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## ARTICLES

ANABASIS 4 (2013)
STUDIA CLASSICA ET ORIENTALIA

**Ryszard Kulesza** (Warsaw, Poland)

# THE WOMEN OF SPARTA[1]

**Keywords:** ancient Sparta, ancient women, classical Sparta, ancient family

## Introduction

Spartan studies often resemble piecing together a puzzle. The problem is that the pieces of that Spartan puzzle not only date from different periods, but also come in a variety of versions. Scholars take separate pieces from the box and attempt to put them together into an image of some topic that would be coherent and, in many cases, relevant to the entire history of Sparta. Pieces which do not fit get discarded or endowed with some meaning that makes them tolerably suitable within the puzzle. Fortunately, the fashion for seeing things in the categories of "the more bizarre it seems, the more Spartan it must have been" appears to have passed; so has the fashion for interpreting everything in terms of "obsolete relics". In effect, scholars presently prefer the puzzles dating from the era when Sparta was Sparta, and not, as they used to, ones dating from the later era, when the fabulous Sparta was already emerging.

Progress made in the course of the last three decades is immense, but the intellectual game entitled "Sparta" still has its shortcomings. From time to time one may get the impression that an interpretation of some image is of much better quality than the original image itself. On the one hand, the astounding subtlety and depth of analyses is often admirable; on the other hand, even the leading "Spartanologists", while with much refinement and sophistication pondering a topic, can suddenly, without any special debate or reflection, consider the most

[1] This essay was written as part of the realization of the National Science Centre (NCN) grant entitled "Spartan family in the Classical period" (NN 108 052038). I express my thanks for the insightful reviews by anonymous reviewers on an earlier version of the manuscript.

fantastic elements of the Spartan legend as historical. This results probably from the fundamental difficulty of embracing the entire picture; and it is not accidental that – in spite of the huge progress in the field of Spartan studies – practically no attempt has been made so far to present a new synthesis that would integrate the entirety of the newest findings.

This refers also to Spartan women, about whom it might seem everything that could have been written, has.[2] Yet even here, I think, there is much to be done. Even here the scholarly interpretations are often better than reality itself, and all the hazards and traps of Spartan studies are evident. This has once been aptly put by Alfred S. Bradford: "All those of us who study Sparta bring our own cultural and philosophical baggage with us and we will find in Sparta what we wish, but we should not force our own opinions on the witnesses".[3] Easier said than done, alas.

I do not think that the position of women was identical throughout the entire Classical period, not even the entire third century BC. There is no single Sparta, and I do not mean only the coexistence of the fabulous Sparta and the historical Sparta in the sources and in the European tradition, or that their images overlap in a manner that is awfully troublesome to a scholar. What I mean is: Sparta was changing. As James Redfield rightly wrote: "Ideally we should visit Sparta every fifty years from, say, 750 to 150 BC; on each visit we would listen to the Spartans describe themselves and compare this self-description with their behavior. We would find, I suspect, continual change on both levels. We would also, I think, be reminded again and again that the Greek reading of history is opposite to ours; at each visit we would find the Spartans describing their current condition as a decline from some original perfection, whereas we would see a continuing attempt to adapt political and social structures to a changing environment".[4] Sadly, paying a visit to ancient Sparta as Redfield advocates is impossible. But we may take a tour around the sources, stopping, where possible, at the images of Sparta from various eras.

## A comparison of images

Even a cursory reading of those images (and the current reconnaissance is certainly cursory) reveals above all the more or less subtle, but always intelligi-

[2] On Spartan women, see among others Redfield 1977–1978, 146–161; Bradford 1986, 13–18; Kunstler, 1983; Cartledge 1981, 84–105 = Cartledge 2001, 106–126; Perentidis 1997, 7–31; Thommen 1999, 129–149; Hodkinson, 2004, 103–36; Perentidis 2006, 131–152; Figueira 2010, 265–296; Scott 2011, 413–424.

[3] Bradford 1986, 13.

[4] Redfield 1977/78, 147.

ble changes that occurred over time. Those changes may be observed not only in the sources. The paintings of Sparta or episodes from Spartan history created by various erudite artists have a very diverse appearance as well. The author's individual touch is sometimes evident; but more often it is the spirit of the times and a variety of tendencies or even fashions.

In the case of Spartan women, just as in the attempts to shed light on the situation of women in Greece in general, the imaged based on the available sources may be either negative or positive. Here, too, all (or almost all) has already been done. I shall limit my examples to a few selected ones, although the issue is certainly deserving of a deeper analysis, which I am sure it will receive, and in a context broader than just the matter of Spartan women.

G. E. M. de Ste Croix juxtaposes "the inferior position of women at Athens" with "the powerful position of women in the Spartan system of property ownership".[5] James Redfield considers Spartan women to be not only "counters but also actors in the transactions of marriage-exchange". According to Redfield, "They demanded of the men that they increase the status of the oikos", but also guaranteed "the competitive warriors a refuge from competition, a 'private nest'".[6] Barton L. Kunstler, in turn, emphasises that it was women who made the most important decision regarding the household.[7] According to Maria H. Dettenhofer, a woman in Sparta "im wesentlichen allein für den ökonomischen Bestand des Oikos zuständig war", and her role in the economy resulted in some political influence as well.[8] The finishing touch was provided earlier by Linda J. Piper: "The Spartan women were shrewd businesswomen who made money and kept it".[9] It is thus not at all surprising that Simone de Beauvoir, departing from an entirely different position, reached an even more impressive conclusion, announcing that Sparta "was the only Greek city in which woman was treated almost on equality with man".[10] The voices of the doubters are relatively infrequent, although by no means absent. For instance Lukas Thommen questions "der Mythos der freien und einflussreichen Stellung der spartanischen Frau".[11] Noteworthy is also Ellen Millender's level-headed scepticism regarding the stereotype of "the empowered Spartan woman".[12] At the same time, it is entirely clear that although motivations vary and the intellectual depth differs, with re-

[5] de Ste Croix 1970, 277.

[6] Redfield 1986, 160.

[7] Kunstler 1983, 427.

[8] Dettenfofer 1994, 14–40; Dettenhofer 1993, 61–75.

[9] Piper 1979, 8.

[10] Beauvoir 1952, 82.

[11] Thommen 1999, 146

[12] Millender 1999, 355 (see further on Millender's reasonable views regarding some deeply rooted stereotypes found in even the newest specialist literature, pp. 355–391).

spect to women rationalisation in economical terms has long predominated in Spartan studies. The crowning glory of this "economic approach" to the history of Sparta are the fundamental findings of Stephen Hodkinson, which revealed a hitherto hidden aspect of Sparta. In his *opus magnum* and in other texts, Hodkinson has demonstrated that "partible inheritance", "diverging devolution" and "universal female inheritance" did exist in Sparta.[13] Let it be noted, however, that Sparta was not an economic power and it is not to economy that it owes its place in history. This "economic approach" is a sign of our times, and it does permit to reinterpret some elements of history – mainly the "Decline", but not the "Birth" or "Growth", and I still think that with time, not all of the findings of the "economists" will be verified as correct; but the exceptionality of Sparta lies entirely in something else. So does the uniqueness of the Spartan men and women.

The sources tell of rich Spartan women who suffered, or were threatened with, the loss of their wealth; of egoistic Spartan women; of wicked, unnatural mothers, wives and daughters; of licentious women who wore shockingly short chitons or even ran around naked; of naked maidens wrestling with naked lads; of young women with firm thighs, breasts and buttocks; of false wives happy to possess two *oikoi* and two bed-fellows; of women influencing their husbands' decisions on important matters – Aristotle's *gynaikokratoumenoi*… Scholarly publications are filled with even more interesting constructs straight from the fabulous Sparta, which are nevertheless based on those sources: the races of naked maidens on the banks of the Eurotas; the practice of revealing the maidens' nakedness in front of foreigners; naked wrestling contests between girls and boys; little Spartans running around barefoot like hobbits, to fulfil the hobbit ideal of quickly climbing up the mountain and just as quickly climbing down; Spartan hoplites who in contrast to all other Greek recruits were supposed to walk long marches (carrying burdens heavier than the backpacks of today's marines) and fight… barefoot; a true challenge to hygiene: the solitary all-year-round himation of Spartan boys; degenerate mothers, wives and daughters who were happy to see their men die; mothers who repudiated or even killed their sons who returned from the wars alive; the little fox that fatally mauled a brave Spartan boy (a natural marvel to interest the National Geographic); marriages by abduction – even if we stipulated (who is to forbid us?) that only the first wife was abducted, how were the later marriages sealed, when the bride was older or the groom no longer a youth, or even a Xenophon's *geraios*? The list could go on and on. I think the Spartan women themselves would have had "viel Spass" reading this. So would the men.

Yet still there are scholars who find the way to incorporate this fabulous Sparta into the historical Sparta, quite in keeping with Page's eminently universal ob-

[13] Hodkinson 1986, 378–406. See also Hodkinson 2004, 103–136.

servation, made in relation to the "Homeric question", that "one can always find some trick to extricate oneself from the clutches of the common sense".

This common sense advocates a completely different assumption, if only as a working hypothesis: that in different periods the position and significance of (different) women may have been, quite simply, different. In connection with that, I would like to suggest making comparisons between various images of the Spartan woman instead of programmatically creating a single image. Thucydides's Sparta would have been immutable for four centuries, Cicero's – for seven.

## Aristotle's Spartan women

Against the rule of chronological precedence, which is due to Xenophon, let us begin with Aristotle; by this, we shall give the floor to a scholar, not a side in the debate:

"Again, the licence in the matter of their women (*peri tas gynaikas anesis*) is detrimental both to the chosen aim of the constitution and to the happiness of the state. For just as man and wife are part of a household, so clearly we should regard a state also as divided into two roughly equal bodies of people, one of men, one of women. So, in all constitutions in which the position of women is unsatisfactory, one half of the state must be regarded as unregulated by law. And that is just what has happened there. For the lawgiver, wishing the whole state to be hardy, makes his wish evident as far as the men are concerned, but has been wholly negligent in the case of the women. For being under no constraint whatever they live unconstrainedly (*akolasia*), and in luxury (*trypheros*). An inevitable result under such a constitution is that esteem is given to wealth (*timasthai ton plouton*), particularly if they do in fact come to be female-dominated (*gynaikokratomoumeia*); and this is a common state of affairs in military and warlike races, though not among the Celts and any others who have openly accorded esteem to male homosexuality. Indeed, it seems that the first person to relate the myth did not lack some rational basis when he coupled Ares with Aphrodite; for all such people seem in thrall to sexual relations, either with males or with females. That is why this state of affairs prevailed among the Laconians, and in the days of their supremacy a great deal was managed by women (*polla diokeito hypo ton gynaikon*). And yet what difference is there between women ruling and rulers ruled by women? The result is the same. Over-boldness is not useful for any routine business, but only, if at all, for war. Yet even to those purposes the Laconians' women were very harmful. This they demonstrated at the time of the invasion by the Thebans: they were not at all useful, as in other states, but caused more confusion than the enemy. So it seems that from the earliest times licence in the matter of their women (*he ton gynaikon anesis*) occurred among the Laconians, reasonably enough. For there were long periods when the men were absent from their own land because of the campaigns, when they were fighting the war against the Argives, or again the one against the Arcadians and Messenians. When they gained their leisure, they put themselves into the hands of their legislator in a state of preparedness brought about by the military life, which embraces many parts of virtue. People say that Lycurgus endeavoured to bring the women under the control of his laws, but that when they resisted he backed off. These then are the causes of what took place, and clearly, therefore, of this mistake as well. But the subject of our inquiry is not whom we ought to excuse and whom not, but what is correct and what is not. The poorness of the arrangements concerning women seems, as was said

earlier, not only to create a sort of unseemliness in the constitution in itself on its own, but also to contribute something to the greed for money (*philochrematia*); for after the points just made one could assail practice in respect of the uneven levels of property. For some of them have come to possess far too much, others very little indeed; and that is precisely why the land has fallen into the hands of a small number. This matter has been badly arranged through the laws too. For while he made it (and rightly made it) ignoble to buy and sell land already possessed, he left it open to anyone, if they wished, to give it away or bequeath it—and yet the same result follows inevitably, both in this case and in the other. Moreover, something like two-fifths of all the land is possessed by women, both because of the many heiresses that appear, and because of the giving of large dowries. Now it would have been better if it had been arranged that there should be no dowry, or a small or even a moderate one. But as it is one may give an heiress in marriage to any person one wishes; and if a man dies intestate, the person he leaves as heir gives her to whom he likes. As a result, although the land was sufficient to support 1500 cavalry and 30 000 heavy infantry, their number was not even 1000. The sheer facts have shown that the provisions of this system served them badly; the state withstood not a single blow, but collapsed owing to the shortage of men (*oliganthropia*)" (Arist. *Pol*. 1269b12–1270a34, transl. T. J. Saunders).

What does Aristotle have to say on the topic of Spartan women then? Perfectly aware that the world consists of women as much as men, he reveals that they are not subordinate to the rules that govern the male world of the Spartans. Worse still, they are not subordinate to the rules that regulate the world of the Hellenes in general. It is not the Athenians that are the sole point of reference, perhaps against the expectations of the advocates of reasoning in the categories of "Athenocentric representations of the Spartan 'Other'".

Stephen Hodkinson rightly encourages treating the "images of the 'liberation' of Spartiate women with caution"[14]. Also, I do not think that the issues of inheritance provide answers to all the questions. This is a very narrow-minded approach, even if at some point it fortunately illuminates the scholarly minds.

Another issue is what exactly Aristotle meant by sexual licence (*anesis*): if this is something of which we are aware or not. In the first case, this would probably mean the unusual marital "strategies" of the Spartans (see further on). In the latter case – perhaps it is much more. In Plato's "Laws", right after the accusation of licentiousness (*anesis*) levelled at Spartan women, there comes the charge of drunkenness (*Nomoi* 637 C).

This prompts an additional question as to which women Aristotle may have had in mind speaking of their indiscipline (*anesis*) or intemperance (*akolasia*) as the opposite of *sophrosyne*,[15] their love of luxury (*tryphe*) or finally avarice (*philochrematia*);[16] whether he meant all women or only the female members of the elite, older women or also the younger ones. The practicality of some charges

[14] Hodkinson 2004, 103.

[15] Generally on *sophrosyne* in Sparta, Humble 2002, 85–109.

[16] On Aristotle's approach to Sparta, with a critical discussion of the earlier views on the subject, see Eckart Schütrumpf 1994, 324–341. See also Hermann-Otto 1998, 18–40 and the earlier reflections of Tigerstedt 1974, 280–304.

ought to be re-examined depending on at least the age of the women in question. In considering the so-called political influence, the issue of the "feminisation of old age" should be taken into account – a problem which was probably present in Sparta in general, and perhaps was especially evident in the fourth century.[17] But the important point is not only the fact that the proportion of women to men increases with age, and that from some point in time the number of landowning women was growing. What is also significant is that the mother of Demaratus, the wife of Leonidas, the grandmother and mother of Agis IV, the mother of Cleomenes III were all going strong when their male partners were no longer among the living. In the background there is the phenomenon – universal, but perhaps especially noticeable in the unique conditions of Sparta – of the age-related "masculinisation" of women (and the concurrent "feminisation", as some term it, or more traditionally – the infantilism of old men).

The opinions regarding the influence Spartan women are supposed to have had over their husbands cannot be verified, but it is more probable that this phenomenon referred to the female members of the elite. According to Bradford, "We – in the light of modern feminism – might not agree that Spartan women ruled Spartan men, but we must concede to Aristotle that some Spartan women did have real power in the Spartan state".[18] If the phenomenon was more universal, it did not leave any discernible traces in the source material. In any case, it is now impossible to link any important decisions made by the Spartans with the influence of their women. Hence, if Aristotle is not guilty of a serious exaggeration, it seems that Spartan women were so discreet in their behind-the-scene manipulations that in no concrete case was the cat let out of the bag; all that remains is suspicion.[19] In Sparta, just like everywhere else in Greece, it was the men who truly ruled and shaped the state policy.[20]

## Xenophon's Spartan women

Aristotle and Xenophon write about different issues and focus on different points. This is not surprising, considering that Aristotle, thinking about Sparta's decline, was looking for the flaws in the system, while Xenophon, always sympathetic to Sparta, sought the system's advantages, summing up the decline he witnessed (unless someone else had summed it up thus for him) with the com-

[17] Cf. Brulé 2003, 139; David 1991, 60–63.

[18] Bradford 1986, 18.

[19] Incidentally, Ernst Baltrusch's observation that in creating his "Ecclesiazusae", Aristophanes may have been referring to the political role of women in Sparta, is noteworthy; see Baltrusch 1998, 86. Cf. Figueira 2010, 267.

[20] Kulesza 2003, 129–130.

ment that the Spartans had renounced the old values. In practice, Xenophon holds us hostage, for good or ill; all of us. He is the founding father of our historical Sparta in the same way as Plutarch is the originator of her fabulous counterpart. It must be recalled again and again that as an author, he was biased and "must be treated as a partisan source";[21] but it is with him that the origins of the main themes of the Spartan legend must be sought, other authors only developed those themes.

Xenophon was absolutely convinced that the Spartan *politeia* was extraordinary and that everything Spartan (and hence praiseworthy) was due to Lycurgus:

"And I was thinking that Sparta among cities of few citizens proved to be the most powerful and famous, and I wondered in what way this had come about. When, however, I thought about the Spartans' way of life, I no longer wondered. I admired Lycurgus, their lawgiver, whose laws they were fortunate in obeying, and I think him extremely wise. He did not imitate other cities, but thinking the opposite of most, he made his country outstandingly fortunate. Now, to begin at the beginning, I will discuss the breeding of children. In other states the girls who are destined to become mothers and are brought up in the approved manner live on the most modest amount of food, with the smallest possible allowance of delicacies. They are either totally deprived of wine, or drink it mixed with water. The rest of the Greeks think it right that their girls keep silent and work wool, like sedentary craftsmen. How, then, ought we expect that women brought up in such a way will bear a sturdy child? But Lycurgus thought that slave women were able to supply clothing, and he believed motherhood (*teknopoiia*) was most important for freeborn women. Therefore first he ordered the female sex to exercise no less than the male; moreover, he created competitions in racing and trials of strength for women as for men, believing that healthier children will be born if both parents are strong" (Xen. *Lak. Pol.* 1.1–4; translated by Michael Lipka).

To Lycurgus (read: Xenophon), the most important issue was *teknopoiia*.[22] From Xenophon, who programmatically underlined everything that attested to the superiority of Sparta over the rest of the (Greek) world, we learn that in Sparta, firstly, potential mothers were on special diet; secondly, that they drank wine (perhaps even undiluted with water), thirdly, they did not spin wool, fourthly, they took exercise and even participated in contests (most probably same-sex ones, because otherwise we would have certainly been told of that extraordinary innovation). That is all as to the *peri geneseos*.

Xenophon does not say how the marriage was contracted in Sparta. Since he emphasises that Spartans, in contrast to other Greeks, married *en akmais ton*

[21] Powell 1988, 224.

[22] Xenophon's reasoning has some similarity to the surviving passage of "Lakedaimonion Politeia" by Critias. This work began with the statement: "I start, as you see, from a man's birth. How might he become physically best and strongest? [He could,] if the man who plants his seed would exercise and eat wholesome food and harden his body, and if the mother of the child-to-be would strengthen her body and exercise" (Diels-Kranz II (1969), 88, fr. 32). This similarity may suggest that Critias was Xenophon's source of inspiration or that this aspect of Sparta's home policy was the focus of special attention in the Laconophile milieu and/or in Spartan propaganda.

*somaton*, it may be suspected that had the *gamos* been different than elsewhere in the Greek world, he would not hesitate to inform us. Yet at that point there are still centuries to wait for Plutarch's fantasy tales. In the meantime, Xenophon shares some revelations as to what happens after the wedding:

"He [Lycurgus] saw, too, that during the time immediately following marriage, it was usual elsewhere for husbands to have unlimited intercourse with wives. He decreed the opposite of this: for he ruled that the husband should be embarrassed to be seen visiting his wife or leaving her. Thus the desire for intercourse was more fervent in both of them, and if there should be a child, it would be more sturdy than if they were satiated with one another. In addition to this, he took away from men the right to take a wife whenever they wanted to, and ordered that they marry in their prime, believing that this too was conducive to the production of fine children (*eugonia*). If, however, it happened that an old man (*geraios*) had a young wife (*nea*) – seeing that men of that age guard their wives – he thought the opposite. He required the elderly husband (*presbytes*) to bring in some man whose body and spirit (*soma kai psyche*) he admired, in order to beget children. On the other hand, in case a man did not want to have intercourse with his wife (*synoikein*) but wanted children of whom he could be proud (*teknon axiologon*), he made it legal for him to choose a woman who was the mother of a fine family and well born (*euteknon kai gennaian*), and if he persuaded her husband, he produced children with her. Many such arrangements developed. For the wives want to get possession of two *oikoi*, and the husbands want to get brothers for their sons who will share their lineage and power, but claim no part of the property. Thus in regard to the breeding of children he thought the opposite to those of other states. And anyone who wishes to may see whether it turned out that the men in Sparta are distinctive in their size and strength (*megethos kai ischys*)" (Xen. *Lak. Pol.* 1.5–10; translated by Michael Lipka).

At this point we learn that any ostentation in relations with a newly married bride was frowned upon in Sparta. However, contrary to what Xenophon is attempting to impress upon his readers, this attitude was identical in Athens and probably everywhere else in all cultures and eras.

Further on, however, we learn of truly extraordinary solutions. An old man (*geraios, presbytes*) may have a young wife (*nea*) although, according to Xenophon's earlier observations, this was decidedly un-Spartan. Additionally, the man could be too old to still beget children; also, a (non-old) man could not desire to *synoikein* with his wife or could be unable to have offspring with her. Undoubtedly the solutions applied in Spartan *eugonia* seemed strange to other Greeks, and not only to them. Yet the effects were apparently obvious (even if the sense was not): they were evident in the strength (*ischys*) and size (*megethos*) of the Spartiates.

## Spartan women in action (sixth – fifth century BC)

The sources' male perspective does not change, but the Spartan women's activity discernible in those sources in the fourth and third century is different from that in the sixth and fifth century. Even so, the roll of Spartan women, mainly the

"first ladies", is not very long. One of them is the first wife of Anaxandridas II, name unknown, whom he did not want to divorce despite her barrenness (Hdt. 5. 39–41).[23] Neither is his second wife, mother of Cleomenes I, known by name. There are reports of the ephors' justified suspicions upon learning that Anaxandridas's barren first wife turned out to be pregnant (Hdt. 5.41).[24]

None of the three consecutive wives of Ariston is known by name – not even the last one, although Herodotus describes in relatively much detail how, thanks to Helene of Therapne, she turned from an ugly duckling into the loveliest woman in Lacedaemon (Hdt. 6.61, cf. Paus. 3.7.7) and relates the probably once notorious story of her second "marriage". First she was the wife of Agetus, Ariston's friend. Ariston, who was burning with desire towards his friend's wife, arranged with him under oath that each would choose some valuable object from the other one's possessions. After Agetus had selected something, the wily Ariston asked for his wife; Agetus was forced, albeit reluctantly, to surrender her (Hdt. 6.62). Soon a problem appeared, however. Seven months later the woman bore a son and Ariston's paternity was questioned – not least by Ariston himself. Later, the rumour died down, to reawaken several decades later, when Demaratus had been king for at least 25 years, and become an important bargaining card in the hands of Cleomenes (Hdt. 6.65–69). Witnesses of the long-ago events were found. Demaratus tried to find the truth about his paternity from his mother (Hdt. 6.68.2–3). Her answer was evasive: she conceived her son either with Ariston or with the hero Astrobacus. In any case, as the result of intrigues based on his alleged illegitimacy Demaratus was deposed, left Sparta and finally ended up in Persia. Of the later fortunes of his mother nothing is known.

This tale is connected with another, this time referring to the fate of Demaratus's wife. Her name, for a change, is known: she was called Perkalos and was the daughter of Chilo. She was betrothed to Leotychidas (II), but Demaratus abducted her and so she became his wife. This is, incidentally, the only known abduction in Sparta to have resulted in a marriage. This event quite expectedly opens the history of Leotychidas's life-long hate of Demaratus; this was apparently the reason why, in the end, the former supported Cleomenes in his attempt to "dethrone" Demaratus (Hdt. 6.65.2).

Gorgo, the daughter of Cleomenes I, wife of Leonidas and mother of Pleistarchus, was described by Sarah Pomeroy as an "assertive woman". Pomeroy's evidence for this is as follows: "As a little girl of eight or nine, Gorgo was present when an ambassador from the Greek cities in Ionia came to persuade

[23] See the "economic approach" of Hodkinson (1986, 401), who writes that "Herodotus indicates that Anaxandridas was devoted to his niece", but emphasises, probably correctly, the king's mercantile motivation.

[24] See the observations of Ellen Millender 2002, 14–15.

Cleomenes to support their rebellion against Persia. When he offered Cleomenes a huge bribe, Gorgo advised her father not to stray from the path of virtue (Herod. 5.51). He followed her advice".[25] Pomeroy is probably correct in emphasising the "close relationship" between Gorgo and her father; it would be difficult, however, to consider the following generalisation, made on the basis of an episode from Gorgo's childhood, as fully justified: "Some of the royal women at Sparta did, however, wield a great deal of authority because of their influence on the kings. There was a long tradition of the involvement of women in politics, beginning with the child Gorgo, who advised her father the king about how he should treat a foreign ambassador (Herod. 5.51, 7.239). Her advice shows that she understood well the Spartan policy of avoidance of strangers (*xenelasia*)".[26] Not much more is known of the later actions of Leonidas's niece-by-marriage and concurrently wife (Hdt. 7.205.1). Herodotus notes only her input into the reading of Demaratus's "coded" message (Hdt. 7.239). This may, of course, confirm Gorgo's authority as much as her intelligence, but on the other hand it is easy to read whatever we wish into this anecdote, especially in connection with Gorgo's declarations in the *Sayings of Spartan Women*.

Another woman identified by name was Lampito, daughter of Leotychidas II from his second marriage to Eurydame, the daughter of Diactoridas (Hdt. 6.71 cf. Plut. *Ages*. 1; Plato, *Alcib.* I 204b). Leotychidas married Lampito to Archidamus (II), his own son from his first marriage. Hodkinson's analysis reveals that Leotychidas's matrimonial machinations were prompted by his economic strategy[27].

The roll closes with the ill-famed Timaia, wife of Agis II, accused of a liaison with Alcibiades, with whom she was to conceive Leotychidas – who, in turn, for this very reason lost to Agesilaos II the contest for the inheritance after his father (Xen. *Ages*. 4.5; Plut. *Alkib*. 23.7–9; *Ages*. 3; *Mor*. 467 f; Athen. 13. 574 c-d).

Other women to add to the list are Theano, mother of Pausanias, who had a hand in his tragic death; she is known from the later sources (Polyainos 8. 51; Diod. 11. 45. 6; Nepos, *Paus.* 5. 3. see Poralla 1985, No 55 s.v. Alkathoa); the wife of Agis, who having returned from war, preferred to eat supper with her rather than his friends (Plut. *Lyk*. 12. 3) (by the way, because of her short stature, Agis was allegedly punished by the ephors for marrying her; Plut. *Ages*. 2 Athen. 13.566a-b; Theophrastus in Plut. *Ages.* 2.3, *De educ. puer.* 1 d)) and Argileonis, the wife of Tellis and mother of Brasidas (Plut. *Lyk*. 25; *Mor*. 219d4, 240c1), whom Plutarch set in the role of a Spartan female politico, uttering declarations which, although appallingly banal, in his opinion were worthy of a Spartan woman (Plut. *Lyk.* 25.5).

[25] Pomeroy 2002, 57.
[26] Pomeroy 2002, 76.
[27] Hodkinson 1986, 401.

The roll of Spartan women of the fifth century does not reveal anything unexpected. Their presence in the period sources is negligible. Often unnamed, they appear as wives, mothers or daughters of outstanding males. Their fecundity is at the centre of attention, their wealth, although in the background, most likely not without meaning. No women are governing their men. It is rather the latter that rule over the fates of women.

Interestingly, the early-fifth century example of the mother of Demaratus and the late-fifth century example of Timaia the wife of Agis II demonstrate that the Spartans seemed unaware that there was no marital infidelity in Sparta. What is more, in a futile attempt to make his mother tell the truth about his biological paternity, Demaratus pleaded with her to disclose whether she conceived him with her first husband or with Ariston – or perhaps the truth lay with those who said that "you consorted with one of the household (*oiketes*) that was the ass-keeper (*onophorbos*), and that it is his son that I am. Therefore I entreat you by the gods to tell me the truth; for if you have done aught such as they say of you, not you only but many other women have done the like" (Hdt. 6. 68).[28] There are also examples, if not of affection, than at least of marital attachment, for instance the attitude of Anaxandridas II towards his first wife or the behaviour of Archidamus II,[29] and even of passion, *vide* Ariston. There is nothing, however, with the possible exception of the attitude of Pausanias's mother, that would confirm any extraordinary features of Spartan women.

## Spartan women of the imaginary world

Most of us, reading what Euripides or Aristophanes wrote about Spartan women, will imagine those women as the girls immortalised in the Laconian bronzes. This gives us a bias, making us inadvertently accept the stereotypical image of a Spartan woman, sealed by Plutarch and reinforced by the later authors, including those of the modern era.

The significance of fundamental elements in the literary image of a Spartan woman until the end of the fifth century is all the greater since with time those elements were increasingly strongly influencing the presentation of Spartan women in texts which ambitiously attempted to describe or refer to historical reality.

A Spartan woman of the comedy was quite a harridan. The one named Lampito from Aristophanes's *Lysistrata*, first staged in 411, is a large lady; she "can throttle a bull and has superb breasts" (*Lys.* 80–84). She can also jump so that her

[28] On the deposition of Demaratus, see e.g. Luther 2004, 115–117.

[29] C.D. Hamilton suspects that since she was poor and ugly, he must have married her for love (1991, 13–14).

feet touch her buttocks; apparently this trick, known as *bibasis*, was one of the many Spartan *specialités de la maison*. According to Elisa Queenan, "This dance or exercise routine required a lot of dexterity and skill. It was used to demonstrate the balance, skill and extraordinary physical physique maintained by Spartan women".[30] In reality this jump is not as difficult as it may seem to armchair specialists, and additionally it cannot be ruled out that – in the play about the "sexual strike" – it is also, or perhaps mainly, an allusion to the Spartan women's erotic dexterity.

William Poole notes that with Euripides, it is not Spartan men, but Spartan women who surrender to "the temptations of extravagance and excess".[31] Referring to reader to Poole's study, I will not concentrate on the issues linked with determining Euripides's attitude towards Sparta by the interpretation of the mythological themes in his plays. Let us, however, focus on the words of Peleus in *Andromache*, which are crucial to the development of the stereotype of a Spartan woman:

"Not even if she wanted to could a Spartan woman be chaste (modest). They leave their houses in the company of young men, thighs showing bare through their revealing garments, and in a manner I cannot endure they share the same running-tracks and wrestling-places. After that should we be surprised if you do not train up women who are chaste"? (Andr. 595–601; translated by D. Kovacs).

A scantily dressed girl who does physical training with the boys cannot be *sophron*.[32] Nudity or semi-nudity is one of the leitmotivs of the tales about Spartan women.[33] Authors who could still have some knowledge of Spartan women's costume mentioned the *phainomerides*, "thigh-baring" women (Ibycus, fr. 339 *PMGF*; Eur. *Andr.* 595–601, cf. *Hec.* 932–936; Soph. fr. 872 Lloyd-Jones), not naked ones. The short dresses (*schistos chiton*, Pollux 5.77) of young Spartan women could be shocking enough to other Greeks.[34] The later authors unclothed the Spartan girls entirely, making them engage in sports naked. In this context, scholars such as Sarah Pomeroy usually refer to Xenophon and Plutarch (Xen. *Lak. Pol*. 1.4; Plut. *Lyk*. 14.4–15.1; Nic. Dam. *FGrH* 103 F 90). Pomeroy is even convinced that mature and old women, as well as pregnant ones, still exercised naked.[35]

[30] Queenan 2009,7. On *bibasis* (and generally the image of the Spartans in Aristophanes), see Harvey 1995, 35–58 (observation on *bibasis* p. 41).

[31] Poole 1994,19.

[32] On this issue, see Cartledge 2001, 14.

[33] See the interesting text by Ephraim David 2010, 137–163. Generally on nudity in ancient art, Koloski-Ostrow, Lyons, 2000.

[34] On the Spartan women's attire, see also the observations of Thommen 1999, 137–140, and Hodkinson 2000, 228–229.

[35] Pomeroy 2002, 25.

A long time ago I was surprised at the nakedness, or rather semi-nudity, of the Indians in the museums of natural history in America. One afternoon, in the open-air museum and the "Indian village" in Plymouth, I saw an Indian, wearing no more than a loincloth, blue and shivering in the frosty November air. I thought of the Germans of Tacitus. Going about naked or in scant clothing for the large part of the year would be a highly impractical idea, in North America as much as in Germania or in Sparta.

I would also be very cautious in referring the views of Plato, who in "his" state envisaged nude exercise for women, to the realities of Sparta (*Pol.* 457A)[36]. Plato was inspired by Sparta and used its name to his own ends, but the question of how much of Sparta there is in Plato, and how much of Plato in "Sparta", is very far from being answered (if such answer is at all possible).[37] A related question is how much of the Spartan women there was in the Amazons, and how much of the Amazons – in the Spartan women. But above all, just as the *gymnetes* of Argos did not till the land naked and the gymnetes did not fight in the altogether, neither did the Spartan women go about with nothing on. Even Euripides mentioned no more than "naked thighs and open dresses", and that – only in the context of girls who "race and wrestle with the boys". He never indicated that it was an all-day costume worn by all women regardless of their age.

In the eyes of the non-Spartan world, the short chiton may have appeared, due to its uniqueness, to be the Spartan "regional" or "national" costume; there are records of the Doric peplos, the *himatia* and *monochitones* (Plut. *Pyrrh*. 27.3). But old ladies did not wear mini-skirts even when they were highly fashionable: such garments were meant for the younger clientele. Also, the accusation that Spartan women loved luxury must have had external justification in their attire and jewellery (cf. Eur. *Andr.* 147–53). Recently Nicholas Sekunda has unearthed from the figurative Spartan coffer forgotten garments completing the Spartiate's attire: the *lakonikai* and *amyklaidai,* the typical Spartan shoes.[38] Interestingly, with a considerable contribution from Xenophon, not only were the Spartan shoes mislaid, but also, in the fabulous Sparta, the Spartans began to generally go barefoot.[39] The well-known figurine of the Spartiate of Hartford

[36] See Plato *Pol*. 452B; *Nomoi* 833C-D.

[37] On Sparta and Plato, see e.g. Powell, 1994*,* 273–321.

[38] Sekunda 2009, 253–259.

[39] This, of course, is a broader topic, pertaining to the "media" image of the warriors, heroically naked (or not), on the vases (but not in tomb imagery). Another point is the issue of barefoot hoplites in contemporary books; see the illustrations to N. Sekunda's book *The Spartan Army* (Osprey Publishing, Oxford 1998), pp. 33–44, where only on p. 42 do we find two men wearing shoes, and the rest is barefoot. Incidentally, Jacques-Louis David, who was ahead of the American directors in underlining the Spartans' sexiness, painted his Leonidas in the buff, with the exception of a headdress and… shoes (sandals, actually).

confirms the career of the "barefoot Spartan" myth: bare feet, such as any gods-fearing Spartan should have (one from the fabulous Sparta, that is) were added to it in the modern era. In reality, the Spartans, male and female alike, wore shoes.

The beauty of Spartan women was famous (*Sparte kalligynaika* – Hom. *Od.* 13.412); after all, the loveliest of women, Helen, came from Sparta and was especially venerated there. Seeing Helen as the "prototype" Spartan woman, we may perhaps more usefully judge her psychological and intellectual qualities than her physical charms.

The Spartan ideal of female beauty is not known. Certainly it would be difficult to speak, as Thomas F. Scanlon does, of "the legendary Spartan female beauty, perhaps comparable in our day to that of 'California girls'".[40] What is known is that according to the Spartan standards (whatever they were), not all the Laconian women were beautiful; but then this is quite obvious. Expectedly, beautiful men and women were an object of admiration (Herakleides Lembus *ap* Athen. 13.566a); but what is meant is probably a special type of physical beauty. Euripides and Aristophanes speak, both directly and indirectly, of physical exercises ensuring appropriate physical prowess. Hence the most emblematic, or at least the most desirable model would probably be a tall, well-built and strong woman. In keeping with the intentions of Lycurgus (as described by Xenophon), she should be notable for her strength (*ischys*) and size (*megethos*), just like her male partner. Good diet was certainly conducive to this.[41] Whether everything in this description is specific to Sparta and at the same time fundamentally alien to other Greeks, is another issue

Herodotus cites an anecdote about a certain tall woman of Paeonia, with whose cooperation her two brothers, Pigres and Mantyes, staged a show for a single viewer in 511/510. The viewer who was to receive the message carried by the scene was the king of Persia, Darius. The brothers had been exiled from Paeonia and wished to convince the king to intervene on their behalf in their home state. To do so, they contrived for the king to see their sister leading a horse, spinning wool and carrying a pitcher upon her head. In keeping with their expectations, the king was enchanted with the spectacle and asked whether there were more women in Paeonia to have such extraordinary talents. Having been assured this was indeed so, he declined to intervene in Paeonia but, quite contrary to plans of the two Greeks, ordered all the Paeonians relocated to his kingdom (Hdt. 5.12–15.98).[42]

According to Eva Keuls, this episode shows everything that the Greeks expected from their women: sex and work.[43] Certainly, from Homer onward, the Greek ideal of a woman can be summed up in three words: beautiful, hardworking and obedient (and hence faithful). Spartan women did not have to do physical

[40] Scanlon 1988, 190.
[41] Cf. Hodkinson 2000, 228 (but the diet varied in relation to the economic status).
[42] Kulesza 1998, 136–7.
[43] Keuls 1985, 229.

work (which does not mean they were not doing any work at all). To believe Aristotle, they were not obedient either. The image found in the comedies and tragedies has little to do with their industriousness/laziness or obedience/disobedience. What is highlighted are the qualities and behaviour, as well as the special beauty, of Spartan women – or perhaps only of the heroines of the plays.

## Spartan women in action (fourth – third century BC)

In the years 404–371 BC Sparta was rapidly changing. Thucydides could still claim that Sparta had successfully maintained its *politeia* for over four centuries (Thuc. 1.18.1); soon after this claim lost its validity. We may wonder whether the 404 BC was indeed the turning point in the history of Sparta, as much indicates it was; but in 371 Sparta "withstood not a single blow".

The ongoing changes find their reflection in the *Frauengeschichte*. From the beginning of the fourth century the presence of Spartan women in our sources is steadily growing; what is more, although they are still, if not exclusively, talked of as mothers, wives and daughters, they are always mentioned under their own name (although not always given bythe author from their own period. Both aspects are a reflection of the changes occurring in the world whose fortunes the authors were recording. In the context of Sparta, this is probably additionally linked with the special role played by the women of Agesilaus II, whose good name was assured forever by Xenophon, although perhaps contrary to the opinion of many of his contemporaries.

Among the women of Agesilaus, a special place is held by his sister Cynisca, who won the four-horse chariot race in the Olympic Games twice, possibly in the years 396 and 392, which fact she proudly announced to the city and the world by means of monuments and the famous inscription:[44]

> "My fathers and brothers are the Kings
> of Sparta. I, Kyniska, won in
> the chariot race with swift-footed horses.
> I erect this statue and I
> say that I am the only woman from all
> of Greece who has ever won
> this crown. Made by Apelleas,
> son of Kallikles" (*IG* V. 1.1564a).

[44] Testimonies regarding Cynisca: Xen. *Ages*. 9.6; Plut. *Ages*. 20; Paus. 3.8.1–2; 15.1; 5.12.5; 6.1.6. Hodkinson points to the probability that "her father, Diaktoridas, was the Olympic four-horse chariot victor of 456", and is of the opinion that Herodotus's remark about "Euridame's brother, Menios, perhaps suggests that he was a man of note" (Hodkinson 1986, 401–402; Hodkinson 2004, 111–112).

According to Xenophon, she was talked into entering her chariots into the races at Olympia by her brother, who by this wished to prove (to whom? and what for?) that this victory attests to wealth, not to manly virtue (Xen. *Ages.* 9.6.). Interestingly, scholars have tacitly accepted this odd reasoning[45] – odd, because it ignores the motive for her second attempt at Olympia (unless, let us note *cum grano salis,* that it was supposed to strengthen the effect) and also because of the fact that her victories did not discourage anyone. In the essence, Cynisca's victories open a new era, showing that it was precisely wealth that was the most important. I would expect that this overstepping of the boundaries of the until then male world caused a shock in Sparta and in the entire Greece. I think that in this case, not for the first time, Xenophon was responding to charges against Agesilaus, not having first indicated that such charges had actually been formulated. That he responds in a manner that should have surprised scholars is another issue.

Other women, also Spartan ones, followed in Cynisca's footsteps, notably Euryleonis, who won the two-horse chariot race at Olympia, probably in 368 (Paus. 3.8.1; 17.6).[46]

Nothing is known of the activities of either woman outside sport; similarly, little can be said of the deeds of other women surrounding Agesilaus, such as his mother Eupolia (Plut. *Ages*. 1; Paus. 3. 15.1.9; Xen. *Ages*. 9. 6), his wife Cleora (Plut. *Ages*. 19; Xen. *Hell*. 3.4, 29; 5.4.25; Paus. 3.9.6), his daughters Eupolia (Plut. *Ages*. 19; Xen. Hell. 7.4.23) and Prolyta (Plut. *Ages.* 19; Xen. *Hell.* 7.4.23). There are reasons to suppose he was particularly fond of his family. However, the fact that in order to please his wife, he appointed his brother-in-law, Peisander, the commander of the fleet (Xen. *Hell*. 3.4.29; Plut. *Ages*. 10.11) does not yet mean that it was she to persuade him to do so. It is, however, noteworthy that he was described by his relatives (*syngeneis*) as "devoted to his family" (*philokedemona*) (Xen. *Hell.* 11.13).[47]

Apart from that, we know of Xenopeitheia, the mother of Lysanoridas, and his aunt Chryse. They were both killed, while Lysanoridas, the Spartan commander in Thebes, was exiled from Sparta (Theopompus ap. Athen. 13.609b = *FGrHist* 115 F 240); regrettably, the reasons for their condemnation are unclear.[48]

An active political role was played by Deinicha,[49] the wife of Archidamus III, mother of Agis III, Eudamidas I and Agesilaus (Plut. *Agis* 3; Arr. *An.* 2.13.6). Ac-

[45] E.g. A. Powell, 1988, 228, although not Ellen Millender, who correctly indicates further meanings in it (2009, 23–26).

[46] Hodkinson 1986, 402. Hodkinson suggests that Euryleonis may have been descended from Euryleon, who accompanied Dorieus in the late sixth century (Hodkinson 2000, 414).

[47] See the comment of Cartledge 1987, 143.

[48] See the observations of Th. J. Figueira, 271–272.

[49] S. Hodkinson suggests that Deinicha may have been descended from Deinis, whose name appears on a sixth-century aryballos (2000, 414).

cording to Theopompus, during the Third Social War (356–346) she was bribed by the Phocians to persuade her husband to come to their aid (Paus. 3.10.3).

The list of fourth-century Spartan women is completed by Teleutia (Poralla No. 688), probably the mother of Antalcydas, and Alexippa, the wife of Iphicratidas and mother of Gylippus (*Anth. Pal*. 7.435).

As a collective, Spartan women appear on the scene of history twice. In 390, after the defeat at Lechaion, Spartan women were full of sadness, "except for those whose sons or fathers or brothers had died there. They went about radiant as if they had won a victory, rejoicing in what had happened to their families" (Xen. *Hell.* 4.5.10). The tidings of the defeat at Leuctra caused similar reactions. The ephors forbade women to weep, but "on the following day those who had lost relatives were to be seen going about in the open, radiant and well turned out, whereas few were in evidence of those whose relatives had been reported to have survived, and they went about humbled and gloomy" (Xen. *Hell.* 6.4.16, Plut. *Ages.* 29.4–7).[50] The reactions of Spartan women, if they were indeed such, may seem shocking. Would any of us like to have a wife, mother, sister or daughter who would grieve because we have returned from wars alive? Yet this reaction becomes far easier to understand in the face of collective responsibility awaiting the family members of the *tresantes*.[51] Incidentally, in this case it was thanks to Agesilaus (who, according to Xenophon, was the saviour sent by providence to deliver Sparta after the Leuctra disaster) that the penalties for men deemed cowards were overruled (Plut. *Ages*. 30.2–6; *Mor.* 191c; 215b; *Comp. Ages. et Pomp*. 2; Polyainos 2.1.13).

The events that occurred soon after, when the Thebans and their allies invaded Laconia in 369, are actually far more surprising, also in view of the above. Spartan women "could not stand even the sight of the smoke [raised as the Thebans ravaged the area] because they had never before seen enemies." (Xen. *Hell.* 6.5.27–28; Plut. *Ages.* 31.4–5).[52] This must have made an impression in all Greece, just as the Battle of Sphacteria once had. The Spartan women's physical prowess turned out entirely useless. Plato wrote about this (*Laws* 805e–806b), and Aristotle stated outright that "they were not at all useful, as in other states, but caused more confusion than the enemy" (Arist. *Pol.* 1269b37–39).[53] But the myth of the brave Spartan woman was not damaged by the events of 369. It was the element of fabulous Sparta that withstood the trial of time; in the later tradition there was more need for those than for historical truth.

[50] See the comment of D.R. Shipley 1997, 326–328.

[51] See Kulesza 2008, 24–25, and above all Ducat 2006, 1–55.

[52] See Shipley1997, 339–341.

[53] On the interpretation of Aristotle's text and the attitude of Spartan women, Powell 2004, 137–150. See also Figueira 2010, 269.

This was in some measure facilitated by the later events that erased the memory of the un-Spartan Spartan women of the 360's. The first Spartan heroines appear in the third century, although the motive for their heroic sacrifice was not always the love of homeland. Archidamia, the grandmother of the future reformer King Agis IV, saved the mortally threatened Sparta during the invasion of Pyrrhus in 272: "When night had come, the Lacedaemonians at first took counsel to send their women off to Crete, but the women were opposed to this; and Archidamia came with a sword in her hand to the senators and upbraided them in behalf of the women for thinking it meet that they should live after Sparta had perished". In Plutarch's picturesque tale, the women seem to obliterate the disgrace of their compatriots, the women of 369. When the men decided to dig trenches to hold back Pyrrhus's elephants, the same women came to their aid, "some of them in their robes, with tunics girt close, and others in their tunics only, to help the elderly men in the work. The men who were going to do the fighting the women ordered to keep quiet, and assuming their share of the task they completed with their own hands a third of the trench. (…). When day came and the enemy were putting themselves in motion, these women handed the young men their armour, put the trench in their charge, and told them to guard and defend it, assured that it was sweet to conquer before the eyes of their fatherland, and glorious to die in the arms of their mothers and wives, after a fall that was worthy of Sparta. As for Chilonis, she withdrew". Chilonis, the wife of Cleonymus, wore a rope round her neck in order to take her own life in case of defeat (Plut. *Pyrrh.* 27.2–5, transl. Bernadotte Perrin). Yet Chilonis had a personal reason not to risk falling into the enemy hands alive: with Pyrrhus's army came her husband, old Cleonymus, whom she had betrayed with Acrotatus, son of Areus I (Plut. *Pyrrh*. 26.15–29, 12).

Archidamia was to play a crucial role in Spartan history once again,[54] this time with Agesistrate, the mother of Agis IV. The two women were the largest landowners in contemporary Sparta (Plut. *Agis* 4.1). They were not enthusiastic about the revolutionary policy of their royal son and grandson or enchanted with his vision of the revival of Sparta's power. But as a loving mother and grandmother, they finally came to support the young man's projects; they won supporters for him and persuaded other women to his cause – the latter without much success, "For the women were opposed to it [Agis's reform – R.K.], not only because they would be stripped of the luxury (*tryphe*) which, in general lack of higher culture, made their lives happy, but also because they saw that the honour (*time*) and influence (*dynamis*) which they enjoyed in consequence of their wealth (*ploutos*) would be cut off" (Plut. *Agis* 7.4). Both ladies paid for their love with their lives. It must also be noted that women played only an indirect political role here. As Lukas Thommen

[54] Powell 1999, 393–419.

rightly noted, "Ihre politische Rolle war letztlich jedenfalls nur untergeordneter Natur. Die politischen Programme zur Rettung des spartanischen Bürger – und Heeresverbandes stammten von Männern".[55]

The sacrifice of Chilonis, the daughter of King Leonidas, was also of personal nature. When her father, who opposed the reforms of Agis IV, was deposed, and his son-in-law, her husband Cleombrotus, became king, the devoted daughter Chilonis accompanied her father when he sought refuge at the temple of Athena Chalkioikos (Plut. *Agis* 11.3–5). Yet when Leonidas returned to power, she begged him successfully for mercy upon her husband, with whom she left Sparta (Plut. *Agis* 17–18.2).

A special place among the Spartan women of that era is held by Agiatis, the wife of Agis IV. Having murdered her husband, Leonidas forced her to marry his own young son, Cleomenes III (Plut. *Cleom.* 1.1–2). In Plutarch's version of events, she was a loving wife in both her marriages. She even managed to instil the reformatory ambitions of her first husband in her second (Plut. *Cleom*. 1.2). The mother of Cleomenes III, Cratesicleia, aided him with her influence and her wealth (Plut. *Cleom.* 6.1). To win additional means and support for her son's campaign, despite her age she decided to marry again, with Megistonous as the groom (Plut. *Cleom*. 6.1). Here, too, it is hard to find any other motivation than maternal love.

## Plutarch's Spartan women

Plutarch knows everything that was written by his predecessors of whom we are aware; and in every case he knows more. He completes and expands the accounts of earlier authors on his own or with the help of other accounts; to some, certainly significant extent he uses whatever he had seen and especially heard in the "Sparta Plantation" of his own time. He adds subsequent elements to legends, often modifying Xenophon's general comments or transforming them into concrete facts. For instance, when Xenophon speaks of the appointment to the gerousia as happening *epi tou termati tou biou*, Plutarch replaces this with the age criterion of sixty years (Plut. *Lyk.* 25.1). Plutarch also speaks of the equal division of land (Plut. *Lyk.* 8.2), the inspection of newborns, until then never mentioned by any source (Plut. *Lyk.* 16.1–2), and many other elements of the increasingly fabulous Sparta. It is from Plutarch that we learn the Lycurgus knew democracy – in the period when it had not yet been invented (Plut. *Lyk*. 19.3), and also that he forbade the use of coins – before they even appeared (Plut. *Lyk.* 9.1–2). There was no prostitution in Sparta, men lived in the barracks until thirty and sent their kinsmen and lovers to settle all the maters in the agora for them.

[55] Thommen 1999, 146.

Being ultimately woven from a variety of historical and fabulous threads (in part as a collective achievement), Plutarch's image of Sparta is inevitably self-contradictory. It would be difficult not to agree with Antony Powell that "Although Plutarch cannot be ignored we should try to reconstruct our history mainly from writers of the fifth and fourth centuries, to reduce the risk of distortion".[56]

Plutarch questions Aristotle's statement that the Spartan system (presented as the achievement of Lycurgus) was characterised by the *anesis* and the *kratia* of women:

"In the matter of education, which he [sc. Lycurgus] regarded as the greatest and noblest task of the lawgiver, he began at the very source, by carefully regulating marriages and births. For it is not true that, as Aristotle says, he tried to bring the women under proper restraint, but desisted, because he could not overcome the great licence and power (*dia tas polles aneseos kai gynaikokratias*) which the women enjoyed on account of the many expeditions in which their husbands were engaged. During these the men were indeed obliged to leave their wives in sole control at home, and for this reason paid them greater deference than was their due, and gave them the title of Mistress (*Despoina*). But even to the women Lycurgus paid all possible attention" (Plut. *Lyk.* 14.1; translated by B. Perrin).

The great Spartan lawgiver took care of women or, as the following account demonstrates, of virgins, the future mothers of healthy offspring:

"He made the maidens (*parthenon*) exercise their bodies in running (*dromois*), wrestling (*palais*), casting the discus (*bolais diskon*), and hurling the javelin (*akontion*), in order that the fruit of their wombs might have vigorous root in vigorous bodies and come to better maturity, and that they themselves might come with vigour to the fullness of their times, and struggle successfully and easily with the pangs of child-birth. He freed them from softness (*thrypsin*) and delicacy (*skatraphian*) and all effeminacy by accustoming the maidens no less than the youths to wear tunics (*gymnas pompeuein*) only in processions, and at certain festivals to dance and sing when the young men were present as spectators" (Plut. *Lyk.* 14.2; translated by B. Perrin).

The fact that Spartan women engaged in physical exercise (at least until marriage) is mentioned by all the earlier authors. It seems that in this case the main source of Plutarch's inspiration is Xenophon. Yet the general remark that Lycurgus "ordered the female sex to exercise no less than the male" and created "competitions in racing and trials of strength" gains here a very concrete form. We are told of races, wrestling, discus and javelin throwing. The military aspect of some of those sports might be pointed out, but Plutarch is clearly thinking of *teknopoiia*. What is more, the girls *gymnai pompeuein* just like the boys. The skimpiness of clothing, exposing the boys and girls' physical qualities typical to their young age, is not at all surprising. What is surprising are the problems which scholars seem to have with the "nudity" of Spartan women. The girls were dancing or singing in the presence of boys, and also they were instilling correct norms of behaviour in the youngsters by praising or condemning them. This

[56] Powell 1988, 223.

seems similar to the folk dancing songs of old; as long as not treated deadly seriously, it does not seem unthinkable:

"There they sometimes even mocked and railed good-naturedly at any youth who had misbehaved himself; and again they would sing the praises of those who had shown themselves worthy, and so inspire the young men with great ambition and ardour. For he who was thus extolled for his valour and held in honour among the maidens, went away exalted by their praises; while the sting of their playful raillery was no less sharp than that of serious admonitions, especially as the kings and senators, together with the rest of the citizens, were all present at the spectacle" (Plut. *Lyk.* 14.3; translated by B. Perrin).

Pomeroy, citing precisely the *Life of Lycurgus* by Plutarch, writes: "Spartan women were encouraged and trained to speak in public, praising the brave, reviling cowards and bachelors".[57] In her opinion, "That Spartan women were taught to speak and were encouraged to do so distinguishes them from Spartan men, who did not debate in law courts or in their General Assembly, and from Athenians and other Greek women, who were expected to remain silent and by no means to speak to men".[58] It seems to me that the source does not confirm the thesis. On the one hand, I am reminded of Charlie Chaplin's un-politically correct statement regarding women and the silent film, and on the other hand it is not a secret that women do speak, and speak a lot; there is not much to teach them there. And although perhaps it is not Xanthippe, the wife of Socrates, that was the ideal woman of the ancient world, the male-oriented ideal of the silent woman, as articulated by Aristotle (*Pol*. 1260a28–31) and Xenophon (*Oik*. 7.10), may belong to the sphere of male wishful thinking.

Quite contrary to what it might seem, young women' skimpy attire (not nudity) is conducive to modesty, habituates them to simplicity and – since their body is to be exposed to public view – makes them careful to retain its health and beauty:

"Nor was there anything disgraceful in this scant clothing of the maidens (*he de gymnosis ton parthenon*), for modesty attended them, and wantonness was banished; nay, rather, it produced in them habits of simplicity and an ardent desire for health and beauty of body. It gave also to woman-kind a taste of lofty sentiment, for they felt that they too had a place in the arena of bravery and ambition". (Plut. *Lyk.* 14.4; translated by B. Perrin).

And all this was dictated not, as we might infer from the reasoning so far, by the desire to create a female type worthy of a Spartan male, but, as demonstrated by the "example" that crowns Plutarch's narrative, in order for the women to give birth to brave males or, to use Pomeroy's interesting phrase, produce "healthy children for healthy mothers".[59]

[57] Pomeroy 2002, 9. Cf. 92, 137.
[58] Pomeroy 2002, 135.
[59] Pomeroy 2002, 136.

"Wherefore they were led to think and speak as Gorgo, the wife of Leonidas, is said to have done. When some foreign woman, as it would seem, said to her: "You Spartan women are the only ones who rule their men," she answered: "Yes, we are the only ones that give birth to men" (Plut. *Lyk*. 14.4; translated by B. Perrin).

Later Plutarch speaks of young men being encouraged with the sight of scantily dressed maidens; this, according to Powell, "we may take seriously", because of, in his opinion, "Sparta's attachment to the persuasive use of the visual image"[60]:

"Moreover, there were incentives to marriage in these things, I mean such things as the appearance of the maidens without much clothing in processions and athletic contests where young men were looking on, for these were drawn on by necessity, 'not geometrical, but the sort of necessity which lovers know,' as Plato says". (Plut. *Lyk*. 15.1; translated by B. Perrin).

Further on there is information regarding bachelors and finally – marriage:

"For their marriages the women were carried off by force, not when they were small and unfit for wedlock, but when they were in full bloom and wholly ripe. After the woman was thus carried off, the bride's-maid, so called, took her in charge, cut her hair off close to the head, put a man's cloak and sandals on her, and laid her down on a pallet, on the floor, alone, in the dark. Then the bridegroom, not flown with wine nor enfeebled by excesses, but composed and sober, after supping at his public messtable as usual, slipped stealthily into the room where the bride lay, loosed her virgin's zone, and bore her in his arms to the marriage-bed. Then, after spending a short time with his bride, he went away composedly to his usual quarters, there to sleep with the other young men. And so he continued to do from that time on, spending his days with his comrades, and sleeping with them at night, but visiting his bride by stealth and with every precaution, full of dread and fear lest any of her household should be aware of his visits, his bride also contriving and conspiring with him that they might have stolen interviews as occasion offered. And this they did not for a short time only, but long enough for some of them to become fathers before they had looked upon their own wives by daylight. Such interviews riot only brought into exercise self-restraint and moderation, but united husbands and wives when their bodies were full of creative energy and their affections new and fresh, not when they were sated and dulled by unrestricted intercourse; and there was always left behind in their hearts some residual spark of mutual longing and delight" (Plut. *Lyk*. 15.3–5; translated by B. Perrin).

The "Spartan wedding *à la* Plutarch" is a graceful object of scholarly fantasy. As shrewdly observed by Helena P. Schrader, "A classic example of the need for common sense in viewing the Spartan marriage is provided by Plutarch's 'Life of Lycurgus'".[61] This is indeed a true challenge to common sense, although a multitude of scholars tends to treat Plutarch's "ritual" with all seriousness. Considering the entire tale to be an exclusive product of the fabulous Sparta, I may only refer the reader to my article, where I demonstrate that marriages in Sparta were really not settled in this manner.[62]

[60] Powell 1988, 248.
[61] Schrader 2010.
[62] Kulesza 2008, 135–166.

In scholarly literature, the *harpage* is viewed as obviously the ordinary manner of marrying; yet no other author beside Plutarch, before or after him, ever mentioned it. Plutarch truly knows something others did not. Of course, he also knows the writings of his predecessors; but even here he somewhat modifies Xenophon's account:[63]

"After giving marriage such traits of reserve and decorum, he none the less freed men from the empty and womanish passion of jealous possession, by making it honourable for them, while keeping the marriage relation free from all wanton irregularities, to share with other worthy men in the begetting of children, laughing to scorn those who regard such common privileges as intolerable, and resort to murder and war rather than grant them. For example, an elderly man with a young wife, if he looked with favour and esteem on some fair and noble young man, might introduce him to her, and adopt her offspring by such a noble father as his own. And again, a worthy man who admired some woman for the fine children that she bore her husband and the modesty of her behaviour as a wife, might enjoy her favours, if her husband would consent, thus planting, as it were, in a soil of beautiful fruitage, and begetting for himself noble sons, who would have the blood of noble men in their veins" (Plut. *Lyk*. 15.6–7; translated by B. Perrin).

It is beyond doubt that the key aim of all those manoeuvres was the production of offspring. Spartan women, just like the Athenian ones, were to be "mothers of legitimate children". At this point Plutarch is not interested whether they fulfilled also the other condition mentioned by Pseudo-Demosthenes ([Dem.] 59.122), that is were "faithful housekeepers", but earlier he used the name *Despoina* to describe a Spartiate woman (Plut. *Lyk.* 14.1).

Whatever we may think of those practices, Plutarch immediately (perhaps to preclude any doubts) assures us that adultery did not happen in Sparta:

"For in the first place, Lycurgus did not regard sons as the peculiar property of their fathers, but rather as the common property of the state, and therefore would not have his citizens spring from random parentage, but from the best there was. In the second place, he saw much folly and vanity in what other peoples enacted for the regulation of these matters; in the breeding of dogs and horses they insist on having the best sires which money or favour can secure, but they keep their wives under lock and key, demanding that they have children by none but themselves, even though they be foolish, or infirm, or diseased; as though children of bad stock did not show their badness to those first who possessed and reared them, and children of good stock, contrariwise, their goodness. The freedom which thus prevailed at that time in marriage relations was aimed at physical and political wellbeing, and was far removed from the licentiousness which was afterwards attributed to their women, so much so that adultery was wholly unknown among them. And a saying is reported of one Geradas, a Spartan of very ancient type, who, on being asked by a stranger what the punishment for adulterers was among them, answered: "Stranger, there is no adulterer among us". "Suppose, then", replied the stranger, "there should be one". "A bull" said Geradas, "would be his forfeit, a bull so large that it could stretch over Mount Taygetus and drink from the river Eurotas". Then the stranger was astonished and said: "But how could there be a bull so large?" To which Geradas replied, with a smile: "But how could there be an adulterer in Sparta?" Such, then, are the accounts we find of their marriages" (Plut. *Lyk*. 15.8–10; translated by B. Perrin).

[63] On this topic, see Kulesza 2008, 147.

One would feel like saying: *Bonus dormitat Plutarchus*. Nevertheless, this is a part of the stereotype of the fabulous Sparta.

According to Plutarch, Spartan women engage in physical exercise in their youth: they run, wrestle, throw the discus and javelin, and thanks to this they give birth easily and breed healthy offspring. They play sports attired in garments which reveal they physical advantages. Their sight and their words stimulate young men and encourage them to worthy actions (what actions may those be? wherefrom do young women get their knowledge of young men?). When abducted, a Spartan woman undergoes certain rituals, and then daringly cooperates with her partner, coupling with him during illicit trysts. This would be all, if not for the fact that further on Plutarch introduces the impotent oldster and the man who is perhaps functional, but for some reason unenthusiastic about his wife. "Lycurgus" envisages a "way out" for both. I am consciously exaggerating in this summary of Plutarch's thoughts, in order to underscore the absurdity of the entire report. Yet what follows goes, in my opinion, way beyond absurd.

## A Spartan mother – the birth of a myth

"The Spartan women", Redfield writes, "indeed come before us as the fierce enforcers of the warrior code". Later on he notes that "while the women enforce the code on others, they seem to be subject to no code themselves".[64] The second observation pertains to the Spartan women known to us; the first – to the women from fabulous Sparta, especially the heroines of the *Sayings of Spartan Women*. The *Apophtegmata* are of varying quality.[65] Some may refer to facts; others reflect, in a concise but striking form, some important aspect of reality; but there are many which create a new, fabulous reality. A part of this reality is the image of the unnatural mother who kills her son or rejoices at his death. Dysfunctional parents must have existed in Sparta, for instance Theano, who had a hand in her son's death, the probably non-historical Epitadeus, whose hatred of his son destroyed the Spartan *kosmos*, and the similarly fictitious sister-in-law of Lycurgus; after his brother died, she offered to secretly abort her unborn child in return for the promise that Lycurgus would marry her (Plut. *Lyk.* 3.2).

The *Apophtegmata* are directly or indirectly present in many texts by Plutarch. The *Sayings of Spartan Women* offer the image of the fabulous Spartan woman which until then was never so comprehensive[66]. From the point of view

[64] J. Redfield 1977/1978, 149.

[65] See the observations of Tigerstedt 1974, 16–30. A brief discussion of issues linked with the *Sayings of Spartan Women* is found in Figueira 2010, 273–296, with further literature.

[66] On the earlier occurrences and origin of motives found in the *Sayings*, see Tigerstedt1974, 27.

of the future, it is a constituting image. At the same time, the *Apopthegmata* are a treasure-trove of diverse pieces of information which permit scholars to present their own visions of Sparta. Alfred Bradford correctly encouraged writers "not force our own opinions on the witnesses", but even he wrote that "Male Spartan attitudes can be summed up by the story of Leonidas and his wife Gorgo. As he was leaving for Thermopylae, she asked him what she was supposed to do. He replied, "Mary well and multiply" (Plut. *Mor.* [*ap* Lac. 240D (6)" (cf. *Mor.* 225a51. Leonidas 2).[67] The historical Gorgo did not heed the exhortation addressed to the fabulous Gorgo. This is an example of an anecdote constructed upon a legend and concurrently an illustration of the scholarly practice of piecing the puzzle according to subjective needs. Incidentally, a *univira* was probably not a Spartan ideal.

The messages conveyed by the female politicos of the *Sayings*, "fierce enforcers of the warrior code", are interesting. Let it once again be noted that in the *Sayings* there are no Spartan heroines devoted to the homeland and ready to give their lives for it. This is to some extent a reflection of the reality. Such Spartan women are practically not known at all.

The *Sayings* portray Spartan women ready to devote lives for the homeland, but their sons lives, not their own. Thus Spartan women appear in a new role: "Another, as she handed son his shield, exhorted him, saying, 'Either with this or upon this' (Plut. *Sayings of Spartan Women*, 241s16 cf. Stob. 3.7.30; Val. Max. 2.7 ext 2); "Another, as her son was going forth to war, said, as she gave the shield into his hands, 'This shield your father kept always safe for you; do you, therefore, keep it safe, or cease to live'" (241 17). By the by, nowhere else is it mentioned that shields were given to Spartans by their mothers (and, in addition, precisely on the point of departing to war).

Worse still, women from the fabulous Sparta can even kill a son who returned from the war alive: "Because Damatria heard that her son was a coward and not worthy of her, she killed him when he arrived. This is the epigram about her: *His mother killed Damatrius who broke the laws, / She a Spartan lady, he a Spartan youth*". (*Sayings of Spartan Women,* 240f2 cf. 241.1; 241b5; Tymnes AP 7.433).

The fact that the name of the deceased, as Plutarch himself writes (*Lyk.* 27.3), appeared only on the grave (or rather cenotaph) of a hero fallen in battle, seems of small importance in comparison to the fact that mothers could not only revile, but actually kill those not courageous enough: "Another, when her sons had run away from a battle and come to her, said: 'Wretched runaway slaves, where have you come to? Or do you plan to steal back in here whence you emerged?' And she pulled up her clothes and exposed herself to them" (*Sayings*

[67] Bradford 1986, 13–18. On the image of Gorgo in the *Sayings*, see Chapman 2011, 48–49.

*of Spartan Women*, 241b4). Regarding this, Pomeroy, who believes that Spartan women punished their sons with death, writes: "Spartan women were renowned for enthusiastically sacrificing their sons for the welfare of the state".[68]

Spartan mothers grieve only for heroes: "Another, hearing that her son had fallen at his post, said: "Let the cowards be mourned. I, however, bury you without a tear, my son and Sparta's"(*Sayings of Spartan Women*, 241.2). It turns out they even write letters to "boys at the front", not at all assuring them of their love; Pomeroy considers this "not unthinkable":[69] "Another, hearing that her son had been saved and had fled from the enemy, wrote to him: 'A bad rumor about you is circulating. Either absolve yourself at once, or cease to exist'" (*Sayings of Spartan Women*, 241a3; 241d10).

Sparta is the Spartan woman's only love. It is for her that they give birth to sons: "As a woman was burying her son, a shabby old woman came up to her and said, 'You poor woman, what a misfortune!' 'No, by the two goddesses, what a good fortune,' she replied, 'because I bore him so that he might die for Sparta, and that is what has happened for me'" (*Sayings of Spartan Women*, 241.8).

Could anything like this ever happen?[70] Perhaps. Let us recall Pavko Morozov, who, well trained by Stalin's propaganda, reported his own father as the enemy of communism; although it is not impossible that this tale was concocted by the totalitarian propaganda machine to set an example worthy of imitation. Contrary to appearances, "Lycurgus" had very little in common with Lenin or Comrade Stalin, or the Spartan *kosmos* with the Soviet system. But it was not only Plutarch to construct a tall structure of legendary elements. We hear of Spartan mothers who on the battlefield checked whether their sons received mortal wounds from the front or from behind (Aelian, *VH* 12.21), meaning that in the first case they died honourably, in the latter as cowards. Are we to imagine cartloads of Spartan mothers travelling round the entire Greece in order to see where exactly the fallen men were wounded? But the world of imagination knows no boundaries. The words of Tyrtaeus were amazingly freely reinterpreted here. In any case, in the legends Spartan women are doing what Spartan women from the fabulous Sparta ought to be doing, and what their historical precursors never did. It is an illusion that the *Sayings* reliably confirm the thesis that "The social code for Spartiate males involved monitoring by women", as Thomas J. Figueira seems to believe.[71] In reality, to employ the *Sayings* in the description of the historical Sparta means a step backwards; by this, we repeat the error of ear-

[68] Pomeroy 2002, 57.
[69] Pomeroy 2002, 8.
[70] Bella Zweig (1993, 45–46), for instance, seems to believe this.
[71] Figueira 2010, 283.

lier scholars, who in recreating the historical Sparta often gave precedence to the fabulous Sparta.

The *Sayings* provided the foundation for the myth of a Spartan mother, but the direction of this myth changed in the later eras. Unnatural mothers from the *Sayings* transmuted into fierce enforcers of the patriotic code, who not only demanded the greatest sacrifice from their sons, but brought up their offspring in the true spirit of patriotism and themselves were ready for self-sacrifice.

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## Abstract

In the ancient sources, European tradition and modern-day research, the fabulous Sparta and the historical Sparta coexist, overlapping to the extent that they are often very difficult to tell apart. Spartan women are an important element of both. Scholarly analyses usually present a static image of Spartan women. Yet Sparta itself was changing, and the position, and the image, of its women was undergoing transformations with it. The gradual "mythologisation" of a Spartan woman finally led to her being presented as the epitome of Spartan ideals. The author of the article confronts the images of Spartan women provided by Aristotle, Xenophon and the tragedy and comedy writers with the current state of knowledge regarding the historical Spartan women of the 6th /5th and 4th/3rd century BC. This confrontation shows how the myth of the extraordinary Spartan woman was growing, to reach its ultimate variant in Plutarch, where it finally emerged as the previously unknown, famed image of the "Spartan mother".

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# THE MISSION OF PHILISCUS TO GREECE IN 369/8 B.C.*

**Keywords:** Greeks, Persians, diplomacy, Philiscus, Ariobarzanes

The Persians began to using gold for bribery as part of their diplomatic efforts as early as the Persian Wars, and succeeded where diplomacy by itself (i.e., heralds and embassies) failed. In this the Persians followed the model of the Lydians, who also used money to achieve political ends.[1] There were a number of Persian missions that used gold to curry favors of the Greeks in the fifth and fourth century B.C. Their success or failure was also due in part to the general development of Greco-Persian relations and the internal political situation in the Greek world.[2] So, for example, the successful outcome of the mission of Timoc-

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[1] The Lesbian poet Alcaeus mentions the sum of 2,000 *stateres* which his faction obtained from the Lydians to fight against the tyrant Myrsilus of Mytilena (Alc. F. 69 L–P). This may be considered the first known example of an Oriental kingdom that provided a Greek city-state with money to carry out its own political objectives. On Alcaeus' testimony about Lydian-Greek relations: Dale 2011, 15–24.

[2] According to Herodotus (9.2.41), the Persian idea of using gold for purposes of diplomacy with the Greeks was first expressed by the Thebans and then Artabazus on the eve of the battle of Plataea in 479 B.C. That this had become policy is evident following the Persian Wars in the missions to Greece of Murychides (Hdt. 9.4-5), Arthmius of Zeleia (Dem. 9.41-43; 19.271–272; Aesch. 3.258–259; Din. 2.24–25) and Megabazus (Thuc. 1.109.2–3). Persian gold used to subsidize military needs of the Greeks as it was in the Spartan-Persian treaties of 412–411 B.C. (Thuc. 8.37.5, 58.5–7; cf. Xen. *Hell.* 1.5.5), or it was used as bribes/gifts to Greek politicians as it was during Timocrates' mission to Greece in 395 B.C. (Xen. *Hell.* 3.5.1–2; *Hell. Oxy.* 10.2.5) and the

rates of Rhodes to Greece in 395 B.C. convinced the Persians of the efficacy of the use of bribery in diplomacy.[3]

This article focuses on another Persian diplomatic mission to Greece which had a different result. The failure of Philiscus' mission demonstrates that the decline of Persian foreign policy towards the Greeks began with the Peace of Antalcidas (the role of the Great King is noted in Isocrates, *Panegyricus* 121, 175). The aim of this paper is to provide a detailed overview of Philiscus' mission to Greece in order to ascertain the goals of Persian diplomacy with the Greeks in the early 360s B.C.

## Xenophon and Diodorus on Philiscus' mission

Xenophon reports on Philiscus' mission after having discussed Athenian-Spartan negotiations at Athens in the spring of 371/0 B.C., the Athenians first encounter with Theban forces, and the arrival of military aid to the Spartans from Dionysius I, tyrant of Syracuse (Xen. *Hell.* 7.1.1–22). Although Xenophon's account of Philiscus' mission to Greece and the conference at Delphi (*Hell.* 7.1.27) is shorter than his more detailed description of the conference at Susa several years later (*Hell.* 7.1.33–38),[4] it nonetheless may be considered a starting point for our investigation of Persian influence on Greek affairs in the 360s B.C. and the Greek response to it.[5]

"... Philiscus of Abydus came from Ariobarzanes with a large amount of money. And in the first place he brought together at Delphi the Thebans, their allies, and the Lacedaimonians to negotiate in regard to peace. But when they had arrived there, they did not consult the god at all as to how peace should be brought about, but deliberated for themselves. Since, however, the Thebans would not agree that Messene should be subject to the Lacedaemonians, Philiscus set about collecting a large mercenary force in order to make war on the side of the Lacedaemonians" (translation by C.L. Brownson).

forty talents given to Timagoras (Dem. 19.137; Plut. *Pelop.* 30.9–12). On the use of Persian gold for diplomatic purposes, see: Perlman 1976, 223–233; Lewis 1989, 227–234 = 1997, 369–379; Mitchell 1994, 197–200; 1997, 111–114. On Persian and Greek attitudes towards bribery and gift-giving: Sancisi-Weerdenburg 1989, 129–146; Harvey 1985, 76–117; Kulesza 1995.

[3] Cook 1990, 69–97; Rung 2004, 413–425 and recently Schepens 2012, 213–241. Many contemporaries considered his efforts to have been the main reason for the outbreak of the Corinthian War.

[4] On Xenophon's description of the conference at Susa, see Bearzot 2011, 21–37.

[5] The most detailed discussion of Philiscus may be found in Heskel 1996, 114–115, 150. She often neglects the epigraphical data, and many of her speculations go beyond what can be soundly suggested on the basis of the sources (e.g., her attempts to reconstruct Philiscus' movements throughout Greece in the period leading to the conference at Delphi, the role of Philiscus in Ariobarzanes' revolt or his assassination).

Xenophon states that Philiscus of Abydus was sent by Ariobarzanes (ἔρχεται Φιλίσκος ᾽Αβυδηνὸς παρ' ᾽Αριοβαρζάνους), the satrap of Dascylium (Hellespontine Phrygia) in 370–360s B.C. under Artaxerxes II, the Great King of Persia. The historian does not inform us of the amount of money Philiscus carried with him as he merely states χρήματα ἔχων πολλά, but it was enough to hire a Greek mercenary force. Ariobarzanes' money might have been used to bribe Greek politicians in the various *poleis* and the priests of Apollo's shrine in Delphi, or it might have been used as an official gift for the shrine. We can say with certainty, however, that Philiscus used at least some of it to subsidize the Spartans in their wars.

Diodorus (15.70.2) offers an alternative version of Philiscus' mission to Greece. He places the mission within the chronological context of the same year as when Lysistratus was eponymous archon, 369/8 B.C. He states:

"Philiscus, who was sent on this mission by King Artaxerxes, sailed to Greece to urge the Greeks to compose their strife and agree to a general peace. All but the Thebans responded willingly; they, however, adhering to their own design, had brought all Boeotia into one confederation and were excluded from the agreement. Since the general peace was not agreed to, Philiscus left two thousand picked mercenaries, paid in advance, for the Lacedaemonians and then returned to Asia" (translation by C. H. Oldfather).

Diodorus thus emphasizes that the peace (εἰρήνη), which in Xenophon's account Philiscus offered to conclude for the Greeks at Delphi, was really a Common Peace (κοινὴ εἰρήνη). The main difference between both accounts concerns the person who was responsible for sending Philiscus to Greece. Xenophon considers that Philiscus was sent by Ariobarzanes, while Diodorus has him sent by Artaxerxes, the Great King of Persia (Φιλίσκος μὲν ὑπ' ᾽Αρταξέρξου τοῦ βασιλέως ἀποσταλεὶς κατέπλευσεν ἐπὶ τὴν ῾Ελλάδα).

This discrepancy between the two versions has stimulated discussion among scholars. Robert Moysey supposes that Philiscus' mission was to arrange another common peace and it would seem likely that the impetus for the embassy came from Artaxerxes who directed Ariobarzanes to arrange it.[6] Michael Weiskopf concludes that Philiscus was dispatched to Greece by a local authority (scil. a Persian governor) acting independently of the court at Susa.[7] James Roy also makes Ariobarzanes responsible for this mission.[8] Tim Ryder, however, considers that the accounts are not incompatible as the satrap was the King's officer (this is why Diodorus makes the Great King responsible for the mission), but Philiscus' mission in fact may well have been some private enterprise of Ario-

[6] Moysey 1975, 50.

[7] Weiskopf 1982, 357–358.

[8] Roy 1994, 192. Cf. Parke 1933, 107; Hofstetter 1978, 150; Zahrnt 1983, 270; Burn 1985, 376; Sekunda 1988, 47; Sealey 1993, 81; Mitchell 1997, 127; Heskel 1996, 123.

barzanes.[9] Michael Osborne supposes both Greek historians could be correct: the mission was supposedly concerned with a Common Peace and Philiscus' mission to Greece could have been sponsored by Artaxerxes II; if, on the other hand, Ariobarzanes was responsible for dispatching Philiscus to Greece, then it might indicate that Ariobarzanes was contemplating to rebel from the Great King and used Philiscus' mission as a cover for hiring Greek mercenaries[10]. Finally, Christopher Tuplin notes that there is no proof that Philiscus' mission was part of any secretive preparations for a proposed rebellion by Ariobarzanes[11]. By and large, it is evident that there is significant discrepancy among the scholars about the question of who sent Philiscus to Greece and what were the aims of his visit.[12]

Indeed it may well be that both king and satrap had their own reasons for sending Philiscus. Artaxerxes could have been pursuing the traditional policy towards the Greek city-states beginning with the Peace of Antalcidas in which during a conflict in Greece the Persians tended to support the weaker side (which is precisely the position in which Sparta found herself after the battle of Leuctra in 371 B.C.) in order to maintain the balance of power. In this scenario, Artaxerxes would have presented himself as peacemaker. Ariobarzanes, on the other hand, while implementing the King's agenda, could also have used this embassy for his own purposes; namely, to obtain Greek allies some two years prior to his own revolt in 367/6 B.C. According to Nepos (*Datames* 5), Datames who revolted against the King after 370 B.C.,[13] established a secret alliance with Ariobarzanes (*clam cum Ariobarzane facit amicitia*) prior to his rebellion. It is thus reasonable to suppose that Ariobarzanes had already planned his revolt before 367/6 B.C.[14] Moreover, when Ariobarzanes did rebel, he had previously created an alliance with the Spartans (Xen. *Ages*. 2.26), while he and three of his sons were granted Athenian citizenship (Dem. 23.141–143, 202), an act that was unusual to say the least given that he was a Persian.[15] Finally the Athenians in 366/5 B.C. sent a mercenary

[9] Ryder 1965, 80. J. Buckler (1980, 103) and G.L. Cawkwell (2005, 186) also assert that the King sent Philiscus.

[10] Osborne 1973, 539, n. 1.

[11] Weiskopf 1982, 363, 365 argued that Ariobarzanes' dispatch of Philiscus was not an act of rebellion. This satrap simply sought to build up his own political influence in Greece.

[12] Tuplin 1993, 153, n. 22. Seager 1974, 58–59; Ruzicka 1992b, 67; Jehne 1994, 79; Debord 1999, 289; Buckler 2003, 315.

[13] On the date of Datames' revolt: Moysey 1992, 158; Bing 1998, 41 and Sekunda 1988, 51–52 date the revolt of Datames and his secret alliance with Ariobarzanes to 368/7 B.C.

[14] Moysey 1992, 159.

[15] Another example was the citizenship granted by the Athenians to Orontes a Persian satrap in 341/0 B.C.: IG. ii$^2$.208, line 5. The date of the decree is disputed. Cf. Michael Osborne 1971, 319, 321 argues for 361/0 B.C. Robert Moysey (1987, 93–100) dates it to 349/8 B.C. R. Develin (1988, 75–81) and D. Kelly (1990, 108–109) support the original dating of 341/0 B.C. which was proposed by K. Pyttakis on the basis of the restored name of the archon *Nikomachos*. On Greek

force under the leadership of Timotheus to help Ariobarzanes who had by then revolted, as attested by Demosthenes (15.9). In this regard, one can easily suppose that Ariobarzanes used Philiscus to establish the basis of an alliance with the Spartans and the Athenians prior to his revolt against the King.[16]

## Philiscus and the conference at Delphi

Xenophon describes the gathering at Delphi as a peace conference which was attended by representatives from both rival coalitions: the Thebans and their allies, and the Lacedaemonians. Xenophon's statement that Philiscus had brought together all conflicting parties assumes that he had travelled from Thebes to Lacedaemon. Who were the Theban allies at the conference? Xenophon does not tell us. We can assume that they could have been delegates from various Peloponnesian states and thus enemies of the Spartans. Presumably, these states had become Theban allies during the first Boeotian expedition to the Peloponnese under the leadership of Epaminondas. They could have included the Arcadians, Eleans, and Argives (Xen. *Hell*. 7.1.18).

Xenophon does not mention that any Spartan allies attended the conference at Delphi, including the Athenians, who had negotiated an alliance with Sparta in the congress at Athens one year before (Xen. *Hell*. 7.1.14). Tim Ryder considers that the Athenians did not participate in this conference, because they are not mentioned in any of the extant sources.[17] One should keep in mind, however, that the accounts of Xenophon and Diodorus of the conference at Delphi are rather brief and do not contain the sort of detailed information that we find in Xenophon's description of the conference at Susa in 367/6 B.C. Moreover, the conference at Delphi concerned a Common Peace and it seems impossible that the Athenians would not have been involved in such discussions. In any event, it is certain that Sparta's enemies prevailed and this resulted in the conference's failure to achieve its stated objective.

In fact this marks the first unsuccessful Persian sponsored attempt to conclude a Common Peace in Greece after the successful attempts in 386, 375, 372, 370 B.C. Why did this happen? It is doubtless that the King's influence upon Greek affairs in earlier years was maintained by Sparta's dominant position in Greece. This was due to the Spartans' position as defenders (προστάται – Xen. *Hell.* 5.1.36) of the peace that accorded them their friendship (φιλία – Isocr.

honors for Persian satraps: Briant 2002, 705. Honors for Greeks in Persian service: Allen 2003, 208–209.

[16] See Heskel 1996, 113, 131–132.

[17] Ryder 1965, 79.

4.149) with Persia. When Sparta lost her hegemony, following the battle of Leuctra in 371 B.C., the King of Persia was deprived of his ability to dictate Greek affairs.[18]

Delphi was actually an unusual place to hold a peace conference in the fourth century B.C., because the Persians sponsored other such peace congresses in Sparta (375/4 and 372/1 B.C.), Athens (371/0 B.C.), and Thebes (368/7 and 366/5 B.C.). Charles Hamilton thinks that "the selection of such a neutral site is indicative of the judgment that neither Sparta nor Athens was any longer powerful enough to provide a suitable location for a major diplomatic conference."[19] John Buckler considers that the choice of the site for the conference was a sign that the King had now dispensed with a Greek προστάτης of the peace; unlike Sparta and Athens, the capital of those powers, Delphi was a panhellenic sanctuary, legally and customarily independent.[20] P. Stylianou connects the conference with the Athenian decree in honour of Dionysius of Syracuse who played a prominent role in Greek affairs in 380–360s B.C. He states:

"It is tempting to connect, περὶ μὲν τῶν γρα[μ]μά[των ὦ]ν ἔπε]νψεν Διονύσιος [τῆς] ο[ἰκ]οδομ[ίας τοῦ νε]ὼ καὶ τῆς εἰρή[ν]ης, with the congress at Delphi. The temple of Apollo at Delphi had been destroyed in winter 373/2. Like most tyrants, Dionysius took a great interest in the national sanctuaries and he may have urged a congress at Delphi as a means of encouraging the speedy rebuilding of the temple as well as promoting a peace favourable to his friends the Spartans. In addition to Athens, therefore, it is possible that he communicated his ideas to the Persians. It should be added, however, that a national sanctuary was an ideal place for a meeting of Thebans and Spartans. The Thebans would not have gone to Athens and certainly not to Sparta, and the Spartans would hardly have gone to Thebes".[21]

Finally, there is another possibility as to the reason that Delphi have been selected. Perhaps Philiscus and not the Greeks chose the site of the conference, because it had been a panhellenic sanctuary since the Archaic Period and this might have been reason enough to favor the success of the conference.[22] Xenophon (*Hell.* 7.1.27) indicates that the conference's participants "did not consult the god at all as to how peace should be brought about, but deliberated among themselves."

The Persian proposals to the Greeks at the conference in Delphi may have required the participants to agree to the principles of αὐτονομία and ἐλευθερία as

[18] Rung 2008, 40.

