# ANABASIS

## Studia Classica et Orientalia
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Department of Ancient History and Oriental Studies
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## STUDIA CLASSICA ET ORIENTALIA

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## REVIEWS

# ARTICLES

**Edward Lipiński** (Brussels, Belgium)

## JEWISH WIFE REPUDIATES HER HUSBAND

One of the ancient Semitic traditions, that goes back at least to the early 2nd millennium B.C., recognizes the same rights to divorce to the man and to the woman.[1] This tradition existed also among the Israelites and the Judaeans, as shown by the Jewish Aramaic marriage contracts from Elephantine (Egypt), dating from the 5th century B.C.[2] The assumption that this stronger woman's position is due to Egyptian influence results from the wrong belief that rabbinic legislation on divorce represents the entire legal practice in biblical times. Some Ancient Near Eastern documents prove instead that marriage contracts could recognize both spouses' right to dissolve the marriage without establishing any grounds in 'matrimonial offences'. The party initiating the divorce without objective reasons was nevertheless penalized, what shows that divorce was considered a negative element in the social life of the community.

The same legal practice existed in ancient Israel, as shown by Ex. 21:7–11, a passage belonging to the Book of the Covenant. The text is usually regarded as concerning sale of slave-girls or maidservants, but v. 11 shows that the woman might go free without any payment, if the 'master' was not accomplishing his conjugal duties towards her. She was certainly no slave-girl, but a wife, possibly a second-rank wife, whose children would perhaps increase the family without being the heirs of their father. Besides, the text implies that she might also go away in other circumstances, but she should then pay divorce money. This means that she had her own valuable belongings, probably also the 'bride-price' added by her father to the dowry. The text calls her ʾāmāh, while a husband is usually designated by the semantically correlated noun baʿal, replaced by ʾādōn in Ex. 21:8.

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[1] Examples are quoted by Lipiński 1981.
[2] Presentation with further literature: Lipiński 2014.

The Amorite use of *amtu*(*m*) in the sense of 'wife' appears clearly in a Mari census of free women, listing more than two hundred names. The women are qualified each time as *amtum* of a man, as *almattum* or *qaššatum*.[3] It is obvious that they are designated as someone's 'wives', as 'widows' or as 'hierodules', certainly not as 'slave-girls' or 'maidservants', as *amat* is translated by the editor. There are a few cases of bigamy. The use of *amtum* > *'āmāh* in the sense of 'wife' is attested also in Hebrew, at least until the 8th century B.C. In fact, a Hebrew tomb inscription in Jerusalem, dated in the late 8th century B.C., reports that the owner of the tomb, a high-ranking royal official bearing the title *'šr 'l hbyt*, was buried there with his *'āmāh*.[4]
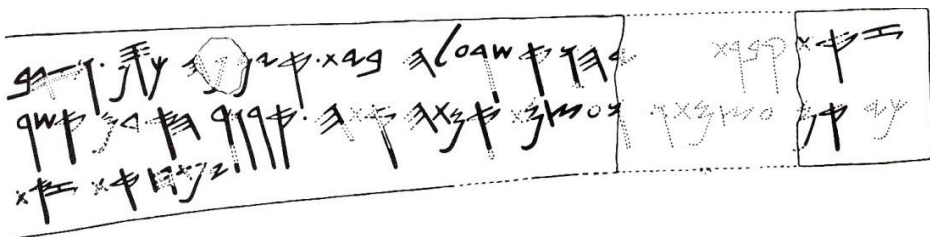


1 . זאת [קברת...] יהו אשר על הבית. אין פֹה כסף. וזהב

2 . [כי] אֹמ [עצמתו] ועצמֹת אמתה אתֹה. ארור האדֹם אשר

3. יפתֹח אֹת זאֹת

1) 'This [is the tomb of …]yahu, Royal Steward. There is no silver and gold here,
2) [but] only [his bones] and the bones of his wife (*'mth*) with him. Cursed be the man who
3) should open it.'

The mention of a sale in Ex. 21:7 creates no difficulty, because some Neo-Assyrian marriage contracts are still redacted in the 7th century B.C. according to the formulary of sale contracts. The Jewish Aramaic marriage contracts from Elephantine exclude the possibility of bigamy, but this is not the case in Ex. 21:10–11: 'If he takes another (*'amāh*), he shall not deprive the first one of meat, clothes, and conjugal rights. If he does not provide her with these three things, she may go free away without any payment'. There is no mention of a divorce bill, which does not seem to have been widely used even in the 5th century B.C., when the Elephantine documents were written. They do not mention it

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[3] Birot 1958 and 1960, no. 291.
[4] Avigad 1953.

at all. The correct text of Deut. 24:1–4 referred to the particular case of a wife given as personal gage (*'rbt* confused with *'rwt*) to a creditor,[5] a practice that the lawgiver intended to obstruct by not allowing the return of the wife.[6]

The Jewish law practice attested at Elephantine in the 5th century B.C. has thus an older background in Israel, Judah, and the surrounding countries, and this practice continued down to the Roman period, as shown by a divorce bill from 135 A.D., sent by the wife to her husband. Attempts to change the meaning of the text do not respect its normal syntax and possibly have an ideological motif, viz. not contradicting rabbinic practice in the matter. The bill belongs to a group of texts brought by Bedouin discoverers to the Rockefeller Museum in Jerusalem in the early 1950s, claiming that they found them in the Wadi Seiyal, in Hebrew Naḥal Ṣe'elim. In reality, the text comes from a cave in Wadi Ḥabra or Naḥal Ḥever. It is usually listed as Papyrus Ṣe'elim 13 or Ḥever 13 and it was referred to with the siglum xḤev/Se 13 or 5/6Ḥev/Se13. The text was published entirely in 1995[7] and soon discussed by several authors,[8] even with a polemic opposing T. Ilan to A. Shremer.[9] The text will be translated and commented here by the writer, whose former translation[10] requires important corrections and complements.

| | |
|---|---:|
| 1. | בעשרין לסיון שנת תלת לחרת ישראל |
| 2. | לשם שמע[ו]ן בר כסבה נ[שי]א ישראל |
| 3. | [ ...] [ו...]ן [ ] לא איתי [לי] |
| 4. | אנה שלמצין ברת יהוסף קבשן |
| 5. | מן עינגדה עמך אנת אלעזר בר חנני[ה] |
| 6. | די הוית בעלה מן קדמת דנן דן[י] |
| 7. | הוא לך מנה גט שבקין ותרכ[ין] |
| 8. | [מ]לת מרעה ל[א] איתי לי עמך א[נת] |
| 9. | אלעזר על צבת כל מדעם וקים עלה |
| 10. | אנה שלמצין כול די על כו[ת]ב |
| 11. | שלמצין ברת יהוסף על נפשה שאלה כתב |
| 12. | מתת ב[ר] שמעון ממרא |
| 13. | ... בר שמעון עד |
| 14. | משבלה בן שמעון עד |

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[5] The words *l' tmṣ' ḥn* reproduce a literary phrase, occurring very often in the Bible. It has no legal significance and was inserted in the text, when the latter's original meaning was no longer understood.

[6] Lipiński 2014, 25–27.

[7] Yardeni 1995, Ṣe'elim 13; 1997, P. Ḥever 13.

[8] Fitzmyer 1999; Brody 1999.

[9] Ilan 1996, 1997; Shremer 1998.

[10] Lipiński 2009, 451.

1) 'On the twentieth of Siwan, year three of the Liberation of Israel,
2) in the name of Simon bar Kosibah, prince of Israel,
3) [in…, I declare that] there is nothing belonging [to me],
4) (to) me, Shelamzion, daughter of Joseph, ferryman
5) from Ein-Gaddah, in your possession,[11] yours, Eleazar, son of Ḥananiah,
6) who were her husband previously to this, what
7) is for you from her a bill of divorce and repudiation.
8) Decision to be known: There is nothing belonging to me in your posses-sion,[12] yours,
9) Eleazar, of no kind whatsoever.[13] And it is valid for her,
10) (for) me, Shelamzion, all what is written above.
11) Shelamzion, daughter of Joseph, – Shilah has signed for her,
12) Mattat, son of Simon, the reader,
13) […], son of Simon, witness,
14) Masabbalah, son of Simon, witness.'

Noteworthy are the passages from the third to the first person, when the text refers to Shelamzion. The writer was obviously no professional scribe, what the occasional defective spellings confirm.

The text dates from May/June 135 A.D. and was thus written almost a year before the end of the Bar Kochba revolt, which lasted until the spring 136.[14] The place-name is probably lost in line 3. The woman, in whose name the document was written, is Shelamzion, daughter of Joseph, who must have been a ferryman working on the Dead Sea, if *qbšn* can be related to Arabic *qabasa*, 'to take over'. She could neither write nor read. This is why a 'reader', *mmr'*, was needed to read the text for her. *Mmr'* is the emphatic state of a derivative of *'mr*, 'to speak, to read', qualifying the person who reads the document aloud for those who are unable to do it by themselves. The same word, spelled *mmrh*, is found also after a witness' name in a sale contract reconstituted by A. Yardeni from fragments published separately by J.T. Milik and dating from the same year 135 A.D.[15]

Two important things are expressed in the document of Shelamzion: first, she repudiates her husband; secondly, she renounces to all her belongings being in the house of her former husband. This corresponds to the financial penalty, as required by the Elephantine marriage contracts;[16] it probably consisted in the loss of the dowry. Witnesses have assisted to the writing of the text and to its approval by Shelamzion. It is undoubtedly a legal document, a bill of divorce sent by the wife.

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[11] Literally 'with you'.
[12] Literally 'with you'.
[13] Literally 'regarding a matter of whatsoever'.
[14] Eck 2014, 213–220.
[15] Yardeni 1999, line 26.
[16] Yaron 1961, 53–60.

Similar cases on a much higher social level are recorded in the same period by Josephus Flavius. According to Josephus, Salome, Herod's sister, sent a divorce bill to her husband and Herodias, daughter of Aristobulus, divorced her husband Herod Philip to marry his brother.[17] Josephus stigmatizes these divorces as contrary to Jewish law, although the divorce bill, mentioned by Josephus, witnesses to a typically Jewish practice. His partiality in dealing with the activity of Roman prefects[18] invites to consider Josephus' declarations in the light of his personal case, since his own wife 'left' him without being repudiated by her husband.[19] Josephus avoided saying that his wife formally 'repudiated' him. This shows that 'Jewish laws' in Josephus' statements should be understood in the sense of Jewish legal practice that suited Josephus and probably was widespread in those times. However, the other Semitic tradition was firmly established in Jewish society, as shown by the marriage contracts from Elephantine and the document of Shelamzion. It is still attested in a mitigated form by texts from the Cairo Genizah, dated *ca*. the 10th century A.D.



**Lower fragment of a divorce bill from the Cairo Genizah,
signed by witnesses, the last one being 'Abraham bar Shabbetai, witness' (Or. 1700.10)**

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[17] Josephus Flavius, *Jewish Antiquities* 15. 7 §259; 18.5.4 §136.
[18] Cf. Eck 2014, 170–182.
[19] Josephus Flavius, *The Life* 75 §415. Cf. Yaron 1964, 174–175.

A wife 'divorcing' (*tlq*) her husband is found in several documents and letters from the Cairo Genizah,[20] but commentators try saving the rabbinic tradition and refer to the *moredet* institution aiming at liberating the 'rebellious' wife, who persistently refuses to cohabit with her husband, while the latter does not want to give her a divorce bill, because he should then pay her the sum mentioned in the *ketubbah*. In fact, she must 'ransom' herself from the marriage, what corresponds to the Arabic *iftidā'*. The qualification *moredet* can hardly suit certain cases appearing in the texts, as in the letter of a wife longing for her husband absent for business.[21] The complicated rabbinic legislation in the matter does not need to be discussed here. Its beginning can be found in the Mishnah, *Ketuboth* 5:7, around 200 A.D.

The Gospel of St. Mark 10:11–12, which can be dated *ca*. 70 A.D., preserves a version of the evangelical account on divorce according to which the woman may initiate the divorce, and this is probably the original version changed in Matthew 5:31–32 and Luke 16:18: 'and if she herself divorces her husband and marries another man, she is committing adultery'. This statement might have a relation to the rule of the First Epistle to the Corinthians 7:12–16, but this is uncertain. One could also wonder whether Mark's version is inspired by a Jewish practice or by Roman law, according to which the wife could put an end to the marriage also against the will of the husband (*repudium*). However, such a unilateral divorce by the wife was not possible, if the marriage was linked to the *conventio in manum*, by which the wife had entered the husband's family and was placed under the authority of her husband or of the latter's father. In such a case, the unilateral divorce with its financial consequences could be decided only by the man.[22] It was nevertheless easy for Roman women to obtain divorces, and the *Epigrammata* VI, 7 say: *Quae nubunt toties, non nubunt: adultera lege est*, 'Women who marry often do not contract marriages: in law, it is adultery'.

The approach of Matthew 5:32 and 19:9, that only adultery justifies divorce, is shared by the School of Shammai according to the Mishnah treatise *Gittin* 9:10, but the problem is seen only from the point of view of the man and does not concern the question of women's rights in divorce questions. In any case, the rabbis stated that 'whosoever divorces his first wife, even the altar sheds tears'.[23]

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[20] Friedman 1981.

[21] Friedman 1981, 120–122.

[22] Wołodkiewicz/Zabłocka 1996, 108–110, §122–123.

[23] Babylonian Talmud, *Gittin* 90b.

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# Abstract

The wife's right to initiate the divorce and to repudiate her husband is attested by Near Eastern documents from the early second millennium B.C. on and it is implied by Ex. 21:7–11, where *'āmāh* possibly designates a second-rank wife. This right is clearly formulated in the Jewish Aramaic marriage contracts from Elephantine, which follow a Near Eastern tradition, and it is attested by the legal repudiation of the husband by his wife, written on a papyrus found in the Judaean Desert. The document answers the requirements of such acts: it contains the declaration of divorce, a renunciation to belongings which correspond to the divorce money; it is dated and names the witnesses. The text dates from A.D. 135 and is thus somewhat posterior to the divorce bills sent to their husbands by women belonging to the Herodian family. The wife's initiative in divorce matters is still well represented in texts from the Cairo Genizah, dated about the 10th century A.D.

**Jason M. Silverman** (Helsinki, Finland)

## JUDAEANS UNDER PERSIAN FORCED LABOR AND MIGRATION POLICIES[*]

## 1. Introduction

Despite frequent acknowledgments in the literature that the Persians indeed continued previous ANE policies of using forced migration and forced labor both as punishments and to further more strategic imperial ends, surprisingly it has received little to no sustained discussion. A rather large amount of relevant material and scholarship is available, but there is no synthetic study of the phenomenon as a whole, nor to the present author's knowledge any which deal with it in a sociological context.[1] A full study of this aspect of the empire is certainly need-

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[*] This paper began under the auspices of the ERC project "By the Rivers of Babylon," at Leiden University, P.I. Caroline Waerzeggers. The BABYLON project's aim is to engage in a comparative study between the Second Temple of Jerusalem and the Babylonian temple cult as evidenced by the recently disclosed cuneiform records. The project in its final stage addresses the question of possible, direct or indirect, influence of Babylonian models on Judean practices. The rebuilding of the Jerusalem temple, however, occurred under the Achaemenid kings, and the author's research, from which this paper derives, attempts to explore how the new Persian context informs and contextualizes the Mesopotamian-Judaean interactions. The first version was presented at the "Money and Cult" conference of Hekhal in Dublin, 2014. The paper was expanded and completed within the project "Changes in Sacred Texts and Traditions," Team 1 "Society and Religion in the Ancient Near East," at Helsinki University, P.I. Martti Nissinen. This version was presented at the SBL annual meeting in San Diego, 2014.

[1] There are of course studies which apply sociological perspectives to the Babylonian Exile, e.g., Smith 1989, Smith-Christopher 1997, Smith-Christopher 2002, Ahn 2011, Ahn/Middlemas 2012, but these never focus on the Persian Empire wholesale, and rarely analyze forced labor *per se*. The only major study of the phenomenon in the first millennium remains Oded 1979. Wittfogel

ed, but well beyond current scope. Rather, this paper lays some groundwork and points up a few pertinent issues that could impact one's understanding of how the Judaeans lived in the greater Achaemenid context, and how the Jerusalem temple would have functioned within Yehud, potentially including aspects of why the temple was rebuilt in the first place. The perspective used at present is primarily related to the sociology of forced labor.

This paper will proceed in five sections: first, on the sociology of forced labor generally, focusing on the sorts of impacts one can expect upon a population subjected to it, and the evidence for it one can expect to find in an ancient context. Second, a preliminary parade of evidence will indicate that the Persians did indeed use forced labor, particularly in the contexts of building projects, military colonies, and work groups. The third section will then move on to a consideration of the Judaeans generally and the Jerusalem Temple in particular within this context. The presentation concludes with some preliminary appraisals.

## 2. The Sociology of Forced Labor and its Use in Ancient History

There are two issues related to forced labor which must be stated at the outset: 1) forced labor is rather often correlated with forced migration, though the two phenomena are distinct.[2] For the present discussion this is highly relevant when one considers that the context for the rebuilding of the Jerusalem temple is often discussed in conjunction with a return of exiles from Babylonia, and when one considers the immense size of the empire. This raises the question of which comes first and which causes which in particular cases, something one needs to consider. Further, it may also provide a way to look for evidence of forced labor, in terms of perhaps more easily identifiable evidence for the movement of populations. 2) The difficulty of the term "forced." Though on first glance it might seem easy to distinguish between voluntary and involuntary forms of labor, in practice there is a fuzzy gradation from chattel slavery at one extreme to pure "capitalist" voluntarism at the other. Degrees of coercion operate all along this spectrum, from a basic economic imperative to eat, to forms of moral and legal obligations. This is an aspect that must be dealt with head-on in the analysis.[3]

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1973 made forced labor related to waterworks a primary building block of his theory of "hydraulic" (Oriental) despotism–and he included the Achaemenids in his model–but his interest was primarily on the phenomenon of autocratic state power in the face of the USSR rather than on the labor *per se*. His theory has been heavily criticized, e.g., Westcoat 2001, 16385–6.

[2] Kloosterboer 1960, 84, 182–4; Lovell 1983, 135; Wirz 2001, 14158; Klimkova 2007; Cohen 2008, 62; Burke 2011, 44, 50. Especially true for girls and women, e.g., Campbell/Alpers 2004, xv.

[3] E.g., Nieboer 1910; Palmer 1998; Campbell/Alpers 2004, ix–x; Culbertson 2011b, 8. On its persistence in other forms, see Bales 2005.

**Definition.** What is forced labor, then? In the context of ancient history and the ANE in particular, the attention of most scholarship has focused on the issue of slavery, and whether or not particular groups were indeed slaves or not.[4] Though the definition of slavery itself is more problematic than one might expect, forced labor is a larger phenomenon than slavery, however so defined. For present purposes this paper does not focus on slavery *per se*. Rather, it explores the use of forced labor more broadly within the empire. For the moment, attention is on labor that was imposed by the imperial state for uses beyond personal interests or needs. This is unfortunately rather imprecise but it is a place to start.

**Typical Contexts.** From the literature the author has surveyed so far, it seems that the use of forced labor is almost inevitable or necessary when governments seek a policy of rapid development, very large scale construction works, or seek to utilize non- or under-utilized territories, particularly if they have sparse populations.[5] In the context of western colonialism this appears to have been essentially a reflex of supply and demand: a shortage of necessary labor in a particular area means the government or its agents must compel the workforce. Though the market systems underlying European colonialism likely do not apply to the Achaemenid Empire, decreased labor mobility and labor shortages certainly did.[6] A key context for seeking forced labor, then, is likely to be governmental policies of monumental building or of utilizing new, previously marginal areas. These are not the sole places forced labor can be found, but they are likely fruitful places to begin looking. For this reason, one of the areas discussed later is the Achaemenid construction of the imperial capitals.

**Taxation Link?** Within the literature around forced labor after the banning of slavery by the European powers, it frequently appears that laws restricting the mobility of a work force and high taxes were used as mechanisms to force populations into whatever work the policies sought.[7] This is unlikely to be of relevance to the Achaemenid period, however. Slavery was not banned, nor was the government likely to be too squeamish to straightforwardly demand labor. However, it is possible that various taxation policies could have had the practical effect of creating a form of forced labor, particularly as the use of coinage increased throughout the empire. This is something which still requires some

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[4] E.g., Dandamaev 1984b; Diakonoff 1987; Culbertson 2011a; Heinen et al. 2012. In biblical studies, e.g., Albertz 2003, 101, where comments are restricted to rejecting slave status; Grabbe 2004, 192–3.

[5] Nieboer 1910; Swianiewicz 1965; van Onselen 1976. In the context of warfare, e.g., Armeson 1964. For ideological reasons, Ebihara/Mortland/Ledgerwood 1994, 12.

[6] Janković 2005; Jursa 2010, 660–727. This is counter the opinions of pre-industrial labor as presented by Lenski/Lenski/Nolan 1991, 185.

[7] Kloosterboer 1960, 20, 23, 82, 111, 120, 126, etc (taxes); 6, 12, 17, 57, 67, 191, etc. (vagrancy laws); van Onselen 1976, 80–2, 94, 117; Lovell 1983; Ash 2006, 403.

thought. More directly, it seems that the primary form of taxation within the Achaemenid Empire took the form of labor obligations rather than money,[8] so a taxation link exists, but not in the same manner.

**Mortality.** In the context of modern studies of forced labor, its use typically involves high mortality rates for the laborers. This is related to harsh working conditions, dangerous jobs, maltreatment, and malnurishment.[9] However, mortality rates in antiquity were generally higher than today, so this may be a difficult criterion to utilize historically.

**Food.** Another common correlate to forced labor in the literature is the use of food as an incentive to work.[10] This appears to develop organically from the managers' desire to minimize economic rather than humans costs plus the basic imperative to eat. This element works both in terms of quantity and quality of foodstuffs. Since both in Babylonia and in the Persepolis Tablets ration lists are frequently attested, this is potentially a useful area for exploring the use of forced labor.[11]

**Marginality**. Unsurprisingly, forced labor in most of its attested forms is something universally avoided when possible. Methods of avoidance include escape and the paying of substitute laborers.[12] In practice this means forced labor typically falls on the weakest and most vulnerable of any given society, since these are the ones unable to avail of such methods of avoidance.[13]

**Desire for Education**. Lastly, a commonplace in much of the literature is that among populations subjected to forced labor, the experience gives rise to a marked and expressed desire for education.[14] Because education is seen as a social good which enables advancement and yet is immaterial and thus not directly taxable or able to be stolen, it becomes something by which the forced laborers seek to improve their status or the prospects of their children.

Further study of the sociology of forced labor will no doubt throw up more relevant issues, in particular the analysis of everyday praxis,[15] but now the paper turns to some of the evidence for the use of forced labor within the Achaemenid Empire.

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[8] Jursa 2011, especially 440. For more, see below.

[9] Kloosterboer 1960, 110; Armeson 1964, 40; Swianiewicz 1965, 17; Aperghis 2000, 136; Moyd 2011, 63.

[10] Swianiewicz 1965, 16; van Onselen 1976, 44–47, 160; Gewald 1995, 100; Utas 1997, 14; Moyd 2011, 62; Shesko 2011, 11; *cf*. Bales 2005, 8.

[11] E.g., the Weidner Tablets (Weidner 1939) and the Persepolis Fortification and Treasury Tablets (Hallock 1969; Cameron 1948) *Cf.* Snell 2001, 34–5; Jursa 2008; Kleber 2011, 107.

[12] E.g., Snell 2001; MacGinnis 2003.

[13] Kloosterboer 1960, 209; Shesko 2011, 10.

[14] van Onselen 1976, 183; Bales 2005, 56–57. Although the ideological situation seems to have eliminated this in the USSR, e.g., Swianiewicz 1965, 18, 214.

[15] Silliman 2001.

## 3. Some Evidence Related to the Achaemenid Use of Forced Labor

The discussion here is by no means exhaustive or even representative. Rather, the intention is to indicate some of the sorts of evidence which is available, as well as to indicate some likely contexts in which consideration of the sociology of forced labor may be illuminating for historical research. It is discussed under four headings: taxation, building projects, military colonies, and work groups, though the four have areas of overlap.

### Taxation

Jursa has described the Achaemenid taxation system within Babylonia as primarily consisting of labor obligations, though the rich could in theory pay-off their duty and have another serve in their place.[16] Though taxes in kind are known, a significant aspect of the system was based in requiring work: for military service, for building projects, and for agriculture. Without going into the details of the taxation system, this alone argues for the importance of forced labor with the Achaemenid Empire, and justifies a closer look. Moreover, for the purposes of this paper, the labor obligations which accrued to the temples came from both their taxation obligations *and* special demands of the administration, particularly in terms of building projects and the king's table.[17] The details of labor-taxation and temple duties in relation to it are important, and something which could be related more deeply to sociology of forced labor.

### Building Projects

The Achaemenids took monumental building very seriously. Besides the well-known palace complexes at Pasargadae, Persepolis, and Susa, there were smaller pavilions and palaces throughout Fars and at least one in Babylon.[18] It seems likely there was one in Ecbatana too, though only some column bases have been found.[19] Imperial projects did not end with palaces, though. The royal road system–with roads, way-stations, granaries, and the like–required construction works throughout the empire.[20] The often-discussed system of paradises would also no doubt require initial planting labor and maintenance.[21] Near Persepolis itself the building of roads and aqueducts required the carving out of

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[16] Jursa 2011, 440; *cf.* Jursa/Waerzeggers 2009; Jursa 2010.

[17] MacGinnis 2003; Henkelman/Kleber 2007; Kleber 2008, 64–5, 102–236; Kleber 2011; Jursa 2011, 434; for a collection of relevant sources, see Kuhrt 2009, 708–713.

[18] Haerinck 1997, 29; Stronach 2004; Henkelman/Kleber 2007, 169; Atai/Boucharlat 2009; Nashli 2009; Gasche 2013.

[19] E.g., Knapton/Sarraf/Curtis 2001; Brown 1998.

[20] Mustafavi 1967; Graf 1993; Graf 1994; Aperghis 1999; Briant 2012; for some sources, see Kuhrt 2009, 746–750.

[21] Dandamaev 1984a; Stronach 1990; Tuplin 1996, 80–131; Henkelman 2008, 427–441; Langgut et al. 2013; Knauß/ Gagošidse/Babaev 2013; for some sources, see Kuhrt 2009, 806–11.

rock.[22] Darius supported the building of a canal from the Red Sea to the Nile.[23] All of these projects would have required labor.[24]

Darius's well-known inscriptions from Susa describing the building of his new capital there lists multiple peoples involved in the construction.[25] Some are described as merely providing the materials, others in transporting it, and several in working the materials at the site. This implies the extensive use of corvée labor from a variety of regions. Though the precise details supplied by Darius on ethnicities is not confirmed by the brick makers' marks on the Susa bricks, they do confirm the presence of large numbers of Babylonian workers on site.[26] Other sources indicate the requirements of temples to provide labor for the Susa constructions as well.[27] The building works at Persepolis were no less ambitious than those at Susa, and one can expect they required similar amounts of labor. Presumably most of the labor provided for such projects were done as labor tax obligations.

One of the Akkadian terms for mandatory labor was *pilku*;[28] Demksy and more recently Edelman have proposed that this ought to be seen as the proper etymological background to *pelek* in Nehemiah 3 (which is discussed more below in regards to the temple).[29] For the present purposes it worth noting this is in the context of building walls and a fortress for Jerusalem, clearly in line with the sorts of activity for which one would expect imperial labor requirements to be used.[30]

### Military Colonies

Another form of imperial service was military duty, sometimes in the form of military colonies. For the present purposes, of interest is the use of military groups for public works, i.e. construction. This aspect can be a bit tricky to ana-

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[22] Described with the works in the surrounding area in Boucharlat 2014, 29–31.

[23] DZa–c (Kent 1961, 146–7). *Cf*. Lloyd 2007.

[24] Wittfogel 1973, 55–56 strongly emphasized the labor (and organization) needed for such systems.

[25] DSf, DSz, and DSaa. The first two are available in Kent 1961, 142–144, and the latter two in Kuhrt 2009, 495–497. DSf and DSz list Assyrians, Babylonians, Carians, Ionians, Medes, Egyptians, Sardians; DSaa mentions Persia, Elam, Media, Babylonia, Assyria, Arabia, Egypt, the Sealands, Sardis, Ionia, Armenia, Cappadocia, Parthia, Drangiana, Areia, Chorasmia, Bactria, Sogdiana, Gandhara, Cimmeria, Sattargydia, Arachosia, and Maka.

[26] Maras 2010.

[27] Waerzeggers 2006, 18–19; Waerzeggers 2010; Jursa 2013; *cf*. Briant 2013, 12, 22.

[28] Roth 2005, 374–5 (*pilku* B–C).

[29] Demsky 1983; Edelman 2005, 213, 222; *cf*. Ahn 2011, 100.

[30] Of course, the accuracy and editorial history of Nehemiah are matters of intense debate. For the present purpose, the mere mention of forced labor in what might potentially be a temple context is all that is of relevance, regardless of the event's historicity. The appearance at the very least means the author found the idea plausible.

lyze, since the Old Persian *kāra-* can mean both "people" and "army."[31] The ration lists for *kāra-* in the Persepolis Tablets can therefore be read either as general work groups or specific military work groups. There are ANE and modern examples of ambiguity between military service and labor, both in terminology and in praxis. Ancient Egyptian used the same word for army as for organized work details.[32] Caesar periodically used his troops for building works in the course of his campaigns in Gaul.[33] The use of military forces for manual labor has clear parallels in modern use, too, such as as in WWI Germany or the US Army Corp of Engineers. In fact, there is a subset of sociological literature on this as a particular form of labor which rather ambiguously straddles the voluntary-forced divide.[34] As quick examples within an Achaemenid context one can note that Herodotus narrates Cyrus using troops to separate a river into canals (1.189–99) and describes the use of Phoenicians, Egyptians, and others to dig a canal across Athos and build a bridge over the Strymon River (7.22.1–25.1) in the context of Xerxes's campaign. This is not the work of a colony *per se*, but it is work by soldiers. A Persian period officer in Egypt, Khnemibre, held labor and military titles.[35] For the Judaeans, this immediately brings the Elephantine community to mind.

### Work Groups (Primarily Foreign Minorities)

The biggest attention has been given to the use of work groups in Fars, as they are attested in a large number of documents from the Persepolis Fortification Tablets.[36] This system is clearly closely correlated with the building of the imperial capitals, but the work also seems to have included agricultural, artisanal, and administrative tasks. Within the Persepolis Tablets are a large number of ration texts related to the payment (primarily in foodstuffs) of work teams, headed by men and women, and partial rations for basic workers, known as *kurtaš*. Of direct relevance for the present context, Henkelman has counted 27 different ethnicities attested as labels for *kurtaš* working within the heartland.[37] By the period covered in the PFT, these workers had children as well. The administra-

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[31] Bartholomae 1904, 465; Kent 1961, 179–180; Lincoln 2012, 407. *Cf*. Hallock 1969, 6, 44, 761.

[32] Wilkinson 2005, 31–2. The author is grateful to the audience in Dublin for this observation.

[33] Julius Caesar, *The Gallic War* 1.8 reports the troops building a trench and a wall and 4.7–8 describes the building of a bridge over the Rhine, though it is unclear if this was by soldiers or engineers (Caesar 1963, 13, 201–3, respectively).

[34] Gewald 1995; Singha 2007; Freeman/Field 2011; Moyd 2011; Shesko 2011; Way 2011.

[35] Yoyette 2013, 252–4.

[36] Dandamaev 1975; Dandamaev /Lukonin 1989, 158–177; Tuplin 1987, 115–116; Briant 2002, 429–439; Aperghis 2000; Henkelman/Kleber 2007; Henkelman/Stolper 2009; Henkelman 2012.

[37] Henkelman/Stolper 2009, 273–275 count 26 ethnonyms, but in Henkelman 2013, 538 he gives 27 ethnicities.

tion even rewarded *kurtaš* women for giving birth (more for boys than girls).[38] The use of *kurtaš* workers was significant, at least during the reign of Darius, and Aperghis has estimated that roughly 10–15,000 individual *kurtaš* were living in Fars in 500 BCE.[39]

There has been some debate over how to classify the *kurtaš*. They have been called slaves, semi-free, and war captives.[40] Dandamaev has emphasized that the term and its cognates (OP \**grda* = Elamite *kurtaš* and Akk *garda*) covered a variety of legal statuses, from slaves proper to lower, dependent classes. The basis for these varying characterizations is largely twofold: one, the overwhelming attention slavery has received in ANE scholarship, and two, the size of the allotted rations. For the rations, it is observed that the main commodity, barley, was given to adult male workers at an average of 1 liter a day, just barely or below estimated subsistence levels. Aperghis thinks this means the Achaemenids had a deliberate policy of working the men to death (not the women),[41] and thus, rather like the conditions observable in colonial mines in Africa. Henkelman, however, has insisted that these rations are only partial.[42] Beyond the extras allocated, such as beer or wine, wheat flour, dates, and various kinds of fruit, he has highlighted royal feasts which added to their diet, including meat.[43] He also thinks they had households with additional income.[44] The conditions of the *kurtaš* in Fars deserve closer investigation on this point. Briant has suggested that the workers received payments in credit for use at administrative warehouses;[45] if true, this is very reminiscent of the system of company stores found in Rhodesian mining camps.[46] If Briant is correct in seeing a policy of the breaking up of families,[47] the conditions were perilously similar to modern colonial uses of forced labor.

However, more specialty workers, essentially skilled artisans, appear in the Treasury Tablets, meaning not all of them were hard laborers.[48] We can agree with Briant when he finds dubious Diodorus's report of the amputation of unnecessary limbs from Greek treasury workers (17.69.4).[49] If there is any truth at all

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[38] Dandamaev 1975, 77; Aperghis 2000, 133; Briant 2002, 435.

[39] Aperghis 2000, 139.

[40] Dandamaev 1975, 75, 77; Aperghis 2000, 136; Briant 2002, 433; Henkelman 2012; Briant 2013, 18.

[41] Aperghis 2000, 133, 136.

[42] Henkelman 2012, n.p.; Briant 2002, 455–6; *cf.* Jursa 2008, 408–415.

[43] Henkelman 2011.

[44] Henkelman 2012, n.p.

[45] Briant 2002, 456.

[46] van Onselen 1976.

[47] Briant 2002, 437.

[48] E.g., Cameron 1948, PTT 47, 77; *cf.* Aperghis 2000, 136.

[49] Briant 2002, 434.

in the report, it may be an indication of the use of (injured) prisoners of war. The status and conditions of these *kurtaš* workers was likely rather different from unskilled one. Overall, it *is* clear that the work groups came from all over the empire, largely (though not entirely) excluding Persians, and they are a significant aspect of Achaemenid labor policy.[50] As Briant has noted, the nature and number of these suggests the system cannot have been wholly voluntary, though the exact nature still deserves study.

Though the most noted aspect of work groups is in Fars, it is likely that work groups existed throughout the empire, even if not in such large groups or quantities as found in the heartland. A couple of classical citations can be noted as a way of suggesting a more comprehensive system of forced labor, perhaps partially related to forced migrations. Xenophon (*Cyropaedia* 8.1.9) claims Cyrus instituted "ministers of works," and this is in itself not implausible. It also implies a system broader than that attested in the heartland. The nature of the system, though, likely varied regionally, considering the continuation of Neo-Babylonian forms of taxation and corvée in Babylonia.[51]

The Classical sources periodically mention deportations, usually in political contexts, though the end-fates of these are often left unspecified. Herodotus claims that after the Milesians revolted, Darius enslaved the women and settled them all near the mouth of the Tigris on the Persian Gulf (6.19.3–20.1). This area is close enough to the heartland to be involved in the *kurtaš* system–and indeed, Ionians are found there–but there is no way to know whether they were given land for service, or were part of the *kurtaš* system. Curtius reports a settlement of deportees from Miletus in Bactria (7.5.28–29). This report is unclear whether the migration was voluntary or forced, but it gives purely political reasons. Again, like the comment in Herodotus above, there is no indication whether they were subjected to labor requirements or not. Xenophon also describes reasoning for peasant immunity from being moved, and thus, presumably exempt from *kurtaš* (Cyr 4.5–11). This exemption, if even reliable, probably does not apply to tax labor obligations, but it might imply differing legal statuses and levels of forced labor. This too deserves investigation.

The Aramaic reflex of *kurtaš* (גרדא) appears a few times in the Aršama archive. It appeas in a letter order from Aršama (AD 7),[52] in which the satrap orders his officer (פקיד) to take care of his existing wokers (גרדא) on his estates and to acquire new ones.[53] This action appears to make the individuals involved property of his

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[50] This does not mean, however, that it was the basis of Achaemenid power, *a la* Wittfogel 1973.

[51] Jursa 2007, 77–89; Jursa 2008; Jursa/Waerzeggers 2009; Jursa 2010; Jursa 2011.

[52] Driver 1965, 23.

[53] Driver translated the term as "staff." The n. on p. 24 is unaware of the Elamite reflex.

satrapal estate. In AD 9 the same status is implied as a form of treatment for a sculptor, and in AD 12 the status seems to come with at least a modicum of protection.[54] Sadly the term is not attested in the new Bactrian archive.

## 4. The Judaeans (and the Jerusalem Temple) in the context of Persian Labor Policies: Some Thoughts

The above very cursory discussion of the Achaemenid use of labor, however forced or coerced, leads to some preliminary thoughts on how the Judaeans, and in particular the Jerusalem temple–and imperial support for it–may have fitted into this context. This section is still very much only at the stage of initial ideas.

### Babylonia

The first consideration is the Judaean community in Babylonia. The long-known Murašû Archive indicates that the majority were in the land-for-service sector, known as the *ḫaṭru* system.[55] The very recently half-published corpus from the rural communities at Āl-Yāhūdu, Ālu-ša-Našar, and Bīt-Abī-ram appear to reflect the same situation.[56] The system involved receiving land in exchange, the labor required was mandatory and of a variety of forms. Even though "slavery" would be an inappropriate category for these Judaeans, they were certainly subject to various forms of involuntary labor–taxation, corvée, and military.[57] A thorough study of forced labor and its sociological implications in the Neo-Babylonian and Persian Empires would do much to illuminate this community.

### Elephantine

The Judaeans attested in Elephantine were in imperial Persian service as soldiers, and thus it is likely that the sociology of military forced labor is apropos here. While the archives preserved deal primarily with the issue of the destruction of their temple and private legal matters, the very fact that they were permanent soldiers in the Persian army means this is likely a new and useful perspective to consider their social history.

### Jerusalem Temple Labor Obligations

As noted above, there is reason to see in Nehemiah 3 an instance of the involvement of the temple in mandatory labor.[58] Not only does the use of the word

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[54] Driver 1965, 28, 33, respectively.

[55] On the *ḫaṭru*, see Stolper 1985, 70–103.

[56] See Pearce/Wunsch 2014; for some earlier, preliminary discussions, see Pearce 2006; Pearce 2011; Pearce 2015. Another volume by Wunsch is still expected.

[57] Magdalene/Wunsch 2011, esp. 116; On renumeration in general, *cf.* Jursa 2008.

[58] Accepted by Demsky 1983; Tuplin 1987, 123; Carter 1999, 80; Hoglund 2002, 16; Edelman 2005, 213, 222. Williamson 1985, 206 rejects the relation to the Akkadian, but only for a different lemma; Blenkinsopp 1988, 232, 235 does not discuss the issue despite including Dem-

*pelek* potentially indicate this, but the very context of priests and Levites build-ing sections of the Jerusalem wall at the command of the Persian governor (i.e., Nehemiah) also implies this. Mesopotamian temples had corvée labor duties, both in terms of tax obligations and special requirements, and they had their own dependents who also were required to work, albeit for the temple's sake.[59] For two reasons one might suspect that the rebuilt temple might operate along such lines, or at least have aspired to it on a small scale. First, Yehud was still part of the same satrapy as Babylonia, at least for a significant period of time, so the officials ultimately in charge were more likely to be used to the various systems in use in Babylonia proper.[60] Second, since the Yehud elite seem to have largely come from the Babylonian community, it stands to reason their understanding of the functions of a temple were influenced by that context. Blenkinsopp has raised the question of whether or not the Jerusalem temple owned land like the temples of Babylonia or Egypt did, but he came to very uncertain conclusions.[61] Though the scale was surely considerably smaller, the question of the obligations of the temple to the state is still something deserving fuller exploration, in line with the above materials. Even if the temple did not own its own agricultural land, it may have been required to help in other forms of labor, skilled or un-skilled, as found among the workers in Fars, or among the Babylonian temples.

**The Purpose of the Temple to Persian Eyes: Ramat Raḥel and Mizpah.** A major question is of course why the temple (and Jerusalem) were rebuilt at all, and what role they had in the Persian administration of the region, something which has been debated significantly.[62] In administrative terms, Jerusalem seems redundant: the governors' seat or estate was apparently at Ramat Raḥel,[63] while the provincial administration appears to have been at Mizpah.[64] Was Mizpah too

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sky in the bibliography. Weinfeld 2000 rejects Demsky's argument on the grounds that the Akka-dian *pilku* has multiple meanings, but this is an invalid reason. In the course of arguing for under-standing החזיק in Nehemiah 3 as "finance," Lipschits also rejects a meaning from *pilku*, "(forced) labor" (Lipschits 2012, 92–3, n. 43). However, his objections are based on only seven sections being built this way and a rejection of the required administrative system in Yehud, neither of which are persuasive reasons. His description of the parallel system in Khorsabad (pp. 95–97) rather strengthens the understanding as labor rather than challenging it.

[59] E.g., Kleber 2008; Kleber 2011.

[60] E.g., Stolper 1989; Fried 2003; Silverman 2015.

[61] Blenkinsopp 2001.

[62] A much debated topic. For a taste of some voices, see Davies 1991; Hoglund 1992; Berquist 1995a; Berquist 1995b; Zadok 1996; Schaper 1995; Bedford 2001; Janzen 2002; Edelman 2005; Kessler 2006; Finkelstein 2008; Knoppers/Grabbe/ Fulton 2009; Lipschits 2011; Milevski 2011. For the present purposes, the date of Yehud becoming a separate province is irrelevant. Nevertheless, though some argue for a late organization e.g., Kratz 2004, it is more likely that Yehud continued as province from the Neo-Babylon period (for some issues, see e.g., Silverman, 2015).

[63] Lipschits et al. 2009; Lipschits et al. 2011; Lipschits/Gadot/Langgut 2012; Langgut et al. 2013.

[64] Zorn 1997; Zorn 2003; Lipschits/Vanderhooft 2011, 41–44.

far from Ramat Raḥel for convenience? Or did Jerusalem initially have an *administrative* function at all? Could, instead, it have served more of a labor function? Nehemiah likely installed at least a small garrison at Jerusalem, and it was noted above that troops could be used for non-military labor purposes as well. There were royal vineyards in the Jerusalem environs in the Judahite kingdom, vines being the closest natural resource besides olive trees. It is marginally closer to the depression around Jericho than Mizpah as well, though the evidence for the use of Jericho as a plantation prior to the Hasmoneans appears to be limited to stamped jar handles.[65] (The mention of a deportation of Judaeans from Jericho to Hyrcania by late authors is not helpful in this regard).[66]

**Yehud's Geography**. This line of reasoning makes the present author wonder whether or not the proximity to wine and oil production might actually be the purpose for Jerusalem in imperial eyes. Both wine and oil require laborers, in the field and in processing the products, and the Jerusalem region was centrally located to provide labor for such industries.[67] Moreover, 582 stamped jars have been found dating to the Persian period; their exact use is heavily debated, but surely both wine and oil require jars.[68] Moreover, a large percentage of these were found in Jerusalem and their clay apparently also derived from the Jerusalem region, implying the labor for making them came from there. Nehemiah does actually enforce the population of Jerusalem, and it may be that the imperial reason is a local set of workers to work these two industries.

**Proximity to Philistine Littoral**. Why would wine and oil matter? Though Jerusalem itself is often noted to be *not quite* strategically placed on the royal road to Egypt,[69] it *is* nearby. The Shephelah has evidenced a number of storehouses, granaries, and forts, which are clearly related to the securing of the passageway to Egypt.[70] As is visible in the PFT, the basic commodity distribution system included grains, wine or beer, and oil. Jerusalem was poorly placed to feed grains into this system, but ideally placed to supply wine and oil.[71] These are commodities required for any laborers being utilized, and likely for military rations as well. This makes Yehud a useful source for such materials, being right

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[65] Lipschits and Vanderhooft 2011, 46–48.

[66] A putative deportation of Judaeans from the region of Jericho is doubtful, only reported in a few late writers (Jerome's translation of Eusebius's *Chronicle* Book 2 and Orosius's *History of the Pagans* 3.7). See Briant 2002,685, contra Olson 2013, 197–8.

[67] Barstad 1996, 70–73; Greenberg/Cinamon 2006; in general, Borowski 1987, 102–125.

[68] And according to Lipschits/Vanderhooft 2011, 60, the clay for the pots came from Jerusalem region. Recent analyses of the jars appear to show they contained mead. This was announced by Liora Freud in her paper "An Early Persian Pottery Assemblage of Yehud Jars from Ramat Rahel" at the SBL annual Meeting in San Diego, November 2014.

[69] E.g., Grabbe 2004, 275; Grabbe/Knoppers 2009, 22.

[70] Edelman 2007; Porten/Yardeni 2007; Fantalkin/Tal 2012, 163–168.

[71] On the climate and geography, *cf*. Grabbe 2004, 198–9; Frankel 1999.

nearby. This likely provides a useful perspective on the strategic uses for Jerusalem: not necessarily a locus for administration *per se*, but for coordination of (mandatory) labor.

