

UNIVERSITÀ DEGLI STUDI DI TRENTO  
Dipartimento di Lettere e Filosofia

QUADERNI 18

# Anatolian Interactions

Criss-Cross Contacts and Cultural Dynamics  
in the First Millennium BCE

*edited by Emanuele Pulvirenti*



Trento 2024

# Q

1<sup>st</sup> millennium Anatolia stores an array of material remains, in the form of artefacts, landmarks, structures and their imageries, standing as evidence of decades of cultural interactions between local peoples and the great powers contending the region. How, when and where were such interactions taking place? These questions have traditionally been answered with the cultural and political *impact* of a major historical actor on the locals. Is it possible, though, to deconstruct the ethnic pre-eminence of some groups over others, and empower Anatolian identity through an understanding of its active reception and appropriation of external stimuli?

This volume tries to investigate this subject, without aiming at an exhaustive treatment. The studies here featured explore a variety of intercultural dynamics across diverse Anatolian historical contexts and communities, by combining different methodological approaches on the ancient evidence: physical monuments, as well as textual monuments and written records, are discussed to determine whether the role played by local kingdoms, single actors, minor groups or imperial dominators can be seen as concurrent in articulating cultural developments in Anatolia.

The result invites to further investigate cultural phenomena of Achaemenid Anatolia, to recover Anatolian agency and to advance the project of writing properly Anatolian history.

# Quaderni

18

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EMANUELE PULVIRENTI

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This volume benefitted from the enriching background of the LabSA at the University of Trento. It has also been a son of Covid time. It started with the preparation of a workshop in late 2019, which, during the pandemic, suffered some important delays that prevented eminent scholars, who initially had endorsed it, from participating. Having returned to a ‘not emergency’ situation, we no longer had the conditions to host it in presence: we had no choice but to meet online and the fact that we could not meet in Trento of course affected us all. That is why I have been profoundly moved by the dedication of all those who have contributed since the very beginning and/or have been picked up along the way; by the commitment of all those who were online in the middle of the night due to their time zone, or from their private homes instead of their office in order to be able to participate in the 2-days workshop in December 2022. Some words of thanks should be addressed also to all the people who let this happen, behind the corners of our cameras: I myself could not have chaired the workshop without the invisible help of my partner and proof-reader Giorgia Falceri. A word of thanks is also due to Catherine Draycott, Güzin Eren and Anja Slawisch, who participated in the workshop as speakers, but unfortunately could not take part in the edited volume. Last, but surely not least, I owe my personal thanks and gratitude to Professor Maurizio Giangliulo,

whose unvaried support and unshakable confidence into my ability of fulfilling this project have been inspiring.

All these people who were connected in a virtual context, beyond any precise geographical location, during the workshop, felt as though they could even have been in Anatolia, and surely they moved around Anatolian space and time those two days... On a more intimate note, I would then say that the greatest *Anatolian Interaction* has been the one that brought them together and eventually resulted in publishing this humble, but hopefully very telling, book.

# ANATOLIAN INTERACTIONS



EMANUELE PULVIRENTI

INTRODUCTION

In 1993, Stephen Mitchell lamented that Anatolia's history had mainly been studied by focusing on the powers under whose control it lay (Persia, Rome, Constantinople), at the point of being *indistinct* and *ill articulated*. Even though by *Anatolia* he mainly meant the interior of Anatolia, his assumptions can also be implied for the coastal areas. By studying Anatolia beyond its conquerors and their capitals, Mitchell provocatively meant to show that it was possible to restore the region's historical identity, somehow independently from contingent powers.<sup>1</sup>

The results accomplished by Mitchell for late Hellenistic and Roman Anatolia are not as easily repeatable for other time periods, namely the first half of the 1<sup>st</sup> millennium. In fact, one might legitimately wonder whether the history of culture contacts in Anatolia can be written by interpreting the cultural dynamics at stake without giving pre-eminence to one actor over the others, no matter how important their involvement.

Despite some isolated attempts in the past to conceive western Anatolia as a *halfway zone* and a *buffer zone*,<sup>2</sup> and despite some more collective attempts to tone down previous hellenocentric bias, cross-cultural contacts in Anatolia have recently been studied

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<sup>1</sup> Mitchell 1993.

<sup>2</sup> Asheri 1983 (*fascia intermedia*), Balcer 1985.

almost exclusively under the filter of the Achaemenid rule, and its imprint on local cultures and the peripheries of its empire.<sup>3</sup> Of course, there would be no point in denying that both Hellenic and Achaemenid perspectives (also Lydian, in a different phase) were part of the Anatolian experience: cultural interactions did occur also against the background of these actors' political and cultural activities. It is also undeniable that Achaemenid materials still occupy a prominent position: nor one could expect differently. However, even those approaches that are (quite opportunely) striving to focus on the mutual relation between communities, like Dusinberre's authority-autonomy model,<sup>4</sup> risk to remain asymmetrically centred upon those who held authority and gave autonomy: in other words, upon the Achaemenids again.

Clearly, bringing back the spotlight of the historians to the Achaemenid Empire has been a necessary and legitimate overturning: having much suffered a hellenocentric bias for centuries, the risks of relegating the Achaemenid Empire again to neglect had to be avoided.<sup>5</sup> Yet, nowadays we do know a lot more of Anatolia and we might be able to engage its history through new lenses. For sure, an effort to avoid the two extremities can be made, in a way that allows us to study cultural interactions without taking a specific actor as a sort of 'measurement device' of history. The emphasis cannot be only oriented to the Greek perceptions, nor it can be oriented only to the Persian *impact* on local population and cultures. Of course, the same goes – *mutatis mutandis* –, for the Lydian imperial attitude toward locals and its Near Eastern

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<sup>3</sup> The *Achaemenid History Workshop* crucial revolution specifically contributed to consider the relationship between the Persians and the local communities in Anatolia under less hellenocentric angles, but eventually led to study cross-cultural contacts in Anatolia almost exclusively under the filter of the Achaemenid rule and its *impact* on local cultures (some examples: Casabonne 2000, Bakır - Sancisi-Weerdenburg 2001, Delemen - Casabonne 2007, Ivantchik - Licheli 2007, Briant - Chauveau 2009).

<sup>4</sup> Dusinberre 2013.

<sup>5</sup> Casabonne 2007, 3-4.

neighbours. The historian's difficult job is to bluntly ask whether the Anatolian populations and cultures, both the dynasts and ordinary folks, can be seen as reflecting their own voices even within the conquest dimension. This needs to be done and can be done without bypassing former acquisitions and with absolutely no need to drastically reject what has been accomplished so far: on the contrary.

There are, in the Anatolian region, countless material remains, in the form of artefacts, landmarks, structures and their imageries that stand as indirect and mediated evidence of decades of cultural interaction outcomes. Sarcophagi, rupestrian tombs and chambers, tumuli, seals, coins (to name but a few examples) are, each in its own way, local testimonies of the same competence: to interact simultaneously with different interlocutors by performing multilayered sets of personal or collective identities. How were these outcomes reached? In which times and in which areas were such interactions taking place? These questions have traditionally been answered with the intervention of a major historical actor that pushed from behind the local performers with its cultural and political heritage. Even though such involvement cannot be underestimated nor dismissed, it is also true that the intercultural dynamics that evidence testifies can also be addressed by calling into account not only a foreign *impact*, but also local agencies.<sup>6</sup>

The issue is clearly a multi-dimensional one, involving a number of variables, and requiring a long perspective. The contributors to this book have focused their attention on diverse historical contexts and communities involved both diachronically and trans-regionally, by not only deconstructing the ethnic pre-eminence of some groups over others, but also keeping in mind the merits of

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<sup>6</sup> The concept of cultural 'impact' has been far more operating among scholars than the one of 'interaction', but it would appear that this approach is increasingly diminishing its verve and a more nuanced one is rising (cf. n. 7 of this *Introduction*).

recent approaches as well as the results of recent works.<sup>7</sup> Among all the perspective involved, the lesson of anthropological and archaeological studies in culture contacts has been lucidly kept in mind.<sup>8</sup> They invite us to consider (i) contact zones – such as open contact zones, intense contact zones or middle ground –, (ii) the equilibrium amongst the parts and (iii) the condition of hierarchical or heterarchical domination as crucial elements of any analysis on cultural contact. Beside the need to study change across time and space, or the transmission of cultural elements and materials between groups, they have also taught us to study conflict and violence, as circumstances that do not inhibit cultural transfer or permeability. This cannot but suggest that the role played by local kingdoms, single actors, minor groups or imperial dominators should be seen as concurrent in articulating cultural developments in Anatolia. We believe that the concept of *interaction* might successfully include all these nuances.

The question this book wants to address is simple: is it possible to interface material culture, architecture, numismatics, archaeology, art history, religion, philology, linguistics, history, literature to this task? How were the local responses actively affected by other cultural stimuli and vice versa? An answer is not as easy to find. Any approximation to the answers we are looking for has to start from the discussion of the very conceptual tools one traditionally refers to in the study of culture contacts.

MARGARET C. MILLER, in her contribution, offers a preliminary and wide ranging overview of the most representative material remains and socio-cultural practices attesting intercultural phenomena in Anatolia. This paper, while introductory, is crucial to allow further insights. Miller first observes changes

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<sup>7</sup> Collins *et al.* 2008 (introducing the idea of an Aegean-Anatolian interconnectivity in a ‘contested periphery’); Steadman - McMahon 2011; Summerer *et al.* 2011; Bru - Labarre 2014; Ivantchik *et al.* 2016; Payne *et al.* 2021; Dahlén 2020.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Cusick 1998, Ulf 2009.



in the language used to describe culture contacts over time. The attempt to critically approach the culture contacts discourse has been an ongoing process since the *Memorandum for the Study of Acculturation*.<sup>9</sup> One of the last additions to the discussion clarifies that the term *influence* is too passive a concept. Rather, one could overturn the perspective and talk instead of *active reception*, which gives back some agency to the locals, in the mutual form of intercultural exchanges. Miller examines the evidence of artefacts, architecture and imagery. One of the most significant phenomena observable is the extent to which elite burials constructed in their epichoric traditions from early in the Persian period are adorned with Persianizing iconography or are supplied with prestige goods of Persian type. The biggest challenge here is the question of agency: the prominent examples of Persian ideas in local contexts can be variably interpreted. Surely, the evidence suggests strategic incorporation of foreign elements within a local idiom: yet, Miller maintains that never do the new ideas replace or displace the local cultural tradition; they rather supplement.

LÂTIFE SUMMERER and EMANUELE PULVIRENTI both discuss how local tradition burials, in different regions, such as Troad, Mysia, Phrygia and Lycia, while incorporating Achaemenid inspired artefacts or motives, consciously selected which traits to conserve, which ones to pull together with those of Greek and Aegean flavour, and, most importantly, where and when to shift them towards a more Anatolian expression. This can be observed in the visual representation of certain myths, combat scenes or banquet scenes, as well as in the war and peace dichotomy, by which the locals actively conveyed their conceptions.

LÂTIFE SUMMERER establishes 13 monuments with the representation of Persian military victory while not entering into the debate whether this iconography was shaped at the Achaemenid court or in the westernmost edge of the empire by local rulers. She reconsiders the interpretation of funerary war imagery on

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<sup>9</sup> Redfield *et al.* 1936.

the base of well-known and newly discovered or rediscovered examples from the 5<sup>th</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> century BCE. Comparisons of warfare images from different monuments (including wall paintings, architectural reliefs, stelae and sarcophagi) provide insights about overlapping and diverging motifs and about their possible interdependence. Surely, the Achaemenid conquest introduced new standards into the material culture continuum and that has happened remarkably quickly after the Persians conquest of Anatolia. It emerges clearly that the visual formula of Persian military victory was a recurrent motif, incorporated into the funerary image programme in Achaemenid Anatolia. It remains difficult, though, to define which role different cultural actors played in this transmission: new discoveries and further research are surely needed, but until then one can only state that the imagery of conflict is typically accompanied by the imagery of peaceful leisure consumption and social interaction. Not differently, any attempt to identify the tomb owners based on an hypothetical derivation of such imagery from historical battles in which they participated is nothing but guesswork: monuments bearing historical significance and meant to be publicly read by successive generations (as the Behistun one) are not so frequent, and there is no certainty that private graves wanted to bear historical information, rather than an ideological message, a visual representation «of an imagined ideal life with abundant consume goods and defeated enemies». Summerer argues for depersonalisation and generic character of the protagonists and of the battles, thus remarkably reinforcing the idea that a stereotyped pictorial programme was a part of a cultural interplay, where renewals and alterations of older models was a classic outcome of human contacts.

It is true that the Persians themselves apparently did not take many things from Anatolia (a rare example is conventionally identified in Lydian coinage), but it is also true that the very nature of the archaeological evidence is scattered and random. However, rather than asking ourselves what the Persians brought back to their lands from the conquered ones, which is radically embed-

ded in a *hierarchical acculturation discourse*, we might want to ask how the interactions took place within the regions where the Persians physically met with the locals. On this note, EMANUELE PULVIRENTI argues that the Herodotean excerpt of Xerxes and the Magi sacrificing to the Trojan heroes and to Athena Ilios<sup>10</sup> might be seen, given the archaeological background of the region, as an attestation of complex interactions, which contribute to point out how reductive the attempt would be to define Anatolian cultural expressions as «Graeco-Persian», as Catherine Draycott rightly maintained.<sup>11</sup> As a matter of fact, Troad can be considered a more culturally active and creative region. Surely, conflict had its role in the identity definition of this land, though in the traditional interpretation this aspect tends to remain more evident than some important archaeological documents, which, instead, enlighten intercultural processes in the making and let us infer more on the intermediate and interactive position of the locals in their relationships with the others. Protagonists of the interactive dynamics operating in this context were locals, Aegean workers and the Achaemenid cultural court. That is why the monuments of the area appear composed of a plethora of strikingly different features: local tomb typologies, Aegean art, Greek or Achaemenid iconology and mixed grave goods. The semantic framework of all these aspects is elaborate, entwined, multicultural. The artistic production of local sarcophagi clearly wanted to state and affirm a well-nuanced identity, proudly claimed by the customers. Both their style and iconography stem from different traditions (respectively the nearby Milesian colonies and Achaemenid-period sites in western Anatolia): therefore, these monuments reflect the kind of intersection of a plurality of models that one would expect in an area that embraced several cultures but chose to be identified exclusively with neither. This is the framework that one should imply behind the Herodotean excerpt.

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<sup>10</sup> Hdt. 7.43.

<sup>11</sup> Draycott 2010.

A blatant example of what local elites – this time with imperial ambitions – may achieve by employing travelling specialists, builders, and local masons is represented by the huge city walls of Sardis, which Lydian rulers of the Mermnad dynasty sponsored, patronised and executed responding to a precise ideological strategy. Whether this socio-cultural interaction derived consciously and voluntarily from competition with other royalties, like the Assyrian one, would be topic for further research. On the other hand, recent excavations at Sardis, which have unearthed traces of monumental structures dated to the pre-Mermnad period (8<sup>th</sup> century and perhaps even slightly earlier), have reopened the question of the reliability of the literary sources for reconstructing political action in pre-Mermnad Lydia. MARCO SANTINI elegantly shows that a watchful philological approach can have great heuristic force if we are trying to unveil hidden patterns of a political narrative of the Mermnads, who tried to preserve the memory of their dynastic predecessors and, at the same time, to put some distance from them. As Santini shows, this pattern finds a typological parallel in post-Hittite Karkamiš, but in the Lydian case it manifests elements typical of culture-contact situations, where hierarchical power relationships are constantly defined and redefined by active manipulation of historical traditions. In Lydia such manipulation involved attaching different royal genealogies to different ethnic pedigrees – a Mesopotamian ancestry for the Herakleids and a Phrygian one for the Mermnads and the mythical Atyades.

ELEONORA SELVI highlights how analogous forms of intentionality can be deduced by intertwining funerary monuments and onomastics evidence, both interfaced with a computer-based Social Network Analysis (SNA) and Network and Graph theory, to reconstruct the interactions crossing the multicultural landscape of Hellenistic Pamphylia, where local dialects and alphabet seem to have entangled with the koine ones. She shows how in multicultural contexts, like Late Classic and Hellenistic Anatolia, network and relational approaches to linguistic and archaeological

materials can offer valuable insights into understanding the influence of connectivity and social networks on the socio-cultural development of the region. Within this context, funerary epigraphy acted as a display of the Pamphylian-speaking community to represent itself: it was a way for individuals to negotiate their position within their community. Formal statistical analyses, such as SNA, serve as a valuable tool to simultaneously analyse and interrelate diverse data points, enabling the visualisation of the resulting network of connections within the community and revealing significant patterns and similarities. The analysis of the graph depicting the Pamphylian funerary inscriptions sheds light on the historical context and cultural dynamics of this ancient community, revealing a densely interconnected network; also, it presents possibilities for future research and applications of SNA to ancient epigraphy, which can lead to unravel the social fabric of other ancient societies, exploring hidden networks, and social structures, shedding light on the interplay between language, identity, and social connections.

CHRISTOPHER J. TUPLIN supplies in his closing remarks more than a retrospective conclusion: he offers also a thematic analysis of the contributions, by inscribing them into their wider and more specific topics, and thoroughly discussing them. He also meditates upon the position that this small edited volume could occupy in the studies concerning the Anatolian cultural, political and social history, as well as on the meaning of interrogating the documentation to disclose Anatolian possible active reception of external cultural dynamics. His analysis surely invites scholars of 1<sup>st</sup> millennium Anatolia further into the complex and multivalent cultural phenomena at play in this region, encouraging the project of properly writing its history.

This book is a test: it tries to bring to light the complexity of *Anatolian Interactions*, and does so by means of complex and interdisciplinary approaches. We hope to have contributed to prove that the task at hand is definitely possible and that there are scholars who surely can bring together new perspectives on

old matters. How concrete interactions happened is sometimes difficult to enlighten, but surely it is worth trying to postulate connections that implicitly could not be possibly seen otherwise. Our hope is that our work will contribute to dismantle ancient and sometimes modern historian narratives that happen to inherently focus on great ethnic or even civilization clashes, rather than unveil human relationships and contacts: these are surely less detectable, but by all means the true processes which put people together.

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MARGARET C. MILLER

WESTERN ANATOLIAN INTERCULTURATION PHENOMENA  
DURING THE PERSIAN PERIOD, VI-IV BCE

1. *Introduction*

Exchange of goods and ideas between peoples is a constant in human experience when the conditions are right. In the case of Western Anatolia, the limited evidence available makes it challenging to consider what impact, if any, the Persian conquest had on local practice or thought. In the general absence of written documentation, material remains in the form of artefacts, structures, and their imagery provide the main source of evidence.

The term ‘intercultural phenomena’ was chosen for this discussion to allow incorporation of a wide range of evidence types. Following Heinrich von Staden and Irene Winter, I reject the term ‘influence’ for such a study as too passive a concept.<sup>1</sup> It implies that foreign ideas simply washed over a blank surface. The frame, rather, is one of acculturation, or of active reception of foreign ideas. A whole spectrum of reception can be envisioned, instances of emulative adoption as well as the adaptation of foreign ideas to fit the local context.

The term ‘intercultural’ should imply a two-way system. Although this paper especially focuses on the strategic incorporation of foreign (Persian) ideas within local (Anatolian) idioms,

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<sup>1</sup> Staden 1976. Winter 1977.

it appears that to some extent there was cultural exchange. Most notably, the Lydian croesid evidently inspired the Persian daric, and the origin of Persian construction in ashlar masonry has been linked with Ionia and Lydia.<sup>2</sup> Indeed, Herodotos observed that the Persians adopted the practices of many peoples (1.135.1). The contentious question of the relationship between Sardis' Pyramid Tomb and the Tomb of Cyrus at Pasargadae is discussed below.

The following quick overview of the evidence of Persian-looking material remains considers at the level of artefact both possibly imported items and evidence for local production. Architectural complexes that incorporate Persian ideas especially raise questions of motivation. From the evidence of arts, with the aid of literary sources (notably Xenophon's *Anabasis* and *Kyropaideia*), it is possible also to observe traces of change in Anatolian social practice such as drinking customs, hunting, and mode of dress in response to the Persian presence.<sup>3</sup>

## 2. *The Material Remains: Artefacts*

A range of artefacts that exhibit Persian qualities has emerged from sites in Western Anatolia. Some seem so very Persian as to be possibly imports or to have been made in a satrapal context; others have features that would urge a reading as local production in a Persian manner. In many instances, however, it is difficult to decide confidently between the two.

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<sup>2</sup> Priority of the Lydian Croesid: Cahill - Kroll 2005. See the overview by Tuplin 2014, 135-137. Ashlar masonry: Nylander 1970 urges the stronger presence of East Greek masonry strategies; Stronach 1978, 20 concluded his description of the Tall-I Takht of Pasargadae: «the origins of the paneled masonry at Tall-I Takht have to be sought in Lydia and Ionia».

<sup>3</sup> See now the essays in Dahlén 2020; Briant 2020 provides an overview of the evidence. See especially his *Case Studies*, 15-29.

### 2.1. PERSIAN STYLE ARTEFACTS, POSSIBLY IMPORTED

From the region two conspicuously Persian artefact classes of gold are animal-protome bracelets and clothing attachments. Both medium and design suggest that surviving examples were Persian imports, perhaps gifted to local elites. Bracelets are worn in the arts of Persepolis by men in rider dress; on the Apadana reliefs larger-scale armlets with animal-head terminals are brought by the Lydians (Delegation VI) as well as the Medes (Delegation I).<sup>4</sup> In view of Sardis's wealth in gold, the appearance among the Lydians' offerings may suggest local satrapal production at Sardis.

A few gold bracelets with animal-head terminals have been recovered in pairs from burials in Western Anatolia; it is well observed that their gold might be local, especially in the case of the gold armlets with ram-head terminals from a chamber tomb at Sardis.<sup>5</sup> The provenance raises the possibility of production in a satrapal workshop, and so in a middle ground between 'imported' and 'local'. However, a child's sarcophagus from Gümüşçay in the Granicus valley yielded a pair with antelope-head terminals (*Fig. 1*).<sup>6</sup> A wealthy burial of local mode at Halicarnassus, the 'noble woman's tomb,' dated ca. 360-325 and possibly to be linked with Ada II, included gold bracelets with antelope and ram head terminals (*Fig. 2*).<sup>7</sup> Notably, even in the case of the rich Carian burial, none of the bracelets excavated match the

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<sup>4</sup> See Schmidt 1953, pl. 32.

<sup>5</sup> Excavated by the H.C. Butler expedition of the early 20<sup>th</sup> century: Butler 1922. The finds were sent to Istanbul where the armlets are now on display: Dedeoğlu 2003.

<sup>6</sup> Gümüşçay: Sevinç *et al.* 1999, 498, Cat. 12: inv. 7674 (closed, fig. 11) and inv. 7675 (open, fig. 12); they date the sarcophagus burial to mid-fifth century. I warmly thank Brian Rose for the photographs of the artefacts from Gümüşçay and Dedetepe as well as the drawing of the Çan sarcophagus (Figures 1, 3, 4, and 15).

<sup>7</sup> Halicarnassus 'Noble woman's tomb', ca. 360-325 (tomb excavated 1989): Özet 1994, 91, fig. 5; Prag - Neave 1994. See, too, the gold lion-head bracelets from Tumulus A, Gordion, dated 540-520: Hickman 2016; Dusinberre 2020, 53-54.

large scale of those depicted as gifts at Persepolis. In addition to animal-terminal bracelets in gold, they are attested also in silver, as witness a pair excavated at Gökçeler Köyü, in Lydia.<sup>8</sup>

Fig. 1 (left) - Gümüşçay. Courtesy C. Brian Rose.  
Fig. 2 (right) - Halicarnassus. After Özet 1994, fig. 5.



Clothing attachments of gold have been discovered especially in burials in the area of Sardis. Some have conspicuously Persian character; others are not so specific while others are Persian only in view of the fact of being clothing attachments.<sup>9</sup> The Persian style is especially notable on some of the gold bracteates with attachment loops recovered from Sardis Chamber Tomb 836. They include six crenelated rectangles with seated bearded winged sphinxes beneath a winged sun disk and nine pacing beardless winged sphinxes; in addition, were fifty gold rosettes in two sizes.<sup>10</sup> More recently, from Kendirlik (Bin Tepe) in 1976, forty-one small 8-petal rosettes were recovered from a looted sarcophagus.<sup>11</sup> Although rosettes are not in themselves particularly Persianizing, they manifest the Persian function as clothing

<sup>8</sup> Özkan 1991, pl. 32, figures 6-8.

<sup>9</sup> Concept only, e.g. raptor and running hare from Toptepe tumulus: Özgen - Öztürk 1996, no. 116; Cahill 2010, 544, Cat. 182. Özgen 2010 provides a valuable summary.

<sup>10</sup> Curtis 1925, pl. 1.1-4. Tomb excavated 1913: Butler 1922, 143 and fig. 158. NB scans of these volumes are available at: <https://sardisexpedition.org/en/publications>. Crenelated rectangles: Istanbul AM 4652, measuring 3.05 x 3.06 cm; man-bulls ('sphinxes'): Istanbul AM 4653, 4564, measuring 1.7 x 1.9 cm. Illustrated: Rose 2016, 133.

<sup>11</sup> Manisa MM6280: Cahill 2010, n° 133.

attachments. The same may be said of the ranges of gold clothing attachments recovered from the ‘Noble Woman’s Tomb’ of Halicarnassus.<sup>12</sup>

The burials in which the clothing attachments were found at Sardis are all depositions in accordance with local funerary practice. Evidently, the deceased were Lydians buried in garments ornamented with the Persian-style attachments. Similarly, those buried with gold animal-head bracelets, whether in the Troad, Caria, or Lydia, were Anatolians adorned with Persian or Persian-style jewellery.

## 2.2. PERSIAN STYLE ARTEFACTS WITH UNCERTAIN ORIGIN

A few disparate objects excavated in Western Anatolia manifest a Persian style but are more likely local products emulating the prestigious goods characteristic of satrapal courts. Ivory knife handles with Persian style animal-head termini have been excavated in the north-west, at Dedetepe and Daskyleion (*Fig. 3*).<sup>13</sup>

Fig. 3 - Dedetepe Ivory deer protome, knife handle.  
Photo courtesy, C. Brian Rose.



<sup>12</sup> Özet 1994, 93-96, fig. 15-19.

<sup>13</sup> Dedetepe: Çanakkale Archaeological Museum. Sevinç *et al.* 1998, 311-312 (Persian character), Fig. 9 (drawing C. Pack), and Rose 2014, fig. 5.6 (photograph). The Daskyleion ivory knife handle is on display in the Bandırma Archaeological Museum (inv. n° 727).

Their medium – ivory – has naturally been imported, but this is not especially significant, as ivory imports into Anatolia antedate the Persian period. The adornment of a handle with an animal protome terminus is an innovation in the region. The terminus of a hippopotamus-ivory handle from a local elite style tumulus at Dedetepe has been identified as a deer; the pattern at the neck resembles the treatment of bull-protome column capitals at Persepolis, such as on the South portico of the Apadana.<sup>14</sup> The ivory handle from Daskyleion, in contrast, is a calf.

The Dedetepe Tumulus in addition yielded a second significant artefact type: wooden legs with a distinctively Persian-type profile (*Fig. 4*).<sup>15</sup> Here the medium (wood) strongly suggests a local manufacture, but the distinctive profile certainly emulates a Persian model. The characteristic leg profile with its incorporation of multiple elements is familiar from the thrones and stools in relief depicted on Persepolis' door jambs and the 'Treasury' Reliefs (*Figs. 5-6*).<sup>16</sup> Such emulations of Persian furniture have been documented elsewhere in the empire, and even beyond.<sup>17</sup>



Fig. 4 - Dedetepe  
wooden stool leg.  
Photo courtesy,  
C. Brian Rose.

<sup>14</sup> E.g. Teheran 387, illustrated in Curtis - Tallis 2005, cat. no. 16.

<sup>15</sup> Çanakkale Archaeological Museum. Sevinç *et al.* 1998, Fig. 11, 12; Cat. N° 26 «Five wooden furniture legs» on 321 (drawing). Rose 2014, fig. 5.7 (photograph).

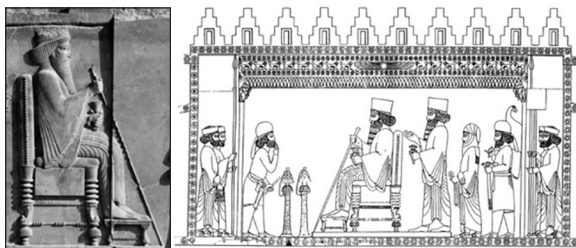
<sup>16</sup> Schmidt 1953, pl. 77 (Council Hall, south jamb of Eastern doorway), pl. 119 (south 'Treasury' relief), pl. 123 (east 'Treasury' relief).

<sup>17</sup> Paspalas 2000, discussing examples in Macedonia, collects evidence from the Levant.

Fig. 5 (left) - West Audience relief, detail, OIC.

Fig. 6 (right) - East Audience relief drawing.

After Koch 1992, fig. 49.



### 2.3. PERSIAN STYLE ARTEFACTS WITH PROBABLE LOCAL PRODUCTION

The so-called ‘Lydian Treasure,’ representing the contents of intact burials from the İkištepe tumulus repatriated to Turkey in 1993 (now in Ankara and Uşak), provides the best example of artefacts that exhibit strongly Persianizing features but were most likely locally made.<sup>18</sup> The İkištepe tumulus itself lay fully within the Lydian epichoric burial tradition. The burial deposit included three lobed bowls that were elaborated by the introduction of Persian-style figural imagery between the lobes. The resulting visual syntax diverges from any Persian model.<sup>19</sup> The natural conclusion is that the figured lobed bowls were locally made versions of Persian type vessels. Two of the three figured bowls can be considered in detail.

<sup>18</sup> Özgen - Öztürk 1996, summarized Özgen 2010. Prior publications with good illustrations: von Bothmer 1984, Moorey 1988. My drawings were made by Amanda Dusting after the publications.

<sup>19</sup> This is fully discussed in Miller 2007. The same idea, if not such explicitly Persian ornamentation, is exhibited on lobed bowls excavated at: Ialysos, Rhodes (Istanbul AM 15607), Ünye (Ankara 57-1-53, Akurgal 1967, Öztürk - Toker 1992, cat. no. 152) and Kazbeg in the Caucasus (Moscow, The State Historical Museum ГИМ 75942/1 Оп.Б 442/1 СБ 1735 ГК 9100806, Boardman 2000, fig. 5.73 (drawing); photograph at <https://catalog.shm.ru/entity/OBJECT/5862064?query=442%2F1&index=19>). I warmly thank Natalia Zhukova for her help with the latter.

The repoussé ornament introduced between the lobes of the first bowl combines into one composition elements that more commonly appear separate: pairs of addorsed kneeling rams resting on a ‘winged disk’ (*Fig. 7*).<sup>20</sup> The two elements typically occur in different contexts: addorsed kneeling animals are familiar from their use as column capitals developed for royal constructions at Susa and Persepolis.<sup>21</sup> In contrast the ‘winged disk’ typically is set above heraldically disposed figures, notably bearded crowned sphinxes. Most familiar in large-scale arts as in glazed brick friezes at Susa, this composition appears also in the minor arts (*Fig. 8*).<sup>22</sup> The combination of these two ideas – addorsed kneeling rams and winged disk – is visually intelligible but the composition violates the visual syntax of Persian art forms.

The second bowl features between its ten lobes a ‘Royal Guard’ figure wearing the court robe and bearing a spear, who stands on addorsed eagle heads (*Fig. 9*).<sup>23</sup> The ‘Royal Guard’ figure adopts the stance that Margaret Root has termed ‘parade rest;’ it is a well-known type from the processions in glazed brick at Susa and relief sculpture at Persepolis.<sup>24</sup> Yet this figure borrowed from

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<sup>20</sup> Ankara 75-8-66 (Öztürk - Toker 1992, 174, 223, cat. no. 153). The Oxus Treasure gold bowl notably has pairs of rather peculiar rampant lions between its six lobes, but with all the uncertainties about the hoard, it is unclear how this fact is to be interpreted: London BM 1897,1231.18 (123919) (Dalton 1964, 8-9, pl. VIII, cat. no. 18). The precise cultural definition of the elements of the Oxus Treasure remains problematic, but their affinities with Achaemenid Persian arts are clear (and even more, the arts of western Anatolia in the Persian period). For the debate about their utility as archaeological data, see Curtis 2004.

<sup>21</sup> Persian addorsed animal protome column capitals, eg. Schmidt 1953, 61, fig. 127 and 104, fig. 48. Teheran 387: Curtis - Tallis 2005, cat. no. 16. Susa: Harper *et al.* 1992, fig. 20. Root 1979, 102.

<sup>22</sup> Susa, Apadana court, bearded crowned seated sphinxes, e.g. Louvre Sb 3324: Harper *et al.*, 1992, No. 157. Daskyleion bulla, DS 2, with bilingual royal inscription, Old Persian and Babylonian «I am Xerxes the King»: Kaptan 2002, vol. II, 3.

<sup>23</sup> Uşak 1.29.96, Özgen - Öztürk 1996, no. 33.

<sup>24</sup> Root 1979, 102. Susa: Harper *et al.* 1992, pp. 223-228. Persepolis: e.g. Apadana Eastern Stairway face central panel: Schmidt 1939, pl. 22.



Fig. 7 - Ankara 75-8-66 bowl.  
Drawing A. Dusting.



Fig. 8 - Daskyleion  
DS 2, composite  
line drawing.  
After Kaptan 2002,  
vol. II, 3.

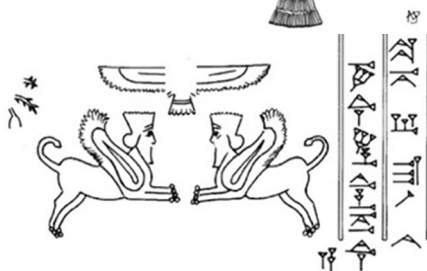


Fig. 9 (left) - Uşak 1.29.96,  
bowl. Drawing A. Dusting.



Fig. 10 (right) - Cylinder  
from Sardis, IAM 4581.  
After Dusingberre 1997, fig. 3.



palatial architectural ornamentation stands on eagle heads that surmount a ring, with hoofed element below. It is a wholly provincial reading of the role of pedestal animals as indicators of high status in Achaemenid glyptic. Such pedestal animals often occur with mastery images, as on the cylinder seal from Sardis (Fig. 10).<sup>25</sup> The corruption of the model goes further. The ad-dorsed eagle heads are not true pedestal animals; for all their similarity to toreutic, they are heads attached to a hoofed circle. Were

<sup>25</sup> This example is Istanbul AM 4581, cylinder from Sardis: Dusingberre 1997, fig. 3. Other examples: cylinder: London BM ANE 89585 (Curtis - Tallis 2005, cat. no. 73) and conoid stamps: London BM ANE 30755 and 89891 (Curtis - Tallis 2005, cat. nos. 67 and 69).

it not for the hooves, they would appear to be animal-protome armlets. In sum, the ornamentation between the lobes is a mixture of legitimate Persian image elements, oddly disposed.

The unusual mode of manufacture of the ‘Royal Guard’ bowl, with appliqué rather than repoussé lobes, may be a further argument for a specifically local manufacture. Moreover, the lobes and figural elements are distinguished by a technique that has been called ‘gold figure’. The complex crafting mode is not easily matched outside this group of figured bowls. The ‘gold figure’ technique has been posited as a Lydian invention; it is not attested in Iran.<sup>26</sup>

### 3. *The Material Remains: Monuments*

Conspicuously Persian-style features appear on several Anatolian monuments. They range across a wide geographical extent, from specific quotation in a building to monumental emulation. There is no question about their Anatolian construction, so that the inspiration and the social context merit discussion.

#### 3.1. ARCHITECTURAL QUOTATION

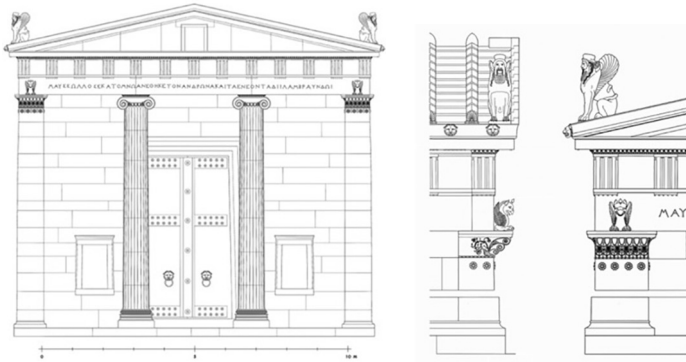
At Carian Labraunda, excavated by Pontus Hellström, Andron B of the Sanctuary of Zeus presents a clear quotation of Persian ideas within the heart of a Hellenic construction type (*Fig. 11-12*). On Andron B, a distyle-in-antis structure of a type most familiar from the Doric ‘treasuries’ of Delphi (here fitted with Ionic columns in the hybrid Carian mode), the corner akroteria take the form of the Persian male sphinx, with beard and polos as is well attested in minor arts from Anatolia.<sup>27</sup> Moreover, it is suggested

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<sup>26</sup> Moorey 1988, 231-46. It is used also on the third lobed bowl with figures from the Lydian Treasure, a deeper bowl with a mastery image: Uşak 1.30.96, Özgen - Öztürk 1996, no. 34.

<sup>27</sup> Hellström - Blid 2019, 114-115 on akroteria, with figs. 224-227; 250, 272, concluding 275 with «if the vocabulary is Greek, the syntax is Oriental»;

Fig. 11-12. Labraunda, Andron of Mausolus.  
 Façade (11). South sphinx acroterion (12).  
 Restored drawings courtesy, Jesper Blid.



that two griffin protomes resting on the elaborate antae of the porch offer a further Persianizing element.<sup>28</sup>

In his discussion of the Andron, Jesper Blid observed «The overall design of the andron [...] seems to be the result of a deliberate combination of Greek, Anatolian and Achaemenid elements».<sup>29</sup> The deliberate nature of the composition is crucial: this is no accidental ornamentation but a calculated incorporation of Achaemenid symbols of power. The association of the Andron with Mausolus, who served as satrap under the Persians, adds further nuance. This would be an instance of adaptation, modifying manifest Persian ideas for incorporation as an element within a building of un-Persian character.

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reconstructions: fig. 229, 231-232. Blid 2020. Persepolis, Palace of Darius (Schmidt 1953, pl. 127). Local versions in minor arts, as from Sardis: a gold bracteate (IAM 4652) and pyramidal stamp seal (IAM 4570), a type associable with Lydian production (Boardman 1970). For local circulation of the type, see also the cylinder depicted in Figure 10 (IAM 4581).

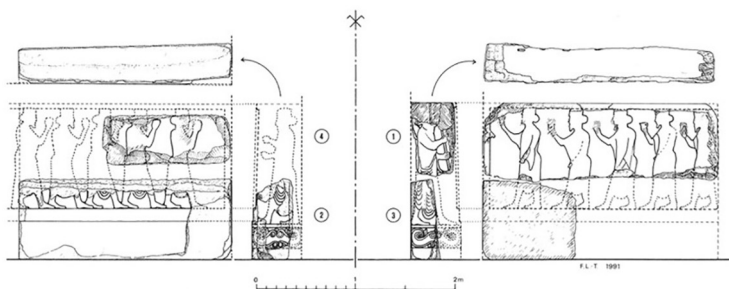
<sup>28</sup> Hellström - Blid 2019, 257-261; see also Blid 2020, Fig. 2.

<sup>29</sup> Blid 2020, 87.

### 3.2. ARCHITECTURAL PARAPHRASE

The Cilician site of Meydancikkale, excavated by Emmanuel Laroche, presents a clear quotation of Achaemenid royal imagery.<sup>30</sup> On fragments of monumental blocks in relief, a procession of men wearing the Persian court robe hold items with raised hands (*Fig. 13*). On the long side of the blocks processions are preserved in two directions; each group moves towards a larger scale ‘Royal Guard’ figure on the blocks’ narrow face. The arrangement suggests that these relief sculptures flanked an entrance, possibly, in the eyes of Davesne and Laroche-Traunecker, of the residence of a Persian satrap. In light of the later discovery of Persian-style column bases associated with the structure ‘Bâtiment A’, Held and Kaplan reconstruct the first phase of the building as a small hypostyle hall of two rows of four columns and place the procession reliefs at the transition between the porch and hypostyle.<sup>31</sup> Their conclusion, that the whole structure is not merely a quotation of various Persian ideas, but a complete Persian palace building of smaller scale than that of Darius at Persepolis, is intriguing.

Fig. 13 - Meydancikkale, relief, drawing.  
After Davesne and Laroche-Traunecker, 1998, 306, fig. 5.



<sup>30</sup> Meydancikkale: excavated near ‘Bâtiment A’. Davesne - Laroche-Traunecker 1998, 306, fig. 5.

<sup>31</sup> Held - Kaplan 2015, 184 with Fig. 12 (plan and proposed elevation); *idem* 189, an Achaemenid building.

Meydancikkale presents a significant combination of local construction with signature elements of Persian courts. The poor surface condition of the relief blocks limits analysis, but one would be hard put to see their craftsmanship as consonant with the quality manifested at Persepolis and Susa. This in turn may challenge the hopeful interpretation of the structure as the Cilician satrapal residence. In fact, if it is not a satrapal residence, the relief sculpture's clear imitation of the Persian model must play a greater role in our consideration of the impact of Persia on the region of Cilicia.

### 3.3. MONUMENTAL EMULATION

The largest and most impressive evidence from monuments is a group of tombs cut into cliff faces of Paphlagonia studied by Lâtife Summerer and Alexander von Kienlin.<sup>32</sup> The facades of the tombs in different ways draw on the model of the Persian rock-cut tombs at Naqsh-i Rustan. The most striking instance is the incorporation of kneeling bull protome column capitals on the Donalar tomb (*Fig. 14*). They are three-dimensional on columns

Fig. 14 - Donalar Tomb Façade, drawing Dinkel.  
After Summerer / von Kienlin 2010, fig. 4.



<sup>32</sup> Summerer - von Kienlin 2010, with excellent drawings. For Donalar, see also: İren *et al.* 2017, 375 and 377. For the Kalekapı façade, see also Draycott 2015.

with a narrow porch behind. On Darius' tomb at Naqsh-e Rostan, adorsed kneeling bull protome capitals, in relief and above engaged columns, are viewed from the side. On the Donalar tomb facade, the kneeling bull capitals are presented in frontal view, resembling, as Lâtife Summerer observed, the frontal view of a kneeling bull protome vessel. The tomb facades are further adorned with relief sculptures whose character appears to be a mixture of Persian, Greek, and possibly other traditions. Although the theme is recognisably Persian, the outward projection of the bull heads transforms the model.

#### 3.4. IMITATION?

It is not clear whether the 'Pyramid Tomb' of Sardis, initially excavated by Butler in 1914, ought to be included in this discussion of monumental adoption of Persian ideas.<sup>33</sup> The compositional and structural parallels between the 'Pyramid Tomb' and the Tomb of Cyrus at Pasargadae are manifest, but the question of priority has been much discussed. Some suggest that the Ionian and Lydian stone-working of the Tomb of Cyrus attests to an overall character as a Lydian product imported to Iran; on this reading the 'Pyramid Tomb' was created earlier for a Lydian king, possibly Croesus.<sup>34</sup> The most thorough and convincing investigation, however, urges Persian priority; the existence of an analogous Iranian tomb structure, Gur-e Dokhtar at Bozpar, unfortunately does not settle the matter in view of the uncertainty regarding its date.<sup>35</sup> That is: the concept of setting a tomb chamber with a pitched roof and constructed in ashlar masonry on a

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<sup>33</sup> Butler 1922, 155-156 (with fig. 174), 166 (with fig. 185), and 167-170.

<sup>34</sup> Lydian: Boardman 2000, 53-57; Euler - Sasseville 2019. Stronach 1978, 22-23, 42, that the Tomb of Cyrus was Persian and utilized the expertise of peoples of the empire as a form of imperial rhetoric.

<sup>35</sup> On the Pyramid Tomb, Sardis: Ratté 1992, revisited Ratté 2011, 65 and 94-99. For Gur-e Dokhtar (details of the site, history of investigation and references), see Guraki 2022.

platform stepped on all four sides is most likely an instance of Persianizing or Persian construction in Lydia but may, like the concept of coinage, be a gift to Persia from Lydia.

This handful of quite disparate examples attests to the wide extent of the phenomenon in Anatolia; others are doubtless known or wait to be recovered.

#### 4. *Social Practice*

A third line of investigation is both more challenging and more suggestive: indications of changes in social practice that can be associated with the sudden appearance of Persians at the upper echelons of society by right of conquest. There is evidence to suggest that in Western Anatolia in the fifth and fourth centuries BCE, practices relating to drinking, hunting, and dress shifted from a local mode to something akin to the Persian mode, in an emulative manner. The evidence for social practice is indirect, being largely dependent upon imagery, but occasionally artefacts and verbal descriptions provide insight.

##### 4.1. DRINKING PRACTICE

Michael Dietler's study, *Driven by Drink*, remains a valuable guide for considering the role of drinking style in defining social practice.<sup>36</sup> He introduced the term 'diacritical drinking' while considering the way in which Mediterranean vessels contributed to shaping social structures in Iron Age Europe, and observed:

Foreign drinking customs, as opposed to forms of drink alone, will most often be adopted for their symbolic potential, in either a diacritical or associative sense.

That is, exotic drinking practices may be employed to symbolically differentiate groups, categories, or classes within a society [...] or to provide a symbolic link between groups.

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<sup>36</sup> Dietler 1990, 377 (quote), with extensive references to comparative studies.

The concept of ‘diacritical drinking’ is useful when considering the diverse populations of the Western Persian Empire.

The Persian practice of drinking wine from bowls balanced on the fingertips is described by Xenophon (*Cyropaedeia* 1.3.8):

The cupbearers of those kings perform their office with fine airs: they pour the wine with neatness and then present the phiale conveying it **with three fingers** and offer it in such a way as to place it most conveniently in the grasp of the one who is to drink it.

In contrast, Greeks held *phialai* (usually used for pouring libations) in the palm of their hand with the thumb on the rim.<sup>37</sup> Xenophon omitted to mention the stance of the Persian drinker, but Persian visual evidence, typically in the form of glyptic, consistently shows drinkers seated on a stool or chair.<sup>38</sup> This is in marked contrast with the standard Greek symposion practice of reclining on *klinai*, holding footed two-handled drinking vessels. Such a reclined position appears to have been characteristic of many West Anatolian peoples.<sup>39</sup>

The arts of Achaemenid Anatolia provide clear instances of what can only be called, in Dietler’s terminology, ‘associative drinking,’ that is drinking practices that declare and reinforce a

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<sup>37</sup> For example, on a fragmentary cup, ca. 510, attributed to Euphronios, the god Hephaistos holds a lobed phiale in this manner: Athens NM 15214: Tsingarida 2009, fig.1 (detail of Hephaistos fragment); Denoyelle 1991, cat no. 44.

<sup>38</sup> Examples illustrated Miller 2011a, Figs. 6-9: Persepolis Fortification Seals 170 and 467, Seal of Hannatuni from the Murasu Archive (Babylon), and Oxford 1921.2. See also the important example of the Erebuni calf rhyton whose scene combines a seated man with fingers raised to receive a bowl held on fingertips by a standing woman: Erebuni Museum inv. n° 21: Stronach 2011, 261-269, Figs. 9-15.

<sup>39</sup> Baughan 2013 in chapter II, *Funerary Klinai in Anatolia*, though not urging a link with sympotic practice, notes the evidence in the form of klinae attested in wood or stone in many regions: Lydia, Ionia, Mysia, Troad, Caria, Northern Lycia and NW Pisidia, in addition to Phrygia, dating at least from the sixth century BCE, before the Persian conquest. It remains an open question whether the Greeks adopted from the Lydians the practice of reclining to drink in the archaic period.



social link. In this case that link is to the Persian masters of empire. The best evidence is to be found on funerary stelae continuing a local tradition of funerary commemoration in Hellespontine Phrygia.<sup>40</sup> In addition, quite broadly throughout western Anatolia – Lydia, Lycia, Caria, Phrygia, and Paphlagonia – epichoric funerary monuments include imagery that depicts men holding a drinking bowl on their fingertips. These include the marble sarcophagus discovered in the tumulus believed to be of Hecatomnus at Mylasa in Caria in 2010.<sup>41</sup> Hecatomnus, founder of the Carian dynasty, functioned as Persian satrap of Caria (ca. 391-373). The long side of the sarcophagus features a dynast reclining on a kline, holding a drinking bowl on his ‘three fingers’. So, too, does the dynast painted on the rear wall of the Karaburun tomb of Lycia.<sup>42</sup>

In all the works depicting Anatolians balancing a drinking bowl on their fingertips, the drinkers consistently recline on a kline. In other words, they adopted a foreign drinking vessel type together with its specific mode of use, but without abandoning their tradition of reclined consumption, not apparently in use among Persians. Evidently in conjunction with the Persian fingertips drinking practice, the use of drinking bowls expanded throughout the Western Empire. This new practice is surely what lies behind the emergence of Persian-style drinking bowls within the local ceramic traditions of the west.<sup>43</sup> The medium and design

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<sup>40</sup> See Nollé 1992, including 6 stelae with reclined banqueters, and fingertips (S2, S3, S4, S7, S8); add the Stele of Manes, with its Phrygian inscription: Gusmani - Polat 1999. Note Kaptan 2003, esp. the helpful map, 193. See Erpehlivan 2021, 62-64 (cf. *infra* Summerer fig. 6).

