ANABASIS

Studia Classica et Orientalia

5 (2014)

Department of Ancient History and Oriental Studies
Institute of History
Faculty of Sociology and History
Rzeszów University

WYDAWNICTWO
UNIWERSYTETU RZESZOWSKIEGO
RZESZÓW 2015

REVIEWED BY
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Book layout and cover designed by M.J. Olbrycht
with the support of Lidia and Daria Olbrycht (drawings)

Typesetting: Andrzej Lewandowski

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

ISSN 2082-8993

1119

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wydanie I; format B5; ark. wyd. 14,20; ark. druk. 14,25; zlec. red. 39/2015
Druk i oprawa: Drukarnia Uniwersytetu Rzeszowskiego

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STUDIA CLASSICA ET ORIENTALIA

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ARTICLES

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Edward Lipiński (Brussels, Belgium)

MEDIAN **GANZA-* AS LOANWORD

Keywords: ganzā/ginzā, ganzabāra, gizbār, upa-ganzabāra, gənīz, genizah, gänzäb, gəmğa, gizza

The history of the Iranian word **ganza-*, 'store', has been discussed extensively almost half a century ago by Otakar Klíma[1] in his review of Manfred Mayrhofer's study aiming at a reconstruction of the Median language.[2] Klíma managed to show that Old Iranian **gaźna-*, attested in Old Persian as *gašna-*, became **ganza-* in Median following a metathesis. This Median word, occurring in some personal names on Elamite tablets from Persepolis, viz. *Kan-da-ka-na* and *Kan-za-za*,[3] spread in Western regions of Iranian-speaking areas, also in the dialectal form **gan̲da-*, as it seems,[4] and it was borrowed by various languages, especially by Aramaic.[5] The beginning of its spreading goes back to the time of the Persian Achaemenid Empire, when Aramaic was an official *lingua franca*, and it was soon adopted also by the Greek idiom spoken in the Middle East. Probably through Aramaic/Syriac it even reached South Arabia and Ethiopia. Its attested Sabaic form *gnwz*[6] is a 'broken' plural of the late *f'wl* pattern, which may represent Himyarite influence.[7] Through Greek γάζα, 'treasure', it even reached Latin, as shown by *gazum*, as the 'treasury' of a church was called, or *gazophylacium*, 'treasury room', a word employed by St. Jerome.[8] Polybios used γάζα to designate a huge amount of money.[9]

[1] Bečka 1999.
[2] Mayrhofer 1968. *Cf.* Klíma 1970.
[3] Mayrhofer 1973, 176, §8.741 and §8.748.
[4] Mayrhofer 1968, 14–15; Hinz 1973, 31.
[5] Altheim, Stiehl 1970, 547, 558; Hinz 1971, 261, 266; 1975, 102; Beyer 1984, 544; Hoftijzer, Jongeling 1995, 229; Tavernier 2007, 422, §4.4.7.48–49; 443, §4.4.10.8; 553.
[6] Müller 1972, 87–95, line 4 ; Lundin 1972, no. 21, line 4.
[7] Beeston 1984, 26, §10:6 and n. 44.
[8] Also Latin words are referred to by Klíma 1970.
[9] Polybios, *History* 11.34.12; 22.26.21.

The Aramaic word *ginzā* was borrowed directly from Median **ganza-*, 'store, treasure', and it passed into Hebrew *gnzy h-mlk*, 'the treasures of the king'.[10] The change *a* > *i*, observed in Aramaic and in Hebrew, is probably due to a partial assimilation of the short vowel *a* to the frequent ending of *ginzē*, the plural construct state. It first appears in the mid–3rd century A.D. at Dura Europos. The *n* is often assimilated to the following *z*, as in Syriac *gazzā* next to *ganzā*, in Greek γάζα[11] and Ethiopic *gaza*, and in the derivatives *giddaḇār* (*Daniel* 3:2,3), *gizbār*, *gizzaḇār* (*Ezra* 1:8; 7:21), and *gizzabrā'* (Syriac) < **ganza-bāra-*, 'treasurer' or 'store-keeper', but the *n* is preserved in Late Babylonian *gan-za-ba-ru*,[12] in Mandaic *ganzibrā'*, a priestly title,[13] and in the Ethiopic word *gänzäb*, 'treasure', hence 'money', also in Tigre, Tigrinya, and Amharic, but *gänzäbä* in Gafat. The word *gänzäb* is a probable derivative of **ganza-bāra-*, borrowed through Syriac.

The original Aramaic form of the loanwords certainly had the vowel *a* in the first syllable and the *n* was not assimilated. The vowel *a* is preserved in *ganzak̲* (1 *Chronicles* 28:11), likewise 'store' or 'treasure', which presents the same word **ganza-* with the very common Old Persian suffix *-ka-*. Contrary to Hebrew *hag-gizbār* in *Ezra* 1:8, also the *Septuagint* γασβαρηνου preserves a plural form **gazbarīn*, 'treasurers', anterior to the vocalization in *i*, which is not ascertained before the inscription from the synagogue of Dura Europos, dated in 245 A.D., where the title of *gynzbrh* is borne by the 'treasurer'.[14] As for the *n*, it is never assimilated in the Aramaic documents dating from the Persian period, neither in *gnz'* nor in its derivatives *gnzbr'* and *'pgnzbr'* < **upa-ganza-bāra-*, 'subtreasurer'. In fact, the assimilation of the *n* is not attested before the use of γάζα by Theophrastos of Eresos (*ca*. 370–288/5 B.C.) in *Hist. plant*. 8.11.5.

The use of *gizzaḇrayyā'* in *Ezra* 7:21 after the *bêṯ ginzē malkā'* in *Ezra* 7:20 is particularly striking and confirms the results of the exegetical analysis, which dates *Ezra* 7:21–26 from a later period or ascribes it to another hand. The word is translated correctly in 3 *Ezra* 2:8, by γαζοφύλαξ,[15] a Greek derivative of γάζα attested already by a quotation from Phylarchos of Athens (3rd century B.C.) in Athenaios' *Deipnosophistai* 261b, and written γαζζοφύ(λαξ) with a double *zz* < *nz* at Dura Europos.[16] The second element **-bāra-* of the Persian title designates

[10] *Esther* 3:9; 4:7. *Cf*. Wagner 1966, 41–42.

[11] Diodoros of Sicily, *Library of History* 17.35. The word occurs also in the *Septuagint*: *Isaiah* 39:2; 2 *Ezra* 5:17; 6:1; 7:21.

[12] von Soden 1965, 281a.

[13] It is often translated by 'archpriest' or 'bishop'. *Cf*. Lipiński 2014, 211.

[14] Naveh 1978, no. 88:6–7.

[15] The word occurs also in 1 *Ezra* 2:10.

[16] Cumont 1926, 405–406. The word is used also by Josephus Flavius, *The Jewish Antiquities* 11.1.3.

the one 'who carries', 'who keeps'.[17] In Greek, we also find γαζοφυλάκιον, 'treasury', used in the Septuagint[18] and by Strabo,[19] as well as the verb γαζοφυλακέω, 'to be the guardian of a treasure'.[20]

Besides mentioning the biblical use of *bêṯ ginzayyā'* (*Ezra* 5:17; 6:1), 'treasury', 'store-house', also 'archive', of *bêṯ ginzē malkā'* (*Ezra* 7:20), 'royal treasury', of *gizzaḇrayyā'* (*Ezra* 7:21) or *gəḏaḇrayyā'* (*Daniel* 3:2,3), 'treasurers' or 'store-keepers', one should refer here to the Jewish Aramaic and Mishnaic Hebrew verb *gnz*, 'to store up', 'to hoard', hence 'to hide',[21] like in Syriac,[22] which created new derivatives, like the adverb *gnīzā'īt*, 'by stealth', and the substantive *gnīzūtā'*, 'hiding' or 'mysterious nature'. The verb was developed from **ganzā* and it is already attested in the *Mishnah* (*Shabbath* 9:6) and in the *Tosefta*. From its Aramaic passive participle *gənīz*, 'stored up', was further formed a verbal noun *gənīzāh*, 'storage' of removed sacred objects. This noun is likewise attested in the *Mishnah* (*Shabbath* 16:1), where the sacred books no longer usable are said to be *ṭ'wnym gnyzh*, 'requiring storage'. The phrase *bêṯ gənīzāh* is then used in the *Talmud*[23] to designate the 'store-room' serving that purpose. *Ginzā*, 'Treasure', is instead the name of the main Mandaean treatise conserving the religious traditions of the sect.[24]

Ethio-Semitic borrowings raise a few questions. In an Old Amharic royal poem, in palatial chronicles, and in some other texts one finds a *gəmğa bet*, 'treasury'.[25] The same appellation occurs in the name of a church of St. Mary in the former royal residence of Gondar: *Gamğa bet Maryam*, 'Treasury of Mary'.[26] The change *n* > *m* is quite common, but the spelling with *ğ* implies a palatalization difficult to explain. There was even an unsuccessful attempt in Amharic at replacing the modern loanword 'bank' by *gəmğa*.[27] Besides, *gəzzä* in Gafat and *gizi* in Argobba occur with the meaning 'money' or 'cattle'. They are certainly related to the Soqoṭri noun *ginz*, 'arsenal', which reveals a semantic development of the loanword *ginzā*, 'storeroom', borrowed from a Middle Aramaic dialect.[28] W. Leslau was nevertheless inclined to regard Gafat *gəzzä* and Argobba *gizi* as derivatives of the Ethio-Semitic root *gäzza*, 'to possess, to own'. These words

[17] Horn 1893, no. 1073.
[18] 1 *Ezra* 5:44; 8:18; 4 *Maccabees* 4:3, 6.
[19] Strabo, *Geography* 7.6.1.
[20] Diodoros of Sicily, *Library of History* 17.74.
[21] Sokoloff 1990, 133; 2002, 295.
[22] Payne Smith 1979–1901, 750–751.
[23] Babylonian *Talmud*, *Pesaḥim* 118b.
[24] Norberg 1815–16; Petermann 1867 and 2008.
[25] Littmann 1944, 497; Guidi 1901, 719; Baeteman 1929, 1042.
[26] Jäger 1965, 56–57.
[27] Guidi 1940, 208.
[28] Müller 1907, 91:25; Müller 1972, 95.

could eventually be related to Cushitic (Kambata) *gizza* and Omotic (Kaffa) *giğğo*, 'cattle'.[29] However, the parallelism with Mishnaic Hebrew and Jewish Aramaic *gnz*, 'to hoard', suggests deriving these words from **ganza*- and to consider Cushitic *gizza* and Omotic *giğğo* to be nouns borrowed from Ethio-Semitic. The use of the same word for 'money' and 'cattle' in societies regarding cattle as their 'treasure' is quite understandable and the meaning 'cattle' could be older than 'money'.

The word *gnz*' occurs on the ostraca of Nisa, all dating from the mid–2nd to the late 1st century B.C. The problem was whether these inscriptions were written in Aramaic with many Middle Iranian loanwords or were full of Aramaic heterograms that ought to be read in Parthian. The question – now resolved – did not concern *gnz*' in particular, because the Middle Iranian noun should be written alphabetically in the same way, but the 'royal treasury' is regularly called *gnz*' *mlk*',[30] without using the determinative pronoun *zy*. This shows that the construction is not Semitic, that the phrase is Parthian, and that *mlk*' ought to be read *šāh*. The same question could be raised regarding the derivative 'treasurer', *gnzbr* at Nisa and in a Parthian ostracon from Dura Europos or *gznbr* with metathesis at Nisa.[31]

A problematic case occurs in *Ezekiel* 27:24, where *ginzē bəromīm* is usually translated 'treasures of coloured fabrics' or the like, as *brmym* is rightly related to Akkadian *birmu*, 'coloured' fabric,[32] often referring to clothes. The phrase is somewhat strange and the Hebrew use of *gnz*, 'treasure', in a text based on 7th-century information and probably written in the 7th century is surprising indeed. The mention of Ashur and of Kullimeri[33] supports a 7th-century dating and *brm*, a *hapax legomenon* in Hebrew, should be considered an Akkadian loanword. Even *ginzē* could be borrowed from Akkadian *gizzu*, 'fleece',[34] with the quite common dissimilation *zz* > *nz*, but this word occurs also in Hebrew[35] and Hebrew *gizzē* can be dissimilated into *ginzē* as well. In consequence, the *ginzē bəromīm* can be 'wool coats of coloured fabrics' with no relation to Median **ganza*-. The dissimilation occurs also in Aramaic, in Targum *Esther* 1:3, where *gnzy mylt*' designates 'wool coats of fine wool', not 'treasures of fine wool'.

[29] Leslau 1956, 205; 1997, 203.

[30] For instance, Nov. 100+97, 2 in Diakonov, Livshitz 1966 and 1977–2001.

[31] Sznycer 1963, 34.

[32] von Soden 1965, 129a.

[33] The similarity and frequent confusion of *d* and *r* in foreign place names and personal names explains the spelling *Klmd* instead of *Klmr* in *Ezekiel* 27:23. Therefore, the reading *Klmr* should not be regarded as a correction, but as an improved reading of the text. For Kullimeri, a major city of Shubria, north of Assyria, see Röllig 1980–83 and Kessler 2011–13, 240b. For arbitrary corrections of *Klmd*, see Zimmerli 1969, 632.

[34] von Soden 1965, 295a.

[35] *Deuteronomy* 18:4; *Job* 31:20. See also *Amos* 7:1 and *Psalm* 72:6, as well as the term *gizzā*.

The widespread use of the Median loanword **ganza-*, 'store' and finally 'money', reveals the importance of trade relations in the Levant, the eastern part of the Mediterranean Sea, and the Horn of Africa. This information, albeit very general, shows an aspect of ancient history, hardly recorded in historiographic writings.

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Abstract

The Iranian word **ganza*-, 'store, treasure', and some of its derivatives have been adopted at the time of the Persian Achaemenid Empire by several Semitic languages, especially by Aramaic and then by Ethio-Semitic and the Greek idiom spoken in the Middle East. The article offers an overview of these loanwords and their variants, sometimes implying linguistic changes caused by the assimilation *nz* > *zz*, a partial assimilation of the short *a* to the plural ending *-ē* of the Aramaic and Hebrew construct state or the palatalization of *z* in Amharic. The word *Ginza* designates the main Mandaean holy book and 'genizah' became the name of the storage place of sacred books and other writings in Jewish tradition. The word *ginzē* has sometimes been confused with *gizzē*, dissimilated into *ginzē* 'wool coats', especially in the *Book of Ezekiel* 27:23, referring to Phoenician trade in wool fabrics from 7th-century Assyria and Shubria.

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ἀλγηδόνες ὀμμάτων

> 'It seemed as if this moment of observation went on and on and I realized seeing had become a variety of memory'
>
> (Pamuk, *My Name Is Red*)

Keywords: Persia, women, beauty, cultural stereotype, gaze, Orient

A Very Short But Instructive Tale of a Valiant King

An exceptionally vivid episode preserved in Plutarch's *Alexander-vita* reports that after the victorious battle at Issus (333 BC) the women both of the Persian royal family (*dukshish*[1]) and of other noble clans became Alexander's captives (ἐν τοῖς αἰχμαλώτοις: Plutarch, *Alex*. 21. 1 and 30). The theme, popularized in the art by Giovanni Bazzi in early modern era, was taken up by Veronese's famous 1570 painting 'The Family of Darius before Alexander' (today in National Gallery, London), turned into the legend.[2] Now the triumphant victor had them at his disposal, as the unwritten laws of war stated: they could easily become his (sexual) prey,[3] if he only wished so, since a woman captive was, as James Davidson has put it recently, 'piece of living plunder' (cf. especially in the testimony of Herodotus 9. 82).[4] But the great conqueror treated the unhappy women with an unusual – regarding typical standards

[1] Brosius 2006, 241; also the same author 2010.

[2] Around 1660 the theme was also the subject of the painting by Charles Le Brun, the court-painter to the king Louis the XIV 'le Soleil'; see A. Cohen's fascinating study: 1997, 97 – 98. Also Giambattista Tiepolo has devoted one of his paintings to this theme; cf. Spencer 2003, 251; on Bazzi cf. Noll 2005, 36; Müller 2011b, 124–127.

[3] Known perfectly to the ancient Greeks like Homer, who shows 'the fragility of women's status" – so Lyons 2011; cf. Eurypides' remarks in the *Troades* and *Andromache.* See also Pritchett 1985.

[4] Davidson 2007, 255.

of the ancient attitudes toward the captives – reverence and respect: no indecent word was issued, no sordid attitude was ever shown; lastly and most importantly – no act of sexual abuse was committed toward the beautiful prisoners.[5] On the contrary, acting with an admirably modest attitude, the king displayed his astonishing indifference to their beauty and – *mirabile dictu* – he even (which was unusual by ancient and modern standards, ὥσπερ ἀψύχους εἰκόνας ἀγαλμάτων παρέπεμπεν (!).[6] As to the explanation why he refused to go into any intimate contacts with these exceptional women, Alexander is said to have confessed a famous remark, found in the sources and repeated then by the scrupulous compiler from Chaeronea (*ibid.*): simply, the king argued, there could be a danger in an acquaintance with them as '**Persian women were torments to the eyes' (εἰσὶν ἀλγηδόνες ὀμμάτων αἱ Περσίδες**[7]). As it stands, this is a pretty, amazing, yet – perhaps contrary to Plutarch's intention – a bit humorous story. Alexander, in Plutarch's (but not only his) a true philosopher on the throne (cf. *Mor.* 326d – 345d),[8] had no need to make use of such opportunities, as he was not a slave to these basic, carnal – and, all of all, low – instincts. If both queen Stateira's exceptional beauty (λέγεταί γε τὴν Δαρείου γυναῖκα πολὺ πασῶν τῶν βασιλίδων εὐπρεπεστάτην γενέσθαι – 21.3) and ἡ ἰδέα ἐκείνων (other Persian women's 'fair looks', for they 'were surpassingly stately and beautiful' – κάλλει καὶ μεγέθει διαφερούσας; cf. also Quintus Curtius Rufus, 3.12.12: *virgines reginas excellentis formae*[9]) did not seriously affect Alexander, it was the result of his royal, without a trace of irony, superhuman will to overcome his own temptations and to manifest his royal self-control.[10]

The story of Alexander's generosity and his clemency was to become a legendary one.[11] Besides the Chaeronean biographer, it was repeated in antiquity by almost all of the Alexander historians:[12] before Plutarch it has been told by Diodo-

[5] Giovannelli-Jouanna 2011, 302.

[6] *Alex*. 21. 5: '[…] passed them by as though they were lifeless image for display'; transl. B. Perrin, Loeb edition. The story looks as a reversal of the mythical tale of Pygmalion, later told by Ovid, *Met*. 10. 243–297.

[7] Here and elsewhere emphases and italics are mine – B. B.

[8] In the two 'speeches', conveniently known and cited under the Latin title *De Alexandri Magni fortuna aut virtute*; with the remarks of Cammarota 1998 and Nawotka 2004.

[9] The Greek writers were particularly keen for the woman beauty as such and both poetry as prose abounds with the description of it – from Homer, through Sappho, Alcaeus or Archilochus, to the novelists of the Second Sophistic, e. g. Chariton (*Callirhoe*, 2.2.2) or Longus' *Daphnis et Chloe*; cf. Morales 2008, 42 on 'the visual aspect of the beloved which stimulates desire'; see generally Goldhill 2000, 41–2.

[10] The same generosity of Alexander is praised again by Arrian on the occasion of the capturing the Sogdian Rock and victory over the prince Oxyartes (*Anab*. 4.19.5 – 4.20); with Bosworth's notes: 1995, 131–134.

[11] Cf. Konstan 2005, 337–346.

[12] See de Romilly 1988, 3 – 15. It should be kept in mind, however, that in the recent scholarship there is a conviction that in the tale of Alexander and Persian women two different ancient traditions

rus (17.37.3–38: here the king and Hephaestion visit the Persian tent)[13] and Curtius Rufus (3.12.1–26; 4.10; 5.3; 5.7).[14] Later on, it was reminded by Arrian of Nicomedia (*Anab*. 2.12.3–8; actually he explicitly relies on Ptolemy and Aristobulus,[15] but has some doubts, if he should give credit to it) and Justin in his *Epitome* (11.9.12–16). Obviously, all of them praised the king's uncommon abstinence from the sordid pleasures of such kind.[16]

It is not my goal here to issue any verdict whether Alexander story was in all its details true or not. In its outlines, modern scholars have doubts about its historicity,[17] but the question what were the king's real motives and whether his behavior was influenced by an ideal of the royal self-constraint,[18] as some of the ancient morali-zing historians and philosophers pictured him, is another thing.[19] Nevertheless, it only must be borne in mind that alternative (or, better to say, complementary) versions about Alexander's attitude towards other Persian beauties focus on his (oriental) lasciviousness, rather than 'Olympian' (Stoic?) indifference.[20] So did Diodorus and Curtius Rufus, who hurried up with gossip that imitating the Persian customs, the Epirote-Macedonian mythomaniac just kept a harem.[21] The Sicilian writer reveals in his *Bibliotheke* (17.77.6–7) that there were 365 concubines who every evening strolled in front of the king to make his choice easier, with whom should he spend the night.[22] Curtius says in turn at one place in his work (3.3.24) about *regiae pelices trecentae et sexaginta quinque vehebantur*;[23]

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were mingled: the first was 'official', as recorded by Arrian. According to this version Alexander did not go to the Persian tent, sending instead Leonnatus. This is also Plutarch's version. But, as Arrian himself says (*Anab*. 2.12.3) there was another version (it is found in Diodorus and Curtius) which is ascribed to the 'Vulgate'; cf. Müller 2011b, 115–123.

[13] See the comment by C. B. Welles 1970, 227, n. 1.

[14] See Atkinson 1980, 248 – 249. However, it must be said that the fate was not so lenient for other women the victorious Macedonians have found in the Persian army.

[15] Cf. Pearson 1960, 159; see Bosworth 1980b, 221.

[16] As Polybius admired the modesty of the generous Roman consul Scipio the Elder 'Africanus': 10.18–19 (with Walbank's remarks: 1967, 218–219); see also Liv. 26.50.1–12; cf. Müller 2008, 263.

[17] Bosworth 1980b, 222; Baynham 1998, 80; Carney 2000, 94–97 and 2003, 227–252; cf. Olbrycht 2010, 356.

[18] However, Ogden 2007, 88–89 reminds that there was another story about Alexander: in a strange passage from Athenaeus 10.435a (based on Hieronymus of Rhodes = Wehrli, F 38, p. 40), Alexander is called *gynnis* ('womanish'); Ogden interprets it as meaning just 'eunuch'.

[19] Cf. Keaveney 1978, 268.

[20] Cf. Coppola 2010, 147.

[21] See Plutarch, *Crass.* 32, lamenting that Surena, the Parthian grandee and commander was lascivious and in his army there were wagons with concubines.

[22] πρὸς δὲ τούτοις τὰς παλλακίδας ὁμοίως τῷ Δαρείῳ περιήγε<το>, τὸν μὲν ἀριθμὸν οὔσας οὐκ ἐλάττους πλήθει τῶν κατὰ τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν ἡμερῶν, κάλλει δὲ διαπρεπεῖς ὡς ἂν ἐξ ἁπασῶν τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν γυναικῶν ἐπιλελεγμένας. αὗται δὲ ἑκάστης νυκτὸς περιῄεσαν τὴν κλίνην τοῦ βασιλέως, ἵνα τὴν ἐκλογὴν αὐτὸς ποιήσηται τῆς μελλούσης αὐτῷ συνεῖναι (ed. K.T. Fischer, Teubner).

[23] See Brosius 2007, 45–46.

at another (6.6.8) he mentions *pelices CCC et LXV, totidem quot Darei fuerant*.[24] Also Arrian (*Anab*. 2.11.9–10) and Justin (*Epit.* 12.3.10) heard some rumors about Alexander's excessive promiscuity.[25]

In the light of all these stories of the king's luxury and polygamy (here it has to be reminded that as a husband of Rhoxane, Alexander married at Susa in 324 BC Barsine-Stateira and Parysatis – the latter was the King Artaxerxes s III's daughter),[26] and his unexpected show of abstinence (even if only at this moment) must have been regarded as a mark of the true royal virtue – astonishing and worth admi-ring – in the eyes of both his subjects and the others. That the fact that such self-restraint became, for the next generations, a vital part of the myth how 'good' and just a ruler Alexander was, remains naturally something obvious and understandable. None the less, here one should avoid generalizations: on this particular occasion the king might have shown kindness after the campaign. In other circumstances, regarding these matters he seems to have lived and acted differently. A small wonder, in sum: since he made the vast Persian empire (and the whole Asia) his property and δορίκτητος χώρα ('land won by spear': Diod. 17.17.2), all its inhabitants – including the female ones – just became his spoil.[27]

Greeks, Those Committed *philobarbaroi*[28]

I only have recalled this meaningful and evidently didactic passage in Plutarch (for some modern scholars a tale too instructive, perhaps, as a kind of introduction). It is not Alexander himself who entirely concerns me here. In what follows I would like to pay more attention to another aspect of this important episode. Whereas it remains true that its main hero was the young, brave megalomaniac, it seems equally obvious that the supporting (let us say) but none the less the significant part was played by the Persian womenfolk. Or, to be more

[24] Atkinson 1998, 296.

[25] As Heckel (in Yardley and Heckel 1997, 205) rightly observes, Justin's phrase *greges* ('a flock' of the concubines) bears strong negative connotations; similarly Curtius Rufus who employs the same term when saying (6.6.8) of eunuchs – *spadonum greges*; according to him they were, more importantly, *muliebria pati assueti*; cf. also Carney 2000, 23–24.

[26] Cf. Ogden 2009, 41–46. On the Persian polygamic tradition, see Strabo, *Geogr*. 15.3.17: 'The men marry many wives, and at the same time maintain several concubines, for the sake of having many children' (Loeb transl.); cf. Kuhrt 2003, 683 who counts: Darius I had six legal wives; Artaxerxes II – only three; Darius III – two; cf. Llewellyn-Jones 2013, 7–8. Similarly was in Media: Strabo, *Geogr*. 11.13.11 (cf. 15.3.13).

[27] See Curtius, 3.10.6; Justin, *Epit.* 11.5.9; cf. Carney 1996, 571.

[28] Again, the term is used by Plutarch's from the essay *De malignitate Herodoti* 12 (= *Mor*. 857a), for, as Bowen 1992, 110, observes, 'Roughly half of H.'s history is devoted to the Persians and their empire'.

precise, it was the women's beauty (κάλλος) and charm that mattered in the story, providing a dramatic (in a literary sense) challenge to Alexander's alleged – but highly doubtful, in my view – 'Stoic' temperance. Such is, I think, the lesson from Plutarch's biography but looking from a more general perspective on, his anecdote reveals something more: an amazing durability of an old, very old myth. It is a perennial myth concerning Oriental women. This 'myth' proves, in fact, a great curiosity and fascination the ancient Greeks felt and showed when meeting with -, and looking at them.

The adjective 'old' seems to be here particularly relevant here, since one might rightly say that such observations were expressed by the Greeks long before Alexander. One striking example from the fifth century BC has been preserved in Herodotus' magnificent ἱστορίη (5.h18). The famous story, anyway, was referred to by J.R. Hamilton,[29] who making the comment upon the relevant passage in Plutarch, reminds that a similar phrase – ἀλγηδόνας ὀφθαλμῶν – was used by the *pater historiae*.[30] Assuming that Alexander knew Herodotus' work,[31] Hamilton was ready to maintain that the Macedonian ruler might have made an allusion to it.[32] So briefly about it.[33]

The stunning tale by 'the father of history' concerns a banquet organized by the Macedonian king Alexander I, in order to celebrate a visit of the Persian envoys. On the demand of the drunken guests a lot of pretty court women were called upon to participate in the feast. But just when they were sitting in front of the barbarians the events quickly turned out to be highly dangerous, as οἱ Πέρσαι ἰδόμενοι γυναῖκας εὐμόρφους ἔλεγον πρὸς Ἀμύντην φάμενοι τὸ ποιηθὲν τοῦτο οὐδὲν εἶναι σοφόν.[34] For the guests, contrary to the knightly Alexander, the arrival of the court pretties posed a greater challenge than to resist their own sensual appetites, since, as the lustful (a true feature of barbarian character, let us note) barbarians argued, 'It was painful thing only to be allowed to look at them' (κρέσσον γὰρ εἶναι ἀρχῆθεν μὴ ἐλθεῖν τὰς γυναῖκας ἢ ἐλθούσας καὶ μὴ παριζομένας ἀντίας ἵζεσθαι **ἀλγηδόνας** σφίσι **ὀφθαλμῶν**). In consequence – the narrator tells us with an unmistakably overt disdain – Persians could not restrain from touching the classy beauties' breasts and even trying to kiss them. Every reader of Herodotus knows how cruel was the end of the party, as it is plain that his tale serves as

[29] Hamilton 1969, 56.

[30] See generally Konstan 1987; on the historical value of the Persian account in Herodotus cf. Munson 2009, 257–270; cf. Lewis 1985, 108.

[31] Another notorious problem that cannot be discussed here, see the next note.

[32] Unless we take the details of it as a product of the Plutarch's imaginary invention, this alone may be viewed as a clue that Alexander, himself educated in, and acquainted with – as it is assumed – Greek culture, made an allusion to Herodotus.

[33] Cf. also Dewald 2013.

[34] Ed. Ph.-E. Legrand (Budé); in the Aubrey de Sélincourt's Penguin rendering: 'The Persians, who finding them very charming, remarked to Amyntas that such arrangement was by no means a good one'.

a cautionary episode, again stressing out that particular feature of a typical Oriental – his unusual lustfulness and sexual intemperance.[35] At the price of making a stereotype,[36] the lesson from the story is straightforward – it just points out that in Greeks' eyes such exuberant sensuality was in fact a sign of being a Persian, man proverbially addicted to erotic pastimes.[37]

The suggestion made by Hamilton is very attractive but from my point of view Herodotus' story appears to be striking as far as it leads to another important point: the presence of the women themselves (as women are always behind everything). So, by implication, the underlying observation emerging from the story allows us to acknowledge that the astonishing hedonism of Persian males was *the result of* an uncommon beauty of their female partners:[38] wives, mistresses or concubines.[39] Naturally, such line of argumentation does not appear explicitly in Herodotus, yet it lies at the roots of the reasoning which is also visible in works of other Greek writers: spending their life in such conditions and surrounded by such dreamlike entities (who always were obedient and remained ready at men's disposal – another ideal stereotype[40]), how could the barbarians – the Greek authors seem to

[35] Tuplin 2007, 797 (on courtiers, concubines and eunuchs). Later on, this can be particularly clear from a famous passage Plutarch adduces in his fine diatribe *Advice to the Bride and Groom* (*Coniugalia praecepta*), ch. 16; on the stereotype of a barbarian lustfulness cf. the remarks by Tuplin 1999, 49, footnote 13; cf. Castriota 1995, 90.

[36] See Lewis 1985, 101–117 (= 1997, 345–361).

[37] By the way of comparison there is similar tone in Mesopotamian literature: L.D. Steele quotes the verses from *The Epic of Gilgamesh* where the hero is given advices to return home and enjoy pleasures of life (Steele 2007, 299–300); concerning Assyria see Melville 2004, 39–40.

[38] See Briant 1990, 69. This is visible in Curtius Rufus' memento (5.1.36–39) when describing lustfulness of the female inhabitants of Babylon and shocking sexual customs of the Babylonian women – everything that made the city a proverbial spot of moral evil and decadence. When Alexander entered the city, his moral downfall has begun; it happened because 'Nothing is more corrupt than the habits of that city, nothing more inclined to arouse and attract dissolute desires (*immodicas cupiditates*)'. So is with Babylonian noble women: 'The women who take part in these feasts are in the beginning modestly attired, then they take off their outer garments one by one and gradually disgrace their modesty, at last – with due respect to your ears – they throw aside the inmost coverings of their bodies. This shameful conduct is not confined to courtesans, but practiced by matrons and maidens, with whom the baseness of prostitution is regarded as courtesy' (cf. also *Dissoi logoi*, 2).

[39] Besides Macedonian ladies, Persians were not indifferent to other women: so in Herodotus 5.12 a beautiful and tall Paeonian girl was observed by the king Darius: 'the sight of her as she passed was sufficiently remarkable to catch Darius' eye'; Cyrus the Younger also was in intimate relations with a Greek woman, as Xenophon in the *Anabasis* tells us. The same is true with fictional Callirhoe in Chariton's fine novel, a Syracusan *femme fatale* against her will – its beauty works like a tornado, destroying mental health of the Persian satraps and the Great King himself; cf. Llewellyn-Jones 2013b, 177.

[40] So, in the *Book of Esther* 2.2–4 beautiful women from all the empire were gathered in Susa in order to be at the Great King's disposal; cf. Rawlinson 1867, 173 who saw in this a custom: 'The Empire was continually searched for beautiful damsels to fill the harem, a constant succession being required, as

imply – remain quiet and self-constrained?[41] Naturally, it's just a rhetorical question.[42] In such a way, one cannot miss the fact, however, that a perfect ambiguity arises: did many of the Greeks really condemn that Persian unmasked *libido* (even if it was a product of their imagination),[43] or was the majority of them seduced and fascinated by such a barbarian way of life?[44]

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none shared the royal couch more than once, unless she attracted the monarch's regard very particularly'. Rawlinson quotes additional sources: Herodotus 6.32, Aelian *VH*, 12.1 and Maximus of Tyre 34.4.

[41] Understandably enough, such 'philosophy' is difficult to be accepted in the modern times, given especially the rise and popularity of various (although in many cases flawed with apparent absurdities and logical self-contradictions) feminist ideologies: from this perspective it just looks nowadays as a manifesto of pure chauvinism. However, I am convicted that in respect of this problem the Greeks were usually far from being cynical and that their attitude had *also* much to do with religious sphere, being therefore not wholly rational: love passion was something that could not have been rationally explained, with help of reason since it remained under the care of the goddess Aphrodite, as Homeric Helen argued in the Fourth Book of the *Iliad* (cf. also *Il.* 14. 212–219; *Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite* V, 60–64; 85–90), or in Gorgias' famous speech (also Plutarch, *Coniug. praec.* = *Mor.* 138C; cf. *Amatorius*, ch. 5 and 13), cf. Dalby 2005, 48–49; see Pirenne-Delforge 2010, p. 5. From a modern, far more sophisticated point of view, it may be argued that it was a very primitive kind of explanation, indeed, as the blame for behavior on the part of men was most often laid on women and their presence as such, see Walcot 1984, 39. In this sense, women, if physically attractive (see Hesiod's warning and suggestive adjective *poikilai*: *Op.* 66), were also for Greek men highly and – inevitably – dangerous entities, as the representative tale of the deceptive Pandora in Hesiod's *Theogony* shows (*Theog.* 570–589; cf. also Homer, *Il.* 14. 216 – 217; see Ogden 1998, 213ff). Professor J. Redfield has some illuminating remarks on this problem in his admirable essay 2000, 219; as he philosophically (but pointedly) remarks, women constitute some problems to men; cf. also Whitmarsh 2004, 197–199.

[42] Cf. Plutarch's famous picture in *Praecept. coniug.* 16 (= *Mor.* 140b): Τοῖς τῶν Περσῶν βασιλεῦσιν αἱ γνήσιαι γυναῖκες παρακάθηνται δειπνοῦσι καὶ συνεστιῶνται· βουλόμενοι δὲ παίζειν καὶ μεθύσκεσθαι ταύτας μὲν ἀποπέμπουσι, τὰς δὲ μουσουργοὺς καὶ παλλακίδας καλοῦσιν, ὀρθῶς τοῦτό γ' αὐτὸ ποιοῦντες, ὅτι τοῦ συνακολασταίνειν καὶ παροινεῖν οὐ μεταδιδόασι ταῖς γαμεταῖς.

[43] One case was certainly an exception: it was the cruel treatment of the Greek women by the Persian 'dogs of war' during their march under Xerxes in 480 BC: Herodotus mentions that many women died after being raped by the soldiers.

[44] Naturally, one cannot forget that we are talking about a highly stereotypical way of thinking, not about any sociological research or anthropological typology how the Oriental women really looked like, or what the Persian canon of beauty was: the majority of the Greeks, small wonder, was not interested in the question of how beautiful were the women dwelling in the Achaemenid provinces whose humbler status did not allow them to display their (supposed) attractiveness, and who – instead of being admired by Greek itinerant onlookers – must have worked hard together with their husbands and children on their native soil (their presence, never the less, is attested by *Persepolis Fortification Texts*, cf. Brosius 2010). Thus Brosius 1996, 2, points out that the Greeks had a very limited knowledge of the Persian royal women: the suggestion is that the Greeks expressed opinions based on what they *saw* (otherwise, it is well known that Persian kings care a lot about the importance of the visual manifestation of their power). Nowadays, scholars claim that that there probably lies the source of a distorting mirror in which Persians and Persian culture as such were seen by the Greeks; see Harrison 2008, 51; also Llewellyn-Jones 2002, 22–23. To a great extent this observation is valid, as the Greek perception was shaped by various distortions and stereotypes – otherwise, a common and understandable phenomenon, by no means restricted to

In what follows I hope to show that, of course, the latter case was true, just to recall the remark made by Heraclides called 'Criticus' who have said that that the inhabitants of Attica are 'obsessed with foreign way of living' (*FGrH* 369a F1.4; cf. Thucydides 1.6).[45] This 'way' embraced women. We do not have a full body of evidence to maintain that such reasoning was common among the Greek travelers, diplomats, aristocrats, or other men of substance.[46] Yet, in the remaining body of sources one can certainly detect something that may be called a fascination: it was an impression the Oriental (Persian especially, but not only Persian: see Xenophon,

the ancient Greeks. This being so, the Greek picture and judgment of the Persians must not by interpreted today as totally denigrating: quite the opposite, Hellenic attitude toward Persian culture was, in fact, broadly speaking, highly ambiguous, rather than one-sided and *a priori* prejudiced. It is true that the ancient Greeks feared the Persian despotism (cf. Herodotus 7.8; see Ctesias' portrait of Parysatis in the *Persica*) but by the same token, they remained strongly fascinated with many items of Persian power and monarchy, so in some cases it is the allure and sense of attraction that lie at the roots of the distortion. The role and status of women in Persian court society certainly belonged to this category: it was the allure of Persian (Oriental) luxurious way of life as such, within which the attractiveness of beautiful women seemed very exceptional to the Greek observers (see esp. Herodotus, 9.81.1 on τὰς παλλακὰς τῶν Περσέων; cf. also Plutarch, *De fort. et virt. Alex*. 2.11; with Livy 39.6.7–9 and Ovid, *Med. faciei fem*. 21; cf. also Horace, *Carm*. 1.38.1 on *Persicos ... adparatus*; see L. Llewellyn-Jones in Llewellyn-Jones, Robson 2010*,* 84–85; also Llewellyn-Jones 2013, 5 on harem as 'inner' court. To put it briefly, court and elite women were just the fullest manifestation of Oriental *tryphe,* luxury and richness (as Maria Brosius reminds, often the women themselves owned large estates: Brosius 2000, nos. 163–167, pp. 83–84), seen usually when wearing adornments and jewelry (cf. Bahrani 1995, 1635–6). A perfect evidence for such attitude may be seen in Dio Chrysostomus' third discourse on kingship (*Or.* 3. 93) who says that: 'beautiful parks, costly residences, statues, paintings in the exquisite early style, golden bowls, inlaid tables, purple robes, ivory, amber, perfumes, everything to delight the eye, delightful music, both vocal and instrumental, and besides these, **beautiful maidens** and handsome boys – all these evidently subserve no useful purpose whatever, but are **obviously the inventions of plea-sure**' (καλὰ δὲ ἄλση καὶ οἰκίαι πολυτελεῖς <καὶ> ἀνδριάντες καὶ γραφαὶ τῆς παλαιᾶς τε καὶ ἄκρας τέχνης καὶ χρυσοῦ κρατῆρες καὶ ποικίλαι τράπεζαι καὶ πορφύρα καὶ ἐλέφας καὶ ἤλεκτρος καὶ μύρων ὀσμαὶ καὶ θεαμάτων παντοίων καὶ ἀκουσμάτων τέρψεις διά τε φωνῆς καὶ ὀργάνων, [πρὸς δὲ αὖ τούτοις **γυναῖκες ὡραῖαι** καὶ παιδικὰ ὡραῖα] ξύμπαντα ταῦτα οὐδεμιᾶς ἕνεκα χρείας, **ἀλλ' ἡδονῆς εὑρημένα φαίνεται**; ed. J. von Arnim; tr. J.W. Cohoon, Loeb edition). Another clear example of such manifestation was Oriental cuisine and the custom of giving extremely immense (by the Greek standards) royal banquets (Herodotus 9.82; 9.110.2; Ctesias *FGrH* 688, F 53; Heraclides of Cumae *FGrH* 689, F2 = Athenaeus 4.144d; cf. Dinon *FGrH* 690 F12 = Athenaeus 14.652b-c): I deal with this last topic in Burliga 2012, 14–23.

[45] The translation by McInerney 2012, 251; cf. Gunter 2009.

[46] There were plenty of the Greeks in the Orient. Among the other representatives of them were the artisans (sculptors, builders, engineers), cf. Raaflaub 2000, 53, with Richter 1946, 15–16 on Greek sculptors. They were all certainly acquainted with many Persian customs and elite lifestyle in general: the Persian career of Themistocles (Plutarch, *Them*. 27–31) may serve as an most notable example (here, at 31.2, a strong suggestion is that the hero of Salamina was in some acquaintance with the concubines of the satrap of Sardes); cf. especially Boardman 1980, 102–103; cf. the excellent summary by Rollinger 2006, 197–226.

Anab. 1.10.1) beauties left on the Greek onlookers; those of them who had opportunity to see the barbarian women remained under a strong and unforgettable allure; happily (nowadays for us) they thought that the beauties were worth immortalizing in a written form.[47] Nothing can be more telling than the remark Plutarch is making in his biography of the Athenian politician Themistocles (*Them*. 26.4–5):

τοῦ βαρβαρικοῦ γένους τὸ πολὺ καὶ μάλιστα τὸ Περσικὸν εἰς ζηλοτυπίαν τὴν περὶ τὰς γυναῖκας ἄγριον φύσει καὶ χαλεπόν ἐστιν. οὐ γὰρ μόνον τὰς γαμετάς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς ἀργυρωνήτους καὶ παλλακευομένας ἰσχυρῶς παραφυλάττουσιν, ὡς ὑπὸ μηδενὸς ὁρᾶσθαι τῶν ἐκτός, ἀλλ' οἴκοι μὲν διαιτᾶσθαι κατακεκλειμένας, ἐν δὲ ταῖς ὁδοιπορίαις ὑπὸ σκηναῖς κύκλῳ περιπεφραγμένας ἐπὶ τῶν ἁρμαμαξῶν ὀχεῖσθαι (‘Most barbarous nations, and the Persians in particular, reveal the harsh and cruel side of their nature in the jealously with which they behave to their women. Not only their wives, but even their slaves and concubines are closely guarded, so that they are never seen by strangers; at home they are shut up indoors, and when they travel, they are carried about under awnings which are surrounded with curtains and placed on four-wheeled waggons.’[48]

[47] Another works on the Hellenic ‘diaspora’ in the Achaemenid Empire are: Hofstetter 1978, esp. 201–209; Balcer 1993; see Momigliano 1984, 62 (he collects 300 known names of the Greeks in Persia before the era of Alexander); also Boardman 2002b, 203–204; cf. the recent chapter by Hodos 2012, 325–326. Today, one may regret that this presence did not result in more detailed accounts of the customs according to which Oriental womenfolk lived.

[48] Ed. K. Ziegler, Teubner; tr. I. Scott-Kilvert, Penguin. Cf. Le Corsu 1981, 227; see especially Schmidt 1999, 289–290. The same attitude is seen when the king Darius III asked an eunuch if his wife, having become Macedonian captive, remained faithful to him: the eunuch confirmed that and Darius was to glorify Alexander’s modesty: cf. Arrian, *Anab*. 4.20, with A.B. Bosworth’s note (Bosworth 1995, 133–134: ‘Darius worried about his wife voluntarily accepting her captor’s favours’). A long quotation from Maria Brosius’ excellent entry on women in Pre-Islamic Persia (see footnote 1, above) will be most telling, if not shocking: ‘To prevent the women’s falling into enemy hands, Parthian kings did resume to extreme measures. In 26 BCE, threatened with an advance of Tiridates, Phraates IV killed the women in his entourage (Isidore of Charax, *Parth. Stat*. 1), and in 52 CE the wife and children of the Armenian king Mithridates were killed by Rhadamistus, son of Pharasmanes of Iberia (Tac. *Ann*. 12.44–47). When Rhadamistus himself was pursued, he stabbed his pregnant wife and threw her into a river. She was found alive and rescued (Tac. *Ann*. 12.51; 13.6)’. On the margin, here I must remind that Plutarch’s story has found – among others – its confirmation in one of the most famous episodes from the Polish military history. Of course it does not deal with the Persians, yet it remains relevant for our understanding of the Oriental attitude toward women. The story concerns the glory days of the Polish army that in September 1683 under the command of the king Jan III Sobieski launched a successful attack on the Turkish troops, actually besieging Vienna. Happily, a priceless letter by an eyewitness, the king himself, is preserved. In this letter, sent to his wife Queen Mary, and dated on 13 September, at night, the victorious Polish monarch reports a shocking fact he and his hussars have discovered after entering the camp of the Grand Vizier, Kara Mustafa: many odalisques accompanying the Turkish officers and notables on the campaign were killed by the retreating Muslims (they even killed an exotic animal – ostrich) and the reason was the wish to prevent the possibility that the concubines (that is, propriety of the victors) will become the captives to the other men; see Kukulski 1970, 523; cf. Greene 2009, 249. On the earlier examples cf. Peirce 1993,

In other words – I dare to suggest here – the evidence we get at disposal seems to imply that when looking at the Oriental classy women, the attitude of the Greeks certainly was at odds with a cliché of a 'bad barbarian'.[49] In rejecting (perhaps fortunately, as many scholars surely would agree) any respect for political or cultural correctness, for a while at least,[50] the Greeks became – willingly and enthusiastically (it is not wholly certain, if always deliberatively or consciously) – *philobarbaroi*,[51] to borrow very apt phrase from an excellent book by Professor Gerold Walser.[52]

37 who at one place observes that the Byzantine historian Ducas did not fail to note that after the siege of Constantinople many Byzantine noblewomen and their daughters were ordered to leave the city on carriages and horseback – apparently as attractive captives; cf. also Hopwood 2003, 231, 238.

[49] There is one unnoticed but in this context astonishing tale in Curtius Rufus 5.2.18–19: it reports that Alexander, leaving in Susa the queen Sisigambis and her granddaughters, gave them some Macedonian women who were experienced in making the clothing: their task was to teach Persian captives to make cloth too. But unexpectedly for Alexander, the Persian queen bursts into the tears as she felt to have been heavily disgraced by such an offer; she just rejects it by arguing that nothing, as Curtius comments, is more disrespectful to Persian noble women as to sit and 'and working with wool' (tr. J. Yardley: quippe non aliud magis in contumeliam Persarum feminae accipiunt quam admovere lanae manus; Loeb edition by J.C. Rolfe). The episode, repeated nowhere else, remains conspicuous: if the Greek visitors got to know such an attitude to what was a custom of the Greek wives (cf. Dissoi logoi 2), it might in some way contribute to their distorted perception of a high position of Persian women: it was the 'liberty' of the latter – irrespective of how was their real status – that made them more attractive in the Greek eyes.

[50] Lee 2009, 173–174, observes that 'no provisions are made in the texts for the diet, exercise, or bathing practices of non-Greeks'. Her remark may be supported by Polański's 1997, 35, claim that 'The alien beauty of the Orientals proved inconceivable and psychologically impenetrable to the Western intellectuals whether of Greek or of Latin origin'.

[51] Cf. La Forse 2013, 570; see Murray 2000, 333; cf. Blank 1999, 11. There is one outstanding example of such attitude: the Macedonian Harpalus. He became notorious when he escaped with a great amount of money to Greece from Babylon after Alexander ordered to return from India. But why? As a royal treasurer at Babylon, he could not have resisted to taste Oriental 'way of life'. Diodorus remarks (17.108.4–6): ' Harpalus had been given the custody of the treasury in Babylon and of the revenues which accrued to it, but as soon as the king had carried his campaign into India, he assumed that Alexander would never come back, and gave himself up to comfortable living. Although he had been charged as satrap with the administration of a great country, he first occupied himself with the abuse of women and illegitimate amours with the natives and squandered much of the treasure under his control on incontinent pleasure. He fetched all the long way from the Red Sea a great quantity of fish and introduced an extravagant way of life, so that he came under general criticism. Later, moreover, he sent and brought from Athens the most dazzling courtesan of the day, whose name was Pythonicê. As long as she lived he gave her gifts worthy of a queen, and when she died, he gave her a magnificent funeral and erected over her grave a costly monument of the Attic type. After that, he brought out a second Attic courtesan named Glycera and kept her in exceeding luxury, providing her with a way of life which was fantastically expensive. At the same time, with an eye on the uncertainties of fortune, he established himself a place of refuge by benefactions to the Athenians' (tr. C. B. Welles; also cf. Plutarch, *Alex.* 41.4; Justin, *Epit.* 13.5.9; Athenaeus 13. 295a–296b).

[52] Walser 1984, 73–100. Again, it itself shows that Greek attitude toward Persian was much more complex than a simple polarity: 'they' vs. 'us'. Of course, it was the Greek who 'invented

τὸ οὖν ἡδονὰς διώκειν προπετῶς λύπας ἐστὶ θηρεύειν

The title of this section is a quotation taken from Athenaeus' *The Learned Banqueters* (12.511a).[53] Although it sounds as a sentence borrowed right from the Epicurean philosophy,[54] it acutely characterizes, I believe, impressions and feelings which some representatives of the Greek elite held about the Achaemenid 'dolls' they have had the opportunity (or: luck) to meet on their paths through Asia. Naturally enough, the 'pedagogical' instruction embedded in Athenaeus' *memento* is plain, as it simply states that if one pursues pleasures too eagerly, he risks at hunting pain.[55] Naturally, the proverb undoubtedly rings with a highly moralistic tone, but otherwise it tells something extremely trivial and repeated thousand times by the poets (see Ovid, *Heroid*. 16) and prose writers around the world – both good and bad ones, later and nowadays, from the cheapest popular romances to the acknowledged masterpieces like Boris Pasternak's *Doctor Zhivago*: that is, not only that love hurts (such and alike truisms do really sound as if it was simply borrowed from a worst and muddle melodramas) but also that since the gazing at beauty means desire, it may bring for the spectators (and often does) by the same disturbance, anxiety (or suffering), too,[56] to quote again Ps.-Lucian's highly ironical remark: οὕτως τις ὑγρὸς τοῖς ὄμμασιν ἐνοικεῖ μύωψ, ὃς ἅπαν κάλλος εἰς αὐτὸν ἁρπάζων ἐπ' οὐδενὶ κόρῳ παύεται (*Amores* 2). But perhaps even more revealing commentary on Athenaeus' sad moralizing may be found earlier, in Xenophon's philosophy of love torment. It was inserted in the *Cyropaedia* (see below, under the subsection 'The Old Cavalryman's Noble Dream: Panthea'), where Cyrus pointedly warns boastful Araspas (5.1.12):

Πῶς οὖν, ἔφη ὁ Κῦρος, εἰ ἐθελούσιόν· ἐστι τὸ ἐρασθῆναι, οὐ καὶ παύσασθαι ἔστιν ὅταν τις βούληται; ἀλλ' ἐγώ, ἔφη, ἑώρακα καὶ κλαίοντας ὑπὸ λύπης δι' ἔρωτα, καὶ δουλεύοντάς γε

(metaphorically) the Barbarian' (cf. Hall 1989, 56–57; also Cartledge 1995, 77–78; cf. Gehrke 2000, 89), but the Greeks' admiration for Persian beauties contradicts a famous claim of Said who criticized the Westerners for treatment of the Orientals with contemptuous protectionism and a sense of being better. For by far more complicated nature of the relations between the Greeks and Persians, see Balcer 1991, 57–65; cf. also a classic study see Austin 1990, 289–290; more generally Vasunia 2010, 701.

[53] The title of this work after the new edition and translation by S. D. Olson in the Loeb series.

[54] Clearly seen in Plutarch's bitter polemics with such attitudes in his diatribe *Non posse suaviter vivi secundum Epicurum* (*Mor.* 1086c–1107c); cf. also Cicero, *Fin*. 1.10.32–33.

[55] Although the author of the diatribe ascribed to Lucian, wrote: τῶν γε μὴν ἐρωτικῶν ἱμέρων αὐτὸ τὸ βασανίζον εὐφραίνει καὶ γλυκὺς ὁδοὺς ὁ τοῦ πόθου δάκνει (*Amores*, 3; ed. M.D. Macleod, Loeb); cf. generally Katz 2004, 107.

[56] It is interesting to observe that in similar circumstances R. Scruton in his analysis (2006, 64–65) cites Dante's *Paradise* (*canto* XXIII), where the medieval genius describes his feelings accompanying the vision of the late Beatrice.

τοῖς ἐρωμένοις καὶ μάλα κακὸν νομίζοντας πρὶν ἐρᾶν τὸ δουλεύειν, καὶ διδόντας γε πολλὰ ὧν οὐ βέλτιον αὐτοῖς στέρεσθαι, καὶ εὐχομένους ὥσπερ καὶ ἄλλης τινὸς νόσου ἀπαλλαγῆναι, καὶ οὐ δυναμένους μέντοι ἀπαλλάττεσθαι, ἀλλὰ δεδεμένους ἰσχυροτέρᾳ τινὶ ἀνάγκῃ ἢ εἰ ἐν σιδήρῳ ἐδέδεντο. παρέχουσι γοῦν ἑαυτοὺς τοῖς ἐρωμένοις πολλὰ καὶ εἰκῇ ὑπηρετοῦντας· καὶ μέντοι οὐδ' ἀποδιδράσκειν ἐπιχειροῦσι, τοιαῦτα κακὰ ἔχοντες, ἀλλὰ καὶ φυλάττουσι τοὺς ἐρωμένους μή ποι ἀποδρῶσι (‚How then, pray, said Cyrus, ‚if falling in love is a matter of free will, is it not possible for any one to stop whenever he pleases? But I have seen people in tears of sorrow because of love and in slavery to the objects of their love, even though they believed before they fell in love that slavery is a great evil; I have seen them give those objects of their love many things that they could ill afford to part with; and I have seen people praying to be delivered from love just as from any other disease, and, for all that, un-able unable tob e delivered from it, but fettered by a stronger necessity than if they had been fettered with sackles of iron. At any rate, they surrendered themselves to those they love to perform for them many services blindly. And yet, in spite of all their misery, they do not attempt to run away, but even watch their darlings to keep them from running away‘; tr. W. Miller, Loeb).

The above apt observation by Lucian is hardly new, too, one may here object, and would be right. In some sense, it has been observed by Plato in *Phaedrus* (237d), where Socrates believes that δεῖ αὖ νοῆσαι ὅτι ἡμῶν ἐν ἑκάστῳ δύο τινέ ἐστον ἰδέα ἄρχοντε καὶ ἄγοντε, οἷν ἑπόμεθα ᾗ ἂν ἄγητον. One of them (ἡ μὲν), Socrates adds, is ἔμφυτος οὖσα ἐπιθυμία ἡδονῶν.[57] Greek literature abounds in other examples proving observations of such type. The motif of a spiritual torture accompanying looking at beloved but for some reasons (e. g., due to the different social statuses and cultural distances between the two) inaccessible person was (and still is[58]) a highly popular literary subject: in Greek literature it begins with immortal poem by Sappho, to be aped most famously by that famous grumbler, *miser* Catullus. Another Roman poet, the famous and talented *Epicuri de grege porcus*, also did not forget to play with it. In one of his fine *carmina* (1.19) the old Augustan lustful satyr expresses a passion (again literary, of course, we may suspect) toward a girl (*urit me Glycerae nitor*; *urit grata protervitas*), whose *voltus nimium lubricius adspici* compelled him into an (imaginary) love torment.[59]

[57] Ed. J. Burnet, *Platonis opera,* Oxford 1901.

[58] To remind probably the most famous modern example, it constitutes – leaving aside a different context – a recurring motif in the nihilistic, but moralizing in fact novels by the popular French writer Michel Houllebecq.

[59] Cf. the commentary by Mayer 2012, *ad loc.* And the same kind of feeling has been lovingly revoked many centuries later by the master of the Polish Renaissance poetry, Jan Kochanowski, who in his perhaps two the most enchanting short pieces from a famous collection of the *Epigrams* (Latin: *Nugae*, Polish: *Fraszki*; the *editio princeps* has appeared in 1584), superbly played with the ancient motif of gazing at the beloved person (I mean the epigram no. 91 in the Book Two, and – even to a greater extent – the epigram no. 28 from the Book Three).

The question of a torment that most often follows the gazing upon beautiful women reminds us of a more basic fact: how careful and astute viewers, if not *voyeurs*,[60] were the ancient Greeks in this respect fundamentally.[61] What is more, it may be conceded that such generalization allows us to formulate a further remark that numerous literary *ekphraseis* we meet in Greek writings indicate a clear celebration of the process of watching itself and admiring female beauty and body.[62] Indeed, it would be interesting to read an anthology of

[60] See Goldhill 2002, 374–375; Cairns 2005, 126–127; Llewellyn-Jones 2013b, 172. The two famous cases of such drive for gazing may be recalled here: the one concerns Menelaus being about to kill Helen but abandoning the idea the moment he seesher breasts (*Ilias parva*, F 13; Aristophanes, *Lys*. 155; Euripides, *Andr.* 627–631; Pliny, *NH*, 23. 23); the second is that of the beautiful Phryne and Hyperides. There is an analysis in S. Bartsch's 2006 study, 67–68, quoting, among others, the poet Agathon (fr. 37, Nauck) that the verb *eran* (to love) is similar to *horan* (to see).

[61] It is true that besides the descriptions we are dealing here with, there are many types of the Greek reflection on women: very often, their curiosity in representation of womenfolk took a literal form; *today* it may be shocking for the taste and sensibility of the modern European readers and viewers, especially in the scenes or descriptions abounding with sexual abuse, open brutality, maltreatment or violence towards women; see, e. g., some contributions in the book by S. Deacy, K. F. Pierce (eds.) 2002.

[62] It goes without saying that the same is true with the Romans. Let me adduce a telling passage from Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*, 2.8–10, describing the girl called Photis: *diligenter omnem eius explorassem habitudinem. Vel quid ego de ceteris aio, cum semper mihi unica cura fuerit caput capillumque sedulo et puplice prius intueri et domi postea perfrui sitque iudicii huius apud me certa et statuta ratio, vel <quod..> vel quod praecipua pars ista corporis in aperto et in perspicuo posita prima nostris luminibus occurrit et quod in ceteris membris floridae vestis hilaris color, hoc in capite nitor nativus operatur; denique pleraeque indolem gratiamque suam probaturae lacinias omnes exuunt, amicula dimovent, nudam pulchritudinem suam praebere se gestiunt magis de cutis roseo rubore quam de vestis aureo colore placiturae. At vero — quod nefas dicere, nec quod sit ullum huius rei tam dirum exemplum! — si cuiuslibet eximiae pulcherrimaeque feminae caput capillo spoliaveris et faciem nativa specie nudaveris, licet illa caelo deiecta, mari edita, fluctibus educata, licet inquam ipsa Venus fuerit, licet omni Gratiarum choro stipata et toto Cupidinum populo comitata et balteo suo cincta, cinnama flagrans et balsama rorans, calva processerit, placere non poterit nec Vulcano suo. Quid cum capillis color gratus et nitor splendidus inlucet et contra solis aciem vegetus fulgurat vel placidus renitet aut in contrariam gratiam variat aspectum et nunc aurum coruscans in lenem mellis deprimitur umbram, nunc corvina nigredine caerulus columbarum colli flosculos aemulatur, vel cum guttis Arabicis obunctus et pectinis arguti dente tenui discriminatus et pone versum coactus amatoris oculis occurrens ad instar speculi reddit imaginem gratiorem? Quid cum frequenti subole spissus cumulat verticem vel prolixa serie porrectus dorsa permanat? Tanta denique est capillamenti dignitas ut quamvis auro veste gemmis omnique cetero mundo exornata mulier incedat, tamen, nisi capillum distinxerit, ornata non possit audire. Sed in mea Photide non operosus sed inordinatus ornatus addebat gratiam. Uberes enim crines leniter remissos et cervice dependulos ac dein per colla dispositos sensimque sinuatos patagio residentes paulisper ad finem conglobatos in summum verticem nodus adstrinxerat*.

Greek writers' quotations (if someone would ever attempt to make such one) concerning this topic,[63] including also *agalmatophilia.*[64] It is trivial to say that they appear in Homeric poems that abound with relatively numerous remarks of the type – starting with Agamemnon's ideal of woman (*Il.* 1.113–115; cf. *Od*. 13.412 on *Sparte kalligynaika*), or, more detailed descriptions (*Il.* 1.31; 24.215). A lot of identical or quite similar sentiments may be found in archaic poetry (e. g., Archiloch, fr. 196a, West; Sappho, fr. 44.15; Anacreon, fr. 24, Bergk). Literary testimony (see Aristophanes' judgment on Spartan women: *Lys*. 1306–1315)[65] is accompanied – obviously – by visual representations, since, as Catherine Jones has written generally, 'overtly sexual representations were common in both Greek and Roman art',[66] with the most famous, late Hellenistic statue of Aphrodite from Melos (Venus de Milo) ahead.[67] Jones' claim is corresponding to Barbara Hughes Fowler's observations on the post-classical instance of the representation of female body: 'One of the most charming features of the Hellenistic aesthetic is the subtle eroticism that pervades both the poetry and the visual art'.[68] As the ancient evidence for this sensuous aspect of life may serve the Neoplatonic philosopher Plotinus' striking characterization of the sinister figure of Odysseus, that *dirus Ulixes* (*Enn*. 1.6.8): ἔχων ἡδονὰς δι' ὀμμάτων καὶ κάλλει πολλῷ αἰσθητῷ συνών;[69] it may be supplied by the

Cf. Duret 1996, 173–174; see generally Winkler 1985, 175.