**Relation to the Temple**. How does the temple figure into this? At present the author is considering three contexts. The first is the desire of the Judaeans (or some of them) to have the temple rebuilt. This requires little comment. The second is that the temple may have provided an institutional basis for organizing labor in wine and oil production, whether or not this was done on "crown lands," the estates of local elites, or land granted to the temple itself.[72] This is a point which requires further research and consideration. If true, it would rather closely integrate the temple itself into the Persian systems of forced labor. Lastly, there is the biblical literature on tithing and the Levites, something too big to delve into here–though one can note in passing that Neh 10:38 associates the Levites and tithes with corvée duties (עבודה).[73] Tithing in the texts, however, does include tithes in money and in kind, and it is possible that not all of this was purely related to the cult.[74] It may be that some of these tithes were also required via labor obligations rather than materials *per se*, though in terms of agricultural production those two are not in principle so different. Nehemiah mentions the storehouses of the temple, and one might wonder what all was stored there. Indeed, the above noted verse explicitly links these to mandatory work.

# 5. Conclusions

What can one conclude at this point concerning the Persian labor policies and their relationship to the Judaeans? The first comment is how much evidence there is available, and the incredibly fruitful potential there remains to be had by apply-

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[72] The imperial purposes for Jerusalem and/or its temple have been heavily debated, though the aspect of labor is typically not considered in this context. Hoglund 1992, 224 thought that Nehemiah made Jerusalem into a center of fiscal administration, but did not consider the temple; Berquist 1995a, 62–3 saw the construction of the temple as administrative and related to Darius I's campaign against Egypt and the required provisioning of the invasion force; in this he has been followed by Trotter 2001, 289, 291. Briant 2002, 488 implied the temple was built by Darius in return for loyalty, but that Artaxerxes walled Jerusalem to be a fiscal and military center (p. 585). Edelman 2005 sees the temple as part of the package that comes with creating a new *birah*, but she also highlights the temple's role as treasury (ch. 6, on treasury, 347–8). It is worth noting in this context she sees the settlement of Yehud as less than voluntary (342–3). None of these consider a potential use in terms of labor.

[73] E.g., Lev 27; Num 18:8–32; Deut 14:22–29; Neh 10–13.

[74] For an overview albeit with modern theological concerns, e.g., Köstenberger/Croteau 2006, 54–71. For a discussion in the Persian Period, see Knowles 2006, chapter 5 (105–120). The issue is complicated by the dating of Torah texts.

ing the sociology of forced labor to the Persian Empire. The large scale mobilizations of workers across the empire is similar to some more modern colonial efforts, and the incidental comments of scholars on the *kurtaš* system are rather reminiscent of the effects found in that literature–questions of food adequacy and use of it as incentives, the issue of mortality rates, the issues of marginality. More difficult is dealing with the economic differences between the systems, as well as the expectations and experiences of those involved. Moreover, the legal situation still requires clarification–though this is another area where colonial attempts to redefine forced labor to make it legal might be illuminating.

An interesting variable is education and desire for it. In the forced labor literature, there is a marked desire for education, as a way out. In the PFT texts there are classes of boys who are transferred from unskilled to specialized services, including scribal services, and they are remunerated significantly more than their peers. Moreover, the Jerusalem temple is typically seen as a locus for the scribal culture of Yehud. Could there be specific, situational links here? It deserves investigation.

Beyond a general indication that forced labor is a useful perspective for each of the Judaean communities discussed, it likely does have particular import for the Jerusalem temple itself. As Davies has suggested elsewhere,[75] not only is it possible that the returnees to Yehud were not voluntary; in Nehemiah it seems the settlement of Jerusalem itself was not necessarily voluntary (Neh 11). The reasons for this in general may have labor backgrounds, as workers were moved around the empire. Alternately, or additionally, the temple itself may have participated in forced labor regimes, either by owning land or industries or coordinating their manpower. If so, this would be a major aspect of its social role and impact within Yehud, as well as its economic effects. These are all elements which will bear closer inspection. Though it has not received the attention it deserves, the demonstrable use of forced labor by the Persians can thus be seen as a new and potentially fruitful angle to address the many long-standing problems of understanding Yehud and the Judaeans within the Persian Empire.

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# Abstract

The use of forced migration and forced labor by the Achaemenids has received almost no scholarly attention, despite hints that both were widely used strategies. Moreover, the implications of these strategies for the Judaean populations within the empire have also gone mostly unnoticed. To understand the relations of these two neglected issues it is necessary to reconstruct both some of the historical evidence for their use and their likely sociological impacts within the Persian Empire with (ethnic) populations at large. Since this would be a major undertaking, this paper primarily seeks to determine on the basis of sociological models of forced labor and migration what kinds of impact on Judaeans can be expected from a few Persian case studies, and which of these impacts are likely to be directly visible within literary traces (i.e., the Hebrew Bible). This discussion will proceed under three headings: building projects, military colonies, and the organization of minority (work) groups. The implications of these results for further research are then suggested.

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## FROM EDOM TO IDUMEA: ANALYSIS OF SELECTED PASSAGES FROM THE HEXATEUCH[*]

### Introduction

The aim of this paper is to examine the Septuagint passages (LXX) parallel to the passages from the Hebrew Bible that may be relevant to the study of the historical geography of Edom/Idumea. To be precise, the focus will be on the passages that speak about the Israelites' exodus from Egypt and their conquest (settlement) of Canaan. The following passages will be analyzed: Numbers 20:14–21 ("Edom denies Israel passage"); Deuteronomy 2:1–8 ("Wanderings in the desert"); and Joshua 15:1–10 ("Allotment for Judah").[1] The purpose of our comparison of the Hebrew and Greek texts is to verify that the LXX passages do not contain any textual changes (compared to the Hebrew text) that may reflect historical changes that occurred between the time of the composition of the Hebrew Bible and the time of the creation of the Greek Bible (LXX). To be specific, the historical process which underlines the working hypothesis of this paper is the migration of the Edomites from Transjordan into the Negev and southern Judah.

Generally speaking, the Iron Age kingdom of Edom was primarily located east of theʿArabah valley and south of the Dead Sea:[2] its northern border was

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[1] Of course, many other passages could be analyzed, but the passages mentioned above were chosen upon a preliminary inquiry as the most promising for the present purpose.

[2] An excellent overview of the historical geography of Edom is offered by Edelman 1995.

marked by the Brook Zered (the Wadi el-Ḥasa), while its southern border fell either on Wadi al-Ghuweir or, more likely, on Ras en-Naqb; to the west and east, the land of Edom was well demarcated by two other natural landmarks–the ʿArabah valley and the Arabian desert, respectively.[3] Thus, the heartland of Edom was a mountainous country, and this area is sometimes labeled as *Edom proper*.[4] At the same time, Edom as a political entity expanded its borders southwards and westwards to reach the shore of the Red Sea at Eilat and the Negev (see Figure 1).[5] The nature and course of Edom's expansion into the Negev is a matter of complicated debate. The first traces of Edomite presence in the eastern Negev can be observed as early as the late monarchic period (the second half of the seventh and early sixth centuries BC),[6] but the emergence of the province of Idumea, which included the northern Negev (as well as southern Judah as far as Beth-Zur), definitely took place by the Hellenistic period. It was most likely a gradual process, perhaps connected with the migration of a population or economic influence (control of trade routes through the region).[7] At any rate, the Hellenistic-Roman province of Idumea and the Iron Age kingdom of Edom, even at its furthest extension, are two completely different matters (see Figures 1–2).

## Analysis of the selected passages

Generally speaking, the passages under examination refer to the meeting between the Edomites and the Israelites (with the latter wandering in the desert after the exodus from Egypt) and to the settlement of the tribe of Judah after the conquest (to use the Biblical terminology) of Canaan.

In Numbers 20:14–21, after the unsuccessful attempt to enter the land of Canaan from the south (Num 14:45), the Israelites, stationed in Kadesh, seek permission to cross the territory of Edom so that an attack against Canaan can be made from the east. Their request for permission is turned down, and the Israelites have "to go around the land of Edom" in the direction of the Gulf of Aqaba (and then turn north to pass to the east of Edom).

The most relevant passage describing the frontier of Edom is Num 20:16 (WTT):[8]

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[3] Edelman 1995, 2–3.
[4] Edelman 1995, 4.
[5] Edelman 1995, 2–3.
[6] See Arieh 1995, 33–40.
[7] De Geus 1979–80, Edelman 1995, 6.
[8] The translation of the New Jerusalem Bible (Num. 20:16): "When we appealed to Yahweh, he heard our cry and, sending an angel, brought us out of Egypt, and here we are, now, at Kadesh, a town on the borders of your territory.

וַנִּצְעַק אֶל־יְהֹוָה וַיִּשְׁמַע קֹלֵנוּ וַיִּשְׁלַח מַלְאָךְ וַיֹּצִאֵנוּ מִמִּצְרָיִם
וְהִנֵּה אֲנַחְנוּ בְקָדֵשׁ עִיר קְצֵה גְבוּלֶךָ:

In turn, the parallel passage in the LXX is as follows (Num. 20:16 LXT):[9]

καὶ ἀνεβοήσαμεν πρὸς κύριον καὶ εἰσήκουσεν κύριος τῆς φωνῆς ἡμῶν καὶ
ἀποστείλας ἄγγελον ἐξήγαγεν ἡμᾶς ἐξ Αἰγύπτου
καὶ νῦν ἐσμεν ἐν Καδης πόλει ἐκ μέρους τῶν ὁρίων σου

Thus, the city of Kadesh is presented as the landmark marking the frontier of Edom (see Figures 3–4). In Num. 20:16, Kadesh is described as being located גבולך קצה. The Hebrew term קצה translates in the spatial sense as "end, edge, border, extremity" (and in the temporal sense as "end").[10] Remarkably, this term denotes a point that, though it is located on the extremity of a given space, is still more inside than outside the area. For instance, in Gen 23:9 Abraham buries his wife Sarah in the cave near Hebron that he bought from Ephron the Hittite for this purpose. Before the transaction, the cave was described as being located in Ephron's fields, to be precise, בקצה שדהו. Thus, though the cave was located "at the end of his field," it was still more within its borders than outside of them. In turn, in 1 Sam. 14:27 קצה המטה refers to the "end of the staff" that Jonathan, son of Saul, dipped into the honeycomb. Again, in Judg. 7:11 קצה החמשים אשר במחנה describes the outposts of the enemy camp where Gideon went to gather intelligence before the battle with the Madianites. Thus, the meaning of קצה appears to be inclusive–it does not denote something which lies outside of a given entity, but at its very end. In turn, גבול may mean a mountain, boundary, enclosure (as a specific technical term), or territory,[11] and if we take into account the meaning of קצה in Num. 20:16, it follows that גבול should be understood as a "territory" enclosed with borders.[12]

Given the literal meaning of the key expression קצה גבולך in Num 20:16 alone, one may think of Kadesh as being located within the borders of the Edomites. At the same time, the context of the narrative suggests that Kadesh was situated in non-Edomite territory, as the Israelites could settle there before sending embassies to the Edomites. It has been argued that this ambiguity reflects two distinctive perspectives: one sees Kadesh as an Edomite city (in accordance with the historical setting, perhaps dated to the mid-to-late eighth century BC),[13] and the other is purely literary. Otherwise, one might suggest

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[9] The Brenton translation (LXA) from BW 10 (Num. 20:16): "And we cried to the Lord, and the Lord heard our voice, and sent an angel and brought us out of Egypt; and now we are in the city of Cades, at the extremity of thy coasts. (Num. 20:16 LXA).

[10] Holladay 2000, *ad loc.* (BW 10).

[11] Holladay 2000, *ad loc.* (BW 10).

[12] Gray 1912, 269.

[13] Bartlett 1989, 90–93; Levine 2000, 492.

that in Num 20:16 the city of Kadesh is located very close to the borders of Edom and functions as a sort of border town (if modern comparisons can be of any guide to us) on the non-Edomite side (for the identification of Kadesh, see below).

In the LXX, קצה is put as μέρος and גבול as ὅριον. The word μέρος is usually translated as a "part" ("in contrast with a whole," thus meaning "part, aspect, feature"),[14] and as such (especially in classical literature) may denote one's portion, heritage, or lot.[15] This term (in the plural as τὰ μέρη) also appears in Biblical geographical or geopolitical passages where, combined with the proper names of various countries, it points to subdivisions (often translated as districts or regions) of a given geographical or geopolitical entity; examples include μέρη of Galilee in Mt 2:22, μέρη of Libya around Cyrene in Acts 2:10, μέρη of Tire and Sidon in Mt 15:21, μέρη of Caesarea Philippi in Mt 16:13, μέρη of Dalmanutha in Mark 8:10, and μέρη of Macedonia in Acts 19:1. In Num 20:16, we have the idiomatic expression ἐκ μέρους, meaning literally "from a part [of]."[16] This expression emphasizes the state of being an integral part of something; for instance, it is used for parts of the human body in Paul's well-known analogy of *Christ's Ecclesia* as the human body in 1 Cor. 12:27.[17]

Next, ὅριον is a frequent choice for the Hebrew גבול in the LXX.[18] This term in the singular denotes a "boundary," but in the plural it means a geographical area within boundaries–a region, district, land, or territory (especially in the NT).[19] For instance, in Mt. 2:16 King Herod is said to have ordered the slaughter of all the male children in Bethlehem and "in all its environs" (ἐν πᾶσιν τοῖς ὁρίοις αὐτῆς).

All in all, it seems that the literal translation of ἐκ μέρους τῶν ὁρίων in Num 20:16 should be as follows: "from a part of your land." The LXX's version may be seen as more inclusive in its meaning than that of the Hebrew phrase קצה גבולך, although in both cases the literal meaning suggests more or less the same thing– Kadesh was technically located within Edom's borders.

Another important Biblical passage which may contribute to our knowledge on the historical geography of Edom and Idumea is Deuteronomy 2:1–9, which, generally speaking, retells the episode from Num. 20:14–29.[20]

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[14] Louw/Nida 1996, *ad loc.* (BW 10).

[15] Liddell/Scott/Jones/McKenzie 1996, *ad loc*. (BW 10); Thayer 1889, *ad loc.* (BW 10).

[16] Louw/Nida 1996, *ad loc.* (BW 10).

[17] Louw/Nida 1996, *ad loc.* (BW 10).

[18] Thayer 1889, *ad loc.* (BW 10).

[19] T. Friberg/B. Friberg/Miller 2000, *ad loc*. (BW 10); Thayer 1889, *ad loc*. (BW 10); Moulton/Milligan 1997, *ad loc*. (BW 10); Gingrich 1983, *ad loc*. (BW 10);  Danker 2000, *ad loc*. (BW 10).

[20] Phillips 1973, 22; Weinfeld 1992, 166; Braulik 2003, 30.

The passage that is most relevant for the historical geography of Edom/Idumea in Deut. 2:1–9 can be found in the first verse, which reads as follows in the Hebrew Bible (WTT):[21]

וַנֵּפֶן וַנִּסַּע הַמִּדְבָּרָה דֶּרֶךְ יַם־סוּף כַּאֲשֶׁר דִּבֶּר יְהוָה אֵלָי וַנָּסָב אֶת־הַר־שֵׂעִיר יָמִים רַבִּים׃ ס

In turn, the Greek version of Deut. 2:1 (LXT) is as follows:[22]

καὶ ἐπιστραφέντες ἀπήραμεν εἰς τὴν ἔρημον ὁδὸν θάλασσαν ἐρυθράν ὃν τρόπον ἐλάλησεν κύριος πρός με καὶ ἐκυκλώσαμεν τὸ ὄρος τὸ Σηιρ ἡμέρας πολλάς

In Deut. 2:1, the Israelites are reported to have started their journey from Kadesh anew with the purpose of reaching Canaan (see Figure 4). Deut. 2:1 describes the very beginning of this route. Two landmarks along the first stages of the route are mentioned: the Sea of Suph in the Hebrew text, or the Red Sea in the Greek text, and Mt. Seir in both texts.

The proper name יַם־סוּף mentioned in the Hebrew text in Deut. 2:1 literally means the "sea of rushes" or "sea of reeds," and is most frequently used to describe the Egyptian coast of the Red Sea–the modern Gulf of Suez (e.g., see Jos. 2:10; Ex. 10:19, 13:18, 15:4, 15:22, 23:31; Deut. 11:4; Jos 4:23; Num. 33:10–11; Neh. 9:9; Ps 106:7, 106:9, 106:22, 136:13, 136:15).[23] However, in a few cases, the name is also applied to a part of the Red Sea known as the Gulf of Aqaba (1 Ki 9:26; Num 21:4 and likely Num. 14:25; Deut. 1:40, 2:1; perhaps Judg. 11:16 and Jer. 49:21).[24] The geographical context points to the latter identification; otherwise, the Israelites would have turned back towards Egypt.[25]

The reference to Mt. Seir (הַר־שֵׂעִיר) in the Israelites' itinerary is also important. The etymology and meaning of the name שֵׂעִיר are not entirely clear, and three major explanations have been put forward.[26] First, the term is most frequently taken to mean "hairy," and consequently is thought to point to a forested region. Second, it has also been argued that the term may mean "goaty," and thus characterizes Edom as a "goat land" or "goat mountain." Lastly, another explanation points to the root śʿr II, meaning "to sweep or whirl away"; this etymology would suggest that Edom was a windswept and barren mountainous region

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[21] The translation of the New Jerusalem Bible (NJB) from BW 10 (Deut. 2:1): "'We then turned round and made for the desert, in the direction of the Sea of Suph, as Yahweh had ordered me. For many days we skirted Mount Seir."

[22] The Brenton translation (LXA) from BW 10 (Jos. 15:1–4): "And we turned and departed into the wilderness, by the way of the Red Sea, as the Lord spoke to me, and we compassed mount Seir many days."

[23] *Brown/Driver/Briggs 1907, ad loc. (BW 10); Levine 2000, 518.*

[24] *Brown/Driver/Briggs 1907, ad loc. (BW 10).*

[25] Weinfeld 1992, 126; *Levine 2000, 86.*

[26] See Edelman 1995, 7–8.

The identity of Mt. Seir is not entirely clear, either.[27] First, Mt. Seir is some-times referred to as a synonym for the Edomite territory in general, or at least for a portion of it (especially the western slopes of the Edomite plateau or its south-ern part, the esh-Sherah region between Wadi al-Ghuweir and Ras en-Naqb). Second, it has also been argued that Mt. Seir denotes a mountain range that was located west of the ʿArabah (which was incorporated into the territory of the kingdom of Edom at some point in its political expansion). Third, some scholars, apparently looking for a "middle ground," have claimed that Mt. Seir can be used for the mountains and rough steppe on both sides of the ʿArabah.

At any rate, the LXX names are parallel to the Hebrew terms. First, ים־סוף is replaced with the most frequently used Greek name for the well-known seawater inlet of the Indian Ocean lying between the continents of Africa and Asia–Ἐρυθρά θάλασσα. This name is as equally ambiguous as the Hebrew name and may consequently be attributed to various parts of the Red Sea (or even the Indi-an Ocean).[28] Second, the Hebrew הר־שעיר is translated as τὸ ὄρος τὸ Σηιρ, which is also equivalent to the Hebrew term.[29] In light of both the Hebrew and Greek versions of Deut. 2:1 (as well as Deut. 2:12), it can be said that Mt. Seir was occupied by the Edomites. The case of the Red Sea is less certain, but the fact that the Israelites could freely use the path leading to the Red Sea may imply that it did not belong to the Edomites.

All in all, the Hebrew and Greek versions of the narrative in Deut. 2:1 do not essentially differ when it comes to details that are relevant to the historical geog-raphy of Edom/Idumea.

The third and final Biblical passage to be analyzed in this paper can be found in the book of Joshua, which, generally speaking, presents the conquest of Canaan by the Israelites and the subsequent delineation and allotment of the conquered land.[30] In particular, Josh. 15:1–10 describes the allotment of the tribe of Judah, and a detailed description of the course of Judah's southern border is given in Josh. 15:1–4 (see Figure 3). It is worth quoting this passage in detail (Jos. 15:1–4 WTT):[31]

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[27] See Edelman 1995, 8; Seebass 2003, 100.

[28] Sturdy 1976, 280.

[29] Perlitt 2013, 138.

[30] Boling 1982, 363.

[31] The translation of the New Jerusalem Bible from BW 10 (Jos. 15:1–4 NJB): "The portion falling to the tribe of the sons of Judah, by clans, was near the frontier of Edom, from the desert of Zin southwards to Kadesh in the south. Their southern frontier began at the tip of the Salt Sea, at the southerly bay; it proceeded south of the Ascent of Scorpions, crossed Zin and came up to Kadesh-Barnea from the south; past Hezron, it went on to Addar and turned towards Karka; the frontier then went on to Azmon, came out at the Torrent of Egypt and reached as far as the sea. This is to be your southern frontier."

וַיְהִי הַגּוֹרָל לְמַטֵּה בְּנֵי יְהוּדָה לְמִשְׁפְּחֹתָם אֶל־גְּבוּל אֱדוֹם מִדְבַּר־צִן נֶגְבָּה מִקְצֵה תֵימָן: [1]
וַיְהִי לָהֶם גְּבוּל נֶגֶב מִקְצֵה יָם הַמֶּלַח מִן־הַלָּשֹׁן הַפֹּנֶה נֶגְבָּה: [2]
וְיָצָא אֶל־מִנֶּגֶב לְמַעֲלֵה עַקְרַבִּים וְעָבַר צִנָה וְעָלָה מִנֶּגֶב לְקָדֵשׁ בַּרְנֵעַ וְעָבַר חֶצְרוֹן וְעָלָה אַדָּרָה וְנָסַב הַקַּרְקָעָה: [3]
וְעָבַר עַצְמוֹנָה וְיָצָא נַחַל מִצְרַיִם [וְהָיָה] (וְהָיוּ) תֹצְאוֹת הַגְּבוּל יָמָּה זֶה־יִהְיֶה לָכֶם גְּבוּל נֶגֶב: [4]

In turn, the parallel passage in the LXX reads as follows (Num. 20:16 LXT):[32]

[1] καὶ ἐγένετο τὰ ὅρια φυλῆς Ιουδα κατὰ δήμους αὐτῶν ἀπὸ τῶν ὁρίων τῆς Ιδουμαίας ἀπὸ τῆς ἐρήμου Σιν ἕως Καδης πρὸς λίβα
[2] καὶ ἐγενήθη αὐτῶν τὰ ὅρια ἀπὸ λιβὸς ἕως μέρους τῆς θαλάσσης τῆς ἁλυκῆς ἀπὸ τῆς λοφιᾶς τῆς φερούσης ἐπὶ λίβα
[3] καὶ διαπορεύεται ἀπέναντι τῆς προσαναβάσεως Ακραβιν καὶ ἐκπεριπορεύεται Σεννα καὶ ἀναβαίνει ἀπὸ λιβὸς ἐπὶ Καδης Βαρνη καὶ ἐκπορεύεται Ασωρων καὶ προσαναβαίνει εἰς Αδδαρα καὶ περιπορεύεται τὴν κατὰ δυσμὰς Καδης
[4] καὶ πορεύεται ἐπὶ Ασεμωνα καὶ διεκβαλεῖ ἕως φάραγγος Αἰγύπτου καὶ ἔσται αὐτοῦ ἡ διέξοδος τῶν ὁρίων ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν τοῦτό ἐστιν αὐτῶν ὅρια ἀπὸ λιβός

Two other noticeable textual changes (of importance for the present inquiry) between the Hebrew and Greek texts can easily be distinguished.[33] First, in Josh. 15:1 (which appears to give a general summary, as the southern border is drawn again and in more detail starting in Josh. 15:2), the Hebrew text mentions only the Zin Desert as the southernmost landmark of the border with Edom, while the Greek text mentions both the Zin Desert and Kadesh.[34] The lack of Kadesh in the Hebrew text in Josh. 15:1 is likely a textual issue (perhaps a scribal omission);[35]

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[32] The Brenton translation from BW 10 (Jos. 15:1–4 LXA): "And the borders of the tribe of Juda according to their families were from the borders of Idumea from the wilderness of sin, as far as Cades southward. And their borders were from the south as far as a part of the salt sea from the high country that extends southward. And they proceed before the ascent of Acrabin, and go out round Sena, and go up from the south to Cades Barne; and go out to Asoron, and proceed up to Sarada, and go out by the way that is west of Cades. And they go out to Selmona, and issue at the valley of Egypt; and the termination of its boundaries shall be at the sea: these are their boundaries southward."

[33] For a list of other minor linguistic differences, see Boling 1982, 362–363.

[34] The expression מקצה תימן is usually translated as an indication of the general extreme southern direction. For instance, Görg 1991, 72: "im äußersten Süden"; Buttrick 1953, 628: "at the farthest south"; Woudstra 1981, 232: "in the extreme south." At the same time, it is theoretically possible (so Görg 1991, 72, n. 15.1) to think of Teman as a proper name (a synonym for Edom, or a name for one of its regions). However, the problem is that the term Teman is a *taw*-performative noun from the root YMN, meaning "south," and as such it can be used as a general description of any southern region; in addition, as a proper name, it most likely served as a designation for the northern part of the Edomite plateau around the city of Bozrah (see Edelman 1995, 4). The LXX version suggests the first meaning of Teman as a southern region–πρὸς λίβα.

[35] At any rate, the current text has two expressions, נגבה and מקצה תימן, both pointing to the southern direction; this is in fact a tautology. See Butler 1983, 179.

its consequences for the historical geography of Edom/Idumea should not be overestimated, as the name Kadesh is mentioned in a more detailed description in Josh. 15:3 (likewise in the Greek text).

Second, in the Hebrew text of Josh. 15:2, the southern tip of the Salt Sea (known in modern times as the Dead Sea) is called לשון, "the tongue" (apparently after its shape), while the Greek text has a unique name (attested only in Jos. 15:2 and 5, as well as Jos. 18:19), λοφιά, which translates as "backfin,"[36] and as such compares the form of the southern tip of the Salt Sea to the tail fin of a fish (probably of the protocercal type).[37]

Several other more general observations are in order. First of all, the southern border of Judah is drawn by referring to several geographical landmarks (see Figure 3). At the same time, the southern border is also characterized by the explicit mention of Edom and an indirect reference to Egypt (the Torrent of Egypt in Jos. 15:4) as Judah's southern neighbors. It follows that Judah did not border Edom along the entire course of its southern border. In fact, the reference to Edom in Josh. 15:1 suggests that Judah neighbored Edom on its southern border as far as the Zin Desert (and Kadesh). Thus, the geographical landmarks that are important for drawing the border between Judah and Edom are as follows: the southernmost tip of the Salt Sea, the Ascent of Scorpions, the Zin Desert, and probably Kadesh-Barnea. According to Josh. 15:1–4, all these landmarks belong to the territory of Judah (and not to Edom),[38] but it should still be stressed that Edom (as presented in Josh. 15:1–4) does extend beyond the ʿArabah valley.[39]

The identification of the Salt Sea as the modern Dead Sea is beyond doubt; however, it should be noted that the surface of the Dead Sea has been rapidly shrinking throughout most of the twentieth century (mainly because of the diversion of incoming water from the Jordan River for agricultural use), and thus its

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[36] Liddell/Scott/Jones/McKenzie 1996, *ad loc*. (BW 10).

[37] The term λοφιά may also be translated as the mane on the neck and back of certain animals (esp. the mane of horses and the bristly back of boars and hyenas), but this meaning is less likely for the name of a body of water. See Liddell/Scott/Jones/McKenzie 1996, *ad loc*. (BW 10).

[38] This conclusion results from the use of the verb עבר. According to Boling 1982, 365, this verb in the boundary lists "describes a segment of the border which is somehow diverted from what might otherwise seem to be a more straightforward route." In the passage under discussion, the verb עבר occurs in vv. 3–4, 7, 10, 11. With regard to the Edomite border, עבר refers to the Zin Desert in v. 3. In the Greek Bible, this role is played by the verb ἐκπεριπορεύομαι (to encompass, to make a detour), which perfectly reflects the idea of a diverted line to include a place located slightly off the straight line. In turn, the location of the Ascent of Scorpions and Kadesh-Barnea on the Judahite side is expressed by the Hebrew preposition מנגב (from the south) and the Greek prepositions ἀπέναντι, meaning "opposite, in front of, before" (for the Ascent of Scorpions), and ἀπὸ λιβός, which translates as "from the south" (for Kadesh-Barnea). For the prepositions, see also Butler 1983, 179–180.

[39] Miller/Tucker 1925, 120.

ancient surface was certainly larger (also, the southernmost tip is no longer clear-
ly recognizable as the shape of a tongue or fishtail).[40] In turn, given the geo-
graphical context, the Ascent of Scorpions must refer to one of the passes leading
from the ʿArabah northwest towards Beersheba.[41] Next, the Zin Desert is widely
equated with the desert region adjacent to Kadesh-Barnea (see below) in the
northeast (modern region of northeastern Sinai and the central Negev).[42] Finally,
Qadesh-Barnea is widely identified with the well-watered valley of the Ain el-
Qudeirat oasis, where the Sinai desert merges with "the High Negev" (under-
stood as the region between the Beersheba basin to the north, the Arabah to the
east, and the springs and wadis leading towards the coast to the west).[43] It should
be stressed that according to Josh. 15:1–4, both in the Hebrew and Greek texts,
all these locations mark the border between Judah and Edom, but they are all
located on the Judahite side of the frontier.

## Summary

A comparison of the Hebrew and Greek texts of Numbers 20:16, Deuteron-
omy 2:1, and Joshua 15:1–4 does not reveal any textual differences that would
reflect the historical process of the migration of the Edomites from Transjordan
into the Negev and southern Judah and the creation of the province of Idumea,
which included the northern Negev and southern Judea as far as Beth-Zur.

To be precise, both the Hebrew and Greek texts of Num 20:16 present the
city of Kadesh as the landmark dividing the territory of the Edomites from the
territory temporarily accessible to the Israelites. In both the Hebrew and Greek
texts of Deuteronomy 2:1, Mt. Seir is presented as the core of the territory of the
Edomites, while the Red Sea is most likely located outside their territory. Lastly,
in Joshua 15:1–4, both the Hebrew and Greek texts draw the southern border of
the tribe of Judah to include the southernmost tip of the Dead Sea, the Ascent of
Scorpions, the Zin Desert, and Kadesh-Barnea.

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[40] See Neumann/Kagan/Stein 2010, 11–26.

[41] Gray 1912, 456; Buttrick 1953, 628.

[42] See Wooley/Lawrence 1914–15, 69–71; Woudstra 1981, 234; Görg 1991, 73; Bruins/van
der Plicht 2007, 483–486, 493–494.

[43] See Wooley/Lawrence 1914–15, 69–71; Meyers 1976, 148; Boling 1982, 365.
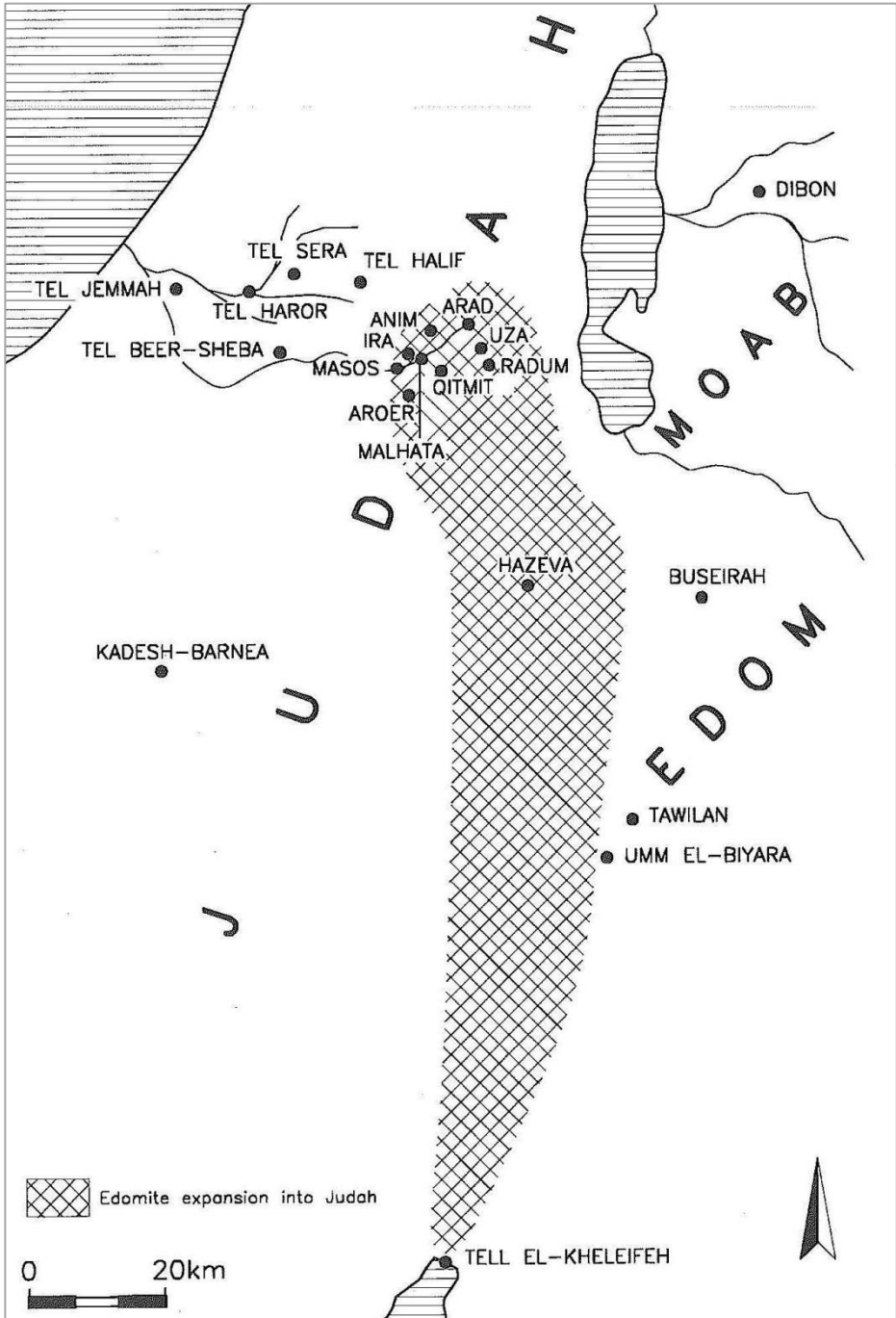
**Figure 1. Judah and Edom in the monarchic period (Beit-Arieh 1995, 40)**
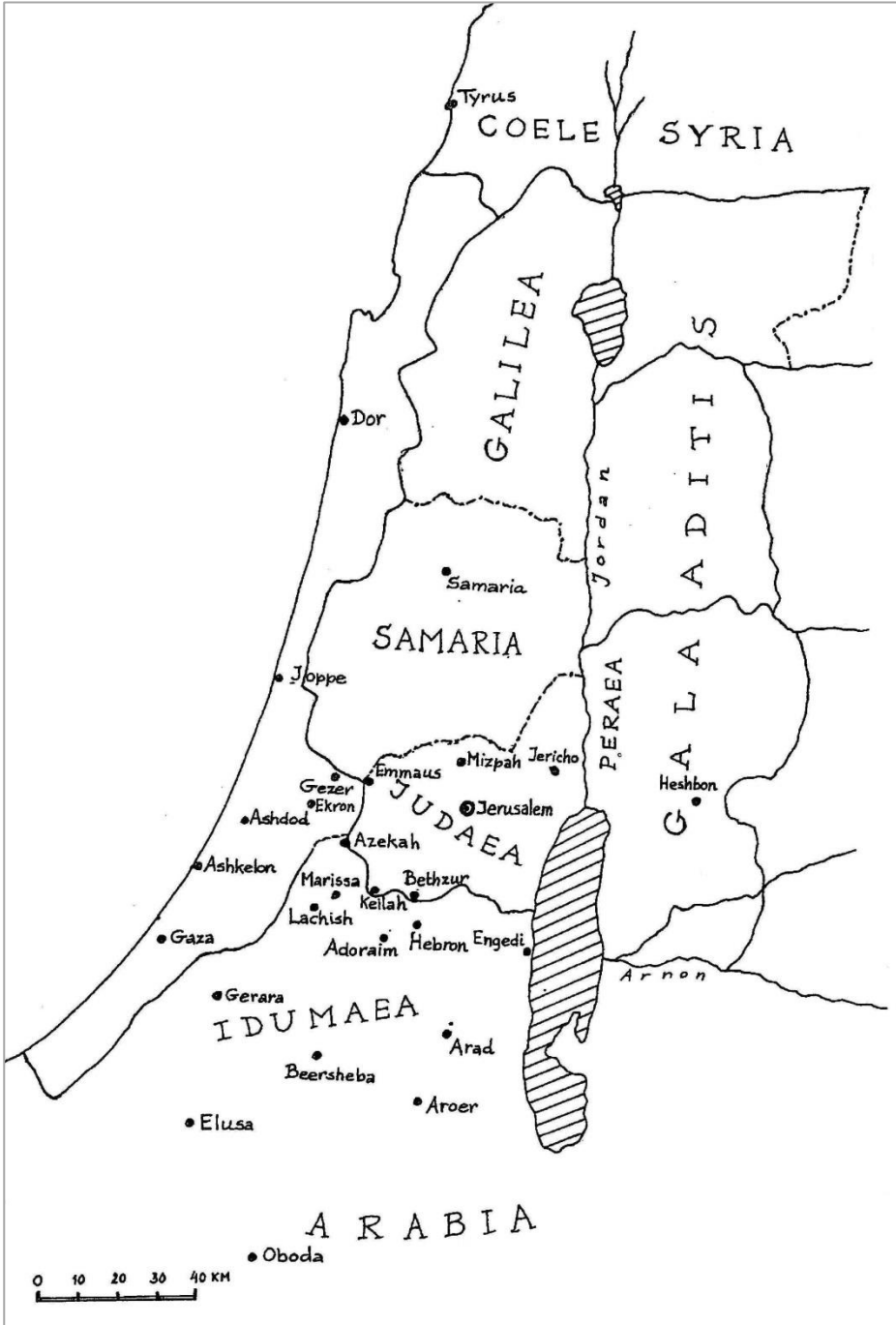
**Figure 2. Idumea and Judea in the Hellenistic and early Roman period (de Geus 1979–80, 58)**
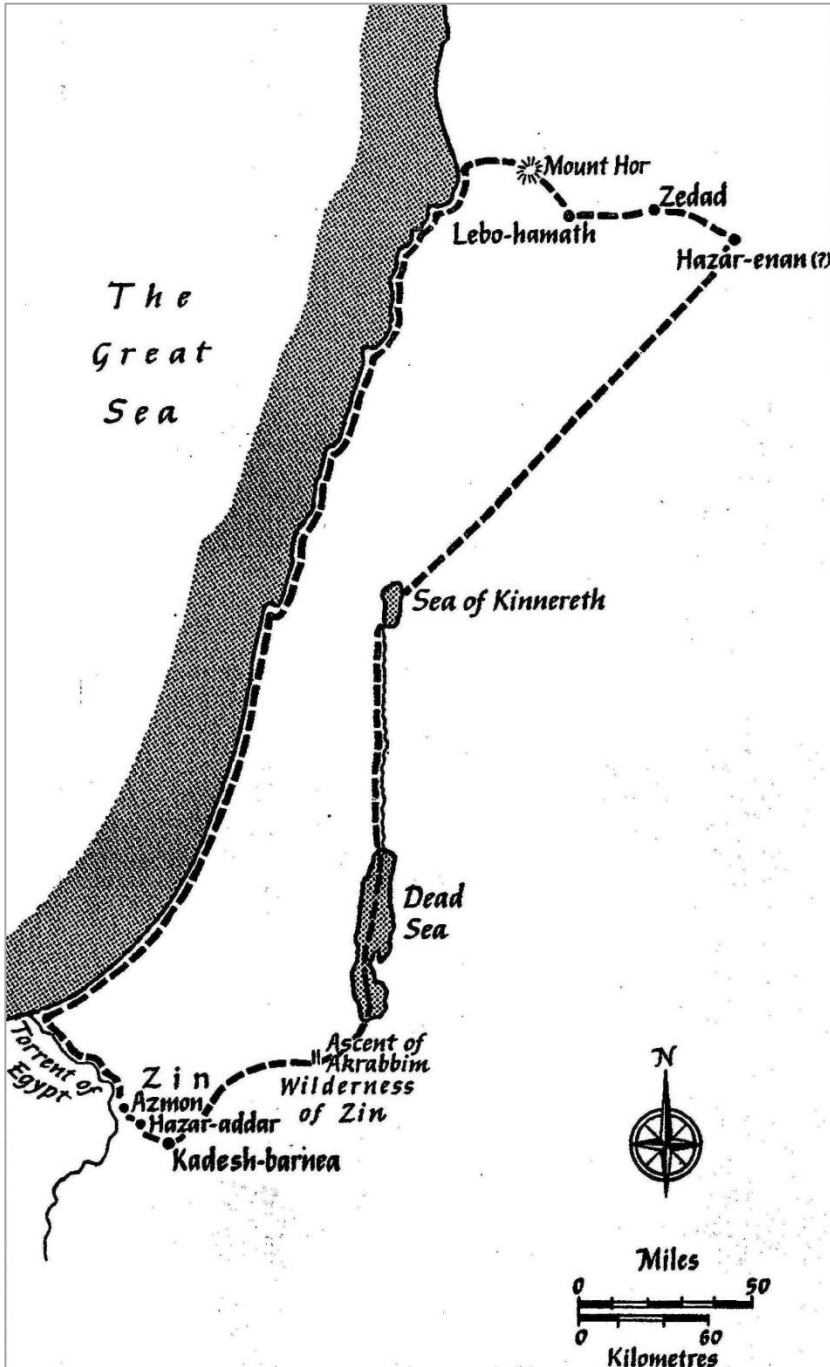
**Figure 3. Judah's southern border according to Joshua 15:1–10 (Sturdy 1976, 233)**

**Key**

| | |
|---|---|
| 1. From Rameses to Succoth | Exod 13:37 |
| 2. Succoth to a point between Migdol and the sea | Exod 14:1 |
| 3. From that point into the Wilderness of Shur | Exod 15:22 |
| 4. From the Wilderness of Shur to Rephidim | Exod 17:1b, 8 |
| 5. Rephidim to God's Mountain | Num 10:33 |
| 6. God's Mountain to Hazeroth | Num 11:35 |
| 7. Hazeroth to Kadesh | Num 13:26; 32:8 |
| 8. Foray into the Negeb | Num 14:44–45; 21:1–3 |
| 9. Kadesh to the Reed Sea | Num 14:25; 20:21 |

**Figure 4. The wilderness period (Levine 1993, map 2)**

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# Abstract

This paper deals with selected parallel passages from the Hebrew (MT) and Greek (LXX) Bibles that are relevant to the historical geography of Edom/Idumea: Numbers 20:16, Deuteronomy 2:1, and Joshua 15:1–4. The purpose of the comparison of the Hebrew and Greek texts is to verify that the LXX passages do not contain any textual differences that may reflect historical events that occurred between the time of the composition of the Hebrew Bible and the time of the creation of the Greek Bible (LXX). To be more precise, the historical event in question is the migration of the Edomites from Transjordan into the Negev and southern Judah and the creation of the province of Idumea, which included the entire Negev and southern Judea as far as Beth-Zur. In the end, the comparison shows that, despite minor textual differences, the Greek text does not contain any differences which may be attributed to the influence of the historical event in question.

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# BRASIDAS IN THE MEGARIAN OPERATION OF 424 BC IN THE ACCOUNTS OF THUCYDIDES AND DIODORUS SICULUS

## Introduction

In the summer of 424 BC, a στάσις[1] engulfed a major part of Megaris stretching from Nisaea and Megara in the south of the region to Pegae on the coast in the north, where the Megarian exiles had found their haven.[2] As K.-W. Welwei notes,

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[1] On στάσις in the classical period of Greek history, see Bertelli 1989, 53–96 and Fisher 2000, 83–123, as well as the spacious work Gehrke 1985. In terms of politology, the issue of antique "stasiology" is considered in recent paper Vardoulakis 2009, 125–147 and Garland 2014, 12, 79–81, 89, 139. About various aspects of the notion of στάσις used by Thucydides, see Sancho Rocher 1990, 195–215. Rechenauer 1993, 238–244; Cagnetta 2001; see also studies of various particular *stasis*-episodes in *History of the Peloponnesian War* by Thucydides: Barnard 1980; Fuks 1971; 1984, 190–197; Lintott 1982, 103–105; Manicas 1982; Loraux 1986, 95–134; 1995, 299–326; Orwin 1988, 831–847; Bleckmann 1998, 251–257; 330–332, 384–385; Leppin 1999; Price 2001; Morrison 2002; Thomas 2006, 89–92; Tsakmakis 2006, 172–173, 177–178; Raaflaub 2006; Kallet 2006, 335–336, 353–355; Paradiso, Roy 2008, 33–34; Lateiner 2012, 170–172; Bakker 2013, 38; Christodoulou 2013, 235–240, 245–254; Marcaccini 2013, 405–428; Visvardi 2015, 47, 48–49, 55, 60, 62–68, 69–71; Ambühl 2015, 41–45; Osmers 2015, 32–33, 38–40, 49–50.