<sup>41</sup> Milas, Uzunyuva Monumental Tomb Archaeological Park. Illustrated Brunwasser *et al.* 2011, 25.

<sup>42</sup> Preliminary reports: Mellink 1971, esp. fig. 24-26, and Mellink 1972, 263-269 and pl. 58-59. Cf. *infra* Summerer fig. 3.

<sup>43</sup> At Daskyleion, with even lobes suggested (Bakır 2007, fig. 1); at Harta (Özgen - Öztürk 1996, fig. 67); Sardis in Lydia (Dusinberre 1999, esp. fig. 4); Karaçalı in Pamphylia (Çokay-Kepece - Recke 2007, fig. 15); Kelainai survey (ceramic bowl fragment with ‘Persian’ profile, personal communication, Christopher H. Roosevelt).

details of the bowls in sculptural versions are not clear, but in the case of the painted tomb at Karaburun, the bowl is lobed and depicted as of silver.

In this context it is good to remember the family heirloom found in the tomb of Hecatomnus' descendant, Mausolus, at Halicarnassus: a trilingual alabaster alabastron, inscribed «Xerxes the King» (485-465 BCE).<sup>44</sup> This royal gift bears witness to Carian dynastic links with the Achaemenid Kings, and raises the question whether Persian drinking vessels in precious materials in Anatolia may have initially been gifts from Persian (?) satraps to local dynasts. One might posit a hierarchy of medium for drinking bowls marking a social status devolution of this form, with gold and silver at the top down to the clay vessels for humbler drinkers.

In the imagery adorning elite burials, other significant vessels of clear Persian origin appear. On the Karaburun Tomb the serving vessel held by an attendant at the end of the *kline* is the characteristically Persian spouted vessel with zoomorphic handles. It is the same type as the silver gilt vessel from Duvalij in Thrace and that carried at Persepolis by Delegation VI, the Lydians (as well as by Delegations I and III).<sup>45</sup>

A second Persian serving vessel type is carried by the attendant on the Mylasa sarcophagus: a large bent lion-griffin protome vessel. The manner in which it is carried, from below, with finger fixed between its legs, suggests that it is a pierced rhyton rather than a jug or tankard. Such bent animal-protome rhyta have been recovered in Bulgaria and Armenia.<sup>46</sup> Indeed, the 'Nereid Monument' from Lycia, possibly the Monument of Erbinnia, bears witness to

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<sup>44</sup> London BM, 1857.1220.1 (AWE 132114), alabaster alabastron: Curtis - Tallis 2005, cat. no. 140.

<sup>45</sup> Sofia 6137: from Duvalij Kukova Mogila, ca. 480, silver with gilt, ht. 27 (Ebbinghaus 2018, fig. 3.31). Schmidt 1953, pl. 27, pl. 29, pl. 32. Cf. *infra* Summerer fig. 3.

<sup>46</sup> Silver bull with gilding: Borovo, Pousse II-359 (Ebbinghaus 2018, fig. 4.29) and silver horse and horse and rider: Erebusi Museum, Erevan inv. n° 19 and 20 (Stronach 2011, 256-258 with Fig. 1 and 259-261 with Fig. 6). Also

the adoption of the use of rhyta in conjunction with drinking from bowls while reclining. The monument, though drawing on a range of traditions, is itself an elaboration of the Lycian tower tomb type, with a naiskos in the Ionic order on top. Its rich sculptural ornamentation includes a procession and a multiple-quarry hunt, both Persian motifs. The frieze of the naiskos' cella has a banquet scene with reclining symposiasts and attendants. The central figure reclines on a kline, holding in his right hand a griffin-protome bent rhyton, and a bowl in the palm of his left hand.<sup>47</sup> This is one of seven rhyta depicted on the frieze and the most splendid of all, causing Susanne Ebbinghaus to ask whether the owner of the tomb had received this object as a gift from a powerful Persian, perhaps even the Great King.<sup>48</sup> Such might also be the case for the winged griffin rhyton in London, perhaps discovered at Altintepe in Erzincan, and the trio of silver animal-protome rhyta from Erebuni in Armenia.<sup>49</sup> The composition of pouring from an animal-protome vessel into a drinking bowl (perhaps held in the palm of the hand) appears also on a less prestigious Lydian funerary monument, the early fourth-century stele from Sardis with a fragmentary Lydian inscription «... son of Manes».<sup>50</sup>

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the ram-protome rhyton, without provenance: New York MMA 1989.281.30 (Ebbinghaus 2018, fig. 4.2).

<sup>47</sup> London, BM, GR 1848.10-20.97 (Curtis - Tallis 2005, cat. n° 123). The same is true of the scene on a pediment from a tomb at Sardis of about 430, on which the reclining central figure holds a bent animal-protome rhyton and drinking bowl apparently on fingertips: Sardis S69.14:8047, NoEx 78.1. Hanfmann - Erhart 1981, 87-89. Illustrated also: Dusingberre 2003, 93, fig. 35.

<sup>48</sup> London, BM S897. Ebbinghaus 2000 offers a full study. Some of the animal-protome vessels look as though they are cups rather than rhyta. We may compare a fragment of a bronze statuette from the Samian Heraion, of a hand holding a lion-head bent cup, ca. 530: Berlin, Sa. 77 Br (Ebbinghaus 2018, fig. 19.1).

<sup>49</sup> London, BM 124081, Franks Bequest. Curtis - Tallis 2005, cat. no. 119, 122. Erebuni: Stronach 2011.

<sup>50</sup> Sardis, NoEx 77.15 / Inv. 77.008. Ramage 1979, 91-95, pl. XIII; Dusingberre 2003, Fig. 36.

The evidence, both of artefacts and imagery, makes it clear that some Anatolians adopted Persian vessels – drinking bowls and animal-protome cups and rhyta – together with the Persian mode of handling them. Yet even while adopting such a significant ‘associative’ drinking mode, they retained their traditional ‘diacritical’ mode of reclined drinking.

#### 4.2. HUNTING AND RIDING

One of the most famous cylinder seals from the Achaemenid world presents a royal figure hunting lions by chariot; its trilingual inscription declares, «I <am> Darius, King» (the Babylonian version even says «Great King»<sup>51</sup> Pierre Briant has effectively made the case that, notwithstanding its absence from Persian monumental art and inscriptions, the King as hunter, like the King as vanquisher of foes, figured large in Achaemenid royal ideology, so that hunting played an important role in the lives of the elite.<sup>52</sup> In the more private art of glyptic, hunting is one of the most popular subjects of the limited corpus of seals with human subject-matter, and seems to appear as frequently as warfare.<sup>53</sup>

It seems very likely that the Persians adopted the Assyrian practice of hunting in specially stocked game parks.<sup>54</sup> Xenophon certainly seems to imply so in his reference to hunting (*Anab.*

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<sup>51</sup> London 89132, cylinder: Merrillees 2005, 52-53, no. 16, pl. VII with past bibliography; Curtis - Tallis 2005, cat. no. 398 (colour). Garrison 2014.

<sup>52</sup> Briant 2002, 230-232, 297-299, on the symbolism of the royal hunt; Briant 1996, 208. See Garrison 2000, 135-137, for the archer as protector of flocks, with fig. 8-9.

<sup>53</sup> Volume II of the Persepolis sealings is in progress; Dusinberre 2005, 55 reports some 18 hunt sealing types from the PF corpus. See also, on boar hunt in glyptic: Borchhardt - Bleibtreu 2008a, 76-77. In the glyptic of Daskyleion, hunt and combat are tied for second place only after the royal hero theme: Kaptan 1996.

<sup>54</sup> Helck 1968 succinctly summarizes aspects of the hunt in the ancient Near East. Also: Anderson 1985, 57-82.

1.2.7; *Hell.* 4.1.33), especially the claim that the elder Cyrus, when establishing his imperial practices, included creation of hunting parks in the instruction he gave to satraps setting out for their provinces (*Cyrop.* 8.6.12). In Western Anatolia, hunting – and specifically multiple-quarry hunting – features in the imagery of a range of structures, from the Mausoleion of Halicarnassus with its three-dimensional sculpture of a boar and leopard hunt, through the hunting reliefs of the Nereid Monument, to more humble funerary arts.<sup>55</sup> A mounted hunter preparing to spear a boar while a stag leaps away behind a tree adorns the upper scene of a funerary stele from Çavuşköy of the turn of the 5<sup>th</sup> to 4<sup>th</sup> century (the same stele includes a reclined banqueting scene with a drinking bowl held on fingertips).<sup>56</sup>

A more clearly visible multiple-quarry hunt from a non-dynastic burial can be seen on the sarcophagus found at Altıkulaç near Çan in the Troad (*Fig. 15*).<sup>57</sup> Here in the same pictorial zone (a long side) different animals – deer and boar – are hunted by a group of mounted hunters. The prominence of riding in the Anatolian hunting imagery raises the question whether an integral part of the Persian model was hunting on horseback. The iconographic evidence shows the local adoption of Persian equestrian style in at least two ways, the use of a rectilinear riding cloth and the mode of horse-conducting.<sup>58</sup> The riding-cloth, frequently depicted as fringed and having borders on all sides, is most clearly visible on the Çan Sarcophagus, thanks to the survival of its paint.

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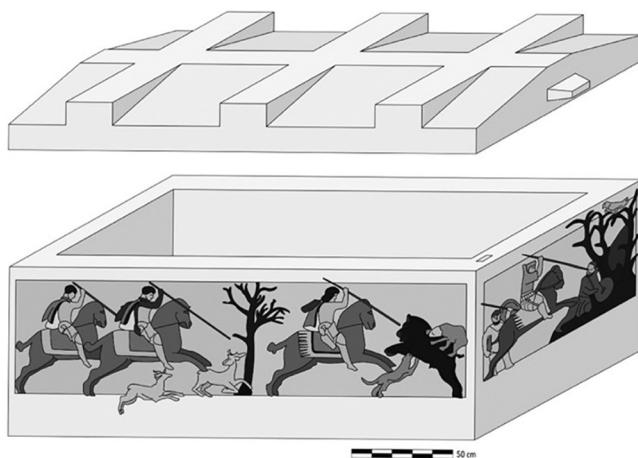
<sup>55</sup> Mausoleion: Waywell 1978, 73-74 and Waywell 1989, 23-30. London, BM S889. Xanthus Nereid Monument: Childs - Demargne 1989, 187-190, 280-282; pl. 76. East side entablature has multiple-quarry hunt (deer, bear, boar, wild horse) with Persian-dressed hunters. Jacobs 1987. Stelae: Nollé 1992.

<sup>56</sup> Çavuşköy stele: Istanbul AM 1502. Nollé 1992, Cat. 7, pl. 9; Gusmani - Polat 1999.

<sup>57</sup> Sevinç - Rose 2001 date the tumulus to the first quarter of the fourth century. The graphics are the work of Robert Hagerty and John Wallrodt (n. 1).

<sup>58</sup> Many examples illustrated in Borchhardt - Bleibtreu 2008b.

Fig. 15 - Çan sarcophagus, drawing.  
 Courtesy, C. Brian Rose



The Persian manner of conducting a horse, well attested at Persepolis, appears between two chariots on the South side procession frieze of Lycian Xanthos' Building G, as was observed by Paul Bernard.<sup>59</sup> Persian elements in the frieze also include details of bridle and the treatment of the horse: cropping of the mane and tying of the mane and tail, all well attested in Persian arts.<sup>60</sup> The Persian bridle and elements of horse-treatment are manifested in relief sculpture from across the region, especially in Hellenistic Phrygia (on the Çavuşköy *stele*, a *stele* from Bozüyük,<sup>61</sup> and the Çan sarcophagus).

The wide extent, if not great volume, of hunting and equestrian imagery that incorporates Persian elements provides another instance of emulation of the Persian model. This a social practice

<sup>59</sup> London BM 312, ca. 470. Bernard 1965, 279-284, with Fig. 9 and 11.

<sup>60</sup> One Persian bronze bridle strap divider is reported from Daskyleion: Bakır 1995, 276 with fig. 25; Bakır 2001a, 175 with fig. 11. Other items of similar suggestiveness in lead, bronze, and ivory are noted in both publications.

<sup>61</sup> See Erpehlivan 2021, 62-64 (cf. *infra* Summerer fig. 6).

for which little remains apart from imagery, but what is visible again encompasses a range of social standing, from the ‘ordinary’ folk of stelae to the monumental burial structures of dynasts, and extends throughout Western Anatolia: Hellespontine Phrygia, Caria and Lycia. In each case, the manner of deposition makes it clear that the monuments serve the local population. They are not tombs of Persians.

### 4.3. DRESS MODES

Clothing has been well described as a ‘language’ that communicates who we are.<sup>62</sup> As textiles so rarely survive in the archaeological record, consideration of whether or to what extent dress changed in the context of Persian suzerainty is, again, heavily dependent upon imagery. There is evidence to suggest that some Anatolian individuals adopted either the Persian rider or court dress, if not wholly, at least for some activities.<sup>63</sup>

The Persian rider dress is worn by the hunter on the Çavuşköy stele: his covered legs and arms are clear. The same is true of the hunters on the Çan sarcophagus (*Fig. 15*). However, on the Çavuşköy stele there is an interesting contrast of dress between the Persian dress worn for hunting above and the himation worn below by the symposiast, surely to be identified as the same individual. The same contrast appears on the Lydian Salihli stele on which a Lydian cavalryman with crested helmet and breastplate (admittedly riding a Persian-caparisoned horse) is set above a hunter in Persian rider dress drawing a bow.<sup>64</sup> The conclusion, that for some activities a man who normally wears other dress might choose to adopt the Persian rider dress, is supported also in more prestigious burials. On the friezes of the Tatarlı tomb paintings, the men in the convey scene and cavalry on the victori-

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<sup>62</sup> Lurie 1981.

<sup>63</sup> An extended discussion in Miller 2013.

<sup>64</sup> Manisa Mus. 3389. Dedeoğlu 2003, 62.

ous side of the battle frieze wear Persian rider dress, while larger battling figures wear the court robe. The Phrygian construction necessitates that the deceased deposed here was Phrygian.<sup>65</sup>

Tracking the adoption of the Persian court dress in Anatolia is more challenging as its form is not so clearly distinct from local clothing types. However, Bruno Jacobs recognized the garment of the reclining figure of the Karaburun painted tomb as a *kypassis*, the Persian court robe.<sup>66</sup> In the same tomb, men wearing the rider dress serve the dynast as well as conduct the funerary cavalcade on the south wall, marking a clear contrast of functional use as well as indication that both forms of dress might be adopted, at least occasionally.

The discovery of three sets of gold bracteates in Sardis Chamber Tomb 836 noted above must be taken as evidence that the family of a Lydian individual chose to bury their loved one dressed in a garment richly adorned with Persian(izing) gold attachments. Perhaps the garment was a *kypassis*; its costly adornment raises the question whether it might have been a gift from a Persian. There is evidence to suggest that Persian women, as well as men, wore the *kypassis*.<sup>67</sup>

There is no doubt that the monumental archaic Temple of Artemis at Ephesus was an Ionian Greek structure. Construction commenced about 550 and has been associated with Croesus of Lydia; inscriptions on base-fragments possibly corroborate Herodotus' comment regarding Croesus' donation of the columns (Hdt. 1.92).<sup>68</sup> One Persian element is attested within its overwhelmingly East Greek architectural idiom: a relief of processing figures

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<sup>65</sup> Berndt 2020, 70-75, discussing instances of the *kandys* in Anatolian arts collects other materials.

<sup>66</sup> Jacobs 1994, 126-135 worked out the manufacture of the *kypassis*. Although he recognised that the garment is what is depicted here, he read the figure to be Persian. Cf. *infra* Summerer fig. 3.

<sup>67</sup> Discussed Miller *forthcoming*, Chapter 6.

<sup>68</sup> See the inscribed Ionic column base fragments: London BM, 1872,0405.19; 1872,0405.20; 1873,0505.219; 1873,0505.220, 1873,0505.218.



on the interior architrave, dated ca. 480, includes on one fragment two overlapping feet that wear Persian shoes. One wears a buttoned court-dress shoe and the other a tied rider-dress shoe.<sup>69</sup> In this context it is worth remembering the Persian name of an Ephesian cult official; according to Xenophon, in the early fourth century, one Megabyzos was the *neokoros* of Artemis (*Anab.* 5.3.6). This would seem to be an instance of Persian nomenclature entering a Greek family and so possibly evidence of inter-marriage. We may also recall that late in the fifth century Lysander is said to have found the people of Ephesus «in danger of being thoroughly barbarized (κινδυνεύουσιν ἐκβαρβαρωθῆναι) by Persian practice because of the mingling, since Lydia surrounded it and the King's generals had spent most of their time there» (Plutarch, *Lysander* 3.2).

Evidently, selective adoption of Persian dress by Anatolian peoples took place in Persian-period Western Anatolia, which may explain the surprising appearance of a Persian head on the side panel of a Clazomenian sarcophagus, as well as the frequent appearance of 'Persians' as victors in battle imagery of the head-pieces of Clazomenian sarcophagi.<sup>70</sup> It is important to stress that the adoption of Persian style clothing occurred in the context

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Hicks 1890, 173, 518A-E. [https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/G\\_1873-0505-218](https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/G_1873-0505-218).

<sup>69</sup> London BM 1873,0505.22: Pryce - Walters 1928, 90, cat. no. B231. Muss 1994, 87, fig. 101 (colour), corrected Pryce's reading that the shod foot was feminine. A similar composition is attested on glazed brick fragments, Louvre SB 14426 and 14427, where the two shoe types are reversed: Curtis - Tallis 2005, 90, cat. n° 57-58; Harper *et al.* 1992, n° 168. Online: <https://collections.louvre.fr/en/ark:/53355/cl010186896>. Votives from the site include fragments of a Persian clear glass phiale, presumably imported: London BM, 1907,1201.542. Hogarth 1908, 318. Fossing 1937. Oliver 1970, 9, n. 4. Tatton-Brown - Gudenrath 2002, 532. Allen 2005, 90.

<sup>70</sup> London, Catalli Collection. Length: 43.2 cm. Formerly: London Market, Bertolami (April 19, 2018, Lot 28537); New York Market, Christie's (July 12, 2000, N° 417); Crescent Gallery, Tokyo. See the discussion in Miller *forthcoming*, Chapter 2.

of no indication of a change in local burial customs. What did change is what was deemed fine or prestigious dress.

### 5. *Overview*

In a sense Anatolia in the Persian period might be described as ‘proto-historic’ in view of the limited evidence from textual sources; one must utilise a range of material evidence, while keeping in mind the random nature of archaeological survival. Most of the evidence for the very presence of Persians is indirect and takes the form of strategic incorporation of foreign elements within a local idiom.<sup>71</sup> Artefacts become trackers for structures and ideas. Much of the evidence comes from the funerary sphere, where the continuation of local funerary practice, notably tomb construction, guarantees that it is to be seen as the local response to aspects of Persian culture. Striking are the wide geographic spread of the evidence and the wide variety of type, as well as the early date of commencement. Notably, the production of ‘Achaemenid’ bowls in local ceramic is widespread and attested at the satrapal capitals. It is possible that the variability reflects differences in local circumstance.

Possibly the most significant phenomenon is the extent to which elite burials constructed in their epicchoric traditions from early in the Persian period are adorned with Persianizing iconography or are supplied with prestige goods of Persian type. This includes the Lydian burial in a tumulus at İkiztepe (source of the ‘Lydian Treasure’), the Phrygian painted wooden built tomb at Tatarlı and Lycia’s painted tomb at Karaburun. Of course, the evidence is skewed by the rarity of the discovery of intact burial assemblages. The standard signifiers of social definition (language, social action, dress) are invisible in the archaeological record.<sup>72</sup>

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<sup>71</sup> See comments in Miller 2011b.

<sup>72</sup> Dusinberre 2003, 128-157, has argued also for a change in burial practice at Sardis during the Persian period.

Nonetheless, the increase in numbers of seals in burials of the Persian period may attest to growth in the (Persian) ‘sealing habit’ just as iconography along with an increase in drinking bowls point to adoption of a new mode of drinking.<sup>73</sup>

The biggest challenge is the question of agency. The prominent examples of Persian ideas in a local context are variably interpreted. The publishers of the Çan sarcophagus suggest that it was «probably made for a local Anatolian dynast».<sup>74</sup> The combination of Persoid procession imagery and an architectural form that could be viewed as a small Apadana at Meydancikkale in Cilicia has been posited to be a «Persian Satrapal Residence».<sup>75</sup> The parallel between the ‘Pyramid Tomb’ at Sardis and the Tomb of Cyrus at Pasargadae leaves open whether the tomb at Sardis housed a Persian noble who died in the conquest of Lydia (so, Arrian 6.29.4-11, much later) or who served as its first satrap. In each of the smaller indices of reception of Persian ideas, movement of minor arts rather than direct central intervention or models may explain the conveyance of the new idea. Yet never does the new idea replace or displace the local cultural tradition; it supplements. The Persian model enriched the social vocabulary.

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<sup>73</sup> A new «sealing habit»: Dusinger 2005, 24-27; significance noted by Kaptan 2008, 657.

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LÂTIFE SUMMERER

WAR AND PEACE IN FUNERARY ICONOGRAPHY  
OF ACHAEMENID ANATOLIA\*

οὐδείς γὰρ οὕτω ἀνόητος ἐστὶ ὅστις πόλεμον  
πρὸ εἰρήνης αἰρέεται  
HERODOTUS 1, 87

1. *Introduction*

The classic dichotomy ‘war and peace’ divides the opposing life circumstances into two overarching categories: violence, death, and sorrow on the one hand, leisure, serenity, health, and joy on the other hand. Although human nature generally prefers peace and dislikes conflict, war was seen as a necessary means to achieve peace. Long before George Orwell’s statement «war is peace» this key idea appears in several ancient authors. The well-known quotation of Aristotle «we make war that we may live in peace» best reflects the paradoxical interrelationship between military action and the human desire to live in peace.<sup>1</sup>

The visual narrative of war-and-peace is deeply rooted in Ancient Near East. The Standard of Ur, dated to the Early Dynastic Period ca. 2660 BCE, is at the beginning of a long line of war and peace iconography that continues, despite big gaps,

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<sup>1</sup> Aristot. *Nic. Eth.* 177b. Cf. Oswald 1996.

in the historical narratives of the Neo-Assyrian palace reliefs (ca. 875 BCE).<sup>2</sup>

Although the Persian Empire was highly militarized and the military values played a major role in imperial ideology, images of war are absent from monumental court reliefs of Persepolis and Susa. Repetitive audience and procession scenes portray a peaceful life and harmonious human coexistence with men going hand in hand and shoulder to shoulder. Despite some weaponed soldiers here and there, the total absence of depiction of violence is seen as a great conundrum, especially in comparison with the Assyrian palace reliefs representing highly cruel war scenes.<sup>3</sup> It is usually explained as a deliberate avoidance of warfare in monumental royal art to promote the *Pax Achaemenica*.<sup>4</sup>

In Persepolis, at the East Gate of Tripylon and on the rock-cut façade of the tomb of Darius at Naqsh-e Rostan the reliefs of the throne bearers (ca. 490 BCE) refer in a rather subtle way to the outcome of wars won in the past.<sup>5</sup> However, the image carved on the Behistun rock (520/519 BCE) is the only monument that unambiguously celebrates the Achaemenid military victory depicting the Great King stepping over the enemy's corpses and overlooking the chained captives while the accompanying inscription records the triumph of Darius I over Gaumata and other rebel chieftains.<sup>6</sup>

Human combat scenes do appear in the Achaemenid glyptic art. Christopher Tuplin catalogued 67 glyptic images including cylinder seals, stamp seals and finger ring bezel that depict the Persian military victory over their Eastern and Western

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<sup>2</sup> Winter 1981; Winter 1985. On the standard of Ur cf. Corfù 2015, with previous literature.

<sup>3</sup> Battini 2016a; Bagg 2016. On Syro-Hittite reliefs from Carchemish see Cornelius 2024.

<sup>4</sup> Tuplin 2017; Tuplin 2020, 364-365. On different ideological tendencies in Assyrian and Achaemenid art see Castelluccia 2019.

<sup>5</sup> Cool Root 1979, 58-61; 72-76.

<sup>6</sup> For the major iconographical analysis of the Behistun relief see Cool Root 1979.

enemies.<sup>7</sup> Owing to their limited pictorial field, the stamp seal stones only bear highly abbreviated combat scenes with two or three figures, while larger battle compositions with multiple combatants appear on cylinder seals.<sup>8</sup> A number of scholars concluded that the motif ‘Persians at war’ was originally designed for large-scale reliefs or wall-paintings which are now lost to us but reflected in part by the glyptic images.<sup>9</sup> This view, however, is not beyond doubt, since large-scale representations of Persian military victory is only known from the peripheral regions of the empire. Bruno Jacobs for example decisively rejects any interdependence between Achaemenid court art and warfare depictions in Western Anatolia.<sup>10</sup> In his opinion, image compositions illustrating Persian victory emerged in Western Anatolia under the influence of Greek Art. In this paper, I will not enter into the stagnant debate whether the iconography of Persian military victory was shaped at the Achaemenid court or in the westernmost edge of the empire by local rulers.<sup>11</sup> Instead, I will build a case for reconsidering the available funerary war imagery through a review of their interpretations and by assessing the significance of individual scenes within the hierarchal structure of image programmes in and on tombs. Rather than address the question of which historical battle might be depicted, I will ask how and why the scenes of violent military actions were combined with peace and joyful activities to commemorate the deceased.

During the Persian rule in Anatolia some funerary monuments were figuratively decorated either by paintings on the inner walls of tomb chambers or by sculptured decorations on the exterior walls of tomb buildings and on grave stelae and sarcophagi. At least a dozen of them includes warfare-depictions which cele-

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<sup>7</sup> Tuplin 2020.

<sup>8</sup> Tuplin 2017, 38.

<sup>9</sup> Instead of full bibliography I only refer to Cool Root 1979, 183 and Tuplin 2020, 364.

<sup>10</sup> Jacobs 2002, 348-387; Jacobs 2014; Jacobs 2015; Jacobs 2021.

<sup>11</sup> Ma 2008, 10 speaks of «Achaemenid military art».

brate Persian victory. It is noteworthy to mention that warfare imagery never occurs alone, but it rather appears in combination with other themes, frequently with hunts, banquets, family meetings and solemn processions.

Scholars generally agree that battle images yield biographical references and record the deeds of the tomb owner as a warrior.<sup>12</sup> Below, I will review this interpretive approach and argue for a move from this biographic reading, narrowed down to the individual tomb owner, towards a conceptual interpretation within the framework war and peace.

I will briefly review the well-known and the newly discovered examples of funerary war imagery. Looking at the warfare scenes and at their combination with other themes I will try to reveal the ways how human violence was placed, valued or weighted within the visual programmes of funerary monuments. Comparisons of warfare images from different monuments will provide insights about overlapping or diverging motifs and about their possible interdependence. Searching for a contextual meaning of warfare imagery I will try to show how killing and dying relate to serenity and well-being within the same display context. In the end, a synthesis of observations will flow into an interpretive discussion around the question of why ‘Persian military victory’ was chosen to commemorate the death.

## *2. Warfare in Funerary Context*

The thirteen painted and sculptured examples of warfare scenes under consideration date to the 5<sup>th</sup>/4<sup>th</sup> century BCE. Unfortunately, only very few of them preserve the complete image programme while others are fragmentary and show only parts of their original pictorial decoration. Below, I survey all available images by paying attention on their specific iconography: how is the Persian identity

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<sup>12</sup> See for example the article of Smotlakova 2014.

of the victorious army or warriors shown? Which iconographic means are used to underline the Persian superiority? How is the enemy of the Persians distinguished? Since the painted friezes provide the most complete and figure-rich battle scenes they will precede the sculptured depictions on grave stelae and sarcophagi.

### 3. *Paintings*

So far, the painted examples of Persian victory are known only from two tombs in Phrygia and Lycia.<sup>13</sup> The Tatarlı-tumulus is the latest known example of the Phrygian tradition of timber-built tomb chambers (*Cat. 1, Fig. 1*). Since it was repeatedly reused for secondary burials, clues to its original tomb owner are lost. All four inner walls of the chamber were painted with narrow figurative friezes of which one-third has survived. Rather than providing a full-description of the paintings here I refer to my earlier publications.<sup>14</sup> Thus, suffice it to mention their subject matter: the northern rear wall, where the *kline* stood, is decorated from top to down with antithetic felines, weapon dancers, a poorly preserved chariot procession, probably a ‘departure to war’ scene, and a representation of Heracles’s tenth deed, the cattle of Geryon, and an almost entirely lost banquet scene. The battle frieze is placed on the lateral Eastern wall, just below a calmly striding procession with horses, chariots, women and men on foot. It depicts a narrative scene with two adversary armies moving towards the centre (*Fig. 2*).<sup>15</sup> The Persian army approaching from the left is

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<sup>13</sup> The painted tomb Kızılbey in Lycia, dated to the last quarter of 6<sup>th</sup> century BCE, has a warrior departure scene, but no battle image: Mellink 1996. The painted frieze on the *kline* from the Aktepe tumulus is too fragmentary to recognize whether it was a battle or hunting scene: Baughan 2010, pp. 24-36.

<sup>14</sup> Summerer 2007; Summerer 2008, 282-284; Summerer 2010, 126-142; Summerer 2022.

<sup>15</sup> Summerer 2007; Summerer 2008, 282-284; Summerer 2010, 126-142; Summerer - Lukpanova 2020, 598-603.

portrayed as superior than their opponents by headcount, equipment and orderly formation, divided in infantry, cavalry and chariotry.<sup>16</sup> The principal protagonist wearing a crown and the Persian court robe is an infantry bowman who is stabbing the enemy's leader in the chest. The infantry and cavalymen of the adversary army uniformly wear tight fitting trouser costumes and pointed caps.<sup>17</sup> On the Persian side, the infantry archers are in court-robe alike the army's leader while the trouser costume of the cavalymen is identical with attire of enemies. The inferiority of the enemy army is shown by the dead bodies lying on the ground under the horses and also by the lack of a chariot.

The stone-built tomb chamber in the Karaburun tumulus might be contemporary or slightly earlier than Tatarlı. Its inner walls are decorated with polychrome paintings on the plastered surface (*Cat. 2, Fig. 3*). Unlike Tatarlı's multiple narrow friezes, Karaburun bears a single frieze that runs through four walls with large scale figures divided in a few scenes. The main frieze on the rear wall over the kline shows a banquet scene that continues to the north wall. Behind the two servants of the banquet the frieze abruptly changes the theme and the scale as well as the direction of the movement. Contrary to Tatarlı, the Karaburun painting does not show a battle between two opposing armies, but three isolated combat groups whereas neither victors nor the vanquished foes are uniform in clothing and weapons (*Fig. 4*). The victorious horseman that dominates the visual centre, characterised as Persian by a purple trousers costume, *parameridia* and a blunt-cut beard style, is riding down two enemies. One of them is already dead and lying under the horse. His short white *exomis* and red quiver indicate that he was a light armed archer.<sup>18</sup> Another foe

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<sup>16</sup> Jacobs 2014, 349 doubts the identification of the war party coming from the left as Persians but in another place (Tuplin - Jacobs 2021, 1168) he speaks of Tatarlı's Persian warriors.

<sup>17</sup> Summerer 2010, 126-142.

<sup>18</sup> Miller 2010, 326 identifies this dead warrior as «Greek archer».

has fallen to his knees in front of the horse and is trying to defend himself against the victor's spear by pulling the reins of the horse. Unlike the dead enemy under the horse, this second foe is shown in hoplite-like panoply with cuirass, greaves, Corinthian helmet. The combat group on the left behind the horseman consists of two warriors. The victorious infantryman is spearing his kneeling foe who is identical in his appearance with the dead archer under the horse.<sup>19</sup> This second victor is not characterized as Persian. His particular attire consisting of a short blue chiton and a white cloak along the knee-high white socks is otherwise not attested, but is probably local.<sup>20</sup> Another warrior is shown in the same attire and with the same dagger but holding additionally a large shield that is identical to the one held by the adversary hoplites. He is pursuing two hoplite-foes fleeing to the right.

The basic type of equestrian battle image, Persian cavalryman riding over a dead body and spearing an adversary on foot, as well as the battle type 'infantry victor spearing fallen infantry foe' are known from seal stones.<sup>21</sup> The motif of a fleeing enemy appears on glyptic images of equestrian adversary.<sup>22</sup>

#### 4. *Battle Scenes in Stone Reliefs of Tomb Monuments*

So far, the earliest representations of warfare on stone reliefs are to be found in Lycia, for example in the south frieze of the Isinda tomb monument, dated to the last quarter of the 6<sup>th</sup> century BCE.<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>19</sup> Mellink 1971, 253 describes this foe-warrior with «a dark red cap with long lappets», but the red colour traces at the back of the warrior belongs to the quiver worn around the body.

<sup>20</sup> Mellink 1972, 268 with note 8 refers to the Lydian among the throne bearers at Naqsh-i Rustan that seems to wear leggings fastened on thighs: Schmidt 1970, fig. 47.

<sup>21</sup> Tuplin 2020, nr. 45-47, pp. 426-428.

<sup>22</sup> Tuplin 2020, nr. 42, 43, 44.

<sup>23</sup> Colas-Rannou 2009, 462-464 fig. 3. Seyer 2020, 221-229; Colas-Rannou 2023, 193-194 fig. 4.

It depicts, however, not the actual battle but rather its outcome showing the victorious warrior triumphing over the stacked corpses and captured opponents, similar to the Behistun relief and in the tradition of Ancient Near Eastern iconography of the *smiting king* in heroic guise.<sup>24</sup>

Warfare compositions on stone reliefs illustrating «Persian killing enemy» contemporaneous to the paintings in Tatarlı and Karaburun are so far lacking.<sup>25</sup> The fragmentary marble relief from Yeniceköy (near Daskyleion), lost today, would be the only example, if its assumed funerary function and tentative date to the mid-5<sup>th</sup> century BCE are correct (*Cat.* 3).<sup>26</sup> The relief depicts three warriors riding in flying galop over fallen adversaries and wielding their spears. They wear conical helmets and their thighs are protected by *parameridia*. The chain-like composition of the horsemen is similar to the Tatarlı frieze while the motif of riding over dead bodies corresponds to the Karaburun frieze.

The lavishly decorated monumental tombs in Lycia such as Nereid and Trysa monuments from the first decades of the 4<sup>th</sup> century BCE involve detailed scenes of warfare including battles and city sieges.<sup>27</sup> Although the iconography of the battle reliefs draws on Achaemenid and Near Eastern models and some warriors are

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<sup>24</sup> Victorious warrior stabbing his spear into the neck of his opponent fallen to his knee: Orthman 1971, pl. 25, d Karkemis C/14a; Colas-Rannou 2009, 467 fig. 11. Cornelius 2024. For war-chariot scenes with corpses on the ground see Orthmann 1971, 398-401 pl. 24a.c-f. See also Winter 1981.

<sup>25</sup> The south frieze of the Athena Nike temple (ca 420 BCE) depicts a war scene between mounted Persians and Greek foot soldiers in which some scholars recognize the battle of Marathon while other see it as generic war scene between Greeks and Persians: Palagia 2021, fig. 28.2-28.3.

<sup>26</sup> Munro 1912, 66 fig. 2; Macridy 1913, 353-365, fig. 5-6; Borchhardt 1968, 161-211. Cat. 1 (a part of sarcophagus); Bernard 1964, 197-198 fig. 2; Nollé 1992, 37-38, 92-93, pl. 15a.b. (stone-built tomb).

<sup>27</sup> Pirson 2014, 129-156. On Trysa see Landskorn 2015. Possible Persian warriors on the rock-cut Izrara monument in Tlos (Pirson 2014, 235, cat. L11 pl. 22, 2) and on the rock-cut tomb in Limyra (Pirson 2014, 235 cat. L21 pl. 24) are also excluded for their visual context is unsure.



represented with *baschlyk*, the winning party is not ostentatiously characterized as the Persian army, and they remain, therefore, out of consideration here.<sup>28</sup>

Nevertheless, monumental tombs with elaborate sculptural decorations must have existed also in satrapal centres. Recently, a lime stone relief was discovered in Daskyleion that belonged, judging by its dimensions (50 x 80 cm), to a larger battle scene (*Cat. 4, Fig. 5*).<sup>29</sup> The surviving fragment preserves the lower party of a Persian horseman galloping over fallen adversaries who are either naked or clad only in loincloths.<sup>30</sup> Not unlike in the Karaburun battle scene, one of the enemies is represented lying in a contorted and *en face* posture under the horse, the other one is fallen down backwards in front of the rider and looking up as if he would beg for mercy, while the third one, partly preserved, is fleeing. This battle relief was found together with another marble frieze part (80 x 150 cm) which is divided in two registers. The upper register is decorated with a procession scene with horses lined up in row of six men on foot, both in harmonious gait. In the lower register a fragmentary procession scene with round-top chariot (?) in smaller scale is discernible.<sup>31</sup> These reliefs are known only from preliminary short reports and it remains to be seen whether they could have once decorated a built tomb.<sup>32</sup> The composition and style of the reliefs suggest a date in the 4<sup>th</sup> century BCE.

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<sup>28</sup> Pirson 2014, 229, cat. L 4.

<sup>29</sup> The fragment measures 50x80cm: Iren - Kasar 2021, 4; Iren *et al.* 2023, fig. 9

<sup>30</sup> Iren - Kasar 2021, 4 speak of «der Kampf zwischen den Persern eine andere Ethnie (Griechen?)». But Iren *et al.* 2023, 323 speak of Persian-Greek battle.

<sup>31</sup> Iren - Kasar 2021, 4 speak of a war chariot, and four Persian riders.

<sup>32</sup> Iren - Kasar 2021, 4 remark that the reliefs were found out of context («nicht an ihrem ursprünglichen Anbringungsort») and think that they were used at two different buildings of the 5<sup>th</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> century. In another place, however, they speak of «in situ» finding situation at the foot of the «Phrygian city wall»: Iren *et al.* 2023, 323.

The frieze fragment from Philadelphia (Alaşehir) in Lydia, in the Museum of Manisa, preserves a part of a battle scene (*Cat. 5, Fig. 6*) which is similar to the new relief from Daskyleion.<sup>33</sup> The fragment preserves only the lower legs of the Persian rider wearing *anaxyrides* and *parameridion* and three hoplite-like naked adversaries. Of them, one is already dead lying on his back on a rocky terrain under the horse, the second has fallen to his knees and is trying to defend himself with his shield, while the third one struggles with wide spread legs to hold himself up. Gürcan Polat suggests that this fragment was a part from the sculptural decoration of the tomb building of the satrap of Lydia Autophradates and assigns it accordingly to the decade 360-350 BCE.<sup>34</sup>

### 5. Battle Scenes on Grave Stelae

The decorated register stelae from Daskyleion and other places in Western Anatolia, dated roughly to the 5<sup>th</sup> century BCE, bear banquet, procession and hunting images but lack battle scenes so far.<sup>35</sup> This situation might be due to the gaps in archaeological record, and new discoveries and reviews of neglected old materials can change this picture.

Three of the four recently rediscovered register stelae from Bozüyük, in the rural zones of Hellespontine Phrygia, show the battle type ‘horseman attacking standing enemy’.<sup>36</sup> Compared to the stelae from Daskyleion they feature a coarse style and simplified iconography of the common funerary themes such as banquet, hunting, procession and battle. The iconography of victorious Persian is best visible on the stele Bozüyük 1 (*Cat. 6,*

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<sup>33</sup> Polat 1998, 82-93 cat. II KB 1 pl. 11 drawing 4; Polat 2001; Durugönül, 2015, 157 cat. 95.

<sup>34</sup> Polat 2001.

<sup>35</sup> Nollé 1996, 92-93 mentions only the marble frieze from Yeniceköy, now lost, treated here under the heading architectural reliefs.

<sup>36</sup> Erpehlivan 2021.

*Fig. 7*): a cavalryman wearing trousers and cap is attacking his adversary who is running towards him from the right whereas the mountainous battle field is indicated by a big irregular feature.<sup>37</sup> The superiority of the Persian victor is indicated by scale and the dynamic movement of the horse that lifts his forelegs from the ground and bends hind legs to jump over a dead enemy lying on the ground. The combat group with victorious horseman riding over the dead adversary while attacking another adversary on foot follows the core composition of the Karaburun battle although there are differences in details. The motif of the dead adversary lying on his back on the ground with one bent leg and one hand on his head finds its closest parallel at the dead Scythian on the Tatarlı frieze.<sup>38</sup> The iconography ‘adversary running or stepping towards the Persian horseman’ has seal stone parallels.<sup>39</sup>

The scene on the stele Bozüyük 1 continues to the right with an infantry man conducting two captives whose hands are tied behind their back, a motif depicted on the Behistun relief and on some seal stones, but here attested for the first time on an Anatolian stone relief.<sup>40</sup> The register below the battle scene shows two different closely spaced scenes: on the left a boar hunt and on the right a banquet scene with a reclining bearded man and two female figures sitting on the kline, literally on his lap. Above and to their rear a smaller standing figure wrapped in a mantle and behind him a table with drinking vessels complete the banquet

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<sup>37</sup> Erpehlivan 2021, 62 describes a «Persian tiara or baschlyk» on the head of the horseman which is hardly visible on the photo. The rectangular feature behind the horseman could be his cloak blown by the wind, as is the case at the boar hunter of the Çan sarcophagus.

<sup>38</sup> Summerer 2010, 125 fig. 3. Erpehlivan 2021, 65 fig. 8.

<sup>39</sup> Tuplin 2020, 348-355, nr. 45.48-50.

<sup>40</sup> Erpehlivan 2021, 64 sees it as a separate scene. On Behistun Cool Root 1979, 182-196. Captives in combat scenes on seal stones: Tuplin 2020, 394-397 nr. 7.8.11, fig. 7-9. A recently published silver rhyton with gilded relief decoration from the Collection Sarikhane shows a detailed battle scene including captured enemies, is probably a fake object: Rehm 2021, 94 fig. 5a.b.

scene. In the lowest register, a partly preserved procession scene with men on horseback and on foot is recognizable.

The stele Bozüyük 2 shows a similar battle scene involving a horseman riding over a corpse and combatting an adversary on foot, but it is much simpler in style and iconographic detail (*Cat. 7*). In spite of captives, a single man on foot appears behind the cavalryman, possibly meant to be a supporting ‘henchmen’ as the one on the Çan sarcophagus. On the stele Bozüyük 4, the depiction is even more simplified, consisting only a rider attacking an adversary with no characterizing details (*Cat. 8*).<sup>41</sup> The dating of the Bozüyük stelae to the 4<sup>th</sup> century is based on stylistic arguments.<sup>42</sup>

On the well-known register stele from Philadelphia/Alaşehir in Lydia, in the museum of Manisa, tentatively dated to the 4<sup>th</sup> century BCE, a cuirassed cavalryman is riding on a rearing horse and wields his spear by holding it almost by the butt end (*Cat. 9, Fig. 8*). Despite his attacking posture no adversary is represented in front of him. The horizontal position of the spear over the horseman’s head requires an enemy in far. The seal stone parallels in this posture show indeed an enemy running from a distance towards the horseman.<sup>43</sup> Although the helmet and cuirass that the cavalryman is wearing on the Alaşehir stele look rather Greek-like, his Persian identity can be concluded from the lowest register where an unusual hunting scene depicts a Persian bowman clad in a *kandys* and cap aiming at a raptor on the tree.<sup>44</sup>

A narrow and high (0.36 x 2.24m) anthemion stele from Tosya (ancient Docea) in Paphlagonia, today in the Çorum museum, exceptionally represents a combat scene between two infantrymen (*Cat. 10, Fig. 9*).<sup>45</sup> The smaller warrior on the right equipped

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<sup>41</sup> Erpehlivan 2021, 70 fig. 14.

<sup>42</sup> Erpehlivan 2021, 71-72.

<sup>43</sup> Tuplin 2020, 431 nr. 55 fig. 48.

<sup>44</sup> Nieswandt - Salzmann 2015.

<sup>45</sup> Durugönül 1994, 1-14.

with a large round shield is spearing in the neck of his adversary from behind, as if ambushing his victim (*Fig. 10*). The disproportionately large victim, holding a small round shield, is falling on his knees. The large size of the victim led the first editor, Serra Durugönül, to the interpretation that he was the tomb owner who had been killed in a battle.<sup>46</sup> Apart from the fact that such a personalized illustration of death of the tomb owner would be unusual, the disproportionate scale of the victim does occur in glyptic battle scenes.<sup>47</sup> Consequently, the smaller warrior killing the big adversary should be seen as the principal protagonist in the battle scene, regardless of the question of his identification with the tomb owner. On the worn surface of the relief, the clothing of the victor is hardly perceivable. His Persian identity can be only concluded from other depictions on the stele. The register below the battle scene represents a cavalryman riding a horse with the Persian-style riding cloth to the right in slow gait. The middle register of the stele, which is the most prominent by its height and eyelevel position, is filled with a single but large-scale figure of a standing man whose attire including trousers, jacket and the soft cap characterizes him as Persian. His posture echoes the representations of Athenian citizens with mantle and staff in vase paintings<sup>48</sup> and on grave reliefs while the motif of smelling a flower is known from the Achaemenid royal iconography and also occurs at the reclining Persian at the relief from Afirözü in Paphlagonia.<sup>49</sup> The lowest register of the stele represents an infant

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<sup>46</sup> Durugönül 1994, 8. Such small shields occur also on the sarcophagi Çan and Payava. According to Ma 2008, 1-2 they mark the ethnicity of the warriors.

<sup>47</sup> For example Tuplin 2020, 393-394 nr. 6 fig. 6.

<sup>48</sup> Langer 2012, 11-18.

<sup>49</sup> See below the amphiglyphon stele from Yalnızdam. The recently found Attic stele in Miletupolis (Hellespontine Phrygia) representing the Athenian Hypermenes, the son of Hagnodemos, with strick and dog: Akyürek Şahin 2021, fig. 7-8. On the man and dog stelae from Sinope: Pfuhl - Möbius 1977, 14 nr. 13 pl. 4; Aykanat 2013. For flower held by the Persian nobles see for example Cool Root 1979, 18 fig. 18. On the relief from Afirözü: Summerer - von Kienlin 2010a, 214 fig. 18.

playing with a goose, a motif known from the Attic grave stones of children.<sup>50</sup> The combination of different life phases gives the impression of a visual biographic narration about a Persian or Persianized man beginning from childhood to pleasure-seeking idler and to cavalry soldier, eventually killing his adversary by a spear-thrust in battle. Such a chronological narration based visual representation is otherwise unknown in funerary art of Achaemenid Anatolia, so that the Tosya stele may be called a remarkable exception.

Contrary to the Graeco-Persian register stelae, the tomb stone from Yalңызdam in Lycia is a Greek style pediment stele that is carved on its both sides (*Cat. 11, Figs. 11-12*).<sup>51</sup> One side depicts a warrior on the back of a rearing horse vanishing his naked Greek foe who is crushed by the horse's hooves while other side shows a standing bearded man accompanied by a servant. It has been long recognized that this combat scene is closely related with the stele of the Athenian Dexileios who fell in the Battle of Nemea near Corinth (394 BCE).<sup>52</sup> Scholarship wondered about the shift of the warrior's iconography in Attic funerary art for the commemoration of soldiers killed in battle from inactive standing soldier to killing cavalryman and explained this on the basis of ideological alterations.<sup>53</sup> The question of whether this change could have been derived from the pictural models from Achaemenid Anatolia where 'horseman killing his fallen adversary' occurred several decades earlier in Karaburun, has never been raised.

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<sup>50</sup> Durugönül 1994, 4 with note 12 pl. 3.2.

