

ANABASIS

Studia Classica et Orientalia

2 (2011)

Department of Ancient History and Oriental Studies
University of Rzeszów



WYDAWNICTWO
UNIwersYTETU RZESZOWSKIEGO
RZESZÓW 2011

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Book layout and cover designed by
M.J. Olbrycht

with the support of L. and D. Olbrycht

Typesetting: Andrzej Lewandowski

The Editor would like to acknowledge the financial support of the Vice-Rector for Research and International Affairs of Rzeszów University,
and of the Head of the Institute of History of Rzeszów University

ISSN 2082-8993

761

WYDAWNICTWO UNIWERSYTETU RZESZOWSKIEGO
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wydanie I; format B5; ark. wyd. 21,85; ark. druk. 20,5; zlec. red. 2/2012
DRUK I OPRAWA: DRUKARNIA UNIWERSYTETU RZESZOWSKIEGO



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DEIOCES THE MEDE - RHETORIC AND REALITY IN HERODOTUS 1.99

Keywords: Herodotus, Deioces, Media, Achaemenid Court Ceremony

Introduction

Δηϊόκης πρῶτός ἐστι ὁ καταστησάμενος, μήτε ἐσιέναι παρὰ βασιλέα μηδένα, δι' ἀγγέλων δὲ πάντα χρᾶσθαι, ὁρᾶσθαι τε βασιλέα ὑπὸ μηδενός, πρὸς τε τούτοισι ἔτι γελᾶν τε καὶ ἀντίον πτύειν καὶ ἅπασι εἶναι τοῦτο γε αἰσχρὸν (Hdt. 1.99.1).

In Herodotus' account of Deioces' dispositions after acquiring power, there is an oddity that has hitherto escaped attention, though it will repay a closer examination. According to the historian, *no-one* was allowed into the king's presence; *all* business was to be conducted via messengers; *no-one* was to see the king; and even laughing and spitting in his presence was unacceptable. On the face of it, this passage is contradictory and incoherent: if *no-one* was allowed into the king's presence, the further ban on spitting and laughing in that presence is pointless, quite apart from the further complication of the role of messengers, which must have involved *someone* entering the king's presence. But the apparent inconsistency may actually emerge as deliberate and purposeful, once interpreted as an example of a rhetorical or stylistic device to which several scholars have drawn attention.¹

¹ Especially Macleod 1982, 129 on *Il.* 24.498, to whom the cited paraphrase of Thuc. 1.97.2 is owed, and Rood 1998, 230, n.16. The latter refers to Lattimore 1958, 11–12, which discusses

By this device, an author makes an exaggerated or hyperbolic statement and then ‘corrects’ or modifies or qualifies his own exaggeration, without cancelling or withdrawing it. Perhaps the clearest instance is Thucydides 1.97.2, paraphrased by one scholar as “everyone before me omitted this period... and the one man who did handle it, Hellanicus, did so cursorily and inaccurately”. By resorting to this device, Thucydides conveys the devastating verdict that Hellanicus’ account was so inadequate that, to all intents and purposes, it might as well not exist. It will aid clarity of presentation if we next turn to classifying more carefully than has hitherto been done the examples of this device that earlier scholars have amassed. These examples can be laid out under three headings.

Statement followed by immediate Qualification

Of this the simplest and most basic instance is πάντας ἔπεφν’, ἕνα δ’ οἶον ἴει οἴκονδε νέεσθαι (*Il.* 4.397) where the correction is so immediate that it hardly registers as such, any more than in the English phrase ‘all but one’. Almost as simple is the instance in Priam’s instructions οἶον. μηδέ τις ἄλλος ἅμα Τρώων ἴτω ἀνήρ/κῆρῦξ τίς οἱ ἔποιτο γεραίτερος (*Il.* 24.149–150). Note the absence of any connective (let alone adversative) particle to introduce the ‘correction’. From the famous first *stasimon* of Sophocles’ *Antigone*, note ἄπορος ἐπ’ οὐδέν ἔρχεται τὸ μέλλον· / Ἴαῖδα μόνον φεῦξιν οὐκ ἐπάξεται (360–361). Again one observes the absence of connective particle. From Herodotus there is, at its most simple, ἐποιέετο στρατηίην ὁ Ἀρισταγόρης ἐς Σάρδις. αὐτὸς μὲν δὴ οὐκ ἐστρατεύετο ἀλλ’ ἐν Μιλήτῳ ἔμενε, στρατηγοὺς δὲ ἄλλους ἀπέδεξε (5.99.1–2). Almost as simple is ἐν δὲ πλείστον ἔθνος Πέρσας αἰρέετο, ἄνδρας στρεπτοφόρους τε καὶ ψελιοφόρους, ἐπὶ δὲ Μήδους. οὗτοι δὲ πλῆθος μὲν οὐκ ἐλάσσονες ἦσαν τῶν Περσέων, ῥώμη δὲ ἥσσονες (*Hdt.* 8.113.3). Slightly more complex is *Hdt.* 4.188: θύουσι δὲ ἠλίῳ καὶ σελήνῃ μούνοισι· τούτοισι μὲν νυν πάντες Λίβυες θύουσι, ἀτὰρ οἱ περὶ τὴν Τριτωνίδα λίμνην νέμοντες τῇ Ἀθηναίῃ μάλιστα, μετὰ δὲ τῷ Τρίτωνι καὶ τῷ Ποσειδέωνι. In view of the discussion below concerning the origin of this rhetorical device, it is interesting to read what Denniston has to say involving backward reference and a repeated word, and relating to continuous speech: “the speaker objects to his own words, virtually carrying on a dialogue with himself”.²

what he calls ‘the progressive style’. He exemplified this from the three passages of Herodotus from Books 4, 5 and 8 considered below and went on to cite some less clear-cut instances, e.g. 1.18: ‘[Sidyattes] was at war for 11 years.... Sidyattes was ruler for 6 of the 11 years and in the final 5 Alyattes was ruler’, where it is not perfectly clear who is the subject of the initial verb.

² Cf. Denniston 1954, 478 and also 479 on “corrective μέν οὖν”.

Statement followed by Qualification at a greater Distance

Two speeches by Priam from *Iliad* 24 may introduce this class: 255ff. (addressed to his surviving and degenerate sons): τέκον υἱας ἀρίστους ... τῶν δ' οὐ τίνα φημι λελεῖφθαι ... τοὺς μὲν ἀπώλεσ' Ἄρης, τὰ δ' ἐλέγχεα πάντα λέλειπται (a rhetorical way of saying “I have no sons”) and the similarly structured 494–499 (addressed to Achilles): τῶν δ' οὐ τίνα φημι λελεῖφθαι ... τῶν μὲν πολλῶν θοῦρος Ἄρης ὑπὸ γούνατ' ἔλυσεν· ὃς δέ μοι οἶος ἔην, εἴρυτο δὲ ἄστῃ καὶ αὐτοῦς; *Od.* 12. 66–72 (Circe to Odysseus): “no ship yet has sailed through the Planctae ... only the Argo, thanks to Hera’s help” (which is thus emphasized); Xenophon *Anab.* 7.4.6–7: “Seuthes killed *all* the men he captured ... a handsome young prisoner was spared on the point of being killed”; Diodorus’ “styptic earth” (5.10.2) “is found nowhere else in the world except the city of the Liparians ... it is found also on the island of Melos, but the deposit there is small” (so the generalization is virtually true). Somewhat more allusive is Thuc. 5.25.1: τοῖς μὲν δεξαμένοις αὐτὰς (scil. σπονδάς) εἰρήνην ἦν.

“Not ... and if he/who actually did ...”

Finally, a smaller class, to which belongs the Thucydidean instance with which we began: τοῖς πρὸ ἐμοῦ ἅπασιν ἐκλιπὲς τοῦτο ἦν τὸ χωρίον ... τούτων δὲ ὅσπερ καὶ ἦψατο ... Ἑλλάνικος, βραχέως τε καὶ τοῖς χρόνοις οὐκ ἀκριβῶς ἐπεμνήσθη (1.97.2). Formally similar are Thuc. 6.24.3–4 (on the Athenian enthusiasm for the Sicilian Expedition): ἔρωσ ἐνέπεσε τοῖς πᾶσιν ὁμοίως ... εἴ τῳ ἄρα καὶ μὴ ἦρεσκε and 8.66.2 ἀντέλεγέ τε οὐδεὶς ἔτι τῶν ἄλλων ... εἰ δὲ τις καὶ ἀντίποι of which it has been observed³ that “the whole point is that those few human counter-examples were not around for very long, so that the word ‘nobody’ was right after all”; Ctesias (*FGrHist* 688 F68): ἰατρὸς οὐδεὶς ἐδίδου ἐλλέβορον, ... εἰ δὲ τις καὶ ἐδίδου ...

We have by now established that Herodotus certainly used the stylistic device in question. Does Hdt. 1.99 fit any of the above categories? The answer is that it fits neatly in the first. The passage’s initial exaggeration is very marked, with negative and positive aspects placed chiastically: μηδένα ... πάντα ... μηδένα. The following phrase πρὸς τε τούτοις ἔτι leads one to expect a climactic topping of the hyperbole, and this expectation lends an appropriate air of paradox to what follows, with the apparently banal everyday actions of spitting or laughter elevated to the status of high offences (observe the effect of the particle in the closing words of the sentence: τοῦτό γε αἰσχρόν – “even this is [treated

³ Cf. Hornblower 2008, 43.

as] foul”⁴. But when seen as a whole, the passage falls into the same pattern as the others considered above. To bring out the points of resemblance, we might paraphrase: “no-one was allowed into the king’s presence except for the few messengers; no-one was to set eyes on the king and those few who were allowed must not spit or laugh”. Appropriately enough, the closest parallel is the somewhat more compressed passage cited above from Herodotus’ friend and kindred spirit Sophocles (*Antigone* 360f.): ἄπορος ἐπ’ οὐδὲν ἔρχεται τὸ μέλλον· Ἄϊδα μόνον φεῦξιν οὐκ ἐπάξεται.

Richmond Lattimore discussed virtually the same technique, which allowed “the presence of contradictions left standing in the text”,⁵ in connection with Solon 13 W, and detected a similar process in some of the *epinicia* of Pindar. He also found a large scale instance in Herodotus Book One, where our author, like Solon and Pindar, allows a contradiction to stand or rather, “the correction is made without advertisement during the development of the narrative”.⁶ The reference is to Herodotus’ claim that Croesus was the first eastern potentate to harm the Greeks: the narrative which follows makes it clear that Gyges and his successors had similarly injured the Greeks before Croesus came on the scene. Lattimore envisaged the historian, like Solon and Pindar, as composing literature “written *forward*, as if the writer were speaking rather than writing ... but must, driven forward, negate the content by some further statement which will express the truth as he now understands it”. In a later article he made pretty much the same point: “the writer ... thinks of himself as a speaker who, when he has contradicted himself ... cannot go back to correct... but must make the correction as he goes forward”.⁷ The coincidence of this general picture with the inference drawn above from the parallels to the particles in Hdt. 4.188 (as if “a speaker is carrying on a dialogue with himself”) is surely very striking.

It is impossible not to see the relevance to all this of the tradition that Herodotus originally recited his Histories publicly in Athens and elsewhere. Also relevant is Lattimore’s perception that Herodotus represents a transitional stage between orality and literacy.⁸ Macleod’s discussion of the phenomenon stated that “it is one form of the parataxis typical of Homer, but is not confined to oral

⁴ Cf. Denniston 1954, 116.

⁵ Lattimore 1947, 171. Lattimore 1958, 10–11 returned to the issue of Croesus’ supposed priority.

⁶ Lattimore 1947, 172–173.

⁷ Lattimore 1958, 9. Hornblower 2008, 947 is unhappy about the potential implications of the expression taken literally, since ‘Th[ucydides] did not start either sentence in a too-sweeping way and then say to himself “oh, that’s not quite right”, and then qualify it’. Certainly the *effect* is more sophisticated, but the *fiction* of a change in direction of the thought expressed is allowable.

⁸ See especially Lattimore 1958, 11–12, approved by Fehling 1971, 175; 1989, 250–251 discussing Herodotus as “a transitional stage between orality and literacy”.

poetry”,⁹ and we should recall that parataxis has been seen as a particular feature of Herodotean style.¹⁰

His language (especially the phrase “cannot go back”) reveals that even so sensitive a critic as Lattimore, who did more than anyone to illuminate this aspect of Herodotean technique, could not quite rid himself of the lurking assumption that the author is the victim rather than the master of his technique, someone who has to press forward rather than returning to correct because he has no choice. It is indicative that he declines to interpret Pindar’s use of a similar technique as “deliberate artifice”.

But even in a written text it would be rhetorically very effective to begin with an attention-grabbing exaggeration and then water it down by modification. Original oral delivery¹¹ could have given Herodotus the opportunity for the presence of “correcting in his stride”.

What was the precise function of Herodotus’ exaggeration? It probably serves the purpose of highlighting the alleged inaccessibility of the Median king, who was portrayed as a forerunner of the Persian king and his court etiquette.¹² Thus, the carefully constructed figure of Deioces, a blend of common Greek ideas on tyrants and oriental rulers is presented as the *protos heurtes* of Median court ceremony as a political self-fashioning of the Median king.¹³ To keep his distance from his former aristocratic equals, he begins to develop certain strategies to show that he was a special and lofty person.¹⁴ To Greek eyes, an important element of the Persian court ceremony elevating the great king was precisely this loftiness and inaccessibility (Xen. *Cyr.* 7.5.37, 41) which marked his autocratic position, but was also regarded as a sign of tyranny. The practice of ceremonial receiving in particular was taken to be a demonstration of the king’s will

⁹ Macleod 1982, 129.

¹⁰ Cf. Immerwahr 1966, 47ff. (contested by Bakker 2006). For a more technical treatment see the dissertation of Lamberts 1970. For a brief but helpful introduction to the issue see Dewald 1998, xixf.

¹¹ For other examples of the alleged influence of original oral delivery upon Herodotus’ style see e.g. Pohlenz 1937. For a more recent assessment of the issue see Slings 2002, 53–77 and General Index of *Brill’s Companion to Herodotus*, 2002, s.v. “orality”.

¹² Cf. Asheri 2007, 150–151; Patzek 2004, 53–73.

¹³ See Wiesehöfer 2004, 15–26; Bichler/Rollinger 2001, 68. In fact, due to the absence of any archaeological evidence for the organized Median Empire that Greek authors like Herodotus describe, severe doubts have recently been raised as to whether such a Median empire ever existed at all. Cf. Rollinger 2005, 11–29; Sancisi-Weerdenburg 1988, 197–212. It is suggested instead that the Greeks developed the idea of such a centralized Median empire in order to explain the time gap between the decline of the Assyrian and the rise of the Persian Empire, thereby casting the probably fictitious Median Empire in the role of transitional transmitter of certain traditions from the Assyrian to the Persian Empire. Cf. Wiesehöfer 2003, 391–396.

¹⁴ Cf. Müller 2010, 251–265.

to enslave the population by forcing them to commit the *proskynesis* erroneously thought to be a sign of his being honoured as a god.¹⁵ In fact, far from demanding complete inaccessibility, the Persian Great King openly received his leading aristocrats, as is probably shown in the famous relief from the palace of Persepolis.¹⁶ He had to be visible to produce a marked effect on the audience. Herodotus' account of Deioces' invention of Median court ceremony, centering as it does on the exaggeration that allegedly "no-one" was allowed to see him, therefore formed part of the traditional Greek stereotype concerning the tyranny of the Persian kings.

Of course, Herodotus elsewhere shows that he knew better. In his account of the revolt of the seven Persians against the false usurper Smerdis, he points out that the fraud raised the suspicions of the Persian noble Otanes, because the usurper never appeared in public or received any Persian noble in audience (3.68.2): καὶ ὅτι οὐκ ἐκάλεε ἐς ὄψιν ἐωυτῶ οὐδένα τῶν λογίμων Περσέων.¹⁷ This is a clear contradiction of the claim that the Persian king was inaccessible. In the case of the false Smerdis, it is precisely his invisibility that leads to his exposure in the eighth month of his reign (3.68.1). And, Herodotus emphasizes the radical nature of his behaviour by stressing that the Magus Smerdis was seen by none of the Persian nobles.

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¹⁵ Cf. Nep. 9.3.3; Isocr. *Pan.* 151; Plut. *Alex.* 54.2; Ael. *VH* 1.21.

¹⁶ Cf. Walser 1965, 22.

¹⁷ See Köhnen 1980, 39–50.

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Abstract

In his Median *logos*, Herodotus reports that no-one was to see the king. Thus, the remark that laughing and spitting in his presence was unacceptable seems to be contradictory. This paper explores the apparent inconsistency as an example of a rhetorical or stylistic device.



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**MARATHON AND THERMOPYLAE
IN THE MÉMOIRE COLLECTIVE¹**

Keywords: Marathon, Thermopylae, European tradition, *mémoire collective*

Various catalogues of “great battles that saved the world” (read: the Western world) enjoy great popularity, especially on the Internet. It would be unkind to deny the fans of such catalogues the pleasure of compiling them. But the scholars... ay, there’s the rub. They, after all, need to weigh their opinions carefully. Surely a scholar cannot assume that a battle he is currently researching is the most important one ever (or, worse still, that it is the most important one ever because *he* is researching it). Yet a worrying trend emerges. To give just a few of the more recent examples concerning ancient Greece: Richard Billows has published a book entitled *Marathon. The Battle that Changed Western Civilization* (2010), Paul Cartledge – one entitled *Thermopylae. The Battle that Changed the World* (2006), whereas Barry Strauss – *The Battle of Salamis. The Naval Encounter that Saved Greece and Western Civilization* (2005).

Certainly quite a few battles did indeed change the world, and saved the “Western civilisation” to boot, and this does deserve a thorough analysis. The reasons for those battles’ presence in our collective memory deserves analysis too; and to that analysis, in reference to the Battles of Marathon and of Thermopylae, this essay is devoted.

Of the four great battles that occurred in the course of the Greek-Persian wars, three – at Marathon, in the pass of Thermopylae, and at Plataeae – were fought on land, and one, at Salamis, was a sea battle. It may be considered a paradox that the two greater and more important encounters, those at Salamis and Plataeae, remain

¹ The text translated by Klaudyna Michałowicz.

in the shadow of the two smaller ones. The Battle of Marathon, although won by the Greeks, had a limited significance from the military point of view. From the technical point of view, in turn, the Battle of Thermopylae was nothing else but a total defeat, paid for with an annihilation of the Greek defenders, and, in addition, one which from the very start was overwhelmingly easy to predict.

Marathon

Fought on 12th September 490 by the Athenians against the invading Persian army commanded by Datis and Artaphernes, the Battle of Marathon has long been an object of interest for scholars as much as for the wide circle of history lovers.² Ostensibly everything about it is clear; but look closer, and all that remains is doubts. As A. Trevor Hodge rightly observed, there are few elements in the Marathon campaign that can be considered certain beyond discussion; the majority still remains a subject of constant debates.³ Those debates concern even the September (or perhaps, after all, the August?) date of the battle. The topography of the battlefield is a most complicated issue.⁴ The strength of the Persian army is also unknown. Various sources give widely differing numbers: from 80,000 to as much as 600,000 and, additionally, six hundred triremes (as well as transport vessels). Usually, scholars assume the numbers to have been 18,000 to 24,000 foot soldiers and 1,000, perhaps 2,000 cavalry, but no agreement has been reached. We are not even certain what goals have been set for the Persian commanders. There is a worrying discrepancy between the Persians' plan mentioned by Herodotus: to subjugate Eretria and Athens, enslave their residents and take them before the throne of King Darius (Hdt. 6. 94), and the expected outcome of the campaign against Athens evident from the presence in the Persian army of the aged Athenian ex-tyrant, Hippias, who probably came not only as a guide, but also as the future puppet ruler of Athens (or even, as some scholars maintain, a satrap of Greece).

The horizon of events broadens with time, incidentally. In Herodotus, it is local, limited to Eretria and Athens, but in Plutarch it is already global: the aim of the Persian expedition is no longer to punish the Athenians for burning Sardis, but to subjugate all Greece as well.

Herodotus's account provokes many other questions. For instance, he recounts how the *strategoí* had sent a runner to Sparta, asking for immediate aid.

² Sources for the history of the battle: Hdt. 5. 102–119; Plut. *Arist.*; Paus. 7. 15–17; Corn. Nepos, *Miltiades*; Iust. 2. 9; Literature: Busolt 1895, 578–593; Meyer 1944, 305–316; Hammond 1988, 491–517; Balcer 1995, 207–224; Doenges 1998, 1–17; Kulesza 2005; Sekunda 2002; Krentz 2010.

³ Trevor Hodge 1975, 155.

⁴ See Pritchett 1969; Sekunda 2002, 46–50.

That man was Philippides,⁵ a professional messenger (*hemerodromos*), who was able to run for a whole day without stopping (Hdt. 6. 105–106). By the following day he was already in Sparta. The Spartans, who were in the process of celebrating the Carneian festival, promised to come as soon as allowed by their law and religion, i.e. at the coming full moon. Philippides immediately set out on the return journey.

Since even today there are men who are able to run the ca. 250 km distance from Athens to Sparta in thirty five hours⁶, scholars do not question Philippides' feat; they are more interested in the honesty of the Spartans' intentions.⁷ Yet they ought to wonder also about the very mission of the messenger. After all, it would not be very wise to leave the fate of the whole city in the hands (or rather legs) of one man. One is tempted to say that never has so much depended on the stamina of a single runner. What if he had not reached Sparta, or afterwards, Athens? If he had sustained an injury on the way, had a stroke, had been killed?⁸ After all,

⁵ In the English-language literature he is continuously referred to as Pheidippides, which finds no corroboration whatsoever in the sources. What is more, the fact that in Aristophanes' *Clouds* one Pheidippides appears in the role of a *sui generis* villain (and a victim of the sophists at the same time), is also an argument against the runner bearing that name: it seems hardly probable that Aristophanes of all writers would use the name of a revered Marathon hero for a negative character.

⁶ It cannot be said exactly how many kilometres the Athenian *hemerodromos* had run – this depends on his route, the details of which are not known, but it must have been minimum 220 km, maximum 250 km each way. Greek runners were able to cover huge distances. For instance, Eulichidas ran the 190 km from Plataeae to Delphi in one day, to report the victory over the Persians and bring the sacred fire from Delphi to Plataeae (479), while Ageos ran 100 km from Olympia to Argos in one day, to bring the news of his own victory in the long-distance race (ca. 5 km) during the Olympiad (328) (see also other examples – Lucas 1976, 120–138, ancient and modern long-distance runners p. 127–131; Słapek 2010, 416–419). For the last twenty-nine years Spartathlon, a race on the Athens-Sparta route, has been run every year in September.

⁷ This rather quickly began to arouse doubts, since in the fourth century Plato (*Nomoi* 698E, 692D) characteristically “rationalised” the religious reasons, perceiving a rebellion of helots as the cause for the delay (one is tempted to say, in all malice, that this rebellion would have been quenched very fast indeed, since in a few days the Spartans did arrive on the scene), while Isocrates (see also Plut. *De malignitate Herodoti* 26) maintained that they did not delay at all, but set out immediately. Clearly, and perhaps not surprisingly, they found it hard to keep up with Philippides, since they did not take part in the battle.

⁸ The information that while running through Arcadia, Philippides heard the voice of Pan, who “bade him ask the Athenians why they paid him no attention, though he was of goodwill to the Athenians, had often been of service to them, and would be in the future” (Hdt. 6. 105. This and the following quotations from Herodotus were translated by A. D. Godley [translator's note]) is ascribed by some scholars to hallucinations resulting from the runner's extreme exhaustion. Incidentally, Herodotus places that spiritual experience on the road *to* Sparta, while the scholars arbitrarily, if perhaps reasonably (and maybe correctly – but how is that to be ascertained?), move it to the run *from* Sparta – after all, Philippides' exhaustion must have been greater on the way back.

the Argeans favoured the Persians. Since the joint Athenian-Spartan action had been agreed upon earlier, why had there been no signals arranged, or a relay of messengers, why no more runners or riders were sent out, just in case? I have not found these questions in any study with which I am acquainted. The sources also keep silent on that topic (which may actually explain the silence of the scholars). They mention, however, the arrival of some hundreds – perhaps 600, maybe even a thousand – hoplites from Plataeae. The troop set camp in the temple of Heracles, about 6 kilometres from the invading Persians.

Further on, Herodotus has much to say about the difference of opinion within the college of ten Athenian *strategoï*, among whom the votes for and against pitched battle were divided equally. The “father of history” considers the *strategos* Miltiades to have been the author of the Marathon victory. Apparently Miltiades persuaded the polemarch Callimachus, who was supposed to vote as the eleventh, to adopt his view. Herodotus even quotes the putative speech of Miltiades to Callimachus (Hdt. 6. 109); yet that speech is obviously directed to the posterity far more than to the polemarch, because it refers mainly to issues of which Callimachus was very well aware (and also to some issues which were entirely unknown to either of the interlocutors). And so, Callimachus learns from Miltiades that there is no accord among the *strategoï* as to the need for a pitched battle; that it is clear how Athens would suffer if the tyrant Hippias, who is now with the Persians, was allowed to return from exile, into which he had been sent nearly twenty years earlier (although earlier Herodotus wrote that the Eretrians and Athenians were to be deported to Persia!); that if the battle does not break out soon, the Athenians may begin to feel *stasis* and may start to switch sides and support the Persians. The speech is quite prophetic, too. Miltiades promised Callimachus something of which he could not have been aware – a wish which came true only in the lifetime of the Athenians contemporary to Herodotus: that if Callimachus gives his support to Miltiades, Athens shall be free and become “the first polis of Hellas” (*polis prote ton en te Helladi*). Not one word about the fact that this may only come about if the battle is won – the author of the speech knew that Callimachus’ accord is tantamount to victory, because he knew the course of later events and was aware that after the Persian wars the Athenians would build their small empire.

Anyway, according to Herodotus it is due to Callimachus’ stance that the war council, consisting of ten *strategoï* and the archont-polemarch, decided in favour of a pitched battle. Each of the *strategoï* was to hold command for one day (perhaps chosen by lot? – whatever the case, it was an experiment in democratic rule most impractical in the current dramatic situation). When the turn to command came to those *strategoï* who supported Miltiades, they resigned in his favour. According to Herodotus, “he accepted the office but did not make an attack until it was his own

day to preside” (Hdt. 6. 110). Why? Again, this is not very clear. We might assume he had some deeper reason than the desire to have the battle precisely on “his”, not someone else’s day; there can be no certainty about that, however, the more so that we have no clear information even about the structure of command. The council of *strategoï* was established only in 501; earlier, it was the polemarch alone who held command, later – the *strategoï* alone. If Herodotus is correct, at Marathon some transitional system was in force. Still, it is difficult to believe in Miltiades’ motivation as given by Herodotus, especially that it does not put him in the best of lights. The Athenians were probably waiting for the Persians to move; perhaps also hoping for the arrival of the Spartans.

The reasons for the Persian’s immobility are unknown. They were obviously holding back. Why? Maybe they were hoping for some difference of opinion among the Athenians. It would not be without reason, as demonstrated by the earlier fate of Eretria, which fell betrayed by two of its outstanding citizens, and by the vacillation of the Athenian council of *strategoï*. Trusting in their greater numbers, they may have also been hoping for aid from the supporters of Hippias or counting on the weakening of the Athenians’ morale.

The answer to the question why the battle had finally started is found only in a tenth-century Byzantine source known as the Book of Souda (s.v. *choris hippis*). Miltiades gave the order for battle when the Ionians who were a part of the Persian army had climbed trees and informed the Athenians that there was no cavalry in the Persian camp. This remark arouses much doubt. What trees would that be? How could the Ionians give signals to the Athenians (and during the night, too, which implies using fire) that would have passed unnoticed by the Persians? Yet it is also of fundamental significance for today’s reconstructions of the course of that battle.

We do not know what happened to the Persian cavalry. Did it sail away to attack someplace else? Were the horses sent to pasture to Eretria, or led away to graze overnight in the meadows near Marathon? Or perhaps Datis, preparing for an attack on Athens, ordered a part of the army and the cavalry to embark on ships? But in what way would the mounted troops be helpful in that case? Riders are not very suitable for attacking cities, after all. What is more, some clues seem to indicate that the cavalry did participate in the battle. Perhaps the Persians had at their disposal only light cavalry, which did not influence the outcome of the battle? Events could have unfolded in a still different way: Miltiades began the battle when he heard there was no cavalry, but the riders came back when the combat was already in progress. There are many questions and few answers here.

At dawn – of 12th September, let us say, although we know that there is not much certainty when it comes to the exact date – Miltiades arranged his army for battle (Hdt. 6. 112). Somehow, unnoticed by Herodotus, the distance between the

troops has grown smaller. First it was 6.5 kilometres, when the Greeks have set a defensive camp in the temple of Heracles; by the day of the battle that distance was just 1.5 kilometres. Despite our doubts, let us accept the surmise of the modern scholars that each night the Greeks moved a little forward.

Let us also hope that Herodotus and his modern-day interpreters have correctly read the meaning of the events that occurred on the day of the battle. Those were as follows: Miltiades, arranging a shallow centre and concentrating the main forces on the wings, was counting on crushing the Persian flanks and drawing the best forces of the enemy, consisting of the Persians and the Sacae, deeper. The heaviest fighting took place in the centre. On the right and left wing the Greeks triumphed. Then, not pursuing the fleeing enemy, they turned both wings inwards and fell upon the Persians fighting in the centre of the field. The Persian soldiers found themselves trapped.

This is all; yet this is very much. Who would have been able to give a credible account of the battle? No-one was observing it from the sidelines; at least the sources do not mention it. Thus, we would expect a report of the commander (or commanders), and accounts of particularly memorable scenes related by the participants of the battle. In this case, this is practically only the closing scene.

The last phase of the struggle is a truly Homeric battle at the ships. Herodotus recounts how the Greeks “followed the fleeing Persians and struck them down. When they reached the sea they demanded fire and laid hold of the Persian ships” (Hdt. 6. 113). From whom, however, could they have “demanded fire” – and in the light of the effects, to what end could that fire be useful? It does not seem, after all, that the Persian ships were torched. The Greeks obviously could not demand fire from the Persians, and it is improbable they would have sent for it to the camp 6 kilometres away; so it seems that they demanded fire from themselves. Surely something is awry in this account.

The Greeks certainly attempted to prevent the Persian evacuation and to take possession of the ships. The combat was certainly brutal. Some were fighting for their lives, others – elated with victory. The valour of Cynegirus, the brother of the great tragedian Aeschylus, became legendary. He caught hold of the ship’s stern and fell only when his hand was chopped off with an axe (Hdt. 6. 114)⁹. The Athenians took seven Persian ships (Hdt. 6. 115). Seven of six hundred! A modest outcome for such a heroic struggle. And not a word about burning any ships. It seems that the Persians carried out an orderly evacuation by sea and won the battle at the ships.

⁹ With time, Cynegirus’ feat passed the limits of heroism. According to Justin, when his right hand was chopped off, he grabbed the ship with his left, and when that was chopped off too, he firmly held on to the ship with his teeth, fighting all the while (although it is not very clear with what) (Iust. 2. 9).

The Persian ships sailed away from Marathon and having surrounded Cape Sounion took course on Athens, trying to get to the city before the Athenian hoplites. Later there was a rumour among the Athenians that the Persians “devised this by a plan of the Alcmaeonidae, who were said to have arranged to hold up a shield as a signal once the Persians were in their ships” (Hdt. 6. 115). This is another riddle of history. Herodotus is much outraged that the Alcmaeonidae, who so distinguished themselves in fighting tyranny and introducing democracy (from this family came Cleisthenes), could be accused of treason; yet he does not question the fact that someone gave signals with a sun-reflecting shield (probably from the Pentelicus), indicating to the Persians they should sail for the defenceless Athens (Hdt. 6. 121, 124). What ever for? Datis was perfectly aware that the hoplites were away from the city: he had just seen them on the plains of Marathon!

It would be as difficult to disregard the information given by the “father of history”, as to wonder why those Athenian traitors did not suffer any consequences. Thus, while some traitorous Athenians were supposedly giving signals to the Persians with a shield, the *strategoï* sent a messenger to the city in order to inform the citizens of the triumph and probably to warn them against the coming enemy.

Herodotus does not mention that, incidentally. Perhaps the point was too obvious to mention. Somebody must have been sent. Men of the later eras showed much more interest in that messenger than his contemporaries did, pointing out the messengers they found in earlier sources. Lucian (2nd century A.D.) assumed the news had been brought by Philippides, who in the presence of the archonts said: *Chairete, nikomen* (“Rejoice, we have won”), and then, exhausted, gave up the ghost (Lucian, *Pro lapsu* 3). Lucian is the first known author to ascribe this feat to the same Philippides who, as has already been mentioned, carried a message to Sparta and back.

Plutarch recorded other names: following Heracleides, he mentioned Ther-sippus, with the note that the majority of authors consider the message to have been brought by Eucles (Plut. *Moralia* 347c) – which, incidentally, would have been a name particularly appropriate (suspiciously so!) for one who had gained such great fame. In connection with Herodotus’ silence on the subject of the messenger, radical opinions have been voiced: that no-one had been sent from Marathon to Athens at all; but let us rationally assume that someone was sent and *cum grano salis* observe that if Philippides did not fall dead after running some 540 to 580 kilometres in the course of a few days, his colleague’s death after a mere 40 kilometres is less plausible. In any case, I think that (consistently with the Greek custom in such cases) someone was indeed sent to Athens to carry the most important and eagerly awaited news of the day. With time, this runner –

whatever his name was, and whether he did or did not fall dead (I am inclined to believe in his death, because making such story up would have been pointless) – became more famous than Marathon itself.

Miltiades' army allegedly reached the grove of Heracles in the suburbs of Athens mere moments before the first Persian ships appeared in the vicinity of the city. Again, there emerge questions to which our sources give no answers, especially concerning the route taken by those ships. It must have taken the Greeks a while to pick themselves up after the battle and begin the march back to Athens. Even if the Persians were not in a hurry (and they should have been), the equal speed of the overland and sea journeys seems odd.

The losses at Marathon were unequal: perished ca. 6400 Persians, 192 Athenians (Hdt. 6. 117) and 11 Plataeans.¹⁰ This also raises doubts. Why did the Greeks, who were the attacking side, incur such small losses in contrast to the Persians, who were defending themselves? If we compare the initial size of the Persian (ca. 20,000), Athenian (9,000) and Plataean (600 or 900) armies, we will be forced to accept that the Persian losses equalled ca. 30% of the entire force, the Athenian – ca. 2%, the Plataean ca. 2 or even 1%. Something must be wrong here. We may guess that after the battle, each hair on an Athenian head was counted and truly just 192 Athenians died (no matter where they were buried afterwards). Why, however, did so many Persians fall, if the Greeks did not use machine guns? A subtle scholar will probably consider the question naïve and point to the advantage of the heavily armed Greek hoplites over the Persian infantry; still, those doubts will continue to nag until the place of the Persians' eternal rest is discovered (which may actually never happen). The destructive force of a hoplite at Marathon seems extraordinary.

The meanings ascribed to the battle by the Persians and the Greeks certainly differed. To the former, it was a defeat; to the latter, as further events would show, it was the first victory, on which the later ones were based – a “founding victory”, so to speak. In the long run, Marathon did not stop the Persians – they attacked again ten years later. On the other hand, they did not reach the assumed goals (although some might say that they reached two-thirds of their goals, as they (1) did not meet active resistance in the Aegean islands, (2) conquered Ere-

¹⁰ A tomb near the village of Vrana, where the remains of 9 men aged 20–30, a man aged 30–40 and a 10-year-old boy were found, was identified by Spyridon Marinatos as the burial place of the Plataeans. According to Marinatos, the men were soldiers, the older man was their officer, and the boy – a runner. The identification is controversial, since the tomb is located farther from the battlefield than indicated by the literary sources. Apart from that, the Plataean losses seem extraordinarily small (11 from 600 or 1,000 men). Recently there appeared doubts even as to the assumption that the Marathon tumulus (*Soros*) is the burial place of the fallen Athenians. See Mersch 1995, 55–64.

tria, (3) failed to defeat Athens. The moral significance of Marathon was huge. For the first time ever the Greeks defeated the Persians and they proved their military superiority. In the broader categories, it is certainly a breakthrough; it is beyond doubt that had the Athenians been defeated, or had the events run the same way as in Eretria, the course of Greek history would have been entirely different.

Thermopylae

Legends were quick to surround the second symbolic battle of the Greeks with the Persians – the one which took place in the gorge of Thermopylae on 17th–19th August 480 B.C.¹¹ Here, too, it is very difficult to separate myths from reality. The account of Herodotus, who also in this case is our main source, was fittingly pronounced by A. R. Burn as being ‘somewhere between sober history and the *Chanson de Roland*’.¹² Almost everything about this battle is to a greater or lesser extent doubtful.

First, the goal of the expedition seems obvious: to punish and subjugate Greece. Again there is a Greek in the circle close to the command; this time it is Demaratus, the ex-king of Sparta, who like Hippias at Marathon serves as a guide and counsellor. Did Xerxes see him as the future satrap of Greece (and a puppet king of Sparta)? Probably yes, but in view of the later course of events we must consider such considerations as *ungeshene Geschichte*.

The report of the over two, or perhaps even five million soldiers and 1200 ships of Xerxes’ army may be put among other high tales of Herodotus (although ships are easier to count than men, so we are inclined to believe that information more than the other). We have even more faith in the Greeks’ knowledge of their own forces: ca. 7,000 men were said to have been in the “gorge” of Thermopylae, of which 300 were Spartiates led by King Leonidas.

The Greeks occupied a narrow pass between the mountains and the sea at Thermopylae. It was said to have been the only route from the northern to southern Greece. Recently, however, even this dictum has been questioned¹³,

¹¹ Sources: Hdt. 7. 201–239; 8. 24–25; Isocr. *Paneg.* 25; Diod. 11. 5–13; Paus. 3. 4. 7–8; Marcellinus, *Vita Thuc.* 54. Literature (selection): Beloch 1931, 91–105; Meyer 1944, 352–361; Dascalakis 1962; Hignett 1963; Evans 1964, 231–237; Hammond 1988, 546–563; Balcer 225–256; Fields 2007; Cartledge 2006; De Souza 2003.

¹² Burn 1984, 407: ‘Herodotus’ story of the battle (VII. 210–226) lies in point of literary form, somewhere between sober history and the *Chanson de Roland*; nearer to history, admittedly, in that the principal facts are probably accurate; but ‘fictionalized’, not only in the accounts of the enemy’s losses, but in the picture of the enemy, a cruder and more childish picture than given elsewhere.’

¹³ Szemler, Cherf, Kraft 1996.

not to mention the well-known fact that Thermopylae look quite different today than in 480 because of the changes of the shoreline. Assuming, however, that the only route to southern Greece did indeed lead through Thermopylae, several questions arise concerning the sense of the Greeks' action.

It is commonly known that for two days they were bravely resisting the enemy attacks. The defenders' situation changed for the worse only when Ephialtes of Malis showed the Persians a path through the mountains called the Anopaea, along which the elite troop of the Immortals walked beyond the Greek positions during the night. Leonidas had placed 1000 Phocian hoplites there, but they failed to engage the enemy. Hearing of Xerxes' soldiers advance on the Anopaea, Leonidas dismissed the majority of his force, leaving only 300 Spartans, 700 Thespians and 400 Tebans at his side.

It is curious why some have gone and the others stayed. By then, the latter must have been fully aware that their mission was totally suicidal. The Thespians allegedly expressed a wish to stay. The pro-Persian attitude of Thebes at that time, the sources' silence concerning the intentions of the Thebans present at Thermopylae, as well the fact that they surrendered in the last phase of the battle have tempted some scholars to assume, more or (probably) less correctly, that they were hostages of a kind.

Perhaps Leonidas' troop was supposed to delay the progress of the main Persian force. On the other hand, its meagre size excluded the possibility of a longer defence. Perhaps it was to provide cover to the withdrawing army; or perhaps the troops that were sent away were supposed to attack the Immortals. The ancient authors neither pose those questions nor provide any material that would help to answer them. The ancients were happy with locating all those events within the divine plan. The Delphic oracle prophesied that either the Spartan king would die or Sparta would perish (Hdt. 7. 220, 4); aware of this condition for the survival of his *polis*, Leonidas voluntarily sacrificed his life. Even today there are those who are ready to believe that such was his motivation; yet it seems that this prophecy was only a *vaticinium post eventum*, a prediction which explained the sense of what has already happened.

The description of the three-day fighting leaves much to be desired, too. The most dramatic third day is shown by Herodotus in the Homeric manner. The central point is the death of Leonidas and the *par excellence* heroic struggle over his body, again and again covered by waves of opponents. Finally, the Spartan survivors gathered on the hill of Colonus, where they fell to the last man under the Persian arrows. Xerxes ordered the body of Leonidas found; his severed head was carried in triumph round the Persian camp. All the Thespians perished. The Thebans surrendered.

Who told the story if they all fell? All but one, a Spartiate named Aristodemus, to whom, as Herodotus informs us, no-one in Sparta wanted to speak for contempt (Hdt. 7. 231). If he was considered a coward (*tresas*) and treated this way, he is rather out of the question as the source of information. Besides, being ill, he did not take part in the battle itself. There remain the Thebans, who surrendered. But who would believe them? From the ships of the fleet at Artemision it would probably be impossible to see all the details of the Thermopylae encounter. We cannot forget also the *perioikoi* and helots, excluded from sharing in the Thermopylae glory, and those who evacuated from Thermopylae before the last clash, and the Greeks in the Persian army. All questions about the potential (internal?) observer who would be the source of Herodotus' account are as essential as, despite all the scholarly manoeuvring, they are rhetorical.

Apart from that, what was the sense of the whole enterprise? The Greeks held Thermopylae with a force more than meagre in contrast to Xerxes' army. What for? It could not be for their deed to "go down in history"; and it is impossible that they believed that they could firmly block the Persian army there. The Persians could march south by this or any other route. Both sides must have been aware of that.

It remains for us to perceive Thermopylae as an attempt to delay the Persians' great march (even though that march was relatively slow and the delay of a day or two could not have any great significance), or as delaying tactics aimed at gaining some time (three days!) in order to attain other goals (evacuation of cities, mobilisation of the army, constructing fortifications at the Isthmus etc.). Unfortunately, nothing withstands a rational analysis here. For reasons of their own, the Spartans decided to make Thermopylae their first line of defence (I do not consider serious the interpretation that this was to be a proof of their concern with the cause).

Reasons: unknown. What about the outcome, irrespective of the goals? According to Paul Cartledge¹⁴ and many others, the death of the defenders at Thermopylae raised the Greek morale. A long time ago, the Austrian scholar F. Miltner wrote: "Leonidas war vielleicht der einzige Grieche, der mit Wissen sich, und seine Leute, geopfert hat, nicht für die eine Polis, sondern für des gesamte Vaterland".¹⁵ The Greek scholar A. Dascalakis considered Thermopylae to have been a sacrifice "pour tout les peuples de la terre, des sacrifices pour la cause de la liberté".¹⁶ It is certain that Thermopylae opened the way to Greek victories over the Persians at Salamis and Plataeae.

¹⁴ Cartledge 2006, 198.

¹⁵ Miltner 1935, 240–241.

¹⁶ Dascalakis 1962, 13.

“Marathon” and “Thermopylae” in the ancient *mémoire collective*

Both battles are viewed by us only from the perspective of the Greek sources, and some lacunas are obvious even in those. It is also clear that in both cases the events were quickly mythologized. In the case of Marathon, this process could be accompanied by an argument about merits. There could be no doubt as to the collective hero: the victorious Athenians. Yet we are aware that not all the commanders were in favour of the battle. Did the Athenians believe, like we do, that the victory should be credited to Miltiades' genius?

There are reasons to believe that it was not so. One archaeological find may constitute a corroboration that an argument about merits did indeed occur: a fragment of a large memorial, which after the battle was erected by the Athenians in honour of the polemarch Callimachus, who fell at Marathon.¹⁷ In the same year, 489, when the stele of Callimachus was placed on the Acropolis to be visible from afar, Miltiades sat shackled in the Athenian prison, where he was soon to die.¹⁸ It ought to be remembered that in his time, Miltiades may have been a controversial figure – a fact too easily forgotten by those who are swift to make connections between Marathon and democracy. He had spent many years away from Athens, as a tyrant of Chersonese and a loyal subject of Persia. When he returned to Athens in 493, he was accused of treason. The lawsuit against Miltiades in 489 demonstrates that he did not have any less enemies then. It is quite possible that not all the Athenians were convinced they owed their salvation mainly to Miltiades. Fifty year later, the argument was settled forever when Herodotus made Miltiades the chief hero of Marathon.

In Athens, generally, Marathon almost immediately grew into a symbol of the Greeks' struggle with the barbarians (as seen from *The Persians* by Aeschylus, dated 472).¹⁹ The first epitomised love of freedom, the latter – enslavement. Marathon became the object of pride for the Athenians, who were the first among the Greeks to oppose the invasion of the eastern barbarians. A feast in honour of those who gave their life “for the cause of freedom” was celebrated every year (*IG II, 1, 471, 26*).

¹⁷ *IG I² 609*; Sekunda 2002, 10–11.

¹⁸ In connection with the failure of the expedition to Paros, he was accused of „leading the people into error” (*apate to demou*), imprisoned and sentenced to pay the fine of 50 talents. He died in prison from a wound received during that campaign (Hdt. 6. 136; Corn. Nep. *Milt.* 7; *Cim.* 1; Iust. 2. 15. 19; Dem. 26. 6; Plut. *Cim.* 4, 3; Plato, *Gorg.* 516D-E; Ps. Plato, *Axiochos* 368D; Diod. 10. 29). See Kulesza 1994, 55–58; Kulesza 1995, 88–89.

¹⁹ Crucial information on the “reception” of Marathon in the antiquity is collected by Gehrke 2007, 96–104.

The developing myth of Marathon carried certain internal meanings, especially in the 460's, when the influence of Cimon, son of Miltiades, on the political life of Athens was evident. Herodotus's final diagnosis is probably connected with that. It was then that Athens, in gratitude for the Marathon victory, founded in Delphi a memorial featuring statues of ten eponymous heroes, patrons of the Attic phylae, as well as statues of Codrus and Theseus, mythical rulers of Athens, the protoplast of Miltiades' family Philaeus, Athena and Apollo, and Miltiades himself (Paus. 10. 1. 1).

Ca. 460 BC upon the initiative of Cimon's brother-in-law Peisianax, the Stoa Poikile was built in Athens; it contained paintings depicting the fight of the Athenians with Amazons, the Trojan war, and the Battle of Marathon. One of the scenes featured Miltiades (Paus. 1. 15. 2). The monumental statue of Athena Promachos by Phidias, placed on the Acropolis, was also meant to remind the Athenians, and other Greeks, of Marathon (Paus. 1. 28. 2; *IG I*³ 435; Dem. 19. 272) As Athena fought in the first line (*promachos*), so the Athenians, residents of her city, stood at the head of all Hellenes (*promachountes Hellenon*) – a perfect justification for their aspirations to leadership in Greece.

Yet Marathon had also an internal social dimension. The victors of Marathon (*Marathonomachai*) were rivals to the victors of Salamis. The first were hoplites, members of the middle class; the latter were sailors, less affluent citizens, who could not afford the accoutrements of a hoplite. The victory over the Persians in the Battle of Salamis was in a great part due to them.

“Marathon” against “Thermopylae”?

The majority of Greeks remembered the battles of Marathon, Thermopylae, Salamis and Plataeae; but the future was to belong not to the pan-Hellenic Salamis or Plataeae, but to the Marathon, appropriated by the Athenians, and Thermopylae, which the Spartans made their own. All “others” were expunged: the Plataeans from Marathon, the Thespians and Thebans from Thermopylae. As A. R. Burn wrote, “Only the Spartans shine”²⁰ in Thermopylae. Is it possible, then, that the triumph of propaganda over the history of the Greco-Persian wars took place already in the antiquity? In the name of their own interests, the Athenians and Spartans took good care of “their” victories. The fallen Athenians were buried in an impressive tumulus on the plain of Marathon. In Thermopylae, a stone lion and the famous epitaph by Simonides

²⁰ Burn 1984, 407.

commemorated the death of the Spartans. Perhaps it is only there that lies the source of the general, and not entirely correct, conviction that a Spartiate could only be victorious or die, *tertium don datur*. A burial as appropriate as possible, as soon as possible, was granted to all others; but not all were later present in the “collective memory”.

The Spartans, incidentally, yielded not to the Persian might; the chief villain (besides Xerxes) of Herodotus’ account is that Ephialtes of Malis who told the enemy about the path through the mountains²¹. By this, he took the burden of responsibility from all the others, the combatants as much as the remaining Greeks²². That “Greek Judas” purged the Greek conscience, and there is something symbolic in the fact that to the Hellenes, the word “ephialtis” still means “a nightmare”.

With the passage of time, both battles gained in importance with respect to politics. In the rivalry of Athens and Sparta over the hegemony, especially in the 440’s, justifications for leading the whole Hellas included those linked to the past. Only then did the Spartans send to Thermopylae a delegation which was to bring the remains of Leonidas to the home polis. Somehow the Spartans identified their hero, although over the intervening decades he must have changed considerably. More or less at the same time Herodotus announced to the world a message much pleasing to an Athenian ear: it is the Athenians who are the saviours of Greece. Because of Marathon.

²¹ As reasonably noted by Eduard Meyer (1944, IV, 1, p. 356 note 1), the Persians would have found that path even without a guide. On the other hand, it would have taken them some time. It was, however, a Greek who showed it to them – whatever his name was. The Greeks themselves (in spite of doubts, which today we are unable to clear) considered Ephialtes to have been the culprit. Maybe there were more, but this image is better: just one Greek arriving before Xerxes, not a whole delegation.

²² See the poem by K. Kavafis (1903) entitled *Thermopylae*:

*Honor to those who in their lives
have defined and guard their Thermopylae.
never stirring from duty;
just and upright in all their deeds,
yet with pity and compassion too;
generous when they are rich, and when
they are poor, again a little generous,
again helping as much as they can;
always speaking the truth,
yet without hatred for those who lie.
And more honor is due to them
when they foresee (and many do foresee)
that Ephialtes will finally appear,
and that the Medes in the end will go through*

“Marathon” and “Thermopylae” in the later *mémoire collective*

Marathon has long been an element of the European *mémoire collective*. John Stuart Mill in his review of the first volume of George Grote’s *History of Greece* (1846) wrote: *The battle of Marathon, even as an event in English history, is more important than the Battle of Hastings. If the issue of that day had been different, perhaps the Britons and the Saxons would still be wandering in the woods.*²³

In what way is it more important? Because it determined the history of England – or perhaps because it occupies more space in the English awareness than the Battle of Hastings? Of course this does not implicate only the English, who, just like Marathon, gain a symbolic sense here. It is certain that Marathon belongs to a matrix of symbols that today are clear to, and needed by, everyone – not only the Europeans; symbols that epitomise the contrast between the world of freedom and the world of enslavement.

It is a fact that it was used to various ends in the past. Yet in all the examples I have selected it is the symbol of freedom. For instance, when the revolutionary France fell in love with the Antiquity, and towns with “royalist” or “superstitious” appellations attempted to change them to names more in keeping with the spirit of the times, one of them, Saint-Maximin in le Var, expressed the wish to become Marathon, in honour of the heroic Athenians and... citizen Marat.²⁴ Marathon serves the purpose of the moment here, but retains its primary meaning. It is a *nom sacré* which symbolises the love of freedom. Yet the star of Marathon rose fully in the 19th century, when it became an inspiration for poets (e.g. Elizabeth Barrett Browning and George Byron) and the symbol of the Greek war of independence.

It was, of course, present also in the history of Poland. It is a well-known fact that in the 19th century Polish artists and men of letters often referred to Greek symbolism, because it was clear to the readers and difficult for the censors to suppress, since in all the partitioned lands of Poland education was based on the knowledge of the Antiquity. After the November Uprising (1830–1831), the

²³ Mill 1978, 273.

²⁴ The petition of Societe Populaire of Saint-Maximin in le Var, dated 25th brumaire of the 2nd year, reads: *Représentants, Vous avez décrété que les villes qui portent des noms superstitieux doivent en changer. Les sans-culottes de Saint-Maximin ont toujours soisi avec avidité tout ce qui peut contribuer à la ruine des préjugés religieux et royalistes... Marathon est le nom que nous avons pris: ce nom sacré nous rappelled la plaine athénienne qui devint le tombeau de cent mille satellites; mais il nous rappelled avec encore plus de douceur la mémoire de l’ami du peuple. Marat est tombé victime des federalists et des intriguants. Puisse le nom que nous prenons contribuer à éterniser ses vertus et son civisme* (quoted after Mossé 1989, 133–134).

Battle of Grochów was compared to Marathon by Bruno Kiciński (1797–1844) in his poem *Trzeci maj* [*The 3rd of May*]:

*As Marathon in the Greek history,
So shines Grochów in ours*²⁵

In my opinion, the beautiful poem by Kornel Ujejski (1823–1897) entitled *Maraton* (1845) perfectly renders the atmosphere in Athens of the year 490:

*Athens are empty. Women, the blind and the old,
Only they remained within the city walls.
Whoever able, gazed in fearful distress
In the direction where the battle raged.
Nothing to be seen; the sun goes down,
Then the stars... Shush... shush... A yell nearby.
Someone hastens swiftly – cobblestones resound,
Someone shouts: “Out of breath! Cannot speak. Greece... alive!
Glory! Glory!... Miltiades!... One breath... Victory’s ours!”
Women went out of the houses, bearing torches overhead.
Up the street ran a Greek with a laurel bough,
He fell shouting: “Victory!” – He was dead.*

Yet there is more to its meaning, since Ujejski wrote about ancient Greece and concurrently about Poland of his own time. In the speech of Miltiades he brilliantly contrasted the attitudes of struggle and submission:

*Whoever will be a servant, let him live, let him go,
Round his own neck let him wind a stout rope,
Let him pledge his will forever in thrall:
The master is nearby, he should to him crawl!
There, first fondly patted, then spurned in spite,
Let him bow his head low and kneel at the door,
Let him forever grovel and, like a hungry dog, crawl
To his master’s leg that would only smite!
But we – we shall stay...*

We who are free men, because

*Everything – everything incites us to war:
Every inch of our soil, alive with grave-dust,
All clouds that bear, up in the bright sky,*

²⁵ All translations from Polish poetry have been made for the purpose of the current essay (translator’s note).

*Shades of the fallen we see with soul's eye,
And the times of yore – all the ages of our past
That in their bosom conceal so much glory*

Yet, in the course of the 19th century, not everywhere and not always was Marathon glorified. According to William Sewell (1804–1874), “the Greek at Marathon fought only for his country” and therefore “the Persian far surpassed him [sic! – R.K.], because he fought for his king”.²⁶ This example clearly shows that in the monarchist Europe of the 19th century, abstract freedom was not a value in itself.

The change in symbolism: 1896

Currently the fame of the battle has been eclipsed by the Marathon race – the battle became no more than an addition to it, if a splendid one, giving the sports competition a magnificent pedigree. The Marathon runner, as has already been said, was never mentioned by any of his contemporaries; in essence, this figure belongs to the realm of legends.

In the film *The Giant of Marathon*²⁷ (1959) the main hero, Philippides (Steve Reeves), bears a message from Marathon to Athens, ordered to do so by Miltiades. He does not die, however – the film was, after all, made in America; he proceeds to a well-deserved date with his sweetheart, appropriately named Andromeda.²⁸ Thus, in our times it is not Miltiades, but that runner who is made the true hero of Marathon.

This happened partially by accident. Michel Breal, a scholar and lover of the Antiquity, suggested to Baron Pierre de Coubertin that Marathon ought to be

²⁶ Franciszek Kasperek (*Prawo polityczne ogólne z uwzględnieniem austrijackiego* [*General Political Law, Including the Austrian Law*], vol. 1, Cracow 1877, p. 678), who quotes the view of William Sewell (*Christian Politics*, London 1848, p. 146).

²⁷ This seems to be the only film about the Battle of Marathon. Other “Marathon” films apply loose, but not random, associations with Marathon. To this category belong *Marathon Man* (1976), directed by John Schlesinger and starring Dustin Hoffman; *Marathon* (2002), where a neurotic New York woman frenetically solves crossword puzzles; the South-Korean *Marathon* (2005) about an autistic marathon runner. There are also the more sport-oriented films: the documentary *Marathon* of 1965 (directed by Robert Gardner, Joyce Chopra); a Spanish film about the Barcelona Olympics, *Marathon* (1992); a film about eight runners competing in the London marathon (2008). The film *Maraton polski* (*Polish Marathon*, 1927) directed by Wiktor Biegański was, according to my knowledge (unfortunately, I have not been able to access the film itself; it is possible that it did not survive) a story about a march along the route taken by Józef Piłsudski’s Cadre Company (Cracow – Kielce), with added scenes of fights for Polish independence, from the January Uprising in 1863 until the outbreak of the 1st World War in 1914.

²⁸ Solomon 2001, 39.

honoured by introducing the so-called Marathon race into the program of the modern-day Olympic Games in 1896.²⁹ It is true that no such competition was known in the Antiquity. It is true that the mythical dimension of the “loneliness of the long-distance runner”, epitomised by the Marathon messenger, belongs not to the Antiquity, but to our times. It is also true that various competitions that take a long time are now called marathons. Various marathon races (as well as half-, quarter- and super-marathons) are organised throughout the world: in Boston, Warsaw, Berlin, New York etc. We also have film marathons; literary, poetic, sailing, biblical, horse, cycling marathons; even fishing, motoring and roller-skating ones.³⁰

Does this mean that “the story ends in trivialization”, as said by the German historian Hans-Joachim Gehrke³¹? I do not think so. Marathon belongs to the European, and currently to the world’s *mémoire collective*. Everyone associates it with individual overcoming of one’s weakness (the Marathon race), and many associate it with the fight for freedom, where the weak pitch themselves against the strong (the Battle of Marathon). Apart from that, it would be wrong to say that “the story ends” *at all* – the myth of Marathon is still alive.³² The association of Marathon with running, however, remains the most important, and all-familiar;³³ it is a generally known symbol.

Education does a good job in keeping the good ol’ thing alive. Recently, an occasion for celebrations was provided by the anniversary of the Battle of Mara-

²⁹ Lucas 1976, 132–134; Krämer, Zobel, Irro 2004.

³⁰ Although one may harbour doubts as to some of those; for instance when we hear of the “Internet Creativity Marathon”, or the “Polish Horror Marathon” (which actually took place in Kijów Cinema in 2010), the “International Marathon of Ecology”, the “Letter-Writing Marathon” (organised by Amnesty International), the “Guitar Marathon”, the “Tango Marathon” (additionally advertised as an enterprise that guarantees “ten hours of passion”), or the “Marathon of Tough Men, with Polish Championships in Crawling along a Beach” (Kamień Pomorski 2010). Everything that takes a long time is customarily called a “marathon”, from Greek (and not e.g. “macaroni”, from Italian) – certainly because Marathon is a good address, a name that elevates the whole enterprise.

³¹ Gehrke 2007, 106.

³² In the USA there are several locations named Marat(h)on (as well as Athens, Sparta, Thermopylae). Recently, in 1999, a new town named Marathon was established in Florida. This small town (little over 10,000 residents) owes its name to a railway station created during the construction of the Florida East Coast Railway in 1907. When, sparing no costs, it was attempted to finish the enterprise, it was said it was “a true Marathon”, and the station gained a name. Today, there is the American Marathon in Florida, where literally everything is Marathon, including the Marathon Church of God.

³³ The first-ever “Robot Marathon” (422 rounds x 100 metres) took place in 2011 in Osaka. I do not know who was the victor, but I see the very fact that this race was organised as the most important; the Japanese have obviously joined the growing circle of heirs of the Greek Marathon’s tradition.

thon. Scholarly conferences were held.³⁴ Books were published.³⁵ The government of Greece organized exhibitions and occasional lectures in many countries.³⁶ On 8th December 2010, the House of Representatives of the United States Congress accepted³⁷ the Resolution no. 1704, pronouncing the Battle of Marathon one of the most important battles in the history of humanity and honouring the heroic Athenians as creators of democracy whose precepts were later accepted by the United States. John Stuart Mill would have been pleased. In a manner convenient to all concerned, a bridge connecting democracy – Greece – Marathon – United States of America was constructed.

In contrast to “Marathon”, “Thermopylae” have retained their primary, war-like nature. Also, while “Marathon” has gained a rather general image, becoming simply a Greek victory, “Thermopylae” still have their collective hero: the Spartans, and the individual one: Leonidas.³⁸

We know of kings of Sparta who were greater than he. Little is known about Leonidas himself, because his “Life” by Plutarch was lost, and perhaps also because the brighter shone the star of Thermopylae, the less seemly it was to write ill of him. There may have been little of which to write well; the circumstances in which he ascended the throne are less than clear. In any case, Leonidas is today the only Spartan with whose name the broader audience is familiar.

Even Origenes counted him, in a sense, as “one of ours”, pointing out that the example of Leonidas (and Socrates) may help Christians understand the sacrifice of Jesus Christ. The heroic defenders of Thermopylae are mentioned by very many later authors, e.g. Charles Montesquieu (1580) or Richard Glover (1737), who in his poem *Leonidas* criticised the Spartan king for choosing to die for his homeland rather than live for it, but above all pictured him as an embodiment of patriotism and a model for an 18th-century monarch.

The true renaissance of “Marathon” and “Thermopylae” started in the period of the French Revolution, when both battles began to be perceived a symbols of

³⁴ E.g. the conference *The Importance of Marathon Battle to Civilization*, held on 7th–10th October 2010 at the University of the Peloponnese in Kalamata.

³⁵ E.g. Billows 2010. In Poland, the *Polityka* magazine issued a large-edition collective work *Maraton*.

³⁶ Upon the initiative of Gabriel Copsidis, Ambassador of Greece in Poland, on 23rd November 2010 an exhibition entitled *Maraton – dawniej i dziś*, celebrating the 2500th anniversary of the battle, was opened at the University of Warsaw, preceded by addresses by Ambassador Copsidis and Prof. Włodzimierz Lengauer, Vice-Rector of the University and an outstanding expert on the Antiquity, as well as a lecture by the author of this essay.

³⁷ Put forward by Democrat James McGovern, passed by a great majority: 359 votes for with 44 against.

³⁸ For a classic study of the modern reception of the legend of Sparta in Europe, see Rawson 1969. Elisabeth Rawson focuses on England, France, Germany and Italy.

patriotism worthy of imitation.³⁹ In an outpouring of patriotic sentiment, not only the already-mentioned Saint-Maximin was renamed Marathon: the residents of Saint-Marcellin in Isere renamed their town Thermopyles, while Saint-Eusebe in Saone-et-Loire became Sparte! Greek and Roman authorities were generally cited; theatres staged dramas with such evocative titles as *Miltiade a Marathon*, *Combat de Thermopyles* or *Les Choeurs de Marathon*. Among the innocent victims of *anticomanie* were children, who were given names of ancient heroes (although the name Leonidas seems to have been less popular).

In the 19th century the run of good luck continued, especially when it comes to Thermopylae. The battle and its hero, Leonidas, remained a source of inspiration to French authors.⁴⁰ The oeuvre of George Byron merits a special mention, as well as the song *Nation Once Again* by Thomas Davis (1814–1845), so crucial to the Irish independence movement, recalling the commonly understood motif of the Three Hundred (Spartans).

It is not surprising that the Spartan motifs: Leonidas, “the valiant hero” according to Kotowski⁴¹, and the Battle of Thermopylae, were popular in Poland as well. Bruno Kiciński (1797–1844) in his *Wiersz do pułku czwartego piechoty liniowej* [*Verses to the 4th Regiment of Line Infantry*] wrote: “The fields of Grochów you have transformed into Thermopylae”; a similar metaphor was used by Konstanty Gaszyński (1809–1866) in his poem *Olszyna Grochowska* [*The Alder Grove of Grochów*]: “Hail, the grove of Grochów, the Polish Thermopylae!”.

In Juliusz Słowacki’s recollections from his visit in Greece we find both the ancient Hellas and Poland of his own day. He associates Greek Chaeronea with Polish Maciejowice. The Spartans’ death in Thermopylae prompts a reflection: they died to the last man – while the Poles in the Uprising? “How many of you were there?”⁴²

Sparta gained special respect in Germany due to its patriotism, but Thermopylae were evaluated variously.⁴³ Hans Delbrück (1848–1929), an expert in ancient warfare, perceived Thermopylae as *ein Fehler, eine Halbheit*.⁴⁴ Karl Julius Beloch (1854–1929) expressed his doubts as to the Spartans’ effectiveness. In his opinion, “the Thermopylae catastrophe had only one advantage – it

³⁹ See Parker 1937; Mossé 1988.

⁴⁰ According to Elisabeth Rawson (*op. cit.*) e.g. *Leonidas* by Michel Pichat (1825), J. Barbey’s *Aux heros de Thermopyles* (1825), C. Gouverne’s *Leonidas aux Thermopyles* (1827), Elisa Mercoeur’s *Le Songe ou les Thermopyles* (1827), Victor Hugo’s *Les Trois Cents* (1873).

⁴¹ Kotowski 1818, 169.

⁴² Sinko 1933, 15.

⁴³ An overview of issues connected with the image of Sparta in Germany (and elsewhere) is found in Karl Christ 1986, 1–72 (esp. from p. 8).

⁴⁴ Delbrück 1887, 89–90.

freed the allied army from an incompetent commander”.⁴⁵ The majority of German scholars was, however, of a different opinion and similarly to Ernst Curtius (1814–1896) saw Thermopylae as an “everlasting monument to heroic civic virtue”, or, as Eduard Meyer (1855–1930) put it, as “glowing example that showed the nation the path it had to take”.⁴⁶

Academic circles of the period of the Weimar Republic perceived Sparta as the model of Doric valour.⁴⁷ In the later, Fascist education the figure of Leonidas held a special place. Helmut Berve (1896–1979), *rector magnificus* of the Leipzig University, one of the enthusiasts and high officials of the régime, pointed to him as the model for the German youth. In his opinion, creating men such as Leonidas, ready to give their lives for the *Volk und Reich*, ought to have been the aim of classical education in Germany.⁴⁸ “To our young people, Leonidas and his companions will forever remain an example and object of admiration”, wrote Ulrich Wilcken (1862–1944) in 1924.⁴⁹

“The national Thermopylae”

Throughout the 19th, 20th and early 21st century, “Thermopylae” seem to have replaced “Marathon” as the symbol of a heroic fight for freedom. They are more suggestive than Marathon. In practice, they are the main ancient actualisation of Horace’s well-known adage *Dulce et decorum est pro patria mori* (“It is sweet and fitting to die for one’s homeland”), which, incidentally, was quite problematic in the Roman era, apart from the fact that Horace himself was, fortunately for us, very far from the thought of dying for anything.

Many battles fought in the course of history were, more or less justly, compared to Thermopylae. Usually, the comparison was founded on the issues of the

⁴⁵ *Nur einen Vorteil hat die Katastrophe an den Thermopylen der griechischen Sache gebracht; sie hat das Bundesheer von einem unfähigen Oberfeldherrn befreit und die Bahn freigemacht für den Mann, der es im folgenden Jahre bei Plataeae zum Siege führen sollte* (Beloch 1931, 105).

⁴⁶ “in glänzendem Vorbilde zeigte er der Nation den Weg, den sie zu gehen hatte” (Meyer 1944, 361). We are dealing with a long tradition here. Already J. C. F. Manso, the author of the first scholarly synthesis on Sparta (1800–1805), a Prussian patriot and a *Breslauer Gymnasialprofessor*, assumed that Sparta may serve the Prussian state as a “lehrendes und warnendes Beispiel” (see Christ 1986, 11).

⁴⁷ See Krüger, 2009.

⁴⁸ It is significant that one squadron of the Luftwaffe was named “Leonidas”.

⁴⁹ “Mögen unserer Jugend Leonidas und seine Getreuen immer ein Vorbild und ein Gegenstand der Verehrung bleiben!” (quoted after Christ 1986, 61 note 213). Wilcken’s *Griechische Geschichte* was first published in 1924. Its 9th edition appeared in 1962. Despite protests, this sentence was not removed from any of the issues, including the most recent one, published in 1973.

struggle for freedom, heroic fight for the homeland, often a huge difference in strength, sometimes barbarity of the victors; in our times, it was occasionally no more than the desire to subscribe to the respected symbol that denoted belonging to a better world. The grounds for fame differ. In some cases, it is the way to internationalise a less known event or a battle that belonged to local history. To quote just a few examples: the “Cathar Thermopylae” is the defence of Montsegur in France; the stronghold fell on 16th March 1244 after a ten-month siege, and 400 to 500 of its defenders were burned at the stake. The name “Serbian Thermopylae” is sometimes attached to the Battle of Kosovo (1389), in which died 4,500 Turks and 10,000 Serbs and which is a milestone in the history of the Balkans. The “Prussian Thermopylae” is the Battle of Landeshut (23rd June 1760) where the Prussian army was defeated by the Austrians during the Third Silesian War. The Battle of Valmy (1792) was also compared to Thermopylae. Similar association were evoked by Cokesina in the north-eastern Serbia: on 16th April 1804, during the first Serbian uprising against the Turkish rule, 303 young *haiduk* guerillas died, literally to the last man, defending the Cokesina monastery.⁵⁰ The Battle of Somosierra (30th November 1808), where Koziatulski and his companions fought for France, are the “Spanish Thermopylae”. There are also two “Austrian Thermopylaes”: from 1809⁵¹ and from the time of the 1st World War.⁵²

A special place among the “Thermopylaes” is held by the American case: the defence of the Alamo in Texas (23rd February – 6th March 1836), where ca. 180 men hopelessly resisted some thousand soldiers of General Santa Anna. All but one defender died. Here, the manner of presentation is different: the Alamo is not the “American Thermopylae”, it is the other way round: Thermopylae are the “Greek Alamo”!⁵³

The name of the “Bulgarian Thermopylae” is attached to the battle for the Shipka Pass during the Russo-Turkish War in 1877–1878. For several months 6,000 Russians and Bulgarians defended the pass against 40,000 Turks. There is

⁵⁰ Asked about the Battle of Kosovo as the “Serbian Thermopylae”, Prof. Petar Bunjak from the University of Belgrade wrote to me that “the Serbian Marathon fields and the Serbian Thermopylae are countless”; at the same time he pointed out that, as a *terminus technicus* of sorts, it is Cokesina that functions as the “Serbian Thermopylae”, because this is how it was called by Leopold Ranke in his *Die Serbische Revolution* (1829).

⁵¹ Veltze 1905; Wörndle 1908; Wintersteller 1908 (*non vidi*).

⁵² Frankhauser 2002 (*non vidi*).

⁵³ Which prompts reflection in itself. It must result from, and be indicative of, something that while the “entire” world derives satisfaction from the chance to associate events of its history with Thermopylae, Americans want to see (or must be shown) Thermopylae as the Alamo. Incidentally, two films about the “American Thermopylae” have been made: *The Alamo* (1960) directed by John Wayne, and *The Alamo* (2004) directed by John Lee Hancock.

also the defence of Tsingtao in 1914: the “Chinese Thermopylae” (or rather the German ones, because the Chinese character of that encounter lies only in the fact that it occurred on Chinese soil). The Germans, in turn, associated with Thermopylae the fighting in the region of Langemarck in Flanders in the autumn of 1914, honoured with a version of Simonides’ epitaph: *When in Germany, tell them, passer-by / That we lie here, for such were the orders.*⁵⁴

The 2nd World War brought the next set of “Thermopylae” – on both sides of the front line. It began with the “Finnish Thermopylae”, that is the defensive war of Finland against the invading Soviet Union. The fighting at Isurava (New Guinea) in September 1942 are the “Australian Thermopylae”. Incidentally, it was the Australians and New Zealanders who, in 1941, were destined to fight the Germans in the original, Greek Thermopylae. This time round, it was not the arrows of Persian archers, but the German bombers that put an end to the encounter.

Usually the references to Thermopylae allude to a heroic defence; yet the aggressors, too, can identify with that battle. In his famous *Thermopylenrede*, a speech broadcast by radio on 30th January 1943 r., Hermann Göring spurred on the Germans fighting at Stalingrad with a new interpretation of the famous epitaph: *When in Germany, tell them you have seen us fight at Stalingrad / For Germany, obedient to the laws of honour and war.*⁵⁵ Sparta, Thermopylae and Leonidas resurfaced during the dying moments of the Third Reich. At his birth-

⁵⁴ “Wanderer kommst Du nach Deutschland, verkundige dorten Du habest/Uns hier liegen, wie das Gesetz es befahl” (Rebenich 2002, 328).

⁵⁵ Quoted after Christ 1986 (note 190 pp. 51–52): *Meine Soldaten, die meisten von euch werden von einem ähnlichen Beispiel der großen gewaltigen Geschichte Europas gehört haben. Wenn auch damals die Zahlen klein waren, so gibt es letzten Endes doch keinen Unterschied der Tat als solcher. Vor 21/2 Jahrtausenden stand in einem kleinen Engpaß in Griechenland ein unendlich tapferer und kühner Mann mit dreihundert seiner Männer; stand Leonidas mit dreihundert Spartanern, aus einem Stamm, der wegen seiner Tapferkeit und Kühnheit bekannt war. Eine überwältigende Mehrheit griff diese kleine Schar immer wieder aufs neue an. Der Himmel verkündete von der Zahl der Pfeile, die abgeschossen wurden. Auch damals war es ein Ansturm von Horden, der sich hier am nordischen Menschen brach. Eine gewaltige Zahl von Kämpfern stand Xerxes zur Verfügung, aber die dreihundert Männer wichen und wankten nicht, sie kämpften einen aussichtslosen Kampf, aussichtslos aber nicht in seiner Bedeutung. Schließlich fiel der letzte Mann. In diesem Engpass steht nun ein Satz: ‘Wanderer, kommst du nach Sparta, so berichte, du habest unshier liegen sehen, wie das Gesetz es befahl!’ Es waren dreihundert Männer; meine Kameraden, Jahrtausende sind vergangen, und heute gilt jener Kampf und jenes Opfer dort noch so heroisch, immer noch als Beispiel höchsten Soldatentums. Und es wird noch einmal in der Geschichte unserer Tage heißen: Kommst Du nach Deutschland, so berichte, du habest uns in Stalingrad kämpfen sehen, wie das Gesetz, **das Gesetz für die Sicherheit unseres Volkes es befohlen hat** [emphasis mine – R.K.]. Karl Christ quotes after J. Wieder, *Stalingrad und die Verantwortung des Soldaten*, München 1962, p. 327 and following. Stefan Rebenich (2002, 331) cites a different ending: “...das Gesetz der Ehre und Kriegführung es für Deutschland befohlen hat”.*

day party, held on 20th April 1945 in Berlin, Hitler mentioned Thermopylae rejecting the idea of evacuation. “A desperate fight will always be remembered as a worthy example,” he said to Martin Bormann. “Just think of Leonidas and his three hundred Spartans”.⁵⁶

*

We have a considerable number of the “Polish Thermopylae”, too. A certain synthesis of those was offered by Tadeusz Różewicz in his poem *Polskie Termopyle*. In the Polish collective memory, four encounters, fought in different periods, were particularly famous as the “Polish Thermopylae”. The first of those was the Battle of Węgrów (3rd February 1863) during the January Uprising.⁵⁷ It was compared to the Spartan resistance by the French poet Auguste Barbier (1805–1882) in a poem *La Charge de Wengrow*, which in the 19th century was famous throughout Europe. Barbier wrote:

[...] like in the days of old Leonidas,
Two hundred youths sacrifice themselves
To save the army, and expire
Devoured by the cannons' fiery mouths.⁵⁸

The event was celebrated also by Maria Konopnicka (1842–1910) in her poem *Bój pod Węgrowem* [*The Fighting at Węgrów*] from 1904, in which she alluded to Barbier:

When a foreign poet extolled
That valour and that strength,
He called the Battle of Węgrów
“Polish Thermopylae”.

The following Polish Thermopylae belong to the 20th century. On 17th August 1920 at the village of Zadwórze, 33 kilometres away from Lvov, a troop of 330 young Lvovian volunteers commanded by Captain Bolesław Zajączkowski

⁵⁶ “Ein verzweifelter Kampf behalt seinen ewigen Wert als Beispiel. Man denke an Leonidas und seine dreihundert Spartaner”. According to Karl Christ (1986, 51, note 189) quoting Fest 1973, 989, Hitler uttered this sentence in February 1945.

⁵⁷ On the Battle of Węgrów, see Kołodziejczyk 1994.

⁵⁸ “[...] comme aux jours du vieux Léonidas, / Deux cents nobles enfants au salut d’une armée / Se dévouer, et tous de la gueule enflammée / Des canons dévorants recevoir le trépas”; Auguste Barbier, *La Charge de Wengrow*, in: *Silves et rimes legeres*, 1872, pp. 380–381; translated for the purpose of the current essay (translator’s note).

heroically resisted the advance of the Red Army under Budyonny.⁵⁹ The aim was to delay the arrival of the Bolshevik army to Lvov. The defence was a success – Budyonny resigned from a further advance on Lvov. However, 318 of 330 Poles fell during the battle, Captain Zajączkowski and some other survivors committed suicide, while the Russians killed off the majority of the wounded.⁶⁰

The third Polish Thermopylae is the Battle of Dytiatyn, fought on 16th September 1920.⁶¹ The 13th Infantry Regiment “Children of Cracow” commanded by Captain Jan Gabryś was defending Hill 385 against the attack of the 8th Mounted *Red Cossack* Division of the Red Army, commanded by General Vitaliy Primakov, which included six regiments of infantry. The strengths were hugely disproportionate: ca. 600 men, six cannons and six heavy machine guns on the Polish side, some 2500 to 3000 men, twelve cannons and twenty heavy machine guns on the Russian side. Polish soldiers fought to the death. The calls: “*Polyak, zday-sya! Nye udyosh!*” [You, Pole, give up! You shan’t escape!] went unheeded – no-one surrendered. As the commander ordered.⁶²

The last Polish Thermopylae is the defence of Wizna (7th to 10th September 1939).⁶³ The commander, Captain Władysław Raginis, had a very small troop: ca. twenty officers, 700 non-commissioned officers and private soldiers; six light cannons, twenty-four heavy machine guns, eighteen light machine guns, two anti-tank rifles. General Heinz Guderian had an overwhelming advantage in numbers (ca. 42,000 soldiers) and equipment. But the defenders of Wizna fought like lions – the last bastion fell only on 10th September. During the fighting at Captain Raginis’ bunker at Góra Strękowa, the Germans threatened to kill all the prisoners if the resistance continues. After an hour of consideration, aware that the ammunition is running out and the majority of his men are wounded, Raginis ordered his soldiers to leave the bunker and blew himself up with a grenade.

⁵⁹ On the Battle of Zadwórze, see Nicieja 2000.

⁶⁰ The fallen were buried close by the battleground. Seven, including Capt. Zajączkowski, were later buried at a separate Zadwórze section of the Defenders of Lvov Cemetery. In 1925 Jadwiga Zarugiewicz, mother of one of the soldiers, the 19-year-old Konstanty, selected one of three coffins of soldiers fallen in the defence of Lvov; transported to Warsaw, on 2nd November 1925 it was ceremonially buried in the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier.

⁶¹ On the Battle of Dytiatyn, see Odziemkowski 1994.

⁶² *Following their commander’s order: ‘to stand until the last drop of blood’, all of them, soldiers and officers alike, bravely stood on their positions, sacrificing their lives rather than the cannons and the honour of a Polish Soldier. [...] May their valour and their inflexible courage kindle in us that great flame of the love of our Homeland; and may that flame lead us all in the footsteps of such heroes. In recognition of their valour and sacrifice, the 4th battery of the 1st Regiment of Mountain Guns has been recommended for the Virtuti Militari Cross as the “death battery”* (from the order of General Józef Haller and the commander of the 8th Infantry Regiment Colonel Burhardt-Bukacki).

⁶³ On the Battle of Wizna, see Bernaś, Mikulska-Bernaś 1970.

Lieutenant Stanisław Brykalski, who together with Raginis vowed never to give up the position while alive, was killed earlier.

The memorial in honour of the heroic defence of Wizna, located at Góra Strękowa, bears a telling inscription: *Passer-by, tell the Homeland that we fought to the end, fulfilling our duty*. Recently the defenders of Wizna have been brought closer to the young audience by the Swedish group *Sabaton*, who sings of the Polish soldiers – “Spartans in spirit”.⁶⁴

Sometimes associations with Thermopylae emerge also in reference to other events from Polish history (e.g. the Piotrków Thermopylae of 1939, the Warsaw Thermopylae of 1944–1945). References to the Thermopylae epitaph by Simonides are not infrequent. In the cemetery of Polish soldiers fallen at Monte Cassino during the 2nd World War there is an inscription: “Passer-by, tell Poland / That we have fallen / Faithful in her service”. The Thermopylae epitaph is found also in the military section of the Rakowicki Cemetery in Cracow: “Passer-by, tell Homeland / That faithful to her laws here we lie”. An inscription referring to Thermopylae is found in the Służewiec cemetery in Warsaw, commemorating the victims of the post-war Communist repressions: “Passer-by, bow your head and stay awhile. Here martyr’s blood seeps from each clod of soil. This is Służewiec. These are our Thermopylae”.

“The new Thermopylae”

Apart from the above, there certainly exist other “Marathons” and “Thermopylaes”; regrettably, their list will never be ultimately closed. Fresh candidates can be added already.

The contemporary poet Sandor Kanyadi (b. 1929) is the spiritual father of the “Székely Thermopylae” in honour of the Székely soldiers fighting against the Russians and Austrians in Transylvania in 1849.⁶⁵ Another poet, Petr Bezruč (1867–1958), little known in Poland or Germany due to his anti-Polish and anti-German sentiments, introduced the expression “the Czech Thermopylae”⁶⁶ in his

⁶⁴ In an interview for the *Rzeczpospolita* daily the leader of the group Joakim Brodén said: *Once a Polish fan sent us the info about the Battle of Wizna. When we read about the actions of Captain Władysław Raginis and his colleagues, the story seemed to us so improbable that initially we thought it could not be true. This was incredible courage, for 720 soldiers to resist 42,000 Germans! We immediately thought that this was the most fascinating battle in history, and so we wrote a song about it: 40:1 (Rzeczpospolita, 14th June 2008).*

⁶⁵ Information about the Battle of Nyergesteto (1849) as the “Székely Thermopylae” I owe to Prof. Gabor Gango (Hungarian Academy of Sciences).

⁶⁶ Information on the “Czech Thermopylae” I owe to Prof. Maria Sobotkova (University of Olomouc).

poem *Leonidas*, where the Spartan hero is mentioned in connection with the seizure of the Teschen Silesia by Poles. In Bezruč's poem, the Czechs have been placed in the honourable role of the Greeks, while the Poles are the invading Persians.⁶⁷ The name of the "Vietnamese Thermopylae" is occasionally attached to fighting at Dien Bien Phu (1953). To an anonymous Internet author we owe the newest, "Caucasus Thermopylae". This time, the role of the Greek defenders has been assigned to the Russian soldiers of the 6th Company of the Pskov Landing Division, which from 28th February to 1st March 2000 attempted to prevent the evacuation of Chechen troops by taking possession of Hill 776 in the vicinity of Ulus-Kert.⁶⁸

⁶⁷ Petr Bezruč, "Leonidas" (*Slezské písně*); translated for the purpose of the current essay (translator's note):

*In the passes of Thermopylae, facing certain doom
 – the row of barbarians advancing in a half-circle –
 surprised from behind by a traitor;
 Leonidas stood.
 Before the battlements of Těšín, on the bank of the Olza River
 stand I.
 A hundred spears, a hundred swords reaches to my breast,
 thousands of gaping eyes glow like torches,
 blood flows from my body, blood flows from my eyes,
 blood seeps from my neck, blood runs from my breast,
 my feet slip in the red sea,
 a red Niagara falls on my hands,
 standing here in a huge field of poppies;
 is it red smoke rising from earth towards the sky,
 or is it the clouds that lowered a red curtain upon earth?
 Everything is red. I pulled the helmet from my face,
 the spears are red, the swords are red,
 upon red horses five riders sit –
 I know you, counts, I know you, princes, I know,
 look, and Xerxes too, Xerxes in purple! –
 What is it he whispers to his retinue, what are they plucking from the ground,
 what is ringing, what is twanging, what is jingling in my ears?
 Has God abandoned you, do you want to cross Bosphorus again?!
 From behind they cut the tendons of the legs –
 The Poles have remembered the Punic example –
 a red angel stroked me, the shield fell from my hand to the ground,
 I stand at Těšín,
 with my pierced hips leaning against the Gigula,
 as I have been ordered by the laws.*

⁶⁸ The author does not justify why this encounter deserves the name of "Thermopylae" or why he considers the Chechens to be the attackers, i.e. the "Persians", and the Russians – the Greek defenders. Probably crucial were the positive European association, the heroic Russian defence of the hill, and the Chechens' barbarity: "Of the 6th Company's ninety soldiers defending

“The story ends in trivialization”?

Again, it seems not, even if the increasing banality and commercialisation of a symbol is also a phenomenon with a future. Chocolates of the Belgian company “Leonidas” refer to associations with Sparta and its king even though, if tasty, they are utterly non-Spartan (also due to their delicious taste). It is curious, by the by, that Leonidas survives in the popular awareness while Miltiades has entirely disappeared, suffocated by the fame of that first “Marathon runner”.⁶⁹

Sparta, Thermopylae, Leonidas are today elements of popular culture. Some films with a Spartan theme are easily remembered, like *The 300 Spartans* (1962) by Rudolph Maté and Zack Snyder’s *300* (2006). There are also others, however, for instance the American political thriller *Spartan* (2004) written and directed by David Mamet, the entire “Spartan” character of which is limited to the title. There is also the odd “comedy” by Jason Friedberg and Aaron Seltzer *Meet the Spartans* (2008), which has as much in common with Sparta as Zack Snyder’s film, but fortunately (in contrast to the latter) could not reinforce various historical clichés, because it made fun of them.

The title of the film *Go Tell the Spartans* (1978)⁷⁰ also indicated a connection with Sparta. It is a Vietnam War story set in 1964. In a Vietnamese village, over the gate to a cemetery where 302 Frenchmen fallen in combat were buried, there is an inscription: *Etranger, dites aux Spartiates que nous demeurons ici par obeissance a leur lois*. A corporal with a French-sounding name Courcey trans-

the hill, eighty-four heroes fell. Only six – wounded, bleeding and stunned – went unnoticed by the Chechens and were not killed off”.

⁶⁹ It is difficult to formulate any definite conclusions on that basis, but the popularity of the names of the two heroes: Miltiades in the Greek and Romance world, and Leonidas in Russia and Ukraine, is interesting in itself. Miltiades’s namesakes are found in France (Miltiades), Rumunia (Meltiade), Italy (Milziade) and, of course, Greece (Miltiadis); the most famous of those is probably St. Miltiades (Melchiades), the bishop of Rome in 311–313. The name Leonidas occurs in other parts of the world (for instance, the Brazilian football player Leonidas da Silva), but it seems especially popular in Russia and Ukraine. There, the list of famous men bearing the name Leonid(as) is long indeed, including e.g. the economist Leonid Hurwicz (1917–2008), the Greek-Catholic Blessed Leonida Fiodorov (d. 1935), the General Secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union Leonid Brezhnev (1906–1982), the outstanding mathematician Leonid Kantorovich (1912–1986), General-Major of the NKVD active in the Katyn affair Leonid Bashtakov (1900–1970), the 1970’s Russian athlete Leonid Litvinyenko, the tallest man in the world (253 cm) Leonid Stadnyk, the heroic doctor Leonid Rogozov, who in 1961 performed an appendectomy on himself, and two presidents of Ukraine: Leonid Kravchuk and Leonid Kutschma. The only well-known Leonidas in Poland was Leonid Teliga, who single-handedly circumnavigated the globe on his yacht *Opty*.

⁷⁰ Based on a novel by Daniel Ford, directed by Ted Post, starring Burt Lancaster.

lates those words to an American lieutenant, who comments: “Brave men, corporal. They fought the battle and lost. But we won’t lose. Cause we’re Americans”.⁷¹ In view of the later history of the Vietnam War, well known to the audience, it certainly was the film-makers’ intention to imbue those words with a special significance.

In the above films, we recognise the issues of the Cold War, the Vietnam War, and the conflicts of the late 20th and early 21st century concealed in the Spartan guise. This is not, of course, a new phenomenon – using great events as symbols and imbuing them with new meanings, convenient to the creators of the message, is a well-known process, which has long been an element of the broadly-understood Spartan legend.

In the most recent publications with which I am familiar, devoted to Thermopylae and their reception, I have noticed entirely new tendencies. Many authors, including Paul Cartledge, Emma Clough and Michael Clarke,⁷² go with the spirit of our times by emphasising that Thermopylae (and the Greco-Persian wars in general) belong to the *imaginaire* and ideology of “aggressive nationalism”, which feeds on the conviction that “from the graves of patriot men and women spring living nations”.⁷³ Due to all the issues symbolised by the trauma of the 9/11, and generally by the phenomenon of the so-called “terrorism”, Leonidas and his men have found themselves on the wrong side.⁷⁴ Death as a sacrifice for any cause has now become *demodé*.

In the atmosphere of a general revision of all the earlier views, Michael Clarke proposed even a new reading of Simonides’ famous epigram, finding there a note of accusation: “Stranger, go tell the Lakedaimonioi that this is why

⁷¹ Winkler 2009, 189–190.

⁷² Cartledge 2006, 129–130; Clough 2004, 378; Clarke 2002, 63 and following.

⁷³ A funeral speech of 1915 quoted by Michael Clarke (2002, 64).

⁷⁴ Through no fault of their own, let it be stressed. As usual, it is modernity looking at itself in the mirror of history. Brutal aggressors find it convenient to identify with the heroes of the Thermopylae. Those who otherwise have nothing in common with the Greek warriors of Marathon and Thermopylae, set themselves (or are set by their adversaries, or both) on the Greek side. Reactions to Zack Snyder’s film are an example of that confusion of roles. In a review published in *Turkish Daily News* (24th March 2007) Mustafa Akyol wrote: *The message that the film is designed to give us is all too obvious: Western civilization (which is free, rational and beautiful) has always defended itself against the barbaric East (which is tyrannical, irrational and ugly)... However... if the idea of a weak and outnumbered group of dedicated warriors standing against the world’s superpower is to be seen as a prelude for today’s ‘clash of civilisations’... then the out-coming message has to be quite the opposite... in case you haven’t noticed, the United States is the world’s superpower today, and terrorist groups such as al-Qaeda see themselves as the few who will conquer the many* (I quote a text found in the review of Cartledge’s books *Spartans* and *Thermopylae* – *Bryn Mawr Classical Review* 2008.07.40).

we died – because we obeyed their precepts”.⁷⁵ Certainly there is much exaggeration here (at least because that text was not designed by the fallen men themselves); but we sense the same exaggeration in John Stuart Mill’s famous phrase about Marathon, as well as in the thought of William Golding (1911–1993), the future laureate of the Nobel Prize in literature, who upon visiting Thermopylae in 1965 said: “A little of Leonidas lies in the fact that I can go where I like and write what I like. He contributed to set us free”.

At the same time, underscoring that “a little”, we may agree with the assumption that those battles, although not at all the greatest from the military point of view, did have a considerable influence on the further course of history of ancient Greece, and today they constitute an ever-growing element of the global *mémoire collective*. Certainly they are, to use Pierre Nora’s concept, *lieux de mémoire* of the collective memory common to all of us (that is to whoever wishes to join it *bona fide*, due to the values inherent in the symbol). It is easy to interpret the history of those battles in the categories of “intentional history”, “invention of tradition”, or “Gründungsmythen”. I do not think, however, that Hans Joachim Gehrke is correct in saying that “myth, understood as real history, becomes here [in the case of Marathon – R.K.] a symbol for exclusion or integration by means of segregation”.⁷⁶ It would be more (if still not totally) justified to propose this in the case of the Thermopylae legend. But even there I do not think that the scholarly *Neue Mode* is anything more than a noble example of the scholars’ sensitivity to the challenges of our times, and in its essence, just a transitory illustration of the contemporary world.

To an increasing number of people – not only in Europe, but throughout the world – “Marathon” and “Thermopylae” are *lieux de mémoire*, a confirmation of belonging to a system of values for which the Greeks fought (consciously or not, but that is another story) in the early fifth century B.C.⁷⁷

⁷⁵ Clarke 2002, 76–77.

⁷⁶ Gehrke 2007, 108. The multi-function “Spartan” penknives (even that one which was named Thermopylae) by the Swiss company Victorinox cannot, I think, be perceived as a symbol of a dangerous militarism; the magazine *Thermopylae. Byelorussian Literary Annual* even less so.

⁷⁷ As demonstrated by the continuing popularity of topics alluding to Marathon and Thermopylae among the creators and audiences; some examples are: (1) Marathon: – the novel *Maraton* by Janusz Wojciech Rosiński (1966); *Marathon: a druhe powédki* by Ingrid Juršikowa (1985); *Marathon*, a volume of verse by Georg Heym (1887–1912) (published from a manuscript in 1956); the poem *Guerreros en Maraton* by Jose Maria Alvares (1994); (2) Thermopylae: the poem by Konstantinos Kavafis (1863–1933) quoted in this essay; Termopile by Stanisław Ryszard Dobrowolski (from the volume *Pożegnanie Termopil [Farewell to Thermopylae]*, 1929); the play *Thermopylae* by the Danish dramatist H. C. Branner (1958); the novel *Wanderer, kommst du nach Sparta* by Heinrich Böll (1950 and later editions); the novel *Los cudo di Talos* (English title *The Spartan*) by Valerio Massimo Manfredi (1988); the novel *Gates of Fire* by Steven Presfield (1998).

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Abstract

The majority of Greeks remembered the battles of Marathon, Thermopylae, Salamis and Plataeae; but the future was to belong not to the pan-Hellenic Salamis or Plataeae, but to the Marathon, appropriated by the Athenians, and Thermopylae, which the Spartans made their own. The battles of Marathon and Thermopylae are viewed by us only from the perspective of the Greek sources, and some lacunas are obvious even in those. In both cases the events were quickly mythologized. In Athens Marathon almost immediately grew into a symbol of the Greeks' struggle with the barbarians (as seen from *The Persians* by Aeschylus). The first epitomised love of freedom, the latter – enslavement. Marathon became the object of pride for the Athenians, who were the first among the Greeks to oppose the invasion of the eastern barbarians.

