his life, including to places such as Egypt and Phoenicia, where he met the Magi and learned their doctrines.[58] He was not able to go to Persia, it was said, because of hostilities between Greece and Persia.[59] Some said that both Pythagoras and Plato went out in search of the Magi and the Persians.[60] According to other sources, Persian Magi came to Athens specifically to see Plato, and this visit was taken as evidence of Plato's superiority to Pythagoras since 'Pythagoras travelled to Persia when he wanted to learn the wisdom of the Magi, but the Magi came to Athens because of Plato, eager to be initiated in his philosophy'.[61] The Philodemus papyri tell of an incident in which the aged Plato was visited by a Chaldaean man one night in Athens, perhaps even on Plato's last night. Scholars suggest that the Chaldaean visitor is the same

as Mithradates the Persian, who had a portrait-statue of Plato erected in the Academy.[62] That story can be connected to an account in Seneca, who says that some visiting Magi made a sacrifice to Plato when he died on his eighty-first birthday.[63] Speusippus, who was the son of Plato's sister Potone, and who followed him as the head of the Academy, reports the story that Plato was born from a virgin and was 'Apollonian' by birth.[64] Given the association between Plato and Zoroaster, the idea that Plato was born from a virgin recalls the third and final world saviour, the Saoshyant who, according to the Zoroastrian doctrine mentioned above, will arrive just before the year 12,000 and deliver humanity into an eternal bliss.

The desire to associate Plato with Zoroaster also circles us back to Pythagoras. Aristoxenus was reacting against the Platonists and the Academy when he linked Pythagoras to Zoroaster; perhaps, he was also attempting to undercut the chronological connection that was established by Eudoxus and Aristotle. But the championing of Pythagoras, too, was matched by the statements of the Platonists, who wished to invoke the Iranian figure for their own purposes. The lingering effects of this competitive scenario are made clear by Olympiodorus in late antiquity when he describes the edge that one of the rivals gained over the other.[65] Stories and counter-stories began to circulate about these two philosophers: according to one tradition, Plato purchased Pythagorean writings and even plagiarized from them in such dialogues as *Timaeus*;[66] according to another, the story of divine or semi-divine birth was first ascribed to Pythagoras and then transferred to Plato by his followers.[67] Further, it is significant that Zoroaster is appropriated by Platonists and Pythagoreans but not so thoroughly by other schools – say, by the Stoics, despite the parallels between Zoroastrian thought and the Stoic idea of the conflagration (*ekpyrōsis*) of the world.[68] Perhaps, Platonism and Pythagoreanism, unlike Stoicism, which splintered into heterodox strains relatively early in its history, rely at least in part on the institutionalization of the authority of the founding figure in each case. To that extent, the two philosophies invoked Zoroaster for the purpose of celebrating Persian knowledge at their points of origin. Such a factor might also explain why, in the case of the Academy, it was Plato and not Socrates who was linked to Zoroaster.[69] Again, the methodology of the Stoics, despite the separation of bodies and events asserted by some, was fundamentally holistic, while the other schools laid claim to Zoroaster out of an engagement, philosophical or otherwise, with dualism.

The triangulation of Plato, Pythagoras, and Zoroaster points to the importance of Zoroaster in domestic Greek attempts to stake out a privileged space for learning and philosophy. Of course, some of the interest in Persia and Zoroaster is genuine, and reflects real understanding of Iranian culture. Plato

mentions Persia more substantially than he mentions any other non-Greek people, more even than the Egyptians. Explicitly and self-consciously, Greek philosophy is in part constructed out of its engagement with non-Greek cultures. Nevertheless, even as it is written over and above the knowledge of the East, Greek philosophy also affirms its own privileged place in this history. And the connection between Greek and non-Greek wisdom, between Plato and Zoroaster, is articulated all the more clearly when Greeks can draw on it for their own ends.

The wider context

In the hellenistic age, as Joseph Bidez and Franz Cumont showed, Zoroaster lies at the heart of a powerful and far-reaching tradition.[70] In this later tradition, which starts in the third century and continues until the end of antiquity, Zoroaster acquires great status as the author of books and treatises on magic, astrology, and reincarnation. Roger Beck surveyed these writings and stated that 'these Zoroastrian pseudepigrapha are essentially the products of hellenistic learning and that their authors used the names of Zoroaster and the magi not because they were themselves magi or drew primarily on magian sources, but because these exotic names conferred the desired authority of a remote and revelational wisdom'.[71] The writer Hermippus, who is quoted by Pliny, already records that Zoroaster left behind two million lines of verse, on which Hermippus himself wrote a commentary and to which he compiled the indices.[72] Text after text in Greek, Latin, Coptic, Aramaic, and Syriac, is ascribed to Zoroaster in the hellenistic and Roman periods, and various forgeries and fabrications and pseudepigrapha are signed in his name or in the names of his followers such as Ostanes and Hystaspes. There is little in these works that is indisputably Iranian or Babylonian – the Borysthenic Oration of Dio Chrysostom (*Oration* 36) is a possible exception[73] – just as there is very little in the works of Hermes Trismegistus that is recognizably Egyptian. One familiar element in this body of literature is the notion that Zoroaster was the prophet and founder of the religion of Iran, a point that was made in different ways by Plutarch, Diogenes Laertius, and Agathias.[74] Other Iranian details about the biography of Zoroaster occur in this mass of evidence, but experts in the field are reluctant to accept them as evidence for a historical account of Zoroaster. To quote Albert de Jong,

> the only traces that are certainly sound, are the name of Zoroaster, the legend that he laughed at birth, the information that he began to explain the tradition at the age of thirty and the remarkably correct story in Diodorus Siculus that Zathraustês received the revelation from the Good Daimon [Vohu Manah]. Less easy to understand, but having a genuine ring, is the tradition that Zoroaster retreated from the world into the solitude of a forest or a mountain.[75]

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But almost everything else that was said about him was fiction and fantasy, according to many scholars, including of course the widespread suggestion that he was a founder of Mithraism.

Momigliano observed that

> The Romans never had the problem of comparing Pythagoras and Plato with Hermes Trismegistus or Zoroaster because they had neither Pythagoras nor Plato. But they never forgot that Persia and indeed Egypt were real countries which posed political problems.[76]

I would make the point differently: leaving the Romans to one side in this argument, the issue is not that Greeks 'forgot' that Persia or Egypt were 'real countries'. There were many Greeks for whom Persia was very much a part of lived experience. Indeed, the evidence for contact between Greece and Persia is solid and irrefutable, from before, during, and after the Greek-Persian wars. What is useful is to understand the functions, the variations, and the dynamic of the representations of Persia in Greek sources, even when they appear not to reflect a seemingly objective or authentic reality. Momigliano was correct to imply that Greek texts tended sometimes to disguise the political realities of contemporary Persia but he was also right to imply that the juxtaposition of Greek and Persian was conceived by the Greeks as a problem. By comparing a Greek cultural hero to an illustrious Persian, the Greeks attempted to confer authority and legitimacy on their own tradition. But by reformulating the political realities of the time in their peculiar manner, the Greeks were also specifying their own break with Persia and signalling a displacement away from the other culture.

The fact that important elements of the later hellenistic biography of Zoroaster can be traced back to the fifth and fourth centuries in Greece indicates the importance and influence of the earlier writings. The earlier material prepares us for the importance given to Zoroaster by the Pythagoreans and Platonists. Ctesias, who was active in the late fifth century and who presents a great deal of information about Iran, makes Zoroaster the king of Bactria.[77] Earlier, the major pre-Socratic philosophers, as Martin West has argued, show the influence of Zoroastrianism – especially in the cases of Pherecydes of Syros (Time), Heraclitus (identification of Fire with Justice), Anaximander (astronomy), and Empedocles – though they too do not mention Zoroaster by name in any of the surviving fragments.[78] Also illustrative of interaction between Greeks and Iranians in the archaic and early classical period are such things as the high priest at Ephesus and the use of *magos* in Greek, both of which are topics that have been well discussed. Concerning the first, it is very likely that already by the time of Darius the high priest of Artemis at Ephesus had a Persian theophoric name, Megabyxus,

which is close to the Persian name Bagabuksha.[79] Concerning the magi, Walter Burkert rightly says that 'the word *magos* (*magush*) is incontrovertible evidence for Iranian influence in Greece'.[80] The word can refer both to Iranian priests or to magicians, depending on the author and the context, but it shows up widely both in Greek texts and in Iranian sources such as the Behistun inscription, the Elamite tablets from Persepolis, and in the Avesta.[81]

Once the explicit references to Zoroaster begin in Greek and Latin literature, they do not seem to stop. If we go back to the Iranian sources and compare them to what the Greeks made of Zoroaster, we see a desire to appropriate the eastern sage and a wish on the part of Greek elites to identify with Iranian wisdom. Perhaps, the context for these representations is the world of the divine man, the prophet, the healer, or the saviour in the eastern Mediterranean. The frequency with which Zoroaster is mentioned in the sources also suggests that the aftermath of the Greek-Persian wars, the consequences of these wars, and the dynamics of cultural dissemination are still not properly understood. But the presence of Zoroaster in the Greek literature of the fourth century is not just an 'oriental mirage' since there is a discernible substance of Persian religion in many of the texts. In each case what survives and is considered significant is refracted through Greek sensibilities, but each layer also refracts at some level the encounter with Persia, whether political, religious, or philosophical. This, then, was the other side of the Greco-Persian wars: an intellectual elite that used a Persian wise man for its own domestic purposes in the complicated world of the fourth century and that remained in thrall to him during a period of shifting allegiances.

In a passage published less than a decade before his final collapse in January of 1889, Friedrich Nietzsche wrote:

> And you also asked yourselves often, 'Who is Zarathustra to us? What shall we call him?' And like me, you gave yourself questions for answers.
>
> Is he a promiser? Or a fulfiller? A conqueror? Or an inheritor? A harvest? Or a ploughshare? A physician? Or a convalescent?
>
> Is he a poet? Or a genuine man? A liberator? Or a subduer? A good man? Or an evil man?
>
> I walk among men as the fragments of the future: that future which I contemplate.[82]

The text poses a pressing question to the reader, Who is Zarathushtra to us? This is the question that the Greeks asked themselves in the classical period, and it is the question that I have redirected against them. Who was Zarathushtra to the Greeks? In particular, who or what did he mean to Greek philosophers and intellectuals in the fifth and fourth centuries?

But in also offering (to me, at least) an imaginative and perceptive treatment of Iranian dualism and eschatology, the passage delivers a warning.

The astonishment that we feel at this rhetorical flow points not to the limitations of the philosopher's system of thought but our own, for, on closer examination, many of Nietzsche's polarities do not contain opposites, or at least not in any conventional sense. In truth, Nietzsche is not giving us opposites but rather a series of paired, or dualistic, questions. It is an arrangement that challenges notions of polarity and proximity and that undermines the logic of our systems of classification. The passage threatens to disturb any settled polarity between the Same and the Other, by interrogating the idea of a common ground on which such a polarity might assume meaning. This is a problem of epistemology, language, and logic, and of their very limits, and it is presented to us by someone who, like the third world-saviour, is from the future. But there is no straightforward solution to the problem of thinking beyond good and evil, and indeed the philosopher of the future explicitly says in this passage that he can offer only questions for answers. Among other things, Nietzsche reminds us of the perils of creating dichotomies that are too stark and simplistic when we are thinking about relationships between cultures. So also (Nietzsche's) Zarathushtra tells us not merely to oppose Greeks to Persians, or Persians to Greeks, but rather to look at the continuities and changes, the interactions and transformations, so that we might, as he said, let the polyphony of the world resound once again.[83]

Notes

[1] See esp. Miller 1997.

[2] For a good discussion of these issues, and an extensive bibliography, see *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, s.v. 'Greece, Relations with Persian Empire'. On the subject of Greek receptivity to Persian culture, the stakes are described clearly in Miller 1997 and Burkert 2004, ch. 5.

[3] Rose 2000, 5.

[4] 15.3.23 (735).

[5] Said 1978, 20–1. Not all of Said's arguments about Aeschylus' *Persians* have gained assent; for a useful orientation to the modern discussion of the play, see Harrison 2000. For a discussion about the 'Zoroastrian' rituals in the play, see Hall 1989, 89–91.

⁶ I accept the dates for Zarathushtra given in Boyce 1996, ch. 7. Concerning the appearance of his name, it is generally accepted by scholars that the Avestan texts were written down as late as 5th and 6th centuries CE. The oldest manuscripts are as late as the 13th century CE. See Skjærvø 1996.

⁷ Assmann 1997.

⁸ On these terms, see Stausberg 1998, 1.6–20.

⁹ For Iranian sources, see the index to Boyce 1984, s.v. 'dualism'. The subject is much discussed; see e.g. Nigosian 1993, 88–9; Shaked 1994; Boyce 1996, 192–5; de Jong 1997, 168–77; and *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, s.v. 'Dualism'.

¹⁰ On the soul and its fate in the afterlife, see, in addition to the Gathas, the Younger Avestan sources *Vendidad* 19 and *Hadoxt Nask*, chs. 2–3, as well as the Pahlavi sources *Menog i xrad*, ch. 2; the *Dadestan i Denig*, question 20; and *Arda Wiraz Namag* esp. chs. 2–12, 14, 15, 53–8, 100, 101. For cosmogony, the main texts are the *Bundahishn* and *Wizidagiha i Zadspram*. On the apocalyptic tradition, the key Iranian texts are *Yasht* 19, the *Zand*, the *Zand of Wahman Yasht*, and *Vendidad* 2. (Some guidance in locating translations of these texts can be found in the works cited later in this note, in relevant *Encyclopaedia Iranica* entries and in Boyce 1984.) See also Bidez and Cumont 1938, 2.207–42; Boyce 1996, 229–46; Cohn 2001; and *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, s.v. 'Apocalyptic', 'Cosmogony and Cosmology', and 'Eschatology'. For the reliability of the Greek sources on these topics, see de Jong 1997, 324–30.

¹¹ Kingsley 1990 and 1995.

¹² Suda, *Lexicon* α 3927.

¹³ Hippolytus, *Refutation of All Heresies* 1.2.12 = Aristoxenus F 13 (Wehrli) = Diodorus of Eretria *FGrH* 1103 F = Pythagoras DK 14 A 11: Διόδωρος δὲ ὁ Ἐρετριεὺς καὶ Ἀριστόξενος ὁ μουσικός φασι πρὸς Ζαράταν τὸν Χαλδαῖον ἐληλυθέναι Πυθαγόραν. τὸν δὲ ἐκθέσθαι αὐτῷ δύο εἶναι ἀπ' ἀρχῆς τοῖς οὖσιν αἴτια, πατέρα καὶ μητέρα· καὶ πατέρα μὲν φῶς, μητέρα δὲ σκότος· τοῦ δὲ φωτὸς μέρη θερμόν, ξηρόν, κοῦφον, ταχύ· τοῦ δὲ σκότους ψυχρόν, ὑγρόν, βαρύ, βραδύ· ἐκ δὲ τούτων πάντα τὸν κόσμον συνεστάναι, ἐκ θηλείας καὶ ἄρρενος. εἶναι δὲ τὸν κόσμον κατὰ φύσιν μουσικὴν ἁρμονίαν· διὸ καὶ τὸν ἥλιον ποιεῖσθαι τὴν περίοδον ἐναρμόνιον. περὶ δὲ τῶν ἐκ γῆς καὶ κόσμου γινομένων τάδε φασὶ λέγειν τὸν Ζαράταν· δύο δαίμονας εἶναι, τὸν μὲν οὐράνιον, τὸν δὲ χθόνιον· καὶ τὸν μὲν χθόνιον ἀνιέναι τὴν γένεσιν ἐκ τῆς γῆς – εἶναι γὰρ ὕδωρ –, τὸν δὲ οὐράνιον <ἐκ τοῦ κόσμου – εἶναι γὰρ> πῦρ μετέχον τοῦ ἀέρος – θερμὸν καὶ ψυχρόν. διὸ καὶ τούτων οὐδὲν ἀναιρεῖν οὐδὲ μιαίνειν φησὶ τὴν ψυχήν· ἔστι γὰρ ταῦτα οὐσία τῶν πάντων. κυάμους δὲ λέγεται παραγγέλλειν μὴ ἐσθίειν αἰτίᾳ τοῦ τὸν Ζαράταν εἰρηκέναι κατὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ σύγκρισιν τῶν πάντων, συνισταμένης τῆς γῆς ἔτι καὶ συνσεσημμένης, γενέσθαι <ἅμα τὸν ἄνθρωπον καὶ> τὸν κύαμον. See Bidez and Cumont 1938, 2.35, 63–6; *FGrH* 1103 F 1, with helpful commentary; on this passage, see also Kingsley 1990.

¹⁴ See e.g. Porphyry, *Life of Pythagoras* 12 (Pythagoras visits 'Zaratus' [sic] in Babylon); George Syncellus, *Chronography* pp. 88–9 (ed. Mosshammer) (Zoroaster is succeeded by Chaldaean kings); pseudo-Alcuin, *On the Ritual of Divination* 5 (*PL* 101.1178B); Suda, *Lexicon* ζ 161 (on Zoromasdes); Cosmas of Jerusalem, *Commentary on the Poems of Gregory of Nazianzus*, 64 (*PG* 38.491); Pseudo-Nonnus, *Commentary on Gregory of Nazianzus, Sermon 4 (109)* 70; George the Monk, *Chronicon* 1.74 (ed. de Boor); Pseudo-Nonnus, *Commentary on Gregory of Nazianzus, Sermon 39 (5)* 16; Cedrenus, *Compendium of History* I, 73 (Bonn edn); Theodorus Meliteniotes, *On Astronomy*

1.61–5 (ed. Leurquin); John the Lydian, *On Months* 2.3 (Zoroaster and Ostanes have Chaldaean followers) and 2.4; and cf. Curtius 5.1.22 (the Magi are Chaldaean).

[15] Isaiah 40–8; Ezra 6.3–5. See Smith 1963 (on Second Isaiah) and Boyce 1982, 43–7, 62–6.

[16] On Zurvan, see Zaehner 1955; Boyce 1984, 96–9; Shaked 1992; Nigosian 1993, 89–90; de Jong 1997, 330–8.

[17] Boyce 1982, 66.

[18] Dinon 690 F5 = Diogenes Laertius 1.8. (The Hermodorus reference is not included in Parente 1982.)

[19] See e.g. Pseudo-Clement of Rome, *Recognitiones* 4.27; Gregory of Tours, *History of the Franks* 1.5.

[20] See e.g. Pseudo-Clement of Rome, *Homilies* 9.4–6.

[21] An alternative translation for 'the entire Aryan race' (πᾶν το ἄρειον γένος) is 'the entire warlike race'.

[22] Damascius, *Dubitationes et solutiones* 125 bis (Eudemus fr. 150 Wehrli): Μάγοι δὲ καὶ πᾶν τὸ ἄρειον γένος, ὡς καὶ τοῦτο γράφει ὁ Εὔδημος, οἱ μὲν Τόπον, οἱ δὲ Χρόνον καλοῦσι τὸ νοητὸν ἅπαν καὶ ἡνωμένον, ἐξ οὗ διακριθῆναι ἢ θεὸν ἀγαθὸν καὶ δαίμονα κακόν, ἢ φῶς καὶ σκότος πρὸ τούτων, ὡς ἐνίους λέγειν. Οὗτοι δὲ οὖν καὶ αὐτοὶ μετὰ τὴν ἀδιάκριτον φύσιν διακρινομένην ποιοῦσι τὴν διττὴν συστοιχίαν τῶν κρειττόνων, <ὧν> τῆς μὲν ἡγεῖσθαι τὸν Ὠρομάσδην, τῆς δὲ τὸν Ἀρειμάνιον. Translation and discussion in de Jong 1997, 336–8; on the antiquity of the Greek expression 'the Magi and the entire Aryan race', see Gnoli 1988.

[23] Plut. *Isis and Osiris* 46 (369D–E): Νομίζουσι γὰρ οἱ μὲν θεοὺς εἶναι δύο καθάπερ ἀντιτέχνους, τὸν μὲν ἀγαθῶν, τὸν δὲ φαύλων δημιουργόν· οἱ μὲν τὸν μὲν [γὰρ] ἀμείνονα θεόν, τὸν δ᾽ ἕτερον δαίμονα καλοῦσι, ὥσπερ Ζωροάστρης ὁ μάγος, ὃν πεντακισχιλίοις ἔτεσι τῶν Τρωικῶν γεγονέναι πρεσβύτερον ἱστοροῦσιν. οὗτος μὲν ἐκάλει τὸν μὲν Ὠρομάσδην, τὸν δ᾽ Ἀρειμάνιον· καὶ προσαπεφαίνετο τὸν μὲν ἐοικέναι φωτὶ μάλιστα τῶν αἰσθητῶν, τὸν δ᾽ ἔμπαλιν σκότῳ καὶ ἀγνοίᾳ, μέσον δ᾽ ἀμφοῖν τὸν Μίθρην εἶναι· διὸ καὶ Μίθρην Πέρσαι τὸν Μεσίτην ὀνομάζουσιν. This is the earliest reference in Greek literature to Zoroaster as a Magus. On Mithra as mediator, see also Plutarch, *On Isis and Osiris* 48.

[24] *FGrH* 115 F 65 = Plut. *Isis and Osiris* 47 (370B–C): Θεόπομπος δέ φησι κατὰ τοὺς μάγους ἀνὰ μέρος τρισχίλια ἔτη τὸν μὲν κρατεῖν τὸν δὲ κρατεῖσθαι τῶν θεῶν, ἄλλα δὲ τρισχίλια μάχεσθαι καὶ πολεμεῖν καὶ ἀναλύειν τὰ τοῦ ἑτέρου τὸν ἕτερον, τέλος δ᾽ ἀπολείπεσθαι τὸν Ἅιδην· καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἀνθρώπους εὐδαίμονας ἔσεσθαι μήτε τροφῆς δεομένους μήτε σκιὰν ποιοῦντας, τὸν δὲ ταῦτα μηχανησάμενον θεὸν ἠρεμεῖν καὶ ἀναπαύεσθαι χρόνον, ἄλλως μὲν οὐ πολὺν ὡς θεῷ, ὥσπερ <δ᾽> ἀνθρώπῳ κοιμωμένῳ μέτριον. Ἡ μὲν οὖν μάγων μυθολογία τοιοῦτον ἔχει τρόπον.

[25] *Dadestan i Denig* 35.3; and cf. *Greater Bundahishn* 34.1–3.

[26] de Jong 1997, 201 (de Jong's discussion of this passage in Plutarch is very helpful in general); see also *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, s.v. 'Cosmogony and Cosmology' on the Zoroastrian sacred history and Shaked 1992 on variant traditions. Herrenschmidt 1998 argues that *Yasht* 19 is the source for Theopompus, as quoted here by Plutarch.

[27] This is not to suggest that the shadowless body was not an issue for some Zoroastrian thinkers; cf. *Wizidagiha i Zadspram* 34.1: 'It has been shown thus in the Religion that Zardusht asked Ohrmuzd, "The corporeal beings who have died on earth, will they be corporeal again at the Renovation, or will they be in the likeness of those who cast no

shadow?" Ohrmuzd said, "They will be corporeal again and rise."'

[28] See *Vendidad* 19.20, where Ahura Mazda is 'sleepless'.

[29] Diogenes Laertius 1.8. (Theopompus 115 F64; Aristotle fr. 36 R; Hermippus 1026 F56; Eudoxus fr. 341 Lass.)

[30] For Alexander Polyhistor, see Cyril of Alexandria, *Against Julian* 4, 133 (ed. Aubert), with the discussion in Bidez and Cumont 1938, 2.36–7. Alexander Polyhistor also discusses Zoroaster in the context of Chaldaean chronology and history: see George Syncellus, *Chronography* pp. 88–9 (ed. Mosshammer), with Bidez and Cumont 1938, 2.45–6; for an explanation of the calculations made in this passage, see Adler and Tuffin 2002, 112. For Clement, see his *Miscellanies* 1.15.69.6–70.1, which also makes the connection with Alexander Polyhistor (*FGrH* 273 F 94). The reading Zaratas there is the accepted emendation of the MSS. Clement's Greek is ambiguous, but he seems also to note that some authorities claimed that 'Zaratas the Assyrian' was none other than Ezekiel. On the identification of Zaratas and Ezekiel, see Bidez and Cumont 1938, 1.42, and Kingsley 1990, 257–9. Clement's association of Pythagoras and Zoroaster is noticed in Cyril of Alexandria, *Against Julian* 3, 87 (ed. Aubert).

[31] *Florida* 15, *Apology* 31. See Bidez and Cumont 1938, 2.38–9. Iamblichus says that Pythagoras was taken to Babylon by Cambyses (*Life of Pythagoras* 4).

[32] Some of the important texts are as follows: *Anonymous Prolegomena to Platonic Philosophy* 6; Augustine, *City of God* 7.35; Hippolytus, *Refutation of All Heresies* 6.23.2; Lactantius Placidus, Commentary on Statius, *Silvae* 4, pp. 228–9 (ed. Jahncke); Olympiodorus, *Life of Plato* 5; Philostratus, *Life of Apollonius of Tyana* 1.2; Pliny, *Natural History* 30.9; Plutarch, *The Creation of the Soul in Plato's Timaeus* 2 (1012E); Porphyry, *Life of Pythagoras* 6, 12, and 41; scholia on Plato, *Republic* 600b; Stobaeus, *Anthology* 3.11.33; and the Suda, *Lexicon* π 3120.

[33] Kingsley 1990, 262.

[34] For the context, see Burkert 1972 and Kahn 2001.

[35] For Eudoxus (fr. 342 Lass.) and Aristotle (fr. 34 R), see Pliny, *Natural History* 30.3, and the discussion below. For Heraclides of Pontus (fr. 68 Wehrli), see Plutarch, *Against Colotes* 14 (1114F–1115A). Wehrli assigns frs. 69–70 (from Strabo 2.3.4, 5) to the same work. For Hermodorus, see Diogenes Laertius 1.8 (and n. 18 above).

[36] For the Iranian influence on Pythagoras and Pythagorean doctrine, see Cumont 1942; Burkert 1972, 52, 112, 165, 172, 358–60; Kingsley 1990; and Boyce and Grenet 1991, 368–71. On Pythagoras' encounter with the Magi, see also the texts and commentary in Dörrie 1990, 178–85.

[37] Hartog 2001, 208.

[38] Lévi-Strauss 1977, 332.

[39] Hartog 2001, 208.

[40] Hartog 2001, 208.

[41] Eudoxus fr. 342 (Lasserre) = Aristotle fr. 34 (Rose) = Pliny, *Natural History* 30.3: 'There is no doubt that magic arose in Persia with Zoroaster, as the authorities agree. But whether he was the only Zoroaster or there was also another one later is not certain. Eudoxus, who wished this sect to be regarded as the most famous and the most useful of the learned sects, handed down the tradition that this Zoroaster lived six thousand years before the death of Plato; so also wrote Aristotle.' The details of Eudoxus' life are not clear, and it may be that he died before Plato. If so, Pliny's information cannot be fully accurate, and one can merely guess what, if anything, Eudoxus said about the relationship

between Zoroaster and Plato. See Lasserre 1966 (for the testimonia and fragments) and Momigliano 1978, 143–4.

⁴² Diogenes Laertius 1.2: 'Hermodorus of the Platonists' school [fr. 6 Parente] states in his treatise *On Mathematics* that the period from the Magi, over whom Zoroaster the Persian ruled, to the capture of Troy was five [two MSS. read 'six'] thousand years. Xanthus the Lydian [*FGrH* 765 F 32] counts six thousand [some MSS. read 'six hundred'] years between Zoroaster and the Greek expedition of Xerxes, claiming that a large number of Magi followed him in succession, bearing the names Ostanes, Astrampsychus, Gobryas, and Pazatas, down to the subjugation of the Persians by Alexander.' See Bidez and Cumont 1938, 2.7–9, and Gnoli 1997.

⁴³ Xanthus, *FGrH* 765 F 31 = Clement of Alexandria, *Miscellanies* 3.11.1: 'Xanthus says in his writings on the Magians: "The Magi have intercourse with their mothers." Intercourse with daughters and sisters is also lawful; moreover, wives are held in common, not by force and in secret, but by two men making a friendly agreement whenever one of them desires the wife of the other.'

⁴⁴ See Ctesias, *FGrH* 688 F 15 (from Photius, *Bibliotheca* 72.43a), with Lenfant 2004. On this theme, see also Bucci 1978; Williams 1989, 2.126–37; Macuch 1991; and de Jong 1997, 424–32.

⁴⁵ See e.g. Russell 1987, 168; Boyce 1996, 286.

⁴⁶ Benveniste 1929, 14–21, and Jaeger 1948, 131–6.

⁴⁷ Jaeger 1948, 135–6; on the interaction between Plato and Iranian thought, see also Reitzenstein 1924/5; Bidez 1945; Kerschensteiner 1945 (a famously negative judgement); Koster 1951; Spoerri 1957; Afnan 1965; and Chroust 1980.

⁴⁸ *Axiochus* 371a–372a.

⁴⁹ See Aristoxenus, fr. 67 Wehrli, with Diogenes Laertius 3.37. For Crantor, see Proclus, *Commentary on Timaeus*, 1.75.30–76.14 Diehl.

⁵⁰ Diogenes Laertius 3.37.

⁵¹ Denyer 2001.