[2] See the historical accounts of Thuc. 3.68.3; 4.66.1; 74.2; Diod. 12.66.1; and the commentaries: Dindorfius 1828, 614–616, *ad loc*. Diod. 12.66–67; Classen, Steup 1963, 132–151; Gomme 1956, 528–536, *ad loc*. Thuc. 4.66–74; Bengtson, Werner 1975, 99–100, № 180 (treaty between Nisaea and Athens); Strassler 1996, 258–263 (+ maps); Hornblower 1991, 463–464, *ad loc*. Thuc. 3.68.3; Hornblower 1996, 229–244, *ad loc*. Thuc. 4.66–74; Veh, Will 1998, *ad loc*. Diod. 12.66–67; Green 2010, 146–148, *ad loc*. Diod. 12.66–67.

this time the Athenians availed themselves of the opportunity to capture Megara "durch Kooperation mit einer 'fünften Kolonne' in dieser Polis."[3] The major actors of the Archidamian war became engaged in the Megarian strife. Leaders of the democratic faction in Megaris turned to the Athenian generals Hippocrates and Demosthenes for help,[4] while the Megarian oligarchs and the Peloponnesians in Nisaea called to the Spartan general Brasidas and the Beotian allies for support.[5]

Brasidas, the "Protagonist" in the "Megarian drama," is portrayed in the records as an ambitious commander, the intrepid savior of Megara. Thucydides and Diodorus Siculus give different versions of the Megarian conflict involving the Spartan general. While drawing upon the authentic records, this article investigates the causes that prompted Brasidas' immediate response to the Athenians' attempt to exploit the στάσις in Megaris to their own advantage; it analyzes the conduct of the Spartan general in holding the position, ascertains the numerical strength of the army engaged in this operation, and discusses the issue of the location of the Helots that Brasidas "mustered" as hoplites to give urgent assistance to the Megarians.

## I. Diodorus' "clipped" version:
## omissions and probable motives

In analyzing the available evidence, we shall proceed from a later, secondary, source.

Prior to the Megarian events of 424 BC, Book XII of *The Library of History* describes in good detail the acts of Nicias, son of Niceratus (Diod. 12.65.1–9). The Sicilian historian shows the Athenian *strategos* as a successful general who had won a number of victories at Boeotia, Locris, the Corinthian region, Kythera, Peloponnesus, and other places.[6] Diodorus, when relating chapters

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[3] Welwei 2007, 225.

[4] See Thuc. 4.66.3 and Diod. 12.66.2.

[5] This is pointed out by Thucydides (4.70 and 72.1–2). Selected literature discussing these events: Busolt 1904, 1137–1141; Beloch 1927, 331–333; Adcock 1927, 239–240; Hammond 1954, 112–114, 116; Hammond 1967, 369–370; Westlake 1968, 111–115, 150; Legon 1968, 200–225; Kagan 1974, 270–272, 275–276, 278; Holladay 1978, 399–401; Wick 1979; Legon 1981; Gehrke 1985, 106–110, 264; Rigsby 1987, 93–102; Lewis 1992, 387–388, 424–425; Wylie 1992, 78; Heitsch 1996, 31–33; Boëldieu-Trevet 1997, 147–158; Badian 1999, 8–11; Price 2001, 251–253, 291–292; Kagan 2003, 162–164; Legon 2004, 464–465; Lazenby 2004, 85–87; Bagnall 2004; Howie 2005, 231–260; Romilly 2005, 119–120; Rengakos 2006, 289–290; Funke, Haake 2006, 379–380; Hunt 2006, 385–413; Ray 2009, 181–182; Taylor 2010, 124–125; Tritle 2010, 95–97; Grissom 2012, 147–149, 159–160, 263–264; Rubincam 2012, 102–103; Lateiner 2012, 175–176; Tamiolaki 2013, 48; Garland 2014, 92–93; Ferrario 2014, 230–232.

[6] See Diod. 12.65.3–9. Indeed, at the beginning of the Nician Logos, Diodorus (12.65.2–3) says that the Athenian strategos failed in his attempts to capture the besieged polis of Melos. But

from Thucydides, "packs down" the chronological events of the other campaigns of 426–424 BC that Nicias took part in,[7] resulting in a chaotic and faulty account.[8] Owing to this incongruous factual "compactness" of Diodorus' condensed text, the reader of *The Library of History* gets the impression that Nicias must have been an efficient and successful general, a super-strategos of sorts.[9]

The account of the exploits of Nicias is followed by a short Megarian episode (see Diod. 12.66), after which comes the "Brasiada," a detailed narration of the Thracian campaign led by the Spartan general, interspersed with three short digressions.[10]

Diodorus confines himself literally to one sentence to describe Brasidas' engagement in the Megarian conflict:

Diod. 12.67.1: Βρασίδας δὲ δύναμιν ἱκανὴν ἀναλαβὼν ἔκ τε Λακεδαίμονος καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων Πελοποννησίων ἀνέζευξεν ἐπὶ Μέγαρα. καταπληξάμενος δὲ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, τούτους μὲν ἐξέβαλεν ἐκ τῆς Νισαίας, τὴν δὲ πόλιν τῶν Μεγαρέων ἐλευθερώσας ἀποκατέστησεν εἰς τὴν τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων συμμαχίαν. αὐτὸς δὲ μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως διὰ Θετταλίας τὴν πορείαν ποιησάμενος ἧκεν εἰς Δῖον τῆς Μακεδονίας.

Brasidas, taking an adequate force from Lacedaemon and the other Peloponnesian states, advanced against Megara. And striking terror into the Athenians he

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here the historian says that the army of Nicias devastated the territory of the island of Melos, an ally of Lacedaemonia and a colony of Sparta (ἡ πρὸς Λακεδαιμονίους συμμαχία, ἄποικος οὖσα τῆς Σπάρτης, Diod. 12.65.3); *cf.* Thuc. 3.91.1–3.

[7] Miscellanea occur not only in the order of events and their diversification – with the "time luft" of two years (*sic*!) – but also in numbers; thus, for example, while Thucydides (3.91.1) estimates the strength of the army engaged under Nicias at Melos to be 2,000 hoplites, Diodorus (12.65.1) makes it 3,000. On unbelievably large round numbers in *The Library of History* (through different examples, however), see Karpīuk 2015, 30–31.

[8] Amazing for the reader familiar with Thucydides' *History*. See Green's commentary: "Diodorus, still chronologically ahead of Thucydides, not only dates both of them at 424/3 but runs the two campaigns together into a single sequence" (Green 2010, 145, n. 97, *ad loc.* Diod. 12.65.1).

[9] Nicias is mainly judged as a politician, just and peaceful, pious and superstitious, and frequently belittled for being commander. About Nicias as commander, see Rood 1998, 168–176, 179, 183–185, 190, 199; Hamel 1998, passim; Geske 2005 (especially Chapter 2.4.1 "Nikias als idealer Feldherr und Politiker," pp. 71–76; about Nicias' military operations of 426–424 BC: pp. 45–71, 100–126). Selected recent literature about Nicias: Tsakmakis 2006; Gribble 2006, 448–451, 458–460; Burns 2012; 2013.

[10] Diod. 12.67; 68.3–6; 72.7; 74.1–4. Before the Thracian Logos, Brasidas appears in two cursory (but very important) episodes: Diod. 12.43.2–3 and 12.62.1–6; each case is "loosely based" on Thucydides, though abridged. Yet, when describing the battle of Pylos in 425 BC, Diodorus still more extols Brasidas, who, in his opinion, deserves the highest praise, for this time he surpassed other men in bravery (μεγίστης δὲ ἀποδοχῆς ἔτυχε Βρασίδας, 12.62.1; τοὺς ἄλλους ὑπερβαλόμενος ἀνδρείᾳ, 12.62.5).

expelled them from Nisaea, and then he set free the city of the Megarians and brought it back into the alliance of the Lacedaemonians. After this he made his way with his army through Thessaly and came to Dium in Macedonia.[11]

Diodorus' account of the events at Megaris is a "synopsis" of several chapters from *The History* by Thucydides, and it contains "errors" which are easy to detect.[12]

*Casus I*. Brasidas arrived at Megara with an *adequate force* (δύναμιν ἱκανὴν [ἀναλαβών]),[13] which consisted of soldiers levied *only* in Peloponnesus (ἔκ τε Λακεδαίμονος καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων Πελοποννησίων κτλ., *loc. cit.*). The source does not specify the exact strength of this *force / army* (δύναμις), nor does it tell what lands the Peloponnesian hoplites came from to form the army. Featuring the Megarian episode as one of Brasidas' feats, Diodorus never mentions the Boeotian corps[14] engaged in this campaign, though its timely support not only proved decisive in the resolution of the Megarian conflict, but also exemplified the concerted and efficient assistance of the allies (Thucydides' mention of the assistance provided by the Boeotians is of fundamental importance in his next narrative of the speed march led by Brasidas across Boeotia and Thessaly).[15] The Sicilian historian keeps quiet about the unusual contingent of the Peloponnesian corps, initially composed of mercenaries and Helots "mustered" by Brasidas to take part in the military campaign on the Thracian coast.

*Casus II*. At Megaris, Brasidas disposed of the Athenians occupying the area, dislodged the enemy from Nisaea (καταπληξάμενος δὲ τοὺς Ἀθηναίους, τούτους μὲν ἐξέβαλεν ἐκ τῆς Νισαίας, *loc. cit.*), and, liberating the Megarian *polis*, returned it to the Lacedaemonian *symmachia* (τὴν δὲ πόλιν τῶν Μεγαρέων ἐλευθερώσας ἀποκατέστησεν εἰς τὴν τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων συμμαχίαν, *loc. cit.*). Also, Diodorus must have deliberately hyperbolized the merits of the Spartan

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[11] Here and elsewhere, Diodorus Siculus is cited after the English translation by C.H. Oldfather (1989, here p. 69).

[12] Such a manner of describing historical events (by abridging his sources and using their information in another context) is typical of the Sicilian historian. On Diodorus' method: Mandes 1901; Palm 1955; Drews 1962; Strogetskiĭ 1986; Pesely 1985, 320–321; Sacks 1990; Rubincam 1998a; 1998b; 2003; Rood 2004; Wiater 2006; Nevin 2008; Hau 2009, 192–193; Sheridan 2010; Osipova 2011; Sulimani 2011, 57–59, 109–111; Hajdú 2014, 27–29.

[13] Compare: translation by Peter Green: "Brasidas, after levying a reasonable force…" (Green 2010, 147).

[14] According to Thucydides (4.72.1, 2), the Boeotian corps constituted over one-third of the total strength of the allied army that converged on Megara. For a review of the Athenian historian's account of the strength of the allied force, see below, part 4.

[15] For further details, see Heitsch 1996, 32–34; Badian 1999; Sinitsyn 2009.

general. According to Thucydides, Brasidas neither defeated the Athenians nor drove them from Nisaea, which had been captured the night before. The Athenian garrison was still stationed at the Megarian harbor, and even according to the Peace Treaty of 421 BC, Nisaea remained under Athenian control.[16] As for Megara, contrary to what Diodorus says,[17] Brasidas never "liberated" it (and never attempted to); rather, he managed to win Megara over. Now Brasidas, *for the first time,* was able to achieve his goal without resorting to "force":[18] he not only prevented the strategically important town from succumbing to the enemy, but also succeeded in winning it over to the Peloponnesians. But Diodorus' narrative does emphasize the resoluteness and strength of the Spartan commander: he came, he defeated the enemy, and set the town free.

*Casus III*. After the victories in Megaris, the general headed for the north of Hellas and, having crossed Thessaly, arrived at the town of Dium. It is noteworthy that, following Thucydides, Diodorus also mentions Dium, the destination of Brasidas' march across Thessaly. This polis was nestled at the bottom of Olympus, in the domain of Perdiccas II.[19] However, Diodorus' narrative speaks neither of Thessalian guides, nor Perrhaebians, nor the Macedonian King Perdiccas, who assisted Brasidas in his difficult and dangerous expedition. It is significant that Perdiccas II is never mentioned in Diodorus' Thracian Logos.[20] The Chalcidian allies of the Spartans, that is, the Greek *poleis* that had seceded from the Athenian *arche* and summoned the Peloponnesian army, were not engaged in the northern campaign of 424–422 BC as active forces.[21] Apart from Brasidas, only Cleon appears to be of crucial importance to Diodorus in this context (see Diod. 12.73.2–74.2). But the Sicilian historian portrays the Athenian strategos as an antagonist of the Spartan general:[22] in the battle of Amphipolis in 422 BC, the deaths of both generals – Cleon and Brasidas – result in the conciliation of the

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[16] *Cf.*, for example, Thuc. 4.73.4; 118.4; 5.17.2.

[17] Diod. *loc. cit.*: τὴν δὲ πόλιν τῶν Μεγαρέων ἐλευθερώσας ("then he set free the city of the Megarians").

[18] At Chalcidice, Brasidas excels in persuasion. See the literature below (note 46) on the Spartan general's rhetoric.

[19] *Cf.* the conclusions of the two stories about Brasidas' forced march: ἐς Δῖον τῆς Περδίκκου ἀρχῆς (Thuc. 4.78.6) and εἰς Δῖον τῆς Μακεδονίας (Diod. 12.67.1).

[20] Diodorus mentions the Macedonian king three times in connection with the problems the Athenians faced in the north of Hellas before and during the first years of the Peloponnesian War: Diod. 12.34.2; 50.4; 51. About Perdiccas II, see the essay in Eugene Borza's book: Borza 1992, 132–160. From recent literature: Chambers 1999; Psoma 1999; 2011, 113–119, 128–129; Zahrnt 2006, 590–597, 601–603, 609–610; Roisman 2010, 145–154 (with literature review, pp. 164–165); King 2010, 373–391; Mari 2011, 88–90; Sinitsyn 2013.

[21] For further details, see Sinitsyn 2002a; 2013.

[22] Here, Diodorus begins his story about Cleon when the demagogue was voted strategos and sent with the army in his command to the Thracian coast to fight Brasidas (Diod. 12.73.2–3).

warring sides, the conclusion of the peace treaty between Athens and Sparta, and the end of the first period of war.[23]

*Conclusion (A)*. Similar to the Nisaean Logos, Diodorus not only substantially "reduces" Thucydides' narrative here, disregarding the details that are crucial for the "authentic source," but he also, seemingly deliberately, distorts it. Diodorus is reticent about the vicissitudes of the Peloponnesian army in Thessaly: the Brasideans marched across middle and northern Greece and reached Macedonia without hindrances or perturbations.[24] It should be presumed that Brasidas embarked on the expedition with the same δύναμις ἱκανή, consisting of the same Peloponnesians who were with him to "defend" Megara.[25] On the whole, the impression is that the Peloponnesians won a sweeping victory at Megaris, costing the Spartan general little effort as the whole operation was sustained by Brasidas, in passing, on the way to Chalcidice.[26] As in many other cases,[27] Diodorus' "laconic" narrative leaves much to doubt since it makes a mess of Thucydides' evidence. The latter, by the way, demands further elucidation.

## 2. Thucydides' "full" version:
## the allied forces and Brasidas' vicissitudes at Megaris

Now we shall discuss the information concerning these events as it appears in the authentic text.

*Brasidas in the Megarian operation and the military successes of the warring parties*. When introducing the hero in this episode, Thucydides mentions that the Spartan general just happened[28] to be in the vicinity.

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[23] Diod. 12.74.2, 5–6. Thucydides provides a detailed account of the battle (5.10); see commentaries on this passage by A. Gomme (1956, 635–637) and S. Hornblower (1996, 435–438), and see the discussion in Anderson 1965.

[24] Thucydides (4.78–79.1) on the problems the Brasideans had when crossing Thessaly; see works by Busolt 1904, 1141–1143; Kagan 1974, 287–290; Rechenauer 1993, 240–242; Badian 1999, 9–11; Sinitsyn 2002, 69–71; 2009, 37–38, 50–67 (the first stage of the march).

[25] αὐτὸς δὲ μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως, as mentioned by Diodorus (*loc. cit.*).

[26] Diodorus draws upon Thucydides when speaking about Brasidas' further successes in the Chalcidian campaign (12.67.2–68), but, as always, he "filters out" the evidence in the authentic source.

[27] See also Wiater 2006, 248–271.

[28] The liberation of Megara was a fortuitous affair for the Spartans in the sense that according to Thucydides, Brasidas here again "concurred with the event": the Spartan general happened to find himself in the right place at the right time; *cf.* Niese 1897, 815–816; Westlake 1968, 148–150; Connor 1984, 128–129; Rood 1998, 69–70. On the role of *chance* (τύχη) with Thucydides, see Cornford 1907, 88–90, 97–99; Müri 1968, 139–141; Edmunds 1975, *passim*; Hunter 1982, 333–

Thuc. 4.70.1: Βρασίδας δὲ ὁ Τέλλιδος Λακεδαιμόνιος κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον ἐτύγχανε περὶ Σικυῶνα καὶ Κόρινθον ὤν, ἐπὶ Θράκης στρατείαν παρασκευαζόμενος.

At this time Brasidas son of Tellis, a Lacedaemonian, happened to be in the neighbourhood of Sicyon and Corinth, preparing a force for use in the region of Thrace.[29]

The account shows that no sooner had Brasidas learned about the capture of the long walls than he immediately responded to this news, for he feared for both the Peloponnesians in Nisaea and the fate of Megara, threatened with its capture by the enemy.[30] Then, the historian confirms the intentions of the hero: "[Brasidas] thinking that he would arrive before Nisaea had been taken (by the Athenians – A. S.). But when he learned the truth [that Nisaea had already been taken], … reached the city of Megara" (Thuc. 4.70.1, 2). An army of the Boeotian allies was already on its way to join him. Messengers from Megara must have been sent with a request for help to Corinth in the west, where Brasidas had been mustering his corps for the march, and to Boeotia in the northeast of Megara.

Brasidas was aware that a messenger had been dispatched to the allied Boeotians, and he expected them to respond to his request for help. This means he had to make haste. He probably did not know about the actual state of affairs; he did not know how strong the enemy was or where could he get this information from. He had no time to learn about this, and time was pressing. The Spartan decided to head for Tripodiscus, where he was to meet the Boeotians. It is significant that he levied his army in a matter of hours.

The Peloponnesians were the first to reach Tripodiscus (a small settlement several kilometers away from Megara). Brasidas did not take any decisive steps before the arrival of the Boeotian army. At night, fearing the enemy would learn of his approach,[31] the Spartan general refrained from using force and tried to persuade the Megarians to come over to his side (Thuc. 4.70.2–71.1). Seven hours later, when the Boeotian army approached Tripodiscus early in the morning, the allies proceeded to act.

In response to the charge of the cavalry, the Athenians launched a counterattack (Thuc. 4.72.2–3). Judging from the outcome, the mounted action ended in

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335; Rood 1998, 27–28; Sinitsyn 1998; 2002a, 61–62; 2002b, 469–481; Shanske 2007; Pothou 2011, 266–268; Murray 2013, 33–34; Che 2015, 77–79.

[29] Here and elsewhere, Thucydides is cited after the translation by Charles F. Smith 1920 (here p. 331).

[30] Thuc. 4.70.1. See the discussion in Hornblower 1996, 238, *ad loc*.

[31] Thuc. 4.70.2: "before his (Brasidas' – A. S.) approach was known he reached the city of Megara unobserved by the Athenians, who were down by the sea."

Athenian victory.[32] Although Thucydides points out in his conclusion that "in the action as a whole, however, neither side finally gained a decisive advantage, and so they separated, the Boeotians going to their own army, the Athenians to Nisaea,"[33] the historian (as usual, very particular about details) reports the deaths of the Boeotian *hipparch* and several horsemen, who had already been stripped of their armor by the Athenians. Thucydides writes about the trophy – a symbol of victory – that was set up by the Athenians.[34] Diodorus, as we have seen, never mentions this Athenian victory or the battle itself. In the middle of the same day, the rivals concluded a truce under which the Athenians returned the bodies of the dead Theban horsemen.[35]

During the second part of the day, a large hoplite army moved to the Megarian polis (Thuc. 4.73.1). Here, Brasidas chose a convenient position and put his army on full combat alert. Yet even then, the Spartan general did not take any decisive steps. He took his time, watching out for the enemy.[36] The Athenian commanders, having weighed all the options, decided against the attack (*ibid*. § 4). They were not sure whether they could defeat the stronger allies and take Megara. They decided not to take the risk because, as Thucydides notes, they would lose their best men in the case of defeat.[37] These arguments should not be regarded as his personal "justification" of the hesitance shown by his fellow generals; they must be a rendering of the account Demosthenes and Hippocrates made before the peoples' assembly in Athens when they returned from Megaris. The Athenian generals did not take the risk, and by evening both armies left their positions. Some researchers believe that the Athenians had a chance to win the battle at Megara and take the desired town, but the Athenian commanders did not deign to engage in battle. In this situation, Brasidas faced a certain risk, too.[38] As a result, the polis came over to the side of the Peloponnesians, and the Athenians lost their chance. Thus, the Peloponnesians and their allies were not victorious in the battle of Megara (this is how Diodorus narrates it), for this time there was no battle.

When speaking of Brasidas' initiative, Thucydides shows that not all his enterprises were successful. The historian does not conceal and does not justify the

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[32] Discussion of the event: Hornblower 1996, 241.

[33] See Thuc. 4.72.4 + commentaries.

[34] Thuc. 4.72.4: οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι … τροπαῖον ἔστησαν.

[35] The fact that the trophy was set up and the dead were returned is proof of the outright Athenian victory; about the rite of setting up trophies, see (with many examples) Reinach 1892; Woelcke 1911; Lammert 1939; Anderson 1970, 4–5, 148, 164. About trophies in the Hellenic age, see Chaniotis 2005, 233–235, 239–241.

[36] See Thucydides' account (4.73.1–2).

[37] "If defeated, have the flower of their hoplite force damaged" (Thuc. 4.73.4).

[38] See Wylie 1992, 79; Badian 1999, 9.

general's failures,[39] despite his apparent admiration for Brasidas' bravery and military talent.[40] He failed to "save" Nisaea from being captured by the Athenians, for he did not learn that it was in danger until he arrived in Megaris. He failed to win back the harbor, which remained under enemy control (Thuc. 4.69.4; 70; 73.4).

*About Brasidas' "rhetoric of compromise."* Brasidas was determined to recover Nisaea; this was one of the tasks he told the Megarians about. This is how the account renders the speech he made by the gates of the polis on the night of his return to Megaris:

Thuc. 4.70.2: βουλόμενος μὲν τῷ λόγῳ καὶ ἅμα εἰ δύναιτο ἔργῳ τῆς Νισαίας πειρᾶσαι, τὸ δὲ μέγιστον, τὴν τῶν Μεγαρέων πόλιν ἐσελθὼν βεβαιώσασθαι. καὶ ἠξίου δέξασθαι σφᾶς λέγων ἐν ἐλπίδι εἶναι ἀναλαβεῖν Νίσαιαν.

His (Brasidas' – *A. S.*) plan was, ostensibly – and really, too, if it should prove possible – to make an attempt upon Nisaea, but most of all to get into the city of Megara and secure it. And he demanded that they should receive him, saying that he was in hopes of recovering Nisaea.[41]

In the end, the citizens of Megara opened the gates and let the allies in. However, they took their time and did not open the gates immediately after Brasidas asked them to; rather, they waited until the end of the next day (twenty four hours after the Spartans put forward their demands), after the Athenians, deciding against the battle, retreated to Nisaea, "yielding" the polis to the enemy.[42]

When describing the brightest heroes of Thucydides' *History*, Geoffrey Hawthorn concisely characterizes Brasidas as an "effective diplomat and rhetorician, a remarkable military leader, a liar and insubordinate."[43] Indeed, this is a good description of the most important features of the enterprising Spartan; as for Brasidas' rhetoric, one cannot deny that it was effective, if we trust the image created by Thucydides. However, not everything is clear in this regard.

The oratory of the eloquent Spartan did not have an immediate effect,[44] and Brasidas failed in his attempt to talk the Megarians into letting him and his army

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[39] *Cf.* Westlake 1968, 150.

[40] On Thucydides' attitude towards his hero: Westlake 1962, 276–287; 1968, 148–150; 1980, 333–339; Boegenhold 1979, 148–152; Connor 1984, 131–133; Rocchi 1985; Wylie 1992, 77–79, 93; Hornblower 1996, 38–60, 228; Will 2003, 10–22; Sonnabend 2004, 77–78; Howie 2005; Rood 2006, 231; Shanske 2007, 55–56; Sinitsyn 2009, 37–39; Burns 2011, 510–512; Rutherford 2012, 34; de Bakker 2013, 23–24, 26–27.

[41] Smith 1920, 333.

[42] Thuc. 4.73.4; *cf.* Green 2010, 147, n. 101.

[43] Hawthorn 2015, 583.

[44] Researchers usually speak of Brasidas as a skillful orator, a quality that differentiated the general from the rest of his fellow citizens; this is how Thucydides portrays the renowned Spartan – eloquent in the Athenian style (literature below, note 46).

in. E. Badian[45] notes that Brasidas "we might say, was defeated by common sense" of the Megarians, who at that moment united their forces against the two warring parties. It is the first example in the Peloponnesian War of a situation in which the forceful general tried to impose his rules on the rival polis that found itself a prisoner of the situation.

Here is yet another observation about Brasidas' assurances of "compromise." Later, during his northern campaign, the Spartan general presented the Athenian's hesitancy at Megara as their fear of being unable to match his strength; this characterization of the situation was a form of propaganda aimed to win over the Greek cities in the Athenian *arche*.[46] However, this "agitation" was largely instrumental in making some Athenian allied poleis along the Thracian coast of the Aegean Sea side with the Lacedaemonians.[47]

Thus, the Megarian operation took two and a half days. The council of the Megarians and the generals of the allies met, as Thucydides specifies (Thuc. 4.73.4), late in the afternoon or, more likely, on the day after the citizens opened the city gates. On the second day, having rested and conducted the talks with the Megarians, the allies were to ensure that the major forces of the enemy had retreated from Megaris to Attica. After that, they left. Brasidas returned to Isthmus with the Peloponnesian army (Thuc. 4.74.1); from there, the hoplites from Corinth, Phlius, and Sicyon left for their poleis, and Brasidas carried on his preparations for the Thracian campaign.

*The return of Brasidas to Corinthia and the outcome of the operation*. Thucydides' account of the return of the Spartan general rounds out the story of the "liberation" of Megara and makes the episode complete in the general narrative of the Thracian expedition. It may be regarded as an introduction to the Thracian Logos. The historian's observation about the return of Brasidas to the disposition

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[45] Badian 1999, 9.

[46] See Thuc. 4.85.7 and commentaries on this point: Gomme 1956, 553; Hornblower 1996, 277, 280. The historian characterizes the Spartan's speeches as "alluring yarns": "Furthermore, because of the recent defeat of the Athenians in Boeotia and the *enticing but untrue statements of Brasidas*, that the Athenians had been unwilling to engage him when he came to the relief of Nisaea with *only his own army*, they grew bold, and believed that nobody would come against them (italics mine – *A. S.*)" (Thuc. 4.108.5, transl.: Smith 1920, 397). On characteristics of Brasidas' speech: Classen/Steup 1963, 296, 304, n. *ad loc*. 4.85.7 and 4.108.5; Gomme 1956, 583, *ad loc*. 4.108.5; Leimbach 1985, 77–91; Hornblower 1996, 86–89, 344–345, *ad loc*. 4.108.5; Chambers 1998, 466–467; Rood 1998, 74; Price 2001, 251–253; Debnar 2001, 173–175, 188–189, 192; Will 2003, 15; Tsakmakis 2006, 165; Cartledge/Debnar 2006, 574–575; Schmitz 2006, 103 and Anm. 59; Shanske 2007, 55–57; Lang 2011, 117–125; Lateiner 2012, 175; Tamiolaki 2010; Tamiolaki 2013, 56–57; Tsakmakis/Themistokleous 2013, 391–408 (on the style and character of the hero of *The History*, first and foremost, of Nicias and Brasidas).

[47] Diodorus leaves out all Brasidas' speeches from this episode; only once does he recall the λόγοι of the Spartan general: Diod. 12.67.2; *cf.* Thuc. 4.85–87 (this and other speeches of the general in Thrace).

of his camp is important for understanding the motivation of the Spartan gene-
ral.[48] Let us consider this issue. According to Thucydides, Brasidas feared for the
Peloponnesians in Nisaea and worried that the Athenians would take Megara.[49]
However, despite his fears, Brasidas focused on the principal task before him.
Under the agreement with the Macedonian King Perdiccas II and the allied pol-
eis in Chalcidice, Sparta was to redeploy a detached unit to the northern part of
Greece. This responsibility was placed on Brasidas.

Thucydides points out (4.69.3) that the Nisaeans capitulated because the
Lacedaemonians who were in the town did not expect such prompt assistance
from the Peloponnesians. All the preparations were carried out in secret,[50] but the
Megarians undoubtedly learned about the dislocation of Brasidas' army in Corin-
thia at the beginning or middle of the summer, since the messenger arrived from
there as soon as the Athenians began to attack Megara and the long walls. It is
quite another matter that the besieged Nisaeans did not rely on the immediate
support from Brasidas and the Boeotians, but rather surrendered to the Atheni-
ans. This is what our source says.

In the joint Megarian operation, Brasidas and the Boeotians were to speak
with the leaders of the Theban army in great secrecy about the details of the pro-
gress of their force near the borders of Attica in the coming month. The assis-
tance of the Boeotian allies was necessary to afford protection to the Brasideans
when crossing the territory of Boeotia.

According to E. Badian, Brasidas may have left a small force in Megara[51] to
help the Spartan associates in the town establish the rule of the oligarchs (Thuc.
4.74.2–3) and inflict punishment on citizens who collaborated with the Atheni-
ans. In other words, if Brasidas stationed his garrison here, he did so in order to
establish control over the situation in the polis, with the ultimate aim of retaining
control of the routes across Megara, thereby securing the progress of his army on
the Thracian coast.[52]

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[48] *Cf.* Rengakos 2006, 289.

[49] Thuc. 4.70.1. Until this time, Megara and Nisaea had been under Lacedaemonian control,
which allowed the latter to freely move from Peloponnesus to Boeotia via Megaris. But during the
last seven years of the war, the Athenians kept invading the Megarian region until they secured
their position at Nisaea. At one point, Thucydides says that the Athenians invaded Megaris every
year with the horse or all of their army (Thuc. 2.31.3); at another, he says that the Athenian army
invaded the territory twice a year (Thuc. 4.66.1).

[50] See Sinitsyn 2013.

[51] Badian 1999, 9–10.

[52] *Cf.* Lewis 1992, 387; Hornblower 1996, 240, *ad loc.* 4.72.1; Konecny 2014, 7–10. When
relating the events of the Minor Peloponnesian War, Thucydides points out (1.107.3) that in 457
BC, the Athenians, having taken Megara and Pegae, controlled the passage through Geraneia, so
the Lacedaemonian army could not return from Boeotia to Peloponnesus. For discussion of this
episode, see Gomme 1945, 314–315; Holladay 1977, 60–61; Hornblower 1991, 167–169;
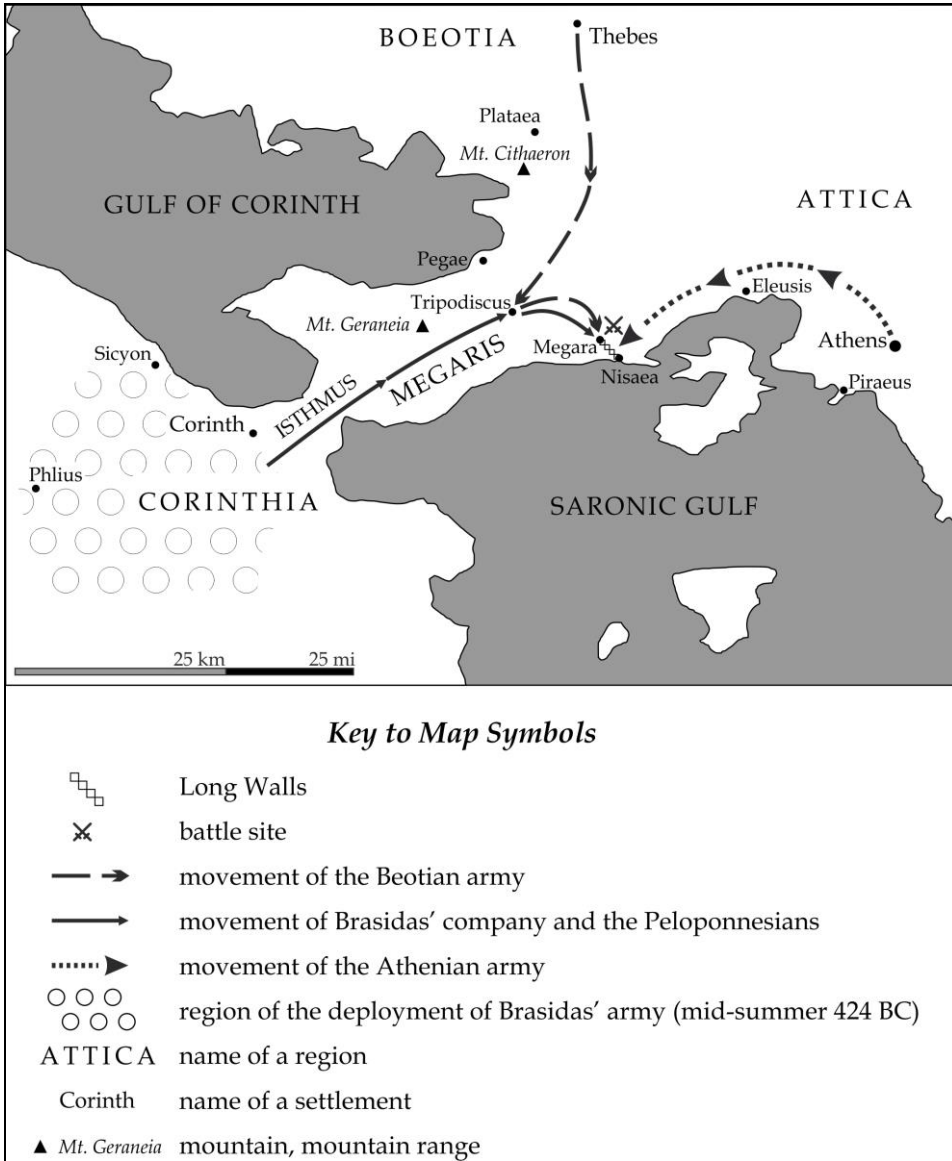
**Map 1. The events in Megaris in August 424 BC**

*Conclusion (B)*. Thucydides shows that Brasidas only partially succeeded in effectuating his intentions in Megaris. Furthermore, his account does not speak of the liberation of Megara (as Diodorus imagines). Our "authentic source" says

Strogetskiĭ 2008, 177, 181–183. On the foreign policy of Megara in the mid-fifth century BC, see Legon 1981, 174–199; 2004.

that the Spartan general "secured" the polis, but, as we can see, this did not happen without effort. Many points in the Megarian Logos convince us that the historian was fully aware of the events at Megaris.

## 3. Thucydides′ presumable informers

Thucydides himself did not take part in this operation. As is well known, Thucydides was voted strategos in the spring of 424 BC, and in the summer he took charge;[53] if he, together with Hippodamus and Demosthenes, had been engaged in the campaign as a general, the historian certainly would have mentioned it. Of course, this is a circumstantial argument, but without any other concrete evidence, we should consider and draw upon it.

It was the first month of the first strategy for Thucydides, son of Olorus, and, considering the close ties between his family and the region of the northern Aegean (in particular, Thasos), strategos Thucydides′ terms of reference may have included control over the situation on the Thracian coast of the Aegean Sea,[54] where the influence of the Athenian *arche* had considerably wavered by the 420s BC.[55] Yet again, the major default argument is as follows: if Thucydides had been sent to Megaris as an official at this time, then it must be assumed that he would have called himself a participant of the July military operation.

The Athenian historian may have started to collect information about the 424 BC campaign in Megaris without delay, taking notes in the aftermath of the events on the narratives provided by their participants, which would later constitute his Megarian Logos. It is not difficult to determine his sources in this case. They may have been his fellow citizens who were involved in the operation – one of many during this summer campaign. The historian may have asked Demosthenes and Hippodamus, his fellows in office in the year 424/3 BC. Of all the Athenian generals who appear in the *History of the Peloponnesian War*, Thucydides favored Demosthenes the most.[56] He could have learned many things about the military campaigns of 426–424 BC directly from Demosthenes, who took part in these events. As for the operation in Megaris, Thucydides could have learned about it either from the official account made by both of the generals or

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[53] Yet the historian elaborately describes the events, with minute details of the plan and course of the military operation, as well as (partially) of the allied troops, and even their intentions.

[54] On the interest Thucydides had in Thracian affairs as a politician and historian, see the comprehensive essay Zahrnt 2006.

[55] See, for example, Zahrnt 1971; Kondratūk 1983; Svetilova 1985.

[56] By the way, some researchers believe that the historian's attitude towards Demosthenes was reserved and even disapprobative; see Woodcock 1928, 93–108; Westlake 1968, 97–121; Wylie 1993, 20 (with reference to the opinion of Woodcock and Westlake); *cf*. Swoboda 1905; Roisman 1993; Will 2003, 67–68; Stahl 2003, 129–131, 139; 2006, 321–323.

(specifically) from the personal questioning of the generals and the rank and file. He could only have asked questions after the army's return to Athens, for strategos Thucydides was seconded to the Thracian region to defend Amphipolis in the autumn of the year 424 BC, and, having suffered a defeat, he found himself isolated from his native polis.

E. Badian highlights the *casus unicus*, pointing out that the generals, who returned from Megaris after failing in their duty to capture Megara and keep it under Athenian control, were not condemned by the citizens.[57] Even though the account presented by Demosthenes and Hippocrates referred to the unpredictable turn of events (the sudden appearance of considerable numbers of Peloponnesians and Boeotians), it could hardly have satisfied the Athenian *demos*. However, Demosthenes was entrusted with command of the ships going to Naupactus at the end of the summer, and Hippocrates was to oversee the preparations for the Athenian army's invasion into Boeotia from the southeast.[58]

The Megarian operation was of paramount importance to the Athenians: the capture of the polis could have been the major success of their whole summer campaign. The former merits attributed to the generals would not have saved the situation. The reason they managed to get away with this failure was that both generals were involved in the all-Boeotian plot.[59] They must have played the role of (co)authors and orchestrators (in any case, one of the "generators" of the project was Demosthenes, the brightest of all the Athenian generals of the time and a pioneer in the military affairs of the Athenians[60]). Thucydides shows that this plot was accorded with the supporters of Athens from various Boeotian poleis. Demosthenes and Hippocrates' attempt to capture Megara must have been part of the "blockade" of Boeotia, since they were the ones with whom the "Boeotians had negotiated the Boeotian affairs, aspiring for a change in the system of state, to be further converted to democracy" (Thuc. 4.76.2).

Thucydides knew about the Boeotian plot.[61] It is likely that he took part in mapping it out since, as one of the ten generals in Athens, he did significant ad-

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[57] "And the Athenian *demos*, quick to punish generals of whose actions it disapproved, certainly did not disapprove (of Hippocrates and Demosthenes – *A. S.*) in this case. Not only do we not hear of any punishment, but the same two generals were at once sent out to implement the Boeotian plan" (Badian 1999, 9). Badian's surprise is reasonable, considering the usual classical Athenian practice of giving democratic short shrift to leaders (including generals) who failed the public trust.

[58] Thuc. 4.76.1; 77.1, 2; *cf.* Thuc. 4.89.1; see also Nevin 2008.

[59] For further details, see Sinitsyn 2009, 54–56.

[60] Roisman 1993 and Wylie 1993 argue that he was a better commander than the Spartan general Brasidas. On Demosthenes the strategos, see Treu 1956, 420–447; Schmitz 1997; Konecny 2014, 40, 42; and the above-mentioned works in note 56.

[61] Thucydides describes the preparations for the Boeotian revolt in Chapters 76–77, 89, and the following chapters of *Book Four*. He provides numerous details and envisages probable perspectives (in case the Boeotians and their Athenian associates succeeded in accomplishing this design).

ministrative and military work in the state; hence, *ex officio*, he was privy to the military designs of the polis. Thucydides himself must have been engaged in drafting the 424/3 BC military strategy. As the general in charge of the state of affairs in the north of Hellas (where, together with commander Eucles, he was seconded in mid-autumn of that year), he was the executor of this military strategy. Thus, Thucydides, who was greatly interested in all the events of the war, could have learned about the clash between the Athenians and Brasidas in Megaris from his colleagues either during the second half of the summer or the first half of the autumn of 424 BC, before he was sent to the "northern front" to defend Amphipolis.

## 4. On the contingent and strength of the allied army in the Megarian operation

According to Diodorus, the army, which Brasidas brought to Megaris and then led on along the Thracian coast to accomplish the intended plan, consisted of Lacedaemonians and soldiers from other poleis of Peloponnesus (without concretizing). Thucydides, however, is very accurate here; he reports that in the "defense" of Megara from the Athenian attack, there were hoplites from Corinth, Sicyon, and Phlius, as well as the forces from the Boeotian Alliance. The Athenian historian gives the numbers of the warriors placed under Brasidas by allies from northern parts of Peloponnesus; he also specifies the strength of the Theban army.[62]

Thucydides could have gotten the data about the contingent of the allied army from the Corinthian and/or Boeotian hoplites, who were participants of this operation; it is highly possible that these informants (unmediated or secondhand) could have been some of the Peloponnesians who were with Brasidas' expedition. But the historian could only have questioned the Boeotian and Peloponnesian "veterans" or some of the Brasideans years after the Megarian operation.

It is clear that the above evidence (numbers, dates, etc.) was of principal importance to him. Furthermore, this evidence agrees with the evidence contained in the accounts of the Megarian and consequent episodes which constitute a single Logos of the Thracian march led by Brasidas.

The large Peloponnesian army – the majority of it consisting of Corinthians (2,700 hoplites), as well as Sicyonians (600) and Phliusians (400) – was raised so quickly that it is reasonable to assume that these forces were assembled in the allied poleis of northeastern Peloponnesus long before, in preparation for unfore-

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[62] Thuc. 4.70.1; 4.72.1; Busolt 1904, 1138–1139; Rubincam 1979, 84, n. 29; Morpeth 2006, 285–286; Rubincam 2012, 102–103.

seen military actions. According to Thucydides, a considerable force of the Boeotian Alliance also took part in this operation.[63] The Thebans were no less worried about the events in Megaris than their allied Peloponnesians, as Boeotia would be cut off from Peloponnesus if this territory happened to fall under Athenian control.[64] In this case, considering the unrest in many Boeotian poleis (see Thuc. 4.76; 89–91), Boeotia would be facing its southern neighbor – Athens, its old rival. That is why the Thebans immediately responded to the request of the Megarian oligarchs. The Boeotian Alliance dispatched a force of 2,200 hoplites and 600 horse to Megaris.[65]

Thus, according to Thucydides, the total number of hoplites in Brasidas' army after the Peloponnesians joined the allies at Megara amounted to 6,000 hoplites (4.72.2)[66], 2,000 of which were sent by the Boeotians (*ibid*. § 1), and 3,700 of which were brought from Peloponnesus by the general himself. The record indicates that the soldiers that had been mustered for the oncoming Thracian march also came to Megaris with Brasidas. As for their number, in Thuc. 4.70.1 we find: … καὶ τοὺς μεθ' αὑτοῦ ὅσοι ἤδη ξυνειλεγμένοι ἦσαν ("together with the those (soldiers) who had been mustered").[67] They must have been mercenaries. It is easy to find out if the account made by Thucydides[68] is correct in passages

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[63] As was noted above, Diodorus never mentions them.

[64] See above and the literature in note 52.

[65] As has already been noted in the literature, during the classical period, the Boeotians boasted powerful infantry and cavalry; see, for example, Worley 1994, 60–63; Hornblower 1996, 241, *ad loc*. Thuc. 4.72.4.

[66] Gomme's commentary on Thuc. 4.70.1 contains *lapsus calami*: instead of 6,000, it gives 5,000 hoplites; Gomme 1956, 532: "5,000 hoplites in all." This mistake is noticed in J. Larsen 1958, 124; *cf*. Hornblower 1996, 241, *ad loc*., with reference to Larsen's review). As to the total strength of the allied army, Gomme gives 7,000 hoplites (*sic*!): "but his total force at Megara, one would think, would have been over 7,000 hoplites, together with the 600 horse."

[67] That is, all the hoplites he had managed to muster by this time. Stratanovskiī translates this in the following way: "а также с некоторым числом ранее завербованных наемников" ("also with a certain number of previously levied mercenaries"; Stratanovskiī 1981, 191). This passage allows us to see that by that time Brasidas' force had already been formed (*sic*!), and the general took only *a part* (the smaller one) to Megaris (?). In Mishchenko's translation, "и со всем своим войском, которое он уже собрал" ("and with all his troops that he had mustered [by that time – A. S.]"; Mishchenko, Zhebelev, Frolov 1999, 200); *cf*. other translations: "und allen eigenen Truppen, so viele bereits versammelt waren" (Boehme 1852, 89); "and such troops of his own as had already been levied" (Smith 1920, 331, 333); and *cf*. the translation by Crawley (Strassler 1996, 261: "and such troops of his own as he had already levied"; and Hornblower: "as well as the troops he had previously collected"; Hornblower 1996, 239, *ad loc*. 4.70.1).

[68] See critical notes by C. Rubincam on Thucydides' evidence: "…but the historian appears to have remembered that he was unable to get a precise number for the contingent of Brasidas' own men, and so he rounds up 5,900 to 6,000 and qualifies this total with an expression of the kind that the actual total, which he cannot give precisely, was somewhat above that" (Rubincam 2012, 102–103).

Thuc. 4.70.1 and 4.72.1, 2: 6,000 (the total number of allied hoplites) minus 5,900 (the number of hoplites, apart from those recruited by Brasidas at Peloponnesus) equals 100 soldiers.[69]

Then, Thucydides (4.81.1) estimates the total number of Brasideans at 1,700 hoplites. Under the agreement with the Lacedaemonians, the northern allies – the Greek poleis in Chalcidice and of Perdiccas II – were to supply Brasidas with the means to prepare the expedition (Thuc. 4.80.1). However, Brasidas must have failed to bring his army to full strength before the unexpected Megarian events. Thus, among all the Peloponnesian hoplites who came with him to Megaris ($\approx$ 3,800 men),[70] only 100 of them[71] had been recruited before the march to Chalcidice. Brasidas initially expected to have a greater strength, but he did not manage to recruit and equip as many men as he intended before the Megarian events occurred.