In Thermopylae, a stone lion and the famous epitaph by Simonides commemorated the death of the Spartans. Perhaps it is only there that lies the source of the general, and not entirely correct, conviction that a Spartiate could only be victorious or die, *tertium don datur*.

With the passage of time, both battles gained in importance with respect to politics. Marathon has long been an element of the European *mémoire collective*. Yet the star of Marathon rose fully in the 19th century, when it became an inspiration for poets (e.g. Elizabeth Barrett Browning and George Byron) and the symbol of the Greek war of independence. It was, of course, present also in the history of Poland. Throughout the 19th, 20th and early 21st century, "Thermopylae" seem to have replaced "Marathon" as the symbol of a heroic fight for freedom.

To an increasing number of people – not only in Europe, but throughout the world – "Marathon" and "Thermopylae" are *lieux de mémoire*, a confirmation of belonging to a system of values for which the Greeks fought (consciously or not, but that is another story) in the early fifth century B.C.



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ONESIKRITOS UND DAS ACHAIMENIDENREICH*

Keywords: Onesicritus, Alexander the Great, Achaemenid Persia, Cyrus II, Cyropaedia

Einleitung

Onesikritos, Flottenoffizier unter Alexander und Verfasser der nur in Fragmenten erhaltenen Schrift Πῶς Ἀλέξανδρος ἤχθη (*FGrHist* 134), gehört zu den am wenigsten fassbaren Alexanderhistoriographen. Nahezu alle relevanten Aspekte seines Wirkens sind umstritten: sein Herkunftsort und seine Lebensdaten ebenso wie sein Werdegang und seine Funktion unter Alexander, die Abfassungszeit sowie der Titel seines Werks, seine Vorlagen, inhaltliche Ausrichtung und sein historischer Wert. Einigkeit herrscht sowohl bei antiken als auch bei der Mehrzahl der modernen Autoren einzig insofern, dass seine Schrift nicht zu den glaubwürdigsten Quellen zu Alexander gezählt wird.¹

Traditionell gilt Onesikritos als Kyniker, maßgeblich beeinflusst durch Diogenes von Sinope.² Dies beruht auf einer Gleichsetzung seiner Person mit einem bei Diogenes Laertios (6,89) genannten „gewissen“ Onesikritos aus Aigina, die

* Mein herzlicher Dank für Hinweise, Unterstützung und Möglichkeiten zur Diskussion gilt Reinhold Bichler, Waldemar Heckel, Johannes Heinrichs, Marek Jan Olbrycht, Pat Wheatley, Gerhard Wirth und dem anonymen Gutachter von *Anabasis*.

¹ Strab. 2,1,9; 15,1,28; Luk. *Quomodo historia conscribenda sit* 40; Plut. *Alex.* 46,2. Vgl. Kuhrt 2010, 708, A. 1; Winiarczyk 2007, 213; Schmitt 2005, 740; Pearson 1960, 86.

² Strab. 15,1,65. Vgl. Diog. Laert. 6,84; Plut. *mor.* 331 E; *Alex.* 65,1. Vgl. Heckel 2009, 183; Cartledge 2004, 251, 281; Goulet-Cazé 2000, 1206; Hammond 1993, 28, 106 (der annimmt, die Anekdote um Alexanders Treffen mit Diogenes stamme von Onesikritos); Jones 1993, 311; Will 1986, 15.

allerdings stark umstritten ist.³ Onesikritos' Laufbahn scheint jedenfalls den kynischen Maximen zuwiderzulaufen,⁴ wonach der Weg zum Glück – verkörpert in den ideellen Werten von *sophia*, *autarkeia*, *parrhesia* und *eleutheria* – nur über Armut, Askese und die radikale Ablehnung gesellschaftlicher, religiöser und kultureller Normen, selbstverständlich inklusive politischer Ämter, zu finden war.⁵ Onesikritos' für einen Diogenesanhänger untypische Karriere wird entweder damit erklärt, dass er ein widerspenstiger Kyniker⁶ oder dass er Teil einer flexiblen, weltoffenen Unterströmung kynischer Kosmopoliten gewesen sei.⁷ In seiner Schrift soll er Alexander als Philosophenkönig in Waffen porträtiert haben, der auf seinen Feldzügen nicht nach materiellem Reichtum, sondern zivilisatorischem Fortschritt gestrebt habe.⁸ Gemäß *communis opinio* wird Onesikritos' kynische Prägung insbesondere in zwei Fragmenten deutlich: der Beschreibung des Landes des Musikanos in Indien (Strab. 15,1,21–24. 54), die als philosophische Utopie einer dem Materialismus abgeneigten Idealgesellschaft gilt,⁹ und der Bericht von seiner Entsendung zu den Brahmanen in Taxila, die ihm ihre asketischen Lebensweisheiten offenbarten (Strab. 15,1,63–65).¹⁰ Diese Schilderung wird entweder als kynische Fiktion bewertet,¹¹ als Resümee kynischer Prinzipien vor indischer Kulisse¹² oder als Umsetzung indischer Weisheitslehren in kynische Formeln.¹³ 2007 übte Marek Winiarczyk grundsätzliche Zweifel an dem traditionellen Onesikritos-Bild und forderte die grundsätzliche Verbannung der „These, Onesikritos sei ein kynischer Philosoph gewesen, aus der Fachliteratur“.¹⁴

³ Vgl. Anm. 16 und 17.

⁴ Vgl. Winiarczyk 2007, 201–202; Cartledge 2004, 252; Pearson 1960, 89.

⁵ Diog. Laert. 7,121; Luk. *DM* 11,3. Vgl. Goulet-Cazé 1997, 598–599; dies. 1999, 969–970; Bracht Branham 1996, 99–100.

⁶ Vgl. Pearson 1960, 89.

⁷ Vgl. Moles 1993, 263.

⁸ Vgl. Schmitt 2005, 740; Cartledge 2004, 240–241, 252; Moles 1993, 277; Pédech 1984, 78, 80, 95; Pearson 1960, 88–89; Brown 1949, 50–51; Tarn 1939, 55; Strasburger 1939, 462, 464; Jacoby 1930, 468.

⁹ Vgl. Pearson 1960, 96, 100–103; Karttunen 1997, 27, 79; Bosworth 1996, 85, 87; Figueira 1986, 11; Pédech 1984, 155; Brown 1973, 127; 1949, 54–56; Strasburger 1939, 464; Jacoby 1930, 469.

¹⁰ Strab. 15,1,63–65. Vgl. Pédech 1984, 104–126; Pearson 1960, 98–99; Brown 1949, 38–47.

¹¹ Vgl. Wilcken 1923, 175. Dagegen vgl. Winiarczyk 2007, 216–219.

¹² Vgl. Bracht Branham 1996, 85; Pédech 1984, 104–126; Hamilton 1969, 180; Pearson 1960, 99; Brown 1949, 45–47. Abwägend: Muckensturm 1993, 230.

¹³ Vgl. Winiarczyk 2007, 218–219; Bosworth 1998, 188 (indes Kalanos als Übermittler an Alexanders Hof); Stoneman 1995, 104–114; Jones 1993, 311–312.

¹⁴ Winiarczyk 2007, 202. Demnach beruhe die Charakterisierung primär auf Onesikritos' eigener Behauptung, während sein Lebenslauf gegen seine Zugehörigkeit zu den Kynikern spreche.

Ziel dieser Untersuchung ist es, an die kritische Hinterfragung der vorherrschenden Thesen zu Onesikritos anzuknüpfen und ihn in die politischen Strukturen des Alexanderreichs einzuordnen. Vor diesem Hintergrund wird beleuchtet, welcher Quellenwert den Fragmenten seiner Alexandergeschichte einzuräumen ist. Dabei ist zu klären, inwiefern sein Werk von traditionellen Motiven der griechischen Literatur, insbesondere von Xenophons *Kyroupaideia*, beeinflusst war. Insofern versteht sich die Studie als ein Beitrag zur Analyse des Charakters von Onesikritos' Geschichtswerk, das aktuell nicht unbedingt im Fokus der Alexanderforschung steht.¹⁵

Onesikritos als Rätsel

Als Herkunftsort von Onesikritos gilt gemäß *communis opinio* Astypalaia – entweder die Sporadeninsel oder der Ort auf Kos –, wie auch von Onesikritos' Vorgesetzten, dem ναύαρχος Nearchos, bezeugt wird (Arr. *Ind.* 18,9).¹⁶ Onesikritos' Lebensdaten sind aufgrund der schlechten Quellenlage kaum einzuschätzen;¹⁷ ebenso liegt im Dunkeln, zu welchem Zeitpunkt er Teilnehmer des Alexanderzugs wurde. Die Vermutung, dass er von Beginn an dabei war,¹⁸ hat eini-

¹⁵ So findet sich etwa im 2010 erschienen *Blackwell's Companion to Ancient Macedonia* keine explizite Behandlung des Onesikritos als Alexanderhistoriograph. In der Studie zum Perserbild bei den Alexanderhistoriographen aus dem Jahr 2009 geht auch Böhme nicht auf Onesikritos ein. Onesikritos wurde dagegen behandelt bei Koulakiotis 2006, 122–126; Zambrini 2007. In seiner Studie zu hellenistischen Utopien widmet Winiarczyk 2011, 73–115 ein eigenes Kapitel.

¹⁶ Diog. Laert. 6,84; Ael. *NA* 16,39; Arr. *Ind.* 18,9. Vgl. Will 2009, 15; Winiarczyk 2007, 198, 236; Cartledge 200, 251; Baynham 2003, 8; Goulet-Cazé 2000, 1206; Bracht Branham 1996, 449; Pédech 1984, 72; Strasburger 1939, 460. Aigina als alternativer Geburtsort ist vermutlich deswegen abzulehnen, da der bei Diogenes Laertios (6,84) genannte „gewisse“ Onesikritos aus Aigina wohl ein Namensvetter war. Vgl. Winiarczyk 2007, 199; Goulet-Cazé 2000, 1206; Pédech 1984, 72–73; Tarn 1939, 47. Jacoby 1930, 469 und Strasburger 19, 461 wiesen zudem auf die Häufigkeit des Namens hin. Vgl. Brown 1949, 3. Für eine Gleichsetzung hingegen argumentieren Heckel 2009, 183, 323, A. 484; Brown 1949, 3–4; Berve 1926, II, 288. Zu Aigina als Geburtsort des Onesikritos vgl. Figueira 1986, 5–11. Die nicht mehrheitlich akzeptierte Kompromisslösung lautet, dass er in beiden Orten gelebt habe. Vgl. Pearson 1960, 84–85, A. 7; Berve 1926, II, 288. Dagegen vgl. Winiarczyk 2007, 199.

¹⁷ Vgl. Heckel 2009, 184; Winiarczyk 2007, 206; Brown 1949, 4. Die These, er sei schon um die fünfzig Jahre alt gewesen, als er den Offiziersposten bei der Indusflotte übernahm (vgl. Heckel 2009, 183; Brown 1949, 3–4; Berve 1926, II, 288), hängt von der zweifelhaften Gleichsetzung mit seinem Namensvetter ab, der ebenfalls als Diogenesschüler bezeichnet wird (Diog. Laert. 6,75–76). Grundsätzlich ist indes nicht davon auszugehen, dass in Alexanders Heer ein fortgeschrittenes Alter gegen einen Offiziersposten gesprochen hätte, wie die Beispiele von Parmenion und Polyperchon zeigen.

¹⁸ Vgl. Heckel 2009, 183; Hammond 1993, 21; Will 1986, 15; Berve 1926, I, 67. Dagegen vgl. Winiarczyk 2007, 202–203; Pearson 1960, 85; Brown 1949, 8.

ges für sich, lässt sich aber nicht verifizieren. Gegen die Alternative, er sei erst kurz vor dem Indienfeldzug, als ihm das Schiffskommando übertragen wurde,¹⁹ dazugekommen, spricht, dass er die Inschrift des Grabs Dareios' I. in Naqš-i Rostam in einer Kurzversion, die nahe am Original erscheint, erwähnt (Strab. 15,3,8). Daraus könnte man schließen, dass er den Feldzug begleitete, als Alexander die achaimenidische Grablege besichtigte, die sich unweit der Palastanlage von Persepolis befand, sicherlich während seines mehrmonatigen Aufenthalts in Persepolis Ende 331/Anfang 330.²⁰ Da diese Feldzugsetappe offiziell jedoch unter dem Zeichen der panhellenischen Rache stand, versinnbildlicht in der als Revancheakt inszenierten und propagierten kontrollierten Brandsetzung primär der von Xerxes erbauten Palastteile, wie die archäologischen Funde belegen,²¹ schien es nicht opportun, in Alexanders öffentlicher Darstellung auf einen Besuch am Grab von Xerxes' Vater abzuheben. Immerhin musste es griechischen und makedonischen Adressaten, die mit Herodot vertraut waren, bekannt gewesen sein, dass die Saat für den Konflikt zwischen Athen, seinen Bündnern und dem Perserreich unter Dareios I. gesät worden war, der die bei Marathon gescheiterte Bestrafung Athens seinem Erben Xerxes hinterlassen hatte.²² Aus diesem Grund scheint auch bei den Alexanderhistoriographen, die sich auffallend eng an Herodots Sprachregelung orientierten,²³ Dareios I. vor allem in der Rolle des *Spiritus rector* des späteren Xerxeszugs zu figurieren.²⁴ Ein weiterer Grund für das Fehlen von Alexanders Besuch der Achaimenidengräber im offiziellen Tatenbericht wird gewesen sein, dass auch Xerxes in Naqš-i Rostam begraben lag,²⁵ den Alexander und die panhellenisch gefärbte Berichterstattung als negati-

¹⁹ Vgl. Figueira 1986, 10.

²⁰ Vgl. Müller 2011, 121–122; Seibert 2004, 15–16, 18; 2004/05, 47 (indes mit der Option, Alexander habe nur Begleiter mit der Besichtigung beauftragt). Daher scheint auch die Vermutung von Tarn 1939, 49, Onesikritos sei im Winter 329/28 zum Zug gestoßen, unzutreffend. Warum Pearson 1960, 110 vermutet, in Onesikritos' Schrift sei die Grabbeschreibung erst nach den Indienzug eingeordnet worden, ist nicht ersichtlich. Strab. 15,3,7–8 hat zwar diese Anordnung, was jedoch kein Beweis ist.

²¹ Vgl. Boucharlat 2006, 457; Wiesehöfer 2005, 48–49, 150; Seibert 2004/05, 85–88; Sancisi-Weerdenburg 1997, 181–182. Die größten Zerstörungen trafen die Thronhalle (Apadana) und Xerxes' Wohnpalast (Hadiš). Im Palast des Dareios wurden keine Brandspuren gefunden. Daher ist die These von Seibert 2004/05, 99–100, es habe sich um einen unabsichtlichen Brand gehandelt, den Kallisthenes zum panhellenischen Fanal stilisiert habe, problematisch.

²² Wenngleich die bei Herodot (5,18; vgl. Just. 7,4,1) erwähnte Unterwerfung Makedoniens unter die persische Oberhoheit unter Dareios I. (vgl. Olbrycht 2010, 343–344), nach den Perserkriegen in der Nachwelt bewusst kaschiert wurde (Speusippos (Natoli) 3). Vgl. Müller 2011, 112–113.

²³ Vgl. Müller 2011, 129–130.

²⁴ Curt. 3,10,8; 4,1,11. Vgl. Müller 2011, 120–122.

²⁵ Vgl. Seibert 2004, 16, A. 11.

ve Kontrastfigur zu Alexander erwähnt hatten.²⁶ Entsprechend erscheint Xerxes in seiner griechischen Standardrolle des von Hybris getriebenen Gewaltherrschers und Tempelfrevlers.²⁷ Im Kontext des zum panhellenischen Höhepunkt stilisierten Brands in Persepolis²⁸ hätte ein Bericht, wie Alexander die Gräber von Dareios und ihm besuchte, deplatziert gewirkt.

Onesikritos publizierte seine Schrift jedoch zu einer Zeit, als die ideologische Dringlichkeit der panhellenischen Parolen, welche die Kriegspropaganda in der ersten Phase des Zugs geprägt hatten,²⁹ nicht mehr gegeben war. Dies hielt ihn dennoch – ebenso wenig wie die anderen Alexanderhistoriographen – davon ab, panhellenische Motive zu übernehmen, in anachronistischer Weise auch noch bei Ereignissen nach der Entlassung der griechischen Truppen im Sommer 330 (Arr. *an.* 3,19,5–6). So ließ er Alexander im Kampf gegen Poros 326 verkünden, dass er all diese Mühen für ein Lob der Athener auf sich nehme (Plut. *Alex.* 60,3–4).³⁰ Zu dieser Zeit war Athen tatsächlich zu einem drittrangigen Probleme Alexanders geworden; vielmehr lag ihm wohl die Sicherung der östlichen Grenzen seines neu eroberten Reichs am Herzen.

In der Diadochenzeit stellte das konstruierte Feindbild der asiatischen „Barbaren“ zwar in literarischer Hinsicht weiterhin eine feste Größe dar und war auch im politischen Diskurs ein gängiges Mittel der Diffamierung, hatte jedoch durch Alexanders Vielvölkerreichspolitik die Stoßkraft der frühen Kriegstage verloren. Daher mochte Onesikritos kein Problem darin gesehen haben, über Dareios' Grabstätte zu berichten. Dennoch ging er vermutlich nicht soweit, Xerxes' Grab zu erwähnen.³¹

Bezüglich der ebenfalls von ihm beschriebenen Grabstätte Kyros' II. wird den Zeugnissen zu glauben sein, die Alexanders Besuch erstmals 330 verorten, als er nach Pasargadai kam (Strab. 15,3,7; indirekt: Arr. *an.* 6,29,4–11). Er hatte Kyros, der im Perserreich und in der griechischen Tradition, nicht zuletzt dank

²⁶ Bereits zu Beginn des Zugs: Arr. *an.* 1,11,5–8 (vgl. Hdt. 7,33–35. 54. 192; 9,116,1–3); Plut. *Alex.* 15,7 (vgl. Hdt. 7,43). Auch in der Folgezeit: Plut. *Alex.* 37,3; Strab. 17,1,43; Curt. 7,5,28–35. Vgl. Müller 2011, 122–128; Böhme 2009, 166; Wirth 1993, 53, A. 72.

²⁷ Arr. *an.* 3,16,4–5; 4,11,9; 7,17,1–2; Strab. 16,1,5. Vgl. Müller 2011, 124–125; Böhme 2009, 166; Kuhrt 2010, 494; Briant 1996, 881.

²⁸ Strab. 15,3,6; Arr. *an.* 3,18,11–12. Vgl. Heckel 2009, 14; Wiesehöfer 2005, 48; Müller 2003, 74; Flower 2000, 114; Wirth 1993, 198–199, 225; Balcer 1978, 121, 133. Wenngleich Kleitarchos den politischen Akt in eine Affekthandlung im Rausch verwandelte: Plut. *Alex.* 38,1–2; Curt. 5,7,2–11; Diod. 17,72.

²⁹ Vgl. Flower 2000, 105.

³⁰ Vgl. Müller 2011, 128, A. 149.

³¹ Erst Ps.-Kall. 2,18,3 erwähnt, dass Alexander am Grab des Xerxes war. Die Kulisse wird indes genutzt, um ihn als panhellenischen Rächer zu präsentieren, der dort angekettete Athener befreite, sie mit Geld versorgte und in die Heimat schickte.

Xenophon, einen guten Ruf genoss,³² zu seiner persischen Leitfigur erwählt (Strab. 11,11,4). Der Fokus auf seinem zweitem Grabbesuch 324, teils als einziger deklariert (Curt. 10,1,22–38),³³ mag daraus resultieren, dass Alexander bei dieser Gelegenheit wesentlich deutlicher als legitimer Nachfolger des Teispiden dargestellt werden konnte: So bot sich ihm die Chance, Kyros nicht nur als Besucher, sondern auch als Rächer, Bewahrer und Hüter des geplünderten Grabs die Ehre zu erweisen.³⁴ Mit diesem Engagement zugunsten von Kyros' *memoria*, mit dem er sich manifest in die Tradition des Toten stellte, konnte er für sich beanspruchen, im Kern des für die persische Geschichte so wichtigen Erinnerungsorts Pasargadai³⁵ die rechte Ordnung wieder hergestellt zu haben.

Insgesamt spricht Onesikritos' Erwähnung der Königsgräber für seine Teilnahme am Alexanderzug spätestens ab Ende 331. Seine anfängliche Funktion bleibt indes ungewiss. Aufgrund seines späteren Flottenkommandos, das maritime Erfahrungen voraussetzte, verbunden mit seiner Inselherkunft, wurde vermutet, dass er ursprünglich als Mitglied der griechischen Flotte gekommen war.³⁶ Als Alternative gilt, dass er als Historiograph oder Wissenschaftler engagiert worden war.³⁷ Zwar würden der offenbar hohe Grad seiner Bildung und sein Interesse an Philosophie und Historiographie dafür sprechen, doch der Umstand, dass er eine Alexandergeschichte verfasste, kann nicht automatisch dafür bürgen: Auch andere Zugteilnehmer, die nicht zum philosophisch-wissenschaftlichen Sektor gehörten, fühlten sich wie Ptolemaios und Aristobulos später zum Historiographen berufen. Onesikritos' ethnographisch-geographisches Interesse kann ebenfalls aus seiner Seefahrererfahrung resultiert haben.

An Alexanders Hof wurden üblicherweise spezifisch als Historiographen oder Philosophen benannten Personen zusätzlich noch militärische Kommanden übertragen. Umgekehrt wurden für diplomatische Missionen im Rahmen der Eroberung keine Philosophen, sondern führende Militärs gewählt, die zum *inner circle* gehörten. Von ihnen musste Überblick über die strategische Lage und makedonische

³² Vgl. Müller 2011, 114; 2003, 173–174; Wiesehöfer 2005, 150; Seibert 2004, 14. Herodots Kyrosbild war dagegen wesentlich komplexer und ambivalenter gestaltet: Am Ende wandelte der Eroberer sich zum skrupellosen Machtmenschen und wurde dafür bestraft (1,205–214).

³³ Vgl. Seibert 2004, 23.

³⁴ Strab. 15,3,7; Arr. *an.* 6,29,4–11. Vgl. Kuhrt 2010, 92; Heinrichs 1987, 488–489. Eine andere Erklärung bietet Seibert 2004, 23–30: Der offizielle Bericht habe den ersten Besuch bewusst verschwiegen, weil die dabei erfolgte Öffnung des Grabs durch Alexander eben jene Entweihung und Schändung gewesen sei, die er beim zweiten Besuch selbst geahndet und einem Sündenbock angelastet habe (Plut. *Alex.* 69,2).

³⁵ Vgl. Wiesehöfer 2005, 48–50.

³⁶ Vgl. Hammond 1993, 21.

³⁷ Vermutet von Will 1986, 15. Ähnlich Berve 1926, I, 67: Er habe zu den Philosophen am Hof gehört.

Interna erwartet werden können; so war nach seinem Aufstieg ab 330 häufig Hephaestion mit solchen Gesandtschaften betraut.³⁸ Auch Onesikritos' Entsendung zu den Gymnosophisten, von denen einige Gruppen im Vorfeld für Ärger gesorgt hatten (Plut. *Alex.* 64,1), erfolgte, während er ein Flottenkommando bekleidete.³⁹

Bezüglich der Frage nach Onesikritos' Haltung zur kynischen Philosophie sollte nicht Diogenes Laertios' Aussage, οὗτος τῶν ἐλλογίμων Διογένους μαθητῶν (6,84) als Beleg für eine Schülerschaft, sondern sein Selbstzeugnis Priorität haben. Demnach erwähnte er im Gespräch mit dem Brahmanen Dandamis,⁴⁰ der ihn nach griechischen Lehren fragte, Διογένης, οὐ καὶ αὐτὸς ἀκροάσαιτο (Strab. 15,1,65). Die Äußerung, er habe ihn gehört, ist ebenso vage wie zurückhaltend formuliert;⁴¹ Onesikritos kann ebenso ein regelmäßiges wie auch einmaliges Zuhören oder sogar ein zufällig erfolgtes Lauschen *en passant* gemeint haben, nicht jedoch den Status eines Schülers. Die Aussage steht damit im Gegensatz zu Diogenes Laertios' Zeugnis, das offenbar auf einer großzügigen Ausgestaltung der Basisdaten beruht. Onesikritos kann daher nicht beschuldigt werden, sich prahlerisch als Diogenesschüler ausgegeben zu haben. Vielmehr fanden es wohl Diogenes Laertios oder seine Quellen passend, seine – wie auch immer geartete – Vertrautheit mit den kynischen Lehren griffiger zu gestalten, um den Vergleich mit seinem mutmaßlichen literarischen Vorbild noch einschlägiger zu machen: Wie der Sokratesschüler Xenophon, der mit Kyros zu Feld gezogen war und ihn in der *Kyroupaideia* literarisch verherrlichte, habe Onesikritos Alexander bei seinen Feldzügen begleitet und ein Enkomion auf ihn geschrieben (6,84). Die Problematik der Passage offenbart sich schon anhand von Diogenes Laertios' offensichtlicher Unkenntnis des Inhalts der *Kyroupaideia*, deren Protagonist nicht Kyros der Jüngere war, dessen Feldzug Xenophon begleitete, sondern Kyros II.⁴² Dies zeugt für die oberflächliche Gestaltung des Vergleichs, was indes nicht bedeutet, dass Xenophon als Onesikritos' literarischem Modell gänzlich zu verwerfen ist. Im Gegenteil: Keiner der Ale-

³⁸ Plut. *Alex.* 47,5; Diod. 17,47,1–6; Curt. 4,1,20 (Abdalonymos); Curt. 8,12,6 (Omphis); Diod. 17,91,1–2; Arr. *an.* 5,20,6. 21,2–6 (Poros, Cousin des Poros). Vgl. Reames-Zimmerman 1998, 100–124.

³⁹ Strab. 15,1,63–65; Plut. *Alex.* 65,3.

⁴⁰ Laut Strabon hieß er Mandanis, Dandamis (Plut. *Alex.* 8,4; 65,2–3; Arr. *an.* 7,2,2) gilt aber als die korrekte Form. Vgl. Winiarczyk 2007, 215, A. 102.

⁴¹ Vgl. Pédech 1984, 72. Plut. *Alex.* 65,1 (ὁ δὲ Ὀνεσίκριτος ἦν φιλόσοφος τῶν Διογένει τῶ Κυνικῶ συνεσχολακότων); *mor.* 331 E wird expliziter, doch ist unsicher, inwieweit er schon von dem vorherrschenden Image des Onesikritos beeinflusst war. Zudem wird teils vermutet, er habe nur Exzerpte aus Onesikritos' Schrift benutzt, vgl. Winiarczyk 2007, 232.

⁴² Vgl. Brown 1949, 8, 13, der aus dieser Verwechslung schließt, dass Diogenes Laertios nicht getraut werden kann. Dagegen leitet Pearson 1960, 87 die nicht akzeptierte These daraus ab, Diogenes Laertios habe nicht die *Kyroupaideia*, sondern die *Anabasis* gemeint.

xanderhistoriographen kam an den griechischen literarischen Autoritäten, die sich vor ihnen maßgeblich mit dem Perserreich beschäftigt hatten – Herodot, Ktesias und Xenophon –, vorbei. Sie versuchten es auch gar nicht, wie die enge Verhaftung ihrer Berichte an den traditionellen Motiven zeigt.⁴³ Inwiefern Onesikritos wie später Arrian (*an.* 1,12,3–5) darauf abzielte, für sich den Vergleich mit Xenophon in Anspruch nehmen zu können, ist ungewiss.

So ist über Onesikritos' intellektuellen Hintergrund zu sagen, dass er gebildet und in einem unbekanntem Umfang mit kynischen Lehren in Kontakt gekommen war,⁴⁴ die ihn auch interessiert und seinen Beifall geweckt haben mögen.⁴⁵ Dieser Hintergrund genügt jedoch nicht, um anzunehmen, Onesikritos habe eine kynische Schrift verfasst und Alexander als „bewaffneten Bringer von griechischer Philosophie und Kultur“⁴⁶ porträtiert. Die Einschätzung leitet sich von Dandamis' Worten ab, der, angetan von Alexanders Interesse an ihren Lehren, gesagt haben soll, er sei der einzige Herrscher, der sich unter Waffen mit Philosophie beschäftige (Strab. 15,1,64). Weder wird damit impliziert, dass Dandamis ihn als Übermittler griechischer Zivilisation betrachtet, noch lässt sich ein kynisches Ideal daraus ablesen.⁴⁷ Vielmehr kann sich die Charakterisierung darauf zurückführen, dass Aristoteles zu Alexanders Erziehern gehört hatte, eine Wahl vonseiten Philipps, mit der sicherlich auf eine positive Außenwirkung in der griechischen Welt spekuliert worden war.⁴⁸ Die Facette des philosophisch geschulten Aristokraten gehörte somit ohnehin zu Alexanders offiziellem Image. Vor diesem Hintergrund kann auch Onesikritos' Bericht verortet werden, wie Alexander die Sogdier und Baktrier bezüglich ihres Umgangs mit Alten, Kranken und Toten „zivilisierte“ (Strab. 11,11,3). Onesikritos ging vermutlich besonders auf Alexanders Prägung durch Aristoteles ein.⁴⁹ So ist auch sein Hinweis, dass Alexander unter seinem Kissen neben einem Dolch die Ausgabe der *Ilias* bewahrte, mit Aristoteles verbunden, der diese Ausgabe erstellt hatte (Plut. *Alex.* 8,2). Dabei machte Onesikritos jedoch durchaus klar, dass Alexanders Priorität der Krieg war, was das Bild des „Philosophen in Waffen“ zusätzlich entkräftet:

⁴³ Vgl. Müller 2011, 129–130. Zu Kallisthenes vgl. auch Böhme 2009, 166; Will 2009, 24.

⁴⁴ Zumal eine solche Bezeichnung für die kynische Richtung sowieso problematisch ist, vgl. Winiarczyk 2007, 200; Brown 1949, 25.

⁴⁵ Ähnlich vorsichtig formuliert von Bosworth 2002, 175; Muckensturm 1993, 230.

⁴⁶ Schmitt 2005, 740. Vgl. Moles 1993, 277; Pédech 1984, 78, 80; Pearson 1960, 88–89; Strasburger 1939, 462; Jacoby 1930, 468.

⁴⁷ Vielmehr wollte Alexander etwas über die Brahmanen erfahren (Strab. 15,1,64). Mandanis fragt aus eigenem Antrieb nach griechischen Lehren und Onesikritos nennt ihm nicht nur Diogenes, sondern auch Pythagoras und Sokrates (Strab. 15,1,65).

⁴⁸ Plut. *Alex.* 7,2–3. Auch wenn dies anscheinend nicht durchweg erfolgreich war (Aischin. 3,160 über Demosthenes).

⁴⁹ Auf Onesikritos könnte zurückgehen: Plut. *Alex.* 7,2–5.

Die *Ilias* war ihm deswegen so wichtig, weil er sie als Kriegshandbuch betrachtete. Mit dieser Charakterisierung eines Mannes der Tat mit philosophischer Ausbildung steht Dandamis' Kommentar in Einklang, ebenso wie Xenophons Schilderung des Kyros.⁵⁰

Bezüglich der vermeintlich kynischen und utopischen Züge in Onesikritos' Beschreibung der brahmanischen Lehren und der Strukturen im Land des Musikanos ist Winiarczyk zuzustimmen, dass es sich um allgemeine griechisch-philosophische Ideale von Selbstbeherrschung, Maßhaltung und Verachtung des Materiellen handelt,⁵¹ die im letzteren Fall auch durch motivische Einflüsse der literarischen Tradition von Berichten aus fremden Regionen erklärbar sein können.

Onesikritos im Alexanderreich

Im Rahmen seines Einsatzes bei der Indusflotte 326–325 und beim Anschlusskommando der Ozeanflotte zur Euphratmündung 325–324 erlangte Onesikritos Sichtbarkeit.⁵² Sein Amt und seine Kompetenzen sind umstritten, da die Bezeichnung variiert: von κυβερνήτης, Steuermann (Arr. *an.* 7,20,9; Luk. *Peregr.* 25) über κυβερνήτης τῆς νεῶς βασιλικῆς, Steuermann des herrscherlichen Schiffs (Arr. *an.* 7,5,6; *Ind.* 18,9) bis hin zu ἀρχικυβερνήτης,⁵³ gemäß Badian Steuermann der gesamten Flotte.⁵⁴ Teilweise wird eine Beförderung 325 vom κυβερνήτης zum ἀρχικυβερνήτης angenommen.⁵⁵ Dagegen vermutet Hans Hauben, Onesikritos sei das Amt des ἀρχικυβερνήτης, von Alexander eingeführt, schon 326 übertragen worden, doch Nearchos habe es in tendenziöser Absicht bei κυβερνήτης belassen.⁵⁶ Eine solche Unterlassung würde eine Entsprechung in seinem Bericht über den feierlichen Empfang der Flotte in Susa 324

⁵⁰ Vgl. Due 1989, 184.

⁵¹ Vgl. Winiarczyk 2007, 216–219. Zudem ist es kaum verwunderlich, dass Onesikritos, der die Informationen gefiltert durch drei Übersetzer hörte (Strab. 15,1,64), sie für sein Publikum dessen Erfahrungshorizont entsprechend formulierte. Insgesamt zu dem Motiv der indischen Weisen bei den Alexanderhistoriographen: Winiarczyk 2009, 29–77.

⁵² Vgl. Heckel 2009, 184.

⁵³ Strab. 15,2,4; Plut. *Alex.* 66,2; *mor.* 331 E.

⁵⁴ Vgl. Badian 1975, 158–160. Akzeptiert von Winiarczyk 2007, 203–204. Dagegen gibt Hauben 1987, 582 als Alternativen das Kommando über das herrscherliche oder das Flaggschiff an.

⁵⁵ Vgl. Schmitt 2005, 740; Badian 1975, 158; Pearson 1960, 83.

⁵⁶ Vgl. Hauben 1987, 582, 589–590. Das Amt sei mit der Vizeadmiralität gleichzusetzen. Dagegen vgl. Hammond 1993, 265; Brown 1949, 8: Onesikritos habe gelogen. Hammond nimmt zudem an, dass die Information von Ptolemaios oder Aristobulos gekommen sei. Für authentisch wird Onesikritos' Rang als ἀρχικυβερνήτης gehalten von: Heckel 2009, 184; Will 2009, 15; 1986, 15; Pédech 1984, 73.

finden (Arr. *Ind.* 42,9): Er unterschlug, dass Alexander neben ihm auch Onesikritos mit einem goldenen Kranz ehrte (Arr. *an.* 7,5,4–6).⁵⁷ Wahrscheinlich bezieht sich Arrians Anschuldigung, Onesikritos habe sich Nearchos' Titel – $\nu\alpha\upsilon\alpha\rho\chi\omicron\varsigma$, Kommandant der ganzen Flotte – angemäßt (*an.* 6,2,3),⁵⁸ auch auf ihn.⁵⁹ Es ist zumindest nicht ausgeschlossen, dass es sich um üble Nachrede von Nearchos' Seite handelte. Seine unkollegiale Haltung gegenüber Onesikritos wird auf Spannungen in ihrer Flottenzeit zurückgeführt,⁶⁰ die zumindest einmal eskalierten.⁶¹ Es wäre erhellend zu wissen, ob Onesikritos, der wenigstens seine ersten Bücher vor Nearchos veröffentlichte,⁶² ihm einen zusätzlichen Grund lieferte, indem er sich ähnlich ungünstig über ihn äußerte, doch haben sich keine bezeichnenden Passagen dieser Art erhalten. Offensichtlich wird anhand der Fragmente ihrer Schriften, dass sie sich trotz der gemeinsamen Erfahrungen auffallend oft widersprachen, sowohl bei vermutlich essentielleren Berichten wie über die indischen Weisen als auch bei Randinformationen zur indischen Fauna und Flora.⁶³ Diese konsequente Abgrenzung voneinander scheint über das übliche Distanzieren von literarischen Vorgängern oder Kollegen hinauszugehen und wirkt wie ein Charakteristikum ihrer Werke. Allerdings ist ihr gespanntes Verhältnis kein Einzelfall bei hohen Offizieren in Alexanders Reich und wohl zum Teil auch auf den kompetitiven Charakter der Personalstrukturen zurückzuführen. So wird Alexander zur eigenen Sicherheit die Angehörigen der höchsten Führungsschicht gegeneinander ausbalanciert haben, was den üblichen Konkurrenzkampf am Hof verschärfen musste. In einer schwierigen Situation wie dem zermürbenden Indienzug, bei dem die Offiziere gegen klimatische Widrigkeiten, militärische Probleme und zunehmende Disziplin- und

⁵⁷ Vgl. Heckel 2009, 184; 1992, 230; Bosworth 1987, 558–566: Nearchos habe das gesamte Dankesfest auf seine Ankunft ausgerichtet. Siehe auch Winiarczyk 2007, 205, 230; Pédech 1984, 74; Badian 1975, 166–167; Pearson 1960, 84, 109; Strasburger 1939, 463. Dagegen vgl. Brown 1949, 10; Jacoby 1930, 470.

⁵⁸ Zu Nearchos' Position: Arr. *an.* 6,19,5. 21,3; *Ind.* 20,4; 36,4–5; Plut. *Alex.* 66,3; Diod. 17,104,3. Vgl. Pédech 1984, 74; Badian 1975, 158–160; Pearson 1960, 83. Gemäß Hauben 1987, 575–576 habe Onesikritos sich mit dem unpräzisen Begriff des $\nu\alpha\upsilon\alpha\rho\chi\omicron\varsigma$ bezeichnen dürfen. Akzeptiert von Winiarczyk 2007, 204.

⁵⁹ Vgl. Hauben 1987, 575; Jacoby 1930, 446; Berve 1926, II, 288. Dagegen glaubt Badian 1975, 157–158, die Kritik stamme von Arrian.

⁶⁰ Der Hintergrund sei die Kompetenzverteilung zwischen ihnen gewesen. Vermutet wird, dass Nearchos als übergeordneter Offizier für Nautik und Onesikritos für Technik zuständig gewesen sei, vgl. Heckel 2009, 184; Hauben 1987, 590; Badian 1975, 159–160; Berve 1926, I, 167, II, 288.

⁶¹ Arr. *an.* 7,20,9–10; *Ind.* 32,9–13. Vgl. Hauben 1987, 579–580. Onesikritos' Vorschlag, der von Nearchos abgelehnt wurde, wird unterschiedlich beurteilt. Strasburger 1939, 463 bewertet ihn als wahnwitzig. Brown 1949, 9 glaubt dagegen, er habe den leichteren Weg fahren wollen.

⁶² Vgl. Brown 1949, 7. Zu Nearchos' Kenntnis siehe auch Winiarczyk 2007, 229; Cartledge 2004, 251; Pédech 1984, 76; Pearson 1960, 84.

⁶³ Strab. 15,1,13. 1,45; 15,1,66.

Motivationslosigkeit der Truppen ankämpfen mussten,⁶⁴ werden die Nerven bloß gelegen haben und unterschwellige Spannungen verstärkt an die Oberfläche gekommen sein.⁶⁵ Insofern scheint es sich bei den Animositäten zwischen Nearchos und Onesikritos um keine untypischen Erscheinungsformen gehandelt zu haben.

Onesikritos' Spuren verlieren sich in der Diadochenzeit.⁶⁶ Die Vermutung, er sei zuletzt bei Alexander in Ungnade gefallen,⁶⁷ entbehrt der Belege und leitet sich offenbar vom Schicksal des Kallisthenes ab,⁶⁸ das jedoch nicht als Regelfall betrachtet werden kann.⁶⁹ Mehrheitlich wird Onesikritos' Werk als eines der frühesten zu Alexander charakterisiert, abgefasst zwischen kurz nach 323 bis ins Jahr 305,⁷⁰ in einem weiteren Rahmen zwischen 323 und 281.⁷¹ Möglicherweise wurden erste Teile von Onesikritos' Schrift noch zu Alexanders Lebzeiten verfasst oder veröffentlicht.⁷² Obwohl Lukian dies andeutet (*Quomodo historia conscribenda sit* 40),⁷³ kann die Passage nicht als Beleg

⁶⁴ Plut. *Alex.* 62,1; Strab. 15,1,27. Diod. 17,94,2–3; Curt. 9,3,10; Arr. *an.* 6,9,3.

⁶⁵ So soll es auch bei Krateros und Hephaistion im Indienfeldzug zum Eklat gekommen sein: Plut. *Alex.* 47,6–7; *mor.* 337 A. Mit Konsequenzen: Arr. *an.* 6,2,2. 4,1. Vgl. Heckel 1992, 85.

⁶⁶ Plut. *Alex.* 46,2. Vgl. Heckel 2009, 184.

⁶⁷ Vgl. Strasburger 1939, 463; Jacoby 1930, 470. Dagegen vgl. schon Pearson 1960, 85. Pédech 1984, 75 und Brown 1949, 12 vermuteten, er sei im August 324 mit Krateros und den Veteranen (Arr. *an.* 7,12,3–4) aufgebrochen. Akzeptiert von Winiarczyk 2007, 206. Dafür gibt es aber ebenfalls keine Belege.

⁶⁸ Zu Kallisthenes' Tod: Plut. *Alex.* 55,4–5; Arr. *an.* 4,14,3–4; Curt. 8,8,22–23, Just. 12,7,2; Strab. 11,11,4. Vgl. Böhme 2009, 163; Müller 2003, 150–152; Flower 2000, 108. Wirth, 1989, 169–170, A. 438 vermutet sogar, Onesikritos könne Kallisthenes' offizieller Nachfolger geworden sein. Warum Winiarczyk 2007, 203, A. 33 diese These so scharf kritisiert, ist nicht ersichtlich.

⁶⁹ Ein unrühmliches Karriereende würde auch nicht verständlich machen, weshalb Onesikritos danach seine Zeit der Glorifizierung des verstorbenen Herrschers widmete.

⁷⁰ Vgl. Will 2009, 10; 1986, 15; Baynham 2003, 10 (datiert auf 308); Pédech 1984, 76; Strasburger 1939, 465–466; Jacoby 1930, 469; Berve 1926, II, 290. Figueira 1986, 9 geht von einer Abfassung der Bücher 1–4 kurz nach 323 und der restlichen Bücher nach 305 aus. Ähnlich: Brown 1949, 7. Kleitarchos kannte sein Werk und Nearchos zumindest Teile davon. Dagegen vgl. Bosworth 1998, 189, m. A. 76 mit einer Datierung nach der Publikation von Megasthenes' Schrift. Als *terminus ante quem* gilt teilweise auch 321 (vgl. Merkelbach 1977, 145), weil in den *Metzer Epitome* 97 erwähnt wird, Onesikritos habe die Namen der Anwesenden bei Alexanders fatalem letztem Symposion verschwiegen. Als Quelle wird ein Pamphlet aus dem Lager des Perdikkas von 321 vermutet. Vgl. Rathmann 2005, 68–70; Heckel 1988, 26–28; Hamilton 1969, 127; Merkelbach 1977, 54–55, 127–128, 132, 164–192; Hamilton 1969, 127.

⁷¹ Vgl. Winiarczyk 2007, 211.

⁷² Vgl. Winiarczyk 2007, 209; Pearson 1960, 87.

⁷³ Alexander sagt zu Onesikritos, er würde gerne nach dem Tod zurückkehren, um zu sehen, ob seine beschriebenen Taten, die gegenwärtig schmeichlerisches Lob veranlassten, auch dann noch gepriesen würden. Lukian wollte wohl nicht zeigen, dass er Schmeichelei ablehnte, sondern dass ihm an dauerhaftem Nachruhm gelegen war. Vgl. Luk. *DM* 12–14. Alexander war unter den Herrschern eine Hauptzielscheibe seines Spotts. Dies erklärt sich mit seiner Zentralität, vgl. Whitmarsh 2005, 66, 68: „an iconic figure for second-century Hellenism“.

herangezogen werden: Zu ironisch ist die Abrechnung mit den hochfliegenden Ambitionen von Historiographen und Philosophen seiner Zeit, die er parodistischen Kunstfiguren traditioneller Größen gegenüberstellt.⁷⁴ Problematisch ist auch Plutarchs Bericht (*Alex.* 46,2), Onesikritos habe Lysimachos, als dieser König war, an seinem Hof aus seinem vierten Buch vorgelesen. Erstens wird das Klischee bedient, alle Alexanderhistoriographen seien verlogene Schmeichler gewesen – Lysimachos spottet über die erfundene Amazonengeschichte –;⁷⁵ zweitens ist unklar, ob der chronologischen Angabe – nach 305 – getraut werden kann.⁷⁶

Onesikritos und Xenophon

Der Titel von Onesikritos' Werk, Πῶς Ἀλέξανδρος ἤχθη, wörtlich „Wie Alexander geführt wurde“;⁷⁷ im übertragenen Sinn mit „Wie Alexander erzogen wurde“ oder „Über Alexanders Erziehung“ übersetzt,⁷⁸ soll auf sein literarisches Vorbild, Xenophons *Kyroupaideia*, verweisen (Diog. Laert. 6,84). Da es in beiden Fällen um die Darstellung der gesamten Laufbahn ging, ist Erziehung als lebenslanger Erfahrungs- und Lernprozess zu sehen, dessen Richtlinien die natürliche Veranlagung und die Schulung in Jugendzeit vorgeben.⁷⁹

Obwohl an Onesikritos' Anlehnung an Xenophon meist nicht gezweifelt wird,⁸⁰ ist umstritten, wie sie sich konkret gestaltete. Konträre Hauptthesen sind die Einschätzung, Onesikritos habe in seinem mutmaßlich umfangreichen Werk⁸¹ den Aufbau und einzelne Motive übernommen,⁸² und die Einschränk-

⁷⁴ Vgl. Pearson 1960, 87 mit dem Hinweis, dass er Onesikritos als einen entarteten Diogeneschüler verspottet. Es ist nicht ersichtlich, wieso Brown 1949, 5–6 annimmt, diese Anekdote ginge ursprünglich auf Onesikritos selbst zurück.

⁷⁵ Vgl. Strasburger 1939, 464; Jacoby 1930, 470. Generell kritisch zur antiken Verurteilung der Alexanderhistoriographen vgl. Baynham 2003, 8; Wirth 1993, 133, A. 361.

⁷⁶ Vgl. Heckel 2009, 323, A. 486; Bosworth 1998, 179, A. 26; Lund 1992, 8–10; Strasburger 1939, 464; Jacoby 1930, 470. Dagegen vgl. Brown 1949, 6–7, der es nicht für unmöglich hält. Abgelehnt von Winiarczyk 2007, 209; Pearson 1960, 85.

⁷⁷ Vgl. die Wortwendungen bei Hdt. 3,145; 6,30; Xen. *Mem.* 4,1,3.

⁷⁸ Vgl. Will 2009, 11; Goulet-Cazé 2005, 779; Winiarczyk 2007, 207–208; Bosworth 1995, 364, A. 9; Pédech 1984, 75; Brown 1949, 13, 126.

⁷⁹ Vgl. Winiarczyk 2007, 207–208; Wilms 1995, 317; Mueller-Goldingen 1995, 60–61, 273; Due 1989, 15; Tatum 1989, 90–91, 213.

⁸⁰ Vgl. Heckel 2009, 184; Will 2009, 16; Schmitt 2005, 740; Cartledge 2004, 252; Bracht Branham 1996, 85; Will 1986, 15; Pédech 1984, 81; Brown 1949, 13–23; Strasburger 1939, 464.

⁸¹ Vgl. Winiarczyk 2007, 211.

⁸² Vgl. Pédech 1984, 76–77, 118. Zum ähnlichen Aufbau vgl. Moles 1993, 148; Brown 1949, 7.

kung, der Vergleich beziehe sich nur auf die literarische Form: Es sei keine Historiographie im eigentlichen Sinne gewesen, sondern eine Art glorifizierender „historischer Roman“ philosophischer Prägung vor der Kulisse des Perseerreichs.⁸³ Das Problem, das sogar vereinzelt Zweifel an der Korrektheit des Titels aufkommen ließ,⁸⁴ ist, dass sich so wenig von Onesikritos' Schrift erhalten hat. Felix Jacoby zählte 38 Fragmente, von denen in keinem einzigen Alexanders Erziehung thematisiert wird, sondern überwiegend Ethnographisches und Geographisches aus dem Kontext des Indienfeldzugs. Zwar wird angenommen, dass viele Informationen über Alexanders Kindheit und Jugend bei Plutarch auf Onesikritos zurückgehen,⁸⁵ dennoch ist ersichtlich, dass er in der Rezeption nicht als Biograph gefragt war. Da gerade die Kapitel über unbekannte Regionen am vermeintlichen Rand der Welt zwangsläufig in einer literarischen Tradition standen, zu dem fantastische Motive und Wundergeschichten gehörten,⁸⁶ ist nicht erstaunlich, dass er in der Nachwirkung darauf reduziert wurde, ein fantasievoller Geschichtenerzähler gewesen zu sein. Auch die – in Hyrkanien situierte – Amazonengeschichte, die dazu beitrug, diesen Ruf zu festigen, obwohl er sie nicht als einziger erzählte (Plut. *Alex.* 46,1–2; Arr. *an.* 7,13,2–5), mag ein Tribut an bestehende literarische Traditionen und Publikumerwartungen gewesen sein.⁸⁷ Insgesamt resultiert sein schlechtes Image offenbar aus einer selektiven Wahrnehmung und eindimensionalen Rezeption

⁸³ Vgl. Winiarczyk 2007, 226; Pearson 1960, 110. Siehe auch Kuhr 2010, 98: „a discursive biographical novel“.

⁸⁴ So argumentierte Pearson 1960, 87–90, es habe sich um eine Anlehnung an Xenophons *Anabasis* gehandelt und schlug die Revision Πῶς Ἀλέξανδρος ἤχθη („How Alexander marched up country“) vor, die jedoch aufgrund ihrer Unhaltbarkeit keine Akzeptanz erfahren hat. Vgl. Winiarczyk 2007, 208; Bosworth 1995, 364, A. 5; Pédech 1984, 75, A. 1.

⁸⁵ Vgl. Hammond 1993, 58; Pédech 1984, 77, 98–99; Hamilton 1969, LIII. Winiarczyk 2007, 237 zählt 41 Fragmente in den Schriften von 10 Verfassern.

⁸⁶ Vgl. Bichler 2011, 322. Zum Fall Indien vgl. Winiarczyk 2007, 219–224; speziell bei Onesikritos: Winiarczyk 2011, 114.

⁸⁷ Dies deutet auch Arr. *an.* 7,13,6 an. Winiarczyk 2007, 235 sieht in der Anekdote den wahren Kern, dass Alexander eine lokale Fürstin in einer Region getroffen habe, die als Amazonengebiet gegolten habe, und Onesikritos ihn in Anklang an seinen Ahnherrn Herakles geschildert habe. Vgl. Mederer 1936, 84–93, der als Kern der von Onesikritos und Kleitarchos ausgestalteten Geschichte die Gesandtschaft skythischer Ethnien sieht, mit denen in griechischer literarischer Tradition die Amazonen assoziiert wurden, die Alexander eine Fürstentochter zur Heirat angeboten hätten. Dagegen vgl. Pearson 1960, 93: Es sei eine Rechtfertigung für Alexanders Rückzug am Jaxartes. Siehe auch Hammond 1993, 81, 293; Pédech 1984, 87 (Onesikritos sei der Urheber). Bosworth 1995, 102–103 zufolge handelte es sich um zwei verschiedene Traditionen: die des Besuchs einer skythischen Gesandtschaft inklusive des Heiratsangebots einer sakischen Fürstentochter und das Treffen mit der Amazonenkönigin in Hyrkanien. Akzeptiert von Bayham 2001, 122. Zur Publikumerwartung, dass Alexander als Nachkomme von Herakles und Achilles Amazonen träfe vgl. Baynham 2001, 122; Koulakiotis 2006, 205; Müller 2008, 266–267.

seines Werks.⁸⁸ Dazu mag Nearchos' ostentative Abgrenzung von Onesikritos' Berichten gekommen sein, die den Eindruck der Unzuverlässigkeit verstärkte.

Insgesamt hat sich wenig Material zu Alexanders Kindheit und Jugend erhalten; dieser Abschnitt seines Lebens war gegenüber seiner Zeit als siegreicher Eroberer für die Nachwelt offenbar von marginalem Interesse. Als Leitfigur oder Negativexempel wurde er erst als Kriegsherr relevant. Die philosophische Überlegung, welche innere Disposition er für seine Leistungen mitbrachte und welche Rolle seiner *paideia* zukam, wie sie Onesikritos wohl noch beschäftigt hatte, rückte in den Hintergrund und wurde in der Folgezeit durch die Frage nach der Dimension von *virtus* und *fortuna* bei seinen Erfolgen ersetzt. Die Erziehung durch Aristoteles, die in den mittelalterlichen Alexanderromanen so wichtig wurde, war anscheinend in der antiken Tradition wenig profiliert und wurde in negativer römischer Sicht lediglich zum Ausgangspunkt genommen, um Alexander als entarteten Philosophenschüler zu charakterisieren.⁸⁹

Ein weiteres Problem der Analyse von Onesikritos' Beziehung zu Xenophon stellt sich mit der Frage nach seinem Verständnis der *Kyroupaideia*. Die Deutung der Kyrosfigur wird zumindest in der modernen Forschung kontrovers diskutiert und reicht vom Herrscherideal⁹⁰ bis zum Machtmenschen machiavellistischer Couleur und Projektionsfläche für politische Kritik.⁹¹ Diese Probleme kennt Diogenes Laertios indes nicht,⁹² der davon ausging, dass in beiden Fällen eine Verherrlichung des Protagonisten vorgelegen habe (6,84). Bezüglich Onesikritos' Abhängigkeit von seiner Vorlage erweckt er durch seine Simplifizierung – und vielleicht auch Unkenntnis des Werks⁹³ einen verzerrten Eindruck: Sicherlich war Πῶς Ἀλέξανδρος ἠχθη, keine Imitation oder Übertragung der *Kyroupaideia* auf die Ereignisse des Alexanderzugs, sondern „nur“ ein Werk, bei dem der Autor auch auf seine Xenophon-Kenntnis zurückgriff und dies vielleicht

⁸⁸ Signifikant ist, dass Strabon Onesikritos im Kontext seiner Generalabrechnung, mit allen, die über Indien schrieben und Lügen verbreiteten, kritisiert (2,1,9). Vgl. Strab. 15,1,28 (wiederum auf Indien bezogen).

⁸⁹ Sen. *epist.* 83,19.

⁹⁰ Vgl. Metzler 2006, 171; Wiesehöfer 2005, 73, 80; Wilms 1995, 190–192; Gray 1993, 372–376; Gera 1993, 280–281; Due 1989, 47; Tatum 1989, 39, 41.

⁹¹ Vgl. Nadon 2005, 164, 178–180. Ein Problem ist dabei auch die Frage nach der Authentizität des Epilogs (8,8). Vgl. Sancisi-Weerdenburg 1993, 512–513. In die philosophische Reflektion von Xenophons Zeit über die Dekadenz des Perserreichs passt der düstere Ausklang indes gut. Ein weiterer Streitpunkt ist die Deutung von Kyros' Hinwendung zum medischen Zeremoniell (Xen. *Kyr.* 8,3,1–2. 3,13–14). Azoulay 2004, 161–167 argumentiert überzeugend, dass es nur um eine äußerliche *tryphé* zu Zwecken der Repräsentation gegangen sei, die Kyros' innere Tugenden unberührt gelassen habe. Vgl. auch Gera 1993, 291–292: ein Zeichen seiner politischen Anpassungsfähigkeit.

⁹² Allerdings hat er die *Kyroupaideia* anscheinend auch nicht gelesen. Vgl. Brown 1949, 13.

⁹³ Eventuell kannte er nur den Titel.

einleitend kurz angesprochen haben mag. Vorstellbar ist, dass sich Onesikritos einiger Motive aus der *Kyroupaideia* bediente, mit der Assoziation des Publikums bezüglich von Parallelen spielte und auf der Basis seines Wissens Erläuterungen zum Hintergrund der persischen Geschichte anfügte,⁹⁴ auch wenn diese teils fern der Historizität waren (Ps-Luk. *Makrob.* 14).⁹⁵

Neben Xenophons griff er wohl auch auf Herodot und Ktesias zurück, wenn es ihm passend erschien, und unterschied sich mit dieser Arbeitsmethode nicht von den anderen Alexanderhistoriographen.⁹⁶ Allenfalls der Rückbezug auf Xenophon im Titel und die vermutlich lose an dem ersten Buch der *Kyroupaideia* orientierte Schilderung von Alexanders Erziehung wird ihn unterschieden haben.

Bezüglich der Parallele zwischen Kyros und Alexander mochte Onesikritos gelegen gekommen sein, dass die makedonische Propaganda die Ereignisse bereits für das griechische Publikum mit Anleihen an traditionelle Motive verständlich gemacht hatte: So flog ein Adler als siegreiches Omen sowohl Kyros nach Medien voran als auch Alexander bei Gaugamela in Kallisthenes' Bericht (Xen. *Kyr.* 2,1,1; Plut. *Alex.* 33,2). Daraus erwächst wiederum die Schwierigkeit, zu unterscheiden, was Onesikritos an Vorgeprägtem übernahm und wo er selbst kreativ wurde.

Bei Gemeinsamkeiten von Xenophons Kyros und Alexander fällt zuerst ihr Eroberungsgebiet auf. Auch wandte Alexander in seiner Verwaltungspolitik ähnliche Mittel an, indem er die Satrapien bestehen ließ, die Xenophons Kyros installiert hatte (*Kyr.* 8,6), und auf Kooperation mit den indigenen Führungsschichten setzte. Unter der Prämisse, dass der Epilog (*Kyr.* 8,8) von Xenophon stammt,⁹⁷ ist auch das Zerbrechen des Reichs unmittelbar nach Kyros' Tod, der es nur kraft seiner Person zusammengehalten hatte (*Kyr.* 8,8,1–2), eine Parallele zum Alexanderreich. Wenngleich plausibel vermutet wird, dass Onesikritos es

⁹⁴ So bemisst die Forschung den Quellenwert von Xenophons Schriften für das Perserreich meist als gering, vgl. Kuhrt 2010, 46; 171; Metzler 2006, 171; Wiesehöfer 2005, 80.

⁹⁵ *Wie die Annalen der Perser und Assyrer berichten, denen auch Onesikritos, der über Alexander geschrieben hat, beizupflichten scheint, verlangte Kyros, der vor langer Zeit Perserkönig war, als er sein hundertstes Jahr erreicht hatte, nach jedem einzelnen seiner Freunde; als er aber erfuhr, dass die meisten von ihnen von seinem Sohn Kambyses beseitigt worden waren und dieser angab, dies habe er auf seine Anweisung hin getan, da beendete er sein Leben, teils weil er durch die schlechte Art seines Sohns verleumdet worden war; teils weil er sich selbst vorhielt, nicht mehr ganz bei Verstand zu sein.* Diese Passage ist befremdlich und hat auch mit Xenophons Todesszene des Kyros (*Kyr.* 8,7) wenig zu tun. Es ist jedoch einzurechnen, dass dies auch auf die Unzuverlässigkeit der problematischen Schrift *Makrobioi* zurückzuführen sein kann.

⁹⁶ Onesikritos' Beschäftigung mit Ktesias wird anhand eines identischen geographischen Irrtums über Indien deutlich (Arr. *Ind.* 3,6). Vgl. auch Winiarczyk 2007, 226.

⁹⁷ Vgl. Wiesehöfer 2005, 73; Nadon 2001, 178–180; Gera 1993, 286; Tatum 1989, 219–221; Due 1989, 16–22, 237.

nicht wagen konnte, diesen Vergleich zu manifest zu gestalten⁹⁸ und Alexanders Generäle mit Kyros' streitlustigen, egoistischen Söhnen zu parallelisieren, musste sich die Analogie dem gebildeten Publikum doch erschließen.

Zudem glich der Makedone insofern Xenophons Kyros, als dieser, wie Alexander, der sich auf Herakles und Achilles zurückführte (Arr. *an.* 4,11,6; Plut. *Alex.* 2,1), aus heroischem Geschlecht – dem des Perseus – kam (Xen. *Kyr.* 1,2,1),⁹⁹ über viele verschiedene Ethnien herrschte, deren Sprache er nicht konnte (Xen. *Kyr.* 1,1,5), in seiner Kindheit geschult wurde, Hunger und Durst zu kontrollieren (Xen. *Kyr.* 1,2,8), wozu sein Erzieher Leonidas Alexander erfolgreich anhielt (Plut. *Alex.* 22,4–5; 23,5–6),¹⁰⁰ und sich wie Alexander in der Jagd als Kriegsvorbereitung hervortat (Xen. *Kyr.* 1,2,10; Plut. *Alex.* 4,6; 23,2–3; 40,3–4). Für den makedonischen Adel war die Jagd nicht nur ebenfalls von großer Bedeutung (Arr. *an.* 4,13,1–3; Curt. 8,6,7),¹⁰¹ auch Kyros' Beutetier, das Wildschwein (Xen. *Kyr.* 1,4,8), soll zentrales Element der Initiation der jungen Aristokraten gewesen sein (Athen. 1,18 A). Wie Kyros soll auch Alexander als Kind besonders wissbegierig gewesen sein (Xen. *Kyr.* 1,4,3; Plut. *Alex.* 5,1). Als Feldherr hielt er unterhaltsame Symposien und Belohnungen der Truppen für wichtig (Xen. *Kyr.* 2,2,1. 2,20; Plut. *Alex.* 23,6; 39,1). Letztere Charakteristika sind indes recht allgemeine Bestandteile des griechischen Feldherrnideals, an das Alexanders Image im offiziellen Bericht angeglichen wurde.¹⁰²

Am auffälligsten ist die Übereinstimmung bei den Episoden um ihre Zurückhaltung gegenüber der jeweils schönsten Frau von Asien. In Kyros' Fall war dies Pantheia (Xen. *Kyr.* 4,6,11; 5,1,7; 6,1,41), die Gattin des Herrschers von Susa, Abradates (*Kyr.* 5,1,2–3), zu jener Zeit noch Kyros' Kriegsgegner. Bei der Einnahme des Feldlagers in seiner Abwesenheit geriet Pantheia in Kyros' Gefangenschaft, doch er demonstrierte seine Selbstbeherrschung, indem er sich weigerte, auch nur einen Blick auf sie zu werfen (Xen. *Kyr.* 5,1,8). Als Pantheia später starb, betrauerte er ihren Tod zutiefst, ließ sie ehrenvoll bestatten und ihr ein großes Grabmonument errichten (Xen. *Kyr.* 7,3,13–16). Zu Alexanders Zeit galt Stateira, die Gattin Dareios' III., als schönste Frau von Asien (Arr. *an.* 4,19,6; Plut. *Alex.* 21,3; 22,2). Bei Issos geriet sie in makedonische Gefangenschaft, während Dareios entkommen konnte, und Alexander zeigte sich als gnädiger, selbstbeherrschter Sieger, der sie in Ehren hielt (Plut. *Alex.* 21,3–4; Curt.

⁹⁸ Vgl. Brown 1949, 22. Xenophon endet mit einem pessimistischen Ausblick über den politisch-sittlichen Niedergang (*Kyr.* 8,8,2–27).

⁹⁹ Vgl. Hdt. 7,150,2. Vgl. Kuhrt 2010, 99, A. 2. Von Perseus leitete sich auch Alexander ab (Arr. *an.* 3,3,1–2).

¹⁰⁰ Als Quelle kann man Onesikritos vermuten.

¹⁰¹ Vgl. Carney 2002, 57–80.

¹⁰² Zum Ideal vgl. Xen. *Mem.* 3,1,6–7.

8,4,25) und nicht einmal seine Augen auf sie richtete (Plut. *Alex.* 22,3; Arr. *an.* 2,12,3–6). Dies gilt als offizielle Version von Kallisthenes, die Ptolemaios und Aristobulos aufgriffen.¹⁰³ Plutarchs Bericht könnte auch auf Onesikritos zurückgehen, welcher Kallisthenes' Anlehnung an Xenophons Pantheia-Episode mit einer Steigerung versah: Alexander ließ sich nicht einmal von Stateiras Schönheit *berichten*, während Kyros der Schilderung von Pantheias Anmut zugehört hatte (Xen. *Kyr.* 5,1,7). Als Stateira starb, womöglich infolge einer Fehlgeburt (Just. 11,12,6; Plut. *Alex.* 30,1), betrauerte Alexander sie so tief, inklusive eines aufwändigen Begräbnisses,¹⁰⁴ dass in der Forschung teilweise der Verdacht aufkam, er könne ihr doch Gewalt angetan und ihr Ende verschuldet haben.¹⁰⁵ Solche Spekulationen werden indes obsolet, wenn man annimmt, dass die gesamte Stateira-Episode nach dem literarischen Motiv von Xenophons Pantheia-Geschichte überformt ist, so dass der historische Gehalt nicht mehr zu fassen ist.

Onesikritos' Bemerkung, dass Alexander mit Schulden von 200 Talenten in den Krieg zog (Plut. *Alex.* 15,2; *mor.* 327 D), kann eventuell auch auf eine Ähnlichkeit zu Xenophons Kyros abzielen. Obgleich die Beschreibung von Alexanders finanzieller Situation 334 angesichts der Kriegsrüstungen kaum aus der Luft gegriffen ist,¹⁰⁶ scheint doch eine heroische Stilisierung impliziert: Der junge Herrscher, der zudem den Rest seiner Habe verschenkte, ging nur mit seinen Hoffnungen in den Kampf (Plut. *Alex.* 15,2), darauf angewiesen, seine Erfolge nur mit seiner Tüchtigkeit zu erringen.¹⁰⁷ In der *Kyroupaideia* offenbarte Kyros seinem Vater, dass er mittellos nach Medien zöge, um seinem Onkel Kyaxares im Krieg beizustehen (Xen. *Kyr.* 1,6,8–9), sich somit ebenso auf die eigene Fähigkeit verlassen.

Eine Schlüsselszene in Onesikritos' Werk kann Alexanders Besuch am Grab des Kyros dargestellt haben.¹⁰⁸ Indes ist nur die Beschreibung des Baus erhalten; Onesikritos' Bericht geriet gegenüber Aristobulos' Version ins Hintertreffen, weil dieser 324 von Alexander mit der Restauration des Monuments beauftragt wurde (Arr. *an.* 6,29,10).¹⁰⁹ Entsprechend gilt Onesikritos' Schilde-

¹⁰³ Vgl. Bosworth 1980, 220–222; Baynham 1998, 60. Die alternative Version von Alexanders und Hephaisions gemeinsamen Besuch im Zelt der großköniglichen Familie (Curt. 3,12,15–26; Diod. 17,37,5–38,2; 114,2; Arr. *an.* 2,12,5–8), die ihre Freundschaft zum Hauptthema gestaltet, vgl. Heckel 2009, 133, gilt als eine Erfindung des Kleitarchos.

¹⁰⁴ Curt. 4,10,18; Diod. 17,54,7; Plut. *Alex.* 30,1–3.

¹⁰⁵ Vgl. Bosworth 1980, 221; Yardley, Heckel 1997, 137. Die Nachricht vom Tod im Kindbett wird nicht bestätigt von Curt. 4,10,18 und Diod. 17,54,7.

¹⁰⁶ Vgl. Wirth 1989, 23–24, A. 79. Parallelquellen untermauern das Bild: Laut Aristobulos besaß er nur 70 Talente, gemäß Duris Proviant für 30 Tage (Plut. *Alex.* 15,1).

¹⁰⁷ Vgl. Pearson 1960, 91: Er zog nur mit „mental equipment“ aus.

¹⁰⁸ Auch vermutet von Höistad 1948, 90.

¹⁰⁹ Vgl. Heinrichs 1987, 488–489; Kuhrt 2010, 92; Herzfeld 1908, 39.

rung, es sei ein πύργον, ein überirdisches, erhöhtes Bauwerk von zehn Stockwerken gewesen, in dessen obersten die Leiche des Kyros gelegen habe (Strab. 15,3,7), meist als eine inkorrekte, nur auf Hörensagen basierende Erfindung.¹¹⁰ Aristobulos' Bericht wirkt zuverlässiger,¹¹¹ doch bezüglich der Inschrift hielt sich Onesikritos wohl getreuer an das – wahrscheinlich von Dareios I. initiierte – Original.¹¹² Während Aristobulos' verfremdete Version ganz auf Alexanders Stilisierung zu Kyros' legitimen Nachfolger hin konzipiert ist,¹¹³ überliefert Onesikritos: „Hier liege ich, Kyros, König der Könige“ (Strab. 15,3,8).¹¹⁴ Auch wenn er vielleicht seine Beobachtung, dass die persischen Königsinschriften mehrsprachig gehalten waren, nicht allzu fundiert in die Erklärung einfließen ließ, Kyros' Grabepigramm sei in Persisch und Griechisch in persischer Keilschrift verfasst, ist zu konstatieren, dass er um eine möglichst authentische Wiedergabe bemüht war.

Dies ist ebenso der Fall bei der Grabinschrift Dareios' I. in Naqš-i Rostam. Er scheint der einzige der Alexanderhistoriographen gewesen zu sein, der dieses Zeugnis für so erinnerungswürdig hielt, dass er eine griechische Kurzversion überlieferte: „Meinen Freunden war ich ein Freund, ich war der beste Reiter und Bogenschütze; als Jäger war ich der erste; alles vermochte ich.“¹¹⁵ Der Vergleich mit Passagen aus dem Original zeigt, dass er sich auf fachkundige Informationen berufen konnte:

¹¹⁰ Vgl. Hammond 1993, 129, A. 3 („absurd“); Pearson 1960, 92–93; Herzfeld 1908, 36–43. Siehe Ps-Kall. 2,18,2: ein zwölfstöckiger Turm daraus, in dessen oberster Etage Kyros in einem Sarg aus Glas und Gold lag.

¹¹¹ Strab. 15,3,7: Er beschreibt ein untermauertes, bedachtes Gebäude mit einer Grabkammer, in die eine niedrige enge Tür führte. Vgl. Kuhrt 2010, 92; Knauss 2006, 103. Insgesamt war das Grab 12 Meter hoch, der sechststufige Unterbau maß davon 6,5 Meter. Onesikritos meinte vielleicht das Gleiche, zählte die Stufen als einzelne Stockwerke und addierte welche hinzu.

¹¹² Vgl. Heinrichs 1987, 539–540. Die Inschrift war in altpersischer Keilschrift verfasst, die wohl erst Dareios I. einführte. Vgl. Kuhrt 2010, 92, 505.

¹¹³ Arr. an. 6,29,8: „Mensch, ich bin Kyros, Sohn des Kambyses, den Persern Gründer des Reichs und Asiens König. Du aber neide mir dieses Grabmal nicht!“ (Übers. G. Wirth). Vgl. Strab. 15,3,7. Entlarvend ist der für persische Königsinschriften untypische Zusatz „Asiens König“, der griechischem Denkhorizont entsprach. Vgl. Heinrichs 1987, 512–539. Siehe auch Boucharlat 2006, 458–462. Bei Plut. Alex. 69,2–3 (vermutlich Kleitarchos) wird die Ausrichtung auf Alexander noch deutlicher. Vgl. Müller 2011, 116.

¹¹⁴ ἐνθαδ' ἐγὼ κείμαι Κύρος βασιλεὺς βασιλῶν. Heinrichs 1987, 539–540 vermutet, dass beide Autoren den Herrschertitel unterschiedlich ausschmückten und das für Dareios' Legitimation so bedeutsame Element „ein Achaimenide“ wegließen. Onesikritos, *der mit dem Inhalt des Epigramms keine erkennbare Darstellungsabsicht verfolgte, hielt sich möglichst eng an seine Vorlage und wahrte auch bei seiner Ergänzung den Horizont persischen Königsvorstellung; sein Supplement ist deshalb das täuschendere*: „König der Könige“ als dem griechisch-makedonischen Publikum geläufiger Titel.

¹¹⁵ Strab. 15,3,7. Vgl. Seibert 2004, 19–21.

Nach dem Willen Auramazdahs bin ich solcherart, dass ich dem Recht(en) freund bin, dem Unrecht(en) aber nicht freund bin (...) Das ist ferner meine Tüchtigkeit, dass mein Körper kraftvoll ist (...) als Reiter bin ich ein guter Reiter, als Bogenschütze bin ich ein guter Bogenschütze, sowohl zu Fuß als auch zu Pferd, als Lanzenkämpfer bin ich ein guter Lanzenkämpfer, sowohl zu Fuß als auch zu Pferd (...) Nach dem Willen Auramazdahs was von mir getan worden ist, habe ich dank dieser Fähigkeiten getan, die Auramazdah mir verliehen hat.¹¹⁶

Damit ging Onesikritos über den Horizont, markiert durch Herodot, Xenophon und Ktesias – der eine erfundene Inschrift überliefert, die Dareios zum Trinker stempelt (Athen. 10,434 D) –,¹¹⁷ hinaus, dokumentierte seine eigene Erfahrung und demonstrierte Interesse an der Geschichte des Perserreichs, durch das er mit den Makedonen zog.¹¹⁸ Dies war keine Selbstverständlichkeit bei den Alexanderhistoriographen.

Fazit

Onesikritos' schlechte Reputation als Historiograph resultiert aus einer selektiven Rezeption seiner Schrift, von der primär die ethnographisch-geographischen Teile herangezogen wurden, die gattungstypisch traditionelle „Wundergeschichten“ enthielten. Als Alexanderbiograph wurde der philosophisch interessierte, gebildete Offizier dagegen wenig rezipiert. Seine Ausführungen zur Geschichte des jungen Alexander waren für die Nachwelt von marginaler Bedeutung, da der Makedone erst in seiner Eigenschaft als Kriegsherr als negatives oder positives Exempel relevant wurde.

Onesikritos lehnte sich bezüglich des Titels seiner Schrift und einiger Motive, insbesondere wohl auch der Frage nach der Rolle der Erziehung bei der späteren Eroberung, an Xenophons *Kyroupaideia* als literarisches Vorbild an, rekurrierte aber auch auf die Schriften von Herodot und Ktesias. Damit unterschied er sich methodisch wenig von den anderen Alexanderhistoriographen und stand zudem im Einklang mit der makedonischen Propaganda, die viele Ereignisse nach dem Modell literarischer Traditionen formte.

Onesikritos' Übersetzungen der persischen Königsinschriften zeigen indes, dass es ihm ein Anliegen war, Alexanders Geschichte in einem Rahmen zu erzählen, der, durch eigene Erfahrungen mit dem Perserreich, wenigstens in Teilen

¹¹⁶ DNb § 2, § 8–10. (Übers. R. Schmitt).

¹¹⁷ Angelehnt an die Grabinschrift der hedonistischen Kunstfigur Saradanapalos (Diod. 2,23,3).

¹¹⁸ Vgl. Müller 2011, 108.

eine annähernd authentische Kulisse aufweisen konnte. Dafür war es zwangsläufig nötig, dass er über den traditionellen literarischen Horizont hinausging. Die Kargheit der Fragmente seines Werks und ihr Fokus lassen jedoch erkennen, dass in der Nachwelt ebenso wenig Interesse an seinen Beobachtungen zu den kulturellen Hinterlassenschaften und der Geschichte des Perserreichs bestand wie an Alexanders Entwicklung unter philosophischer Fragestellung nach der *paideia*. Was hingegen interessierte, waren fantastische Motive, fremdartige Phänomene und unbekannte Welten: Amazonen, Nilpferde, Elefanten, Gymnosophisten, In-der mit bunt gefärbten Bärten, die ihren König nach der Schönheit wählten, oder Gold tragende Flüsse (*FGrHist* F 134, F1, 13–14, 17, 21, 32). Dies wirft weniger ein fragwürdiges Licht auf Onesikritos als auf diejenigen, die seine Schrift in dieser Weise rezipierten.

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Abstract

Onesikritos and the Achaemenid Empire

As a historiographer, Onesikritos is generally regarded as notorious for his fairytales. This paper reassesses his intellectual background, position within the structures of Alexander's empire, and significance as a historiographer. His information on Persian history and Diogenes Laertius' claim that he was strongly influenced by Xenophon's *Cyropaedia* will be reexamined.



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**FIRST IRANIAN MILITARY UNITS IN THE ARMY OF
ALEXANDER THE GREAT***

Keywords: Alexander's army, conquest, Iranians, Achaemenids, Media, Parthia

Discussions of Alexander's monarchy have accorded little room to the role played by Iranians in the great conqueror's army. While the issue appears in several studies and monographs on Alexander's policies in Asia,¹ there has never been a comprehensive study that seeks to analyze not only the numbers but also the place accorded to Iranian troops in Alexander's army as well as the influence that they exerted in both the military and the empire.² The ancient authors of Alexander paid little attention to these Oriental troops, providing only scant and fragmentary information on them, preferring instead to ignore them. This tendency in the sources was rightly pointed out by E. Badian: 'We know very little about Alexander's actual use of Iranians, except for a few eminent personages (such as satraps) and, in a very general sense, auxiliary units. Our sources were not interested, and even *their* sources had not been, except where serious trouble resulted.'³ As a result, by failing to appreciate the Iranian presence in Alexander's army, scholars are hindered from

* I am grateful to Joseph Roisman and Sabine Müller for their useful comments on Alexander's reign. Jeffrey D. Lerner was most helpful in overcoming errors in the text.

¹ Various aspects of the Iranians' presence in Alexander's army have been analyzed in Berve 1926 I, 103–217; Brunt 1963, 27–46; Griffith 1963, 68–74; Badian 1965, 160–1; Bosworth 1980, 1–21; Hammond 1983; 1996; 1998; Olbrycht 2004; 77–204; 2010, 364–365.

² Bosworth 1980; 1–21; Hamilton 1987, Briant 1980, 37–83 (= *Rois, tributs et paysans*, Paris 1982, 357–403); Olbrycht 2004; 2010; Lane Fox 2007, 267–311; Müller 2011.

³ Badian 1985, 482. Similarly Berve 1926, I, 152.

reaching a clear understanding about the nature of his power and hence his empire.⁴

The present study focuses on the circumstances that allowed for the integration of Iranians in Alexander's army in 330 BC. It will be seen that their presence came as the result of political innovations introduced by the king and military necessity. These conditions in turn drove Alexander to enact changes in his armed forces, especially with respect to the expanded role of his cavalry. To combat the resistance that he encountered in eastern Iran and Central Asia, Alexander urgently needed fresh troops, but the reinforcements he received from the Balkans and western Asia proved insufficient. He was, therefore, left with only one solution: the recruitment of Iranians.

* * *

The death of Darius III in western Parthia (summer 330) concluded an important stage in Alexander's Asian expedition. For many Macedonians, this event meant the end of the war: the king of the Persian empire had been defeated and murdered by his own officials. Although the eastern part of that great empire remained unconquered, most Macedonians wished to return home. They had achieved more than they had dreamt before the war began in 334. For their part, many Iranian officials and commanders, who had remained loyal to Darius to the end, saw no point in offering further resistance and surrendered to Alexander. The commanders, who were still at the head of a powerful army, controlled the Achaemenid heartland and royal residences – Persepolis, Susa, Babylon, and Ekbatana. Yet when Alexander crossed the Caspian Gates in 330, he did so without any effective resistance against his army in western Iran.⁵

The Macedonian king thus decided to continue the war and press on into eastern Iran and Central Asia.⁶ He found it difficult, however, to persuade his Macedonian soldiers to keep fighting. Nor was that the only serious challenge he faced. Of crucial importance was his need to maintain the army's combat readiness in tact. For that purpose, it was necessary to ensure appropriate logistical support and especially to reinforce the ranks with new soldiers.

⁴ Droysen 1885, 27 devotes no more than a few sentences to the Asian cavalry in his comprehensive study of Alexander's army. In his discussion of Alexander's army, English 2009 makes no mention of the Iranian element.

⁵ On the subjugation of Babylonia and Western Iran, see Seibert 1985, 96–114 and Bosworth 1988, 85–97.

⁶ Olbrycht 1996, 151–153.

During the war in Persia, Alexander's army was continually reinforced by recruits from the Balkans. In the spring of 333, Alexander received 300 cavalry and 3,000 infantry from Macedon as well as some troops from Thessaly and Elis (Arr. 1.29.4). Further reinforcements joined Alexander in the summer and autumn of 333.⁷ In Sittakene (Diod. 17.65.1; Curt. 5.1.39–42; Arr. 3.16.10) in 331 Alexander was met with fresh recruits from officers whom he had sent to collect them in Macedon (Diod. 17.49.1; Curt. 4.6.30) the year before. After 331, the king's army received no further reinforcements from Macedon. Apparently, the country had been stripped of recruits. The effect of Alexander's expedition on Macedonian demographics is variously estimated,⁸ but there is general agreement that it aggravated the country's male population. This is made clear especially by Diodoros (18.12.2) who writes about the shortage of men in Macedon at the outset of the Lamian War (322) as a result of so many recruits who had been sent to Alexander.⁹ Alexander himself was well aware of the demographic difficulties in his homeland. In 334 he dispatched Macedonian newlyweds home from Anatolia to winter and return to service in the following spring. He also ordered officers 'to enlist as many cavalry and infantry from the land as possible' (Arr. 1.24.1). When he released a small group of Macedonians in Baktria in 329, Alexander demanded that they attend to begetting progeny (*ut liberos generarent* – Curt. 7.5.27).

That no further Macedonian reinforcements were sent was in part due to the less than stable situation in Hellas after 331. While Antipater could count on receiving a number of Macedonian recruits in Europe, he needed them urgently for action in Greece: Agis III of Sparta had initiated a war against Macedon (331).¹⁰ Unrest kept breaking out in various regions throughout the Balkans. Zopyrion, Alexander's general in Thrace, was completely routed by the Scythians and perished with his army of 30,000 men (ca. 330 or 326).¹¹ Thus

⁷ Curt. 3.1.24, 3.7.8; Kallisthenes *FGrHF* 35 (= Polyb. 12.19.1–2). See Bosworth 2002, 69–70.

⁸ The negative impact of Alexander's expedition on Macedonian demographics is most convincingly demonstrated by Seibert 1986, 835–851. For other assessments, see Adams 1984; Bosworth 1986; 2002, 64–97; Badian 1994.

⁹ Badian 1994, 267 rejects Diodoros' statement with a dubious argument: 'This passage is indeed interesting, for it suggests that the theory held by Seibert and adopted by Bosworth, that Alexander exhausted Macedonian manpower, may even be ancient, and in fact date back to the Hellenistic age.' There is no need to consider Diodoros' sober remark as some false theory. Badian is ignoring the fact that out of Alexander's army in Asia only a few returned home before 323 and that the soldiers, the flower of the male population, were in a prolonged separation from their lawful wives, who remained in Macedon.

¹⁰ Badian 1994; Blackwell 1999, 53–79.

¹¹ Iust. 2.3.4, 12.1.4, 12.2.16–17; Curt. 10.1.44–45. Cf. Bosworth 1988, 166; Seibert 1985, 184; Dempsie 1991, 78. Zopyrion's troops must have consisted chiefly of allied Thracians. The number of soldiers in his army given by the sources may be inflated.

Alexander was compelled to seek elsewhere for reinforcements. Thus he hired mercenaries, mainly Greek, but also Balkan (especially Thracian). Additionally, men were called up from various western Asian satrapies, such as Syria, Karia and Lydia.¹² Yet such measures fell short of solving the central problem of maintaining the royal army's numerical force and combat strength. Greek mercenaries (with few exceptions) did not constitute its key formations; they were mostly used as garrison personnel in the satrapies and as settlers in colonies. The same was generally true of Anatolians and Thracians. As a result, Alexander was compelled to tap into local populations where he concentrated his military and political activity from 330 onward – on the Iranian Plateau and in Central Asia.

There was one more important reason for Alexander to recruit Iranians: they were a major military potential in lands east of the Tigris and could pose a threat to Alexander, as was forcefully demonstrated in Areia, Sogdiana, and Bactria. To forestall any potential revolt, Alexander drew upon the lessons learned from his Thracian campaign.¹³ In view of the approaching war with Persia, the king had made certain that he first pacify the Thracian tribes. He obliged Thracian war leaders and officials to accompany him on that expedition, a coercion he presented as an honor. In this way, Alexander achieved *uti principes beneficiis eius obstricti nihil novare vellent, plebs vero ne posset quidem spoliata principibus* (Front. *Strateg.* 2.11.3). In the Iranian satrapies, Alexander repeatedly insisted that hostages be given him. From Oxyartes, Rhoxana's father, he demanded two of his sons for military service, but the noble gave up all three (Curt. 8.4.21). Among the reasons why the Iranian phalanx troops called the Successors (*epigonoi*) were activated in 327 was the need to enlist fresh recruits and the growing fear of unrest in the Iranian hinterland as the Indian campaign progressed (Curt. 8.5.4). In India and on other occasions Alexander took hostages.¹⁴ Typically, they were young men who were conscripted. For Alexander, this arrangement had multiple advantages. Not only did he obtain new soldiers, but he secured the loyalty of their fathers and relatives, while simultaneously despoiling the satrapies of men fit to bear arms.

The role of Iranians in Alexander's army during his campaign against Darius III (334–330) was altogether marginal. Arrian attributes to Alexander a letter that he wrote to Darius while in Phoenician Marathos (332) in which he makes the outlandish statement: 'I hold myself responsible for all of your troops who did not die in the field but took refuge with me. They are serving now in my army of

¹² From 330, details in Hammond 1996, 99–109.

¹³ Bosworth 1988, 28–30.

¹⁴ Hostages in India: Arr. 6.14.3. Polydamas, sent to Ekbatana to secure Parmenion's execution, was given two Arabs as companions, their wives and children remaining with Alexander as hostages to guarantee their loyalty (Curt. 7.2.18).

their own free will.’¹⁵ Thus Alexander, claiming the kingdom of Asia, presented himself to the Orientals as their rightful king and tried to win them over for military service. The authenticity of this letter has been questioned, but there is no reason to reject its substance; i.e., the intentions of Alexander’s policies.¹⁶ The Macedonian was only too happy to recruit Iranians and other subjects of Darius III. Yet at that stage in the war we know of few instances of Achaemenid officials and Iranian soldiers deserting Darius to join Alexander. The only senior Achaemenid officer then in Alexander’s immediate circle was Mithrines, who had surrendered the Sardes citadel in 333 (Arr. 1.17.3f.; Curt. 3.12.6). It seems that the claim of numerous Persian deserters was inserted in the letter by an author drawing from the accounts concerning the events after the battle of Gaugamela (331) when numerous Iranians arrived in Alexander’s camp in the summer of 330 when he rested in Parthia and Hyrkania.

* * *

The first Iranian units of significant size in Alexander’s army, including Bactrians and Sogdians, are explicitly reported in Central Asia in 328 (Arr. 4.17.3). This raises the question of whether Alexander had not previously made use of the highly skillful Median or Parthian horsemen. Most scholars reject the possibility. But G.T. Griffith (1963, 69) posed just such a scenario: ‘If Bactrians and Sogdians could be enlisted by 328, when those two satrapies were still very far from ‘pacified’, it is hard indeed to believe that the satrapies by now long securely held, such as Persis, Media and the rest, had not been called on for levies before this.’ G.T. Griffith posited the notion as the natural result of ‘general probability.’ He rightly remarked that ‘with much of the fine cavalry of the former Persian armies available now, it would seem surprising indeed if Alexander did not make use of it, always supposing that it was politically sound to do so.’

Griffith’s intuition was correct, but he failed to follow up on its implications, because he did not take note of the change in Alexander’s policy in 330. From that year onward, the steady increase of Iranians in Alexander’s army was the direct consequence of his new pro-Iranian policy which he had begun in the satrapy of Parthia-Hyrkania in eastern Iran.¹⁷ While in Persis Alexander made no conciliatory gesture toward the Iranians, in Central Asia, however, such gestures

¹⁵ Arr. 2.14.7. On Darius III’s letter and Alexander’s reply, see Bosworth 1980a, 227–233; Bernhardt 1988; Bloedow 1995.

¹⁶ On the authenticity of the letter and its substance, see Griffith 1963, 69, n. 4; 1968, 33–48; Pearson 1954–55, 447–450.

¹⁷ Olbrycht 2010.

are visible, as in his agreement with Oxyartes to marry Rhoisane. Therefore, despite some initial setbacks in Central Asia, Alexander could count on the broad support of a great number of Iranians. In Persis and Media, the situation was more complicated as that was the heartland of the Achaemenids. Thus large-scale recruitment in Persis (330) was probably out of the question, what with popular opposition against Alexander and his own resentment toward its inhabitants at the time. In Media, Alexander met with little opposition in 330, even though what was left of Darius III's army must have been stationed there. Media held great military potential, as its cavalry and Nisaian horses were renowned throughout Asia. Issos (333) saw a force of 10,000 Median cavalry next to 50,000 infantry troops (Curt. 3.2.4, 3.9.5). The Medes furnished essential forces for Darius' army at Gaugamela, but the size of their contingent is not known (Arr. 3.8.4; Curt. 4.12.12). The Parthians and Hyrkansians likewise fielded large contingents of their own. Did Alexander decide to deploy this potential in his vanguard?

It seems that the sources contain hints of Iranian cavalry in Alexander's army as early as 330 that have so far gone unnoticed. Curtius Rufus (7.3.4) provides a curious statement that during Alexander's stay in Arachosia, the royal army was joined by a cavalry detachment of 200 *nobiles* from Media. Curtius says:

Ibi exercitus, qui sub Parmenione fuerat, occurit: sex milia Macedonum erant et CC nobiles et V milia Graecorum cum equitibus DC, haud dubie robur omnium virium regis.

Curtius must be referring to the corps who were originally left in Ekbatana to guard the royal treasury and later under Kleitos joined up with Alexander in Parthia. Arrian informs us that Alexander left Harpalos with 6,000 Macedonians, a contingent of cavalry, and a few light troops to protect the royal treasury when it was moved from Persia to Ekbatana. Parmenion was instructed to take mercenaries, Thracians, and 'any cavalry other than the Companions past the country of the Kadusians and march into Hyrkania.' Finally Kleitos was ordered, on reaching Ekbatana from Susa, to take the Macedonians left in Media to protect the treasury and march on to Parthia (Arr. 3.19.7–8). In actuality, Parmenion remained in Media.¹⁸

Curtius Rufus and Arrian are in partial agreement over the composition of the troops in Media. But for one of the formations Curtius uses the curious term *nobiles*. Usually, this is taken to mean Macedonian Companions (*hetairoi*),¹⁹ but in the text the Macedonians and the *nobiles* are mentioned separately. Moreover, the numbers of Macedonians in both sources are identical: 6,000 men. Thus, the 200 *nobiles* must be a reference to some non-Macedonian unit. Generally, the

¹⁸ Seibert 1985, 110.

¹⁹ Brunt 1976, 529: 'Companion cavalry left behind.' Similarly Bosworth 1980a, 338.

term *nobiles* as a designation of Macedonian *hetairoi* does not occur in Curtius Rufus because he employs the terms *amici* or *cohors amicorum*.²⁰ Crucial to this issue is a description by Curtius Rufus of a feast Alexander gave in the capital of Sogdiana, Marakanda (8.5.9, ed. Müller):

Igitur festo die omni opulentia convivium exornari iubet, cui non Macedones modo et Graeci, principes amicorum, sed etiam barbari nobiles adhiberentur.

Here the *nobiles* reappear and are easy to identify. While the term appears in the original text without an appositive, many editions of Curtius Rufus contain amendments such as *barbari*, *hostium*, etc.²¹ Yet such additions only distort the original sense. The term *nobiles* clearly refers to Iranian aristocrats, chiefly those from Bactria and Sogdiana, who were present at the feast.²² Strikingly, Iranian *nobiles* appear mentioned side by side with Macedonian (and the few Greek) Companions (*hetairoi*) described as *principes amicorum*. All this speaks against identifying the *nobiles* in Curt. 7.3.4, who are – mentioned separately from Macedonians and Hellenes – with the Macedonian *hetairoi*. In other words, in both passages in Curtius Rufus (7.3.4 and 8.5.9), the term *nobiles* applies to aristocratic Iranians.²³ On the whole, Curtius Rufus was only too eager to call Iranians *nobiles*.²⁴ It is plausible to generalize that the term and its derivatives generally refer to Iranians, very rarely to the Macedonian royal pages,²⁵ and altogether sporadically to Hellenes.²⁶

In this way, Curtius 7.3.4 is proof that a detachment of 200 Iranian horsemen were present in Alexander's army, perhaps among the Companions, already in 330. If they had been dispatched from Media, they were probably in a unit composed of young Median aristocrats serving the twin roles of honorary hostages and the king's soldiers.

One more circumstance suggests that Iranian cavalry appeared in Alexander's by 330. In western Parthia, Alexander made a number of important deci-

²⁰ Curt. 6.2.11, 6.7.17; 10.1.6. Cf. Eichert 1893, 47 and 172.

²¹ The term *barbari* was added by Freinsheim and accepted in the editions of Vogel and Müller (see Müller, Schönfeld 1954), whereas Hedicke, Rolfe, Bardon, and Atkinson prefer *hostium* (cf. Atkinson 2000). Lucarini 2009, 258 gives the phrase: <Persarum> *nobiles*.

²² Curt. 8.19.21–22 identifies the participants as *barbari* and *Persae*, both terms principally referring to Iranians from Central Asia and the Iranian Plateau.

²³ It was Vogel 1880, 65, who first identified *nobiles* in Curt. 7.3.4 as Persians, but this observation has remained unnoticed.

²⁴ Curt. 3.13.6, 6.2.11, 8.4.21, 8.4.23, 9.10.19, 10.1.5.

²⁵ 8.2.35 (*nobiles iuvenes* in Sogdiana); 8.6.7 (*Hermolaus, puer nobilis ex regia cohorte*); 8.13.13 (*nobiles iuvenes* fighting against the Indian king Poros); 10.5.8 (*nobiles pueri custodiae corporis* after Alexander's death).

²⁶ 3.6.1 (for Greek physicians); 3.13.15 (for envoys from Sparta and Athens captured at Damascus).

sions that year. He dismissed his Thessalian horsemen and contingents of Greek allies (i.e., the contingents of the League of Corinth). For their return journey, the men were given the cover of a mounted detachment under Epokillos.