[19] Hamilton 1991, 234. Martin Jehne (1994, 180) discusses Delphi as a neutral site for the gathering.

[20] Buckler 2003, 315.

[21] Stylianou 1995, 462. Cf. Jehne 1994, 80, n. 192. Paul Cartledge (1987, 200) frankly states that in 368 the peace congress was held at Delphi on the initiative of Dionysius of Syracuse as well as Artaxerxes.

[22] Roy 1994, 192 considers that Philiscus organized the peace conference at Delphi. Cf. Ruzicka 2012, 125.

they had done at earlier peace congresses in Sparta in 375/4 and 372/1 B.C. and Athens in 371/0 B.C.[23] A new political development was that Messenia had become *de facto* independent in 369 B.C. because of the anti-Spartan activities of the Boeotians in the Peloponnese. The recognition *de jure* of its status was one of the important tasks of Theban diplomacy in 360s B.C. and, if achieved, would have represented yet another blow to Sparta's hegemony in the Peloponnese.[24] The Great King in his support of the Lacedaemonians, however, refused to recognize its autonomous status and instead insisted on its continued subjection to Sparta. The Athenians were they to have in fact participated in the conference might well have supported the Spartan-Persian demand for Messenia's subjection, just as the Spartans supported the Athenian request for control of Amphipolis and the Thracian Chersonese, which had been independent of Athens since the end of the Peloponnesian War.[25] The problem with the status of these territories led to diplomatic debates among the Greeks at a number of congresses in which the Persian King was deeply involved.[26] For example, in 367/6 B.C. Artaxerxes II in the conference at Susa was prompted by the Thebans to include in the draft of the Common Peace the condition of autonomy for Messenia (Xen. *Hell*. 7.1.36) and proclaimed Amphipolis to be an autonomous city, as well as an ally (Dem. 19.137). As part of the conditions of the Common Peace of 366/5 B.C., the Messenians were won recognition as autonomous (Diod. 15.90.2), while Amphipolis was acknowledged once again by the Persian King as an Athenian possession (Dem. 19.137). The decline of Spartan-Persian influence on shaping Greek affairs in the early of 360s B.C. made it impossible for them to agree on granting the Messenians their autonomy, which led to the failure of peace negotiations at Delphi in 369/8 B.C.

There is no doubt that one of the unofficial tasks of Philiscus during his visit was to hire mercenaries. Xenophon (*Hell.* 7.1.27) does not mention the size of this force, but Diodorus (15.70.2) says there were two thousand mercenaries, though he does not discuss their ethnicity. Some consider that these troops were hired by Philiscus on the King's order as he was about to launch a campaign in Egypt. A similar situation occurred in 375/4 B.C. when the Persian King urged

[23] On the peace of 375/4 B.C.: Diod. 15.38.2; for the peace of 372/1 B.C.: Xen. *Hell*. 6.3.18; and on the peace of 371/0: Xen. *Hell*. 6.5.2. Some works on these peace-treaties may be cited here: Roos 1949, 265–285; Cawkwell 1963, 84–95; Ryder 1965; Buckler 1971, 353–361; Jehne 1994.

[24] On Messenian independence, see Luraghi 2008, 209–230.

[25] Sources: Dem. 7.29; 9.16; 19.253; Aesch. 2.32. Discussion: Jehne 1992, 272–282. Presumably, Athenian demands were recognized by the Greeks and the Persian King at the congress held at Athens in 371/0 B.C., although the precise date and circumstance of when this agreement was reached remains debatable.

[26] Hofstetter 1972, 103 and Adcock & Mosley 1975, 85 lay stress on the conference at Delphi as the first phase of negotiations which had already resumed in Persia.

the Greeks to conclude the Common Peace so that he could get on with the task of hiring Greek mercenaries (Diod. 15.38.1–2);[27] others think that Philiscus acted on orders from Ariobarzanes in preparation for his revolt.[28] Diodorus (15.70.2) tells us that Philiscus gave the mercenaries to the Spartans who presumably employed them in the Tearless Battle in which they defeated the Arcadians in 368 B.C.[29] A further possibility is that Persian money could have been used to support the Spartans, while Ariobarzanes could have used this occasion to seek the diplomatic backing of Athens and Sparta, rather than to hire a Greek cadre of mercenaries.[30]

## Philiscus and the Greeks

Philiscus could have been selected to lead the mission, because he might have had friends among the Athenians and Spartans. For example, at the base of the Athenian statue dedicated to Chabrias are fragments that mention his military operations in the Aegean: they refer to his naval victory at Naxos in 376/5 B.C as well as activities at Aianteion at the Hellespont and Mytilene which occurred after the battle of Naxos (*SEG* 19, 204). The inscription also mentions Philiscus and a number of soldiers in vague context, although Anne Pippin Burnett and Colin N. Edmonson note: "It is reasonable to conclude that the operation at the Aianteion was the service which caused the gratitude of Philiskos, and to restore ἐ[ν ᾽Αβύδωι] in the second citation on fragment A."[31] So it is evident that the Persians sent Philiscus because of his relations with the Athenians, who were now Spartan allies.

Unfortunately, there is no evidence of earlier contacts between Philiscus and the Spartans, but it seems highly improbable that he only established relations with the Spartans for the first time during the conference at Delphi. Given the testimony of Xenophon (*Hell*. 5.1.28) that Antalcidas, son of Leon, was a hereditary guest-friend (ξένος ἐκ παλαιοῦ) of Ariobarzanes,[32] one may infer that the satrap intended to use Philiscus to renew relations with the Greeks in 369/8 B.C., although there is no evidence of Antalcidas' participation at the conference. Philiscus' relations with the Athenians are also described by Demosthenes in his speech *Against Aristocrates* (352 B.C.) in which the orator states (23.141–143):

[27] Buckler 1980, 103; Hamilton 1991, 234.
[28] Parke 1933, 89; Zahrnt 1983, 270; Buckler 1977, 141; Sealey 1993, 81; Heskel 1996, 124.
[29] Buckler 1977, 141; Hamilton 1991, 235–236; Ruzicka 2012, 125.
[30] Moysey 1975, 56.
[31] Burnett, Edmonson 1961, 85.
[32] Underhil 1900, 173; Sekunda 1988, 47; Buckler 1977, 141; Mitchell 1997, 126.

"Once upon a time, on a certain occasion, you gave your citizenship to Ariobarzanes, and also, on his account, to Philiscus…. Philiscus…began to use the power of Ariobarzanes by occupying Hellenic cities. He entered them and committed many outrages, mutilating free-born boys, insulting women, and behaving in general as you would expect a man, who had been brought up where there were no laws, and none of the advantages of a free constitution, to behave if he attained to power. Now there were two men in Lampsacus, one named Thersagoras and the other Execestus... These men put Philiscus to death, as he deserved, because they felt it their duty to liberate their own fatherland. Now suppose that one of those orators who spoke on behalf of Philiscus, at a time when he was paymaster of the mercenaries at Perinthus, when he held all the Hellespont, and was the most powerful of viceroys, had then, like Aristocrates today, moved a resolution that whosoever killed Philiscus should be liable to seizure in allied territory. I entreat you to reflect upon the depth of ignominy to which our city would have fallen. Thersagoras and Execestus came to Lesbos and lived there" (translation by A.T. Murray).

Demosthenes notes that Philiscus was μέγιστος … τῶν ὑπάρχων ("the most poweful of viceroys," i.e., satrapal subordinates), and draws attention to his personal behavior. The orator informs us that Philiscus possessed not only his native Abydus, but also Lampsacus, Perinthus, and all the Hellespont. Demosthenes confirms that Philiscus was subordinate to Ariobarzanes and was rewarded by the Athenians with citizenship. He repeats this same information later (23.202):

"In the first place… they (the Athenians) not only claimed that Ariobarzanes and his three sons deserved everything they chose to ask for, but they associated with him two men of Abydus, unprincipled fellows, and bitter enemies of Athens, Philiscus and Agavus" (translation by A.T. Murray).

Demosthenes associates Philiscus with an otherwise unknown Agavus, whom some consider a companion of Philiscus in his voyage to Greece.[33] Michael Weiskopf considers that, during his visit to Greece, Philiscus was accompanied not only by Agavus, but also Diomedon of Cyzicus[34] who is known from Nepos (*Epam*. 4), Plutarch (*Mor*. 193c) and Aelian (*VH* 5.5). The sources attest that Diomedon, having been sent by Artaxerxes II, arrived in Greece with 30,000 darics, and visited Thebes and Athens where he attempted to bribe Epaminondas and to establish relations with Chabrias (Nep. *Epam*. 4). It is certain that Diomedon was a subordinate of Ariobarzanes. Cyzicus, which may also have been controlled by Philiscus, belonged to the satrapy of Dascylium. Diomedon also contacted Chabrias and Epaminondas and, though his activity is not dated precisely by our sources, it may be related to the period before 367/6 B.C. when the Thebans obtained Persian support during the conference at Susa, thus providing a date that is *terminus ante quem*. The *terminus post quem* for Diomedon's mission to Greece is 380/379 B.C., when Chabrias was recalled from Cyprus by the Athenians on Persian demand (Diod. 15.29.3–4). It is tempting to suppose that Diomedon visited Greece with Philiscus to convince the Theban leaders to agree

[33] Judeich 1892, 201; Hofstetter 1978, 150.
[34] Weiskopf 1989, 35; 1982, 358. Cf. Ruzicka 2012, 125.

to a Persian backed peace plan;[35] but there is also the possibility that Diomedon's trip took place before Philiscus' mission. This version of events is preferable, since there are no authors who directly associate Diomedon and Philiscus.

It is important to determine when the individuals involved received their Athenian citizenship: was it before or after Philiscus' mission to Greece? In other words, when he visited Greece in 369/8 B.C. did Philiscus do so as an Athenian citizen? Scholars have proposed different solutions. Some have argued that Philiscus received his citizenship during his mission.[36] John Buckler considers that the Athenians agreed to help Ariobarzanes, and probably granted him and Philiscus Athenian citizenship as a show of solidarity.[37] But others date the event in 365/4 B.C. and connect it with the capture of the Hellespontine cities of Sestus and Crithote by Timotheus (Isocr. 15.111; Nepos. *Timoth*. 1.2–3).[38] It is commonly believed that these cities were given to Timotheus as gifts from Ariobarzanes and Philiscus, though the sources do not state this explicitly.[39] In 366/5 B.C. Ariobarzanes revolted against the King and Timotheus and Agesilaus helped him when he was besieged by Autophradates and Mausolus at Assus.[40] Demosthenes (15.9) says that when the Athenians sent the *strategos* Timotheus to assist Ariobarzanes they added to the decree the phrase "provided he does not break the treaty with the King." In theory, of course, the Athenians could have granted honors to a rebel satrap, but there is also a possibility that Ariobarzanes, Philiscus, and Agavus were honored by the Athenian assembly either before Philiscus' mission to Greece and thus when Chabrias' monument was erected in 375 B.C.[41] or immediately after the mission, but prior to Ariobarzanes' revolt. Michael Weiskopf argues that "An earlier date for the granting of citizenship may be more reasonable; citizenship was granted not to a tainted and weakened Ariobarzanes as the result of his service to Athens, but to a strong satrap and his subordinates in recognition of the absence of a disservice, the cutting of the Athenian grain supply."[42] It is difficult to come to any definite conclusion relating to the historical context for when Ariobarzanes and Philiscus were granted citizenship.[43]

[35] González 1997, 15–25.

[36] Olmstead 1948, 409; Burn 1985, 376; Ruzicka 1992a, 60; 1992b, 67; Heskel 1996, 113 n.62, 125.

[37] Buckler 1980, 166.

[38] Judeich 1892, 201 n.1; Moysey 1975, 53 n.31.

[39] Cawkwell 1961, 85 assumes that the Athenians had received Sestus and Crithote in accordance with the conditions of the Common Peace of 366/5 B.C.

[40] Dem. 15.9; Isocr. 15.111; Xen. *Ages*. 2.26–27; Nepos. *Timoth*. 1.

[41] Debord 1999, 299.

[42] Weiskopf 1989, 35.

[43] Raphael Sealey 1993, 81 simply notes: "At an unknown date the Athenians granted citizenship to Ariobarzanes and on his account to Philiskos." Sometimes it is believed that they were granted citizenship on account of Timotheus.

## Philiscus and IG. ii². 133

We glean some insight into this matter from the Athenian honor decree for Philiscus son of Lycus granting him προξενία and εὐεργεσία (IG. ii². 133).

προξενία καὶ εὐεργεσί[α]
Φιλίσ[κ]ωι Λύκου αὐτῶ[ι]
καὶ ἐ[κ]γ[ό]νοις Σ[ηστ]ίω[ι].
[ἐ]πὶ [Καλ]λ[ιστράτου ἄρχοντος ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀ]-
[κ]α[μαν]τίδ[ος ἐνάτης πρυτανείας ἧι Πά]-
[ν]διος Σωκλ[έ]ους ἐ[ξ Οἴου ἐγραμμάτευε]-
[ν]· τῶν προέδ[ρω]ν [ἐπεψήφιζε . . . . 9 . . . .]-
Κονθυλῆθ[ε]ν· ἔ[δοξεν τῶι δήμωι . . 5 . .]-
. ίδης εἶπε[ν]· ἐπ[ειδὴ Φιλίσκος ἀνὴρ ἀγ]-
[α]θὸς ἐγένετο [περὶ τὸν δῆμον τὸν Ἀθην]-
αίων μηνύσας τ[ὸν τῶν Βυζαντίων στόλ(?)]-
ον, ἐ[ψ]ηφίσθαι τῶ[ι δήμωι πρόξενον εἶν]-
αι κ[αὶ] εὐεργέτη[ν Ἀθηναίων τοῦ δήμου]
καὶ αὐτὸν καὶ [ἐκγόνους· καὶ ἀναγράψα]-
ι τόδε τὸ ψήφι[σμα τὸν γραμματέα τῆς β]-
ουλῆς ἐν στήληι λ[ιθίνηι καὶ καθαθεῖ]-
ναι ἐν τῆι ἀκροπ[όλει δέκα ἡμερῶν, εἰς]
δὲ τὴν ἀναγραφὴν [δοῦναι τὸν ταμίαν τ]-
οῦ δήμου ΔΔ δραχμ[ὰς ἐκ τῶν κατὰ ψηφίσ]-
ματα ἀναλισκ[ο]μ[ένων. ἐπαινέσαι δὲ Φι]-
λίσκον καὶ καλέσα[ι ἐπὶ ξένια εἰς τὸ π]-
ρυτανεῖο[ν] εἰς αὔ[ρ]ι[ον· ἐπιμελεῖσθαι]
δὲ Φιλίσκου τὸν λι[μενόφρουρον(?) τὸν Ἀ]-
θηναίων ἐν Ἑλλησπόν[τωι καὶ τοὺς ἄρχ]-
οντας τοὺς ἐν Ἑλλησπ[όντωι, Ἀθήνησι δ]-
ὲ τὴν βουλὴν τὴν ἀεὶ βο[υλεύουσαν καὶ]
τοὺς στρατηγοὺς ὅπως ἃ[ν μὴ ἀδικῆται].

No one has studied this inscription in detail in connection with activity of Philiscus of Abydus. Only John Buckler has suggested that the Philiscus named in the inscription should be identified as the same man who was sent to Greece.[44] The alternative view is that the man honored by the Athenians was a different Philiscus, possibly from Sestus.[45] The problem concerns the date of this decree. Unfortunately, the date that would have been given in the preamble has not survived and editors have had to restore the name of the eponymous archon as *Kallistratos* (line 4), which if true would provide us with a date of 355/354 B.C. The implication, then, is that the reconstructed date of the inscription is too late for our Philiscus, because he was probably dead before 360 B.C.[46] Even if Philiscus had lived until 355 B.C., it is highly unlikely the he would have been granted προξενία and εὐεργεσία after having become an Athenian citizen, because the *terminus ante quem* of his citizenship is based on the death of Ariobarzanes whose own son, Mithridates, betrayed him to the King, who had Ariobarzanes crucified prior to the cessation of the Great Satrapal Revolt of 360/59 B.C.[47] On the other hand, we can propose that proxeny was granted not only to Philiscus, but to Ariobarzanes and his three sons even earlier, which accords well with Demosthenes' statement (23.202) that they received everything they chose to ask for – πάντων ἠξίωσαν ὅσων ἐβουλήθησαν (i.e., not only *citizenship*). The decision of this chronological problem is to propose that the Athenians might (re-)construct a *stela* recording honors for Philiscus only after his death, a decade ago after they actually granted them to him, in order to memorize his services for Athens.[48] The inscription implies that Philiscus son of Lycus was the governor of certain Hellespontine cities (Demosthenes records Philiscus of Abydus, εἶχεν δ' ὅλον τὸν Ἑλλήσποντον: 23.142) and collaborated with the Athenian army. The individuals mentioned as τοὺς ἄρχ]οντας τοὺς ἐν Ἑλλησπ[όντωι (ll. 23–24) might have been Philiscus' lieutenants, like Agavus or Diomedon. It is almost

[44] Buckler 2004, 316, n. 23.

[45] Mosley 1973, 7; Lewis 1986, 77; Gerolymatos 1986, 46–47.

[46] The precise date of Philiscus' death remains unknown and the subject of various scholarly speculation. For example, Weiskopf 1982, 380–381 supposes that "the collapse of Philiscus may come sometime in 365 or later." Heskel 1996, 117, 150 dates Philiscus' death to the spring of 363 B.C.

[47] Xen. *Cyr*. 8.8.4; Arist. *Pol*. 5.8.15; Val. Max. 9.11; Harpocrat. s.v. Ἀριοβαρζάνης: σατράπης Φρυγίας ἀποδειχθεὶς οὗτος παρὰ Ἀρταξέρξου ἀπέστη, ὃς καὶ ἀποστείλας λαὸν τοὺς πολεμήσοντας αὐτῷ καὶ χειρωσάμενος ἐσταύρωσεν.

[48] The obvious parallel for this is the Athenian decree for Heraclides of Clazomenae (IG. i$^3$.227). On the one hand, this document was inscribed on a *stela* in the 390s, even though the recorded grant of προξενία and εὐεργεσία to Heraclides for his role in negotiating the peace treaty of Epilycus occurred in the 420s (Köhler 1892, 68–78; cf. Harris 1999, 123–128); on the other hand, it was issued after Heraclides had become an Athenian citizen. As Aristotle (*Ath. Pol.* 6.41) makes clear, Heraclides was rewarded with citizenship before 404/3 B.C.

certain that there were no two men named Philiscus who simultaneously ruled in the Hellespontine region. Philiscus' ethnic in the inscription restored as Σ[ηστ]ίω[ι] may be due to his having resided in Sestus situated on the European side of Hellespont opposite to Abydus at the time of the decree. The advantage of Sestus for the control of the Hellespont was evident already in the antiquity. Herodotus (9.115) sees Sestus as the strongest walled site in the region. Xenophon (*Hell*. 4.8.5) describes Sestus as strong and hard to capture by siege. Finally, Strabo (13.1.22) writes:

"Sestus is the best of the cities in the Chersonesus; and, on account of its proximity to Abydus, *it was assigned to the same governor as Abydus* in the times when governorships had not yet been delimited by continents. Now although Abydus and Sestus are about thirty stadia distant from one another from harbour to harbour, yet the line of the bridge across the strait is short, being drawn at an angle to that between the two cities, that is, from a point nearer than Abydus to the Propontis on the Abydus side to a point farther away from the Propontis on the Sestus side" (translation by H.L. Jones).

Strabo (13.1.22) also cites the historian Theopompus:

"Theopompus says that Sestus is small but well fortified, and that it is connected with its harbour by a double wall of two plethra, and that for this reason, as also on account of the current, it is mistress of the passage" (translation by H.L. Jones).

It is possible that Philiscus held Sestus before it was captured by Timotheus and became an Athenian possession.

## Conclusion

Philiscus' mission to Greece belongs in the category of unofficial Persian diplomatic enterprises towards the Greeks since the Greco-Persian Wars.[49] The sources attest that Philiscus was the key agent in Greco-Persian relations at least for a decade (375–365 B.C.) and played a significant role in communications between the Great King of Persia, satrap Ariobarzanes, and the Greeks. So, in combination with information from other sources, Xenophon and Diodorus' reports on Philiscus' mission provide important contemporary testimony about Persian involvement in Greek affairs.

The failure of Philiscus' mission attests the decline of Persian influence in shaping Greek affairs since it was the first unsuccessful Persian diplomatic enterprise at least since the Peace of Antalcidas. So, in answer to the question of why the Greeks had refused to conclude the Persian-sponsored peace of 369/8 B.C., we can point several factors. The defeat of Sparta at Leuctra as well as the political instability of the Persian Empire itself which resulted in the Great Sa-

[49] Rung 2008, 28–50.

trapal revolt of 362/1 B.C. The unintended effect of the rebellion was to decrease the King's capability to involve himself directly in Greek affairs. The Greeks themselves realized this and did not consider Persia to be the "influential force" it had once been in their interstate relations.

Two years later when the Persians supported the Thebans at the conference in Susa (368/7 B.C.), they also were not able to convince the Greeks to conclude the peace on Persian-Theban terms. When the Thebans and their allies defeated the Spartans at Mantinea (362/1 B.C.), the Greeks negotiated the peace treaty without having consulted the King who was otherwise preoccupied with the suppression of the Satrapal Revolt.

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## Abstract

The paper is devoted to the mission of Phyliscus to Greece. This mission belonged in the category of unofficial diplomatic enterprises that had been regular in Persian foreign policy since the period of the Greco-Persian Wars. The sources attest that Philiscus was the key agent in the Greco-Persian relations at least for decade (375–365 B.C.) and played a significant role in communications between the Great King of Persia, satrap Ariobarzanes, and the Greeks. The failure of Philiscus' mission attests the decline of Persian influence on Greek affairs since it was the first unsuccessful Persian diplomatic enterprise for some last decades (at least since the Peace of Antalcidas). The reasons for this failure was that the political instability in the Persian Empire in that period resulted in the Great Satrapal revolt in 362/1 B.C. actually decreased the King's capability to be involved actively in Greek affairs and the Greeks themselves realized this and did not consider the Persians as the "influenced force" in their interstate relations.

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# "THE SOUNDS OF SILENCE": A NEW WIFE FOR KASSANDROS SON OF ANTIPATROS

**Keywords:** Adea, Kassandros, Argeads, Macedonia, Beroea

Olga Palagia has recently published a brilliant new interpretation of the grave monument of a certain Adea, daughter of Kynnana and Kassandros.[1] Not only has she presented art-historical arguments for the significance and dating of the artifact, but she has postulated a new bride for Kassandros son of Antipatros, the later king of the Macedonians. The prosopographic and genealogical arguments of Palagia's paper are fascinating and, if correct, they would revolutionize our picture of both the Argead royal house and the politics of Successors in general and Kassandros in particular. I have no expertise in the fields of archaeology and art history, and must leave the problems of iconography and its significance, as well as the difficult task of dating, to others. I do have some concerns about the likelihood that the father of the deceased girl was the later Macedonian king.

## §1. Carved in stone

The grave relief, showing four anthropomorphic figures and a herm, is surmounted by the inscription ΑΔΕΑ ΚΑΣΣΑΝΔΡΟΥ ("Adea daughter of Kassandros") and is itself located above an inscription which reads (*SEG* 24 [1969] 503):

Γνῶθι τὸν ‘Αδείας ὑπ’ ἐμοὶ τάφον, ἣν ἔτ’ ἄωρον
παρθένον ἐγ νούσου δεινὸς ἔμαρψε ’Αΐδης·
ματρὶ δὲ κῆδος ἀεὶ μέγα Κυννάναι, ἅ μιν ἔτικτε,
καὶ μέγα Κασσάνδρωι πατρὶ λιποῦσα ἔθανεν.

[1] Palagia 2008. I thank Sabine Müller for her thoughtful comments on this paper.

> Know that beneath me is the tomb of Hadeia [sic]. Terrible Hades seized her after an illness while she was still a virgin, not ready for marriage. She died, leaving in great and everlasting mourning her mother Cynnana, who bore her, and her father Cassander.[2]

Palagia argues that the young woman, who died a virgin (*parthenos*) before reaching marriageable age and is identified as Adea, the daughter of Kynnana and Kassandros, is in all likelihood a member of both the Argead royal family and that of Antipatros the regent. In Palagia's opinion, Kassandros married a daughter of the famous Kynnana (Kynnane/Kynna, daughter of Philip II and Audata) and Amyntas Perdikka. She would thus have been a second child of that couple, though Palagia does not indicate whether she would place her birth before or after that of Adea (later married to Philip III Arrhidaios and known officially as Eurydike). The second child's original name is uncertain: she may have been named Kynnana at birth or else she received that name later in life to honor her mother, who had been killed in 322 or 321 by Alketas, the brother of Perdikkas (Polyaenus, *Strat.* 8.60; Arr. *Succ.* 1.23).[3] Kassandros, we are told, sought to strengthen his bid for power (initially against Polyperchon, whom Antipatros had appointed *epimeletes* or *epitropos* of the "kings" on his deathbed) by marrying this daughter of Amyntas IV.

## §2. Problematic Literary Evidence

The existence of a second child of Kynnana and Amyntas Perdikka is unrecorded, as we shall note once again in section 3 (*Sounds of Silence*). But Polyaenus,[4] our most complete source for the life of Kynnana and Adea-Eurydike (basing his account on Duris of Samos)[5] states that the latter was her only daughter by Amyntas (μίαν ἔχουσα θυγατέρα ἐξ ᾽Αμύντου Εὐρυδίκην). The date of the marriage is, of course, far from certain. Philip II married Audata, perhaps a daughter of the Illyrian king, Bardylis (Satyrus *ap.* Athen. 13.557c),[6] very soon

[2] The translation is from Palagia's publication.

[3] The chronological problems are a matter of endless debate. See the convenient summary of "high" and "low" chronologies by Pat Wheatley in Yardley–Wheatley–Heckel 2012, 8–22.

[4] All references to Polyaenus are to 8.60.

[5] See Heckel 1983–84.

[6] Her father's name is not given, and it is often assumed that she was the daughter of Bardylis (Heckel 2006, 100). Carney 2000, 57–8 is more cautious; Ellis 1976, 47: "probably the niece or daughter of Bardylis"; Hammond 1994, 27: "a daughter or granddaughter of Bardylis, who was in his nineties." For the details of her life see Berve 1926, 229 no. 456 and Heckel 2006, 100.

after his Illyrian victory in 358 (Diod. 16.4; cf. Front. *Strat.* 2.3.2). The only attested child of this union, Kynnana, was born in 357 and may have married Amyntas Perdikka as early as 344/3. But it is generally assumed that the marriage belonged to the last year or two of Philip II's life;[7] for this is how we must take the remark that Kynnana lost her husband soon after the marriage (γημαμένην δὲ ᾽Αμύντᾳ τῷ Περδίκκου ταχέως τοῦτον ἀποβαλοῦσα). We know that Amyntas was executed on Alexander's orders very soon after Philip's death and that, during the Illyrian campaign of 336/5, Alexander offered the hand of his half-sister to Langaros, king of the Agrianes.[8] There would thus be very little time for the birth of a second child; nor is it likely that Kynnana would have taken Adea to Asia with her and left the slightly younger daughter at home.[9]

On one other point, there is contradictory – or, at least, problematic – evidence. Palagia suggests that "[a] dynastic marriage arranged by Antipater for his son, Cassander, with the queen's sister is perfectly plausible."[10] Not only would it be difficult to understand Antipatros' decision to confer the office of *epimeletes*

[7] Greenwalt 1988, 96 notes that "most brides of the late Argead court were a few years older than their southern counterparts." If there is any truth to the story that Kynnana fought against the Illyrians, this must have occurred in the army of her father, before her marriage and at an age when she was physically able to participate in battle (Polyaenus, *Strat.* 8.60: καὶ ᾽Ιλλυριοῖς παρατασσομένη τὴν βασιλεύουσαν αὐτῶν καιρίαν ἐς τὸν αὐχένα πλήξασα κατέβαλε); cf. Carney 2000, 69 (who also dates the marriage to "probably between 338 and 336"): "Cynnane's mother taught her to be a warrior, and she fought in Philip's campaigns against the Illyrians." (That she managed in the course of the battle to find a female opponent – and a royal one at that – to slay defies credulity and smacks of sensationalism.) An early date for the wedding might be supported by Philip's difficult Illyrian campaign (normally dated to 344/3, but fixed by Hatzopoulos 2005, 51 to 345 BC), if we believe that Illyrian opinion might be swayed by elevated status for Philip's half-Illyrian daughter, or perhaps after Philip's blinding at Methone, which may have induced him to make additional provisions for his succession.

[8] I do not wish to discuss the vexed question of Amyntas' involvement in a conspiracy against Alexander that found support in Boiotia (on this see Ellis 1971; Prandi 1998, and 2013, 12–13; Worthington 2003). I am, however, reluctant to accept the cynical view of Green 1973, 141 that the offer was made when she was "still Amyntas' wife: a nice touch of macabre humour"; cf. also the objections of Prandi 1998, 94 n.23. Nor do I understand Worthington's remark (2003, 81) that "to say that Cynnana was a widow when Alexander was in the Balkans is distorting the text too much"; it is, after all, the obvious interpretation, and I see no evidence in this period of a wife being removed from her living husband against his wishes. Instead, the view that Alexander promised Kynnana in marriage because she would soon be a widow is a far greater distortion of the text's meaning. In part, the solution depends on whether the participle ἀποβαλοῦσα means "rejecting" (thus Lane Fox 2011, 32) or "losing" (see *LSJ* s.v. ἀποβάλλω for both meanings). In either case, however, there is good reason to assume that the marriage took place in 337 or 336.

[9] As far as the girl's name is concerned, renaming after marriage is certainly possible. Although we are often ignorant of the names of wives and their daughters, what evidence we have does not support the view that, in the royal and aristocratic families of Macedon at this time, daughters are named after their mothers at birth.

[10] Palagia 2008, 205.

on Polyperchon (and thus relegate his son to the lower rank of *chiliarchos*), if such a marriage existed, but it appears to be at odds with Antipatros' dynastic policies in the years that followed Alexander's death. We know that the ambitions of Kynnana (Palagia's "Cynnana I") were not looked upon with favor by Antipatros: Polyaenus tells us that he attempted unsuccessfully to prevent her departure for Asia by blocking her crossing of the Strymon (ἐτόλμησεν αὐτὴ διαβῆναι τὸν Στρυμόνα, ᾽Αντιπάτρου δὲ κωλύοντος βιασαμένη τὸν). For, in fact, Antipatros was attempting to secure the cooperation of Alexander's leading marshals by a network of marriages with his own daughters.[11]

## §3. The Sounds of Silence

Arguments *e silentio* are regularly disparaged and often dismissed as desperate.[12] But there are times – and this is one such occasion – when the combined effect of the arguments from silence is deafening.

We may return to the beginning, to the grave relief. Although the mother and father of the deceased girl are named, neither is identified as an individual of any note. Only the names and their peculiar combination attract interest.[13] The mother is not identified as a member of the Argead house, although, according to Palagia's proposal, she was not only the granddaughter of both Perdikkas III and Philip II, successive rulers of Macedon, but also the sister of the recently deceased queen, Adea-Eurydike.[14] Nor is Kassandros identified in any way. Palagia remarks: "Cassander did not assume the royal title until 306/5, hence the lack of title in the epigram. He was, however, ruler of Macedon since the death of Olympias in 316, and it should not be surprising if he had his daughter represented in the company of Macedonia personified."[15] In this period of intense

[11] For the complexity of these dealings see Seibert 1967 and Ogden 1999, 53–4. The old regent's ambitions could easily be undermined by the prospect of a marriage with an Argead princess (see also Carney 2000, 129–30).

[12] See recently the comments of Meeus 2013, 88: "Although it is universally recognized that the argument from silence is a logical fallacy, and most agree that it cannot therefore be used in a historical argument, one often encounters it." Now, I agree that by itself the argument from silence *proves* nothing, but in conjunction with other evidence it must at least be considered, especially when the counterargument is based on a similar form of silence.

[13] This is, in fact, Palagia's starting point: "But the combination of all three names, Cassander, Cynnana, and Adea is striking and seems to point to Macedonian royalty" (2008, 204).

[14] For the importance of pedigree on funeral inscriptions see the Archedike epigram quoted by Thucydides 6.59.3 and the anonymous epigram of Olympias (Plut. *Mor.* 747f–748a); cf. Justin 12.16.3; similar is the medieval epitaph of the empress Matilda. See Yardley–Heckel 1997, 294, and Diod. 19.51.6, discussed below.

[15] Palagia 2008, 206.

political rivalry (when most politicians resorted to more than imagery), the subtlety of the grave relief and its location in Beroea (see further below) are difficult to comprehend.

The birthdate of Adea II (as well as the year of her death) is further complicated by Palagia's conjecture about Kassandros' eldest son. "The fact that Philip IV succeeded unopposed and there was no triple partition of the kingdom suggests that he was older than his brothers and therefore possibly by a different mother. If he was Cynnana II's son, he could have been over 20 at his father's death."[16] But again there is no mention of Philip IV's maternal ancestry in the histories of the Diadochoi, and one wonders why the couple did not name their son Perdikkas or Amyntas.[17] Pausanias (8.7.7) states that "the sons of Kassandros were born to Thessalonike the daughter of Philip" (Κασσάνδρῳ δὲ οἱ παῖδες ἐκ Θεσσαλονίκης γεγόνασι τῆς Φιλίππου) and, although we cannot be certain that he was not thinking merely of Antipatros and Alexandros, there is no compelling reason to exclude Philip IV.

Philip, in the scenario proposed by Palagia, would probably have been born before Adea II, whose birth must be dated to no earlier than late 317. Since she was more than an infant at the time of her death – it would be pointless to describe her as "still a virgin, not ready for marriage"[18] if she were in the first years of her life – and the grave stele speaks of her mother as still living, Kynnana II would have been alive and the recent mother of two children when Kassandros married Thessalonike in 316/15. The status of Kynnana II, and her alleged production of a male heir, makes Kassandros' decision to marry a second Argead princess more difficult to explain, particularly if (as it seems) Thessalonike was between twenty-five and thirty years old at the time.[19] And, although we have numerous examples of kings with multiple wives, we know of no one who aspired to the Macedonian throne marrying more than one daughter of the previous king.[20] Furthermore, we have no evidence of amphimetric strife. Palagia explains

[16] Palagia 2008, 207.

[17] When an individual contracted an advantageous marriage, the first child was often named after the maternal grandfather. See, for example, Pyrrhos' first son, Ptolemaios (Plut. *Pyrr.* 6.1).

[18] See *LSJ* s.v. ἄωρος (A) 1.

[19] For her age at marriage see Carney 2000, 155; Greenwalt 1988, 94; cf. Berve 1926, 2.179; Macurdy 1932, 52–3. Carney 155: "That her father arranged no marriage for her but did so for his other two daughters suggests that she was not old enough to marry during Philip's reign. … Thessalonice is likely to have been born toward the end of the 340s." I would not, however, rule out a birthdate of c.346/5.

[20] Palagia 2008, 207 mentions Alexander's marriages to Stateira and Parysatis, but he was king and consolidating his position in Asia, and they were, at any rate, the daughters of two different Persian kings (i.e. not even half-sisters). Dareios I, admittedly, married two daughters of Kyros the Great, but of these Artystone was a virgin and her sister, Atossa, had been the wife of both Kambyses and "Smerdis" (and thus a case of levirate marriage). It appears too that Kassandros'

this, in part, by removing Kynnana II (and presumably her children) to Beroea.[21] But why, at this early point, favor Thessalonike over Kynnana II, whose pedigree was arguably more impressive?

Diodorus 19.52.1 makes it clear that Kassandros' regal aspirations were furthered by his marriage to Thessalonike:

> Κάσανδρος δέ, κατὰ νοῦν αὐτῷ τῶν πραγμάτων προχωρούντων, περιελάμβανε ταῖς ἐλπίσι τὴν Μακεδόνων βασιλείαν. διὸ καὶ Θεσσαλονίκην ἔγημε, τὴν Φιλίππου μὲν θυγατέρα Ἀλεξάνδρου δὲ ἀδελφὴν ὁμοπάτριον, σπεύδων οἰκεῖον αὑτὸν ἀποδεῖξαι της βασιλικῆς συγγενείας.
>
> "Kassandros, since his affairs had proceeded according to plan, began to aspire to the Macedonian kingship. For this reason, he married Thessalonike, who was both the daughter of Philip and the sister of Alexander on the father's side, *hastening to establish for himself a connection with the royal family*" [emphasis added].

Even if Kassandros believed that a union with a daughter of Philip was preferable to one with a granddaughter, the connection with the royal family would already have been established by the marriage to Kynnana II. And that connection would certainly have been strengthened by the birth of Philip (according to Palagia's theory).[22] An earlier attempt at forging a link with the Argead house, if Diodorus 20.37.4 is to be taken literally, involved a marriage proposal to Kleopatra, the sister of Alexander the Great and widow of Alexander of Epirus. Such an offer is unlikely to have been made after 316.[23]

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courtship of Kleopatra (if there is any truth to the story) preceded his decision to marry Thessalonike (Seibert 1967, 19, 21).

[21] Palagia 2008, 208: "As for Beroea, if Cassander practiced polygamy, he may not have wished to keep all his wives under one roof or even in one city." But why Beroea? He might have housed one wife and her offspring in Aegae, Pella, Pydna, Dium (and, especially in the case of Thessalonike, the city that he founded in her name).

[22] If Kassandros did, indeed, consider Thessalonike a more prestigious bride than Kynnana II, one wonders at the very thing that Palagia adduces in support of her view that Philip IV was Kynnana's son: the lack of "a triple partition of the kingdom" (207). The failure to contest Philip's accession is even more difficult to understand when one considers that his physical ailment (on which see Carney 1999, 214) must have been obvious at the time of Kassandros' death; and nevertheless a wife relegated to Beroea was able to see her son elevated to the kingship over the claims of those of a more powerful rival. Furthermore, Carney 1999, 211 n.14 suggests that Philip was born in 316 and "they [i.e. Antipatros and Alexandros] could have been born in 215 and 214 [*sic*]" (that is, 315 and 314: the dates are clearly misprinted); but Carney clearly believes that Thessalonike was much younger than thirty and thus more easily capable of bearing three children in successive years (2000, 155).

[23] διὰ τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν οὖν τοῦ γένους οἱ περὶ Κάσανδρον καὶ Λυσίμαχον, ἔτι δὲ Ἀντίγονον καὶ Πτολεμαῖον καὶ καθόλου πάντες οἱ μετὰ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου τελευτὴν ἀξιολογώτατοι τῶν ἡγεμόνων ταύτην [sc. Κλεοπάτραν] ἐμνήστευον. See Seibert 1967, 19, 21.

By far the greatest difficulty relates to Kassandros' burial of Philip III Arrhidaios, Adea-Eurydike and Kynnana I.[24]

> μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα βασιλικῶς ἤδη διεξάγων τὰ κατὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν Εὐρυδίκην μὲν καὶ Φίλιππον τοὺς βασιλεῖς, ἔτι δὲ καὶ Κύνναν, ἣν ἀνεῖλεν ᾽Αλκέτας, ἔθαψεν ἐν Αἰγαιαῖς, καθάπερ ἔθος ἦν τοῖς βασιλεῦσι. τιμήσας δὲ τοὺς τετελευτηκότας ἐπιταφίοις ἀγῶσι ....[25]
>
> "Next, already conducting the affairs of the kingdom in regal fashion, he buried the rulers, Eurydike and Philip, as well as Kynna, whom Alketas had killed, in Aegae, as was customary for kings. Having honored the dead with funeral games…."

There is not a word about Kassandros' own family relationship to the deceased royals. No comment that he was giving funeral honors to his wife's sister and his own mother-in-law. Even if we were to assume that Kassandros was by nature a modest man and not inclined towards self-promotion[26] – something that is contradicted by Diod. 19.52.1 – it remains to explain the silence of the historians themselves. Diodorus (and thus probably his source) made a point, only one page earlier of noting the ancestry of Olympias, whose death had been arranged by Kassandros. She is described as follows:

> ᾽Ολυμπιὰς μὲν οὖν, μέγιστον τῶν καθ᾽ αὑτὴν ἐσχηκυῖα ἀξίωμα καὶ γεγενημένη θυγάτηρ μὲν Νεοπτολέμου τοῦ βασιλέως τῶν ᾽Ηπειρωτῶν, ἀδελφὴ δὲ ᾽Αλεξάνδρου τοῦ στρατεύσαντος εἰς ᾽Ιταλίαν, ἔτι δὲ γυνὴ μὲν Φιλίππου τοῦ πλεῖστον ἰσχύσαντο τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ κατὰ τὴν Εὐρώπην δυναστευσάντων, μήτηρ δὲ ᾽Αλεξάνδρου

[24] Palagia and Borza present one of the most detailed and emphatic cases for the identity of Tomb II at Vergina as that of Philip II and Adea-Eurydike.

[25] Diod. 19.52.5.

[26] Plut. *Demetr.* 18.4, claiming that Kassandros did not use the title (Κάσσανδρος δέ, τῶν ἄλλων βασιλέα καὶ γραφόντων καὶ καλούντων, αὐτὸς ὥσπερ πρότερον εἰώθει τὰς ἐπιστολὰς ἔγραψε) does not support this view, since Plutarch refers to the manner in which Kassandros styled himself *in letters*. That he used the title in Macedon is clear from *Syll.*[3] 332 = Hatzopoulos 1996, II 43–5 no. 20 (a land grant to Perdikkas son of Koinos), in which he appears as βασιλεὺς Μακεδόνων Κάσσανδρος (for full discussion see Errington 1974). I note also that in this inscription the ancestry of Perdikkas is carefully spelled out – though, admittedly, this is a different type of document. On the matter of Kassandros' failure to make any significant use of his alleged relationship with Kynnana II, I would add the comments of Sabine Müller, who writes to me: "Es kam mir auch immer sehr seltsam vor, dass diese angebliche Tochter keinerlei Spuren in Kassanders Selbstdarstellung hinterlassen haben soll, denn ansonsten ging er mit der Namensgebung seiner Kinder programmatisch ja sehr offensiv vor und baute auch gerade seine Frau mit eponymer Städtebenennung sehr ein. Da dies etwas auch Lysimachos und Ptolemaios ebenso wie Demetrios mit ihren Töchtern machten (eponyme Stadtbenennungen; sie treten als Stifterinnen auf) wundert es mich, dass Kassander das mit seiner 'Tochter' nicht auch gemacht habe."

> τοῦ πλεῖστα καὶ κάλλιστα κατεργασαμένου τοιαύτης καταστροφῆς ἔτυχε.[27]
>
> "Such was the end of Olympias, who had attained to the highest dignity of the women of her day, having been daughter of Neoptolemus, king of the Epirotes, sister of the Alexander who made a campaign into Italy, and also wife of Philip, who was the mightiest of all who down to his time had ruled in Europe, and mother of Alexander, whose deeds were the greatest and most glorious" (R.M. Geer tr.).

But about Kynnana and her relationship to Kassandros Diodorus says nothing.[28] Since it clearly suited Kassandros to honor members of the royal family – and particularly the opponents of Olympias and her grandson (both of whom were put to death) – it would have been even more effective to point to his kinship by marriage (had this existed) with an act of both public and individual piety.[29] Furthermore, the tombs themselves, if the excavations at Vergina have revealed the final resting place of Philip III Arrhidaios and Adea-Eurydike, pose problems. Would not Adea-Eurydike and Kynnana I have received special treatment from their brother-in-law and son-in-law respectively? But compelling evidence for Kynnana's tomb is hard to find,[30] and Adea-Eurydike, if she is the occupant of the antechamber of Tomb II, appears to have been placed there as afterthought.[31]

[27] Diod. 19.51.6.

[28] Nor is there any comment in Athen. 4.155a, citing Diyllus of Athens (*FGrH* 73 F1): Δίυλλος δ' ὁ 'Αθηναῖος ἐν τῇ ἑνάτῃ τῶν ἱστοριῶν φησιν ὡς Κάσανδρος ἐκ Βοιωτίας ἐπανιὼν καὶ θάψας τὸν βασιλέα καὶ τὴν βασίλισσαν ἐν Αἰγαίαις καὶ μετ' αὐτων τὴν Κύνναν τὴν Ευρυδίκης μητέρα καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τιμήσας οἷς προσήκει καὶ μονομαχίας ἀγῶνας ἔθηκεν, εἰς ὃν κατέβησαν τέσσαρες τῶν στρατιωτῶν. On the basis of the form of the name (on which see Heckel 1983–84) and the details preserved, it appears that Diyllus was Diodorus' source, and hence it is less likely that his failure to comment on Kassandros' relationship with the deceased is merely an oversight.

[29] Compare Alexander's concern for the burial of his father, Philip: Diod. 17.2.1; Justin 11.2.1.

[30] Lane Fox 2011, 1–34 does not believe that any descendant of Perdikkas III was buried in the so-called Royal Tombs of Vergina (Tombs I-III), and he asserts that "Tomb IV as not built in 316/15 and is not Kynna's tomb" (28). Borza and Palagia 2007, who provide detailed arguments for identifying Tomb II as that of Philip III and Adea-Eurydike, are curiously silent about Kynnana's final resting place, although this is clearly a matter of some importance.

[31] In conversation, Professor Palagia expressed to me the view that the antechamber was not a later addition and that it is in no way inferior to the room occupied by the male occupant. The age of the female, determined by a study of the skeletal remains, appears to have been about 25. Whether this supports the view of Borza and Palagia (2007, 106) depends upon the accuracy of the osteological study (or, indeed, its interpretation, see Lane Fox 2011, 21) and the date of Kynnana I's marriage to Amyntas Perdikka.

## §4. The less-than-glamorous Truth

Palagia's identification of Kynnana II as a member of the Argead royal house was based primarily on the (admittedly unusual) combination of the names Kynnana, Adea and Kassandros. The art-historical arguments show that a fourth-century date for the grave inscription and thus the death of the young Adea cannot be ruled out. But the historical arguments clearly militate against the identification of these individuals with members of the family of Philip II and Antipatros. It is more likely that the parents of the deceased girl were members of the Beroean elite and that the mother was in all probability Kynnana, the daughter of Epigenes (Tataki 1988 no. 781). The family appears to have belonged to the first half of the third century BC.[32]

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[32] See Tataki 1988, 85 (no. 26), 210 (nos. 780, 781), 432–3. There were certainly members of important Macedonian families attested in Beroea. Tataki's work has, I believe, given strong support to Edson's view (1934) that the Antigonids had strong connections with the town (see Tataki 1988, 420). Professor Palagia's argument, like that of Oikonomides 1987 (which links Philip and Iolaos of *IG* II$^2$ 561 with the sons of Antipatros), looks attractive at first sight but does not stand up to scrutiny.

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## Abstract

Olga Palagia has recently published a new interpretation of the grave monument of a certain Adea, daughter of Kynnana and Kassandros. Not only has she presented art-historical arguments for the significance and dating of the artifact, but she has postulated a new bride for Kassandros son of Antipatros, the later king of the Macedonians. But the historical arguments militate against the identification of these individuals with members of the family of Philip II and Antipatros. It is more likely that the parents of the deceased girl were members of the Beroean elite and that the mother was in all probability Kynnana, the daughter of Epigenes. The family appears to have belonged to the first half of the third century BC.

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# EUPATOR'S UNMARRIED SISTERS: AN APPROACH TO THE DYNASTIC STRUGGLE IN PONTUS AFTER THE DEATH OF MITHRIDATES V EUERGETES

**Keywords:** Mithridates V Euergetes, Mithradates VI Eupator, Pontus, royal women

When Roman legions invaded the Pontic territory in 72 BC, Mithridates sought to keep the women of the royal court safe. Some of these women were sent eastwards to Pharnacia hoping that they could be preserved from the war. The next year, the king was defeated at Cabira and forced to retreat to Iberia. A passage in Plutarch's *Life of Lucullus* recounts that at that desperate moment Eupator dispatched the eunuch Bacchides to ensure the death of these women in order to prevent them from falling in enemy hands. The scene was extremely dramatic: Queen Monime tried to hang herself with her own diadem, but she failed because the diadem broke. She then presented her throat to be cut by Bacchides. Both the concubine Berenice and her mother drank poison; the former, however, did not take enough of the drug, and the eunuch strangled her. Two of Mithridates' sisters, Roxane and Stateira, also took poison. Prior to dying, the first one cursed the king. The second woman, in contrast, expressed gratitude to her brother: far from neglecting them, he had provided them the opportunity to die in freedom and under no shame.[1]

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[1] Plu. *Luc.* 18; App. *Mith.* 82; Memn. *FGrHist* 434 F1, 30.1; Aelian fr. 14 Hercher; Van Ooteghem 1959, 98; Van Hooff 1990, 61, 95; Keaveney 2005, 122; Tröster 2008, 39. The contrast between Roxane's curse and Stateira's gratitude has been regarded as 'literary inventions to dramatize the ethical problems posed by a dramatic situation' (Portanova 1988, 523 n. 857). Plutarch's passage has been attributed to Archias (Reinach 1890, 335 with n. 2). On Bacchides, see Olshausen 1974, 168; Guyot 1980, 98, 191. Other royal women took refuge in Cabeira, and Lucullus found

Plutarch informs the reader that the princesses were 'about forty years old' at that time. It has been presumed, however, that they should have been older, as Mithridates V had died at the latest in 120 BC.[2] The paucity of information about events in the Pontic court from the death of this king until Eupator's accession to the throne, as well as the fact that this age probably comes from a rounded number, has led modern scholars to suspect that Plutarch's source quite likely provided an erroneous report. Nonetheless, if this age were true, even approximately, important conclusions could be deduced. They can help us partially reconstruct the state of affairs within the palace of Sinope while Mithridates Eupator was an orphaned prince under the regency of his mother Laodice.

The exact date of Euergetes' death is unknown. We only have several indirect testimonies that are very difficult to relate to each other. Regarding Eupator's age at the time of his father's death, the ancient accounts reveal that the prince could have been 11 or 12 years old.[3] His date of birth is a matter of dispute: depending of the source, it may be placed between 135 and 133 BC.[4] Other arguments are not very useful either. It is well attested that Greater Phrygia was removed from the Pontic rule by the Roman Republic after the death of Mithridates Euergetes, but the concrete moment for this decision does not appear in our sources. For a long time, the suggested date was 116 BC, because it was the year commonly proposed for a *senatus consultum* alluding to the status of Phrygia (*OGIS* 436), presumably issued in that year during the consulship of Licinius Geta.[5] This measure, however, may have been decided some years earlier under Geta's praetorship.[6] We also know that Caius Gracchus delivered a speech against the so-called *Lex Aufeia* in which Manius

them alive (Plu. *Luc.* 18.1–2). The general's attitude towards the royal Pontic and Armenian women could be related to *Imitatio Alexandri*: see Ballesteros-Pastor 1998, 81; cf. Carney 1996. On this kind of scene, see Van Hooff 1992. On the king's retreat to Caucasus, see in particular Ioseph. *AI* 13.419; cf. *BI* 1.116; Traina 2012, 83.

[2] Reinach 1890, 50; Sherwin-White 1984, 43; Portanova 1988, 379, 391; Kallet-Marx 1995, 240.

[3] Str. 10.4.10 (11 years old); Eutr. 6.12.3 (12 years old); Memnon's statement (*FGrHist* 434 F1, 22.3) that Mithridates VI got the power when he was 13 is a confusion with 23, which was the king's age when he began his effective rule (wrongly regarded as regnal years by Justin 38.8.1): Ballesteros-Pastor 2009, 224; 2013b, 82–84, 209. Eupator's childhood as an orphaned prince may have contributed to presenting him as a hero appointed by divinity: cf. Müller 2009.

[4] 135 BC: Eutr. 6.12.3; Oros. *Hist.* 6.5.7. 133/2 BC: App. *Mith.* 112. Both Cassius Dio (36.9.5) and Sallust (*Hist.* fr. 5.5M) suggest that the king was even older: cf. Ryan 2001, 105 n. 38; Ballesteros-Pastor 2013b, 76–95.

[5] McGing 1980; Sherwin-White 1984, 96. Ryan 2001, 101–103, agrees with this date, but defends the proposal that Phrygia was removed from Pontic rule in 118 BC.

[6] Drew-Bear 1972, proposed 119 BC. Ramsey 1999, 238–239, and Wiseman 2009, 50, suggested c. 122. Brennan 2000, vol. II, 470, pointed to a possible date in 120.

Aquillius, the consul who ended the war of Aristonicus, was accused of accepting bribes from both Nicomedes III and Mithridates V (Gell. *NA* 11.10.4; cf. App. *Mith.*12, 57, *BC* 1.22; Liv. *Per.*70). These kings were likely trying to obtain some Anatolian territories from this magistrate, who had organized the province of Asia. Mithridates actually got the annexation of Greater Phrygia thanks to this money.[7] Gracchus' speech, frequently dated in 121 BC, may have been delivered some time earlier, coinciding with the period when the tribune was at the height of his influence. Thus, a date towards 123/2 can be suggested for Geta's praetorship, which provides a more coherent background for these senatorial decisions regarding Asia Minor.[8] This hypothesis could be reinforced by relating Gracchus' discourse with the *Lex Acilia repetundarum*, plausibly issued on account of the *popularis* opposition to Aquillius' measures in Asia.[9] Finally, Euergetes' death has been linked with the comet seen in 120 BC: according to Justin (37.2.2) a brilliant star appeared when Eupator began to rule.[10] This may fit with Pliny and Appian, who described Eupator's reign as 56 or 57 years.[11] Without valorizing the reliability of these options, it is evident that none of the proposed dates for the end of Euergetes' lifetime correspond with the age reported by Plutarch for these princesses in 71 BC. The conclusion we can reach is clear enough: Roxane and Stateira actually were the daughters of queen Laodice, but their conception took place after Euergetes had deceased. Their father, therefore, was not the king.

The ancient sources are silent with regard to the circumstances surrounding the end of Mithridates V. Justin (37.1.6) states that Euergetes' death was sudden (*repentina*), which may suggest a murder. Indeed, Strabo describes an alarming scenario in Pontus that led his ancestor Dorilaus the Tactician to live in exile in Crete for some years.[12] The hypothesis that Laodice acted as an agent of the Roman interests is quite weak in the face of the lack of any evidence in this regard.[13] We have no information to confirm that the Republic saw the Pontic king

[7] Against this interpretation of the *Lex Aufeia*, see Magie 1950, vol. II, 1043f. n. 27. Very likely, these allusions to Phrygia were referred to some areas of Galatia bordering Bithynia and Pontus (cf. Iust. 37.4.6; Ballesteros-Pastor 2013b, 165–167).

[8] Ramsey 1999, 238. Sherwin-White 1982, 20, and Kallet-Marx 1995, 110 n. 54, suggested a date in 124 BC; cf. *contra* Ryan 2001, 106. It has been assumed that this law was not specifically related with cession of territories, but in general with Aquillius' issues: Hill 1958, 113; Gruen 1984, 608 n. 147.

[9] For this law, see Crawford 1996, vol. I, 65–112; on its relationship with Aquillius, see *ibid.*, 51; Gruen 1968, 89–90; Sherwin-White 1982, 20; cf. Rosillo López 2010, 107 and *passim.*

[10] Imhoof-Blumer 1912, 187; Salomone Gaggero 1979, 137; McGing 1986, 42; De Callataÿ 1997, 239; Ramsey 1999.

[11] App. *Mith.* 112; Plin. *NH* 25.6; Salomone Gaggero 1979, 136.

[12] On Dorylaus, see Str. 10.4.10; Biffi 2010, 102–105. See below n. 20.

[13] Reinach 1890, 47, 51 n. 1; Rostovtzeff and Ormerod 1932, 225ff; Hind 1994, 133.

as a threat that needed to be eliminated at once. Thus, everything points to an inner quarrel within the court at Sinope.

Numerous consequences resulting from this situation can be inferred. To begin with, this problematic background could explain the conspiracies against the life of young Mithridates, although Justin combines these plots (37.2.4–9) with the prince's education by the magi from the court. We can also understand the fact that Eupator seized power in his reign before his childhood ended (Sall. *Hist.* fr. 2.75M), perhaps in trying to prevent a *coup de main* from a group aiming to hinder the prince's accession to the throne. Some ancient authors describe Eupator's actions upon his ascension to power: his imprisonment of the queen, whom he condemned to death, and the murder of his brother. Likewise, there are allusions to the king's murder of one of his brothers.[14] We know that upon Euergetes' death, Eupator had a younger brother called Mithridates Chrestus.[15] It is not unlikely that this prince was supported by Laodice's faction at the court, but it is also feasible that the regent queen could have given birth to another son and that she aimed to promote the rights of the latter above Euergetes' legitimate heirs. By and large, Eupator felt forced to drastically intervene in order to consolidate his authority, thus eliminating people endangering his succession to the Pontic throne.

The fact that Mithridates VI left these sisters unmarried may confirm our hypothesis. The king did not want to involve the princesses in his dynastic policy, perhaps aiming to prevent them from using any possible influence derived from marriage to conspire against their brother.[16] We have seen that, according to Plutarch, Roxane blamed Eupator when Bacchides gave her the poison. Leaving aside the dramatic situation at that moment, perhaps the princess felt resentment towards the king because he had forbidden her to marry.

It seems reasonable to suspect that Plutarch was mistaken, but there are some points that allow us to trust in the reliability of his narration. To decide between the two options about the princesses' ages means a difference of some ten years (that is, to be born before Euergetes' death or towards 112/111 BC). Thus, we are not facing a small shift in the numbers, but a remarkable variation. Besides, it is worth noting that several extant sources for Lucullus' war against Mithridates may have been derived from eyewitnesses to these facts. To the writings of both Antiochus of Ascalon and Archias, who accompanied the Roman commander, we may join the lost account of Pompeius Trogus, whose ancestor is presumably to be identified with the *praefectus equitum* M. Pom-

[14] App. *Mith.* 112; Sall. *Hist.* fr. 2.75M, fr. 2.76M; Sen. *Contr.* 7.1.15; Memn. *FGrHist* 434 F1, 22.2.

[15] Str. 10.4.10; Memn. *FGrHist* 434 F1 22.2; Durrbach 1921–1922, no. 113–114.

[16] On Eupator's marriage policy, see Seibert 1967, 129ff.; Ballesteros-Pastor 1996, 321ff.

peius (or Pomponius), whom Plutarch, Appian, and Memnon mention as an outstanding lieutenant in this campaign. These three authors describe Lucullus' arrival to Pharnacia, which may point to a common source: Trogus.[17]

The names of these Pontic princesses deserve our attention, as they can help us identify the group that held power in the Pontic court. Roxane, the daughter of Oxyartes, had been Alexander's wife. Stateira was the eldest daughter of Darius III. She married the Macedonian king in the mass wedding at Susa, and was thereafter executed by order of Roxane.[18] No royal woman had been named after Alexander's wives since the king's time. Accordingly, such an onomastic trend aimed to evoke the Iranian face of the Macedonian deed in Asia. To some extent these women represented the symbol of the *homonoia* and the assumption of the Persian heritage from Alexander's side that made the conqueror appear as an heir of the Achaemenid tradition.[19] At the same time, these names represented a turning point when compared to other Hellenistic dynasties: Alexander was not to be seen from the Macedonian perspective but from an Iranian point of view.

The choosing of these names may suggest that the nobles who surrounded Queen Laodice could have belonged to the Iranian aristocracy of the Pontic kingdom. Evidence for this nobility is but sparse and disperse. An inscription from Amasya, dated in the reign of Pharnaces I, mentions a chief of garrison (*phrourarchos*) called Meriones who was honored by his officer Pharnabazus. In this epigraph, Meriones is called *kyrios*, a term usually translated as 'lord' that may have an Iranian meaning.[20] The officer's Persian name is well attested in Eupator's time: Pharnabazus was Strabo's ancestor appointed as governor of Colchis.[21] In addition, we may presume that some of the fortresses described by this author in the Pontic realm were not royal buildings, but instead towers built by the nobles in their domains, as was common in other regions in Achaemenid Asia Minor.[22] We cannot, however, guess how decisive the influence of this aris-

[17] See above n. 1. On this prefect, see Plu. *Luc.* 15.2; App. *Mith.* 79; Memn. *FGrHist* 434 F1, 30.2, and about his identification with Trogus' relative, see Goukowsky 2001, 208 n. 730; Ballesteros-Pastor 2013b, 1. On Trogus as a source for these authors with regard to Mithridates, see Ballesteros-Pastor 2011, 115f.; 2013a, 186; 2013b, 15–19, 40–46, 98 and *passim*. On Antiochus, see Plu. *Luc.* 28.7; on Archias, see Cic. *Arch.* 21. About the sources for this campaign see also Rizzo 1963; Pulci Doria Breglia 1973/74; Ballesteros-Pastor 1999.

[18] On Roxane, see Carney 2000, 106f., 146–8; Heckel 2005, 241–242 *s.v.* Rhoxane; Müller 2012. On Stateira, see Carney 2000, 94–96; Heckel 2005, 255–6 *s.v.* Stateira [2].

[19] See Bosworth 1980.

[20] Anderson, Cumont and Grégoire 1910, 116–117 no. 95; Olshausen 1978, 437; cf. Benveniste 1966, 20; Portanova 1988, 333; Ballesteros-Pastor 2014.

[21] Str. 11.2.18. See Dueck 2000, 5–6; Cassia 2000. For other Iranian dignitaries in Eupator's empire, see Olshausen 1974; Portanova 1988.

[22] On these fortresses in Pontus, see Ballesteros-Pastor 1996, 336–337; 2006, 386; cf. Olshausen 1978, 437.

tocracy was, or to what extent this privileged group was affected by the progress of Greeks elements within the government of Pontus. Immediately after seizing power, the young Mithridates engaged a series of campaigns in Northern Euxinus.[23] As had been the case with Alexander after Philip's death, the Pontic king needed to acquire charisma among his subjects in order to achieve prestige and authority.[24] This charisma was not related to the origin of the subjects, but it simply represented an inseparable feature of kingship.[25]

Hellenic names prevailed amongst the known dignitaries at the Pontic court, and this has led to the conclusion that Eupator's coming to the throne was supported by powerful Greek families interested into developing a wider economic relationship with other areas around the Black Sea and the Aegean.[26] Although the importance of these Greeks cannot be denied, we are probably facing a case analogous to the antagonism between Orophernes and Ariarathes V of Cappadocia: the dynastic quarrels within these royal houses were focused not on the degree to which the claimants to the throne were Hellenized, but instead were simply concentrated on a struggle for power. The support of Greek cities and individuals for one faction or another would be an added issue to these disputes, but not the factor that provoked their outbreak.[27] Eupator actually showed his Persian roots in other episodes of his reign, along with an openly philhellenic attitude.[28]

The contacts between the Pontic dynasty and the Greek world went back to the satrapy of Dascylium, which was ruled by the ancestors of the Mithridatids. The epigraphic evidence has shown how these satraps joined both Greeks and Persians around the court at Dascylium, continuing the process of cultural integration.[29] Perhaps the most illustrative example of this contact could be the case of Memnon and Mentor of Rhodes: their sister married the satrap Artabazus II,

[23] Iust. 37.3.1–2: *Ad regni deinde administrationem cum accessisset, statim non de regendo sed de augendo regno cogitavit*. *Itaque Scythas perdomuit*. 38.7.4: *bella Pontica ingressum cum rudis ac tiro esset.* On these campaigns, see Olshausen 1978, 420–422; McGing 1986, 43–65; Heinen 1990; Boffo 1991; Olbrycht 1994; Ballesteros-Pastor 1996, 43ff.

[24] On Alexander's policy regarding Philip's memory, see Müller 2010; Gilley and Worthington 2010, 190, 206. On Alexander's consolidation in the Macedonian throne and his first campaigns, see in general Bosworth 1996, 33ff.

[25] Gehrke 1982.

[26] Portanova 1988, 560ff.; cf. Rostovtzeff 1967, vol. II, 908. Reinach, 1890, 47, thought that Queen Laodice was a Seleucid, and thus proposed that the Iranian nobles were opposed to the regency of a foreign queen. We know of a greater number of Greeks names than Iranian ones in the Pontic court: Olshausen 1974; Ballesteros-Pastor 1996, 432–3. Other inscriptions likewise tell of Greek dignitaries in Eupator's empire: Vinogradov and Vnukov 1997; Krapivina and Diatroptov 2005; Avram and Bounegrou 2008.

[27] Ballesteros-Pastor 2006, 383–385.

[28] Ballesteros-Pastor 1996, 402–405; 2012; 2013a, 188ff.

[29] Maffre 2007. About the satrapy, see Weiskopf 1996.

whose daughter Barsine would thereafter join to Alexander and give birth to a son.[30] Artabazus, who rebelled against Artaxerxes Ochus in 356, had to flee (together with his family) to the court of Macedonia, where Philip II gave them refuge as guests.[31] Thus, recalling the great Alexander did not represent a negation of the Iranian identity of these Pontic nobles of the second century BC, but instead represented the aim to integrate the Macedonian figure within a conception of royalty linked to the Achaemenid traditions.

Although it is doubtful that Mithridates actually proclaimed to be a descendant of Alexander,[32] the naming of these princesses may demonstrate how the Pontic dynasty had manifested an interest in assuming some facets of the Macedonian tradition, according to the kings' approach to the Greek world. One of Eupator's elder daughters was called Drypetine, like the Achaemenid princess who married Hephaistion, Alexander's closest friend.[33] Regarding the male names, we know about Oxatres, one of Eupator's youngest sons, which may recall either Oxyathres, the brother of Darius III who became Alexander's friend, or Oxyartes, Roxane's father.[34] Eupator's choice of these names may again reflect a desire to connect the Mithridatid house with the Persian side of Alexander's imperial view.

This perspective recalling the *homonoia* would be spread in other Eastern dynasties, particularly beginning in the first century BC. One example is to be detected in some passages of Justin's account about Alexander in which the conqueror shows his 'Persian' side, e.g., his encomiastic speech to the Iranian *epigonoi* who had joined the Macedonian army. Indeed, Pompeius Trogus' *Historiae Philippicae* adapted a universal history initially conceived in the court of Tigranes the Great of Armenia.[35] The Pontic point of view, therefore, may have anticipated the later claim of the conqueror's heritage by the dynasties of Armenia, Cappadocia, Commagene, and even Parthia.[36]

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[30] On Barsine, see Carney 2000, 101–105, 149ff; Heckel 2005, 70 *s.v.* Barsine (daughter of Artabazus).

[31] D.S. 16.52.3–4; Athen. 6.256c-e; Curt. 5.9.1; 6.5.2; Hammond, Griffith 1979, 309, 484 n. 5; Atkinson 1994, 141; Olbrycht 2010, 346ff.

[32] Iust. 38.7.1. Cf. the remarks of Ballesteros-Pastor 2012, 379 n. 71; 2013b, 279–280.

[33] On this Persian princess, see Carney 2000, 110–111; Heckel 2005, 116, *s.v.* Drypetis. On Eupator's daughter, see Val. Max. 1.8. ext. 13; D.C. 37.7.5; Amm. 16.7.10; Portanova 1988, 253–254.

[34] App. *Mith.*108, 117; Portanova 1988, 366; 512 n. 766; Ballesteros Pastor 2013b, 58. On the Persian prince and Roxane's father, see Schmitt 2002a; 2002b; 2002c.

[35] On this passage see Iust. 12.12.1–3; cf. Curt. 10.3.6–14; Yardley and Heckel 1997, 274–275; Yardley and Atkinson 2009, 134–139. On sources for Trogus and Tigranes II see Ballesteros-Pastor 2013b, 20–46 and *passim*.

[36] On Parthia, see above all Tac. *Ann.* 6.31.1; Wolski 1983, 142; Panitschek 1990, 459ff; Wiesehöfer 1996, 133ff. On Commagene, see Facella 2006, 291–4. On Cappadocia, see Ioseph. *AI*

The dangers faced by Eupator during his childhood undoubtedly formed part of the heroic portrait of this king, who appears depicted with the features of a protagonist in a folk tale.[37] Accordingly, historical and cultural reasons have been suggested to explain the details provided by Justin (37.2) about Mithridates' first adventures. Attempts to poison the prince may be interpreted as ordeals related with the wisdom of the magi.[38] In addition, Mithridates had to ride on a fierce horse, which could be related to another feature of an Iranian education and evokes the story of Alexander and Bucephalus.[39] The prince's flight to the mountains and remaining hidden for some time recalls a phase of the Iranian education compared by Arrian with Spartan *krypteia*.[40] Notwithstanding these explanations, the possible existence of dynastic plots within the Pontic court during Eupator's childhood may have been a real fact. The proposed interpretation of Plutarch's passage about the women at Pharnacia may provide a historical base for these stories about Mithridates' youth, which probably echoed well-informed sources concerning this king.

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17.476. Another of Eupator's daughters was called Cleopatra, like Alexander's sister, and she was married to Tigranes the Great of Armenia: Iust. 38.3.2; Plu. *Luc.* 22.5; App. *Mith.* 108; cf. Memn. *FGrHist* 434 F1 31.2; D.C. 36.50.1; Portanova 1988, 294–6.

[37] See in general García Moreno 1993; Ballesteros-Pastor 2013b, 128–135.

[38] Portanova 1988, 138 n. 52; cf. Godbey 1930. On the magi in Pontus, see Mastrocinque 2005, 178–179; Marastoni 2009; Ballesteros-Pastor 2013, 124.

[39] McGing 1986, 44; García Moreno 1993, 107.

[40] Arr. *An.*5.4.5; Briant 1982, 449–450; 1996, 340; Ballesteros-Pastor 2005, 153–154.

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## Abstract

Plutarch (*Lucullus* 18) reports about two sisters of Mithridates Eupator who were about forty years old in 71 BC. This age would suggest that these princesses were not the daughters of Mithridates V Euergetes, who had died ca. 122 BC. After the king's death, therefore, there was some struggle in the court of Sinope. The accounts about the dangers suffered by Eupator during his childhood may reflect aspects of the Iranian education, but, at the same time, these episodes probably echoed plots planned by the regent queen Laodice in order to hinder the prince's accession to the throne. The queen was probably supported by Iranian nobles of the kingdom. However, the quarrel in the royal palace was not due to an opposition between Iranians and Greeks: it was just a struggle for power.

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# HELLENISTIC WORLD AND THE SILK ROAD[1]

**Keywords:** Alexander the Great, Zhang Qian, Silk Road, Greeks, Hellenistic civilization

It is well known that Zhang Qian played an important role in the opening of the Silk Road during the reign of the Han Emperor Wudi (汉武帝, 141–87 B.C.). However, his immediate aim in visiting the remote Western Regions had not been to open the door for the silk trade, but to make contact with the tribes of the Yuezhi (月氏) in order to mount a joint attack on their common enemy, the Xiongnu tribes, because Wudi had the ambition to expand his rule westwards and thus to create a world empire. This mirrors to some extent the conquests of Alexander the Great, who had set out not to obtain precious silk from the fabled land of the Seres, but to conquer the Persian Empire and then the rest of the inhabited world. The effects of great enterprises, however, are often very different from what had been intended initially. The control of the Western Regions by the Han Empire in fact did not last long, and in the following centuries the roads to the west were sometimes open and sometimes closed. For its part, the empire of Alexander collapsed within a few years after his death, and the Hellenistic kingdoms established by his generals gradually declined and disappeared before the end of first century B.C. It was the Silk Road, as a witness, so to speak, of historical change that remained open for centuries, enabling cultural interaction and the exchange of goods between East and West. Many scholars in China and abroad have focused their attention on the role of Zhang Qian in the opening of the Silk Road, whereas almost no one has noticed the connection between his

[1] This is one of a series of papers on relations between Hellenistic Civilization and the Silk Road peoples (supported by the Research Project of the Education Ministry of China, No. 11JJD770024). I wish to express my sincere thanks to Professor Jeffrey D. Lerner of Wake Forest University, Doctor Henk W. Singor of Leiden University, and Professor Frank L. Holt of the University of Houston. Each has provided me with precious suggestions and comments.

mission and the conquests of Alexander the Great. Therefore, this paper aims to examine the Silk Road from its other end, the Mediterranean, and to investigate how the conquests of the Greeks and Macedonians eastwards stimulated the opening, extension, and continuation of the Silk Road, and how elements of Hellenistic culture were eventually brought to China.

## Contacts and Rumors: Connections between East and West prior to Alexander the Great's Conquests

Before the conquests of Alexander there were some economic and cultural contacts between the main civilizations of the ancient world. In Greece in the late fifth or early fourth century B.C., rumors appeared about a far-away people called the Seres.[2] Although there was no certainty about its location, many ancient authors came to believe that Seres, the silk-producing country, was somewhere in the east.[3] Thus, it perhaps became the name for China in western accounts. The Greek historian Herodotus (4.13–14.16) mentions a brave Greek traveler, Aristeas, who is said to have traveled through the land of the Scythians all the way to the country of the Issedones. According to some scholars, the country of the Issedones should be roughly located in the areas from the Ural Mountains eastwards to the region between the Tianshan and Altai Mountains, and even as far as Loulan and Dunhuang.[4] In the last century, pieces of silk were discovered in a Celtic tomb of the sixth century B.C. in Germany,[5] while well-preserved examples of Chinese embroidery depicting images of Phoenixes together with bronze mirrors with the Chinese character 出on their backs were unearthed at the tombs of Pazyryk in the Altai mountains dated between the c. fifth and third century B.C.[6] The fact that goods made in ancient central China were discovered by archaeologists in western Europe is an indication of the existence of a Eurasian Grassland Road in ancient times. It was the Scythians and other nomads moving between the Black Sea and the Aral Sea who made this

[2] The name of the Seres is first mentioned by the Greek physician and historian Ctesias ($5^{th}/4^{th}$ century B.C.). He once served at the Persian court, where he probably heard of the "Seres." The veracity of his information has been doubted by western scholars such as H. Yule and G. Coedès, and the Chinese scholar Zhang Xinglang. H. Yule especially pointed out that the name appears only in the *Bibliotheca* of Photius. The Greek word *Seres* was not known prior to Ctesias' era. See Yule 1915, 14 with n. 2; Zhang 1977, 17; Coedès 1987, 1.

[3] See Yule 1915, 14–15; Coedès 1987, 1–54, 71–72.

[4] See Sun 1985, 3–25; Pédech 1983, 22; Wang 1986, 53 with n. 1; Hudson 1931, 37 and 39; Ma, Wang 1990, 1–16.

[5] Biel 1980, 429–438.

[6] Rudenko 1957, 7–48.

belt of continuous grassland into an east-west route. But the Eurasian Grassland Road was not well defined, since the nomads who made it possible annually migrated from one place to another. Therefore, this route was not and never became the main channel of communications between East and West.

In the sixth century B.C. the Persian Empire developed direct contacts with the Ionian Greeks of Asia Minor. Some, like Herodotus (c. 484–425 B.C.), visited Babylon, while others served at the court of Persia, like Ctesias (end of 5th century B.C.) in his role of royal physician, or Scylax (end of 6th century B.C.), who navigated the Indus River and circumnavigated Arabia around 510 B.C. (Hdt. 4.44). There were even Greeks who voluntarily migrated to Bactria and Sogdiana,[7] apart from those whom the Persians forced to do so.[8]

The domain of the Persian Empire was vast and stretched from India in the east to Europe and Egypt in the west. To consolidate his control, Darius I built a system of imperial roads of which the most famous was the Royal Road in the western part of the Empire. Starting at Susa, one of the capitals of the empire, and passing through Mesopotamia, it ended at Sardis. The road was over 2,000 kilometers long with numerous post houses (22 of which have been verified). Another important road led east along the track of the ancient Mesopotamian-Median road, and then further through Bactria to India.[9] It was by this road that the precious lapis lazuli of the eastern mountains in Bactria was transported to Mesopotamia and India.[10] The evidence that Greek coins might have been circulating in Bactria before the conquest of Alexander suggests the possibility of long-distance trade between the eastern Mediterranean and the Hindu Kush Mountains already in the classical period.[11] Moreover, the road linking Central Asia to India later became the western part of the Silk Road. Darius I also dredged the canal joining the Nile with the Red Sea, which had not been finished by the Egyptian Pharaoh Necho of the 26th dynasty. Thus, roads and waterways were used to strengthen the connec-

[7] One such example is the Branchidae, mentioned by Strabo (11.11.4). Having betrayed their homeland, they voluntarily followed Xerxes back to Persia, and were later settled in Sogdiana by the king.

[8] For example, see the Barcaeans mentioned by Herodotus (4.204). As Greek colonists in Libya, they had been enslaved and removed from Egypt by the Persian army. Later, Darius I forced them to migrate to Bactria. In Herodotus' time, their descendants still remained there, apparently by their own free will. For the sources of these early Greek immigrants in the Central Asia, see Holt 1989, 55, n. 20.

[9] Wiesehöfer 1996, 6–77.

[10] Holt 1989, 28.

[11] In Afghanistan, a farmer discovered a pot full of encrusted coins in 1966 that turned out to be mostly Athenian tetradrachms of the classical period. The total amount of the coins could never be ascertained, but at least 150 were seen. They must have circulated in Bactria as bullion before the time of Alexander's invasion. A similar hoard was found on the east side of Kabul in 1933. It may have included a thousand coins of Greek city-states. See Holt 2005, 141.

tions between the different regions of the Persian Empire and beyond before the conquests of Alexander the Great in (334–330 B.C.).[12]

There were other states in Eurasia in the fourth century B.C., but these remained primarily regional in scope and thus did not participate in long distance trade either because they were geographically isolated or because they were relatively underdeveloped. The Romans, for example, were at this time advancing southward to unify Italy, and while they may have known from the Greeks of southern Italy about the eastern dominions of the Persian kingdom, they were too preoccupied with uniting the Italian peninsula to have any regard for them. At the same time, India was marked by a series of regional states and kingdoms (sixth-fourth centuries B.C.). Thus the kingdom of Magadha which in time would come to dominate much of northern India was a small power that only occupied areas along the Ganges, while Buddhism had yet to flourish in the western parts of the subcontinent. But the northwestern fringe of India under Persian rule did enjoy contact, albeit to a limited extent, with the outside world. Finally, China was in the midst of the Warring States Period (475–221 B.C.) with seven of the stronger states contending for hegemony with no thought given to any westward expansion.

To sum up, by the fourth century B.C. some civilizations in western Eurasia had limited contact with each other, but no regular links or channels connecting the two ends of Eurasia as of yet formally existed. The Chinese vision of the western world did not go beyond what was described in the *Chinese Bestiary* (*Records of Mountains and Seas*, or *Shanhai Jing*, [山海经]) and the *Biography of King Mu* (*Mutianzi zhuan*, [穆天子传]).[13] While the Greeks were well aware of Egypt and Babylon, they remained painfully ignorant of India and quite possibly unaware of China, depending on what was understood by the term Seres. Alexander imagined that beyond India there was the Great Ocean where the East ended, but had no idea that there were large stretches of land, for instance, beyond the River Jaxartes (Syr Darya). On the whole, Alexander's knowledge of the eastern world did not differ markedly from Herodotus (4.40).

## East-West Communication and the Hellenistic Far East

Alexander as the head of a Macedonian-Greek army started his conquest of the Persian Empire in 334 B.C. Ten years later he not only ruled the king-

[12] The Persian army invading Greece under king Xerxes (486–465) in 480–479 B.C. came from numerous satrapies in the Empire, and some of the contingents even from as far as Bactria and India. This underlines the important role of the Royal Roads.

[13] These two books were written at least before Qin Dynasty (221–206 B.C.) by anonymous authors. Both describe some myths and legends about the world the Chinese then knew and imagined. The western limit of the world was largely confined to today's Xinjiang.

dom, but had enlarged it. Although Alexander's empire fell apart after his sudden death in 323 B.C. and was carved up by his successors, the pattern of Macedonian-Greek rule over local populations did not change. Although Greek culture was ubiquitous throughout the Hellenistic world, the Greeks did not live in a vacuum as fusion between Greek and eastern cultures became increasingly manifest. The Hellenistic world facilitated communication between the various Hellenistic kingdoms and their non-Greek neighbors. As a result, new systems of communication and trade routes arose between the Mediterranean and India.

There were three main trade routes between East and West. A northern route linked India and Bactria to the Black Sea. Goods were transported from India via Bactria, then down the Oxus, across the Caspian, and from there to the Black Sea.[14] A middle route connecting India and Asia Minor took two tracks: one started in western India and extended through the Persian Gulf by sea and the Tigris River to Seleucia on the Tigris; another was a land route that began in India and made its way across the Hindu Kush to Seleucia on the Tigris. From there the road continued westwards across the Syrian desert to Antioch on the Orontes and ultimately the Asia Minor coast. This route appears in the *Parthian Stations* by the geographer Isidore of Charax in the first century B.C. which describes the route by land from Antioch to India through the Parthian kingdom.[15] A southern route linked India and Egypt through the Indian Ocean and the Red Sea.[16] Here, Ptolemy II dredged a canal through the desert connecting the Red Sea with the Nile so that Indian goods could be transported to Alexandria. The discovery of the monsoon in the Indian Ocean in the first century B.C. made the sea route safer and more convenient.[17] These three routes more or less coincide with the later western section of the Silk Road. There was only one portion, namely the route from the Hexi Corridor to the Pamirs that was not linked with the routes in Central Asia at this time.

According to Strabo (11.11.1), the Greek ruler of Bactria, Euthydemus I, and his son Demetrius I in the second century B.C. "extended their empire even as

[14] Some scholars, especially Tarn doubted the real existence of this route (Tarn 1952, 241). But I agree with Professor Jeffrey D. Lerner that it is through this route that goods were transported by boats that sailed from the Mediterranean and Black Sea to Central Asia (Lerner 2012b). On the movement of goods from Central Asia and India to the Black Sea, see Rtveladze 2011, 149–178.

[15] See Schoff 1914.

[16] On the three routes, see Tarn 1952, 241–5; Walbank 1981, 199–200; Olbrycht 2013, 67–87. Cf. Strab. 2.1.11, 15; 11.7.3; Plin. *NH* 6.52. On the northern route, Strabo's narrative is the clearest and most detailed, but W. W. Tarn firmly denied its existence. I prefer the opinions of the ancient authors. However, it should be noted that some of them believed that the Oxus river flowed into the Caspian Sea. But in fact it bifurcated and flowed into the Caspian and the Aral Sea in antiquity, see Lerner 2012b.

[17] See Walbank 1981, 200–204; Schoff 1912.

far as the Seres and the Phryni." At that time, the land of the Seres was still regarded by the peoples of the west as the region, however vague and hazy, where silk was produced, and not as imperial China of the Han Dynasty. Some scholars have identified the Phryni as the Xiongnu nomads,[18] but the influence of the Xiongnu had not yet reached the areas bordering on Bactria.[19] The eastern borders of the kingdom of Euthydemus and Demetrius must have been the Pamirs and the Tarim Basin. A. K. Narain reasonably accepted the suggestion of A. Cunningham and identified the Seres and the Phryni as Sule (Kashgar, 疏勒) and Puli (蒲犁), respectively,[20] both of which are referred to in Chinese records of the Western Regions of Han Dynasty, because their locations precisely coincide with the districts of Kashgar (喀什) and Tashkurgan on the eastern side of the Pamirs in today's Xinjiang Province of China.

Thus before Zhang Qian arrived in Central Asia in the second half of the 2nd century B.C., the western section (*i.e.*, the region west of the Pamirs) of the Silk Road was already in use. By then, the political and cultural circumstances in the Hellenistic Far East had changed considerably in the two centuries that had passed since the conquests of Alexander the Great.

The Asian portion of Alexander the Great's Empire was almost entirely inherited by Seleucus I (c. 312–280 B.C.). However, because of the rise of the Maurya Empire, Seleucus I failed to retake control of northwest of India and was compelled to sign a treaty with Chandragupta Maurya in 305 B.C.[21] Around the middle of the third century, Diodotus I, the Greek governor of the satrapy of Bactria, declared his independence from the Seleucid kingdom. At about the same time, the Parthians (later referred to by Zhang Qian as "Anxi") likewise revolted from the Seleucids and established their own kingdom. The Seleucids were unable to retain their eastern satrapies and the core of the Seleucid kingdom shifted to the region between the Euphrates and the eastern coast of the Mediterranean with Antioch in Syria as its administrative center. In the second century B.C. Euthydemus and his son Demetrius, the kings of Bactria, extended their sway south of the Hindu Kush into northwestern India. Half

[18] Hudson 1931, 58

[19] According to 'The Collective Biographies of Dayuan' in *Shiji*, the Xiongnu defeated the formerly so-called Dayuezhi. But until the fourth year of Qianyuan of the Han emperor Wendi (汉文帝, 176 B.C.) the Xiongnu had not conquered and driven out the Dayuezhi and submitted Loulan, Wusun, Hujie, and 26 other neighboring countries. Therefore, before 176 B.C. the Greeks of Bactria were not in a position to attack the Xiongnu.

[20] See Narain 1957, 170–171. For the introduction of these two places see Ban 1962, 3898, 3919.

[21] Seleucus I gave up his dominion in the northwest of India in exchange for the right of intermarrying and the 'gift' of five hundred elephants from the Indian king Sandrocottus (Chandragupta); see Strab. 15.2.9.

a century later, the Greek Bactrians were forced to retreat to India under pressure from the Parthians from the west,[22] and the Sacas and Dayuezhi from Central Asia.[23] When Zhang Qian arrived in Bactria in c. 129–128 B.C., the country had been conquered by the Dayuezhi, which he called Daxia (大夏).