⁵² *Alcibiades 1* 121c–122b: ἐπειδὰν δὲ γένηται ὁ παῖς ὁ πρεσβύτατος, οὗπερ ἡ ἀρχή, πρῶτον μὲν ἑορτάζουσι πάντες οἱ ἐν τῇ βασιλέως, ὧν ἂν ἄρχῃ, εἶτα εἰς τὸν ἄλλον χρόνον ταύτῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ βασιλέως γενέθλια πᾶσα θύει καὶ ἑορτάζει ἡ Ἀσία· ἡμῶν δὲ γενομένων, τὸ τοῦ κωμῳδοποιοῦ, οὐδ' οἱ γείτονες σφόδρα τι αἰσθάνονται, ὦ Ἀλκιβιάδη. μετὰ τοῦτο τρέφεται ὁ παῖς, οὐχ ὑπὸ γυναικὸς τροφοῦ ὀλίγου ἀξίας, ἀλλ' ὑπ' εὐνούχων οἳ ἂν δοκῶσιν τῶν περὶ βασιλέα ἄριστοι εἶναι· οἷς τά τε ἄλλα προστέτακται ἐπιμέλεσθαι τοῦ γενομένου, καὶ ὅπως ὅτι κάλλιστος ἔσται μηχανᾶσθαι, ἀναπλάττοντας τὰ μέλη τοῦ παιδὸς καὶ κατορθοῦντας· καὶ ταῦτα δρῶντες ἐν μεγάλῃ τιμῇ εἰσιν. ἐπειδὰν δὲ ἑπτέτεις γένωνται οἱ παῖδες, ἐπὶ τοὺς ἵππους καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς τούτων διδασκάλους φοιτῶσιν, καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς θήρας ἄρχονται ἰέναι. δὶς ἑπτὰ δὲ γενόμενον ἐτῶν τὸν παῖδα παραλαμβάνουσιν οὓς ἐκεῖνοι βασιλείους παιδαγωγοὺς ὀνομάζουσιν· εἰσὶ δὲ ἐξειλεγμένοι Περσῶν οἱ ἄριστοι δόξαντες ἐν ἡλικίᾳ τέτταρες, ὅ τε σοφώτατος καὶ ὁ δικαιότατος καὶ ὁ σωφρωνέστατος καὶ ὁ ἀνδρειότατος. ὧν ὁ μὲν μαγείαν τε διδάσκει τὴν Ζωροάστρου τοῦ Ὠρομάζου – ἔστι δὲ τοῦτο θεῶν θεραπεία – διδάσκει δε καὶ τὰ βασιλικά, ὁ δὲ δικαιότατος ἀληθεύειν διὰ παντὸς τοῦ βίου, ὁ δὲ σωφρωνέστατος μηδ' ὑπὸ μιᾶς ἄρχεσθαι τῶν ἡδονῶν, ἵνα ἐλεύθερος εἶναι ἐθίζηται καὶ ὄντως βασιλεύς, ἄρχων πρῶτον τῶν ἐν αὑτῷ ἀλλὰ μὴ δουλεύων, ὁ δὲ ἀνδρειότατος ἄφοβον καὶ ἀδεᾶ παρασκευάζων, ὡς ὅταν δείσῃ δοῦλον ὄντα· σοὶ δ', ὦ Ἀλκιβιάδη, Περικλῆς ἐπέστησε παιδαγωγὸν τῶν οἰκετῶν τὸν ἀχρειότατον ὑπὸ γήρως, Ζώπυρον τὸν Θρᾷκα. See Bidez

and Cumont 1938, 2.21–2. A part of this passage is quoted in Apuleius, *Apology* 25; see also the scholia on Plato, *Alcibiades I*.

[53] See de Jong 1997, 448–9. He also notes 'the structural similarities' between this passage and Herodotus 1.136, Strabo 15.3.18, and Xenophon, *Cyropaedia* 1.2.6–7, 8.8.13.

[54] Scholia on *Alcibiades I* 121e: ἐπτέτεις. ἢ διὰ τὸν λόγον τότε ἄρχεσθαι τελειοῦσθαι, ἢ διὰ τὸ τὸν Ζωροάστρην ζ' γενόμενον ἐτῶν σιωπῆσαι, εἶτα μετὰ λ' χρόνους ἐξηγήσασθαι τῳ βασιλεῖ τῆς ὅλης φιλοσοφίας, ἢ ὡς τῷ Μίθρᾳ οἰκεῖον τὸν ζ' ἀριθμόν, ὃν διαφερόντως οἱ Πέρσαι σέβουσιν. See Bidez and Cumont 1938, 2.27–8. The king would be Vishtaspa; other traditions also attest to the importance of the thirtieth year of Zarathushtra's life.

[55] Scholia on *Alcibiades I* 122a: Ζωροάστρου. Ζωροάστρης ἀρχαιότερος ἑξακισχιλίοις ἔτεσιν εἶναι λέγεται Πλάτωνος· ὃν οἱ μὲν Ἕλληνα, οἱ δὲ ἐκ τῆς ὑπὲρ τὴν μεγάλην θάλασσαν ἠπείρου ὡρμημένων παῖδα φασι, πασάν τε σοφίαν παρὰ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ δαίμονος ἐκμαθεῖν, τουτέστιν ἐπιτυχοῦς νοήματος· οὗ δὴ εἰς Ἑλληνικὴν φωνὴν μεταφραζόμενον τοὔνομα τὸν ἀστροθύτην δηλοῖ. τιμῆσαί τε αὐτὸν τὸν ἀνακεχωρηκυίαν διαγωγὴν τῶν πολλῶν, καὶ δὴ τὸν τῶν ἐμψύχων ἀποχήν, συγγράμματα δὲ διάφορα καταλιπεῖν, ἐξ ὧν καὶ δείκνυσθαι τρία μέρη φιλοσοφίας εἶναι κατ' αὐτὸν, φυσικὸν, οἰκονομικὸν, πολιτικόν. See Bidez and Cumont 1938, 2.23–5.

[56] Proclus, *Commentary on the Republic of Plato*, vol. 2, pp. 109–10 (ed. Kroll).

[57] Momigliano 1978, 142.

[58] Olympiodorus, *Life of Plato* 5; *Anonymous Prolegomena to Platonic Philosophy* 4; cf. Pausanias, *Description of Greece* 4.32.4.

[59] Diogenes Laertius 3.6–7; [Apuleius], *On Plato* 3.

[60] Lactantius, *Divine Institutes* 4.2.4.

[61] *Anonymous Prolegomena to Platonic Philosophy* 6.

[62] For the texts, see Gaiser 1988, 176–80 (discussion at 421–38), and Dorandi 1991, 133–4 (discussion at 37–8, 219–22). On Mithradates the Persian, see Diogenes Laertius 3.25 = Favorinus, fr. 25 (Mensching) = fr. 36 (Barigazzi). See also Aeneas of Gaza, *Theophrastus, or A Dialogue on the Immortality of Souls and the Resurrection of Bodies* 8.18–22 (Colonna), for Plato's association with both Chaldaean learning and Pythagorean wisdom.

[63] Seneca, *Epistles* 58.31. Seneca adds that the visiting Magi believed Plato 'to be of a destiny greater than human because he had lived through the most perfect number, that made by the square of nine'. On the significance of this number in Iranian thought, see Kingsley 1995, 197, and in Greek thought, see Riginos 1976, 26–7.

[64] See Diogenes Laertius 3.2 and Jerome, *Against Jovinian* 1.42 = Speusippus, frs. 1a–b (Tarán, with helpful commentary); and see also the related information in Plutarch, *Table Talk* 717D–E; Apuleius, *On Plato* 1.1; Origen, *Contra Celsum* 1.37 and 6.8. Riginos 1976, 9–15, collects and discusses these and other sources that pertain to Plato's Apollonian birth. It is unlikely that Speusippus, who was Plato's nephew, believed in Plato's miraculous birth, given his close connection to the family, but he may have been reporting a story that was current in Athens and designed to exalt the philosopher.

[65] Olympiodorus, *Life of Plato* 5.

[66] See Riginos 1976, 67–8 and 169–74. The earliest source for the story that Plato bought Pythagorean books appears to be Timon of Phlius (about 320–230 BC), fr. 34 Diels.

[67] Riginos 1976, 13–15.

[68] According to this idea, which was established in Stoic teaching by the 2nd century BC, the world periodically comes to an end through a conflagration, by which it is cleansed, and then re-emerges in a purer state. Stoic doctrines are also evident in some of the teachings ascribed to Zoroaster or the Magi; see especially Dio Chrysostom 36.39–61, which gives a Stoic interpretation to Iranian or Magusaean thought. See Boyce and Grenet 1991, 367–8, 543–5.

[69] There is a report that connects Socrates to the Magi: Diogenes Laertius 2.45 = Aristotle, fr. 32 Rose.

[70] Bidez and Cumont 1938. See also Duchesne-Guillemin 1958.

[71] Beck 1991, 493.

[72] Pliny, *Natural History* 30.4 (Hermippus 1026 F57).

[73] For a detailed study of the philosophical and religious aspects of Dio's 'hymn', see Nesselrath et al. 2003. The background to the hymn is Greco-Roman and Stoic. But there may be some Iranian elements here as well; for the image of the horses, see the Avestan hymn to Mithra, *Yasht* 10.124–36. See also Bidez and Cumont 1938, 2.142–53; Beck, in Boyce and Grenet 1991, 539–48; and the commentary in Russell 1992.

[74] Plutarch, *Isis and Osiris* 46–7 (369D–370C); Diogenes Laertius 1.6–9; Agathias, *Histories* 2.23–5.

[75] de Jong 1997, 322–3. On the name, see Diodorus 1.94.2 and Cosmas of Jerusalem, *Commentary on the Poems of Gregory of Nazianzus* (*PG* 38.461). On laughter at birth, see Pliny, *Natural History* 7.16.72 and Augustine, *City of God* 21.14, with the Iranian sources *Denkard* 7.3.2, *Wizidagiha i Zadspram* 8.15–16, and *Zaratoshtnameh* 186–9. On the importance of the age of thirty, see the scholia to Plato, *Alcibiades I* 121e (quoted above). For Diododrus of Sicily, see 1.94.2. On the withdrawal of Zarathushtra, see Pliny, *Natural History* 11.42.242; Dio Chrysostom 36.40–1; and Ammianus Marcellinus 23.6.33.

[76] Momigliano 1978, 148.

[77] Ctesias, *FGrH* 688 F 1f = Arnobius, *Against the Heathen* 1.52; cf. the text in Lenfant 2004. The connection with Bactria is mentioned also by Pompeius Trogus (Justin 1.1.9) at the end of the 1st century BC and by many others after him.

[78] West 1971.

[79] See Xenophon, *Anabasis* 5.3.6, and Strabo 14.1.23 (641), with Bremmer 2004 and Burkert 2004, 105–7.

[80] Burkert 2004, 107.

[81] *Yasna* 65.7. For some useful orientations to the meaning of 'magos' in Greek literature, see Gordon 1987; Graf 1997, ch. 2; and Bremmer 1999.

[82] *Also Sprach Zarathustra* 2.42: 'Und auch ihr fragtet euch oft: "Wer ist uns Zarathustra? Wie soll er uns heissen?" Und gleich mir selber gabt ihr euch Fragen zur Antwort. | Ist er ein Versprechender? Oder ein Erfüller? Ein Erobernder? Oder ein Erbender? Ein Herbst? Oder eine Pflugschar? Ein Arzt? Oder ein Genesener? | Ist er ein Dichter? Oder ein Wahrhaftiger? Ein Befreier? Oder ein Bändiger? Ein Guter? Oder ein Böser? | Ich wandle unter Menschen als den Bruchstücken der Zukunft: jener Zukunft, die ich schaue.' Text in Colli and Montinari 1968, 175; translation modified from R.J. Hollingdale. Quoted in part in Rose 2000, 1. My discussion of the passage is indebted to Foucault 1970, xv–xxiv. See also *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, s.v. 'Nietzsche and Persia'.

[83] See the prefatory remarks to *Philosophy in the Tragic Age of the Greeks* ('Die Philosophie im tragischen Zeitalter der Griechen', in the *Nachlass*); Colli and Montinari 1973, 293–366, esp. 295–6.

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<center>12</center>

ALEXANDER THE GREAT: 'LAST OF THE ACHAEMENIDS'?

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Introduction

'The last of the Achaemenids' is an arresting phrase to apply to Alexander, their Macedonian conqueror. It was first applied to him, with due caution, by Pierre Briant in 1979. 'Premier d'une longue lignée des rois hellénistiques? Certes! Mais je crois qu'au regard de l'histoire du Proche et du Moyen-Orient du 1er millénaire, Alexandre peut être considéré aussi comme "le dernier des Achéménides".'[1] By 1996, the phrase had become part of the conclusion to his great history of the Persian Empire, at least with a territorial emphasis. As the last king to rule from Egypt to India, 'from the point of view of Near Eastern imperial geopolitics, Alexander was indeed "the last of the Achaemenids"'.[2] I wish, here, to play further with the phrase and use it as a springboard towards Alexander's aims and impact.

Eight years after capturing the Persian king's family, Alexander did marry two royal Persian brides, one from each side of the recent Achaemenid line. As he died childless by them, he was, in a genealogical sense, 'the last' in those family-trees. The phrase also fits quite well into parallel tendencies in studies of Alexander and the Successors. It seems to minimize him, as if he changed very little, except for all the bloodshed which moralists now deplore. A minimized Alexander suits those who wish to emphasize his Successors instead, rulers who (on this view) were the real city-founders and even the real multi-culturalists in contrast to a hasty and (supposedly) chaotic Alexander. As the 'last of the Achaemenids' Alexander is the final chapter in the 'long imperial age' of the Persians, whereas the hellenistic age marks a new start. He can even be kept out of purely Greek history. This sort of suggestion goes back to George Grote but is exemplified by P.M. Fraser's recent study of Alexander's cities. After chapters of brilliant hellenistic scholarship Fraser (a purist on such ethnic questions) concludes that Alexander was primarily a Macedonian. He was, therefore, 'cool' towards 'the Greeks' (with the implication, for Fraser, that he was not one himself) and was not a philhellene but an 'anti-Hellene'.

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Instead he was, in Fraser's view, philo-Cyrus (the word φιλόκυρος was applied to him in antiquity, but only once, by Strabo in a decidedly rhetorical flourish), and his Alexandrias (just six in number, according to Fraser) projected an 'Irano-Macedonian continuity'.[3] In Achaemenid studies, this 'continuity' is very congenial to revisionist studies of the empire's later years and its supposed strength and coherence. The empire was not strong enough to defeat Alexander even when his army was massively outnumbered, but did it then absorb him, the 'last' in its very long *durée*?

We need to outline what was Achaemenid before we look at Alexander from this angle. A connection to the royal dynasty is important, with the proviso that the inventor of the Achaemenids is Darius I, a long lifetime after the Persian conquests began to affect Asia.[4] Among the characteristics of what became Achaemenid rule, we would include the king's special relationship with Ahura Mazda, the claims (at least) to rule over the world, the strong emphasis on 'Persia' and 'Persians', the use of a satrapal system, the itinerant court moving from palace to palace, the roads and the elaborate ration-system which characterized the king's court and probably the satraps' local entourages too. But this ration-system is a warning to Achaemenid historians. It was prominent in the Achaemenid era, but by origin it was not distinctively Achaemenid, no more than the detailed categories of land-tenure or the royal judges that are known in Achaemenid Babylonia or the Achaemenid courtiers' practice of *proskynēsis* or (in the private sphere) the formulas for divorce in legal texts from Elephantine under Achaemenid rule.[5] Of course these items had an important life, and perhaps a distinctive meaning, in the totality of Achaemenid culture, but if we find one of them attested under or after Alexander, this persistence is not necessarily an Achaemenid debt, nor does it make him the 'last Achaemenid' any more than such debts made Cyrus or Xerxes the 'last Assyrian'. We also need to consider the office-holders, not just the names of their job. It matters whether a Greek, not a Persian, holds a previously-known title, property or estate: onlookers would not be struck first by 'Achaemenid continuity' when new faces, with new manners, owned their land or guarded their treasure, albeit in the same places.

Alexander's contemporary historians did present him as rivalling, or respecting, Persian kings and adopting Persian customs at particular points in his career: I shall begin by surveying these explicit contemporary debts, together with some of the recent interpretations which have tried to add to them. Do they make Alexander the 'last Achaemenid' or not? I shall then turn, necessarily only in outline, to the big (and ill-documented) question of continuities in imperial rule. Suppose the Iranian father of one of the young *epigonoi* had come down to Babylon to reclaim him after Alexander's death, how much would he find to have changed since his own youth under

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an Achaemenid king? This bigger question rests on a general characterization of Achaemenid rule, another difficult undertaking in the absence of usable financial detail, personal memoirs of court or satrapal life and any full sources for a satrapy's local officials in action over time, above all in the fourth century BC.

Briant's major survey does attempt to give a general characterization and emphasizes 'an imperial dynamic that was founded on both the Persians' supremacy and their co-operation with the local ruling classes'.[6] Positions of power, he suggests, 'were endowed with a genuine capacity for initiative' but were 'connected to the king through unequal relationships that were based on gifts and service-exchanges'. Those who were thus connected, 'whatever their ethnic origins', always 'considered themselves Persians in the political sense' because of their gift and service-relationships and 'common political and material interests'.

A characterization of this type is probably as much as Achaemenid evidence can at present support, but it leaves us with a very broadly-defined type of empire. Gifts, 'service'-relationships, an imperial identity which could absorb outsiders, support for the material interests of local rulers – these simple structures could also characterize the new Macedon and non-Greek empire which Philip had constructed. I am not one of the minority who believe that Philip's new Macedon (and Thrace) was being consciously modelled on the Achaemenids' example.[7] At such a general level kings often develop similar types of rule. If Alexander adopts them too, they need not be his choice as the 'last of the Achaemenids': they may have made sense to him as a Macedonian king.

Macedonian background and the confrontation with Darius
We are not too badly informed about the self-image which Alexander projected: it was increasingly many-sided, but an Achaemenid element has recently been detected ever earlier in his career. When and how did it begin?

For Kienast, and more recently Badian, Achaemenid royal style had already influenced Philip while still in Macedon. Kienast points to similarities between institutions in Philip's new kingdom and those ascribed to the Persian empire: the corps of royal Pages (in his view) is one.[8] Badian even proposes a religious debt: in the general Greek view (he suggests) the Persian king was regarded as an ἰσόθεος φώς, a person 'equal to the gods', and so Philip would want to attain a similar status before attacking the king and his Empire.[9] The (supposed) Persian example thus motivated Philip's eventual presentation of himself among the immortal gods in the fateful celebration at Aegae. The example was not lost on Alexander who (Badian thinks) would want to emulate his father in this sphere.

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Neither case is convincing. What Kienast presents is a broad parallelism, not actual derivation: the royal Pages are not attested in Persia or as 'Persian' by origin. Monarchies do similar things and Philip was not 'Persianizing' by doing them too. Since Kienast, there has been study of the (increasing) evidence for a 'Persian' style to some of the luxury goods in Macedon (and Thrace): they belong in a general culture of material riches, but not to institutional or monarchical imitation. Their dating is not always exact and there is no doubt that most of the signs of 'Persian' influence belong after Alexander's death.[10] The great hunt-painting on the double royal Tomb II at Vergina (surely Philip II's) does show a hunt in what is probably a game-park, but we should be careful of seeing it as a Persian-inspired *paradeisos*.[11] The word was not used for such parks in later Macedonia and these hunting-coverts might simply be the kings' own idea, like the similar game-parks which were later laid out by emperors in seventeenth-century China.[12]

As for Philip's divine honours, the relevant precedents were Greek, whether Lysander or (possibly) Amyntas III: Badian has tried to minimize them, unconvincingly.[13] He also side-steps the epigraphic evidence for what are called τέμενη of Philip at his city-foundation Philippi: the word, since Homer, refers always to a religious context.[14] It is almost certain, therefore, that Philip was already being worshipped at Philippi in his lifetime in his 'new Macedonia'. The Persian king was irrelevant to this cult and anyway the king's 'god-like' status was not what Philip aspired to. Philip had entertained Artabazus and his family (including Barsine) and had had ample occasion to establish that the Persian king was not a god and to learn (as other Greeks did) that the king's 'glory' (*kvarneh*) or τύχη (fortune) was an important aspect of his majesty.[15] Philip did not encourage honours to his τύχη. His placing of his statue among those of the immortal gods did not arise from any Persian precedent or from a rivalry with the Persian King's supposedly 'god-like' status.

Instead, both Philip and Alexander began with a resoundingly *anti-* Achaemenid image: they were punishing Persian sacrilege and the 'wrongs of Xerxes'. However, both, especially Alexander, were planning to conquer and rule over Asia. According to the Greek vulgate, perhaps falsely, Alexander began by hurling his spear into Asia and symbolizing that it was 'spear-won' land.[16] For some of his modern scholars, this action already had an Achaemenid-Persian reference, alluding to the royal claims that 'the spear of the Persian man has gone forth far away'.[17] But the Alexander-vulgate connects it with a reference to prayers to the gods (surely local gods and Greek gods) and the overtones are Greek and heroic. Whether or not Alexander did what only the vulgate mentions here, 'spear-won' land was a slogan for his Successors, irrespective of Persian ideology.[18]

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For the Greek city-states in western Asia, Alexander offered liberation and liberation turned out to mean the ending of tribute and the support of democracies. (Aspendus was not a Greek city state, and Alexander did not see or treat it as such.)[19] Nonetheless, Pierre Debord has argued that local coinages of Greek city-states in Asia Minor then show the figure of Alexander in Persian dress, echoing a Persian satrap's.[20] It would be a most surprising choice, but the figures in question are surely mythical figures, not Alexanders.[21] To these Greek city states, he was not the 'last Achaemenid' but the first to grant freedom both by supporting democrats and suspending tribute. They responded with celebrations, the games called Alexandreia which were celebrated by the Ionian league-members and which Claude Vial considers 'certainement créés de son vivant'.[22] No Greek ever celebrated 'Dareia': these games are only the first in the great torrent of Greek festivals which were to break out in Asia (except Syria) after Alexander.

Beyond the city-states, however, Alexander did promptly follow Achaemenid precedent. Tribute continued; he appointed his own satraps and, as he wrote to Priene, the 'land I recognize to be mine' (to tax, not to own directly).[23] This continuity was not inconsistent with his publicity: Persians would, after all, be punished by losing their Empire to a new king, even if he took over their system.

Pierre Briant has emphasized this direct take-over as an aspect of Alexander's genius: it was accompanied, he argues, by a 'politique de séduction politique' both for the Iranian elites in his path and for the local elites, whether at Sardis, Sidon, Babylon or Memphis.[24] Certainly, the Achaemenids gave him the local satrapal boundaries, the tax-base, the administrative centres and the initial extent of his empire. But in much of the first three years there was an alternative 'séduction', the reversal of recent or long-standing grievances against Achaemenid rule. In Greek Asia, in Caria, Sidon, Egypt and Babylon, Alexander had the wit and the opportunity to present himself as an alternative to the negative impact of the Achaemenids.[25] In Sardis, Alexander built a new temple and restored 'ancient laws of the Lydians': scholars have tended to dismiss this grant as a triviality, but for Alexander it probably symbolized a grant of autonomy, to go with the designation of the people of Sardis as 'free'. Not for the last time he saw his actions in Greek terms ('freedom' and 'autonomy') even though he was dealing with a non-Greek people:[26] the Achaemenids, not thinking in Greek terms, had not regarded the Lydians in this way. The satrap of Lydia was dead and when the garrison commander and the 'most powerful men of Sardis' came to meet Alexander ten miles from the city, 'séduction' was probably not necessary and bilateral 'negotiating' non-existent.[27] It reads like a straight surrender: Alexander then rewarded the Persian commander and the envoys, not least as an example to those on his road ahead.

Those who infer negotiation and 'séduction politique' on these occasions also suggest that Alexander's awareness, and reuse, of Persian royal ideology began early and was an assistance to his rapid progress. Are they right?

In November 333, among the spoils after Issus, Alexander took Barsine, a bilingual and older Persian lady, as his concubine and honoured Darius' mother, wife and children.[28] Maria Brosius has proposed that 'mother of the king' was a recognized title of honour in the Achaemenid royal hierarchy and that there was also a royal 'foreign-woman' rank.[29] If so, Alexander was acting here with Persian royal practices in mind. But I am unpersuaded that 'mother of the king' was indeed a formal title and in Alexander's case, the only source to mention the phrase is a speech composed by Quintus Curtius.[30] Alexander was not adopted by Darius' mother: he honoured her because he was being chivalrous to captive royalty in a Greek fashion. As for Barsine, she had a Greek 'education' and was very beautiful, like other noble Persian women in Greek authors' image of them.[31] She was sexually and socially desirable. Persian court-practice did not guide him here: importantly none of Darius' womenfolk (*adultae virgines*, according to Curtius) was as yet taken in marriage.[32]

At Marathus-Amrith (now a fine archaeological site) Alexander received a letter from Darius and replied to it in terms which he wished to publicize and which are preserved at Arrian 2.14. In 1979 Briant argued that Alexander's words should be read against a background of royal Persian ideology on which he was deliberately drawing.[33] Alexander stressed that he now 'cares for' fugitives from Darius' army; his war is 'justified' by previous Persian aggression, including Philip's murder; he is conquering Asia which 'the gods are giving' to him. Briant (followed by Wiesehöfer) detects implicit allusions here to an Achaemenid-Persian 'protection' of the land and its rural inhabitants and to rule in Asia by the gift of 'Asian' gods.[34] But the gods are surely the gods whom Alexander has been worshipping on his march, Greek ones like Athena and Zeus and, for safety's sake, a few local divinities, probably understood by him as Greek gods too.[35] There is no allusion to any 'gift' of Ahura Mazda. Alexander is caring for 'fugitives', people who have run away and prefer him to Darius: the point is rhetorical and Greek, not a piece of royal Persian ideology.[36] Alexander describes himself as 'king of Asia' but it is not a Persian royal title, and no non-Greek source attests it.[37] He is 'κύριος [lord] of Asia', another purely Greek phrase which he repeats after Gaugamela.[38] These Greek claims, I shall argue, are wide and flexible. There is no Persian borrowing here.

In 332, Darius' wife then died, apparently in childbirth. The cause of death dates the event within nine months of her capture and refutes Plutarch's dating of an overture by Darius to Alexander in spring 331 BC;[39]

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it does not support the gratuitous modern suggestion that Alexander, contrary to all ancient evidence, had had sexual relations with her and that the unborn child was his, conceived in late 332.[40] Plutarch's dating is casual and the vulgate's even later dating of the death to summer 331 is wrong. The vulgate multiplied Darius' peace-offers and wrongly put a third one during the approach to Gaugamela: the queen's death was then synchronized with this dramatic invention.[41]

At Sidon Alexander could capitalize on a rebellion against the satraps only ten years earlier. The Cypriot kings were more wary at first, but they then abandoned Persia too: war against a Persia-backed army was also a recent memory on the island. In Egypt, in the following winter, hostility to Persia was also a free gift to him: it had characterized much of the past eighty years. Conspicuously, Alexander appointed no single satrap here, at least initially, and in due course he would be commemorated with the old Pharaonic 'nebty' title, 'he who drives out foreigners', which implicitly equated those hated foreigners with Persians.[42] He told Cleomenes to leave the nomarchs to govern the nomes under their control 'as had been established of old'.[43] Some take Arrian to mean 'as under the Persians', but in my view, Alexander's 'spin' here should be compared to the 'spin' at Sardis: they were to be left to govern as if in the ancient pre-Persian fashion. The message, then, was not 'more of the Achaemenids, unchanged', but in practice there was a major exception. As at Sardis or in non-Greek Anatolia, 'the taxes', the existing Persian ones (at least initially), were to be collected and given over to a Greek superior (in this case, Cleomenes). The realities, of course, proved rather different, not least on Cleomenes' initiative.

'Séduction', here, turned out to have a class-bias in practice, as Briant's emphasis on 'élites' well implies. The religious honours, the nomarch (not satrap) and the 'practice as of old' would particularly appeal to the men of position and the priesthood.[44] Whereas Artaxerxes III was alleged by members of the priesthood to have killed the revered Apis bull, Alexander honoured the bull with sacrifices. As we see from the Satrap's Stele of summer 311, the authors, priests at Buto, still described the last phase of Persian rule as the 'wrongs of Xerxes' (Artaxerxes III, most probably).[45] Unlike these last Persian kings, Alexander was honoured in Egyptian temples with traditional hieroglyphic titles and representations. But the taxes, the main burden on most Egyptians, simply continued. Alexander continued them because he wanted revenues and rapid control, not the image of a 'last Achaemenid'. His smart new Alexandria had no precedent in Achaemenid Egypt. Nor did the great 'athletic and musical contests' which tend to be overlooked. To Memphis and Alexandria (as to Susa, seven years later) competitors from all over Greece poured into Egypt for a new style of celebration, marking a new

kingdom.[46] The example would later be followed by Antigonus when he was at last a king with his new Antigoneia in north Syria.[47]

As successes multiplied, how big were the new king's aims? As Alexander waited at Tyre in 331 BC, spectacular shows and Greek dramas were staged again, the first in the Levant.[48] We then find his first explicit references to Persian royal rule, its dress-code and system of gifts: revealingly, they were only made for amusement. The army was split into two to play 'Persians' against 'Macedonians', with Alexander giving the winner the right to wear Persian dress and to own villages.[49] Yet by October, according to Plutarch, 'the Persian empire, on the one hand, was destroyed, but, on the other hand, Alexander was addressed as "King of Asia" '.[50] He had won his victory at Gaugamela.

E.A. Fredricksmeyer has seen a special significance in this address. 'King of Asia', he correctly observes, was not the royal title of an Achaemenid in any Eastern language. But he also argues, statistically, that it was not a usual Greek title, either, for the Persian king.[51] In his view it was Alexander's own innovation and in October 331, it was being made public with Alexander's prompting. Deliberately it distinguished him from being just an Achaemenid.

Nonetheless, this theory is too formal and overstates the case. As Fredricksmeyer notes, the Persian king is indeed called 'King of Asia' in Xenophon's *Hellenica* and this instance is significant in what is a very small total of surviving uses of the title.[52] Furthermore, Greek writers with Alexander described how the rebel Bessus was reported to be claiming to be 'King of Asia' while calling himself 'Artaxerxes', an Achaemenid king, therefore, in 330/29 BC.[53] Aristobulus and Onesicritus do also presume that the great Cyrus had described himself as 'King of Asia' in his (supposed) inscriptions at Pasargadae.[54] For Greeks with Alexander, the title could indeed mean 'Persian King': what, though, did it mean to Alexander?