<sup>51</sup> The amphiglyphon Yalңызdam/Elmalı stele has been often mentioned and illustrated in the literature but it never underwent an in-depth study. Most detailed treatments: Bruns-Özgan 1987, 114-115, 224, 290 cat. V7 pl. 20.2; Pirson 2014, 132, 240 cat. L 37 pl. 29, 4,

<sup>52</sup> Recently Landskorn 2015, 153-154 with note 295 with previous literature. To the schema Pirson 2014, 295-299, K. 88; K 90-95; K 102.

<sup>53</sup> Osborne 2010; Walter-Karydi 2015, 180-181, figs. 99-100. See also Pirson 2014, 222 cat. A11.

## 6. *Battle Scenes on Sarcophagi*

A Persian horseman killing his adversary is represented on two sarcophagi so far. The well-known Payava sarcophagus that was crafted in Lycian Xanthos around 360 BCE involves on its eastern long side depicts the Persian horseman in *Dexileios*-schema, but the *parameridia* of the rider characterizes him as Persian while his infantry adversaries contra-attacking him from the right are shown naked or in hoplite-like panoply (*Cat. 12, Fig. 13*).<sup>54</sup> The core schema of galloping and killing cavalryman is extended with six infantry adversaries coming from right, while three other horsemen approaching from the left belong to the winning side. The opposite long side depicts an interior scene with a seated dignitary dressed in *kandys* and accompanied by a servant in long-sleeved chiton and courted by three bearded men clad in *himatia*.<sup>55</sup> The narrow sides of the sarcophagus depict a boar hunt and the wreathing of an athlete. Another battle scene again between cavalry and infantry soldiers occurs on the top of the lid.<sup>56</sup> Since the sarcophagus' inscription names Payava as the builder and owner of the tomb, the principal protagonist of the represented scenes is equated with Payava who should be local commander of the satrap of Lydia, Autophradates.<sup>57</sup> Thus, the pictorial program of the sarcophagus is understood as *res gestae* of Payava, so to speak his visual biographic narrative.

The well-known marble sarcophagus from Çan/Atlıkulaç dated to the early 4<sup>th</sup> Century BCE is decorated with elaborately

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<sup>54</sup> Borchhardt 2002, 110-111 fig. 16. Pirson 2014, 239 cat. L 35 does not mention the the *parameridia* and assigns the sarcophagus to the second half of the 4<sup>th</sup> Century BCE. Landskorn 2015, p. 348: «370-360 BCE».

<sup>55</sup> Kızıgüt 2018, 82 with previous literature.

<sup>56</sup> On the iconography of the Payava sarcophagus most recently Kızıgüt 2018, 65-104.

<sup>57</sup> The function of Payava is seen as a «representant of Autophradates» in Xanthos although coins with his name lack: Pirson 2014, 134 with previous literature.

carved and polychrome painted reliefs. A double hunting scene fills the long side while the narrow side shows a combat with three figures (*Cat. 13, Fig. 14*). Curiously, the other two sides of the sarcophagus remained undecorated. In the battle scene, the principal protagonist, a heavily cuirassed cavalryman in Persian trouser costume, is spearing a bearded kneeling adversary who is unable to defend himself with his small round shield held on the ground. The scene is extended to the left by a ‘henchman’ behind the horseman who carries two spears and the same small round shield as the foe.

### *7. Types of Persian Victory*

On the base of this overview, we can establish a small corpus of thirteen funerary images showing Persian victory. It occurs on different monument types, in paintings on the interior walls of chamber tombs, in relief decoration of the outer walls of built tombs, as well as on sculpted grave stelae and sarcophagi. The various representations of Persian victory can be divided in two main types: Persian infantryman killing in hand-to hand combat an infantry adversary and Persian cavalryman spearing an adversary infantryman.

The two wall paintings in Tatarlı (*Fig. 2*) and Karaburun (*Fig. 4*) are the earliest examples of triumphant Persian. Although they are almost contemporaneous (ca. 470 BCE), the overall design, composition and style of these two paintings differ from one another in that Tatarlı depicts two opposing armies coming to blows whereas in Karaburun the opponent parties are disintegrated into combat groups and duels. In both paintings, the principal protagonist is defined by clothing, size, central position, triumphant posture over the dead victims. In Tatarlı, the victorious Persian is shown as an infantryman leading cavalry and infantry archers and killing the leader of the adversary army. In Karaburun, on the other hand, the principal protagonist on horseback is



supported by two non-Persian foot-soldiers. The ethnicity of the enemy in Tatarlı is differentiated by their uniform headgears as Easterners, namely as *Saka tigraxauda*, by the pointed shape of the headgear.<sup>58</sup> In Karaburun, on the other hand, neither victors nor enemies have coherent distinction in clothing and weapon. The adversary party consists of light-armed archers and heavily-armed hoplites. The victor on horseback wears *anaxyrides* and *parameridion*, typical clothing of Persian riders. The victor from the duel on the left and the soldier expelling the fleeing adversary hoplites on the right, however, represent obviously non-Persians, as their particular clothing and daggers hanging over the bodies suggest. Curiously, one of them on the right is additionally equipped with a large shield that is identical with the shield of the adversary hoplites. Likewise, the adversary warriors on the Payava sarcophagus are partly naked and partly wear an *exomis*. On the relief fragment from Philadelphia/Alaşehir (*Cat. 9*) all three adversaries are naked. On the stele Bozüyük 1, the adversary holds a pelta-like shield, while the enemies on Bozüyük 2 and Bozüyük 4 are equipped with a small round shield, similar to the enemy's shield on the Çan sarcophagus.<sup>59</sup>

Iconographic features in depiction of the principal protagonist in Tatarlı link it conceptually to the Achaemenid image type 'royal hero killing monster' or 'king killing human enemy' represented in monumental art as well as in glyptic images.<sup>60</sup> The Karaburun Tomb's principal protagonist riding in extended gallop over his dead or fallen adversaries is known from the battle scenes 'Persians vs Greeks' on seal stones.<sup>61</sup>

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<sup>58</sup> Jacobs 2014, p. 349 doubts the identification of the battle scene 'Persians vs. Pointed Hat Scythians', but does not offer an alternative interpretation.

<sup>59</sup> On Athenian peltasts Sekunda *forthcoming*. On the use of peltas by the Persians: Manning 2022, 157; Tuplin - Jacobs 2022, 1169-1170. On the small round shield on the Çan sarcophagus: Ma 2008, 249; Rose 2014, 138.

<sup>60</sup> Tuplin 2020, 352-359.

<sup>61</sup> Tuplin 2020, 347-352. There are only three exceptions where the adversary of the Persian horseman is an Easterner: Tuplin 2020, 348 n.42.43.62. On

The stone reliefs of the 4<sup>th</sup> century BCE mostly follow the compositional pattern of the Karaburun frieze ‘Persian on horseback killing fallen adversary’. An exception is the stele from Tosya where the killing and riding scenes are depicted in separate registers and the combat happens between two infantrymen. Another exception is the stele from Philadelphia/Alaşehir where the horseman is represented in attacking posture but without an adversary. The basic schema with two figures ‘horseman spearing adversary on foot’ is also represented on the stele Bozüyük 4 and on the Yalnızdam stele while on the Çan sarcophagus a ‘henchman’ was added who is backing the cavalryman. In all other cases, the core motif is extended with dead, collapsed, falling, resisting and fleeing adversaries. The new relief fragment from Daskyleion preserves in parts the victorious horseman riding over one dead and one collapsed victim while he is pursuing a fleeing adversary. Instead of fleeing enemy, the relief fragment from Philadelphia/Alaşehir depicts a naked adversary standing upright with wide-spread legs, obviously trying to resist or counterattack, similar to the enemies on the Payava sarcophagus (*Fig. 13*). All three reliefs from Bozüyük depict an infantry adversary who is confidently running toward the Persian victor. On the stele Bozüyük 1 (*Fig. 7*), the cavalry-infantry combat is extended with the scene ‘Persian infantryman leading two captives’.

Comparanda for all these battle compositions can be found in glyptic art.<sup>62</sup> In general terms, the battle compositions resemble each other, but they are never identical and show a great variety in number of figures, clothing, weapons, postures and other details. It looks as if the painters and sculpturers picked out individual figure models from a pool of traditional art to compose again and again new battle scenes for grave monuments.<sup>63</sup>

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dead adversaries depicted as they were a platform for the heroic combatant see Garisson - Henkelman 2020, 118-122.

<sup>62</sup> Tuplin 2020.

<sup>63</sup> On the adoption of older image models: Summerer *forthcoming*.

## 8. Warfare Imagery in Context

The significance of Persian military victory imagery in funerary context can be understood only by considering its visual setting and combination with non-war images. Viewing various aspects such as spatial location, compositional placement, size and quality can help to assess weight and position of warfare within the programme's hierarchical structure.

The fact that the battle scene never appears alone but always as a part of an image programme, makes it profoundly different from Greek funerary battle imagery such as the 'Dexileios motif' that was used on Attic grave stones as sole image to represent the soldier killed in battle as victor.<sup>64</sup>

The *amphiglyphon* stele from Yalnızdam (Figs. 11-12), whose close relation to the Dexileios stele has often been noted, pairs the image of mounted combat with a scene in domestic peace. Here a man clad in *chiton* and *himation* and holding a staff is accompanied by a servant who holds an open *pyxis* that signals a specific consumer good. Noteworthy is the characterisation of the long-haired bearded man as a dignitary while the battle scene on the other side shows a beardless youthful Persian rider which could be understood as two different life phases as was the case on the Tosya stele. The relaxed stance of the man attended by his servant surely communicates leisure so that in essence it can be seen as equivalent to banquet imagery. The combination of violent military activity with quiet leisure on two sides of the stele bears again impressive witness to the contrasting pair war and peace.

In Tatarlı and Karaburun, the battle friezes are located on the lateral walls and at Çan on the narrow side of the sarcophagus; they are thus subordinated to banquet and hunt in the image programme. In Karaburun, the banquet scene is the most prominent image within the image programme in view of its larger scale and location on the rear wall above the *kline*. In Tatarlı too, the frieze

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<sup>64</sup> Osborne 2010; Walter-Karydi 2015, 180-187.

above the *kline* yielded a banquet scene of which only tiny traces remain.<sup>65</sup>

On the stelae from Bozüyük, the battle images are conjoined with scenes of banqueting or conversing figures with men, women and children. In the register below the battle scene, the stele Bozüyük 1 depicts densely packed double scenes with banquet and boar hunt, again visualizing the contrast between the harm- and effortful violent activity and the comforts of pleasant life. In Tatarlı, the hunting theme is missing, but it can be seen as substituted by the myth of Geryon.<sup>66</sup>

Remarkably, in the two painted tombs, the battle frieze is interconnected with the procession scene that is positioned right above the battle frieze in Tatarlı and facing the battle scene in Karaburun.<sup>67</sup> In the lowest register of the stele Bozüyük 1 (*Cat. 6*) a fragmentary procession scene with horses, riders and a foot man is similar to the convoys in Tatarlı and Karaburun.

The only monument that gives a prominent position to the battle image is the Payava sarcophagus (*Cat. 12*) on the eastern long side; it is paired with an audience scene on the opposite long side which is peaceful, but political rather than leisure.

The original image programmes of the fragmentary architectural reliefs from Yeniceköy (*Cat. 3*) and Philadelphia/Alaşehir remain obscure, but in case of Daskyleion, a second fragment from preserves parts of a parade with horses and men and another procession scene with round top chariots, similar to those in Tatarlı and Karaburun.<sup>68</sup> On the Çan sarcophagus and on the stele from Philadelphia/Alaşehir, the cavalryman spearing his adversary or the spear wielding horseman without adversary are both paired with a hunting scenes. It seems that in these cases the

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<sup>65</sup> Summerer 2008, 269 fig. 3; *ivi*, 273; Summerer 2010, 150-152, fig. 17.

<sup>66</sup> Summerer 2010, 146-147 fig. 18.

<sup>67</sup> Tatarlı: Summerer 2008, 275-278 fig. 6; Summerer 2020, 158-159 fig. 21. Karaburun: Miller 2010, 353-325, fig. 4.6.

<sup>68</sup> Iren - Kasar 2021, 4 unnumbered figure on the right.

violent aspect of life was thematized twice, while interior peaceful scenes are omitted.

Apart from these exceptions, we observe, at least where the entire image programme is preserved, that warfare does not occupy a particularly prominent place. It is mainly represented on lateral walls of tomb chambers or on narrow sides or on lids of sarcophagi in comparatively smaller scale. It is clearly subordinated to the themes of leisure, but seemingly equal to hunting and procession scenes. This hierarchy raises the question of whether there is a complementary meaning embedded in the image programme. The interpretation of banquet imagery has been subject of debates and the question whether it had an eschatological or worldly significance is still open to discussion.<sup>69</sup> From the visual perspective, however, the scenes with reclining, dining, drinking or conversing figures radiate calmness and well-being and pose a strong contrast to the tumultuous and violent scenes of killing and dying.

The juxtaposition of violent war scenes, peaceful processions and celebrations is deeply rooted in Near Eastern art. The long line of this visual tradition begins with the Standard of Ur continues, despite big gaps, in historical narrative Neo-Assyrian palace reliefs.<sup>70</sup> Together with the accompanying epigraphical texts the Assyrian narrative reliefs record actual wars, defeated adversaries, destroyed cities, prisoned enemies, booty and eventually celebrations and banquets.<sup>71</sup> The question of how this artistic tradition was transmitted to Achaemenid Anatolia, which role Greece and Iran played in this transmission and how the traditional images of war and peace were transformed, reshaped and reinterpreted in the line of actual ideology and religious belief requires new discoveries to fill the gaps and further research.<sup>72</sup>

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<sup>69</sup> Draycott 2016.

<sup>70</sup> See note 2.

<sup>71</sup> Winter 1981.

<sup>72</sup> The motifs might be transmitted by different media, usually via portable objects such as sealstones, jewellery and vessels. The recently published silver rhyton with a figure-rich battle frieze from the Sarikhane Collection would

For the time being, the above observations allow the statement that images of military conflicts are typically accompanied by images of peaceful leisure consumption and social interaction. The relationship between battle and hunting basically consists of violent acts of killing or repelling the external threats. Parades with war chariots and mounted horses communicate visually nothing violent, but they provide a conceptual link between peaceful life and violent war. Likewise, other procession scenes involving men, women, civilians and soldiers, chariots and horses with heavy cargo may be seen in connection with war and in analogy with Assyrian reliefs as triumphal processions,<sup>73</sup> regardless of the question of whether or not they maintained this meaning or underwent semantic changes over time and the iconography was adopted to represent funerary convoys.<sup>74</sup>

### 9. *Biographical or Generic?*

Most scholars favour the interpretation that warfare scenes on funerary monuments were commemorative illustrations of actual battles in which the tomb-owners had participated.<sup>75</sup> In case of Karaburun (*Cat. 2*), the victorious horseman on the north wall has been identified with the deceased,<sup>76</sup> whereas the com-

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present an example for this, if it was not a fake piece: Rehm 2021, 94 fig. 5a.b. See above note 39.

<sup>73</sup> On the triumphal processions on the Late Assyrian reliefs: May 2012.

<sup>74</sup> The interpretation of these convoy scenes highly debated. I have myself argued in favour of the funerary processions (Summerer 2008, 275-280; Summerer 2010, 152-154) while C. Draycott preferred a military convoy (Draycott 2010). Later, Draycott 2016, 259 stated that «it seems appropriate to modify this statement and allow that since similar convoys could be staged during funerals, the depictions of such images on and in tombs could well have referred to those processions as well».

<sup>75</sup> For example Rose 2014, 138-141.

<sup>76</sup> Mellink 1972, 268: «It is possible that the dignitary buried in the Karaburun tomb indeed fought in the Persian army». See also Mellink 1974, 73. This

bat scene is alternatively associated with the battle in Plateia or Thermopylai.<sup>77</sup> The horseman, the reclining dignitary of the banquet scene and the chariot rider in the procession scene would have been the one and the same person, namely the tomb owner.<sup>78</sup> This identification is justified alone by his prominent position and his fringed black beard cut square that is still recognisable despite his destroyed head. In case of Tatarlı (*Cat. 1*), the battle frieze was interpreted as a historical narrative of the military conflict between Persians and Scythians under Darius (519/513 BCE) in which also the tomb owner should have fought.<sup>79</sup> Since the principal protagonist looked more like the Great King it was the archer on the chariot who represented the tomb owner.<sup>80</sup>

According to Brian C. Rose «The Çan Sarcophagus can be assigned to a corpus of monuments that featured a biographical narrative of the decedent's life».<sup>81</sup> He interprets the scene as a Graeco-Persian war, possibly the one between the Spartan commander Agesilaos and Pharnabazos, the satrap of Daskyleion.<sup>82</sup> John Ma, on the other hand, sees there an intra-Mysian combat whereas the differentiated clothing of the victor and the defeated would have marked their opposing loyalties.<sup>83</sup> As for the Payava-sarcophagus (*Cat. 10*), the victorious Persian of both battle scenes is identified with Payava who is mentioned in the accompanying inscription as builder and owner of the tomb. Although otherwise

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hypothesizing remark was adopted in later publication by taking it for granted: Jacobs 1987, 29; Nollé 1992, 93; Miller 2010, 326; Draycott 2010, 15; Smotlakova 2014, 42; Jacobs 2015, 113; Manning 2022, 150.

<sup>77</sup> Borchhardt 1992, 99.

<sup>78</sup> Mellink 1971, 254; Mellink 1972, 268.

<sup>79</sup> Calmeyer 1992, 14-17; Borchhardt 2002, 95; Manning 2022, 159. Bruno Jacobs repeatedly (Jacobs 1987, 32; Jacobs 2014, 357; Jacobs, 2015, 113) claimed that tomb owners of Karaburun and Tatarlı were Persians whose military deeds were celebrated in the battle scenes.

<sup>80</sup> Borchhart 2002, 95. For a detailed discussion see Summerer 2007, 22-24.

<sup>81</sup> Rose 2014, 138.

<sup>82</sup> Rose 2014, 139.

<sup>83</sup> Ma 2008, 6.

not attested in written sources, Payava is believed to have fought as a vassal and *hipparch* of Autophradates in the Persian army;<sup>84</sup> the battle scenes represented on the three new grave stelae from Bozüyük could not be connected with any historical battle due to lack of details and precise clues to ethnicity, but the combatting and banqueting protagonist is identified with the tomb owner who would be Persianized local Anatolians like Datames.<sup>85</sup>

This brief review makes clear that the attempts to identify the battle images as memorials of actual wars or the *res gestae* of tomb owners mainly base on guesswork. It often remains blurred whether the suggested identification primarily inferred from the stylistic date of the image or whether the date is derived from the supposed historical context.

When the labelling inscriptions and other visual identifier are absent the images can be connected with any military action of Persians, wars, revolts and other conflicts, known or unknown to us from written sources.<sup>86</sup> Furthermore, in rare cases where the depicted figures are labelled with inscriptions, it is clear that the tomb owner was not identical with the principal protagonist.<sup>87</sup>

An interpretative approach based on the premise that war images must reflect actual military conflicts remains an untest-

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<sup>84</sup> Borchhardt 1992, 109-110. Pirson 2014, 13 states that the battle depictions of the tomb monuments cannot be generally connected with the military activities of the deceased but accepts (Pirson 2014, 131 with note 564) that the tomb owner Payava was represented in the battle scenes because he was named in the inscription. See also Kızıgüt 2017, 64-104 who straightforwardly speaks of the depiction of Payava.

<sup>85</sup> Erpehlivan 2021, 64-71.

<sup>86</sup> Representations of rocky terrain in the Karaburun painting, and stele 1 from Bozüyük with addition of trees on the Çan sarcophagus and on the relief fragment and the register stele from Alaşehir specify the location of the battle field in an undefined way. Nevertheless, Rose 2014, 139 recognizes on the Çan sarcophagus the tree-laden rocky landscape of the area around Çan.

<sup>87</sup> An example for this is the principal protagonist of the hunting scene in the wall paintings of the Marisa tomb, dated to the 3<sup>rd</sup> Century BCE who is labelled with the name Libanos, while the tomb owners, successively buried in this tomb, have other names: Jacobson 2007, 21; Thomas 2021, 106.



able hypothesis. Against this background, I urge against wasting scholarly energy searching for specific tomb owners and historical battles in images.<sup>88</sup> As noted above, from the iconography itself the visual message whether the Persians defeated their enemies in a specific battle, in a certain time and space, or whether the Persians always beat their enemies, is not determinable. In case of Tatarlı (*Cat. I*), I argued that the battle scene was not primarily composed for this tomb, but adopted from an earlier model lost to us or it was eclectically created by adopting single motifs from earlier works, as anachronistic motives such as war chariot and court robe suggest.<sup>89</sup> It is possible that these supposed models had historical significance, especially when they were displayed to the public in view and meant to be read by successive generations, as was the case at the Behistun monument. This does, however, not mean that they still had the same meaning when they were adopted in private graves. This phenomenon can be paralleled with the case of the lost 4<sup>th</sup> century BCE painting that was copied in the Alexander Mosaic in Pompeii in the Late Hellenistic period.<sup>90</sup>

Furthermore, the scholarly tendency to identify the heroic Persian fighter in battle scenes with the persona of the tomb owner is based on the principal assumption that the tomb imagery

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<sup>88</sup> Summerer 2008, 25-26.

<sup>89</sup> This can be seen in difficulties that the painters had while copying their models such as the uncorrect rendering of clothings at Tatarlı (Summerer 2008, 10, 15; Summerer 2010, 128). Manning 2021, 98-99 refers that war chariots were replaced by cavalry in the army, in another place, however, Manning 2022, 159-160, the author states «a small number of chariots were still part of Achaemenid armies in the 5<sup>th</sup> century BCE» referring to Tatarlı. In the Karaburun the chosen banquet image did not fit on the available surface of the rear wall so that it was needed to spread it to the next wall, whereby the visual symmetry of the image was destroyed. Another indication that a preexisting image composition was adopted in the Karaburun tomb is the mistakenly painted right hand at the female figure of the banquet scene (Mellink 1971, 252). The otherwise highly-skilled painter would have not made these errors if he were the composer of the image.

<sup>90</sup> Palagia 2021, 374-375 figs. 28.4-28.5.

must portray the deceased. The scenes with outdoor actions, battle, hunting, procession, and the scenes with indoor activities, reclining, banqueting, consuming and conversing are archetypical generic images and not the stages of a specific biography of an individual tomb owner. An exception is the unusual image programme of the Tosya-stele (*Cat. 10*) that obviously reflects a lifecycle between childhood and adulthood that may have specifically referred to the tomb owner.

With the exception of Tatarlı and Tosya all battle images follow the core image ‘Persian rider vanishing enemy’ which can be extended with dead, fallen and fleeing adversaries and additional fighters on the Persian side. This canonical image type continued to be used in variations on funerary monuments over centuries like an epitome of victory<sup>91</sup> that bears the ideological message of Persian victory rather than historical information.

Consequently, the battle imagery should be disassociated from tomb owner’s personal deeds and disconnected from the historical reality, since they are ideologically constructed images visualizing perpetual fights of the Persians against their arch enemies and rebels who threaten the empire’s existing world order and peaceful life. The image programmes generally provide no insights into real life in antiquity but, rather, visual presentations of an imagined ideal life with abundant consume goods and defeated enemies.

## 10. *Conclusions*

The corpus of funerary images of ‘Persian Victory’ that was established in this paper is admittedly small. However, the fact that almost half of this corpus consists of recently discovered or

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<sup>91</sup> See for example the register stele of Mokazis from Tarsos in Bithynia (Adapazarı) dated to the second half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> Century BCE depicting a banquet and hunting scenes in combination with a multifigure battle scene which is very similar to those from the 4<sup>th</sup> Century BCE: Rumscheid - Held 1994, pls. 18-20.

rediscovered monuments gives a reason for the expectation of new additions.

In the course of the examination of how the visual formula of Persian military victory was incorporated into the funerary image programme in Achaemenid Anatolia several points have emerged: images celebrating Persian victory first occurred in the first half of the 5<sup>th</sup> century BCE in tomb paintings, but blossomed in the 4<sup>th</sup> century BCE in a particularly intense phase, and continued to be used into the Hellenistic period.<sup>92</sup> The corpus consists of wall paintings, architectural reliefs, stelae and sarcophagi. In terms of composition, type, number of figures and style the battle images reflect a wide variety, but their common emphasis is in the representation of Persian victory. The most figure-rich representation on the Tatarlı-wood shows a battle with two clearly distinguished armies in archaic tradition, like the war scene on the Proto-Corinthian Chigi olpe that was inspired by the Neo-Assyrian models.<sup>93</sup> With the exception of the stelae from Tosya and Philadelphia/Alaşehir, the battle compositions on stone reliefs follow the core motif of ‘Persian riding down enemy’ in the Karaburun painting that could be extended with additional combat groups as well as with defending, counter-attacking, fleeing or captured adversaries. Individual motifs seem to be borrowed

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<sup>92</sup> For example the Alexander sarcophagus (last quarter of the 4<sup>th</sup> century) depicts on its narrow side and on its lid a battle scene with the victorious Persian against the naked Greek adversaries (Pirson 2014, 249 cat. H 11; H 13 pl. 41,1.3) and the lost Kinch painting (310-290 BCE): Palagia 2017, 182 fig. 11.5 and the register stelae from Bithynia. On the stele from Tarsos the battle scene is represented below the banquet scene. The principal protagonist on horseback in Dexileios-motif on horseback is cuirassed, but his headgear is not well recognizable. Rumscheid - Held 1994, pl. 19,2, think of a ‘Phrygian’ helmet by putting a question mark. The fact that all adversaries are distinguished as naked soldiers shows the old 4<sup>th</sup> Century model Persians vs. Greeks was adopted here. On the other hand, it is incomprehensible why Pirson 2014, 250 cat. H 16 assumes in naked adversaries ‘Celtic infantry men’. For other battle scene on Hellenistic register stele see: Pirson 2014, 250, pl. 42,4. For other Hellenistic register stelae with battle scene see Pirson 2014, 250-251 cat. H 14-20 pls. 42-43.

<sup>93</sup> Hurwit 2002.

from older models and then put together to create new compositions. Contrary to widespread assumptions, there is little support for the idea that war imagery reflects historical battles in which the tomb owner participated. I argue for depersonalisation of the principal protagonist in battle scenes, thus for its disconnection from the tomb owner's persona and actual military events, because of their generic character. The cliché-like pictorial programme in and on tombs cannot apply to the life of an individual but can serve as a visual reminder of the exemplary lifestyle of an outstanding fighter and a courageous hunter who defends his family against dangers from enemies and wild animals.

Therefore, rather than considering the battle scenes as records of historical events we should pay more attention to alterations and renewals of older models. Acknowledging the interplay between war and non-war themes in the pictorial programmes allows more flexible readings rather than either eschatological or worldly, either historical or generic propositions.

### *Catalogue*<sup>94</sup>

1. Wall paintings of the Tatarlı tomb, Afyon Museum, **Figs. 1-2.**  
Lit: Calmeyer 1996, 7-18; Summerer 2007; Summerer 2008, 282-285; Summerer 2010, 126-136; Summerer - Lupkanova 2021, 599-600.
2. Wall paintings of the Karaburun Tomb, *in situ*, partly stolen in 2011, **Figs. 3-4.**  
Lit: Mellink 1971, 245-255; Mellink 1973, 257-269; Mellink 1974, 72-78; Miller 2010, 324-326.

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<sup>94</sup> Although on architectural reliefs of Lycian temple tombs, such as the Nereid and the Trysa monuments and on the rock-cut tomb of Izraza, some warriors are shown in Persian clothing, they are excluded here since their iconographic context is unclear and, therefore, they cannot be considered as a depiction of 'Persian victory'. The same applies to the Persian figure from the scala III of the Mausoleum: Waywell 1978, cat. 49 pl. 23.

3. Relief fragment from Yeniceköy (today lost)  
Lit: Munro 1912, 66 fig. 2; Macridy 1913, 354, fig. 5.6; Bernard 1964, 197, fig. 2; Nollé 1992, 37 cat. FV fig. 15a.b.
4. Relief from Daskyleion, excavation depot, **Fig. 5.**  
Lit: Iren *et al.* 2021, 323. 337 fig. 9; Iren - Kasar 2021, 4.
5. Relief fragment from Philadelphia/Alaşehir, Manisa Museum. **Fig. 6.**  
Lit: Polat 1998, cat. IIKB1 drawing 2; Polat 2001, 132 fig. 1.
6. Grave stele 1 from Bozüyük, Bilecik Museum, **Fig. 7.**  
Lit: Erpehlivan 2021, 62-64.
7. Grave stele 2 from Bozüyük, Bilecik Museum  
Lit: Erpehlivan 2021, 67-68.
8. Grave stele 4 from Bozüyük, Bilecik Museum  
Lit: Erpehlivan 2021, 67-68.
9. Grave stele from Philadelphia/Alaşehir, Manisa Museum, **Fig. 8.**  
Lit: Nieswandt - Salzman 2015.
10. Grave stele from Tosya, today in Çorum Museum, **Figs. 9-10.**  
Lit: Durugönül 1992, 1-14.
11. Grave stele from Yalnızdam, Antalya Museum, **Figs. 11-12.**  
Bruns-Özgan 1987, 114-115, 224, 290 cat.V7 pl. 20.2; Pirson 2014, 132, 240 cat. L 37 pl. 29, 4.
12. Payava sarcophagus, British Museum, **Fig. 13.**  
Pirson 2014, 236 cat. L 34, pl. 29,1; Kızılgut 2018, 64-114.
13. Çan sarcophagus, Çanakkale Museum, **Fig. 14.**  
Sevinç *et al.* 2001, 383-419; Ma 2008; Rose 2014, 129-141.



Fig. 1  
Digital reconstruction of the  
Tatarlı tomb chamber (© author).

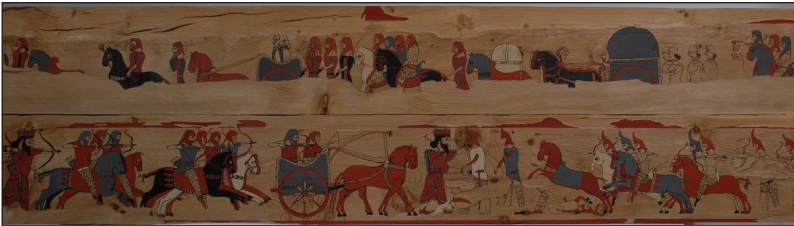


Fig. 2  
Replica of the battle  
and procession friezes  
of the Tatarlı tomb (© author).



Fig. 3 - Photo of the Karaburun tomb chamber (photo R. Hessing, © author).

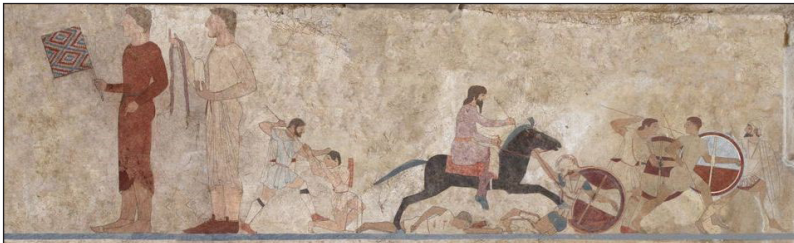


Fig. 4 - Digital reconstruction of the battle frieze in the Karaburun tomb (© author).



Fig. 5 - Photo of the relief fragment from a battle frieze from Daskyleion (Iren - Kasar 2021, 4 unnumbered figure).



Fig. 6 - Photo of the relief fragment from a battle frieze from Alaşehir/Philadelphia (Polat 2001, fig. 1).



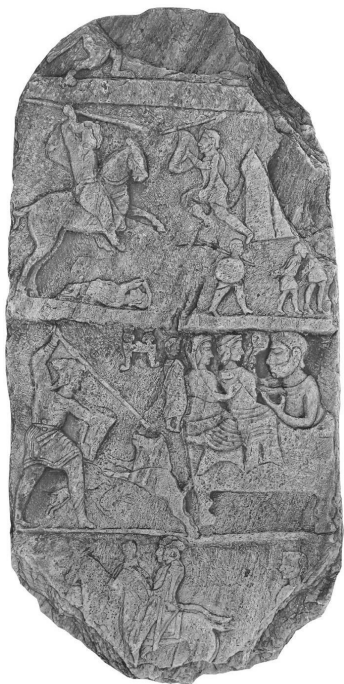


Fig. 7  
Enhanced photo of the  
register stele I from Bozüyük  
(Erpehlivan 2021, fig. 4).

Fig. 8  
Drawing of the register stele  
from Alaşehir/Philadelphia  
(Briant 2020, fig. 4).

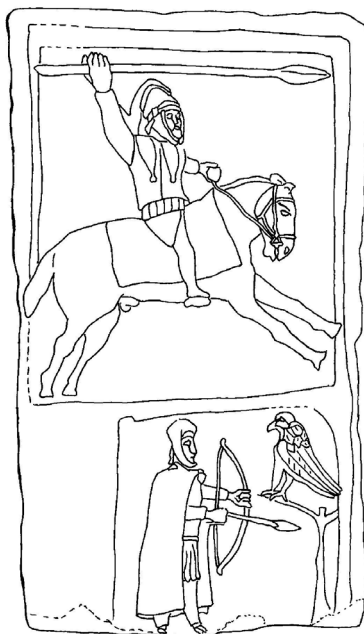




Fig. 9  
Photo of the register stele  
from Tosya  
(photo R. Ibiş, © author).

Fig. 10  
Photo detail from the  
register stele from Tosya  
showing a battle scene  
(photo R. Ibiş, © author).





Fig. 11  
Photo of the  
pediment stele  
from Yalnızdam  
showing a battle scene  
(photo E. Yıldız, © author).

Fig. 12  
Photo of the pediment stele  
from Yalnızdam  
showing a standing man  
with staff and servant  
(photo E. Yıldız, © author).



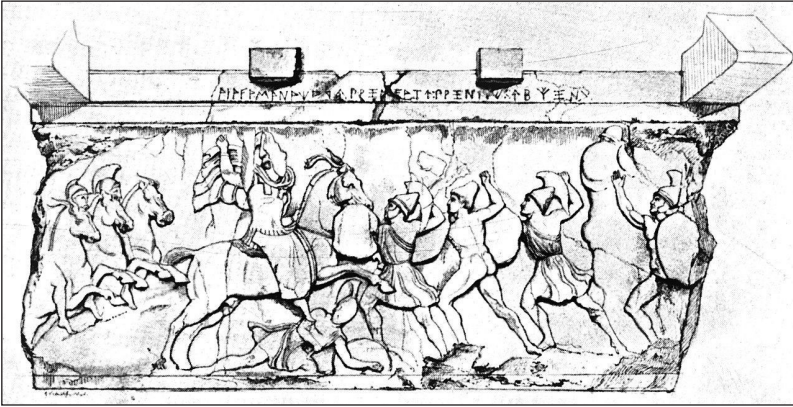


Fig. 13  
Drawing Battle scene on the East long side  
of the Payava Sarcophagus (Smith 1900, pl. 9).



Fig. 14  
Photo of the Çan sarcophagus  
with battle scene on its short side  
(Sevinç *et al.* 2001, fig. 11).

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EMANUELE PULVIRENTI

CULTURAL INTERACTIONS IN LATE ARCHAIC  
AND CLASSICAL TROAD

1. *So Many Beginnings: Shifting Perspectives*

Until the end of the Nineteen-nineties, one of the few historically relevant statements that scholars could make about cultural interactions in 5<sup>th</sup> century BCE Troad was that, according to Herodotus 7.43, Xerxes passed through the area with his army in his course to Greece and stopped at the site of Troy, where he sacrificed to Athena Ilias. Here is the excerpt:

When Xerxes came to the river [scil. Scamander], he climbed up to Priam's Pergamon, which he was eager to see (ἐς τὸ Πριάμου Πέργαμον ἀνέβη, ἵμερον ἔχων θεήσασθαι). Having admired it and enquired about it all, he sacrificed a thousand head of cattle to Athena of Ilion; the magi offered libations to the heroes (θεησάμενος δὲ καὶ πυθόμενος ἐκείνων ἕκαστα, τῇ Ἀθηναίῃ τῇ Ἰλιάδι ἔθυσε βοῦς χιλίας· χοὰς δὲ οἱ Μάγοι τοῖσι ἥρωσι ἐχέαντο).

[translation by Amélie Kuhrt, slightly modified]

This visit has raised numerous questions, not only because it displays a Persian interest in the Trojan War, but also because Xerxes appears in an unusually accommodating attitude towards what would seem a foreign cult, the cult of *the heroes*. Where exactly did this scene take place? who were these 'heroes'?<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Some scholars have thought of the ones fallen in Troy (Ogden 2001, 13, 130), other hypothesised an Iranian rite to Zoroastrian *fravaši* or spirits (cf. de Jong 1997, 301-302; Gnoli 1998; Panaino 2009, 37-39).

what kind of ‘libations’ were being performed?<sup>2</sup> why would Xerxes ever try to exploit a Greek myth?<sup>3</sup> is Athena to be interpreted here as Athena or rather as the Persian Anahitā?<sup>4</sup> is this Herodotean piece of information trustworthy at all or is it just a fancy invention?<sup>5</sup> but most importantly, is Herodotus truly isolated in representing a scene of religious and cultural interaction in this area at this time? Among these questions, the last one is surely not the easiest to answer and that is why it should draw more attention.

As it has been convincingly argued, the location is to be interpreted as the upper city of Hisarlık,<sup>6</sup> where a religious center with traces of a «ritual rapprochement» between Greek and Achaemenid rulers can be identified in the 4<sup>th</sup> century BCE (maybe already in the late 5<sup>th</sup> century BCE).<sup>7</sup> Even if there is not much information for the 5<sup>th</sup> century BCE, there is little room to contest religious continuity in the area. Also, all around the city, the landscape was surrounded by many burial mounds that, according to recent interpretations, might have served as *epic mnemotopes*.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> The word here used by Herodotus is *χοὰς*, remarkably distinguishing these libations from the usual Greek ones. Cf. de Jong 1997, 111 ff., 302. Herodotus himself (Hdt. 1.132.2) says that the Persians are not used to libations while making a sacrifice (the word used in this context is instead *σπονδή*). For the word *χοὰς* associated with Magi cf. the Derveni papyrus, col. VI, 6 (Burkert 2004, 118, 170, n. 78). Libations were performed in Troy in *Iliad* 6.259 and 7.478-482. For details, see the commentary notes *ad loc.* by Vannicelli *et al.* 2017.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Erskine 2001, 83 ff.

<sup>4</sup> For such *interpretatio iranica* see Gnoli 1998, 62.

<sup>5</sup> Many consider this excerpt historical: e.g. Gnoli 1998, 60; Lenfant 2004, 78-82, Dusinberre 2013, 53. *Contra* de Jong 1997, 302; 353; according to Macan 1908, I 65, Herodotus «may have gone rather far in this item». For more bibliography on this subject cf. van Rookhuijzen 2019, 69, n. 124, who considers the episode a «time-consuming act of propaganda at Troy at the time of his campaign» (*Id.* 69) and interprets it as «bordering on the comical» to Herodotus’ audience (*Id.* 77).

<sup>6</sup> Cf. van Rookhuijzen 2019, 68.

<sup>7</sup> Berlin 2002.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. van Rookhuijzen 2019, 69-72.

As per Xerxes' attitude, it is frequently said that this monarch was not sympathetic toward foreign religious elements: one can recall, for instance, the so-called *daiva*<sup>9</sup> inscription (XPh), where, after the presentation of a list of populations, among which also *Yaunā tya drayahiyā dā rayatiy utā tyaiy paradraya dārayat iy*,<sup>10</sup> Xerxes affirmed that one among these populations had previously worshipped the *daivas*, whose sanctuary he had destroyed, suppressing the cult. Apparently, it would be easier to explain the Herodotean piece of information about Xerxes' sacrifice in Troy with the hypothesis of an Iranian rite: it would fit better with the Greek authors' portrait of this monarch, who is generally viewed as not being open and accommodating toward foreign cults.<sup>11</sup> It would be easier, then, to think that Xerxes' alleged religious rigidity would exclude a framework in which he would honour a foreign cult. Still, Herodotus' text explicitly reports a Persian sacrifice of some kind to Athena of Ilium and to a cult of local heroes: these statements need to be dealt with and simply cannot be ignored.

Until recently, the issue of the link between the Greek myth and Xerxes' understanding of it, suggested by this Herodotean excerpt, has been either left unattended, or treated as puzzling,<sup>12</sup> or as if its only interest lied in its evenemential, diplomatic, if anything ideological dimension.<sup>13</sup> To approach the issue otherwise, would mean that one is open to admit that the Persians had a

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<sup>9</sup> Demonic deities, according to Lecoq 1997, 154-155.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Lecoq 1997 («[...] les Grecs qui se tiennent dans la mer et ceux qui se tiennent outre-mer [...]») and Kent 1953 («[...] Ionians, those who dwell by the sea and those who dwell across the sea [...]»).

<sup>11</sup> On this subject, cf. now Tourraix 2021, chapter 3.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. Cook 1973, 289, 306 n. 1, 350, 392 ff.

<sup>13</sup> Burn 1984 [1962] and Lazenby 1993 mostly underlined Xerxes' military campaign and his huge army devouring thousands of oxen and draining rivers. Also, Green 1996, 78, in his account of what he called the «Graeco-Persian Wars», recalled the Herodotean excerpt only to say that Xerxes' actions would «have been designed to publicise the invasion as a legitimate war of revenge», and nothing more, which corresponds with Herodotus' initial statement that the

knowledge of the Trojan War and other Greek stories: something, by the way, that Herodotus himself seemed to consider plausible, if we read his text as it is written, and try not to over-interpret it.

It was perhaps due to enthusiasm and pride for Greekness or Greek freedom that the interactions between the Greeks and the Persians have been frozen and stereotyped on a conflictual level: this surely prevented an interpretation of this excerpt on a cultural level.<sup>14</sup> However, it has been clearly for the lack of integration of most of the archaeological materials of the region into the historical discourse that Herodotus still seems isolated in this peculiar representation. In truth, some of the most numerous and spectacular archeological discoveries in Troad have occurred in the last 25 years. Also, lately the issue of a more nuanced perception of what a Troad identity might have been has entered the debate, complicating the picture.<sup>15</sup>

Even though these latest developments contributed to clarify that Troad was a much more multicultural area than it has been considered in the past,<sup>16</sup> one generally continues to refrain from picturing it as a culturally creative and autonomous region: the tendency remains to systematically embed the region within the influence, or under the *impact*, of other, allegedly more interesting, historically more relevant and concretely more powerful actors: i.e. the Greek *poleis* and the Achaemenid Empire. In other words, modern historiography, rather than deciding its own issues, either developed themes and priorities of ancient historiography and literature – hence, mostly retracing the steps of ancient Greek authors, who in turn reflect the locals' manipulations of their mythic past –, or has been forced to encompass

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Persians maintained they were avenging the Greek destruction of Troy. On this excerpt cf. also Pallantza 2005, 142-145. Cf. n. 5 for more sceptical approaches.

<sup>14</sup> Burn's title, *The Defense of the West*, recalled a Cold War doctrine of the 50s, creating an analogy with what he considered a struggle between East and West of modern times.

<sup>15</sup> Trachsel 2007, Ellis-Evans 2019.

<sup>16</sup> And it must have been so since the beginning: cf. Chiai 2017, 34-35.

the entire Anatolia more vigorously within the perspective and the influence of a *Forgotten (Achaemenid) Empire*, to restore the balance in the use of the sources.<sup>17</sup> It is probably time to stop asking ourselves whether late archaic and classical Troad's identity was more Greek or more Persian, or even more 'Graeco-Persian', as one ambiguously tends to say,<sup>18</sup> and start wondering whether it can be considered a more active and creative region, with its local cultural network. It is highly unlikely that the great armies of Xerxes, just like Agesilaos or Alexander later on, passed through a culturally flat region, ready to be conquered at their leisure. Surely conflict had its role in the identity definition of this land, though in the traditional interpretation this aspect tends to remain more evident than some important archaeological documents, which instead enlighten intercultural processes in the making and let us infer more on the intermediate and interactive position of the locals in their relationships with the others.

In this contribution I will try to convey the complexity of late archaic and classical Troad geography, as that wide and undefined region that it was in Antiquity; I will then try to seize its identity representation, both through literary and archaeological materials, specifically looking for hints of local cultural agency; eventually, I will discuss whether the emerging picture can be considered compatible with Herodotus' excerpt.

## 2. *A World Without Maps: Troad and Its Geography*

The region in which Troy is located, that we call Troad, is not the geographically homogeneous zone that one imagines.<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>17</sup> That is the fertile approach of the Achaemenid History Workshops (cf. now *New Achaemenid History Workshop*: <https://pourdavoud.ucla.edu/wp-content/uploads/2023/04/AchWorks-1-Program.pdf>).

<sup>18</sup> Cf. on this the observations in Gates 2002, Draycott 2010.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. Rose 2014, 8. On the geography of Troad, an important starting point is still Tenger 1999.

Attempting a geographical definition of Troad is not an easy task: everybody obviously thinks about the northwestern peninsula of Asia Minor, which is known today as Biga Yarımadası, Çannakale district, a region well delimited by the Ida mountain range, and by its rivers, the Aisepos (modern Gönen Çayı), the Scamander (Kara Menderes Çayı), the Granicus (Biga Çayı) and the Simoeis (Dümrek Çayı). All in all, it is surely not bizarre that scholars have been identifying 5<sup>th</sup> century Troad mostly with the strongly hellenized northwestern corner of Asia Minor: the widespread trend to relate the Homeric poems and their narrative to the peculiar identity of the region was clearly reinforced by local toponyms – such as Ilion, Dardanos, Achilleion, Achaiion or Scamandria – and fed by archaic traditions.

In some way, the modern localisation of Troad embeds the several ancient attempts to delimit the region: it echoes Homer;<sup>20</sup> it recalls both Thucydides<sup>21</sup> and Herodotus.<sup>22</sup> Other ancient authors, quoted in Strabo,<sup>23</sup> pushed Troad's northern natural border up to the Hellespont (to Priapus and Artake, modern Karabiga and Erdek) or even to the Granicus mouth, near Kyzicos:<sup>24</sup> this extension included an area traditionally perceived (at least in the literary discourse) as extraneous to the hellenized space, since it was near the local Persian satrapy of Daskyleion.<sup>25</sup> However,

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<sup>20</sup> *Il.* 2.825, when he said that those «that dwelt in Zeleia beneath the nethermost foot of Ida, men of wealth, that drink the dark water of Aesepus» also fought with Troy.

<sup>21</sup> Thuc. 1.131.1.

<sup>22</sup> Hdt. 5.26.1 and 5.122.

<sup>23</sup> Strabo 13.1.4 (a chapter dedicated to Troad and its traditions). As for Pliny, he placed Troad in what he called «the fifth segment», *Nat. Hist.* 6.216 (cf. W. Ruge, *RE*, entry *Troas*, p. 525).

<sup>24</sup> Eudoxos of Knidos (fr. 336 Lasserre).

<sup>25</sup> Modern Hisartepe (near Ergili): Zgusta 1984, 155-156; Hansen - Nielsen 2004, 978-979. On the inclusion of Daskyleion among the cities of Troad cf. *Schol. in Eur. Andr.* 10 Schwartz, reporting a passage of the historian Lysimachos (quoting in turn the 4<sup>th</sup> century logograph Dionysios of Chalkis). On Lysimachos cf. A. Gudeman, *Lysimachos*, *RE* XIV 1, col. 36 sg. In Hellanikos'

some authors included Daskyleion itself among the Dardanid foundations in Troad: seemingly from Cyrus the Great on, the site became a provincial capital from where the Persians «controlled most of this area».<sup>26</sup> The area was also connected to Gras, Penthilus' nephew, son of Orestes (son of Agamemnon, colonial hero who debarked in Troad with an army): he would have subjugated Asia Minor to the Granicus river three generations after Orestes.<sup>27</sup> As for the southern border, some ancient authors arrived to Adramyttion, almost in Mysia.<sup>28</sup> Damastes of Sigeion<sup>29</sup> extended it from Parion, at the entrance of Hellespont, down to the Cape Lekton (Ida range), to the south.<sup>30</sup> And we could add that in *Skylax*, according to Strabo and followed by Ps.-Skylax, Troad «began at Abydos, but extended only as far as Hamaxitos, while the southern coastline as far as Antandros belonged to Aiolis».<sup>31</sup>

According to these diverse information, Troad's borders did not look firmly fixed even in Antiquity: the southern coast was here and there perceived as Aeolian and the northern area would

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tradition reported in Dionysios of Halikarnassos, Daskyleion was considered a Phrygian space (material culture seems to confirm: cf. Vassileva 1995, Brixhe 1996, Bakır-Akbaşoğlu 1997, Berndt-Ersöz 2006, 1, Wittke 2006). On the epigraphic testimonies in Phrygian language between 6<sup>th</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> BCE in the area cf. Gusmani - Polat 1999a, 1999b, Nollé 1992, Kaptan 2002. On Phrygian elites cf. Maffre 2007. On the architecture of Daskyleion cf. Erdoğan 2007.