## 5. Where were Brasidas′ Helots?

In his brief account of the στάσις in Megaris and the quick march across Thessaly, Diodorus does not mention the Helots who were recruited as hoplites by Brasidas. According to Diodorus (12.67.3–5), the general did not bring the Helot army from Peloponnesus; it was sent by the Spartans in response to the request of Brasidas, who had long been in the north of Hellas (*ibid*. § 2). The historian specifies the number of Helots sent to render assistance to Brasidas – 1,000 men (see *ibid*. §§ 3 and 5); compare this number with the 700 Helots of Thuc. 4.80.5. We shall not discuss in detail why Diodorus chose to inflate the number of this corps of Helots sent to assist Brasidas (Is it a mistake, or does he deliberately round the number off?).[72] It is significant that he waits to introduce

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[69] *Cf*. Classen, Steup 1963, 143, *ad. loc*.: "etwa 100 an der Zahl"; Gomme 1956, 532: "apparently not more than one hundred *or two* (italics mine – A. S.)".

[70] Some scholars believe that Brasidas came with all the Helots and mercenaries that had been fully mustered by that time (i.e., + 1,700 hoplites). *Cf*., for example, Beloch 1927, 332: "Sofort bot er (Brasidas – A. S.) aus den benachbarten Städten Korinth, Sikyon, Phleius 3,700 Hopliten auf und *führte diese Truppen und was er von seinen eigenen Leuten beisammen hatte*, über die Geraneia. Gleichzeitig stiegen von Norden her 2,200 beotische Hopliten mit 600 Reitern über den Kithaeron und vereinigten sich vor Megara mit Brasidas, *der somit gegen 8,000 Mann unter seinem Befehle hatte...* (*sic*! italics mine – A. S.)".

[71] See Classen, Steup 1963, 143–144, 149, Anm.; Busolt 1904, 1138 and Anm. 3, 1141; Kagan 1974, 275, 276; Ray 2009, 181. *Cf*. the statistics in the table by Morpeth 2006, 285–286, Tabl. IV, col. IV, as well calculations by Keyser 2006, 338–339 and Rubincam 1979, 84; 2012, 100, n. 13, 102–103 (here with references to Keyser), 114. App. 5. 1.

[72] *Cf*. the above (notes 6 and 7) with the example of Diodorus' unaccountable "exaggeration" of the strength of Nicias' force and of the number of casualties in the "Great Earthquake" in Spar-

them into the narrative about Brasidas until the middle of the Thracian campaign, after the Spartan general had managed, by threats and persuasion, to entice the citizens of Akanthos and other Greek poleis on the Thracian coast.[73]

Diodorus does not specify who then brought the Helots to Chalcidice (it would have taken a real hero to match Brasidas). Thucydides highlights that this endeavor (undoubtedly very dangerous) was undertaken by the general who led the small army of mercenaries and Helots. But the Sicilian historian neglected this "insignificant detail," for he did not realize this innovation's revolutionary importance for the Spartan state.

According to the "authentic source," Helots were initially part of Brasidas' army, constituting over a third of his force. This expeditionary corps did not seem to be manned to its full potential. Even when the Macedonian king and the Greek poleis that aspired to secede from the Athenian *arche* succeeded in winning Sparta over and had it take part in the campaign in the north[74] by dividing the Peloponnesian army expenditures, the Lacedaemonians still showed their indifference towards the Thracian march.[75]

According to Thucydides, 700 hoplites of emancipated Helots were sent with Brasidas.[76] Sparta must have provided (fully or in part) the unheard-of "recruits" with the equipment. But Brasidas could not expect any other subsidies from the state to be forthcoming. The historian first mentions the Helots recruited by the Spartan general to serve as hoplites in the Thracian campaign only

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ta, which "cannot be taken seriously" (Karpīuk 2015, 31; Karpīuk also cites other examples of Diodorus' exaggerated rounded numbers). On the exaggerated proportion of numbers in *The Library of History*, see specifically Rubincam 2012, 121–122: "As for Diodorus, the relatively high frequency of numbers in his historical narrative is a symptom of his interest in numbers as an impressive type of detail that enhances his account of events" (see also 2003, 452–453). By analyzing the frequency of numbers in the works of Herodotus, Thucydides, Xenophon, and Diodorus, the Canadian scholar arrives at the conclusion that "numbers constitute a higher proportion of the text of Diodorus that of any of the other three historians" (Rubincam 2012, 122, n. 4).

[73] Suppose we correlate Diodorus' evidence with Thucydides' account of Brasidas' actions in Chalcidice: the "recruiting of the Helots" (according to Herodotus) could have taken place on the cusp of the autumn/winter of 424 BC (before the Peloponnesians' siege and seizure of Amphipolis in December 424 BC). Then again, it is hardly possible at all to coordinate such discrepancies in our sources. By all appearances, Diodorus himself was not bothered with how much his evidence corresponded to the evidence in the "authentic source."

[74] For this, see, for example, Busolt 1904, 1134–1135; Hoffman 1975; Borza 1992, 150; Sinitsyn 2013.

[75] *Cf.* Kiechle 1979, 939; Errington 1990, 21; Cartledge, Debnar 2006, 567, 573; otherwise: Schulz 2005, 101.

[76] On Helots in the military campaign in Chalcidice and their new status: Thuc. 4.80.5; *cf.* Thuc. 5.34.1; 67.1; Oehler 1912, 205–206; Welwei 1974, 108–111; Pechatnova 2001, 239, 309–310, 312–314; Jordan 2005, 55–56; Cartledge, Debnar 2006, 559–587; Welwei 2007, 225–226; Paradiso, Roy 2008, 28–29, 34; Zaīkov 2013, 80, 101–102, 104–105.

when he writes that Brasidas' army completed the dangerous passage from Isthmus to Dium and reached the lands of allied Macedonia. Before this, Thucydides says nothing of the Spartan's intention to send Helots with Brasidas; he says nothing about them when he describes the Megarian conflict, either. The author seems to be keeping the reader in the dark. The use of the dependent population as *a substitute for the hoplite army* must have been nonsense at that time.[77] Thucydides testifies to the untrustworthiness of Helots on many occasions;[78] he points out the fact that the Spartans, fearing insurrections, wanted to remove some of them from the country (4.80.2).[79] The Spartans must have taken the Helots not just as a chaotic (though explosive-prone) mass, both dependent on and opposed to the organized community of free warrior-*homoioi*, but also as a political community[80] with leaders and chiefs, the strongest and proudest of whom were capable of stirring up trouble and turning against their masters. Andreev[81] connected "constant fear and nervous tension" caused by neighboring Helots with the emergence of a new form of battle-order – the hoplite phalange.[82]

In his account of the στάσις in Megaris, Thucydides says nothing of the Helots trained to be engaged in the forthcoming expedition. This omission in the source can be accounted for by the fact that at that time there were no Helots serving as hoplites in the Corinthian area where Brasidas was mustering the mercenary army; the Helots must have been expected to come at a later time before the beginning of

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[77] Later on, Sparta often used libertine Helots and mercenaries whenever it needed hoplites. On mercenaries with the Hellenes during the Classical Age: Parke 1933, 83–85; Anderson 1970, 132–133, 150–151; Marinovich 1968; 1975, 21, 23–24, 34–36, 52–53 and others; Lazenby 1985; Burckhardt 1995, 107–133; Trundle, 2004; Connolly 2006; Zaĭkov 2013, 96, 99–107; Sekunda 2014, 49. On soldiers of fortune in the Hellenic Age, see Chapter 5 in the book by Angelos Chaniotis 2005, 79–88, 91–92, 94–97.

[78] See Thuc. 4.41.3; 5.14.3; 35.7; 56; 7.26.2.

[79] Thus, "fearing the impudence and multitude of Helots," the Lacedaemonians sought to lessen the topical "Helots problem" (Thuc. 4.80.2–81); see Jordan 1990, 37–69; Pechatnova 2001, 309–310, 314, 390–391; Jordan 2005, 56; Zaĭkov 2013, 80–81, 96–97; Andreev 2014, 82–83). A.V. Zaĭkov (2013, 97), referring to Plutarch, regards the Spartiates' massacre of 2,000 Helots, who had been set free, as an "extraordinary form of crypteia" (Plut. *Lyc*. 28; *cf*. Thuc. 4.80.3–4 and Diod. 12.68).

[80] *Cf*. Andreev's view (with reference to Aristotle's fragment which says the Spartiates annually declared a war against the Helots): "The Spartans took their slaves as a kind of a political community or a complex of such communities" (Andreev 1983, 203; 2010, 425, n. 33). On the legal status of Helots and the collective nature of the Helots dependence, see Lotze 1959; Welwei 1974, 115–117; 1998, 102–107; 2006, 29–40; Zaĭkov 2013, 91–99, 112–113, 117–118; Andreev 2014, 80–87, 124–126 and others.

[81] Andreev 2010.

[82] "The Spartans just did not dare leave without due control their rebellious Helots, always ready to revolt. Therefore, the Helotage was the main factor that determined Sparta's priority in developing a new army" (Andreev 2010, 480; see also Andreev 2014, 262–263, 268–269).

the march. Otherwise, Brasidas would have risked getting them involved in the Megarian operation, which would have proven a very suitable "trial of strength" for *the new army*. In addition, if the Helots had been there, the Athenian historian would undoubtedly have mentioned them in this Megarian episode.

At the end of the spring or the beginning of the summer in the year 424 BC, Brasidas must have selected a force from the libertine Helots for the forthcoming march to Chalcidice. Then, these "recruits," still remaining in their lands, were to have military training as hoplites (probably under Brasidas and his close associates from Spartiates or Mothakes), and only after that were they to be sent to the area of Isthmus to join the army of mercenaries. It also took time[83] to recruit 1,000 mercenaries, and the Helots serving as hoplites remained in the "rears" in Laconia, receiving training and awaiting the order to march off.

## 6. Conclusion

Thucydides takes great pains to dramatically describe the στάσις in Megaris, with all its problems.

He is well aware of the strife in the polis;[84] he gives a detailed account of the Athenians taking the long walls and Nisaea (Thuc. 4.66.4–69), the construction of the circular wall to besiege the city (4.69), and the confrontation between Brasidas and the Athenian generals in the valley near Megara (4.72.2–73), prudently summarizing the events (4.74.2–3). Thucydides knows about the designs cherished by the Megarian plotters, the time spent by the Athenians on constructing the circular wall and their engineering schemes (4.69.2, 3), their Boeotian allies, and the army contingents on both sides.[85] The Athenian historian points out that Brasidas' immediate response to the events in Megaris was not a reckless urge felt by the audacious commander in his wild desire to counter the enemy; rather, Brasidas proceeded from strategic considerations in this case. The capture of Megara by the Athenians would cast doubt on the feasibility of the Thracian expedition and subvert the purpose of all the previous preparations: the protracted negotiations with the allies in the north of Hellas and the arrangements with the guides in Thessaly, the training of Helots for the military march and the recruitment of mercenaries. For the Peloponnesians, holding this polis meant retaining control over the passage across Megara and the uninhibited link with Boeotia. As an experienced commander, Brasidas had to be fully aware that "relieving" Megara was a crucial part of putting the intended plan into operation.

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[83] For more detail, see also Sinitsyn 2002a, 56–57, 59–61.

[84] See Thuc. 4.66–69; 71, 74.2–4.

[85] See Thuc. 4.67.1; 68.5; 70.1,2; 72.1,2.

Diodorus Siculus provides us with evidence that occasionally makes things clearer, but as often as not, it only complicates things. The analysis of the Megarian episode in *The Library of History* is a telling example of how he simplifies matters and distorts certain facts presented in his account. When relating the events at Megaris, he mentions neither the Boeotians, nor the strength of Brasidas' force, nor the return of the Spartan commander to Corinth, nor any successes at Megaris. The Sicilian historian, in contrast, skips[86] these "trifles" based on a strong belief that they are not important for the reader and can only distract from the main point – the impression of the sweeping onslaught and the military success of the hero.[87]

Diodorus rules out the element of chance in the Megarian episode.[88] He presents this military operation as one of the many endless feats of Brasidas, who found it easy to rectify the complex situation.[89] However, Thucydides shows that certain unsuspected events at Megaris nearly frustrated the Spartan's audacious plan. Yet, the fickle τύχη was again merciful to Brasidas.[90]

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[86] Like the previous Nician Logos, the Megarian episode in Diodorus' work is characterized by the unreasonable concentration of evidence (see *Conclusion A*).

[87] On heroes and the heroic in Diodorus (mainly based on his first, "mythographic," books), see Sulimani 2011, especialy Part II "Myth and History in Diodorus' First Five Books," and "Conclusions", 165–347.

[88] See the work by L.I. Hau on the role of chance in the war events in Diodorus' *The Library of History*: Hau 2009, 171–197, especially 188–190.

[89] L.A. Tritle names Brasidas "A Spartan Napoleon": Tritle 2010, 95–97.

[90] The author is grateful to Vladimir A. Leus (Saratow, Russia) for his technical support in the preparation of the map.

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# Abstract

By collating the accounts given by Thucydides and Diodorus of the στάσις in Megaris in the summer of 424 BC, the article analyses Brasidas's actions during the frustrated attack on Megara; it specifies the strength of the defence put up by the Spartan general in this operation, attempts to explain the causes of his return to the Corinthian area after he had helped the Megarians out of their predicament. Loosely based on Thucydides' account of these events, Diodorus' account contains digressions from the original text. Diodorus must have upheld the established tradition associated with the legendary Spartan general, so the victory at Megaris, according to Diodorus, was easily won. The article discusses the question of the whereabouts of the Helots, mustered by Brasidas for the already planned march on Chalcidice.

**Michał Podrazik** (Rzeszów, Poland)

# CYRUS THE YOUNGER, GREEK ENVOYS,
# AND THE SO-CALLED TREATY OF BOIOTIOS
# (409–408 BC)

At the end of the 5th century BC,[1] the Achaemenid Empire and the Hellenes from European Greece maintained rather strong relations. During the last decade of the Peloponnesian War (431–404), both the Lakedaimonians and the Athenians would send their envoys to Darius II, the Great King (424–404), or to his governors in western Asia Minor, with the hopes of gaining some support and winning the conflict. At the beginning of the last decade of the 5th century, the Greek envoys began their journey to Susa, which coincided with the arrival of the royal son – Cyrus, called the Younger – to Anatolia. The following paper aims to present political relationships between Cyrus and the Greek envoys sent to the Great King, in the years 409–408.[2] The main focus is on the Athenian and the Lakedaimonian ambassadors.

An increase in the relationship between the Persian Empire under Darius II and the Hellenes from European Greece began at the turn of 413 and 412. At that time, the envoys, who represented the interests of the Achaemenid Empire, arrived in Lakedaimon. They were sent there independently, by Tissaphernes, the governor of Lydia, on the one hand, and by Pharnabazos, the governor of Hellespontine Phrygia, on the other. The mission aimed at convincing the Lakedaimon-

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[1] All dates in the article pertain to the events before the birth of Christ.

[2] Concerning the chronological order of the years 410–407, see Robertson 1980, 282–301. He moved away from the so-called "early" chronology and "late" chronology and applied a satisfying "middle" chronology, adopted herein. A more clear approach to the problem was presented by Krentz 1993, 11–14; Andrewes 1992a, 503–505. Robertson's chronology was accepted by P. Krentz, with the exception of one modification (see Krentz 1993, 14).

ians to send their armed forces to western and north-western Anatolia respectively, and to oust the Athenian influences from there. Also, the Chians and the Erythraians arrived in Sparta at that time. They were seeking the help of the Lakedaimonians in ending the supremacy of the Athenian Confederacy.[3] Their interests could have coincided with those of Tissaphernes.

The decision to ask the Lakedaimonians for help at that particular moment was not accidental. In fact, it was connected with a breakthrough in the ongoing Peloponnesian War, namely, with the failure of the Athenian Sicilian Expedition (415–413).[4] This created favorable conditions for the Persian Empire to try and take over the Hellenic cities in western and north-western Asia Minor; until that time they had remained under Athenian supremacy. The weakening of the Athenian influences in Anatolia was in the interest of the Lakedaimonians as well. Each strike at the Athenian Confederacy brought them closer to the victory in the devastating Peloponnesian War. When Sparta allied with the Achaemenid Empire against the Athenians, the focus of the ongoing conflict moved to the region of western, and then north-western, Asia Minor. This began the period of the so-called Ionian War (also known as the Dekeleian War: 413–404).

As a result of the decision made in Lakedaimon at the turn of 413 and 412, the Peloponnesian fleet was directed towards western Anatolia, where it started to cooperate with Tissaphernes. Actions taken within the next two years reduced the Athenian influences in this part of Asia Minor. The cooperation between the Achaemenid Empire and the Lakedaimonians as well as their allies, was regulated by three bilateral treaties; two of them were signed in 412 and the third one in 411. Soon after the third treaty had been signed, the gradually deteriorating relationship between Tissaphernes and the Lakedaimonians was terminated. As a result, as early as 411 the Peloponnesian fleet moved to north-western Anatolia to cooperate with Pharnabazos against the Athenians.[5]

When they reached their destination, the Peloponnesian forces, supported by the Achaemenid governor of Hellespontine Phrygia, were defeated by the Athenians in three subsequent naval battles: at Kynossema, Abydos and Kyzikos. The

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[3] For more information on the visit to Lakedaimon made by Tissaphernes' and Pharnabazos' envoys, as well as by the Chians and the Erythraians, see Mosley 1973, 66; Olmstead 1974, 338–339; Lewis 1977, 87–88; Burn 1985, 343; Dandamaev 1989, 260; Andrewes 1992, 464–465; Keen 1998, 97–99; Briant 2002, 592, 594; Rhodes 2009, 163–164; Wolicki 2009, 212.

[4] For more details on the Sicilian Expedition, see Bengtson et al. 1969, 180–186; Andrewes 1992b, 446–463; Hammond 1994, 460–474; de Souza 2002, 56–61; Rhodes 2009, 152–161; Wolicki 2009, 199–209.

[5] For more information on the events in the region of western Anatolia in the years 412–411, see Bengtson et al. 1969, 187–190; Olmstead 1974, 339–342; Lewis 1977, 88–115, 125, 129; Cook 1983, 209; Burn 1985, 343–347; Dandamaev 1989, 260–265; Andrewes 1992, 465–474, 477–478; Hammond 1994, 474–478, 483–484; Keen 1998, 99–102, 108; Briant 2002, 592–597; Rhodes 2009, 164–167; Wolicki 2009, 212–219.

battles took place between the summer of 411 and the spring of 410. The decimat-ed Peloponnesian fleet had to be rebuilt and it was Pharnabazos who came to their aid.[6] Meanwhile, the Athenians undertook military activities in the Propontis. Their main offensive forces were directed against Kalchedon and Byzantion, located on the Propontis' north-eastern shore, on the Asian and on the European side of the Bosphoros respectively. At that time these cities were beyond the control of the Athenian Confederacy. Thus, it was crucial for the Athenians to restore their su-premacy over them and to regain control of the Bosphoros. This way the Athenians could ensure the safe grain supply from Black Sea to Peiraieus.[7]

At the end of 409, the Athenians started the siege of Kalchedon.[8] They would later reach an agreement concerning this *polis* with Pharnabazos, who was involved in its defense. The Iranian official promised to pay the Athenians twen-ty talents, and conduct their envoys to the Great King.[9] The Kalchedonians pledged to pay their normal tribute to the Athenians, and to settle their debt. In return, the Athenians would stop all hostilities against the Kalchedonians, until the Athenian envoys were back from their audience with Darius II.[10] Moreover, Pharnabazos and Alkibiades the Athenian exchanged their oaths as well through their representatives, and next made private pledges of faith with each other.[11] The substance of the pledges is not specified in the sources. At the time, the Athenian forces were fighting not only against Kalchedon, but against Byzantion as well. The latter fell into their hands in about 409/408.[12]

The end of 409 or the beginning of 408 is the time when Darius II, the Great King, appointed his son, Cyrus the Younger, to rule over part of the Achaeme-nid Empire in Anatolia. The prince was about 16 at the time he was sent to Asia Minor.[13]

Cyrus was appointed to be the satrap (*satrapēs*) of Lydia, Great Phrygia and Kappadokia.[14] These regions were probably organized into one administrative

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[6] For more on these events, see Olmstead 1974, 346; Lewis 1977, 125–128; Cook 1983, 209–210; Burn 1985, 347–348; Andrewes 1992, 481–484; Hammond 1994, 484–488; Briant 2002, 593–596; de Souza 2002, 87; Rhodes 2009, 167–170; Wolicki 2009, 219–222.

[7] See X. *HG* 1.1.35; also Lewis 1977, 125; Andrewes 1992, 483. A list of the abbreviations for classical works and authors available at http://stephanus.tlg.uci.edu/lsj/01-authors_and_works.html.

[8] See X. *HG* 1.3.1–7; D.S. 13.64.2–4, 13.66.1–2; Plu. *Alc*. 29.3–30.1.

[9] X. *HG* 1.3.8.

[10] X. *HG* 1.3.9; see also D.S. 13.66.3; Plu. *Alc*. 31.1.

[11] See X. *HG* 1.3.10–12; also Plu. *Alc*. 31.2.

[12] See X. *HG* 1.3.1–2, 1.3.10, 1.3.14–21; D.S. 13.66.3–67.7; Plu. *Alc*. 31.2–6.

[13] See Ktes. *Pers*. 51; Plu. *Art*. 2.3; Lewis 1977, 134 with n. 151 and 152; Robertson 1980, 291 with n. 27; Cook 1983, 210; Burn 1985, 349; Ruzicka 1985, 207 with n. 12; Andrewes 1992, 489 with n. 51; Krentz 1993, 125; Schmitt 1993; Keen 1998, 103; Keen 1998a, 89.

[14] X. *An*. 1.9.7; see also X. *An*. 1.1.2; Olmstead 1974, 347; Lewis 1977, 119; Dandamaev 1989, 266; Stronk 1990–1991, 123.

unit, with Cyrus at the helm.[15] The vastness of the territory under Cyrus' rule (from the Aegean to the Euphrates) was worthy of a royal son.[16] We are also informed that the Iranian prince took control over all coastal regions (*arksōn pantōn tōn epi thalattē*).[17] Xenophon included this information after he had described the events in the Hellespont and the Propontis.[18] This message is also presented in the context of the meeting between Cyrus and Pharnabazos,[19] the Persian governor of the Hellespontine Phrygia. Thus, it is possible that the expression *arksōn pantōn tōn epi thalattē* refers to Hellespontine Phrygia, included under the rule of the Iranian prince. This suggests that Cyrus controlled presumably territories of the whole Anatolian Peninsula, including both the inland and the coastal regions.

Moreover, Darius II appointed Cyrus commander (*stratēgos*) of all troops assembled in the plain of Kastolos,[20] located in Lydia, east of Sardis. Thus, the prince had the armed forces of the region at his disposal. We also know that Cyrus was given the title *karanos*, rendered in Greek by the term *kyrios*.[21] Not much is known about the role and the competence of *karanos* in the Achaemenid Empire, hence it is difficult to determine what exactly this function entailed.[22] Nevertheless, it was connected with the military sphere.[23] In all likelihood, Cyrus was the commander-in-chief of all Achaemenid troops in Anatolia.[24] Both the garrison troops in capital strongholds of Asia Minor as well as the contingents in Anatolian satrapies were under his command. Garrisons were commanded by *phrourarchs* (*phrourarchoi*), and armed forces in satrapies were commanded by *chiliarchs* (*chiliarchoi*).[25] Most probably, both *phrourarchs* and  *chiliarchs* re-

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[15] See Ruzicka 1985, 204, 206–207 (he dates the appointment of Cyrus as satrap back to 407).

[16] See Cook 1985, 269; Ruzicka 1985, 207; Tuplin 1987, 142 with n. 19.

[17] X. *HG* 1.4.3.

[18] See X. *HG* 1.2.15–17, 1.3.1–21.

[19] See X. *HG* 1.4.1–7.

[20] X. *An.* 1.1.2, 1.9.7. See Andrewes 1971, 208; Cook 1985, 269; Hirsch 1985, 10–11; Dandamaev 1989, 266; Dandamaev/Lukonin 1989, 222–223; Weiskopf 1990; Krentz 1993, 126; Kuhrt 2007, 343; Olbrycht 2013, 66.

[21] X. *HG* 1.4.3. See Lewis 1977, 131 with n. 136; Ruzicka 1985, 206–207.

[22] For more on the position of *karanos* in the Achaemenid Empire, as well as on the possible origin and the interpretation of the term, see Widengren 1969, 106; Cook 1985, 269; Shahbazi 1986; Weiskopf 1987; Dandamaev/Lukonin 1989, 222; Weiskopf 1990; Schmitt 1993; Keen 1998a, 88–95; Olbrycht 2011, 230; Hyland 2013, 1–5; Olbrycht 2013, 65–68.

[23] See Widengren 1969, 106; Ruzicka 1985, 204; Dandamaev 1989, 266; Schmitt 1993; Olbrycht 2011, 230; Hyland 2013, 2–5; Olbrycht 2013, 66–68.

[24] See Bengtson et al. 1969, 192; Olmstead 1974, 347; Dandamaev 1989, 266; cf. Keen 1998a, 90.

[25] For succinct information on the military system in Achaemenid satrapies, see Olbrycht 2010, 109.

ported back to the Iranian prince. Not only did Cyrus control the land forces, but also the fleet was presumably at his disposal.[26]

When heading for Asia Minor, Cyrus carried a letter (*epistolē*) bearing the royal seal (*basileion sphragisma*). The letter contained the information that Cyrus had been appointed by the Great King and confirmed his position as *karanos*.[27] This information had been spread by the Achaemenid messengers (*aggeloi*),[28] who brought it to the centers and governors in Anatolia.[29] In the spring of 408, the news about Cyrus' arrival reached the regions east of Gordion,[30] the former capital city of Phrygia.[31]

Meanwhile, a group of envoys, from the city of Kyzikos, on the south coast of the Propontis, left for Susa to meet with the Great King.[32] This embassy consisted of: the Athenians: Dorotheos, Philokydes, Theogenes, Euryptolemos and Mantitheus; the Argives: Kleostratos and Pyrrolochos; the Lakedaimonians: Pasippidas and others; and the Syrakusans: Hermokrates and his brother Proxenos.[33] Thus, among the envoys there were the representatives of both sides of the ongoing Peloponnesian War. One may suspect that both the Athenians and the Lakedaimonians wished to receive financial support from the Achaemenid Empire in the ongoing conflict, so that they could achieve victory. Kyzikos as the starting point of the journey was suggested by Pharnabazos,[34] the governor of Hellespontine Phrygia, where the city was located. Also, he offered to personally escort the envoys to the Great King.[35] This was in line with the oath he pledged to the Athenians at the end of 409, when both parties reached the agreement regulating the problem of Kalchedon.

After leaving Kyzikos, Pharnabazos and the Greek envoys stopped in Gordion. They spent the winter there, and at the beginning of the spring of 408 they set off again, heading towards Susa.[36] Their goal was to commence negotiations with Darius II. Someplace east of Gordion, they met the Lakedaimonian ambas-

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[26] See Dandamaev/Lukonin 1989, 222.

[27] X. *HG* 1.4.3. See Krentz 1993, 125–126; Briant 2002, 600.

[28] See X. *HG* 1.4.2–3.

[29] For more succinct information on the activity of Achaemenid messengers, see Kuhrt 2007a, 732, 754–755.

[30] X. *HG* 1.4.2; Robertson 1980, 285.

[31] For more general information on Gordion in the time of the Achaemenid Empire, see Krentz 1993, 124; Kuhrt 2007, 342.

[32] For more information on Greek embassies and ambassadors sent to the Achaemenid Empire in the 5th century, see Mosley 1973, passim; Miller 1997, 109–133.

[33] X. *HG* 1.3.13.

[34] X. *HG* 1.3.13.

[35] See X. *HG* 1.3.8–9, 1.3.13–14; Plu. *Alc.* 31.1.

[36] See X. *HG* 1.4.1–2; Mosley 1973, 71; Olmstead 1974, 347; also Burn 1985, 348; Briant 2002, 593, who date this event back to spring 407.

sadors and the Achaemenid messengers (*aggeloi*), who were traveling in the opposite direction. The Greek envoys learned from them that Cyrus had arrived in Anatolia, and that the Great King had already granted to the Lakedaimonians all their requests.[37] Both groups of envoys might have traveled along the same Royal Road, which connected Susa and Sardis. One of the stops on the route was probably in Gordion.[38] The above mentioned Achaemenid messengers (*aggeloi*) used to travel along the same route.

The Lakedaimonian ambassadors returning from the Great King included Boiotios and his companions.[39] We do not know when they were sent to Darius II.[40] It is possible that they took up their journey in 410, soon after the defeat of the Peloponnesian fleet in the battle at Kyzikos,[41] fought in 410.[42] We know that after the defeat at Kyzikos, the crew of the Peloponnesian fleet took shelter in the camp of Pharnabazos.[43] New ships would soon be built, and timber was transported from Mount Ida. The construction of ships took place in Antandros at the expense of the governor of Hellespontine Phrygia.[44] Perhaps, in these circumstances, Boiotios and his companions left to meet the Great King. They definitely did not travel together with Pharnabazos, for he was occupied with the events in Kalchedon at the time.[45] However, he might have appointed a person responsible for escorting the envoys to Darius II.

In the face of the devastating defeat at Kyzikos, the most likely purpose of Boiotios' mission was to negotiate with the Great King of Sparta's future actions as well as the conditions of cooperation with the Achaemenid Empire. The course of negotiations between Darius II and the embassy led by Boiotios is unknown. However, some substantive decisions had probably been made. The issue of financing the Peloponnesian fleet, paid with Achaemenid appropriations, might have been regulated. Most probably, it had been decided that a sum of thirty *minai* (i.e., three thousand *drachmai*) would be spent a month

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[37] X. *HG* 1.4.2–3. See Burn 1985, 348; Dandamaev 1989, 267; Andrewes 1992, 489 (dates the event back to spring 407).

[38] See Young 1963, 348–350. For more information on the Royal Road from Susa to Sardis, see Lewis 1977, 56–57; Dandamaev/Lukonin 1989, 210; Briant 2002, 357–359, 361–362; Kuhrt 2007a, 737, 739; Olbrycht 2010, 104; Waters 2014, 111–112.

[39] X. *HG* 1.4.2. See Hofstetter 1978, 39.

[40] See Robertson 1980, 290–291 with n. 25.

[41] See Krentz 1993, 124–125.

[42] Dating of the battle at Kyzikos follows Lewis 1977, 125; Robertson 1980, 282; Burn 1985, 347. M.A. Dandamaev dates the battle at Kyzikos back to 409 (Dandamaev 1989, 266).

[43] D.S. 13.51.7–8.

[44] See X. *HG* 1.1.24–26; Lewis 1977, 127; Burn 1985, 347–348; Andrewes 1992, 489; Wolicki 2009, 221.

[45] See X. *HG* 1.1.26.

on each ship, regardless of the number of ships the Lakedaimonians might have requested.[46]

Perhaps the negotiations also defined the status of Greek cities in Asia Minor; they would have remained autonomous provided that a tribute (*phoros*) was paid to the Achaemenid Empire.[47]

Such might have been the provisions of the so-called Treaty of Boiotios, negotiated by Darius II and the Lakedaimonian ambassadors. It was concluded most likely at the turn of 409 and 408[48] in Susa. The treaty made it possible for the Persian Empire, as well as the Lakedaimonians and their allies, to continue their joint fight against the Athenian Confederacy. It is not clear whether Cyrus participated in the negotiation of the treaty. Nevertheless, we may suspect that, as the future ruler of Anatolia, he must have been aware of the results of the negotiations, and most likely was obliged to abide by them.

The subsequent events imply that the treaty negotiated between Darius II and the embassy led by Boiotios was connected with the Great Kings' decision to send Cyrus to Asia Minor. Xenophon states that in the ongoing conflict among the Hellenes, the Iranian prince would have sided with the Lakedaimonians.[49] His account suggests this was the fundamental reason why the rule over Anatolia was bestowed on Cyrus. There is no doubt that the fight against the Athenian Confederacy was a high priority for Darius II, and for the Achaemenid Empire in general. The cooperation with Lakedaimon in this respect would increase the chances for success. The moment Cyrus was sent to Asia Minor, he became responsible for all actions taken against the Athenian Confederacy; he was also the person to refer to in this matter.[50] This might have been decided during the negotiations between Darius II and the embassy led by Boiotios.

There might also have been some other reasons behind the Great Kings' decision to send the prince to Anatolia, apart from the Greek problem and the events that were taking place in western and north-western Asia Minor at that time. The troubles caused by recalcitrant Anatolian mountain tribes, such as the Pisidians, the Mysians, or the Lykaonians, probably independent from the Achaemenid Empire, might have been among these reasons. When Cyrus arrived in Asia Minor, he was supposed to address this issue too. Furthermore, sending

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[46] See X. *HG* 1.5.1–5; Lewis 1977, 124; also Andrewes 1992, 489; Krentz 1993, 125.

[47] See Lewis 1977, 117–125; also Stronk 1990–1991, 121–122; Andrewes 1992, 489; Krentz 1993, 125; Rhodes 2009, 170–171. Concerning any clarifications in this matter, see Tuplin 1987, 133–153. Keen 1998, 103 as well as Cartledge 2002, 227 doubt whether the so-called Treaty of Boiotios really existed.

[48] D.M. Lewis dates the event back to winter 408/407 (Lewis 1977, 125).

[49] X. *HG* 1.4.3. See Stronk 1990–1991, 123.

[50] See X. *HG* 1.5.1–8, 1.6.6–7,10, 2.1.10–14; D.S. 13.70.1–3, 13.104.3–4; Plu. *Lys.* 4.1–4, 6.5–6, 9.1–2.

the prince to Anatolia could have ensued from the political affairs in the palace, within the closest circles of the Great King.[51] Despite of these other factors, the main reason the rule in Asia Minor was bestowed on Cyrus should be regarded the fight against the Athenian Confederacy, undertaken together with the Lakedaimonians.

Boiotios' diplomatic mission definitely made it possible to arrange direct contact between Cyrus and the Lakedaimonians. The exchange of information, along with the impressions from the meeting, could shape the prince's opinion on the Lakedaimonians, and on other Hellenes as well. What is more, he could see the Peloponnesian War from the Lakedaimonian perspective.

Someplace east of Gordion, the news about the results of the negotiations between Darius II and the embassy led by Boiotios reached the Athenian envoys traveling to Susa. Soon enough, they saw Cyrus heading towards Sardis. This made them want to see the Great King even more. Otherwise, they would return to the Athenian fleet.[52] We do not know what they intended to offer Darius II. However, it is a fact that in the ongoing war among the Hellenes, the Great King sided with the Lakedaimonians.[53] By order of Cyrus, the Athenian envoys were not permitted to see Darius II. The Iranian prince did not allow them to return to their fleet either. Xenophon mentions that the prince wanted to keep the Athenians in the dark.[54] The Lakedaimonians probably wanted the same. Perhaps they themselves suggested that the Athenian ambassadors should be detained.[55]

Cyrus' decision to detain the Athenian envoys can be interpreted as clear proof of his cooperation with Sparta. The Athenian ambassadors were released after three years.[56] During this time, they presumably remained under Pharnabazos' custody, who followed the prince's order and did not allow them to see the Great King or to return to their fleet.[57]

As already mentioned, the Athenian envoys, who in 409 left Kyzikos to reach Susa, were: Dorotheos, Philokydes, Theogenes, Euryptolemos and Mantitheos.[58] They were not sent from Athens, but most probably were delegated by

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[51] For reasons that could have troubled Darius II and triggered the decision to send Cyrus to Anatolia, see Lewis 1977, 55–56, 133–135; Wolski 1986, 49–50; Tuplin 1987, 140–142; Head 1992, 9; Keen 1998, 102–103; Keen 1998a, 90–91; Briant 2002, 600; Olbrycht 2010, 92; Hyland 2013, 2.

[52] See X. *HG* 1.4.4.

[53] See X. *HG* 1.4.2–3; Lewis 1977, 131–133; Robertson 1980, 290; Dandamaev 1989, 266; de Souza 2002, 87; Wolicki 2009, 224; Shahbazi 2012, 130.

[54] X. *HG* 1.4.5. See Mosley 1973, 18–19, 82–83; Robertson 1980, 291; Krentz 1993, 126; Hammond 1994, 488.

[55] See Krentz 1993, 126.

[56] X. *HG* 1.4.7.

[57] See X. *HG* 1.4.5–7.

[58] See X. *HG* 1.3.13.

the Athenians stationed in the Propontis.[59] We do not know much about Dorotheos and Philokydes.[60] The name Theogenes is listed among the so-called Thirty Tyrants,[61] who were installed in Athens after the end of the Peloponnesian War. This Theogenes, and the one who left Kyzikos as an envoy to reach Susa under Pharnabazos' conduction, might be one and the same person.[62] The rules of the Thirty in Athens were installed in summer, probably in July 404.[63] Thus, after three years spent under Pharnabazos' custody, Theogenes could still have had time to return to Athens and join the Thirty. July 404 would be therefore *terminus ante quem* for his release from Iranian custody.

A man named Mantitheos was mentioned in the context of the trail of the Hermokopidai in Athens in 415 as a person directly involved in the case. He might be identified with Mantitheos, a member of the Athenian embassy heading from Kyzikos to Susa in the period 409–408. Also, the same Mantitheos was probably engaged in the daring escape from Sardis – a story told by Xenophon.[64] The historian relates that Mantitheos had been captured in Karia and was held captive in the capital of Lydia. Details of his activities in Karia, as well as the reasons for his arrest, are unknown. However, we do know that one night Mantitheos fled Sardis on horseback and headed for Klazomenai. He did this together with Alkibiades, another Athenian detained in the capital of Lydia at that time.[65] This event can be dated back to 411,[66] so it had happened before Mantitheos left Kyzikos and headed for Susa as an envoy. It is also known that Mantitheos was a member of the Athenian fleet active in the waters of the Hellespont in 408.[67] This information is perplexing. If in 408, most likely in the spring of the year,[68] Pharnabazos, following Cyrus' order, detained the Athenian envoys traveling from Kyzikos to Susa, among them Mantitheos, and held them under custody for three years, then Mantitheos could not have been present in the waters of the Hellespont in 408.[69]

The same problem, as in the case of Mantitheos, is connected with Euryptolemos, another member of the Athenian embassy traveling from Kyzikos to

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[59] See Mosley 1973, 56.

[60] See Hofstetter 1978, 54, 151; Krentz 1993, 121.

[61] See X. *HG* 2.3.2.

[62] See Hofstetter 1978, 176; Krentz 1993, 121.

[63] For more on the appointment and the rules of the Thirty in Athens, see Anderson 1974, 47–60; Hammond 1994, 523–527; Lewis 2006, 33–36; de Souza 2002, 91–92; Rhodes 2009, 299–302; Węcowski 2009, 373–374.

[64] Hofstetter 1978, 123; Krentz 1993, 95.

[65] See X. *HG* 1.1.9–10; Plu. *Alc*. 27.5–28.1; Burn 1985, 348; Dandamaev 1989, 265.

[66] Hofstetter 1978, 123.

[67] See D.S. 13.68.2; Krentz 1993, 95.

[68] N. Robertson dates this event back to spring 408 (see Robertson 1980, 285, 286).

[69] See Hofstetter 1978, 123.

Susa. He was presumably the son of Peisianax, and the cousin of Alkibiades,[70] a prominent Athenian, the same who was held captive in Sardis, and together with Mantitheos fled to Klazomenai. Euryptolemos is mentioned in the context of the oaths, discussed above, exchanged by Pharnabazos and Alkibiades, and ensuing from the Athenian activities in the Propontis in 409.[71] As pointed out, Pharnabazos and Alkibiades did not meet in person at that time, but made their pledges through their representatives, the Iranian in Kalchedon and the Athenian in Chrysopolis. Euryptolemos was one of the two representatives serving Alkibiades.[72] Soon after this event, the Greek envoys, conducted by Pharnabazos, embarked on journey from Kyzikos to Susa (409–408); Euryptolemus was among them.[73] The problem with Euryptolemos results from the fact that he was in Athens in late spring 407; this is the time when Alkibiades returned to the city.[74] He was also in Athens during the trail of the Athenian generals after the battle at Arginousai,[75] fought in the summer of 406.[76] Thus, if Euryptolemos was in Athens in 407 and 406, then he could not have spent three years under the custody of Pharnabazos, who, in 408 detained the Athenian ambassadors.

Taking into consideration the above mentioned discrepant data, it seems that from among the five Athenian envoys detained by Cyrus' order, two of them – Mantitheos and Euryptolemos – could not have been held under the Iranian custody for three years. A few solutions to the problem come to mind.

As already stated, Mantitheos and Alkibiades fled Sardis together in 411. Perhaps, Mantitheos managed to escape once more, this time with Euryptolemos. However, we do not know in what city the Athenian ambassadors were held by the Iranians. Additionally, their successful escape would surely have been noticed by sources. Still, there is no mention of it anywhere, hence it is difficult to accept it really happened.

Another option would be to correct Xenophon's account. Perhaps the time when the Athenian envoys were detained under Pharnabazos' custody lasted

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[70] Krentz 1993, 121.

[71] See X. *HG* 1.3.1–12. For more details on the Athenian activity in the Propontis in 409, see Lewis 1977, 128–129; Andrewes 1992, 486–487; Rhodes 2009, 170; Wolicki 2009, 223 – date the events back to 408, applying the chronology different than the one adopted by Robertson 1980, 282–301. Concerning chronology, see this article, n. 2.

[72] X. *HG* 1.3.11–12.

[73] See X. *HG* 1.3.13; Hofstetter 1978, 67.

[74] See X. *HG* 1.4.18–19; Krentz 1993, 121. Robertson 1980, 285 dates the return of Alkibiades to Athens back to spring 407. Andrewes 1992, 487; Wolicki 2009, 223 date it back to June 407.

[75] See X. *HG* 1.7.12, 16–34; Krentz 1993, 121.

[76] Dating of the battle according to Robertson 1980, 282. A. Andrewes dates the battle back to ca. August 406 (Andrewes 1992, 503).

three months not three years.[77] If that was the case, then it would be possible for Mantitheos to be present in the waters of the Hellespont in 408, and for Euryptolemos to be in Athens in 407[78] and 406. According to Xenophon, the Athenian envoys were released by Cyrus at the intercession of Pharnabazos. The reason for this was that according to the oath, if Pharnabazos had failed to take the ambassadors to the Great King, he would have had to send them back to their fleet.[79] Pharnabazos sent the envoys to Ariobarzanes,[80] who took them to Kios, located in Mysia on the south-eastern coast of the Propontis. From there, the Athenian envoys sailed to their camp,[81] probably located in the Hellespont,[82] where the Athenian ships were still active.[83] The change in Xenophon's text would mean the detention and the release of the Athenian ambassadors would have taken place in 408, probably still in the first half of the year. Consequently, the above mentioned chronological contradiction concerning Mantitheos and Euryptolemos would be removed.

Another solution, not involving a change in Xenophon's text, is possible as well. The historian states that the Athenians: Dorotheos, Philokydes, Theogenes, Euryptolemos and Mantitheos, together with Pharnabazos and other Greeks, set off from Kyzikos.[84] However, he does not mention who exactly of the Athenian envoys was detained by Pharnabazos acting on Cyrus' order.[85] It is possible that only Dorotheos, Philokydes and Theogenes were among the detained ambassadors, and not Euryptolemos or Mantitheos. Euryptolemos and Mantitheos could have left the embassy before Cyrus ordered Pharnabazos to detain the Athenians. The news coming from the east might have triggered the decision of the two Athenians to leave the other envoys. That is, when they had learned the results of the negotiations between Darius II and the Lakedaimonian ambassadors led by Boiotios, and found out about Cyrus heading for Anatolia, Euryptolemos and Mantitheos embarked on the journey to return to their fleet. The commanders of the Athenian fleet had to be informed about the developing events. Alkibiades was an important person there, and Euryptolemos and Mantitheos were his friends. Both of them realized the importance of the information they carried,

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[77] See Krentz 1993, 126. The three-year detention of the Athenian envoys occurs in Mosley 1973, 18, 82–83; Hofstetter 1978, 54, 67, 123, 151, 176; Robertson 1980, 285, 286; Dandamaev 1989, 267; Hammond 1994, 488; Briant 2002, 600; Wolicki 2009, 224.

[78] Krentz 1993, 126.

[79] X. *HG* 1.4.7.

[80] Ariobarzanes could have been a brother or a son of Pharnabazos, see Burn 1985, 349; Kuhrt 2007, 343.

[81] X. *HG* 1.4.7.

[82] Cf. Krentz 1993, 126, who points on Samos.

[83] See D.S. 13.68.1–2.

[84] X. *HG* 1.3.13.

[85] See X. *HG* 1.4.4–7.

and knew it was crucial to communicate it to Alkibiades and to other commanders. As soon as the news coming from the east reached them, they left the other envoys and Pharnabazos, probably at the beginning of spring 408, after they had left Gordion. The other Athenian envoys continued the journey, hoping to take up negotiations with the Great King. Not long after, by order of Cyrus, their journey to Susa and the trip back to their fleet were detained.

Meanwhile, Euryptolemos and Mantitheos had joined the Athenian fleet in the Propontis or in the Hellespont, and informed their countrymen about Boiotios and his companions' successful mission and about Cyrus moving to Anatolia. Mantitheos (and Diodoros) were placed in command over part of the ships, while the commanders of the fleet left the Hellespont.[86] Alkibiades sailed to Samos, Thrasyboulos to Thrace, and Thrasyllos to Athens.[87]

As mentioned earlier, Euryptolemos was in Athens when Alkibiades returned there in late spring 407. It is possible that he arrived in Athens together with the fleet sailing from the Hellespont under the command of Thrasyllos. Consequently, he could have greeted Alkibiades in Athens in 407,[88] and in 406, could have attended the trial of the Athenian generals after the battle at Arginousai.[89] Moreover, after they had returned from the Hellespont to Athens, both Thrasyllos and Euryptolemos could have spread the news about the results of the negotiations between the Great King and the Lakedaimonian ambassadors led by Boiotios, as well as about Darius II sending Cyrus to Anatolia.