Plutarch does not describe an official acclamation, nor was one needed to 'legitimize' Alexander: conquest was Alexander's title-deed, and lawfulness, in a procedural sense, was not his concern. Onlookers are simply imagined by Plutarch as calling him 'king of Asia': were they Greeks and Macedonians or non-Greeks in Plutarch's mental image? Some of them (despite Fredricksmeyer) might have meant 'King of the Persian Empire' if they really ever shouted such a thing. In 316 BC, onlooking 'locals', non-Greeks in Persis itself, are said at Diodorus 19.48.1 (not cited by Fredricksmeyer) to have regarded Antigonus as 'worthy of honour as a king' as if he was unanimously (ὁμολογουμένως) the 'lord of Asia' after his final contest against Eumenes. The phrase is ascribed here to Persians, not Greeks, but Antigonus never regarded it as a formal acclamation of legal significance. Nor did Alexander

in 331, although 'lord of Asia' was a phrase which he did use about himself. The more pertinent question is where, for him, did Asia end?

At the Hellespont, he is said (by vulgate sources) to have claimed 'Asia' by casting his spear; in the first winter, at Gordium, he was understood, in non-vulgate sources, to have earned the 'kingship of Asia'.[55] In 332 BC, he publicized the reply to Darius in which he called himself 'king of Asia' and then, in my view, he asked the god at Siwah which gods he should honour when he reached the Outer Ocean. The reason for crediting him with this question is that only in 325 BC, when he thought that he had reached Outer Ocean (in the south), did he elaborately honour the gods 'in accordance with Ammon's oracular advice'.[56] So, back in 332/1, he had asked Ammon what to do for the gods at the (presumed) edge of Ocean and Asia. 'Asia' thus included, in Alexander's view, all lands up to the Outer Ocean, including those outside the Persian Empire.[57]

An excellent article by Hammond is, for once, apposite here.[58] Although Hammond also believed that the 'acclamation' after Gaugamela was 'formal' and an important validation by 'Macedonian soldiers', he rightly argues that for Alexander it meant something other than the Persians' kingship. He poses, too, a tantalizing question: from Marathus, Alexander had written to Darius, telling him to come to him and reclaim his family. What if Darius had come or if in 330 BC Alexander had found him alive? His letter had said that Darius would be allowed to 'rule over others'. The letter's offer might have been ignored, but Hammond suggests that this public letter was implying a role for Darius as a sort of sub-king, who could rule locally, perhaps over Persians only; we might compare Porus, first an enemy, then an honoured king reappointed by Alexander. If so, Darius, the Achaemenid, would rule locally, but Alexander would have a new and bigger role, the king of all Asia in his grander conception. In 331, perhaps only the likes of Hephaestion yet knew the full scope of Alexander's ambition, but all attempts to see him as the 'last Achaemenid' should bear this bigger aim in mind.

From Gaugamela, Alexander went quickly to Babylon, sending advance messages (we now know) that he would not billet his troops in civilians' houses and that he would favour Esagila.[59] In our Babylonian source these messages are narrated as his own initiative and no local input is mentioned: they are not presented as the result of 'negotiations'.[60] In Curtius' rhetoric, at least, Alexander is then given a fine welcome outside Babylon. The rhetoric may be exaggerated, but not because it is representing an age-old pattern of Babylonian receptions of a conqueror: for Curtius' Latin, the rhetorical patterns of Orientalism and descriptions of the 'arrival', or *adventus*, of a hellenistic king or Roman governor are more relevant.[61] As announced, Alexander did then declare that the 'shrine of Bel' should be rebuilt, and

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that funds should be diverted for the purpose. Arrian's Greek rests here on sources who were present: 'rebuilding' certainly must not be mistranslated as 'redecoration'.[62] There had been destruction, evidently of Etemenanki, the huge ziggurat/Tower of Babel. Alexander's contemporaries understood it to be the work of Xerxes, the villain of their Greek campaign's slogan.[63] The archaeological evidence is not inconsistent with their view.[64] The Greek sources with Alexander were explicit about the need for reconstruction and Alexander's rebuilding should not be seen, one-sidedly, only as 'an ideological desideratum' of Babylonian kingship.[65] At Sardis, Priene, Ephesus and again in Egypt, Alexander (a polytheist) had already wished to favour a local god and his temple for reasons of his own: it put a distance between himself and previous Persian 'misrule'. He did it again in Babylon, to suit his campaign spin and 'séduction politique', where a Persian 'hole zero' showed in the middle of the city's greatest monument. The king list from Uruk places a king immediately before Darius III with a Babylonian name similar to the name of the Babylonian rebel who had opposed Darius I.[66] The text is fragmentary, but its sequence of subsequent kings is accurate. This Babylonian name has been suggested to be misplaced, but there is no evidence of that. The presence of this name is evidence that anti-Persian sentiment had not been dormant recently.

Quite independently the author of the Babylonian astronomical diary described Alexander at this point as 'king of all': how Alexander would have approved if he had known.[67] At Susa, in November, he then sat on the Persian kings' throne, but not as a formal ceremony: he was still not seeking 'legitimacy'.[68] At Persepolis, it was his turn (not Xerxes') to bring about 'ground zero', the result of his own destruction in the symbolic heart of Achaemenid rule. Drink and a woman may have helped the occasion along, but the burning of the Achaemenid palace was not random 'hooliganism':[69] it was the culmination of Alexander's publicity as a 'punisher' of Persian sacrilege. Philip, also a 'punisher', would have done the same. Persepolis had been emptied of treasure before the order was given. Peter Green (and, following him, Briant) were wrong to conclude that Alexander had been intending to hold a New Year Festival on the Persian royal model, and that only when this plan was frustrated did he burn the place instead.[70] Immediately, the surrounding site had been plundered and before the burning it had been laboriously emptied: he was not planning a New Year festival in an empty shell. He had also taken over Pasargadae where he learned of Cyrus' royal example: Plutarch implies that already he gave the traditional Cyrus-coin to the local Persian women.[71] Even if he did (and I doubt if Plutarch is right), he made no attempt to hold a 'royal rite' of investiture there or to take Cyrus' royal insignia.[72]

Only after the burning of Persepolis was the campaign's spin to change. In 1973, I emphasized the first stirrings in our evidence, not in Alexander's letter of 332 BC or in an 'enthronement' at Susa or a 'New Year' festival at Persepolis: Plutarch tells us how Alexander pondered a fallen statue of Xerxes in a Persian palace, evidently Persepolis, and wondered whether or not to re-erect it.[73] He left it lying, however. It is the first sign of his dilemma, between January and May 330: in early summer, the campaign of revenge was then ended.

Arrian correctly places the change before the capture of Darius (locating the concomitant dismissal of allied troops at Ecbatana), although the vulgate (unwisely followed by Bosworth in 1983) delayed it until Darius' body had been captured.[74] Arrian's version is not only preferable as the *difficilior lectio*: it makes the necessary sense. At Ecbatana, Alexander still could not know that Darius would only be captured when dead. If he were to be taken alive Alexander would need to accommodate him or even (with Hammond) to reinstate him. A continuing slogan of 'revenge' would be an obstacle. So, he ended it publicly before capturing Darius, and new possibilities opened.

Down until June 330, however, the 'last Achaemenid' had not been Alexander's image at all. When Wiesehöfer poses the question, 'Woher rührte Alexanders Bemühen, sich so "achaemenidisch" zu geben?' in 333–331 BC, the answer is that the question is a false one.[75] Alexander had not presented himself personally in the guise or ideology of a Persian king, except once for fun (playing games in early 331). He had reappointed satraps, Darius' men (since October 331), but had also taken the command of troops and money away from them. He had not conquered Cappadocia or Pontus: he had flattened Tyre and Gaza and had built the first new city in Egypt for centuries. In Cilicia, some have seen a deliberate element of 'Achaemenid continuity' in coin types being struck by Alexander's satrap Balacrus. In fact, one element (the shields on some of these coins) are of the 'Boeotian', and not the Persian, type and another, the Persian warrior on the small coins' reverse, is of uncertain date (it may not be Balacrus' at all) and of uncertain purpose.[76] It would take much more than a touch of Persian imagery on one side of a local Cilician obol to turn Alexander into a 'legitimate Achaemenid heir' at this date. He had ruined Persepolis; he had no Persian wife; he had not sacrificed to Ahura Mazda or honoured the Magi; admittedly there was nothing to read in everyday Persian, but he had not even learned to speak the language and so he could not understand, from a first-hand source, what Persian kingship was really about.

After Darius: Alexander in Eastern Iran

When Darius was found dead, the important changes of style begin. Alexander's vast aim ('all Asia') had not changed, but neither had one of his

talents, an adroit use of spin. Darius' dead body was therefore honoured and in the subsequent weeks important Persian noblemen began to join him. In Parthia, he then took on items of Persian dress.[77] For Bosworth, in 1980, a main reason for this change was his receipt of news of a real 'last Achaemenid', Bessus, now to the east of him.[78] Bessus was calling himself the king of Asia as a new Artaxerxes (to us, the fifth). So Alexander decided to adopt a similar costume to that of Bessus.

However, Bosworth's reactive minimalism is wrong here. Alexander had already taken on his new attire in Parthia and only afterwards, on entering Areia, did he hear the news about Bessus.[79] Nor was his dress a proper response to Bessus' new style: he did not wear an upright tiara himself. On this point, what we find in Arrian 4.7 is Arrian's own rhetoric and, as scholars have rightly recognized, we should trust the careful Eratosthenes instead.[80] Already, without knowing about Bessus, Alexander had adopted bits of Persian style: they reflected the change in his spin, his self-image as a new-style king of all Asia and the presence of Persians with new roles in his entourage. 'New style' is the right phrase, here. The Achaemenid style (according to Xenophon) had been for a diadem to be worn by the royal kinsmen too: it was not the marker of a king.[81] But from 330 BC onwards none of the Companions wore it, and Alexander monopolized it instead: perhaps a diadem had Greek connotations of monarchy for him, not least through the recent precedent of the 'rulers', or tyrants, in Greek Syracuse.[82] However, he did wear a purple tunic with a white centre-piece (Darius is shown wearing one too in the well-observed Alexander mosaic).[83] According to Diodorus he did also grant purple-edged robes to his Companions who thus resembled the previous φοινικισταί (Curtius' *purpurati*) at the Persian kings' court.[84] There were staff-bearers too, to control (Orientals') access to him, as to previous Persian kings. According to Polyaenus (who probably ante-dates the change) there was also a huge royal tent in which he already held court, like the audience-tents of the Persian kings.[85] But these fragmented borrowings were only part of his image. Without the Great King's tiara, cosmetics, high heeled shoes and (it seems) an accompanying parasol, the Alexander inside the tent was not presenting himself as the new Achaemenid at all. He took on a cluster of Persian noblemen and the seductive eunuch Bagoas, but he did not yet take a royal Persian wife: Darius' female relations had been sent off to have Greek lessons.[86] Only the vulgate sources say that he took on the Persian royal concubines.

He was, however, as adept as ever at presenting himself in ways in which the various groups under his rule would wish a ruler to be seen. He 'used to say' (Curtius tells us) that he was 'wearing the spoils of the Persians': evidence for some such saying probably stood in one of Curtius' underlying sources.[87] Macedonians would like to hear him referring to his new bits of

clothing and courtliness in this detached way: probably, he himself regarded them in that light. For Persians, however, they were familiar trappings: staff-bearers, a tunic, the rite (for them) of *proskynēsis*. Curtius is also specific that for letters written 'to Asia' he would use Darius' ring. Hammond could not believe it, but the story fits this dual phase well enough.[88] Behind him he had reappointed Iranian satraps, and letters to them would be in Aramaic (Eumenes, Laomedon and no doubt others learned to write it).[89] The 'Darius seal' would be a harmless stamp of apparent continuity on such letters. In reality the continuity was superficial. These satraps, Darius' men, no longer commanded their own troops. So far from experiencing a seamless continuity, they had a sense of a change which was enough to make most of them rebel.

The Darius seal was one more piece of 'spoil' and its use required no linguistic or conceptual understanding of Persian kingship. From autumn 330 onwards, the most recent Achaemenids, Darius III or Artaxerxes III and IV, dropped out of Alexander's main publicity. Did he, indeed, have a clear idea of an Achaemenid dynasty or 'era' at all? Herodotus had described the Achaemenids as a 'phratry' but it is remarkable (though never remarked) that our term 'the Achaemenids' is not in any surviving bit of Ctesias and is never once used by any of the Alexander-historians.[90] There were just 'kings' or 'kings of the Persians': Alexander himself may not have thought much at this point about 'the Achaemenid dynasty'. Instead we find him parading his respect for Cyrus the Great, the king before Darius I had emphasized, indeed invented, the Achaemenid royal line. Among the Drangiani, in autumn 330, Alexander honoured the Ariaspians, or Benefactors, who were believed to have helped King Cyrus some two centuries earlier.[91] No surviving Greek text before Alexander even mentions these 'Benefactors'. Alexander did not need to read one, because he now had Iranian courtiers, a eunuch and a bilingual concubine to tell him verbally about it all. However, Herodotus and Xenophon had made Cyrus famous in Greek texts which Alexander would already know. Alexander's Greek culture would thus incline him to respect the great Cyrus before all other kings, and his Iranian informants would encourage him too: Cyrus' reputation was high among Iranians, as Herodotus had discovered. Politically, to our eyes, he might more aptly have referred back to the usurping Darius I: he himself was a usurper too, and like Darius, he was setting up new military and financial divisions of responsibility in conquered Asia. But Darius I's Greek image was much less attractive and in east Iran his fame was surely as nothing when set beside Cyrus' own. Cyrus was the 'good king' in both of the constituencies which Alexander had to please. Even so Cyrus did not predominate. According to Isidore's *Stathmoi* there was an Alexandria in Sacastene, evidently in Seistan: it should probably be identified with the later Zaranj in the fertile territory near Lake

Zarah.[92] The Ariaspians were sited around the lower course of the Helmand river, in the fertile area, therefore, around this lake (hence their 'benefaction' of supplies to Cyrus). Isidore's evidence for the city's existence is solid enough and the case for rejecting this Alexandria as one of Alexander's own is inconclusive: if Alexander really did found it in 330 BC, respect for Cyrus did not exclude an even greater respect for his own glory too.

For P.M. Fraser, however, even the new Alexandrias in Iran are important signs of 'Iranian-Macedonian continuity'.[93] The existing settlement at Artacoana had been left standing, it seems, when the first of them, Alexandria-in-Areia (Herat), had been initiated. If there was an Alexandria in Sacastene, several settlements of the Achaemenid era are known in the vicinity. The next one, Alexandria-Kandahar, was very close to a site occupied in the Achaemenid era; so was Alexandria-in-the-Caucasus. Not far from Alexandria-the-Furthest in Sogdia, there was a 'Cyropolis' which was left standing. For Fraser, 'proximity to Achaemenian centres emphasized the continuity of urban and military settlement as opposed to the destructive passage of armies', and this is one side of 'the political aspect of his foundations'.[94] But such 'continuity' was not Alexander's emphasis at all. Some of the Persian forts and outposts were simply incorporated into new Alexandrias (the building materials would be convenient) and as for Cyropolis, it was trumped by the one-upmanship of the new Alexandria, truly the 'furthest' at the point where Alexander's surveyors believed Asia and Europe to meet.[95] When Cyropolis was then implicated in the Sogdian rebellion, Alexander simply flattened it. The Alexandrias proclaimed conquest and a new king. Their message was no more one of 'continuity' than was the message of Ho Chi Minh city or a Stalinabad in central Asia.[96]

Respect for good king Cyrus was only one part of Alexander's Oriental publicity at this time. The other was Semiramis, though she is much less emphasized nowadays. She was certainly no Achaemenid and even if a 'historical kernel' lay under the origins of her Greek legend, in her Greek form she was nothing other than the fiction of ignorant Greek outsiders.[97] Curtius refers to her as an even greater model for Alexander's rivalry than Cyrus; we would probably disbelieve him, but for Nearchus' important contemporary reference to Alexander's rivalry with Cyrus and Semiramis as a motivation for the disastrous march through Gedrosia.[98] In Diodorus Book Two (almost certainly based here on Ctesias) we can see the uncanny aptness of what had become the Greek Semiramis legend, if it is set beside Alexander's actions in 330–327 BC. Like Alexander she had come up to Bactria; she, too, had married there; she, too, had brought about the capture of an impregnable local rock.[99] These similarities were a free gift, surely, for publicists who could present Alexander as even greater than Asia's greatest

woman ruler. Like him she had been a passionate hunter, a 'lion queen', as Alexander was a 'lion king'. But Alexander was not claiming thereby to be the 'last of the Assyrians', and Semiramis was a Greek fantasy.[100]

He was, nonetheless, still artful. While founding new Alexandrias, he was careful to denounce his rival, Bessus, as the murderer of King Darius; he sent him to be condemned by a 'gathering' of Medes and Persians at Ecbatana, after ordering his ears and nose to be cut off first.[101] The punishment was a conventional Persian one for a rebel. Nonetheless, another murderer of Darius, Satibarzanes, had been appointed satrap of Areia by Alexander only a year before: the difference was that Satibarzanes had surrendered, albeit briefly, whereas Bessus had fought on and presented himself as a true 'last Achaemenid'. Briant has well discussed this 'gathering' of Medes and Persians, observing that we do not know if it was Alexander's innovation or an Achaemenid institution and if it was the latter, what purposes it had served.[102] But the punishing of Bessus was unambiguous, in style and intent. The Persian-style punishment diverted attention to Bessus the regicide, a cue which the gathering of 'Medes and Persians' would then follow. By imposing it Alexander stood forward as the one who 'avenged' and cared for their dead king Darius, while Bessus was denied the claim to have been king at all. Respect for the Achaemenid, here, was pointedly adopted so as to make plain who the 'last' Achaemenid had really been.

Conquests continued, months passed and in Iranian lands, far from Pella, we must not assume that Alexander's orientalizing remained static meanwhile. It was probably in winter 328/7, when reinforcements arrived from the West, that Alexander rearranged his high command: the main change concerned the hipparchs.[103] Since autumn 330 there had been two top hipparchs, but one of them, Cleitus, was now to be satrap of Bactria. By autumn 327 we find former infantry-commanders as hipparchs, no longer two but at least six. The other grand hipparch, Hephaestion, had thus needed a new 'title of distinction' when the new number of hipparchs came in: it was, I believe, in winter 328/7 that he became the chiliarch, the title which we know he held at his death. At the Achaemenid court, the last attested chiliarch had been a commander of some of the king's cavalry: Alexander had chosen a Persian royal title for his friend.[104] Similarly it is surely not an error on Arrian's part when he tells how Alexander promised '300 darics', Persian coins, to the soldiers who climbed the Sogdian rock. The choice is probably not too significant, as the coins were conveniently to hand, a resource in his possession rather than an ideological statement of Persian continuity.[105] But the subsequent marriage to Roxane was different. It was a combination of desire and politics with the further possibility of a semi-Iranian heir.[106] According to Curtius, the wedding was celebrated

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in the Macedonian fashion, but his rhetorical phrasing is not decisive: an Iranian element is equally possible.[107]

What is certain is that Alexander then went even further and experimented with the imposition of *proskynēsis* on a selected group of Macedonians (and at least one Greek). Chares, a well-placed contemporary and probably a witness, is the crucial source: recent scholarship (with Bosworth and Badian) has lost the ground which others had already made secure.[108] The ceremony was a social one, not a religious one with deliberate links to the issue of Alexander's divine status. We know this, because after paying *proskynēsis*, each Macedonian was to receive a kiss from Alexander, the social kiss of honour between a Persian and an 'equal' Persian as already described by Herodotus.[109] Callisthenes' refusal, and his witty retort, are central to the episode and confirm that a kiss was essential to what happened. The kiss is proof that the ceremony was not a religious one and that Greek religious scruples were not at issue: gods do not give kisses of honour to those who worship them, nor do 'god-like' mortals.[110] The intended reference was social and Persian, although the combination of a kiss and a gesture for one and the same individual was probably Alexander's innovation in view of the delicacy of the experiment.

With a chiliarch at court and *proskynēsis* from one and all, the previous 'dual phase' would have shifted decisively. The shift has even been detected in the style of Alexander's favourite sport: hunting. The aggrieved page, Hermolaus, had killed a wild boar before Alexander could kill it himself.[111] Such a pre-emptive strike had been an offence punishable by previous Persian kings, but before we infer that Alexander was following 'Persian custom' here, we must remember that no source says so and that it may simply have been punished as 'impudence': surely Philip would also have punished such behaviour on a hunt.[112] Meanwhile an anecdote, well placed in Curtius, reminds us of the contrasting style which Alexander's Macedonian and western soldiers had appreciated in the previous months. Up in Sogdia, a cold, exhausted soldier had approached the fire by which Alexander was sitting: unrecognized by him, Alexander gave him his seat.[113] The unnamed soldier may be the historian's cliché: the story is told with Curtius' rhetoric and neatly placed before the marriage to Roxane. But there was surely an earlier Alexander-source for the incident, and Curtius' rhetoric does emphasize the un-Achaemenid side to the king's style very well. 'Do you not see,' his Alexander tells the soldier, 'how much better your lives are than the Persians' under their king? For Persians, it would be a capital offence to have sat on the seat of a king; for you, it has saved your life.'

For the courtiers, at least, the planned *proskynēsis* would have ended this easy, accessible phase. But Callisthenes' refusal deflated the plan, and the conspiracy so soon afterwards showed Alexander that any further

Achaemenid-Persian initiatives would be unacceptable if extended to his compatriots. There could be symbolic gestures for his Iranian subjects, but after inching towards a single Persian style for one and all, he had to pull back. The 'last of the Achaemenids' was further away from him than ever.

Perhaps it was after this failure that Alexander ordered the recruitment of 30,000 Iranian boys, eventually to be called his *epigonoi*.[114] It is a shame that Curtius' precise placing of this order cannot be trusted: the affair may have been kept back by him so as to be the immediate antecedent to the attempt to impose *proskynēsis* (with 'divine' implications in Curtius' mistaken view) and then the Pages' Plot before the invasion of India. Perhaps this re-ordering of events is why the recruiting of the *epigonoi* precedes the *proskynēsis* affair in his text. According to Plutarch, the boys were to be trained in ἑλληνικὰ γράμματα (Greek letters) and to be organized by the satraps through the newly-founded cities: they were to be warriors, but in the Macedonian style of war. This emphasis on 'Greek upbringing' might belong more aptly after the debacle over *proskynēsis* when the Pages' conspiracy had made the favour for 'Persian customs' much more delicate. However, the chronology remains uncertain. For Briant, nonetheless, even these young recruits may have been an imitation of established Persian practice.[115] Tentatively, he has suggested that Alexander might have modelled them on the Persians' enigmatic *kardakes*. According to Strabo (using, probably, an Alexander historian), young *kardakes* underwent a hardy military training which also involved them in 'thievery' (κλοπή).[116] Briant suggests that this 'thievery' implies a Spartan-style 'ephebic' training which (in his view) might have been enforced by the Persian kings on young recruits from all over the Empire. But Strabo refers to *kardakes* only in the region of Persis; his underlying Greek source may have introduced the mention of this Spartan-style κλοπή which was simply based on its distorted 'Spartan mirage' of the Persian world. Eustathius, by contrast, quotes Theopompus (surely the historian) for the view that *kardakes* were barbarian mercenary soldiers (μισθοφόροι).[117] In the eyes of a noble Persian, the receipt of pay, or μισθός, might indeed seem like 'theft': a proper nobleman would fight without wages. In no surviving source are 'cardaces' said to have been taught to read or write (good Persians did neither) and they are never said to have been recruited in eastern Iran. Alexander, surely, was innovating here. He was thinking ahead to a future of conquest which would need all the trained young manpower he could find. There was no Achaemenid precedent: meanwhile, as Curtius observes, the recruits were useful hostages, better in his service than out of it.

The conquests, indeed, were to be vast. In India the conquest of 'Asia' was to be a conquest as far as the Eastern Ocean, the edge of the world. Bruno Jacobs has recently revived the notion that the Achaemenids' empire ran precisely

to the river Hyphasis where the army refused to go on.[118] Direct evidence for this view is (so far) lacking and the silence of the Alexander-sources and of the speeches delivered at this point tells against it; the conventional (and preferable) view is that by then Alexander had already gone beyond the Persians' conquests. Certainly he intended to do so, and his ambition owed nothing to Persian royal ideology or the global promises of the god Ahura Mazda. Rivalry with Philip, Aristotle's misguided geography, Alexander's own massive ambitions: these Macedonian elements were important among those which impelled him (with the favour of Ammon and the Greek gods) to go where no Achaemenid had ever dared to tread.

Return to the heartland: royal display and the two faces of Alexander's kingship

In India Alexander's vast army of 120,000 men was only fractionally Macedonian: many were Iranians, Indians and some even Egyptians and Levantines.[119] The face of the expedition was greatly changed. Nonetheless, Alexander did not take on more of an Achaemenid style for their benefit. On his way down the Indus he did found an Alexandria on or very near an old Persian settlement, but here too what mattered was its new name.[120] His fleet down the Indus did have a Persian trierarch, but he was the only one among Macedonians and Greeks. He was Bagoas, son of Pharnuches, surely the eunuch-favourite, and hence he was accorded this sole honour; Berve was wary of the identification, but he made it hard to see why some unattested Persian would have had this great honour instead.[121] The subsequent march through Gedrosia was disastrous, and Cyrus and Semiramis were cited (allegedly even by the locals) as its forerunners.[122] It was only when Alexander was back in Persis that Achaemenid role-play was again in evidence.

It showed in two actions: respect for the tombs of great Achaemenid kings and the giving of gold coins to the women around Pasargadae. In both, significantly, the role-model was Cyrus, not recent Achaemenid family-members. The gift of coins is most amply described by Plutarch.[123] According to him, Alexander did it 'twice', each time that he entered Pasargadae: if he is right (I suspect he is not), the gift in 325 BC had had a precedent in 331/330 BC. He also refers to those 'who say' that Artaxerxes III never made such a gift: whether true or not, this claim was probably made by an author contemporary with Alexander. In their view, then, Alexander was rivalling the great Cyrus, not the mean Artaxerxes. According to Plutarch Alexander went one better, giving a double gift to those women who were pregnant. The gift attaches to Alexander's encouragement of future Iranian manpower, a concern which the arrival of the Iranian *epigonoi* and the Susa marriages would soon make plain. But there may be a Persian precedent,

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missed by Plutarch's moralizing: in the Persepolis ration-texts, mothers of sons sometimes receive double rations.[124]

Respect for Cyrus extended to his violated tomb at Pasargadae too. In Badian's recent view, Alexander had been hoping to find Cyrus' cup and cloak here and stage the traditional 'royal ritual' of a new Achaemenid king.[125] This (unattested) plan would not only affirm his legitimacy, in the region where he had burned Persepolis: it would also assert his godlike status, the status of an ἰσόθεος φῶς which Philip (Badian suggests) had regarded as the status of a Persian king. But Alexander's Iranian intimates could have told him that their king was not divine, and events at the tomb refute Badian's extreme suggestion that the attendant Magi had deliberately ruined Cyrus' grave goods in order that no such ceremony could be staged again. The Magi were tortured but even so they were not found guilty: the culprit turned out to be a Macedonian.[126] Neither he nor Alexander was concerned to hold a Persian-style coronation: it is only Badian, not the sources, who credits him with the wish to hold such a thing.

There had, however, been local trouble, making a profession of respect for Cyrus timely. At Persepolis itself, the robbery of the tombs of other Persian kings was punished too. The rebellious Orxines was held responsible: the crime was at least plausible, and was not refuted by the results of the Pasargadae inquiry.[127] In the same conciliatory mood, Peucestas was appointed satrap, a Persian-speaker (surely exceptional) and someone who would wear full Persian dress. In this Persian heartland, these gestures were well-advised: Peucestas was duly appreciated by his Persian subjects, although the main palace-rooms at Persepolis, burnt in 330 BC, were not (revealingly) to be rebuilt.[128]

It is in the remaining months, however, at Susa, Ecbatana and Babylon that Alexander leaves the most 'Persian' impression on many readers of the surviving evidence. The 'apple-bearers', the Persian guards, were back in use: there were Persian archers wearing splendid costumes inside an enormous tent for royal audiences: there was a golden throne, incense and Magi, too, conducting sacrifices.[129] A few Iranians had been incorporated into the Companion nobles, a few more into the *agēma* and many more into the surviving hipparchies of the Companion cavalry.[130] Above all there were the weddings at Susa, the marriage of 92 Companion nobles to Iranian brides in a single celebration in Persian fashion and the giving of presents to mark the day for 10,000 of the troops who had married 'Asian' women already.[131] Crowning it all there were Alexander's own two marriages, to a royal bride from each of the families of the previous Achaemenids, Darius III and Artaxerxes III.

'Inclusion' and 'partnership' were part of Alexander's implicit and explicit

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spin now: if we remember the high role of individual Medes at the court of the first Achaemenids, should we see a Persian model for this spin too? Even the marriages have been seen in this light: Herodotus' apologetic tale of the Persians' fateful banquet beside Macedonian 'women' in *c.* 510 BC has been boldly reinterpreted by G.L. Cawkwell as a planned mass-marriage between Persians and subject Macedonian brides.[132] But these Persian 'precedents' were way back in the early royal past, and by the 320s, there were recent non-Persian ones for this sort of merger. In 329/8 the Scythian king is said to have offered Scythian brides for Alexander's companions.[133] In fact there may have been no Oriental model in Alexander's own plan, beyond the 'partnership' which he independently wanted to consolidate: as a new style 'King of Asia', he would rule over a court and army which he selected as 'the best'.[134]

Even in this final phase, we need to distinguish between the Persian colour of Persianizing gestures and a real revival of Achaemenid kingship. Alexander's language, religion and army commands were still Greek.[135] In his court Magi did make offerings to their gods when the gods were being honoured (at the great Opis banquet, for instance) but Alexander never offered only to their gods, or in the Persian fashion himself.[136] Magi were active because he was a polytheist, like his Persian forerunners, not a 'tolerant' king: in Asia the Persians' gods, he accepted, were active too. There is still no sign that Alexander took any interest whatsoever in the religious ideology of Persian kingship or the theology of Ahura Mazda, Mithra, Anahita, Ahriman and the other gods. In autumn 324, when his beloved Hephaestion died, Diodorus tells us that he ordered the quenching of royal fires in Asia, an act which was (allegedly) reserved in Persian tradition for the death of a king.[137] We do not know what the keepers of these fires thought of the order, but it said much for Alexander's love for Hephaestion and nothing (if Diodorus is right) for his understanding of Persian kingship.