<sup>26</sup> Cf. Petit 1990, 181-186.

<sup>27</sup> This tradition is known to Strabo 13.1.2-3, 5 (cf. Demon, *BNJ* 327 F 17). Cf. also Lycophron, Pindar and Hellanikos, on which see Napolitano 2005, 220-222.

<sup>28</sup> Cf. Charon of Lampsakos, *BNJ* 262 F 13.

<sup>29</sup> *BNJ* 5 F 9. Cf. Napolitano 2005, 205, 208.

<sup>30</sup> Cf. Gallo 2005, 148.

<sup>31</sup> Strabo 13.1.4, Ps.-Skylax 94-96. On the Aeolian belonging of this and other cities, see also Ephoros, *BNJ* 70 F 163a (according to him, the entire coastline from Abydos to Kyme was to be considered part of the Aeolid), and Xen. *An.* 5.6.23 e *Hell.* 3.1.15-18 (referring to Kebren, Skepsis, Neandreaia, Gergis, Ilion and Kokylion). About this, Mitchell 2004, 1000 commented: «it is clear that this is partly for the reason that these places belonged to the Persian satrapy of Aiolis, controlled by Pharnabazos (*Hell.* 3.1.10; cf. Winter 1994, 4-6)».

not seem to be unanimously considered as belonging to Troad (it is the case of Lampsakos, a city on the Turkish coast of Hellespont, almost at the northern entrance towards the Propontis, that the Great King Artaxerxes entrusted to Themistocles «for the wine»). What is clear, however, is that the general disharmony among ancient authors about Troadic borders might testify the incorporation in every adaptation of the geographical definition of later political, ideological perspectives or even cultural influences and interests, by different parties: human relations, in a way, created this region more than its geography.<sup>32</sup>

Now, the fact that modern scholarship has mainly followed Charon of Lampsakos, by assigning to Troad «the coastal cities of the Hellespont, of the Aegean coast from the Sigeion promontory to Cape Lekton, and along the north side of the Gulf of Adramyttion as far as Antandros and Astyra [...as well as] the inland communities within this geographical definition, especially in the basin of the river Skamandros north of Mt. Ida»,<sup>33</sup> is a remarkable example of how, as historians, we are easily susceptible to fall into the partiality of our materials. In fact, no modern scholar, as far as I know, explicitly considered both the Granicus Valley and the Daskyleion area as Troad, but there is much documentation proving the precise need of people living there to be considered as something more than mere neighbours to the land of Priam.

Let us now expand our perspective toward East. Persian evidence generically refers to *Yaunā* (cf. p. 105). Something more specific, however, might be inferred from a closer point of view: the Hittite one. In the records of King Tudḫaliya I (ca. 1440-1410 BCE) a *Taruiša* and an *Alakšandu* (similar to Alexandros, the Trojan prince Paris's other name) are mentioned;<sup>34</sup> the latter, in

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<sup>32</sup> For this idea cf. Horden - Purcell 2000. Also, the anthropology of borders, from Frederick Barth on, has remarkably demonstrated that marking borders makes cultural differences more salient in everyday social and symbolic practice (Barth 1969).

<sup>33</sup> Mitchell 2004, 1000.

<sup>34</sup> Garstang - Gurney 1959, 121.



a later record, concluded a treaty with King Muwattalli II (1296-1272 BCE).<sup>35</sup> During the reign of the king Tudhaliyas II we find two geographical designations tied together in a text preserved in Ḫattuša (modern Boğazköy): Wilusa/Taruisa, as part of a confederation referred to in the king's annals as 'Assuwa', which is often considered an early version of 'Asia'. We understand that this confederation is in a large region in northwestern Anatolia, but we cannot determine in detail whether the region later known as the Granicus Valley and the future site of Daskyleion would be included.<sup>36</sup> We find record of the instability of western Asia Minor also in the 13<sup>th</sup> century, when Hittite documents register the involvement of some *Aḫḫiyawa*, in particular referring to the kingdom of *Wiluša/Wilušiya/Wilion*, over which King Ḫattušili III was in dispute and where he dispatched an army to restore order.<sup>37</sup>

Although in the past these documents have not been perceived by scholars as equally relevant as the Greek ones, nowadays the equivalency between Wiluša/Ilion and Taruiša/Troy is more broadly accepted than before. Also, for a long time (since the decipherment of Hittite language, in 1915) the question of a near eastern influence on Greek culture by means of the literary and mythological tradition of the Trojan War has been discussed<sup>38</sup> and Homer himself is beginning to be viewed in a more Anatolian perspective than before. Other possible forms of near eastern influence on Greek culture are surely yet to be enlightened. Is the rituality of the Persians towards the Greek heroes in Troad (mentioned in Hdt. 7.43) among these? Whilst commonly interpreted just as a political and almost exclusively ideological strategy, one should ask oneself whether to deprive these ritual performances of a cultural connotation might mean a loss in our historical comprehension of an episode which archaeology might contribute

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<sup>35</sup> Dowden 1992, 65-66.

<sup>36</sup> Though cf. Str. 12.4.6, 13.1.9.

<sup>37</sup> Cf. Pavúk 2014, 80-81 and Bryce 2011, 357-371.

<sup>38</sup> Cf. Bachvarova 2016 and Jablonka 2011.

to frame more precisely. Xerxes' and the Magi's actions might eventually need to be interpreted also in a cultural perspective.<sup>39</sup>

So far, what stands out from the Greek literary tradition and the Near Eastern perspective on the geography of Troad is also their great limitation: we have at our disposal an *etic*, not an *emic* representation of Troad. In other words, what we know and we tend to repeat about Troad's geography is what foreigners, in different moments of Antiquity, said about it: nothing would seem to evoke inner Troadic identity elements, independently developed by locals at some precise moment. And this, considering that the region had been inhabited ca. since the 5<sup>th</sup> millennium, seems rather bizarre. That is why, beyond our attempt to geographically understand what was considered Troad in Antiquity, we should also dive into those literary traditions offering a definition of who the Trojans were and which ancestral origin they might have had. This brings us to the myth.

### 3. *What's in a Name? Troad and Its Ethnicity*

The first signs of habitation around Troy appear ca. 5000 BCE,<sup>40</sup> but when we say *Troy*, in fact, we use a later word deduced from the Homeric epos. The same goes for Trojans, whose earliest surviving literary representation is, of course, Homer's *Iliad*.<sup>41</sup> Troy clearly gave its name to the region, though to meet the name *Troad* in a written text one has to wait for Herodotus and Thucydides, who derived it from Hekataios and logography.<sup>42</sup>

In the *Iliad*, the *Τευκροί* are known to be the inhabitants of the region later known as Troad, and they are so called because of their ancient eponymous ancestor *Τεῦκρος*, son of the god Sca-

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<sup>39</sup> Cf. Lenfant 2004.

<sup>40</sup> Rose 2014, 9.

<sup>41</sup> Erskine 2001, 48.

<sup>42</sup> *BNJ* 1 FF 182, 221-224.

mander and father of Batea/Arisbe, who would become Dardanus' wife; her lineage would be constituted by Erichthonius, Tros and eventually Ilus. Therefore, Teukros was none other than the mythical progenitor of the royal family in Troy, i.e. the great-great-great-great grandfather of Priam.<sup>43</sup>

Teukros was also the name of an Achaian hero, Telamonian Ajax's brother, a strong warrior, who had been exiled by the father, Telamon, because he did not avenge his brother's death. Following this event, he would leave his home, Salamis, and establish a new, rival, Salamis in Cyprus.<sup>44</sup> Teukros is oddly (or maybe not so oddly, given the well-known cultural homogeneity between Trojans and Greeks in the *Iliad*) a name for both fields. While this duplicity cannot be considered *per se* a trace of a later attempt to challenge the Trojan genealogy identity primacy on the anthroponym, many later rivalries on cultural features and historical events of the region are better recognisable as such. It is mostly during the classical age that one can find the very same identity dualism in all those territorial controversies, aiming to seize the cultural belonging of the Troadic region either to the mainland Greece or to the Micrasiatic one, let alone those elements of cultural memory connecting Troad and Crete.<sup>45</sup> I believe that this oscillation between regional cohesion and local claims – a topic that has been studied recently<sup>46</sup> – is the other face of many manipulative interests toward the Troadic region. This already happened before the Persian Wars, when the locals, as Erskine has already pointed out, shared a «mixture of civic pride and antiquarianism [...] claiming and publicizing their Trojan roots»<sup>47</sup>

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<sup>43</sup> For differences in ancient testimonies about these mythological beginnings, see Chiaï 2017, 36 ff.

<sup>44</sup> Berve, Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encycl.* V A, col. 1123 ff. On the Cypriot origin of Teukros see now Chiaï 2017, 44-45.

<sup>45</sup> One for all, the oronym Ida (cf. Chiaï 2017, 22).

<sup>46</sup> Cf. Ellis-Evans 2019.

<sup>47</sup> One could mention that Sappho dedicated a poem (fr. 44 Voigt) to the nuptials of Hector and Andromache. Aloni 1986 was probably right, when he

by stressing «continuity of location», pointing out «the tombs of Trojan heroes», and showing off «relics from the war». In such a competitive context, «it was important to undermine the claims of rival cities». Even the Achaian heroes were praised: «by celebrating both sides of the conflict the people of the Troad could claim both a Greek and a Trojan heritage».<sup>48</sup> Only in the aftermath of the Persian Wars the Trojans began to be identified as people of the east by the Athenians, who started an ‘identity revisionism’.<sup>49</sup> Perhaps it does not come as such a paradox, then, that a more unitary identity discourse about what ‘being Troadic’ meant is not easily found before the 4<sup>th</sup> century.

The decennial dispute between Athens and the Aeolic community for Sigeion is only one among many examples of these rivalries on the region, where either one party would manipulate the past to its own advantage.<sup>50</sup> It is well known that, by implanting its colony along the way to the Dardanelles, Athens affirmed the right to control the commercial traffic of the area; also, to support this claim, Athens was relevantly theorizing a precise bond with the heroic legends of the hinterland. Meanwhile, the Aeolic community spread the tradition of an Aeolian migration<sup>51</sup> during the archaic period – such as Orestes’ travel to

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said that «quel particolare mito» had been chosen «per compiacere la committenza che vantava origine dalla stirpe dardanide». It might not have a political flavour, but it surely testifies that in Lesbos, among the very elite of the island, it was normal to interface local events, like a marriage, with Homeric verses.

<sup>48</sup> Erskine 2001, 99-101.

<sup>49</sup> Cf. Hall 1989, 38 ff. Frequently the attic theatre called them *Phrygians* (Hall 1988). Cf. Rose 2014, 147; Erskine 2001, 8 («[...] the Trojan War seemed to offer a mythical parallel for the struggle with Persia»); further analysis in *Id.* 83 ff. For the use of the Trojan myth in the public sphere and the parallel made by Athens between ‘barbarians’ and Trojans in the 5<sup>th</sup> century see Erskine 2001, 73-92 and Lenfant 2004. Chiaï 2017, 93-135, convincingly argues that not all Greek poleis accepted such representation.

<sup>50</sup> About the relationship between Athens and Sigeion in the 5<sup>th</sup> century, bibliography and useful notes in Gallo 2005, 147, n. 12.

<sup>51</sup> Chiaï 2017, 100-101 considers historical such migration; *contra* Rose 2014, 71.

Tenedos<sup>52</sup> and Hellanikos of Lesbos giving «his own island pride of place in the migration».<sup>53</sup> On one hand, less than 5 km from the supposed Troy site, Athens was claiming its bond with the region; on the other, Sigeion was also claimed, with the *peraia*, from the Aeolic community since the 7th century BCE.<sup>54</sup> In Strabo, Gras – Pentilo’s nephew (Oreste’s son) – is said to have submitted Asia Minor up to the Granicus, of which river he is eponymous.<sup>55</sup> According to Vanotti, the performer embodying this tradition was the Lesbian poet Lesches from Mytilene (VII BCE) – plausible author of an *epos*, the *Little Iliad*, dedicated to the ending phase of the Trojan War.<sup>56</sup>

A reflection of analogous rivalries is testified by the scholium in Eur. *Andr.* 10 Schwartz, i.e. Lysimachos, quoting the logograph Dionysios of Chalkis (4<sup>th</sup> BCE),<sup>57</sup> who attributed some foundations around Troy (Daskyleion, among others) to a Dardanid,

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<sup>52</sup> In the framework of a wider migration to honour a Tenedian. The island was always perceived, already in antiquity, in a complementary relationship with Troad. Cf. Napolitano 2005, 202, 226.

<sup>53</sup> Rose 2014, 71. The notice of an Aeolian territory around Ilion was well known by Herodotus himself (Hdt. 5.123).

<sup>54</sup> Cf. Vanotti 2005 and Gallo 2005.

<sup>55</sup> Strabo 13.1.2-3, 5 (cf. Demon, *BNJ* 327 F 17): useful bibliography in Vanotti 2005, 129, n. 36.

<sup>56</sup> Lesches «si verrebbe a connotare come il cantore del *genos* dei Pentilidi e dell’iniziale politica espansionistica della propria patria sulla Perea»: Vanotti 2005, 130 and notes 42-43.

<sup>57</sup> E. Schwartz, *Dionysios* [107], in *RE*, V 1, 1903, 929: εἰσί γε μὲν οἴ φασιν αὐτὸν (sc. Ἀστυάνακτα) καὶ πόλεις οἰκίσαι καὶ βασιλεῦσαι, ὃν τὰς δόξας Λυσίμαχος (*BNJ* 382 F 9) ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ τῶν Νόστων ἀνέγραψεν· «Διονύσιος δὲ ὁ Χαλκιδεὺς τὸν Ἀκάμαντα παρὰ Ἑλένου καὶ Ἀγχίσου φησὶ <διὰ> τὴν πρὸς Λαοδίκτην οἰκειότητα Σκαμάνδριον τὸν Ἔκτορος εἰληφότα καὶ Ἀσκάνιον τὸν Αἰνείου ἐπιχειρήσαι μὲν Ἴλιον καὶ Δάρδανον τειχίζειν, τῶν δὲ Ἀθηναίων αὐτὸ παρατησαμένων, τηρικαῦτα καὶ ἐπιβολῆς ἀποστάντα τῆς Τρωάδος Γέργιθα καὶ Περκώτην καὶ Κολωνὰς καὶ Χρῦσην καὶ Ὀφρύνιον καὶ Σιδήνην καὶ Ἄστυρα καὶ Σκῆψιν καὶ Πολίχνην καὶ πρὸς τούτοις Δασκύλειον καὶ Ἴλιου κολώνην καὶ Ἀρίσβαν οἰκίσαντα ἀναγορεῦσαι οἰκιστὰς Σκαμάνδριον καὶ Ἀσκάνιον».

Akamas. This Akamas, according to some scholars,<sup>58</sup> would represent Pisistratic and Filaid politics, i.e. the territorial interests ambitions of Athens in Troad under the Teseid aegis.<sup>59</sup> But already Hellanikos<sup>60</sup> said that Aeneas sent his son Ascanius, with some allies (Phrygians, for the majority) in the Dascylis land, where the lake was named Ascanius. Ascanius was then connected – as in Homer – to the homonymous region, even though as Aeneas’ son, rather than with his identity of a Phrygian warrior.<sup>61</sup> This is interesting: there are some traditions considering the Dascylis a Trojan land dating up to Hellanikos. But we do know that specific traditions meet specific demands in the present: though it would be rash to suppose an ‘enrollment’ of ancient authors to meet some hegemonic needs, it would not be impossible that some of their traditions bare witness of a given cultural and political time.<sup>62</sup>

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<sup>58</sup> From Mazzarino 1938-1939 to Casola, Aloni, Biraschi, Vanschoonwinkel, Antonelli and Campone (complete bibliography in Coppola 2005a, 112, n. 50).

<sup>59</sup> «His role in the foundation of these cities is likely to have developed in conjunction with Athenian territorial ambitions in the Troad» (Erskine 2001, 108). Elsewhere (*BNJ* 382 F 14 = *Schol. in Eur. Troad.* 31 Schwartz), Lysimachos also testifies the tradition of the honours earmarked for the sons of Theseus as warriors in Troy, i.e. another Athenian interest in this region.

<sup>60</sup> Whether Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 1.47.5 derive from Hellanicus is debated.

<sup>61</sup> Coppola 2005a, 118-119.

<sup>62</sup> Concerning Hellanikos, Ambaglio 2005, 142-143, wrote that there are «fondati presupposti per domandarsi se Ellanico, ospite ad Atene, non abbia [...] adattato le sue tavole genealogiche, etnografiche, coloniali alle esigenze propagandistiche ateniesi, passando da una forma di patriottismo eolico di matrice piuttosto culturale a una storiografia più impegnata sul versante politico, ovviamente a favore di Atene e di certe sue pretese egemoniche». And though Ambaglio himself argued that «resta [...] del tutto arbitrario supporre – come è stato fatto – che Ellanico sia stato arruolato da Pericle per scrivere la storia dell’Attica», he himself could not ignore «[...] l’immagine problematica di un Ellanico in bilico tra le esigenze della patria eolica e quelle della città dove era venuto a lavorare, una posizione un po’ acrobatica se si ripensa appunto alle molte ragioni e passioni che nella seconda metà del secolo opposero l’isola di Lesbo ad Atene».

Another dispute concerned Mytilene and Miletus for the foundation of Arisbe (sometimes identified with Musakoy in Turkey), in the Abydos region. It was considered a colony of Miletus according to Anaximenes of Lampsakos<sup>63</sup> but a Scamandrian and Ascanian foundation according to Stephanos of Byzantion, who would call it a Mytilenian foundation:<sup>64</sup> this is coherent with what we know about a Lesbian Perea and some sort of Aeolian control on the coast.<sup>65</sup> But again, all that a historian can observe is a dispute at play, rather than the truth.

All the interpolations and references on mythical origins and archaic traditions briefly mentioned above reveal crucial identity interests and, sometimes, struggles, which of course are nothing new in the framework of classical Greek history: the 4<sup>th</sup> century, in particular, was significantly a time of identity redefinitions, as other cases clearly show.<sup>66</sup> What happens, though, as we try to elude the literary traditions and their strong cultural heritage, or when we recognise that these traditions embed controversial geographical definitions such as Strabo's, who described Troad as a

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<sup>63</sup> Strabo 14.1.6.

<sup>64</sup> Cf. Steph. Byz. s.v. Ἀρίσβη, πόλις τῆς Τρωάδος, Μυθτιληναίων ἄποικος, ἦν οἰκιστὰι Σκαμάνδριος καὶ Ἀσκάνιος υἱὸς Αἰνεῖου. κεῖται μεταξὺ Περκώτης καὶ Ἀβύδου, Κεφάλων (Hegesianax of Alexandria Troas, *BNJ* 45) δὲ φησιν ὅτι Δάρδανος ἀπὸ Σαμοθράκης ἐλθὼν εἰς τὴν Τρωάδα τὴν Τεύκρου τοῦ Κρητὸς θυγατέρα γαμεί Ἀρίσβην. Ἑλλάνικος (Hellanikos, *BNJ* 4) δὲ Βάτειαν αὐτὴν φησιν. ἔστιν ἑτέρα ἐν Λέσβῳ ἀπὸ Ἀρίσβης τῆς Μάκαρος θυγατρὸς. Ἐφορος (Ephoros, *BNJ* 70) δὲ Μέροπος αὐτὴν γενεαλογεῖ καὶ πρῶτην Ἀλεξάνδρῳ τῷ Πριάμου γαμηθῆναι.

<sup>65</sup> Thuc. 3.50.3, 4.52.2-3 affirmed about the revolt of Mytilene (428-427 BCE) that Athens had occupied the *Ἀκταῖαι πόλεις* in Troad, previously controlled by Lesbos. Among these cities, *IG I<sup>3</sup> 71* and *77* mention Ἄντανδρος, Ροίτειον, Νῆσος Πορδοσελένε, Ἀμαχσιτός, Λάρισα, Ὀφρύνειον, Ἴλιον, Πέτρα, Θύμβρα, Κολόνε, Πολυμέδειον, Ἀχίλλειον. These communities are in the lists of the contributors of the Delian League in the year 425 BCE (cf. Coppola 2005a, 113, n. 54 and Coppola 2005b).

<sup>66</sup> Let us recall here the very peculiar case of the Pisatans (see Giangiulio 2009). More in general, on the identity discourse in Greek Antiquity see Hall 1997.

region unified around Ilion? How to answer, for instance, to more urgent questions such as: who were the Trojans from an ethnolinguistic point of view?<sup>67</sup> or, how did they perceive themselves as an ethnic group? or even, when did they start to consider themselves as a cohesive group?

These questions have recently been considered by Aneurin Ellis-Evans, whose research has contributed to nuance the issue and clarify some points. For instance, the monetary series in the 4<sup>th</sup> century still portray a region far from being unified. At that time, there seem to be at least two different Troads, each connected to distinct economical *networks*: a northern one, including Ilion, projected onto the Bosphorus Strait and Pontus Euxinus; and a southern one, projected onto the Anatolian coast and the Aegean Sea.<sup>68</sup> This duplicity perhaps conveys the duplicity reflected in many literary traditions. It is curious, however, that such political and economical heterogeneity is in a way overcome with the *koinon* of Athena Ilias (end 4<sup>th</sup> century), with its seat in Ilion, whose cultural prestige helped in gathering *poleis* both from the northern and southern network.

One can easily understand how the entire Greek identity had been grounded for centuries on Troad mythical genealogical beginnings.<sup>69</sup> Many would have liked to be part of that history. But the point is that all these traditions, some of which I recalled very briefly here, and other scholars have studied in detail,<sup>70</sup> testify that, when it comes to the identity *discours*, very few ancient communities had been so constantly under the scope of their contemporaries as the Trojan one.<sup>71</sup> Trojans had been under the spotlight of Homer himself and his epic narration: the Trojan War and its

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<sup>67</sup> See Baker 2020, 161-175.

<sup>68</sup> Ellis-Evans 2019, 45.

<sup>69</sup> The connection between genealogies and cultural memory has been underlined by Assmann 1992.

<sup>70</sup> On the mythical traditions concerning the region in the Greek cultural memory cf. now Chiai 2017.

<sup>71</sup> Cf. Erskine 2001, 93-127.



protagonists were perceived as history, not myth. And Alexandra Trachsel is certainly right in pointing out that one must distinguish between real Troad, homeric Troad and literary Troad.<sup>72</sup> There are good reasons to believe that several cities of this region were frequently and purposely points of contention between different parties involved in the ambition to control the area. One could wonder, for this reason, if it is a case that a 4<sup>th</sup> century source of Lysimachos included, among Akamas' foundations, Daskyleion.

But there is more to that: being a part of the Troadic heritage was also a bidirectional forestage for the powers interested in its domain. For instance, the «desecration of the shrine» was «described by Hdt. 9.116 as part of the propaganda war by which the Persians presented themselves as avengers for the Greek destruction of Troy».<sup>73</sup> The motif goes back to Agesilaos military campaign,<sup>74</sup> when he attempted «to sacrifice at Aulis before setting sail for Asia Minor, in imitation of Agamemnon at the start of the Trojan War, thus implicitly claiming to be acting for all Greeks».<sup>75</sup> And the very same motif comes back at the start of Alexander of Macedon's campaign in 334,<sup>76</sup> when he chooses the Granicus area as the first deployment zone to fight the Persians. And what else did Mustafa Kemal meant when (at the end of the Greek-Turkish War in 1922) he reputedly uttered «We avenged Troy»?<sup>77</sup>

In the dynamics of cultural production that could contribute in the definition of a Troadic ethnic identity, three patterns look more promising than others:

- 1) the frequent, chronologically fluid and of course incoherent reference to ecists, foundations, recurring mythical motives, genealogical claims;

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<sup>72</sup> Trachsel 2007.

<sup>73</sup> Kuhrt 2007, 289, n. 13.

<sup>74</sup> Xen., *Hell.* 4.2-6.

<sup>75</sup> Hornblower 1997 [1983].

<sup>76</sup> Arr., *Anab.* 1.11.5-12.1.

<sup>77</sup> About the identity discourse about Troad, cf. now Uslu 2017.

- 2) just as for the geography, from an anthropological perspective, the mostly *etic*, rather than *emic*, nature of the literary representations;
- 3) the cultural and geographical fragmentation of the *poleis* in this region.<sup>78</sup>

It would appear that no references to clear Troadic identity elements independently developed in Troad. Surely, post-omeric traditions contributed to the development of a common – apparently only Greek – cultural identity of the region, but the predominance of the mythical motif as a cultural identity glue clearly overcomes any presumption of an ethnic homogeneity in the region.<sup>79</sup> To share identical mythical motifs was not a sign of primordial ethnic cohesion: it tells more about the will to be considered part of a cultural common identity. Embracing some variants of certain archaic legends equalled to claiming a relevant role in the past history. The local communities, by revisiting their panhellenic genealogies, legitimated their current identities in their contemporaries' eyes: cultural revisions of the past are useful to give meaning to present demands and contribute to define multiple regional identities in the making.<sup>80</sup>

All in all, we are not able to tell who the Trojans were, as local communities resident in a region called Troad; as yet, we are not able to clearly determine what exactly was the Troad region for them; nor are we up to determine how they perceived themselves in a wider context. It is still harshly difficult to uniquely answer to these questions, also because it is not clear if, when and why an univocal Troadic identity was forged. What stays certain, is that nothing can be taken for granted in this framework: neither the identity, nor the geography of Troad. Troad remains a greatly

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<sup>78</sup> Useful tool to perceive this is Hansen-Nielsen 2004.

<sup>79</sup> I agree on this with Aloni 1986.

<sup>80</sup> The past – as the lamented Jan Assmann thought us – is a cultural product and is not naturally fixed.

fragmented region, contended even among Greeks, escaping a coherent geographical representation.

#### 4. *Bright Side of the Road? From Etic to Emic*

Both the identity and geographical definitions of Troad have mostly been dependent on etic and literary, rather than emic and archaeological documentation. However, the archaeological surveys and studies of the last 25 years have demonstrated that we can retrace some *local Anatolian initiative and agency*, two words that historians usually tend to downplay, if not avoid altogether, in a frontier/boundary situation as this one, especially if under the control of stronger powers.

First of all, the research of the Turkish archaeologist Reyhan Körpe<sup>81</sup> has recently brought to light dozens of fortified locations on the hills overlooking the ancient routes: 28 along the Aisepos, 26 along the Granicus river basin, some in the southwestern Troad and some more in the northwest. Almost all these fortified settlements are aligned along the main river valleys of the region (Aisepos, Granikos, Rhodios, Skamander) and are in sight with one another.<sup>82</sup> The archaeological findings within and around them reveals that their construction occurred not before the 6<sup>th</sup> BCE: that's when the Persians arrived in Troad. We can reasonably presume that this was a defensive system connected to the Daskyleion satrapy, whose center of power was created after 546, approximately 175 km east of Ilion on the southeastern shore of Lake Daskylitis (Manyas Göl today): it was from this site that the Persians had been controlling most of the region, strategically guarding the travel hub of the areas connected to the main rivers by means of their tributaries, from coastal Propontid to inner

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<sup>81</sup> Körpe 2022. I could consult this contribution only in Turkish.

<sup>82</sup> The importance of these rivers in the region is attested also by their names occurring in the mythological genealogies.

Troad. Daskyleion was thus surrounded by local Anatolian elites who were allied with the court. According to Xenophon, this was the area through which several *paradeisoi* or aristocratic hunting grounds were scattered.<sup>83</sup>

Though many of the settlements on these hilltops were abandoned in the Hellenistic period, they may be considered proofs of the existence of military garrisons related to Achaemenid control in Troad.<sup>84</sup> Up until now it had only been hypothesized, legitimately, that the defensive organization of that territory (not far from Daskyleion satrapic site) was comparable to the Mysian system – which is known thanks to Xenophon<sup>85</sup> – or other contexts in the empire (they do find analogies with what is known for Babylon, Egypt or even Sardis).<sup>86</sup> This system of territorial occupation surely contributed to ensure the functioning of local rural estates, together with the fulfillment of government requirements,<sup>87</sup> and most probably was based on resorting to pyric warnings, quickly summoning local garrisons to rush to the caller's aid. These garrisons were evidently localized not far from the calling settlement and were composed of mixed troupes that Xenophon called *οἱ βασιλέως μισθοφόροι*: Assyrian warriors, Ircanian knights, and so on.

We already knew that a distributed Persian presence in Western Asia Minor, including Troad, was an irrefutable fact, not only because of well studied literary testimonies<sup>88</sup> but also archaeologi-

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<sup>83</sup> Cf. Rose 2014, 72-73.

<sup>84</sup> Kebren, Kokylion, Kolonai, Gergis, Hamaxitos, Ilion, Larissa, Nandreia, Skepsis are all said to be garrisoned by *phrouroi* in Xen. *Hell.* 3.1.10-11, 399 BCE: cf. Tuplin 1987, 235-238 and Dusinberre 2013, 109.

<sup>85</sup> Xen. *An.* 7.8.8-9, 12-15: the Asidates case. Cf. also the notice of a *Memnon's estate*.

<sup>86</sup> Cf., respectively, babylonian tablets (Kuhrt 2007, 716, n. 5), aramaic papyrus at Elephantine (Kuhrt 2007, 720-21 e Hdt. 5, 100-101) and Sardis (Hdt. 5.100-101).

<sup>87</sup> Kuhrt 2007, 769.

<sup>88</sup> *Hdt.* 5.100-101; Plut. *Cim.* 9.6; Briant 1996, 516 ff.: «l'existence d'une diaspora impériale en Asie Mineure est indiscutable». Boffo 2008, p. 50, how-

cal ones.<sup>89</sup> We now get further archaeological confirmation that such presence included the hilltops of what we have been calling ‘Troad’ in Achaemenid times, controlling the territory from above since the 6<sup>th</sup> BCE, around Daskyleion, among others. Leaving out the fact that we still know too little about these settlements, what is culturally relevant, beyond the mere confirmation of Xenophon’s comprehension of the Persian defensive system, is:

- (i) that the Persians are far less present in the literary representation of this area identity than they might have concretely been;
- (ii) that they were controlling the Granicus valley as well as other portions of Troad (as the literary tradition identified it) in not much different ways;
- (iii) that right along these fortified hills there are a number of monumental burial mounds or tumuli from which several sarcophagi of remarkable scenographic and cultural value have been brought to light, attesting cultural coexistence between the actors of this area;
- (iv) that material exchanges (Proconnesian marble but also workforce used to build these monuments) were not hindered by strategic necessities.

Let us now conclude this excursus by taking a quick look at the sarcophagi, which, incidentally, after 25 years from their discovery aren’t as well known as one would like (except for the specialists).<sup>90</sup>

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ever more precisely spoke of «residenzialità iranica», remarking upon the willingness of a programmatic appropriation of territories (and at various times) by Iranian populations in western Anatolia. Cf. n. 112.

<sup>89</sup> This is suggested by the so-called ‘Graeco-Persian’ 500 BCE stelae discovered in Sultaniye Köy near Daskyleion in 1981 (cf. Altheim-Stiehl *et al.* 1983), the first of a series of analogous reliefs (for instance, cf. Altheim-Stiehl - Cremer 1985).

<sup>90</sup> The following description of the sarcophagi is clearly indebted with C.B. Rose’s and N. Sevinç’s studies.

Tumulus burials demarcate the countryside as extra-urban land monuments:<sup>91</sup> it is typical of western Anatolian peoples of the Iron Ages to often bury their princes, rulers, and prominent elites in stone and timber chambers covered by massive earthen mounds, which then acted as landmarks. The large number of tumuli in the Granicus Valley – often set on high ridges (mound of Kızöldun, southeast of Gümüşçay) or in proximity to waterways (Dede-tepe)<sup>92</sup> – clearly identifies this area as an important Late Archaic and Classical elite burial ground.<sup>93</sup> These tumuli served as territorial markers of the estates on which they were built; as an index of the wealth of the local elite; as observation platforms in times of war.<sup>94</sup> Excavations brought to light burials dating between 500 and 375 BCE which are essential to our historical understanding of the Troad during the late Archaic and Classical periods.

The so-called ‘Polyxena Sarcophagus’ is the most elaborate among them and, as far as I know, the earliest stone-relief sarcophagus with figural scenes ever to have been discovered in Asia Minor.<sup>95</sup> It should be underlined that this sarcophagus dates back to the last quarter of the 5<sup>th</sup> century: at this time, Persians had begun to settle in Western Asia Minor. Also, in this very region, Demaratids and Gongilids operated at the beginning of the 4<sup>th</sup> century: a sign that the Persians had preserved an open space of interactions with the locals across a whole century. Two themes are represented on this sarcophagus: one mythological (the final events in the Trojan War: Polyxena, daughter of Priam,

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<sup>91</sup> Cf. Rose - Körpe 2016.

<sup>92</sup> The two were in visual communication and could have been part of the same estate. Rose 2014 have studied them in detail; a synthesis in Dusinberre 2013, 172-174.

<sup>93</sup> Excavations of the tumuli, that had been mostly looted, were undertaken in 1994 and 1998 by the Çannakale Museum, under the direction of Nurten Sevinç.

<sup>94</sup> Rose 2014, 73: «Anatolians as well as Greek mercenaries watched the Macedonian army from some of these tumuli during the Battle of Granicus, as well as during earlier battles». Cf. Xen. *An.* 1.9.13; 4.6.11; 5.6.7; Hdt. 5.35.

<sup>95</sup> Sevinç 1996; Geppert 2006; Rose 2007. For other graves in the Troad, see, e.g., Secher 1998, 135-155.

sacrificed by Neoptolemus, son of Achilles, next to the tumulus of his father); the other, a celebration with presentation of gifts, conversation, music and dancing, where women exchange gifts and soldiers dance a 'Pyrrhic dance'. As it has been remarked, «the imagery departs from Greek iconography of symposia or weddings (the most common situation in which women are featured in European Greece); its closest parallel is that of the Harpy Tomb at Xanthus in Lycia».<sup>96</sup> The buried was a male about forty years old. It has been observed how the decorative and architectural features of this sarcophagus clearly reflect a variety of traditions, both Anatolian and Aegean, not to mention the Achaemenid Royal art. The peculiarity of this female-focused funerary memorial (introduced in western Asia Minor at least fifty years before their counterparts in mainland Greece) is the unusual combination of a *kline* gathering with no men both with a Pyrrhic dance band, composed only by women, neither of which can be found duplicated in either mainland Greek or Persian iconography. It has been convincingly argued by C.B. Rose that the amalgamation of the features here is unique: hence, we may regard this work as indigenous. The choosing of a mythical scene in the decorative program of a 5<sup>th</sup> century BCE sarcophagus, symbolic or biographical, surely is uncommon, though sporadically attested. Visual references to the legendary history of the region remains the most relevant fact that we can assess. Also, the recovery of such a sarcophagus with a Trojan myth in the Granicus Valley is not meaningless: the area is too close to Troy not to think that the myth is evoked as a tribute to the local cultural legacy.

The local elite could choose as decoration for their tombs a variety of subjects that they found appealing: hunts were popular, as well as battles.<sup>97</sup> It is comprehensible, then, that another sar-

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<sup>96</sup> Dusinberre 2013, 172-174.

<sup>97</sup> War was frequently raging over the entire Troad during the periods in which these sarcophagi were produced, due to continuous battles between Greek cities and Persian satraps.

cophagus from Çan was decorated with two relief scenes, a battle and a hunt scene.<sup>98</sup> It was found in a tumulus near the village of Altikulaç (10 km northeast of Çan and approximately 25 km south of Kızöldün), and it was carved between 400 and 375 BCE. Buried within, there were the skeleton remains of a young male (25-28 years old), who probably sustained a fall. Painters used a great variety of colours, and practiced an innovative shading technique, a derivation of vase painting shading (late 5<sup>th</sup> century). It has been argued that the rider on this sarcophagus appears to be an example of a trend toward individualization:<sup>99</sup> the early development of portraiture has consistently been associated with western Asia Minor during the Late Classical period, when the Çan Sarcophagus was carved, primarily because this was the time when local mints began to produce coins with individualized portraits linked to the names of local dynasts and satraps. The die-cutters used a variety of techniques to add greater specificity to these images.<sup>100</sup> Also the items worn by the main figure<sup>101</sup> are unprecedented in monumental art. There are Persian models, like a cylinder seal from the Treasury at Persepolis dated 470/469, but the equestrian type does not appear in the monumental or minor arts of Persia: it developed in the western satrapies. The enemy might be marked as a Greek (though not hoplite-type as the one from the Karaburun tomb),<sup>102</sup> a Pisidian or – more likely – a Mysian,<sup>103</sup>

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<sup>98</sup> Sevinç *et al.* 2001; Tombul 2004; Rose 2007, *Id.* 2013; Ma 2008.

<sup>99</sup> Cf. the reliefs of the Lycian Sarcophagus studied by Schmidt-Dounas 1985, roughly contemporary with the one from Çan.

<sup>100</sup> Aquiline noses, thick lips, pointed beards, forehead creases, receding hairlines.

<sup>101</sup> Long-sleeved ochre-colored tunic with *anaxyrides*, red shoes, red cuirass probably made of leather, red helmet, purple-sleeved cloak – *kandyis* – around his neck, a tiara, a Persian scabbard tied to his belt, an *akinakes* hung from the white belt, a spear, maybe a *paltôn*, i.e. a cornel javelin. This type of armour seems to appear only in battle scenes on contemporary culturally mixed gems that date to approximately the same time as the Çan Sarcophagus (Rose 2014, 136).

<sup>102</sup> Sevinç *et al.* 2001, 413, n. 74; Rose 2014, 137.

<sup>103</sup> Ma 2008, 248-250.



and the dramatic contrast in costume and pose between rider and opponent seems to have been intended to emphasize the difference in ethnicity.<sup>104</sup> The iconography of the henchman is unusual: he has got similar hair and beards of the fallen Greek and carry an identical shield, though he clearly supports the knight. This iconographic assemblage suggests that he is a Greek mercenary in the pay of the rider.<sup>105</sup> And the rider almost certainly was the person who commissioned the sarcophagus.<sup>106</sup>

As for the so-called ‘Child’s Sarcophagus’, probably set some fifty years later in the same tumulus of the one with the sacrifice of Polyxena,<sup>107</sup> it contained the body of a most probably 8 or 9-year-old girl, given the nature of the grave goods. Among them, some typical Achaemenid-style calf’s head decorated sympotic equipment, a set of gold earrings and necklaces, some gold bracelets present on her arms defined by Achaemenid-style antelope head terminals<sup>108</sup> (i.e.: her entire jewellery box), some sort of wooden toy, maybe a doll of Greek crafting.

As for the Dedetepe tumulus, dated between 480-460 BCE (= between the Polyxena and the Child’s Sarcophagus), it probably belonged to a single estate and contained burials of the same family. The tomb contained a knife handle whose style is Persian inspired rather than Greek (it is nearly identical to one found at Daskyleion). There were also five relatively well preserved wood-

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<sup>104</sup> See the observations of Ma 2008 about *ethno-power games* in this sort of visual representation and about the meaning of the scene, which might have not been intended as realistic, even though somehow historically situated.

<sup>105</sup> The mercenaries who fought with Cyrus carried the Greek *macheira*: Xen. *An.* 1.8.6 and the soldier holds in his raised left hand a small round shield: surely conflict caused great proximity. *Contra* the interpretation of the henchman as Greek see Ma 2008, 250-251. On Greek mercenaries see Bettalli 2013. For a Persian perspective on Greek mercenaries see now Tuplin 2023.

<sup>106</sup> The three scenes are presented in a sort of chronological narrative, which could imply the attempt to represent the evolution of the skills of the same man through time.

<sup>107</sup> Rose 2014, 74-75.

<sup>108</sup> Very popular in the Granicus area between the latter 6<sup>th</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> BCE.

en furniture legs, some of which find their closest stylistic parallels in reliefs from Persepolis dating to the first quarter of the 5<sup>th</sup> century BCE (specifically those from the Apadana and the ‘Council Hall’). This level of Persianizing characteristics is however not of the same kind of the legs of the *kline* represented on the Polyxena Sarcophagus. The Dedetepe Sarcophagus was occupied by probably four adults: it looks as though several generations of the family were buried there, which means that the tomb would have been opened several times in the course of the 5<sup>th</sup> century (also the pottery spans several decades within the 5<sup>th</sup> century).

### 5. *Return to...* Herodotus 7.43

In the last paragraph we quickly went through monuments that are not distinctly definable as peculiar of a specific ethnic identity. Protagonists of the interactive dynamics operating in their background were locals, Aegean workers and the Achaemenid cultural court. That is why the sarcophagi appear composed of a plethora of strikingly different features: local tomb typologies, Aegean art, Greek or Achaemenid iconology and mixed grave goods. The semantic framework of all these aspects is elaborate, entwined, multicultural. The artistic production clearly wanted to state and affirm a well-nuanced identity, proudly claimed by the customers. Both style and iconography of these sarcophagi stem from different traditions (respectively the nearby Milesian colonies and Achaemenid-period sites in western Anatolia): therefore, these monuments reflect the kind of intersection of a plurality of models that one would expect in an area that embraced several cultures but chose to be identified exclusively with neither.<sup>109</sup> What Mazzarino would perhaps have considered «Oriente

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<sup>109</sup> On the possibility of retracing a northwestern strong economical and geographical network (rather than a mere political one) between Troad and the Granicus Valley cf. now Draycott 2018.

micrasiatico»<sup>110</sup> was in fact a much more mixed world, speaking more languages, practising more cultural customs and sharing a mixed heritage, a world that does not necessarily need to be orientalised by our attempt of comprehension. Therefore, we should consider such funerary monuments as a distinctly Anatolian – if not Troadic – outcome, rather than a Graeco-Persian, Anatolo-Greek or Anatolo-Persian, or even «kleinasiatisch-gräko-persische» one.

We do know the represented myth, the marble type,<sup>111</sup> the technical and artistic level of the low reliefs: we do not know, however, the identity of the buried nor, I believe, we can easily reconcile it with the subjects illustrated only because their flavour is more Greek or more Achaemenid.<sup>112</sup> I believe that the question here should not be who were the deceased, but who they wanted to appear and how they wanted to be remembered.<sup>113</sup>

Studies in ethnic identity and cultural memory have taught us that any endeavour to affirm any identity and cultural authenticity is, in fact, a continuous transfiguration of an impure identity by

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<sup>110</sup> Mazzarino 2007 [1947], 21 ff.

<sup>111</sup> From the island of Prokonnesos, which was of extraordinary quality and relatively easy to import due to the close geographic proximity. Through this trade we may see a conjunct effort: on one hand the Persian dominators stimulating large-scale quarrying of Proconnesian marble and on the other the city of Kyzikos and the Granicus Valley elite constituting a demand for it.

<sup>112</sup> Charles Brian Rose thinks that the customer of the Çan Sarcophagus was a local dynast, while Pierre Briant recently contested this interpretation, asking what would prevent us to consider him «a distinguished member of the Persian diaspora of the Daskyleion region» (Rose 2014, Briant 2020). John Ma considers him «a member of the Achaemenid diaspora Persian *ethno-elite*» (Ma 2008, 243, 250), he defines the sarcophagus' «Achaemenid in the full force of the term» and speaks about «Achaemenid military art» (*Ibidem* 252). On the subject of the 'Iranian diaspora' cf. now the pivotal publication by Klingenberg 2020, who reliably clarifies that meaningful traces of an Iranian cultural presence could still be found in almost all parts of Anatolia for many centuries after the end of the Achaemenid Empire.

<sup>113</sup> This is exactly the function of a tumulus used as *sema* (cf. Henry - Kelp 2016).

definition. Cultural impurity is only natural: inventing roots and flaunting identities are attempts to select the cultural traits (beliefs, symbols, rituals, myths, rules, language, clothing practices etc.) which the actors themselves consider meaningful. Ethnicity is therefore not a timeless and unchanging set of those traits: rather, it is the result of actions and reactions of a group between others within a social organization which, itself, continues to evolve. These traits are formed during a common history that the collective memory of the group selectively transmits and interprets, making some events and some characters legendary individuals, symbols of ethnic identity, on which to lay the very foundations of the beliefs of a common origin. This is what seems to have happened between Troad and the Granicus Valley, throughout time. That is why representing a Greek myth or a Persian art subject does not automatically mean that the buried were Greek or Persian. Moreover, even having labelled the deceased, what would prevent that they – when they were living – felt to belong to a different identity?

One should not only consider the identity intention of the buried. Also the production of the *tumuli* involved multiple cultural interactions and this has also found confirmation in trade: the range of pottery imports was rich and Attic black figure has been discovered in abundance, especially after 525, as has Lydian;<sup>114</sup> Ionian products reached the satrapal capital through the Mylesian colonies on the Marmara coast; several imposing marble buildings were constructed at Daskyleion, while a number of major construction projects were inaugurated in a variety of sites in and around the Troad; two marble columns discovered in Biga and belonging to a Late Archaic *naiskos* may help us picture how richly appointed the temples in the vicinity of the Granicus and Aisepos Rivers must have been.<sup>115</sup> Also, the bullae from Dasky-

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<sup>114</sup> This was the results of the Granicus River Survey Project and the field-work at Daskyleion in the early 2000s.

<sup>115</sup> Cf. Dusinberre 2013.

leion (some of which dating back to Xerxes) are in Aramaic, as are several funerary stelae,<sup>116</sup> and together with the *cylinder seals*,<sup>117</sup> they testify how Achaemenid court art was recalled in some of the aforementioned sarcophagi; Phrygian is also found (bilingual inscription in Phrygian and Greek) and, given the length of time during which the Lydian kings exercised control over the area, it seems likely that Lydian language would be spoken as well.

The interrogation of the archaeological materials unveils a complexity presupposing strong cultural intersections that must have happened continuously over time and does not look accidental at all. Michael Dietler spoke, for contexts like this, of *entanglement*: a long-term interaction phenomenon where *agency* and *accommodation* behaviours coexist.<sup>118</sup> Allegedly, the need of bigger powers was to secure the local elites' loyalty; the need of local elites was to be included into a network where they could maintain some independency. These sarcophagi strongly suggest such need of convergence, rather than staging a rigid identity. And rather than being exclusively destined to a military Achaemenid elite, which has been called «the main consumer, or patron, of this art»,<sup>119</sup> I suggest a more wide ranged 'audience', not only Achaemenid, and surely not only elite. These sarcophagi enlighten the desire of locals to simultaneously choose, get involved and interact with many different cultural and social spheres. That did not happen only during the production phase, but was also operating on a more intentional level.

Gestures of such *identity negotiation* and *cultural accommodation* are not new in this region. Was Pitarcus from Kyzicos not one of those Greeks who stand out in the political reshuffle that followed the conquest?<sup>120</sup> And his was not necessarily an isolated

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<sup>116</sup> Cf. Comstock - Vermeule 1976 and L'vov-Basirov 2001.

<sup>117</sup> Kaptan 2002.

<sup>118</sup> Cf. Dietler 1998, 2010.

<sup>119</sup> Ma 2008, 252.

<sup>120</sup> Hofstetter 1978, 162, nr. 282. Cf. Ruberto 2009.

case in the 6<sup>th</sup> century. In any case, diachronically, a certain regularity can be observed in the attribution of administrative tasks or territorial control to local elites, establishing a dense network of alliances and affiliations – which is a common custom to huge political structures having to handle big-sized and culturally varied territories. This precisely happened in the North western Asia Minor sector. We know, for instance, that in Kolonai (Aegean coast of Troad) the Spartan Pausanias would retire at some point and there he «would certainly have been subject to Artabazus, the satrap of Hellespontine Phrygia» as a «local client ruler in the Troad».<sup>121</sup> Xenophon, mentioning how Tibro conquered Pergamon, Teutrania and Halisarna in Troad, recalls that these regions were at the time ruled by Euristenes and Procles, the descendants of the spartan king Demaratus, refugee at Darius' I court.<sup>122</sup> Also Gongilids, descendants of that Gongilus from Eretria who had been exiled for his support to the Persians during Xerxes' reign,<sup>123</sup> as representatives of the Great King ruled Gambrion, Palaigambrion, Myrina e Gryneion (among Troad and Aeolid).<sup>124</sup> He also quotes the cases of Manias and Zenis of Dardanos.<sup>125</sup> And how can we forget Themistocles?<sup>126</sup> Also, more could be said about Memnon from Rhodes, who helped Darius III with 5.000 mercenaries against Kyzicos, traversing Troad against the Macedonian incursion in 336-335 BCE; his brother, Mentor, had participated in the reconquest of Egypt, being honoured by Artaxerxes III, and his sister had been wife to Artabazus, son of Pharnabazos, satrap in the Hellespontine Phrygia.<sup>127</sup>

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<sup>121</sup> Thuc. 1.131.1; Kuhrt 2007, 298, n. 12.