Thus far these events occurred before Zhang Qian's arrival in Bactria. Although the territories directly controlled by the Greeks had been greatly reduced in size, Hellenistic culture was still very much in evidence. For example, it has been estimated that the full catalogue of colonies (cities and settlements) founded in Asia by Alexander and his successors "would no doubt comprise well over 300 names." Some 275 names of these colonies have been confirmed. Most of them (some 160) were located in areas along the eastern coast of the Mediterranean; others were in the middle and lower reaches of the Euphrates as well as in areas east of it. There were nineteen Greek settlements in Bactria (of which eight were foundations of Alexander the Great[24]) and twenty-seven in India.[25] The existence of Greek colonization in Bactria was confirmed by the discovery of the site of Ai Khanoum in Afghanistan in 1964.[26] These cities and settlements, built along popular routes or next to military forts, were a significant element in the organization of Graeco-Macedonian rule. They might have had Greek-style temples, gymnasia, and theatres like those found at Ai Khanoum. Most of the city's residents were probably Greek. Not surprisingly then, the cities enjoyed an atmosphere of Greek culture. One can well image that the Greek language, coins, gods, plays, and customs must have made the Greeks in these far-away lands feel at home. On the other hand, in relation to the vast extension of land, these cities were little more than cultural oases in a 'barbarian' desert. The Greeks strove to maintain the purity and unity of their culture and even tried to influence the local peoples, while also having to deal

[22] Parthia seized a part of Bactria during the reigns of Eucratides I (c. 171 – 145 B.C.) and his successors (Strab. 11.9.2; 11.11.2).

[23] According to Strabo (11.8.2), the nomads who took away Bactriana from the Greeks are the Asii Pasiani, Tochari, and Sacarauli. Among them the Tochari were possibly the Dayuezhi and Sacarauli were the Sai People mentioned in Chinese historical documents.

[24] Strab. 11.11.4. But according to Fraser (1996, 201), Alexander was only the actual founder of six cities named Alexandria among which four were in Central Asia and India. This number is significantly smaller than those given by the classical authors and other modern scholars; see Austin 1999, 167–168; Olbrycht 2014, 95–121.

[25] Cary 1959, 244–245. For the cities founded by the Seleucid dynasty see also App. 11.57; Sherwin-White, Kuhrt 1993, 20–21; Cohen 1978, 2, 14–19 and his "Map of Hellenistic Asia".

[26] On the Hellenistic features of the site, Paul Bernard has published three papers on Ai Khanoum: Bernard 1982, 148–159; 1967, 71–95; 1994, 117–23. There is also some useful information on the site in Dani, Bernard 1994, 92–95. The formal excavation was greatly disturbed by the wars since 1979, but some Hellenistic works of art, such as the statues of Heracles and Athena, have been unearthed; see Holt 2005, 162–3; Yang 2007, 96–105.

with the influences of eastern culture, living as they did in a 'boundless sea' of indigenous and local cultures. Hellenistic culture thus gradually acquired the character of a mixture of Greek and eastern elements.

According to Strabo, when Alexander arrived in Bactria and Sogdiana he found that the inhabitants practiced customs similar to those of nomads.[27] But during the period of Greek Bactria so many cities and towns were built that the country came to be known as 'the kingdom of a thousand cities.'[28] Although the rulers of Parthia had broken away from the Seleucid kingdom, they adopted Greek culture. They used Greek as one of their official languages, they adopted the Seleucid calendar and the Seleucid practice of minting coins, they commissioned statues of gods in Greek style, and had Greek plays performed.[29] To be sure, the Greeks were more influenced by the indigenous culture in India than in Bactria. Some of these Indo-Greeks converted to Buddhism (like the famous King Menander, i.e., Milinda).[30] Some issued coins with Indian and Greek scripts, while maintaining the basic features and form of Greek coins.[31] Thus the portrait head of the king and a Greek legend (containing the king's name and his title) appear on the obverse, while Greek deities appear on the reverse. There are even some coins with Indian deities.[32] This was the general political and cultural milieu of the second century B.C. that Zhang Qian found when he arrived in Bactria on the eastern fringes of the Hellenistic World.

[27] For instance, although the Bactrians were civilized, those among them who had grown weak and helpless because of old age or sickness were simply thrown out alive as prey to dogs that were kept expressly for this purpose. Thus while the land outside the walls of the metropolis of the Bactrians looked clean, most of the land inside the walls was full of human bones. When Alexander came here, he put an end to the custom. Strabo's account (11.11.3) comes from Onesicritus, a companion of Alexander and an author of the campaigns. Strabo thought that Onesicritus had not reported the best traits of the Bactrians but only their worst customs. On Onesicritus, see the recent study by Müller 2011, 45–66.

[28] According to Strabo (15.1.3), whose information comes from the *Parthica* of Apollodorus, Eucratides, king of the Bactrians, ruled over a thousand cities.

[29] According to Plutarch, when the head of the Roman general Crassus, killed in the battle of Carrhae in 53 B.C., was brought to the palace of the Armenian king Artavasdes, hosting the Parthian ruler Orodes II, the *Bacchae* of Euripides was being performed. Plutarch (*Crass.* 33) claims that Artavasdes could write tragedies, orations, and history in Greek. This shows clearly just how widespread the Greek language became and the infiltration of Hellenistic culture. For detailed information, see Dąbrowa 2011, 153–163. The Greek inscriptions of Parthian kings has been discovered at Babylon, see Assar 2003, 171–191. Even in the early first century A.D., official letters of Parthian kings were in Greek, see Wells 1934, 299–301. On the statues of gods in Greek style, see Kawami 1987, 73–74, 111–117 ; Cat. Nos. 44–48; Pls. 52–56; figs. 21–24.

[30] *The Sutra of the Buddhist Sage Nāgasena* 1670a, 1670b. Cf. Plut. *Mor.* 821D.

[31] On the coins of Indo-Greek kings, see Bopearachchi 1991.

[32] On the cultural interact between Greeks and Indians, see Yang 2011.

## The Diplomatic Missions of Zhang Qian

According to the 'Collective Biographies of Dayuan' in the *Shiji* (*Records of the Grand Scribe*, 史记·大宛列传), Zhang Qian had been sent twice by the emperor of the Han Dynasty, Wudi, to the Western Regions on a diplomatic mission. The first mission occurred in 139–126 B.C. In Central Asia he visited four regions: Dayuan (大宛), Kangju (康居), the country of the Dayuezhi(月氏), and Daxia (大夏); he learned of five other large countries: Wusun (乌孙), Yancai (奄蔡), Anxi or Parthia (安息), Tiaozhi (条支), and Shendu or India (身毒).[33] His second journey took place between 119 and 115 B.C. Upon arriving at the Wusun, he sent representatives to 'Dayuan, Kangju, Dayuezhi, Daxia, Anxi, Yutian (于寘), Hanshen (扜采), as well as other neighboring countries.'[34] The travels of Zhang Qian mark the 'official' opening of the Silk Road. As a result, information about the Western Regions for the first time reached China. Hardly had Zhang Qian returned from his first mission that he reported to emperor Wudi the details of what he had seen and heard.

In the 'The Collective Biographies of Dayuan,' Sima Qian provides us with detailed information about the sedentary societies that Zhang Qian encountered, but not about the four nomadic confederations, or 'moving nations' (行国) as he terms them, namely, the Wusun, Kangju, Yancai, and Dayuezhi. His account contains information on each country, including its location, the distance from its location to China or to its neighbors, the size of its population, its type of government, cities and towns, goods that were produced, and information about its trade and commerce.

As to the location of these 'moving nations,' according to Sima Qian's records the Kangju, Wusun, and Yancai were all nomads who migrated in the steppe region from the Caspian Sea and the Aral Sea in the west to the Tianshan and the Altai Mountains in the east. The Dayuezhi originally lived in the lands between Dunhuang (敦煌) and the Qilian Mountains in the west of central China, but later subjugated Daxia and settled down north of the Wei River (妫水, Amu Darya). Initially, the Dayuezhi occupied only Bactria in the north of the Amu Darya. Although the Dayuzhi tribes still preserved their nomadic traditions, they were unavoidably influenced by the remaining Greeks[35] as well as cultural remnants of their forefathers who had once controlled Sog-

[33] Sima 1959, 3160–6.

[34] Sima 1959, 3169.

[35] According to Lerner 2012a, the Greeks in Bactria did not disappear upon the conquest of the Greek kingdom of Bactria by the Dayuezhi or other nomads. Rather the Greeks lived under the hegemony of the Dayuezhi for almost one century, leaving their influence on the coins and the adoption of the Greek script by the Dayuezhi.

diana for nearly two centuries.[36] Dayuan, the first country that Zhang Qian visited in the Central Asia is generally identified with the Ferghana valley, corresponding to the area bordering modern Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, and Kirghizstan. This country formed a portion of the Graeco-Bactrian kingdom.[37] Anxi (Parthia) underwent even more Hellenistic influences and has been regarded as a typical 'Philhellenic Empire.'[38] Indeed, beginning with the great king Mithradates I, almost all Parthian kings called themselves "Philhellene" on their coins. Daxia (the land of Bactria, south of Amu Darya) and Tiaozhi (the Seleucid kingdom with Antioch on the Orontes as its capital in the second century B.C.), and a part of Shendu (the northwest of India) had all been conquered by Alexander. When Zhang Qian arrived in Central Asia, Tiaozhi still existed. However, Daxia, the Greek kingdom of Bactria, had just been conquered and the main part of Bactrian Greeks had retreated to India.

In terms of agricultural production, these regions not only produced grain but had a reputation for excellent wine as well. The wine had not originated in Greece. According to the latest research, the art of wine-growing and vinification had arisen in the eastern parts of modern Turkey in 8500–4000 B.C. and from there spread eastward and westward.[39] Because of their favorable geographical position near Anatolia, the inhabitants of Greece must have adopted viniculture and wine-making already in the Minoan period. By the time of Homer viniculture and wine-making had become an important part of Greek economic and cultural life. Not without reason, Dionysus, the god of wine, was one of the great gods in Greek mythology. We may assume, therefore, that Greek colonists introduced the grapevine or extended its cultivation in the areas under their control, bringing advanced methods of wine-making with them. They first introduced methods of viniculture to Susiana and Babylon. According to Strabo, 'they did not trench, but only thrust into the ground iron-pointed stakes, then pulled them out and replaced them at once with the plants' (15.3.11). Strabo also reports that the soil of Aria and Margiana, both bordering on Bactria, was well suited to the vine, and that the land in Areia especially was 'exceedingly productive of wine, which can be kept good for three generations in vessels not smeared with pitch'

[36] Sogdiana had been controlled by the Greeks from Alexander the Great to the coming of Dayuezhi and other northern nomads. The king of Bactria Euthydemus I once 'governed Sogdiana either as a satrap under Diodotus II , or as an independent sovereign' and issued his own coins with the regal title and the bridled 'horned' horse, see Lerner 1999, 84, plate I-II.

[37] According to Strabo (11.11.2), the Greeks of Bactria once 'held Sogdiana, situated north of Bactriana.' Such a location should have included the Ferghana Basin.

[38] A. Toynbee (1959, 183) regarded Parthia as a 'benevolent patron' of Greek culture and an empire that was philhellenic. The affiliation between the Arsacid dynasty and Hellenistic culture has been discussed by many scholars, thus Frye 1984, 244–6; Dąbrowa 2011, 83 with n. 4.

[39] Cocke 2004.

(11.10.1–2). Related evidence can be found in Chinese historical records. According to the 'The Collective Biographies of Dayuan,' wine was one of the special products of Anxi, Dayuan, and other areas. Wine-making was so productive that wealthy people even stored wine in quantities of more than ten thousand Dan (Dan, 石) that could be kept good for several decades. From this we may infer that prior to Zhang Qian's arrival in the Western Regions, viniculture and wine-making had become a profitable enterprise for many local people. This correspondence of western and eastern sources is not a coincidence, but a reflection of the history of viniculture in these regions. After Zhang Qian's travels to the Western Regions, viniculture was introduced into central China by way of the Silk Road.[40] The pronunciation of the Chinese word *putao* ('grape,' 葡萄) is close to the Greek βότρυς (*botrus*), which means a 'bunch of grapes' and in the plural 'grapes.' The Chinese *putao* might even be the transliteration of Greek βότρυς.[41]

Another feature of his observations about the areas that Zhang Qian visited concerns their population and numerous cities. There were more than seventy walled cities in Dayuan, large and small, and an aggregate population of several hundred thousand. The number of cities and towns in Anxi reached several hundred and its territory stretched thousands of *li* (里), making Anxi the largest of the Western Regions. In Daxia there was no great king or supreme chief, but the cities and towns had their own lords or chiefs. The population of Daxia was more than one million.[42] Could there have been any connection between these numerous cities and towns and the city-building initiated in this region by Alexander the Great? The answer must be affirmative. As pointed out already, wherever Greeks settled, they built cities similar to those in their homeland. For the Greeks the city was the essence of the state. It was not just a place in which to live, but it was the center of their activities of politics, culture, education, and religion. Therefore, the Greeks had a special feeling for urban life and saw in the city their spiritual home. In the remote east, at a distance of about 3,000 miles from their homeland, they especially felt the need to build cities and towns like those at home, in order both

[40] Sima Qian maintains in 'The Collective Biographies of Dayuan' that 'The envoys of the Han emperors brought the seeds of the grapevine and the purple medic back to central China. So the emperor Wudi (Tianzi, the Son of Heaven, 天子) began to plant them in lands of great fertility. The number of Heavenly Horses (天马) rose steadily and many foreign envoys came to the capital, so that the grapevine and the purple medic were planted over large areas near the palaces and hotels'(*Shiji*, 3173–4).

[41] See Liddell, Scott 1996, s.v. According to P. Pelliot this explanation had been put forward by Ritter and confirmed by Kingsmill and Hirth. But he himself was doubtful of it. See Pelliot 1962/1995, 82–83. B. Laufer and W. W. Tarn did not agree to it either; see Laufer 1919, 225–7; Tarn 1951, 474. But this conclusion may be outdated.

[42] Sima 1959, 3160–4.

to preserve their cultural traditions and to rule over the indigenous populations. The size of the theater with seating for some 5,000 spectators discovered at the site of Ai Khanoum[43] tells us that the Greeks composed the main body of the city's inhabitants, and it suggests that their numbers were much larger than in other Greek cities in the region. Hellenized Bactrians and Sogdians should probably be included among their number.[44] The site also contains the largest Greek theater that has been unearthed in the east.[45] Thus it comes as no surprise that Zhang Qian must have encountered many cities and towns in these areas. His reports seem to confirm the well-known Greek passion for city-founding. Although the Greeks here were the ruling elite, they were immigrants and a minority compared with the local population of several hundred thousand, or even more than a million. It is difficult to imagine that a relatively small number of Greek soldiers,[46] left behind by Alexander, could have produced such a large population in two hundred years. We cannot assume that all cities and towns were of a Greek character, or that they were populated by hundreds of thousands of people. The indigenous people must have performed the agricultural work. But the existence of Greek cities and towns is a historical fact although the legend of Bactria as a country of 'one thousand cities' should be regarded as an exaggeration.

The political organization of these countries was based on kingship, as was the case in the Hellenistic states generally, but it seems that the aristocrats – local princes and chiefs – played an important role at key moments. A series of events in Dayuan serve to illustrate this point. After their refusal to provide rare horses (Hanxuema, 汗血马) to the Han emperor, the aristocrats had the Chinese envoys attacked and killed, and when their capital was besieged by a Chinese army they murdered their own king Wugua (毋寡),[47] apparently according to a well-

[43] Bernard 1982, 148–159.

[44] Plutarch wrote in *On the Fortune or the Virtue of Alexander*: 'Yet when Alexander was taming Asia, Homer became widely read, and the children of the Persians, the Susianians and the Gedrosians sang the tragedies of Euripides and Sophocles' (Plut. *Mor.* 328D). It appears that the statement of Plutarch was not pure fantasy.

[45] Holt 2005, 156.

[46] Prior to his departure for India he garrisoned 13,500 soldiers in Bactria-Sogdiana (Arr. *an.* 4.22). Whether the number included the Greeks who had been settled in the cities and towns and the Macedonians who were too old, too weak, or too heavily injured to fight in battle, we cannot know. But there were at least 23,000 Greek and Macedonian soldiers in the colonies of the eastern satrapies after the death of Alexander in 323 B.C., see Holt 1989, 81, 88.

[47] The name of Wugua seems to be the transliteration of the Greek title ΜΕΓΑΣ (*Megas*) used for kings in their legends. In the Kushan period one king had no name, only the title ΣΩΤΗΡ ΜΕΓΑΣ (*Soter Megas*) on his coins (on his identity, see Yang 2009). Plausibly, *Megas* could be regarded as the name of the king. But whether Wugua in the *Records of the Grand Scribe* was just a transliteration of *Megas*, cannot be known for certain. This suggestion was made by Professor Zhang Xushan of Qinghua University, whom I wish to thank here.

prepared plan, after which they collectively negotiated for peace with the Chinese imperial government.[48] Clearly, these aristocrats could plot together and cooperate when faced with a common danger, and they were quite capable of murdering their own king. Does this mean that there was a kind of institution in Dayuan similar to the royal council at the courts of the main Hellenistic kingdoms? If so, this form of administration might have been the result of influence from the Greco-Bactrian kingdom.

In his reports on Anxi and Daxia, Zhang Qian refers to the existence of market-places in the two countries, and to the shrewdness of the local people in trade and commerce. For example, he mentions that the capital city of Bactria, Lanshi (蓝市), had a market-place where various products were bought and sold.[49] Moreover, he told Wudi that he had seen in Daxia bamboo sticks from Qiong (邛) and cloth (Bu, 布, or silk,) from Shu (蜀) in the southwest of China. This implies that at the time Bactria was the nexus of a long-distance trading network linking western, southern, and eastern Asia. Since a great many Greek coins, their imitations, or those based on them from this period, have been unearthed, this clearly indicates that trade with coins as currency had prevailed in the Hellenistic kingdoms and adjacent areas.[50] Zhang Qian also mentions these coins in his reports because they were very different from Chinese coins which were round and had a square hole in the middle. In his report on Anxi, Zhang Qian described the coins of that country as ʻmade of silver with the bust or face of the reigning king on the obverse. When the king died, the coin had to be changed immediately, and the bust or face of the new king would appear on the new coin.ʼ[51] The similarities between these coins and those of the Hellenistic kingdoms are noteworthy: first, the coins were made of silver; second, they bore portraits; third, the coins were replaced as soon as a king died with that of the new king. That coins bore the portrait of a king, was normal in the Hellenistic Age. In the beginning of his expedition Alexander issued a series of bronze coins with his own portrait at Memphis in Egypt.[52] After the conquest of India he issued a type of large royal medallion depicting him on horseback attacking the Indian

[48] See Sima 1959, 3176–7.

[49] Sima 1959, 3164.

[50] Since the first coin of a Greek king of Bactria, Eucratides (ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΕΥΚΡΑΤΙΔΟΥ), was discovered, numerous Greek coins have been unearthed in this area. The largest hoard has been found in the tiny village of Mir Zakah in Afghanistan. An estimated 550,000 coins have made their way to Japan, Europe, and America. This single hoard is almost six times larger than the total of all ancient hoards recorded throughout the territories of Greece and Macedonia, see Holt 2005, 125–148. For the discoveries of these various coins of Greek kings in Bactria (Daxia) and research on them, see Holt 2012.

[51] Sima 1959, 3162.

[52] Carradice, Price 1988, 109.

king Porus on his elephant.[53] After the death of Alexander, Ptolemy I also issued coins with the busts of Alexander in profile in 321–283 or ca. 315–305 B.C.[54] But it was Lysimachus, one of Alexander's generals, who created the standard coin-portrait of Alexander in 297–281 B.C.[55] Other successors of Alexander followed his example. When they set themselves up as kings, most of them issued their own coins with their portraits symbolizing their kingship. These coins circulated not only in the areas under Greek control but also in neighboring countries, such as Parthia (Anxi).

The Hellenistic coins minted in Asia can be divided according to their metal (gold, silver, bronze or copper, iron, and lead), or according to their denomination: stater, tetradrachm, drachm, and obol. In Parthia, however, almost all the coins were made of silver, with only a few gold issues that seem to have been meant as gifts. Parthian silver contain the portrait of the king on the obverse and on the reverse generally images of an archer seated with a bow (some scholars see in the archer Arsaces I, the founder of the Parthian dynasty[56]), or images of Greek gods such as Tyche, Nike, Demeter, or Heracles in the later coins, especially those issued by Mithradates I. The Greek legends are usually in the genitive.[57] The real name of the reigning king, however, is never mentioned on these coins, which makes it difficult to identify the king responsible for issuing them. What Zhang Qian brought back as information about the currency of Anxi was a simple description of its basic features, but the correctness of his observations are clearly shown by numismatic and archeological research.[58] The later Kushan kingdom, founded by a tribe chief of the Dayuezhi, also adopted this same type of coinage. The *Biographies of the Western Region in the Hanshu* (汉书·西域传) refers to similar coins in the reports on Jibin (罽宾), Wuyishanli (乌弋山离), Anxi, and Dayuezhi. Apparently, Greek or Greek-like coins circulated widely and were in use until the coming of Arabs. We may say that Zhang Qian's description of the coins of Anxi is the most accurate piece of information about Hellenistic culture that he brought back to central China.

[53] Holt 2003, Plates 2–14.

[54] Carradice, Price 1988, 116; Bieber 1965, 185, plate VI, fig. 12; Stewart 1993,53, 280: Pl. 8c, Figs. 76–79.

[55] Carradice, Price 1988, 120; Bieber 1965, 186, plate VII, fig. 13; A. Stewart 1993, 53, 280: Pl. 8b, Fig. 117.

[56] Wiesehöfer 1996, 128.

[57] On the coins of some Parthian kings, including Arsaces I, Vologases II and Vologases IV, legends written in Aramaic letters appeared, see Sellwood 1980. The Greek and Aramaic/Parthian legends on Parthian coins can be found at www.parthia.com.

[58] Numerous Greek or Greek-styled coins have been collected by museums and by private persons in various countries. Numismatists and historians are able to a large extent to establish the dynastic lineages of various kingdoms by studying their coins. The imagery and other information conferred by these coins can be accessed on www.parthia.com and www.grifterrec.com.

Another important, though generally overlooked observation in Zhang Qian's report on Anxi, is his information on writing and writing material practiced by the people of the country. He tells us that in Anxi people wrote horizontally on sheets of leather.[59] Leather for this purpose had been used in pharaonic Egypt as early as the fourth dynasty (ca. 2750 B.C.); in a later period some copies of the *Book of the Dead* that accompanied the deceased in tombs had been made of leather.[60] Herodotus (5.58) notes that the Ionians used to write on the 'paper' made from the skins of sheep and goats, and that even in his day there were many 'barbarians' who wrote on this medium. Clearly, the use of leather as writing material had been known for some time before Zhang Qian made his observations. The word 'parchment', Latin *pergamena*, is derived from the name of the Hellenistic kingdom of Pergamum, whose king Eumenes II (197–160/59 B.C.) was said to have invented 'parchment' in order to break an Egyptian embargo on papyrus.[61] It is highly probable that the librarians at Pergamum improved upon known processes of parchment-making and created a kind of parchment that was clean, white, and could be used on both sides. Neighboring as it did on the Seleucid kingdom, Anxi probably became acquainted with parchment relatively early. In the 1960s at the site of Ai Khanoum French archeologists discovered the remains of a sheet of parchment on which a Greek poem was written.[62] At other places in Bactria a few Greek parchments containing a tax receipt and records of payments were discovered.[63] This makes it certain that indeed parchment was known in Daxia when Zhang Qian visited it. Most probably, Zhang Qian saw such parchment as well as Greek texts written horizontally from left to right. This must have caught his attention, because the Chinese still used bamboo slips for writing and wrote vertically top down. Moreover, the language used in writing on parchment was almost certainly Greek because that was the common language in the Hellenistic world and well-known even by the upper class in Parthia. Sima Qian tells us that 'from Dayuan westward to Anxi, the languages and dialects of the countries are different but the customs are similar, and different peoples can understand each other's languages and dialects.'[64] Besides Iranian, another language that was commonly used was koine (κοινή, the 'common tongue').[65] It is certain that Zhang Qian heard that language spoken by

[59] Sima 1959, 3162.
[60] See Bar-Ilan 1995.
[61] Plin. *NH* 13.21.
[62] Wiesehöfer 1996, 114; Holt 2005, 160.
[63] Holt 1999, 176; Holt 2012, 118–120.
[64] Sima 1959, 3174.
[65] Tarn (1902, 278) recognized the prevalence of Iranian but assumed that also Greek was used in the cities, although he had no evidence to support that assumption. Since then, however, numerous examples of the use of Greek in the form of coins, inscriptions, pieces of parchment and papyri have been discovered in the region.

the local people when he was in the Central Asia. Otherwise, how could he have transliterated βότρυς (botrus) into Chinese *putao* ("蒲陶")?

## Conclusion

Evidently, when Zhang Qian traveled from central China to the Western Regions, he came to a totally different world. What he encountered there was Hellenistic culture. Thus, Zhang Qian not only was the first person who had been sent on a diplomatic mission to the Western Regions and visited the world outside China, but also the first to bring back information about Hellenistic culture. His exploration of the Western Regions from the east and the conquests of Alexander the Great from the west for the first time made possible cultural and economic exchanges among the major civilizations across Eurasia. Hence, Chinese silk, lacquers, iron wares (complex wares of steel and iron, including the method of steel-making), leather wares, even methods of almond and peach cultivation, were all brought to the Western Regions and from there some of these items soon reached Rome.[66] Likewise, other exotica – animals and plants, musicians and dancers, even religions – were introduced to China from the West. One result of the fusion of ideology of Indian Buddhism and Greek art was the creation of Gandharan art, testifying to the influence of Hellenistic culture in the east. It was precisely this artistic style that reached central China by way of the Silk Road in the period after Zhang Qian's mission.

The creation of the Silk Road should not be attributed merely to the ambition of the Han emperor Wudi to control the Western Regions and to the diplomatic missions of Zhang Qian, but also to the conquests of Alexander the Great and the formation of the Hellenistic world. It was the explorations and conquests from both East and West that gave the Silk Road its special place in history. An ancient Chinese poet once said: 'if a person places willow branches into the soil without any expectation, he will be surprised years later by seeing a forest.' This is true also of the Silk Road which linked East and West for over a thousand years and had great and long-lasting influence on the civilizations of Eurasia that both Alexander the Great and Zhang Qian surely could never have anticipated.

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[66] See Sima 1959, 3174; Plin. *NH* 34.145. Remains of silk from China have been discovered at the site of Palmyra, see Dien 2004; also Wiesehöfer 1996, 147.

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## Abstract

The conquests of Alexander and the formation of the Hellenistic world stimulated and accelerated cultural and economic exchanges among the ancient civilizations of Central Asia, India, the eastern Mediterranean, and Europe. Before Zhang Qian's exploration of the West in the late second century B.C., three trade routes connecting Asia, Africa, and Europe had already come into existence. Hellenistic culture had been widely received in areas formerly under Macedonian-Greek rule and had even, to some extent, converged with eastern cultures. Centered on the Oxus River, the Greeks of Bactria expanded their sphere of influence into India in the south and to the Seres and Phryni in the east. Perhaps they had even reached the Tarim Basin by crossing the Pamirs. All these developments created the basis for the development of the Silk Road and thus for trade and commerce and cultural exchanges East and West. In this regard, the eastward conquests of Alexander and the westward explorations of Zhang Qian played equally important roles in the opening of the Silk Road.

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# SULLAS GEGNER, DIANAS SCHÜTZLING: SERTORIUS' SELBSTDARSTELLUNG UND NACHWIRKUNG

**Keywords:** Sertorius, Diana, Rome, Republic

Unter der Rubrik: Hochstapler aus den Unterschichten, die versuchen, sich unter falscher Identität in angesehene Familien einzuschleichen, erwähnt Valerius Maximus einen angeblichen Sohn des spätrepublikanischen Feldherrn Quintus Sertorius. Nach dessen Tod habe er sich seiner Familie aufgedrängt.[1] Sertorius' Witwe übernahm die eigentlich dem *pater familias* obliegende Schutzfunktion und verweigerte ihm die Anerkennung.[2] Was aus dem Betrüger wurde, ist ungewiss; indes wirft sein Auftreten beziehungsweise allein die Nachricht ein interessantes Licht auf Sertorius' Nachwirkung. Die negative Ausdeutung – die Anekdote bestätige, dass Sertorius nichts Bleibendes erreicht, nicht einmal einen

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[1] Val. Max. 9,15,3: „Repertus est etiam qui se diceret esse Q. Sertorii filium, quem ut agnosceret uxor eius nulla vi compelli potuit." Eine konkrete zeitliche Angabe seines Erscheinens wird nicht gemacht. Vermutlich trat er kurz nach Sertorius' Tod auf, dessen Datierung indes umstritten ist. Vgl. Heftner 1995, 154. Entweder wird 72 v. Chr. angenommen, vgl. Rodá 2013, 533; Rempis 1992, 126. Dagegen steht die frühere Datierung auf 73 v. Chr., vgl. Meister 2007, 307; Spann 1987, 129; Bennett 1961.

[2] Vgl. Lucarelli 2007, 134. Bedauerlicherweise führt Valerius Maximus nicht aus, woher der Hochstapler kam und ob er zudem politische Intentionen hatte. Anscheinend behauptete er, ein Kind aus einer anderen Beziehung des Sertorius zu sein. Leider gibt es über dieses Zeugnis hinaus keine andere Quelle für Sertorius als Ehemann; nicht einmal der Name seiner Frau ist bekannt. Auch ist ungewiss, ob er sie nach Spanien mitnahm und sich dieses Ereignis dort abspielte. Für die These von Konrad 1994, 189, es sei nicht in Spanien geschehen, bietet der Text keine Belege. Auch die Interpretation von García Moreno 1992, 151, es werde behauptet, Sertorius habe mehrere illegitime Söhne gehabt, gibt die Passage nicht her.

„echten" Sohn hinterlassen habe, somit insgesamt ein Verlierer gewesen sei –[3] ist zu relativieren. Das Erscheinen eines Mannes, der sich als sein Sprössling ausgab, zeigt vielmehr, dass Sertorius' Name durchaus noch positiven Klang in bestimmten römischen Kreisen hatte: ein Symbol mit Potenzial zur sozio-politischen Instrumentalisierung. Wie Valerius Maximus mit seiner Aufzählung ähnlich gelagerter Beispiele – ein falscher Sohn des Tiberius Gracchus, ein falscher Sohn von Augustus' Schwester Octavia sowie ein falscher Clodius –[4] illustriert, handelt es sich nicht um einen Einzelfall. Vielmehr sind Personen, die in den Fokus der antiken Quellen rückten, weil sie sich als Nachkommen eines verstorbenen politischen Akteurs oder als dieser selbst ausgaben, ein Epochen und Kulturen übergreifendes Phänomen.[5] Als Erklärungsmodell wurde auf das

[3] So Rempis 1992, 3.

[4] Val. Max. 9,15,1–5. Dieses letzte Buch ist Lastern gewidmet. Die vorangegangenen Büchern hatten Beispiele für Tugenden enthalten, das dritte bis fünfte Buch für „proper conduct of the individual within the family" mit Fokus auf Legitimität und Eigentum. Vgl. Thurn 2001, 83, 93; Bloomer 1992, 25, 28. Die Kategorie der Betrüger, die sich in angesehene Familien einschleichen wollen, stellen Gegenbeispiele dar.

[5] Eine der frühesten Erscheinungen ist der komplexe Problemfall des Nachfolgers Kambyses' II. im Perserreich, von Dareios I. als falscher Bardiya, von Herodot als falscher Smerdis beschrieben (DB §§ 10–11; Hdt. 3,61–88). Es ist ungeklärt, ob Dareios' Propaganda nicht vertuschte, dass es tatsächlich der echte Bardiya gewesen war. In denselben Kontext fallen die Beispiele der Anführer der lokalen Rebellionen im Perserreich gegen Dareios' Thronbesteigung 522/21 v. Chr. Sie traten entweder als Nachkommen oder unter dem Namen historischer Größen auf, die im lokalen kulturellen Gedächtnis Autonomie verkörperten oder mit der letzten regionalen legitimen Dynastie assoziiert wurden: DB §§ 16; 49 (Babylon); §§ 24, 33 (Medien); § 40 (Persis); §§ 16–17 (Elam). Vgl. van de Mieroop 2007, 290; Rollinger 2005. In hellenistischer Zeit führte der Prätendent Andriskos den Kampf um die Wiederherstellung der autonomen monarchischen Strukturen Makedoniens 151–148 v. Chr. Dafür soll er sich als letzter überlebender Antigonide ausgegeben haben: Philippos, eigentlich in römischer Gefangenschaft verstorbener Sohn Königs Perseus (Diod. 31,40a, Liv. *Epit*. 49,21–23). Da die Sprachregelung des römischen Sieger dominiert, ist kaum festzustellen, inwiefern er dies tatsächlich propagierte oder nur mit dem Thronnamen Philippos auf eine Politik in antigonidischer Tradition verwies. Im Seleukidenreich wurde Alexander I. Balas von auswärtigen Kräften als propagierter Sohn Antiochos' IV. auf den Thron gebracht (Just. 35,1,5–36,1; App. *Syr*. 68,357; Polyb. 33,18,6–14; Liv. *Epit*. 50; 52; Jos. *AJ* 13,35–37). Der Verwandtschaftsgrad mochte sogar authentisch gewesen und erst durch die spätere literarische Abwertung seiner Person zum Betrug erklärt worden sein. Die Pergamenische Erbschaft wurde von Aristonikos, der sich als letzter Attalide proklamierte, angefochten. Für Rom sind folgende Beispiele einschlägig: 45/4 v. Chr. trat ein falscher Enkel des Marius auf (Liv. *Epit*. 116; Cic. *Epist*. 14,6,1. 7,1. 8,1; Val. Max. 9,15,1; App. *Civ*. 3,2), zu Beginn von Tiberius' Herrschaft ein falscher Agrippa Postumus und gegen Ende ein falscher Drusus (Tac. *ann*. 6,5,9; Dio 58,25,1). Besonderen Nachhall hatten die Pseudo-Nerones, die zwischen 68–89 n. Chr. in den östlichen Provinzen erschienen (Tac. *Hist*. 2,8–9; Dio 66,19,3; Suet. *Nero* 57). Erste Kategorisierungen der Erscheinungen erfolgten durch Valerius Maximus („*De iis qui infimo loco nati mendacio se clarissimis familiis inserere conati sunt*") und Lukian (*Ind*. 20–21: unter dem Label „Pseudo"). Meist werden sie stereotyp als Betrüger mit egoistischen, niedrigen Motiven aus den Unterschichten,

Konzept des „wiederkehrenden Königs“ verwiesen. Dessen Elemente sind weite Popularität des Toten, ein plötzliches Ableben und ein unvollendetes politisches Programm.[6] Für ein neues, erweitertes Modell, das mit den republikanischen Strukturen kompatibel ist, wären folgende Punkte einschlägig: die hohe Bedeutung von Familie; kollektive Vorstellungen von (Feldherrn-)Charisma; ein politischer Umbruch; Ansehen und Einfluss der beschworenen Familie; ein rückwärtsgewandtes politisches Konzept inklusive Verklärung der Vergangenheit und Tendenz zur Idealisierung der Schlüsselperson.[7]

Es wird deutlich, dass Hauptvoraussetzungen erstens das Ansehen der Familie, zu welcher der Akteur mit der angemaßten Identität gehören wollte, und zweitens die andauernde zumindest partielle Beliebtheit der verstorbenen Person waren, als die oder als deren Nachkomme er sich ausgab. Die Akteure unter falscher Identität repräsentierten die Hoffnung, das durch den Todesfall entstandene Vakuum zu füllen. Valerius Maximus führt zwar ausschließlich Beispiele an, die er als egoistisches Streben nach Verbesserung des eigenen Sozialstatus bewertet. Über dieses persönliche Motiv hinaus konnte es aber auch um politische Ziele gehen: das Bestreben, in einer Illusion von Kontinuität die Agenda, mit welcher die verstorbene Person assoziiert wurde, fortzuführen und *idealiter* zu vollenden.

Ob dies dem falschen Sohn des Sertorius ebenfalls vorschwebte und er sich Hoffnung auf Unterstützung durch populare Kreise machte, liegt völlig im Dunkeln. Sertorius’ Karriere war wechselhaft verlaufen; der *homo novus* aus dem Ritterstand war zeitweilig einer der berühmtesten und zugleich umstrittensten Feldherren der Bürgerkriegszeit gewesen. Schon früh hatte er sich als Militär bewährt.[8] Nachdem Sulla seine Wahl zum Tribunen, wohl für das Jahr 88/7 v. Chr., hintertrieben hatte,[9] stellte sich Sertorius gegen ihn.[10] Während der Regierung der *factio* von Marius und Cinna 86–83 v. Chr. gehörte er zur Führungsriege.[11] In dieser Zeit wurde er Praetor und bekam die Provinz Spanien ab 83/2 v.

ebenso wie der Großteil ihrer Anhänger. Ein wiederkehrendes literarisches Motiv, einflussreich durch Herodots Smerdis-Episode, ist die äußerliche Ähnlichkeit mit dem Toten, die von dem „Fake“ betont wird. Dieses negative literarische Modell ist aufgrund seines topischen Charakters kritisch zu sehen.

[6] Vgl. Champlin 2003, 21–24; Charlesworth 1950, 73–74.

[7] Abgeleitet von dem mit monarchischen Strukturen kompatiblen theoretischen Modell, entwickelt anhand der Fälle in östlichen Gebieten: Müller 2013.

[8] Sall. *Hist*. 1,87–88 M. Vgl. Rijkhoek 1992, 51–98; García Morá 1991a, 91–179.

[9] Vgl. McGushin 1992, 159.

[10] Plut. *Sert*. 4,3–4. Vgl. Lovano 2002, 57; Rijkhoek 1992, 109–130; García Morá 1991a, 235–384; Spann 1987, 23–31; Katz 1983, 58–62.

[11] Liv. *Epit*. 79; Sall. *Hist*. 1,90 M; Plut. *Sert*. 4,4–6; Oros. 5,19,9; App. *Iber*. 101. Ob er indes von der popularen Politik überzeugt war, ist umstritten. Mit Marius soll er ein Problem gehabt haben (Plut. *Sert*. 5,1–3). Vgl. König 2000, 446–447; Rijkhoek 1992, 135–149; McGushin 1992,

Chr. zugewiesen, entweder nur Hispania Citerior oder zusammen mit Ulterior.[12] Die spanischen Statthalter hatten meist ein proconsularisches *imperium*,[13] wie es auch für Sertorius literarisch und durch Inschriften auf *glandes*, römischen Schleudergeschossen, bezeugt ist.[14] Nachdem Sulla 82 v. Chr. Rom zurückgewonnen hatte, landete Sertorius auf den Proskriptionslisten, wohl als einer der ersten.[15] Auf der Flucht vor dem neuen sullanischen Prätor Annius, der ihn in Spanien absetzen sollte, ging er ins nahe Mauretanien,[16] kehrte um 80 v. Chr. jedoch mit den Resten seiner Legion und mauretanischen Truppen nach Spanien zurück. Dort bildete er mit römischen Siedlern und geflüchteten Exilrömern ein Zentrum des Widerstands gegen die sullanische und nachsullanische Regierung. Voraussetzung war seine Unterstützung durch Teile der indigenen Bevölkerung, insbesondere den Lusitanern, die seine Rückkehr eingeleitet hatten.[17] Bis 73/2 v. Chr. schaffte er es, sich in Spanien zu behaupten und mit seinem Lager eine Bedrohung für die herrschenden Gruppierungen in Stadtrom und eine politische Alternative darzustellen, auch wenn sich zuletzt die Niederlagen häuften.[18] Erst als Sertorius einem Attentat aus den eigenen Reihen zum Opfer fiel,[19] konnten sich die Feldherren der nach-sullanischen Regierung durchsetzen. Aus Valerius Maximus' Anekdote ist abzulesen, dass Sertorius' Familie auch nach seinem unrühmlichen Ende nicht völlig desavouiert schien.

160; García Morá 1991a, 321–384; Katz 1983, 62–68; Scardigli 1979, 101. In der von Komplexität und Dynamik geprägten Politik der nach-sullanischen Generation ist eine solch apodiktische Zuweisung ohnehin problematisch.

[12] Plut. *Sert*. 6,3; App. *Civ*. 1,108. Vgl. Wiseman 1971, 260, no. 394. Nur für Hispania Citerior plädieren: Pina Polo 2009a, 227; Meister 2007, 216; König 2000, 47; Heftner 1995, 139; McGushin 1992, 162; Spann 1976, 50; Für beide Provinzen: Elvers 2001, 459; Konrad 1994, 88; Rijkhoek 1992, 187.

[13] Vgl. Heftner 1995, 142.

[14] Die Funde der Schleuerbleie aus Spanien tragen die Inschriften: „Q. SERT. PROCOS". Vgl. Luik 2005, 91–92; Beltrán Lloris 2002, 48; 1990, 211–213; Scardigli 2001, 151; Konrad 1994, 87–88.

[15] Liv. *Epit*. 90; Plut. *Sulla* 31,3–4; Vgl. König 2000, 451; Spann 1976, 66.

[16] Plut. *Sert*. 7–9. Vgl. Callegarin 2002; García Morá 1991b, 45–53; Scardigli 1979, 100. Zu Juba als Quelle, von dem das Heraklesthema stamme, vgl. Ballesteros-Pastor 2009, 222, 227, m. A. 56; Roller 2003, 153–154. Zu C. Annius' Person und Auftrag vgl. Antela-Bernárdez 2012 (kritisch gegenüber der Annahme, Sertorius sei vor ihm geflohen).

[17] Plut. *Sert*. 10,1–2.

[18] Liv. *Epit*. 90, 93, 96. Vgl. Rodá 2013, 533; López Castro 2013, 73–74; Mackay 2009, 200–201; Pina Polo 2009a, 226–229; Konrad 2006, 184–185; Roddaz 2006; Spann 1987, 61–129. Umstritten ist, ob der siegreiche Pompeius schon auf Klientelverbindungen seiner *gens* in Spanien zurückgreifen konnte, als er gegen Sertorius gesandt wurde (so Meister 2007, 199–202; dagegen vgl. Pina Polo 2009b), oder sie erst nach dem Sieg etablierte (so Rempis 1992, 133). Zu den Klientelbeziehungen in Spanien siehe Meister 2007, 204–206; Curchin 2004, 130, 138–139; Callegarin 2002, 36.

[19] Plut. *Sert*. 26; Plut. *Pomp*. 20; Vell. Pat. 2,30,1; Oros 5,23,13; Eutrop. 6,1,3; App. *Civ*. 1,113.

Im Folgenden wird Sertorius' politische Selbstdarstellung analysiert. Dabei ist zu fragen, welchen römischen Rollenmodellen er folgte, inwieweit die Vorgaben seines Gegners Sulla für ihn Vorbildcharakter hatten, und auf welcher Basis die Tradition entstand, seine Inszenierungen als Favorit der Diana seien ausschließlich an die nicht-römische Adresse gerichtet gewesen. Es wird zu zeigen sein, dass dies kaum zutrifft, sondern Sertorius' diesbezügliche Selbstdarstellung nicht aus dem Rahmen der Repräsentation der spätrepublikanischen Führungsschichten fiel und auch römische Rezipienten ansprechen sollte.

## Sertorius: Pompeius' und Metellus' Dilemma?

Bezüglich Sertorius' Nachwirkung gaben zunächst seine siegreichen Gegner die Sprachregelung vor. Dabei wog sicherlich besonders schwer, dass sich einzelne Vertreter dieser Richtung als Literaten buchstäblich tief ins kollektive Gedächtnis einschrieben.[20] Mit einer späteren, zeitweiligen Rehabilitierung des Sertorius durch populare Kreise ist zu rechnen.[21] Diese Tendenz spiegelt sich wohl bei Sallust wider,[22] doch seine Etikettierung als Teil der „sertoriusfreundlichen Tradition" ist zu undifferenziert: Er rechnete in erster Linie mit der Politik der Optimaten ab. Insgesamt greift die traditionelle Zweiteilung der literarischen Quellen in positive und negative Darstellungen des Sertorius zu kurz.[23] Vielmehr ist von einer uneinheitlichen Rezeption zu sprechen. So finden sich etwa negative Elemente auch bei Plutarch, der allgemein als Vertreter eines durchweg positiven, auf Sallust basierenden Sertorius-Porträts gilt,[24] in dem teilweise Spuren eines kynischen Heldenideals inklusive Heraklesangleichung vermutet werden.[25] Plutarch vermengte in seinen Viten jedoch meist in undifferenzierter Weise widersprüchliche Traditionen.[26] Gegen die These seiner hero-

[20] Dazu sind zu zählen: Sulla, sein Anhänger Sisenna, Pompeius' *amicus* Poseidonios, Theophanes von Mytilene, Varro, der in Spanien gegen Sertorius gekämpft hatte, Ser. Sulpicius Galba (der Großvater des späteren Kaisers) sowie Fenestella. Vgl. Konrad 1994, xlii-xliii; McGushin 1992, 158; Spann 1987, xi; 1976, iv; Neira Jiménez 1986, 190; Scardigli 1979, 91.

[21] Vgl. Spann 1987, xi; 1976, iv.

[22] Sall. *Hist*. 1,87–90. 94 M.

[23] Zu dieser Zweiteilung vgl. Scardigli 1979, 98. Zur Kritik daran vgl. Meister 2007, 22–31.

[24] Vgl. Gomez-Pantoja 2013; Moret, Pailler 2002, 123; Elvers 2001, 460; König 2000, 457; Heftner 1995, 132; Konrad 1994, xliv, liii; Spann 1987, 155–157; Neira Jiménez 1986, 210–211; Scardigli 1979, 98–99; Gillis 1969, 717–719. Siehe auch Payen 2002. Sallust konnte sich vermutlich auf Augenzeugenberichte, etwa von Sertorius' Veteranen, stützen.

[25] Vgl. König 2000, 455; García Moreno 1992, 144–151.

[26] In seiner Pompeiusvita schildert er Sertorius wenig positiv, vgl. Plut. *Pomp*. 18. Zudem ist zu überlegen, ob die Nachricht von Sertorius' angeblich geplanter Weltflucht auf die Inseln der Seligen (Plut. *Sert*. 8,2–3) von Plutarchs Publikum als adäquates Verhalten für einen Feldherrn angesehen wurde. Vgl. García Morena 1992, 139, 148.

ischen Verklärung des Sertorius spricht überdies, dass er bei der so bedeutungsvollen Schlüsselpassage des Lebensendes, die noch einmal den Charakter des Protagonisten deutlich reflektiert, das Negative überwiegen lässt. Ebenso wie Appian, der Sertorius teilweise als guten, sogar vorbildlichen Feldherrn schildert, teilweise aber sehr kritisch als einen Erzeuger von Chaos und Unruhe behandelte,[27] und Livius, der ein ebenfalls ambivalentes Bild zeichnete,[28] lässt er ihn mit schwindendem Erfolg in seiner letzten Phase grausam, dekadent und tyrannisch werden.[29] Dabei erinnert der Sittenverfall des einstmals glänzenden Feldherrn, der im Misserfolg Alkohol und Lotterleben verfällt, an Plutarchs Niedergangsschilderung des Demetrios Poliorketes, der für den Moralphilosophen alles andere als ein Vorbild darstellte.[30] Sertorius' Ermordung beim Bankett durch die eigenen Offiziere mit der vorausgegangenen gescheiterten Verschwörung weist überdies Ähnlichkeiten mit der Geschichte Alexanders auf, dem Plutarch in seiner Vita einen negativen Charakterwandel zuschreibt.[31] Die implizite Parallele zu Alexander mag sich auch daraus ergeben haben, dass Plutarch Quellen vorlagen, die von den Ressentiments der römischen Offiziere gegen Sertorius' iberische Leibwache und insgesamt den indigenen Truppenteilen berichteten.[32] Die Assoziation mit dem makedonischen Unwillen gegen Alexanders Vielvölkerreichspolitik mochte nahe gelegen haben.[33]

So erscheint trotz der Ambivalenz der Sertoriusbilder in den Quellen das Negativurteil seiner Gegner aus den Bürgerkriegen als besonders wirkungsmächtig. Eine Schlüsselrolle spielte dabei der Umstand, dass Metellus und Pompeius, die siegreichen Feldherren, einen Triumph *ex Hispania* feierten –[34] obwohl sie in einem Bürgerkrieg gestanden hatten, was eine solche Ehre eigent-

[27] App. *Civ*. 1,112–113 (positives Element: *Civ*. 1,108). Vgl. Schnegg 2010, 9, 136, 139; Meister 2007, 29–31; Konrad 1994, lii; Rempis 1992, 33, 39–40; Ehrenberg 1935, 178.

[28] Positive Züge: Liv. *Epit*. 93 (fähiger Feldherr); 96 („*magnus dux*") Negativ: Liv. *Epit*. 92; 96 („*saevus et prodigus*").

[29] Plut. *Sert*. 10,3; 25,4. Vgl. Liv. *Epit*. 91, 96; App. *Civ*. 1,113; Diod. 37,22a. Als realitätsgetreu akzeptiert von Mackay 2009, 201; Elvers 2001, 459; Konrad 1994, 207; 1988, 258, A. 22. Als Topik der gegnerischen Sprachregelung kritisiert von Heftner 1995, 132; García Moreno 1992, 140; Spann 1987, 133–134; 1976, 118. Es handelt sich um den Gegenentwurf zum idealen Feldherrn (Plut. *Sert*. 10,2; 13,2) mit moralisierenden Standardelementen, die Sertorius an gängige „Barbaren"-Bilder anglichen, vgl. Phang 2008, 270–271. Allgemein dazu siehe Geist 2009, 192–197.

[30] Plut. *Demetr*. 52. Vgl. Müller 2009b, 42–43.

[31] Plut. *Alex*. 49 (Dimnos-Verschwörung gegen Alexander); 74,3–4; 77,1–3 (letztes Bankett und Vergiftungsgerüchte); Plut. *Sert*. 26. Vgl. Konrad 1994, 208–209, der allerdings die Pagenverschwörung nennt, die im Gegensatz zur Dimnos-Verschwörung bei Plutarch nicht so detailliert behandelt ist und keine Parallele bietet.

[32] Plut. *Sert*. 25,2; App. *Civ*. 1,112.

[33] Plut. *Alex*. 51,1–2; 71,1–3.

[34] Vell. Pat. 2,30,2; Plut. *Pomp*. 22; App. *Civ*. 1,121. Vgl. Spann 1987, 134; Wosnik 1963, 19.

lich ausschloss.[35] Ein Einzelfall war dies in der Praxis der späten Republik nicht, doch erforderte der Triumphzug eine propagandistische Umwertung des Kampfgeschehens: Man blendete die Bürgerkriegsthematik aus und konzentrierte sich auf die auswärtigen Teilnehmer des Kriegs. In den *fasti triumphales* erschienen nicht die Namen der besiegten Römer, sondern nur die auswärtigen Kriegsschauplätze, auf die im Triumph etwa durch gefangene Einwohner oder mit den Regionen assoziierten Trophäen verwiesen wurde.[36]

In der Inschrift eines verlorenen Siegesmonuments des Pompeius in den Pyrenäen wird folgerichtig Sertorius als Kriegsgegner nicht erwähnt. Plinius kommentiert, Pompeius habe großmütig *(maiore animo)* über Sertorius geschwiegen.[37] Großmütig erscheint jedoch nur Plinius' Urteil; für Pompeius war es angeraten, den Tatbestand des Bürgerkriegs zu kaschieren. Florus bringt es auf den Punkt: „die siegreichen Feldherren wollten es lieber als einen auswärtigen Sieg denn als einen Bürgerkrieg erscheinen lassen".[38]

Wo nicht geschwiegen werden konnte, wurde der Gegner mit propagandistischen Mitteln im politischen Diskurs „unrömisch" – mittels Barbarentopik zur negativen Kontrastfigur –gestaltet. So wurde etwa Octavians Gegner Sextus Pompeius zum unrömischen Piratenkapitän stilisiert, was sein Bild bis heute prägt,[39] und Marcus Antonius zum Zerrbild des „orientalischen" Despoten unter dem Pantoffel einer ptolemäischen „Dedecus Aegypti, Latii feralis Erinys".[40] Auch Sertorius' Porträt wurde im Zuge der zeitgenössischen Invektive seiner innerrömischen Gegner an ein stereotypes Feind- und „Barbaren"-Bild angeglichen. Schlüsselelemente des Versuchs, den Bürgerkriegssieg als Erfolg gegen auswärtige Gegner umzugestalten, waren Sertorius' spanische Operationsbasis und Truppen.[41] Daher

[35] Val. Max. 2,8,7. Zur Bedeutung eines Triumphs für das symbolische Kapital einer *gens* vgl. Hölkeskamp 2006, 483–487; 2004b, 95–100;

[36] Vgl. Wosnik 1963, 20–22. Sulla konzentrierte seinen Triumph nach dem Sieg über Marius' Sohn und dessen Anhänger 81 v. Chr. auf die Samniten, die ihn unterstützt hatten (Liv. per. 88; Plut. Sulla 29,4). Pompeius erhielt 81 v. Chr. einen Triumphzug *ex Africa*, nachdem er die dorthin geflüchteten Marianer besiegt hatte (Plut. Pomp. 14). Octavians Propaganda wertete den Bürgerkrieg gegen Marcus Antonius als Krieg gegen Kleopatra VII. und Ägypten um. Sein Gegner wurde zum östlichen Tyrannen stilisiert, seine römischen Anhänger wurden unterschlagen. Octavian triumphierte *ex Aegypto*. Zur Empörung über einen zu durchsichtigen Verhüllungsversuch: Plut. *Caes*. 56,4.

[37] Plin. *NH* 7,96. Zum Monument vgl. Luik 2005, 102.

[38] Flor. 2,10,9: „victores duces externum id magis quam civile bellum videri voluerunt." Zum Vergleich: T. Didius hatte 93 v. Chr. einen Triumph *ex Hispania de Celtibereis* gefeiert, nachdem er mit Sertorius als Kriegstribun den lusitanischen Aufstand niedergeschlagen hatte (App. *Iber*. 100; Plut. *Sert*. 3,3–5; Sall. *Hist*. 1,88 M). Vgl. Luik 2005, 83–84; Rijkhoek 1992, 34–36; McGushin 1992, 155; García Morá 1991a, 157–177; Spann 1987, 17–20.

[39] Plut. *Ant*. 32; Vell. Pat. 2,73. Vgl. Powell 2002; Gowing 2002.

[40] Luc. *Phars*. 10,59. Siehe auch Plut. *Ant*. 25–27; 29; 34; 37,4; 53,3–54; 57.

[41] Sall. *Hist*. 2,15 M berichtet, dass in Rom eine Hetzkampagne lanciert wurde, um einen guten Ruf zu zerstören, was sich auf Sertorius beziehen könnte: Seine Erfolge seien ihm als reines Glück

liegt der Fokus der antiken Berichterstattung auf den lusitanischen und iberischen Soldaten, die topisch als wild, undiszipliniert, beeinflussbar, leichtgläubig, wankelmütig, hinterhältig und grausam geschildert werden.[42] Plutarch betont ihre naive, abergläubische Art;[43] Justin zufolge waren sie wilden Tieren ähnlicher als Menschen.[44] Valerius Maximus berichtet von einem Fall von Kannibalismus in einer von Pompeius belagerten spanischen Stadt und schließt daraus, dass sie sogar noch unterhalb von Tieren anzusiedeln seien.[45] Sämtliche literarischen Quellen machen deutlich, wie niedrig die Zivilisationsstufe der verschiedenen spanischen Ethnien gegenüber der römischen Kultur von den Berichterstattern veranschlagt wurde. In dieser von Klischees und Herrschaftsdiskursen bestimmten Logik lag es nahe, Sertorius vorzuwerfen, er habe sich hauptsächlich auf indigene Truppen gestützt, sogar eine keltiberische Leibwache gehabt und sich vom „fremden", grausamen Stil der Kriegsführung anstecken lassen, so dass er gegen die römischen Feldherren nach „Art der Räuber" gekämpft habe.[46] Darüber hinaus konnten, wenn man ihm Übles wollte, weitere Faktoren gegen Sertorius gekehrt werden: seine Verbindungen zu kilikischen Piraten – wobei ungewiss ist, in welcher Form sie bestanden und inwieweit die gegnerische Propaganda nicht ein völlig übertriebenes Bild vermittelt –[47] und zu Mithradates VI. von Pontos. Mit ihm soll er ein Bündnis geschlossen haben,[48] von dessen konkreten Auswirkungen jedoch

ausgelegt worden, seine Kriegsführung als Rücksichtslosigkeiten, seine Schwächen als Perversionen. Alternativ vermutet McGushin 1992, 190–193, dass es sich auch um Metellus handeln könnte.

[42] Plut. *Sert*. 14,1; 16,1–2; Strab. 3,2,5; Vell. Pat. 2,90,4. 2,6; 2,8; Just. 44,2,7. 3,7–8. Dazu kommt der Aspekt des häufig erwähnten „Räubertums". Vgl. Luik 2005, 16.

[43] Plut. *Sert*. 11,1–4; 12,1.

[44] Just. 44,2,7: „propiora quam hominibus ingenia gerunt".

[45] Val. Max. 7,6,ext. 3. Es habe sich um einstige Anhänger des Sertorius gehandelt.

[46] Plut. *Pomp*. 17. Siehe dazu auch Front. *Str*. 1,10,1–2; 5,2,31. Meister 2007, 107–111 und Greenland 2006, 250 kritisieren zu Recht die anachronistische Bezeichnung der lusitanischen Kriegsführung, die Sertorius in den Anfängen aus Truppenmangel adaptiert haben soll, als „Guerillakrieg". Dahinter stecken sowohl Barbarentopoi, welche die unterschiedliche Kampfweise kulturell interpretieren, als auch Echos negativer Propaganda gegen Sertorius. Der Terminus wird dennoch überwiegend in der Forschung angewandt. Teilweise wird sogar vermutet, der Unwillen von Perperna und seiner Anhänger gegen Sertorius habe sich an dessen „unrömischer" Kampfweise entzündet, vgl. Rempis 1992, 124; Spann 1976, 118. Allgemein zu den römischen Vorwürfen gegen Sertorius siehe Konrad 1994, xxxv.

[47] Plut. *Sert*. 7,3; 21,5. Entsprechend gibt es Zweifel, ob es sich um Piraten gehandelt habe, vgl. Gómez-Pantoja 2013; Antela-Bernárdez 2012, 44: Es habe sich um Kaufleute gehandelt.

[48] Plut. *Sert*. 23–24; Plut. *Luc*. 8; Liv. *Epit*. 93; Sall. *Hist*. 2,91 M; Cic. 2 *Verr*. 1,87; Oros. 6,2,12; App. *Mithr*. 68; 70; 112. Mithradates versprach 3000 Talente und 40 Schiffen, Sertorius in Absprache mit dem Exilsenat wohl nicht die Provinz Asia (wie einzig App. *Mithr*. 68 behauptet), sondern Bithynien und Kappadokien. Überwiegend gilt das Bündnis als historisch, vgl. Korolenkov 2013, 163–167 (mit Asia); Majbom Madsen 2009, 198; Mayor 2009, 258–261; Pina Polo 2009a, 228; Konrad 2006, 184–185; 1994, 191–200; Elvers 2001, 459; Ballesteros-Pastor, 1996, 203–210; Heftner 1995, 153; von Haehling 1993, 150 (mit Asia); Rempis 1992, 93–98; Garcá Morá 1991b, 287–

nichts zu fassen ist.[49] Überdies war Sertorius als Proskribierter zum *hostis* erklärt worden. Trotz der Abnutzung durch den inflationären Gebrauch in der Bürgerkriegszeit – „a shabby slogan, born of civil war"[50] – bedeutete die Hostiserklärung den Ausschluss von der römischen Bürgergemeinschaft.[51] Zusammen mit der Anschuldigung der Unterstützung durch fremde Ethnien wird sich vor diesem Hintergrund die Tradition entwickelt haben, dass Sertorius unter „barbarischem" Einfluss entartete und zum Brigantenführer von Lusitanern wurde, die gegen Rom für ihre Autonomie kämpften. Die Anklage, sich in subversiv „unrömischer" Weise der Sache fremder Ethnien anzunehmen, traf in der Bürgerkriegszeit stereotyp Feldherren, die ihre politische Basis außerhalb Stadtroms hatten. Was für einen Kommandeur aus den eigenen Reihen nicht anrüchig gewesen wäre, wurde dem Gegner in übertriebener Negativstilisierung angekreidet. Anschuldigungen dieser Art gegen Sertorius sind von verschiedenen römischen Seiten anzunehmen: erstens aus dem sullanischen und nach-sullanischen Senat, vor allem dem Lager der siegreichen Feldherren, zweitens von den Verschwörern gegen Sertorius und drittens von den Deserteuren, die zu Pompeius und Metellus übergelaufen waren.[52]

Die antiken Werturteile prägten die Sichtweisen der Forschung,[53] die sich ebenfalls auf die spanische Provinz und Sertorius' nicht-römische Truppen als ausschlaggebende Kriterien konzentrierte. Bis in jüngere Zeit standen Fragen nach Legalität und Legitimität von Sertorius' Handeln im Vordergrund. Je nach Psychogramm, das von ihm konstruiert wurde, galt er entweder als Landesverräter und insgeheim nach einer Militärmonarchie in Spanien strebender „Räuberhauptmann"[54] oder als ein republikanischen Prinzipien ver-

298; Spann 1987, 99–104; 1976, 103–105; Ehrenberg 1935, 196; Berve 1929, 202, 211. Plutarch (*Sert*. 21,6) charakterisiert die Nachricht, Sertorius habe eine Invasion Roms geplant, als stadtrömisches Gerücht, Appian (*Iber*. 101; *Civ*. 1,108) dagegen als Fakt. Solche Anstalten sind auf Sertorius' Seite nicht fassbar. Vgl. Ehrenberg 1935, 198. Als differenzierte Einzelstimme zweifelt Sonnabend 1998, 202–206 am Wahrheitsgehalt der Berichte, die propagandistisch verzerrt seien, und hält nur die Nachricht von Kontakten zwischen ihnen für gesichert. In Rom wurde offenbar mit dem Schreckensszenario des drohenden vereinten Angriffs eines neuen Hannibals und neuen Pyrrhos (Plut. *Sert*. 23,2; App. *Civ*. 1,112) gegen Sertorius Stimmung gemacht.

[49] Teilweise wird vermutet, dass der Anstieg der pontischen Münzproduktion in der entsprechenden Zeitspanne darauf hinweise, dass Mithradates das Geld geliefert habe, vgl. Korolenkov 2013, 166; Majbom Madsen 2009, 198; de Callataÿ 1997, 341; Konrad 1994, 199. An die Sendung der Schiffe glauben: Ballesteros-Pastor 1996, 208; Konrad 1994, 199–200; Spann 1987, 129 (aber Sertorius sei zuvor gestorben). Insgesamt kann man wohl davon ausgehen, dass Verhandlungen stattgefunden haben, darüber hinaus aber nichts gesichert ist. Ähnlich: McGushin 1992, 215.

[50] Spann 1987, 104.

[51] Vgl. McGushin 1992, 116; Ehrenberg 1935, 197.

[52] Zu den Überläufern: App. *Civ*. 1,112; Plut. *Sert*. 27,1.

[53] Zu einem Überblick siehe König 2000, 441–444; Rempis 1992, 41–64; Spann 1976, 145–146.

[54] So charakterisierte ihn sein schärfster Kritiker, Helmut Berve, mit deutlich ideologischer Färbung als einen unrömisch denkenden und handelnden „spanischen Häuptling" mit „Zügen eines

hafteter Rebell, der mit sullanischer Willkür und der nach-sullanischen Regierung aufräumen wollte.[55] Die ältere spanische Forschung zeigte Tendenzen, Sertorius zum *dux Ibericorum*, *imperator Lusitanicus* oder *dux Lusitanorum* – die Lusitaner galten als Synonym für den spanischen Widerstand gegen Rom – [56] zu verklären.[57] Dabei mag jedoch einiges vom früheren Fall des lusitanischen Aufstandsführers Viriatus, der 147–139 v. Chr. gegen die römische Besatzung gekämpft hatte,[58] auf Sertorius projiziert worden sein.[59] Dies ist in neueren Untersuchungen relativiert worden; der Sertoriuskrieg wird aktuell mehrheitlich plausibel als Teil der Bürgerkriegsauseinandersetzungen zwischen den verschiedenen römischen *factiones* betrachtet, für die Sertorius die spanischen Truppen wie Auxiliareinheiten benutzte, um seine im republikanischen Kontext verwurzelten Ziele zu erreichen.[60] Daneben existiert indes noch immer der Ansatz, Sertorius als Vehikel für den – als rein keltiberisch-lusitanisch interpretierten – Krieg zu sehen, der als letzter großer indigener Aufstand gegen Rom gilt.[61] Diese ins andere Extrem gehende, nicht minder problematische Sichtweise färbt auch die jüngste monographische Spezialstudie zu Sertorius von 2007, die ihn seinem römisch-republikanischen Kontext weitgehend entkleidet, als Instrument der Lusitaner in ihrem Ringen um Autonomie darstellt und verneint, dass die erste Phase des Sertoriuskriegs (vor Perpernas Eintreffen) Teil des Bürgerkriegs gewesen sei.[62]

Eine dritte – stark kritisierte –[63] Forschungsrichtung, die ihren Beginn in den 1970ern nahm, konzentriert sich auf Sertorius' Einordnung in mythische und mythologische Kontexte. Entscheidende Aspekte sind dabei Sertorius' Selbstdarstellung als Göttergünstling und die aus einer Kriegsverletzung resultierende

landfernen Reisläufertum" und einer „würdelosen Hinneigung zur fremden, rechtlich untertänigen Bevölkerung" (1929, 216, 218, 221).

[55] Vgl. Spann 1976, 164: Sertorius als „Roman imperialist engaged in civil war".

[56] Vgl. Meister 2007, 368; Spann 1987, 58.

[57] Vgl. García Morá 1994, 274; 1991b, 365, 368: „el última gran levanta niento hispano contra el poder extranjero". Ähnlich wieder Meister 2007, 253. Ansätze vorhanden bei Tsirkin 1993, 294. Zur Kritik an dieser Position vgl. Konrad 1987, 524–525; Spann 1987, 59; 1976, 158–159, 161; Ehrenberg 1935, 188–189.

[58] Vell. Pat. 2,90,3; Strab. 3,4,5; Just. 44,2,7–8; Dio 73,1; App. *Iber*. 74–75. Vgl. Luik 2005, 64–71. Wie Sertorius soll er ein tapferer, anspruchsloser Feldherr gewesen sein, der einem Komplott aus den eigenen Reihen zum Opfer fiel.

[59] Oros. 5,23,13. 15; Front. *Str.* 2,13,4. Vgl. Meister 2007, 309.

[60] Vgl. Rodá 2013, 533; Gómez-Pantoja 2013; López Castro 2013, 73–74; Lovano 2002, 138; Pina Polo 2009a, 227; Callegarin 2002, 36; Juste Arruga 2000; Beltrán Lloris 1990, 222. Ebenso: Steel 2013, 136, 223; Luik 2005, 91; Mackay 2009, 200–201; Konrad 2006, 185; Spann 1987, 59–62.

[61] Vgl. García Morá 1991b.

[62] Vgl. Meister 2007, 16, 207–210; 226, 232, 253, 273, womit er die Thesen von García Morá 1991b wieder aufgreift. In Ansätzen auch noch fassbar bei von Haehling 1993, 149, m. A. 16.

[63] Vgl. Müller 2008, 495–498; Meister 2007, 338–339; Rempis 1992, 69–77.

Einäugigkeit.[64] Vor diesem Hintergrund soll er sich gegenüber den keltischen und keltiberischen Truppen zum „schamanistischen" Kämpfer gegen Rom stilisiert haben, zum wiederkehrenden Hannibal, angelehnt an einäugige keltische Kriegsgottheiten.[65] Ein alternativer Ansatz bringt ihn mit dem Mythos des Königs von Tartessos, Habis, in Zusammenhang, mit dem Sertorius parallelisiert worden sei oder sich selbst zur Beeinflussung der Tartessier in Relation gesetzt habe.[66]

Die Frage nach potentiellem Landesverrat, Legalität und Legitimität von Sertorius' Handeln ist inzwischen *ad acta* gelegt worden. Philip Spanns lakonischer Kommentar, die Debatte erübrige sich angesichts der Bürgerkriegssituation, in der Legitimität vom militärischen Erfolg abhing,[67] bringt es auf den Punkt. Legitimität lag in dieser Krisenzeit wechselnder Machthaber im Auge des Betrachters. Michael Lovano zufolge waren die politischen Akteure „loyal only to their own version of the Republic".[68] Bei Sertorius und seinen Anhängern handelte es sich um einen erheblichen Teil der marianischen Regierung, die Sulla und seine *factiones* gestürzt hatten. Aus ihrer Perspektive war Sulla, unter Marius und Cinna zum *hostis* erklärt, ein Usurpator, dessen Maßnahmen und Nachfolger in ihren Ämtern unrechtmäßig waren. Anscheinend datierten sie alle gültigen Regierungshandlungen in die Zeit vor dem Sturz des marianischen Senats und bezogen die Rechtfertigung ihres Handelns aus ihren damals verliehenen Ämtern.[69] Die Zeit war für sie bis zur erhofften Rückgewinnung ihrer Stellung in Stadtrom gleichsam eingefroren. In diesem Intermezzo des Ausnahmezustands setzten sie ihre durch Sulla unterbrochene Ämter- und Regierungstätigkeit fort – gemäß dem politischen Herkommen, aber im Exil. Nicht der Ort spielte für sie eine Rolle, sondern die personale Zusammensetzung der Regierung. Dies sahen die Senatoren in Stadtrom genau umgekehrt und

[64] Zum Augenverlust: Plut. *Sert*. 4,2; Sall. *Hist*. 1,88 M. Vgl. Müller 2008, 497; Rijkhoek 1992, 105.

[65] Vgl. Moeller 1975; Africa 1970. Africa zufolge hätten diese Feldherren für die Vorstellung keltischer Ethnien von einäugigen kriegerischen Gottheiten Modell gestanden. Moeller geht vom Gegenteil aus: Die Bilder einäugiger Feldherren seien im kulturellen Gedächtnis der Antike nach dem Schema der einäugigen Gottheiten gestaltet worden.

[66] Vgl. Moret, Pailler 2002.

[67] Vgl. Spann 1987, 103.

[68] Lovano 2002, 139.

[69] Zu Sertorius' Senatsversammlung: Plut. *Sert*. 22,3–4; App. *Civ*. 1,108; *Iber*. 101; *Mithr*. 68; Flor. 2,10,1). Sie ist nicht mit dem Gegensenat im Bundesgenossenkrieg zu vergleichen, der Ausdruck des Ziels der Loslösung von Rom und der Autonomie gewesen war. Sertorius und seine römischen Verbündeten betrachteten sich kaum als Gegensenat in einem autonomen Einflussbereich – womit sie die nach-sullanische Regierung anerkannt hätten –, sondern als *die* vertriebene legitime römische Regierung im Exil (Plut. *Sert*. 22). Vgl. Rempis 1992, 63–65; Spann 1987, 89; Ehrenberg 1935, 182–183.

beriefen sich darauf, dass die Flüchtlinge mit ihrer Ächtung durch die legitime Regierung – sie meinten wiederum Sulla und seine Nachfolger – Ämter und Status verloren hatten. Aktuell wird daher mehrheitlich angenommen, dass es Sertorius um eine Rückkehr zur vor-sullanischen Republik ging und seine Politik ganz in den Bahnen der spätrepublikanischen Denkhorizonte verlief.[70]

Interessanterweise scheint jedoch die Etikettierung als „unrömischer" Feldherr, die auf die negative Sprachregelung der antiken Quellentraditionen zurückzuführen ist, noch immer an Sertorius zu haften. Sie mag einen Grund darstellen, weshalb er in der modernen Rezeption eine Randstellung im Schatten von Sulla, Marius und Cinna fristet. Der Umstand, dass er gemeinhin nicht als „typischer" Feldherr der Bürgerkriege gilt, zeigt sich etwa anhand von Betonungen, Sertorius sei Römer gewesen und geblieben,[71] oder gegenteiligen Bezeichnungen wie „iberischer Insurgent".[72]

Eine entscheidende Rolle bei dieser Beurteilung spielt Sertorius' Selbstdarstellung als Günstling der Göttin Diana. Den antiken Berichten folgend wird einheitlich angenommen, dass diese Inszenierung ein betrügerisches Manöver für die iberischen Adressaten gewesen sei. Obwohl die zugrunde liegende Barbarentopik zumindest teilweise als Klischee kritisiert worden ist,[73] wurde an der Darstellung grundsätzlich nicht gerüttelt: Gemäß *communis opinio* überzeugte Sertorius die nicht-römischen Truppenteile mit speziell auf sie abgestimmten inszenatorischen Kunstgriffen von seiner göttlichen Nahbeziehung. Diese Folgerung erscheint angesichts seiner multikulturellen Armee jedoch wenig einsichtig. So ist zu fragen, wieso er eine Gruppe exklusiv adressiert haben soll, inwiefern er die anderen Heeresteile davon ausschließen konnte und warum gerade die römischen Rezipienten sich nicht von einer Berufung auf Diana angesprochen fühlten sollten.

Im Folgenden wird daher argumentiert, dass Sertorius' Selbstinszenierung als Günstling der Diana nicht im Sinne eines Exklusivspektakels für die vermeintlich abergläubischen iberischen Truppen zu sehen ist, sondern sich auch an

[70] Vgl. Steel 2013, 136, 223; Gómez-Pantoja 2013; Luik 2005, 91; Mackay 2009, 200–201; Konrad 2006, 185; 1994, 188; Spann 1976, 164. Münzen des Sertorius oder einer seiner Magistrate als Prägemeister, die Aufschluss über sein politisches Programm geben würden, sind nicht bekannt. Mattingly 1922, 234–235 vermutete, das Diana-Aversporträt auf Münzprägungen des Postumius Albinus (CRR 744–746) nehme auf Sertorius' Dianaverehrung Bezug und sei in seinem Auftrag entstanden. Falls das Münzbild eines weiteren Typus seiner Prägung (CRR 746), eine Personifikation der Hispania als trauernder Frau, auf Sertorius' Kontrolle über Spanien anspielen sollte, wäre dies aber eher Gegenpropaganda. Vgl. Ehrenberg 1935, 192, A. 2. Sertorius griff wohl aus praktischen Gründen auf die schon bestehende indigene Währung zurück. Vgl. Ziegaus 2010, 52; Keay 2003, 161; Beltrán Lloris 2002, 57; Scardigli 2001, 152.

[71] Vgl. Spann 1976, 153.

[72] von Haehling 1993, 149.

[73] Vgl. Moret, Pailler 2002, 118.

seine römischen Soldaten, römischen Offiziere und stillen Sympathisanten in Stadtrom wandte.[74]

## Sertorius als Günstling der Diana

Sertorius kehrte von der Flucht vor den sullanischen Truppen nach Spanien zurück, als lusitanische Gesandte ihn baten, die Führung ihrer Truppen zu übernehmen.[75] Sertorius tat dies, wie *glandes* seiner Truppen mit den Inschriften „Q. SERT. PROCOS“ und „Q. SERTORIUS/PROCOS/PIETA(S)” zeigen,[76] im Selbstverständnis, noch immer Prätor zu sein. Laut Plutarch ging die Initiative, ihn zurückzuholen, von römischer Seite aus: In Spanien ansässige Römer hatten die Lusitaner davon überzeugt, vermutlich mit dem Argument, dass Sertorius der Ruf eines milden und gerechten Statthalters voraneilte, während dies von Sullas Mann Annius nicht zu erwarten sei.[77] Zusätzlich zur milden Provinzverwaltung – Aufbau eines neuen, besseren Verhältnisses zur Provinzialbevölkerung anstatt ständiger Erinnerung an die römische Oberhoheit durch Kontrolle und Repressalien – soll Sertorius spezielle, auf die indigenen Truppen abgestimmte Überzeugungsmittel angewandt haben. Eine zentrale Rolle spielt dabei ein verwaistes Hirschkuhkälbchen mit weißem Fell, das er zu einem unbestimmten Zeitpunkt von einem „ἀνὴρ δημότης“ aus Lusitanien geschenkt bekam.[78] Mit diesem ungewöhnlichfarbigen Tier, das er zähmte, soll Sertorius die indigenen Soldaten manipuliert haben.[79] Er habe verbreiten lassen, das Hirschkuhkälbchen

[74] Die erwähnte Korrespondenz zwischen Sertorius und Personen in Stadtrom, die Perperna Pompeius anbot (Plut. *Sert*. 27,2–3; Plut. *Pomp*. 20; Plut. *Luc*. 8; App. *Civ*. 1,115), ist ein Hinweis auf diese Kontakte. Vgl. Mackay 2009, 201; Katz 1983; Ehrenberg 1935, 198. Auch wenn dahinter „lesser figures“ vermutet werden, vgl. Heftner 1995, 156–157; Spann 1987, 136. Noch abschwächender: Konrad 1994, 218; Rempis 1992, 125–126. Die Nachricht ist dennoch glaubwürdig. Sertorius hatte den politisch Unzufriedenen eine Zeitlang eine Alternative geboten.

[75] Plut. *Sert*. 10,1–2.

[76] Vgl. Beltrán Lloris 1990, 211–212. Zur Legitimitätsfunktion solcher Inschriften für Truppen und Feldherrn vgl. Pina Polo 2009a, 227; Meister 2007, 277; Luik 2005, 91; Beltrán Lloris 1990, 215–226: Das Wort *pietas* zeige seine Verbundenheit mit der römischen *res publica*. Vgl. auch Geist 2009, 209. Aus dem Bürgerkrieg zwischen Octavian und Marcus Antonius sind Inschriften von *glandes* mit sehr grobem Inhalt bekannt. Vgl. Rosen (1976).

[77] Sertorius hatte als Prätor eine Politik des Ausgleichs vertreten, die Steuern teils gesenkt, teils aufgehoben, und die Winterquartiere seiner Soldaten wegen der großen Belastung für die Bevölkerung nicht in den Städten errichtet, sondern in den Vororten (Plut. *Sert*. 6,4–5). Die neue Milde diente der besseren Verwaltung der Provinz.

[78] Plut. *Sert*. 11,2. Siehe dazu auch App. *Civ*. 1,110; Plin. *NH* 8,17; Polyain. 8,22; Front. *Str*. 1,11,13.

[79] Plut. *Sert*. 11,1–4; 20,1. Weiße Hirsche sind seltene Varianten des asiatischen Rotwilds. In Großbritannien wurde im Oktober 2007 der vermutlich letzte weiße Hirsch Englands zwischen

sei ein Geschenk der Diana, ein Orakeltier, das ihm im Traum geheime Botschaften übermittle. Diese Geheimnisse – bei denen es sich um Informationen seiner Spione gehandelt habe – verkündete er dann seinen Soldaten in Anwesenheit des bekränzten Hirschkuhkalbs. Als in der beginnenden Kriegskrise die Truppenmoral durch einen erzwungenen Rückzug am Boden war, nutzte Sertorius das Tier als Mittel der Ermutigung. Es war verschwunden gewesen, was als schlechtes Omen gedeutet wurde. Sertorius ließ geheim halten, dass man es im Wald wiedergefunden hatte, und es erst frei lassen, als er seinen Truppenführern auf einer Rednertribüne von einem Erfolg verheißenden Traum erzählte. Die Hirschkuh lief zu ihm und ließ sich streicheln, worauf die Zuschauer Sertorius als Göttergünstling bejubelten.[80] Laut Plutarch band er mit diesen Kunstgriffen die indigene Bevölkerung an sich und überzeugte sie von seiner göttlichen Sendung.[81] Dahinter steht die Klischeevorstellung, dass die iberischen Ethnien einer niedrigeren Kulturstufe angehörten und es ihnen an *logos* mangelte, was sie anfällig für Aberglauben machte.[82] Appian bezichtigt hingegen Sertorius selbst, in blindem Aberglauben mental abhängig von dem Tier geworden zu sein und damit seinen kriegerischen Fähigkeiten geschadet zu haben.[83]

Die dominierende Forschungsmeinung entspricht der Einschätzung, mit der Inszenierung der Hirschkuh als göttlich gesandtes Medium habe sich Sertorius den indigenen Truppenteilen als Götterschützling präsentiert und ihren Glauben für die Etablierung seiner Autorität ausgenutzt.[84] Die weiße Farbe der Wildtiers sei in Spanien Zeichen für seine Orakelfunktion gewesen;[85] es sei als Boten- und Symboltier einer Göttin aufgefasst worden, die in Lusitanien und Westspanien der römischen Diana entsprochen habe. Teilweise wird dabei die antike Barbarentopik unrelativiert wiedergegeben. So kommentiert Thomas Africa die Wirkung der Hirschkuh: „The simple barbarians were duly impressed".[86] Philip Spann spricht von einer „cynical farce" zur „exploitation of native superstition",

Cornwall und Devon erlegt. Die Bewohner betrauerten ihn, da er ihnen „mystisch" und „heilig" erschienen war.

[80] Plut. *Sert*. 11,3–4; 20,1–3.

[81] Plut. *Sert*. 12,1; 20,1. Ebenso: Val. Max. 1,2,5; Polyain. 8,22; Front. *Str*. 1,11,13. Vgl. DuToit 1997, 106–107.

[82] Plutarch richtet seine Schilderung von Sertorius' Inszenierung darauf aus, wie leicht „Barbaren" bei ihrem Aberglauben zu fassen seien. Vermutlich gaben ihm die Schriften von Sertorius' Gegnern diese Deutung vor, die er übernahm, da sie seinem Denkhorizont entsprach.

[83] App. *Civ*. 1,110. Akzeptiert von Rempis 1992, 68, 73.

[84] Vgl. Mayor 2009, 259; Meister 2007, 329–330; Greenland 2006, 249; Luik 2005, 89; Elvers 2001, 459; König 2000, 454; Konrad 1994, 124–125; García Morá 1992 (Sertorius habe sich empathisch in die iberischen Vorstellungen eingefühlt); Rempis 1992, 67–68, 72–73, 76–77; von Haehling 1993, 155; Spann 1987, 63; 1976, 81, 172; Moeller 1975, 408; Berve 1929, 217.

[85] In Analogie zu Tac. *Germ*. 10,2. Vgl. Konrad 1994, 124.

[86] Africa 1970, 534.

einem „powerful tool for insuring the obedience and loyalty of this untamed and volatile people“.[87] An diese Schlussfolgerungen wird häufig die These geknüpft, Sertorius habe sich der indigenen Bevölkerung mit seiner Einäugigkeit und der angeblichen Geschichte, er habe zu den Inseln der Seligen reisen wollen,[88] als eine Art „Schamane“ mit Nahbeziehungen zum Totenreich präsentiert:[89] Da dem Hirsch die Funktion des Totenführers zugefallen sei, habe Sertorius sie mit der Aussicht, den Weg ins Paradies zu kennen, geködert.[90]

Die Problematik dieser Schlussfolgerungen ist vielfältig. So ist die griechisch-römische Etikettierung der spanischen Bevölkerungsgruppen als „Keltiberer“, die zudem häufig noch mit den Lusitanern ineins gesetzt werden, eine Vereinfachung aus Außensicht, welche die Heterogenität der Ethnien nicht berücksichtigt.[91] Überdies ist unsicher und umstritten, wie stark der keltische Einschlag in Lusitanien war. Die Kenntnisse der keltischen und kelt-iberischen Religion sind beschränkt; die historiographischen Quellen liefern eine *interpretatio graeca* oder *romana*.[92] Victor Ehrenbergs Kommentar ist noch immer gültig: „Wir wissen nichts Sicheres darüber, welche iberische Gottheit hier mit Diana gemeint war, und wenn wir es wüssten, wäre nichts gewonnen.“[93] Ungewiss ist des Weiteren, wie viel Sertorius von der keltischen und kelttiberischen Kultur und ihren Göttervorstellungen überhaupt wissen konnte. Er war zwar während seiner Militärlaufbahn zwischen 97–93 v. Chr. als Kriegstribun in Lusitanien gewesen, jedoch ununterbrochen in Kämpfe verwickelt.[94] Von intensiven Studien und Kenntnissen indigener Vorstellungen ist nichts bekannt; alles hält sich im Rahmen des flüchtigen Kontakts mit Feinden im Krieg und mit der Provinzialbevölkerung als Magistrat. Archäologische Untersuchungen verweisen darüber

[87] Spann 1976, 172; 1987, 63.

[88] Plut. *Sert*. 8,2–3; Sall. *Hist*. 1,100. 102–103 M. Zu Zweifeln an der Historizität vgl. Luik 2005, 85; König 2000, 449; von Haehling 1993, 148–149, A. 12; García Morena 1992, 144–149. Dagegen als authentischer Ausdruck seiner Kriegsmüdigkeit gesehen von: Konrad 1994, 106–111; McGushin 1992, 165–167; Moeller 1975, 408; Africa 1970, 534; Ehrenberg 1935, 186–187; Spann 1987, 53; 1976, 126 (er habe die Grenzen der Welt sehen wollen). Sallust habe diese eskapistische Fantasie gefallen und er habe seine eigene Politikverdrossenheit auf Sertorius übertragen, vgl. McGushin 1992, 165–167; Spann 1976, 63–65; Katz 1981a; 1981b, 76. Zu den Inseln der Seligen: Hes. *Erg*. 167–173; Pind. *Ol*. 2, 75; Plat. *Gorg*. 524 A; Luk. *VH* 2,4–6.

[89] Vgl. Moeller 1975; Africa 1970. Akzeptiert von Konrad, 1994, 33, 108–114.

[90] Vgl. Moeller 1975, 408; Wagenvoort 1971a, 113–117; 1971b, 287–289.

[91] Vgl. Rodá 2013, 522; Pina Polo 2007, 26; Meister 2007, 329–330; Greenland 2006, 250; Luik 2005, 13, 16–17. Zum Terminus „Keltiberer“ siehe Pelegrín Campo 2005; Moret 2004, 108–110.

[92] Vgl. Moret 2004, 105; Keay 2003, 152–155; Espejo Muriel 2000.

[93] Ehrenberg 1935, 192.