On closer examination, the same was true of his magnificent Tent. What Chares describes for the Susa weddings Polyaenus describes as Alexander's setting for giving judgements to 'barbarians', even as early as 330 BC: perhaps we should conclude only that the Wedding Tent, built for the Susa celebration, was preserved and used subsequently for royal business.[138] Inside it, however, no Persian could have thought he was revisiting the former Persian court. If we accept Heraclides' presentation of an Achaemenid king's style at dinner, the king would look out at his fellow-diners through a curtain.[139] At a festival, all of them would dine in the same great hall; at drinking parties (*symposia*), twelve or so of the guests were invited from their rooms to the king's room, but while he sat on a golden throne they had to sit on the floor. They did not even drink the same wine. The underlying impression is one of extreme social distance. According to Chares, however, our best source,

Alexander had a hall of 100 couches and at the symposion he sat on his couch among all his ἰδιόξενοι (private friends) and made them face himself.[140] His wine (and water) was theirs, it seems.

As usual, the entertainments at his court were not those of a Persian king. Repeatedly Alexander held horse-races and athletic games in Asia, up in Sogdia, in India and elsewhere.[141] In Herodotus' view, the fame of great Greek athletes was known to the Persian king: Darius I, he implies, had known about the great Milo.[142] But naked athletic exercise was out of the question in Persian culture. During the five days of celebration at Susa, 'very many both of the barbarians and the Greeks did service', Chares recounted, but apart from the amazing 'conjurors' from India, the performances were above all Greek; rhapsodes, musicians, tragic and comic actors, all in a Pan-hellenic array of talent.[143] The Achaemenids' court had seen no such thing.

The structure of the king's dinner was also quite different. Phylarchus, chiding luxury, later remarked that the daily expenditure at Alexander's court was even more than the value of the Achaemenids' jewelled gold plane tree. Agatharchides followed this line too.[144] Phylarchus was writing about the display at Susa in 324, and he had no statistics. A calculation is, however, given by Athenaeus which tries to establish that Alexander's 60 or so Companions ate a dinner which cost as much as one for the 15,000 on the Persian king's former dinner list: the calculation is equated into 'Italian money-terms' and is actually Athenaeus' own work.[145] It is not, then, evidence for a budgetary continuity which Alexander deliberately maintained. As for the Achaemenid ration-scales and payments in kind, they disappeared entirely. From an unidentified source (perhaps Chares, perhaps someone before Alexander) Polyaenus suddenly cites a long and plausible list of contributions to the Persian king's dinner.[146] He prefaces it by saying that the list was found inscribed on a bronze pillar in the 'palace of the Persians', where 'the other laws written by Cyrus' were inscribed too. The text is valuable, but the context is not. However, his point in quoting the list is to give Alexander's reaction. Alexander rebukes the kings for such luxury and orders the pillar to be destroyed. The episode is strongly moralized, but it assumes that Alexander did indeed abandon the old dinner-regulations altogether. They disappear from history. The cost of a dinner for Alexander, we are told, was capped at only 1⅔ talents, way below the cost of one for an Achaemenid.[147]

With the Persian royal dinners went a system of rewards, distributions, exactions and production which had been central to previous Achaemenid palace-life. Like the new style in Alexander's tent, his new style of wining and dining (for Companions and kinsmen) was a break with the Achaemenid practice. As we have seen throughout, such a break is not in the least surprising: Alexander was not intending to be the last Achaemenid king.

Despite the gestures of continuity, he was not 'king of kings'; he did not call Roxane, it seems, his 'queen':[148] significantly, he was not 'Great King', βασιλεὺς μέγας, as Greeks called the Achaemenid king. He was just 'Great', perhaps already in his lifetime.[149] He was a new sort of 'King of Asia', having conquered to the north east (where he thought Asia joined Europe), to the east over 'the Indians' (some of them, at least, beyond Achaemenid limits) and to the south to the Outer Ocean. The Persian supremacy had been emphasized in the Achaemenid royal inscriptions, but it was now gone. Alexander was a new-style king of Asia who would choose the 'best', irrespective of their birth or ethnic background: he was also king of the Macedonians, unlike any Achaemenid, and increasingly the Macedonians were afraid that the 'best' would not include too many of themselves.

His kingship had two faces and here it is worth comparing a later 'multifaceted' kingship, the kingship of the Norman king Roger II of Sicily (1116–54), king and (re)conqueror of south Italy and Muslim and Christian Sicily.[150] Roger, too, wore an Oriental robe, made of silk with interwoven eastern imagery. He was attended at times by a 'parasol'. His personal chapel in the palace at Palermo was roofed in cedar-wood (from the Lebanon), carved in Arabic fashion with inset scenes of Oriental style. He was said to have a harem. His court-secretaries sent out administrative texts in Arabic, using Arabic terms for Roger and his high officials, such as *amir*. But this Oriental face was either *bricolage*, secondary to the core of the kingship, or an administrative necessity (many in rural Sicily still spoke and read only Arabic). In no way was Roger a Muslim or a multi-faith ruler. His secretaries also communicated in Greek, which he spoke, and in the Latin which became increasingly the kingdom's administrative language. The core of his image of kingship was the Byzantine-Greek model, as shown on his coins, on the sealings of charters or in a famous mosaic-image in his senior courtier's chapel (La Martorana, in Palermo). There are Arabic inscriptions in the church-interiors, but only of Christian texts. Roger II also aimed to be invested and accepted as king by the Pope: his kingship was through and through Christian, but with both a Greek and Latin face.

Thus far, he is comparable with Alexander in his dual phase, at least from 330–323 BC. But Roger's religious context was revealingly different. There was no Muslim prayer at his court; Muslims were 'tolerated' in the true sense of the word (as an inferior, but permissible, faith); at the end of his reign, attempts were made to oblige prominent Muslims to convert to Christianity. Above all, there was no spin of 'partnership', 'inclusion' or inter-marriage, let alone of marriages in an Islamic style for ninety courtiers on a single day. Roger's own wives were all Latin Christians from the west. Intermarriage between a Christian and an unconverted Muslim girl of

good family was out of the question. There was no new 'kingdom of the best': there was a Christian kingdom, employing and addressing a (Muslim) second best. Roger was certainly not the 'last of the Kalbids', the previous Muslim rulers in Sicily. As a result, after the Norman conquests, many Muslims (especially rich and able ones) fled the island for a Muslim land. By contrast, Babylonians, Egyptians and Iranians did not run away from Alexander in 325–323 BC.

However, the Achaemenid Empire was only a phase in Alexander's career, though its palaces happen to be the setting of what chanced to be his final years. Alexander's plans were to move on to Arabia, to explore the northern 'Ocean' (the Caspian Sea) and perhaps campaign there, arguably to campaign westwards to Libya, Carthage, and who knows where?[151] As he left Achaemenid territory, the Persianizing gestures would have become irrelevant. There was, he thought, a long time ahead: if he conquered north Africa and crossed to Sicily, and conquered into 'Great Greece' (following his brother-in-law), Persian bowmen and tunics would have been a fading element in his image. What we see at the end of his life was still only a phase. If we picture him in Italy, Cyrus and Semiramis would have become irrelevant too: Hecataeus' Heracles would have been an apter role-model for a Macedonian Argead in Italy and the West; there would have been no Persian gestures if he had reached Rome and dined magnificently on the Capitol hill, but there might have been Postumii among his companions, a *toga praetexta* for Bagoas and a ban on the rite of the October Horse in the late Bucephalas' honour.

When Alexander died, his officers did not decide on a Persian-style funeral. True, his funerary carriage was a *harmamaxa*, with Persian-style wheels, but it had a splendour and range of decoration which were surely innovations: the axle, designed as a shock-absorber, can even be traced to Indian prototypes.[152] Nobody credited him with the wish to be buried in Persia, let alone at traditional Persepolis. Burial at Siwah was his rumoured wish, Aegae his Macedonian destination.[153] Darius' mother was said to have mourned his 'justice' but nobody mourned him as the 'last' of the Achaemenid kings.[154]

The new world and its hellenistic future

After their controversial reception at Susa in 324, the new generation, the Greek-speaking Iranian young *epigonoi*, disappear from history. Perhaps some of them were recruited as the padding for the middle of the infantry-phalanx in Alexander's final year. Others remain a mystery, but – to revert to a question posed near the start of this chapter – suppose that a father had come down from, say, Areia to reclaim his son in 323, having previously known Persepolis and Artaxerxes III, how different would it all seem to him

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at Babylon? Certainly he would have had the chance to see or hear about the many new Alexandrias, at least 16 (in my view), whereas we can credit the Achaemenids with only one eponymous 'new town' in their entire history, 'Cyropolis' back in 530 BC.[155] Otherwise, answers to this big question are still elusive, in the absence of sufficiently detailed evidence about the level of taxation (Justin's total of '30,000' talents for Alexander's revenue is not reliable, or detailed) and our similar ignorance about the local workings of day-to-day officialdom and privilege.[156] Two stories of Antimenes, the important financial official at Babylon, illustrate the problems. In one, we hear from Pseudo-Aristotle how Antimenes revived an ancient neglected law and imposed a tax of a tenth on all goods coming into Babylon: what was this neglected tithe?[157] Was it one in pre-Persian Babylonia, an older tithe for which we do have earlier Babylonian evidence?[158] Or was it a Persian Achaemenid innovation, like the tithe which had been charged on non-Greek trade in Persian-controlled Egypt in the early fifth century?[159] Or was it a late Achaemenid (unattested) tax, imposed in Babylon and then 'neglected' only since Gaugamela? We need to remember that we do not know: Babylonian revival or Achaemenid continuity – either (or neither) is possible.

However, the same Antimenes introduced a payment-scheme against masters' possible losses of runaway slaves.[160] For a yearly sum (a real 'insurance premium', the first in Greek history) a master would be assured that in the event of a runaway from the army camp, the local satrap would be ordered either to see to the slave's return or else to recompense the master for the slave's registered, assured value. We know of a Persian tax on the sale of slaves (under Darius I) but of nothing like this scheme. It is not continuity; it reminds us that Alexander's officials were not all passive or thinking only locally.[161]

At Alexander's court, the dominant language was now Greek. So it was in the army, which was totally transformed, tracing back to Philip's Macedonian genius. The ration-system and its considerable ramifications were gone for good.[162] So was any ritual of kingship, any profession of a special relationship with Ahura Mazda, any distinctively Achaemenid pre-eminence for Persia and, of course, Persepolis itself and whatever royal ceremonies may have been held there under Darius or Artaxerxes III. The initially familiar sights of a few Iranian 'apple-bearers', purple tunics for honoured courtiers and a big Tent were superficial *bricolage*. The royal style was new, and under Alexander's early Successors it developed further in the new direction which he had given it. Those Successors, as Bickerman brilliantly summed them up, were just 'lucky condottieri'[163]: their kingdoms depended on military conquest without any one ethnic base. They were certainly not trying to be dynastic Achaemenid 'kings of Persia'. Unlike Alexander, they were not even 'kings

of the Macedonians' by birth and inheritance. They did not fill this royal void by reaching back to the Empire which had existed before Alexander's. In Iran, they made no attempt to revive the old rituals of Persian kingship. Even when the Greek interloper, Eumenes, found himself co-commanding a vast army from the 'upper satrapies', including troops from Alexander's Iranian father-in-law, neither he nor they adopted any Iranian royal style. The appeal and imagery of Eumenes' 'Alexander Tent' and its trappings had nothing to do with previous Persian ceremonial. An 'altar (ἐσχάρα) with fire' was laid out, but it was not a Persian fire-altar, not like the one (according to the *Cyropaedia*) which might be carried in procession behind the king's chariots.[164] Incense was thrown onto Eumenes' altar and obeisance was then performed to the deceased Alexander 'as a god'. This honour was neither Persian nor Achaemenid, and the incense and flaming altar derived entirely from Greek religious practice.

So, too, in Persis itself the popular Macedonian satrap Peucestas could bid for the favour of his Persian troops and the other satraps' Iranian contingents by holding a magnificent banquet without any concessions to previous Achaemenid ceremonial. He held it at Persepolis, by the burnt out memorial to Alexander's 'punishment' of the Persians.[165] There were Persian 'curtains' and wall-hangings and all sorts of Persian carpets but they were spread on improvised couches made from leaves and branches and were used for comfort, not symbolism. The guests were arranged in four circles, mainly according to military rank. The model for such a banquet is Alexander's at Opis rather than anything known at the former Achaemenid Persepolis.[166] In the middle were altars for the gods, Alexander and Philip. In the old Persian empire delegations to the palaces on Persepolis' terrace had never been arranged in this way and there had never been concentric seating according to military rank with altars for gods and divinized former kings. But the participants, many of them Persians, loved the occasion which Peucestas staged.

Elsewhere, beyond the new court and army, basic structures imposed by Iran's landscape and (often) the rulers' need for revenue remained unchanged.[167] The *qanats* of Iran, then and now, were the foundation of agricultural and settled life:[168] any ruler had to perpetuate them, just as his local governors had to be men competent to deal with problems of local language. So, taxation and other duties were subcontracted to local personnel who would fulfil the demands in their local way. In Babylonia, after Alexander, we have glimpses of this continuity of a 'lower hierarchy':[169] we also continue to find mentions of the old Akkadian terms for land-tenure, the 'bow-land' and so forth.[170] They were pre-Achaemenid terms too, but in the changed military climate of the Successors and their 'colonies' we do not know what

the function and meaning of these traditional descriptions of tenure had become. We also find Iranian-based terms for treasurer (γαζοφύλαξ) and other underlings still being used in early hellenistic Babylonia.[171] But the top levels of the financial hierarchy were what mattered, because they set the overall demands on the functionaries below: where we have evidence the high levels are always in Greek or Macedonian hands.[172] Satraps under Alexander had frequently lost control of finances (as they did of troops) but they never lost them to a non-Greek Oriental. There had also been losses of property. Under Alexander, this crucial question is almost never addressed by our sources. We find Parmenion owning the former 'house of Bagoas', but perhaps because this Bagoas had died.[173] Otherwise we simply do not know how much, if any, Iranian property in the satrapies was 'given' to Macedonians before 323.[174] We then find Eumenes giving land to his friends (and also, as Briant observes, the un-Achaemenid honour of hats).[175] Antigonus did the same on occasion: the major evidence is Mnesimachus' big Lydian estate, attested epigraphically at Sardis. Antigonus had given a ruling about it and had presumably made the original gift, although he might also (in my view) confiscate it if Mnesimachus ever fell out with him.[176]

Such changes at the top are one reason for not generalizing from a particularly well-studied test case: Judaea, in and immediately after Alexander's reign. In a superb summing-up, Bickerman concluded that 'the idea of a sharp separation between the "Persian" and the "Greek" periods in Jewish history derives from the [later prophetic author] Daniel'.[177] To explain the origins of the persecution in the 160s BC, this author resorted to

> the (originally Persian) idea of successive world empires...Babylonia, Media, Persia and Macedonia. It was the nationalist delirium of post-Napoleonic Europe that transformed Daniel's purely political arrangement into a succession of ethnic and cultural units: the Orientals, the Greeks and then the Romans.

In Bickerman's view

> ancient empires were neither willing nor able to change the traditional structures of subject-cities, villages and tribes. Thus [in Judaea] the privileges obtained from the Persian kings remained essentially in force under Macedonian rulers and Roman emperors alike.

Bickerman extended his view also to 'the Tyrians', but surely here Alexander's total sack and resettlement of Tyre did mark a genuine new age with new structures and eventually, new 'ethnic and cultural units'.[178] Judaea had been different, an unvisited little region, irrelevant to Alexander's concerns. Elsewhere, his Alexandrias and his explicit aim of 'pacifying' the tribal Cossaeans in central Iran by settling them in new *poleis* do show a willingness to 'change the traditional structures'.[179]

Nationalism, and its distortions, concerned Bickerman: colonialism and cultural imperialism concern many of us, in a post-colonial age. But just because we can now detect colonialism in modern history-writing about Alexander since the nineteenth century, we risk ignoring that 'Orientalism' and 'cultural superiority' were in fact already present in Alexander and his entourage. Their Semiramis was an Orientalist mirage. In eastern Iran, Alexander banned the placing (and exposure) of the dead inside settled towns: it disgusted him.[180] Surveyors in his army measured distances in precise lengths of a stade, not the Persians' approximate measures by time: we then find Greek 'distance-markers' near Persepolis and at Pasargadae, inscribed on Achaemenid-Persian limestone blocks, broken off and moved from the parapet of a palace-wall or staircase, an eloquent re-use of them.[181] Alexander considered that the coast and the islands of the Persian Gulf could be (or 'were') 'no less prosperous' than Phoenicia, so he ordered them to be settled with Phoenicians, to develop them, therefore, even without any economic theory of development.[182] On the Tigris, Alexander declared the 'cataracts' to be 'devices' unbefitting those who were 'militarily supreme': he may have misunderstood their function, but he was praised in Greek for 'cutting through them' without difficulty.[183] By a clever change, he also planned to alter the water-course on the lower Euphrates so as to 'help the land of Assyria' and dispense with a yearly labour which used to preoccupy 'more than 10,000 Assyrians for more than two months'.[184] Improving an under-exploited and cumbersome East was already part of the Alexander-histories, because it was part of Alexander's own outlook and self-image.

Meanwhile, the kingship and the court were transformed and there was the massive presence of a new-style army. Even in 323 BC the Iranian father of our *epigonos* at Susa would have noticed a new economic unit: newly-minted coinage, not just in gold but in quantities of silver and bronze.[185] There were still darics in circulation, but now there were double-sized new darics too (surely in Alexander's later years); they were struck in a denomination (16.6–16.8 grams) which was not, typically, an exact continuity.[186] There were Greek-inscribed images on the many new coins, one of which showed Alexander victorious in India and another (if the newly-found gold coin is genuine) Alexander himself.[187] The faceless, repetitive daric was eclipsed: there was a new mint at Susa and several new mints in the former Empire's western coastal fringe. New Alexander-coin was in a new flood of circulation in 324/3 BC, paying off mercenaries, paying for the performing talent at the festivals and probably paying some of the agents and suppliers for buildings which were connected with anything from the king's dead male lover to new ships in Babylonia.[188] With Alexander (as never in Achaemenid Persia) parts of Iran became connected to monetary exchange (not bullion) on a much more pervasive scale.

Notoriously, Alexander had reappointed Darius' former satraps to their satrapies from October 331 until Satibarzanes' rude rebellion in late 330. They had not been left in command of armies, but when Alexander disappeared eastwards, one after another the majority rebelled. Badian and others have listed seven separate Iranian 'rebels', executed in 325/4 by Alexander on his return: we can add more, both then and earlier.[189] Some of them were certainly of noble family and one, Baryaxes, had called himself 'king of the Persians and Medes', wearing his tiara upright.[190] These rebels were not, however, representative of a wider 'national' Iranian discontent. Orxines, descended from the old Seven Families, was executed for allowing temples and royal tombs to have been plundered: if the charge is correct, the Achaemenid kings were not exactly sacrosanct for him.[191] Baryaxes was captured by the Iranian Atropates (probably a Persian) and handed over: this attempted king had not won very widespread support, it seems.[192] For most of them (not Satibarzanes) the crucial point was that Alexander was very far away, reported missing or dead. They were opportunists, acting (they believed) in a vacuum. How far they revolted because Alexander's new 'kingdom of Asia' was ideologically repugnant to them is unknown.

'Repugnance' was not the only reaction, because others stayed loyal to it, Phrataphernes conspicuously, and Atropates too. Above all, there was no further Iranian rebellion, let alone a nationalist backlash when Alexander died and his Successors presented a golden opportunity for one by fighting among themselves.[193] Instead, Iranian troops obediently followed Alexander's eastern satraps.[194] They also came to fight for Eumenes: the size of Antigonus' armies is only explicable if they had a strong Asian-Iranian component too; in Persis itself, local Persians spontaneously hailed Antigonus as 'king' after the victory over Eumenes.[195] Thousands of Persians in Persis came to fight for Peucestas with Eumenes and the satraps. He had learned Persian, he wore Persian dress, he showed a respect for them.[196] Whether he simply left them to run Persis as they had under Darius we do not know; before and after 330 BC its administration is unknown to us. But even when Persepolis and its social and economic demands had gone from their lives, Persians continued to give Peucestas a 'great reception'. 'The Persians will not obey anyone else', a most distinguished Persian told Antigonus, who killed him for this remark.[197] His name 'Thespios' must be Diodorus' (or Hieronymus') misunderstanding of an Iranian personal name.

We cannot, then, judge Alexander's un-Achaemenid style of kingship to be clumsy and doomed to failure in Iranian eyes. Even when Persepolis had been ruined, Iranian troops turned up by the ten thousand, even for the 'lucky condottieri' who followed after his death. We glimpse, no more, some senior individuals, the Iranian Mithridates who was brought up with flamboyant

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Demetrius or Orontobates the Mede whom Antigonus made the satrap of Media in 316 BC, although the general appointed beside him was a Greek or Macedonian.[198] Such people joined in, even though Alexander's distinctive insistence on 'partnership' and 'inclusion' had been rapidly buried with him.

Money and plunder are always a lure, and already during the Indian invasion, thousands of local troops had joined up with Alexander, a new and promising foreign paymaster: we cannot ascribe all these recruits to forcible conscription. To a prominent Iranian's eyes, the old 'Persian supremacy' of the Achaemenid style was gone, but perhaps its other aspects, at a more general level, were still perceptible. The new king Alexander still left that initiative for independent action which Briant has suggested as an Achaemenid character-istic; there was still ample scope for 'honour' (inside his Tent, his Guards, or in a purple robe), ample chance of 'gifts' (Alexander's generosity was immense, though perhaps less structured than an Achaemenid's) and assured recourse, or support, against a factious rival or a hostile neighbour (a major element, in my view, in the nobles' acceptance of royal rule, whether Achaemenid or not).[199] As military force was concentrated in the hands of lethal new warriors, some Iranians of distinction may have preferred to lie low, and do nothing. But perhaps there were also many others who felt no love lost for the cruelty, injustice and economic burden of the previous Achaemenid court-structure. In western Greek Asia we find Iranians in the new age simply joining in the polis-culture which was spreading near their old estates: we find Iranians granted citizenship at Amyzon and one Mardonius, son of Aristomachus, being thanked for assisting a city synoecism in the Maeander valley, apparently near his former estates.[200] Up at Heraclea on the Black Sea Darius III's remark-able niece, Amastris, helped with a synoecism while calling herself 'queen' in Greek on the city's coins (the first woman to do so).[201]

When we do have evidence of important Iranians active again in Persis, it is numismatic, the coins of the so-called *frataraka*. Their dating is not certain, but Wiesehöfer has done most to argue that the five persons named on the coins run in a sequence from *c.* 210–130 BC.[202] Their status in this later Seleucid era remains uncertain. The Aramaic inscriptions on the coins make the first two persons *frataraka* (subordinate officers) 'of the gods', suggesting (in my view) that they were not simply Seleucid sub-governors (the Seleucids are not mentioned). On Wiesehöfer's chronology, however, the first of these *frataraka* belongs more than a hundred years after Alexander. Their iconog-raphy alludes to Achaemenid art (it was still visible locally), but the rulers do not claim the Achaemenid royal style themselves. They do not wear an upright tiara: the second of them holds a sceptre, but it is a Seleucid sceptre.

For more evidence we have to look to two separate stories in Polyaenus.[203] One Seiles is said to have tricked '3,000 of the Persians who were rebellious'

and whom he wanted to kill. Conversely, one Oborzus ambushed and killed '3,000 of the colonists settled in Persis'. The similar numbers in these two tales of ambush would be suspicious but for known coins associated with the second one. David Bivar has brilliantly linked Polyaenus' story with a rare issue from Persis bearing the name *Whwbrz* (the Aramaic equivalent of Oborzus) and showing a figure in Persian dress and head-dress killing a Greek-style hoplite.[204] This remarkable coin's authenticity was questioned at first (Wiesehöfer's study omitted it) but on insufficient grounds: another example now exists, one side of which has been struck from a second die. Oborzus' attack on Greek colonists seems to be a reality, but even so he was not representing himself as a 'new Achaemenid'. He is not shown wearing royal dress and the Aramaic caption on the coin is not king but *krny* (*qarēn*: commander-in chief).

Whatever we make of these various coins and their datings, they are not the coins of 'new Achaemenids'. Their titles, dress and style do not replicate an Achaemenid king's. Not until the third of the five, Oborzus, do we find anything anti-Greek or anti-Macedonian and on Wiesehöfer's chronology, Oborzus was not active until *c.* 190–150 BC. [205]

The names of great Achaemenid kings lived on in oral tradition, but if we look even further ahead in Persian history, we can see how much else did not, and why. Culturally, there is a clear contrast between the fate of Achaemenid culture and the fate of Sasanian Persian court-culture after its conquest by the Arabs. By then, there were Sasanid-era texts in Persian (whether written by Persians or not), and so detailed knowledge of a court culture could survive and re-surface in the 'culture wars' of the Abbasid era.[206] The Achaemenid Persians, by contrast, were illiterate, and their scribes' 'Old Persian' was soon unintelligible.[207] Our best evidence for popular legend and iconography in Iranians' houses in the Achaemenid era is not archaeological. It is Greek and textual: it survives for us thanks only to the writings of Alexander's Greek courtier, Chares.[208]

The 'last Achaemenid' was not Alexander: he was either Bistanes, Ochus' son, or the little son of Darius III. It may be significant that we do not know anything more about either of them after Alexander took them over. Their after-life was to be centuries later in Western art. In his fine frescoes for the lawyer Carlo Cordellino, in 1745, it is Tiepolo who ensured that Darius' boy would live on, by showing the 'last Achaemenid' playing distractedly with a dog, while his mother and grandmother focus their gaze on Alexander, the new 'lord of Asia'.[209]

POSTSCRIPT

I was unable to use H.-U. Wierner 2007, 'Alexander – der letzte Achaimenide? Eroberungspolitik, lokale Eliten und altorientalische Traditionen im Jahr 323', *Historische Zeitschrift* 284.2, 281–310, who concentrates on Alexander's final year, gives valuable bibliography on the Babylonian side and shares the conclusions, in general, of my pp. 276, 285–93 and 302 n. 136. Nor was the tantalizing report on Aramaic texts from Bactria available when I was writing this paper, for which see now Shaul Shaked, *Le satrape de Bactriane et son gouverneur. Documents araméens du IVᵉ s. avant notre ère provenant de Bactriane*, Paris, 2004. Some of those texts are said to date just after Alexander's conquest, and Shaked, 'De Khulmi à Nikhšapaya: les données des nouveaux documents araméens de Bactres sur la toponymie de la région', *CRAI* 2003, 1517–32, quotes most of Text C4 dating to 324 BC (1526–8), a great discovery. He remarks (1526) 'Peu de choses changèrent immédiatement après la conquête d'Alexandre', but the text concerns only the transport of supplies by officers in the 'lower hierarchy' with the same titles and using the same terminology as under King Artaxerxes. It thus supports my p. 291 nn. 169–171. In his 2004 publication he cites another text (pp. 43–4) dated only by Year II: it is not clear why 'par prudence' he thinks a 'date la plus récente' under Alexander should be adopted.

One other dating is most implausible. Text C1 (Shaked 2004, 16; 2003, 1518) is dated by Year I of King Arta[xerxes]. It mentions B[..], plausibly restored as 'Bys' = Bessus from the full occurrence of the name in exactly the same context on the verso. Shaked suggests that the Artaxerxes in the dating-formula is Artaxerxes the Fifth, i.e. Bessus himself (Arrian 3.25.3 shows he took the name), and that the text belongs exactly in 330/329 BC and shows Bessus' preparations for 'une lutte comportant des dangers évidents' against the approaching Alexander. This suggestion is most implausible. Bessus cannot be called both Bessus in the text and King Artaxerxes in the dating-formula, The text belongs under Artaxerxes III or IV (Arses), surely the latter in 336/5 BC when Bessus was probably already satrap in Bactria (Arrian 3.8.3 for his satrapal post there in 331 BC). Alternatively the Bessus in question may not be the satrap but a homonym. The proposed context in Shaked 2003, 1519–26, is not the right one. Shaked recognizes the problem (1520) but unlike me thinks it 'difficile de trouver une reconstruction plus vraisemblable'. It could perfectly well refer to our Bessus' travels in 336/5 BC or another Bessus then or in 359 BC.