[63] Although it remains obvious that the Greeks were no exception, I have to mention the unique, enchanting, and unrivalled description how Beloved Woman looks, as given in the biblical *Song of Songs* (*Shir ha-shirim*, ascribed to the King Solomon), 4.1–15: metaphorical and allegorical interpretations of this masterpiece (flourishing especially in medieval times by, e. g., the reverend Bernard of Clairvaux) do not contradict the fact that the sensual aspect of this feeling is mostly espoused here. The same remains true with the careful attention with which the author of the *Book of Judith* describes how pretty his heroine was (Jdt 10.4–19), irrespective of the interpretations that insist that the woman is a symbol of Israel: all men – both Israelites in Betulia and the Assyrians in the camp – were charmed by her beauty that served her as weapon and means (but used with a noble aim) to deceive the cruel Holophernes, kill him and save Jerusalem. Let us only recall a characteristic remark Holophernes gives to eunuch Bagoas: it would by a shame for him , if he permitted such a woman to go away without having sex with her (indeed, Holophernes' enormous desire is depicted very vividly: Jdt 12.16).

[64] See Chariton, *Callirh.* 1.1: θαυμαστόν τι χρῆμα παρθένου καὶ ἄγαλμα τῆς ὅλης Σικελίας (ed. R. Hercher); see Silk, Gildenhard and Barrow 2004, 87.

[65] See Neils 2012, 153.

[66] Jones 1982, 143.

[67] Cf. Kousser 2005, 227. She refers to the common perception of this statue as expressing 'a timeless ideal of female beauty.'

[68] Hughes Fowler 1989, 137; as she also adds, 'female flesh in all its beauty was a major achievement of the Hellenistic sculptors'; cf. generally the observations in the recent book by Osborne 2011; see especially Dillon 2010.

[69] Ed. P. Henry, H.-R. Schwyzer: *Plotini opera.* Leiden 1951.

congenial sentence from Athenaeus (13.608a), sounding like a generalization: οὐδέν ἐστιν ὀφθαλμῶν οὕτως εὐφραντικὸν ὡς γυναικὸς κάλλος. In this context the motto from G.M.A. Richter's classical treatment *A Handbook of Greek Art* also could be in this context appropriate for quoting:[70] 'What is that attracts the eyes of everyone of those who behold a beautiful object, and call them, lures them towards it, and fills them with joy at the sight?' For a possible response the case of relief sculpture from temple of Victory (Nike) in Acropolis may be recalled here: as for the goddess of victory, this Nike loosening her sandal is astonishingly sensual.[71]

If the modern reader is not patient enough to look for data through ancient Greek sources, one literary monument to this topic certainly may be helpful in convincing him about the Greeks' enormous sensibility for women and curiosity in exploring this theme that – additionally – also resulted in many treatises about the nature of love and desire:[72] for example, the recalled *Deipnosophistae* by Atheneaus, particularly with its Book XIII, being τὸν περὶ ἐρωτικῶν λόγον (13.555a; cf: τὸν ἐρωτικὸν ἐκεῖνον κατάλογον).[73] The lecture of the unique Book XIII of this giant monument to the Second Sophistic erudition is especially instructive (and enjoyable, by the way). Even if the majority of the examples the writer adduces are literary, anecdotic and apocryphal in its character, above all, the mentality of the narrator and his audiences is visible as nowhere else:[74] the impression about Greek inclination toward sensual pastimes is so strong that despite the confession made by the narrator as if he were not addicted to erotic (οὐκ ὢν οὕτως ἐρωτομανὴς: 13.599e), one suspects the opposite which is rather true.

In general, Athenaeus' Book XIII concerns the Greek fondness for women (they are treated by him as a sign of men's taste for luxury) but is cannot be any

[70] London – New York 1996[6], 10.

[71] See Osborne 1998, 187, who writes in his analysis about 'frank sexual appeal'; cf. Spivey, 2013, 33–34 on 'The cult of beauty'.

[72] Like those by the philosophers: Theophrastus (Athenaeus, 12.526d; 13.562e; 13.567b), or Chrysippus of Soloi (Athenaeus, 13.564f). The subject was attractive to the Byzantines, if one may to rely on the Suda: an Astyanassa was to be the author of the first handbook of love positions (Silk *et al.* 2014, 87).

[73] See L. McClure 2003, 1–2; cf. Danielewicz, in Bartol, Danielewicz 2010, 1021, n. 1. It begins with Plato's discussion on the topic in *Phaedrus.*

[74] To give but one emphatic example: at 13.558d Athenaeus quotes Xenophon's *Memorabilia* (3.11.1), where even the honest Socrates, on a hearsay about an exceptionally unusual beauty of the courtesan Theodote (that's, about her breasts, to put it frankly), desires to visit her and personally check out if this is true. This and many other anecdotes, again remind something obvious: that Greek culture was imbued in narrating tales, including to a great degree those erotic ones, more or less frivolous.

surprise that Persian and other foreign cultures play also important role in his learned dialogue. However, among the others, the Persians took the most privileged place. According to popular stereotype, the Achaemenid elite was especially prone to such luxurious forms of life (Xenophon, *Cyr*. 8.1.14; 8.8.9; *Anab*. 1.5.8; see also Plutarch, *Artax*. 13);[75] and if it is luxury what it was about – women must have been present obligatorily, too. In the book 12.513e-f, the learned sophist from Naucratis remarkably concludes that διαβόητοι δὲ ἐπὶ τρυφῇ ἐγένοντο πρῶτοι πάντων ἀνθρώπων Πέρσαι. This note corresponds well to Xenophon's earlier statement in the *Cyropaedia*, 4.1.14, where Cyaxares addresses the Persian prince with following observation: Ἀλλ', ὦ Κῦρε, ὅτι μὲν κάλλιστα ἀνθρώπων μελετᾶτε ὑμεῖς οἱ Πέρσαι μηδὲ πρὸς μίαν ἡδονὴν ἁπλήστως διακεῖσθαι καὶ ὁρῶν καὶ ἀκούων οἶδα ('Well, Cyrus, I know from what I see and hear that you Persians are more careful than other people not to incline to the least intemperance in any kind of pleasure'). The same type of view taste is found in the *Cyropaedia* slightly later, at 4.3.1–2, where the Median practice is evaluated in such a way:

Τῶν δὲ Μήδων τινὲς ἤδη, οἱ μὲν ἁμάξας προωρμημένας καταλαβόντες καὶ ἀποστρέψαντες προσήλαυνον μεστὰς ὧν δεῖται στρατιά, οἱ δὲ καὶ ἁρμαμάξας γυναικῶν τῶν βελτίστων τῶν μὲν γνησίων, τῶν δὲ καὶ παλλακίδων διὰ τὸ κάλλος συμπεριαγομένων, ταύτας εἰληφότες προσῆγον. πάντες γὰρ ἔτι καὶ νῦν οἱ κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν στρατευόμενοι ἔχοντες τὰ πλείστου ἄξια στρατεύονται, λέγοντες ὅτι μᾶλλον μάχοιντ' ἂν εἰ τὰ φίλτατα παρείη· τούτοις γάρ φασιν ἀνάγκην εἶναι προθύμως ἀλέξειν. ἴσως μὲν οὖν οὕτως ἔχει, **ἴσως δὲ καὶ ποιοῦσιν αὐτὰ τῇ ἡδονῇ χαριζόμενοι.**[76]

Regarding womenfolk, the Persian despot – as the writer does not fail to remind us – remained under a sweet care of three hundred women (12.514b: φυλάσσουσί τε αὐτὸν καὶ τριακόσιαι γυναῖκες.[77] This information was given by the

[75] Consult also Braund 2000, 3–22 who rightly points out the Roman context of the writer's discussion about *tryphe*; cf. also Dalby 2000, 12 and Idem, 2003, 201–202; see especially the excellent study by Lenfant 2007, 52.

[76] 'Now a part of the Medes were already bringing in the wagons which had been hurried forward and which they had overtaken and turned back packed full of what an army needs; others were bringing in the carriages that conveyed the most high-born women, not only wedded wives but also concubines, who on account of their beauty had been brought along; these also they captured and brought in. For even unto this day all who go to war in Asia take with them to the field what they prize most highly; for they say that they would do battle the more valiantly, if all that they hold dearest were there; for these, they say, they must do their best to protect. This may, perhaps, be true; **but perhaps also they follow this custom for their own sensual gratification**' . Needless to say that the author's judgment is by no means derogatory, cf. my note *ad loc*, in Głombiowski *et al.* 2014, 205.

[77] This reminds of the book by Grosrichard 1998, 165, who analyzed the relations within Oriental seraglio. According to him, there was a net of complicated ties and the role of the

Greek who was overtly fascinated with the Persian politics of the open hedonism – Heraclides of Cumae (ὡς ἱστορεῖ ὁ Κυμαῖος Ἡρακλείδης ἐν α΄ Περσικῶν – *FGrH* 689 F1).[78] With this last remark we return from a reminder about the Greek interest in women generally to the main topic: a fascination the ancient *Hellenes* showed particularly to the Persian Χάριτες, and thus the 'eternal' dilemma of hunting pain.[79]

In her famous paper 'Exit Atossa: Images of Women in Greek Historiography on Persia',[80] Professor Heleen Sancisi-Weerdenburg formulated a following observation: 'The majority of women in the ancient Orient have left no trace in the historical records. They remained nameless and unnamed. Exceptions that escaped anonymity are mostly of a notorious kind'. In her further analysis a few historical examples appear, however. It can be thus deduced that on the Greek part the fascination was mixed with fear.[81]

Such feeling is perfectly shown in that astonishing treasury of the Oriental stories as the Herodotean *apodexis* certainly is.[82] Already in the very beginning of his work, thanks to the author's extraordinary curiosity an archetypical, Oriental, semi-legendary tale is presented: the story of Candaules' unnamed wife (1.8–12),[83] whose uncommon fairness (in this respect she was the first one in the

women by no means was 'passive'. Grosrichard cites Plato who famously claimed that that a tyrant is a slave of his slaves: the Oriental seraglio may serve as the evidence for such a claim.

[78] See Lenfant 2009, 255–314. For the ear of an ancient Greek such numbers must have been a mere fantasy, yet if one is considering them in a comparison to other neighboring cultures, they were not so high: so, to put it frankly, the rulers in the Old Testament were in this respect far more voluptuous – famously, the king Solomon was to have 700 wives and 300 concubines (1 Kings 11, 3) and the same was true with his son David (2 Samuel 5.13; cf. Deut. 22.7; Exod. 21.10). One may guess that if the Greeks had a detailed knowledge of these stories, they would have certainly issued a comment on those customs, yet, in the classical era the Greeks had little knowledge of the Jewish culture was little. Anyway, it is obvious that the exact numbers of the Biblical concubines and wives cannot be taken literally: metaphorically, as is the case of Persian king's mistresses, the numbers are just used to express a great amount.

[79] One cannot forget the *Book of Esther*, written in the Hellenistic epoch, that plainly proves that not only the Greeks paid a great attention to the Persian court; see Kuhrt 2007, 294–295.

[80] Sancisi-Weerdenburg 1983, 20.

[81] Cf. Romm 1998, 170–171, on the Greek fascination with warrior women, seen also in the work entitled *Tractatus De Mulieribus* (probably written at the end of 2nd century A.D.), whose heroines are Oriental queens or women supporting the Persians: e.g., Semiramis, Zarinacea, Nitocris, Atossa, Rhodogyne; cf. Gera 1997, 12.

[82] See Raaflaub 2010, 189; cf. Lateiner 1989, 152–155 who gives an overview of the Herodotus' remarks on the Persians.

[83] See the remarks by D. Asheri, in Asheri, Lloyd and Corcella 2006, *ad loc*. Another unnamed heroine was the wife of Spitamenes, whose crime was described with details by Curtius Cufus 8.3.2–15.

whole Asia[84]) generates a chain of events straightforwardly leading to the catastrophe that ruins a few persons involved in it.[85] Later, the theme can be seen in Herodotus' narrative (9.108–113), with an elaborated episode about Xerxes' sudden falling in love with his brother's (also unnamed) wife and then, with his daughter-in-law (called Artyante);[86] the terrifying, truly deplorable and tragic fate of the former, shockingly mutilated on the behalf of Amestris,[87] the envious wife of Xerxes (in her cruelty she only was over out by the vengeful Pherecide: 4.202), must have been (again, here Herodotus does not state this explicitly) the result of the main factor: her beauty. A true tragedy lies especially in fact that both female victims were – if we give up for a moment Greek perspective – totally innocent.[88]

Echoes proving popularity of such thinking in the circles of the ancient Greek intellectuals may be found already in one of the arguments the sophist Gorgias plausibly revoked in his defense of the mythical beauty – Helen *(Hel.* 4 = Diels & Kranz, *FVS*).[89] Above all, again, it was her beauty that constituted a proverbially warning and damaging factor that provoked men's disastrous desires and could not reverse the events leading in effect to the Trojan war.[90] On hearing this a modern reader may smile, yet the idea is not so preposterous as it may have seemed.[91] There was certainly a potentially great attractiveness in it, so in the modern times the idea was repeated – in its fundamentals – by Gabriel Garcia Marquez's in his *Cien años de soledad*. Marquez's portrait of Remedios 'la Bella' Buendia – an entity essentially hopelessly stupid but so pretty that somewhat unreal – is purposely depicted in a funny way: her physical features are so exceptional that in consequence she must disappear from the novel – by an

[84] A similar description of Rhoxane is given by Arrian, *Anab*. 4.19.5: Ῥωξάνη ὀνόματι, ἣν δὴ καλλίστην τῶν Ἀσιανῶν γυναικῶν λέγουσιν. In antiquity there was a famous painting by Aetion presenting the wedding of Alexander and Rhoxane (Lucian, *Imag*. 7).

[85] Cf. Burliga 2011, esp. 166–169. Very often, women's beauty is simply dangerous and pernicious: in the *Odyssey* Melantho, a servant-maiden of 'the lovely face', being a mistress to a suitor, contributes to a great degree to his failure or even doom (*Od.* 18.321; tr. R. Lattimore).

[86] See the remarks of Boedeker 2011, 219–221.

[87] Cf. Harrison 2002, 196; see Walcot 1984, 37.

[88] See Rollinger 2004, 138–139. Such episodes belonged to 'harem-stories', narrating *erotica pathemata* as the Greeks called them, with *Callirhoe* by Chariton as a perfect example.

[89] So rightly Carson 1990, 142; cf. Harrison 2011, 63.

[90] Cf. Lucian, *Charid.* 16–19; see Stewart 1997, 41.

[91] There was well a known story reported by Ctesias of Cnidus in his *Persica* (*FGrH* 688, *Pers.* F42 = Photius, *Bibl.* 72). The time, the Graeco-Persian pitaval concerned a Greek physician, Apollonides of Cos, who, enamored of the sick daughter of the Great King Artaxerxes, Amytis, advised her as therapy frequent intercourses with many men. He also himself has exploited the princess sexually but then, as sometimes happens, abandoned her. Her vengeance, with an aid of the Mother Queen, Amestris, was cruel: before he died by being buried alive, he was tortured for two months.

act of spectacular levitation (quite literally). Astonishing for the European reader as it certainly is, this 'magical' and plausible concept seems to be a wonderful (and humorous) solution the writer introduces for the changing the course of the action in the novel: in this way he can stop a gathering storm – the annihilation of the male population of Macondo, obsessed with, and ruined by Remedios' disquieting, heavenly but pernicious beauty.[92]

One of the most explicit stereotyped beliefs about oriental women can be found in Attic plays, most conspicuously in Euripides' *Andromache*, where the envious Hermione brutally attacks Hector's wife for her (alleged) use of *pharmaka* that Asiatic women – stereotypically, of course – have at their disposal to deceitfully turn men into stupid, slavish and obedient creatures.

These and other examples, terrifying, warning and cautionary, lead to two further, more general observations, well known enough, yet worth reminding here: first, that the Greeks reacted vividly to sensual aspects of life;[93] second, that men as keen observers of the world around, were also including the perspicuous observing of women,[94] discussing almost all aspects of their 'distinctiveness' – mental as well as physical, according to the conclusion of Ann Carson's paper.[95]

But along the passages quoted above, there was other kind of the Oriental narratives that the ancient Greeks liked very much and repeated. In these stories the women of the East seemed to the Greek observers to be something like a dream, entities unreal and almost fabulous (again, quite in a literal sense) – let us say, ancient predecessors of the legendary Persian Sheherazade and the 'Arabian' princesses from the later, fabulous collection *One Thousand and One Nights*, or Firdousi's famous *Shahname*.[96] Nevertheless, it will be hardly an ex-

[92] A similar effect is created by E.L. Doctorow in his nostalgic novel *Ragtime* (in this case – the heroine is a famous model and dancer Evelyn Nesbit). It is striking that both Marquez and Doctorow employ similar literary solution to show how pretty their female characters were. I shall return to this below, because it was Xenophon to whom belongs the honor of being the first to employ this idea in the *Cyropaedia*.

[93] Cf. Mc Niven 2012, 510. So Epicurus was to say that there is a pleasure in gazing beautiful forms (*apud* Athenaeus 12.546e = Usener, fr. 67; cf. Cicero, *Tusc*. 3.18.46). Alciphron expressed almost the same sentiment (*Epist.* 3.19.8): Ζηνοκράτης δὲ ὁ Ἐπικούρειος τὴν ψάλτριαν ὡς αὐτὸν ἐνηγκαλίζετο τακερὸν καὶ ὑγρὸν προσβλέπων ὑπομεμυκόσι τοῖς ὄμμασι, **λέγων τοῦτο εἶναι τὸ τῆς σαρκὸς ἀόχλητον καὶ τὴν καταπύκνωσιν τοῦ ἡδομένου (**'Zenocrates the Epicurean took the harp-girls in his arms, gazing upon them from half-closed eyes with a languishing and melting look, and saying that this was 'tranquility of the flesh' and 'the rumination (*katapyknôsis*) of pleasure' (ed. M. A. Schepers, Teubner).

[94] M. Squire 2011, 80–81, rightly recalls the judgment of Paris (Homer, *Il.* 24.25–30), 'the paradigmatic story of western male gazing'.

[95] See n. 89, above.

[96] It is a common committed mistake to see in these stories 'Arabian' tales: mainly, they still concern Persian women. This does not mean that there were no Arabian powerful women who

aggeration to say that it was the Greeks who as the first (as usual) much long before fabulous stories the Muslims have decided to write down, became known to the Europeans. It is a famous episode of Panthea, lavishly narrated by Xenophon in his great *opus vitae* that narrates the life and death of 'the best of the Achaemenids' – *The Education of Cyrus*.[97]

The Old Cavalryman's Noble Dream: Panthea[98]

Thanks to Xenophon's gift of creative imagination and natural talent for producing good narratives (which was rightly and famously observed by Cicero who called him 'Attic bee'), not only the secondary narrator, Araspas, but practically every reader of Xenophon remains until now under charm of Panthea. Along a legion of the moderns classicists, already the honest Plutarch knew it perfectly before.[99] To him as to many generations of the readers after him, Panthea will forever retain a charm of a fairest (περικαλλεστάτη; cf. also above, on Rhoxane),[100] yet inaccessible 'forbidden fruit' the men can only dream about. The tale was peculiarly vivid – from the allusions in Lucian's masterly and charming diatribe entitled *Images* (§10),[101] through the third century information preserved by Flavius Philostratus (*Vit. soph.* 524) that a Caninius Celer wrote a work about Araspas who was in love with Panthea to a theatrical stage by Polish writer Ludwik Hieronim Morstin, written in the 30s of the previous century.

The story of this exceptional woman has its roots in Xenophon's personal acquaintance with the people of the Achaemenid empire and his undoubted fascination with the Persian culture as such.[102] Such a direct contact was a supposed source of the various tales heard by the author during his famous mercenary adventure – firstly the *katabasis* into 'the lair of lion',[103] and then the heroic *anaba-*

inspired the imagination of 'Westerns' – like, for example, Zenobia – understandably and traditionally – beautiful; see Abbott 1941, 13.

[97] The term 'the best of the Achaemenids' is that of Danzig 2012, 499–540.

[98] Cf. Gray 2011, 216; especially also Gera 1993, 221. A thoughtful analysis of the visual meaning of Panthea's portrait in Xenophon' *Cyropaedia* and Philostratus' *Imagines* (2.9) may be found in the book by Polański 2002, 193ff. Excellent remarks are given also by Stadter 1991, esp. 481–484; see Delebecque 1957, 391.

[99] *Non posse vivi*, 10 (= *Mor*. 1093c); cf. Walcot 1987, 21; see the classic treatment by Pollard 1908, 187.

[100] See Vout 2007, 221; cf. also Müller 2011a, 60 – 61; Beneker 2012, 117–121.

[101] Lucian's *Images* was addressed to Panthea, the Emperor Lucius Verus' mistress, see Elsner 2007, 60–61; above all Goldhill 2001, 189–190; cf. recently Francis 2012, 285–286.

[102] Cf. Hirsch 1985a and 1985b, 65–85; see generally Rzchiladze 1980, 311–316 and Tuplin 2004, 154–183.

[103] The title of J. Prevas' book on the *Anabasis*; cf. also Pomeroy 1989, 98ff.

sis, the retreat undertaken from the gates of Babylon.[104] Although the story of Panthea constitutes a great digression from the main story about the valiant Cyrus' conquests and his deeds and is dispersed within the course of the narrative (the story about her fate is presented in a few episodes which enumerates the index by W. Miller to his Loeb edition: 4.6.11; 5.1.2–18; 6.1.31–36; 6.1.45–51; 6.4.2–11; 7.3.2–15), it certainly was thought by Xenophon to play an important part in this work. If, as Erich Gruen has put it recently, the whole *Cyropaedia* is 'The most stunning paean to a Persian by a Greek',[105] we may add that a tale of Panthea shines within this essentially military narrative like a gem and certainly constitutes a homage of the Greek, paid to Oriental womanhood as such.

Yet before we make an attempt at reading the most famous love story in the *Cyropaedia*, a few words about another work of Xenophon – the equally famous *Anabasis* – need to be said. It will serve well as a prelude or an introduction to this section, proving that this busy soldier and pious believer was not indifferent to woman allure (cf. also *Conv*. 2.9 on *gynaikeia physis*).

There is exceptionally interesting remark the writer makes in the *Anabasis* 3.2.25. Xenophon delivers a speech to his soldiers and the subject-matter of his *oratio* is drawing attention to the question of how to save the returning army from difficult circumstances they have fallen in after the loss of the battle at Cunaxa and the betrayal of the Persian satraps. Surprisingly enough, at one moment of his lecture the reader acknowledges that one of the most important obstacles in realizing this goal is (yes, not as shocking as it might seem) Oriental women. The commander formulates his warning as follows: ἀλλὰ γὰρ δέδοικα μή, ἂν ἅπαξ μάθωμεν ἀργοὶ ζῆν καὶ ἐν ἀφθόνοις βιοτεύειν, καὶ **Μήδων δὲ καὶ Περσῶν καλαῖς καὶ μεγάλαις γυναιξὶ καὶ παρθένοις** ὁμιλεῖν, μὴ ὥσπερ οἱ λωτοφάγοι ἐπιλαθώμεθα τῆς οἴκαδε ὁδοῦ.[106] In Carleton L. Brownson's Loeb rendering the passage runs as follows: 'I really fear, however, that if we once learn to live in idleness and luxury, and to consort with **the tall and beautiful women and maidens of these Medes and Persians**, we may, like the lotus-eaters, forget our homeward way'.[107]

[104] Cf. Baragwanath 2002, 125–126.

[105] Gruen 2011, 53; recently Tuplin 2013, 67, calls it 'an odd work'.

[106] Ed. E.C. Marchant, OCT.

[107] On this term see an excellent (and fundamental) paper by Llewellyn-Jones 2011, 173. Here we have a touch of something very real: height of these women, as the adjective *megalai* refer to being tall, rather than large (so, in the *Odyssey*, 18. 195, Athene makes Penelope taller in order to make her more attractive: 'She made her taller for the eyes to behold, and thicker'). In a similar way, a tall height of the queen Kandake draws attention to the author of a work ascribed to Callisthenes (Ps.-Callisthenes, *The Alexander Romance*, 3. 22. 1; earlier on (3. 18. 1), Kandake has been called as 'a woman of excellent beauty'). The myth of prettiness of the Persian queens has been preserved in the *Book of Esther* (Est 1, 18), mentioned above, where the disobedient wife of Artaxerxes, Waszti, is labeled 'really beautiful'. There are other clues that

Such unexpected, open confession leaves the modern addressee substantially puzzled: are we to take it seriously? There is undoubtedly a lot of unmasked rhetoric in Xenophon's way of arguing,[108] that traditionally allowed the speaker to oppose Greek virtue to the Persian laziness. Nevertheless, it remains beyond the doubt that substantially this opinion must have been be true at its roots. Additionally, again it shows us now something priceless: that peculiar curiosity the Greeks (even being found themselves in extremely hard circumstances[109]) displayed toward female inhabitants of the Achaemenid provincial satrapies. Now when it is necessary to add that Xenophon's look at them has nothing to do with any roughness, so often appearing in the case of soldierly band toward womenfolk. His gaze bears something that may be called a look as discreet as possible. What we are dealing with here, is, in fact, a kind of contemplation.[110]

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prove that growth of a woman as so attractive a feature for the Greeks. When Herodotus, 1. 60. 3 relates the tale about Pisistratus' return to Athens, he stresses out that Phye (a 'telling' name in itself), a famous woman who was 'played' the goddess Athene, was exceptionally tall and beautiful: μέγαθος ἀπὸ τεσσέρων πήχεων ἀπολείπουσα τρεῖς δακτύλους καὶ ἄλλως εὐειδής. The trickery in which growth played a decisive role reminds of another archetypical opinion: the one expressed in the *Iliad*, 1. 115. Here, Agamemnon openly confesses that Chryseis is not inferior to his legal wife Clitaemestra: the former is 'quite as beautiful'. As regard to the last term, the Penguin rendering by E.V. Rieu, is, however, not particularly apt here, since the Homeric phrase is οὐ δέμας οὐδὲ φυήν. Thus Willcock 1984, 189 gives an adequate explanation: '*demas* is outward appearance, i.e. 'figure'; *phye* is growth, i.e. 'stature'. These and the following two nouns are further examples of the common Greek accusative of respect, most regularly used with parts of the body'. The mention of tall stature invites to further speculations, the more justified the more we realize that the ancient Greeks were vividly interested in physiognomic, to remind the most famous works by Aristotle or Polemon. Thus, was the stature this peculiar feature in the Greeks' perception of Persian women which fits what Mc Inerney has recently called 'ethnographic gaze' (2014, 2)? Beside the study of Llewellyn-Jones there is J. Boardman's classic 2000 collection of gems: one of the most telling examples the author has collected is that reprinted at p. 311; it is a scaraboid charmingly presenting the figure of a Persian noblewoman. Here Boardman adds (p. 310) a following remark: 'even the Greek artist caught the Persian's preference for full breasts and buttocks'; see a similar portrait of woman in the Sassanian representations: Wagner and Boardman 2003, plate 106, no. 75 and p. 106.

[108] Cf. Lendle 1995, 161: he rightly says of 'die breite Gegenüberstellung'. The sentiment was often taken at its face value as unequivocally hostile toward Persian luxury. However, I am convinced that there is a purported ambiguity in Xenophon's tale – to the same extent as it is visible in his famous episode concerning Hercules' choice in the *Memorabilia.*

[109] On this cf. Dillery 1995, 69–70.

[110] Tuplin 2004, 156; also his 2003 paper, 352, n. 6. Not surprisingly, the Greek obsession with growth reminds Aristotle's famous consideration concerning what beauty consists of: in his *Poetics,* 1450b 34–1451a, he says that "beauty consists in **magnitude** and order, which is why there could not be a beautiful animal which was either minuscule (as contemplation of it, occurring in an almost imperceptible moment, has no distinctness) or gigantic (as contemplation of it has no cohesion, but those who contemplate it lose a sense of unity and wholeness)' (tr. S. Halliwell, Loeb). The passage, remains important as it connects beauty with the onlooker himself and the

There is no coincidence that the reason that the Asian women are so fair is the geographical environment itself. We do not owe such a characterization to Xenophon alone, yet it may be detected in a famous Hippocratic treatise *On Airs, Water and Places* (ch. 12), where the author frankly maintains that Asia resembles a kind of a dream, promised land, an earthly paradise in fact: πολὺ γὰρ καλλίονα καὶ μείζονα πάντα γίγνεται ἐν τῇ Ἀσίῃ· ἥ τε χώρη τῆς χώρης ἡμερωτέρη, καὶ τὰ ἤθεα τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἠπιώτερα καὶ εὐοργητότερα.[111] It is treated like an Oriental Eden due to the fact that among many pleasures there was one that was the most esteemed – τὴν ἡδονὴν ἀνάγκη κρατέειν.[112] It is here, if elsewhere, we feel fully justified to claim that myth finds its realization, a stereotype was born.

Now, we may pass to the Panthea-theme as it is the famous woman of Susa whose fate – in the light of what has been reminded in the subsection on Alexander the Great – constitutes a prefiguration to the fate the royal Persian women experienced after the battle of Issus in Plutarch's *Life of Alexander*.[113] Space forbids me to recall all the details of that notorious story that Professor Philip Stadter divides into 'four acts'. It seems that it would be equally fruitful to pay attention to only on easpect of Xenophon's narrative. Xenophon' effort was to show how a reader could know how much beautiful was this woman. Mere repetition of the adjectives like 'beautiful' or 'pretty' would become inevitably trivial. What does Xenophon do instead to achieve his goal? His solution and plausibility in creating a charming atmosphere surrounding the figure of Panthea is as excellent as possible. The novella about her fate begins at 4.6.11: here she is conveniently called 'the most beautiful' (also *Cyr.* 5.1.7; 6.1.41);[114] loyalty to her

experience of gazing as such, what, in turn, reminds of R. Garland's first sentence from his excellent book about the perception of the disabled in antiquity: 'Deformity is the eye of beholder' (Garland 1995). On the more sophisticated level, it was claimed by the sophists that what is beautiful and what is not, depends on us and on the values cultivated in any given society (*Dissoi logoi*, ch. 2). The Aristotelian passage is recently analyzed by Porter 2010, 97.

[111] Cf. Wiesehöfer 1996, 81.

[112] See Brosius 2011, 139.

[113] It cannot be excluded that Alexander, a famous admirer of Cyrus the Great, according to Arrian, has read the *Cyropaedia*. As late as in the fourth century AD Eunapius rhetorically maintained in his *Lives of the Sophists* that without Xenophon it would be not Alexander. A very similar episode has been recorded by Ammianus Marcellinus at 18.10.1–4, 19.9.3–8 and 20.6.1

[114] It is of highest importance to point out here an unrivalled way Araspas relates Cyrus what a great impression Panthea made on her onlookers, on the first meeting (*Cyr*. 5. 1. 4–5): ὅτε μὲν εἰσήλθομεν εἰς τὴν σκηνὴν αὐτῆς, τὸ πρῶτον οὐ διέγνωμεν αὐτήν· χαμαί τε γὰρ ἐκάθητο καὶ αἱ θεράπαιναι πᾶσαι περὶ αὐτήν· καὶ τοίνυν ὁμοίαν ταῖς δούλαις εἶχε τὴν ἐσθῆτα· ἐπεὶ δὲ γνῶναι βουλόμενοι ποία εἴη ἡ δέσποινα πάσας περιεβλέψαμεν, ταχὺ πάνυ καὶ πασῶν ἐφαίνετο διαφέρουσα τῶν ἄλλων, καίπερ καθημένη κεκαλυμμένη τε καὶ εἰς γῆν ὁρῶσα. ὡς δὲ ἀναστῆναι αὐτὴν ἐκελεύσαμεν, συνανέστησαν μὲν αὐτῇ ἅπασαι αἱ ἀμφ' αὐτήν, διήνεγκε δ' ἐνταῦθα πρῶτον μὲν τῷ μεγέθει, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ τῇ ἀρετῇ καὶ τῇ εὐσχημοσύνῃ ('when we went into her tent, upon

husband is her virtue is (6. 1. 32–34); her additional virtue is bravery (finally, after her spouse's death, she too commits suicide: 7. 3. 13–16). But the most excellent literary solution Xenophon decides to employ is to describe not so much how she looked like but how much was unlucky Araspas' love passion was increasing.[115] Cyrus, the real hero as always, is in this episode too, of course, more clever: he does not believe in his iron will to resist expected temptation the figure of Panthea generates.[116] In this vein, avoiding a visit to 'la belle conquerant', he naturally reminds Alexander the Great – although it was of course Alexander who stylized himself on the Persian king and was even called *philocyrus*. As Cyrus argues in Xenophon, it is better not to experience love passion at all than to be a miserable prey of such powerful emotions which eventually lead to a total destruction of man (cf. Euripides, *Iph. Aul.* 543; *Hipp.* 443, 525; Menander, *Dysc.* 384–389).[117] Of course, the proud

my word, we did not at first distinguish her from the rest; for she sat upon the ground and all her handmaids sat around her. And she was dressed withal just like her servants; but when we looked round upon them all in our desire to make out which one was the mistress, at once her superiority to all the rest was evident, even though she sat veiled, with her head bowed to the earth. But when we bade her rise, all her attendants stood up with her, and then was she conspicuous among them both for her stature and for her nobility and her grace'). In this amazing passage an additional feature is worth reminding: the impact of the woman veiling. In this respect the female practice of concealing the face – an 'Oriental' woman habit according to the European stereotypical thinking about suppression – would result also in increasing men's desire, so it contributed – a lesser paradox than it might seem – to the female bearers' sexual attractiveness; cf. the intriguing study by L. Llewellyn-Jones 2003, esp. ch. 10 ('The White and the Black: Conspicuous Veiling'), p. 297 who rightly calls the veil 'erotically concealing' and generally argues that the veil (broadly conceived) was in use by Greek women and that this was a part of Oriental tradition; also Cairns 2001.

[115] To some modern observers it might be a proof in arguing that generally the Greek writers could not write adequately abut women's feelings, confining instead to some stereotypes that betray anything but male prejudices (however, here are always exceptions to this rule). In some sense this is true as a result of the secondary place the women took in Greek society. So, we cannot hope to find in Greek literature such an outstanding example of womanhood as Mecha Inzunza de Troeye, the main female protagonist in the last masterpiece of Arturo Perez-Reverte *El tango de la Guarda Vieja.* Indeed, Perez-Reverte has created one of the most alluring literary portraits which no ancient Greek ever did. But at the same time, it is worth observing how 'Greek' the way of Mecha's characterization is: not only it is her thoughts and feelings which are crucial for the narrative but to the same extent the narrator's attention focuses on her gestures, manners she looks, raises the hand, sits, smokes cigarettes and so on – that is, *the reader sees* her as reflected in the hungry eyes of the narrator.

[116] So it was repeated by Plutarch in *On Being a Busybody* (*De curiositate*), 521f–522a.

[117] As far as we know there is no hard evidence that the fate of Araspas was known to Epicurus and his Roman pupil Lucretius, yet the symptoms of love madness the latter describes in the *De rerum natura* (4.1037f.) fit the symptoms showed by Xenophon; cf. Cyril Bailey' commentary *ad loc*. (Bailey 1947, 1305–1306) in Xenophon Araspas is certainly *cupidine caecus* to borrow the phrase from Lucretius *(De rerum nat.* 4.1153).

Araspas, on the contrary, commits *hybris* and falls into a love passion that quickly turns out to be a love frenzy which is strikingly similar to what happens to Artaxerxes in Chariton's *Callirhoe* (6.1.8–12; 6.4.4–7; 7.1). This way of presenting Panthea's beauty is far from being a simple, trivial characterization. Xenophon choice is plausible: he prefers to depict the effects impression the makes, but this means also that the reader's curiosity and his imagination enlivens. In this way Panthea is immortalized and remains forever kept in addressee's imagination. By the way, a similar mode of presentation was used by Longus in his 'novel' on *Daphnis and Chloe* where we have a vividly, if not realistically, painted portrait of a shepherd who seriously has been attacked by a dangerous ill, that's, falling in love.

Back to Alexander

Now, I would like to end this essay with Alexander the Great, again. One of the most spectacular, non-military events that occurred in the course of his memorable expedition far and away took place in Susa, in 324.[118] The event still remains a somewhat unique and awkward episode in the history of Graeco-Persian relationships in antiquity: it concerns, of course, a 'cross-cultural' project managed by the Macedonian conqueror (from Issus onwards – 'the King of Asia", as Plutarch, *De fort. et virt. Alex*. 1.7, and Plutarch in *Alex*. 34.1, says). It was a great, astonishing mass wedding of his officers and rank-and-file soldiers to the Persian and Median noble women (cf. Diodorus 17.67.1), of which Robin Lane Fox remarked 'The bill of the wedding would not have disgraced a Shah'.[119] These famous and sumptuous *nuptiae* lasted five days and were prepared according to the Persian marital customs.[120] Leaving aside the political and cultural implications of the ceremony itself (some scholars take it for granted – wrongly, I think – that the celebration was also supposed to symbolize a kind of a sexual domination of the Macedonians over Asia and the Asiatic womenfolk), the spectacular wedding might have provided an important contribution to the subject-matter of this article. On this occasion one might even say could Xenophon have had seen it, it might have been a realization of his dreams: the Westerners were given an official, legal, opportunity to go into the intimate relations with the representatives of the Achaemenid *beau sexe*. So, according to Arrian (*Anab.* 7.4.6), there were about eighty of such

[118] Cf. Brosius 2003, 173.

[119] Lane-Fox 1978, 417.

[120] See Bosworth 1980a, 11–12; cf. Worthington 1999, 53–54; recently: Ogden 2011, 134.

mixed marriages;[121] Aelianus (*VH* 8.7) mentions 90 pairs of the spouses. Plutarch (*Alex*. 70. 3; *De fort. et virt. Alex*. 1.7) knows of 100 married couples, and this number agrees with that given by Chares of Mitylene (*FGrH* 125, a number repeated by Athenaeus in his *Deiphosophists*). Besides the officers, there were supposedly over ten thousand arranged marriages between average soldiers and Oriental womenfolk (Arrian, *Anab*. 7.4.4–8).

Despite these data, when regarding the problem of what the political purpose of the famous wedding was,[122] it must be fairly stated that it remains, in fact, a great mystery.[123] Beside a great loss of the majority of the works written by the Alexander historians, two main reasons contribute to this strange state; first, uncertainty arises how many (if all) Greeks took the Persian women as their wives. Ancient authorities speak mainly of the Macedonians, but they are not very helpful in revealing if Greeks were involved too: the most firm exception is Plutarch, who in his famous essay *De fortuna et virtute Alexandri* explicitly assumes that Greeks were engaged in this spectacular project.[124] Secondly, granted that there were Greek mercenaries among the just married, even more interesting question should be addressed: what was the fate of these marital relations? The answer depends on how deep (if any) their acquaintance with their new spouses was. What was the basis for arranging the men with these women into the pairs? One should probably reject the supposition that the pairs were coupled coincidentally. Probably, the 'new' husbands previously saw and knew their Persian wives before, maybe having intimate relations with them for some time.[125] Many questions appear here because of this unique event but what seems to be beyond dispute is that it used to be thought that these artificially managed relationships were dissolved soon after the wedding (the exception were Alexander himself and Seleucus[126]): such was the judgment of Professor E. Badian who was followed by Peter Green;[127] R. Malcolm Errington was also of the same opinion.[128] In fact, as we lack a firm evidence about the reactions and hopes of average soldiers (not to speak of the expectations the

[121] The Constantinople patriarch Photius, when summarizing Arrian's *Anabasis* (*Biblioth.* Cod. 91.68b), unexpectedly gives a similar list of the newly married.

[122] Cf. Bosworth 2012[4], 57.

[123] See Briant 2010, 128–129.

[124] Cf. O'Neil 2002, 159–177.

[125] It is inferred that before the official wedding the Macedonians must have been known to their Iranian wives, that is – a relatively great number of the Persian women were their concubines. If so, an official and formal change of the status in their relations with Oriental mistresses, might have been for the Macedonians less attractive, if not a change for worse, as many of the soldiers and officers left their families in Europe.

[126] See Strootman 2011, 82.

[127] Also Romm 2010, 384–385; see Worthington 1989, 53–54.

[128] Malcolm Errington 2010, 74.

Persian side had), we also can not generalize about them too categorically. It cannot be excluded that there were cases when marriages continued to exist. A suggestion made by Arrian allows us to infer that not all soldiers dismissed their new wives quickly.

Be that as it may, the wedding at Susa seems to have been an experiment perhaps too hasty and artificially managed – both for the Macedonians and for the Greeks (if really then involved). Had Xenophon had the opportunity to make any comment about, it would have been perhaps for him a step too 'political'. His personal feelings and observations of the Asiatic womenfolk were more subtle, in fact than these quickly arranged, in some sense – forced, matrimonies 'on behalf'; above all, Xenophon's feelings in this matter were enriched by his sensitivity. It always will remain an enigma of his talent that in the *Cyropaedia* he could give us his most intimate impressions, without falling into triviality and avoiding laziness. No wonder, then, that his impressions remain vivid among the men who love Oriental culture for so many centuries. Modern readers of the *Cyropedia* would certainly agree. Oriental beauties from Xenophon's and others' descriptions still impress Westerners,[129] to a degree no lesser than women of the East did in real life, enchanting or inspiring several representatives of the European intellectuals in previous generations, to mention only Flaubert and his somewhat mysterious Egyptian 'Panthea' – Kuchuk Hanem.

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[129] Oriental odalisque inspired the imagination of such artists like Boucher, Ingres, Lefevre, Renoir, or Matisse; cf. Blank 1999; Kahf 2002, 6.

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Abstract

The subject-matter of the of the article are the opinions the ancient Greeks held of Persian women. The starting point is the well-known episode from 'The Life of Alexander' by Plutarch in which the Boeotian biographer quotes a famous remark of the Macedonian king that refers to an exceptional beauty of the royal Persian women. Based on other sources of the classical era (especially Xenophon) and later times I try to show that Greek writers created the stereotype of 'Oriental woman': not only an entity of incredible beauty but of independent mind and – thanks to the high social status and influences on the Great King's court – dangerous. This stereotype was a part of a broader phenomenon which was Greek fascination with Oriental Achaemenid monarchy. To be sure the Persians aroused in the Greeks fear but in many ways the vast, powerful monarchy and Oriental institutions (including harem) had in themselves a lot of charm in the eyes of the Greek immigrants.

ANABASIS 5 (2014)
STUDIA CLASSICA ET ORIENTALIA

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ALEXANDERS INDISCHER SCHNEE, ACHAIMENIDISCHE WASSERSOUVENIRS UND *MENTAL MIND MAPPING**

Keywords: Alexander III of Macedonia; Indian Campaign; Chares of Mytilene; Dinon of Colophon; Achaemenid Empire

Untersuchungen zur Verortung von Erinnerungen im Raum, *landscape* im weitesten Sinn, sind seit dem *spatial turn* präsent. So stellte D. Livingstone in *Geographies of Scientific Knowledge* heraus, dass jegliches Wissen in spezifischen geographischen und kulturellen Kontexten erzeugt und verbreitet wird.[1] In seiner Analyse von *Imperial Landscape* zeigte W.J. Thomas Mitchell auf, wie Landschaft, geographische Punkte und Besonderheiten, zu Symbolen politischer Diskurse werden.[2] Sie spielen eine wichtige Rolle für die Visualisierung der *language of power* – Propaganda, Selbstdefinition und Selbstdarstellung politischer Akteure –, gerade im Kontext militärischer Expansion.

Eroberung verändert Landschaften: einerseits durch Zerstörungen und Verwüstungen, andererseits durch Bauten, Siedlungen, Garnisonen und Anbau sowie durch Neudefinitionen von Grenzen im faktischen wie im kulturellen Sinn. Der makedonische Expansionskrieg verschob Grenzen und hob die Perspektive auf die Mittelmeerwelt aus den Angeln; die politischen, sozialen, geographischen und kulturellen Strukturen erfuhren einen Wandel.

Es wird zu zeigen sein, dass vor dem Hintergrund des Wandels durch Eroberung folgende, wenig beachtete Anekdote im Kontext der Erinnerung im Raum – spezifisch als eine mit Naturalressourcen verbundene Siegessymbolik – zu sehen

* Mein herzlicher Dank für die hilfreichen Anregungen und die Unterstützung gilt Marek Jan Olbrycht und Robert Rollinger.

[1] Vgl. Livingstone 2003, 12, 16, 90. 147.

[2] Vgl. Mitchell 1994, 5–30.

ist: „Χάρης δ᾽ ὁ Μιτυληναῖος ἐν ταῖς περὶ Ἀλέξανδρον ἱστορίαις καὶ ὅπως δεῖ χιόνα διαφυλάσσεσθαι εἴρηκε διηγούμενος περὶ τῆς πολιορκίας τῆς ἐν Ἰνδοῖς πόλεως Πέτρας, ὀρύξαι φάσκων τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον ὀρύγματα τριάκοντα ψυχεῖα, ἃ πληρώσαντα χιόνος παρεμβαλεῖν δρυὸς κλάδους, οὕτω γὰρ παραμένειν πλείω χρόνον τὴν χιόνα. Chares aus Mytilene hat in den *Geschichten um Alexandros* gesagt, wie man Schnee aufbewahren muss, als er über die Belagerung der Stadt Petra in Indien berichtete. Er erzählt dort, dass Alexander dreißig Kühlgruben gegraben, mit Schnee gefüllt und darauf Eichenzweige gelegt habe. So bleibe nämlich der Schnee längere Zeit erhalten".[3]

Athenaios, der dieses Fragment überliefert, scheint davon auszugehen, dass der Schnee für Getränke verwendet werden sollte, denn er leitet zu Chares' Ausführung mit jener Paraphrase über: „οἶδεν δὲ καὶ ὁ καλὸς Ξενοφῶν ἐν Ἀπομνημονεύμασι τὴν διὰ χιόνος πόσιν. Auch der treffliche Xenophon kennt in seinen *Erinnerungen* (*an Sokrates*) geschmolzenen Schnee als Getränk".[4] Es bleibt offen, ob der bei Chares erwähnte Schnee für die Kühlung von Getränken an der herrschaftlichen makedonischen Tafel dienen sollte. Ebenso könnte er für das Mischen von Wein bestimmt gewesen sein.[5] Dies würde zugleich bedeuten, dass die Makedonen ihren Wein nicht immer ungemischt tranken – entgegen dem griechischen Standardklischee über symposiales makedonisches Devianzverhalten mit stets ungemischtem Wein in rauhen Mengen.[6] Chares wird über die höfischen Trinkgepflogenheiten Bescheid gewusst haben: Er war, wohl seit dem Sieg bei Gaugamela, im Zuge von Alexanders Übernahme achaimenidischer Herrschaftstraditionen,[7] sein „Zeremonienmeister" oder „Protokollchef" (*eisangeleus*) geworden.[8] In seiner Schrift vermittelte Chares vor allem Einblicke in den neu gestalteten makedonischen Hof nach 331 v. Chr.[9] Dabei aktualisierte er in durchaus enger Anlehnung an das griechische literarische Erbe traditionelle Images von persischem Luxus und Prunk.[10]

[3] Athen. 3.124 C (Übers. C. Friedrichs).

[4] Athen. 3.124 C (Übers. C. Friedrichs).

[5] Vgl. Vössing 2004, 66; Müller 2009, 213–214.

[6] Plut. *mor*. 454 D-E; 623 F–624 A; *Alex.* 72.2; Athen. 10,434C; Diod. 16.87.1. Zum makedonischen Symposium vgl. Carney 2007; Pownall 2010, 55–65.

[7] Plut. *Alex*. 46.2. Vgl. Lenfant 2011, 88; Heckel 2006, 83; Spawforth 2007, 94; Berve 1926, 405. Es ging bei dem Amt etwa darum, die Audienzen zu regeln.

[8] Vgl. Vössing 2009, 138; Will 2009, 11, 16.

[9] Vgl. Müller 2014, 71–77; Lenfant 2011, 88–90; Cagnazzi 2009, 281–287; Schmitt 1991, 377. So berichtet er etwa über die Proskynese, die Hochzeitsfeiern in Susa und Alexanders gewandelten Schreibstil bei offiziellen Korrespondenzen: Plut. *Alex*. 54.3–4; *Phok.* 17; Athen. 12.538B - 539A. Vgl. Heckel 2008, 7.

[10] Athen. 12.514E-F, 515B-D. Chares beschreibt den notorischen Hang der Perserkönige zum Luxus und die prachtvolle Ausstattung des großköniglichen Schlafgemachs mit einer Schatzkammer mit 5000 Talent Gold am Kopfteil des Bettes und einer Schatzkammer mit 3000 Talent Silber

Die Episode über den indischen Schnee Alexanders, von Chares als tapferer Kämpfer in der Schlacht und selbstloser heldenhafter Freund geschildert,[11] wird im Rahmen von Siegessymbolik zu verorten sein. Der ostentative Gebrauch einer Naturalressource aus einer eroberten Region war wohl in erster Linie eine Demonstration von Inbesitznahme. Dafür spricht auch, dass gerade in der altöstlichen Tradition Schnee von Gebirgen – Berge als *loci* der Eroberung und hochsymbolische Grenzmarker – oft im Sinne von Sieges- und Bezwingungsmetaphorik genutzt wurde.[12]

Der makedonische Zugriff auf die betreffende Landschaft wurde versinnbildlicht. Die Nutzung des Schnees für die herrschaftliche Tafel, eine metaphorische Einverleibung der Ressource, verdeutlicht diesen Siegescode. Indem Chares in seiner Schrift an diese spezielle Verwendung des Schnees erinnerte, wurde seinem Publikum in einem literarischen *mental mind mapping* auch zugleich der Herkunftsort, die eroberte indische Stadt, ins Gedächtnis gerufen.

Eine ähnliche Instrumentalisierung von Naturalressourcen als Eroberungstrophäen durch die Perser soll der zeitgenössische Autor D(e)inon von Kolophon in den *Persika* erwähnt haben: „Δείνων δέ φησι καὶ ὕδωρ ἀπό τε τοῦ Νείλου καὶ τοῦ Ἴστρου μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων μεταπεμπομένους εἰς τὴν γάζαν ἀποτίθεσθαι τοὺς βασιλεῖς, οἷον ἐκβεβαιουμένους τὸ μέγεθος τῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ τὸ κυριεύειν ἁπάντων. Deinon aber sagt, dass die Könige auch Wasser vom Nil und von der Donau neben den anderen Dingen hätten bringen und im Schatzhaus bewahren lassen, gleichwie zur Bestätigung der Größe ihrer Herrschaft und ihrer Hoheit über alle“.[13]

Dinons Schaffenszeit wird ungefähr zwischen 340 bis 330 v. Chr. angesetzt; die Fragmente seiner Schrift mit dem chronologisch spätesten Inhalt behandeln die Rückeroberung Ägyptens unter Artaxerxes III.[14] Seine *Persika* waren vermutlich an Ktesias angelehnt, doch erfreute er sich teilweise bereits in der Antike eines besseren Rufs hinsichtlich seiner Glaubwürdigkeit.[15] Auch aktuell wird er trotz seines Hangs zu Klischees und Fabulierkunst als sachlicher denn Ktesias

am Fußteil, während goldene, mit Juwelen besetzte Weinranken über dem Bett hingen. Zu griechischem Luxus als Klischee in griechischer Literatur vgl. Jacobs 2010, 377–381.

[11] Plut. *mor*. 351C; *Alex*. 24.3–5.

[12] Vgl. Rollinger 2010, 23.

[13] Plut. *Alex*. 36.2. Zur Funktion der persischen Schatzhäuser als Ort der Memoralisierung und Visualisierung von Herrschaftsexpansion siehe Wiesehöfer 2005, 100–101; Cahill 1985.

[14] Vgl. Almagor 2013; Madreiter 2012, 135–136; Lenfant 2011, 116–117; Binder 2008, 60; Felix 1995. Dinon gilt als der Vater des Alexanderhistoriographen Kleitarchos (Plin. *NH* 10.136) – gemäß dessen traditioneller Datierung. Vgl. Lenfant 2011, 115; 2006, 206; Heckel 2008, 7. Ein Papyrusneufund (*P.Oxy.* LXXI. 4808) nennt Kleitarchos als Tutor Ptolemaios' IV. Vgl. Beresford/Parsons/Pobjoy 2007, 27–36. Doch ist diese neue Datierung nicht allgemein akzeptiert. Vgl. Prandi 2012.

[15] Nep. *Kon*. 5.4. Vgl. Madreiter 2012, 135–138.

bewertet.[16] Dennoch ist ungewiss, ob Dinons Hinweis auf die Wasserproben als persische „Eroberungssouvenirs" als historisch anzusehen ist. Es könnte sich auch um eine griechische Fiktion handeln, eventuell abgeleitet von der Kenntnis der persischen Forderungen nach Erde und Wasser.[17] In jedem Fall beschreibt Dinon eine Aufbewahrungsmaßnahme im Kontext von Sieges- und Herrschaftssymbolik, die von den geographischen Ausmaßen des Reichs zeugt.[18] Mit der Einlagerung in den königlichen Schatzkammern wird der Anspruch auf die Inbesitznahme der durch das Flusswasser symbolisierten Gebiete, in diesem Fall als Markierungen der Nord- und Südgrenze des Reichs, deutlich unterstrichen.[19] Es wäre in diesem Fall eine Parallele zur Visualisierung der geographischen Ausdehnung der persischen Herrschaft durch die – indes ebenfalls von Dinon überlieferte – ostentative Praxis des Perserkönigs, ein Produkt aus jedem von ihm kontrollierten Gebiet auf seine Tafel bringen zu lassen, etwa die ersten Früchte einer Ernte.[20] Allein durch die Auswahl seiner Speisen – im Kontext des für die Kommunikation mit den Führungsschichten und die Konstituierung ihres Status so relevanten Mahls – wäre somit eine repräsentative Übersicht über die räumlichen Ausmaße des Reichs gegeben. Allerdings spielte auch gerade das gemeinsame Mahl in seinen sozio-politischen Dimensionen in der griechischen Kultur eine besondere Rolle, könnte auch wiederum hinter dieser Vorstellung stehen.

In summa ist zu sagen, dass Dinons Hinweis auf die Memorial- und Repräsentationsfunktion von Wasser aus eroberten Gebieten im Achaimenidenreich recht plausibel erscheint, jedoch auch eine griechische Interpretation sein könnte. Doch selbst wenn es sich um eine rein griechische Vorstellung handeln sollte, zeigt Dinons Zeugnis, dass solche Ideen in griechischer Literatur im Zeitalter der makedonischen Expansion kursierten. Den höfischen makedonischen Kreisen werden sie bekannt gewesen sein. Sollte Alexander den Schnee aus indischen Gebieten für die Tafelbedürfnisse genutzt haben, mochte diese Siegessymbolik auf solche Vorstellungen zurückgehen. Alternativ ist denkbar, dass Chares bei seiner Beschreibung dieser ostentativen Geste des Eroberers an Ideen dachte, wie sie durch Dinons Passage zu den persischen Wassersouvenirs ausgedrückt sind.

[16] Vgl. Almagor 2013, 2102; Binder 2008, 63. Contra: Stevenson 1987.

[17] So vermutet von Klinkott 2005, 402.

[18] Vgl. Lenfant 2009, 206–210.

[19] Vgl. Madreiter 2012, 145, m. A. 80; Kuhrt 2009, 203, A. 2; Wiesehöfer 2004, 153. Die Information wird als historisch betrachtet. Zur Bedeutung von „königlichem" Wasser in der achaimenidischen Repräsentation (vgl. Hdt. 1,188) siehe Kuhrt 2009, 585; Wiesehöfer 2004; Briant 2002, 528; Briant 1996, 274–275. Auch als wertvoll erachtetes Ammoniaksalz soll neben Nilwasser für den Perserkönig aus Ägypten importiert worden sein (Athen. 2,67 B). Vgl. Madreiter 2012, 145.

[20] Athen. 14.652 B. Vgl. Briant 1996, 213–214. Siehe auch Madreiter 2012, 145: „Wie der Verzehr von Gaben aus allen Reichsteilen, kann auch Wasser als Teil der allumfassenden Macht des Großkönigs gedeutet werden."

In beiden Fällen wurden durch die Ressourcen die Regionen assoziiert, aus denen sie kamen, und der jeweilige Verwendungszweck signalisierte die siegreiche Inbesitznahme.

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Abstract

Alexander's Indian Snow, Achaemenid Water-Souvenirs and *Mental Mind Mapping*

A quote from Chares' *Histories of Alexander* tells us that Alexander took snow from an Indian city to cool his wine or perhaps to mix his wine. This use of the snow might have been primarily symbolic as a demonstration of conquest and victory. Alexander had taken possession of the region, thus of its natural resources. A similar idea is expressed by the contemporary Greek historiographer D(e)inon. According to him, the Persian kings stored water from the Nile and the Danube among their treasures as a sort of confirmation of the greatness of their empire. The historicity of this tradition is in debate. In any case, this idea will have been familiar to Alexander and his Macedonians and thus formed the ideological background of his use of Indian snow.

ANABASIS 5 (2014)
STUDIA CLASSICA ET ORIENTALIA

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THE ZOOLOGY OF KINGSHIP: FROM ALEXANDER THE GREAT TO THE EPIGONI (336 – C. 250 BC)

José Mª Díaz de Rábago
In memoriam

Keywords: Zoology, kingship, Alexander the Great, Diadochi, Epigoni

As a long term historical phenomenon, kingship has normally established a strong bond with the forces of nature, beginning with animals. We know the many variations of the master/mistress of animals theme, the *despotēs/potnia thērōn* of the Greeks – Tarzan might be, in my opinion, the modern American version of the ancient myth –, and the reader will remember the *Golden Bough* of Sir James Frazer, with its sacred king embodying the agricultural cycle and the fertility of the earth. The question I want to propose is how this connection worked during the period that constituted the Hellenistic dynasties, from Alexander the Great to the Successors and the next generation of the Epigoni. To what degree, for instance, would we be entitled to speak of an animalization of the kingly idea and image? Did the essentially charismatic nature of the new *basileia* favour this trend? May the bestiary of Greek mythology have shaped the new royal portraiture, to proclaim the king's extraordinary qualities, if not to suggest or even assert his divinity? Was zoology likely to have played a role in the process of constructing the king's identity and public persona? And, if self-fashioning among the Diadochi involved special relationships with certain animals, could we detect the manipulations of the images and even the polemical intention of the iconographies? Did the contenders wage battles of images (say, *iconomachiae*) making use of an ad hoc bestiary? Another question pertains to ethnicity and ethnic boundaries: might a creature from an exotic country, a camel or an elephant, become an acceptable symbol of political power in a Greco-Macedonian milieu? After all, as has been said, the animal as a social construc-

tion, that is, the animal of the mind, „can be sign, symbol, metaphor, image, thought, felt presence, memory, intuition, allegory".[1]

In this article I would like to focus my analysis on three case studies: the horse, the lion and the eagle, all of which undoubtedly attained a special symbolism in the ideology of royal power. Three animals, by the way, „bons à penser", rather than „bons à manger" (or „bons à sacrifier"), to use Lévi-Strauss' terminology (1962).[2]

Alexander the Great

In the zoology of Alexander's kingship the most celebrated creature was surely the horse, embodied in the famous Bucephalas (Plu. *Alex*. 6; D.S. 17.76.6), in honour of which the Macedonian conqueror founded a city in India, Bucephala.[3] Alexander always fought on horseback, he often hunted on horseback, and generally he moved on horseback too, in addition to using the horse-drawn chariot on certain occasions (Plu. *Alex*. 23.4). No wonder the fine arts have immortalized him as a rider.[4] However, the significance of Bucephalas in Alexander's life becomes more understandable when studied against the background of Macedonian history. As far as we know, the association of equines with the official iconography of the Argeads goes back to the coinage of Alexander I Philhellene, the first member of the dynasty to mint coins, sometime after the retreat of the Persians from Greece in 479.[5] The obverse of his major silver denominations (octodrachms, tetradrachms and drachms) show the typical cavalryman, sometimes accompanied by a dog, depicting the figure of a hunter, but probably also evoking the warrior function of both the Macedonian nobility and the royal house.[6] The Rider type, and to a certain extent its two iconographic variations, the horse led by a rider and the horse unattended, remained fairly constant throughout the regal coinage until Philip II, who gave a new dimension, a Panhellenic format, to the equestrian theme. Instead of the animal exuberance typical of the Macedonian landscape, which had given a local flavour to the previous dynastic coinage, Philip introduced a new iconographic program addressed

[1] Bleakley 2000, 16, 39.

[2] I have already dealt with the elephant in two earlier papers: Alonso 2013 and Alonso forthc. Bulls are studied in this paper only in their relationship with Seleucus. Serpents should also be considered as part of the zoology of kingship among Alexander and the Diadochi: see Ogden 2011, 29–56; 2013, on their role in the dynastic foundation myths and the mythologizing of procreation.

[3] Cf. Anderson 1930; Baynham 1995, 5 n. 27, with updated bibliography.

[4] Stewart 1993, *passim*.

[5] Raymond 1953, 57, 85; Hammond 1979, 84, 104.