<sup>122</sup> *Hell.* 3.1.6. Briant 1996, 579.

<sup>123</sup> Thuc. 1.128.2 recalls that he helped the Spartan Pausanias to send back to the Great King «some friends and relations» taken as prisoners.

<sup>124</sup> Cf. Kuhrt 2007, 428, n. 5.

<sup>125</sup> Xen. *Hell.* 3.1.10-16.

<sup>126</sup> According to the tradition, Themistocles received the donation of some cities in the area from the Great King: cf. Thuc. 1.138.5; Nep. *Them.* 10.2-3; Diod. 11.57.7; Plut. *Them.* 29.10-11; Ath. 1.29f-30a.

<sup>127</sup> Arr. *Anab.* 1.17.8.

Were these people not locals of whom the Persians made use as supervisors to concretely administrate the conquered regions? What Briant once annotated on this subject is only natural and even logical: «Parfois les Grecs deviennent de véritables agents locaux du pouvoir achéménide».<sup>128</sup> But what this kind of affirmations leaves behind is precisely the background cultural interactions: it would only feed a well known stereotype to think that the Persians were only interested in territorial control. They also let that territory express its statements, making its own monuments, its own foci of collective identities, theatres of knowledge, bearing their own horizon of meanings.

Within this perspective, both Troad and the Granicus Valley are classic *in-between* regions, culturally mixed and open, not so neatly marked out from a cultural point of view. Bridges between East and West, between Europe and Asia, crucial economical, militar and cultural crossroads, in both directions, they were not marginal lands.<sup>129</sup> As historians, what would prevent us from considering them as part of a same cultural horizon? Their material culture seems to be a concrete attestation of that identity multiplicity that the literary testimonies discussed in paragraphs 2 and 3 describe. Also, it challenges the vulgate idea of the Granicus Valley being a culturally homogeneous space. Thus, we cannot simply rely upon the fluctuant ancient considerations on how much hellenised or persianised this region was. The Granicus Valley being midway between Troy and Daskyleion was a pivotal transit area,<sup>130</sup> where symbolic and cultural constructions, while being clearly inscribed in a power and domination relationship in which the Persians were the rulers and the locals were the ruled, did convey multiple ideas of membership without any specific belonging. This finds precise confirmation in the fact that despite

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<sup>128</sup> Briant 1985, 69.

<sup>129</sup> Jablonka 2011, 717: «Between two continents and seas, at the crossing point of land routes from Anatolia to the Balkans and sea routes from the Aegean to the Black Sea».

<sup>130</sup> It was the window for more than 60 km into inner Troad, from the Ida Mountains to the Sea of Marmara (Rose 2014, 73: cf. his plates 11 and 13).

the high level of Achaemenid influence on the objects produced for the elite of this area, there is no evidence for an adoption of Achaemenid burial customs, even in the most ‘Persianized’ tomb; that the realization of these *tumuli* was not prevented by Achaemenid presence and military control on the territory, confirmed by the hilltop structures mentioned in paragraph 4; that these tumuli were progressively identified, particularly by the Greeks, as the ones of the Trojan heroes.<sup>131</sup>

Of course, cultural interactions in Troad did not occur in a day. The evidence is clear on this. However, bearing this highly interactive framework in mind may shed light on an episode that for too long was marginalised in the history of this region. Opening we have said that modern historians have for a long time conceived the rituality of the Persians towards the Greek heroes in Troad as a political and almost exclusively ideological strategy.<sup>132</sup> However, one should ask oneself whether to deprive these ritual performances of a cultural connotation might not mean a loss in our historical comprehension of an episode which archaeology might contribute to frame better. Xerxes’ and the Magi’s actions might eventually need to be interpreted also in a cultural perspective. Hence, when Herodotus says that Xerxes visited τὸ Πριάμου Πέργαμον and sacrificed 1.000 oxen τῇ Ἀθηναίῃ τῇ Ἰλιάδι and that the magi offered χάσς to the heroes, there is no reason to doubt the historicity of the episode, just as it is narrated. More than that: there is no reason to suppose that Xerxes did not look for the counsel of some experts of religious Greek traditions (as in the Onomakritos episode),<sup>133</sup> which finds parallels in

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<sup>131</sup> Rose 2014.

<sup>132</sup> Echoes and parallels in other ancient authors have for a long time encouraged this idea: Alexander himself would have sacrificed in 334 (Plut. *Alex.* 15.7-9, Diod. Sic. 17.17.6-18.1, Arr. *Anab.* 1.11.7-12.2) and the same would do at the end of the Nineties of II BCE, Antiochus III (Liv. 35.43.3), C. Livius Salinator (Liv. 37.9.7) and consul L. Scipio (Liv. 37.37.1-3, Just. *Epit.* 31.8.1-3). Cf. Erskine 2001, 225 ff.

<sup>133</sup> Hdt. 7.6. Cf. Haubold 2007. Cf. also Briant 1996, 564-566: not only Onomakritos, but also Teisamenos, Hegesistratos, Hippomachos of Leukas



other cases of cultural and religious interaction by the Persians with other peoples of the empire where the imperial Persian dominion was interpreted in the light of local cultural traditions.<sup>134</sup> And we should also assume that the Persians already dwelling in this region might have played a role of intermediation: those very Persians that the literary tradition almost exclude from this area and that modern historians sometimes have refused to consider as populating and culturally acting in this context, but who were nonetheless actually there.<sup>135</sup>

This Herodotean episode implies at least familiarity, if not knowledge, understanding and experience of the Greek heroic sacrifice. And the Magi surely did not bring it with themselves from Persepolis: they must have acquired it in Troad, clearly on the basis of fully grown situations of cultural contacts. There is a stamp seal from Ilion with an intaglio carving of Ahuramazda, whose style suggests a date in the early 5<sup>th</sup> century BCE, unfortunately found out of context, which potentially testifies not only controlling mechanisms of administration in the area but also symbols of religious penetration.<sup>136</sup> Here we are on an epistemological level of interactions, to use an expression by Tzvetan Todorov: the identities were known at a profound and almost syncretic level (after all, the Persian Anahitā reminds us that such religious twists occurred). And now we know that such an interpretation can be surmised also by the analysis of the cultural situation in the territory, in light not only of literary, but also of archaeology analysis, all along the 5<sup>th</sup> century.

Thus, while beyond the corner of the city of Troy the inhabitants of Troad were competing on their alleged Trojan roots,

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were described as specialists of Greek religion being part of Xerxes' army (Hdt. 9.37-38).

<sup>134</sup> Think about Udjahorresnet in Egypt (cf. Kuhrt 2007, 117 ff.) or Babylon and Israel (Isaiah 41.1-5, cf. Kuhrt 2007, 84, n. 1).

<sup>135</sup> On Persians in Troad see Bieg 2006.

<sup>136</sup> Cf. Berlin 2002, for evidence of cult and settlement at Ilium in the Achaemenid period.

claiming territorial continuity; while there were continuous attempt to be part of this region's history and cultural heritage, inventing roots and flaunting identities; while war was raging on this land and different powers alternated their control of the area, collecting tributes... common people talked, trades were achieved, monuments were built: and that is, I guess, how cultural interactions occurred.

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MARCO SANTINI

IRON AGE ANATOLIAN POLITICS  
AND THE LYDIAN TRADITION\*

1. *Lydia Before the Mermnads: An Obscure Conundrum*

The political history of early Lydia is mostly known through Greek literary tradition, which ultimately consists of two main strands overlapping to some degree: the Lydian *logos* of Herodotus and the lost *Lydiaka* of Xanthus, a Lydian author who was active in the 5<sup>th</sup> century, probably slightly earlier than Herodotus, and wrote his work in Greek.<sup>1</sup> From Herodotus (1.7), we learn that Lydia had been ruled by three dynasties: the Atyades; the Herakleidai, who supposedly ruled for 22 generations spanning 505 years; and the Mermnads, who ruled for five generations from the early 7<sup>th</sup> century until the Persian conquest in the mid-6<sup>th</sup>. As is known, Herodotus's narrative focuses on the Mermnads, especially on how they came to power with Gyges and on how their last representative, Croesus, lost the kingdom.<sup>2</sup> Most information

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<sup>1</sup> For some attempts at a systematization, cf. Pedley 1972, with a collection of sources; Talamo 1979; Payne - Wintjes 2016, 5-45; and lastly Högemann - Oettinger 2018, who, however, consistently dismiss Xanthus (see e.g. pp. 10, 20, 38). See below for further literature.

<sup>2</sup> The literature on Herodotus's Lydian *logos* is vast and few indications will suffice for the present purposes. For Herodotus's methods and sources,

on the pre-Mermnadid period comes from fragments attributed to Xanthus, who is generally considered to be closer to local sources than Herodotus.<sup>3</sup> ‘Pre-Mermnadid’ fragments directly attributed to Xanthus only preserve fabulous narratives related to mythical rulers, including a short Atyad genealogy.<sup>4</sup> By contrast, fragments that focus on the Herakleid dynasty and the rise of the Mermnads are preserved in excerpts from the *Universal History* of Nicolaus of Damascus, a historian active in the Augustan period, and are only indirectly attributed to Xanthus.<sup>5</sup> Yet, there is widespread consensus that Xanthus is the ultimate source of Nicolaus.<sup>6</sup>

Of the three Lydian dynasties we know from tradition, only the last one is documented historically. We know that Gyges was in power by the second quarter of the 7<sup>th</sup> century from Assyrian documents of the age of Aššurbanipal,<sup>7</sup> and the archaeo-

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see, for example, Talamo 1985; Lombardo 1990; Flower 1991; Dewald 2012; Gazzano 2017, all with literature. For aspects of folktale narrative in the *logos*, see Cohen 2004; Luraghi 2013, 101-103.

<sup>3</sup> Xanthus was considered an authoritative source on Lydian history already in antiquity; cf. Gazzano 2009a; 2009b; 2010; 2011, 33-34; 2017, 45.

<sup>4</sup> Xanth. *BNJ* 765 FF 4a-b (Adramytes/Gyges); 8 (Akimios); 16 (Atys); 17a (Moxos); 18 (Kambles); 19 (Alkimos). For these fragments, see esp. Gazzano 2011.

<sup>5</sup> Nic. Dam. *BNJ* 90 FF 44a-47.

<sup>6</sup> A. Paradiso has included Nicolaus’s Lydian fragments in her edition of Xanthus for *Brill’s New Jacoby* (*BNJ* 765 FF 34a-37), while they do not appear among Xanthus’s fragments in Jacoby’s collection (*FGrHist* 765). Here I follow Paradiso’s approach and work under the assumption that the narratives on Lydian history preserved in Nicolaus go back to Xanthus, being aware that the material may have undergone alterations in different ways. For more details on the transmission of Xanthus’s work via Nicolaus, see Paradiso’s commentary on *BNJ* 765 FF 34a-37; Favuzzi and Paradiso on *BNJ* 90 FF 44a-47; as well as Parmentier-Morin 1995; Mehl 2003; Dorati 2009; Gazzano 2009b; 2009a. For Nicolaus’s work more specifically, see Parmentier - Barone 2011, XX-XXVIII, XXXV-LI.

<sup>7</sup> See Cogan - Tadmor 1977; Gelio 1981; Burkert 1998, 59; 2004, 42-43; Santini 2021, 25-32; Howe 2022, 300-308. For the chronology of the Mermnadid dynasty, more safely established thanks to early electrum coinage than based on Herodotus, see now Wallace 2016 and Meadows 2021; cf. Kerschner - Konuk



logical record has produced clear evidence of monumentality in Mermnad Sardis: by the late 7<sup>th</sup>-early 6<sup>th</sup> century at the latest, the city's acropolis and lower town were encircled by monumental fortification walls which enclosed an area of ca. 108 hectares. During the mid-6<sup>th</sup> century, monumental terraces were built over the natural terraces on the acropolis and its northern foothills.<sup>8</sup> Earlier periods are more obscure, but recent fieldwork carried out in 2019 has produced enlightening results: excavations in Field 49 have revealed traces of monumental structures which have been dated to the 9<sup>th</sup>-early 8<sup>th</sup> century as well as to the second half of the 8<sup>th</sup> century, corresponding to levels Lydian IV and III. The finds have been analyzed by G. Eren, who convincingly argues that those structures reflect the efforts of a ruling elite to build up a monumental, demarcational space in pre-Mermnad Sardis.<sup>9</sup>

The recent archaeological discoveries immediately reopen the question of the reliability of the literary narratives for reconstructing political action in pre-Mermnad Lydia. How should we approach the literary accounts? What lies behind the literary tradition about the Herakleidai? What lies behind the literary tradition about the Atyades? What is their historical significance? These and similar questions have long attracted the interest of scholars.<sup>10</sup> In this paper, I will readdress this old problem from a different angle. My aim is to explore how documented political practices in other Iron Age Anatolian polities may help us cast light on still obscure aspects of early Lydian history, namely on the period that precedes the rise of the Mermnad dynasty in the

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2020. The most recent reassessment of the chronology of early electrum coins seems to suggest that coinage in Lydia began under Gyges.

<sup>8</sup> For the archaeology of Sardis, see, e.g., Roosevelt 2009, 59-85; Cahill 2008a; 2010a; 2019; Ratté 2011.

<sup>9</sup> Eren 2022.

<sup>10</sup> See, for example, Mazzarino 2007 [1947], 165-182; Seel 1956; Herter 1966. Cf. Talamo 1979, 9-11, and Högemann - Oettinger 2018, 14-20, for a brief overview of previous literature.

early 7<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>11</sup> My argument is structured in three parts. First, I examine the literary tradition on the pre-Mermnadid period and disentangle its core elements, outlining underpinning political dynamics. Then, I ask why tradition represents those dynamics in that particular way and argue that such representation originates from a specific political strategy of the Mermnads. Finally, by drawing a comparison with documentary sources from Neo-Hittite polities, I seek to establish a reliable historical model for the study of political action in early Lydia, arguing that, from a typological perspective, it was not dissimilar from dynamics of political action attested in other Anatolian polities that developed from the ashes of the collapsed Hittite empire.<sup>12</sup>

## *2. Pre-Mermnadid Lydia in the Literary Tradition*

My first step is to disentangle the core elements of the literary tradition about the Herakleidai. The bulk of the story is preserved in fragments 44a to 47 of Nicolaus (*BNJ* 90), which correspond to fragments 34a to 37 in the new edition of Xanthus (*BNJ* 765). The narrative focuses on the last six generations before the dynastic change – more precisely on the last five, since nothing is recorded of the king who opens the story, Adyattes I.

Fragment 44a (= Xanthus 34a) opens with king Adyattes I leaving the kingdom to his sons Cadys and Ardys.<sup>13</sup> At some point Cadys's wife and her lover Spermos, Cadys's cousin, kill

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<sup>11</sup> Questions around the consolidation of the Lydian 'state' under the Mermnads, reopened by recent studies on early Lydian coinage, fall outside the scope of this paper; see e.g. van Alfen 2020; Meadows 2021.

<sup>12</sup> Recently, C. Posani has also pointed out analogies in themes of socio-cultural relevance that emerge from a comparison of the episode of Gyges and Kandaules in Herodotus and dynastic strife in the Neo-Hittite polity of Masuwari as narrated in local inscriptions; see Posani 2023.

<sup>13</sup> This part of the story also features in a fragmentary epigraphic 'Lydian history' found in Sardis and dated to the 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> century CE; see Thonemann 2020 and cf. below note 22.

Cadys, and Spermos usurps the throne. Ardys is exiled, but the Lydians call him back after Spermos has been killed, too. Back to power, Ardys entrusts the kingdom's affairs to the Mermnad Dascylus, son of Gyges. At this point Ardys's son Adyattes II fears that his father would leave the throne to Dascylus. Thus, Adyattes kills Dascylus. Ardys curses the killer, without knowing that he was cursing his own son. In the meantime, Dascylus's pregnant wife has fled to Phrygia, where she gives birth to another Dascylus (II).

In fragment 45 (= Xanthus 35), we find Lydia under the rule of Meles, presumably a son of Adyattes II. The Lydians have experienced a famine, interpreted as a divine punishment for the murder of Dascylus I. Meles tries to expiate Adyattes's crime and goes into exile in Babylon, while inviting Dascylus II to come back and take satisfaction for his father's assassination. Dascylus II refuses, and the reign is entrusted to the Tylonid Sadyattes, who acts as a regent.

In fragment 46 (= Xanthus 36), the following king, Myrsus, plans to kill Dascylus II, but the latter manages to flee from Phrygia and to take refuge among the Syrians, that is, in Cappadocia, where he marries a local woman. There, they give birth to Gyges.

Fragment 47 (= Xanthus 37) narrates the end of the Herakleid dynasty. Sadyattes son of Myrsus, whom we know from Herodotus as Myrsilus or Kandaules,<sup>14</sup> reinvites the Mermnads at court. Gyges is enrolled in the king's bodyguard and is held in great honor by the king. This provokes the envy of the Tylonid Lixus, who accuses Gyges of plotting against the king. Sadyattes sends Gyges on a mission to fetch his bride, Toudo, and then plans to kill him after discovering that he tried to seduce her during the trip. Gyges is alerted about the plot, reminds his friends of the murder of Dascylus, and kills the king with their aid. After some

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<sup>14</sup> Hdt. 1.7.2: [...] Κανδαύλης, τὸν οἱ Ἕλληνας Μυρσίλον ὀνομάζουσι. See further below, with notes 92-93, on the various names of the last Herakleid king.

civic turmoil, the change of dynasty is sanctioned by the Delphic oracle. The essential outline of the story matches Herodotus's narrative, save for the active role that Gyges plays in Nicolaus-Xanthus and, as is known, for the details of the harem tale.

If we proceed beyond the motif of dynastic change driven by adultery<sup>15</sup> and the tragic pattern of crime and atonement which informs the story of both the Herakleid and Mermnad families, it is possible to identify elements with political significance in the tradition.

As I mentioned earlier, the Herakleid dynasty is said by Herodotus (1.7.4) to have ruled for 22 generations, for a total of 505 years, starting with Agron – son of Ninus, son of Belos, son of Alcaeus, son of Herakles – and ending with Kandaules. Yet, we have a detailed account of events – in the *entire* tradition – only for the last few generations, which would roughly count slightly more than one century. We have no information whatsoever on the kings that supposedly ruled after Agron and before the last few kings whose story is preserved in the narrative of Nicolaus-Xanthus. To be sure, some fragments directly attributed to Xanthus preserve fabulous narratives related to mythical rulers named Alkimos, Akiamos, Meles, Moxus, and Kambles.<sup>16</sup> However, none of these can be connected with the Herakleid or the Atyad dynasty in a straightforward way.<sup>17</sup> Another fragment of Herakleid topic has recently been attributed to Nicolaus-Xanthus, but it only concerns one of the mythical ancestors of the dynasty, Alcaeus son of Herakles, who does not belong to the Herakleid king list.<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>15</sup> For this aspect, see Paradiso 2018.

<sup>16</sup> See above, note 4.

<sup>17</sup> Payne - Wintjes 2016 assign Alkimos, Akiamos, Meles, Moxus, and Kambles to the Atyad dynasty, but this is tentative as there is no clue in the tradition as to the dynasty to which these mythical kings belonged or were believed to belong (if any). For an 'Atyad' Alkimos, cf. also Paradiso's commentary on Xanth. *BNJ* 765 F 19a; for an 'Atyad' Meles, cf. Paradiso on Xanth. *BNJ* 765 F 35.

<sup>18</sup> Paradiso 2015.

Where did the 22 generations of kings end up? One might suspect that this ‘absence’ is the product, on the one hand, of Herodotus’s narrative agenda,<sup>19</sup> and, on the other hand, of the selection processes that Xanthus’s *Lydiaka* have undergone in antiquity.<sup>20</sup> However, while narrative choices no doubt influenced Herodotus’s selection of the material, the situation might be different for Xanthus. The fact that all the Herakleid fragments of Nicolaus come from the *Excerpta de insidiis*, commissioned by Constantine VII, might explain the preservation of the saga of the Herakleidai, which, as we have seen, is centered on court plots.<sup>21</sup> But the fact remains that we have no clue whatsoever in any author as to the events preceding the last five Herakleid kings: in Herodotus, the first king Agron is nothing more than a name, and even assuming that some of the mythical rulers attested in Xanthus’s fragments did belong to the Herakleid dynasty, there is an enormous qualitative difference between the narratives about them and those about the last representatives of the dynasty, which are also taken as going back to Xanthus. The imbalance in the nature and quality of the narratives is striking: this might suggest that Xanthus himself may not have had much to say about the Herakleidai beyond the dynasty’s last few representatives. It would not seem to be far-fetched to think that for him, just like for Herodotus, earlier Herakleid kings were no more than names or fabulous characters lost in myth, if not just sheer numbers – 22 generations spanning 505 years. Incidentally, one might think that this piece of information did not come through Xanthus simply because ancient authors knew it from Herodotus, while Xanthus himself had no alternative version to offer.<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>19</sup> For the purposes and sources of Herodotus’s Lydian *logos*, see esp. Lombardo 1990; cf. also Gazzano 2012.

<sup>20</sup> See the literature cited above, note 6.

<sup>21</sup> See Favuzzi and Paradiso’s commentary on Nic. Dam. *BNJ* 90 F 44a.

<sup>22</sup> Xanthus’s Lydian narratives that have come to us through tradition may have indeed been transmitted in antiquity precisely because they represented an alternative to Herodotus, or because they covered material that Herodotus

The story of the last Herakleid kings, which is the only coherent narrative we have about the Herakleidai, devotes significant space to Gyges's ancestors and their conflict with the Herakleidai: it provides justification for the dynastic change, tracing its motivations back to the murder of Dascylus I, and follows the deeds of the latter's descendants step by step. Overall, the only Herakleid king who appears in a good light is Ardys, Adyattes II's father, who entrusted the kingdom's affairs to Dascylus I: he appears as a sort of 'positive' avatar of Kandaules entrusting the kingdom's affairs to Gyges, and is also the one who ultimately justifies Gyges's action against Kandaules.<sup>23</sup> The story of Cadys, Ardys's brother, killed by the usurper Spermos, is also functional to Ardys's positive depiction.<sup>24</sup> By making Ardys himself a victim of usurpation and having him acclaimed by the Lydians after the usurper's death, the story enhances Ardys's legitimacy, and thus the legitimacy of his actions as king: these include entrusting power to Dascylus I, cursing Adyattes II, and ultimately legitimizing the assassination of Kandaules by Gyges. In other words, Ardys ultimately allows accuses of usurpation to be diverted away from Gyges.

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did not cover: see Gazzano 2009a, 42; 2009b, 359-362; cf. also Gazzano 2010, 119-125. For the differences between Xanthus's and Herodotus's Lydian histories, in terms of contents as well as purposes, cf. Dorati 2009, 43-48, with lit. The epigraphic 'Lydian history' dated to the 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> century CE and based on Xanthus or excerpts thereof (Thonemann 2020; see above, note 13) is too fragmentary to draw firm conclusions; nevertheless, one may note that preserved portions show that a synchronism was made between the Herakleid (S)adyattes I, the first Herakleid king named in the fragments of Nicolaus-Xanthus, and the first Olympiad.

<sup>23</sup> Nicolaus-Xanthus explicitly describes Ardys as the one who ruled best (after Akimios), as a king beloved by the Lydians, and as a lover of justice (*BNJ* 90 F 44a.10 = 765 F 34a.10): κατελθὼν δὲ ὁ Ἄρδυσ ἐβασίλευσε μετὰ Ἀκίμιον πάντων ἄριστα, καὶ σφόδρα γίνεται Λυδοῖς καταθύμιος καὶ φιλοδίκαιος.

<sup>24</sup> That Spermos is a functional character might be confirmed by the fact that Nicolaus-Xanthus emphasizes that he is not mentioned in the «royal records» (Nic. Dam. *BNJ* F 44a.7 = Xanth. *BNJ* 765 F 34a.7): Σπέρμης μὲν οὕτως ἐτελεύτησεν βασιλεύσας ἔτη δύο· ἐν δὲ τοῖς βασιλείοις οὐκ ἀναγράφεται.

Two points emerge from these considerations: first, that the story of the Herakleidai is entirely told from a Mermnad perspective; second, that the Mermnads were not keen on removing the memory of the Herakleidai, but were interested in preserving it as long as it was meaningful to themselves. These conclusions are consistent with the hypothesis advanced by some scholars that Xanthus's account, or at least part of it, draws on family memories, namely Mermnad ones.<sup>25</sup> But is it possible to tell something more as to how such memories were fashioned and why so?

The tradition draws a qualitative distinction between Herakleidai and Mermnads. The Herakleidai are presented as a family with a long-standing and well-established royal pedigree. This is evident in Herodotus's statement that they ruled uninterruptedly for 22 generations, passing power from father to son for a total of 505 years, although, as has been observed, this calculation seems to have the specific purpose of reconciling Lydian history with Mesopotamian history (more on this below). The dynastic name 'Herakleidai', which seems to be independently known both to Herodotus and to Xanthus,<sup>26</sup> may also be interpreted in this way: whether we understand it as a Greek attempt to connect Near Eastern history to a specific chronological scheme,<sup>27</sup> or as Lydian appropriation of Greek cultural elements within a Graeco-Lydian *koiné*,<sup>28</sup> claiming descent from Herakles was meaningful

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<sup>25</sup> See Paradiso's commentary on Xanth. *BNJ* 765 F 37. On the oral sources of Xanthus, see also Diller 1956. In addition, Xanthus seems to have relied on some official records, possibly a king list: see Paradiso's commentary on Xanth. *BNJ* 765 F 34a and previous note. Whatever such records consisted of, their putative archival nature does not make them immune to 'interested' manipulations; in fact, they may well have been fashioned in retrospect.

<sup>26</sup> See Favuzzi and Paradiso's commentary on Nic. Dam. *BNJ* 90 FF 44a and 47; see also Paradiso 2015.

<sup>27</sup> Cf. Asheri 1988, 267-268; Burkert 1995; Vannicelli 2001; Dewald 2012, 68-69. See further below.

<sup>28</sup> Cf. Mazzarino 2007 [1947], 165-182, regardless of his misguided conclusion that the Herakleidai and the Mermnads were one and the same dynasty, on which cf. already Seel 1956.

to sustaining claims to kingship.<sup>29</sup> The kings of Sparta and Pheidon of Argos exemplify this use of Herakleid ancestry,<sup>30</sup> but this is also a function that Herakles shared with his Phoenician avatar Melqart, whose name means ‘king of the city’ and who was understood as the divine counterpart of the king of Tyre.<sup>31</sup>

But the royal characterization of the Herakleidai especially emerges when contrasted with the characterization of the Mermnads. Rather than peer competitors of the Herakleidai, the Mermnads are presented as a family tied to the royal house by loyalty and service. Dascylus I and Gyges serve the kings in what can be defined ‘para-institutional’ roles, that is, they operate outside the royal institution but are assigned quasi-institutional functions:<sup>32</sup> Dascylus I is Ardys’s trusted advisor to the point that he has control on the kingdom’s most crucial affairs;<sup>33</sup> Gyges is an esteemed counselor and a bodyguard of Sadyattes-Kandaules.<sup>34</sup>

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<sup>29</sup> This point has appropriately been emphasized by Herter 1966, 41-42. A renewed interest in the Herakleid pedigree of early Lydia characterized certain civic elites of western Asia Minor during the Roman imperial period; see Thonemann 2020.

<sup>30</sup> For the kings of Sparta, see Tyrt. fr. 11.1 W; Pind. *Pyth.* 1.61-66; Hdt. 6.52; 7.204, 208; 8.114, 131, with Carlier 1984, 316-319; Hall 1997, 56-65; Nafissi 2010, 104-111; 2019. For Pheidon of Argos, see Eph. *BNJ* 70 F 115; Theop. *BNJ* 115 F 393; *Marm. Par. BNJ* 239 A 30, with Drews 1983, 60-61; Carlier 1984, 384-395; Kōiv 2016a, 332-337; 2016b, 47-53.

<sup>31</sup> Bonnet 1988, 417-433; Malkin 2011, 119-141; Xella 2017, 101-102.

<sup>32</sup> For the definition of ‘para-institutional’ figures, cf. Pintore 1979, 493; 1983, 297, 303, 313; see now Santini 2024a, 21 and *passim*, esp. 43-44 for Gyges.

<sup>33</sup> Nic. Dam. *BNJ* 90 F 44a.11 = Xanth. *BNJ* 765 F 34a.11: Ἄρδου δὲ γηράσκοντι ἤδη προσφιλέστατος ἦν Δάσκυλος Γύγω γένος Μερμνάδ<ης>. οὗτος ἅπασαν ὡς εἰπεῖν τὴν Λυδῶν ἀρχὴν διὰ χειρὸς εἶχεν.

<sup>34</sup> Nic. Dam. *BNJ* 90 F 47.4-5 = Xanth. *BNJ* 765 F 37.4-5: βασιλεὺς δὲ ἦσθεις μετεπέμψατο τὸν Γύγην καὶ θεασάμενος ἠγάσθη τό τε εἶδος καὶ τὸ μέγεθος, ἐκέλευσέ τε μετὰ τῶν δορυφόρων εἶναι. [...] ἐπεὶ δὲ αὐτὸν [*scil.* τὸν Γύγην] σφόδρα ἔστεργεν καὶ πάντων μάλιστα προυτίμα πολλοὶ δὴ διὰ φθόνον ἤχθοντό οἱ καὶ ἐμέμφοντο τῷ βασιλεῖ, ὃν καὶ Λίξος τοῦ Τυλωνίου γένους. οὗτος τὸν Ἀδυάττην ἠτιᾶτο, ὅτι τὸν Γύγην ἐχθρὸν πατρῷον ὄντα μεγάλως ἀσπάζεται καὶ πάντων ἡγῆμόνα ἀποδείξει; Hdt. 1.8.1: ἦν γάρ οἱ τῶν



Indeed, Adyattes II fears that Dascylus could become the next king,<sup>35</sup> while the Tylonid Lixus, a descendant of that Sadyattes who had been appointed a regent during Meles's exile,<sup>36</sup> fears that Gyges could take the place of pre-eminence at court which had once been his ancestor's and which he coveted for himself.<sup>37</sup> Lixus essentially appears as an avatar of Adyattes II, and his presence in the story's plot is motivated by the fact that Kandaules had no heirs that could claim the throne – or at least this is what the story wants us to believe. All in all, from a functional perspective, both antagonists end up emphasizing the legitimacy of the para-institutional role of the protagonists, and of the actions of those who appointed them to such role, respectively Ardys and Kandaules.

The qualitative distinction between Herakleidai and Mermnads is also conveyed by their respective associations with other countries or cultures. The Mermnads are associated with Phrygia: Phrygia is where the wife of Dascylus I flees after her husband's assassination and is the birthplace of Dascylus II;<sup>38</sup> the name Dascylus itself immediately recalls the Phrygian city of Daskyleion in the Propontis.<sup>39</sup> By contrast, the Herakleidai are asso-

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αίχμοφόρων Γύγης ὁ Δασκύλου ἀρεσκόμενος μάλιστα, τούτῳ τῷ Γύγῃ καὶ τὰ σπουδαιότερα τῶν πρηγμαίων ὑπερετίθετο ὁ Κανδαύλης.

<sup>35</sup> Nic. Dam. *BNJ* 90 F 44a.11 = Xanth. *BNJ* 765 F 34a.11.

<sup>36</sup> Nic. Dam. *BNJ* 90 F 45 = Xanth. *BNJ* 765 F 35.

<sup>37</sup> Nic. Dam. *BNJ* 90 F 47.5 = Xanth. *BNJ* 765 F 37.5 (see above, note 34).

<sup>38</sup> Nic. Dam. *BNJ* 90 F 44a.11 = Xanth. *BNJ* 765 F 34a.11. Hdt. 1.8 also knows Dascylus as Gyges's father.

<sup>39</sup> Modern Hisartepe near Ergili, on the south-eastern shore of the lake Manyas: Zgusta 1984, 155-156, § 246-2; cf. Hansen - Nielsen 2004, 978-979, no. 740. While it is not clear to what extent Daskyleion belonged to the Phrygian cultural milieu during the apogee of Gordion (9<sup>th</sup> and especially 8<sup>th</sup> century), the city shows Phrygian influence in material culture after Gordion's heyday and was a satrapal capital during the Persian period (namely of the satrapy later known as Hellespontine Phrygia): see Vassileva 1995; Brixhe 1996; Bakır-Akbaşoğlu 1997; Wittke 2006; Berndt-Ersöz 2006, 1; İren 2010. Although, according to Steph. Byz. s.v. Δασκυλεῖον (δ 26), there were at least five settlements with this name in western Asia Minor, the Phrygian setting of the Mermnad saga leaves no doubt that, if the name Dascylus could allude to

ciated with Assyria and Babylonia: the first king of the dynasty, Agron, is said to descend from Herakles through Belos, who in Greek tradition stands for Babylon's main god Marduk, and through Ninus, the eponym of Nineveh;<sup>40</sup> moreover, king Meles is said to have gone into exile in Babylon.<sup>41</sup> These connections further qualify the different pedigrees of the two dynasties, but before assessing their weight in the tradition we should try to determine how they came about.

### 3. *The Pedigrees of the Herakleidai and the Mermnads: A Rhetoric of Distinction*

I shall start with the Phrygian pedigree of the Mermnads. As has been noted,<sup>42</sup> this question is connected to the Atyad genealogy. Herodotus (1.7) says that Agron, the first Herakleid king, took up power from the Atyades by virtue of an oracle. The historian knows three slightly different versions of the Atyad genealogy: Atys → Lydus (1.7); Manes → Atys → Lydus & Tyrrhenus (1.94); and Manes → Cotys → Asios (4.45). These genealogies seem to have been combined together by Dionysius of Halicarnassus (1.27): Zeus → Masnes → Cotys → Atys (& sister Asia!) → Lydus & Tyrrhenus. Xanthus (*BNJ* 765 F 16) offers a shorter,

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one of them, it must be the Phrygian one. Besides, the city is explicitly linked to the Mermnads in two instances: in a story concerning the king Sadyattes (Nic. Dam. *BNJ* 90 F 63, for which see Lombardo 1980, esp. 357-359); and in a fragment of Hipponax which mentions it alongside Croesus, although in that context the toponym seems to serve as an obscene pun (Hipp. fr. 104.22-23 W, with Dale 2018, 9).

<sup>40</sup> Hdt. 1.7.2: Ἦν Κανδαύλης, τὸν οἱ Ἕλληνες Μυρσίλον ὀνομάζουσι, τύραννος Σαρδίων, ἀπόγονος δὲ Ἀλκαίου τοῦ Ἡρακλέος. Ἄγρων μὲν γὰρ ὁ Νίνου τοῦ Βήλου τοῦ Ἀλκαίου πρῶτος Ἡρακλειδέων βασιλεὺς ἐγένετο Σαρδίων, Κανδαύλης δὲ ὁ Μύρσου ὑστάτος. See the observations of Vannicelli 2001, 193.

<sup>41</sup> Nic. Dam. *BNJ* 90 F 45 = Xanth. *BNJ* 765 F 35.

<sup>42</sup> Talamo 1979, 16-33; cf. Baldriga 1997 and Gaetano 2023, 174-175.

slightly different version: Atys → Lydus & Torrhebos, which lies behind Nicolaus's sequence Atys → Torrhebos (*BNJ* 90 F 15 = Xanth. *BNJ* 765 F 16a).<sup>43</sup> Discrepancies aside, the Atyad genealogy seems to be centered on two elements: it culminates with Lydus, the eponym of the Lydians; and it shows a Phrygian orientation in the earlier generations, since the names Ma(s)nes, Atys, and Cotys are linked to Phrygian milieux.<sup>44</sup>

It has been suggested that the Phrygian pedigree attached to the Lydians reflects a Greek way to translate into myth the sequence of Anatolian empires:<sup>45</sup> this may have triggered the invention of mythical Phrygian-sounding characters as progenitors of the eponym Lydus. However, the marked contrast between the Herakleidai, whose background is devoid of Phrygian associations but, as we shall see in a moment, looks instead at Mesopotamia, and the overlapping Phrygio-Lydian backgrounds of Atyades and Mermnads can hardly be explained as a sheer product of Greek mythography.

As has been noted by C. Talamo,<sup>46</sup> the Phrygian pedigree of the Atyad dynasty makes perfect sense when matched with the Phrygian pedigree of the Mermnads: while the position of the Atyades before the Herakleidai is only known from Herodotus

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<sup>43</sup> The sequence Zeus & Torrhebia → Karios → Manes → Atys → Torrhebos, which emerges from Jacoby's restorations in Steph. Byz. τ 156 Τόρρηβος = Nic. Dam. *FGrHist.* 90 F 15, is arbitrary and should be dismissed: see McAnally 2011, 48-51, and Paradiso on Xanth. *BNJ* 765 F 16a (*pace* Gaetano 2023, 174).

<sup>44</sup> For Ma(s)nes, see Talamo 1979, 16-24; Baldriga 1997, 280-281; Obrador-Cursach 2020, 291. For Atys, who evokes Phrygian Attis, see Talamo 1979, 26-28; Baldriga 1997, 282; Lancellotti 2002, 1-40, esp. 25-31. Atys was also the name of a son of Croesus who tragically died in a boar hunt being killed by the Phrygian nobleman Adrastus: as has been variously noted, this story, narrated in Hdt. 1.34-45, is to a good extent modeled on the legend of Phrygian Attis; see Talamo *loc. cit.*; Riecks 1975; Asheri 1988, 287-288; Lancellotti 2002, 52-60. For Cotys, who is linked to a Thraco-Phrygian milieu, see Talamo 1979, 24-26; Baldriga 1997, 282; Lancellotti 2002, 30.

<sup>45</sup> Baldriga 1997.

<sup>46</sup> Talamo 1979, 28-33, 57. Cf. also Lanfranchi 1996, 100-101.

and one may well suspect that it reflects his own arrangement of the material, it would certainly make sense for the ‘Phrygian’ Mermnads to claim that the power they have taken from the Herakleidai had once belonged to the ‘Phrygian’ Atyades. The crucial point is the contrast between the two rival dynasties: I would suggest that such contrast is best explained by dynamics internal to the Lydians’ perception of their own history, and that the Mermnads themselves hearkened back to the Phrygians. This possibility does not just have to do with Lydia gaining control of Phrygian territory between the 7<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> centuries,<sup>47</sup> but has to do with the political legacy of the kingdom of Midas, which the Mermnads may have found appealing. Scholars including A.M. Wittke, H. Genz, and G. Summers have questioned the common assumption that a unified Phrygian polity existed before the reign of Midas.<sup>48</sup> Following in their footsteps, I myself have suggested that the notion of ‘Phrygia’ acquired political salience only by the late 8<sup>th</sup> century, by initiative of Midas, to whom we should ascribe the creation of a great polity ‘Phrygia’ by the unification of smaller polities and diverse communities.<sup>49</sup> If the political creation of Phrygia was a relatively recent process, the memory of it may have been particularly appealing to those who could claim to have founded, or re-founded, the polity ‘Lydia’<sup>50</sup>

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<sup>47</sup> For Gordion and Phrygia in the Lydian period, see DeVries 1988; Voigt-Young 1999; Rose 2021, 65-67; Gürtekin-Demir 2022.

<sup>48</sup> Wittke 2004, 282-289; 2006; 2007; Genz 2011, 360-361; Summers 2018, 69-70; 2023a, 190; 2023b.

<sup>49</sup> Santini 2024b. Here I must emphasize that the late emergence of ‘Phrygia’ as a *unified polity* does not mean that there was no polity in Gordion or elsewhere in the area before that.

<sup>50</sup> It has been suggested that the name ‘Lydia’ was introduced by the Mermnads (Yakubovich 2010, 113-115, 160): while we have no means to verify this, the hypothesis is consistent with the eponym Lydus descending from Phrygian ancestors, which matches Gyges being the son of Phrygian Dascylus. Herodotus (1.7.3) claims that before Lydus the Lydians were called Maeonians, and the latter are associated with traditional Lydian territory in the *Iliad* (2.864-866); a related hypothesis is that Maeonians was the name by which the Herakleidai

and who could arguably present themselves as the heirs of great Phrygia in Anatolian geopolitics.<sup>51</sup>

Within this framework, one may also consider the possibility that the Mermnad dynastic name Dascylus is instrumental. If that was the actual name of Gyges's father and grandfather, one would claim that the family's connection with Phrygia emerged secondarily by association with Daskyleion; but it may well be the case that, as the tradition developed, Gyges's father and grandfather were purposefully renamed Dascylus to add further emphasis to the constructed Phrygian pedigree of the family.<sup>52</sup>

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were called (or called themselves; Roosevelt 2009, 19-20). For the origins of the toponyms 'Lydia' and 'Maeonia', tentatively identified in the Luwian toponyms *Luwīya* and *Maddunassa*, see resp. Beekes 2003 and van den Hout 2003.

<sup>51</sup> For a similar argument, cf. Lanfranchi 1996, esp. 100-101, 110-111, and Gaetano 2023, 175. For the legacy of Phrygian sovereignty in Lydia, cf. also Munn 2006, 96-114, with the caveats of Vlassopoulos in *BMCR* 2006.10.27. Besides the Phrygian connection, some commentators note a special link between the Mermnads and Caria: Gyges obtained power with the aid of Carian mercenaries (Plut. *Mor.* 301f-302a), while Alyattes campaigned against Caria (Xanth. *BNJ* 765 F 41a = Nic. Dam. *BNJ* 90 F 65) and married a Carian woman, who would become the mother of Croesus (Hdt. 1.92.2-3); also, a combined reading of Hdt. 2.152.4, Diod. 1.66.12, and *RINAP* 5/1: Aššurbanipal 11, ii 114-115, may suggest that Gyges sent Carian and Ionian mercenaries to aid Psammetichus I in his attempt to throw off the Assyrian yoke (cf. Bettalli 2013, 204-208). Furthermore, Carian graffiti have been found at Sardis (Adiego 2007, 27-29, with lit.). These circumstances are believed to lie behind the connection established between Lydia and Caria in Lydian mythography: see Pedley 1974; McAnally 2011; Paradiso on Xanth. *BNJ* 765 F 16a. However, once Jacoby's arbitrary insertion of Karios in the Atyad genealogy is dismissed (see above, note 43), one can see that this connection is limited to the fact that the region called Torrhebis (< Torrhebos, son of Atys) hosts a temple of Karios, the latter being the son of Zeus and Torrhebia (Xanth. *BNJ* 765 F 16a = Nic. Dam. *BNJ* 90 F 15; Hdt. 1.171.6 mentions that Kar was believed to be the brother of Lydus and Mysus, but this is attributed to the Carians themselves). Compared to the link with Phrygia, which is pervasive in the genealogy of the Atyades as well as in the Mermnads' saga, the mythical link between Lydia and Caria is rather tenuous and there is no cogent reason to (over)emphasize it as a component of the Mermnads' identity policy. Cf. also below, note 94.

<sup>52</sup> Although the toponym Daskyleion is most certainly built on the personal name Dascylus, just as Gordion is built on the Phrygian personal name \*Gordis

Therefore, what we see in the literary tradition certainly owes to a Greek way of putting things, but we may well suspect that the original association of the Mermnads, and of the Lydians, with Phrygia is a product of the Mermnads' own policy as state-founders, which aimed qualitatively to distance them from their predecessors. The latter, as seen, are assigned Mesopotamian connections, as especially emerges from the insertion of Belos and Ninos in their genealogy. W. Burkert suggested that such connections derive from the alliance between Gyges and Aššurbanipal which is documented by Assyrian sources.<sup>53</sup> However, P. Vannicelli has rightly remarked that the alliance *per se* cannot explain why it is the Herakleidai that are associated with Mesopotamia, and not the Mermnads as one would expect.<sup>54</sup> While noting that the ultimate origins of the Mesopotamian connection are unclear, Vannicelli suggests that the intrusion of Belos and Ninos at that point in the Herakleid genealogy plays a role within the chronological system adopted by Herodotus. In Herodotus's framework, before Cyrus unified Asia, the history of Asia was divided into that of *anō Asiē*, characterized by 520 years of Assyrian rule and 150 years of Median rule, and that of *katō Asiē*, characterized by 505 years of Herakleid rule and 170 years of Mermnad rule over Lydia. The intrusion of Belos and Ninos in the first part of the Herakleid genealogy would serve the purpose of subsuming Lydian history within the history of the whole Asia, under the chronological framework provided by Herakles.<sup>55</sup>

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(Simon 2017; Obrador-Cursach 2020, 142-143), I deem it unlikely that the city was named after Gyges's father, as suggested by Vassileva 1995, 32, and Bakır-Akbaşoğlu 1997, 230. As remarked by Lombardo 1980, 358 n. 199, the name Dascylus is so widespread in western Asian mythical genealogies that claims concerning a Mermnadic involvement in the foundation or (re)naming of the city are unwarranted.

<sup>53</sup> Burkert 1995, 144-145.

<sup>54</sup> Vannicelli 2001, 191.

<sup>55</sup> For the whole argument, see Vannicelli 2001.

However, if we take the Atyades into account, this chronological framework reveals a contradiction: if the Atyades were the first rulers of Lydia and those who passed over the reign to Agron, the reign of the latter can no longer be considered the moment when *katō Asiē* started its own historical trajectory. While I agree with Vannicelli's argument that Herodotus tried to arrange Near Eastern dynasties into Herakles's chronological scheme, this observation suggests that Herodotus was using according to his own mental map an independent tradition on Lydian-Mesopotamian connections, which was specifically targeted to the Mermnads' predecessors just as the Phrygian connection was targeted to the Mermnads. Herodotus's scheme is not able to solve the conflict between a dynasty with a Phrygian pedigree and a dynasty with a Mesopotamian one: once again, I suggest, this conflict is best explained according to Lydian politics.

Let us get back to Burkert's suggestion that the alliance between Gyges and Aššurbanipal lies behind the Lydian-Mesopotamian connection. Contrary to Burkert, however, I would suggest that the role such connection was supposed to play is not that of associating, but that of distancing Lydia, or a part of it, from Mesopotamia. The alliance signed between Gyges and Aššurbanipal – which was actually a request of military aid against the Cimmerians – was not unproblematic. Gyges's participation in it was quite erratic, and this transpires even from Assyrian accounts.<sup>56</sup> The first account of the Lydian ambassadors approaching Assyria overemphasizes the alienness of the Lydians from the Assyrians' mental map, and betrays a mixed feeling of superiority and diffidence from the side of the Assyrians.<sup>57</sup> A comparison of the various versions of the story in Aššurbanipal's annals shows that the Assyrian court scribes passed over in silence the fact that Gyges eventually opted out of the alliance. The event was mentioned

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<sup>56</sup> For the following argument, see Santini 2021, 25-32, with references to the Assyrian documents and further literature.

<sup>57</sup> *RINAP* 5/1: Aššurbanipal 1, vi 1'-31'.

only after Gyges had died,<sup>58</sup> since at that point Assyria could interpret his death as a retribution for his disloyalty. Gyges's behavior towards the Assyrians makes one suspect that Lydia's relations with Assyria were not considered a big deal in Lydia but were rather subordinate to the needs of the moment. Contrary to other Anatolian polities who proudly claimed to be Assyria's vassals,<sup>59</sup> by the time of Gyges Lydia does not seem to have had strong feelings about Assyria, and likely had no special interest in being associated with it. Later interactions did not change things: Aššurbanipal says that Gyges's son voluntarily resubmitted to him,<sup>60</sup> but this is probably nothing more than an Assyrian interpretation of another interested request of military aid – an interpretation which aims to emphasize that Gyges's disgraceful course of action was doomed to be reversed.<sup>61</sup>

A Lydian-Babylonian interaction is recorded by Herodotus (1.74), who mentions that Labynetos of Babylonia, likely to be identified with Nabonidus, served together with Syennesis of Cilicia as a mediator in a peace treaty between Alyattes and the Median Cyaxares, dated to 585.<sup>62</sup> But we cannot speak of positive relations with Babylonia either: Herodotus suggests that the conditions established by the mediators came to Alyattes as an imposition, as he was forced by resolution to give his daughter

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<sup>58</sup> *RINAP* 5/1: Aššurbanipal 11, ii 95-125.