Robin Lane Fox

Acknowledgements

Notes

1. Briant 1979, 1414 = Briant 1982, 330.
2. Briant 2002, 876.
3. Fraser 1996, 153 and 172–3; Strabo 11.11.4.
4. Waters 1996, 11–18.
5. Briant 2002, 315; Dandamaev 1967, 37–42; Weisberg 2003 70–2 (530 BC); Wunsch 1993, no. 353 (pp. 293–4, 507 BC), both referring to 'royal judges'; Bickerman 1963, 241–55, esp. 251; Holtz 2001, 241–58, an excellent study; Dandamaev 1994, 229–34 surveys continuities and changes in Persian Mesopotamia.
6. Briant 2002, 874–5.
7. Kienast 1973, 15–32.
8. Kienast 1973, 28–31.
9. Badian 1996, 11–26.
10. Barr-Sharrar 1986, 72–82; Paspalas 2000, 531–60.
11. Briant 1991, 211–56, though I disagree with some of his conclusions; the man buried in the back chamber of Tomb 2 was cremated nearby, one of many refutations of the view that he was Philip III, who was given a royal burial a year after his death when he had become a decomposed corpse, not the right object for this large-scale cremation; Polyb. 31.29.4, on Macedonian game-parks.
12. Hou Ching-Lang and Pirazzoli 1979, 13–50; Elliott and Ning Chia 2004, 66–83.
13. Badian 1981, 21–71; contrast Habicht 1970, 3–6, 11–17, 243–4; Fredricksmeyer 1981, 39–61.
14. *SEG* 38.258; I am grateful to R.C.T. Parker for the point about the meaning of τέμενη.
15. Theopompus *FGrH* 115 F 124.
16. Diod. 17.17.2; Justin 11.5.10.
17. DNa 42 f. (tr. R. Schmitt), with Wiesehöfer 1994, 27 nn. 25–6; Briant 1982, 377.
18. Zahrnt 1996, 130–47 takes the sceptical view; for the Successors, Diod. 18.39.5, 43.1; 19.85.3, 105.4; 20.76.7.
19. Lane Fox 2008, ch. 14; Lewis 1997, 143 n. 55; Scheer 2003, 227–31.
20. Debord 1999, 479–92.
21. So also Le Rider 2003, 235–7.
22. Vial 2003, 311–29, esp. 314.
23. Rhodes and Osborne no. 86, lines 10–11; Klinkott 2000, on continuation of satrapies: oral, piecemeal knowledge explains it, I think, not his proposed use of a written Persian 'Satrapienliste' (132).
24. Briant 1999, 216.
25. Arr. 1.17.4, 18.2, 23.7–8; 2.15.6; 3.1.2, 16.3–4; Curt. 4.7.1; 5.1.19.
26. Arr. 3.27.5; 5.2.2; 6.14.2; 7.20.1.

27 Briant 1993, 1–15 presents it differently.

28 Curt. 3.11.24; Berve 1926, s.v. Amastris; Plut. *Alex.* 21.1–2.

29 Brosius 1996, 21–2.

30 Curt. 5.2.22.

31 Plut. *Alex.* 21.8–10; for the 'beauty' theme, Xen. *Cyrop.* 5.1 and Gera 1993 221–45.

32 Curt. 3.11.25; Plut. *Alex.* 21.1 (πάρθενοι).

33 Briant 1980, 57–69 = 1982, 371–83.

34 Arr. 2.14.7; Briant 1982, 375–80; Wiesehöfer 1996, 105 even detects a supposed 'Achaemenid trend' in Alexander from 334 BC onwards.

35 With Casabonne 2004, 224–5, I do not agree with Bing 1991, 151–5 on the local Cilician gods supposedly behind Curt. 3.12.27.

36 Arr. 2.14.7.

37 Arr. 2.14.9; Fredricksmeyer 2000, 139–41.

38 Arr. 2.14.8; Lindian Chronicle *FGrH* 532 F1.38.

39 Plut. *Alex.* 30.1; Justin 11.12.6; well untangled by Berve 1926, s.v. Stateira.

40 Darius is said to believe his wife is still alive in summer 332 (Arr. 2.25.1); the underlying Greek source assumed she was. I disagree with Bosworth 1980a, 221 who rejects a death from childbirth in, say, later summer 332. Yardley-Heckel 1997, 160–1 and Arkinson 1994, 392 also go astray here.

41 Curt. 4.10.18–34 alleges a death from exhaustion; Diod. 17.54.7. Arr. 4.20.1–3 dates part of this tale to 333/2 BC. Briant 2003, 418–26 rightly emphasizes the varieties of stereotyping in the variant stories.

42 Hölbl 2001, 79.

43 Arr. 3.5.4.

44 Lloyd 2002, 117–36; for Ptolemy I, Huss 1994, 111–17 is important.

45 For translation see Mahaffy 40 f. or (slightly modified) Bevan 1927, 28 f.; against the preferred datings of Fraser 1972, II, 11–12 I agree with Winnicki 1991, 164–85. Arr. 3.1.2; Dinon *FGrH* 690 F21; Bosworth 1980a, 262.

46 Arr. 3.1.4, 5.2.

47 Diod. 20.108.1.

48 Plut. *Alex.* 29.3–6.

49 Eratosthenes *FGrH* 241 F29 = Plut. *Alex.* 31.3–5.

50 Plut. *Alex.* 34.1.

51 Fredricksmeyer 2000, 139–43 with 140 n. 8, 160–1.

52 Xen. *Hell.* 3.5.13 with Fredricksmeyer 2000, 140 n. 8.

53 Arr. 3.25.3.

54 Strab.15.3.7; Fredricksmeyer 2000, 141.

55 Diod. 17.17.2; Arr. 2.3.6–7.

56 Arr. 6.19.4–5; note the pluperfect ἐπηγγελμένον ἦν, referring back (in my view) to 332/1 BC.

57 Oost 1981, 265–82 is excellent here.

58 Hammond 1986, 73–85.

59 Bernard 1990, 525–8; van der Spek 2003, 289–9.

60 Briant 2002, 862 implies 'negotiations were opened'; the translators of the cuneiform text render simply 'an order of A[lexander]'; Kuhrt 1990, 126 supposes 'complex negotiations forced on the city'.

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[61] Curt. 5.1.19–23: with his *obviam egressi*, compare descriptions of a formal ἀπαντήσις or *adventus*, with Weinstock 1971, 295 n. 5, 289, 297. By contrast, Kuhrt 1990, 121–30 emphasizes earlier Babylonian receptions of a conqueror, but they have none of the range of Curtius' detail, helped along (surely) by his own rhetoric. Calmeyer 1990, 91–119 is excellent on Thorvaldsen's great frieze of the scene, though more can be said about its rendering in the Villa Carlotta, Como.

[62] Ἀνοικοδομεῖν at Arr. 3.16.4 and 7.17.2 does not mean 'repair', 'restore' or 'enlarge'. Strab.16.1.5 has 10,000 soldiers being put on the job later; Boiy 2004, 110–11 on cuneiform texts concerning Esagila, but not (so far) the Tower.

[63] Arr. 7.17.2–3; the very full study by Waerzeggers 2003–4, 150–73 does not exclude a date after 480 BC (p. 155).

[64] Andrew George, in a lecture summarizing the data at the British Museum Achae-menid Conference, September 2005 (to be published in due course). Herodotus' 'silence' at 1.181 is not a strong counter-argument, least of all for those who discount 'Greek sources'. Van der Spek 2003, 17 is wrong to ascribe the 'legend' to one Belephantes in 324/3 who led a deputation to Alexander and his officers. Arr. 3.16.4 locates knowledge of Xerxes' action already to 331 BC (it is not Arrian's proleptic comment, here) and Diod. 17.112 is somewhat questionable, anyway (17.112.3 sits ill with the weightier Arr. 3.16.4).

[65] I disagree with Kuhrt 1990, 127.

[66] Van Dijk 1962, 58 is still fundamental on this fragmentary text. I much doubt Kuhrt's 1987, 149 cautious suggestion that the name has been misplaced.

[67] Bernard 1990, 525 and 528; van der Spek 2003, 310–42 is full of interest on possible Babylonian views of Alexander. Among much else I doubt his interpretations of lines 13–25 of the Dynastic Prophecy (pp. 317, 326–32).

[68] Diod. 17.66.3; Curt. 5.2.13; Plut. *Mor.* 329D: Plut. *Alex.* 37.7 postdates it.

[69] Brosius 2003a, 183; note Sancisi-Weerdenburg 1993, 177–88. I strongly disagree with Brosius 2003, 237 who believes that it was 'Alexander who had turned Philip's pretext of "revenge" (on Persia) into a "real" reason'. They both saw it as spin, and Diod. 16.35.6 is one of the examples of Philip, too, treating spin as reality. Young Cleopatra, or maybe Thais, would have urged Philip up Persepolis' staircase too.

[70] Green 1974, 318; Briant 1982, 384–400 opposed, rightly, by Bosworth 1980, 332.

[71] Plut. *Mor.* 246B (δίς); Arr. 6.29.9 where ὁπότε ἔλθοι implies a previous visit.

[72] Plut. *Artax.* 3.1–2 with Briant 2002, 523–4 and 959.

[73] Plut. *Alex.* 37.5–6: Lane Fox 1973, 259.

[74] Arr. 3.19.5, misplaced by Diod. 17.74.3 and Curt. 6.2.17. Bosworth 1976, 132–6 and 1980, 335–6 reject a stop by Alexander at Ecbatana itself; Bosworth 1988b, 97 misdates the dismissal of the Greek allies.

[75] Wiesehöfer 1994, 30.

[76] Casabonne 2004, 230–2 whose tentative explanation I reject. I also do not see a royal 'upright tiara' on the Hierapolis coin (ibid. 232): priests there wear a different conical tiara, reiterated on this coin, as Lightfoot 2002, 480–6 and in discussion confirms to me.

[77] Arr. 3.23.4; Plut. *Alex.* 45.1; Diod. 17.77.4: Curt. 6.6.1.

[78] Bosworth 1980b, 5–7. 'Artaxerxes IV' was Arses.

[79] So, too, correctly Hamilton 1987, 467–86.

[80] Eratosthenes, ap. Plut. *Mor.* 330A.

[81]   Xen. *Cyrop.* 8.3.13: note καὶ νῦν.

[82]   Livy 24.5.4.

[83]   Curt. 3.3.17; Plut. *Mor.* 330A; Xen. *Cyrop.* 8.3.13; Nagel 1982, 81 n. 17.

[84]   Diod. 17.77.5, whereas Justin 12.3.9 opts for full purple and gold robes: for 'purpled' Persians, Xen. *Anab.* 1.2.20 (I disagree with Lewis 1977, 25 n. 43) and Curt. 3.2.10, 8.3.

[85]   Polyaen. 4.3.24: Briant 2002, 188–9, 199–203.

[86]   Diod. 17.67.1.

[87]   Curt. 6.6.5.

[88]   Curt. 6.6.6; Hammond 1995, 199–203.

[89]   Arr.3.6.6 (Brunt wrongly deleted βαρβαρικὰ γράμματα); Diod.19.23; Bosworth 1980a, 283–4.

[90]   Hdt. 1.125.3.

[91]   Arr. 3.27.4–5, with Bosworth 1980a, 365–6; Diod. 17.81.1–2; Curt. 7.3.1–3; Ἀριανοῖς in Diod. 1.94.2 should not be emended (with Bosworth) to Ἀριάσποις so as to link them with Zoroaster.

[92]   Isid. *FGrH* 781 F1.18, with Fraser 1996, 125–8 and 137–8 for problems of text and geography, concluding, most implausibly, that the name Alexandria was 'given to a city (perhaps Zaranj) at a later date by a ruler (Parthian, no doubt) of Sakastene'. No other Parthian naming of an Alexandria is known anywhere.

[93]   Fraser 1996, 173.

[94]   Fraser 1996, 173.

[95]   Strab. 11.11.4; Curt. 7.6.20. Persian-style architectural debris was found at Ai Khanum. For Alexandria Opiane, on the Indus, see n. 120 below.

[96]   The Alexander-foundations, six 'oppida' around 'Margania' precisely described by Curt. 7.10.15, were not even discussed by Fraser 1996. They have been unconvincingly located at Termez by Grenet and Rapin 1998, 79–89.

[97]   Dalley 2005, 11–22 for the Assyrian 'prototype'. I reject Nagel 1982, 71, who attempts to fix her in the history of E. Iran.

[98]   Curt. 7.6.20, 9.6.23; Arr. 6.24.2 (Brunt mistranslates the ascription, here, to Nearchus as the source).

[99]   Diod. 2.6.14 and 16–19.

[100]   Diod. 2.8.3 on lion-hunts: I doubt if Diod. 2.14.3 (the oracle of Ammon) is pre-Alexander, but if it is it is a very suggestive forerunner.

[101]   Arr. 4.7.3; Professor Roy Sanders tells me that the 'bleed-time' for such a mutilation is only *c.* 4 minutes and that the victim will live and function adequately. As a plastic surgeon, he has seen cases in modern India where the punishment was applied to women suspected of adultery.

[102]   Arr. 4.7.3; Briant 1994, 286–91.

[103]   Brunt 1976, lxxxiii–v with n. 86; I agree that the 'hipparchies' at Arr. 3.29.7 are anachronistic (for a different view, Bosworth 1988, 268–70 with n. 37).

[104]   Berve 1926, s.v. Nabarzanes; Lewis 1977, 17–18; Heckel 1992, 366–70, esp. 368.

[105]   Arr. 4.18.7; against Bosworth 1995, 129, I agree with Le Rider 2003, 324–5.

[106]   Arr. 4.19.5, citing primary sources for the ἔρως (desire), namely 'those who campaigned with Alexander'. Curt. 8.4.26 cites the example of Achilles.

[107]   Curt. 8.4.27; I reject the 'source' postulated by Tarn 1948, 2.106–7: the reference to 'Macedonian custom' is Curtius' own rhetoric; Lane Fox 1973, 535.

[108] Chares *FGrH* 125 F18A, with Balsdon 1950, 371–8; Bickerman 1963, 241–55 and Lane Fox 1973, 320–3, 536, refuting Bosworth 1996, 108–110, Badian 1981, 52 and 2003, 253, Worthington 2004, 140–1, 204 and Cartledge 2004, 223–4.

[109] Chares *FGrH* 125 F14 with Hdt. 1.134.1.

[110] Arr. 4.11 is thus non-contemporary fiction; Bosworth 1995, 77–88 is mistaken.

[111] Arr. 4.13.1–2; Curt. 8.6.7.

[112] Cresias *FGrH* 688 F14.43; against a Persian model here, I agree with Bosworth 1995, 92 ff.

[113] Curt. 8.4.15–17; for another (rhetorically invented) 'unknown soldier', Curt. 10.7.1–3 (Bosworth 2002, 40 takes this 'unknown ranker' to be historical).

[114] Curt. 8.5.1; Plut. *Alex.* 47.6.

[115] Briant 1999b, 120–4, an important study; Briant 2002, 1036–7.

[116] Strabo 15.3.8.

[117] Eustathius *Commentary on Iliad* 2.869. (The passage appears as fr. 105 of the comic playwright Theopompus in Kassel and Austin 1989.)

[118] Jacobs 1994, 271.

[119] Arr. *Indica* 18.1, 19.7.

[120] Steph. Byz. s.v. Opiai and Arr. 6.15.2, brilliantly understood by Herzfeld 1968, 282 and independently observed by Lane Fox 1973, 383 and 539, though not remarked by Fraser 1996, 148–51.

[121] Arr. *Indica* 18.9 with Berve 1926, s.v. Bagoas.

[122] Arr. 6.24.2; note ἔλεγον οἱ ἐπιχώριοι here.

[123] Plut. *Alex.* 69.1–2 and *Mor.* 246A–B; Polyaen. 7.45.2; Nic.Dam. *FGrH* 90 F66; Justin 1.6.13.

[124] Brosius 1996, 171–9, excellent on mothers' rations.

[125] Badian 1996, 22–6; Briant 2002, 777 is very important, making an acute case for a 'Cyrus-investiture' for Darius III.

[126] Arr. 6.29.11; Plut. *Alex.* 69.3 of which Hamilton 1969, 192 is wrongly dismissive, as is Bosworth 1988b, 54: 'it is possible that the robbery took place generations before'.

[127] Lane Fox 1973, 409, 542; Worthington 2004, 176 goes wrong here, nonetheless.

[128] Arr. 6.30.2–3; Diod. 19.14.5.

[129] Polyaen. 4.3.24; Diod. 18.27.1; Phylarchus *FGrH* 81 F41; Aelian *VH* 9.3; Ephippus *FGrH* 126 F5; Arr. 7.11.9.

[130] Arr. 7.6.3–4, correctly understood by Hammond 1983, 139–43.

[131] Arr. 7.4.7–8, ἐπὶ τοῖς γάμοις, probably 'to mark the occasion of the marriages' rather than 'for their own marriages'.

[132] Hdt. 5.18–21; Cawkwell 2005, 60 n. 29.

[133] Arr. 4.15.3; Curt. 8.1.9.

[134] Eratosthenes ap. Strab. 1.4.9; Plut. *Alex.* 27.11, in similar vein.

[135] Plut. *Alex.* 47.6; Arr. 7.12.2.

[136] Arr. 7.11.8; compare Plut. *Alex.* 57.4 for his 'customary' Babylonian interpreters of omens; van der Spek 2003, 336: 'in this he was a true successor to the Assyrian and Babylonian kings'! For a consultation of them in 323 BC, Diod. 17.117.4; Plut. *Alex.* 74.1; Arr. 7.24.3. Sherwin-White 1987, 9 assumes Alexander was 'cognizant' of an underlying Babylonian rite and that the Greek sources are 'unfortunately garbled'. The Babylonian prophets do understand the interloper as a bad omen, a 'substitute' or 'scapegoat' (clear in Diod. 17.117.4), but the details in Plut. *Alex.* 73 (the Greek intruder's name; the

chance event) make perfectly good sense if the man was acting off his own initiative, but Babylonian prophets interpreted it in their own way. For the entry route into Babylon and the prophecy, van der Spek 2003, 333–5: I am wary of believing Diod. 17.112.5, alleging Alexander came to 'despise' Babylonian prophecy.

[137] Diod. 17.114.4.

[138] Chares *FGrH* 125 F4; Polyaen. 4.3.24; Phylarchus *FGrH* 81 F 41; the 'tent' at Plut. *Alex.* 57.5 was surely not elaborate.

[139] Heraclides *FGrH* 689 F2.

[140] Chares *FGrH* 125 F4.

[141] Arr. 4.4.1; 5.3.6, 29.2; compare Xen. *Anab.* 4.8.25.

[142] Hdt. 3.137; compare Pulydamas, at Paus. 6.5.7–9.

[143] Chares *FGrH* F 4.

[144] Phylarchus *FGrH* 81 F41; Agatharchides *FGrH* 86 FF2–3.

[145] Athen. 146C–D: Lewis 1997, 334 could 'offer no suggestion at all as to who may be Athenaeus' source for this calculation and conclusion', but examples cited by Braund 2000, 21 make me hold Athenaeus himself responsible.

[146] Polyaen. 4.3.32; Lewis 1997, 332–41; Amigues 2003, 3–60.

[147] Plut. *Alex.* 23.10; contrast Hdt. 7.118.

[148] Theopomp. *FGrH* 115 F254 who revealingly does not call τὴν σοὶ συνοικοῦσαν (Roxane) the queen. Contrast, later, Amastris' coins at Heraclea: Head *HN²* 432.

[149] Cagnazzi 2003, 132–43 who also suggests that μέγας at Athen. 146C is the wording of Ephippus. I doubt that. Boiy 2004, 115 refutes Bosworth 1992, 75–9 who had suggested that Alexander installed Philip III as a 'sacral king' in Babylon in 324/3.

[150] Evidence in Houben 2002, 76–86 and 96–165, and Johns 1986, 11–54.

[151] Bosworth 1988a, 187–200 on 'military plans'.

[152] Diod. 18.26.5–27.5; Miller 1986, 401–11, an excellent study, esp. 411 'the King of all Asia was provided with a funeral cart constructed of a mixture of traits from his homeland and his newly-conquered Eastern world'. Goukowsky 1978, 140 on 'shock absorbers', with bibliography (Indian carts have been suggested to me by modern travellers).

[153] Diod. 18.3.5; Paus. 1.6.3.

[154] Curt. 10.5.19–24; Diod.17.118.3.

[155] Arr. 4.3.4 implies Cyropolis could hold as many as 15,000 fighting men.

[156] Justin 13.1.9.

[157] Ps. Arist. *Oec.* 1352b37; Briant 2002, 385 and 930.

[158] Dandamaev 2000, 215–22.

[159] Yardeni 1994, 67–78.

[160] Ps. Arist. *Oec.*1352b32–1353a1.

[161] Le Rider 1998, 121–40 on Antimenes in general.

[162] Arguing from silence, Sherwin-White and Kuhrt 1993, 38 think 'we are not in a position to state categorically that Achaemenid court ceremony was abandoned'. I disagree, beginning with Alexander himself.

[163] Bickerman 1983, 3–20, esp. 7.

[164] Diod. 18.60.1–2; Xen. *Cyr.* 8.3.12.

[165] Diod. 19.22.

[166] Arr. 7.11.8–9; I disagree with Wiesehöfer 1994, 53 n.30 and those who impose 'iranisches Königsopfer' and 'persische Gedankengut' on the evidence.

[167] Gardin and Gentelle 1976, 59–99 on 'un savoir-faire proprement bactrien' in land-cultivation round hellenistic Ai Khanum.

[168] Goblot 1979; de Planhol 1992, 129–42; Briant 2002, 1039.

[169] Boiy 2004, 209–10 (the *paqdu*) and 214 (a *pâhâtu* of the royal treasury, with a Babylonian-named superior, perhaps not very high up).

[170] Van der Spek 1986, 105–8, 184–5 line 6 (dated 317 BC), 186–7. For the meanings of *bit ritti* in texts after 300 BC, van der Spek 1995, 191–5.

[171] Boiy 2004, 213–14, an excellent list for Babylon ('Iranian' titles include a herald, a robe-bearer, an accountant and a puzzling *parastamu*, 'the first'?).

[172] At Ai Khanum, Rapin 1987, 54: 'le premier fonctionnaire nommé est toujours un Grec'; compare Grenet 1983, 373–81 and Rapin 1983, 363 n.75.

[173] Plut. *Alex.* 39.10.

[174] The 'Gambreion' (possibly Pergamum) inscription illustrates the uncertainties: did Crateuas buy or receive by royal gift his land here? It is subject to *phoros* still (assessed in gold, probably in the previous Persian system); see Müller 2003, 419–23.

[175] Plut. *Eum.* 8.9–10; Briant 1982.

[176] *Sardis* VII.1; Descat 1985, 97–112.

[177] Bickerman 1988, 6–7.

[178] Millar 1983, 60–8 is cautious, but still opts for a 'mixed Phoenician-Greek' character for 3rd century BC Tyre.

[179] Arr. *Indica* 40.7–8.

[180] Onesicritus ap. Strab. 11.11.3; Plut. *Mor.* 328C talks of Alexander changing Iranian marriage-customs, rhetorically but not (I think) without some source behind it (for Iranian incestuous marriage cf. Curt. 8.2.19).

[181] *SEG* 45.1879–80 (Callieri and Bernard 1995, 65–95) = Canali de Rossi 2004, nos. 247–8.

[182] Arr. 7.19.5 (with or without the insertion of ἄν); Strabo 16.3.5, on banishments to this area by the Persian King.

[183] Arr. 7.7.7; for their probable function, Briant 1986, 11–22 and 1999.

[184] Arr. 7.21.5–6.

[185] Price, 1991 with the penetrating essays of Le Rider 2003 (on the gold and silver issues, but not the bronze too).

[186] Le Rider 2003, 279–84 and plate VII; Bopearachchi 2005 discusses finds which greatly increase our sample and clearly date before 323 BC.

[187] Bopearachchi 2005, whose lettering 'AB' and 'X' I gratefully ascribe to Susa 324/3 BC, fitting in with Lane Fox 1986, 87–108 (Le Rider 2003, 332–3 does not persuade me otherwise). But is the coin genuine? Dahmen 2007, 63 n. 13 thinks it is not.

[188] Le Rider 2003, 301–19; 320–3.

[189] Lane Fox 1973, 403–7 and 542; Badian 2000, 89–95 to which add Orosdates in Plut. *Alex.* 57.3 (whom Alexander is said to have shot down with arrows) and Abulites in Arr. 7.4.1 (whom he speared: Plut. *Alex.* 68.7).

[190] Arr. 6.29.3.

[191] Arr. 6.30.2; Badian 2000, 93 wrongly takes the charge to be 'desecrating and plundering Cyrus' tomb'; corrected by Lane Fox 1973, 542.

[192] Badian 2000, 92 on Atropates/Atçrapâta.

[193] Bickerman 1966, 87–117 remains brilliant here.

[194] Diod. 19.14.5–15.1; Plut. *Eum.* 4.3, 7.1.

[195] Diod. 19.20–3, 27–9, 48.1.

[196] Diod. 19.14.5, 17.4–6, 21.3–22.

[197] Diod. 19.48.5.

[198] Plut. *Demetr.* 4; Diod. 19.46.5–47.1, 40.2, 47.4; Plut. *Eum.* 7.1.

[199] Arr. 4.15.4–5; 5.18.7, 20.4, 21.3–5, 22.2; 6.16.3, all on pre-existing hostilities between local rulers before Alexander arrived.

[200] Robert 1987, 344–9, with Thonemann 2003, 100–2, esp. 101 n.27 citing *SEG* 35.1395 for another Iranian survivor (though an Iranian name could, in due course, be borne by a Greek).

[201] Strabo 12.3.10; Memnon *FGrH* 434 F1.9; Wilcken, *RE* 1.1750.

[202] Wiesehöfer 1994, 115–36, an excellent attempt to sort out this elusive problem.

[203] Polyaen., 7.39–40.

[204] Polyaen. 7.40; Bivar 1998, 38–9; Bivar 2005, 347–8 with 354 fig. 4; Prof. Bivar kindly confirms to me the different obverse dies (but same reverse dies) used on the two known specimens. Not a forger's 'issue', then.

[205] Wiesehöfer 1994, 128–9.

[206] Morony 1984, 570–6, 583–4, 600–10 for bibliography.

[207] Lewis 1994, 17–32: 'they saw no need to write themselves if there was someone to do it for them' (18).

[208] Chares *FGrH* 125 F5.

[209] Morasi 1962, 29, fig. 280.

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13

'CHILMINAR *OLIM* PERSEPOLIS': EUROPEAN RECEPTION OF A PERSIAN RUIN

Lindsay Allen

> Perhaps any large feature in the landscape creates its own world, which may
> expand or contract with the passing concerns of the people, but which does not
> completely lose its identity.[1]

Persepolis was the first archaeological site to be associated with the literary
record of the Persian Empire familiar to Europeans from classical texts and
the Bible. Yet the ruins that we know as Persepolis have had several other
identities. Early European cartographers, for example, unaware of the site's
authentic Achaemenid name (Parsa) and uncertain of its identification
as Persepolis, used various spellings of later Persian names (either the late
antique Istakhr or the popular mediaeval Chilminar) to label it on their
maps; and even in modern scholarship constructions of the site are far from
unified or rooted in only one historical perspective. The present chapter
addresses the European reception of Persepolis against this background, and
concentrates in particular on the influence of Iranian and Islamic ideas on
the evolution of its historical identity.

The huge and atmospheric site has long been the subject of literary
description and meditation by Persian observers and by other visitors from
the Middle East:[2] our extant primary textual evidence for Eastern responses
to the site goes back to the fourth century AD.[3] On the European side,
however, there is a gap of one and a half millennia between the retrospec-
tive descriptions of the city in accounts of Alexander's invasion or surveys
by Roman-period geographers and the resumption of interest in the site by
foreign visitors in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries AD; and it was only
in the two decades spanning the turn of the sixteenth century that western
visitors began to recognize that the ruins in question *were* those of the city
that figured in their own historical tradition under the name of Persepo-
lis.[4] This European identification, made within the framework of classical
humanism, did not mean that the strong currents of Persian ideas about the

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site ended or were disregarded; on the contrary, they continued to flourish and influence the European construction of the site. This coexistence of different historical traditions about the same ruin is a significant and interesting part of the history of scholarship about Achaemenid Iran.

Most modern investigations into the history of scholarship on the ruins of Persepolis naturally follow the narrative of its recognition and gradual revelation by European travellers.[5] This recognition, we might presume, emerged from forensic comparison of the remains on the ground with classical texts, a comparison which revealed the date and status of the once great city.[6] The narrative of progressive European discovery can, in retrospect, resemble a colonialist enterprise; it parallels Western perspectives on the growth in exploration, trade and diplomacy that enabled it in the first place.[7] Concentration on European sources by European scholars is a natural consequence of traditional scholarship about the ancient world, since our own perspectives rest on knowledge of roughly the same canon of classical authors. The long travelogues of Western visitors, with appended plates and learned treatises on antiquities, match our expectations of academic evolution. In them we can discern questions that still inform debate about Achaemenid architecture being posed for the first time – questions about visual symbolism, functions of space, architectural forms, and the circumstances surrounding the destruction by Alexander the Great. European travel literature about Persepolis was in fact the main medium through which the ruins were gradually analysed in increasing detail as primary evidence for the nature and culture of the Persian empire.[8]

This chapter concentrates on a number of points at which ideas sourced from Persian perceptions of the ruin and from Persian views of the past blended with and influenced European constructions of Persepolis. Although in part this appears to set two traditions – a semi-legendary, national history, and an ancient text-based, classical memory – against one another, it also draws parallels between the two, and highlights the problematic way in which any narrative historical tradition is related to an archaeological site. I will start with short summaries of the tone of each tradition – the classical, late antique and mediaeval Iranian – and move on to identify particular phases in which they interacted in early modern and modern European investigations of the site.