[6] See Picard 1986; Tripodi 1998, 13–34; Seyer 2007, 72–74, 90–91; and Franks 2012, 53–57, for good discussions on the semiotic richness of this image.

to the entire Greek world, commensurate with his political ambitions on the international scene.[7]

War animal, hunting animal, and also racing animal, the horse played a preeminent role in the Argead ideology of kingship, to the extent that Bruno Tripodi has spoken of a hippocentric Macedonian culture.[8] I wonder whether the taming of Bucephalas by the young Alexander, as recounted by Plutarch (*Alex*. 6), does not signify anything more than an embellished episode in a series of *omina imperii*, dear to the Alexander Romance.[9] As it happens, learning to ride and to control a stallion was for the Macedonian nobility a stage prior to war,[10] and the numismatic evidence from some local tribes, the Ichnaians,[11] the Orreskians,[12] and the Tyntaniens,[13] c. 480, points to the importance of mastering the art of horsemanship: we see on the obverse of their tribal staters a fully armed young warrior, perhaps Ares, restraining or subduing an unruly horse.[14] If hunting a wild boar constituted the rite of passage that allowed a male of the Macedonian elite to recline at dinner (Athen. 1.18a), the mastery over Bucephalas by Philip's son and heir may have offered an additional proof of manhood in the extremely competitive milieu of the court, if not a heavenly sign of legitimacy.[15] In this regard, it should be recalled that in the Late Geometric vase painting from Argos, purportedly the original home of the Argeads, horses were targets for the skills of the tamer, the „horse-leader's", rounding out the master's command of his world.[16] Now, if the taming of Bucephalas was in a way reminiscent of an old *despotēs thērōn*, it is pertinent to remember that there appears to have been a consistent link between mastery of animals and hunting as signifiers for other forms of socio-political domination, apart from the fact that in some cases the lord of the beasts manifests royal power and the maintenance of order in the cosmos through nature.[17] As Ballesteros Pastor has observed on Mithridates'

[7] For the symbolic and political meaning of Philip II's iconographical changes regarding animals, I depend on my own research, „The Animal Types on the Argead Coinage, Wilderness and Macedonia", communication presented at ATINER Conference on Ancient Macedonian History, Athens 2012 (in press).

[8] Tripodi 1998, 33–34; cf. also Franks 2012, 53–57.

[9] See Anderson 1930, 17–21.

[10] Griffith 1979, 413; Hammond 1989, 25.

[11] Head 1879, 76 no. 1; Svoronos 1919, pl. 4 no. 13–15; Kraay 1976, 140, 362 no. 491.

[12] Head 1879, 146 no. 3–4; Svoronos 1919, pl. 5 no. 14–16.

[13] Svoronos 1919, 48 pl. 4 no. 20–21; Raymond 1953, 54, pl. 2 no. 10, 11, 13.

[14] Hammond 1983, 247; Picard 1986, 68; Youroukova 1999, 437. The motif was not limited to this or that Macedonian tribe, as the Epimenes gem from Naucratis proves, c. 500–490, showing a nude young restraining his horse in the same pose: see Zazoff 1983, 103, pl. 23.2.

[15] See Anderson 1961, 99; Franks 2012, 48. On the celestial approval, Greenwalt 2002, 285–287.

[16] Langdon 1989; 2010, 127; cf. Nilsson 1941, 288.

[17] Arnold, Counts 2010, 19.

extraordinary riding skills during childhood (Iust. 37.2.4–5), „la victoria sobre las fuerzas de la Naturaleza es desde luego un atributo propio de los héroes, teniendo además en cuenta que tanto en el mundo macedónico como el persa la caza y la lucha con animales salvajes representaba un elemento importante en la legitimación de la realeza".[18]

Once Alexander was proclaimed king, Bucephalas consequently came to occupy the highest position within the animal society of domestic species, and this change of status must also have affected the monarch's other horses, as we are informed that Alexander used different mounts during battle.[19] Such a change in the life of the animal was duly signalled by being adorned with the regalia to which the sources refer (Plu. *Mor*. 970d-e). And if the royal pages and servants were certainly allowed to ride the king's favourite horse as part of its care and training, only Alexander may have been entitled to mount the animal when harnessed with its regalia and ridden into combat or paraded alongside the army. This is how I interpret the passage in Plutarch, according to which „Bucephalas unsaddled would permit his groom to mount him; but when he was all decked out in his royal accoutrements and collars, he would let no one approach except Alexander himself. If any others tried to come near, he would charge at them loudly neighing and rear and trample any of them who were not quick enough to rush far away and escape".[20]

What apparently does not emerge in the history of Macedonian royal horsemanship is the concern for breed identity nor the religious aura attached to the king's horses that we see in the Achaemenid dynasty. Though careful selection and maintenance of well-bred stallions are to be deduced from coin types from Alexander I onwards,[21] there is nothing comparable to the Nesaean breed, the „sacred" equines – *hiroi*, says Herodotus (7.40.2) – that were the possession of the Persian monarch (Str. 11.13.7; 14.9; Plu. *Eum*. 8.3). Eight white horses of this breed pulled the chariot of Ahura-Mazda, while others drew the Great King's (Hdt. 7.40.4), not to speak of their mantic powers, the basis of hippomancy.[22] On the contrary, Bucephalas was a Thessalian stud, not even born at the palace stables, but sold to Philip by Philonicus the Pharsalian for thirteen talents.[23] Had

[18] 2013, 130, with further references. Cf. additionally Miller, Walters 2004, 46.

[19] Plu. *Alex*. 16.14; 32.12; Curt. 4.15.31; 8.14.34.

[20] Plu. *Mor*. 970d-e (tr. W. C. Helmbold); cf. Plin. *NH* 8.154; Sol. 45.8; Aul. Gel. 5.2.3. Arr. *An*. 5.19.5, exaggerates. As Anderson 1930, 20 long noted, it is to be conceded that every conqueror should have a distinguished horse, one that would allow him only to mount him.

[21] Lane Fox 2011c, 376; cf. Azzaroli 1985, 70.

[22] Plu. *Alex*. 6.1; Plin. *NH* 8.154: cf. Ridgeway 1905, 190–194; Tarn 1984, 78–83; Azzaroli 1985, 176–179; Briant 1996, 108, 230; Hyland 2003, 30–31.

[23] For the variations in the sources, see Hamilton 1969, 15; Hyland 2003, 149–150. Hammond 1979, 109 speculates that the large horse on Alexander I's coinage was probably from Per-

a European breed been privileged by the Macedonian ideology of kingship, Leonnatus, a member of the royal house of Lyncestis, would hardly have attached such importance to the Nesaeans in his self-fashioning (Arr. *Post Alex*. 12), nor would Alexander have appeared to Pyrrhus in a dream riding one of these stallions (Plu. *Pyrrh*. 11.2).

Alongside the horse, the lion image remained a coin type until the time of the Diadochi, with Lysimachus and Cassander, in spite of Philip's iconographic reforms. The reason is to be found in the fact that it had been the prey par excellence for the Macedonian monarchs, the most precious quarry for big game hunting on horseback. In fact, the Greek authors report that the great feline existed in areas of Macedonia in the classical period.[24] Alexander Philhellene had advanced the claims of his dynasty to heroic descent via Heracles,[25] the hunter of the Nemean beast, while his son Perdiccas II gave great prominence to the lion as a reverse type, with Archelaus being the introducer of the image of Heracles in lion skin before the end of the fifth century.[26] Particularly revealing in this iconographical sequence is one of the series of silver staters/didrachms issued by Amyntas III showing a horseman striking down with a spear on the obverse and, on the other side, a lion crunching another spear in its jaws.[27] The best confirmation of traditional big-game hunting among the Argeads is, of course, Tomb II at Vergina.[28] Letting aside whether it is Philip's or Arrhidaeus', the relevant fact for us is that its frieze depicts the deceased ruler on horseback about to strike the fatal blow to a lion.[29] It is also important to note that the two main opposing interpretations agree that the young rider located in the centre of the composition is Alexander, who typically takes part in the fight against the beast on horseback.[30]

Our literary sources on Alexander's campaigns in Asia mention at least three lion hunts,[31] without including the archaeological evidence provided by the Alexander Sarcophagus, the Palermo Mosaic, and perhaps the frieze block from

sian (Nisean) stock; cf. also Anderson 1961, 153 and Hyland 2003, 121. But note Ridgeway 1905, 301, 304, on the importance of the neighbouring Thessaly.

[24] Hdt. 7.125–126; X. *Cyn*. 11.1; Arist. *HA* 6.31, 579b; 8.28, 606b; Paus. 6.5.4–5; Dio Chr. 21.1.

[25] Hdt. 5.22.2; 8.137.1; 138.2–3; Th. 2.99.2; *FGH* 631 F 1.

[26] Raymond 1953, no. 176a–244a and *SNG* ANS 8 no. 47–62 (Perdiccas II), no. 72–75 (Archelaus).

[27] *SNG* ANS 8, no. 99; cf. Greenwalt 1993.

[28] Andronicos 1984, 97–197.

[29] Andronicos 1984, 102–105 figs. 58–59, 63, 71.

[30] Andronicos 1984, 108–109, figs. 65–66. Compare, v. g., Borza, Palagia, 2007, 103, with Lane Fox 2011b, 17.

[31] Briant 1991, 222–224; 1993, 270, 274–276; Lane Fox 1996, 141–142; Palagia 2000, 183–185; Carney 2002, 65–66; Cohen 2010, 76.

Messene and the Pella mosaic from the House of Dionysus.[32] The three venations are associated with two of the Companions, Craterus and Lysimachus, who either came to the king's rescue or distinguished themselves by killing a particularly ferocious beast. We cannot say if the sovereign treated such royal hunts as anything more than sport, though Plutarch has a Spartan ambassador describe one of these exploits as a valid test to qualify for supreme power: „Nobly, indeed, Alexander, hast thou struggled with the lion to see which should be king".[33] Interestingly, according to Ephippus (*FGH* 126 F 5 = Ath. 537e), the historical Alexander liked to bear the lion's skin and club in imitation of Heracles, the great hunter. The Greek and Latin authors also report that the Macedonian's outward appearance, alongside the upturned eyes and the beardlessness, included a leonine mane, with the *anastolē*.[34] Quite apart from the literary tradition, we can be sure that the pairing of the royal persona with the lion as the king of the animals took place during Alexander's lifetime, as it had a contemporary counterpart in the fine arts. Notably, the Dresden Alexander, reputed to belong to the king's official sculptor, Lyssipus, or to his school, shows a hairstyle suggesting a sort of identification with the great feline and therefore introducing an element of animalization in the kingly portraiture.[35] The same impression is created by the Alexander Mosaic, where the Macedonian is featured sporting a leonine mane windswept from his brow.[36] Moreover, it has been argued that the lion was the seal-device used by Alexander for his European correspondence.[37] In fact, the story told that, after his marriage with Olympias, Philip dreamed that he was putting a seal with the figure of a lion upon his wife's womb, a vision that Aristander of Telmessus interpreted as meaning that the queen was pregnant of „a son passionate and lion-like (*leontōdē*)".[38] No wonder the poet Lycophron (*Alex*. 1441), in the generation of the Epigoni, compares the Macedonian conqueror with a lion, a metaphor known by Plutarch (*Alex*. 13.2), and dear to the Alexander Romance too (Ps-Callisth. 1.13.3 Kroll). The literary image, of course, was not new, as it had appeared in Homer to characterize a heroes' strength,[39] beginning with Achilles (*Il*. 7.228), Alexander's paradigm (Plu. *Alex*.

[32] Stewart 1993, 276–277; Palagia 2000, 185–189, 202–206; Cohen 2010, 64–68, 76–80, 137–140; Franks 2012, 34–38.

[33] Plu. *Alex*. 40.4. Analogy between hunting and war in Greek and Eurasian history: Cartmill 1993, 30–31; Cohen 2010, 119–145.

[34] Plu. *Mor*. 335b; Ps-Callisth. 1.13.3 Kroll; Iul. Val. *Res Gest. Alex*. 1.7 Kübler.

[35] Hölscher 1971, 28; Killerich 1988; Stewart 1993, 112–113.

[36] Greenwalt 2002, 281.

[37] Baldus 1987.

[38] Plu. *Alex*. 2.4–5; cf. Hamilton 1969, 3–4, and Ogden 2011, 8–12, who proves that the tale was known outside Macedonia by at least the earlier part of Alexander's reign.

[39] Schnapp-Gourbeillon 1981, 39–40, 56, 86–90; Markoe 1989, 114–115; Cohen 2010, 74.

5.8; 24.10). Even earlier, royal ideology in the Near East going back to the third millennium associated kings with lion hunting and a lion-like nature.[40] Alexander, whose process of calculated Iranization is well known,[41] may have found in the lion a symbolic bridge to bring the Macedonian conception of monarchy closer to Mesopotamian and Iranian practice. It is no coincidence that the animal imagery chosen for the outer decoration of his hearse, ecumenical in its design, included golden lions (D.S. 18.27.1), guardian figures in the Near Eastern funerary art and also present on the top frieze of Hephaestion's funeral pyre (D. S. 17.115.4).[42] The connection Alexander, Babylon and lions, is also attested in other episodes, from the Macedonian's triumphal entry in the city (Curt. 5.1.21), until the end of his life, just before his death (Plu. *Alex*. 73.6).

The Diadochi and the Epigoni

The fact remains that during the wars among the Successors, in retrospect, the lion may have acquired a special significance for some of the pretenders to the diadem. Those Diadochi who had taken part in lion hunting along with Alexander used this memory in propaganda terms, to reinforce their claims to a share of his empire.[43] The trend was already set by 321, when Craterus commissioned a bronze group to be erected at Delphi in commemoration of the lion hunt in Syria and had himself represented as coming to Alexander's rescue.[44] As for Lysimachus, his royal imagery reflects the legend of lion-tamer attached to him: the lion-protome appears regularly on his coinage (apart from the full-length figure of the animal), representing probably his personal seal-device and even his dynastic symbol, while the name of Lysimachus' massive flag-ship, *Leontophoros*, suggests that, as a lion-slayer, he saw himself as lion-like.[45] Simply to compete, Perdiccas had to invent a story about his stealing a lion cub (Ael. *VH* 12.39), while the featuring of the beast on Alexander's hearse must have received the regent's approval.[46]

[40] Cassin 1987; Strawn 2005; Briant 1991, 219–222; 1996, 187, 229–230, 624–625.

[41] See Olbrycht 2004, passim.

[42] On these points, see Stewart 1993, 216–218; Elvira 2000; Strawn 2005, 224; Stähler 1993, 85–89; Palagia 2000, 172.

[43] Palagia 2000, 184.

[44] *FD* 3.4.2 no. 137; Plu. *Alex*. 40.5; Plin. *NH* 34.64. Paspalas 2000 has argued that the bull-devouring lion can be interpreted as a symbol of Persia, thus giving to Craterus' participation in Alexander's hunt a deeper significance, implying a share in the victory against Darius and a claim to empire.

[45] See Müller 1859, 12, pl. 1 no. 1–5, 16; pl. 2 no. 10–12; Berve 1926, 240; Newell 1937, 20; Baldus 1978; Mørkholm 1991, 81; Landucci 1992, 19–20, 46, 84–85; Lund 1992, 6–8. Also the Sassanid Bahram Gur proved his valour to become king by killing two lions with a mace: see Bosworth 1999, 91–92 [861–862]. I owe to G. Hatke (ISAW) this reference.

[46] Alonso 2013, 255.

That said, it should be noted that the lion did not prevail as the exclusive zoological icon of power for the Diadochi, nor even as the favourite for all of them. I find it significant that neither Ptolemy, nor Seleucus, the two most successful contenders of this period, if not the most representative of the *Zeitgeist*, associated their narratives and images to the king of the beasts. Neither did the lion play any special role for Antigonus Monophthalmus or his son Demetrius Poliorcetes, who were no secondary figures, as far as we can deduce from the extant sources.

To begin with, the emblematic animal of the Ptolemaic dynasty, from its founder onwards, was the eagle, symbol and herald of Zeus, and therefore important in augury as omen of victory – as Aristander the seer well knew (Plu. *Alex*. 33.2). The symbolism of no other animal is quite so simple and unambiguous as that of the eagle: the raptor, king of the birds of prey (*rex avium rapicum*, Polem. Phgn. 2.151), is associated with the sun and, largely by implication, with monarchs and sovereign states.[47] In the semiotics of royal power this can be observed, for instance, by comparing the (majestic) gravity assigned in augury to the eagle (Arr. *An*. 1.18.6–9) with the (domestic) lightness assigned to the swallow (Arr. *An*. 1.25.8). The great raptor, in effect, had figured prominently on Alexander's coinage, both on the limited issues known as the „eagle coinage", conventionally ascribed to the mint of Amphipolis,[48] and above all on his typical tetradrachms, forming a unitary image with the father of the gods. An eagle carrying a snake was used as a heraldic device on the tomb of Alcetas at Termessus,[49] although this motif had already been chosen by Alexander himself for the iconography of Hephaestion's pyre (D. S. 17.115.3).[50] Like the other Diadochi, Ptolemy continued to issue these Alexanders, with Zeus or Athena accompanied by the same badge. But once the Lagid proclaimed himself king, in 304, he gave the bird absolute prominence as a reverse type.[51] If Ptolemy's portrait now appeared on the obverse, instead of Alexander's, and if the eagle figured alone on the other side of the coin, standing on Zeus' thunderbolt yet without his image, it is logical to conclude that the animal's field of meaning, its symbolic capacity, had extended its domain, to the effect that it came to evoke the royal persona as well as the Ptolemaic dynasty.[52] In fact, this iconographic correlation between obverses and reverses remained constant in the regal coinage, fixing the identifi-

[47] Cf., v. g., Lerner 2009, 220–223; Bleakley 2000, 96.

[48] Price 1991, 103–104, pl. 143.

[49] Pekridou 1986, 88–100 pl. 10.

[50] Palagia 2000, 169–170.

[51] Mørkholm 1991, 66, no. 97–101.

[52] See Hazzard 2000, 91–92, for the identification of Ptolemy II/Arsinoe with Zeus/Hera in the court literature of Alexandria. Moreover, on the cumulative power of the eagle's image among the Ptolemies, see Meyboom 1995, 129–131.

cation of the king's portrait with the eagle, which not by chance was framed by the legend with the monarch's name, *basileou ptolemaiou*. This process of visual association may have been so evident with the passing of time, that one numismatist has interpreted the two-eagle reverse type on the bronze coins as the symbolic representation of the co-regency.[53] The two-eagle type first appeared c. 262, under Ptolemy II (285–246), in the generation of the Epigoni, and subsequently occurred during various periods until Cleopatra VII. It is not by coincidence that, according to Theocritus (*Id*. 17.72), a great eagle soared over the island of Cos at Philadelphus' birth, thus giving the best omen from Zeus himself. Last but not least, Soter's dynastic foundation myth introduces the motif of Zeus' eagle saving and rearing Arsinoe's exposed baby.[54]

For the rest, the painter Antiphilus commemorated Ptolemy as a heroic hunter (Pl. *NH* 35.138), a scene perhaps reproduced in a mosaic from Setif, Algeria,[55] his prey being a boar, not a lion – reminiscent of the old Macedonian rite of passage (Athen. 1.18a)?[56]

As for Seleucus I Nicator, in my opinion the very embodiment of the age of the Successors (v. g., App. *An*. 7.22.5),[57] he chose no less than four animals to be associated with his royal image and public persona: the horse, the panther, and above all the bull and the elephant.

We are told that in 315 Seleucus barely managed to escape from Antigonus' agents in Babylon thanks to the speed of his mount: did the providential steed inspire the recurrent motif of a horned horse's head on his coins, a royal emblem as it were of divine favour? According to Malalas (*Chron*. 202), the king later deified his saviour and erected a monument to it at Antioch, adding this inscription: „On this Seleucus escaped to safety from Antigonus; and returning from there, he killed Antigonus". Therefore, rather than Bucephalas, as some authors have supposed, I am inclined to think that the equine head on his coins depicts his own steed divinized.[58] Horns had long been a symbol of apotheosis for long in Asia, as well as an *Ahuric* (good) attribute according to Zoroastrianism; by the same token, horns appear on Seleucus' coinage adorning his war elephants, to

[53] Pincock 2007, whose hypothesis, however, has not gained general approval: cf. „5. Attempted publication", loc. cit.

[54] Suda, s. v. *Lagos* (= Ael. F 283). A good analysis of the tale by Ogden 2011, 80–88.

[55] See Donderer 1988.

[56] I owe this suggestion to my anonymous referee.

[57] Cf. Sherwin-White, Kuhrt 1993, 7.

[58] So Babelon 1890, xxiii; Newell 1937, 27; *ESM* 43–44; *SC* I 1, 7; Hoover 1996, 50; Erickson 2013, 124. Or, at least, a visual synthesis of both Bucephalas and the Saviour Horse, as Stewart 1993, 315 suggests. Contra Jenkins 1990, 133; Mørkholm 1991, 72–73; Greenwalt 2002, 284. Miller, Walters 2004, 50–51, argue that it is not Alexander's horse, but they also rule out Seleucus', thereby letting unsolved the problem of identifying the animal.

neutralize the fact that the Indian beast had initially been an evil (*Daevic*) animal for the Iranian religion.[59]

As it happens, the founder of the Seleucid dynasty had several stories about him recounting his heroism and his omens of empire.[60] One of them was related to the bull. Appian (*Syr*. 57), followed by the Suda (s. v. *Séleukos*), claims that images of Seleucus were adorned with bull's horns because, during religious rites initiated by Alexander the Great, he had held back the sacrificial bull when it escaped its bonds. According to the story, Seleucus was so large in stature and powerful of body that he was able to catch the bull by its horns and stop it with his bare hands. Appian's story of the escaped bull also had the purpose of legitimizing Seleucus as the rightful ruler of Alexander's empire, already chosen by fate during the Macedonian conqueror's lifetime. For his part, Ps.-Callisthenes (2.28) echoes this view when describing a statue of Seleucus identifiable by the horn he bore, token of his bravery and invincibility, which was supposedly included by Alexander in a sculptural group erected at the eastern gate of Alexandria.[61]

In effect, the literary, numismatic and sculptural sources all indicate that Seleucus had a strong symbolic association with bulls. Not only his statues were adorned with the animal's horns. An idealized portrait wearing a helmet covered with panther skin and adorned with bull's ears and horns appeared on the Seleucid's coins issued at Susa after 301 – the „trophy tetradrachms" –, probably depicting the king assimilated to Dionysus, as the god's emblematic animal was the panther.[62] In the 290s and 280s, the reverse type of a charging or, less frequently, standing bull, became a staple feature of the bronze coinage produced throughout the empire in the name of Seleucus.[63] In c. 295 the mint of Ecbatana produced a series depicting the king with Dionysiac attributes, wearing a helmet adorned with bull's ear and horns, with a panther's skin over his shoulders, and mounted on a horned horse.[64] Finally, Seleucus' horned portrait appeared on coins and

[59] Tafazzoli 1975.

[60] Hadley 1969; 1974, 53, 58–62; Mehl 1986, 5–12; Grainger 1990, 2–3, 8.

[61] Hoover 2011, 198–199.

[62] *SC* no. 195–199: see Babelon 1890, xv; *ESM* 156–57; Hoover 2002; Iossif 2004. But note Kroll's observations (2011, 119). Moreover, two important iconographic references may be mentioned here, both from Seleucus' motherland: the ivory Dionysus seated on a panther's skin, one of the reliefs decorating the couch found at Tomb II, Vergina (Andronicos 1984, 122, 133 figs. 75, 90), and the mosaic from the House of Dionysus at Pella, c. 325–300, showing the god riding a panther (Cohen 2010, 66–67 figs. 19–20). See also the presence of the feline, alongside a griffin and a deer, on the mosaic pavement from the circular building in the area of Darron's sanctuary, c. 300 (Pella, Archaeological Museum).

[63] *ESM* no. 105–109, 117–119, 501–502; Mørkholm 1991, 76, no. 158–160; *SC* no. 47, 125–127, 148–153, 191–193, 203, 224–225, 283a–303.

[64] *SC* no. 203; Hoover 2002.

seals produced under his son Antiochus I to commemorate his death and apotheosis in 281.[65]

In a recent study on taurine imagery as a multicultural expression of royal and divine power under Seleucus, Hoover has reminded us that for all of the main ethnic constituents of Nicator's empire, whether Greek, Babylonian or Iranian, the bull had important pre-existing symbolic and mythical associations.[66] Thus, when the Diadoch employed the bull or its horns as his identifying emblems throughout much of his domains, he could not have helped but invite their interpretation in different cultural contexts. It has long been generally agreed that the bull's horns adorning the helmet and, later, the head of Seleucus' numismatic portraits were intended to evoke the Greek god Dionysus,[67] for this deity could appear in the guise of a bull or wearing horns, as Martin P. Nilsson explained many years ago.[68] Furthermore, like Dionysus and Alexander, Seleucus was a conqueror of Asia as far as India,[69] where Seleucid propaganda presented the Diadoch leading a successful campaign against Chandragupta.[70] At the same time, the bull's horns and the taurine iconography in Seleucus' self-fashioning addressed the native populations of Asia, especially Babylonians and Iranians. In Mesopotamian lands local gods and god-kings, beginning with Naram-Sin, had long been depicted wearing horned crowns as tokens of their divine power. Most notable of all was the city god of Babylon, Bel-Marduk, whose horned headdress was repaired during Alexander's reign and whose name is considered to be a shortened form of Amaruduk, „Young Steer of Day".[71] Seleucus had had the opportunity to become familiar with these religious customs since his appointment as satrap of Babylon in 321, where his respectful treatment of the Chaldean priests and the restoration of the Esagil temple most probably explain the city's support for him against Antigonus,[72] as well as the sacerdotal final fiat to the foundation of Seleucia on the Tigris (App. *Syr*. 58; Paus. 1.16.2). No wonder that the charging bull bronze type appears for the very first time anywhere in the Seleucid empire at the Babylonian mint of Seleucia on the Tigris in the period c. 300–296/95, followed by the Mesopotamian mint of Carrhae after 295/94.[73] Being the first ruler ever to mint bronze coins for local use in Babylonia, Seleucus thus proclaimed his piety and

[65] Newell 1937, 60 fig. 1; *WSM* 50, 245, 248, no. 784–88, 1359, 1363–67 (pl. 6, 54); Mørkholm 1991, 116, no. 354a-b; *SC* I 1, 114, no. 322–23, 469–72 (pl. 18, 21).

[66] Hoover 2011, but see also Erickson 2009, 68–70; 2013, 120–124.

[67] Hadley 1974, 56–57; Goukowsky 1978, 129.

[68] 1941, 538–539; cf. Svenson 1995, 40.

[69] *ESM* 157; Goukowsky 1981, 15–16.

[70] Yet, contrast Mehl 1986, 183–186 with Grainger 1990, 108–109.

[71] Hoover 2011, 204.

[72] See Grayson 1975, no. 10 obv. 6, with D.S. 19.91.

[73] For both mints, see, respectively, *SC* no. 125–127 and *SC* no. 47.

his patronage over the great temple complexes and their priests, and consequently his legitimacy as a ruler of the Babylonians.[74]

The connection between taurine images and royalty was also evident in the iconography of the palaces at Susa, Persepolis and Ecbatana, since the bull, the Primal Bull, was of key importance in Zoroastrian mythology.[75] Bearing in mind the Seleucid need to retain the loyalty of the Upper Satrapies,[76] it seems logical that Seleucus' horned types were also intended to have just as much Iranian as Greek and Babylonian appeal. In fact, the two horned and helmeted portraits of the king from the mints of Susa and Ecbatana strongly suggest that both series were specifically issued to project a positive image of Seleucus' power into Persia, in the role of a rightful successor to the Great Kings of the Achaemenid house.[77] At the same time, the bull coinage served to remind Iranian subjects that the policy of Seleucus was not that of Antigonus and his other colleagues.[78] Although he was a foreign Macedonian ruler, Seleucus' appeal to Iranian religion showed that he could ignore his „demonic" (*Ahuric*) side and serve as a kind of naturalized Achaemenid, the more so considering that his wife Apama was a Sogdian princess and their common son and co-king, Antiochus, a hybrid of Greek and Iranian.[79]

The wearing of horns was not exclusive to Alexander's and Seleucus' portraits. They also adorned the head of Demetrius Poliorcetes, a monarch capable of developing his own self-image, consciously independent from that of Alexander and the other Successors.[80] His horned head assimilated him to Poseidon (Taurus) or to Dionysus; or it simply evoked the idea of divinity, since the supernatural connotations of this zoological attribute in Asia may also have inspired the Antigonid design.[81]

Finally, in the generation of the Epigoni only Pyrrhus of Epirus constructed a political personality based on a conscious and open *imitatio Alexandri*.[82] This was intended to emphasize not only the legitimization by war of royal power, but also the magic of the relationship with certain animals. The eagle, herald of Dodona's god, appeared associated to the Epeirote monarch, who liked being sur-

[74] *ESM* 61. On these initial relations, cf. Sherwin-White, Kurt 1993, 9–11; Grainger 1990, 32–33, 83; and, partially contra, Mehl 1986, 41–42.

[75] Kreyenbroek 2013.

[76] See Olbrycht 2013, 169–176.

[77] For these issues, see *SC* no. 203.

[78] Cf. Hoover 2011, 212–213.

[79] See Müller 2013, 206–209.

[80] See Newell 1937, 169; Smith 1988, 38–39, 52, 64; Poulios 1988, 112; Stewart 1993, 278; Erickson 2013, 117.

[81] So Kroll 2007, 117–118, with n. 24.

[82] See Goukowsky 1978, 116–118; Stewart 1993, 284–285.

named *Aetos* by his compatriots (Plu. *Pyrrh*. 10.1; *Mor*. 975b). An eagle-like person was considered to possess not only a robust physique, but also an equally robust animus.[83] Moreover, Plutarch (*Pyrh*. 11.5) reports that Pyrrhus was easily recognizable in combat by his helmet, with „its towering crest and its goat's horns", maybe reproduced in two marble busts at the Naples Museum.[84] As if that were not enough, the Molossian cultivated a martial style identified with the elephant corps, an Indian exoticism introduced by the great conqueror and role model.[85] However, it must be recalled that the elephantine elements are lacking in the Epeirote's known portraiture,[86] it being significant that the elephants and other weapons carved in relief on his funeral monument at Argos are not said to be accompanied by any representation of the royal person, neither as rider nor as commander (Paus. 2.21.4). If Pyrrhus was a famed general, his Egyptian colleague, Philadelphus, can be considered an administrator, „no warrior".[87] As Hazzard has put it,[88] when Callimachus (*Jov*. 69–77) praised Zeus as a god who had left the arts of warfare and hunting to lesser gods, the poet absolved the king from taking a role in military affairs. Typically, the second of the Ptolemies was the first Hellenistic ruler to inaugurate a zoological garden, in Alexandria, not a very heroic way of dealing with animals, although arguably a symbolic exhibition of power and knowledge of distant regions.[89]

Further thoughts and concluding remarks

In the first place, if I had to typify the nature of kingship during the age of Alexander and the Diadochi according to Max Weber's triadic categorization of authority (charismatic, traditional, and legal-rational), I would have no doubts: the charismatic form was typical of that age.[90] In the critical context of the age in question, the hierarchic associations of the great leaders with the forces of nature, and more exactly, with certain specific animals, strengthened the heroic and

[83] Polem. Phgn. 2.184; cf. Winkes 1992, 178.
[84] Winkes 1992, 184–188.
[85] Alonso 2013, 265.
[86] Smith 1988, 64–65; Brown 1995, 31–22.
[87] So Tarn 1913, 216 and Adams 2008, 92, *pace* McKechnie 2008, ix.
[88] Hazzard 2000, 91.
[89] See Helms 1988, 163–171, with Hubbell 1935.
[90] Weber 1947, 329 describes charisma as „a certain quality of an individual personality by virtue of which he is set apart from ordinary men and treated as endowed with supernatural, superhuman, or at least specifically exceptional qualities". See in general Weber 1968, passim. Note Suda, s. v. *Basileia*: „It is neither descent nor legitimacy which gives kingship to men, but the ability to command an army and to handle affairs competently". Goukowsky 1978, 145 refers to charisma without mentioning the German sociologist, unlike Gehrke 1990, 48–49.

supernatural dimensions of royal power. This was also the case of Chandragupta, whose *omina imperii* included the attentions of a lion and the submission of a wild elephant (Just. 18.4). Consequently, the Successor's iconography on coins reflects quite well the cult of physical strength and personal energy as the basis of power.[91] However, the traditional component inherent to the dynastic principle began to lessen the importance of charisma during the generation of the Epigoni, that of Ptolemy Philadelphus, Antiochus Soter, Antigonus Gonatas, and Pyrrhus of Epirus. Let us say that the „routinization of charisma" – according to Weber[92] – made its appearance under these kings, all but the Seleucid being born or brought up in the purple. In fact, the divine attributes incorporated into the portraiture of the Epigoni, rather than signifying their equalization with Alexander or their proximity to the gods, tended to emphasize the principle of dynastic continuity and identification with the founding kings.[93] Somehow, this resulted in a greater serenity of the king's official image, as Fleischer has noted.[94] Yet, most of the Epigoni were still genuine war lords, whereby the zoological reverberations did not fade completely in the self-fashioning of their royal personae – think, for instance, of the elephants on Antiochus' trophy over the Galatians (Luc. *Zeux*. 11). Probably because he was the least charismatic ruler of his generation in Weberian terms, Philadelphus needed to use great pomp and artifice when displaying his dominion over wilderness (from foreign countries) in a parade at the highly civilized and urban Alexandria, the famous *pompē* described by Callixenus of Rhodes (*FGH* 627 F 2).

Secondly, the ideology of apotheosis and the ruler cult favoured the insertion of certain zoomorphic attributes in the representation of the monarch.[95] Ammon's horns, Poseidon's horns, the bull's horns of the old Asian divinities, the elephant scalp of the deified Alexander, Zeus' or Athena's aegis, the panther skin of Dionysus, the *leontē* of Heracles, Pan's horns (v. g., in Gonatas' numismatic portraiture),[96] the raptors' big eyes evoking a godlike nature (v. g., those of Alexander on the Pompeii Mosaic), all highlighted the superior nature of the sovereign.[97] After all, the Successors lived in „an age passionately seeking inspired leadership from supermen who seemed to be fulfilling a divinely appointed destiny".[98] More importantly, the new component of animalization in the sovereign's self-

[91] Fleischer 1996, 30–31, 38. Relate to the idea of masculinity of the Hellenistic king: Roy 1998.

[92] Weber 1968, 54–61.

[93] Svenson 1995, 189; Smith 1988, 45.

[94] Fleischer 1996, 31, 38.

[95] Svenson 1995, 183, 186–188.

[96] Kroll 2011, 118; Svenson 1995, 158, 183.

[97] Smith 1988, 40–45; Kroll 2011, 121.

[98] Hadley 1974, 64.

fashioning was consistent with the pathos of traditional hunters as empathic predators and celebrants of initiatory rites.[99] At least in some archaic cultures, this kind of hunter could still experience a feeling not only of communion with nature, but also of metamorphosis, becoming „a liminal and ambiguous figure, who can be seen either as a fighter against wildness or as a half-animal participant in it".[100] It should be recalled that on the Vergina fresco the chief hunter probably wears a lion's skin,[101] like his ancestor Heracles (and Alexander himself, according to Ephippus *FGH* 126 F 5), as if he had assimilated the strength of the prey he was about to kill.[102]

Thirdly, the world opened by the campaigns of Alexander and the Successors offered not only a new mankind, but also a new zoology,[103] one likely to affect the traditional conception of Macedonian kingship. Products and symbols of the conquered countries, the animal species now discovered were consciously or unconsciously incorporated into the image of the conquerors, enriching the semiotics and the ideology of power. In particular, the relationship of Alexander with the Indian elephants, with all its ambiguities, is highly illustrative of this process of acculturation.[104] In fact, most of Alexander's ancient biographers preserve episodes that show how much he enjoyed watching and keeping animals, his constant attention and thoughtfulness towards them.[105] Both the conqueror's intellectual curiosity – his careful *paideia* – and his eagerness for all that could bring him more greatness explain this attitude, perhaps even a certain empathy, towards certain beasts (note, v. g., Ael. *NA* 8.1). The most conspicuous of the Diadochi, being as they were in need of a foundational (charismatic) legitimacy to wear the diadem, seem also to have imitated Alexander in his openness to the animal world, to the point of associating some zoological features to their royal portraiture and self-fashioning.

Fourthly, the passion for wild animals and probably some kind of empathy with them did not constitute a novelty introduced by Alexander and his Successors; to a great extent, they were a legacy of the Macedonian identity, in particular of the Argead dynasty. The zoology of kingship on Macedonian regal coinage bears ample witness to this ethno-cultural peculiarity, from Alexander I Philhellene onwards.[106] Big game hunting, long absent from the „civilized" landscapes

[99] See Schnapp 1997, 41–44.

[100] Cartmill 1993, 31, with Bleakley 2000, 37–38. Note Ballesteros' commentary on Just. 37.2.8 (2013, 135).

[101] Tripodi 1998, 96 n. 212; Hatzopoulos 1994, 110.

[102] See Muñoz-Alonso 2012, 158–159. On Alexander by Ephippus, Weber 2009, 93–94.

[103] On this, Alonso, forthc.

[104] Alonso, forthc.

[105] See Bodson 1991, 136–138.

[106] I depend here on my own research, see supra note 7.

of the polis, represented one of the greatest joys in life for the Temenids, descendants of the most eminent of all hunters or, perhaps better, for the master of animals par excellence in Greek mythology, Heracles.[107] It was a scholar with a superb knowledge of the historical geography of the region, Hammond,[108] who emphasized the „un-Greek nature of the Macedonian terrain". If the Macedonian elite felt the heroic age as a living and relevant past, seen in terms of its sameness,[109] should we not explain in part such identification by the similarity of the ecological conditions enjoyed by Mycenaeans and classical Macedonians? Should we not place the *imitatio* and *aemulatio* of the Homeric heroes in the context of close contact with an untamed world of pre-domesticated wilderness, typical of the northern European geographies?[110] Contrary to the Count of Yebes and modern lovers of hunting,[111] elite Macedonians did not need to escape from urban civilization to reconcile themselves with nature (and wilderness), to find a cure to their alienation from nature.[112] Their quasi-Homeric ethos, still quite free from the *Unbehagen in der Kultur*, interacted fluently with an Ur-landscape of Ur-animals – perhaps, for them too, „the symbol and even the very essence of the deity".[113]

Fifthly, it is not surprising that Alexander's representation of his compatriots may reflect, in a moment of rage and (alcoholic) disinhibition, an acute animalizing imagination: „Do not the Greeks appear to you to walk about Macedonians like demi-gods among wild beasts (*thēriois*)?" (Plu. *Alex*. 51.4). This statement

[107] Burkert 1979, 78–98; cf. Cohen 1995, 493–494.

[108] Hammond 1972, 210.

[109] See Cohen 1995, 484.

[110] See the remarks of Hatzopoulos 2011, 46, on the distinctive climate, vegetation and fauna of Macedonia today when compared to other regions of Greece. On the primeval environment of the Almopia district, ideal for hunting, see Lane Fox 2011b, 14; and Franks 2012, 99, referring to the Greek wild mountains of the heroic age (Mount Pelion, Mount Parnassus) as the source of inspiration for the Vergina frieze's landscape. Cf. also Anderson 1985, 4.

[111] On them, see Ortega y Gasset's classic essay of 1942.

[112] So Cartmill 1993, 236.

[113] Nash 1982, 20; cf. Baudrillard 1994, 133–34 and Hamilakis 2003, 240. For the rest, Freud's remarks make full sense in this context: „Thus we recognize that a country has attained a high level of civilization when we find that everything in it that can be helpful in exploiting the earth for man's benefit and in protecting him against nature... is cultivated and effectively protected.... the course of rivers which threaten to overflow their banks is regulated, their waters guided through canals to places where they are needed...; the mineral wealth is brought up assiduously from the depths... The means of communications are frequent, rapid, and reliable; wild and dangerous animals have been exterminated, the breeding of tamed and domesticated ones prospers" (2000–2005, 15, with Bleakley 2000, 32–33). Macedonia had largely attained that level of civilization, Archelaus having accelerated the process (Th. 2.100.2), yet substantial parts of the country remained untamed. On the binomial wilderness – hunting in another European landscape, the ancient *Gallaecia*, see Alonso 2014, 188–94.

does not necessarily contradict the aforementioned. For, if it is right that „the quickest way to describe a human aberration is to compare it with animal behavior" (Bachelard), it is no less right that monstrosity has changed in meaning, in that the original monstrosity of the beast was „object of terror and fascination, but never negative, always ambivalent, object of exchange also and of metaphor, in sacrifice, in mythology, in the heraldic bestiary" (Baudrillard).[114]

Sixthly, Alexander's life was anything but sedentary: in fact, it probably looked more like that of a nomad. Neither palaces nor urban environments were where the Argead spent most of his reign, but rather war camps, amidst an army on the move, the king's tent being the centre of the empire.[115] In a way – not, of course, in an absolute way –, this mobility repristinated his cultural identity, and that of his men too, bringing their existence closer to the animal life, or if you prefer, to the predatory stage of our prehistoric ancestors. In a highly eloquent passage, Plutarch reports that, if Alexander was making a march that was not very urgent, he would hunt foxes or birds as he went along (*Alex*. 23.4). It is no coincidence that the two rulers who most resembled him, Seleucus and Pyrrhus, did not revolve around a political centre, a capital, but moved restlessly, in both cases developing a public image rich in zoological associations.

Seventhly, there were ethno-cultural limits or prejudices in the process of animal acculturation, obviously due to the Hellenistic ideology of kingship. The elephant, emblem of India and Indian royalty, came to be a symbol of power for some Greco-Macedonian dynasties, but not a sign of the royal persona itself.[116] In the visual tradition of the Hellenistic age camelids did not even appear as secondary actors, unlike the status accorded them among the Indians and the Iranians,[117] not to speak of the Arabs. Demonstrably, dromedaries were ridden by the Macedonians in some important missions (for instance, Curt. 7.2.18), but this animal imagery did not form part of the elite's self-presentation. It never became a visual theme. Gender prejudices might also have played a role in the monarch's identification with animals, as proven by the case of the panther or leopard: although it was Dionysus' emblematic beast and had a presence in the iconography of the kingly power, it could not be considered a main quarry due to its femininity.[118]

Finally, it remains to investigate how the binomial kingship and zoology worked for the rest of the Hellenistic age and subsequently among the Roman emperors. Ancient China could be also a very interesting civilization for a com-

[114] Bachelard 1986, 80; Baudrillard 1994, 135.

[115] See Spawforth 2007 and Weber 2009, 85, 98, on this aspect of the conqueror's life.

[116] Alonso 2013; forthc.

[117] V. g., Plu. *Alex*. 31.7; Gitler 2011, figs. 1,3.

[118] The analysis of Cohen 2010, 74–75 on this animal is interesting; see also Schnapp 1997, 261–263.

parative case study: Chinese history entails the retreat of the elephant before the advance of farming, although the great pachyderms were not infrequently used as war animals, at least until the seventeenth century AD.[119] For the rest, the binomial continues to work in our days, although with new symbolisms. For instance, the relations of European sovereigns with their pets and household animals can inspire different readings, like their use of the horse in public ceremonies, depending on whether the monarchy is constitutional (v. g., United Kingdom) or traditional (v. g., Morocco). Not to speak of the relationships between politicians and animals in Western republican culture: how many representations of the presidents of the United States of America can we remember in which they appear on horseback? I do not mean moments of private leisure, nor pictures of their careers before assuming the presidency. The power of animals and the animals of power in the political history of the modern era. This might be the subject for another paper – or even for a new book.[120]

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[119] The discussion of the evidence and the fascinating historical process in Elvin 2004. I owe this reference to Judith Lerner (ISAW).

[120] The present article was written during my stay as visiting research scholar at the Institute for the Study of the Ancient World (NY University), in 2013. An earlier version of it was presented and discussed at ISAW. I would like to express my sincere gratitude to the Spanish Ministerio de Educación, Cultura y Deporte for generously financing my research stay in NY (PRX12/00110) and also to ISAW and the Leon Levy Foundation for their hospitality. My thanks also go to Marek Olbrycht for his critical reading of this manuscript. I have benefited from the comments of anonymous referees.

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Abstract

Traditionally, kingship has established a strong bond with the forces of nature, animals amongst them. The issue this paper seeks to address is how this connection worked during the foundational period of the Hellenistic dynasties, from Alexander the Great (336 – 323) to the Successors (323 – 281) and the next generation of the Epigoni (281 – c. 250). To what degree, for instance, would we be entitled to speak of an animalization of the kingly idea and image? Did the essentially charismatic nature – in Weberian terms – of the new *basileia* favour this trend? Was zoology likely to have played a role in the process of constructing the king's identity and public persona, in his self-fashioning? Above all, horses, lions and eagles were chosen by the kings of that period to show their real and symbolic connections with the animal world – or animal society. This paper focuses on them.

ANABASIS 5 (2014)
STUDIA CLASSICA ET ORIENTALIA

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THE MARDIANS: A NOTE

Keywords: Mardians, Caucasus, Armenia, Alexander, Rome in the East

In the spring of 59 AD, Emperor Nero's war against the Parthians for control of the kingdom of Armenia and supremacy over western Asia was rapidly reaching its climax.[1] Domitius Corbulo's legions, after taking possession of Artaxata, the historical capital of the Artaxiad dynasty, almost without fighting, headed westwards to storm Tigranocerta, the former capital of Tigranes the Great. During the journey, as Tacitus says, the general crossed some mountainous regions, whose inhabitants, faced with the approaching army, preferred to leave their remote villages and seek refuge in caves than surrender to the enemy.[2]

The march proceeded close to the territory of the Mardians, *latrociniis exerciti contraque inrumpentem montibus defensi*, a people committed to robbery and protected from external assaults by the mountainous nature of their lands, which probably lay on the Niphates mountains, nowadays Ala Dagh, to the north-east of the Van Lake.[3] They attempted an attack on Corbulo, but were quickly driven off by the Iberians, a population allied with the Romans and themselves mountaineers warriors.[4] In this phase of the conflict the Mardians

* I am grateful to the journal's anonymous reviewers for their comments and suggestions. All remaining errors are my own.

[1] Schur 1923, 7–12; Schur 1926, 215–222; Debevoise, 1938, 184; Chaumont 1976, 104–107; Dąbrowa, 1983, 138–139.

[2] Tac. *Ann*. 14.23.2.

[3] Dillemann 1962, 95; Pigulevskaja 1963, 61; Chaumont 1976, 83–84; Schippmann 1980, 50; Frye 1984, 237; Briant 1976, 167; Olbrycht 1998, 142. On the Niphates range see Strab. 11.12.4; 11.13.3; 14.2.8; Plin. *N.H.* 5. 27; Pomp. Mela. 1.15.81; Plut. *Alex*. 31.10; Ptol. 5.13.4; 6.1.1; Amm. Marc. 23.6.13; Steph. Byz. s.v. Νιφάτης; Hor. *Carm*. 2.9.20; Verg. *Georg*. 3.30; Flav. Ioseph. *Ant. Iud.* 18.51–52. Cfr., Jones 2000, 479–80.

[4] Tac. *Ann*. 14.23.3.

seem to be the only ones able to organize some form of resistance against the Roman advance on Armenia. They are therefore among the very few oriental tribes explicitly mentioned by Tacitus, though after this reference, they disappear completely from the Roman author's narration of the events that followed. The mention of the Mardians by Tacitus, though isolated, is also striking given the fact that Cassius Dio, dealing with the same events, makes no mention at all of this mountain tribe.

A quick investigation on the ethnic name reveals that the Mardians were known and mentioned by many ancient historians, both Greek and Romans, who dealt with Western Asia in very different periods. Given the surprisingly lack of a specific entry for them in the *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, more information can be found scattered in other general entries concerning Iranic peoples.[5] A more detailed account is given in the quite old article in the *Pauly-Wissowa* by F. Weissbach, which provides only a partial overview on the history of the Mardians.[6]

The purpose of this contribution is thus to provide the scholar with a complete panorama of the question in the light of the elements present in the ancient sources, which span different ages and refer to various geographical regions.

The first to mention them is Aeschylus in his *Persians*; the Mardians belonged to the army Xerxes gathered to attack Greece.[7] In Herodotus' account, Hyroeades, a nimble Mardian climbed the walls of Sardis' acropolis leading the rest of the Persian army to the conquest of the city.[8] Herodotus mentions the Mardians, along with three other nomad tribes (the Dai, Dropices and Sagartians, Δάοι, Μάρδοι, Δροπικοὶ, Σαγάρτιοι) among the ten tribes that supported Cyrus the Great in his rebellion against the Medians.[9]

A later tradition, surely originated in an anti-Persian *milieu*, probably reported by Ctesias and followed by Nicolaus Damascenus, states that Cyrus' father, a certain Atradates, was a Mardian bandit, while the mother raised goats. According to the customs of that people the young Cyrus was given to a rich man, Artembares, cupbearer at the court of Astyages, who before dying handed his titles and wealth to the now grown-up Cyrus.[10] The existence of this tradition shows clearly that at the Persian court the Mardians, despite having been early supporters of Cyrus, were considered an uncivilized[11] people living off robberies and goat breeding.[12]

[5] Brunner 2004.

[6] Weissbach 1894. Much shorter is Kaletsch 1999.

[7] Aesch. *Pers*. l.994.

[8] Hdt. 1.84.

[9] Hdt. 1.125. 4; Briant 1996, 17–18.

[10] Nic. Damasc. *FGrH* 90, F 66.6 and 9. Dandamayev 1993; Briant 1996, 15.

[11] Clavel-Lévêque 1976.

[12] Also in a later episode that according to Aelian occurred during the reign of Artaxerses, a Mardian belonging to the lower level of Persian society is appointed royal judge for his sense of right and wrong, Ael. *Var. Hist.* I. 34; Briant 1996, 333 and 338.

The Romans, as apparent from Plutarch's *Life of Lucullus*, had already faced the Mardians. The Republican warlord Lucullus, more than a century before Corbulo's campaigns (68 BC), was forced to fight units of Mardian mounted archers recruited by Tigranes along with Iberian lancers and deployed just outside Artaxata.[13] These were mercenaries, as were the Mardians recruited by Orontas and Artuchas, the former being satrap of Armenia, along with Carduchians and Chaldeans after the battle of Cunaxa (401 BC) to fight Cyrus' Greek mercenaries led by Xenophon.[14]

Antony during his campaign in Media Atropatene, also met "a man of the Mardian race, who had great familiarity with Parthian habits". On the way back from Phraaspa to the Roman frontier the Mardian gave Antony valuable advice concerning the best route to follow in order to avoid Parthian attacks and warned the Republican leader of an ambush that the enemy was preparing. Thanks to his assistance the Roman units had the chance to repel a sudden assault of the Arsacid mounted archers.[15] The anonymous Mardian who Antony met, seems to be connected with the Mardians living on the shores of the Caspian Sea, a territory at least nominally controlled by the Atropatene dynasts. It is nonetheless very interesting that in the accounts of the same events provided by earlier historians the anonymous advisor is a Roman, a survivor of the previous Crassus' expedition and not a Mardian.[16]

Tacitus is the only one to explicitly mention a territory in Armenia belonging to the Mardians. It is possible that some of the mercenaries from Xenophon's or later times settled in Armenia or were possibly given some peripheral and remote territories by local kings or satraps to rule over as a reward for their services. Military colonies and settlements of soldiers far from their original land are known for the Achaemenid period. For example Medians, Hyrcanians and Bactrians had settled in Asia Minor[17] and Lydia.[18]

The Mardians of Armenia appear again in the historical tradition concerning the Roman military campaigns against the Parthians that took place in the 2nd century AD. Some fragments of Arrian's *Parthikà*, reported in the Suda lexicon, describe the Mardians, using the usual ethnological *topoi* regarding the mountain tribes: they are portrayed as a poor people, living in a harsh land, they are farmers and robbers and do not ride horses. Some kind of military confrontation seems to have occurred during Traianus' campaign in Armenia, with the Mardi-

[13] Plut. *Luc*. 31.5.
[14] Xenoph. *Anab*. 4.3.4.
[15] Plut. *Ant*. 41; Debevoise, 1938, 128.
[16] Vell. Pat. 2.82. 1; Flor. 2. 20. 4.
[17] Diod. 17.19.4
[18] Strab. 13.4.13; Athen. 14.636 ab; Briant 1996, 794.

ans being heavily defeated.[19] This tradition is recalled by the later orator Themistius, who praises emperor Theodosius by comparing him to Traianus' general Lusius Quietus, the defeater of the Mardians.[20]

In the Roman historical tradition concerning military initiatives beyond the Euphrates, or at least in a part of it, a common opinion thus seemed to exist concerning the presence of a Mardian community in Armenia, a presence unnoticed by high empire geographers.[21] Of course, as stated above, it is perfectly possible that a branch of the Mardian people, described by the earliest authors as robbers and nomads, could have moved to the mountains of southern Armenia in connection with their service as mercenaries, and that presence was not recorded by the authors and the sources used by Strabo and Pliny.

Apart from Themistius' later reference, coming from a not strictly historical context, and probably connected with the uncertain and fragmentary testimony of Arrianus, who, describing the Mardians, uses largely stereotyped features common to all mountain tribes, only Tacitus explicitly mentions the existence of a Mardian controlled territory in Armenia. It would therefore be tempting to explain the reference to the "Mardians"[22] as just a literary artifice used by Tacitus, or maybe already by Corbulo in his *commentarii*, and Arrian, to establish an ideal connection between the Roman present or recent past history and policy in Asia and the description of Asia and its conquest by Alexander made by previous Greek historians.

What constitutes the most intriguing aspect of the Mardians is that despite not having aroused much interest among scholars, they frequently appear in the Greek historical and literary tradition, although of course located farther east than Armenia, in regions that the Roman armies never actually reached.

Strabo, describing the tribes of Persia, is the first to provide the Mardians with a specific geographical location.[23] Clearly recalling Herodotos' enumeration of Cyrus supporters, he presents a very different list of tribes, whose common elements are the Pasargadae, the tribe which included the Achaemenids, the Persian royal clan, and the Mardians, described along with the Cyrtii, one more time as marauders, but also as a migrant people.

Following the account written by Nearchos, Alexander's admiral in charge of the exploration of the Persian Gulf, Strabo mentions four tribes of marauding

[19] Arr. *Parth*. fr. 86–87 (ed. Ross); Guey 1937, 28–29, 32–35, 50–65; Debevoise, 1938, 224; Lepper 1948, 88–96, 207.

[20] Them. *Orat*. 16.205a and 250d (ed. Dindorf); Roberto 2008, 76 and 82.

[21] With one exception by Strabo as later shown and the later geographer Ptolemy: 5.12.9. In Plin. *N.H.* 31.75 the Mardians are mentioned, associated with the Armenians.

[22] Something similar happened later with the reference to the Cadusii in novelistic passage of the *Life of emperor Caracalla* (*H.A. Car.* 6.4) concerning his campaign against the Parthians.

[23] Strab. 15.3.1; Briant 1996, 189.

mountaineers living in the ranges in the south-west of Iran: the Uxians, Elymeans, Cossaeans and Mardians.[24] These peoples lived close to one another along the borders of Persia. They shared common ethnologic features like inhabiting a poor region, being inclined to brigandage[25] and keen on war, and were characterized by a way of life rather different from that of the neighboring Persians. So the Uxians are said to have no money and no arable land at their disposal,[26] the Cossaeans live in caves, are barely dressed and obtain food through goat breeding and hunting[27]. It is thus understandable how these peoples appeared closely associated in the classic writings. Under Persian rule, they all received a tribute from the Persian Great King, though the Cossaeans also received gifts, and with the exception of the Elymeans, they are mentioned among the nations which took part on Darius III's side in the battle of Gaugamela.[28]

Another important element that associates Uxians, Cossaeans and Mardians is the fact that after Alexander's victory over Darius, the Macedonian conqueror had to force each of those mountain tribes into submission by penetrating into their well-defended and harsh territories, devastating the land, chasing and slaughtering the inhabitants.[29] All the three major extant historians of Alexander's campaign, Diodoros, Curtius Rufus and Arrian, dedicate a passage in their work to the submission of the Uxians[30] (330 BC). The fate of the Cosseans is mentioned by Diodoros and Arrian,[31] while the Mardians of Persis are conquered only according to Curtius Rufus, probably around 331–330 BC.[32] Even among the historians of Alexander's *Anabasis*, from 1st century BC to 2nd AD, it seems that there was confusion concerning this group of mountain peoples of south western Iran, who would appear almost indistinguishable to the western writers.

Thus the famous episode concerning the kidnapping of Alexander's horse, Bucephalos, which provoked the king's anger and merciless revenge, is placed by Arrian during the fighting against the Uxians,[33] while all the other authors agree in attributing it to the later campaigns against the Caucasian Mardians (in the Alborz Mountains).[34]

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[24] Strab. 11.13.6; Ptol. 6.4.3; Briant 1976, 170–171, 214–221; Digard 1976, 267; Briant 1996, 469 and 728

[25] The Mardians are said to be raiders and live close to Persis; Arr. *Ind*. 40.6.

[26] Arr. *Anab*. 3.17.6.

[27] Strab. 16.1.18; Diod. 17.3.4–6.

[28] Diod. 17.59.3; Arr. *Anab*. 3.11.5; 13.1; Curt. 4.12.7. Schmitt 1993.

[29] Cook 1985, 239, 243–244, 281.

[30] Diod. 17.67–68; Arr. *Anab*. 3.17.1–26; Curt. 5.3.1–16.

[31] Diod. 17.3.4–6; Arr. *Anab*. 7.15.1–2; and Strab. 11.13.6; 16.1.18; Plut. *Alex*. 72.4

[32] Curt. 5.6.17.

[33] Arr. *Anab*. 5.19.6.

[34] Diod. 17.76.7–8; Curt. 6.5.18–21; Plut. *Alex*. 44.

Given this, it is hard to clarify the role of the Persian Mardians during Alexander's conquest, and to distinguish them from the other mountaineer tribes. Diodoros reports that Peucestas, the satrap of Persis gathered an army of a thousand soldiers with the support of the Uxians and Mardians,[35] just after Alexander's death. Pliny later reports that these same people, the Uxians and Mardians, were finally subdued by the newcomers, the Parthians[36] in the late 2nd century BC.

If there is no consistency concerning the Persian Mardians among Alexander's historians, on the contrary all three main authors dedicate a chapter of their work to Alexander's campaign against the Caucasian Mardians.[37] According to Diodoros after conquering Hyrcania, Alexander headed westwards to conquer the mountain passes held by the Mardians.[38] In Quintus Curtius the Mardians were the only people not to send envoys to the Macedonian leader because they did not acknowledged any superior authority. Alexander interpreted this act as a challenge to his royal authority and decided to lead his army into their rugged and wooded territory and hunt them like wild beasts, *venantium modo*.[39] Finally in Arrian, the Mardians, made too confident by the asperity of their land, were taken by surprise by Alexander's expedition and defeated.[40] They were soon given a governor, a certain Autophradates.[41]

The location of the Caucasian Mardians is better defined by Strabo. He lists them among the tribes settled on the southern shores of the Caspian Sea, with the less famous Gelae, Cadusians, Vitii and Anariacae. Some of these tribes had already been mentioned by Erathostenes.[42]

In later times also the Caucasian Mardians were subdued by the Parthians. The Great King Phraates I (176–171 BC) deported them to the newly founded city of Charax in Rhagiane, close to the Caspian Gates between Media and Parthia.[43]

It seems clear that in the classic literature and geography two main areas of Mardian settlement existed: the southern Caspian Sea shores and Persis. It is very likely that the Mardians acquired a certain level of notoriety in the West thanks to the part they played in Alexander's *Anabasis*. Due to the fact that in

[35] Diod. 19.14.5.

[36] Plin. *N.H.* 6.134; Briant 1976, 166.

[37] Briant 1976, 166–167. Later attested also by the Anonymous Ravennatis, 60.12, Tabula Peutingeriana, *Mardiane* and Stephanus of Byzantium, s.v. Ἄμαρδοί and Μαρδοί.

[38] Diod. 17.76.3–4.

[39] Curt. 6.5.17.

[40] Arr. *Anab*. 3.24.1–3.

[41] Arr. *Anab*. 3.22.7; 3.24.3; 4.18.2; Phradates in Curt. 6.5.21.

[42] Strab. 11.6.1; 7.1; 8.8; Plin. *N.H*. 6.36 and Ptol. 6.2.5, where they are recorded as Amardians in connection with the river Amardus, today's Sefid-Rūd. Pliny mentions them also among the peoples on the western shore of the Black Sea, most probably by mistake, Plin. *N.H*. 6.16.

[43] Isid. *Mans. Parth*. ch. 7 = Isid. *FGrHist* 781 F2.7; Just. 41.5.9–10. Debevoise 1938, 19; Wolski 1966, 81; Chaumont 1973, 203–204.

some accounts Alexander was forced to face them twice, in the Caucasus Alborz mountains and in Persis, they probably became a name closely associated to the idea of the uncivilized inhabitants of the mountains the Greek met in the East.

Tacitus' reference concerning the Armenian Mardians would thus be isolated if it was not for a reference in Strabo. Dealing with the kingdom of Media Atropatene invaded by Antony he lists the Mardians, or Amardians, among the mountain peoples living on the northern edge of the kingdom, on the Caspian shore, along with the Cadusii, Tapyrii and Cyrtii. For the first and only time the Mardians (and the Cyrtii) of the north, the Caucasians, are associated with the Mardians of the south, the Persians. He states explicitly that they are "transhumants and predatory, *metanástai* and *lēstrikoí*" and that the two groups have common origins, they have been scattered and separated by the mountain ranges of the Niphates and the Zagros. In the same passage the geographer further develops the topic, also including those living in Armenia among the Mardian tribes of common origins.[44]

Strabo's is the earliest reference concerning a stable Mardian settlement in Armenia, close to the Niphates mountains, and it seems to prove that Tacitus' statement reflected historical reality. Besides Strabo's passage perfectly summarizes the geographical question concerning the Mardians. Due to their nomadic nature, according to ancient authors, the Mardians settled in different regions. Traditionally the main Mardian territories were the southern Caspian shores and the borders of Persis, in south-west Iran. It is generally thought that before the creation of the Persian empire some Mardian tribes moved south from the Caspian area towards the borders with Persis.[45]

Both these Mardian groups are mentioned in most of the geographical works concerning western Asia and they were also present in the historical works narrating Alexander's conquest of the Achaemenid empire. In later periods Alexander's and the Parthian campaigns were probably successful in subjugating both Mardian communities, whose importance decreased. Surely in Roman times the Mardians groups became part of that oriental world lying well beyond Rome's domains which the imperial authors decided to ignore or describe in an extremely stereotyped way.