Arrian (3.19.5–6) places the dismissal of Thessalians at Ekbatana, the main operating base of Alexander's army in Iran.²⁷ According to the Vulgate tradition, the Thessalians and other Hellenes were dismissed after Darius III's death (Curt. 6.2.17; Diod. 17.74.3; Iust. 12.1.1). One does not exclude the other: Alexander released Greeks in an edict issued in Parthia, which was applicable to units stationed at Ekbatana. Alexander appears not to have set foot in that city in 330. The escort was doubtless necessary as the situation in newly conquered territories was still unstable, as dangers lurked from local tribes and former soldiers of Darius III. Some Greeks chose to enroll as mercenaries with Alexander's army. Thus, a group of Thessalians remained in Alexander's service until 329 (Curt. 6.6.35). The escort cavalry under Epokillos was probably made up of mercenaries.²⁸

The departure of the Thessalians left Alexander without a major corps of choice cavalry. His other mounted units were concentrated in Media and Parthia. Vast amounts of gold and silver were stored in Ekbatana at the time, guarded by Harpalos, who was given for this purpose 6,000 Macedonians, additional cavalry, and light infantry (*psiloi*). The 6,000 Macedonians were only to remain at Ekbatana temporarily for Kleitos, who was then at Susa due to illness, was supposed to take over the force and bring it to Alexander. At that point, Alexander was pursuing Darius III with units of *prodromoi*, Companions (*hetairoi*), mounted mercenaries under Erigyios,²⁹ a part of the Macedonian phalanx, archers and Agrianes (Arr. 3.20.1). At the same time, a garrison under Parmenion, consisting of mercenaries, Thracians, and 'all the other cavalry (ὄσοι ἄλλοι ἰππεῖς) who were outside the Companion cavalry' (Arr. 3.19.7), was in Media. Who composed that cavalry?³⁰ Since Greek mercenaries and Thracians are mentioned separately, and neither *hetairoi* nor Balkan cavalry come into play (the Thracians most likely made up the infantry in Media), they could not have been Europeans.³¹ In all likelihood, they were Iranians. Altogether Arrian lists all possible horse units of Alexander in

²⁷ Bosworth 1980a, 335–336.; Seibert 1985, 109.

²⁸ Heckel 1992, 364.

²⁹ Milns 1978, 376; Seibert 1985, 111–113.

³⁰ Griffith (1963, 70) has noted that this is 'the only possible allusion that I have found to Oriental cavalry' in Alexander's army before 328, but he tends to diminish the strength of his argument, by ultimately identifying 'a third unit of mercenary horse.'

³¹ Milns 1978, 375–376, argues that Parmenion received Greek mercenary infantry and cavalry, Thracian infantry and cavalry, the *prodromoi-sarissophoroi* and the Paionian cavalry. But the Greek and Thracian units are named separately from those 'remaining cavalry', and the *prodromoi* took part in Alexander's pursuit of Darius. Generally, Milns' modifications of Arrian's account clearly distort the evidence.

Media and Parthia in 330 as belonging to four corps, respectively commanded by Harpalos, Parmenion, Epokillos, and the king himself. This hypothetical Iranian cavalry unit would have presumably been assigned to Parmenion at Ekbatana. The Median satrap Oxydates, appointed by Alexander,³² had apparently created mounted units of his own either to support Parmenion's military operations or to be sent to Alexander's field army (as is implied by Curt. 7.3.4).

* * *

One of the most disputed contingents in Alexander's army is the mounted javelin throwers (ἵππακοντισταί). For the first time, the *hippakontistai* appear in Hyrkania in 330. Alexander used them to attack the Mardians alongside Hypaspists, archers, Agrianes, infantry battalions (*taxeis*) of Koinos and Amyntas, and a half of the *hetairoi* (Arr. 3.24.1). Arrian notes that the *hippakontistai* formed one *taxis*. From the Mardian campaign in Hyrkania the mounted javelin-men appear as an elite cavalry formation used in particularly difficult and dangerous military actions. A few weeks previously, Alexander had no *hippakontistai* under his command. While he was pursuing Darius III in eastern Media and western Parthia, Alexander had selected the best and fastest units, including the cavalry of *prodromoi* (Front-runners or Scouts) (Arr. 3.20.1). Toward the end of the chase, the king took Companions (*hetairoi*), *prodromoi*, as well as 'the strongest and lightest of the infantry' (Arr. 3.21.2).³³ A comparison of Alexander's forces in pursuit of Darius III and those involved in the attack on the Mardians in Hyrkania suggests that the *hippakontistai* operated tactically in place of the *prodromoi* cavalry. But this is just one aspect of the origin of the cavalry consisting of javelin throwers.

A detachment of 40 *hippakontistai* was assigned by Alexander to Anaxippos, the Macedonian commander paired with the satrap of Areia, Satibarzanes, in 330 (Arr. 3.25.2). Arrian relates that they were to occupy key positions to prevent any escape as the Macedonians marched through Areia. Yet Anaxippos and his men were killed by Satibarzanes, who unexpectedly launched an attack against Alexander, who fought against the insurrectionists with his select units: the *hetairoi*, *hippakontistai*, archers, and two infantry brigades (*taxeis*) under Koinos and Amyntas (Arr. 3.25.6).

The *hippakontistai* subsequently participated in the pursuit of Artaxerxes Besos in Central Asia (329). When Alexander learned that Spitamenes and Datapher-

³² Curt. 6.2.11; Arr. 3.20.3. Cf. Berve 1926 II, no. 588; Heckel 2005, 188.

³³ These infantry units were Hypaspists under Nikanor and Agrianes under Attalos, see Arr. 3.21.8 with Milns 1978, 377.

nes intended to hand over Artaxerxes Bessos, he dispatched Ptolemaios with three hipparchies of the *hetairoi*, all the *hippakontistai*, an infantry *taxis* under Philotas, a Hypaspist chiliarchy, Agrianes, and a half of his archers (Arr. 3.29.7). Mounted javelin-men fought in the battle against the Sacae on the Iaxartes river in 329 (Arr. 4.4.7). After crossing the river, Alexander sent a hipparchy of the mercenaries and four squadrons (*ilai*) of the *sarissophoroi* after the Sacae. Then he ordered three Companion hipparchies and ‘all the mounted javelin-men’ (*hippakontistai*) to charge at the nomads. He himself led the rest of the cavalry mingled with archers, Agrianes and $\psi\iota\lambda\omicron\iota$ under Balakros (Arr. 4.4.4–9).

Mounted javelin-men fought later in India (327–325). They are named among Alexander’s troops next to the Hypaspists, Companions, *asthetairoi*, archers and Agrianes who assaulted the Aspasiens, Guraians and Assakenians (327/326) (Arr. 4.23.1). During the heavy fighting against the Assakenians, Alexander formed a special corps, comprised of Companions, *hippakontistai*, *taxeis* of Koinos and Polyperchon, 1,000 Agrianes and archers (Arr. 4.25.6). In the battle of Masaga, *hippakontistai*, Agrianes and archers attacked the enemy as vanguard troops (Arr. 4.26.4). In the campaign in the lower Indus valley, the *hippakontistai* fought next to the Agrianes in Peithon’s corps (Arr. 6.17.4).

Overall, the mounted javelin throwers (*hippakontistai*) appear in 330–325 as one of the most mobile and best units that Alexander commanded.³⁴ In a tactical sense, they filled the gap left by the *prodromoi*, but once the Iranian horse archers (*hippotoxotai*) entered service in 327, they took the place of the *hippakontistai* in the army’s hierarchy. This is confirmed by the absence of the *hippakontistai* cavalry in the pitched battle on the Hydaspes (326) and instead by the presence in a key tactical role – of horse archers (*hippotoxotai*).³⁵

The Thessalian cavalry was one of the best contingents in Alexander’s army.³⁶ In the Iranian theatre, however, the utility of the Thessalians was limited. The terrain was mountains, partly steppe and desert; the tactics that were required were extremely rapid which only a sprit de corps could muster. The Thessalians were not suited for such an environment.³⁷ In Iran and Central Asia, Alexander needed a new type of cavalry, one that was lighter than the Thessalians and better adapted to the adverse conditions of Asia. It was the *hippakontistai* that filled that need. It was by no means a coincidence that the *hippakon-*

³⁴ Gaebel 2002, 176–177.

³⁵ Olbrycht 2004, 151–170.

³⁶ Cf. Berve 1926 I, 140–141; Hammond 1981, 31–32.

³⁷ This is indicated by the fact that the Thessalian horsemen who stayed with Alexander in 330 as mercenaries (130 men in Curt. 6.6.35, cf. Arr. 3.25.4) apparently did not display any battle spirit and on reaching the Oxos in Baktria were sent back home (329) – Arr. 3.29.5; 5.27.5. Cf. Curt. 7.5.27.

tistai first appeared in Hyrkania, just after the Thessalians were dismissed. Their purpose was to fill the gap left by the withdrawn contingent.

Opinions of the origin and ethnic composition of the *hippakontistai* are highly divided: they are variously identified as former soldiers of Darius III,³⁸ newly recruited Iranians,³⁹ Balkan Paionians,⁴⁰ possibly even Macedonians.⁴¹ Sources provide no clear indication on the ethnic makeup of the *hippakontistai*. The reason for this was largely the reform of the cavalry introduced by Alexander in Sittakene (winter 331/330). Until then, the king's mounted units were divided by nationality. Alexander abolished that distinction and named officers according to merit rather than birthplace (Curt. 5.2.6. Cf. Diod. 17.64.2–4). Thus some cavalry units had ceased to be recruited purely on an ethnic basis. Unfortunately, Curtius does not specify which units were affected. In reality, the ethnic principle in recruiting soldiers still played an essential role for we hear, e.g., of Baktrians and Sogdians fighting in Koinos' corps in Sogdiana next to the Companions, *hippakontistai* and 'the other troops' in 328 (Arr. 4.17.3).

A point to consider is whether the *hippakontistai* were, as some have proposed, of Thracian or Paionian background. No mention is made of Paionians after Gaugamela. Perhaps it is due to the inaccuracy of the accounts (after Alexander's reforms in Sittakene they were less specific on ethnic matters). Most probably, however, the Paionians, like other allied troops, were sent home by Alexander in 330.⁴² The Thracians – whether foot or horse – were as a rule enlisted in occupying garrisons.⁴³ This contradicts claims that they made up a mounted javelin thrower squad as part of an elite cavalry in the king's field army.

In Alexander's army at the Hellespont, Diodoros (17.17.4) names a division of 900 horsemen under Kassandros. The whole unit consisted of Thracians, *prodromoi*, and Paionians. Probably a proportional division of the corps into three units of 300 men each should be assumed.⁴⁴ Sometimes, the designation *prodromoi* was used for the whole formation; e.g., Arrian 3.8.1 calls Paionian horsemen *prodromoi*.⁴⁵ In most cases, however, they are distinguished from the Paionians

³⁸ Berve 1926, I, 151.

³⁹ Griffith 1963, 69–70; Hamilton 1987, 476–478; Brunt 1976, LXXIV–V; Wirth, Hinüber 1985, 881.

⁴⁰ Bosworth 1988, 271, remarks that the Paionians forming the *πρόδρομοι* 'are not mentioned after Gaugamela, and as light cavalry they could well have formed the nucleus of the specialized unit of javelin-men.' Similarly Bosworth 1980, 14–15.

⁴¹ Bosworth 1980a, 352.

⁴² Milns 1978, 376, maintains they were left with Parmenion at Ekbatana.

⁴³ Arr. 6.15.2; Curt. 10.1.1. Cf. Berve 1926 I, 134; Heckel 1992, 361.

⁴⁴ Milns 1966, 167–168; Hammond 1998, 408.

⁴⁵ On the *prodromoi*: Arr. 1.12.7; 1.14.6; 2.9.2; 3.7.7; 3.12.3; 3.18.2; 3.20.1; 3.21.2; Diod. 17.17.4. Cf. Heckel 1992, 351–355.

(Arr. 1.14.1, 1.14.6, 2.9.2, 3.12.3). The sources can be understood as implying that the *prodromoi* were sometimes also called *sarissophoroi*, i.e. Lancers.⁴⁶ However, the Paionian horsemen are never described as *sarissophoroi*. Generally, the term *prodromoi* designates the whole elite unit of light cavalry led initially by Kassandros, in other cases it is used for the Macedonian units called *sarissophoroi*. The core of the *prodromoi* must have been recruited in Macedon, since Diodoros (17.17.4) makes no indication of their ethnic origin as is the case with foreign troops.⁴⁷ Also their commanders were Macedonian. In particular, the unit of Thracians, recorded together with *prodromoi* and Paionians, must have been recruited within Macedon for it was separate from the Thracian allied contingents. The term *sarissophoroi* last appears in Alexander's battle with the Sacae on the Iaxartes in 329 (Arr. 4.4.6). In this battle, the *hippakontistai* were already active. This rules out the *sarissophoroi* as a force from which the *hippakontistai* were recruited. In all likelihood, the *sarissophoroi* or *prodromoi* proper were incorporated into the Companion cavalry during the Baktrian campaign of 329–327.⁴⁸

One more possibility remains to explain the origin and ethnic composition of the javelin-men cavalry units (*hippakontistai*): they could have been recruited from the excellent Iranian cavalry. While struggling to find reinforcements after 330, Alexander can hardly be thought to have ignored a chance to obtain cavalry in northern Iran. The *hippakontistai* unit appears soon after the tour of duty ended for a contingent of choice Thessalian cavalry numbering 1,800 at the start of the expedition. In the face of further fighting in Iran, in regions which excelled with cavalry, Alexander urgently needed considerable reinforcements to replenish his horse. Given the circumstances, this could only have been done by recruiting Medes, Parthians, Hyrkanians, and other Iranians.

While in pursuit of Darius III in eastern Media and western Parthia, Alexander took with him a large number of horse. Curtius Rufus (5.13.8) speaks of a select force of 6,000 horsemen and 300 *dimachae*, i.e., heavily armed infantry traveling on horseback. The figure of 6,000 cavalry, confirmed by Justin (11.15.4), seems extremely high. Apparently, it does not include the phalanx mentioned by Curtius (5.13.10) which followed the king. In the last stage of the

⁴⁶ *Sarissophoroi*: Arr. 1.14.1; Curt. 4.15.13 (*sarissophoroi* under Aretes); Arr. 3.12.3 (Aretes as commander of the *prodromoi*). In the battle on the Granikos, Amyntas son of Arrhabaios led *sarissophoroi* next to the Paionians (Arr. 1.14.1); the designation *prodromoi* does not occur. The same Amyntas, attested in Arr. 1.12.6–7, commanded 4 *ilai* of the *prodromoi*, which – together with one Companion squadron – are called Scouts (σκοποῖ). That *sarissophoroi* was an alternative term for *prodromoi* is shown by Hammond 1998, 408–409.

⁴⁷ Rightly so Hammond 1998, 411.

⁴⁸ Berve 1926 I, 129; Hammond 1998, 418.

pursuit, when some units (cf. Curt. 5.13.8 and Arr. 3.20.1) must have remained behind due to fatigue, Alexander divided his troops and sent Nikanor on to check Darius' flight (Curt. 5.13.19). Nikanor's tactical aim required a considerable force, for the Persian corps showed a high level of combat readiness; Curtius mentions (5.13.19) a detachment of 3,000 Persian horsemen who offered resistance in one such engagements. At the same time, barely 3,000 of the cavalry kept up with Alexander himself (Curt. 5.13.21). Even if Curtius' and Justin's data are not altogether accurate – both authors do not mention the strength of the infantry units – the number of mounted soldiers is still unusual.

While describing the beginning of the pursuit of Darius in eastern Media, Arrian (3.20.1) speaks of Companions, *prodromoi*, the mercenary horse under Erigyios, the Macedonian phalanx, archers and Agrianes. But by reason of the speed of the march, many of Alexander's units 'were left behind worn out.' After crossing Rhagai, Alexander had with him – according to Arrian (3.21.2) – *prodromoi*, Companions and 'the strongest and lightest of the infantry,' i.e. the Hypaspists and Agrianes (cf. Arr. 3.21.8: on paper both infantry divisions had up to 4,000 men). Arrian (3.21.7) adds that five hundred of Alexander's horsemen were made to dismount so that a select number of infantrymen would be able to continue to march on horse.

The *hetairoi* (on paper they numbered some 2,000 men)⁴⁹ and *prodromoi* (the whole unit amounted to 900 in 334) added up to almost 3,000 men. Curtius' figure of 6,000 horsemen seems also to refer to other units, including 600 mercenaries under Erigyios. Generally, the figure 3,500–4,000 would be probably the absolute maximum for the royal European cavalry forces operating against Darius in western Parthia in summer 330.⁵⁰ It seems possible that Alexander was already leading a sizable number of Iranian cavalry which, several weeks later, after Darius' death, were recorded in Hyrkania as the *hippakontistai* consisting then of about 2,000 men. Some of them probably served already as scouts, others were kept at the rear to be employed after the pursuit of Darius had ended. In the available evidence, however, the presence of Iranian horsemen is directly not attested; moreover, nothing is explicitly said about the origins of *hippakontistai*. All we know is that the unit suddenly appeared in Hyrkania as one of Alexander's elite cavalry forces just after Darius' death. Generally, the available sources were not interested in the Iranian forces that were included in Alexander's army

⁴⁹ The *hetairoi* cavalry numbered 1,800 soldiers in 334, see Diod. 17.17.4. In reckoning the attested reinforcements of 800 horsemen in 333 and 331, Alexander could have made up for losses and transfers, or perhaps could have slightly increased the strength of the Companion cavalry in Sittakene in 331 of up to about 2,000 men. For sources, see Berve 1926 I, 104–112.

⁵⁰ Erigyios' mounted mercenaries mentioned in Arr. 3.20.1 (about 600, see Diod. 17.17.4) must have stayed at the rear. They are not mentioned during the final stages of the pursuit.

unless they were engaged in major battles like the one at the Hydaspes. To sum up, there was about 2,000 Companions, 900 *prodromoi*, 600 mercenaries under Erigyios, and up to 2,000 Iranians – altogether 5,500 men, a figure remarkably near the total of 6,000, that is reported in Curtius and Justin.

Who served in the *hippakontistai* unit? It seems that Alexander decided to make use of Iranians in the summer of 330. Already after Darius III's defeat at Gaugamela (331), when Alexander stood at the gates of Babylonia, Susiana, and Persis, the hostile attitudes of Persians and other Iranians began to change. At that point, many Iranians concluded that Darius was bound to lose and that continued resistance was pointless. The Persian Mazaïos, who had not long before valiantly fought against Alexander at Gaugamela, was appointed satrap of Babylon. He was the first notable Iranian to go over to Alexander's side, in return for a high office (another example is that of Mithrines of Sardes). From Babylonia to Paropamisos (Hindukush region), Alexander appointed more than a dozen satraps in the years 330–329, of whom only one (in Arachosia) was Macedonian, the rest were Iranian.⁵¹ We can be sure that after destroying Persepolis, more and more Iranians were ready to support Alexander who appeared in Persia as the unquestionable victor.

Having subjugated Media, one of the largest satrapies in the Achaemenid empire, Alexander tried to win some of the local potentates. The conqueror first gave the satrapy to Oxydates. Curtius (6.2.11) reports that Oxydates had been arrested by Darius III and was under the sentence of death. Arrian (3.20.3) adds that Oxydates' experience under Darius recommended him to Alexander. Alexander's appointment in Media implies that he intended to replace satraps once loyal to Darius with those loyal to himself; a similar situation is to be understood for Amminapes, Alexander's newly appointed satrap in Parthia-Hyrkania.⁵² Oxydates, like other Iranian potentates, must have had at his disposal a sizable number of troops from his clan ready to support Alexander's operations. In naming Amminapes as satrap of Parthia-Hyrkania, Alexander was apparently counting on their good acquaintance and on Amminapes' long involvement with Macedon as well as his family's connections in the satrapy. Significantly Alexander did not leave behind any Macedonian with an army in Parthia-Hyrkania. All he did was to attach to Amminapes a royal overseer (ἐπίσκοπος), Tlepolemos.⁵³ Conceivably, Amminapes must have had a sizable Iranian corps able to seize and hold his new satrapy safely. Surely, as an important member in the Parthian nobility, he could count on his own clan's support.

⁵¹ Olbrycht 2010, 353.

⁵² Bosworth 1980a, 339.

⁵³ Arr. 3.22.1 uses the verb ἐπίσκοπέω 'to oversee', cf. Olbrycht 2004, 268–271.

Apparently, Iranian detachments recruited from among families and clans disloyal to Darius III gave birth to the *hippakontistai*. Iranian aristocratic houses, some of them openly supporting Alexander, especially after 331, had a large clientele which obeyed their order.⁵⁴ Possibly the *hippakontistai* partially consisted of survivors from Darius III's army stationed in Media itself or accompanying the Achaemenid king in his disastrous march eastward. The use of Iranian forces by Alexander during the pursuit of Darius in western Parthia may also be explained by the necessity of employing native soldiers well acquainted with the difficult conditions presented by the Alborz mountains, the adjoining deserts to the south and the forests of Hyrkania to the north between Rhagai and Hekatompylos. Surely Alexander was perfectly well aware of the danger presented by the harsh conditions and the possibility of unexpected Persian attacks. Moreover, he was keen to capture Darius before the Achaemenid king would be able to find shelter in the remote areas of eastern Iran or in Central Asia.

The use of the name *hippakontistai*, was probably initiated by Alexander because it does not appear before him and disappears after his death, replaced from the period of the Diadochoi on by the term 'Tarentines' (τὰρεντινοί).⁵⁵

The recruitment of the *hippakontistai* from among the Medes, Parthians, Hyrkanians, and other northern Iranians in 330 is very likely, since they were quite capable of fielding an excellent light cavalry, especially of mounted javeliners. In the Diadochoi period, Media is often referred to as a land of exquisite cavalry, especially horse javeliners.⁵⁶ All that changed was a terminology of armament. Among the thousands of corps of Median cavalry led by Peithon against Eumenes in Paraitakene and Gabiene (316) were λογγοφόροι, fighting alongside Parthian horse archers (Diod. 19.29.2). Their name was derived from λόγχη or 'javelin.' Tactically, the *lonchophoroi* did not differ from the *hippakontistai* of Alexander's time. Also the inhabitants of Parthia and Hyrkania were superb horsemen. Parthians and Hyrkanians fought valiantly at Gaugamela (Arr. 3.8.4; Curt. 4.12.11). The Hyrkanian cavalry appeared on the Graneikos (Diod. 17.19.4) and at Issos (total 6,000: Curt. 3.2.6, 9.5). At Ipsos (301) Seleukos had about 12,000 horse, almost entirely Iranian (Diod. 20.113.4). A decisive role in the battle was played by horse javelin-men using weapons of the same type as employed by Alexander's *hippakontistai*.⁵⁷

⁵⁴ It was a kind of *clientela* with connotations similar to what was recognized in the Roman world. Iranian aristocratic houses were organized in a way similar to the structure of the ruling Achaemenid clan, see Briant 2002, 334–338. Such houses had also armed forces of their own.

⁵⁵ According to Aelian (*Takt.* 2.11; 2.13 ed. Köchly), mounted javelin-men 'are properly called Tarentines.' Cf. Asklepiodotos, *Takt.* 7.11. On the Tarentines, see Launey 1949–1950, 601–604.

⁵⁶ Launey 1949–1950, 563–565.

⁵⁷ Olbrycht 2005, 231–234. Seleukos' horse archers and javeliners inflicted heavy losses on Antigonos' phalanx and surrounded it as light cavalry typically would. Antigonos himself was

Source accounts do not supply explicit figures on the strength of the *hippakontistai* under Alexander, but an estimate can be inferred. According to Arrian 3.24.1, it was organized initially as a single *taxis*. In the armies of the first half of the 4th century, *taxis* could refer to any large unit but was usually reserved for a single rank for either the cavalry or the infantry (cf. Xen. *Hell.* 4.1.26; 5.2.13). In Alexander's infantry, a *taxis* numbered initially 1,500 men, but after the Sittakene reforms, when the infantry and cavalry had been largely unified, it referred to 2,000 men.⁵⁸ It seems that the cavalry was also organized according to chiliarchiai, units numbering 1,000 men, and *taxeis*, encompassing two chiliarchiai. Thus, if the *hippakontistai* were organized along the lines preferred by Alexander after 331 as *chiliarchiai*, then they could well have numbered about 2,000 men, or two *chiliarchiai*, as subunits of one *taxis* in 330. It is highly likely that the *hippakontistai* grew in numbers during Alexander's campaign in eastern Iran and Central Asia, where there was no shortage of skilled cavalymen: it could then easily exceed 2,000 men.

In sum the first Iranian units enlisted in Alexander's army were the cavalry detachments formed in Media; one of them, consisting of Iranian aristocrats, was sent to Arachosia in the autumn of 330. Another cavalry unit, supporting Alexander's generals in Media, was probably established by the satrap of the country Oxydates. Recruitment of Iranians for Alexander's army reached large proportions when the king established the *hippakontistai* division in 330. Three years later, during the war in India,⁵⁹ Iranians made up the most sizable ethnic component of Alexander's invasion force.

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killed in a hail of javelins (*akontismata* – Plut. *Demetr.* 29.3–5). Incidentally, Plutarch uses the term *akontisma* – a variant of *akontion* – also in his account of the killing of Darius III by his satraps (*Alex.* 43.1).

⁵⁸ For infantry, see Atkinson 1987; 1994, 58–59.

⁵⁹ Olbrycht 2004, 153–157.

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Abstract

The first Iranian units enlisted in Alexander's army were the cavalry detachments formed in Media; one of them, consisting of Iranian aristocrats, was sent to Arachosia in the autumn of 330. Another cavalry unit, supporting Alexander's generals in Media, was probably established by the satrap of the country Oxydates. Recruitment of Iranians for Alexander's army reached large proportions when the king established the *hippakontistai* division in 330.



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**DIODORUS 18. 39.1-7 AND ANTIPATROS'S
SETTLEMENT AT TRIPARADEISOS***

Keywords: Diodorus, Successors' chronology, First War of the Diadochoi, Antipatros, Triparadeisos' settlement

Books 18–20 of Diodorus' *Library* happen to be the amplest and the most ancient historical *continuum* on the Julian years between 323 and 302,¹ this due to the loss of previous Hellenistic historiography, with the exception of few, scattered fragments.

Of these three books, which constitute a compact set and focus on the twenty years following Alexander's death, Book 18 is entirely devoted to the first attempts to re-organize the Macedonian empire in the years 323–318 after the king's sudden death, while in Books 19 and 20, which cover the years 318–302, the narration of events in Greek and East-Greek areas is combined with pages on Agathokles, ruler of Syracuse, and also on the Roman expansion in Southern Italy.

Moreover, the importance of Diodorus' 18 is augmented by the fact that this book describes with precision and abundance of details the territorial re-organization decided by the Macedonians in Babylon and at Triparadeisos,² thus addressing the complex geo-political issues often examined by scholars in

* A first draft of this text was presented as a speech at the Catholic University of Leuven in September 2008, during a workshop on Alexander's Successors. I warmly thank Marek Jan Olbrycht for including my paper in this volume of ANABASIS.

¹ All dates are BC, unless otherwise stated.

² On decisions made in Babylon, see Diod. 18.3.1–5; on decisions made at Triparadeisos, see Diod. 18.39.5–7.

recent years³ and that are now an essential point of departure for further investigation on the origin and the nature of Diadochoi's power.⁴

From a chronological point of view, the narration of the so-called First War of the Diadochoi in Diod. 18.29–39 emphasizes the particularly significant consequences of the omission, in Book 18, of the reference to, actually, two Athenian archons. As already discussed elsewhere,⁵ this omission not only leaves a serious chronological gap, whose causes are difficult if not impossible to identify, but also makes the dating of two important events narrated in Diod. 18.29–39 controversial and debatable, namely the murder, in Egypt, of Perdikkas, the regent of the kingdom, and the consequent summoning of the conference at Triparadeisos to re-distribute among the Diadochoi the territories conquered by Alexander the Great.

More specifically, all the historical-political events related to the First War of the Diadochoi are recounted by Diodorus in 18.29–39 and formally reported under the archonship of Philokles (Attic year 322/1), who is cited at 18.26.1: in these 11 chapters we find the facts from the time when Perdikkas, supported by the Greek Eumenes of Kardia, had to confront the great coalition composed by Antipatros, Krateros, Antigonos and Ptolemy, to the new redistribution of power effected by the victorious allies at Triparadeisos in Syria. The mentioning, at 18.44.1, of the archon Apollodoros (Attic year 319/8) sanctions the omission of his two predecessors, Archippos (I) (Attic year 321/0) and Neaechmos (Attic year 320/19), whose existence is incontestably corroborated by both literary tradition and Attic epigraphy.⁶

³ See Klinkott 1999, 45–93; 2000; Bosworth 2002, 29–63.

⁴ On this issue, see Billows 1995; Boffo 1998, 81–106; Virgilio 2003²; Landucci Gattinoni 2003.

⁵ See Landucci Gattinoni 2008, xxiv–xlvi.

⁶ The list of contemporary Athenian archons is attested, first of all, in two independent literary sources: a passage in Dionysius Halicarnassensis (*Din.* 9) which, prior to the list of the titles of the orations of Dinarchus, records the names of the eponymous archons of Athens in the seventy years between the orator's birth and his return from exile; and a papyrus fragment of an anonymous chronicle (*Chronik von Oxyrhynchos* [POxy. I 12] in *FGrH* 255F1.9–10) based on Olympic years and Athenian eponyms, of which annotations on the years between 355/4 and 316/5 have survived. Both texts fully agree on the list of the eponymous archons of Athens in the six years following Alexander's death: Kephisodoros, Philokes, Archippos (I), Neaechmos, Apollodoros, Archippos (II); the anonymous author of the *Oxyrhynchus Chronicle* also mentions Damasias, the victor in the stadion race in the 115th Olympics, celebrated in the summer of the Julian year 320, who, as Archippos (I) in the years 321/0 and Neaechmos in the years 320/19, is not present in the *Library*. Furthermore, the six above mentioned archonships are also found in some Attic inscriptions, several of which have been the object of, even very recent, debate for a long series of historical-epigraphic issues, which however fall outside the scope of the present paper (to approach Athenian epigraphy of the post-Alexander age, see Woodhead's commentary in *Agora XVI*, 134–

Incidentally, with regard to the chronology of the events narrated in Diod. 18.29–39, I wish to confirm my alignment with the so-called Low Chronology System which dates Perdikkas' death in late spring 320 (Attic year 321/0) and the conference at Triparadeisos in late summer 320 (Attic year 320/19). As already detailed elsewhere⁷, the validation of these two milestone dates in Low Chronology is provided by the arguments of Manni and Errington,⁸ as also repeatedly asserted in recent years by Boiy:⁹ the latter, in particular, speaking of the contents of the Babylonian *Chronicle of the Diadochoi*, affirms that Low Chronology 'is the only possible scenario', because the IV year of Philip III's reign remains 320/19 and in the *Chronicle of the Diadochoi* Perdikkas' campaign in Egypt is reported under the IV year of Philip's reign.¹⁰

Apart from these chronological issues, Diodorus' narration at 18.29–39, which is supported by a significant series of parallel sources,¹¹ allows us to reconstruct one of the turning points in the history of those years. In effect, the breaking out of the first conflict among the factions of the Macedonian establishment marked the end of the formal and substantial unity of the empire which Alexander had built on the solid foundations of his father's kingdom, giving way to a long period of uncertainty and instability.¹²

The decisions made by the Diadochoi at Triparadeisos are described by Diodorus at 18.39.1–7, ideally concluding the 11 chapters (18.29–39) devoted to the

62. For precise bibliographical update, see Poddighe 2002, 142–69 and 191–6; 2004, 1–24; Cullasso Gastaldi 2003, 65–98). In particular, the archonship of Archippos (I), attested with certainty in *Marmor Parium* (in *FGrH* 239 FB11), has also been referred to in two Athenian decrees (*IG* II² 546; *Agora XVI* 97), while the archonship of Neaechmos, which is not mentioned in *Marmor Parium*, has been referred to in seven Athenian decrees (*IG* II² 380; 381; 382; 383; 384; 383b [addenda, p. 660]; *Agora XVI* 100).

⁷ See Landucci Gattinoni 2008, xxiv–xlvi.

⁸ Manni 1949, 53–85; Errington 1970, 49–77.

⁹ Boiy 2006, 37–100; Boiy 2007, 199–207; Boiy 2007a.

¹⁰ See Del Monte 1997, 183–84, Ro lines 1–6.

¹¹ See, in particular, Nep. *Eum.* 3–5.1; Plut. *Eum.* 5–8.4; Arr. *Succ.* 1.26–38; Just. 13. 6.14–18; 8.1–10.

¹² Despite the importance of the events narrated in these chapters, the above mentioned chronological issues have catalyzed the interest of scholars, so much so that most modern bibliography still revolves around them (see Landucci Gattinoni 2008, xxiv–xlvi), thus overshadowing event-based matters. Moreover, since the end of the unity of the empire favored the emergence of new figures that have become, short- or long-lasting, protagonists of history, biographical components are beginning to attract significant attention. As an example, after focusing on the ascent of Antigonos (Billows 1990), scholars have recently given attention not only to the loyalist Eumenes (Schäfer 2002; Anson 2004) but also to the ambitious Perdikkas (Rathmann 2005), as proven by the publication of a series of monographs which have by now become essential resources, along with rich bibliography devoted to chronological issues, for the reconstruction of the events.

First War of the Diadochoi; more specifically, at 18.39.1, with a passing geographical indication (κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν),¹³ Diodorus closes a brief digression on the European situation (see Diod.18.38.1–6) and returns to the Middle-East area, last mentioned at 18.37.4.

Most significantly, at 18.39.1–4 Diodorus continues his analysis, from the events following Perdikkas' death to the subsequent division of the satrapies, without explicit interruptions. In particular, Diodorus describes the departure from Egypt of the Perdikkas army which had passed under the authority of Peithon and Arrhidaios.¹⁴ His narration of the expedition to Egypt, which had begun with Perdikkas arriving 'at the Nile'¹⁵, concludes by highlighting that the two new guardians of the kings, Peithon and Arrhidaios, 'had removed the camp from the Nile' (Ἀρριδαῖος καὶ Πίθων οἱ τῶν βασιλέων ἐπιμεληταὶ ἀναξέζοντες ἀπὸ τοῦ Νείλου μετὰ τῶν βασιλέων καὶ τῆς δυνάμεως ἦκον εἰς Τριπαράδεισον τῆς ἄνω Συρίας), thus portraying the great river as the point of no return for those wishing to threaten militarily the Egyptian territory.

According to Diodorus, the new camp was set up at Triparadeisos, in northern Syria, a site that he mentions also at 19.12.2 referring once again to the allocation of the satrapies therein enacted, but that is unknown to the rest of the literary tradition: in this respect, even Arr. *Succ.* 1.30–38, albeit devoting ample space to the events occurring at Triparadeisos, refrains from mentioning the toponym itself and any coordinate of the setting where the new division of Alexander's empire was framed. With regard to the toponym in particular, Rathmann¹⁶ hypothesizes a possible identification of Triparadeisos with a site named Paradeisos, mentioned by Strabo and Pliny the Elder (Strab. 16.2.19 [C 756]; Plin. *NH* 5.82), who situate it in Syria near the sources of the Orontes river. However, we cannot rule out the possibility that the word παράδεισος, used by Strabo and Pliny as a proper noun, may derive, in their original source/s, from the mere transliteration into Greek of a Persian common noun – indicating a luxuriant park belonging to aristocrats or often to kings –, as also attested by the sixteen occurrences of the term in Xenophon, a real expert on the Achaemenid empire, who always treats the word παράδεισος as a common noun.¹⁷

¹³ The geographical indication exemplifies those didascalical passages, of undoubted Diodorean origin, whose opening/closing "markers" convey, as highlighted in Ambaglio 1995, 31, "the historian's intention to connect, albeit artificially, different fronts". On the role of geography in the *Library*, see Ambaglio 1995, 59–63. For comparison between geographical remarks by Diodorus and Polybius, see Spada 2003, 51–2.

¹⁴ See Landucci Gattinoni 2008, 160–1.

¹⁵ See Landucci Gattinoni 2008, 148–9.

¹⁶ Rathmann 2005a, 363.

¹⁷ See e.g. Xen. *Oec.* 4.13; 4.21; *Cyr.* 8.1.38; 6.12; *An.* 1.2.7; 4.10; 2.4.14; *Hell.* 4.1.33.

After locating the camp at Triparadeisos, Diodorus begins recounting related events with no further chronological hint;¹⁸ from its beginning Diodorus' text displays substantial consonance with Arr. *Succ.* 1.30–38, the only parallel source which is comparable with it for breadth of contents and accuracy in form; as a matter of fact, Plut. *Eum.* 8.4 and Just. 13.8.10 merely cite Antigonos' appointment as commander in chief in the war against Eumenes, refraining from mentioning the new division of the satrapies.

Consonance between Diodorus and Arrian strongly emerges in the 'foregrounding' of the figure of Eurydike, wife of Philip III Arrhidaios,¹⁹ that both historians present *in medias res* with no further explanation. As can be noted, this is reasonable in Arrian, since as early as at *Succ.* 1.22–23²⁰ he portrays Eurydike in detail while narrating the death of her mother Kynna, daughter of Philip II, and the marriage of Eurydike herself with Philip III Arrhidaios, but it is considerably less obvious in Diodorus, who mentions 'queen Eurydike' for the first time at 18.39.2 (Εὐρυδικῆς τῆς βασιλίσσης πολλὰ περιεργαζομένης), with no further information on her origins and status. As noticed elsewhere,²¹ this 'omission' seems to sustain the hypothesis that Diodorus had decided to 'cut short' on Eurydike at 18.23.1–4, where he was analyzing Perdikkas' matrimonial intrigues, but that he did not realize the need of informing readers on the bride of Philip III Arrhidaios when, at 18.39.2, he began to describe her intense role at Triparadeisos. With regard to this aspect in particular, Diodorus and Arrian agree in pinpointing Eurydike's extreme 'activism', which led her to bitter contrasts with Peithon and Arrhidaios and prompted them to resign; this in turn opened the way for the appointment of Antipatros as guardian of the kings by an assembly of Macedonians that, once again, exercised the legitimate prerogatives of sovereignty.²²

In Diodorus, Antipatros is the *deus ex-machina* in an increasingly explosive situation for the troops camped at Triparadeisos: indeed, on his arrival, he successfully convinces Eurydike to 'calm down' (τὴν ἡσυχίαν ἄγειν), while also soothing soldiers' bad moods as fomented by the woman. Diodorus' concise

¹⁸ In this respect, considering that, as already mentioned *supra* (87), the date of the so-called Conference at Triparadeisos is tightly connected with that of Perdikkas' death – which this study has situated in May 320 as claimed by Low Chronology –, then, differently from what High Chronology suggests, the Conference at Triparadeisos must be supposed to have taken place not in the summer of 321 but, rather, in the summer of 320 as claimed by Low Chronology. Cf., most recently, Boiy 2007a, *passim*.

¹⁹ On Eurydike's biography, see, besides Carney 2000, 132–46, which elaborates on Carney 1987, 496–502, also the brief biographical sketch in Heckel 2006, 4–5.

²⁰ See commentary *ad loca* in Simonetti Agostinetti 1993, 60–2.

²¹ See Landucci Gattinoni 2008, 124–6.

²² On the role and relevance of Macedonian assemblies, see Landucci Gattinoni 2008, 160–1.

narration, which employs terminology semantically related to the possible outbreak of mutiny, does not clarify the motivations behind the troops' discontent, while clearly intending to highlight the 'happy-ended' full reconciliation between the ordinary soldiers and the new regent. Interestingly, Arrian's reconstruction displays such a happy ending too (see Arr. *Succ.* 1.33), but his scenario is entirely different. First of all, Arrian clarifies that Antipatros was saved by the decisive intervention of Antigonos and Seleukos (both unmentioned in Diodorus); furthermore, Arrian details the motives behind the troops' discontent: according to him, Antipatros responded to the pressing demands of the soldiers denying to be able to pay them for 'their participation in the Asian expedition as promised by Alexander' (Arr. *Succ.* 1.32: τὰ παρὰ Ἀλεξάνδρου ὑποσχεθέντα αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ τῇ συστρατεία χρήματα).

Therefore, in Diodorus and Arrian we read two different versions of the same events; when we find substantial convergence between the two authors, they evidently portray the facts as they really were: the contrasts between the queen Eurydike on the one hand and the commanders Peithon and Arrhidaios on the other; their resignation; Antipatros's appointment as new guardian of the kings; the troops' discontent; the final agreement which, *mutatis mutandis*, re-echoes the agreement reached in Babylon in June 323. Yet, by 'cancelling' Antigonos and Seleukos from his narration, Diodorus displays an evident pro-Antipatros stance according to which Antipatros himself 'towers' over the rest of the characters as the protagonist of the encounter/clash with 'the Macedonians' who were threatening mutiny. Arrian instead reveals himself to be not only more hostile to the new regent, described as being at the mercy of events (and of Eurydike's false accusations), but also sounds extremely favorable to Antigonos who, with Seleukos, stands out as the true *deus ex-machina* of the situation.²³

At 18.39.5–7, Diodorus details the new distribution of the satrapies as enacted by Antipatros, with a list which closely reminds the reader of the territorial division decided by Perdikkas in Babylon in 323, the latter minutely illustrated by Diodorus as early as at 18.3.1–4.²⁴ Echoes between the two passages are further sustained by the fact that at 18.39.5–7, as at 18.3.1, the first part of the list is focused on the south-western area of the empire, progressing south to north from Egypt to Cilicia;²⁵ furthermore, Diodorus' list of the decisions made at Triparade-

²³ On the supposed existence of two distinct historiographical traditions backing different formulations in Diodorus' and in Arrian's versions, see *infra*, 91–92.

²⁴ See Landucci Gattinoni 2008, 23–37 for 18.3.1–4; 171–80 for 18.39.5–7.

²⁵ These echoes can be heard, despite the fact that, as rightly pointed out by Klinkott 2000, 72, at 18.39.5–7 Diodorus does not mention European territories (referred to at 18.3.1 instead), almost as if Antipatros, unlike Perdikkas, had wished to underline their extraneity to the oriental system of the satrapies (in this perspective, it is noteworthy the absence of the name of Lysi-

isos has full correspondence with Arr. *Succ.* 1.34–38, which is the only other existing source on the matter.²⁶

The comparison between the lists of Diodorus and Arrian²⁷ results in undeniable consonance in the narration of the events; yet, once again, it highlights intense conceptual dissonance between the historians, with regard, this time, to the figures of Ptolemy and, as usual, Antigonos. About the former, both historians portray his 'inamovability' from Egypt, which he dominated as a 'spear-won prize' (δορίκτητος);²⁸ yet, while Diodorus underlines that such 'inamovability' derived from his great personal value, Arrian merely records his sovereignty over Egypt with no reference to his human qualities. Similarly, both historians report on Antigonos' appointment as commander of the royal army that had been led by Perdikkas, and on the fact that Antipatros appointed his son Kassander as chiliarch of Antigonos; yet, while Diodorus notes that Kassander was to prevent Antigonos from acting secretly and autonomously, in order to underline Antipatros's distrust of the Monophthalmos, Arrian simply narrates Kassander's appointment, without any comment, thus omitting any negative remark on the Monophthalmos, who, in this way, seems to be enjoying Antipatros's full trust.²⁹

On these bases, although these two lists do reflect, in my opinion, the essence of the official document issued at Triparadeisos with the *imprimatur* of the major representatives of the coalition that had eliminated Perdikkas, they must however descend from two separate historiographic traditions, each fully quoting the aforementioned document while colouring it with different hues: favorable to Antigonos but not to Ptolemy in Arrian; favorable to the satrap of Egypt and hostile to Monophthalmos in Diodorus.

In this reconstruction I think it is evident that only Arrian's pro-Antigonos source can be identified with Hieronymus of Kardia, since, as I have repeatedly

machos, who was instead tacitly confirmed as satrap of Thracia, see Landucci Gattinoni 1992, 105).

²⁶ Differently, 13 versions of Babylon Settlement have survived; among these, however, only five are significantly pertinent (beside Diod. 18.3.1–3, see Arr. *Succ.* 1.5–8; Dexipp. in *FGrH* 100 F8.2; Curt. 10.10.1; Just. 13.4.9–25), as the other eight belong to late and/or learned traditions, more or less directly, traceable back to the above mentioned five (for a general survey on tradition, with ample bibliographic discussion, see Landucci Gattinoni 2008, 23–9).

²⁷ See, most recently, the precise analysis of the issue in Klinkott 2000, 64–74.

²⁸ On the meaning of the adjective δορίκτητος, see Landucci Gattinoni 2008 (commentary on 195–7).

²⁹ According to Arr. *Succ.* 1.38, the regent ruler even likely ordered Antigonos "to defend and to take care of the kings": a pro-Antigonos note which proves clearly false as the kings returned to Macedonia with the regent ruler leaving Asia for goods (on the return of the kings in Macedonia, see also the *Chronicle of the Diadochoi*, in Del Monte 1997, 183–9, Ro lines 7–9, in which it is emphasized that king Philip, in the fifth year of his reign, "crossed [the Euphrates] heading to Macedonia and never came back").

tried to demonstrate,³⁰ Hieronymus is the only Early Hellenistic historian whose ties with the Antigonids could significantly influence his work. The anti-Antigonos source of Diodorus is instead undoubtedly different from Hieronymus, and, in my opinion,³¹ could be identified with Duris of Samos. Conversely, the *communis opinio* of modern scholars runs counter to such a reconstruction, insofar as they generally view consonance of facts as settling and ignore dissonance in orientation: suffice it here to mention the opinion of Hornblower³² who claims common dependence on Hieronymus of Kardia for both Diodorus and Arrian who would thus fully overlap.³³

With respect to the names of the satraps and the indication of the territories assigned to them, Diod. 18.39.5–6 re-proposes elements already listed at 18.3.1; these repetitions obviously refer to those who in the First War of the Diadochoi had allied against the regent Perdikkas and for this reason had been rewarded by his victorious enemies.³⁴ There are yet some novelties introduced by Antipatros – also in these cases generally favouring those who, having been (variously) hostile to Perdikkas, had gained the winners' trust.³⁵

More specifically, it is reported that Egypt and Syria remain with Ptolemy of Lagos and with Laomedon of Mytilene, respectively; while the former's merits

³⁰ See Landucci Gattinoni 1981/82, 13–26; Landucci Gattinoni 1997, 194–204; Landucci Gattinoni 2005, 175–90; Landucci Gattinoni 2008, xii–xxiv.

³¹ Cfr. Landucci Gattinoni 1997, 194–204.

³² Hornblower 1981, 64.

³³ See also Goukowsky 1978, 57, n. 1, which, embracing the hypothesis that the two authors draw from the same source, merely recalls the precise geographical correspondence between the two texts; such consonance also led Thornton 1995, 111–4, which hastily alludes to this issue, to state the dependence of both sources on Hieronymus of Kardia as a fact. As for the hypothesis of the existence of two separate historiographic traditions, the presence of the list of the satrapies “allotted” at Triparadeisos in both traditions poses the problem of their mutual relation, for which two possible solutions can be envisaged: either their independent use of an official document already universally known in the Greek-Macedonian world, or the dependence of the more recent source on the more ancient. In particular, being the latter the case, then the prior source (be it Hieronymus or Duris) must have used the document imprinting it with his own orientation, and the later source (be it Duris or Hieronymus) must have drawn the same document (for the significance of its content) from the prior one, yet reversing its ‘colour’. In any case, this position reopens the age-old issue of the chronological relation between Duris of Samos’ and Hieronymus of Cardia’s works – which is however destined to remain unsettled since the absence of parallel passages in the existing fragments makes their comparison in no way conclusive (for the investigation of this issue, and ample discussion of bibliography, see Landucci Gattinoni 1997, 78–9).

³⁴ To approach biographical and bibliographical information on the historical figures appointed by Antipatros and mentioned by Diodorus, see Landucci Gattinoni 2008, 23–9.

³⁵ For a global, parallel survey on Diodorus’ and Arrian’s lists, see Klinkott 2000, 64–74. A brief analysis of Arrian’s list is also in Simonetti Agostinetti 1993, 82–5; an analysis of Diodorus’ list is in Rathmann 2005a, 364–8.

in the defeat of Perdikkas are well known, no information is available on the latter's participation in the First War of the Diadochoi – although his confirmation legitimizes the hypothesis that he must have closely supported the 'moves' of the satrap of Egypt, who however was shortly to eliminate him from the political scene.³⁶ Conversely, the destiny of Cilicia changes, insofar as it is no longer assigned to Philotas but to a not better identified Philoxenos; according to Arr. *Succ.* 24.2, Philotas had already been deprived of his government by Perdikkas and replaced with Philoxenos, a Macedonian of unknown origin (ἕνα τῶν ἀφανῶν Μακεδόνων), because he was loyal to Krateros: so it is easy to assume³⁷ that Philoxenos likely betrayed the old regent, acquiring significant, though to us unknown, merits in the eyes of Antipatros, who, as attested at Diod. 18.33.1,³⁸ pursuing Perdikkas in his approach march to Egypt, had crossed Kilikia already in Philoxenos' hands.³⁹

The list continues then with the so-called ἄνω σατραπεῖαι, the internal satrapies, which comprised the Asian territories east of Syria, from Mesopotamia to India: Mesopotamia and Arbelitis, that is the region of Arbela, previously assigned to an unknown Arkesilaos, are bestowed on an equally unknown Amphimachos.⁴⁰ Babylonia, assigned in 323 to the unknown Archon, shortly

³⁶ This is also claimed in Heckel 2006, 146. On the defeat and capture of Laomedon, attested at Diod.18.43.1, see Landucci Gattinoni 2008, 195–8.

³⁷ On this issue, see Simonetti Agostinetti 1993, 82; Heckel 2006, 220.

³⁸ See Landucci Gattinoni 2008, 148–9.

³⁹ Much has been said about this Philoxenos: although Berve 1926, II, nn° 793–796, relates this name to four historical figures, it has been later assumed that he must be the same Macedon officer who, according to [Arist.] *Oec.* II 31,1351b, had been satrap of Karia after the death of Ada, the last representative of the local dynasty of the Hekatomnids (on Ada, see most recently a brief synthesis in Heckel 2006, 3; on the dynasty of the Hekatomnids, see, besides the, by now, classical observations in Beloch *GG*, III.2, 141–5, Hornblower 1982), and the same Macedon officer who is repeatedly mentioned by Arrian (see Arr. *An.* 3.6.4; 7. 23.1; 24.1) in different contexts (on this hypothesis, see in particular Bosworth 1980, 280–1, which elaborates on a hint already in Bengtson 1937, 140–5, partially opposed in Badian 1966, 60–1; for the mere survey of the *status quaestionis*, with no conceptual stand, see Sisti 2001, 477–8. Simonetti Agostinetti 1993, 82; [Sisti]–Zambrini 2004, 642; Rathmann 2005a, 364; Heckel 2006, 220, embrace Bosworth's hypothesis).

⁴⁰ Arr. *Succ.* 1.35 qualifies Amphimachos as “brother of the king” (τῷ τοῦ βασιλέως ἀδελφῷ). On these bases, Berve 1926, II, n° 66, assumes that he must be one of Philip III Arrhidaios' step-brothers – born to his mother but from a different father (Bosworth 2002, 113 and n. 60; Carney 2000, 61 and 276 with n. 45 share the same opinion); Jacoby in *FGrH* II D, Komm., 563, instead, as Beloch *GG* IV.2, 316, assumes that Amphimachos must be brother to that Arrhidaios who had been entrusted with the transportation of Alexander's corpse, mistaken for king Philip III Arrhidaios by Photius, who likely erased the proper noun “Arrhidaios” from the text and replaced it with the term *king* (Simonetti Agostinetti 1993, 82, and Heckel 2006, 22, agree with Jacoby; Rathmann 2005a, 364 takes no explicit stand).

thereafter replaced by the equally unknown Dokimos on Perdikkas' intervention, is bestowed on Seleukos⁴¹. Susiana, ignored by Diodorus when speaking of the 323 division, is granted to Antigenes,⁴² with the motivation, explicit both in Diodorus (διὰ τὸ τοῦτον πρῶτον πεποιήσθαι τὴν ἐπὶ τὸν Περδίκκων ἐπιθεσιν) and in Arrian (*Succ.* 1.35: Ἄντιγένει τῷ πρῶτῳ ἐπιθεμένῳ Περδίκκῳ), that he had been the first to attack Perdikkas at his murder.⁴³ Since Cornelius Nepos mentions not only Antigenes but also Seleukos, as the material perpetrators of Perdikkas' murder (see Nep. *Eum.* 5.1: *Perdikkas apud Nilum flumen interficitur a Seleuco et Antigene*), scholars generally accept⁴⁴ that for Seleukos, as for Antigenes, the granting of an important satrapy was the reward of his betrayal of Perdikkas. Persia remains with Peukestas, as Karmania with Tlepolemos and Media with Peithon. Parthia, instead of being under Phrataphernes, who was 'swallowed up in the dark', passes to that unknown Philip who in Babylonia had been appointed satrap of Bactria and Sogdiana, two of the so-called *Doppelsatrapien*.⁴⁵ Finally, at Triparadeisos, Bactria and Sogdiana are assigned to Stasanor of Soli, former satrap of Aria and Drangiana, which are now bestowed on Stasander of Cyprus who was by then still unknown.⁴⁶

After mentioning the list of appointments in the internal satrapies, Diodorus passes to the Indian territories, from the chain of the Hindu Kush (Paropamisos) to the river Indus, for which the 323 decisions are confirmed: the country of the

⁴¹ In the vast bibliography on Seleukos, one of the key historical figures in Early Hellenism, see, besides lexicographical entries – excellently summarized in Heckel 2006, 246–248 –, two monographs devoted to him (Mehl 1986; Grainger 1990) and, more recently, *status quaestionis* and remarks in Landucci Gattinoni 2005a, 155–81; Landucci Gattinoni 2008, 37.

⁴² To approach Antigenes' biography, see most recently Heckel 2006, 30–1.

⁴³ See Landucci Gattinoni 2008, 156–60.

⁴⁴ See e.g. Mehl 1986, 27–8; Grainger 1990, 32; Bosworth 2002, 210–45; Landucci Gattinoni 2005a, 163–5; Landucci Gattinoni 2008, 177; all with ample discussion of previous bibliography.

⁴⁵ About these wide territories, partly semi-desertic, which lacked appropriate communication networks and in which the process of Hellenization was still in its early stages or rather completely absent, see, besides Klinkott 2000, 82–5, the most recent monographs by Holt [1999 and 2005] which richly discuss previous bibliography.

⁴⁶ Given the common Cypriot origin of Stasander and Stasanor and in spite of the "silence" of the sources, Heckel 2006, 255, assumes some sort of kinship or friendship between the two. Beloch *GG* IV.2, 315, even doubts the existence of Stasander: in his opinion, the hypothesis cannot be ruled out that Stasanor controlled two *Doppelsatrapien* (Bactria-Sogdiana and Aria-Drangiana); in this respect, historiographic tradition might have "created" a new historical figure, Stasander – with a closely-sounding name and identical ethnic origin – to bypass the validation of what seemed to be an exceedingly wide bestowal of power. Also Rathmann 2005a, 366, conforms to this hypothesis, while it is ignored in Simonetti Agostinetti 1993, 83, and Heckel 2006, 255. In my opinion, Beloch's hypothesis is weakened by the fact that in the course of his narration Diodorus mentions once again, in separate contexts, both Stasander (see 19. 14.7) and Stasanor (see 19. 48.1), strengthening the impression of reading about two distinct historical figures.

Paropamisadae remains with Oxyartes, the father of Roxane, and the Indian region bordering with it remains with Peithon, Agenor's son. The two kingdoms to the east of the Indus remain with the two native rulers, Poros and Taxiles, who had been governing for a long time, since – as Diodorus says – these kings could not be 'removed' unless by massive military intervention: Diodorus' words sound as a clear affirmation of the substantial, though not yet formal, autonomy of these territories.⁴⁷

Last but not least, Diodorus lists the Anatolian satrapies north of Taurus Mountains: Kappadokia, that had been ruled by Eumenes, sentenced to death for his loyalty to Perdikkas, is assigned to Nikanor, who is hardly identifiable given the diffusion of this name among the Macedonians of the second half of the IV century.⁴⁸ Nothing changes for Phrygia and Lycia that remain with Antigonos, who, fleeing to Europe to meet Antipatros, had been the true 'conceiver' of the coalition against Perdikkas. Also Asander, satrap of Kappadocia who, according to Arr. *Succ.* 25.1, had immediately aligned himself with Monophthalmos, firmly keeps his territories, while Kleitos, the winning admiral of the Athenian fleet in the Lamian War,⁴⁹ is appointed satrap of Lydia to the detriment of Menander, despite the fact that, as attested in Arr. *Succ.* 25.2, the latter had opposed Perdikkas, collaborating with Antigonos just returned to Asia.⁵⁰ Finally, Hellespontine

⁴⁷ About the kingdoms of Poros and Taxiles in particular, while emphasizing the similarities between Arrian's and Diodorus' lists, Goukowsky 1978, 58 n. 1, highlights that both historians, "assign to Poros that part of India bordering with the Indus (to Patala, according to Arrian), and to Taxiles that part of India stretching along the Idaspes". Consequently, according to Goukowsky (and to Rathmann 2005a, 366, that agrees with this hypothesis) the control of the most eastern Indian reign was mistakenly attributed (not to Poros but) to Taxiles, thus overturning the Indian geography as attested by Alexander historians (see in particular Arr. *Anab.* 5.3.6 [commentary in [Sisti] – Zambrini 2004, 461–2]; 6 2.1 [commentary in [Sisti] – Zambrini 2004, 520–1]).

⁴⁸ See e.g. Berve 1926, II, nn° 553–561, which lists up to 11 historical figures; Heckel 2006, 176–8, in which these become 12. About the Nikanor mentioned by Diodorus, Billows 1990, 409–10, assumes that his appointment as satrap of Kappadokia was likely merely theoretical as he apparently never even tried to take office in Kappadokia (which was still firmly under Eumenes' control), remaining instead in Antigonos' staff, so much so that, according to Plut. *Eum.* 17.5, he was the officer in charge for "receiving" Eumenes himself after his final defeat in Gabiene (*contra* Heckel 2006, 178, s.v. *Nicanor* [10] and [12], that claims that the Nikanor mentioned in Plut. *Eum.* 17.5 is actually a different individual, and that his identification with his namesake, appointed satrap of Kappadokia at Triparadeisos, is in no way validated by evidence. Rathmann 2005a, 366–7, embraces instead Billows' thesis).

⁴⁹ See Landucci Gattinoni 2008, 90–5.

⁵⁰ On the "ousting" of Menander, Simonetti Agostinetti 1993, 84, highlights that "it is not easy to understand the reason why the satrap was replaced", so much so that Berve 1926, II, n° 501, never ruled out the possibility that Menander had died before the "subdivision" at Triparadeisos. Differently, today scholars agree (see Errington 1970, 70; Billows 1990, 402–3; Heckel 2006, 163) on identifying this Menander with Antigonos' officer in charge of the baggage in the war

Phrygia is bestowed on Arrhidaios, rewarded for having brought Alexander's body to Egypt,⁵¹ replacing Leonnatos, who had died in Thessaly trying to support Antipatros in the Lamian War.⁵²

After the list of the satrapies 'distributed' by Antipatros to the Macedonian *principes*, at 18.39.7 Diodorus analyzes the last provisions of the new regent. In this respect it is crucial to realize, as already suggested,⁵³ that the historian does not only report the fact that Antigonos was appointed commander in chief of the royal army and that Kassander, Antipatros's son, was to be 'at his side' as chiliarch; as a matter of fact, in order to underline how deeply the new regent distrusted the Monophthalmos, Diodorus also adds that Kassander was to prevent Antigonos from acting secretly and autonomously.

In the immediately following lines Diodorus underlines that 'Antipatros with the kings and his own army, went on into Macedonia in order to restore the kings to their native land' (αὐτὸς [= Antipatros] τοὺς βασιλεῖς ἀναλαβὼν καὶ τὴν ἰδίαν δύναμιν προῆγεν ἐπὶ Μακεδονίαν, κατὰξων τοὺς βασιλεῖς ἐπὶ τὴν πατρίδα). With this lapidary statement, the historian takes leave from Antipatros, who only reappears at 18.48.1–6, a passage which describes the illness that quickly brought him to death in Macedonia; Diodorus immediately focuses on the beginning of the hostilities between Antigonos and Eumenes, leading readers *in medias res*: as early as at 18.40.1, he narrates that Monophthalmos advanced with his troops to Kappadokia where Eumenes still was.

Conversely, in Photius' summary of Arrian's *Successores* the story's focus remains on Antipatros and on his relations with Antigonos and with Macedonian soldiers. At Arr. *Succ.* 1.38, the description of the decisions made at Triparadeisos concludes with two pieces of information: a) the appointment of Kassander, by his father Antipatros, as chiliarch of the cavalry with no hostile reference to Antigonos; b) the order given to Antigonos by Antipatros before his departure from Triparadeisos for Macedonia 'to defend and to take care of the kings' (τοὺς βασιλέας φρουρεῖν τε καὶ θεραπεύειν), a signal of the regent's full trust in the Monophthalmos.

Arrian's narration proceeds then with six further paragraphs (Arr. *Succ.* 1.39–45), indicated by Photius as being a summary of the tenth (and last) book of the original work, devoted to an ample account of the 'Asian' events that seem

against Eumenes (see Plut. *Eum.* 9.8–12), assuming that Menander, having fled from Lydia at the breaking out of the First War of the Diadochoi, later joined Monophthalmos' army staff who entrusted him with the command of important military missions (see Landucci Gattinoni 2008, 243).

⁵¹ See Landucci Gattinoni 2008, 130–3.

⁵² See Landucci Gattinoni 2008, 87–8.

⁵³ See *supra*, 91.

'to accompany' Antipatros's long march from Triparadeisos to Abydos on the Hellespont. The narration of these events, entirely absent in Diodorus, is characterized by a strong tendency to emphasize the difficulties of the new regent in commanding respect. Furthermore, Arr. *Succ.* 1.43 reports on Kassander's attempt to convince his father Antipatros to distrust Antigonos, who, however, 'thanks to his moderation, his cleverness and bravery', was able to dissipate all suspicions against himself: here, as always in Arrian's *Successors*, Antigonos is described in fully positive terms. Yet, in the end, Arrian has to admit that Antipatros decided to take the kings with himself and to lead them to Macedonia (Arr. *Succ.* 1.44: Ἀντίπατρος ἀναλαβὼν τοὺς βασιλεῖς καὶ τὴν ἄλλην δύναμιν ἦει ὡς περαιωσόμενος ἐπὶ Μακεδονίαν), thus arriving to Diodorus' same conclusion – also re-echoed in the Babylonian *Chronicle of the Diadochoi*, which states that king Philip (III Arrhidaios), in the fifth year of his reign, 'crossed (the Euphrates) to Macedonia and never came back (to Babylon).'⁵⁴

As a result of the comparison between Diodorus' text and Photius' summary of Arrian's *Successores*, it is clear that Diodorus' passage, at 18.39.7, on Antipatros's return to Macedonia **with the kings**, is not to be paralleled with Arr. *Succ.* 1.38, on the regent's departure from Triparadeisos **without the kings**, but rather with Arr. *Succ.* 1.44, which confirms Antipatros's return to Macedonia **with the kings**. By acknowledging that Diod. 18.39.7 and Arr. *Succ.* 1.44 provide the same piece of information, then, from a chronological point of view, it is absolutely necessary to assume for both authors the same *terminus post quem* as being April 1st, 319, the date of the beginning of the fifth year of king Philip III Arrhidaios' reign, in which, according to the above mentioned *Chronicle of the Diadochoi*, the king returned to Macedonia: indeed, in Babylonian chronography, the correspondence between the fifth year of Philip III Arrhidaios' reign and the year 319/18 seems ascertained.⁵⁵

Specifically, on the 'Asian' events that seem 'to accompany' Antipatros's long march in Photius' summary of Arrian's *Successores* and that are entirely absent in Diodorus, one should note not only that they are also clearly re-echoed in Plut. *Eum.* 8.6–12 and in Just. 14.1.1–9, but also that at least some of them can be referred to a text fragment identified in 1977 in a Greek palimpsest of the XIV-XV centuries preserved in the library of the university of Göteborg.⁵⁶ In

⁵⁴ See Del Monte 1997, 183–9, Ro lines 7–9.

⁵⁵ See, most recently, after the well-articulated observations in Boiy 2006, 37–100, later summarized in Boiy 2007, 199–207, the table provided by Wheatley 2007, 192, himself formerly supporting High Chronology (see, in general, also Boiy 2007a).

⁵⁶ *Editio princeps* in Noret 1983, 235–42; later editions in Schröder 1988, 75–90; Dreyer 1999, 39–60. Commentary and Italian translation in Simonetti Agostinetti 1993, 90–7. See most recently Dreyer 2007, 245–63, with a close-reading of the palimpsest supported by digital tools "spotting" otherwise illegible characters.

particular, scholars fully agree on considering this well-preserved fragment, contained in two sheets (72–73) of the palimpsest and amounting to 58 lines, as the original text of Arr. *Succ.* 1.41. In effect, the fragment reports the request of an alliance, made by Eumenes to other Macedonian generals such as Attalos, Polemon and Dokimos, loyal to Perdikkas, for the war against Antipatros: this request of alliance is expressly referred to in Arr. *Succ.* 1.41 and mentioned, albeit indirectly, by Plut. *Eum.* 8.8, which, as the palimpsest, reports that the negotiations occurred ‘during the winter’.⁵⁷

Apart from the contents of the palimpsest of Göteborg, which most remarkably sheds light on the original structure of the (unfortunately) lost *Successores* by Arrian, Diodorus’ silence on post-Triparadeisos events, described instead with abundance of details in Arrian’s *Successors*, had prompted early 19th century scholars to pose the existence of a lacuna of considerable length between 18.39.7 and 18.40.1 in the text of Diodorus’ *Library*. The assumption of a textual lacuna has also been strengthened by the fact that, at 18.44.1, in the usual chronological arrangement, Diodorus mentions Apollodoros as Athenian eponymous archon, who, as evidenced by concordance between literary tradition and Attic epigraphy, was archon in 319/18. Since the last-mentioned eponymous archon, at 18.26.1, is Philokles, the 322/21 archon, it is then clear that Diodorus omitted the name of actually two Athenian eponymous archons, Archippos (I) (archon in 321/0) and Neaechmos (archon in 320/19), giving way to heavy chronological distortion that also impacted on the reference to the 115th Olympiad, which should have appeared under Neaechmos’ archonship (Attic year 320/19).

The hypothesis that the names of these two Athenian eponymous archons were ‘swallowed’ by a textual lacuna, as sustained by Droysen,⁵⁸ has been harshly contested ever since the second half of the 19th century,⁵⁹ above all because the *Pinakes* of Book 18 do not prove any sign of a textual lacuna, while thanks to the *Pinakes* of Book 17 scholars can reconstruct the events fallen in the lacuna which certainly opens at 17.83.9, immediately after the description of the punishment of Bessos, found guilty of Darius’ death, and which even ‘swallows’ the name of the 327/6 archon. Therefore, scholars⁶⁰ agree today on doubting the existence of a lacuna between 18.39.7 and 18.40.1: rather, the omission of the names of Archippos (I) and Neaechmos is preferably attributed to a series of misinterpretations on the part of Diodorus, undoubtedly favored by the casual presence of two homonymous archons in a few years span (Archippos [I] in 321/0 and Archippos [II] in 318/17).

⁵⁷ On the chronological identification of this winter, see Landucci Gattinoni 2008, 184–7.

⁵⁸ Droysen, I, 804–6.

⁵⁹ See, in particular, the by now canonical argumentations in Kallenberg 1877, 321.

⁶⁰ For a general survey on modern bibliography, see Goukowsky 1978, xxiv–xxvii.

Finally, the *communis opinio* of scholars *versus* the existence of a textual lacuna from Diod. 18.39.7 to 18.40.1 is also supported by the above identified equivalence between Diod. 18.39.7 and Arr. *Succ.* 1.44 (not Arr. *Succ.* 1.38). In effect, in this perspective, Diodorus (or better, his source) likely merely 'cancelled' the 'Asian' events that 'accompanied' Antipatros's long march from Triparadeisos to Hellespont and that we can read in Arr. *Succ.* 1.39–44. In this respect, Diodorus' source appears to have silenced all references to hostility against Antipatros which characterize instead the narration at Arr. *Succ.* 1.39–44, while simultaneously inserting an anti-Antigonos note by mentioning Kassander's supervising role against Antigonos' ambitions.

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Abstract

Books 18–20 in Diodorus Siculus' *Library* provide a continuous record of events from Alexander the Great's death to the eve of the Battle of Ipsos at the end of the archon year of 302/1. Book 18 deals with the period between 323 and 318 and is entirely devoted to events in Greece and in the East; there is no reference to Sicilian and Roman affairs.

At 18. 39.1–7, Diodorus narrates of the conference at Triparadeisos, an unknown Syrian town: after the Babylon Settlement in June 323, Antipatros supervised another distribution of satrapies. There were few surprises: the murderers of Perdikkas were rewarded; the war against the Perdikkas forces in Asia Minor was assigned to Antigonos; Seleukos received Babylonia, the nucleus of his future kingdom.

At 18. 39.7, Diodorus concludes the chapter portraying Antipatros crossing the Hellespont in order to return to Macedonia with the kings. He says nothing about Antipatros's deeds on the way from Triparadeisos to the Hellespont: about these deeds we are informed only by Arr. *Succ.* 1.40–45. Therefore, we can suppose Diodorus (or, better, his source) actually 'effaced' Antipatros's march across Asia Minor by focusing only on Antipatros's return to Macedonia.



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A REAPPRAISAL OF THE ECONOMIC INSCRIPTIONS AND COIN FINDS FROM AĪ KHANOUM¹

Keywords: Aī Khanoum, coins, economics, inscriptions, treasury

The Hellenistic city of Aī Khanoum is situated on the confluence of the rivers Oxos and Kokcha in the eastern portion of the ancient country of Baktria (modern northern Afghanistan). Although its ancient name is unknown and the excavations of the site between 1964 and 1978 were never completed by the French mission under Paul Bernard, the cultural remains found at Aī Khanoum have nonetheless presented us with our best understanding of the Hellenistic Far East.² Among the items that were unearthed at the site was a series of inscriptions, or so-called economic labels,³ the majority of which were found at the palace treasury and the *temple à niches indentées*, and appear in two primary

¹ I am grateful to the journal's anonymous reviewers. Their insightful comments, objections, and suggestions have led to many improvements. Naturally, all remaining errors are my own. Funding for this article was provided in part by the Margo Tytus Visiting Scholars Program at the University of Cincinnati Classics Department for which special thanks must be given to Professor Getzel M. Cohen.

² A concise overview of the Central Asian sites attributed to the Achaemenid and Hellenistic Periods has appeared in two versions (Leriche 2007 in English and Leriche 2009 in German). It is hoped that a revised version will include an extensive bibliography for the sites listed. As matters stand, the historiography of each site tends generally to remain inaccessible to all, save those already familiar with them.

³ For reasons of consistency, I have adopted Rapin's (1983, 319; 1992, 301) abbreviations to distinguish each text. Thus "Akh IIIB 77" and "Akh IIIB 78" refer to excavations of the treasury at Aī Khanoum in 1977 and 1978 respectively; "P.O." designates the inventory of small objects ("petits objets"); "Cér." indicates the inventory of ceramics; and "inv. gén. P.O." is used for texts found outside the treasury that are catalogued in the general inventory of small objects ("l'inventaire general des petits objets"). Similarly, I have followed his use of designating these texts as graffiti, labels, or ostraca (Rapin 1983, 316–317). Previously, some of the better preserved texts were the subject of special studies, see Bernard 1978, 450–454; Bernard 1980, 439–444; Bernard 1979, 517–520; Bernard/Rapin 1980, 15–29, pls. 8, 10; Bernard 1981, 116–117; Fussman 1980, 36–37, pl. 5.

publications.⁴ Altogether they consist of a series of ink inscriptions written in masculine cursive on storage vases, while others contain graffiti (e.g., **nos. 20, 23**).⁵ Most of the receptacles bear only one label, though some contain two or even four texts (**nos. 1, 5, 9–10, 12–13**). All were excavated in 1977 and 1978 at three sites in Aī Khanoum: although the majority were found at nine locations in the palace treasury (**nos. 2–19, 24–28**) or as in the case of one (**no. 23**) outside of it, the remainder were unearthed at the sanctuary of the *temple à niches indentées* (**nos. 1, 20–21**), save one from “House 1” in the southern quarter of the lower city (**no. 22**). Most of the labels were written by civil servants dealing with financial matters (coins **nos. 1–11, 25–27** and natural products **nos. 12–15**), while others are miscellaneous in nature (**nos. 16–28**). The treasury’s function was to store precious objects (e.g., wine, olive oil, coins), to house a library, and a workshop. As such the labels are an important source for understanding an aspect of the city’s history prior to its abandonment. It is important to state at the outset that the intent here is not simply to offer yet another blind copy of these inscriptions just for the sake of presentation; that dubious task belongs to Canali De Rossi.⁶ As a result, only some of the inscriptions associated with the site will concern us.

For his part, Rapin has arranged these inscriptions in such a manner as to create a chronology of the activities that took place in the treasury in the last years prior to the site’s abandonment. In so doing, he has put forth a chronological list of what he takes as the treasury’s last group of directors and the civil servants who reported to them. In what follows, however, I will propose a different interpretation of these texts in conjunction with the coins that were found in and around the site, either as part of a hoard or in isolation.

1. The Prepositions *παρά* and *διά*

Rapin⁷ has shown that the majority of the labels involving a deposit contain two prepositions, *παρά* and *διά*, followed by a personal name(s) in the genitive

⁴ Thus Rapin 1983 and Rapin 1992.

⁵ Rapin 1983 and Rapin 1992, 95–114, 303–306, pls. 53–57 and 110–111; *cf.* Bernard 1992, 387. Rapin has also published a number of non-Greek texts: an Aramaic inscription (1983, 347–348 no. 28, fig. 34; 1992, 105 no. 28), a graffito written in an unknown script (1983, 348–349 no. 29, fig. 35; 1992, 105 no. 29), a Baktrian inscription on a silver ingot (1983, 349 no. 30; 1992, 105 no. 30), two graffiti (1983, 349 nos. 31c and e; 1992, 105 no. 31); *cf.* the stamped amphora handle (1983, 349 no. 32, fig. 37; 1992, 105 no. 32).

⁶ The work is here referenced as *Iscrizioni* 2004. Although it is not exclusively devoted to Aī Khanoum but is supposed to focus on the Hellenistic Orient, the content like the author roams with little regard to the proposed title of the book. A succinct and fair assessment of the work has been pronounced by Ivantchik 2007, 279–281.

⁷ Rapin 1983, 351–352, 360; Rapin 1992, 105–106.

singular.⁸ He concludes that each preposition is associated with one of two groups of civil servants who worked in the treasury: *παρά* always precedes the name of an individual that was Greek and who held a post superior to those whose Greek or Iranian names are preceded by *διά*. The use of these prepositions, therefore, reflects a hierarchical structure which is analogous to the banking system practiced in Ptolemaic Egypt in which *τραπεζίται* had Greek names and *δοκιμασταί* Egyptian names.⁹ In the Aī Khanoum context, however, no such clear delineation of ethnicity can be deduced based on the functions that certain individuals performed: although only Greek names are coupled with *παρά*, *διά* indiscriminately – or so it seems – proceeds officials whose names are either Greek or Iranian. Rapin thus maintains that there was at Aī Khanoum, judging by these labels, greater interaction and equality among low-ranking Greek and Iranian bureaucrats than was the practice by their counterparts in Egypt.

At first glance it would appear that no consistent pattern was used in listing a receptacle's content.¹⁰ For example, in **texts 1c, 3, and 12b** following *παρὰ Φιλίσκου* either the content of the receptacle or a toponymic qualifier occupies the second element of the label, while in **texts 1a-b, 2, and 5d** the content stands as the third or fourth element after the persons introduced by *διά*. In place of substantives, four verbs are employed to describe the treasury's financial activities: *ἠρίθμηνται* (**texts 1a-b, 2-3, and perhaps 8**), *ἔσφράγισται* (**texts 1a, 2, 10c, 11, 12b, 13a, and possibly 1b, 5d, 25**), *δεδοκίμασται* (**text 10c**) and *μεταγγισθέν* (**texts 12a and 13a**) of which the verbs, *ἀριθμεῖν*, “to count,”¹¹ and *σφραγίζειν*, “to seal,” are the most common.¹² This last operation was in Egypt conducted by a specialized official called the *episphragistês* (ἐπισφραγιστής, “one who seals or signs [a vase]”).¹³ Rapin¹⁴ concludes that the five Greek names introduced by the preposition *παρά* are those of treasury directors, while the ten names mentioned after the preposition *διά* are of civil servants who served under a specified director (figure 1). A reconstruction of the labels on this basis has enabled

⁸ Both prepositions occur together in **nos. 1a-c, 3, and 5d**. *Παρά* alone appears in **nos. 9b, and 12b**; *διά* in **nos. 10c, 13a, and 24, 26?**

⁹ Rapin 1983, 360; Rapin 1992, 107; *cf.* Bogaert 1968, 39–41, 45–46 with n.77.

¹⁰ Rapin 1983, 355; Rapin 1992, 105, 111, *cf.* 349–350.

¹¹ Thus Rapin (1983, 361 n.66 with bibliography), who also includes the observation that a similar term was employed in the treasury of the Apadana of Susa under the Sasanians.

¹² Rapin 1983, 361–362; Rapin 1992, 105–106.

¹³ For a full discussion, along with similar institutions practiced in Parthian Qūmis/Hekatompulos and Nisa and in Sasanian Susa and Takht-i Suleiman, see Rapin 1983, 361–362; Rapin 1992, 111–113, 114.

¹⁴ Rapin 1983, 360 ns.61–62; *cf.* Rapin 1992, 108–111. Most recently, this scheme has been reaffirmed, Rapin 2010, 235 n. 3.

him to propose a relative chronology of the personnel who worked in the treasury, including the succession of directors who oversaw two or more subordinates. Thus the ten texts can be arranged in the following manner:

Figure 1

Text <u>No.</u>	Director <u>(παρά)</u>	Treasury Official(s) <u>(διά)</u>
1a	Zênon	Oxêboakês, Oxybazos
1b	Timodêmos	Oxêboakês, Hermaios
5d	Stratôn	Molossos, Stratôn
12a/13a	– ? –	Hippias, Stratôn, Molossos
1c	Philiskos	Aryandês, Stratôn
3	Philiskos	Stratôn (?) et al.
12b	Philiskos	Theophrastos et al.
16c	Nikêratos	Kosmos
9b	Nikêratos	– ? –

The text of **no. 1a** exemplifies this proposed analysis:¹⁵

Παρά Ζήνωνος	« De la part de Zênon
ἠρίθμηται	il a été compté par l'intermédiaire
διὰ Ὀξηβοάκου	d'Oxêboakês et Oxybazos 500 drachmas;
καὶ Ὀξυβάζου δρχ φ	Oxêboakês a scellé. »
ἐσφράγισται Ὀξηβοάκης	

Hence, “From Zênon, there have been counted through the agency of Oxêboakês and Oxybazos 500 drachmas; Oxêboakês has sealed (the vase).”

One basic flaw with this reconstruction, however, is that there is no explanation as to how the prepositions *παρά*, “de la part de,” and *διά*, “par l'intermédiaire de,” are indicative of a social hierarchy that operated within the treasury nor is there an attempt to justify why *διά* references the “fonctionnaires” who served “sous la direction de directeurs.”¹⁶ Indeed, this reading of the preposition *παρά* is rather peculiar from a grammatical standpoint, because one should expect the preposition *ὑπό* (or even *ἀπό*), *under the agency of*,¹⁷ to precede the name of the treasury’s director. *Παρά*, on the other hand, conveys the sense of the ablative genitive in terms of coming, proceeding, or issuing from a person

¹⁵ Rapin 1983, 326, no. 4a; Rapin 1992, 98, no. 4a, 114.

¹⁶ Rapin 1983, 360; Rapin 1992, 105–106.

¹⁷ Smyth 1959, s.v. *ὑπό*, *παρά*, and *ἀπό*; Hoffmann/Siebenthal 1990, 300–301 no. 191a; Wiener 1882, 461–462 and 463–464, especially n. 1.

(*de chez*), including a corporate body, whether with verbs of commands and commissions or those of gifts or promises. Such is the case with the inscription from the treasures of the Hekatompodon concerning “a writing tablet from the boulê of the Areopagos, sealed”:

γραμματεῖον παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς τῆς ἐξ’ Ἀρείου πάγου σεσημασμένον.¹⁸ Παρὰ is also coupled with verbs of receiving and obtaining among others, even when not explicitly stated: ὁ καρπὸς ὁ παρὰ τῶν δημάρχων (“the fruit [received] from the dêmarchs”).¹⁹ The preposition thus embodies the notion of *source*, regardless of whether the verb is passive or intransitive (in contrast to ὑπό which signifies the genitive of agency) as in τὰ παρὰ τῆς τύχης δωρηθέντα (“the presents of fortune”).²⁰ We may regard, therefore, Παρὰ Ζήνωνος, “From Zênon,” simply as an abbreviated expression, in which some form of an implied verb (e.g., δίδοναι or λαμβάνειν) has been omitted, signifying the starting point of an exchange that had transpired.

On the other hand, I concur with Rapin that διὰ in this context is used with the persons who received items and transferred them to their ultimate destination: they were *instruments* of the treasury through whose hands items passed, for they were intermediary agents of the process of overseeing the coming and going of goods. In this regard, there is no indication in **text 1a** that Oxêboakês and Oxybazos were somehow subordinate to Zênon or anyone else. All we can conclude is that Zênon must have made a deposit of 500 drachmas, δραχμῶν, which were counted by (i.e., through the agency of) Oxêboakês and Oxybazos, ἠρίθμηται διὰ Ὁξηβοάκου καὶ Ὁξυβάζου δραχμῶν.²¹ Of the two officials, however, Oxêboakês’ position was evidently senior for he also performed the last and most important task of sealing of the vase (ἐσφράγισται Ὁξηβοάκης) in which the drachmas had been placed, thereby guaranteeing its contents, and afterwards affixed the label to it.²² These labels, therefore, do not support a conclusion that individuals with Iranian names occupied purely subordinate posts.

Although Rapin²³ finds that a number of ostraca from Ptolemaic Egypt share certain features with the Aï Khanoum labels, in terms of vocabulary and syntax, he is dismissive of their comparative value because the Egyptian documents served a different purpose. Yet a closer examination of two types of documents employed in the Ptolemaic fiscal system affords us a modicum of insight into these Aï Khanoum labels.

¹⁸ Harris 1995, 144 no. 168.

¹⁹ *IG* I².76.27 in *LSJ* s.v. παρὰ A II 3.

²⁰ *Isoc.* 4.26 in *LSJ* s.v. παρὰ A II 4.

²¹ On the meaning of διὰ with the genitive in passive constructions, see: *LSJ* s.v. διὰ A II 1 a; Smyth 1959, s.v. διὰ; Hoffmann/Siebenthal 1990, 301 no. 191a; Winer 1882, 473–474.

²² Rapin 1983, 361; Rapin 1992, 105–106.

²³ Rapin 1983, 355; cf. Rapin 1992, 111–114.

One group, consisting of receipts written by civil servants from the tax department for debtors, employs the following formula:

date (year, month, and day) – (with or without) πέπτωκεν – for taxes – διὰ
the tax collector – the payer – the sum total.²⁴

In this case, the collector of taxes is clearly indicated by the preposition διὰ followed almost exclusively by the genitive and only occasionally by the dative, through whose agency the payment was received. Another formula was used in receipts relating to non-banking bills from creditor to debtor:

date (year, month, and day) – ἔχει- the creditor – from (παρά) the payer –
for taxes – the sum total.²⁵

Here, the payer's name is expressed in the genitive after the preposition παρά.

In terms of Aī Khanoum, the small number of labels and their poor state of preservation allows only the most tentative hypothesis about the "formulae" that officials employed to record monetary deposits, but it seems that one system was used for documenting Greek Baktrian drachmas, another for coins of a different denomination. If **no. 1a** is any indication, the procedure for registering drachmas can be rendered as:

παρά + name of depositor – verb + διὰ + names of two officials – amount
and name of currency (i.e., drachmas) stored – name of the official responsible
for sealing the vessel

The second group consists of two series. The first includes three inscriptions (**nos. 1b, 2, 5d**):

παρά + name of depositor – [verb +] διὰ + names of two officials – name
of currency [-name of the official responsible for sealing the vessel – amount]

A second comprises two labels (**nos. 1c, 3**):

παρά + name of depositor – name of currency – [verb +] διὰ + names of two
officials – [name of the official responsible for sealing the vessel] – amount

Unfortunately, twenty-two other labels presumably listing deposits are too fragmentary to decipher their formulaic constructs.²⁶ Nevertheless, from this small

²⁴ Wilcken 1899, 64–69 («Thebes und Hermonthis, II. Quittungen, die die königliche Bank ausstellt, 2a – 2b.» Nos. 305–307, 309–316, 1021, 1227, 1337, 1340, 1492–1494).

²⁵ Wilcken 1899, 60–61 («Thebes und Hermonthis. Quittungen über Geldzahlungen. A. Ptolemäerzeit. I. Quittungen, die der Erheber ausstellt.» No. 343).

²⁶ See **nos. 1d, 5–11, 18–19, and 24–28**. Fourteen others do not record monetary deposits (**nos. 4, 10c, 12a–13b, 14–17, 20–23**).

sample, we may infer that the *παρά/διά* construction follows a loose, though consistent pattern: the depositor, whose name appears in the genitive, is introduced by *παρά*, while the names of the institutions' agents, each of whom is likewise rendered in the genitive, are recorded after *διά*. The use of the preposition *παρά* thus introduces the name of the individual who was not the treasury's director but the source of the transaction. On the other hand, the preposition *διά* signifies the civil servants who acted as intermediaries (i.e., agents or instruments) of the treasury. The Aï Khanoum labels present us with three different groups of people involved with the storing of money in the treasury: the depositor denoted by *παρά*, the treasury officials who readied the item(s) to be stored demarcated by *διά*, and the name of the official who affixed the seal (*ἐσφράγισται*) to the vase (figure 2). It is worth noting that the same is true of two labels detailing the storage of olive oil (**nos. 12b** and **13a**) and an ostrakon that records an examination of legal tender (**no. 10c**).

A new schematic arrangement of the inscriptions thus emerges.²⁷

Figure 2

Text No.	Depositor (<i>παρά</i>)	Treasury Official(s) (<i>διά</i>)	Sealed by (<i>σφραγίζειν</i>)
2	?	Apo[...], Her[maios ?	?
3	Philiskos	...]s ?, --- ?	?
8	?	...]os ?	?
9b	Nik[êratos	?	?
5d	Stratôn	Molossos, Stratôn	?
25	?	?	Mi[...]
10c	?	Kosmos	Nikêratos
12b	Philiskos	?	Theophrastos
13a	?	Hippias	[Molos?]sos vase A Stratôn (?) (vase B?)
24	?	Ka[...]	?
1a	Zênon	Oxêboakês, Oxybazos	Oxêboakês
1b	Timodêmos	Oxêboakês, Hermaios	?
1c	Philiskos	Aryandês, Stratôn	?

Despite the lacunae in each of the thirteen labels, we can discern that the names of the seven depositors are Greek, while those of the treasury officials have either Greek or Iranian names, including those charged with the responsi-

²⁷ **Texts 4, 11, 16, and 23** are not included in this list as they are too fragmentary to discern: either they contain a preposition without a name(s), or they contain names but lack the necessary verbs and prepositions which would enable us to determine what, if any, their association might have been to one another. *Cf.* Rapin 1983, 360 n.61.

bility of affixing seals to the various jars in the institution's care. Certainly, within the treasury itself a hierarchy prevailed, for someone who affixed the seal was in a position superior to those who merely performed other tasks indicated by the preposition *διὰ*. Yet nothing allows us to claim that a division of labor existed within the treasury based purely on the ethnicity of an individual's name. There is no information, for example, to indicate that particular tasks were segregated among individuals possessing either a Greek or an Iranian name, especially as **texts 1b** and **1c** reveal that persons with Greek and Iranian names worked side by side. In this respect, there is nothing to suggest that the ethnicity of these civil servants can be discerned from their names alone. We can only conclude that the sealing of a jar's content was undertaken by various individuals regardless of the ethnic origin of their name, as **nos. 1a, 10c, 25, 12b, and 13a** demonstrate.

2. Monetary Deposits

Rapin²⁸ distinguishes two groups of silver mentioned in these texts (figure 3): Greek Baktrian drachmas, abbreviated as *δρχ*, and Indian punch-marked coins, variously labeled as *taxaêna* (*ταξαηνά*), *kasapana taxaêna* (*κασαπανα ταξαηνά*), *nandagachoraga* (*νανδαγαχωραγα*), and *kasapana nandêna* (*κασαπανα νανδηνά*). He explains *taxaêna* as the transliterated Greek toponymic of Taxila (*Τάξιλα*),²⁹ derived from the Prakrit *Takṣasīla* in which the radical *ταξα-* is coupled with the Greek suffix *-ηνός* that commonly appears in the appellations of Seleukid administrative subdivisions. The term *κασαπανα* is similarly a Greek transcription of the Middle Indian *kārshāpana*, a denomination whose weight standard depended on the region in which it was produced.³⁰ He thus sees in these documents the provenance of coins that circulated in Aī Khanoum, namely Baktria and Taxila.

The surprising feature of this reconstruction is that the officials responsible for storing these deposits employed only one term to designate drachmas, but haphazardly and unsystematically demarcated Indian coins using a variety of appellations. For example, according to this chronological scheme of the treasury's directors, each imposed his own numismatic terminology onto the labels. Thus Stratôn employed *kasapana nandêna* (**no. 5d**), while his successor Philiskos used *nandagachoraga* (**no. 3**), even though the same Philiskos had adopted the term *kasapana* on labels as in *kasapana taxaêna* (**no. 1c**), unlike Stratôn's prede-

²⁸ Rapin 1983, 364–365; Rapin 1992, 106, 283 n.1133.

²⁹ *Cf.*, e.g., Arrian 5.3.6, 8.2, 7.2.2.

³⁰ Ghoshal 1952, 279–283; Banerjea 1957, 779–781, *cf.* 806, 809.

cessor Timodemos who composed his labels using only the toponymic taxaêna without the qualifier kasapana (**no. 1b**).

Figure 3. Rapin's chronology according to *παρά* (Rapin 1983, 360 n.61; Rapin 1992, 394)

Contents/Terminology	<i>παρά</i>	Text No.
Drachmas	Zênon	1a
Taxaêna	Timodemos	1b
Kasapana Nandêna	Stratôn	5d
Olive Oil	-----	12a
Kasapana Taxaêna	Philiskos	1c
Nandagachoraga	Philiskos	3
Olive Oil	Philiskos	12b
Legal Tender	Nikêratos	10c
Unknown	Nikêratos	9b

The question that naturally arises is why these officers would have chosen one term to designate drachmas but assigned four terms for coins of Indian origin? A different arrangement of the labels (figure 4) suggests that the officials had in fact recorded not two but three different currencies, using five sets of terms to designate them. Together they provide us with a relative chronology of the inscriptions and thus the last known financial operations that the officials undertook prior to quitting Aï Khanoum. Most revealing are inscriptions **nos. 1a-c**, because they contain three deposits of different currencies that were placed in the same receptacle. Were they not combined, we should expect to find only one label still intact with the other two purposefully erased as is the case elsewhere (e.g., **nos. 5a, 5b?**, **5c, 27, 10a-b**). Presumably, the 500 drachmas deposited by Zênon recorded in **no. 1a**, as with those in **nos. 10b** and **26**, were of a Greek Baktrian (and/or Seleukid?) variety. To this vessel were added taxaêna (**no. 1b**) and kasapana taxaêna (**no. 1c**) coins. They, along with the taxaêna coins recorded in **nos. 6** and **9a** (?), form a homogenous group that differs markedly from another series called nandagachoraga³¹ (**no. 3** and nandaga- of **no. 27**), and kasapana nandêna (**no. 5d**). The implication is that since drachmas, taxaênas, and kasapana taxaênas were stored in the same vessel, they were regarded as equivalent in value, even though as their names suggest they were

³¹ Of special interest is the use of the Dorian and Boeotian enclitic particle *γα...γα* instead of the Attic *γε...γε* as we should expect. It would appear that more than one Greek dialect was spoken in the city if not in the region as a whole. This complements the variety of Greek spoken in Central Asia attributed to northern Greece and Makedonia, for example, Bernard/Rapin 1994; Bernard/Bopearachchi 2002; Clarisse/Thompson 2007; Drujinina 2008; Coloru 2009, 150–152; Lindström 2009, nos. 263–264 (p. 366) with bibliography. We should also add to this the uncertainty surrounding the birth place of Euthydemos I in a Magnesia of Asia Minor or Thessaly (Lerner 1999, 52–54), while the identity of the Kineas mentioned in connection with the Aï Khanoum herôn is also uncertain (see Lerner 2003–2004, 390–395, 400).

physically distinguishable from one another. Indeed, the only operation that was performed on the coins prior to their storage was the counting of their exact number (ἡρίθμηται **nos. 1a-b**, like **nos. 2-3**)³² as opposed to another function such that we might otherwise expect, for example, from a reference to some form of the verb(s) ἀγειν, ἔλκειν, ἰστάναι, ταλαντᾶν, or ταλαντεύειν.

Figure 4. Coins, Olive Oil, and Ostraca

Coins			Olive Oil		Ostraca
				No. 12a “Year 24”	
Greek Baktrian	Indo-Greek	Indian			
Drachmas Nos. 26?, 10b? 1a παρά Ζήνον διὰ Οξέβοακῆς, Οxybazos ἔσφράγισται Oxeboakes	Taxaêna Nos. 6, 9a? 1b παρά Τιμοδemos διὰ Οξέβοακῆς Hermaios Kasapana Taxaêna Nos. 2? 1c παρά Philiskos διὰ Aryandês Stratôn	Nandagachoraga Nos. 27, 3 παρά Philiskos Kasapana Nandêna Nos. 2? 5d παρά Stratôn διὰ Molossos Stratôn	No. 13a μεταγμισθὲν Hippias ἔσφράγισται Stratôn	No. 12b παρά Philiskos ἔσφράγισται Theophrastos	No. 4 Drachmas Hermaios Aryandês No. 10c Legal Tender διὰ Kosmos δεδοκίμασται Nikêratos ἔσφράγισται Nikêratos

A comparison of the designations used for the various denominations reveals that their nomenclature underwent two stages of record keeping. At first, the officials registered deposits under the categories of drachma, taxaêna, and nandagachoraga. Subsequently, by the time that the contents of **nos. [2?] 1c** and **5d** were recorded the terminology of these non-Baktrian denominations had become standardized: taxaêna became kasapana taxaêna just as nandagachoraga was changed to kasapana nandêna.³³ In addition, eight personal names appear more than once,³⁴ the most important of which for establishing the reconstruction of their chronology are those of Stratôn and Philiskos as they occur in three separate

³² Picard 1984, 679–682.