The other members of the Athenian embassy to Susa – Dorotheos, Philokydes and Theogenes – spent three years under the custody of Pharnabazos. After that time, by order of Cyrus, they were released and granted permission to return to their camp,[90] probably somewhere in the region of the Hellespont. It had happened presumably before the battle at Aigospotamoi (late summer 405[91]), when the Athenian fleet was still active in this region. It is possible that they joined the Athenian fleet right before the battle. Following the defeat at Aigospotamoi, Theogenes, just like many other Athenians, could be back in Athens. Then, in the summer of 404 he took part in the rules of the Thirty.[92]

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[86] See D.S. 13.68.1–2.

[87] See X. *HG* 1.4.8–10; D.S. 13.68.2 (trans. by P. Green 2010, with n. 76); Andrewes 1953, 2–5 (provides a short characteristics of the listed generals); Robertson 1980, 286–289; Krentz 1993, 127–128.

[88] See X. *HG* 1.4.18–19.

[89] See X. *HG* 1.7.12, 16–34.

[90] See X. *HG* 1.4.7.

[91] Dating of the battle at Aigospotamoi by Robertson 1980, 286. P. Briant dates the battle back to September 405 (Briant 2002, 600). On the battle of Aigospotamoi, see Andrewes 1992, 494–495; de Souza 2002, 89.

[92] See X. *HG* 2.3.2.

Among five Athenian envoys, who together with Pharnabazos and other Greek ambassadors left Kyzikos to reach Darius II, there were only three who could have had direct contact with Cyrus. The envoys included: Dorotheos, Philokydes and Theogenes. When Theogenes came back to Athens, he surely brought to the city the news about his three-year stay among the Iranians. He could share the information about Cyrus, Pharnabazos and Ariobarzanes with his countrymen, along with information about the Achaemenid Empire in general.[93] Xenophon, the Athenian historian, as well as Thukydides, could have been among those who received this news.[94] From the perspective of the Iranian prince, the Athenian envoys could be in turn a valuable source of information on the Athenians, and on other Hellenes as well. Just like before when, during Boiotios' diplomatic mission, the prince had a chance to meet the Lakedaimonians and learn their view on the Peloponnesian War, similarly he could now get to know the Athenian perspective.

Despite the fact that Cyrus probably met with the Athenian envoys, detained on his order in spring 408, there is no evidence that the prince began any diplomatic negotiations with them. In the ongoing war among the Hellenes, the Achaemenid Empire sided with the Lakedaimonians and the Iranian prince had no intention to change that. Boiotios and his companions, returning from Susa, received all they expected from Darius II, whereas the Athenians had to rely on themselves in the proceeding military actions. Due to the fact that Mantitheos and Euryptolemos had left the Greek envoys heading for Susa, as suggested above, the commanders of the Athenian fleet, headed by Alkibiades, learned about the decisions made in the east relatively early. The information about Boiotios' successful mission, and about sending Cyrus to Anatolia, could have influenced the subsequent decisions made by the Athenian side.

The so-called Treaty of Boiotios, and Cyrus taking control of Asia Minor, strengthened the former relations between the Achaemenid Empire and the Lakedaimonians as well as their allies. Ultimately, this led to the fall of the Athenian Confederacy. The Lakedaimonians, having at their disposal the financial support offered by the Iranian prince, were able to face the Athenians at sea once more. In the period 407–405, the ships of both warring parties fought against each other by the western and north-western coast of Anatolia in battles at Notion, Arginousai and Aigospotamoi. The Athenians won at Arginousai. The Peloponnesian fleet, funded with the Achaemenid money, succeeded at Notion

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[93] On the role of Greek envoys in the exchange of information as well as objects connected with Persians and the Achaemenid Empire, see Miller 1997, 109–133, especially: 109, 127–130, 133.

[94] Thukydides is known to survive the end of the Peloponnesian War (404); and he probably died in Athens (see Anderson 1974, 61–62). So it is possible that he was there when Theogenes and other envoys, who at the end of 409 left Kyzikos to see the Great King, returned to their home *polis*.

and Aigospotamoi. The latter effectively ended the war, and Athens surrendered in 404.[95] Without doubt, this resulted from the strong support, particularly financial, provided to the Lakedaimonians by the Achaemenid Empire, and especially by Cyrus the Younger, who was delegated by the Great King to oversee actions directed at destroying the Athenian Confederacy.

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[95] For more on the events of the last four years of the Peloponnesian War, see Bengtson et al. 1969, 192–194; Olmstead 1974, 347–348; Lewis 1977, 136; Cook 1983, 210–211; Burn 1985, 350–352; Dandamaev 1989, 267–269; Stronk 1990–1991, 123–125; Andrewes 1992, 489–496; Hammond 1994, 488–494; Keen 1998, 103–104; Briant 2002, 600; de Souza 2002, 87–89; Rhodes 2009, 171–175; Wolicki 2009, 223–229.

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# Abstract

At the end of the 5th century BC the Persian Empire and the Hellenes from European Greece maintained rather strong relations. During the so-called Ionian War (413–404 BC), both the Lakedaimonians and the Athenians would send their envoys to Darius II, the Great King of Persia, or to his governors in western Asia Minor, with the hopes of gaining some support and winning the ongoing war. At the beginning of the last decade of the 5th century BC the Greek ambassadors began their journey to Susa, which coincided with the arrival of the royal son, Cyrus the Younger, to Anatolia. The subject-matter of the paper is to present political relationships between the Iranian prince and the Greek envoys, Athenian and Lakedaimonian in particular, sent to the Great King in the years 409–408 BC.

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## A NEW SELEUKID MINT: SAMARKAND – MARAKANDA

Among the numismatic discoveries in recent years are numerous finds of Hellenistic coins from Sogdiana. They are the subject of a study by A. Kh. Atakhodzhaev who published 53 of these coins dated from the fourth to the second century B.C.: Alexander of Macedon, pre-Seleukid governors of Baktria, Seleukid kings (Seleukos I, Antiochos I, and Antiochos II), and Graeco-Baktrian kings (Diodotos, Demetrios I, Eukratides I, Eukratides II, Antimachos I, and Heliokles I).[1]

Most of the coins come from the site of Afrasiab where between 2004 and 2012, thirty coins were collected from the surface. Moreover, one coin that was hitherto unattributed was found in a cultural level in one of the stratigraphic trenches. All are predominantly small denominations of silver and copper. The earliest is a *chalkos* of Alexander of Macedon.[2] Noteworthy is a group of pre-Seleukid coins: three imitations of Athenian 'owls' (two *hemidrachms* and one *hemichalkos*) presumably minted by the governors of Baktria and

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* Special thanks are due to Jeffrey D. Lerner for editing this article (A.N Gorin).

[1] Atakhodjaev 2013.

[2] Atakhodjaev 2013, 223, no. 7. A. Kh. Atakhodzhaev raised doubts about the attribution of this specimen to the mintage of Alexander of Macedon proposing that it may have been struck by Antiochos I. Meanwhile, the type of these coins of Alexander is well known, see e.g.: Bellinger 1949, 108, no. 4, pl. I; Bellinger 1963, 29, pl. I. *29*. The fact that this type belongs to his coinage is directly indicated by the legend: "[of the king] Alexander" (ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡ[ΟΥ]). The decreased weight of the coin (according to A. Kh. Atakhodzhaev, referring to a coin from A. Houghton's collection, it is similar to *chalkoi* of Antiochos I) is due to its state of preservation: the coin is worn or corroded as is visible in its photograph.

Sogdiana[3], and a *hemidrachm* of the dynasty of Caria Hekatomnos (395–377 B.C.)[4]. The most   numerous coins are those of Seleukos I (two *drachms*[5], a *dichalkos* and a *hemichalkos*)[6], Antiochos I (14 *hemichalkoi* and *chalkoi*),[7] Antiochos II (four *chalkoi* and two *dichalkoi*),[8] and the Graeco-Baktrian king(s) Diodotos I or II  (a *dichalkos* and a *chalkos*).[9]
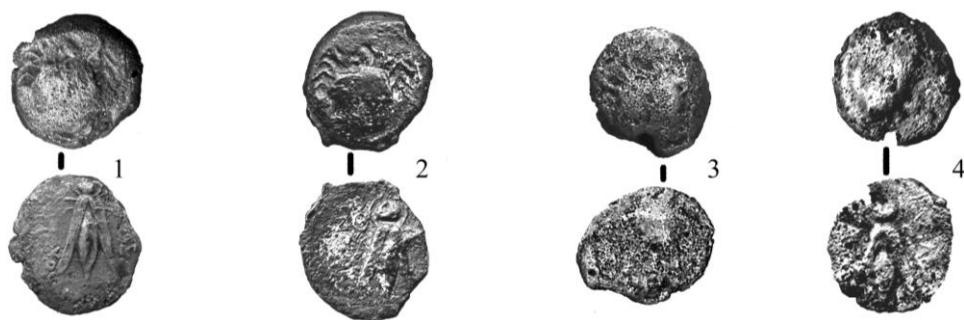


**Ill. 1–4. Coins of the *crab/bee* type** (after A. Kh. Atakhodjaev 2013, 233–235, no. 42–45, fig. 3)

Especially noteworthy are four copper *chalkoi* with a crab on the obverse and a bee on the reverse and a poorly preserved two-line legend at the sides of the image (from top downward): ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ right, ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ left. A. Kh. Atakhodzhaev with some hesitancy considers these coins as possible emissions  of the Seleukid king Antiochos III (223–187 B.C.). It is these specimens that form the basis of this discussion. Their weight is 3.18, 3.20, 2.45, 2.80 g., their diameter ranges from 15 mm to 18 mm, and their axis is set at 6:00 ↓. The coins were found at Afrasiab. In addition, the present article will also consider two other coins. One comes from the excavations of Boysarytepa (near the city of Sazagan), and has been identified as a coin issued by Antiochos I: *head of Apollo turned at ¾ to the right / Nike in front of a trophy*.[10] Another coin of this type but of a different denomination – a *hemichalkos* – was found in the spring of 2013 at the site of Durmontepa.[11]

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[3] Atakhodjaev 2013, 219, no. 2–4.

[4] Biriukov 2011, 23; Atakhodjaev 2013, 219, no. 1 Regnal years of Hekatomnos after Head 1897, LI; see also Seaby 1966, 139.

[5] Atakhodzhaev 2005, 33–34. no. 1–2; Atakhodjaev 2013, 224–225, no. 9–10.

[6] Atakhodjaev 2013, 225, no. 11–12.

[7] Atakhodjaev 2013, 226–229, no. 14–17, 19–23, 25–29.

[8] Atakhodjaev 2013, 230–232, no. 30, 32–34, 36–37.

[9] Atakhodjaev 2013, 232–233, no. 38, 40.

[10] Abdullaev 2006, 108. no. 3 (without illustration); Atakhodjaev 2013, 233–235, no. 42–46. This coin was found in kurgan no. 3, next to a tetradrachm os Seleukos I (Abdullaev 2006, 106, no. 1). This circumstance implies the timing of the issue.

[11] Weight: 1.9 g.; diameter 12×13 mm; ax at 5 o'clock (oral communication of A. Kh. Atakhodzhaev).

The coins of the type mentioned above are unique having no parallels in the Seleukid and Graeco-Baktrian numismatics. However the iconographic motifs from both the obverse and reverse are found in issues of the Greek poleis of Asia Minor and on coins of the Seleukids. Tetradrachms and drachms with a bee were minted at Ephesos in the 5th to the 3rd century B.C.. The bee is found on copper issues struck, according to B. W. Head, in the period of c. 280–258 B.C.[12] The bee is encountered on the coins of Alexander the Great: *staters* (Seleukia-on-the-Tigris or Susa[13]), *tetradrachms* (Karrhai,[14] Babylon[15] and Susa[16]), *drachms* (Susa[17]) as well as on those of Seleukos I: *tetradrachms* (Pergamon,[18] Susa[19]) and *obols* (Susa[20]), on the *tetradrachms* of Antiochos Hierax (ca. 241–227 B.C.) from the mint of Lampsakos,[21] and on the copper coins of Antiochos III from the mint at Susa.[22]

A representation of a crab is an extremely rare iconographic type. Analogous to the bee on the coins from Ephesos, the crab is found only on issues from Kos where it appeared from the 7th or 6th century B.C. to the 2nd century B.C. Copper coins with the *head of Herakles*/*crab* were struck about 300–190 B.C.[23] Still more uncommonly are the representations of the crab found on Seleukid coins where it is used only as a device on the 'lion' *staters* of Seleukos I (Babylon)[24] and on the *tetradrachms* of Antiochos Hierax (Parion).[25] The crab also appears on some copper coins of Mithridates III of Kommagene (ca. 20 B.C.) on the obverse accompanied by the legend BA·ME·M·TOY·M.[26]

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[12] *Bee inside a dotted circle / standing deer facing left, above gorytos* (Head 1892, 57. no. 80–81. Pl. X. 9; Seaby 1966, 131, no. 1640); *bee inside a dotted border / stag kneeling left, with head turned back, above gorytos* (Head 1892, 57. no. 82); *bee, the whole in laurel wreath / stag feeding r., above quiver; in exergue magistrate's name* (Head 1892, 58, no. 83–85. Pl. X. 10; Seaby 1966, 131, no. 1641).

[13] Houghton, Lorber 2002. Vol. I, 68, no. 161; Vol. II. Pl. 9.

[14] Houghton, Lorber 2002. Vol. I, 28, no. 41.1.

[15] Houghton, Lorber 2002. Vol. I, 41, no. 82.2b.

[16] Houghton, Lorber 2002. Vol. I, 69, no. 164.5.

[17] Houghton, Lorber 2002. Vol. I, 70, no. 166.2.

[18] Houghton, Lorber 2002. Vol. I, 15, no. 1.1.

[19] Houghton, Lorber 2002. Vol. I, 73–74, no. 177. 6, 178. 1. Vol. II. Pl. 10.

[20] Houghton, Lorber 2002. Vol. I, 74, no. 182; Vol. II. Pl. 10.

[21] Houghton, Lorber 2002. Vol. I, 302–303, no. 849. 3, 850. 2, 852–853. 2; Vol. II. Pl. 39.

[22] *Bee /Hermes* with caduceus in a 3/4 turn left (Houghton 1983, 105, pl. 63, no. 1057; Houghton, Lorber 2002. Vol. I, 454, no. 1226; Vol. II. Pl. 63). Recently a unique coin of the type *bee/gorythos* has been published, attributed to Antiochos III (Holt, Wright 2010, 59–61, fig. 1–2).

[23] *Head of young Herakles in lion's skin towards left / crab and club with the legend* KΩION *and magistrate's name* (Head 1897, 202–203, no. 86–100. Pl. I. 11); *Head of young Herakles in lion's skin towards right / crab, club and magistrate's name in «quadratum incusum», legend* KΩI (Head 1897, 203, no. 101–102. Pl. I. 12).

[24] Houghton, Lorber 2002. Vol. I, 44, no. 88.4.

[25] Houghton, Lorber 2002. Vol. I, 297, no. 835. 4; Vol. II. Pl. 38.

[26] Alram 1986, 84. Tf. 8. 249.

As their legend suggests, the Seleukid coins with a crab and a bee were is-sued in the name of "king Antiochos". Only three Seleukid kings – Antiochos I Soter (281–261 B.C.), Antiochos II Theos (261–246 B.C.) and Antiochos III Megas (223–187 B.C.) expanded their power into the eastern satrapies and there-fore could be considered as the issuers of the coins under consideration. A. Kh. Atakhodzhaev, although not without some doubt, attributes these coins to Antiochos III during his campaign in the East. In support of this attribution, he claims the following:

1. The combination of the two iconographic types on a single coin can only have taken place during the reign of Antiochos III who succeeded in expanding his influence over much of the southern and western littoral of Asia Minor. Ephesos was incorporated for just a brief period, while Kos had never been part of the Seleukid kingdom.

2. In the course of his *Anabasis* (ca. 212–204 B.C.), Antiochos III reclaimed the eastern satrapies which earlier had seceded from the Seleukid state. After a two-year siege of Baktra, the capital of Baktria, he acknowledged royal status of Euthydemos, a "native of Magnesia" (-on-the-Maeander?) (Polyb. XI.34). It is exactly during this episode, as A. Kh. Atakhodzhaev supposes, that the armies of Antiochos III may have undertaken a brief military expedition to Sogdiana and its capital Marakanda.

3. The bulk of Antiochos' army was largely constituted of mercenaries – Greeks from Asia Minor. Their presence is presumably attested by the copper coins of the *crab / bee* type.

This line of reasoning is flawed. Our objections to this proposal are listed below.

1. The Greeks had held an important role in the colonization of the East be-ginning with the campaign of Alexander of Macedon. After his death in 323 B.C., twenty three thousand Greek colonists rose in rebellion in Baktria and Sogdiana with the intention of returning to their homeland but their attempt was cruelly suppressed.[27] Recently, a hypothesis was put forward that the two sculp-tural clay heads found during excavation of the temple of Oxos (Takhti-Sangin) belonged to the Cypriotes Andragoras and Stasanor. Andragoras, the son of the king of the Cyprian city of Amathus – Androkles – may have gone to Baktria in 312 B.C. after Ptolemy I had abolished the royal court in Cyprus.[28] Stasanor, a Cypriote from Soloi, was among the 'friends' of Alexander of Macedon. Dur-ing the period 321–306 B.C., Stasanor ruled Baktria and Sogdiana.[29] These east-

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[27] Koshelenko 1979, 185ff.

[28] Balakhvantsev 2010, 540–541.

[29] Koshelenko, Gaibov 2009, 155–160. G. A. Koshelenko ascribes him silver imitations of Athenian "owls" of two types: *head of Athena, legend ΣΤΑ–ΜΝΑ / owl* (style A after Nicolet–

ern satrapies were colonized and placed under strict control by the first two
Seleukids.[30] It was important that Antiochos as co-ruler was seen as part of the
local aristocracy, since his maternal grandfather Spitamenes had led the
Sogdians against Alexander.[31] Greeks from Asia Minor took part in carrying
out Seleukid policies in the region. The Milesian Demodamas, for example,
while in service of Seleukos I and Antiochos I, crossed the river Silis (Syrdar-
ya) and erected altars to Apollo Didymeios (Plin. *NH* 6.18/49). No less famous
is Klearchos from Soloi – a philosopher-peripatetic, and disciple of Aristotle.
An epitaph purportedly ascribed to him in Ai Khanum was found at the tomb
of Kineas, the founder of the city.[32] It is noteworthy that the Ionian cities de-
clared their loyalty to Antiochos I and his son Antiochos II. In the 260s B.C.,
a union of twelve Ionian cities enacted a cult dedicated to Antiochos I Soter,
his wife Stratonike and their son – the future Antiochos II Theos.[33] The deifica-
tion of father and son was attested in different years in Bargilia, Miletus,
Smirna, Ilion, and Theos.[34] After the Second Syrian war (ca. 260–254/3
B.C.),[35] Antiochos II succeeded not only in winning back territories lost in Asia
Minor by by his father but expanded his political influence among the Ionian
Greeks. According to Josephus, "the grandson of Seleukos, Antiochos who by
the Greeks had obtained the nickname of Theos" (Jos. Flav. *Ant. Jud.* 12.125)
granted anew liberty to Ionian cities. During his reign, Ephesos became one of
his royal residences. This is attested by the Samian decree dating from the 240s
B.C. It states that Samian citizens, protesting against the unlawful deprivation
of their continental lands by the king's courtiers, sent an embassy to Antiochos
II. The embassy first departed to Ephesos but, not finding the king there, fol-
lowed him afterwards to Sardes. Antiochos II returned the lands in question to
the Samians and sent letters of confirmation to the citizens of the poleis, the
chief of the garrison, and the dioiketes.[36]

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Pierre, Amandry 1994, 35–36, no. 1–9); *head of Athena / eagle with a vine branch* (style B after
Nicolet–Pierre, Amandry 1994, 38, no. 52–64). See Koshelenko 2006, 97–99.

[30] See, e.g., Rostovtsev 2003, 370–371; Tarn 1949, 144–146; Bernard 1994, 91–95; Olbrycht
2013, 171–176.

[31] Smirnov 2009, 162–163 argues in detail that Apama the daughter of Spitamenes was the
mother of Antiochos I.

[32] Robert 1968, 443*;* Rougemont 2012, 200–208, no. 97. This interpretation is widely
accepted in studies published in Russian, see: Koshelenko 1979, 155; Litvinskii, Vinogradov,
Pichikian 1985, 101; Pichikian 1991, 266. Contra Lerner 2003–2004, 391–395; Martinez-Sève
2014, 274, n. 39.

[33] Bagnall, Derow 2004, no. 20; Austin 2006, 306–307, no. 169.

[34] Bikerman 1985, 228–229.

[35] Dating of the Second Syrian War is given after Balakhvantsev 2011, 88; Gabelko, Kuzmin
2008, 149.

[36] Bagnall, Derow 2004, No. 76; Austin 2006, 243–245, no. 132.

It is noteworthy that for organization of a new colony, it was in no way necessary that a particular polis would be colonized by settlers from a territory controlled by the kings. The lack of cultivable lands coupled with overpopulation necessitated the Greeks to seek their fortune in Asia and Egypt.[37] Greeks of every background from Asia Minor took part in the colonization of the eastern satrapies. Thus Magnesia-on-the-Maeander yielded colonists for a new city – Antiochia-in-Persis and subsequently for Antiochia-of-Pisidia (Strab. 12.8.14), Phrygian Apameia received colonists from Kelenos (Strab. 12.8.15), while Seleukia-on-the-Tigris accepted colonists from Babylon (Paus. 1.16.3). It is probable that Ephesos also sent colonists to Susa (Seleukia-on-the-Eulaios).[38]

2. The total silence of the written sources on an alleged Antiochos'military activities in Sogdiana is the first and most important argument. In particular, Polybius, the most competent among the ancient authors, does not say a single word about the expedition of Antiochos III into Sogdiana. In his account, Polybios records that the Baktrian king Euthydemos knew that hoards of nomads had amassed at his border and were ready to invade his possessions at any moment. He used this fact to exert pressure on Antiochos in order to conclude a peace in the face of a common threat (Polyb. 11.34). As suggested by a number of researchers, the Amu-Darya may have served as the border of the Graeco-Baktrian kingdom during this period. It is to be noted, however, that north of the river, the territory of what is now the Surkhan-Darya region of Uzbekistan and southwestern Tajikistan were subordinate to the Graeco-Baktrian kings.[39]

3. It is unclear in what way these *bee/crab* copper coins attest to the brief presence of the army of Antiochos in Sogdiana, assuming that one accepts the premise. According to A. Kh. Atakhodzhaev, these coins were payment to the mercenaries who served in Antiochos' army. However this hypothesis is refuted by the coins themselves. Seleukid warriors (not only mercenaries) upon entering the army received an advance payment in money or in kind. The historical sources mention their material well-being: they rolled in luxury like their kings.[40] The service of the mercenaries always was paid with coins of precious metals – 'hard currency'. In the 5th and 4th centuries B.C., the payment was predominantly

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[37] Tarn 1949, 107–109.

[38] Koshelenko 1979, 175–176; Tarn 1938, 6.

[39] See, e.g., Zeimal 1978, 196–198; Pugachenkova, Rtveladze 1990, 44; Zeimal 1998, 365; Rakhmanov, Rapin 2004, 151; Rapin, Bo, Grenet, Rakhmanov 2006, 92.

[40] The army of Antiochos VII Sidetes (138–129 B.C.), facing the Parthians, is said to be famous for luxury, see Justin 38.10.3–4: *Of silver and gold, it is certain, there was such an abundance that the common soldiers fastened their buskins with gold, and trod upon the metal for the love of which nations contend with the sword. Their cooking instruments, too, were of silver, as if they were going to a banquet, not to a field of battle* (transl. J.S. Watson). This episode naturally is a hyperbole but it is a very indicative account. It seems that pecuniary settlement in copper, moreover of the smallest denominations, hardly was possible as the host of that kind was concerned.

made in silver with the average sum paid per person amounting to 3–5 obols per day.[41] Conscripts regularly preferred well-known coins. Thus the appearance of numerous silver imitations of Athenian coinage in the late 5th century B.C. was induced by the necessity of paying for the service of mercenaries by Persian authorities.[42] In terms of Antiochos' *Anabasis*, Polybius mentions that before the campaign, silver was withdrawn, by order of the king, from the temple of Anahita in Ekbatana and 4,000 talents were minted (Polyb. 10.27). This information is confirmed by numismatic evidence. Moreover, during his eastern campaign, there is evidence that an excessive amount of coins were emitted at the mints in Seleukia-on-the-Tigris[43] and Ekbatana.[44] It is exactly here – in these two important eastern poleis that the coins produced at these mints were used to pay his army, including the mercenaries, at a rate of 4.5–6 obols per person per day for an infantryman and twice as much to a cavalryman.[45] Furthermore, the Greeks continued this practice later as the contract composed during the rule of the Graeco-Baktrian king Antimachos (about mid–2nd century B.C.) indicates: the Scythians who served as mercenaries in his army were collectively paid 100 drachms.[46]

Finally, there is one more argument against the attribution of these coins to Antiochos III. The copper coins of this king issued in Baktria are well known. These coins are represented by *dichalkoi* and *tetrachalkoi* of the type: *laureate head of Apollo, view to the right / tripod*.[47] Coins of this type were struck near Sardis[48] and Antiochia-on-the-Orontes.[49] Antiochos III did not introduce a new copper coinage while in Baktria, and probably had no such possibility, as he seems to have preferred to limit himself by countermarking of the old *chalkoi* of

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[41] Marinovich 1975, 152–158.

[42] Strelkov 2007, 140–143.

[43] Houghton, Lorber 2002. Vol. I, 440, №№ 1162–1164; Vol. II. Pl. 60.

[44] Newell 1978, 208–210, nos. 588–590; Houghton, Lorber 2002. Vol. I, 456–457, nos. 1231 (tetradrachms), 1234 (drachms); Vol. II. Pl. 62.

[45] At the mints of Seleukia-on-the-Tigris and Ekbatana, the use of 344 and 55 dies (correspondingly) is known for the silver coinage of Antiochos III. Considering the approximate ratio: 1 die – 20 talents of struck coins (hot minting), the number of produced coins may theoretically have amounted to about 7,000 talents in Seleukia-on-the-Tigris and 1,000 talents in Ekbatana. This is the indispensable minimum of money for over six-year-long campaign of Antiochos III with the army of about 70 thousand men (35 thousand – regular troops, 15 thousand – mercenaries, 20 thousand 'allies') (Aperghis 2004, 193, 239–242). The presence of such a large number of dies undoubtedly indicates intensive activities of the mints, however the reliability of such calculations of the monetary production is very approximate, cf. e.g.: Kovalenko, Tolstikov 2010, 44, note 61.

[46] Clarysse, Thompson 2007, 273–277; Rougemont 2012, 193–194, no. 93.

[47] Kritt 2001, 153, nos. 3–4; Houghton, Lorber 2002. Vol. I, 466–467, nos. 1283–84; Vol. II. Pl. 97.

[48] Houghton, Lorber 2002. Vol. I, 371–373, nos. 971–975A; Vol. II. Pl. 87.

[49] Houghton, Lorber 2002. Vol. I, 403, № 1060; Vol. II. Pl. 89.

Antiochos I and Antiochos II[50]. Euthydemos, meanwhile, did carry out a monetary reform and, in some of his issues, introduced the new element of the anchor, the dynastic symbol of the ruling Seleukid house.[51]

It is thus reasonable to suppose that a large number of Greeks from Asia Minor poleis participated in the colonizing activities of the Seleukids, especially those promoted by the founder of the dynasty and his son. Seleukid kings usually sent invitations to the poleis to participate in the founding of a new colony. Moreover, the status of newly established colonies was often identical to that of the Greek poleis proper. The city was governed by the people who elected the council and officials. The population was divided into traditional *demoi* and *phylai*, the kings granted to the cities the choice of ethnonyms. According to Elias J. Bickerman, the Seleukids by no means promoted political or social uniformity of their colonies. They organized international centers open to all Greeks, even those who were only slightly familiar with Hellenic civilisation, and left to the cities the possibility of self-organization. The kings knew well that nothing was so dear to the Greeks as liberty. The cities founded by the Seleukids were not reproductions of their mother polis, but authentic new cities each of which was endowed with its own individual features.[52] A similar opinion was held by Gennadii A. Koshelenko who noted that "there is a radical difference between the town-building policy of Alexander of Macedon and that of the Seleukids. The essential difference between them lies in the fact that the Seleukids founded cities in further Asia that as a rule enjoyed polis status."[53]

One of the privileges that cities enjoyed was the right to mint copper coins. In some cases, the cities were granted with the right to strike even the royal bronze coins. The copper issues are notable for their diversity of types, each of which contain characteristics that belie the place of their manufacture.[54] These coins were envisaged only for their locality.[55] The topography of the find spots indicates the limits of this area – Samarkand (ancient Marakanda) and its surroundings. Since the choice of the iconographic themes for the coins was not accidental but based on the cults of a particular city where a mint was situated[56], it is quite possible that the adoption of the theme *crab / bee* was linked with the personal preferences of

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[50] Kritt 2001, 152, nos. 1–2.

[51] Bopearachchi 1991, 162, série 23, pl. 4, *34*; Kritt 2001, 100.

[52] Bikerman 1985, 149.

[53] Koshelenko 1979, 222.

[54] Bikerman 1985, 209.

[55] See, e.g., Bikerman 1985, 210; Mørkholm 1984, 97; Mørkholm 1991, 6; Aperghis 2004, 235–236. Taking into account this circumstance, and the uniqueness of the *bee/crab* type (without close analogies), the view of A. Kh. Atakhodzhaev that these coins were minted in Anatolia and then circulated in Sogdiana, is very improbable.

[56] Bikerman 1985, 209.

the colonists – natives of Kos and Ephesos, during the rule of Antiochos I[57] or Antiochos II. These facts suggest that we are dealing with the products of a new Seleukid mint. This idea, however, is in no way novel. Finds of new types of copper coins (occasionally even variants of one and the same type differing only in their monogram, arrangement of the legend or the die axis) at particular sites indicate to researchers that a mint had operated there. This is how, for example, P. Bernard[58] determined what was produced at the mint of Baktra, how N. M. Smirnova identified the mint of Margiana,[59] what enabled B. Kritt to recognize emissions produced at Ai-Khanoum,[60] and what led Georges Le Rider to categorize those struck at Susa (Seleukia-on-the-Eulaios).[61] The longevity of Antiochos I's reign as a co-regent in the eastern satrapies (ca. 295–281 B.C.)[62] as well as when he ruled individually (281–261 B.C.) have led researchers to associate him with the foundation of the Hellenistic cities at the sites like Ai-Khanoum,[63] Takhti-Sangin,[64] Gyaur-Kala,[65] and Afrasiab,[66] organization of expeditions of Patrokles and Demodamas, and in general, with the special attention to the eastern regions of the kingdom.[67] This idea of Antiochos' founding activities finds confirmation in Pliny who credits him for refounding Alexandria Margiana as Antiochia Margiana after the city had been devastated by barbarians (Plin. *NH* 6.18/47). Very probably, all these activities were carried out when Antiochos was co-regent in the "Upper Satrapies" and were part of the reorganizing activities of the region.[68]

Monetary circulation was an integral part of the Hellenistic economy. The proposed mint at Marakanda was founded exactly for the needs of the Graeco-Macedonian settlers. On the basis of the materials from Baktria, Boris A. Litvinskii defined three zones of the Hellenization: the first comprised settlements like Ai Khanoum which presumably had a large population of Greeks; a second is characterized by regions near Greek cities that enjoyed close ethnocultural and religious interaction among the Greek and non-Greek population; the third demarcates peripheral territories where isolated elements of Greek culture penetrated the local

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[57] F. Grenet informed Lyonnet (2012, 166 n. 71) that these could belong to Antiochos I.

[58] Bernard 1985, 13–18.

[59] Smirnova 1999, 253–254; Smirnova 2004, 45.

[60] Kritt 1996. This view was criticized by Bopearachchi 1999, 82–85; Markov, Naimark 2012, 10–12.

[61] Le Rider1965, pl. II, 8–12.

[62] A first mention of the joint rule of Seleukos and Antiochos dates at 295/294 B.C. (Smirnov 2013, 198).

[63] Holt 1999, 27–28; Lerner 2010, 58–79; Lyonnet 2012, 143–177.

[64] Litvinskii 2010, 14.

[65] Koshelenko 1979, 150–153; Usmanova 1989, 21–49; Zavialov 2005, 90–91.

[66] Lyonnet 2012, 167.

[67] See Olbrycht 2013, 171–176.

[68] Smirnov 2013, 201–203.

milieu.[69] A similar pattern can be discerned for monetary circulation in this region. For example, in satrapal capitals of Baktra and Marakanda where mints are known to have existed, the level of development of monetary economy was comparable with that in the centre of the empire. Here Graeco-Macedonian colonists were ethnically predominant, as well as in the cities they founded, like Ai-Khanoum, whereas in the rural countryside barter predominated.

Presumably, the Marakanda mint operated for a short period of time between c. 280 and 250 B.C. Some years ago, Alexandr I. Naimark ingeniously determined that the ratio of Seleukid copper to silver coins found in Sogdiana stood at 3:2. On the other hand, no Graeco-Baktrian copper coins dated to the second century B.C. have been found in Sogdiana, which he interpreted as signifying that in the late third and second century B.C. coinciding with the reign of Euthydemos when this territory had already seceded from Graeco-Baktria.[70] It is also noteworthy that for several centuries imitations of the silver coins of Antiochos I were produced in Samarkand (marked by the representation of horse's head on the reverse). This fact may suggest that Sogdiana had never been ruled by the Graeco-Baktrians, otherwise we would not have imitations of Seleukid coins, but imitations of Graeco-Baktrian coins as is the case in Baktria.[71] The totality of the finds reported by Atakhodzhaev confirm this supposition. Of the 29 pre-Seleukid and Seleukid coins found at Afrasiab, the majority are copper, while only two Graeco-Baktrian coins belonging to the founder of this state, Diodotos I, are known. During the rule of Euthydemos, the border of the Graeco-Baktrian kingdom was relocated southward to the 'Iron Gate' where a wall was erected, probably, in response to pressures exerted against the kingdom by nomads.

Recent archaeological investigations of the fortress Uzundara near the 'Iron Gate' (2013–2015) fully confirmed the conclusions presented in this article. The investigations were conducted in the framework of the international Tokharistan Archaeological Expedition (*TAE*) of the Institute of Art History, Academy of Sciences of Uzbekistan (under the general scientific supervision by the Academician E.V. Rtveladze). The works at the site were carried out directly by the members of the Bactrian Branch of the Central Asian Archaeological Expedition of the Institute of Archaeology of the Russian Academy of Sciences (headed by N.D. Dvurechenskaia) and the staff of the *TAE*. The gorge of Uzundara, situated about 5–7 km south-west of the Derbent walls, is a narrow, tortuous and prolongated passage that allows to circumvent the reinforced wall portion. To prevent such attempts, another wall with the adjacent fortress on a single eastern slope of

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[69] Litvinskii 2010, 460–461.

[70] Naimark 2005, 135–137; Naimark, Iakovlev 2011, 31–33, 37–41.

[71] Naimark, Iakovlev 2011, 37.

the mountain range Susiztag was erected. Without going into detail on the results of the investigations of this monument, we note only that during the three years of the expedition's work following coins were found: a drachm and a dichalkos of Antiochos I, two dichalkoi of Diodotos, 39 bronze coins (various denominations) of Euthydemos, two obols of Demetrios, and a drachm of Eukratides.

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# Abstract

The paper considers a group of four unique copper coins. These coins, representing a new type: *crab / bee* with the legend '*King Antiochos*', were found between 2004 and 2012 at the site of Afrasiab – the ancient capital of Sogdiana (Marakanda) – and nearby. In the first publication of these coins, A. Atakhodzhaev attributed the coinage to the Seleukid king Antiochos III (223–187 B.C.) during his eastern campaign (c. 212–204 B.C.). The author argues that this coinage should instead be assigned to Antiochos I (ca. 295–281 B.C. – as co-ruler of the eastern satrapies, 281–261 B.C. – as sole ruler) or Antiochos II (261–246 B.C.). It is further postulated that the short-lived mint of Marakanda operated between c. 280 and 250 B.C.

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# I PASSI DI MITRIDATE EUPATORE
# PER LA CONQUISTA DELL'EUROPA.
## ESERCITI E STRATEGIE NELLA PRIMA GUERRA MITRIDATICA*

**Keywords:** Mithradates Eupator, Arkathias, Athens, Rome, Sulla

"The heroic defense of the Piraeus had been stultified by the dilatory advance of the army under Ariarathes [*scil.* Arkathias], who seems to have taken the view that the purpose of his mission was to create a kingdom for himself in Thrace and wasted valuable time in endeavoring to organize the conquered territory..."[1]

Una vicenda come quella di Mitridate VI Eupatore, che si dipana in una lunga stagione di guerre contro Roma e ci è trasmessa da molti racconti antichi, non può che essere letta in una grande varietà di modi e prospettive, e se anche oggi moltissime pubblicazioni scientifiche si concentrano direttamente o indirettamente su Mitridate, ciò è dovuto all'indiscusso fascino del personaggio ma anche alla presenza di moltissimi punti controversi, che sollecitano nuove letture e approfondite riflessioni da parte di esperti nei più diversi campi.[2] L'immagine del sovrano, gli strumenti e i toni della sua propaganda, le caratteristiche e la

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[1] Ormerod 1932, 248.

[2] Un panorama degli studi su Mitridate è di estrema complessità, anche solo limitandosi alle opere più recenti. Ricordo solo la biografia di Ballesteros Pastor 1996; sulle coniazioni de Callataÿ 1997. Studi significativi da diversa prospettiva in J.M. Højte (ed.), *Mithridates VI and the Pontic Kingdom* 2009, Black Sea Studies 9. Sull'identità di Mitridate tra Oriente e Occidente riaprì il dibattito Ballesteros Pastor 1994, 115–133 con analisi delle fonti; tra la moltissima bibliografia più recente, sulla rivendicazione di una discendenza dai Sette Persiani che aiutarono Dario a salire al trono Lerouge-Cohen 2014, 99–105; un aggiornamento bibliografico anche in Palazzo 2016.

natura stessa della sua regalità, continuano ad abbagliare con un balenio di inafferrabili riflessi, tra Oriente e Occidente, tra Asia ed Europa.

In un panorama di studi tanto ricco e vario intendo qui concentrare l'attenzione su ciò che avvenne in un momento preciso della vicenda di Mitridate -le fasi degli scontri tra le truppe pontiche e le forze di L. Cornelio Silla- e in un'area altrettanto precisa, il quadrante europeo e in particolare la Tracia e la Macedonia, solitamente in ombra nei racconti antichi. L'arco cronologico, segnato da cesure nette -tra lo sbarco di Silla e la pace di Dardano-, può essere analizzato autonomamente poiché in esso si verificarono scenari nuovi, e destinati a non ripetersi poi nel corso delle lunghe 'guerre mitridatiche'.

Per le fasi del conflitto precedenti allo sbarco sillano la ricostruzione deve poggiarsi su racconti sopravvissuti frammentariamente,[3] e solo attraverso questi si può cogliere come Mitridate, alleato di Roma anche se impegnato nell'espansione del proprio regno e attivamente coinvolto nelle questioni dinastiche di vari regni vicini, si rivelò un nemico capace di attirare a sé numerose città d'Asia, e di minacciare la distruzione dell'intero sistema provinciale dell'area. Invece, dall'arrivo su suolo greco di Silla possiamo osservare gli eventi attraverso la lente -come ogni altra suscettibile di deformazioni e parzialità- di due racconti antichi integri e continui, quelli di Appiano e Plutarco,[4] che ci informano sui dettagli delle operazioni, e non distolgono lo sguardo dal teatro di guerra fino al termine, precario ma comunque significativo, della pace di Dardano dell'85 a.C.

Si può dire che questi siano gli anni meglio conosciuti e più leggibili dell'intera vicenda mitridatica, ma anche una ricostruzione priva di inquietanti 'vuoti' può rivelare punti oscuri non trascurabili per chi cerchi di cogliere il significato degli eventi, e il disegno complessivo della strategia messa in atto da Mitridate per la prima volta nemico di Roma.

Proporre ricostruzioni degli eventi dunque, attraverso l'analisi e la discussione delle fonti, mira a raggiungere una visione la più chiara possibile delle mosse compiute da Mitridate in questi anni cruciali, base necessaria per comprendere come egli avesse deciso di presentarsi, all'interno e all'esterno del suo regno, e quale ruolo volesse giocare in uno scacchiere che sembrava aver raggiunto una certa stabilità sotto l'egida di Roma. A parlare per Mitridate devono essere i fatti, gli spostamenti degli eserciti e le azioni compiute e registra-

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[3] Per gli anni precedenti alla guerra McGing 1986, 43–88; Ballesteros Pastor 1996, 37–80. Sulle tracce di propaganda mitridatica Palazzo 2011, 11–268 con bibliografia precedente. Goukowsky 2001 per un commento ai passi di Appiano sulla fase precedente allo sbarco sillano (App. *Mithr*. 10.30–29.115). Sulla sezione 'mitridatica' del libro di Giustino, che dall'infanzia del re prosegue arrestandosi, forse non casualmente, alle soglie del racconto appianeo, ora l'ampio commentario con studio delle fonti di Ballesteros Pastor 2013.

[4] App. *Mithr*. 30.116–63.263; Plut. *Sull*. 11–25 (ma anche *Luc*. 2–4; *Sert*. 23–24).

te da quanti osservarono la sua vicenda successivamente -e con sguardo assai poco benevolo-, poiché della voce diretta del sovrano sconfitto assai poco ci raggiunge.[5]

## 1. Gli eserciti pontici in Europa: il ruolo di Atene

Secondo il più dettagliato racconto sopravvissuto, quello di Appiano, in un torno d'anni che va dall'estate dell'89 all'88, lo scenario della provincia d'Asia conobbe una drastica evoluzione:[6] Mitridate dopo i primi scontri con gli emissari del potere romano ottenne il controllo dei principali centri dell'area, compì molte azioni di non ritorno (i 'Vespri asiatici') e fissò la sua stessa residenza nella provincia,[7] preparandosi allo scontro diretto con le forze che Roma avrebbe inevitabilmente inviato. Fu allora, dice Appiano (42.161), che per la prima volta un suo esercito mise piede in Europa.

L'inizio di questa offensiva in Europa è collocato, nella narrazione appianea, nel momento in cui Mitridate, impegnato nell'assedio di Rodi, inviò il generale Archelao con forze consistenti via mare per "attirare a sé benevolmente o catturare con la forza la Grecia."[8] Archelao usò la forza contro Delo, contro quanti si erano rivelati nemici di Atene, e i tesori sacri 'scortati' dal futuro tiranno Aristione valsero ad Archelao l'amicizia, l'accoglienza, e da allora in poi il decisivo appoggio, di Atene.[9] Questo fronte europeo, va ricordato, appare comunque solo uno dei molti che impegnarono Mitridate, il quale continuava a inviare simultaneamente truppe nell'entroterra asiatico.[10]

Anche altre testimonianze antiche ricordano l'adesione di Atene alla causa pontica, ma la situazione della città in questo momento è tra le meno leggibili

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[5] Per le coniazioni datate dal Ponto de Callataÿ 1997; per le monete in bronzo de Callataÿ 2005, 119–136; confronti con quelle dal Bosforo in de Callataÿ 2007, 271–308. Per i ritratti attribuiti al sovrano Højte 2009, 145–162. Gli echi di una propaganda antiromana nelle fonti antiche ad esempio in Pédech 1991, 65–78; in particolare su Mitridate Russo 2009, 373–401.

[6] La cronologia delle fasi iniziali del conflitto, e dell'ingresso di Mitridate nella provincia d'Asia è stata oggetto di numerosissime proposte di ricostruzione, vd. già Badian 1976, 109–110 (nell'88); Sherwin-White 1980, 1981–1992 (fine dell'89); in dettaglio Ballesteros Pastor 1994, 109–106 con discussione della bibliografia precedente; riflette sul possibile contributo fornito dalle coniazioni de Callataÿ 1997, part. 265–279.

[7] A Efeso e poi a Pergamo, vd. de Callataÿ 1997, 287–293 per le coniazioni delle città d'Asia minore.

[8] App. *Mithr*. 42.161: "Ἀρχέλαον ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἔπεμπε, προσεταιρισόμενον ἢ βιασόμενον αὐτῆς ὅσα δύναιτο".

[9] App. *Mithr*. 28.108–110.