<sup>59</sup> See, for example, the statements of king Bar-Rakib of Sam'al (mid-8<sup>th</sup> century) about his dynasty's loyalty to Tiglath-pileser III (*KAI* 215: 11-15, 19-20; 216: 1-11; 217), as well as those of king Wraykas of Hiyawa (mid-8<sup>th</sup> century) in the bilingual inscription of ÇİNEKÖY (Luw. §§ 6-7, Phoen. 7-10; text in Tekoğlu - Lemaire 2000; for a historical study see Lanfranchi 2009) and in the trilingual inscription of İNCİRLİ (Phoen. front side 9, the only legible version; text in Kaufman 2007).

<sup>60</sup> *RINAP* 5/1: Aššurbanipal 11, ii 120-125.

<sup>61</sup> Cf. Santini 2021, 30-31.

<sup>62</sup> On this episode, cf. Huxley 1965; Asheri 1988, 316; Burkert 2004, 45. If Labynetos is to be identified with Nabonidus, he must have acted as a mediator on behalf of the ruling king, who by 585 was Nebuchadnezzar II. Nabonidus himself would become king of Babylon in 556 and rule until 539.



in marriage to Cyaxares's son.<sup>63</sup> Now, precisely these conditions constitute one of the reasons why Croesus went to war against Cyrus: indeed, as Herodotus remarks (1.73.1-2), Croesus wanted to avenge his brother-in-law Astyages, who had been dethroned by Cyrus. Therefore, when recalled in the wake of the events that brought to Croesus's fall, the treaty between Alyattes and Cyaxares, and thus the mediators' resolution, must have appeared ominous – certainly from Herodotus's perspective, but most likely also from that of the Lydians themselves, or better the later descendants of the Mermnads.

Thus, the history of diplomatic interactions between the Mermnads and Mesopotamia is not devoid of tensions, which may have fed into Lydian perceptions of Assyria and Babylonia. The association of the Herakleidai with Mesopotamia can now receive an explanation: it may reflect, through the lens of Greek tradition, another device of Mermnad origins that served to distance the Mermnads from their predecessors. After all, it makes sense for a dynasty that hearkened back to Phrygia to depict their predecessors as having Mesopotamian connections: indeed, Phrygia had been the main Anatolian competitor of Assyria just few decades before Gyges came to power.<sup>64</sup>

The analysis I carried out so far shows that the story of pre-Mermnadic Lydia is not simply the story of two elite families struggling for power. Rather, the tradition is fashioned as the story of how an old dynasty, rooted in a long-established tradition of kingship, slowly gave way to new figures whose power origi-

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<sup>63</sup> Hdt. 1.74.3-4: [3] οἱ δὲ Λυδοὶ τε καὶ οἱ Μῆδοι ἐπέιτε εἶδον νύκτα ἀντὶ ἡμέρης γενομένην, τῆς μάχης τε ἐπαύσαντο καὶ μᾶλλον τι ἔσπευσαν καὶ ἀμφοτέρω ἐιρήνην ἐωυτοῖσι γενέσθαι. οἱ δὲ συμβιβάσαντες αὐτοὺς ἦσαν οἶδε, Συέννεσίς τε ὁ Κίλιξ καὶ Λαβώνητος ὁ Βαβυλώνιος. [4] οὗτοί σφι καὶ τὸ ὄρκιον οἱ σπεύσαντες γενέσθαι ἦσαν καὶ γάμων ἐπαλλαγὴν ἐποίησαν· Ἀλυάττεα γὰρ ἔγνωσαν δοῦναι τὴν θυγατέρα Ἀρύνην Ἀστυάγῃ τῷ Κυαζάρῳ παιδί· ἄνευ γὰρ ἀναγκαίης ἰσχυρῆς συμβάσεως ἰσχυραὶ οὐκ ἐθέλουσι συμφέειν.

<sup>64</sup> See, e.g., Berndt-Ersöz 2008; Grace 2015; Lanfranchi 1988; 1996; 2000, 14-22.

nated at the margins of royal institutions, and of how such figures strove to present their rise to power as a legitimate operation, strategically preserving the memory of those who held power before them but at the same time devising rhetorical strategies to distance themselves from them. A major role in the formation of this tradition was played not only by the Mermnads when they were in power, but also by those, including their descendants, who transmitted, refashioned, and kept alive their family memories after the fall of the kingdom.<sup>65</sup>

Now, are there historical models against which this picture could be checked? My answer is ‘yes’, and I will try to show that such models are offered by documented cases of dynastic change in Neo-Hittite polities. For the present discussion, I selected 10<sup>th</sup>-century Karkamiš as a case-study.<sup>66</sup>

#### 4. *Towards a Model of Political Development: Dynastic Change in Iron Age Karkamiš*

From the time when the Hittite empire collapsed around 1200 BCE until the mid-late 10<sup>th</sup> century, Karkamiš was under the rule of a dynasty known as the ‘Great Kings’. These rulers could

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<sup>65</sup> For Mermnad family memories as sources of Xanthus, see Favuzzi and Paradiso on Nic. Dam. *BNJ* 90 F 47. For possible evidence of the survival of the Mermnad family in the Persian period, see Yakubovich 2017.

<sup>66</sup> For a previous attempt to connect the dynastic change in Lydia with dynamics attested in Neo-Hittite polities, see Posani 2023 (above, note 12) but esp. Pintore 1983, 307-311, by which the present study is inspired. However, while Pintore focuses on the tale of Gyges and Kandaules as narrated by Herodotus, my aim is to explain the formation of the broader Lydian tradition on the Herakleidai-Mermnads transition and to provide a factual model to interpret the political history of Lydia in the pre-Mermnad period. By contrast, Pintore’s interest primarily lies in explaining the origins of Greek tyranny as a political concept, which he views as coming from the Neo-Hittite world via Lydian mediation, Gyges representing the ‘western’ prototype of the phenomenon. For the relation between tyranny and Anatolian political culture, see further Giangiulio 2020 and now Santini 2024a, esp. 42-44 for the putative role of Lydia.

claim to be descendants of the Hittite king Suppiluliuma I.<sup>67</sup> Our records indicate that, during the 10<sup>th</sup> century, the Great Kings' dynasty coexisted with another dynasty of 'Country Lords'.<sup>68</sup> The Country Lords held positions of power, most likely of an administrative nature, but were not of royal lineage; they can be interpreted as local governors.<sup>69</sup> As time progressed, the dynasty of Country Lords gradually replaced the royal dynasty: they began to acquire what were *de facto* royal powers and privileges; however, they never took up the royal title itself.<sup>70</sup>

The process by which the Country Lords achieved the status of rulers took place over several generations. The earliest known Country Lord is Suhi I, who lived during the same time as the Great King Ura-Tarhunza in the first half of the 10<sup>th</sup> century. He dedicated the inscription KARKAMIŠ N1, a monument that celebrates Ura-Tarhunza's victory in war against the land of Sura. Suhi's 'signature' in this inscription is particularly significant (KARKAMIŠ N1, § 7):<sup>71</sup>

|a-w[a/i]-tá || zi/a |STELE <sup>1</sup>su-hi-sa |PONERE <sup>1</sup>MAGNUS+ra/i-<sup>1</sup>TONITRUS-sa  
 REX BONUS-sa-mi-sa || |\*462-sa IUDEX-ni ka+ra/i-ka-mi-sà(URBS) |RE-  
 GIO |DOMINUS

And this stele Suhi erected, dear kinsman(?) of King Ura-Tarhunza, the Just, Country Lord of the city Karkamiš.

Suhi proclaims himself a kinsman of the king,<sup>72</sup> and defines himself as 'the Just', *tarrawanni-* in Luwian. The latter epithet

<sup>67</sup> Hawkins 1988; 1995; Weeden 2013.

<sup>68</sup> Hawkins 1995; Payne 2014.

<sup>69</sup> For the office of 'Country Lord' in the Hittite empire, see Bilgin 2018, 83-88; for the Iron Age, see Giusfredi 2010, 97-101. Cf. Payne 2014, 151.

<sup>70</sup> See below, note 89, for two apparent exceptions.

<sup>71</sup> *Ed. pr.* Dinçol *et al.* 2014; see also Peker 2016, 14-17; Hawkins 2024, 115-117; tr. modified.

<sup>72</sup> For the attribute \*462-sa, tentatively interpreted as *muwidas*, 'seed', see Dinçol *et al.* 2014, 150 and Hawkins 2024, 117: the word possibly refers to a kinship relation between the Country Lord and the king which is more remote than direct-line descent.

entered political discourse in the Iron Age,<sup>73</sup> and signals the emergence of new political values and of a new political rhetoric which contrasted with the old royal one, centered, for example, on the rhetoric of the ‘hero’: at Karkamiš, the theme of justice was never used by the royal dynasty but exclusively by the Country Lords, who turned it into a sort of identity token. The epithet was most certainly used, too, by Suhi’s son Astuwalamanza, as can be safely restored in KARKAMIŠ A14b, § 1,<sup>74</sup> and by Astuwalamanza’s son Suhi II, as we learn from the introductory clause of KELEKLÍ.<sup>75</sup> The latter inscription also shows that, for at least three generations, formalized arrangements allowed the dynasty of the Country Lords to coexist with that of the Kings. Indeed, according to the most likely interpretation, the inscription commemorates the marriage between Suhi II’s daughter and King Tudhaliya:<sup>76</sup> the kinship relation between Suhi II and Tudhaliya which would result from that marriage is arguably of the same type as the one that existed between Suhi I and Ura-Tarhunza.

With respect to kingship, understood as the established ruling institution of Karkamiš, the arrangements that linked the royal dynasty to that of the Country Lords qualify the Country Lords as para-institutional figures.<sup>77</sup> The existence of figures of a para-institutional type (the ‘Country Lords’) flanking the ruling institution (the ‘King’) produced a situation whereby the para-institutional

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<sup>73</sup> For a thorough study of this epithet see Pintore 1979; 1983; Melchert 2019; see further Masetti-Rouault 2004, 122-128, and now Santini 2024a for its political implications. The word was imported into Greek as *tyrannos* and is a crucial element for the understanding of the origins of tyranny as a political concept.

<sup>74</sup> Hawkins 2000, 83-87, esp. 86.

<sup>75</sup> Hawkins 2000, 92-93.

<sup>76</sup> KELEKLÍ § 2: \**a-wa/i-ti ku-ma||-na* MONS+*tú-sa-*’ REX<sup>1</sup>-*ti-sa* x x x x-<sup>1</sup>*na*<sup>71</sup> |*á-mi-na* BONUS-*mi-na* FILIA-*tara/i-na* |CAPERE-*ta* ||, «And when King Tudhaliya took my dear daughter for himself (in marriage *vel* as a spouse)...». The *persona loquens* is of course Suhi II. ‘As a spouse’ or ‘in marriage’ is the most plausible interpretation of the word concealed behind x x x x-<sup>1</sup>*na*<sup>71</sup>. See Hawkins 2000, 92-93; revised text in Hawkins 2024, 191; tr. slightly modified.

<sup>77</sup> For the definition of ‘para-institutional’, see above, with note 32.

figures slowly increased their actual power in the city although they did not formally enjoy nominal authority on it.<sup>78</sup> Three generations after Suhi I, the Country Lords finally replaced the (Great) Kings as rulers of Karkamiš.<sup>79</sup> Insights into this turning point come from the inscription KARKAMIŠ A11b+c, which commemorates the achievements of Katuwa, son of Suhi II and great-grandson of Suhi I (KARKAMIŠ A11b+c, §§ 1-6, 30-32):<sup>80</sup>

- § 1 EGO-wa/i-mi <sup>1</sup>ka-tú-wa/i-sa ‘IUDEx’-ni-i-sa DEUS-ni-ti-i (LITUUS) á-za-mi-i-sa kar-ka-mi-si-za-sa(URBS) |REGIO-ni-DOMINUS-sa <sup>1</sup>su-hi-si |REGIO-ni-DOMINUS-ia-i-sa |INFANS.NI-za-sa <sup>1</sup>á-sa-tú-wa/i-lá/i-ma-za-si REGIO-ni-DOMINUS-i-sa |INFANS.NEPOS-si-i-sa
- § 2 a-wa/i za-a-sa URBS+MI-ni-i-sa \*a-mi-sá |tá-tà-li-sa AVUS-ha-tà-li-sa || <sup>1</sup>\*447-nu-wa/i-ia-si \*a-sa-tá
- § 3 \*a-wa/i-sa VACUUS-ti-i-sa |ARHA (‘LONGUS’)ia+ra/i-ia-ta
- § 4 \*a-wa/i-na <sup>1</sup>MAGNUS+ra/i-TONITRUS-tá-sa-za |INFANS.NEPOS-sa-za CUM-ní |(LOCUS)pi-ta-ha-li-ia-ha
- § 5 \*a-wa/i-ma-zá \*a-mi-i-na |sá-pa-la/i-li-na |URBS+MI-ni i-pa-ni-si-ná(URBS) |á-ma-ha-wa/i |sá-pa-lá/i-li-ia TERRA.PONERE-ru-tà mu-zi-ki-ia(URBS) |[...] ||
- § 6 \*a-wa/i-ma-na |AEDIFICARE.MI-ha
- § 30 |za-pa-wa/i-tá |URBS+MI-ni-i-na \*a-mu |REL+ra/i-i <sup>1</sup>MAGNUS+ra/i-TONITRUS-ta-sa-za INFANS.NEPOS-sa-za |(\*314’)ha-sá-ti-i ARHA |CAPERE-ha
- § 31 |NEG<sub>2</sub>-wa/i-na |REL+ra/i-i (LOCUS)pi-ta-ha-li-ia-ha
- § 32 a-wá/i |za-a-zi |DEUS-ni-i-zi |AUDIRE+MI-ta+ra/i-ru

(§§ 1-6) I am Katuwa, the Just, (the one) loved by the gods, Country Lord of Karkamiš, son of Suhi the Country Lord, grandson of Astuwalamanza the Country Lord. This city of my father and grandfather was of Ninuwiya. It stretched out desolate. I *acquired* it from the grandsons of Ura-Tarhunza. And for them I [...] my ancestral<sup>81</sup> city Ipanissi and my ancestral land Munzigiya. And I (re)built it for myself. [...]

<sup>78</sup> For the distinction between ‘(factual) power’ and ‘(nominal/institutional) authority’ in this context, see Pintore 1983, 305-306; Giusfredi 2014, 489; Santini 2024a, 21-25.

<sup>79</sup> Pace Payne 2014, 153-154, whose excessive caution is unwarranted.

<sup>80</sup> Hawkins 2000, 101-108; 2024, 193-194; tr. modified. See Melchert 2011, 75-77, for interpretation; cf. Hawkins 2024, 304.

<sup>81</sup> Interpretation of *saplalli-* according to *ACLT*<sub>2</sub>.

(§§ 30-32) But if I myself took away this city from the grandsons of Ura-Tarhunza by force, and if I did not *acquire* it, let these gods be heard!

Following the analysis of the text by C. Melchert,<sup>82</sup> here Katuwa claims to have lawfully *acquired* Karkamiš from the grandsons of Great King Ura-Tarhunza. The Ninuwiya mentioned in the text as the previous ‘owner’ of the city is likely one of them, presumably the legitimate heir to the throne. Katuwa contrasts the desolation in which Karkamiš lay under Ninuwiya with his own efforts to rebuild it. Despite Katuwa’s claims, the exact dynamics of the transition are unclear, and we do not know under what circumstances the grandsons of Ura-Tarhunza ceded Karkamiš to Katuwa. But another inscription, KARKAMIŠ A11a, helps us cast light on such dynamics. Here, the new political rhetoric that had accompanied the rise of the Country Lords is fully developed. While mentioning his inherited ‘greatness’, which alludes to the legitimacy of his position, Katuwa insists three times on his ‘justice’, which triggered divine support for him. The theme of ‘justice’ is linked to Katuwa’s successful action against a revolt stirred by some ‘kinsmen’ of his (KARKAMIŠ A11a, §§ 1-8):<sup>83</sup>

- § 1 EGO-wa/i-mi <sup>1</sup>ka-tú-wa/i-sa |(IUDEX)tara/i-wa/i-ni-sa |kar-ka-mi-si-za-sa(URBS) RE[GIO.DOMINUS <sup>1</sup>su-hi-si REGIO.DOMINUS]-<sup>1</sup>ia-i-sa<sup>1</sup> |[|(INF)ANS]ni-mu-wa/i-za-sa <sup>1</sup>á-sa-tú-wa/i-la/i-ma-za-si-i |REGIO-ní-DOMINUS-ia-i-sa |INFANS.NEPOS-sa
- § 2(a) wa/i-m[u-x] DE[US ... (b) ‘MA]NUS’-tara/i-ti |PUGN[US... || ]
- § 3 [\*a-wa/i-mu á-ma-za t]á-ti-ia-za ‘LIGNUM’[...]za [[pi-<sup>1</sup>ia<sup>1</sup>-tá
- § 4 \*a-wa/i-mu DEUS-ní-zi \*a-mi<sup>17</sup>-ia-ti <‘>IUSTITIA’-wa/i-ní-ti PUGNUS.MI.LA/I/V |PUGNUS-ri+i-ta
- § 5 \*a-mi-zi-pa-wa/i-mu-ta |20-tá-ti-zi ARHA CRUS+RA/I
- § 6 [\*a-wa/i-m]u-tá <sup>1</sup>REGIO-ní-ia |\*314(-)sá-pa-za |REL-a-ti SUB-na-na ARHA (PES,)tara/i-za-nu-wa/i-tá

<sup>82</sup> Melchert 2011, 75-77.

<sup>83</sup> Text in Hawkins 2000, 94-100, revised according to *ACLT*<sub>2</sub>; tr. modified (cf. Santini 2024a, 24).

- § 7 \*a-wa/i-mu \*a-mi-i-sa (DOMINUS)na-ni || (DEUS)TONITRUS-sa  
(DEUS)kar-hu-ha-sa (DEUS)ku+AVIS-pa-sa-ha \*a-mi-ia-ti |\*IUSTI-  
TIA'-na-ti (LITUUS)á-za-tá
- § 8 \*a-wa/i-mu-tá á-ma |tá-ti-ia AVUS-ha-ti-ia |REGIO-ni-ia (\*33(1))  
mi-tà-sa<sub>5</sub>+ra/i-i-na REL-a-ti a-tá i-zi-ia-tá

I am Katuwa, the Just, Country Lord of Karkamiš, son of Suhi the Country Lord, grandson of Astuwalamanza the Country Lord. Me the god[s?] rai[sed] by the hand ... [And] he/they gave [me] my paternal greatness. Me the gods because of my justice raised strongly, but my kinsmen stood against me, and caused the lands to turn away from under me like a ... (?). Me my lord Tarhunza, Karhuha, and Kubaba loved because of my justice, so that they made the lands of my father and great-grandfather(s) (*vel* ancestors) a reward for me.

J.D. Hawkins persuasively connects this revolt with the episode of Ura-Tarhunza's grandsons mentioned in KARKAMIŠ A11b+c.<sup>84</sup> Since we know that the Country Lords of Karkamiš were linked to the Kings by intermarriage, the grandsons of Ura-Tarhunza may well be the sons of King Tudhaliya and Suhi II's daughter, whose marriage is commemorated in KELEKLÍ. If we assume, as seems logical to do, that the 'kinsmen' mentioned in KARKAMIŠ A11a are the same individuals as Ura-Tarhunza's grandsons, we must explain the conflicting circumstances that are alluded to in the two inscriptions: a lawful transition of property in the former, and a revolt in the latter. My own suggestion is that the grandsons of Ura-Tarhunza *indeed* opposed Katuwa, while the latter *wanted* people to believe that he lawfully acquired Karkamiš, that is, that he was legitimately ruling it. In other words: Katuwa, who was also the protagonist of several military deeds, took full advantage of the crisis of the royal family and behaved as the ruler of Karkamiš more overtly than his predecessors, presenting himself as having lawfully acquired the city from the scions of the royal family and thus provoking their reaction precisely because of such behavior. The fact that in KARKAMIŠ A11b+c Katuwa curses himself should he be proven a liar (§§ 30-32:

<sup>84</sup> Hawkins 2000, 97; cf. Uchitel 2007, 17-19.

«But if I myself took away this city from the grandsons of Ura-Tarhunza by force, and if I did not *acquire* it, let these gods be heard!») seems just a device to add credibility to a fake claim. In KARKAMIŠ A11a, Katuwa further strengthens his credibility by repeatedly mentioning his ‘justice’ as the key element which triggered the gods’ aid against his kinsmen: the gods had chosen Katuwa *because of his justice*, but nevertheless his kinsmen opposed him; yet the gods again supported Katuwa *because of his justice*, allowing him to recover his lands.<sup>85</sup>

The transition from Kings to Country Lords in Iron Age Karkamiš is a promising historical model against which we may check the core elements of the transition from the Herakleidai to the Mermnads in the Lydian tradition. This point will be explored in the next, and final, section.

### *5. From Karkamiš to Sardis: A Historical Model of Political Development for Early Lydia*

While keeping in mind the differences due to historical context and nature of the evidence, we can identify important common denominators between the transition from Kings to Country Lords in Karkamiš and the transition from the Herakleidai to the Mermnads in Lydia, as known from the literary tradition:

(1) In both cases, a key role is played by para-institutional figures, respectively the Country Lords and the ‘viziers’ Dascylus I and Gyges, who flank the ruling institutions and have access to certain prerogatives of kingship, but whose power is of a different type.

(2) The relation between institutional and para-institutional figures turns into the coexistence of two dynasties, which unfolds

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<sup>85</sup> For justice as the element that ensures divine support to rulers in Neo-Hittite political thought, cf. Masetti-Rouault 2004, 123, 126.



for several generations. The two dynasties are distinguished by important qualitative differences: one represents an old type of power, entrenched in long-established institutions and in traditional royal legitimacy, while the other upholds an innovative set of values, showing a different pedigree. At Karkamiš, this takes the form of a contrast between ‘Hero-Kings’ and ‘Just Country Lords’, which expresses itself in political rhetoric as well as in iconography. In terms of inscriptional rhetoric, alongside the shift in emphasis on the rulers’ moral qualities, first and foremost ‘justice’, we see a shift from introductory formulas consisting of an ‘impersonal’ series of political titles to ‘personalizing’ statements beginning with «I am». While this development is widely attested in the Syro-Anatolian world in the aftermath of the fall of the Hittite empire, Iron Age Karkamiš offers the unique opportunity to observe an explicit contrast between the traditional, imperial-style model and the new model being drawn in the same context – to observe such development ‘in the making’, as it were.<sup>86</sup> In terms of iconography, the ‘impersonal’, imperial-style presentation of the Great Kings, with an emphasis on royal emblems such as the winged disk and the cartouche including the king’s name and titles,<sup>87</sup> was abandoned, and sometimes substi-

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<sup>86</sup> For the importance of this phenomenon, see Pintore 1983, 298-299; Aro 2013, 236-237; and Hogue 2019. The 1st-person introductory formula is characterized by the use of the hieroglyphic sign \*1 (EGO) or \*2 (EGO<sub>2</sub>) and is almost alien to the Hittite tradition: the only Hittite king who ever employed it is the last one, Suppiluliuma II, in the Hieroglyphic Luwian inscription NİŞANTAŞ (Hawkins 2018) as well as in his Hittite *res gestae*, which uniquely begin with the 1st-person pronoun *ūk*, ‘I (am)’ (CTH 121.II = KBo 12.38 ii 22-23; cf. Yakubovich 2010, 347; Aro 2013, 240-242; Hogue 2019, 327-328, with references). It has also been suggested that Suppiluliuma II may have adopted the same introductory formula for the inscription he had engraved on a statue of his father Tudhaliya IV, which, however, is not preserved; see Aro *loc. cit.* for more details.

<sup>87</sup> The cartouche surmounted by the winged disk constitutes the standard emblem of kingship in the empire period. In the Iron Age, while the winged disk is still found in several contexts, also depending on Assyrian influence (Dinçol *et al.* 2014, 144-147, with references; cf. Parayre 1987; 1990), the royal cartou-

tuted with a real-size figure of the ruler pointing to himself, which also serves as the EGO sign of the «I am» introductory statement.<sup>88</sup> In the Lydian tradition, the contrast is expressed by opposing a 505-year-long royal dynasty of descendants of Herakles connected with Nineveh and Babylon to a newly-born dynasty connected with Phrygia, a relatively recent power. Moreover, at Karkamiš the Country Lords would *never* adopt the royal title:<sup>89</sup> by keeping their own title as new rulers, they avoid any charge of having taken up the royal office by usurpation, at the same time presenting a major transformation in the constitutional make-up of the city disguised as a case of institutional continuity.<sup>90</sup> In the Lydian tradition, a similar idea is perhaps hidden behind the way in which the last Herakleid king is known to Herodotus, ‘Kandaules’:<sup>91</sup> this is almost certainly a nickname related to the

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che, or the combination of royal cartouche and winged disk, is found only on monuments of rulers who claimed the title of ‘Great King’, namely the members of the royal dynasty of Karkamiš, as well as Great Kings Hartapu and Wasusarma in central Anatolia: see KARKAMIŠ N1, A4b, A16c; KIZILDAĞ 1-4; KARADAĞ 1-2; BURUNKAYA; TÜRKMEN-KARAHÖYÜK 1; TOPADA.

<sup>88</sup> Cf. Hogue 2019, 331-333. The combination of 1st-person introductory formula and EGO-relief or free-standing statue of the ruler is also attested elsewhere in the Neo-Hittite world and has been interpreted as a development of late Hittite as well as Middle Bronze Age Syrian models; cf. Aro 2013, 234-248. However, in its own context, the innovative character of the Country Lords’ iconography as opposed to the Great Kings’ iconography cannot be overestimated.

<sup>89</sup> In the entire documented history of Iron Age Karkamiš, there are only two exceptions, which are, however, apparent: these are the 8<sup>th</sup>-century inscriptions KÖRKÜN (Hawkins 2000, 171-175) and KARKAMIŠ A4a (Hawkins 2000, 151-154), where two Country Lords, respectively Astiruwa and Kamani, are called kings. However, neither of these inscriptions was authored or commissioned by the rulers themselves; they were both authored by commoners. After the extinction of the royal dynasty, *all* the Iron Age rulers of Karkamiš known to us exclusively adopted the title of ‘Country Lord’ in their own inscriptions.

<sup>90</sup> In Santini 2024a I have called this phenomenon ‘institutional ambiguity’. It is attested also elsewhere in the Iron Age Mediterranean, in various forms.

<sup>91</sup> There has been much speculation on the three names by which the last Herakleid king is known, namely Sadyattes or Adyattes (in Nicolaus-Xanthus), and Kandaules or Myrsilus (in Herodotus); for a summary with literature, see

term for ‘king’ in the Luwic languages, as is suggested by the analogy with Luwian *hantawatti-*, Lycian *xñtawati-*, and Carian *kδou-*.<sup>92</sup> The significant point is that this is not the regular word for ‘king’ which was used in Lydian, *qλm(λ)us*, as is attested in inscriptions from later periods: the latter, which ended up in Greek as *πάλλμυς*, is believed to derive from a pre-Carian word meaning ‘warlord’ and to have acquired the meaning of ‘king’ secondarily.<sup>93</sup> The issue requires further investigation, but the attribution of the appellative ‘Kandaules’, something like ‘the kingly/royal one’,<sup>94</sup> to the last Herakleid king may tentatively be interpreted

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Paradiso on Xanth. *BNJ* 765 F 37; cf. Carruba 2003, 154-155; Yakubovich 2010, 94-95, 98.

<sup>92</sup> Thus, persuasively, Szemerényi 1969, 980-981; Carruba 2003, 154-155; Yakubovich 2010, 94-95. Cf. also Loiacono 2018-2019, 148-153. They all convincingly reject a previous hypothesis that ‘Kandaules’ means ‘dog-throttler’, which was based on a misguided interpretation of Hipp. fr. 3a.1 W, Ἑρμῆ κονάγχα, Μηιονιστὶ Κανδαῦλα: in this fragment, the vocative Κανδαῦλα is to be interpreted as the ‘Maeonian’ (i.e., Lydian) divine equivalent of ‘Hermes dog-throttler’. Yakubovich (*loc. cit.*) further suggests, more specifically, to interpret ‘Kandaules’ as an adjectival derivative of Car. *kδou-*. For *kδou-* (*kδow-/kδu-*) as the Carian word for ‘king’, see now Adiego 2019, 23-24, based on the comparison with Car. *kδuσο*, whose meaning ‘kingdom’ has been securely established. (The meaning of *kδou-* is, however, disputed by Zs. Simon in *eDiAna* s.v. *kδουś*.)

<sup>93</sup> See Loiacono 2018-2019, 145-153, and Valério - Yakubovich 2022, with further lit. As a historical background for the borrowing, Valério and Yakubovich (but cf. already Yakubovich 2017, 288) recall the hypothesis that the name ‘Gyges’ may be of Carian origins (thus Adiego 2007, 384-385) and the participation of Carian mercenaries in Gyges’s *coup d’état* (Plut. *Mor.* 301f-302a), which they define «a Carian assault on power in Iron Age Lydia» (348-349, with n. 15; quote from 349). This interpretation is unwarranted: regardless of the fact that Gyges’s perceived ethnicity is a different question from the etymology of his name, no ancient narrative of demonstrably Mermnad origins connects Gyges, his family, or the dynasty itself to a Carian background; moreover, the involvement of Carian mercenaries, provided that Plutarch is reliable, is quite trivial business in that context. Cf. above, note 51.

<sup>94</sup> Cf. the adjectival derivative option pursued by Yakubovich 2010, 94-95, and the functional analogy with Luw. *hantawalli-*, ‘royal’, noted by Loiacono 2018-2019, 151-152. Hipp. fr. 3a.1 W (see above, note 93) confirms that this epithet was also attributed to deities, as is common with terms meaning ‘king’

as a rhetorical device to chrySTALLIZE, with his death, the end of a type of power which was considered qualitatively different from the one expressed by Gyges and his successors.<sup>95</sup>

(3) Para-institutional figures emphasize that their position is legitimized by a relationship of proximity with the ruling authority who has appointed them: in Karkamiš, this is a kinship relation,<sup>96</sup> while in the Lydian tradition this takes the form of the king ‘loving’ and ‘honoring’ the para-institutional figure, an aspect which is further emphasized by the envy of the antagonists Adyattes II and Lixus.<sup>97</sup>

(4) At the same time, the legitimacy of the para-institutional figures is taken as hereditary and protected by the deities, as if it could proceed independently of the ruling authority. The ‘greatness’ of the Country Lords passes from father to son by the gods’ will,<sup>98</sup> and Katuwa says that he has inherited the land and gates of his own ancestors, that is, the rulership of the city and the visual

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e.g. in Greek, Lycian, or Carian; cf. Carruba 2003, 155; Vernet 2021. According to *Suid.* s.v. Ξάνθος Κανδαύλου (ξ 9) = Xanth. *BNJ* 765 T 1a, Kandaules was also the name of Xanthus’s father, but the reliability of Xanthus’s biographical details in the lexicon is questionable: the entry also says that Xanthus was born in Sardis and lived around the time of the capture of the city (by Cyrus), but this information clearly originates from a confusion between the author’s life and what was described in his work. See Paradiso in Xanth. *BNJ* 765, Biographical Essay and commentary on T 1a, and Gazzano 2010, 119-120.

<sup>95</sup> That the appellative ‘Kandaules’ might originate from a Carian word does not imply that it was attributed to Sadyattes-Myrsilus in a Carian milieu, as is suggested by Valério - Yakubovich 2022, 349 n. 14, based on alleged Carian sources of Herodotus’s Gyges story. In fact, as suggested long ago by Evans 1985, Herodotus may have preferred the name ‘Kandaules’ because it sounded to him more authentically ‘Lydian’ than ‘Myrsilus’, the name by which, according to the historian, the king was known to the Greeks (Hdt. 1.7.2).

<sup>96</sup> See above, discussion of KARKAMIŠ N1 and KELEKLİ.

<sup>97</sup> See above, with the passages cited at notes 33-37.

<sup>98</sup> See, for example, KARKAMIŠ A11a, §§ 2-3 (quoted above), but the concept is very common in the corpus.

means to display it.<sup>99</sup> In the Lydian tradition, the same concept is hidden behind the motif of Ardys's curse, which seeks atonement for the assassination of Dascylus I:<sup>100</sup> the curse befalls his successors Meles and Kandaules, lies behind Meles inviting Dascylus II to take power, and ultimately allows Gyges to take full advantage of the same para-institutional position which had been of his grandfather Dascylus I.

(5) In both cases, the victorious dynasty does not present itself as such, but keeps alive the memory of the old one as long as it could justify their newly-achieved position. Katuwa does state that he had a conflict with his relatives, but he also mentions that he had lawfully acquired Karkamiš from them. In the latter context, he dubs his relatives the «grandsons of Ura-Tarhunza».<sup>101</sup> The explicit mention of the old Great King, under whom Katuwa's great-grandfather Suhi I had served as a Country Lord, evokes the long-standing relation between the two dynasties which has ultimately legitimized Katuwa's own position. In the Lydian tradition, the same idea is conveyed by the functional couples Ardys-Kandaules and Dascylus I-Gyges, and again by the effects of Ardys's curse on the following generations.

The model that I have sought to establish does not imply that early Lydian political practice was inspired by political practice in the Syro-Anatolian world. Rather, its significance lies in that it allows us to explain the core elements of the tradition on the pre-Mermnadid period according to documented dynamics which

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<sup>99</sup> See KARKAMIŠ A11a, § 8 (quoted above): «... so that they [*scil.* the gods] made the lands of my father and great-grandfather(s) (*vel* ancestors) a reward for me», and § 13: «And these gates of my great-grandfather(s) (*vel* ancestors) passed down to me». The latter formulation implies an intrinsic connection between political power, the ruler's persona, and the monument: see Osborne 2014, 204-209; Herrmann *et al.* 2016, 61-62.

<sup>100</sup> Nic. Dam. *BNJ* 90 F 44a.11 = Xanth. *BNJ* 765 F 34a.11.

<sup>101</sup> KARKAMIŠ A11b+c, §§ 4, 30 (quoted above).

developed under similar circumstances: the reorganization of political systems after the collapse of the Hittite empire and the general crisis that affected the Eastern Mediterranean at the turn of the 12<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>102</sup> The last Late Bronze Age complex polities known in the region of would-be Lydia are the kingdoms of Mira and the Seha River Land, which had been Hittite vassals and have yielded rulers' inscriptions modeled on Hittite style.<sup>103</sup> Like their eastern counterparts, these polities were affected by the crisis of the end of the Late Bronze Age. The crucial difference between Karkamiš and the western regions is that the former shows political continuity across the Late Bronze Age and the Early Iron Age, while this is not ascertained for the west: in the region of historical Lydia, the citadel of Kaymakçı on the Marmara Gölü (classical Gygaean Lake), tentatively identified with the main settlement (or 'capital') of the Seha River Land, was abandoned; at the beginning of the Iron Age, only a few settlements show continuity of occupation, the majority of them being unfortified and characterized by subsistence economy, while the only one that stood out is Sardis, later to become the new power hub of the region.<sup>104</sup> This begs the question of who the Mermnads' predecessors actually were: is the emphasis on their royal status another device of tradition that served to legitimize the Mermnads' rise to power, or did they actually hearken back to Late Bronze Age models, claiming to be the heirs of local Late Bronze Age kings? Although for the time being this question should remain open,

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<sup>102</sup> For the crisis of the 12<sup>th</sup> century and the so-called 'systems collapse' of the end of the Late Bronze Age, see, for example, Liverani 1987; 2002; Cline 2014; 2024; Knapp - Manning 2016; Masetti-Rouault *et al.* 2024. For the fall of the Hittite empire more specifically, see de Martino 2018; for its different regional outcomes, see esp. Summers 2017; d'Alfonso 2020; 2024.

<sup>103</sup> For the history of western Anatolia during the Hittite imperial period, see Gander 2022, 287-523. For the Late Bronze Age archaeology of the would-be Lydian area, see Roosevelt - Luke 2017; Roosevelt *et al.* 2018. For the epigraphic evidence, see Hawkins 1998; Oreshko 2013.

<sup>104</sup> Cf. Roosevelt 2009, 13-20; Luke - Roosevelt 2009; Roosevelt - Luke 2017; Roosevelt *et al.* 2018.

I think the second option is fully conceivable, and I hope this paper has contributed to cast some light on why the Lydian tradition on the pre-Mermnadid period has taken that particular shape, which turns out to be fully consistent with Iron Age Anatolian political dynamics.<sup>105</sup>

### *Addendum*

In his forthcoming book, *Three Myths of Kingship in Early Greece and the Ancient Near East: The Servant, the Lover, and the Fool*, to be released shortly by Cambridge University Press, Christopher Metcalf analyzes various examples of a story-pattern (the ‘Myth of the Servant’) widely attested across the ancient Mediterranean and Near East and used to explain the ascent to power of individuals of non-royal lineage, including the case of Gyges in relation to the Herakleid kings of Lydia. I am grateful to the Author for sharing with me the manuscript of his book and for discussing its contents with me. Metcalf’s narratological-comparative approach and the historical-comparative one adopted in the present article should be seen as complementing each other in an effort to uncover the complexity of rhetorical patterns that served to explain or legitimize recurring political practices.

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<sup>105</sup> Harkening back to Late Bronze Age models was not uncommon in Iron Age Anatolia: besides the Great Kings of Karkamiš, between the 9<sup>th</sup> and the 8<sup>th</sup> century the central Anatolian kings Hartapu and Wasusarma claimed the title of ‘Great King’ and presented themselves according to Late Bronze Age standards, whether or not they claimed descent from Late Bronze Age kings. For Hartapu, see now Massa - Osborne 2022, with previous literature; for Wasusarma, see Weeden 2010; cf. d’Alfonso 2019 (with a higher chronology). See also above, note 87. However, as argued in this paper, the case of Karkamiš allows the best historical comparison with Lydia because of the documented dynastic change preceded by a long period of coexistence of the two dynasties involved.

### Abbreviations

- ACLT*<sub>2</sub> = I. Yakubovich, *Annotated Corpus of Luwian Texts* (Second Version), <http://luwian.web-corpora.net/> (last accessed 23 July 2023).
- BNJ* = I. Worthington (ed.), *Brill's New Jacoby*, <https://scholarly.editions.brill.com/bnjo/> (last accessed 23 July 2023).
- CTH* = E. Laroche, *Catalogue des textes hittites*, Klincksieck, Paris 1971.
- eDiAna* = O. Hackstein - J. Miller - E. Rieken - I. Yakubovich (eds.), *Digital Philological-Etymological Dictionary of the Minor Ancient Anatolian Corpus Languages*, <https://www.ediana.gwi.uni-muenchen.de/index.php> (last accessed 14 July 2023).
- KAI* = H. Donner - W. Röllig (Hrsgg.), *Kanaanäische und aramäische Inschriften. Band 1: Texte*, 5., erweiterte und überarbeitete Auflage, Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden 2002.
- RINAP 5/1* = J.R. Novotny - J. Jeffers, *The Royal Inscriptions of Ashurbanipal (668-631 BC), Aššur-Etel-Ilāni (630-627 BC), and Sîn-Šarra-Iskun (626-612 BC), Kings of Assyria, Part 1*, Eisenbrauns, Winona Lake 2018.

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ELEONORA SELVI

GRAECO-ANATOLIAN PAMPHYLIA.  
A SOCIAL NETWORK ANALYSIS  
OF FUNERARY EPIGRAPHY\*

1. *Introduction*

1.1. POSSIBILITIES FOR A COMPUTATIONAL APPROACH TO CONTACT  
BETWEEN ANCIENT CULTURES

The purpose of this study is to investigate the application of computer-based Social Network Analysis (SNA) to funerary inscriptions from Hellenistic Aspendos in Pamphylia. In multicultural contexts such as Late Classic and Hellenistic Anatolia, network and relational approaches to linguistic and archaeological materials offer insights into understanding the influence of connectivity and social networks on the socio-cultural development of the region.<sup>1</sup> SNA gives the opportunity to incorporate simultaneously various characteristics of complex artifacts such as funerary inscriptions, ranging from decorative patterns to linguistic features, and to trace patterns of diffusion and contact within the

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. Malkin 2011.

community. By employing such analysis, we can gain a better understanding of how these artifacts were shaped by different traditions and how they reflected the role of the deceased and their families in society.

The application of multi-faceted formal analyses can also help unveil long-standing biases in studies on the ancient world. Despite the recent interest in ethnicity studies among ancient world scholars, our understanding of ethnicities in the ancient – especially Classical – world still heavily relies on language as the primary determinant. However, as suggested by Hall,<sup>2</sup> language was just one of several indicators of ethnicity in the ancient Mediterranean. Moreover, our linguistic categories may not accurately reflect ancient perceptions. Although morphologically Greek, Pamphylian Greek exhibits pronounced phonetic and syntactic features influenced by Anatolian languages,<sup>3</sup> making it challenging for other Hellenophones to recognize it as a Greek dialect.<sup>4</sup> This highlights the limitations of relying mainly on linguistic material to assume the ‘Greekness’ of the Pamphylian people in the Hellenistic era.<sup>5</sup> To gain a more comprehensive understanding of how the Pamphylian-speaking community represented itself within the Greek Hellenistic world and how individuals negotiated their position within that community through funerary epigraphy, it is essential to bring together the linguistic features of the inscriptions and the characteristics of the script, monument type, dimensions, decorations, and formulae. Formal statistical analyses, such as SNA, serve as a valuable tool to simultaneously analyze and interrelate these diverse data points, enabling the visualization of the resulting network of connections within the community and revealing significant patterns and similarities.

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<sup>2</sup> Hall 1995.

<sup>3</sup> Dardano 2006, Skelton 2017.

<sup>4</sup> Selvi *forthcoming*.

<sup>5</sup> E.g., Keen 2002, Grainger 2009.

## 1.2. THE DATASET: PAMPHYLIAN HELLENISTIC FUNERARY INSCRIPTIONS

Pamphylia offers a unique context for exploring interactions between different cultures and people, as its own culture and language emerged from the integration of various Greek groups into the native Anatolian society. When discussing ‘Pamphylian’ funerary inscriptions, we primarily refer to approximately three hundred inscribed funerary stelae from the villages of Çamilköy and Belkis, which were built upon the Hellenistic necropolises of the nearby Pamphylian city of Aspendos.<sup>6</sup> These inscriptions, paleographically dated from the 3<sup>rd</sup> to the 1<sup>st</sup> century BCE (as per *DGP*), exhibit a remarkable overall continuity in terms of their general appearance and layout, indicating the existence of a distinct epigraphic culture. However, they also display various combinations of different features, which will be discussed in sections §2.1-6.

## 1.3. SOCIAL NETWORK ANALYSIS (SNA): POSSIBILITIES AND DRAWBACKS

Social Network Analysis (SNA) focuses on understanding the relationships between individuals or entities within a social system and how those relationships influence the system’s behavior and outcomes. This analytical method, along with network modeling for historical studies, has been successfully introduced in archaeology over the past decade, as demonstrated by studies conducted by Brughmans and Knappett,<sup>7</sup> among others.<sup>8</sup> In our case, SNA traces patterns of interaction and reciprocal influence among archaeological, linguistic, epigraphic, and paleographical features (see *Tab. 1*). The resulting SNA graph consists of ‘nodes’ (in our case, inscriptions) connected by ‘edges’ (relational ties). It

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<sup>6</sup> Tekoğlu - Köse 2017.

<sup>7</sup> Brughmans 2010, 2013; Knappett 2013.

<sup>8</sup> See Mills 2017.

describes the communication structure, the position of individuals, and how each individual contributes to the overall structure. No single feature is sufficient to determine the position of individuals within the graph; rather, their placement results from the combination of all features considered and the interactions among also the *other* nodes. Carrying out SNA on ancient artifacts can be challenging, as our databases often lack important information. We do not have complete databases of the objects under investigation. Many of them are fragmentary, deteriorated, or found outside their original context. This leads to a significant amount of missing information, which can impact on the final representation of the graph. Therefore, we must always consider a margin of error. One way to reduce this margin of error is to work with a dataset composed of items selected based on their completeness. This approach may exclude a considerable number of available documents, thereby increasing the margin of error in the validity of the statistical results for the entire dataset. Nevertheless, by drawing our dataset from objects that exhibit a high degree of overall homogeneity, we can minimize the risks associated with extending the statistical results to draw general conclusions. As mentioned earlier (§1.2), Pamphylian funerary inscriptions generally display a significant degree of overall homogeneity, which justifies the adoption of this approach. The inscriptions featured in the graph are selected from *DGP* 48-103, epitaphs from Aspendos. However, it is important to interpret this work as a preliminary model given the limited sample size.

In this study, the weight of the edges was determined as follows: each inscription was assigned as a row-input in a table, with the column-input containing all the features discussed in section 1.4. If a feature between two nodes (i.e., inscriptions) matches, the weight of the corresponding edge is increased by 1. For example, if two inscriptions have the same dimensions and display identical pediment decorations, without sharing any other features, the resulting edge will have a weight of 2. Since we cannot establish a priori the direct influence of one inscription



on another, all the edges are undirected, meaning that the ties between the nodes do not presuppose an exchange of features with a determined direction.

## 2. Inscriptions' Features in the Table

Tab. 1 - Features considered in the graph.

ONOMASTIC max total score: 4 points.	Name. Variants of the same name in different dialects match each other. e.g., Φορδίσις / Αφορδίσις	Members of compounds. e.g., Ἀριστο-πόλις / Κυδρο-πόλις	PN typology according to the referent. Theophoric names, names referring to physical features, names referring to animals, etc.	Linguistic Root. Greek, Anatolian, mixed, Egyptian, Persian, etc.
LINGUISTIC FEATURES max total score: 3 points.	Epichoric dialectal features e.g., Pamph. gen. -αυ	Generic non-Attic/Ionic dialectal features e.g., /a/ for koine /ē/	Koine features e.g., -ου gen. instead of Pamph. -αυ	
ALPHABET max total score: 3 points.	Epichoric letters/writing conventions e.g., Ι, Τ, -ΙΙ-, etc.	Non-Ionic/Milesian general features e.g., <ο> for /ō/	Ionic-Milesian features e.g., ω, η, ου for /ū/, etc.	
FORMULAE AND ATTRIBUTES max total score: 3 points.	Presence of <i>formulae</i> and attributes	Type of <i>formulae</i> e.g., attributes referring to familiar ties ('wife of'), attributes to roles in society ('priest of Zeus'), etc.	Specific words e.g., γυνά, Ἰαρεΐφους, etc.	
FUNERARY MONUMENT (STELE) max total score: 3 points.	Type Simple, with simple mouldings, with pediment and acroteria, etc.	Dimensions Height, width, thickness	Words layout and dimensions Height of letters and their placement onto the epigraphic surface	
DECORATIONS max total score: 3 points.	Presence of decoration	Decoration type entire scenes, rosettes and acroteria, simple mouldings, etc.	Decoration placement on the pediment, on the base, in the middle, etc.	

### 2.1. ONOMASTICS

Pamphylian onomastics, as noted by Brixhe and Dardano,<sup>9</sup> exhibits a combination of Greek and Anatolian roots, along with a small number of names with other linguistic origins, such as Egyptian or Persian. Interestingly, even within the same family, funerary monuments can display personal names (henceforth PNs) of different linguistic origins. Based on linguistic features, most PNs found in Hellenistic inscriptions from Pamphylia can be categorized into three main groups (cf. *Tab. 2*). The first two groups consist of PNs built from Anatolian and Greek roots, respectively. The third group, according to Dardano (2012), includes PNs that combine both Greek and Anatolian roots, as well as those considered ‘double-entry’, which can be interpreted as either Greek or Anatolian depending on the linguistic and social context. Additionally, PNs can be considered ‘mixed’ if the etymology of each component can be traced back to a different language or, even if their linguistic origin is singular, if there is a high likelihood that they were reanalyzed as mixed. For instance, the name Κυδρόπολις (*DGP* 144, 218, etc.) is likely a variant of Κυδρομολις (*DGP* 31). According to Brixhe (*DGP* p. 214), the latter is a compound of Luwian *kudra-* (also found in Lician as *χudre*) and Luwian *muḡa-*, both commonly used in Anatolian onomastics. The form Κυδρόπολις represents a reanalysis of the compound, where the Greek word πόλις, widely used as the second element in compounded PNs among Greek speakers, was recognized and easily adopted and spread.<sup>10</sup> Moreover, whenever the linguistic origin is uncertain beyond reasonable speculation, it will be labeled as ‘mixed’, as we lack information to determine how it would have been perceived by Pamphylian speakers. The speakers’ perception is indeed a very important factor to be

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<sup>9</sup> Brixhe 1999; Dardano 2012.