Strands of tradition: Parsa/Persepolis – Sadsutun – Chilminar
Following Darius' irregular succession to the Persian throne in 521 BC, a new heartland royal citadel was developed. Prominence and durability were to the fore, and the place was known as Parsa – the same term that described the country of Persia and its people. The word *Parsa* was prominently visible in

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the latter sense in the Old Persian segment of a trilingual building inscription of Darius on the fortified platform wall, and it appears in the former sense, as the name specifically of the site, in a text on Xerxes' Gateway of All Peoples (the monumental entrance to the terrace) which reports that 'much other good [construction] was built within this Parsa, which I built and my father built'.[9] By the early fourth century the name (which also appears in Elamite-language administrative documents from the site) had entered Greek usage as *Persai*.[10] A large part of the site was fired during the Macedonian invasion of the empire in 330 BC, although at least one palace was redeveloped for subsequent use.[11] At an optimistic estimate, the Old Persian cuneiform inscribed on the buildings ceased to be widely understood within a century of the fall of the Achaemenid dynasty, although the site's iconographic repertoire was often reinterpreted and sampled by later local dynasties in the hellenistic period.[12] The familiar name of Persepolis first appears (along with imaginative descriptions of its full glory) in Greek sources written after the site's destruction.[13] European literature, through late antiquity and the Middle Ages, acquired a Graeco-Roman memory of Persepolis as a populous, rich and doomed eastern city in the tradition of Troy,[14] the extended treatments of its destruction in Quintus Curtius Rufus and Diodorus Siculus being the texts that were ultimately most influential in perpetuating this image.[15] Four years after crossing into Asia, Alexander's progress towards Persepolis was punctuated by a difficult passage across the mountains, opposed by both local tribes and Ariobarzarnes, a satrap defending the route into the Achaemenid heartland.[16] Although after the failure of this resistance the governor of the city, Tiridates, appears to have negotiated with the invaders, both authors narrate a devastating occupation in two phases. First the army is set upon the wider city, in an episode clearly influenced by the fall of cities in literary tradition.[17] The completeness of the sack is highlighted by a portrait of Persepolis' position as an imperial capital into which 'the barbarians had heaped the wealth of all Persia', a quantity so vast that the volume of riches removed by the army was *prope ut fidem excedat*, almost beyond belief.[18] The second and better-known destruction, that of the citadel of Persepolis, is linked to the sack in memory, but in Diodorus and Curtius follows after an interval. In this tale, also given by Plutarch, the climactic destruction of the royal palaces is caused by the raucous incitement of the courtesan Thais at a banquet.[19] Curtius' closing conventional 'obituary' of the city (5.7.9) is striking:

> And not even in the long age which followed its destruction did it rise again. The Macedonian kings laid waste other cities which the Parthians now possess; of this city not a trace would be found if the River Araxes did not show where it stood. That river had flowed not far from its walls; local inhabitants believe rather than know that it was at a distance of 20 stades.

In the succession of ancient empires, then, Persepolis appeared largely in the context of its destruction. Because Alexander's pillage and burning of the city became the most famous event of its life, the city became a symbol of the intermingled luxury and inevitable downfall of the Achaemenid dynasty. Although indirectly corresponding to the setting of the site, the descriptions of the complete city set into the Alexander historians could evidently be misleading in detail.[20] The account contained in Diodorus, being the longest surviving one, was also the one most frequently cited by later travellers seeking parallels. It combines recognizable impressions of the site with specifics not visible in the remains:

> The citadel is a noteworthy one, and is surrounded by a triple wall. The first part of this is built over an elaborate foundation. It is sixteen cubits in height and is topped by battlements. The second wall is in all other respects like the first but of twice the height. The third circuit is rectangular in plan, and is sixty cubits in height, four built of a stone hard and naturally durable. Each of the sides contains a gate with bronze doors, beside each of which stand bronze poles twenty cubits high; these were intended to catch the eye of the beholder, but the gates were for security. At the eastern side of the terrace at a distance of four plethra is the so-called royal hill in which were the graves of the kings. This was a smooth rock hollowed out into many chambers in which were the sepulchres of the dead kings. These have no other access but receive the sarcophagi of the dead which are lifted by certain mechanical hoists. Scattered about the royal terrace were residences of the kings and members of the royal family as well as quarters for the great nobles, all luxuriously furnished, and buildings suitably made for guarding the royal treasure.[21]

Diodorus' description includes some features which visitors might recognize on the ground – a high royal hill tunnelled with tombs and a terrace scattered with monumental buildings – with others not immediately apparent, notably the triple wall. Such visualizations of the city's complete glory were nevertheless linked to and given special poignancy by its fate at the hands of Alexander. The visions of the doomed city in the classical textual tradition simultaneously seem to preserve Persepolis in a peculiar time-warp. The very latest notices of the site's identity in antiquity, in Ammianus Marcellinus and the itinerary of the Peutinger Table, refer fleetingly to Persepolis as though it were a contemporary, flourishing city.[22] Here, the ambiguity and chronological imprecision of the site designated by the old name begin to become apparent.[23] These later references may have been prompted by a new geographical reality, the development of the city of Istakhr, only a few kilometres away at the entrance to the Marv Dasht,[24] and this is certainly the point at which we start to be able to trace Persian ideas about the site in written sources. For with Persian rule (that of the

Sasanians) once again dominating the Middle East from the third to the seventh centuries AD, the Persepolis platform became the ancient shadow of the neighbouring capital at Istakhr. Its imposing stone ruins, elevated above the surrounding plain and visible for some distance, were the site of demonstrations of piety by the Sasanian kings, commemorated in inscriptions on the stonework of the Palace of Darius.[25] The ancient name for the city, Parsa, was no longer in use, and the ruins, regarded as merely the most ancient part of Istakhr, came to be known as *Sadsutun,* 'the Hundred Columns'.[26] (The imagined number dwindled to forty in the later popular name, Chilminar – *Chehelminar.*) More importantly, the Sasanian period, over five hundred years after the fall of Persepolis, is the first for which we have textual documentation of the transformation of the national history that surrounded it: the ruins of Persepolis became submerged in the history of Istakhr, an occasional setting within a long, epic history of royal dynasties that led all the way up to the successful rule of the Sasanians.

Our knowledge of this legendary national history rests on historical and literary texts written after the incorporation of Iran into an Islamic world created by the Arab conquests of the seventh century. Ideas about the pre-Islamic history of Iran filtered both into early historical works in Arabic and into their Persian-language successors.[27] Away from the site itself, texts in which the ancient ruins near Istakhr appeared between the ninth and fourteenth centuries included prose histories, topographical works and epic poetry; of these Persian prose histories and poetic *Books of Kings* were often conceived under the patronage of contemporary Iranian dynasties, and they drew on the long cycle of Persian monarchs and their achievements for the construction of a suitably royal past.

If reassembled around the Achaemenid site, references to the ancient buildings at Istakhr constitute a cloud of antique impressions. The mighty foundations were laid, perhaps with supernatural help, in the distant age of a legendary king. The tradition, surviving only in post-Sasanian texts, was not a unified one: strongly Islamic glosses on the site's ruin were different from those of Persian-language and Zoroastrian traditions; the roles of different kings and the outcome of episodes changed according to the interests of the courts under which histories were written.[28] Some common threads persisted: the site's foundation or development continued to be strongly associated with the mythical, civilizing king of Persian pre-Islamic tradition, Jamshid; indeed the king transformed Istakhr into one of the most glorious palaces ever known and he instituted the first New Year ceremony there.[29] Istakhr was sometimes the default royal palace for a number of succeeding monarchs, such as Bahram, Chosroes and Dārā, who are envisaged pacing its halls. More individual (and sometimes semi-historical) details occasionally

sprout from this main trunk of tradition: for example, after Dārā's defeat by Iskander (Alexander), Istakhr was ruled by Antakhash Rumi, or Antiochus the Roman.[30] An association with pre-Islamic Sasanian dynastic ritual lies behind a few other notices: the sacred flame at Istakhr blew out at the very moment of the birth of the Prophet Muhammad; under the reign of Gushtasp, a predecessor of Dārā, the sacred Zoroastrian books were placed for safe-keeping at Istakhr, but were later (in some accounts) plundered or destroyed by Iskander.[31] Within the wider Islamic tradition, Istakhr acquired associations that corresponded to the stories told about antiquities across Asia; the wise builder king of Istakhr was increasingly identified as Solomon instead of, or in addition to, Jamshid. Associations with Solomon, with impious opposition to Islam, or conversely with Persian national heroes, all prompted attribution of supernatural qualities to the physical features of the site. Breezes issuing from the nearby mountain were linked to a tradition that the supernaturally gifted king had imprisoned the winds there or in a reputed underground labyrinth.[32] A commonly-imagined source of the winds running through tunnels within the platform (which in reality were limited drainage channels) was the so-called *Charkh-i-Almas* or Diamond Wheel, the subject of a strong and long-lived oral tradition with a literary framework summed up as follows by a traveller of the early twentieth century:

> The gist of the story, in which there are many minor variations, is that somewhere in this passage is situated the Charkh-i-Almas, which was started spinning in perpetual revolution by that famous hero of Persian fable, Rustam. It is said that this wheel still continues to whirl with incredible velocity in a blaze of light.[33]

One much-quoted account gives a detailed description of the ruins as seen in the twelfth century, along with a typical historical summary. By this point, the mediaeval capital of Istakhr itself had waned, with only a small population still resident at the site in the eleventh century. The text, by an author known only as Ibn al-Balkhi, was recopied by successive geographers wanting authoritative stories of the history and topography of Fars province.[34] Al-Balkhi's description of the ruins in the region of Istakhr included some background on their past:

> Istakhr in the days of the ancient Persian kings was their capital. It was, in fact, first founded by Kayumarth and after him each king on his accession added something to the city, more especially Tahmurath, who built here many palaces. When Jamshid came to be the king of the whole world, he made Istakhr such an enormous city that its limits extended from Hafrak or Khafrak to the further parts of Ramjird, its area measuring four leagues in length by ten in breadth. Within the circuit of the city there were three castles, one Qal'ah Istakhr, the second Qal'ah Shikastah, and the third Qal'ah Shakanvan. These were known

as the Three Domes [Sih Gunbadan]. Next he built a palace at the foot of the
hill, the equal of which was not to be found in the whole world... At the foot of
the hill Jamshid laid out a platform of solid stone that was black in colour, the
platform being four-sided, one side against the hill foot and the other three sides
towards the plain, and the height of the platform was on all sides thirty ells. In
the fore-face thereof he built two stairways, so easy of ascent that horsemen
could ride up without difficulty. Then upon the platform he erected columns
of solid blocks in white stone, so finely worked that even in wood it might be
impossible to make the like by turner's art or by carving; and these columns were
very tall... Nowhere else in all the province of Fars is any stone like this found,
and no one knows whence these blocks were brought... [al-Balkhi identifies the
guardian figures of Xerxes' gate with Buraq, the mount of Muhammad]. Every-
where and about may be seen the sculptured portrait of Jamshid, as a powerful
man with a well-grown beard, a handsome face and curly hair.[35]

This mediaeval attempt to flesh a history onto the bones of the directly exper-
ienced architecture and reliefs may usefully be contrasted with Diodorus'
palace, described imprecisely at a distance as the stage for the drama of
Alexander. The topographical description illustrates the extent to which all
the remains as they appeared strewn along the eastern edge of Marv Dasht,
including the royal tombs in the cliffs of Naqsh-i Rustam and the strong-
holds on the surrounding foothills, were thought of as constituting ancient
Istakhr. Al-Balkhi's comments on the wonderful working of an unknown
stone reflect the strong tendency to characterize the site as supernatural.
The popular association of the ruins at Persepolis with both Solomon and
Jamshid, amongst others, made it plausible that magical beings such as djinns
had transported the massive stones of the platform and columns from places
unknown.[36] Overall, the remains of Persepolis gathered the rich range of
legendary and folkloric associations that might be expected of a prominent
monument that had been designed from the outset to project intimations of
power in the landscape.

At first glance, the evidence for the communication of these strong
currents of narrative tradition to European visitors is not promising. Even
the fabric of Persepolis seems to be riven with mutual misunderstanding.
The walls of Persepolis, particularly the Gate of All Nations, are inscribed
with layers of Western travellers' histories, in the form of their signatures or
lists of visiting personnel dating from the eighteenth century onwards. This
defacement was lamented by some observers, but the eminent Lord Curzon
commented positively that it presented each new arrival with a virtual tableau
of his predecessors in exploration: it was as though the collection of eminent
names formed an exclusive club, one which every new 'intelligent visitor to
Persepolis' could join, thanks to familiarity with his predecessors' work.[37] The
Persians had started adding inscriptions to the site in the Sasanian period,

as kings responded to the cuneiform inscriptions in the Palace of Darius by noting their own visits to this wondrous place.[38] (By contrast, the Gate of All Nations was not a target for Arabic and Persian graffiti until more recently, perhaps because of the magical associations of the guardian figures.)[39] In the Islamic period, there are lengthy official and private inscriptions dating from the ninth to the nineteenth centuries.[40] Many of the Persian and Arabic inscriptions are notably more literary than the European, and reflect the historical ideas surrounding the site. Verse excerpts and vignettes meditate on kings and their lost worldly glory, providing glimpses of the landscape of historical reference in which Persian visitors contextualised the ruin. These suggest specifically that it was the palace of Solomon and Jamshid or evoke the passing shadow of Chosroes; the inscription of such references into stone represented a material connection with the lost kings of deep antiquity.[41] Although annotating Persepolis with largely Iranian traditions, such poetic inscriptions belonged to a wider environment of literary meditation in the mediaeval Islamic world on the transience of worldly glory. The poems at Persepolis are echoed by those on the walls of sites such as Samarra as reported in an Arabic literary collection, the so-called *Book of Strangers*, apparently dating to the tenth or eleventh century.[42] Despite their long span, the parallel Eastern and Western inscribing traditions at Persepolis do not normally appear to form a conversation between cultures.[43] Nevertheless, like Western visitors, those from Iranian territory and more distant Islamic lands clearly attempted to locate the ruins in both local historical memory and a wider network of past eras. The inscribed annotations on Persepolis are relics of a constant murmur of Persian and wider Islamic historical commentary, one which arguably coloured interpretations of the ruins throughout the history of their reception in European scholarship.

Identifying Persepolis: early modern European experiences

The sample of published literary inscriptions referring to Islamic ideas of the past is concentrated in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. By the end of the following century the ruins known by the name of Chilminar were recognized by Europeans as an originally Achaemenid site for which parallel information existed in classical authors. The continuing duality of Persepolis' reception is illustrated at the most basic level by early modern European maps of Iran, where the site was marked with a Persian name – Chilminar (variously spelled Tzilminar, Chihil Minar, Tchilminar, Chehelminar, Chilmanor etc.) or Istakhr (usually spelled Estakhr or Astakhr) – and later with the Greek/ European 'Persepolis'. Chehel Minareh, 'forty columns', was in fact the first title under which the site was extensively described in a European language, in an account written in 1474 by a Venetian envoy Josafat Barbaro.[44]

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From the sixteenth to the early twentieth century, European publications continued to acknowledge the dual identity of the ruins,[45] though by the early-nineteenth century the variant traditional name of Takht-i Jamshid (Jamshid's Seat) was more commonly used by Europeans than Chilminar.[46] As was pointed out by the more scrupulous scholar-travellers, Persian names were the site's only securely-known identity, and without understanding the cuneiform inscriptions a visitor could not be confident that he 'treads the classick soil of Persepolis, with such perfect conviction...as accompanies him amidst the metropolitan monuments of Italy and of Greece'.[47] Until the gradual decipherment of Old Persian cuneiform in the nineteenth century, the identity of Persepolis was uncorroborated enough for the traditional Persian names to be used as well, and this Persian identity is still current in contemporary Iranian maps, where Takht-i Jamshid is marked as well as, or instead of, Persepolis.

If the 'classick' identity of Persepolis only became certain with the decipherment of cuneiform in the nineteenth century, how did the ancient identity become associated with mediaeval Persian Chilminar? The earliest evidence for the association appears during the first concentrated phase of European mercantile and diplomatic activity in the heart of Iran in the last two decades of the sixteenth and the start of the seventeenth century. Wider economic and political factors brought the ruins of Chilminar onto the horizon of curious Western travellers. In 1598, the Persian Safavid dynasty moved its capital from Tabriz in the north to the oasis city of Isfahan. At the same period the port of Bandar Abbas on the Persian gulf provided a new entrepot for seaborn trade, and Portuguese merchants established a centre on the island of Hormuz, just off the coast. Between these inland and coastal centres ran a main route via the city of Shiraz and, just to the north, the region of Marv Dasht, where Persepolis was located. Meanwhile, British merchants of the Muscovy company, in an attempt to find a lucrative way around Portuguese and Ottoman monopolies, began using a lengthy overland route via Archangel, the Volga and the Caspian.[48] They were able to attempt this roundabout road to merchandise and riches because of improved British diplomatic relations with Tsar Ivan of Russia, and an increased openness to trade initiated by the Safavid kings of Iran,[49] and this led to British traders undertaking the first extensive overland journeys through the interior of Iran. Their valuable travelogues were sent back to England in letter form or written up on the instructions of their investors and company directors after their return; they were quickly anthologized in such works as Hakluyt's *Voyages*, the aspiration of which to be a universal compendium of mercantile exploration was belied by its open prejudice towards certain companies (in the case of Persia, notably the Muscovy Company).[50] The same three

decades or so saw a gradual merging in European texts of the identities of ancient Persepolis and the contemporary ruins of Chilminar. In 1583, the Persian history of Petrus Bizarus still described Chilminar by incorporating the account of Josafat Barbaro from a century before, and Persepolis was included separately a few pages later as one of the lost ancient cities reported by Greek and Roman authors.[51] But by 1619, Silva y Figueroa, the Spanish ambassador, confidently asserted in a Latin letter written from Isfahan and published a year later that these same classical authors virtually led one by the hand to realize that Chilminar was the site of Persepolis.[52] But this may not have been Figueroa's discovery; he had his passages of Diodorus prepared to travel with him before he left for Persia, and the identification of Chilminar as Persepolis seems to have been in the air already. The process through which the two names were joined in the preceding decades is difficult to untangle, and links circumstances in Iran with the mercantilism of a London brimming with the language and novelty of exploration.[53] A brief summary can run as follows.

The first reference to a traveller actually witnessing a place called Persepolis is included in Hakluyt's 1589 compendium of voyages. An agent of the Muscovy company, Geofrey Ducket, had allegedly passed by its ruins in 1568, but the description appended to this claim is a little suspicious.

> In the way of his travell hee passed through Persepolis, sometime the royall seate of the Emperours of Persia, but now altogether ruined and defaced, whereof remayne to be seene at this day two gates onely that are distant one from the other the space of 12 miles, and some few pinnacles in the mountaines and conveiances for fresh water.[54]

He does not mention any Persian names for the site, nor is the description particularly convincing, although it may *ultimately* derive from an eyewitness report. The short passage about Persepolis is not contained in a manuscript linked to Ducket's account, which is still in the British Library.[55] One might perhaps suspect Hakluyt of some creative editing in the interests of publicity: Persepolis had been used in 1587 as a prominent fictional setting for the empire-shaking conquests of Tamburlaine in Christopher Marlowe's extremely popular eponymous play (published in multiple editions from 1590) and so might conveniently have found its way in 1589 into the discoveries of the enterprising Muscovy company.[56] Both Marlowe's and Ducket's geographical understanding of Persepolis' location seems to have been vague: their use of the name indicates a readiness to discover the ancient site, but it does not indicate a secure, independent link with the remains on the ground.

Meanwhile, back in Persia, identification of Persepolis with the ruins known as Chilminar or Istakhr was not the only option. Another was the association of Persepolis with the city of Shiraz. This surfaces in a number of

sources between 1600 and the 1620s (particularly ones with Portuguese and Spanish authors) which identify the modern city, over sixty kilometres away from the ruins, as the ancient capital destroyed by Alexander.[57] For example, the Persian Uruch Beg, who travelled back to Europe in 1599 with an unofficial embassy and was known on his conversion to Catholicism in Spain as 'Don Juan of Persia', claims in a Spanish publication of 1604 to have visited Shiraz many times and pronounces that it was once Persepolis, while not mentioning the existence of Chilminar at all.[58] This tale of two cities, Persepolis and Shiraz, may be the product of a historical *Iranian* rationalization of successive capitals (Istakhr and Shiraz) as the same city in shifting locations. The identification is most clear in the account of John Cartwright, whose *Preacher's Travels* published in 1611 describes his travels with the same party that later accompanied Uruch Beg. (It also obligingly includes such essentials as 'a port in the Persian Gulf, commodious for our East Indian merchants' and 'some gross absurdities in the Turkish Alcoran'.)

> The description of Shiraz, ancient Persepolis: This city is situated on the banks of Bindamir, a great and famous river that courses through Persia and the kingdom of Lar... Pliny called it 'Perciciregni'; for so it was during the monarchy, the head of the Persian kingdom, which continues famous, many years together, being stuffed with the spoils of the whole world. For Alexander, when he took it, found in the Treasury 40,000 talents of gold; every talent being 600 crowns... And the same time, at the request of a drunken strumpet, he set this gallant city on fire; himself being the first president in that woeful misery, which in short time was burnt to the ground, as Diodorus Siculus relates... Such a miserable end befell to the regal city of all the East, whence so many nations derived their laws and customs; which had been the seat of so many kings... So that in and about this town are to be seen many ancient monuments: as two great gates that are distant, one from the other, the space of 12 miles. Which shows the circuit of this city, as it was in the times of the monarchy, to be both large and spacious. On the south side we viewed the ruins of a goodly palace built (as they say) by King Cyrus...and to the north side, the ruins of an old castle which seems was girt about with a threefold wall... On each side were 12 gates of brass, with brazen pales set before them, very curiously wrought: all which did show the magnificence of the founder. On the east side of this ruined castle, some 4 acts of ground distant, is a mountain on which is erected a goodly chapel, in which most of the Persian kings in ancient times were entombed. And though this city has endured sundry mutations...out of it, in short time, is levied 20,000 horsemen, well armed... Now, by the situation of this town on the river Bindamir...[59]

Cartwright's passage on Shiraz and Persepolis, while still not clearly describing the right site, displays many features which become characteristic of the later western canon of discussions of the ruins. There are signs, for example, of a certain degree of intertextuality with previous accounts: as in several of his

other descriptions of ancient sites ('New Babylon, now called Baghdad'),
he is influenced by ancient sources, in this case the description of Diodorus.
His introductory reference to widely-distant gates mirrors the language of
Hakluyt, and he was possibly also aware of Uruch Beg's account of Shiraz,
since he displays the same conflation of Shiraz and Persepolis. Neverthe-
less, he gives just enough descriptive detail to suggest that his story was not
concocted from secondary reports in a library or even a nearby caravanserai
but resulted from the combination of such reports with first-hand experi-
ence of some remains in the vicinity of Shiraz. If it does relate to the features
around the edge of Marv Dasht, his description suggests that, rather like
Ibn al-Balkhi, he regarded the entire expanse of the ruins of early mediaeval
Istakhr, its three associated mediaeval citadels, the tombs at Naqsh-i Rustam,
and the terrace of Chilminar (as well as mediaeval remains nearer Shiraz) as
constituting a single whole. But, whereas al-Balkhi treated this single whole
as Istakhr and talked about Jamshid, Cartwright took it to be the ancient city
destroyed by Alexander the Great.

In fact, however, an educated Persian, asked by a visitor about the ruins
near Istakhr in 1601, was already likely to have identified them as the city
attacked by Iskander, possibly adding that this was where Iskander was
enthroned after defeating king Dārā or even that it was where he looted or
burned the sacred books of the Persians. The name of *khaneh Dārā* ('the
house of Dārā') may have already been in use to describe visible parts of
the remaining buildings, such as the palace of Darius I.[60] Heleen Sanci-
si-Weerdenburg suggested that the link between the ruins of Chilminar and
the historical ghost of Persepolis must have been made independently of the
Iranian context, perhaps even in a comparison of travellers' texts in western
Europe.[61] But the crux might well actually lie in the one significantly recog-
nizable point of correspondence between the otherwise largely independent
Greek and Persian historical traditions: Iskander/Alexander's destructive
conquest of Istakhr/Persepolis and his defeat of the Persian king Dārā/Darius
is a prominent and emotive incident in both. In most Persian treatments of
the story, such as the eleventh-century *Shahnameh* of Firdowsi, Iskander or
Sekander is the half-brother of the king of Persia, Dārā. Iskander was adopted
by Caesar, or elsewhere, Filqus, ruled Rum and was advised by Arestatalis
the Sage. Firdowsi's Alexander is a wise ruler, but in many of the mainstream
Persian historians, such as 'Abd al Hayy Gardizi, whose *Zayn al-Akhbar* was
composed in the middle of the eleventh century, Alexander was a cultural
vandal, who transferred the learning of Zoroastrian books to the west before
burning the Persian manuscripts in the library of Istakhr.[62] It is quite possible
that in conversation between European visitors and Iranian informants,
the relatively simple link was made between the western Alexander and

Iskander or Sekander, the invader of Iran. The conclusion would naturally follow that the world-governing Persian capital he attacked, Istakhr (and by extension, Shiraz), must be Persepolis.[63] The evidence is circumstantial rather than concrete, but it would explain the nexus of Shiraz, Istakhr, Persepolis and Alexander that appears in several late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century travelogues. This combination may have been possible even without the growing prominence of classical sources in European minds. The conquests of Alexander, seen through the colourful lens of the mediaeval romance tradition, were one of most widely distributed narratives describing travel and exploration in the East preceding the full rediscovery of Greek and Latin texts.[64] Both on a popular and literary level, in Persian and European minds, a common narrative existed which converged on Persepolis. The identification of Persepolis in the ruins of Chilminar/Istakhr is likely to represent some form of intermingling of Iranian historical traditions and experience in Persia with western knowledge about Persepolis in various currents of the classical tradition.

Translating Persepolis: visitors' interpretations of space and ritual
The route of transmission of Persian ideas into the descriptions of Persepolis by European visitors is difficult to pin down in more detail. The environments which inspired scholars' responses and supplied the foundations for theories over the centuries are difficult to reconstruct in their entirety. Yet in the century following Persepolis' 'discovery' it is possible to see accounts composed of elements sourced from an early modern classical education, the words of Persian escorts and contacts and the already circulating writings of previous prominent travellers.[65] Of these three sources, traditional Persian oral or literary ideas are the least well attributed in most European writers.

The accounts of western travellers form a canon in themselves, retrospective referencing by each new visitor creating a skein of intertextuality through the European tradition of publication about Persepolis.[66] This intertextuality could take the form of clearly repeated phrases and scholarly questions ('Doric, Ionic or Corinthiac?') or more hidden subconscious concepts and assumptions.[67] In addition, threads of popular tradition and association could continually be re-interpolated in accounts and images, often independently of new information from Iran or new scholarly supposition. The strength of this self-sustaining and often incestuous string of publications can easily disguise the other sources of input into the European construction of the identity of Persepolis. Very few authorities were explicit about the origin of information gained from Persian sources. The early-seventeenth-century diplomat Thomas Herbert refers to information gleaned from noble guides, the early-nineteenth-century political aide James Morier mentions his official escorts,

local workmen, shepherds and 'natives' in general, although not always in the pleasantest of terms.[68] In between, three significant accounts of the early eighteenth century, by Jean Chardin, Engelbert Kaempfer and Cornelius de Bruijn, vastly expanded the accessible store of inscriptions and reliefs at Persepolis for both stay-at-home scholars and intrepid travellers alike.

By the turn of the nineteenth century a more interconnected European scholarly community produced an Orientalist academic context for the study of Persian antiquities. Turn-of-the-century political and entrepreneurial missions to Iran benefited from an increase in German and French linguistic work and channelled their observations into fuller, if not initially more accurate, reports on the history and remains of ancient Iran. Like Engelbert Kaempfer a century earlier, Sir William Ouseley makes constant reference to mediaeval Persian texts in a chapter on Persepolis that is scrupulous in its annotations both from unique manuscripts and popularly-known travellers' tales.[69] Sir Robert Ker Porter tried to integrate the kings known from classical histories into a structure formed by the longer royal aeons of Persian history. The new prominence of Persian-language learning enforced by British involvement in India created a wider group of interested gentlemen taking a pleasure excursion to Persepolis while travelling on business. One of the latest of such amateur antiquarians writes in unusually anthropological detail about the context for uncovering folkloric stories about Persepolis:

> I should mention that the greater number of the stories were related to me by Persian caravan men on many a long march, or in the evenings by villagers or travellers in the village or caravanserai. Usually no questioning was required. The mere mention of the fact that we were to pass by the ruins was sufficient to set my companion of the moment talking... I used to write the stories down as well as I could remember them on the first opportunity, usually the same night before going to bed. Several of the stories, however, were taken down by me in Persian as they were related to me afterwards by my friend Mirza Azizullah Khan of Shiraz, to whom I am much indebted for the trouble he took on my behalf, and afterwards translated by me into English.[70]

Nevertheless, in most other cases, Eastern-sourced information, whether originating in learned Persian or Arabic histories, in conversations with locally-based savants, or heard in passing in the caravanserai, is often introduced as part of an anonymous and perpetual tradition.[71]

In the many cases where no informants or oral sources are mentioned, modern analysis can choose to bypass the possibility of the influence of Persian historical ideas on European accounts. Yet, whereas much of the information contained in early travellers' publications about ancient Iran appears at the very least confused according to our own historical structures and chronology (founded on classical historians and bolstered by cuneiform

texts),[72] its origins begin to become clear when it is compared to the struc-
tures and content of Persian historiography. For example, the earliest report
from a Western traveller of an ancient ruined city within Iran may be the
result of wholesale absorption of Persian traditions about the ancient remains
rather than the application of classical history to observed ruins. Manu-
scripts of the account of the fourteenth-century Franciscan monk, Odoric
of Pordenone, describe 'Comerum, which formerly was a great city, and in
olden time did great scathe to the Romans'. The identity of the site is unclear,
but it is often assumed to be Persepolis. Yet, the likely context for such
a report would not have included extensive knowledge of classical historians.
Instead, the history which a mediaeval monastic traveller is mostly likely
to have transmitted is the Persian perception that the monarchy of a given
pre-Islamic city fought *Rum*, the Western power to whom several infidel
opponents of Iran, including Philip and Iskander, were attributed.[73] Similarly,
supernatural ideas about the construction and purpose of Persepolis were for
some time a core part of Western perceptions of the ruin. For example, the
idea of mysterious underground passages at Persepolis filled with swirling
winds started very early, with descriptions of Istakhr in the tenth century. Yet
locally-told stories about the swirling breezes and endless tunnels underneath
the platform were still current at the turn of the twentieth century. Stories
of these tunnels from the account of the French traveller Jean Chardin were
linked to contemporary folk-tales of a perpetually spinning wheel spewing
gales through the earth by Gibbon, the informative British captain making
his way across Iran in 1908. Chardin had included a colourful, and perhaps
exaggerated, description of his exploration of drainage tunnels within the
terrace, fully published in the mid-eighteenth century. He claimed to walk
for hours in these restricted drains, and the idea of these endless, hidden
halls was seized on by early nineteenth-century travellers, who wanted to
discover something more about what were now quite well-known ruins.
The orientalist William Ouseley returned to the Eastern literary sources of
such tales, and cited accounts of an underground labyrinth which could be
reached through a hidden entrance located under the unfinished rock-cut
tomb situated beyond the southern edge of the platform. The idea of myste-
rious passages under the Persepolis terrace reached its apogee in the work of
William Beckford. Possibly influenced both by his own reading of Arabic
manuscripts and the work of Jean Chardin, Beckford described the grim
towers of Istakhr as guarding the doorway to an underground hell.