[94] Zudem stammte er nicht aus Oberitalien, der Gallia Cisalpina, wo er Kontakt mit der keltischen Kultur gehabt hätte, sondern aus dem Sabinerland, das er zudem früh für Stadtrom verlassen hatte. Das Jahr als Quästor 97 v. Chr. hatte er zwar in der Gallia Cisalpina, aber mit Truppenaushebungen verbracht (Plut. Sert. 4,1).

hinaus nicht auf Lusitanien als Zentrum einer kultischen Funktion eines Hirschs oder einer Hirschkuh.[95] Alternativ gilt Sertorius' göttliche Beschützerin als italische Gottheit, die er aus seiner Heimat Samnium gleichsam „importiert" habe.[96] Durch Sulla hatte das Diana-Heiligtum am Mons Tifata für römische Machthaber neue, aktualisierte Bedeutung gewonnen, als er nach seinem Sieg über die Samniter 83 v. Chr. Diana aus Dankbarkeit dort Ehren erwiesen hatte.[97] Eine weitere These benennt Sertorius' Flottenstützpunkt Dianium als Schlüsselfaktor: Er habe sich auf den dortigen Dianakult bezogen.[98] Ein alternativer Ansatz bringt ihn mit dem Mythos des Königs von Tartessos, Habis, in Zusammenhang, mit dem Sertorius verglichen worden sei oder dies selbst zur Beeinflussung der Tartessier getan habe.[99] Trogus-Justin berichtet von dieser idealisierten Figur des gerechten Herrschers und Gesetzgebers, den er aufgrund seiner Aufstiegslegende – er wurde von seinem königlichen Großvater Gargoris verfolgt und ausgesetzt, durch göttliches Eingreifen gerettet und auf den Königsthron gebracht – mit Kyros II. vergleicht.[100] Da unter den Tieren, die den ausgesetzten kleinen Habis nährten, auch eine Hirschkuh erwähnt wird, die den Findling quasi adoptierte,[101] wird hier die Verbindung zu Sertorius gesehen. Die konstatierte Ähnlichkeit mit Elementen der Berichte um Sertorius kommt aber wohl daher, dass Habis' Legende nach dem universal gültigen Modell des „Mythos von der Geburt des Helden" geformt ist: trotz Verfolgung und Aussetzung gelangt das Kind vornehmer Abkunft aufgrund seiner Prädestination und Tugend durch göttliche Protektion an die Herrschaft.[102] Botentiere, die als nährende Beschützer des Kindes auftreten, sind ebenso wie die Errettung nach der Aussetzung im Wasser, die Habis ebenfalls erlebt,[103] die typischen Motive dieses Wander-

[95] Vgl. Moret, Pailler 2002, 119

[96] Vgl. Ehrenberg 1935, 193–194.

[97] Vell. Pat. 2,25,4.

[98] Strab. 3,4,6; Sall. *Hist*. 1,124 M. Vgl. Moret, Pailler 2002, 119, 122; Ehrenberg 1935, 193–194. Rempis 1992, 67 zweifelt daran. Zu Dianium vgl. Korolenkov 2013, 159; Rodá 2013, 533; Grau Mira 2002; Gisbert Santoja 1998, Rempis 1992, 61; McGushin 1992, 181: Zuerst habe er die Basis 81 v. Chr. genutzt.

[99] Vgl. Moret, Pailler 2002.

[100] Just. 44,4. Über Kyros kursierte ein ähnlicher Aussetzungsmythos, wonach sein Großvater Astyages die Konkurrenz fürchtete und das Baby in der Wildnis auszusetzen befahl, das jedoch von einem Hirten gerettet und aufgezogen (gemäß einer Variante zuerst von einer wilden Hündin genährt), später von Astyages als Nachfolger anerkannt wurde (Hdt. 1,107–122; Just. 1,4–5). Gargoris verlangt Habis' Tod, da er unehelich war und er sich für den Fehltritt seiner Tochter geschämt habe. Dieses Element der heimlichen oder unehelichen Geburt erinnert an den Archetypus solcher Aussetzungsmythen, die Akkadische Sargon-Legende, vgl. Müller 2009a, 210; 2009c, 66–68.

[101] Just. 44,4,8.

[102] Vgl. Müller 2009a, 209–211; 2009c, 65–69.

[103] Just. 44,4,6–7. Moret, Pailler 2002, 122 konstruieren eine Parallele dieses Elements der Habis-Legende zu einer seerettenden Funktion von Sertorius' Diana in ihrem Kult an seinem Flot-

mythos. So ist etwa auch die Hirschkuh, die das ausgesetzte Kind säugt, im Mythos des ausgesetzten Heraklessohns Telephos zu finden.[104] Die Verbindung zwischen spanischen Legenden und Herakles in der griechisch-römischen Überlieferung erscheint nun weit nahe liegender als eine Parallele zu Sertorius.[105] Die Erklärung für mögliche Übereinstimmungen mit seiner Selbstinszenierung ist einfacher und im römischen Kontext zu suchen: Nach dem Mythos von der Geburt des Helden war auch die Selbstdarstellung Sullas als Götterliebling gestaltet, an die sich Sertorius anlehnte.

Insgesamt scheint die Diskussion um die Bestimmung der Gottheit zu wenig zu berücksichtigen, dass Sertorius mit seinen multikulturellen Truppen verschiedene Rezipienten ansprechen musste,[106] auch römische.[107] Daher ist die Vermutung, Sertorius habe sich auf die italisch-römische Diana bezogen, die zugleich genügend Raum für eine Assoziation mit einer Gottheit der Provinzialbevölkerung erlaubt habe, plausibel.

In Sertorius' mehrfacettiger Selbstdarstellung wird allerdings eine besondere Bedeutung den unterschiedlichen römischen Adressaten – seiner Führungsschicht aus Exilrömern, den römischen Siedlern und Soldaten in seinem Lager,[108] den Truppen der römischen Gegner in Spanien und Kreisen in Stadtrom – zugekommen sein. Er mag sich vielleicht nicht nur an stille stadtrömische Sympathisanten, sondern als Statement auch an die dortige Opposition gerichtet haben. Vor diesem Hintergrund scheint Sertorius' Inszenierung als Götterschützling weniger mit der Beschwörung indigener Vorstellungen als mit spätrepublikanischen Denkhorizonten zu tun zu haben. Eine polyvalente Ausdeutung, durch die sich auch die nicht-römischen Truppenteile angesprochen fühlten, war indes sicherlich in seinem Sinne; schließlich galt es, die Loyalität *aller* Truppenteile zu erhalten.

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tenstützpunkt Dianium. Dies ist jedoch ungewiss. Zudem braucht man soweit nicht zu gehen; die Errettung aus Seenot ist ein typisches Element des Mythos von der Geburt des Helden, das sich schon bei Sargon findet, der in einem Körbchen auf dem Euphrat ausgesetzt wird.

[104] Vgl. Müller 2009c, 73.

[105] Just. 44,4,14–16.

[106] Sertorius hatte in seinem multikulturellen Heer auch Mauretanier und Libyer (Plut. *Sert*. 12,2; 13,5; 19,4; Sall. *Hist*. 1,107 M). Vgl. McGushin 1992, 171–172.

[107] Meister 2007, 329–330, 339 geht zwar auch davon aus, dass mit der italischen Göttin Diana die italischen Truppen angesprochen werden sollten, bewertet jedoch zugleich die weiße Hirschkuh als magisch-göttliches, rein an die Adresse der Keltiberer gerichtetes Symbol. Daher ist für ihn Sertorius' Inszenierung der Versuch einer Integration auf religiös-sozialer Ebene. Dagegen sieht García Moreno 1992, 149 die römischen Truppen auch als Adressaten an und zweifelt zugleich an der Historizität der Berichte über die Hirschkuh. von Haehling 1993, 155 verweist auf eine mögliche Parallele zum Hirschkuh-Motiv auf den Prägungen Mithradates' VI.

[108] Ehrenberg 1935, 193 weist darauf hin, dass Diana besonders Landflüchtigen verbunden gewesen sei.

## Sertorius, Perperna und Diana

Es ist gefolgert worden, dass die Hirschkuh zeitgleich mit Sertorius' Eintreffen in Lusitanien geboren und ihm überreicht wurde.[109] Indes lassen die Quellen keine genaue zeitliche Einordnung des Geschenks und Anfangs der Inszenierung zu. Auch die These, die Zurschaustellung des Tiers sei nur auf die indigenen Truppenteile bezogen gewesen, lässt sich nicht bestätigen. So fand die einzige Episode, die sich grob zeitlich einordnen lässt – die inszenierte Rückkehr der verlorenen Hirschkuh – in der kritischen Phase zu Ende des Kriegs statt.[110] Zudem erfolgte sie, als Sertorius mit seinen – römischen – Truppenführern auf der Rednertribüne sprach,[111] unzweifelhaft auch vor römischen Soldaten. Eine Aufmunterung mittels der Demonstration, dass Diana noch mit ihnen war, konnte deren Moral heben.

Sertorius' Berufung auf eine Nahbeziehung zu einer Gottheit fiel nicht aus dem Rahmen der Selbstdarstellung der spätrepublikanischen Führungsschichten.[112] Einflussreiche stadtrömische Familien leiteten ihre Genealogien als Teil ihres akkumulierten symbolischen Kapitals von Göttern oder Heroen ab.[113] Die göttlichen Mitglieder waren wichtiger Bestandteil dieser intentionalen Familiengeschichte, brachten allerdings weniger Prestige als die konsularischen Ahnen, die sich um die *res publica* verdient gemacht hatten.[114] Dem *homo novus* Sertorius fehlten diese hohen Magistraten im Stammbaum. Deswegen lenkte er den Blick auch wohl gar nicht erst auf seine diesbezüglich mangelhafte Genealogie, indem er einen göttlichen Urahnen proklamierte, sondern ging einen anderen Weg: Er stellte sich selbst in den Vordergrund. Sein symbolisches Kapital bestand aus seiner militärischen Befähigung und der Berufung auf seine individuelle göttliche Begünstigung. In Kombination bedeutete dies, dass er aufgrund seiner *virtus* zum göttlichen Schützling wurde, was wiederum die höhere Protektion und Legitimation seiner Unternehmungen implizierte. Auch in römischer Auffassung bedeutete die Sendung von göttlichen Zeichen an ein Individuum dessen legitimierende Auszeichnung.[115]

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[109] Vgl. Moret, Pailler 2002, 119.

[110] Plut. *Sert*. 20,1–3.

[111] Die Offiziersposten gingen unter Sertorius nur an Römer (Plut. *Sert*. 22,4). Vgl. Rempis 1992, 63.

[112] Vgl. Phang 2008, 90. Auch von Haehling 1993, 152–153 zieht den Vergleich zur Inszenierung von Marius und Sulla. Schon Frontin (*Str*. 1,11,11–13) reiht die Episode um Sertorius' Hirschkuh unter die Episoden von Marius' syrischer Seherin und Sullas Beeinflussung der Truppen mittels eines Götterbilds ein.

[113] Vgl. Wiseman 1974, 158. Zum symbolischen Kapital in der Republik siehe Hölkeskamp 2004b, 93–105. Zum Konkurrenzkampf der *nobiles* vgl. Jehne 2006, 14–17.

[114] Vgl. Hölkeskamp 2004a, 27–28, 42–43, 163, 201.

[115] Vgl. Rüpke 2006, 229–230; Geist 2009, 209; Ripat 2006, 165–166. Ebenso auch im griechischen Denkhorizont, vgl. DuToit 1997, 107, A. 191.

Mit seiner speziellen Interpretation des symbolischen Kapitals betrat Sertorius kein Neuland, sondern orientierte sich – ausgerechnet – an den Vorgaben seines Gegners Sulla.[116] Trotz der politischen Gegnerschaft wurde Sulla für Sertorius in punkto Selbstdarstellung anscheinend zum Modell. Dies lässt sich damit erklären, dass Sulla, der aus einer abgesunkenen Patrizierfamilie kam, für den Konkurrenzkampf mit den *nobiles* eine Alternative zum Modell des Prestigegewinns durch konsularische Ahnen entwickelt hatte. Auch er hatte seine eigentliche Schwäche – den Niedergang der Familie, das Fehlen zeitlich naher konsularischer Meriten – zu seiner Stärke gemacht. Er hatte anscheinend bewusst seine männlichen Vorfahren in den Schatten gerückt und seine Armut noch betont, um den Fokus ganz auf seinen Aufstieg zu legen und das Wundersame daran hervorzuheben. So hatte er ein Image des Göttergünstlings entworfen, der es aus dem Abseits einer verarmten Patrizierfamilie mit verblasstem Ruhm aufgrund seiner *virtus* und göttlichen Protektion bis zur Spitze der Republik geschafft hatte: Sulla war Epaphroditos, Liebling der Aphrodite.[117] Dieses propagierte Nahverhältnis zu Venus-Aphrodite besaß eine neue Konnotation: die der ganz persönlichen Beziehung zwischen Göttin und Feldherrn – zum Wohl Roms.[118]

Interessanterweise wählte sich auch Sertorius, der wie Sulla früh seinen Vater verloren hatte und ebenso wie er in antiken Berichten eher mit Mutterfigur(en) in Verbindung gebracht wird,[119] eine weibliche Gottheit als persönliche Schutzpatronin, die über seine Geschicke wachte. Von Sulla wird er zudem die politische Konnotation dieser speziellen Selbstdarstellung übernommen haben: individuelle Götterbegünstigung nicht zum Eigennutz, sondern zum Wohl der *res publica*. Daher ist sein Anspruch auf göttliche Nahbeziehungen nicht als Sprengstoff der republikanischen Strukturen zu betrachten. Vielmehr unterstrich Sertorius damit offenbar seine rechtmäßige Amtsausübung als Magistrat des vor-sullanischen Roms. Neben dieser Legitimation seines Handelns – gegenüber den Römern im eigenen Lager und in dem seiner Bürgerkriegsgegner – diente seine Inszenierung als Dianas Günstling weiteren

[116] Vgl. Müller 2009a, 215; 2009c, 74–75.

[117] Plut. *Sulla* 34,2–3. Vgl. Müller 2009a; 2009b, 40–41, 47–49; 2009c,74; Wosnik 1963, 25–31.

[118] Vgl. Müller 2009a, 212–216; Christ 2002, 207; Ramage 1991, 101. Auch Marius stilisierte sich als Göttergünstling; sein Sohn wurde als Sohn des Ares bezeichnet. Pompeius' Sohn Sextus Pompeius wiederum nannte sich aufgrund seiner Seesiege *filius Neptuni* (Gowing 2002, S. 139) und setzte ein Porträt seines Vaters mit Dreizack auf seine Münzen (Crawford 1983², no. 483). Vgl. Müller 2009c,75–76.

[119] Plut. *Sert*. 2; 22,6; Plut. *Sulla* 1. Gegen Plutarchs Behauptung, Sertorius sei von seiner Mutter erzogen worden, plausibel: Rijkhoek 1992, 37. Dagegen García Morá 1991a, 36–38. Zum Namen Rhea vgl. von Haehling 1993, 155; Rijkhoek 1992, 24; Rempis 1992, 74.

Faktoren: dem Loyalitätserhalt und der Ermutigung seiner Truppen sowie nicht zuletzt dem Statuskampf gegenüber der Konkurrenz aus den eigenen Reihen. Besonders akut wird dies geworden sein, als Marcus Perperna (Veiento),[120] der einstige Statthalter Siziliens, ebenfalls von Sulla proskribiert,[121] mit dem Rest der sechs Legionen des verstorbenen Aufständischen Marcus Lepidus in Spanien eintraf,[122] ungefähr 15.000 Mann.[123] Sertorius' Heer bestand seitdem überwiegend aus Perpernas Soldaten, die er von seiner Führungsrolle überzeugen musste. Dies war wahrscheinlich umso dringlicher, als es von Beginn an zwischen ihm und Perperna zu Rangstreitigkeiten gekommen sein soll. Bei seiner Ankunft soll Perperna sein Truppenkommando nur widerwillig und ausschließlich deswegen an Sertorius abgegeben haben, da er sich in dessen Provinz befand.[124] Trotz Perpernas übertriebener Negativzeichnung in den Quellen, die sicherlich partiell zu relativieren ist,[125] erscheint Plutarchs Darstellung, er habe mit Standesdünkel auf Sertorius herabgesehen, nicht unglaubwürdig.[126] Perperna war ein *nobilis*, dessen Familie seit dem 2. Jh. v. Chr. politisch hervorgetreten war; sein Großvater und Vater hatten das Konsulat bekleidet.[127] Sein eigener *cursus honorum* war nach der Prätur nur durch Sullas Machtergreifung ins Stocken geraten.[128] Während er seine um die *res publica* verdienten Ahnen in die Waagschale werfen konnte, musste Sertorius wie erwähnt auf das Modell des jenseits von einer Familientradition göttlich

[120] Sall. *Hist*. 2,14 M; Exup. 42Z; App. *Civ*. 1,107–108. Vgl. McGushin 1992, 190. Alternativ wird er Perpenna genannt. Was er zwischen seiner Prätur auf Sizilien und der Flucht zu Sertorius unternommen hatte, ist unbekannt. Heftner 1995, 145 zufolge könnte er als Freibeuter auf dem Mittelmeer aktiv gewesen sein.

[121] Vell. Pat. 2,30,1; Diod. 38,14; Plut. *Pomp*. 10,2.

[122] Plut. *Sert*. 15,1; Sall. *Hist*. 2,15 M; App. *Civ*. 1,107–108. Lepidus hatte 77 v. Chr. einen Aufstand gegen das nach-sullanische Regime versucht: Liv. *Epit*. 90; Plut. *Pomp*. 16; Plut. *Sulla* 38,1; Sall. *Hist*. 1,1. 77,6–7 M; App. *Civ*. 1,107. Vgl. Steel 2013, 112–113; Mackay 2009, 196–200; Konrad 2006, 184; Spann 1987, 75–77. Zur Kriminalisierung des Lepidus durch die zeitgenössische Invektive und spätere Quellen vgl. Arena 2011, 305–306.

[123] Plut. *Sert*. 15,2 berichtet von 53 Kohorten. Dies wird überwiegend als glaubwürdig eingestuft, da Lepidus 20.000 Mann gehabt haben soll, vgl. Luik 2005, 88; Heftner 1995, 145; Konrad 1994, 149; von Haehling 1993, 149, A. 14; Rempis 1992, Spann 1987, 87; 1976, 173. Bei seiner Flucht aus Spanien hatte Sertorius von seinen ursprünglich 6000 Mann die Hälfte mitnehmen können und viele verloren. Seine Truppen hatte er nach der Rückkehr laut Plutarch durch 4700 Lusitaner verstärkt (*Sert*. 7,4; 12,1–2).

[124] Plut. *Sert*. 15,2–5.

[125] Plut. *Sert*. 27. Vgl. Sall. *Hist*. 2,55 M. Vgl. Heftner 1995, 155; Rempis 1992, 124. Dagegen hält Spann 1987, 135 das Negativbild für authentisch.

[126] Plut. *Sert*. 15,1–2; 25,1. Vgl. Heftner 1995, 145; Konrad 1994, 204; Spann 1987, 83, 134.

[127] Plut. *Pomp*. 18. Der Großvater, cos. 130 v. Chr., hatte überdies einen größeren militärischen Sieg gegen Aristonikos, Führer des Aufstands im einstigen Attalidenreich, errungen.

[128] Vgl. Konrad 1994, 146.

begünstigten Individuums zurückgreifen. Wann die Inszenierung mit der Hirschkuh zu datieren ist, geht aus den Quellen nicht hervor, sie könnte sogar erst nach Perpernas Ankunft als Reaktion von Sertorius initiiert worden sein. Alternativ könnte man annehmen, dass sie ab diesem Zeitpunkt zumindest eine Intensivierung erfahren hat. Jedenfalls fiel die inszenierte Rückkehr des Tiers in die kritische Endphase des Kriegs, als das Verhältnis zwischen Sertorius und Perperna zunehmend schwieriger wurde.[129] Dennoch endete es damit, dass Perperna Dianas Liebling ermorden ließ und seine Kommandoposition übernahm.

## Fazit

Sertorius' Selbstdarstellung als Dianas Günstling fiel nicht aus dem Rahmen der Selbstinszenierung der römischen Führungsschicht seiner Zeit und richtete sich sicherlich auch an die indigenen Truppenteile, aber nicht primär oder exklusiv. Vielmehr war die Inszenierung Bestandteil der Legitimation seiner Position gegenüber den römischen Rezipienten der verschiedenen Lager. Sie diente dem Loyalitätserhalt und stellte neben Sertorius' militärischer Befähigung sein symbolisches Kapital im Konkurrenzkampf mit Perperna in den Vordergrund. Die Sprachregelung von Sertorius' Gegnern, die ihren Bürgerkriegssieg im kollektiven Gedächtnis ummünzten, machte daraus jedoch ein billiges Betrugsmanöver gegenüber den angeblich leichtgläubigen iberischen Truppen. Die tief verwurzelte Tradition dieser pejorativen Barbarentopik erklärt, warum sich diese Darstellung selbst bei den positiveren Sertoriusporträts findet: Sie entsprach dem Denkhorizont auch späterer griechisch-römischer Autoren wie Plutarch.

Indem Sertorius sich in punkto Selbstdarstellung an Sulla orientierte, indem er dessen Repräsentationsmodell vom göttlich begünstigten Individuum zum Wohl Roms aufgriff und für seine Zwecke adaptierte, befand er sich mit seiner auch für stadtrömische Anforderungen kompatiblen Selbstdarstellung auf der Höhe der Zeit. Sein Beispiel zeigt somit instruktiv, wie *homines novi* im Konkurrenzkampf mit den *nobiles* das Manko der fehlenden konsularischen Ahnen als symbolisches Kapital ausglichen. Sie betonten ihre individuellen Leistungen und Götterbeziehungen, die bei Sertorius mit den Schlagworten zusammengefasst werden können: Sullas Gegner (im Kampf um die in seiner Sicht zu rettende Republik), Dianas Günstling (dabei in punkto repräsentativem Modell ironischerweise auf den Spuren Sullas, dem Günstling der Venus-Aphodite).

[129] Plut. *Sert*. 25. An der Lebenserwartung eines Hirschs kann man es auch nicht errechnen, da ein Hirsch 13–16 Jahre alt werden kann. Spann 1987, 113 datiert die Szene auf das Frühjahr 75 v. Chr.

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## Abstract

According to Valerius Maximus, after Sertorius’ death, an imposter claimed to be his son trying to get access to his family. However, he was rejected by Sertorius’ widow. His appearance sheds an interesting light upon the way Sertorius was remembered by parts of Roman society. Instead of being considered as a traitor or loser as is often suggested, he seems to have been a positive political symbol for some Roman factions providing potential for being instrumentalized. This paper aims at analyzing Sertorius’ political self-fashioning during his War against the Sullanian Senate towards the Roman recipients on one side and the non-Roman recipients of his multicultural troops on the other side. It will argue that Sertorius’ public image did not counteract or violate the role-models for Roman commanders and politicians of his time. However, the propaganda of his opponents, including his murderer Perperna and his followers, seems to have shaped the negative tradition in the ancient sources that Sertorius particularly tried to amaze the Spanish „barbarians“ and in the end, turned into an un-Roman tyrant commander himself. The fact that Pompey and Metellus were granted a triumph for their victory in Spain although the campaign was in fact part of the civil war will have been a major factor: The conflict was depicted as an external war against non-Roman enemies.

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STUDIA CLASSICA ET ORIENTALIA

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# TWO NEW CONJECTURES IN STRABO'S *GEOGRAPHY* AND CERTAIN HISTORICAL INFERENCES

**Keywords:** Strabo's *Geography*, Strabo's forebears, Mithridates Eupator, Paphlagonia, Pontic kingdom, Prusias I, Bithynian kingdom

## I. Something new about Strabo's relatives

'It is difficult to discover anything of substance about the historical figure of Strabo,' – asserts with great confidence an American scholar in his Ph.D. thesis devoted to Strabo's *Geography*.[1] The alternative view, which is one of long-standing and, though less categorically so, widely accepted in the historiography of this author, is that information on the origin, life and work of Strabo is be gleaned almost exclusively from his *Geography*;[2] no significant doubts are generally expressed about the geographer's family members.[3] Yet on closer examination, both assertions appear far from unambiguous.

Strabo refers to the history of his family twice – in two rather long passages (X. 4. 10 C. 477–478 and XII. 3. 33 C 557–558). The first gives detailed infor-

[1] Gresens 2009, 16. By the way, on another occasion N. Gresens ventures even further and asserts that 'Strabo and the '*Geography'* are relatively unfamiliar, even among Classicists' (P. 10), which cannot help but raise doubts.

[2] See, for example, Hasenmüller 1863, 1–2; Aujac 1969, IX; Gratsianskaia 1988, 15.

[3] See the two different but the fullest versions of the family tree of Strabo: Honigmann 1931, 77–78; Cassia 2000, 234–235; Dueck 2000, 6 (treated in greater detail below). See also Engels 1999, 17–26. The only ancestor of Strabo who is mentioned in passing in other sources (Appian, Plutarch, Memnon, also in the inscription *ID* 1572, 1) is Dorylaos the Younger, the son of Philetærus, attendant of Mithridates VI Eupator, who played a prominent role in the First Mithridatic war. See about him: Willrich 1905, 1578–1579; Portanova 1988, 244–250; 455–459, n. 291–16; Cassia 2000, 224–228; Dueck 2000, 6–7.

mation about the descendants of Dorylaos the Tactician, the great grandfather of the scholar, who served under Mithridates V Euergetes, king of Pontus. These persons seem to present no problems.[4] The second excursus of Strabo into the history of his family throws a shaft of light on the other branch of his family tree. The geographer mentions Moaphernes, his mother's uncle on her father's side (Μοαφέρνης, ὁ τῆς μητρὸς ἡμῶν θεῖος πρὸς πατρός),[5] who was an attendant of Mithridates VI appointed as governor of Colchis (XI. 2. 18 C 499; XII. 3. 33 C 557[6]), and also the other grandfather, who had seceded from Mithridates and handed over to Lucullus fifteen fortresses that were in his charge (XII. 3. 33 C 558). It is this passage that constitutes the core of this study.[7]

ὀψὲ δὲ Μοαφέρνης ὁ θεῖος τῆς μητρὸς ἡμῶν εἰς ἐπιφάνειαν ἦλθεν ἤδη πρὸς καταλύσει τῆς βασιλείας, καὶ πάλιν τῷ βασιλεῖ συνητύχησαν καὶ αὐτὸς καὶ οἱ ἐκείνου φίλοι, πλὴν εἴ τινες ἔφθησαν προαποστάντες αὐτοῦ, καθάπερ ὁ πάππος ἡμῶν ὁ
πρὸς αὐτῆς, ὃς ἰδὼν τὰ τοῦ βασιλέως κακῶς φερόμενα ἐν τῷ πρὸς Λεύκολλον πολέμῳ, καὶ ἅμα ἠλλοτριωμένος αὐτοῦ δι' ὀργήν, ὅτι ἀνεψιὸν αὐτοῦ Τίβιον καὶ υἱὸν ἐκείνου

[4] For more details see: Cassia 2000, 215–217; Biffi 2010, 110–113. The only thing worth mentioning here is the peculiar character and rarity of names borne almost by all members of this branch of the family tree (quite common was only Dorylaos the Elder's brother – Philetærus). The data pooled from the materials contained in the now available volumes of *LGPN* are as follows: Δορύλαος is mentioned four times (another instance should be added – an inscription in the vicinity of Amasia, *SP* No 160; Portanova 1988, 456, n. 293); Λαγέτας three times, Στρατάρχος ten times (with the –ος ending; yet the version with an *alpha*, as it is spelt in Strabo's text, appears only here). Dorylaos' wife's name, Στερόπη (Lightning) is unique and appears nowhere else but in Suda (s.v; cf. Cassia 2000, 215, n. 11). Dorylaos' children's (as well as his wife's!) names had clear-cut war connotations, which was common in families of both citizens of Hellenistic *poleis* and especially those of mercenaries and condottieres (see, for example, Chaniotis 2005, 21). Of great interest is the fact that the history of the descendents of Dorylaos the Tactician runs in parallel to those of Archelaus, the last king of Cappadocia; cf. Panici 2000, 207–210.

[5] This must be a Persian aristocratic name. See about similar PN, common in Cappadocia: Robert 1963, 516. It is difficult to say if the form Μοαφέρνης was typical of the manuscript tradition (as this form appears nowhere else – cf. Bowersock 2000, 17), or, as maintains L. Zgusta, the result of 'hybridization' of Iranian, Greek and Anatolian elements (Zgusta 1964, 322, § 940–8). See about this character: Portanova 1988, 349–350; n. 504–505, 688–695.

[6] The date of his designation to this post and the term of his office elude precise definition, yet we can try to venture certain assumptions to this effect. The son of Mithridates, Machares, as D.B. Shelov has effectively showed, could have governed in Colchis up to the early 60s BC (Shelov 1980, 41), he must have been succeeded by Moaphernes as the governor. Mithridates spent the winter of 66/65 BC in Colchis that must have stayed loyal to him (McGing 1986, 164; Dreyer 1994, 20). Pompey's intrusion in Colchis (Plut. *Pomp*. 34; App. *Mithr*. 103; Dio Cass. XXXVI. 3. 2) happened a year later, so the end of Moaphernes's career (and death?) can be related to this period.

[7] Contemporary editions of the XII book of the Geography are based on four out of the five manuscripts – B, C, D and F (*Strabons Geographika* I, VII-IX); the excerpt of our interest does not contain any variant readings.

Θεόφιλον ἐτύγχανεν ἀπεκτονὼς νεωστί, ὥρμησε τιμωρεῖν ἐκείνοις τε καὶ ἑαυτῷ, καὶ λαβὼν παρὰ τοῦ Λευκόλλου πίστεις ἀφίστησιν αὐτῷ
10 πεντεκαίδεκα φρούρια …

App. crit.: S. Radt (hrsg.), *Strabons Geographika*, Bd. 3, Göttingen 2004, 468; Bd. 7, Göttingen 2008, 392–393 (with addenda).

4–5 ὁ πάππος *τῆς μητρὸς* (add.) ἡμῶν ὁ πρὸς πατρὸς αὐτῆς (Pothecary 1999).

5 πρὸς αὐτῆς Korais; πρὸς πατρὸς αὐτῆς codd.; πρὸς μητρὸς αὐτός Groskurd; πρὸς πατρὸς Αἰνιάτης Pais (Italia antica 1, Bologna 1922, 296/297) praeeunte Tyrwhitt (34 sq.), qui nomen avi Strabonis ex parte paterna sub αὐτῆς suspicatus erat; quod nomen Αὔτης vel Αὐτῆς vel Ἀΰτης fuisse coniecit Hasenmüller.

Not surprisingly, these sentences have long been of great interest to researchers. In the manuscripts this critically important passage runs as follows: ὁ πάππος ἡμῶν ὁ πρὸς πατρὸς αὐτῆς – 'my grandfather on the side of her father', the wording being clumsy, not to say meaningless. The contemporary editions and translations of Strabo's work's[8] leave out the word πατρός as redundant; in this case, the pronoun αὐτῆς relating to Strabo's mother seems to be somewhat out of place. The geographer refers to his mother in the passage several lines above (without dwelling on it) and, moreover, such an interpretation of the expression makes the relationship between Moaphernes and Strabo's own grandfather unclear (and to add to it the latter goes without a name).[9] S. Pothecary is of the view that the scribe must have left out the words τῆς μητρὸς which should have preceded the pronoun ἡμῶν in the passage ὁ πάππος ἡμῶν ὁ πρὸς πατρὸς αὐτῆς, since in the other parts of his work (X. 4. 10 C 478; XI. 2. 18 C 499; XII. 3. 33 C 557) the geographer emphasizes that earlier members of his mother's family are involved and he specifies their degree of kinship in respect to her.[10] Thus, the phrase takes the following meaning: 'the grandfather of my mother on the side of her father'. Such an intrusion into the text, however, also appears somewhat radical, given also that the passage mentions another figure only in passing (important though he was!) – Strabo's great grandfather, who proved a turn-coat and defected to the Romans. (Apparently, this individual is not to be identified with Dorylaos the Younger since the latter was the geographer's mother's *maternal* grandfather). Moreover, we can assume that since all the examples cited refer to Strabo's mother and earlier members of her family, his paternal line could have been treated in another passage elsewhere (which seems to have been lost). Some scholars point to a sheer logical inconsistency in Strabo's account: he

[8] Coray; Meineke; Hamilton, Falconer; Jones; Stratanovskii.

[9] He must have been Moaphernes' uncle, but for some reason nothing is said about it directly. In all fairness, we must note that the autobiographical information related by Strabo is full of hard-to-explain gaps: for instance, he never gives his own name and the names of his parents. For possible reasons for such 'anonymousness' see: Clark 1997.

[10] Pothecary 1999, 701, n. 46.

tells us a lot about his maternal relatives and nothing of those on his father's side[11] (cf. figures 1 and 2 where the two branches of Strabo's relatives are shown separately). The Italian scholar E. Pais, when elaborating on this assumption, suggested a very witty conjecture: he substituted the pronoun αὐτῆς for the name Αἰνιάτης.[12] In this case, it was Strabo's paternal grandfather (and not his maternal grandfather) who was called Æniates, and this name, according to Strabo himself, was widespread in Paphlagonia; it is listed among the nine names recorded by Strabo as most common in area (XII. 3. 25 C 553); to these may be added Tibios, the most common personal name for slaves from Paphlagonia in Attica (VII. 3. 12 C 304).[13]

Such a reconstruction seems very attractive because it does not propose the omission (or even the insertion into the text) of a word or two but merely offers a different interpretation of the existing word which makes the difference in the lives and the fates of Moaphernes and Strabo's uncle easier to understand. The former paid no heed to Mithridates's wrath towards his relatives and stayed loyal to him till the end; the latter "undertook to avenge their wrongs and his own" and defected to the Romans (Strabo XII. 3. 33 C 559). This can be explained by the fact that Strabo's grandfather (Æniates, according to E. Pais) must have been a kinsman of Tibios and Theophilos while Moaphernes (maternal granduncle) was related to them only through marriage of his brother.[14]

[11] 'His father's side of the family remains a total mystery' (Clark 1997, 99). This was noted as long ago as the XVIII-th and XIX-th centuries: Tyrwhitt 1783, 34–35; Hasenmüller 1863, 8–13. D. Dueck, though making a note of this fact, never attaches great importance to it; she supposes that Strabo's paternal relatives may have been of less distinction and may have had no genealogical tradition (Dueck 2000, 6). But this suggests an unequal marriage of Strabo's parents – his mother must have been of a nobler descend. Yet this marital alliance parents was solemnized during the power of Mithridates, and, since Strabo's mother's relatives belonged to the political elite of the kingdom, such a misalliance was hardly possible at all. We should not forget that after Dorylaos the Younger had been accused of treason, the family was in disgrace for some time (Gratsianskaia 1988, 15), yet the family of Moaphernes (that must have risen in favour later; see note 6 above) must have been noble and high-ranked, which, again, reduces the chances that his niece was married off below her station. We can surely entertain the idea that the geographer did not wish to advertize his barbarian origin (even his name?) of his direct ancestor, but such an assumption is speculative.

[12] Pais 1922, 296, n. 2 (it is important to note that this work was published at first as early as in 1890).

[13] On the names of Tibios and suchlike: Huxley 1963; Robert 1963, 530–531; Zgusta 1964, 513, §§ 1556–1, 2; Scherer 1968, 382–383; Tokhtasiev 2007, 182–183.

[14] Strictly speaking, we cannot be sure that the marriage of Strabo's parents had been solemnized by the time of the assassination of Tibios and Theophilos; otherwise, Moaphernes had no reason at all for alienating from Mithridates.

Fig. 1

**Stemma I**

**Based on: D.** Dueck, *Strabo of Amaseia. A Greek Man of Letters in Augustan Rome* (New York 2000), p. 6

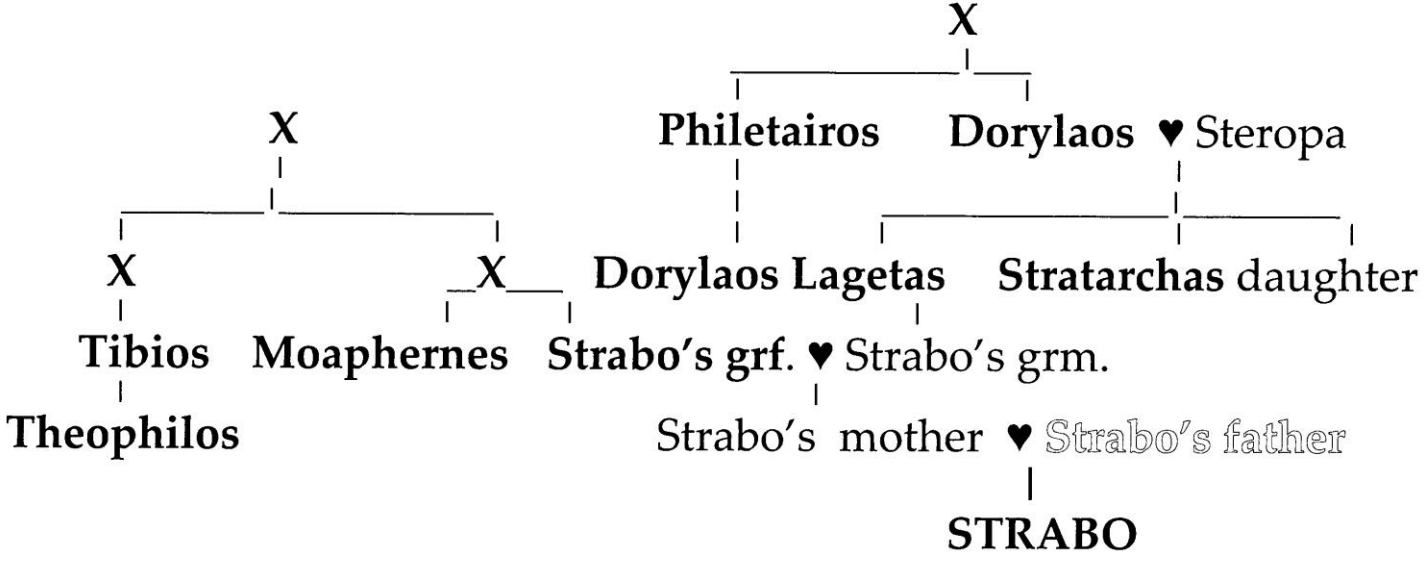
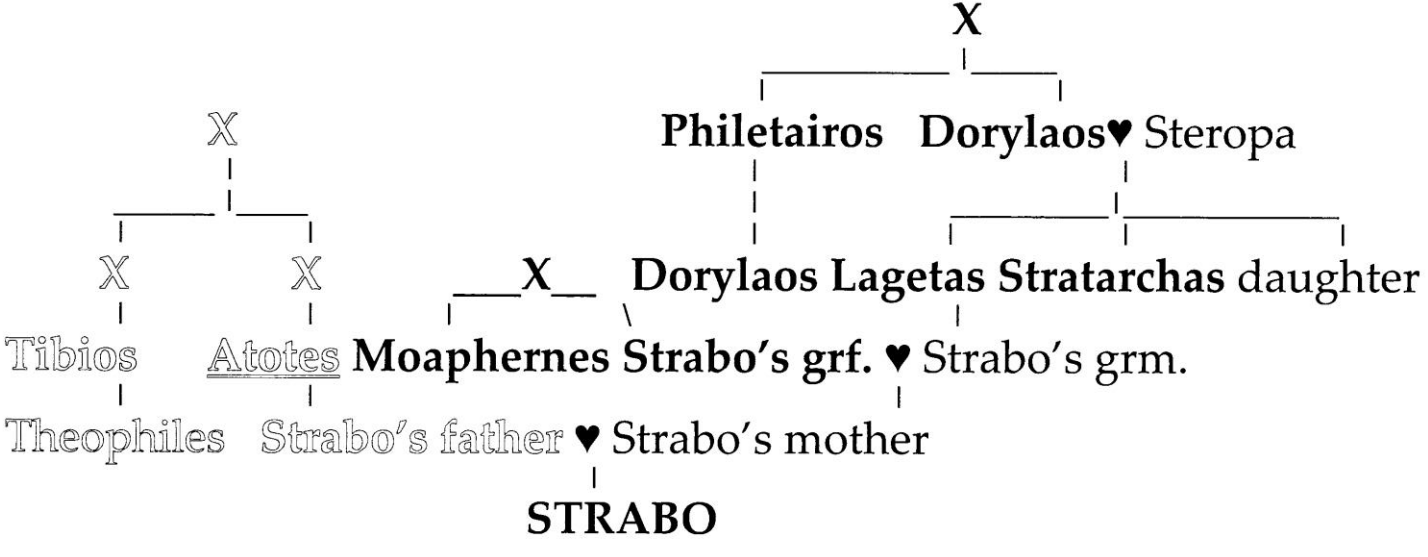


Fig. 2

**Stemma II**

**Based on:** *Honigmann E.* Strabon (3) // RE. 1931. Hbbd. 7. Sp. 77–78, with elaboration



E. Pais' conjecture (and it should be noted that this suggestion was made offhand and was unsubstantiated), tantalizing as it may seem, has not so far been accepted by many scholars,[15] yet there is still nothing clear about the passage XII. 3. 25 C 553. The fact is that the manuscripts offer the nine names just mentioned in the following order: Βάγας, Βιάσας, Αἰνιάτης,[16] Ῥατώτης, Ζαρδώκης, Τίβιρος, Γάσυς, Ὀλίγασυς, Μάνης. They must have been corrupted in the manuscript tradition, which is best illustrated by the names of Ῥατώτης and Τίβιρος, which must be read as Ἀτώτης and Τίβιος.[17] L. Zgusta had strong doubts that the name of Æniates could belong to this list at all and cited a series of forms that could testify to its Greek (not Paphlagonian) origin.[18] It is particularly relevant that no other examples of this name are found in either Asia Minor or elsewhere, which does not exclude its corruption in the manuscript tradition. It must have been for this reason that L. Robert suggested Ἀνόπτης in its place; this name is recorded for both Asia Minor and the Black Sea region[19] (though it carries more Cappadocian than Paphlagonian connotations).[20] The French scholar, however, did not suggest (as did E. Pais) supplying this name in the passage of Strabo XII. 3. 33 C 558 that records the geographer's grandfather. This subject lay outside his particular concern; the subject of his interest was different.

Nevertheless, following the lead of the two scholars (Pais and Robert) who have written on the name Αἰνιάτης, it might further seem logical to suggest a correction to the name in Strabo's *Geography* for the author's paternal (according to original codices' text) grandfather, a name indeed which, according to both

[15] Though it was included, for example, in the Pauly-Wissowa encyclopedia (Honigmann 1931, 77–78) and is regarded as the most probable by M. Cassia (Cassia 2000, 217–219). In particular, D. Dueck outright branded it ill-founded without providing any reasons (Dueck 2000, 188, n. 14) (it seems a little too peremptory). L.I. Gratsianskaia does not distinguish between the two (Gratsianskaia 1988, 15).

[16] This form is contained in the D manuscript, more reliable in this case; others spell it Ἐνιάτης.

[17] Reinach 1889, 94–95; cf.: Robert 1963, 529–530 (with the comprehensive list of references). For Paphlagonian personal names as a whole see Scherer 1968. In general, the list cited by Strabo looks authentic enough; at the same time, the probable corruption of names introduced by scribes is quite understandable, for these barbarian names might well be alien and obscure to them. It should be noted that E. Pais, when publishing his paper, may have disregarded T. Reinach's note – he might have failed to make himself aware of it.

[18] Zgusta 1964, 49, §§ 24–4, 5. With due regard to these observations, the Paphlagonian name in Strabo's original text may have been deliberately or unwittingly 'hellenized' by the scribes, which makes its reconstruction a challenging task. Scherer 1968, 385 is less skeptical of this PN.

[19] Robert 1963, 524–526, 535.

[20] Although L. Robert does spell out that he uses the designated name of 'Cappadocia' in a broad sense and Paphlagonia proper is not excluded (Robert 1963, 524, n. 1), this seems somewhat wrenched. A. Scherer (Scherer 1968, 385, Anm. 36) did not subscribe to the French scholar's point of view.

Robert[21] and many others, is 'typically Paphlagonian': Ἀτώτης rather than the apparently dubious Αἰνιάτης suggested by Pais.[22] This is the form of the name which is generally regarded as correct, in contrast to the manuscript reading Ῥατώτης. Moreover, on the assumption that a name should be introduced in the passage under discussion (Strabo XII. 3. 33 C 557), we may note that the name Ἀτώτης differs only slightly from αὐτῆς (less than either Αἰνιάτης or Ἀνόπτης), with the need to supply just two letters (τω) in the place of one (υ) rather than three or four. And what is most important, this name (with insignificant variations between *omega* and *omicron* in the root and *alpha* in the ending)[23] is safely attributed to accredited Paphlagonians. Suffice it to cite in illustration just a few striking examples. An Atotes described as a Paphlagonian metal-worker from Pontus is recorded in an epitaph in Athens from the fourth century BC (IG II–III$^2$ 3, 2 10051),[24] another was a manufacturer in Sinope in the third cent. BC.[25] No doubt of Paphlagonian origin are those featured in inscriptions from the North Black Sea region (CIRB 170 –Ἀτότης Ἀνόθρινος;[26] 189 – Θῦς Ἀτώτεω; 401 – Ἔρως Ἀτώτου), cf. Ἀτοτατος (gen.) (Olbia, IOSPE I$^2$ 685) and Ἀτώτα (gen.) (Chersoneses, IOSPE I$^2$ 712).[27]

There are therefore strong grounds to assume that Strabo's father's father, who held important posts in the state of Mithridates Eupator, had the name of Atotes and was apparently an ethnic Paphlagonian; his cousin was Tibios, who also bore a typical Paphlagonian name and had a son named Theophilos. This way the family tree becomes better balanced; both sides of Strabo's family are more fully represented and look equally high-ranked (cf. Fig. 2).[28]

If such is the case, then an identity of persons proposed by the same Pais assumes greater importance. On this hypothesis the Paphlagonian Theophilos, a

[21] Robert 1963, 529.

[22] N. Biffi as good as hit upon the same idea after noting a probable Paphlagonian origin of Strabo's paternal grandfather's name (proceeding from the above-mentioned PN Tibios), he allowed for the possibility of Ῥατώτης or (? – O.G.) Ἀτώτης (Biffi 2010, 112, n. 263), failing to see that the former form was manifestly wrong. He doesn't develop such idea.

[23] Also see for similar occasions in the Paphlagonian PN of Corilas: Tokhtasiev 2007, 179.

[24] Ἀτώτας μεταλλεύς.
Πόντου ἀπ' Εὐξείνου Παφλαγὼν μεγάθυμος Ἀτώτας
ἧς γαίας τηλοῦ σῶμ' ἀνέπαυσε πόνων.
τέχνηι δ' οὔτις ἔριζε· Πυλαιμένεος δ' ἀπὸ ῥίζης
εἶμ', ὃς Ἀχιλλῆος χειρὶ δαμεὶς ἔθανεν.

[25] Garland 2004, 360; 375. Paphlagonian PN borne by manufacturers (for example, Corilas and Thys) are often found in Sinope on the stamps dating to that time; see Garland 2004, 54; 57.

[26] According to the nuanced reading of S.R. Tokhtasiev, Ἀνοθηνος (Tokhtasiev 2007: 179).

[27] See Tohktasiev 2007, 179.

[28] The issue of the person and the name of Strabo's father should be left open for the time being; see the latest research paper: Cassia 2000, 219–224.

'savage man' (ἄγριον ἄνδρα) who, at the instigation of Mithridates Eupator, massacred Roman residents during the infamous 'Asiatic Vespers' in 88 BC (App. *Mithr*. 23; cf.: Dio Cass. XXX–XXXV. 101. 1) and Strabo's distant relative from Paphlagonia, who carried that name, were one and the same.[29] This may not be remembered in the surviving record but what is to prevent the assumption that these two were not two 'independent' persons?

The very coincidence of the name of a distant relative and that of 'the brutal Paphlagonian' reinforces the assumption. Although quite common in the Greek realm, the name of Theophilos occurs frequently in Asia Minor; according to LGPN, it is registered 96 times in its western and northern regions, including 7 instances in Pontus and adjoining territories (VA s.v. pp. 216–217).[30] The Theophilos mentioned by Appian/Dio Cassius provides a rare example of a Paphlagonian specified with his ethnic affiliation in the surviving written sources for the Hellenistic period.[31] And now, if we are to accept the suggested name Atotes for Strabo's paternal grandfather, a Paphlagonian origin also for Strabo's relative Theophilos can hardly be questioned.

Both men named Theophilos lived at the same time and took part in events related to the Mithridatic wars on the side of the King of Pontus. E. Olshausen took the Theophilos mentioned by Appian and Dio Cassius as Mithridates' 'officer'.[32] Theophilos, son of Tibios and first cousin once removed of Strabo's grandfather, was killed by an order given by the king of Pontus during the Third Mithridatic War when, defeated by Lucullus, the King found himself in a precarious position.[33] Over the years following the punitive action in Tralleis, Theophilos might well have risen high: the tone assumed by Strabo shows that at the

[29] The Pauly-Wissowa Encyclopedia does not refer to these characters at all. G.S. Richards did notice the similarity of the names of these persons (without referring to E. Pais), but he thought it might have been accidental (Richards 1941, 81); M. Cassia follows E. Pais in this respect (Cassia 2000, 217–218, n. 19). In a comprehensive thesis work by J. Portanova on characters associated with Mithridates Eupator, the two persons named Theophilos appear (Portanova 1988, 401–403).

[30] See also 3 or 4 occurrences: Portanova 1988, 529, n. 904.

[31] With the exception of statesmen – Philetaerus, the founder of the Pergamon kingdom (Paus. I. 1. 8) – and Paphlagonian rulers, the two Pylaemenes (Strabo XII. 3. 1 C 541; Eutrop. V. 5. 1; VI, 14; Oros. VI. 2. 2) (the second one was, by the way, a collateral relation of the Bithynian royal house – Gabelko 2005: 353, 395–396) and Morzius (Polyb. XXV. 2. 9). Also should be noted Alexander of Paphlagonia who, tellingly, served under Mithridates Eupator (App. *Mithr*. 76; 77). It is not clear whether he can be identified with the namesake person who, at the instigation of Mithridates, sought to have Nicomedes IV Philopator assassinated (App. *Mithr*. 57); see Portanova 1988, Gabelko 2005, 377, n. 278.

[32] Olshausen 1974, 169. J. Portanova took it with a grain of salt (Portanova 1988, 401), though such an assumption hardly stretches the point: if Trallians did refrain from massacring the Romans, leaving it for Theophilos, the latter was to be in charge of a group of armed men.

[33] Probably ca. 71 BC (Gratsianskaia 1988, 16). Strabo says that Tibios and Theopilos had been persecuted a little earlier than Mithridates found Strabo's grandfather guilty of high treason.

time of their deaths Tibios and Theophilos held fairly important positions under Mithridates; the same was the case with Strabo's grandfather.

Thus, there are strong reasons to accept that Theophilos, son of Tibios, is the very same Paphlagonian as Theophilos mentioned by Appian and Dio Cassius. The party within the Paphlagonian aristocracy to which Strabo's relatives belonged, his grandfather Atotes and his cousin Tibios, proved turn-coats and swore allegiance to Mithridates Eupator after he had conquered Paphlagonia, together with the Bithynian King Nicomedes III Euergetes, ca. 106 BC.[34] It should be noted that the latter's clout in Paphlagonia must have been counted for more:[35] it was here that at the beginning of the first war between Mithridates and Rome that the Roman generals mustered their army (App. *Mithr*. 17), and later it was the area where pockets of resistance to the Pontic power originated (App. *Mithr*. 21). So it is by no means surprising that in 88 BC, assuming he had been banished by his rivals,[36] Theophilos could have acted in Mithridates' interests in a region beyond his native land, i.e. in Tralleis, on the border of Caria and Lydia.

Unfortunately, we cannot claim that the fact of the identity established for the two historical figures mentioned in the works of Appian/Dio Cassius, interesting enough as it is, adds anything essentially new to our knowledge of the geographer's biography; it does, however, clarify certain nuances. Thus, records made by Appian and Dio Cassius entitle us to conclude that Theophilos' activities gained currency both with contemporaries and generations to come (most probably, on account of his notoriety). Moreover, Theophilos' cruel and blasphemous acts help us to better understand why Strabo was so willing to distance himself from his ancestors, a fact already commented on by previous scholars:[37] the geographer had good reason not to broadcast certain episodes of his family history.[38] It is indeed ironic, and something not conducive to pride, that this Greek intellectual may have been a relative, though not a very close one, of such a 'savage man' as Theophilos, who disgraced himself with the massacre of Ro-

[34] Gabelko 2005, 350–356.

[35] Even in spite of the fact that Mithridates allegedly was entitled to succession in Paphlagonia after his father (Just. XXXVII, 4. 5; XXXVIII. 5. 4–6); see Gabelko 2005, 395–396.

[36] For the vicissitudes of another exile, the Cappadocian noble Gordius, who was a loyal associate of Mithridates: Portanova 1988, 268–271; 467–469, n. 381–392.

[37] Arskii 1974, 12; cp.: Gratsianskaia 1988, 16.

[38] That Strabo mentioned the fact that many of his ancestors had been closely connected with the royal house of Pontus was topical, for the Romans sought to use 'Mithridatism' in their Asia Minor and Black Sea politics (Saprykin 2001, 23). The career of the last Cappadocian king, Archelaus, the descendant of his namesake general under Mithridates, is a graphic example; Strabo's treatment of his biography is of great interest: Panichi 2005, 207–210. At the same time the geographer persists in emphasizing that members of his family suffered under Mithridates and even swore allegiance to the Romans (Dueck 2000, 6). Cf. the main point in M. Cassia's work reflected in its title: Cassia 2000, especially 211–214.

man residents. It is further notable that the 'Ephesian Vespers' are entirely missing from Strabo's account. And finally, of certain interest is the fact that Strabo had non-Greek blood,[39] probably Iranian (proceeding from Moaphernus's origin) as well as Paphlagonian,[40] a situation indeed which was not uncommon in Hellenic and Roman Asia Minor. This might have caused Strabo to present the 'multifaceted self-definition'[41] which has been seen to influence his world-view and scholarly concerns (though G.S. Richards may have gone too far in entitling his article "Strabo: The Anatolian Who Failed of Roman Recognition"). It should be noted that the Paphlagonian origin of Strabo's paternal forebears, who held important posts under Mithridates Eupator, requires a modification of the view that Greeks shared their rule only with the Iranian nobility from among the political elite of the Kingdom of Pontus, which may indeed have consisted of representatives of a variety of ethnic groups.[42] It is obvious that the local Anatolian (Paphlagonian) population also enjoyed significant 'representative rights' in Pontus.[43]

## II. Strabo XII. 4. 3 C 564: Cyrus, Croesus or…?

The date and conditions of the foundation of Prusa-ad-Olympum have been long and widely discussed in the historiography of the area.[44] So far scholars have been unable to reach a general consensus on a number of related issues. To a considerable extent, this is the result of the contradictory evidence supplied by the two key sources: Strabo and Stephanus of Byzantium. This evidence will be the subject of discussion in this part of our study.

Strabo XII. 4. 3 C 564 reads: Προῦσα δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ Ὀλύμπῳ ἵδρυται τῷ Μυσίῳ, πόλις εὐνομουμένη, τοῖς τε Φρυξὶν ὅμορος καὶ τοῖς Μυσοῖς, κτίσμα Προυσίου τοῦ πρὸς Κροῖσον πολεμήσαντος. In what is almost an exact quotation of the geographer, the Byzantine author replaces the Lydian king Croesus with his Persian contemporary and enemy, Cyrus: Προῦσα… πόλις μικρὰ Βιθυνίας, κτίσμα Προυσίου τοῦ πρὸς Κῦρον πολεμήσαντος (s.v.). Thus, although it is unclear whether Stepha-

[39] Strictly speaking, one should not forget the Macedonian, not properly Greek, origin of Steropa, the wife of Dorylaos the Tactician (Strabo X. 4. 10 C 477).

[40] It is characteristic that Josephus Flavius, who referred to Strabo 17 times, 7 times called him Στράβων ὁ Καππάδοξ (Ant. Jud. XIII. 286; XIV. 35, 104, 111, 138; XV. 9; Contra Ap. II. 84), which was noted by G.S. Richards (Richards 1941, 79). Yet this definition can hardly be of sheer ethnic character, it only refers to the geographer's homeland.

[41] Moga 2009, 158; cp. Cassia 2000, 228.

[42] Portanova 1988, 619.

[43] Cf. Saprykin 1996: 87–89 (based on the analysis of the inscription IGUR I. 9 = OGIS 375 contained Anatolian PN).

[44] For more detail, see Leschhorn 1984, 279–284; Cohen 1995, 403–405; Syme 1995, 348–355; Michels 2009, 277–280; Michels 2013, 17–18.

nus distorted the original text through an attempt to improve or correct it,[45] or whether this discrepancy was caused through some other reason,[46] both ancient authors testify, in a manner, to the existence of a certain Prusias (based on the name, he might have been the Bithynian ruler?) who lived in the mid-sixth century BC. The authors of several studies tend to accept (with some reservations) the historicity and identification of this individual,[47] consequently dating the Bithynian statehood back by around at least one hundred years (if we start the count from the first known Bithynian ruler, Doedalses – Memn. *FGrHist* 434 F. 12. 3).[48] In other works, this Prusias is viewed as a mythical personage.[49] Thomas Corsten, in his volume on the epigraphy and history of Prusa, inclines to the view that the city was founded by an unknown Bithynian or Mysian dynast in the sixth cent. BC, based on the Roman-period inscription from Megara that contains a name starting Προυσ-.[50] This conjecture, however, does not appear well-grounded both in view of the geographic and chronological remoteness of the inscription (quite obscure in itself) from Asia Minor of the sixth cent. BC and on commonsense historical grounds: one could hardly allow that in Bithynia there existed a state important enough to compete with either Persia or Lydia at such an early date.

The only alternative interpretation of the passages of Strabo and Stephanus so far suggested involves replacing the dubious personal name (Croesus or Cyrus) with the place name Κίερον.[51] (We should note, in passing, that Prusias I is

[45] Leschhorn 1984, 279.

[46] The attempt to reconcile both versions by offering the conjecture κτίσμα Προυσίου ἤ, ὡς ἔνιοί φασι, Κροῖσον τοῦ πρὸς Κῦρον πολεμήσαντος (Groskurd) may hardly be considered successful due to the excessive wordiness and general meaning of the latter. R. Syme's suggestion looks more valid: κτίσμα Προυσίου <πρότερον δὲ Κύρου> τοῦ πρὸς Κροῖσον πολεμήσαντος (Syme 1995, 350), but even this change of text, contrary to the British researcher's belief, is far from minimal among those possible; and this will be demonstrated below. In addition, this conjecture can hardly be accepted considering the words of Dio Chrysostom who was born in Prusa and who gives us to understand that Prusa was a small and relatively young town (*Or*. XLIV. 9).

[47] Reinach 1888, 6; Detschew 1957, 385; Fol 1971, 63; Fol 1972, 201.

[48] There is ambiguous evidence, which indirectly testifies in favour of this very hypothesis, of probable existence of some earlier settlement at Prusa's site (Plin. *NH*. V. 143) (Syme 1995: 350–351); this is partly confirmed by the discovery of reliefs, dated to a period before the second century BC, in modern Bursa's vicinity; cf. Fernoux 2004: 39, n. 93; Michels 2013: 18, Anm. 102. It should be noted, however, that Prusa was located quite far from the area populated by the Bithynian tribes in the 6th century BC – Kocaeli peninsula (Syme 1995: 249).

[49] Habicht 1957, 1103; Wilson 1960, 76; Bekker-Nielsen 2008, 22.

[50] *IvPrusa* 1991, 21–25. The researcher emphasizes that the names of the two poleis changed by Prusias I – Prusias on the Sea/Prusias-ad-Mare (former Cius) and Prusias-ad-Hypium (former Kieros) – undoubtedly originate from the personal name Προυσίας, whereas the name of Prusa may have come from a shorter stem Προυσ-; in this case, however, linguistic conclusions may hardly be weightier than historical considerations; cf. Michels 2013, 18, Anm. 101.

[51] See Sölch 1924, 156; Dörner 1957, 1077; Leschhorn 1984, 284.

generally and, no doubt, correctly considered to be the actual founder of Prusa-ad-Olympum; this ruler captured the city from Heraclea Pontica and re-founded it, changing its name to Prusias-ad-Hypium: Memn. *FGrHist* 434 F. 19. 1).[52] Not without reason Corsten rejects this conjecture on the grounds that Cieros was not an independent city at the time it was captured by Prusias I but belonged rather to Heraclea Pontica.[53] However, there is another possible amendment to the text, quite within the same framework of approach; this also implies an error in the manuscript tradition but totally eliminates the contradiction just indicated. The emendation πρὸς Κίον fits well with Strabo's preceding account, where he relates in detail how Prusias I subjugated Cius with Philip V's help and then renamed the city (XII. 4. 3 C 563):

> …Προυσιὰς… ἡ Κίος πρότερον ὀνομασθεῖσα. κατέσκαψε δὲ τὴν Κίον Φίλιππος, ὁ Δημητρίου μὲν υἱὸς Περσέως δὲ πατήρ, ἔδωκε δὲ Προυσίᾳ τῷ Ζήλα, συγκατασκάψαντι καὶ ταύτην καὶ Μύρλειαν ἀστυγείτονα πόλιν, πλησίον δὲ καὶ Προύσης οὖσαν ἀναλαβὼν δ' ἐκεῖνος ἐκ τῶν ἐρειπίων αὐτὰς ἐπωνόμασεν ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ μὲν Προυσιάδα πόλιν τὴν Κίον, τὴν δὲ Μύρλειαν Ἀπάμειαν ἀπὸ τῆς γυναικός.

This conjecture, as we can see, fully eliminates the problem of the existence of a mysterious Bithynian king in the sixth century BC. In addition, it gives more weight to Ronald Syme's well-grounded observation that the participle πολεμήσαντος refers to an aggressor;[54] and this implies that Strabo (or his source) possessed deep knowledge of the details of the historical context: Prusias had long fought with the citizens of Cius *before* their city was captured by Philip (Suda s.v. Κιανοί; cf. Polyb. XV. 21. 3; 22. 2; XVIII. 4. 7; Liv. XXXII. 4. 6)[55] and was handed over by the latter to the Bithynian king. In all probability, this rather simple conjecture has not been advanced earlier only because most sources, like Strabo's passage cited above, inform us that Cius was captured not by Prusias himself but by Philip V; and the extremely cruel treatment of the city's people by the Macedonian monarch certainly did not pass unnoticed in the

[52] On this subject, see Gabelko 2005, 257–262; cf. Dmitriev 2008 (whose too high a date for the events, in our opinion, can hardly be justified).

[53] *IvPrusa* 1991, 21–25. Cf. Memnon's wording – the only source informing of these events: Prusias μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων καὶ Κίερον πόλιν Ἡρακλεωτῶν οὖσαν ὑφ' ἑαυτὸν ἔθετο τῷ πολέμῳ, ἀντὶ Κιέρου Προυσιάδα καλέσας (*FGrHist* 434 F. 19. 1). It may be added that Strabo does not anywhere write of Cieros, so the solitary mention of the city does not appear quite understandable.

[54] Syme 1995, 350.

[55] For more detail on the capture of Cius and the background to the events, see Gabelko 2005, 246–250. In all appearances, Strabo was well-informed of Bithynia's history: for example, no one except him (XII. 4. 2 C 563) and Memnon (F 12. 3) (who probably make use of the Bithynian tradition proper) mentions the name of Doedalses – a ruler, unknown to the other authors.

Greek and Roman public opinion (Polyb. XVII. 3. 12; Liv. XXXI. 31. 14; XXXII. 22. 22; 33. 16; Auct. ad Herenn. IV, 54; 68).

I had long believed that I was the first to advance such an interpretation of this passage in Strabo's *Geography*, but, it has later been brought to my attention that this idea was put forward as early as 1861 (!) in E. Nolte's unpublished dissertation.[56] Not a single scholar has taken note of this in over a century and a half since the conjecture was first proposed. It therefore seems quite appropriate to bring more public view to this conjecture offered by the German scholar, which could be a matter of interest of specialists both in the manuscript tradition of Strabo[57] as well as in the history of Asia Minor.

## Editions and translations of Strabo's 'Geography'

Coray: *Géographie de Strabon, traduite du grec en français*, par A. Coray. Vol. I-V. Paris, 1805–1819.

Groskurd: *Strabons Erdbeschreibung in siebzehn Büchern nach berichtligem griechischen Texte unter Begleitung kritischer erklärender Anmerkungen, verdeutscht von Cristoph Gottlieb Groskurd*, Berlin/Stettin, 1831–1834.

Hamilton, Falconer: *The Geography of Strabo: Literally translated, with notes, in three volumes*, Ed. by H. C. Hamilton, W. Falconer, London 1903.

Jones: *The Geography of Strabo*, Ed. and transl. by H.L. Jones. Vol. I–VIII (Loeb Classical Library), Harvard: Harvard University Press and Heinemann 1917–1932.

Meineke: *Strabo. Geographica*, Ed. A. Meineke, Leipzig: Teubner 1877.

Radt: *Strabons Geographika*, Hrsg. v. S. Radt. Bd. I–VII, Göttingen 2002–2008.

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Aujac, G. 1969: 'Introduction I. La vie de Strabon' in Strabon, *Géographie*, T. I, Paris, VIII–XXIII.

Bekker-Nielsen, T. 2008: *Urban Life and Local Politics in Roman Bithynia. The Small World of Dion Chrysostomos*, Aarhus.

Biffi, N. 2010: *Scampoli di* Mithridatika *nella* Geografia *di Strabone,* Bari.

Biraschi A.M., Salmieri G. (eds.) 2000: *Strabone e l'Asia Minore,* Perugia.

[56] Nolte 1861, 60. At present this dissertation is kept in Stadtbibliothek Halle. Incidentally, this work contains some other interesting ideas; for example, E. Nolte was the first to point that the dramatic shift in Bithynia's policy ca. 183/182 BC (from hostility to alliance with Pergamon) had been caused by the death of Prusias I and the enthronement of his son (pp. 60–61). I mention E. Nolte's priority in the relating part of my monograph; see Gabelko 2005, 94–95, n. 6.

[57] See, for example, the discussion of a probable lacuna in this passage of Strabo's text: Nicolai 2000, 216; Bekker-Nielsen 2008, 22.

Bowersock, G.W. 2000: 'La *patria* di Strabone' in Biraschi A.M., Salmieri G. (edd.) 2000: *Strabone e l'Asia Minore,* Perugia, 13–24.

Cassia, M. 2000: 'La famiglia di Strabone di Amasia tra fidelità mitridatica e tendenze filoromane' *MedAnt* III/1, 212–237.

Chaniotis, A. 2005: *War in the Hellenistic World. A Social and Cultural History*, Malden/Oxford/Carlton.

Clark, K. 1997: 'In Search of the Author of Strabo's Geography' *JRS* 87, 92–110.

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## Abstract

The article includes two studies involving emendations to the text of Strabo's *Geography*. The first concerns the identification of the Strabo's grandfather on his paternal side. Based on conjecture for a passage in Strabo XII. 33. 3 C 557, the author concludes that he may have borne the wide-spread Paphlagonian name Atotes. Such a supposition allows the identification of two historical individuals – Strabo's relative Theophilos, son of Tibios (Strabo XII. 33. 3 C 558), and Theophilos the Paphlagonian, who was behind the extermination of Roman citizens in Tralleis in 88 BC (App. *Mithr*. 23; Dio Cass. XXX–XXXV. 101. 1). The second study is devoted to the passages on the foundation of Prusa-ad-Olympum in Strabo and Stephanos of Byzantium alluding to a certain king Prusias, who allegedly was waging war against Croisus (Strabo XII. 4. 3 C 564) or Cyrus (Steph. Byz. s.v. Πρoῦσα). The deletion is proposed of the inappropriate and anachronistic name of such a ruler and the substitution of the place-name Cius. This fits the historical context well; Prusias I of Bithynia both seized Cius, jointly with Philip V of Macedon, and founded Prusa-ad-Olympum.

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# VORARBEITEN ZU EINER KÖNIGSLISTE KAUKASISCH-IBERIENS 2. DAS ZEITALTER PHARASMANES´ I.

**Keywords:** Arsacids, Caucasian history, Georgia (Caucasus), Iberia (Caucasus), Pharnabazids

## Vorbemerkung zum zweiten Teil

Auf den folgenden Seiten wollen wir unsere Untersuchungen über die Abfolge der kaukasisch-iberischen Könige in der Antike fortsetzen. Im Unterschied zur hellenistischen Epoche ist für die frühe und hohe römische Kaiserzeit eine nicht geringe Anzahl von Herrschernamen überliefert. Die griechisch-römischen Autoren sowie lateinische, griechische und aramäische Inschriften nennen iberische Machthaber so häufig, dass schon beim chronologischen Lesen der Quellen unwillkürlich eine vorläufige Herrscherliste entsteht. Wenn die Königsreihe Iberiens für den genannten Zeitraum trotzdem noch einmal genauer betrachtet wird, dann hauptsächlich aus zwei Gründen: Zum einen gibt es das Phänomen der einheimischen Tradition. Wie im ersten Teil soll diese Überlieferung zumindest brücksichtigt werden.[1] Aber auch diejenigen Forscher, die sich vorzugsweise auf das klassisch-zeitgenössische Material stützten, sind nicht selten zu recht unterschiedlichen Ergebnissen gelangt. Hier ein wenig Einheitlichkeit herzustellen, soll dieses Mal unsere Hauptaufgabe sein.

## Iberische Herrscher zu Beginn des Prinzipats

In seinem Tatenbericht kommt Augustus beiläufig auf eine Gesandtschaft eines Königs der Iberer zu sprechen (*R.Gest.div.Aug.* 31): ... *Nostram am*[*icitiam*

[1] Für die Zeit von Augustus bis Traian siehe Leonti Mroweli / Pätsch 1985, 85–108.

*petierunt*] | *per lagat*[os] *B*[*a*]*starn*[*ae Scythae*]*que et Sarmatarum q*[*ui sunt citra flu*]*men* | *Tanaim* [*et*] *ultra reg*[*es*, *Alba*]*norumque rex et Hiber*[*orum et Medorum*]. Leider nennt der Kaiser den Namen des Herrschers, der ihm sicher bekannt war, nicht. Auch in welche Zeit der diplomatische Vorgang gehört, lässt sich schwer eingrenzen. Immerhin ist davon auszugehen, dass es sich nicht mehr um den zu 36 v. Chr. erwähnten Pharnabazos II. handelte. Als iberischer Zeitgenosse des Augustus galt früher ein von Cassius Dio erwähnter Mithradates.[2] Es hat sich indessen gezeigt, dass der betreffende Fürst erst in den letzten Jahren von Tiberius´ Regierung verstarb. Er dürfte also nach der Zeitwende und allenfalls kurz vor Augustus´ Tod zur Macht gelangt sein.

Somit bleibt zunächst festzuhalten, dass wir während der langjährigen Herrschaft des ersten römischen Kaisers mit (mindestens) einem nicht namentlich bekannten iberischen König zu rechnen haben. Dieser mag dann der Sohn und Nachfolger des Pharnabazos von 36 v. Chr. und gleichzeitig der Vater (oder Großvater) des Mithradates aus der Zeit des Tiberius gewesen sein. Im Unterschied zu seinen beiden Vorgängern, die mit Waffengewalt zur Anerkennung der römischen Oberhoheit genötigt wurden, hat er anscheinend von sich aus ein gutes Verhältnis zur kaiserlichen Regierung hergestellt.[3] Diese von ihm begründeten, wenigstens eineinhalb Jahrhunderte anhaltenden Beziehungen sind die Ursache für den hohen Bekanntheitsgrad der iberischen Herrscher in dieser Epoche.

## Die Anfänge Pharasmanes´ I.

Wie gerade erwähnt wurde, wird Mithradates I. von Iberien im Zusammenhang mit Ereignissen in den späten Jahren des Tiberius genannt (Cass. Dio 58,26,4): ... τὴν δ' Ἀρμενίαν ὁ Μιθριδάτης ὁ Μιθριδάτου μὲν τοῦ Ἴβηρος, ὡς ἔοικε, παῖς, Φαρασμάνου δὲ τοῦ μετ' αὐτὸν τῶν Ἰβήρων βασιλεύσαντος ἀδελφός, ἔλαβε.

Cassius Dio bezieht sich hier darauf, dass ein weiterer Mithradates, einer der Söhne König Mithradates´ I., von der römischen Regierung 35 n. Chr. zum Klientelkönig von Armenien bestimmt worden ist.[4] Seine Worte sind indessen ein wenig vage. Der jüngere Mithradates war „anscheinend" ein Sohn des gleichnamigen iberischen Herrschers und Pharasmanes´ Bruder. Außerdem sieht

[2] So z.B. Geyer 1932, 2214 (Mithridates 32). Wir sind ihm *DNP* 8 s.v. Mithradates 19, 283 gefolgt.

[3] Ob er hierzu erst ermutigt werden musste, wie Braund 1994, 217, Anm. 74 annimmt, sei dahingestellt.

[4] Zum armenischen Königtum dieses iberischen Mithradates vgl. Schottky 1994, 223ff., *DNP* 8 s.v. Mithradates 20, 283 sowie Schottky 2004, 94 (Groß-Armenien) Nr. 19.

es so aus, als ob nach Mithradates I. zunächst sein gleichnamiger Sohn König geworden sei, und dann erst Pharasmanes. Zum Glück wird die Mitteilung Cassius Dios durch einen Bericht des Tacitus über die armenischen Angelegenheiten ergänzt. Der Historiker sagt (ann. 6,32): (Tiberius) ... *reciperandaeque Armeniae Hiberum Mithridaten deligit conciliatque fratri Pharasmani, qui gentile imperium obtinebat;* ... Diese wenigen Worte bestätigen, dass der jüngere Mithradates und Pharasmanes tatsächlich Brüder waren, und dass zwischen ihnen ein Konflikt bestand, der aber beigelegt werden konnte. Pharasmanes „behauptete sich" (*obtinebat*) in seinem angestammten Reich, d.h., sein Thronanspruch mag zunächst nicht völlig unbestritten gewesen sein.

Die kaukasischen Ereignisse in der Mitte der dreißiger Jahre des 1. Jhs. n. Chr. könnten sich demnach etwa folgendermaßen abgespielt haben: 34 starb Artaxias III. von Armenien,[5] bald darauf, vielleicht 35[6], Mithradates I. von Iberien. Obwohl Pharasmanes dessen älterer Sohn war (Tac. ann. 12,46), bewarb sich auch der jüngere Mithradates um die Nachfolge. Ein drohender Thronstreit konnte indessen abgewendet werden, weil Tiberius Mithradates das Amt des römischen Klientelkönigs von Armenien verschaffte. Zur Besiegelung des neuen brüderlichen Verhältnisses mag damals die Ehe zwischen Mithradates und seiner Nichte, der Tochter des Pharasmanes, geschlossen worden sein.[7]

## Pharasmanes´ iberische Herrschaft

So wie die Thronbesteigung des Pharasmanes erst durch die Abschiebung des Bruders ins Nachbarreich endgültig gesichert werden konnte, steht auch seine gesamte Regierungszeit im Zeichen des römisch-parthischen Kampfes um Armenien und von dessen Nachwehen. Im Rahmen dieser Vorgänge spielt insbesondere Pharasmanes´ älterer Sohn und zeitweiliger Thronerbe, Radamistus, eine wichtige, wenn auch wenig erfreuliche Rolle.[8] Diese Ereignisse sind jedoch nicht Gegenstand der folgenden Überlegungen. Hier geht es allein darum, inwieweit der Armenienkonflikt die Herrscherfolge Iberiens beeinflusste.

An dieser Stelle sei wieder ein Blick auf die einheimische Überlieferung gestattet. Wie wir gesehen haben, nennt die Chronik Georgiens anstelle des von Cassius Dio erwähnten Pharnabazos einen Bartom. Die Herrschaft seiner Linie wird dann für dreißig Jahre durch die Mirwans II. und seines Sohnes Arschak II. unterbrochen. Erst um die Zeitwende kann Bartoms Enkel Aderki, ein Sohn seiner

[5] *DNP* 2 s.v. Artaxias 3, 49; Schottky 2004, 94 (Groß-Armenien) Nr. 16.

[6] Vgl. zu diesem Datum z.B. Sullivan 1977, 939 und Braund 1994, 219.

[7] So Braund 1994, 219 mit Verweis auf Tac. *ann*. 12,46.

[8] Vgl. zu ihm Schottky 1994, 223ff., *DNP* 10 s.v. Radamistus, 748 sowie Schottky 2004, 94 (Groß-Armenien) Nr. 20.

Tochter, den Thron zurückgewinnen. Er sollte 57 volle Jahre (1 – 58 n. Chr.) an der Macht bleiben.[9] Mit Aderki tritt eine Gestalt auf, deren Regierungszeit sich in den Jahren 35 bis 58 mit der des Pharasmanes überschneidet. Dennoch mag überraschen, mit welcher Unbefangenheit Toumanoff beide Herrscher gleichsetzt.[10] Dabei bemüht er sich im wesentlichen um eine Bestätigung der einheimischen Überlieferung. Aus westlich-zeitgenössischen Quellen scheint zunächst nur der Name Pharasmanes selbst zu stammen. Bei dem Versuch, auch die Jahre 1 bis 34 n. Chr. seiner Herrschaft zuzurechnen, verwendet Toumanoff zwei Argumente: Zum einen sei die mittelalterliche Tradition über seine Thronbesteigung im Jahr von Christi Geburt wertvoll und glaubwürdig (hierauf näher einzugehen dürfte sich erübrigen). Dagegen trete Mithradates I., der Vater und Vorgänger des Pharasmanes, selbst in den griechisch-römischen Quellen gar nicht auf.[11] Toumanoffs Überlegungen richten jedoch eine noch stärkere Verwirrung an, als die, die (seiner Meinung nach) an der betreffenden Dio-Stelle herrscht. Der griechische Autor hatte den jüngeren Mithradates erstmals 58,26,3 als Iberer und von Tiberius nominierten armenischen König erwähnt. Wenn im nächsten Abschnitt gesagt wird, er sei „anscheinend" ein Sohn des iberischen Herrschers Mithradates und ein Bruder des Pharasmanes gewesen, bedeutet das natürlich nicht, dass die Existenz des älteren Mithradates (oder gar die des Pharasmanes) unbewiesen gewesen wäre. In Zweifel stand wohl nur, wo genau der jüngere Mithradates in der Stammtafel der Pharnabaziden einzuordnen war und ob er nach dem Tode des Vaters faktisch regiert hatte oder nur ein Thronprätendent gewesen war.[12]

Der Versuch Toumanoffs, die Existenz eines Mithradates I. als Vater des Pharasmanes I. rundheraus zu bestreiten,[13] hat offenbar keine Nachfolger gefunden. Vielmehr sind die Aderki betreffenden Informationen so offensichtlich unglaubwürdig, dass sie meist stillschweigend übergangen werden.[14] Bei dem

[9] Leonti Mroweli / Pätsch 1985, 88: *Mit dreißig Jahren wurde er* [Aderki] *König und er herrschte siebenundfünfzig Jahre. Im ersten Jahr seiner Herrschaft aber wurde unser Herr Jesus Christus geboren* (...).

[10] Toumanoff 1969, bes. 11f.

[11] Toumanoff 1969, 13 unten: „The genealogy of the Iberian royal house of the time is hopelessly muddled in Cassius Dio 58.26.3–4. Confusing Radamistus ... with his brother Mithridates and, to some extent, his uncle, he asserts that the latter was succeeded in Armenia by another Mithridates, apparently his son and brother of Pharasmanes, who was his successor as King of Iberia."

[12] Nur durch Tac. *ann.* 12,46 ist belegt, dass Pharasmanes der ältere Bruder war. Cassius Dio, der dies möglicherweise nicht wusste, mag angenommen haben, Mithradates sei der Ältere gewesen, aber nach kurzer iberischer Regierung von seinem jüngeren Bruder verdrängt und mit der gerade frei gewordenen Herrschaft über Armenien abgefunden worden.

[13] Vgl. Toumanoff 1969, 12 u.ö., der dann konsequenterweise erst den Sohn und Nachfolger des Pharasmanes als „Mithridates I" zählt. Dessen (einmalige) Bezeichnung als „Mithradates I" bei Meißner 2000, 190 ist offensichtlich ein Versehen.

[14] Dass es sich bei der Gestalt um eine Erfindung der georgischen Chronik handelt, hat in dieser Klarheit bisher nur Meißner 2000, 201 ausgesprochen.

Ansatz, dem historischen Pharasmanes I. die Herrscherjahre Aderkis zuzuschreiben, stieß Toumanoff jedoch noch auf ein weiteres Problem. Der König müsste 58 n. Chr., nach 57 vollen Regierungsjahren, verstorben sein. Dies widerspricht klar einer Mitteilung des Tacitus (*ann.* 14,26), wonach der an dieser Stelle namentlich genannte Fürst noch 60 n. Chr. einige armenische Grenzgebiete erhielt.[15] Toumanoffs unglückliche Vermengung der Herrschaft des historischen Königs mit der „Aderkis" hat aber anscheinend unterschwellig nachgewirkt. Zuweilen ist nämlich die Tendenz zu beobachten, Pharasmanes´ Tod deutlich vor die erste belegte Nennung des Nachfolgers zu datieren.[16] Damit bleibt die Frage: wann wird der alte König[17] zuletzt als politisch handelnd erwähnt? Wir kommen jetzt zu einem Quellenzeugnis, das schon häufig in diesem oder jenem Kontext herangezogen worden ist.[18] Es handelt sich um Flavius Iosephus´ bekannte Schilderung des Alaneneinfalles nach Media Atropatene und Armenien (Ios. *bell. Iud.* 7,7,4; nach anderer Zählung 7,244–251). Dabei interessieren uns diesmal besonders die Umstände, die den Raubzug erst ermöglichten. Iosephus berichtet:

Τὸ δὲ τῶν Ἀλανῶν ἔθνος ... διανοηθέντες εἰς τὴν Μηδίαν καὶ προσωτέρω ταύτης ἔτι καθ' ἁρπαγὴν ἐμβαλεῖν τῷ βασιλεῖ τῶν Ὑρκανῶν διαλέγονται· τῆς παρόδου γὰρ οὗτος δεσπότης ἐστίν, ἣν ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἀλέξανδρος πύλαις σιδηραῖς κλειστὴν ἐποίησε. κἀκείνου τὴν εἴσοδον αὐτοῖς παρασχόντος (...).

Dass ein „König der Hyrkanier" den Alanen den Weg freigemacht habe, ist allein deshalb unmöglich, weil es keinen derartigen Herrscher gab.[19] Wer wirk-

[15] Die Art, wie Toumanoff 1969, 14f. diese Nachricht zu relativieren versucht, ist erneut wenig überzeugend: „an easy enough confusion between father and son, predecessor and successor, especially as Pharasmanes is talked of by Tacitus at great length in the preceding pages, and Mithridates the son not at all."

[16] Braund 1994, 226: „ ... he was certainly dead by AD 75 and it is likely enough that he died in the latter years of Nero´s reign. The king of Iberia is conspicuously absent during the civil wars of AD 68–9." Auf die Gründe für das Schweigen der Quellen zu Pharasmanes seit Neros späten Jahren wird unten näher eingegangen. Braund 1993, 48 hatte dagegen angenommen, der König könnte nach 62 noch für ein volles Jahrzehnt regiert haben.

[17] Keine entscheidende Aussagekraft möchten wir den Worten bei Tac. ann. 12,44 über das fortgeschrittene Alter des Pharasmanes zubilligen. Vielleicht liegt hier eine Wiedergabe der damaligen Argumentation des Radamistus vor, der es nicht abwarten konnte, König zu werden. Wahrscheinlicher ist aber, dass Tacitus selbst dem Thronerben diese Topoi in den Mund gelegt hat. Über Pharasmanes´ tatsächliches Alter lässt sich nur so viel sagen: er war 35 n. Chr. Vater einer „heiratsfähigen" Tochter. Bei ihr kann es sich aber durchaus um eine Vierzehnjährige gehandelt haben, die er selbst als Achtzehnjähriger in die Welt gesetzt hatte. Pharasmanes mag demnach um die Zeitwende oder in den Jahren davor geboren sein. Ein auf diese Weise erreichtes Lebensalter von ca. 75 bis 78 Jahren erscheint nicht unwahrscheinlich – viel realistischer jedenfalls als das, was über Aderki berichtet wird.

[18] Unlängst z.B. von Schottky 2011, 233f. bei dem Versuch, das Ende des Tiridates I. von Armenien zeitlich zu bestimmen.

[19] Siehe dazu z.B. Wiesehöfer 1998, 826 oben.

lich gemeint ist, war schon um 1900 erkannt worden.[20] Dass nur der iberische König für die Heimsuchung der kaspisch-kaukasischen Gegenden verantwortlich gewesen sein kann, wurde dann seit den 1980er Jahren immer wieder bemerkt.[21] Die zunächst philologisch begründete Zuweisung kann aber auch historisch belegt werden. Wir sprechen von der Darstellung der betreffenden Vorgänge in der armenischen Geschichte des Moses von Chorene.[22] Dort sind die Aktivitäten der armenischen Herrscher iberischer Herkunft stark verfremdet sowie ihre Namen (Mithradates und Radamistus) nicht überliefert worden. Der Name des gleichzeitigen iberischen Königs ist dagegen erhalten geblieben: *P`arsman*.[23] Wenig später folgt der Bericht über den Alaneneinfall. M.X./Thomson 1980, 2,50 (191): *At that time the Alans, having united with all the mountain peoples and having brought over to their side also half the land of Georgia, spread out over our land in a great host*.

Hierdurch durfte offenkundig geworden sein, dass es Pharasmanes I. von Iberien war, der den Alanen den Pass von Derbend öffnete und damit ihren Raubzug ermöglichte. Er muss daher bis mindestens 72 n. Chr. gelebt haben. Wir wollen unter diesem Aspekt noch einen Blick auf die letzten Jahre seiner Regierung werfen. Das armenische Königreich hatte Pharasmanes I. längere Zeit als ein Gebiet gedient, in das Mitbewerber um die eigene Herrschaft abgeschoben werden konnten. Es ist jedoch sehr fraglich, ob er daran dachte, das Land auf Dauer in Besitz zu nehmen.[24] Er hat vielleicht eher die bei Tac. ann. 14,26 belegte Übertragung von armenischen Grenzgebieten als bescheidenen, aber immerhin realen Machtzuwachs betrachtet.[25] Die Regelung von 63/66, aufgrund der die armenische Herrschaft Tiridates I. überlassen wurde, muss ihn demnach schwer

[20] Markwart 1895, 632f.: „Ὑρκανοί ist hier Wiedergabe des armenischen Namens der Iberer, pl. Wirk`, pers. *Warč, Gurğ, pl. Warğan, Gurğan, arabisirt [sic] Ğurzān ...“ Ähnlich Kiessling 1911, 508.