In Roman times thus only a secondary historical account survived concerning the Mardians, that is to say the existence of a Mardian community in Armenia controlling a portion of mountain territory close to the Niphates range, in an area where the Romans armies had been active since Lucullus' campaigns. It is interesting though that the Mardians are not mentioned among the

[44] Strab. 11.13.3.

[45] Or from even further in central Asia judging from some general references in the sources: Plin. *N.H.* 6.47; Arr. *Anab*. 4.6.6; Ptol. 6.12.4.

inhabitants of Armenia in Pliny's chapters concerning that region, but even more interesting is the fact that not even Strabo himself mentions them in his description of Armenia.

If we exclude a mistake by Strabo or his sources at the origin of the later tradition on the Armenian *Mardi*, it must be assumed that in effect a Mardian settlement, probably linked to the Mardians of Media and the Caspian Sea, developed in later times and was recorded only by some of Strabo's sources. These were the Mardians later met by Corbulo and Lusius Quietus in their campaigns beyond the Euphrates.[46]

In his *Antiquitates Judaicae* concerning the events that occurred in Armenia between 12 and 16 AD, Flavius Josephus[47] mentions "the people of authority among the Armenians about the Niphates mountains", who supported the Parthian Great King Artabanus II against Vonones, perhaps referring to the territory of the Mardians. He does not mention the Mardian tribes, but it seems that the Niphates mountains, close to the Van Lake, were very close to the Mardian territory.[48] As mentioned the elements provided by the sources seem to indicate that a branch of the Mardians actually lived in south Armenia or at least a mountain people did who, thanks to their common nature, as Strabo says, the contemporary authors associated with the Mardians.

A more careful analysis of Tacitus' account concerning Corbulo's fighting on the way to Tigranocerta reveals striking similarities with the description of the mountain peoples and their behavior provided by Alexander's historians. Some Armenians are said to leave their houses in remote villages to seek refuge in caves. Corbulo, like Alexander, shows no mercy towards those who fled, using fire to drive them out of their hiding places.[49] In this context, the elements of which recall Alexander's feats, the Mardians, explicitly indicated as *latrociniis exerciti contraque inrumpentem montibus defensi,* are presented using the same stereotypes, as those which has been employed to describe the mountain people Alexander marched against.

Independently of the actual the presence of Mardians in Armenia, which by the way cannot be excluded, it seems undeniable that any author mentioning that people established a link between the Roman present and Alexander's past, evoking in the readers mind the well-known stories of the Macedonian conqueror. This probably explains the unique mention of the Mardians in Tacitus' work, in a context already full of striking similarities with Alexander's stories. Proba-

[46] As Prof. E. Kettenhofen kindly suggested to me, the name of the Mardians survives in the toponym Mardastan, east of Lake Van, see Ps. Sebeos, 48.165. Hübschmann 1904, 207; 239, n. 2 and 343–344; Adontz 1970, 247–249; 322–323.

[47] Ioseph. *Ant. Iud.* 18.51–52.

[48] Strab. 11.13.3. and supra n. 3.

[49] Tac. *Ann*. 14.23.2.

bly also later historians like Arrian, himself the author of an *Anabasis* of Alexander, gave relevance to the Mardians to establish an ideal link with the past.

Since Crassus' times every Roman general or emperor crossing the Euphrates, but also every historian narrating his feats and every cultured Roman reading those narratives had Alexander's example in mind. From this point of view, Corbulo chasing and defeating the Mardians in Armenia was only following Alexander's example. He crushed with the same iron fist the very same enemies the Macedonian forced into submission in Persis and on the shores of the Caspian Sea many centuries before.

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Abstract

The Mardians were an Iranian mountain tribe which inhabited many different regions of the Near East. Despite the fact that they are frequently present in the narratives of both Greek and Roman historians, they never aroused much interest among scholars. This contribution remains the only attempt to put together all the references concerning the Mardians, providing at the same time some general hypothesis about their apparent geographical diffusion. It cannot be excluded that the Roman authors who introduced the Mardians among the enemies the imperial armies had to face in their eastern campaigns, wanted to establish a historical link between the current events and Alexander's campaigns.

ANABASIS 5 (2014)
STUDIA CLASSICA ET ORIENTALIA

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VORARBEITEN ZU EINER KÖNIGSLISTE KAUKASISCH-IBERIENS. 3. PHARASMANES II. UND XEPHARNUG

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

Vorbemerkung zum dritten Teil

Wie schon gezeigt wurde, lässt sich für die Epoche vom frühen 1. Jh. v. Chr. bis über die Mitte des 2. Jhs. n. Chr. hinaus eine nahezu lückenlose iberische Königsliste erstellen. Da wir im zweiten Teil bis zu Traians Partherkrieg gelangt sind, rückt nunmehr die hadrianisch-antoninische Zeit in den Mittelpunkt der Untersuchung. Dabei wollen wir diesmal mit einem Rückblick auf die Darstellung der iberischen Herrschaftsgeschichte in der georgischen Chronik beginnen.

Die angebliche Doppelherrschaft

Gemäß dem Leben Kartlis wäre das Land fünf Generationen lang von Teilherrschern regiert worden, die in Mtskheta und Armasi residierten.[1] Der Beginn dieser Epoche sei bei 58 n. Chr. anzusetzen, als der im Jahr von Christi Geburt auf den Thron gelangte Aderki nach 57 vollen Regierungsjahren verstarb.[2] Von

[1] Leonti Mroweli / Pätsch 1985, 100–112.

[2] Leonti Mroweli / Pätsch 1985, 100f.: *Aderki ... hatte zwei Söhne, von denen der erste Bartom und der zweite Kartam hieß. Und er teilte sein ganzes Land unter sie. Er gab die Stadt Mzcheta und das Gebiet Inner-Kartli an der Mtkuari, die Stadt auf der Seite von Muchnari und das ganze Kartli im Norden der Mtkuari, von Heretien bis zur Höhe von Kartli und Egrissi – das alles gab er*

seinen Söhnen trägt der eine einen Namen, der uns schon begegnet ist. An Stelle des bei Cass. Dio 49,24,1 belegten Pharnabazos nennt die Chronik ebenfalls einen Bartom. Kartam dagegen verdankt seine Existenz einer armenischen Quelle. Moses von Choren erwähnt K`ardzam als georgischen König (M.X. 2,53) in der Zeit nach Pharasmanes I. Im Zusammenhang mit der Regierung Bartoms und Kartams findet sich auch die einzige etwas genauer zu datierende Angabe über ein bedeutendes historisches Ereignis außerhalb Kaukasiens.[3] Bereits in der nächsten Generation scheint neben Genealogie und Herrscherfolge auch der Zeitablauf in Unordnung geraten zu sein.[4] Aufschlussreich ist dabei besonders die Erwähnung Jarwands, der in der armenischen Geschichtsschreibung Erowand (sprich: *Eruand*) heißt. Dies entspricht Orontes, dem Leitnamen der orontidischen Dynastie. Bei der unter diesem Namen auftretenden Sagengestalt handelt es sich indessen um eine Kombination aus zwei Angehörigen der iberischen Königsfamilie, die zwischen 35 und 54 die armenische Krone beanspruchten, Mithradates und Radamistus.[5] Bei Moses von Choren (M.X. 2,37–46), erscheint Erowand als wahres Ungeheuer. Die georgischen Bearbeiter haben diese Charakterisierung für Jarwand übernommen, anscheinend ohne zu bemerken, dass sie verfremdete Berichte über Aktivitäten der eigenen Landsleute nach Kartli reimportierten. Die Abhängigkeit von der armenischen Überlieferung ist wohl auch der Grund für das verspätete Auftreten des richtigen Namens des bedeutendsten iberischen Königs des 1. Jhs. n. Chr.: Parsman (Pharasmanes I.). Seine Regierungszeit wurde im Leben Kartlis derjenigen Aderkis, bzw. der seiner Söhne zugeschlagen. Bei Moses von Choren (M.X. 2,46) hat sich dagegen der Name P´arsman erhalten, der offenbar erst zusammen mit den armenischen Berichten über Erowand wieder in die georgische Überlieferung einging.

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seinem Sohn Bartom, aber die Stadt auf der Seite von Armasi, Kartli im Süden der Mtkuari, von Chunani bis zur Quelle der Mtkuari, und ganz Klardshetien gab er seinem Sohn Kartam. Und Aderki starb.

[3] Leonti Mroweli / Pätsch 1985, 101: *Während ihrer Herrschaft aber zerstörte der römische Kaiser Vespasian Jerusalem, ...* Zum Zeitpunkt der unter dem Oberbefehl von Vespasians Sohn Titus vollendeten Eroberung Jerusalems im August / September 70 siehe z.B. Kienast 1996, 111.

[4] Leonti Mroweli / Pätsch 1985, 101: *Aderkis Söhne Bartom und Kartam starben. Und nach ihnen wurden ihre Söhne König*[e]*: in Armasi – Parsman und in der inneren Stadt – Kaos. Seit Aderki aber bis zu ihrer Herrschaft waren sie dem König der Armenier untertan. Und vor allem die armasischen Könige halfen den Armeniern gegen alle Feinde. Dann bestieg in Armenien der große König Jarwand den Thron. Und er vergaß die Wohltat der Kartweler, bedrückte Parsman den Armasier und eignete sich vom Gebiet Kartlis die Stadt Zunda und Artani bis zur Mtkuari an. ... Und es gelang den Königen von Kartli nicht, das Gebiet zurückzuholen, und Parsman und Kaos starben in großer Betrübnis. Und nach ihnen bestiegen ihre Söhne den Thron, in Armasi Asok, und in Inner-Kartli Armasael*.

[5] So erstmals Markwart 1895, 654. Ihm folgend Schottky 1989, 168 u.ö., zuletzt *DNP* 8 s.v. Mithradates 20, 283.

Der folgenden Herrschergeneration – Asok und Armasael – hat Leonti Mroweli einen relativ umfangreichen Abschnitt gewidmet.[6] Geschildert werden die langwierigen kriegerischen Auseinandersetzungen der Teilkönige mit Jarwands Nachfolger Artaschan. Dabei erhalten die Kartweler tatkräftige Unterstützung von den Osseten. Unter dieser Bezeichnung sind im vorliegenden Zusammenhang die Alanen zu verstehen.[7] Als es Iberern und Osseten gelingt, Artaschans Sohn Saren gefangen zu nehmen, kommt es zu Friedensverhandlungen, die zu einem Friendensschluss und einem Waffenbündnis führen. Hauptquelle für diesen aus dem Blickwinkel Kartlis geschilderten Abschnitt der iberisch-armenischen Beziehungen ist erneut Moses von Choren.[8] Dessen Bericht über Artashês stellt im Wesentlichen eine ins Sagenhafte gewendete Erzählung von Tiridates I., dem Begründer der arsakidischen Nebenlinie in Armenien dar.[9] Aus ihr sind in die georgische Chronik einige geeignet erscheinende Teile übernommen worden, wobei es zu weiteren Abänderungen kam. Besonders auffällig ist dabei wieder der Umgang mit der iberischen Königsliste. Moses weiß von Asok und Armasael nichts, sondern kennt, wie erwähnt wurde, einen iberischen König K`ardzam. Dieser soll es gewesen sein, der Artashês´ Sohn Zareh (griechisch Zariadris, georgisch Saren) gefangen nahm.[10]

Zu den spektakulärsten Ereignissen während der Regierung Tiridates´ I. gehört der Raubzug der Alanen durch Media Atropatene und Armenien von 72 bis 75 n. Chr. Bekannt geworden ist insbesondere die Nachricht, wie der König im letzten Moment der Gefangennahme durch einen Lassowerfer entging (Ios. *bell. Iud.* 7,7,4, bzw. 7,249f.). Da Moses Artashês den Alanen stets überlegen sein lässt (M.X. 2,50), hatte er für diese Episode zunächst keine Verwendung, brachte sie dann aber an anderer Stelle unter.[11] Es sieht indessen so aus, als habe die Tat-

[6] Leonti Mroweli / Pätsch 1985, 102–108. Armasael dürfte, wie Toumanoff 1969, 14 erkannt hat, „der Armasier" bedeuten, auch wenn gerade der so benannte Teilherrscher in Mtskheta residiert haben soll.

[7] Zu den Osseten als Nachkommen der Alanen vgl. z.B. Markwart 1895, 632; Schottky 1998, 1168.

[8] M.X. 2,46–53. Eine leicht zu übersehende Einzelheit zeigt, das Moses nicht der alleinige Gewährsmann für die Darstellung in der georgischen Chronik war. Sein Erowand ist in der Reihe der armenischen Arsakiden ein Bastard und Usurpator, während mit seinem Nachfolger Artashês die legitime Erbfolge wiederhergestellt wird. In der international als „Primary History" bezeichneten (Armenischen) Urgeschichte dagegen handelt es sich bei Artashês und Erowand um Brüder (Urgeschichte / Thomson, 366). Leonti Mroweli / Pätsch 1985, 102 dürfte diese Überlieferung gekannt haben, da er Artaschan ebenfalls zum Bruder Jarwands macht. Vgl. hierzu bereits Schottky 1989, 172, Anm. 102.

[9] So erstmals Markwart 1895, 654. Ihm folgend Schottky 1989, 170 u.ö.

[10] M.X./Thomson 2,53 (196): *Zareh was ... at warfare incompetent and negligent.When the Georgian king, a certain K`ardzam, became aware of this, he incited the land to revolt. And capturing Zareh he imprisoned him in the Caucasus*.

[11] M.X. 2,85. Vgl. dazu Thomson 1980, 237, Anm. 3; Schottky 1991, 222f. mit Anm. 448.

sache, dass ein Mitglied des armenischen Königshauses fast in iberische Gefangenschaft geraten wäre,[12] noch auf andere Weise nachgewirkt. In der armenischen Darstellung fällt Zareh viele Jahre nach den Alanenkämpfen in die Hand des iberischen Herrschers, wird aber schnell und ohne viele Umstände befreit (M.X. 2,53 Ende). Nach der georgischen Chronik nehmen die verbündeten Kartweler und Osseten Saren gemeinsam fest, seine Befreiung durch ein armenisches Heer misslingt. Der Prinz dient den Iberern vielmehr als Faustpfand, dessen Auslösung mit der Rückgabe iberischer Gebiete und dem schon erwähnten Friedensschluss erkauft werden muss.[13] In dieser Bearbeitung könnte eine Vorstellung davon überlebt haben, wie sich die Ereignisse nach dem historischen Selbstverständnis der Georgier gerechterweise hätten abspielen sollen. Die Fiktivität der folgenden Teilkönige wird allein schon daraus ersichtlich, dass die Chronik außer den Namen nichts von ihnen zu berichten weiß.[14] *Amasasp* lässt allerdings aufhorchen. Der Name ist nicht verschieden von dem des iberischen Prinzen Amazaspos, der sich aktiv an Traians Partherkrieg hatte beteiligen wollen, jedoch schnell verstarb, ohne etwas ausgerichtet zu haben (*IG* XIV, 1374).

Wer die Darstellung der Doppelherschaft bis hierher verfolgt hat, mag gespannt sein, auf welche Weise die Bearbeiter ihre liebevoll ausgemalte Fiktion wieder in den Strom des realen Geschehens einmünden lassen. Dies geschieht dadurch, dass erstmals von einem feindseligen Verhältnis der Teilherrscher untereinander die Rede ist.[15] Obwohl es Mirdat gelingt, Parsman ermorden zu lassen, kann er sich auf die Dauer nicht durchsetzen. Die Bundesgenossen seines Bruders, u.a. „Griechen“ und Armenier, vernichten ihn und seine „persischen“ Verbündeten.[16] So sind es Parsmans Nachkommen, die fortan über ein ungeteiltes Iberien gebieten.[17] Was an dieser Erzählung als erstes ins Auge springt, ist

[12] Pharasmanes I. mag seinen alanischen Verbündeten den Auftrag erteilt haben, Tiridates gefangen zu nehmen (siehe dazu Schottky 2013, 139, Anm. 30).

[13] Leonti Mroweli / Pätsch 1985, 106–108.

[14] Leonti Mroweli / Pätsch 1985, 108: *Asok und Armasael starben, sehr getröstet. Denn durch ihre Tapferkeit waren die Gebiete Kartlis zurückgewonnen. Und nach ihnen herrschten ihre Söhne: in Armasi – Amasasp, und in* [Inner-]*Kartli – Derok*.

[15] Leonti Mroweli / Pätsch 1985, 108: *Und nach ihnen* [Amasasp und Derok] *herrschten ihre Söhne: in Armasi – Parsman der Großmütige, und in Inner-Kartli – Mirdat. Bis hierher waren alle Könige beiderseitig verschwägert. Sie hatten dieselben Verbündeten und dieselben Feinde. Dann führte der Kartweler Mirdat eine persische Frau heim, eine Verwandte der Könige, und auf Betreiben der Perser verfeindete er sich mit Parsman dem Großmütigen, ...*

[16] Leonti Mroweli / Pätsch 1985, 108–112.

[17] Leonti Mroweli / Pätsch 1985, 112: *Und sie bestimmten zum König den Sohn Parsmans des Großmütigen, der Adam hieß. Und er regierte nur drei Jahre und starb.Und er ließ seinen Sohn zurück, ein Kind von einem Jahr: und bis zur Volljährigkeit des Knaben regierte die Mutter Adams, die Frau Parsmans des Großmütigen, die Gadana hieß. Und als der Enkel Parsmans des Großmütigen, mit Namen Parsman, herangewachsen war, übernahm er die Herrschaft*.

eine erneute Verdoppelung: Pharasmanes II. wurde in zwei Individuen, den Teilkönig Parsman den Großmütigen, und in seinen Enkel, den „Gesamtherrscher" Parsman, Sohn Adams, aufgeteilt.[18] Dennoch war die frühere Forschung nicht selten von drei iberischen Königen mit dem Namen Pharasmanes in der frühen und hohen römischen Kaiserzeit ausgegangen.[19] Großes Vertrauen setzte dann wieder Toumanoff in die einheimische Überlieferung. Pharasmanes II. sei demnach ein Sohn des Amazaspos gewesen und habe von 116 bis 132 regiert Ihm folgte Adam bis 135, danach Pharasmanes III., der ein halbes Jahrhundert lang, bis 185, herrschte.[20] Eine Einzelheit mag verdeutlichen, wie wenig angemessen es sein dürfte, der georgischen Geschichtsschreibung bis in alle Einzelheiten zu folgen. Vor einiger Zeit hatten wir darauf hingewiesen, dass „Adam" als iberischer Königsname des 2. Jhs. n. Chr. unwahrscheinlich ist.[21] Leonti Mroweli könnte zwischen dem zweiten und dem dritten Parsman ein Zwischenglied eingefügt haben, um die Verdoppelung des historischen Pharasmanes II. nicht allzu augenfällig werden zu lassen. Als Namensgeber für diese frei erfundene Gestalt wird dem Bischof der erste Mensch der jüdisch-christlichen Tradition besonders passend erschienen sein. Toumanoff hatte dagegen vermutet, „Adam" sei eine Kurzform von Radamistus.[22] Auch dies erscheint aus mehreren Gründen unmöglich. Zunächst ist darauf hinzuweisen, dass der Name durch den Radamistus des 1. Jhs. vermutlich nachhaltig kompromittiert worden war. Dass er in derjenigen Linie des Herrscherhauses, die auf seinen Halbbruder Mithradates zurückging, jemals verwendet worden sein sollte, ist demnach nicht anzunehmen. Eine andere Überlegung betrifft die Namensform. Bei *Radamistus* handelt es sich um die lateinische, literarisch überlieferte Schreibweise.[23] Die für eine Rezeption im Georgischen allein in Frage kommende griechische Namensform hat sich bei keinem Autor erhalten und konnte erst im vergangenen Jahrhundert aus einer Inschrift gewonnen werden.[24] Somit hätte der Name georgisch wohl etwa „Rodomist", allenfalls „Rodom(i)" gelautet. Von hier bis „Adam" wäre es noch ein weiter Weg. Man darf sich eher die Frage stellen, was die Bearbeiter der iberischen Tradition veranlasst haben könnte, nach dem angeblichen Ende der im ganzen fiktiven Teilkönigtümer noch einmal eine Verdoppelung einer Herrscherpersönlichkeit vorzunehmen. Der Grund hierfür liegt offenbar in der fortdauernden Erinnerung an die langjährigen und ereignisreichen Regierungsperioden zweier Fürsten, die beide Pharasmanes geheißen hatten. Die Gestalt Pha-

[18] Vgl. hierzu bereits Schottky 2010, 220–222.
[19] So z.B. Carrata Thomes 1958, 20 mit Anm. 9 und 28, Anm. 47.
[20] Toumanoff 1969, 16f.
[21] Schottky 2010, 221 mit Anm. 60.
[22] Toumanoff 1969, 16 mit Anm. 72.
[23] Tac. *ann*. 12,44 u.ö.
[24] Belegt ist der Genitiv ʿΡοδομίσ[του]: Moretti 1955, 43.

rasmanes´ I. war frühzeitig durch die Aderkis ersetzt worden, der bei Moses von Choren auftretende Name P´arsman wurde für den eines eher erfolglosen Teilherrschers verwendet. Somit ist die georgische Überlieferung nur konsequent, wenn sie die Gestalt des historischen Pharasmanes II. in zwei verschiedene, durch eine Generation getrennte Individuen spaltet.

Der umgekehrte Fall liegt offensichtlich bei Mirdat vor, dem angeblichen letzten Teilkönig von Inner-Kartli. In ihm scheinen bis zu drei historische Personen zusammengefasst worden zu sein. Zunächst nämlich wirkt die Geschichte vom Konflikt zwischen Parsman und Mirdat, die schließlich zum Ende der Doppelherrschaft führte, wie eine Erinnerung an den Thronstreit von etwa 35 n. Chr. zwischen Pharasmanes I. und Mithradates.[25] Vor allem aber scheinen in Mirdat die beiden Vorgänger Pharasmanes´ II. zusammengeflossen zu sein, sein Großvater Mithradates II. und sein Vater Mithradates III.

Pharasmanes, Hadrian und Arrian

Nach diesem Rückblick auf die traditionelle Darstellung der Geschichte Kartlis von der Mitte des 1. Jhs. bis weit ins 2. Jh. hinein wenden wir uns dem Wirken Pharasmanes´ II. zu, wie es sich anhand der griechisch-römischen Quellen rekonstruieren lässt. Schon häufig interpretiert worden sind drei Stellen aus der Hadrians-Vita der Historia Augusta, die das offenbar nicht ganz unproblematische Verhältnis zwischen Kaiser und König thematisieren.[26] Hadrian hatte demnach die Absicht, mit dem iberischen Herrscher zusammenzutreffen (wohl 129),[27] doch entzog sich letzterer einer persönlichen Begegnung. Es mag sich lohnen, den Motiven des Königs für diesen Schritt nachzugehen, zumal er sich

[25] Siehe hierzu *DNP* 8 s.v. Mithradates 20, 283; *DNP* 9 s.v. Pharasmanes 1, 738.

[26] *SHA Hadr.* 13,8–9: (Hadrianus) *toparchas et reges ad amicitiam invitavit, invitato etiam Osdroe rege Parthorum remissaque illi filia, quam Traianus ceperat, ac promissa sella, quae itidem capta fuerat. Cumque ad eum quidam reges venissent, ita cum his egit, ut eos paeniteret, qui venire noluerunt, causa speciatim Farasmanis, qui eius invitationem superbe neglexerit. SHA Hadr.* 21,13: *Albanos et Hiberos amicissime habuit, quod reges eorum largitionibus prosecutus est, cum ad illum venire contempsissent*. *SHA Hadr.* 17,10–12: *regibus multis plurimum detulit, a plerisque vero etiam pacem redemit, a nonnullis contemptus est, multis ingentia dedit munera, sed nulli maiora quam Hiberorum, cui et elephantum et quinquagenariam cohortem post magnifica dedit dona. Cum a Farasmane ipse quoque ingentia munia dona acceptisset atque inter haec auratas quoque chlamydes, trecentos noxios cum auratis chlamydibus in harenam misit ad eius munera deridenda*.

[27] Der Zeitpunkt ergibt sich aus der Erwähnung des parthischen Königs Osroes, der in dem betreffenden Jahr seine gefangene Tochter zurückerhielt, danach aber nicht mehr nachweisbar ist (vgl. z.B. *DNP* 9 s.v. Osroes 1, 88). Auch das Jahr 130 wird angegeben. Siehe zu den verschiedenen Daten Braund 1991, 211f. mit Anm. 25.

damit langfristig keinen Gefallen getan haben kann. Seine *SHA Hadr.* 13,9 unterstellte Überheblichkeit kommt dabei nicht ernsthaft in Betracht.[28] Vermutet wurde, Pharasmanes könnte in einen Thronstreit verwickelt gewesen sein und deswegen aus reiner Vorsicht auf eine Teilnahme an der von Hadrian einberufenen Konferenz verzichtet haben.[29] Diese Überlegung erscheint jedoch als recht weit hergeholt. Die georgische Chronik berichtet ja gerade nicht von einem Bruderkrieg – die zerstrittenen Teilherrscher Parsman und Mirdat müssten als Ur-ur-urenkel Aderkis vielmehr Vettern vierten Grades (4th cousins) gewesen sein. In diese Geschichte ist, wie wir gerade gesehen haben, anscheinend eine Erinnerung an den Konflikt Pharasmanes´ I. mit seinem Bruder Mithradates eingeflossen. Hieraus kann jedoch wohl kaum geschlossen werden, dass beim Regierungsantritt des zweiten Pharasmanes noch einmal die gleiche familiäre Konstellation vorgelegen haben sollte. Geschwister Pharasmanes´ II. werden niemals erwähnt.[30] Er mag demnach ein Einzelkind (bzw. der einzige Sohn) oder zumindest in seinem Thronanspruch stets ungefährdet gewesen sein. Wahrscheinlicher ist daher, dass die für einen späteren Zeitpunkt eindeutig bezeugten Spannungen zwischen Iberern und Albanern bereits ihre Schatten vorausgeworfen haben könnten.[31] Die Historia Augusta schildert das Verhältnis zwischen Hadrian und Pharasmanes in einer für den Kaiser wenig schmeichelhaften Weise mit einigen unglaubwürdigen, geradezu satirischen Zügen. Hieraus darf jedoch nicht der Umkehrschluss gezogen werden, dass es in Wirklichkeit nahezu unproblematisch gewesen sein sollte.[32] Unsere Hauptquelle für Pharasmanes in den späteren Jahren Hadrians ist auch nicht dessen lateinisch geschriebene Biographie. Erheblich interessanter sind einige griechische Nachrichten, die direkt oder indirekt auf Arrian von Nikomedeia zurückgehen und aus der Zeit seiner kappadokischen Statthalterschaft (131–137) stammen.[33] Die früheste findet sich in dem 131/32 verfassten Periplus des Schwarzen Meeres und erwähnt den iberischen Herrscher zwar nur beiläufig, aber immerhin namentlich. Arr. *per.p.E.* 11,2: Μαχελόνων δὲ

[28] Braund 1991, 212.

[29] Braund 1991, 213: „... local tradition records recurrent civil warfare between Pharasmanes and his brother, Mirdat, ... we may reasonably suspect at least unsettled consitions (sic) in Iberia in A.D. 129."

[30] Zur Abstammung Pharasmanes´ II. (Sohn Mithradates´ III., Enkel Mithradates´ II., somit Urenkel Pharasmanes´ I.) siehe z.B. Petersen 1998, 133. Vereinzelt taucht die Vorstellung auf, er könnte kein Sohn, sondern ein (jüngerer) Bruder Mithradates´ III. gewesen sein. So Sullivan 1977, 939 (Stammtafel IBERIA); Meißner 2000, 190.

[31] So auch Braund 1991, 213 u. 218.

[32] Treffend Petersen 1998, 133: „Omnem sane concertationem inter Hadrianum et Pharasmanen paene nihili fuisse haud recte vult D. Braund Klio 73 (1991) 208–219."

[33] Vgl. hierzu bereits Magie 1950 I, 626f. u. II, 1593, bes. aber Bosworth 1977, 217; Syme 1982, 181 u. 200; Badian 1997, 28.

καὶ Ἡνιόχων ἐχόμενοι Ζυδρεῖται· Φαρασμάνου οὗτοι ὑπήκοοι. Ζυδρειτῶν δ' ἐχόμενοι Λαζοί.

Es ist versucht worden, die Aussage auch dieser Worte möglichst herunterzuspielen,[34] kaum zu Recht allerdings. Primär geht es sicher nicht darum, dass Pharasmanes die Herrschaft über ein kaum bekanntes Volk erlangt hatte. Vielmehr wollte Arrian seinen kaiserlichen Herrn darauf aufmerksam machen, dass der undurchsichtige Bergfürst mit der Oberhoheit über die Zydriten einen Zugang zum Meer gewonnen hatte. Das Misstrauen des Statthalters gegenüber dem iberischen König sollte sich dabei binnen weniger Jahre als nur allzu berechtigt erweisen.

Der zweite Alaneneinfall und seine Auswirkungen

Noch während Flavius Arrianus als *legatus Augusti pro praetore* der kaiserlichen Provinz Cappadocia amtierte, hören wir von neuen außenpolitischen Aktivitäten des iberischen Monarchen. Die Nachricht ist in einem der späteren, leider nur auszugsweise erhaltenen Bücher Cassius Dios überliefert. Cass. Dio 69,15,1 = Arr. test. 12 Roos:

> ὁ μὲν οὖν τῶν Ἰουδαίων πόλεμος ἐς τοῦτο ἐτελεύτησεν, ἕτερος δὲ ἐξ Ἀλανῶν (εἰσὶ δὲ Μασσαγέται) ἐκινήθη ὑπὸ Φαρασμάνου, καὶ τὴν μὲν Ἀλβανίδα καὶ τὴν Μηδίαν ἰσχυρῶς ἐλύπησε, τῆς δ' Ἀρμενίας τῆς τε Καππαδοκίας ἁψάμενος, ἔπειτα τῶν Ἀλανῶν τὰ μὲν δώροις ὑπὸ τοῦ Οὐολογαίσου πεισθέντων, τὰ δὲ καὶ Φλάουιον Ἀρριανὸν τὸν τῆς Καππαδοκίας ἄρχοντα φοβηθέντων, ἐπαύσατο.

Die kurze Notiz enthält einige interessante Informationen, wirft aber fast noch mehr Fragen auf. Dies beginnt schon mit der Chronologie. Die Tatsache, dass die Münzstätte Seleukeia in den Jahren 134/35 und 135/36 nicht arbeitete, schien einen Zeitrahmen für den Raubzug zu liefern.[35] Ganz so eindeutig ist die Angelegenheit jedoch nicht. In den Jahrzehnten zwischen den beiden Alaneneinfällen finden sich immer wieder teilweise sogar mehrjährige Abschnitte, in denen die Münzstätte von Seleukeia stillstand. Was die Regierungszeit Hadrians betrifft, ist Folgendes festzustellen: Die Münzstätte pausierte nicht nur in den Jahren 134/35 und 135/36, sondern bereits 130/31 und 131/32. Ein weiterer, eben-

[34] Braund 1991, 216: „Much has been made of this mention of Pharasmanes, though Arrian says nothing of any hostility or threat from either the Zydritae or Pharasmanes."

[35] Eine Verbindung zwischen dem Alaneneinfall und dem Stillstand der Münzstätte wurde erstmals hergestellt bei Debevoise 1938, 242 mit Anm. 11 (dort Verweis auf McDowell 1935, 195). Ihm folgend Schottky 1991, 124 mit Anm. 457 u.ö. Vgl. auch Altheim 1959, 250 oben.

falls zweijähriger Stillstand folgte dann 144/45 bis 145/46.[36] Es ist dabei nicht einmal unwahrscheinlich, dass der zweite Einbruch der Reiterkrieger tatsächlich in die Jahre 134 bis 136 fiel.[37] Die gleichzeitige Unterbrechung der Münzprägung im fernen Seleukia hängt damit aber sicher nicht zusammen.

Die interessanteste Frage bleibt aber wiederum die nach den Motiven für Pharasmanes´ Aktion, da er sich durch sie das Wohlwollen des römischen Kaisers wohl endgültig verscherzt haben dürfte. Auszugehen ist wie immer von dem ersten Alaneneinbruch, den Pharasmanes I., der Urgroßvater des amtierenden Herrschers, veranlasst hatte. Dessen Hauptabsicht hatte darin bestanden, Tiridates von Armenien möglichst großen Schaden zuzufügen. Ein oberflächliches Lesen der Zeugnisse könnte einen dazu verleiten, gut sechzig Jahre später an eine ähnliche Intention zu denken: Es ist der König von Armenien, der den Abzug der Alanen erkaufen muss und sich danach beim römischen Kaiser über Pharasmanes beschwert.

Cass. Dio 69,15,2: ὅτι πρεσβευτὰς πεμφθέντας παρὰ τοῦ Οὐολογαίσου ..., ἐκείνου μὲν κατηγοροῦντός τινα Φαρασμάνου, ...

Die Ansicht, der bei Cass. Dio 69,15,1–2 genannte Vologaises sei der *armenische* König, ist nicht unumstritten. Hier kann freilich nicht der Ort sein, auf diese Frage näher einzugehen.[38] Daher nur soviel: Die Dio-Notiz 69,15,1 ist, wenn man sie zu lesen versteht, sehr eindeutig. Mit ἰσχυρῶς ἐλύπησε war die Schilderung dessen, was in Albanien und Medien (Atropatene) geschah, abgeschlossen worden. Die folgenden Worte betreffen allein Armenien und Kappadokien. Das zuletzt genannte Gebiet, die römische Provinz, scheint nicht ernsthaft in Gefahr gewesen zu sein, da die Alanen eine Konfrontation mit dem Statthalter scheuten. Von Armenien andererseits konnte größerer Schaden nur dadurch abgewendet werden, dass ein *Vologaises* eine wohl erhebliche Summe zahlte. Die Vorstellung, dass dieser nicht der Landesherr gewesen sein sollte, erscheint schlicht abwegig.

[36] McDowell 1935, 195. Beachtet werden sollte, dass McDowell 1935 in seiner historischen Darstellung, die auf der Auswertung der Münzprägung in Seleukeia beruht („Events in the Western Provinces. 3. The Roman Campaigns and the Decline of Parthia“, 229–236) keinen der Alanenraubzüge erwähnt.

[37] Cassius Dio verknüpft den Beginn des alanischen mit dem Ende des jüdischen Krieges (vgl. zum in die Jahre 132 bis 135 fallenden Bar-Kochba-Aufstand z.B. Kienast 1996, 129). Nach Carrata Thomes 1958, 21f., Anm. 15, der weder auf McDowell noch auf Debevoise verweist, oszilliere das Datum des Alaneneinbruches in der Forschung zwischen 134 und 136 n. Chr. Siehe auch die Darstellung bei Pill-Rademacher u.a. 1988, TAVO B V 8: Aufbruch der Alanen um 134, Überquerung des Passes von Derbend, um 136 ein Zug in nordwestlicher Richtung von Atropatene durch Armenien bis kurz vor die Grenze zu Kappadokien, dort 136 ein Gefecht mit römischen Truppen.

[38] Vgl. dazu insbesondere die wohlabgewogene Argumentation bei Chaumont 1976, 145ff., sowie Petersen 1998, 133.

Es sieht demnach zumindest auf den ersten Blick so aus, als habe Pharasmanes II. die Alanen in Marsch gesetzt, um insbesondere Armenien verheeren zu lassen. Zugestanden sei auch, dass die Beziehungen zwischen Pharasmanes´ I. Urenkel Pharasmanes II. und Tiridates´ Enkel Vologaises[39] nichts weniger als freundschaftlich gewesen sein dürften. Trotz alledem war die Ausplünderung Armeniens diesmal allem Anschein nach nur ein (vom iberischen König bewusst eingeplanter) Kollateralschaden. Das Hauptziel des Angriffs lag anderswo.

Bei der Frage nach den Hintergründen des Alaneneinfalles muss zunächst beachtet werden, dass sich historische Vorgänge selten und dabei niemals auf genau die gleiche Weise wiederholen. Die Aktion des ersten Pharasmanes war ein relativ artifizielles Maneuver gewesen, bei dem die Alanen über den einen Pass (Derbend) auf die feindlichen Gebiete losgelassen und über einen anderen (Darial) in ihr Heimatland zurückgelotst wurden. Dabei hatte es der iberische Fürst offenbar verstanden, nicht nur jede Verantwortung für den Einbruch der Reiterkrieger abzustreiten, sondern sich sogar seine nahe dem Pass von Darial gelegene Hauptstadt zum (angeblichen) Schutz vor ihnen von den Römern befestigen zu lassen.[40] Um die Planungen seines Urenkels auch nur in Umrissen nachvollziehen zu können, müsste man wissen, in welchem Zustand sich die betreffenden Sperranlagen befanden und vor allem, unter wessen Herrschaft sie damals standen. Im Falle von Mtskheta/Darial ist dies einfach zu beantworten. Bis zum heutigen Tag hat sich die Bauinschrift erhalten, die die Befestigungen als zu Gunsten Mithradates´ II. durchgeführt dokumentiert (*SEG* 20, 112). Das heißt wohl, dass die Festung, solange das alte iberische Königtum bestand, durch regelmäßige Wartungsarbeiten in einem verteidigungsfähigen Zustand erhalten wurde. In den gleichen Zusammenhang mag auch die Kohorte von angeblich fünfzig Mann (*quinquagenaria cohors*, *SHA Hadr.* 17,11, vgl. oben) gehören, die Pharasmanes von Hadrian erhalten haben soll.[41]

Anders sieht die Angelegenheit im Falle des Passes von Derbend aus. Dass er in den letzten Jahren Pharasmanes´ I. unter iberischer Herrschaft stand, dürfte heute wohl kaum mehr bestritten werden.[42] Noch während der flavischen Epoche könnte sich dies geändert haben. Es geht um die lateinische Inschrift eines L. Iulius Maximus, die 1948 in der weiteren Umgebung von Baku entdeckt wurde. Sie lautet: *Imp*[*eratore*] *Domitiano* | *Caesare Aug*[*usto*] | *Germanic*[*o*] | *L*[*ucius*] *Iulius* | *Maximus* > (= *c*[*enturio*]) | *Leg*[*ionis*] *XII Ful*[*minatae*].[43]

[39] Zur Abstammung des armenischen Königs Vologaises siehe jetzt Schottky 2011, bes. 232 u. 246.

[40] Siehe zu diesen Vorgängen jetzt Schottky 2013, 137–142.

[41] Als erster hat David Braund an Bauingenieure gedacht: Braund 1991, 214f.; Braund 1994, 232 unten.

[42] Siehe hierzu neuerdings Gagoshidze 2008, 18.

[43] Text mit Ergänzungen nach Grosso 120. Vgl. auch *AE* 1951, 75f., Nr. 263 sowie Renz 1985, 260.

Bevor jedoch an eine Auswertung des kurzen Textes gedacht werden kann, müssen noch einige Unklarheiten hinsichtlich ihres Fundortes beseitigt werden. Wohl aufgrund eines Lese- bzw. Übersetzungsfehlers bei der Rezeption der Erstveröffentlichung wurde in den westlichen Publikationen anfangs behauptet, der Fundort befinde sich nur 6 (sechs) km von Baku entfernt.[44] Dagegen gab schon Fulvio Grosso die Distanz der Inschrift von der Hauptstadt Aserbaidschans richtig mit „settanta chilometri" (70 km) an.[45] In welcher Richtung man nach ihr suchen muss, war aus der Editio princeps offenbar nicht ersichtlich. Strategische Überlegungen veranlassten Grosso zu dem Schluss, die Inschrift sei zweifellos nördlich von Baku, in Richtung Derbend, entdeckt worden.[46] Dieser Argumentation schloss sich noch A.B. Bosworth an.[47] Inzwischen hat sich jedoch herausgestellt, dass Grosso von zwei theoretisch existierenden Möglichkeiten just die unzutreffende gewählt hatte. Der Text befindet sich unweit von Gobustan, das nicht sechs, aber *sechzig* Kilometer in südwestlicher Richtung von Baku entfernt ist.[48] Der eigentliche Fundort, der Berg Beiuk-Dash, liegt noch einmal 10 km weiter südlich an der Küste.[49] Angesichts dieser Voraussetzungen erscheint es eher fraglich, ob der Text, der innerhalb der Epoche Domitians auch kaum genauer datiert werden kann,[50] etwas darüber aussagt, wer zur Zeit von Vespasians Söhnen und des Mithradates II. von Iberien über den Pass von Derbend gebot. Später, unter Traian und Mithradates III., sah dies naturgemäß anders aus. Der Kaiser, der eine Provinzialisierung ganz Armeniens und der parthischen Westregionen plante, hatte sich sicher Gedanken über den wichtigen Übergang gemacht. Er wird ihn der direkten römischen Kontrolle unterstellt oder dem König von Albanien anvertraut haben. Dass er ihn den Iberern überließ, scheint bei aller Wertschätzung, die er dem Engagement des Amazaspos entgegengebracht haben mag, wenig wahrscheinlich.

Langsam schält sich die unklare politische Lage am Ende der zwanziger Jahre des 2. Jhs. heraus, die der Verfasser der Historia Augusta entweder gar nicht durchschaute oder bewusst umdeutete. Wir erinnern uns, dass nicht nur Pharas-

[44] *AE* 1951, 75; Moretti 1955, 43. Der gleiche Kenntnisstand liegt anscheinend noch bei Bengtson 1970, 325 unten vor, wonach die Inschrift „ganz in der Nähe von Baku" gefunden worden sei.

[45] Grosso 1954, 118 oben.

[46] Grosso 1954, 118, Anm. 1, ihm folgend Carrata Thomes 1958, 15.

[47] Bosworth 1977, 226 mit Anm. 38 („some 70 kilometers *north* of Baku").

[48] Pill-Rademacher u.a. 1988, TAVO B V 8 verzeichnen für die Zeit Domitians bei Gobustan (der Ortsname ist als modern in Klammern gesetzt) einen römischen miltärischen Stützpunkt. Die Entfernung dieser Stadt von Baku gibt Renz 1985, 267 mit „etwa sechzig küstennahe[n] Fahrtkilometer[n]" an. Vgl. zur Lage von Derbend, Baku und Gobustan auch die Faltkarte am Ende von Renz 1985.

[49] Vgl. jetzt Gagoshidze 2008, 16: „ ... the Latin inscription found ... on the coast of the Caspian Sea, near Mount Beiuk-Dash (70 km *south* of Baku), ...".

[50] Zur Annahme des Siegerbeinamens *Germanicus* durch den letzten Flavier im September (?) 83 siehe Kienast 1996, 117.

manes II. von Iberien eine kaiserliche Einladung ausschlug, sondern auch der nicht namentlich bekannte albanische Herrscher (*SHA Hadr.* 21,13, der Albaner wird an der Stelle sogar als erster genannt). Offenbar bestand eine Situation, die es keinem der beiden kaukasischen Fürsten geraten erscheinen ließ, sein Land zu verlassen und einem eventuellen Angriff des feindlichen Nachbarn auszusetzen. Der Kampfpreis war dabei zweifellos der Pass von Derbend, den der albanische Monarch, falls er ihn nicht schon vorher mit Traians Einverständnis besetzt hatte, spätestens mit dem Abzug der Römer endgültig übernommen haben dürfte.[51] Wiederum sorgt ein Vergleich zwischen den Schilderungen der beiden Alaneneinfälle für Klarheit: 72 n. Chr. werden den Alanen vom König von Iberien die „Kaspischen" (= Albanischen) Tore geöfffnet, sie verheeren daraufhin Atropatene und Armenien. Um 134 werden die Alanen von Pharasmanes zu einem Raubzug angestiftet, der Albanien, Atropatene und Armenien in Mitleidenschaft zieht. Die wichtigste Aufgabe der Reiterkrieger bestand demnach diesmal darin, die Kaspisch-Albanischen Tore zu überrennen, die, sobald das geschehen war, sicher umgehend von Pharasmanes wieder besetzt wurden.

Was das weitere Vorgehen betrifft, kann man Folgendes vermuten: Pharasmanes wird seine Verbündeten darüber informiert haben, dass es in dem – nach der Eroberung des Passes – ungeschützten Albanien und im nördlichen Medien, besonders aber in Armenien Einiges zu holen gab. Für den Rückweg dürfte er ihnen zugesagt haben, sie das Alanentor nördlich von Mtskheta passieren zu lassen, wie es sein Großvater Mithradates II. zu seiner Zeit auch getan hatte. In diesem Zusammenhang ist die zweite Abweichung des Raubzuges des 2. Jhs. von seinem Vorbild zu erwähnen. Offenbar machten die Krieger Anstalten, sich auch noch im römischen Kappadokien umzusehen. Es erscheint jedoch ausgeschlossen, dass dies auf Anraten oder auch nur mit der stillschweigenden Billigung des Ibererkönigs geschehen sein sollte.[52] Der Statthalter Arrian aber traf umfassende Abwehrmaßnahmen, die er in der kleinen Schrift *Ektaxis* schilderte.[53] Dass es zu Kampfhandlungen kam, wie zuweilen behauptet wird,[54] ist, auch angesichts der zurückgenommenen Formulierung bei Cassius Dio, wenig wahr-

[51] Der Übergang von Derbend (Darband, deutsch meist „Derbent") trägt neben dem auch für andere Pässe verwendeten und daher missverständlichen Namen „Kaspische Tore" die Bezeichnung Albaniai Pylai („Albanische Tore"): Pill-Rademacher u.a. 1988, TAVO B V 8; Kettenhofen 1982, TAVO B V 11. Ob er aber normalerweise der Kontrolle des albanischen Herrschers unterstand (so Bosworth 1977, 225, Anm. 30), ist sehr fraglich. Die beiden dort zitierten Stellen geben hierfür nicht viel her. Strab. 11,4,1 erwähnt den Pass überhaupt nicht, Tac. *ann*. 6,33,3 beschreibt ihn, macht aber keine Angaben darüber, wer ihn beherrschte.

[52] Dies hat Bosworth 1977, 228 unten klargestellt. Ihm folgend Braund 1991, 217f.

[53] Siehe zur Ektaxis grundlegend Bosworth 1977, bes. 232–255 sowie Badian 1997, 29.

[54] Wie schon erwähnt wurde, verzeichen Pill-Rademacher u.a. 1988, TAVO B V 8 ein siegreiches Gefecht römischer Truppen gegen die Alanen. Vgl. auch Lordkipanidse 1996, 20.

scheinlich. Vermutlich sahen die Reiterkrieger von dem Einfall ab, als sie feststellen mussten, dass sie bereits erwartet wurden.[55] Von alanischen Aktivitäten hört man daraufhin zunächst nichts mehr. Was die Auswirkungen des Raubzuges auf Iberien, Albanien und die zwischen beiden Reichen umstrittenen Kaspischen Tore betrifft, existiert dagegen noch eine weitere Nachricht. Sie ist bei Themistios, einem Rhetor und Prinzenerzieher des 4. Jhs. überliefert.[56] Seine Mitteilungen sollten keinesfalls gering geachtet werden.[57]

> Them. *or.* 34,8 = Arr. test. 13 Roos: (sc. superiores principes): ἀλλὰ τὸν ᾽Αρειανὸν καὶ τὸν ῾Ρούστικον τῶν βιβλίων ἐξαναστήσαντες … τοιγαροῦν οὐκ ἄχρι τοῦ βήματος μόνου προήγαγον τοὺς ἄνδρας, ἀλλὰ μέχρι τοῦ στρατηγίου, καὶ διέβαινον μὲν στρατηγοὶ ῾Ρωμαίων Πύλας Κασπίας, ἐξήλαυνον δὲ ᾽Αλανοὺς ἐξ ᾽Αρμενίας, ἔταττον δὲ ῎Ιβηρσιν ὅρους καὶ ᾽Αλβανοῖς· ἐπὶ τούτοις ἅπασι τὴν ἐπώνυμον τῶν ὑπάτων ἀρχὴν ἐκαρποῦντο. ...

Themistios´ Ausführungen sind nur auf den ersten Blick ein wenig missverständlich. Allein Arrian kann die Kaspischen Tore überquert und in Kaukasien eingegriffen haben. (Q. Iunius) Rusticus dagegen erreichte, wie die an die oben zitierte Passage anschließenden Worte zeigen, ein eponymes Consulat und schließlich die Stadtpraefectur.[58] Somit bleibt nur noch zu klären, worin genau Arrians Maßnahmen bestanden. Wenn Themistios dem kappadokischen Statthalter das Verdienst an der Rettung Armeniens vor den Alanen zuspricht, mag dies auf eine (Arrian gegenüber besonders wohlwollende) Überinterpretation des Berichtes bei Cassius Dio zurückzuführen sein. Dieser hatte die Gefährdung des Klientelkönigreiches wie der römischen Provinz durch die Alanen im selben Satz geschildert und konnte so verstanden werden, als ob ihr schließliches Abrücken aus Armenien dem energischen Auftreten Arrians mit zu verdanken gewesen sei. Was die Kaspischen Tore betrifft, gibt es noch ein Problem. Auch Iohannes Lydos weiß von der Bekanntschaft Arrians mit dem Pass, bezieht diese aber auf Traians Partherkrieg.

> Lyd. mag. 3,53 = Arr. parth. fr. 6 Roos = Arr. test. 14 Roos: Τοιοῦτος μὲν οὖν [ὁ] περὶ τῶν Κασπίων πυλῶν τοῖς Ῥωμαίων συγγραφεῦσιν ὁ λόγος, <ὃν> Ἀρριανὸς ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀλανικῆς ἱστορίας καὶ οὐχ ἥκιστα ἐπὶ τῆς ὀγδόης τῶν

[55] Die Ereignisse mögen sich etwa in der von Bosworth 1977, 246f. geschilderten Weise abgespielt haben: „The Alani were returning from a highly successful raid upon Media, laden with plunder and the tribute from Vologaeses. At the very entrance to Cappadocia they found their way barred by a solid fence of pikes, ... It is hardly surprising that they considered discretion the better part of valor and retired across the Caucasus with their booty."

[56] Zum Wirken des Themistios siehe z.B. Demandt 1989, Register s.v., zum Quellenwert bes. 32.

[57] Bosworth 1977, 229 unten: „not rhetorical bombast, but precise and detailed information".

[58] Zur Abgrenzung der Laufbahn Arrians von der des Rusticus siehe Bosworth 1977, 229.

> Παρθικῶν ἀκριβέστερον διεξέρχεται, αὐτὸς τοῖς τόποις ἐπιστάς, οἷα τῆς χώρας αὐτῆς ἡγησάμενος ὑπὸ Τραϊανῷ τῷ χρηστῷ.

Es ist nicht sehr wahrscheinlich, dass dasselbe Individuum innerhalb von zwanzig Jahren zweimal in die gleiche entlegene Gegend gekommen sein sollte. Eine der beiden Nachrichten wird eine Dublette sein. Man würde es sich jedoch zu einfach machen, wollte man aufgrund der Überlieferungslage gleich beide verwerfen.[59] Die Lösung liegt offenbar darin, dass die tatsächlich auf Arrians kappadokische Statthalterschaft zu beziehende Information irrtümlich mit dem Partherfeldzug in Verbindung gebracht wurde.[60] Keine ernsthaften Zweifel sollte es dagegen darüber geben, welche Kaspischen Tore gemeint sind. Nachdem sie zusammen mit Iberern und Albanern erscheinen, kommt nur der Pass von Derbend in Frage. Der Übergang stellte dabei zweifellos selbst den Streitpunkt dar, um den es in dem Grenzkonflikt ging. Auf den Alaneneinbruch hin hatte sich wohl nicht nur der armenische König beschwert, sondern es war auch ein Hilfeersuchen seitens des Albanerfürsten eingegangen. Arrian begab sich deshalb nach dem Abzug der Alanen aus Armenien an der Schauplatz des Konfliktes und schlichtete ihn. Ohne Zweifel wurde Pharasmanes von ihm angewiesen, seine Besatzung vom Pass vom Derbend abzuziehen und diesen wieder seinem Nachbarherrscher zu überlassen.

Mit der Regelung des iberisch-albanischen Grenzstreites endet der nachweisbare Einfluss Arrians auf das politische Geschehen. Seine Zeit als *legatus pro praetore* lief 137 ab, weitere von ihm innegehabte Ämter sind weder nachzuweisen noch wahrscheinlich. Am 10. Juli 138 starb sein kaiserlicher Gönner Hadrian.[61] Die Frage, wie mit dem unruhigen Ibererfürsten umgegangen werden sollte, hinterließ dieser seinem Nachfolger.

Pharasmanes bei Antoninus Pius

Bekanntlich reiste der iberische König, der eine Begegnung mit Hadrian vermieden hatte, bis nach Rom, um Antoninus Pius zu besuchen. Dieses Ereignis ist für antike Verhältnisse außerordentlich gut belegt. Dabei wird der Tatbestand

[59] So Syme 1982, 188 (zur Lydos-Stelle): „The item may be allowed to lapse.“ und 201 (zu Themistios): „ ... there is no sign that Arrian seized the opportunity to ... approach the defiles of Caucasus.“ Ähnlich Syme 1981, 277, Anm. 24.

[60] Auf diese Möglichkeit weist Syme 1982, 188 unten hin, ohne sie ernsthaft in Erwägung zu ziehen und ohne anzugeben, wer sie ursprünglich zur Diskussion gestellt hatte. Indessen hatte schon Mommsen 1986 [1904[5]] 7, 111, Anm. 59 die Lydos-Notiz ganz selbstverständlich auf Arrians Wirken als Provinzstatthalter unter Hadrian bezogen.

[61] Kienast 1996, 129.

als solcher zunächst in der Historia Augusta verzeichnet. *SHA Pius* 9,6: *Pharasmanes rex ad eum Romam venit plusque illi quam Hadrianum detulit*. Dieser kurze Satz macht in aller Eindeutigkeit klar, dass sich ein Fragment Cassius Dios, in dem von Pharasmanes´ Erscheinen bei einem ungenannten Kaiser die Rede ist, ebenfalls auf Antoninus Pius bezieht.[62]

> Cass. Dio 69,15,3 (in den Ausgaben jetzt innerhalb von 70,2 eingeordnet): ὅτι Φαρασμάνῃ τῷ Ἴβηρι ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην μετὰ τῆς γυναικὸς ἐλθόντι τήν τε ἀρχὴν ἐπηύξησε καὶ θῦσαι ἐν τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ ἐφῆκεν, ἀνδριάντα τε ἐπὶ ἵππου ἐν τῷ Ἐνυείῳ ἔστησε, καὶ γυμνασίαν αὐτοῦ τε καὶ τοῦ υἱέος τῶν τε ἄλλων πρώτων Ἰβήρων ἐν ὅπλοις εἶδεν.

Schließlich hat der Besuch auch noch in den Fasti Ostienses seinen Niederschlag gefunden.

> Nesselhauf 1958, 228 = *AE* 1959, 16f., Nr. 38 = *FOst* 50:
> [*k.* ----]*sian*[*us* (oder *stan*[*us*) ----------
> [*k.* --- *L. Annius?*] *Fabianus,* ----------
> [Datum] *Pharasman*[*es rex Iberrorum - - cum filio*]
> [Name]*e et uxore Phr*----------
> --- *reddidit. V k. Apr.* ----------
> --- *I non. Mai. Diem,* [*qua*] ----------
> ---- *vit gladia*[*tor*(*um*)] ----------
> ------ MXI ----------

Das Zeugnis ist deswegen so wertvoll, weil es dazu dienen kann, den Besuch innerhalb der Regierungszeit des Antoninus Pius zu datieren. Hierbei helfen die am Anfang der Inschrift noch erhaltenen Namen *...sianus / ...stanus* und *Fabianus*, bei denen es sich um das letzte Paar von Suffektkonsuln des betreffenden Jahres handelt. Die Namen dieser Beamten sind für die Regierungszeit des Pius bekannt bis auf die Jahre 141–144, 149–150 und 157–159. In einem dieser Zeiträume muss der Besuch stattgefunden haben,[63] sehr wahrscheinlich bereits Anfang der 140er Jahre.[64] An Versuchen, ein bestimmtes Jahr zu bestimmen, hat es dabei nicht gefehlt.[65] Am interessantesten aber dürfte es sein, noch ein wenig

[62] Mommsen 1986 [1904[5]] 7, 110, Anm. 58.

[63] Wir schließen uns hier der Argumentation von Nesselhauf 1958, 226f. an. Auf diese Weise erledigt sich auch der Versuch von Toumanoff 1969, 17, die Romreise Pharasmanes´ „III." bei ca. 154 anzusetzen.

[64] Nesselhauf 1958, 227: „Unter ihnen wird man aus Gründen der historischen Probabilität der Zeit von 141–144 den Vorzug geben und auch dabei wieder eher einem der früheren als einem der späteren Jahre."

[65] Alföldy 1977, 141f., ihm folgend Syme 1981, 278, Anm. 32 sowie Braund 1991, 219 oben sprachen sich für 141 aus. An 142 denken Vidman 1982, 50 u. 124f., Lordkipanidse 1996, 20 und Eck 1996, 804.

Licht in die politischen Hintergründe von Pharasmanes´ Reise nach Rom zu bringen. Vermutet wurde, er habe angesichts der Protestgesandtschaft des Vologaises persönlich erscheinen müssen, um sich zu rechtfertigen.[66] Ins andere Extrem würde verfallen, wer annehmen wollte, der iberische Bergfürst hätte dem Imperator seine Bedingungen diktiert.[67]

Zwischen diesen beiden Eckpunkten muss sich das tatsächliche Geschehen abgespielt haben. Pharasmanes wurde nach Rom eingeladen, um ihm die Möglichkeit zu geben, dem neuen Kaiser zu huldigen. Was die Irritationen betraf, die sich im Verhältnis zum Vorgänger aufgebaut hatten, erhielt er damit zugleich die Gelegenheit, seine Position an Ort und Stelle zu verdeutlichen. Wenig wahrscheinlich ist dagegen, dass Vologaises´ Beschwerde dabei noch eine besondere Rolle spielte.[68] Die Tatsache, dass der König von Frau und Sohn begleitet wurde, zeigt, dass seine Reise ein offizieller Staatsbesuch gewesen ist.[69] Die Ähnlichkeiten mit der Huldigungsreise des Tiridates zu Nero im Jahre 66 liegen auf der Hand.[70] Um eine Neuvergabe des Königtums (wie im Falle des Tiridates) ging es diesmal freilich nicht. Pius konnte sich darauf beschränken, das Reich des Pharasmanes zu vergrößern.[71] Worin diese Herrschaftserweiterung bestand, ist aus den Zeugnissen nicht ersichtlich. Eine Übertragung armenischen Territoriums kommt, so plausibel sie zunächst erscheinen könnte,[72] nicht in Betracht. Gerade in den Jahren zwischen 140 und 144 ernannte Pius einen Pakoros zum König von Armenien, der zu einem unbekannten Zeitpunkt auch noch die Oberhoheit über die Lazen erhielt.[73] Es ist demnach sehr unwahrscheinlich, dass der Kaiser

[66] So z.B. Magie 1950 I, 659. Eine Steigerung dieser Vorstellung, die impliziert, dass damals das Königtum des Pharasmanes als solches zur Debatte gestanden hätte, findet sich bei Eck 1996, 804: „Der Ibererkönig Pharasmanes wurde ... *wieder in seine Herrschaft eingesetzt*, nachdem er zuvor in Rom ... erschienen war."

[67] So etwa Gagoshidze 2008, 21: „Finally, in the 40´s of the 2nd century A.D., the Roman Emperor *was forced to compromise, and officially recognized the Iberian expansion*; ..."

[68] Dieser hatte nämlich bei einem parthischen Angriff in der Zeit kurz nach Hadrians Tod seine Herrschaft verloren und war wohl selbst dabei umgekommen. Siehe hierzu Schottky 2010, 209, aufbauend auf Schehl 1930, 192f.

[69] Beachtenswert erscheint die Überlegung von Meißner 2000, 190, dass der König durch die Präsentation der Gattin und des Thronfolgers die offizielle Anerkennung seiner Nachfolge zu erreichen suchte.

[70] Dies hat Braund 1994, 233f. näher ausgeführt.

[71] Dies könnte seinen Niederschlag auch in der Inschrift gefunden haben, in deren Zeilen 4 und 5 dann ... *Phr*[---, *cui imp. Antoninus Aug. regnum*] | [*amplius*] *reddidit* ... zu lesen wäre. Während aber Nesselhauf 1958, 224 diese Möglichkeit nur zur Diskussion stellt, ist *FOst* 50 bei Vidman 1982 bereits dementsprechend ergänzt. Ihm folgend z.B. Petersen 1998, 133f. und Meißner 2000, 190, Anm. 80.

[72] Vgl. Braund 1994, 234 oben.

[73] Siehe hierzu jetzt Schottky 2010, 209–212. Die Übertragung der Aufsicht über die Lazen an Pakoros schließt es darüber hinaus nahezu aus, dass die südlich von ihnen lebenden Zydriten Untertanen des Pharasmanes geblieben sein sollten.

die mit Bedacht von ihm aufgebaute Herrschaft eines armenischen Klientelkönigs, der nicht dem Hause des Tiridates entstammte, durch den Entzug von Landesteilen an anderer Stelle gefährdet haben sollte.