³³ Since the lacunae occur at the top right portion of text **no. 2** after *kasapana*, it is unclear whether this label demarcated *kasapana taxaêna* or *kasapana nandêna*.

³⁴ Besides Stratôn and Philiskos, the other names recorded in the inscriptions are Hermaios (**nos. 1b, 2?, 4**), Nikêratos (**nos. 19b?** and **10c**), Oxéboakês (**nos. 1a-b**), Oxybazos (**nos. 1a, 17**), Aryandes (**nos. 1c, 4**), and Kallisthenes (**nos. 16, 24?**).

texts. In **no. 1c** a Stratôn appears with his colleague Aryandês after the preposition *διά* in connection with *kasapana taxaêna* coins, while a Stratôn is recorded twice in **no. 5d** regarding *kasapana nandêna* coins first after *παρά* and again after *διά* but this time with a Molossos, and finally in **no. 13a** a Stratôn is mentioned as having sealed (*ἔσφράγισται*) a jar of olive oil. The name of a Philiskos, following the preposition *παρά*, made deposits of *nandagachoraga* coins (**no. 3**), *kasapana taxaêna* coins (**no. 1c**), and olive oil (**no. 12b**). A fourth inscription (**no. 18**), most of which is illegible, may also have involved the storage of coins. Although a Philiskos and a Stratôn were contemporaries (**no. 1c**), it would be a mistake to assume that all the texts bearing these names refer to the same two individuals. For example, there is no reason to associate in **no. 5d** the Stratôn who deposited *kasapana nandênas* with the Stratôn who stored them. Similarly, we lack the evidence to associate any of the individuals named Stratôn with either the father or son mentioned in the gymnasium inscription (**no. 29**). On the other hand, it is reasonable to identify the Stratôn of **no. 1c** with the Stratôn of **no. 5d**, because both names occur after the preposition *διά* indicating that they were officials and the designations of the imported currency, *kasapana taxaêna* and *kasapana nandêna*, on which they worked had by this time become standardized. Philiskos, however, is a different matter, for we are unable with any degree of certainty to equate each of three names with one or even two individuals. There is no indication in the texts as to when deposits were made or for how long the items were stored. The Philiskos of **no. 3**, for example, may have been the father or grandfather of the Philiskos mentioned in **no. 1c**, while another recorded in **no. 12b** could easily have been either of them or even a third individual. The point is that there is just not sufficient evidence to make an exact identification.

The *taxaêna/kasapana taxaêna* coins are in all probability associated with “Taxila,” whereas the *nandagachoraga/kasapana nandêna* coins should be understood as having originated in India, the “land of the Nandas.” Both toponyms convey generic, not specific references and describe a particular kind of currency rather than designate the exact locale of their emission. In this regard, the term *kasapana taxaêna* need not necessarily have signified that these coins actually originated in Taxila only that they *resembled* coins minted there. Since the silver emitted from Taxila and nearby regions in the early second to the first century B.C.E. were Indo-Greek,³⁵ many of which contain bilingual (Greek/Kharoṣṭhī) legends,³⁶ the designations of *taxaêna* and *kasapana taxaêna* in all likelihood refer to Indo-Greek drachmas. In this regard, Indo-Greek drachmas could be placed in

³⁵ E.g., the Greek Baktrian king, Eukratides I (c. 171–145 B.C.E.) restricted his minting activities to bilingual coppers and is not known to have issued any in silver, see Bopearachchi 1991, 210–214; Bopearachchi 1998, nos. 530–572.

³⁶ The first of these coins are attributed to Agathokles and Pantaleon, see Bopearachchi 1991, 56–59, 172–182; Bopearachchi 1998, nos. 230–273.

the same receptacle as Greek Baktrian drachmas. For reasons that we shall explore below, it is significant to point out that Apollodotos I (c. 174–165 B.C.E.) is credited with the innovation of standardizing the weight of Indo-Greek drachmas at 2.45g., “bearing a bilingual legend, and struck according to the so-called Indian standard, which became the new standard for all the Indo-Greek territories, even long after the disappearance of Greek power in South Asia.”³⁷ Although Indo-Greek drachmas are lighter than their Greek Baktrian counterparts, which are based on the Attic standard (4.30g.), Heliokles I (c. 145–130 B.C.E.), the last known Greek king of Baktria issued some drachmas weighing below the Indo-Greek standard.³⁸ Consequently, attribution, provenance, and purity of metal, but not weight, determined the inherent worth of a coin’s value, unlike silver punch-marked coins (i.e., nandagachoragas and kasapana nandēnas) produced in various Indian cities.³⁹ Both currencies are found in and around Ai Khanoum.⁴⁰ If these monetary labels – few in number as they are – represent an accurate percentage of the coins placed in storage, these non-Greek Baktrian denominations, which occur more frequently than Greek Baktrian or Seleukid drachmas, suggest that in the years leading up to city’s abandonment silver locally produced in Baktria was fast disappearing from the market place and was in the process of being replaced by Indo-Greek and Indian punch-marked silver from regions south of the Hindu Kush.⁴¹

3. An examination of legal tender (no. 14c)

Text **10c** is the sole specimen that makes any reference to a determination of good silver coins:...δοκίμου ἀργυρίου] δεδοκίμασται διὰ. Originally, Rapin was inclined to read δοκίμου ἀργυρίου] as “en argent de bon aloi” and δεδοκίμασται as “a été vérifié,” which he took to mean “d’un contrôle (δεδοκίμασται) de la qualité d’une somme d’argent scellé dans le vase, après que la métal eût été estimé de bon aloi (δοκίμου ἀργυρίου),”⁴² but he subsequently modified the first phrase of to signify “en argent legal” based on the corrections proposed by Picard.⁴³ He also postulates that the dokimastai were

³⁷ Bopearachchi 1998b, “Apollodotus I.”

³⁸ E.g., Bopearachchi 1991, 224, no. 21; Bopearachchi 1998, no. 657.

³⁹ Cf. Diodoros 17.93.2; Plutarch, *Alexander* 62.2–3; Curtius 9.2.2–7; Sastri 1957, 4–8; Rapin 1992, 100.

⁴⁰ See, e.g., Bernard 1985, 66–78; Audouin/Bernard 1973, 238–289; 1974, 7–41; Petitot-Biehler 1975, 23–57; Bopearachchi 1995, 611–630.

⁴¹ Cf. Rapin 1992, 136–137, 369; Piccard 1984, 684.

⁴² Rapin 1983, 338, no. 13c, 364.

⁴³ Rapin 1992, 102, no. 13c, 107; Piccard 1984, 683–684.

charged with distinguishing good silver (Seleukid and Greek Baktrian) from bad silver (Indo-Greek and Indian punch marked coins). On the analogy of similar operations practiced elsewhere,⁴⁴ he concludes that these magistrates determined through examination and perhaps verification which money to approve as legal tender. Unfortunately, all we know about the specifics of this practice at Aï Khanoum derives from this lone ostrakon of three lines. Since they concern the Attic standard, Rapin postulates that Greek Baktrian drachmas and tetradrachmas held greater intrinsic value than Indo-Greek and Indian coins, which he argues were reluctantly tolerated because the circulation of good silver had by this time significantly diminished. As a result, good silver retained the traditional designation of drachma (and perhaps that of tetradrachma), while Indo-Greek and Indian coins as imports from regions south of the Hindu Kush were qualified by various appellations noted above.

The distinction between the value of Greek Baktrian and Indo-Greek silver based solely on weight is, however, contradicted by the vessel containing texts **nos. 1a-c**, in which both currencies were mixed in the same receptacle, even though they were deposited by different individuals at different times. Thus, Zenon (**n. 1a**) deposited 500 drachmas which were counted by Oxêboakês and Oxybazos, and the vessel sealed by Oxêboakês. Later Timodêmos (**no. 1b**) deposited an unspecified number of taxaêna coins which were counted by Oxêboakês and Hermaios. Finally, Philiskos (**no. 1c**) deposited 10,000 kasapana taxaêna coins, which Aryandês and Stratôn counted. Aside from sealing the jar, no text mentions that as part of the registration process were the coins ever weighed.

4. The Labels

The insight provided by these labels about the monetary circulation of the city is that Indo-Greek coins were in the process of replacing or had already replaced Greek Baktrian coins. The result is that the Aï Khanoum market accepted both currencies. While one might well expect that the weight of Indo-Greek drachmas should have been accorded a lower valuation than their Greek Baktrian counterparts which tend generally to be heavier, the lack of a consistent supply of Greek Baktrian silver necessitated the acceptance of Indo-Greek

⁴⁴ Volkmann 1939, 99–102; Robert/Robert 1964, 235, no. 527; Stroud 1974, 165–185; Giovannini 1975, 193; Bogaert 1976, 13–34; Migeotte 1977, 132–133; Picard 1978, 13–20; Picard 1979, 10; Buttrey 1979, 35–45; Buttrey 1981, 83–88; Caccamo-Caltabiano/Colace 1985, 81–101; Harding 1985, 61–64, no. 45 with bibliography; Rapin 1992, 84 n. 209, 106–107, 268–269; *cf.* his remarks on non-Greek financial practices, 111, 113, 160.

and even Indian punch-marked coins as its eventual replacement. It is worth bearing in mind that these inscriptions were found in a section of the treasury whose construction was never completed.⁴⁵ Whether the vessels on which these labels were written had been transferred from another building or from somewhere else in the treasury is not known, and, consequently, we cannot with any degree of certainty ascertain the average amount of time a jar with money was kept in storage. Likewise, we are equally clueless about the operations that Nikêratos undertook to determine the “good” quality of the silver which he deemed legal.

Although there is no reason to question the notion that these operations occurred in a palace, we do not know their nature. On the other hand, we can safely assume that it functioned as an administrative, economic, and political center as well as the residence of some high ranking individual. No doubt by this time the city’s stature was greatly diminished and similar to others in the region ruled by the Da Yuezhi as described by the Han envoy Zhang Qian when he visited the region long ago in 126 B.C.E.⁴⁶ There is also nothing from the site to indicate beyond the immediate vicinity of the Dasht-i Qala plain the region over which this presumed official presided.⁴⁷ Part of the problem with not being able to distinguish whether this complex was essentially local or part of a larger geopolitical entity lies in the fact that it contains so many different influences – Mesopotamian, Achaemenid, Greek, and Central Asian – with no clear model(s) on which to understand its conception.⁴⁸ In this respect, the so-called treasury may have acted as a royal or state treasury as Rapin has argued,⁴⁹ or it may have even enjoyed a public function. Unfortunately, the brevity of the labels themselves such as they are can lead one to conclude that the depositor, denoted by the preposition παρά, was a private individual who brought his money to the

⁴⁵ Rapin 1983, 316; Rapin 1992, 11–94, 131–137, 143–184, 249–258.

⁴⁶ *The people of Bactria cultivated the land and lived in walled cities. They had no great ruler but everywhere the cities and towns had their own petty chiefs. The people were poor in the use of arms and afraid of battle, but they were clever at commerce. There were a million or more people who lived in the country, whose capital was Lanshi or Baktra and had markets with all kinds of merchandise (Shiji 123/3164; Watson 1961, 235). Cf. Thierry 2005, 453–457. For a discussion on the identity of the nomads whom Strabo mentions for the conquest of Bactria, see the recent discussion of Ciancaglini 2001, 17–22, cf. 40–41.*

⁴⁷ Nielsen 1999, 11, 14, 25–26. For Nielsen the entire lower city of Ai Khanoum represents a palace complex (pp. 115–129); cf. Nielsen 1996, 210–211.

⁴⁸ For an overview of the palace, see Bernard 1968, 264–271; Bernard 1970, 301–310; Bernard 1971, 385–414; Bernard/Le Berre in Bernard et al. 1973, 17–83, pls. 1–11, 20–84; Bernard 1974, 289–293; Bernard 1976, 252–257; Bernard 1978, 444–460; Bernard/Rapin 1980, 10–38; Garczynski 1980, 39–43; Thorval/Liger 1980, 44–45; Rapin 1987, 41–70; Rapin 1992, 7, 9, 11, 272, 371–377. On the treasury itself, Rapin 1992, especially 267–279.

⁴⁹ Rapin 1992, 271–278.

treasury for safekeeping or he was a tax collector of sorts. There is simply no way to know the depositor's identity based merely on the preposition, because its purpose was to indicate agency from which the act of depositing was made rather than to indicate his title.

Finally, the best that we can decipher of the city's chronology from these labels is a relative, not absolute, date for the city's abandonment via the coins that were deposited and to a lesser degree the officials who stored them. Thus drachmas preceded taxaêna and nandagachoraga coins, followed by those designated as kasapana taxaêna and kasapana nandêna. One or more individuals named Oxêboakês worked on drachmas and taxaênas (**nos. 1a** and **1b**), just as one or more individuals named Philiskos deposited nandagachoragas and kasapana taxaênas (**nos. 1c** and **3**), while Stratôn deposited kasapana nandênas and a different Stratôn assisted in storing them (**no. 5d**). They do not inform us, however, about the length of time that separated one label from another even on the same jar, whether it was a day or longer than a year, just as the names of the individuals associated with them represent the same or a different person as in text **no. 5d**.

5. Coin-Finds

Between 1970 and the winter of 1973–1974, three hoards found in or near Aī Khanoum were published. The first (AKh 1 1970) was unearthed in the palace complex during the excavations of 1970 and consists of 677 Indian punch-marked coins and six Indo-Greek drachmas with bilingual legends (on the obverse in Greek: Βασιλέως Ἀγαθοκλέους and on the reverse in Prakrit with Brāhmi script: *rajine Agathuklayesa*) “of king Agathokles.”⁵⁰ Audouin and Bernard attributed the hoard's burial to post-Greek occupants who, while plundering the premises and smelting scavenged metals in makeshift hearths, were abruptly interrupted in their work and hastily buried their treasure.

The second (AKh 2 1973)⁵¹ was recovered in October 1973 in the kitchen of a large private dwelling some 150 m outside the north wall of the lower city in room 13, where it had been deposited in a wall at the rear of the house. Unlike the first, this hoard is composed of 63 silver tetradrachmas of Attic weight: 7 (pseudo-) Alexanders from the mints of Amphipolis, Alexandria, Marathos, Babylon, Perge, and one of uncertain origin; seven Seleukid coins ranging from Seleukos I to Antiochos III; and 49 Greek Baktrian and Indo-Greek coins (Diodotos I-II, Euthydemos I-II,

⁵⁰ The hoard was published in two articles: the first concerned the Indian coins (Audouin/Bernard 1973, 238–289), the second focused on Agathokles' drachmas (Audouin/Bernard 1974, 7–41).

⁵¹ As is the case with the first, this hoard too was the subject of two publications: Petitot-Biehler 1975, 23–57; and Bernard 1975, 58–69.

Demetrios I, Agathokles, Antimachos I, Apollodotos I, and Eukratides I). Although she was loathe to account for the circumstances of the hoard's burial, Petitot-Biehler⁵² dated it between 170 and 160 B.C.E. based on two factors: her reading of Justin (41.6.1) that Eukratides I ascended the Baktrian throne *eodem ferme tempore* as did Mithridates I of Parthia in 171/0 B.C.E.; and the date of the revolt by Timarchos,⁵³ satrap of Babylon and Media, against Demetrios I in 162–160 B.C.E. in which he imitated Eukratides' types of the helmeted bust of the king surrounded by a bead-and-reel border on the obverse and the charging Dioskuroi on the reverse along with the adoption of the epithet *Megas*.

Bernard observed that the hoard mirrors Greek silver coins found individually by the excavators at the city (see below), which apparently ceased with Eukratides I, unlike, for example, the Quduz Hoard that contains numerous specimens of Eukratides' successors, Eukratides II, Platon, and Heliokles I.⁵⁴ He concluded that the Aī Khanoum finds reflect both the city's history and monetary chronology: the Greek population left at the end of Eukratides I's reign, due to the same catastrophic event that caused the burning of the palace and portions of the treasury, including the house in which this second hoard was unearthed. Thereafter indigenous peoples, presumably peasants from the Dasht-i Qala plain, resettled the city, but no Greek ever returned. As to who was responsible for this destruction, Bernard⁵⁵ singled out the Yuezhi. Elsewhere he asserted that the region in which the city was located belonged not to Baktria but to Sogdiana with the Kokcha, not the Oxos, acting as the eastern barrier between the two countries. Although the Yuezhi were responsible for driving the Greeks out of the city and presumably the country north of the Oxos, the Yuezhi king established his court north of the river's right bank.⁵⁶ Bernard also envisioned that a truce existed between this Yuezhi king and the Greeks of Baktria – Eukratides I and/or his successors – which lasted until some point between 140 and 100 B.C.E. when the Qunduz hoard was hidden due to a

⁵² Petitot-Biehler 1975, 51–52.

⁵³ On Timarchos' coinage, see Bellinger 1945, 37–44 with relevant citations to the primary sources; cf. Le Rider 1959–1960, 14–16; Le Rider 1965, 332–334; Houghton 1979, 213–217; Schlösser 1986, 312–313; most recently, Dodd 2009, 87–98, 110, 119, 137 n.381, 148, 197.

⁵⁴ Bernard 1975, 58, 60, 62. The Qunduz hoard, about 120 km west of Aī Khanoum, totaled 627 silver coins, primarily tetradrachmas: 1 Seleukus (I?), 1 Antiochos Hierax, 1 Alexander I Bala, 5 Diodotos (I-II?), 12 Euthydemos I, 5 Euthydemos II, 8 Demetrios I, 50 Demetrios II, 3 Agathokles, 14 Antimachos I, 144 Eukratides I, 3 Heliokles-Laodice, 130 Eukratides II, 12 Platon, 204 Heliokles I (and 17 Drachmas), 4 Lysias, 1 Theophilos, 3 Antialkidas, 5 Double Decadrachmas of Amyntas, 2 Archebios, 1 Philoxenos, 1 Hermaios. The resulting catalogue was written by Curiel, while Fussman contributed to the analysis, see Curiel/Fussman 1965; initially published in three installments by Bivar 1953; Bivar 1954; Bivar 1955.

⁵⁵ Bernard 1975, 65–69.

⁵⁶ Recently, Bernard seems to have changed his mind about to the location of Baktria and Sogdiana, for he now views Tadjikistan as eastern Baktria, which of course is well north of the Aī Khanoum and the Oxos (Bernard 2004, 338–356).

conjectured second invasion by the Yuezhi, which resulted in the formal capitulation of Bactria and hence of the Greek Bactrian state.

In the winter of 1973–1974, an Afghan farmer recovered a hoard of silver coins from somewhere within the vicinity of Aī Khanoum (AKh 3 1973/1974). He then sold it in Kabul from where it ultimately made its way onto the international market. By 1975, the hoard had been brought to New York where Nancy Waggoner of the American Numismatic Society had the opportunity to examine it and create a quick inventory.⁵⁷ When the hoard reappeared in New York in 1976, she reexamined it and observed that this time the hoard was somewhat differently reconstituted: it was now composed of 142 coins, including four new specimens, while three others had since disappeared. By the time Holt⁵⁸ published his version of the hoard, consisting of 139 coins in 1981 based on photographs that Waggoner had subsequently obtained from a dealer in New York, the contents had undergone a further transformation – there were four coins that had not appeared in the first examination and one not listed in the second. Moreover, five pieces had presumably been removed at some point prior to Waggoner’s initial inspection and became the subjects of two special publications.⁵⁹ As a result, Holt’s analysis of the photographs of the coins ultimately fell within the confines of no less than five different lists. As Holt himself stressed, his work was “a salvage operation more than a complete, scientific study” and “subject to some modification depending upon the reader’s preference for one list or another.”⁶⁰ With this sentiment in mind, it is well worth noting that among the coins that made up his study, Holt argued that two of them – a tetradrachma of Antigonos Doson (no. 139) and a Lysias drachma (no. 138) – should not be reckoned as part of the original find. The former he identified as a “poor modern forgery,” while he contended that the latter was “entirely out of place in this hoard.” Indeed the current chronological reconstruction based on numismatics holds that the Lysias drachma was minted long after the coins of Eukratides I.⁶¹ Should the coin be admitted as part of the hoard’s original composition it would be the only known example of its kind attributed to Aī Khanoum, and,

⁵⁷ Petitot-Biehler (1975, 54–55) subsequently published Waggoner’s inventory of 141 silver coins, consisting mainly of tetradrachmas mixed with several drachmas: 3 Alexanders (one from Amphipolis, two in the names of Seleukos I and II), 1 Lysimachos, 12 Seleukid coins (Antiochos II and III, Seleukos II and III), 1 Antigonos Doson, 1 Eumenes I, 1 Athenian imitation, and 122 Greek Baktirans (11 Diodoti [7 in the name of Antiochos, 4 in the name of Diodotos]), 79 Euthydemos I, 11 Demetrios I (8 tetradrachmas, 3 drachmas), 1 Euthydemos II, 7 Agathokles, 3 Antimachos, 9 Eukratides I (6 tetradrachmas, 1 drachma, 2 with Heliokles and Laodike), 1 Lysias drachma.

⁵⁸ Holt 1981, 9–10.

⁵⁹ Francfort 1975, 19–22; Gupta 1976, 92–94. The former concerns Euthydemos and Pantaleon, the latter Diodotos, Euthydemos, and Pantaleon. Holt omitted them from his catalogue.

⁶⁰ Holt 1981, 11, where he rejected two other lists (F–G).

⁶¹ Thus the dates of Eukratides I are set at c. 171/170–145 B.C.E. and those of Lysias at c. 120–110 B.C.E. Bopearachchi 1991, 66–72, 93–95 and Bopearachchi 1998a, nos. 430–617, 1025–1055.

most significantly, the date of the city's fall would have to be revised to some point well after Eukratides I's reign.⁶² The result would also entail a new reconstruction of the city's history. Yet the curious feature about this drachma is that it was originally accepted as part of the hoard by Petitot-Biehler and presumably Bernard who ignored it altogether.⁶³ Holt's reason for excluding the Lysias drachma from the hoard's original composition was simply that it did not conform to Bernard's conception of the city's numismatic history: when the coin was produced, Ai Khanoum no longer existed, at least as a Greek city.

Four years after Holt's publication, Bernard published 224 coins found in and around Ai Khanoum before excavations had ceased. Collectively, they cover an array of chronological periods (pre-Seleukid, Seleukid, Greek Baktrian, Indo-Greek, Kushan, and Islamic) and metals (silver, gold, nickel, and bronze) as well as Indian punch-marked coins and ten bronze flans. Bernard thus took as confirmation that the Greek coins found at the site support his hypothesis that the Greek abandonment of the city coincided with the last coins struck by Eukratides I.⁶⁴

For purposes of comparison, I have arranged the coins from Ai Khanoum (Figure 5) to range chronologically from pre-Seleukid issues to the same drachma issued by Lysias that was dismissed from the AKh 3 1973/1974 hoard.⁶⁵ The totality of this coinage is quite surprising: 705 punch-marked Indian coins compared with 395 Greek coins (198 tetradrachmas, 181 bronzes, 3 drachmas, 3 nickel coins, 2 obols, 1 gold coin, and 7 Indo-Greek drachmas), less the bronze flans and the Kushan and Islamic coinage. Moreover, of the non-hoarded coins, the two largest categories consist of 181 bronzes (here I include the four coins attributed by Kritz to the site) and 28 Indian punch-marked coins. On the other hand, the three hoards from Ai Khanoum contain 677 Indian punch-marked coins, 198 tetradrachmas, 7 Indo-Greek drachmas, one pre-Seleukid drachma and another issued by Eukratides I, and one forgery of a tetradrachma of Antigonos Doson. According to this scenario, the preference was to hoard Indian punch-marked coins and Greek tetradrachmas.

⁶² Holt 1981, 10–11. With regard to Holt's consideration that the Lysias drachma was an "intrusion" "by a zealous dealer," Narain objected, citing the unfinished work of the city's excavations and that "five coins of Lysias as against one of Antialkidas were included in the Qunduz hoard" (Narain 1989, 414 n. 159).

⁶³ Petitot-Biehler 1975, 54–55; Bernard 1975, especially 61–65.

⁶⁴ Bernard 1985, 19–84, 115–122, 154–158, pls. 2–10.

⁶⁵ In this regard, besides the five Kushan and seven Islamic coins and ten bronze flans, I have excluded Bopearachchi's report of one or more hoards that may or may not have come from clandestine diggings at Ai Khanoum as the total number of coins varies from one informer to the next. Although he placed the number in excess of 1500 and claimed to have reconstituted about 50% of the lot by inspecting the coins in bazaars and in private collections "in Pakistan, U.S.A., Japan and several European countries" Bopearachchi 1998b, 184–185; and variously repeated as e.g., Bopearachchi 1995, especially 616–620; Bopearachchi 1999b, 110–111.

Figure 5. Chronological distribution of coins found in and around Aī Khanoum

King ⁶⁶	Tetradrachma	Drachma	Obol	(Indo-Greek) Drachma	Nickel	Gold	Bronze	Indian Punch-Marked
Pre-Seleukid c. 325–300	11 (H ns. 1–4; P-B nos. 57– 63)	1 (H n. 17) ⁶⁷					9 (B ns. 1–9; B/G ns. 1–9)	
Seleukids c. 312–246	19 (H ns. 5– 16; P-B ns. 1– 2, 52–56)					1 (B n. 76)	71 (B ns. 10–75, 77; B/G ns. 10– 65; K ns. 1–4, pp. 152– 153)	
Diodotos I- II c. 250–230	22 (H ns. 18– 28; P-B ns. 3– 13)						26 (B ns. 78–103)	
Euthydemos I c. 230–200	108 (H ns. 29– 109; P-B ns. 14–40)						49 (B ns. 104– 152)	
Demetrios I c. 200–185	11 (H ns. 110– 117; P-B ns. 41–43)						5 (B ns. 153– 157)	
Euthydemos II c. 185– 180	4 (H ns. 118– 120; P-B n. 44)						5 (B 158– 162)	
Agathokles c. 185–170	9 (H ns. 123– 128; P-B ns. 45–47)			6 (ABii ns. 1–6)	3 (B ns. 167– 169)			
Antimachos I c. 174–165	4 (H ns. 121– 122; P-B ns. 48–49)		1 (B n. 163)				2 (B ns. 164– 165)	
Apollodotos I c. 174–165	1 (P-B n. 50)			1 (B n. 170)			1 (B n. 171)	
Demetrios II c. 175–170							1 (B n. 166)	
Eukratides I c. 171–145	8 (H ns. 129– 134, 136–137; P-B n. 51) ⁶⁸	1 (H n. 135)	1 (B n. 172)				11 (B ns. 173– 183)	

⁶⁶ Although the chronology of kings who ruled the Hellenistic Far East has yet to be definitively established, I have – albeit solely for sake of convenience – adopted Bopearachchi’s chronology of Seleukid, Greek Baktrian, and Indo-Greek dynasts (e.g., Bopearachchi 1998b, [5–6]; *cf.* on the dates proposed for Euthydemos I: Lerner 1999, 54–59; Lyonnet 2010, 143–144).

⁶⁷ Bopearachchi 1998b, 187–196.

⁶⁸ Although 8 tetradrachmas are listed for Eukratides I, there are 9 listed in the notes, because Cribb (Cribb 2005, 211) has identified one of them (Holt 1981: pl. 12 no.129) as a coin of Eukratides II.

Eukrtaides II c. 145–140	1 (Cribb 2005: 211)							
Lysias c. 120–110		1 (H n. 138)						
Greek Bak- trian ?							1 (B n. 184)	
Indian								705 (ABi ns. 1– 677; B ns. 185– 212)

(Abbreviations. ABi = Audouin/Bernard 1973; ABii = Audouin/Bernard 1974; B = Bernard 1985;⁶⁹ B/G = Bernard/Guillaume 1980; H = Holt 1981; K = Kritt 2001; P-B = Petitot-Biehler 1975; n. = number; ns. = numbers.)

The number of non-Indian coins excavated by Bernard and his team from the site pales in comparison, for example, to the 13,083 specimens found in the Mir Zakah I hoard⁷⁰ and the 627 specimens that make up the Qunduz hoard.⁷¹ Although Mir Zakah I has only partially been studied, the Qunduz treasure has been fully published yielding a number of unanticipated results, each of which provokes a series of historical questions that have yet to be adequately addressed, including what we should make of the ‘Indo-Baktrian’ tetradrachmas issued by the Indo-Greek kings Lysias (nos. 611–614), Theophilos (no. 615), Archebios (nos. 624–625), Philoxenos (no. 626), Hermaeos (no. 627), and the double-decadrachmas of Amyntas (nos. 619–623), to which we should parenthetically reckon the rare commemoratives of Antialkidas (nos. 616–618).⁷² Prior to this discovery, conventional wisdom held that Indo-Greek coins circulated in Indian regions south of the Hindu Kush and were minted along an Indian weight standard with bilingual legends in Greek and Prakrit, as opposed to Greek Baktrian coins that circulated north of the Hindu Kush, were struck on the Attic standard, and contained only monolingual Greek legends. The Qunduz treasure changed this conception, because all the coins

⁶⁹ In his study of the Ai Khanoum coins found outside of hoards, Bernard collated two earlier studies which I have not included in the references: Le Rider 1973, 203–205; Bernard/Guillaume 1980.

⁷⁰ The hoard was never comprehensively published, Curiel/Schlumberger 1953. A second hoard, Mir Zakah II, was presumably located at the same site and was estimated to have contained some 550,000 coins; see Bopearachchi 1994a, 2–3; Bopearachchi 1994b, 3ff.; Bopearachchi 1994c, 7–14; Bopearachchi 1994d, 513ff.; Bopearachchi 1995, 611ff.; Bopearachchi/ur Rahman 1995, 10–14; Bopearachchi 1998b, 183–184; Bopearachchi 1999a, 36ff.; Bopearachchi 2002, 111–123.

⁷¹ Curiel/Fussman 1965; more recently with bibliography, Bopearachchi 1990b, 79 n.1. For hoards obtained from clandestine excavations north and south of the Hindu Kush, see Bopearachchi 1995, 612–629; Bopearachchi 1998b, 183–187; Bopearachchi 1999b, 109–113; Bopearachchi 1999c, 55–67.

⁷² Prior to the recovery of the Qunduz hoard, two of Antialkidas’ tetradrachmas were already known; for their historiography, see Bopearachchi 1990, 80–81 n.2; and Bopearachchi 1989, 50–51.

in the hoard were emitted on the Attic standard and bear exclusively monolingual, Greek legends, including those issued by Indo-Greek kings, whose dominions were south of the Hindu Kush. For our purpose, this treasure begs the issue of whether in fact the incomplete excavations of Aī Khanoum provide us with sufficient data to dismiss as out of place the Lysias drachma of Aī Khanoum Hoard 3 (1973/1974). Since the hoard contains two other drachmas (a pre-Seleukid “Eagle Series” drachma [no. 17] and another of Eukratides I [no. 135]), we wonder whether there is any evidence that allows us to dismiss categorically this coin’s place in the hoard by relegating it to the status of an intrusion by an unknown dealer.

Given the lack of a trustworthy inventory of objects recovered from clandestine excavations at Aī Khanoum, we will never be able to attribute with absolute certainty the provenance of all the items taken from the site. In terms of the coins found at Aī Khanoum, we must conclude that it is too rash to dismiss out of hand the notion that the Lysisas drachma was not in fact part of the 1973–1974 hoard, particularly as the coin’s authenticity has never been questioned, the excavations were only partially completed, and coins of Lysias are known elsewhere in northern Afghanistan. To dismiss the coin’s composition in the hoard simply because it does not conform to a paradigm which itself stems from an incomplete archaeological record is unconvincing. Indeed, there is nothing in the numismatic record that indicates unequivocally that the inhabitants immediately abandoned the city upon the death of Eukratides I, particularly as the numismatic record extends to Eukratides II⁷³ and in all probability to Lysias.⁷⁴

6. Conclusion

A comparison of the coins found at Aī Khanoum with the monetary labels from the “treasury” seems at first glance to reveal two contradictory records of the city’s monetary history. As regard the labels, we have noted that they record three denominations.⁷⁵ Text **no. 1a** records a deposit of 500 drachmas and **no. 4**, though not a deposit per se, nonetheless lists a sum of 119 drachmas. Together they register

⁷³ Cribb 2005, 211 based on his analysis of the AKh 3 1973/1974 hoard. For the traditional view that no coins of Eukratides II were recovered from Aī Khanoum, e.g., Bopearachchi 1990, 95–97; Rapin 1992, 287–294, 393; Lyonnet 1997, 157–159; Bopearachchi 1998b, 178–180; Bopearachchi 1999b, 113–114; Bopearachchi 1999c, 82–83.

⁷⁴ Cf. Narain 1989, 414 with n.159, who raised similar objections about not including the Lysias drachma.

⁷⁵ We should bear in mind that texts **nos. 5a-c, 9b, 10a, 11, and 25** are so effaced that it is impossible to determine both the amount of the transaction and the denomination recorded. To this list we should note that **no. 8** lists a sum of 10,000 but the denomination is unclear, all that is left of **no. 2** is the indistinct *κασαπανα* without an amount, while the *να* recorded in **no. 7** specifying the amount of 10,000 might refer equally to (*κασαπανα*) *ταξαηνά* or *κασαπανα ναδηνά*.

a total of 619 drachmas. In terms of the *ταξαινή* and *κασαπανα ταξαινή* coins, **nos. 6, 9a, and 1c** document deposits totaling 30,000 specimens.⁷⁶ With the exception of **no. 27** which mentions only the term *νανδαγα[χωραγα]*, because the amount was erased, the *νανδαγαχωραγα* and *κασαπανα νανδηνά* inscriptions of **nos. 3 and 5d**, respectively, report sums adding up to 20,000 coins. Save the silver, there is no mention in the labels of other monetary standards (such as tetradrachmas or obols), currencies, or metals (gold or copper). As a result, the surviving inscriptions curiously list a mere 619 drachmas, whereas the 20,000 indeterminate “Indian” specimens listed in **nos. 7–8** when added to the 50,000 recorded in **nos. 1c, 3, 5d, 6, and 9a** amount to a total of 70,000 coins. Of the three denominations mentioned in the inscriptions, the most plentiful is Indo-Greek drachmas (*[κασαπανα] ταξαινή*), followed by Indian punch-marked coins (*νανδαγαχωραγα* and *κασαπανα νανδηνά*), while the number of Greek or Greek Baktrian drachmas comes in at a distant third, composing a mere 0.88% of all the coins registered in the surviving documents from the treasury.⁷⁷ With regard to the coin-finds, hoarded and non-hoarded alike, 21 are pre-Seleukid, 91 Seleukid, and 261 Greek Baktrian for a total of 373 coins or a little more than half the number recorded in texts **nos. 1a and 4**.⁷⁸ Moreover, the current reckoning of the Greek abandonment of the city is still reliant chiefly on twenty-one of these coins (8 tetradrachmas, 1 drachma, 1 obol, and 11 bronzes) which were issued by Eukratides I and the lone drachma of Eukratides II.⁷⁹ Yet the number of Eukratides’ coins found at the site falls strangely below the 205 coins of his three predecessors: 48 of Diodotos I-II and 157 of Euthydemos I.

Taking the non-hoarded coins, the three hoards, and the labels from the treasury as an approximation of what was hoarded, stored, and circulated by the last citizens of the city, it is readily apparent that tetradrachmas on the Attic standard (pre-Seleukid, Seleukid, Greek Baktrian, and perhaps Indo-Baktrian) tended to be hoarded and not stored in the treasury. Of the ten bronze flans, on the other hand, only two of them (**nos. 225–226**) clearly indicate that they were minted at Aī Khanoum during the reign of Euthydemos I, the remainder (**nos. 227–234**) were produced in the post-Greek stratum, while four of these (**nos. 231–234**) were produced using a technique that has yet to find precedent elsewhere for minting coins in Central Asia.⁸⁰ Silver coins – Indian punch-marked coins and

⁷⁶ I have excluded **no. 1b** as no amount of *ταξαινή* coins remains.

⁷⁷ In other words, $619 \div 70,000 = .00884285714 \times 100 = 0.88\%$.

⁷⁸ This number, of course, significantly increases to 1,105 when adding to it the 705 non-Greek Indian punch-marked coins and the 22 Indo-Greek coins.

⁷⁹ Rapin 2007, 47–50, 58–61, 64–65. See n. 68 above.

⁸⁰ Bernard 1985, 83–84 nos. 225 (237)–234 (148f). Eight flans (**nos. 227–234**) were recovered in room 14 of a house outside the northern sector of the palace (Bernard 1985, 140, 148a–f, 275), while another was found in room 104 of the palace’s treasury no. 279 (226), and the tenth

drachmas minted on both Attic and Indian standards – were imported, stored in the treasury or hoarded, and in some cases used in commercial transactions throughout the city and its environs. On the other hand, the handful of coins of varying denomination and metal (the obol of Antimachos I and that of Eukratides I, the three nickel exemplars of Agathokles, and the gold stater of Antiochos II) are so few in number that it is just too difficult to ascertain the degree to which they circulated during the Greek occupation of the city.

As a result, the numismatic data reveal that coinage in Aī Khanoum just prior to the Greek abandonment extended beyond the reign of Eukratides I to include the emissions of Eukratides II and Lysias, and that the city's treasury was increasingly dominated by the influx of smaller denominations of a non-Attic standard minted south of the Hindu Kush, *visa vie* Indo-Greek drachmas and Indian punch-marked coins. Consequently, there is nothing in this evidence that precludes us from changing our earlier analysis that the Greeks of Aī Khanoum left earlier than the mid-first century B.C.E.⁸¹

Appendix

Inscriptions/Economic Labels

1. Monetary Deposits

Provenance: Sanctuary of the temple with indented niches, dwelling room A of the post-Greek occupation layer.

Inventory no.: P.O. Inv. gén. 2752.

Description: Four inscriptions written in cursive script, three of which are almost complete, on an oval shaped vessel broken at the top. Five of the seven officials mentioned in these texts – Oxybazaos, Philiskos, Aryandês, Stratôn and Hermaios – are found in other texts, thereby appearing to confirm Rapin's hypothesis that the vessel had been removed from the treasury to the sanctuary at some later date (1983, 324–326; 1992, 97).

was found in House 1 of the southern quarter no. 237 (225); see Bernard 1985: 115 *et passim* and Table II. There is no evidence that silver or gold were ever minted in the city.

⁸¹ Cf. Lerner 2010. The notion advanced by Leriche (1986, 47, 56, 83–84) that the end of the Greek occupation of the town coincides with traces of the deployment of siege engines on the northern walls following the death of Eukratides I against either Heliokles I or Eukratides II has long since been rejected in favor of the wall having simply suffered the effects of 'wear and tear' (so Bernard informed Veuve and thus reported in Veuve 1987, 109 n.5). The excavations never revealed any sign of resistance on the city's part or of a massacre of its inhabitants, including the fire that engulfed part of what at the time was an empty, abandoned palace (hence, Veuve 1987, 109 n.6).

1a. Drachmas. Complete text of five lines bracketed in the left margin. Chronologically, the text is the first of the three on the vessel.

	Παρά Ζήνωνος	From Zênon.
	ἡρίθμηται	There have been counted
	διὰ Ὀξηβοάκου	by Oxêboakês
	καὶ Οξυβάζου δρχ φ'	and Oxybazos 500 drachmas.
5)	ἔσφράγισται Ὀξηβοάκης	Oxêboakês sealed (the container).

References: Bernard 1978, 450–454, fig. 18 (p. 452) [incorrect transcription, p. 451]; *SEG* 28 (1978), no. 1327; Bernard 1979, 517–518; Robert/Robert 1979, no. 605; *SEG* 29 (1979), no. 1586 bis; Bernard et al. 1980, 15–22; Bernard /Rapin 1980, 15–22 [cf. Robert/Robert 1980, no. 547]; Bernard 1981, 116; Robert/Robert 1981, no. 614; Rapin 1983, 326 no. 4a, fig. 8; *SEG* 33 (1983), no. 1223; Robert/Robert 1987, no. 295; Narain 1987b, 272, 273 Group II no. 3; Rapin 1990, 334–335, fig. 3; Rapin 1992, 98 no. 4a, 105, 303; *Iscrizioni* 2004, no. 324.

Commentary: 2. Lasserre, F. in Bernard 1979, 519 reads ἡρίθμηται as opposed to the dative of the Iranian name Πριθμήται, or ἡρίθμηται. See the remark of Bingen, J. (in *SEG* 33, no. 1223) who noted that “traces after η rather seem to be part of a letter cancelled before completion” (cf. earlier remarks in *SEG* 29, no. 1586 bis.). On the meaning in this context, see Bernard et al. 1980, 15–16; Picard 1984, 679–682. || 4. read: δρ(α)χ(μαι) φ' (Robert/Robert 1979).

1b. Taxêna. The text, consisting of four or five lines and chronologically the second, is on the side opposite **1a**. Lacunae occur at the end of lines 2 and 3. A bracket was made in the left margin.

	Παρά Τιμοδήμου	From Timodêmos.
	ἡρίθμηται διὰ	there have been counted by
	Ὀξηβοάκου καὶ	Oxêboakês and
	Ἑρμαίου ταξῆνά	Hermaios <i>taxaêna</i> (?). . . .
5)	-----	

References: Bernard 1978, 452 (with drawing); Robert/Robert 1981, no. 614; Rapin 1983, 326 no. 4b, fig. 9; *SEG* 33 (1983), no. 1223; Narain 1987b, 272, 273 Group II no. 4; Rapin 1992, 98 no. 4b, 303; *Iscrizioni* 2004, no. 325.

Commentary: (Rapin 1983, 326) 1. The right hasta of the second μ οφ Τιμοδήμου is omitted. || 2. ἡρίθμηται, see **1a**; διὰ is almost entirely effaced. || 3. καὶ is effaced. || 4. ταξῆνά restored from the same word at the end of l. 2 of text **1c**. Possible reference to a place(s) -- Taxila, Nandagakhoraga, Nanda(?) -- or to an “agora” or “khora” in the Indo-Greek kingdom, thus Narain 1987b, 276 n. 9 who concludes that the identity is unclear.

1c. Kasapana taxêna. The text written below **1a** is chronologically the last. Much of the ink has faded on the right and lower portions; from the middle of line 4 onwards the text is illegible.

Παρά Φιλίσκου		From Philiskos.
κασαπανα ταξαηνά	A	10,000 <i>kasapana taxêna</i>
διὰ Ἀρυάνδου καὶ	M	(counted) by Aryandês and
Στρα		Stra[tôn;

References: Bernard 1978, 452 (with drawing); Robert/Robert 1981, no. 614; Rapin 1983, 326–329 no. 4c, fig. 10; *SEG* 33 (1983), no. 1223; Narain 1987b, 272, 273 Group II no. 5; Rapin 1992, 98 no. 4c, 303; *Iscrizioni* 2004, no. 330.

Commentary: 2. (Rapin 1983, 365; 1992, 106) *κασαπανα*, Greek transcription of the Middle-Indian, *kārshāpana*, designating Indian punch-marked coins (equivalent to Indo-Greek standard drachma), probably struck in the Greek territories of north west India at *Takshasila* (Greek Τάξιλα) = Taxila (?) see **1b** on possibilities of *ταξαηνά* [cf. Audouin/ Bernard 1973, 243–244 for other forms (*karshāpana*, *kahāpana*, *pana*) and Fussman in Bernard 1980, 448 n.20: *κασαπανα* = *kārṣāpa* a with usual treatment in Middle Indian of -r ->- .]; on adjectives ending in -ηνά, see Rapin 1983, 365; 1992, 106–107. || 2–3. Various ligatures with ν. || 4. Στρατῶνος with corrections from the copist on τ and ω? In right margin, there is possibly A above M as in texts **3**, **5d**, **6–9a**.

1d. Undetermined. To the left of **1c**, there are several traces of ink and three letters of a fourth inscription now lost.

ακϞ

References: Rapin 1983, 329 no. 4d; *SEG* 33 (1983), no. 1223d; Rapin 1992, 98 no. 4d, 303.

2. Indeterminate Indian coins

Provenance: Treasury, room 108, floor 1.

Inventory no.: Akh IIIB 77, P.O. 128 (Cér. 376).

Description: The lower left portion of a text consisting of five lines remains on two shards of an oval shaped vessel.

	”- - - - -”	. . .]
	ἡρίθμηται - - - - ”	There have been counted [by]
	Ἀπὸ - - - - - Ἑρ - ”	Apo[. . . and Her-?]
	μαίλου”- - - - - ”	maios [. . .]
5)	κασαπανα”- - - - - ”	<i>kasapana</i> [. . . ; . . .]
	ἔσφράγισται - - - - ”	has sealed.

References: Bernard 1978, 451 (with drawing); Rapin 1983, 329–330 no. 5, fig. 11; *SEG* 33 (1983), no. 1224; Rapin 1992, 98–99 no. 5, 303; *Iscrizioni* 2004, no. 326.

Commentary: (Rapin 1983, 330). The formulaic scheme of text **1b** is similar to this text. || 2. ἡρίθμηται, see **1a**. || 3–4. [Her]maios as it does in texts **1b** and **4**; the name is also believed to be that of the last Indo-Greek who ruled in the region of Kabul in c. mid first century B.C.E. (*cf.* Rapin 1992, 99). || 5. κασαπανα, see text **1c**.

3. Nandagakhôraga

Provenance: Treasury, room 108, under floor 1.

Inventory no.: Akh IIIB 77, P.O. 356, 368, 379 (Cér. 398).

Description: Five lines of a text written on the base of the neck of an oval shaped vessel with a significant lacuna in the lower left portion. A bracket in the left margin possibly represents another inscription now vanished.

	Παρά Φιλίσκου	From Philiskos
	νανδαγαχωραγα	<i>nandagakhôraga</i>
	ἡρίθμηται διὰ	it has been counted by
	[... 7–8 ...]ς καὶ	[...] and [...]
5)	ἔσγ . α[]	10,000 (?).
	A M	

References: Bernard 1978, 451, fig. 17; Robert/Robert 1981, no. 614; Rapin 1983, 330 no. 6, fig. 12; *SEG* 33 (1983), no. 1225; Litvinskii/Vinogradov/Pichikian 1985, 97, fig. 5a (drawing); Narain 1987b, 272, 273 Group II no. 6; Rapin 1992, 99 no. 6, 303; *Iscrizioni* 2004, no. 331.

Commentary: (Rapin 1983, 330). The text schematically resembles **1c**. || 2. νανδαγαχωραγα is perhaps a transliteration of an Indian (place?) name in the nominal form and not an adjectival one as in ταξαηνά, see **1b**. We can thus understand it as *Indian land* or *land of the Indians*. || 4. Proper name with -- -ς in the genitive ending, as e.g., Stratôn(?). || 3. ἡρίθμηται, see **1a**. || 5. The beginning of a proper name Εσγ. . . or Ευγ. . . ; A above M is probably at the end of the line.

4. Ostrakon

Provenance: Treasury, room 115, S, floor 1.

Inventory no.: Akh IIIB 78, P.O. 765.

Description: Six lines of a text written on an oval shaped vessel recording a number of sum totals. Nothing remains in the left portion and in other places the ink has dissipated. An incision was made in the lower left of the shard.

[- - -] εΤΟΣ τοῦ δευτέρου - - - [- - -]	[...] of the second [...] ;
[- - 'Ε]ρμαίου δραχμίδ' - -	[...] of Hermaios: 44 drachmas
[- - -] . 4-5. α . καὶ . . . υ . νδου ζ'	[...] ... and of Aryandês (?): 7 (?);
[- - -]σματος . τὰς ἀναφορὰς" - - -"	[...] ... the incomes [...]
5) [- - -]θ . ου ου . ανος δραχμῆ'	[...] ... : 8 (?) drachmas (?);
[- - -]χξ'	[...] 60 (?) drachmas (?).

References: Rapin 1983, 330, 332 no. 7, fig. 13, 366–367; *SEG* 33 (1983), no. 1226; Narain 1987b, 272, 273 Group II no. 7; Rapin 1992, 99 no. 7, 303; *Iscrizioni* 2004, no. 327.

Commentary: (Rapin 1983, 332). The text is an abstract of various accounts and not a payment label, since it is written in cursive and contains a list of various sum totals (thus ls. 2, 3, 4, and 5). || 1. [ταμι] - εἶου τοῦ δευτέρου? || 3. - -]εια. . . or - -]ερα . . . καὶ Ἀρυάνδου (after text **16**) ξ' ? || 4. - -]ανασγα? τὰς ἀναφορὰς alludes probably to payments represented by the sums mentioned in the text. ||θ.ου Οὔμανος (as in text **16**; cf. *SEG* 33 (1983), nos. 854, 1234 and 1584) δραχμῆ'/π' ? || 6. δραχμῆ' ξ'.

5. Deposits

Provenance: Treasury, courtyard 105, N.

Inventory no.: Akh IIIB 78, P.O. 538.

Description: Four fragments of inscriptions written in ink on an oval shaped vessel.

References: Rapin 1983, 332–334 nos. 8a–8d, fig. 14, 365; *SEG* 33 (1983), no. 1227; Narain 1987b, 272, 273 Group II no. 8; Rapin 1992, 99–100 nos. 8a–8d, 303; *Iscrizioni* 2004, no. 328.

5a. The text is denoted by traces located on the mid section of the vase's belly under text **5c**. Two zones of scratched erasure; the second is a vertical erasure that had covered a large sign(s) in the text's right margin, perhaps Φ or the siglum A presumably above M.

5b. Traces of a text on the upper right portion of the vessel, but completely effaced.

5c. The text written on the base of the neck above **5a** into which the last line merges into the scratched out portion of text **5a** and onto the surface of text **5d**. No word is legible, but (Rapin 1983, 334 no. 8c; 1992, 100 no. 8c) perhaps there is Ξατραννος.

5d. Kasapana nandēna. Text of five lines of which the left portion is partially covered by the scratches intended for the removal of text **5a**. The letters are so

unclear that the end of lines 2 and 3 have disappeared entirely. The text is framed on the left and right by brackets that perhaps were intended for a previous label on the container, as text 8c.

	Παρά Στράτωνος		From Stratôn. (There have been
	διὰ Μολοσσοῦ καὶ		counted) by Molossos and
	Στράτωνος καὶ ἔσ	- - - - -	Stratôn; and . . .
	. . . βαρα..δου καὶ τάρζου		. . . and of Tarzos
5)	[κασα]πανα νανδηνά	A	[in <i>kasa</i>]pana nandêna (?):
		M	10,000.

Commentary: (Rapin 1983, 334; 1992, 100). 1–2. The formulaic expression of παρά/διὰ is now complete. || 2. On the name of Molossos and its relation to the Meander valley, see Bernard 1987, 106. || 3. Probably ἐσ[φράγισται]; Stratôn of ls. 1 and 3 may (or may not) refer to the same individual, but as a name it occurs often in these inscriptions (texts **13a** l. 4 [?], **1c** l. 4, **3** l. 4 [?], **8** l. 2 [?]), as well as on the hermaic pillar of the Ai Khanoum gymnasium (e.g., Bernard 1973, 208–209, pl. 109; Veuve 1987, 28 and Bernard in Veuve 1987, 111–112; Rapin 1992, 389). || 4. genitives are not Greek and probably designate anthroponyms rather than toponyms. || 5. a payment issued in *kasapana* from the region of *Nanda*; see also text **1c**. νανδηνά misread by Narain 1987b, 272 Group II no. 8.

6. Indeterminate Indian coins

Provenance: Treasury, room 123.

Inventory no.: Akh IIIB 78, P.O. 537.

Description: The left portion of the text has disappeared on this oval shaped vessel.

- - -]λαδου		. . .
[- - -]. ηνά	A	. . .]-êna; 10,000.
[- - -	M	

References: Fussman 1980, drawing pl. 4; Rapin 1983, 334–335, fig. 15; *SEG* 33 (1983), no. 1228; Rapin 1992, 100 no. 9, 304; *Iscrizioni* 2004, no. 337.

Commentary: (Rapin 1983, 335). 2. Conjecture: ταξαηνά (on adjectives ending in -ηνά, see Rapin 1983, 365; 1992, 106–107); *cf.* text **1c**.

7. Indeterminate Indian coins

Provenance: Treasury, courtyard 105, NE.

Inventory no.: Akh IIIB 78, P.O. 763.

Description : Fragment of the right portion of a text in four lines, similar to 6.

	---		...
	[---] . ι		...
	[---]]-na; 10, 000.
5)	[---] νά	A	
	[---	M	

References: Fussman 1980, drawing, pl. 4; Rapin 1983, 335 no. 10, fig. 16, 365; *SEG* 33 (1983), no. 1229; Rapin 1992, 100 no. 10, 304; *Iscrizioni* 2004, no. 338.

Commentary: On toponymic adjectives in -να, see text 6.

8. Indeterminate Indian coins

Provenance: Treasury, courtyard 105, floor 1.

Inventory no.: Akh IIIB 77, P.O. 326.

Description: Right portion of the text is damaged. The ink is poorly preserved, leaving only a few letters remaining at the end of the lines.

	- - ãι διὰ		...] counted (?) by
	[---] ος καὶ		... and
	[---] .		[... ;
	[---]		... ;
5)	[---] A		... ;] ; 10, 000.
	[---] M		

References: Rapin 1983, 336–337 no. 11, fig. 17; *SEG* 33 (1983), no. 1230; Rapin 1992, 101 no. 11, 305; *Iscrizioni* 2004, no. 339.

Commentary: (Rapin 1983, 366). 2. Genitive name in -ος, like Stratôn, or in -ου.

9. Deposits

Provenance: Treasury, courtyard 105, room 110.

Inventory no.: Akh IIIB 77, P.O. 326 (Cér. 369).

Description: Oval shaped vessel containing two fragmentary inscriptions.

References: Rapin 1983, 335–336 no. 12 (a-b), fig. 18; *SEG* 33 (1983), no. 1231; Rapin 1992, 101 no. 12 (a-b), 304; *Iscrizioni* 2004, no. 333.

9a. Indeterminate Indian coins. Text written at the base of the neck.

	- - -] ου	
	[- - -] ηνά	A
		M

9b. Deposit. Beginning of the first line of an inscription written on the vase's belly, below and to the right of the preceding text.

Παρά Νικ[- - -

Commentary: (Rapin 1983, 336). Perhaps designates Νικήρατος as the same functionary mentioned in text **10c**.

Reference: In addition to those above, Bernard 1978: 451, fig. 17.

10. Deposits (?) and monetary control

Provenance: Treasury, courtyard 113, room 123, floor 1b.

Inventory no.: Akh IIIB 78, P.O. 465, 466, 536.

Description: Oval shaped vessel containing three texts of which two have been scratched out.

10a. Deposit (?). Text erased, leaving only traces a few letters, located to the right of texts **10b** and **10c**.

-----] -- [-]
 [-----] --- [-]
 [---] ----- ου
 [-]χος -----

References: Rapin 1983, 337 no. 13a, fig. 19c; Rapin 1992, 101 no. 13a, 304; *Iscrizioni* 2004, no. 340.

10b. Deposit (?). Traces of several erased letters, written in above and to the left of **10c**. Some letters still remain at the end of line 2.

---] ---
 ---] δ . μου φ' . . .] of . . . mos; 500; [. . . .
 ---] ---

Commentary: (Bingen in *SEG* 33 (1983), 1232b). 2. Perhaps δο]κ[ί]μου?

References: Rapin 1983, 338 no. 13b, fig. 19b; Rapin 1992, 101 no. 13b, 304; *Iscrizioni* 2004, no. 341.

10c. Dokimastes. Inscription, composed of three lines, is nearly intact.

διὰ Κόσμου δοκίμου ἀργυρίου]	[There have been counted by]
δεδοκίμασται διὰ Νικηρά[του]	Kosmos in legal silver.
ἐσφράγισται αὐτὸς Νικήρατος	[They?] have been verified by Nikêratos. Nikêratos himself has sealed [the container].

References: Bernard 1979, 519 with drawing; *SEG* 29 (1979), no. 1587; Bernard 1980, 441–442; Bernard et al. 1980, 22–23; Bernard/Rapin 1980, 22–23 with drawing pl. 10b; Robert/Robert 1980, no. 547, Robert/Robert 1981, no. 614 [*cf.* Robert/Robert 1987, no. 295]; Rapin 1983, 338–339 no. 13c, fig. 19a-b; Picard 1984, 683–684; *SEG* 33 (1984), no. 1232; *SEG* 34 (1984), no. 1432; Narain 1987b, 272, 273 Group II no. 9; Rapin 1992, 102 no. 13c, 304; *Iscrizioni* 2004, no. 334.

Commentary: (Rapin 1983, 338). 1. Κόσμου = Κόσμος/Κόσμης/Κοσμᾶς? (*cf.* Schmitt 1990, 54, for Κόσμου: genitive of Κόσμος.) At end of line, αρ of ἀργυρίου ligature. || 1–2. δοκίμου ἀρ[γυρίου] | δεδοκίμασται (*SEG* 34 (1984), no. 1432; Picard 1984, 683–684): a term used to denote “argent de bon aloi --- vérifié” as the approbation of the legal character after examination (“monnaie ayant cours légal”); *cf.* Robert/Robert 1981, no. 614.

11. Deposit

Provenance: Treasury, room 109.

Inventory no.: Akh IIIB 77, P.O. 391.

Description: Two last lines of text under the vessel’s shoulder, underscored with a bracket.

δ. . α . . ν . [- - -]	. . .]
ἐσφράγισται . [- - -]	has sealed (the container).

References: Bernard 1978, 451 (drawing); Rapin 1983, 340 no. 14, fig. 20; *SEG* 33 (1983), no. 1233; Rapin 1992, 102 no. 14, 304; *Iscrizioni* 2004, no. 342.

12. Deliveries of olive oil

Provenance: Treasury, room 126.

Inventory no.: Akh IIIB 78, P.O. 762.

Description: The vessel, resembling a Greek *mastos*, was broken into eleven fragments, bearing two inscriptions. Their placement indicates that the vessel was used as the lid of an amphora or some other container, and perhaps as a decanter (Rapin 1983, 319–320; 1992, 96).

12a. Five lines of the upper left portion of the text remain on three shards.

Ἔτους κδ . [- -]	Year 24, [. .] (the content)
ἐλαίου ἐλαίνο[υ]	of olive oil (the vase)
ἀποδείης α’ τὸ μ[εταγγισθὲν]	partially empty of A (of the stock)
ἀπὸ κεραμίων δύ[ο ---]	of one (stamnos) and a half
5) τοῦ ἡμιο[λ]ίου κ[αὶ ---]	(holds the oil) decanted from two
	jars by [. . .]; [. . .].

References: Bernard 1980, 442–444, fig. 4, 441; Bernard et al. 1980, 23–27; Fussman 1980, 36–42, pl. 4; Bernard/Rapin 1980, 23–24, pl. 10a; Robert/Robert 1980, no. 614; *SEG* 30 (1980), no. 1663; Fussman 1980, 36, fig. 4; Robert/Robert 1981, no. 614; Rapin 1983, 319–320 no. 1a fig. 3, 366–367; *SEG* 33 (1983), no. 1221; Rapin 1987, 52–59; *SEG* 37 (1987), no. 1221; Narain 1987a, 280; Narain 1987b, 271, 273 no. 1; Rapin 1992, 96 no. 1a, 303, pl. 53; *Iscrizioni* 2004, no. 329.

Commentary: The text antedates **no. 12b**, and is probably identical to that of **no. 13a**; thus less than half the lines have disappeared, including all of a sixth line (Rapin 1983: 359 n. 59; 1992, 96, 108). || 1. ἔτους κδ' in reference to an unrecorded era. || 2. On ἔλαινος and ἔλαιος, see **no. 12b**. || 3. ἀποδεῆς refers to a vessel other than the neuter κεράμιον, possibly a vase in the masculine, Rapin 1983, 320, 366–367; 1992, 96; see **nos. 12b, 13a-b**. || 3. μεταγγισθέν cf. **no. 13a**. || 4. On ἀπὸ κεραμίων, see **12a**; cf. **23**; δύο, **no. 13a**. || 5. ἡμιόλιον, a full jar and a half (cf. Bernard/Rapin 1980, 24).

12b. Composed of seven lines to the left of **no. 21a** and written after it.

Παρά Φιλίσκ[ου	From Philiskos.
ἐλα . [.. ἐλαί]νου []	[. . .] of olive
πα.. [.. 6–7 ..]ους . -- []	[. . .]
ἀποδ[εῆς ...]ων τριῶν ... [--]	partially empty of (the) three [. . .]
5) [[δυ]] λων[- - -] --	[. . .].
ἐσφραγισται	Theophras[τος] sealed (the
Θεόφρασ - - -	container).

References: Fussman 1980, pl. 4; Rapin 1983, 320–322 no. 1b; Robert/Robert 1981, no. 614; *SEG* 33 (1983), no. 1220; Rapin 1992, 96 no. 1b, pl. 53; *Iscrizioni* 2004, no. 332.

Commentary: (Rapin 1983, 322.) 1. On παρά, see **nos. 9b** and **23**. For the occurrence of the name Φιλίσκος elsewhere, see **nos. 1c, 3, 18**. || 2. ἐλα[ίου instead of ἔλα[σσον]. On ἔλαινος and ἔλαιος, see **no. 12a**. || 3. Πα...”... as παρθ[...], παρε[...], or παθε[... ἔτ]ους?; at end of the line several traces. || 4. On ἀποδεῆς, see **nos. 12a, 13a-b**; ...]ων as in ligatures of the third century B.C.E. (ibid, 350 n.19); in fine δοκ or δοθ; perhaps: ἀποδε[ῆς στάμν]ων τριῶν δοκ[?]. || 5. δυ replaced by λων[or λωλ[. || 6. ἐσφράγισται, see **nos. 1a, 2, 10c, 11, and 13a**.

13. Deliveries of olive oil

Provenance: Treasury, room 126.

Inventory no.: Akh IIIB 78, P.O. 761.

Description: Three small fragments, bearing two inscriptions, of an oval vessel.

13a. Four lines remain of a fragmented text, probably identical to **text 15a**.

---] ἀποδε]ῆς α' τὸ μεταγγισθέν [ἀπὸ κε]ραμίων δύο διὰ Ἰππίου [] τοῦ ἡμιο]λίου καὶ ἐσφράγισται [- ?-] [- - - -]σος τὸν α' καὶ Στ..[- - - -]	[. . .] ; [. . .] ; (the vase) partially empty of A (of the stock) of one (stamnos) and a half (holds the oil) decanted from two jars by Hippias; and [...]sos sealed the (vase) A and St[... the vase B?].
---	--

References: Bernard/Rapin 1980, 23–24; Rapin 1983, 322 no. 2a, fig. 5a; *SEG* 33 (1983), no. 1221; Rapin 1992, 97 no. 2a, 303, pl. 53.

Commentary: Rapin (1983, 322 concisely; *SEG* on Bernard/Rapin 1980) has noted: 1.

μεταγγισθέν with ligature in εν; *cf.* **no. 15a**. || 2. On διὰ, **nos. 7, 14c, and 20**; ἀπὸ κεραμίων, see **15a**; *cf.* **23**; δύο, **no. 15a**. || 3. ἡμιόλιον, see **no. 15a**. ἐσφράγισται, see **nos. 3, 10, 14c, 15b, 22**. || 4. Στ[ράτων most probable (*cf.* **nos. 9d, and 22c**); στ[άμνον is impossible as it requires a preceding article; hence, the following reading is proposed: Μολοσ]σὸς τὸν α' καὶ Στ[ράτων τὸν β' ?]; on Μολοσ]σὸς, *cf.* **no. 9d**.

Special note on nos. 12a and 13a:

Rapin (1983, 367; 1992, 108) has proposed that both texts are identical, the combination of which yields the following reconstruction (*cf. Iscrizioni* 2004, no. 323):

Ἔτους κδ' .[- - -]
 ἐλαίου ἐλαίνου ·
 ἀποδεῆς α' τὸ μεταγγισθέν
 ἀπὸ κεραμίων δύο διὰ Ἰππίου
 5) τοῦ ἡμιο[λ]ίου, καὶ ἐσφράγισται
 [Μολοσ?]σὸς τὸν α' καὶ Στ[ράτων ? τὸν β' (?)]

“Year 24, the - - - ; (contents) in olive oil; (the vase) partially empty of A (of the reserve) of one (stamnos) and a half (holds) the oil decanted from two jars by Hippias; and have sealed: Molossos (?) the vase A and Stratōn (?) the vase B (?)”

13b. Shard with several letters on two lines of a text probably identical to that of **text 15b**.

- - - ἀ]ποδεή[ς ---]
 [- - -]νος

References: Bernard/Rapin 1980, 23–24; *SEG* 33 1983, 1221; Rapin 1983, 322–323 no. 2b, fig. 5b, 367; Rapin 1992, 53, 97 no. 2b, 108, 303; *Iscrizioni* 2004, no. 335.

Commentary: (Rapin 1983, 323) 1. On ἀποδείης, see **no. 15a**.

|| 2. [- - -]νος or]νου; cf. 1.5 of **no. 15b**; the combination yields -λωνος or -λωνου, as the genitive ending of a proper name.

14. Incense

Provenance: Treasury, room 104, floor 1.

Inventory no.: Akh IIIB 77, Cér. 55.

Description: The ink of a text consisting of one line is well preserved. Several traces of ink on three or four lines also appear.

λιβανωτοῦ Incense.

References: Bernard 1978, 450; Robert/Robert 1979, no. 605; Fussman 1980, 36; Rapin 1983, 344–345 no. 21, fig. 27a-b; *SEG* 33 (1983), no. 1240; Rapin 1992, 103 no. 21, 304; *Iscrizioni* 2004, no. 351.

15. Incense

Provenance: Treasury, room 110, N, 0.5/floor.

Inventory no.: Akh IIIB 77, P.O. 236.

Description: The inscription is written in well-preserved ink on the right, but the shard is broken at the first and last letters.

λιβανωτο[ῦ] Incense.

References: Bernard 1978, 450; Robert/Robert 1979, no. 605; Fussman 1980, 36; Rapin 1983, 344–345 no. 22, fig. 28; *SEG* 33 (1983), no. 1241; Rapin 1992, 103 no. 22, 304; *Iscrizioni* 2004, no. 352.

16. List of individuals on label or ostrakon

Provenance: Treasury, room 108.

Inventory no.: Akh IIIB 77, P.O. 369 (Cér. 386).

Description: Text of six lines written on the bottom portion of a vessel's neck. The ink has faded in right half of the text.

	- [- - -]	. [. . .]
	Καλλισθ[- - -]	of Kallisth[enes . . .]
	Σινωφ . του [- - -]	of Sin. . .tos [. . .]
	Ξατραννου [- - -]	of Xatrannos [. . .]
	Οὐμάνου [- - -]	of Oumanos [. . .]
5)	. οδ' [- - -]	74 (?) [. . .].

Description: Ink used in the text has greatly faded.

εγμαδονατιος

References: Rapin 1983, 343 no. 20, fig. 26; *SEG* 33 (1983), no. 1239; Rapin 1992, 103 no. 20, 304; *Iscrizioni* 2004, no. 350.

Commentary: (Rapin 1983, 343). A proper noun preceded by the preposition ἐγ/ἐκ, thus indicating provenance (?).

20. Personal name

Provenance: Sanctuary of the temple with indented recesses, room 9, floor 1.

Inventory no.: Inv. gén. P.O. 483.

Description: Iranian personal name engraved on the edge of a schist disk.

Αϊτάτης Aitatês.

References: Grenet 1983, 397–398; Francfort 1984, 26; Bernard 1992, 388 III 2a; *Iscrizioni* 2004, no. 358.

Commentary: The inscription is engraved so lightly that it cannot be photographed clearly, but the reading is assured (Grenet 1983, 379 n.30).

21. Personal name (owner of the vase?)

Provenance: Sanctuary of the temple with indented niches, 10 H/t 12 (level after Diodotos).

Inventory no.: Inv. gén. P.O. 2207.

Description: The shard breaks off in the right portion of the name in ink.

Σωσιπά[τρου] Of Sôsipatros

References: Rapin 1983, 342 no. 18, fig. 24; [on a shard from Tepe Nimlik, bearing the letters - - - .ατρος (perhaps πατρος), see Schlumberger 1947, 241–242 and Rapin 1983, 316 n.5; cf. Narain 1987b, 274, 284; and Rapin's response (1992, 103)]; *SEG* 33 (1983), no. 1237; Rapin 1992, 103 no. 18, 304, 388, and drawing pl. 55; Bernard 1992, 388 no. III 2c; as a possible Indic name, Sašiputra, see Narain 1987b, 274 n. 8; *Iscrizioni* 2004, no. 348.

22. Owner of a stamnos

Provenance: House 1 of the S quarter.

Inventory no.: Inv. gén. P.O. 2812.

Description: Two lines in ink on an oval shaped vessel.

Φιλοξένης
τὸ στάμνον

Stamnos of Philoxênos.

References: Bernard/Rapin 1980, 18; Rapin 1983, 343–344 no. 19, fig. 25; *SEG* 33 (1983), no. 1238; Rapin 1992, 103 no. 19, 304, and drawing pl. 55; Bernard 1992, 388 no. III 2b; *Iscrizioni* 2004, no. 349.

Commentary: (Rapin 1983, 343, 357). 1. Genitive of Φιλοξένη; or -νι as the scribe's syntactical error. || 2. τὸ στάμνον to read as either τὸ στάμνιον or τὸν στάμνον.

23. Personal name (?)

Provenance: Aī Khanoum. Among the inscribed graffiti and vases found outside the treasury.

Description: Engraved shard of a plate with the fragmented last portion of an inscription.

...].ριξαρης

References: Rapin 1983, 316 n. 5; Grenet 1983, 381, fig. 38; Vinogradov in Litvinskii/Vinogradov/Pichikian 1985, 97, fig. (drawing) 5b; Rapin 1987, 225 n.2; Rapin 1992, drawing, pl. 55; Bernard 1992, 388 III 2d; *Iscrizioni* 2004, no. 359.

Commentary: (Rapin 1987, 225 n. 2). The reading is certain that the letter before the rho is an ι (“iota”), identifying a personal name of which the first element of the final portion should thus be understood as ...iri- (e.g. Tirixares, cf. Tribazos).

24. Fragment

Provenance: Treasury, room 108, under floor 1.

Inventory no.: Akh IIIB 77, P.O. 393 (Cér. 398).

Description: Fragment of three lines of a text written irregularly in ink.

---] διὰ Καλ[---]
[-----] μμα[-----]
[-----] ρθ[-----]

References: Rapin 1983, 345 no. 23, fig. 29; *SEG* 33 (1983), no. 1242; Rapin 1992, 104 no. 23, 304; *Iscrizioni* 2004, no. 353.

Commentary: Rapin (1983, 345; 1992, 104). 1. Καλ[--- or Κασ[---, perhaps Kallisthenes?, thus a payment? || 2–3. no known parallels from Aī Khanoum for the two fractions of the words μμα and ρθ. Possibly ---]φθ[--- instead of ---] ρθ[---.

25. Fragment (payment?)

Provenance: Treasury, room 109.

Inventory no.: Akh IIIB 77, P.O. 378 (Cér. 218).

Description: Fragment of two lines.

-----]κ[----] . . .] ;
 [--]σται Μιλ[---] Μιλ[. . .] (has sealed the container ?).

References: Rapin 1983, 346 no. 24, fig. 30; *SEG* 33 (1983), no. 1243; Rapin 1992, 104 no. 24, 304; *Iscrizioni* 2004, no. 354.

Commentary: (Rapin 1983, 346). 2. Μιλ [--- or Μιν [---.

26. Fragment (payment?)

Provenance: Treasury, room 118, floor 1.

Inventory no.: Akh IIIB 77, P.O. 279.

Description: Right portion of two lines.

---]τ . ια . α
 [---]υχ . ια

References: Rapin 1983, 346 no. 25, fig. 31; *SEG* 33 (1983), no. 1244; Rapin 1992, 104 no. 25, 304; *Iscrizioni* 2004, no. 355.

Commentary: (Rapin 1983, 346). 1. ---]τ.ια.α or ---]ται δ.ια. || 2. δρχ or figure --- χ'.

27. Payment (payment of Indian coins?)

Provenance: Treasury (no other information known).

Inventory no.: Akh IIIB. 77, 271.

Description: Fragment of four lines of a text that has been largely scratched out. Only one legible word occurs and that in the last line.

- [- - - -]
 -- [- - - -]
 - - - - [- - - -]
 -- ουνανδαγα[- - -

References: Rapin 1983, 346–347 no. 26, fig. 32; *SEG* 33 (1983), no. 1245; Rapin 1992, 104 no. 26, 304; *Iscrizioni* 2004, no. 356.

Commentary: (Rapin 1983, 347). On νανδαγα[- - -, see text 3 l., as toponym.

28. Fragment

Provenance: Treasury (no other information known).

Inventory no.: Akh IIIB. 77, 156.

Description: Only a fragment of three or four lines on the left lower portion of a text still remains.

----- [---]
 δ . α --- [---]
 . . . και --- [---]

References: Rapin 1983, 347 no. 27, fig. 33; *SEG* 33 (1983), no. 1246; Rapin 1992, 104; no. 27, 304; *Iscrizioni* 2004, no. 357.

29. Gymnasium. Inscribed Herm

Provenance: A parallelepipedal pedestal of stone situated in a niche of the colonnade of the exedra of North 4 on the edge of a large courtyard (stage II) of the gymnasium.

Description: Pedestal inscribed with dedicatory inscription containing a cloaked Hermaic statue whose bent left arm once held a metal rod (ῥάβδος?), while the right hand from underneath grasps the cloak. The statue's head was found some 40 cm from the foot of the niche in a layer of debris: that of a bearded old man, crowned with a diadem; thus a "Mantelherme" (on this type, see Lullies 1931, 78–84; Bernard 1967b, 90–91; Veuve 1987, 28, 71, 74–75; Bernard in Veuve 1987, 91–93).

Τριβαλλὸς	Triballos
καὶ Στράτων	and Stratôn
Στράτωνος	(sons) of Stratôn
Ἑρμῆι Ἡρακλεῖ	to Hermes (and) Heraklês.

References: Bernard in Robert 1966, 554–555; Bernard 1967a, 318–319; Bernard 1967b, 90–91, pls. 19–20; Robert 1968, 417–421; fig. 1; Robert/Robert 1969, no. 601; Robert 1973, 208–211, pl. 109a; Narain 1974, 97 no. 1; Veuve/Liger 1976, 40; Narain 1977–1978, 126 no. 3; Veuve 1987, 28; 72; 74–75; Bernard in Veuve 1987, 91–93, 111–112; Narain 1987b, 271 no. 3; *SEG* 38 (1988), no. 1550; Sève 1989, no. 140; Robert 1989, 511–515; *SEG* 40 (1990), no. 1385; Schmitt 1990, 54; Rapin 1992, 100 no. 8d with n.226; Bernard in Rapin 1992, 389 no.4, 2; Huyse 1995, 114; Karttunen 1997, 288 n.198; 308–309; Lerner 2003–2004, 390–391; *Iscrizioni* 2004, no. 381.

Commentary: On the name Στράτων, see **nos. 1c, 3** (?), **5d** (ls. 1 and 3), and **13a** (?).

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Abstract

The paper proposes a new interpretation of the activities that occurred in the palace treasury of the Hellenistic city of Aï Khanoum on the eve of the site's abandonment by its Greek inhabitants. A reexamination of a series of inscriptions and coins from the site reveals that the names of individuals believed to have been the treasury's directors are in actuality the names of depositors, the treasury stored three different currencies, and coins found in association with the site indicate that the city was inhabited for a longer period of time than is the standard reckoning.



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**PARTHIANS IN THE OXUS VALLEY.
STRUGGLE FOR THE GREAT INDIAN ROAD¹**

Keywords: Parthia, Nisa, terracotta, Mithridates, Phraates II, Orodes II, Kampyrtepa, Amu Darya (Oxus), Khalchayan

It is impossible to appreciate how the Great Indian Road functioned without understanding the political situation and the cultural interactions of the peoples who lived along it from the Indus valley to the Caspian Sea in the period following the disintegration of the Greco-Bactrian Kingdom and the foundation of the Kushan state.

In that period the most powerful groups were the Parthians and the Great Yuezhi, the immediate successors of the Greco-Bactrians, through whose territories the main land routes and the waterway along the Oxus either crossed or passed nearby. Closely linked to the Oxus route was a number of nomadic tribes, chiefly the Parni and Dahae,² who inhabited the vast region extending from the Caspian Sea to the Oxus and controlled the main route that ran across the Karakum Desert along the Kelif Uzboi and the Uzboi proper.

Moreover, by the end of the 2nd century BC, diplomatic and commercial relations had been established between Han China and the Parthian Kingdom, which inaugurated another transcontinental route – the Silk Road.

Mithridates I (171/170–138 BC), who was most responsible for the growth of Parthia as a dominant power with his conquests in the West, between 160 and 150 BC seized the Greco-Bactrian satrapies of Aspiones and Touriva, probably situated in the north-western part of present-day Afghanistan on the Oxus. One

¹ The editor thanks Prof. Jeffrey D. Lerner (USA) for invaluable specialist assistance with the English version of the text (MJO).

² Olbrycht 2000, 182–186.

cannot help but to regard Mithridates' war in Bactria as the first attempt by the Parthians to take control of one of the key stretches of the Great Indian Route along the Oxus.

Following the death of Mithridates I, however, the Parthians must have lost control of this territory as various nomadic tribes settled in Bactria. These tribes invaded in two waves: one from the region of the Aral Sea through present-day Turkmenistan (the Saka-Sarmatians) and another from Eastern Turkestan through modern Uzbekistan and Tajikistan (the Yuezhi [Tochari]). These migrations, predominantly military in nature, brought down the Greco-Bactrian Kingdom and threatened the Parthian state, especially on its north-eastern borders.

In the course of these incursions in c. 128 BC, the Parthian king Phraates II (138–128 BC) perished, leaving it to his son and successor, Artabanus I (128–124 BC), to combat these tribes. According to Justin (42.2.2), he, too, was killed by the Tochari in c. 124 BC.

It is conceivable that this war was waged in western Bactria, for along with the tribes of the Asii, Pasiani, and Sacaraucae, whom Strabo mentions as having overthrown the Greco-Bactrian Kingdom, were the Tochari. One may well assume that in the course of these wars the Yuezhi tribes, to which the Tochari belonged, conquered the Parthian satrapies of Aspiones and Touriva which Mithridates I had earlier subdued.

Subsequently, or even perhaps during the war, the relationship between the Parthians and those tribes that had settled in Bactria and composed the Great Yuezhi changed radically as a result of the Parthian victory.

According to Strabo, the Parthians, "after having driven out the Scythians, took a part of Bactriana" (11.9.2 C 515). Some scholars maintain that this occurred during the reign of Mithridates II (124/123–88/87 BC). M. Olbrycht holds that the Parthians under Mithridates II occupied not only western Bactria but the entire territory along the middle course of the Amu-Darya.³ Justin 42.2.5 notes that Mithridates II "was successful on several occasions in wars against the Scythians which thus avenged the wrong done to his ancestors".

It is noteworthy that the earliest Parthian coins found on the territory of Bactria date from this period. These are drachms of Mithridates II, discovered in Mazar-i Sherif, Old Termez and Tillyatepa.⁴ In this regard, the finds become central to identifying what part of Bactria the Parthians had seized from the Yuezhi.

There is an interesting group of Parthian coins whose reverse bears along with the inscription of ΚΑΤΑΣΤΡΑΤΕΙΑ – "campaign" the names of several regions –

³ Olbrycht 2000, 183.

⁴ Sarianidi, Koshelenko 1982, 307–308, fig.1.1. I examined the coin from Old Termez in the collection of Major Iu. Ermeshkov in 1989.

APEIA, ΜΑΡΓΙΑΝΗ, ΤΡΑΞΙΑΝΗ, ΝΙΣΑΙΑ, ΡΑΓΑΙΑ.⁵ According to one opinion, they were issued as the result of the successful campaign of the Parthians in the East, that is, in Bactria.⁶ According to another, these coins mark the progress of the Royal Court across the provinces of the Parthian Kingdom.⁷ This derives from the fact that along with Margiana and Areia these coins feature the names of the provinces of Nisaia and Ragaia, which had long been subordinate to the Parthian Kingdom. A compromise between these two views, however, can be reached: some coins in this series might well record the actual conquest of the Parthians in the East or the formal entry of such regions as Areia, Margiana, and Traxiana into the Parthian Kingdom, while others simply record the progress of the Royal Court across the provinces of Nisaia and Ragaia. A. K. Markov argued that the coins in this series were issued by Phraates II (138–128 BC).⁸ W. Ross and J. de Morgan thought that they had been minted under Artabanus II (10–38 BC).⁹ E. Newell, dating these coins to the time of Gotarzes I (ca. 90–80 BC), nevertheless admitted that the issuer was Mithridates II's co-ruler in the East.¹⁰

Of the three eastern provinces featured on the coins of this series – Areia, Margiana, Traxiana – the location of the first two is beyond doubt. Areia is the region situated in the upper reaches of the Tedjen (Hari Rud), while Margiana occupies the lower reaches and the middle course of the Murghab.¹¹ The location of Traxiana remains controversial. A. K. Markov supposed that Traxiana was the city of Ταρξιανὰ in Karmania.¹² W. W. Tarn argued that following the conquest of the Parthian satrapies of Astauena and Apavartikena as well as part of Parthia by Euthydemus they came to be known as the Bactrian satrapies of Traxiana and Tapuria.¹³ In his view, Traxiana was situated in the Kashaf Rud valley in northern Iran with the city of Tus as its capital, which is *a priori* to Strabo's text in which he refers to Aspiones and Touriva instead of Traxiana and Tapuria (Strab. 11.11.2 C 517). The opinion expressed by V. M. Masson seems most preferable, for he believed that Traxiana must have been located near Areia and Margiana¹⁴. It cannot be excluded that it was situated on the borders of these regions in Bactria or in the Oxus (Amu Darya) valley.

⁵ Markov 1892, 279–281.

⁶ Masson, Romodin 1964, 119, note 50.

⁷ Pilipko 1986, 80.

⁸ Markov 1892, 279–281.

⁹ Morgan 1923, 155.

¹⁰ Newell 1939, 480–481. V. M. Masson agreed on this point with E. Newell. See Masson, Romodin 1964, 119, note 50.

¹¹ On the location of Areia and Margiana, see: Masson 1970, 14–19; Khlopin 1983, 180–195.

¹² Markov 1892, 281.

¹³ Tarn 1984, 88–89.

¹⁴ Masson, Romodin 1964, 119.

It is significant that the name Traxiana contains ΑΞΙΑΝΗ, which to a certain extent sounds similar to the name of the river Oxus. The name of Traxiana, denoting a province, is founded grammatically on the same principal as Bactriana, Margiana, and Sogdiana. Where was it situated? In determining the possible location of this region and in general the sphere of Parthian influence in Bactria, Parthian coins found in this region are of great importance. As was shown above, the earliest Parthian coins brought to Bactria were silver drachms minted by Mithridates II which are found in the western part of the country and the Oxus River Valley, or its immediate environs. If they are rejected as evidence of this region's political subordination to the Parthians under Mithridates II, then they most certainly attest to trade relations established along the Oxus. In this respect, two Chinese sources, *Shiji* and *Qian Hanshu* (*The History of the Former Han Dynasty*), are of paramount importance.

The *Shiji*, compiled by the historian Sima Qian, is based on a report for Emperor Wu Di (140–87 BC) by the famous Chinese traveler and envoy Zhang Qian, who visited Bactria sometime between 140 and 130 BC. It states that “along the river Guishui live traders and merchants who take their goods to their neighbours by land and water – reaching places as far as a few thousand *li* away” (Bichurin 1950, 151). The description of trade along the river Guishui, which is identified by all researchers as the Oxus (Amu Darya), forms part of a section on Anxi (Parthia) and not Bactria, and is suggestive that this area of the river fell under Parthian influence. While the *Shiji* does not directly mention that this section of the Amu Darya was controlled by the Parthians, the *Qian Hanshu*, compiled by the historian Ban Gu (32–92 AD) with the assistance of his father and sister, does.¹⁵ The bulk of this work was written between 58 and 84 and was completed by c. 100 AD (Bichurin 1950, 183). It notes that “[Anxi] lies along the river Guishui. Merchants use land routes and waterways to conduct trade with neighboring countries” (Bichurin 1950, 183).

Judging by the reference to the river Guishui, the account was taken from Zhang Qian's report, because it repeats almost verbatim a similar description of the trade that was conducted along this river, with the exception that Anxi is situated along the river. Where exactly? No Parthian coins, especially those dating from the end of the 2nd to the beginning of the 1st century BC, have ever been found in the lower reaches of the Amu Darya in Chorasmia. They have only been found in western Bactria, the Bactrian section of the Oxus valley, or nearby. The reference to Anxi lying along the river Guishui must signify that in the second half of the second century BC the Parthians were already in possession of that portion of the Oxus valley which presumably extended from Chardzhou (South-

¹⁵ Velgus 1978, 91–92.

ern Turkmenistan) to Termez and the region at Kelif which began the overland section of the Great Indian Road from the Oxus to Margiana and continued on to the Caspian Sea.¹⁶ This explains what the Chinese chronicles mean when they state that merchants living along the Guishui transport their goods by land and by water as far as a few thousand *li*.

Some Parthian drachms, found in the Oxus valley at Mirzabek-kala¹⁷ and Old Termez,¹⁸ are attributed to Sinatrukes (77–70 BC). Prior to Orodes II (58–39 BC), no coin of any other Parthian king had ever been found in the Oxus valley, or for that matter in western Bactria.

The influx of Parthian coins into this part of the Oxus valley, especially bronze coins which was followed by imitations of them as well as countermarks, occurred during the reign of Phraates IV (38–3/2 BC). In turn, I have published information about a number of these coin finds, though without detailed descriptions. It should be noted that the number of Parthian coins and their imitations from the excavations at Kampyrtepa that have appeared in print continues to increase, since excavations produce new finds every year.

D. V. Biriukov and A. Gorin have each published an article focusing on these finds, but due to a variety of circumstances only six have been discussed.¹⁹ So I would like now to provide a summary of the finds made at Kampyrtepa from the excavations of which I as the head of the expedition have participated from the very beginning (1979).

In all, twelve Parthian coins and their imitations have been found there. Three of them have not been precisely identified, but the details on their reverse, their weight, and their diameter leave no doubt that they can be classed as Parthian or imitations of Parthian coins. They are not mentioned in the articles by D. V. Biriukov and A. Gorin. One coin of Orodes II (identified by E. V. Zeimal) and one imitation of a Phraates IV coin are also not included in their articles and are now unfortunately lost. The imitation coin of Phraates IV was found in 1982 on the floor in the corner tower of the fortress wall of the ancient settlement together with a coin of Soter Megas; that is, in the first year that extensive excavations were carried out at Kampyrtepa, as work in 1979 was restricted to the suburban necropolis.

Thus two or three of these coins have proven to be genuine Parthian chalkoi of Orodes II and Phraates IV; the rest are classified by various scholars as imitations of Phraates IV's coins. There are also some poorly preserved coins, among which there may be some genuine Parthian chalkoi. It is also possible that those

¹⁶ Rtveldze 1999; 2010a.

¹⁷ Pilipko 1985, catalogue no. 32.

¹⁸ Rtveldze 2010, 13.

¹⁹ Biriukov 2010, 34–49; Gorin 2010, 107–134.

coins that are classified as imitations may well prove to be the products of a provincial mint, since they differ from Phraates IV's chalkoi in minor detail.²⁰

Kampyrtepa remains the only settlement in Bactria where Parthian bronze, not silver coins, have been found, which is in itself quite significant. Without excluding their use in trade and commerce, I believe that they reflect a certain degree of political dependence in this part of the Oxus valley from the Parthian Kingdom in the second half of the 2nd century BC – early 1st century AD.

It should also be noted that Phraates III's drachms have been found at Mirzabek-kala²¹ and in the Tillyatepa burial ground,²² while an obol of his of the Margiana type (according to B. Ia. Staviskii) was found at Eagle Mound (Hodzha-Gul'suar)²³. In addition, 69 silver imitation drachms of Phraates IV (38–3/2 BC) were unearthed in the Temple of the Oxus at the ancient site of Takhti-Sangin in Botros no. 3.²⁴

The last stage of Parthian expansion into the East in Bactria occurred in the mid-1st century AD. In this respect, the information provided by the Roman historian Tacitus of the struggle for the Parthian throne waged by Vardanes (ca. 39–45/48 AD) against Gotarzes II (43–50 AD) is of great interest.

According to Tacitus, Gotarzes, after receiving support from the Dahae and Hyrcanians, undertook military operations in response to which Vardanes was forced to quit his siege of Seleuceia on the Tigris and to relocate his camp to the "fields of Bactria". In this confrontation, Vardanes proved to be the stronger and consolidated his position in the Parthian Kingdom, forcing Gotarzes to retreat to Hyrcania.

Subsequently, Gotarzes, encouraged by the nobility, resumed military operations against Vardanes. The latter went to the river Erindes and defeated Gotarzes' army. Then, after a series of successful battles, Vardanes conquered the nations inhabiting the area between the rivers Erindes and Sindes, the latter separating the Dahae from the Areians. This ended the campaigns as the Parthians were reluctant to wage war far from home. Somewhere in this region Vardanes erected monuments bearing inscriptions which purported that no Arsacid before him had ever levied tribute on these tribes (Tacitus, *Annals* 11.8–10).

Tacitus' information is extremely important for determining the location of the region between the rivers Erindes and Sindes as well as for identifying these rivers, since they can be used to determine the eastern borders of the Parthian Kingdom in the middle of the first century AD.

²⁰ This is the reason why in my article they are not identified as imitations.

²¹ Pilipko 1985, catalogue no. 33.

²² Sarianidi, Koshelenko 1982, 308–309.

²³ Staviskii 1985, 126–127.

²⁴ Zeimal 1983, 129–141.

The identity of the river Erindes must be, as V. M. Masson surmised, the Hari Rud – Tedjen which flows across Afghanistan and parts of Turkmenistan.²⁵ But the identification of the river Sindes presents greater difficulties. It seems that this problem can only be resolved if we turn to medieval literary sources, which often preserve the names of ancient toponyms and hydronyms. In this respect, it is very interesting that there are several settlements and towns in the basin of the Murghab that bear the name Sinj, which sounds quite similar to that of “Sindes”.

Thus, according to Samani, Sinj is a village located 7 parasangs from Merv (Samani 1987 (VII), 115). According to Istakhri, the settlement of Sinj was a one-day’s march from Merv between the roads leading to Serakhs and Marvarrud, which does not contradict the evidence provided by Samani, for 7 parasangs represent a one-day’s march – marhalla (*Viae regnorum*, 1870, 263, 283).

The village of Sinj is also mentioned by Baladhuri, who claimed that of all settlements of Merv it was the only one that resisted the Muslims (Baladhuri 1901, 412). It is well-known that the region of Merv was conquered by the Arabs in the middle to early second half of the 7th century, thereby testifying to the existence of this name at that time. According to Samani, in the region of Merv there was a settlement called Sinj al-Abbadi (Samani 1987 (VIII), 336). Yakut mentions a village called Sinj Abbad situated 4 parasangs from Merv.²⁶ It should likewise be noted that the eastern gates of the shahristan (walled city) of ancient Merv (Gyaur Kala) were called the Sinjan gates. The same writer knows the city (“balad”) of Sinj in Garchistan – a mountainous region in the upper reaches of the Murghab.²⁷ According to Ibn al-Athiri, another town with the same name existed in Ghur, a mountainous region east of Herat (Ibn al-Athiri 1851, 62).

Thus in the Murghab basin, from its source up to Merv, there used to be several settlements bearing the name “Sinj”, which originates from the more ancient name of “Sindh”, which is spelled as “Sinj” in Arabic. Based on this evidence, we can surmise that in antiquity either the entire Murghab River or its headwaters were called Sindh or Sindes.

As a result I have arrived at the conclusion that the river Erindes should be identified as the Tedjen (following the opinion of V. M. Masson) and the river Sindes/Sindh as the Murghab. The latter claim was rejected by F. Grenet who identified the Erindes mentioned by Tacitus with the river Charindas listed by Ptolemy (*Geogr.* 6.2.2) and the Hiranu in the geographical treatise of the 10th century *Hudud al-Alam*, which is understood as the river Gorgan. Moreover, he argues that the Sindes/Sindh is an ancient name of the river Tedjen that flows

²⁵ Masson, Romodin 1964, 148.

²⁶ *Yakut’s geographisches Woerterbuch*, s.v. Sinj.

²⁷ *Yakut’s geographisches Woerterbuch*, III. 163.

through the Herat plain (ancient Areia), pointing (with reference to Gutschmid and Markwart) to the isolated example of a toponym called Sindh in the region of Abiverd.²⁸ But this city is situated rather far from the river Tedjen. Claiming the implausibility of identifying the river Sindes/Sindh with the Murghab, Grenet put forward the argument that Mukaddasi specifies the form ‘Sink’ instead of ‘Sinj’, and that the *Hudud al-Alam* mentions ‘Sing’, which cannot be derived from ‘Sind’. Yet it should be noted that the form ‘Sinj’ appears in all the Arabic literature cited above. Moreover, the term ‘Sinj’ is recorded all along the course of the Murghab from its headwaters to its lower reaches.

We should note that no matter how good these etymological endeavors may be, they remain largely subjective and frequently result in a mess, especially with regard to the localization of the ancient, medieval, and modern names of geographic toponyms. A more realistic method is to analyze all the available evidence, which, unfortunately, F. Grenet failed to do. Above all, there are a number of essential grammatical remarks that should be pointed out. Tacitus says that the battle between Vardanes and Gotarzes II was fought “between the Erindes and the Sindes.” The preposition ‘between’ (*medius*) in a geographical sense was commonly used to denote the location of towns, rivers, seas, and the like, or in the middle of something, or within broader spatial boundaries affected by some activities. In this case, given that the Erindes (according to F. Grenet, the Gorgan) flows in a latitudinal direction and the Sindes/Sindh (according to F. Grenet, the Tedjen) runs in a longitudinal direction, F. Grenet places the battle fought between Vardanes and Gotarzes II in a small area between the headwaters of the Gorgan and the Tedjen situated precisely within the confines of Apavarktikenā and Astaena that at this time were part of Parthia proper.²⁹ Incidentally, it was in the town of Asaak near Kuchan in the upper reaches of the Atrak that the first Parthian king Arsakes was crowned.³⁰ Does this location agree with the evidence provided by Tacitus? Let us arrange the data into individual segments:

1. Vardanes, having lifted his siege of Seleuceia on the Tigris, arrived at the “fields of Bactria” where he defeated Gotarzes.
2. Gotarzes retreated to Hyrcania, and, after receiving reinforcements from the Dahae, resumed his military operations against Vardanes.
3. Vardanes converged on the river Erindes, where he again defeated Gotarzes.
4. In a series of successful campaigns Vardanes conquered “the peoples inhabiting the region between the rivers Erindes and the Sindes; the latter is known to have separated “the Dahae from the Areians”.