[21] So zunächst von Dąbrowa 1984, 144 und Dąbrowa 1989, 70. Danach z.B. bei Schottky 1991, 122–124 (ihm folgend Meißner 2000, 190, Anm. 76) und Schottky 1998, 448f. (ihm folgend zuletzt Thommen 2010, 244 im Kommentar zur Iosephus-Stelle). Anders Braund 1994, 226, Anm. 19 (vgl. auch Braund 2000, 38), der an eine Verwechslung von Hyrkaniern und *Albanern* denkt.

[22] Moses´ Ausführungen sind nur in den seltensten Fällen wörtlich zu nehmen, wie schon oft bemerkt worden ist. Dem steht nicht entgegen, dass sich mitunter Nachrichtenfragmente finden lassen, die überraschend genau mit dem tatsächlichen Geschehen zusammenstimmen und daher berücksichtigt werden sollten. Siehe dazu z.B. Schottky 1998, 453–455.

[23] M.X. 2,46. Thomson 1980, Anm. 4 verkompliziert die Angelegenheit, wenn er behauptet: „... it is not clear, which Pharasman Moses had in mind.“ Den von Pharasmanes II. initiierten zweiten Alanenzug der Jahre 134 bis 136 hat Moses von Chorene in einen Einfall der Chasaren und Barselt umgeformt. Siehe hierzu neuerdings Schottky 2010, 209 u. 218.

[24] So Nikuradse 1942, 65 und insbesondere Lang 1973, 405, nach dem Pharasmanes davon geträumt habe, „Georgien“ und Armenien zu einem pankaukasischen Reich zu vereinigen.

[25] Nach Lordkipanidse 1996, 18 unten könnte es sich dabei um einen „Wiedererwerb der im 2. Jh. [v. Chr.; an Armenien] verlorenen Territorien“ gehandelt haben.

getroffen haben. Der südliche Nachbarstaat fiel jetzt endgültig als ein Land aus, mit dem allzu ehrgeizige Verwandte versogt werden konnten. Im Gegenteil: Tiridates hatte Zenobia, die schwangere Gemahlin des Radamistus, in seine Gewalt bekommen und mit ihrem an seinem Hof geborenen Sohn selbst einen Anwärter auf den iberischen Thron in der Hand.[26] Die Grenzdistrikte fielen vermutlich ebenfalls dem neuen armenischen König anheim.[27]

Es ist offensichtlich, dass sich Pharasmanes für den Hauptleidtragenden einer Einigung hielt, die Armenien einem Arsakiden überließ und deshalb danach trachtete, den Mitgliedern dieser Dynastie auf jede erdenkliche Weise zu schaden.[28] Auch wenn die Worte des Iosephus (und die des ihm folgenden Moses) zu besagen scheinen, dass die Initiative dabei von den Alanen ausging, kann man eher Folgendes vermuten: Pharasmanes unterbreitete einem der Stämme im Norden Iberiens das Angebot, sich einmal in den Kulturländern des südlichen Kaukasus und Nordwestirans gütlich zu tun. Als Gegenleistung für den von ihm ermöglichten Transit durch den Pass von Derbend[29] mag er einen Anteil an der zu erwartenden Beute gefordert haben.[30] Die folgenden Ereignisse wollen wir im Zusammenhang mit der Regierung seines Nachfolgers betrachten, da der König die Heimkehr der Alanen durch von ihm kontrolliertes Gebiet allem Anschein nach nicht mehr erlebte.

## Die Befestigung von Mtskheta und Pharasmanes´ Nachfolge

Bei Erweiterungsarbeiten an der georgischen Heerstraße zwischen T´bilisi und Mtskheta wurde 1867 eine griechische Inschrift entdeckt, die seitdem unter

[26] Vgl. zu diesen Vorgängen Schottky 1994, 223ff. sowie *DNP* 12/2 s.v. Zenobia 1, 730.

[27] Braund 1991, 210, Anm. 12.

[28] So Dąbrowa 1989, 70; Schottky 1991, 124.

[29] Es kann sicher kein Argument gegen den hier skizzierten Ereignisablauf sein, dass der Pass von Derbend nicht zum zusammenhängenden iberischen Herrschaftsgebiet gehörte (vgl. dazu z.B. Pill-Rademacher u.a. 1988, TAVO B V 8). Der dortige Fürst war ein Politiker mit weit reichenden Verbindungen, der auf unterschiedlichste Weise seinen Einfluss geltend machte. Angesichts der Tatsache, dass Iosephus a.a.O. allein von einer *Verfügungsgewalt* des Königs über den Pass spricht, kann man annehmen, dass der Übergang von Pharasmanes mit einer Besatzung belegt worden war. Den albanischen Herrscher, der damals keine besondere Rolle gespielt zu haben scheint, wollen wir im Gegensatz zu Braund (siehe oben) nicht bemühen.

[30] Man mag darüber spekulieren, ob Pharasmanes seinen Geschäftspartnern nicht noch weitere Aufträge mitgab (zu befehlen hatte er ihnen wohl nichts). Wie sich aus Iosephus´ Darstellung ergibt, wäre es einem alanischen Lassowerfer beinahe gelungen, Tiridates I. lebend gefangen zu nehmen (dazu jetzt Schottky 2011, bes. 234). Es ist kaum zu ermessen, wie die armenische Geschichte in einem solchen Fall weitergegangen wäre. Das Mindeste, was Tiridates für seine (sehr hypothetische) Freilassung hätte leisten müssen, wäre sicher die Auslieferung von Radamistus´ Witwe und ihres Sohnes gewesen.

dem Namen „(Flavische) Inschrift von Mtskheta“ bekannt geworden ist.[31] Aufgrund der genauen Angaben besonders über die von Vespasian bekleideten Ämter lässt sich sagen, dass sie zwischen Mitte März und Jahresende 75 n. Chr. gesetzt worden sein muss.[32] Die aus ihr zu gewinnenden neuen Informationen drängen sich in den letzten Zeilen zusammen. Zu lesen ist nach *SEG* 20, 112: (scil. Vespasian, Titus und Domitian) βασιλεῖ | Ἰβήρων Μιθριδάτῃ, βασιλέως Φαρασμάνου καὶ Ἰαμασασποι υἱῷ, | φιλοκαίσαρι καὶ φιλορωμαίῳ, [κ]αὶ τῷ ἔ | θν(ε)ι τὰ τείχη ἐξωχύρωσαν.

Vespasian und seine Söhne haben demnach für den König der Iberer, einen Freund des Kaisers und des römischen Volkes, sowie für dessen Untertanen, irgendeine Befestigung errichtet (wörtlich: „die Mauern befestigt“). Als Nutznießer hiervon wird Mithradates II. genannt, der Sohn des mittlerweile verstorbenen Pharasmanes.

Seit ihrer Auffindung hat die Inschrift große Aufmerksamkeit in der Wissenschaft gefunden,[33] wobei nur ein Tatbestand weniger beachtet worden zu sein scheint, nämlich das zeitliche Zusammentreffen des Abschlusses der Baumaßnahme mit dem Ende des Alaneneinfalles.[34] Sobald man jedoch realisiert, dass es Pharasmanes gewesen war, der die Reiterkrieger auf den Weg gebracht hatte, erschließt sich auch der kausale Zusammenhang. Dennoch wäre es zu kurz gedacht, wollte man annehmen, Mtskheta sei vielleicht angesichts der vorüberflutenden Alanen in aller Eile befestigt worden. Ein derart aufwändiges Projekt erforderte eine sehr sorgfältige Vorbereitung und muss mindestens einige Jahre in Anspruch genommen haben.[35]

Bei dem Versuch, die politischen Hintergründe des 75 n. Chr. abgeschlossenen Festungsbaues zu beleuchten, kehren wir jetzt noch einmal in die

[31] Vgl. z.B. Braund 1994, 228, Abb. 17: „The Flavian inscription from Mtskheta“.

[32] Nach der Designation zum siebenten Consulat und vor Antritt des Amtes. Dazu Kienast 1996, 109.

[33] Allerdings sind in diesem Zusammenhang einige Missverständnisse aufgetreten. Aufgrund von Unklarheiten über den genauen Fundort wurde häufig angenommen, der Text beziehe sich auf die Befestigung von Harmozike (Armasi), so zuletzt (?) Lordkipanidse 1996, 19 oben; vgl. dagegen Braund 1994, 227–230. Außerdem wurde aus den Worten über die Befestigung von Mauern nicht selten auf die Stationierung einer römischen Garnison in der betreffenden Festung geschlossen, so z.B. von Pill-Rademacher u.a. 1988, TAVO B V 8, wo bei Harmozike für die Zeit Vespasians ein „bedeutender [römischer] militärischer Stützpunkt“ verzeichnet ist.

[34] Zu 75 n. Chr. als letztem Jahr des Raubzuges siehe Pill-Rademacher u.a. 1988, TAVO B V 8 sowie jetzt Schottky 2011, 234. Dass sich Vespasian in der Gegend insbesondere zur Alanenabwehr engagiert habe, wurde in der älteren Forschung bereits von Tomaschek 1893, 1282 vermutet. Lang 1973, 452 mag an das Richtige denken, wenn er ausführt, Vespasian habe „Ingenieure geschickt ..., um die Stadtmauer zum Schutz gegen die Überfälle der Barbaren auszubessern“.

[35] So richtig Braund 1994, 229.

Spätphase von Pharasmanes´ Herrschaft zurück. Wie erwähnt wurde, vermisst Braund dessen Auftreten in den Quellen während der letzten Zeit Neros und des Vierkaiserjahres. Dies lag aber offenbar daran, dass sich der iberische König von einem Princeps, der sich so offen als Freund der Arsakiden (und damit faktisch als Gegner der Iberer) zeigte,[36] ein wenig zurückgezogen hatte. Mit dessen aus den westlichen Provinzen hervorgegangenen ersten drei Nachfolgern befasste er sich erst gar nicht. Dagegen könnte er den Aufstieg Vespasians seit Mitte 69 mit Interesse verfolgt und ihn vor allem beizeiten anerkannt haben. Als die Flavier dann fest im Sattel saßen, ließ er ihnen die Bitte vortragen, ihm seine Hauptstadt nach den Standards der römischen Baukunst zu befestigen. Zur Begründung dieses nicht allzu bescheidenen Wunsches mag etwa Folgendes vorgebracht worden sein: Armenien, einst eine Art Vorhof der iberischen Monarchie, war dem Todfeind der Pharnabaziden anheimgefallen. Selbst die vorübergehend erworbenen (bzw. zurückgewonnenen) Grenzgebiete waren verloren. Die iberische Metropole war damit dem feindlichen Ausland – wieder – bedrohlich nahegerückt. Angesichts dieser Situation musste die Bitte des Pharasmanes nachvollziehbar erscheinen. Der pro forma stets in enger Zusammenarbeit mit seinen beiden Söhnen agierende Vespasian hat ihr deshalb, wie die Inschrift zeigt, bereitwillig entsprochen. Erst als der alte König feststellen konnte, dass die Arbeiten auf einem guten Weg waren, dürfte er zum nächsten Teil seines Planes geschritten sein. Er öffnete den Alanen den weitab vom iberischen Kerngebiet gelegenen Pass von Derbend und ließ sie auf Atropatene und Armenien los. Dass er mit dieser Handlungsweise die Römer verärgert haben sollte, ist nicht sehr wahrscheinlich. Vespasian rührte keine Hand zur Eindämmung der Alanenflut, selbst dann nicht, als er von parthischer Seite ausdrücklich um Hilfe gebeten wurde.[37] Vor allem aber wird es Pharasmanes verstanden haben, jede Verantwortung für die Vorgänge abzustreiten.[38] Er dürfte vielmehr auf die „furchtbare Gefahr" hingewiesen haben, die von der in den kaspisch-südkaukasischen Ländern umherziehenden Alanenhorde ausging und dringend darum ersucht haben, die Arbeiten zu forcieren. Eines nämlich scheint sicher: Die mit Beute beladenen Krieger würden sich unmöglich dazu verstanden haben, von Armenien aus umzukehren und erneut den

[36] Ob Neros letzte Pläne geradezu die Annexion von Pharasmanes´ Reich vorsahen, wie Magie 1950 I, 562 meint, erscheint jedoch sehr fraglich.

[37] Vgl. dazu z.B. *DNP* 12/2 s.v. Vologaises 1, 309.

[38] Nur durch Moses von Chorene ist bezeugt, dass die Alanen von Iberien unterstützt wurden. Der für die antike Überlieferung allein in Frage kommende Flavius Iosephus spricht vom König der Hyrkanier, der wohl von den wenigsten Lesern sofort als Iberer identifiziert wurde. Man darf sich im Übrigen fragen, ob Iosephus genau wusste, wovon er redete: Pharasmanes erscheint, ohne namentlich genannt zu werden, auch in Ios. *ant. Iud.* 18,4,4 (18,97), wird dort aber richtig „König der Iberer" genannt.

Pass von Derbend, diesmal von Süd nach Nord, zu überqueren. Falls die Alanen nicht irgendwo auf ihrem Weg völlig aufgerieben wurden, kam einzig die Schlucht von Darial (Dar i Alân, pers. „Alanentor“) für ihre Heimreise in Frage.[39] Auf ihrem Weg müssen sie iberisches Gebiet durchquert haben und direkt an der soeben vollendeten Festung Mtskheta vorbeigekommen sein. Deren Fertigstellung im Laufe des Jahres 75 erlebte Pharasmanes freilich nicht mehr. Es war sein Nachfolger Mithradates II., der den Abschluss der Arbeiten als zu seinen eigenen Gunsten erfolgt verewigen lassen konnte. Er dürfte, so wie es sein Vater vorgesehen hatte, den Alanen die Passage an Mtskheta vorbei und anschließend durch den Pass von Darial nur gegen die Ablieferung eines Teils ihrer Beute gestattet haben.

In der Inschrift wird nicht nur auf den Vater, sondern auch auf die Mutter des neuen Königs Bezug genommen. Iamaspoi ist die erste in einer zeitgenössischen Quelle namentlich genannte Gemahlin eines iberischen Herrschers.[40] Allein ihre Erwähnung hat in der Forschung zu einer Anzahl unterschiedlicher Überlegungen geführt. Sicher ist zunächst, dass sie nicht die Mutter des Radamistus, geschweige denn die der vor vierzig Jahren mit dem Mithradates der vorigen Generation verheirateten Tochter des Pharasmanes war. Radamistus spricht einmal von den *odia novercae* (Tac. *ann.* 12,44). Diese Worte werfen ein Schlaglicht auf die Familienverhältnisse des Pharasmanes.[41] Er war (mindestens) zweimal verheiratet, wobei aus der ersten Ehe mit einer unbekannten Frau eine Tochter und ein Sohn, Radamistus, hervorgegangen waren. Während Letzterer sich schon Hoffnungen auf die Nachfolge machte, hatte der verwitwete Pharasmanes erneut geheiratet. Wenn der „stiefmütterliche Hass“ historisch und nicht nur erneut ein geschickt eingesetzter Topos ist,[42] mag er am schlüssigsten dadurch zu erklären sein, dass Iamaspoi bereits einen Sohn zur Welt gebracht hatte, den späteren Mithradates II. Dieser war demnach bei seinem Regierungsantritt sicher nicht mehr so jung, dass seine Mutter die Regentschaft hätte übernehmen

[39] So anscheinend zuerst Markwart 1931, 84, ihm folgend Schottky 1991, 123. Auf der Karte Pill-Rademacher u.a. 1988, TAVO B V 8 wird, alternativ zum Pass von Derbend, erwogen, ob nicht bereits der Hinweg der Raubschar durch die Darial-Schlucht verlaufen sein könnte. Obwohl schon Markwart 1895, 632 hieran gedacht hatte, ist dies aufgrund der von Iosephus festgehaltenen Stoßrichtung ausgeschlossen: Einfall der Alanen durch die „Kaspischen Tore“, unmittelbar anschließend Ausplünderung von „Medien“ (Atropatene), dann erst Wendung nach Nordwesten und Raubzug durch Armenien.

[40] Ehrende Titel wie „Königin“ oder „Mutter des Königs“ sind ihr offensichtlich nicht zuteil geworden.

[41] Sullivan 1977, 939 scheint die Tacitus-Stelle erstaunlicherweise übersehen zu haben, da er in seiner Stammtafel IBERIA alle bekannten Kinder des Pharasmanes aus dessen Ehe mit Iamaspoi hervorgehen lässt.

[42] Auf jeden Fall handelt es sich um einen Pleonasmus, da das Adjektiv *novercalis* neben „stiefmütterlich“ insbesondere „feindselig“ bedeutet.

müssen.[43] Uns Heutigen mag es auch gar nicht so abwegig erscheinen, wenn ein neuer, vor kurzem zur Macht gelangter Herrscher die Namen beider Eltern nennt. Der Hinweis darauf, wer seine Mutter war, mag ihm darüber hinaus die Möglichkeit gegeben haben, sich noch einmal klar von dem unglückseligen Halbbruder abzusetzen.

Iamaspois Name fehlt dann in der aramäischen, sogenannten zweiten Inschrift von Mtskheta, in der ein *Mihrdat [mhrdt], Großkönig, Sohn des Großkönigs Pharasmanes [prsmn]* erwähnt wird.[44] Leider gibt dieser auch als „Armazian monolingual“[45] bezeichnete, undatierte Text für die Geschichte von Pharasmanes´ Nachfolger sonst nicht viel her. Den literarischen Quellen ist Mithradates II. völlig unbekannt geblieben.

## Traians Partherkrieg und die Iberer

Von 75 n. Chr. an gerechnet sollten nahezu vierzig Jahre vergehen, bis wieder einmal von der iberischen Herrscherfamilie die Rede war. Breviarien-Autoren des 4. Jhs. überliefern, wie sich neben anderen benachbarten Fürsten auch der König der Iberer Traian anschloss.[46] Wer im Lande herrschte, lässt sich einer Grabinschrift entnehmen, die den Tod des Amazaspos, eines Bruders des damaligen Königs, dokumentiert:

Ο ΚΛΕΙΝΟC ΙΝΙC ΒΑCΙΛΕΩC ΑΜΑΖΑCΠΟC | Ο ΜΙΘΡΙΔΑΤΟΥ ΒΑCΙΛΕΩC ΚΑCΙΓΝΗΤΟC | Ω ΓΑΙΑ ΠΑΤΡΗC ΚΑCΠΙΑC ΠΑΡΑ ΚΛΗΟΡΑC | ΙΒΗΡ ΙΒΗΡΟC ΕΝΘΑΔΙ ΤΕΤΑΡΧΥΤΑΙ | ΠΟΛΙΝ ΠΑΡ ΙΡΗΝ ΗΝ ΕΔΕΙΜΕ ΝΙΚΑΤΩΡ | ΕΛΑΙΟΘΗΛΟΝ ΑΜΦΙ ΜΥΓΔΟΝΟC ΝΑΜΑ | ΘΑΝΟΝ Δ ΟΠΑΔΟC ΑΥCΟΝΩΝ ΑΓΗΤΟΡΙ | ΜΟΛΩΝ ΑΝΑΚΠ ΝΑΡΘΙΚΗΝ CΦ ΥCΜΙΝΗΝ | ΠΡΙΝ ΠΕΡ ΠΑΛΑΖΑΙ ΧΕΙΡΑ ΔΗΙΩ ΛΥΘΡΩΙ | ΙΦΘΙΜΟΝ ΑΙΑΙ ΧΕΙΡΑ ΔΟΥΡΙ ΚΑ ΝΟΖΩΡ | ΚΑΙ ΦΑCΓΑΝΟΥ ΚΝΩΔΟΝΤΙ ΠΕΖΟC ΙΠΙ | Ο Δ ΑΥΤΟC ΙCΟC ΠΑΡΘΕΝΟΙCΙΝ ΑΙΔΟΙΑΙC (IG XIV 1374; IGR I 192).[47]

[43] Wie Braund 1993, 48 mit Anm. 9 in Erwägung zieht.

[44] Übersetzung nach Lordkipanidse 1996, 20 unten.

[45] Braund 1994, 214.

[46] Eutr. 8,3,1: (Traianus) *Hiberorum regem et Sauromatarum et Bosphoranorum et Arabum et Osdroenorum et Colchorum in fidem accepit;* Fest. 20,2: *Traianus ... Hiberos, Bosphorianos, Colchos in fidem Romanae dicionis recepit;* Vgl. noch Hier. *chron.* zum Jahr 102 n. Chr.

[47] Damit zunächst ein Eindruck von dem Quellenzeugnis entsteht, haben wir die Inschrift in Großbuchstaben, wie sie heute noch gelesen werden können (mit allen Verschreibungen und Auslassungen), in den Text gesetzt. Um aber eine möglichst breite, auch internationale Diskussion zu ermöglichen, sei hier die englische Übersetzung von Braund 1994, 230 beigegeben: *The illustrious king´s scion, Amazaspus, / the brother of King Mithridates, / whose native land lies by the Caspian Gates, / Iberian, son of Iberian, is buried here / by the sacred city which Nicator built /*

Zur Zeit von Traians Partherkrieg herrschte demnach wieder ein Mithradates über die Iberer. Er wird gewöhnlich als Mithradates III. gezählt und und zusammen mit seinem Bruder Amazaspos eine Generation nach Mithradates II. angesetzt, der demnach sehr wahrscheinlich beider Vater gewesen ist.[48] Dagegen hat David Braund wiederholt die Meinung vertreten, dass sich alle inschriftlichen Erwähnungen eines iberischen Mithradates von Vespasian bis Traian auf denselben Herrscher beziehen sollten. Seiner Ansicht nach könnte zweimal hintereinander ein Pharasmanes auf einen Mithradates gefolgt sein.[49] Nun ist es nicht so, dass die abwechselnde Benennung des Thronerben nach dem jeweiligen Großvater von vornherein ganz abwegig wäre. Wir haben eine ähnliche Vorgehensweise, die Namen Artavasdes und Ariobarzanes betreffend, in dem Herrscherhaus von Atropatene beobachten können.[50] Was unangebracht erscheint, ist nur die Anwendung dieser vereinzelt zu beobachtenden Sitte auf die hier behandelte Epoche der iberischen Geschichte. Zunächst ist zu registrieren, dass *Mithradates* damals der Leitname der Dynastie der Pharnabaziden war, da er von der Zeitwende bis Traian in jeder Generation einmal auftaucht.[51] Das heißt jedoch nicht, dass er in jedem Fall mit der Thronfolge verknüpft war: Pharasmanes hatte die Ansprüche eines derartigen Namensträgers abwehren können und seinen eigenen Erben Radamistus genannt. Erst dessen Scheitern führte zur Nachfolge des jüngeren Sohnes Mithradates. Es ist demnach nicht sehr wahrscheinlich, dass die Benennung der iberischen Thronfolger in den betreffenden Jahrzehnten nach einem frühzeitig festgelegten Schema erfolgt sein sollte, wonach auf einen Mithradates jeweils ein Pharasmanes zu folgen hatte. Vor allen Dingen aber sprechen chronologische Gründe gegen eine Gleichsetzung der in den Inschriften erwähnten Herrscher.[52] Wir möchten noch daran erinnern, dass nach dieser Theorie Amazaspos ein Sohn Pharasmanes´ I. gewesen sein müsste. Wann auch immer er während der Herrschaft seines angeblichen Vaters geboren sein könnte – er wäre sicher ein wenig zu alt gewesen, um noch persönlich am Partherkrieg teilzunehmen. Seine

*around the olive-nurturing stream of Mygdon. / He died, companion to the Ausonian leader, / going for the lord to Parthian battle, / yet before he had spattered his hand with enemy gore, / mighty the hand, alas with spear and bow / and with the sword-blade, on foot and on horse. / And he himself the peer of modest maidens.*

[48] So z.B. Geyer 1932, 2215 (Mithridates 34–35); Sullivan 1977, 939 (Stammtafel IBERIA); zuletzt *DNP* 12/2 (Nachträge) s.v. Mithradates 22–23, 1060.

[49] Wodurch sich eine Herrscherfolge Mithridates I – Pharasmanes I – Mithridates II – Pharasmanes II ergeben hätte: Braund 1993, 48 und Braund 1994, 215.

[50] Schottky 1991, 75 mit Abb. 3. Stammtafel IV: Die Atropatiden.

[51] Schon der unbenannte Herrscher der Res Gestae könnte Mithradates geheißen haben.

[52] Treffend Meißner 2000, 191, Anm. 81: „This leads to a rather longish term for Mithradates (more then fourty years). While this is not impossible, ... it is by no means certain, and for caution´s sake one should keep the two bearers of the name apart."

Grabinschrift bezieht sich deutlich auf einen (potentiellen) „jugendlichen Helden".

Während aber Braunds Überlegungen immerhin ernsthaft zu diskutieren waren, kommen wir jetzt zu Hypothesen, die von vorhnerein nicht sehr überzeugend wirken. Es geht darum, wie in der georgischen Chronik die Herrschaftsgeschichte vom Tode Aderkis bis ins 2. Jh. hinein behandelt wird. Dort findet sich die erstaunliche Angabe, Iberien sei zu dieser Zeit geteilt gewesen, wobei die jeweiligen Herrscher von Mtskheta, bzw. Armasi (Harmozike) aus regierten.[53] Dass dies wörtlich zu nehmen sei, behauptet heute wohl niemand mehr.[54] Doch wird nicht selten versucht, eine Erklärung für diese Darstellung zu finden und aus ihr womöglich noch manche nützliche Information zu gewinnen. Hierbei ist Toumanoff zu einigen spekulativen Ergebnissen gelangt. Wir erinnern uns, dass er für Pharasmanes I. die Regierungsjahre Aderkis übernommen hatte. Sein Sohn Mithradates müsste demnach schon 58 die Nachfolge angetreten haben. Toumanoff lässt ihn noch bis 106 regieren. In diese Zeit fallen nach der einheimischen Überlieferung allein sechs Herrscherpersönlichkeiten: Bartom, Kaos und Armasael in Mtskheta sowie Kartam, Parsman und Asok in Armasi. In Mtskheta kam danach ein Derok, in Armasi Amasasp auf den Thron. Der letztgenannte Name (= Amazaspos) zeigt, dass der georgischen Chronik zuweilen überraschend authentisches Material zugrundeliegen muss, nachdem sogar eine Erinnerung an ein Mitglied der Königsfamilie überdauert hat, das nie zur Regierung gelangte. Dies nämlich ist der entscheidende Punkt. Kaum jemand wird wohl die Inschrift so verstehen wollen, als ob in ihr vom Tod *des amtierenden iberischen Königs* die Rede sei. Niemand – bis auf Toumanoff.[55] Es wird aber noch merkwürdiger. Amazaspos werde auch in der Inschrift von Mtskheta genannt, da es sich bei der dort erscheinenden Gestalt (Toumanoff liest ΙΑΜΑΣΠΩ) ohne Frage um Amazaspos handele.[56]

Wie es aussieht, dürfte sich eine nähere Beschäftigung mit derartigen Theorien, oder gar ihre Widerlegung, erübrigen. Wir wollen nur auf ein paar Einzelheiten hinweisen, die sonst in der Flut der Spekulationen untergehen würden. Zum einen streicht Toumanoff Iamaspoi ohne Not aus der Genealogie der Pharnabaziden, obwohl sie als mutmaßliche Stamm-Mutter der späteren iberischen Könige eine Gestalt von nicht zu unterschätzender Wichtigkeit ist.[57]

[53] Leonti Mroweli / Pätsch 1985, 101–112.

[54] Vgl. aber den offenbar ernst gemeinten Eintrag in der Zeittafel bei Pätsch 1985, 484: „Mitte 1. Jh. u. Z. – Anfang 2. Jh.: Doppelherrschaft in Mzcheta und Armasi."

[55] Toumanoff 1969, bes. 15f.

[56] Toumanoff 1969, 13 mit Anm. 63.

[57] Dies ist umso merkwürdiger, als Toumanoff 1969, 12 beachtet hatte, dass Pharasmanes mehrmals verheiratet gewesen war, wobei Radamistus aus der früheren Ehe hervorging.

Darüber hinaus hat er, indem er Amazaspos zum Sohn des Pharasmanes macht, erneut eine spätere Vorstellung vorweggenommen. Es handelt sich um die Ansicht, dass in Iberien bis mindestens in die späten Jahre Traians hinein noch die Generation von Pharasmanes´ Kindern (nicht die seiner Enkel) an der Macht gewesen sei.[58]

Nach diesem Blick auf einige interessante, wenn auch recht spekulative Hypothesen kommen wir nun zu folgendem Bild der Herrschaftsgeschichte Iberiens in der flavisch-traianischen Zeit: Pharasmanes´ Sohn Mithradates II. folgte seinem Vater 74 oder spätestens Anfang 75 auf den Thron. Wie lange er regierte, lässt sich leider nicht feststellen. Immerhin erscheint es, trotz diesbezüglicher Vermutungen, sehr unwahrscheinlich, dass der im Zusammenhang mit dem Partherfeldzug Traians erwähnte iberische König Mithradates mit ihm identisch sein sollte. Vielmehr ist davon auszugehen, dass es sich bei dem letztgenannten Mithradates und seinem Bruder Amazaspos um die Söhne Mithradates´ II. handelte. Der schnelle Tod des jungen und offensichtlich noch unverheirateten Amazaspos im kaiserlichen Dienst befreite Mithradates III. von einem potentiellen Konkurrenten um die iberische Krone.[59] Nur die einheimische Überlieferung will von der Teilherrschaft eines Amasasp in Armasi wissen. Dagegen kann die nunmehr ungefährdete Regierung Mithradates´ III. den Tod Traians um Jahre überdauert haben. Da wir von weiteren Geschwistern nichts hören, war Mithradates mit Sicherheit der Vater des unter Hadrian und Antoninus Pius erscheinenden Pharasmanes II. Mit seiner Regierung, die einige überraschende Parallelen zu der seines Urgroßvaters und Namensvetters aufweist, wollen wir uns in einem weiteren Beitrag beschäftigen.

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[58] Nicht zu Ende gedacht hat Lordkipanidse 1996, 19 die Angelegenheit, wenn er Amazaspos als „Bruder oder Neffen“ eines Mithradates bezeichnet. Der Prinz war nachweislich der Bruder des Königs Mithradates der Epoche Traians. Um aber ein *Neffe* (und kein Sohn) des Mithradates der Zeit Vespasians zu sein, hätte er einen weiteren, sonst unbekannten Sohn Pharasmanes´ I. zum Vater (oder eine weitere Tochter zur Mutter) haben müssen.

[59] Trotz der rührenden Worte der Grabinschrift steht zu befürchten, dass sich die Trauer um den Verlust des königlichen Prinzen gerade am iberischen Hof in Grenzen hielt.

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## Abstract

### Prolegomena to a King List of Caucasian Iberia 2. The Age of Pharasmanes I

In the time of Augustus an Iberian king whose name is unknown sent envoys to the first *princeps* seeking his friendship. He may have been the son and successor of Pharnabazus II (36 BC) and the father or grandfather of Mithradates I, who died in 35 AD. A quarrel between his sons Pharasmanes and Mithradates concerning his succession was settled by Tiberius, who made the younger Mithradates the client-king of Armenia. The long, nearly 40 years lasting Iberian rule of Pharasmanes I was determined by the struggle for the supremacy over Armenia between Romans and Parthians. In these decades perished not only Mithradates, but also Pharasmanes´ eldest son and heir Radamistus. At the end of his life the disappointed Pharasmanes opened the so-called „Caspian Gates“ (in this case: the pass of Derbend) to the savage Alans, who devastated Atropatene and Armenia. After his death shortly before 75, he was succeeded by his younger son Mithradates II, who is never mentioned in the literary sources. Only at the time of Traian´s Parthian war we hear again of the Iberian royalty: a king of Iberia, one Mithradates III, paid hommage to the emperor. The king's younger brother Amazaspus intended to take part in the Parthian war but died soon.

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STUDIA CLASSICA ET ORIENTALIA

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# THE HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY OF GORDYENE* PART 2: ORIENTAL SOURCES

**Keywords:** Gordyene, Corduena, Korduk‘, Cudi Dağı

## Armenian sources

One may say that classical sources provide us with a great variety of linguistic forms used for Gordyene and the Gordyaeans.[1] However, this trend is also present in Armenian sources[2] that refer to this region using many forms: *Korduk‘*, *Tmorik‘*, *Kordik‘* (and *Kordrik‘* considered as a variant of the former), *Korčēk‘*, and *Korčayk‘*.

The *Epic Histories* (the abbreviation BP hereinafter), formerly attributed to a certain P‘awstos Buzandac‘i, is in fact an anonymous work of an Armenian cleric who, probably writing in the 5th century CE, describes 4th-century-CE Armenia.[3] As for Gordyene, BP mentions many Armenian districts and dignitaries which rebelled against King Aršak and went over to Šapuh, king of Persia, among others: *the inaccessible district of Tmorik‘, and the inaccessible realm of Kordik‘, ... the lord of the district of Korduk‘* (BP 4.50 and BP 5.10: the counter-attack by the *sparapet* Mušeł).[4] The *Epic Histories* also know ǰon, Prince of *Kor-*

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[1] The terms Gordyene and Gordyaeans are used throughout the paper as the broadest *English* designations of the country and the people under discussion.

[2] For a brief overview of diversified views on the historical value of Armenian sources, see Traina 2010, 402–405. See also Kettenhofen 1998, 325–353.

[3] Garsoïan 1989, 1–22; Andrews 2012; Hannick 2012.

[4] Garsoïan 1989, 167 and 200; Hewsen 1988–1989, 284.

*duk‘* (BP 3.9) who is counted among the most faithful servants of the king [of Armenia] and who was sent against the revolt of Bakur, *vitaxa* of *Aljnik‘* (BP 3.32).[5]

In *Agat‘angełos*, a writing on the conversion of Armenia at the beginning of the 4th century CE, but likely written in the second half of the 5th century CE[6] (and known from many versions, esp. Armenian and Greek versions – abbreviated as Aa and Ag – as well as Greek and Arabic versions, known as the *Life of St. Gregory* and abbreviated as Vg and Va respectively),[7] *Korduk‘* is mentioned as one of the places along the route of St. Gregory from Syria to Media: “he passed along the borders of Syria, the land of Nor-Širakan and *Korduk‘*, to the secure Land of the Medes” (Aa 842).[8] Again, Agat‘angełos also knows of the Prince of *Korduk‘* who took part in the counsel of King Trdat and in the ordination of St. Gregory (Va 795)[9].

Agat‘angełos’ *Kodrik‘* (sic) is in turn described in Vg 98 as bordering on Zarawand-Hēr,[10] which could perhaps be located on the far side of the Zagros Mountains on the north-western shore of Lake Urmia.[11] Likewise, in the Arabic version of Agat‘angełos (Va 86), the districts of Zarawand and Hēr are said to lie next to *Kordik‘*, and *Korduk‘*, called here *qmrδl*, is said to lie adjacent to *Kordik‘* (the strong *qrδyṭn*).[12]

The date of Moses Xorenac‘i’s *History of the Armenians* (the author himself claims to be a 5th-century CE witness to historical events in Armenia) is disputed. While some scholars accept the 5th century CE, others suggest that the writing was created later, since it contains data typical of 8th- and 9th-century CE Armenia.[13] MX knows *Korduk‘*, *Korčēk‘*, *Kordrik‘*, and *Tmorik‘*. As for *Korduk‘*, MX 1.14 recalls it as bordering on the Assyrian plain.[14] Next, in describing the provincial organization of King Vałaršak’s kingdom, MX 2.8 mentions some individuals from the principalities of *Mokk‘*, *Korduk‘*, *Anjewac‘ik‘* and *Akē*.[15] In 2.36 MX refers to the trip of the sister of King Abgar of Edessa, Awdē through *Korduk‘* in winter

[5] Toumanoff 1963, 181; Garsoïan 1989, 77; Hewsen 1988–1989, 280, 284. According to Hewsen, ǰon may be the father or grandfather of Iovinianus known from Amm. Marc. 18.6.20 as the satrap of Corduena.

[6] Thomson 1976, XVI.

[7] Thomson 1976, XVI; Traina 2010, 406–407.

[8] Thomson 1976, 377; Hewsen 1988–1989, 284.

[9] Thomson 1976, 335.

[10] Toumanoff 1963, 161.

[11] Hewsen 1988–1989, 281.

[12] Toumanoff 1963, 161; Hewsen 1988–1989, 286.

[13] For a brief overview of different opinions, see Traina 2010, 417–419 and his bibliographical references.

[14] Thomson 1978, 94.

[15] Thomson 1978, 140–141; Hewsen 1988–1989, 285.

(where she encountered a heavy snowfall which scattered the whole company and nearly cost them their lives) on the way to Armenia (in the time of King Sanatruk).[16] Finally, in MX 2.74 *Korduk'* is recalled as being on the route of Anak's escape from Armenia to Assyria.[17] *Korčēk'* in turn is recalled by MX (2.64) as a territory under the direct control of the "last Tigran".[18] MX also recalls *Tmorik'* (as Smbat's temporary abode in 2.53), and says that "*Tmorik'* is now called *Kordrik'* "(2.53), Moses' *Kordrik'* (formerly *Tmorik'*) in 2.53 was clearly neighbored by Assyria.[19] MX 2.53 also names the main city of *Tmorik'* as *Alki*.[20]

*The History of Vardan* and *The Armenian War* attributed to Ełišē was probably written in the 6th century CE and refers to the Armenian uprising against the Sasanian power in 450/451 CE.[21] Ełišē mentions *Korduk'* three times in his long lists of countries. The first list enumerates Armenia, Georgia, Albania, Lp'ink', Čawdk', Korduik', Ałjnik' (Chapter 1),[22] and the second Armenia, Georgia, Albania, Lp'ink', Ałjnik', Korduk', Čawdk', and Dasn (Chapter 2).[23] Further, the third list also knows Tmorik', Kordik', along with Arc'ax, Ałuank' (Albania), Virk' (Iberia) and Xałtik' (Chapter 5).[24]

The so-called *Geography of Ananias of Širak* (*Asxarhac'oyc',* hereinafter: ASX), probably dated to the 7th century CE,[25] speaks of three *Kordik'*s (Upper, Middle and Lower) and of *Korduk'*, all of which together, including seven other small districts to the east, constitute one greater territory of *Korčayk'* (ASX 1881, 46/34–35).[26] In ASX, *Korduk'* is the westernmost of the eleven districts of *Korčayk'*.[27]

The most recent and extensive interpretation of the aforementioned Armenian toponyms has been made by Robert Hewsen.[28] According to Hewsen, the Armenian land *Korčayk'*, as attested in *ASX*, is equivalent to Gordyene as the most extensive territorially notion extending from the Tigris as far as the Zag-

[16] Thomson 1978, 177–178; Hewsen 1988–1989, 285.
[17] Thomson 1978, 220; Hewsen 1988–1989, 285.
[18] Thomson 1978, 206; Hewsen 1988–1989, 283.
[19] Hübschmann 1904, 337; Thomson 1978, 192; Hewsen 1988–1989, 286.
[20] Hübschmann 1904, 337; Thomson 1978, 192; Hewsen 1988–1989, 286.
[21] Savvidis 2012.
[22] Thomson 1982, 64; Hewsen 1988–1989, 285.
[23] Thomson 1982, 103; Hewsen 1988–1989, 285.
[24] Hewsen 1988–1989, 285, n. 33.
[25] Hewsen 1979, 77.
[26] Hewsen 1988–1989, 281, 283.
[27] Hewsen 1988–1989, 281, 283.
[28] Prior to Hewsen's contribution, important studies of these toponyms can be found in Hübschmann 1904, 255–259 and 333–338; Toumanoff 1963, 181–182 and Adontz, Garsoïan 1970, 323. The main points made by Hewsen 1988–1989 were again summarized in Hewsen 1992, 170–176. See also Hewsen 2001.

ros.[29] The same perhaps refers to *Korčēk‘* of Moses Xorenac‘i (2.64), although it may also be identical only to the eastern part of Gordyene.

In Hewsen's opinion *Korduk‘* corresponds linguistically to the Latin *Corduena* (and the Greek Γορδυηνή) and as such may on occasion refer to the whole of Gordyene. At the same time, it may also correspond to the smaller entity – the westernmost district of Gordyene, known from the ASX as *Korduk‘* and from Ammianus Marcellinus as *Corduena* (as the Romans had more experience with the part of Gordyene directly bordering on the Roman Empire).

As for *Kord(r)ik‘*, Hewsen holds that it "is a distinct area clearly defined by the ASX as comprising three districts – Upper, Middle and Lower *Kord(r)ik‘* – occupying the corresponding reaches of what can only be the valley of the Eastern Khabur River".[30]

*Tmorik‘* is identified by Hewsen as the area around the fortress of *T'man* on the slopes of Mt. Sararad/Ararad, the later Cudi Dağı (and the Turkish Habis Tepesi).[31] In Hewsen's view, Strabo's *Tamonitis* in 11.14.5 (conquered by Artaxias "from the Syrians") should be emendated to **Tamoritis*, and this form would fit the Armenian *Tmorik‘* well.[32]

On the basis of the identifications mentioned above, Hewsen suggests a basic sketch of geopolitical developments in the area between Arzanene and the Zagros Mountains.[33] In his view, a Karduchian kingdom (known to the Armenians as *Korčayk‘* and to the Greeks as Gordyene) was located east of the Assyrian Khabur River, while west of this kingdom (between the Khabur River and the Tigris) lay the district of *Tmorik‘* which did not belong to Gordyene.[34] *Tmorik‘* belonged first to the Seleucids, and was seized by Armenia in the mid–2nd century BCE.[35] Under Armenian rule the district of *Korduk‘* developed from the westernmost parts of *Tmorik‘* (the lowlands along the Assyrian Khabur).[36] All these territories were united by the conquests of Tigranes the Great and became known to the Romans as Gordyene (a large territory from the Tigris River to the Zagros).[37] In the 2nd century CE this territory was again added by the Romans to Armenia, where it was divided into two administrative parts – the western half, called *Kordruk‘* and the eastern part, called *Korčēk‘* (MX 2.64), or alternatively

[29] Hewsen 1988–1989, 281–283.
[30] Hewsen 1988–1989, 285–286.
[31] Hewsen 1988–1989, 287.
[32] Hewsen 1988–1989, 287. This emendation was also considered possible by Hübschmann 1904, 258.
[33] Hewsen 1988–1989, 289–295.
[34] Hewsen 1988–1989, 289–290.
[35] Hewsen 1988–1989, 290.
[36] Hewsen 1988–1989, 290.
[37] Hewsen 1988–1989, 290.

*Kordrik'*, from its three westernmost districts (BP 4.50).[38] In the 4th century CE (BP 4.50), we have three distinct regions: *Korduk'*, *Tmorik',* and *Korčēk'* (which included three *Kordrik's*, and on this account the whole district was sometimes called *Kordrik'*).[39] After circa 387 CE this territory must have been reorganized by the Persians into a single territory as part of the province *Arzōn-Ostan* (Syriac Bēth Qardū and *Korčayk'* of ASX), and at some point of its Persian history, *Tmorik'* was subdued by the Upper and Middle *Kordrik'* (see the lack of *Tmorik'* in ASX and MX 2.53: *Tmorik'* which is now called *Kordrik'*).[40]

What are we to make of Hewsen's interpretation of the abovementioned Armenian toponyms? First and foremost, it has to be stressed that *Korčēk'* and *Korčayk'* are not linguistically akin to the root Qardū[41] (in Καρδοῦχοι, *Cordu-eni*, *Cordu-ena*, Γορδυ-ηνή, Γορδυ-αία, Γορδυ-αῖοι, etc.).[42] *Kordik'* is also doubtful as a parallel to *Qardū* – it can also be derived from the same root as the Κύρτιοι.[43] In this light, the Armenian sources with information about *Korčēk'* and *Korčayk'* (and perhaps *Kordrik'*) rather mirror the expansion of the post-Cyrti or proto-Kurdish tribes than contribute directly to our study on Gordyene.[44] Further, since we can locate the Karduchoi's settlement in the mountains south of the Bohtan River and north of modern Cizre, it is the Upper Tigris valley west of the Khabur (and not east of it as Hewsen suggests) which was the most natural stretch of the Tigris valley for the expansion of the Karduchoi. Consequently, the core of the country of Γορδυαῖοι / Γορδυηνοί (= Καρδοῦχοι) has to be located west of the

[38] Hewsen 1988–1989, 290.

[39] Hewsen 1988–1989, 291–293.

[40] Hewsen 1988–1989, 293.

[41] On the root and its different transformations in ancient sources, see a thorough discussion in Nöldeke 1898.

[42] Andreas 1894, 1493; Adontz, Garsoïan 1970, 323. According to Andreas, *Korčayk'* may be derived from **korti-ayk'*, and the palatalization is the result of the following transformation: **kurti-* > **korti-* > **korč*. In turn, Adontz suggests that *Korčayk'* comes from **kortič-ayk'* (like the parallel formations: *atr-pat-ič* or *bayhas-ič-k'*). See Andreas 1894, 1490–1493; Adontz, Garsoïan 1970, 323; Asatrian 2009, 26 and n. 32.

[43] Andreas 1894, 1493; Hartmann 1897, 96; Hübschmann 1904, 335; Minorsky 1940, 150–151. Indeed, *Kordik'* lacks the essential element, υ. One may wonder if the appearance of *i* in place of *υ* cannot be attributed to phonetic changes like those present in the Greek form used by Plutarch, *Luc*. 26: Γορδιηνοί. According to Nöldeke 1898, 74: this form is "ohne Belang". At any rate, Hewsen's clear picture of the geographical location of *Kordik'* is heavily dependent on the ASX, whose geohistorical accuracy in general has been judged very harshly on a different occasion (Hewsen 1979, 79): "it did not depict the realities of Armenia either in the author's time or before, but only those divisions as the author misinterpreted them by projecting the situation which existed in his own time in some parts of Armenia back into the past onto the rest of the country where this situation simply did not apply".

[44] Likewise Minorsky 1940, 150–151. On the very complicated process of how the Kurds took their name from the Κύρτιοι, see Asatrian 2001, 41–74 and Asatrian 2009.

Khabur. Next, the location of *Tmorik'* is problematic. Hewsen connects it with the fortress *T'man*, and this location would put *Tmorik'* on the mountain slopes overlooking the Upper Tigris valley as marked by the Bohtan River to the west and the Assyrian Khabur River to the east.[45] This would actually be the heart of ancient Gordyene. Consequently, Hewsen treats *Tamoritis*/*Tmorik'* as an alternative name for the same district as Strabo's Γορδυηνή and Ammianus' *Corduena*.[46] However, MX 2.53 gives us a precise clue as to the location of *Tmorik'* when he points to Alki, as the main city of *Tmorik'*. Alki can most likely be identified as the modern Elki on the east bank of the Khabur, and this means that the ancient *Tmorik'* was a mountainous region in the upper Khabur region,[47] and therefore we cannot see *Tmorik'* as corresponding to Gordyene as a whole in any period as Hewsen does.[48] If *Tmorik'* extended out of Elki further east and not south-west to the Tigris river bed, we could well understand its capture by Tigranes the Great as an inclusion in the Upper Tigris valley in the general vicinity of Adiabene (Strabo's Syrians in 11.14.5), and see the Armenian expansion into this region as coming from Armenia along the south-eastern border of Lake Van into the Upper Tigris valley.

## Jewish-postbiblical, Syriac and Arabic sources

Gordyene also appears in ancient literature with regard to Noah's Ark. In the Hebrew Bible and the LXX, Noah's Ark is said to have rested on the mountains of Arārāṭ (the Hebrew Gen 8.4: על הרי אררט and the LXX: ἐπὶ τὰ ὄρη τὰ Ἀραρατ). However, the location of Noah's Ark was reinterpreted in subsequent traditions.

In retelling the Biblical story about Noah and the flood,[49] Josephus (Ant. 1.90) tells us that Noah's Ark rested on a certain mountain in Armenia (περὶ ἄκραν τινὰ ὄρους σταθείσης κατὰ τὴν Ἀρμενίαν), but then quotes other Hellenistic historians to back up the historicity of the Biblical episode. For instance, Berossos the Chaldean is reported by Josephus (Ant. 1.93) to claim that there is still some part of Noah's Ark in Armenia, at the mountain of the Gordyaeans (ἐν τῇ Ἀρμενίᾳ πρὸς τῷ ὄρει τῶν Καρδυαίων).[50] On a different occasion (Ant. 20.24–25), Josephus reports that the remains of Noah's Ark are still shown to visitors in the country called Καρρῶν, which bares amomum in great plenty. The otherwise unattested Καρρῶν can easily be emendated as Καρδῶν, as somewhere in the

[45] Hewsen 1984, 354–355; Hewsen 1988–1989, 287.
[46] Hewsen 1984, 354–355; Hewsen 1988–1989, 287.
[47] Hübschmann 1904, 258, 336.
[48] See Hewsen 1988–1989, 289–290.
[49] Feldman 1988, 31–57 (esp. 47).
[50] See also a different view attributed to Nikolaos Damaskenos and preserved by Josephus in Ant. 1.94–95.

Semitic transmission the Aramaic daleth must have been confused with resh (קרדו > *קרדון > קררון) – a very common paleographical phenomenon.[51]

Biblical Arārāṭ is widely identified as Qardū in Rabbinic and Syriac traditions.[52] Both Targum Pseudo-Jonathan and Onqelos (Gen. 8.4) locate the ark on the mountains of Qardū (Tg. Ps.-J.: על טורי קרדו, Tg. Onq.: על טוורי קרדון), and Tg. Onq. adds that "the name of one mountain is Qardonia [קרדוניא], and the name of the other mountain is Armenia [ארמניא]".[53] Targums Isaiah 37.38 and Jeremiah 51.27 also equate Ararat (ארמת ארץ and ארעא מלכות respectively) with Qardū. Similarly, the Midrash Genesis Rabbah quotes the Biblical verse: "and the ark came to rest … in the mountains of Ararat", and immediately adds – "on the mountains of Qardunya" (different spellings: קרדניא,קורדונייה,קרדוניא).[54] This identification is also present in the Syriac Pešīṭā, where Noah's Ark does not rest on the mountains of Arārāṭ, but on the mountains of Qardū. The same phenomenon of replacing Arārāṭ with Qardū can be found in Syriac sources in the story of St. Eugene.[55] The story features St. Eugene's pilgrimage through Syria and northern Mesopotamia in the 4th century CE.[56] At some point, when St. Eugene was preaching in the villages of Qardū, the narrative recalls a Biblical episode about the assassination of the Assyrian king, Sennacherib, by his sons (2 Kgs 19.36–37; Isa 37.36–38; 2 Chr 32.21–22; Tob 1.21) and adds a previously unknown detail – one of the assassins found refuge in Sargūgā, one of the Qardū villages at the foot of the mountain not too far from the ark. This location does not really fit the Biblical version, where the assassin found refuge in the land of Arārāṭ. It is evident that Syriac traditions no longer know Arārāṭ, and the area once inhabited by the ancient Urartu became Qardū for Syriac sources.[57]

In Jewish, Syriac and Islamic traditions, the mountain in Qardū on which Noah's Ark was believed to have rested was identified with the Arabic al-Jūdī[58] (modern Cudi Dağı).[59] This identification is attested as early as the 5th century

[51] Bochart 1651, 22; Markwart 1903, 289–291, n. 4; Barish 1983, 69–70; Harrak 2001, 170–171. This emendation is accepted by Debevoise 1938, 165; Kahrstedt 1950, 66; Feldman 1965, 402, n. "b"; Kahle 1959, 270, n. 4; Marciak 2011b, 192, n. 84.

[52] Neusner 1964, 230–240 (esp. 233); Harrak 2001, 168–189.

[53] Clarke 1984, 9; Harrak 2001, 171.

[54] Oppenheimer 1983, 374, n. 10.

[55] Harrak 2001, 169–175.

[56] Harrak 2001, 168–189.

[57] Harrak 2001, 170, 173.

[58] It seems that there are two options (see Harrak 2001, 171–172) – either the Quranic name al-Jūdī (*sūrat al-hūd* 44), once denoting a mountain in Arabia, was simply applied to Mount Qardū at the beginning of the Arabic conquest on the account of the similar sound, or the Quranic story is dependent on the Biblical story in its Syriac version and consequently al-Jūdī itself is a misrepresentation of Qardū or Qardī (so Obermeyer 1929, 132; Harrak 2001, 172).

[59] Syme 1995, 35; Harrak 2001, 175–176.

CE (when the East Syrian Catholikos Dādīšō' sought refuge on Cudi Dağı in the monastery devoted to the cult of Noah's Ark) and persisted throughout later centuries in Christian, Muslim and Jewish writers (Eutychius of Alexandria, aṭ-Ṭabarī, Benjamin of Tudela).[60] The remains of an East-Syriac sanctuary devoted to Noah's Ark on the Cudi Dağı were described by G.L. Bell,[61] and the early medieval data of these remains, if correct, could reinforce the identification of the Cudi Dağı with late ancient traditions on Mount Qardū.[62]

All in all, the tradition locating Noah's Ark on Cudi Dağı above modern Cizre goes back to ancient times, at least to the 5th century CE. Therefore, it appears to be old enough to allow a connection between Mount Qardū and Cudi Dağı[63]. This in turn almost gives us a fixed point for the location of Josephus' Καρρῶν, and consequently allows us to precisely locate the 1st century CE expansion of Adiabene into Gordyene: it reached at least as far as Cizre.[64]

What is more, four references to Qardū can be found in Talmud.[65] Namely, according to *Baba Batra* 91a, the biblical Abraham was imprisoned in Qardū for seven years and in Kūtha for three years.[66] Next, y. *Yebamot* 16a mentons the Qarduians and Qartuans in the course of the discussion as to members of which nations (e.g. Ammonites, Moabites, and Tarmodans) are permitted to convert.[67] While some rabbis ask whether the two peoples are not identical, the majority opinion holds that the Qarduans and Qartuans are distinct from each other, and the former are permitted to convert, while the latter are disqualified.[68] Next, in the discussion as to when the betrothal cannot take place, *Pesaḥim* 7a, 21b states that betrothal on the eve of Pesach is not valid "even with the wheat of Qardu".[69]

Generally speaking, the fact that the Babylonian rabbis talk about possible conversions from the Qarduans implies at least contact between Jews and Qarduans, and further could tentatively suggest the presence of Jews in Gordyene, although there is no other evidence at present to further enhance this suggestion.[70] Although one is tempted to interpret the rabbis' distinction between Qarduans and Qartuans as reflecting some regional diversity (Gordyaeans and Κύρτιοι, or Gordyaeans and Kurds), the linguistic difference between ד and ת is

[60] See Harrak 2001, 175–176.
[61] Bell 1911, 289–294.
[62] Syme 1995, 35; Harrak 2001, 176.
[63] I owe this idea to Dr. J. Reade.
[64] See Marciak 2011b, 192–193 (discussing Jos. *Ant*. 20.24) and 195 (about Cass. Dio, 68.26.1–4).
[65] Oppenheimer 1983, 373–375.
[66] Oppenheimer 1983, 373.
[67] Oppenheimer 1983, 374.
[68] Oppenheimer 1983, 374.
[69] Oppenheimer 1983, 374–375.
[70] For similar thoughts on the presence of Jews in Armenia, see Neusner 1964, 233.

so irrelevant that both terms can be seen as common variants of one ethnonym.[71] Lastly, a small detail about the wheat of Qardū corresponds well to Xenophon's, Strabo's, Plutarch's and Ammianus' remarks (*uber regio* in 25.7.9) on the considerable wealth of this region. This shows that we can speak of a continuous record of the prosperity of Gordyene from Xenophon's times (401 BCE) up to Late Antiquity.

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[71] Nöldeke 1898, 90.

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## Abstract

This article discusses Oriental sources containing geographical and ethnographical information about Gordyene. The study makes the case (following great linguists such as F.C. Andreas, T. Nöldeke, V. Minorsky) that the forms *Korčēk‘*, *Korčayk‘* and *Kordik‘* are not linguistically akin to the root Qardū. As a result, the Armenian sources with information about *Korčēk‘*, *Korčayk‘*, *Kordrik‘* rather mirror the expansion of the post-Cyrti or proto-Kurdish tribes than directly contribute to our knowledge about Gordyene (*Korduk‘*). Furthermore, it is argued that the location of Noah's Ark in the mountains of Qardū (modern Cudi Dağı) known to Jewish, Syriac and Islamic traditions can be used to interpret the data from Josephus' Ant. 20:24, and consequently to precisely locate the first century CE expansion of Adiabene into Gordyene: it reached at least as far as Cizre. Literary evidence obtained from Oriental sources supplements our knowledge on Gordyene's culture – it included Iranian, Armenian, Semitic and Greek elements. What is more, in the light of Talmudic references, Gordyene again appears to have been a "proverbially wealthy" country.

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# NATOUNISAROKERTA ON THE KAPROS. NEW NUMISMATIC EVIDENCE FROM THE BRITISH MUSEUM•

**Keywords:** Adiabene, Natounisarokerta, Hatra, Natounia

## Introduction

Something that has in recent decades been very noticeable is a considerable growth of interest in Adiabene, a Parthian *regnum minus* located on the Upper Tigris. In most cases where Adiabene appears in modern scholarship, it occurs in one of two contexts – Roman-Parthian relationships and the conversion of the Adiabene royalty to Judaism in the 1st century CE. The latter topic in particular has always brought much attention to Adiabene. Namely, some members of the royal dynasty from Adiabene emigrated to Palestine in the 1st century CE and, as we know from literary sources, built a magnificent mausoleum (see Josephus, *Antiquitates Judaicae* 20.95, *De Bello Judaico* 5.55; 5.119; 5.147; Pausanias, *Graeciae descriptio*, 8.16.4–5; Eusebius of Caesarea, *Historia ecclesiastica* 2.12.3, and Jerome, *Epistulae*, 108) and three palaces (see Jos. Bell. 4.567; 5.252; 6:355) there – all of them accounted for the most eye-catching landmarks of 1st-century CE Jerusalem. Not surprisingly, it is the search for physical remains of the Adiabene royalty in Jerusalem that has brought much attention to Adiabene in recent years. By way of illustration, in 2007 two Israeli archaeologists excavating in the City of David suggested that one of the newly unearthed

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structures could be identified as the palace of Queen Helena.[1] Again, from 2008 to 2012 French archaeologists (esp. from the *École biblique et archéologique française* in Jerusalem and the *Institut français du Proche-Orient*) conducted a new survey of *Le Tombeau des Rois,* a monumental burial complex once identified as the resting place of the Adiabene royalty in Jerusalem.[2]

Unlike in Jerusalem, the search for material remains that might shed light on Hellenistic-Parthian Adiabene has always been a painful task. First, a lot depends on our understanding of Adiabene's borders over the course of history. Namely – where was ancient Adiabene located, and which parts of its territory are most relevant to our understanding of its material culture? Secondly, paraphrasing the *Zohar*, one can say that "ancient texts need luck," that is, "some are far luckier than others,"[3] as some wait decades before finding an editor, while others are lucky enough for this to happen faster. The same goes for ancient kingdoms located at the crossroads of cultures, especially for those which happened to have had famous predecessors occupying the same geographical area – Adiabene was indeed located where the heartland of the great kingdom of Assyria once was. As a result, most 19th- and early-20th-century excavations of sites in northern Iraq paid very little attention to what became labeled as "post-Assyrian layers" (implicitly meaning "of little interest"). Would we know more about Hellenistic-Parthian Adiabene nowadays if this attitude had been different? We will never know, but this situation enhances "the potential significance of each source" and should lead the historian to "carefully appraise the quality of each and every source."[4]

## Coins from Adiabene

One such source is coins. In the case of Adiabene, one can distinguish two main groups of coinage – one apparently being the official coinage of this kingdom, since these coins bear the images of Adiabene's rulers, and another group which has unfortunately, as we shall demonstrate, been labeled as "Natounia coins."

As far as the first group of coins is concerned, we know of one coin struck on behalf of King Monobazos, and this item bears an inscription (ΕΒΛΤ) most likely indicating a date (ἐνιαυτός): ΒΛΤ (332).[5] Provided the Seleucid era is

[1] Ben-Ami/Tchekhanovetz 2011a; Ben-Ami/Tchekhanovetz 2011b.
[2] Murphy-O'Connor 2010, 18–19.
[3] Koller 2009.
[4] Herman 2012, 141.
[5] For this coin, see Klose 1992, 82; Hendin 2001, 455, pl. 937; and Tameanko 2005, 19.

used, the coin is dated to 20/21 CE (and belongs to Monobazos I).[6] If, however, it is the Parthian era, then the date is 84/85 CE. It is then theoretically possible to attribute this coin to Monobazos II, which would imply that he reigned until at least 84/85 CE (otherwise the last reference to him as the current king of Adiabene concerns the fall of Jerusalem in 70 CE).[7] Yet it is safer to base our identification on positive data – we know that Monobazos I reigned in the 20s of the 1st c. CE, but we do not know if Monobazos II was still alive in 84/85 CE; the coin should therefore be attributed to the former. Furthermore, there is a series of coins attributed to King Abdissares, who was once believed to be king of Armenia or Sophene, but more recently has been suggested, convincingly, to have been the ruler of Adiabene.[8] His coinage is dated exclusively on stylistic grounds, and consequently its possible dating can vary from the end of the 3rd c. BCE to the early 1st c. BCE.[9]

Our attention here will be devoted to the second group of numismatic evidence ("Natounia coins"). In fact, there is some diversity even in this group, and the basic criterion is the presence of inscriptions or otherwise. That is to say, we know of six coins that bear an inscription. Additionally, there are coins in this group that bear no inscriptions; these anepigrahic coins have been brought into connection with epigraphic items exclusively on stylistic grounds. Since the coins which bear inscriptions have a better potential of being unambiguously identified (so to speak), our attention in this paper will be devoted only to the six epigraphic items.

Coin no. 1 is stored in the British Museum. It was first published by B.W. Head in 1887,[10] and consequently found its way into G. Wissowa's *Realencyclopädie* under the heading *Atusia*.[11] However, the first thorough analysis of this coin can be found only in 1922, in the British Museum *Catalogue of Greek coins of Arabia, Mesopotamia and Persia* by G.H. Hill.[12] Next, it was also commented on by H. Seyrig and G. Le Rider in their discussions of the Nisibis hoard.[13] Finally, J.T. Milik wrote a very influential paper in which he discussed the London specimen together with three other epigraphical coins bearing similar inscriptions.[14]

[6] Klose 1992, 82; Hendin 2001, 455, pl. 937.
[7] See Marciak 2012, 190–191.
[8] Lipiński 1982: 117–124 and de Callataÿ 1996: 135–145.
[9] De Callataÿ 1996: 142.
[10] Head 1911, 817.
[11] Wissowa 1896, 2260.
[12] Hill 1922, CXVIII, 147 and plate no. XXIII.22.
[13] Seyrig 1955; Le Rider 1959–1960.
[14] Milik 1962.

The obverse of the London specimen shows a female head,[15] turreted and diademed, facing left.[16] Because of the form of a turret, this image is widely identified as that of city goddess, Tyche.[17] There is no legend on the obverse. The reverse features a palm branch and an arrow (or a spear), and there is also an inscription in a square.[18] The interpretation of the inscription is not clear-cut.

Head proposes the following reading: ΑΤΟΥΣΙΕΩΝ Τ**.** ΠΡΟΣ Τ**.** ΚΑΠΡΟΝ (sic, the **.** being a dot apparently indicating a stop).[19] This reading indicates that the coin was struck in a city called *Atusia* (Ἀτουσία), located on the Little Zab (known to Greek sources as Κάπρος). This interpretation is essentially supported by Hill in the British Museum *Catalogue of Greeks of Arabia, Mesopotamia and Persia*, though with some modifications. First, Hill reports the alternative opinion of Robinson, who suggested that the reading of the first sigma (in ΑΤΟΥΣΙΕΩΝ) should be corrected to M or NI.[20] Furthermore, he also proposes that the Greek N in the word ΚΑΠΡΟΝ should actually start the inscription (therefore: ΝΑΤΟΥΝΙΕΩΝ) and not finish it (and as a result: what was considered as an omīcron in the word ΚΑΠΡΟ can merely be a dot functioning as a stop: ΚΑΠΡ•).[21] All in all, Hill catalogues the London specimen under "Assyria. Atusia (?), Atumia (?), or Natumia (?)", and gives the following reading of the inscription: ΝΑΤΟΥΝΙΕΩΝΤ• ΠΡΟΣΤ•/ ΚΑΠΡΟ.[22]

Robinson's suggestions included in the BM catalogue were followed by other scholars. Seyrig offers the following reading:
ΝΑΤ•ΥΝΙCΛΝΤ•ΠΡ•CΤ•ΚΑΠΡ• (• comes from Seyrig's paper and can apparently mean both an omīcron and an abbreviation sign).[23] In turn, Le Rider, who had a molding of the London specimen at his disposal, suggests the reading as follows: ΝΑΤΟΥΝΙΕΩΝΤ □ ΠΡΟΣΤ□ ΚΑΠΡ• (□ reproduces Le Rider's sign differently than •, □ apparently stands for illegible parts).[24] Lastly, Milik, relying on Robinson's remarks, reads the inscription in the following way: ΝΑΤΟΥΝ/ΙΕΩΝ Τ[ΩΝ]/ΠΡΟC ΤΩ/ΚΑΠΡΩ (both / and [] are taken from

[15] Hill 1922, 147 speaks of a bust of Tyche. It is true that, in addition to a head, Tyche's neck can be seen on the coin, but there are no shoulders visible. Therefore, we should rather speak of the head than of the bust of Tyche.

[16] Le Rider 1959–1960, 30. In Hill 1922, 147, the head of Tyche is described as facing left. However, according to Butcher 1991, 4, it is "facing right or left."

[17] Meyer 2006: 336–337. For the image of Tyche on Parthian coins, see also Sinisi 2008, 231–248.

[18] Hill 1922, 147.

[19] Head 1911, 817.

[20] See Hill 1922, CXVIII.

[21] See Hill 1922, CXVIII.

[22] Hill 1922, 147.

[23] Seyrig 1955, 104–105.

[24] Le Rider 1959–60, 30.

Milik's paper, the former stands for a line division, the latter reproduces Milik's renderings of what may have been abbreviations in the inscription).[25]

Attached below is a photograph of the London specimen (see plates 1–2). I confirm the reading suggested by Le Rider and Milik when it comes to the first, third and fourth lines (NATOYN, ΠΡΟC T•, KAΠP•). It should be noted, however, that the first line of the inscription is not entirely preserved – after NATOYN there are visible signs of another letter of which at least a vertical dash can now be reconstructed. More problematic is the second line of the inscription – it seems that a tentative reading of the following letters can suggested: I, E or C (sigma), A or W, N, T.

Two other epigraphic specimens come from a coin hoard discovered at the site of ancient Nisibis in 1955. The first item (16 mm diameter, 4.38 grams), known as Nisibis 6 (see plates 5–6), features a turreted and diademed head of Tyche facing right on the obverse, while the reverse presents a palm branch (tied at the tip by a bandelette/diadem), an arrow (or a spear), as well as an inscription.[26] Likewise, the second item (16 mm diameter, 2.96 grams), called Nisibis 7 (see plates 7–8), presents a turreted and diademed head of Tyche facing right on the obverse, and on the reverse a palm branch, a star and an inscription.[27] The following readings of the inscriptions on the two coins have been suggested:

Nisibis 6:

NI•YNIICΛI [28] (or NT•YNIIΩ CΛI)[29] by Seyrig

NT•YNIEΛI by Le Rider[30]

ANTOYNH/CAP[OKEPTΩN] by Milik[31]

Nisibis 7:

IAT•YNICCΛP•K by Seyrig[32]

IAT•YNICCΛP•KEP by Le Rider[33]

NATOYNIC/CAPO/KEP[TΩN] by Milik[34]

[25] Milik 1962, 51.

[26] Seyrig 1955, 88, 105; Butcher 1991, 4.

[27] Seyrig 1955, 88, 105.

[28] Seyrig 1955, 105. The last letter is only partly preserved, therefore a vertical dash (which might also seem to be a iōta) is most likely only a part of the full letter.

[29] Seyrig 1955, 88. The first letter is only partly preserved, see above my note n. 20.

[30] Le Rider 1959–60, 30.

[31] Milik 1962, 51

[32] Seyrig 1955, 88, 105;

[33] Le Rider 1959–60, 30. The last letter is only partly preserved, see above my notes 20–21.

[34] Milik 1962, 51.

Another epigraphic item in this group is said to have been bought in Beirut on behalf of the *Cabinet des Médailles*, and was first published by Le Rider in 1960 (5.28 grams, known as the Paris item since then). The obverse shows the turreted and diademed head of Tyche facing right, surrounded by a palm branch border to the left; the letter N is visible above the head.[35] The reverse presents a palm branch with a bandelette/diadem, as well as an arrow (or a spear) and an inscription.[36] Le Rider reads the inscription in the following way: NATOYNICΛPOKEPTΩN, and this reading is followed by Milik.[37]

In recent years two more specimens have been published.[38] In 1991 Kevin Butcher published a drawing of another inscribed specimen from a private collection in Turkey. Butcher's specimen features the turreted and diademed head of Tyche, facing right and surrounded by a palm branch border.[39] A letter (perhaps N) is visible behind the head. The reverse is obscured by corrosion, but part of the legend is still illegible: NΛTOVNICΛ[]PO []PΩN (square brackets in Butcher's paper apparently stand for illegible parts). Next, in 2011 a paper by H. Loeschner was published in the journal *Shekel*, in which the author gives a picture and transcription of another coin of this type (14–15 mm diameter, 2.4 grams).[40] The obverse presents the turreted and diademed head of Tyche facing right. On the reverse, there appear an arrow and a palm branch as well as an inscription; the author suggests the following reading: NATOVN(P)EΩN T(ΩN ΠPOΣ TON) KAΠPON. However, it should be noted that the resolution of the photograph is not very high, which makes it difficult to verify this reading. What is more, it seems that the author's interpretation is heavily indebted to Milik's reading of the London specimen.

In addition to the specimen already published in the *Catalogue of Greek Coins of Arabia, Mesopotamia and Persia*, the British Museum collection contains yet another specimen which belongs to this group of coins. It is described in the BM online collection database as "minted in Atumia (?)", with the registration number 1929,1108.1. The photograph is shown below (see plates 3–4).

The obverse presents a head facing left; it is definitely wearing a headdress, but due to erosion it is hard to specify any details. The reverse features a palm branch and an arrow (or a spear) and an inscription in a square. I suggest the

[35] According to Le Rider 1959–1960, 30: "bordure en arête de poisson."

[36] According to Le Rider, the coin was overstruck and one can still notice a contour of a head at the right angle of the palm.

[37] Milik 1962, 51.

[38] Yet another coin of this type is reported (non vidi, personal communication of an anonymous reviewer) to be on available at Coinarchives.com (in the restricted access part of the archive).

[39] Butcher 1991, 4.

[40] Loeschner 2011, 20–25.

following identification of letters:[41] the two most legible parts are to the right and below the image of palm branch and arrow: to the right one can read ATO, but this is preceded and followed by two other letters: the last seems to be N. Below the image four other letters are clearly visible – ICΛP – and this is the most legible part of the whole inscription. Above the palm branch and arrow is ΣIΛE. Some text before and after these four letters is worn out, and Σ and E are less visible than IΛ; the left side of the square is completely worn out.

How can we understand these partly preserved and frequently illegible inscriptions? As a matter of fact, we can distinguish two different identifications. First, scholars, especially on the basis of the London specimen, suggested that one can see a toponym in the word ATOYΣIEΩNT or NATOYNIEΩNT. The coins would then be the coinage of the city located on the Little Zab called Atusia (Head, Wissowa) or Natunia (especially starting with Milik, and nowadays followed by most scholars). There is, however, another option briefly put forward by Le Rider, who recognized that all specimens stored in Paris could also allow another reconstruction – *Natounisarokerta* (a construct grammatically similar to Tigranokerta).[42]

## Epigraphic and Literary Evidence

In this context, it is important to ask whether there is any parallel epigraphic or literary evidence which could help us understand our coin legends. It was J.T. Milik who first pointed to non-Greek names of Adiabene as possible parallels.[43] Indeed, our coins can be associated with Adiabene on geographical grounds – the legend of the London specimen contains the river name Kapros, widely identified as the Little Zab,[44] and the core of ancient Adiabene indeed occupied the river basin of the Zabs.[45] Therefore, Milik's idea seems to be a step in the right direction. In fact, there are three groups of sources relevant to our inquiry to which we now turn our attention – the trilingual inscription of Shapur I on the walls of the so-called Kaʿba-ye Zardosht near Naqsh-e Rostam, inscriptions from Hatra (esp. no. 21, but also nos. 113 and 114), and toponyms used for Adiabene in Armenian chronicles.

[41] Autopsy, June 26, 2012.

[42] Similarly tentatively Le Rider 1959–60, 31 and Cohen 2013, 101 (who speaks of "Natounia or Natounisarokerta"). Yet Le Rider 1959–60 also suggested that CAP (Nisibis 7) and EΛP (the Paris item) could be read as dates: 136 and 135 respectively. For this option, see Le Rider 1959–60, 31–32 and Butcher 1991, 4.

[43] Notice that these coins were previously attributed to Palmyra or Hatra on exclusively stylistic grounds. See Seyrig 1955, 107–108.

[44] Weissbach 1919, 1921; Hansman 1987, 277; Kessler 1999, 265; Bosworth 2002, 366.

[45] See Marciak 2011.

Adiabene is listed in the inscription of the Sasanian king, Shapur I, as part of his kingdom. Thanks to the trilingual nature of the inscription we can see how the Greek toponym, Ἀδιαβηνή, was rendered into the Parthian and Middle-Persian languages – these forms are *ntwšrkn* and *nwthštrkn* respectively[46]. There is no etymological connection between the Greek Adiabene on the one hand (which most likely goes back to the Aramaic Ḥadyaḇ) and the Iranian renderings on the other. At the same time, the Iranian renderings are clearly akin to each other. Therefore, Iranian writers chose another, linguistically nonrelated, form to express the Greek name (or, leaving aside the Greco-centered point of view, vice versa).

There have been several attempts to understand the meaning of the Iranian forms.[47] Milik sought to understand the Iranian forms in the light of his interpretation of the above-mentioned coin legends – he saw the toponym *Natunia*, the Iranian word *-sar* (meaning *country*, *people*), and the Iranian suffix *-ag-ān* in the disputed terms.[48] He consequently suggested the following translation: * *Ntû(n)-šar-* "peuple (et pays) des Natouniens."[49] However, the problem is that the toponym Natounia is otherwise unattested, its meaning is unknown, and Milik's interpretation is based mainly on one coin legend (out of four available at that time).

Next, J. Markwart and W.B. Henning saw a connection between the disputed terms and a personal name, Ardašir (belonging either to Ardašir I or to an otherwise unattested king of Adiabene bearing this name).[50] In their opinion, the disputed names contained an abbreviated form of this personal name (**nwtrthštrkn*).[51] The assumption that an abbreviation could have been used in an official and monumental inscription of Shapur I sounds very unlikely; one would instead expect the full form.[52]

Finally, some scholars specializing in Armenian studies suggested a connection between the Iranian renderings and the Armenian toponym, *Norširakan* (also attested as *Nor-Širakan* or *Noširakan*).[53] Yet the interpretation of the Armenian toponym *Norširakan*, especially its origin and territorial extent, should not be seen as clear-cut, due to the variety of its forms and the presence of other phonetically similar toponyms in Armenian sources,[54] Namely, the Armenian toponym,

[46] Huyse 1999a, 115; Huyse 1999b, 20.
[47] See Huyse 1999b, 20.
[48] Milik 1962, 57.
[49] Milik 1962, 57.
[50] Markwart 1931, 81–82; Henning 1954, 49.
[51] Henning 1954, 49.
[52] Maricq 1958, 304, n. 4; Huyse 1999b, 20.
[53] Hewsen 1992, 229; Garsoian 1989, 483–484
[54] For the sake of clarity, let us stress (in contrast to Hewsen 1992, 229 and Garsoian 1989, 483–484) that the term *Nor-Širakan* does not literally appear in the inscription of Shapur I. In the inscription we have Greek and Iranian forms and the latter are believed by some scholars to correspond to the Armenian toponym. Yet this link is an assumption that is yet to be proven.

especially in the form *Nor-Širakan* or *Norširakan*, is believed to literally mean *New Širakan*[55] and to have been coined after the district of *Širakan* located west of Lake Urmia (or, less likely, in connection to the northwestern Armenian district of *Širak*).[56] Thus, the suffix *Nor-* was added in order to distinguish two districts – *Nor-Širakan*,[57] and *Širakan*, west of Lake Urmia (both divided by the Zagros range).[58] The term *Širakan* itself (and *Širak* too) is in turn thought to be related to an ethnonym known from Greek and Latin sources: Σίρακες, and consequently to reflect the Scythian origin of this region.[59] How could Adiabene be named after the district *Širakan*? According to Hewsen, Adiabene (or part of it) could have been acquired by Armenia (under Artaxias I or Tigranes the Great) immediately after the conquest of *Širakan*, and consequently took its name from the chronologically previous acquisition.[60]

The above-mentioned 'classic' explanation of the connection between the Greek *Adiabene* and the Armenian toponym *Nor-Širakan* raises certain doubts. First of all, it is hardly understandable why a country like Adiabene which had its own rulers for centuries and (memories of) statehood traditions going back to ancient Assyria (see the connection between Assyria and Adiabene in Greek and Latin sources) could have been named after a small province like *Širakan*. Secondly, Adiabene is divided from *Širakan* by a massive physical barrier – the Zagros Mountains. Thirdly, there is no evidence that Adiabene and *Širakan* ever formed together one political entity or administrative district. Fourthly, nothing tangible can be said about the Scythian origin of Adiabene.[61]

Lastly, there is another piece of evidence in our search for understanding of the coin legends – inscriptions from Hatra.[62] The ruins of the temple of Baal

[55] Hewsen 1992, 229.

[56] Hewsen 1992, 229–230.

[57] Generally speaking, at some point in its Armenian history *Nor-Širakan* (*New-Širakan*) is believed to have been one of the Armenian *vitaxates*, that is "the Armenian border province" facing a non-Armenian country called *Nor-Širakan* itself. Thus, the very concept of the *vitaxas* implies that we in fact have two geopolitical entities bearing the same name – the Armenian border province (*Nor-Širakan*) and a country located outside Armenia's borders (*Nor-Širakan*). The former could occasionally include territories wrested from the latter. Armenian *Nor-Širakan* was the easternmost of the three border provinces of southern Armenia, and is mostly understood as facing part of Adiabene (or less frequently as facing Media). See Hübschmann 1904, 319–320; Adontz, Garsoian 1970, 175–178; Garsoian 1989, 483–484; Hewsen 1988–89, 271–319 (esp. 299–306).

[58] Toumanoff 1963, 163–166; Hewsen 1992, 229–230.

[59] Messina 1937, 234–244; Maricq 1958, 304–305, n. 4; Hewsen 1992, 230. For Σίρακες, see Olbrycht 1998, 133–136, 193–194 and Olbrycht 2001.

[60] Hewsen 1992, 230.

[61] This is the idea put forward by Herzfeld 1932, 41–42.

[62] See Beyer 1998.

Shaamin revealed many statues of worshipers completed with inscriptions, and one of them (no. 21) is most relevant to our inquiry[63]:

ʾtlw mlkʾ ntwnʾšryʾ

The word ʾtlw is clearly a personal name (according to Beyer, it should be reconstructed as ʾAṭīlū[64]) of a person entitled as a king (mlkʾ). Ntwnʾšryʾ is in turn a further designation of the person's background. This term was read as ntynʾ šryʾ by Caquot and Altheim/Stiehl,[65] but as ntwnʾšryʾ by Milik, Vattioni and Beyer, which seems to be a more likely option.[66] The same term appears twice more in Hatra inscriptions (nos. 113 and 114) with regard to two other donators: ʾAlkūd (or ʾAlkūr) and ʾUstānaq, who are also characterized as of ntwnʾšryʾ.[67] It is evident that this term functions as a geographical and/or ethnic characterization.

Milik's interpretation of the term *ntwnʾšryʾ* is clearly indebted to his reading of the coin legends discussed above: ʾtlw, king of the people (country) of Natounia. The problem with this reconstruction, to be emphasized again, is that such a toponym is not attested elsewhere and its meaning is unknown. Unlike Milik, several scholars – H.J.W. Drijvers, E. Lipinski and K. Beyer – understood *ntwn* not as a proper name but as a participle, and only ʾšr as a proper name.[68] Let us first give voice to Beyer, who is the author of the latest corpus of inscriptions from Hatra. His translation is as follows[69]:

"König aus/von (der Stadt) Natūnʾeššār (=Adiabene=DER-(GÖTTIN)-IS(S)AR ÜBERGEBENER$^{KANAAN}$. (oder: aus der Sippe des N.)."

Unlike Milik's interpretation, that of Beyer explains the meaning of the proper name. The only thing that may be problematic is that the reconstructed participle is suggested to be a Cananean type. This is controversial for obvious historical and geographical reasons – it suggests a West-Semitic form in the area always dominated by East-Semitic languages. Perhaps this proposal results from the popular opinion that the participle *qattūl* is absent in Aramaic. However, upon closer examination neither the participle *qattūl* nor the verb *ntn* is completely alien to archaic forms of Aramaic. The verb root *ntn*, though perhaps not so widespread as *yhb*, is

[63] Beyer 1998, 33.

[64] Beyer 1998, 33. But according to Altheim, Stiehl 1965, 227, n. 2 and Altheim, Stiehl 1967, 267 – Āṭal.

[65] Caquot 1952, 101; Altheim, Stiehl 1967, 264, who actually regard both readings as equally possible.

[66] Milik 1962, 52; Vattioni 1981, 31; Beyer 1998, 33.

[67] Beyer 1998, 54.

[68] H.J.W. Drijvers 1977: 824; Lipinski 1982, 119–120; Beyer 1998, 33.

[69] Beyer 1998, 33.

still attested in Old and Official Aramaic.[70] Above all, the participles *qattūl* and *qatūl* (both hard to distinguish from each other, as the second radical was not always doubled in cuneiform text and Greek inscriptions[71]) are well attested in the Aramaic onomasticon from Babylonia.[72] The form *qatūl* is less frequent than *qatīl*, but is still present: for instance, in first-millennium Mesopotamia the name Za-bi-ni was borne by 24 individuals, while the name Za-bu-nu was used by 12 individuals, and it is a typically Aramaic name.[73] In turn, *qattūl* is common in the Aramaic onomasticon from Babylonia, even to some extent replacing *qattīl*.[74] Thus, Milik's **Ntû(n)-šar*- "peuple (et pays) des Natouniens"[75] turns out to be *Nattūn-Iššar*, meaning "donné par Ištar."[76] This interpretation fits well with what we otherwise know about the great popularity of the cult of Ištar in both Assyria and Hellenistic-Parthian Adiabene.[77] Thus, the phrase in question should be understood as follows: nattūn is in fact an archaic-Aramaic participle, ʾšr is a proper name of the goddess Ištar,[78] and finally yʾ functions as a yud-gentilic.[79]

This solution works for the coin legends too. Namely, the suffix -κερτ is a typically Iranian element meaning "made, built," the omīcron functions as a common Greek conjugate and the term νατουνισ(σ)αρ is parallel to the Hatra inscription. In this manner, we can understand *Natounisarokerta* as a construct parallel to *Tigranokerta*.[80] Something that is highly interesting, but in a region that has for centuries featured multilingualism not unusual, is that the coins use the Greek script to express an Iranized version of a primarily Semitic name.[81]

[70] Hoftijzer, Jongeling 1995, 767; Koehler, Baumgartner 2001, 1935–1936.

[71] Zadok 1977, 127; Lipiński 1982, 119, n. 20.

[72] Zadok 1977, 127–130, 135–136.

[73] Zadok 1977, 127–128.

[74] Zadok 1977, 135–136.

[75] Milik 1962, 57.

[76] Lipinski 1982, 119.

[77] For Ištar in Assyria, see Lambert 2004: 35–39; Nevling Porter 2004: 41–44. For the Parthian sarcophagus from Kilizu likely bearing the image of Ištar, see Furlani 1934, 40; Tubach 1986, 321, nn. 321–323, esp. n. 323; Invernizzi 2009.

[78] H.J.W. Drijvers 1977: 824 had a similar idea – ntwn as a participle and ʾšr as a proper name of Assur. It should be noted, however, that the Hatrene consonant used in Hatra inscription no. 21 is equivalent to the Aramaic šin, and the name of Assur is spelled in Hatra with the Hatrene equivalent of the Aramaic śin. See Beyer 1998: 128 (Assur) and 145, 152 (Ištar).

[79] Marciak 2012, 176.

[80] According to *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae* (online edition), toponyms ending with the suffix –kerta are very rare in Greek texts: besides Tigranokerta, only a few examples can be quoted: Ἀρκσίκερτα, Δαδόκερτα, Καρκαθιόκερτα (*Vologasocerta* known from Pliny should also be quoted in this context). And yet, examples for toponyms based on ατουσια or ατουνια do not occur at all in *TLG*.

[81] The same phenomenon can be observed in Charakene, where the Semitic (e.g. Abinerglos) and Iranian names (e.g. Hyspaosines) of its kings were inscribed on the coinage in Greek letters. See Schuol 2000.