> [Vathek and Nouronihar], ascending the steps of a vast staircase, reached the
> terrace, which was flagged with squares of marble, and resembled a smooth
> expanse of water, upon whose surface not a blade of grass ever dared to vegetate.
> On the right rose the watch-towers, ranged before the ruins of an immense

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palace, whose walls were embossed with various figures. In front stood the colossal forms of four creatures, composed of the leopard and the griffin, and though but of stone, inspired emotions of terror. Near these were distinguished by the splendour of the moon, which streamed full on the place, characters like those on the sabres of the Giaour, and which possessed the same virtue of changing every moment...the mountain against which the terrace was reared, trembled; and the watch-towers were ready to topple headlong upon them. The rock yawned, and disclosed within it a staircase of polished marble, that seemed to approach the abyss...[74]

Beckford's gothic vision of Istakhr glancingly references descriptive imagery gleaned from Persian-influenced reports of Persepolis. This kind of tale, while colourful, may seem a little irrelevant to the central development of our understanding of the site. After all, tales of mirage-like inscriptions and endless labyrinths are not the first resort for archaeological analyses. But some interpretations of Persepolis that appear to have been sourced from Persian historical traditions had a strikingly long and pervasive influence on ideas about the function of the complex. Two examples are worth citing briefly: the identification of rooms and their function within the complex and the interpretation of its ceremonial use as a whole.

One of the most long-lived debates running through travel and architectural literature from the seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries was the question of how the buildings at Persepolis worked. Faced with unfamiliar or indiscernible ground plans, incomprehensible inscriptions and unprecedented architectural forms such as the gate guardians, classically-educated visitors frequently echoed Thomas Herbert's complaint in 1634: 'whether this Fabrick was Ionick, Dorick or Corinthiack I cannot determine...'[75] Looking at the columns of the Apadana, they could not decide whether they were seeing a temple, a shady colonnade, or a throne hall. Accordingly the baffled visitor consulted his escorts on the spot. In the early-seventeenth century, Herbert reported (with comparatively little comment or criticism) suggested identifications as a *Masjed-e Jomeh* (Friday mosque) and a harem or nursery. A strikingly similar identification of rooms occurs when the early nineteenth-century visitor Morier made similar inquiries. It is therefore worth pointing out that popular semi-archaeological terminology for two parts of the site continues to reflect traditional nomenclature or function identifications. This is because Herzfeld introduced it in his first scholarly survey of the site, published in 1929–30, after over six weeks' residence there. The term Hundred-Columned Hall, closely echoing the traditional Persian name *sad sutun*, was given to a large structure behind the Apadana, while *serail/birun* and *harem/andarun* were applied initially to the entire area of the terrace behind the two main audience halls and the Central

Building, an area whose more private and restricted character is clear in the plan, though the term harem was later restricted (without further decisive evidence) to Xerxes' central palace.[76] It is important to note that Herzfeld's 1929–30 article was, unlike most of his work, written in French and Persian and was directed not only at western colleagues but also at a highly-placed Persian audience. The antiquities law, permits for foreign excavation and 'ces fonds nécessaires' were in the process of being negotiated, he hoped, to the advantage of his activities in Iran, and so Herzfeld not only used some traditional terms to refer to the buildings, but also held out the possibility of finding a Zoroastrian temple behind the Central Building and residential palaces and 'probablement le *Harem*' in the south-east of the terrace, which, by nature of its function and its intact layer of enveloping earth, might disclose 'précieux objets d'art enterrés sous ses décombres'.[77]

The second instance of a long-lived idea about the site that is sourced mostly, if not wholly, from Persian historical tradition is that of the celebration at Persepolis of Nowruz or the Persian New Year. The strong tradition of the Nowruz 'factoid' has been tracked by Sancisi-Weerdenburg through the accounts of early modern travellers to Persepolis. The supposition, based on no secure ancient evidence, was that the Achaemenid kings celebrated a springtime New Year festival at Persepolis which required the attendance of subjects from all over the empire bearing gifts. The suggestion is part of a long and ongoing debate about the balance of religious and secular functions in the palace structures. In the twentieth century the Nowruz hypothesis was assumed to be of recent origin and was attributed to one of the first excavators of Persepolis, Ernst Herzfeld.[78] In fact, as Sancisi-Weerdenburg showed, it went back to the eighteenth century. It was justified by the authors who deployed it on the basis of an interpretation of the relief sculptures at the site but was also a typical example of uncritical ethnographic reconstruction of Eastern pasts: the imagination of modern travellers directly translated their experience of contemporary ritual into a vision of ancient practice, taking for granted the idea of an unchanging and timeless East.[79] But this analysis in terms of European orientalism omits an additional important facet of the imagined Nowruz festival of Persepolis. In Persian historiography, King Jamshid was an organizer and originator of many things, and one of his most famous innovations was the holding of the very first Nowruz festival at his palace at Istakhr. The account of this event is given in the same early twelfth-century source, the *Fars Nama* of Ibn Al-Balkhi, which had given such a detailed description of the Achaemenid ruins themselves.[80] The idea of Jamshid's institution of Nowruz in Persepolis may have derived from Sasanian traditions or from later mediaeval retrospective interpretations of the processions visible on the Apadana, but it was clearly a matter of local

pride – and just the thing to tell visitors. At all periods, the story functioned as an authentic and popular pre-Islamic *aition* for the national celebration of the New Year. But it also, perhaps more importantly, directly connected the celebration of Nowruz to the paying of respects to the king – if a king founded the festival, then the association of each contemporary monarch with it was right and natural. The tale of Jamshid in Istakhr thus functioned as an authoritative touchstone for dynasties in active ritual as much as the actual site represented a static and ancient book in which kings could write their latest entries. One of the earliest proponents of Nowruz in Persepolis, de Bruijn, made a direct reference to the celebrations of ancient kings as an *aition* for current practice.[81]

Conclusions

Persian constructions of the past using the ruins of Takht-i Jamshid or Chilminar can be found to influence relatively recent European ideas of iconographic and spatial interpretation. The possible connection of the European and Iranian identities of the site through narratives of the conquest of Alexander/Iskander (or alternatively through a more diffuse series of correspondences) reveals how parallel traditions could enable contextualization in a historical narrative. Arguably, the differing tenor of European contextualization (the fall of a great empire to the European conqueror) and Iranian (the passing of monarchies in a succession of national eras) kept the parallel narratives from ever entirely merging into a common understanding of the Persian past. But both the European and Persian traditions about Persepolis are united in being memories constructed on a literary tradition drawing its emotional power from stories of long-vanished kings and lost magnificence. Neither was supported by verifiable historical evidence for most of their lifespans.

External circumstances seem likely to have been key in enabling the cross-fertilization of ideas about Persepolis and Persian ancient history. The idea of recognizing Persepolis spread first among merchants and envoys in the latter years of the sixteenth century. The increasing number of complex commercial and diplomatic contacts created a need for mutual comprehension; and so, alongside the business of building vocabularies and trade agreements, common bonds in history and religion were also sought as a means of underpinning a successful alliance. This led to efforts to find occasional parallels between Persian and European historical and cultural frameworks, efforts within which Persepolis represented a significant hook for mutual understanding and esteem. The confluence of Persian and European ideas about Persepolis arguably occurs at other times in the context of periods where interpersonal contact increased and attempts to comprehend Persian

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culture intensified. Different circumstances and motivations led to the revival of the ancient city in different guises: the increased elaboration of visions of the Orient through imperially-motivated language-learning during the eighteenth century flowered into Persepolis' presence as a gothic and romantic setting well into the nineteenth century.[82] Even the construction of a new archaeological picture of the site in the early twentieth century employed language and concepts designed to function in both Persian and European contexts, and took place in a politicized context in which both national and international interests were focused on fighting for the common ground.

This discussion has suggested that there may have been multiple sources behind the imaginative creation of different historical identities for Persepolis. Study of the interaction of historical narratives and archaeological sites reveals a variety of facets in the afterlife of a ruin, and these are worth examining for their own sake both as objects of cultural history and as case studies in the imaginative interpretation of material culture and the invention of the past.

Acknowledgements

Notes

[1] Tuan 1977, 162 f., quoted by Voss 1987 with reference to prehistoric European and North American monuments and their socio-cultural context.

[2] Larsen 1994, 10 contrasts the prominence of Persepolis with the desolation of the older Mesopotamian sites.

[3] Sasanian-period inscriptions appear on the palace of Darius I: Schmidt 1953, 323 and pl. 157. See Wiesehöfer 2001, 223 and Curtis 2005, 251–2, fig. 71, both citing ŠPs-1 (a text of Shapur II from AD 311). See also Mostafavi 1978, 216–17.

[4] As estimated in Sancisi-Weerdenburg 1991 and Sarkhosh Curtis 2005, the identification is located in the first decade of the 17th century. Secure references of *c.* 1615–20 are the result of a complex exchange of ideas in the preceding thirty years discussed later in this chapter.

[5] See Arndt 1984 and *Achaemenid History VII* (Sancisi-Weerdenburg and Drijvers 1991).

⁶ Sancisi-Weerdenburg 1991, 5 suggests this may have been Figueroa's approach, something that set a pattern for many future visitors; by the beginning of the 19th century, Appendix VI to Heeren's *Historical Researches*, a critique of Herder's *Persepolis* (1787), illustrates the continuing struggle to use ancient sources to justify the identification of the Persian capital (1846, 380).

⁷ Mathee 1999 points out that the early modern expansion of European trade (traditionally viewed as the active side of the trading relationship) was enabled in Iran by aggressive expansion of opportunities and contacts by the Safavid dynasty.

⁸ Summary in Sancisi-Weerdenburg 1991, 6–24.

⁹ Darius' text: DPd (Kent 1953, 135–6). Xerxes' text: XPa (Kent 1953, 147–8).

¹⁰ Elamite attestations: see Hallock 1969, 742 (glossary s.v. Parša). Greek usage: *Persai* was used by Ctesias to refer to the homeland, the burial place of Persian kings and perhaps to Persepolis itself (cf. 688 F13[9, 15, 23, 32], 15[47, 48], 36, 45db). It also appears on the so-called Darius Vase (Koch 1992, 218 fig. 160, Moreno 2000, 115 fig. 64), very likely denoting the location of a court scene depicting the enthroned Persian king. Because Greek *Persai* also means 'Persians', there is some ambiguity in the word's reference, just as there is in the use of Old Persian *Parsa*. (But in Ctesias 688 F36 the names *Persai* and Ecbatana are treated as parallel, and the reference of the former must surely be to the Persian city.) It is likely that the name of Susa was similarly converted into *Sousai* in 4th-century Greek.

¹¹ Root 1979, 108 (summarizing points from the Tilias' investigation of the platform).

¹² Most of the cuneiform inscriptions were trilingual, but the Elamite and Babylonian Akkadian segments were even less likely to have been comprehensible in Fars after the conquest of the empire, although use of Akkadian continued among limited circles in Babylonia well into the hellenistic period.

¹³ Diod. 17.71.3. It is conceivable that Aeschylus' use of the adjective *perseptolis* to describe the Persian army (*Persae* 65) is a punning allusion to the name Persepolis.

¹⁴ Goodman 1998, 15 notes that Quintus Curtius Rufus was introduced in translation in the 15th century as a 'demythologized' alternative to *Alexander Romance* current in the mediaeval world.

¹⁵ Curt. 5.6.1–10, 7.1–11; Diod.17.70.1–5, 72.1–6. Arrian's reference to the episode is notoriously brief, 3.18.10–12.

¹⁶ Curt. 5.3.1–5.1; Diod. 17.68.1–5; Arrian 3.17.1–18.9.

¹⁷ Curt. 5.6.1–10; Diod. 17.70. 1–5.

¹⁸ Curt. 5.6.6–9. This part of the account, and later on 5.7.8–9, can be compared to Curtius' Latin models: 'a glowing [account]...though some of the striking details are from Livy, and a part of the conclusion from Virgil's *Aeneid*' (Steele 1919, 153).

¹⁹ Curt. 5.7.1–11, Diod. 17.72.1–6, Plut. *Alex*. 38.1–4.

²⁰ See the commentary on these problems by Curzon 1882, 188: 'I shall prefer myself to accept the rival hypothesis that Clitarchus or Diodorus did not know or confused what they were writing about, transferring to Persepolis the structural features which existed at Ecbatana and in other contemporaneous and neighbouring capitals, and seasoning a nucleus of fact with a magniloquent garniture of fancy.'

²¹ Diod. 17.72.3–7 (tr. C.B. Welles).

²² The Peutinger Table's *Persepoliscon. Mercium Persarum* (*sic*: Miller 1916, 783) is presumably an error for *Persepolis, commercium Persarum*. As Ouseley points out,

Ammianus 23.6.42 accurately lists the city as one of those lying inland. The ancient border between 'Persepolis' and the contiguous town which was to become the later Sasanian capital, Istakhr, is difficult to locate, both archaeologically- and historically-speaking. Herzfeld 1934, 35 treats the two as onomastic halves of an ancient hypothesised title, *Parsa-stachra*, and sees 'Istakhr' as existing immediately after the demise of royal Persepolis in the late 4th century BC.

²³ Ouseley 1821, 418.

²⁴ Robinson 1961, 318 makes a distinction between the city lost to oblivion in Curtius' mind, with the still-existing city projected rather earlier by Strabo and Diodorus, 'Persepolis stood for something other than oblivion in the thinking of Diodorus and Strabo'. He connects this difference, in an argument designed to pin the mysterious Roman author to a particular dated context, to the transformation of the old centre of Persepolis into a history-less ruin, perhaps in contrast to the nearby Istakhr. However, the chronological progression is less clear than even he presents it, and the complete city of Persepolis shimmers and periodically rematerializes on the textual horizon somewhat like a city under the enchantment of an evil magician. However, an incidental reference in *Maccabees* (II Macc. 9, 1–2) to the people of Persepolis resisting Antiochus IV in 165 BC testifies to a community or centre which could be recognized as a continuation of the ancient city. The most prominent post-antique author to foreground Persepolis as a continuing, mercantile city, Christopher Marlowe (*Tamburlaine* Part 1, *passim*), may have been responding to the geographical definitions of Persepolis (Strabo calls it a 'mart of the Persians' on the route from Carmania: 15.727–30), but could arguably also be recasting the duality of the death/afterlife of the city in known sources as a fitting context for his anti-Alexander, the rampaging Scythian shepherd Tamburlaine.

²⁵ Sasanian texts: cf. n. 4. Islamic texts mention Istakhr in the context of both the birth of the Sasanian dynasty (with Ardashir, son of Papak) and its demise, with the last king Yezdegerd being conveyed back to 'Istakhr of Fars and buried...in the sepulchre of the Persian kings' (quoted by Ouseley 1821, II 394).

²⁶ Shahbazi 1977, 201; Wiesehöfer 2001, 223, 226. *Sad setun* appears in Firdowsi's *Shahnamah* with reference to the palace of Jamshid (1.27 ff.).

²⁷ Meisami 1999, 1–3, 10–11.

²⁸ For the early Islamic stages and varied ingredients of Iranian national history, see Wiesehöfer 2001, 223–7.

²⁹ The legendary king Jamshid is connected to the law-giving *Yima* of the Avesta and thus has an association with Ahuramazda, the god so frequently evoked in Achaemenid inscriptions (Curtis 1993, 25–6). Some of his reported achievements have parallels in the civilizing activity of other saviour heroes such as Solomon and Noah, or the quest for knowledge of Alexander/Sekander and Gilgamesh.

³⁰ Summarized in Ouseley 1821, II 396–404. A further feature of Jamshid's association with Istakhr is the legend of an inscribed cup found in the ruins (Boyce 1998, 643; used in Moore's *Lalla Rookh* [1817, 136, citing Richardson as source]); if a rational explanation were needed, one would be tempted to see here the traditional reception of finds of inscribed Achaemenid vessels. On Antiochus as a 'Roman', see below p. 318.

³¹ There is a slightly wider tradition on the burning, theft or translation of books of native wisdom by Alexander, but only floating on the edge of commentaries on apocryphal texts. An Armenian source apparently refers to the translation of Chaldaean books on Alexander's orders (Canfora 1989, 24, 101n.), whereas Augustine (*De Civ.*

Dei 8.5, 27) refers to the burning of information on the human origin of the gods after Alexander had transmitted it in a letter to his mother. (I am grateful to Daniel Hadas for bringing this reference to my attention.) This 4th-century source, and the subsequent occurrence of book-burning as a tool of doctrinal dispute in 5th and 6th century Rome (Judith Herrin, personal communication) suggests a wider political context for post-Sasanian tales of Alexander's burning of books at Istakhr.

[32] Reported also by Ouseley 1821, II 341, 348 and Boyce 1998, citing the 10th century Mas'udi on the neighbouring mountain 'where the imprisoned wind made a noise like thunder, night and day'; Mas'udi's further report of a ruined fire temple there may well relate to the two-hundred-year-old mosque (with pre-Islamic stonework) in mediaeval Istakhr.

[33] Gibbon 1909, 285.

[34] See Wilber 1969, 105 and extended outline and discussion by Meisami 1999, 168–88.

[35] Translated in Le Strange 1912, recently republished by Shahbazi 1999. For context, see Meisami 1998.

[36] This is obviously a more widespread association stretching beyond the Islamic world: see Voss 1987, 81–2 summarizing tales of the similar supernatural genesis of European prehistoric monuments, specifically dwelling on the talents of giants and Merlin.

[37] Curzon 1883, II 156–7: 'A structure so hopelessly ruined is not rendered the less impressive – on the contrary to my thinking, it becomes the more interesting – by reason of the records graven upon it, in many cases with their own hands, by famous voyagers of the past, with whose names and studies the intelligent visitor to Persepolis is likely to be almost as familiar as he is with the titles of Xerxes, and whose forms seem in fancy once more to people the scene which they have revealed and illumined by their writings to thousands of their fellow-countrymen, who may never have had the chance of setting foot on Persian soil themselves.'

[38] cf. n. 3.

[39] Both the architectural sculpture and the clear gateway function of the building would have warded off mediaeval Islamic physical interference, as the ancient apotropaic origins of the guardians tallied with Islamic usage of pre-Islamic building material (*spolia*) in similarly charged, liminal locations (Mariam Rosser-Owen, personal communication).

[40] Mostafavi 1978, 216–30 presents a reasonably comprehensive survey of these literary inscriptions in the appendix to his *Land of Fars*, rendered by the Reverend Sharp in suitably Fitzgerald-esque style in the English edition. Although the official Buyid inscriptions and their evocation of pre-Islamic glory and their relationship to wider Islamic practice are discussed by Blair (1998, 46–7 and 1992) and a wider range of texts and literary themes relating to Solomon by Melikian-Chirvani (1971), these layers of later inscribing activity so far lack a fully illustrated edition and commentary relating them in documentary detail to other inscribed sites and to their literary context (a point also made in 1969 by Donald Wilber).

[41] Most of the poetic inscriptions naming or alluding to past kings date to the 14th and 15th centuries, an interesting concentration bearing in mind the phases of European exploration discussed in this chapter. The accompanying major (arguably central) theme of the longer inscriptions is the transience of human life in contrast to eternal divinity (see Crone and Moreh 2000, 14 f.) and they concentrate in the same period.

[42] Attributed to Abu 'l-Faraj al-Isfahani and largely known through Iranian-sourced

manuscripts, translated by Crone and Moreh 2000. The first extant manuscript dates to the 13th century. The editors quote the report of a 9th-century caliph observing, 'when strangers on journeys and people far removed from their friends and companions enter a well-known place and famous site, it is their habit to leave behind a record of their presence,' (21) and comment, 'we take the *Book of Strangers* to offer a representative sample of what an educated man might impulsively jot down on walls, rocks, or any other surface to hand in the author's time even though many of the specimens must be fictional'. Compare particularly inscriptions 4, 27, 34 and 46 (the latter attributed to the neighbourhood of Istakhr). Blair relates the reality of this practice to the carving of inscriptions along pilgrimage routes into the Arabian peninsula in early Islamic times (1998, 46–7).

⁴³ However the 19th-century inscriptions on the Palace of Darius done to commemo-rate excavation by Farhad Mirza, the governor of Shiraz (Mostafavi 1978, 228–9, inscrip-tions 23 and 24), may have been entering into a dialogue with the foreign inscribers at the site. European responses to Persepolis and to Persian mediaeval poetry were to meet eventually via Orientalist scholarship and literature of the 19th century; the English romance with Persian poetry resulted eventually in Persian tradition about ephemer-ality being brought back to Persepolis in the shape of a monumental painting of the site by Briton Riviere (exhibited 1878) which placed lions and lizards in the ruins and annotated the panorama with the relevant lines from Omar Khayyam: Curtis 2005, 262–3 cat. no. 469.

⁴⁴ Barbaro's account, which mostly utilized Biblical characters to explain the ruins, became available a century later in a manuscript English translation made for Edward VI by William Thomas in 1550–2; it was anthologized in Bizarus' *Rerum Persicarum historia* and later translated with the companion journey of Contarini in a Hakluyt Society edition of 1873. See Sancisi-Weerdenburg 1991, 3–4.

⁴⁵ Most authors say something like 'Chilminar, said to be Persepolis', while Engelbert Kaempfer gives a more comprehensive list: 'palatii Istachr sive Persepolitani...vulgo Tsjehil menaar dicta' (1712, 325).

⁴⁶ I translate 'Jamshid's Seat' rather than the more traditional 'Throne of Jamshid' on the analogy of the same broad title used for landscape features in Britain, e.g. Arthur's or Simon's Seat. As their familiarity with Persian histories grew towards the end of the 18th century, Europeans perhaps became more confident in using a name evoking the most famous of the city's legendary builders. Literary usage of the name Takht-i Jamshid is attested much earlier in Firdowsi's *Shahnamah*: see Wiesehöfer 2001, 226.

⁴⁷ Ouseley 1821, II 228; even by 1865, when the content of accessible texts at Perse-polis was well enough known to identify Darius I as its builder, Ussher pointed to a continuing uncertainty over its ancient name and gave some space to explaining its association with the 'fabulous monarch' Jamshid (1865, 533).

⁴⁸ See Foster 1966 on early English attempts to access trade routes in the East.

⁴⁹ Matthee 1999.

⁵⁰ Hakluyt 1589 eulogized English merchants and particularly those of the Muscovy company in his preface.

⁵¹ Bizarus 1583, 406–7 (*Cilminares*), 412–13 (Persepolis).

⁵² Silva y Figueroa 1620, 7 '...*apud Quintum Curtium, Diodorum, et Plutarchum. Qui nos Auctores situm docent Persepolis, manuque propemodum ad eam ducunt.*'

⁵³ The cultural, and possibly political, context for the promotion of overland trade

with Iran and the prominence of Persepolis was the subject of two papers researched and written with Sarah Knight: 'Why was Tamburlaine in Persepolis?' (British Association of Near Eastern Archaeology Conference, London 2001); and 'Tamburlaine and Persepolis: Anglo-Persian encounters in the 16th century' (British Museum Ancient Near East Colloquium on *Orientalism*, London 2001).

[54] Hakluyt 1589, 419–20. (Reprinted in the expanded three-volume edition of 1598 at I 394–401.)

[55] Ducket BL MSS 48151, b. ff. 170–1, Yelverton MS. 162. The expedition of 1568–73 was a large one with significant investment (which unfortunately did not pay off for its shareholders).

[56] This phase of reports and possible creativity is also summarized in Allen 2005, 169–70 and 197 n. 21.

[57] See Booth 1902, 13–17.

[58] Le Strange 1926, 38–9. This is part of a geographical outline which Beg has clearly mapped onto classical references that his European audience might understand, and which might in fact be largely shaped by books he had read after his departure from Persia – a likelihood reinforced by the fact that he mislocates a river (or is in fact conflating ancient and modern locations completely): 'According to Strabo, Persia is the country lying south of Parthia and Carmania... But Giovanni Botero...justly remarks that Ancient Persia is in fact solely the province which is now known as Fars... The principal metropolitan city and the capital of Fars is Shiraz, which stands on the banks of the river Band-i-Amir. This city was in ancient days called Persepolis, the same that was burned down by Alexander the Great, and its population is today little less than it was then...' Beg was travelling with the Sherley brothers, who made one of the most famous early diplomatic expeditions to Persia: see excerpts in Parker 1999, 61–82.

[59] Quoted in Parker 1999, 122.

[60] This association of the site with Dārā (or even *Dārā 'Kutsjuk'* i.e. Darius the 'Lesser'), the defeated enemy of Iskander, is reported by the scrupulously scholarly Engelbert Kaempfer (1712, 325) as one of the names of the site, along with Chilminar and Istakhr.

[61] Sancisi-Weerdenburg 1991, 5–6.

[62] Meisami 1999, 79.

[63] Elsewhere, the Iranian association of Istakhr with the royal name Ardashir, used at the latest by the Sasanian kings, allowed an easy transition to its Greek form of Artaxerxes *and* to the Biblical Ahasuerus, all named as possible founders by the 18th century.

[64] Goodman 1998, 69–70 describes how an Oxford manuscript of the *Roman d'Alexandre* was bound with the travels of Marco Polo and was regarded as an authoritative and ancient account of the East, particularly India.

[65] Brancaforte 2003, 5 introduces 17th-century travelogues principally within this context of western publication of classically-influenced histories.

[66] A survey of these publications is available in the bibliography of *Achaemenid History* VII and a reasonably complete list of visitors is given by Curzon 1892.

[67] The familiar canon of early modern references, with some variation according to information sourced, appears constantly until the mid-19th century both in scholarly treatises (Grotefend 1846, 325–6, citing the earliest observations of della Valle and Figueroa on the direction of reading the cuneiform inscriptions) and literary works

(Moore's *Lalla Rookh* includes footnoted references to information from Chardin, Fryer and Ouseley: 1817, 86–91).

⁶⁸ Herbert 1634; Morier 1818, 67: '...on meeting one morning a shepherd whose goats were scattered about the ruins, I could not help being struck with the air of superiority which he put on, when he asked me, "Have you any thing like this in your country?" This, indeed, was a very common question put to us by the natives whenever they met us busily employed in examining what had never attracted their attention'. Although separated by three centuries, both were questioning local elites and the rural population on the subject of antiquities as part of their political missions, although Morier's activity, powered as it was by an amplified use of cultural imperialism and a more self-conscious sense of superiority, was more interventionist.

⁶⁹ On his detailed footnotes, see Ouseley 1819, viii.

⁷⁰ Gibbon 1909, 280. Captain Gibbon comments, 'Curious to say, I have not been able to find any reference to the stories of which I write in any modern books of travel in Persia, although one or two such allusions exist in the records of earlier travellers... Some of the stories are so wide-spread, and one hears them so circumstantially told by different men at different times, that one is impressed by the absolute belief of the Persians themselves in what they tell.'

⁷¹ An example of this smudging of sources is provided by the attentive John Ussher, who travelled with a companion 'From London to Persepolis' with the aim of exploring Daghestan and the northern Caucasus 'purely for purposes of pleasure and amusement' (1865, v); Ussher clearly prepared for his visit by visiting the British Museum and reading the chief authorities on the antiquities of Iran and Iraq, whom he cites wherever he gives further explanation of the site and its function (his preferred reference is Ker Porter, but he also mentions Henry Rawlinson, Jean Chardin, Loftus and de Sacy). Nevertheless, on three notable points where a significant folkloric or local input of information is usually noticeable in all authors, Ussher resorts to impersonal anonymity: the festival of Nowruz, 'is thought...', the antiquity of the unfinished tomb and an underground labyrinth are both 'supposed' and 'thought', a vanished tower at Istakhr 'is said to have existed from a period of the most remote antiquity'.

⁷² Porter 1821, contextualised by Ouseley's summary of the most outlandish previous attempts, including Sir William Jones' proposal of 800 BC for the era of Jamshid (1821, II 339–40).

⁷³ Yule 2002, 72. Compare Perlmann 1987, 82 on Ardashir Bahman who, 'with a million soldiers waged war on the invading Romans... Bahman died before the birth of Darius.' The possible vague mirroring of concepts from Persian pre-Islamic history in Odoric's account is just one of several important features that make his report of ruins problematic. 'Comerum' is cited by Sancisi-Weerdenburg (1991, 3) and Wiesehöfer (2001, 229) as the first European description of Persepolis, with an acknowledgment by the former of the uncertainty involved (1991, 3 n. 5); this identification has also been more firmly stated in subsequent surveys (Curtis 2005). The high variation in the spelling of the place-name – Comum, Coprum, Chonio etc. – in the numerous manuscripts injects one note of caution (Comerum is usually interpreted as a version of Kenareh, but could arguably correspond to 'Kuh-e Mehr', an alternative early mediaeval name for the mountain behind Persepolis: Shahbazi 1977, 205–6) and the original suggestion of its identity with Persepolis (in 1891) was unsupported by other evidence. To these problems must be added further uncertainties about the published narrative's context. There is no

certain 'original' text for Odoric's journey; it was probably created by writing down one or more sessions of oral reminiscences, reminiscences which may have been elaborated in various different stages of recollection and reception. The narrative has some parallels with the journeys of Marco Polo, widely circulated only a generation before Odoric's departure (the ultimate destination of both was the court of the Great Khan). Odoric's itinerary has two relatively coherent phases, the first following the caravan route from Trebizond to Yazd, the second telling in detail of coastal cities in South-East Asia. In between is a vaguer movement from the Persian Gulf or Arabian Sea to coastal southern India. The segment mentioning Comerum follows directly from the account of Yazd and, if representing a reconstructable itinerary, may be stretched to indicate that the monk's route doubled back from the edge of the Lut Desert, to follow a diversion towards Khuzistan and into southern Mesopotamia. However, at this crucial point in the account, the only context is, 'passing by many cities and towns'. Where previously stages of the journey were measured by the cities of inland Iran, now the major stages of Isfahan and Shiraz are absent. Hence there is no way of placing Comerum decisively at Persepolis. The description, which mentions 'entire' but uninhabited (or possibly inhabited) palaces, and a fifty-mile wall, could possibly relate to other cities and ruins between central and southern Iran. Although Persepolis is not mentioned as a possible identity, elsewhere ancient identities are mistakenly matched to modern sites: Tabriz is ancient Susis, city of King Ahasuerus (Yule 2002, 68), Tana, near Bombay, was the city of King Porus, and the tower of Babel appears to be placed very close to the Persian Gulf coast. Odoric's 'Comerum' may be a reception of a ruin – with one thread of onomastic evidence connecting it with the Istakhr region – but doubt surrounds its precise location and source narrative.