²⁸ Grenet 2000, 132, note 10.

²⁹ On their location see: Masson 1955.

³⁰ Diakonov 1961, 181; Dibvoiz (Debevoise) 2008, 35.

5. At this point, Vardanes' campaign ended, for the Parthian army refused to wage any further wars *so far away from home* (my italics – *E. R.*).

6. It is also here that Vardanes erected a monument with inscriptions that proclaimed that no Arsacid before him had ever exacted tribute from these peoples.

Points 5 and 6 are of greatest significance here. If one follows the suggestion put forward by F. Grenet, then – to put it mildly – we are faced with total absurdity: the Parthians refused to wage wars far away from home, whereas F. Grenet's location implies that the provinces of Apavartikena and Astauena had always been part of Parthia. In addition, it would presuppose that Vardanes erected a monument in the region, which had been in the Parthian kingdom from its inception, whereas the inscriptions specify that no Arsacid had ever levied tribute on these vanquished peoples.

It is clear that the war between Vardanes and Gotarzes II was waged far away from the Parthian homeland (located in the foothills of the Kopet Dagh in southern Turkmenistan and northern Iran), possibly somewhere in western Afghanistan where the rivers Tedjen=Erindes and Murghab=Sinde in their upper reaches flow parallel to one other.

This region corresponds to the contemporary Afghan provinces of Firuzkuh and Ghur located hundreds of miles from the indigenous lands of the Parthians; that is, 'far away from home' where the Parthians had never been before.

We have already demonstrated that the Parthian expansion of the 2nd – 1st century BC was directed towards western Bactria and the Oxus valley in order to capture the water and land routes of the Great Indian Road. G. A. Koshelenko and V. I. Sarianidi hold that not only western Bactria but all of western Afghanistan, including the oasis of Herat, formed part of the Parthian kingdom from the 1st century BC to the beginning of the 1st century AD. This argument is based not only on Parthian coin finds, including the area of Herat,³¹ but also on the analysis of the information gleaned from Isidoros of Charax (early 1st century AD) about "The Royal Road" passing through the eastern provinces of the Parthian kingdom: Margiana, Areia, Anauon, Zarangiana, Sakastan, and Arochosia.³²

As to the river Sinde mentioned by Tacitus forming part of the boundary between the Dahae and the Areians, its identification can be made on the basis of determining the whereabouts of the Dahae and Areians. The Dahae lived in the territory of southern Turkmenistan between the Caspian Sea and the Murghab,³³ while the name of Areia designates both the people who lived at the headwaters

³¹ Hackin 1935, 287–292; Mac Dowall, Taddei 1978, 210.

³² Sarianidi, Koshelenko 1982, 309.

³³ Masson 1955, 22–24.

of the Tedjen³⁴ and the name of the indigenous peoples of Bactria – Bactrians. According to the edict of the Kushan king Kanishka recorded in the Rabatak inscription, there was at this time something of a linguistic reform taking place in which the Greek language was in the process of being replaced by the Aryan language.³⁵ It follows from this that the name of the Bactrians (i.e., the natives of Bactria) was the “Areians.” Thus everything is logically resolved – the Dahae inhabited the territory extending to the river Murghab (=Sindes/Sindh), while to the east of them lived Areians (=Bactrians).

Of the extensive Parthian-Bactrian connections and the probable advance of the Parthians into the Bactrian region of the Oxus valley, we have presented not only a vast amount of historical and numismatic evidence as discussed above, but we may now turn to archaeological artifacts discovered specifically at Kampyrtepa, Takht-i Sangin, and Khalchayan which are related in one way or another to Parthia.

Archeological finds of Parthian origin in the Oxus Valley

Among all the finds, special importance is placed on a sculptured head from Khalchayan (fig. 2), which differs from other sculptures found there by its peculiar hairstyle and its long, pointed wavy beard. G. A. Pugachenkova interpreted it as the head of a Parthian prince and noted that it is reminiscent of the Parthian king Phraates IV (38–3/2 BC).³⁶

In a later publication, G. A. Pugachenkova argued that this head may well represent “a ruler whose territory may have encompassed a section of the Amu Darya which was inhabited by the early Kushans (for example, an Indo-Parthian in the Punjab).”³⁷

I believe that on the whole G. A. Pugachenkova is right, erring only in identifying the place: it is not an Indo-Parthian ruler from the Punjab, but a Parthian ruler from the Amu Darya region in western Bactria. Still it should be noted that she was writing about it when there was no other evidence – either archaeological or numismatic – of a Parthian presence in northern Bactria. There is now an abundant amount of evidence indicating that the sphere of Parthian influence (if not of direct subordination) encompassed a large portion of the Oxus valley possibly extending as far east as far as Termez, a state of affairs which was most pronounced during the time of Phraates IV whose coins and their imitations are abundant in this area.

³⁴ Khlopin 1983, 180–194.

³⁵ Sims-Williams, Cribb 1996, 78.

³⁶ Pugachenkova 1966, 213, table 28.

³⁷ Pugachenkova 1971, 55.

By rejecting the Indo-Parthian hypothesis put forward by G. A. Pugachenkova, F. Grenet argued that the most likely candidates for the identification of the Khalchayan figure are the Parthian kings Vardanes I (ca. 39–45/48 AD) and Vologases I (51–79 AD), whose depictions share many details with this image: the hair style, shape of the beard, and absence of a tiara.³⁸ However, images of Phraates IV on his coins feature the same details. In accordance with the interpretation of the above-mentioned historical events related to the war between Gotarzes II and Vardanes I, F. Grenet conjectured that the Parthian king who appears in the scene of the Kushan triumph at Khalchayan could be Vardanes I, building his argument for his presence here on pure fantasy.³⁹

Naturally, B. A. Litvinskii rejected outright the identification of Vardanes I as the Parthian ruler depicted at Khalchayan. Furthermore, he acknowledged that Phraates IV's coins and their imitations circulated in Bactria, and recognized that “the point is that the Khalchayan portrait of ‘the Parthian prince’ is undoubtedly closer to that of Phraates IV”.⁴⁰

B. A. Litvinskii, however, did not believe that this king is depicted in the Khalchayan sculpture, and, while considering as possible the strengthening of Bactrian-Parthian relations, he held that this element was included in the composition as “some kind of symbol testifying to the greatness and power of a Kushan king (ruler)”.⁴¹

The Khalchayan image of a Parthian king or a ruler is not the only one of its kind that has been found in northern Bactria. I refer to a terracotta statuette from the citadel of Kampyrtepa in a layer dating to the 2nd – 1st century BC (fig. 4a-d).⁴² It represents a man sitting on a throne with a high upright back, his beard is curled, his moustache droops reaching his beard, and his curly hair is covered by a diadem above his forehead. The hair on the back of his head hangs in a single long braid. The figure is clad in armor.

Stylistically – hairstyle, curled beard, moustache, diadem, and shape of the face – the character of the terracotta statuette resembles the image of the Parthian prince from Khalchayan and, correspondingly, those of the Parthian kings mentioned above. But K. Abdullaev mistakenly identified a braid that appears on the back of the head as a Scythian trait and thus associated the figurine as a nomad.⁴³

³⁸ Grenet 2000, 131–132.

³⁹ Grenet 2000, 135.

⁴⁰ Litvinskii 2010, 284.

⁴¹ Litvinskii, 2010, 284.

⁴² The first publication is in *DluU* 1991, fig. 180; *KIDU*, p. 115, no. 126. The dating in this publication of 1st century BC is not very accurate; 2nd – 1st BC is preferred with emphasis placed on the 2nd century.

⁴³ Abdullaev 2002, 30–31.

Upon closer examination, however, the sculptured braid is in actuality a diadem, a fillet composed of two ribbons tied at the back of the head, worn by Greco-Bactrian and Parthian kings as portrayed on their coins. It also bears strong resemblance to the one worn by Mithridates I (171/170–139/138 BC) as it hangs orthogonally, whereas other Parthian kings are portrayed with theirs hanging unevenly. Moreover, Mithridates I's diadem appears as a single ribbon, unlike later kings, beginning with Phraates IV and Phraates V, whose diadems are composed of three or even four ribbons.⁴⁴ The general appearance of the image on the terracotta from Kampyrtepa reminds one of the images of Mithridates I on his coins: he sports a rounded rather than a pointed beard, a single ribboned diadem, and a similar hairstyle. Finally, the date of the terracotta is very close to the reign of Mithridates I.

It is important to remember that Mithridates I was the first of the Parthian kings to have launched an invasion of the Greco-Bactrian kingdom in the mid–2nd century BC and annexed Eukratides' provinces of Aspiones and Touriva situated partly in the Oxus valley.

As was shown above, the coins of Mithridates II (124/123–88/87 BC) found in the upper reaches of the Amu Darya are the earliest numismatic evidence of Parthian-Bactrian relations. The existence of such links, especially between Bactria and Parthian-dominated Margiana, is possibly corroborated by a round kiln found in the eastern suburbs of Kampyrtepa. It contains seven heating tunnels for the ceramic furnace. Its diameter measures 1.5 meters, the length of the channels is 0.6–0.7 meters, and its width is 0.15 meters.⁴⁵

Upon excavating the kiln in 1982, I dated it to the 1st century BC – 1st century AD. Later, S. B. Bolelov conducted a closer examination and dated the ceramic material in the furnace to the 2nd century BC.⁴⁶ L. M. Sverchkov related the pottery from the kiln to the period designated by him as Kampyrtepa–5; that is, the late Greco-Bactrian epoch.⁴⁷

The design of the kiln from Kampyrtepa is analogous to multi-tunnel kilns at Dzhin-Depe located 22 km north of Old Merv in Margiana. Another similar multi-tunnel kiln was found at the settlement of Munon-Depe, located about 10–12 km north of Dzhin-Depe⁴⁸. L. N. Merezhin noted that the basic ceramic material of the five kilns at Dzhin-Depe belongs to the 1st century BC – 1st century AD.⁴⁹

⁴⁴ Ghirshman 1962, 114, pl. 135, 136–155.

⁴⁵ Rtveldze 1999, 221.

⁴⁶ Bolelov 2001, 15.

⁴⁷ Sverchkov 2006, 107–108, fig. 5.

⁴⁸ Merezhin 1962, 12–26.

⁴⁹ Merezhin 1962, 35.

In Hellenistic Bactria, rounded kilns are typical, while in the Kushan period rectangular ones predominate. The existence of rounded ceramic kilns with seven or eight tunnels, similar to those in Parthian Margiana, suggests that they were introduced into northern Bactria from that region.

The excavations at Kampyrtepa have yielded a number of objects of Parthian origin or manufactured in Bactria under Parthian influence. Notable among them is a wooden statuette set in a silver frame, sealed at the corners with small nails (fig. 8a, b). The statuette seems to have been modeled after a monumental statue of a nobleman (?) wearing a knee-length coat and sash.⁵⁰ According to the clothing and the work's general appearance, it closely resembles the statue of a Parthian prince from Shami (Iran),⁵¹ who also wears a coat with a right wrap over and trousers with draping folds.

Another terracotta statuette found at Kampyrtepa probably represents a Parthian nobleman wearing a high conical headdress and a close-fitting coat with a right wrap over, similar to certain sculptured figures from Hatra (fig. 3).⁵²

An alabaster statuette of a Parthian, closely examined by B. A. Litvinskii, was found in the Temple of the Oxus and dates from the 1st – 2nd century AD.⁵³ In accordance with the archaeological and stratigraphic evidence, the statuettes from Kampyrtepa are dated to the same period, but I now believe that they can be attributed to the end of the 1st century BC – 1st century AD, for this was the most active period of Parthian-Bactrian interactions and is corroborated by the coin finds.

Recently, a number of ivory hairpins with finials in the form of anthropomorphic images have been found in the Oxus valley. Among them are two types that share a similar feature – a peculiar hairstyle in which the hair is arranged into a topknot.

Type I. The finial of the hairpin features an image of a naked female figure with her legs crossed, sitting on a low bench like a throne resembling an omphalos. Her right hand is raised to her shoulder in a gesture of instruction; her left hand rests in her lap. Her hair is rolled up in a bun, the back of her hair falls freely from the top of her head down to her shoulders. It is highly possible that she could have worn a veil. The head is crowned with a large bun rendered by slanting notches, or in a topknot if it is meant to be a headdress.

Two ivory hairpins of this type have been found in Kampyrtepa (fig. 5). One of them comes from a huge garbage pit at layer XVII, on the same level as a coin

⁵⁰ *DluU* 1991, 287, fig. 166; Pugachenkova, Rtveldze 1990.

⁵¹ Ghirshman 1962, 57.

⁵² *DluU* 1991, 286, fig. 159; Litvinskii 2010, 88–89.

⁵³ Litvinskii 2010, 84–87.

of Kanishka was discovered.⁵⁴ This pit, located in the southeastern corner of the Kampyrtepa acropolis, started filling up after the town had been seized by the Kushans under Soter Megas (Vima Tak[to]) and lies immediately above the Greco-Bactrian layers, destroying the ancient walls and part of the gates of the acropolis. As cultural deposits from subsequent occupations were dumped there, it is not surprising that there are artifacts of earlier periods, dating to the Yuezhi and Greco-Bactrian eras.

Another analogous hairpin found at the site in block no. 6 in the northern part of the ancient settlement is dated more accurately. According to the excavations undertaken by S. B. Bolelov, it was discovered on the floor of the room in Quarter “B” dated to the reign of King Kanishka (the first half of the 2nd century AD).⁵⁵

Ivory hairpins with finials of the same type were also unearthed at a number of sites in the Oxus valley. For example, at a settlement near Ai Khanoum, a finely made ivory hairpin was discovered. Its finial portrays a naked female figure that is almost identical to the Kampyrtepa type – the figure has the same pose with eyes cast downward, is seated on a bench or a throne, and sports the same hairstyle (unfortunately, the bun has not survived).

The only difference is that the figurine from the vicinity of Ai Khanoum holds a cup in her right hand, and an object that looks like a scepter in her left. In accordance with other excavated artifacts, the French researchers date the figurine within a broad time span – from the late Greco-Bactrian period to the Kushan era.⁵⁶

An ivory hairpin with a similar finial was discovered in the artisans’ quarter near the northern gate of Gyaur-Kala at Old Merv.⁵⁷ The archaeologists describe it as an image of a naked female figure with her knees bent, seated on a throne, with one hand on her knee, and the other holding an object which they call a scepter. Unfortunately, the paper contains neither a drawing, nor a photograph of this hairpin, and to make matters worse, the head of the figurine has not survived. The hairpin was found in the same layer as a coin of Artabanos II (10–38 AD). The ivory hairpin discovered on the level of the second floor in Room 159 of the residential quarter in the settlement of Zartepa displays the same type of anthropomorphic finials. V. A. Zavalov describes it as an image of a ‘goddess’ in a long robe seated on a backless throne, her left hand – with her arm bent at the elbow forming a right angle – rests on her hip, her right hand raised to the shoulder holds an unrecognizable object. Her head

⁵⁴ Shagalina, Nikitenko 2003, 115–117; Nikitenko (forthcoming).

⁵⁵ Bolelov 2002, 41–67.

⁵⁶ Guillaume, Rougelle 1987, pl. 24, 11.

⁵⁷ Buriakov, Katsuris 1963, 124.

has not survived. The author writes that the outline of the lower part of the figure reminds him of the seated figure of the goddess Ardokhsho on Kanishka III's coins.⁵⁸

Type II. The finials of the hairpin take the form of a woman standing on a circular base, clad in a low-necked chiton, the folds of which are rendered by oblique lines. The figurine has a large straight nose with eyes shut. A flat cylindrical headdress or the lower part of the hairstyle is topped either in a bun or in a luxurious coil rendered by criss-crossing strokes. This elaborate hairstyle (or headdress), as well as the face, is common to both types of finials.

A hairpin of this type was first discovered at the ancient site of Toprak-Kala and dated by S. A. Trudnovskaia on the basis of the coins of Persis and the early Sasanians to the 3rd – early 4th century AD.⁵⁹

The discovery of an identical hairpin with a finial at Kampyrtepa, however, proves that hairpins of this type were made much earlier (fig. 6). This hairpin was found in the northeastern corner of Kampyrtepa in block-quarter no. 6, which had been made habitable, judging by the coin finds of Soter Megas and Kanishka, at a much earlier time – between the 1st and mid-2nd century AD. Accordingly, this ivory hairpin sporting an anthropomorphic finial is dated to the same period.

Thus in Bactria, Margiana, and Chorasmia a specific group of ivory hairpins with anthropomorphic finials (the figure of a seated or standing woman (a goddess?)) has been identified, which, regardless of their postures, have similar faces and are adorned with an intricate hairstyle wrapped in a luxurious coil (or wear a headdress with a topknot). They are dated between the 1st century AD and the 3rd to early 4th century AD; however, it is highly likely that they had been made much earlier, namely, in the pre-Kushan period. In Chorasmia and Zartepa they appear much earlier than the 3rd or mid-4th century AD, and they must have been carefully preserved by several generations. Most of them have been found in northern Bactria (three specimens at Kampyrtepa, and one each at Zartepa and Ai-Khanoum). We can surmise, therefore, that they were produced either in northern Bactria, or, considering the Parthian-Margianian hairstyle with the luxurious coil, in the Parthian-Bactrian borderland – that is, in western Bactria or Margiana.

It is remarkable that S. Ia. Berzina did not include the anthropomorphic hairpins from Kampyrtepa, Toprak-Kala, and Gyaur-Kala, with which she is well acquainted, in her general overview of ivories of Egyptian origin found in Central Asia.⁶⁰

⁵⁸ Zavialov 2008, 111, 112, fig. 7.

⁵⁹ Nerazik, Vainberg, Lapirova-Skoblo, Trudnovskaia (red.) 1981, 185–186, fig. 20.

⁶⁰ Berzina 2007, 79.

At the beginning of the 20th century, an ivory plate depicting a Parthian noble with braids of hair wrapped in three coils was found at Olbia (northern coast of the Black Sea) (fig. 7).⁶¹ Parthian kings as depicted on their coins feature the same hairstyle. V. N. Pilipko notes that this hairstyle is typical of the images of Osroes and Vologases V (190–206 AD), even though they ruled seventy years apart from one another, as well as on coins minted in Margiana imitating those of Vologases V.⁶²

There are also images whose hair is styled in a topknot as on an ivory statuette found at the site of Shashtepa in the southern outskirts of Tashkent.⁶³ Among the finds made at Margiana, V. N. Pilipko has identified a group of terracotta statuettes with coiffure arranged in three coils as well as one with a topknot.⁶⁴

While characterizing the group of terracotta statuettes and comparing them with the carved ivory plates from Olbia and Shashtepa, V. N. Pilipko concluded that they are the products of one school of art, whose center was located in Merv.⁶⁵

This conclusion put forward by V. N. Pilipko deserves special attention, even though only one ivory hairpin of this type was ever found in Merv, as has been noted above.

Thus the settlements in the Oxus valley have yielded a number of Parthian objects or perhaps objects produced in Margiana, which was subordinate to Parthia. This group includes following objects:

1. Parthian coins and their imitations.
2. Works of applied and minor art – ivory hairpins, alabaster and clay figurines, and a wooden statuette in a silver frame.
3. A statue of a Parthian nobleman from Khalchayan.

Other monuments include:

1. The kiln in Kampyrtepa and those in Dzhin-Depe (Margiana).
2. Sepulchral monuments – burials in earthen graves in northern Bactria that are similar to those in Parthia.⁶⁶

Such an array of similar objects testifies not only to the existence of commercial relations and cultural contacts, but perhaps also to the direct subordination of parts of Bactria in the Oxus valley to the Parthians, which we have considered in great detail. The diffusion of the above mentioned objects can also imply that Parthian, Bactrian, and Indian merchants had set up trading stations

⁶¹ Farmakovskii 1909, 42–44, fig. 41.

⁶² Pilipko, 2010, 109.

⁶³ Filanovich 1986, 46–48, fig. 1–2.

⁶⁴ Pilipko 2010, 109, fig. 9.

⁶⁵ Pilipko 2010, 114.

⁶⁶ Pilipko 2010, 114.

along the Oxus that were used for shipment of ivory and other articles on their way from India to Bactria and Margiana. From here these goods were shipped to Chorasmia along the Oxus, and from Margiana they were transported along the Great Indian Road across the southern Caucasus and the Euxine Pontus to the northern Black Sea region. The finds at Olbia of carved ivory bearing the image of a Parthian nobleman and imitations of Greco-Bactrian coins along the northern Black Sea coast, and Sanabares' coins minted in Margiana found in the Kura valley in Georgia are links in a chain and testify to the movement of goods along the Great Indian Road.

Captions to plates

Figure 1. Map. North-western boundary of the Kushan state under Kanishka I (first half of the 2nd century AD).

Figure 2. Sculptured head of a Parthian ruler. Khalchayan. End of 1st century BC – beginning of 1st century AD.

Figure 3. Fragment of statuette. Kampyrtepa.

Figure 4a. Statue of Mithridates I. Terracotta. Kampyrtepa. Front view.

Figure 4b. Statue of Mithridates I. Terracotta. Kampyrtepa. Front view.

Figure 4c. Statue of Mithridates I. Terracotta. Kampyrtepa. Side view.

Figure 4d. Statue of Mithridates I. Terracotta. Kampyrtepa. Rear View.

Figure 5. Hairpin top. Ivory. Kampyrtepa.

Figure 6. Hairpin top. Ivory. Kampyrtepa.

Figure 7. Carved ivory depicting Parthians. Olbia (North Black Sea).

Figure 8a. Wooden Parthian figure in a silver frame. Kampyrtepa. 1st century BC – 1st century AD.

Figure 8b. Wooden Parthian figure in a silver frame. Kampyrtepa. 1st century BC – 1st century AD.

Figure 9. Drachm of Sinatruces (77–70 BC). Old Termez. Collection of Iu. Ermeshkov.

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Abstract

The paper deals with the Parthian conquests in the East, including the eastern borders of the Parthian state. The author provides a range of evidence in favor of the idea that the middle Amu Darya (Oxus) River formed the eastern boundary of Parthia. It is possible, therefore, that for a period of time the Oxus valley as far east as the site of Kampyrtepa was in Parthian hands. According to the numismatic evidence, a section of the Amu Darya valley extending from Kampyrtepa to Kerki demarcated a portion of the Kushan state during Kanishka's reign (i.e., the first half of the 2nd century AD).

Figures

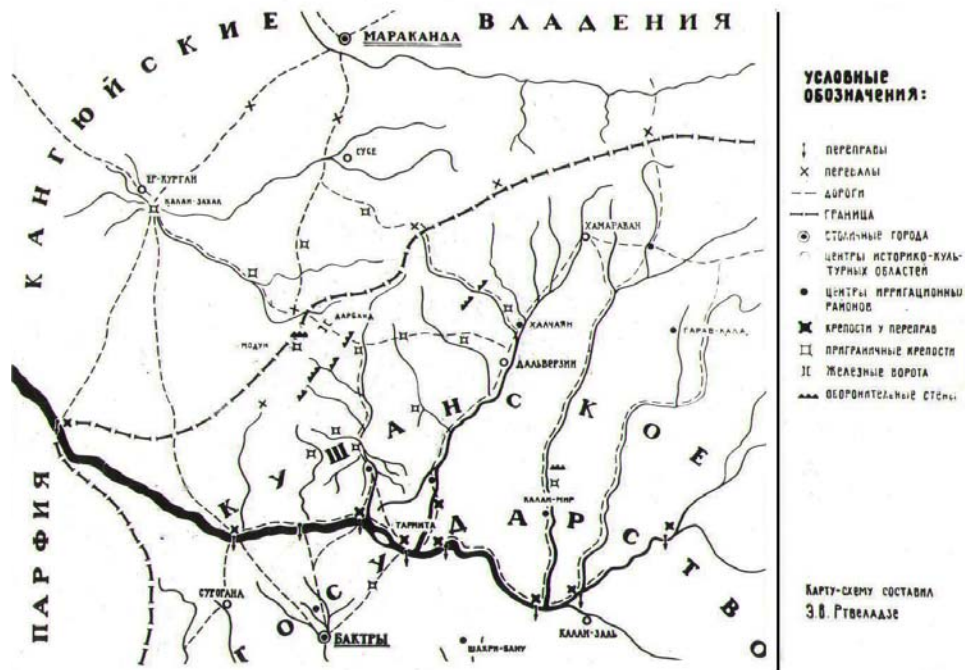


Figure 1. Map. North-western boundary of the Kushan state under Kanishka (first half of the 2nd century AD)

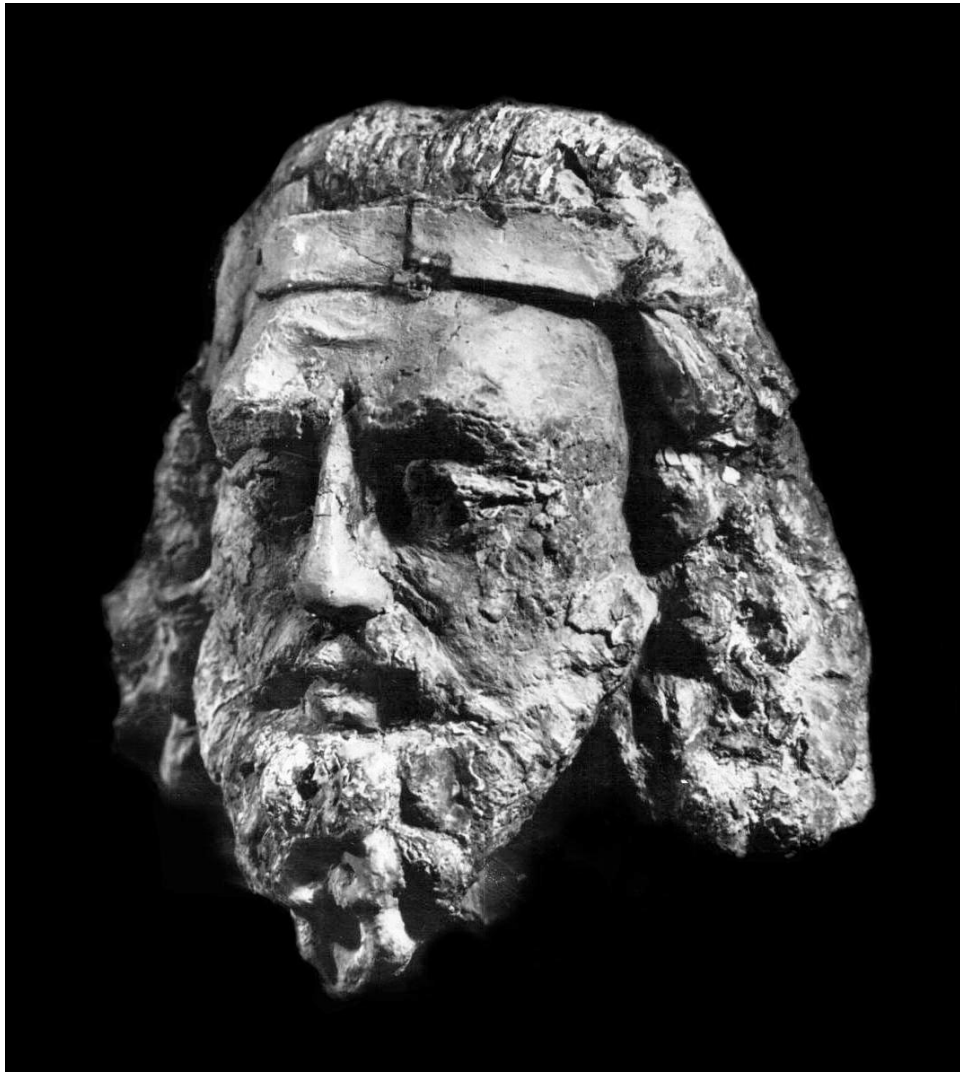


Figure 2. Sculptured head of a Parthian ruler. Khalchayan. End of 1st century BC – beginning of 1st century AD



Figure 3. Fragment of statuette. Kambyrtapa



Figure 4a. Statue of Mithridates I. Terracotta. Kampyrtepa. Front view



Figure 4b. Statue of Mithridates I. Terracotta. Kampyrtepa. Front view



Figure 4c. Statue of Mithridates I. Terracotta. Kampyrtepa. Side View



Figure 4d. Statue of Mithridates I. Terracotta. Kampyrtepa. Rear view



Figure 5. Hairpin top. Ivory. Kampyrtepa



Figure 6. Hairpin top. Ivory. Kampyrtepa



Figure 7. Carved ivory depicting Parthians. Olbia (North Black Sea)



Figure 8a. Wooden Parthian figure in a silver frame. Kampyrtepa. 1st century BC – 1st century AD



Figure 8b. Wooden Parthian figure in a silver frame. Kampyrtepa. 1st century BC – 1st century AD



Figure 9. Drachm of Sinatruces (77–70 BC). Old Termez. Collection of Iu. Ermeshkov



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**SELEUCID-PARTHIAN ADIABENE IN THE LIGHT OF
ANCIENT GEOGRAPHICAL AND ETHNOGRAPHICAL
TEXTS***

Keywords: Adiabene, Arbela, Nineveh, Strabo, the Zabs

Introduction

In December 2007, the story of the Adiabene royal family made the front pages of newspapers in Israel when the press service of the Israeli Antiquities Authority announced the discovery of a building in the Lower City of David in Jerusalem. Doron Ben-Ami, the main archaeologist responsible for the excavation in the Givati Parking Lot, suggested that a newly discovered building could be identified as the palace of Queen Helena from Adiabene,¹ one of three such structures known to us previously only from Josephus (*Bellum Iudaicum* 4.567; 5.252; 5.253; 6.355).² Such archaeological news arouses a great deal of interest in the origin of a well-known family of royal converts from Adiabene who lived

* The Foundation for Polish Science (Programme START) is gratefully acknowledged by the author for its financial support which, among other things, enabled me to prepare this paper in the summer 2011. The paper results from my current PhD research being conducted at Leiden University (in cotutelle with Jagiellonian University in Kraków) with the aim of reviewing all available sources on the Adiabene royalty in the 1st century CE. Special thanks are due to Dr. J. Reade (London) who provided me with many invaluable comments on my PhD research. Of course, the sole responsibility for the content of this paper, and its all potential deficiencies, lies with the author.

¹ Ben-Ami, Tchekhanovetz 2008; Ben-Ami, Tchekhanovetz 2010. See also Mazar 1978, 236–237 for the first attempt ever to identify one of the Adiabenean palaces in Jerusalem.

² Vincent, Steve 1954, 235–236; Bieberstein, Bloedhorn 1994, 397.

and adopted Jewish traditions in the 1st century CE. Consequently, one arrives at the question as to what we actually know about Adiabene in the Seleucid and Parthian periods. More specifically, what does the name Adiabene mean, where was this country located, what were its environment and culture? One of the ways to answer these questions is to take a look at ancient literary texts that convey geographical and ethnographical information on Adiabene. Thus, ancient writings frequently classified as “ethnographies”,³ that is literature focused on “the land, the history, the marvels and the customs of a people”,⁴ will be of primary interest to us. However, some useful information of a geographical and ethnographical character can also be found in historiographical accounts.⁵

Geographical and ethnographical texts on Adiabene

The most important geographical and ethnographical passages on ancient Adiabene can be found in Strabo’s *Geographika* (11.4.8, 11.14.12, 16.1.1, 16.1.3–4, 16.1.8, 16.1.18, 16.1.19), Pliny the Elder’s *Historia Naturalis* (5.13.66; 6.9.25; 6.16.44; 6.10.28; 6.16.42), and Ptolemy’s *Geographike Hyphegesis* (6.1.1–7), as well as in two historiographical writings – Cassius Dio’s *Romaike Historia* (68.26.1–4) and Ammianus Marcellinus’ *Res Gestae* (18.7.1; 23.3.1; 23.6.20–22). Other writings providing important references to Adiabene include Plutarch’s *Bioi Paralleloi* (*Lucullus* 26–29, esp. 26.1, 26.4, 27.6, 29.2 and *Pompey* 36), Josephus’ *Antiquitates Iudaicae* (20.17–96) and Tacitus’ *Annales* (12.13).

In Strabo’s *Geog.* (64 or 63 BCE – ca. 24 CE)⁶ we can tentatively distinguish two different groups of references to Adiabene. The first group includes five brief references (Strabo 11.4.8, 11.14.12, 16.1.1, 16.1.8, 16.1.18), while the second one contains two excurses directly focusing on Adiabene (16.1.3–4 and 16.1.19). The references from the first group list Adiabene among many other countries and peoples in very general descriptions of large geographical areas (in a manner customary for ancient geographical and ethnographical texts). In such descriptions, the location of Adiabene is mentioned only in relation to other countries. Especially striking is Strabo 11.4.8 and 11.14.12, where Adiabene is presented as being located on the frontier of Armenia.⁷

³ On this term see Sterling 1992, 20–102 and Murphy 2004, 77–128 (esp. 77–87).

⁴ Sterling 1992, 53.

⁵ On the difference between geographical and ethnographical texts on the one hand, and historiographical accounts containing relevant data on the other see Murphy 2004, 79–80; Lerouge 2007, 39.

⁶ Romm 1997, 359–362.

⁷ In 11.4.8 and 11.14.12 Strabo gives no details enabling us to demarcate an exact border line between Armenia and Adiabene. The only hint is that Adiabene is located “outside” (ἐξω) the Ar-

Ulrich Kahrstedt suggests that both accounts present a “*Siedlungslegende*” for Adiabene.⁸ However, the origin of Adiabene is not directly the subject of Strabo’s interest in both accounts (unlike in 16.1.4), and the Adiabene topic appears only as an aside to Armenia. In writing that Armenia took its name from Armenos the Thessalian (who together with his companions settled in these lands after the Argonautic expedition), Strabo in fact presents the mythical origin of Armenia. In so doing, he does refer to Adiabene, and partly includes this country in his portrayal of Armenia’s early history. Consequently, we can say that Strabo 11.4.8 and 11.14.12 account for a *Siedlungslegende* for Armenia and not for Adiabene; at the same time, both accounts convey a political agenda that presents Adiabene (alongside other neighbors of Armenia) as part of the pan-Armenian heritage.⁹

Of special importance are two passages in Strabo (16.1.3–4 and 16.1.19) where Adiabene as a country with its inhabitants and culture comes to the fore directly. In Strabo 16.1.3–4 we have the following account:¹⁰

Now the city Ninus was wiped out immediately after the overthrow of the Syrians. It was much greater than Babylon, and was situated in the plain of Aturia. Aturia borders on the region of Arbela, with the Lykos River lying between them. Now Arbela, which lies opposite to Babylonia, belongs to that country; and in the country on the far side of the Lykos River lie the plains of Aturia, which surround Ninus. In Aturia is a village Gaugamela, where Dareios was conquered and lost his empire. Now this is a famous place, as is also its name, which, being interpreted, means "Camel's House." Dareios, the son of Hystaspes, so named it, having given it as an estate for the maintenance of the camel which helped most on the toilsome journey through the deserts of Skythia with the burdens containing sustenance and support for the king. However, the Macedonians, seeing that this was a cheap village, but that Arbela was a notable settlement (founded, as it is said, by Arbelos, the son of Athmonon), announced that the battle and victory took place near Arbela and so transmitted their account to the historians. After Arbela and Mt. Nikatorion (a name applied to it by Alexander after his victory in the neighborhood of Arbela), one comes to the Kapros River, which lies at the same distance from Arbela as the Lykos. The country is called

menian mountains. For the historical quest for Armenian borders see Hewsen 1978–1979, 77–97; Hewsen 1984, 347–365; Wheeler 1991, 505–511; Syme 1995, 51–57.

⁸ Kahrstedt 1950, 59 n. 7.

⁹ See Sellwood 1985, 457 (referring to Pliny’s texts).

¹⁰ All citations are taken from the Loeb Classical Library, even if different readings or translations are later suggested by the author. However, readings of proper names are sometimes corrected in the text of citations by the author, and so can depart from the LCL translation. Strabo’s text used here is that of Jones 1928 and 1930.

Artakene. Near Arbela lies the city Demetrias; and then one comes to the fountain of naphtha, and to the fires, and to the temple of Anea, and to Sadrakai, and to the royal palace of Dareios the son of Hystaspes, and to Kyparisson, and to the crossing of the Kapros River; where, at last, one is close to Seleukeia and Babylon.

Strabo 16.1.3–4 is a geographical description that proceeds along a route from Nineveh to Babylon. Three distinctive regions on this route are Aturia (around Nineveh), the region around Arbela and Babylonia. The region of Arbela is clearly located around the city of Arbela and between two rivers, the Lykos and the Kapros.¹¹ Surprisingly, the name of Adiabene does not appear in this passage, but rather we have the toponym Artakene, although this term is believed to be textually suspicious.¹² It is emended either into *Ἀρβηληνή (and treated as a synonym for Arbelitis, that is the Arbela region between the Lykos and Kapros rivers, known from Pliny the Elder's, *HN* 6.16.42 and Plutarch's *Pomp.* 36), or by Herzfeld into *Ἀρρακηνή, a region known from Ptolemy *Geog.* 6.1.2 (as Ἀρραπαχίτις) which corresponds to the Assyrian Arrapha.¹³ There can be no doubt that the Arrapha region was located south of the Little Zab in Assyrian texts¹⁴ (on the identification of all hydronyms and toponyms mentioned here see below). Additionally, Herzfeld suggests that Strabo's second reference in the passage to the Kapros river is mistaken for the Gorgos river (which is indeed closer to Seleukeia than the Kapros).¹⁵ If Herzfeld's interpretation is correct, then Strabo's description in 16.1.4 concerns not only the territory of the Arbela region (between the Lykos and Kapros), but also the Arrapha region south of the Kapros. At the same time, approximately the same region is explicitly called Adiabene by Strabo in 16.1.19. Thus, it seems that Strabo's Adiabene (in 16.1.4 and 16.1.19) indeed subsumes both the Arbela region and the Arrapha region with Demetrias as its main city. Likewise, Strabo's sentence on Adiabene's relation to Babylonia in 16.1.3 is textually controversial.¹⁶ It should

¹¹ Fränkel 1894, 360; Sellwood 1985, 456; Oelsner 1996, 112; Radt 2009, 256 and 273.

¹² Ἀρτακηνή is otherwise unknown, and consequently this reading is believed to be a mistake. While Kramer 1853, 285 leaves Ἀρτακηνή, Müller, Dübner 1853, 628 and Coray 1814, 160 n. 3 correct it to *Ἀρβηληνή.

¹³ Herzfeld 1968, 226.

¹⁴ Schrader 1878, 164; Fränkel 1896, 1225; Unger 1932, 154; Herzfeld 1968, 229.

¹⁵ Herzfeld 1968, 226.

¹⁶ A classic reading according to Meineke 1877, 1027–1029, Kramer 1853, 284, Coray 1814, 159 n. 2, and Jones 1930, 194: τὰ μὲν οὖν Ἀρβηλα τῆς Βαβυλωνίας ὑπάρχει ἄ κατ' αὐτήν ἐστίν. The underlined part gets different corrections. Biffi 2002, 135 reads: ὑπάρχει ἄλλὰ κατ' αὐτήν ἐστίν. Madvig suggests reading it as ἐπαρχία instead of ὑπάρχει ἄ. This reading is accepted by Radt 2005, 276 n. 23 and 2009: 254 n. 23 (he also thinks that the reading ὑπαρχία is possible) who then translates the text as follows: "Arbela is eine selbständige Provinz Babylo-

probably be read that the region of Arbela is a province (“hyparchia”) of Babylonia, and not that it lies opposite Babylonia. This interpretation can be enhanced by Strabo 16.1.19, where Adiabene is explicitly called part of Babylonia, though with its own ruler.

What can be said about the many Greek toponyms that feature in Strabo 16.1.3–4? Mt. Nikatorion is mentioned only in Strabo 16.1.4. According to Sturm, it corresponds to one of the peaks of Jebel Maqlub, reaching 493 m.¹⁷ Other possible identifications are Qaracoq or Demir Dagh.¹⁸ The city of Demetrias is again recalled by Stephanus Byzantinus (*Ethnica* D, 62), but this reference may be borrowed from Strabo himself.¹⁹ Hoffman suggests the present Baba Gurgur, close to Kirkuk, as Strabo’s Demetrias.²⁰ This identification is likely since Strabo locates Demetrias close to eye-catching naphtha springs which in turn could be those near Kirkuk.²¹ If this identification is correct, it additionally enhances Herzfeld’s emendations of Strabo 16.1.4. Demetrias must have been founded by a ruler who gave his own name to it. There were three Seleucid rulers bearing the name Demetrios (Demetrios I Soter – 162–150 BCE, Demetrios II Nikator – 145–140 and 129–125 BCE and Demetrios III Philopator 95–88 BCE), but due to Parthian gains in Mesopotamia, only the first two rulers can be taken into account. Thus, Demetrias in Adiabene was most likely founded in the 2nd c. BCE.

Interestingly, in saying that the city was founded by Arbelos, son of Athmonon, Strabo conveys a Greek *Siedlungslegende* for Arbela, and so indirectly for the whole region. The very existence of such a legend is significant in itself. First, it is the Greek inhabitants in the first place who are supposed to come up with such interpretations of local places (“interpretatio graeca”).²² Furthermore, the name Athmonon seems to be a hint at the Attic Demos Athmonon.²³ According to this tradition, Arbela is directly linked with Athens, the cultural capital of Hellada. One cannot possibly think of a more prestigious Hellenic origin. Only a local elite of a high cultural profile could come up with such a construct. Therefore, this is clear proof of the strongly Hellenistic character of Arbela. Addition-

niens”. Indeed, the reading is problematic but Strabo’s perception of Adiabene as part of Babylonia is undoubtedly confirmed by another passage in Strabo 16.1.19. Thus, we follow Madvig’s correction and Radt’s interpretation.

¹⁷ Sturm 1936b, 283.

¹⁸ Herzfeld 1907, 128. See also Reade 2001, 187.

¹⁹ Radt 2009, 256 n. 8.

²⁰ Hoffman 1880, 273.

²¹ Herzfeld 1968, 229.

²² See Tcherikover 1959, 20–36, esp. 24; Hengel 1973, 23–27 and 464–486; Hengel 1976, 73–93.

²³ Radt 2009, 255 n. 31.

ally, since Arbela is termed a polis in other ancient writings,²⁴ and Nineveh, another important city in the Parthian Adiabene (see below), undoubtedly acquired such a status by 31 BCE,²⁵ there is every reason to believe that at some point in its Seleucid history Arbela had this kind of Greek civic arrangement too. To sum up, the text of Strabo provides us with a good number of details on Greek elements of the cultural environment of Adiabene. Interestingly, this kind of cultural tradition is not the only one conveyed by Strabo.

The name “Sadrakai” is interpreted either as a designation of an unknown place²⁶ or as the name of Dareios’ palace,²⁷ or as an Iranian version of a specific toponym (“Altynkopru”).²⁸ If the etymology of Sadrakai indeed goes back to the Old Persian and simply means “palace”,²⁹ then only the second interpretation can be correct, especially that Dareios’ place of dwelling is mentioned in the text immediately after the reference to “Sadrakai”. Kyparisson in turn denotes a certain plantation of cypress trees.³⁰ The reference to “the fountain of naphtha” and “the fires” is puzzling.³¹ On the one hand, the Mesopotamian area has always been known for oil resources, and this phenomenon was well known to Greek travellers ever since Xenophon, and consequently “the fountain” and “the fires” could simply be a natural phenomenon connected with naphtha.³² On the other hand, as Wikander points out, Strabo also mentions a plantation of cypress trees, and in some Zoroastrian traditions cypresses are said to be planted at fire temples.³³ Thus, “the fountain” and “the fires” could well correspond to some fire rituals so typical of Iranian cults.³⁴ Another element, this time undisputed, of the Iranian cultural background in Strabo’s passage is the temple of Anea (τὸ τῆς Ἀνείας ἱερὸν).³⁵ The identity of this female goddess is not clear-cut, since such a

²⁴ It is explicitly called a polis in Arrian, *Anabasis* 3.8.7 and 6.11.6.

²⁵ The fact is undisputed, but its dating depends on an ambiguous reading of the Apollophanes inscription. See Rostovtzeff 1935, 57 n. 5; Le Rider 1967, 15–16; Oates 1968, 61; Reade 1998, 68; Thommen 2010, 459–460. I follow here Rostovtzeff’s reading and Reade’s interpretation.

²⁶ Jones 1930, 196–197; Biffi 2002, 136.

²⁷ Wikander 1946, 77 n. 5; de Jong 1997, 274; Radt 2005, 278–279.

²⁸ Sarre, Herzfeld 1920, 327–328.

²⁹ Wikander 1946, 77 n. 5; Radt 2005, 278–279.

³⁰ Wikander 1946, 78.

³¹ Both words have determined articles, although they appear for the first time in the narrative. Radt 2009, 256 n. 2 explains this irregularity by the sloppiness of the authors of the excerpts.

³² De Jong 1997, 274 and 274 n. 95.

³³ Wikander 1946, 78.

³⁴ Wikander 1946, 78. On this aspect of Zoroastrianism see Boyce 1975, 454–465; de Jong 1997, 343–350. Remarkably, de Jong 1997, 274–275, who otherwise opts for a natural phenomenon, remarks that “the presence of natural fires in this region would probably also have attracted the attention of Zoroastrians”.

³⁵ Jones 1930, 196.

divine name is otherwise unknown and is consequently given two different emendations, into either Ἀναίτιδος or Ναναίας.³⁶ Each reading should lead to different identifications.³⁷ The reading Ἀναίτιδος can be referred to two other places in Strabo, namely 11.8.4 and 15.3.15, wherein he mentions a goddess named Ἀναίτις. This would correspond to the Iranian goddess Anahita.³⁸ The second emendation can be enhanced by a parallel in Polybios 10.27, who recalls the temple of the goddess Αἴνη in Ecbatana. This reading suggests a different identification of a female goddess in Strabo 16.1.4 – Nanaia.³⁹ The origin of this goddess is not Iranian in character, since she originated as a Babylonian and Elamite goddess.⁴⁰ However, Nanaia was later integrated into the Zoroastrian pantheon, and worshipped throughout the Iranian-speaking world, and in other places of the Middle East.⁴¹ This identification should be preferred since it is based on a more-straightforward emendation. To sum up, Strabo's text is very informative about the cultural background of Adiabene and testifies to the presence of two traditions in Adiabene – Greek and Iranian.

According to Strabo, the region of Arbela has clearly defined borders to the north and south marked by two rivers. Λύκος and Κάπρος are Greek names given to many rivers and humans in ancient times,⁴² meaning “wolf” and “boar” respectively.⁴³ It was quite customary to give names of wild animals to rivers in order to express the unbridled and frequently dangerous nature of their streams. Indeed, the impetuous course of both Zabs made such a strong impression on Arab geographers that they called them “demonically possessed”.⁴⁴ Apart from Strabo, the Lykos river as a tributary of the Tigris is also mentioned in Polyb. 5.51.3 and Ptol. *Geog.* 6.1.7 (in both cases coupled with the Kapros).⁴⁵ Further, the Lykos river is also recalled in sources describing the retreat of the Persian

³⁶ Jones 1930, 196, Radt 2005, 278–279 and Radt 2009, 256 n. 2: Ἀναία; Kramer 1853, 285: τῆς Ἀναίας ἱερὸν; Coray 1814, 338 suggests Ἀναίτιδος; Müller, Dübner 1853, 628: τῆς Ἀνάας ἱερὸν.

³⁷ This is sometimes overlooked by commentators, who do not always distinguish between these, in fact, different goddesses. See Biffi 2002, 136; Radt 2009, 256.

³⁸ Biffi 2002, 136; Radt 2009, 256 n. 2.

³⁹ Hoffman 1880, 273.

⁴⁰ De Jong 1997, 273–275.

⁴¹ De Jong 1997, 273–275. On Nanaia (and Anahita) see Hoffman 1880, 134–161; de Jong 1997, 268–284; Briant 2002, 253–254.

⁴² See on Lykos in *RE* 13.2, 2389–2417.

⁴³ Weissbach 1919b, 1921; Swoboda 1919, 1921–1922.

⁴⁴ Bosworth 2002, 366.

⁴⁵ Besides this, another Lykos is mentioned by Pliny in *HN* 5.20.84, but it cannot be identified with that of Strabo (according to Biffi 2002, 135), but is rather a tributary of the upper Euphrates in Armenia (according to Weissbach 1927, 2391). Our Lykos is apparently mentioned in *Ant.* 13.251 but without reference to either the Tigris or the Kapros.

army after the battle near Gaugamela. They mention a bridge built upon the Lykos that accounted for the only retreat route of Dareios and the Persians (Curtius Rufus 4.9.9; 4.16.8; 4.16.16 and Arr., *Anab.* 3.15.4). In turn, Κάπρος is recalled as one of the main rivers in Laodikea, often coupled with another Laodikean river, the Lykos.⁴⁶ The Kapros river as a Tigris tributary is mentioned in Str. 16.1.4, Polyb. 5.51.3, and Ptol. *Geog.* 6.1.7, always paired with the Lykos.

Both the Lykos and the Kapros are widely identified as the Great and Little Zab.⁴⁷ “Zabu elu” (“the upper Zab”) and “Zabu shupalu” (“the lower Zab”) occur in Assyrian texts from the times of Tukultiapilesarra I (c. 1100 BCE) to the reigns of Ashurnasipal II (883 to 859 BCE) and Shalmaneser III (859–824 BCE).⁴⁸ Ζάβας or Ζαβᾶς, sometimes with the additions of ὁ μέγας or ὁ μικρὸς or ὁ ἕτερος are used in Byzantine sources to refer to the Great Zab and the Little Zab respectively.⁴⁹ Further, “Zaba” and “Zav” function in Syriac and Later Armenian to describe the rivers around the region of Arbela. By the same token, two Hellenistic sources make use of names in Greek that may closely echo indigenous names of the Lykos and Kapros rivers. This would not be unusual for a region that has always featured multilingualism. The first candidate is the Zerbis river, recalled by Pliny in *HN* 6.30.118 as a tributary of the Tigris in Mesopotamia. According to Weissbach, the Zerbis is identical to the Kapros.⁵⁰ This is, however, unlikely, since in the next sentence Pliny uses the Greek name Lykos for a river rising in the mountains of Armenia (and this is apparently the Great Zab). It would be inconsistent for Pliny to have once used a Greek name and once a local non-Greek name to refer to two twin rivers within two consecutive sentences. What is more, Pliny’s Zerbis is said to flow through the country of the Azoni, who in turn are reported to adjoin the Gordueni and the Silices with the Orontes (west of which is located Gaugamela). In contrast, Pliny’s Lykos is said to rise in the mountains of Armenia and to flow through the country of the Sitrae, located above (“supra”) the above-mentioned Silices.⁵¹ Thus, geographically we have two different rivers: Pliny’s Lykos can relatively easily be identified with the river bearing the same name in other sources (Polyb. 5.51.3; Ptol. *Geog.* 6.1.7; Curt. 4.9.9, 4.16.8, 4.16.16; and Arr. *Anab.* 3.15.4), while the Zerbis seems to be placed more north-west than the Great Zab, perhaps it can be tentatively

⁴⁶ Ruge 1919, 1921.

⁴⁷ Weissbach 1919b, 1921; Hansman 1987, 277; Kessler 1999b, 265; Kessler 1999c, 575; Bosworth 2002, 366.

⁴⁸ Weissbach 1919b, 1921; Bosworth 2002, 366.

⁴⁹ Weissbach 1927, 2391–2392; Bosworth 2002, 366.

⁵⁰ Weissbach 1919b, 1921.

⁵¹ As Kahrstedt 1950, 65 puts it, these peoples, as well as the Azoni mentioned above, are “obscure Stämme” or “Räuberkantone zwischen den politischen Einheiten”.

identified as the Botan river.⁵² Again, according to Kessler, the *Ζαπάτης* mentioned by Xenophon (*Anab.* 2.5.1 and 3.3.6 as a river of four plethra in width) corresponds to the Lykos.⁵³ This Greek word is indeed linguistically close to the Semitic original; and so this identification is likely.⁵⁴ Summing up, the identification of the Lykos and Kapros rivers as the Zabs is based mainly on geographical grounds, namely the references to the Zabs and the Lykos and Kapros rivers have the same location. This is especially true for the Great Zab and the Lykos, since the Lykos as a tributary of the Tigris is mostly referred to the vicinity of Gaugamela. Furthermore, Marquart has advanced a philological hypothesis aiming to back up this geographical identification. He argues that there is a link between the etymology of Zab, through the old Aramaic and Syriac “deba” and the old Armenian “gail”, both meaning “wolf”,⁵⁵ and that of Lykos, also meaning “wolf”.⁵⁶

Another important passage devoted to Adiabene by Strabo can be found in 16.1.19:

Now as for Adiabene, the most of it consists of plains; and though it too is a part of Babylonia, still it has a ruler of its own; and in some places it borders also on Armenia. For the Medes and the Armenians, and third the Babylonians, the three greatest of the tribes in that part of the world, were so constituted from the beginning, and continued to be, that at times opportune for each they would attack one another and in turn become reconciled. And this continued down to the supremacy of the Parthians. Now the Parthians rule over the Medes and the Babylonians, but they have never once ruled over the Armenians; indeed, the Armenians have been attacked many times, but they could not be overcome by force, since Tigranes opposed all attacks mightily, as I have stated in my description of Armenia. Such, then, is Adiabene; and the Adiabeni are also called Sakkopodes; but I shall next describe Mesopotamia and the tribes on the south, after briefly going over the accounts given of the customs of Assyria.

This passage is differently organized than Strabo 16.1.3–4. The mention of Babylonia and Armenia leads him to a digression on the Parthians and the Armenians, and only by the end of the passage does he go back to the Adiabene topic. In the end, Strabo 16.1.3–4 ends up delivering only two – though still significant – details on Adiabene. First, Adiabene’s relation to Babylonia helps us understand 16.1.3–4 – Adiabene, being geographically a distinctive region south of the the Lykos, is presented as a district politically dependent on Babylonia, though

⁵² Marquart 1930, 340. By contrast, see Minorsky 1944, 244–245.

⁵³ Kessler 1999c, 575, Biffi 2002, 135.

⁵⁴ Kessler 1999b, 265; Kessler 1999c, 575.

⁵⁵ Marquart 1930, 429–430.

⁵⁶ *LSJA* 1968, 1064.

with a certain amount of independence. Secondly, the name Sakkopodes (Σακκόποδες) used here for the Adiabeneans is otherwise unknown.⁵⁷ It literally means “sack feet”,⁵⁸ its uniqueness leads Kramer to call it “suspicious”⁵⁹ and Meineke to eject it from the text.⁶⁰ The only attempt to correlate its meaning to the other data we have on Adiabene was made by the French classical scholar of the 17th century CE, Claudius Salmasius, who related the meaning of Sakkopodes to the etymology of Adiabene based on the verb διαβαίνειν (see Amm. Marc. 23.6.20–22). Consequently, the Adiabeneans would be those who cannot go out of Adiabene [by crossing the rivers at a ford], and the Sakkopodes – those who move as if they had their legs inside a sack.⁶¹ Yet, as we shall see below, the etymology of Adiabene based on the Greek verb διαβαίνειν is secondary, and as such cannot be used to explain another unknown etymology. Thus, the meaning of Sakkopodes still remains unexplained.

Geographika is a work that Strabo probably created during the last decades of his life that ended shortly after 24 CE.⁶² Strabo’s work is not, however, based on his own travels, but mainly on written sources.⁶³ In fact, Strabo is known for using many sources, both older and more recent ones.⁶⁴ One of the most important vehicles of information for Strabo is said to come from the traditions on Alexander’s expedition to Persia.⁶⁵ This source tradition may go back to Eratosthenes, and consequently his sources to “the Alexander historians”.⁶⁶ Taking into account the abundance of information on Greek elements in Adiabene and the fact that the vicinity of Adiabene happened to be the scene of the most important event during Alexander’s campaign, the battle near Gaugamela, a lot of data in Strabo 16.1.3–4 can be attributed to that source tradition.⁶⁷

The early dating of this stratum of Strabo’s traditions is further confirmed by his, at first sight troubling, descriptions of Adiabene’s subordinate connection to Babylonia. Yet, Strabo is indeed known for transmitting older traditions, particularly with regard to Alexander, and *not always* attempting to bring them up to

⁵⁷ Kramer 1853, 293; Meineke 1877, 1039; Jones 1930, 224–225 n. 2; Radt 2009, 274; Biffi 2002, 160. Groskurd 1834, 398 instead suggests reading Saulopodes meaning “delicate walkers”.

⁵⁸ Jones 1930, 224–225 n. 2.

⁵⁹ Kramer 1853, 293.

⁶⁰ Meineke 1877, 1039.

⁶¹ Salmasius 1689, 662–663.

⁶² Drijvers 1998, 279.

⁶³ Romm 1997, 360–361.

⁶⁴ Drijvers 1998, 281–282.

⁶⁵ Aly 1957, 158. What is more, the tradition of Alexander’s campaign into Persia was still alive among Roman leaders embarking on Parthian wars – see Sonnabend 1986, 266; Lerouge 2007, 79–80.

⁶⁶ Pearson 1983.

⁶⁷ Aly 1957, 158–159.

date with the conditions of his own time.⁶⁸ This is the case with the Babylonian region, among others.⁶⁹ In this light, Strabo's remarks on Adiabene can be understood very well. Babylon (as the center of the province of Babylonia) of the Seleucid period underwent a rapid decline in its importance from "world center to a provincial town".⁷⁰ Especially the foundation of new political centers of the Seleucid kingdom, Seleukeia-on-the-Tigris and Antiochia-on-the-Orontes, contributed to this change.⁷¹ Thus, the picture of Adiabene as a province (ὑπαρχία or τόπος)⁷² of the satrapy of Babylonia is reliant on the early-Seleucid perspective.⁷³ Such a constellation would never occur again in the Hellenistic and Parthian periods, and later on the Adiabene region would tend politically and culturally towards north-western Mesopotamia.⁷⁴

At the same time, Strabo explicitly names in his opus some more recent sources, particularly Apollodoros of Artemita and Poseidonios of Apameia.⁷⁵ Especially the contribution of Apollodoros must have been important to Strabo's knowledge of Adiabene, since Artemita was located on the Diyala river, close to Adiabene, and consequently Apollodoros must have been very familiar with this region. For instance, it is most likely that the foundation of Demetrias in Adiabene should be attributed to one of the Seleucid rulers of the 2nd c. BCE bearing this name, and so Strabo's information on Demetrias cannot be referred to earlier writers. To summarize, Strabo apparently used a number of different sources in 16.1.3–4, but regardless of their provenience they all reflect earlier conditions than those in Strabo's own time, and can be judged as very reliable, particularly with regard to Greek cultural elements in Adiabene.

Next, the provenience of Strabo's 16.1.19 is harder to establish due to its non-uniform structure. On the one hand, Adiabene's relation to Babylonia speaks in favor of the same background as in 16.1.3–4; on the other, the digression material focused on Tigranes cuts the passage into two parts and the report on Tigranes is believed to belong to a different tradition, namely to reports on

⁶⁸ Clarke 2002, 301; Lerouge 2007, 224–226.

⁶⁹ Clarke 2002, 301; Lerouge 2007, 225.

⁷⁰ Boiy 2004, 137–166.

⁷¹ Boiy 2004, 193.

⁷² Bickerman 1983, 8; Boiy 2004, 193.

⁷³ Jacobs 1994, 65, 147–152 (esp. 150: "spätachämenidische Verhältnisse").

⁷⁴ This conclusion is based on our knowledge of the Adiabene material culture, especially on the character of pottery finds (from Nimrud, Abu Sheetha, and Arbela), as well as on the circulation of coins found in Nimrud and the craftsmanship of coffins from Qasr Shemamok and Ashur. On some important points concerning ceramics from Adiabene see D. Oates, J. Oates 1958, 134; D. Oates 1968, 65–66 and 125–126, as well as Nováček et al. 2008, 279–281. On the coffins see Colledge 1977, 110 and on the coins, Jenkins 1958, 166–168.

⁷⁵ Lasserre 1975, 13–15; Nikonorov 1998, 107–122; Drijvers 1998, 281–282.

Pompey's expedition in the East.⁷⁶ Thus, we apparently have two traditions in 16.1.19, not really mixed together but set next to each other: one goes back to the tradition of the oldest Greek reports on the Persian world handed down to later Greek historians, and the other belongs to the late 1st-century BCE tradition with its roots in the Roman campaigns in Armenia.⁷⁷ The latter tradition is apparently the source of those passages in Strabo (11.4.8 and 11.14.12) which convey the idea of Armenian Adiabene.

Another important writing contributing to our knowledge of the geography of Adiabene is *Historia Naturalis* by Pliny the Elder (23 CE–79 CE).⁷⁸ Like Strabo's *Geographika*, *Historia Naturalis* contains a considerable number of references to Adiabene that briefly recall this country while sketching the borders of other countries and peoples (*HN* 5.13.66; 6.9.25; 6.16/42.44; 6.10.28). Precisely, Adiabene is located beyond ("ultra") Armenia (5.13.66), as far as Armenia's frontier extends (6.9.25). When Pliny characterizes Armenia's frontier by mentioning other countries and peoples, Adiabene is recalled as adjoining the "Ceraunian Mountains" and Sophene,⁷⁹ Armenia's neighbor (6.10.28 and 6.16.42), and the part of Adiabene bordering on Sophene is presented as a mountain range ("iugum").

Though most of Pliny's references to Adiabene appear as an aside to his interest in Armenia, three times – in 5.13.66, 6.10.28 and 6.16.42 – he goes on to focus more directly on Adiabene. In 5.13.66 Pliny briefly adds that Adiabene was anciently called Assyria ("Adiabene Assyria ante dicta"), and in 6.10.28 he specifies Adiabene's own borders as marked by the Tigris and inaccessible mountains ("montes invii"), as well as by Media "on the left" ("ab laeva eius regio Medorum"). Finally, Pliny's most profound reference to Adiabene can be found in 6.16.42 where, having recalled the extension of Armenia's frontier towards Commagene, he goes on to say:

Adiabene, where the land of the Assyrians begins; the part of Adiabene nearest to Syria is Arbelitis, where Alexander conquered Darius. The Macedonians have given to the whole of Adiabene the name of Mygdonia, from its likeness to Mygdonia in Macedon. Its towns are Alexandria and Antiochia, the native name for which is Nesebis; it is 750 miles from Artaxata. There was also once the town of Ninos, which was on the Tigris facing west, and was formerly very famous.

Indeed, Pliny's Adiabene is most frequently recalled as an aside to the descriptions of Armenia. However, such descriptions are of a strictly geographical

⁷⁶ Aly 1957, 162–163.

⁷⁷ Aly 1957, 159–160.

⁷⁸ Keyser 1999, 235–242. Pliny's text used here is that of Rackham 1942.

⁷⁹ On Sophene see Syme 1995, 51–57 and Kessler 2001, 721–722.

character, and there is really not much of a hint at a political agenda that in turn seems to be underlying some of Strabo's references to Adiabene as located within the realm of Armenia. Thus, an ingenious term, Armenian Adiabene, coined by Sellwood⁸⁰ fits more appropriately some of Strabo's descriptions of the relation between Armenia and Adiabene than those in Pliny.

Pliny's Adiabene is a very different notion from Strabo's Adiabene. In Strabo Adiabene was a small district separated from the region of Nineveh ("Ninos") and politically dependent on Babylonia. In Pliny Arbelitis, that is the region around Arbela, is only one district of Adiabene. Pliny's Adiabene includes Nineveh and stretches far north-west. What is more, its extension goes so far that it goes over the western side of the Tigris and consequently reaches Nisibis ("Nesebis"), located on the Mygdonios river, a tributary of the Khabur river (the so-called Syrian Khabur).⁸¹ Nisibis is not only included in the description of Adiabene, but the very name of Adiabene is attached to the region of Nisibis.

Where does the difference between Strabo and Pliny in the size of Adiabene come from? Strabo completed his work probably by 25 CE,⁸² but his description of Adiabene's borders came from the Early Seleucid tradition.

Pliny in turn prepared his opus magnum by 79 CE.⁸³ A valuable insight into the political processes in the region that echo in Pliny's texts can be gained from three historiographical writings reporting on the events from the 70s BCE until 50 CE. First, in Plutarch's *Bioi Paralleloi* we hear of an anonymous ruler of Adiabene engaged in military operations at the battle of Tigranocerta (*Luc.* 26.1, 26.4, 27.6, 29.2) during the Third Mithridatic War (74 or 73–63 BCE). Especially telling is the political constellation of that time. The theater of war was around the city of Tigranocerta and, except for great players like Rome and Parthia, participating regional armed forces included Pontus, Armenia, Sophene, Gordyene, and Adiabene. The king of Adiabene was an ally of the Parthians, but his role on the political scene was somewhat less important than that played by the kings of Sophene and Gordyene, not to mention the rulers of Armenia and Pontus. During the Third Mithridatic War Adiabene was still a small state between the Lykos and Kapros rivers (see Arbelitis in *Pomp.* 36), plus perhaps some territory south of this river basin. The situation is very different in our second historiographical source, that is Josephus' *Ant.* 20.17–96. This passage,

⁸⁰ Sellwood 1985, 457.

⁸¹ At least two cities in Mesopotamia bore this name. The geographical context of Adiabene's extension in Pliny clearly excludes another Nisibis near Neherdea in Babylonia. On both locations see Sturm 1936a, 714–757; Pigulevskaja 1963, 49–59; Kessler 2000, 962–963; Oppenheimer 1983, 319–334 (a basic collection of sources on Nisibis); Oppenheimer 1993, 313–333.

⁸² Romm 1997, 359.

⁸³ Keyser 1999, 235–242, Murphy 2004, 4.

which is extremely panegyric towards the Adiabene royalty, conveys only two, albeit very important, geographical details concerning the territory of 1st-century CE Adiabene. Firstly, a young Izates was given by his father Monobazos I the territory of Gordyene⁸⁴ (*Ant.* 20.24). Izates' stay in Gordyene can probably be dated to a period between 22/23 and 30 CE, thus Gordyene must have been incorporated by Adiabene by that time.⁸⁵ Secondly, Izates as king of Adiabene received Nisibis from Artabanos II (*Ant.* 20.68). This episode can be dated to the last years of Artabanos' reign, most likely between 37 and 40–41 CE.⁸⁶ Josephus' portrait of the political and territorial significance of 1st-century CE Adiabene is akin to that presented in Pliny. In both cases, Adiabene is a considerable political entity extending far north-west out of a small region of Arbelitis. The 1st-century CE political landscape in the upper Tigris and Euphrates region is additionally enlightened by Tacitus' report (*Ann.* 12.13) on Meherdates' expedition against Gotarzes in 49–50 CE.⁸⁷ The invasion forces are said to have camped at Edessa, and then detoured via Armenia. As Tacitus puts it, once the coalition crossed the Tigris, they reached the country of Adiabene (“*tramissoque amne Tigri permeant Adiabenos*”).⁸⁸ On their further march, the coalition captured the city of Nineveh (“*urbs Ninus*”), described additionally as “the capital of Assyria” and “a fortress” (“*sedes Assyriae*” and “*castellum*”).⁸⁹ What does Tacitus' report on Meherdates'

⁸⁴ This interpretation is based on an emendation of the otherwise unknown *Καρρων* into *Καρδων*. This was suggested first by Bochart 1651, 22 and thoroughly argued for by Marquart 1903, 289–291 n. 4. This emendation is widely accepted. See Debevoise 1938, 165; Kahrstedt 1950, 66; Feldman 1965, 402 n. b; Kahle 1959, 270 n. 4; Barish 1983, 69–70. Another emendation of Carron into Carrhae (according to Boettger 1879, 78–79) is highly unlikely both geographically and historically. By contrast, the following premises speak in favor of Bochart's reading. Firstly, Josephus can distinguish between Carrhae in Mesopotamia (*Κάρρα* or *Χάρρα*) and Gordyene in Armenia (*Ant.* 1.152, 244, 285 and *Ant.* 1.93). Secondly, *Ant.* 20.25 characterizes Carron as a country where the remains of Noah's ark are preserved, and where a great abundance of amomum is produced. Thirdly, Josephus locates Noah's ark in Armenia (*Ant.* 1.93; 1.95; 10.23). Fourthly, some Jewish and Hellenistic traditions, known to Josephus, also locate the ark in Armenia or Gordyene or in Gordyene as part of Armenia (Berossos and Nikolaos apud *Ant.* 1.93 and 1.94–95; *Targum Gen.* 8.4). Last of all, the fact that the Adiabene kingdom possessed Gordyene at the time of Monobazos I makes perfect sense for the subsequent acquisition of Nisibis, located west of Gordyene, during the reign of Izates II.

⁸⁵ For a basic chronology of the Adiabene royalty in the 1st century CE see Brüll 1874, 65–72; Graetz 1877, 241–255; Neusner 1969: 64–65. However, Neusner's chronology, being indebted to Brüll, needs some corrections.

⁸⁶ Schottky 1991, 86–87; Olbrycht 1997, 82.

⁸⁷ Dąbrowa 1983, 121–122.

⁸⁸ The text according to Jackson 1937a, 332–333.

⁸⁹ This phrase in Tacitus is highly problematic. Most commentators have inserted a conjunction, “*et*” to separate “*sedes Assyriae*” from “*castellum*” either for philological reasons or thinking that *Ann.* 12.3 understands the *castellum* as a place of the battle between Alexander and Dareios, and in fact this was not Nineveh. Thus, the troops would have passed first by Nineveh and then by

expedition tell us about the geographical and political shape of Adiabene at that time? First, besides the Romans and the Parthian sovereigns, we have two local rulers who play important roles on the political scene; these are Acbaros and Izates, rulers of Osrhoene and Adiabene respectively. Remarkably, there is not a word about Sophene and Gordyene. If we compare this political landscape with the reality of the Third Mithridatic War, it becomes clear that substantial geopolitical developments took place in the region that led to the disappearance of Sophene and Gordyene as political entities in the region and the space left by them was filled by Osrhoene and Adiabene.⁹⁰ Secondly, it is revealing to observe the route along which the coalition forces moved. The route led from Edessa to Armenia, and across the Tigris to Adiabene. The territory of Adiabene is said to have been accessible to the coalition only upon the crossing of the Tigris. More precisely, the name of Adiabene is applied by Tacitus when the coalition crossed the Tigris from Armenia but before it reached Nineveh. Thus, in *Ann.* 12.3 Adiabene in fact serves as a name for the territory north of the Tigris and west of its tributary, Lykos,⁹¹ and Nineveh is part of that region.

The historiographical accounts by Plutarch, Josephus and Tacitus, though not focused on the geography of Adiabene, help us understand the difference between Strabo's and Pliny's description of Adiabene and, secondly, show us the nature of Pliny's contribution. The difference between Strabo and Pliny does not result from inaccuracies on the part of the writers, but reflects the geopolitical processes that took place in the upper Tigris and Euphrates region. At some point between the mid-1st century BCE and the mid-1st century CE, Adiabene started to expand its territory northwest. Secondly, the case of Pliny's text, being formally only a geographical description, shows that geographical and political dimensions can very easily overlap in ancient geographical and ethnographical accounts. This phenomenon becomes even more acute when we take a look at our next source – Ptolemy's *Geographike Hyphegesis*.

Ptolemy's opus magnum is explicitly acknowledged by its author to be heavily (though not entirely) based on Marinus of Tyre, whose work is believed to reflect

a certain "castellum". See Furneaux 1907, 76–77 (his idea that a fort on the site of the battle near Gaugamela may have been built by the Macedonians is not confirmed by any sources, and as such is a pure guess); Jackson 1937a, 332–333, n. 6; Wuilleumier 1976, 55, n. 2; Koestermann 1967, 130–131. Remarkably, the manuscript Agr contains the phrase "et Arbela castellum", and Bivar 1983, 77 and n. 3 follows this reading. By contrast, Furneaux 1907, 76 and Koestermann 1967, 130 deem it as gloss and reject it. We in turn follow the interpretation of Hutchinson 1934, 85–88 (assessed positively by Reade 1998, 66) who, on philological and historical grounds, opts for the unemended text, in keeping with Tacitus' style and because Nineveh could again have become a castellum.

⁹⁰ Kahrstedt 1950, 65.

⁹¹ According to Furneaux 1907, 76.

the state of Roman knowledge on the geography of the inhabited world from the first decade of the 2nd century CE.⁹²

Adiabene in Ptolemy's work appears on the account of the treatment of Assyria in the sixth book (6.1.1–7).⁹³ Assyria is understood by Ptolemy as the whole area between Armenia to the north, Mesopotamia to the west, Susiane to the south, and Media to the east (6.1.1). According to Ptolemy (6.1.2) Adiabene (Ἀδιαβηνή) is located between the Arrapachitis (Ἀρραπαχίτις) and the Garamaioi (Γαραμαῖοί). Next, Καλακηνή, lies above Adiabene, and the Arbelitis region (ἡ Ἀρβηλίτις χώρα) above the Garamaioi. Furthermore, Ninos (6.1.3), Gaugamela (6.1.5) and Arbela (6.1.6) (Νῖνος, Γαυγάμηλα, Ἀρβηλα) are recalled by Ptolemy among many Assyrian “town and villages” (πόλεις καὶ κῶμαι). Finally, Ptolemy mentions three rivers in Assyria joining the Tigris. The first and the second are the Lykos (Λύκος) and Kapros (Κάπρος) rivers (ποταμοί), and the third is the Gorgos (Γόργος).

What can be said about the toponyms and ethnonyms used by Ptolemy to refer to Adiabene's borders? The toponym Arrapachitis is a little problematic, since this Greek form appears only in Ptolemy 6.1.2.⁹⁴ However, this Greek form has a linguistically close parallel in Assyrian sources: “Arrapha” (a region around modern Kirkuk).⁹⁵ This identification, however, means that Strabo's location of Arrapachitis is mistaken, since Arrapachitis is in fact located south of the Little Zab, and not north of the Great Zab.⁹⁶ The Garamaioi of Ptolemy 6.1.2 may be identical to the Assyrian “Gurumu” attested since Tiglatpileser I (745–727 BCE).⁹⁷ According to Streck, the Syriac name of the medieval Beth-Garmai is akin to the Greek “Garamaioi”.⁹⁸ Beth-Garmai can undoubtedly be located south of the Little Zab.⁹⁹ Next, Kalachene is also attested in Str.11.4.8, 11.14.12 and 15.1.1, and the Greek form seems to correspond to the Assyrian “Kalah” or “Kalhu”, and so can be identified as the city of Nimrud and its surroundings.¹⁰⁰ Finally, Streck identifies the Gorgos river as the modern Diyala on exclusively geographical grounds.¹⁰¹

Ptolemy's Adiabene lies south of Nimrud and its southern border is marked by the Kapros river. This is in fact the territory recognized as Adiabene by Strabo and the region of Arbelitis known to Pliny and Plutarch. Did Adiabene then re-

⁹² Berggren, Jones 2000, 23–24.

⁹³ The text and translation used here is that of Humbach, Ziegler 1998.

⁹⁴ Fränkel 1896, 1225.

⁹⁵ Fränkel 1896, 1225; Herzfeld 1968, 229.

⁹⁶ Herzfeld 1968, 229.

⁹⁷ Streck 1912a, 750–751.

⁹⁸ Streck 1912a, 750–751.

⁹⁹ Streck 1912a, 750–751.

¹⁰⁰ Weissbach 1919a, 1530; Kessler 1999a, 146.

¹⁰¹ Streck 1912b, 1660.

turn by the first decade of the 2nd c. CE to its modest territorial shape from before the 1st century CE? As we shall see on the basis of the historiographical writings of Cassius Dio and Ammianus Marcellinus, the answer can by no means be positive. The thing is rather that Ptolemy's descriptions are of an entirely geographical character, and there is no hint whatsoever of a political meaning of terms applied to proper names. Ptolemy's description is devoted to that part of the Adiabene territory that was also known as the core of the old Adiabene to Pliny, who otherwise located Nisibis in Adiabene too.

Both Cassius Dio's (circa 155/164 CE – post 229 CE)¹⁰² and Ammianus Marcellinus' (c. 330 – c. 395 CE)¹⁰³ references to Adiabene are made in the context of the Roman military campaigns in Mesopotamia. Cassius Dio's *Romaike Historia* 68.26.1–4 describes the advance of the Roman troops under the command of Emperor Trajan against Parthia in 115 BCE, and Adiabene happened to lie on the route of the Roman legions.¹⁰⁴

Trajan at the beginning of spring hastened into the enemy's country. And since the region near the Tigris is bare of timber suitable for building ships, he brought his boats, which had been constructed in the forests around Nisibis, to the river on wagons; for they had been built in such a way that they could be taken apart and put together again. He had great difficulty in bridging the stream opposite the Gordyaeon Mountains, as the barbarians had taken their stand on the opposite bank and tried to hinder him And the Romans crossed over and gained possession of the whole of Adiabene. This is a district of Assyria in the vicinity of Ninus; and Arbela and Gaugamela, near which places Alexander conquered Dareios, are also in this same country. Adiabene, accordingly, has also been called Atyria in the language of the barbarians, the double S being changed to T.

Is Dio's Adiabene a tiny region known to us from Strabo and Ptolemy? Not only does Adiabene include Gaugamela and Nineveh ("Ninos"), both located outside the Arbelitis, but Dio even sees Nineveh as the center of Adiabene. Furthermore, as in the case of the Meherdates' campaign, only upon crossing the Tigris does Adiabene become accessible to invading troops. The crossing of the Tigris took place between the region of Nisibis (on the western bank of the Tigris) and the Gordyaeon Mountains. Thus, Adiabene's extension can safely be located as reaching north-west along the eastern bank of the Tigris and at least as far as the region of Gordyene. Additionally, as in Pliny we again hear of another name of Adiabene – Assyria/Atyria.

¹⁰² Mathisen 1997, 101–109.

¹⁰³ Mathisen 1999, 7–16.

¹⁰⁴ The translation used here is that of Cary 1925.

In turn, in his *Res Gestae* Ammianus Marcellinus (c. 330 – c. 395 CE)¹⁰⁵ refers to Adiabene only briefly in 18.7.1 and 23.3.1, but he also devotes a distinctive account to Adiabene (23.6.20–22) within his lengthy geographical and ethnographical digression on Persia in Book 23.¹⁰⁶ In 18.7.1 Ammianus mentions Nineveh on the occasion of the march of the Persian expedition of Sapor II in 359 CE. Nineveh is characterized as a great city of Adiabene (“Postquam reges Nineve Adiabenaie ingenti civitate transmissa”). Again, in 23.3.1 Ammianus refers to Adiabene as a transit country through which runs one of two royal routes out of Carrhae to Persia (on the occasion of Emperor Julian’s stay in Carrhae in 363 CE) – through Adiabene and the Tigris region (“laeva per Adiabenam et Tigridem”), while the other goes through Assyria and the Euphrates area (“dextra per Assyrios et Euphraten”).

Finally, Ammianus’ main passage on Adiabene can be found in *Res Gestae* 23.6.20–22, which informs us of the name of Adiabene and its location, and finally gives an enumeration of the cities on its territory:

Within this area is Adiabena, called Assyria in ancient times, but by long custom changed to this name because, lying between the navigable rivers Ona and Tigris it could never be approached by a ford; for we Greeks for transire say διαβαίνειν. At least, this is the opinion of the ancients. But I myself say that there are two perpetually flowing rivers to be found in these lands, the Diabas and Adiabas, which I myself have crossed, and over which there are bridges of boats; and therefore it is to be assumed that Adiabena was named from them, as from great rivers Egypt was named, according to Homer, as well as India, and the Euphratensis, before my time called Commagena; likewise from the Hiberus, Hiberia (now Hispania), and the province of Baetica from the noble river Baetis. In this Adiabena is the city of Ninus, which once possessed the rule over Persia, perpetuating the name of Ninus, once a most powerful king and the husband of Semiramis; also Ecbatana,¹⁰⁷ Arbela, and Gaugamela, where Alexander, after various other battles, overthrew Darius in a hot contest.

¹⁰⁵ Mathisen 1999, 7–16. Ammianus’ text used here is that of Rolfe 1940.

¹⁰⁶ Let us recall the discussion as to whether Ammianus’ remarks on Adiabene come from the realm of his personal experience as one of the participants in the Roman campaign, or whether they were copied by Ammianus from Dio’s description of Trajan’s invasion. See Dilleman 1962, 306–307; Seyfarth 1970, 228: 88; den Boeft, Drijvers, den Hengst, Teitler 1998, XV–XX; 36, 152; Teitler 1999, 216–217; Feraco 2004, 154.

¹⁰⁷ The reference to Ecbatana must be Ammianus’ lapsus, since in 23.6.9 he himself recalls Ecbatana as a Median city. Fontaine 1977b, 73 n. 164 suggests that Ammianus could have misread “Ecbatana” for Σαρβίνα (or Σάρβηνα) in his source, Ptol. *Geog.* 6.1.5, since the latter is enumerated by Ptolemy between Gaugamela and Arbela. Alternatively, the origin of this mistake could come from that fact all three cities, Gaugamela, Arbela and Ecbatana are reported in the Alexandrian traditions as being captured one by another, thus the link between

For the third time in ancient literature (Plin. *HN* 13.66 and Cass. Dio 68.26.1–4 previously) we read that Adiabene used to be called Assyria. The link between Adiabene and Assyria is not only based on the etymology, though it is its most striking expression, but also has a geographical dimension. Namely, in Plin. *HN* 6.16.42 Adiabene is called the most advanced frontier of Assyria, (“Adiabene Assyriorum initium”); in Ptol. *Geog.* 6.1.1–7 Adiabene is presented as one of many countries in Assyria; by the same token, for Cass. Dio 68.26.1–4 Adiabene is the part of Assyria around the city of Nineveh. The strong connection in our sources between Adiabene and Assyria is undisputed, and calls for an explanation.

Linguistically, there is not the slightest link between the Greek Adiabene and Assyria, and so there is no possibility that one evolved from the other. Further, the etymology of Adiabene based on the Greek verb διαβαίνειν is a *Volksetymologie*.¹⁰⁸ What other options do we have left? Basically, we have two possibilities. First, the Greek term Adiabene is widely said to be connected with the Aramaic Hadyab that appears in the Talmudic literature (in different forms such as הדייב or הדייב or הדייף), as well as in *the Chronicle of Arbela*.¹⁰⁹

Unfortunately, the meaning of neither linguistic version is known. In terms of its provenience, most scholars think that the Greek form is derived from the Aramaic one,¹¹⁰ although, theoretically, the other way round is possible too. However, the former option can be better explained historically. Namely, the Seleucid administration is believed to have been based on administrative units of the Achaemenid Empire and to have rendered their Aramaic names into Greek calques.¹¹¹ The other option is to look for the origin of the Greek Adiabene in Assyrian texts.¹¹² Namely, the striking parallel between Adiabene and the Assyrian place-name Zabban, that is thought to lie either on the Lower Zab or, more likely, south-east of the modern Kirkuk near the Diyala river.¹¹³ Where, then, does the idea of Adiabene as Assyria come from? First, as a matter of introduction, we must remark that ancient sources do not always use terms such as Assyria, Atyria and Syria uniformly.¹¹⁴ Even within one writing (e.g. *Res Gestae* of Ammianus Marcellinus) Assyria can

these three cities and Alexander’s exploits echoed in Ammianus’ enumeration in 23.6.22 – see Feraco 2004, 160.

¹⁰⁸ Boettger 1879, 11–12; Fränkel 1894, 360; Huyse 1993, 97; Oelsner 1996, 112; Huyse 1999, 20.

¹⁰⁹ See Gottheil 1901, 191; Sokoloff 2002, 342. On *the Chronicle of Arbela* see Neusner 1966: 144–145, 147–150; Kawerau 1992: 548–549.

¹¹⁰ Boettger 1879, 11–12; Fränkel 1894, 360; Sellwood 1985, 456; Huyse 1993, 97; Oelsner 1996, 112; Huyse 1999, 20.

¹¹¹ Bickerman 1983, 7–12, esp. 8; Sellwood 1985, 456.

¹¹² I owe this idea to Dr. J. Reade.

¹¹³ See Parpola 1970, 379 and Abusch 2002, 261–262 n. 41.

¹¹⁴ Nöldeke 1871, 443–468 and Herzfeld 1968, 306–308.

mean a specific part of the territory of the Persian kingdom (Amm. Marc. 23.6.14–15) or refer to all the territory between the Euphrates and the Tigris (Amm. Marc. 24.1.1; 23.2.6).¹¹⁵ It seems, then, that Adiabene started to be associated with Assyria in a narrow sense because it lay more or less over there, where the ancient writers could locate the center of the ancient kingdom of Assyria and Adiabene accounted for the only recognizable political entity at the time of formation of relevant traditions.¹¹⁶ Additionally, I suggest that particularly Adiabene's control over Nineveh contributed to this identification. After all, Nineveh was widely known by the ancients as the primeval capital of the great kingdom of Assyria (Pliny *HN* 5.13.6; Cass. Dio 68.26.1–4; Amm. Marc. 18.7.1 and 23.6.20–22).¹¹⁷ Further, the identification of Adiabene with Assyria could additionally be clinched by the fact that Ashur too lay in the Parthian Adiabene,¹¹⁸ and consequently Ashur could pass its city name to the name of the whole kingdom.

The identification of hydronyms recalled by Ammianus is somewhat complicated. The Ona river is not attested elsewhere. Fontaine suggests that “Onam” can be seen as a corrupted version of “Aboram”, the river mentioned in Amm. Marc. 16.3.4, 23.5.1 and 23.5.4.¹¹⁹ According to Fontaine, the corruption resulted from the removal of “ab”, mistakenly understood as a preposition and consequently as doubling “inter”.¹²⁰ Another change took place due to a spelling error, replacing “r” with “n”.¹²¹ Fontaine's corrected reading allows us to identify Ammianus' Ona river as the Khabur river¹²² (two modern rivers bear this name – the Assyrian Khabur, a tributary of the Euphrates and the Syrian Khabur, a tributary of the Tigris). In the case of the Diabas and Adiabas, Streck identifies them as the Dialas (in Streck's opinion, Ammianus confused Diabas with Dialas) and Adialas rivers, thus the modern Diyala and Adhaim.¹²³ Streck's identification is rejected by Dilleman, mainly for geographical reasons. Dilleman instead proposed that Ammianus' Diabas and Adiabas correspond to the modern Great and Little Zabs.¹²⁴ This view is widely ac-

¹¹⁵ De Jonge 1980, 263 n. a; den Boeft, Drijvers, den Hengst, Teitler 1998, 30–31, n. 2.7 and 148, n. 6.15.

¹¹⁶ Boettger 1879, 12; see also Kahrstaedt 1950, 58–59.

¹¹⁷ Moses of Chorene (*History of the Armenians* 1.8–9) places the royal archives of the Arsacids in Nineveh. Whatever we make of the accuracy of Moses' location of these archives, the information is significant in itself, since it shows the great importance of this city (it was important enough to think of it as the city of royal archives).

¹¹⁸ Dilleman 1962, 112; Zehnder 2010, 341.

¹¹⁹ Fontaine 1977b, 71 n. 159.

¹²⁰ Fontaine 1977b, 71 n. 159.

¹²¹ Fontaine 1977b, 71 n. 159.

¹²² Den Boeft, Drijvers, den Hengst, Teitler 1998, 152.

¹²³ Streck 1905a, 300–301; Streck 1905b, 319.

¹²⁴ Dilleman 1961, 141; Dilleman 1962, 305–308.

cepted.¹²⁵ Nevertheless, there is one problem with this hypothesis. Namely, in 18.6.19 and 18.7.1 Ammianus employs the name Anzaba (and not Diabas) to refer to the river widely identified as the Great Zab.¹²⁶ Fontaine attempts to alleviate this contradiction by interpreting Anzaba as a Latinized corruption of Adiabab.¹²⁷ Accordingly, “dy” could switch to “dz” (“ndz”) or even “(n)dy”.¹²⁸

If Dilleman’s and especially Fontaine’s identifications are correct, Adiabene’s extension in Ammianus fits what we know from Tacitus and Cassius Dio. Adiabene was from around the mid-1st century BCE until the 4th century CE not a small region between the Zabs; its extension reaches along the eastern bank of the Tigris far into the Gordyaeon Mountains. The question arises as to whether Adiabene’s political power reached the western bank of the Tigris, among others, the region of Nisibis. Some scholars believed that Nisibis still belonged to Adiabene at least in the 2nd century CE,¹²⁹ while others left the question open.¹³⁰ On the one hand, we lack positive testimony concerning Nisibis, and both Tacitus and Dio point to the Tigris as Adiabene’s boundary. Furthermore, in the 2nd c. CE there is another very important player in this region – Hatra.¹³¹ On the other hand, during Trajan’s and Septimus Severus’ campaigns the rulers of Adiabene, alongside the kings of Edessa, belonged to the most active players in the region (including the western bank of the Tigris).¹³² Besides this, the emendation of Ammianus’ Ona into Abora (the Khabur) could be used to enhance either interpretation, depending on which modern river bearing this name we consider to be a fit. Taking this all into account, we conclude that we cannot count Nisibis among Adiabene’s possessions in the 2nd century CE, but we have to acknowledge the fact that Adiabene was an important player in the Upper Tigris and Euphrates region, and its political influence cannot be limited to the eastern bank of the Tigris alone.

Conclusions

1. In fact, we possess a good number of sources containing geographical and ethnographical information on Adiabene. Our sources range from the 1st century BCE until the 4th century CE. Therefore, we are not forced to rely on only one

¹²⁵ Weissbach 1919b, 1921; Weissbach 1927, 2391–2392; de Jonge 1980, 205; Kessler 1999b, 265; Kessler 1999c, 576; Bosworth 2002, 366.

¹²⁶ De Jonge 1980, 204–205; den Boeft, Drijvers, den Hengst, Teitler 1998, 152.

¹²⁷ Fontaine 1977b, 71–72 n. 160.

¹²⁸ Fontaine 1977b, 71–72 n. 160.

¹²⁹ Longden 1931, 11; Debevoise 1938, 225.

¹³⁰ Kahrstedt 1950, 70, n. 48 and 50.

¹³¹ See Frye 1984: 278–281.

¹³² Longden 1931, 11.

text to obtain information on the environment and culture of Adiabene.¹³³ Further, we can distinguish a few groups in our sources on the basis of their character. First, the only text that can be categorized as ethnography in the strict sense is Strabo. Secondly, most of our sources offer geographical descriptions. Thirdly, some data of geographical and ethnographical character can also be gleaned from historiographical accounts. The question also arises as to the character of the terms used in our accounts. When can we speak about Adiabene in terms only of a geographical area and when can we state that we have to deal with Adiabene as a political entity that could temporarily expand its natural borders? Only in the case of Ptolemy can we say that his account is of an entirely geographical character. Strabo in turn focuses on the country, its culture and inhabitants, but also introduces political notions (*hyparchia*, *archon*) into his predominantly ethnographical treatment. Pliny is a good example of blending geographical and political dimensions, since he describes the geographical territory of Adiabene that is in fact a result of geopolitical processes. The same is true for historiographers like Tacitus, Dio and Ammianus.

2. It can hardly be said that Adiabene did not interest ancient geographers and ethnographers at all. However, a few thematic trends can be distinguished in our texts that apparently served as vehicles of transmission of information for Adiabene. First, in some traditions present in Strabo and Pliny that can be dated to the first half of the 1st century BCE Adiabene is recalled as an aside to Armenia, so to say, in the shadow of its mighty neighbor. This tradition has two dimensions – a geographical and a political one. In terms of geography, Adiabene was located on the frontier of Armenia; and politically speaking, this kind of tradition implies that Adiabene belonged to Armenia's realm of influence. The most probable setting of this tradition is the height of Armenia's power under Tigranes the Great.

Secondly, Adiabene is frequently recalled as part of the geographical region of Assyria, or even as a successor to the old Assyrian kingdom. This link is particularly enhanced by Adiabene's control over Nineveh, the primeval capital of the old Assyrian Empire. Thirdly, many brief references to Adiabene are made in the context of invasion of foreign troops into the Persian/Parthian territory. It is simply so because one of main travel routes from Rome to the Persian Gulf led through Adiabene.¹³⁴

¹³³ See Oppenheimer 1983 who in his, otherwise excellent, listing of Greek and Latin sources on Adiabene includes only Amm. Marc. 23.6.20–22. In this way, Ammianus became for many scholars the best-known source of knowledge on Adiabene (except for *Ant.* 20.17–96). By contrast, as we could see, it is not the only source, and as a relatively late text it is not very representative either.

¹³⁴ There were several trade and long-distance routes between Rome and the Persian Gulf – one along the Euphrates by way of Carrhae, another traveled via Hatra, and finally the old Royal road on the eastern side of the Tigris (from modern Baghdad via Kirkuk, Erbil, Nineveh to Mosul;

Fourthly and finally, two other places located on the territory of Adiabene – Gaugamela and Arbela – frequently attract the attention of ancient writers. This interest was due to one event that happened to occur in the vicinity of both places – the battle between Alexander the Great and Dareios III of Persia. The 3rd-century CE writer Solinus (who otherwise slavishly copied Pliny's account on Adiabene in his work *Memorabilia* 46.1) smartly remarked that it was that battle that made the region around Arbela famous. Greek writers were naturally very interested in details of Alexander's campaign, and especially in its final battle. The fame of Alexander's exploits in the East also attracted the imagination of the Roman leaders, who embarked on Eastern campaigns and, in doing so, wanted to approximate the ideal of the great Alexander.¹³⁵ Thus, in all probability it was the tradition of Alexander's exploits in the East that served as a vehicle for transmission of information on Adiabene, especially on its Greek cultural elements (see also other very crisp references to Arbela in Diod. Sik. 17.53.4; Arr., *Anab.* 3.8.7, 6.11.5). In fact, our most detailed report on the cultural environment of Adiabene found in Strabo has its roots in this tradition. Therefore, but for the Alexander tradition, we would have probably known much less about Adiabene.