Man sollte sich eher an den Grenzstreit erinnern, den der scheidende Statthalter Arrian kürzlich beigelegt hatte – und zwar sicher nicht zugunsten der Iberer. Der neue Kaiser hat sich dem Andenken Hadrians gegenüber immer respektvoll verhalten. Dies kann aber nicht bedeuten, dass er alle in dessen Namen getroffenen Einzelmaßnahmen unangetastet ließ. Pharasmanes könnte ihn davon überzeugt haben, dass sein albanischer Nachbar gar nicht in der Lage war, die Kaspischen Tore zu verteidigen. Die angebliche Erweiterung des iberischen Staatsgebietes mag ausschließlich darin bestanden haben, Arrians Schiedsspruch zu kassieren und die Kontrolle über den Pass von Derbend wieder dem iberischen König zu übertragen.

Pharasmanes und Xepharnug

Pharasmanes´ Romreise ist die letzte Nachricht, die wir aus seiner Regierungszeit haben. Der Besuch hatte unter der Führungsschicht des Imperiums offenbar einen nachhaltigen Eindruck hinterlassen. So jedenfalls könnte die beiläufige Erwähnung der Iberer durch M. Cornelius Fronto in einem Brief an den neuen Kaiser Marc Aurel im Jahre 161 gedeutet werden.

> Fronto, ad Antoninum Imperatorem 2,2 (Haines I.302):
> *Quod vero patris tui laudes a me ... dictas legisti libenter, minime miror. Namque tu Parthos etiam et Hiberos sua lingua patrem tuum laudantes pro summis oratoribus audias.*

Die Aussage selbst ist von bedrückender Unerheblichkeit. Fronto meint, Marc Aurel sei ein so guter Adoptivsohn, dass er selbst Parthern und Iberern mit Interesse zuhören würde, wenn sie den verstorbenen Antoninus Pius in ihrer Muttersprache lobpreisen würden. Abgesehen von der Irrealität des ganzen Gedankenganges stellen gerade die Parther ein besonders schlecht gewähltes Beispiel dar. Noch im Jahr von Marc Aurels Regierungsantritt brach Vologaises III. (IV.?) einen Krieg gegen die Römer vom Zaun, den er unter dessen Vorgänger vorbereitet hatte.[74] Da Fronto dies nicht voraussehen konnte, mag man seine Ausführungen mit viel gutem Willen als Indiz dafür nehmen, dass zwei Jahrzehnte nach Pharasmanes´ Romreise weiterhin enge diplomatische Kontakte zwischen dem Imperium und dem kaukasischen Klientelkönigreich bestanden.

[74] *SHA Aur.* 8,6. Vgl. dazu z.B. *DNP* 12/2 s.v. Vologaises 4, 310.

Wie es in Iberien nach Pharasmanes weiterging, lässt sich einer 1940 entdeckten griechisch-aramäischen Bilingue entnehmen.[75] Hierbei bereitet der griechische Text kaum Probleme. Tod 1943, 82 = *AE* 1947, 44f., Nr. 125 = Carrata Thomes 1958, 26 = Altheim 1959, 247 = *SEG* 16, Nr. 781:

> Σηραπεῖτις Ζηουάχου
> τοῦ νεωτέρου πιτιάξου
> θυγάτηρ, Πουπλικίου Ἀγρίππα πιτι-
> άξου υἱοῦ Ἰωδμανγάνου γυνὴ
> τοῦ πολλὰς νείκας ποιήσαντος.
> ἐπιτρόπου βασιλέως Ἰβήρων
> μεγάλου Ξηφαρνούγου, ἀπέ-
> θανε νεωτέρα ἐτῶν κ̄α̅,
> ἥτις τὸ κάλλος ἀμείμητον
> εἶχε.

Die aramäische („armasische") Fassung ist ausführlicher. Sie sei hier in einer Übersetzung wiedergegeben, die sich an diejenige von Franz Altheim anlehnt.[76]

> *Ich bin Sêrapît, Tochter Zewax´s des Jüngeren, pitiaxš Parsmân´s des Königs, Weib des Yôdmangân, und er siegte und vollbrachte große Heldentat, Meister des Hofes Xšêfarnûg´s des Königs; Sohnes des Agrippa, Meisters des Hofes Parsmân´s des Königs. ... Und so gut und schön war sie, dass niemand ihr gleich war an Schönheit, und sie starb im Alter von 21 Jahren.*

Wir haben hier demnach die Grabschrift einer Angehörigen des iberischen Hofes vor uns. Während ihr Gemahl dem derzeit regierenden König Xepharnug dient, hatten ihr Vater und ihr Schwiegervater Ämter bei dessen Vorgänger Parsmân inne. Welcher Pharasmanes gemeint ist, sollte keine Streitfrage sein. Da die iberischen Herrscher zwischen Pharasmanes I. und II. sämtlich bekannt sind, kommt allein letzterer in Frage.[77] Ob aber Xepharnug Pharasmanes´ Sohn und unmittelbarer Nachfolger war, ist weniger eindeutig.[78] So stieß auch die Idee, der

[75] Photographien der Inschrift finden sich z.B. bei Carrata Thomes 1958, Tafel nach 28 und Braund 1994, 214, wo aber nur der griechische Text vollständig erfasst ist.

[76] Altheim 1959, 248f (Umschrift des Textes in lateinischen Buchstaben und Übersetzung). Vgl. auch die französische Version *AE* 1950, 38, Nr. 96, die italienische bei Carrata Thomes 28 sowie die englische bei Lang 1983, 515.

[77] Aus Gründen der Vollständigkeit sei die Ansicht von Toumanoff 1969, 15f. erwähnt, „Xepharnug" sei nur ein Beiname des Amazaspos (angebliche Regierungszeit 106–116) und bei Parsmân handele es sich um dessen (ebenso angeblichen) Vater Pharasmanes I. Wie bei manchen Ideen Toumanoffs dürfte sich eine nähere Beschäftigung mit ihr nicht lohnen.

[78] Dies lässt sich gut an den jeweiligen Ahnentafeln ablesen. Während Carrata Thomes 1958, 28, Anm. 47 eine direkte Linie von „Farasmane (III)" zu „Sefarnug" zieht, setzt Sullivan 1977, 939

nach Pharasmanes regierende König könnte (in der lateinischen Form *Xepharnuges*) bereits in den Fasti Ostienses erwähnt worden sein, zunächst auf Skepsis.[79]

Es sieht jedoch so aus, als könnten Nesselhaufs durchaus beachtenswerte Bedenken entkräftet werden. Richtig ist, dass sich die iberischen Könige in ihren epigraphisch überlieferten Verlautbarungen gewöhnlich als Söhne eines namentlich genannten Vorgängers vorstellten, nicht regierende Mitglieder des Herrscherhauses als Verwandte des amtierenden Herrschers.[80] Der Text, um den es sich hier handelt, ist jedoch gar keine Königsinschrift. Es geht um die früh verstorbene Serapeitis, deren Angehörige mit den Funktionen genannt werden, die sie bekleideten. Es mag den Hofbeamten schwer genug geworden sein, alles, was zu sagen war, in den beiden Verkehrssprachen des Königreiches auszudrücken. Gerade die griechische Version enthält nur die Basisinformationen und unterdrückt jeden Hinweis auf Pharasmanes. Da wird man es nicht für unbedingt nötig gehalten haben, in der armasischen Fassung auch noch das Verwandtschaftsverhälnis der beiden genannten Könige zu veranschaulichen. Die Zeitgenossen wussten Bescheid, für eine breite Öffentlichkeit dürfte der Text nicht gedacht gewesen sein. Daher halten wir es, im Unterschied zu Nesselhauf, sogar für äußerst plausibel, dass Xepharnug der Thronfolger war, der Pharasmanes auf dessen Romreise begleitet hatte.

Zum Abschluss wenden wir uns der Passage zu, die oben weggelassen wurde. Die früheren Bearbeiter hatten allgemein angenommen, dass dort bereits die Totenklage einsetzt.[81] Worum es wirklich geht, zeigt das in Zeile 8 auftretende Wort *PRNWŚ*. Zweifellos handelt es sich um einen Namen, Parnawas. Ausgedrückt werden sollte, dass Serapeitis´ Ehemann Iodmanganos Kriegstaten vollbracht hatte, die bedeutender waren als die eines Parnawas.[82] Um welchen Parnawas (Pharnabazos) es sich handelt, bleibt zunächst unklar. Pharnabazos (II.), der iberische Herrscher zur Zeit des zweiten Triumvirats, und Parnawas, ein in der georgischen Chronik auftretender Heerführer, kommen wohl nicht wirklich in Frage.[83] Gegen die Vermutung, der Dynastiegründer *Pharnabazos (I.)

in seiner Stammtafel IBERIA Xepharnug (Ksefarnug) unter Pharasmanes II., ohne aber eine Verbindung herzustellen.

[79] Zurückhaltend Nesselhauf 1958, 223, Anm. 4: „[Es] fehlt in der Inschrift ... jeder Hinweis auf ein etwaiges verwandtschaftliches Verhältnis der beiden Könige zu einander, und man gibt bei so viel Unsicherheit dem naheliegenden Gedanken, in unserem Fastenfragment [*cum filio* | *Xepharnug*]*e* zu ergänzen, nur eine geringe Chance, das Richtige zu treffen.

[80] Siehe hierzu jetzt Schottky 2013, bes. 140–143.

[81] Vgl. die in Anm. 76 angegebenen Übersetzungen.

[82] Siehe hierzu jetzt die Übersetzung bei Braund 1994, 213: „... Iodmangan the victorious and winner of many victories, ... *victorious over the mighty, which Parnavaz could not accomplish*."

[83] Zu Pharnabazos (II.) siehe jetzt Schottky 2012, 246f., zu dem *Spaspet* des Teilherrschers Parsmans des Großmütigen Leonti Mroweli / Pätsch 1985, 109–111.

könnte gemeint sein, spricht nur scheinbar die Beobachtung, dass der Parnawas der Inschrift keinen Königstitel trägt.[84] Zum einen nämlich mag es mit dem Königtum des ersten Pharnabaziden in der Tat nicht weit her gewesen sein. Wann die zunächst Tigranes II. von Armenien untergeordneten iberischen Fürsten den Königstitel annahmen, ist unbekannt.[85] Zum anderen handelte es sich bei dem Dynastiegründer mit Sicherheit um eine charismatische, in der dynastischen Überlieferung des Herrscherhauses fest verwurzelte Gestalt. Wenn von *Parnawas* die Rede war, wusste jeder, wer gemeint war, auch ohne dass man ausdrücklich auf dessen Königtum abheben musste.[86]

Xepharnug mag regiert haben, als sich Fronto seine Gedanken über die Antoninus-Pius-Verehrung von Parthern und Iberern machte. Mit ihm endet eine Epoche, für die sich ein beinahe lückenloses Regentenverzeichnis erstellen lässt. Ein Jahrhundert verging, bevor erneut ein Königsname in einer zeitgenössoschen Quelle genannt wird. Wenn irgend möglich, wollen wir in späteren Beiträgen versuchen, auch für die spätrömisch-sasanidische Epoche Vorarbeiten zu einer iberischen Königsliste zu leisten.

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[84] Vgl. zur Identifizierung der verschiedenen Namensträger besonders die Diskussion bei Meißner 2000, 192, Anm. 82.

[85] Das iberische Königtum könnte mit dem stillschweigenden Einverständnis des Königs der Könige Tigranes entstanden sein: Schottky 2012, 248f.

[86] Bedenklich könnte allenfalls erscheinen, dass dem Hofbeamten Iodmanganos militärische Leistungen zugeschrieben werden, die diejenigen des Dynastiegründers übertroffen (!) haben sollen. Man müsste annehmen, der Witwer der Serapeitis habe ganz außerordentliche Erfolge erzielt, während Pharnabazos I seine Herrschaft mit diplomatischen Mitteln aufbaute und niemals Krieg führte. Sollte dies so geschehen und noch im 2. Jh. n. Chr. bekannt gewesen sein, wäre selbst der Vergleich mit einem siegreichen Herrführer nicht weiter ehrenrührig.

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Abstract

Prolegomena to a King List of Caucasian Iberia 3. Pharasmanes II and Xepharnug

Pharasmanes II was son (not younger brother) of Mithradates III and so great-grandson of Pharasmanes I. He was king of Iberia in 129 AD at the latest. His reign was determined by quarrels with the Caucasian Albanians' king for the sake of the „Caspian Gates", the pass of Derbend. Like his forefather he incited the Alans to a raid into some Caspian and Caucasian countries. Having won the pass in this way, he was forced by Arrian, Roman governor of Cappadocia, to restore the Gates to his Albanian neighbor. Pharasmanes, who had avoided a meeting with Hadrian, visited Antoninus Pius in Rome with his queen and his heir apparent. This crown prince was very likely Xepharnug, who is mentioned in an Armazian inscription as (Iberian) king reigning after Pharasmanes. Georgian historical tradition paints a quite different picture of Iberian kingship in the first and second centuries. Following the death of „Aderki", we have five generations of split reigns. Memories of Pharasmanes II survive in the dyarch Parsman the Magnanimous and his grandson Parsman, second ruler of a re-united Kartli. That is why some scholars number Pius´ contemporary king of Iberia „Pharasmanes III".

ANABASIS 5 (2014)
STUDIA CLASSICA ET ORIENTALIA

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HISTORICAL ASPECTS, ICONOGRAPHICAL FACTORS, NUMISMATIC ISSUES, TECHNICAL ELEMENTS: HOW TO OBTAIN A CONVINCING CHRONOLOGY FOR THE ROCK RELIEFS OF ARDASHĪR I?

Keywords: Ardashīr I, Sasanian rock reliefs, chronology, iconography, numismatics, stone working

Nowadays it is commonly assumed that the iconographical, epigraphical and numismatic evidence is of great significance for studying the political history of Iran under the rule of the Sasanians. This kind of surviving material culture from the Sasanian period, including rock reliefs, inscriptions, coins, seals and bullae, provides first-hand information concerning different aspects of the Sasanian history. In the study of the Sasanian rock reliefs, not only the archaeological methods should be considered, but the numismatic evidence and the textual sources can also be helpful and lead to more precise results than hitherto obtained. Ernst E. Herzfeld was the first to suggest that the Sasanian crown types recognised from the obverse scenes on Sasanian coins could be a reliable clue in the identification of the Sasanian kings depicted on the rock reliefs.[1] His theory became more useful once he published a table of the crown types of Sasanian kings on the basis of coins.[2] Since Herzfeld's fundamental work several essays have been devoted to dating methods for the Sasanian reliefs.[3] Recently Touraj Daryaee has applied a new method to date Ardashīr's coins and rock reliefs[4]

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[1] Cf. Herzfeld 1928.

[2] Herzfeld 1938, 102.

[3] See, for example, Lukonin [Loukonin] 1968, Herrmann 1981, Luschey 1986.

[4] Daryaee 2010, 248–252.

which is based on the political history and leads to a dating completely distinct from the chronologies presented by the previous scholars. In his chronology Daryaee puts the main emphasis on historical aspects rather than on iconography and the study of carving techniques.

In the present paper, which is in fact a study of methodology, I intend to provide a critical survey of the chronologies hitherto presented in order to obtain a perspective on the effective elements for a convincing chronology of the early Sasanian reliefs and to answer the following question: which factor may be regarded as the most precise basis to date the Sasanian reliefs: history, iconography, numismatics, or carving techniques? In this paper I will analyse Ardashīr I's rock reliefs.

Five reliefs survive from the reign of Ardashīr I, four of which are located in the province of Persis/Fārs in southern Iran. They comprise an equestrian combat relief in the Tangāb Valley near Firuzābād (Ardashīr-Xwarrah), three investiture reliefs at Tangāb, Naqsh-e Rajab and Naqsh-e Rostam, and finally a rock relief near Salmās in north-western Iran.[5] Various aspects of these reliefs have been examined by several scholars since Herzfeld, including Walther Hinz, Vladimir G. Lukonin, Georgina Herrmann, and Louis Vanden Berghe since the 1960s.

Hinz did not publish a comprehensive chronology of the reliefs, however, he made some attempts to solve a few separate dating problems. Lukonin presented a hypothesis according to which all five reliefs of Ardashīr were cut after the mid–230s; in other words, they were engraved during the last five years of Ardashīr's reign.[6] This hypothesis was proposed only on the basis of numismatic evidence; therefore it proved abortive after further studies were carried out by later scholars on the progressive course of Sasanian stone working. Luschey was the first scholar who criticized Lukonin's dating. According to Luschey, Lukonin's hypothesis 'would invalidate all attempts to understand the stylistic development.'[7] He also stressed the incomparability of the historical order of the events and the iconographical chronology of the reliefs.

The most comprehensive examination of the stylistic features of these reliefs has been accomplished by Georgina Herrmann, who began a detailed study of technical development in the early Sasanian stone working.[8] Accord-

[5] On the reliefs of Ardashīr, see Hinz 1969, 115–135, Taf. 51–71; Herrmann 1969, 65–74, Pl. 1–4; Vanden Berghe 1984, 61–67, 125–128; Luschey 1986, 377–380; Meyer 1990, 289–291; See also Gall 1990, 20–30 on the combat relief of Tangāb; Hinz 1965 and Shavarebi 2014 on the relief of Salmās.

[6] Cf. Lukonin [Loukonin] 1968; the idea has been accepted to a certain degree and followed recently by Alram, who dates all these reliefs to 'the last ten years of Ardashir's reign, between 230 and 240' (Alram/Gyselen 2003, 148; Alram 2007, 236).

[7] Luschey 1986, 377.

[8] Herrmann 1981; similar studies, but dealing with the stoneworking and rock carving techniques in the Achaemenid period at Pasargadae and Persepolis, were initially accomplished by Ann

ing to her, the analyses of toolmarks on the Sasanian stoneworking show that four, or perhaps five, reliefs were polished, and may be divided into two groups. The investiture relief of Ardashīr at Naqsh-e Rajab and the jousting scene at Firuzābād were carved in medium relief and seem to have been only partially polished; while the second group, including Ardashīr's investiture at Naqsh-e Rostam, the gathering relief of Shāpūr I and his dignitaries at Naqsh-e Rajab, and perhaps the triumph relief at Dārābgird, were carved in high relief, i.e. whole figures were polished and set against a matt background.[9] We can conclude from these facts that the reliefs of the second group were carved after the first group, on the grounds of the similarities in their technical details. Therefore, Herrmann proposed that the relief of Shāpūr in Naqsh-e Rajab, which depicts him with the courtiers, is his earliest relief and was presumably carved in the first years of his reign or even in the time of his joint rule with his father around 240–241 AD.[10]

Of the abovementioned hypotheses the study of toolmarks and carving techniques appears preferable to the historical order of the events as a more precise method for dating the reliefs of Ardashir. First of all, we should pay attention to the fact that the historical order of the events does not necessarily correspond with the development of stone working. In the Sasanian pictorial art there was apparently a tradition of illustrating a chain of different events simultaneously on one relief. An example of this tradition is supplied by Shāpūr I's triumph reliefs, which are traditionally interpreted as representing Shāpūr's victory over Gordian III and his peace with Philip the Arab in 244, as well as his Roman invasion in 260 which led to the capture of Valerian.[11] The most frequently addressed subject of the rock reliefs in Ardashīr's reign was investiture, as three reliefs at Firuzabad, Naqsh-e Rajab and Naqsh-e Rostam represent him receiving a ring from Ohrmazd. A symbolic synchronisation of different events can also be detected on the investiture reliefs, e.g. Ardashīr's investiture at Naqsh-e Rostam commemorates the defeat of the Arsacids by depicting Ardawān IV as a dead man between the hoofs of Ardashīr's horse. This feature of the Sasanian reliefs

Britt Tilia (1968) and Carl Nylander (1970) and then followed by Michael Roaf (1983). In fact, Georgina Herrmann was the first to do such studies on the Sasanian reliefs.

[9] Herrmann 1981, 156.

[10] Herrmann 1981, 158; on the date of Shāpur's co-regency with his father and his coronation, see Sundermann 1990.

[11] Five triumph reliefs survive in Persis from the time of Shāpūr: Bīshāpūr I, II and III, Naqsh-e Rostam VI and the triumph relief of Dārābgird. See Trümpelmann 1975 for Dārābgird; Herrmann 1980 for Bīshāpūr III; Herrmann 1983, 7–10, Pl. 1–8 for Bīshāpūr I and 11–27, Pl. 9–24 for Bīshāpūr II; Herrmann 1989, 13–33, Pl. 1–14 for Naqsh-e Rostam VI; See also Vanden Berghe 1984, 70–74, 129–133 and Meyer 1990. Levit-Tawil (1992) and Overlaet (2009) have critically evaluated the traditional identification of the Roman 'Emperors' on the reliefs of Shāpūr and present two different reinterpretations.

creates some difficulties in the determination of a date for them, but it gives a *terminus post quem* i.e. the date of the earliest represented event.

As Kurt Erdmann stated almost seven decades ago, investiture reliefs were carved during the whole of Ardashīr's reign, not just at the beginning,[12] while a purely historical study would lead us to ascribe them all to the first years of the reign, just after his coronation in 224. As I have already said, this dating based on history is not necessarily consonant with the iconographical elements and stylistic development. Thus we must seek a more convincing approach. Herrmann's study of the toolmarks is of great significance and might be regarded as a precise method to determine a reasonable dating for the Sasanian reliefs. However, an important factor which should not be neglected is the possible existence of different stone-working schools in different regions, which could be a reason for the stylistic variations among the Sasanian rock reliefs.[13] It could be due to the geographical distance between the sites, which was a good reason to employ local sculptors.

Returning to Touraj Daryaee's historical chronology, in his opinion the carving of Ardashīr's four reliefs in Persis/Fārs province started at some time after his first attempts to rise to power (between 207 and 210 AD) until his early reign (around 226 AD).[14] This is the exact opposite of Lukonin's and more recently Alram's chronology, which is based on numismatics. They attribute all these reliefs to the last five or ten years of Ardashīr's reign.[15] Both of these chronological approaches have been proposed unilaterally on the basis of a single element, and technical details have been overlooked in both. According to Daryaee's chronology, the investiture relief of Firuzābād (Fig. 1) was carved between 207 and 210 during Ardashīr's conflict with his brother Shāpūr, simultaneously with the mintage of both Shāpūr's and Ardashīr's coins as *MLKA* / *šāh* "king", bearing the image of their father Pābag on the reverse; and the investiture scene at Naqsh-e Rajab (Fig. 2) is attributed to 211–212, when Ardashīr succeeded in taking Stakhr, and concurrently with his coinage phase 2a.[16] Despite his local power in the area of Ardashīr-Xwarrah, Ardashīr could not have had the two investiture reliefs in the Tangāb Valley and at Naqsh-e Rajab carved when he was still engaged in the conflict with the Arsacids, the rulers of the neighbouring regions, and even with his own brother.[17] One can easily imagine the huge in-

[12] Erdmann 1943, 52, 56.

[13] Shavarebi 2012, 61–62.

[14] Daryaee 2010, 252.

[15] See above: note 6.

[16] Daryaee 2010, 250, 252.

[17] Such opinions on the carving of Ardashīr's first reliefs before his coronation antedate the work of Daryaee. One year earlier, alongside his stylistic investigation, Reza Garosi (2009, 52) proposed that the reliefs of the first Sasanian stylistic phase, including Ardashīr's investitures at Firuzābād and Naqsh-e Rajab, could be dated before the Battle of Hormazdgān (224).

vestment needed for a rock relief project, which called for a large team of designers, sculptors, polishers, and even guards, cooks, etc.[18] It would have had a complex schedule consisting of different phases such as smoothing, designing, carving, polishing, etc. and normally could not have been completed within by few days like the carving of a graffito.[19] Moreover, Daryaee's chronology raises two more critical questions regarding iconographical aspects. 1. If the two aforementioned investiture reliefs belong to the years before Ardashīr's coronation, why is he depicted in these scenes wearing a typical crown well-known from his post-coronation coins (obverse-type IIIa[20])? 2. Could Ardashīr's non-spherical beard style on these two reliefs be a sufficient iconographical reason to date them before his coronation?

On the first question, one should consider that the coin type IIIa (Fig. 9) belongs to the 3rd phase of Ardashīr's coinage, which covers a long and important period within his reign, as Alram has stated, '… Phase 3 den Schwerpunkt in Ardashirs Prägetätigkeit darstellt und wohl auch den längsten Zeitraum innerhalb seiner Herrschaft als „König der Könige" umfaßt. ... Als ungefährer chronologischer Rahmen für Phase 3 kann die Zeit von etwa 228/229 bzw. 229/230 bis etwa 238/239 angenommen werden.'[21] Daryaee has also synchronised the Naqsh-e Rajab relief with the start of the coinage phase 2a,[22] while the crown type shown on both this relief and the investiture at Firuzābād is identical to that represented by the coin type IIIa from phase 3. The same is observed in Daryaee's chronology for the Firuzābād combat relief.[23]

In response to the second question, I would say no. The spherical beard style was a canonical feature for the representation of the King of Kings in the early

[18] I would like to thank Dr. Mehrdad Malekzadeh of the Iranian Centre for Archaeological Research (ICAR) in Tehran for an instructive discussion including some important remarks on this topic.

[19] To date, no detailed study has been done to estimate the time needed to carve a relief in Sasanian period. Achaemenid sculptures have been much better researched in this respect. According to Michael Roaf (1983, 8) such an estimation depends on many factors, e.g. 'the skill and experience of the craftsmen, the quality of the supervision, the division of labour amongst the sculptors, as well as the subject of the relief and the characteristics of the stone.' I am very grateful to Dr. Shahrokh Razmjou of the University of Tehran for providing me with this reference, as well as a helpful discussion on the different natures of the rock reliefs and graffiti from the technical aspects. Thus it is very difficult to calculate a precise time needed to sculpt a relief. Nevertheless, we can imagine the difficulties which the sculpting team would meet, especially in the carving process of the investiture relief in the Tangāb Valley where the slippery rocks slope down sharply to the river. Therefore, several days, or perhaps several weeks, must have been needed only to prepare this place for the sculpting team. These factors give a general idea of the process and the approximate time needed.

[20] Cf. Alram/Gyselen 2003, 97–99, 126–127.

[21] Alram/Gyselen 2003, 148.

[22] Daryaee 2010, 250, 252.

[23] Daryaee 2010, 252.

Sasanian iconographical tradition. Ardashīr is depicted with a circular mass of beard below his chin on all of his rock reliefs, except for the two investitures at Firuzābād and Naqsh-e Rajab. Nevertheless, he has never been attested with this beard style on his coins; on the numismatic evidence, Ardashīr's standard beard style is a certain embellishment in the form of rows of pearls. In fact, the spherical arrangement became canonical on the coins after Shāpūr I's rise to power.[24]

Now, how could we obtain a precise chronology of the rock reliefs? Inscriptions are surely extremely significant for the dating of the reliefs, however of Ardashīr's reliefs only the Naqsh-e Rostam investiture has two inscriptions, which merely introduce Ardashīr and Ohrmazd;[25] they cannot, therefore, be helpful in this case.[26] To date the Sasanian reliefs we must pay attention both to iconographic and technical elements, in addition to historical and numismatic aspects. In other words, our historical knowledge may offer just a *terminus post quem*, e.g. if a relief represents a triumph it may be attributed historically to a date after that triumph. Stylistic aspects, nonetheless, help us not only to classify and arrange the reliefs in a chronological order on technical grounds, but can also play a helpful role in the determination of an approximate dating based on the iconographical and numismatic details for each group of the reliefs in our classification.

Herrmann's investigation on the Sasanian stoneworking is actually the most comprehensive study so far in this field. According to her, two reliefs from Ardashīr's reign, i.e. the combat relief at Firuzābād and the investiture at Naqsh-e Rajab, were carved in medium relief, while the investiture relief at Naqsh-e Rostam and the gathering relief of Shāpūr and his courtiers at Naqsh-e Rajab (Fig. 7) were carved in high relief. [27] This may represent the development of stoneworking techniques in the early Sasanian period, since the Sasanian rock sculptures had no legacy of this type of art to rely on from the Arsacid period. but only very recent pre-Sasanian graffiti at Persepolis,[28] the nature of which is quite different. Thus the earliest Sasanian rock reliefs must certainly, in my opinion, display the very first endeavours of the stoneworking school of Fārs. The artists were learn-

[24] Schindel 2010, 27; see also Alram/Gyselen 2003, 117–132, Abb. 2 for the diversity of Ardashīr's coin types.

[25] Back 1978, 281–282.

[26] According to a drawing by Eugène Flandin a probably Middle Persian inscription was previously visible on the fire-altar in the middle of the investiture relief at Firuzābād (Flandin/Coste [1851], Pl. 44) which was inscribed in seven vertical lines (Thomas 1867, 356); Hinz (1969, 119) has therefore attributed it to the 6th century AD. Another probable inscription is mentioned as engraved on a small flat surface in the top right corner of the Salmās relief (cf. e.g. Lehmann-Haupt 1910, 535), however Hinz (1965, 151) has denied the existence of such an inscription, because it would not be legible at all.

[27] See above: note 9.

[28] E.g. see Razmjou 2005 on the graffiti at Persepolis.

ing new techniques and skills by their first-hand experience during these practical projects.

Herrmann does not put Ardashīr's Firuzābād investiture in these two groups, because of the very weak and elementary techniques used in its carving. On the other hand, according to the iconographical and numismatic elements, the investiture scenes at Firuzābād and Naqsh-e Rajab must be Ardashīr's first rock reliefs due to the similarity of some of their details, e.g. Ardashīr's beard is not shown in the standard spherical form in either of these reliefs, unlike his other three reliefs.[29] At any rate, the rock sculpture tradition under Ardashīr should be started with these two reliefs, and most probably the Firuzābād investiture was the earlier of the two. This raises the question of the time when they were carved. We have no conclusive evidence showing any approximate dates for them; but, as we already have seen, a purely historical dating does not arrive at a convincing answer. According to the numismatic evidence, the reliefs were certainly carved after Ardashīr's coronation in 224.

The cutting of these two investiture scenes was followed by the Firuzābād combat relief (Fig. 3). There is a difference between Ardashir's crown type here and on his earlier investiture reliefs, but this does not bring any chronological information.[30] Despite the lack of numismatic chronology, the technical similarities of this relief to the Naqsh-e Rajab investiture relief, i.e. sculpture in medium relief, and the style of Ardashīr's spherical beard as an iconographical detail, are sufficient for it to be placed in the chronological order of Ardashīr's rock reliefs not concurrently, but after the investiture relief at Naqsh-e Rajab.

The technical quality of Ardashīr's Naqsh-e Rostam investiture (Fig. 5) puts this relief at the end of our chronology. The high standards of quality in the making of this relief testify to the progress made in Sasanian sculpture by the end of Ardashīr's reign. Signs of the evolution of these standards may be observed in the earlier reliefs of Shāpūr at Naqsh-e Rajab. Daryaee has taken this issue into consideration and dated the investiture relief of Naqsh-e Rostam, as well as the beginning of coinage phase 3, to the year 226, as a commemoration of Ardashīr's coronation in Ctesiphon. Although Ardashīr's crown in Naqsh-e Rostam predicates the third-phase coin type IIIb[31] with earflap (Fig. 10), it is

[29] For this canonical feature of the Sasanian royal beard style see above: note 24. See also Hinz 1969, 146.

[30] Cf. obverse-type VII on his coins (Alram/Gyselen 2003, 131). This type belongs to the same phase as the obverse type IIIa (see above: note 20) , i.e. phase 3. This phase includes two principal (IIIa and IIIb) and four subordinate obverse types (IV, V, VI and VII), as well as a special type (VIII or the so-called 'Thronfolgerprägung'). The chronological order of all these types is still unclear (Alram/Gyselen 2003, 146–148). On the combat relief of Firuzābād, the sculptor extended Ardashir's uncovered *korymbos*, perhaps to show the speed of his horse (Fig. 4).

[31] Alram/Gyselen 2003, 127, 143.

quite impossible to accept their attribution to 226, from both the iconographical and numismatic points of view.[32]

In my opinion the Salmās relief (Fig. 6) cannot be compared with Ardashīr's other reliefs in Persis from the thematic and stylistic aspects. Perhaps it was the work of a regional sculpture school, for of course we cannot ascertain whether the sculptors of this relief were the same as those who made Ardashīr's reliefs in Persis. Historical and geographical analyses allow us to date the Salmās relief between 240 and Ardashīr's death in 241/242.[33] Thus it was probably the last within the chronological sequence of his reliefs. Nevertheless, technically it is not as advanced as the investiture relief at Naqsh-e Rostam. Although we do not know the date of the Naqsh-e Rostam investiture relief precisely, what is clear is its chronological status among Ardashīr's reliefs in Persis: it is his most recent relief in Persis according to the iconographical and numismatic elements. Thus the relief at Salmās and the investiture relief at Naqsh-e Rostam should be the two most recent reliefs of Ardashīr.

* * *

As I have discussed above, historical aspects will not be very helpful in dating the Sasanian rock reliefs, but will only give us a *terminus post quem*. Nonetheless, in some cases, e.g. the Salmās relief, historical factors are of more signif-

[32] See Alram's dating of phase 3 in Alram/Gyselen 2003, 148.

[33] Shavarebi 2014. At this time, Shāpūr was a partner in his father's kingship (see Sunderrmann 1990). This could be why he appears with a crown composed of an ordinary skullcap and a *korymbos* above it, just like Ardashīr's crown on coin type IIIa. The same type of crown is also observed on the so-called 'Marw Shah' bronze coins, which apparently show the bust of Shāpūr (Schindel 2010, Pl. I nos 1–4 and Pl II no 5), as well as on one of Shāpūr's not so well-known types of copper coins (Fig. 11), where he is depicted with a similar headdress (Schindel 2009, 13, 48, nos. 22–23; Schindel 2010, 30, Pl. III no. 12 and Pl. IV no 13; I would like to express my gratitude to Prof. Michael Alram of the Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften and Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna for introducing me to this Shāpūr coin type, and emphasising its significance for the examination of the Salmās rock relief). What should be certainly emphasised here is the fact that Shāpūr was also using his father's crown type; however the status of this type within the chronology of Shāpūr's coinage remains unclear. Since this crown is depicted on the Salmās relief, the earliest evidence showing Shāpūr in a rank higher than crown prince, then considering the available documents it must be the first crown Shāpūr used. Nevertheless, there are two more testimonials representing Shāpūr in this crown, which extend the duration of this crown's usage up to almost the last decade of his reign. They are the triumph rock relief at Dārābgird (Fig. 8) and the Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris cameo (Fig. 12; more in Ghirshman 1962, 152), the *terminus post quem* of which is Valerian's capture in 260 (see also Schindel 2009, 13). Furthermore this issue supports Meyer's argument (1990, 268–271) challenging Trümpelmann's hypothesis, according to whom the Dārābgird relief was initially Ardashīr's, but was reworked and completed later by Shāpūr in two phases after his victories over the Roman Empire (Trümpelmann 1975).

icance, as the interpretation of this relief depends entirely on historical and geographical research, although iconographical and technical features are often fairly precise factors for the determination of the date of such reliefs, and arrange them in a chronological order. These elements represent the developments in stoneworking in the Sasanian period and let us distinguish the different iconographical schools and styles. However, an examination of the technical elements is not enough to date the Sasanian reliefs. We should heed a word of warning from Michael Roaf concerning the Persepolitan reliefs, which holds true for the study of the Sasanian reliefs as well: 'At each stage the sculptor or mason had the option of using a variety of different tools; whether he used a point or a pick, a toothed or an edged tool, depended on his training and his personal preference, as well as on the nature of the work.'[34]

As a result, to date a Sasanian rock relief we should consider all the iconographical, historical, technical and numismatic factors. Iconography plays the key role in research on rock reliefs and their chronology. History is the basis for the interpretation of the reliefs, thus, as I have emphasised above, its natural impact on dating cannot be denied. A study of techniques makes up for the practical deficiencies in the other factors and actually helps us learn more about the evolution and development of the styles and schools of stone working. Numismatics is a subsidiary factor in the examination of rock reliefs. For the Sasanian reliefs, a parallel representation of some iconographic details, such as a crown, hairstyle or beard, can also be found on coins. Thus the chronology of Sasanian coin types has a notable influence on the chronology and dating of the rock reliefs. Naturally, any of these factors could be of greater importance in specific cases, depending on the subject and other features of the particular relief; but ignoring any of these aspects will in all likelihood lead to errors in dating and chronology. This is merely a suggestion, but a more precise look at the reliefs will surely help us detect more signals concerning their chronology.

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Abstract

Five surviving rock reliefs are known in Iran from the reign of Ardashīr I, four of which are located in Persis/Fārs region. This paper aims to examine four different approaches which are so far used to date these reliefs, i.e. historical facts, iconographical and numismatic elements, and techniques of stoneworking, in order to respond the following question: How can we date the rock reliefs of Ardashīr more precisely and obtain a convincing chronology of them?

Figures

Fig. 1. Ardashīr's investiture relief at Firuzābād (photo by the author, April 2012)

Fig. 2. Ardashīr's investiture relief at Naqsh-e Rajab (photo by the author, April 2012)

Fig. 3. Ardashīr's combat relief at Firuzābād
(drawing by Erik Smekens; after Vanden Berghe 1984, Fig. 8)

Fig. 4. Stretched uncover *korymbos* of Ardashīr's crown on the combat relief at Firuzābād
(photo by the author, April 2012)

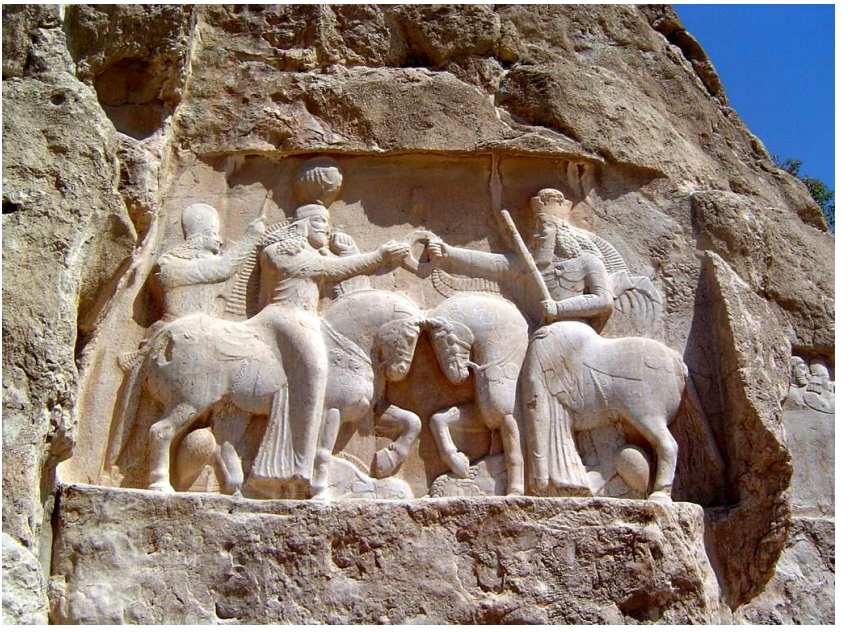

Fig. 5. Ardashīr's equestrian investiture relief at Naqsh-e Rostam (photo by the author, September 2009)

Fig. 6. Ardashīr's relief at Salmās (photo by the author, September 2012)

Fig. 7. Naqsh-e Rajab relief showing Shāpūr I and courtiers (photo by the author, September 2009)

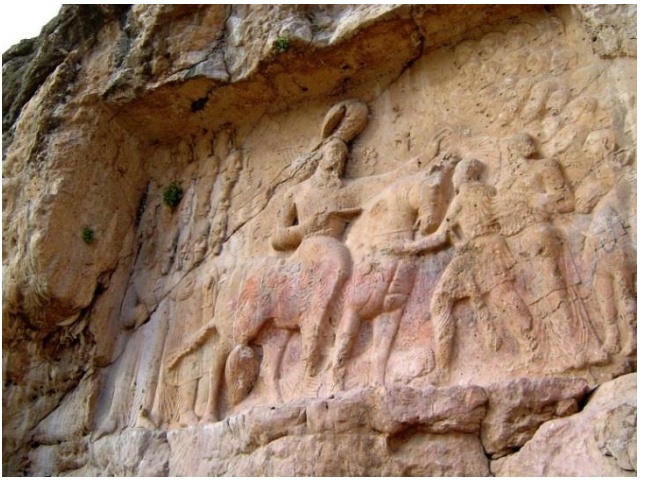

Fig. 8. Shāpūr I's triumph relief at Dārābgird (photo by the author, February 2009)

Fig. 9. Drachm of Ardashīr I, obverse type IIIa, phase 3 (AR. Δ. 4,12 g. 25 mm. Malek National Museum, Tehran. no. 2007)

Fig. 10. Drachm of Ardashīr I, obverse-type IIIb, phase 3
(AR. Λ. 4,13 g. 24 mm. Malek National Museum, Tehran. no. 383)

Fig. 11. Copper coin of Shāpūr I
(Æ/2. 3,28 g. 17 mm. Schaaf collection[35]; see Schindel 2010, no. 12)

Fig. 12. Shāpūr's cameo showing Valerian's capture, Bibliotheque Nationale de Paris
(after Ghirshman 1962, Pl. 195)

[35] I am very grateful to Mr. Robert Schaaf for providing me with the photo of this coin, as well as helpful remarks on its typology.

ANABASIS 5 (2014)
STUDIA CLASSICA ET ORIENTALIA

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A RECENT LATE SASANIAN DISCOVERY NORTH OF THE PERSIAN GULF. A REPORT ON THE FIRST SEASON OF EXCAVATIONS AT TOMB-E PARGAN IN HORMOZGAN, IRAN

Keywords: Tomb-e Pargan, Fars, Sasanian period, Sasanian pottery

Introduction

The Bastak district, located in the west of Iran's Hormozgan Province (Ostān-e Hormozgān) is composed of two salty river basins: Mehran in the southwest and Rod-e Shoor („Salty River") to the northeast. Until an archaeological survey of the district was undertaken by one of the authors in 2007,[2] the area had not been previously researched. A total of two hundred sites and mounds have been noted in Bastak, of which seventy sites were dated to the Achaemenid, Parthian and Sasanian periods. A preliminary dating of the sites based on pottery assemblages demonstrated an increase in the density of settlements during the Parthian era; a perceptible peak during the Sasanian era; and a near collapse in the Islamic era. During the Sasanian period in the Bastak region, there was a more than two-fold increase in settlements when compared to the Parthian era, consisting of twenty-nine settlements in the plains and foothills, and eighteen

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[2] Asadi 2010.

fortified sites in the mountains of Bastak.[3] However, the preliminary dating of these settlements relied on a slim assemblage of securely dated Sasanian ceramics. Therefore, the author has undertaken a limited excavation at a Sasanian site in Tomb-e Pargan to collect more data from this period. As Derek Kennet stated in his article published in 2002, the exact chronology of Sasanian sites in the whole Persian Gulf region remains uncertain and there is a fundamental desideratum, in reconstructing the culture of the Sasanian period in this region, to find and excavate sites with firmly-dated pottery assemblages.[4] The site of Tomb-e Pargan, which is the subject of this paper, was excavated under this premise. Based on the surface pottery found at this site, it has been identified as one of the sites established in Sasanian times in the Bastak region. In addition, with a lack of any traces of Islamic material on the site, it was clearly a good case for excavation and a probable reference source for pottery assemblages of Sasanian times in the northern Persian Gulf area. The peculiar shape of the mound (see below) pointed to the assumption that it hid remains of governmental structures. The results of the first season of the excavation at Tomb-e Pargan (carried out in April 2012) confirmed the initial dating of the site to the Sasanian period, and have revealed an interesting circular structure from Late Sasanian times.

Tomb-e Pargan: General location and description of the mound

The site lies on a small, uneven plain between the Mehran river to the north and the so-called Namaki (Salty) Mountains which encircle the area of the mound to the south. To the south of the plain where the Tomb-e Pargan is situated, there is a narrow historical passage which crosses the Namaki Mountains leading to the Persian Gulf's coastline. This road is still used by local people. About 100 metres to the east of the mound, there is a seasonal river, which flows northwards to join the Mehran river. In other directions, the mound is surrounded by semi-flat cultivated fields (Fig. 2). Plant cover in the area surrounding the mound is limited to infrequently dispersed trees, tamarisks and date palms.

Tomb-e Pargan is a mound with a relatively regular round shape. The diameter of the mound at the north-south and east-west axes is about 27 m, and at the northwest-southeast direction about 24 m. Traces of a moat with a 10 metre width are visible around the mound and the total diameter of the mound, together with the moat, is almost 50 m. The highest point of the mound is 2.20 m above the moat's bottom today, and 2.40 m above the fields to the north and west sides of the site (Fig. 3). A stream formed from seasonal rainfall has cut through the

[3] Asadi 2010, 17–18.
[4] Kennet 2002, 15.

surface of the mound on its south side. In the centre of the mound surface are the ruins of a rectangular 70-year-old building (according to oral information obtained from natives).

Apart from the mound itself, a large settlement approximately 5 hectares in area with a similar pottery assemblage was found at a distance of some 100 m to the south-east of the site, which includes the remains of several rectangular buildings visible on the surface.

At the time of the archaeological survey of the Bastak district in 2007, another round mound with a moat encircling it was found at a distance of some 40 km to the north of Tomb-e Pargan, which also was called "Tomb-e Pargan"[5] by local people. The resemblance in the shape and the name of the mound may indicate a similar function and nature for both of the structures called Tomb-e Pargan.[6]

The excavations and their results

Before starting the excavations, a contour survey was performed and a map of the site was made at a scale of 1:100 and with contours of 20 cm vertical intervals (Fig. 4). To measure the level of the trenches, a reference point was established at the top of the mound. The elevation of the reference point was calculated by GPS as being 341 m above sea level. No particular artifact clusters were found on the surface of the site, nor any traces of visible architecture or remarkable concentrations of pottery. In order to investigate the sporadic pottery fragments on the mound surface, the main area of the site was divided into squares measuring 5 x 5 m. After this grid was established, a systematical surface survey was carried out and all pottery sherds in the grid squares were collected. Regular excavations then started with the opening of three trenches in the north and north-western sections of the mound surface, and in the process of the work more trenches were subsequently opened in the centre, east, west and south sides of the site. In all, during the whole excavation season, an area of over 70 m^2 in eight trenches was explored.

The preliminary results from the first season of the excavations at Tomb-e Pargan showed relatively clear evidence of a continuous and unbroken settlement history. The explored complex can be identified as a main architectural structure accompanied by a short-time settlement, established probably after the first phase of the site's cultivation.

[5] In southern Iran the word "Tomb" (or "Tonb") means "mound". Pargan derives from "Pahr" or "Pahre" meaning "guarded" or "protected". Its roots can be discerned in ancient Iranian languages including Avestan and Middle Persian, and in Sanskrit. This term is still common in India (according to personal communication from Ahmad Habibi, a retired teacher of literature and previous governor of Bastak, as well as a native of the Bastak region).

[6] Recently a similar structure has also been found in Fars (see Ghassemi 2012).

Period 1: Fortified Building

The first period of Tomb-e Pargan includes the general forming of the complex. After the construction of a platform, as it will be explained below, a first period structure (which is called here the "Circular Building" or the "Fortified Building") was established. Some parts of this monument were revealed in Trenches A, B, D, E, G[7], H and probably also in Trench C. We will describe the identified components of the building from its outer to the inner parts. The outer part of the building consisted of a circular mud-brick wall, at least 1 m in thickness. This was revealed in Trenches A, B and D in the northern part of the mound. The discovered wall was built with two rows of mud-bricks (size 42 x 42 x 12 cm). The wall's diameter (according to the present research its appears to be circular) can be estimated as between 21 m and 22 m. Excavations in the northern part of the mound (in Trenches B and D) revealed a semi-oval shaped mud-brick tower, joining the northern face of the circular wall (Fig. 5). The external and internal diameters of the tower are respectively 4 m and 2.5 m. A specific use of two mud-bricks in the internal part of the tower may indicate the existence of a stairway which once led to the tower's roof. In all likelihood, three other projections (detectable on the west, east and the south sides of the mound) are the remains of towers similar to that described above. In the closing days of the excavations, a small (2 m x 1.5 m) trench (Trench H) was opened on the eastern outcrop. The excavations revealed a portion of a plastered floor (size 60 cm x 100 cm, see Fig. 6) from a room. It seems likely that a small room was once situated above of the eastern tower of the fort, which underwent destruction after the tower's body had been destroyed.

Within the brick circular structure (potentially a protection wall with towers?), parts of another circular structure were found. The main evidence for this inner circular structure was uncovered in Trench A. It was a structure composed of isolated wall sections, or pillars, which were aligned in a circular arrangement (Fig. 7). At least four parts of this circular structure were uncovered in Trench A. The excavations showed two entirely revealed parts of this structure that each measured 1.9 m in length and 1 m in thickness. An interval between two parts of the inner circular structure measured 0.55 m. The surface of the isolated walls featured a 30 º slope inward towards the centre of the circle.

The inner structure was built of middle-sized and small-sized stones and white mortar. The surfaces of the wall sections were plastered with a layer of white mortar and stones. In the southern facade of the two of the isolated wall sections, two small steps (40 x 60 cm) were revealed (Fig. 8). The existence of a layer of plaster between the faces joining the steps and the isolated walls implies that the steps were added to

[7] In the excavation reports, as well as in this article, the excavated trenches are identified by a combination of the letters "TP" (Tomb-e Pargan) and the abbreviations TA, TB, etc. (for Trench A, Trench B, etc.)

the walls, probably shortly after the building of the main structure. It's not clear at present whether such steps existed in other parts of the inner circular wall structure.

The revealed part of the inner enclosure in Trench A enabled us to estimate an approximate diameter of 18 m (Fig. 9). Based on this measurement, two other trenches on the west and south edges of the mound (Trenches E and G) were opened, to examine if the inner enclosure actually encircled the whole area of the mound surface. In both of these trenches, some more portions of the circular wall structure were uncovered. However, differences were observed in their size, which was incompatible with the measurements estimated from Trench A. In Trench A, the interval between the two portions of the inner wall was about 55 cm, whereas in Trench G (at the southern edge of the mound) it was 1.25 cm. The thickness of the walls in both Trenches E and G measured 80 cm, viz. 20 cm less than of the wall in Trench A (Fig. 10).

In Trench C, a portion of another wall, built of the same material as the inner circular structure, was identified. This seems to be the only remaining part of the first architectural period of the mound. In Trench F, opened exactly in the centre of the inner circular structure, no clear traces of the Fortified Building were found. Instead, an assemblage of stones was revealed there, whose interpretation may be offered after further excavations.

It seems that there was no settlement at Tomb-e Pargan before the construction of the Fortified Building in the first period. In constructing the fort, probably first of all, a platform was built. Although none of the eight excavation trenches opened at the site reached to the virgin soil with certainty (Fig. 11), a very sparse material underneath unit su11 in Trench A implies that the first construction was in fact a 1 m high earthen platform, on which the fort was then built. The encircling moat was certainly dug during or immediately after the construction of the fort. The original depth of the moat could not be estimated and will be investigated in the next seasons of excavation.

Second and third architectural periods

Evidence of the second architectural period of the site is sparse. Most of the evidence was found in Trench C. In this trench, which is slightly above the level of a supposed wall from the fortified structure of the first period, parts of two walls (su10 and su17) were found next to the north and south sides of the trench. These walls were built of stones and clay and did not reveal any „Saruj" or plaster, known to have been used in the first period of the fortified structure. In general, units 4 to 10 in Trench C, composed of mud-brick fragments, small stones and other minor finds, demonstrate a rather low quality of architecture, contrary to the situation observed in the first period structure (Fig. 12). It seems that the second

period of settlement at the site started shortly after the abandonment of the circular structure, while the structure still existed. During the excavations it was not possible to determine irrefutably whether the plan of the circular building was changed or partially adapted by the settlers of the second period; nevertheless, fragments of plaster, found in section su05 of Trench C and probably belonging originally to the first period building at the site can be counted as signs of modification.

The third architectural period of Tomb-e Pargan includes a single small rectangular room, built some 70 years ago by local farmers. A mass of stone was found there. Trench F (2 m x 2m) was opened in this room, partially cutting its northern wall.

Chronology

As mentioned above, the site of Tomb-e Pargan should be dated to the Sasanian period on the basis of a pottery comparison. Excavation evidence, including architectural elements and especially three coins found in Trench A, confirms this dating. Two well-known Sasanian architectural techniques were used in the circular structure of the first period. The first technique, employed to build the sections of the inner circular wall, is based on placing stones in an enclosed mass of mortar. The second technique pertains to the construction of the semicircular or semi-oval towers. Both techniques were widely used in Sasanian monuments in Fars, e.g. at Bishapur, Firuzabad and at many dispersed Sasanian water structures.

The compressed coins, discovered in Trench A, are the most helpful finds for dating the site. They were found at an elevation of 339.54 m slightly above su11, which was supposed to be the main floor of the circular fortified structure. For unknown reasons, the coins were found compressed against each other. One of the coins is a copper-silver specimen attributable to Khosro II and minted in AD 598 (Fig. 13). The coins still await a final study, and it cannot be excluded that they belong to Arab-Sasanian coinage. The fact that the coins were discovered on the approximate floor of the circular fort implies that the building was still in use in Late Sasanian or Early Islamic times. The whole monument may have existed for 50 years or so, and the structures from the first period may belong to the 6th century AD.

The pottery assemblage and minor finds

Apart of the coins, fragments of stone vessels and a few glass and metal objects, pottery is the most important find. Since the discovered coins have fairly securely dated the mound of Tomb-e Pargan, it can therefore serve as a chrono-

logical point of reference for other Late Sasanian ceramics found in the northern areas of the Persian Gulf basin. A pottery analysis will be crucial for understanding the site's nature.

An assemblage of 1306 pottery fragments were found at the site during the first season of the excavation, including 772 sherds from the surface survey[8] and 534 fragments from the excavated trenches. The colour of most sherds is grey, showing various shades ranging from dark to light (Fig. 14). Fabric observation showed that the assemblage was almost entirely grit-tempered and the decoration techniques of the sherds, similarly to most Sasanian sites, was comprised of relief elements, incised patterns or a combination of these two techniques.

A general statistical study of the pottery assemblage revealed some interesting observations. More than 80% of the sherds were less than 10 mm thick, and sherds more than 2 cm thick made up less than 5% percent of the total assemblage. 85% of the fragments came from vessels with a diameter between 9 cm and 15 cm. It is thus clear that the vast majority of the pottery consisted of containers like bowls, beakers, jugs and bottles. The visible lack of the storage jar sherds, which are one of the most common finds on Sasanian sites, especially in the forts, is noticeable and again implies an unusual function of the structure. By and large, the pottery assemblage and its statistical features indicates that the site's nature in neither the first architectural period nor in the second period was that of a standard permanent settlement with an agriculture-based economy. A table of drawings showing the pottery, selected chiefly from the lower levels of Trenches A and C, is presented here (Fig. 15 and Fig. 16). These sherds were found mainly on the supposed floor level of the circular structure and are almost certainly datable to the Late Sasanian era.

Fragments of stone vessels and some small glass and metal objects were found on the surface of the site, and also in the upper layers of the excavation trenches. These were dated by their stratigraphic context to the time of secondary use of the circular building (Period 2). The puzzling architecture of the site is another task that needs to be investigated in depth.

Conclusion

The function of the Fortified Building remains debatable, and further excavations will be needed. Before starting the excavations, it had been supposed that the site would probably present a small governmental fort centrally located in the

[8] The surface survey of the site was not finished, due to a lack of time. At least ¼ of the surface remained unsurveyed.

mound, but the unusual plan of the discovered building and the nature of the pottery assemblage have implied other interpretations. Therefore, the building's function remains obscure. Soundings are intended in other sections of the mound. This particularly applies to the interior part of the inner circular building, which may be the key to understanding the structure. The area between the outer circular mud-brick wall and the inner circular wall (with its isolated sections) also must be further explored, and we hope to locate the entrance or entrances to the structure. Coins and the pottery assemblage both indicate that the building existed in the Late Sasanian period.

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Abstract

The results of the first season of the excavation at Tomb-e Pargan (carried out in April 2012) confirmed the initial dating of the site to the Sasanian period, and have revealed an interesting circular structure from Late Sasanian times. Apart from the coins, fragments of stone vessels and a few glass and metal objects, pottery is the most important find. Since the discovered coins have fairly securely dated the mound of Tomb-e Pargan, it can therefore serve as a chronological point of reference for other Late Sasanian ceramics found in the northern areas of the Persian Gulf basin.