Things seem to be a little more complicated with the Iranian renderings used in Shapur I's inscription. However, the lack of an *n* in the Parthian *ntwšrkn* could perhaps be explained by the assimilation of the *n* into a double *š*.[82] If this is correct, then the Parthian and Middle-Persian names used in Shapur I's inscription are directly connected to the Hatrene *ntwnʾšr*. It is less clear whether the Armenian forms (*Nor-Širakan*, *Norširakan* and *Noširakan*) are connected with the Hatrene *ntwnʾšr* and the Iranian *ntwšrkn* and *nwthštrkn*. The presence of *r* instead of *t* in *Norširakan* could perhaps be understood as a phonetic change: t > r, as in Bagarat for Bagadat.[83] Another problem is that the Armenian *nor-* means "new." Possibly it should not be understood as an originally independent lexeme (*nor*), but as an integral part of the fuller name (*noršir*). This would mean that Armenian chroniclers in fact used a malformation of the original name which they no longer understood in its original context. It may be the case that similar names known to Armenian speakers, such as *Širakan* (which sounded similar), could have contributed to this malformation.[84] What we have here may perhaps be a result of *Volksetymologie*. Though these suggestions are purely speculative, it still seems more likely to assume that the malformed name of *ntwnʾšr* > *nwthštrkn* > *norštrkn* became *norširakan* through 'a phonetic collision' with a similar Armenian name than due to geopolitical changes like Tigranes the Great's conquest of Širakan and Adiabene.[85]

To summarize, it appears that most items of the coinage under examination allow us to identify the toponym in the legends as *Natunisarokerta* (and not as *Natounia*). What is more, the meaning of this toponym is to be understood in the light of the Hatra inscription no. 21: built (*ker*) by [in the sense: on behalf of the kingdom of] Adiabene (Adiabene = *natunissar*, "given by Ishtar," being another Semitic name for Adiabene). The toponym Natounisarokerta itself proclaims the origin and consequently the political affiliation of the city to [the country] of *Natounisar* (Adiabene). Furthermore, the legends contain "a distinguishing epithet"[86]: on the Kapros, which, in this case, specifies the geographical location of the mint city. Therefore, there could be little doubt that this coinage was struck within the range of political authority of the kingdom of Adiabene. At the same

[82] Personal communication, Ran Zadok, 20.01.2012.

[83] Personal communication, Ran Zadok, 11.02.2012.

[84] See a similar situation between two Armenian lands bearing similar names – *Klariet'i* or *Kłarjk'*, bordering on the Caucasus Mts., and Xorjēn, located on the frontier of Sophene and Great Armenia. The former land is known to Greek sources as Χορζηνή and Χολαρζηνή, and the latter as Χορζανή and Χορζιανηνή. The near homonymy may be a sheer coincidence, but it is also possible that the forms influenced each other in Greek authors or their copyists. See Toumanoff 1963, 442, n. 22.

[85] Like in Hewsen 1992, 230.

[86] Hill 1922: CXVIII.

time, the fact that there is no other political symbolism (like portraits of rulers) suggests that we have to make do here with local city coinage, sometimes labeled as "autonomous bronze" [87] coinage (in contrast to the coins bearing the images of rulers of Adiabene). Because at least two items come from the Nisibis hoard (whose closure date is 32/31 BCE[88]), we can also understand its immediate historical context: the coins belong to the 1st half of the 1st BCE and the beginning of the second half of 1st BCE.[89]

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[87] Head 1911, 817.

[88] Seyrig 1955, 100–104; Raschke 1978, 828.The date for the deposing of the Nisibis hoard (32/31 BCE) corresponds well with the internal crisis of the Parthian Empire (to which Adiabene certainly belonged): after 36 BCE a number of Parthian nobles, with the Media Atropatene nobility in the forefront, rebelled against Phraates IV. The interregnum in Edessa in ca. 35/34 BCE and perhaps also the exile of the Adiabene king, Artaxares (known to us from *Res Gestae* 32 (*Monumentum Ancyranum* 17.32), belong to this context. See Olbrycht 2013, 16.

[89] According to Hoover 2009, 163, its production may be understood in the context of the 3rd Mithridatic War (that is between 74 or 73 and 63 BCE), when **Adiabene was occupied** first by Parthian forces and then by Roman troops sent to expel the Parthians. What is more, the production of large numbers of bronze coins was intended for facilitating local trade, especially with the purpose of making change for Roman denarii and Parthian drachms. However, this is not a very accurate picture (see Plutarch, *Pompey* 36). First, Parthian forces occupied Gordyene and only this action provoked the Roman response. The Romans are said to have expelled the Parthians from Gordyene (and not from Adiabene!) as far as Arbelitis (μέρχι τῆς Ἀρβηλίτιδος), which, taken literally, means that the Romans did not enter Adiabene (likewise Kahrstaedt 1950, 60 and Wolski 1993, 126). Furthermore, generally speaking, Adiabene was within the sphere of Parthian power starting from the reign of Mithradates II (122–91 BCE), and this fact makes it problematic to see the presence of Parthian troops in Adiabene as an act of occupation per se. Lastly, the use of Roman denarii is not documented in this area at all in the first century BCE.

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## Abstract

This paper examines local bronze coinage attributed to Adiabene (frequently and *wrongly* labeled as "Natounia coins"). It provides the first ever analysis of another item stored in the British Museum (including photographs). The paper rejects Milik's identification of the ethnonym *Natunia* in coin legends, and instead suggests the following toponym: *Natunisarokerta* (as tentatively suggested by Le Rider). The meaning of this toponym is to be understood in the light of the Hatra inscription no. 21: built (*ker*) by [in the sense: on behalf of the kingdom of] Adiabene (Adiabene = *natunissar*, "given by Ishtar", being another Semitic name for Adiabene).

**Plate 1 (obverse of coin no. 1 from the British Museum, © Trustees of the British Museum)**

**Plate 2 (reverse of coin no. 1 from the British Museum, © Trustees of the British Museum)**

**Plate 3 (obverse of the British Museum item no. 1929,1108.1, © Trustees of the British Museum)**

**Plate 4 (reverse of the British Museum item no. 1929,1108.1, © Trustees of the British Museum)**

**Plate 5 (obverse of the Nisibis coin no. 6, after Le Rider 1959–1960, pl. III)**

**Plate 6 (reverse of the Nisibis coin no. 6, after Le Rider 1959–1960, pl. III)**

**Plate 7 (obverse of the Nisibis coin no. 7, after Le Rider 1959–1960, pl. III)**

**Plate 8 (reverse of the Nisibis coin no. 7, after Le Rider 1959–1960, pl. III)**

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# THE PARADE HATCHET-*KLEVETS* FROM OLD NISA (A CONTRIBUTION TO THE STUDY OF THE COMBAT HATCHETS AND THEIR CULT IN ANCIENT CENTRAL EURASIA)[1]

**Keywords:** Parthia, Old Nisa, picks-*klevetses*, combat hatchet worship, Central Eurasia, Sakas, Indo-Sakas, Yüeh-chih/Tochari, Kushans, Mithradates II of Parthia

In 1946–1967, a Soviet archaeological team under the title of the Southern Turkmenistan Archaeological Complex Expedition (IuTAKE) conducted regular excavations at the Parthian fortified site known nowadays as Old Nisa which is located near Ashkhabad in Southern Turkmenistan (ancient Northern Parthyena). One of the participants of the first four seasons of work there (1946–1949) was Vadim Mikhailovich Masson (1929–2010), then a very young man,[2] who eventually became an outstanding world-famous archaeologist. Subsequently, in 1982–1986, he returned to Old Nisa as the head of field explorations that were

[1] This article was written within the framework of the research project (no. NN108205640) financed by the National Science Centre, Kraków (Poland), entitled "Warfare in Parthian Iran (247 BC – 224 AD)" and led by M.J. Olbrycht. I gratefully acknowledge the insightful comments by anonymous reviewers on an earlier version of the manuscript.

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[2] See Masson V. 2009; Pilipko 2001, 415.

carried out by a joint expedition composed of specialists from the Leningrad Branch of the Institute of Archaeology of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR and from the IuTAKE. Being his post-graduate student who began archaeological activities in western Central Asia[3] at Old Nisa (in 1984) and defended under his supervision a PhD thesis entitled *Armament and Warfare in Parthia* (in 1988), I devote this article to the memory of Academician V.M. Masson, and would like to express my deep gratitude for the knowledge which he imparted to me concerning the remote history of Central Asia and Iran.

In the course of the excavations at Old Nisa it was established that the fortress that bore in ancient times the name "Fortress of Mithradates" (Parth. Mithradatkirt) had been constructed no later than in the first half of the 2nd century BC and was in existence as a dynastic cultic centre of the Arsacids until the 1st century AD[4] (Fig. 1, *1*). As a result of the IuTAKE excavations, researchers have gathered significant data which sheds light on various aspects of the history and culture of Parthia. In particular, several interesting buildings were revealed, one of which is the so-called "Big Square House" (BSH) situated within the northern complex of the site[5] (Fig. 1, *2*). It contained works of art and household articles and so was most plausibly something like a treasure-house, the finds from which were, for the most part at least, either trophies brought there as a consequence of the Parthian kings' victorious military campaigns or diplomatic gifts.

[3] In the present article I use two broad geographical designations – "Central Asia" and "Central Eurasia". As regards the former, I follow its definition of P.B. Golden who considers it to be composed of the two main areas, viz. western and eastern. Here is exactly what he writes on this matter, proceeding from the current realities: "Today, western Central Asia, overwhelmingly Muslim, consists of the newly independent states of the former Soviet Union: Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, and Tajikistan, historically called «Western Turkestan»… Muslim Central Asia also includes Xinjiang (also called «Eastern Turkestan») in China, with its indigenous Uighur and other Turko-Muslim populations. Today, much of the region between the Amu Darya River and Xinjiang, once largely Iranian-speaking, is Turkic in language, a linguistic shift that has been in progress for 1500 years, creating a «Turko-Persian» cultural world. Southward, Afghanistan, tied to its northern neighbors by ethnicity and language, is a microcosm of this mix. Eastern Central Asia, largely Buddhist, comprises Mongolia, divided today into the Republic of Mongolia, the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region of China, and Manchuria. Tibet, linguistically distinct from Central Asia, has, at various times, played a critical role in Central Asian affairs" (Golden 2011, 1–2).

As for the second, wider, appellation, "Central Eurasia", I prefer to follow its definition proposed by the Center for Central Eurasian Studies at Seoul National University (South Korea): "Rather than «Central Asia» or «Inner Asia», we employ the broad term Central Eurasia, as it brings the East European steppes together with their Asian counterparts. Despite the diversity in languages and modern divisions caused by state boundaries, there is an urgent need to focus on the intensive interconnections within this area in terms of history, geography, and culture… Thus «Central Eurasia» encompasses most of the inland areas of the continent from Manchuria to Turkey, including the northern frontier zones of China, Mongolia, the former Soviet republics, Southern Siberia, Afghanistan, Iran, Iraq, Turkey, Ukraine, and Eastern Europe" (see at: http://cces.snu.ac.kr/eng/sub3/sub3_2_1.html).

[4] Pilipko 2001.

[5] Pilipko 2001, 145–163, 313–333.

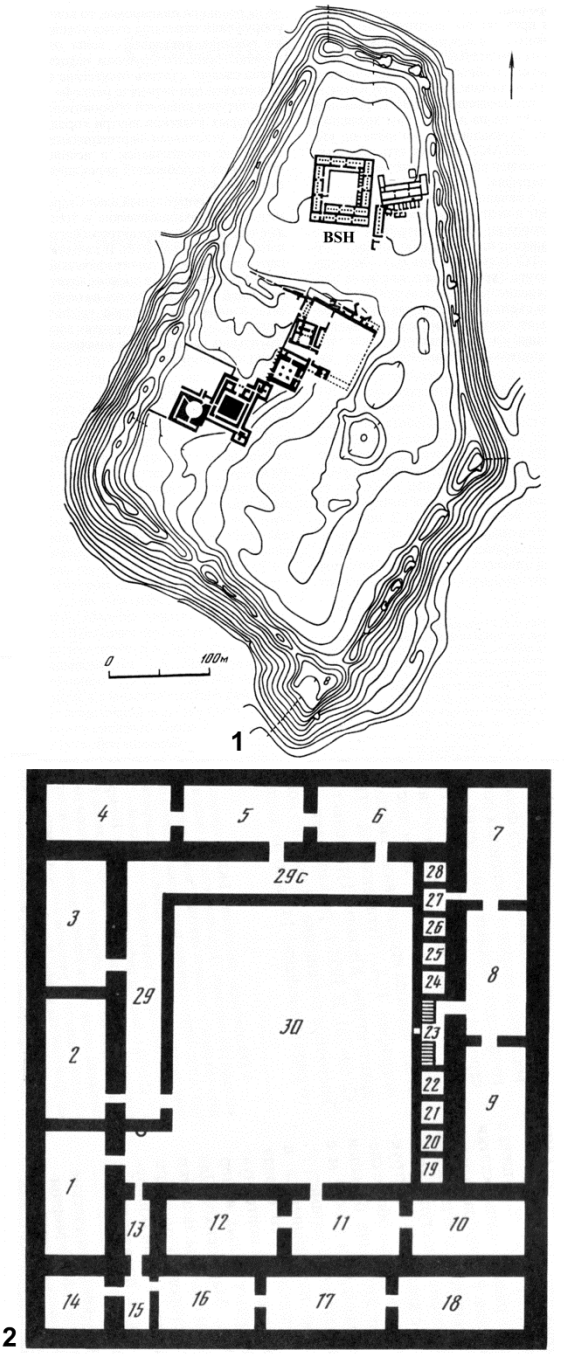


**Figure 1. Old Nisa: *1* – map of the site (BSH = Big Square House/"Treasure-house"); *2* – plan of BSH with a numeration of rooms (not to scale) [after Pilipko 2001].**


**Figure 2.** *1–3* – Parade pick-*klevets* from the room 1 of the "Treasure-house" (not to scale) [*1* – photo received by courtesy of Alexander B. Nikitin; *2, 3* – after Koshelenko 1977].

Among them, of special interest is the socketed hatchet made of partially gilt silver, which was discovered in the room 1 in 1950[6] (Fig. 2, *1–3*). Being probably composed of several different elements, it has the following dimensions: the total length of the percussive part (warhead) is 25 cm, including 3.5 cm of the butt; the cylindrical socket (with an outer diameter of 1.4 cm) and the pommel are together 11 cm long. The flat blade provided with two points is given a fanciful curved shape, it being embellished from below with a curlicue in the form of two crescents and an eight-petal rosette; two more, but six-petal, rosettes are welded to the blade (one to each side) nearer to the socket. The butt is straight and rectangular in cross-section, its end is in the form of a truncated profiled pyramid. Similarly executed is the beginning component of the blade, between which and the six-petal rosettes there is the well visible seam that may have appeared owing to a breakage of the weapon in this very spot and its subsequent repair. The socket portion below the warhead has something resembling an incrustation adornment and small protrusions triangular in cross-section (designed as means of suspension from a waist-belt?). The socket is crowned with the pommel formed as a horizontal disc combined with a vertical cupola-like knob.[7]

This find belongs to the general class of combat hatchets – hafted bladed weapons of percussion action consisting of two kinds different from each other by their blade shapes: 1) properly battleaxes with flat blades broadening from shafts; 2) picks with narrow pointed blades of various cross-sections. Inside of this class the Nisean hatchet is to be placed in the latter kind, a whole construction of which included two parts. The first one presented a bipartite warhead (*boevaia chast'*/*boëk* in Russian) produced of bronze or iron in the form of a straight or curved pointed blade (*klinok*) and a shorter, variously shaped, butt/hammer (*obukh*) (Fig. 3, *4–8, 13–33*). As a rule, warheads of battle-size picks, including their butts, were 18 to 30 cm long on average.[8] The second part was a wooden shaft (*rukoiat'*/*toporishche*), 60–80 cm in length, on which the warhead was hafted through a shaft-hole (*proukh*) broken through it or a metal socket (*vtulka*)[9] fixed to it, both with an inner diameter of 2–4 cm.

[6] Masson M. 1955a, 212–213; Pilipko 2001, 163; 2006, 271.

[7] The fullest description and comprehensive analysis of this object is given in Invernizzi 1999, 129–135, tav. H, *a*, *b*. See also Koshelenko 1977, 122, ils. 52, 53; Pilipko/Koshelenko 1985, 220, pl. LXXVIII, *B*; Pilipko 2001, 318, fig. 227; 2006, 263–264, 270–271, figs. 11, 12, *1*; Nikonorov 1997, vol. 2, 10–11, fig. 25, *c*.

[8] All the average dimensions of picks, viz. lengths of warheads and shafts as well as diameters of shaft-holes and sockets, are adduced on the basis of the published archaeological data (see n. 16 below). The picks whose warheads were less than 18 cm long may be considered as votive models, not weapons (see Kocheev 1988, 147).

[9] Some scholars have urged to avoid the term *proukh* and replace it by the one *vtulka*, see Korenevskii 1974, 14; Kuz'minykh 1983, 135. Such an idea seems to be not so fruitful because these words quite clearly designate two methods of shaft-hafting.

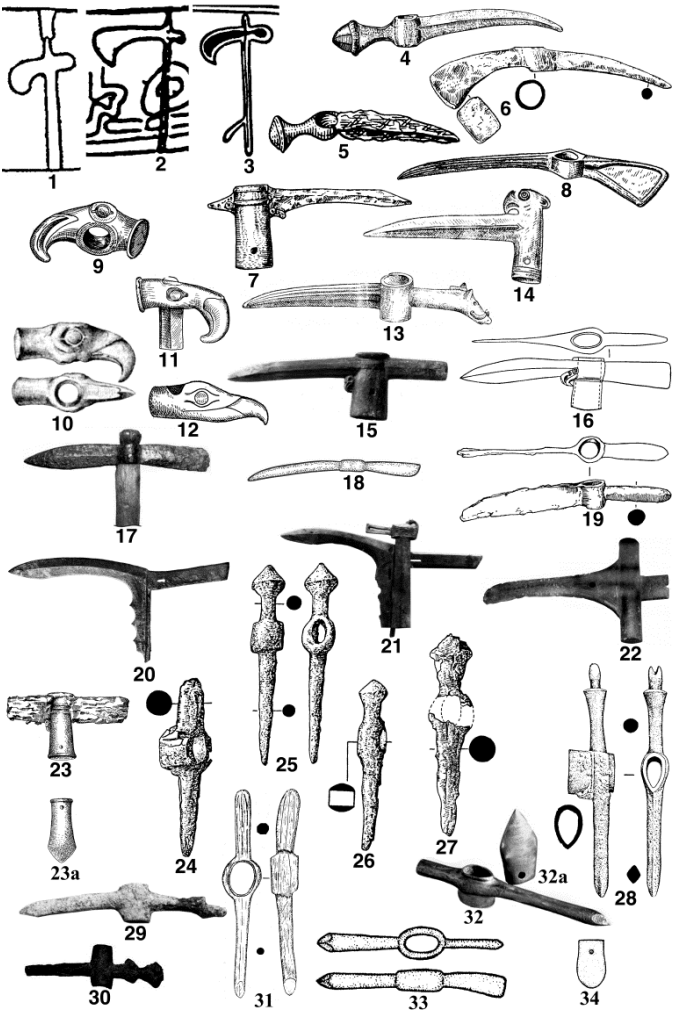


**Figure 3 (not to scale).** *1–3* – pictures of hatchets from the Northern Caucasian area [after Ol'khovskii 2005]; *4–7* – *klevetses* from the Northern Caucasus [after Kozenkova 1995]; *8* – *klevets* from the Taman' Peninsula [after Meliukova 1964]; *9–12* – miniature scepter-heads from the Northern Pontic area [after Il'inskaia 1965 (*9, 11, 12*) and Iatsenko 1959 (*10*)]; *13–15* – *klevetses* from the Volga-Kama region [after Zbrueva 1952 (*13, 14*) and Nefëdov 1899 (*15*)]; *16* – *klevets* from the Minusinsk Territory [after Chlenova 1967]; *17* – *klevets* from the Russian Altai [after Solov'ëv 2003]; *18* – miniature *klevets* from the Middle Yenisei region [after Khudiakov (forthcoming)]; *19* – *klevets* from Deve Hüyük [after Moorey 1975]; *20–22* – Chinese *klevetses* (*ge*) [after Loehr 1956 (*20*) and Peers 1995 (*21, 22*)]; *23–23a* – pick and its capping from the Lower Syr Darya region [after Vishnevskaia 1973]; *24–27* – *chekans* from the Eastern Pamir [after Litvinskii 2001b]; *28* – *chekan* from Persepolis (Southern Iran) [after Schmidt 1957]; *29* – *chekan* from Gilan (Northern Iran) [after Potts 2012]; *30* – miniature *chekan* from Hotan [after Stein 1928]; *31* – *chekan* from the Russian Altai [after Kocheev 1999]; *32–32a* – chekan and its capping from the Kazakh Altai [after Samashev/Ermolaeva/Kushch 2008]; *33, 34* – *chekan* and capping from Mongolia [after Khudiakov/Erdene-Ochir 2011].

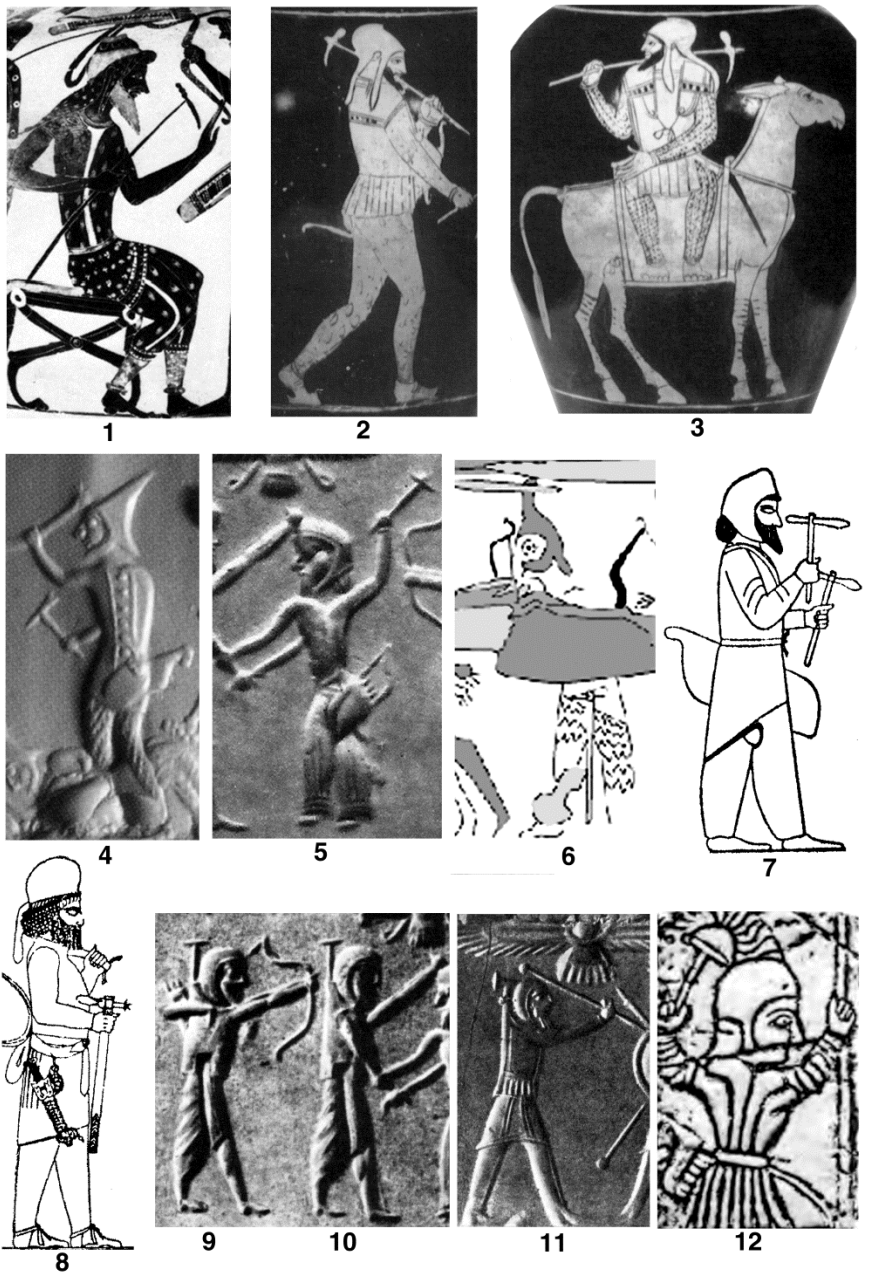


**Figure 4.** *1* – Attic black-figure amphora [after Ivantchik 2006]; *2, 3* – Attic red-figure *oinochoe* [after Sekunda 1992]; *4, 5* – Achaemenid seals [after Summerer 2007]; *6* – painted beam from Phrygia [after Summerer 2007]; *7, 8* – reliefs at Persepolis [after Trümpelmann 1990]; *9–11* – Achaemenid seals [after Nikulina 1994, ills. 537, 539]; *12* – gold plaque from the Treasure of the Oxus [after Dalton 1905].

The shaft's lower end was often, but not necessarily always, provided with a metal capping (*vtok*) intended for strengthening the shaft from cracking) (Fig. 3, *23a, 32a, 34*). Blows could be delivered both by the blade and by the butt: the latter had a variously shaped end (blunt, roundish, cone-like, bifurcated) fitting to stun and contuse like a hammer and mace (another function of the butt was that of counter-weight to strengthen a blow by the blade). The narrow pointed blades of picks were designed to make accented penetrative stabs over a small area. Owing to that these arms had proved to be efficient and comfortable for hand-to-hand combat combining their high capacity to pierce through protective equipment with their small dimensions and weight so as to be wielded by one hand. And what is more, taking into account their relatively short shafts, they were well appropriate for mounted warfare – the primary style of combat in the midst of the ancient Eurasian nomads.[10] Both archaeological[11] and pictorial[12] (Fig. 4, *6*, 8, *1*; cf. 8, *4*) materials are indicative of the fact that picks were worn suspended from the waist-belt through a special single strap.

M.P. Griaznov, the prominent Russian expert in Siberian archaeology, has long ago proposed to make a distinction between two varieties within the kind of picks – *chekans* and *klevetses*. According to his definition, "the *chekan* is a weapon with a straight blade, the *klevets* – with a curved, beak-like, one".[13] De-

[10] On the other hand, for foot soldiers the length of picks could even reach about 100 cm to make their fighting against horsemen easier (Khudiakov/Erdene-Ochir 2011, 133).

[11] Kocheev 1988, 151, fig. 5, *2*; Khudiakov/Erdene-Ochir 2011, 134.

[12] Schmidt 1953, 119, pls. 80–81/no. 22; Summerer 2007, 19, 20, figs. I–II and VII. Such a method of suspending picks is evidenced by both the real and iconographic data for the ancient nomads of Central Eurasia. Persian soldiers of the Achaemenid era were represented keeping their picks in special sheaths carried behind the back (Nikulina 1994, ills. 536, 537, 539; Head 1992, figs. 14, 32, *h*; Summerer 2007, fig. 3; Bittner 1987, Taf. 15, *3*) (Fig. 4, *9–11*), albeit the nomadic method could be used by some of them too.

[13] Griaznov 1956, 39. See also the usage of the term *klevets* in some Russian-language publications dealing with the medieval weaponry, where, in particular, it is thought to denote the war hammer whose "one end… was normally forged with a spike of different length to pierce mail armour, sometimes being somewhat bent downwards like a bird's beak" (Lents 1908, 49). Similar explanations are in Kulinskii 2007, 20: the *klevets* is "a percussion-action weapon, the warhead of which consists both of a beak-like spike… and of a small hammer… or axe"; Shokarev 2008, 72: it is "a percussion-action weapon provided with a short shaft, the faceted and narrow blade of which bears a resemblance to a bird's beak"; Iugrinov 2010, 30: "Under the definition «klevets» we will understand the arm of shock-crushing type on the handle, whose warhead consisting of a beak-like blade and sometimes a butt". Cf. Astvatsaturian 2002, 188: "One end [of the Turkish pick-*djokan*] was forged in the form of a pointed tetrahedral wedge, somewhat bent down; … the end resembles a bird's beak, and so in Russia this weapon was called *klevets*". If one turns to the works in other European languages, which have treated the European and Asian armament of Late Medieval and Early Modern times, the hatchet more or less similar to the *klevets*-type arms is generally named there in English "war hammer" (Demmin 1911, 437/nos. 8–10, 13; Laking 1920, 87–89, figs. 871–873; 1921, 331–332, fig. 1396; Stone 1934, 278–279, figs. 348, 349; Oakeshott 2000, 70–71, figs. 17, 18; Waldman 2005, 161–163,

spite some objections raised,[14] I prefer to follow this definition, especially as in Russian the noun *klevets* traces back to the verb *klevat'*, i.e. "to beat with a beak (*kliuv*)", the last word meaning in the Russian dialects both the beak proper and point (*ostrië*).[15] The military term *klevets* implies exactly a more or less downwards curved blade resembling the beak of a bird of prey, which allows it to easily rend and tear its catch. It is the definition proposed by Griaznov that overcomes the terminological confusion still existing in the Russian-language literature devoted to the striking-action weaponry, where the terms *chekan* and *klevets* are either used as synonyms or entirely mixed up. Thus, proceeding from this definition, the hatchet from Old Nisa must be regarded as a *klevets.*

It should be pointed out as well that some part of the *klevetses* known today, including the Nisean one, had their blades flattened, one- or two-edged, in cross-section (Fig. 3, *4, 5, 7, 14, 16, 17, 19–22*). In terms of their fighting functionality these arms differ from both the *klevetses* with non-flattened blades (Fig. 3, *6, 8, 13, 15, 18*) and the *chekans* whose blades were mostly faceted or round (Fig. 3, *24–33*) and only sometimes flattened (Fig. 3, *23*). If the former could simultaneously thrust and cut, the latter could solely thrust.

Among the peoples of Central Eurasia the picks were in use mostly during the Scythian epoch (8th – 3rd centuries BC).[16] In some lands this kind of weaponry remained in use much later – for instance, in Southern Siberia until the 1st century BC at least[17] and in Central Asia even until the early 1st millennium AD.

figs. 132, 133; DeVries/Smith 2007, 188–189, 285) and – more specifically, repeating in fact the Persian term *zaghnol* to signify the hatchet-*klevets*, – "crowbill/crow's beak" (Egerton 1880, 23, 115, pls. I, *33*, X, *471*; Irvine 1903, 80; Elgood 2004, 267/s.v. Zāghnal/zāghnol; Paul 2006, 97–99; Pant 1989, 95–97 [*jaghnol*]); in French "marteau à bec" (Egorov/Titov 2010, 156–157, fig. 61, *3*); in German "Streithammer/Fausthammer/Reiterhammer" (Boeheim 1890, 363–367, Figs. 431–433). In Polish this weapon is called "nadziak", it being especially remarkable that the noted Polish historian and memorialist, Jędrzej Kitowicz (1727/8–1804), subdivided the hatchets that were habitually carried by members of the Polish noble class (*szlachta*) into three kinds, in accordance with their blade forms: *nadziak* (with a beak-like one), *czekan* (with a small axe-like one) and *obuch* (with a bagel-like one, but it was also a common term for all the three kinds) (Kitowicz 1883, 112–113). In Turkish the *klevets*-type pick is termed *djokan* (Astvatsaturian 2002, 188, 334/s.v. *chekan*).

[14] Kuz'minykh 1983, 135.

[15] Dal' 1905, 287; Chernykh 1999, 399–400.

[16] See, e.g. Zbrueva 1952, 104–107; Illins'ka 1961, 34–36; Meliukova 1964, 67–68; Chlenova 1967, 25–39; Martynov 1979, 49–52; Kuz'minykh 1983, 135–143; Litvinskii 1984, 46–48; 2001b, 418–424; s.a.; Kocheev 1988; Novgorodova 1989, 192, 193, 263, 268, 273–275, 278, 285, 297, 298, 301, 305, 316, 323, 330, 335–339; Kurochkin/Subbotin 1992; Nikonorov 1992; Gorelik 1993, 53–57; Kozenkova 1995, 75–76; Khudiakov/Erdene-Ochir 2011, 109, 131–134; Potts 2012.

[17] True, in the Middle Yenisei steppe area and the Altai their finds from burials of that period are met, with rare exceptions, in the form of small votive objects made of bronze and wood (Pshenitsyna 1992, 231, pl. 93, *57*; Kocheev 1999, 75; Gorbunov/Tishkin 2006, 83, figs. 7, *1*; 8), and so they were designed for rituals, not for warfare. And although there is an opinion based on experimental investi-

However, by then, the picks almost completely lost their fighting significance and played mainly the role of ceremonial objects, including that of symbols of power (see below).

In light of the available archaeological evidence the picks uncovered in Central Eurasia are overwhelmingly straight-bladed *chekans*, their finds numbering hundreds for sure. In full contrast to them, those of curve-bladed *klevetses* are very few: in addition to the Nisean hatchet, I have been able to search out data on no more than a dozen and a half of what may be termed *klevetses*, which were found within the territory under review. So, four *klevetses*, three shaft-holed and one socketed, belonging to the 7th/6th – 5th centuries BC came from sites of the Koban culture in the Northern Caucasus: one of bronze, provided with a two-edged blade and a faceted cone-shaped butt, from the Eshkakon gorge[18] (Fig. 3, *4*); another hatchet, similar in design to the aforementioned, with two-edged blade and roundish butt made supposedly of iron and bronze respectively, has been poorly published, including no information about its definite provenance[19] (Fig. 3, *5*); one more iron *klevets*, with a beak-shaped blade round in cross-section and a long massive butt, from Tomb VIII of the Karras burial ground[20] (Fig. 3, *6*); a bi-metallic weapon, with an iron two-edged blade and a short pointed bronze butt, from the Perkal'skii burial ground near Pyatigorsk[21] (Fig. 3, *7*). By the way, noteworthy is the fact that something showing a superficial resemblance to *klevetses* can be seen in the figures of hatchets on three of the so-called "deer stones" that had been erected within the same, Northern Caucasian, area in the 8th – 7th centuries BC, viz. on the steles from Kyzburun, the stanitsa of Ust'-Labinskaya and the khutor of Zubovskii (Fig. 3, *1–3*, 8, *1–3*). True, there are certain doubts that they all (or some of them) are the earliest representations of genuine *klevetses* because of both their very schematic outlines executed by ancient artists and some divergences of principle in their reproductions given in various scholarly publications.[22] As already supposed, the pictures of these arms could copy some of the battleaxes manufactured by the bearers of the Koban culture.[23]

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gations that lessened metallic versions of battle-size picks were able to seriously harm a human or animal (see Martynov 1979, 51–52), their serious militant use looks more than doubtful.

[18] Kozenkova 1995, 75, 76/tabl. 22, no. 8, pl. XX, *6*.

[19] Kozenkova 1989, 262, pl. 101/B, *9*.

[20] Kozenkova 1995, 75, 76/tabl. 22, no. 4, pl. XX, *7*.

[21] Kozenkova 1995, 75, 76/tabl. 22, no. 6, pl. XX, *4*.

[22] See on these deer stones in general and on the hatchets pictured on them in particular, as well as compare their depictions in Chlenova 1984, 8–17, 24, figs. 1, 2, *b*, 3, 4, *v*, 5, *2*, 8, *1–3*; Ol'khovskii 1990, figs. 1, *1*, 2, 3, *8*; 2005, 31–35, ills. 18–22, 33, *1*, 35, *8*; Savinov 1994, 51–53, 111, pl. X, *1–3*; Erlikh 2005, 154, 155, fig. 6.

[23] Chlenova 1984, 24; Savinov 1994, 111. But cf. Ol'khovskii 2005, 61, where such an identification is contested with respect to the hatchets on the Ust'-Labinskaya and Zubovskii steles.

Let us turn now to the real finds of *klevetses* from other regions of Central Eurasia. A bronze shaft-holed pick of this kind, with a grooved blade, was excavated in a grave placed ca. 600 BC near the modern Tsukur Liman on the Taman' Peninsula[24] (Fig. 3, *8*). Besides that, in the Northern Black Sea area a unique group of four miniature bronze heads was found, three shaft-holed and one socketed, produced in the 6th – 4th centuries BC and shaped into birds' heads with curved beaks[25] (Fig. 3, *9–12*). They have correctly been interpreted as ritual wands/scepters owned by high-ranking dignitaries of the Pontic Scythian society. Their pictorial analogy in the form of a long shaft hafted on with a beak-like head is held by an old man who seems to be Scythian by his appearance and garments, portrayed on an Attic black-figure amphora of ca. 500 BC kept in Florence[26] (Fig. 4, *1*). Irrespective of what role this personage plays in the depicted scene, he had obviously been imaged by a Greek painter in the guise of a grandee among the Scythians. In this connection, one must recollect πολλοί σκηπτοῦχοι ("many scepter-bearers") mentioned in the late 3rd century BC decree in honour of Protogenes from Olbia (IOSPE, $I^2$, no. 32/A, l. 42), who were probably the clan elders of the Saii nomadic people, in all likelihood Sarmatian by origin, led by the king Saitapharnes, as well as *sceptuchi* (i.e. a Latinized form of the above Greek word) – the rulers of the Sarmatians, so termed by the Roman historian Tacitus when describing the events of the year AD 35 in Transcaucasia (*Ann*. 6.33.2). However, by their designs the aforesaid Scythian wands differ from the known Sarmatian scepters (on the latter see below). The former were apparently intended solely for prestigious purposes, and, what is more, their origin was hardly bound up with any real, battle-size, "bird-headed" *klevetses* of the same period, especially as such arms have not been revealed yet not only in the Northern Black Sea area, but also anywhere else. In other words, these scepters cannot be attributed to any intentionally reduced *klevets*-like weaponry. Most likely, they go back to the "bird-headed" hatchets-verges which, according to the available archaeological data, had appeared in South-Eastern Europe during the Late Bronze Age and existed, at least in Middle Europe and the Northern Caucasus, until the early Scythian era.[27] Therefore, the attribution of the group of the Scythian miniature "bird-headed" scepters to the *klevets* kind appears rather conditional.

No less than five socketed *klevetses*, four made of bronze and one of iron, were uncovered at sites of the Ananyino culture in the Volga-Kama region. As a

[24] Prushevskaia 1917, 53–56, fig. 11; llins'ka 1961, 35, fig. 5, *6*; Meliukova 1964, 68, pl. 21, *2*; Vakhtina 1993, 52–53, fig. 1, *1*.

[25] Il'inskaia 1965, 208–211, fig. 3, *4–7*; Illins'ka 1961, 43–47, fig. 11, *5–7*; Meliukova 1964, 68, pl. 21, *27, 28*; Iatsenko 1959, 43, 63, pl. III, *3*.

[26] Lissarrague 1990, 112, fig. 63, cat. A 69; Ivantchik 2006, 227–230, fig. 11.

[27] See on them Il'inskaia 1965, 206–208; Erlikh 1990; 2005.

whole they have to be dated to the late 6th – 5th centuries BC.[28] A list of the bronze picks is as follows: one brought to light near the town of Yelabuga in Tatarstan – with a faceted blade and a butt shaped into a boar's head[29] (Fig. 3, *13*); one reported to have been found somewhere in the Urals – with a two-edged blade, it being quite unique among the other *klevetses* because it does not have any butt and its socket's top is formed like an eagle's head[30] (Fig. 3, *14*); one of unknown provenance kept in the Perm Regional Museum – with a two-edged blade;[31] one from the burial ground of Relka in P'ianyi Bor (Tatarstan) – with a faceted blade[32] (Fig. 3, *15*). The iron *klevets* whose blade is round in cross-section was discovered near the site of Kara-Abyz in Bashkiria.[33]

It is important to note here that the chronology of another *klevets*, with a bimetallic warhead, from the same region (it came from the village of Tayaba in Chuvashia), which was primarily established within the limits of the early Ananyino culture,[34] should be now revised, on the basis of analyzing its production technology, ornamentation and metal composition, in favour of a serious redating – perhaps, even up to the Middle Ages.[35]

Two iron *klevetses* were revealed in Southern Siberia, both dated to the 4th century BC. They have slightly curved dagger-shaped blades and oblong butts. One of them, socketed, is said to have been found somewhere in the Minusinsk Territory and seems to belong to the Tagar culture[36] (Fig. 3, *16*). The other, shaft-holed, was excavated in a Pazyryk-culture grave of the Tashanta-1 burial ground in the Mountainous Altai[37] (Fig. 3, *17*). One more Southern Siberian curve-bladed pick, shaft-holed, its blade being round in cross-section, produced of bronze as a small votive copy of a battle-size weapon was uncovered in a burial of the 2nd or 1st century BC in the Middle Yenisei steppe area[38] (Fig. 3, *18*).

To the *klevets* group of picks must be attributed as well an iron shaft-holed hatchet provided with a flat blade from Deve Hüyük in Northern Syria[39] (Fig. 3, *19*). Going back stratigraphically to the 5th century BC, it seems to have

[28] Kuz'minykh 1983, 138.

[29] Zbrueva 1952, 107, pl. XXII, *3*; Kuz'minykh 1983, 141, fig. 75/KCh-24, pl. LVI, *14*.

[30] Zbrueva 1952, 107, pl. XXII, *9*; Kuz'minykh 1983, 142, fig. 75/KCh-28.

[31] Kuz'minykh 1983, 139, fig. 75/KCh-4, pl. LVI, *2* (but note that its figure representation and text description differ from its plate representation, where it is shown as straight-bladed).

[32] Nefëdov 1899, 51, 62, pl. 14, *1*; Zbrueva 1952, 106, pl. XXII, *5*; Kuz'minykh 1983, 140, fig. 75/KCh-16, pl. LVI, *1*.

[33] Akhmerov 1959, 159, fig. 5, *b*; Kuz'minykh 1983, 140–141, fig. 75/KCh-18, pl. LVI, *6*.

[34] Khalikov 1977, 179, fig. 68, *5*.

[35] Kuz'minykh 2003.

[36] Chlenova 1967, 37–38, 240, pl. 11, *20*.

[37] Solov'ëv 2003, 57, fig. 8.

[38] Khudiakov (forthcoming).

[39] Moorey 1975, 114, fig. 3, *7*; 1980, 67, fig. 10, *220*; Trümpelmann 1990, 84, Abb. 5; Head 1992, fig. 16, *f*.

been brought there together with a Persian occupation contingent. In this connection, of great interest are Persian warriors holding what may well be identified as picks-*klevetses*, who are depicted on Athenian red-figure pottery – a small wine-jug (*oinochoe*) dated to ca. 470 BC from the British Museum (Fig. 4, *2–3*) and an amphora made ca. 460 BC from the Berlin State Museums.[40] At the present moment, I do not know any earlier representations of *klevetses* in ancient art than these. According to P.R.S. Moorey's opinion, the Cimmerians and early Scythians from the Northern Pontic area were the first to bring such weapons to the Near East.[41] However that may be, the appearance and proliferation of picks (both *chekans* and *klevetses*) in the Persian martial equipment of the Achaemenid era was plausibly due to the impact of the Iranian-speaking nomads from Central Eurasia, viz. the Sakas and Massagetae (see below).

The above, not numerous, collection of the *klevetses* (it is, of course, hardly complete, but sufficiently representative all the same) testifies to the fact that this variety of picks was not, unlike the *chekans*, widespread in ancient Central Eurasia. Were the *klevetses*, the earliest specimens of which seem to have come into existence in the 7th century BC, products of the modification of the *chekans* invented before them, or did the former appear in the area under review from another source? The first supposition looks quite possible with respect to the *klevetses* whose blades were non-flattened in cross-section (Fig. 3, *6, 8, 13, 15, 18*) like those of the majority of *chekans*. The same can be said about the origin of the hatchets from Old Nisa and Deve Hüyük (Fig. 3, *19*), both having the flat blades, which I am inclined to bind up with the nomadic world of Central Asia (see below), where *chekans* with flat blades had already been used (Fig. 3, *23*) long before these arms were made.

The emergence of the *klevetses* with the two-edged, dagger-like, blades (Fig. 3, *4, 5, 7, 14, 16, 17*) could have been connected with China, where the use of picks with such blades was a very old tradition. Although the very idea of the dagger-like blades was seemingly borrowed in ancient China from the outside, in particular from Siberia and the Ordos,[42] it is the Chinese, to all appearances, who were the first to adapt them to a new kind of striking-action arms called *ge* (their denomination in modern literature is "dagger-axes"). These weapons produced overwhelmingly of bronze enabled thrusting and cutting blows. They had been invented as early as the Shang/Yin dynasty epoch (c. 1600–1046 BC.) and continued to be in use under the Zhou/Chou, Qin and Han

[40] The *oinochoe*: Sekunda 1992, 52; Curtis/Tallis 2005, 239, fig. 65; Miller 2011, 149, figs. 20–21; Wozniak 2011, 84; the amphora: Hansen/Wieczorek/Tellenbach 2009, 87, 292/Kat. Nr. 110. Cf. the left-hand Amazon (outfitted perhaps like a Persian) on a vessel of the second half of the 5th century BC from the Archaeological Museum in Munich (Wozniak 2011, 85).

[41] Moorey 1975, 114; 1980, 67; 1985, 27.

[42] Vasil'ev 1976, 271–273.

dynasties (i.e. up to the early 3rd century AD).[43] It is noteworthy that some of such arms, which are known at least for the periods of Zhou/Chou (c. 1046–256 BC) and Han (206 BC – AD 220), were provided with beak-shaped blades[44] (Fig. 3, *20–22*). It goes without saying that one can talk, then, about some influence exerted from China upon the blade forms of certain Central Eurasian *klevetses*. Nevertheless, it should be borne in mind that there were serious differences between them and the Chinese *ge* in methods of hafting their warheads on shafts (many of the former were hafted through a shaft-hole or socket, while the latter – through a tang) and of putting their tops and butts into shape. Besides, the Chinese dagger-axes were hafted not only on short, but also on long shafts, frequently in combination with a spearhead (*mao*) to form weapons termed *ji* that resembled halberds.[45] These long-shaft combined arms were suitable for infantrymen to fight against both chariots and cavalry, and those provided with curved blades could be used as well like gaffs to pull the enemies off their horses or vehicles to the ground.

Such are my preliminary conclusions concerning the origins of the Central Eurasian picks-*klevetses*. Doubtless, this problem deserves to be much more elaborated in the future on the basis of studying a wider corpus of various pieces of the available evidence.

It should be emphasized that among all the other *klevetses* referred to above the Nisean weapon occupies a particular place as the separate type at all, because of its unique two-pointed flat blade capable of delivering cutting blows with a concave edge formed between the two points. Such blows, similar to those by the sickle, could cause serious damage to the enemies' bodies and limbs, as well as to their armour. Surprisingly, this unique object discovered more than 60 years ago has rarely attracted the attention of experts in the field of Iranian archaeology, ancient art and warfare. Mikhail E. Masson (the father of V.M. Masson), the first chief of the IuTAKE, has given the earliest short notices of the discovery of this *klevets* and termed it *tabar zaghnol* (translated from Persian as "axe-crow's beak").[46] Indeed, it would be a quite appropriate denomination, but with one exception: in Persian the term *tabar zaghnol* means a combined double-bladed weapon consisting of the beak-like blade and a small axe on the butt's place, while a pick like the Nisean one should be more accurately called *zaghnol*, i.e. a weapon provided with the crow's beak-like blade and some kind of non-axe butt.[47]. Such *zaghnol*-type picks were used in India and Persia since the 16th century AD at the latest and afterwards.

[43] Loehr 1956, 49–64; Varenov 1981; Komissarov 1981; Kozhanov 1981; Hong 1992.

[44] Loehr 1956, 53, 55, 60, 165–167/cat. no. 79, fig. 45, *7, 8, 14*, pl. XXXII; Hong 1992, figs. 133, 136, 215, 288; Komissarov 1981, fig. 1, *8*; Kozhanov 1981, fig. 3, *a*; Peers 1995, 5, 12.

[45] Hong 1992, figs. 144–146.

[46] Masson M. 1955a, 212–213; 1955b, 33; Masson M./Pugachenkova 1959, 20–21.

[47] See Egerton 1880, 23, 115, pls. I, *33, 34*, X, *471*; Irvine 1903, 80; Pant 1989, 95–97, figs. 154, 156; Paul 2006, 97–99; Nosov 2011, 12–13/nos. 33, 34, 264–265.


**Figure 5.** *1, 2* – elephant goads found in Taxila [after Marshall 1951]; *3* – elephant goad from Aï Khanoum [after Francfort 1984]; *4* – gilt-silver phalera from the State Hermitage collection [after Adamova et al. 2007]; *5–7* – coins of the Kushan kings Kanishka I (*5*) and Huvishka (*6*, *7*) [after Göbl 1984]; *8* – medallion of Huvishka [after Göbl 1984]; *9* – part of the combat relief at Tang-i Sarvak [after Gall 1990]; *10* – graffito from Dura-Europos [after Rostovtzeff 1932].


**Figure 6.** *1–5* – Nisean hatchet (*1*) and its "analogies" (*2–5*) [after Pilipko 2006]: *2* – drawing of a "hatchet" on the Delphic coin published by O. Mørkholm (see Fig. 6, *6*); *3, 4* – axes from Luristan; *5* – axe (standard?) from Brili; *6–8* – Apollo's images on Delphic coins [after Mørkholm 1991 (*6*) and Kinns 1983 (*7, 8*) respectively]; *9* – Roman marble statue of Apollo Citharoedus from the Villa of Cassius in Tivoli, now in the Vatican Museums [after Roccos 2002].

G.A. Koshelenko, speaking very briefly of the find from Old Nisa in his popular scientific book on the monuments of Parthian art from Turkmenistan, has expressed the opinion that its prototype was the Saka iron battle hatchet.[48]

By now, the most detailed study of the artifact in question has been conducted by A. Invernizzi who devotes considerable attention to it in his monograph on the metal sculptures from Old Nisa.[49] He has examined very carefully its decor and design and arrived at a conclusion that this ceremonial hatchet could have been produced in Old Nisa or in some other center of Parthia, at any rate in the Graeco-Iranian cultural milieu of Central Asia, in the 2nd century BC. Alternatively, he has assumed that it could have been manufactured outside of the Parthian realm and had reached the place of its finding as a gift or booty.[50] It is interesting that A. Invernizzi, when analyzing the functional assignment of the Nisean object, compares it with the elephant-managing goads termed *aṅkuśa* in Sanskrit[51], which were widespread in ancient and medieval India, where war elephants formed a very important armed force.[52] Surely, we should agree with him that the result of such a comparison cannot be in favour of any resemblance between them, except a superficial one. Here I would like to add some more arguments apropos of this. All of the available real and pictorial pieces of evidence dated to antique times and coming from the Indo-Iranian borderlands show the elephant goads as the combination of a pointed rod and a sharpened curved hook, but without any butt. Among them there are three iron finds – two were excavated at Taxila in the Punjab[53] (Fig. 5, *1, 2*) and one at the Graeco-Bactrian city of Aï Khanoum in North-Eastern Afghanistan[54] (Fig. 5, *3*). Besides, the elephant goads of the same design are clearly visible on two gilt-silver phaleras with representations of war elephants and their crews, which had supposedly been produced in Greek Bactria, subsequently found themselves in Siberia and are kept now at the State Hermitage Museum in St. Petersburg[55] (Fig. 5, *4*). Such implements are seen as well on the obverse of coins minted by the Kushan kings Kanishka I (ca. AD 127–150) and Huvishka (ca. AD 150–188): the former is shown standing before an altar with an *aṅkuśa* in his right hand[56]

[48] Koshelenko 1977, 122.

[49] Invernizzi 1999, 129–138.

[50] Invernizzi 1999, 138.

[51] Invernizzi 1999, 137–138.

[52] On this tool in India see Pant 1989, 93–95, figs. 251–258; Elgood 2004, 21–28; Nosov 2011, 340–341.

[53] Marshall 1951, 551, pl. 170, *u, v*/nos. 101, 102 (their dates are in the 3rd –2nd century BC and in the 1st century BC – 1st century AD respectively).

[54] Francfort 1984, 68–69, pls. 25, XXXI/n° 6 (its date is in the 3rd – 2nd century BC).

[55] Adamova et al. 2007, 303–305/cat. nos. 349–350; Bannikov 2012, 224–228.

[56] Rosenfield 1967, 56–57, 61–63, pls. II, *33, 34, 36–38*, III, *41, 42, 46–55, 57–59*; Göbl 1984, Taf. 4–9, 11–15, 23, *305A*, VI, *137*.

(Fig. 5, *5*), and the latter – both as a bust portrait (in most cases) and as a rider on an elephant, grasping the same tool in the left hand[57] (Fig. 5, *6, 7*). In addition, Huvishka appears once again as riding an elephant on a bronze Kushan medallion (lost by now), but this time he holds a goad in his right hand[58] (Fig. 5, *8*). Therefore, the elephant goads certainly differ in design from the Nisean weapon that has a butt and yet lacks an elongated spike-shaped pommel, not to mention the basic difference between them in their paramount functional assignments: the former were implements to control elephants, whereas the latter – a weapon to strike blows in close combat.[59]

At last, the hatchet from Old Nisa has been not so long ago studied by V.N. Pilipko in his article concerning the weapons found at this site.[60] He sees its strong similarity to "axe-like arms" depicted on Greek pieces of the Amphictionic coinage minted in Delphi in the 330s BC and connects it typologically with bronze axes from Luristan (in Western Iran) and Brili (in Georgia). According to his conclusion, the Nisean weapon "should be regarded as the product of a Hellenistic or Hellenized environment. The latter is more preferable".[61] However, such a conclusion looks to be very ill-grounded. The adduced analogies from Luristan[62] (Fig. 6, *3, 4*) and Brili[63] (Fig. 6, *5*) can hardly pretend to any genetic connection with the Nisean *klevets* not only because of their more than doubtful resemblance in contours and designs of the warheads, but also due to considerable differences in their ages: if the *klevets* from Old Nisa has to be dated to the last quarter of the 2nd century BC at the latest (see below), the axes from Luristan were produced in the late 2nd millennium BC, and the axe (or standard?) from Brili belongs to the first half of the 2nd millennium BC. But the main weakness of V.N. Pilipko's thesis consists in his statement that the Nisean hatchet bears resemblance to the "axe" as if pictured on the above-mentioned Delphic coins[64]. Obviously, it is a mistaken interpretation of the subject on their reverse. The point is that there the god Apollo is shown sitting on an omphalos and hold-

[57] Rosenfield 1967, 56–57, 61–63, pls. II, *33, 34, 36–38*, III, *41, 42, 46–55, 57–59*; Göbl 1984, Taf. 4–9, 11–15, 23, *305A*, VI, *137*.

[58] Göbl 1984, Taf. 176, *20/1*.

[59] For these reasons I am not in agreement with B.A. Litvinskii (2001b, 424; s.a.) who attributed two iron elephant goads of the 3rd or 2nd century BC from Aï Khanoum (see Francfort 1984, 68–69, pls. 25, XXXI/nos 5, 6, and also my Fig. 5, *3*) to *klevets*-type arms. Indeed, such goads could be used by the mahouts in battle not only to manage their elephants, but also to fight the enemy soldiers attacking the beasts. Nevertheless, the last function was evidently no more than auxiliary.

[60] Pilipko 2006, 263–264, 270–271, 285/figs. 11–12; 2001, 318.

[61] Pilipko 2006, 263–264.

[62] Pilipko 2006, fig. 12, *3, 4*; see also Vanden Berghe 1992, 35, 74–75/cat. nos. 202–205.

[63] Lordkipanidze 1989, fig. 96; Pilipko 2006, fig. 12, *5*.

[64] Pilipko 2006, fig. 12, *2*.

ing a laurel frond in the left hand, while the elbow of the right hand is being leant on a cithara[65] (Fig. 6, *6–8*) – one of his most significant attributes[66] (Fig. 6, *9*). To all appearances, it is the protruding part of this musical instrument (formed by its crossbar and arm) that has been erroneously determined by V.N. Pilipko as the combat hatchet, in spite of the fact that its availability in the described iconographic context is evidently inappropriate.

Now, after the introductory information about the Nisean *klevets* and the historiography survey of its studies, I shall try to ground my own ideas in regard to such important questions as: from where, why and when did this object come to the "treasure-house" of Old Nisa? In addition, I have been able to find out only a couple of pieces of pictorial evidence concerning the presence of picks within what was formerly the Parthian empire. The better of them is a graffito from the so-called "Temple of the Palmyrene Gods" at Dura-Europos on the Euphrates, where a personage is represented sitting on a high chair or throne in front of an arch[67] (Fig. 5, *10*). His image is reproduced in a quite realistic and detailed manner: he is dressed in purely Iranian garments – a long caftan and trousers; his headgear is in the form of a segmented (?) helmet provided with horns or lifted cheek-pieces on its sides; he has a beard and moustache; there is a torque around his neck and a circle with a curled edging behind the head and neck – perhaps, the nimbus or hair-do (?); his weapons are a dagger thrust into the waist-belt and a hatchet with a small warhead hafted on a long shaft held in the right hand. The warhead of the latter, obviously ceremonial, weapon consists of a straight blade and a shorter axe-shaped butt: in other words, it looks like a pick-*chekan*. Its owner is undoubtedly a very high-ranking dignitary, plausibly even a monarch. He has been identified as a "deified Parthian king"[68] and as a Sasanian noble visitor.[69] At first sight, his Parthian identity looks more preferable at least formally: the fact is that Dura-Europos was possessed by the Parthians for a very long time – from the later 2nd century BC through the 160s AD, then it was seized by the Romans, and the Sasanian Persians took this fortress from them twice – in AD 253 for a short while and three years later to destroy it completely. However, we do not have any additional strong evidence concerning the hatchet being used as a symbol of royalty in Arsacid Iran, whereas some Medieval Arabic and Persian writings have preserved information that three Sasanian rulers – the king Shapur II (309–379) and the queens Buran-

[65] Mørkholm 1991, pl. XII, *204* (it is this coin that is cited by V.N. Pilipko for his interpretation); Kinns 1983, pls. 1–4; Kulishova 2001, 173, fig. 2.

[66] On the Greek cithara see in general Landels 1999, 47–68; Mathiesen Th. 1999, 258–269; on the images of Apollo Citharoedus in antique art – Roccos 2002.

[67] Cumont 1926a, 267–270, pl. XCIX, *2*; 1926b, 181–185, fig. 1; Rostovtzeff 1932, 193, 196, fig. 1; Goldman 1990, 18–22, fig. 2; 1999, 42, 43/cat. no. C. 6.

[68] Rostovtzeff 1932, 193.

[69] Goldman 1990, 20–22; 1999, 42.

dukht (630–631) and Azarmidukht (631–632) – were officially portrayed in their times as sitting on the throne with a hatchet in the hand.[70]

Another pertinent testimony comes from the combat relief (Monument D/III) at Tang-i Sarvak in eastern Khuzestan Province (South-Western Iran, ancient Elymais)[71] (Fig. 5, *9*), dated to ca. AD 200–225.[72] We see in its centre the protagonist outfitted as a fully armoured cavalryman (*cataphract*) and charging with a long heavy lance (*contus*). After him, in the upper left corner of the relief, there are two fighting infantrymen, one of whom, the second from the left, is shown holding a big stone above his head to throw it. Behind his legs horizontally situated is a hatchet-like weapon, whose short shaft ends with a small ring. Its warhead has a straight pointed blade (or butt?), whereas the opposite part is, unfortunately, not visible as a whole, being partially covered by the horseman's lance – because of that one cannot determine whether it is a *chekan* or battleaxe. The availability of the ring attached to the end of its shaft, which was obviously intended for suspending the weapon to the belt[73] or cavalry saddle, with its warhead downwards, testifies rather to the latter assumption, especially as *chekans* normally had cappings-*vtoks* (Fig. 3, *23a, 32a, 34*), not rings, put on their shafts and were carried with their warheads upwards (Figs. 4, *6*, 8, *14*; cf. 8, *1–3, 9*).

Are the representations of the picks from Dura-Europos and Tang-i Sarvak (?) sufficient to suppose the Parthian origin of the *klevets* found in Old Nisa? I do not think so, especially since these arms resemble rather *chekans*, not *klevetses*. There are more grounds to bind the Nisean hatchet up with the nomadic world of Central Asia. In this regard of great importance are some coin series of Spalirises and Azes I, the kings of the so-called Indo-Saka/Scythian realm (established by the Sakas coming to North-Western India from the steppe area between the Caspian sea and the Pamir and Tian Shan mountains),[74] who in the 1st century BC ruled over vast territories in the Punjab and the Indus valley. On these coins Spalirises is depicted walking[75] (Fig. 7, *1*) and Azes I sitting on a camel[76] (Fig. 7, *2–2a*), both holding a curve-bladed pick-*klevets*[77] in the hand.

[70] Mohl 1841, 262, 266; Sarre 1938, 595–596, n. 2.

[71] Henning 1952, 161–162, pl. XX; Gall 1990, 13–19, Abb. 1, Taf. 3–4; Mathiesen H. 1992, 132–133/cat. no. 9.

[72] Mathiesen H. 1992, 57–70.

[73] Henning 1952, 162.

[74] On the history of the Indo-Sakas see Puri 1994; Neelis 2007, 56–79; Fröhlich 2008, 14–47.

[75] Gardner 1886, 101/nos. 1–5, pl. XXII, *2*; Mitchiner 1978, 311/nos. 2169, 2170; Senior 2001, iss. 73; Fröhlich 2008, 92–93/sér. 1 = nos. 53–60, pl. 5; Nikonorov 1997, vol. 1, 53, vol. 2, 11, fig. 26, *b*.

[76] Gardner 1886, 88/nos. 178–180, pl. XIX, *9*, Mitchiner 1978, 323/nos. 2242, 2243; Senior 2001, iss. 81; Bopearachchi 2003, 20, fig. 1, *B*; Bopearachchi/Sachs 2003, 335, fig. 1; Fröhlich 2005, 71–72, fig. 10; 2008, 103/sér. 11 = nos. 149–155, pl. 11/sér. 11.

[77] Contrary to suggestions that this royal attribute could be an elephant goad or whip (Mitchiner 1978, 311, 323; Invernizzi 1999, 138), both the curvature of its blade and presence of a butt clearly testify that it is nothing but just the *klevets*.


**Figure 7.** *1* – coin of the Indo-Saka king Spalirises (after Gardner 1886); *2–2a* – coin of the Indo-Saka king Azes I [after Fröhlich 2005]; *3, 4* – coins of the anonymous Kushan ruler entitled "Soter Megas" [after Gardner 1886 and Bopearachchi 2006 respectively]; *5* – Kushan gem from the British Museum collection [after Bivar 1968]; *6* – fragment of a pick (?) from Dil'berjin [after Kruglikova 1986]; *7* – battle episode on the large bone plate from Orlat [drawing by A.M. Savin].

The employment of such a weapon among the Indo-Sakas is not a surprise, since in earlier times their nomadic ancestors from Central Asia did make use of picks. The Classical writers record the presence of a bronze hatchet (σάγαρις) in the armament of the Massagetae (Herodot. 1.215; Strabo 11.8.6) as well as of the Amyrgian Sakas (Herodot. 7.64). Although it remains uncertain what kind of hatchet is meant in these reports,[78] especially as various types of combat hatchets were found in Saka graves,[79] it seems to be quite warranted to interpret the term σάγαρις as a pick. This assumption looks plausible in view of the fact that the Achaemenid-epoch iconographic data depicting western Central Asian nomadic warriors armed with hatchets show nothing but picks in their hands (Fig. 4, *4–7*) (these representations will be taken up below).

The earliest find of a pick (*chekan*?) within the habitation area of the Saka tribes came from the barrow no. 84 of the Uygarak burial ground in the Syr Darya lower reaches. Its flattened blade (incompletely preserved) and butt were produced of iron, socket and capping – of bronze[80] (Fig. 3, *23–23a*). The angle between the socket and blade is decorated with a bronze head of a predatory bird. This weapon can be dated to the 7th century BC at the latest.[81] Several iron *chekans* were uncovered in funeral sites of the 5th – 3rd centuries BC left by the Sakas in the Eastern Pamir[82] (Fig. 3, *24–27*).

Additional information concerning Saka/Massagetan picks is provided from Achaemenid Iran. We first turn to pictorial data from Persepolis. On two reliefs on the northern and eastern staircases of the Apadana (first half of the 5th century BC) is the Delegation no. XVII – a tribute procession from somewhere in the north-east of the Persian empire. Its members are dressed in the so-called "Median" garments consisting of a long belted coat and trousers, which were very typical for the nomadic world of Central Asia. Some personages of this ethnic group (two on the northern side and one on the eastern) carry in their hands two *chekans* each as gifts to the Persian king[83] (Fig. 4, *7*). This procession has already been attributed by various scholars to Sogdians and/or Chorasmians and/or Central Asian Scythians (including even the kinsmen of the last nation who lived in

[78] See Potts 2012, 465–466. Besides, Herodotus (4.5; 70) applies the term σάγαρις to axes of the Scythians from the Northern Pontic area, who had a variety of weapons of this kind as well (Illins'ka 1961). Hesychius of Alexandria (s.v.) explains the word σάγαρις as a "one-bladed hatchet" (πελέκιον μονόστομον), but this brief description is not enough to imagine its design more or less detailed.

[79] Litvinskii 1984, 46, Abb. 10; 2001b, 418–420, pl. 83; Vishnevskaia 1973, 97–98, pl. XX, *1, 2*.

[80] Vishnevskaia 1973, 97–98, pl. XX, *1, 2*.

[81] See Kurochkin/Subbotin 1992, 59.

[82] Litvinskii 1984, 46, Abb. 10, *3–6*; 2001b, 418–419, pl. 83, *3, 4, 7, 8*.

[83] Schmidt 1953, 88–89, pl. 43; Walser 1966: 93–94, Taf. 24; Trümpelmann 1990, 88, Abb. 11 (but it should be kept in mind that there is a confusion in the numbering of the delegations nos. XI and XVII); Tourovets 2002, 245, 247, fig. 8, *1*; Potts 2012, 460, fig. 5.

Southern Siberia).[84] Indeed, the problem of its ethnic identification is very complicated. However, dealing with this matter, one should take into consideration the fact that in the Persian army of Xerxes advancing upon Greece in 480 BC the Amyrgian Sakas were the only Central Asian contingent equipped with the σάγαρις, while the Sogdians and Chorasmians were armed like the Bactrians (Herodot. 7.66), viz. with bows and spears (Herodot. 7.64). For this reason, I prefer to believe some tribe of the Sakas (in the broadest sense of this ethnonym) to form the Delegation no. XVII. In any case, the delegates of the procession in question are rather not the Amyrgian Sakas who, according to Herodotus (7.64), wore tall pointed headgears, unlike the former having different ones. It is unlikely that we would see the Massagetae on these reliefs, because this nomadic people were independent of the Persians. At the same time, the Sakas (or at least some part of them) were included as subjects in the 15th tax district of the Achaemenid empire (Herodot. 3.93) and so were forced to pay tributes to the Persian kings.

The same, Saka, ethnic attribution grounded on the same argument concerns the throne-bearer no. 22 on the doorway reliefs of the Council Hall at Persepolis, who has a *chekan* suspended to his belt by means of a Y-shaped strap.[85]

*Chekan*-armed combatants on foot, whose clothes and armament are similar to those on the above Persepolis reliefs, are represented as well on some other pieces of the illustrative evidence from the Achaemenid domains, such as cylinder seals[86] (Fig. 4, *4, 5*) and a painted beam from Phrygia[87] (Fig. 4, *6*). They may certainly be identified as Sakas or Massagetae.

In addition, two real *chekans* were found in Iran – one made of bronze in the Throne Hall at Persepolis[88] (Fig. 3, *28*) and the other of iron in Gilan[89] (Fig. 3, *29*). The former must have been either a Saka tribute just as the Apadana reliefs demonstrate to us or one of the royal military accessories held by the Persian king's weapon-bearers who are portrayed on reliefs in the Throne Hall and the Treasury at Persepolis[90] (Fig. 4, *8*). The pick from Gilan might have been brought to the south-western coast of the Caspian sea by a soldier of a detachment composed of Central Asian Sakas (otherwise also called Scythians in our sources) who were actively involved in military service for the Achaemenids (Herodot. 6.113; 7.64; 184; 8.113; 9.31; 71; Arr. *Anab*. 3.8.3; 11.4; 6; 13.3–4;

[84] See an overview of most of the opinions in Potts 2012, 466–467.

[85] Schmidt 1953, 119, pls. 80–81/no. 22 (this personage is assumed to be a Sogdian).

[86] Summerer 2007, figs. 2 and 3; Nikulina 1994, ill. 537; Curtis/Tallis 2005, 228–229/cat. no. 415; Head 1992, fig. 32, *h*.

[87] Summerer 2007, 19, 20, figs. I–II and VII.

[88] Schmidt 1957, 100, pl. 78, *1*, 79, *1*; Bittner 1987, Trümpelmann 1990, 84, Abb. 4; Head 1992, fig. 16, *e*; Curtis/Tallis 2005, 234/cat. no. 436; Potts 2012, 459–461, figs. 2 and 3.

[89] Potts 2012, 459, fig. 1.

[90] Schmidt 1953, 133–134, 165–166, pls. 98, 99, 121; Bittner 1987, 176–177, Taf. 25; Trümpelmann 1990, 83–84, Abb. 2–3; Head 1992, fig. 13, *b*, 16, *g*; Potts 2012, 460, 461, fig. 4.

19.3–4; Curt. 4.9.2; 13.5; 15.12–13; 18; Diod. 11.7.2; 17.59.5–6; 8).[91] Alternatively, it could have belonged to a native warrior. However that might be, the Persians and other peoples of Iran adopted picks most likely under the influence of the Sakas and Massagetae. The employment of such arms among the Persians appears to be visible on some Achaemenid seals, where these are put with their heads upwards into special sheaths along Persian pedestrian soldiers' backs[92] (Fig. 4, *9–11*). One more pertinent picture, which is engraved on a gold plaque from the Treasure of the Oxus discovered in Bactria, images a foot warrior clad in full armour consisting of a helmet, corselet, arm- and thigh-guards and equipped with a *chekan*, spear and bow-case[93] (Fig. 4, *12*). He has been recognized as a Saka[94] or a Persian or a Bactrian.[95] The main difficulty of this personage's ethnic attribution is his beardlessness, because in ancient art Iranians the were usually depicted bearded. Be this as it may, by his set of martial outfit I prefer to identify him as a Persian or a Bactrian in Achaemenid military service.

It is important to note that the pick-*chekan* was one of the favourite arms of the Achaemenid kings: this is vividly illustrated on the reliefs at Persepolis showing it in the hands of their weapon-bearers standing behind the throne during official ceremonies[96] (Fig. 4, *8*). Quite possibly, it is the picks that go into hiding under the term σάγαρις referred to more than once in the composition of the martial equipment of the Persians (Xen. *Anab*. 4.4.16; id. *Cyrop*. 1.2.9; 2.1.9; 16; 4.2.22; 8.8.23; Strabo 15.3.19).

The fact that the Saka and Massagetan military since olden times employed, along with straight-bladed *chekans*, curve-bladed *klevetses* too is well confirmed by two indirect yet reliable pieces of evidence. Firstly, as said above, Persian soldiers had already made use of the *klevetses* by ca. 470 BC at the latest (Fig. 4, *2, 3*), and they had hardly become acquainted with these arms from someone else than the nomads of Central Asia. Secondly, the *klevetses* are represented on the obverse of the above-mentioned coins of Spalirises and Azes I (Fig. 7, *1, 2–2a*) – the rulers from the Indo-Saka dynasty of Central Asian Saka origin, who reigned over the Punjab and the Indus valley in the 1st century BC. And, at the same time, one should bear in mind that this kind of picks had never existed in India before the arrival of the Sakas.

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[91] Concerning the Sakas in Persian military service see also Barkworth 1992, 151–153, 158, 159, 166; Head 1992, 48–49; Wozniak 2011, 78–79; Dandamayev 2012, 44–45.

[92] Nikulina 1994, ills. 536, 537, 539; Head 1992, figs. 14, 32, *h*; Summerer 2007, fig. 3; Bittner 1987, Taf. 15, *3*.

[93] Dalton 1905, 99, pl. XIV/cat. no. 84; Barnett 1968, 37, pl. II, *2* (*right*); Zeimal' 1979, 56/cat. no. 84; Gorelik 1982, 92, 95, 99, pl. I, *4*; Head 1992, fig. 32, *f*.

[94] Barnett 1968, 37; Head 1992, 47.

[95] Gorelik 1982, 92 (n. 10), 95 (Persian); Nikonorov 1997, vol. 1, 26–27 (Bactrian).

[96] See n. 90 above.

In the very beginning of the Common Era the anonymous Kushan monarch, who governed Bactria, the Punjab and the Kabul region and proudly entitled himself in Greek legends on his coins as ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΣΩΤΗΡ ΜΕΓΑΣ ("The king of kings, the great saviour"), issued numerous pieces, on the reverse (or obverse – this distinction depends upon the choice of individual numismatists) of which he is shown on horseback and holding a pick with massive butt and pommel in his outstretched right hand[97] (Fig. 7, *3, 4*). It should be noted that only a few of these coins show the weapon as a curve-bladed *klevets*[98] (Fig. 7, *3*), but it is unclear whether this feature is due to the coin field curve or not. The others, more numerous, reproduce it as a straight-bladed *chekan*[99] (Fig. 7, *4*). Of course, the small dimensions of the coins could hardly allow their engravers to reproduce the royal pick in its real form. Or, as another explanation, one may suppose that the king made use of both varieties of picks as his ceremonial attributes.

The anonymous king, who is considered to have been in fact "the first Kushāṇa king to rule an extensive hegemony both north and south of the Hindu Kush" and the "principal founder of the Kushāṇa empire in India",[100] recently has quite convincingly been interpreted as an usurper on the Kushan throne reigning in ca. AD 92/97–110.[101]

A close analogue to his coin representations is that on a Kushan gem of the 2nd century AD from the British Museum collection, which depicts a royal horse-rider wielding in his left hand a cross-like object[102] (Fig. 7, *5*). Judging by its outlines, it is most probably a pick-*chekan* provided with a crescent-like pommel.

A fragment of possibly a Kushan pick (?) head made of iron was uncovered in the so-called "Temple of the Dioscuri" at Dil'berjin (Northern Afghanistan)[103] (Fig. 7, *6*). Information about this item of armament given by the exca-

[97] On these coin series see Gardner 1886: 114–116/nos. 1–22, 26–27, pl. XXIV, *1–4*, *6*; Masson M. 1950, 18–25; MacDowall 1968, 29–33; Mitchiner 1978, 399–404/nos. 2915–2924, 2928–3002; Zeimal' 1983: 160–162, pls. 19–20; Narain 1997, 48–49. As in the case of the coins of the Indo-Saka rulers Spalirises and Azes I (see n. 77 above), sometimes this royal object has incorrectly been interpreted as an *aṅkuśa* (elephant goad) or whip (by P. Gardner, D.W. MacDowall, M. Mitchiner, A.K. Narain). M.E. Masson and E.V. Zeimal' have been undoubtedly right to consider it as a hatchet (in the former's terminology, it is a *tabar zaghnol*, see Masson M. 1950, 21–22; alike he has called the Nisean hatchet, see above).

[98] Gardner 1886: 116/nos. 27, pl. XXIV, *6*; Nikonorov 1997: vol. 1, 53, vol. 2, 14, fig. 37, *d*.

[99] Masson M. 1950, 21, ill. 2.

[100] MacDowall 1968, 48.

[101] Bopearachchi 2006; 2008.

[102] White 1964, 15, fig. 1; Rosenfield 1967, 101–102, pl. XVI, *seal 1*; Bivar 1968, pl. I, *4*; Nikonorov 1997, vol. 1, 53, vol. 2, 14, fig. 37, *e*.

[103] Kruglikova 1986, 74, fig. 52, *23*.

vation director, I.T. Kruglikova, is very scanty: it has been termed "a battle hatchet-*klevets*" and attributed to a type of the hatchets found in the Eastern Pamir (including the *chekan* at my Fig. 3, *27*). Of course, a poor state of preservation together with the evident insufficiency of the description and the inferior quality of reproduction in the publication do not allow any satisfactory conclusion concerning the original form of this weapon. Furthermore, the dating of its archaeological context (Period 4) within the reign of the Kushan emperor Vasudeva I (ca. AD 188–224) proposed by I.T. Kruglikova[104] seems to be in need of serious revision – up to the 7th – 8th century AD.[105] Nevertheless, the fragmentary warhead in question could be much older, being removed upwards from a lower, earlier, cultural layer belonging to Kushan times.[106] Indeed, such removals of artifacts from lower strata to upper ones and in the reverse direction were usual in the course of building activities at those ancient cities and settlements where architectural structures were erected of mud bricks and *pakhsa* blocks produced to construct new walls from soil and debris taken on the spot of previous buildings.

As in the case of the Indo-Sakas, the availability of picks in the Kushan milieu is also not surprising. The Kushans were one of the five divisions from among the nomadic Indo-European people called Great Yüeh-chih in the Chinese annals[107] and the Tochari in the Greek and Latin historical and geographical accounts,[108] which came from eastern Central Asia to take part in the rout of Greek Bactria in the last third of the 2nd century BC. As a result of that event the Great Yüeh-chih/Tochari had settled there, at first in the northern part of Bactria lying to the north of the Oxus (Amu Darya) river. Subsequently, they crossed the Oxus and occupied the whole country, and by the mid-1st century AD the Kushans subdued the other four Great Yüeh-chih/Tocharian divisions and established a powerful empire encompassing at its zenith, under the great king Kanishka I (first half of the 2nd century AD), the most extensive territories in Central and Southern Asia – from the Tarim Basin in the north to the Gangetic Plain in the south.[109] Like the Sakas, the Yüeh-chih/Tochari employed

[104] Kruglikova 1986, 75.

[105] See Fitzsimmons 1996.

[106] There are sufficient reasons to date the erection of the "Temple of the Dioscuri" in Dil'berjin from the 1st – 2nd century AD at the earliest (see Lo Muzio 1999, 44–50), i.e. within the Great Kushan period.

[107] Besides that, there are other modern forms of Latin-alphabet transliterations of this ethnic name in ancient Chinese, e.g. Yuezhi and Rouzhi.

[108] On the identity of the Yüeh-chih and the Tochari see Beckwith 2009, 380–383; Benjamin 2007, 186–187.

[109] The history of the Yüeh-chih nation has comprehensively been analyzed in Benjamin 2007; see also Kriukov 1988, 236–241; Narain 1990; Enoki/Koshelenko/Haidary 1994; Liu 2001; Neelis 2007, 79–91.

picks already before leaving their homeland for Bactria, not only using these weapons in combat, but also considering both them and their miniaturized copies as prestigious insignia of power. In particular, this is demonstrated by finds of *chekans*, including battle-size arms made of bronze and iron (Fig. 3, *31, 32*), and their smaller copies of bronze and miniature (votive) specimens of bronze, bone and wood, from burials of the Pazyryk culture (6th to 3rd centuries BC) in the Altai.[110] As has been suggested not without valid argument,[111] the Altai area in the 4th – 3rd centuries BC was part of a spacious kingdom established by the Yüeh-chih/Tochari, which must have included present-day Xinjiang (Chinese or Eastern Turkestan), Mongolia, the Chinese province of Gansu and the surrounding regions, flourishing up to the first half of the 2nd century BC, when it was defeated by the Hsiung-nu (Asiatic Huns). In addition, finds of bronze *chekans* dating from the Scythian epoch, including fragments of two small ceremonial ones, were found in the Hotan and Turfan oases (Xinjiang)[112] (Fig. 3, *30*). In light of the fact that in the later Scythian period the Tarim basin was probably under Yüeh-chih/Tocharian sway, these arms could be connected either with the Yüeh-chih/Tochari themselves or with the local population kindred or allied to them. The same can be said about Western Mongolia, where bronze and iron *chekans* were excavated as well as their bronze cappings that belonged to the bearers of the Chandman' culture (5th – 3rd centuries BC)[113] (Fig. 3, *33, 34*).

It is important to underline that during the Indo-Saka and Kushan periods the picks, serving as ceremonial objects and badges of authority in the midst of the nations of Central Asian origins, continued to be used by their military as real arms, though not on such a serious scale as formerly. There exists only one, yet quite interesting source, viz. the well-known battle scene that is engraved on the large bone plate from the barrow no. 2 of the Orlat burial ground in the Samarkand region (ancient Northern Sogdia). It is divided into four single combats between armoured knights, both on horseback and dismounted. One of the warriors, fighting on foot, is depicted piercing with his pick the helmet of a mounted opponent who is simultaneously transfixing the former with a sword[114] (Fig. 7, *7*). The pick penetrated with its blade into the head so deeply that there cannot be any idea what variety of this weapon kind might be represented – a *klevets* or *chekan*. All of the knights pictured on this plate must have belonged to the war-

[110] Kocheev 1988; 1999, 75–76; Samashev/Ermolaeva/Kushch 2008, 62.

[111] Kliashtornyi/Savinov 1998; 2005, 21–25.

[112] Stein 1928, vol. I, 99, 114, vol. III, pl. X, *Badr. 0115–0116*; Pogrebova/Raevskii 1988, 171–173, fig. 21; Gorelik 1995, 382–383; Khudiakov 1995, 11, fig. III, *2, 3*.

[113] Khudiakov/Erdene-Ochir 2011, 131–134; Novgorodova 1989, 263, 274–275.

[114] Pugachenkova 1987, 57; 1989, 150, fig. 71; Bernard/Abdullaev 1997, 80, fig. 2; Ilyasov/Rusanov 1998, 119, pls. IV, *1*, XIII; Nikonorov/Khudiakov 1999, 145, fig. 3, *4*.

like elite of the mighty and spacious K'ang-chü realm that united a number of nomadic and sedentary peoples and flourished in Central Asia under the supremacy of the nomads from the 2nd century BC through the late 3rd century AD.[115] G.A. Pugachenkova, the author of the first publications of this significant piece of ancient art, has ascribed a complex of the finds from the Orlat barrow no. 2 chiefly to the 2nd – 1st century BC.[116] However, the later dates proposed by other scholars, viz. the 1st – 2nd centuries AD[117] or even the 3rd century AD,[118] seem to be more argued.

The attitude of both the Indo-Sakas and Kushans towards their picks as symbols of power was in line with a long-standing tradition formed in the ancient nomadic milieu of Central Eurasia, with which these peoples were closely related, to revere the combat hatchets. In the basis of this reverence there was an idea shared by various nations inhabiting Eurasia from the earliest times onward that the axes were endowed with divine and magic forces.[119] Let us take up the available evidence. It consists for the most part of the finds of picks and battle-axes from burials. Since the fact itself of their placement into graves is a quite sufficient reason to presume them to have been buried with certain intentions of cultic and/or prestigious nature,[120] this category of our sources, including the arms that have already been touched upon (Fig. 3, *8–19, 23–33*), will not be particularly concentrated on below, with very few exceptions of importance (like in case of the Sarmatians). The main attention will be paid to pertinent pictorial and, if any, written data.

[115] See on the K'ang-chü state, the territory of which included "the region of the Tashkent oasis and part of the territory between the Amu Darya and Syr Darya rivers, with its heartland along the middle Syr Darya", in Zadneprovskiy 1994, 463–464. On the K'ang-chü historical and cultural background of the Orlat nomads see Pugachenkova 1987, 62–63, as well as Ilyasov/Rusanov 1998, 131, the former noting a similarity of their material culture to that of the Sarmatians, and the latter believing them to be descendants of the earlier Sakas. P. Bernard and K. Adullaev have supposedly attributed them to the Yüeh-chih (1997, 84). Just recently, A.N. Podushkin (2012) has very cautiously proposed that the large bone plate from the Orlat barrow no. 2 being probably a detail of a compound waist-belt produced by Hsiung-nu (Asiatic Hun) craftsmen possibly represents the Hsiung-nu warriors themselves who were involved in certain events taking place in Central Asia in the 1st century BC. However, this appears to be improbable because the fact that there depicted are the fully-armoured riders-*cataphracts*, one of whom is armed with the pick, contradicts all what we know about the warfare of the Asiatic Huns who never used either cavalry of such a kind or any combat hatchets (see Khudiakov 1986, 25–52; Nikonorov/Khudiakov 2004, 45–69). More likely, these K'ang-chü knights were of Eastern Iranian or Tocharian origin.

[116] Pugachenkova 1987, 62; 1989, 146, 148, 152.

[117] Ilyasov/Rusanov 1998, 123–130; Ilyasov 2003, 274–299; Maslov 1999.

[118] Litvinskii 2001a, 150–155; 2002, 195–201.

[119] See Darkevich 1961.

[120] See, e.g. on the semantics of weaponry in the burial rites by the example of the Pontic Scythians in Bessonova 1984.

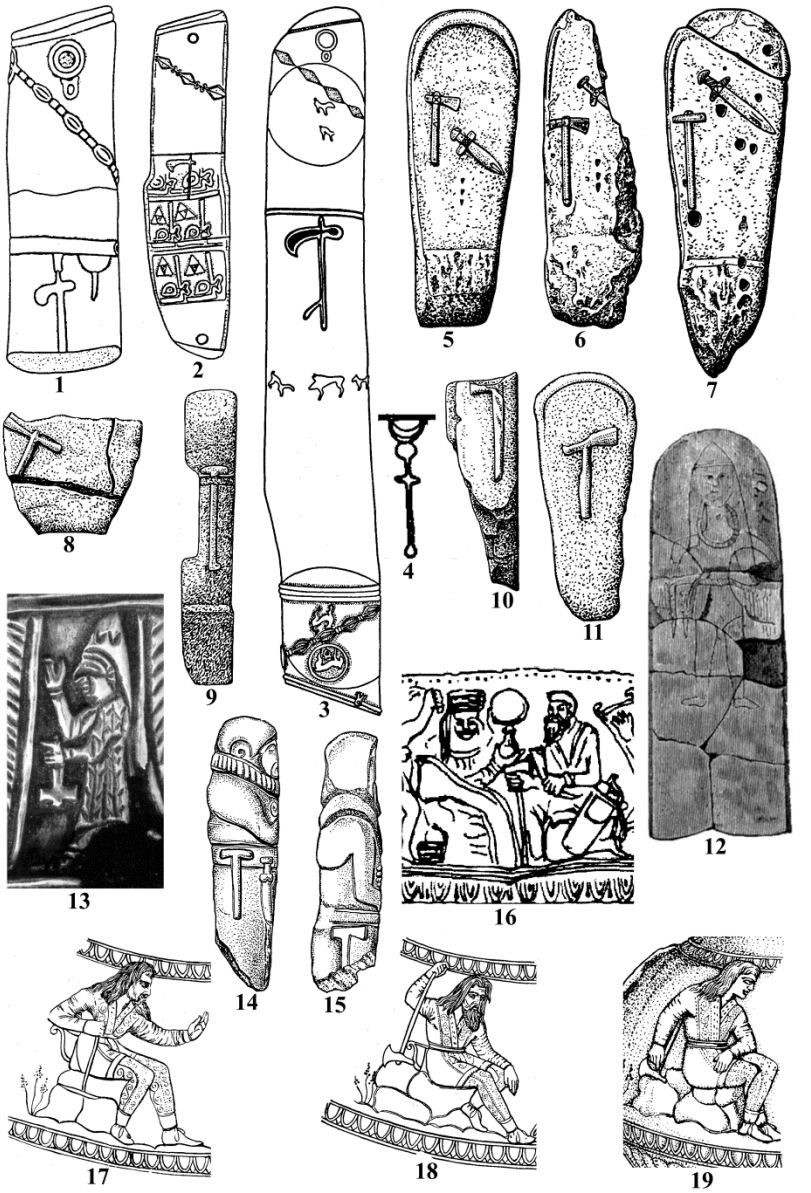


**Figure 8.** *1–3* – deer stones from the Northern Caucasian area [after Ol'khovskii 2005]; *4* – detail of the Tselinnoe deer stone [after Ol'khovskii 2005]; *5–7* – Novo-Mordovo I stone steles [after Chizhevskii 2005]; *8–11* – Murzikha II stone steles [after Chizhevskii 2005]; *12* – stone stele from the Ananyino cemetery [after Zbrueva 1952]; *13* – butt decoration of the battleaxe from the first Kelermes barrow [after Galanina 1997]; *14, 15* – side views of Scythian "stone women" from Sibioara (Romania) and Slavianka (Ukraine), dated to the 6th and 5th centuries BC respectively [after Ol'khovskii/Evdokimov 1994]; *16* – plate from Sakhnovka [after Raevskii 1977]; *17–19* – images on the Voronezh vessel [after Raevskii 1977].