3. The fact that our sources come from a span of four centuries and also draw on older traditions enables us to sketch the geopolitical development of Adiabene in the Seleucid and Parthian periods. Adiabene originated as a relatively small province between the Lykos and Kapros rivers, plus perhaps some territory south of the Arbelitis. In the Early Seleucid Period, it was politically dependent on the mighty province of Babylonia. With the gradual decline of Babylon and the growing diversification of political centers in the Seleucid kingdom, Adiabene became emancipated from Babylonia. With the advent of the Parthian leadership in the region, Adiabene acquired the status of a vassal kingdom of the Parthian Empire. During the Third Mithridatic War it was still a small vassal kingdom of the Parthian Empire. However, in the second half of the 1st century BCE and especially in the first three decades of the 1st century CE Adiabene started to expand its territory north-west. From then on, Adiabene included Ashur and Nineveh, and extended alongside the eastern bank of the Tigris River to include Gordyene. Adiabene's influence is also recorded on the western bank of the Tigris. In the first half of the 1st century CE Nisibis belonged to Adiabene.

an alternate route went along the western bank of the Tigris from Baghdad to Mosul, but it was much less frequented as it was less secure). Adiabene proper controlled directly only the Royal route, but its influence over the western bank of the Tigris must have had an impact on at least some parts of the route via Nisibis and Hatra (a route section via Ashur and a connection from Nineveh to the Hatra route). For more details see Hauser 1995: 225–335, Reade 1998: 81, fig. 2; Reade 1999: 286–288 (esp. 287, fig. 5).

¹³⁵ Sonnabend 1986, 266; Lerouge 2007, 79–80.

Its influence on the western bank of the Tigris is also attested for the whole 2nd century CE. However, even at the height of Adiabene's territorial expansion in the 1st century CE Pliny shows awareness that the region of Arbelitis used to be the heartland of Adiabene. At the same time, the territory north-west of the Arbelitis alongside the eastern side of the Tigris appeared to be closely integrated into Adiabene as a political entity. The link between it and Nineveh seems even to be inherent. Apparently, while Adiabene's influence on the western bank of the Tigris was much more susceptible to changeable political constellations, the territory north-west of Arbelitis (along the eastern bank of the Tigris) became organically integrated with Adiabene's heartland.

4. It is in fact only Strabo who informs us directly on the cultural environment of Adiabene. In the light of his description of Adiabene, two cultural elements of its cultural landscape can be distinguished. Firstly, the Greek tradition in the form of political civic municipal organizations in Arbela, Demetrias and Nineveh (which of course must have brought further cultural consequences); secondly, the traditions of Iranian origin (the temple of Nanaia, probably places connected with the cult fire) are also well attested in Strabo. The literary sources presented above give us then a direct insight into a cultural environment of the Seleucid and Parthian Adiabene. Furthermore, they can also provide a starting point for further research. Namely, on the basis of the results of our analysis of geographical and ethnographical texts on Adiabene, we can accurately determine the territory whose archaeological sites will be of interest in the search for knowledge on its material culture. Indeed, one of the most urgent research tasks on Adiabene is to present its archaeological record, and secondly to confront this with the data inferred from geographical and ethnographical texts on Adiabene. We may then gain a broader picture of Adiabene as the country of origin of royal converts.

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Abstract

This paper surveys ancient texts in search of geographical and ethnographical information on Adiabene in the Seleucid and Parthian Periods. Adiabene originated as a relatively small province between the Lykos and Kapros rivers, perhaps including the Arrapachitis region. In the early Seleucid period, Adiabene was politically dependent on the mighty province of Babylonia. At some point in its Parthian history (between the mid-1st century BCE and the mid-1st century CE) Adiabene started to expand its territory northwest. From then on, it included Ashur and Nineveh, and extended along the eastern bank of the Tigris river to include Gordyene. Adiabene's influence is also recorded on the western bank of the Tigris. In the first half of the 1st century CE (incorporation between 37–40/41 CE) Nisibis belonged to Adiabene. Its influence on the western bank of the Tigris is also attested for the whole 2nd century CE. As for Adiabene's cultural profile, it featured a great deal of diversity, since it consisted of co-existing Iranian and Greek and Semitic elements.



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**A PARTHIAN PORT ON THE PERSIAN GULF:
CHARACENE AND ITS TRADE***

Keywords: Parthia, Characene, trade, Persian Gulf, Arabia

Introduction

The title of this contribution intentionally reminds readers of the work the Semitist Javier Teixidor dedicated to the caravan city of Palmyra: '*Un port romain du désert, Palmyre et son commerce d'Auguste à Caracalla*'.¹ Published in 1984 in the pages of the review *Semitica*, this long article described the Syrian city as a pivotal commercial centre of the Roman Empire and the gate of Rome concerning the trade with the East. The particular status of the desert city which was granted extraordinary privileges and autonomy, was set in the context of the valuable and irreplaceable function it performed for the long distance caravan trade.

Now that a decade has passed since the publication of Monika Schuol's fundamental book on the South Mesopotamian kingdom of Characene² and in the light of the increasing interest the Parthian state has aroused in recent years, it seems justifiable to reflect upon the role the Characeniens played within the Arsacid administrative system. Characene constituted the most important commercial partner of Palmyra East of the imperial border and it was the point of arrival of the sea routes which connected southern Mesopotamia

* I am grateful to the journal's anonymous reviewers for their comments and suggestions. All remaining errors are my own.

¹ Teixidor 1984.

² Schuol 2000.

with India through the Persian Gulf. A serious reflection is needed in order to clarify if and how the importance of the Characene leadership for the Great King could be assimilated to that of the Palmyrenes for the Roman Empire. The studies relating to the Palmyrenian commercial enterprise have helped to shed light on the relationship between Characene centres and the West. Nonetheless, it would seem that insufficient attention has been paid to the forms of political control and economic influence which its monarchs, and through them the Parthian Great Kings, were able to exert over the Persian Gulf. The aim of this contribution is to leave aside Palmyra and the caravan trade and to primarily focus attention on the role the Characene played in the Parthian empire, on the influence it had on the sea trade routes crossing the Gulf in relation to the development of the communities located within its trade network. The historical information concerning Parthia and Characene will be taken into consideration along with the archaeological and epigraphic data provided by the field excavations attesting the spreading of the Arsacid presence in the Gulf in order to better understand which role this small Parthian vassal kingdom could have played in the organization of the sea routes.

The Historical Situation: the Vassal Kings of Parthia

Since its very beginning, the Parthian kingdom was characterised by a strongly decentralised nature. Within its vast borders, extending from the Euphrates' left bank to north-west India, including Mesopotamia, the whole Iranian plateau and all the Asiatic territories lying between the Persian Gulf and the Indian ocean on one side and the Caspian Sea and the Caucasus on the other, extremely different realities coexisted. The Arsacid monarchs used to confer some of their royal prerogatives to local groups of power which were strongly rooted in the territory, in order to assure the control of the most important districts and performance of the production activities which took place there. In the land formally submitted to the Great King's authority there were thus local dynasties, endowed with an independent political life and administrative organization. These 'client' kings were influenced in their activity, as were the provincial governors, by the oath of allegiance they took in favour of the Parthian king. Nonetheless, their high degree of autonomy allowed them to develop an individual policy concerning both the international situation and the exploitation of the territorial sources and the trade possibilities their lands offered.

Throughout Arsacid history these minor political entities tried to take advantage of the periodic weakness of the central authority to loosen the control

the Great King was able to exert over their government activity and increase their level of autonomy. For the Parthian king, a solid influence over his vassals and their economic and military sources would have meant the possibility of gaining access to greater financial and military means. Nevertheless, the frequent instability at the head of the kingdom allowed the vassal kings to gain a substantial autonomy until reaching, during the time of deepest crisis for the ruling dynasty, a condition of almost total independence. Once it had managed to regain its stability, the Parthian leadership found itself compelled to take action, through military and diplomatic means, in order to restore the bond of allegiance with the vassal chiefs.

For the Parthian sovereign, a loyal vassal king constituted a valuable ally for resolving international and internal problems. The local proficiencies of such monarchs assured the exploitation of the territorial resources and potential in areas where the often limited capacities of the central authority were not able to intervene or effectively respond to needs.

The autonomy achieved by the vassal kings put them a position where they could rule undisturbed in their countries and freely make the decisions they thought more suitable for the development and wealth of their states, in obedience to the political and economic obligations towards their lord. The Arsacid government system would very likely collapse if continuous attention to the institutional duties of the dynasts had not balanced the autonomy granted. The authority of the legitimate descendant of Arsaces was acknowledged as superior by the 'client' kings.

The history of the relations between the Parthian king and his royal servants can thus be explained as the attempt to strike a balance between autonomy, whose benefits for both the local courts and the central power were evident, and the dangerous centripetal forces originating in the peripheral areas of the empire. These forces could not be underestimated in a geopolitical situation in which the greatest rival of the Parthians, Rome, was enacting a policy of economic expansion in the East.

The Peculiarity of the Characenean Kingdom

A considerable number of the 'client' monarchies could date their origins back to the last period of Seleucid rule, which preceded the final Arsacid submission of Mesopotamia. The Characenean kingdom constitutes the better known of these ancient principalities. The term *Χαρακηνή*, which appears in Pliny's³ and Ptolemy's (Ptol. *Geogr.* 6.3.3) narrations about southern Mesopotamia, derives

³ Plin. *N.H.* 6. 136; Schuol 1998, 407–416.

from the name of his capital and most important city: Spasinou Charax. A second term used by ancient writers, *Μεσσηνή*,⁴ denoted the geographical area comprising the Euphrates river, the shores of the Persian Gulf, and the *Eulaios* river, the present Karun, that is to say the natural borders of the Characene kingdom.⁵

According to the sources available, the settlement of Spasinou Charax (Alexandria on the Tigris) was founded at the time of Alexander the Great. This initiative was aimed at creating an important trade centre in south Mesopotamia in order to thwart, according to Seleucids' plans, the rise of the commercial power of the Arabic city of Gerrha⁶ in the Gulf.

In 166/165 BC King Antiochos IV rebuilt the city, destroyed by a flood, renaming it Antiochia.⁷ He appointed as the head of the Mesenian eparchy a skilful new governor, the Irano-Bactrian Hyspaosines,⁸ son of a certain Sagdonacos (Polyb. 5.46; 54). Faced with the Arsacid threat and the sinking of hopes for a Seleucid revival which followed the defeat in 139 BC of Demetrios II and his anti-Parthian coalition, Hyspaosines proclaimed himself king.⁹ It was clear to him that no further aid could come from the agonized Seleucid Crown. In the years between 141 and 139 BC, when the Arsacid advance westwards was halted by the sudden troubles in Central Asia, he exploited the political vacuum in Mesopotamia, starting a policy of territorial expansion. The capital Antiochia, devastated by another flood, was rebuilt and assumed the name of Spasinou Charax from its new monarch.¹⁰

Some cuneiform documents from Babylon attest to the military operation which Hyspaosines undertook in Babylonia.¹¹ An administrative document dated 127/6 BC confirms the conquest of central Mesopotamia by the self-proclaimed king of Characene.¹² Archaeological data seems to suggest

⁴ As. Quadr. frgm. 18 apd. Steph. Byz. *Ethn.* s.v. Ἀδιαβηνή and Μεσσηνή. Ptolemy does not mention the Mesene, but the *Masanites* Gulf, corresponding to actual Kuwait Bay; Ptol. *Geogr.* 5.18.1; 5.19.1; 6.7.19; Nodelman 1960, 84; Brizzi 1981, 85.

⁵ Plin. *N.H.* 6. 129; Steph. Byz. *Ethn.* s.v. Ἀραμεία; Brizzi 1981, 87–88, 90–92; Bernard 1990, 31.

⁶ Plin. *N.H.* 6. 138; Nodelman 1960, 84; Sellwood 1983, vol. III, 1, 310; Potts 1988, 137; Bowersock 1989, 159; Potts 1990, 8–9 and 17.

⁷ Plin. *N.H.* 6. 139; Schuol 2000, 108–109.

⁸ Bellinger 1942, 56–58; Potter 1991, 279; Bin Seray 1996, 16; Schuol 2000, 292–293.

⁹ Newell 1925; Bellinger 1942, 54.

¹⁰ BMC Arabia, CXCIV–CXCVII; McDowell 1935, 148; Le Rider 1959, 231; Nodelman 1960, 90–91; Hansman 1967, 24.

¹¹ BM 33461 + 33836, Vs. 9'–12' and 14', Rs. 1'–3' (138–137 AD); Sachs and Hunger 1996, 168–171, No. –137 D, Obv. 9'–14', Rev. 1'–3', pll. 204–205.

¹² Bellinger 1942, 58; Sachs and Hunger 1996, 260–261, No. –125 A, Obv. 15'–21', pll. 234–235; Schuol 2000, 31–34 and 294; Assar 2006, 108–109.

the occupation of other sites in the region as Larsa, Uruk and Tello.¹³ The apogee of the Characene power was short-lived. At the end of the 127 BC the Arsacid generals had already managed to enter Babylonia, compelling the Mesenian troops within their kingdom borders again.¹⁴ After this an energetic new Arsaces, Mithridates II, came to power, and the capacity of resistance of the small kingdom failed. The last monetary emissions bearing the name of Hyspaosines date back to 121/0 BC. Later the Parthian king overstruck his coins on his rival exemplars, an indication of Characene defeat and of the fact that Mithridates managed to conquer the region or, at least its capital.¹⁵

This latter explanation seems due. It would have required the availability of naval squads, trained to cooperate with land units in amphibious operations, to conquer and maintain steady control over Mesene. The Parthian army was composed mainly of cavalry units, whose rapidity of movement was useless in the tangled system of channels and swamps that characterised south Mesopotamia. The armies of the Arsacids were the military instrument of a continental power which did not have the necessary skills and knowledge to wage a war by sea or to organise a network of maritime trade routes. Nonetheless, the Parthian leadership did not ignore the enormous potential represented by the commercial routes connecting the Indian coast and the wealthy Babylonian cities through the Persian Gulf. What the Parthians lacked in terms of means and knowledge was made up for by the strength of the Characenes, who were the heirs of the Seleucid mercantile expansion in the Gulf and the powerful fleet of the Erythrean Sea, the main instrument of that policy.

The nautical skills and the naval means the kings of Characene had at their disposal would thus have been crucial for the political survival of their dynasty, even if not in strictly military terms. Forced to surrender all the conquests on the main land, *Apodakos*, Hyspaosines' son and successor, was acknowledged, like many other dynasts, by the Great King on his father's throne as a vassal sovereign. The submission of the Characene monarch, who was granted significant autonomy, gave Mithridates II the possibility of spreading his area of influence through the trade routes of the Gulf.¹⁶

¹³ Finkbeiner 1982, 155–162; Leisten 1986, 356–359; Schuol 2000, 296–298.

¹⁴ BM 34274 + 34739 (127–6 AD); Sachs and Hunger 1996, 254–255, No. –126 A, Obv. 7–9', pl. 232–233; Schuol 2000, 34–35, 294–295; Assar 2006, 115.

¹⁵ McDowell 1935, 213; Le Rider 1959, 231–232; Bernard 1990, 41–43; Wolski 1993, 88–89; Habicht 1997, 129–130; Schuol 2000, 298; Simonetta 2006, 43.

¹⁶ BMC Arabia, CXCVII, 289, n. 1, pl. XLII; Nodelman 1960, 91–92; Habicht 1997, 129–130.

A Characenic Thalassocracy? (second century BC - third century AD)

From the end of the second century BC to the first century AD, Characene was the only political entity in a position, through its harbour structures, to connect the south Mesopotamian Greek cities with the trade centres of South Arabia. Mesene harbours were situated at the mouth of the largest navigable rivers in the region, the Tigris and the Euphrates, through which oriental goods were brought to the mainland, in order to reach the markets of Babylonia and the West.¹⁷

Until recent times there was no evidence to prove that Hyspaosines was able to occupy the southern coastal area of the Gulf in the course of his reign, which would later prove vital for the Characenic economic expansion. Only a later reference by Lucian of Samosata existed. In his *Makrobioi* he called the founder of the dynasty βασιλεύς τῶν κατ' Ἐρυθρὰν θάλασσαν τόπων, an expression which some scholars interpreted as proof of the expansion of Hyspaosines' rule along the northern coast of the Arabic peninsula as far as the actual Oman.¹⁸ The presence in this period of scarce numismatic evidence in the Gulf area cannot with certainty be associated with a political or military presence of the Characenic. Goods, men and coins moved freely along the well travelled commercial routes. Trade colonies grew up next to strategic locations. While there was no doubt that the region was under the commercial influence of Characene, on the other hand the vast political expansion which some scholars inferred from Lucian's words, written three centuries after the narrated events, appeared to be excluded.

A recent epigraphic finding has made it necessary to reconsider this question. A short dedicatory inscription from the time of Hyspaosines, found in 1997 in the necropolis of Shakhoura on Bahrain island, but only published in 2002, suggests a political hegemony, at least in the northern and central Gulf. The text in Greek says: 'In the name of King Hyspaosines and of Queen Thalassia, Kephisodoros, strategos of Tylos and of the Islands (has dedicated) the temple, to the Dioscuri Saviours, in ex-voto'.¹⁹

This document can be dated to the latter period of Hyspaosines' rule, in around the Twenties of the second century BC, the apogee of his government. In these circumstances it can be supposed that the monarch maintained the prerogatives due to him as the last governor and Selucid responsible for south Mesopotamia. It is in this sense that the rule over *Tylos*²⁰ and over other not better speci-

¹⁷ Boucharlat and Salles 1981, 76–80; Schuol 2000, 299–300.

¹⁸ Lucian. *Makr.* 16.16; Potts 1988, 140–141; Salles 1990, 223.

¹⁹ Gatier, Lombard and Al-Sindi 2002, 223–226.

²⁰ The classical sources use this place name referring to the island; Strab. 16.3.4 and 6–7; Plin. *N.H.* 6.147; Theophr. *De Lapidibus*, 36; Potts 1990, 127–133, 135 and 138; Salles 1992, 87–88.

fied maritime stations in the Gulf must be understood. Hyspaosines was very likely able to strengthen the Characene political position in the Gulf. Nonetheless, even this new document does not allow us to assume an annexation of the northern coast of the Arabian peninsula. It would also be hazardous to conjecture that the island of Bahrain continuously remained under Mesene administration until the middle of the second century AD, when a strategy of the *Thilouanoi* subject to Spasinou Charax is once again evidenced. What the document certainly proves is that a sort of Characene thalassocracy was already established in the second century BC.

In the first century BC and for most of the first century AD Characene experienced a substantial autonomy within the Arsacid empire. Several findings along the Gulf sea routes and near the stopovers on the south coast prove that during this period the Arsacids were also interested in commercially exploiting the Gulf. Such a policy widely, if not exclusively, employed the men, the means and the logistical organization which only the Characene entrepreneurs were able to provide. It is undeniable that the business classes, whether Arsacid or closer to the Characene autonomous royalty, which exerted their influence over the trade network, gave a significant impulse to the evolution of the societies along the sea routes.²¹ As had already occurred in the steppe areas around Edessa and Palmyra, the creation of an efficient trade network through the Gulf required the establishment of stopover and supply stations, settlements equipped to receive the convoys headed to India or to the Mesene sea ports.

The oriental goods and luxury ware which the western sources described with admiration were naturally not destined for these stopover settlements, where in fact there is no trace of them. Archaeological research, which has only been satisfactorily conducted in some limited areas, has revealed that the Gulf settlements belonged to the area of diffusion of basic Mesopotamian products. The commercial landings in the Gulf, where doubtless both Characene and Parthian agents operated, were part of a region under the political and cultural influence of Mesopotamia. They constituted an ideal social substratum for both the Great King and the dynasts of Mesene, in view of a future political expansion.

The settlement of Thaj grew up next to the road connecting the Babylonian cities with south Arabia²² along the Gulf coast. This area experienced a period of prosperity during the Hellenistic age.²³ Archaeological surveys brought to light significant amounts of *Parthian Glazed Ware*, typical of Arsacid Babylonia (first century AD) and produced at Seleucia, Susa and Uruk-Warka. Economic relations with the ports north of the Gulf seem to be proven by the coins, mainly

²¹ Teixidor 1993, 293–294.

²² Potts 1983, 113–124.

²³ Boucharlat and Salles 1981, 77–78; Salles 1993, 505.

Elymean and Parthian, found in the burial grounds of the villages surrounding the site (for example at Jebel Kenzan).²⁴

The archaeological data on the ceramics from the settlement of Ra's al-Qal'at, on Bahrain island, also prove contacts with the Iranian world.²⁵ The Hellenistic fortress was very likely also used during the Parthian period, as confirmed by the ceramic finds and by the Arabic sources which attest to the existence of fortified structures between the end of the Parthian rule and the beginning of the Sasanian expansion.²⁶ The forts mentioned in the sources could be an evolution of the palaces originally intended to host the Characene governor.²⁷ Here too, the burial grounds around the main settlement (Jidd Hafis, Karranah and Janussan) evidenced ceramic and materials coming from Mesopotamia.²⁸

Another important and busy commercial station existed on Failaka island, not far from the coast of current Kuwait. This site also provided Parthian ceramics and exemplars of Characene monetary emissions.²⁹

The site which proves richest in findings is that of Ed-Dur on the United Arab Emirates coast. It was a vast centre located almost one kilometre from the coast, characterised by intense building activity between the first and fourth century AD.³⁰ The percentage quantity of Parthian ceramics (*Parthian Glaze Ware*) discovered on the site exceeds what has been found in other Gulf settlements, and reaches 40 % of all the datable fictile material brought to light.³¹ Of course these findings should not be taken into consideration as an isolated element but have to be put in close relation with the information provided by the other sources (literary, epigraphic and numismatic) in order to describe a situation on the southern shore of the Gulf where, even if the presence of Characene or Parthian agents cannot be proved by archaeological data only, the economic and political influence of Parthia and Characene seems evident.

²⁴ Boucharlat 1993, 47–48; Finkbeiner 1993, 283–287.

²⁵ In particular for the periods *Tylus V b1* (100 BC – 100 AD) and *Tylus V b2* (100 AD – 250 AD); Boucharlat and Salles 1981, 74–76; Potts 1990, 108–109; Potts 1996, 270–273.

²⁶ Kervran 1983, 71–77; Boucharlat 1986, 435–444; Kervran 1986, 462–464; Bergamini 1987, 195–214; Kennet 2007, 103.

²⁷ Kervran 1984, 165; Boucharlat et Salles 1987, 283 and 285; Potts 1990, 111–115; Lombard et Kervan 1993, 135–136.

²⁸ During-Caspers 1972–74, 131–156; Potts 1990, 117; Boucharlat et Salles 1987, 286; For Janussan see: Lombard et Salles 1984, 43, 120–129, 140, 159–161; Herling and Salles 1993, 172–177.

²⁹ Boucharlat and Salles 1981, 73–74; Potts 1996, 270; Gachet 1998, 69–79.

³⁰ Salles 1980, 97–98; Boucharlat et Salles 1987, 291–296; Boucharlat 1989, 113–114; Potts 1990, 275–277; Potts 2001, 57.

³¹ Boucharlat, Haerinck, Phillips and Potts 1988, 1–26; Haerinck, 1998a, 292; Salles 1987, 241–270.

Investigation of this site is only just beginning, and most of the inhabited area has only been researched through surface surveys. Nonetheless, the wealth of monetary findings from Ed-Dur suggests that the site, possibly even from the first half of the first century, played a vital role as intermediate trade station between India and Mesopotamia, possibly taking the place once occupied by Thaj.³² There are numerous coins of the first century Characenean kings.³³ It seems that the Mesenean coins substantially influenced the autochthonous coinage,³⁴ which shows a Heracles' head, the traditional symbol of the Characenean dynasty, next to a seated divinity and the Aramaic legend *Abi'el*.³⁵ According to D. T. Potts,³⁶ Ed-Dur could be identified with the harbour of *Ommana*, which the *Periplus Maris Erythraei*, a treatise written in the last third of the first century AD, mentions as a 'Persian', that is to say Parthian, emporium.³⁷

Taking into consideration the local monetary issues from Ed-Dur, a fundamental step in the evolution of a society which based its wealth on the sea trade, the catalytic role played by the Characenean kingdom and by its business groups in the cultural and social formation of the communities, which had become part of the trade network they created and managed, seems evident.

The leading class of the small Characenean kingdom had been able to understand and exploit the advantages connected with the opening of the sea communication routes with the East. When the internal cohesion of the Parthian kingdom allowed the Great King to adopt a more direct policy aimed at controlling the sea routes, it is probable that he utilized the Mesene network, very likely employing the same men who created it, as a consolidated starting point to push the limits of his activity towards the East, as far as Africa³⁸ or even India.³⁹

In the course of the first century AD, the importance of the sea routes and thus of the Mesenean harbours remains relevant. Nonetheless, the political life of

³² Haerinck, 1998a, 274.

³³ Salles 1980, 98–99; Potts 1988, 141–143; Haerinck, Phillips, Potts and Stevens 1993, 186–187; Boucharlat et Mouton 1993, 219–249; Boucharlat and Mouton 1994, 214–237; Haerinck 1998a, 283–284; Haerinck 1998b, 22–41; Schuol 2000, 330; Potts 2001, 51–52.

³⁴ Haerinck 1994, 9–13.

³⁵ Salles 1980, 100–101; Potts 1990, 288–291; Haerinck 1998a, 283–300.

³⁶ Salles 1988, 89–91 and 95–98; Potts 1990, 302–303; Haerinck 1998a, 275–278; Potts 2001, 54.

³⁷ *Per. cap.* 36; Salles 1992, 92–94; Potts 1990, 308–309. Haerinck 1998a, 275–276; Schuol 2000, 336–338.

³⁸ Some Arsacid coins dated to the first and second century AD were found along the African coast. They have been kept in the Beit al-Amani museum of Zanzibar before they disappeared; Freeman-Grenville 1958, 110; Freeman-Grenville 1960, 33; Knappert 1992, 143–178; Horton 1996, 447.

³⁹ Schenk 2007, 57–90; Tomber 2007, 972–88. For a very general approach the recent Hackl, Jacobs, Weber 2010, 111–129.

Characene remained indissolubly bound to the Arsacid empire, of whose ruling system it was an integral part. In order to function properly, Characene merchant activity needed adequate logistical support from both the central Parthian authority and the local powers, which were responsible for the government of the inland districts, the roads and the desert tracks which the merchant expeditions had to pass through on their way to the Gulf shore.

On the other hand, along the Arabian coast,⁴⁰ the Mesenian monarchs found themselves in a position to unrestrictedly intensify their political and economic relations with the southern Arabian communities and the kingdom of *Ommana* of king *Goaios*, for example, a ruler mentioned by Isidoros from Charax, and later by Lucian. They undoubtedly exploited the presence of Ommani Arabs in the territories under their jurisdiction.⁴¹

During the crisis which struck the Arsacid central authority, causing political troubles in central Mesopotamia, the main trade subjects in western Asia began to think of the sea routes, whose exploitation was made easier by knowledge of the Monsoon winds, as preferable in comparison with the traditional transcontinental silk roads.⁴²

From the Indian ports of *Barbarikon* and *Barygaza* on the Gurajat coast landed spices, ointments, gems, copper, sandalwood, teak, ebony and, of course, raw silk; this was then worked and woven, destined for the households of the most illustrious of the Palmyrene dignitaries.

The *Periplus Maris Erythraei*, which provides most of the information regarding the sea traffic in the Indian Ocean during the second half of the first century AD, only marginally mentions the Gulf routes. According to the anonymous writer of the *Periplus*, the whole Persian Gulf at that time was in the hands of the 'Persians', that is to say the Arsacids who gained supremacy over the sea stations and the outfitting of the ships employed along the Indian Ocean routes.⁴³

After the political triumph represented by the Rhandaia treatise in 63 AD and his victory against the Romans in Armenia, the Great King Vologaeses I worked hard to realize his policy of structural consolidation of the Arsacid kingdom. The Characene potentate, which in the meantime had become an important economic power, would no longer find a place in the political plans conceived by the new Arsaces. The scanty sources do not allow precise clarifi-

⁴⁰ Schuol 2000, 329.

⁴¹ Lucian. *Makr.*, 16. 17; Plin. *N.H.* 6.145.

⁴² Some Palmyrene inscriptions in the first century AD mention Spasinou Charax: PAT 1584; *Inv.*, X, 7; *Inv.*, X, 40 (81 AD); Rostovtzeff 1932, 798; Gawlikowski 1983, nn. 59–60, 63; Starcky et Gawlikowski 1985, 75; Drexhage 1988, 24–27; Will 1992, 21; Gawlikowski 1996, 140; Schuol 2000, 52–54; Gregoratti 2010, 21–37.

⁴³ Dąbrowa 1991, 141–150; Potts 1990, 313–314.

cation of the political fate of the low Mesopotamian kingdom during the reign of Vologaeses I and his successor Pacoros II. The last Characene coins are dated to 74/75 AD. Up to 101/102 AD, no further royal emissions are attested.⁴⁴ It is hard to say whether the probable use of military strength by the Arsacids caused an effective annexation of the Characene or if, on the contrary, the Great King substituted only the leading dynasty of the kingdom, revoking their right to strike coins, and by so doing depriving modern scholars of the information provided by numismatics. Without these, it is impossible to reconstruct the succession of the monarchs who ruled Characene during this period.⁴⁵

What is clear is that a new phase began in the life of the kingdom with the aggressive policy of Rome at the beginning of the second century AD. The warlike Characenean dynasty was not disposed to renounce its autonomist prerogatives. Accepting the authority of the Roman emperor, who sooner or later would have come back to his distant capital, would be preferable to fighting against him in order to maintain the existing situation, where a weak Arsacid authority had for two centuries been trying to become more powerful, by enforcing his influence in the government of the most wealthy and important of his 'client' kings.

Such considerations might have inspired the political choices of Attambelos VII, King of Characene since 113/4 AD,⁴⁶ who, hearing that Trajan was approaching Mesene with an army and a fleet, without further ado went to the northern borders of his kingdom to greet him and offer his submission.⁴⁷ The failure of the invasion and Trajan's death meant Attambelos' political ruin.⁴⁸ Indeed, the monarchs who followed bear Iranian names.⁴⁹ The Parthians most likely solved the Characenean problem by placing a member of the Arsacid dynasty on the throne and putting an end to the Hyspaosinid line of succession. The next mention of a Characenean royalty occurs fourteen years later (131 AD) in a Palmyrene inscription mentioning a king named Meredates, son of the Great King Pacoros II.⁵⁰

The Great King Vologaeses III, attempting to pursue Pacoros II's economic policy, decided to exploit the international trade to improve the financial situation of the Arsacid state. The new distension policy towards Rome caused an exponential increase in the traffic of oriental goods, multiplying the

⁴⁴ Keall 1975, 624–625.

⁴⁵ On this period of Parthian history see Olbrycht 1998.

⁴⁶ BMC Arabia, CCIII; Le Rider 1959, 252–253; Bernard 1990, 37; Bin Seray 1996, 17.

⁴⁷ Cass. Dio. 68.17 and 28; Arr. *Parth.* frags. 17; 67–70; Potter 1991, 281; Schuol 2000, 345–346.

⁴⁸ Potter 1991, 283.

⁴⁹ Schuol 2000, 348.

⁵⁰ *Inv.*, X, 38 = PAT 1374; Gregoratti 2010, 32–34.

income from the trade itself and from the taxes the Arsacid officers collected. Vologaeses III's goal could only be achieved by granting to the western commercial agents, in particular the Palmyrene entrepreneurs, full autonomy in their commercial activity, the internal organisation and management of their merchant colonies in Parthian territory.⁵¹ The circumstances required that a man particularly loyal to Vologaeses III be head of the Characene kingdom: a man who would not abuse the wide political autonomy his role of commercial mediator between Rome and Ctesiphon implied. He had to be able to exploit the proficiency of the Palmyrene merchants in the most convenient way for the Crown, providing them with all the government support they needed to carry on their business in the most effective way. A real synergy was put into action in consideration of the large income which all trade partners, Palmyra and the Romans, on one side, the Characeni and Vologaeses III on the other, could generate.

Vologaeses had to appoint a dynamic monarch, open to collaboration with foreigners, ready to understand and exploit the potential of the region, but also capable of protecting his lord's interests in a region where Hyspaosinid opposition was certainly considerable. The choice fell upon his brother Mithridates, who proved to be up to the task and successfully restored the Characene hegemony in the Gulf. The text of the Palmyrene dedicatory text reads:

[This is the image of] Yarḥai, son of Nebuzabad, grandson of Šammallath, son of Aqqadam, citizen of Hadriane Palmyra, satrap of the Thilouanoi for the king Meherdates of Spasinou Charax. The merchants of Spasinou Charax in his honour, in the year 442 (131 AD), in the month of Xandios (April).⁵²

Yarḥai, son of Nebuzabad, a Palmyrene was certainly a pre-eminent figure within the circle of merchants operating in the Mesene capital city, the authors of the inscription found in the *αγορά* of the Syrian city. What differentiates this text from the other caravan inscriptions is the reference to the specific office held by Yarḥai in the new king's administration as governor of the district of *Tylos*, that is to say the present-day island of Bahrain.⁵³

After many decades of Mesene independence and struggle to affirm their political identity, Mithridates came to power, imposed by a foreign Great King

⁵¹ Several Palmyrene expeditions are attested in the Mesene ruled by Merdates; *Inv.*, X, 112 (140 d.C.); *Inv.*, IX, 14; (142 d.C.); *Inv.*, X, 124 (150 d.C.); Seyrig 1941, n. 21, 252–253; Starcky et Gawlikowski 1985, 77; Drexhage 1980, 35–37; 69–70; 77–79; Teixidor 1984, 165; Gawlikowski 1996, 141–142; Schulz 2000, 64–65.

⁵² *Inv.* X, 38; Seyrig 1941, n. 21bis, 253–255; Starcky et Gawlikowski 1985, 77; Drexhage 1980, 28–29; Teixidor 1984, 58–59; Gawlikowski 1996, 141; Schulz 2000, 56–57.

⁵³ Bowersock 1986, 157–158.

who had punished the traditional dynasty with suppression for its betrayal. It seems probable that he tried to establish a new state administration, appointing men who proved themselves essential for the implementation of his policy, like Yarhai, to positions of responsibility. He appointed as governor of *Tylos*, a district vital to the merchant system of the Persian Gulf, one of the leaders of the Palmyrene community whose interests were closely connected with perfect functioning of the trade routes. The strategy was remarkably shrewd.

In order to maintain the efficiency of the Gulf routes, and by doing so assuring the income provided by the taxation of the goods, the political responsibility over commercial areas was conferred to those people who could benefit from the efficiency of the merchant organisation more than anyone else. Since the royal authority exploited the commercial network established and managed by the Palmyrenes, it was interested in favouring the strengthening of the Syrian merchants' role in the area.

Palmyrene citizens thus lived on Bahrein island as merchants and governmental officers. Recently-conducted archaeological investigations on the island have not yet provided material proof of the presence of Palmyrenes there, as was the case on Kharg island, just a few kilometres to the north, close to the Iranian coast⁵⁴. The exploration of a funerary complex revealed the existence of two hypogean structures with more than ninety graves; the construction and decorative features of this complex showed clear parallels with contemporary structures in Tadmor.⁵⁵ A Palmyrene trade station may have been established in Kharg, the arrival point for boats coming down the Euphrates and starting point for the ocean crossing. As documented for *Tylos*, perhaps here too the local officers were chosen from Palmyrene merchants. Two of them, who died on the island, were probably buried in their adoptive country in tombs similar to those used in their native land.

How much the Palmyrenian element contributed to extending the Characenean political and economic area of influence is underlined by the titulature adopted by Mithridates himself on his coins, attested only from 143/4 AD.⁵⁶ Beside his portrait are the words: *MEPEΛAT YI(oc) ΦO(κopov) BA(σιλεωc) BACIA(εov) BACIAEYC OMAN(αιov)*, Meredates, son of Pacoros, King of Kings, king of the Ommanes.⁵⁷

⁵⁴ Ghirshman 1958, 261–268.

⁵⁵ Haerinck 1975, 138–145; Boucharlat and Salles 1981, 70–71.

⁵⁶ BMC Arabia, CCXI–CCXII, 311–312, nn. 1–15, pl. XLVIII. 5–7; Nodelman 1960, 112–114; Sellwood 1983, 313; Bowersock 1989, 160–163; Potts 1988, 143–144 and 152–154; Bernard 1990, 35–38; Potts 1990, 145–147; Potter 1991, 284.

⁵⁷ Potts 1988, 146–149; Potts 1990, 324–327; Schuol 2000, 352.

Pliny documents the presence, south of Mesene along the south-eastern Arabic coast, of Arab groups called Omanites⁵⁸ in the second half of the first century AD. Ptolemy mentions a place name, Coromanis, south of the Mesene Gulf, which according to some scholars means ‘cove of the Omanites’.⁵⁹ This information is confirmed by the tradition concerning the migration northwards of nomadic groups belonging to the Azd Oman tribe, attested on the north part of the Gulf from the third century until the Islamic conquest. Most probably these movements of people had already begun at the time when Pliny was writing. Some nomadic groups settled near the southern coast of the Gulf and were forced to submit to Mithridates’ rule. As mentioned, Lucian stated that the famous Hyspaosines already ruled over the Omanites, but the second century writer was probably influenced by the power of the Characene king at that time. It seems evident that the Mesenian expansion policy occurred along the sea routes of the north Arabic coast. Mithridates thus took control of the emporium of Ommana, the most important and busy centre, probably identified with the site of Ed-Dur, next to the present-day Oman, as stated previously. The Omanites on Mithridates’ coins were the inhabitants of that port, a prominent station on the route to India, which must have been included in the Characene-Palmyrene commercial network.⁶⁰

Mithridates, thanks to his trade hegemony and his allies, had become powerful. He was a rich monarch, son of the last Great King Pacoros II, who had at his disposal an efficient commercial organization, and had gained an ally in common with Rome. This situation became unsustainable when Vologaeses IV took power in Ctesiphon, starting a new branch of the Arsacid Dynasty (148 AD).⁶¹

For Vologaeses IV Mithridates was a dangerous rival, a loyal servant of his predecessor ruling over a wealthy and vital region of the empire. He solved the issue through a military campaign, as stated in a famous bilingual inscription from Seleucia on the Tigris.⁶² Mithridates was deposed and Orabzes II, loyal to the new Great King, was appointed in his place (151 AD).⁶³

Under the new king the Palmyrenian merchant expeditions continued crossing the Arsacid territory, and more direct relations with the Indian peninsula are

⁵⁸ Plin. *N.H.*, 6.145; Potts 1988, 152–154.

⁵⁹ Arab. *khor*; Miles 1878, 160–171.

⁶⁰ Isidorus of Charax, quoted by Lucian (*Makr.* 16) mentions a certain *Goaios* “king of Omanes in the land of incense”.

⁶¹ Olbrycht 1998.

⁶² Al-Salihi 1987, 162–164; Pennacchietti 1987, 169–185; Bowersock 1989, 163; Bernard 1990, 23–27; Potter 1991, 278–279.

⁶³ Gregoratti 2010, 34–35.

attested.⁶⁴ Orabzes remained on the throne until the defeat of Vologaeses IV by the Romans⁶⁵ when a local dynasty again took control of Mesene.⁶⁶

On the southern shores of the Gulf the reduced Arsacid influence permitted the formation of local potentates, whose kings continued to take advantage of the trade relations with Mesenian harbours, just as the Characeniens did, maintaining a formal dependence on Ctesiphon. The Arabic historic tradition seems to confirm such circumstances. In order to extend his rule over the Gulf, the Sassanid king Ardashir, victorious over the Parthians and the Characeniens, was compelled in the course of the 240 AD campaign to fight the allied armies of *Sana-truk*, the Parthian named monarch of *al-Bahrain*, who committed suicide during the siege of his capital city, and of the Omanite king, 'Amr ibn Waqid al-Himyari.⁶⁷

The Omanite historical tradition itself, in particular the first book of the *Khashf al-Gumma*⁶⁸ records a rebellion of the local population led by *Malik b. Fahm*,⁶⁹ which forced the 'Persians', most probably the Parthians or the Characeniens, to leave the shores of the eastern Gulf at the end of the second century. According to this source the Omanites experienced a period of political independence under *Malik* and his sons, until the invasion of the *Benú Sasan*, the Sassanids.⁷⁰

Conclusions

The Characene kingdom was a vital area for the entire Parthian empire. Scattered references in the sources seem to suggest that trade routes crossing the Persian Gulf were established by Characenic monarchs and businessmen, who over the course of time found it particularly advantageous to develop the relations they had with their Palmyrenian colleagues, in order to achieve an actual

⁶⁴ *Inv.* X, 111 (156 d.C.); X, 90 (157 d.C.); X, 107 (159 d.C.); X, 29 (161 d.C.); X, 19; Seyrig 1941, n. 24, 264–266; Drexhage 1980, 50–51; Teixidor 1984, 53; Starcky et Gawlikowski 1985, 83; Gawlikowski 1996, 142–143; Gawlikowski 1983, 64.

⁶⁵ BMC Arabia, CCX–CCXI; Nodelman 1960, 114–115; Bernard 1990, 40–41; Schuol 2000, 356–357.

⁶⁶ Schuol 2000, 359–362.

⁶⁷ Al-Tabarī p. 839; Al-Dīnawarī 45, 11–14; Yāqūt, Mu'ğam IV, p. 552; Widengren 1971, 730–731; 753–755; 763–773; Piacentini 1985, 57–77.

⁶⁸ *Khashf al-Gumma* is a work written in 1728 AD by Shaykh Sirhān bin Sa'īd of Oman which collects the various traditions concerning the migrations of the omanite tribes; Sachau 1898, 1–19; Potts 1990, 238–239.

⁶⁹ The first chief of the Qahtanite tribe of the Azd who moved from Yemen to actual Oman: Groom 1994, 198–199 and n.1.

⁷⁰ Ross 1874, 111–196; Potts 2001, 5.

commercial and political collaboration. For the Arsacids it was important to exert a form of control over Characene, its Gulf network and its traffic, but even in the period of their greatest power, Parthian influence in the Gulf area could only be realized with the cooperation of the Characeniens, or by establishing an autonomous authority on the throne of Mesene. For most of the Parthian period the autonomy of the region was therefore not under discussion. It could not be otherwise. Autonomy was indispensable for Characene to develop its trade network in the Gulf and to interact with other political entities which were active on trade routes. Only with a special status could Characene effectively perform the function of 'harbour' for the Arsacid empire, as Palmyra did in the middle of the desert routes for the Roman empire.

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Abstract

Scholars have mainly focused their attention on the western connections of the south Mesopotamian kingdom of Characene, whose harbours appear in several texts of the well known caravan inscriptions from Palmyra. As a consequence this interesting and important state has been often regarded almost exclusively from a western point of view, which favoured the role it played as the main Palmyrenian trading partner in the East. The aim of this paper is to provide a different approach to this topic. The kingdom of Characene was part of the Arsacid empire and its historical role cannot be understood without taking into consideration also the history of the Parthian state and the relationship with its south Mesopotamian vassal kingdom. Parthian kings exploited the proficiencies the Characeniens had gained in sea routes and trade rendering this small kingdom a sort of port for the entire Parthian empire. This can remind the role which another important 'Port of the sands', that is to say Palmyra, played for Rome, the Parthian neighbour. Apart from hosting Palmyra's merchant colonies and within the Parthian state, Characene autonomously developed a trade network in the Persian Gulf, promoting the cultural evolution of the societies which belonged to its trade horizon.



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SANATRUK VON ARMENIEN

Keywords: Sanatruk, Arsacids, Armenia, Caucasian history, Parthia

Vorbemerkung

Unter den Fragmenten aus Arrians *Parthika* befindet sich eines, in dem ein Sanatruk gepriesen wird (Arr. *Parth.* Frg. *77 Roos-Wirth):

Σανατρούκης, Ἀρμενίων βασιλεύς, ὃς τὸ μὲν σῶμα ζύμμετρον εἶχε, τὴν γνώμην δὲ μέγας ἐτύγγανεν ἐς ἅπαντα, οὐχ ἥκιστα δὲ ἐς τὰ ἔργα τὰ πολέμια. ἐδόκει δὲ καὶ τοῦ δικαίου φύλαξ ἀκριβῆς γενέσθαι καὶ τὰ ἐς τὴν δίκαιαν ἴσα καὶ τοῖς κρατίστοις Ἑλλήνων τε καὶ Ῥωμαίων κεκολασμένος.

Diese Worte könnte man etwa folgendermaßen wiedergeben:

Sanatruk, ein König der Armenier, verfügte bei ansprechendem Äußeren über eine hohe Sachkompetenz, nicht zuletzt in Verteidigungsfragen. Darüber hinaus machte er sich einen Namen als Vorkämpfer der Gerechtigkeit. Was seinen Lebensstil betrifft, musste er sich nicht vor den prominentesten Griechen und Römern verstecken.¹

Wir haben eine moderne Übersetzung beigegeben, weil diese am besten verdeutlichen kann, was beim Überlesen des Fragments vielleicht nicht recht klar werden würde: Abgesehen davon, dass der Mann als König der Armenier vorgestellt wird und den eher seltenen Namen Sanatruk trug, wird nichts allzu Konkretes berichtet. Die wenigen Sätze könnten zu jedem Machthaber grie-

¹ Paraphrasiert und interpretiert unter Berücksichtigung der wörtlichen Übertragung bei Asdourian 1911, 100. Vgl. auch die französische Version bei Chaumont 1976, 128.

chisch-römischer Zeit passen, der die Attitüde eines hellenisierten Fürsten pflegte. Insbesondere lassen sich den Worten Arrians keinerlei Hinweise auch nur auf die ungefähre Lebenszeit des Königs entnehmen. Hierbei kann aber ein weiteres Fragment helfen, in dem ebenfalls der Name Sanatruk erscheint. Es stammt aus Cassius Dio, wurde traditionell 75,9,6 gezählt und lautet:

Ἵτι τῷ Οὐολογαίῳ τῷ Σανατρούκου παιδὶ ἀντιπαταξαμένῳ τοῖς περὶ Σεουήρον, καὶ διοκωχὴν πρὶν συμμῖξαι σφισιν αἰτήσαντι καὶ λαβόντι, πρέσβεις τε πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀπέστειλε καὶ μέρος τι τῆς Ἀρμενίας ἐπὶ τῇ εἰρήνῃ ἐχαρίσατο.²

Es ist schwer vorstellbar, dass der armenische König Sanatrukes verschieden sein sollte von dem gleichnamigen Vater eines Vologaises, der einen Teil Armeniens erhielt. Man wird es den früheren Gelehrten auch nicht verdenken können, dass sie den „Seoueros“, der diese Gebietsübertragung (offensichtlich nicht ganz freiwillig) zuließ, mit dem bekanntesten Namensträger identifizierten, dem Kaiser L. Septimius Severus. So sah der 1706 verstorbene Dr. med. Jean Foy Vaillant in Sanatrukes den Nachfolger des in den Jahren 164 bis nach 172 belegten groß-armenischen Königs Sohaemus und erklärte ihn ganz unbefangen zu dessen Sohn.³

Wir haben kürzlich verdeutlichen können, dass Sohaemus sicher keinen Nachfolger namens Sanatruk hatte.⁴ Dies erkannte jedoch erst Ursulus Philippus Boissevain, als er das von ihm zu Recht als „verschoben“ betrachtete Fragment Cassius Dios an seinen richtigen Platz rückte – in die Spätphase von Traians Partherkrieg.⁵ Vologaises war demnach keiner der zahlreichen Partherkönige dieses Namens, sondern ein *armenischer* Arsakide, der zur Zeit Hadrians regierte.⁶ Er kam nicht in direkter Erbfolge an die Macht, sondern erkämpfte sich seine Position in der Auseinandersetzung mit dem von Traian eingesetzten Provinzstatthalter L. Catilius Severus. Vor diesem hatten die Brüder Axidares und Parthamasiris, Söhne des parthischen Großkönigs Pakoros, nacheinander als Könige gewirkt.⁷ In die Zeit vor

² Eine Übersetzung der schwierigen Stelle gibt Boissevain 1890, 332 mit 645 (Berichtigung): *Als Vologaises, der Sohn des Sanatrukes, sich dem von Severus geführten Armeecorps gegenüber aufgestellt, und, noch ehe er das Gefecht begann, einen Waffenstillstand verlangt und bekommen hatte, schickte er Gesandten [sic] zu ihm (Vologaises) und gab ihm einen Theil Armeniens, damit er Frieden bekäme.*

³ Vaillant 1725, 337 und 403. Bei Guthrie u.a. 1785, 383, Text der 382 beginnenden Anm. o), ist Sanatruces unter Commodus angesetzt, ohne dass ein Verwandtschaftsverhältnis zu Sohaemus hergestellt wird.

⁴ Schottky 2010, 217ff.

⁵ Boissevain 1890, passim. Das Fragment ist in den Ausgaben jetzt nach 68,30,3 eingeordnet.

⁶ So erstmals Boissevain 1890, 336f. Siehe jetzt Schottky 2004, 94 (Groß-Armenien) Nr. 27 sowie *DNP* 12/2 s.v. Vologaises 7, 310.

⁷ Schottky 2004, 94 (Groß-Armenien) Nr. 25–26.

deren Herrschaft müsste demnach das Königtum des Sanatruk fallen. Dies ließe sich auch am besten mit der Tatsache verbinden, dass nach der letzten Erwähnung des Tiridates, des Begründers der armenischen Arsakidenlinie, bis zu Axidares kein armenischer Herrscher namentlich genannt wird. Ausgehend von Boissevains Konjektur sprach sich zuerst Josef Markwart für eine Platzierung Sanatrucks zwischen Tiridates und Axidares aus.⁸ Die Theorie Michel van Esbroecks, der den Sanatruk der griechischen Autoren mit einem gleichnamigen Stadtkönig von Hatra im 2. Jh. n. Chr. identifizieren wollte, hat sich nicht durchgesetzt.⁹ Ein klares Bild von dem armenischen Königs Sanatruk scheint jedoch auch die neueste Forschung nicht zu haben.¹⁰ Daher wollen wir auf den folgenden Seiten noch einmal die Grenzen dessen ausloten, was über Sanatruk von Armenien in Erfahrung gebracht werden kann. In diesem Kontext ist zunächst die Frage zu klären, wann und unter welchen Umständen er seinem vermutlichen Vorgänger Tiridates folgte.

Die späten Jahre Tiridates' I.

Schon mehrfach wurde auf die mit dem Jahr 66 verknüpfte Zäsur in der Geschichte Groß-Armeniens hingewiesen. Mit der feierlichen Krönung des Arsakiden Tiridates durch Nero wurde eine parthische Nebenlinie in dem Gebirgsland installiert, das damit zur arsakidischen Sekundogenitur wurde. Diese Vorgänge sind für antike Verhältnisse relativ gut belegt.¹¹ Angesichts dessen könnte leicht übersehen werden, dass die Zeugnisse für Tiridates nach der Rückkehr in sein Königreich äußerst spärlich sind. Faktisch erscheint er in den literarischen Quellen sogar nur noch einmal:

Im siebenten Buch seines „Jüdischen Krieges“ schildert Flavius Iosepus in drei Abschnitten das sogenannte *Bellum Commagenicum*. Es folgt ein vierter Abschnitt über einen Raubzug der Alanen in die nordwestlichen Nebenländer des

⁸ Markwart 1905, bes. 218–222. Seine Ansicht fand, beginnend mit Asdourian 1911, 100–103, besonders in der deutsch- und neuarmenischsprachigen Forschung Beifall.

⁹ Van Esbroeck 1972, besonders Teil 1. „Le roi Sanatrouk d'Arménie“, 241–266. Ihm folgten Thomson 1980 (in den Anmerkungen zu seiner M.X.-Übersetzung) und Toumanoff 1987, 544. Gegen van Esbroeck bereits Chaumont 1976, 130, Anm. 316 sowie Chaumont 1987, 424. In einem neueren Beitrag zur Geschichte des Königreiches Hatra (Hauser 1998) wird diese Theorie nicht mehr erwähnt.

¹⁰ Dies wird am augenfälligsten in den Artikeln *PIR*² S 169–171, die von A. Strobach und A. Kriekhaus verfasst wurden und 2006 erschienen. Die Bearbeiter widmen dem Sanatruk Arrians, dem des Cassius Dio und dem Namensträger aus dem elften Buch des Malalas, auf den noch einzugehen sein wird, jeweils einen Eintrag. Obwohl die Identität von S 169 und S 170 mit S 171 erwogen ist, werden keine weitergehenden historischen Schlüsse gezogen.

¹¹ Hauptquelle ist Cass. Dio 63,1–7, kürzer Sueton, *Nero* 13. Vgl. auch noch Plin. *nat.* 30,6.

Partherreiches, der mit den drei vorangehenden zusammen das siebente Kapitel des Buches bildet.¹² Was beide Vorgänge mit dem Iüdischen Krieg zu tun haben sollen, wird nicht weiter ausgeführt. Umso größer ist der objektive Wert der Passage. Berichtet wird, wie die östlich der Maiotis lebenden Alanen unter tätiger Mitwirkung eines Königs der kaukasischen Iberer zunächst in das Unterkönigtum des Pakoros von Atropatene einbrachen und das Land ausplünderten. Von da wandten sie sich nach Armenien. Was jetzt geschah, sei im Wortlaut des Iosephus zitiert:

Τιριδάτης δ' αὐτῆς ἐβασίλευεν, ὃς ὑπαντιάσας αὐτοῖς καὶ ποιησάμενος μάχην παρὰ μικρὸν ἦλθεν ἐπ' αὐτῆς ζωὸς ἀλῶναι τῆς παρατάξεως· βρόχον γὰρ αὐτῷ περιβαλὼν τις ἔμελλεν ἐπισπάσειν, εἰ μὴ τῷ ξίφει θᾶπτον ἐκεῖνος τὸν τόνον κόψας ἔφθη διαφυγεῖν.

Iosephus berichtet daraufhin noch, wie die Alanen auch Armenien ausraubten und mit ihrer Beute aus beiden Reichen in ihr Heimatland zurückkehrten. Bevor aus dieser Episode eventuelle Schlüsse über das Regierungsende des Tiridates gezogen werden können, muss sie so genau wie möglich datiert werden. Wie erwähnt, hängt Iosephus seine Schilderung des Alanensturms an die des *Bellum Commagenicum* an, das ins Jahr 72 n. Chr. fällt. Erst 75, im Jahr des sechsten ordentlichen Consulats Vespasians,¹³ ging in Rom ein Hilfersuchen seitens des Partherkönigs ein.¹⁴

Nachdem der zeitliche Ablauf des Alaneneinfalls angesichts der genannten Daten längere Zeit in der Forschung umstritten war, ist er von den Autoren der betreffenden TAVO-Karte in einer chronologisch wie graphisch gleichermaßen überzeugenden Weise nachgezeichnet worden. Demnach müsste die Raubschar um 72 von ihren Stammsitzen östlich der Maiotis aufgebrochen sein und zunächst Media Atropatene verheert haben, um dann gegen 75 in nordwestlicher Richtung vorzustoßen und Armenien heimzusuchen.¹⁵ Hier trat ihnen Tiridates entgegen, ohne viel auszurichten. Auf keinen Fall aber ist seine Herrschaft über Armenien im Jahre 75, etwa aufgrund seiner Gefangennahme durch einen alanischen Lassowerfer, beendet worden.¹⁶ Er mag nach seiner große körperliche Fitness beweisenden Heldentat noch viele Jahre regiert haben.

¹² Ios. *Bell. Iud.* 7,7,1–4.

¹³ Kienast 1996, 109.

¹⁴ Cass. Dio 65(66),15,3. Die Nachricht bei Suet. *Domit.* 2,2 ist undatiert.

¹⁵ Pill-Rademacher u.a. 1983, TAVO B V 8.

¹⁶ Ob das jemals behauptet wurde, können wir nicht verifizieren. Van Esbroeck 1972, 255 nennt als Vertreter dieser (von ihm selbst abgelehnten) Ansicht Hagop Mana(n)dian, dessen Werke uns leider nicht zugänglich sind, sowie Asdourian 1911, der freilich nichts dergleichen behauptet (sicher auch nicht in der von van Esbroeck herangezogenen neuarmenischen Fassung seiner Dissertation von 1912). Vage blieben Guthrie u.a. 1785, 382: „Er [Tiridates] regierte nach seiner Rückkunft von Rom neun Jahre;...“

Dass Tiridates zumindest in der zweiten Hälfte der siebziger Jahre des 1. Jhs. noch aktiv war, beweisen zwei griechische Inschriften, deren Informationen erst seit dem fortgeschrittenen 20. Jh. ausgewertet worden sind. Zum einen haben wir die Aussage, dass er dem Sohn seines Vorgängers und Todfeindes Radamistus (inschriftlich *Rhodomistos*) eine Landschenkung zukommen ließ.¹⁷ Dieser Vorgang fällt mit Sicherheit in die Zeit nach der endgültigen Vertreibung des Radamistus im Jahre 54 und der Geburt seines Sohnes am Hofe des Tiridates.¹⁸ Höchstwahrscheinlich ist er aber sogar erst in die Jahre nach dem Einfall der Alanen zu setzen, denen Radamistus' Vater Pharasmanes von Iberien den Weg gewiesen hatte. Schließlich existiert eine weitere Inschrift, die das elfte Regierungsjahr des Tiridates nennt.¹⁹ Nun gibt es angesichts des bewegten politischen Lebens jenes Herrschers mehrere Daten, von denen an man seine Regierungsjahre berechnen könnte.²⁰ Es erscheint jedoch logisch, dass er selbst die Bestätigung durch Nero als den Neubeginn seines Königtums gesehen haben mag, von dem an er die Herrscherjahre zählte. Somit wären wir immerhin bei 77 n. Chr. angekommen als dem Jahr, vor dem Tiridates auf keinen Fall verstorben sein kann.

Die Überlieferungslage lässt es beinahe verständlich erscheinen, dass die Forscher bei ihrem Versuch, die armenischen Verhältnisse der Zeit um die erste Jahrhundertwende zu beleuchten, auf einen Irrweg gerieten. Auf einen von ihnen soll noch eingegangen werden: In manchen Darstellungen der parthischen, ja sogar der römischen Geschichte wird seit den späten 1930er Jahren ein armenischer König Tiridates erwähnt, der abgesetzt worden sei, um den Thron für Axidares freizumachen.²¹ Die naheliegendste Vermutung wäre, dass hier eben von Tiridates I. die Rede ist, der noch immer am Leben war, dann aber einem neuen Thronanwärter weichen musste.²² Diese Deutung ist jedoch allein schon aufgrund der Formulierungen an den betreffenden Stellen unmöglich: Die Autoren sprechen deutlich von einem sonst unbekanntem Tiridates,²³ der auch in den jeweiligen Registern klar von dem Herrscher der Zeit Neros unterschieden wird. Darüber, wie es zu dieser folgenreichen Fehlleistung kam, kann man nur spekulieren. Möglicherweise fand sich in einer älteren Geschichte des Partherreiches ein Hinweis auf die Inthronisierung des Axidares, die angeblich erst aufgrund der Absetzung seines Vorgängers Tiridates möglich geworden sei. Debevoise mag

¹⁷ Moretti 1955, 43.

¹⁸ Vgl. jetzt *DNP* 10 s.v. Radamistus, 748.

¹⁹ Moretti 1955, 39f.

²⁰ Siehe hierzu jetzt Schottky 2004, 94 (Groß-Armenien) Nr. 22. Als Beginn seiner Herrschaft können wahlweise die Jahre 52/3, 61 oder 66 n. Chr. angesehen werden.

²¹ Debevoise 1938 (Nachdrucke von 1968 und 1969), 217f.; Bengtson 1970, 332f.; Bengtson 1982, 352; Bivar 1983 (Reprint 1993), 87. Vgl. noch Kornemann 1967 [1949], 608.

²² So van Esbroeck 1972, 255, Anm. 76.

²³ Debevoise 1938, 217: „a ruler named Tiridates“; Bivar 1983, 87: „a certain Tiridates“.

das missverstanden und, in der Annahme, dass der Tiridates der Zeit Neros nicht gemeint sein könne, die Information ungeprüft übernommen haben – ein Vorgehen, bei dem ihm Spätere gefolgt sind.

Demnach ist festzuhalten, dass sich das Regierungsende des Tiridates auf der Basis der bis jetzt bekannten Quellen nicht genau eingrenzen lässt. Allgemeine Überlegungen führen jedoch zu folgenden Schlüssen: Tiridates dürfte Vespasian und Titus überlebt haben, aber beim Regierungsantritt Nervas (96) verstorben gewesen sein. Damit bleibt die fünfzehnjährige Herrschaft Domitians übrig, in der sich sein Schicksal vollendete. Dies mag ungefähr in der Mitte der Regierungsperiode (89/90 n. Chr.) geschehen sein, etwa zu dem Zeitpunkt, als sein Neffe Osroes seinen jahrzehntelangen Kampf um den parthischen Thron gegen seinen Bruder Pakoros begann.

Abstammung und Anfänge Sanatruks

Wie wir noch sehen werden, dürfte es Berichte geben, die sich auf das Ende des Sanatruk beziehen lassen. Hinsichtlich seiner Regierungsübernahme ist das nicht der Fall, was sich allein schon aus der anhaltenden Unsicherheit über den Todeszeitpunkt seines Vorgängers ergibt. Ähnliches gilt für seine Herkunft. Der iranische Personennamen *Sanatruk*²⁴ ist unter den parthischen und armenischen Arsakiden singulär, d.h., er tritt in den betreffenden Königslisten je einmal auf. Der frühere Namensträger war dabei ein in den literarischen Quellen *Sinatrukes* u.a. genannter Mann, der 78/7 v. Chr. Großkönig wurde. Da er die Herrschaft an seine Nachkommen weiterzugeben vermochte, ist er als der Stammvater nahezu aller späteren Arsakiden anzusehen.²⁵ Für die Herkunft des armenischen Sanatruk ist damit jedoch noch nichts gewonnen, da dessen Zugehörigkeit zum Arsakidenhaus nie ernsthaft bezweifelt wurde. Weniger leicht kann die Frage beantwortet werden, ob der jüngere Sanatruk geradezu ein Sohn des Tiridates war.²⁶ Frau Chaumonts in der Anmerkung zitierte Bedenken stellen die Neufor-

²⁴ Van Esbroeck 1972, 242, Anm. 8 deutet das parthische *Sānataruka* als „qui triomphe de l'ennemi“, also etwa Νικᾶτορ, *Victor*. Da es hier um einen König von Armenien geht, wird die Namensform der armenischen Autoren verwendet, deren Umschrift exakt *Sanatrowk* lauten würde. International üblich ist jedoch die phonetische Form Sanatruk. Siehe dazu insbesondere Thomson 1980, Index s.v.

²⁵ Vgl. zur Genealogie Schottky 1991, 99, Stammtafel II und nach 134, Stammtafel VII (dort jeweils *Sinatrukes*). Dieser Sanatruk war der Ur-ur-ur-großvater des Tiridates I. von Armenien. Siehe auch *DNP* 11 s.v. Sanatrukes 1, 30.

²⁶ Wie dies von Markwart 1905, 222 und Asdourian 1911, 103 für wahrscheinlich gehalten wird. Anders Chaumont 1976, 129: „Il n'est pas nécessaire de le considérer comme un fils de Tiridate 1er, car le trône arménien... n'était pas obligatoirement transmissible de père en fils.“

mulierung einer Erkenntnis Markwarts dar, auf die wir kürzlich hingewiesen haben.²⁷ Sie bezieht sich auf den staatsrechtlichen Aspekt der römisch-parthischen Vereinbarung von 63 n. Chr. Es gibt jedoch noch eine andere Seite der Angelegenheit, die das umfasst, was man die „normative Kraft des Faktischen“ nennt. Sobald ein neuer Monarch offiziell anerkannt war, strebte er danach, die Herrschaft innerhalb seiner Familie weiterzugeben und so eine Dynastie zu stiften. Es erscheint daher mehr als plausibel, dass Sanatruk, der Tiridates auf den Thron folgte, nicht irgendein Arsakidenprinz sonst unbekannter Herkunft war, sondern der vom Vorgänger in Aussicht genommene leibliche Erbe. Es gibt aber noch einen weiteren Grund, aus dem sich der erste armenische Herrscherwechsel nach 66 wohl in der Form der Erbfolge vom Vater auf den Sohn abgespielt haben wird: Wie wir gesehen haben, wird Sanatruk von der griechisch-römischen Geschichtsschreibung nur peripher wahrgenommen. Dies wäre sicher anders gewesen, wenn nach dem Tod des Tiridates außergewöhnliche und demnach berichtenswerte Umstände eingetreten wären. Es sieht indessen so aus, als ob Tiridates gegen 89/90 verstarb, woraufhin sein Erbe von Domitian als König bestätigt wurde, ohne dass der Vorgang in den uns noch vorliegenden Quellen verzeichnet worden wäre.²⁸

Kurz wollen wir noch darauf eingehen, warum Tiridates seinen späteren Nachfolger gerade *Sanatruk* nannte. Man muss sich von der durch die Herrscherlisten suggerierten Vorstellung lösen, dass die betreffenden Könige über jeweils nur einen Sohn verfügen konnten, der dann ihr Erbe wurde. Viel wahrscheinlicher ist, dass orientalische Herrscher mehrere Kinder hatten, darunter eine Anzahl von Töchtern, über die man für gewöhnlich kaum etwas erfährt. Andere blieben aus verschiedenen Gründen völlig kinderlos. Sanatruk war demnach wahrscheinlich ein Sohn des Tiridates, aber mit Sicherheit nicht dessen einziges Kind,²⁹ und vor allem nicht sein Erstgeborener. Man darf annehmen, dass ein Herrscher, der die Begründung einer Dynastie anstrebt, den praesumptiven Erben entweder nach sich selbst benennt oder nach einem Vorfahren, bzw. Verwandten, der in der Vorgeschichte der Familie eine bedeutende Rolle gespielt hatte. So mag Tiridates seinen ersten Sohn wiederum Tiridates genannt haben, einen zweiten vielleicht Vologais nach seinem Bruder, dem Partherkönig, und erst den

²⁷ Markwart 1905, 222, zitiert bei Schottky 2010, 208, Anm. 3.

²⁸ Die Tatsache, dass die armenischen Könige der römischen Bestätigung bedurften, bedeutet selbstverständlich nicht, dass jeder neue Herrscher dazu persönlich in Rom erscheinen musste.

²⁹ Auch bei dieser Frage profitieren wir von der bis 66 n. Chr. günstigen Überlieferungslage zu Tiridates: Er hatte mindestens eine Tochter (*Tac. ann.* 15,30,2) und scheint außer seiner Gemahlin mehrere Kinder (hier sind sicher Söhne gemeint) auf die Reise nach Rom mitgenommen zu haben (*Cass. Dio* 63,1,2.). Es ist eine reizvolle Vorstellung, dass sich Sanatruk unter ihnen befunden und somit in früher Jugend einen Eindruck von der Krönung seines Vaters mitbekommen haben könnte.

drittgeborenen mit dem wenig verbreiteten Namen Sanatruk belastet haben. Dann musste er, während ihm selbst ein relativ langes Leben vergönnt war, miterleben, wie seine älteren Söhne vor ihm starben, sodass der für die Thronfolge zunächst gar nicht vorgesehene Sanatruk nachrückte.

Über die eigentliche Regierungstätigkeit des neuen Königs gibt es kaum etwas zu berichten, da Arrians freundliche Worte im Grunde nichtssagend sind. Möglicherweise wäre hierfür einiges aus den armenischen Geschichtswerken zu gewinnen.³⁰ Dies kann, angesichts der Überlieferungslage, allerdings erst Sinn machen, wenn Sanatruks Position innerhalb der armenischen Königsliste und der Stammtafel der dortigen Arsakiden im wesentlichen feststeht. Für diesmal wollen wir daher gleich den Umständen nachgehen, unter denen Königtum und Leben des Sanatruk endeten.

Sanatruks Ende

Auf den ersten Blick enthält die griechisch-römische Geschichtsschreibung keine Nachrichten über den Regierungswechsel von Sanatruk zu Axidares. Erst die vom Großkönig Osroes vorgenommene Absetzung des Letztgenannten ist bei Cass. Dio 68,17,2f. registriert:

Ἵτι τοῦ Τραϊανοῦ ἐπὶ Πάρθους στρατεύσαντος καὶ ἐς Ἀθήνας ἀφικομένου πρεσβεία αὐτῷ ἐνταῦθα παρὰ τοῦ Ὀρρόου ἐνέτυχε, τῆς εἰρήνης δεομένη καὶ δῶρα φέρουσα. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἔγνω τὴν τε ὁρμὴν αὐτοῦ, καὶ ὅτι τοῖς ἔργοις τὰς ἀπειλὰς ἐτεκμηρίου, κατέδεισε, καὶ ὑφείς τοῦ φρονήματος ἔπεμψεν ἰκετεύων μὴ πολεμηθῆναι, τὴν τε Ἀρμενίαν Παρθαμασίριδι Πακόρου καὶ αὐτῷ υἱεῖ ἦται, καὶ ἐδεῖτο τὸ διάδημα αὐτῷ πεμφθῆναι· τὸν γὰρ Ἐξηδάρην ὡς οὐκ ἐπιτήδειον οὔτε τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις οὔτε τοῖς Πάρθοις ὄντα πεπαυκέναι ἔλεγεν.

An sich besteht kaum die Möglichkeit, diesen kurzen Abschnitt falsch zu verstehen: Der Großkönig Osroes hat den einen armenischen König – Axidares (hier: „Exedares“) – abgesetzt und anstatt seiner dessen Bruder – Parthamasiris – ernannt. Da Traian deswegen eine Strafexpedition unternimmt und bereits in Athen angekommen ist, schickt ihm Osroes eiligst eine Gesandtschaft entgegen, die den Kaiser dazu bewegen soll, die nun einmal getroffenen Maßnahmen gutzuheißen. In diesem Zusammenhang wird das „originelle“ Argument vorgebracht, der bisherige König habe nicht einmal die Römer zufriedengestellt.

³⁰ *PIR*² S 169 und S 170 wird auf M.X. 2,33–37 verwiesen. Diese Passagen – tatsächlich bezieht sich nur M.X. 2,35f. (Thomson 1980, 176ff.) auf Sanatruk selbst – stellen sicher das bekannteste, wenn auch nicht das historisch ergiebigste armenische Quellenzeugnis dar.

Erstaunlicherweise wurde die Dio-Stelle aber auch völlig anders interpretiert. Danach wäre nicht erst Parthamasiris, sondern bereits Axidares von Osroes nominiert worden, der damit, angesichts der fehlenden römischen Zustimmung, den Vertrag von 63 verletzt habe. Bereits dadurch sei der Partherkrieg ausgelöst worden. Als Osroes merkte, was auf ihn zukam, habe er den missliebigen Kandidaten schnell durch dessen Bruder ersetzt und für diese erneut eigenmächtig-vertragswidrige Handlung immerhin um die römische Bestätigung nachgesucht.³¹

Zwei Gründe fallen sofort ins Auge, aus denen die genannte Sicht der Dinge nicht nur sehr unwahrscheinlich, sondern direkt unmöglich ist: Warum sollte Osroes, nachdem er seinen Bruder in einem zwanzigjährigen Kampf von der Macht verdrängt hatte, nacheinander zwei von dessen Söhnen in Armenien an die Macht bringen, anstatt das Unterkönigtum, wenn er die Möglichkeit dazu hatte, einem seiner eigenen Nachkommen zu verschaffen? Dass er einmal so handelte, ist erstaunlich genug. Das wichtigste Gegenargument aber liegt in den Worten, mit denen er die Ablösung des Axidares Traian gegenüber begründete: „Exedares“ habe sich aus römischer wie aus parthischer Sicht als ungeeignet erwiesen. Dass er dem derzeitigen Großkönig im Wege war, ist offensichtlich: Deswegen wurde er ja abgesetzt. Die dem Kaiser gegenüber vorgebrachte Behauptung, er hätte auch (oder sogar hauptsächlich) die Römer gestört, beweist gerade dadurch, dass sie ausgesprochen wird, das Gegenteil: Axidares hatte anscheinend im Sinne der Vereinbarung von 63 mit kaiserlicher Zustimmung, zumindest aber mit römischer Duldung regiert.³² Damit wird auch klar, wer seine Einsetzung tatsächlich veranlasst hatte: sein Vater, der frühere Großkönig Pakoros. Wann und unter welchen Umständen dies geschah, soll nunmehr untersucht werden. Oben wurde auf das Datum 89/90 aufmerksam gemacht, an dem der Kampf zwischen Pakoros und Osroes begann, das aber auch – ungefähr – für den Herrschaftsantritt des armenischen Sanatruk stehen mag. Die zwanzigjährige Dauer des Thronstreits verdeutlicht vor allem, dass sich der legitime Großkönig durch die Usurpation seines Bruders zunächst nicht ernsthaft bedroht gefühlt haben kann. Bis weit in die Regierungszeit Traians bleibt Pakoros „der“ König der Parther.³³ Erst gegen Ende des ersten Jahrzehnts des 2. Jhs. dürfte er erkannt haben, dass er den Kampf gegen Osroes verlieren werde. Um die Herrschaft wenigstens für seine Nachkommen zu retten, ergriff er Maßnahmen, die selbst aus heutiger Sicht durchaus vernünftig wirken: Zum Nachfolger, d.h. zum Vertreter des legitimen Thronanspruchs gegen den Usurpator Osroes, sah er

³¹ Dass schon Axidares durch Osroes eingesetzt wurde, glauben z.B.: E. Cary, Anm. 4 und 5 zu Cass. Dio 68,17,1 (in Bd. 8 seiner griech.-engl. Dio-Ausgabe), 1925 u.ö.; Schenk von Stauffenberg 1931, 261; Debevoise 1938, 217f.; Kornemann 1967 [1949], 608; Bengtson 1970, 332f.; Bengtson 1982, 352; Bivar 1983, 87.

³² So bereits Dierauer 1868, 154. Diese Auffassung kann heute als *communis opinio* gelten, wir sind ihr Schottky 2010, 211, Anm. 17 gefolgt.

³³ Mart. 9,35; Plin. *epist.* 10,74; Arr. *Parth.* Frg. *32 Roos-Wirth.

seinen Sohn Vologaisos vor, der dann auch 111/2, zunächst wenig erfolgreich, den Kampf gegen den Onkel aufnahm.³⁴ Vor allem aber bemühte er sich, auch in den Unterkönigreichen seinen Einfluss geltend zu machen. So ließ er sich um 109 die Anerkennung Abgars VII. von Osrhoene teuer bezahlen, nachdem der Thron des kleinen Fürstentums achtzehn Jahre lang leergestanden hatte.³⁵ Weniger einfach musste sich ein Eingreifen in dem Gebirgsland Armenien gestalten. Hier herrschte weiterhin Pakoros' Vetter Sanatruk. Möglicherweise hatte dieser in den Jahren davor den Fehler begangen, Osroes als Oberherrn anzuerkennen. Wahrscheinlicher ist aber, dass gar nicht lange nach einer Handlung Sanatruks gesucht werden muss, mit der er Pakoros verärgert haben könnte. Letzterer mag angesichts seiner bedrängten Situation jede Möglichkeit ergriffen haben, den Thron des bedeutendsten Vasallenreiches mit einem seiner eigenen Nachkommen zu besetzen.

Die folgenden Ereignisse haben augenscheinlich ein Echo in zwei Abschnitten der Chronik des Iohannes Malalas gefunden.³⁶ Hier folgt zunächst eine Schilderung der Ereignisse, die nach seinem Dafürhalten Traians Partherkrieg auslösten (Ioh. Mal. 11 p. 270,1–18):

Ἐν ᾧ χρόνῳ ἐπιστρατεύσας ἀνήλθε πολεμῶν μετὰ δυνάμεως πολλῆς κατὰ Ῥωμανίας ἐκ γένους Πάρθων <Μεερδότης> βασιλεὺς Περσῶν, ὁ ἀδελφὸς Ὀσδρόου, βασιλέως Ἀρμενίων. καὶ παρέλαβε πόλεις καὶ ἐπραίδευσε χώρας πολλάς, ἔχων μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τὸν ἴδιον αὐτοῦ υἱὸν Σανατρούκιον. καὶ ὡς πραιδεύει ὁ Μεερδότης βασιλεὺς τὴν Εὐφρατησίαν χώραν, ἐλαύνων κατηνέχθη ἀπὸ τοῦ ἵππου καὶ ἐκλάσθη κακῶς καὶ ἐτελεύτησεν ἰδίῳ θανάτῳ. ἐν τῷ δὲ μέλλειν αὐτὸν τελευτᾶν ἐποίησε τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ τὸν Σανατρούκιον ἀρσάκην, ὃ ἐστὶ βασιλέα, ἀντ' αὐτοῦ· περσιστὶ δὲ τορκίμ βασιλεὺς ἐρμηνεύεται. καὶ ἐπέμεινεν ὁ αὐτὸς Σανατρούκιος βασιλεὺς Περσῶν λυμαινόμενος τὴν Ῥωμανίαν. ὁ δὲ Ὀσδρόης, βασιλεὺς Ἀρμενίων, ὁ τοῦ Μεερδότου ἀδελφὸς ἀκούσας τὸν αὐτοῦ θάνατον ἐπεμψεν καὶ αὐτὸς εὐθέως τὸν ἴδιον αὐτοῦ υἱὸν ἀπ' αὐτῆς τῆς Ἀρμενίας μετὰ πολλοῦ στρατοῦ τὸν Παρθεμασπάτην πρὸς βοήθειαν τοῦ ἑαυτοῦ ἐξαδέλφου Σανατρουκίου, βασιλέως Περσῶν, κατὰ Ῥωμαίων. καὶ ταῦτα ἀκούσας ὁ θειότατος Τραϊανὸς βασιλεὺς εὐθέως ἐπεστράτευσεν τῷ ιβ' [sic] ἔτει τῆς βασιλείας αὐτοῦ, ἐξελθὼν κατ' αὐτῶν μηνὶ ὀκτωβρίῳ τῷ καὶ ὑπερβερεταίῳ ἀπὸ Ῥώμης·

Malalas erzählt daraufhin andere Dinge,³⁷ schließt aber 11 p. 273,22–274,8 an das gerade Berichtete an:

³⁴ Siehe zu diesen Vorgängen z.B. *DNP* 9 s.v. Pakoros 3, 157; *DNP* 9 s.v. Osroes 1, 88; *DNP* 12/2 s.v. Vologaisos 3, 309f.

³⁵ Arr. *Parth.* Frg. *45 Roos-Wirth. Vgl. Schottky 2004, 106 (Osrhoene) Nr. 19.

³⁶ Siehe zu diesem Chronisten der iustinianischen Zeit jetzt z.B. Schreiner 1991.

³⁷ So insbesondere die Geschichte von der persischen Besetzung Antiocheias, Ioh. Mal. 11 p. 271,1–273,4. Hierbei handelt es sich, trotz des Rettungsversuches Schenks von Stauffenberg 1931,

μαθῶν ὅτι διαφθονεῖται τῷ Σανατροκίῳ, βασιλεῖ Περσῶν, ὁ ἴδιος αὐτοῦ ἐξάδελφος Παρθεμασπάτης, πέμψας πρὸς αὐτὸν ὑπενόθευσεν αὐτὸν Τραϊανὸς βασιλεὺς, ταξάμενος δοῦναι αὐτῷ τὴν βασιλείαν Περσῶν, ἐὰν συμμαχήσῃ αὐτῷ. καὶ ὑπονοθευθεὶς ἦλθε πρὸς αὐτὸν νυκτός· καὶ λαβὼν αὐτὸν εἰς τὸ ἴδιον αὐτοῦ μέρος μετὰ τοῦ πλήθους αὐτοῦ ὁ αὐτὸς θειότατος Τραϊανός, ὄρμησε κατὰ τοῦ Σανατροκίου, βασιλέως Περσῶν· καὶ πολλῶν Περσῶν πεσόντων συνελάβετο τὸν Σανατρούκιον, βασιλέα Περσῶν, φεύγοντα· καὶ ἐφόνευσεν αὐτόν.

Schon das erste Überlesen der beiden ursprünglich auf Arrian³⁸ zurückgehenden Fragmente lässt erkennen, dass der Bericht des Chronisten unmöglich wörtlich genommen werden kann. Osroes und Parthamaspatēs (hier: „Osdroes“ und „Parthemaspatēs“) waren keine Armenier, und dass Meerdotes und Sanatrukios als „Perser“ bezeichnet werden, ist zumindest ein (wenn auch zur Zeit des Domninos und Malalas naheliegender) Anachronismus. Andererseits bleibt darauf hinzuweisen, dass diese Passagen zumindest eine wertvolle und anderweitig nicht belegte Information enthalten: Dass es sich nämlich bei Parthamaspatēs um einen Sohn des Osroes handelte, könnte man möglicherweise aus der Darstellung von Traians Partherkrieg bei Cassius Dio erschließen, klar ausgesprochen wird es nicht.

Bei dem Versuch, die wirre Erzählung des frühbyzantinischen Chronisten historisch nutzbar zu machen, ist zunächst eine Umstellung vorzunehmen. Nachdem es sich bei dem als König von Armenien bezeichneten Osdroes ohne Zweifel um den parthischen Großkönig handelte, dürften die angeblichen Perser Meerdotes und Sanatrukios im Gegenzug Armenier sein.³⁹ Die nächste Crux stellt dann freilich der Vater des Letztgenannten dar, dessen Name natürlich Mithradates (in den literarischen Quellen bekanntlich stets „Mithridates“) zu lesen ist.⁴⁰ Der Name kommt

281ff., offensichtlich um eine lokale Sage. In der Darstellung ist mehrfach vom König der Perser die Rede, aber nur einmal (p. 271,4) wird sein Name genannt: *Sanatrukios*. Die ursprüngliche Erzählung dürfte jedoch kaum an einen bestimmten parthischen (oder gar persischen) Herrscher angeknüpft haben. Der Name des Sanatruk wurde wohl nur eingefügt, weil dieser auch in den Textpassagen davor und danach als Perserkönig erscheint.

³⁸ Ioh. Mal. 11 p. 273,4 nennt als Quelle für den ersten zitierten Abschnitt einschließlich der Geschichte von der Besetzung Antiocheias den Chronisten Domninos, während p. 274,18 für die spätere Phase von Traians Partherkrieg auf Arrian verwiesen wird. Offensichtlich stammt aber das gesamte hier gebotene Material aus Domninos, der (direkt oder indirekt) Arrians Parthika verwendete. So richtig Schenk von Stauffenberg 1931, 273.

³⁹ Hierfür hat sich zuerst Gutschmid 1867 bei Dierauer 1868, 179 (Anmerkungstext) ausgesprochen. Die meisten Späteren (so schon Gutschmid 1888, 144f., Asdourian 1911, 107 und 109, Schenk von Stauffenberg 275f., neuerdings noch Bivar 1983, 91) sehen dagegen in Meerdotes und Sanatrukios *parthische* Thronprätendenten, von denen (wohl aufgrund der ungünstigen Quellenlage) sonst nicht die Rede sei. Unklar bleibt dann allerdings, warum Malalas (oder einer seiner Vorgänger) Armenien überhaupt hätte erwähnen sollen.

⁴⁰ Der von Malalas gegebenen Form am nächsten kommt ein *Meherdates* (Tac. *ann.* 11,10; 12,10–14), vgl. *DNP* 8 s.v. Mithradates 15, 283.

unter den regierenden armenischen Arsakiden überhaupt nicht und bei den ihnen vorangehenden Herrschern nur einmal vor.⁴¹ Im Arsakidenreich sind die Belege etwas häufiger, auch wenn die beste Zeit der Partherkönige mit dem Namen Mithradates lange vorbei war. Späteren Thronanwärtern mit diesem Namen gebrach es offensichtlich an *fortune*. Dies gilt auch für einen seit dem Verschwinden des Osroes belegten Prätendenten, der, soweit er in den Königslisten berücksichtigt ist, heute als Mithradates IV. gezählt wird. Dafür, dass er schon etwa eineinhalb Jahrzehnte vorher aktiv gewesen sein sollte, existiert nicht der geringste Beweis.⁴² Es gibt aber noch eine weitere Schwierigkeit, die uns daran hindert, den Anfang der Erzählung des Malalas allzu wörtlich zu nehmen. In der Vorbemerkung wurde das Fragment Cassius Dios zitiert, in dem berichtet wird, wie Sanatruks Sohn Vologaises sich 116 einen Teil Armeniens erkämpfte. Nachdem die Identität von Dios und Malalas' Sanatruk kaum zu bezweifeln ist, hätten wir folgenden Fall: Ein Vater, sein Sohn und dessen Sohn treten etwa gleichzeitig als Kämpfer (zu Pferde) auf. Dies mag nicht völlig unmöglich sein, doch sollte die Vorstellung, dass die Leute früh Väter wurden und sich andererseits bis ins höhere Alter ihre körperliche Leistungsfähigkeit bewahrten, nicht überstrapaziert werden.

Die auf zwei Abschnitte bei Malalas verteilte Episode ist anscheinend auch eher eine Geschichte über König Sanatruk als eine über König Meerdotes und seinen Nachfolger Sanatruk. Meerdotes kommt so schnell um, dass es in der ursprünglichen Fassung der Erzählung vermutlich gar nicht um ihn ging. Was über ihn gesagt wird, wirkt beim genaueren Hinsehen wie eine Dublette zum Schicksal seines Sohnes: Meerdotes verletzt sich tödlich bei einem Sturz vom Pferd, zweifellos in der Folge von Kampfhandlungen. Dann wird Sanatruk selbst im Krieg in die Flucht geschlagen und umgebracht. Anscheinend war in einer früheren Version dieser durch mehrere Hände gegangenen Stelle allein davon die Rede, dass ein Sanatruk verraten und im Kampf getötet wurde. Später mögen die Tatsachen und die zu ihnen gehörenden Einzelheiten auf zwei Individuen verteilt worden sein, bis nicht mehr erkennbar war, dass es sich ursprünglich um denselben Bericht gehandelt hatte. Von Meerdotes dürfte ursprünglich nur gesagt worden sein, er sei Sanatruks (längst verstorbener) Vater gewesen.

⁴¹ Schottky 2004, 94 (Groß-Armenien) Nr. 19; *DNP* 8 s.v. Mithradates 20, 283. Es handelt sich um die Fremdherrschaft eines kaukasischen Iberers kurz vor der ersten Machtübernahme Tiridates' I. Das Verhalten der iberischen Besatzungstruppen lässt es verständlich erscheinen, dass dieser Königsname in Armenien nicht mehr verwendet wurde. Aurelius Merithates (= Mithradates), der Bruder des armenischen Königs Aurelius Pacorus (IG XIV, 1472), ist niemals König geworden und stammte darüber hinaus nicht aus der Linie des Tiridates. Siehe zu ihm z.B. Schottky 2010, 210 u. ö.

⁴² Es wäre auch sehr unwahrscheinlich, da es sich bei diesem Mithradates offensichtlich um den Erben des Osroes handelte, der dessen Kampf gegen Vologaises II. (III.?) fortsetzte.

Dieser Sicht der Dinge könnte entgegengehalten werden, dass wir uns oben darum bemüht haben, den armenischen Sanatruk zu einem Sohn Tiridates' I. zu erklären. Hier möchten wir nun an den sorglosen Umgang der griechisch-römischen Schriftsteller mit den theophoren iranischen Personennamen erinnern. Nicht jeder Autor (von den Abschreibern ganz zu schweigen) wird in der Lage gewesen sein, Tiridates („von Tir gegeben“) und Mithridates („von Mithra gegeben“) zu unterscheiden. Es mögen sich Mischformen wie „Mitiridates“ gebildet haben, die dann zur üblichen Schreibweise Mithridates reguliert wurden. Später schlich sich die stark verderbte phonetische Form „Me(h)erdotes“ ein.

Wie oben bemerkt wurde, geht die Darstellung des Malalas in einem wichtigen Punkt über die Cassius Dios hinaus: Der Arsakide Parthaspates, den Traian auf seine Seite zu ziehen und zum Gegenspieler des Osroes aufzubauen vermochte, war dessen Sohn. Auch die wenigen Einzelheiten, die nach dem Untergang des Sanatruk noch über Parthaspates berichtet werden (Ioh. Mal. 11 p. 274,8–17), bestätigen und ergänzen Cassius Dios Ausführungen. Unglaublich erscheint dagegen, was vorher erzählt wurde: Osroes soll dem Sanatruk seinen Sohn zu Hilfe gesandt haben, woraufhin beide zunächst gemeinsam gegen die Römer kämpften. Vorhandene Unstimmigkeiten seien von Traian geschickt ausgenutzt worden, der Parthaspates für sich zu gewinnen verstand und ihn zum Verrat an Sanatruk veranlasste. Offenbar sind hier zwei Vorgänge verknüpft worden, die nichts miteinander zu tun haben: Die Vernichtung Sanatruks von Armenien durch seinen Vetter, den Großkönig Pakoros, und der mehrere Jahre später erfolgte Übertritt des Parthaspates auf die römische Seite. Die Vermengung beider Ereignisse musste in der Überlieferung umso leichter fallen, als die Beseitigung des armenischen Königs anscheinend von einem Arsakiden ausgeführt wurde, der vom Namen her kaum von Parthaspates zu unterscheiden ist. Wir sprechen von Pakoros' Sohn Parthamasiris.⁴³

Zum Abschluss unserer sehr weit gehenden Uminterpretation von Malalas' Bericht soll noch eine Bemerkung zur Chronologie erfolgen. Am Ende des ersten Teils der Sanatruk-Episode wird behauptet, Traian habe den Partherfeldzug im zwölften Regierungsjahr angetreten. Da dies unmöglich ist, wird in den Ausgaben gewöhnlich eine Zahl konjiziert, die besser zur am 27. Oktober 113 begonnenen *profectio*⁴⁴ passt. Hiergegen kann indessen eingewendet werden, dass $\iota\beta'$ eine ausgesprochene *lectio difficilis* darstellt. Es könnte daher sein, dass in der Darstellung des Malalas, bzw. der seines unmittelbaren Vorgängers Domninos, erneut zwei ursprünglich nicht zusammengehörende Aussagen verschmolzen

⁴³ Hierauf hat Schenk von Stauffenberg 1931, 274ff. aufmerksam gemacht. Er verweist insbesondere auf SHA *Hadr.* 5,4, wo der Name *Parthaspates* zunächst in *Parthamasiris* geändert wurde und handschriftlich schließlich zu *Sarmatosiris* verdarb.

⁴⁴ Kienast 1996, 122 (unten).

worden sind. Wie die Erwähnung des Monats Oktober zeigt, wurde einerseits der genaue Termin von Traians Aufbruch in den Osten genannt. Andererseits scheint gesagt worden zu sein, das gewaltsame Ende des Sanatruk, durch das die nachfolgenden Verwicklungen ausgelöst wurden, sei im zwölften Regierungsjahr Traians eingetreten. Damit hätten wir das Jahr 108 oder 109 n. Chr.⁴⁵ Später sind die beiden Ereignisse, die nach Regierungsjahren des Kaisers datiert worden waren, ineinander geschoben worden. Dabei fiel der Termin von Sanatruks Tod als solcher unter den Tisch, tauchte jedoch als angebliches Datum der *profectio* gegen die Parther wieder auf.

Wir wollen zusammenfassen, was sich aus den beiden Malalas-Passagen herauslesen lässt: Gegen 108/9 n. Chr. hatte der kurz vor dem Verlust seiner Herrschaft stehende Pakoros beschlossen, seinen schwindenden Einfluss auf Armenien auszudehnen. Er schickte deshalb seinen Sohn Parthamasiris ab, um dort einmal nach dem rechten zu sehen. Der Sohn hielt sich anscheinend nicht lange mit diplomatischen Finessen auf, sondern bemächtigte sich der Person des Königs und brachte ihn um. Zweifellos rechnete er damit, dass er nun selbst die armenische Krone erhalten werde. Pakoros scheint aber immerhin bedacht zu haben, dass für jeden Regierungswechsel in Armenien die römische Bestätigung erforderlich war. Zum Nachfolger des bei den Römern hoch angesehenen Sanatruk konnte man wohl kaum dessen Mörder vorschlagen. Der Großkönig nominerte daher einen anderen seiner Söhne, Axidares, und setzte dessen Machtübernahme, als letzte von ihm bekannte Regierungsmaßnahme, auch durch.

Was jetzt geschah, kann man sich vorstellen: Der tief enttäuschte Parthamasiris begab sich zu seinem Onkel, stellte ihm die Vorgänge aus seiner Sicht dar und bot ihm seine Dienste an. Osroes, seit kurzer Zeit unangefochtener Großkönig, sah in der Möglichkeit, zwei Söhne des unterlegenen Bruders gegeneinander auszuspielen, einen nicht zu verachtenden Vorteil. Er ernannte demnach Parthamasiris zum armenischen König und schickte ihn seinerseits ab, um sein Glück zu versuchen. Im Unterschied zu Pakoros scheint er die Notwendigkeit der römi-

⁴⁵ Es ist erstaunlich, dass hinsichtlich einer so genau erforschten Herrschaftsperiode wie der Traians keine Einigkeit über die Zählung der Regierungsjahre besteht. Sein *dies imperii* war der 28. Januar 98 (Kienast 1996, 122). Man wäre daher zunächst geneigt Spiegel 1878, 177 zu folgen, der 109 n. Chr. angibt, zumal er bereits richtig erkannt hatte, dass das genannte Jahr für die Vernichtung des „Sanatrukios“ durch „Parthemaspatēs“ stehen soll. Die Althistoriker (so Schenk von Stauffenberg 1931, 277ff.) bevorzugen jedoch meist eine Zählung, die von Traians Adoption durch Nerva, seiner Erhebung zum Caesar und der Übernahme der *tribunicia potestas* (alles Ende Oktober 97, Kienast 1996, 122) ausgeht. Eine Entscheidung in dieser Frage ist im gegenwärtigen Kontext weder möglich noch unbedingt nötig, da beide Jahre zu dem Ereignis passen würden, für das sie u.E. stehen: Im Doppeljahr 108/9 vollzog sich der endgültige Machtwechsel von Pakoros zu Osroes, die Vernichtung Sanatruks dürfte etwa gleichzeitig, wohl eher früher als später, geplant und ausgeführt worden sein.

schen Zustimmung nicht weiter ernst genommen zu haben. Selbst als Traian mit seinem Partherkrieg ernst machte, glaubte Osroes ihn mit Geschenken und leeren Worten abspesen zu können.