Figures

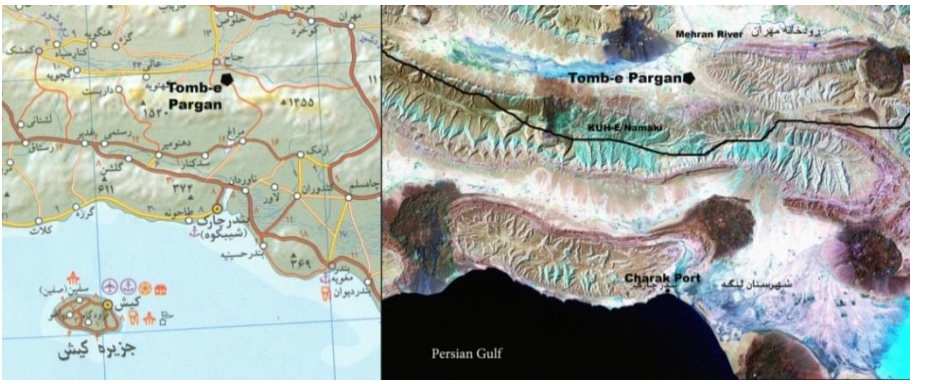

Fig. 1. Location of Tomb-e Pargan, in the north of the Persian Gulf area

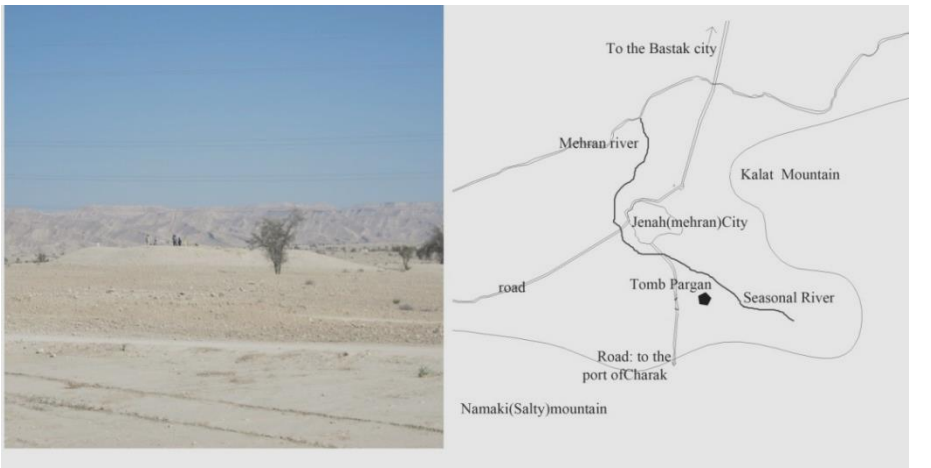

Fig. 2. Tomb-e Pargan: Sketch map (right) and view from the southwest (left)

Fig. 3. Tomb-e Pargan: Surface of the mound (left) and the moat (right)

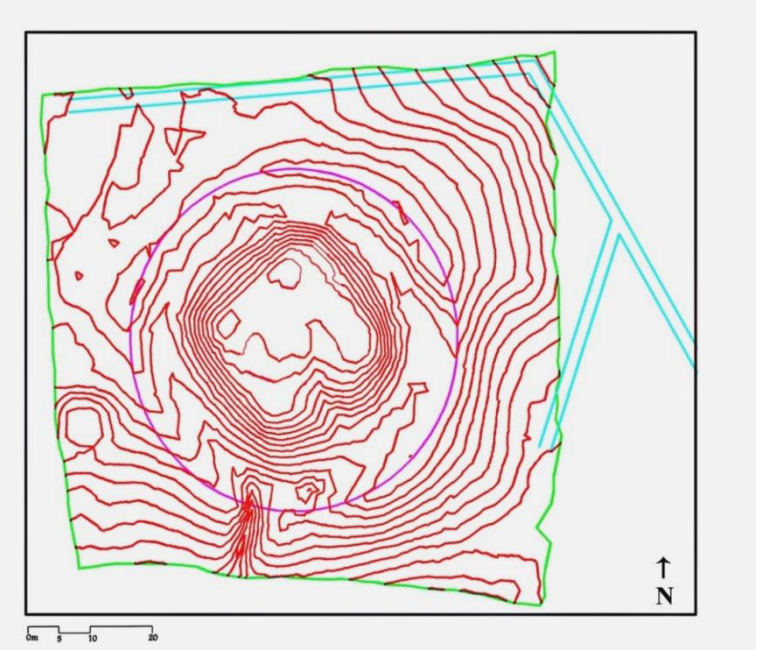

Fig. 4. Topographical map of the mound

Fig. 5. Vertical view of the outer circular mud-brick wall and tower on its north site

Fig. 6. Trench H: Floor of the small room

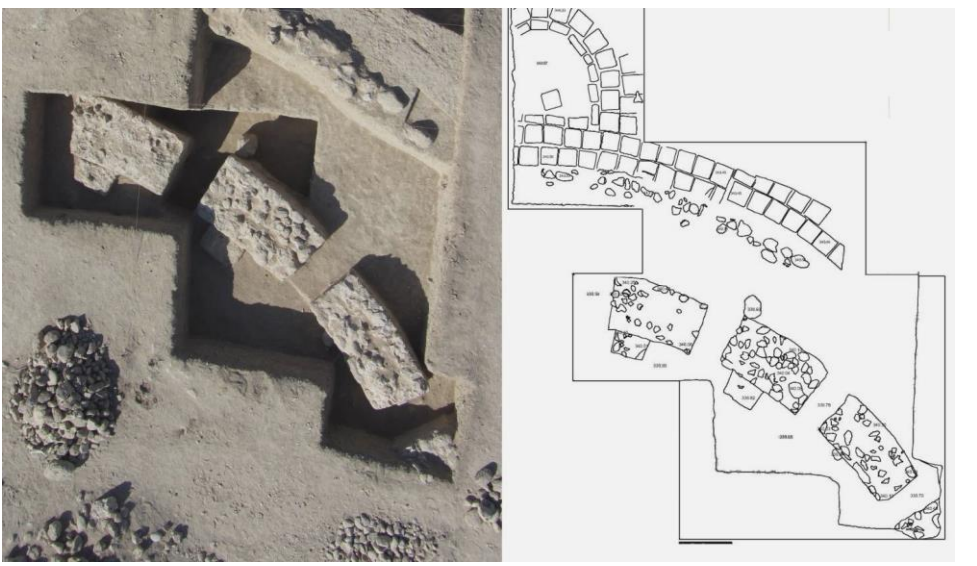

Fig. 7. Inner and outer enclosures: Picture and plan

Fig. 8. Part of the inner circular wall structure with the adjacent step on its southern side

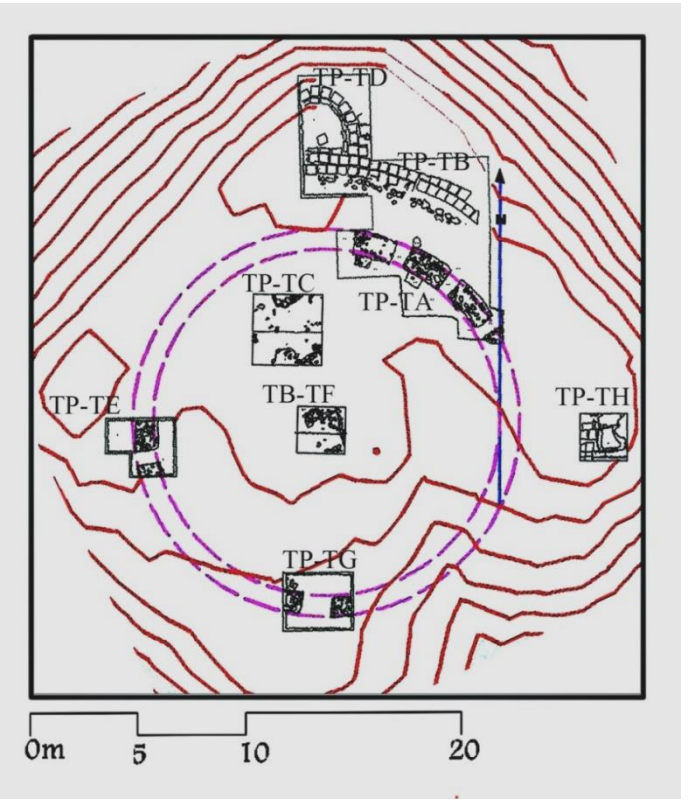

Fig. 9. Topographical map of the site with the excavated trenches

Fig. 10. Final situation of Trenches E (left) and G (right)

Fig. 11. General aerial view of the excavated trenches (looking from the north of the mound)

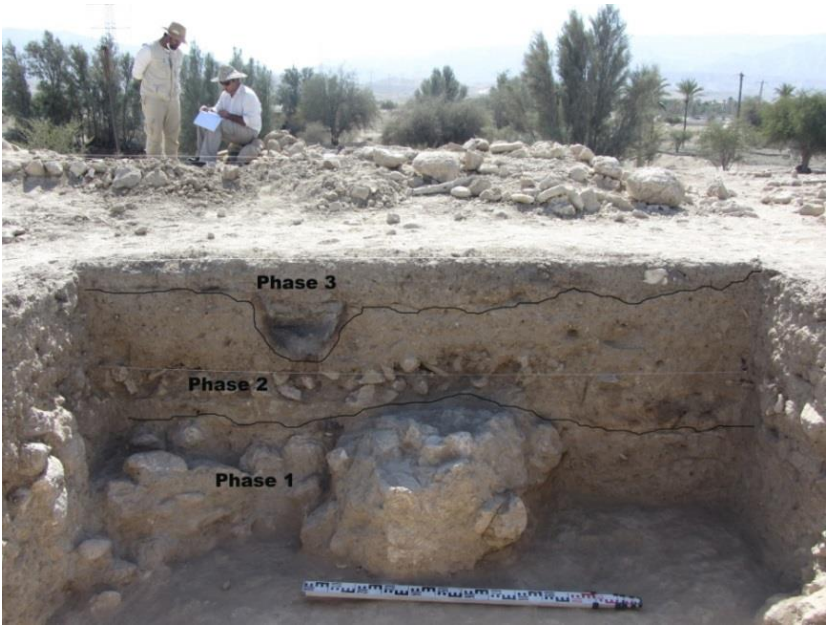

Fig. 12. South wall of Trench C with marked stratigraphic layers

Fig. 13. Coins discovered in Trench A

Fig. 14. Pottery from Trench A , su07

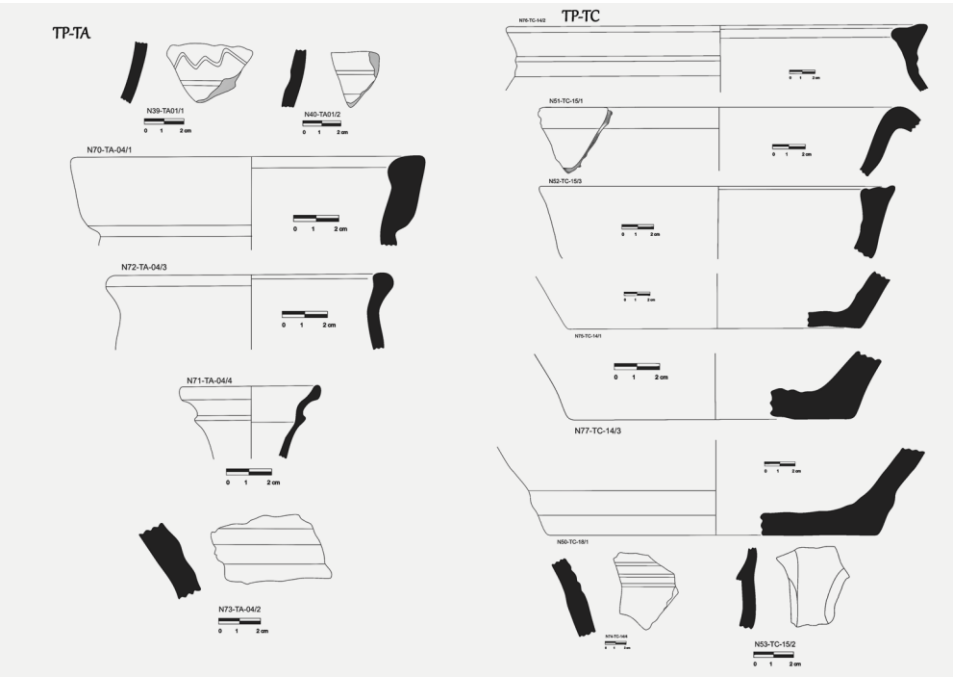

Fig. 15. Pottery drawings from Trenches A and C

Sherd	Settlement Phase	Description	Chronology	Reference
N39-TA01/1	Second Phase	Grayish slip on exterior, grit temper. Wavy carved lines on exterior.	Late Sasanian	Whitcomb 1985, Fig. 42, f & e Fig. 45, f
N40-TA01/2	Second Phase	Grayish slip on exterior, grit temper.	Late Sasanian	
N50-TC18/1	First Phase	Red ware, grit temper.	Late Sasanian	Whitcomb 1985, Fig. 47, o
N51-TC15/1	Second Phase	Gray ware, course grit temper.	Late Sasanian	
N52-TC15/3	Second Phase	Orange on exterior, brown fabric with grit temper.	Late Sasanian	Azarnoush 1994, Fig. 171, l & p
N53-TC15/2	Second Phase	Grayish brown on surface, gray fabric, grit temper.	Late Sasanian	
N70-TA04/1	Second Phase	Light gray on exterior, grit temper.	Late Sasanian	Whitcomb 1985, Fig. 42, f
N71-TA04/4	Second Phase	Gray on exterior and fabric, fine grit temper.	Late Sasanian	Azarnoush 1994, Fig. 177, a
N72-TA04/3	Second Phase	Grayish brown on exterior and gray in fabric, grit temper.	Late Sasanian	Whitcomb 1985, Fig. 48, k
N73-TA04/2	Second Phase	Grayish brown on exterior and interior, fine grit temper	Late Sasanian	Whitcomb 1985, Fig. 42, e
N74-TC14/4	Second Phase	Grayish brown on exterior, dark red in fabric, grit temper. Carved lines on exterior.	Late Sasanian	Whitcomb 1985, Fig. 47, p
N75-TC14/1	Second Phase	Dark gray on exterior and interior, grit temper.	Late Sasanian	Azarnoush 1994, Fig. 186, g
N76-TC14/2	Second Phase	Grayish dark on exterior, gray fabric, fine grit temper.	Late Sasanian	Azarnoush 1994, Fig. 174, g
N77-TC14/3	Second Phase	Dark orange on exterior, grey in fabric, grit temper.	Late Sasanian	

Fig. 16. Description of the pottery presented in Fig. 15

ANABASIS 5 (2014)
STUDIA CLASSICA ET ORIENTALIA

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THE LAST SASANIANS IN EASTERN IRAN AND CHINA

Keywords: Sasanians, China, Yazdegerd, Pērōz, Wahrām

The events of the last years of Sasanian rule (224–651) and the fate of the Sasanian royal family upon the Arab conquest have received scant attention by researchers and historians alike. There are three reasons for this neglect. First, the two decisive battles – the Battle of Qadisiyyah (637) and the Battle of Nihāwand (641) – in which the Persians were defeated are generally considered as marking the end of the Sasanian dynasty. Second, the death of Yazdegerd[1] (651) in Merv is believed to be the primary cause that led to the overthrow of the Sasanians, and thus little attention has been paid to his descendants. A third and most important reason concerns the literary sources of the period, especially the information contained in the Chinese accounts, of which the most important texts are the *Old Book of Tang* (Jiu Tangshu舊唐書), the *New Book of Tang* (Xin tang-shu 新唐書) and *Cefu yuangui* (冊府元龜). Yazdegerd's descendants who sought refuge in China along with other Persian nobles tried to regain Persia with the support of the Tang emperors. Based on an analysis of the primary sources of this period, some scholars[2] suggest that Pērōz and Wahrām managed to form an Iranian kingdom with China's support in Sīstān and identify Chi-ling (疾陵城, jí-líng chéng or Jiling city) as the city of Zarang mentioned in 661. We disagree with that view and this article proposes an alternative reconstruction of the history of this period. It is our contention, for example, that Chi-ling was located in

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[1] For our purposes, the name "Yazdegerd" refers to Yazdegerd III (632–651 A.D.), the last king of the Sasanian empire. Thanks are due to the anonymous referees of the article. Professor Jeffrey D. Lerner (USA) has kindly given expert advice on philological and historical matters.

[2] See for example: Harmatta 1971, 140–141; Daryaee 2003, 542; Daryaee 2009c, 25–26; Compareti 2003, 206; Compareti 2009.

Tocharistan and the Pamir mountains, not in Sīstān. As a result, a clearer picture emerges of the waning years of the Sasanian Dynasty as it existed on the eastern Iranian plateau, in Central Asia, and in China according to the Pahlavi, early Islamic, and Chinese sources. We will offer a reexamination of the textual references in the Chinese historical sources that are relevant to the last attempts of Sasanians in Eastern Iran and China. We will also offer some interpretations of those references, in the hope that they may help to clarify some misunderstandings and provide a solid ground for the future study of the last claimants of the Sasanian throne living in China

The Fall of the Sasanians in Iran – an Overview

Having lost any hope of regaining Mesopotamia after his defeat at Nihāwand, Yazdegerd spent several years traveling from one district to the next seeking alliances with various rulers. The Arabs meanwhile encountered little resistance as they occupied districts that Yazdegerd was compelled to abandon. Thus Xūzistān was occupied in 642 prior to the Battle of Nihāwand, while all of Media, including the cities of Isfahan, Jibāl, Ray, and Azerbaijan to Darband 'Closed Gates', were conquered by 23 AH/644 A.D. (Ṭabarī I, 3147).

For his part, Yazdegerd fled to Persis, but he was forced to flee eastward when in 650 the Arabs conquered it.[3] Making his way to Xwarāsān by way of Kerman and Sīstān, Yazdegerd intended to win over the margraves and nobles as the last line of defense. He had not anticipated, however, that many regarded his presence as a threat to their authority as was the case upon his arrival in Sīstān.[4] Given his inhospitable reception, he moved on to Xwarāsān in c. 650.[5] Apparently, Farruxzād, the brother of Rustam who was the commander of Qadisiyya army, accompanied Yazdegerd,[6] where the ruling Kunārang of Tūs[7] refused to accommodate him on the pretext that the city was incapable of accommodating the king's royal entourage, and thus sent him along his way with gifts (Ṯaʿālibī 734).

Yazdegerd who now feared the margraves as much as he did the Arabs eventually fled to the Farγāna district in Sogdia in 650 (Ṭabarī I, 3189) and did not return to Xwarāsān until 651 when the uprising of its people against the Arabs gave him hope of fomenting a transregional rebellion against the Arabs.

[3] Daryaee 2009a, 37.

[4] For example, he asked for his overdue tribute, thereby earning the enmity of its governor (Balādhurī 315).

[5] Pourshariati 2008, 258.

[6] Pourshariati 2008, 258.

[7] An epithet used to designate Sasanian margraves.

After the death of Rustam, Farruxzād became the commander of the Persian army. When Yazdegerd was in Xwarāsān, Farruxzād asked Māhōy Suri (a member of the Sūrēn family), the Merv margrave, to support Yazdegerd in this endeavor,[8] however, Yazdegerd and Māhōy soon fell into discord. Māhōy allied with Nēzak (also called Tarxān), the Hephthalite ruler of Bāγdīs, against Yazdegerd. Māhōy treacherously provoked Nēzak to fight against Yazdegerd in 650–651.[9]Already abandoned by his forces due to the deceit of Māhōy, Yazdegerd lost the battle and was betrayed by Māhōy and murdered in a mill, in which he had taken refuge.[10] They thereupon threw his corpse into Merv River where it was eventually found by a Christian priest who buried him. If we assume that Yazdegerd was only eight years of age when he was crowned king (632), then at the time of his death he was around 28 (Ṭabarī I, 3189–3190). Those subjects still loyal to Yazdegerd, blamed his death on Māhōy, bestowing upon him and his descendants the epithet *x^{w}adāy kušān,* literally *'king killer'* (Iṣfāhānī 63).

The Sasanian Court's seeking refuge in Central Asia and China

I. Sources

Information on Yazdegerd and his descendents in Central Asia or at the Tang court appears in the variegated works of early Muslim authors, later Middle Persian literature, and Chinese sources. Together with Middle Persian texts and Early Islamic sources such as the *Zand-e Bahman Yasn,* the *Bundahishn*, *and Kitâb Futûh al-Buldân*, the Chinese texts provide the earliest written records about the last Sasanians in Central Asia and China. The *Jiu Tangshu* (舊唐書), or *The Old Book of the Tang Dynasty*, is the first official dynastic history (zhengshi 正史) of the Tang dynasty 唐 (618–907). It was compiled under the direction of Liu Xu (劉昫) and Zhang Zhaoyuan (張昭遠) during the Later Jin period (後晉, 936–946). The *Xin tangshu* (新唐書), or *The New Book of the Tang Dynasty*, is the second official dynastic history (zhengshi 正史) of the Tang dynasty (唐). It was written by a team under the supervision of the Northern Song period (北宋, 960–1126). And the book *Cefu yuangui* (冊府元龜), or *Prime Tortoise of the Record*

[8] Pourshariati 2008, 259. This is the last time that we hear of Farruxzād in the sources.

[9] Grenet 2002.

[10] This is the context that forms the famous Islamic story of Yazdegerd's murder by the miller. The story is that he was killed by a miller who robbed him of his clothes and jewelry. This account is paraphrased by Ṭabarī and other sources. According to Ṯaʿālibī, Māhōy's soldiers found him in the mill and strangled him with a bowstring and imputed the killing of the Sasanian emperor to the miller (Ṯaʿālibī 747).

Bureau, is one of the so-called "four large books" (sòng sì dà shū, 宋四大書) of the Northern Song. Collectively, they cover more than five hundred years.[11] *Cefu yuangui* was the largest encyclopedia compiled during the Chinese Song Dynasty (960–1279 AD).

The account of the last Sasanians in the *Jiu Tangshu* is vague, and probably contains factual errors.[12] For example, the section regarding Pērōz (here called, Bilusi) is quite different from what is presented in the *Xin tangshu*. According to the *Jiu Tangshu*, Pērōz was captured by the Turkish prince of Tocharistan/Ṭo̲kārestān,[13] while the *Xin tangshu* correctly has Pērōz's son, Narseh, captured by the Turkish prince of Tocharistan.[14] Errors like this in the account of the last Sasanians in the *Jiu Tangshu,* are a reflection of the limited information that the author had available. Since the *Jiu Tangshu* was revised during the Song Dynasty and published as the *Xin Tangshu*, or the *New Book of Tang*, the account of the last Sasanians in the *Xin Tangshu* appears more reliable because it was written at a time of peace when the authors had access to additional sources of information.[15] In fact, the author of *Xin Tangshu* based his accounts strictly on what he considered reliable evidence, including a reliable style, facts, and eliminated anything that he was unable to verify.[16] Thus, we can regard the account of the last Sasanian in the *Xin Tangshu* as containing highly relevant information which we can use to reconstruct a fairly realistic image of last Sasanians' life in China.

Early Islamic historians have also provided some information on Yazdegerd and his descendents as preserved in the Islamic accounts with the works of Ṭabarī, Masoudi, and Balāḏori as the earliest and best of such narratives. There is also some information about Yazdegerd and his sons in the Middle Persian texts, such as the *Zand-e Bahman Yasn* and the *Bundahishn.* Touraj Daryaee, an Iranian Ianologist and Historian, was the first who mentioned the importance of the Middle Persian texts for the history of the last Sasanians in China. Daryaee, whose works provided the most extensive studies of the Sasanian history, also

[11] The majority of the relevant Chinese texts are now available in a variety of languages. Édouard Chavannes (1865–1918), a French sinologist, wrote the first detailed study of Tang historical texts on the Last Sasanians in China. Chavannes's, *Documents sur les Tou-kiue (Turcs) occidentaux*, published in 1900, has remained the most important source for the translations of the Jiu Tangshu (舊唐書/旧唐书) and the Xin Tangshu (新唐書). Antonino Forte, an Italian sinologist, published several works on the history of last Sasanians in China. Forte also focused on Tang historical texts. His works on late Sasanians in Tang court and other Iranians in China are among the best interpretive essays of this period.

[12] See, e.g., Comparetti 2009.

[13] Liu Xu 1975, 5311–5313.

[14] Ou Yangxiu 1975, 6258–6260.

[15] Sivin 1968, 88; see also Wilkinson 2000, 820.

[16] Sivin 1968, 99.

drew on archaeological data to reconstruct the history of the last Sasanians in Central Asia and China. More recently, Matteo Compareti, in his article, 'The last Sasanians in China', has also incorporated archaeological data along with Chinese sources to discuss this issue.

The archaeological finds of the last Sasanians in Central Asia and China are few but they remain extremely important for reconstructing the life of last Sasanians. There are some gaps in the texts which sometimes can be filled by archaeological evidence. For instance, there is no mention of Aluohan (died in 710) in the Tang historical texts and it is from a funerary stele, discovered near Luoyang, that we know about him.

Despite the scholarship by Forte, Daryaee, and Compareti, there are still questions surrounding the last Sasanians in Central Asia and China that have not been fully resolved, such as, where was the location of Pērōz's kingdom, Chi-ling (疾陵城, i.e., Jiling city)? as well as other questions about the Sasanian claimants after Pērōz and Aluohan. What follows, then, is a thorough reexamination of the textual references in those historical sources that are relevant for understanding the Sasanian dynasty as it existed in eastern Iran and China.

II. The Last Claimants of the Sasanian Throne in Central Asia and China

A. Pērōz and Narseh

In 639 Yazdegerd sought an alliance with the Tang court,[17] which was fast emerging as an important regional power. Yazdegerd sent two envoys to China and had also sought help from the kings of Sogdia and the khan of the western Turks. According to the *Xin Tangshu* and *Cefu yuangui*,[18] the first envoy was sent in 639/40. The mission was headed by a certain Mo-se-pan (没似半i.e. Marzban). Recent scholarship shows that the second envoy was sent to China in 647/48.[19] It was during this second envoy that Yazdegerd's sons and daughters migrated to China.[20] When the second envoy was sent – a mere five years before the king's death – Yazdegerd was gradually losing hope that an effective resistance against the Arabs would ever materialize. Masoudi tells us that Yazdegerd had two sons, Wahrām and Pērōz, and three daughters, Adrag, Šahrbānu, and Mardāwand.[21] He sent his sons and daughters to Tang controlled Central Asia in the hope of receiving military assistance from the Chinese

[17] Daryaee 2009b, 25.
[18] Ou Yangxiu 1975, 6258–6260; Zhang 2006, 75–77.
[19] Daryaee 2009b, 25.
[20] Daryaee 2009b, 25.
[21] Masoudi II, 241

against the Arab invasion, but the Chinese emperor, Taizong 唐太宗 (626–649), was not inclined to help militarily due to the long distances involved.[22]

According to the *Jiu Tangshu*, *Xin Tangshu*, and *Cefu yuangui*, Pērōz, whom they call 卑路斯, or Beilusi, was king of Persia in 661.[23] After the death of Yazdegerd, Pērōz sought help from Gaozong (唐高宗) (649–683), the third emperor of the Tang dynasty and son of Taizong.[24] According to the *Xin Tangshu* and the *Cefu yuangui*, when the Tang emperor refused Pērōz's request for help against the Arabs,[25] Pērōz, found refuge in Tocharistan (i.e., in the northern parts of modern Afghanistan), following the Arabs' abandonment of the area.[26] In 661–664, Pērōz again requested help from emperor Gaozong. He sent envoys to the Tang court and asked the emperor to help him defend his kingdom from the Arabs.[27] According to the *Xin Tangshu* and the *Cefu yuangui*, he finally managed to forge an Iranian kingdom[28] (with support from China) in a city called Chi-ling or Tsi-ling (疾陵城, i.e., Jiling city) in 661–663[29] that lasted until 674.[30] Some scholars, such as T. Daryaee and J. Harmatta, believe that the location of this kingdom was in Sīstān and identify Chi-ling as the city of Zarang (capital of Sīstān).[31]

Harmatta brings forth two arguments for the identification of Chi-ling as Sīstān. First, from the linguistic viewpoint, he recognizes Dz'i̯ĕt-li̯əng/Dz'i(ɪ)-liəŋ (official and northwestern middle Chinese forms) as a reflection of the Iranian **Zireng* from a dialectical variant for *Zrang* (with an epenthesis vowel between *z* and *r*, and the palatalized development of the *a* and thus rendering it *zarang*).[32] But linguistic evidences indicates that the Old Persian form *z-r-k Zranka/*Dranka* becomes in Middle Persian, Zrang, and from its Middle Persian form it is Zarang in New Persian. This is also attested by the Arabic form Zaranj زرنج. As far as historical documents and linguistic evidences indicate, such shifts in vowels from Middle Iranian to New Iranian (at least in the western Iranian Languages) are improbable. We also lack any attestation from the dialect in Sīstān to support Harmatta's conjecture. Furthermore, it is highly unlikely that

[22] Chavannes 1903, 257; Zhang 2006, 76.
[23] Zhang 2006, 73, 76–77.
[24] Chavannes 1903, 257.
[25] Ou Yangxiu 1975, 6258; Zhang 2006, 76.
[26] Ou Yangxiu 1975, 6258; Zhang 2006, 76–77.
[27] Ou Yangxiu 1975, 6258; Zhang 2006, 77.
[28] The texts called it *Po-szu* (i.e., Persia).
[29] Ou Yangxiu 1975, 6258–6260; Wang 1960, vol. 12, 11365. According to the *Cefu yuangui*, the emperor Gaozong sent Pērōz to Tocharistan as the ruler on February 14th of 663, Wang 1960, vol. 12, 11365; Zhang 2006, 77.
[30] See Harmatta 1971, 140–141.
[31] See also Yule 1915, 150: where this kingdom is referred to as Zaranj.
[32] Harmatta 1971, 140.

the Tang records preferred a dialectical variant over an official name, given that the name was probably transmitted by Sasanian refugees to the Tang officials. Second, Harmatta assumes a link between Tang policies and the fact that Zarang was independent between 658–663. According to Arabic sources, Pērōz took back Sīstān from the Arabs with the help of the king of Tocharistan and took up residence in Zarang (making it his capital) in 658–663.[33] This argument is mistaken, because the *Xin Tangshu* and the *Cefu yuangui* mention that Pērōz came to Chi-ling or Tsi-ling (疾陵城,) in 661–663, while Zarang again fell to the Arabs in c. 663. Even though there were some minor turbulence in Sīstān at that time, there is no mention of Pērōz or any foreign power (Chinese or Turkic) involved in the Sīstān uprisings in any Islamic or local sources. Moreover, the Tang's involvement in any military operation in Sīstān is quite improbable because of logistical problems concerning the distances necessary to traverse from the western frontiers of the Tang to Sīstān, not to mention crossing mountainous roads and enemy territories.

Daryaee reasons that the numerous coins dated in the twentieth year of Yazdegerd's reign (650/51) found in eastern Iran indicate that Pērōz minted Sasanian coins in his father's name in order to establish legitimacy for his reign.[34] Daryaee maintains that this was a hectic period and so there was not time to mint coins with a new image and the name of Pērōz.[35] However, there are two reasons that nullify this hypothesis: first, he could have minted coins in his own name instead of his father's to reinforce his legitimacy, as minting a coin in one's own name had been a common practice in Iran since antiquity, and no less so than in the Sasanian era, as seen in the instances of Narseh (293–302),[36] Wahrām VI (590–91) and Wistahm (591–95).[37] In addition, we know that Tocharistan was a part of the Turkic Kaganate in c. 658[38] and as Chavannes had long ago established, Pērōz obtained the area of Chi-ling in the same year following the defeat of the western Turks in 658 by the Tang emperor.[39] So, it is logical to assume that the emperor of China gave Tocharistan or part of it to Pērōz, after the defeat of the western Turks in 658 and before the Arab conquest of Tocharistan in 674,[40]

[33] Harmatta 1971, 140–141.

[34] Daryaee 2003, 542.

[35] Daryaee 2009b, 25–26.

[36] Lukonin 1969, 116.

[37] For details of coins see Alram 1986, 210.

[38] Tocharistan was a part of Hephtalite kingdom (Ṭabarī I, 873–874) and after its fall in the 6th century, became semi-autonomous, divided as it were between the western Turkic Khaganate and Sasanian Persia (6th–7th centuries). In the 8th century it was finally conquered by the Arabs (709/710), see Ṭabarī II, 1218.

[39] Chavannes 1903, 257.

[40] We know that Muslims first crossed the Oxus in 653–4 during the caliphate of Uthmān (644 A.D–56 A.H), but such vital crossing-points as Amul-i Shatt and Tirmidh (Termez) were

especially when one takes into account that Sīstān was far from the Turkic kingdom and even further from the Tang court. As a result, Pērōz's kingdom was located in Tocharistan.

Furthermore, we know that Pērōz's attempts to regain Persia are mentioned in Chinese and Islamic sources but there is no direct mention of it in Middle Persian Literature. However, Daryaee sees in chapter 18 of the *Bundahishn* a reference to Yazdegerd's son whom he recognizes as Pērōz: "Yazdegerd's son went to India, bringing with him a gigantic army [*Gund*, Pahlavi]. There he passed before coming to Xwarāsān, causing his large army to scatter."[41] In this sentence, the location of India is controversial. Daryaee refers to Bīrūnī and believes that India here refers to Tocharistan.[42] Bīrūnī, in his book, *Taḥqīq mā le'l-Hend* (التحقيق ما للهند), says that the Zoroastrians of Sogdiana recognized the Punjab along with Hindu Kush as India.[43] Balāḏori's information that Pērōz settled among the Turks of Tocharistan and even married a noble Turkic woman also confirms this assumption.[44] According to the *Cefu yuangui,* embassies from kings of Persia came to Chang'an (Tang capital) several times until 772.[45] As we shall see, this country was Tocharistan.[46] We can therefore assume that these kings who, most likely, were from the Sasanian dynasty, like Pērōz and Narseh, attempted to regain Persia from Tocharistan.[47]

Pērōz's reign in Tocharistan was short-lived. Unable to withstand the Arab invasion, he returned to China in 673–674,[48] which indicates that he had been defeated by the Arabs.[49] He went again to the west and returned on 17 June 675 to China for the last time. Pērōz was warmly received by Gaozong, who bestowed upon him the honorary title of "Awe-inspiring General of the Left (Flank)

not secured until sometime later, only then was it strategically wise for the Arab commanders to commit large bodies of troops for raids across the river. Hence it was not until 674, under the first Umayyad caliph Muawiyah I, that his general Ubayd Allah ibn Ziyad crossed the Amu Darya and defeated the forces of the Sogdian ruler of Bukhara, Bukhār Khudāt, see Bosworth 1999, 28.

[41] Daryaee 2003, 542.

[42] Daryaee 2003, 543–544.

[43] Bīrūnī 1910, 260–261.

[44] Hitti 1968, 493.

[45] See *Cefu yuangui*, chapters: 971, 972, 973, 975, 999 in Wang 1960; Zhang 2006 78–80.

[46] Chavannes 1903, 257; Compareti 2009; Daffinà 1983, 135.

[47] It seems that the Arab conquest of Tocharistan coincided with the last attempt of Yazdegerd's descendants to regain Ērānšahr from the Arabs (Narseh's attempt in 708/709 = final conquest of Tocharistan 709–710). Moreover, the direction of Narseh and Khosrow's invasion indicates that it was directed south of the Oxus, since the only region that was controlled by the Sasanians was the southern districts of the Oxus and Tocharistan where Yazdegerd had spent his final years trying to forge alliances with regional rulers.

[48] Ou Yangxiu 1975, 6258–6260.

[49] Chavannes 1903, 257.

Guards" (*zuǒ wēi wèi jiāng jūn* 左威卫将军).[50] This title was among sixteen such titles he had received.[51] According to the *Liǎng Jīng Xīnjì* (兩京新記i.e., *New Records of the Two Capitals*) by Wei Shu (韋述), written in eighth century, Pērōz managed to get permission from Gaozong to build a "Persian Temple" called Bosi-si (波斯寺) in Chang'an.[52]

Pērōz died the following year in 678–679[53] and was succeeded by his son Narseh.[54] He was buried in China.[55] His beheaded statue stands in front of the large mausoleum of Gaozong and his wife, Qiangling, near Xi'an. Gaozong's mausoleum bears the following Chinese inscription on the back pedestal:

右骁衛大將軍兼波斯都督波斯王卑路斯

Zòu xiāowèi dà jiàngjūn jiānbōsī dūdū bōsī wáng bēilùsī

"Pērōz, king of Persia, grand general of the right courageous guard and commander-in-chief of Persia".[56]

This inscription holds great importance for us to understand Pērōz's relations with the Tang court. If we take these titles as merely honorary and see in the word "Persia" an equivalent for *Ērānšahr*, then it would be redundant to call someone "King of Persia" and "Commander in chief of Persia". On the other hand, we may assume that "King of Persia" indicates kingdom lost (i.e., *Ērānšahr*), while "Commander in chief of Persia" indicates that Chi-ling was given to Pērōz by the Tang emperor as a fiefdom. This is confirmed by the seventh word in the inscription – the Chinese title, dūdū 都督, literally military commander who was in charge of a dūdūfǔ, 都督府, i.e. area commandery.[57] It seems that Pērōz was the dūdū (military commander) of a dūdūfǔ which was most likely Chi-ling. After all, these titles were intended for client kings providing the Tang a legitimate kingship.[58]

[50] Ou Yangxiu 1975, 6258–6260.

[51] Daryaee 2003, 542.

[52] Drake 1943, 6. Scholars believe that this temple was a Christian establishment (Forte 1999, 282; Compareti 2009; Leslie 1981–83, 290) and serves as evidence that late Sasanian rulers were interested in Christianity. Recent scholarship shows that Pērōz's wife, most likely, was Christian (Scarcia 2004, 121; Compareti 2009). We know also of another Persian, a certain Aluoben (阿罗本), who introduced Christianity into China and built the first church at Chang'an in 635 (Forte 1996a, 349–74; Tajadod 2000, 43–45; Compareti 2009).

[53] Chavannes 1903, 258.

[54] Chavannes 1903, 258.

[55] There is no mention in any Chinese source about his burial place, but because of his presence in the Tang court (in Chang'an) during his last year, we may assume that he was buried there.

[56] Forte 1996c, 404; Daryaee 2003, 542.

[57] This title was bestowed by the Tang court on Chinese generals stationed at the border or on vassal kings in the conquered lands. For Tang administration of the frontier regions and conquered lands, see Skaff 2012, 248–249.

[58] Canepa 2010, 140.

After Pērōz, his son Narseh tried to regain *Ērānšahr*. In c. 678 or 679, the Chinese general, Péi Xíng Jiǎn (裴行俭), responsible for subduing the western Turkic khan āshǐnà dōuzhī (阿史那都支), who was allied with the Tibetans and Kashgarians, crowned Narseh (涅涅师, Nie-nie-che) in Tocharistan. Under the pretext of restoring the Sasanian prince onto the throne of *Ērānšahr,* he surprised the Turkic khan and defeated him. The Chinese general, having achieved his purpose, did not continue his march toward Ērānšahr and left the Iranian prince there. Being left alone in Tocharistan, Narseh fought for twenty years against the Arabs until all his men and resources were exhausted; whereupon he reluctantly left and returned to the Chinese court in 708/9.[59] There he received the title of "General of the Left Majestic Guard" (*zuǒ wēi wèi jiāng jūn左威衛將軍*). His statue is next to that of his father's.[60]

B. Aluohan, Juluo and other Sasanian Claimants

Although recent scholarship has tended to focus on Pērōz and Narseh and their struggle to regain Persia, there were other individuals from the Sasanian clan who also tried to retake Persia. There is information about a Persian nobleman who is identified as Pērōz's brother, Wahrām.[61]A funerary stele, which was recovered near Luoyang, reveals important information regarding the career of Aluohan, probably the Chinese variant of Wahrām.[62] He is described as a Persian who was a contemporary of Pērōz and highly esteemed by Gaozong.[63] He is also said to have been a member of the Sasanian royal family and held the title of "General of the Left Awesome Guard" (*zòu wuwèi jiàngjūn 左威卫将军*).[64] He was famous for two important events. He was sent to Byzantium as a Chinese envoy (probably to conclude an alliance between the Tang and Byzantine Empire), and he constructed an important building in China.[65] In 656–661, he was charged by the Tang with retaking Iran from the Arabs.[66] The following inscription stored today in the Imperial Museum of Uyeno in Japan reveals something about his life at the Tang court:

"The Inscription on the Stone-tablet set up in memory of the late Great Persian Chieftain, the General and Commander of the Right Wings of the Imperial Army of Tang [i.e. China] with the title of Grand Duke of Chin-ch'êng-chün [in Kan-su] and the Rank of Shang-chu-kuo [上柱國[67],

[59] Chavannes 1903, 258.
[60] Daryaee 2003, 543–544.
[61] Forte 1996b, 193–194.
[62] Forte 1996c, 411.
[63] Zhang 2006, 89.
[64] Zhang 2006, 89.
[65] Zhang 2006, 89.
[66] Zhang 2006, 89.
[67] Shang-chu-kuo (上柱國 [py: shang zhu guo]), an honorary office given to only a select few. The office was established in the Northern Zhou Dynasty (557- 581) and abolished during the Qing Dynasty (1644 –1912).

i.e. lit. The first-class Corner Stone of the Empire]: This is the Stone-tablet erected in memory of A-lo-han [阿羅喊] a Persian prince by birth and the most illustrious of the whole tribe. During the period of Hsien-ching [656–661], the then reigning Emperor Kao-Tsung the Great, hearing of the meritorious service and illustrious deeds of this Persian prince sent a special messenger to invite him to his own palace [Here are two illegible characters]. As soon as the Prince arrived at the capital, the Emperor appointed him Generalissimo, and charged him with the responsibility of defending the Northern Gate [i.e. the northern region of China] [here is one illegible character] and sent him as the Imperial envoy to the tribes of Tibet, Ephraim, and other countries."[68]

This inscription continues to mention Wahrām's sagacious acts, his death, followed by a requiem. The importance of this inscription is its information about Wahrām's attempts to take *Ērānšahr*. It seems that Wahrām alongside his brother Pērōz had tried to restore the Sasanian kingdom, and his role in this attempt was more diplomatic than military. He was a Tang envoy to "Tibet, Ephraim[69], and other countries". This assumption is confirmed by a Middle Persian text called *Zand ī Wahman Yasn.* In this book there is the story of someone called "Wahrām-ī-Warǰāwand" who ultimately put an end to the atrocities of the Iranian people and expelled the Arabs. Some scholars believe that he might be Wahrām the son of Yazdegerd.[70] This is well illustrated by looking at the text of *Zand ī Wahman Yasn*: "And he is born as a king who is called in the religion Wahrām -ī-Warǰāwand … and when that king is 30 years old … having gathered innumerable soldiers and banners, of China and India holding banners … the kingdom is entrusted to him" (*Zand ī Wahman Yasn* 7/5,6).[71]

Nevertheless, Wahrām was not successful in bringing about Iranian aspirations. This prince died at the age of 95 on the first day of the fourth month of Chingyün's reign (710) in his private domicile in Honan Fu.[72] After Wahrām, his son whose name is stated as Jū Luó (俱羅) in the Chinese sources – the Chinese variant of Xusrow – continued his father's mission.[73] Ṭabarī also points to someone called Xusrow who fought the Arabs in 728/29 in the Turkic Khan's army in Transoxiana, whom he identifies as Yazdegerd's son.[74] Since there is a 78 year gap between Yazdegerd's death and Xusrow, we can assume that he was same Xusrow in the Chinese records and thus Yazdegird's great-grandson. He also visited China's capital in 730/31.[75]

In the *Cefu yuangui* (冊府元龜), there is information about Kings of Persia who sent embassies to the Tang court at Chang'an from 723 to 772.[76] As noted above,

[68] Saeki 1916, 257.

[69] It seems that the country of Ephraim was near the Eastern Roman Empire on the coast of Mediterranean Sea (Zhang 2006, 89).

[70] Cereti 1996, 636; Sprengling 1939, 175–176; Compareti 2009.

[71] Daryaee (2003, 546) maintains that "the resurgence of king Wahrām ī Varjāvand" in Pahlavi texts also points to Wahrām.

[72] Saeki 1916, 258; Zhang 2006, 90.

[73] Zhang 2006, 90.

[74] Ṭabarī II, 1518. See Harmatta 1971, 141–142; Marquart 1901, 69.

[75] Zhang 2006, 79.

[76] See *Cefu yuangui*, chapters 971, 972, 973, 975, 999 in Wang 1960; Zhang, 2006 78–80.

some scholars identify "Persia" as Tocharistan.[77] The *Cefu yuangui* even mentions two of these kings' names: one is called Bó Qiāng Huó (勃善活), probably the Chinese variant of Pušang, who is referred to as the Persian king in 723.[78] He was apparently the son of Narseh and the grandson of Pērōz.[79] It seems that he was in Tocharistan like his father fighting the Arabs. In the same source, we also learn of another person called Mù Shānuò (穆沙诺) who is referred to as the king of Persia.[80] He came to the Tang court in 726 or 731 and was given the rank of a General (折冲 shé chōng) and became a Guardian (留宿卫liú sù wèi) of the Emperor in 731.[81] After Mù Shānuò, there is some information about envoys from Persia who came to the Tang court until 772, but there is no direct mention of any Persian king. It seems that after Mù Shānuò, the Persians (most likely Sasanians) in Tocharistan were completely defeated by the Arabs. Although this is an inference, it is known that after 731, the names of Sasanian claimants disappear from the histories.

Although there is no mention of the names of Sasanian claimants in the histories after 731, we know that several Persian nobles lived in the Far East. Some of these nobles lived in China because of support of the first Tang emperors, but this changed after the rebellion of the Sogdian-Turkic General Ruhsan-An Lushan (755–756) and, especially with the edicts issued by the minister Li Mi (722–789), who wanted to stop the financial support granted to the Iranian nobles living at Chang'an.[82] There is also information about the first Persians visiting Japan. In the *Nihon Shoki* (*Chronicles of Japan*), one of the earliest Japanese historical sources, completed in 720, we read that in 654 several people arrived in Japan from Tokhārā,[83] which must be an abbreviated version of Tocharistan/To̲kārestān[84]. Elsewhere in the *Nihon Shoki*, it is mentioned that in 660, when a Persian, whose name was Dārā, returned to his country, he left his wife in Japan and promised the Emperor that he would come back and work for him again.[85]

Conclusion

After the death of Yazdegerd, his son, Pērōz escaped along with a few Persian nobles and took refuge in the Chinese imperial court. Together with Persian sources, Chinese texts and inscriptions provide the earliest written records about

[77] Chavannes 1903, 257; Compareti 2009; Daffinà 1983, 135.
[78] Wang 1960, vol. 12, 11723.
[79] Shahmardān 1360, 49.
[80] Wang 1960, vol. 12, 11450; Zhang 2006, 78.
[81] Wang 1960, vol. 12, 11450; Zhang 2006, 78.
[82] Compareti 2003, 211; Dulby 1979, 593.
[83] Aston 1972, 246, 251, 259.
[84] Itō 1980, 5–10.
[85] Aston 1972, 266; Imoto 2002, 58–60; Morita 2012.

Yazdegerd and his descendants who avoided the submission to the Arabs and lived in Central Asia or at the Tang court.

In this article we have endeavored to illuminate the following. Although some scholars have suggested that Pērōz managed to form an Iranian kingdom with China's support in a region known as Chi-ling in Sīstān (疾陵城, Jiling city) in 661, in actuality it was located in Tocharistan. Second, from the death of Yazdegerd to 731 or even up to the end of eighth century, Tocharistan served as a bastion for Sasanian refugees who still clung to the hope of one day taking Ērānšahr away from the Arabs. Based on the Chinese sources and the Middle Persian and early Islamic sources we know the names of these kings. We also argued that Bó Qiāng Huó (勃善活), probably the Chinese variant of Pušang and Mù Shānuò (穆沙诺) are other Sasanian claimants who were settled in Tocharistan and were called Kings of Persia in the *Cefu yuangui* (冊府元龜).

Although their relationship to the Sasanian family is tenuous, there are other Persians who appear in the Chinese sources for various reasons due to the nature of Chinese sources which are concerned with such variegated issues as climate, local products, trade, and the customs or strange behavior of western peoples. The description of foreign peoples in the official histories is not for information's sake, but to provide assistance to the Chinese bureaucracy for purposes of taxation and military services. Nevertheless, according to these sources we reasoned that Pērōz's kingdom in Tocharistan lasted from 661 until 674. Following the death of Pērōz, his sons along with other Sasanian claimants tried to retake Persia. Chinese sources say that they were in Tocharistan but we cannot be sure whether they could manage to form a kingdom there or not. What we do know is that they were fighting with the Arabs and sending embassies to China on behalf of the King of Persia. All these factors compel us to conclude that the collapse of Sasanian Empire did not mean that the dynasty simply disappeared. On the contrary, we have ample evidence that indicates that the Sasanians undertook numerous attempts to retake Persia for about a century with Chinese assistance.

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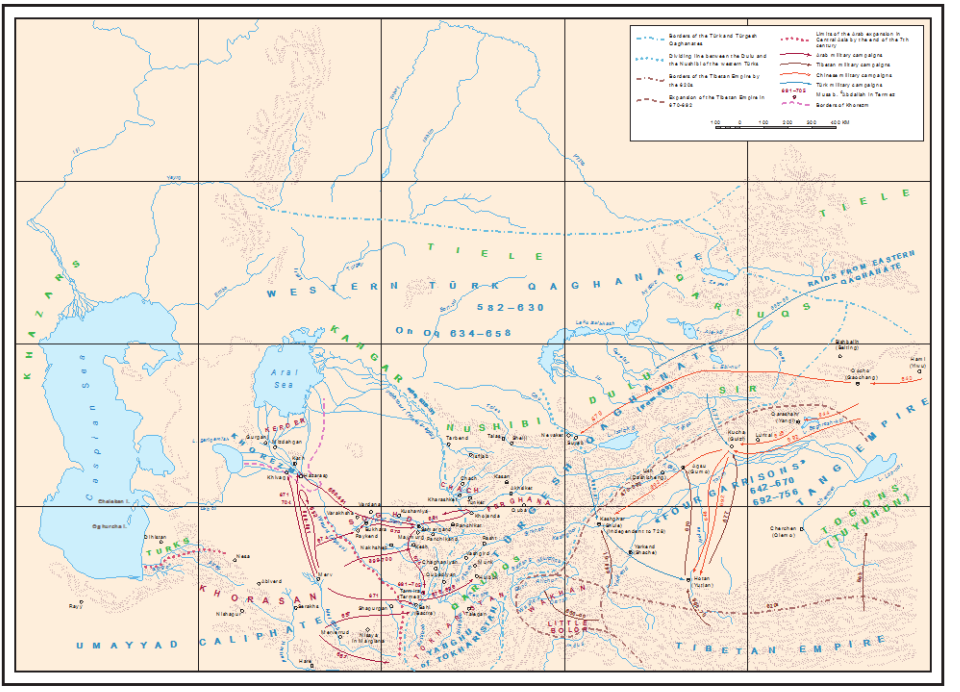
Abstract

Following the devastating defeat at Nihawand, the last Sasanian emperor, Yazdegerd III (632–651) sought refuge in the eastern Iranian plateau, although he continued to return to his country to exert influence over the Persian nobility until his death. His sons, Pērōz and Wahrām, along with a few Persian nobles took refuge in the Tang court of imperial China. They constantly tried to regain "Ērānšahr" (Persia) from the Arabs with the assistance of the Chinese, Sogdians, and the inhabitants of Tocharistan, but all their attempts were in vain. Information about Yazdegerd and his sons and the time they spent in Central Asia and at the Tang court is recorded in the works of Muslim authors, in later Middle Persian literature, and in Chinese sources. In what follows, we will offer some fresh insights about these accounts as they relate to the final years of the Sasanian empire and afterwards.



THE SECOND HALF OF THE 7TH CENTURY: EARLY ARAB RAIDS, THE TÜRGESH QAGHANATE, THE TANG EXPANSION, AND TIBET

After Bregel 2003, page 17, map 8

ANABASIS 5 (2014)
STUDIA CLASSICA ET ORIENTALIA

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A PERSIAN VIEW OF THE STEPPE IRANIANS[1]

Keywords: Eurasian Steppes, Scythians, Sarmatians, Alans, Persian Empire, Iranian national traditions, *Avesta*, *Shahnama*

By the turn of the second to first millennium BCE, the Iranian-speaking tribes of the Steppe Bronze Cultures had parted into two main groups: those who migrated south eventually into the plateau which bears their name to this date, and those who expanded their domain within the steppes, westward into the Volga and Pontic regions and beyond, and southward well into the Caucasus and Central Asia. These two main branches of the same people evolved in the very different ways, characteristic to other societies living in the southern and northern Eurasia.

Nevertheless, as South and North Iranians – even if separated by deserts and mountains – were often immediate neighbors, they kept influencing each other as long as the Iranian pastoralist riders ruled the Eurasian Steppes. After all, many of the vicissitudes undergone by Persia since the dawn of her history have been related to the Steppe warriors, and, on the other side of the coin, much of what we know today about the history of the Scythians, Sarmatians, and Alans are due to their interactions with the Iranian civilization in Western Asia.

In addition to these two groups, which I shall call South and North Iranians for simplicity, we may yet identify a third group: those of Central Asia, whom are usually referred to as Eastern Iranians in scholarly literature. These consist of the settled Chorasmians, Sogdians, and Bactrians, among others, who were the immediate southern neighbors of the nomadic Sacae, Massagetae, Dahae,

[1] An early draft of this article was presented at the conference "Scythians, Sarmatians, Alans: Iranian-Speaking Nomads of the Eurasian Steppes," held at the Autonomous University of Barcelona, May 2007.

and Chionites of the area from the river Jaxartes up to the Kazakh Steppe. The proximity to the plains of Central Asia made the region a frequent prey to nomadic invasions, and kingdoms were made and unmade as a result.

1. Historical Perspective

It is a well-known fact that the history of Eurasian continent, that is much of the Old World, is marked by the recurring mass movements of peoples from Inner Eurasia southward into the warmer lands of the agriculturalist civilizations, whose realm fits into the fundamental definition of "history." Ever since a great warlike and nomadic civilization, chiefly consisting of the peoples speaking Iranian languages, completed its formation of an independent lifestyle on the Steppes towards the end of the 2nd millennium BCE, it began to stand in contradistinction to the sedentary civilizations in the south, i.e. the states formed in China, India, the Iranian Plateau, Mesopotamia, and the Greco-Roman world, with the general tendency of invasions and migrations in the direction from north to south. The success of the northern nomads was a function of a number of variables, including how united they were, how weak were the central states, and who had the superior technology. This historical pattern discontinued only after the Russian Empire established its hegemony over the Steppes, followed by its industrialization and engagement in Western Civilization.

What repercussion this longstanding interaction between North and South had in Iran? The central regimes that ruled over the Iranian Plateau had established their capital cities in Mesopotamia and Elam/Khūzistān, the fertile plains Iranians had inherited their civilization from. Notwithstanding the socioeconomic gravitation towards the southwestern borders of their empire, these dynasties endeavored, with only partial success, to dominate Central Asia to stem the threat of nomadic raids and invasions on their northern and eastern frontiers. The Achaemenids, the Seleucids, the Parthians, and the Sasanians' policy of stabilizing and securing of their northern borders was manifested through either (1) military solution, i.e. waging wars, establishing garrisons, and building physical barriers along the northern frontiers; and (2) by establishing or supporting buffer states in Central Asia. In fact, the city-states of Central Asia interacted with the Persian civilization on the one hand and with their nomadic neighbors on the other. These city-states had to deal with the mighty nomadic confederations of the Scythians and Sarmatian tribes who dominated the Steppes at the same time when the Achaemenids, the Arsacids, and the Sasanians ruled the Plateau. Table 1 is a rough synchronization of the rulers of the Iranian Plateau, Central Asia, and the Pontic Steppes and the Caucasus.

Let us now brake down the interactions among these regions into the stages of history, and try to highlight the historic events, without succumbing into the detail–for our aim is to identify the patterns rather than narrating specific events.

Table 1. Approximate chronology of the rulers of Iranian-speaking lands

Centuries	Western Steppes	Iranian Plateau	Central Asia
8–6 BCE	Cimmerians?	Medes	Massagetae
6–3 BCE	Scythians	Achaemenids	Sakas
3 BCE–3 CE	Sarmatians	Arsacids	Sakas
3–7 CE	Alans	Sasanians	Chionites, Hephthalites, Turks

1.1. The Medes and the Achaemenids

Iranians of the Plateau and those of the Steppes made their decisive appearance in history almost simultaneously, in the seventh century BCE, in their movements towards Mesopotamia from two different directions. The Medes established minor kingdoms in the northwest of the Iranian Plateau for more than a century, but their rule was largely passive. On the other hand, the Cimmerians and Scythians, having invaded the Near East via the Caucasus, found there an opportunity to practice their profession as warriors. They made alternate alliance with the Medes and Assyrians, and in 653, the Scythians stormed Media and ruled there for twenty-eight years. Only the ascent of Cyaxares led to the rise of Median kingdom by putting an end to the Scythian dominance and pushing many of them across the Caucasus range back to the Steppes. Nevertheless, some Scythians became devoted partners of the Medes and the Persians. Herodotus (1.73) informs us that Cyaxares hired a group of Scythians to teach the art of the bow and their speech to elite Median youths. Moreover, the fall the Assyrian Empire (ca. 614–612), which opened the way to the hegemony of the South Iranians in the Near East, was realized with Scythian alliance. The Ziwiya treasure, with many objects bearing the Scythian style, excavated near Saqqiz (meaning "Scythian") in Persian Kurdistan, is characteristic to this period.[2]

The state of affairs changed dramatically after the Persians established their empire in 550 BCE. Contrary to their former partnership with the Medes, under the Achaemenids the Scythians were hardly allies of the Persians and Medes in rule of the empire. Tolerance for unruliness had grown thin for the various Saka groups who caused problems both for Cyrus and Darius, not to mention other Achaemenid rulers down to the invasion of Alexander the Great.

Cyrus the Great (r. 559–530), the founding father of the Persian Empire, extended his realm well into Transoxiana. An interesting indication of the ex-

[2] For details, see Frye 1984, 71.

tent of his conquest into Sogdiana is the city of Kyreskhata or Cyropolis, which was eventually stormed and destroyed by Alexander. The name is explained as the "city of Cyrus" and identified with a village Kurkath[3] (Old Pers. *kuru-* "Cyrus" + East Ir. *kaθ* "town") near the present Uroteppa in northern Tajikistan.[4] This toponym would presuppose the establishment of a garrison in a town founded by Cyrus to secure the northeastern frontier of his empire against the warlike nomads. It was the defense of this very same frontier that cost Cyrus his life. According to Herodotus' (1.201–14) account of Cyrus' campaign against the Massagetae east of the Caspian Sea, Cyrus was defeated and killed fighting the Massaget army led by Queen Tomyris circa 530. This account is supported by other Classical authors, such as Berossus and Ctesias, who suppose the fighting nomadic tribes were Dahae, Derbices, or other Saka groups.[5] The destruction of the Achaemenid army by the Massagetae was the opening act in the continuous challenge on the part of the rulers of the Plateau to manage the settled populace of Transoxiana and to control the incursions of new groups from the Steppes.

The best known of the Persian confrontations with the northern nomads is Darius' (r. 522/521 – 486) campaign against the Scythians in 519. According to the fascinating account of Herodotus (4.83ff.), the Persian army, accompanied by a navy, having penetrated deep into Scythia in eastern Europe, had to return after suffering a great loss. At great variation with Herodotus' account is that of Darius:

> Afterwards with an army I went against Scythia; after that the pointed-capped Scythians [*Sakā tigraxaudā*] against me, when I had come down to the sea [*draya*]. By means of a tree-trunk with the whole army I crossed it. Afterwards I defeated those Scythians; another (part of them) were captured and led to me in fetters. Their chief, Skunxa by name, was captured and led to me in fetters. There I made another (man their) chief, as was my desire. After that the country became mine... Those Scythians were disloyal, and Ahura Mazda was not worshipped by them. I (however) worshipped Ahura Mazda. By the favor of Ahura Mazda, as (was) my desire, so I treated them (Bisotun Inscription, V.21–33).[6]

In addition to differing on the outcome of the war, Darius' account suggests a different location for the war than that of Herodotus: *Sakā tigraxaudā* are otherwise listed in Achaemenid inscriptions together with *Sakā haumavargā*[7] as tribes and satrapies of Central Asia; it is *Sakā (tayaiy) paradraya* "Sakas beyond the sea or river" who are identified with the Scythians of the Pontic Steppes, in the same context as Skudra (Thrace). The conjecture that the

[3] Minorsky 1937, 115, 354.
[4] Benveniste 1945, 163.
[5] Frye 1963, 82–83.
[6] Cf. Schmitt 1991, 76.
[7] The "*haoma*(-consuming) Sakas", corresponding perhaps to the Greek Σκύθαι Ἀμύργιοι.

Sakā tigraxaudā "Sakas with pointed hat"[8] belonged to Central Asia is supported by the fact that the graves of the nomad rulers who wore pointed hats have been found in Central Asia, much similar to the tall pointed hat the captive Skunxa, depicted in the Bisotun relief, has on his head.[9] Considering the profound discrepancy between the Greek and Persian accounts, one should not rule out the possibility that there might have been two distinct wars between Darius and the Scythians.

The Bisotun relief betrays also the different cultural traditions to which Darius and Skunxa belonged. Comparing their outfits, the long, loose costume of the former, characteristic of the Near Eastern civilization, stands in sharp contrast against Skunxa's short tunic, with a broad belt and narrow trousers typical of the Steppe nomads–an indication how the South Iranians had drifted away from their prehistoric Steppe material culture. Furthermore, the fact that the Scythians did not share with Darius in worshipping Ahura Mazda implies divergence in spiritual culture.

Notwithstanding the differences, since the Scythians were skilled fighters, we may infer that some of the defeated Scythians would have joined the ranks of the Achaemenid army, or as troops of the king or his satraps; these would have risen from rank and files of the Scythians who would be drafted into the Persian army and served in the expedition of the great kings.[10] Indeed, Darius' military included contingents drawn from the Iranian nomadic tribes of Central Asia and sedentary peoples of Eastern Iran: Parthians, Chorasmians, Arians (from Herat region), Sogdians, Bactrians, Drangians, Sakas of the plains, and Sakas of the marshes. Other than military, however, it is unlikely that they attained high offices in the bureaucracy and rule of the empire, as many non-Persian Iranians did.[11]

Whatever the definite military outcome of the war (or wars) between Darius and the Scythians may have been, it had significant implications for both sides. On the one hand, Scythians became known as a formidable military force, and their internal unity was strengthened.[12] On the other hand, these confrontations put an end to the Scythian invasions of the Persian Empire as long as the heirs of Darius the Great continued to rule the Plateau. It was some decades after the downfall of the Achaemenid Empire (330 BCE) that the Steppe nomads could breach the borders, make their way into the Iranian Plateau and establish the Arsacid dynasty.

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[8] Corresponding to the Σκύθαι Ὀρθοκορυβάντιοι of the Greek authors.

[9] See Harmatta 1979; Frye 1983, 95, 103; Shahbazi 1982; Dandamaev 1994, 44; Briant 2002, 141–146.

[10] See Arrian, *Anabasis* 3.8.3, 3.11.3. Cf. Frye 1998, 172.

[11] Bivar 1983, 181; Vogelsang 1992, 96ff., 130–132, 304–315.

[12] Melyukova 1990, 97–117.

1.2. The Arsacids

This eventful period in terms of Steppe-Plateau contacts begins some eighty years after Alexander conquered the Persian Empire. In his drive towards the northeastern frontiers Alexander faced a strong and stubborn resistance of the natives, nomads included, necessitating the establishment of garrisons, which contributed in the future strengthening of defensive capabilities of the settled people in Central Asia. His successors, the Seleucids, managed to control frontiers of their kingdom for almost a century. It was the loss of the territorial integrity in the east, i.e. secession of Bactria and Parthia from the Seleucid kingdom, that instigated the incursion of the nomads who changed the course of history in this part of the world.

The Arsacids belonged to the confederation of Parni or Aparni, a tribe of the larger nomadic Dahi confederation (Strabo 11.508, 515), itself a Saka group in the broad sense of the ethnonym. The newcomers adopted the language of the settled inhabitants of Parthia and spread it beyond its original confines; in their drive westwards, the Arsacids gradually pushed Alexander's successors out of the Iranian homeland and revived the national sovereignty and traditions. It took nearly a century before the Arsacids seized Seleucia on the Tigris (141 BCE) and become the chief rulers of the Plateau. In spite of their apparent Hellenistic liking, their Saka origins with a tribal structure and behavior remained with the Arsacids in their long rule of nearly half a millennium (ca. 238 BCE–224 CE).

It did not take long before the Parni Arsacids were immersed into the native culture of Parthia/Khorasan – that is becoming Parthian ethnically and linguistically. As such, the Arsacids demonstrate *par excellence* a dynasty with an original Steppe identity who adopted themselves to the milieu of a sedentary civilization; this pattern was to continue down into the Islamic era, and repeated in a remarkably similar manner by the Turkic Saljuqs, who followed similar patterns of movements, battles, victories, and imperial rule over Persia. As the rulers of Iran, the Parthians were now in charge of sealing the northern frontiers against infringement of the Sakas. They did so by building a cavalry far superior to the Scythian horse warfare, equipped with a new breed of "Fergana" horse,[13] highly prized and designated as "heavenly" by the Chinese. By that time, China had been united and had built the Great Wall under the first emperor of the Ch'in dynasty, replaced by equally powerful Han in 202 BCE. Seeing that China and Iran successfully sealed their northern frontiers, the nomads rerouted themselves to the Western Steppes towards the Roman Empire.

Towards the end of the long rule of Mithradates I (ca. 171–132 BCE) the Parthian empire was consolidated across the Iranian Plateau. The traumatic situation

[13] See Borjian and Borjian 2001.

in the Steppes, however, was beyond the Parthian control. The clash of Hsiung-nu with the Yue-zhi had initiated a series of nomadic movements of "billiard-ball" type in Central Asia that eventually changed the political arrangement of the region by the end of the second century BCE. The Sakas, apparently still the most numerous tribes in Central Asia, were major players in these invasions. Pushing southward, they formed the Indo-Scythian (120 BCE) and Indo-Parthian dynasties (1st century CE),[14] possibly parallel with the establishment of the Saka kingdom of Khotan, a southern oasis in Xinjiang, where the Buddhist documents in the Iranian language of Khotan Saka are excavated. The Greco-Bactrian kingdom collapsed under these invasions, and the Yue-zhi established a state north of the Oxus and then in the first century of Common Era spread to the south under the tribe that gave its name to the Kushan Empire.[15]

The Saka invasions of Central Asia along the eastern borders of Parthia were bound to affect the Arsacids as well, with dire consequences. It was in battles against the nomadic bands that Mithradates' successor Phraates II was defeated and killed by the Sakas, as did his successor and uncle Artabanus I four years later, in 123 BCE. It was only under the invincible command of Mithradates II, the Great (r. 123–87) that the Parthian authority was restored in the east. The ground was now paved for the two great powers of Asia, the Arsacids in Iran and the Han dynasty in China, to establish the commercial route that is known today as the Silk Road.