<sup>10</sup> The LPGN database counts 76 PNs with -πολις as second member, for a total of 118 attestations. Other Pamphylian examples of -πόλις PNs are Αριστοπόλις (*DGP* 103), Θεόπολις (*DGP* 110), Νεόπολις (*DGP* 101), etc.

taken into consideration, as, unlike in most alive European languages, in the onomastic culture of ancient Greece PNs had to retain a clear meaning, which was often reconstructed or re-given whenever the original one had been lost.<sup>11</sup> A fourth group could be added, considering both cultural aspects and linguistic features. Theophoric PNs were popular in Pamphylia, as in the broader Greek-speaking region.<sup>12</sup> However, in multicultural contexts like Pamphylia, theophoric PNs can reveal even more intriguing phenomena. Syncretic cults that combine elements from both originating cultures often emerged, representing unique cults specific to the area and embodying the regional culture. One notable example is the Pamphylian cult of Artemis Pergaia/*Wanassa Preiia*, which originated as a syncretic cult and later became a symbol of Pamphylian culture and its most prominent city in the Hellenistic period, Perge. This illustrates how cultural syncretism played a significant role in shaping the religious landscape and identity of Pamphylia. The epichoric Anatolian goddess of the city was associated with the Greek goddess Artemis. Similar processes were at the base of the cults of Aphrodite Kastnienidis and Sidetan Athena.<sup>13</sup> It would be wrong, therefore, to consider theophoric PNs as perfectly matching in meaning their linguistic origins: a *Αθανάδορος* in Pamphylia would point to different cultural meanings in respect to an *Αθηναδορος* in contemporary Athens. For such reasons, theophoric PNs can be classified as a class on their own. The edge weight between each inscription in the onomastic section will be calculated by considering the specific characteristics of the names. In many cases, the PNs will only share a few of these characteristics. For instance, the score between *Αφορδίσις* and *Πελάδορος* would be 2, as they have the same linguistic origin (Greek) and refer both to theonyms.

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<sup>11</sup> Cf. Morpurgo Davies 2000, 15-39.

<sup>12</sup> On theophoric PNs in Greek onomastics, see Parker 2000.

<sup>13</sup> On Artemis Pergaia and more Pamphylian cults, see Dağlı Dinçer 2020.

Tab. 2 - Pamphylian personal names.

ANATOLIAN	<p>Attested in other Anatolian languages. Ex. Λυρμαπίας (<i>DGP</i> 206) &lt; theonym + <i>pija</i> (prob. part. Hitt. <i>pai-</i> /CLuv. <i>pi(i)a</i>, Hluw. <i>pa(i)-</i>, ‘to give’; Πωναμουας (<i>DGP</i> 66) &lt; cfr. Hitt. <i>Pu-na-mu-μα-ti</i>, NH Hr. 1050; Τροκονδας (<i>DGP</i> 259) &lt; Hitt./Luv. Storm-god Tarḫunz.</p> <p>Attested only in Pamphylian onomastics. E.g., Μουριζος (<i>DGP</i> 73); ΜαγασιΓφω (<i>DGP</i> 65).</p>
GREEK	<p>Koine phonetics and lexicon. E.g., Ένυχος (<i>DGP</i> 112); Τέχνω (<i>DGP</i> 235); Ασπάσεις (<i>DGP</i> 267).</p> <p>Dialectal phonetics and lexicon. E.g., Άπελάμρυνις (<i>DGP</i> 56); Φόρδισιυ (<i>DGP</i> 123); Πελδάς (<i>DGP</i> 140).</p>
MIXED AND DOUBLE-ENTRY	<p>Mixed (or probably reanalyzed as mixed): Κυδρόπολις (<i>DGP</i> 144, 218, etc.) Luv. <i>kudra-</i>, Lic. <i>χudre-</i> + gr. πολις; Οροφατιρας (<i>DGP</i> 21) Hitt./Luv. <i>ura-</i> ‘big’ and Greek patronymic –ιδας in its Pamphylian form, –ιρας; Έπιμούιας (<i>DGP</i> 271) Gr. ἐπί + Hitt./Luv. <i>muḫa</i>.</p> <p>Double-entry. Ορουμνεύς (n. 116, 90 etc.) / Ερυμνεύς (273, etc.). Name of the Pisidian city Ορυμνα + suffix gr. –εύς. Felt close to ἐρυμνός, -ή, -όν ‘strong, defended, stable’; Μαλης (n. 119) Hitt. <i>Malli</i> NH Nr. 726, etc. / gr. Μαλός, -ή, -όν ‘white’.</p>
THEOPHORIC PNs	<p>Άφορδίσιυς, Φορδίσιυς, etc. &lt; Aphroditis Kastnienidis, Greek-Anatolian goddess; Πελάδορυς, Άπελάδορυς, etc. &lt; Apollo, Artemis brother and popular deity in Pamphylia, also present in Sidetic inscriptions; Έρμα/ο-names Έρμογινης, Έρμόδαμος, Έρμόδορος, etc. Ερμαπίας, Ερμενεννης, Ερμαπις, etc. (cf. Hitt./Luv. <i>Arma</i>, <i>Armamalli</i>, <i>Armadata</i>, <i>Armanani</i>, <i>Armaziti</i>, etc.) Greek names from Έρμες ≈ Anatolian names from <i>Arma</i>, ‘moon’ et ‘Moon-god’; Φαναξ- names Φαναξίω, Φαναξάδρου, ιαναξμοῦτους, etc. Connected with the name of the Pamphylian goddess ΙανάΤας Πρευας (Lady of Perge): Greek Radical φανακ- in the fem. form (cf. Myc. Dat. Pl. <i>Wa-na-so-i</i>) ≈ Luv. <i>uanatt-</i>, ‘Lady’. Syncretism of the name and of the goddess (= Artemis).</p>
OTHER LINGUISTIC ORIGINS	<p>E.g., Σεραπίω (Egyptian, <i>DGP</i> 74).</p>

## 2.2. LINGUISTIC FEATURES

Even in short texts like Pamphylian funerary inscriptions, there is a notable range of combinations between dialectal features and koine elements. Some PNs exhibit distinct local dialectal features that are easily recognizable (e.g., the Pamphylian mascu-

line genitive singular *-αυ* or *-ιυ*).<sup>14</sup> In other cases, the prominent local traits are omitted, while features commonly found in other dialects, particularly Doric, are retained (e.g., *Δαμάτριος* instead of the koine form *Δημήτριος*). Lastly, certain PNs appear to completely conform to koine, diverging noticeably from the corresponding local name (e.g., *Θαναδόρυ* and *Ἀθηναδώρου*) or are otherwise unattested. In these instances, the contribution of linguistic features to the overall weight of the edge will be calculated based on binary possibilities, as demonstrated in the example in *Tab. 3*.<sup>15</sup>

Tab. 3 - Edge's weight calculation.

EXAMPLE	SHOWS EPICHORIC DIALECTAL TRAITS	SHOWS GENERAL NON-KOINE TRAITS	SHOWS SPECIFIC KOINE TRAITS
<i>DGP 22</i> , <i>Δαμάτριυς</i> <i>Ἄρτιμιδόρυ</i> [υ]	Yes (e.g., <i>-ιυς</i> ending, <i>Ἄρτιμιδ-</i> instead of koine <i>Ἄρτεμιδ-</i> )	Yes (e.g., <i>Δαμάτ-</i> instead of <i>Δημήτ-</i> )	No
<i>DGP 213</i> , <i>Δαμάτριεις</i> <i>Δαματρίου</i> .	No	Yes (e.g., <i>Δαμάτ-</i> instead of <i>Δημήτ-</i> )	Yes (e.g., <i>-ου</i> ms. gen.)
	0	1	0
	Total weight of the linguistic part of the edge = 1.		

### 2.3. ALPHABET TYPE

Although Pamphylian funerary monuments are all dated to the Hellenistic period, they show quite a noticeable number of fluctuations among the employed alphabet and writing conventions.

<sup>14</sup> For the epicchoric dialectal traits of Pamphylian Greek, the reference text is *DGP* pp. 12-146. See also Panayotou 2007.

<sup>15</sup> Koineization is indeed a much more complex and less linear phenomenon, as argued, among others, by Colvin 2014, Striano 2018, Bubenik 2018 etc. However, for the sake of providing binary correspondences in the graph, linguistic features which are not expected in Pamphylian (according mainly to *DGP*) and are present in the koine will be counted as 'koine features'.

The epichoric Pamphylian Greek alphabet had started to undergo a standardization process with the beginning of the Hellenistic period due to the homogenizing pressure of the Ionic-Milesian alphabet, however, such ‘koineization’ spread unevenly.<sup>16</sup> Private inscriptions retained some features of the epichoric alphabet in different degrees, as well as dialectal features. Once again, the alphabetic features can be divided into three classes: 1) features shown exclusively by the Pamphylian alphabet, such as the two digammas (<Ι>, <Φ>), the so-called ‘Pamphylian sampi’ (here represented with <Τ>) and some writing habits, e.g., <υ> in hiatus; 2) common non-Ionic Milesian features, e.g., <ο> for /ō/ etc.; 3) markers of the Ionic-Milesian alphabet, such as <ω> for /ō/, <ου> for ū etc., although obviously the presence of such possibilities is determined by the phonetic reality of the PNs. The weight for the alphabetic part of the edge will be calculated matching yes/no answers to these three possibilities, as in case 2.2.

#### 2.4. FORMULAE AND ATTRIBUTES

Some inscriptions are characterized by the presence of formulae and attributes. Most of them refer to familiar ties or roles in the society, such as γυναῖ, ‘wife (of)’, ἱερεῖφους, ‘priest’, etc. In this case, a point will be attributed to the weight of the edge if the two inscriptions match in 1) displaying a formula or attribute, 2) having either a familiar attribute or a professional role, 3) using the same formula or attribute.

#### 2.5. MONUMENT

Although all Pamphylian funerary monuments consist of stone *stelai*, they exhibit notable variations in dimensions. To construct a comprehensive graph, four potential ranges have been established for each dimension, namely: height (>55 cm, 45-55 cm, 35-45 cm, <35 cm), width (>30 cm, 25-30 cm, 20-25 cm, <20 cm),

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<sup>16</sup> Selvi 2023.

and thickness (>15 cm, 10-15 cm, 5-10 cm, <5 cm). Moreover, these stelae appear in various shapes, predominantly as simple parallelepipeds or parallelepipeds adorned with a triangular pediment, or slightly tapered towards the top. The dimensions of the inscribed letters also exhibit variation, spanning from a minimum of 0.8 cm to 3 cm. A point will be assigned if the two examined inscriptions align in terms of: 1) dimensions, 2) stelae type, and 3) letter dimensions.

## 2.6. DECORATIONS

While some epitaphs are inscribed on a simple stone *stèle*, some others display various decorations, mostly ranging from simple mouldings on the base, top and middle of the inscribed stèle, sometimes with a ribbon in the middle (e.g., *DGP* 60), to a triangular pediment, often enriched with rosettes and acroteria (e.g., *DGP* 91), to, in some cases, the depiction of entire funerary scenes in *bas-relief* (e.g., *DGP* 243). A point will be assigned whenever the two considered inscriptions match in 1) having some kind of decoration; 2) the decoration type (mouldings, rosettes, scenes, ribbons); 3) placement of the decoration.

## 3. *The Graph*

### 3.1. OVERALL CHARACTERISTICS

The graph (*Fig. 1*) is obtained by combining the weights of the edges between each object through the program *Gephi*. The graph is non-oriented, as the edges are undirected. It is spatialized through the layout *Force Atlas 2* with *LinLog* mode.<sup>17</sup> In the

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<sup>17</sup> LinLog mode is a layout algorithm used for spatializing or arranging nodes in a network visualization. The LinLog mode balances attractive forces (Lin) and repulsive forces (Log) to achieve an optimal arrangement of nodes. Such a layout was implemented to emphasize the differences among the different communities of nodes.





decorations and dimensions. The periphery of the graph is made up of slightly less connected nodes, distributed quite evenly around a highly interconnected center. Even at a first glance, it is apparent that there is a specific set of widely shared characteristics which individuate a core of features specific to Pamphylian funerary epigraphy. The closeness and the continuity of the community is therefore statistically proved, even though the inscriptions in the graph span more than two centuries.

### 3.2. GRAPH ANALYSIS: LINGUISTIC ORIGINS OF PNs

This graph (*Fig. 2*) depicts the inscriptions according to the different linguistic roots of personal names. The graph shows that groups with distinct combinations of linguistic roots tend to

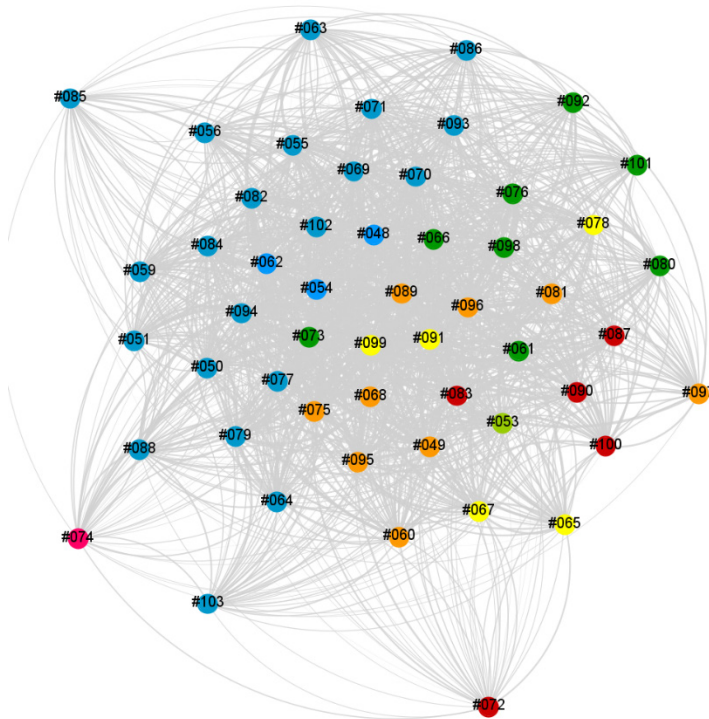


Fig. 2 - Inscriptions according to the linguistic origins of the PNs.

cluster together, suggesting that this characteristic is important in predicting the position of each inscription. The inscriptions are categorized based on the presence of Greek PNs (light blue), linguistically mixed families (yellow, dark and light green, and orange), and completely Anatolian families (red). Greek-only families are located towards the left side of the graph, while linguistically mixed and Anatolian families tend to occupy the right side. The graph is therefore clearly divided on a vertical axis. The center of the graph, representing the most prototypical objects, is shared by linguistically mixed and Greek families. No linguistically mixed inscription is found at the far edges of the graph. These spots are occupied by exclusively Greek, Egyptian, and Anatolian families. The linguistically mixed families in the graph are loosely arranged based on the relationship between individuals with Greek and Anatolian names. This observation is interesting because it suggests that this arrangement depends on other parameters, not explicitly provided in this section of the spreadsheet. The same goes for inscriptions with Anatolian or epichoric only families, pushed onto the right edge of the graph (e.g., *DGP* 72, Νης Βᾶτος; *DGP* 100, Κεδαξ Συκαρυ).<sup>19</sup> Specifically, inscriptions in dark green feature deceased individuals with Anatolian or mixed/double entry names and their fathers with linguistically Greek names. For example, *DGP* 98, which reads Μάνις Δ[ι]Ϝονυσίω, shows a father bearing a theophoric Greek name (from Dionysus) and his son with a typical Anatolian/Pamphylian name.<sup>20</sup> The distinctive regional characteristics of such inscription are readily identifiable through both alphabetic

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<sup>19</sup> In *DGP* 72, both PNs are Anatolian Lall names, while *DGP* 100's Κεδαξ is a specific Pamphylian/Anatolian name (found only four times in Aspendos), for which Brixhe (*DGP* p. 256) reconstructs a radical *kend-/kand-*, also to be found in *DGP* 68 (etc.) ΚεδαϜτου, and in Lycian Κενδηδης, Κενθηδης, Κενδαιδης and Cilician Κενδεδης (Brixhe 1966, 658).

<sup>20</sup> According to the *LPGN* database, Μάνις occurs exclusively in this region of Anatolia: twelve times in Aspendos, eight on amphora stamps from broader Pamphylia and three in Cilicia.

and linguistic features, as it exhibits the usage of digamma in the father's name and the Pamphylian genitive ending -ίω. In contrast, the orange-colored inscriptions present an inverse scenario, exemplified by *DGP* 68, Ἀρτιμιδώρας Κεδαίριου, where a father with an Anatolian name bestows a clearly Greek name upon his daughter.<sup>21</sup> Furthermore, these inscriptions also display the presence of the koine genitive ending -ου and markers of the Ionic-Milesian alphabet <Ω>. However, theophoric names associated with Artemis may hold a deeper regional significance for the community, as the cult of Artemis Pergaia likely involved a syncretic fusion with the local goddesses of the Pamphylian cities. Lastly, yellow inscriptions represent unions of mixed couples or other relationships. For instance, *DGP* 65 features a husband with a Greek-sounding name, Θάσους son of Στρατοκλῆτους (in the genitive case), and his wife, who bears a typical Anatolian Lall name, Να daughter of Μαγασίτῳ (in the Pamphylian genitive -αυ), clearly indicating Anatolian linguistic origins. Although some overlap exists, the orange and dark green groups exhibit the most distinct features, while the yellow group tends to share more similarities with the orange group.

By examining the distribution of theophoric personal names (PNs) and mixed PNs, as depicted in *Fig. 3* (represented by blue and enlarged dots respectively, with potential combinations between the two), the significance of these PN categories within Pamphylian onomastic culture becomes visually evident. Theophoric PNs are present in 54.72% of the inscriptions analyzed, while mixed PNs account for 30.2%, collectively making up 84.92% of the total count. To facilitate the interpretation of the graph, the remaining inscriptions are displayed in grey. As anticipated, mixed families exhibit the highest percentage of mixed or dual-entry names. However, it is noteworthy that a significant number of linguistically exclusively Greek families also bear theophoric PNs. Depending on the associated deity, these names

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<sup>21</sup> See note 19.

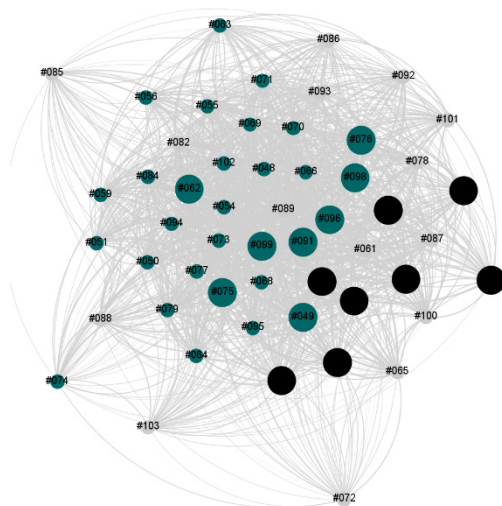


Fig. 3 - Inscriptions featuring theophoric and mixed PNs.

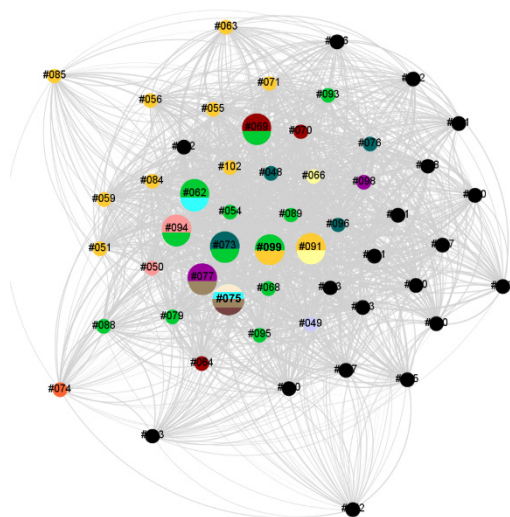


Fig. 4 - Distribution of theophoric PNs:  
 Aphrodite (pink), Apollo (yellow), Artemis (green), Athena (gray),  
 Demeter (red), Dionysus (purple), Hermes (light blue),  
 Paiawan? (light yellow), *Wanassa* (dark blue).

may not be perceived as distinctly ‘Greek’ in comparison to other types of personal names, such as typical Macedonian ones (e.g., genitive ‘Ἀλεξάνδρου in *DGP* 74, albeit in its ‘Pamphylianized’ version without the nasal sound before the dental, or genitive Λιμνα[ίου] in *DGP* 78), functioning instead as a potential onomastic ‘middle ground’. In *Fig. 4*, we observe the distribution of inscriptions based on the deities to whom the PNs are dedicated. The majority of PNs are devoted to Artemis (green) and her brother Apollo (yellow), who are the principal deities of Pamphylia. PNs associated with Apollo primarily belong to the ‘Greek’ side of the graph, whereas PNs linked to Artemis are positioned in the central region and can be found in both linguistically Greek families and mixed families. This pattern becomes even more pronounced when considering PNs constructed with the stem *wanak-*, which are connected to the local name of the goddess of Perge, *Ἰανάτας Πρευας*, or that of Aspendos, *Ἰανάτας ἄκρου*.<sup>22</sup> Artemis-inspired PNs are also frequently encountered in families that include other theophoric PNs, such as *DGP* 73 (featuring a *wanak-* name, *Φαναξάδρου*), 69 (*Δαμάτρι[υς]*), 62 (*Ἐ]ρμόπολις*), and so on, further supporting the notion of a significant and specific cultural significance associated with certain theophoric PNs.

Scholars such as Skelton<sup>23</sup> have interpreted the compresence of Anatolian and Greek PNs among members of the same families as a proof of intercultural marriages between the Greek-speaking community – making no distinctions, as many do, between the Pamphylian Greek-speaking community and the koine Greek-speaking

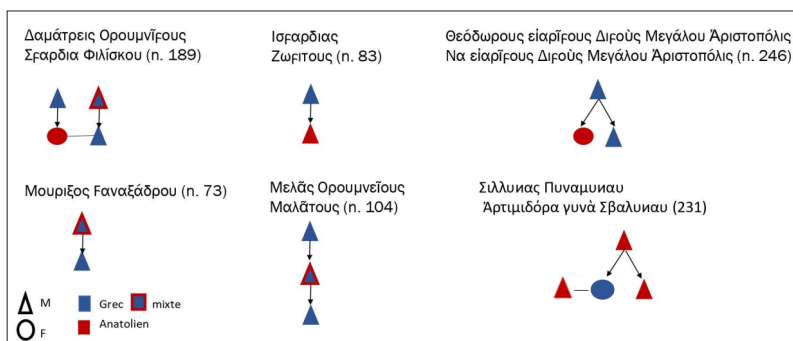
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<sup>22</sup> Conversely, Apollo-inspired names appear in the area of ‘mixed families’ only in conjunction with other theophoric PNs, as seen in examples such as *DGP* 99 (*Ἀρτεμῶ Μάνειτους. Ἀρτεμείσια Πελωνίου. Μάνις Φιράραν. Ἀρτεμεί[ς]*) or, possibly, under the epithet *Παίαφας* (*DGP* 66, 91), which is also found at Xanthos on the Lycian sarcophagus of *Paiawas* (TL 40a, 4<sup>th</sup> cent. BCE). However, the interpretation as a divine epithet of *Παίαφας* and *Παίονος* is debated, cf. *DGP* pp. 235, 251. In the first case, it could be an epichoric name (as suggested also by the Lycian attestation), in the second, an ethnic.

<sup>23</sup> Skelton 2017.

one – and the few Anatolian families which had been able to integrate themselves in the Greek *poleis*. Although such a case is well documented, for example in Greek-Carian communities,<sup>24</sup> such an argument, based only on the PNs linguistic origins, must be carefully analyzed. The composition of many families, in fact, seems to point to a more complex interaction between the linguistic origins of PNs and ethnicity claims (cf. *Fig. 5*).

Fig. 5 - Greek and Anatolian personal names in some Pamphylian families.



### 3.3. GRAPH ANALYSIS: LINGUISTIC FEATURES

*Fig. 5* presents the distribution of linguistic features in Pamphylian inscriptions. Dark blue inscriptions display a notable presence of dialectal linguistic features, showing minimal or no influence from koine, as seen in *DGP 70* (Δφιγένεις Δαματρίω). Inscriptions in azure color represent a combination of dialectal and koine features, as exemplified by *DGP 96* (Κορφαλείνα Κουιαυ Αέκαλείτου. Κορφαλῖς, Ορομνεύς Φαναξάδρου). On the other hand, inscriptions marked in lighter sky-blue predominantly exhibit koine linguistic traits, such as *DGP 79* (Ἀρτεμίδωρος Σόφωνος. Φιλᾶς Ἀρτιμιδώρου). Upon observing the graph, it becomes evident that the distribution of linguistic features does not

<sup>24</sup> See De Luca 2022, 192-208.

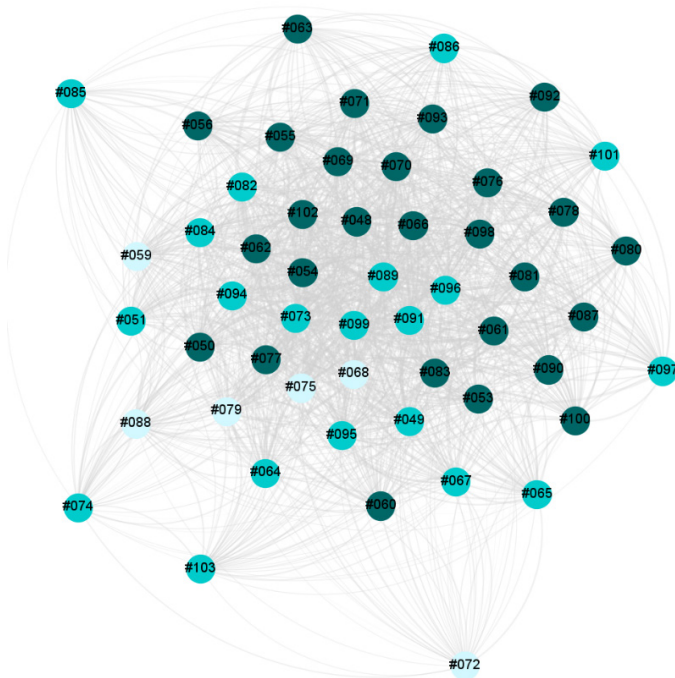


Fig. 6 - Inscriptions according to the prevalence of koine and dialectal features.

align with the linguistic origin of the personal names. In other words, inscriptions with mixed or Anatolian personal names do not necessarily have a noticeably higher likelihood of being more dialectal compared to families with solely Greek personal names. There is a clustering effect of linguistic features independent of the linguistic origin of the PNs. While a combination of dialectal and koine traits allows inscriptions to occupy the central region of the graph, a stronger influence of koine pushes inscriptions towards the southwestern edge.

The trend observed in the distribution of inscriptions based on linguistic features could help explain the distribution of ‘mixed’ families observed in §3.2. It suggests that families where a father with an epichoric personal name gives a Greek-sounding

name to his son or daughter are more likely to exhibit linguistic influence from koine. For instance, in *DGP* 49, we can identify a probable couple. The man, Ὀψαγένεις, and his father, Θαναδόρου (koine genitive -ου), have compound names that are clearly Greek-sounding and easily understood. The wife bears a transparent personal name derived from the Greek word μύρμηξ, meaning ‘ant’, which was commonly used as a personal name during the Classical and Hellenistic periods across the Greek world, particularly in Athens, and in Anatolia, in cities like Miletus and Smyrna. On the other hand, her father, Ζώφειτους (genitive), carries a ‘mixed’ personal name exhibiting distinct dialectal features, possibly associated with both the Greek adjective ζοφός and the Anatolian lexeme *zuma*, found in other personal names such as Ζοφάμυς (*DGP* 31). Hence, a significant transformation in the Hellenization of personal names has occurred from the father to the daughter, accompanied by the spread of koine linguistic features and alphabetic Ionic-Milesian traits.

### 3.4. GRAPH ANALYSIS: ALPHABETIC FEATURES

*Fig. 7* illustrates the distribution of various alphabetic features found in Pamphylian inscriptions. Dark purple dots represent epichoric alphabetic features, including the use of epichoric Pamphylian letters (<I>, <T>) and specific writing conventions (e.g., the double -ι-). Light violet dots indicate inscriptions that lack these epichoric features but still demonstrate the use of non-Ionic Milesian letters (such as the standard digamma <F>) or non-Ionic Milesian writing habits (e.g., <o> for /ō/). Inscriptions without both these characteristics are shown in sky blue. The dots representing traits influenced by contact with the standard Ionic-Milesian alphabet are enlarged for emphasis. While the distribution of alphabetic features may appear to follow a similar pattern to the linguistic features graph, a closer examination reveals that they are not perfectly aligned. Many inscriptions exhibit a combination of non-koine and koine traits, with the latter not limited



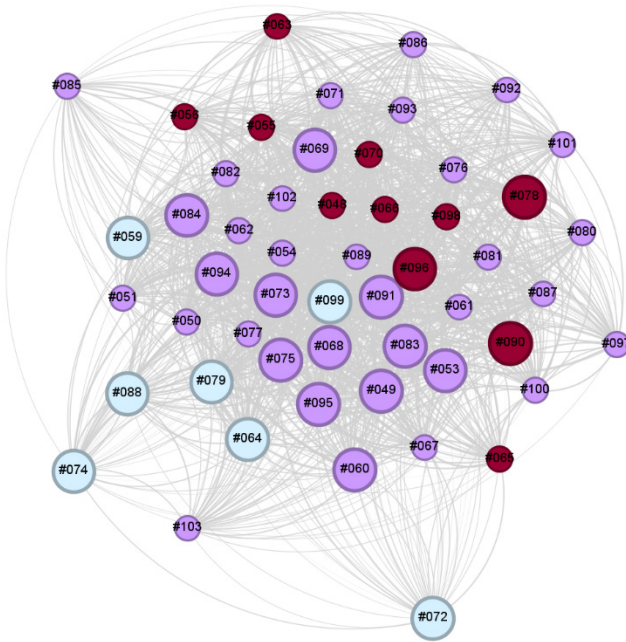


Fig. 7 - Alphabetic features.

to inscriptions showing koine linguistic features. For instance, in *DGP* 69 (Δαμάτρ[υς] Α[ρτ]ιμαυ), we observe the dialectal genitive in -αυ, but the epichoric letter <Ι>, typically used to write this genitive in other inscriptions (cf. *DGP* 66 below), has been replaced by a standard upsilon. This suggests that koineization did not necessarily eliminate Pamphylian epichoric traits when they came into contact. Indeed, when comparing this graph with *Fig. 2*, it becomes clear that alphabetic features cannot be predicted solely based on the linguistic origins of the personal names. Pamphylian epichoric letters appear in both all-Greek families (e.g., *DGP* 55, Απελάμριυις Μειακλεῦτυς) and mixed families (e.g., *DGP* 66, Παιάφας Πυναμωφαι. Πυναμυας Παιάμιαι), as well as in all-Anatolian families (e.g., *DGP* 90, Ορμυνεῦς [Κ] εδαιφω). They are distributed evenly along a north-west/south-east axis on the upper side of the graph. This observation, sup-

ported by statistically significant data, suggests that epichoric Pamphylian letters and writing conventions were not primarily used, and likely not introduced, to represent Anatolian phonemes, *pace DGP* pp. 5-9.

### 3.5. GRAPH ANALYSIS: MONUMENT

*Fig. 8* displays the distribution of funerary inscriptions of various heights (represented from biggest to smallest by blue, light blue, pastel green, and pastel yellow) in conjunction with different types of *stelai*. Smaller dots represent inscriptions on simple parallelepiped-shaped *stelai*, while larger dots indicate inscriptions on *stelai* with a triangular pediment. *Fig. 9* illustrates the distribution of decorations. Inscriptions with elaborate adornments, such as rosettes, ribbons, and acroteria, are represented by red dots, while inscriptions with simpler decorative elements, such as mouldings, are depicted by dark yellow dots. Inscriptions without any decoration are represented by black dots. The distribution of inscriptions based on alphabetic features reveals interesting patterns. The center of the graph is primarily occupied by light blue inscriptions, indicating their prototypical nature (e.g., *DGP* 89, Ἀρτιμίδου Κρατύς). Pastel green inscriptions, with some exceptions, tend to align with the linguistic Greekness area observed in *Fig. 2*. These exceptions include cases of mixed families where younger generations have Greek names, while older mixed or Anatolian (e.g., *DGP* 96 Κορφαλείνα Κουιαυ Αέκαλείτου. Κορφαλὶς Ορομνεὺς Φαναζάδρου), as well as Anatolian inscriptions with strong koine influences (*DGP* 72). The smallest category, pastel yellow inscriptions, predominantly associates with mixed and Anatolian families. Inscriptions featuring a triangular pediment exhibit a disposition along a north-east to south-west axis, situated below it. This distribution corresponds to the inscriptions with elaborate decorations, as depicted in *Fig. 9*, and both categories tend to avoid the region characterized by a more prominent presence of Pamphylian dialect alphabetic features (*Fig. 7*).

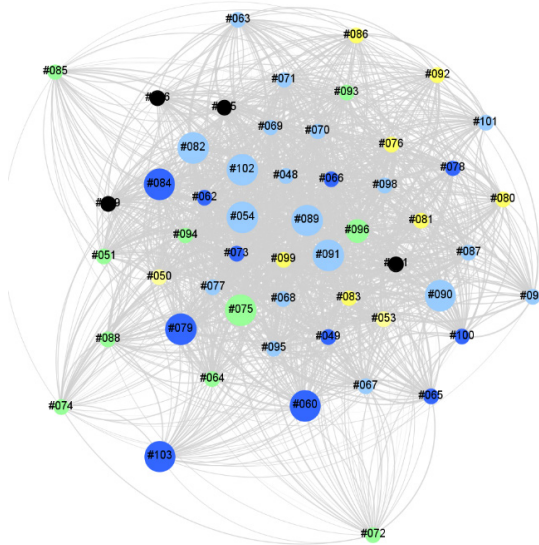


Fig. 8 - Stelai by height. From biggest to smallest by blue, light blue, pastel green, pastel yellow.

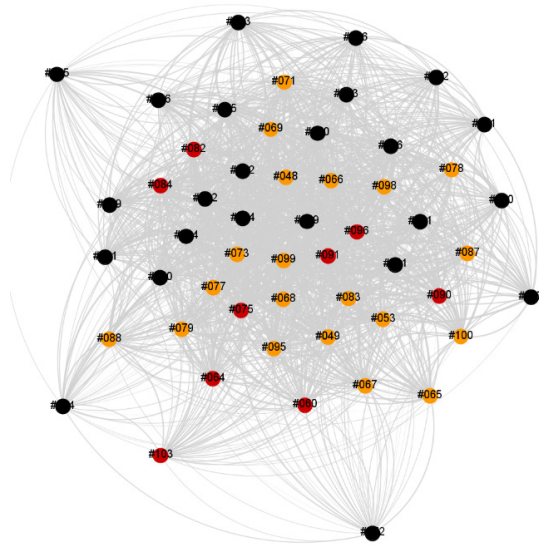


Fig. 9 - Distribution of decorations. Red: elaborate decorations, dark yellows: simple decorations, black: no decorations.

#### 4. *Conclusions*

The graph's characteristics reveal a densely interconnected network, indicating a strong and cohesive community that spans more than two centuries. The key findings that can be inferred from the graphs are:

- The clustering of inscriptions based on linguistic roots suggests that distinct combinations of linguistic origins are a predictive factor for an individual's position within the community. Linguistically mixed families in the graph are loosely arranged according to the relationships between individuals with Greek and Anatolian PNs, with their behavior varying depending on the familial role of those bearing Greek or Anatolian PNs. Theophoric PNs, though common throughout the dataset, are typically associated with specific linguistic origins. PNs derived from Apollo are more likely to appear in inscriptions of exclusively Greek families, while those based on Artemis (and her Pamphylian counterpart, the Lady of Perge) are characteristic of mixed families, serving as an onomastic 'middle ground'.
- The presence of Pamphylian epichoric letters alongside koine traits in various inscriptions demonstrates that the process of koineization did not entirely eradicate local alphabetic features. Instead, koine traits spread more readily in families where a father with an epichoric personal name – often displaying distinctive alphabetic traits – gives his children Greek-sounding names, which are more likely to exhibit linguistic influence from koine. Pamphylian alphabetic features can be found associated with all kinds of PNs, suggesting that they were not felt or needed specifically for Anatolian PNs, as previously argued.
- The characteristics of the monuments exhibit patterns similar to the linguistic ones. While all-Greek inscriptions are associated with a specific type of *stèle* – medium-sized

*stelai* with simple mouldings or mouldings featuring a simple rosette – this type is also often found in mixed families where younger generations bear Greek names, while older members have mixed or Anatolian names. Similarly, Anatolian inscriptions with strong koine influences follow this pattern, a phenomenon that might be generalized as a ‘Hellenization trend’. In contrast, families adhering to entirely Anatolian onomastics tend to be associated with smaller *stelai*. More elaborate monuments, such as those with triangular pediments and complex decorations, tend to avoid inscriptions with marked Pamphylian alphabetic features but not those with non-koine linguistic traits, suggesting that only the former were recognized as a strictly ‘local’ or ‘archaic’ mark.

Thus, the graph analysis provides compelling evidence for the existence of a tightly-knit community with shared cultural and linguistic characteristics, while also highlighting the complexity and diversity within the Pamphylian funerary epigraphy. The analysis of the graph also presents possibilities for future research and applications of SNA to ancient epigraphy. Future studies could investigate the relationship between linguistic origins and social networks, shedding light on the interplay between language, identity, and social connections. Additionally, SNA could be employed to analyze the evolution of personal names and their associations with specific deities, offering insights into religious practices and belief systems of ancient cultures. Furthermore, the application of SNA to larger corpora of inscriptions from different regions and time periods has the potential to uncover patterns of migration, cultural diffusion, and the spread of specific cultural practices or languages.

### *Abbreviations*

- DGP = C. Brixhe, *Le Dialecte Grec de Pamphylie. Documents et grammaire (Inscriptions 1-178)*, Bibliothèque de l'Institut Français d'archéologie d'Istanbul, Paris 1976.
- LGPN V.B. = J.S. Balzat - R.W.V. Catling - E. Chiricat, *A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names: Volume V.B.: Coastal Asia Minor, Caria to Cilicia*, Oxford University Press, Oxford 2014.

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CHRISTOPHER J. TUPLIN

REVISITING THE CULTURAL INTERACTIONS  
OF ACHAEMENID ANATOLIA

This volume opens with the late Stephen Mitchell's complaint that the history of Anatolia tends to become the history of the external great powers that controlled it – a process that leaves Anatolian history proper indistinct and ill-articulated. He and others have surely done much to redress this in the intervening thirty years and, in a discursive environment ever ready to root out colonialist attitudes and privilege subaltern ones, this process is set to continue.

It is a process that provides a frame for the introduction and five independent studies for which these remarks aim to supply a retrospective conclusion.

It seems to me that some element of external-powers-perspective is inevitable (at least once Anatolia is subject to the relevant sort of external power) but that we can and must look out for the ways in which people in Anatolia were able to buck the trend by putting their own imprint on the conqueror's impact.

Ideally one would hope to be able to compare Anatolian situations with more or less precisely similar ones elsewhere – i.e. ones where a similar range of artefacts shows different responses to impact by the same external power or local variants on a similar type of response – but the types and quantities of archaeological material vary significantly across the non-heartland parts of the empire,

so this is not straightforward.<sup>1</sup> It is actually more practicable to compare different areas within Anatolia: the corpus of categorically similar items assembled by Lâtife Summerer affords such an opportunity – and displays significant variations of style and detailed content. In any event, people make choices about how to be impacted – it takes two to tango, though sometimes the situation is more like a barn dance – and they bring different stylistic manners, cultural assumptions and inherited norms to the task. Hence one can talk of active reception (Margaret Miller’s term) – or, perhaps, interactive or appropriative or creative reception. All such labels (embraced in the title’s use of the word interaction) return some agency to the Anatolians involved – and can potentially give them quite a lot of agency. This is the enterprise that the editor describes as «deconstructing the ethnic pre-eminence of some groups over others» (p. 5), and it is an important one.<sup>2</sup>

In revisiting how this plays out in the present publication, I start at the end – ὕστερον πρότερον Ὀμηρικῶς (Cicero *Ad Atticum* 1.16.1), not inappropriately, as Homer was commonly represented as nearly or actually an Anatolian and his role in constructing Anatolian identity is a topic to which we shall come in due course.

Eleonora Selvi’s chapter deals with interactions within a rather tightly defined community, represented by an epigraphic corpus of 56 items.<sup>3</sup> Choices (perhaps unconscious choices) are involved in relation to a lot of the features under investigation. This could simply be about choices within what is by the date in question a locally established culturo-linguistic amalgam. But p. 204 says

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<sup>1</sup> One category that *is* widely available is glyptic, to which we shall return (pp. 258-263). For a case in which glyptic may reveal something distinctively Anatolian see Llewellyn-Jones 2010 on representations of women.

<sup>2</sup> Achaemenid impact in Anatolia is a perennial topic. Briant 2020, 9-14 gives an overview of some of the recent literature, but there is always more, e.g. Poggio 2018 and Poggio 2019.

<sup>3</sup> In the graphs it is fewer, as numbers 52, 57, and 58 seem to be missing.

that the aim is to assess the ‘Greekness’ of the Pamphylian people in the Hellenistic era, so this is (also) about response to something clearly perceived as external (Greek language) in its role as an ethnic marker – a matter of outsider impact and of the impacted influencing the impactors, since the Greek that is used has Pamphylian features. But here the impactors are not originally the agents of a singular external polity («integration of various Greek groups»: p. 205). The headline result is that the epigraphic culture turns out to be both homogeneous and diverse: there *is* a culturo-linguistic amalgam, but behaviour within it is not always as one might unthinkingly expect. So, for example, use of non-Greek dialectal features is not neatly co-ordinated with the choice of Anatolian or mixed Anatolian-Greek personal names (pp. 220-221). This is perhaps not as surprising as it may appear at first sight: choosing a name is deliberate process involving a variety of considerations (e.g. taste, fashion or familial tradition) in a way that manner of speech is not – though questions could arise about whether the written language of a gravestone is exactly the spoken idiolect of the person commissioning the tomb. The ethno-cultural markers dealt with in the volume are otherwise almost entirely non-linguistic, but this case can nonetheless remind us of the interplay between conscious and unconscious decision-making when people engage with various more or less external stimuli in the act of making something. Selvi ends the chapter by envisaging the use of SNA to investigate larger cross-regional / cross-period datasets in the hope of discovering «patterns of migration, cultural diffusion, and the spread of specific cultural practices or languages» – an enticing prospect that underlines the fact that this Pamphylian chapter does not, as it stands, deal with the ‘Anatolia’ that is the volume’s topic. But it *is* a start on a road to discovering how Pamphylia sits in the larger picture of Anatolian reception of the Greek language and a model of one way of travelling the further parts of that road. Comparison of active interaction across different Anatolian regions is a necessary component of the wider enterprise of defin-

ing and empowering Anatolian identity through an understanding of Anatolian reception and appropriation of external stimuli. And the fact that an *ex hypothesi* relatively coherent community displays diversity of behaviour is a reminder to expect a great deal of the same in the case of larger and more widely spread groups of people and sets of evidence.

Selvi deals with language itself. Marco Santini deals with constructions of the past that are done with language. These might be called textual monuments, in contrast to the physical monuments that are the primary subject of the other chapters – but not, of course, the whole subject: Emanuele Pulvirenti uses material culture to contextualise a notable written item (the story of Xerxes at Troy) and some of the acculturation surveyed by Margaret Miller (notably Persian drinking etiquette) is reflected in the written record.

Santini reckons that a similar way of figuring the succession of dynasties appears in south-eastern and western Anatolia, at several centuries remove. This casts «some light on why the Lydian tradition on the pre-Mermnad period has taken [the] particular shape it [has], which turns out to be fully consistent with Iron Age Anatolian political dynamics» (p. 181).<sup>4</sup> In broader terms this chapter belongs to the search for a trans-regional Anatolia whose characteristics are not dictated or coloured by supereminent external powers: we are presented with pieces of Anatolian history that revolve around the internal dynamics of Anatolian polities and lack impact from outsiders – or (should such impact raise its head) positively reject it. For Heraclid identity has links with Babylonia and that is, from a Mermnad perspective, a bad thing: the Mermnads are good Anatolians – Lydo-Phrygians, one of whose ancestors took refuge in Cappadocia.<sup>5</sup> But the question

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<sup>4</sup> A different sort of Luwian link to the Mermnad dynasty (specifically Gyges' enforced inspection of Candaules' wife) has recently been suggested by Posani 2023.

<sup>5</sup> On p. 162 Santini suggests that the Phrygian overtones in the Lydian Mermnad story reflect the comparatively recent creation of Great Phrygia. In

does remain why/how the parallel that Santini delineates arose. Was there something about post-BA Anatolian polities that made similar developments actually happen? But what would that be? Or is it simply that Mermnad propagandists found and exploited a useful model? This would certainly be a case of conscious appropriation from one bit of Anatolia to another – and of creative interaction as well, both because the succession-model is applied within the frame of a mythological discourse absent in the source and because Heraclid genealogy cannot really be described as native to Lydian mythological discourse. And there is more. The suggestion that Luwian *tarrawanni-* (the label of the Country Lords) is the origin of Greek *τύραννος* – a suggestion made all the more enticing in the present context by the fact that the first recorded use of the latter occurs in the same breath as a reference to Gyges (Archilochus fr. 19 West) – presents us with a case of native Anatolian impact upon Greeks in and beyond Anatolia.<sup>6</sup> The displacement of a traditional dynasty by a para-institutional figure (a core feature of the Syro-Hittite and Lydian examples) is, of course, rather characteristic of Greek tyrant stories, so there is an issue of substance here, but the impact of an Anatolian language upon Greek also means that, after all, Santini's chapter is in one respect a counterpart to Selvi's. Viewed from either perspective use of *τύραννος* is a rather empowering acknowledgment of Anatolian political culture – and a creative interaction inasmuch as the Greek city-state is a different sort of polity from royal Lydia. Meanwhile the whole story – from Carchemish to Sardis to Paros or wherever *τύραννος* was actually first used – is a reminder that creative interaction in Anatolia does not have to wait for the appearance of external conquerors.

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any event, it is an element without obvious analogue in the Carchemish example: it is as though those texts alluded explicitly to the Hittites.

<sup>6</sup> For another such idea cf. Summerer on the Dexileos monument: p. 258 n. 42.

There are perhaps things that could be said in this regard about Cimmerians and Scythians (and the implications of the presence of Greeks around the Anatolian littoral have already been touched on), but it is Cyrus' arrival that turned Anatolia into a stamping ground for invaders who came to stay and exercise imperial power over a large geographical area. This is the point at which the phenomenon identified by Stephen Mitchell starts to be a danger. The transformation of study of the Teispid-Achaemenid Empire over the last half-century could theoretically have exacerbated this danger (inasmuch as it has greatly increased academic focus upon the empire as such within the larger span of Ancient Near Eastern history), but a case can surely be made that the accompanying disavowal of Hellenocentricity and insistence upon the importance of intensive examination of local regions within the empire has resulted in better knowledge and understanding of sixth to fourth century Anatolia in its own right than was the case previously. The studies by Miller, Summerer and Pulvirenti are beneficiaries and promoters of this process and offer us ways to seek out and see Anatolian character in the various types of active reception of alien cultural dynamics with which they deal.

There was an established local tradition of identity-creation/affirmation *via* the Trojan War, involving both Greek outsiders (Athenians, Lesbians<sup>7</sup>) and Anatolian locals, in particular the people of Troy whom the fifth century Lesbian historian Hellanicus still reported as descendants of the heroic age Trojans. There are no stories of direct Greek colonial appropriation of Troy, even though there *are* such stories in relation to a variety of other sites in the region: it evidently suited Greek outsiders better to seek historico-cultural capital by indirect association with a notionally still alien but nonetheless iconic site that they simply claimed to control – or have under protective supervision? – from adjacent colonial footholds. If the Trojans became Greek it was (ironical-

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<sup>7</sup> In Rose's view (2014, 146) Lesbos was still making this claim through the era from Persian Wars to 428.



ly) by adoption of identity from colonial locals not by arrival of new population.<sup>8</sup> Into this mythhistorically dynamic situation the 540s brought a new Iranian element. Pulvirenti invites us to believe that the newcomers entered into the spirit of the game. Their satrapal centre at Dascylium was putatively one-time Trojan land (Hellanicus again) and, over time at least, various material signs of their presence can be seen not only around Dascylium, but also in the tombs and hill-top forts of the Granicus Valley<sup>9</sup> and, perhaps less insistently, around Troy itself.<sup>10</sup> How cogently this largely post-480 evidence can establish what things were like as of that date is perhaps debatable, but the intaglio bearing a winged disk symbol discovered at Troy and potentially dating from the time of Xerxes<sup>11</sup> might be representative of a larger truth – a truth, moreover, that, in view of the non-standard syntax of the piece (cf. p. 243), argues Persian-local acculturation, not just the presence of ethnic Persians. (The same actually goes for much of the other Iranian material surveyed by Pulvirenti.)