Das Schicksal von Sanatruks Mörder

Wenn der hier zur Diskussion gestellte Ablauf der Ereignisse zutreffend sein sollte, ergibt sich daraus vielleicht noch eine neue Sicht auf einen weiteren unerfreulichen Vorgang. Wir sprechen von der Tatsache, dass Traian wenig später die Unterwerfung des Parthamasiris entgegennahm, ihn dann aber, obwohl ihm zumindest freies Geleit zugesichert worden sein muss, nicht mehr lebend davonkommen ließ.⁴⁶ Diese Handlungsweise hat von den jüngeren Zeitgenossen⁴⁷ bis hin zur Forschung der Neuzeit⁴⁸ ein lebhaftes negatives Echo ausgelöst. Andere wussten sich nicht anders zu helfen, als das Schicksal des Parthamasiris in für einen größeren Leserkreis gedachten Darstellungen zu verschweigen.⁴⁹ Heute mag es vielleicht als müßig erscheinen, die Handlungsweise des Kaisers erklären oder rechtfertigen zu wollen. Möglicherweise besteht jedoch gar keine Veranlassung, Traian von einem Justizmord reinzuwaschen: Falls Sanatruk tatsächlich von Parthamasiris getötet worden war (was sich kaum geheimhalten ließ), könnten die Römer auf eine Gelegenheit gewartet haben, den Täter zur Verantwortung zu ziehen. Die Beseitigung des Parthamasiris wäre demnach als eine etwas überstürzte standrechtliche Hinrichtung anzusehen, der eine umso sorgfältiger zelebrierte öffentliche Demütigung des Arsakiden vorangegangen war. Die spätere Überlieferung dagegen lässt Parthamasiris beinahe wie einen politischen Märtyrer erscheinen, weil seine (hier rekonstruierte) Vorgeschichte nicht mehr bekannt war.

⁴⁶ Die unvollständige, vermutlich bereits in apologetischer Absicht bearbeitete Darstellung bei Cass. Dio 68,19–20 wird knapp, aber unmissverständlich zurechtgerückt von Eutr. 8,3: *Armeniam, quam occupaverunt Parthi, recepit Parthomasiri occiso, qui eam tenebat;*

⁴⁷ Fronto, *Principia historiae* p. 212 van den Hout 1988: *Traiano caedes Parthomasiri<s> regis supplicis haud satis excusata. Nam etsi ultro vim coeptans tumultu orto merito interfectus est, meliore tamen Romanorum fama impune supplex abiisset quam iure supplicium luisset, namque talium facinorum causa facti latet, factum spectatur, longeque praestat secundo gentium rumore iniuriam neglegere, quam adverso vindicare.*

⁴⁸ Scharf formuliert bei Gutschmid 1888, 142: „Durch diese selbst von den in internationalen Dingen nicht gerade feinfühlenden Römern gemissbilligte Handlungsweise wollte der kaiserliche Parvenü der Welt verkünden, dass er im Gegensatz zu seinen Vorgängern auf dem Throne der Cäsaren... die altrömische Brutalität den Schwächeren gegenüber zur Richtschnur genommen habe, und entsprechend Schrecken verbreiten.“

⁴⁹ Bei Domaszewski 1923, 183 liest man: „... der Kaiser war entschlossen,... Armenien zur Provinz zu machen. Er entließ [sic] den hochfahrenden Arsaciden angesichts seines Heeres mit einer stolzen Ablehnung seiner Bitte.“ Hier war offensichtlich ein Schönredner am Werk.

Ausblick: Sanatruks Erbe

Es wirkt im Rückblick fast wie eine tragische Ironie, dass die mit Sanatruks Ermordung anhebenden Verwicklungen nahezu keinem der maßgeblich Beteiligten Erfolg brachten: Traian muss in dem Bewusstsein gestorben sein, dass die weiträumigen Eroberungen der letzten Jahre im Grunde verloren waren. Sein langjähriger Gegenspieler Pakoros war damals schon einige Jahre tot, dessen Sohn und Erbe Vologaises II. (III.?) weit von der Anerkennung als Großkönig entfernt. Osroes hatte den Krieg im Besitz der Herrschaft überstanden, aber zwei seiner Kinder an die Römer verloren.⁵⁰ Sein zum Partherkönig von römischen Gnaden ernannter Sohn Parthaspates konnte sich nicht gegen den Vater behaupten und wurde von Hadrian mit dem Fürstentum Osrhoene abgefunden.⁵¹ Seinen Cousin und quasi-Namensvetter Parthamasiris hatte Traian schon 114 beseitigt, ohne deswegen aber dessen Vorgänger Axidares erneut anzuerkennen.

Dennoch bleibt ein Arsakidenprinz zu erwähnen, der aus den Ereignissen der Jahre 108 bis 116 n. Chr. schließlich doch noch seinen Vorteil zog. Es handelt sich um einen weiteren Vologaises (armenisch Valarsh), Sanatruks Sohn. Er muss die Ermordung seines Vaters und die folgende Machtübernahme des Axidares als Katastrophe empfunden haben, die Beseitigung des Parthamasiris und die versuchte Provinzialisierung des Landes dagegen als einmalige, wohl nie wiederkehrende Chance. Vologaises nutzte die Gelegenheit umgehend: Wie in der Vorbemerkung gezeigt wurde, blieb dem Statthalter L. Catilius Severus 116 keine andere Wahl, als Sanatruks Sohn in einem Teil des Landes als König anzuerkennen. Nach seiner Bestätigung durch Hadrian (SHA *Hadr.* 21,11; ohne namentliche Erwähnung) herrschte er für gut zwei Jahrzehnte unangefochten über Armenien.

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⁵⁰ Neben Parthaspates eine nicht namentlich bekannte Tochter, die 116 gefangen genommen worden war und erst 129 zurückgegeben wurde: SHA *Hadr.* 13,8.

⁵¹ SHA *Hadr.* 5,4. Schottky 2004, 106 (Osrhoene) Nr. 21.

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Abstract

Sanatruk of Armenia

Greek and Armenian authors tell about one Sanatruk, king of Armenia. He was very likely the son Tiridates I and his successor, who is last mentioned in the late seventies of the first century A.D. A report about his death could be preserved in two passages of John Malalas' chronicle, which are evidently distorted. The story pictures a Persian (!) great-king Sanatrucius, who is involved in Roman-Parthian fightings in Trajan's time. The king is later betrayed by his own cousin and killed. In all likelihood, this account referred originally to the death of Sanatruk of Armenia,

who may have reigned until 108/9 A.D. About this year the Parthian great-king Pacorus (often wrongly counted as „Pacorus II“) lost his long fight against the usurper Osroes (Khosroes). At the end of his reign, he tried to win at least the Armenian kingdom for one of his sons. Sanatruk's assassin was apparently Pacorus' son Parthamasiris, who in the sources could easily be confused with Osroes' son Parthaspates, reported as the murderer of Sanatrucius in Malalas' story. But at long last, no-one of Pacorus' sons won the Armenian crown. The kingdom fell to Sanatruk's son Vologaeses, who was appointed by emperor Hadrian and ruled for more than twenty years.



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**A COLLECTION OF ORIENTALIST PAINTINGS
IN THE IMPERIAL PRIVATE GALLERY IN NAPLES***

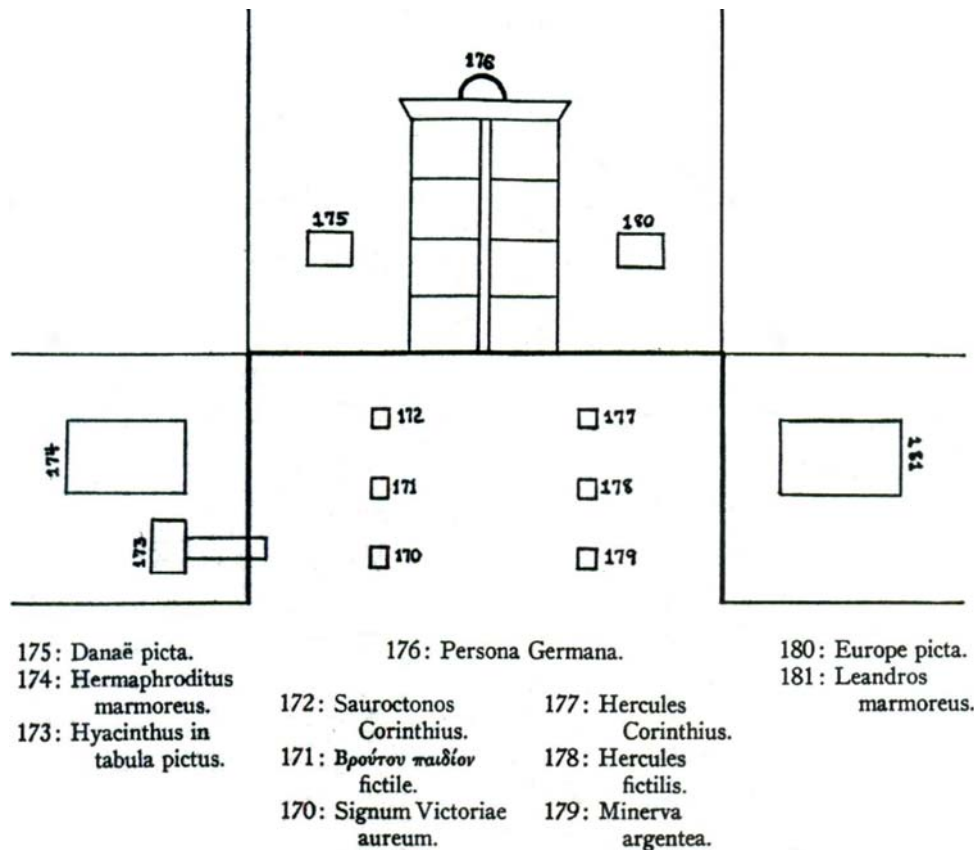
Keywords: Roman art, Orient, Pliny, Philostratus the Elder, Naples, Severan dynasty

In a group of epigrams by Martial (14.170–182) Lehmann (1945) discovered an art gallery located in the *pronaos* of the *Templum Augusti* (Pl. I). It was a carefully selected set of works of art displayed by Tiberius, notorious for his artistic snobbery. The poet visited the museum and described its statues, reliefs and paintings in a curious poetic guide composed of 13 epigrams. The prestige of the Imperial gallery speaks for originals, and not copies. ‘The order of the epigrams,’ observed Lehmann, ‘reflects an arrangement not of poetic invention but of an actual – surprisingly modern – museum.’¹ Pliny the Elder’s history of sculpture and painting can be read largely as a guide to the Roman art galleries of his time, to the Gallery of Asinius Pollio, the *Porticus Octaviae*, *Pompeii*, and *Philippi*, the *Templum Concordiae* and others. In his learned description of Greece Pausanias introduced his readers to the painting galleries of the *Stoa Poecile* and *Theseion* on the Athenian *Agora*, the *Pinacotheca* at the entrance to Athenian *Acropolis*, the precious gallery of the *Olympian Heraion*, the famous *Lesche* of the *Cnidians* or the *Tholos* of *Epidauros* with the collection of paintings by *Pausias*, and many others. *Philostratus the Elder* in his turn compiled a learned guide to a painting gallery in *Naples*. His book *The Imagines* comprised 65 pictures described in such a detailed way that perhaps only *Lucian of Samosate* could have rivalled his expertise. A visitor to the gallery, who came

* The compilation of this article was made possible thanks to a generous scholarship from the Andrew Mellon Foundation at the Albright Institute of Archaeological Research, Jerusalem 2006/7.

¹ Lehmann 1945, 269.

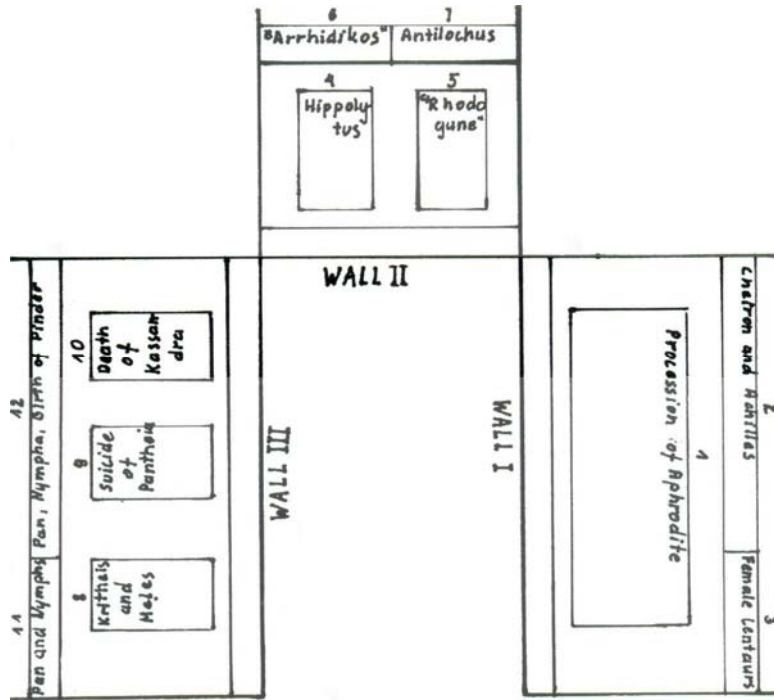
from the East, would have been amazed by a number of the images of the Orient displayed on the walls of this Napolitan museum.



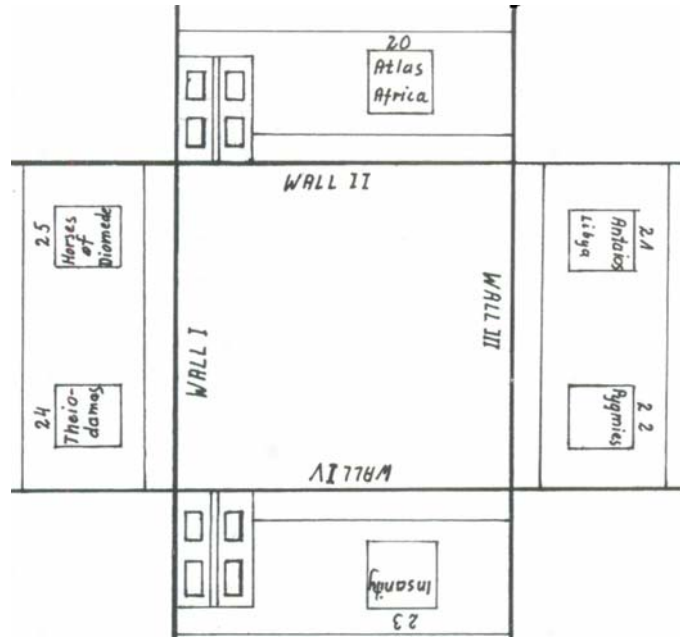
Pl. I. The art gallery of Martial (from Lehmann 1945, fig. 1)

Lehmann-Hartleben (1941) arranged Philostratus' collection along a chain of rooms and identified a number of thematic cycles grouped in a number of rooms, which he labelled successively as the Rooms of the Rivers, of Dionysus, of Aphrodite (Pl. II), of the Primitive World and of Heracles (Pl. III). Within these thematic cycles we can easily identify painting genres in the gallery, as for example mythological heroic subjects, still nature, landscape painting or hunting scenes, all of them corroborated by the archaeological evidence.

I would like to focus on a selection of 'Orientalist' paintings from Philostratus the Elder's gallery. Let us begin with the Room of Heracles (Pl. III), which contained six paintings picturing the deeds of Heracles, and among them his fight with Antaeus.



Pl. II. The Room of Aphrodite in Philostratus' painting gallery. Drawing by E. Polańska



Pl. III The Room of Heracles in Philostratus' painting gallery. Drawing by E. Polańska

Antaeus was a giant-king of Libya, a strong and skilled wrestler, and son of Poseidon and Gaia. He would challenge his guests to fight in the arena, and killed them in his crushing grip. Then he put up the skulls of his victims as ornaments in the temple of his divine father. Antaeus happened to challenge Heracles, who was once wandering to the Temple of Zeus in the Oasis of Siwa. Despite the assistance received from Gaia, Antaeus breathed his last in Heracles' iron grip. There was another painting in the gallery showing the fight between the giant Phorbas and Apollo (*Imag.* 2.19). Phorbas, King of the Phlegyans, shared Antaeus' barbaric habit. 'The heads (of his victims) hang dank from the branches, and some you see are withered and others fresh, while others have shrunk to bare skulls,' (*Imag.* 2.19.2) (transl. A. Fairbanks), writes Philostratus the Elder with a symptomatic sense of the macabre looming in the paintings he liked best (*Imag.* 2.18; 2.6; 2.10; 2.23; 2.25). The position of the wrestlers' bodies as described in the *ecphrasis* of Antaeus corresponds with that in the bronze sculpture by Lysippus (the *Hochhebertypus* of the Pitti wrestlers).² In a similar way to the Pitti marble statuery, so impressive for its massive tension and air of monumentality, the Philostratean Heracles 'throws his opponent in wrestling above the earth' (καταπαλαίει δὲ αὐτὸν ἄνω τῆς γῆς) (*Imag.* 2.21, 5). The Philostratean Heracles, too, 'caught Antaeus by the middle just above the waist, where the ribs are', which is exactly paralleled by the Pitti athletes. In consequence of this rear tackle, Heracles 'set him (Antaeus) upright on his thigh still gripping his arms about him'. The painted Antaeus is 'groaning and looking to the earth, who does not help him' (*Imag.* 2.21, 5).

His body was ridiculously distorted, his limbs overgrown and unnaturally swollen which emphasized his primitivism. Antaeus in the Philostratean tableau was monstrously ugly, almost animal-like.

The Roman art brought a renewed interest in the Antaeus and Heracles motif as shown by their numerous images on coins, gems, mosaics and sarcophagi of the Imperial period.³ There is a group of the most impressive antiquities of the Imperial era which coincide almost exactly with the biography of Philostratus the Elder. The popularity of this subject in the Antonine and Severan periods justifies the purchase of the particular work in question, the objective being to enrich the private Neapolitan art museum. A pilaster relief in the Basilica of Leptis Magna was engraved in the early 3rd century. The Antaeus sarcophagus in the Museo delle Terme also originated in the Severan

² Hebert 1983, 94: *ein Epigram auf eine bronze Ringergruppe von Herakles und Antaios lässt in seiner flüchtigen Beschreibung keine Rekonstruktion des Kunstwerkes zu, es wird sich aber um die häufigste Darstellungsart dieses mythischen Kampfes, den Hochhebertypus, gehandelt haben, der auch dem bei Philostrat beschriebenen Gemälde zugrunde liegt.*

³ Olmos, Balmaseda 1981, 801, cf. n. 31; Brommer 1971, 25–28.

ateliers. Similarly the Avenches mosaic which pictures the fight of Heracles and Antaeus was also made in the 3rd century AD (Pl. IV).⁴



Pl. IV. Heracles and Antaeus on the mosaic of Avenches, the 3rd century AD

The crude, block-form and monstrous, almost animal bodies of the pugilist which manifest a bare, brutal, irresistible and primitive force immediately call to mind the athletes from the mosaics once in the Baths of Caracalla in Rome. Now these mosaics are on show in the Museo Gregoriano Profano, one of the most impressive museums I have ever visited, where antiquities are arranged in an ultra-modernist space populated by forms shaped in steel, concrete and wood. Heracles was always popular in the Imperial propaganda. We can safely attribute a Severan date to the wrestlers of Avenches, by analogy with the athletes on the large-scale mosaics once on the floors in the Baths of Caracalla in Rome. So conspicuous for their studied style of brutality and primitivism as well as for size, they could not have failed to stir the imagination of the thousands who visited the Baths.

⁴ Olmos, Balmaseda 1981, no 40, fig. 40; Deonna 1942, pl. 56; von Gonzebach, 1961, pls. 76–77.

In his 4th *Isthmian Ode* composed in honour of Melissus of Thebes, Pindar compared his victory with an air of pathetic exaggeration to the triumph of Heracles over Antaeus. In his lofty verse Pindar, one of the Classical authors most studied and admired by the Second Sophistic Movement and Philostratus the Elder himself, confronted the Greek hero ‘short in stature but in soul unflinching’ with the Libyan savage who ‘roofed Poseidon’s temple with the skulls of strangers’ (vv. 55–56). This antithesis corresponds well with the already mentioned *ecphrasis* of Phorbas (*Imag.* 2.19). According to Philostratus’ description the artist counterpoised two contrasting forces: the young Greek’s skill and power against the brutal force of primitivism. ‘Rays of light rise from about Apollo’s brow and his cheek emits a smile.’ (*Imag.* 2.19.3). Phorbas ‘is already stretched on the ground,’ ‘the blood gushes forth from his temple’. Γέγραπται δὲ ὡμὸς καὶ σῳδῆς τὸ εἶδος (he is depicted as a savage and of swine-like features). Both Antaeus and Phorbas used to cut off the heads of their defeated victims.. In this way Philostratus the Elder described one of his favourite paintings, remarkable for its mannerist tone of the macabre. We know an existing painting gallery from the Flavian period, namely the gallery in the House of the Vettii family who like Philostratus appreciated gloomy styles and dark dispositions. It is intriguing whether such a choice of paintings was inspired in the rich Pompeian owners or in the Severan aristocracy and contemporary intellectuals by their mannerist predilections for insane passions, or by the very substance of the Hellenic mythology with its stories of cruelty, jealousy, violence and vendetta. However, if we set side by side the Olympian *metope* picturing Heracles taming the mares of Diomedes with the corresponding subject on the painting documented in Philostratus’ *Imagines*, with its ‘half-eaten body of Abderus, which Heracles has snatched from the mares... the portions that are left... still beautiful... lying on the lion’s skin’ (transl. A. Fairbanks), we can easily observe that it was not so much the subject as its treatment that proved decisive. The scholiast to Pindar mentioned Antaeus’ ἀνανθρωπία and ἀσέβεια (inhumanity and impiety).⁵ This image of the non-Greek neighbouring peoples had already been deeply rooted in the Greek mentality for a long time in fact. It is sufficient to adduce a similar picture of the Cyclops (*Od.* 9,106f–108) or the Laestrigonians, who in the words of Homer were οὐκ ἄνδρεςσιν ἐοικότες, ἀλλὰ Γίγασιν (*Od.* 10,120: they were similar rather to the giants than to human beings).

The African scenery is also visible in the Philostratean *ecphrasis*: καὶ Λιβύη ταῦτα (*Imag.* 2.21.1). This is Libya. and Antaeus is African. He is black (μέλας – *Imag.* 2.21.4), and ‘resembles some wild beast, being almost as broad as he is tall, and his neck is attached to the shoulders in such wise that

⁵ Ed. Drachmann III, 235–236; Olmos, Balmaseda 1981, 801.

most of the latter belongs to the neck, and the arm is as big around as are the shoulders' (*Imag.* 2.21.4). One of the Archaic vase painters deliberately emphasised the monstrosity of Antaeus' face.⁶ Conventional elements of the African landscape were materialized in many works of Greek and Roman art. The observer, if attentive, could catch a glimpse of κόνις (sand) (*Imag.* 2.21.1). We can see palm trees behind Heracles and Antaeus engaged in fighting on an Attic *oinochoe*.⁷ Egypt remained in fashion for a couple of centuries among the Greeks and Romans during the Late Hellenistic and Early Imperial period. It is sufficient to refer to the great mosaic of Palaestrina, the Egyptianizing style in the wall decoration in the Campanian cities, the decoration of the Roman Iseum and Serapeum or the imitation of Egyptian antiquities in Tivoli with 'the pyramids' and the elegant architecture of its Canopus.⁸ A private mania for the Orient was never expressed on a more monumental scale in the West than by the Emperor Hadrian, a snobbish intellectual and pretentious art connoisseur.

Heracles and the Pygmies (*Imag.* 2.22) was once put on display beside the Heracles and Antaeus canvas (*Imag.* 2.21) in the Philostratean gallery (Pl. III). The Greek hero was pictured lying asleep on the African sands after the slaying of Antaeus. The painter emphasised the difference between Heracles' heroic body with Hypnos standing behind him in the background, and the dead, withered body (αὐθόν) of his monstrous adversary. The artist introduced a fine description of the Pygmies depicted in their everyday life. It is followed by their attack against Heracles. Brandishing their weapons, the Pygmy units direct their assault against Heracles' feet and hands. His right hand is besieged by a double force of Pygmies, since the hero's dexter is naturally stronger than his left hand. The painter individualised the bowmen and slingers among them. The main force, however, under the command of their king, the most courageous of the Pygmies, is launching an attack against Heracles' head. They deploy fire and different engines of war in their effort to blind the hero with a mattock, and also to suffocate him with a sort of clamp thrust straight at Heracles' mouth and nose.

The Pygmy painting in the collection of the *Imagines* (2.22) must have originally been a component in a series of paintings probably by the same hand, which illustrated the African adventures of Heracles. This African cycle was conspicuous for its air of grotesque, parody and burlesque. The original cycle probably began with (1) an exhausted, sweating Atlas and Heracles eager to help with the giant's burden (*Imag.* 2.20), which was displayed in the same Room of Heracles, and was followed by (2) Heracles in the Garden of the Hes-

⁶ On the *oinochoe* from Stanford, Olmos, Balmaseda 1981, 13, fig. 13, dated c. 500–480 BC; cf. the famous beaker painted by Euphronios, Louvre, *ibidem*, no 24, fig. 24, c. 515–500 BC.

⁷ A black-figured *oinochoe*, Munich, c. 500–480 BC, Olmos, Balmaseda 1981, no 8, fig. 8.

⁸ Rouillet 1972; Morenz 1969; Malaise 1972; Turcan 1992.

perides,⁹ not represented in Philostratus' Neapolitan museum, but alluded to in the next panel in the series, (3), where Heracles was preparing for combat with an Antaeus distinguished by his distorted, monstrous limbs (*Imag.* 2.21.1–2). It might have been a secondary scene to a central one showing the fight between the two wrestlers (*Imag.* 2.21.3–6). In Philostratus' narrative order there should have been a place for a picture with scenes of everyday life in the Pygmy world (*Imag.* 2.22.1). Its contents might have been exhaustively illustrated by the Pompeian painting and mosaics, consequently it cannot be treated as a purely literary motif with no relation to the figural arts, but as the art historian's digression into the popular genre of "Orientalist" painting, cited from memory in the immediate context of the Heracles African cycle of the Neapolitan museum. (4) On the next painting of the cycle Heracles was being attacked by the Pygmies (*Imag.* 2.21.2–3). This panel probably contained a secondary scene with Heracles carrying the Pygmies in the lion's hide on his back (*Imag.* 2.21.3). It seems that the original cycle comprised four paintings: Atlas (*Imag.* 2.20), the Hesperides (mentioned in *Imag.* 2.21), Antaeus (*Imag.* 2.21), and Heracles and the Pygmies (*Imag.* 2.22).



Pl. V. Pygmies in hoplite armour fighting cranes on the drawing by W. Zahn, *Pompeii VII* 4, 31, 51

The tone of the Pygmy images in the Greek works of art ranges from good-humoured warm ridicule to malicious caricature. Philostratus' Heracles and the Pygmies would have been included among the former, together with numerous pictures of armed Pygmy warriors bravely fighting the cranes. They fight with maces, curved batons or slings, as in Philostratus *Imagines* (2.23) (σφενδονητῶν ὄχλος).¹⁰ The Pygmies' accessories, their caps, shoes, *peltae* and

⁹ Cf. the analogies offered by the Pompeian painting: *Pompei. Pitture e mosaici* I, Reg. 1,7,7, 592; von Blanckenhagen 1968, Taf. 45, 1 (Reg. V, 2, 10), Taf. 45, 2 (Reg. I, 7, 7).

¹⁰ Dasen 1994 (Pygmaioi), fig. 1 (Vase François, by Kleitias, c. 570 BC); fig. 2, aryballos, by Nearchos, c. 550 BC, N.York, MMA 26. 49; rhyton, by Brygos, Ermitage (679, St. 360), c. 480

bows, are sometimes suggestive of their Oriental descent. Philostratus also mentions “bowmen” (τοξόται) among his Pygmies (*Imag.* 2.22). They can be seen on the fine miniature paintings from the masterly hand of the Brygos Painter.¹¹ Sometimes the Pygmies would be armed with long spears and protected by cuirasses, helmets and shields like the Greek hoplites, which we may see on the paintings from the House of Ariadne (Casa dei Capitelli Colorati VII 4, 31.51) (Pl. V).¹² Their ἀριστεία in the combat with the cranes, and their glorious death on the battlefield makes of this mock heroic epic a thematic counterpart of the great epic tradition. Philostratus apparently alluded to the genre when he wrote ἀλλὰ τοῦ θράσους (but ah, their boldness!) (*Imag.* 2.22). It was also documented by Kleitias on his *opus magnum*, the François Vase, where the Geranomachia neighbours on the Calydonian Boar Hunt, the Liberation of the Athenian Children by Theseus, and a grandiose, pathetic scene with Ajax carrying the body of the dead Achilles. Homer wrote that the cranes κλαγγῆ ταί γε πέτονται ἐπ’ Ὀκεανοῦ ροάων | ἀνδράσι Πυγμαίοισι φόνον καὶ κῆρα φέρουσαι (‘scream overhead... over the flowing waters of Okeanos to bring death and destruction on the Pygmies’) (transl. S. Butler) (*Il.* 3,5–6). This detail is additionally illustrative of the argument which says that the François Vase was inspired by the Archaic epics.¹³ Philostratus informs his readers that the Pygmies “dwell in the earth just like ants... they sow and reap and ride on a cart drawn by Pygmy horses, and it is said that they use an axe on stalks of grain believing that these are trees” (*Imag.* 2.22) (transl. A. Fairbanks). This picture immediately calls to mind dozens and dozens of mosaics and paintings showing the tiny folk in Nilotic scenery. The Pygmies won in the rivalry with the earlier Archaic and Classical *geranomachiai*, or the Busiris and Heracles motif, and eventually, during the Hellenistic and Imperial period, dominated the African grotesque genre. On one of the Pompeian frescoes two little humanoids are busy catching fish. They sit in a boat facing each other, so that their angling-lines cross over their heads. They do not seem to mind at all that a monstrous crocodile and a hippopotamus are lurking among the reeds with the apparent aim of making their own catch for dinner.¹⁴ On yet another painting a dwarfish creature runs happy and free as a bird over a bridge under which a huge crocodile lies in

BC; fig. 11, rhyton, Mus. Vivenel 898, Compiègne, c. 450 BC; 17, cantharos, Staatl. Mus. Berlin, V.I.3159 (from Kabirion).

¹¹ Dasen 1994, fig. 8.

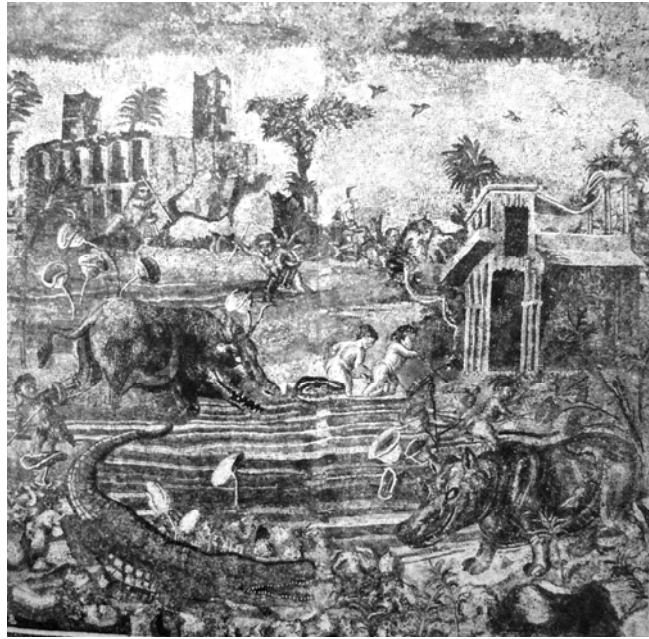
¹² Dasen 1994, fig. 20 bis, kelebes, Mus. Arch. Florence 4035; Casa delle nozze d’argento, *Pompei. Pitture e mosaici* V, 2, no. 76, 713; *Pompei. Pitture e mosaici* VI, VII 4, 31.51, fig. 80 a-c, 1053, vanished, c. 70 AD; Dasen 1994, fig. 23.

¹³ Scheffold 1991, 513–526; Buchholz 1991, 11–44.

¹⁴ *Pompei. Pitture e mosaici* I, Reg. I, 7, 1, no. 84, 533.

ambush. In this painting Egypt was symbolised by the idol of the Apis bull set on a high stone base.¹⁵

In his paper *Les mosaïques nilotiques africaines* L. Foucher collected a number of motifs remarkable for their “humeur parfois féroce.” On the El Alia mosaic a Pygmy armed with an axe confronts a monstrous hippo.¹⁶ A huge hippopotamus swallows a little Pygmy on the mosaic of Ouad ez Zgaia.¹⁷ The Pygmy may sometimes feel confused or even frightened (El Alia, Zliten). Sometimes he catches water birds with a lasso. Landscapes showing the River Nile as it winds between the rocks of Upper Egypt, its river banks abundant with a multiplicity of animal and floral species, adorned with the exotic shapes of the local architecture, still look impressive. I am thinking of the great Palestrina mosaic or the mosaic from the Aventine Hill, now in the Terme Museum (Pl. VI).¹⁸



Pl. VI. Nilotic landscape on the Aventine mosaic, Museo Nazionale Romano

At the extreme end of the iconographic and thematic spectrum we find paintings like those published by A. Maiuri, discovered in the Casa dello Scultore

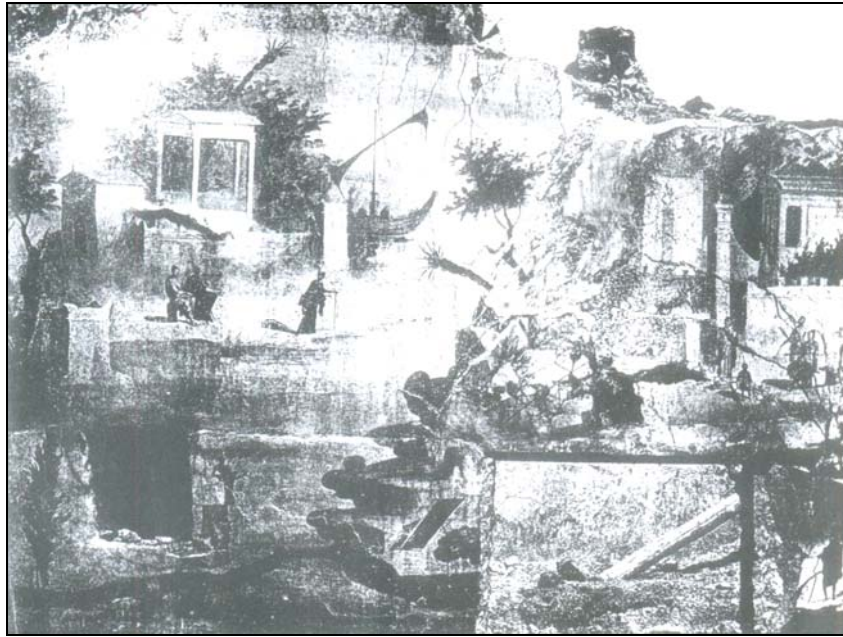
¹⁵ *Pompei. Pitture e mosaici*. Reg. I 7, 11, no 173, 718, Casa dell'Efebo.

¹⁶ Foucher 1965, 137–45, figs. 1–23, here: fig. 138.

¹⁷ Foucher 1965, fig. 22.

¹⁸ Gullini 1956. The author clearly showed the scale of later restorations; Mayboom 1995; a wonderful reproduction in Charbonneaux et. al., 1973, fig. 181.

(VIII 7, 24).¹⁹ The distorted, steatopygic, short-legged bodies in them, surmounted by overgrown heads with hideous faces, move in the rhythm of an orgiastic African dance. All of them are macrophallic and remarkable for their protuberant bellies. A group of them swings in a wild, ecstatic dance on a boat, which Maiuri euphemistically calls a “piroga priaepa.”²⁰



Pl. VII. The River Nile winding between the rocks of Djebel, Pompeii I, 6, 15

Just as the images of the Pygmies, which range from good-humoured burlesques to extreme caricature, similarly the African landscape may appear as a ritual and idyllic vision with the tranquil waters of the Nile flowing among the Egyptian sanctuaries and palm groves, as in the charming fresco from the Casa dei Ceii (Reg. I 6, 15) (Pl. VII), or alternatively it may take the shape of a Nilotic green thicket populated with primitive, lustful, dwarfish humanoids, as can be seen in the ryparographic pictures of the Casa dello Scultore (Reg. VIII 7, 24).²¹ It is interesting to observe that the anonymous owner of the Casa dell'Efebo commissioned a painter to cover the walls of a sort of private summer-house in

¹⁹ Maiuri 1955, Tav. I, 2; II, 2; III; V, 1.

²⁰ *ibid.* Tav. V, 1; Dasen 1994, fig. 44.

²¹ Cf. caricatural images of the Pygmies in the Nilotic scenery in a mosaic tondo, *Pompei. Pitture e mosaici* I, Casa di Paquius Proculus, I 7, 1, fig. 84; a similar mosaic in the Casa del Menandro, Reg. I, 10, 4, *Pompei. Pitture e mosaici* I, 297.

his garden with these perverted Pygmy images.²² These caricature images were obviously a smash hit on the Late Hellenistic and Roman Imperial markets. The grotesque dominated the characteristics of the Pygmies. Pictures of them were rarely inventive and fresh. They were represented again and again along a set of standard patterns. In the same way Africa's cavalry forces, the exotic beauty of the women, the landscapes of palm-groves and ancient ruins, the African air of cruelty, mystery, lust and luxury – became a run-of-the-mill matrix for the 19th-century French and English "Orientalists" who turned the Orient into a "style." Their paintings are remarkable for their touch of exoticism, seductive and fascinating, impressive in its unusual composition of colours and strange objects.

The panel with Heracles and the Pygmies (*Imag.* 2.22) had its stylistic pendant in the River Nile and the Cubits, a burlesque painting put on display in Lehmann-Hartleben's Room of the Rivers (*Imag.* 1.5). In the Philostratean painting the Cubits were shown sitting on the Nile's shoulders, clinging to his curling locks, slumbering in his arms, while others were playing on his chest or clattering an Isiac *sistra*. A protective divinity keeping guard over the sources of the Nile was standing behind, surmounting the main scene.

Numerous sculptures, mosaics and coins, collected in the contemporary museums, as well as a number of preserved literary passages mostly from the Imperial period, attest to the popularity of the image of the personified Nile, a reclining divinity with thick curly locks flowing down unto his shoulders. This creation proved a real success. No doubt the Philostratean Nile was a picture of the reclining Nile, as suggested by the placement and occupations of the Cubits. Philostratus was right when he observed that crocodiles and hippopotami were the usual components of the imagery of the Nile personification (*Imag.* I, 5, 2). The hippopotamus is the attribute of the personified Nile most frequently documented by the archaeological evidence.²³ The figure of the Nile reclines on a hippopotamus in a mosaic from the House of Kyrios Leontis in Scythopolis/Bet Shean, dated mid-5th century AD,²⁴ or in another Palestinian mosaic in Sepphoris.²⁵ Lucian's Nile also reposes on a hippopotamus or a crocodile (*Rhet. praec.* 6). The painting described by Philostratus the Elder remains unique in this respect. The exotic monsters "are now lying aloof in its [the Nile's] deep eddies so as not to frighten the children" (*Imag.* 1.5.2). Deviation from an established iconographic pattern is one of the favourite devices in Philostratus' rhetoric. It offers him a chance to make the most of his erudition as an art historian. On one occasion he toys with variation on the

²² *Pompei. Pitture e mosaici* I, Casa dell'Efebo, Reg. I, 7, 11, fig. 164.

²³ Jentel 1992 (Neilos), nos 7–18, 35–36 (hippopotami), 19–24 (crocodile), 1 (hippopotami, crocodile, mangoust).

²⁴ R. Ovadiah et al. 1987, Pl. 22, 1; Jentel 1992 (Neilos), fig. 7.

²⁵ Weiss, Netzer 1996, 127, 131, fig. 61.

theme of Dionysus, who is dressed in purple and wreathed with roses, but shown without his usual attributes (*Imag.* 1.15); another time with a Meles who “does not pour forth turbulent streams at his source, as boorish rivers are equally painted... the water trickles noiselessly by” (*Imag.* 2.8.2). Yet on another occasion he focuses his attention on a painting with a mad Heracles not accompanied by the Erinies, which would have been the standard practice.²⁶ In an Andromeda painting he describes Eros as a young man $\pi\alpha\rho' \delta \epsilon\iota\omega\theta\epsilon$ (as is not usual) (*Imag.* 1.29.1). In the same way the *sistra* carried by the Cubits replace the usual Nilotic animals synonymous of Egypt in Philostratus’ Nile. On a well-known Pompeian panel which depicts Isis welcoming Io with the long-haired muscular Nile who bears her on his waves, an Egyptian priest accompanied by a little Cubit clatters the *sistrum*.²⁷

The River Nile with its people and natural environment, and Black Africa with its seductive exoticism, exerted a magnetic attraction on the Greek and Romans. This attraction was a mixture of fascination, fear and alienation in the face of the undecipherable hieroglyphs of that enormously vast land which stretched south of the Mediterranean. The Nilotic landscapes, known from numerous paintings, mosaics and other media,²⁸ is a class of antiquities which we automatically associate with the orientalist style. The group is in no way uniform. Among them are the sacred and idyllic landscapes, Pygmy grotesques, illustrations with animals and vegetation, and hunting scenes (Pl. VI). The great Barberini Mosaic in Palestrina and the mosaics from the Casa del Fauno belong to the best-known examples of the style.²⁹ Among the paintings we come upon different techniques. Sometimes it is a yellow monochrome painting with Egyptian elements like a camel, a statue of Isis, a winged sphinx, all of this intermingling with not specifically Egyptian temples, porticoes or columns, and even Greek deities, as in the Casa di Livia (c. 30 BC).³⁰ Sometimes it is a frieze composed of *uraei*, Egyptian crowns and the double feather of Isis with a hippo and a Pygmy at a well, as in the Aula Isiaca on the Palatine Hill. Isiac statues grow out of fantastic, vegetal candelabra reminiscent of Vitruvius’ critique of the contemporary wall decorations: “there are monsters rather than the definite representations taken from definite things. Instead of columns there rise up fluted reeds; instead of gables, decorative appendages

²⁶ Brunn 1861–1867, 195.

²⁷ Schefold 1972, Pl. 43, the original dated c. 150 BC, *ibid.* 253.

²⁸ Egyptian landscapes on mosaics, terracottas, coins, lamps and gems, *bibliogr.* Morenz 1969, 117, n. 5;

²⁹ Mayboom 1995, dated c. 120/110 BC; an excellent illustrations in Charbonneaux et al. 1973, fig. 181, dated c. 80 BC, 182: ‘the taste for exoticism and local colour (...) was doubtless never again carried quite so far in Greek art’; the landscapes with the Pygmies in Morenz 1969, p1. 18–19; a mosaic with the Pygmies in Carthago in Aug. *Civ. Dei* 16.8.

³⁰ Ling 1991, 142–143, fig. 149.

with curled leaves and volutes. Candelabra support shrine-like forms, above the roofs of which grow delicate flowers with volutes containing little figures seated at random, some with human, some with animal heads” (*de architectura* 7, 5, 3). The observer can sometimes come upon a tranquil *paysage* with the Djebel rocks of Upper Egypt rising up in it, or palms and boats sailing along the winding band of the Nile, as in the Casa dei Cei (I 6, 15) (Pl. VII),³¹ or eerie landscapes filled with half-real architecture, grotesque humanoids and animals, with piquant erotic scenes appended, as in the Casa del Efebo (I 7, 11),³² or in House VII 2, 25 in Pompeii.³³ Their chronological and territorial extent show that they enjoyed incessant popularity for many centuries in the Graeco-Roman Mediterranean.³⁴ The Nilotic landscapes have their literary parallels, e.g. in the *Romance* by Achilles Tatius who described the Egyptian Delta and its animal life (IV, 11–13) or in the *Natural History* by Pliny the Elder (*HN* 7,2).³⁵ The Nilotic landscapes caused a real invasion of exotic animals and birds into the Graeco-Roman art: elephants, monkeys, lions, tigers, rhinoceros, hippopotami, ibises, storks, ducks, the latter depicted with the use of splendid, fresh colours for their plumage to cheer the eyes of the viewer.³⁶ The representations of the birds are so exact, vivid and colourful that they recall to one’s memory the Atlases of Birds.³⁷ The papyri were later used as models for egyptianizing architectural landscapes placed on the walls of Roman and Campanian houses. It may also happen that the scale of those mosaics is so impressive that they change into some sort of mosaic zoological garden, as in the great hunting mosaic of the Piazza Armerina, which depicts Numidia, Egypt and India.³⁸

This room of the museum (The Room of the Rivers) contained another painting thematically related to the River Nile tableau – the Death of Memnon with the

³¹ *Pompei. Pitture e mosaici* vol. I, f. 107; D. Michel, Casa dei Cei (I 6, 15), 1990, Häuser in Pompeji 3.

³² *Pompei. Pitture e mosaici* vol. I, fig 166, 186–7; 173 a-b.

³³ *Pompei. Pitture e mosaici* Vol. VI, figs. 7,8; cf. a mosaic tondo with the Pygmies on the boat, C. del Menandro I, 10, 4, *Pompei. Pitture e mosaici* vol. I, 297; a tondo with a Nilotic landscape, I 7, 1, C. di Paquius Proculus, *Pompei. Pitture e mosaici* vol. I, f. 84; emblema in Cardiff, White House, *AJA* 1985, Pl.28.

³⁴ Alföldi-Rosenbaum 1965 149–153, Pl. LV-LVIII; the Nilotic mosaics in Tabgha and Sephoris, Murphy-O’Connor 1998, fig. 71, The Church of the Multiplication of the Loaves and Fishes; Weiss, Netzer 1996 127–131, figs. 61–64; Piccirillo 1993, 37, cat. 752 (Umm al-Marabi), cat. 660 (Zay al-Gharby), cat. 209 (Khirbat al-Mukhayyat).

³⁵ Morenz 1969, 109, n. 1, on Seneca and Virgil in Egypt.

³⁶ cf. Toynbee 1973, 32–34; Boesneck 1988; Houlihan 1986; Keller 1909–1913; Scullard 1974.

³⁷ Schefold wrote a paper on Alexandrian illustrated papyri produced for Greek and Roman visitors (Schefold 1956).

³⁸ Carandini, Ricci, de Vos, 1982, Taf. I, fig. 122, 123.

Vocal Colossus in the background of the composition (*Imag.* 2.7). The painting showed Negro mourners, the soldiers of Memnon, who occupied the central part of the field. They gathered around the dead body of their king on the plain closed on the sides by the walls of Troy and the trench of the Achaean camp. With his long hair and muscular body, Memnon was beautiful even in death. His complexion was dark, but not black like his soldiers. Up in the sky the painter placed the figures of Eos, the Night and probably Helios. On the verge of the tableau the viewer could see the Egyptian Colossus of Memnon. The painting had a concentric composition, with the fallen body of Memnon in the lower part of the field, surrounded successively by the mourners, next the city walls and the trench, and finally by the heavenly divinities. This regular composition had one divergence. Probably in the upper right corner of the picture the painter placed the Vocal Colossus in order to allow the viewer to identify the subject. Dark and even black hues made up its colouristic dominant (black skin, the Night, the Colossus), lit out probably by the golds of Helios and rays touching the lips of the black seated Memnon on the edge of the picture. It may also be interesting to observe that the ancient Orientalist painting prompted a fascination which is not unfamiliar to us, as can be illustrated by J.-G. Gérôme's *View of the Plain of Thebes* (1857), with the Colossi of Memnon dominating the perspective of the rugged land of the Egyptian desert (Pl. VIII).



Pl. VIII. Jean-Léon Gérôme. *View of the Plain of Thebes*, 1857, oil on canvas, Musée des Beaux-Arts, Nantes

In this point we are concluding our visit to the Rooms of Heracles and the Rivers and turning our steps to a somewhat different Room of Aphrodite popu-

lated by female heroes, where Philostratus the Elders' gaze came to focus on a tableau showing the Death of Pantheia (*Imag.* 2.9) (Pl. II). At the beginning of his description the rhetorician directs the observer's attention to the city walls of Sardis, just taken by the Persian warriors, its houses gutted by fire, its women fallen into slavery. In the foreground the old master painted a scene marked by tragic overtones: Pantheia was killing herself in an act of mourning over the horribly bloodstained and mutilated body of her young husband Abradatas who had fallen in action. A chariot stood beside the central group, loaded with funeral gifts and the proverbial Lydian golden sand brought by King Cyrus to pay his last respects to the dead hero. Pantheia had just driven a short Persian sword through her bosom. She was portrayed still breathing in agony. Her loveliness in dying gave Philostrates the focal point for his *ecphrasis*. She looked tranquil, as if not suffering at all, modestly dressed, unadorned, without any jewellery, her thick black hair flowing down her neck and shoulders. Philostratus detailed the bloody scratches on her neck, done with her own fingernails in the ritual act of mourning. Her eyes were sparkling with a fateful blend of sagacity, love and dignity. Eros and the Lydian woman dressed in a golden robe, who personified the Power of Love and the land of Lydia, formed a frame for the central group.

The panel recounted historical events, namely the seizure of Sardis, Croesus' stronghold, by Cyrus the Great in 546 BC. The story of the Elamite Prince Abradatas and his wife Pantheia of Susa, presented against a vast historical panorama, displayed all the features of historical romance: the story of a mutual, undying, conjugal love which joined a heroic warrior with the most beautiful woman of the Orient. Xenophon wrote on the subject in his *Cyropaedia* in Books 3. (6. 11), 5. (1. 2–8), 6. (4. 4–10) and 7. (3. 2–16). In a horrifying scene depicted in the *Cyropaedia* Cyrus takes hold of the dead warrior's hand unaware that Abradatas' arm has been severed off his body (*Cyr.* 7.3.8–9). The maker of the Philostratean painting influenced by this passage, showed the hero's body literally cut to pieces in the turmoil of the deadly clash with the Egyptians (*Imag.* 8,3). What was the position of Pantheia's body on the painting in relation to her husband's corpse? Philostratus said that the heroine was dying ἐπ' αὐτῷ 'beside him' i.e. beside Abradatas (*Imag.* 2.9.2). Further on we can learn that she κεῖται 'she lies there' (*Imag.* 5). 'Pantheia liege mit zurückgesunkenem Kopfe im Dreiviertelprofil und sitze nicht'.³⁹ A Pompeian painting with Pyramus and Thisbe showing the heroine half lying beside the dead body of her lover may probably illustrate the position of the two bodies in their mutual relations as represented on the Philostratean painting (Pl. IX).⁴⁰

³⁹ Schönberger 1968, 406.

⁴⁰ Reinach 1922, 182, 2.



Pl. IX. Thisbe commits suicide over the dead body of Pyramus, a fresco in Pompeii, V 4a

All the components of Philostratus' *ecphrasis* of Pantheia, the details hardly touched upon, the outlines of the pictorial pattern, its hints as to light and colour, its literary layer with numerous citations and allusions, all that directs the reader as if along converging lines to the focal point of the *ecphrasis* – Pantheia's facial portrait. This ascending structure up to an emphatic highlight is typical of his descriptive technique. His portraits of Pantheia (*Imag.* 2.9), Rhodogoune (*Imag.* 2.5) and Kritheis (*Imag.* 2.8) show his personal predilection for portrait painting, which he studied with the passion of a connoisseur and a man of taste, incorporating it in his rhetorical workshop

conspicuous for a perfected artistry of *ecphrasis*. Pantheia's facial portrait, as well as Rhodogoune's and Kritheis', belong to the most perfected and detailed likenesses of Philostratean women.

Philostratus' Pantheia reflects a markedly Hellenistic predilection for antithesis, sometimes coloured by dramatic, pathetic or even startling overtones. Richter pointed to 'a love of movement and of violent contrasts... of a tendency toward dramatic and turbulent effects.'⁴¹ On the Philostratean painting the blood-stained, horribly mutilated corpse of a warrior was contrasted with the subtle charm of a woman. The still visible flush on her cheeks getting paler and paler showed the struggle between life and death. In his Rhodogoune (*Imag.* 2.5) Philostratus constructed a veritable hierarchy of contradictions and opposites. A young, graceful lady on horseback was dressed in male armour, and represented in a scene of triumph over the vanquished male sex. Her hair was partly decently fastened up, but partly hanging loose in disarray. Her girlish joy contrasted with her haughtiness and authority as a queen.

However one detail in the Pantheia painting may prove to be decisive for the establishing of the date of the original. It is a short Persian dagger, an *akinakes*, Pantheia's suicide weapon: δὲ κόπη ῥοπάλω χρυσῶ εἰκασταὶ σμαραγδίνῳ τοῦς ὄζους. Its hilt was golden and branched out at the top into emerald ramifications (*Imag.* 2.9.5). We have such Iranian daggers among the Luristan bronzes.⁴² However, we are able to adduce an even closer analogy: an undoubtedly Achaemenid, exuberant golden *akinakes* from Hamadan (Ecbatana), dated exactly by a vessel adorned with inscriptions which clearly refer to Xerxes I. The emerald colour of the ramifications in the painting can be explained by the inlays, well represented in the extant Achaemenid art. The Greeks of Mainland Greece as well as Ionia witnessed an inflow of wealth from the Persian spoils of war, which were taken during Alexander's expedition and the following decades of hostilities. Weaponry must have prevailed among them. The old master who painted Philostratus' Pantheia studied the Persian dagger with great attention. He knew that such detail was essential in a historical painting. It always gave an air of authenticity even if chronologically incorrect. Besides, such a detail contributed special qualities to the artefact, bringing an Oriental colour to a painting which otherwise was very Greek in its iconographic and literary references (Pyramus and Thisbe, the fall of Sardis), proverbial beauty of the Lydian women (cf. Sappho 218(96)), Lydian golden sand and the riches of Croesus.⁴³ The original tableau, in my opinion, was not of Imperial date, as sometimes suggested. It can be dated within the span of the 3rd and 2nd century BC.

⁴¹ Richter 1950, 107.

⁴² Van den Berghe 1959, 91, Pl. 117.

⁴³ Pedley 1972, 73–83.

In the very first word of his Rhodogoune *ecphrasis*, located in the Room of Aphrodite (*Imag.* 2.5), τὸ αἷμα (blood), Philostratus the Elder impinges on our imagination, to make it remain under the impression of the intense red dominating the chromatic scale of the tableau. The expansive red hues heightened the effects in a composition marked by the confusion of corpses of fallen warriors, horses running amok in terror, and the turbid and polluted waves of the river. A battle had just finished.⁴⁴ All the lines of the composition focused on the central figure of the Persian princess and her horse. She had led her soldiers to victory over the treacherous Armenians, who had broken the peace treaty. The observer could see a group of them taken prisoner beside the *tropaion*. Here Philostratus turned with undisguised fascination to the description of the queen's wonderful, thorough-bred, black Nisean mare, with her noble white legs, and her body adorned in a rich harness studded with jewels. Rhodogoune herself was envisaged pouring the libation to the gods in an act of thanksgiving. She wore a scarlet robe and trousers, held a spear and a small shield (*Imag.* 2.5.4). However the highest note in the ascending scale of this description, which passes more and more from the general to the particular, is Rhodogoune's portrait, one of the most detailed and accomplished in the artistic spectrum of the gallery. The portrait engages more than half of the whole *ecphrasis*.

Rhodogoune was entirely clad except for her face. Her robe fell 'only to her knee' (*Imag.* 2.5.2), and was clasped with 'a charming girdle' at her waist (ἐν ἡδεῖα δὲ τῆ ζώνῃ), resembling a Parthian tunic, as can be exhaustively illustrated by the impressive collection of Hatran sculptures. King Uthal, whose statue was found at Hatra, wore a warrior's ceremonial costume, made of richly decorated textiles, with sword and belt, 'a typically Parthian costume' as noticed by Ghirshman.⁴⁵ It appears that Rhodogoune was dressed in a male Oriental uniform.

Rhodogoune's story reflected the popular archetype of Oriental warrior-queen, both brave and beautiful, vengeful, cruel and cunning, particularly in her relations with men. In this form she entered the *belles lettres* and fine arts of the

⁴⁴ In Cämmerer's view the painting showed two different scenes, the first with Rhodogoune emerging from the chaos of the battle in the background, and the second showing the princess before the *tropaion* (Cämmerer 1967, 48). One cannot find any hint in the description which would suggest the battle was yet continuing. It looks that all the lines of the composition focus on the central figure of the queen, which celebrates the victory. Cämmerer proved unable to find any archaeological parallel for a composition which would join together the triumphal scene with captives and the battle scene (Cämmerer 1967, 50). The battle sarcophagi dated from the second half of the 2nd century AD show the battle scenes with the *tropaia* in the corners of the frontal decorative slab (Cämmerer 1967, 51). It was a triumphal scene which was represented on the painting. The enemies were shown as either dead or captive.

⁴⁵ Ghirshman 1962, fig. 100, 89; Homès-Fredericq 1963, VI,1; Seyrig 1937.

Greeks. We recall the Herodotean Queen Tomyris, who ordered the dead body of Cyrus the Great to be drowned in a *buklak* filled with the blood of his executed soldiers (Hdt. 1.205–216); we recall Semiramis of Ctesias, or even Kanake from the *Romance of Alexander*, who in the eyes of the Macedonian conquerors appeared as γυνή ἔχουσα κάλλος ὑπερήφανον (“a woman of unparalleled beauty”). Diodorus also described Semiramis’ military exploits in Libya, Ethiopia and India (Diod. *Bibl.* 2.14–19, sec. Ctesias). Xenophon penned a similar portrait of the local autocratrix Manya, a friend and ally of Farnabazos, and a participant in his military expeditions (*HG* 3.1.10–15).

The Rhodogoune painting stylistically represented a new Orientalist stream which emerged in the Hellenistic age. This new Orientalism which reaped the harvest of Alexander’s expedition exceeded the formal limits of the previous Classical Orientalism that decidedly preferred Oriental themes in purely Classical forms with additions of theatrical, scenic and conventional ‘Oriental’ elements. The new Hellenistic Orientalism constituted an important aesthetic factor in the Greek art of its age and deserves separate treatment in the handbooks on the Hellenistic art.⁴⁶ The Rhodogoune painting belonged to the circle of artworks by those Hellenic masters who were markedly influenced by the Oriental world which found reflection in their works in its most apparent requisites like clothing, art, architecture, landscape, ethnic features or animal world. The painting of Rhodogoune was remarkable for its specific mixture of Hellenic components (facial portrait, composition, illusionist forms) and Oriental elements (textiles, harness, weaponry, fashion of dress) combined together. This strange blend of Hellenic and Oriental ingredients is also symptomatic of the Parthian art. The phenomenon of the Greek-Oriental eclecticism is clearly visible in the relieved scene in Arsameia which represents the King of Commagene, Antiochus I (69–34 BC) in the attire of an Oriental monarch face to face with a naked Hellenic Hercules.⁴⁷ In my view the original painting of Rhodogoune in the Philostratus the Elder’s gallery of Naples can be dated in the 3rd or 2nd century BC, and probably not later than the mid 2nd century BC.

The Rhodogoune painting must have been acquired for the art gallery on account of the particular thematic cycle and the architecture of the gallery as a whole. The painting had its individual setting within the frame of the *pinacotheca*, in relation to the other works of art. This situation can naturally add new meaning to the picture. In the rooms of the gallery a Greek-Oriental student might have been struck by the number of Asian and African motifs assembled together. As many as three tableaux out of a total of six put on display in the

⁴⁶ A chapter on the Orientalist style is in my view lacking in the otherwise brilliant book by Fowler 1989.

⁴⁷ Ghirshman 1962, fig. 79.

Room of Heracles⁴⁸ told the story of the hero's African adventures (Antaeus, Atlas, the Pygmies) (Pl. III). But in fact the African motifs played only a secondary role in Heracles' mythical biography and consequently in the 'Herculean' art repertory. The distinctive set of paintings in this room was remarkable for its, if I may be allowed to put it in this way, male and African dominant.

The atmosphere changed in the Room of Aphrodite (Pl. II). Here a guest to the gallery had an opportunity to study a set of paintings which portrayed Persian and Anatolian princesses: Pantheia, Rhodogoune, Cassandra. Even Critheis, though she was of Greek descent, came from Asia Minor. Let us focus for a while once again on the painting of Rhodogoune. It provides an interesting testimony of a certain heritage like the above mentioned relief from Arsameia. It is the heritage of an experiment once undertaken by many to unite different peoples of the new states which rose up on the ruins of the Empires of Darius III and Alexander the Great. This heritage proved to be topical again in the period of the Severans, an Afro-Semitic family on the Roman throne. The Rhodogoune painting might have been a later copy of the Hellenistic tableau, if so a master copy, truly worthy of the walls of a *pinacotheca*, such as that in the Propyleia of Athens or the *Porticus Octaviae* in Rome, a gallery where real *pinakes* on marble or wood were hanging on the walls. The Rhodogoune was probably traced and purchased in the East in view of the arrangement of a royal gallery, since its subject went well with the ideology of the Severan dynasty and most of all complied with the artistic tastes, intellectual occupations and Arabian origin of the Empress Julia Domna. In contrast to the Room of Heracles the Room of Aphrodite was signal for its female and Asian dominant.

The highly individualized and calculated pattern which emerges from an analysis of the whole exhibition carried out by Lehmann-Hartleben revealed yet one more African wall in his Room of the Rivers,⁴⁹ with the tableau of Memnon, a hero who himself met with a wave of new popularity in connection with Septimius Severus' Egyptian pleasure-tour, and subsequent restoration of the Vocal Colossus in Western Thebes. Concluding the painting was probably purchased as a souvenir of the romantic Egyptian holidays enjoyed by Septimius Severus and Julia Domna in the spring of AD 200. Together they visited Alexandria, Memphis, Fayum, Thebes and Syene. In May AD 200 they stayed for some days on the Island of Philae, where they attended a local feast of Isis and Osiris. In the same hall the observer had the opportunity to see the painted version of the Personified Nile. We would be no more amazed if we discovered the Ethiopian Andromeda on the wall of Dionysos' Room. Thus all the lines converge on two persons: Septimius Severus and Julia Domna.

⁴⁸ Lehmann-Hartleben 1941, 21–24, fig. 1.

⁴⁹ Lehmann-Hartleben 1941 Ibid. 36–39, fig. 5.

Interfecto Didio Iuliano Severus Africa oriundus imperium obtinuit: so began the Emperor's biography by the Author of *Historia Augusta*, who could neither forget nor forgive Septimius Severus his African and Semitic origin. His resentment can still be felt despite the passage of almost two centuries (*Sept. Sev.* 1.1). The Emperor's sister, who came to Rome from Africa proved to be a disgrace to the royal couple, because she could hardly speak any Latin (*Sept. Sev.* 1.7). Born in Leptis Magna, Septimius never lost his African accent and sounded Semitic until the very end of his life (*Sept. Sev.* 19.9) (*Afrum quiddam usque ad senectutem sonans*). Some of his official portraits were markedly African-styled. With the four corkscrew curls above his forehead, they were a clear allusion to the great image of Serapis.⁵⁰ Hannestad observed that this class of Severus' portraits 'indicate North African affinity.' As an illustration he cited the statue of the personified province of Mauretania.⁵¹ The archaeological excavations once carried out in Kyrene brought to light a relief which illustrated 'Severus and his sons doing battle with barbarians.'⁵² Unfortunately we know very little about Severus' African campaign. The anonymous author of *Historia Augusta* handed down to us only that Severus *Tripolim unde oriundus erat, contusis bellicosissimis gentibus serenissimam reddidit* (*Sept. Sev.* 18.3). The Antaeus and the Pygmies paintings might have been purchased as a commemoration of those military successes over the African enemies of Rome. An Alexandrian coin issued by Domitian represents a theme disseminated for the needs of the Imperial propaganda. It shows a powerful standing Heracles/Domitian with tiny weaklings scurrying around his feet in an apparent allusion to the enemies of the Empire.⁵³ Lehmann-Hartleben specified a Herculean (*Imag.* 2.20–25) and a Dionysiac (*Imag.* 1.14–31) cycles within the gallery. It is probably not incidental that Bacchus (Liber) and Hercules were the tutelary deities of Leptis Magna, Septimius Severus' *dii patrii*.⁵⁴ Their relieved images adorned the walls of the Basilica in Leptis Magna, founded by Septimius Severus and opened in AD 216.⁵⁵ We may guess that Septimius Severus' *dii patrii* were actually Tammuz and Melqart, identified with Dionysus and Heracles. We need not add that Heracles had always played an important role in the cult of the Roman Emperors.

⁵⁰ Hannestad 1986, 260–261, with the NyCarlsberg Glyptothek portrait carved on the model of the Serapis type, fig. 159.

⁵¹ Hannestad 1986, Mauretania, found in Hadrumetum, now in the Palazzo dei Conservatori, fig. 122, 261.

⁵² Hannestad 1986, 272.

⁵³ Boardman et al. 1990, Pl. 2806, AE, AD 94–95, Mourat, Num 1900, 423–428.

⁵⁴ Kotula 1986, 78–79

⁵⁵ Kotula 1986, 63.

As we have already mentioned, the visitor to the gallery reflected again and again on the intriguing atmosphere of the macabre and the inclination for perverse passions lurking among the images on the walls. One possible explanation may lie beyond the scope of the art critic's strictly defined field. The gloomy atmosphere inherent in some of the paintings hanging on the walls was probably in a way re-echoing the fates of the Severan family history and its personalities, the perfect material for a Shakespearean tragedy. Herodian and the author of *Historia Augusta*, both conspicuous for their vivid and colourful imagination, can supply many such horrifying scenes. It is emphasized several times in the *Historia Augusta* that Severus was extremely cruel.⁵⁶ The story of his treatment of the vanquished Albinus and his relatives related by the *Historia Augusta* discloses psychological analogies with some of the Philostratean *ecphraseis* (*Imag.* 2. 9, 10, 19, 23, 25).⁵⁷ In the opinion of Cassius Dio the nature of Caracalla betrayed 'the harshness and cruelty of Africa.' (78, 6, 1). Herodian expressed the view that Severus deliberately used Mauretanian cavalry units against civilians in Syria during the civil war of the mid-nineties, because οἱ δὲ Μαυροῦστοι ὄντες φοινικώτατοι, the Mauretanians 'were extremely cruel' (III,3,5). Plautianus, the most influential figure beside the Emperor was also Libyan (Herod. 3.10.6). 'Certain parts of the higher state administration were dominated by Africans in those years,' comments Hannestad.⁵⁸

In a similar way the Room of Aphrodite (Pl. II) may reflect the personality of Julia Domna, a woman of the highest political and intellectual ambitions, as that of Heraclides might have referred to her husband. Julia was herself of Oriental descent. Nöldeke and von Domaszewski were certainly right when they observed that Domna was a rendering of Syriac ܡܪܬܐ *martha*, *dom(i)na*.⁵⁹ The syncope Domna-Domina is corroborated by few inscriptions from the Eastern Provinces of the Empire. Dio Cassius tells about Julia's behaviour after Caracalla's death. According to the historian Julia hated her son as long as he lived, but mourned him after his death. Dio explained this change of feelings in this way that Julia was to realize that she was going to lose her high position and prestige. At first then she wanted to commit suicide, but later after she had recollected herself she undertook an adventurous plan to take over the throne for herself, like 'Semiramis or Nitocris the women of the same stock' (Dio 79.23.1).⁶⁰ Interesting to ob-

⁵⁶ *Sept. Sev.* 11.7: *crudelissimus*; *Sept. Sev.* 17.7: *crudelior*; *ibid.* 21.9.

⁵⁷ *Sept. Sev.* 11.7: *reliquum autem cadaver eius ante domum propriam exponi a diu iacere iussit. Equum praeterea ipse residens supra cadaver Albini egit expavescentem que admonuit, ut et effrenatus audacter protereret. Addunt alii, quod idem cadaver in Rhodanum abici praecepit, simul etiam uxoris liberumque eius. Sept. Sev.* 21. 9: *tristior vir ad omnia, etiam crudelior.*

⁵⁸ Hannestad 1986, 256.

⁵⁹ Kettenhofen 1979, 76.

⁶⁰ Kettenhofen 1979, 12.

serve that the Author of *HA* employed the same comparison when characterized Zenobia of Palmyra. Kettenhofen was right that there is no epigraphic, numismatic or other evidence for Julia imagined as Omphale (a sculpture in Vatican) or as Tanit (cameo), as once believed by von Kaschnitz-Weinberg.⁶¹ However Oppian in *Cyn.* 7 learnt us to be cautious. He calls Julia Ἀσσυρία Κυθήρεια καὶ οὐ λείπουσα Σελήνη. We can recognize in his poetic portrait of the Empress Atargatis of Hierapolis and Phoenician Astarte, which is otherwise corroborated by neither numismatic nor epigraphic evidence. In fact coins show that Julia styled herself on the goddess Aphrodite. A beautiful *aureus* depicts her as Venus Callipygos, with the legend 'to Venus Victorious'.⁶² On a series of issues the Empress appears as Venus Genetrix or Venus Felix.⁶³

Flavius Philostratus belonged to the closest circle of intellectuals at her side. It is not central for our argument that the 'circle of Julia Domna' eventually proved to have been a fiction of some 19th century scholars as argued by Bowersock.⁶⁴ Kettenhofen identified only three intellectuals from her circle, all of them Greeks: Philostratos from Lemnos, Gordian from Cappadocia, and Philiskos descending from Thessaly.⁶⁵ Consequently Kettenhofen argued against alleged Oriental-Syrian character of the court intellectual circle. The interests in the Orient on the part of those few Greek intellectuals probably resembled a contemporary likeness for view cards from Egypt or the Holy Land shared by those who like to see the pyramids of Gizah but simultaneously remain in isolation from indigenous people, who seem alien, dirty or at the best too 'exotic.' All those arguments do not contradict Julia's Syrian-Hellenic cultural identity. Her homeland was Syria, the Bekaa Valley, her religious milieu – the Arabic cult of Elagabal in Emesa. The land surrounding Emesa was inhabited by the Arabic tribes which came from the South.⁶⁶ During Julia's life the Syrian language was only arising to the level of the literary language. Syriac had been for a long time only a spoken vernacular of the prevailing majority of the Syrians, while the Greek played the role of the literary language used by the Greek minority and the educated Syrians. As it can happen in such cultural environments later Empress was brought up in the milieu of different cultural crosscurrents: her ethnic and cultural identity was Syrian, while literary and also cultural identity – Hellenic. We have just mentioned that Dio Cassius emphasised Julia's Oriental descent (Xiph.

⁶¹ Kettenhofen 1979, 126.

⁶² RIC 536, VENERI VICTR, 193–196 AD.

⁶³ RIC 578: VENERI GENETRIC; RIC 580: VENUS FELIX; cf. the As of Caracalla, Rev. VENUS GENETRIX, Venus enthroned and holding a sceptre, c. 215–217 AD, in the Czartoryski Collection, Kraków, BMC V, 229–230.

⁶⁴ Bowersock 1969, 108.

⁶⁵ Kettenhofen 1979, 15.

⁶⁶ Cf. a doctoral dissertation by Elaine Myers 2007.

343,21–24). The predominantly Classical subjects and exclusively Classical form of the paintings from the Neapolitan gallery well portrays the cultural milieu of the Severan court, hellenized Rome with an Oriental undercurrent.

I think that Kettenhofen's attitude is somewhat extreme in its neglect of different and mixed cultural identities in Julia and Septimius Severus.⁶⁷ Kettenhofen emphasized that there is no sign that Cassius Dio regarded the family as strange, exotic or 'Oriental.' 'Die nationalistische Perspektive, aus der heraus eine solche Geschichtsinterpretation verständlich wird, erledigt sich daher von selbst.' Strong words. Again and again the Westerners have been learning along the centuries, and recently only too painfully, that there are also 'others' in the world, essentially different others, although biologically the same, but meaningfully different with respect to their cultural identity, their religion or language. I think that racial or nationalist interpretation of history may bring about so much distortion and deformation in the history writing as the extremely opposite attitude which neglected substantial religious or linguistic differences.

I can not resist a feeling that the River Nile as well as the Memnon with the Vocal Colossus in the background were no coincidental choices for the gallery. They probably commemorated, which has been already mentioned, the lavish, much-publicized visit by the Imperial couple to the Land of the Pharaohs, which included in its programme sightseeing tours to the Tomb of Alexander the Great, the Labyrinth in Fayum, the Great Pyramids of Gizeh and naturally the Vocal Memnon in Western Thebes. This is also probably not coincidental that S. Severus liked to stay within the boundaries of his *res privata* – the vast land properties in Campania.⁶⁸ They were even enlarged in the wake of land confiscations. It is perhaps yet another information pointing in the direction of hypothetical owners of the Neapolitan gallery.

Who, then, was the owner of that refined and precious art collection at Naples? A member of the Severan family or an influential and wealthy aristocrat from the Imperial court circles in Rome? Why not Julia Domna herself? Her personality and the actually Imperial scale of the collection might seem to justify such a solution in the best possible way. In one of the last descriptions in the *Imagines* (2.28) we come across an intriguing and moving picture of an abandoned house, with ruined portico, and fallen columns, a house which was once prosperous, as emphasized by the author with particular feeling of nostalgia. A fallen column has always made a meaningful metaphor of the past glory. And only the spiders adorned its empty rooms with their fragile and intricate webs. Inspired by this motif Philostratus compared his own art to the work of Penelope who shed tears over her night work at the weaving machine. The image has

⁶⁷ Kettenhofen 1979, 20.

⁶⁸ Kotula 1986, 100–101.

really something painful in it. Would that be another allusion to Julia Domna and the house of the Severi? Is it not unlikely that weeping Arachne punished by the jealous gods for her divine skills, made a literary *sphragis* and a date added by the author of the *Imagines*. Were they published after the death of Caracalla (AD 217), or even, which seems more likely, after the fall of the dynasty in AD 235?

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Plates

- Pl. I. The art gallery of Martial (from Lehmann 1945, fig.1).
- Pl. II. The Room of Aphrodite in Philostratus' painting gallery. Drawing by E. Polańska.
- Pl. III. The Room of Heracles in Philostratus' painting gallery. Drawing by E. Polańska.
- Pl. IV. Heracles and Antaeus on the mosaic of Avenches, the 3rd century AD.
- Pl. V. Pygmies in hoplite armour fighting cranes on the drawing by W. Zahn, *Pompeii* VII 4, 31, 51.
- Pl. VI. Nilotic landscape on the Aventine mosaic, Museo Nazionale Romano.

Pl. VII. The River Nile winding between the rocks of Djebel, Pompeii I, 6, 15.

Pl. VIII. Jean-Léon Gérôme. View of the Plain of Thebes, 1857, oil on canvas, Musée des Beaux-Arts, Nantes.

Pl. IX. Thisbe commits suicide over the dead body of Pyramus, a fresco in Pompeii, V 4a.

Abstract

Pliny the Elder's history of sculpture and painting can be read largely as a guide to the Roman art galleries of his time. Philostratus the Elder in his turn compiled a learned guide to a painting gallery in Naples (*Imagines*). I focus on a selection of 'Orientalist' paintings from Philostratus the Elder's gallery (*Heracles and Antaeus*, *Heracles and the Pygmies*, *The River Nile*, *Memnon*, *Pantheia*, *Rhodogoune*). Philostratus the Elder confronted the Greek hero 'short in stature but in soul unflinching' with the Libyan savage whose body was ridiculously distorted, his limbs overgrown and unnaturally swollen which emphasised his primitivism. According to Philostratus' description the artist counterpoised two contrasting forces: the young Greek's skill and power against the brutal force of primitivism. This image of the non-Greek neighbouring peoples had already been deeply rooted in the Greek mentality for a long time in fact. *Heracles and the Pygmies*' painting was conspicuous for its air of grotesque, parody and burlesque. The Graeco-Roman attraction with Africa was a mixture of fascination, fear and alienation. *Rhodogoune*'s story reflected the popular archetype of Oriental warrior-queen, both brave and beautiful, vengeful, cruel and cunning. The painting of *Rhodogoune* was remarkable for its specific mixture of Hellenic components (facial portrait, composition, illusionist forms) and Oriental elements (textiles, harness, weaponry, fashion of dress) combined together. The predominantly Classical subjects and exclusively Classical form of the paintings from the Neapolitan gallery well portrays the cultural milieu of the Severan court, hellenized Rome with an Oriental undercurrent. This strange blend of Hellenic and Oriental ingredients is also symptomatic of the Parthian art. The collection of paintings complied with the artistic tastes, intellectual occupations and Arabian origin of the Empress Julia Domna, who was probably the owner of that refined and precious art gallery at Naples.



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**THE “LIGHT, LAMPS, AND EYES” OF THE PERSIAN
EMPIRE AND THE GOTHIC KINGDOM
IN JUSTINIAN’S TIME: A NOTE ON PETER
THE PATRICIAN AND CASSIODORUS**

Keywords: Peter the Patrician, Cassiodorus, Theodora, diplomacy, royal chancery

Peter the Patrician (ca. 500–565), an Illyrian by origins, was among the most talented orators of the first half of the Sixth Century.¹ A lawyer in Constantinople, Peter’s career took a political turn under Justinian, who sent him several times to Italy on diplomatic missions after the year 534. During one of these missions, he was arrested by the order of King Theodahad, and was held prisoner until 539. Upon his return to Constantinople, Justinian rewarded him with an appointment as Master of the Offices, and also bestowed upon him the title of Patrician. Peter held his position at the court for the extraordinary term of twenty-six years, until Justinian’s death in 565.

We know that Peter was the author of three works, respectively: a) a *History* of the Roman Empire until Constantius II’s death, of which only a few fragments survive and in which he also used western sources;² b) a *History* of the *magisterium officiorum* from the reign of Constantine until the time of Justinian, excerpts of which survive in Constantine VII Porphyrogenitos *Liber de Cerimoniis* (Book I, chapters 84–95); c) an account of a mission to Persia in 561/2, on which he was sent to negotiate a peace agreement to end the twenty-year-long Lazic War. Procopius recognized in Peter the virtue of persuasion,³

¹ Cf. Claus 1980, 181–182; *PLRE* III, 994–998.

² For the question of the *Quellenforschung* see Bleckmann 1992.

³ Proc., *BG* 1,3,30: ἕνα μὲν ὄντα τῶν ἐν Βυζαντίῳ ῥητόρων, ἄλλως δὲ ξυνετόν τε καὶ

while John the Lydian described his personality and highlighted his good qualities in his role as Master of the Offices.⁴ The surviving fragments of his works clearly show a profile of a polished and cultured politician, who was also a talented rhetorician.

Among the few remaining fragments of Peter's *History*, the report of the negotiations of the peace treaty of the year 298 is especially important for scholars. It was in this year that the Grand Vizier Apherbān was sent as an ambassador to the Emperor Galerius by the Persian King Narsē:

“As Apherbān, who was a very close friend of the Persian king Narsē, had been sent as ambassador, *he approached Galerius in supplication*. When he had the opportunity to speak he said. ‘It is obvious for all mankind *that the Roman and the Persian Empires are just like two lamps; and it is necessary that, like eyes, the one is brightened by the light of the other and that they do not angrily strive for each other's destruction* (ὅτι ὡσπερανεὶ δύο λαμπτήρες εἰσιν ἢ τε Ῥωμαϊκὴ καὶ Περσικὴ βασιλεία· καὶ χρὴ καθάπερ ὀφθαλμοὺς τὴν ἑτέραν τῆ τῆς ἑτέρας κοσμεῖσθαι λαμπρότητι, καὶ μὴ πρὸς ἀναίρεσιν ἑαυτῶν ἀμοιβαδὸν μέχρι παντὸς χαλεπαίνειν). *For this is not held as a virtue but rather levity or weakness*. As they believe that later generations will not be able to help them they make an effort to destroy their opponents.’ He continued by saying that *it was not necessary to think that Narsē was weaker than the other kings but rather to see Galerius as that much superior to the other kings so that Narsē himself was inferior to him alone* (ἀλλὰ τοσοῦτον τῶν ἄλλων βασιλέων Γαλέριον ὑπερέχειν, ὥστε αὐτὸν τούτῳ μόνῳ δικαίως Ναρσαῖον ἡττηθῆσαι), and rightly so, without, however, proving to be lower in dignity than his ancestors. Apherbān added that Narsē had given him instructions to entrust, as they were fair, the right of his Empire to the kindness of the Romans...”⁵

Peter's fragment is the most important surviving source for the peace treaty of 298 between the Romans and the Sasanids. Dignas and Winter consider it likely that Peter used archival materials which gave him a deep understanding of the procedures of diplomacy in 298. However, they show justified reservations about the complete integrity of this document as a source for the treaty, remind-

πρᾶον καὶ ἐς τὸ πείθειν ἱκανῶς πεφυκότα. Nevertheless, in *Anecd.* 24,22–23 Procopius showed his hostility toward Peter.

⁴ John the Lydian provides a long detailed description in *de magistr.* 2,25–26, in which also: “He spares no time for idleness, spending his nights on books, his days on business... For him no time is free from concern with learning, with result that those who teach literature fear a meeting with him...” (transl. Carney 1971, 59).

⁵ *Fragm.* 13, Müller ed. FHG; transl. Dignas – Winter 2007, 122–123 (for the episode see 122–130); cf. also Canepa 2009, 122–130. For the historical context and the *Quellenforschung* cf. Bleckmann 1992, 141–147.

ing us that “we must bear in mind that his account is not a copy of the actual agreement but at best a commentary.”⁶ Canepa expresses similar doubts: “One cannot fix with certainty the exact date of most of these ideas, since many of the earlier techniques, attitudes, and imagery certainly guided later developments. Some later developments were possibly retrojected into accounts of earlier events;” Peter the Patrician’s fragment “could have shaped later diplomatic language, or historiography, or conversely could have been a retrojection of sixth-century conventions.”⁷ Peter may have used this metaphor in more than one circumstance during his very long activity as diplomat and as Master of the Offices. He may have used the lamps and eyes metaphor to introduce his speeches or the legates to the emperor. He may also have reworked the documents he found in the archives by embellishing them with a style which was more suitable for a literary work.

As scholars have pointed out, Peter’s metaphor, likening the two imperial powers to two eyes, as in the first part of the quotation, can be detected in Theophylact Simocatta’s introduction of the speech of Xusrō II addressed at the end of the Sixth Century to the Emperor Maurice in his attempt to ask him for an alliance:

“God effected that the whole world should be illuminated from the very beginning by two eyes, namely by the most powerful kingdom of the Romans and by the most prudent sceptre of the Persian state (δύο τισὶν ὀφθαλμοῖς τὸν κόσμον καταλάμπεσθαι πάντα ἄνωθεν καὶ ἐξ ἀρχῆς τὸ θεῖον ἐπραγματεύσατο, τοῦτ’ ἔστι τῇ δυνατωτάτῃ τῶν Ῥωμαίων βασιλείᾳ καὶ τοῖς ἐμφρονεστάτοις σκήπτροις τῆς Περσῶν πολιτείας). For by these greatest powers the disobedient and bellicose tribes are winnowed and man’s course is continually regulated and guided.”⁸

The unusual metaphor of the lights and eyes leads to the reasonable conclusion that Theophylact must here have based his wording on Peter the Patrician.⁹

While this fragment with its intriguing terminology has so far been considered by scholars in connection to the Roman and Persian Empires (although it clearly represents the view in Justinian’s time), the use of similar images as metaphors for imperial power also occurs in discussions of other imperial relations, namely, those

⁶ Dignas – Winter 2007, 122.

⁷ Canepa 2009, 122, who also expresses his position: “Peter’s access to sources and influence in later Byzantine political thought makes the former a stronger possibility than the latter.”

⁸ Theoph. Sim., 4,11,2–3; transl. Whitby – Whitby 1997, 117 with n. 40; Dignas – Winter 2007, 238 with n. 3. See also Mitchell 2007, 389–390. About the relationships between Romans and Persians as by Procopius cf. Börm 2007. On diplomacy and embassies between Roman and Persian Empires in Sixth Century cf. Diebler 1995.

⁹ Dignas – Winter 2007, 123 n. 20.

between Eastern Roman Empire and Ostrogothic Italy. In fact, we may find this terminology reflected in another source, this time concerning the relationships of Justinian's Empire with the Gothic Kingdom. In a letter written for an embassy sent to Justinian at the beginning of the Gothic war, Queen Gudeliva, Theodahad's wife, addresses Empress Theodora with the following words:

“You should consider, wisest of empresses, how urgently I desire to win your favour, which the lord my husband also wishes very zealously to obtain (*quantis cupiam nisibus gratiam vestram quaerere, quam etiam dominus iugalis meus magno studio desiderat optinere*). For, although this is dear to him in every way, to me, though, it is clearly of special importance, since the love of such a queen can so exalt me that I evidently find something superior to a kingdom. For what can be more welcome than to appear a sharer in the glory of your love? Since you shine out so profusely, make a willing loan to me from your own splendour, for light loses nothing when its radiance is lavished on another (*Quid enim gratius quam si gloriae vestrae videar caritatis participatione sociari, ut quia vos abunde fulgetis, nobis libenter de proprio splendore mutuemini, cum damnum non est lumini alteri de sua claritate largiri?*). Encourage my desires, which you know to be altogether sincere. Your favour should commend me in every realm. For you should make me bright, since I wish to shine from your lustre (*Debetis enim nos claros reddere, qui de vestra volumus luce fulgere*). Therefore, giving your serenity a reverent greeting, with affectionate daring I commend myself to your heart (*serenitati vestrae... affectuosa me animis vestris praesumptione commendo*). I hope that your marvellous wisdom may so order all things that the trust which your heart grants me will grow even fuller. For, although there should be no discord between the Roman realms (*cum nullam inter Romana regna deceat esse discordiam*), nonetheless an affair has arisen of a kind which should make me still dearer to your justice.”¹⁰

This document is published in the collection of the *Variae*, which consists of the official correspondence of the Gothic Kings written by Cassiodorus during his long activity at the palace as Quaestor, Master of the Offices, and Praetorian Prefect. The document belongs to a dossier of six letters written in the names of Theodahad and Gudeliva, and it was addressed to Justinian and Theodora during the turbulence between Empire and Kingdom as the events of the Gothic war were beginning to unfold. These six letters also contain references to an embassy in Italy of Peter, at the same time they announce embassies to Constantinople. Originally scholars related these letters to the peace negotiations between Theodahad and Justinian as described by Procopius, which probably happened at the beginning of

¹⁰ *Var.* 10,21 (T. Mommsen (ed.), *MGH AA XII*), transl. Barnish 1992, 138–139. Cf. Hodgkin 1886, 433–434; Rubin 1995, 87–88.

536.¹¹ But the general tendency is now to date the letters between May and October 535.¹² Rubin recognizes in them “die schärfere Tonart der Tage vor der Erklärung des „vertragslosen“ Zustandes durch Petros.”¹³ Peter and the legates from Italy were the deliverers of the three letters *Variae* 10,19–21,¹⁴ which scholars unanimously consider “Begleitschreiben” for the embassy. On the advice of Peter, Theodahad was trying to find a diplomatic way to maintain the peace with Justinian, which was not an easy task: the relations between them had become unbearably strained after the murder of Theodahad’s cousin Amalasuintha, for which crime Justinian blamed the Gothic king. A reference to this unpleasant event could hide behind the last sentence of the document, as well as in the other letters of the same group addressed to Theodora.¹⁵ This is not surprising. In fact, we know from Procopius’ *Anecdota* that it was Peter who, under the instigation of Theodora, convinced Theodahad to get rid of Amalasuintha, because Theodora was jealous of the Gothic Queen.¹⁶

If we compare the fragment of Peter with Cassiodorus’ letter, some interesting common elements can be detected. These common elements reflect the skill of these two highly regarded diplomats who, through long careers at the palace and as emissaries, were well versed in court ceremonial. To begin, both the documents are related to embassies – the first as a reconstruction of an historical account (which has been transmitted in the *Excerpta ex Petro Patricio de Legationibus Romanorum ad gentes*), the other as an official letter. Both the delegations were intended to obtain a peace and avoid a useless war, and the tone of supplication, of appeal to humanity and justice is quite similar: Apharbān “approached Galerius in supplication” and said among other things that the Empires “they do not angrily strive for each other’s destruction. For this is not held as a virtue but rather levity or weakness.” A tone of supplication is also present in the above quoted *Varia* 10,21, in addition to which we can also consider Theodahad’s words to Justinian in *Varia* 10,19, which was delivered on the same occasion:

¹¹ Proc., *BG* 1,6; these negotiations took place after Belisarius’ conquest of Sicily.

¹² For the dating see the different theories of Ginetti 1902; Leuthold 1908, 36–40; Körbs 1913, 21–22, 68–75; Sundwall 1919, 288–291; Bury 1923, 168 n. 1; Schwartz 1939; Stein 1949, 339–347; Krautschick 1983, 93–95; Rubin 1995, 85–95; *PLRE* III, 994–995; Vitiello 2005, 120–126; Kakridi 2005, 195–198.

¹³ Rubin 1995, 85–86.

¹⁴ Many scholars consider this a possibility; cf. *PLRE* III, 995.

¹⁵ *Var.* 10,21,2: *emersit tamen et qualitas rei, quae nos efficere cariores vestrae debeat aequitati* (cf. Bury 1923, 167; Barnish 1992, 139 n. 10). See in parallel the ambiguous words of Theodahad to Theodora in *Var.* 10,20,4: *nam de illa persona, de qua ad nos aliquid verbo titillante pervenit, hoc ordinatum esse cognoscite, quod vestris credidimus animis convenire*; cf. also the words addressed by Theodahad to Theodora in *Var.* 10,23,1, referring to Peter: *ut per eum disceremus acceptum vobis esse, quod in hac re publica constat evenisse*.

¹⁶ Proc., *Anec.* 16,1–6.

*Non enim rixas viles per regna requiritis: non vos iniusta certamina, quae sunt bonis moribus inimica, delectant, quia nihil aliud vos constat appetere, nisi quod opinionem vestram possit ornare. Quemadmodum enim pacem exorati poteritis abicere, quam pro ingenita pietate et iracundis gentibus consuestis inponere?*¹⁷

In both situations, the Empires, respectively of Diocletian and of Justinian, are presented as stronger than the other political bodies, the Persian and the Gothic Kingdoms. In Peter's fragment, Apharbān admits the inferiority of his ruler in front of the Emperor: "to see Galerius as that much superior to the other kings so that Narsē himself was inferior to him alone, and rightly so..." This makes the derivation of this text from an original document of the Persian chancery even more unlikely.¹⁸ This inferiority is also expressed in Theodahad's and Gudeliva's letters to the Emperor and to the Empress. However, the most striking conjunction is the metaphor of the light and the lamps. In the case of Apharbān this is used to introduce the message of King Narsē; in that of Gudeliva it serves to introduce the legate, who is the carrier of the letter and who would deliver the message orally.¹⁹ Cassiodorus expresses the metaphor as transmission of light from an Empress to a Queen who, being aware of her inferior status, was asking her for consent to rule (*si gloriae vestrae videar caritatis participatione sociari*) and in particular for permission to shine beside her as another light or as another "lamp": *nobis libenter de proprio splendore mutuemini, cum damnum non est lumini alteri de sua claritate largiri?... Debetis enim nos claros reddere, qui de vestra volumus luce fulgere.*²⁰ The relationship between the Empress and the Ostrogothic Queen is expressed through a well-built metaphor that makes use of an extensive complex terminology (*fulgere, splendor, lumen, claritas, lux*) in just a few lines, resting upon the metaphoric meaning of the word 'lumen' as widely found in the works of Latin authors.²¹ (The word *lumen* as here applied to Theodora was obviously a more appropriate choice than *luminar* or *lampas*.²²)

¹⁷ *Var.* 10,19,2: cf. also 10,22,1–2.

¹⁸ Different the interpretation of Canepa 2009, 128: "Peter's text has a markedly different tone from the empires' official histories and reflects the practical mechanics needed to maintain fraternal equilibrium in place of the official rhetoric of subordination."

¹⁹ *Var.* 10,19–24 were intended just to introduce the legates, who would deliver the messages orally: cf. *Var.* 10,22,3, 23,4, 24,2.

²⁰ See Hodgkin's 1886 translation, p. 434: "Shed on us the lustre of your glory, for one light loses nothing by imparting some of its brilliancy to another."

²¹ Cf. the several uses of the word 'lumen', among them the frequent one as 'lucerna', in Forcellini (Vol. III) 1940, 125–126; *ThLL* VII 2,2, Leipzig 1970–1979, 1810–1823, esp. 1811, 1815–1816. Cf. also Cic., *Cat.* 3,24: *lumina civitatis extincta sunt*.

²² Cassiodorus in the *Variae* uses often the words *lux* and *lumen*, while *luminaria* appears only in *Var.* 3,7,1 and with a technical meaning; very rare is also his use of *lampas*: cf. *Var.* 6,20, *de illius lampadis claritate lucere*, referring however to a magistracy.

This kind of metaphor has probably origins in the ancient symbolic description of the god as a light for the emperor, and in later times, of the emperor as a light for his subjects.²³ It also appears in the Patristic literature to express the relationships between the Sun-Christ and the Moon-Church. According to authors like Ambrose, Augustine, and the Church Fathers, just as the moon is illuminated by reflected sunlight, so also the Church is illuminated by Christ and shines from his reflected light.²⁴ Not by coincidence, this cosmic imagery has also deep roots in the Sasanian world, in which the king is “brother of the sun and the moon.” This tradition was at some point incorporated into the diplomatic literature regarding the Persian relationships with the Romans, generally in form of brotherhood between rulers.²⁵ A letter from Qobād I to Justinian as referenced by Malalas begins with the following form: “[Qobād], king of the kings, of the rising sun, to Flavius Justinian Caesar, of the setting moon.”²⁶ Peter the Patriarchian’s fragment is the result of all this imagery and ideology, and its language is an expression of Justinian’s political view, in which the metaphor of lights and lamps symbolizes the relationships between states.

In the letter of Gudeliva, which is the product of the Gothic court chancery, the metaphor of the light is used to symbolize the relationships between rulers. The metaphor apparently expresses the subservience of the Kingdom to the Empire, and its dependency: this tone is in keeping with the other letters of the group, which also refer to the political status of Gothic Italy.²⁷ However, in spite of the subservience the author suggests with this metaphor, Cassiodorus then goes on to use in the same document the expression *cum nullam inter Romana regna deceat esse discordiam*.²⁸ Here Justinian’s Empire is strangely defined as

²³ See for instance *Pan. Lat.* 4(8),5,3, referring to Constantius: *Sed neque Sol ipse neque cuncta sidera humanas res tam perpetuo lumine intuentur quam vos tuemini, qui sine ullo fere discrimine dierum ac noctium inlustratis orbem...*

²⁴ Cf. Ambrose, *In Hexamer.* 4,8,32 (CSEL XXXII 1): *fulget enim Ecclesia non suo sed Christi lumine et splendorem sibi accersit de sole iustitiae*. On this topic cf. Rahner 1964. I am grateful to Professor F. Troncarelli (Viterbo) for suggesting this comparison to me.