The tensions with the eastern frontiers' nomads were somewhat relieved by their displacement, a scenario seen recurrently in the history of Eastern Iran. The Sakas were migrated and resettled in Arachosia and Drangiana, the territory in the Helmand basin, which was thus renamed Sacastena (Isidorus Characenus, *Stathmoi* 18), that is Sakastān "land of the Sakas," corresponding to Middle Persian Sagastān or Sagistān, whence Arabic Sijistān, and the present Sistān, the land shared between the modern states of Afghanistan and Iran. The Plateau is indeed dotted with many more toponyms bearing the "Saka" element (with the linguistic development Old Pers. *Saka-* > Mid. Pers. *Sag*), such as the several Sagzī "of or related to the Saka," as well as Sagzābād, Sagān, and the aforementioned Saqqiz. The history behind these toponyms remains to be established for each locality.

The Parni/Arsacid as well as the subsequent nomadic Saka incursions and migrations southwards might be regarded in both ethnic and cultural senses as re-Iranization of the Plateau, and Parthian conquests against the Seleucids may be considered as a pan-Iranian cause opposing Hellenism. Notwithstanding the title *Philhellēn* on the coins of Arsacid kings, particularly those minted in the

[14] Bivar 1983; Senior 2005; Fröhlich 2004.
[15] Frye 1996, 131ff.

towns with a Greek base population, we may distinguish two contradicting groups among the Parthian aristocracy: one consisted of those who had settled in Mesopotamia and were supported by the Greek colonial metropolises therein; the second group was the nobility of the purely Iranian provinces in the east, tightly bound to their Steppe heritage and linked with the Iranian-speaking nomadic tribes of Central Asia.[16] The struggle between these two groups had a profound influence on the course of Arsacid dynastic rule, with reflexes in Iranian historical tradition, i.e. the epic cycles depicting the legacy of the Arsacid kings and princes of Eastern Iran (see §2 below).

The association between the northeast and Iranization has more paradigms in Iranian history: Zoroastrianism began to spread from the east; and after two centuries of the Arab rule, the national independence and cultural Iranian renascence originated in Transoxiana and Khorasan, where the New Persian literary language was formed vis-à-vis Arabic. The northeast was indeed a recurrent source where of Iranian traditions stemmed and strengthened against the process of "Westernization" of the Iranians who were constantly being absorbed into the matured and still potent civilizations of the Fertile Crescent and Anatolia, and more generally of the Greco-Roman Mediterranean world.

1.3. The Sasanians

The Inner Asia witnessed in the fourth century of Common Era the Great Movement of Peoples, which marks the transformation from the "Scythic" to Hunic age in the Eurasian Steppes. By the end of the century, the steppes of Central Asia saw the expansion from the east of the Altaic-speaking peoples, under whose pressure the Iranian-speaking nomads moved south and west, although it is likely that some were ruled or absorbed by Altaic nomads.[17] What were the consequences of such historic events for Iran?

Having replaced the Parthians in 224–226 CE, the Sasanians were destined to rule Persia until the Arab invasion of 651. During these four-plus centuries, the Sasanians had their challenges both in the west and the east. In the west, Roman Empire and its successor Byzantine remained the main adversary of the Persian kings. In the east the Sasanian rule faced two challenges: the Kushans and the new waves of the nomadic invaders. The Kushan kingdom constituted the greatest power in Eastern Iran, at least for a century, ruling vast areas that extended from Central Asia to India. They were defeated and eliminated by the rising Sasanian power in the third century. The nomadic challenge to Sasanians came from the Chionites, the Hephthalites, and finally the Turks, in succession.

[16] See Olbrycht 2003, 69–109.
[17] See, *i.a.*, McGovern 1939, 399ff.

The ethnicity of the Chionites or the Hephthalites is not quite certain. There is indeed little evidence that these two were different peoples. They possibly originated in the steppes of Central Asia and were called in the sources by different names. The Hephthalites might have simply been mere continuation of the Chionites or else a prominent tribe or clan of it. Little is known also about their association with the Huns. Richard Frye surmises that the Chionites and the Hephthalites were the last Iranian-speaking nomads of the Steppes, mixed with the Altaic speakers who were called Huns, or the hordes consisted of essentially Iranian common folk ruled by Altaic chieftains. Striking, however, is the name Chion (Mid. Pers. *Xyōn*), which can either be a variant pronunciation of "Hun," or a developed form of the Avestan *Hyaona*, or else a combination of both.[18] Whatever the case may be, assimilation should be taken as an important factor in this age of ethnic transformation in the Steppes.

The fourth century saw the invasion of Central Asia by the Chionites. They subdued Sogdia and Bactria, the regions which were at least loosely controlled, perhaps jointly, by Sasanians and Kushans. As the Chionites reached the eastern borders of Persia proper, history repeated itself: similar to the way Cyrus and Darius, the greatest of the Achaemenid kings, challenged the Massagetae and Scythians, and as Mithradates II, the greatest of the Arsacid kings, confronted the Sakas, much the same way, Šāpur II (r. 309–79), the greatest of the Sasanian kings, had to resist the Chionites. After a period of wars and alliances, the Chionites finally brought an end to the Persian rule in Central Asia. In later times, only raids and temporary incursions were made by the Sasanians, such as the invasion Bahrām V (r. 420–438) of Bukhara.

Although the name *Xyōn* persisted throughout the Sasanian political literature as the eastern adversaries of the Persians, as of the mid-fifth century the nomadic invaders of Central Asia appear with the new name of Hephthalites. These were to succeed the Kushans kingdom, wielding great power in Eastern Iran for a century. Comparable with the bitter experience the Arsacids had with the Sakas some centuries earlier, the Sasanians suffered a series of defeats at the hands of the Hephthalites; in a battle with them King Pērōz (r. 459–84) lost his life in 484, and his son Kawād I (r. 488–96, 499–531) solicited the Hephthalites to help him regain the throne. It was only under Chosroes I (r. 531–579), whose rule marks the zenith of the Sasanian rule, that the Hephthalites could be defeated for good: in alliance with the Western Turks, who were beginning to make their appearance on the Iranian borders in Central Asia, Persians destroyed the Hephthalite Empire circa 558. The invaded territory was divided between the victors with the Oxus River as the frontier.

[18] Cf. Frye 1998, 171; Frye 1963, 216–217. On the various forms of "Hun," see Bailey 1954. See also Felix 1991; Bivar 2003.

Under Chosroes I, the frontiers of Ērānšahr were reinforced against further nomadic invasions by building defense walls in the steppes of Gurgān, southeast of the Caspian Sea, and in Darband, connecting the Caspian shore to the eastern toe of the Great Caucasus chain. These preventive measures may have contributed to the extension of Pax Sasanica for a century or so. The integrity of the Iranian lands and its defense against the northern nomads was so important an issue that it constituted the main theme of the *Xwadāy-nāmag*, a compilation of Iranian historical traditions most likely completed in the reign of Chosroes I.[19] *Xwadāy-nāmag* aimed to bolster the nationalistic outlook of the Iranians by placing them vis-à-vis the legendary Turanians, who were identified then with the Chionites and Hephthalites, the nomadic menace of the time. Some half a millennium later, when the same work was versified by Firdawsi into its final redaction, the *Shahnama* (see §2, below), the Turanians could only be identified with the Turks who had reached the Oxus and were about to conquer the entire Plateau and beyond.

By the time of the Muslim Arab invasion of Iran, the Iranian peoples of the Central Asian Steppes had been largely absorbed by the Turks. The Turkic expansion[20] southward into the oases of Central Asia took place in the earlier Islamic centuries. Samanids, the last Iranian dynasty to rule in Transoxiana, were succeeded in the eleventh century by Turkic dynasties. At this time the Plateau was partitioned into petty kingdoms that were in vassalage relations with the Caliphs of Baghdad. With no imperial power to seal the northeastern frontiers, a Turkmen tribe of the Ghozz led by the Saljuq clan crossed the Oxus River, and soon after founded the first Turkic empire on the Plateau. As mentioned above (§1.2), the migration routes and the strategies leading to the dynastic rule of the Saljuqs were strikingly similar to those of the Arsacids some fourteen centuries earlier. The nomadic invasions and migrations from the north continued after the Saljuqs, not only from the northeast but also from the Caucasian passes of Darband and Darial, through which the Alanic intermittent incursions and raids, which had begun in the first century of Common Era,[21] lasted until the destruction of the Alans by the Mongol horde in the thirteenth century.[22]

2. Iranian National History and the Steppe Nomads

Prior to the introduction of factual history, reconstructed in modern times based on historical and archeological evidence, Iranian peoples had their own interpretation of their past, which was a blend of historical facts and myths and

[19] Yarshater 1983.
[20] For the expansion of the Turks, see Barthold 1945.
[21] Sulimirski 1970, 142.
[22] Borjian 2000.

legends–a radically different perception of the antiquity from modern scholarship. Steppe Iranians have left a profound imprint on these traditions. After all, it was the age-old confrontations with the Steppe nomads as well as with the Greco-Roman civilization that encouraged the late Sasanians to boost the nationalistic feelings of their own people through compilation of the *Xwadāy-nāmag*, the *Book of Kings*.

The contents of the *Book of Kings* survive in several Pahlavi, Arabic, and Persian works compiled in earlier Islamic era, but the most elaborate narration belongs to Firdawsi's *Shahnama*, versified in the late tenth century. The epic consists of a sequence of fifty kings within four dynasties: (1) the Pišdadids ("created first"): world kings from Gayōmart through Frēdōn and Iranian kings from Manōčihr to Zaw, followed by (2) the Kayanid kings from Kay Kawād through Kay Xusraw and then from Kay Luhrāsp through Dārā, who lost his crown to Iskandar, i.e. Alexander the Great, (3) the Arsacids, with only a brief mention (a result of the efforts of the early Sasanians to obliterate the glorious history of the Parthians, in order to give legitimacy to their own dynasty), and (4) the Sasanians, which constitute the historical half of the *Shahnama*. Thus, there is no place for the Medes and Achaemenids in the traditional history. This loss of collective memory on the part of Persians came about along with the spread of Zoroastrianism from the northeast to the rest of the Iranian Plateau. The Zoroastrian progression carried the myths and legends originated from the Avestan people, outlined in their holy scriptures, and developed in the course of oral transmissions.[23] The Avestan tradition in its early form knew little about the history of Western Iranians and the experiences they had with the Mesopotamian and Mediterranean civilizations.

The challenge we face here is to explain how some figures and events of the *Avesta* had profoundly been amplified vis-à-vis confrontations with the Northern Iranians by the time they reached the *Shahnama*.

How was the Avestan tradition, formed in a primitive economy and limited geography of the Steppes (reflected in the *Gatha*s) and Eastern Iran (in the *Younger Avesta*) refined and reinterpreted under the Arsacids and Sasanians to accord with the long imperial status the Iranians had acquired in West Asia? Comparing the *Avesta* and related Pahlavi works against the legendary part of the *Shahnama*, we find the main figures, together with their lineages and associations, as well as order of the events, are retained with striking accuracy – an expected loyalty to sacred traditions. Thus the originally mythological figures, often traceable to the Indo-Iranian epoch, such as Gayōmarta, Haošiianŋha (> Hōšang), Taxma Urupi (Tahmōrat), Yima (Jam), Aži Dahāka (Dahāk), and Θraētaona (Frēdōn) find their place in the national history as the first world

[23] Nöldeke 1920; Yarshater 1971.

kings associated with early inventions and spread of civilization.[24] The Kayanid kings of the *Shahnama*, namely Kay Kawād, Kay Kāʾūs, Kay Xusraw, Kay Luhrāsp, and Kay Guštāsp (< Kauui Vištāspa), correspond to the Kavi family of rulers of the *Avesta*.[25] Other protagonists of the *Shahnama*, such as Sīāwaš, Jāmāsp, Isfandīār, Zarēr, and Humāy, just to name a few, as well as the Turanian archenemies, Afrāsiāb and Arjāsp, have more or less similar standings in the Avestan tradition. The profound difference between the two traditions is the geographic domain within which the events take place, and the consequent metamorphosis of the Avestan clans, who then had little ethnic distinction, into the countries and "nations" of the late antiquity Near East.

An Avestan notion heavily invested upon in the national history is *Tūra-*, originally an ethnonym for the fierce nomadic riders who robbed, stole, and killed the cattle from their righteous sedentary neighbors, i.e. the Avestan people.[26] Even though the contents of the *Avesta* was adopted by historical Iranians without necessarily understanding the underlying facts, the identification of *Tūra-* with the nomadic tribes of Central Asia (initially Iranian-, and then Turkic-speakers, with whom the kingdoms on the Plateau had some of their most remarkable encounters) was indeed a relevant one.[27] Thus, the blend of the legendary *Tūra-* with the northeastern nomads, with whom Persians had numerous historical encounters, gave way to the significant notion of the Turanians in the national history. The most colorful events in the heroic part of the *Shahnama* are the series of wars between Iran and Turan, and, in fact, an essential part of the Iranian national character was built on the definition of an *other* who was the Turanians, reflecting the perennial disparity between the sedentary, agricultural economy practiced on the Plateau and the nomadic way of life of the Steppes.

Besides the Steppe nomads, the historical Iranians had another lasting rival: the Roman Empire and its successor the Byzantine on the west, against which a good part of the Parthian and Sasanian political history had been formed by the time when the *Xwadāy-nāmag* was in its concluding stages of compilation. In order to meet with this reality, on which the Avestan tradition had nothing to offer, the historical Iranians had to introduce a new legend into their history: that

[24] See Christensen 1934.

[25] Christensen 1931; Skjærvø 2013.

[26] Boyce 1987.

[27] The possibility that the Avestan *Tūra-* corresponded to the Scythians of the Steppes already in the Avestan epoch, as implied from their possession of swift horses (*Yašt* 17.55–56) among other descriptions of them in the *Avesta*, will depend on which of the hypotheses concerning the time and place of composition of the Avestan texts is considered tenable. For two divergent views, see Boyce 1987; Gnoli 1987.

of the division of the realm of Frēdōn, the last of the world great kings, among his three sons: Ērēč/Ēraj, Tūč/Tūr, and Sarm, the eponymous ancestors of Iranians, Turanians, and Romans, respectively.[28] At this stage the national history unfolds a new geographical domain consisting of three distinct countries: Ēran (Iran or Persia, including the Arabian Peninsula), Tūran (Transoxiana and the Asian Steppes, and, by extension, China), and (H)rōm (Rome, i.e. Anatolia and the Mediterranean, as well as the eastern Europe). Thus the legendary bipartite division (Avestan people vs. their nomadic enemies, the *Tūra-*) grew into a tripartite one, commensurate with the development of the geopolitics of Ērānšahr throughout the antiquity.[29]

As the *Avesta* lacks such a triad, one may be tempted to seek the origins of the Iranian tradition in the Biblical story of Noah's three sons, Shem, Ham, and Japheth (*Genesis* 10), or even more tenably in the parallel traditions among the Indo-Europeans. Ancient Germans had a similar legend, according to which Mannus, the ancestor of the German people, divided his realm among his three sons, from whom sprang the three main German tribes (Tacitus, *Germania* 2.2). Moreover, as transmitted by Herodotus (IV.5–7), the Pontic Scythians had the legend of Targitaus and his three sons, Lipoxais, Arpoxais, and Colaxais; each son became the ancestor of a main Scythian tribe; the Royal Scythians descended from Colaxais, who had become the supreme ruler of all Scythia. The analogy between the Scythian and Persian sagas become even more attractive when we learn about the surname of the Royal Scythians, Paralatae (< proto-Iranian *para-dāta*), which is shared by Frēdōn and his kin, Pīšdād. The motif of the legend, however, could be as old as Frēdōn himself, for his very name, Av. *Θraētaona-* (<*θri-* "three") bears the notion of trinity, comparable to the Indian mythical character *Trita-*, and is traceable to the proto-Indo-European social stratification.[30]

* * *

Let us now turn to Sarm (or Salm, in the *Shahnama*) and his association in Iranian national history with the western neighbors of Persia. Unlike Tūr's offspring, the Turanians, who play the antagonist role in the national history, we find little mention of the progenies of Sarm. Throughout the *Shahnama* we find the association between Sarm and the Romans only in passing.[31] This imbalance

[28] Molé 1952–53.

[29] See Borjian and Borjian 2011.

[30] See Gnoli 1980, 115–119.

[31] In the reign of the Sasanian king Xusraw Parvīz: ... *abā Qaysar-i yakdil u yaknihād* /// *kujā Salm būd-aš nīā-yi kahun* (*Shahnama*, VIII, 103) "with the strong-minded Csesar, to whom Salm

between the Turanians and Sarm is hardly surprising, since the Avestan tradition offers little on the Sarm nation to be amplified upon.

As to the name, it is widely accepted that Sarm is a linguistically related to *Sairima-*,[32] mentioned only once in the extant *Avesta*, where praise is offered to the *fravaši*s of the just men and women of Airyas, Tūryas, Sairimas, Sāinus, and Dāhis (*Yašt* 13.143–144). The sequence of the names Airyas, Tūryas, and Sairimas in this authoritarian passage of the *Avesta* leaves little doubt about their corresponding association with Ēraj, Tūr, and Sarm of the national history. The reason why Sairima – and not any other peoples and tribes stated in the *Yašt*s – are selected to be identified with the western adversaries of historical Iranians in the traditions leading to the national history may very well lie in the name resemblance Sairima had with historical Sauromatae/Sarmatians of the Eurasian Steppes. Actually, *Sarm* is a singular form of *Sarm-at* in certain East Iranian languages, and the association between Sairima-/Sarm on the one hand and the Sarmatians on the other is supported by many Iranists.[33] In all likelihood, the Middle Iranian "Sarm" appears to have been linguistically adjusted itself to "Sarmat" (Sarmatians); had this adjustment not been taken place, the natural development of the Avestan *Sairima-* would lead to the form **Sērim* (with the long vowel) in Parthian and Middle Persian languages.

What historical contacts did make Sarmatians so well known to Iranians? We find several encounters between Iranians of the Plateau and those of the Steppes in the Arsacid period, when the warlike Sarmatians had their days of glory in the Western Steppes and would make periodic alliances with the Parthians, Romans or local powers of the Caucasus. A notable event of this nature is recorded by Tacitus (*Annals*, Book VI, events of 35–6 CE): two groups of Sarmatians, not simply mercenary groups but substantial military forces, "engaged themselves in conflicting interests". One group was allied with the Iberians who were helping the Roman Empire, while another group fought for the Arsacid king Artabanus II (r. 8/9–39/40 CE). The Iberians, having managed to block the pro-Arsacid Sarmatians to swarm into South Caucasus, inflicted a decisive defeat on the Parthian army.[34] By the late Sasanian period, when the Sarmatians had long been replaced by the Alans in the north Caucasus, the

was the great ancestor"; *nuxust andar āyad zi Salm-i buzurg // zi Iskandar ān kinadār-i suturg* (*Shahnama*, VIII, 257) "the original [disaster] comes from the great Salm – from Alexander, that enormous avenger". The *Bundahišn* (15.29) defines the Sarm people as those dwelling in Hrōm, i.e. "Rome," the Byzantine territory, most particularly, Anatolia.

[32] Justi 1895, 289, s.v. "Sairima."

[33] For a bibliography of discussions, see Gnoli 1980, 60–61, note 8.

[34] See also Olbrycht 1998, 146–147.

latter continued to contribute in the Persian-Byzantine wars.[35] We also find in the *Shahnama* an association between the Alans and Salm, who defended their fortress.[36]

The Parthian affairs with the Sarmatians strongly suggest that the legend of Frēdōn's three sons must have been conceived sometime during the Arsacid dynastic rule. There is, however, a more convincing reason to support such chronology: such a legend should have been formed when the Western Iranians were in the process of growing from a people into a nation, that is to say when the designation "Iran" developed from the name of a people into the name of a country. Because there is little evidence as to how the Arsacids themselves would have called their empire, we may resort to the preceding and succeeding Persian dynasties. The Achaemenids used the term *Arya* "Aryan, Iranian" only as an ethnonym.[37] Centuries later, by the time of Adašīr Pābakān, the founder of the Sasanian dynasty, we will find the idea of Iran as a political entity looming large. One may therefore find it logical to attribute the initiation of the idea of Iran as a country to the long rule of the Parthians. As mentioned above, the geopolitical reality of Iran as a country and the endeavors to defend its sovereignty against two strong powers, the Roman Empire in the west and the Central Asian nomads in the east, necessitated the initiation of the legend of Frēdōn's three sons, which was further elaborated in the course of oral transmissions.[38]

Identifying Sarm with the Sarmatians and Tūr with the Iranian-speaking nomads of the Asian Steppes has yet another implication: the three sons of Frēdōn were all speakers of Iranian languages. Selection of the Sarmatians as offspring of Sarm might have to do with their recognition on the part of Iranian-speakers of the Plateau as an ethnically kin people. If not intelligible to the early Middle Western Iranian dialects, the Sarmatian language could still be identifiably close enough to the East Iranian languages (whose speakers, the Chorasmians, Sogdians, and Bactrians, could well be considered brethren to the Persian and Parthians of the antiquity) that some kind of ethno-linguistic affinity with the Sarmatians would be assumed. Classical sources allude to affinity between the languages spoken on the Iranian Plateau and those of Scytho-Sarmatians; e.g.

[35] For the sources, see Alemany 2000, 359.

[36] *Hamē īn saxun Qāran andēša kard // ki bargāšt mar Salm rōy az nibard // Alānī diz-aš bāšad ārāmgāh // sazad gar bar ō bar bigīrīm rāh* (*Shahnama*, I, 145).

[37] The introductry paragraph of the inscription of Darius I at Naqš-i rustam reads: *adam Dārayavahuš xšāyaθiya vzṛka, xšāyaθiya xšāyaθiyānām, xšāyaθiya dahyūnām vispazanānām, xšāyaθiya ahyāyā būmiyā vzṛkāyā dūraiapiy, Vištāspahyā puça, Haxāmanišiya, Pārsa, Pārsahyā puça, Ariya, Ariya ciça* (Darius, Na, 8–15) "I am Darius the Great King, King of Kings, King of countries containing all kind of men, King in this great earth far and wide, son of Hystaspes, an Achaemenian, a Persian, son of a Persian, an Aryan, having Aryan lineage" (cf. Kent 1953, 138). See also Rezai Baghbidi 2009.

[38] Borjian and Borjian 2011.

Justinus (41.1.1) states that Parthian was somewhere between Median and Scythian.[39] In light of this view, the ethnic uniformity among the three sons of Frēdōn would be disturbed if, instead of Sarmatians, a non-Iranian people were selected to descend from the second son of Frēdōn.

* * *

To this point we have investigated how the core Avestan tradition was adopted by later Iranians with regards to historical realities, leading to the Sasanian rendition of the Iranian national history. But the Avestan elements constitute only the oldest substratum of the *Shahnama*. Therein we find two more layers, both from the heroic ages and traditions of Eastern Iran, which are anachronistically blended with the Avestan tradition to form the national epic.

One layer consists of the warriors such as Gēw, Gōdarz, Mīlād (Mihrdād), Farhād, and Bēžan, who often lead Iranian army in the long wars with Tūran. These names as well as the events connected with them can be identified with the Arsacid kings and princes of Eastern Iran (see §1.2, above), whose courageous exploits came down via oral transmissions of the minstrels and storytellers.[40] Therefore, the Arsacids, originally a Saka tribe, who brought about a heroic age onto the Plateau, found their share in the national history under the guise of noble warriors, even if the Arsacids as a dynasty as little as a few verses in the *Shahnama*.

The second superstratum in the *Shahnama* and parallel sources is the stories of Zāl and his redoubtable son Rustam, the arch hero of Iran in most encounters withTūran. Their exploits, as vassal kings of Sistān, begin to unfold under Manōčihr, an offspring of Ēraj and the first king of Iran, and continues down to Kay Guštāsp, the last of the Kayanids proper; thus the lifespan of Zāl and Rustam combined runs throughout the reigns of some eight kings and constitutes the epical core of the *Shahnama*. It has been established[41] that these characters are adopted from a heroic cycle of Sakastān in the Helmand basin; hence, it is not just by coincidence that Rustam is on occasion referred to as Sagzī, that is a Saka, a Scythian.

In fact Rustam has a true Scythian character. His many acts of valor and even his guise give a kind of Viking air to the saga – the style he is generally portrayed in the paintings accompanying modern editions of the *Shahnama*. Rustam is often mentioned together with his marvelous steed Raxš, who is instrumental in making the warrior triumphant in many battles. In Firdawsi's poet-

[39] I would like to thank Marek Olbrycht for making me aware of this source.
[40] Yarshater 1983.
[41] Yarshater 1983.

ic narration we often find Raxš grazing in vast *marγ(zār)*s, or steppes, particularly in the episodes of the *Haft x*$^{(w)}$*ān*, the Seven Adventures of Rustam in his long journey to rescue Kay Kāʾūs. Another reminiscent of a Scythian warrior can be observed in the death of Rustam: it happens when the hero, riding his Raxš, falls into a pit dug and implanted with blades and arrows by his envious brother Šaγād,[42] causing the demise of both the rider and his horse in their prearranged grave. This image of the warrior, horse, and blades and arrows all buried together reminds us of the Scythian barrows of the Russian Steppes, where the deceased warrior was buried along with his horses and weapons. We may even seek in Rustam the faithlessness the Scythians were accused of (see §1.1, above): the element of heresy in Rustam shows itself in his killing, though reluctantly, of Isfandīār, the prince of Iran who championed the spread of Zoroastrianism; shortly after this tragic combat Rustam faces his death and is bound to an ominous afterlife.[43] Lastly, mention should be made of Rustam's father, who was born white haired and thus named Zāl/Zarr "white, yellow, golden,"[44] recalling the Nordic-looking Scythians of the Eurasian Steppes.

* * *

To summarize, such outstanding elements in the national epic as the continuous wars between Iran and Tūran, the inclusion of Sarmatians in the triad notion of the ethnogenesis of Iranians, and the Saka heroic cycles of Zāl and Rustam, all mirror the long historical experience the Persians had with the Northern Iranian Peoples.

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[42] A possible affinity of this name with "Saka" deserves attention.

[43] *Shahnama* V, 419, vv. 1455–1458.

[44] Note also Firdawsi's description of Zāl's face: *ču bussad lab u rux hamānand-i xōn* "lips like the sea star and the face bearing a resemblance to blood" (*Shahnama* I, 173).

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Abstract

The intention of this paper is to give a broad outline of the persistent presence of the Steppe Iranians in the Persian history and culture, by bringing together two fields that have often been treated independently. After an overview of the history of interactions between Persia and the Iranian-speaking Steppe nomads, we will extend our attention to the Iranian national history to offer some insights on myths and legends of the *Shahnama* that have been originated from or influenced by the mutual relations between the Steppe nomads and the dynasties who ruled on the Iranian Plateau.

REVIEW ARTICLE

ANABASIS 5 (2014)
STUDIA CLASSICA ET ORIENTALIA

Marek Jan Olbrycht (Poland)

THE DIADEM IN THE ACHAEMENID AND HELLENISTIC PERIODS[1]

Keywords: diadem, Achaemenid iconography, Hellenistic royalty, Alexander III, royal attributes

The book under review is the proceedings volume of papers delivered at the 2009 Münster colloquium entitled *Das Diadem der hellenistischen Herrscher*. It comprises two parts: the first contains nine articles on potential pre-Hellenistic prototypes of the diadem; and the second part presents seven articles on the diadem as an attribute of power in the Hellenistic period. Terminological issues relating to diadems and functionally and/or formally analogous headbands are addressed in an introduction ('Einleitung'), which also gives an account of the research conducted on the subject hitherto. The term most frequently used in this volume (with most articles in German) is *Binde* ('headband'). The designation 'diadem' did not come into widespread use to denote headbands treated as an attribute of royal power until the Hellenistic period. This volume addresses an issue which is crucial for the understanding of the Achaemenid and Hellenistic periods – attributes of royal power, the Achaemenid, Macedonian and Greek legacy, and the nature of royal power.

The milestone in research on the diadem is the work of H.-W. Ritter, encapsulated in his book *Diadem und Königsherrschaft* (1965). In a well-documented and balanced discourse Ritter argues that the origins of the Hellenistic diadem went back to Alexander's coronation attribute, which in turn had been adopted from the Achaemenids. A counterargument was put forward by R.R.R. Smith in

[1] This is a review article of: Achim Lichtenberger, Katharina Martin, H.-Helge Nieswandt, Dieter Salzmann (eds.), *Das Diadem der hellenistischen Herrscher. Übernahme, Transformation oder Neuschöpfung eines Herrschaftszeichens?* (Reihe *Euros*: Vol. 1), Bonn: Habelt-Verlag 2012; VIII, 468 pp., with numerous illustrations, ISBN 978-3-7749-3671-3.

Hellenistic Royal Portraits (1988, pp. 34–38), tracing the diadem back to the headband of Dionysios. However, Smith does not go into the origins of the diadem as extensively as Ritter, and his arguments are not so well backed up by documentary evidence. Another significant contribution to work on the origins of the diadem was made by A. Alföldi in the paper 'Diadem und Kranz' (in Alföldi 1985, pp. 105–131), who sees it as going back to the headbands worn by contestants in the Greek agonistic games. Alföldi's standpoint is that Alexander was a champion of Hellenism ('Vorkämpfer des Hellenismus', p. 127) while subjugating Western Asia.

The first group of articles discusses the regalia used by the kings and princes of Western Asia prior to Alexander. The article by the archaeologist M. Novák (pp. 9–34) is the fundamental contribution here, showing the tradition of regalia in Mesopotamia, chiefly Assyria. The kings of Assyria wore diadems and tiaras reminiscent of the cylindrical *polos* crown (p. 22, ill. 15–16). In Assyria the diadem was given precedence over the tiara. Quite naturally, the Assyrian tradition had an impact on the royal attributes of the Medes and Persians.

A. von Lieven (pp. 35–54) argues that the headband used by the pharaohs of Egypt since the Old Kingdom had the function of a royal attribute. The headbands of Egyptian rulers were usually made of gold and decorated with the Uraeus. A gold headband of this type occasionally occurs in the Ptolemaic iconography instead of a typical diadem made of fabric.

The Achaemenid use of the diadem is a particularly controversial issue. J. Wiesehöfer (pp. 55–62) gives a brief analysis of the Persian diadem in the written sources. In Persia a diadem encircled the king's tall tiara (*tiara orthe*), while the "royal kindred" (*syngeneis*) also availed themselves of this attribute (*semeion*: Xen. *Kyr*. 8.3.13), but they were not permitted to wear the *tiara orthe*. The passage in Xenophon is probably the earliest Greek record of the diadem prior to Alexander. The tiara is often mentioned in the records on its own, and in the opinion of Wiesehöfer it was a more important attribute than the diadem (p. 56), which would run counter to the Assyrian tradition.

Nonetheless, the diadem appears to have been an important component of the Achaemenid regalia, usually worn in combination with tiaras. Curtius 6.6.4 claims that Alexander wore 'a purple head-band interwoven with white, like the one Darius had once had, and he assumed Persian dress'. Achaemenid rulers used crowns of various types depending on the occasion. Similarly, in many of the medieval kingdoms a distinction was made between crowns worn at ceremonies of feudal homage and ancestral crowns. There could well have been analogous (and other) distinctions between the crowns used in Persia under the Achaemenids: since these monarchs had two different types of official robes, the Persian-Elamite apparel, and the Median costume, they must have had at least

two different types of tiaras, alongside their diadem.[2] The term *tiara* referred to several different types of royal crowns. Hekataios writes that *kyrbasia* is another term for the tiara, a kind of hat (*pilos*: *BNJ* 264 F18). Herodotos claims that the Persians go to battle wearing trousers and a *kyrbasia* hat (5.49). In another description he mentions Saka in pointed *kyrbasia* hats (7.64). Other records refer on many occasions to the *kyrbasia* as the Achaemenid crown. The conclusion to be drawn from all these references is that the *kyrbasia* was a soft hat, probably made of felt. In fact the king of Persia wore a specific type of *kyrbasia* – the stiffed *tiara orthe.*

Apart from the word *tiara* ancient authors also used the term *kidaris/kitaris* to denote the Achaemenid crown,[3] often in combination with the designation *orthe* ('upright').[4] Strabo (11.13.9) uses three different terms, *tiara, kitaris,* and *pilos*, for the Persian royal paraphernalia as adopted from the Medes, but he does not mention a diadem. Curtius (3.3.19) applies the phrase *cidaris regium insigne* for an atribute supplemented with a white and blue band. Herodotos (7.90.1) refers to the Cyprian crown as a *kitaris* worn with a band known as a *mitra*, but the term *kitaris* is actually emended.[5] In *Itin. Alex.* 64 and Hesychios s.v. *kitaris* this headdress is identified as the royal headgear. It was the American Orientalist Olmstead who pointed out that the term *kidaris*/*kitaris* derives from the Semitic languages including the Hebrew *keter*.[6] It seems that the Persian cylindrical crown (often topped with crenellations), known from the reliefs and coinage, should be identified as the *kidaris*/*kitaris*, and hence this is the type of crown referred to in the written records, contrary to the opinion of Wiesehöfer (pp. 59–60, following Tuplin 2007, 79f.).

H.-H. Nieswandt's article analyses the headbands/diadems on the satrapal coins of the Achaemenid period (pp. 63–159), presenting what is effectively a richly illustrated monograph. Nieswandt identifies 12 variants of the tiara and diadem on the coinage. The diadems on satrapal coins had fairly short headbands, unlike the diadems of Hellenistic rulers. Nieswandt indicates a portrayal on a mounted figure from Alexander's Sarcophagus as an early example of the use of the diadem in the Hellenistic age, and quite rightly observes that Alexander adopted the Persian diadem, endowing it with the status of a special royal attribute.[7]

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[2] On the Median and Persian clothing, see Bittner 1987; Calmeyer 1988; Shahbazi 1992. On the Achaemenid tiaras, see Calmeyer 1976; 1993; Tuplin 2007.

[3] Ktesias 688 F 15(50); Curt. 3.3.19; Nik. Dam. 90 F 66(45).

[4] *Kidaris orthe*: Plut. *Artox*. 26, 28; *Mor*. 340C; *Them*. 29; Arr. *An*. 6.29.3.

[5] See the discussion in Ritter 1965, 170–172.

[6] Olmstead 1948, 282.

[7] Recently new studies have been published on the coinage in the Achaemenid empire, see, e.g., Bodzek 2011.

A. Lichtenberger's paper is an attempt to answer the key question whether the diadem was used in Macedonia prior to Alexander III. He is of the opinion that the late written sources on the diadem from the Roman period should be treated with caution – by analogy with the situation in art – due to their excessive dependence on contemporary developments. The caution is necessary, however, this is not a good analogy. Unlike the situation in the arts, in the tradition of the written records authors tended to reproduce earlier works, and usually the overlay of contemporary references is more readily identifiable. In the arts, apart from the copies of Hellenistic works, the tendency to represent attributes which were the most important and best known at the time was much stronger than in the historical writings. That is why a medallion from Tarsos dating back to the Roman period and showing Philip II in a diadem is of no use for a study on the Hellenistic period. The Romans considered the diadem an attribute across the board for Macedonian rulers, for instance Philip V and Antiochos III.

The passages quoted by Lichtenberger (Plut. *Ant*. 54.8; Eustathios, *Ad Odyss*. 1.122, Herod. 1.3.1–3) refer to the diadem compounded with the *kausia* hat. The *kausia* was a traditional headdress in pre-Hellenistic Macedonia.[8] It is depicted on the Gnosis Mosaic from Pella. There was also the *petasos* hat, which had ribands tied under the chin. Sometimes the ribands were not tied, and hung down loosely around the neck, as shown on the coins of Alexander I (p. 168, ill. 10). The *petasos* also appears on the coinage of later kings of Macedonia, though usually without the ribands. Sometimes there is a band on a *kausia* depicted in an artwork (e.g. a sculpture from Kalymnos, p. 174, ill. 29). On some of the coins from the times of Philip II there is a young rider wearing the victor's band; on others the rider is bearded, sometimes with a headband (pp. 169–173). Even if this bearded rider were to represent Philip, which is unlikely, the headband need not be a diadem, but a sportsman's headband, in other words signifying the ascription of the attribute of an Olympic champion to the monarch. Lichtenberger had good grounds to conclude that in Macedonia the diadem was not an attribute of royal power before Alexander.

S. Lehmann's article refers back to the Alföldi's tradition, in which the diadem is derived from the practices of agonistic sportsmanship. Lehmann observes that the terms *tainia (taenia)*, *diadem*, and *stemma* were used to denote the headbands worn in Greece during sports competition and in religious contexts. The Charioteer of Delphi (ca. 470 B.C.) wears the *tainia*, the headband of victory (p. 184, ill. 1a-c). Another example is Diadumenos (p. 187, ill. 3). Alongside the *tainia,* the wreath was another symbol of sports victory. Lehmann examines the meaning of the diadem in and after Alexander's times (p. 182), and claims that there are no representations of Alexander in a diadem, hence it was not Alexan-

[8] Janssen 2007, 43–45.

der who introduced the diadem, but the Diadochi. However, this argument is not persuading, as striking changes in Alexander's royal ideology, and their impact on the 'power of images' or iconographic sphere, are difficult to grasp in terms of chronology, contrary to his political and military achievements. Thus for a long time Alexander did not make many substantial novelties in the iconography of his coinage, which therefore does not reflect the dynamic rate of change in his status as the ruler of Macedonia and Western Asia. Likewise the king's title did not appear on Alexander's coins until his last issues, although no-one has any doubts as to his monarchical status (cf. p. 195). Lehmann highlights the significance of the so-called Daochos Monument from the temple of Apollo at Dephi. Daochos, a Thessalian prince, put up a monument in Delphi (dated by the author to the early 3rd century) for his father Agias (pp. 196–197). For Lehmann this monument marks a turning-point in the evolution of the post-Alexander royal ideology, but such an ascription is over-exaggerated, since this was a family of provincial lords from Thessaly of no great significance in the rivalries between the Diadochi. Moreover, the dating of the monument remains debatable. Lehmann scrutinizes images showing figures wearing headbands which were strictly connected with sports competitions included the statues of Ptolemaic agonists, or their portrayals on their coinage. Ptolemaic chariots won numerous victories at the Olympic games, which were then commemorated in the iconography of some of the artworks commissioned by the Lagids. In general, the *tainia*, wreath, or sometimes even just a palm branch, were the attributes of agonistic champions, and while in Hellenistic times they made their way into the royal iconography (as Lehmann rightly underscores), we can hardly say that the origins of the diadem go back to the *tainia*. Lehmann is clearly focused on the Greek cultural sphere, but seems to ignore the fact that Alexander found himself in the lands of Iranian habitation and the Oriental world and its cultural milieu, where he had to establish his image as a monarch of Asia, while Greece was relegated to the peripheries of his political interests. Alexander's career took him a long way beyond the framework of the Greek world, and the context of the Greek agonistic sports was incommensurate with the realities of Iran and Western Asia in Alexander's situation. Outside the world of the Greeks the concept was not *allgemeinverständlich*, as Lehmann would have it. I can hardly agree with his conclusion on the origin of the diadem, although he presents his arguments assiduously and makes a clear distinction between facts and interpretations. Moreover, he rightly emphasises the importance of agonistic symbols in Hellenistic iconography.

K.M. Meyer looks at Dionysios' headband as a potential prototype for the diadem. His point of departure is Diodoros 4.4.4. and a similar passage in Pliny, *NH* 7.191, describing Dionysios vel Liber Pater as the inventors of the *regnum*

insigne, viz. the diadem, and the initiator of the triumphal procession. But Meyer fails to scrutinize the passage quoted from Diodoros, who refers to 'some writers of myths' as the authors he had used. In other words Diodoros does not treat the invention of the diadem within a historical context. But it is precisely Dionysios' headband which is often regarded as the prototype of the diadem.[9] Meyer examines the headbands that occur in the iconography of Dionysios, who usually appears with a wreath, and only rarely with a headband. As of the 5th century the headband is a frequent feature in the vase painting. On the coinage the predominant detail is the wreath, with the headband on coins from Naxos, and only sporadically on other issues. In general other deities apart from Dionysios did not have the headband as an attribute. The first headbands on the coinage minted by the Diadochi appeared around 317–316 B.C., on posthumous images of Alexander minted by Ptolemy I (p. 220). However, we can hardly assume that Ptolemy invented the diadem – the principal royal attribute – for the portrait of Alexander when he was still just the satrap of Egypt. Ptolemy himself appeared in a diadem as of approximately 305/4 B.C., when he took the title of king. Posthumously, Alexander is shown in a diadem on coins struck by Lysimachos as well. In Meyer's opinion the origins of the diadem may be traced back to the headband of Dionysios. The fundamental problem and flaw in this proposal is that Alexander was not a new Dionysios for the Iranians or other Asian peoples – the concept would not have gained recognition in Asia. The historical context appears again crucial for any understanding of the origin of the diadem as a royal attribute under Alexander and his successors.

T. Schreiber writes on headbands in everyday use in Greece (pp. 233–247). This problem was addressed earlier by A. Krug, who identified 14 different types of headbands.[10] Krug's observations make up the basic core for Schreiber's deliberations. Headbands were worn in various situations, e.g. underneath a helmet, as may be seen on the famous Exekias Vase in the figure of Achilles. A similar headband is on the Riace Warrior A. Schreiber suggests that Diadumenos is in fact wearing a utility headband, not a victor's *tainia*. K. Martin has contributed two articles to the volume. In the first (pp. 249–278) she discusses headbands as depicted on selected coins and in artworks, with special attention to heroes and hero-like figures.

K. Dahmen examines Alexander's use of the diadem in his inspiring study (pp. 281–292). He observes that the sculptures of Alexander show him without a diadem. This may be explained by the fact that most of the representations of Alexander were done (or at least initiated) before the Battle of Gaugamela; this was the time when his classical images were made (e.g. the Granikos monument

[9] Smith 1988, 37–38; Alföldi 1985, 120–125 (to some degree).
[10] Krug 1968.

by Lysippos), and when he did not use the diadem. These were the images which were reproduced later. For a long time Alexander did not use the title *basileus* on his coins, but just his name. Dahmen is convinced that this changed towards the end of his reign, when the inscription *Basileos Alexandrou* appeared on his coinage (p. 283).[11] Some scholars claim that the title *basileus* appeared on coins even after Alexander's death.[12] Dahmen links a group of coins issued probably as of 331/330 or around 325/4, and bearing the title *basileus,* to the minting house of Babylon. Unfortunately the dating has not been fully determined. Dahmen is of the opinion that Alexander's helmet as depicted on his 'Indian' decadrachms is Greek. Two bands may be observed on Alexander's headdress on the decadrachms. W. B. Kaiser claimed they were parts of a diadem[13]. In Dahmen's opinion these two bands issue from two points on the helmet and do not constitute a diadem. Still it seems that these ribbons can be part of a diadem, perhaps not very skilfully delineated, but nevertheless a diadem. Decadrachms were the king's special issues for selected dignitaries and as such were particularly significant coins, on which every detail was important. There can be no question of arbitrarily chosen attributes or a utility headband[14]. In line with the general opinion, Dahmen considers the posthumous images of Alexander on coins issued by Ptolemy as his first portrayals with a headband, dated according to him to ca. 314/313 B.C. (pp. 286–287). But he claims that this headband is a *mitra*, not a diadem. Seleukos and Agathokles made imitations of these images of Alexander, but without a diadem. According to Dahmen Alexander wears a *mitra* on Ptolemy's bronzes, but a true diadem only appears on Lysimachos' issues after 297 B.C. (pp. 287–8). Dahmen associates the monarch's headband – in his terminology a *mitra* – with the cult of Dionysios. He seems to have applied the term *mitra* too loosely in the technical sense, which has had an effect in his conclusions regarding the origins of the diadem.

The historian M. Haake examines the use of the diadem and the title *basileus* in the Hellenistic period (pp. 293–313). Some preliminaries and conclusions that he draws are fairly categorical, for instance that there were no legal and state (*staatsrechtlich*) aspects associated with the diadem (p. 294). However, in its role as the chief attribute of royal power, in Hellenistic times the diadem did in fact serve to express a claim to rule over a given territory (usually a state), and its application could often have a legal aspect (as stated, e.g., in the Dumkes's contribution on Graeco-Bactria, p. 391). Haake says that the diadem was not an in-

[11] See Price 1991, 32–33.

[12] Le Rider 2007, 71, 93.

[13] Kaiser 1962; Ritter (1965, 45, n. 8) was more cautious and did not jump to conclusions over identification.

[14] See Olbrycht 2008.

tegral part of the Achaemenid apparel in the sense of an emblem ʻreserved specifically for the monarch.ʼ This is an unnecessary restriction of the scope of the definition: in this way we could reject almost all of the regalia as ʻnot specifically reserved for the monarch.ʼ For instance, aristocrats as well as the king wore the Persian ʻchitonʼ. What mattered was the color – the royal purple chiton was *mesoleukos*, i.e. shot with white (see Xen. *Kyr*. 8.3.13). In all likelihood, the same principle pertained to the royal diadem; apart from the king, also the *syngeneis* wore diadems, but the monarch's diadem was purple (or blue) and white. Curt. 6.6.4 claims that Alexander wore ʻa purple head-band interwoven with white, like the one Darius had once had.ʼ In another passage (3.3.19) Curtius speaks of blue and white royal diadem. Besides, as a rule aristocrats had their headbands tied in a different way than the royal diadems. Haake devotes a fair amount of attention to Alexander's use of the diadem. He has misgivings about the accuracy of the information on the diadem of the authors of the Vulgate tradition (p. 295). However, there is more to the situation concerning sources.[15] Having brushed aside some crucial source accounts, Haake concocts a fictitious idea, reviving Fredricksmayer's rather thin hypothesis that in the light of Plutarch's *Alex.* 34.1 Alexander must have assumed the diadem in 331, soon after Gaugamela. The fact that Plutarch never mentions a diadem in this passage does not prevent Haake from contriving what is essentially an unfounded narrative. For want of sources he offers only an analogy with the coronation of Julian the Apostate. Haake is right about the significance of the diadem after the death of Alexander: it was a component of the regalia of the monarchs on the throne of Babylon after Alexander's death. It was worn by Philip III as well (p. 298).

C. Mileta sees a connection between the diadem and the agonistic rivalry of the Hellenistic rulers (pp. 315–334). He claims that the diadem was introduced in 306–304 B.C., the ʻYear of the Kings,ʼ and that this was done by Antigonos Monophtalmos. It is inappropriate to assert that – as Mileta writes – the Diadochi did not share in the legacy of Alexander and the Argeads either politically or symbolically. Alexander's legacy can hardly go unnoticed even in an overview of the general trends relating to the early Hellenistic power struggle. After all, Alexander's regalia were flaunted by the Diadochos Eumenes in an attempt to gain the favor of the Macedonians. Mileta traces back the origins of the diadem to the *tainia* headband worn by agonists. If we admit this hypothesis, we shall have to say that the most powerful Diadochi residing in Egypt, Babylonia or Iran preferred to adapt to the sports tradition of Greek athletes rather than to cherish and continue in the Alexander tradition. Such ideas are not at all convincing, as they would enclose Alexander and the Diadochi within a restrictively Greek-

[15] See, e.g., Arr. 4.7.4. The historical context of Alexander's reforms in 330 has been reconstructed in detail in my articles, see Olbrycht 2004, 26–28; 2010; 2013.

Macedonian political and cultural scope. By and large, Mileta's contribution – in point of the diadem's origin hardly tenable – offers stimulating observations on the significance of the attribute, which prompt a revision of existing opinions.

D. Salzmann conducts a thorough presentation of the diadem and similar headbands as part of the Hellenistic regalia depicted on the coinage and in works of art. One of the conclusion is that the shape of the diadem varied. Sometimes kings would be portrayed in the *tainia*: this applied to the posthumous images of Antiochos I on coins issued by Antiochos Hierax (p. 359, ill. 74). Occasionally gods and heroes would be portrayed wearing toroidal headbands (*Wulstbinden*, p. 360).

G. Dumke looks at the diadem on the coins of Diodotos I and II of Bactria. In Graeco-Bactria there was a strict connection between the diadem and the title *basileus* (pp. 385–393). In her second article K. Martin reviews the diadem as it appeared on coins issued by queens (pp. 395–423). Queens (*basilissai*) also wore diadems, just like the kings, albeit there were exceptions to this general rule. D. Biedermann tries to answer the question whether Mark Antony wore a diadem (pp. 425–448). He analyses the extant sculptures and coinage and reaches a conclusion that Antony did not use a diadem as an attribute of power.

The articles in this volume indicate several different traditions from which it is claimed the Hellenistic diadem was derived. A variety of headdresses could be observed in Macedonia prior to the times of Alexander III: the *petasos* with a headband, the *kausia*, and the *tainia* as the Olympic champion's attribute. But there was no diadem. Justin (12.3.8) states quite clearly that the diadem was not in use in Macedonia before Alexander. In the same passage, Justin emphatically claims that Alexander assumed the dress and the diadem of the Persian kings (*Alexander habitum regum Persarum et diadema insolitum antea regibus Macedonicis, uelut in leges eorum quos uicerat, transiret, adsumit*). Alongside Justin, other sources stress that Alexander adopted the 'Persian' diadem at a specific moment in history: in 330, when he was in eastern Iran.[16] By that time he was well into Asia, having left the confines of Greece and Macedonia a considerable while before; and he was not competing in the Olympic games, but vying for rule over virtually the whole of the civilised world in the contemporary sense of the term. At such a historic time looking back to the Greek agonistic tradition would have been groundless and politically unrealistic. Alexander was in the Iranian world, and endeavouring to win recognition in the eyes of the Iranians as their rightful monarch. Such a historical context rules out a derivation of the diadem as Alexander's attribute of royal power from Greek traditions.

There is a noticeable disproportion in the selection and array of articles. In Part I there is an Oriental section and a Hellenic section, but there is no Oriental

[16] See, most recently, Olbrycht 2013.

section in Part II. In other words there is a want of an article on the reception of the diadem in the countries of Asia, not in Greece or Macedonia. The main role in this respect would go to the Parthians and the Arsacids, the first Iranian dynasty following the Seleucids in Iran. Some good work has already been done on this subject.[17] Another worthwhile area of research would be a study of the diadem and tiara as they appeared in the monetary iconography of Kappadokia, Armenia, and Kommagene, where Oriental traditions met, mingled and crossed with Greek and Macedonian components.

The volume concludes with a set of useful indexes. As a whole it constitutes an invaluable contribution to research on the attributes of power in the ancient world, particularly in the Achaemenid and post-Achaemenid (Hellenistic) period. The articles in it offer and represent a vast amount of scholarship, and even if some of the hypotheses they put forward are a bit too speculative, they are compelling enough to prompt a revision of existing opinions and arguments. The volume's editors deserve commendation for the scholarly assiduity they put in to compile the publication and select the illustrations. The volume is the first of a new series entitled *EUROS*. A good start is a promising prospect of a successful future for the new series.

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[17] Gall H. v. 1969/1970'; Olbrycht 1997; 2013a.

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Abstract

The article is a review of the book *Das Diadem der hellenistischen Herrscher*, Bonn 2012, being a reference framework for a scrutiny of issues related to the origins of the royal diadem of post-Achaemenid (Hellenistic) kings. Addressed are terminological issues relating to diadems and functionally and/or formally analogous headbands. The designation 'diadem' did not come into widespread use to denote headbands treated as an attribute of royal power until the Hellenistic period. The article addresses an issue which is crucial for the understanding of the Achaemenid and Hellenistic periods – attributes of royal power, the Achaemenid, Macedonian and Greek legacy, and the nature of royal power in antiquity.

RECEPTION AND THE HISTORY OF SCHOLARSHIP

ANABASIS 5 (2014)
STUDIA CLASSICA ET ORIENTALIA

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ON THE ORIGIN OF IRANIAN-SPEAKING NOMADS OF THE EURASIAN STEPPES IN THE LIGHT OF HUMAN POPULATION GENETICS

Keywords: Nomads of the Eurasian Steppes, history and geography of human genes, genetics

Many diverse ideas can be read about the early history of the so-called Iranian Nomads of the Eurasian Steppes. The aim of this paper is to present remarks on their origin in the light of the research undertaken, more or less within the last forty years, by molecular biologists[1] who have created such new disciplines as population genetics, history and geography of human genes or archaeogenetics, unveiling past migrations, diffusions and relationships among groups of populations living in Eurasia as well as the rest of the world. At present, scholars can support or exclude their ideas on the matter including data provided by geneticists researching mitochondrial DNA and Y chromosome. We already have, at our disposal, a vast amount of highly professional literature which is still developing. Numerous new publications on the subject appear constantly. Let us mention here the award-winning book published in 2003 by John H. Relethford, entitled *Reflections of Our Past: How Human History Is Revealed In Our Genes.* Of course, this does not mean that we already know everything and that numerous traps do not have to be avoided. Understandably, many geographical and historical regions and periods have not yet been fully examined by these relatively young branches of human genetics. Much still has to be done. Certainly, however, we should not ignore such data that already exists. It seems, in the end, that the field of humanities gained something crucial from what is perceived as hard

[1] This text avoids the very specialised terminology used by molecular biologists and will not describe their highly specialised methodology of research, instead it concentrates just on the final results relevant to this topic.

science and we would not have to guess the truth regarding remote human dispersion. Let us add that the recent speed of development within the field of molecular biology is enormous in comparison with developments within the so-called humanities.

The beginning of the new discipline, population genetics, was not very easy and the key scholar for its development, Luigi L. Cavalli-Sforza had many difficulties initially to convince academic gremia about his concepts, but now his ideas about the history and geography of human genes have been already broadly implemented, much improved and numerous teams of scholars work on such matters because, as we read, there is no doubt about the relationship between genetics and history.[2] We find that not only the MtDNA says much but the human Y chromosome has proven to be a valuable tool for the study of population history, allowing complex demographic events to be deconstructed despite extensive admixtures in some geographic regions. *Y chromosome provides anthropologists and geneticists with an extremely powerful tool for historical and demographic studies* (Wells et al. 2001, 10244). Let us add that this genetic research, which took into account the Y-chromosome, in selected Eurasian populations as well, shows understandable male migration.

Michael Witzel has already written several years ago: *It must be pointed out that genetic evidence, though still in its infancy, is often superior to (even multivariate) paleontological evidence [...]. Genetic evidence frequently allows to pinpoint (sub-)branches in the cladistic tree at a particular point in time and space* (Witzel 2001, 9). Data provided by genetics for both historical and demographic studies are, of course, important for many linguistic studies as well and especially crucial for historical linguistics and sociolinguistics. Despite several exceptions, which can be easily shown, geneticists stress that generally both genes and languages are normally passed from parents to children through generations.[3] Contemporary population genetics started to compare not only ethnic and geographical areas but linguistic regions as well.[4] Studying the population genetics publications we can find, in fact, not only numerous texts confirming the correlation between genetic data and languages distribution but also texts which deny such a possibility in many cases (e.g., Rosser 2000). We can read about numerous correlations between some linguistic and ethnic boundaries in Eurasia, already discovered by scholars, using other tools and other methodologies, but simultaneously we find other data which does not confirm such relations in other examined cases. From a linguistics point of view, however, both results are informative and might be useful in writing the history and sociolin-

[2] E.g., Sykes 2001, 144; Zerjal 2002b.

[3] E.g., Cavalli-Sforza et al 1994, 99; Wells 2001; Olson 2003, 163–164.

[4] E.g., Nasidze 2004a, 214; Manni, Barrai 2000.

guistic history of a given area. It might perhaps help to understand better, for instance, the role of convergency in the creation of the so-called linguistic families and their branches and subbranches. Generally, there is hope that archeology, linguistics and population genetics will together eventually explain in a better way our history achieving a new kind of synthesis (Olson 2003, 160). We already have numerous publications, which are the results of such interdisciplinary and transdisciplinary insights.[5]

Thanks to this research within population genetics and a fresh insight into the demographic and migrational history of Eurasia, we learn that Asia has served as a focal point for human migration (Karafet 2001) and the importance of the area designated here as Central Asia (Wells et al. 2001, 10244–10249) in this respect gained in recent years special strength (e.g., Pstrusińska 2009, 282–290). As a result of this new scientific input into the humanities made by population genetics, we can read about many new views on our history, some of them rather surprising. What, however, can we learn from the history and geography of human genes regarding the group of so-called Iranian people, among whom scholars traditionally include Scythians, Sarmatians and Alans, placed among Iranian nomads of Eurasian Steppes.

One of the most interesting publications relevant, among others, to the question of the origin of the Scythians, Sarmatians and Alans is the paper entitled 'The Eurasian Heartland: A continental perspective on Y chromosome diversity' which appeared in the series *Proceedings of National Academy of Sciences* (Wells et al. 2001, 10244–10249) showing research results obtained by an international team composed of about thirty scholars working in dozens of research centres. Numerous laboratories, starting from Oxford to Archangielsk through Yerevan, Tbilisi, Madurai in India to Chicago and so on have taken part in the project. Some data previously published have been also included. Y Chromosomes of men belonging to 49 Eurasian populations have been examined primarily during three expeditions organized in 1996, 1998 and 2000, with a particular focus on Central Asia. The research was undertaken by a large team of geneticists, headed by R. Spencer Wells, working in several maternal laboratories around the world, having simultaneously its main base at Oxford University, who published their research results at the end of August 2001 (Wells et al. 2001, 10244). We read here, as well, a most crucial piece of information, recently confirmed by geneticists, that Y chromosomes *reveal traces of historical migrations, and provide an insight into the earliest patterns of settlement of anatomically modern humans on the Eurasian continent and Central Asia is revealed to be an important reservoir of genetic diversity, and the source of at least three major waves of migration leading into Europe, the Americas, and India* (Wells et al. 2001, 10244).

[5] E.g., Renfrew 2000a; Renfrew 2000b; Rosser 2000; Bellwood, Renfrew 2003.

It was discovered in the course of examination of the collected samples, mentioned above, that the Pakistani population of Central Asia shows the highest genetic diversity in Eurasia being among the oldest on the continent. We read: *In addition, Y chromosome microsatellites indicate that Central Asian (Pakistani) populations are the most diverse in Eurasia.* [...] *This pattern of high diversity is consistent with an early settlement of Central Asia...* (Wells et al. 2001, 10247). The region near the mountainous knot created by Hindukush, Pamir and Karakorum was discovered as a very important reservoir of genetic human diversity existing at present in Eurasia and that *these results are compared with data from other populations in an effort to reconstruct the history of early human migrations in Eurasia, as well as more recent events in the region of Central Asia* (Wells et al. 2001, 10247). Moreover, in the discussed project, the genetic results have been interpreted in the context of Eurasian linguistic patterns. An effort has been made to collect samples of several linguistic groups speaking languages belonging to the so-called Afro-Asiatic, Indo-European, Dravidian, South Caucasian, North Caucasian, Altaic, Uralic, and Sino-Tibetan language families. Some data taken from existing literature have been added (Wells et al. 2001, 10244).

We read that this pattern of high genetic diversity *is consistent with an early settlement of Central Asia by anatomically modern humans, perhaps 40,000 – 50,000 years ago, followed by subsequent migrations into Europe, America and India...* (Wells et al. 2001, 10244). Dispersed lineages reached the eastern and the western extremes of the continent. One such group of the Central Asian subpopulation migrated westwards and gave rise to the population of the greater part of Europe (Wells et al. 2001, 10244). To present more clearly the results of their research, scholars involved in the project have prepared the so-called *neighbour-joining tree which shows several population clusters defined by branches from a central point* (Wells et al. 2001, 10244). Following this we can show here, for instance, how speakers of the so-called Indo-Iranian languages[6] are placed in this publication within several separate waves of population, diverse genetically and originating in distant periods of time.

Cluster I

Greek, **Yaghnobi**, Armenian, Turkmen, Czech/Slovak, Orkney, British, Basque.

Cluster II

Kurdish, Middle Eastern, **Ossetian, Shiraz, Tehran**, Lazgi, Svanetian, Lebanese, **Isfahan**, **Iranian Sam.**, Turkish, Kazbegi, Azeri,Tuvinian and Nenets.

Cluster IV

Mongolian, Kazakh, Cambodian, Dungan, Chinese, Taiwanese, Korean, Japanese.

[6] Designations of population groups almost as found in Wells et al 2001. The so-called Aryans (Indo-Iranians) shown in bold.

Cluster V

Macedonian, Pomor, Saami, Russian North, Russian Tashkent, Ukrainian, Kyrgyz, **Tajik Khojant**, **Ishkashim.**

Cluster VI

Bartangi, **Sinte Romani**, Hunza

Claster VII

Kallar, Sourashtra, Yadava, Dushanbe Tajik, **Shughnan**, **Samarkand Tajik**, Arab Buchara.

Cluster VIII

Uzbek, Tatar, Karakalpak.