[74] Beckford 1983, 108–9, with notes at 155. Beckford was significantly influenced by the earlier French *Mogul Tales* (Guellette 1736), which similarly drew on Chardin.

[75] Herbert 1634, 56.

[76] Herzfeld 1929/30, 23, *sad sutun*; 25 and fig. 25, the *serail/birun* and the harem/ *andarun*.

[77] Herzfeld 1929/30, 36 and 37.

[78] Sancisi-Weerdenburg 1991, 175–6.

[79] Sancisi-Weerdenburg 1991, 195–6.

[80] Shahbazi 1999.

[81] De Bruin 1732, 22.

[82] Saglia traces the progress of the transition 'from "pseudo-oriental" eighteenth-century textuality to the more accurate, archaeologically-documented works of Romantic literature, a development parallel to the contemporaneous popularization of the orient in the form of objects, spectacles and narratives' (2002, 75). See also for further context Yohannan 1952.

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14

POTTERING AROUND PERSEPOLIS:
OBSERVATIONS ON EARLY EUROPEAN
VISITORS TO THE SITE

St John Simpson

The gradual European rediscovery of the sites and material culture of the Ancient Near East from the sixteenth century onwards is a familiar story. This paper dwells in particular on the role of some of the British travellers to Persepolis and offers a case study of the interaction between politics, opportunity and antiquarian interest, and the gradual impact of these on public taste.

Influential publications by Pietro Della Valle (1586–1652), Engelbert Kaempfer (1651–1716), Jean Chardin (1643–1713) and Cornelius de Bruijn (1652–1726/7) illustrated not only the state of Persepolis and its exposed sculptured façades, but also the curious 'arrowheaded' writing which gave rise to the terms 'Persepolitan', 'cuneatic' and finally 'cuneiform'. Although copies of the inscriptions were first published by Della Valle, it was the personal objective of Carsten Niebuhr (1733–1815) to produce better copies of the inscriptions and it was he who recognized the existence of a sign list of 42 letters. In the process of copying he almost lost his sight and thus resorted to brushing a dark material onto the inscriptions in order to take a form of wet squeeze. This was described by Rich (1839, 252) who observed that traces are 'still to be seen' on an inscription 'from the portal' of the Palace of Darius. In 2003 remains of this very treatment were observed on a small fragment in the British Museum which had been removed from the site in 1811 by Robert Gordon (1791–1847), given to his brother George Hamilton Gordon (1784–1860), the Fourth Earl of Aberdeen, and subsequently presented to the Museum by his successor in 1861 (cf. Mitchell 2000, 52 = BM ME 118852). After a month, Niebuhr was persuaded to stop his work in order to preserve his failing health. His mentor in Shiraz during this period was an English cloth merchant called Mr Hercules, who made a number of little-known pencil drawings of the site and left his name as a graffito inside the Palace of Darius dated April 1765.

Hercules was one of a large number of European and North American individuals who left their graffitoed names at Persepolis between the mid-seventeenth and twentieth centuries (Simpson 2005). These offer a unique form of visitor survey although they have attracted a wide range of opinions, from Ker Porter's condemnation of them as vandalism (1821, I 587) to Curzon's statement that they formed an interesting record of 'famous voyagers of the past' (1892, II 156–7). These graffiti are concentrated in two spots at the site, Xerxes' Gate of All Nations and the Palace of Darius. This probably reflects the prominent position of the Gate at the top of the processional staircase entrance, and the romantic and partly shaded viewpoint afforded of the Mahidasht plain below the Palace of Darius. It is probably no coincidence that Rich pitched his tent next to the Gate during his stay at the site in August 1821 (Rich 1839, 246–7). At a deeper, even possibly subconscious level, the desire to add inscriptions to a spot already marked with graffiti may have contributed towards the repeated addition of names at these places.

158 names occur on the sides of the Gate of All Nations, 64 on the window frames and inner walls of the Palace of Darius, and 4 repeated in both locations. In some cases individual names are repeated, usually on the same monument, which implies separate visits, although usually only one (presumably the first) is dated. Most of the graffiti belong to diplomats, Residents and political envoys (namely Bruce, De Gobineau, Jones, Macdonald, Malcolm, Manesty, Rich, Stannus) who are usually accompanied by officers of the Indian Army. There are also a few scientists and academics (Belanger, Bornmüller, de Laval, Fraehn, Loftus, Meynard, Romaskevich, Vambéry), travellers and writers (de Backer, de Bruijn, Curzon, Fraser, Wagenvoort), journalists (Stanley), early resident photographers (Pesce, Polak, Sevruguin) and merchants (Hercules). Most were pecked or engraved with varying degrees of care, but all show the calligraphic styles of the day. It may be asked who actually carved the names, as some include corrected spelling mistakes, which suggests that these may have been carved under instructions, perhaps by soldiers, servants or local villagers eager to profit from this early form of tourist industry (cf. Simpson 2005, 18–67, s.vv. Amaralikhan, Colebrooke, Cormick, Fagergren). In addition, some travellers appear to have added or highlighted their names with coloured pigment: Niebuhr comments that he saw de Bruijn's name marked in red crayon, and Morier (1812, 134) comments that 'Niebuhr's name is written in red chalk, and seems to have been done but yesterday'. The loss of these pigments throws a new perspective on discussions over the survival of ancient pigment on the Persepolis sculptures (cf. Ambers and Simpson 2005).

Most of the graffitoed names belong to English, Scots and Irish travellers, although there are a small number of Dutch, French, German, Russian, American and (during the early twentieth century) Indian names, plus a single Hungarian name (Istvan). The earliest dated examples appear in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, i.e. 1638 (von Mandelslo), 1704 (de Backer, de Bruijn), 1765 (Hercules, Moore, Niebuhr), 1767 (Robbins, Skipp, Slupp) and 1787 (Francklin). The dates and names testify to changing foreign commercial interests in Iran and reflect the political situation. From 1623–1708 the Dutch East India Company dominated Gulf trade, largely because of their monopoly over the Far Eastern spice trade. This situation began to change during the mid-eighteenth century with the waning of Dutch power and a growth of interest by the English Muscovy and then East India Company [henceforth EIC], which established the first EIC factory and Residence at Bushehr in 1764, followed by an agreement of almost-exclusive trading rights. The development of the Company's political interests was reinforced by the provision of British naval support to ensure the security of maritime trade with India.

There is a dramatic increase in the number of graffiti throughout the nineteenth century but it peaks between 1800 and 1829 when as many as 89 names are recorded. Many of these belong to British political missions passing through in the years 1804 (6 names), 1809/10 (39 names), 1821 (10 names) and 1826 (15 names). This was a period in which the Government of India was concerned with not only checking Napoleon's oriental ambitions and Zaman Shah's designs on India, but also countering Arab piracy within the Persian Gulf. The graffiti also serve as a sad memorial to the hazards of disease: the names record George A. Malcolm and Charles Darnley Stuart, both of whom served under John Macdonald's command on his delegation to the Shah but who died within a day of each other *en route* to Tabriz, and just over a fortnight after they had visited Persepolis.

The opening decades of the nineteenth century are also important in the present context as they mark a significant phase in the exploration of the site. It was during this period that the first attempts were made at excavation and, in one case, the exposed sculptures were moulded for the purpose of making casts. This minor burst of antiquarian activity reflects academic enquiry fuelled by earlier travellers' reports as well as continuing curiosity over the meaning of the sculpted figures and the accompanying (part deciphered) cuneiform inscriptions. It was also enabled by the greater time and resources available particularly to Residents and diplomatic missions held up at Shiraz. Many of these individuals added sculptural fragments to their personal collections, some of which still continue to trickle through the auction rooms (e.g. Christie's 2003, 132, lot 244). It is no coincidence that

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most of this work was carried out by men in the service of the British government in India and the number of these early collectors is certainly greater than is reflected in recent studies. A good illustration of this is provided by Captain Moritz von Kotzebue (1789–1861), who accompanied a Russian mission to the Qajar Court in 1817 headed by the newly-appointed Russian Commander-in-Chief of the Caucasus, Lieutenant-General Aleksei Petrovich Ermolov (1772–1861). *En route* to Sultaniyeh they met two English officers, Lieutenant-Colonel John Johnson and Captain Salter, who described how:

> English who wish to proceed overland to England from the East Indies, come by sea into the Persian Gulf...land at Bendarabas...proceed to Shiraz...and take pleasure in visiting the ruins of Persepolis... Colonel Johnson had brought with him several coins from Persepolis, where they are dug out of the ground without difficulty; and he also showed us some broken pieces of bas reliefs, having inscriptions on them, which nobody can read... Besides several coins, Colonel Johnson sent to the Ambassador a piece which had been broken off the wing of a sphinx.   von Kotzebue 1819, 201–2

In the spring of 1821 a confrontation with the Ottoman governor obliged the EIC Resident in Baghdad, Claudius Rich (1786–1821), to close the Residency. It was Rich who had hosted Ker Porter in that city, and gained academic respect for being the first person to identify correctly the site of Babylon. Rich was offered a consolatory promotion of Member of Council in the Bombay Government but, as his wife continued on to Bombay, he opted to make a detour to Persepolis. He arrived at the site on 22 August and pitched his tent close to the Gate of All Nations, where he added his name as a graffito. He spent several days here, wandering over the ruins in the moonlight, hiring three workmen to 'clear out the south face of the platform [of the Palace of Darius]...as there are three inscriptions on it, and a row of figures very perfectly preserved, from their having been under the rubbish' (Rich 1839, 248–9). These were still visible in June 1826 as one James Alexander (1803–85) described them as 'representing nine men with high caps, curled hair, and armed with spears, bows and arrows, marching from one side towards a tablet of arrow-headed characters, and nine similar figures advancing from the opposite side to the same tablet', although he misattributed their clearance to Stannus (Alexander 1827, 140). The precise area excavated by Rich can be judged by comparing this description with the illustrations published by Flandin and Coste (1843/54, III pl. 115). Rich also copied all but one of the visible Old Persian inscriptions, for which he commended the use of 'Grotefend's system' of tabulation of signs for 'any one who may wish to attempt the task of decyphering them', but he condemned the destruction of exposed sculptures 'by the passion for possessing curiosities' (Rich 1836, II 222).

Three years previously, Sir Robert Ker Porter (1777–1842), the wealthy and celebrated Scottish painter and artist to the Russian court, reached Persepolis. His intention was to make more accurate drawings of the sculptures themselves which in his view had not attracted the quality of recording previously afforded to the inscriptions. Over 18 days he also copied most of the visible inscriptions, drew the Sasanian reliefs at the nearby sites of Naqsh-e Rustam and Naqsh-e Rajab, and was the first to identify correctly the tomb of Cyrus at Pasargadae. At Persepolis he commented somewhat sarcastically that:

> it is much to be lamented that none of the British ambassadors, all of whom have passed through these ruins (at least, so their names on the walls would testify), did not set their numerous followers to work, to clear away some large portions of the collected matter, which buries so many valuable documents of antiquity.   Ker Porter 1821, I 587

Unsurprisingly, he chose not to add his own name as a graffito but he had overlooked the fact that several of the earlier travellers had indeed cleared a significant portion of the sculptures. This explains a feature of Ker Porter's published drawings of the north stairway of the Apadana whereby the uppermost portion was missing, the middle register appears to be weathered and the faces defaced in antiquity, and the corresponding figures in the lowermost register of the east wing are shown to be considerably better preserved (cf. also Flandin and Coste 1843/54, III pl. 104–108). The lower portions of the figures in this register were indicated as still buried and were only excavated in the 1930s when Schmidt (1953, 70) refers to 'the removal of a strip of unsightly debris along the northern front of the Apadana' (compare Herzfeld 1929/30, fig. 16). Closer visual examination of this stretch of façade confirms that there are three distinct zones of weathering. The uppermost corresponds to the weathered section of Ker Porter's illustrations. Below this there is a central and less weathered portion, and along the bottom a paler unweathered section corresponds to the strip cleared by Schmidt. The uppermost section was never buried and its erosion reflects the passage of some two and a half millennia, whereas the central zone was first exposed during excavations carried out in April/May and July 1811 by Sir Gore Ouseley's (1770–1844) mission to the Court of Persia, and continued in July the same year by his Attaché, Robert Gordon (Curtis 1998). James Morier (*c*. 1780–1849) specifically describes this process:

> Both Le Bruyn and Chardin have only given one line of figures on the left of the staircase; but as it was evident that in order to complete the symmetry there must have been the same number on the left as there are on the right, I hired some labourers from the surrounding villages, and made them dig. To my great delight, a second row of figures, highly preserved, were discovered, the details of

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whose faces, hair, dresses, arms, and general character, seemed but as the work of
yesterday. The faces of all the figures to the right of the staircase are mutilated.

Morier 1818, 75–6

It is therefore within this horizon that Morier, Gordon and the Ouseley
brothers found the fragmentary slabs collapsed from the uppermost register,
which was the most vulnerable of the three as it had been constructed as
a free-standing parapet. Further fragments from this section were found
during Schmidt's excavations, together with glazed bricks deriving from the
north-east tower of the Apadana. These suggest that it was the collapse of
the high mudbrick structure behind it which had brought down the parapet
and thus created the local stratigraphy (cf. Schmidt 1953, 70–1, fig. 22).
This further implies that the defacement of the faces of the human figures
– a feature also found on the exposed upper portions of sculptures in the
doorways in the Hall of a Hundred Columns, and throughout the Palaces
of Darius and Xerxes – post-dates the collapse and melt of these mudbrick
walls. Rather than being due to Alexander's soldiers during the sack of
Persepolis, they must therefore represent the work of later iconoclasts (*pace*
Ali-Sami 1970, 52; Wilber 1969, 19, 53).

Excavations were enthusiastically re-started in 1826 by Colonel John
Macdonald [Kinneir] (1782–1830), then British East India Company
Envoy Extraordinary to the Shah, whose delegation had marked its visit with
two graffitoed inscriptions (Simpson 2005). On 29 June, James Alexander
(a junior officer of Macdonald's who was later to become famous for bringing
Cleopatra's Needle to London) described the excavations thus:

> Colonel Macdonald employed people in clearing away the earth from a stair-
> case, and made the interesting discovery of a chimerical figure representing
> a lion or dragon winged, with a human head, resting one of its paws on a lotus-
> flower, supported by a stem like that of the date-tree. No similar figure had ever
> previously been discovered at Persepolis.   Alexander 1827, 140

This figure belongs to a category of apotropaic Achaemenid male sphinxes,
familiar from the minor arts, which at Persepolis occur in antithetical
pairs in the upper central panel on the processional stairways of four
buildings, namely the Palaces of Darius and Xerxes, the Apadana and the
so-called 'Central Building'. At the time of Macdonald's excavations these
stairways were either completely buried or were in a highly fragmentary
condition because they were constructed from joining slabs. Flandin and
Coste (1843/54, III pl. 115, 120, 132, 134–7) show the right-facing slabs
on the west stairways of both the Palaces of Darius and Xerxes, and the
south stairway of the Palace of Darius, as missing. However, despite Alex-
ander's description, these cannot be the findspots as these sections were

constructed with the junction of two slabs running across the lower body of these sphinxes. The newly uncovered sphinx must therefore derive from another location. This appears to have been the upper central portion of the southern stairway of Palace G, which was constructed between the Apadana and Palaces of Darius and Xerxes by Artaxerxes III (r. 358–338 BC). Part of this had later been transferred to replace the original north stairway of Palace H previously constructed by Artaxerxes I (r. 464–424 BC), and has since been restored (albeit partly incorrectly), but other dislocated slabs were found close to the western stairway of the Palace of Xerxes during the nineteenth century and in later excavations (cf. Stolze 1882, I pl. 19–20, 29; also Flandin and Coste 1843/54, III pl. 129). It is therefore in this area of the site that the slab may have been found; the fact that this sculpture had not previously been exposed helps to explain its relatively crisp present appearance. It was subsequently removed from the site in 1828 by Sir John McNeill (1795–1883), a member of Macdonald's party who had stayed on as physician to the Shah, and was finally acquired by the British Museum in December 1937 (Simpson, 2007, 157–9).

Alexander's account (1827) also refers to another little-known early excavator at the site. This was Lieutenant-Colonel Ephraim Gerrish Stannus (1784–1850), 'a splendid-looking man with a tall soldier-like presence' according to one biographer (Vibart 1894, 107). He distinguished himself in the Kattywar and Mahratta campaigns in India, was posted to Bushehr in 1824–26 as the official British Resident to the Gulf, but retired on grounds of ill health and spent the final sixteen years of his life governing the East India Company military training college at Addiscombe near Croydon (Simpson 2000; 2007, 159). According to Alexander (1827, 137), in 1825 he 'disinterred a number of sculptured stones, capitals of columns, etc.' but these were re-buried a few days later by superstitious villagers who attributed a blight of locusts to their discovery. The location of these excavations is uncertain but they may have been either in front of the north staircase of the Apadana where Schmidt later found collapsed remains of the portico (Schmidt 1953, 70–1), in the Hall of a Hundred Columns where Stannus moulded five details from one of the Southern Doorways, or along the façades of the palaces of Darius, Xerxes and Palace H (where Rich and Macdonald had worked). In this last area narrow trenches left by these excavators were still visible between 1874 and 1880 when Andreas and Stolze visited the site and photographed the exposed remains. From these it can be seen clearly that the intervening area between these last three buildings was then still infilled to the level of the southern terrace of the Palace of Darius (Stolze 1882, I pl. 19–23, 26–7, 29, 40). The depth of deposit here is further highlighted by a description published by Lieutenant-Colonel John Johnson

(1818, 72–3), who also mentions how fragmentary columns were strewn across the Apadana:

> some covered, and others partly exposed. There is a considerable accumulation of earth which prevents the sculpture from being well seen... [whereas] beyond these rooms [belonging to the Palace of Darius], still farther south, is an open space, on three sides of which there were formerly buildings, the vacant side being to the westward. This space is now filled up to the height of more than eight feet with earth and stone, fragments of pottery, and others consisting of a mixture of lime and pebble. The basement of the three sides is covered with figures in alto-relievo, of which only the heads and shoulders are now visible... the figures on the basement of that south face [the reconstructed north façade of Palace H] are of larger proportions; they are however covered up as high as the breast with earth and debris.

It is unfortunate that we know so little about the nature of this deep stratigraphy given the architectural evidence for late or post-Achaemenid activity on either side in the area of Palace H and the Palace of Darius, and the enclosure of this courtyard at a similar late period (cf. Schmidt 1953, 279, figs. 121–2). Indeed, there are no published sections through any of the deposits at the site, and the only detailed plan showing the scatter of debris at the destruction level was published by Ann Tilia (1972, 244, fig. 1).

Stannus graffitoed his name in the interior of the main east doorway and a window on the south side of the Palace of Darius, yet has been forgotten in the research on the site. His mixed fortunes in excavation were more than offset by his innovative use of moulds, which were the first attempt to make a permanent record other than by directly removing or attempting to copy through drawings. In so doing, Stannus made

> several long shallow boxes of wood, in which he put quick lime, applied them to the sculptures, and allowed them to remain till thoroughly dry. The case was then taken off and sent to Bushire, containing the impression, from which the cast was again taken in lime. These, of course, are very valuable, as nothing can be more accurate. Processions were the subjects of these casts.
>
> Alexander 1827, 97–8

Most of these were taken from the east wing of the north stairway of the Apadana (including four half-figures and eight portrait-style heads) or the stairways of the Palace of Darius. Details were also taken of inscriptions in the latter palace and figures in the Hall of a Hundred Columns. The relative positions of those moulded portions indicates that in almost all instances the moulds were made of sections at ground or staircase level, either totally cleared (for instance the Lydian chariot and grooms of Delegation VI along the bottom register on the west wing of the north stairway of the Apadana), still partially buried (as with the corresponding east wing), or actually

dislodged (as in the case of fragments from the southern doorway of the Hall of a Hundred Columns). The casts were shipped to India following Stannus' departure from Bushehr in 1826. The governor of Bombay at this point was Mountstuart Elphinstone (1779–1859), but Elphinstone resigned the following November and in preparation for his long overland journey back to England he presented the casts to the British Museum. Edward Hawkins (1780–1867), numismatist and Keeper of the Department of Antiquities in the British Museum, underlined their importance to the Museum's Trustees with the comment that,

> Some time after Lt. Col. Stannus' last visit to Persepolis, a traveller arrived there, who in attempting to remove the sculptures, so mutilated several of them, that no perfect casts or representations can again be taken.
>
> *Letters on Antiquities*, no. 100

The sculptures and inscriptions moulded by Stannus mostly survive *in situ*, although in some cases they represent a record of sculptures either removed or defaced subsequently. For instance, the Delegation XIX spearman carrying a reed shield originally from the upper portion of the west wing on the north stairway of the Apadana was already missing by Flandin's and Coste's visit in 1841 and was only presented to the Vorderasiatisches Museum in Berlin in 1899 by one James Simon, who had previously acquired it in Paris from the dealer Mihnan Sivadian (VA 2987 = Sarre 1923, pl. 29; Wartke 1992, 241–2, no. 188). The present whereabouts of the corresponding horse from the same section are unknown. The damage referred to by Hawkins is illustrated by the appearance of the bearded Lydian in Delegation VI on the same wing which had been disfigured by 1841 at the latest (Flandin and Coste 1843/54, II pl. 91, 110).

Stannus' casts are exceptional as they provide the first use of this technique in the field and were considered at the time to be so important that they were placed on prominent display in the British Museum along with ten of the original sculptures presented by the Fourth Earl of Aberdeen in 1817/18 and Sir Gore Ouseley (1770–1844) in 1825. These represented the only Achaemenid art displayed in a museum and took pride of place in the heart of the sculpture galleries near a case then containing the finds of Claudius Rich (1787–1821) from Babylon and Nineveh. They were re-displayed in 1865 on the west wall of the Assyrian Transept, when they were deliberately coloured brown by the leading *formatore* Brucciani, who owned an important cast gallery nearby and who was entrusted to mould Museum sculptures for commercial purposes (*Report to Trustees*, 14 January 1865; *Minutes of the Standing Committee of Trustees*, no. 795, 10 June 1865). The Stannus casts remained in this spot until 1937/38 when the sculptures were relocated into a new Iranian upper gallery display and the casts relegated to

storage 'in accordance with the [new] Trustees' policy' (*Report to Trustees*, 27 September 1937).

Over the course of the nineteenth century, the following key moments at Persepolis included: the first measured elevations and detailed plans by Flandin and Coste who spent some two months there in 1841, and three years later the moulding of 27 reliefs and 4 inscriptions by M. Pierre-Victorien Lottin [also known as Lottin de Laval] (1810–1903). De Laval used a different technique which he christened 'lottinoplastique' and his casts survive in the Musée de Berny and Musée du Louvre (Chevalier 1997, 27, 33, 193, figs. 11, 18, nos. 8–9).

The 1860s, 1870s and 1880s were marked by a dramatic revival of foreign interest in Persia. This period also saw a growth of both official and popular Iranian interest in the country's own antiquities – with the first commercial excavations at sites in northern and western Iran and the earliest photographs of Persepolis and other monuments being commissioned by Nasir ud-Din Shah (1848–96) – and the beginning of a new phase in Qajar art, in which elements of Achaemenid and Sasanian iconography were adopted by local arts and crafts, and reappear on carpets, glazed tiles, pottery, carved softstone and metalwork (e.g. Loukonine and Ivanov 2003, 239, 245, cat. nos. 281–2, 288). These developments were partly triggered by the development of commerce and industry within the country. The curiosity of the European public was also whetted by the display at the International Exhibition in London in 1862 of the first calotype photographs of Persepolis taken by the Neapolitan emigré colonel Luigi Pesce (who left a dated graffito in the Palace of Darius four years previously), and the first Exhibition of Persian Art at the South Kensington Museum (now V&A) in 1876. This was followed by other exhibitions in Paris (1878, 1893) and the Burlington Fine Arts Club (1885). These helped stoke the new fashion for Islamic tiles, glass, metalwork and carpets, whereas the French discoveries from 1884 onwards of further Achaemenid sculptures, Elamite metalwork and prehistoric painted pottery at Susa revolutionized the appreciation of Iran's earlier history. In 1877, Mo'tamed ad-Dawla Farhad Mirza, the Governor of Fars, is said to have employed some six hundred workmen to clear most of the interior of the Hall of a Hundred Columns at Persepolis (Wilber 1969, 107). According to Cecil Smith, the same individual was responsible for the partial clearance of the summit of the citadel of the Sasanian-Early Islamic town site of Qasr-i Abu Nasr. This site was then known as Takht-i Madar-i Sulayman ['throne of the mother of Solomon'] and was a popular spot for early travellers as it was close to Shiraz and was crowned by some reused Achaemenid sculptures probably taken from Persepolis by a tenth-century Buyid ruler (Hauser 1933, 39–42; Whitcomb 1985, 32–41). However, according to Smith, he 'found nothing' (*Report to Trustees*, 1887–8,

124). The aftermath of the Governor's activities at Persepolis was recorded shortly afterwards by Friedrich Carl Andreas (1846–1930) and Franz Stolze (1836–1910). Like their predecessors Flandin and Coste, Andreas and Stolze also excavated within the Palace of Darius and produced an important set of photographs of the site (Stolze 1882; cf. Dieulafoy 1884, II pl. viii–ix; Herzfeld 1941, pl. xlvii (top); Schmidt 1953, 222). Andreas' earlier discoveries of Elamite inscriptions at Bushehr had also attracted the attention of the British Museum Assyriologist Wallis Budge (1857–1936), who visited Bushehr in 1888 and returned with some of Andreas' finds (Simpson, 2007, 155). A year earlier, Cecil Harcourt Smith (1859–1944), a classical curator in the Department of Antiquities at the British Museum, had made a separate reconnaissance trip for the purpose of 'examining some likely fields for archaeological research in Southern Persia' (*Reports to Trustees* 1887–8, 119–31). Excavations were deemed politically impracticable, but Smith recommended that a more complete set of casts should be commissioned as 'the few fragments and casts in the B.M. are almost the only specimens of ancient Persian art in Europe, except the Susa remains in the Louvre. Every year those at Persepolis are being more and more destroyed, and for a small outlay the whole might be for all time preserved in plaster and represented in all the museums of Europe' (*Reports to Trustees* 1887–8, 127).

The ensuing expedition was privately funded and directed by Herbert Weld [Blundell] (1852–1935). It left England in November 1891, arriving in Shiraz the following January. Plaster piece and *papier maché* moulds were made at Persepolis by the *formatore* Lorenzo Giuntini (*c.* 1844–1920) and one of his sons. Giuntini had previously worked for Brucciani and moulded Mayan sculptures as part of the expedition of Alfred Maudslay (1850–1931) to Copán and Quirigua, and he was thus ideally suited to this new challenge. At Persepolis they moulded processional scenes along the west wing and central portion of the north façade of the Apadana, parts of the southern and western façades of the Palace of Darius, combat scenes inside doorways of the Palace of Darius and the 'Harem', an inscription of Artaxerxes III from the staircase on the west façade of the Palace of Darius, an isolated column base in the Treasury, a lion on the rock-cut tomb façade of Artaxerxes III, one complete side of one of the southern doorways into the Hall of a Hundred Columns, and the winged figure in Gate R at Pasargadae (Simpson, 2007, 160–1). After returning to England, Giuntini's moulds were used to make several individual casts which were sold to defray costs. The buyers included the Musée du Louvre, the Vorderasiatisches Museum and the Metropolitan Museum, but only two complete sets appear to have been made and the moulds were deliberately destroyed soon afterwards to ensure that they remained a limited edition. One set was presented by Lord

Savile to Nottingham Museum and Art Gallery (but later transferred back to the British Museum). The second set was presented to the British Museum in July 1893 'with the view of supplying adequate means of comparison of the Persepolis sculptures with the Assyrian slabs exhibited in the British Museum' (*Trustees Minutes*, 29 July 1893, no. 2798). However, shortage of adequate space and the Trustees' concern over showing casts rather than originals prevented them from being placed on permanent display (a fate which ironically also befell the Maudslay casts). Nevertheless, following the popularity of the 'blockbuster' exhibition on Persian Art held at Burlington House in January–February 1931, a temporary display of these casts was opened on 26 May 1931 in the former Assyrian Basement of the British Museum (Simpson, 2007, 161–2).

The graffiti left at the site testify to the number of visitors to Persepolis, many of whom left their own published accounts, not all of which have entered the bibliographies on the site (Simpson 2005). Many of these visitors were simply the equivalent of modern picnicking tourists and some were considered vandals even according to the ethics of the early nineteenth century. Nevertheless, an important distinction should be made between those individuals who excavated in order to expose sculptures and inscriptions, some of whom also removed fallen fragments, and those who either personally chipped or encouraged others to remove fragments which were *in situ*. This distinction was already being drawn within the nineteenth century as debate raged over the ethics of removing sculptures from sites outside Greece, and the early moulding and casting of sculptures at Persepolis provide another interesting response. These casts also offer a useful timeline for measuring and dating episodes of excavation and the extent of weathering and erosion of the exposed sculptures at the site. The prominent early display of casts and sculptures in the British Museum has helped sustain Western fascination in ancient Persia, a fact underlined by their latest re-display in 2007.

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