As early as among the tribes of the so-called "Cimmerian-Karasuk" cultural and ethnic intercommunity,[121] which set up the deer stones (serving, in all likelihood, as funerary obelisks to commemorate the most distinguished chieftains and warriors) throughout an enormous territory from Eastern Siberia and Mongolia to Central Europe,[122] the cult of combat hatchets was in existence. We see them represented on many of such stone monuments.[123] These include the above-mentioned steles from the Northern Caucasus (Fig. 8, *1–3*; see also 3, *1–3*) dated perhaps to the last quarter of the 8th – first half of the 7th centuries BC,[124] as well as another deer stone of the same period found near the village of Tselinnoe in Crimea, where a miniature hatchet (pick?) suspended to the waist-belt with its handle downwards appears to have been depicted[125] (Fig. 8, *4*). It is believed that the builders of these steles must have been the Cimmerians who were immediate predecessors of the Scythians in the Northern Pontic area and the Northern Caucasus.[126] Although not so much information is presently known about this enigmatic nation at all, the already amassed archaeological material that may be linked with the historical Cimmerians demonstrates that they were very close to the early Scythians both culturally and ethnically,[127] i.e. they probably were, like the latter, of Iranian origin.

According to the available archaeological and written data, the Scythian tribes not only used various kinds of hatchets in combat, but also worshiped them as sacred objects. In a first, properly Scythian, variant of the legend about the Scythians' lineage told by Herodotus (4.5–7) a hatchet (σάγαρις) is referred to among the other sacred golden gifts (a plough, a yoke and a cup) that had allegedly fallen to the Scythians from heaven (Herodot. 4.5). All of these heavenly gifts were carefully guarded and reverently worshiped by the Scythian kings making yearly sacrifices to them (Herodot. 4.7). It is reported in another passage of the same author that the Scythians, when concluding oath agreements, im-

[121] This conditional term covers a spacious ancient Eurasian intercommunity embracing peoples kindred to each other in many important aspects of their being, such as material culture, funeral rites, and even, in a number of cases, human physical type (Chlenova 1975, 89).

[122] On the whole, the Eurasian deer stones are discussed in Savinov 1994.

[123] See in general on the hatchets depicted on deer stones Savinov 1994, 103–104, pl. XVI, *15–17*.

[124] This chronology has been proposed by V.S. Ol'khovskii (2005, 77). According to N.L. Chlenova (1984, 56), the deer stones from the Northern Caucasus were erected later, in the second half of the 7th century BC.

[125] Ol'khovskii 2005, 38, 61, ill. 27, *1*.

[126] Chlenova 1975, 88–89; 1984. V.S. Ol'khovskii considered the ethnic-cultural belonging of these Northern Caucasian sculptures as conditionally "Cimmerian" to be understood "exceptionally in a chronological context" (2005, 30). Indeed, it seems to be more preferable to use in the case under review the ethnic term "Cimmerians" with a certain degree of conditionality – in the sense that it designates pre-Scythian nomads of Eastern Europe, at least some part of whom was given such a name in the Classical literary tradition.

[127] Alekseev/Kachalova/Tokhtas'ev 1993; Ivantchik 2001.

mersed a sword, a hatchet and a spear in a special large bowl filled with a mixture of wine and the contract participants' blood (Herodot. 4.70).

The cultic role of axes in the midst of the Scythians is also testified by monuments of material culture. The earliest evidence is the famous parade axe from the first Kelermes barrow in the Kuban region, which is dated to the second half of the 7th century BC.[128] Made of iron and decorated with gold it could be used as both a weapon and a ritual object. Of particular importance is the picture on its butt of a priest wearing a high headgear: his right hand is raised in a prayer gesture and his left holds a hatchet turned over with its blade down (Fig. 8, *13*). Some of the Scythian over-barrow sculptures, the so-called *kamennye baby* ("stone women") actually representing male warriors of high status, have among their attributes a battleaxe or pick shown on the right side (Fig. 8, *14, 15*). These crude statues were built in the Northern Pontic area, the Northern Caucasus and Eastern Georgia during the late 7th – first half of the 5th centuries BC.[129] The above-said "bird-headed" miniature bronze scepters of the 6th – 4th centuries BC from Pontic Scythia (Fig. 3, *9–12*) undoubtedly served their owners as prestigious objects. It is significant that one of them, from the grave no. 25 of the Kichkas burial ground located in the Dnieper Rapids area (Fig. 3, *12*), was uncovered with remains of its wooden shaft being in the outstretched right hand of the decedent.[130] This group should be added with seven more, but differently shaped (into axes, etc.), small bronze heads of scepters, which performed the same function, go back to the same age and were found within the same territory.[131]

Figurative compositions on several works of toreutics produced in the 4th century BC well reflect the revered position that combat hatchets played in Scythian kingship ideology. One of them is on a golden plate from the barrow no. 2 near the village of Sakhnovka (Central Ukraine): it has been supposed by D.S. Raevskii to bear in the centre a representation of the mythical king Colaxaias kneeling before the goddess Tabiti and having an axe in his right hand[132] (Fig. 8, *16*). Three more personages are depicted on a silver vessel found in the vicinity of the city of Voro-

[128] See on it in detail Chernenko 1987; Galanina 1997, 98–105, 223–224, Taf. 10–11; Kisel' 1997.

[129] Ol'khovskii/Evdokimov 1994, 71, pl. 16, cat. nos. 1, 8, 15, 20, 33, 71, 74, 78, 79, 81, 83, 86, 127, 128, 147, 149; Ol'khovskii 2005, 114, ills. 64, *2*, 65, 73, *1*, 74, *2*, 76, 77, 79, *1, 2*, 89, *2*.

[130] Iatsenko 1959, 63; Illins'ka 1961, 44, fig. 11, *7*; Il'inskaia 1965, 208–209, fig. 3, *6*; Meliukova 1964, pl. 21, *27*.

[131] Illins'ka 1961, fig. 11, *1–4, 8, 9*; Il'inskaia 1965, fig. 3, *1–3, 8–11*; 1968, 155–156, fig. 42, *7–10*, pl. XI, *13*; Meliukova 1964, pl. 21, *24–26, 29*. One more axe-like Scythian scepter is a small (12,4 cm long) shaft-holed bronze hatchet uncovered in the 4th century BC barrow no. 18 (burial no. 2) near the village of L'vovo in the Kherson region. It was finely produced, its butt being formed into a gryphon's protome (Kubyshev/Nikolova/Polin 1982, 140–141, 147–148, figs. 10, 11; Tolochko/Murzin 1991, 303/cat. no. 87, 361).

[132] Raevskii 1977, 99–100, fig. 9; Vertiyenko 2010, figs. 1–1a, 2.

nezh[133] (Fig. 8, *17–19*). They have been interpreted by the same scholar in a mythological context almost identical to a second, Greek by its origin, version of the Scythian genealogic legend in Herodotus (4.8–10).[134] According to this interpretation, two similar bearded seniors represent Heracles, whereas a beardless youth is his youngest son named Scythes – the progenitor of all the Scythian kings, both leaning by the right hand on hatchets: the former on a pick (Fig. 8, *17*) and a battleaxe (Fig. 8, *18*), and the latter on a battleaxe (Fig. 8, *19*). Obviously, similar to these images in its ideological concept is a high-ranking figure (a king or chieftain) engraved on golden plaques from the barrow no. 1 near the village of Aksyutintsy in the Sula River area (North-Eastern Ukraine), where he is shown sitting on a stool and holding a hatchet (*klevets*?) in his right hand[135] (Fig. 9, *1*).

The role of hatchets as peculiar high-level insignia in the Pontic Scythian society can be seen, although indirectly, on one coin series from the town of Cercinitis in Western Crimea, which was minted in the 3rd century BC. On their obverse there is a bearded figure in Scythian garments sitting on a rock and wielding a battleaxe in the right hand[136] (Fig. 9, *2*). The presence of the Scythian-looking personage on these pieces is enigmatic and may have been due to some political or/and cultural impact made upon the inhabitants of Cercinitis by the Scythians roaming somewhere in the neighbourhood.

The prestigious and ritual reverence for the combat hatchets among the Scythians manifests not only in the very fact of their presence in grave assemblages. Thereupon, noteworthy is an iron hatchet from a 4th century BC noble Scythian warrior's burial in the Talaevskii kurgan (Western Crimea). It was situated at the decedent's waist-belt, its wooden handle being wrapped with a golden ribbon, and this feature, as well as a golden torque found on the neck, underlines a high social rank of the buried person.[137] Another indicative case is provided by a male ordinary burial (no. 43) of the 4th or 3rd century BC excavated within the Nikolaevka

[133] Rostovtzeff 1914, 7–10, pl. I; Raevskii 1977, 30–34, figs. 1, 2; Meliukova 1964, pl. 4, *3–5*.

[134] Raevskii 1977, 31–34,

[135] Rostovtzeff 1913, 8, fig. 3; Illins'ka 1961, 43, fig. 10; Il'inskaia 1968, 156, pl. XXII, *6*; Vertiyenko 2010, figs. 9–9a. The point of view that the personage has possibly no any weapon, but a harp (see Vertiyenko 2010, 323–325), looks more than strange because it is difficult to imagine that the typical Scythian male grandee, who was a soldier to the very marrow of his bones, would have been portrayed with a peaceful musical instrument instead of a tool of war.

[136] Zograf 1951, 161, pl. XXXVIII, *17*; Medvedeva 1984, 42–43, 45–48/cat. nos. 19–76, pl. I, II; Price 1993, pl. XXVIII, *693–705*. It is noteworthy in this connection that the Scythian-style combat hatchet and bow-case are on pieces of the so-called "Borysthenes" coinage issued in the other Northern Pontic Greek city, Olbia, from ca. 330 to ca. 250 BC, on which these weapons were probably depicted as signs of power and dignity (Karyshkovskii 1968; 2003, 95–99).

[137] Otchët 1893, 78; Mantsevich 1957, 155, fig. 4. The same habit of wrapping a shaft with a golden ribbon seems to be seen by the example of a hatchet-*chekan* from the rich barrow no. 1 of the Scythian burial ground near the village of Volkovtsy in the Left-bank Dnieper area. This weapon,

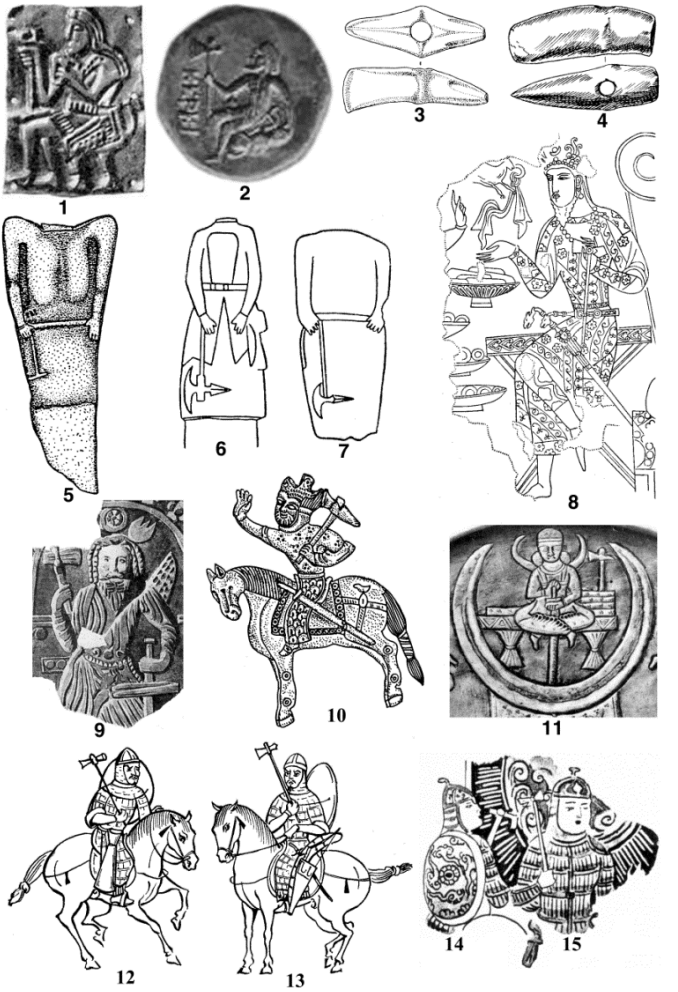


**Figure 9.** *1* – plaque from Aksyutintsy [after Illins'ka 1961]; *2* – coin from Cercinitis, now in the Museum of Money at Feodosiya [available at: http://www.museum-of-money.org/view/monety_kerkinitidy/]; *3, 4* – stone axes from the Kuban area [after Gushchina/Zasetskaia 1989]; *5* – sculpture from Karamunke [after Ol'khovskii 2005]; *6, 7* – sculptures from the Kuban upper reaches [after Kuznetsov 1962]; *8* – mural fragment from Penjikent [after D'iakonov 1954]; *9* – ossuary fragment from Biya-Naiman [after Pugachenkova 1987]; *10* – detail of the Anikovskaya plate [drawing after Marschak 1986]; *11* – detail of the Klimova plate [after Orbeli/Trever 1935]; *12–15* – mural fragments from the caves nos. 9/11 (*12, 13*) and 5/7 (*14, 15*) at Shikshin/Shorchuk [after D'iakonova 1984 and Grünwedel 1912 respectively].

being erroneously described in the original excavation record as a "tetrahedral iron dagger", was discovered nearly the interred warrior's right side, at his pelvis level, whereas his right hand was put on with a "ribbon-like golden bracelet" (Khanenko B. /Khanenko V. 1899, 6, 17/cat. no. 64, 32/cat. no. 425, pls. II, *64*, XXV, *425*). In reality, this "bracelet" must have been nothing but a handle wrapper of the hatchet in question (see Il'inskaia 1968, 93).

necropolis on the left bank of the Dniester Liman. It contained a battleaxe (by the way, it is the only hatchet found at Nikolaevka at all) that proved to be designedly stuck into the bottom of the grave pit, to the right of the deceased's thigh.[138] Such a placement of buried weapons, in the so-called "working" (i.e. upright) position, pursued magic goals.[139]

The veneration of the axes can be noted as well for the early Ananyino culture in the Volga-Kama region. So, seven memorial stone steles decorated with the representations of hatchets – an obvious indication for the existence of such a particular attitude towards the arms of this kind – were discovered at the Novo-Mordovo I (nos. 1, 2 and 4)[140] (Fig. 8, *5–7*) and Murzikha II (nos. 12, 18, 22 and 32)[141] (Fig. 8, *8–11*) burial grounds located in the lower reaches of the Kama river. At least five of them are battleaxes (Fig. 8, *5, 6, 8, 10, 11*), at most two – picks (Fig. 8, *7, 9*). These monuments are probably dated to the 7th century BC.[142] On a later, anthropomorphic, stele, which is said to have come from the Ananyino burial ground (near the town of Yelabuga) and is kept at present in the collection of the State Historical Museum in Moscow, there is the portrayal of a beardless combatant standing full-length and equipped with arms, including a pick-like hatchet in his right hand[143] (Fig. 8, *12*). Without any doubt, it was arranged in memory of a person of high social status, whose neck torque, hatchet and short sword-*acinaces* are certainly among his attributes of authority. In addition, within the Ananyino cultural area a few picks were found,[144] including the *klevetses* (see above and Fig. 3, *13–15*), and it is the scarcity of their finds in burials, in comparison with such local arms as *celts*-adzes and spears, that suggests the picks to have belonged exclusively to mem-

[138] Meliukova 1975, 91, 135, 177, fig. 56, *1*; Bessonova 1984, 8, 21.

[139] See Bessonova 1984, 7–11.

[140] Khalikov 1963, 181, 183, 184, figs. 1, *1–3*, 5, *1–3*; 1977, 78, 179, 181, figs. 36, *1*, *2*, *6*, 68, *2–4*; Chlenova 1987, 142–145, figs. 1, *1, 3, 4*, 3, *1–3*; Chizhevskii 2005, figs. 3, *4*, 4, *1, 4*; 2009, 81, fig. 2, *1, 2, 4*.

[141] Chizhevskii 2005, 281, figs. 14, *1*, *3*, 15, *3, 4*; 2009, 87, figs. 4, *2, 3, 5*, 5, *3*.

[142] This dating has been established for the Novo-Mordovo steles (Khalikov 1963, 185; Chlenova 1987, 145). The stones nos. 12 and 18 from the Murzikha II burial ground have been attributed to the late 7th – 6th century BC (Chizhevskii 2005, 289; 2009, 87), but such a date is merely grounded on a rather tentative chronology of the hatchets shown on them and cannot be accepted with any certainty. By their form and design features the three Novo-Mordovo steles under review are looking similar to the Murzikha II nos. 18 and 22 (the other two, nos. 12 and 32, are in a worse state of preservation), and so they all could be built more or less simultaneously, somewhere within the 7th century BC.

[143] Zbrueva 1952, 21–22, fig. 3; 1954, 102, 103. The doubts that have recently arisen as regards the authenticity of this monument (see Markov 1994; Chizhevskii 2005, 268; 2009, 81) cannot be convincing without its most careful special examination to be carried out in the future.

[144] Zbrueva 1952, 104–107; Kuz'minykh 1983, 138–142.

bers of "a rich and influential stratum of the clan nobility".[145] Finally, the famous Ananyino, not numerous too, parade axes cast from fine bronze alloys were plausibly exploited solely as badges of power; their dating may be determined within the late 6th – 4th centuries BC.[146]

However, speaking of the combat hatchet cult in the Ananyino culture, one should bear in mind the following. As it has already been observed,[147] the Novo-Mordovo I steles, judging by certain particularities of their designs, seem to go back to the deer stones of the Northern Caucasus. This circumstance, in turn, may be interpreted in the sense that in the 7th century BC the Middle Volga area was invaded by some of the nomads from the Northern Caucasus, conceivably by the Cimmerians[148] who erected the steles to honour the memory of their dead noblest warriors. What these sculptures were left rather by the Cimmerians than by the Scythians is pointed out by the fact that the Scythian typical funerary monuments were the anthropomorphic "stone women" differing from the deer stones in some important design, stylistic and iconographic details.[149] Therefore, it is the Cimmerian newcomers that could have been responsible for the introduction of the combat hatchet cult to the Volga-Kama region.[150]

[145] Kuz'minykh 1983, 137–138. It is to be assumed that something alike could have been in Pontic Scythia, for finds of picks from there are much less numerous than other kinds of combat hatchets (see Illins'ka 1961; Meliukova 1964, 65–68).

[146] Zbrueva 1952, 140, fig. 14, pl. XXXII, *2*; Kuz'minykh 1983, 143–145.

[147] Chlenova 1987, 146; 1988, 5.

[148] The Cimmerian ethnic-cultural attribution of the Novo-Mordovo I steles has been proposed by N.L. Chlenova (1987, 146; 1988, 3–5). In her opinion, some groups of armed males from among the Northern Caucasian Cimmerians in the 7th century BC made campaigns to the Middle Volga, mingled with the local inhabitants and were dissolved in their midst. On the other hand, M.N. Pogrebova and D.S. Raevskii (1992, 195–221) have supposed that those Scythians, who, accordingly to Herodotus (4.22), had seceded from the Royal Scythians, no later than at the turn of 7th – 6th centuries BC came from Transcaucasia to the Ananyino cultural area. Like N.L. Chlenova's supposition with regard to the Cimmerian migrants, they thought these Scythian warriors to have married native women and settled in the autochthonous environment. Although there could be, of course, both Cimmerian and Scythian penetrations into the Volga-Kama region in different periods of time, N.L. Chlenova's theory looks more acceptable, especially as M.N. Pogrebova and D.S. Raevskii have not taken into account the steles from the Novo-Mordovo I burial ground at all.

[149] Chlenova 1975, 81–89; 1984, 56–60.

[150] There is a different point of view, according to which the tradition of the erection in the Middle Volga region of memorial steles, including those depicting articles of weaponry (combat hatchets and daggers) from the Novo-Mordovo I and Murzikha II cemeteries, should not be linked with any alien migrations there. It was formed as a result of cultural influence from Central Asia (Chizhevskii 2009, 89). However that may be (but I am inclined in favour of N.L. Chlenova's opinion), this tradition had, in any case, no local roots and was obviously brought from outside, the Iranian nomadic world, together – it is the main thing – with the combat hachet cult that could hardly arise independently among the Ananyino indigenous population.

As for the Scythians, they may have contributed as well to the development of this cult among the local Ananyino population, when coming there some later. The evidence is provided by the above Ananyino stele portraying the hatchet-armed grandee (Fig. 8, *12*). This monument is anthropomorphic like the "stone women" of the Scythians, and the personage's accoutrement looks as Scythian in its type[151] (of course, in the broad sense of this ethnic definition). On these grounds, the Ananyino stele must not be attributed to a date earlier than the 6th or 5th century BC, when the "stone women" were already sculptured in the Scythian milieu. It should be stressed that the warrior on it is shown beardless, and this feature contrasting with what is aware of the men from the Iranian nomadic peoples, viz. that they usually wore beards, well testifies to his belonging to the aboriginal inhabitants who are generally thought to have been of Finno-Ugric origin.[152] Thus, this stele confirms the spreading, under the impact of the Iranian-extraction aliens, of the worship of combat hatchets in the midst of the natives of the Ananyino cultural intercommunity. The same is additionally testified by the picks and parade axes referred to above, which were certainly used by the local elite as prestigious objects.

The cult in question appears to have existed among another Iranian-speaking nomadic nation, the Sarmatians, who at a zenith of their history – in the last centuries BC through the 4th century AD – lived in the vast spaces of the Northern Pontic, Northern Caucasian, Lower Volga, Southern Ural and Aral-Caspian areas. It may be asserted despite the facts that any hatchets were of no importance in Sarmatian warfare at all[153] and their finds in graves of the Sarmatians are only few. The arms of this kind known to me[154] are divided into two groups –1) stone and 2) iron. The first one includes three axes, all uncovered in Sarmatian burials of the Kuban steppe area, viz. in a barrow at the aul of Khatazhukaevskii[155] (Fig. 9, *3*), the "Ostryi" kurgan at the stanitsa of Iaroslavskaia[156] (Fig. 9, *4*) and the barrow no. 43 of the so-called "Zolotoe kladbishche" ("Golden cemetery").[157] The fact that these axes were made of stone, not of iron as one would expect for the Sarmatian period, bears witness that they had likely been produced long before the Early Iron Age and much later fell somehow into the hands of the Sarmatians. They believed these archaic artifacts to be of sacred nature and so

[151] Chlenova 1975, 81, 85.

[152] Khalikov 1970; 1977, 4.

[153] Khazanov 2008, 120.

[154] For various reasons, I have not been able to collect any complete information about the available finds of Sarmatian axes. However that may be, the main thing is that they, anyway, are very rarely met in the archaeological complexes attributed to the Sarmatians.

[155] Gushchina/Zasetskaia 1989, 82, 104/cat. no. 65, 125, pl. VII, *65*.

[156] Gushchina/Zasetskaia 1989, 82, 94/cat. no. 12, 124, pl. II, *12*; 1994, 34.

[157] Gushchina/Zasetskaia 1994, 72/cat. no. 466.

used them not to fight, but to serve their possessors as badges of dignity. In this connection worthy of notice are the conditions of discovering the Khatazhukaevskii and "Ostryi" axes. The former was lying near the waist-belt of an interred woman, and the circumstance that such a weapon is unusual for the female burial points first of all at its sacral function. The latter was found on the right side of a male skeleton, being located at its shoulder level and hafted on a long iron handle that reached the buried warrior's heel. In other words, it was doubtlessly an axe-headed scepter,[158] and we should again recollect thereby the ruling "scepter-bearers" mentioned as the σκηπτοῦχοι among the Sarmatian Saii in the Olbian honorary decree for Protogenes, and as the *sceptuchi* with regard to the Sarmatians in Tacitus' "Annals" (see above). In all probability, the "Ostryi" kurgan contained the remains of one of the Sarmatian scepter-bearers.

The second group embraces iron hatchets of the Sarmatians. I am definitely aware of such arms found at the following burial sites:[159] Mechet-Sai (barrow grave no. 2/4),[160] Novoorsk II (barrow no. 2)[161] and Lebedevka (barrows nos. 1 and 2)[162] in the Southern Urals; Susly (barrow no. 46)[163] and Zhutovo (barrow no. 28)[164] in the Lower Volga area; the Sholokhovsky barrow[165] and Kobyakovo (barrow no. 10)[166] in the Lower Don area; Kitaevka (barrow grave 5/6)[167] in the Kuban region; Ust'-Kamenka (barrow grave no. 69/1)[168] in the Lower Dnieper

[158] It is to be also added that a number of scepters made of metal (mostly of iron) and different in their designs from the "Ostryi" one came to light from Sarmatian female and male burials of the Northern Caucasus (overwhelmingly of Kuban) and the Lower Don area. Some of them, e.g. from the barrow no. 1 at the khutor of Zubovskii, 1.77 m long and crowned with a deer's head, were discovered in the barrow embankment being stuck upright into the ground (Gushchina/Zasetskaia 1989, 82, 118/cat. no. 134, 127, pl. XII, *134*; on more scepters see Shevchenko 2006).

[159] Taking the opportunity when proofreading, I want to add to this list two more iron combat hatchets of the 5th or 4th century BC from Sarmatian burial sites in the Southern Ural area, viz. Filippovka-I (barrow no. 4, burial no. 3) and Novo-Kumak (see Treister/Iablonskii 2012, 107, 171, fig. 75, *4*, col. pl. 37, *3*). Please note that I do not take into account axes-adzes from Mechet-Sai (barrow grave no. 7/7: Smirnov 1975, 121, 165, fig. 42, *10*), the "Zolotoe kladbishche" (barrows nos. 34 and 43: Gushchina/Zasetskaia 1994, 47/cat. no. 97, 72/cat. no. 467), and other Sarmatian burial places (see, e.g. Prokopenko 2011, 411), which were nothing but ordinary working implements to be exploited as such in the afterlife of the dead.

[160] Smirnov 1975, 85, 87, 165, fig. 27, *1*.

[161] Moshkova/Malashev/Meshcheriakov 2011, 304.

[162] Bagrikov/Senigova 1968, 83, fig. 10, *7* (barrow no. 1), 79–80, 82, fig. 10, *6* (barrow no. 2); Moshkova 2009, 107, fig. 5, *4* (barrow no. 2).

[163] Rykov 1925, 38, 70, fig. 14; Khazanov 2008, 120, fig. 21, *2*; Skripkin 1998, 107, 109–110, fig. 9, *19*.

[164] Shilov 1975, 150.

[165] Smirnov 1984, 52, 137, 140, fig. 61, *7* (even three axes were found there).

[166] Prokhorova/Guguev 1992, 152, figs. 2, *26*, 3, *4*; Prokhorova 1994, 181, 182.

[167] Prokopenko 2011, 411.

[168] Kostenko 1993, 76, 78, fig. 25, *9*.

area; Oloneshty (barrow grave no. 4/4)[169] in the Carpathian-Dniester region. In those cases when the graves are characterized by their wealth, particular arrangement and so peculiar a feature as the woman's gender of the dead one can maintain that the hatchets buried in them were symbols of high social ranks.[170] This especially concerns the hatchets from Sarmatian female burials, of which the four made of iron were uncovered at Kobyakovo, Lebedevka (barrow no. 2), Novoorsk II and Ust'-Kamenka, and the one of stone – at the aul of Khatazhukaevskii. The ladies interred there must have belonged to the tribal elite and fulfilled priestly/shamanic or even ruling functions.[171] In turn, the axes from rich male warriors' barrows like the Sholokhovsky, Lebedevka (no. 1), Zhutovo and Oloneshty have to be necessarily considered as attributes of dignity and soldierly prestige. As long as this kind of Sarmatian weaponry was in a distinct minority compared to all the others, it is this rarity that could be a motive for the Sarmatian military nobles to make use of these arms, so unusual for their methods of warfare, more with ceremonial than battle purposes.

The pictorial evidence testifying to the prestigious use of combat hatchets by the Sarmatians is slight. So, there is a stone stele-shaped statue discovered at Karamunke, an ancient sanctuary built on the Ustyurt Plateau (between the Aral and Caspian Seas), which portrays a warrior standing full-length and having a pick attached to his waist-belt with its warhead downwards[172] (Fig. 9, *5*). The matter is that this sculpture erected supposedly to symbolize a clan ancestor in the form of a heroized male soldier[173] seems to have reproduced the image and weapon of a high-ranking member of the tribal military nobility. If so, the pick had to be an indispensable symbol of social significance. This work of nomadic art must be dated to the 4th/3rd – 2nd centuries BC.[174] It is important to note here

[169] Meliukova 1962, 205, 206; Kurchatov/Bubulich 2003, 294, 295–296, 306.

[170] It is worth noting that the two rich burials, male at Oloneshty and female at Kobyakovo, housed, in addition to the iron axes, many other objects, including – and it is immensely important – red-lacquer ceramic vessels in the shape of a ram, i.e. the animal that was perceived by ancient Iranians as one of the main embodiments of Farr, a divine entity of royal authority and glory (Oloneshty: Meliukova 1962, 201–202, fig. 5; Kurchatov/Bubulich 2003, 297–299, 306, fig. 5, *2*; Kobyakovo: Prokhorova/Guguev 1992, 154, 158, fig. 3, *16*; Prokhorova 1994, 182; see also Simonenko 1998: 68–69, 74, fig. 1, *2, 3*). Thus, the hatchets could quite bear there the same semantic meaning of the departed persons' highest social positions.

[171] Such a significant place of the women in the Sarmatian society is reflected in the "Periplus" by Pseudo-Scylax written probably in the second half of the 4th century BC, where the tribe of the Sauromatians living beyond the Tanais (modern Don) river is said to be woman-ruled (Σαυροματῶν δ' ἐστὶν ἔθνος γοναικοκρατούμενον) (71 [rec. B. Fabricius, 1878]). See also Grakov 1947; Shevchenko 2006. On the relationship between the Sauromatians of the Don-Volga area and the later Sarmatians in light of the archaeological evidence see Smirnov 1984, 9–18.

[172] Ol'khovskii 2005, ill. 150, *2*.

[173] Ol'khovskii 2005, 147.

[174] Ol'khovskii 2005, 135.

that the medieval Alans of the Northern Caucasus, who were scions of the Sarmatian Alans coming to Eastern Europe in the 1st century AD, raised, somewhere between the 10th and 13th centuries AD, stone statues of men, some of them are shown with battleaxes suspended from their waist-belts with blades downwards (Fig. 9, *6, 7*), these figures standing in the same pose as the personage from Karamunke.[175] Apparently, both these sculptural traditions, in spite of so great a difference in their ages, reflected the same or similar social-ideological conceptions that had been formed just in the Sarmatian world. This is pointed out, in particular, by a difference in affixing the combat hatchets to the waist-belts between the Scythians/Sakas, on the one hand, and the Sarmatians/Alans, on the other: the former carried them with their blades upwards (Figs. 4, *6*, 8, *14, 15*), the latter, as we see, downwards.

Now, having considered the available data on the combat hatchet cult in the European part of Central Eurasia, let us pay attention to those from its Asian territories (with the exception of the Ustyurt Plateau touched upon in connection with the Sarmatians). The practically total absence of any written testimonies for this cult in eastern Central Eurasia puts the archaeological and iconographic evidence in the forefront. The former is much more numerous and includes hatchets, almost all of which were put with certain ritual purposes into nomadic graves excavated in Southern Siberia and Central Asia. Their small part – only some of the picks, including the *klevets* from Old Nisa, has been referred to above (Figs. 2, 3, *16–18, 23–33*). It must be especially emphasized that the Nisean hatchet manufactured of silver with partial gilding, being for sure a full-size replica of a real iron weapon, was intended not for fighting, but for playing the role of a parade attribute of power.

The pictorial witnesses belonging to the antique epoch have also been discussed above. These are the representations of the picks as royalty symbols on the Achaemenid reliefs (Fig. 4, *8*), the Indo-Saka coins (Fig. 7, *1–2a*), the Kushan coins and seal (Fig. 7, *3–5*), and the Parthian or, what even is more preferable, early Sasanian graffito from Dura-Europos (Fig. 5, *10*).

However, this list of pertinent information is to be continued. First of all, it is an iron shaft-holed hatchet put together with other accompanying goods into the grave no. 2 dug at Tillya Tepe – the renowned small necropolis in Northern Afghanistan containing six extremely rich burials of the early Kushan elite representatives[176] who were scions of the Yüeh-chih/Tocharian conquerors of Bactria. The fact that this hatchet[177] had intentionally been placed along with two

[175] Kuznetsov 1962, 55, fig. 19, *3, 4*.

[176] Sarianidi 1985, 23; 1989, 56, 66.

[177] Its representation has not been reproduced in the publications of V.I. Sarianidi who simply terms it "a pick" (1985, 23) and "a hatchet-*klevets*" (1989, 56, 66). The only drawing of this weap-

iron sickle-like knives of the Siberian style in a round wicker basket laid on the deceased female's feet may well testify to its ritual assignment.[178] Apparently, the grave no. 2 must be dated to the third quarter of the 1st century AD.[179]

Besides that, some additional data belong to the Early Medieval period. Three of them are works of Sogdian art. The earliest is an ossuary fragment attributed to the 6th – 7th century AD, which was uncovered at Biya-Naiman in the Samarkand region. There represented is a standing male personage wielding a battleaxe in his right hand[180] (Fig. 9, *9*). In the opinion of F. Grenet, he is one of the Amesha Spentas, the Zoroastrian divine entities, under the name of Shahrevar, whose image in Eastern Iran assumed, as early as the pre-Sasanian epoch, a martial function.[181] On a mural of the early 8th century AD from the room VI/1 at Penjikent we see two banquet scenes,[182] on the left of which there is a high-ranking aristocrat, perhaps the royal-dignity military leader, sitting on a lofty stool and holding a hatchet for its warhead with the fingers of his left hand (Fig. 9, *8*). On the so-called Anikovskaya silver plate kept now in the State Hermitage in St. Petersburg, which was made in Semirechye (modern South-Eastern Kazakhstan and Northern Kyrgyzstan) in the 9th or 10th century AD after a Sogdian original of the 8th century, there is a scene of the siege of a castle.[183] The uppermost rider on its right, obviously the general of the besieging mounted troop, carries a battleaxe in his left hand (Fig. 9, *10*) while none of the other warriors surrounding the castle has such a weapon. The last two monuments of art provide us, therefore, with the most striking examples of the attitude towards the combat hatchet as a sign of the highest military command.

On the upper portion of another work of art from the State Hermitage collection, the so-called Klimova silver plate manufactured in the 7th or early 8th century AD,[184] we see the figure of a man sitting with the crossed legs on a couch-like throne and leaning on a long sword. To his left, behind a pile of cushions, set

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on obtained by me through the courtesy of S.A. Yatsenko (see Nikonorov 1997, vol. 2, fig. 32, *I*; Yatsenko 2001, pl. 8) shows it as a small hatchet bearing no resemblance to a *klevets*. However, the accuracy of this drawing is unclear.

[178] There is an interesting opinion that the female burial no. 2 at Tillya Tepe could belong to a warrior-priestess (see Davis-Kimball 2000, 227).

[179] Zeymal 1999, 242–243.

[180] Pugachenkova 1987, 112, 114/Bn-2; Grenet 1987, 47, 51, fig. 7.

[181] Grenet 1987, 51.

[182] D'iakonov 1954, 119, pl. XXXVI, XXXIX; Belenizki 1980, 82–83; Marshak 2002, 147, figs. 97–98, pl. 16. I follow B.I. Marshak's interpretation of this mural subject that looks quite reasonable.

[183] Marschak 1986, 322, 438, Abb. 209–211; Orbeli/Trever 1935, pl. 20.

[184] Harper/Meyers 1981, XVI, 117–119; pl. 35; Trever/Lukonin 1987, 111/cat. no. 15, 143–144, pl. 29–31; Marshak 1986, 292–294, 437, Abb. 195; Orbeli/Trever 1935, pl. 19; Belenizki 1980, Abb. 12.

upright is a hatchet (Fig. 9, *11*). This personage is probably a king[185], and the battleaxe presents one of his royal attributes. It is to be remembered in this connection that the post-Sasanian literary tradition informs us that the axe served as one of the Sasanian rulers' insignia.[186] However, in spite of the fact that the Klimova plate is usually regarded as a product of the famous Sasanian silverware school, some of its iconographic and stylistic peculiarities permit to suppose it to have been made somewhere east of Iran proper.[187]

It stands to reason that the veneration of combat hatchets appeared among the ancient Iranian-speaking sedentary peoples under the influence of the nomadic world.

Very significant for the theme in question is the fact that during the Early Middle Ages the Tocharian-language inhabitants of Xinjiang, who were kindred to the Yüeh-chih/Tochari whose part, the Great Yüeh-chih, had very long before left the motherland for Bactria and finally established the Kushan realm there, continued to revere the combat hatchets like their remote ancestors did. There are two pieces of the pertinent evidence that came from the Shikshin/Shorchuk cave temple complex in the Karashahr oasis. One of them is a partly preserved mural painting of the 8th century AD from the cave no. 9/11[188] illustrating the "Siege of Kushinagar" – the famous legend about the events after the Buddha entered *Parinirvana* and his body was cremated in the town of Kushinagar. According to this tradition, rulers of those Indian cities where the Buddha preached, having heard about his death, came to besiege Kushinagar, demanding to give them the Buddha's relics (fortunately, this matter was wisely solved without using violence). The besiegers were headed by knights from the royal clan Shakya governing Kapilavastu, to which the Buddha belonged himself.[189] Images of the Shakya knights were very popular in the art of Xinjiang in the 5th – 8th centuries AD, where they were shown bearing local sets of armament. On the mural under consideration these knights are portrayed as armoured horsemen, some holding a battleaxe in the right hand[190] (Fig. 9, *12, 13*). Another fragment of wall painting, probably representing the Shakya knights in the guise of noble Tocharian warriors armed with battleaxes, was discovered in the cave no. 5/7[191] (Fig. 9, *14–15*). Beyond any

[185] Trever/Lukonin 1987, 111.

[186] See n. 70 above.

[187] Harper/Meyers 1981, 119.

[188] In this double numeration of the Shikshin/Shorchuk caves the number before the slash was given by the German expedition working there in 1906 (see Grünwedel 1912, 194–211), whereas the one after the slash – by the Russian expedition in 1909 (Ol'denburg 1914, 11–21).

[189] See D'iakonova 1984, 98.

[190] D'iakonova 1984, 102–104, 216/figs. 11, 12; 1995, 93, pls. XXXII, XXXIV.

[191] Grünwedel 1912, 201, Fig. 451. This mural, because of certain particularities of the knights' armour, as well as of the style of its artistic execution, looks chronologically different

doubt, in the given, not directly combative, context the battleaxe serves its possessor not only as a weapon, but also as a symbol of his knightly dignity.

The listed examples quite eloquently speak that in Antiquity and Early Medieval times the combat hatchets of various kinds were esteemed as prestigious badges of sacral, social, political and military authority among the nomadic and sedentary peoples of Iranian and Tocharian origins. At the same time, it should be noted that the respective evidence for Parthia is scanty, being in fact confined to the graffito from Dura-Europos (Fig. 5, *10*) and the Nisean hatchet-*klevets*.[192] And what is more, their belonging to the Parthian ceremonial practices raises certain doubts. So, the high-ranking personage on the former, as said above, cannot be unequivocally identified as a Parthian. In turn, the latter was hardly a local parade weapon, at least because it had been concealed (together with other objects of foreign origins) in a storage-room of the "Treasure-house" at Old Nisa instead of having been employed for its designated purpose by the Parthians themselves. This *klevets* seems to have been produced in the cultural and military milieu that had very long-standing and robust traditions of using pick-like arms and of honouring them as symbols of power – in other words, in the midst of the Central Asian nomads who, moreover, were closely interacting with Arsacid Iran in many ways.

In all likelihood, the ritual hatchet in question was brought to Mithradatkirt (Old Nisa) as a trophy captured by the Parthians in the course of their campaigns against the Central Asian nomads called Scythians/Sakas and Yüeh-chih/Tochari, whose hordes invaded Eastern Parthia in the early part of the last third of the 2nd century BC. These military confrontations proved to be extremely fierce, and two Parthian kings lost their lives during them: Phraates II (ca. 138/7–128 BC) was killed when fighting the Scythians soon after his victory over the Seleucid king Antiochus VII, and Artabanus I (ca. 127–123 BC) died from a wound received in a battle against the Tochari. Only the latter's son, Mithradates II (ca. 123–88/7 BC), was able to defeat these belligerent nomads in the early years of his reign, improving very much the situation in the eastern lands of the Arsacid

from the "Siege of Kushinagara" painting in the cave no. 9/11. Proceeding from these observations, there is a good reason to think the former to have been made some earlier than the latter, perhaps in the 6th or 7th century AD.

[192] I intentionally avoid to take into consideration the representations of axes in ritual contexts on such works of art found within the Arsacid empire as some of the noted rhyta from Old Nisa (Masson M./Pugachenkova 1959, 90, 91, 107, 133, 144, 145, 148, 181, 183, fig. 35) and several reliefs from Dura-Europos (Perkins 1973, 100–101, fig. 41), Hatra (Winkelmann 2004, 248–253, 274–279 /Kat. Nr. 102, 103, 111–113; Salihi 1971, pl. XXXIII), and somewhere else (Ghirshman 1975, pl. I). The fact is that these works reflect the religious ideas of the Greek and Semitic population of Iran and Mesopotamia, and so the axes depicted on them are no more than customary attributes of their mythological and divine bearers and most probably have nothing to do with the hatchet worship that had originated in the nomadic milieu of Central Eurasia.

empire (Iust. XLII. 1.1–2.5).[193] It can be assumed that the *klevets* found in Old Nisa served as a sign of martial power for a Saka or Tocharian chieftain vanquished by Mithradates II who dispatched it as a significant item of the captured spoils to the royal residence Mithradatkirt situated not so far from the theater of war. There this hostile parade weapon could have been shown off for some time, but later on was moved to the local "Treasure-house" to be uncovered by Soviet archaeologists after more than two thousand years.

One can agree with A. Invernizzi[194] that, proceeding from its decor and design, the Nisean hatchet was produced in the Graeco-Iranian cultural milieu of Central Asia. However, contrary to his assumption, the place of its manufacture could hardly be a center located within the Parthian empire. As we have seen above, there is insufficient evidence that the Parthians used picks in war or in ceremonies, whereas the case was different with the Central Asian nomads intruding into the Arsacid domains in the latter half of the 2nd century BC. More likely, Parthia's eastern neighbour, Bactria, might well be the territory where our *klevets* had been made, especially as from the earliest times there was a considerable center of elegant working of precious metals,[195] and this craft must have particularly flourished in the epoch of Greek rule over that region (327 – ca. 145/140 BC). Somewhere between ca. 145–140 BC, Northern Bactria had been conquered and occupied by the Saka tribe of Sakarauloi, but approximately a decade later, in ca. 130 BC, they were defeated and replaced by another wave of invaders from the Central Asian steppes in the face of the Yüeh-chih/Tochari.[196] Indeed, both of these newcomers gained access to the local manufacturing base of metalworking and artisans involved in this kind of manufacture, and so their leaders were able to order the making of parade arms like the hatchet-*klevets* found in Old Nisa.

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[193] On the great deeds of Mithradates II of Parthia in the east see Olbrycht 2010, 150–155.

[194] Invernizzi 1999, 138.

[195] See Sarianidi 1989, 135–162.

[196] Any of the available reconstructions of the history of the nomadic conquest of Greek Bactria is still controversial because of its poor coverage in the surviving sources. I prefer to follow here the historical interpretation proposed by C.G.R. Benjamin (2007, 181–189).

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## Abstract

This article deals with a pick-*klevets* made of partially gilt silver, which was uncovered in 1950 in the so-called "Treasure-house" of the fortified Parthian royal residence known nowadays as Old Nisa (formerly Mithradatkirt) in Southern Turkmenistan. The author argues that this hatchet was brought there as a trophy after a victorious campaign waged by the Parthian king Mithradates II (ca. 123–88/7 BC) in the early period of his reign against invasive nomadic peoples from Central Asia, recorded in ancient written sources under the names of the Scythians/Sakas and Yüeh-chih/Tochari. Manufactured probably in the region of Bactria, this unique battle-size *klevets* was certainly intended for parade/ritual purposes, not for fighting, and must have belonged to a defeated Saka or Tocharian chieftain as his attribute of power. The tradition of such an attitude towards the combat hatchets among the Iranian and Tocharian peoples from the Early Iron Age through Early Medieval times is also traced in detail by the author.

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# THE GRAFFITO FROM DURA-EUROPOS: HYBRID ARMOR IN PARTHIAN-SASANIAN IRAN•

**Keywords:** ancient Iran, warfare, Dura-Europos, armor, Sasanians, Parthians

Dura-Europos, a Seleukid foundation, had an exceptionally turbulent history. Set up in about 303 B.C. by Nikanor, a general under Seleukos I Nikator, it was captured by the Parthians (ca. 113 B.C.); subsequent to A.D. 165 it became part of the Roman Empire. Despite its exceptionally strong defense walls, it was captured after a siege of several months carried out by the Sasanian king Shapur I (A.D. 240–272) in A.D. 256.[1]

Initial archaeological excavations were conducted there as early as in 1920–1922, but it was the excavation works carried out in 1929–1937 under the auspices of Yale University and Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres in Paris that yielded sensational discoveries and made the ancient city famous. One of the most well-known discoveries was a graffito depicting a heavily armored horseman, equipped after an Iranian fashion, sitting on an armored horse and holding a long spear along the horse's side. On his back one can see the hilt of a sword (see Figure 1–2).[2] Initially, the graffito was dated to the late Parthian period (from the second century to the early third century A.D.).[3] Nowadays, however, the prevailing opinion is that it dates back to the early Sasanian period and was

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[1] Leriche, MacKenzie 1996.

[2] Brown 1936, 444–445; Rostovtzeff 1933, 216–217; Pl. XXII.2; James 2004, 113, fig. 23.

[3] In older studies, the object was commonly dated to the late Parthian period (Allan 1986; Brown 1936, 195; Colledge 1977, 117, fig. 44 B; Rostovtzeff 1933, 207–209; Robinson 1975, 186; Shahbazi 1986). Nowadays, some scholars date the graffito to the second century A.D. (Symonenko 2009, 119), or the second to third century A.D. (Mielczarek 1993, 36).

executed between A.D. 232 /233 and A.D. 256.[4] Stylistically, the graffito belong to the iconographic tradition of the late Parthian or early Sasanian periods.[5] It is worth mentioning here that in Dura-Europos there exist other images of horsemen in an Iranian-like outfit,[6] including the image of an iron-clad mounted bowman.[7] These depictions are valuable sources for reconstructing the armor and weaponry used by Iranian cavalry in the third century A.D.

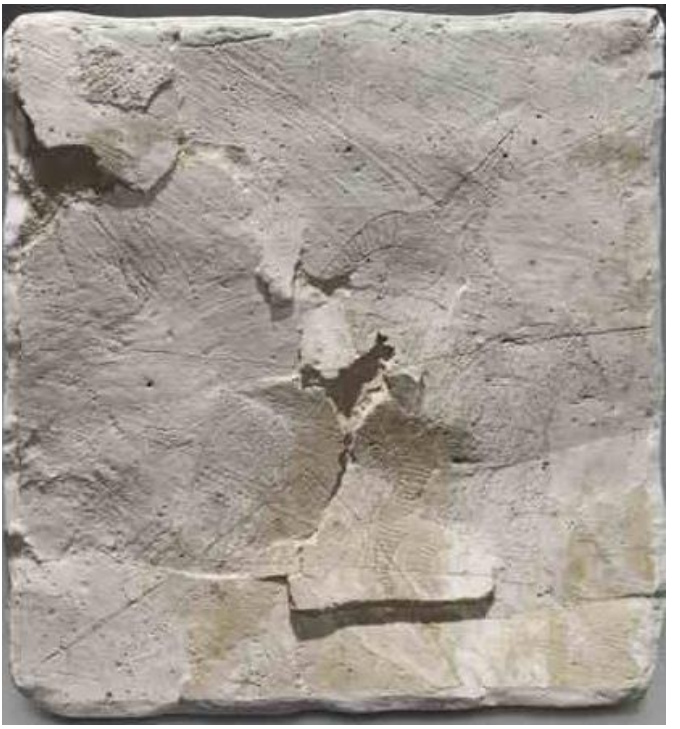

**Fig. 1. Graffito of a Sasanian fully armored horseman from Dura-Europos**
(http://ecatalogue.art.yale.edu/detail.htm?objectId=5206)

[4] Concerning the dating of the image of the horseman V. P. Nikonorov pays attention to the fact that the image was put on the wall of a house built in A.D. 232/233, that is after the fall of the Arsacid dynasty in Iran (Nikonorov 2005, note 12).

[5] Analyzing the murals of the late stage of Mithraeum in Dura-Europos (which show Mithras as a mounted bowman wearing Iranian clothes), F. Cumont and M. I. Rostovzeff concluded that it represents a late Parthian or early Sasanian style. The same conclusion may be drawn about a number of other images of infantrymen and horsemen wearing Iranian-style clothes, discovered in Dura-Europos. On the murals and graffito see Cumont, Rostovzeff 1939; Rostovtzeff 1931; Rostovtzeff 1933.

[6] Cumont, Rostovzeff 1939, Pl. XIV-XV; Hopkins 1934, 91–92, Pl. XXXV, 3–4; Little 1933, fig. 16; Rostovtzeff 1931, PL. XLI, 2; Rostovtzeff 1933, PL. XXI, 1–2.

[7] Rostovtzeff 1933, PL. XXI, 3.

The horseman shown in the Dura-Europos graffito has a high helmet, typical of a cavalryman and most likely consisting of several separate elements, which may suggest that it is a ridge helmet. The horseman's hands and legs are protected by segment-like, laminar, curved and elongated metal plates, arranged horizontally. His cuirass seems to be made of mail armor or small scales, whereas his lower abdomen is guarded by two rows of metal lames, vertically arranged. The horse is guarded by scale armor covering the trunk and the head.[8]

**Fig. 2. Graffito from Dura-Europos (drawing after Rostovtzeff 1933, Pl. XXII.2)**

One should pose the question: To what extent may the image of the horseman from Dura-Europos, simplified and schematic as it is, be treated as a reliable source for research in armor? A comparison of the graffito depiction with the archaeological artifacts, including helmets and parts of armor, demonstrates that the image is in fact a valuable piece of evidence. A number of Iranian sites have yielded the so-called ridge helmets, whose calottes were made of a few pieces attached to an iron frame.[9] During the excavation works in Dura-Europos itself,

[8] Rostovtzeff 1933, PL. XXII, 2.

[9] Ridge helmets, which were exceptionally sturdy but whose structure was quite simple, became very popular, and soon they were adopted by peoples and countries neighboring Iran. They were also used in the Later Roman Empire by the Sarmatians as well as by some Germanic peoples (Grancsay 1963, 258; James 1986, 117, 119, 126). Most scholars believe they have Parthian origins

an Iranian helmet dating back to the time of Shapur I, whose bell was made of two parts, was found under the debris of Tower 19.[10] Images of segmented, laminar guards for hands and legs are often featured in the monumental art of the Sasanians, as exemplified by the relief of Ardashir I in Tang-i Ab,[11] on which the attendants of Ardavan IV are clad in such a way, or by the reliefs in Naqsh-i Rustam[12] showing horse-mounted duels. That such armor sets were available at the time of Shapur I is indicated by the famous cameo depicting the Iranian monarch capturing Emperor Valerian. The Sasanian king wears a partial laminar leg armor, covering only the upper legs.[13] Also, two sets of horse armor, made of metal scales and resembling that in the famous graffito, were found at Dura-Europos.[14] These examples indicate that the armor shown in the Dura-Europos graffito reflects genuine defensive weapons used at that time and prove the graffito's exceptional value as a source for researching the issue of military equipment carried by the Iranian heavy cavalry in the third century A.D.

The only element of the Dura-Europos horseman that neither finds its counterpart in the armor of the Parthian or Sasanian periods nor in Iranian and Roman iconography is the cuirass. As it combines two types of defensive armor, that is, most likely mail and lamellar armor, it should be treated as an example of hybrid armor. The latter stands for a set of defensive armor of a mixed structure consisting of the elements of more than one armor type.

The two variants of body armor, i.e., scale armor[15] and lamellar armor,[16] were known in Iran as early as at the times of the Achaemenids.[17] Both were

(Alföldi 1934, 121–122; Grancsay 1948–49, 273–275; 1963, 255, 258; Overlaet 1982, 190–191; Werner 1949–50, 183–193).

[10] Du Mensil du Buison 1936, 192; James 1986, 107, 120, 123, fig. 15–17; Khorasani 2006, 278; Overleat 1982, 192; Russel 1967, 18.

[11] von Gall 1990, Abb. 3.

[12] Hermann 1977, 6–8; Hinz 1969, 206–209; Schmidt 1970, 122, 136–137; Vanden Berghe 1966, 24.

[13] von Gall 1990, 56; Ghirshman 1962, fig. 195.

[14] James 2004, 113–114, 129–131, fig. 74–76, 78–79; Rostovtzeff 1936, 440–441, PL. XXI-XXII.

[15] The scale armor was known as early as in the second millennium B.C. (Robinson 1975, 153; Russell 1962, 1–7). The simplicity of its design − the scales were attached to a fabric or leather backing, combined with its effectiveness in battlefield – made it widely adopted in many different cultures. Eventually, it was known in Egypt, the Levant, the Near East, the Middle East, and in the Black Sea steppes (Symonenko 2009, 108–109).

[16] Lamellar armor was used as early as in the seventh century B.C. It was worn by armies of the Near East, the Great Steppe, and China (von Gall 1990, 41–42, 64–66; Robinson 1975, 153, 162; Russell 1962, 7–10).

[17] Scale armor worn by the Achaemenid armies under Xerxes I is explicitly mentioned by Herodotus (7.61.1; 9.22.2). In Iran the lamellar armor was already known in the fifth century B.C., as indicated by the findings of bronze and iron plates in Persepolis (Schmidt 1956, 100).

popular under the Arsacids[18] and the Sasanians.[19] Mail armor[20] became popular in Iran in the late Parthian period[21] and it gained even greater popularity under the Sasanians,[22] but it never made the earlier type of body armor completely obsolete.[23] Scale and lamellar armor were very effective against bladed and blunt weapons, as well as arrows. Their relatively compact structure, especially in the

[18] von Gall 1990, 61–62. Here one can mention images of a heavily armored horseman at Tang-i Sarvak III (Vanden Berghe, Schippmann 1985, fig. 12, Pl. 46–47) and the one shown on a small, stucco plate, at present kept at the British Museum (von Gall 1990, 61–62; Granscay 1948–49, 278–279; 1963, 258, fig. 11, 12; Overlaet 1982, 191). Both horsemen wear sets of lamellar armor.

[19] Despite the fact that there are no surviving samples of scale and lamellar armor of the Sasanian period from Iran proper, the scale armor is depicted on a series of reliefs in Naqsh-i Rustam, which present cavalry duels (von Gall 1990, Abb. 4.1–4). Fragments of scale armor of the Persian type are likely to be shown also on the Arch of Galerius in Thessaloniki (Pond Rothman 1977, Fig. 18), as suggested by the similarity of the scales' sizes and types shown there and those from Naqsh-i Rustam. Lamellar armor is shown on a relief from Tang-i Ab (von Gall 1990, Abb. 3). Images of such armor are also known in the Kushan Empire, neighboring with Iran in the east (Nikonorov 1997b, Fig. 26 a, c-d, Fig. 28 a-c, Fig. 30 b, e, g, Fig. 31 a-b, d, Fig. 39 c, Fig. 40, Fig. 43 a-b). Lamellar armor made of relatively large lames was found under the debris of Tower 19 at Dura-Europos (Robinson 1975, 162, Pl. 457–458). Ammianus Marcellinus explicitly mentions lamellar armor as used by the Iranian cavalry in the fourth century A.D. (Amm. 24.2.10, 4.15, 6.8, 7.8, 25. 1.12).

[20] Fragments of mail rings, dated to the fifth century B.C. and undoubtedly related to the nomads of the steppes, were first found at the archeological site in Zarovka in Ukraine (Bivar 1975, 276; Piggott 1965, 240; Robinson 1975, 164). This definitely refutes the widespread assumption that mail armor is of Celtic origin (Rusu 1971, 276–278, Taf. 143–146). The Romans adopted mail from the Celts, erroneously thinking that it was the Celtic innovation (Var. *De Lingua Latina* 5.166).

[21] Mail armor shown in the relief of Ardashir I at Tang-i Ab (von Gall 1990, Abb. 3) has an elaborated form known as the mail tunic with long sleeves and it does not have any counterparts in Celtic or Roman mail sets. Most likely, the Parthians borrowed mail armor from the steppe tribes (Robinson 1975, 164, Pl. 459; Symonenko 2009, 127, fig. 97), though it is possible that at first it did not enjoy popularity. Considering the weaponry and combat techniques of the times, the older type of a body armor played the role well, so there was no need to replace it with anything new. That the mail armor was known in the Parthian period may be indicated by the evidence of a wall painting from a synagogue at Dura-Europos, dated to the beginning of the third century A.D. The warriors shown in the painting have mail armor with long sleeves (Nicolle 1996, note 7), which corresponds well with the mail armor from the relief of Tang-i Ab (von Gall 1990, Abb. 3).

[22] Despite the lack of other images of the mail armor, the reliefs of Tang-i Ab, dated to about A.D. 225/226. (Allan 1986; von Gall 1990, 66; Abb. 3; Nicolle 1996, 27; Shahbazi 1986) and of Taq-i Bostan, dated to the sixth century A.D. (Allan 1986, fig. 17), suggest that this type of body armor was used throughout the times of the Sasanians. Fragments of Persian mail armor were also found at Dura-Europos and they are believed to come from the times of the siege laid to the city by Shapur I in A.D. 256 (Hopkins 1936, 188–198, 204–205, 439–466; James 1986, 120).

[23] The image of two heavily armed, fighting knights wearing lamellar armor with long flaps, shown on a silver plate from Koulaguīche (Perm, Russia), dated to the seventh/eighth centuries A.D. (Korbeli, Trever 1936, Pl. 21.), suggests that this kind of armor was used throughout the times of the Sasanians and later on.

case of the lamellar armor, was also an effective defense against the stroke of a long spear used by the Iranian cavalry, which was the basic offensive weapon of a heavily armored horseman in the Parthian-Sasanian period,[24] which is also documented by the graffito from Dura-Europos, where this kind of weaponry is given prominence.[25] In the Dura-Europos House Church there was also a mural showing the combat of lightly armored horsemen wearing Iranian attires and tilting each other with long spears.[26] Mail armor was an effective protection against bladed weapons, but in comparison with scale and lamellar armor it was less effective as a protection against arrows and blunt weapons, especially horsemen's picks, which could rip it. For the same reason mail armor did not provide an effective defense against pole weapons, especially the long spear used by the Iranian cavalry. Among its undisputed advantages were flexibility and airiness. However, because mail armor was inferior protection from pole weapons and arrows, i.e., the most widespread offensive arms in the Iranian cavalry, it took a long time to spread in the Middle East. It gained more popularity as late as in the fourth century A.D.[27]

The aforementioned fact helps better understand the reason for the appearance of hybrid cuirass, as shown in the Dura-Europos graffito. The mail itself was effective enough as a protection from bladed and blunt weapons. In the case of a mounted fight, most attacks were directed at the head, the hand holding the weapon, or the upper torso of a horseman. Speed and mobility were essential in a mounted fight; a horseman charging at his enemy was probably only able to exchange a few strokes before moving beyond the enemy's reach and recharging. Also, bow shots fired at mobile cavalry troops must have had limited effectiveness. Thus, the mail was in many cases sufficient protection on the battlefield.

A long spear was introduced by Philip II of Macedon[28] as an item of equipment carried by the Macedonian cavalry, a novelty that revolutionized horse combat techniques and enabled an effective fight against infantry. The long spear was then adopted by the Iranians during Alexander the Great's invasion of the Achaemenid Empire, as well as by the tribes of the Great Steppe.[29] It became a

[24] Dio Cass. 40.22; Heliod. 9.15.1; Hdn. 4.30; Plut. *Lucull*. 28.3; *Crass*. 24.3; 25.8; 27.1; *Anton*. 45. 3.

[25] von Gall 1990, Abb. 10; James 2004, fig. 23; Rostovtzeff 1930–31, 216, fig. 22; 1933, PL. XXII, 2.

[26] Goldbaum, Little 1980, 293; James 2004, 42–43, fig. 22.

[27] The belief that mail armor is superior to older types of body armor (scale and lamellar armor), often quoted in the works of modern authors (Bivar 1972, 278; Nicolle 1997, 27; Taffozzoli 1993/1994, 194, Żygulski 1982, 74), does not find any corroboration in the available sources. Its speculative character was pointed out by P. Skupniewicz (2006, 160).

[28] Heckel, Jones 2006, 13–14; Olbrycht 2004, 96; Sekunda 1995, 16–17.

[29] Diodorus clearly writes that while preparing his troops for a new scuffle with the Macedonians, King Darius III ordered that swords and spears be lengthened (Diod. 17.53.1. See Nikonorov 1997, 22; Nefedkin 2006, 15; Sekunda 1992, 92). The first known image of a horseman wielding a

common weapon used by the Iranian heavy cavalry under the Parthians[30] and the Sasanians.[31] During mounted combat, the spears were wielded in both hands[32] because of their length. As shown in the reliefs from Tang-i Ab[33] and Naqsh-i Rustam,[34] which present mounted combat, horsemen strove to hit the enemy's torso, especially the lower part. If successful and in view of the lack of stirrups, the enemy would be literally catapulted from the saddle, which is vividly shown in the reliefs mentioned above. Heliodorus (9.15.16.) also mentions the horse's torso and neck as the targets of the spear attack, as they were the easiest to hit.

Mail could not sustain a hit delivered by a long, heavy spear. The latter's force of attack would increase with the speed and weight of the horse, as well as with the weight of the horseman. It was only scale and especially lamellar armor that, due to the rigid way they were fixed, could somehow minimize the injuries sustained during the spear attack.

Certain analogies, which can shed some light on the structure of the cuirass from Dura-Europos, can be found in Sarmatian military equipment. Fragments of fine scales of different shapes and larger lames, which most likely were fixed to a leather or cloth backing, were found in Russia: in the North Caucasus area, in the Kuban River basin, at the excavation sites "Zolotoe Kladbishche" (Golden Cemetery) in Ladozhskaīa, as well as Nekrasovskaīa.[35] Fragments of large, slightly curved lamellas were found in the area between Kazanskaīa and Tiflisskaīa. They would be fixed horizontally and were additionally covered with fine scales at the top. Basically, all these finds are dated to the first or second century A.D.[36] In Ladozhskaīa scattered scales, larger lamellas, and even pieces of mail were found. In the first case, the finds would suggest that they comprised a combined set of armor, being a combination of small scales and larger, oblong

long spear comes from Koi Krylgan Kala (Khwarezm) and dates to the fourth or the beginning of the third century B.C. (Olbrycht 2004, 146).

[30] Plutarch mentions Parthian spears several times as an important piece of weaponry carried by the Parthian armored cavalry (Plut. *Lucull*. 28.3; *Crass*. 25.8; 27.1; *Anton*. 45. 3).

[31] Long spears are well known from the royal reliefs at Tang-i Ab (von Gall 1990, Abb. 3) and Naqsh-i Rustam (von Gall 1990, Abb. 4.1–4). Tabari (5.964) wrote about their use by the cavalry of Husrav I (A.D. 531–579).

[32] Heliodorus (9.15) mentions the fact that the spears used by the Iranian cavalry were wielded in both hands. This technique of handling the spear finds confirmation in iconographic sources, such as the reliefs from Tang-i Sarvak III (Vanden Berghe, Schippmann 1985, fig. 12, Pl. 46–47), Tang-i Ab (von Gall 1990, Abb. 3) and Naqsh-i Rustam (von Gall 1990, Abb. 4.1–4), as well as in the images from Dura-Europos, such as the painting from the House of Frescos (Goldbaum, Little 1980, 293; James 2004, 42–43, fig. 17 H, 22) and the image of an unarmored horseman (James 2004, fig. 17 H, 22).

[33] von Gall 1990, Abb. 3.

[34] von Gall 1990, Abb. 4.1–4.

[35] Symonenko 2009, 116, 119.

[36] Symonenko 2009, 113, 119, fig. 81–84, 86.

lamellas. Finds from Ladozhskaīa suggest that fine scales could be used to strengthen mail, a practice that was followed by the Sarmatians.[37] There are no extant images from the first or second century A.D. that would show Sarmatian horsemen carrying such sets of armor. Undoubtedly, however, if anyone made a rough and schematic sketch of how they appeared, the effect would be similar to that present in the Dura-Europos graffito. Possibly, then, it is not mail but scales which are depicted in the upper part of the cuirass from Dura-Europos. This has been suggested by some scholars including V. A. Symonenko[38] and M. V. Gorelik[39] (see Figure 3). What is problematic is the difference in depicting scale and mail armor, which are often sketched almost exactly in the same way, which makes proper identification very difficult.[40]

However, there are a few arguments that could be quoted to prove that it is instead mail. There are no sources coming from Parthian-Sasanian Iran that would suggest the presence of fine scales, analogous to the Sarmatian ones. The reliefs from Naqsh-i Rustam[41] suggest that the scales used in Iran were relatively large, with a fishbone in the middle and a spun top, which can be especially well seen in the Naqsh-i Rustam relief.[42] The images of similar scales are also known from the Roman Empire: from Pallazzo Ducale (Mantua),[43] from the tombstone of the centurion Q. Sertorius Festus (at present in a museum in Verona),[44] and from the armor of a Roman soldier depicted on Trajan's Column.[45] This type of scale armor is also attested to archaeologically.[46] Most likely, scale armor was already an archaic weapon in Iran in the third century A.D., but it was still used by the heavy cavalry.[47] It is also possible that

[37] Symonenko 2009, 119, fig. 85.

[38] Symonenko 2009, 119–120.

[39] Gorelik 1995, 9, Pl. 3B.

[40] The image of a mounted bowman having armor, whose horse is partially armored, was found at Dura-Europos. We cannot be sure, though, whether the armor shown is scale or a mail (Rostovtzeff 1933, 215–216, PL. XXI, 3). The image is unusual, and it may shed new light on what we know about the Iranian cavalry in the third century A.D. We do not know, however, if it is the image of a mounted bowman coming from petty nobility, who could nevertheless afford an armor, or rather that of a heavily armored horseman, who would use a bow. According to iconographic sources, the bow was used by both types of cavalry, which is shown in the Parthian and Sasanian reliefs from Tang-i Sarvak III (Vanden Berghe, Schippmann 1985, fig. 12, Pl. 46–47), Tang-i Ab (von Gall 1990, Abb. 3), and Taq-i Bostan (Allan 1986, fig. 17).

[41] von Gall 1990, Abb. 4.1–4.

[42] Herrmann 1977, taf. 1–7.

[43] Robinson 1975, Pl. 450–451.

[44] Robinson 1975, Pl. 442–443.

[45] Symonenko 2009, fig. 77.

[46] Robinson 1975, 173; Symonenko 2009, 112.

[47] Romans used scale armor as late as in the fourth century A.D. (Coulston 1990: 142–143, 147, Fig. 4; MacDowell 1995, picture on page 56).

it was shown at Naqsh-i Rustam[48] due to its symbolic rather than military significance. The apparent symbolism may be due to the fact that scales resembled the feathers of legendary animals known in Iranian mythology: a griffin (Waranga/Warang) or a phoenix (Simurgh).[49] The resemblance is mentioned by Ammianus Marcellinus (24.4.5.). The Iranians would embellish their weapons with a motif of feathers in the late Sasanian period as well.[50]

**Fig. 3. Reconstruction of Sarmatian combined armor of the 1st–2nd century AD, consisting of scale and lames, worn over the mail (after Symonenko 2009, fig. 88)**

[48] von Gall 1990, Abb. 4.1–4.
[49] Skupniewicz 2006, 153.
[50] Nicolle 1997, 27; James 1986, 117.

**Fig. 4. Turkish armor that combines Ottoman features (mail with metal plates strengthening the guard of the lower abdomen) with Mameluk ones (the so called turban helmet), 16th century AD (drawing by R. S. Wójcikowski after Turnbull 2005)**

The symbolic, decorative role of scale armor may be indicated by the Tang-i Ab relief,[51] in which the combat equipment of the fighting soldiers is shown in careful detail. The Iranians depicted there have mail and lamellar armor rather than scale armor. Also, the relief of Tang-i Sarvak III, dated to the late Parthian period, shows a heavily armored horseman wearing full and uniform protective gear consisting of a lamellar cuirass, lamellar guards for arms and legs, as well as a set of horse armor.[52] Lamellar armor, consisting of square, relatively large lames, similar to those known from Tang-i Ab, was depicted on a plate that bears the image of a Parthian horseman.[53] Lamellar armor was widely used in Central Asia and in the Far East long after the fall of the Sasanian Empire.[54] Such a long

[51] von Gall 1990, Abb. 3

[52] Vanden Berghe, Schippmann 1985, fig. 12, Pl. 46–47.

[53] Granscay 1963, fig. 11, 12 (the plate is kept at the British Museum).

[54] The images of lamellar armor, dated to the seventh and eighth centuries A.D., are known from the mural in the palace of Panjakent (Transoxiana, at present at the Hermitage Museum). The mural shows square lamellas, similar to those shown in the Tang-i Ab relief (Nicolle 1995, 45, ill. A). The images of lamellar armor, depicted on a silver dish from Malo-Amkovkaīa in Transoxiana (at present at the Hermitage Museum), prove that this type of defensive armor was popular among nomads in the 9th and 10th centuries A.D. (Nicolle, 1995, ill. on page 27). This type of an armor

period of use implies not so much that the Asians were conservative but that such type of body armor provided an effective defense.

As late as in the 16th and 17th centuries the heavily armored Turkish cavalry (*sipahis*) wore body armor which consisted not only of cuirasses but also of guards for arms and legs, made of mail, strengthened at certain fragments, especially at the breast and the lower torso by large or small metal lames (see Figure 4).[55] The outstanding examples of this armor show some affinity with those depicted in the graffito of Dura-Europos. The affinity is warranted, as the fall of the Sasanian Empire and the conquest of Iran by the Muslims did not mean the end of the influence exerted by the Iranian military culture on neighboring countries and peoples, which would then conquer Iran at later dates. The Iranian art of war was so attractive that Sasanian inspiration can be traced in armor and weaponry used by various armies of Islamic countries, which extended their rule to the Eranshahr empire and those countries which were under its more or less direct influence. A Turkish helmet of the 16th century (see Figure 4) clearly bears some affinity to the helmet shown in the relief of Taq-i Bostan, dated to the sixth century A.D.[56] By no means is the affinity accidental.[57]

The above examples clearly justify the presence of mail in the reconstruction of the cuirass from Dura-Europos. At the time, though, both types – mail and scale armor – most likely existed side by side. As indicated by the Sarmatian relics described above, the second type can be related to the steppe culture. Considering the long tradition of metallurgy in Iran, Iranian armor sets must have had excellent quality. It was likely that Iranian mail was made more carefully and the wire used had a better quality. Thus, they were more durable, which in turn made them more popular among the Iranians rather than among the Sarmatians. Implicitly, this can be illustrated by examples of Turkish armor, which must have been dependent on the Parthian-Sasanian tradition, still very much alive. Despite the fact that fragments of mail have been found at Sarmatian burial sites, iconographic sources, including the famous Trajan's Column and the images of the Sarmatians from Panticapaeum (the Crimea, modern Ukraine),[58] invariably show them in scale or lamellar armor, which proves that they were more popular. The question arises about the origins of hybrid cuirass: it is not clear whether it took its origin in the steppes or rather in Iran. It is worth stressing that

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was also used by the heavy Mongolian cavalry (Turnbull 1996, picture on page 26; Turnbull 2003, photo on page 10). An example of lamellar armor, dated to the 17th century A.D. and preserved in a excellent condition, comes from Tibet (Turnbull 2003, photo on pages 13–14).

[55] Nicolle 1995, ill. A-C on page 10, photo on page 12; Turnbull 2005, 18, photos on pages 15, 73.

[56] Allan 1986, fig. 17.

[57] Żygulski 1982, 132.

[58] Negin 1998, Fig. 1–3, Pl. 1.

in view of the scarce and fragmentary evidence, possible answers will be purely speculative and necessarily cannot be fully vindicated.

The steppe theory may be corroborated by the surviving fragments of body armor, which in their structure combine fine scales and larger lamellas ones, such as the ones discovered in Kazanskaīa and Tiflisskaīa,[59] as well as in Ladozhskaīa and Nekrasovskaīa.[60] One cannot underestimate the impact of the warfare practiced by the nomads on Arsacid and Sasanian Iran.[61] Thus, it cannot be ruled out that also in this case the Iranians adopted the Sarmatian cuirass. This could be the result of various, long-standing contacts between the Iranians and the peoples of the Great Steppe, inevitable owing to their immediate geographical proximity. However, it is also possible that it was the Iranians themselves who invented the cuirass under the Arsacids, and the appearance of the scale cuirass should be related to the process of gradual adaptation of mail armor for use by heavy cavalry. This is suggested by a few details. In the third century A.D. it was still lamellar and scale armor that dominated in the Parthian cavalry. Iconographic (Tang-i Ab)[62] and archeological (a fragment of an Iranian mail from Dura-Europos)[63] sources indicate that an extended version of mail armor, consisting of a tunic with long sleeves, was still known in the third century A.D. What is more, it is an original Iranian version of mail, different from its Roman or Celtic counterparts.[64] This may imply that in the period between the first century B.C. and the first century A.D. mail armor was gradually adopted. This must have been related to the appearance of interim versions, combining the elements of mail armor and lamellar or scale armor, which had been used thus far. The cuirass from Dura-Europos could have been such an interim version, effective enough to stay on even after the appearance of full mail armor.

This assumption is quite consistent with the date of the Sarmatian finds; they all come from the first and second centuries A.D. Assuming further that the hybrid cuirass is of Parthian origin, one can speculate that its Sarmatian counterparts might have been imports or imitations of Iranian objects. This may be suggested by the presence of characteristic, curved metal fragments among Sarmatian relics, which are interpreted as underarm framings,[65] similar to those present in the Roman scale armor found in Lake Trasimeno and dated to the fourth cen-

[59] Symonenko 2009, 119, fig. 81–84, 86.

[60] Symonenko 2009, 116, 119.

[61] The significance of the influence of steppe motifs on the Parthian warfare is stressed by V. P. Nikonorov (Nikonorov 2005, 141–142; Nikonorov 2010, 43–44), M. Mielczarek (Mielczarek 1993, 58), and M. J. Olbrycht (Olbrycht 2001; Olbrycht 2003; Olbrycht 2010).

[62] von Gall 1990, Abb. 3.

[63] James 1986, 120.

[64] Robinson 1975, 164, Pl. 459; Symonenko 2009, 127, fig. 97.

[65] Symonenko 2009, 119.

tury A.D.[66] In the Parthian case, this part of the armor served to attach laminar brassards,[67] widely used in Iran, which were adopted by the Romans under Emperor Trajan,[68] but which seem to have been unknown among the Sarmatians. In the case of Sarmatian body armor, the curved metal fragments did not play any combat role. They were purely decorative, as they did not improve armor's defensive features. This may indicate that the armor type originated outside the Sarmatian environment. In possibly following the Parthians, the Sarmatians created their own model by replacing mail with scales and sometimes attaching scales to mail. Although it could strengthen the armor in its own right,[69] it is equally possible that it was done chiefly to decorate the cuirass. The combination was not very effective in combat, which may be proven by the fact that contrary to the combination of mail and lamellas it never gained any popularity. Among the Sarmatians this kind of cuirass could have a connotation of prestige, emphasizing the social rank of the wealthiest warriors. It was definitely not used on a mass scale.

The hybrid armor of the type shown in the graffito from Dura-Europos, i.e., armor that shared flexibility and airiness of mail and durability of lamellar armor, must have enjoyed widespread popularity among the Iranian troops. This is also suggested by the graffito itself, which most likely presents typical body armor worn by the Iranian cavalry or an artistic version of such armor. The appearance of a new type of cuirass in about the first century A.D. is probably related to the fact that the Parthians developed their own type of mail armor. Thanks to its considerable combat effectiveness, it became quite popular and was also used under the Sasanians. While describing Persian body armor, Julian the Apostate (Jul. *Orat*. 1.30.15–28) and Libanius (Lib. *Orat.* 59.70) pay attention to its flexibility and its structure, which was a combination of a bronze lames and steel mail. As the descriptions are not specific enough, they can apply to more or less all types of armor used in Iran at the time. In Ottoman Turkey and in other Muslim countries, the heavily armored cavalry used hybrid armor as late as in the 16th and 17th centuries. Possibly, the new type of cuirass was adopted by the Sarmatians at some point still in the late Parthian period, but it seems that it never became popular there.

The role of the cuirass from Dura-Europos raises questions about the origin of such protective equipment such as the *yushman*, consisting of horizontal lames guarding the breast, embedded in mail, and the *bekhter,* made of small,

[66] Robinson 1975, Pl. 434–435.

[67] Robinson 1975, Pl. 434–435.

[68] Roman soldiers wearing scale armor and laminar brassards are shown in Tropaeum Traiani at Adamklissi (modern Romania) (Robinson 1975, Pl. 446–447).

[69] Symonenko 2009, 119.

elongated lames composing a cuirass, joined by mail rings.[70] They came into use because there was a need to strengthen mail, vulnerable to attacks by means of blunt weapons and various types of spears, and to make armor flexible and stiff. Most likely their origins go back much further than has thus far been assumed. One should also reconsider the role of Iran under the Parthians and the Sasanians, who developed a very attractive military culture exerting influence – often underestimated and passed over in silence in modern studies – on the art of war of other peoples and countries coming into direct or indirect contact with the civilization.

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[70] Żygulski 1982, 133.

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## Abstract

The graffito from Dura-Europos depicting a heavily armored cavalryman is one of the most important sources used to reconstruct the armament of Iranian cavalry units seen in the middle of the third century A.D. The graffito presents a hybrid cuirass that is composed of mail and lamellas. It was probably originally an Iranian construction. The use of hybrid armor should be connected with the process of the adaptation of mail in the Parthian empire and then adjusting this new type of body armor to the realities of cavalry combat. The new hybrid cuirass served its purpose well. It not only survived the Parthian era but also the Arabic conquest of Sasanian Iran in the middle of the seventh century A.D., which is evidently demonstrated by the fact that it was present in the military equipment of Muslim armies in the 16th and 17th centuries A.D.

# RECEPTION AND THE HISTORY OF SCHOLARSHIP

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# THE RECEPTION OF T. S. BAYER'S *HISTORIA REGNI GRAECORUM BACTRIANI* (1738)

**Keywords:** T.S. Bayer, *Historia Regni Graecorum Bactriani*, Graeco-Bactria, Central Asia

"The Greeks got into Troy by trying … everything is done by trying!"
Theocritus, *Idyll* 15.61–62.

Theophilus (Gottlieb) Siegfried Bayer (1694–1738) is usually credited as the first person in modern times to address the history of the Greeks in Bactria in a serious way.[1]Bayer's *Historia Regni Graecorum Bactriani: in qua simul graecarum in India coloniarum vetus memoria*, brings together numismatic and historical research.He describes two Graeco-Bactrian coins which he was able to examine first hand, and collects and comments upon the Classical historical sources on the Greek kingdoms of Bactria and India. It was published in St. Petersburg in 1738, where Bayer, a German, held an academic position. In this short article, I am interested in two questions surrounding the *Historia Regni Graecorum Bactriani*. First (and relatively briefly), how Bayer conducted his research without first hand access to source material and without himself travelling in Bactria – or indeed further east than St. Petersburg. Secondly, the way in which Bayer's scholarship was received by some of his contemporaries and by later writers, outside the field of Bactrian studies – which was at that time more or less his sole preserve. As we shall see, Bayer's work was still, in some quarters, being cited as the major modern work on Bactria almost a hundred years after its first publication.

[1] Holt 1999, 72–73; Coloru 2009, 33–40. (I am grateful to Omar Coloru for sending me a copy of his book, which first introduced me to many of the sources discussed here.) On Bayer and his scholarship see Babinger 1915 and Lundbæk 1986. His papers are held in the Special Collections Department of Glasgow University Library

In terms of his scholarly training and intellectual development, Bayer followed a trajectory which might be familiar to many modern historians of Bactria.He started his career as a Classicist, but in the early 1730s, in St. Petersburg, he made a conscious decision to move beyond the Classical Mediterranean world.In a letter of 29 June 1732, he declared to his fellow German Classical scholar, Johann Matthias Gesner (1691–1761): "Good-bye Muses! My heart, deserting Greece and Rome, is set on the Barbarians!"[2] In 1735 he gave up his chair in Greek and Roman Antiquities and took up a position in Oriental Antiquities.

Despite his Classical background, Bayer approached Bactria via China, and his Bactrian studies date to this period, the last few years of his life, when he had made a conscious decision to divert his attentions from the Classical world to the Orient.What Bayer principally meant by going over to the barbarians, in fact, was studying Chinese, although he published on a wide range of Near Eastern and Asian languages.Bayer was one of very few Europeans at the time who had access to materials on the Chinese language, through his earlier studies in Berlin where some relevant manuscripts were kept and his subsequent correspondence with Jesuit missionaries in China.This correspondence was tortuously drawn out.Letters were carried across Siberia between St. Petersburg and Peking, and a year or more might go by between missives.The information he gleaned from such sources and informants was not sufficient for Bayer to actually 'learn Chinese' in any real sense, and he was very clear that his own writings, such as the *Museum Sinicum*,[3] were not adequate for learning the language and were not intended as instruction manuals.[4] His self-declared intention was to gather, order and disseminate what information there was available to Europeans on Chinese grammar, vocabulary and script so that others might build on his work.As I shall discuss below, more intensive contacts between Europe and China meant that his work was in fact superseded relatively quickly.

One might take from this that Bayer had the kind of talent and desire to create order and rationality out of apparent disorder which might suit him to treat the lacunose literary and numismatic sources on Bactria.He was an exceptionally hard worker, a very wide-ranging and un-blinkered academic, and deserves further credit for his willingness to 'have a go' at straightening out a poorly researched subject such as the Chinese language and seeing what useful directions scholarship on it might take. In the preface to the *Museum Sinicum*, and on several occasions in his personal letters, he quotes from the Hellenistic poet Theocritus:

[2] Quoted by Lundbæk 1986, 152.
[3] Bayer 1730.
[4] Lundbæk 1986, 5.

εἰς Τρόιην πειρώμενοι ἦλθον Αχαιοὶ πείρᾳ θὴν πάντα τελεῖται, ut aiebat anus Syracusia.

"The Greeks got into Troy by trying … everything is done by trying!" as the old Syracusan woman said.[5]

One might well also read this as Bayer's mission statement for his work on Bactria.

Bayer's Bactrian studies stemmed more directly from another of his research interests, numismatics. By the time he came to work on Bactria, he had already published one eastern 'history from coins', of the state of Osroene in upper Mesopotamia.[6] This was followed in 1737 with an article *De Re Numaria Sinorum*.[7] The coins discussed in this study had been acquired by the Russian statesman Count Osterman (1686–1747) from Peking. The great achievement of the *Historia Regni Graecorum Bactriani*, however, was in its integration of numismatic and historical evidence.[8] Bayer worked from two coins which were also available to him locally, in the collection of the St. Petersburg Academy of Sciences. These were a supposed tetradrachm of Eukratides – later shown to have been a drachm[9] – and a bronze of Menander, erroneously attributed to Diodotos. Very few Graeco-Bactrian and Indo-Greek kings are mentioned in Classical histories, but Eukratides and Diodotos – and indeed Menander – are among those who are. Bayer thus had the opportunity both to identify these coins as Bactrian and to contextualise them historically, and, incidentally, to put together a compendium of and commentary on the Greek and Roman sources. Throughout his discussion, he displays the same combination of frustration and dogged determination expressed by other historians of ancient Bactria since.