[10] Pelopida è incaricato di far guerra contro i Lici, ma anche "molti altri generali" ricevono specifici compiti che Appiano non riporta (App. *Mithr*. 27.106–107).

nella sua lunga storia di protagonista nelle fonti letterarie: alcune occasioni di avvicinamento alla causa pontica precedenti all'arrivo di Archelao possono essere ricavate da brevi accenni in Strabone[11] e dal celebre e intricato racconto che Ateneo dichiara di trarre fedelmente da Posidonio, in cui è al centro il ritratto, affascinante ed elusivo, del retore-tiranno Atenione.[12]

Poiché proprio da Ateneo emergono alcune informazioni che riguardano direttamente la situazione della Tracia e della Macedonia, è necessario riepilogarne qui contenuti e caratteristiche: Ateneo infatti narra che il 'filosofo peripatetico' Atenione, già retore a Messene e a Larissa, di dubbia origine ma assai ricco, giunse ad Atene e fu presto designato come ambasciatore "nel momento in cui gli interessi si avvicinavano a Mitridate". In missione presso Mitridate l'abile Atenione fece intendere in patria di godere di eccezionali favori, e al suo rientro fu perciò salutato con straordinarie cerimonie, poté mostrare tangibili segni della benevolenza di Mitridate e dei vantaggi che ad Atene ne sarebbero derivati – comprese le ricchezze di Delo- e tenne pubblicamente un discorso in cui rivelò "cose insperate e mai immaginate prima in sogno."[13] In quest'occasione egli tracciò un quadro della situazione dell'Eupatore: signore di Bitinia, Cappadocia superiore e d'Asia fino alla Panfilia e alla Cilicia, teneva accanto a sé come guardie del corpo i sovrani degli Armeni e dei Persiani, e controllava dinasti e popoli della Meotide e del Ponto "per 30.000 stadi"; i comandanti romani erano in catene e umiliati, e mentre gli oracoli preannunciavano future vittorie il re avanzava con un'armata *in Tracia e Macedonia*, così che tutta l'Europa era pronta a passare dalla sua parte.[14] Alla sua corte non mancavano neppure gli ambasciatori degli Italici e persino dei Cartaginesi, pronti ad allearsi con lui per distruggere Roma. Atenione dunque fu nominato 'stratego', ma si rivelò presto un tiranno sanguinario, impose un durissimo regime alla città che soffrì terribilmente la fame; Ateneo conclude ricordando un'onerosa spedizione, fallita, contro Delo, ma a questo punto abbandona Atenione per esaminare altre figure di filosofi.

Le *cruces* interpretative del racconto riguardano come è noto in primo luogo l'identità di 'Atenione' e la sua collocazione temporale: è da identificarsi con Aristione, noto alle fonti e al potere al tempo dello scoppio della prima guerra

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[11] Strabo 9.1.20 C398 riferisce di Aristione e di "altri tiranni, quelli che il re voleva" che controllarono Atene. Al quadro aggiungono indicazioni anche le coniazioni (recentemente Flament 2007, 143–152) e i documenti epigrafici circa il lungo e 'irregolare' arcontato di Medeo seguito da un biennio di 'anarchia' (*IG* II² 1713), vd. in generale Habicht 2006, 327–347 con bibliografia.

[12] Posid. *ap. Athen*. 5.211e–214f. Sul passo Candiloro 1965, 145–153; Desideri 1973, 249–258; Ferrary 1988, 471–483; Kidd 1988, 863–887 (commentario); Mastrocinque 1999, 77–88; Ballesteros Pastor 2005, 391–392; su Atenione in dettaglio Bugh 1992, 102–123; Bringmann 1997, 145–158.

[13] Posid. *ap. Athen*. 5.212d: "τὰ μηδέποτε ἐλπισθέντα μηδὲ ἐν ὀνείρῳ φαντασθέντα".

[14] Posid. *ap. Athen*. 5.213a-c.

mitridatica,[15] o si tratta di un tiranno che lo precedette? In secondo luogo è in discussione più in generale l'attendibilità delle informazioni di questo racconto: il dibattito moderno, avviatosi da più di un secolo, ha fatto emergere numerose incongruenze,[16] o viceversa ha sottolineato la presenza di alcune informazioni particolarmente precise e fededegne,[17] variamente attribuendo ad Ateneo o allo stesso Posidonio la responsabilità di manipolazioni o errori nel racconto della vicenda. Un dibattito tanto esteso, e ancora aperto, rende certo piuttosto arduo poggiare proposte di ricostruzione evenemenziale sulle sole basi della pagina di Ateneo,[18] tuttavia, almeno rispetto al limitato obiettivo di questo studio, si possono proporre alcune considerazioni: è possibile prestar fede a Posidonio (o ad Ateneo?) accettando che Atenione sia un personaggio diverso da Aristione,[19] e che la sua azione abbia avuto luogo nella buona stagione dell'88, anno affollatissimo di eventi sul fronte mitridatico[20] ma che concede uno spazio -ridotto ma non inesistente- per questo tiranno; inoltre la menzione straboniana di 'molti tiranni' filopontici alla guida di Atene, pur assai generica, può sostenere questa ricostruzione.[21] Particolarmente inquietanti rimangono invece alcuni 'anacronismi' nel racconto di Ateneo, che, se non debitamente interpretati, potrebbero renderlo complessivamente di pochissima utilità per stabilire anche solo una cronologia relativa tra l'adesione ateniese alla causa pontica e gli eventi che ebbero luogo negli altri settori 'europei' in questi anni. Il più vistoso e noto tra questi anacronismi riguarda l'accenno alla presenza di Cartaginesi alla corte dell'Eupatore (Athen. 5.213c), proprio in una sezione -il discorso che Atenione rivolge ai suoi concittadini- in cui si concentrano informazioni di particolare interesse per questo studio. Nonostante siano state avanzate alcune spiegazioni alternative,[22] mi sembra probabile che questo, come altri dettagli, lungi dal getta-

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[15] Su Aristione App. *Mithr.* 28.109; Plut. *Sull.* 12.1; 13.1; *Luc.* 19.6; Strabo 9.1.20 C 398; Paus. 1.20.5.

[16] Riepiloga le segnalazioni di 'errori' nel racconto -inesattezze nella designazione dei personaggi e nell'indicazione delle rispettive cariche, ad esempio, Mastrocinque 1999, 83 e n. 290 per la carica di Atenione 'στρατηγὸς ἐπὶ τῶν ὅπλων'; per discutibili designazioni di altri personaggi romani della vicenda Mastrocinque 1999, 81.

[17] Ballesteros Pastor 2005, 384–440, part. 395–499.

[18] Così ad esempio riassume Bringmann 1997, 148–149.

[19] Che fossero personaggi distinti era opinione già di Wilamowitz 1923, 48–50; così anche Ballesteros Pastor 1994, 126–131. Ripropone la possibilità di un'identificazione Mastrocinque 1999, 77–90.

[20] La tirannide può aver avuto luogo dopo che si perdono le tracce dell'irregolare carriera di Medeo (vd. e.g. Antela-Bernárdez 2009, 49–60 con bibliografia) ed è attestato un anno di 'anarchia' ad Atene (nell'88/87, vd. IG II², 1713, l. 12) e prima che si possano leggere con chiarezza le azioni di Aristione, legato ad Archelao (Plut. *Sull.* 12; App. *Mithr.* 29, 115; 30).

[21] Strabo 9.1.20 C398. Considera fuorviante il dato di Strabone invece Mastrocinque 1999, 78.

[22] Nicolet 1966, 807–814 pensava alla Cartagine colonia graccana, o all'iberica Nova Carthago; sulle diverse ipotesi Mastrocinque 1999, 82 e n. 286.

re discredito su Posidonio (o sul malizioso 'compilatore' Ateneo), trovi una col-
locazione naturale nel discorso ammaliatore e manipolatore che il demagogo
Atenione rivolge ai creduli Cecropidi: l'ex retore è il primo ad affermare che
narrerà cose incredibili, e sembra davvero dosare verità e palesi menzogne con
consumata abilità.

Un discorso a parte merita invece la narrazione dei fatti accaduti *dopo*
l'assunzione della tirannide da parte di Atenione: il quadro di un'Atene costretta
dal tiranno all'interno delle proprie mura e torturata dalla fame sembra a più
riprese ritrarre uno scenario assai più plausibile se collocato al tempo
dell'assedio sillano,[23] e il sospetto della fusione tra le due figure dei tiranni mi
sembra, limitatamente a questa sezione, piuttosto giustificato.

Se è corretta dunque l'impressione che emerge dal racconto preservato in
Ateneo, rimane complesso ricostruire la 'causa profonda', l'esatta cronologia e le
tappe dell'avvicinamento di Atene a Mitridate, ma la descrizione della situazione
delle forze pontiche in Europa -che è ciò che qui importa maggiormente- non
può essere liquidata rapidamente come un 'errore' o un evidente 'anacronismo'.
Non è facile da credere, né da conciliare con quanto emerge negli altri racconti,[24]
che, prima dell'invio di forze pontiche a Delo e ad Atene, le truppe pontiche
avessero già in loro potere saldamente non solo la Tracia ma anche un'area diret-
tamente sotto il controllo romano come la Macedonia, ma ciò non significa ne-
cessariamente che Posidonio (o Ateneo?) abbia attribuito, *post eventu*, ad Ate-
nione un argomento potenzialmente assai efficace per convincere Atene ad ab-
bracciare l'alleanza pontica, ma del tutto anacronistico rispetto alla situazione in
atto prima degli scontri con Silla.

In assenza di forti indizi contrari, mi sembra invece più plausibile ipotizzare
che Atenione, certo interessato ad amplificare i successi di Mitridate, potesse
evocare, con tinte assai più decise del reale, proprio la situazione europea che si
stava profilando prima dello sbarco sillano.

Alla tormentata pagina di Ateneo non si può forse chiedere di più, e occorre
limitarsi a constatare che, pur nella difficoltà di ricavare indicazioni cronologiche
chiare, a non molta distanza dagli eventi fu possibile attribuire al tempo di Ate-
nione un quadro della situazione pontica in Europa che mostrava, prima dello
sbarco sillano e dell'assedio di Atene, le avvisaglie di quanto sarebbe apparso

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[23] Bugh 1992, part. 113–114; Mastrocinque 1999, 84–86. La responsabilità di alcuni o di tutti
gli 'errori' è variamente attribuita a Posidonio stesso o all'intervento attivo sul testo ad opera di
Ateneo, che non fu solo un epitomatore, vd. per il passo in questione Bugh 1992, 102–123, con
bibliografia; sul metodo di Ateneo vd. e.g. gli studi editi da Lenfant 2007 (part. Clarke 2007, 291–
302 sul rapporto con l'opera di Posidonio).

[24] Tanto Appiano quanto Plutarco riferiscono della conquista della Macedonia in periodo suc-
cessivo allo sbarco sillano, vd. infra.

pienamente visibile solo successivamente, quando l'Atene di Aristione accolse le forze di Archelao.

I primi scontri sostenuti da forze romane in Europa però non avvennero, sempre attenendosi a quanto racconta Appiano, contro i Pontici giunti con Archelao: prima dell'arrivo di Silla infatti il legato Brettio Sura, inviato dal governatore della provincia di Macedonia Senzio, dovette affrontare un altro *strategos* pontico, Metrofane, che, inviato da Mitridate con una flotta e dopo aver compiuto saccheggi in Eubea e Magnesia, colpendo Demetriade,[25] impegnò il legato romano per mare prima di essere messo in fuga.[26] Solo successivamente Brettio fronteggiò a Cheronea le forze di Archelao e Aristione, cui si erano aggiunti "i Laconi e gli Achei e tutta la Beozia tranne Tespie."[27] Brettio, pur con nuove truppe dalla Macedonia, non riuscì ad infliggere serie sconfitte ai due alleati, ma fece comprendere la volontà romana di reagire ad alcuni dei Greci che finora sembravano essere rimasti spettatori del conflitto.[28] Se si crede ad Appiano, inoltre, Brettio si spinse fino ad Atene, ma apparentemente si trattò solo di una minaccia perché subito si ritirò, e cedette il passo al generale romano cui spettava l'onere e l'onore dello scontro con Mitridate, Silla, di cui infatti Appiano registra subito dopo lo sbarco su suolo greco.[29]

Nemmeno Silla però si precipitò contro Atene, ma attese, e reclutò truppe finché non ritenne di essere pronto; solo allora si diresse, questa volta con decisione e rapidità, verso l'Attica "contro Archelao."[30]

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[25] App. *Mithr*. 29.113. Il destino delle città dell'Eubea è assai complesso da ricostruire: Memn. FGrHist 434 F 1.22.10 le vuole schierate con Mitridate; in Plut. *Sull*. 19.7 e 20.3 Calcide è rifugio o prima base d'appoggio per i Pontici. La città fornisce supporto ad Archelao nel primo anno di guerra (App. *Mithr*. 31.124). Il destino di Eretria è invece assai più oscuro, ma la guerra la toccò senz'altro da vicino, come prova un 'luculliano' rinvenuto in un'area della città che reca tracce di un incendio (Schmid 2000, 169–180).

[26] App. *Mithr*. 29.113. Brettio non riuscì a catturare il comandante ma poté impadronirsi dell'isola di Skiathos, e del bottino pontico lì conservato, prima di dirigersi in Beozia.

[27] App. *Mithr*. 29.112–113. L'azione di Brettio fa emergere adesioni filopontiche peraltro difficili da cogliere e da seguire nelle successive evoluzioni: gli Spartani, ad esempio, risultano altrove filoromani (Memn. FGrHist 434 F 1.22.10)

[28] App. *Mithr*. 29.115. Da Senzio egli ottenne altri mille cavalieri e fanti (App. *Mithr*. 29.114). L'efficacia dell'azione di Brettio è particolarmente sottolineata in Plut. *Sull*. 11.6–8. Attestano l'azione del personaggio anche documenti epigrafici dalla Tessaglia (*IG* IX.2.613) e dalla Beozia (*IThesp*. 34), e le coniazioni in Macedonia con legenda SVRA (o SVVRA) a nome di Aesillas, per le quali de Callataÿ 1998, 113–117.

[29] App. *Mithr*. 29.115. Plut. *Sull*. 11.7–8, che ricorda anche il ritiro ordinatogli da L. Licinio Lucullo prima dell'arrivo di Silla.

[30] App. *Mithr*. 30.116. In questa prima fase del conflitto sembra da collocarsi l'appoggio che a Silla fu fornito dal trace Amatokos, la cui valorosa condotta è celebrata da un'iscrizione a Delfi promossa dagli abitanti di Cheronea (Holleaux 1919, 320–337; Holleaux 1968, 143–59; BE 1939, 215; FD III, 143): il comandante trace, che si appresta a godere per le sue buone azioni anche del favore del re Sadalas, dovrebbe appartenere all'ethnos degli Odrisi, legato da annose collaborazio-

La fretta del generale romano sembra trasmettersi anche ai racconti di Appiano e di Plutarco, poiché entrambi liquidano rapidamente gli eventi occorsi lungo la marcia verso l'Attica: moltissimi i consensi espressi dai Greci e pochissime le resistenze, così che ci furono solo rare occasioni di scontri.[31]

In seguito, assediata Atene, Silla diresse personalmente l'offensiva contro il Pireo difeso da Archelao, e mentre era impegnato a costruire macchine da guerra Appiano ci informa dell'arrivo via mare, in soccorso ad Archelao, di "un altro esercito" agli ordini di Dromichaites.[32] Non molto si può dire di questo contingente: il nome del comandante è trace, ma Mitridate ebbe generali da ogni parte del mondo, e numerosi mercenari;[33] per quanto riguarda gli obiettivi, esso è descritto come un soccorso inviato ad Archelao, e fu per Silla un ennesimo segnale della necessità da parte romana di procurarsi una flotta. Di lì a poco infatti, nonostante la stagione invernale, Silla incaricherà Lucullo della pericolosa missione di costituire una squadra navale con qualsiasi mezzo per tentare di contrastare le forze pontiche. In quel momento, e per molto tempo ancora, il mare era saldamente controllato da Mitridate.[34]

Ancora nelle ultime fasi dello scontro prima dell'inverno, un legato di Silla, Munazio, ebbe occasione di scontrarsi "presso Calcide" con il generale pontico Neottolemo: Appiano dice solo che quest'ultimo venne ferito e perse molti uomini.[35] La presenza di un comandante di così alto profilo suggerirebbe di indagare con più attenzione le circostanze e gli scopi che possono averlo portato in Eubea, ma il racconto di Appiano non fornisce alcun dettaglio ulteriore.

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ni con il potere romano (il re Cothys che aveva collaborato con Sentio pochi anni prima, in Diod. 37.5a). Sulla collocazione cronologica dell'impresa Santangelo 2007, 46 con breve bibliografia.

[31] App. *Mithr*. 30.117 ricorda il cambio di atteggiamento di Tebe, prima filopontica; "tutti i Greci" avevano inviato ambascerie a Silla già al momento del suo sbarco per Plutarco (*Sull*. 12.1), con la sola eccezione di Atene. Tuttavia, in altro contesto e solo incidentalmente, siamo informati che tra l'87 e l'86 Silla condusse spedizioni punitive contro alcune città di Beozia (Plut. *Sull*. 26.4).

[32] App. *Mithr*. 32.126. Questo comandante e i suoi compariranno di nuovo tra i Pontici che si radunano in vista della battaglia di Cheronea l'anno dopo (App. *Mithr*. 41.156).

[33] È omonimo del sovrano che Lisimaco combatté (e.g. Diod. 21 F11). La presenza di Traci nelle truppe di Mitridate non presume naturalmente un controllo esteso del territorio, vista l'ampia diffusione di mercenari traci (Launey1987, 366–397). Per le personalità di rilievo tra i Traci *philoi* di Mitridate, Savalli Lestrade 1998, 171–191.

[34] App. *Mihtr*. 33.131–132.

[35] Mitridate affidò a Neottolemo e al fratello di lui Archelao il comando congiunto nei primi scontri in Asia contro Nicomede di Bitinia nell'89 (App. *Mithr*. 17.62–63). In Plutarco è, con Archelao, uno dei 'satrapi' che Mario sogna di combattere (*Mar*. 34.4). In Strabo 2.1.6 C73; 7.3.18 C307 continuò l'opera di Diofanto nel Bosforo Cimmerio, ma non è chiaro se queste imprese avvennero prima (Goukowsky 2001, 143) o dopo l'89 (McGing 1986, 53–54). Ancora a capo di una flotta, egli tese un agguato a Lucullo, nell'86, presso Tenedo, e fu ancora messo in fuga (Plut. *Luc*. 3.8–10). Forse morì a seguito dell'impresa, se le sue azioni nel Bosforo precedettero la prima guerra mitridatica.

Fino a questo punto in ogni caso Atene appare indiscutibilmente il centro e il cuore della presenza di forze pontiche in Europa, e la sola roccaforte a loro disposizione, se non si conta Calcide, che sembra più che altro garantire un 'corridoio' per le truppe che sbarcano in Eubea in direzione dell'Attica.[36]

Appiano sembra dunque descrivere bene la strategia pontica in Europa quando afferma che il re "οὐ γὰρ διέλιπεν ἐπιπέμπων":[37] gli invii ripetuti di contingenti su suolo greco appaiono frutto di una strategia se si vuole piuttosto elementare ma non per questo inefficace, con l'obiettivo primario di sostenere l'azione delle truppe impegnate ad Atene, e con l'apprezzabile effetto collaterale di tenere i Romani lontani dall'Asia, e di affrontarli poi in campo aperto su altro terreno.[38] Il duello tra il maggior generale pontico Archelao, principale incaricato della gestione del quadrante 'europeo', che controlla il Pireo e Atene, e Silla che lo assedia, occupa il centro di un quadro a prima vista privo di ombre. Tutti i numerosi invii di forze pontiche si spiegano come soccorsi o rinforzi ad Archelao, o volti a disturbare o a interdire ulteriori spostamenti dei Romani nelle aree limitrofe. Tutti tranne, forse, uno.

## 2. La spedizione di Arkathias: verso Atene (ma perdendo tempo in Tracia e Macedonia)?

Il contingente che Mitridate inviò in Tracia e Macedonia è uno dei tanti enigmi nelle ricostruzioni della guerra: benché la sua importanza non sia stata sottovalutata da alcuni studiosi,[39] dalle fonti si ricavano a fatica indicazioni circa

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[36] Per l'atteggiamento dell'Eubea verso i Pontici vd. nota 17; per McGing 1986, 243 essa fu saccheggiata da Metrofane (che egli ipotizza agli ordini di Archelao) per il rifiuto di accogliere truppe pontiche; in particolare Calcide rimase in mani pontiche perché le forze di Silla sembrano non avere i mezzi per superare l'Euripo (dopo la battaglia di Cheronea si arrestano lì nell'inseguimento di Archelao, App. *Mithr*. 45.176; truppe pontiche si rifugiano a Calcide anche dopo Orcomeno, Plut. *Sull*. 19; App. *Mithr*. 45.174). Se Calcide era filopontica, è difficile pensare a una conquista romana di Eretria almeno prima della fine della guerra; la città potrebbe però aver comunque resistito con le proprie forze ai Pontici.

[37] La citazione (App. *Mithr*. 41.156) si riferisce al momento in cui le truppe pontiche si concentrano intorno alle Termopili ma può descrivere più in generale la strategia del sovrano pontico. Così anche Keaveney 2005, 72: "Mithridates'[...] concept of campaigning throughout this war seems to have been dominated by the idea of scattering his armies far and wide in order to grab as much territory as possible".

[38] McGing 1986, 121–122 sottolinea gli oneri militari e strategici che costò mantenere una posizione pontica in Grecia, tuttavia "the war against Rome, however, had to be fought somewhere", e forse Mitridate, diffidando della lealtà dell'Asia, aveva preferito combattere contro i Romani su altro terreno, così che "the war in Greece therefore might have been a sort of offensive defence".

[39] Così Sherwin White 1984, 132: "The operations of Mithridates' armies in Achaea and Macedonia have not been fully understood because the order of the events has been misrepresented

la data di partenza e di conseguenza si possono assegnare durate assai differenti all'intera spedizione (una lunghissima marcia dall'89 all'86, un'avanzata faticosa dall'88/87 all'86, o anche un rapido colpo di mano esauritosi nell'86); incerto è anche il nome e l'identità precisa del comandante, e pochissime informazioni sopravvivono circa il percorso seguito. A seconda delle ricostruzioni che si accettano possono derivare scenari profondamente diversi, e può essere utile perciò sottoporre ancora ad analisi le informazioni in nostro possesso, per tentare di chiarire alcuni punti, o anche solo per evidenziare le conseguenze di ciascuna ipotesi.

Mentre Appiano racconta le fasi dell'assedio ad Atene e al Pireo ci fornisce una notizia che segnala un contingente lungo una via del tutto diversa da quelle che finora si sono incontrate:

"Nello stesso tempo (*scil*. in cui si moltiplicano gli attacchi alle mura di Atene) Arkathias figlio di Mitridate piombando addosso alla Macedonia con un altro esercito se ne impadronì agevolmente, essendoci pochi Romani, e la dominò tutta avendovi imposto dei satrapi, ed egli stesso si diresse contro Silla, ma, ammalatosi presso Tiseo, vi morì."[40]

Il racconto prosegue poi con i dettagli delle costruzioni di terrapieni attorno ad Atene assediata e affamata, che è destinata in breve a cadere.[41] Le truppe dell'ormai defunto Arkathias saranno in campo, fresche e intatte in quanto "non avevano dovuto sostenere duri combattimenti", a Cheronea, dove tutti i Pontici si concentrarono, sotto il comando supremo di Archelao.[42]

Appiano afferma che quanto narra a proposito di Arkathias avvenne "τοῦ αὐτοῦ χρόνου", ma è difficile intendere che costui abbia compiuto azioni così complesse -la conquista della Macedonia, la sua riorganizzazione, e infine una marcia verso Sud arrestatasi in Tessaglia- in un tempo molto concentrato (nei primi mesi dell'86, se Atene cadde all'inizio di marzo). A ben vedere il riferimento cronologico in Appiano riguarda infatti solo *la fine* della marcia degli

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in the modern accounts". Anche McGing 1986, 124: "It is not absolutely clear when this army entered Europe. Appian (*Mithr*. 35) may imply that it did not come until the siege of Athens by Sulla was under way, but already in the early summer of 88 Athenion had been talking about a Pontic army in Thrace and Macedonia, and Arkatias' army may have been operating in this area even before Archelaus crossed the Aegean".

[40] App. *Mithr*. 35.137: "τοῦ δ' αὐτοῦ χρόνου καὶ ᾽Αρκαθίας, ὁ Μιθριδάτου υἱός, μεθ' ἑτέρας στρατιᾶς ἐς Μακεδονίαν ἐμβαλών, οὐ δυσχερῶς ὀλίγων τῶν ὄντων ἐκεῖ ῾Ρωμαίων ἐκράτησε καὶ Μακεδονίαν πᾶσαν ὑπηγάγετο καὶ σατράπαις ἐπιτρέψας αὐτὸς ἐπὶ τὸν Σύλλαν ἐχώρει, μέχρι νοσήσας περὶ τὸ Τίσαιον ἐτελεύτησεν".

[41] App. *Mithr*. 38.148–150.

[42] App. *Mithr*. 41.156. Che il comandante supremo fosse Archelao è quanto afferma Appiano, ma vi sono ragioni per dubitarne, poiché a Cheronea è noto un ruolo di primo piano anche per Taxiles (Paus. 9.40.7 vd. infra) e il comando di consistenti truppe, e l'iniziativa di alcune azioni è poi assegnata anche a Dorilao (Plut. *Sull*. 20.3–4; Gran. Lic. 35.63; OGIS I, 327).

uomini di Arkathias (il che non significa il raggiungimento dell'obiettivo primario o originario della spedizione), avvenuta poco prima della caduta di Atene, mentre non vi sono informazioni decisive per ricavare la data di partenza. L'autore si limita a fornire un rapido riassunto di quanto è avvenuto in precedenza in aree lontane solo nel momento in cui quegli eventi stanno per coinvolgere Silla, quando cioè dalla Macedonia Arkathias si avvicina pericolosamente all'Attica. Inoltre, le informazioni di Appiano riguardano solo la conquista *della Macedonia*: nulla del tutto ci viene detto di quel che aveva fatto Arkathias *prima*: il grande esercito via terra doveva aver marciato dall'Asia attraverso la Tracia, ma per quanto tempo? Appiano non consente di rispondere alla domanda.

Una cornice cronologica più leggibile per la spedizione, benché anche in questo caso non troppo precisa, si potrebbe ricavare piuttosto da Plutarco, che così descrive la situazione pontica al momento dello sbarco di Silla:

"Eppure era un momento in cui le cose [a Mitridate] andavano meglio di quanto potesse sperare, perché aveva tolto l'Asia ai Romani, la Bitinia e la Cappadocia ai loro re, e se ne stava a Pergamo a distribuire ai suoi amici domini, ricchezze e signorie; uno dei suoi figli governava incontrastato sul Ponto e nel Bosforo, cioè nel regno avito che giungeva fino ai deserti al di là della palude Meotide; *Ariarate invadeva la Tracia e la Macedonia* al comando di un'ingente armata, mentre i suoi generali conquistavano con gli eserciti gli altri territori. Il più grande tra loro, Archelao, dominava con le sue navi quasi tutto il mare, sottometteva le Cicladi e quante altre isole si trovano al di qua del capo Malea, e teneva in suo potere la stessa Eubea; muovendo da Atene spingeva alla rivolta i popoli greci fino alla Tessaglia..."[43]

Prima di impiegare le informazioni di Plutarco per chiarire il quadro delineato da Appiano occorre sciogliere le ambiguità che riguardano l'identità del comandante di questo contingente, che in Appiano è Arkathias e in Plutarco invece Ariarate; poi è necessario vagliare le altre testimonianze circa presenze pontiche in Tracia e Macedonia, anche qualora non menzionino esplicitamente questa spedizione.

'Ariarate' figlio di Mitridate che per Plutarco nell'87 stava marciando *in Tracia* e *in Macedonia* deve essere l'Ariarate (IX) che Mitridate aveva collocato, all'inizio degli anni 90, sul trono di Cappadocia.[44] Un argomento potenzialmente decisivo a supporto dell'identificazione di costui con Arkathias era stato individuato già da Reinach in una tetradracma, non datata, di Ariarate IX con un monogramma interpretato come marca della città di Anfipoli: ecco dunque il sovrano di Cappadocia che coniava in Macedonia.[45] L'interpretazione del monogramma, senza confronti nelle coniazioni di Anfipoli e del resto piuttosto simile a quelli con-

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[43] Il quadro segue un cattivo presagio -una statua di Vittoria perde la corona, che si spezza- ricevuto da Mitridate (Plut. *Sull*. 11.1).

[44] Per l'ascesa al trono Iust. 38.1.

[45] Reinach 1888, 51; Head 1888, 175. Di recente Simonetta 2007, 80–81 ritorna sulla questione, sostenendo la plausibilità dell'ipotesi di Reinach.

sueti nelle coniazioni cappadoci, può essere plausibile ma non è certa, né altrimenti provata da argomenti numismatici.[46] Chi la ripropone afferma infatti di sostenerla proprio alla luce di quanto afferma Plutarco:[47] rimane quindi del tutto legittimo tentare altre ipotesi di ricostruzione a partire dalle narrazioni di cui disponiamo.

Si è cercato di eliminare la contraddizione tra le versioni di Appiano e Plutarco affermando che Appiano conservi il 'vero' nome del figlio di Mitridate, Arkathias, che al momento di salire al trono di Cappadocia fu opportunamente cambiato in Ariarate. Un cambio di nome è pratica comune ed assolutamente plausibile, ma ciò non basta a sanare la contraddizione tra i due racconti: Appiano infatti conosce Ariarate sovrano di Cappadocia,[48] ma poco dopo menziona Arkathias tra i generali di Mitridate attivi in Asia negli anni in cui il giovane avrebbe dovuto essere già re e quindi portare il nome dinastico di Ariarate; per Appiano i due sono evidentemente personaggi distinti.[49]

Se fosse invece Plutarco a conservare il dato esatto, vi sarebbero alcune conseguenze su cui riflettere. Il regno di Ariarate IX fu assai travagliato, e il trono sfuggì al giovane figlio dell'Eupatore in diverse occasioni; la data di inizio può essere fissata solo con un termine *post quem*, la presenza del precedente sovrano di Cappadocia, Ariarate VII, nel monumento del 102/101 di Delo dell'ateniese Helianax, in cui il re nipote di Mitridate compare con altri re e *philoi* del sovrano.[50] Le coniazioni poi attestano almeno un XV° anno di regno di Ariarate IX (quindi, al più presto proprio l'87/86, se Ariarate VII morì immediatamente dopo la sua raffigurazione nel monumento di Delo).[51] È dunque possibile sostenere che l'Ariarate re Cappadocia sia lo stesso Arkathias che

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[46] Sulle questioni poste dalle coniazioni cappadoci e sul dibattito degli studiosi vd. estesamente Simonetta 2007, 9–152, con catalogo e bibliografia. Per un quadro dei monogrammi attestati nelle coniazioni di Ariarate IX Simonetta 2007, 79–85. Il significato degli altri monogrammi cappadoci non è peraltro chiaro, né è certo che si tratti di sigle delle città di provenienza (Simonetta 2007, 16–17).

[47] Già Magie 1950, 1105 non accettava questa ricostruzione. La respinge anche de Callataÿ 1999, 202–203.

[48] App. *Mithr.* 15.50.

[49] App. *Mithr.* 18.66 menziona Arkathias negli anni 90. Ariarate potrebbe essere salito al trono nel 102/101 (nota 41 e 42 per la data d'inizio regno) a 'otto anni' (per Iust. 38.1.10). Se fossero la stessa persona, l'Arkathias che combatte nel 90 sarebbe un generale davvero molto giovane, ma essendo figlio del sovrano ciò non sembra davvero un argomento forte contro l'identificazione.

[50] Sul monumento di Delo di recente Kreuz 2009, 131–144 con bibliografia; Ballesteros Pastor 2014, 184–185 con considerazioni sul culto tributato al sovrano.

[51] Per un quadro sulle coniazioni di Ariarate IX e le ricadute nella ricostruzione storica vd. Mastrocinque 1999, 11–23 e 44; de Callataÿ 1999, 202–204 (dal 100 all'86/5); di recente Simonetta 2007, 31–37 (che torna a proporre come termine ultimo delle coniazioni di Ariarate IX l'87, coerentemente con l'identificazione di costui con Arkathias). Le coniazioni del sovrano furono comunque discontinue, visto l'avvicendamento al trono di Ariobarzane, sostenuto dalle autorità romane (per le coniazioni di quest'ultimo Simonetta 2007, 85–101 con bibliografia precedente.

morì a Tiseo nell'86,[52] tuttavia ci sono ragioni, a mio avviso valide, per pensare che questa ricostruzione non sia corretta. In primo luogo è molto più facile attribuire un errore nell'indicare il nome del personaggio a Plutarco piuttosto che ad Appiano: Appiano in diverse circostanze ci informa sulle azioni di Arkathias, impegnato in varie spedizioni militari già nel 90, senza mai metterlo in relazione con la Cappadocia, mentre Plutarco non solo non conosce alcun Arkathias (figura certo 'minore'), ma menziona 'Ariarate' al comando delle truppe proprio mentre fa un quadro complessivo delle posizioni occupate dai vari figli di Mitridate. È plausibile che riassumendo una o più narrazioni più ampie circa la situazione di Mitridate al momento dello sbarco di Silla egli abbia confuso Ariarate, indicato al governo della Cappadocia, con un altro figlio di Mitridate, dal nome vagamente simile ma assai più oscuro, menzionato nello stesso contesto ma impegnato in una minacciosa avanzata in Tracia e Macedonia.

In secondo luogo, si deve valutare anche la plausibilità del coinvolgimento di Ariarate IX in una simile spedizione: perché Mitridate, dopo aver collocato un figlio su un trono tanto instabile e strategico come quello di Cappadocia, in varie occasioni successive e poi proprio nel momento di maggior fermento nell'area all'inizio della guerra con Roma l'avrebbe invitato ad abbandonare il territorio, incaricandolo di una spedizione lunga e difficile, quando aveva a disposizione molti altri generali -e anche molti altri figli- per sbrigare tali incarichi?

Se Plutarco dunque chiamò erroneamente 'Ariarate' colui che fu solo Arkathias, non è necessario comprimere il regno di Ariarate IX in tempi tanto ristretti tra il 102/101 e l'86,[53] ma quali informazioni utili si possono trarre per collocare correttamente nel tempo questa spedizione? Il 'fermo immagine' descritto al momento dello sbarco sillano nell'87 presenta posizioni pontiche acquisite (il controllo della provincia d'Asia, lo stabilirsi della corte di Mitridate a Pergamo) e altre in divenire, ovvero tanto l'invasione di 'Tracia e Macedonia' da parte di Arkathias, quanto il progressivo controllo delle isole, dell'Eubea e dell'Attica da parte di Archelao. È inevitabile sollevare alcuni interrogativi di non facile soluzione: quanto vicino -o quanto già all'interno- della Macedonia romana poteva essere Arkathias nell'87, al momento dello sbarco sillano?

L'impressione data dalla lettura di Plutarco è che le forze pontiche minacciassero, ma non ancora *controllassero*, porzioni significative o vitali della 'provincia di Macedonia', perché al di là della preoccupante notazione che precede lo

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[52] Ariarate IX fu ucciso fu ucciso da Mitridate stesso con il veleno (Plut. *Pomp*. 37.2); naturalmente ciò non costituisce una prova solida contro l'identificazione di costui con Arkathias, morto 'di malattia' a Tiseo.

[53] Altra conseguenza, non direttamente significativa per questa indagine ma di un certo peso, anche l'intera serie delle coniazioni di Ariarate IX non dovrà individuare l'86 come *terminus ante quem*. Per il significato di questa data come punto fermo delle coniazioni cappadoci vd. Mastrocinque 1999, 12–13 e n. 6.

sbarco di Silla la situazione della provincia non è più chiamata in causa al momento dell'arrivo del comandante romano, e anzi si ricorda la precedente, efficace azione di Brettio, che aveva combattuto sì contro forze pontiche, ma a quel che pare non quelle di Arkathias, e non all'interno della provincia.

C'è poi chi ha segnalato come proprio dalle indicazioni di Plutarco circa le gesta di Brettio si possano trarre argomenti per sostenere che l'avanzata delle truppe di Arkathias fosse ben lontana dalla Macedonia e dalle immediate vicinanze anche nei mesi che precedettero l'arrivo di Silla: il governatore Senzio avrebbe ritenuto di poter affidare le sue truppe, e in più di un'occasione, al suo legato Brettio per combattere all'esterno della Macedonia,[54] se dal lato della Tracia fosse stata visibile in quegli anni una minaccia diretta alla provincia?

A mio avviso però l'impiego di forze in Tessaglia e Beozia al comando di Brettio certo prova l'urgenza della minaccia costituita da alcuni comandanti pontici, Metrofane e poi Archelao, ma non che queste fossero le uniche preoccupazioni per la Macedonia romana. In un momento di grandi mobilitazioni di truppe ostili nel quadrante orientale, e dopo un periodo di crisi frequenti nell'area gestite spesso dallo stesso Senzio,[55] voci o anche concreti riscontri di un'avanzata pontica in Tracia (o anche già al confine orientale della provincia Macedonia) non avrebbero necessariamente spinto Senzio a impegnare lì le sue truppe. Il limite orientale della provincia era da sempre assai difficile da controllare per i governatori romani, e in periodi di crisi e di debolezza l'intera area della Tracia egea poteva rivelarsi enormemente rischiosa quanto più ci si allontanava dalla Macedonia propria: Senzio non disponeva, e ne doveva essere consapevole, di forze sufficienti per tentare un intervento lontano dalla provincia e in particolare lungo la via Egnatia, che poteva facilmente essere interrotta alle sua spalle.[56] Quindi, cosa c'era di più razionale che investire le proprie energie nella gestione di un'emergenza più vicina, e più controllabile, soprattutto in un momento in cui

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[54] Vd. Plut. *Sull*. 11.6; App. *Mithr*. 29.113–114 in cui si segnala l'arrivo di ulteriori rinforzi a Brettio. Per la flotta di cui Brettio disponeva, Keaveney 2005, 68 e 203 n. 7 ipotizza che si trattò di "a small fleet scraped togheter from various sources… I would guess his force was composed by remnants of Euxine fleet which the Romans in Asia had assembled for the invasion of Pontus and the Roman fleet at Delos". All'interpretazione della situazione contribuiscono le già citate coniazioni del tipo Aesillas (de Callataÿ 1998, 113–117), di ampia diffusione tra gli *ethne* traci dell'entroterra, che potrebbero segnalare un lungo impegno militare della provincia di Macedonia prima dello scoppio della guerra mitridatica.

[55] Dal 90 all'89 si registrano incursioni di Traci in Macedonia (Liv. *per*. 74.9; 76.8). L'incarico di Senzio in Macedonia è attestato dal 92 (Liv. *per*. 70.9).

[56] Particolarmente grave il caso di Cn. Manlio Vulsone che rientrava con bottino dall'Asia nel 188 (Plb. 21.47; Liv. 38.40.3–41.15). In più punti, e forse in assenza di piani che coordinassero le incursioni, la colonna romana fu attaccata e spezzata: tra Lisimachia e Cipsela, prima di Maronea, e tra Neapolis e la Macedonia propria. Sulla questione anche Palazzo 2011, 465–473 con un rapido quadro degli *ethne* traci attivi nell'area in quel periodo.

si attendeva dall'oggi al domani l'arrivo di ben più consistenti truppe da Roma? Queste tardarono molto, è vero, ma trattenute dall'evolvere di una guerra civile che Senzio difficilmente poteva prevedere.

Lo scenario che si può ricostruire quindi per il momento dell'arrivo sillano, grazie a Plutarco e tenendo conto anche del racconto di Appiano (che pure 'condensa' in occasione di eventi dell'86 il racconto di quanto accadde plausibilmente in un tempo più lungo) può essere quindi di questo tipo: le truppe pontiche al comando di Arkathias possono aver marciato, anche a lungo, in 'Tracia' fino a interessare un'area anche molto vicina alla sfera d'influenza del governatore di Macedonia, senza però arrivare a minacciare il cuore della provincia all'arrivo del Romano. Se si considera affidabile l'informazione di Posidonio, la marcia in Tracia[57] sarebbe iniziata prima ancora dell'arrivo di Archelao in Attica. Un lungo cammino, percorso in un tempo ancora più lungo.

Se dunque si accetta una cronologia 'alta' per la spedizione di Arkathias, quali conseguenze ne derivano per una sua interpretazione nel quadro della strategia mitridatica? La più vistosa riguarda lo scopo immediato della marcia di Arkathias: se essa partì prima o anche grossomodo contemporaneamente alla spedizione di Archelao, certo il suo obiettivo non poteva essere quello -comune a molti altri contingenti pontici inviati dallo sbarco sillano in poi- di fornire supporto e soccorso alle forze pontiche in Attica. Archelao per molto tempo, fino alla decisione sillana di marciare verso l'Attica, sembra essere stato perfettamente padrone della situazione, e anzi capace di brevi iniziative offensive anche lontane dal Pireo e da Atene. Del resto, per una spedizione di soccorso un itinerario attraverso Tracia e Macedonia, tanto rischioso e accidentato, non avrebbe senso: Archelao poteva essere raggiunto -e lo fu- assai più rapidamente ed efficacemente via mare, dove la flotta pontica si muoveva incontrastata.

Invece, poiché non era chiaro né prevedibile prima della svolta impressa da Silla al conflitto che il grosso delle forze romane si sarebbe concentrato in Attica e vi si sarebbe a lungo trattenuto, impegnare un esercito per controllare il territorio che collegava strategicamente l'Asia alla provincia romana, avanzando in Tracia in direzione della Macedonia, appare una mossa del tutto sensata e opportuna, oltre che pienamente in linea con la prassi di quanti avevano preceduto Mitridate nella gestione di territori tra Asia ed Europa.

Anche un altro dettaglio dell'azione di Arkathias troverebbe in questo quadro una spiegazione: la creazione in Macedonia di 'satrapi'.[58] Non si trattò di un'iniziativa personale di Arkathias 'avido di regno',[59] che 'perse tempo' rispetto

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[57] Come si è detto, l'accenno ad una conquista della Macedonia nelle parole di Aristione dovrebbe essere considerata un'esagerazione propagandistica, vd. supra.

[58] App. *Mithr*. 35.137.

[59] Così ad esempio Ormerod 1932, 248, citato all'inizio del contributo.

al vero obiettivo della sua missione, ma più plausibilmente del tentativo di creare le strutture per un controllo stabile di territorio ampio, nel quale da tempo era presente una magistratura romana, e che in passato era stato spesso preda di spinte centrifughe.[60] Certo, il controllo della Macedonia (e forse della Tracia, o più plausibilmente di alcune aree di essa) si rivelò fragile, poiché le due legioni di C. Flacco sbarcate nell'86 poterono dirigersi verso l'Asia, passando per la via Egnatia, apparentemente senza incontrare significative resistenze da parte pontica. Ma la marcia di Flacco avvenne *dopo* la vittoria campale di Cheronea: dopo questo scontro, e la definitiva sconfitta di Orcomeno di poco successiva, l'intera strategia pontica cambiò rapidamente e radicalmente.

Non è poi difficile ipotizzare perché una marcia iniziata prima dello sbarco sillano abbia 'tardato' a raggiungere la Macedonia. Non si tratta solo della distanza da percorrere, via terra e con numerose truppe, e occorre tenere conto del fatto che Appiano, benché assai sbrigativo nel fornire indicazioni, parli di una Macedonia divenuta 'facile preda'.[61]

Si può certo dubitare dell'esattezza delle informazioni appianee, ma se si cercano scenari in cui siano plausibili 'tempi lunghi' per la marcia di Arkathias si può senz'altro guardare alla Tracia: la prassi adottata ad esempio dagli Antigonidi per controllare un territorio difficile e di frontiera aveva previsto singole campagne segnate certo da scontri in armi, ma spesso anche da assedi di 'città' riluttanti ad accogliere guarnigioni, e anche da trattative con numerosi dinasti, con scambi di ostaggi e di reciproche garanzie.[62] Se Arkathias non era spinto dalla fretta di soccorrere qualcuno, le ragioni per avanzare con cautela, e senza lasciare alla proprie spalle troppe situazioni irrisolte, non dovevano mancare.

Se dunque l'obiettivo primario di Arkathias fu la conquista e il controllo della Macedonia -e dei luoghi strategici che la collegavano all'Asia-, solo la *successiva* avanzata intorno all'86, arrestata dalla morte del comandante a Tiseo, può spiegarsi, in una mutata cornice cronologica e militare, con la volontà di fornire aiuto alle forze pontiche marciando contro Silla. Tuttavia, proprio il luogo in cui la spedizione si arrestò induce a qualche ulteriore riflessione: secondo il racconto appare una sosta casuale, dettata dall'improvvisa malattia di Arkathias, e tale può

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[60] Tra queste si deve ricordare certo la rivolta di Andrisco (vd. Kallet Marx 1995, 11–41 per il rilievo in essa dei Traci); in anni assai più recenti anche Sentio stesso aveva avuto a che fare con una rivolta forse ispirata a nostalgie per la monarchia antigonide, Diod. 37.5a.

[61] Per la conquista della Macedonia App. *Mithr.* 35.137; le forze di Arkathias arrivarono 'fresche e intatte' al momento dello scontro di Cheronea, 'non avendo dovuto sostenere combattimenti' per App. *Mithr.* 41.156.

[62] Filippo V assediò vari centri che le fonti chiamano '*poleis*' in particolare in Maedica, e vi installò guarnigioni (Liv. 26.25.15; 40.22.12–15). La conquista di Filippopoli fu 'facile'solo perché gli abitanti si rifugiavano sulle alture (Plb. 23.8.4), quindi si rendevano necessari saccheggi e trattative con alcuni tra gli abitanti, oltre che la creazione di un presidio (Plb. 23.8.6–7).

senz'altro essere stata, tuttavia capo Tiseo non si trova necessariamente sulla via più scontata per chi dalla Macedonia si diriga in Attica. Da Tiseo si controlla l'ingresso nel golfo di Pagase, si fronteggia l'Eubea e si scorgono le isole di Sciato e di Pepareto. Tale posizione in Tessaglia poteva avere un rilievo strategico non trascurabile per chi intendesse rafforzare il proprio potere in Macedonia, forse anche più che per chi volesse condurre le proprie truppe verso Atene.[63] L'interesse pontico per quel quadrante era emerso già al tempo della spedizione di Metrofane, affrontato da Brettio e privato dal Romano proprio del controllo dell'isola di Sciato (e del bottino che vi era custodito). È possibile anche suggerire che Metrofane fosse legato ad Arkathias, e che avesse guidato un'avanguardia dell'esercito impegnato in Tracia, forse una parte della flotta,[64] ma le fonti sopravvissute consentono su questo punto solo ipotesi.