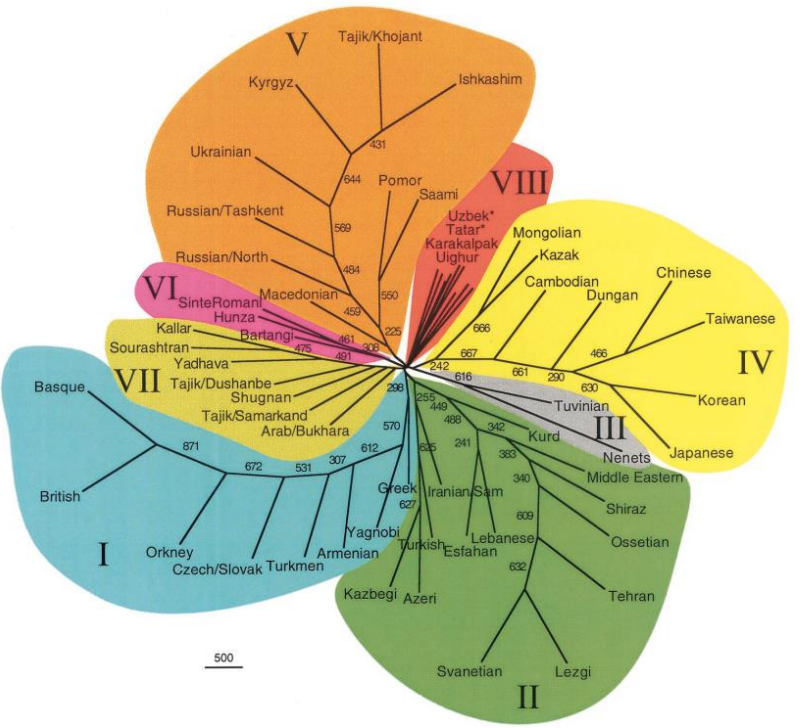

Fig. 1. Neighbor-joining tree of 61 Eurasian populations, based on Y-chromosome biallelic haplotype frequencies. Reproduced after: Wells et. al 2001, Fig. 2 (www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC56946)

The figure of neighbour-joining tree shown in the literature presents the examined population groups as so-called clusters defined by eight branches going from a central point. Thousands of years passed between the separate clusters, this means separate mutations and, as a consequence, later separate migratory

waves. This neighbour-joining tree could be discussed and commented almost endlessly taking into account numerous aspects. Cluster number II is very revealing, composed, as we see, of Kurds[7], Middle Eastern population, Ossetian, people of Shiraz, Tehran and Isfahan, Lazgi, Svanetian, Lebanese, Iranian Sam, Turkish, Kazbegi and Azeri (Wells et al. 2001, 10247). It is visible from this neighbour-joining tree that the so-called Indo-Iranian people speaking Iranian languages do not exist as one genetically related group of a common origin. Simultaneously, it is shown that the languages grouped as the so-called Indo-Iranian family have been spoken and still are spoken by the population belonging, according to this genetic research, to six separate clusters originated in different times in Central Asia and each one having its own genetic specificity as far as Y chromosome is concerned. We read: *Intriguingly, the population of present day Iran* [...] *appears to have had little genetic influence from the wave carrying Indo-Iranians* [...] *population of Iran is mainly an eastern extension of the great civilizations of Mesopotamia* and language replacement and the later usage of Persian language can be explained by *elite-dominance model.* [...] *The sketch of Eurasian population movements outlined here is based entirely on Y chromosome evidence. The actual history of these populations presumably has included the migration of women* [...] *thus we await further study of their DNA* (Wells et al. 2001, 10244).

Such research results can certainly influence our thinking on certain basic matters within Iranian studies, ancient history, historical linguistics, religious studies and many, many others. By the way, the origin and dispersal of the so-called Indo-Iranians has been rightly perceived as one of the greatest puzzles of the so-called Indo-European studies (e.g., Mallory, Mair 2000, 258) At present, we should take into account that it was written in the already quoted *Proceedings of National Academy of Sciences* (Wells at al. 2001, 10244–10249) that the population of present day Iran, speaking Farsi appears to have had little genetic influence from cluster number VII carrying most of the Indo-Iranian speakers and genetically was in fact the eastern extension of the great civilisations of Mesopotamia. Thus, it was rather only a language replacement and not a broad dispersal of Indo-Iranians. We learn, for instance, that the inhabitants of western Iran appear to be more similar genetically to Afro-Asiatic-speaking Middle Eastern populations than they are to Central Asians or Iranian populations. It seems that the Dasht-e Kavir and Dasht-e Lut deserts have acted as significant barriers to gene flow (Wells et al. 2001, 10248). It is relevant also to the so-called Iranian-Speaking Nomads of the Eurasian Steppes, including the Scyths, Sarmatians and Alans populations. Thus we cannot treat them any more as people of clearly Indo-Iranian provenance.

[7] See also Pstrusińska 2004.

Moreover, we should expect further research regarding admixtures within genetic pictures of the so-called Iranian Nomads of the Eurasian Steppes. Latyshev has already written (Latyshev 1949, 303) that Alans gradually started to include other people into their own area (e.g., Oranskij 1988, 72). Such processes started certainly much earlier. Alans are, as we most often read, a large group of nomadic tribes first mentioned far in the East in the 2nd century BC in the Chinese Annals of the Han dynasty and in classical authors of the 1st century AD. They display close relations to the Scythians and Sarmatians and their language has been included in the Iranian group. We perceive Ossetic as a modern continuation of Alanic (e.g., Schmitt 2000, XIII). Scythians (often designated in English as Scytho-Sarmatian) originated from seminomadic tribes in the 1st millenium BC. Scythians resided north of the Black Sea, within the period of the 8th–7th century BC – 4th–5th century AD.[8] Let us mention that according to genetic research we learn, among other things, that: *Putting together the archaeological and genetic data, and assuming a common origin of South and North Ossetians (which is supported by the mtDNA data) a plausible scenario is that "alteration" of the initial Osetian Y-chromosome gene pool took place in North Caucasus groups. ... Genetic studies of such complex and multiple migrations as the Ossetians can provide additional insights into the circumstances surrounding such migrations.* (Nasidze 2004b, 597, 598).

L. L. Cavalli-Sforza stated in his 1994 publication that it might be difficult to differentiate Sarmatians genetically due to the fact that their origin was similar to that of Scythians. Sakas and Massagetians have been most likely their eastern reflexion (Cavalli-Sforza 1994, 201, 295). Let us mention also that, interestingly, there is strong evidence for limited Greek contribution to the Pathan (Pashtuns) population of Pakistan, whose tribes are perceived as related to Scythians, Sarmatians and Alans. S. Firasat writes: *The genetic data alone do not tell us when the Balkan chromosomes arrived in Pakistan: it is necessary to turn to the historical record for this.There has been no known Greek admixture within the last few generations, but in addition to Alexander's armies, the possibility of admixture between Greek slaves, who where brought to this region by Xerxes around one hundred and fifty years before Alexander's arrival, and the local population cannot be discounted. At that time Afghanistan and present day Pakistan were part of the Persian Empire. Nevertheless, Alexander's army of 25,000–30,000 mercenary foot soldiers from Persia and West Asia and 5000–7000 Macedonian cavalry perhaps provides a more likely explanation because of their elite status and substantial political impact on the region* (Firasat 2007, 125).

The Jasz (Jassy) people of Central Europe, giving one more example, are perceived as descendants of Alans, and according to the population genetics they

[8] Isaev 2000a, 105; Isaev 2000b, 107.

together with many groups living in Hungary have Iranians as their parental ancestors (Guglielmino 2000, 145–159). The study of genetic admixture aims to increase and substantiate the historical knowledge of populations, especially in cases where history is not fully documented. This study also shows how varied the genetic composition of relatively small populations can be (Guglielmino 2000, 158).

Coming back to the neighbour-joining tree, we see groups related genetically but speaking languages placed by scholars into several language families: Kurds and some others like Ossetians and inhabitants of Shiraz or Tehran speak the so-called Iranian ones. Ossetians are of key importance for our discussion as they are perceived as contemporary descendants of Alans. (People of cluster II, designated here as Middle Eastern, speak Afro-Asiatic languages namely Arabic, Hebrew etc. Others speak Turkic languages and Dene-Caucasian ones). It is clear that following the picture given by the neighbour-joining tree it is rather impossible to place all Iranian-speaking Nomads genetically only within a so-called Indo-Iranian group of people. The neighbour-joining tree discussed here suggests that many so-called Indo-Iranian speaking groups are on a biological level not related to Iranians living west of Dasht-e Kavir and Dasht-e Lut and placed in cluster II, thus they do not have a common Indo-Iranian origin. What is crucial for our discussion is that Ossets, perceived as descendants of Alans, belong also to cluster II. Interestingly, the well-known Russian linguist, D.I. Edelman, concluded some years ago that the contemporary spoken Iranian languages are not autochthonous even in one case (Edelman 2002, 11). Nasidze wrote that in the region of Caucasus we find geographical and not linguistic correlations. It is relevant to the languages of the Ossets and some others from the so-called Iranian group of languages. Mountains, in this case the Caucasus, as we see, had not been a strong barrier in the flow of genes (Nasidze 2004a, 218). However, deserts have created such barriers. Just recently an Iranian scholar working at Portsmouth University, among other researchers, adds to the discussion stressing the non-Aryan origin of "Iranians". *The Aryan genetic markers that exist in central Asia and Caucasus are found very few in the Iranian Plateau*. Over 2600 Iranian DNA-sequences belonging to 26 diversive contemporary Iranian groups and those belonging to ancient Iranian bones have been researched.[9] Some scholars suggest that simultaneously we shoud take into account the Proto-Turkic and then Turkic (in broad sense) people and their languages while discussing origin of Iranians.[10] It should be applied to the so-called Iranian-speaking Nomads of the Eurasian Steppes and their languages as well.

[9] Ashrafian 2013; Chikisheva 2013.

[10] Chikisheva 2013; Klyosov 2010; Comas 2004; Zerjal 2002a; Calafell 2000.

To sum up it was shown by population genetic research of recent decades that the populations grouped in the past as Indo-Iranians cannot be put together, as Indians and Iranians are of common origin, because they belong to several diverse genetic clusters originated in Central Asia seperately and having their own genetic specificity. This fact adds to the accuracy of our picture of the origin of the so-called Iranian-speaking Nomads of the Eurasian Steppes as well. Molecular genetics, without any doubt, will gradually further clarify our knowledge of the subject.

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Abstract

We learn from the history and geography of human genes regarding the origin of the so-called Iranian people, the Iranian-speaking Nomads of the Eurasian Steppes inclusive, among whom scholars traditionally include Scythians, Sarmatians and Alans, that they cannot necessarily be treated as belonging in the past to an Indo-Iranian community speaking an Indo-Iranian language.

ANABASIS 5 (2014)
STUDIA CLASSICA ET ORIENTALIA

Alexander A. Sinitsyn (Saratov / Saint Petersburg, Russia)

PROFESSOR JOHN KINLOCH ANDERSON'S NINETIETH BIRTHDAY

On 3rd January 2014 John Kinloch Anderson, the famous classical scholar, turned ninety. J. K. ("Jock") Anderson was born in 1924 in Multan, Punjab, an historical centre of the Orient. From 1937 to January 1942 he was educated at Glenalmond College, Scotland, a prestigious private boarding school. He was interested in physics, art, and history, especially in the history of the ancient art of war. Then came the war itself, and John had to quit his studies and join the Army. During the Second World War, he served in the legendary Scottish "Black Watch" as an intelligence officer and took part in the campaigns in Europe (Greece, Sicily) and South-East Asia (in north-western part of Indochina, in Burma, behind the Japanese lines). A new historical era was in the making, and during this grim period Anderson found himself practicing the art of war in earnest.

After the war, in 1946, Anderson studied classics at Christ Church, Oxford, England, graduating in 1949 with a bachelor's degree in ancient history. In 1949–50, he attended the British School at Athens and in 1950–52 was a MacMillan Fellow at Yale University in the USA. Anderson took part in many archeological excavations: in the Peloponnese, digging at ancient Corinth, and in the Chios (Greece), and in Asia Minor where he spend several seasons digging at Old Smyrna (now Izmir, Turkey), and in others expeditions..

In January 1953 Anderson started working at the University of Otago (Dunedin, New Zealand); it was here that his career as a teacher and scholar began. For over five years (until 1958) he taught classical languages and ancient history there. During these years his first articles on the archeology, topography, and art of Achaea, Corinth, and Old Smyrna were published in the *Annual of the British School at Athens*. In 1955 his first book, entitled *A Handbook to the Greek Vases in the Otago Museum*, came out (Dunedin, N. Z., Otago Museum, 1955).

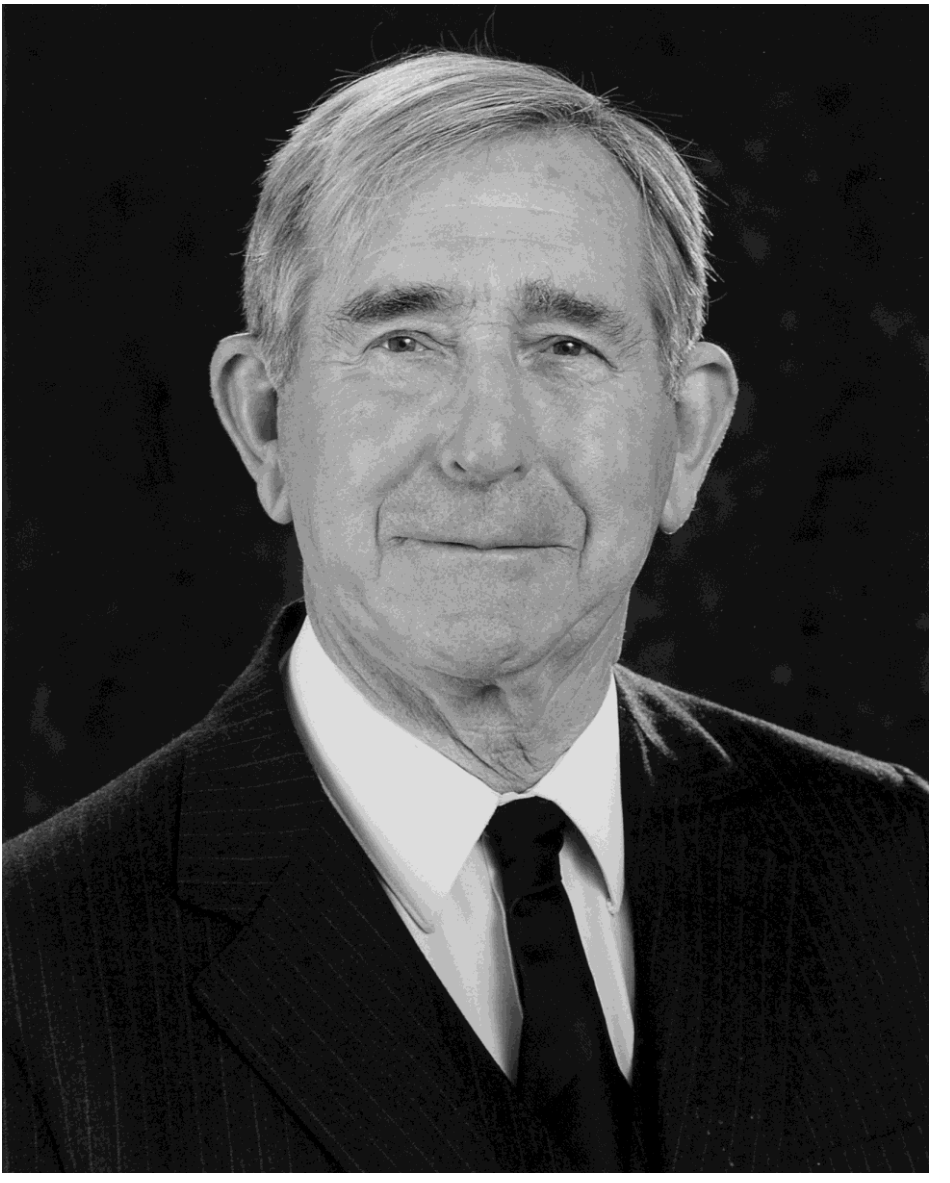


Fig. 1. Professor J. K. Anderson, Chair of Classical Archaeology, University of California, Berkeley, 1993

In 1958 Anderson received his master's degree, and in September of the same year he moved to California, to the city of Berkeley on the west coast of the USA, where he still resides. For three and a half decades he served at the University of California at Berkeley, starting as a Lecturer in Classics and then

becoming Professor of Classical Archeology. He held this position until his retirement in 1993.

Anderson has made substantial contributions to the study of the history of the *ars militaria*, first and foremost concerning the structure and weaponry of hoplite armies and Greek cavalry practices. His book *Ancient Greek Horsemanship*, published over half a century ago in 1961, is still of great scholarly importance. It includes and examines the various breeds of horses, harnesses, halters, bits, and saddle cloths, the economics of horse keeping and stable management, everyday practices of equitation, military equipment, and tactics. An appendix publishes his translation of Xenophon's Περὶ ἱππικῆς ("The Art of Horsemanship"). This book established Anderson as an expert in the history of equitation. This short work proved to be a landmark success for Anderson himself, delineating the key topics to be developed in his subsequent articles and books.

In 1970, Anderson published a comprehensive work that now included vase painting, which had always intrigued him, entitled *Military Theory and Practice in the Age of Xenophon*. The study of various aspects of the art of war guided his chapter divisions: "Hoplite Armour and Weapons," "Commissariat and Camps," "The General and His Officers," "Tactical Training," "Hoplites and Other Arms," and so on. In this historical and military study Anderson draws upon a wide range of ancient literary sources and artworks. The book received much international acclaim; to a certain extent, the two decades that followed the publication of the book can be called *the Age of Anderson* of the study of ancient Greek military theory and practice.

All his research proceeds from a thorough knowledge of the sources, primarily the classical trinity of the founding fathers of historical studies – works by Herodotus, Thucydides, and especially Xenophon, who ranks first. A pupil of Socrates and one of the most original thinkers of the ancient times, Xenophon was both a warrior and thinker, commander and historian, participant in military campaigns, expert in military theory and practice, and last but not least, the author of many treatises on war and horsemanship. Anderson devoted a special study to him (*Xenophon*, 1974). This small book shows various sides of his life and work: it treats the biography of the Athenian historian, his private and public life, his military campaigns, and his religious and political views. Anderson examines Xenophon's historical works, but focuses in particular upon his military treatises and his works on hunting and horsemanship.

In 1985, Anderson published a book entitled *Hunting in the Ancient World*, which analyzes a wide spectrum of issues of Greek and Roman hunting from the Bronze Age to Late Antiquity. Drawing upon numerous narrative sources and archeological material – coins and other artworks, Anderson treated the heroic

hunt of the Archaic Age as an aristocratic pursuit and the hunt as an ancient occupation; he also examined practical aspects of hunting both on horseback and on foot in the ancient world. Richly illustrated, the book makes captivating reading, and is interesting for both experts in the ancient history and art, and the general reader.

For over half a century Anderson published dozens of articles in international journals on history, classical philology, and archeology, including the *American Journal of Archaeology*, the *Annual of the British School at Athens*, *California Studies in Classical Antiquity*, the *Classical Journal*, *Classical Philology*, *Classical World*, *Hesperia*, the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, and others. He was the author of chapters in multi-authored books on the military art of antiquity: *Civilization of the Ancient Mediterranean: Greece and Rome* (1988); *Hoplites: The classical Greek Battle Experience* (1991); *The Ages of Homer* (1995); and others.

Anderson is also an expert on ancient art. For many years he was the curator of the Classical collections of the Lowie Museum of Anthropology at Berkeley (now the Phoebe Apperson Hearst Museum of Anthropology); in the 1970s–1980s he organized several exhibitions of ancient Greek art from its collections, and personally edited the exhibition catalogs.

Throughout this period, he continued generously to credit mentors such as F. E. Adcock, T. J. Dunbabin, L. A. MacKay, W. K. Pritchett, and H. R. W. Smith with having great influence upon his thinking and his publications.

In 1966 Anderson was awarded a Guggenheim Fellowship, and in 1988 won U.C. Berkeley's coveted Award for Excellence in Teaching.

Anderson was an active member of the Berkeley Greek Club, founded in the early 1960s by a renowned classical philologist and poet, Professor Louis Alexander MacKay. The Greek Club, a true *symposion* whose membership varied with the years, is limited for convenience to about ten members only. Its "symposiasts" meet every fortnight during the academic year to read and translate works by the ancient Greek authors. Anderson was the oldest member, with over half a century of membership, an *archegetes* of the Club and a frequent *symposiarch*. Professor Andrew Stewart describes "Jock" (as everyone calls him) and his participation at the meetings as follows: "We meet at each others' houses over wine, and the host provides bread, crackers, cheese, olives, and fruit. Jock was a founding member of the Club and retired from it only a couple of years ago, when his memory was fading. This must have been particularly painful for him, since he had a steel-trap recall of both Greek and English poetry, which he could – and did – recite to our general enjoyment at the drop of a hat. His dry, self-deprecating wit, kindness, hospitality, and general humanity were much valued and loved, and are sorely missed."

All his life, Anderson loved to ride, an avocation equally typical of the ancient Greek elite and of English and Scottish gentlemen. He had a passion for horses and took a great interest in everything related to them – in past and present, theory and practice. According to his daughter, Elizabeth Anderson, her father was a skillful rider in his younger years and won many prizes in the local horse races. In his book *Ancient Greek Horsemanship*, Anderson, repeatedly refers to his own experience in handling horses to support his arguments, and describes his own experiments with a simple rope halter instead of a bit and a bridle. It is not accidental that of all ancient historians he should have distinguished Xenophon as an ἀνὴρ φίλιππος – a label that he and his hero justly shared. Predictably, Anderson also instilled a love of horses into his children and grandchildren.

Fig. 2. "Xmaspony", the Andersons with grandchildren at the ranch. California, 1990s.

Throughout his research, Anderson sought to combine theory with practice, be it war, archeology, museums, exhibitions, or zoology. Apart from horses, he was keen on bird watching. His colleagues say that when the weather was nice he could be spied with his binoculars on the Marin headlands, engrossed in watching birds of passage as they flew by.

Anderson is a member of the American Philological Society (now the American Society for Classical Studies), the Archaeological Institute of America, the British Schools at Athens and Ankara, the Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies in London, and other scholarly societies.

Professor John Kinloch Anderson has become a luminary of the contemporary study of antiquity. His works on military history have long been fundamental to scholarship and are now classics.

We congratulate the Master upon his anniversary![*]

The Editors and Members of the Editorial Board of the journal "Anabasis" join in the congratulations.

[*] I wish to acknowledge my huge debt of gratitude to all the American colleagues and friends who helped me to write this article: Professors James Russell (Harvard University, Cambridge, MA), Andrew Stewart (University of California, Berkeley), who, apart from providing very useful information, took time and trouble to edit the English version of the text, and Mark Griffith (University of California, Berkeley); also Dr. Christopher Simon (University of California, Office of the President). I am very grateful to Elizabeth Anderson (Berkeley) for her reminiscences about her father and for sending me photographs from the family album, and to Andrew Stewart for sending me the official picture of J. K. Anderson taken in 1993 at the University of California. (None of these pictures have been published before.) The above-mentioned persons should be regarded as co-authors of this essay in homage to a great scholar.

REVIEWS

ANABASIS 5 (2014)
STUDIA CLASSICA ET ORIENTALIA

Jeffrey D. Lerner (USA)

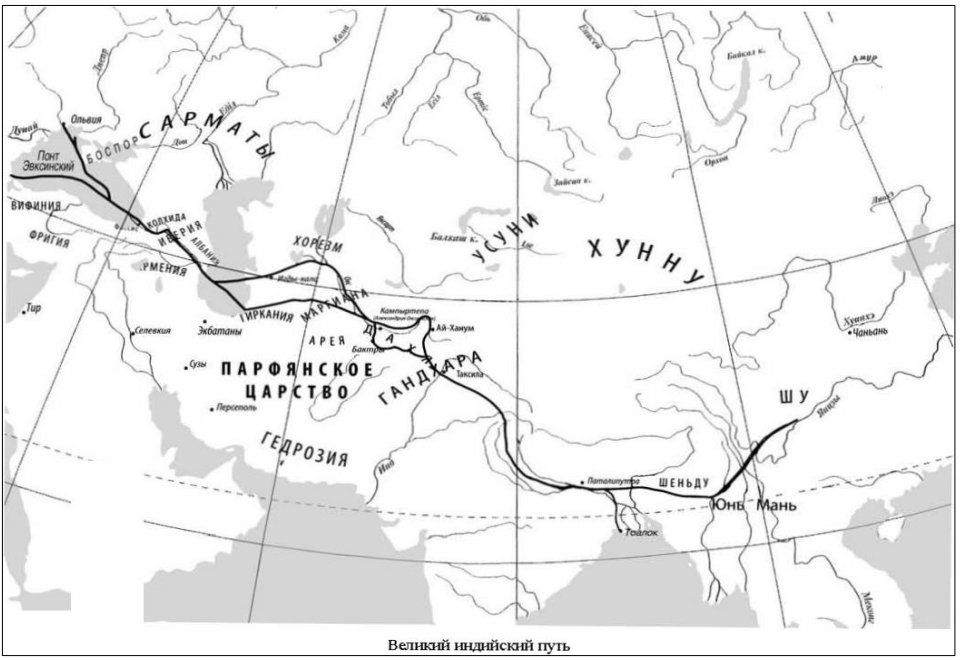
EDUARD V. RTVELADZE, *VELIKIĪ INDIĪSKIĪ PUT': IZ ISTORII VAZHNEĪSHIKH TORGOVYKH DOROG EVRAZII,* SANKT-PETERSBURG: NESTOR-ISTORIĪA 2012, 295 PAGES, 12 UNNUMBERED PAGES OF PLATES: ILLUSTRATIONS (SOME COLOR); 25 CM. ISBN 9785905987939 5905987939[1]

This book reconstructs the long-distant trade route by land and water of the Great Indian Road that extended from China to the Mediterranean by way of India and Central Asia, focusing primarily on the Chalcolithic and early Iron Age to the Sasanian conquest of the East by Shapur I (241–271 CE). Integral to this survey of the trade and commerce of luxurious items, Rtveladze examines the social significance that this exchange network brought to Central Asia as it is reflected primarily in material culture. He pays special attention to the site of Kampyrtepa, situated on the northern bank of the Amu Darya some 30 kilometers west of Termez and identified as Alexandria Oxiana (pp. 58, 97, 105, 109) and as the "Greek" crossing of the Oxos (Pandakheion) mentioned in Greek sources (pp. 93–104), which he has excavated for many years. There are a summary (pp. 290–291) and Contents (pp. 294–295) in English. Readers may also find it helpful to consult his overview in English: 'The Great Indian Road: India-Central Asia-Transcaucasia,' *Anabasis* 1 (2010), 80–96.

Six chapters comprise the work. The first presents a historiographic overview in two parts (pp. 14–28): an analysis of the Greek and Roman sources and a review of modern studies with an emphasis on archaeology as well as history. The next five chapters are demarcated by temporal, rather than spatial, divisions.

[1] Е.В. Ртвеладзе, *Великий индийский путь: из истории важнейших торговых дорог Евразии* (Санкт-Петербург: Нестор-История, 2012) = E.V. Rtveladze, *The Great Indian Road: from the History of the most Important Trade Routes of Eurasia* (Sankt-Petersburg: Nestor-Istoriīa 2012; suggested price 928 руб. = $25.90 = €18.65).

In the second chapter (pp. 29–50), he sets up the parameters of the road beginning in the prehistoric epoch (Map: The Great Indian Road, p. 9).



The Great Indian Road[2] originated in southeast China in the ancient provinces of Shu (modern Sichuan and Chongqing) and Qin (modern Gansu and Shaanxi), and made its way southward through Burma into India where it traversed the northern part of the subcontinent to Gandhara in the northwest. From here the road led to the Caspian Sea in three stages: from Gandhara to Baktria (northeastern Afghanistan) up to the Oxos (modern Amu Darya); by water one could sail the Oxos from Baktria to Khoresm on the Aral Sea or march overland from Baktria to the crossing of the Oxos and there take one of the roads that led to Margiana; a third variant involved sailing one of two routes to the Caspian Sea: from the Oxos one could take the Uzboi directly to the Caspian, or sail the Oxos to the Kelif Uzboi past Margiana (Merv oasis) and ultimately to the Caspian. Of these scenarios Rtveladze estimates that the latter was most preferable as it was the most expedient. The third segment comprised the route from the Caspian Sea to the Black Sea by way Albania and along the Kuros River, followed by a four day portage on a wagon road through the Surami Pass to the fortress of Sarapana, where one could take the river Phasis (modern Rioni) to Colchis or to the city of

[2] The idea derives from a short article: Mukasheva 1972.

Phasis itself, located on the river of its namesake and was no more than a two or three day sea voyage to Amisos and Sinope on the Black Sea (e.g., 33–50, 63–74, 85–109, 126–131, 133–138).

Although much of the work concentrates on the exchange network from Central Asia to the Black Sea, a greater sense of balance could have been achieved with a discussion involving trade between China and India rather than how it is here summarily treated. An examination of the literary and archaeological sources reveal, simplistically put, that India exported to China a variety of items, like coral, pearls, glass, incense, and perfume, while the Chinese primarily sent silk, even though no specimen has ever been discovered.[3] A discussion of this sort would have served to place in context the appearance of bamboo sticks from Qin and cloth from Shu that Zhang Qian (pp. 123, 142, 157), the Chinese envoy from the Han court in the second century BCE, found in Baktria (Daxia) as imports from India (Shendu) (pp. 8. 10, cf. 256, 260). It would have complemented the discussion of objects that originated in India found in various excavations at Central Asian sites and would have reinforced the notion that Baktrian, Indian, and even Chinese merchants had long before Zhang Qian's arrival established a long distance exchange network. This would have provided the context for discussions about Indians and Indian objects found in Central Asia, like cowry shells (pp. 39–40, 195, 202), ivory (pp. 11–12, 110, 137, 156), and not least the Harappan mercantile site of Shortugai (pp. 33, 92) in northern Afghanistan that by c. 2000 BCE was trading lapis with Mesopotamia in the west and India to the south. The notion that Indian coins (pp. 108–109), the Kharoshthi script (pp. 111–117) as well as a range of miscellaneous items made of ivory (pp. 110–111), and the establishment of Buddhism (e.g., stupas and monasteries, especially pp. 202–225) would appear in Central Asia by the Hellenistic and Kushan era thus becomes a bit less surprising. The same can be said of items originating in the Mediterranean that are enumerated in the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* of the mid-first century CE as part of a maritime network that are found in the Indian subcontinent as well as in Central Asia and China, such as papyri of possible Egyptian origin, Mediterranean corals, and Egyptian beads among others (pp. 234–242, 253–255).

A significant portion of the book is given over to discussing Indian influence as well as Indians themselves in Central Asia. Among the Indian commercial colonies that existed was Indikomardana/Indikomandana, "City of Indians," mentioned by Ptolemy (6.12) which Rtveladze is inclined to identify as Termez due to the numerous artifacts of Indian origin, including Buddhist monuments, found there as opposed to other sites that might well have also been trading posts, such as Airtam, Takht-i Sangin, Kampyrtepa, Ai Khanoum,

[3] Liu 1988, 71, cf. 65.

and Dal'verzintepa (pp. 188–202, 225–227). In many respects, these sites serve as forerunners for others that subsequently appeared in Turkmenistan and western Kazakhstan. Indeed by 1600 Mughal-Indian merchants were thriving in an Indian community at the Russian Caspian port city of Astrakhan from where they acted as intermediaries, selling Russian goods in Iran and Iranian commodities in Russia, much like their counterparts on the Absheron Peninsula in Azerbaijan.[4]

On page 170 there is a photograph of an oared "military transport boat floating on the Oxus" which was "imprinted on a bulla" dated at the end of the fourth to the beginning of the fifth century CE from Karatepa. Rtveladze uses this image as the basis of an analysis of the types of ships that might have navigated the Oxos and other rivers in Central Asia (pp. 171–181). In this case, he draws analogies to similar boats in Mesopotamia. He also notes that Sogdian merchants were known to have sailed various water ways in addition to trekking overland (pp. 181–185). Of course, if the prototype for this particular kind of construction is sought outside the region, one should not preclude the possibility that India, which has enjoyed a long and illustrious ship building tradition in its own right, might have been the source.[5] On the other hand, this lone specimen does not by itself prove that any vessel of this type plied the waterways of Central Asia. It is surprising that there is no discussion on the use of skin-floats, ship skin-floats, or coracles which were long popular throughout Central Asia. Indeed Central Asia may have even been the locus from where the skin boat was invented.[6] Alexander, for example, is known to have crossed the Oxos and Hydaspes using skin-floats; it is not excluded that he may have employed the other kinds of vessels as well (Arrian, *Anab*. 3.29.4; 5.9.3, 12.3; Curtius, 7.21.17).

A portion of the text is devoted to establishing a Roman presence in Central Asia in the wake of the popularity of the Great Indian Road (pp. 242–253). As proof he returns to a discussion of the possible existence of a Mithraeum in a cave at Kara-Kamar. In what concerns us here are two of the three inscriptions which are purportedly inscribed in Latin found at the site:

1. line 1 ROD
line 2 illegible
line 3 I M

[4] Dale 1994, 101–124, especially 59 n. 63, 108 n. 24, 111, and 128. On the other hand, Pliny (*NH* 6.19 [52]) was referenced in the Elizabethan period as evidence that a northeastern passage to China existed, so the intelligence report in part reads from "Jehan Scheyfee, the Imperial Ambassador in England," writing to the Bishop of Arras on 10 April 1553; see Wallis 1984, 455–456 *et passim*.

[5] E.g., Tripathi 2006.

[6] Johnstone 1988, 36–44.

2. line 1 PAN
line 2 G. REX
line 3 AP. LG

Unlike earlier publications, the book presents the find with clear illustrations and photographs. The argument that is here attempted is that they were written by a member of a lost Roman legion that had been defeated in a battle against the Parthians. The idea that the find is an intact Mithraeum was first advanced by Ustinova in 1990 and was swiftly rejected the following year by Braund, whose criticism remains unchallenged. Succinctly put, there is no recognizable Latin word, save REX, which might be an English proper name, and there is no evidence that the site was ever permanently inhabited.[7] In this respect, the argument has not yet advanced satisfactorily to accept the proposed identification of the site or the reading of the inscriptions. On the other hand, it would have been fascinating to have learned more about such discoveries as the small molded terracotta slab with a relief (c. 10 x 7 cm) depicting a soldier found at Kampyrtepa and dated to the 1st century BCE – 1st century CE pictured on p. 227. The importance of this object has been the subject of a great deal of discussion ever since it was found, particularly as it was identified by Pugachenkova as a Roman legionary of the first half of the second century CE.[8] Recently, however, Nikkonorov has called this identification into question. His analysis has led to the more sensible conclusion that the object portrays a soldier or officer of an elite infantry unit of the Greek-Baktrian army of the first half of the second century BCE.[9] In this respect, bibliographical references for each of the figures that appear in the book would have been most welcomed.

The work is resplendent with numerous photographs, drawings, and maps, including an insert of twelve colored plates. Many of the photos from Kampyrtepa, for example, appear for the first time in an accessible venue, having previously appeared in publications that are difficult to obtain, particularly those in the series *Materialy tokharistanskoĭ ekspeditsii*. Unfortunately, the book does suffer from a few, albeit, minor blemishes. Given the extensive number of maps and figures, it would have been beneficial to have provided the reader with a list detailing each, especially as they do not always form part of the discussion. On page 104, the city plan of Dura Europos is wrongly identified as Seleukeia on Tigris, while the provenance of the "Statue of a Parthian Prince" from Shami, Khuzestan (National Museum of Iran, Tehran) is mislabeled as found in Syria (p. 151). For those unfamiliar with terminology peculiar to Central Asian studies,

[7] Braund 1991, 189–190.
[8] Pugachenkova 1989a, 19–21; 1989b, 55–57; 1992, 64–67.
[9] Nikonorov 2013, 187–199.

it would have been useful to have explained them. For example, what is meant by the notion of a "Northern Baktria" especially as its meaning changed over time, or what sections make up the different parts of the upper, middle, and lower Amu Darya. There are two indicies: personal and ethnic names, and geographical ones. It would have been helpful had there also been a subject index. This in no way should act as a deterrent from the book. Both the arrangement and thematic composition render this a valuable work in how Rtveladze approaches the subject afresh. Anyone who has had occasion to pursue a topic relevant to the archaeology, art history, epigraphy, history, and numismatics of Central Asia doubtless will have made ample use of Rtveladze's fine scholarship.

This contribution is no exception, for it expands our knowledge of Central Asia and provides a foundation on which to assess its cultural remains. *The Great Indian Road* serves as a significant addition to the historiography of the field as well as to the study of the movement of goods, ideas, and peoples across Eurasia. The work expands our knowledge about the vital role that Central Asia played in this long distance exchange network.

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ANABASIS 5 (2014)
STUDIA CLASSICA ET ORIENTALIA

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BENEDIKT ECKHARDT (ED.), *JEWISH IDENTITY AND POLITICS BETWEEN THE MACCABEES AND BAR KOKHBA. GROUPS, NORMATIVITY, AND RITUALS,* (SUPPLEMENTS TO THE JOURNAL FOR THE STUDY OF JUDAISM – 155), LEIDEN – BOSTON: BRILL 2012, PP. 282; ISBN 978-90-04-21046-2

The volume under review is a collection of papers delivered at a conference called "Groups, Normativity, and Rituals: Jewish Identity and Politics Between the Maccabees and Bar Kokhba," held at the University of Münster from November 18–19, 2009. The conference was founded by the "Religion and Politics" Cluster of Excellence, a research association at Münster supported by *Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft*.

The book is devoted to the notorious and complex debate on the Jewish identity in the Second Temple Period. The idea behind this additional publication on the topic, as pointed out by the editor B. Eckhardt in the introduction (pp. 1–10), is to tackle the issue from a different angle, going beyond the strictly religious focus of previous scholarship and to engage with a number of topics which, generally speaking, belong to the realm of politics.

In the first paper ("Varieties of Identity in Late Second Temple Judah [200 BCE – 135 CE]", pp. 11–27), D. Goodblatt raises the question of which ethnonym (Israel, Judah, Judeans) was used by residents of the land of Israel to express their ethnic affiliation (in response to the question "Of what people are you?"). According to Goodblatt, it depended on the language used by those formulating the answer. "Judean" would usually have been the answer given by individuals speaking or writing in Greek or Aramaic, while those using Hebrew would have preferred the ethnonym "Israel."

In his paper ("The Claim of Maccabean Leadership and the Use of Scripture," pp. 29–49), A. van der Kooij shows how the claim of the Maccabean

Leadership is justified in 1 Macc., and how certain passages of the LXX were used to support this claim. According to A. van der Kooij, 1 Macc. as a whole (dated to about 100 BCE) reflects a slightly different view on Maccabean leadership than 1 Macc. 14 ("The Honorary Decree" from before 140 BCE). Namely, it advocates "a leader who is both a high priest and king" by portraying Judah Maccabee as a second David and Simon Maccabee as a second Solomon, while 1 Macc. 14 refrains from portraying a leader as a king. Likewise, A. van der Kooij believes that the Greek version of Sirach and LXX Ezekiel allude to a high priest who is also a "ruler" or "leader" of the people, but not a "king."

The third paper, by J. Magness ("Toilet Practices, Purity Concerns, and Sectarianism in the Late Second Temple Period," pp. 51–70), offers an overview of available data on toilet practices in the Roman world in general and among the Jews of Palestine in particular. Special attention is given by Magness to the habits of the Essenes in this regard. According to Magness, the Essenes differed from other Jews in their extremely negative approach – they considered excrement impure and defection to be a ritually polluting activity. This approach was partly shared by the priests in the temple in Jerusalem, but was rejected by most rabbis.

The subject of insider-outsider relationships in Second Temple Judaism is taken on by H. Harrington ("Identity and Alterity in the Dead Sea Scrolls," pp. 71–89), who examines two sectarian texts in this regard: the *Damascus Document* and the *Community Rule*. According to Harrington, recent claims in scholarship that both documents convey some notions of inclusivity are overstated; to the contrary, both *DS* and *CR* exhibit strong notions of alterity and identity (the designation "Israel" refers only to those who have followed the way of the sect), and the tendency of the *Damascus Document* to seek the welfare of the widow, the poor, and the *ger* may reflect an internal hierarchy of the sect rather than an external social program.

The fifth paper ("An Idumean, That Is, a Half-Jew: Hasmoneans and Herodians Between Ancestry and Merit," pp. 91–115), B. Eckhardt examines the label of Herod the Great as "Idumean, that is, a half-Jew" (Josephus, Ant. 14:403) in the context of the contemporary Jewish discussion on ancestry and merit. According to Eckhardt, while the Hasmonean tradition redefined the leadership by putting emphasis on merit and not on ancestry, the opinion ascribed in Ant. 14:403 to the last Hasmonean at power (Antigonus Mattathias) states the opposite: it is ancestry and not merit which really matters. This redefinition of the Hasmonean tradition by its last representative in power is meant to legitimize Antigonus' rule for the Romans, and as such cannot be informative of either Herod's conduct ("half-Jew" = "bad Jew") or the status of Idumeans in the first century BCE.

In the sixth paper, A. Kolman Marshak ("Rise of the Idumeans: Ethnicity and Politics in Herod's Judea," pp. 117–129) analyses court conflicts at the courts of Hyrcanus the Hasmonean and Herod the Great through the perspective of a social model of "courtly society." In this light, the conflicts between Malichos and Herod, as well as between Kostobar and Herod, do not have to be seen as conflicts driven by personal enmities, but rather appear to be standard power struggles between court factions (which are found at nearly every royal court in history): each side angles for greater power and influence within the court, and the king can play factions off each other, forming a stalemate that strengthens his power in the long-term.

The paper by L.-M. Günther ("Die Hasmonäerin Alexandra – Integrationsfigur für den Widerstand gegen den neuen König Herodes?" pp. 131–155) is devoted to Alexandra, a Hasmonean princess and mother-in-law of Herod the Great. It sketches Alexandra's history through the perspective of court relations between Herod the Great and the two remaining lines of the Hasmonean family at his royal court, the Aristobulos line and the Hyrkanos II line. In Günther's paper, Alexandra emerges as a clever but tragic figure. She is a power player with one objective in mind – the restoration of her own Hasmonean line to the Jewish throne, first using Herod, and later using her power against him.

The eighth paper, by J. Wilker ("God is with Italy now: Pro-Roman Jews and the Jewish Revolt," pp. 157–187), pays attention to groups of Jews who supported Roman rule in Judea in the context of the Roman-Jewish War of 66–73 CE: the Herodians, especially Agrippa II and Berenice, and their followers; members of the upper classes in Jerusalem, especially the upper-class high priests; and elites of other cities, especially Tiberias, Sepphoris, and Scythopolis in Galilee. In this context, the uprising against Rome can also be understood as a Jewish civil war fed by social conflicts and other rivalries. Wilker stresses that, next to individual interests, pro-Roman Jews could explain their stand by pointing to the anachronism of rebellion and Rome's magnitude (also understood in an ideological way as the result of divine support).

Next, C. Leonhard ("'Herod's Day' and the Development of Jewish and Christian Festivals," pp. 189–208) deals with Persius' enigmatic remark about "Herod's days." Leonhard suggests that there is no evidence to identify Herod's days as Hanukkah, the Sabbath, or any other Biblical or later rabbinic festivals. Furthermore, according to Leonhard, it is most likely that the cycles of festivals of Jewish Diaspora communities in the Roman Empire likely had their own *locally* determined occasions for meetings and festivals which were practiced within the framework of *collegia*.

G. Stemberger ("Forbidden Gentile Food in Early Rabbinic Writings," pp. 209–224) discusses the prohibition of gentile food (identified by later rabbis with

the eighteen *halakhot*), which, according to some scholars, was enacted around the year 66 CE, and so was in some way connected to the outbreak of the revolt. However, according to Stemberger, rabbinic disputants show no awareness of the original reasons for these prohibitions or regard them as too obvious to make them explicit. At the same time, such foodlaws certainly played an important role in maintaining the Jewish identity after the destruction of the temple in Jerusalem in 70 CE.

The last paper in the volume, by K. Spann ("The Meaning of Circumcision for Strangers in Rabbinic Literature," pp. 225–242), examines Rabbinic references to the circumcision of strangers. Spann concludes that although circumcision is an indispensable ingredient in the process of conversion, it is not a single differentiating ritual, and, consequently, other factors (especially the prohibition of idolatry, and dietary customs) also play a role in marking the border between Israel and strangers.

To summarize, this book contains many interesting papers, some of which offer new insights, and is certainly worthy of recommendation to all interested in the problem of Jewish identity.

ANABASIS 5 (2014)
STUDIA CLASSICA ET ORIENTALIA

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KAMILLA TWARDOWSKA, MACIEJ SALAMON, SŁAWOMIR SPRAWSKI, MICHAŁ STACHURA, STANISŁAW TURLEJ (EDS.), *WITHIN THE CIRCLE OF ANCIENT IDEAS AND VIRTUES: STUDIES IN HONOUR OF PROFESSOR MARIA DZIELSKA*, KRAKÓW: TOWARZYSTWO WYDAWNICZE „HISTORIA IAGELLONICA", 2014, 456 S., FARBTAFELN, TEXTABBILDUNGEN; ISBN 978-83-62261-87-1

Die vorliegende Festschrift würdigt das wissenschaftliche Werk von Maria Dzielska, Kraków. Auskunft hierüber gibt die „Bibliography of Maria Dzielska", S. 9–15. Interessant (und dem Rezensenten besonders sympathisch) ist dabei die im Vorwort (S. 5), enthaltene Information, dass sich Frau Dzielska als angehende Wissenschaftlerin nicht auf eine sozial- und wirtschaftsgeschichtliche Methode festlegen lassen wollte. Vielmehr hat sie insbesondere ideenhistorische Fragen erforscht. Die ihr gewidmete Aufsatzsammlung, in deren Titel Ideen und „Tugenden" (Werte) angesprochen werden, enthält demnach eine Vielzahl von Beiträgen zur antiken Kultur- und Geistesgeschichte. Den Anfang machen acht Aufsätze, die sich mit der Interpretation und Analyse von Werken der griechisch-römischen Literatur beschäftigen, wobei auch die Überlieferung der Papyri und Inschriften einbezogen ist: Jerzy Danielewicz, Poznań: „Mythological Figures and Dead Leaders as Teachers of Public Morals and Traditional Values in Greek Old Comedy", S. 17–23; Krystyna Bartol, Poznań: „*Aletheia* and *Doxa* in Pseudo-Hippocrates´ Epistolary Novel on Democritus´ Laughter", S. 25–29; Krzysztof Narecki, Lublin: „Key concepts in the thought of Leucippus of Miletus, the forgotten founder of atomism", S. 31–37; Dariusz Słapek, Lublin: „Culture versus Nature. The Character of Roman Discourse on Scents from Plautus to Pliny the Elder", S. 39–49; Stanisław Stabryła, Kraków: „Problématique de la

critique littéraire dans les *Satires* d´ Horace", S. 51–58; Andrzej Iwo Szoka, Kraków: „The Indian Gymnosophists as the Ideal Cynic Philosophers? A Cynic Diatribe in the Geneva Papyrus inv. 271", S. 59–68; Joanna Komorowska, Warszawa: „Model text, model reading? The paradigmatic character of Proclus´ *In Alcibiadem*", S. 69–76 und Andrzej Wypustek, Wrocław: „The Sleep of Eros in a Funerary Epigram from Tomis (*Peek, Griechische Vers-Inschriften* no. 1942)", S. 77–84.

Die Ausführungen des Mit-Herausgebers Sławomir Sprawski, Kraków: „A Land Apart: The Description of Thessaly in the Homeric *Catalogue of Ships*", S. 85–95, leiten über zu einer Reihe eher historischer, bzw. kulturgeschichtlicher Beiträge. Sprawski, Verfasser einer Monographie „Tessalia, Tessalowiei i ich sąsiedzi", bemüht sich redlich darum, die zum Teil schwer zu verifizierenden Angaben der Quelle aus der Zeit ihrer Entstehung heraus zu erklären. Die manchem sicher lieb gewordene Vorstellung, der Schiffskatalog spiegele die Siedlungsverhältnisse der *mykenischen* Epoche wider, spielt heute keine Rolle mehr. Die drei anschließenden Aufsätze befassen sich mit kulturellen Erscheinungen der hellenistischen Zeit: Adam Łukaszewicz, Warszawa: „Improvised remarks on Alexander the Great and his heritage", S. 97–116; Tomasz Grabowski, Kraków: „The Cult of Arsinoe II in the Foreign Policy of the Ptolemies", S. 117–128 und Marek Jan Olbrycht, Rzeszów: „Parthians, Greek Culture and Beyond", S. 129–141. Der letztgenannte Beitrag erweist sich als besonders aufschlussreich, wenn er im Zusammenhang mit Olbrychts Aufsatz in dem Tagungsband „After Alexander" (vgl. dazu die Besprechung in Anabasis 4, 2013, S. 271–274) gelesen wird. So wie die Rolle der Einheimischen bei der Entstehung der hellenistischen Reiche in der älteren Forschung zu wenig beachtet wurde, zeigt es sich, dass der griechische Einfluss in den nachfolgenden Jahrhunderten offenbar überschätzt worden ist. Politisch hatten Griechen und Makedonen unter den Arsakiden nicht mehr viel zu sagen.

Es folgen vier Beiträge, die Aspekte der römischen Selbstdarstellung vom 1. Jh. v. Chr. bis in die Mitte des 3. Jhs. n. Chr., insbesondere anhand der Münzprägung, untersuchen: Piotr Berdowski, Rzeszów: „*Pietas erga patriam*: ideology and politics in Rome in the early first century BC. The evidence from coins and *glandes inscriptae*", S. 143–159; Wojciech Boruch, Katowice: „Domitia Longina – The Portrait of a Woman in Ancient Sources", S. 161–174; Agata A. Kluczek, Katowice: „La *patientia* d´Hadrien et la *pietas* d´Antonin ou les *virtutes* dans la pratique de l´éloge imperial", S. 175–184; Katarzyna Balbuza, Poznań: „*Virtutes* and Abstract Ideas Propagated by Marcia Otacilia Severa. Numismatic Evidence", S. 185–196. Auch die folgenden drei Aufsätze beschäftigen sich mit römischer Geschichte, haben aber einen eher ereignis- bzw. personengeschichtlichen Hintergrund. Maciej Piegdoń, Kraków: „*Viamfecei ... ponteis ... poseivei ...*

forum aedisque poplicas heic fecei. Political activity of M. Aemilius Lepidus in Northern Italy", S. 197–208; Leszek Mrozewicz, Poznań: „Flavian municipal foundations in Dalmatia", S. 209–218 und Danuta Okoń, Szczecin: „P. Cornelius Anullinus – amicus certus", S. 219–224. Hier geht es um einen Anhänger des Kaisers Septimius Severus, der in dessen Dienst eine spektakuläre Karriere machte.

Die nächsten vier Beiträge beleuchten verschiedene Aspekte der im Niedergang begriffenen altgläubigen Welt. Joachim Śliwas, Kraków: „From the world of gnostic spells. The ιαεω-palindrome", S. 225–231, verdeutlicht, dass ιαεω für „Iahweh" steht, doch wird in dem gleichen, vorwärts wie rückwärts lesbaren Text auch der ägyptische Sonnengott Re genannt. Szymon Olszaniec, Toruń: „The two prefects of 384 – Symmachus and Praetextatus", S. 233–242 zeigt, dass es mit der – in der bisherigen Forschung allgemein angenommenen – engen Freundschaft der beiden paganen Funktionsträger nicht weit her war. Edward Watts aus San Diego (California, USA) hat sich speziell eines Forschungsschwerpunktes von Maria Dzielska angenommen. Seine Ausführungen „Hypatia´s Sisters: Female Philosophers in the Fourth and Fifth Centuries" (S. 243–250) beschäftigen sich mit Sosipatra, Asklepigeneia und der nicht namentlich bekannten Ehefrau des Maximos von Ephesos. Als auf den ersten Blick paradox könnte erscheinen, dass gerade den frühen Christen der Vorwurf der Asebie gemacht wurde. Henryk Kowalski, Lublin geht in seinem Aufsatz „The Impiety (Impietas) of the Christians" (S. 251–261) den Gründen für diese Beschuldigung nach.

Innerhalb der Spätantike bildet die Zeit von Constantin bis Iustinian eine gern auch als früh-byzantinische Epoche bezeichnete Einheit. Die folgenden acht Beiträge behandeln besonders religionsgeschichtliche und literarhistorische Erscheinungen dieser Jahrhunderte: Dariusz Spychala, Bydgoszcz: „Constantin I^{er} et ses successeurs à l´égard des religions traditionnelles et du christianisme. Questions choisies", S. 263–273; Kazimierz Ilski, Poznań: „Gods of Constantine", S. 275–286; Norbert Widok, Opole: „Connotazione del lemma `physis´ in riferimento al mondo creato negli scritti di Gregorio Nazianzeno", S. 287–296; Sławomir Bralewski, Łódź: „La philosophie pratiquée par les actes – une image du philosophe dans l´ *Histoire ecclésiastique* de Socrate de Constantinople", S. 297–306. Die Herausgeberin Kamilla Twardowska (Kraków) hat mit „Religious Foundations of Empress Athenais Eudocia in Palestine", S. 307–317 einen Aufsatz beigesteuert, der den Bereich der frühchristlichen Archäologie streift. Im Anschluss daran (S. 319–328) behandelt der Mit-Herausgeber Michał Stachura, Kraków „Church Unity, Schism, and Heresy in Late Antiquity". Während seine Abgrenzung von Häresie und Schisma nachvollziehbar ist, wäre uns die Bezeichnung „Miaphysitismus" (für *Monophysitismus*) neu. Rafał Kosiński, Białys-

tok: „Why Peter the Iberian Could Not Have Been the Author of the *Corpus Dionysiacum*“, S. 329–339, hat sich mit Pseudo-Dionysios Areopagites ebenfalls eines Themas angenommen, dass im Schaffen von Maria Dzielska eine zentrale Rolle spielt. Wünschenswert wäre vielleicht ein Hinweis darauf gewesen, dass der auch im Beitrag von Frau Twardowska genannte Petrus der Iberer nicht von der iberischen Halbinsel, sondern aus kaukasisch-Iberien (dem heutigen Georgien) stammte. Diese Gruppe von Beiträgen schließt mit Ausführungen von Stanisław Turlej, Kraków: „Justinian´s novela XI – A Historical Analysis“, S. 341–359. Der Autor, ein weiterer Mit-Herausgeber, zeigt, dass sich der Kaiser bei dem Vorhaben, seine Geburtsstadt Iustiniana prima zum Erzbistum zu erheben, kirchenrechtlich „etwas am Rande der Legalität“ bewegte.

Fünf weitere Aufsätze beschäftigen sich ebenfalls mit der Spätantike, greifen aber völlig andere Schwerpunkte auf. Es geht augenscheinlich um die zunehmende „Barbarisierung“ des Westreiches bis zu dessen Auflösung, während im Osten derartige Tendenzen abgewehrt werden konnten. Dimitar Y. Dimitrov, Veliko Tarnovo (Bulgarien): „Thracians and Bessi in Late Antiquity: questions of survival, identity, and religious affiliations“, S. 361–375, nimmt sich eines bedeutenden thrakischen Stammes an, der mit Leon I. einen oströmischen Kaiser stellte. In das Gebiet des frühen (tolosanischen) Westgotenreiches führen die Untersuchungen von Jan Prostko-Prostyński, Poznań: „*Haruspices* under the walls of Toulouse in 439: Huns, Romans or Etruscans?“, S. 377–389. Małgorzata B. Leszka und Mirosław J. Leszka, Łódź: „Longinus of Cardala. Leader of The Isaurian Revolt (492–497)“, S. 391–398 kehren in den Osten zurück. Sie zeigen, wie nach dem Ende von Leons Schwiegersohn Zenon ein Versuch seiner isaurischen Landsleute scheiterte, an den Schaltstellen der Macht zu bleiben. Bis an die Grenzen des untergegangenen Westreiches führt der Beitrag von Marek Wilczyński, Kraków: „Die `Heiden´ am Rande der Welt – die Kirche und die Überreste des heidnischen Kultus im suewischen Galizien und Lusitanien“, S. 399–410. Dabei nennt der Autor auch mehrfach Namen der wenig bekannten und mitunter schwer voneinander abzugrenzenden suebischen Herrscher, so S. 404 und 409 Ariamir und T(h)eudemir. Beide sind aber wohl identisch (vgl. unsere Liste der Suebenkönige in *DNP* Suppl. 1, S. 300, Nr. 10: Theudemirus = Ariamirus). Als letzter Aufsatz dieser Gruppe folgt Teresa Wolińska, Łódź: „A Barbarian as Incarnation of Roman Virtues? Theodoric the Great in Byzantine and Italian Sources“, S. 411–421.

Drei weitere Beiträge befassen sich mit dem Nachleben der Antike im byzantinisch-osteuropäischen Bereich und wissenschaftsgeschichtlichen Themen. Dabei zeigt Przemysław Marciniak, Katowice: „The Byzantine Performative Turn“, S. 423–430, dass zwar das antike Drama seine Bedeutung eingebüßt hatte, aber das gesamte öffentliche Leben Konstantinopels „theatralischen“ Charak-

ter hatte. Maciej Salamon, Kraków ist nicht nur ein weiterer Mit-Herausgeber, sondern bearbeitet mit Apollonios von Tyana wiederum eines von Maria Dzielskas Interessengebieten. Sein Aufsatz „Apollonius of Tyana and the Account of the Death of Oleg, the Ruler of Rus", S. 431–444 zeichnet nach, wie eine von dem antiken „Wundermann" gamachte Prophezeiung noch mit dem Ende des 912 verstorbenen Oleg verknüpft wurde. Abschließend behandelt Przemysław Wojciechowski, Toruń „Theodor Mommsen: The Ides of March, Caesar and Caesarism", S. 445–450. Ob dieses Thema auf sechs Seiten adäquat zu bearbeiten ist, soll dahingestellt bleiben. Vor allem hätte darauf hingewiesen werden sollen, dass Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff (bei Wojciechowski, S. 446 unten „Moerendorf"!) Mommsens Schwiegersohn gewesen ist.

Die eben genannte falsche Schreibung führt uns zu der Feststellung, dass es in dem Buch auch sonst nicht an Fehlern und Irrtümern mangelt. Einige von ihnen seien zur Vermeidung eventueller Missverständnisse immerhin genannt. S. 22 unten (Beitrag Jerzy Danielewicz) waren Komödien der **4**20er Jahre gemeint, nicht „of the **5**20s". S. 72 unten (Aufsatz Joanna Komorowska) wird eines der bekanntesten griechischen Zitate mit *gnothi **h**eauton* umschrieben, richtig ist ***s**eauton*. Wenn S. 150 im letzten Absatz (Beitrag Piotr Berdowski) von einem Ereignis von 250 v. Chr. die Rede ist, dann gehört dieses dem *ersten* punischen Krieg an, nicht dem zweiten. Nachdem im Beitrag von Maciej Piegdoń, S. 205, zu Anfang des 2. Absatzes der lateinische Ausruck für eine Dreimännerkommission fällt, hätten *tres vir**i*** erscheinen müssen und nicht *tres vir**es*** – das wären etwa „drei Potenzen". Gegen Ende des Aufsatzes von Henryk Kowalski (S. 261, 1. Abs.) wird aus Cyprians Märtyrerakten zitiert. Es ist anzunehmen, dass in diesem Text (die Edition liegt uns gerade nicht vor), der Kaisername *Gallienus* mit einem doppelten L und das unmittelbar folgende Wort *litteras* mit einem doppelten T geschrieben wird. – Auf die zahlreichen Versehen in den Fußnoten und in den deutschsprachigen Zitaten (letztere zum Teil sinnentstellend) kann gar nicht näher eingegangen werden.

Abgesehen hiervon wurde der Festband sorgfältig produziert und ansprechend gestaltet. Er wird nicht nur der Geehrten selbst viel Freude bereiten, sondern zeigt, welche weiten Kreise die von Maria Dzielska bearbeiteten ideengeschichtlichen Themen in der Fachwelt gezogen haben und immer noch ziehen.

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ABBREVIATIONS

AE	*L´année épigraphique.*
AMI	*Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran*.
AMIT	*Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran.und Turan.*
ANRW	H. Temporini, W. Haase (eds.)*, Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt* (Berlin 1970 –).
BGU	*Ägyptische* (*Griechische*) *Urkunden aus den Kaiserlichen* (ab Bd. 6 *Staatlichen*) *Museen zu Berlin* 13 Bde., 1895–1976.
BNJ	*Brill's New Jacoby*.
DNP	*Der neue Pauly. Enzyklopädie der Antike.*
EAH	R.S. Bagnall (ed.), *The Encyclopedia of Ancient History (13 vols.),* Malden MA 2012.
EncIr	*Encyclopaedia Iranica.*
ESM	E.T. Newell, *The Coinage of the Eastern Seleucid Mints: From Seleucus to Antiochus III*, New York 1978.
FOst	L. Vidman, *Fasti Ostienses* (Praha ^{2}1982).
HdA	*Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft.*
HSCP	*Harvard Studies in Classical Philology.*
IG	*Inscriptiones Graecae.*
JRS	*Journal of Roman Studies*.
LThK^{3}	W. Kasper u.a. (Hrsg.), *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*, ^{3}1993ff.
PIR	*Prosopographia Imperii Romani saeculi I, II, III*, ^{2}1933ff.
RAC	*Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum.*
SC	A. Houghton, C. Lorber, *Seleucid Coins: A Comprehensive Catalogue*, I 1–2, New York 2002.
SEG	*Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum.*
SNGANS 8	H.A. Troxell, *Macedonia II: Alexander I – Philip II* (*SNG*, The Collection of the American Numismatic Society, Part 8), New York 1994.
TAVO	*Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients.*
Tr	*Traditio. Studies in Ancient and Medieval History, Thought, and Religion.*
WSM	E.T. Newell, *The Coinage of the Western Seleucid Mints: From Seleucus I to Antiochus III*, New York 1977.
ZDMG	*Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*.

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