The importance and the limitations of the *Historia Regni Graecorum Bactriani* were recognised by those who built on Bayer's work, but its substance percolated into the European scholarly consiousness less through dedicated sequels and responses – which did not follow for some years – but through reviews and excerpted translations read to various learned societies and published in their journals. The French historian Claude-Marie Guyon, whose history of Parthia (part of a multi-volume *Histoire des empires et des républiques depuis le déluge jusqu'à Jesus-Christ*) appeared in 1741, even appears to have been ignorant of Bayer's work altogether.His brief discussion of the troubles of the Bactrian kingdom in the first part of the second century BC certainly makes no reference to it.[10] It is sur-

[5] Theocritus, *Idyll* 15.61–62; I transcribe the lines as printed in Bayer 1730.

[6] Bayer 1734.

[7] Bayer 1737.

[8] Bayer 1738, now available online through Google Books.A manuscript copy recently sold at auction for £13,700: Christie's, London, Sale 7471, 14 November 2007.

[9] Browne 2003.

[10] Guyon 1741, 21, 40–41.

prising that this should have been the case, given that an English publication, the *History of the Works of the Learned*, had carried an advance notice of the *Historia*'s impending publication as early as October 1737:

By our last Accounts of the State of Literature abroad we learn from *Petersburgh*, that they had just finished the Impression of M. *Bayer*'s History of *Bactria*.His *Musæum Orientale*, and his *Latin* Dissertations on the *Seres*, *Saces*, and *Chinese*, were then in the Press.[11]

This was followed by passing mentions, and several very favourable reviews, in scholarly publications.The *Journal des Savants* announced that:

M. *Bayer*, Professeur à Pétersbourg, Membre de l'Académie des Sciences de cette Ville & de la Societé Royale de Berlin, a donné depuis quelques tems une Histoire du Royaume Grec des Bactriens, *& c.*Cet ouvrage est intitulé : *Historia Regni Græcorum Bactriani , in quâ simul Græcorum in Indiâ Coloniarum vetus memoria excolitur. Auctore Theophilo Sigebrido Bayero Academico Petropolitano,* & c.[12]

By the time this, and other reviews, appeared, Bayer was already dead, a fact which the *Bibliothèque raisonnée des ouvrages des savans de l'Europe* lamented as "une grande perte pour la République des Lettres".[13] The article in the *Bibliothèque raisonnée* provided a very detailed summary of the contents of the *Historia* (it runs to almost thirty pages), reproducing the by now standard rhetoric of the obscure and fragmentary history of the Greek kingdoms of Bactria pieced together through careful scholarly investigation. Even an educated readership are far more likely to have read about Bactria in digests and *comptes-rendus* such as this – in vernacular languages and published in the capitals of western Europe – than in the original Latin volume, issued in the Russian Empire. In 1742, for example, an extract from the *Historia* was published in Italian translation.[14] As late as 1835, an English reference work, *The Penny Cyclopædia of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge*, cited Bayer in several places in its article on 'Bactria, or Bactriana (now Bokhara)' and referred the reader to his work.[15] One might question whether the purchaser of a budget encyclopaedia in early nineteenth-century England was likely to do so.

Less than twenty years after Bayer's work, the tools and resources at the disposal of a researcher into the Greek kingdoms of Bactria were already incomparably richer. This was because of the rapid advances made in European knowledge of China, its language and history. On 7 May 1754, the Orientalist Joseph de Guignes read a paper before the *Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-*

[11] [History of the Works of the Learned] 1737; see Coloru 2009, 33ff., for this and several of the following references.

[12] *Journal des Savants*, March 1740, 560–561.

[13] [Bibliothèque raisonnée...] 1740, 268.

[14] [Notizie letterarie] 1742.

[15] [Penny Cyclopædia] 1835.

*Lettres* in Paris, reporting on his 'Recherches sur quelques événements qui concernent l'Histoire des Rois Grecs de la Bactriane, & particulièrement la destruction de leur Royaume par les Scythes, l'établissement de ceux-ci le long de l'Indus, & les guerres qu'ils eurent avec les Parthes'.[16] Like Bayer, and others who have worked on Bactria before and since, de Guignes' scholarly interests were wide ranging.[17] Some of his achievements should be better remembered (his recognition that cartouches in Egyptian hieroglyphic texts contained royal names), others are best forgotten (his theory that ancient China had been settled by Egyptian colonists). De Guignes recognised the value of Bayer's work, as well as its limitations:

> [P]ersonne n'a travaillé avec plus de succès que M. Bayer.Son ouvrage, plein de recherches curieuses, renferme toutes les lumières que peuvent nous fournir les auteurs Grecs ou Latins, quoique d'ailleurs il ne contienne presque point de détails, & qu'il soit plutôt une dissertation chronologique qu'une histoire suivie.[18]

Bayer had accomplished the fundamental task of collecting and discussing the references to Bactria in the works of Greek and Roman historians. What de Guignes aimed to do was to build on this work by encorporating the data from ancient Chinese sources. Bayer's work was synthetic rather than analytical, and de Guignes' knowledge of the Chinese material enabled him to approach a more specific topic, that of the events of the mid-second century BC, in which the Greek kingdom of Bactria fell to outside invaders. Bayer's *Museum Sinicum* of 1730 had aimed to gather together all the information on the Chinese language and writing system available to European scholars at that date, pieced together from unpublished manuscripts and correspondence with European Jesuits in Peking. But Bayer, in St. Petersburg, was not fully abreast of the latest developments in European Sinology, and the *Museum Sinicum* had become little more than an antiquarian curiosity within only a few years. Christian missionaries were already bringing their knowledge of Chinese – and Chinese converts – back to Europe and a *Collegio dei Cinesi* was established in Naples in 1732.It is in the period following this exponential growth in European knowledge of China, its language, culture and history, that de Guignes was able to undertake his more specialised inquiry into the history of the Greek kingdom of Bactria, and, with the availability of Chinese historical sources, the period of the invasions was one which he considered promising.

What is remarkable is the extent to which, in the mid-eighteenth century, the latest advances in knowledge of the Greek kingdom of Bactria began to reach an audience beyond the learned academies of St. Petersburg and Paris – at least in

[16] Published as de Guignes 1759.
[17] See, most recently, Wolloch 2011.
[18] de Guignes 1759, 17.

some form. Snippets of information about the history of Greeks in Bactria were presented to the readers of various more popular publications as novel factlets, curiosities, the sort of arcane scholarly exotica which a gentleman at leisure might find diverting. The British journal *The Critical Review* (1756–1817), for example, offered a review of de Guignes' study presented so as to entertain the reader, or perhaps to enable him to bluff his way in drawing room conversation.[19] The comment that "Greek authors only mention it [Bactria] at random" has a curious kind of naïve truth to it.The obscurity of the topic was evidently attractive to the reviewer, even if the typographical errors in his transcription of the French title suggest that he was perhaps not in a position to fully appreciate it. "The reader, who desires further satisfaction," he proposes, "will find his trouble recompensed in the perusal of the memoir." As with the later perusers of the *Penny Cyclopædia*, one might wonder how many of his gentleman readers ever sought out the original publication.

The article's context gives us good reason for such scepticism. Although the piece in *The Critical Review* has a respectful and scholarly tone, this is not representative of the content of the journal as a whole. It counted several notable philosophers and thinkers among its contributors, but alongside more serious work it also reviewed guilty pleasures – which it feigned with varying degrees of credibility and sincerity not to enjoy. "As novels go," one reviewer sniffs, "the Adventures of Sylvia Hughes may be thought tolerable".[20] This same volume for 1760 – the one in which the piece on Bactria also appears – contains everything from 'Short Animadversions on the Difference now set up between Gin and Rum' to 'A friendly and compassionate Address to the Methodists'.[21] But although *The Critical Review*'s content tended towards the catholic, it was more puritanical in its intellectual judgements:

> This is the æra of nonsense, when the press groans under a multiplicity of absurd, foolish, and ridiculous publications, that disgrace a nation distinguished by foreigners for its good sense and learning.[22]

Its appreciation of de Guignes' work on the history of Bactria must be understood as part of the journal's avowed programme for the nation's intellectual improvement. It was only in the following century, in the context of British and Russian imperialism in India and Central Asia, that more in-depth research – both amateur and academic – into the lost Greek kingdoms of Bactria would be conducted and disseminated. In St. Petersburg in the early eighteenth century Bayer had been able to study coins which had arrived there through circuitous

[19] [A Society of Gentlemen] 1760, November, 392–393.
[20] [A Society of Gentlemen] 1760, November, 486.
[21] [A Society of Gentlemen] 1760, 74, 249.
[22] [A Society of Gentlemen] 1760, July, 79.

routes – through correspondence with Europeans in Peking, or indirectly through various routes and markets from Central Asia, a region into which Russian imperialism had yet to make substantial inroads. From the late eighteenth century onwards, the number of European travellers, soldiers and spies (who were often all three) who journeyed through the former Graeco-Bactrian and Indo-Greek territories, and brought back curios and artefacts which they had acquired there, grew exponentially.

For the modern historian of ancient Bactria, the importance of Bayer's work goes above and beyond simple precedent, although it is of course fundamental and ancestral to all Bactrian studies since. Bayer's work remains relevant, and potentially instructive, because of his scholarly agenda – in the *Historia Regni Graecorum Bactriani* and other studies – of reclaiming an obscure topic, making it accessible to a wider audience, and persuading this audience that it can be made knowable. This, in some ways, has been the task of every historian of Bactria since. We might relate Bayer's programme, for example, to W. W. Tarn's attempt, in his *The Greeks in Bactria and India* (first edition 1938), to reclaim Bactria as part of the wider Hellenistic world.[23] Tarn (who was not, as far as I am aware, familiar with Bayer's work) sets out to do this in large part because he believes that previous studies have made Bactria exotic and foreign to an extent that impedes it being considered as part of a real political and cultural world. Another direct parallel between Bayer's and Tarn's work is in the preface to *The Greeks in Bactria and India*:

> A word must be said here about the sources, though they will sufficiently appear as the book proceeds.They are of course very scrappy.But they were not always scrappy. … [A]s there was once a tradition, it is somebody's business to attempt to recover the outline of it.[24]

Tarn characterises the history of Greek Central Asia and India as hopelessly muddled, and while he admits that he does not have mastery of the range of languages and scholarly disciplines to do the topic justice, assumes the basic task of getting the material in order and finding something practical to do with it. In both of these connected aims – redeeming Bactria's reputation for obscurity and exoticism and ordering the source material – present-day historians are still working towards these same goals.

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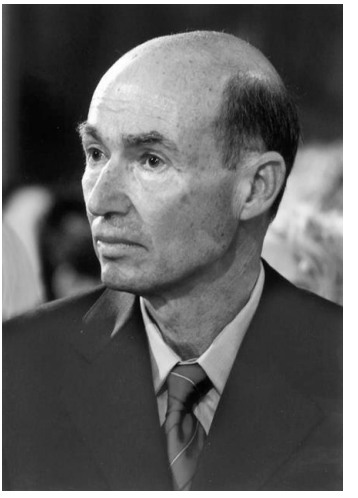
## Abstract

Theophilus (Gottlieb) Siegfried Bayer (1694–1738) is usually credited as the first person in modern times to address the history of the Greeks in Bactria in a serious way. Bayer's *Historia Regni Graecorum Bactriani*, brings together numismatic and historical research.He describes two Graeco-Bactrian coins which he was able to examine first hand, and collects and comments upon the Classical historical sources on the Greek kingdoms of Bactria and India.It was published in St. Petersburg in 1738, where Bayer, a German, held an academic position.In this short article, I am interested in two questions surrounding the *Historia Regni Graecorum Bactriani*.First (and relatively briefly), how Bayer conducted his research without first hand access to source material and without himself travelling in Bactria – or indeed further east than St. Petersburg.Secondly, the way in which Bayer's scholarship was received by some of his contemporaries and by later writers, outside the field of Bactrian studies.

ANABASIS 4 (2013)
STUDIA CLASSICA ET ORIENTALIA

**Yuri N. Kuzmin** (Moscow, Russia)

# THE 70TH BIRTHDAY OF MILTIADES HATZOPOULOS



January 2014 marked the celebration of the 70th birthday of the prominent Greek classicist and epigraphist Miltiades B. Hatzopoulos. In recent decades he has undoubtedly become the world's leading specialist in the history of ancient Macedonia. Dr. Hatzopoulos's initial research, however, was devoted to other regions and topics: the cult of the Dioscuri and the dual monarchy in Sparta (doctoral thesis, University of Paris I Panthéon-Sorbonne, 1971). Moreover, he also researched the history of the Greeks of Sicily under Roman rule from the mid-third century BC to the first century BC (monograph published in Athens in 1976).

In 1979, Dr. Hatzopoulos began to work at the Centre for Greek and Roman Antiquity in Athens (KERA), which he later headed from 1992 to 2010. This was a time of rapid growth of interest in the history of ancient Macedonia that followed M. Andronikos's sensational discoveries of the royal tombs at Vergina in the late 1970s.

In 1981 an archive of the inscriptions from Macedonia was established at KERA. Thus, the collection and publishing of the inscriptions (those recently found, as well as those stored in museums in northern Greece yet never published) became a major focus of Dr. Hatzopoulos and his colleagues in the *Macedonian Programme*.

Beginning in the mid-1980s, Dr. Hatzopoulos published more than a dozen monographs (some of them co-authored) on a variety of aspects of the history and culture of ancient Macedonia. Among them were separate commented editions of important inscriptions, books on the topography and historical geography of Macedonia, on beliefs and cults of the Macedonians, Macedonian military organization in the Hellenistic period, etc.

In 1996 the two-volume monograph *Macedonian Institutions under the Kings* was published. Until now, this pioneering work, which has led to discussions on many issues, remains the most recent research of note in the study of the political and social institutions of the Macedonian state.

Dr. Hatzopoulos is one of the publishers of the corpus *The Inscriptions of Lower Macedonia* (in 1998 Dr. Hatzopoulos and L. Gounaropoulou published together the first volume, which included Greek and Latin inscriptions from Beroia; a second volume is forthcoming). With his assistance, a collection of inscriptions from the sanctuary of the Mother of Gods at Leukopetra was published in 2000. Since the latter half of the 1980s, Dr. Hatzopoulos has published annual reviews of Macedonian epigraphy in the *Bulletin épigraphique*. The list of Dr. Hatzopoulos' works includes more than 150 titles: books, epigraphic corpora and surveys, articles and reviews, as well as collective volumes under his editorship.

The highest international scientific recognition of Dr. Hatzopoulos's achievements is evidenced by his membership in the Institut de France (Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres) and the German Archaeological Institute. Dr. Hatzopoulos is also a member of the Athens Archaeological Society.

In addition to continuing his studies of the history of ancient Macedonia and neighboring regions (Epirus, Thessaly and Thrace), Dr. Hatzopoulos has in recent years begun to study the modern history of Cyprus before the time of the Turkish invasion in 1974 and the subsequent division of the island. Cypriot topics are reflected in Dr. Hatzopoulos' scientific works, as well as in his novels.

Macedonian inscriptions of Roman times repeatedly record the names of people called *makedoniarches* (apparently they headed provincial *Koinon Makedonon*, and were also associated with the Emperor cult). It seems that in light of his outstanding achievements in the study of the history of ancient Macedonia Dr. Miltiades Hatzopoulos could be appropriately called the μακεδονιάρχης.

ANABASIS 4 (2013)
STUDIA CLASSICA ET ORIENTALIA

**Alexander A. Sinitsyn** (Saratov / Saint Petersburg, Russia)

# AD SEXAGENSIMUM DIEM NATALIS VALERII NIKONOROV PAULI F.

„Nur rastlos betätigt sich der Mann"
Goethe, *Faust*, v. 1759.

On October 20, 2013, Valerii P. Nikonorov, a historian of antiquity and archaeologist, celebrated his 60th birthday. He is a renowned expert in the fields of ancient warfare and military archaeology. This includes the histories of the nomadic and sedentary peoples inhabiting Central Asia and the Iranian Plateau from the early Iron Age through the Early Middle Ages. Another field of his scholarly interests is the history and culture of western Central Asia from the Hellenistic period to Late Antiquity. His personal bibliography numbers more than 80 publications; in addition, at least 20 collected studies and monographs were published under his academic editorship.[1] His area of expertise also encompasses academic editorship and publishing.

Valerii Pavlovich Nikonorov was born in Leningrad on October 20, 1953. After serving in the Soviet Army, he entered the Faculty of History at Leningrad State University (now Saint Petersburg State University) in 1977. He earned his degree in Classical Studies in the Department of the History of Ancient Greece and Rome. Among his teachers in ancient history and culture were Eduard D. Frolov, Iuri V. Andreev, Nadezhda S. Shirokova, and Aleksei B. Egorov. He is also indebted to Vanda P. Kazanskene (Faculty of Philology of Leningrad/Saint Petersburg State University) for her patience and exceptional compassion in teaching the Ancient Greek and Latin languages.

[1] See references to some of his works in the footnotes below; his full bibliography is given in A.A. Sinitsyn/M.M. Kholod (eds.), KOINON ΔΩPON: *Studies and Essays in Honour of Valerii P. Nikonorov on the Occasion of His Sixtieth Birthday presented by Friends and Colleagues*, Saint Petersburg 2013, 25–32.

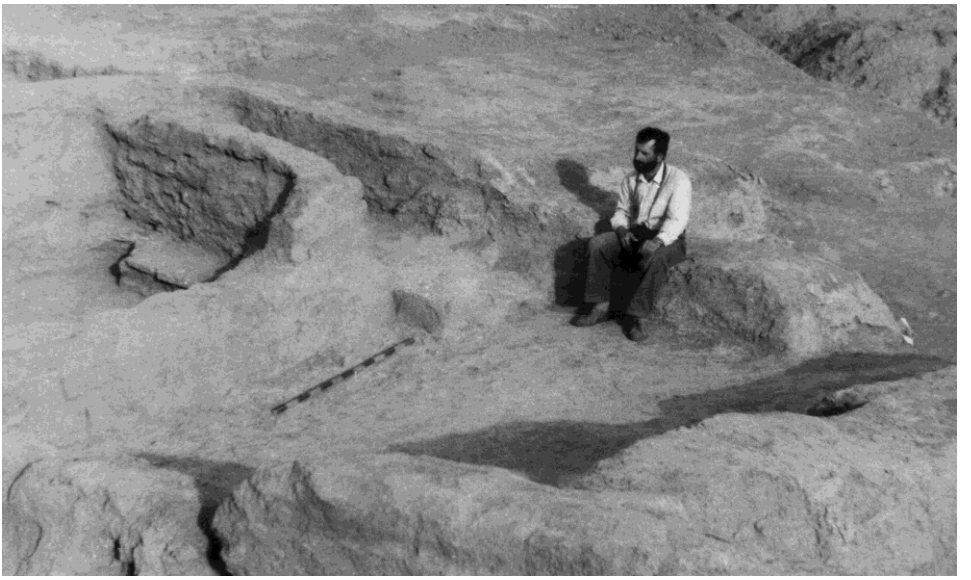


**Fig. 1. Excavating at Kampyrtepa. May 1990. Photo from the private archives of V. P. Nikonorov.**

**Fig. 2. Visiting Kampyrtepa after a 19-year break… From right to left – Konstantin Sheiko, Marek Jan Olbrycht, Nigora Dvurechenskaia, Valerii Nikonorov, Sergei Bolelov. Early November 2009. Photo: Oleg Dvurechenskii.**

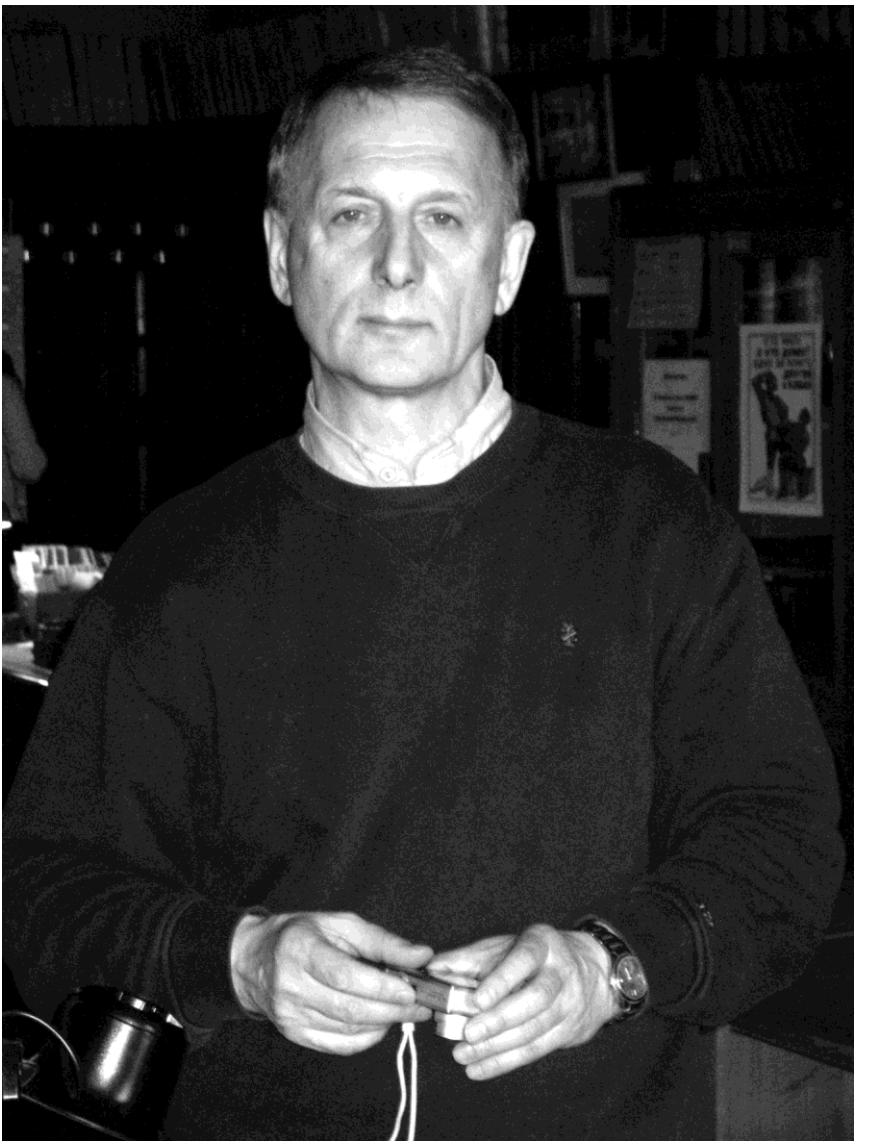


**Fig. 3. In the Library of the Institute of the History of Material Culture (in St. Petersburg). November 2010. Photo: Alexander Sinitsyn.**

In 1983, V.P. Nikonorov graduated from the university with honors, having defended a graduation thesis entitled *Rome and the Sasanians in the Third Century* written under the supervision of A.B. Egorov. In the same year, Nikonorov was encouraged by Vadim M. Masson (1929–2010), the then director of the Leningrad Branch of the Institute of Archaeology of the Academy of Sciences of the

USSR (now the Institute of the History of Material Culture of the Russian Academy of Sciences), to pursue his postgraduate studies at the Department of Middle Asia and the Caucasus (now the Department of Archaeology of Central Asia and the Caucasus). In 1987, he was offered a job in the same department and has worked there as a senior research fellow ever since. Under the academic supervision of V.M. Masson, he completed a Ph.D. thesis entitled *Armament and Warfare in Parthia*, which he defended in 1988.

Since 1982 Valerii P. Nikonorov has frequently participated in archaeological excavations at various ancient sites related to the Neolithic age through the Early Middle Ages, mostly in Turkmenistan (Jeitun, Altyn-Depe, Iylgynly-Depe, Old Nisa, and Erk-Kala in Old Merv) and Uzbekistan (Zartepa, Kampyrtepa, Kalajik), as well as in Ukraine (Kitei and Geroevka in eastern Crimea), Russia (near Gelenjik in the Northern Caucasus), Moldova (near Ungheni) and Vietnam (in the Saigon region). His instructors in the mud-brick archaeology of western Central Asia were Vadim M. Masson, Vladimir A. Zav'ialov (Leningrad/Saint Petersburg), and Edvard V. Rtveladze (Tashkent).

V.P. Nikonorov took an interest in the military history of ancient civilizations in general, and of Iran and Central Asia in particular, when he was a four-year student of the Faculty of History. It was then that he chose as a theme for the term paper the generalship of Roman Emperor Julian the Apostate, who lived a very short but eventful life (AD 331/332–363). The emperor's campaign against the Persians, in which he was killed, excited in Nikonorov further interest in the pre-history of the Roman-Persian opposition starting soon after the collapse of the Parthian rule in Iran and the accession of the Sasanian dynasty to power there ca. AD 224–226. Naturally, one of the most important aspects of frequent Roman-Sasanian wars in the third century was the conditions of the armies of the hostile states and peculiarities of their warfare. Yet while the Roman military practices during the Late Principate and Early Dominate had already been adequately examined in the available scholarly literature by the early 1980s, the early Sasanian warfare was still calling for exploration. This inspired Nikonorov so greatly that not only did he attempt to elucidate the matter in his graduation paper, but also he devoted his would-be Ph.D. thesis to the Parthian warfare that, as he was fully convinced, had a very serious impact on the Sasanians, and what is more, had never been properly investigated before in any satisfactory way. Drawing upon the works of such outstanding researchers as Anatolii M. Khazanov and Boris A. Litvinskii (1923–2010), whom he regards, together with Vadim M. Masson, as his principal teachers in the field of historical studies, he completed his research.

V.P. Nikonorov's contribution to ancient historical studies is vast. He based his research on critical analysis of sources (viz. all the available kinds of evi-

dence: the actual finds of military equipment, pictorial and written testimonies, the basic components of warfare (offensive and protective weaponry of warriors and horse equipment, armed forces and their tactical employment both on battle fields and in the course of siege operations, the military organization) related to the events that took place in Iran during the Parthian (predominantly) and Sasanian epochs,[2] as well as in Bactria from the Early Iron to Early Middle Ages,[3] and among the European Huns.[4]

In addition, he has written a number of articles devoted to more particular matters related to the wide-ranging topics mentioned above, including Parthian-Sasanian history,[5] Bactria[6] and European Huns.[7] Among his other important stud-

[2] *Vooruzhenie i voennoe delo v Parfii* [*Armament and Warfare in Parthia*]: a PhD summary, Leningrad 1987; 'K voprosu o parfianskom nasledii v sasanidskom Irane: voennoe delo [On the Parthian Legacy in Sasanian Iran: the Case of Warfare]' in V.P. Nikonorov (ed.), *Tsentral'naīa Aziīa ot Akhemenidov do Timuridov: arkheologiīa, istoriīa, etnologiīa, kul'tura. Materialy mezhdunarodnoī nauchnoī konferentsii, posvīashchënnoī 100-letiīu so dnīa rozhdeniīa Aleksandra Markovicha Belenitskogo* (*Sankt-Peterburg, 2–5 noīabrīa 2004 goda*), St. Petersburg 2005, 141–179; 'K voprosu o vklade kochevnikov Tsentral'noī Azii v voennoe delo antichnoī tsivilizatsii (na primere Irana) [On the Contribution of the Central Asian Nomads to the Warfare of the Antique Civilization (by the Example of Iran)]' in I.V. Ierofeieva/B.T. Zhanaiev/L.Ie. Masanova (eds.), *Rol' nomadov evraziĭskikh stepeĭ v razvitii mirovogo voennogo iskusstva. Nauchnye chteniia pamiati N.E. Masanova: Sbornik materialov mezhdunarodnoĭ nauchnoĭ konferentsii*, Almaty 2010, 43–65.

[3] *The Armies of Bactria, 700 B.C. – 450 A.D.*, vols. 1–2, Stockport 1997.

[4] 'Voennoe delo evropeīskikh gunnov v svete dannykh greko-latinskoī pis'mennoī traditsii [Warfare of the European Huns in the Light of the Data of Graeco-Latin Literary Tradition]' *Zapiski Vostochnogo Otdeleniīa Rossiīskogo Arkheologicheskogo Obshchestva*, New Series 1 (26), St. Petersburg 2002, 223–323; *«Svistīashchie strely» Maodunīa i «Marsov mech» Attily: Voennoe delo aziatskikh khunnu i evropeīskikh gunnov* [*The «Whistling Arrows» of Mo-tun and the «Mars Sword» of Attila: Art of Warfare of the Asiatic Hsiung-nu and the European Huns*] (Militaria Antiqua 6), St. Petersburg – Moscow 2004 (in co-authorship with Iu.S. Khudiakov); '«Like a Certain Tornado of Peoples»: Warfare of the European Huns in the Light of Graeco-Latin Literary Tradition' *Anabasis: Studia Classica et Orientalia* 1, Rzeszów 2010, 264–291.

[5] For Parthians and Sasanians, see: 'K voprosu o parfianskoī taktike (na primere bitvy pri Karrakh) [On the Parthian Tactics (by the Example of the Battle at Carrhae)]' in A.M. Iliushin (ed.), *Voennoe delo i srednevekovaīa arkheologiīa Tsentral'noī Azii*, Kemerovo 1995, 53–61; 'The Use of Musical Percussion Instruments in Ancient Eastern Warfare: the Parthian and Middle Asian Evidence' in E. Hickmann, I. Laufs, R. Eichmann (eds.), *Studien zur Musikarchäologie. II: Musikarchäologie früher Metallzeiten. Vorträge des 1. Symposiums der International Study Group on Music Archaeology im Kloster Michaelstein, 18.–24. Mai 1998* (Orient-Archäologie 7), Rahden 2000, 71–81; 'Parfianskie litavry [Parthian Kettledrums]' in V.Iu. Zuev (ed.), ΣΥΣΣΙΤΙΑ: Pamīati Iuriia Viktorovicha Andreeva, St. Petersbburg 2000, 167–174; 'K voprosu o sëdlakh parfianskoī kavalerii [On the Saddles of the Parthian Cavalry]', in Iu.S. Khudiakov, S.G. Skobelev (eds.), *Voennoe delo nomadov Severnoī i Tsentral'noī Azii*, Novosibirsk 2002, 21–27; 'O sedlakh parfianskoī konnitsy [On the Parthian Cavalry Saddles]' *Miras* 2002/4 (Ashkhabad), 45–48, 97–100, 149–151; 'K voprosu o pekhote i eë roli v voennom dele parfian i Sasanidov [On the Infantry and Its Role in the Warfare of the Parthians and the Sasanians], in Sh. Myratgulyeva, O. Pirnepesova, N. Smirnova (eds.), *Drevnīaīa material'naīa kul'tura Turkmenistana i eë mesto v razvitii mirovoī*

ies of the ancient art of war are those considered the most controversial aspects of the origins and development of the cataphract cavalry[8] and such important elements of equestrian equipment as horse armor, saddles of rigid construction, and stirrups.[9] Nikonorov has brought to academic light certain works of art from antique Bactria and gave them historical and cultural interpretations. He also highlighted the presence of typical Greek emblems on works of art and coins

*tsivilizatsii: Materialy Mezhdunarodnoī nauchnoī konferentsii, 7–8 aprelīa 2011 goda*, Ashkhabad 2011, 166–173; 'The Parade Hatchet-*Klevets* from Old Nisa (A Contribution to the Study of the Combat Hatchets and Their Cult in Ancient Central Eurasia)' *Anabasis: Studia Classica et Orientalia* 4, Rzeszów 2013, 179–232; 'Fragmety pantsirnogo dospekha pozdnesasanidskogo vremeni iz Togolok-depe [Armour Fragments of Late Sasanian Times discovered at Togolok-Depe]' *Izvestiīa Akademii nauk Turkmenskoī SSR, seriīa gumanitarnykh nauk* 1991/4, 77–79 (in co-authorship with V.Iu. Vdovin).

[6] Bactria: 'New Data on Ancient Bactrian Body-Armour (in the Light of Finds from Kampyr-Tepe)' *Iran* 30, London 1992, 49–54 (in co-authorship with S.A. Savchuk); 'More about western elements in the armament of Hellenistic Bactria: the case of the warrior terracotta from Kampyr-Tepe' in G. Lindström/S. Hansen/M. Tellenbach/A. Wieczorek (eds.), *Zwischen Ost und West. Neue Forschungen zum antiken Zentralasien* (Archäologie in Iran und Turan 14), Darmstadt 2013, 187–204.

[7] 'Gunnskoe voinstvo Attily: konnitsa ili pekhota? [Attila's Hun Host: Cavalry or Infantry?]' in V.A. Alëkshin et al. (eds.), Drevnie kul'tury Evrazii: Materialy mezhdunarodnoī nauchnoī konferentsii, posvīashchënnoī 100-letiīu so dnīa rozhdeniīa A.N. Bernshtama, St. Petersburg 2010, 192–196.

[8] 'Iluratskiī katafraktariī (K istorii antichnoī tīazhëloī kavalerii) [A Cataphract from Iluraton (To the History of the Antique Heavy-armed Cavalry)]' *VDI* 1987/1, 201–213 (in co-authorship with V.A. Goroncharovskii); 'Sredneaziatskie katafraktarii kak produkt vzaimodeīstviīa voennykh shkol Zapada i Vostoka v epokhu rannego ellinizma [The Central Asian Cataphracts as a Produce of the Interaction between Military Schools of the West and the East at the Early Hellenistic Epoch]' in V.M. Masson (ed.), *Vzaimodeīstvie drevnikh kul'tur i tsivilizatsiī i ritmy kul'turogeneza: Materialy metodologicheskogo seminara* (Arkheologicheskie izyskaniīa 13), St. Petersburg 1994, 47–51; 'Cataphracti, Catafractarii and Clibanarii: Another Look at the Old Problem of Their Identifications' in G.V. Vilinbakhov, V. M. Masson (eds.), *Voennaīa arkheologiīa: Oruzhie i voennoe delo v istoricheskoī i sotsial'noī perspektive. Materialy Mezhdunarodnoī konferentsii* (*2–5 sentīabrīa 1998 g.*), St. Petersburg 1998, 131–138; '«Katafrakty» ili «katafraktarii»? Eshchë raz po povodu dvukh oboznacheniī antichnoī pantsirnoī konnitsy [«Cataphracti» or «cataphractarii»? Once more on the Two Terms to designate Antique Armoured Cavalry]' in Iu.S. Khudiakov, S.G. Skobelev (eds.), *Vooruzhenie i voennoe delo kochevnikov Sibiri i Tsentral'noī Azii*, Novosibirsk 2007, 66–72.

[9] 'Razvitie konskogo zashchitnogo snarīazheniīa antichnoī epokhi [The Development of Horse Defensive Equipment in the Antique Epoch]' *Kratkie soobshcheniia Instituta arkheologii Akademii nauk SSSR* 184, Moscow 1985, 30–35; 'Derevīannaīa osnova sedla iz kerchenskogo kurgana vtoroī poloviny IV v. do n.e. [A Wooden Saddle Core of the Latter Half of the 4th Century B.C. from a Kerch Barrow]' *Bosporskie issledovaniīa* 22, Simferopol – Kerch 2009, 127–134 (in co-authorship with Iu. A. Vinogradov); 'K voprosu o roli stremīan v razvitii voennogo dela [On the Role of the Stirrups in the Development of Warfare]' in Iu.Iu. Piotrovskii (ed.), *Stepi Evrazii v drevnosti i srednevekov'e*, bk. 2, St. Petersburg 2003, 263–267.

from western Central Asia and northwestern India.[10] He has contributed to the study of the data of Greek-Roman literary tradition of Apollodorus of Artemita, a Greek-Parthian historian, and his lost *Parthika* (*Parthian History*), and on Margiana, a historical and cultural region in the Murghab River delta (modern southern Turkmenistan).[11] Finally, he initiated and prepared for publishing a translation of the classical, and still unique, monograph by the American historian N.C. Debevoise on the political history of Parthia (published in 1938),[12] which had never before been translated into any other European languages. Here Nikonorov acted as a translator, scholarly editor-in-chief, author of an introductory article (in co-authorship with Marek Jan Olbrycht), and compiler of the unprecedented extensive bibliographic supplement that is almost 600 (!) pages long and numbers approximately 10,500 publications related to the history, culture and social and economic life of the Parthian empire and adjacent territories for the period from 1938 to 2008.

Nikonorov has taken part in more than 30 international scholarly conferences held in the Russian Federation, Poland, England, Germany, the United States, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, Kazakhstan, and Ukraine. He has continuously conducted research and given lectures in many foreign academic, research, educational and cultural centers, such as Yale, Harvard, Columbia,

[10] 'Nekotorye rezul'taty raskopok Baktriĭskoĭ ekspeditsii na gorodishche Kampyr-tepe: pamĭatniki iskusstva [Some Results of the Excavations of the Bactrian Expedition at Kampyr-Tepe: Works of Art]' in Iu.E. Berëzkin (ed.), *Vzaimodeĭstvie kul'tur i tsivilizatsiĭ: V chest' ūbileĭa V.M. Massona* (Rossiĭsko-turkmenskie kul'turnye vzaimodeĭstviĭa i svĭazi 1), St. Petersburg 2000, 160–176; 'Unikal'nyĭ greben' iz Kampyrtepa [A Unique Comb from Kampyrtepa]' *Materialy Tokharistanskoĭ ekspeditsii* 1, Tashkent 2000, 131–138; 'A Unique Comb from Kampyr-Tepe (Northern Bactria)' in J. Chochorowski (ed.), *Kimmerowie, Scytowie, Sarmaci. Księga poświęcona pamięci Profesora Tadeusza Sulimirskiego*, Kraków 2004, 317–329; 'Novye terrakoty iz Kampyrtepa [New Terracottas from Kampyrtepa]' in E.V. Rtveladze, Sh.R. Pidaev (eds.), *Drevnĭaĭa i srednevekovaĭa kul'tura Surkhandar'i. Sbornik nauchnykh statetĭ, posvĭashchennykh arkheologicheskim issledovanĭiam v Surkhandar'inskoĭ oblasti Respubliki Uzbekistan*, Tashkent 2001, 39–43; 'Perun Zevsa na «Dal'nem Vostoke» antichnogo mira [Zeus' Thunderbolt in the 'Further East' of the Classical World]' in V.A. Alëkshin et al. (eds.), *Kultury stepnoĭ Evrazii i ikh vzaimodeĭstvie s drevnimi tsivilizatsiiami: Materialy mezhdunarodnoĭ nauchnoĭ konferentsii, posvĭashchënnoĭ 110-letiĭu so dnĭa rozhdeniĭa vydaĭushchegosĭa rossiĭskogo arkheologa Mikhaila Petrovicha Grĭaznova*, vol. 2, St. Petersburg 2012, 496–504.

[11] 'Apollodorus of Artemita and the date of his Parthica revisited' in E. Dąbrowa (ed.), *Ancient Iran and the Mediterranean World: Proceedings of an international conference in honour of Professor Józef Wolski held at the Jagiellonian University, Cracow, in September 1996* (*Electrum* 2), Kraków 1998, 107–122; 'Margiana i Merv v antichnoĭ istoriografii [Margiana and Merv as described in Classical Historiography]' in M.A. Annanepesov (ed.), *Merv v drevneĭ i srednevekovoĭ istorii Vostoka* [1], Ashkhabad 1990, 39–42.

[12] N.K. Dibvoiz, *Politicheskaia istoriia Parfii* [N.C. Debevoise, *A Political History of Parthia*], St. Petersburg 2008. See its review by R.S. Wójcikowski: *Anabasis. Studia Classica et Orientalia* 3, 2012, 347–350.

Houston, Rutgers and Montana Universities, the Metropolitan Museum of Art, the American Numismatic Society, the Institute for Advanced Study (United States); the University of Münster, Martin Luther University of Halle-Wittenberg and the German Archaeological Institute (Germany); Nicolaus Copernicus University in Toruń, the University of Rzeszów and the University of Gdańsk (Poland). Nikonorov belongs to the editorial staff of the historical and archaeological book series at the Press of St. Petersburg State University Faculty of Philology. He is the editor-in-chief of 1) *Memoirs of the Oriental Department of the Russian Archaeological Society*, New Series (Institute for the History of Material Culture, St. Petersburg, Russian Federation); 2) *Militaria Antiqua*, the book series on ancient and medieval military history (St. Petersburg, Russian Federation). In addition, he is a member of the editorial boards of the international annual *Cultural Values* (Ashkhabad, Turkmenistan) and the international scholarly journal *Anabasis. Studia Classica et Orientalia* (Rzeszów, Poland), as well as member of the editorial council of the scholarly almanac *Metamorphoses of History* (Pskov University, Russian Federation).

Those who do not know the scholar well enough think he is not easy to approach; he is reserved and selective in choosing new acquaintances. Yet with those he favors he is always generous and straightforward, willing to share his ideas, personal contacts, time, and books. Generosity is his core element, his natural gift. Nikonorov's friends appreciate his integrity, his staunch civic position, his resolve to defend his views. He is a good speaker, yet he is also a good listener. His sense of humor is widely appreciated. In addition to his learning, which encompasses a profound knowledge of history, erudition, and the ability to make the best of available information, he is a brilliant symposiast and a welcoming host. He personalizes the Petersburg goodwill and hospitality, and deserves the name of Valerius "Polyxenus" ("Very Hospitable").

Valerii Pavlovich Nikonorov's friends and colleagues are happy to congratulate him on the occasion of his milestone anniversary and to wish him Siberian health, Caucasian longevity, and fruitful research – the Hellenic way – for years to come.

ΧΑΙΡΕ, ΦΙΛΕ ΠΟΛΥΞΕΝΕ!

ΑΓΑΘΗΙ ΤΥΧΗΙ!

*The editors of Journal "ANABASIS" join in congratulating Valerii P. Nikonorov*

# REVIEWS

ANABASIS 4 (2013)
STUDIA CLASSICA ET ORIENTALIA

**Martin Schottky** (Germany)

# VÍCTOR ALONSO TRONCOSO / EDWARD M. ANSON (ED.), *AFTER ALEXANDER: THE TIME OF THE DIADOCHI* (*323–281 BC*), OXFORD (UK) AND OAKVILLE (CT, USA): OXBOW BOOKS, 2010, X U. 277 S., ABB.; ISBN 978-1-84217-512-5

„Mit seinem letzten Atemzuge begann der Hader seiner Großen, die Meuterei seines Heeres, das Zusammenbrechen seines Hauses, der Untergang seines Reiches." Die bekannten Worte J.G. Droysens am Ende seiner *Geschichte Alexanders des Großen* stellen noch immer das Leitmotiv dar für die nach Alexanders Tod anhebende Epoche. Mit dem von Víctor Alonso Troncoso und Edward M. Anson herausgebenen Band liegt jetzt eine neue Aufsatzsammlung vor, die das Zeitalter der Diadochen unter verschiedenen Aspekten beleuchtet.

Der Inhalt ist in vier Sachgruppen gegliedert, von denen sich die erste mit den Quellen und ihrer angemessenen Auswertung beschäftigt. Hier zeigt schon der Beitrag von Tom Boiy: „The Diadochi History in Cuneiform Documentation" (S. 7–16), wie die wissenschaftliche Erkenntnis in manchen Fällen von Jahr zu Jahr fortschreitet. In der kürzlich an dieser Stelle erschienenen Besprechung der *Quellen zur Geschichte des Partherreiches* (*NTOA* 83–85) hatten wir auf die Ungewissheit hingewiesen, ob das Larsa-Dokument BRM II (bzw. 2) 51 aus der Partherzeit stammt. Boiy S. 11 u. – 12 o. weist die Tafel nun überzeugend der Diadochenperiode zu. Pat[rick] Wheatley: „The *Heidelberg Epitome*: A Neglected Diadoch Source" (S. 17–29) beschäftigt sich dagegen mit literarischen Exzerpten, die nicht ungern als Quelle herangezogen werden, aber seit hundert Jahren nicht mehr erschöpfend untersucht worden sind. Franca Landucci Gattinoni: „Seleucus vs. Antigonus: A Study on the Sources" (S. 30–42) weist auf Widersprüche in der Darstellung des Seleukos in Diodors Büchern 18–20 hin. Dabei dürften die pro-seleukidischen Ausführungen über Duris von Samos letztlich auf Demodamas von Milet zurückgehen. Frances Pownall: „Duris of Samos and the Diadochi" (S. 43–56) beschäftigt sich mit der

Meinung, die der genannte Autor von Alexanders Nachfolgern hatte. Dabei zeigt sich, dass er Makedonen grundsätzlich verabscheute, während er Griechen wie Eumenes und Phokion lobte. Timothy Howe: „The Diadochi, Invented Tradition, and Alexander´s Expedition to Siwah" (S. 57–70) untersucht die Glaubwürdigkeit der Berichte, nach denen Alexander schon zu Lebzeiten die eigene Vergöttlichung gefördert habe. Hier scheint es sich eher um Propaganda seiner Nachfolger zu handeln. Brian Bosworth hat für seinen Aufsatz den etwas makaberen Titel „Strabo, India and Barbequed Brahmans" (S. 71–83) gewählt. In ihm werden Berichte über die Selbstverbrennungen indischer Weiser verglichen, von denen die eine unter den Augen Alexanders, die andere zur Zeit des Augustus stattfand. Der abschließende Beitrag des Abschnitts, Alexander Meeus: „What We do not Know about the Age of the Diadochi: The Methodological Consequences of the Gaps in the Evidence" (S. 84–98), enthält mehrere beherzigenswerte Ratschläge, wie man bei der Deutung wenig belegter Vorgänge besser nicht vorgehen sollte. Dabei scheint der erstgenannte, keine *argumenta e silentio* zu verwenden, eigentlich auf der Hand zu liegen, doch wird er immer noch viel zu wenig beachtet.

Der zweite Abschnitt thematisiert Vorgänge auf dem Weg vom Alexanderreich zum früh-hellenistischen Staatensystem. Er beginnt mit dem Beitrag des Mit-Herausgebers Edward M. Anson: „The Battle of Gabene: Eumenes´ Inescapable Doom?" (S. 99–109), der sich mit der wenig beneidenswerten Situation des genannten vor seiner letzten Schlacht befasst. Elizabeth Baynhams Aufsatz „Alexander´s Argyraspids: Tough Old Fighters or Antigonid Myth?" (S. 110–120) schließt nicht nur direkt an den vorhergehenden an, sondern überschneidet sich auch thematisch mit ihm. Dabei kommt die Verfasserin zu dem für manche sicher überraschenden Ergebnis, dass das überlieferte Alter der „Silberschildner" im ganzen glaubwürdig sein mag. Paschalis Paschidis: „Agora XVI 107 and the Royal Title of Demetrius Poliorcetes" ( S. 121–141, 1 Abb.) beschäftigt sich mit der Behauptung Plutarchs, der Städtebelagerer sei bereits 307 mit seinem Vater in Athen zum König ausgerufen worden. Diese Aussage kann durch die erwähnte Inschrift klar widerlegt werden. Der Abschnitt endet mit einem Beitrag von Shane Wallace: „Adeimantus of Lampsacus and the Development of the Early Hellenistic Philos" (S. 142–157). Dabei geht es um Leute im königlichen Dienst, die in den literarischen Quellen und in der älteren Literatur gewöhnlich als „Schmeichler" bzeichnet werden. Der Aufsatz von Wallace stellt – am Beispiel des Adeimantos – die Bedeutung dieser Funktionsträger als Vermittler zwischen den hellenistischen Herrschern und den griechischen Städten heraus.

Soweit es einem Rezensenten überhaupt gestattet ist, Vorlieben zu äußern, stehen wir nicht an zu bekennen, dass uns der dritte Abschnitt besonders interessiert hat. Er beschäftigt sich mit einem Thema, das bis vor einigen Jahren noch nicht forschungsrelevant war: das Schicksal der Unterworfenen und deren Funk-

tion bei der Entstehung der hellenistischen Reiche. Marek Jan Olbrycht: „Iranians in the Diadochi Period“ (S. 159–182, 7 Abb.) arbeitet dabei einen entscheidenden Punkt heraus. Obwohl die Quellen dies nicht registrieren, spielten Iraner eine wichtige Rolle für die Herrschaftsgewinnung und -sicherung der Nachfolger. Das gilt im negativen Sinne für Antigonos, im positiven für Seleukos und Antiochos. In einem Ausblick über die Diadochenzeit hinaus werden dann die Begründung und der Aufstieg des Partherreiches in den hundert Jahren zwischen 240 und 140 v. Chr. als Wiederbelebung iranischer Traditionen gedeutet. Luis Ballesteros Pastor: „*Nullis umquam nisi domesticis regibus*. Cappadocia, Pontus and the Resistance to the Diadochi in Asia Minor“ (S. 183–198), hat besonders die Nachfolgestaaten in Anatolien im Auge. Dabei wird die bei Iust. 38,7,2 überlieferte Behauptung Mithradates´ VI., die kleinasiatischen Völker (einschließlich derer des Kaukasus) hätten bis zu seiner Zeit nie eine wirkliche Fremdherrschaft erlebt, auf ihren Realitätsgehalt hin überprüft. Wichtig erscheint noch der Hinweis darauf, dass Mithradates Makedonen und Griechen als Fremde, Iraner dagegen als legitime, im Lande bereits fest verwurzelte Fürsten betrachtet zu haben scheint. Sabine Müllers Beitrag „The Female Element of the Political Self-Fashioning of the Diadochi: Ptolemy, Seleucus, Lysimachus, and their Iranian Wives“ (S. 199–214) schließt den dritten Abschnitt ab. Der Aufsatz liefert ein anschauliches Beispiel dafür, dass endgültige Gewissheit in manchen Fragen nicht immer erreichbar ist. In seinen methodologischen Überlegungen hatte Alexander Meeus ausgeführt, dass das Schicksal der einheimischen Frauen der Makedonen nur in zwei Fällen eindeutig überliefert sei: „one retained, one repudiated“ (S. 88 u. – 89 o.). Dagegen übernimmt Frau Müller in diesem Punkt die traditionelle Sichtweise. Die meisten Diadochen hätten ihre iranischen Gemahlinnen verstoßen. Das menschlich anständige Verhalten des Seleukos gegenüber Apame stelle eine auffällige Ausnahme dar, auf die gar nicht deutlich genug hingewiesen werden könne.

Auch der vierte Abschnitt wendet sich einem Themenkreis zu, der in der Vergangenheit vielleicht ein wenig vernachlässigt worden sein könnte. Es geht darum, wie die Nachfolger Alexanders ihre Interessen mit propagandistischen Mitteln zu fördern suchten. Dabei zeigt Giuseppe Squillace: „Alexander the Great, Ptolemy I and the Offerings of Arms to Athena Lindia“ (S. 215–224) anhand von Weihgeschenken, die der Athene von Lindos auf Rhodos daegebracht wurden, wie Ptolemaios I. konsequent eine *imitatio Alexandri* verfolgte. Elisabetha Poddighe: „Propaganda Strategies and Political Document: Philip III´s *Diagramma* and the Greeks in 319 BC“ (S. 225–240) beschäftigt sich mit dem von Polyperchon im Namen des regierungsunfähigen „Philipp III.“ Arridaios bekanntgemachten Erlass, der bei Diod. 18,56 erhalten ist. Angesichts der tiefschürfenden, sehr ins Detail gehenden Analyse verbietet sich hier jede Zusammenfassung oder das Eingehen auf Einzelheiten. Stattdessen hätten wir eine kleine Anregung zu geben. Man kann

annehmen, dass Leser, die sich mit der Zeit nach Alexander beschäftigen, eine Diodor-Ausgabe zur Hand haben, vielleicht auch Droysens *Geschichte der Diadochen*, die eine Übersetzung des Diagrammas enthält. Dennoch wäre es wohl nicht verkehrt gewesen, den griechischen Text und/oder eine englische Übersetzung der Stelle an den Anfang der Untersuchung zu stellen. Was Frau Poddighe möglicherweise versäumt hat, liefert Daniel Ogden in reichem Maße: sinnvoll in den Text des Beitrags integrierte Übersetzungen von Quellenzitaten. Sein Aufsatz „The Alexandrian Foundation Myth: Alexander, Ptolemy, the *Agathoi Daimones* and the *Argolaoi*" (S. 241–253) zieht allerdings auch Überlieferungen heran, die man im ersten Moment schwerlich mit der Diadochenzeit in Verbindung brächte. So wird der Alexanderroman einschließlich der armenischen Fassung eingesehen, doch selbst byzantinische Werke wie das Chronicon Paschale oder die Suda fehlen nicht. Vom Thema her geht es um den Ursprung der Verehrung des Agathos Daimon, eines Schlangenkultes, dessen Entstehung mit der Gründung von Alexandria verknüpft wurde. Der letzte Beitrag der vierten Abteilung stammt vom Mit-Herausgeber Víctor Alonso Troncoso: „The Diadochi and the Zoology of Kingship: The Elephants" (S. 254–270). Er bildet einen zweiten Teil der Beschäftigung des Verfassers mit dem Thema (der Aufsatz *Para una zoología de la realaza*: *Alejandro Magno y los elefantes* wird in *Anabasis* 5, 2014 erscheinen). Im vorliegenden Beitrag wird herausgearbeitet, wie Darstellungen von Elefanten verwendet wurden, um die Autorität verschiedener Herrscher ideologisch zu unterbauen. Die Seleukiden waren hierbei offensichtlich am erfolgreichsten. Die Bedeutung der Tiere für die Dynastie ist dabei durch den Ausgang der Schlacht bei Ipsos bedingt.

Was die vom Rezensenten gern zur Sprache gebrachten formalen Irrtümer betrifft, sind wir zu unserer angenehmen Enttäuschung selten fündig geworden. Allerdings ist die Wiedergabe deutscher Werktitel, ja selbst der Verfassernamen („Siebert" statt Seibert im Beitrag von Timothy Howe) häufig ein wenig Glückssache. Doch enthält keiner der Aufsätze unserer Beobachtung nach einen Irrtum, der beim konzentrierten Lesen nicht sofort als solcher erkennbar wäre. Daher nur noch eine Beobachtung eher allgemeinen Charakters: im Untertitel des Buches wird auf die *Diadochi* Bezug genommen, Alonso Troncoso verwendet zweimal (Introduction, S. X, erster Abs. und S. 263, letzter Abs.) im englischen Text das Fremdwort *Diadochenzeit*. Da mag es ein klein wenig verwundern, dass der Name dessen, der den Begriff in der hier verwendeten Bedeutung geprägt hat und vom Rezensenten auch schon mehrfach erwähnt wurde, niemals erscheint. Wir sind uns jedoch dessen bewusst, dass in einem Tagungsband von weniger als 300 Seiten, der hauptsächlich neue Erkenntnisse bringen soll, kaum eine Möglichkeit besteht, zusätzlich auf die Wissenschaftsgeschichte einzugehen. So muss wohl selbst mancher „Altmeister" irgendwann hinter seinen Leistungen zurücktreten.

ANABASIS 4 (2013)
STUDIA CLASSICA ET ORIENTALIA

**Marek Jan Olbrycht** (Poland)

# STEFAN RADT (HG.), *STRABONS GEOGRAPHIKA. BAND 6. BUCH V–VIII: KOMMENTAR*, GÖTTINGEN: VANDENHOECK&RUPRECHT, 2007; ISBN 978-3–525-25955-9 (525 S.)[1]

Strabons Werk hat sich in den letzten Dezennien zu einem intensiv betriebenen Forschungsgebiet entwickelt. Dabei haben sich zwei Hauptthemenkreise herausgebildet: Zum einen werden regionale Studien zu den *Geographika* erstellt.[2] Zum anderen wandte man sich Strabons Biographie und seinem kulturell-politischen Hintergrund zu.[3] Eine vollständige, textkritische und zuverlässige Ausgabe der *Geographika* war lange Zeit ein Desiderat der Forschung. W. Kramer publizierte seine jetzt von der Forschung überholte kritische Edition in den Jahren 1844–1852 in Berlin. Die weit verbreiteten Ausgaben von A. Meineke (Leipzig 1852–3, Neudruck 1877; heutzutage in der *TLG Datenbank* verfügbar) und von H. L. Jones (*Loeb Classcial Library*, Harvard, MA, 1917–1936) gehen auf die Edition Kramers zurück. Die Versuche B. Nieses und K. Reinhardts, eine neue Strabonausgabe zu erstellen, blieben vergebens. Keine von den im 20. Jh. begonnenen Ausgaben wurde bis Ende durchgeführt. Dies gilt für den W. Alys Versuch (2 Bände, Bonn 1968–1972: Bücher I–VI), für die 1966

[1] Die Verantwortung für die überaus späte Erscheinung der Rezension liegt allein beim Rezensenten.

[2] Vgl. etwa: N. Biffi, *L'Estremo Oriente di Strabone. Libro XV della Geografia. Introduzione, traduzione e commento*, Bari 2005; *L'Anatolia meridionale in Strabone: libro XIV della Geographia, Introduzione, traduzione e commento,* Bari 2009; P. Thollard, *La Gaule selon Strabon: du texte à l'archéologie: géographie, Livre IV, traduction et études*, Aix-en-Provence 2009.

[3] Siehe etwa D. Dueck, H. Lindsay, S. Pothecary (eds.), *Strabo's Cultural Geography. The Making of a Kolossourgia,* Cambridge 2005; O.L. Gabelko, 'Two New Conjectures in the Strabo's 'Geography' and Certain Historical Inferences' in this volume of the *Anabasis. Studia Classica et Orientalia*.

initiierte Budé-Edition, die bis Buch XII reicht (siehe P. Levi in *Classical Review*, 40, 1990, 14) und für die italienische F. Sbordones Ausgabe, die mit Buch IX aufgehört hatte (siehe K. Brodersen, Rez. zu: F. Sbordone, *Strabonis Geographica*, Vol. 3 (2002) in *Classical Review* 53, 2003, 316–318). Dazu kommt noch eine andere Teilausgabe mit italienischer Übersetzung, die von A.M. Biraschi, F. Trotta, R. Nicolai und G. Traina vorgelegt wurde (1988–2001).

Vor diesem Hintergrund erscheint die Strabonausgabe Radts als eine einzigartige Leistung, denn inzwischen wurden bereits alle Teile seiner auf zehn Bände angelegten und seit 2002 herausgegebenen textkritischen und philologischen Edition unter Einschluss des Bandes 10 mit Registern zur gesamten Ausgabe (2011) publiziert. Nunmehr liegt der Groninger Strabon vollständig als die einzige vollständige moderne Ausgabe der *Geographika* vor. Die meisten Bände der neuen Ausgabe wurden Gegenstand von Besprechungen.[4] In philologischer Hinsicht stellt die Ausgabe von Radt eine besondere Leistung dar. Radt erstellte einen neuen Text, indem er auf die Erkenntnisse von Aubrey Diller (*The Textual Traditions of Strabo's Geography,* Amsterdam 1975 ) zur strabonischen Textüberlieferung zurückgriff. Dabei verzichtete Radt auf das Konzept von vermuteten Handschriftengruppen und arbeitete lediglich mit vorhandenem Material.

Im Folgenden wird der sechste Band der Edition von Strabons *Geographika* besprochen. Der 2007 erschienene Band enthält einen ausführlichen Kommentar zu den Büchern V-VIII der *Geographika*. Der kommentierte Text (Abschnitte 209,15 – 389,42 in der Casaubonus-Zählung) befindet sich in Band 2 der Ausgabe Radts (2003), der von J. Engels ausführlich rezensiert wurde (siehe Rez. zu: S. Radt, *Strabons Geographika. Mit Übersetzung und Kommentar, Band 2: Buch V-VIII: Text und Übersetzung*, Göttingen 2003, *Klio* 87, 2005, 270–271).

Band 6 umfaßt zunächst einen Kommentar zu Buch V (Norditalien bis Kampanien) und Buch VI (Süditalien und Sizilien). Es folgt der Kommentar zu Buch VII, in dem Strabon eine Schilderung der Gebiete vom Herkynischen Wald bis zur Taurika (Krim) und zum Don/Tanais folgen lässt. Dabei werden Ethnien wie die Germanen, Kimbrer, Geten, Skythen, Sarmaten, Daker und Thraker behandelt. Im VIII. Buch beschreibt Strabon Südgriechenland. Der ganze Kommentarband behandelt demzufolge verschiedene Kulturbereiche und geographische Räume von Norditalien und Nordsee bis zu Don und Peloponnes, ein Sachverhalt, der für jeden Altertumswissenschaftler eine schwierige Herausforderung darstellen würde. Für historisch-geographische und archäologische Belange bietet Radt meist nur

[4] Siehe S. Pothecary, *Bryn Mawr Classical Review* 2003.07.08, zu Strab. I-IV; M. Billerbeck, *Museum Helveticum* 64, 2007, 233–234, zu Strab. IX–XIII; P. C. Nadig, *Bryn Mawr Classical Review* 2006.12.24, zu Strab. XIV–XVII (Text); E. Olshausen, *H-Soz-u-Kult* 06.06.2011, <http://hsozkult.geschichte.hu-berlin.de/rezensionen/2011–2–188>, zu Strab. XIV–XVII (Kommentar); P.-O. Leroy, *Bryn Mawr Classical Review* 2012.06.02 (zu Band 10).

knappe Angaben und Verweise, dabei wird in vielen Fällen lediglich auf Lexika (*RE, KlP, DNP*) rekurriert. Wünschenswert wäre gewesen, den Kommentar unter Einbeziehung von mehreren Spezialisten zu erstellen. Die Verweise auf die abgekürzt zitierte Literatur sind wenig benutzerfreundlich: Der Leser findet ein Verzeichnis der abgekürzt zitierten Literatur in Band 5 der Ausgabe Radts inklusive des Kommentars zu den Büchern I–IV, während sich die Register in Band 10 befinden. So sieht sich der Leser oft gezwungen, mehrere Bände auf einmal zu benutzen. Ebenfalls nicht besonders leserfreundlich ist die Gliederung des Textes. In Text und Übersetzung bedient sich Radt der Kombination von Kapitel- mit der Casaubonus-Zählung. Im Kommentar werden indes die Kapitelnummern außer Acht gelassen. Die Register in Band 10 verweisen auf die Casaubonus-Seiten (und ihre Zeilen) des griechischen Textes. Wünschenswert wäre die Anwendung der traditionellen Einteilung in Kapitel auch im Kommentar gewesen. Sehr nützlich ist die Konkordanz zu den Fragmenten des Buches VII, dessen Teil verlorengegangen ist (S. 332–337). Band 9 der Groninger Ausgabe (2010) enthält (S. 65, 290) Fragmente, die als Endteile des Buches VII fungieren (vgl. dazu Band 7, S. 342–382). Andere Ausgaben (Budé und Sbordone) liefern dazu vielmehr mangelhafte Texte mit unvollständigem Apparat und mitunter fraglichen Textrekonstruktionen (siehe S. Radt, Rez. zu: *Strabonis Geographica*. Vol. tertium, F. Sbordone, S. M. Medaglia (eds.), Roma, *Gnomon* 76, 2004, 487).

Für einzelne Ethnien, historische Personen und Orte sind Radts Literaturverweise oft unzureichend. Ich greife nur einige Punkte exemplarisch heraus. Zur Gleichung der Kimber mit den Kimmerern (Strab. VII p. 293 C 24–27) kommentiert Radt, dies sei "völlig aus der Luft gegriffen", bietet aber keine Literaturangaben (S. 245). Zu dieser Problematik gibt es inzwischen zahlreiche Studien.[5] Dasselbe gilt für die sagenumwobenen Abioi bei Strabon und Homer (S. 250–251).[6] Zum Namen des Schwarzen Meeres (Strab. VII p. 298 C 29) fehlen die fundamentalen Studien von R. Schmitt (S. 253; siehe R. Schmitt, Black Sea, *Encyclopaedia Iranica* 4, Costa Mesa 1989, 310–313). Bei den "Basileern" (*Basileioi*: Strab. VII p. 306 C 14f.) handelt es sich sicherlich nicht um die Königsskythen Herodots (wie Radt meint), sondern um ein sarmatisches Volk (S. 268). Strab. VII p. 307 C ff. gibt relevante Angaben zu Mithradates Eupators Aktivitäten im Schwarzmeergebiet. Radts Verweise auf die Studie von B. McGing (*The Foreign Policy of Mithridates Eupator*, Leiden 1986) oder kurze

[5] Siehe etwa M.J. Olbrycht, 'The Cimmerian Problem Re-Examined: the Evidence of the Classical Sources' in J. Pstrusińska, A. T. Fear (eds.), *Collectanea Celto-Asiatica Cracoviensia*, Kraków 2000, 71–99.

[6] Siehe S. Reece, 'The [Abioi] and the [Gabioi]: An Aeschylean Solution to a Homeric Problem', *American Journal of Philology* 122, 2001, 465–470 und A.M. Biraschi, 'Strabo and Homer: A Chapter in Cultural History' in D. Dueck, H. Lindsay, S. Pothecary (eds.), *Strabo's Cultural Geography. The Making of a Kolossourgia,* Cambridge 2005, 73–85.

Beiträge in DNP sind jedoch unzureichend. Für die Taurische Halbinsel (VII p. 308 C) zitiert Radt außer *RE* und *DNP* wenig (S. 273). Auch zu Asandros (VII p. 311 C, S. 285) könnte man auf viele neuere Arbeiten verweisen. Insgesamt bietet Radt zu Geographie und Völkern der Schwarzmeerländer (S. 266ff.) allzu knappe, zum Teil überholte Ausführungen. Neuere Einzelstudien sowie Gesamtdarstellungen sind dagegen selten erwähnt.[7] Dasselbe gilt für den Nordbalkanraum[8] und für Italien.[9]

Unkommentiert läßt Radt Strabons Bemerkung über die Parther in VI C 288. Das Fragment beurteilt die Parther negativ und betont ihre Schwäche. Diese Perspektive steht in diametralem Gegensatz zu Strab. XVI C 748, wo die Parther als ebenbürtige Macht geschildert werden. Allem Anschein nach wechselte sich das Strabonsche Bild der Parther infolge von politischen Umwälzungen, die mit der Erhebung des römerfreundlichen Vonones in Westparthien zusammenhingen. Demzufolge stammt der Parther-Abschnitt in VI C 288 aus der Zeit während der Herrschaft des Vonones (8/9–11/12, im Grenzbereich Armeniens bis 15 n. Chr.) oder direkt danach. Dieser Sachverhalt ist für den Datierungsansatz der spätesten Fragmente der *Geographika* von besonderer Bedeutung.

Radt legt besonderen Wert auf textkritische und philologische Sachverhalte und beweist dabei seine unbestrittene Kompetenz. Was indes historisch-

[7] Hierbei seien folgende weiterführende Studien erwähnt: Mithradates: L. Ballesteros-Pastor, *Mitrídates Eupátor, rey del Ponto*, Granada 1996; S. Saprykin, *Bosporskoe tsarstvo na rubezhe dvukh epokh*, Moskva 2002; M.J. Olbrycht, ‘Mithradates VI. Eupator, der Bosporos und die sarmatischen Völker’ in Jan Chochorowski (ed.), *Kimmerowie, Scytowie, Sarmaci,* Kraków 2005, 331–347; P. M. Fraser, E. Matthews, *A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names. Vol. IV. Macedonia, Thrace, Northern Regions of the Black Sea,* Oxford 2005; N. Biffi, *Scampoli di Mithridatika nella Geografia di Strabone*, Bari 2010; A. Avram, O. Bounegrou, ‘Mithridates VI. Eupator und die griechischen Städte an der Westküste des Pontos Euxeinos’ in S. Conrad et al. (Hgg.), P*ontos Euxeinos. Beiträge zur archäologie und Geschichte des antiken Schwarzmeer- und Balkanraumes*, Langenweißbach 2006, 397–413. Taurika: Iu.P. Zaitsev (ed.), *Drevnīaīa i srednevekovaīa Tavrika: Sbornik stateī,* Donetsk 2010; Asandros: N.A. Frolova, P.O. Karyškovskij, M. Delfs, ‘Zur Chronologie der Herrschaft Asanders im Bosporos’ *Chiron* 23, 1993, 63–81. Siehe auch: L.I. Gratsianskaīa, ‘"Geografija" Strabona. Problemy istočnikovedenija’, in *Drevneīshie gosudarstva na territorii SSSR*, Moskva 1988, 6–175; A.V. Podossinov, *Vostochnaīa Evropa v rimskoī kartograficheskoī traditsii*, Moskva 2002.

[8] Siehe K. Boshnakov, *Die Thraker südlich vom Balkan in den Geographika Strabos. Quellenkritische Untersuchungen* (*Palingenesia 81*), Stuttgart 2003; Y. Marion, ‘Strabon et l'Illyrie. Essai de cartographie’ in *Les routes de l'Adriatique antique: géographie et économie. Actes de la table ronde du 18 au 22 septembre 2001 (Zadar)*, Bordeaux/Zadar/Paris 2006, 31–38.

[9] N. Biffi, *Magna Grecia e dintorni: Geografia, 5,4,3- 6,3,11. Strabone di Amasea; introduzione, traduzione, testo e commento a cura di N.B.*, Bari 2006; L. Ronconi, ‘La Cisalpina in Strabone: schema compositivo’ in *Studi per E. Buchi*, Verona 2008, 419–428. Immer noch nützlich sind: N. Biffi, *L’Italia di Strabone: testo, traduzione e commento dei libri 5 e 6 della Geografia*, Genova 1988 (Text von Lasserre); M.A. Biraschi, *Strabone. Geografia. L’Italia.Libri 5–6*, Milan 1988 (Text von Sbordone); G. Maddoli (ed.), *Strabone e l’Italia antica,* Napoli 1988.

geographische, topographische und archäologische Belange angeht, bietet sein Kommentar oft nur rudimentäre Informationen. Für Strabons Bücher V-VIII sollte man daher zusätzlich andere einschlägige Kommentare und Monographien benutzen.

Angesichts der Tatsache, dass die meisten antiken Werke verloren sind, auf die er rekurriert, bildet Strabons *Geographika* eine unerschöpfliche Quelle nicht nur für Europas, sondern auch für Asiens und Afrikas Geschichte. Trotz mancher Ungenauigkeiten und Knappheiten im Detail liegt mit dem rezensierten Band ein grundlegender Kommentar vor. Die profunden philologischen Kenntnisse des Verfassers und die Differenziertheit seiner Arbeit machen das eingehende Studium Strabons zu einem Vergnügen. Altertumswissenschaftler – Philologen, Historiker und Archäologen – verfügen jetzt über ein unentbehrliches Arbeitsmittel. Durch seine kenntnisreiche Ausgabe und gute Übersetzung sowie grundlegende Hinweise im Kommentar hat Stefan Radt das Werk Strabons nicht nur Spezialisten, sondern auch interessierten Laien erschlossen.

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# VOLOGASES I AND PAKOROS II IN PARTHIA

## FABRIZIO SINISI, *SYLLOGE NUMMORUM PARTHICORUM: NEW YORK – PARIS – LONDON – VIENNA – TEHRAN – BERLIN*. VOL. 7: *VOLOGASES I – PACORUS II*, WIEN: VERLAG DER ÖSTERREICHISCHEN AKADEMIE DER WISSENSCHAFTEN, 2012 (DENKSCHRIFTEN, PHILOSOPHISCH-HISTORISCHE KLASSE; 433. BD.); 431PP.; ISBN 978-3-70001-7206-2

The book under review, written by Fabrizio Sinisi, is the first of the planned nine volumes of the *Sylloge Nummorum Parthicorum*. It covers the reigns of Vologases I, the Son of Vardanes, Pakoros II, and Artabanos III, altogether ca. AD 51–110. Sinisi undertook a detailed analysis of the numismatic evidence and focused on the coin issues minted in Seleukeia on the Tigris and Ekbatana. Some types from Mihrdatkirt and Rhagai are also represented (p. 11). The catalogue proper contains 945 coins. Sinisi used supplementary material (chiefly from auctions and internet resources as well as minor collections) adding 1,331 coins to his study (pp. 12–13).

The book is divided in two parts, the study and the catalogue. The numismatic section contains chapters on typology, metrology and chronology issues. In the catalogue, a chronological reconstruction of the coin system is provided. In an "Introduction" Sinisi offers a "Historical Overview" concerning Parthian history of the period AD 51–110 (pp. 15–23). This short chapter contains premises and prolegomena essential to the reconstruction of the political history and coinage system in Parthia.

Sinisi rightly claims that the Son of Vardanes (AD 55–58) minted no drachms, thus compelling the scholars to reinterpret some views concerning the territorial extent of his rebellion: Ekbatana was not in the hands of the claimant

(p. 17). Sinisi's rejection of the view of "Hellenizing tendencies" in the Parthian coinage of the second half of the first century AD is persuading (p. 19).

Some of the ideas Sinisi adheres to are fallacious. He gives no cogent arguments to support his dating of AD 59–60 for the Parthian attack on Izates II of Adiabene. Moreover, he is self-contradictory in some issues. First he writes, "It took Vologases until AD 61 [apparently from the beginning of the revolt in 58 – MJO] to settle the matters in Hyrcania", only to follow on with the speculation that Vologases was "able to stage an attack on Izates II of Adiabene between AD 59 and 60" (p. 17). But he does not explain how Vologases could have found the time and means for an attack on a vassal in Adiabene when he was engaged by the rebellion in Hyrcania and a Roman offensive in Armenia. To back up this inaccurate conclusion Sinisi refers to a study by E. Dąbrowa,[1] who is treated as a particular authority (p. 17). In several passages Sinisi's trust in Dąbrowa's publications goes so far that he quotes them almost as if they were primary sources.[2] As a matter of fact, Vologases I's attack on Adiabene must have occurred at the beginning of his reign, ca. 52–53.[3]

In many aspects Sinisi's establishment of the facts brings order to the chaos rampant in Parthian numismatics and is helpful for a correct reconstruction of the period's history. On p. 28 n. 84 he attributes Sellwoods (1980) type 67 to "one of the kings ruling immediately before Vologases I" (see also pp. 139–146). This debatable coin group has been assigned to Vonones, Vardanes "II", Gotarzes II or Vologases I.[4] Unfortunately Sinisi avoids to analyse the Parthian silver issues found in Fars, attributed to the reign of Vologases I and Pakoros II (p. 11).

His insights and assessments on chronology and history Sinisi presents in detail in chapter II.3 "Chronology and History" (pp. 137–206). Sinisi corrected some far-reaching statements of Sellwood, who wrongly listed dated tetradrachms of Gotarzes II as produced from the year 355 to 362 of the Seleucid era (=SE). Sinisi states that only the years 357–362 SE (45/6–50/51) are documented (p. 144, n. 502). Coins of Gotarzes dated to 355–356 SE (S 65.1–3) do not exist. Dates read as 355 by Sellwood actually seem to represent 369 (p. 144, n. 502; 146, n. 517). Sellwood's false evidence caused a lot of misunderstandings among scholars.

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[1] Dąbrowa 1983, 139–140.

[2] Sinisi showers praise on Dąbrowa's 1983 book as "brilliantly written from a Parthian perspective, . . . a really critical approach" (p. 15, n. 14). In point of fact there is not much of a "Parthian perspective" in it, as Dąbrowa did not go very deeply into the domestic situation in Parthian Iran. What is more, not being a numismatist, he did not make much use of the monetary evidence, which is clearly a deficiency, strangely enough, unnoticed by Sinisi, who *is* a numismatist.

[3] Olbrycht 1998, 177–178.

[4] Olbrycht 1997, 32.

Concerning the nomenclature and numbering of the Arsacid kings, Sinisi is right in assuming the existence of Pakoros I and Pakoros II. Pakoros I is styled as king in Tac. *Hist*. 5.9. His special position at the court, reflected in coinage, allows to assume that he was a kind of "rex iunior", appointed by his father Orodes II.[5]

The crucial part of Sinisi's book is the discussion of the Parthian coinage for the 70s and 80s, especially for 389–393 SE (pp. 162–170) and the joint reigns of Vologases I and Pakoros II. Most studies give a picture of extreme political confusion in Parthia at that time and list Vologases I, "Vologases II", and Pakoros II as rival kings, each stroving for the throne.[6] In fact, the changes which occurred in the Arsacid minting practice in that period were strictly connected with the political transformations in Parthia. The attribution of coin types and interpretation of the nature of the monetary issues (e.g. new royal titles, king's names) depend on the accurate reconstruction of the political developments – an area subject to impassioned controversy and prone to the drawing of conclusions on shaky grounds. One of the chief aprioristic assumptions some specialists (both numismatists and historians) tend to adopt is the belief that the temporal overlap of particular issues is a sure indication of internal strife in Parthia. This applies especially to the period from the close of the reign of Vologases I and the beginning of the reign of Pakoros II.[7]

The issue of S 72-type coinage overlaps for a certain spell of time with the first issues of Pakoros II S73-type coinage. Researchers who use this concurrence as a basis for speculation that the S72 coinage was minted by a usurper they identify as "Vologases II" come to the conclusion that around AD 79–80 there was a civil war in Parthia, involving Pakoros II, Vologases I, and perhaps a "Vologases II".[8] In addition Artabanos III, the issuer of S74 coinage, comes into play as the supposed rival of Pakoros II.

In one of my papers published in 1999 I was able to establish the correct order of the events on the grounds of both numismatic and historical materials, and to give the right attributions to the coin types minted at the turn of the 70s and 80s.[9] Sinisi cites my article, but assigns the original idea of Vologases' and Pako-

[5] For the numismatic evidence related to Orodes II and Pakoros I, see Simonetta 1978 and, rather sceptical, Assar 2011, 129 (neglecting the existence of Pakoros I's coins).

[6] See, e.g., Hauser 2006, 307–308; Assar 2011, 147.

[7] See, e.g., Sellwood 1983, 295: "Dated tetradrachms show a continuous conflict for two years between Pacorus and Vologases, concluded with the disappearance of Vologases". See also Karras-Klapproth 1988, 199.

[8] Bivar 1983, 86; McDowell 1935, 229: "A revolt against Vologases I broke out under the leadership of Pacorus II in the spring of 78".

[9] Olbrycht 1999. The article is based on a paper I delivered at the University of Münster in 1995. Besides, I mentioned the joint rule of Vologases I and Pakoros II, and the attribution of S 72 type to Vologases I in other papers, see Olbrycht 1997, 32.

ros II's co-regency to B. Simonetta (p. 163).[10] However, Simonetta made a fundamental mistake by treating Vologases I and Pakoros II as siblings; moreover, he gave no grounds at all for his suggestions concerning the co-regency. In this respect he did not analyse the coins at all. I did not know of Simonetta's paper in 1999, but it does not contribute anything new to the issue. Several other scholars have put forward a conjecture on the basis of the historical data that Vologases and Pakoros were father and son, and I quote them in my 1999 article. This was, e.g., assumed although not corroborated by W. Schur in 1949.[11] Then Sinisi states that "Olbrycht 1999 ... again proposed the idea of joint rule" by Vologases I and Pakoros II. It has to be stressed that not only did I propose it, but I actually corroborated the claim with evidence. Sinisi goes even further and suggests that the "sad neglect of Simonetta, all the more remarkable in Olbrycht 1999"", is due to the fact that his paper was published in Italian, which is a groundless supposition (p. 163, n. 584). While he was working on a much broader set of materials Sinisi has reiterated all of my key determinations. He claims that I limited myself to a discussion of the period from 388 to 390 SE (AD 77–79). This is not true, as my article of 1999 takes Vologases' earlier years into account, as well as some of the coins Pakoros II issued when he was the sole monarch in his own right.

By and large, the Parthian coinage of the late AD 70s shows that in his old age Vologases I decided to designate his young son Pakoros II as his heir. This move was in perfect harmony with Vologases' policy, which was always far-sighted, especially as regards the avoidance of the chronic family conflicts that plagued the Arsacid clan. Already at the beginning of his reign he had cut short the dynastic quarrels by appointing his brothers to separate kingdoms. Tiridates received Armenia, and Pakoros was given Media Atropatene (Ios. *ant.* 20.74; Tac. *ann.* 12.50, 15.2). Thanks to this measure the power of the Arsacid clan and of the Parthian Empire as a whole was reinforced very substantially.[12] It seems self-evident that at the close of his reign the ever-provident Vologases I settled the matter of the succession, making Pakoros his heir.

Sinisi (p. 178) suggests that Artabanos III was a brother of Vologases I and regent on behalf of Pakoros II. The available sources do not offer any mention of Vologases' brothers except for the well-known figures of Tiridates and Pakoros. Thus it seems more probable that Artabanos III was a son of Vologases I and brother of Pakoros II.[13]

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[10] Simonetta 1958.

[11] Schur 1949, 2020–21: "Es würde meines Erachtens der Art des Vologases mehr entsprechen, daß er durch die Königswahl und Krönung des Nachfolgers schon bei seinen Lebzeiten für einen ungestörten Übergang der Herrschaft zu sorgen gesucht hätte".

[12] Olbrycht 1998a, 126.

[13] The multiplication of the Parthian kings named Artabanos, proposed by Assar (2011, 115, 119, 147f.) is problematic and must be treated with caution.

The basic section of the book is the catalogue (pp. 207–412). The coin types are arranged according to the ruler and denomination. Thus there are coins of Vologases I, the Son of Vardanes, Pakoros II, Artabanos III and City Issues.

On the whole Sinisi's book is a considerable achievement in research on Parthian mintage. Thanks to his thorough analysis of the numismatic material and the facts established by earlier scholars, and reiterated by Sinisi, he has managed to put together and match on many points the numismatic perspective with Parthia's political history for the period from AD 51 to 110. It is an essential work of reference and has besides a wealth of comments and observations on topics related to the enquiry. Let us hope that the next volumes in the series will appear soon.

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# ABBREVIATIONS

| | |
|---|---|
| *ACSS* | *Ancient Civilizations from Scythia to Siberia.* |
| *AMI* | *Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran*. |
| *AMIT* | *Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran.und Turan.* |
| *AMS* | *Asia Minor Studien.* |
| *AncSoc* | *Ancient Society*. |
| *ANRW* | H. Temporini, W. Haase (eds.)*, Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt* (Berlin 1970–). |
| *BARIS* | *British Archaeological Reports. International Series.* |
| *BRM* | *Babylonian Records in the Library of John Pierpont Morgan.* |
| *CIRB* | *Corpus inscriptionum regni Bosporani*. Moscoviae; Petropoli, 1965. |
| *DNP* | *Der neue Pauly. Enzyklopädie der Antike.* |
| *EB* | *Études balkaniques*. |
| *FGrHist* | F. Jacoby, *Die Fragmente der Griechischen Historiker*, Berlin/Leiden. |
| *G&R* | *Greece and Rome.* |
| *GRBS* | *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies.* |
| *IA* | *Iranica Antiqua*. |
| *IAK* | *Izviestiīa Imperatorskoī Arkheologicheskoī Komissii,* St. Petersburg/Petrograd. |
| *ID* | F. Durrbach, *Inscriptions de Délos*. T. I–II. P., 1926–1928. |
| *IG* | *Inscriptiones Graecae.* |
| *IGR* | *Inscriptiones Graecae ad res Romanas pertinentes.* |
| *IGUR* | L. Moretti, *Inscriptiones Graecae urbis Romae*, Roma 1968–1973. |
| *IOSPE* | *Inscriptiones antique orae septentrionalis Ponti Euxini Graece et Latine,* Ed. B. Latyschev, Petropoli 1885–1916. |
| *IOSPE, I*$^2$ | *Inscriptiones antiquae orae septentrionalis Ponti Euxini Graecae et Latinae,* vol. I, iterum ed. B. Latyschev, Petropoli 1916. |
| *IrAnt* | *Iranica Antiqua*. |
| *IvPrusa* | *Die Inschriften von Prusa ad Olympum*, IK. Bd. 39. T. 1. Hrsg. v. Th. Corsten. Bonn 1991. |
| *IzSOANSSSR* | *Izvestiīa Sibirskogo otdeleniīa Akademii nauk SSSR, seriīa obshchestvennykh nauk* (Novosibirsk). |
| *JHS* | *The Journal of Hellenic Studies.* |
| *JNSI* | *The Journal of the Numismatic Society of India* (Varanasi). |
| *JRS* | *The Journal of Roman Studies.* |

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|---|---|
| *LGPN* | *A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names*. Vol. VA. Coastal Asia Minor: Pontos to Ionia / Ed. T. Corsten, Oxford 2010. |
| *MedAnt* | *Mediterraneo antico.* |
| *MIA* | *Materialy i issledovaniīa po arkheologii SSSR* (Moscow – Leningrad). |
| *NTOA* | *Novum Testamentum et Orbis Antiquus* (Fribourg/Göttingen 1986 – ). |
| *OGIS* | W. Dittenberger, *Orientis Graeci inscriptiones selectae*. Vol. I–II. Lipsiae, 1903–1905. |
| *Parthica* | *Parthica: Incontri di culture nel mondo antico* (Pisa – Roma). |
| *RA* | *Rossiīskaīa arkheologiīa* (Moscow). |
| *RAC* | *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum.* |
| *RE* | *Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft.* |
| *REG* | *Revue des études grecques.* |
| *SA* | *Sovetskaīa arkheologiīa* (Moscow). |
| *SEG* | *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum.* |
| *SP* | Anderson I., Cumont F., Grégoire H, *Recueil des inscriptions grecques et latines du Pont et de l'Armenie. Studia Pontica,* Vol. III. Bruxelles, 1910. |
| *SRAA* | *Silk Road Art and Archaeology* (Kamakura). |
| *TAVO* | *Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients..* |
| *TIuTAKE* | *Trudy Iuzhno-Turkmenistanskoī arkheologicheskoī kompleksnoī ekspeditsii* (Ashkhabad). |
| *Tr* | *Traditio. Studies in Ancient and Medieval History, Thought, and Religion.* |
| *VDI* | *Vestnik drevneī istorii* (Moscow). |
| *ZDMG* | *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*. |
| *ZPE* | *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik.* |

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# ADDENDUM TO JANGAR ILYASOV, 'THE VULTURE ON THE BONE PLAQUE FROM THE ORLAT CEMETERY' *ANABASIS*, VOLUME 3, P. 127 AND 160.

**Keywords:** Orlat, bone plaque, vulture, ancient beliefs

## Abstract

A set of bone plaques which were used as belt buckles with engraved miltifigured compositions was found in Barrow no. 2 of Orlat burial ground (Samarkand Province, Uzbekistan). On one of small plaques the vulture is represented. This fairly rare, if not altogether unique, representation of the vulture allows to examine in greater detail the role that this bird played in the beliefs of many ancient peoples (beginning in Neolithic societies of Göbekli Tepe and Çatal Hüyük), notwithstanding its generally negative associations today. Vultures as sacred birds were esteemed in ancient Egypt, in Zoroastrianism and, judging by their numerous images, by Iranian speaking nomads. Traces of such beliefs can be found even in the modern folklore of Central Asian peoples.