Quando però si arriva a dedicare attenzione a un dettaglio minimo quale il luogo in cui, con ogni plausibilità casualmente, un comandante venne a morire, per arricchire uno scenario poverissimo di dettagli, sorge il dubbio che si stia tentando, forse prigionieri dell'*horror vacui*, di resuscitare il fantasma di un'armata perduta, e si voglia ad ogni costo vedere 'pieno' un settore che invece le fonti concordemente non considerano tale. Eppure, per quanto poco generose di dati siano le narrazioni di Appiano e Plutarco, chi spinge lo sguardo verso la Tracia e la Macedonia, anche se spesso privo della guida di narrazioni dettagliate e cronologicamente leggibili, può trarre conforto da qualche cursorio accenno, isolato e difficile da contestualizzare, ma che prova almeno che non si è sulle tracce di un fantasma, e che non si sta ingigantendo un'ombra poi così sottile. Qualcosa accadde, in Tracia e Macedonia, e se Appiano e Plutarco (o meglio le loro fonti) non ne conservarono dettagliata memoria, altri però videro, e non distolsero lo sguardo.

## 3. Il possibile percorso della spedizione di Arkathias

Le 'altre' tracce di imprese pontiche in Macedonia e Tracia nelle fonti letterarie si trovano in racconti che riguardano per lo più la figura di un altro comandante pontico, Taxiles. Egli è noto anche alle fonti 'maggiori': Plutarco ricorda che costui, giunto dalla Macedonia con ingenti truppe, "fece chiamare Archelao"

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[63] Era stato impiegato ad esempio al tempo di Filippo V, come luogo di osservazione per monitorare gli spostamenti della flotta romana durante la prima guerra macedonica (Plb. 10.42; Liv. 28.5).

[64] Mantiene aperta la possibilità e.g. McGing 1986, 123–124. Esclude il nesso de Callataÿ 1996, 298 e n. 136, che da un lato colloca le imprese di Brettio nel solo anno 87, dall'alto assegna alla spedizione di Arkathias una data molto più tarda, a ridosso degli scontri di Cheronea.

perché tutte le forze pontiche fossero riunite a Cheronea,[65] mentre Appiano anche se non menziona mai Taxiles circa le vicende della prima guerra mitridatica lo ricorda tra i generali pontici più importanti della terza guerra.[66]

Sono tuttavia altre le fonti che consentono di ricostruire quale fu il suo ruolo nella prima guerra mitridatica. Memnone di Eraclea infatti, in una cornice crono-logica assai difficile da precisare nel racconto abbreviato che preserva Fozio, attribuisce a Taxiles un ruolo decisivo proprio nella conquista della Macedonia.[67] Il racconto ripercorre le imprese di Silla fino alla caduta di Atene, e poi senza interruzioni segnala, dopo una serie di successi, gravi difficoltà pontiche nell'ottenere rifornimenti; solo l'azione di Taxiles, che prese Anfipoli, fece sì che la Macedonia cadesse in mani pontiche.[68] Le successive imprese di Taxiles, in Focide e poi a Cheronea, sono note anche a Pausania, che racconta di un 'Taxi-los' impegnato prima nella conquista di Elatea durante l'assedio di Atene, chia-mato in soccorso delle forze pontiche in città; è poi proprio 'Taxilos' (e non Ar-chelao) il generale pontico protagonista dello scontro con Silla a Cheronea.[69]

È dunque plausibile quanto afferma Memnone circa un ruolo di primo piano di Taxiles anche prima di Cheronea, e nello stesso quadrante, la Macedonia, che gli è attribuito esplicitamente da Plutarco. Difficile è invece indicare una data precisa per la sua azione, perché vari scenari sono possibili: se egli fu inviato da Mitridate nell'area solo *dopo* la morte di Arkathias,[70] per subentrare al figlio del re, la Macedonia allora doveva già essere sotto il controllo dei Pontici, conqui-stata da Arkathias; è perciò più probabile che egli abbia avuto un ruolo già in precedenza nella spedizione, guidando parte delle truppe per conto di Arkathias stesso. Le azioni ricordate da Memnone risulterebbero così collegate alla spedi-

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[65] Plut. *Sull*. 15.1.

[66] App. *Mithr*. 70.295; 72.307; *Bell. Civ*. 2.10.71. Quanto a Cheronea, App. *Mithr*. 41.156–159 ricorda piuttosto 'nuovi invii' di truppe pontiche (non è però menzionato il comandante) cui si uniscono gli uomini un tempo al comando di Arkathias, che vanno a costituire un unico contingen-te con molti generali, sui quali aveva la massima autorità Archelao.

[67] Memn. *FGrHist* 434 F 22.12–13 in cui si segnala la presa di Anfipoli e l'unione delle forze con quelle di Archelao.

[68] Memn. *FGrHist* 434 F 32.2: Συχνῶν δὲ παρατάξεων συνισταμένων, ἐν αἷς τὸ πλεῖον εἶχον οἱ Ποντικοὶ, καὶ συμμεταβαλλομένων τῶν πραγμάτων τοῖς κατορθουμένοις, ἔνδεια τοῖς βασιλικοῖς τῆς διαίτης ἐπέστη, ἀσώτως τε πρὸς ταύτην διακειμένοις καὶ ταμιεύειν τὰ κτηθέντα μὴ ἐπισταμένοις. Καὶ εἰς συμφορῶν ἂν ἐξέπεσον τὴν ἐσχάτην, εἰ μὴ ὁ Ταξίλλης Ἀμφίπολιν ἑλὼν, καὶ διὰ ταῦτα τῆς Μακεδονίας πρὸς αὐτὸν μεταβαλλομένης, ἐκεῖθεν τὴν ἀφθονίαν ἐχορήγησε τῶν ἐπιτηδείων. In seguito le truppe pontiche si radunarono in Focide in vista dello scontro di Chero-nea, Memn. *FGrHist* 434 F 32.3.

[69] Paus. 1.20.6 per l'assedio di Elatea e il comportamento a Cheronea; 9.40.7 per il trofeo di Cheronea 'su Taxilos e gli eserciti di Mitridate'; 10.34 ancora sulle imprese presso Elatea. Sul rilievo dell'azione di Taxiles oggi Ballesteros Pastor 2013, 30–32.

[70] In questo caso egli fu a capo di uno dei 'nuovi contingenti' inviati da Mitridate in vista del-lo scontro campale, di cui parla App. *Mithr*. 41–156.

zione di Arkathias e non ad essa successive.[71] È anche possibile del resto che egli abbia guidato un contingente inviato poco dopo la partenza del grosso delle truppe, per sostenere l'azione di Arkathias forse proprio quando i Pontici avevano incontrato difficoltà nell'accesso alla Macedonia. L'invio di un altro esercito in quest'area potrebbe allora indicare l'importanza che essa rivestiva nella strategia del sovrano pontico.

Merita inoltre attenzione la circostanza della presa di Anfipoli, e quelle che appaiono come sue immediate conseguenze, ovvero il passaggio della Macedonia in mani pontiche. Anfipoli è infatti uno dei rarissimi toponimi che si conservano in relazione al cammino delle truppe pontiche 'in Tracia e Macedonia'. Che cosa si può ricavare da questa indicazione per ricostruire l'itinerario dell'esercito di Mitridate?

Non sono molte le alternative per un esercito in marcia da Oriente verso la Macedonia, e la storia del territorio aiuta a restringere ulteriormente le possibilità. In via di ipotesi si può considerare in primo luogo che il contingente pontico abbia raggiunto la Macedonia seguendo l'antica via regia, divenuta poi la romana via Egnatia, che correva lungo la costa della Tracia egea. Che quest'area sia stata effettivamente interessata dalle vicende della guerra è attestato da Granio Liciniano, che accenna alla situazione di Abdera e di Filippi, al momento però del ritiro delle truppe pontiche dopo la sconfitta di Orcomeno: poiché Filippi è stata catturata dai Romani, anche Abdera venne abbandonata dai Pontici.[72] Entrambe le città dunque erano state in mani pontiche prima di allora, anche se non è dato sapere esattamente da quando. Vi sono inoltre alcuni documenti epigrafici che consentono di ricostruire altri particolari circa il destino delle *poleis* greche dell'area durante la guerra: benché in alcuni casi si possano avanzare dubbi circa la pertinenza a questo orizzonte cronologico, o circa singoli dettagli, tra le *poleis* che dopo la guerra rievocarono la fedeltà mantenuta a Roma e i danni subiti ad opera dei Pontici vi è Taso, che restituisce un *dossier* di documenti dal quale emerge con vivacità il ricordo della sofferenza patita dalla città, e la ricompensa costituita dal riconoscimento di possessi territoriali nell'entroterra[73]

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[71] Considera invece che Taxiles sia stato inviato solo dopo la morte di Arkathias McGing 1986, 172–173. Ipotizzare invece che la Macedonia 'conquistata' da Arkathias sia stata perduta dopo la sua morte, e che abbia dovuto essere 'riconquistata' da Taxiles sembra piuttosto immotivato.

[72] Gran. Lic. 70 Criniti: *Regii, qui A<b>der<a>e praesideba<n>t, captis Philippis dilabuntur.*

[73] Sherk *RDGE* 20, col. III, G. I territori saranno restituiti da alcuni sovrani traci *Ablouporis* (l.14) che ricorda il re dei Sapei, Abrupolis (Plb. 22.18.2–3; Liv. 42.13.5; 40.5; 41.10–12; Paus. 7.10.6; App. *Mak.* 11.2 e 6; Diod. 29.33) e quindi potrebbe essere stato sovrano di un *ethnos* intorno ad Abdera; *Tiouta* ricorda la regina illirica Teuta, ma è difficile immaginare uno sfondo illirico per le aree in questione.

e dal controllo delle isole di Sciato e Pepareto.[74] Anche Maronea in un documento dell'età di Claudio riepiloga, come di consueto, tutti i passati meriti di fronte ai Romani, e presentandosi fedele a Roma "fin dai primi tempi dell'egemonia" ricorda di aver subìto terribili danni proprio per mantenere tale fedeltà.[75] Benché non sia esplicito, non sono molte le occasioni a noi note diverse dalla guerra mitridatica in cui si sia verificato uno scenario simile.[76]

È dunque del tutto plausibile che forze pontiche abbiano ottenuto il controllo delle *poleis* lungo la via Egnatia, con il probabile appoggio di una flotta, forse consistente, dal momento che Mitridate non aveva rivali nel controllo dell'Egeo fino alle ultimissime fasi della guerra. In questo caso tuttavia, se ci si attiene a un'interpretazione assolutamente letterale delle fonti, si potrebbe rilevare una contraddizione: esse marciarono 'in Macedonia' (e non '*in Tracia* e Macedonia') fin dall'attraversamento dell'Ellesponto, poiché tutta l'area costiera attraversata dall'Egnatia era territorio provinciale. È difficile però dare troppo peso a questa contraddizione, poiché i confini della provincia furono piuttosto variabili, nei fatti e probabilmente nella percezione che di essi si aveva, e la 'grande Macedonia' che emerge dalla cosiddetta *lex de provinciis praetoriis* del 100[77] non fu necessariamente la stessa che Senzio faticò a controllare e amministrare un decennio dopo.

Una marcia lungo la via Egnatia dunque non è uno scenario impossibile, anzi con ogni probabilità l'esercito pontico seguì questa strada. Ma, forse, non *solo* questa. Ci sono alcune indicazioni infatti che, pur in sé non decisive, portano a prendere in considerazione anche uno scenario leggermente diverso.

In primo luogo, si può citare proprio la testimonianza di Memnone: le estreme difficoltà di approvvigionamenti che affliggono le truppe pontiche prima della caduta di Anfipoli si spiegano difficilmente se queste si fossero trovate tutte sulla costa della Tracia egea dove, in assenza di rivali, Mitridate poteva raggiungere

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[74] App. *Mithr*. 29.114 ricorda che Sciato funse da base per le operazioni navali pontiche di Metrofane, e aveva perciò subìto azioni pontiche anche prima dello sbarco di Silla.

[75] *I.Aeg.Thr*. 180, ll. 5–22, in cui la città ricorda una completa distruzione per 60 stadi, la perdita di figli, saccheggi e riduzione in schiavitù della popolazione.

[76] Clinton 2003, 379–417; Clinton 2004, 145–48. I toni possono certo essere esasperati volontariamente, o obbedire a un *topos*. Vi sono comunque molti 'vuoti' nella storia a noi nota di Maronea (Clinton 2003, 385). Dato il controllo di Abdera però è scontato che anche Maronea, più vicina all'Asia, sia stata coinvolta. Per la possibile pertinenza di un altro documento da Maronea al periodo sillano Canali De Rossi 1999, 317–324.

[77] Sulla *lex* (nota anche come *lex de piratis persequendis*) nelle due copie di Cnido e Delfi Crawford 1996, 231–276 nr.12; Ferrary 2008, 101–114 con aggiornamenti bibliografici. L'esatta estensione a Oriente del confine della provincia dipende dall'interpretazione della designazione 'Χερσόνησον Καινεικήν τε' (*IK Knidos* 1, 31, 4B ll. 8–9), il Chersoneso e l'area 'Cenica' oppure un 'Cersoneso cenico' più difficile da riconoscere nell'area. Il territorio dei Caeni si estende, per quanto è dato vedere in età imperiale, lungo l'Ebro, presso la costa occidentale della Propontide (Plin. N.H. 4.47; Ptol. 3.11.6).

i suoi eserciti per mare con relativa facilità, e consentire spostamenti di uomini e di rifornimenti. Non si tratta di un argomento decisivo, perché è possibile che Memnone esasperi i toni, o non conservi un dato affidabile, tuttavia può valere come spunto per formulare altre ipotesi. Le truppe di Mitridate infatti potrebbero aver tentato di attaccare la Macedonia anche su altri fronti, scegliendo un altro cammino -o meglio *anche* un altro cammino- nella Tracia interna: vista la frequenza con cui Mitridate predisponeva invii di molteplici eserciti, e vista la natura del territorio, un contingente inviato nella Tracia interna potrebbe aver avuto serie difficoltà di rifornimento mentre combatteva lungo il confine nord-orientale della provincia, e la soluzione a tale *empasse* avrebbe potuto essere l'accesso di un altro contingente nel cuore della provincia, e da una città, Anfipoli, cruciale proprio per i rapporti e le comunicazioni con l'entroterra, come insegnano episodi occorsi in passato agli ultimi Antigonidi, e a qualche loro sfortunato emulo.[78]

L'importanza strategica della valle dell'Ebro (Maritza), che consentiva di avanzare alle spalle del massiccio del Rhodope rimanendo a Sud dei Balcani centrali, è ben chiara se si guarda ancora all'età degli Argeadi e degli Antigonidi: Filippo II vi aveva fondato Filippopoli, e vi sono tracce del tentativo di controllare l'area da parte del sovrano antigonide con più ambiziosi piani di espansione verso l'Asia, Filippo V.[79] La Tracia interna però non era alla portata di tutti, e il suo controllo era sfuggito spesso agli Antigonidi così come poi ai Romani. Mitridate però aveva un vantaggio rispetto a chi lo aveva preceduto: poteva godere dell'appoggio delle città greche sulla costa occidentale del Ponto, che consentivano un accesso facile all'area, e dell'aiuto di vari *ethne* traci lungo gran parte della costa pontica.[80] Egli aveva quindi l'opportunità, mancata a tanti prima di

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[78] Anfipoli è il luogo scelto da Filippo V alla fine del suo regno per ricevere ostaggi dai Traci (Liv. 40.24.3–4), ed è sulla via della migrazione dei Bastarni (Liv. 40.57.6–7). La città poi fu soggetta agli attacchi dei Sinti durante il regno di Perseo (Strabo 12.3.20); da qui partirono spedizioni contro i Traci (SEG 36, 585, con commento di Voutiras 1986, 347–55); la conquista di Anfipoli fu poi premessa necessaria al controllo della Macedonia per Andrisco, che dalla Tracia interna otteneva numerosi appoggi (Diod. 32.15.5–6; Zon. 9.28.7); costui dopo aver ottenuto due vittorie allo Strimone ebbe 'tutta la Macedonia' nelle sue mani (Plb. 36.10); fu anche indicata come sede di un fantomatico tesoro predisposto per Andrisco dal re Perseo (Diod. 32.15).

[79] Filippo V potrebbe aver compiuto spedizioni nella Tracia interna intorno al 204 (Plb. 13.10.7–10); nel 202 è attivo in Propontide e nel 184 interviene a Bisanzio (Plb. 22.14.12); nel 183 compie una spedizione a Filippopoli (Plb. 23.8.1–7; Liv. 39.53). Danov 1979, 90 immagina che l'influenza macedone sulla città sia durata ininterrotta fino alla sconfitta di Pidna; per questa via Filippo molto probabilmente progettò di far passare i mercenari bastarni poco prima della sua morte (Hatzopoulos 1984, 141–145). Conosciamo in realtà solo in parte il percorso di una 'seconda discesa' dei Bastarni chiamati da Perseo poco prima dello scontro di Pidna: essi si ritirarono, fallite le trattative con Perseo, *ad Histrum*, saccheggiando la Tracia (interna), Liv. 44.27.

[80] Ad ampi appoggi in Tracia allude Appiano, benché in luogo suscettibile di deformazioni, nei discorsi dei messi di Nicomede e del pontico Pelopida prima dello scoppio della guerra (App. *Mithr.* 13.44; 15.53); per i rapporti con le *poleis* della costa occidentale del Ponto possono fornire

lui, di scegliere tale percorso, e anche il movente: avanzare nella Tracia interna consentiva di spostarsi alle spalle delle *poleis* greche della costa, in un territorio dal quale si potevano intraprendere rapide incursioni contro la via romana, la sola che avrebbero potuto seguire gli eserciti nemici se avessero marciato verso l'Asia. Allo stesso tempo, un'avanzata nella Tracia interna doveva aprire al sovrano e ai suoi emissari  anche un vasto bacino di reclutamento di soldati, sia mercenari sia alleati, dietro accordi stretti con i singoli *ethne*.[81]

Per chi dunque dall'Asia guardasse l'Europa disponendo di truppe consistenti e di una flotta, una strategia assai plausibile, e in linea con la prassi degli altri sovrani dell'area, poteva prevedere un'avanzata con più corpi di spedizione in itinerari paralleli, lungo la costa con l'appoggio della flotta e nell'entroterra, da dove si potevano mantenere ottime comunicazioni con l'area costiera sfruttando le molte vie che si aprono alle spalle della via Egnatia e che nel tempo furono percorse da molteplici *ethne* traci per minacciare le *poleis* o singoli corpi di spedizione.

Benché ci si muova tra ipotesi, lo scenario più plausibile, che spiegherebbe anche la contraddizione tra una lunga marcia 'in Tracia e Macedonia' e una rapida conquista della Macedonia stessa dopo lo sbarco di Silla, è quindi a mio avviso quello di un'avanzata dalla Tracia interna con frequenti incursioni e attacchi mirati alle *poleis* lungo l'Egnatia, della quale era vitale mantenere un buon controllo, che poteva essere garantito oltre che con presidi nelle *poleis* anche -e forse soprattutto- con la libertà di manovra nelle aree dell'immediato entroterra. In quest'area tra Tracia e Macedonia si potrebbe essere spesa gran parte della lunga marcia di Arkathias, mentre l'accesso al cuore del territorio provinciale, superate le resistenze di Anfipoli o anche di altre *poleis* dell'area in cui si fossero radunate le poche forze romane rimaste, avrebbe potuto garantire una rapida 'conquista' della Macedonia.

Qualunque sia stato però l'esatto percorso dei soldati di Arkathias, l'esistenza stessa di una spedizione, che si è tentato finora di dimostrare tutt'altro che secondaria o di minore entità rispetto a quella ben nota di Archelao, si scontra di nuovo con un serio *argumentum e silentio*: l'assenza di indicazioni precise

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indizi, benché di non univoca lettura, le coniazioni (de Callataÿ 1994, 300–342; Id. 1995, 39–50; Id. 1997b, 55–58; Id. 1998, 169–192). Le città coniarono continuando i tipi di Lisimaco e Alessandro, ma si ipotizza che incoraggiando tali coniazioni Mitridate intendesse pagare i mercenari traci, vd. de Callataÿ 1997b, 58.

[81] Così ad esempio fece Filippo V con i Bastarni (note 69 e 70); con altri *ethne* traci si legò per matrimonio: al figlio Perseo fu promessa in sposa una Bastarna (Liv. 40.5–10); un altro figlio di Filippo sposò la figlia del trace Teres (Diod. 32.15.5), forse il successore del *dux* Amadoco (Plb. 22.14.12;  Liv. 389.35.4) che insidiava l'area di Bisanzio nel 184 (Walbank 1967, 237–238). Filippo V inoltre si intromise nella successione di diversi dinasti – forse di Amadoco, ma probabilmente depose anche l'odrisio Seute a vantaggio del figlio di lui, Cotys (Walbank 1967, 242 n.5); può aver avuto un ruolo anche nell'avvicendamento di Abrupolis (così Meloni 1953, 67); una qualche forma di legame appare visibile con Odrisi (il loro sovrano rimase alleato di Perseo fino a Pidna) e Denteleti (di cui saccheggiò il territorio, ma 'per necessità e con vergogna' Plb. 23.8.7).

nei racconti di Appiano e Plutarco. Occorre dunque almeno suggerire qualche ragione per cui testimoni tanto informati tacquero su questo preciso settore dell'Europa.

## 4. Le ragioni dei silenzi nei racconti antichi su Tracia e Macedonia

Non è questa la sede per una dettagliata analisi delle diverse ipotesi avanzate sulle fonti di Appiano e Plutarco per gli eventi della prima guerra mitridatica, ma si può sottolineare che i due racconti, per quanto riguarda gli anni del primo conflitto, non conservano contraddizioni significative circa la successione degli eventi e l'identità e le azioni dei principali personaggi.[82] Si somigliano in quanto raccontano, ma si somigliano anche -e ciò è maggiormente significativo- in quanto tacciono o menzionano solo cursoriamente: entrambi trascurano infatti non solo il settore della Tracia e della Macedonia, ma anche altre aree certamente toccate dalla guerra, come il Peloponneso e l'Eubea, e collocano entrambi in secondo piano le azioni di numerosi altri comandanti romani, non solo del rivale di Silla Flacco, ma anche del suo ufficiale Lucullo e di diversi altri luogotenenti.[83] Tali somiglianze non devono affatto portare a concludere che entrambi i racconti impieghino direttamente la stessa fonte, ma piuttosto, a mio avviso, che entrambi possano riflettere, impiegando ciascuno fonti differenti, le conseguenze di una 'selezione degli eventi' da narrare operata *ab origine* da qualcuno che, scegliendo cosa narrare e cosa tacere, condizionò moltissimi racconti successivi della guerra. Se si cerca un autore noto alla maggior parte di quanti narrarono il conflitto, e abbastanza vicino agli eventi da poterne condizionare la tradizione, si potrebbe suggerire il nome dello stesso Silla: le sue Memorie infatti

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[82] Sull'ipotesi di derivazione 'sillana' dei racconti di Appiano e Plutarco Palazzo 2015, 23–41 con bibliografia.

[83] Di Lucullo non è passata del tutto sotto silenzio la missione alla ricerca di una flotta, di cui si registra solo la partenza (App. *Mithr*. 33.132; cfr. Plut. *Luc*. 2.3) e il rientro (App. *Mithr*. 56.226); anche le possibili imprese 'nel Peloponneso', dove per Plut. *Luc*. 2.1–2 coniò moneta (i 'luculliani', di recente Marsura 2015, 43–59 con bibliografia), sono assai poco leggibili; che l'area fu coinvolta nella 'tempesta mitridatica' è ricostruibile invece non solo in base a scarse indicazioni nelle fonti antiche (App. *Mithr*. 29.112–113; 115) ma forse anche grazie a tre basi dall'agora di Messene per Silla, Murena e uno sconosciuto Agrippa (*SEG* 48, 494; 495; 496, vd. Dohnicht, Heil 2004, 235–242 per datazione e interpretazione); la poca attenzione alle imprese di 'Munazio' in Eubea è stata già ricordata (App. *Mithr*. 34.133; potrebbe essere lo stesso personaggio onorato a Delo in *ID* 1695; 1696 e a Sardi *SEG* 46, 1521, 52, 1174, ma è assai controverso); il passaggio di Flacco e delle sue legioni è riassunto in Plut. *Sull*. 20.1 tra la battaglia di Cheronea e quella di Orcomeno, per giustificare uno spostamento di Silla verso nord a intercettare Flacco, interrotto per il riorganizzarsi di forze pontiche; in App. *Mithr*. 51.205 la spedizione è ricordata solo dopo Orcomeno, durante la sosta invernale in Tessaglia, quando si riassumono tutti gli eventi che hanno avuto luogo nel frattempo a Roma.

fornirono materiale a numerosi storici[84], oltre ad essere note direttamente almeno a Plutarco. A sostegno dell'ipotesi, si può notare come siano costantemente al centro della narrazione gli eventi che videro come solo protagonista Silla stesso, le truppe sotto il suo diretto comando, e i nemici che egli affrontò personalmente.

Se questa ipotesi è corretta, e i dettagliati racconti di Appiano e Plutarco sono condizionati 'a monte' dallo sguardo sillano sulla guerra, allora quanto non è esplicitamente descritto anche circa movimenti di truppe pontiche in Europa negli anni della campagna sillana *lontano* da Atene non è necessariamente 'non accaduto'. Si possono indicare inoltre alcune buone ragioni per cui proprio la Macedonia sarebbe stata trascurata, o 'sottovalutata' in un racconto composto da Silla: la provincia romana era caduta in mani pontiche senza che egli lo avesse impedito, e non poté nemmeno intestarsene la riconquista, perché di fatto, anche se si deve credere che la presa delle forze pontiche nell'area fu indebolita per effetto delle sconfitte nelle battaglie campali di Cheronea ed Orcomeno, furono le legioni 'rivali' di C. Flacco ad attraversare per prime l'area dirette in Asia. Per quanto riguarda la Tracia poi si conservano alcuni accenni a spedizioni contro i Traci lungo la marcia sillana in direzione di Dardano in Appiano e Plutarco, indicate esplicitamente come imprese di poco peso e persino motivate dalla volontà di "tenere in esercizio le truppe."[85] Silla però sembra averne gestite poche personalmente, avvalendosi per il resto dei suoi legati,[86] e la situazione della Tracia successiva al conflitto doveva offrire poi tutt'altro che materia di vanto per il comandante romano: la fragilità del potere romano e la necessità di grandi operazioni nell'area che ne ampliassero significativamente il controllo appare in tutta la sua evidenza, oltre che da brevi altre spedizioni, dall'impegno che più tardi vi dovette dedicare M. Licinio Lucullo.[87]

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[84] Mastrocinque 1999, 69–76 sulle possibili fonti di Appiano e sul debito di ciascuna rispetto alla narrazione sillana.

[85] Plut. *Sull*. 23.10 parla di un'incursione di Silla con saccheggio in Maedica, sulla via per Dardano; successivamente si sposta a Filippi, e di lì a Dardano senza che vengano registrate ulteriori azioni. In App. *Mithr*. 55.224 invece Silla "approfitta del tempo libero" (τὴν ἐν τοσῷδε ἀργίαν διατιθέμενος) e fa incursioni del territorio di "Eneti, Dardani e Sinti, popoli vicini alla Macedonia, che invadevano costantemente questa provincia", per di tenere in esercizio le truppe e procurarsi bottino. Spedizioni sillane contro i Traci anche in Liv. *per*. 83; Eutr. 5.7; *de Vir. Ill*. 75.6. Su queste Palazzo 2011, 561–569 con fonti e bibliografia.

[86] Gran. Lic. 79–81 Criniti assegna al legato *Hortensius* le imprese contro Maedi e Dardani, e a Silla un'incursione in Maedica lungo la via per Dardano (vedi n. precedente). Su *Hortensius* anche Plut. *Sull*. 15.4; App. *Mithr*. 43, 166 (durante la battaglia di Cheronea); Memn. *FGrHist* 434 F 22.13 (con la problematica indicazione che egli guidò truppe 'dall'Italia' in un momento in cui Silla era già *hostis publicus*).

[87] Per le spedizioni di M. Licinio Lucullo Sall. *Hist*. 3, 51 Maurenbrecher; Liv. *per*. 97.4; App. *Ill*. 30; Eutr. 6.7; 10; Fest. 9.3–4; Iord. *Rom*. 221; Amm. Marc. 27.4.11–13; Oros. 6.3.4. Prima di M. Lucullo è nota un'incursione trace (ancora i Maedi) che raggiunse e saccheggiò il

Per provare infine che la guerra e i suoi protagonisti avrebbero potuto essere raccontati in modi assai diversi da quelli conservati in Appiano e Plutarco si può riflettere proprio sul differente destino di Archelao e Taxiles: in entrambi i racconti di Appiano e Plutarco Archelao, che affrontò direttamente Silla e a lui rimase poi legato al termine della guerra, è il 'più grande' generale pontico sempre al centro delle narrazioni, mentre Taxiles, al comando dopo la morte di Arkathias della spedizione trace, mai in contatto con Silla se non a Cheronea, e successivamente rimasto al servizio di Mitridate, subisce in entrambi i racconti un oscuramento corrispondente al poco rilievo concesso al teatro in cui operò. Tuttavia rimangono tracce, labili all'interno ma assai più chiare all'esterno di queste narrazioni, che provano come il ruolo di Taxiles non fu affatto secondario né con alta probabilità subordinato a quello di Archelao anche negli scontri decisivi di Cheronea.

## 5. Conclusioni

L'ipotesi fin qui sostenuta, che Mitridate abbia dedicato una seria attenzione anche al settore di Tracia e di Macedonia, e già nelle fasi iniziali della guerra scoppiata contro Roma, può avere varie conseguenze sull'interpretazione generale del conflitto.

In primo luogo, l'ipotesi di un serio condizionamento delle principali fonti antiche sopravvissute nel narrare un settore specifico della guerra obbliga a sottoporre a nuova analisi anche altre questioni che da questi stessi racconti appaiono come 'dati di fatto': se i due corpi di spedizione, di Arkathias e di Archelao, partirono grossomodo nello stesso periodo ed ebbero obiettivi autonomi, si deve concludere che essi costituissero, al momento dello sbarco di Silla, due fronti rilevanti, o addirittura che fosse quello ateniese il fronte meno urgente per chi era incaricato della guerra contro Mitridate, re d'Asia e con residenza a Pergamo. Tuttavia Silla si diresse, e con tutte le forze di cui disponeva, ad Atene. Avrebbe potuto agire in altro modo? Se si è convinti che Archelao fosse il 'maggior generale' di Mitridate e il perno della strategia pontica in Europa, e che assolutamente 'minori' fossero gli altri generali e i loro contingenti, non occorrono spiegazioni per giustificare la direzione presa dalle truppe sillane. Anche molti tra quanti

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santuario delfico, forse tra l'84 e l'80 (Eus. *in* Hier. *Chron*. 151; App. *Ill*. 5.14; cfr. Plut. *Num*. 9.6). È anche possibile che essa sia avvenuta prima, quando Silla si trovava ancora nell'area (lo 'Scipione' che la gestì sarebbe allora L. Scipione Asiatico, cos. 83; sulla questione Kallet Marx 1995, 362; Palazzo 2011, 569–572). Dal 78 al 72 si avvicendarono nell'area vari comandanti romani, che sostennero scontri contro diversi *ethne* traci, ma in particolare contro i Maedi già combattuti da Silla e i traci dell'entroterra (App. Claudio Pulcher e C. Scribonio Curione, vd. Palazzo 2011, 573–574).

ammettono l'esistenza di altri fronti da gestire a questa domanda hanno risposto senz'altro con un no: Atene, anche se non era un sito strategico per il controllo militare della Grecia propria, o la chiave per abbattere il potere mitridatico in Asia, costituiva però ancora un faro di civiltà e di identità greca che non doveva rimanere in mani pontiche[88]. Anche a mio avviso Silla, non in assenza di alternative ma di fronte a un bivio cruciale tra i possibili settori in cui impegnare le sue truppe, avrebbe avuto numerose ragioni, e decisive, per scegliere Atene: vista la peculiare situazione in cui il comandante romano si trovava, incerto sulla quantità di appoggi che potevano essergli assicurati da Roma, e costantemente preoccupato per l'evolvere degli eventi in patria, doveva essergli chiara la necessità di mantenersi in un territorio non completamente ostile, la Grecia propria, e di impegnarsi in un'impresa, la conquista della grande Atene, capace di garantirgli immediata visibilità e gloria in patria.

Se avesse voluto invece affrontare Arkathias e dirigersi verso l'Asia lungo l'Egnatia, qualunque fosse l'entità e l'esatta posizione delle forze pontiche nell'area, si sarebbe trovato, privo di flotta, esposto al rischio di vedersi tagliare alle spalle la via della ritirata, e in serie difficoltà di rifornimento. Si trattò dunque di una scelta quasi obbligata alla luce della situazione di Silla, ma con conseguenze difficili anche sul piano dell'autorappresentazione dello stesso comandante, dal momento che egli abbandonava la provincia di Macedonia in mani pontiche. C'erano dunque molte cose da non dire, e molte altre su cui sarebbe stato meglio sorvolare, al suo ritorno.

Guardando invece a Mitridate, se si pensa che durante la prima guerra egli abbia dedicato un'attenzione non sporadica al settore europeo, e non limitata alla sola Atene, e abbia anzi tentato di impiantare in Macedonia un controllo stabile attraverso Arkathias, risulta allargato il palcoscenico in cui questo 're d'Asia' dallo spiccato talento di poliglotta si mosse. In tale più ampio scenario assumono forse nuovi significati alcuni dettagli della sua autorappresentazione? Da tale diversa prospettiva emergono nuovi elementi, o appaiono sotto nuova luce altri dettagli della complessa personalità di questo re tra Oriente e Occidente?

Nel vivace dibattito che riguarda la 'vera natura' del sovrano, monarca orientale erede degli Achemenidi o sovrano ellenistico che si ispira ad Alessandro, un certo ruolo è stato riconosciuto proprio ad un dettaglio che riguarda l'area della Macedonia: il già ricordato accenno alla creazione di 'satrapi' da

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[88] Chiaro sull'importanza di Atene di recente Santangelo 2007, 36, per il quale sono chiari i motivi per cui Atene fu "an absolute priority of the campaign. To sketch a summary list: the strategic position of Athens, its commercial importance, its wealth and, perhaps most importantly, its huge cultural prestige, unrivalled in the Greek world. Undertaking a reconquest of the Greek East without getting hold of its main intellectual centre was simply inthinkable".

parte di Arkathias. Molti 'satrapi' sono attestati, dalle fonti letterarie ma anche da alcuni documenti epigrafici, in diverse aree dell'Asia, ma la loro presenza anche su suolo europeo, terra di nuova conquista, è per alcuni prova chiara che Mitridate in ogni luogo in cui si affermò volle sottolineare con forza le radici persiane del suo potere.[89]

Vi sono però due argomenti, di peso diverso, che mi sembra debbano essere presi in considerazione: da un lato l'affidabilità delle attestazioni di questi 'satrapi', dall'altro il loro effettivo valore come indicatori di una prassi prettamente achemenide. Le attestazioni più solide, epigrafiche, di 'satrapi' mitridatici in Asia non sono sempre al di sopra di ogni sospetto,[90] ma nel complesso non ritengo dubbio che fossero designati come 'satrapi' (costantemente o in alternativa con il termine *strategoi* è impossibile da stabilire) i personaggi incaricati della gestione dei territori asiatici.[91] Per quanto riguarda invece i 'satrapi' di Macedonia, attestati solo in Appiano, è impossibile essere certi che egli conservi il titolo corretto per questi effimeri governatori, e a ulteriore cautela invita anche il fatto che in Plutarco sono chiamati appunto 'satrapi' Archelao e Neottolemo, generali agli ordini di Mitridate che sono sempre *strategoi* in Appiano.[92] La designazione nelle fonti letterarie appare quindi in qualche caso subire preoccupanti oscillazioni.

Mi sembra però discutibile il fatto stesso che l'imposizione di satrapi significhi un richiamo alle sole radici achemenidi della regalità di Mitridate. La creazione di satrapi 'mitridatici' ebbe inizio in Asia, dove certo più recente di quella achemenide era l'eredità seleucide, e sotto i Seleucidi il titolo sembra alternarsi, nella pratica se non nell'ufficialità, con quello 'macedone' di *strategoi*.[93] Se dun-

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[89] McGing 1986, 98–99 cita Welles 1934 n.73: "In the use of the title σατράπης Mithridates acted as the successor of the Achaemenid Persians", ma Welles prosegue: "...though he was apparently only extending to Asia Minor a terminology which has been continuously in use in the native kingdoms south and east of Pontus".

[90] Le attestazioni epigrafiche più chiare provengono dal monumento a Cheremone di Nisa, al termine della guerra, che includeva documenti che attestavano la persecuzione subita ad opera di Mitridate, tra cui due lettere al 'satrapo' Leonippo (*Nysa* 8 e 9); da Stratonicea in Caria poi si conserva un epitaffio per i caduti "nella guerra contro il re [Mitridate] e i suoi satrapi" (*I.Stratonikeia* II, 2, 1333). Si tratta in entrambi i casi di documenti redatti (o copiati) dopo la fine della guerra, e potenzialmente non immuni da deformazioni propagandistiche e dalla volontà di connotare negativamente Mitridate, tuttavia non è necessario pensare a una volontaria trasformazione di *strategoi* in satrapi con l'intento di sottolineare il volto 'persiano' del nemico sconfitto, poiché non è certo che il termine 'satrapo' avesse una connotazione negativa così marcata da giustificare una sostituzione con intenti denigratori.

[91] Per altri personaggi pontici 'satrapi', anche di età differenti, vd. Ballesteros Pastor 2013, 187–189 (che suggerisce di considerare come satrapi anche quanti sono designati da fonti latine come *praefecti*).

[92] Plut. *Mar.* 34.4; App. *Mithr.* 17.62; 34.133 (a titolo di esempio).

[93] Sulla figura dei satrapi nell'amministrazione seleucide vd. Capdetrey 2007, 283–294.

que in Asia si può pensare che Mitridate proponesse figure che potevano contemporaneamente contenere rimandi ad una prassi achemenide e seleucide, in aree come la Macedonia per le quali la familiarità con il titolo di satrapo non aveva altrettanta tradizione si può pensare che egli abbia semplicemente seguito la linea adottata in Asia. Più che rivelare con particolare chiarezza la volontà di sottolineare radici achemenidi, la presenza di questi 'satrapi' in Europa è forse solo un indizio del rilievo dell'area nel quadro di una strategia pontica, che estendendo all'Europa il sistema (con relativa terminologia) adottato in Asia rivela l'intento di ottenere un controllo il più possibile durevole anche di queste regioni.[94]

Se Mitridate dunque non si limitò a riversare in Europa le sue truppe per arraffare quanto più territorio poteva, con l'intento di impegnare i nemici il più lontano possibile dall'Asia, ma volle piuttosto ottenere una presa più stabile di alcune aree europee strategiche per il controllo e la difesa dell'Asia, allora riceve un significato diverso e maggiore anche la sua pretesa di essere erede di Alessandro Magno *e insieme* dei Seleucidi.[95] La questione dell'*imitatio Alexandri* da parte di Mitridate è estremamente complessa,[96] e difficile da indagare in particolare in senso diacronico, poiché spesso è impossibile cogliere le diverse sfumature che plausibilmente assunse in tanti drastici cambiamenti di scenari e di protagonisti. Rimane tuttavia assai attraente l'ipotesi che il sovrano pontico in marcia dall'Asia verso l'Europa, impegnato nella conquista della Tracia e intenzionato a governare la Macedonia, potesse sottolineare con forza proprio la sua presunta radice argeade/seleucide:[97] l'eredità di Seleuco I, che prese con la lancia la Tra-

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[94] Si può se si vuole leggere anche in questo caso una qualche somiglianza con la prassi antigonide, poiché Filippo V sembra aver disposto di uno specifico *strategos* 'ἐπὶ Θρᾴκης τεταγμένος', Plb. 22.13.3 (con perifrasi in Liv. 39.34.1 'qui praeerat maritimae orae').

[95] La formulazione, notissima, viene dal discorso rivolto da Mitridate alle truppe prima dello scoppio delle ostilità, nella versione di Iust. 38.7.1: "Se autem, seu nobilitate illis conparetur, clariorem illa conluvie convenarum esse, qui paternos maiores suos a Cyro Darioque, conditoribus Persici regni, maternos a magno Alexandro ac Nicatore Seleuco, conditoribus imperii Macedonici, referat". Il legame con la casa dei Seleucidi data a partire dal matrimonio di una principessa pontica con Antioco III (Plb. 5.42.9–43.4), ma testimonianze di un particolare interesse già di Mitridate V per l'orizzonte cronologico della fusione degli imperi Achemenide e Macedone sotto Alessandro nelle nozze di Susa può essere suggerito ad es. in base ai nomi scelti per le donne di famiglia, le sorelle e in qualche caso le figlie di Mitridate VI Eupatore, vd. Palazzo 2016.

[96] Bohm 1989, 153–184; grande rilievo ha l'interpretazione del significato delle coniazioni, in particolare le tetradracme, vd. de Callataÿ 1997; alcuni aggiornamenti bibliografici in Palazzo 2011, 224–247.

[97] Oltre all'attestazione letteraria in Iust. 38.7.1, la 'doppia radice' è plausibile grazie ai confronti con le rivendicazioni di altre dinastie dell'epoca. Per il Nemrud Dagh in Commagene (in cui Alessandro è accostato a Seleuco I in una linea di antenati legati per sangue o per matrimonio) Facella 2006, 87–94. Nella casa pontica, la doppia radice fu rivendicata anche da Glaphyra, figlia di Archelao di Cappadocia, vd. Ballesteros Pastor 2013, 274–278.

cia a Lisimaco, e dell'ultimo grande 're d'Asia' la cui sfera d'azione era stata drasticamente limitata dai Romani, Antioco III, poteva essere particolarmente efficace da rivendicare per chi volesse presentarsi allo stesso tempo come protettore dei Greci e catalizzare consensi contro i Romani. L'altra 'fortunatissima radice' della sua dinastia, quella achemenide, mai a mio avviso negata, nascosta o dissimulata dal sovrano nel suo dialogo all'interno e all'esterno del regno, fu plausibilmente, in questo come in molti altri casi, legata sapientemente all'immagine di colui che per primo fuse le due radici e i due regni, Alessandro. Una prova, per quanto labile, della buona riuscita di tale complesso equilibrio si può individuare forse proprio dal fatto che, nonostante l'avanzata dall'Ellesponto in Tracia e fino ad Atene, Mitridate non appare affatto nelle fonti -che certo non gli sono favorevoli- come un 'nuovo Serse' in questa fase della sua vicenda.[98]

A questo punto è opportuno fermare la marcia sin qui compiuta sulle tracce di un esercito tra i molti che Mitridate mise in campo, nella guerra in cui nacque la sua leggenda di 'grande nemico' di Roma. L'esercito che era stato di Arkathias, sotto Taxiles e insieme a tutte le altre forze pontiche, fu sconfitto a Cheronea, e poi ancora a Orcomeno. La presa pontica sull'Europa, caduta Atene e il Pireo, si allentò molto rapidamente, e le successive guerre sostenute da Mitridate seguirono altri cammini, tutti asiatici. Ritornare quindi a quella che di fatto fu una breve stagione, senza grandi conseguenze sul piano militare, è forse solo una deviazione, la ricerca di un cammino non troppo frequentato per avvicinarsi a una delle più note e controverse figure del mondo antico.

A seconda delle prospettive da cui la si osserva, la spedizione di Arkathias può essere letta, dalle mura di Atene, come un attardarsi in terre 'vuote', ma scegliendo un altro punto di osservazione, pur costretti a procedere in molti casi alla poca luce di testimonianze incerte, si può gettare uno sguardo -anche se non molto più di questo- su un piano strategico effimero, e destinato ad un rapido tramonto. E forse, pur nei contorni incerti che si restituiscono, anche questa ricostruzione può far balenare qualche altro lineamento del volto complesso e multiforme di Mitridate VI Eupatore Dioniso, re d'Asia ed erede di Alessandro, discendente dei Seleucidi e degli Achemenidi, sovrano di un regno che fu soglia dell'Occidente per l'Oriente.

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[98] Ballesteros Pastor 2011, 253–262, con discussione delle attestazioni.

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# Abstract

### Mithridates Eupator's Steps towards the Conquest of Europe. Pontic Armies and Strategies during the First Mithridatic War

The focus of this paper concerns Arkathias' military expedition in the First Mithridatic War with emphasis on illuminating Eupator's strategic plans at the beginning of his war against Rome and determining the situation in Thrace and Macedonia. Although the ancient sources are silent about the beginning of Arkhathias' expedition and the precise route that he followed, it will be argued that he began his expedition before or at the same time as Archelaos' journey to Attica, and spent a great amount of time making his way along the difficult roads in Aegean Thrace. Moreover, it will be seen that Arkathias' army was near the province of Macedonia and controlled a number of key points along the via Egnatia when Sulla arrived in Greece. The article will also argue why Sulla did not attack Arkathias. Finally, it will be argued that the affairs in Thrace and Macedonia are almost entirely absent in the accounts of the ancient authors, particularly Plutarch and Appian, because they relied on Sulla's *Memoirs* in which these regions are largely passed over in silence.