The idea, then, is that the interaction of Persians and local Anatolians drew the former into a thought-world in which the site of Troy and associated physical features such as the burial mounds proper to local funerary custom had the resonance felt by readers of the Homeric texts. Faced with the spectacle of Xerxes sacrificing at Troy to Athena Ilias and the heroes of the Trojan War, one might even speak of a local ‘culture’ (that of thinking creatively with the Trojan War tradition) imposing itself

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<sup>8</sup> Rose 2014, 70.

<sup>9</sup> It is surely significant that the Polyxena sarcophagus depicts a Trojan suffering at the hands of Greeks. On the sarcophagus’ connection with the Trojan landscape of the region (and against the background of Achaemenid power) see Draycott 2018, 38-41.

<sup>10</sup> Pulvirenti stresses that the hill-top forts along the Granicus and Aesepus valleys have analogues in the Scamander valley as a sign that the Persians regarded the whole region west of Dascylium as homogeneous. But the Scamander valley has not (yet) produced equivalents to the sarcophagi from the Granicus region.

<sup>11</sup> Rose 2014, 145.

on the Great King – a story of Anatolian impact on the external power, not the reverse – but, in any event, we have a creative interaction between the King of Kings and the city of Priam in which the former claims politically and ideologically valuable culturo-historical capital and the latter (along with the various people linked with it) enjoys the fact that he is doing so in a thoroughly local fashion. It is an interesting sidelight on this «cultural perspective» on the Xerxes story (p. 112) that the Troy that Xerxes patronised and that patronised him may still have been partly in ruins from a major earthquake.<sup>12</sup> That would have given an extra twist to a Persian claim to be avenging the Greek destruction of Troy – if that claim was made at the time, not just retrojected later by a Greek tradition pleased to be able to say that the vengeance had only been achieved in the limited sense that Athens was temporarily destroyed. It is worth stressing that the vengeance-for-Priam line does require that the Greeks of the Troad see themselves as Anatolians much more than as Greeks. But the Greeks of Asia Minor (to use a later terminology) are not an element in the Achaean force that sacked Troy, so this is not a major mythistorical difficulty, whatever some actual post-Ionian Revolt Greeks might think about it – and it is an implicit premise of this volume that there were some at least in the latter category who were reasonably at ease with the Persian dispensation.

But this is not the end of the matter.

On the one hand, Pulvirenti moots (p. 111) that Xerxes' sacrifice could also be seen as a form of Near Eastern influence on Greek culture (not just as the result of Greek and Anatolian influence on him). Xerxes makes the gesture of offering a sacrifice to Athena and the heroes of the Trojan War and the locals absorb this into their cultural space in just the same way that Homer absorbed eastern literary material – and, since Homer deliberately absorbed eastern literary tropes to reboot local stories in a new way, we can insist that those in the Troad were actively inviting a

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<sup>12</sup> Rose 2014, 69.

new twist on local culture. On this reading the locals are not just imposing local culture on the Great King (as I put it above) but exploiting him to enhance it.

On the other hand, if that view seems to diminish the Great King's agency, there is another one (not noted by Pulvirenti) that rather increases it. Johannes Haubold argued some years ago that the responsibility for creating what he calls a Persian Homer (i.e. one in which Xerxes seeks the goodwill of Athena and the heroes of Troy, punishes Protesilaus and aims to avenge Priam – the one that Pulvirenti also believes is in play) belongs in hands of the Persians and their advisers (Onomacritus-like Greek experts) and placed the enterprise in the context of literary appropriations in the Cyrus Cylinder (an evocation of *Enuma Elish*) or literary product-placement in Deutero-Isaiah (Cyrus as Messiah).<sup>13</sup> This was not just an artefact of Xerxes' arrival in the Scamander Valley and, to judge from the size of the sacrifice (1000 cattle would feed, by various calculations, 440,000 or 600,000 people<sup>14</sup>), was planned well in advance. This approach stands in contrast to Pulvirenti's focus on the cultural-identity dynamics of the Troad. But the two are not inconsistent. Xerxes' Greek advisers will surely have been aware of those dynamics and will have factored them into their message to the Great King. That is, we have two patterns of thought (a Troadic engagement with Homer and a Persian desire to make use of indigenous literary traditions) pushing in the same direction.

Can one decide which of these readings to privilege? Not really. Different groups will have privileged different ones – and that is really the point. Troadic identity was fragmented (p. 120), the arrival of the Persians in general and Xerxes in particular only made it more so, and the roots of and spectator reaction to Xerxes' extravagant hecatomb must have been very mixed.

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<sup>13</sup> Haubold 2007.

<sup>14</sup> Tuplin 2019, 30.

Where Pulvirenti focuses on a single region (as does Selvi) and Santini uses one region to explain another, the remaining two studies range across several parts of Anatolia (Hellespontine Phrygia, Lydia, Lycia, Phrygia) and are much more fully focused on material culture, at most using texts to illuminate objects rather than (as in Pulvirenti's chapter) *vice versa*.

Some of Margaret Miller's portable objects are potentially imported from the heartland or made in what is taken to be the strictly Persian environment of the satrapal court – a middle ground between local and imported (p. 17).<sup>15</sup> Others, though, are surely of local design and manufacture, and that is certainly true of her non-portable objects (i.e. buildings). But almost all of the items involved display some degree of hybridity (whether of form or use or both).

The portable objects tend to belong to what one might, at least at the outset, call surface culture: bracelets, clothing-appliqués, furniture, tableware (knives and vessels) and drinking etiquette, seals and seal-use. These are regular but small scale things that evidently sit within a wider cultural environment that retains (even insists upon) a local character: the objects are found in indigenous funerary settings or were used in social events that retained indigenous characteristics (people reclined to eat and drink, even if the furniture had Persian-style legs and, as images and texts indicate, the wine-cups were held *à la perse*) or did not necessarily have visibly Iranian characteristics: the increased numbers of seals in burials may indicate a growth in the Persian 'sealing habit' (so Miller suggests: p. 41), but, at least at Sard-

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<sup>15</sup> One could wish for incontrovertible independent evidence for this second category. But the satrapal economy of Persis embraced production centres ('treasuries') and there is no reason why satrapal economies elsewhere would not, and, if they or their masters thought it mattered, Persian administrators were perfectly capable of ensuring that artisans who could work in a particular style were deployed in provincial settings. This may or may not be a slightly different thing from the situation in TADAE A6.12 (on which see Tuplin 2020a, 216-229).

is, the seals in question were not always made in imperial koine style and, when they were, only occasionally had what one might call distinctively Achaemenid iconography.<sup>16</sup> Some of the clothing appliqués are not specially Persian in appearance, even if they are Persian in function, and we cannot be sure what sorts of clothing they (or indeed their more visibly Persian counterparts) were attached to. *Mutatis mutandis* the same is perhaps true of bracelets and other jewellery. (Jewellery is a complicated area, of course, since some forms were among the things given by Kings as special tokens of honour – or indeed offered to him as tokens of subservience.) What we are talking about here is essentially hybridity of use. But there is also hybridity of form.

A classic example of this is provided by the Lydian Treasure objects described at pp. 21-24. In these items Achaemenid elements are combined in ways that violate the syntax of Achaemenid design and iconography. This is active reception taken to a high level and the cultural agency of the local producer (and the person who commissioned him) involved is also quite high. Whether one should call the result interestingly inventive or tastelessly eccentric is a subjective matter, then as now. One would love to know whether a heartland Iranian would have thought it an impressively luxurious novelty or the sign that a vulgar (but wealthy) Anatolian was trying too hard to fit in with the prevailing politico-cultural situation. Of course, syntax errors do not have to be so extreme. The winged-disk intaglio from Troy (p. 239) is a much more sober not-quite-right Achaemenid product. How much *that* mattered would depend on how invested the viewer was in the idea that winged-disk emblems signified something particular and important, should only be used in certain contexts, and should not become mere decorative designs. Such a person might find the intaglio offensive – and might even share with a

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<sup>16</sup> For a catalogue of seals from Sardis see Dusinger 2003, 264-283. There are differences between the seal repertoires associated with Sardis and Dascylium: see Tuplin 2020b, 30 n. 98

critic of the Lydian Treasure eccentricities a feeling that the appropriation was a bit subversive or symbolically aggressive.<sup>17</sup>

A similar thought might occur to one in other contexts. Among the buildings Miller discusses the Labraunda andron is a definite hybrid. It has Persian sphinxes on its roof, which is not a thing a Persian building would have, and the sphinxes are not even proper Persian sphinxes but local style sphinxes with Persian dress.<sup>18</sup> We are in the same ballpark (but on a larger scale) as with the Lydian Treasure vessels. What are we to make of this? Was Mausolus' appropriation of a Persian image actually a rather patronising gesture towards the imperial power of which he was a rather wayward, self-centred and exploitative servant?<sup>19</sup> Or, at least, is that something that a Persian visitor could understandably have believed? An affirmative answer seems plausible – and becomes pretty much certain if it is true that the sphinx's facial features are meant to echo those of Hecatomnid portraits and in particular those of Mausolus himself.<sup>20</sup>

Mausolus is a rather special case, of course.<sup>21</sup> The adaptation of Achaemenid icons in large-scale Anatolian buildings does not have to be so eccentric. Consider Meydancıkkale. The other cultural strands represented by the texts at the site and the relatively poor craftsmanship suggest that this may not be the residence of a very high ranking person or of an Iranian – unless it be one who has acculturated in interesting directions.<sup>22</sup> Since we are in Cilicia (which for a long time was managed through a native dynasty) this is not surprising – and, as Miller notes, that makes the scale of

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<sup>17</sup> For more subversion see immediately below (Labraunda), p. 246 (Taş Kule), p. 252 (Payava), pp. 256-257 (Tosya, Manisa 3389).

<sup>18</sup> Tuplin 2019, 35.

<sup>19</sup> Compare Henry 2010, 121 on Mausolus' assertive position between the Persian and Aegean worlds.

<sup>20</sup> Bild 2020.

<sup>21</sup> But *mutatis mutandis* we are in somewhat similar territory to that occupied by Perikle (cf. Şare 2013).

<sup>22</sup> Cultural strands: Tuplin 2019, 25. Poor workmanship: Miller p. 27.

Persian display (much larger proportionately than at Labraunda) more interesting. But the nature is interesting too. If the reconstruction by Held and Kaptan is correct,<sup>23</sup> we have a procession of ‘offering’ figures approaching an entrance flanked with soldiers: *mutatis mutandis* that recalls the front of the Apadana staircase as it was after the removal of the so-called Treasury Relief, when the ranks of ‘tribute-bearers’ and courtiers converged on standing Persian soldiers.<sup>24</sup> The association of the images at Meydancikkale with an entrance becomes an interpretation of a different type of entrance in a heartland building. This is definitely a case of inventive appropriation and the result is a hybrid product, inasmuch as the Meydancikkale building is rather different from the Persepolis Apadana: for a provincial quasi-palatial building that comes closer to aping Persepolitan manners one should look to the huge residence at Caucasian Karaçamirli.<sup>25</sup> But syntactically speaking it is not fundamentally eccentric – indeed rather the reverse. Even so, of course, we are left to speculate about what exactly having an entrance-way decorated in this fashion meant to the owner of the building emotionally, intellectually or politically in his interactions with those who came to visit.

The Cilician procession of offering figures might make one think of two other items: the small-scale friezes on the Nereid Monument (which faintly recall the Apadana tribute-bearers and the servant figures carrying animals and the like elsewhere at Persepolis) are not mentioned by Miller,<sup>26</sup> but the apparent remnants of a procession of Persian figures on an architraval frieze at

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<sup>23</sup> Held - Kaptan 2015.

<sup>24</sup> This fact is incidentally in line with the presence of very large numbers of soldiers across the walls of Persepolis, something that Summerer p. 56 rather understates.

<sup>25</sup> Knauss 2013; Tuplin 2021, 404 n. 4. «Of all the examples known today, Karaçamirli and associated sites are certainly the most eloquent and well-founded archaeological evidence of Achaemenid impact in the provinces of the empire» (Briant 2020. 28).

<sup>26</sup> See e.g. Nieswandt 1995.

the Ephesian Artemisium are (pp. 38-39). She introduces them in the context of dress choices in western Anatolia, perhaps meaning to suggest that the figures represent non-Persians in Persian clothing.<sup>27</sup> That may or may not be so, but it is worth underlining that, as one of them wears a buttoned court-dress shoe and the other a tied rider-dress shoe, we have alternating Persian and Median figures – something that recalls the Apadana frieze (again) and a similar one faintly evidenced at Susa.<sup>28</sup> Since the Ephesian frieze was apparently on an interior architrave, it was arguably not a very prominent feature of the building as whole. Placing such a thing on a building was (again) not syntactically eccentric, but it is a nice question what message is conveyed by including it as a relatively minor feature of the decoration. Different people might have answered the question differently – and some might have thought that the Persian presence (real or metaphorical) in Ephesus was being put in its place.

Different responses would also be likely to another monument briefly discussed by Miller, the rock tomb at Donalar in Paphlagonia – though this was something far fewer people will have seen than was the case for the Artemisium. Here, too, we do not (quite) have complete syntactic eccentricity. Bull-protomes are an entirely proper feature for Achaemenid column-tops, not least on a tomb facade. But bull-protomes that face outwards? That is certainly a design eccentricity. It is almost as though a local craftsman has been shown a drawing of a ‘proper’ column and misunderstood its orientation – more of an error than a piece

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<sup>27</sup> This is suggested by the fact that she then mentions Megabyzus the *neokoros* (Xen. *An.* 5.3.7) and takes him to be a case of a Greek who has a Persian name because of intermarriage. That does not perhaps, as stated, fully acknowledge the evidence for the name in use beyond the time of Xenophon’s acquaintance, but in any case the relation to the architrave frieze need be no more than tangential. Another procession monument that is not dealt with as such is Xanthos G, adduced as evidence for Persian equestrian practice.

<sup>28</sup> Louvre SB 14426 and 14427: <https://collections.louvre.fr/en/ark:/53355/cl010186896>; Curtis - Tallis 2005, 90, cat. n° 57-58.



of creative reception or something *intended* to have a particular effect, either celebratory or subversive, and so a different situation again from Labraunda, Meydancikkale and Ephesus.

The truth is that judging building choices in the context of cultural interaction is not an easy business. Another pair of tombs may serve as a final symbol of this. The Sardis Pyramid Tomb plainly evokes the tomb of Cyrus at Pasargadae, but reading the connection depends on which came first and that seems to remain undecided. Miller leans towards regarding the Pyramid Tomb as a Persian or Persianising construction in Lydia, but she is not sure enough to go on to make any comments about the nature of the creative interaction – except to the extent that allowing that it *might* be Persian (not just Persianising) implies a view about its closeness to the Persian canon. Not too much adaptive or creative reception here, it seems. Were it not so, of course, deciding the issue of priority would be a lot easier. And then there is Taş Kule, which Miller does not mention. On the one hand «[t]he tomb at Taş Kule near Phokaia is unique, and despite its vaunted ‘Persian’ nature is a local creation and expression», and on the other «[th]us despite its unique nature it seems to shout out Persian connections, a statement made all the more emphatic through its contrast to the determinedly Greek nature of the contemporary Klazomenian sarcophagi displayed nearby». The interesting thing about these two judgements is that they come from the same scholar and were published in adjacent years.<sup>29</sup> Despite the surface appearance, they are not, however, actually inconsistent and, taken together, they encapsulate rather clearly the degree to which Taş Kule both is and is not Persian: in a context concerned with actual Persian mortuary practice in Anatolia (the first quotation), the monument is peremptorily un-Persian; in a context more interested in acculturation (the second) it is equally peremptorily Persian («shouts out»). This chimes quite well with the

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<sup>29</sup> Dusinberre 2021, 97; Dusinberre 2020, 47.

thrust of Cahill's detailed study of the monument.<sup>30</sup> The tomb post-dates both the Pyramid Tomb and the Cyrus Tomb, its overall design is clearly in an interactive relationship with both of them, but it has detailed features (a fire bowl, a false door, cist burial) that do not point in a consistent cultural direction – as is so often the case in Achaemenid Anatolia. It is a local variation on a model represented by the Cyrus Tomb and Pyramid Tomb, a model that could in origin be Lydian (if the Pyramid Tomb came first) but might be Iranian (if the Cyrus Tomb came first) but either way is *sui generis*, as there are no plain Lydian or Iranian antecedents. The Taş Kule tomb surely affirms a connection with the Persian rulers of Anatolia but it does so in an exceptional way and one that feels overwhelmingly Anatolian. As ever, there is hybridity, but in this case I do not think that any heartland Iranian would have thought the monument subversive. He might, however, have thought it rather arrogant: what was a denizen of Phokaia doing assimilating himself to Cyrus the Great? And the complaint might only be slightly more muted if the tomb occupant was (as we cannot prove it was not) actually an Iranian.

Among the monuments Miller discusses are some rather more modest ones than the buildings of the last few paragraphs – images on funerary monuments that illustrate the social practices of riding, hunting and drinking and the clothing that goes with them. Oddly, however, she says nothing about the appearance of war-imagery on some of these same monuments. No doubt fighting is not a social practice in quite the same way as hunting or banqueting. But if the monuments are evidence of actual Persian or Persising behaviour, it seems odd not to wonder about the significance of the scenes of warfare, which are, after all, generic evocations of a type of lifetime activity just like banqueting and hunting scenes. Nonetheless, apart from the observation that war is a context in which Persian dress might be worn and a reference to the mounted warrior on Manisa 3389 (not strictly speaking a

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<sup>30</sup> Cahill 1988.

warfare scene: see below, p. 255), the topic is not broached. One way of resolving the unease that perhaps underlies the apparent inconsequence of Miller's position emerges from the chapter by Lâtife Summerer in which the relevant warfare material is addressed in some detail and the question of its coexistence with images of other pastimes is addressed.

Summerer is only looking at a subset of warfare iconography in Achaemenid era Anatolian monuments, but she *is* looking at a fairly full set of it for areas outside Caria and Lycia, the criterion being the clear presence on a funerary monument of an image of Persian victory, i.e. the presentation of a soldier (normally equestrian) who is judged Persian by virtue of dress, weaponry and equestrian practice or for other contextual reasons and who is in successful combat with an adversary who is not Persian in any of these ways. There is a great deal more warfare on the Mausoleum and on Lycian monuments (especially the Nereid Monument and the Trysa Heroon), but the Mausoleum is ill-preserved, while the fighters involved on the Nereid Monument and at Trysa almost always lack Persian features and, when they are present, do not present themselves within a clear example of the 'Persian victory' trope.<sup>31</sup> Banqueting and hunting appear across all of this material as well,<sup>32</sup> but they are a characteristic feature of Summerer's monuments, as are processions and *conversazione* scenes.

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<sup>31</sup> Fights involving Persians have been claimed in smaller monuments. (1) Limyra rock tomb (Necropolis IV) façade frieze (Zahle 1979, 343 no. 66): Borchhardt 1975, 41 (fig.20-23, esp. fig. 22) says that a bashlyk-wearing archer fights a heavy-armed soldier. The photograph is too poor to judge. (2) Tlos Izraza Monument B: Borchhardt - Neumann - Schülz 1976, 75-77 say that a trouser-wearing horseman falls backwards off his horse having been defeated by a foot-soldier who *may* wear trousers. This is by any reckoning an eccentric Persian victory (foot-soldier defeating cavalryman) and may not be one at all. Lycia produce the earliest Achaemenid era military scene, on the south side of a tomb monument at the Isinda (Summerer pp. 61-62), but it shows the aftermath of battle, with the victor in triumph over stacked corpses and live prisoners. Summerer suggests an analogy with Behistun, but it is not particularly close.

<sup>32</sup> On this iconography recently Poggio 2017; Baughan 2013, 233-266 (banquets); Poggio 2020 (hunting).

What we have in fact is a group of monuments combining images of war and peace. (In these terms the social practices Miller finds in the same material are confined to images of peace.)

In seeking to explain the conjunction, Summerer appeals to a tradition of symbolic iconography of war-and-peace starting with the Standard of Ur and visible in Assyrian reliefs – a tradition to which, for cultural variety and (at least indirect) Anatolian associations, one might perhaps add Homer’s Shield of Achilles – and takes a strong line against the idea that the scenes in her dataset represent real life. This is not just a matter of saying they are generic and do not reference particular historical battles.

Consequently, the battle imagery should be disassociated from tomb owner’s personal deeds and disconnected from the historical reality, since they are ideologically constructed images visualizing perpetual fights of the Persians against their arch enemies and rebels who threaten the empire’s existing world order and peaceful life. The image programmes generally provide no insights into real life in antiquity but, rather, visual presentations of an imagined ideal life with abundant consumer goods and defeated enemies (p. 80).

That is, the images sum up a world that is good because force exists to defeat enemies and in which hunting and banquets exist to be pleasant ways of passing one’s time. This is an ideal world but is a surrogate or metaphor for the real world, not a *post mortem* one. One consequence is that we do not *have* to imagine the tomb-owner doing any of the things that are depicted on his tomb. People certainly do fight, hunt and banquet, but it is of no consequence for the image who in particular they are: all that is of consequence is that the current dispensation is a benign one. One might compare the position of a Babylonian using a seal stone on which a distinctively Persian soldier defeats a distinctively Greek or Saka adversary: that is an ideological image of the force exerted at imperial boundaries that makes his life safe and the empire secure<sup>33</sup>

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<sup>33</sup> See Tuplin 2020c, 372–379. On the special significance of frontier Greeks and Scythians cf. Balati 2021.

– and very unlikely to be an image of his own lived experience. This way of thinking allows the historian interested in real world behaviour among the people who erected the Anatolian tombs more latitude to look at one part of the ideal world rather than another (because some bits might as a matter of fact be closer to the lived experience of the relevant population than others) and to that extent it justifies Miller’s selective treatment. And yet. Is the analogy with the Babylonian seal-owner entirely cogent? Does it make no difference that in the Anatolian material we are dealing with images on an individual’s gravestone? Does the recurrence of a suite of images on different funerary monuments depersonalise it enough to validate the analogy and justify Summerer’s abstracted reading?

Two things are clear. First, the idea that we have an icon-cycle that exists in its own right is favoured by (a) the variety of media (paint, relief sculpture), monument-type (tomb chamber, stelae) and locations (Hellespontine Phrygia, Phrygia, Lydia, Lycia) involved and (b) the prevalence of a particular way of representing the military component: 11 out of 13 items depict equestrian victory and do so using the same basic compositional trope. The sense that the artists had a pattern book is strong and it can also *mutatis mutandis* be felt with the non-military elements (p. 72). Second, if Summerer’s reading *is* correct, it presumably matters a lot (as it does on the combat seals) that the force exerted against threats to good order is a specifically Persian one. These Anatolian funerary images embody a significant statement about and *prima facie* in favour of the imperial dispensation.

Some further comments are in order.

1. Summerer lays stress on the fact that the military image is not of primary importance within the cycle. This is certainly true at Karaburun, Tatarlı and Çan, and it is an attractive thought that the blessings of peace have preferential treatment. The fact that this is less obviously so in other cases does not invalidate the point, since, in those cases, it also normally not obviously *not* so. The principal exception is the Payava sarcophagus. But

this differs in another significant fashion from the norm in that the principal representation of peace (equal in prominence to the military image) is the appearance of Lycian nobles before the Persian satrap Autophradates. This version of the underlying icon is strongly politicised – so much so that one can plausibly regard it as a deliberate variation that is intended to be read as such. The fact that one of the *conversazione* elements (normally part of the representation of peace) involves two Greek-style *soldiers* is another sign that the artist is playing with, and even in some sense, subverting the icon. Military force enables a political system, not (just) the enjoyment of peace and leisure, and, if this *is* a subversion of the model, it certainly looks like one favourable to the Achaemenid dispensation.

2. The existence of decorated register stelae from the Dascylium area that have banquet, procession, hunting and *conversazione* images but lack a military component is noteworthy. Summerer is inclined to see this as an accident of archaeological discovery, and the recent unearthing in the region of a different sort of funerary monument with a military scene is a reminder that the dataset is not closed. But the appearance of a new decorated register stela with a Persian victory scene would only underline the fact that there are many that do not. If defence of good order through military might is integral to the iconic scheme, these items are a challenge, especially as, broadly speaking, they come from the hinterland of a satrapal capital and an area where land-for-service cavalrymen had their estates. Perhaps we should read this local taste as another deliberate deviation from the iconographic norm: it is as though the benign Persian imperial dispensation is so secure that it is not necessary to spell out the need for it to be defended – an ironic proposition in view of events at and around Dascylium in the 390s.

3. One of the components of the icon is a particular type of procession, found at Tatarlı and Karaburun, as well as in some of the non-military items just mentioned. One view of these is that they are funeral processions. But would that really be an ap-

propriate contribution to an evocation of the benign environment of Persian imperial power? Summerer is evidently uneasy about this: although she has elsewhere argued that they *are* funerary processions, she would now like to read them as triumphal processions – without quite abandoning the other reading:

Likewise, other procession scenes involving men, women, civilians and soldiers, chariots and horses with heavy cargo may be seen in connection with war and in analogy with Assyrian reliefs as triumphal processions ..., *regardless of the question of whether or not they maintained this meaning or underwent semantic changes over time and the iconography was adopted to represent funerary convoys* [my italics] (p. 76).

I am not sure that one can have one's cake and eat it in this manner. Since it is primarily the Anatolian monuments that are the evidence that the procession trope represents a funeral, it seems rather difficult to say that we should nonetheless read it as representing a post-victory triumph. Summerer's overall interpretation does, I think, entail either abandoning the funeral procession reading altogether or finding a way of describing the 'peace' of the icon-cycle that makes it not inappropriate to depict a funeral – essentially a way that reduces the stress on pleasure. The presence of death in a world that is not at war is already encoded in the monuments themselves, since they are funerary. Perhaps that makes it easier to put the same idea into the iconography.

4. Turning, finally, to the content of the military images, there are some issues of identity that need to be confronted.

First, there is the fact that the single victim on the Çan sarcophagus looks exactly like the victor's single henchman. This is not something that occurs elsewhere (Payava's Greek-style mounted henchmen are sufficiently visually distinct from his Lyco-Greek infantry adversaries for there to be no problem), so perhaps it is a one-off iconographic error. It certainly seems odd not to make clear that the enemies who need to be defeated are distinct from the forces of good: that is, after all, what we find on combat seals.

Of course, if one allows that the military images, although entirely generic and quite abstracted from the identity of the tomb-owner, may nonetheless be informed by aspects of the real military world, one can see that the iconographic error might arise in an area where there was not necessarily a sharp ethno-cultural difference between (some) dissidents and (some) defenders. And, on reflection, it is surely conceivable that the artist was not in error at all but was making an interesting point about the imperial environment by varying the basic iconic pattern in this way – another case of deliberate (if slightly provocative) visual intertextuality.<sup>34</sup> Pierre Briant has reminded us that we cannot be sure that the occupant of the Çan sarcophagus was not «a distinguished member of the Persian diaspora of the Daskyleion region»,<sup>35</sup> and it is worth noting that the element of provocation just mooted would not prove otherwise. Indeed a Persian might be as conscious as anyone of the worrying feeling that on a distant imperial frontier you cannot always tell friends and enemies apart.<sup>36</sup>

Second, and coming closer to the heart of the matter: how Persian are the Persian victors? Bözüyük 2 (arguably) and 4 (certainly) have no obviously Persian figures at all. These are relatively crude items, so we might put it down to artistic inadequacy or carelessness. But there are other cases where this is certainly not so.

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<sup>34</sup> In combat seals the enemy almost always clearly belongs at a distant frontier: see pp. 250-251. The Greeks who represent the western frontier are consistently figured as hoplites in glyptic items, both in infantry and equestrian scenes. On funerary monuments made at or near the western frontier this is slightly less consistently so, but the similarity between the adversary and the victor's henchman on the Çan sarcophagus produces a very visible and striking deviation. In such a well-made monument, it is a bit difficult to see this as inadvertence.

<sup>35</sup> Briant 2020, 20.

<sup>36</sup> The fact that iconographic subversion need not be the reserve of non-Persians means one cannot rule out the possibility that syntactically eccentric precious metal vessels (p. 243) were made for Persians.



Two victors are at best partially Persian. The Yalnızdam warrior has a long-sleeved upper garment and untied bashlyk-like headdress but his dress is otherwise apparently non-Persian and he wears a Greek cuirass. Payava may have a sleeved upper garment and he certainly uses *parameridia*, something associated with Persian horsemen, but his badly-preserved head-dress is not obviously bashlyk-like and he wears a Greek cuirass.<sup>37</sup> Both could be seen as Hellenising equivalents of what we find on the Çan sarcophagus, and in the case of Payava the Hellenising effect is increased by his being the leader of a set of entirely Greek horsemen – though it is also mitigated by the scene’s pairing with an image of peace that accentuates Persian political power (p. 252). In any case, it is clear that ideologically and iconographically significant Persian victory can be won by semi-Persians. Which, if not (according to Summerer) a fact about the tomb-owner, is still presumably a fact about the Persian military infrastructure – indeed a fact that is underlined by its inclusion in an ideologically significant image: there is certainly some assertion of Anatolian identity involved here.

And this goes further, because in two other cases the victor is apparently not Persian at all. At Manisa 3389 we have an entirely un-Persian rider (on an admittedly Persising horse: saddle-cloth and Persepolitan nose-contour) who is not actually shown in combat at all. The assumption that human combat, not hunting, is implied is based on the fact that the rider is a military figure, but, if so, this simply accentuates the fact that he is an entirely Greek one.<sup>38</sup> At Tosya the victor wears a pointed headdress and carries a large shield. In other circumstances one might associate the head-gear with a *Saka tigraxauda*, but the shield would be out-of-place

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<sup>37</sup> The rider figure in the small battle scene on the ridge of the sarcophagus lid is probably meant to be using *parameridia* but his clothing is not Persian.

<sup>38</sup> The horizontal position of the rider’s spear is not particularly suitable for a composition resembling other ECS items in which the cavalryman is confronted by an infantryman close at hand (either standing or falling / fallen) and aims a weapon down towards him.

and it is more likely that a pointed *pilos*-style helmet is intended (if oddly represented). Meanwhile, the victim is arguably wearing a bashlyk and is thus not clearly marked as a non-Persian enemy of the Persian order.

In both monuments the claim that the victors should be seen as Persian is based on the presence of an uncontroversially Persian figure elsewhere on the monument. But neither case is quite straightforward. On Manisa 3389 the Persian figure is a hunter – but a decidedly non-canonical one, as he is hunting a bird on foot with a bow, not a boar or cervid on horseback with a spear. There is no particular point of contact between the figures save that they (and they alone: this is a truncated cycle) are on a single stela, and the whole monument is an extremely deviant derivative of the basic model. At Tosya the Persian figure leans inactively on a staff. That is unparalleled in the dataset and another unusual feature is the presence on the monument of a child with a goose.<sup>39</sup> Summerer infers that the figures are part of a life-cycle picture<sup>40</sup> – something that, it is suggested, confirms that the principal figures of each scene (child, rider, fighter, single Persian) are all the same person. This is potentially a dangerous move, since depicting a life-cycle on an individual's funerary monument might well invite the inference that the 'same figure' is the tomb-owner, which is what Summerer does not wish to believe. But the putative life-cycle may simply be a special case of the generalised benign environment that we are invited to see on all of these monuments. The fact remains that both here and at Mani-

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<sup>39</sup> As Summerer notes, both features have a resonance on Athenian grave-stones, a fact that might, but probably does not necessarily, compromise or problematise the monument's membership of the category under discussion: an artist who is in any event inventive might import individual images from anywhere – another example of creative interaction.

<sup>40</sup> «... from childhood to pleasure-seeking idler and to cavalry soldier, eventually killing his adversary by a spear-thrust in battle» (p. 68). This is not strictly accurate: he is *not* shown as a cavalry soldier: the rider is unarmed, has no Persian features except that he sits on a saddle-cloth, and appears to be riding side-saddle.

sa the benign environment can have a Persian colour (in the shape of a hunter or an inactive standing man) but the establishment or preservation of this environment is not visually dependent on *Persian* victory. Defence of the good order that makes peace (and perhaps long life, for the Tosya man does not look young) possible can apparently be carried out by anyone. This too may reflect a military reality (it was a world of mercenaries and local military levies), but variation of the putative underlying model to show this may nonetheless be seen as deliberate and even subversive. The Tosya artist's depiction of the defeated adversary as slightly larger than the victor and potentially 'Persian' in appearance and his choice of a non-equestrian and very unusual composition (in which the victor rather unheroically stabs his adversary in the back) are clear signs that he was messing with the pattern book; and one possible reaction to Manisa 3389 is that the artist or his employer wanted to avoid explicit display of a Persian figure defeating what might be taken to be an Anatolian opponent: incomplete or aberrant depiction of Persian victory might be a way of protesting about it – or at any event, to put it less confrontationally, insisting that Anatolians can defend their own space.

If one can legitimately detach the images from their presence on the funerary monuments of actual individuals, Summerer's way of reading her material is rather tempting. But it is important to celebrate the diversity as well as the uniformity of the images and to underline their encoding of a view of Persian power that allowed room for its pluralism. These are significant results which, among other things, reinforce the inventive agency of the Anatolians who created the material and say something about an Anatolian view of the Achaemenid dispensation. That remains true, of course, however far one is prepared to go in refining Summerer's argument by discerning elements of subversion.<sup>41</sup>

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<sup>41</sup> The suggestions made here may be read against the background of Dusinberre's detection of elements of elite resistance to the empire or at least of a desire to keep it at arm's length: Dusinberre 2016.

Is what we are dealing with here, in some sense, a distinctively Anatolian view or, at least, a distinctively Anatolian representation? Summerer declines to enter into «the stagnant debate whether the iconography of Persian military victory was shaped at the Achaemenid court or in the westernmost edge of the empire by local rulers» (p. 57). Yet it is rather pertinent to the volume's theme (especially as Summerer herself moots its influence on Athenian funerary monuments),<sup>42</sup> and, among the volume's other authors, Pulvirenti firmly declares that the equestrian fight icon developed in the western satrapies (p. 127).

In the existing archaeological record, Summerer's 'Persian victory' battle scenes are a distinctively Anatolian thing. The nearest other category of material is provided by images of human combat on seal stones and bullae.<sup>43</sup> It is natural to compare them, and Summerer duly refers to this glyptic repertoire from time to time. To pursue the matter further in our current Anatolian context one might in the first instance compare her monuments with iconographically relevant seals and bullae that also derive or are reported to derive from Anatolian sites.<sup>44</sup> There are twelve such items (18% of the combat seal corpus),<sup>45</sup> a smallish set (though similar in size to Summerer's) and as it stands a fairly non-homo-

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<sup>42</sup> Summerer p. 68: «Scholarship wondered about the shift of the warrior's iconography in Attic funerary art for the commemoration of soldiers killed in battle from inactive standing soldier to killing cavalryman and explained this on the basis of ideological alterations. The question of whether this change could have been derived from the pictural models from Achaemenid Anatolia where 'horseman killing his fallen adversary' occurred several decades earlier in Karaburun, has never been raised».

<sup>43</sup> On these see Tuplin 2020c. In what follows numerals in **bold** typeface refer to catalogue numbers in that publication. I also use the abbreviations ECS = equestrian combat scenes and ICS = infantry combat scenes.

<sup>44</sup> I am, of course, aware that reported provenances can be unreliable and that, as we are dealing with portable gemstones or the *bullae* they make, their significance might be debated. What follows may indeed indicate as much. But that too is a useful result of what is really just a thought experiment.

<sup>45</sup> Gems (infantry): **28** (Apollonia Salbace). Gems (equestrian): **43** ('Asia Minor'), **47** (Ephesus), **61b** (Trysa). Bullae (infantry): **39** (Seyitömer Höyük),

geneous one, since it varies in date,<sup>46</sup> material,<sup>47</sup> bulla type,<sup>48</sup> seal shape,<sup>49</sup> and style.<sup>50</sup> Only in subject matter, on the other hand, is there rather less variety: there is, of course, the difference between equestrian and infantry scenes, but within each category we find a degree of similarity, and two of the equestrian items (**42** and **43**) are very much alike, though **43** is a less good piece of work.<sup>51</sup>

The split between infantry and equestrian scenes is much more even in the Anatolian-provenance seals/bullae (5:7) than in Summerer's material (2:11). The one purely infantry item in Summerer (Tosya) is very idiosyncratic (the attacker comes from behind the victim) and unlike anything on the Anatolian-provenanced seals repertoire. Even on a reading of **39** in which the right hand archer is the defeated figure's enemy, there is no significant similarity to Tosya.<sup>52</sup> Meanwhile at Tatarlı the overall complexity of composition (mixing infantry, chariots and cavalry with a total of 21 figures) is unlike anything that glyptic can manage. The best one can say is that the grab-and-stab trope in the central infantry confrontation

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**63** and **64** (Dascylium). Bullae (equestrian): **42**, **46**, **48** and **63** (all Dascylium). Vase impression: **10** (Porsuk).

<sup>46</sup> Certainly mid 5<sup>th</sup> century to late Achaemenid, and perhaps early 5<sup>th</sup> century to Hellenistic (depending on the dating of **28** at the top of the range and **47** at the bottom).

<sup>47</sup> Banded agate *or* onyx (**28**), jasper (**47**), blue chalcedony (**43**, **61b**).

<sup>48</sup> Two-sided non-documentary tag: **39**. One-sided tag tied to parchment (**48**) or papyrus (**63**, **65**, **91**). Vase impression: **10**.

<sup>49</sup> Cylinder: **39**, perhaps **34**, **46**. Stamp (tabloid or prism): **48**. Scaraboid: **28**, **43**, **47**, **61b**, **63**. Unidentified: **29**, **42**.

<sup>50</sup> Greek: **28**, **61b**. Western Achaemenid *koine*: **39**. Five different types of Persianising: **29**, **34**, **42**, **46**, **48**, **63**. (The stylistic distinctions are not easy to assess independently here.) Mixed (Bolsena Group): **43**. Bern Group: **47**.

<sup>51</sup> Kaptan 2002, 1.152. Another Dascylium bulla (**48**) is compositionally very similar to two items of non-Anatolian provenance, viz. **50** (from Italy: «exact compositional counterpart»: Kaptan 2002, 1.149), and **49** (no provenance). All three are on tabloids.

<sup>52</sup> For attack from the rear one may note New York MMA 1999.325.109, an item that only recently came to my attention (from [achemenet.com](http://achemenet.com)) and still requires proper evaluation.

has a distant connection with **10** and (more remotely) **29**.<sup>53</sup> In any event, however, it is important to stress there is also nothing much in Non-Anatolian glyptic ICS to mitigate the mismatch between seals/bullae and funerary monuments. It is not that the Summerer infantry material belongs better with non-Anatolian ICS. It is simply *sui generis*. Now it is true that some of the Anatolian ICS items *are* also quite distinctive within the ICS repertoire: stylistically and iconographically **28** looks quite unlike anything in the repertoire, even if the basic subject is not unparalleled,<sup>54</sup> **34** is a singleton in showing a Persian armed only with bow, and **39** is a unique composition, at least on my view of how the scene should be read.<sup>55</sup> So this tendency to the *sui generis* might be touted as an Anatolian characteristic. But the glyptic ICS repertoire as a whole is arguably less homogeneous than the ECS one anyway, so the validity of this judgement is debatable.

Summerer's equestrian items also include two that are *sui generis*. (a) Manisa 3389 has no visible combat scene and, as we have seen, is decidedly non-canonical. (b) The Yeniceköy monument has three riders and no displayed adversaries. It is implicitly a combat scene (there are dead bodies) and the *parameridia* give the scene a Persian flavour (though the conical headgear does not): but no glyptic scene involves *three* victorious Persian riders and that feature is out of kilter with the essential character of the Persian victory scene as expounded by Summerer.<sup>56</sup> This leaves nine equestrian items in Summerer's set that are clearly similar in general terms to the glyptic repertoire and can therefore be compared in some detail.<sup>57</sup>

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<sup>53</sup> There are as good or better comparisons elsewhere in the ICS corpus, e.g. **8**, **16**.

<sup>54</sup> This item deserves much fuller discussion than it received in Tuplin 2020c. A colleague and I hope to publish such a discussion in due course.

<sup>55</sup> Tuplin 2020c, 420-421.

<sup>56</sup> Multiple riders appear as supporters to Payava, but that is another matter.

<sup>57</sup> The remarks that follow are based on an investigation the details of which cannot be rehearsed here. The types of element in question will be clear from the following notes.

Is there any sense in which there is a shared Anatolian character in the images across these two sets of material? Are there features in the two sets that are not found in material of otherwise similar sort that lacks an Anatolian (or any) provenance? There are certainly things *absent* from the entire glyptic ECS set that are found in Summerer's material,<sup>58</sup> things absent in Summerer that appear in both Anatolian and non-Anatolian ECS,<sup>59</sup> and things present in Summerer and non-Anatolian items but absent in Anatolian ones<sup>60</sup> – all of which situations make for a *disjunction* between Summerer and specifically Anatolian-provenanced items. Whether these cases are in themselves particularly significant is, however, rather doubtful. At the same time one can hardly say that there are significant things shared just by Summerer and Anatolian ECS: just three points show up with a positive conjunction of this sort.<sup>61</sup> The norm is that features are found across Summerer, Anatolian and non-Anatolian ECS.<sup>62</sup>

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<sup>58</sup> Main scene conjoined with another distinct military scene (Bözüyük 1, Karaburun), victor has henchmen (Payava, Çan, Bözüyük 2, Karaburun), multiple infantry adversaries (Manisa 622, Payava), kneeling infantry adversary (Manisa 6226), sitting infantry adversary (Dascylium), victor lacks headgear (Karaburun, Bözüyük 2, Bözüyük 4), victor apparently has a frilly garment under his cuirass (Payava, Çan). Light-armed infantry appear on Bözüyük 1, Bözüyük 2, Payava, Çan, Karaburun. It is possible that they are intended on **47, 54, 55**, but these are Bern group items and hard to interpret, and the figures might well be intended as hoplites (which is the norm in the ECS repertoire).

<sup>59</sup> Equestrian adversaries (**42, 43, 44, 62**), victor's horse in flying gallop (**43, 45, 48, 50, 51, 63**), victor has a gorytus (**53, 59<sup>2</sup>, 61b**), victor wears flat-topped bashlyk (**43, 56, 57, 59, 62**).

<sup>60</sup> Indication of terrain (Manisa 6226, Bözüyük 1, Çan; **58, 60**), victor has *akinakes* (Çan; **62**).

<sup>61</sup> Victor has pointed headgear (**50, 55**) or (apparently) a helmet with vizor (**51**) or a Greek-looking cuirass with *pteryges* (Yalnızdam, Payava; **48**).

<sup>62</sup> Victor's horse rearing with front feet raised high (Payava, Yanızdam, Bözüyük 1, Bözüyük 4, Manisa 6226, Dascylium; **44, 49, 53, 58, 59, 60, 61, 61b, 62**) or with front feet only slightly raised (Karaburun, Bözüyük 2; **46, 52, 55, 57**), presence of body under horse (Manisa 6226, Bözüyük 1, <sup>2</sup>Bözüyük 2, Karaburun, Dascylium; **45, 46, 47, 63**), hoplite adversary (Manisa 6226, Yalnızdam, Payava, Karaburun; **43, 44, 45, 48, 51, 53, 58, 60, 61b, 63**; and

This is a reverse analogue to the case of ICS items, where the distinctive features of Summerer's items are indifferently unparalleled in Anatolian-provenanced, non-Anatolian-provenanced and unprovenanced material. By these tests there seems to be nothing distinctively Anatolian about Summerer's material.

But there is something more to be said. The facts that (i) so many ECS items of whatever provenance (including none) are judged to be Greek in style or to belong to the Bolsena group or to be related to that group, (ii) both of these style groups are plausibly of Anatolian manufacture, (iii) the stylistically eccentric Bern group, to which most other ECS item (of whatever provenance or none) are assigned, hardly looks to be of eastern origin, and (iv) ICS items of whatever provenance (including none), though occasionally Greek<sup>63</sup> or Western Anatolian koine in style,<sup>64</sup> are by-and-large stylistically quite distinct (either various Persepolitan styles or versions of Court Style) may give one pause. From this perspective it does not feel accidental that non-equestrian combat scenes are almost unrepresented in Summerer's set and, when present, have little contact with the combat seal repertoire.

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perhaps 47, 54, 55: see n. 58), standing infantry adversary (Manisa 6226, Bözüyük 1, Bözüyük 2, Bözüyük 4, Payava, Dascylium; 47, 48 and *passim* in other ECS), fallen adversary (Yalnızdam, Payava, Karaburun, Çan; 53, 61, 61b), naked infantry adversaries (Manisa 6226, Yalnızdam, Payava, Dascylium; 47, 51, 58, 60, 61b), use of saddle-cloth (Çan, Karaburun, ?Yalnızdam; 43, 44, 45, 48, 49, 50, 51, 53, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62), use of *parameridia* (Karaburun, Payava; at least some of 43, 44, 45, 49, 50, 57, 60) horse's tail is tied (Bözüyük 1, Çan; 44, 46, 47?, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 58, 62, ?63), horse has the rounded nose profile of Persepolitan horses (Dascylium, Bözüyük 1, Çan; 43, 45, 49, 50, 51, 57, 60 – in some cases rather slight), the horse's mane is decorated (Yalnızdam, Payava, Karaburun; 44, 61b), victor wears a bashlyk (Yalnızdam; 48, 53, 54, 57, 58, 61b) or close-fitting helmet (Çan; 44, 45, 49, 60), victor with cloak (Bözüyük 1, Yalnızdam, Payava; ?58, 62, 63), victor has no body armour (Karaburun, Bözüyük 1, Bözüyük 2, Bözüyük 4; ?53, 58, 61b) or Persian style cuirass (Çan; 43, 44, 45, 46, 49, 57, 60 – mostly with *pteryges*).

<sup>63</sup> 30, 33 (the same category as Anatolian 29).

<sup>64</sup> 18, 19 (the same category as Anatolian 39).



Some 30 combat seals (45% of the corpus) have reported provenances that are not Anatolian, mostly in Mesopotamia or Iran. But only 7 of these 30 are equestrian, whereas 5 of our 12 Anatolian items are in that category. So equestrian scenes are proportionately more common among Anatolian-provenanced items. Proximately the situation is due to the almost total absence of equestrian combat among the substantial set of *bullae* (17 items) from Nippur and Persepolis. On this showing, although individual ECS gems are provenanced from Italy and the East Mediterranean to Bactria, there were areas where they were not a popular choice. That is in line with the preponderance of equestrian items in Summerer's set; and, in these terms, it might be feasible to claim that the equestrian scenes were an Anatolian taste. There are certainly no Persepolitan *bullae* with equestrian fighting except **64**, which bears no resemblance whatsoever to the Summerer items or to any of the other glyptic ones except the equally unusual and stylistically different **65**. The Summerer equestrian combat scene can certainly be disjoined from the heartland and it seems reasonable to assign not only a taste for it but also its origin to Anatolia. But what is reasonable is not always true, and this result (and the means of securing it) may do no more than stir the stagnant pool to which Summerer implicitly alludes and release some dubious odours.<sup>65</sup>

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<sup>65</sup> A fuller discussion of the topic would consider the other components of Summerer's icon-cycle. I shall not go there, save to remark that hunting certainly occurs on seal stones, as do various things that could be regarded as abbreviated *conversazione* scenes. Banquets and processions are trickier. Banquets may be implied by images of *rhyta* (Boardman 1970, pl. 894; Legrain 1925, no. 832) or of a figure seated by a table and approached by servant (PFS 535\*, PFS 1360, Boardman 1998 fig. 3, Boardman 2000, pl. 5.8), though in the latter scene-type the purely secular nature of the banquet is open to debate. A similar question arises with any processions that may be implied by three chariot items (Kaptan 2002, 2.88-90, nos. 66-67; Dusinberre 2005, no. 39; Collon 1987, 735), while description of the image of a Persian and a Greek soldier on ANE 141641 (Eisen 1940, no. 103) as a procession of alternating Persian and Greek infantrymen is optimistic. There is in any case nothing here reminiscent of the processions in Summerer's material.

Which would be a poor recompense both for her chapter and the other chapters in this book. It is not a large book, makes no claims to be exhaustive, and leaves plenty of potentially relevant topics and cultural products unbroached and uninvestigated. But it is full of material that exemplifies and invites further thought about the complex and multivalent cultural phenomena of Achaemenid Anatolia, recovers Anatolian agency and advances the project of writing properly Anatolian history.

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