²⁵ Cf. Canepa 2009, 123–127, with the examples listed, in which also, p. 124: “According to their native formulations, the Sasanian sovereign was “brother of the sun and moon,” and the Roman emperors were elemental forces implicated into the very fabric of the *kosmos*, their commands “not confined by the earthly boundaries but reach[ing] the heavens”.”

²⁶ Malal., *Chron.* 50,18 (B.G. Niebuhr ed., Bonn 1831 [*Corpus Scrip. Hist. Byz.*]), p. 449.

²⁷ Cf. below, n. 28, also *Var.* 10,22,2 and 10,2,3.

²⁸ A similar concept is also in the first letter of the collection of the *Variae*, which dates to 508 and is addressed by Theoderic to Emperor Anastasius, *Var.* 1,1,4–5: *quia pati vos non credimus inter utrasque res publicas, quarum semper unum corpus sub antiquis principibus fuisse declaratur, aliquid discordiae permanere. Quas... oportet inter se... coniungi... Romani regni unum velle, una semper opinio sit*. See also Theodahad’s letter to Theodora, *Var.* 10,23,1: *nunc est potius quod regna coniungat promissio fixa et votiva concordia*, in parallel to *Var.* 1,1,2: *ut concordiam vestram quaerere debeamus*; also *Var.* 10,32,4, of Witigis to Justinian: *quatinus utraeque res publi-*

regnum in the same way as the Gothic Kingdom. Although this expression made sense in the Roman/Persian protocol, it is out of place in the diplomacy between Empire and Ostrogothic Italy. A similar lack of hierarchical distinction occurs in another letter of the group, in which Theodahad declares to Theodora: *nunc est potius quod regna coniungat promissio fixa et votiva concordia*.²⁹ In his recent book, Giardina notices that this anomaly of the use of *regnum*³⁰ occurs only in letters written for Theodahad to identify Justinian's Empire.³¹ An important confirmation of such a use is in the lines of a poem of Maximianus. He would remember his experience as an emissary in the East with similar words: *Missus ad Eoas legati munere partes / tranquillum cunctis nectere pacis opus, / dum studeo gemini componere foedera regni...* (The terminology of these lines can be also found in the final section concerning the sexual metaphor called "*laus mentulae*," referring to the conjunction of two bodies: *haec geminas tanto constringit foedere mentes, / unius ut faciat corporis esse duo*.)³² Significantly, Maximianus was Theodahad's legate in those years, and it is not impossible that he delivered the above mentioned letters in 535.³³

Even more significant for this investigation, is that both the documents are connected to Peter the Patrician. In fact, if the first evidence comes from a fragment of one of his lost works, Cassiodorus' letters were written for an embassy sent to Justinian as response to the message delivered to his king by Peter, who returned to Constantinople together with the Western legates and Cassiodorus' letters to deliver. Peter is mentioned in the whole collection of the *Variae* only in this group of letters, which refer to two different delegations of those years. In these letters Cassiodorus eulogized Peter for being *eloquentissimus, doctrina summus, sapientissimus*.³⁴

cae restaurata concordia perseverent et quod temporibus retro principum laudabili opinione fundatum est, sub vestro magis imperio divinis auxiliis augeatur. Jordanes, *Rom.* 375, according to which Justinian *duo regna duasque res publicas suae ditioni subegit*.

²⁹ *Var.* 10,23,1, also quoted above, at n. 28.

³⁰ Cf. Giardina 2006, 133–134 with n. 87–88 (in which see also the related bibliography).

³¹ Cf. Giardina as above, n. 30; the references are *Var.* 10,23,1 and 3, 10,25,1 (also 10,19,2 [quoted above in text]), while in 10,19,3 the expression should clearly be understood as *plurale pro singulari: diligere quidem, piissime imperator; in propriis regnis: sed quanto praestantius est, ut in Italiae partibus plus ameris, unde nomen Romanum per orbem terrarum constat esse diffusum!* Cf. in parallel the same use of expressions *ad Eoas partes* and *gemini foedera regni* as by Maximianus, *Eleg.* 5,1–3 (quoted in text).

³² *Eleg.* 5,1–3 and 115–116 (cf. also above, n. 31); cf. Vitiello 2006, 188–190 with n. 28.

³³ For the possibile identification of Maximianus with one of the legates of 535 cf. Mastrandrea 2005.

³⁴ His name appears almost in all the six letters of the group; *Var.* 10,19,4: *vir eloquentissimus Petrus... et doctrina summus et conscientiae claritate praecipuus*; 10,20,2: *talem virum... qualem et tanta gloria debuit mittere et vestra decet obsequia retinere*; 10,22,1: *virum disertis-*

Peter is a key to understand the diplomacy between the Italic Kingdom and the Empire of Justinian in this particular situation. According to Procopius’ *Anecdota*, his real goal in Italy was to accomplish Theodora’s plans to get rid of Amalasuintha by convincing Theodahad to have her assassinated (see above). It is important that the letter of Gudeliva discussed above is directly addressed to Theodora. The Empress is addressee of four of the six letters of the group *Variae* 10,19–24, and of one earlier letter of Amalasuintha.³⁵ Gudeliva’s words at the beginning of the letter are striking, as she attempts to win Theodora’s favour for herself and her husband: “You should consider, wisest of empresses, how urgently I desire to win your favour, which the lord my husband also wishes very zealously to obtain.”³⁶ We understand from the two letters addressed to Theodora by Theodahad that she had asked him to bring first to her attention any matters of diplomacy concerning Justinian.³⁷ Theodora’s interference in political matters is well testified in the affairs in Italy. Her name is mentioned in the biographies of the *Liber Pontificalis* as the sender of letters containing orders to be delivered to two Roman Popes.³⁸ Finally, in the *Constitutio Pragmatica* of the year 554, which postdates Theodora’s death, Justinian ordered that all policies relating to Italy which had been previously issued by him and his wife should be maintained.³⁹ The importance of all this evidence is clear. Theodora’s behavior in the diplomatic situation of Italy sheds light on the contemporary sources referring to the relationship between the Empress and the Persian Kings. We know from Malalas that she created an exchange of gifts with the chief wife of the Persian King which paralleled that of Justinian with the King, using the protocol that existed between Emperor and King as a model.⁴⁰ Procopius in the *Anecdota*

simum Petrum; 10,23,1: *virum eloquentissimum Petrum et, quod est ipsis dignitatibus honorabilis, vestris obsequiis inhaerentem*; 10,24,1: *viro sapientissimo Petro*.

³⁵ *Var.* 10,10: *Cum propositi nostri sit illa quaerere quae probantur ad gloriam pii principis pertinere, dignum est vos sermone venerari, quos bonis omnibus constat semper augeri... Atque ideo reddens Augustae reverentiae salutationis affectum spero, ut redeuntibus legatis nostris, quos ad clementissimum et gloriosissimum principem destinavimus, de vestra nos faciatis sospitate gaudere, quia prospera vestra ita nobis grata videntur ut propria et necesse est sospitatem desideranter suscipere, quam nos iugiter constat optare.*

³⁶ *Var.* 10,21,1, quoted above in text.

³⁷ Cf. *Var.* 10,20,2: *Hortamini enim ut quicquid expetendum a triumphali principe domno iugali vestro credimus, vestris ante sensibus ingeramus*; and 10,23,2–4. Theodora’s influence in Justinian decision is testified by Procopius, *Anec.* 13,19, and 10,13; cf. also *Anec.* 2,32–35, Theodora’s letter to Xusrō I.

³⁸ Cf. *Liber Pontificalis* 60,6–9 and 61, 3–6.

³⁹ *Nov. Just., App.* 7,1: *sed et ea quae a nobis vel a piae memoriae Theodora Augusta quondam coniuge nostra conlata sunt, volumus illibata servari.*

⁴⁰ Cf. Malal. *Chron.* 50,18 (Niebuhr ed.), p. 467, on which Canepa 2009, 155–156; see also Kaldellis 2004, 142–150 (“The Rule of Women and the Plan of the Secret History”).

also writes that she sent letters to Qobād I demanding the *proskynēsis* from the Sasanian envoys, the same which diplomatic protocol required for Justinian. From this same work, we know that Xusrō I despised Theodora's desire to elevate her position.⁴¹ All this evidence shows Theodora's interference in political matters but also her ambitions to be honoured in the court ceremonial at the same level as her husband. This seems clear not only in diplomatic relationships with the Persian Empire, but also with the Italic Kingdom.

If Peter is a possible conjunction between the documents considered above, how can we explain the coincidences? Should we think that the metaphor of light, lamps and eyes was a piece of Peter's *eloquentia* during his long activity as ambassador and as Master of the Offices of Justinian? In this case, we could assume that in his answer to Justinian and Theodora, Cassiodorus was inspired by Peter's rhetoric, and that he used a coded language which was pleasing to Justinian's and Theodora's ambitions. But the use of the term *regna* to identify both the Empire and the Kingdom makes this hypothesis unlikely – although this would fit with the idea of the two kingdoms in Roman/Persian diplomacy. Moreover, Peter was still at the beginning of his political activity when Justinian sent him to Italy in 534, while his account on the Persian treaty of the year 298 was probably composed between 552 and 563. We also know that he had the tendency in his diplomatic missions to position himself in the center of events, and to present himself as one whose political skill was imperative for solving big international problems. Procopius, in his account of the negotiations with Theodahad, remarks on Peter's self-aggrandizing tendencies,⁴² and later, Menander Protector, who referenced Peter's account of his diplomatic mission to Persia in 561/2, noted the way he exaggerated his role in that circumstance: "Peter, for the sake of his own reputation, has placed somewhat too much emphasis upon himself, in order that he appears to posterity as a very effective and convincing speaker who was able to bring around the unyielding and arrogant spirits of the barbarians."⁴³ On this basis, we cannot dismiss the possibility that Cassiodorus, who also was highly regarded at the court for his abilities as an orator,⁴⁴ had used the metaphors of light, lamps and eyes, and that Peter subsequently reused it in his writing and possibly during his long activity as Master of the Offices; after all, one of the duties of this magistrate was to introduce the delegations to the

⁴¹ Cf. Proc., *Anec.* 30,24–25 and 2,29–33, on which Canepa 2009, 156: "Despite Procopius's outraged conservative sensibilities, it is likely that these were just informal or short-lived innovations, as we hear no more of this practice after Theodora's death."

⁴² Cf. the detailed description in Proc., *BG* 1,6.

⁴³ *Fragm.* 6.2, transl. Rapp 2005, 390.

⁴⁴ Cf. for example *Anec. Hold.*, ll.15–18; *Var.* 9,25,2 and 9,24,2–3; fragments of his panegyrics are published by L. Traube in *MGH AA XII*.

Emperor.⁴⁵ It is in fact worth noting that Cassiodorus had already used a quite similar metaphor a few months before he met Peter in Italy. Around the end of the year 534, he introduced the co-regency of Amalasuintha and the new elected King Theodahad to the Roman Senate with the following words:

“With God’s favour, I [i.e. Amalasuintha] have chosen as partner in my realm the most fortunate Theodahad. Thus I, who previously bore the burden of the state in solitary cogitation, may now pursue the good of all with united counsels, so that we who are two in our processes of thought may seem one person on our conclusions. The very stars of heaven are governed by mutual help, and order the world with their light by sharing and exchanging toil (*Astra ipsa caeli mutuo reguntur auxilio et vicario labore participata mundum suis luminibus amministrant*). Furthermore, Providence has given man himself two hands, a pair of ears, twin eyes (*Ipsi quoque homini duplices manus, socias aures, oculos geminos divina tribuerunt*), that the work accomplished by two partners may be done more effectively.”⁴⁶

(Cf. the above considered cosmic imagery of the sun and the moon in the West and in the Sasanian world; also the words of Peter: “it is necessary that, like eyes, the one is brightened by the light of the other,” finally Theophylact Simocatta: “God effected that the whole world should be illuminated from the very beginning by two eyes.”) On the same occasion, writing in Theodahad’s name, Cassiodorus used a similar metaphor: *quae* [i.e. Amalasuintha] *magnitudinem imperii sui nostra voluit participatione roborari, ut tamquam in duobus luminibus unus esset aspectus et concordem sensum nemo crederet segregatum*.⁴⁷

These words do not represent the solution of the problem, which may lie in the middle. When he first came to Italy and met Cassiodorus, Peter was at the first steps of his long career as a politician. Cassiodorus, who was probably about fifteen years older than him, was almost at the end of his similarly long experience at the Gothic court. He always acknowledged the central position of the Empire in his writings in name of the kings.⁴⁸ This could make his rhetoric very easy to reuse to praise an emperor. But of course both the very literate Cassiodorus and Peter are debtors in their writings to several authors,

⁴⁵ Cf. *Var.* 6,2–4, in which: *Per eum* [i.e. *magistrum officiorum*] *senator veniens nostris praesentatur obtutibus: ammonet trepidum, componit loquentem, sua quin etiam verba solet inserere, ut nos decenter omnia debeamus audire*; and *Var.* 10,33. Cf. also Clauss 1980, 63–72; Diebler 1995, esp. 211–216.

⁴⁶ *Var.* 10,3,2, transl. Barnish 1992, 131.

⁴⁷ *Var.* 10,4,2; see also 7,9,2: *Duo quippe Tiberini alvei meatus ornatissimas civitates tamquam duo lumina susceperunt, ne vacaret a gratia quod tantae urbi ministrabat expensas*.

⁴⁸ For some example see above at n. 28.

including the classics.⁴⁹ Even so, the similarities in their usage of this metaphor as a way to symbolize the Roman Empire are striking, and in light of their connections they may not be coincidental.

The collapse soon of the Gothic Kingdom, later of the Persian Empire, would definitively turn off the two lamps that, even in those turbulent times, were still burning together with the Eastern Roman Empire. This provoked, to conclude the game of metaphors in an old-fashioned way, the beginning of the Dark Age.

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⁴⁹ See for instance at the end of Peter's fragm. 13 the reference to the Virgilian principle *parcere subiectis et debellare superbos*.

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Abstract

A fragment from the lost History of Peter the Patrician is the most important surviving source for the peace treaty of 298 between the Romans and the Sasanids, and scholars have acknowledged the influence of this piece on the later work of Theophylact Simocatta. This essay explores Peter’s use of images of power, particularly the “lamps, lights and eyes” as a metaphor for imperial rule, considering them together with similar uses of the same imagery by Cassiodorus. In some of his letters for the Ostrogothic Kings, Cassiodorus used strikingly similar images to describe the relations between Empire and Kingdom, and between rulers, particularly Theodora and Gudeliva. By examining these works in their larger context, nuances of meaning in Sixth Century diplomacy can be discerned, revealing that while the ultimate source of the “lamps, lights, and eyes” cannot be stated with certainty, the use of this image to symbolize power reflected the authors’ efforts to represent relations between Empires and Kingdoms (Roman/Persian and Byzantine/Italic) in ways that were useful as diplomacy and especially as propaganda, as well as symbolically important. They also may hide Theodora’s ambitions to hold power equal to that of her husband, as testified by other contemporary authors.

REVIEWS



**NICHOLAS SEKUNDA (ED.), ERGASTERIA:
WORKS PRESENTED TO JOHN ELLIS JONES
ON HIS 80TH BIRTHDAY. (SERIA MONOGRAFICZNA
„AKANTHINA“ - 4), INSTITUTE OF ARCHAEOLOGY,
GDAŃSK UNIVERSITY, GDAŃSK 2010, 188 S., ABB.;
ISBN 978-83-929798-0-7**

Der vierte Band der Monographien-Serie „Akanthina“ ist dem Lebenswerk des am 10. Oktober 1929 geborenen walisischen Archäologen John Ellis Jones gewidmet. Einen ersten Eindruck seiner Persönlichkeit vermittelt die biographische Skizze von Hugh Sackett „A Tribute to John Ellis Jones“ (S. 5–9, 4 Abb.). Unmittelbar im Anschluss (S. 10–14) folgt „A Bibliography of the Publications of John Ellis Jones“. Verzeichnet sind zweiundsechzig Veröffentlichungen aus den Jahren 1957 bis 2009. Soweit es sich von den Titeln her sagen lässt, erschienen neunzehn von ihnen in kymrischer Sprache. Hervorzuheben bleibt ferner, dass das zentrale Forschungsprojekt des Jubilars auch durch je eine französische und eine deutsche Veröffentlichung einem größeren Leserkreis auf dem Kontinent bekannt gemacht wurde. So erschien 1976 „Laveries (ergasteria) sur la pente nord de la Haute Agrileza“ in *L' Antiquité Classique* 45, S. 149–172. 1987 folgte „Eine Erzwaschanlage in Agrileza: Britische Ausgrabungen im attischen Silberbergbaugebiet von Laurion“ in *Der Anschnitt* 39.4, S. 142–152. Zusammengenommen liefern beide Beiträge auch einen ersten Hinweis auf die Bedeutung des sehr passend gewählten Titels dieser Akanthina-Ausgabe: *Ergasteria*, der Plural von *εργαστήριον*, „Werkstätte (allgemein)“, steht für Erzwäschereien.

Die Forschungsbeiträge der Festschrift beginnen mit „Lost and Found: the tale of a Miner's Shovel“ (S. 15–21, 1 Abb.) von John Prag. Berichtet wird die mehrfache Entdeckung einer bronzezeitlichen Bergmannsschaufel aus Alderley Edge.

In etwa die gleiche Epoche, aber ans andere Ende Europas führt „Amenhotep III, Mycenae and the Laurion“ (S. 22–35, 5 Abb.) von David W.J. Gill. Zur

Zeit des genannten Pharaos der 18. Dynastie (des Vaters Echnatons) intensivierte sich der Handel zwischen Ägypten und Kreta, aber auch dem griechischen Festland. Nicht ganz geklärt scheint bisher, was Ägypten den mykenischen Machthabern als Bezahlung für das Silber von Laureion anbieten konnte.

Im Prinzip bis in die kretisch-mykenische Zeit greift schließlich noch der Beitrag von James Whitley zurück: „Eteocretans and Eteo-britons: The Intellectual Prehistory of the Minoans“ (S. 36–43). Der Inhalt ist indessen von eher wissenschaftsgeschichtlicher Art: Der Verfasser stellt Parallelen her zwischen der Entwicklung der (erschlossenen) Minoer zu den Eteokretern einerseits und den keltischen Briten zu den späteren Walisern andererseits. In diesem Zusammenhang möchten wir gleich auf ein Versehen hinweisen. Eine Zwischenüberschrift wie „Antiquarianism, Archaeology and Althertumswissenschaft“ (S. 38) erscheint eher misslungen, da die deutsche Forschung bis in die zweite Hälfte des 19. Jhs. vom *Alterthum* sprach, aber niemals vom „Althertum“.

Von R.V.W. Catling vom Lexikon of Greek Personal Names stammt der Aufsatz „ΕΡΜΗΣΙΟΣ ΛΑΚΕΔΑΙΜΟΝΙΟΣ – A Spartan Craftsman of Ionian Origin?“ (S. 44–55, 1 Abb.). Sein Thema ist ein bronzener Diskos aus Olympia, der laut der Randinschrift von einem Lakedaimonier Hermesios gestiftet wurde (Skizze, S. 44). Aufgrund paläographischer Kriterien wird der Schluss gezogen, dass der Diskos aus der zweiten Hälfte des sechsten. Jhs. stammt, nicht, wie bisher angenommen wurde, aus der ersten Hälfte des fünften. Bei seinem Stifter dürfte es sich um einen Ionier gehandelt haben, der sich in Sparta niederließ und das dortige Bürgerrecht erwarb.

In die griechische Mythologie führt der Beitrag von Susan Decay: „`Knowing the story told about Erichthonios': looking at `the goddess Athena, the maiden warrior'“ (S. 56–64, 1 Abb.). Dem Text vorangestellt ist ein von J.E. Jones entworfenes Plakat aus dem Jahre 2000, mit dem ein Vortrag der Verfasserin zum Thema angekündigt wurde. Die Ausführungen bilden einen Teil einer Monographie, deren Erscheinen unter dem Titel *A traitor to Her Sex: Athena the trickster* als bevorstehend angekündigt wird. Die in den gut sechs Seiten des Aufsatzes geäußerten Gedanken regen in der Tat dazu an, sich einmal in einem größeren Rahmen mit dem Thema zu beschäftigen. So ist insbesondere der Überlegung, dass Erichthonios faktisch ein (leiblicher) Sohn Athenes ist, durchaus zuzustimmen. Zwei formale Irrtümer bleiben gleichwohl zu bemerken. Karl Philipp Moritz hat (1791) eine *Götterlehre* veröffentlicht, nicht, wie man S. 57 unten lesen kann, eine „Gitterlehe“. Bei dem Erscheinungsort „Chico“ einer Monographie von D.D. Boedeker dürfte es sich um Chicago handeln.

Während sich Susan Decay also mit einem eher geistesgeschichtlichen Thema befasst hatte, wendet sich Tracey E. Rihll von der University of Wales in Swansea einer höchst konkreten Fragestellung zu. Ihr Beitrag „Athens' Silver Springs“ (S.

65–75) bietet auch weniger „einfache“ Lösungen, sondern zeigt deutlich, wie viel es auf dem Gebiet des antiken Bergbaus noch zu erforschen gibt.

„Hagnon, Amphipolis and Rhesus“ ist der Titel eines kurzen Beitrags (S. 76–81) von Michael Vickers. Seiner Ansicht nach reflektiert das fragmentarisch erhaltene und (nicht unbestritten) Euripides zugeschriebene Rhesos-Stück Vorgänge bei der Gründung von Amphipolis durch Hagnon. Seine Uraufführung müsste demnach etwa ins Jahr 436 v. Chr. fallen.

Wer sich mit den maritimen Aspekten der griechisch-römischen Geschichte beschäftigt, erkennt schnell, dass Seehandel, Seekrieg und Seeraub in der Antike nicht nur kaum zu trennen waren, sondern fast unmerklich ineinander übergingen. Der beste zeitgenössische Kenner der Materie ist wohl Philip de Souza vom University College in Dublin, der 1999 ein Werk *Piracy in the Graeco-Roman World* veröffentlicht hat und eine weitere Monographie (*Ancient Naval Warfare*) ankündigt. Sein Beitrag „Raids on the Coast of Attica“ (S. 82–93) beschäftigt sich mit einem Einzelaspekt dieses noch immer fast unerschöpflichen Themas. Konkret kann gezeigt werden, dass die in der historischen Erinnerung als „seemächtig“ geltende Polis immer wieder Phasen erlebte, in denen sie Angriffen, die vom Meer her kamen, beinahe hilflos ausgesetzt war. Dies wird an Beispielen von der spätarchaischen Zeit bis in die hellenistische Epoche hinein verdeutlicht.

Der knappe Aufsatz „Mines, miners and Macedon“ (S. 94–99) von John Davies greift einen Gedanken auf, den Siegfried Lauffer in seinen „Prosopographische[n] Bemerkungen zu den attischen Grubenpachtlisten“ (*Historia* 6, 1957, 287–305) geäußert hatte. Es geht darum, inwiefern die inschriftlich bekannten Bergwerksunternehmer der 340er und 330er Jahre eine bewusst antimakedonische Politik betrieben. Diese Frage wird von Davies neu untersucht.

Der nächste Beitrag ist dem Periplus des Pseudo-Skylax gewidmet. Sein Verfasser, D. Graham J. Shipley, kündigt eine Edition des Gesamtwerkes in den Fragmenten der griechischen Historiker an, nachdem er sich in einer 2008 erschienenen Festschrift mit der Behandlung der Peloponnes durch den Ps.-Skylax beschäftigt hatte. Sein Beitrag für den J.E. Jones gewidmeten Band trägt den Titel: „Pseudo-Skylax on Attica“ (S. 100–114, 1 Abb.). Geliefert werden der griechische Text mit einem kurzen kritischen Apparat, eine englische Übersetzung, eine Karte von Attika und, als Kern des Aufsatzes, Untersuchungen. Der Verfasser kann zeigen, dass der Text aus dem Jahr 338 n. Chr. (oder kurz danach) stammt und aus athenischem Blickwinkel verfasst wurde. In einer Abhandlung, in der so viele Zahlenangaben auftauchen, sind Versehen besonders lästig, aber wohl nicht ganz zu vermeiden. Die *Stadien* der Vorlage werden von Shipley in Kilometer (km) und Meilen (mi) umgerechnet. S. 105, in der ersten Zeile von Kap. 4, findet sich nun für die Aegaeis-Küste von Megara die Angabe „140 stades (c.26 km, c.162 mi)“. Letzteres ist offensichtlich unmöglich. Vielleicht woll-

te Shipley 16,2 mi schreiben. In der *Bibliography* wird ein 1954 erschienener RE-Artikel (Bd. XXII.2) von Ernst Meyer zum Thema `Prasiai' zitiert. Obwohl die Spaltenangabe (1695–6) verdeutlicht, nach welchem Prasiai man suchen muss, wäre es aus Gründen der Vollständigkeit noch besser gewesen, `Prasiai' 2) zu schreiben, um jede Verwechslung mit der bekannteren, aber hier nicht gemeinten lakonischen Seestadt auszuschließen.

Stephen Lambert von der Universität Cardiff (der Hauptstadt von Wales) hat sich eine ausgesprochen schwierige Aufgabe gestellt. Seine Untersuchung „Athens, Sokles and the Exploitation of an Attic Resource (*IG II² 411*)“ nimmt die Seiten 115 bis 125 ein. Ähnlich wie Graham Shipley (s.o.) liefert er einen griechischen Text, der zunächst (auf etwa 330) datiert und übersetzt wird. Der fragmentarische Erhaltungszustand der Inschrift macht eine Entscheidung darüber, worum es genau geht, noch immer schwierig. Die Rede ist von einem gewissen Sokles, der eine Vereinbarung mit seiner Polis über einen Zeitraum von fünfundzwanzig Jahren geschlossen hatte, in denen ein nicht genannter Rohstoff in jährlichem Wechsel von den beiden Vertragspartnern ausgebeutet werden sollte. Tiefschürfende Überlegungen, was genau über einen so langen Zeitraum hinweg gewonnen worden sein könnte, bilden den Hauptinhalt von Lamberts Ausführungen. Seine Meinung geht dahin, dass es sich um ein leicht zugängliches Produkt gehandelt haben müsse, weshalb er, auf moderne Verhältnisse bezogen, einen Vergleich mit der Abfüllung von Mineralwasser zieht. Was das antike Attika betrifft, wäre z.B. an die Gewinnung von Salz oder Baumharz zu denken, oder, worauf der Verfasser von J.E. Jones selbst aufmerksam gemacht wurde, an das Sammeln von Heilkräutern. – So dankbar man für die Beigabe des griechischen Textes der Inschrift auf S. 116f. auch ist, fallen doch einige Schreibfehler ins Auge. Anstatt τῆμ in Z. 7 und 12 muss es sicher τῆν heißen, statt τῶγ in Z. 23 τῶν.

Der Beitrag des Herausgebers Nicholas Sekunda „The Golden Pig Tower, Agrileza“ (S.126–149, 21 Abb.) hebt sich schon durch seine Länge deutlich von den anderen, selten zehn Textseiten überschreitenden Aufsätzen ab. Der auffällige Name des Baudenkmals, um das es sich handelt, wurde von John H. Young, einem seiner früheren Erforscher, geprägt, der einen landwirtschaftlichen Zweck vermutet hatte. Sekundas bis in die Mitte der 1980er Jahre unter den Auspizien von J.E. Jones durchgeführte Untersuchungen haben indessen zu wesentlich anderen Ergebnissen geführt: Das Gebäude stand offensichtlich im Zusammenhang mit dem Bergbau im Laureion-Gebirge und mag als Lagerraum für das gewonnene Silber gedient haben. – In der im Verhältnis zur Länge des Textes knappen *Bibliography* ist einiges durcheinander geraten. So findet man eine Studie von W.K. Pritchett zwischen einem Aufsatz von Merle Langdon und einem Buch von A.W.Lawrence. Nach dem im Text mehrfach zitierten, schon 1941

erschienenen Standardwerk *Greek Walls* von Robert Lorenz Scranton aucht man zunächst vergeblich. Dann entdeckt man den Titel als letzten Eintrag auf S. 148 (nach dem eben erwähnten Buch von A.W. Lawrence) und stellt fest, dass er sich in ein Werk namens *Scranton Greek Walls* verwandelt hat, das von einem „Robert Lorenz“ verfasst worden sei.

An dem Artikel „Miscellanea Apicula [Bienen-Vermischtes]“ (S.150–158, 10 Abb.) haben vier Autorinnen und Autoren mitgearbeitet: David Blackmann, Catherine Bouras, John Hayes und Maria Constanza Lentini. Es geht um in Rhainous/Attika und in Naxos/Sizilien gefundene Reste von tönernen Bienenkörben.

Ein archäologischer Kleinfund ist auch das Thema der Ausführungen von Hugh Sackett: „A Knidian Thymiaterion from Roman Knossos“ (S. 159–168, 7 Abb.). Mit dem Wort *θυμιατήριον* wird ein Räucheraltar bezeichnet. Sackett hat ein fragmentarisch erhaltenes Exemplar untersucht, das bereits während der Ausgrabungen von Sir Arthur Evans gefunden wurde und aus dem späten 1. Jh. n. Chr. stammt. Die Inschrift ΘΕΟΙC ΜΑΝΙC (sic) lässt einige Rückschlüsse auf den Sprachgebrauch der Gläubigen zu.

Duncan Cloud, der nunmehr zu Wort kommt, entschuldigt sich beinahe dafür, hauptsächlich über römisches Recht gearbeitet zu haben und deshalb keinen eigentlich archäologischen Beitrag liefern zu können. Sein Aufsatz „The *lex horrendi carminis* of Livy“ (S. 169–177) gehört zum Gebiet der Rechtsaltertümer. Es geht um eine Episode aus der Sage der Horatier und Curiatier, nämlich um die Frage, wie mit dem allein übrig gebliebenen, siegreichen Horatius umgegangen werden soll, der im Zorn auch noch seine Schwester erschlagen hat. Dass die bei Liv. 1,26,6 in Erwägung gezogene Vorgehensweise nicht aus der Zeit des Tullus Hostilius stammen kann, erscheint offensichtlich – fraglich ist nur, wann dieses iuristische Monstrum in die Annalistik eindrang. Nach Clouds Ansicht mag dies erst um 63 v. Chr. im Zusammenhang mit Caesars Verteidigung des C. Rabirius geschehen sein. – Auch in Clouds Beitrag bleiben einige formale Versehen zu registrieren: Tullus Hostilius wird S. 170, Ende 1. Abs. „Tullius“ genannt – zweifellos liegt eine Vermengung mit dem späteren König (wenn denn einer von beiden historisch ist) Servius Tullius vor. Im Unterschied zu allen anderen Aufsätzen der Festschrift enthält der Beitrag kein spezielles Literaturverzeichnis, die bibliographischen Angaben wurden vielmehr teils in den Text, teils in die umfangreichen Fußnoten eingearbeitet. Diese sind aufgrund ihres kleinen Druckes nicht einfach zu lesen. Gegen Ende des Aufsatzes ist auch die Verteilung von Text und Anmerkungen beinahe willkürlich: Der Text der S. 175 enthält die Fußnotenzeichen 20–27, der Text der S. 177 die Fußnotenzeichen 29 und 30. Dagegen ist der Fußnotentext der Anmerkungen Nr. 25–29 auf S. 176 zusammengefasst.

Der Band endet mit einem Beitrag von Ceri Davies „Cambrian Euripides: Three Welsh Language Versions of the *Alcestis*“ (S. 178–188, 2 Abb.). Die Ver-

fasserin („Ceri“ dürfte die Kurzform von Ceridwen sein, dem Namen einer Gestalt aus dem Book of Taliesin) beschäftigt sich darin mit den im Laufe des 19. Jhs. in Gang gekommenen Bemühungen, die klassische Bildung der Waliser durch direkte Übertragungen aus dem Griechischen ins Kymrische zu fördern. Später kamen auch Übersetzungen aus dem Lateinischen hinzu. Eine kymrische Version von Tacitus' *Agricola*, von A.O. Morris bereits 1951 fertiggestellt, erschien 1975 mit einer ausführlichen Einleitung und Anmerkungen von J.E. Jones. Damit schließt sich der Kreis: Die von seinem Schüler Nicholas Sekunda herausgegebene Festschrift macht deutlich, wieviel Forschung und Lehre auf dem Gebiet der Altertumswissenschaften diesem *staunch Welshman* (John Prag, S. 15) zu verdanken haben, wieviel es aber im Großen und Kleinen immer noch zu entdecken gibt.

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(Pretzfeld, Germany)



**URSULA HACKL, BRUNO JACOBS, DIETER WEBER
(HRSG.), QUELLEN ZUR GESCHICHTE DES
PARTHERREICHES. TEXTSAMMLUNG MIT
ÜBERSETZUNGEN UND KOMMENTAREN. GÖTTINGEN:
VANDENHOECK & RUPRECHT 2010:**

**BD. 1: PROLEGOMENA, ABKÜRZUNGEN, BIBLIOGRAPHIE,
EINLEITUNG, INDICES, KARTEN, TAFELN
(NOVUM TESTAMENTUM ET ORBIS ANTIQUUS / STUDIEN ZUR
UMWELT DES NEUEN TESTAMENTS 83), CXLIII, 256 SEITEN MIT
77 ABB. UND 5 KARTEN; ISBN 978-3-525-53386-4.**

**BD. 2: GRIECHISCHE UND LATEINISCHE TEXTE, PARTHISCHE
TEXTE, NUMISMATISCHE EVIDENZ, MIT BEITRÄGEN VON DANIEL
KELLER, LUKAS THOMMEN, DIETER WEBER
(NOVUM TESTAMENTUM ET ORBIS ANTIQUUS / STUDIEN ZUR
UMWELT DES NEUEN TESTAMENTS 84), X, 639 SEITEN MIT 62
ABB., GEBUNDEN; ISBN 978-3-525-53387-1.**

**BD. 3: KEILSCHRIFTLICHE TEXTE, ARAMÄISCHE TEXTE,
ARMENISCHE TEXTE, ARABISCHE TEXTE, CHINESISCHE TEXTE,
MIT BEITRÄGEN VON BARBARA BÖCK, UTA GOLZE, GUDRUN
SCHUBERT, KERSTIN STORM, GIUSTO TRAINA, MARKUS ZEHNDER
(NOVUM TESTAMENTUM ET ORBIS ANTIQUUS / STUDIEN ZUR
UMWELT DES NEUEN TESTAMENTS 85), VIII, 512 SEITEN,
GEBUNDEN; ISBN 978-3-525-53388-8.**

The book under review is the sort of publication that was badly needed by anybody interested in the Parthian Empire, and this is the case simply because it brings together a collection of sources on the Parthian Empire. As is widely known, sources on the Parthian Empire are transmitted in various languages (not

only Greek, Latin, and Parthian, but also Akkadian, Sumerian, Aramean, Arabic, Armenian and even Chinese) and as such are not easily available due to the intellectual difficulty in dealing with so many languages at once. Translations are therefore necessary, and this book certainly has a very good chance of delivering an acute remedy for that difficulty. Another problem has been that various editions of the source material are widespread over many publications and serials, and it is notoriously difficult to collect, or even to keep abreast of all those that are published. In this context, one collection like *Quellen zur Geschichte des Partherreiches* will indeed be very helpful. Furthermore, the book also provides basic information on the Parthian Empire in the form of short essays and introductions preceding the relevant translations. This is also useful, though one may get the impression that this task is secondary to collecting, translating and commenting on all sources, and the value of such essays may vary considerably from one author to another.

The publication contains three volumes. In addition to a foreword, a list of abbreviations, a rich, but definitely not exhaustive bibliography, maps, plates and indices, the first volume offers an introduction into the Parthian history and culture in two chapters that sketch the basics of Parthian geography, history, culture and religion, society and state. The second volume comprises Greek and Latin literary sources, a selection of Greek and Latin inscriptions, parchments and papyri, some Parthian texts, and a discussion of the numismatic evidence. The third volume deals with Cuneiform texts, Aramaic, Arabic and Chinese sources. The selection of Aramaic inscriptions is preceded by short introductions on the history, culture and religion of places where relevant inscriptions have been found. Thus, we are supplied with basic introductions about Hatra, Assur, Edessa, Dura-Europos and Palmyra.

Approaching a collection of sources, the first question that naturally comes to a mind is whether all the important sources were really included. Here, a few reservations can be made.¹ While some sources are explicitly left out by the editors – Indian and new-Persian evidence (volume 1, p. L), Roman poets, except for Lucian, (vol. 2, p. 3) – the absence of others is not explained, and in fact might be controversial. So is the lack of two texts, *Karnamag-i Artaxshir-i Papanakan* and *Denkard* (book 4). Of course, one could argue that – and this is apparently the reason for this omission – they contain only vague references whose value for the Parthian setting is a matter of controversy. Yet, so are many other sources (e.g. Rabbinic texts, *the Hymn of the Pearl*), and so perhaps it could be better to include a wider range of sources with basic bibliographical references enabling everyone to make their own judgment. However, in some cases, the

¹ On this problem, see also U. Hartmann's review, note 1 (<http://hsozkult.geschichte.hu-berlin.de/rezensionen/2011-1-186.pdf>).

absence of some important sources in the collection cannot be reasonably explained. For example we know of only five Arsacid inscriptions, and two of them are not included in the collection. The first is the inscription from Behistun (Vologases), and the second a much-debated inscription from Sar-e Pol-e Zahab (Gotarzes, son of Gew). Furthermore, a trilingual inscription of Sapor I is included only in the Parthian version, without the Greek and Middle Persian texts (vol. 2, p. 573–587). Even if the other versions are more damaged than the Parthian text (according to Weber, p. 573), the extant parts still offer very precious insights (e.g. the name of Adiabene: see below). Likewise, not all passages from Josephus are included; though some scholars (e.g. Zehnder, vol. 3, p. 270 and 282) refer to them in the course of the book (the Adiabeneans in the context of the Jewish uprising against Rome – *Bellum Iudaicum* 2.520; 5.474, 6.356–357, 2.388–389, 1.6; Adiabenean palaces in Jerusalem – *Bell.* 4.567, 5.252, 5.253, 6.355, the mausoleum of Helena – *Bell.* 5.55, 5.119, 5.147; references to Helena’s resting place can also be found outside Josephus’ writings in Pausanias, *Periegesis* 8.16.4–5; Eusebius, *Historia Ecclesiastica* 2.12.3; Hieronymus, *Epistulae*, 108.

As for other comments on specific parts of the collection, I shall restrict my observations to my primary field of scholarly interest, which is Jewish studies. Thus, firstly there is Josephus Flavius, whose passages with an Iranian setting are presented by Lukas Thommen (vol. 2, chapter III.I.2.22, pp. 202–244). Secondly, Markus Zehnder has dealt with Aramaic texts and inscriptions, some of which are of Jewish provenance (vol. 3, chapter III.5, pp. 175–401).

Thommen’s presentation of Josephus’ audience (p. 205) could benefit from being informed by more recent publications on the production of writings in ancient Rome,² and in the instance of Josephus, the publications of Steve Mason are particularly worthy of recommendation.³ While writing a book in ancient times, one could not really reach everyone, the less so appeal to everyone’s taste, but this is exactly what is being suggested by the standard theories adapted by Thommen (p. 203: Josephus addressed *both* “eine gebildete Oberschicht des römischen Reiches” and “die jüdische Diaspora”). Josephus rather produced his writings for a relatively small number of Roman elites who belonged to his company (including some Hellenized Jews) and personally took part in the process of production of his writings (oral recitation and distribution of partial drafts).

² R.M. Ogilvie, *Roman Literature and Society*, Brighton 1980, esp. 11–17; W.V. Harris, *Ancient Literacy*, Cambridge, Mass. 1989, esp. 222–233; E. Fantham, *Roman Literary Culture. From Cicero to Apuleius*, Baltimore 1996, esp. 1–12.

³ E.g. S. Mason, ‘Of Audience and Meaning: Reading Josephus’s Judean War in the Context of a Flavian Audience’ in S. Mason, *Josephus, Judea, and Christian Origins. Methods and Categories*, Peabody, MA. 2009, 45–67.

Furthermore, the idea that among Josephus' sources for his Parthian accounts we can distinguish "eine adiabensische Königsbiographie" has indeed been formulated by T. Rajak,⁴ but its root goes back to L.H. Schiffman, who postulated the existence of a royal chronicle of the Adiabene dynasty as a source underlying *Ant.* 20.17–96.⁵ On the contrary, modern Iranists do not even think that there were any written records on the Parthian court, but the role of historians was instead played by royal bards.⁶ Thus, in the light of our present knowledge on the Parthian world, there is no room for official chronicles or biographies written on the Adiabene court. Likewise, Josephus' story on Anilaios and Asinaios in *Ant.* 18.310–373, rightly counted by Thommen among "novellistische Episoden" (p. 203), has recently found a very good commentator in the person of G. Herman, who is not included in the bibliography.⁷ Likewise, a good piece of source criticism on that story has been delivered by N.G. Cohen.⁸

A king of Adiabene in the 1st c. CE named Izates can be only Izates II, and not Izates I (according to Thommen p. 225, n. 339), who in turn was the father of Monobazos I and must have lived before the Common Era (Josephus, *Bellum Iudaicum* 5.147).

The dating of the reign of Artabanos II (p. 223 and 229) is based on Debevoise's contribution.⁹ Though it is the most frequently accepted dating nowadays, there are good reasons to date Artabanos' death later, to 40 CE or even early 41 CE.¹⁰ First, Artabanos is still recalled by Josephus with regard to the accusations against Herod Antipas in 39 CE in Rome. Furthermore, the earliest coins of Artabanos' successor Vardanes come only from July of 41 CE. Next, regardless of when Artabanos died, the date given for his escape to Adiabene, 36 CE, is almost certainly wrong, since in 36 CE Artabanos was still engaged with the fight against Tiridates III, and we can infer from Josephus'

⁴ T. Rajak, 'The Parthians in Josephus' in J. Wiesehöfer (ed.), *Das Partherreich und seine Zeugnisse*, Historia. Einzelschriften 122, Stuttgart 1998, 322.

⁵ L.H. Schiffman, 'The Conversion of the Royal House of Adiabene in Josephus and Rabbinic Sources' in L.H. Feldman, G. Hata (eds.), *Josephus, Judaism and Christianity*, Detroit 1987, 293–312.

⁶ M. Boyce, 'The Parthian "Gōsān" and Iranian Minstrel Tradition' *JRAS* 1–2, 1957, 10–45; G. Herman, 'Iranian Epic Motifs in Josephus' Antiquities (XVIII, 314–370)' *Journal of Jewish Studies* 57, 2006, 261 and n. 74.

⁷ G. Herman, 'Iranian Epic Motifs in Josephus' Antiquities, (XVIII, 314–370)', 245–268.

⁸ N.G. Cohen, 'Asinaeus and Anilaeus. Additional Comments to Josephus' Antiquities of the Jews' *Annual of the Swedish Theological Institute* 10, 1975/76, 30–37.

⁹ N.C. Debevoise, *A Political History of Parthia*, Chicago 1938, 165.

¹⁰ M. Schottky, 'Parther, Meder und Hyrkanier. Eine Untersuchung der dynastischen und geographischen Verflechtungen im Iran des 1. Jhs. n. Chr.' *Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran* 24, 1991, 86–87; M.J. Olbrycht, 'Vardanes contra Gotarzes II. Einige Überlegungen zur Geschichte des Partherreiches ca. 40–51 n. Chr.' *Folia Orientalia* 33, 1997, 82.

report that Artabanos' trouble came to him when he held power in Parthia, and not amidst the other fighting. Artabanos therefore had to first regain his power from the hands of Tiridates, and the rebellion connected with Kinnamos should be seen as a separate incident occurring before or (rather) after the dynastic conflict of 35–36 CE.

Not entirely clear are Thommen's dates given with regard to Vardanes on p. 229: "Kriegspläne seines Sohnes Vardanes gegen Adiabene (36–43 n. Chr.?)". These dates cannot refer to the reign of Vardanes, and so one has to assume they are meant to refer to the conflict between Izates and Vardanes. Yet, the episode on Izates' conflict with Vardanes can be dated more precisely than 36–43 CE, and indeed Thommen does so on p. 234 n. 72: "wohl ins Jahr 42 n. Chr. zu datieren" (with reference to Karras-Klapproth¹¹). Indeed, Tacitus (*Annales* 11.10) reports Vardanes' plan to regain Parthian control over Armenia, and says that Vardanes had to give up his ambition because of the Roman governor of Syria, Vibius Marsus, who threatened Vardanes with war if he attacked Armenia. Vibius Marsus' tenure in Syria is dated to 41/42–44/45.¹² Furthermore, it is highly unlikely that Vardanes could have come up with his plan before he managed to overcome the tension with Gotarzes and settle the situation in Seleucia (by June 42).¹³ Likewise, it must have taken place before the conflict with Gotarzes inflamed again. Since Josephus' testimony implies that Vardanes could not step against Izates due to the internal conflicts in his kingdom that finally led to his death, one is tempted to date Vardanes' conflict with Izates shortly before Vardanes' long campaign into the Trans-Caspian steppes against Gotarzes. However, it is not clear-cut when the conflict between Izates and Vardanes was rekindled (44 or 45 CE).¹⁴ If we take account of the fact that in 44 and 45 CE coins in Seleucia were struck on behalf of both Arsacid rulers (perhaps because of some power-sharing agreement), it is likely that a renewed conflict can be dated as late as 45 CE.¹⁵ Consequently, Vardanes' conflict with Izates could be dated later than 42 or even 43 CE, perhaps to 44 CE.

As for Kinnamos, Thommen merely reports in his commentary Schottky's identification of Kinnamos with Gotarzes. Although this idea has indeed been

¹¹ M. Karras-Klapproth, *Prosopographische Studien zur Geschichte des Partherreiches auf der Grundlage antiker literarischer Überlieferung*, Bonn 1988, 188, n. 3.

¹² G. Vermes, F. Millar, M. Black, *The Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ (175 B.C.-A.D. 135)*, vol. I, Edinburgh 1973, 263–264.

¹³ R.H. McDowell, *Coins from Seleucia on the Tigris*, Ann Arbor 1935, 225–226; M. Schottky, 'Parther, Meder und Hyrkanier', 105; J. Wiesehöfer, *Das antike Persien von 550 v. Chr. bis 650 n. Chr.*, Zürich 1994, 196.

¹⁴ See U. Kahrstedt, *Artabanos III. und seine Erben*, Berlin 1950, 27; M. Schottky, 'Parther, Meder und Hyrkanier', 107.

¹⁵ M.J. Olbrycht, 'Vardanes contra Gotarzes II.', 86.

most thoroughly contended for by Schottky,¹⁶ it can already be found in Kahrstedt, who is not quoted here.¹⁷ This identification is very speculative and as such not very likely, and so it will not be of interest to us here. Let us instead remark that if such a speculative identification found its way into Thommen's footnotes, any attempt to identify King Abias recalled by Josephus in *Ant.* 20.77 (p. 236) should also have done so. Generally speaking, Abias is believed to be either an anonymous local dynast from the north Mesopotamian desert region (see Strabo 16.1.8), or, more specifically, a ruler of Edessa.¹⁸

On p. 234 Thommen refers specifically to the question of sources underlying *Ant.* 20.17–96 (*Ant.* 20.69–74 in particular). A review is surely not a place to discuss this complicated issue in detail, but let us remark that the information on p. 234 n. 69 is a little unfortunate (Täubler¹⁹ is the only source of information for Thommen). The issue of sources of *Ant.* 20.17–96 is actually one of few to have been extensively dealt with in research on the Adiabene royalty to date. After Täubler we had a number of scholars who turned their attention to that issue at some length (A. Schalit, L.H. Schiffman, D. Barish, M. Frenschkowski (included in Thommen on the other occasion), I. Broer²⁰), and so the scholarship went a long way ahead of the position assumed by Täubler. At the same time, Täubler has to be credited for acknowledging some diversity in the source material of *Ant.* 20.17–96. Namely, Täubler's contribution led to what is nowadays labeled as a two-source theory. However, his identification of the primary source is very unlikely. Because of the role played in the narrative by two Jewish "missionaries", Ananias and Eleazar, Täubler thought that the main source for *Ant.* 20.17–

¹⁶ M. Schottky, 'Parther, Meder und Hyrkanier', 102.

¹⁷ U. Kahrstedt 'Artabanos III. und seine Erben', 85.

¹⁸ U. Kahrstedt 'Artabanos III. und seine Erben', 70, n. 48; F. Millar, *The Roman Near East: 31 BC – AD 337*, Cambridge, MA. 1993, 495; M. Sommer, *Roms orientalische Steppengrenze. Palmyra – Edessa – Dura-Europos – Hatra. Eine Kulturgeschichte von Pompeius bis Diocletian*, Wiesbaden 2005, 376–383; R. Fowler, 'King, Bigger King, King of Kings: Structuring Power in the Parthian World', in T. Kaizer, M. Facella (eds.), *Kingdoms and Principalities in the Roman Near East*, Stuttgart 2010, 68, n. 38.

¹⁹ E. Täubler, *Die Parthernachrichten bei Josephus*, Leipzig 1904.

²⁰ A. Schalit, 'Evidence of an Aramaic Source in Josephus' "Antiquities of the Jews" *Annual of the Swedish Theological Institute* 4, 1965, 171–181; D. Barish, *Adiabene Royal Converts to Judaism in the First Century C.E.: A Study of Sources*, Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion, Cincinnati, 1983, 13–66 (unpublished doctoral dissertation); L.H. Schiffman, 'The Conversion of the Royal House of Adiabene in Josephus and Rabbinic Sources', in L.H. Feldman, G. Hata (eds.), *Josephus, Judaism and Christianity*, Detroit 1987, 294–298, 302–304, 306–308; M. Frenschkowski, 'Iranische Königslegende in der Adiabene. Zur Vorgeschichte von Josephus: *Antiquitates* XX, 17–33' *ZDMG* 140, 1990, 213–233; I. Broer, 'Die Konversion des Königshauses von Adiabene nach Josephus', in C. Meyer, K. Müller, G. Schmalenberg (Hrsg.) *Nach den Anfängen fragen: Herrn Prof. Dr. theol. Gerhard Dautzenberg zum 60. Geburtstag am 30. Januar 1994*, Giessen 1994, 140–149.

96 could be a “Missionsbericht”, that is a sort of travelogue (“Reisebericht”) of an itinerant Jewish missionary. According to Täubler, this source, being of religious character, was used throughout the bulk of the narrative, while the other source underlying *Ant.* 20.69–74 was an anonymous Parthian one that was also used for the other accounts of Parthian affairs in Josephus (especially *Ant.* 18.39–52 and *Ant.* 18.96–105). Täubler’s idea of a Missionsbericht did not attract any support among scholars, and it is not hard to see why. Although Täubler does not express it explicitly, his theory seems to be based on the model of the journeys of Paul, but there is a world of difference between the *Acts* and *Ant.* 20.17–96. *Ant.* 20.34–48 is not a story of the missionary achievements of Ananias and Eleazar; both Jewish teachers in fact play only supporting roles in Josephus’ portrayal of Izates.

Remarkable is the subtitle given on p. 234 for *Ant.* 20.81–93: “Vologases I. vertreibt Izates II. von Adiabene (51 n. Chr)”. Where does the text of *Ant.* 20.81–93 speak of Izates’ “Vertreibung”? Thommen apparently joined two separate literary subunits, *Ant.* 20.81–91 and *Ant.* 20.92–96 – the first text speaks of Vologases’ campaign against Izates, while the second relates Izates’ death, and so Thommen seems to conclude that the war led to Izates’ death (or at least Izates’ expulsion). On the contrary, *Ant.* 20.81–91 presents Vologases’ campaign as a *fasco*, and *Ant.* 20.92–96 speaks of a *peaceful* end to Izates’ life. Thommen’s interpretation is clearly a striking example of reading between the lines, but one may wonder what reasons can be given for taking the opposite out of the straightforward meaning of the text. Further, if Izates’ reign ended in 51 CE, why then is the beginning of Monobazos’ II reign dated so late as 59 CE (p. 237, n. 93)? Do we know of any other ruler of Adiabene between 51 CE and 59 CE? No, we do not, and there is no reason whatsoever to speak about Vologases’ success in his campaign against Izates, and *Ant.* 20.91 is precise in naming the exact historical reason (besides this, Josephus adds his own theological interpretation) – the invasion of the Dahae and the Sacae on Parthian soil forced Vologases to withdraw his forces. This information fits well into the political context of the first decade of Vologases’ reign, as well as the political landscape of domestic divisions among Parthian elites in the years of the 1st-c. CE dynastic struggles.²¹ Namely, the attack of the Dahae and the Sacae can be best understood as the first reaction of the political coalition that once supported Gotarzes. Thus, the early years of the reign of Vologases, before the coup d’état of Vardanis filius in 55 CE and the beginning of trouble in Hyrcania in 57 CE,²² is the most probable dating of Vologases’ campaign

²¹ M.J. Olbrycht, ‘Vardanes contra Gotarzes II.’, 81–100.

²² M. Schottky, ‘Parther, Meder und Hyrkanier’, 117–119.

against Adiabene. Therefore, the date for Vologases' campaign can be placed between 52 and 54 CE;²³ by contrast, see the bright but erroneous interpretation of N. Brüll (followed by J. Neusner) who identified the attack of the Dacae and the Sacae with the rebellion of Hyrcania.²⁴

As for the dating of the reigns of Izates II and Monobazos II, Thommen gives ca. 36 CE as the beginning of Izates' reign, and ca. 59 CE as the beginning of Monobazos' II power in Adiabene (p. 233 and 237). However, what we actually know with certainty is only when Izates appears for the last time in sources (Vologases' campaign in Adiabene), and on which occasion Monobazos is recalled for the first time in sources. Generally speaking, Monobazos II appears in the context of the Roman-Parthian Wars of 58–63 ("the Corbulo wars") over control of Armenia (Tacitus, *Annales*, 13:34–41, 14:23–26, 15:1–17, 15:24–31; and Cass. Dio 62:19–23), but in particular he is mentioned for the first time as king of Adiabene on the occasion of the Armenian incursion into Adiabene in 61 CE (some date it to 59 CE). Yet, if we take literally Josephus' statement in *Ant.* 20.91 that Izates passed away "not long after" the war with Vologases, then the date for Izates' death and Monobazos' succession can be set much earlier than 59 or 61 CE, perhaps as early as 55 CE (since Vologases' campaign can be approximately dated between 52 and 54 CE).

The topic of Vologases' campaign against Izates II returns again in volume 3, in the part on Aramaic sources written by M. Zehnder. Zehnder presents Vologases' intention as theologically motivated and resulting from anti-Jewish resentment. This is not a plausible picture.²⁵ Indeed, in Josephus' *Ant.* 20.17–96 there is a strong thread of anti-Jewish resentment but it is explicitly attributed only to Izates' subjects. Furthermore, this may be simply a topos used by Josephus in order to tune up his picture of Izates' religious commitment (and, generally speaking, part of the theme of danger to Izates that, while taking on different shapes, runs throughout the whole Adiabene narrative, and is clearly used by Josephus to emphasize the greatness of God's inclination towards

²³ N.C. Debevoise, *A Political History of Parthia*, 177–178 and 182; Kahrstedt, *Artabanos III. und seine Erben*, 69, n. 46; M. Karras-Klapproth, *Prosopographische Studien*, 192, n. 1; M. Schottky, 'Parther, Meder und Hyrkanier', 116–117; M.J. Olbrycht, 'Vardanes contra Gotarzes II.', 85–86.

²⁴ N. Brüll, 'Adiabene' *Jahrbuch für Jüdische Geschichte und Literatur* 1, 1874, 71; J. Neusner, *A History of the Jews in Babylonia, vol. I: The Parthian Period*, Chico, California 1969, 65.

²⁵ For Vologases' policy of reviving Iranian cultural elements see M.J. Olbrycht, 'Das Arsakidenreich zwischen der mediterranen Welt und Innerasien. Bemerkungen zur politischen Strategie der Arsakiden von Vologases I. bis zum Herrschaftsantritt des Vologases III. (50–147 n. Chr.)', in E. Dąbrowa (ed.), *Ancient Iran and the Mediterranean World. Studies in Ancient History. Proceedings of an International Conference in Honour of Professor Józef Wolski, Held at the Jagiellonian University, Cracow, in September 1996*, (=Electrum Vol. 2), Kraków 1998, 130. This is not to say, however, that such a policy should be treated as fanatically motivated and a source of intolerance towards other cultural elements of the Parthian Empire.

Izates), especially since, as far as we know Adiabene's material culture, it presents a great deal of diversity including co-existing Iranian, Greek and Semitic elements.²⁶ Thus, in terms of religion, Adiabene seems to be a typically polytheistic environment that does not account for fertile soil for religious intolerance.

What is more, Vologases' demands are explicitly said to be of a political character, and this is the natural context in which one can best understand the reason for Vologases' campaign and Izates' political position *within* royal elites of the Parthian empire.²⁷ Striking is the fact that Izates was on good terms with Artabanos II and Gotarzes, but not with Vardanes and Vologases. Furthermore, he was rescued from the powerful invasion of Vologases through a simultaneous attack of the Dahae and the Sacae, nomadic allies of Gotarzes. Thus, if we ask about Izates' political standing as a member of the Parthian commonwealth during the dynastic struggles from the 40s until the 60s of the 1st c. CE, there is a good indication to see him as being allied with the so-called nomadic coalition and against the Atropatenean party.²⁸ The other alternative could be the "legitimate" party that opposed the other two and sought pretenders to the Parthian throne in Rome.²⁹ Some pro-Roman streak of such a political standing could perhaps be found in *Ant.* 20.69–74, but most probably this is to be attributed to Josephus' ideological agenda. Josephus wrote in Rome, and was at pains to present Jews as friendly towards other peoples and the Romans in particular. In fact, Josephus' language in *Ant.* 20.71 (δύναμις and particularly τύχη of the Romans) strikingly resembles his statements on the leading role of the Romans made in *Bellum Iudaicum* (2.345–401; 3.354; 5.362–374), where he had to come to terms theologically with the fact of the destruction of the Jerusalem temple. In Josephus' vocabulary, good Jews do not fight against the Romans chosen by God to rule over the world.³⁰ Lastly – and this is the clinching argument – Izates II most clearly did not support the expedition of Meher-

²⁶ For a good introduction (though mainly based on findings from Nineveh) see J. Reade, 'Greco-Parthian Nineveh' *Iraq* 60, 1998, 65–83; J. Reade, 'More about Adiabene' *Iraq* 63, 2001, 187–199.

²⁷ M. Schottky, 'Parther, Meder und Hyrkanier', 110–111; M.J. Olbrycht, 'Das Arsakidenreich zwischen der mediterranen Welt und Innerasien', 125–126; R. Fowler, 'King, Bigger King, King of Kings', 72–73.

²⁸ M.J. Olbrycht, 'Das Arsakidenreich zwischen der mediterranen Welt und Innerasien', 125–126.

²⁹ On the position assumed by this Parthian party see E. Dąbrowa, 'Les héros de luttes politiques dans l'état parthe dans la première moitié du Ier siècle de notre ère' *Iranica antiqua* 24, 1989, 311–322; M.J. Olbrycht, 'Vardanes contra Gotarzes II.', 81–100.

³⁰ H. Lindner, *Die Geschichtsauffassung des Flavius Josephus im Bellum Iudaicum*, Leiden 1972, 42–49, 85–94; H.W. Attridge, 'Josephus and His Works', in M.E. Stone (ed.), *Jewish Writings of the Second Temple Period*, Philadelphia 1984, 203–206; O. Michel, 'Die Rettung Israels und die Rolle Roms nach den Reden im Bellum Iudaicum. Analysen und Perspektiven' in *ANRW* 11.21, 1984, 974–965.

dates in 49 CE, that is one of the most daring undertakings on the side of the “legitimate” party in the 1st c. CE.

Controversial are Zehnder’s remarks on Adiabene in the context of the Jewish uprising (pp. 270 and 282). According to Zehnder, “Vasallenkönige der Adiabene mit Biligung der parthischen Ober-herrschaft im jüdisch-römischen Krieg von 66–70 n. Chr. Truppen zur Verteidigung Jerusalems gegen die Römer schickten”, this statement is documented by a footnote pointing to *Bellum Iudaicum* 2.19.2 as a source reference, as well as to the publications of Widengren and Neusner.³¹ First, the plural form “Vasallenkönige” is completely out of place; Adiabene had only one ruler at a time, and his name during the 66–70 Jewish uprising is well documented through Josephus’ references, as well as Tacitus’ reports on the Corbulo Wars, and was without any doubt Monobazos II. Further, *Bell.* 2.19.2 (2.517–522) does not speak of any troops from Adiabene. In short, *Bell.* 2.517–555 gives an account of Procurator Cestius’ attempts to put down the revolt at its very beginnings, and *Bell.* 2.517–522 describes the approach of the Roman forces under Cestius towards Jerusalem. In this context, Josephus recalls one of most successful ambushes of the insurgents on the Roman legions that led to the slowdown of the Roman advance. According to Josephus, the success of the insurgents was possible thanks to superior numbers, as well as to *personal* bravery on the battlefield. Further, Josephus enumerates some *individuals* most distinguished among Jewish ranks, and so we hear of two Adiabeneans, “Monobazos (Μονόβαζος) and Kenedaios (Κενεδαίος), kinsmen of Monobazos, king of Adiabene” (τοῦ τῆς Ἀδιαβηνῆς βασιλέως συγγενεῖς), alongside other fighters. Thus, in *Bell.* 2.517–522 there are no troops from Adiabene.³² What Zehnder instead relates is an unfounded speculation made by Widengren, and later repeated, perhaps introduced to a wider audience, by Neusner. Furthermore, the speculation that such an involvement of Adiabene in the Jewish uprising was accepted by “parthische Ober-herrschaft” (what does this term actually mean in the context of the Parthian foreign policy in those years?) does not go along with Zehnder’s vision of Vologases’ anti-Jewish policy that, according to Zehnder, manifested itself in eagerly sending congratulations to Rome after the capture of Jerusalem (p. 272).

Generally speaking, it is evident that Zehnder’s interpretation of literary sources on the Jewish-Parthian relationship is most indebted to Neusner, with

³¹ G. Widengren, ‘Quelques rapports entre juifs et iraniens a l’*époque des Parthes*’ *Supplements to Vetus Testamentum IV*, Leiden 1957, 201. As for Neusner’s publication, Zehnder names it “Neusner 1969, 64”, but there is no such publication in the bibliography. I suppose Zehnder meant the second edition of Neusner’s book published in 1965: J. Neusner, *A History of the Jews in Babylonia, vol. I: The Parthian Period*, Leiden 1969, 64.

³² Likewise K.H. Ziegler, *Die Beziehungen zwischen Rom und dem Partherreich; ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Völkerrechts*, Wiesbaden 1964, 77, n. 237 and M.J. Olbrycht, ‘Das Arsakidenreich zwischen der mediterranen Welt und Innerasien’, 133.

some support of Widengren and a few other authors (note that Zehnder uses the old numeration of Parthian kings, so Artabanos II functions as Artabanos III, e.g. on p. 270). Much more appealing is Zehnder's presentation of the inscriptions from Hatra, Assur, Edessa, Dura-Europos and Palmyra. Here Zehnder takes advantage of the latest state of research. However, one could expect Hatra inscription no. 21 to be confronted with the inscription on the so-called Natounia coins,³³ as well as with the trilingual inscription of Sapor I. Is Hatra inscription no. 21 parallel to what we find in numismatic evidence and Sapor's inscription? It is very likely. Namely, in the inscription of Sapor I the Greek name Ἀδιαβηνή is rendered twice, once as "nwthštrkn" in Middle Persian and once as "ntwšrkn" in Parthian.³⁴ In turn, some coins from the Nisibis hoard contain the legend Νατουνιασαροκερων.³⁵ This data should have been included in the commentary.

All told, then, *Quellen zur Geschichte des Partherreiches* is surely a publication that will be very useful for scholarship on the Parthian Empire. It is much warranted, and with its release it will be easier for scholars to navigate the sea of sources on the Arsacid Empire. As for the parts of the collection devoted to Parthian-Jewish aspects, it was certainly a great effort to collect and comment on such a vast amount of source material, and this must be appreciated. However, in a few places more recent literature could have been used, and perhaps it will be up to the next editions to fill this gap.

Michał Marciak

³³ H. Seyrig, 'Trésor monétaire de Nisibe' *RN* 17, 1955, 104–105; G. Le Rider, 'Monnaies grecques acquises par le Cabinet des Médailles en 1959' *RN* 2, 1959–1960, 30–32, pl. III: C-E; J.T. Milik, 'A propos d'un atelier monétaire d'Adiabene Natounia' *RN* 4, 1962, 51–58; O. Hoover, 'Camels of Natounia' *Schweizerische Numismatische Rundschau* 88, 2009, 161–168.

³⁴ A. Maricq, 'Res Gestae Divi Saporis' *Syria* 35, 1958, 295–360, pl. XXIII-XXIV, esp. 304, n. 4 and 335, n. 6; Ph. Huyse, *Die dreisprachige Inschrift Šābuhrs I. an der Ka'ba-i Zardušt (ŠKZ)*, B.1., London 1999, 115; P. Huyse, *Die dreisprachige Inschrift Šābuhrs I. an der Ka'ba-i Zardušt (ŠKZ)*, B.2., London 1999, 20.

³⁵ J.T. Milik, 'A propos d'un atelier monétaire d'Adiabene Natounia', 161.



**STEVE MASON, JOSEPHUS, JUDEA, AND CHRISTIAN
ORIGINS: METHODS AND CATEGORIES,
HENDRICKSON, PEABODY, MASS. 2009 (XX AND 443
PP.; ISBN 9781598562545)**

The book under review is a collection of papers (most of which have already been published elsewhere) by Steve Mason, an eminent specialist on Josephus and editor-in-chief of the latest English translation and comprehensive commentary on all Josephus' writings by the Brill Publishing House.¹

The publication contains eleven chapters divided into three main parts; the first is devoted to the interpretation and historical use of Josephus, the second part deals with the Judean society in the Hellenistic and Roman periods, and the third looks at some aspects of the Christian origin. As the subtitle suggests, the concern for methodology and appropriate categories is a prominent feature of this publication, running throughout the whole book, and many times Mason's points have to be acknowledged as an important voice in the modern scholarly discussion. Indeed, Mason's views on the use of Josephus as a historical source will be of special interest to us here. His ideas in this respect are very worthy of consideration because he is perhaps the most provocative disputant in the recent methodological exchange on Josephus and the history of

¹ So far only the first ten books of *Judean Antiquities*, and the second book of *Judean War*, have been published. They are as follows: *Antiquitates Iudaicae: Flavius Josephus: Translation and Commentary*, vol. 3, *Judean Antiquities 1–4*, trans. and comm. by L.H. Feldman, Brill 2000; *Flavius Josephus: Translation and Commentary*, vol. 4, *Judean Antiquities 5–7*, trans. and comm. by C.T. Begg, Brill, 2005; *Flavius Josephus: Translation and Commentary*, vol. 5: *Judean Antiquities 8–10*, trans. and comm. by C.T. Begg and P. Spilsbury, Brill 2005; *Bellum Iudaicum: Flavius Josephus: Translation and Commentary*, vol. 1B, *Judean War 2*, transl. and comment. by S. Mason; Brill 2008. Additionally, the editions of *Vita* and *Contra Apionem* have been completed and include the following: *Flavius Josephus: Translation and Commentary*, vol. 9, *Life of Josephus*, transl. and comment. by S. Mason, Brill 2001; *Flavius Josephus: Translation and Commentary*, vol. 10, *Against Apion*, transl. and comment. by J.M.G. Barclay, Brill 2007.

Roman Judea.² Clearly, Mason belongs to, and even leads, the camp of those who, generally speaking, call into question the value of Josephus' writings as a historical source. In the other camp we should distinguish Daniel. R. Schwartz and Lester L. Grabbe in the first place who, acknowledging the value of composition criticism and studies on Josephus' narratives as artistic products, still opt for a far-reaching use of Josephus as a historical source.

Except for methodological issues on the use of Josephus as "a window to real events" (p. 42), part 1 also contains chapters 2 and 3, which present the essence of Mason's positive approach towards Josephus. Namely, he treats Josephus' writings as artistic narratives, that is as "efforts at communication with real audiences" (p. 2). In the case of Josephus, Flavian Rome is the background against which his writings have to be interpreted. Consequently, although there were some Judeans in his company, it was primarily a non-Judean audience – the Greeks and the Romans – to whom Josephus addresses his writings. The process of production of Josephus' texts consisted of both oral recitation and distribution of partial drafts. Thus, the process was focused on a relatively small group of Josephus' closest company. Consequently, it is erroneous to see Josephus as consciously addressing large groups of people (the Diaspora Jews or the Jews in Yavne) as previous scholarship frequently assumed. In this context, much of Josephus' flattery towards the Flavian house (e.g. Titus' clemency) can be understood ironically, as Mason shows in chapter 3.

The second part (chapters 5–8) deals with three specific phenomena of 1st-c. CE Judea – the Ioudaioi, the Pharisees, and the Essenes. First, chapter 5 makes the case that the ancient Ioudaioi cannot be regarded as members of a religious group, because the notion of "religion" as a comprehensive system of practices and beliefs did not exist in the ancient Mediterranean world (at least not until ca. 200 CE). Instead, the Ioudaioi are to be understood as an ethnos, a people associated with a place and its essential customs. Consequently, Mason suggests that the most appropriate English term for the Greek Iudaios is "Judean" and not

² D.R. Schwartz, *Agrippa I. The Last King of Judea*, Tübingen 1990; D.R. Schwartz, 'Josephus and Nicolaus on the Pharisees' *Journal for the Study of Judaism* 14, 1983, 157–171; S. Mason, 'Contradiction or Counterpoint? Josephus and Historical Method' *Review of Rabbinic Literature* 6, 2003, 145–188 (reacting to Schwartz 1983 and Schwartz 1990); D.R. Schwartz, 'Composition and Sources in Antiquities 18. The Case of Pontius Pilate' in Z. Rodgers (ed.) *Making History: Josephus and Historical Method*, Leiden 2007, 125–146 (reacting to Mason 2003); L.L. Grabbe, *Judaism from Cyrus to Hadrian: vol. 1: Persian and Greek Periods, vol. 2: Roman Period*, Minneapolis 1992; S. Mason, 'Method in the Study of Early Judaism: A Dialogue with Lester Grabbe' *Journal of American Oriental Society* 115, 1995, 463–472 (reacting to Grabbe 1992); L.L. Grabbe, 'The Pharisees. A Response to S. Mason' in A.J. Avery-Peck, J. Neusner, *Judaism in Late Antiquity. Part 3, Vol. 3, Where We Stand: Issues and Debates in Ancient Judaism*, Leiden 2000, 35–47 (reacting to Mason 1995).

“Jewish”. Chapters 6 and 7 analyze Josephus’ presentation of the Pharisees and conclude that, despite a common knowledge in scholarship, the Pharisees were not of special interest to Josephus; on the contrary, they play only a supporting role in Josephus’ narratives. Likewise, in chapter 8 Mason shows that Josephus’ account on the Essenes is a highly stylized passage composed in order to appeal to the tastes of his Roman audience (the Essenes are a utopian, Spartan-like community). As a result, he suggests that the Essenes so described by Josephus have nothing in common with the authors of the sectarian documents within the Dead Sea Scrolls.

The third part comprises chapters 9–11. In chapters 9 and 10 Mason surveys the early-Christian use of the term “gospel” (τὸ εὐαγγέλιον) and suggests that it was only the third generation of Christians who started to understand this term as a common basis (the message that has been proclaimed by the early church) between a writer and his readers. According to Mason, it was Paul who first coined this term, but understood it as referring only to his unique mission towards non-Jews. Additionally, in chapter 10 Mason comes up with the rather unusual suggestion that the primary audience of the Letter to the Romans was Judean-Christian. Next, in chapter 11 he examines the presentation of various groups of the Judean establishment before 70 CE: the Sanhedrin, the chief priests, the Sadducees and Pharisees) in Luke-Acts (as one two-volume work) and then compares it with Josephus’ testimony. As a result, Mason lists both discrepancies (Josephus himself is a proud member of the Jerusalem aristocracy, while the Christian tradition is very critical towards it) and substantial agreements between Luke-Acts and Josephus. In short, both textual traditions agree that, firstly, the high priests and the Sanhedrin had supreme control of national affairs; secondly, the Sadducees, in contrast to the Pharisees, rejected the idea of life after death and post-biblical developments in demonology and angelology; thirdly, the Pharisees occupied the middle ground between the establishment and common people who in turn regarded the Pharisees as authorized teachers; however, in the face of charismatic leaders and revolts even the hold of the Pharisees over the masses turned out to be limited.

Back onto Mason’s methodological views on Josephus’ writings as historical sources. These are most precisely explained in chapters 1 and 4 of part 1. Mason presents his position by both expressing his general convictions and focusing on detail (in analyzing chosen passages and becoming involved in polemics with other scholars). He first declares that the ancient sense of history-writing essentially departed from the modern one (p. 7–15). According to him, ancient notions of truthfulness, precision and probability in history-writing were rhetorical and moral categories, and had nothing to do with, as he puts it, empirical concerns. Thus, the opposite of truth was not simple factual

error for which an ancient historian could be criticized (since something had not really happened in a way he presented), but bias. Furthermore, Mason comments on the four standard methods of extracting historical information from Josephus' writings (p. 36–43), which are as follows: “the winnowing method”, corroboration from archaeology, source criticism, the contradictory evidence (or “reading against the grain”). First, he presents “the winnowing method” as based on the conviction that there is a difference in the narrative between facts conveyed through the text and their interpretation (or bias of) by the author, and by identifying and removing the latter (e.g. exaggeration, miraculous or bizarre elements), one can arrive at the historical core. This procedure is rejected by Mason both on ideological grounds and by suggesting that Josephus' involvement in composing his narratives goes much further than just adding embellishment to the core material. Secondly, as for archaeology, Mason says that it can only clarify the general conditions of the narrative setting but cannot confirm actions described in the narrative. In this context, he remarks that there is a good chance that Josephus' writings could work like modern historical novels: they use “real settings but entirely invent characters, plots, and events” (p. 37). As for source criticism, he believes that most textual phenomena understood as indicators of sources (repetitions of vocabulary, doublets in content, a change of vocabulary for the same object, abrupt digressions, changes of subject, shifts in temporal or geographical setting, etc.) can also be interpreted as devices of Josephus' literary art (calculated repetition of charged language, changes of narrative voice, complexity of character development, variation of diction, diversionary excurses, etc.). Lastly, Mason presents the fourth standard approach using the examples of M. Goodman's and J. Price's contributions.³ In short, if we determine Josephus' programmatic ideas for his writings (e.g. the outbreak of the uprising against Rome has to be blamed on sectarian groups, and not on the aristocratic elites, including Josephus himself!), but, at the same time, we detect in his narrative material disagreement with these ideas (actions of the aristocrats against the Romans recorded by Josephus in passing), such material is believed to be historically valuable. According to Mason, all such inaccuracies in the narrative can be explained as literary devices, namely as deliberate and artful tensions introduced into the narrative, and conflicting reports in Josephus' writings about his own life serve as the strongest evidence.

What are the consequences of all this criticism for historians of ancient Judea according to Mason? First and foremost, he believes that if Josephus is the

³ M. Goodman, *The Ruling Class of Judaea: the Origins of the Jewish Revolt against Rome, A.D. 66–70*, Cambridge 1987; J. Price, *Jerusalem under Siege. The Collapse of the Jewish State 66–70 C.E.*, Leiden 1992.

only source we have, his writings cannot be used for historical reconstructions. Theoretically, we may then “reconstruct hypothesis for heuristic purposes only, abandoning any claim to probability” (p. 136), but the most appropriate approach in such cases is to focus on Josephus’ accounts as “historical phenomena, produced in particular circumstances” (p. 137), and so to gain social-historical knowledge on Roman Judea or a writer like Josephus composing in Flavian Rome. Only if there is alternative evidence can Josephus be used for historical reconstructions with all due caution, since, for Mason, his writings are like “Ridley Scott’s film *Gladiator*” (p. 39) where Josephus is the only “producer, writer, director, set designer, and sometimes actor” (p. 39).

Mason’s ideas have had a great deal of resonance in scholarship in recent years, and it is not easy to unambiguously judge his contribution. On the one hand, there is much truth in the statement that many historians naively copied Josephus’ passages, and considered such paraphrases as history. Some even paraphrased Josephus’ picture of his characters’ thoughts and emotions in their publications. It is also true that Josephus’ writings can be treated as literary constructs, as Mason and others have aptly shown many times. However, one cannot avoid the impression that some of Mason’s ideas are rather one-sided. He writes about some historical reconstructions as characterized by “arbitrariness”, “different tastes” (p. 136), “speculation”, “mere possibility” (p. 134). Such deficiencies can of course happen in historically orientated research, as in any other field of science and scholarship. Yet, since when is the literary analysis so recommended by Mason the opposite of the speculation characteristic only of historians? On the contrary, both literary criticism and historic research are two fields of research in which one operates within various layers of certainty, probability and plausibility. Furthermore, for historians it is necessary to evaluate their sources (and it is indeed nothing new), among others, to take account of the results of *literary analysis*, but the historical value of sources can only be decided upon a one-on-one case of *historical investigation*. In other words, on the basis of literary analysis *alone* one cannot draw conclusions about the other level – historical value – and this is exactly what has been done by Mason, who simply went beyond his own realm of expertise which has always been, with excellent results, literary analysis. One may only hope that one day Josephan studies will come to a state like that of current Biblical studies, where different approaches can peacefully co-exist in the catalogue of scholarly methods, and none claims the sole superiority of his preferred exegetical method. If someone wants to explore *how* Josephus composed his narrative, that is fine. If someone “cannot just sit on the fence and discuss Josephus’s aims and narrative construction,”⁴ it is fine too. After all,

⁴ Grabbe 2000, 46.

the question arises as to whether we do justice to Josephus by treating him only as someone for whom truthfulness, precision and probability of his writings were only rhetorical and moral categories. It is true that the modern perception of history differs from the ancient one in several respects, but no one who has ever read Josephus' preface to *Antiquities Iudaicae* will easily take on Mason's persuasion. After all, it is hard to believe that Josephus did the opposite of what he had himself criticized in *Ant.* 1.2, that is, he did not "write history", but only wanted to gain respect by composing a skillful composition (see *Ant.* 1.2).

Michał Marciak



**SABINE MÜLLER, DAS HELLENISTISCHE KÖNIGSPAAR
IN DER MEDIALEN REPRÄSENTATION: PTOLEMAIOS II.
UND ARSINOE II. (BEITRÄGE ZUR ALTERTUMSKUNDE
BD. 263). BERLIN/NEW YORK: WALTER DE GRUYTER,
2009. PP. IX, 454. ISBN 9783110209174**

Research into Hellenistic Egypt under the rule of the Lagid dynasty has a long tradition, ranging from interdisciplinary studies to more closely focused works on themes as diverse as the historical landscape of Egypt, or on a vast array of archaeological subjects. The Hellenistic states which arose following the death of Alexander the Great introduced new political approaches and practices among the ruling dynasties, different forms of marriage dictated by dynastic imperatives being one of them. The queen sitting on the Lagid throne was accorded special significance in court protocol, and she had a paramount influence on the fate of the state. To a certain extent this represented a reference to some Macedonian patterns, in which previously one can find parallels in the peculiar political positions held by such outstanding queens as Olympias and Eurydike. It definitely established some precedence for the later female scions of the Ptolemaic dynasty, when the queen had often equal power with the king (e.g. Kleopatra II and her brother Ptolemy VIII).

In her unusually erudite study, Sabine Müller (SM) places particular stress on the political aspect of the marriage of Ptolemy II to his sister Arsinoe, who became objects of a new royal cult, the everlasting “Gods Loving their Siblings” the *Theoi Philadelphoi*. During the years of her reign as co-regent of the Lagid state, Arsinoe II exercised an influential role. After her death in 270 BC her cult was officially maintained throughout the whole of the population of Egypt, and not only among the European immigrants. The propagation of the cult was stimulated by the financial support of the state, thanks to which Arsinoe II was accorded a place in all Egyptian sanctuaries. The author in a singularly interesting and learned way analyses various categories of evidence, reconstructing the

imperatives which determined the marriage of the son of Ptolemy I Soter to his full sister. Thanks to this penetrating study carried out by SM, we have the possibility to understand at long last the phenomenon of dynastic marriage, which she approaches from a wide range of perspectives: Greek, Macedonian and Egyptian.

In the introduction (“Einleitung,” pp. 1–17) the author reveals the aim of her research, describes the source material, and also elaborates the present state of research. She sketches the figure of Queen Arsinoe II, elaborating her role in the religious and political spheres and illustrating at the same time the character of Hellenistic monarchy. Furthermore, SM points to various political concepts accompanying the three marriages of Arsinoe II; first to Lysimachos, then to her half brother Ptolemy Keraunos, and in turn to her natural brother Ptolemy II Philadelphos. This chapter finishes with a section describing and presenting the terminology as well as the methodology of the research. The author accentuates the difficulties the Hellenistic monarchies had in emerging in the first place, and the role of the female politicians, making use of the anthropological studies by Pierre Bourdieu, Max Weber and others.

The second chapter (“Heiratspolitik und Dynastiebildung,” pp. 18–84) presents the extensive political aspects of the royal marriages in the process of forming the dynasty. SM shows Ptolemy I, an eminently pragmatic personage, whose marriages to Eurydike and Berenike were of particular importance from the dynastic point of view. She stresses the growth in the political power of Berenike, the third wife of Ptolemy I as well as the mother of his successor Ptolemy II, born in 308 BC. In the last phase of his reign, in the year 285¹ (at the age of around 82), Ptolemy I appointed his son joint ruler. This act was necessitated by the polygamous nature of the court. By it Ptolemy I consciously blocked off the claims of other contenders to the throne. During the period of the three year co-regency his son neutralized his enemies, thereby ensuring his own position. In describing the dynastic policy of Egypt SM compares it with the ineffective dynastic policy of Lysimachos in Thrace, who was likewise polygamous at the beginning, but became subsequently monogamous, taking in his late eighties the young (at that time) Arsinoe II for his wife, which bound the ruler of Thrace to the dynasty ruling Egypt. That Arsinoe entrenched her position is evidenced by the fact of her financing of the construction of the Arsinoeion on Samothrake, and equally by the fact that Lysimachos gave her Herakleia Pontika on the Black Sea. In his marriage Lysimachos was definitely seeking the alliance of Ptolemy I against Antigonos and Demetrios Poliorketes. An analysis of the Macedonian

¹ Philadelphos officially became joint ruler with his father in 285/284, and only exercised independent rule after 282, Ptolemy I having died in the winter of 283/282.

kingdom of Ptolemy Keraunos and his marriage to Arsinoe is likewise presented in this chapter.

Chapter III (pp. 85–150), which bears the title “Endogame Heiratspolitik,” deals with the next generation of Hellenistic rulers, that is Arsinoe II and Ptolemy II, in which a theme first introduced in the preceding chapter is extensively developed. Already in the introduction to Chapter III SM states that the endogamic union between Arsinoe II and her younger brother Ptolemy II was in a sense a result of the policies of the exogamous and polygamous marriages entered into by Ptolemy I. In 1896 Ulrich Wilcken had already formulated the view that “*die herrschsüchtige Frau durch grosse Überlegenheit und Energie des Willens den jüngeren Bruder zu diesem Schritt genötigt hat*”. Moral judgement regarding intra-family marriage between the Ptolemies still dominates contemporary historiography, however, and this is strongly underlined by SM (there are different positions on the question, including that adopted by Stanley M. Burstein among others (cf. S.M. Burstein, ‘Arsinoe II Philadelphos: A Revisionist View’ in W.L. Adams and E.N. Borza (eds), *Philip II, Alexander the Great and the Macedonian Heritage* (Washington 1982), 197–212). The author outlines, perceptively, the many-layered mechanisms that underlay the marriage of Ptolemy II with Arsinoe II, following the dispatch of Philadelphos’s first wife, Arsinoe I, to Koptos, subjecting all manner of aspects of this incestuous marriage to scrutiny, in the context of all sorts of parallels drawn from different traditions: Achaemenid, Macedonian, Hekatomnid, and Egyptian. SM examines such questions as whether the marriage was purely political, or based on previous Egyptian models, including the religious model of the marriage between Isis and her brother Osiris. The author also enquires if court practice was here influenced by the idea of the sacred union between Zeus and Hera. Ptolemy I had previously propagated the myth that his family was directly descended from Zeus through his son Herakles: the Argeads had claimed a similar relationship. It was thus now somewhat easier to justify marriage between members of the Ptolemaic dynasty, appealing to the precedence of the sacred union between Zeus and Hera, both offspring of Kronos, being simultaneously siblings and marriage partners.

The aim of the union between Philadelphos and Arsinoe II, which was treated by Ptolemy as a privilege restricted to royalty, was a guarantee of the continuation of the dynasty. This could only take place through the acquiescence of a loyal wife, she herself being the daughter of Ptolemy I and Berenike I. This consideration, among a host of other factors, all of which are subjected to close scrutiny by the author, ruled out other contenders for the succession.

The fourth chapter, which is entitled “Die mediale Inszenierung des Ptolemäerpaars” is the most extensive of all the parts of the book under review (pp. 156–386). It is a multiple-themed study of the source material, comprising

the epigraphic evidence, both Greek and Egyptian, combined with an analysis of the representations shown on stelai coming from two Lower Egyptian centres, Pithom and Mendes, from the reign of Ptolemy II, together with an analysis of the relevant numismatic evidence, which is treated principally with regard to the portrayal of the royal personage and its parallels found in Alexandrian poetry.

SM subjects the Lagid court to close scrutiny with particular reference to the cult of Dionysios, who was the mythic protoplast of the Lagid family, pointing to two aspects of the cult which are also found at the centre of Ptolemaic ideology: i.e. the concept of euergetism and military success. In due course the author turns to the account of the *pompe* of Ptolemy II written by Kallixeinos of Rhodes, who lived from the reign of Ptolemy II down to the reign of Ptolemy IV. She emphasizes the commemorative character of the festival, both in its Graeco-Macedonian context and in its Egyptian one, and its multidimensional significance: political, social and religious, concentrating on the rich symbolism of the event, which in all probability was associated with the figure of Arsinoe II. Particularly interesting are the results of SM's researches regarding Poseidippos of Pella, the third-century epigrammist, whose works are analysed in a Ptolemaic context, taking into account many elements of Lagid culture, especially religious motifs connected with the figure of Arsinoe II or Berenike I. The works of the poet also contain references to the personages of Ptolemy I, or Ptolemy III, and to Berenike II. In addition this part of the SM's work contains many observations regarding the ruler cult in its aspects of *theoi Soteres*, *theoi adelphoi* and *thea Philadelphos*.

The work of SM is worth recommending to all who take an interest in the Ptolemaic dynasty, whether they be historians or archaeologists. It is a valuable study, dealing with a wide range of source material, which the author takes easily in her stride thanks to her erudition. The imposing amount of literature SM cites (pp. 387–448 is very wide, encompassing many aspects of Egyptian culture in the time of the Ptolemies. Thanks to the multifaceted nature of the work, it constitutes a fundamental and insightful study of the history of all the early Ptolemies, embracing many social and cultural themes (including, e.g., funerary practices) as well as military subjects. Indeed the word propaganda, although rarely used by the author, could be safely applied to the book's theme.

Sławomir Jędraszek



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ABBREVIATIONS

The abbreviations of periodicals adhere here to *L'Année Philologique*. In addition, the following abbreviations are used:

<i>AAntASH</i>	<i>Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae.</i>
<i>AArchASH</i>	<i>Acta Archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae.</i>
<i>ACSS</i>	<i>Ancient civilizations from Scythia to Siberia.</i>
<i>AE</i>	<i>L'année épigraphique.</i>
<i>AJA</i>	<i>American Journal of Archaeology.</i>
<i>AMI</i>	<i>Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran.</i>
<i>AMIT</i>	<i>Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran und Turan.</i>
<i>ANRW</i>	H. Temporini, W. Haase (eds.), <i>Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt</i> (Berlin 1970-).
<i>AOASH</i>	<i>Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae.</i>
<i>ASGE</i>	<i>Arkheologicheskii sbornik gosudarstvennogo Ermitazha.</i>
<i>BAI</i>	<i>Bulletin of the Asia Institute. New Series.</i>
<i>BARIS</i>	<i>British Archaeological Reports. International Series.</i>
<i>BCH</i>	<i>Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique.</i>
<i>BÉFEO</i>	<i>Bulletin de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient.</i>
<i>BSOAS</i>	<i>Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies.</i>
<i>BSOS</i>	<i>Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies.</i>
<i>CAJ</i>	<i>Central Asiatic Journal.</i>
<i>CHI</i>	<i>The Cambridge History of Iran.</i>
<i>CIG</i>	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum.</i>
<i>CIL</i>	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum.</i>
<i>CRAI</i>	<i>Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres.</i>
<i>CSEL</i>	<i>Corpus scriptorum ecclesiasticorum Latinorum.</i>
<i>CSCO</i>	<i>Corpus scriptorium Christianorum Orientalium.</i>
<i>DiuU</i>	G.A. Pugachenkova, E.V. Rtveladze, K. Kato (eds.), <i>Drevnosti Iuzhnogo Uzbekistana</i> (Tashkent 1991).
<i>DNP</i>	<i>Der neue Pauly. Enzyklopädie der Antike.</i>
<i>Enclr</i>	<i>Encyclopaedia Iranica.</i>

ESA	<i>Eurasia Septentrionalis Antiqua.</i>
EV	<i>Epigrafika Vostoka.</i>
EW	<i>East and West. New Series.</i>
FAKh	<i>Fouilles d'Ài Khanoum.</i>
FGrH	<i>Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker</i> , ed. F. Jacoby.
FHG	<i>Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum.</i> Collegit, disposuit, notis et prolegomenis illustravit C. Müllerus. Vol. I-V (Parisiis 1868–1884).
HdA	<i>Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft.</i>
HGM	<i>Historici Graeci Minores.</i> Ed. L. Dindorfius, vol. I–I (Lipsiae 1870–1871).
IG	<i>Inscriptiones graecae</i> (Berlin, 1913).
IMKU	<i>Istorīa material'noī kul'tury Uzbekistana.</i>
JA	<i>Journal Asiatique.</i>
JRAS	<i>Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland.</i>
KIDU	K.A. Abdullaev, G.V. Shishkina, E.V. Rtveladze (eds.), <i>Kul'tura i iskusstvo drevnego Uzbekistana. Katalog vystavki. Kniga I</i> (Moskva 1991).
KSIMK	<i>Kratkie soobshchenīa Instituta istorii material'noī kul'tury ANSSSR.</i>
LexMA	<i>Lexikon des Mittelalters.</i>
LIMC	<i>Lexicon iconographicum mythologiae classicae</i> (Zürich-München-Düsseldorf 1981–1999).
LSJA	<i>Greek-English Lexicon</i> , H.G. Liddell/R. Scott/H.S. Jones/R. McKenzie, rev. and augm. throughout (Oxford-New York 1996).
LSNEE	P. Aalto, T. Pekkanen, <i>Latin Sources on North-Eastern Eurasia.</i> Pt. I–I (Wiesbaden 1975–1980).
MDAFA	<i>Mémoires de la délégation archéologique française en Afghanistan.</i>
MGHAA	<i>Monumenta Germaniae historica. Auctores antiquissimi.</i>
MIA	<i>Materialy i issledovaniā po archeologii SSSR.</i>
MMAI	<i>Mémoires de la Mission Archéologique en Iran.</i>
MTE	<i>Materialy Tokharistanskoī ekspeditsii.</i>
NAV	<i>Nizhnevolzhskīi arkheologicheskīi vestnik.</i>
NC	<i>Numismatic Chronicle. New Series.</i>
NtsA	<i>Numizmatika Tsentral'noī Azii.</i>
ONU	<i>Obshchestvennye nauki v Uzbekistane.</i>
PBA	<i>Proceedings of the British Academy.</i>
PG	<i>Patrologiae cursus completus: Patrologia Graeca.</i> Accurante J.-P. Migne.
PIFK	<i>Problemy istorii, filologii i kul'tury.</i>
PIR ²	E. Groag, A. Stein et al., <i>Prosopographia Imperii Romani saec. I.II.III. Editio altera</i> (Berlin 1933).
PL	<i>Patrologiae cursus completus: Patrologia Latina.</i> Accurante J.-P. Migne.
PSAS	<i>Proceedings of the Seminar for Arab Studies.</i>
PZ	<i>Prehistorische Zeitschrift.</i>
RA	<i>Rossiiskaia arkheologiā.</i>
RE	<i>Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft.</i>

<i>REArm</i>	<i>Revue des Études Arméniennes, Nouvelle Série.</i>
<i>RÉG</i>	<i>Revue des Études Grecques.</i>
<i>RIC</i>	H. Mattingly, E.A. Sydenham et al., <i>The Roman Imperial Coinage</i> London 1923–1994).
<i>RN</i>	<i>Revue Numismatique.</i>
<i>SA</i>	<i>Sovetskaïa arkheologiia.</i>
<i>SEG</i>	<i>Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum</i>
<i>SGE</i>	<i>Soobshcheniia Gosudarstvennogo Ermitazha.</i>
<i>SRAA</i>	<i>Silk Road Art and Archaeology.</i>
<i>TAVO</i>	<i>Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients.</i>
<i>TGE</i>	<i>Trudy gosudarstvennogo Ermitazha.</i>
<i>TIuTAKE</i>	<i>Trudy Īuzhno-Turkmenistanskoï arkheologicheskoi kompleksnoi ekspeditsii (Ashkhabad).</i>
<i>TKhAEE</i>	<i>Trudu Khorezmskoï arkheologo-etnograficheskoi ekspeditsii (Moskva).</i>
<i>VDI</i>	<i>Vestnik drevnei istorii.</i>
<i>ZorA</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für Orient-Archäologie.</i>
<i>ZPE</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik.</i>
<i>ZVORAO</i>	<i>Zapiski Vostochnogo otdeleniia Rossiiskogo arkheologicheskogo obshchestva. Novaia seriia (Sankt-Petersburg).</i>