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## THE EARLY PARTHIAN POLICY OF AUGUSTUS

## I. Introduction

Augustus has proven to be a focal point for scholarship on the relationship between Rome and Parthia.[1] Such scholarship on Augustus and Parthia has come to be defined by two features, one a conclusion and one an assumption. As for the former, many soundly have concluded that the Augustan period restored diplomacy and the goal of peace between Rome and Parthia after two decades of violence that began with Crassus' invasion of the Parthian empire in 54–53 B.C.[2] In this way, scholars have identified correctly a relatively progressive side to the Augustan period. Indeed before Crassus, Rome and Parthia had their tensions, but

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[1] The treatment of the Arsacids and the Parthian empire in Potts 2013, 690-801 mentions relatively little of the Romans, much less Augustus, due to its focus on the archaeological and linguistic evidence of ancient Iran rather than the preserved literary record, which for the Arsacid period is Greco-Roman in character and largely interested in events touching on Roman interests and affairs. This, however, was not to slight the importance of the Roman-Parthian relationship. As Potts indicates (XXVII), it was a deliberate choice so that this volume would complement that of Daryaee 2012, which nicely reviews the narrative history of Iran. For the discussion of the Parthian empire in the latter *Handbook*, see Dąbrowa 2012, 164-86, which reviews the source problem, Roman-Parthian relations, and Augustus. Taken together, these volumes offer an impressive comprehensive treatment of ancient Iran.

[2] Consider only the following, Marsh 1931, 78, 81; Ziegler 1964, 45–57, 82–96; Colledge 1967, 46; Seager 1972, 16–7; Schieber 1979, 105–6, 120; Sherwin-White 1984, 320, 326–7, 332–5, 340–1; Gruen 1990, 396, 398, 415–6, and Gruen 1996, 158–63, 195–6; Campbell 1993, 214, 220–8; Rich 1998, 72; Gaslain and Maleuvre 2006, 169–94; Sampson 2008, 171–2; Farrokh 2007, 146–7; Lerouge 2007, 98, 102–3, 126–7; Sheldon 2010, 81–91; Shayegan 2011, 334–40. See also Rose 2005, 21–75, especially 21–44, who argues that even monumental representations of Parthians in Augustan Rome emphasized peace with Parthian cooperation.

engaged in no actual military conflict.[3] Crassus, however, invaded the Parthian empire with some seven legions. The immediate result was the battle of Carrhae, which resulted in a major Roman defeat and the death of Crassus.[4] But clashes continued long thereafter as the Parthians invaded the Roman East several times in the late 50s and 40s B.C. and then Antony embarked on his own Parthian campaign several years later.[5] The subsequent Augustan period saw the situation improve dramatically. There were no direct military engagements, but rather important positive achievements: (i) renewed and repeated diplomatic contact; (ii) the 20 B.C. decision of Parthian king Phraates IV to return the standards and captives previously lost by Crassus to the Parthians; and (iii) the re-establishment of a Roman-Parthian treaty in A.D. 2. Such progressive, peaceful developments under Augustus contrast starkly with the preceding period of on-and-off-again conflict.

The defining assumption involves the starting point of Augustan policy on Parthia and its early nature. Most scholars assume that Augustan policy on Parthia effectively began in 31/0 B.C. when Octavian, victor of the battle of Actium, longed to conquer or exact reconciliatory concessions from the Parthians (in response to and retribution for previous Roman defeats).[6] This is an assumption that undeniably encourages scholars to suggest the princeps willingly and aggressively provoked Parthia early on after Actium. For example, some argue that during an internal Parthian struggle for the throne between 31 and 25 B.C., Octavian har-

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[3] Perhaps the closest they came to any such engagement was under Pompey and Phraates III in the mid–60s, when there was disagreement over control of the territory Gordyene. But no real fighting resulted. See Dio Cass. 37.5.2–5; cf. Plut. *Pomp.* 36.2. For discussion of it in the context of Roman-Parthian relations in the mid–60s, see Schlude 2013, 163–81.

[4] Plut. *Crass.* 20.1 estimates Crassus' troop strength at seven legions (the most conservative number on record). For the campaign in general, see once again Sampson 2008, and more recently Traina 2011 and Weggen 2011.

[5] Recently, Schlude 2012, 11–23 addressed the events of the late 50s and 40s B.C. Antony will be discussed below (see especially Sections II and III).

[6] Many scholars assume Augustus' plans or preference for war with Parthia, for example, Debevoise 1938, 138–9; Zanker 1988, 186; Campbell 1993, 221–2; Wolski 1993, 147; Merriam 2004, 56–8, 69–70; Sheldon 2010, 80–1. Marsh 1931, 81, and Sherwin-White 1984, 328–41, especially 332–3, approach Augustus' policy with regard to Parthia not so much from the point of view of his reaction to past Roman defeats by the Parthians as from that of his reaction to the Roman desire for imperialist expansion. Still, it is telling that Marsh implicitly and Sherwin-White explicitly affirm that the only reason Augustus did not take up arms against Parthia was his fear of further military reverses. War was the favored alternative. Some scholars note or imply that Augustus was thinking on revenge, without identifying its precise form, e.g. Gruen 1990, 396; Levick 1999, 25. Others agree that he needed concessions, though explicitly note that he had little interest in a war, e.g. Seager 1972, 16–7; Schieber 1979, 105–6, 120; Gaslain and Maleuvre 2006, 169–94, especially 181, 186; Lerouge 2007, 102–4; Linz 2009, 55–8. (It also should be noted that other voices deny Octavian's real interest in a military venture against Parthia. Consider, for example, Sartre 2005, 65, who emphasizes that 'There is no indication that Augustus ever seriously considered pushing it [the Euphrates border] back…we see no attempt at conquest in that direction'.)

bored Tiridates II, a Parthian claimant to the throne, and held as a hostage the son of king Phraates IV, to use them as bargaining chips. In this way, he threatened to thwart potential anti-Roman behavior on the part of the king with the possibility that he could retaliate by supporting a rival. And in the midst of that tension, the princeps returned the son only on the condition that his father return the Roman standards previously lost to Parthia.[7] He obtained his demand – a demand that confirms the original assumption that Octavian wanted revenge.

This general picture, however, is not without tension and problems. First of all, one may note that the idea of Octavian as desiring revenge on Parthia, as well as taking up an oppositional position vis-à-vis its king, contradicts somewhat the emphasis on his interest in diplomacy and peace with the same state. Perhaps such tension was simply the reality of the situation, one could argue. He forcefully put the pressure on in a way that ultimately made possible a more constructive relationship. Yet there exists another way to alleviate, or in fact eliminate, the rub – and this brings us to the problem of the standard narrative of Augustan policy on Parthia. It has neglected a body of literary evidence that suggests earlier developments in the 30s B.C. lessened demand at Rome for action against Parthia. Details preserved in authors like Plutarch and Dio reveal that Antony and his partisans largely quenched the Roman thirst for revenge against Parthia before Actium, and (perhaps even more surprising) that Octavian in fact worked with Antony to rehabilitate at home the Roman reputation in relation to Parthia. (The sore spot of Parthia, it seems, was above partisan politics.) With this in mind, the notion that Octavian entered the 20s B.C. with the absolute need for revenge against Parthia is not correct. He had already pursued a policy on Parthia before 30 B.C. that effectively addressed the black eyes suffered by Rome at Parthian hands. And this provides us with a new and significant starting point for Augustan policy on Parthia – one that no longer demands that we interpret Octavian's decisions related to Parthia in and shortly after 31/0 B.C. as adversely and provocatively as previously thought. In the end, peace and cooperation between Rome and Parthia were consistently the hallmarks of the Augustan period, even and also from its very beginning.

## II. Antony and Parthia

Let us first consider Antony and how he and his partisans answered, to a large degree, the Roman need for revenge against Parthia. Antony's troops fought the Parthians several times in the 30s B.C. The first came in 39–38 B.C. in response to a 40 B.C. Parthian invasion of the Roman East under the direction of Pacorus, the

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[7] See, for example, Debevoise 1938, 136–7; Campbell 1993, 222; Seager 1972, 17; Dąbrowa 1983, 40–1; Sherwin-White 1984, 322–4; Levick 1999, 25; Gaslain and Maleuvre 2006, 169–94; Farrokh 2007, 146–7; Lerouge 2007, 103–4; Linz 2009, 57–60; Sheldon 2010, 76, 81–5.

son of Parthian king Orodes II, and the Roman collaborator Labienus. Antony commissioned his subordinate officer Ventidius to recover the Roman East, which he did by eliminating Labienus in 39 B.C. and then Pacorus in 38 B.C. Antony himself, who personally came on the scene following these events, concluded the conflict by eventually bringing to terms Antiochus of Commagene, who had decided to hold out in Samosata with the Parthian troops who had fled to him following Pacorus' defeat.[8] The second time came in 36 B.C., when Antony invaded the Parthian empire, then under rule of Phraates IV. Rather than crossing the Euphrates into Mesopotamia, he invaded from Armenia, whence he received additional cavalry support from its king Artavasdes II, the son of Tigranes (II) the Great. In the end, his campaign did not advance too far. He suffered the destruction of his baggage train, lost more Roman standards and soldiers as captives, was abandoned by the Armenian contingent, besieged Praaspa unsuccessfully, failed to negotiate for anything advantageous, and saw many of his soldiers slaughtered and wasted as the Parthians pursued his retreat to Armenia and the winter hampered his subsequent march to Syria.[9] Contrary to much previous scholarship, these engagements should be recognized as settling the score with Parthia after Carrhae, at least in part and from the Roman perspective.

Now there will be two immediate and obvious objections to this proposal. First, there is the fact that Antony's invasion of the Parthian empire in 36 B.C. was another Roman debacle. How could such a campaign even the score with

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[8] Plut. *Ant.* 33–4; Dio Cass. 48.39–41, 49.19–22; Zonar. 10.23 (PI513A) and 10.26 (PI519B). For a comprehensive biography of Ventidius, see Bühler 2009. With regard to Antony's actions at Samosata in particular, see Dio Cass. 49.22.1–2 and Plut. *Ant.* 34.2–4 who differ slightly on details, but both conclude that Antony was forced to lift the siege in exchange for rather limited concessions from Antiochus. Oros. 6.18.23 and Zonar. 10.26 (PI519B-C) are also less than impressed with Antony's handling of Antiochus. While Josephus in *BJ* 1.320–2 provides a more flattering picture of Antony, suggesting that his client king Herod the Great managed to kill many barbarians and carry off much plunder in the siege before forcing Antiochus' surrender, in *AJ* 14.439–47 he clarifies that Herod's actions preceded his arrival at Samosata. Even so the undeniable fact remains that Antony ultimately concluded the campaign and did so in the dominant position.

[9] The two primary accounts of this expedition are Plut. *Ant.* 37–51 and Dio Cass. 49.24.2–31.4. Based on Strab. 11.13.3, we can assume that many details included by Plutarch and Dio likely derive from Quintus Dellius, a friend and subordinate officer of Antony who accompanied him on this 36 B.C. campaign and wrote a firsthand account of it. In terms of the size of the expedition, ancients differ on the numbers. While on the low end Velleius Paterculus notes thirteen legions (2.82.1), on the high end Livy, *Epit.* 130 mentions eighteen legions; the contingent was big. For further discussion and bibliography, see, among others, Holmes 1928, 123–8; Debevoise 1938, 121–32; Ziegler 1964, 35–6; Bucheim 1960, 77–9, 82–3; Colledge 1967, 44–5; Bengtson 1974; Schieber 1979, 107–14; Bivar 1983, 58–64; Dąbrowa 1983, 37–8; Sherwin-White 1984, 307–21; Wolski 1993, 141–5; Pelling 1996, 30–4; Dąbrowa 2006, 343–52; Osgood 2006, 303–6.

Parthia? Second, after 30 B.C., when Antony was gone, some elite Roman voices still recalled defeats by the Parthians and demanded revenge. For example, one could point to Augustan poets such as Horace or Propertius.[10] If these men emphasized the disgrace of Rome by Parthia and the remaining need to blot it out, all after Antony and his efforts, how can we credit Antony with successfully avenging Rome against Parthia?

These would be fair objections, but they underemphasize the successes the Romans did enjoy under Antony, as well as the way his efforts in the east in general were presented to the Roman people back home.

As for successes, consider the first Roman engagement with the Parthians under Antony. While his start was slow against the 40 B.C. Parthian invasion, his subordinate lieutenant Ventidius was able to carry out a productive two-year campaign, in which he drove the Parthians from the Roman East in 39 B.C. and managed to kill Pacorus on the battlefield in 38 B.C. These were not insignificant events – as the Romans appreciated. Dio tells us the senate offered Antony public commendation and thanksgiving for the advances of 39 B.C.[11] As for those of 38 B.C., they were so impressive that Antony removed Ventidius from command, and the senate voted thanksgivings and a triumph to both Antony and Ventidius. And while Antony did not live to celebrate his triumph, Ventidius did. And his triumph, as the sources attest, left a deep impression on the Roman people. Pervasive is the notion in the sources that Ventidius finally avenged the disaster of Crassus. Many even apparently believed and circulated that Ventidius actually killed Pacorus on the same day that the Parthians cut down Crassus. As Dio says, 'The Romans voted these honors to Ventidius since they believed that through [the death of] Pacorus he had thoroughly repaid the Parthians for the misfortune that had befallen them in the time of Crassus, especially because both events happened on the same day of each year'.[12] Whether true or not, the rumor would have resonated with a populace

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[10] Particularly good examples include, Hor. *Odes* 1.2.51–2 and 3.3.43–4, encouraging action against Parthia; 3.5.5–12, lamenting the assimilation of Crassan prisoners-of-war in the Parthian empire; 3.6.9–12, noting Roman losses c. 40 B.C. and 36 B.C.; Prop. 3.4. See Debevoise 1938, 138–9; Seager 1980, 103–18; Wissemann 1982, especially 47–103; Campbell 1993, 226–7; Merriam 2004, 56–70, who would agree that both of these poets recalled the defeats, but argues that only Horace of the two wished for Octavian to take action to avenge them, while Propertius rejected that line of thinking. For the image of the Parthians among the Romans in general, see Sonnabend 1986 and Lerouge 2007.

[11] Dio Cass. 48.41.5, καὶ [ὁ Οὐεντίδιος] αὐτὸς μὲν οὐδὲν ἐπ᾽ αὐτοῖς παρὰ τῆς βουλῆς, ἅτε οὐκ αὐτοκράτωρ ὢν ἀλλ᾽ ἑτέρῳ ὑποστρατηγῶν, εὕρετο, ὁ δὲ Ἀντώνιος καὶ ἐπαίνους καὶ ἱερομηνίας ἔλαβεν.

[12] Dio Cass. 49.21.1–3, ἐνταῦθα δὲ ἤδη αὐτῷ ὄντι ὁ Ἀντώνιος ἐξαίφνης ἐπιστὰς οὐ μόνον οὐχ ἥσθη ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐφθόνησεν, ὅτι ἔδοξέ τι καθ᾽ ἑαυτὸν ἠνδραγαθῆσθαι· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτὸν ἔπαυσε, καὶ ἐς οὐδὲν ἔτι οὔτ᾽ αὐτίκα οὔθ᾽ ὕστερον αὐτῷ ἐχρήσατο, καίτοι καὶ ἱερομηνίας

still uneasy about Carrhae. They could now breathe a collective sigh of relief as they watched a Roman triumph over the Parthians. One almost senses the Romans did not wish to stop celebrating the victory; shortly after Ventidius died, they gave him a public funeral.[13] While a Horace or Propertius wanted something more done about Parthia, most Romans likely entered the Augustan age with the feeling that they had beaten Parthia. Crassus' catastrophe could be forgotten in the brilliance of Ventidius' victory.[14]

Of course there are still Antony's blunders in 36 B.C. Antony, to be sure, scored some limited victories in this campaign. He routed Parthian forces during the siege of Praaspa and defeated them in a number of engagements as the Romans troops tried to extract themselves from the region.[15] In fact, Plutarch at one point tallies these Roman victories at eighteen![16] Even so we must remember that such highlights were balanced out by reverses, and all of them were in the con-

ἐπ' ἀμφοτέροις τοῖς ἔργοις καὶ ἐπινίκια δι' αὐτὸν λαβών. οἵ γε μὴν ἐν τῷ ἄστει Ῥωμαῖοι ἐψηφίσαντο μὲν τῷ Ἀντωνίῳ ταῦτα πρός τε τὸ προῦχον αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ νόμου, ὅτι ἡ στρατηγία ἐκείνου ἦν, ἐψηφίσαντο δὲ καὶ τῷ Οὐεντιδίῳ, ἅτε καὶ τὴν συμφορὰν τὴν ἐπὶ τοῦ Κράσσου σφίσι γενομένην ἱκανώτατα τοῖς Πάρθοις διὰ τοῦ Πακόρου, καὶ μάλισθ' ὅτι ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἑκατέρου τοῦ ἔτους ἀμφότερα συνηνέχθη, νομίζοντες ἀνταποδεδωκέναι. καὶ συνέβη γε τῷ Οὐεντιδίῳ μόνῳ τε τὰ νικητήρια ἑορτάσαι ὥσπερ καὶ μόνος ἐνίκησεν (ὁ γὰρ Ἀντώνιος προαπώλετο). Translations here and below are my own. For the specific belief that Ventidius requited the Parthians for the defeat of Crassus, see also Plut. *Ant.* 34.2; Val. Max. 6.9.9; Tac. *Germ.* 37.4; Arr. *Parth.* 24; Flor. 2.19.7. And that the events took place on the same day is also noted by the following, Eutrop. 7.5; Fest. *Brev.* 18; Oros. 6.18.23.

[13] Aul. Gell. 15.4.4, explicitly citing Suetonius, *Eundem Bassum Suetonius Tranquillus ... scribit ... morte obita publico funere sepultum esse*.

[14] Dąbrowa 2006, 344 briefly notes Ventidius' successes. See also Bühler 2009, 225–7 and Sheldon 2010, 58–60 who discuss the victory and its impressions on the Romans. But they do not go as far as we should, nor do they entertain this implication for Octavian. Strugnell 2006, 239–52 argues the opposite view, that Ventidius' victory had limited impact at Rome. Perhaps its impact would have been greater still if somehow Ventidius had regained the standards lost under Crassus and displayed them in his triumph at Rome. Lerouge 2007, 94, however, rightly acknowledges this significance of Ventidius' victory; it so successfully avenged Crassus' death that Antony had to resort to the unreturned standards and prisoners of war as a (related) justification for his own future Parthian campaign. At any rate, we should not allow Strugnell's speculative thinking to divert our attention from the facts, Rome was desperate for a victory over Parthia, Ventidius earned a decisive one, and the Romans enthusiastically celebrated it. For another treatment of the impressive accomplishment of Antony in these and later events, as well as how the later source tradition may have obscured it, see K. R. Jones, Marcus Antonius' Median War and the Dynastic Politics of the Near East', in J.M. Schlude and B.B. Rubin (eds.), *Arsacids, Romans, and Local Elites: Cross-Cultural Interactions of the Parthian Empire* (Oxbow Books), forthcoming.

[15] e.g. Dio Cass. 49.26.2, 49.29.2–4; Plut. *Ant.* 39, 41, 42, 45. Wolski 1993, 143–4 recognizes the talent and accomplishment of Antony as a commander under the difficult circumstances that the Romans faced in their retreat.

[16] Plut. *Ant.* 50, ὥδευσαν μὲν οὖν ἀπὸ Φραάτηων ἡμέρας ἑπτὰ καὶ εἴκοσι, μάχαις δ' ὀκτὼ καὶ δέκα Πάρθους ἐνίκησαν.

text of a failed siege, determined retreat, and huge loss of life, as mentioned above.[17] In the end, the campaign was no resounding success. Yet it is vital to appreciate that many Romans must have understood them differently, since the reverses never reached them in unvarnished form. The position published by Antony at Rome included nothing of his problems. According to Dio, 'he indeed concealed all things unpleasant and portrayed some of them as just the opposite, as if they were even successes'.[18] In other words, Antony offered the Roman public a highly edited version of events that would have left most to think that Rome was the victor. The more we dig into the sources, the less evidence we see for the likelihood of a potent demand at Rome in 30 B.C. for revenge against Parthia. Antony had already addressed the concern.

### III. Octavians's Role before 31/0 B.C.

This accomplishment, however, did not belong to Antony alone. Octavian and his partisans played an active role in assisting him in this project. And this we should consider the beginning of Octavian's Parthian policy (not his actions in 30 B.C.).

One might suppose Octavian would have attempted to undermine entirely Antony's attempts to fashion himself as conqueror of the Parthians. Yet the evidence available, while limited, suggests the opposite, i.e. Octavian actually took positive action to help construct the image. Hence even while Antony spread his own lies about the uncompromised advances of his 36 B.C. campaign, Octavian and his supporters instituted sacrifices and festivals to celebrate the faux victory.[19] And Octavian may have continued the fiction when responding to Antony's complaint that he had given away nearly all of Italy to his own soldiers and left nothing for those of Antony: 'The soldiers [of Antony] had no claim on Italy, since they had Media and Parthia, which they won for the Romans, when they fought well with their general'.[20] While those in-the-know would have recognized the irony in this statement, others would have seen it as confirming the image already constructed: Antony had Parthia in hand. In fact, it seems not unlikely that Octavian would

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[17] Based on Plutarch's account, Antony seems to have lost something on the order of a third of his fighting force, setting out as he did with 100,000 troops (*Ant*. 37), but seeing 32,000 destroyed (*Ant*. 50–51).

[18] Dio Cass. 49.32.1, πάντα γὰρ δὴ  τὰ  δυσχερῆ συνέκρυπτε, καὶ ἔστιν ἅ γε αὐτῶν καὶ ἐς τὸ ἐναντιώτατον, ὡς καὶ εὐπραγῶν, ἔγραφεν.

[19] Dio Cassius says of their response to the ill-starred campaign, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐν τῷ κοινῷ διήλεγχον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐβουθύτουν καὶ ἑώρταζον (49.32.2).

[20] Plut. *Ant*. 55.2, τοῖς δὲ στρατιώταις Ἰταλίας μὴ μετεῖναι,  Μηδίαν γὰρ ἔχειν καὶ Παρθίαν αὐτούς, ἃς προσεκτήσαντο Ῥωμαίοις καλῶς ἀγωνισάμενοι μετὰ τοῦ αὐτοκράτορος.

have anticipated (and so intended) both reactions. It is important to note the irony, but also to highlight the maintenance of the image (no less real).

Along similar lines, one could also point to the story of the Donations of Alexandria, whose ultimate publication must have been the work of Octavian and his partisans.[21] In this famous incident, Antony supposedly choreographed an ostentatious, public display in the Alexandrian gymnasium, in which he bestowed impressive titles and eastern territories upon Cleopatra VII and her children. As the story goes, Antony gave to Alexander, his son by the queen, Armenia, Media, and Parthia.[22] Again, it would appear that Octavian was supporting the image of Antony as a success vis-à-vis Parthia.

No doubt some will question this reading. Was this story not used to make Antony look bad? Indeed we know Antony had no power at all over Parthia. Yet this anecdote takes for granted that he controlled it. Perhaps Octavian circulated this story to highlight the gaping chasm between the reality and Antony's claims. But this is unlikely, considering the larger context of the passage, which mentions a string of other territories that were under Roman control at this point. While Antony ultimately only had an alliance with the king of Media (another so-called Artavasdes, who had sought the friendship of the Romans in newfound displeasure with Phraates after Antony's 36 B.C. venture), he had effectively conquered Armenia and removed its king Artavasdes in 34 B.C., theoretically making way for a new king whom he could appoint and install.[23] And the other territories he distributed in the Donations were fully subject to Roman hegemony: Egypt, Cyprus, (north) Africa, Syria, Coele-Syria, Phoenicia, and Cilicia. Yes, the aim was for the story to make Antony look bad, but not for what he did not do (i.e. conquer Parthia), rather for what he did do: high-handedly give the Roman East to an Egyptian queen and her children. Another objection may be that this story is too storied; it is nearly impossible to sift fact from fiction.[24] Yet such attempts to identify the reality are unnecessary and miss the point: whatever the truth, Octavian consistently constructed for the Roman public a picture of Parthia as conquered and cowed.

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[21] Plut. *Ant*. 55.1 suggests as much, ταῦτα δ᾽ εἰς σύγκλητον ἐκφέρων Καῖσαρ καὶ πολλάκις ἐν τῷ δήμῳ κατηγορῶν παρώξυνε τὸ πλῆθος ἐπ᾽ Ἀντώνιον.

[22] See Plut. *Ant*. 54.3; Dio Cass. 49.41.1–4; cf. Livy, *Epit*. 131; Zonar. 10.27 (PI521D–522A).

[23] Dio Cass. 49.33.1–4, 49.39.1–40.4, 49.44.1–4; Plut. *Ant*. 52–53. Antony cemented his friendship with the king of Media through a marriage alliance involving the Mede's daughter Iotape and his son Alexander. While this marriage would have provided Alexander with a connection to Media, the Median king certainly did not agree to vacate his own throne to make room for Antony's son. As mentioned, however, Armenia was in Roman hands and in need of a king. In fact, as Dio Cass. 49.44.2 makes clear, Antony subsequently gave part of the territory to the Median Artavasdes in 33 B.C.

[24] Scholars have rightly noticed the Augustan propaganda machine at work here, Syme [1939] 2002, 270; Schieber 1979, 118; Osgood 2006, 338–9. Some, however, such as Roller 2010, 99–101 and Sheldon 2010, 74, seem inclined to accept the event entirely as fact.

The material I am reviewing here has long been discussed. There is, however, much still to appreciate when it comes to the rehabilitation of the Roman reputation in relation to Parthia. Before 30 B.C. a great deal had already been done, thanks to Ventidius and Antony, to restore Rome's image of itself. Not everyone may have been convinced, but most would have. Along with this, it should be noted that Octavian played an important part, too. Of course he wanted Antony to look bad, but not at the expense of continued Roman insecurity about Parthia. This was one area in which it was more important to put Rome first. Before 30 B.C. Octavian also worked to satisfy the Roman desire to settle the score with Parthia.

## IV. Octavian and Parthia after 31/0 B.C.

This new understanding of Augustan policy on Parthia has important implications. As discussed, this policy is often thought to have begun in 30 B.C. with a drive for revenge. The result was provocative action against Parthia early on, i.e. Octavian harbored Tiridates as a potential claimant to the Parthian throne, held the son of king Phraates as a hostage, and supposedly released him only in return for the Roman standards. To be sure, this was no armed action. But it was an attempt to clamp down aggressively on Parthia (albeit more diplomatically) to wrest concessions from the state.

Yet based on our observations above, this may not be the best picture of early Augustan relations with Parthia. A different (and more appropriate) starting point may lead to different conclusions. By 30 B.C., much of the Roman need for Parthian revenge was already answered – and Octavian played his part in the process. As a result, Octavian's hands were more free when it came to Parthia. He did not need to march against Parthia or to force the state into offering concessions. And so when we consider his response, in the wake of Actium, to the internal Parthian struggle for power between Phraates and Tiridates, we should not assume hostile intent automatically, but be open to reading his decisions as more progressive, where appropriate.

Most likely, Octavian's aim was to maintain a position of neutrality in the Parthian civil war. After the disastrous conclusion of Antony's 36 B.C. campaign and down to Octavian's assumption of power in the Roman East in 31/0 B.C., there was no direct military engagement between Romans and Parthians. And Octavian wished to keep it that way. So when the Parthian internal conflict threatened to involve the Romans, and thereby draw them necessarily into war with one Parthian faction or another, Octavian opted for non-commitment. The account of Dio suggests as much. He writes, 'as long as the faction of Antony still resisted, even after the sea battle, not only did [Octavian] not take one of the

sides of those requesting an alliance, but he did not even give an answer other than that he would think on it'. Note the neutrality. While Octavian cited pressing business in Egypt as an explanation, Dio reckons that he pursued this line of behavior 'in order that [Phraates and Tiridates] might be exhausted at the time by fighting against one another'.[25] And it is conceivable that this may have been considered an additional benefit when it came to the security of the eastern Roman empire. But his primary goal must have been to avoid opposition to and alienation of a powerful Parthian faction.

His policy remained the same even when conflict finally spilled over into the Roman empire.[26] When Tiridates was defeated and fled to Syria with the son of Phraates in tow as a hostage, Octavian worked to establish a good rapport with both and to encourage each to trust in him. He received the envoys of Phraates in friendly fashion. Neither did he promise Tiridates assistance, nor did he arrest and surrender him to Phraates to face a dire fate. Rather he permitted him to reside in Syria, which had some benefit for both parties. While he did not signal immediate disapproval of Tiridates by sending his hostage back to Phraates at this time, he nevertheless removed the boy from the custody of Tiridates as a favor to the king and brought him back to Rome.[27] Afterwards an additional trust-building measure was needed for the king after Tiridates made another unsuccessful attempt on the Parthian throne in 26–25 B.C.[28] As a result, Octavian

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[25] Dio Cass. 51.18.2, στασιασάντων γὰρ αὐτῶν καί τινος Τιριδάτου τῷ Φραάτῃ ἐπαναστάντος, πρότερον μέν, καὶ ἕως ἔτι τὰ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου καὶ μετὰ τὴν ναυμαχίαν ἀνθειστήκει, οὐχ ὅσον οὐ προσέθετό τῳ αὐτῶν συμμαχίαν αἰτησάντων, ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἀπεκρίνατο ἄλλο οὐδὲν ἢ ὅτι βουλεύσεται, πρόφασιν μὲν ὡς καὶ περὶ τὴν Αἴγυπτον ἀσχολίαν ἔχων, ἔργῳ δὲ ἵν' ἐκτρυχωθεῖεν ἐν τούτῳ μαχόμενοι πρὸς ἀλλήλους.

[26] The primary sources are inconsistent on the sequence of events between 30 and 25 B.C. The most important literary sources include, Dio Cass. 51.18.3, 53.33.1–2; Justin 42.5. While Justin includes some details not found elsewhere that should be considered reliable, he also has combined events incorrectly into a condensed account that has produced confusion for modern scholars when they compare it to the fuller version of Dio Cassius. For this reason, I closely follow Dio Cassius below, but still refer to Justin where relevant. For a detailed and careful discussion of the source problems, see Timpe 1975, 155–60, which agrees with the following reconstruction of these years' events with a few exceptions.

[27] Dio Cass. 51.18.3, τότε δὲ ἐπειδὴ ὅ τε Ἀντώνιος ἐτελεύτησε, καὶ ἐκείνων ὁ μὲν Τιριδάτης ἡττηθεὶς ἐς τὴν Συρίαν κατέφυγεν, ὁ δὲ Φραάτης κρατήσας πρέσβεις ἔπεμψε, τούτοις τε φιλικῶς ἐχρημάτισε, καὶ τῷ Τιριδάτῃ βοηθήσειν μὲν οὐχ ὑπέσχετο διαιτᾶσθαι δὲ ἐν τῇ Συρίᾳ ἐπέτρεψεν, υἱόν τέ τινα τοῦ Φραάτου ἐν εὐεργεσίας μέρει παρ' αὐτοῦ λαβὼν ἔς τε τὴν Ῥώμην ἀνήγαγε καὶ ἐν ὁμηρείᾳ ἐποιήσατο. In accordance with Justin, Timpe 1975, 159–60 favors 25 B.C. as the year in which Tiridates fled the Parthian empire with Phraates' son as a hostage. But this obviously runs contrary to Dio Cassius. It would be better to follow Dio Cassius here, accepting that in 30/29 B.C. Augustus brought Phraates' son to Rome, where he subsequently he would play into the events of 25 B.C. in a significant way.

[28] Isid. Char. 1; Dio Cass. 53.33.1–2. Numismatic evidence puts Tiridates in some control of Seleucia-on-the-Tigris in 26–25 B.C.; see McDowell 1935, 185, 222; cf. Debevoise 1938, 137–8. A

(now better called Augustus) decided to return the boy to his father Phraates –
and he did so, according to Pompeius Trogus, *sine pretio*, without a price, free of
charge.[29] In short, this was a very carefully balanced response to what was a real
diplomatic crisis. Octavian was not purposely ratcheting up tensions with Parthia
by securing and then manipulating Tiridates and Phraates' son as bargaining
chips to influence the king. In fact, he had little reason to do so. Antony, with his
assistance, had already neutralized the problem of Roman self-image vis-à-vis
Parthia. No Parthian concessions were necessary at this time. In addition, to take
such provocative action actually would have alienated Phraates and perhaps pro-
duced a new Parthian problem for the Romans. On the contrary, Octavian sought
to diffuse tensions as much as possible in the difficult circumstances and to move
Roman-Parthian relations in a more positive direction.

Phraates' subsequent behavior offers some proof of this interpretation. As is
well known, some years later (c. 10 B.C.) Phraates sent Augustus several other
royal family members to board with him in Rome. Among others these included
four sons: Seraspadanes, Rhodaspes, yet another Phraates, and Vonones.[30] Vari-
ous authors suggest Phraates took this action because of internal instability and
dynastic intrigue at home in Parthia – a not implausible explanation.[31] But for
purposes here, we should note that this would have placed Augustus in a power-
ful position, being able to supply one of these royal candidates as a figurehead to
a faction aligned against Phraates, should he have wished. Would Phraates have
transferred such key figures to Augustus' custody if Augustus had used Tiridates
and his other son against him in the 20s B.C.? Certainly not. This is a considera-

more recent discussion of this evidence is de Callataÿ 1994, 42–7, 55–7, who lays out the numismatic
and literary evidence and explicitly suggests that Tiridates enjoyed Roman assistance in this venture.
The evidence for this would seem to lie in title of ΦΙΛΟΡΩΜΑΙΟΥ that Tiridates adopted on his coins
in 26 B.C. But while this is clearly a striking and unprecedented title on a Parthian coin, it remains
speculative to conclude that substantial Roman support motivated its adoption. Phraates clearly did
not consider it significant when he sent his royal family members to stay with Augustus at Rome
fifteen years later (see discussion below). As for the title's intended meaning, it could have signaled
one's status as a Roman client king in a Roman context. So Timpe 1975, 157 understands it. In
a Parthian context, however, such ethnic terminology might have offered the illusion of power over
some Roman constituency. Tiridates perhaps considered both interpretations advantageous, since they
had the potential to inspire support among different groups. For an alternative explanation of this title,
see Gaslain and Maleuvre 2006, 182–3, who follow others in assuming Roman support (they explicit-
ly mention financial and military support), but seem to suggest the possibility that actually Augustus
and Phraates were conspiring together in this event, setting Tiridates up for a fall! The suggestion is
extremely intriguing, though ultimately unlikely.

[29] Just. *Epit*. 42.5.9.

[30] Strab. 16.1.28; cf. Strab. 6.4.2; Aug. *Anc.* 32.2; Vell. Pat. 2.94.4; Joseph. *AJ* 18.42; Tac.
*Ann*. 2.1; Suet. *Aug.* 21.3; Eutrop. 7.9; Oros. 6.21.29. It may even be that Parthian hostages entered
Roman hands in 20 B.C. along with the Roman standards and captives (see Gruen 1996, 159–60).

[31] See Strab. 16.1.28; Tac. *Ann*. 2.1; Joseph. *AJ* 18.39–43, providing juicy details.

tion left unnoticed in scholarship. In the final analysis, we must conclude that Augustus had earned the trust of Phraates. Augustus did not use the circumstances surrounding the Parthian internal strife of 31–25 B.C. as an opportunity to pressure and provoke Parthia. He aimed at fully amicable relations.

This reconstruction still needs to address a final – and important – detail: the testimony of Dio on the return of Phraates' son. In contrast to the account of Pompeius Trogus cited above, in which Augustus returned the boy to the king with no strings attached, Dio maintains that he sent him to his father 'on the condition that he receive the captives and military standards which were taken in the disasters of Crassus and Antony'.[32] Yet as explicit as this text is, there is as much reason to doubt it and credit Pompeius Trogus instead. While he and his sources were much closer to the event, it seems most plausible that Dio himself, in an attempt to explain this significant decision of Phraates centuries later, fixed on the last known diplomatic contact between the Roman and Parthian states, i.e. the return of the boy to Parthia, as a suitable hanger for the restoration of the standards. Also telling is the fact that, as Dio himself admits, the Parthian king returned the standards in 20 B.C.,[33] years after the supposedly conditional return of his son, which must have happened in 25 B.C. or very shortly thereafter.[34] Such an agreement, if it had existed, likely would have produced faster results. What is more, other primary sources commenting upon the restoration of the standards, several even contemporary with the event like Pompeius Trogus, fail to make the specific connection that Dio does.[35] It is highly improbable that this is a mere coincidence. All these considerations stack up against the account of Dio on this point.

The nature of Dio's explanation, however, is understandable against the backdrop of when Phraates returned the standards and how Augustus subsequently presented it. Even if a conditional return of the prince was unlikely, the underlying idea that Augustus was the primary cause behind the restoration of the standards, taking some action that inspired the Parthian decision, nevertheless finds support both in the circumstances that produced this accomplishment and in the propaganda program of Augustus that exploited the event. Indeed their return in 20 B.C. was linked to the presence of Augustus in the Roman east at that time.[36] He had been there since 21 B.C. to deal with wide-ranging

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[32] Dio Cass. 53.33.2, τὸν δ' υἱὸν αὐτῷ, ὃν πρότερον παρ' ἐκείνου λαβὼν εἶχεν, ἀπέπεμψεν ἐπὶ τῷ τούς τε αἰχμαλώτους καὶ τὰ σημεῖα τὰ στρατιωτικὰ τὰ ἔν τε τῇ τοῦ Κράσσου καὶ ἐν τῇ τοῦ Ἀντωνίου συμφορᾷ ἁλόντα κομίσασθαι.

[33] See Dio Cass. 54.8.1.

[34] Dio Cassius seems to place this event in 23 B.C. (53.33.1–2).

[35] See, for example, Aug. *Anc*. 29, Strab. 16.1.28, Vell. Pat. 2.91.1, and Suet. *Aug*. 21.3.

[36] See Just. *Epit*. 42.5.10–11; cf. Dio Cass. 54.8.1. Modern scholarship has also noted this connection, Ziegler 1964, 47, Dąbrowa 1983, 41–2, Wolski 1993, 147, Gruen 1996, 159–60 (cf. Gruen 1990, 396–7), and Linz 2009, 60–4, who nevertheless would not agree with all the details of the following reconstruction of these events.

business, focusing his administrative and diplomatic efforts first in Greece in 21 B.C. and then in Asia Minor, Syria, and their environs in 20 B.C. During this time, Augustus favorably answered a request of the Armenians. No longer satisfied with the rule of Artaxes II, who ultimately secured the Armenian throne after Antony's removal of Artavasdes and own demise, they called for the return and installation of his brother Tigranes III, then resident in Rome. Consequently, Augustus commissioned the future emperor Tiberius to establish Tigranes on the throne of Armenia – a task, as it turned out, made relatively easy by the Armenians who killed Artaxes before the arrival of Tiberius and Tigranes.[37] With such a Roman intervention in Armenia in motion, Phraates decided it was best to play it safe and cultivate proactively and positively his relationship with Augustus. Though Augustus had given him little cause for concern (and good reason for hope) in the previous decade, the last time the Romans ventured so far beyond Syria was under Antony and with belligerent results. The Parthian king took no chances; he had no interest in the repetition of past conflict. Phraates even may have surmised that the right reaction to Augustus could build constructively upon the progress already made in the Roman-Parthian relationship since 31 B.C. Aware of the significance of the Roman standards and captives, whose return Antony actually requested of him (unsuccessfully) back in 36 B.C. on the eve of his campaign into the Parthian empire, and to which Augustus perhaps even drew attention in an embassy while he was in the Near East in 20 B.C. (but not in connection to any conditional demand), Phraates returned them now to encourage further Roman-Parthian friendship. In fact both motivations, fear of potential conflict and hope of friendship, find explicit expression in the sources.[38] In other words, their

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[37] For the most detailed account of the trip, see Dio Cass. 54.7.1–8.1 and 54.9.1–10. For developments touching on Armenia, see Dio Cass. 54.9.4–5; Aug. *Anc.* 27.2; Vell. Pat. 2.94.4 and 2.122.1; Strab. 17.1.54; Tac. *Ann.* 2.3; Suet. *Tib.* 3.9.1; Joseph. *AJ* 15.105.

[38] Dio Cass. 49.24.5 attests Antony's request for the standards and prisoners. With this in mind, it should be noted that Antony deserves credit for helping to prepare the field for the significant settlement of the Augustan period (see also below). Just. *Epit.* 42.5.9 emphasizes the fear of a new Roman invasion of the Parthian empire, *Post haec, finito Hispaniensi bello, cum in Syriam ad conponendum Orientis statum venisset, metum Phrahati incussit, ne bellum Parthiae vellet inferre*. See also Dio Cass. 54.8.1. Strab. 16.1.28 posits Phraates' zeal for friendship, τοσοῦτον ἐσπούδασε περὶ τὴν φιλίαν τὴν πρὸς Καίσαρα τὸν Σεβαστόν, ὥστε καὶ τὰ τρόπαια ἔπεμψεν, ἅ κατὰ Ῥωμαίων ἀνέστησαν Παρθυαῖοι. Augustus also associates the return of the trophies with the Parthian desire for 'the friendship of the Roman people', though he puts a self-concerned spin on the details (*Anc.* 29.2; once more, see below). Interestingly, Dąbrowa 2012, 173 suggests that the return of the standards and prisoners *preceded* the Armenian request for a new king – and not vice versa, as argued here. Yet he also contends that their return resulted in part from 'military pressure from Rome'. While I obviously would say the issue was more of a perceived (not real) Roman military threat, in either case the Roman activities in Armenia in 20 B.C. would have been the most likely source of the Parthian anxiety that helped to inspire their return.

return was fundamentally a response to Augustus' progressive decisions over the past decade and his activity in the Roman east in 21–20 B.C.

The Augustan tradition then reinforced the Augustus factor. Faced with this potentially unexpected development, Augustus fully understood the magnitude of the opportunity at hand. Although he had worked with Antony back in the 30s B.C. to successfully avenge the Crassan debacle in the eyes of Romans, in 20 B.C. he could now rewrite history – to his own advantage. As it turned out, Augustus managed to oversee what Antony tragically could not: the return of the standards and captives of Crassus.[39] Who could argue with that? And who would argue with that? Augustus' Roman audience would not have minded another celebration at Parthia's expense. As a result, Augustus was now to be the real avenger of the Roman defeats by Parthia. The best possible face was put on the event and its reverberations are clear in the literary and material record.[40] Augustus presented the event entirely as his own impressive doing – and his language was suggestive of a military accomplishment. In his *Res Gestae* he claimed, 'I forced the Parthians to return to me the spoils and standards of three Roman armies and to seek as suppliants the friendship of the Roman people.'[41] He left no doubt that his was the powerful compulsion producing this momentous Parthian submission. And others quickly took his cue, happily encouraging the fiction of a military victory. For example, the Roman senate honored Augustus with a triumphal arch that clearly credited him with this accomplishment. In fact the combined numismatic and archaeological evidence suggests that a triple-bayed arch, topped centrally by Augustus in a four-horse chariot and peripherally by Parthians, one of which offered a legionary eagle to the princeps, once dominated the eastern side of the Roman forum. Imperial coinage boasted mottos of *signis receptis* ('the standards have been restored') and images of Parthians at their knees and offering up the standards. A statue of Augustus from Prima Porta, likely copying an honorific representation, shows Augustus every bit the victorious commander against Parthia, right arm outstretched in preparation for public address, body draped in the general's cloak, and torso embraced by a cuirass that sports an image of a Parthian transferring a standard to a representative of Rome, thought to be either Mars Ultor or Roma. Consider also the variety of poets in Augustan Rome who praised him for

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[39] While Antony failed to recover the standards of Crassus, he apparently managed the recovery of his own standards, lost during the campaign of 36 B.C. See Dio Cass. 49.44.2.

[40] On this issue and for what follows, the scholarly discussion is immense. Some useful starting points include, Sherwin-White 1984, 324–5; Zanker 1988, 183–92; Gruen 1990, 395–9 and 413–6 (cf. Gruen 1996, 158–63); Campbell 1993, 226–8; Rich 1998, 71–128; Merriam 2004, 56–70; Rose 2005, 21–36, which is particularly valuable, providing comprehensive bibliography; Lerouge 2007, 105–27; Schneider 2007, 50–86.

[41] Aug. *Anc.* 5.29, *Parthos trium exercitum Roman[o]rum spolia et signa re[ddere] mihi supplicesque amicitiam populi Romani petere coegi.*

realizing the return of the Roman standards: Horace, Ovid, Vergil, and Properti-us.[42] With all this in mind, it is not surprising that the Augustan program managed to shape the writings of later Roman authors, including Suetonius who supported the claim of Augustus,[43] as well as Dio, whose analysis was faulty, as already discussed, but nevertheless must have found encouragement in it.[44]

In fact, Augustus did not demand the standards in exchange for a hostage. The restoration of the standards was a calculated and constructive Parthian response to Augustus, who tended only to react to Parthian affairs when necessary so as to relieve tension and ensure peace with Rome's eastern neighbor. For the wiggle room to do so, Augustus actually had Antony to thank, whose initial accomplishments in the east largely sated the Roman appetite for revenge on Parthia and whose subsequent failures in the same theater he agreed to conceal in misleading publications.

## V. Conclusion

Augustus no doubt would be pleased that his propaganda program has worked its magic on modern scholars, too. To return to where we began, scholarship has noted rightly the diplomatic achievement of Augustus in Roman-Parthian relations.

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[42] See, for example, Hor. *Epist.* 1.12.27–8; Ov. *Fast.* 5.579–98, 6.465–8; Verg. *Aen.* 7.605–6; Prop. 4.6.79–82. It should be noted, however, that not all would agree that Ovid and Propertius were entirely sincere in their praise, e.g. Merriam 2004, 65–70, who also provides good bibliography on Propertius in n. 13.

[43] Suet. *Aug.* 2.3, *Parthi ... signa militaria, quae M. Crasso et M. Antonio ademerant, [Augusto] reposcenti reddiderunt.* Again, however, compare Dio Cass. 49.44.2, which suggests that the standards lost by Antony in 36 B.C. had already been returned to that triumvir.

[44] Rather than underscoring Augustus' attempts, discussed here, to present the Parthians as subjugated, some scholars instead have argued that Augustus portrayed the Parthians as a people relatively equal to Rome, a people who were to control the eastern (degenerate) half of a divided world. Such scholars see this as an Augustan technique in public policy designed to make the conquest of the Parthian empire unappealing and unnecessary. In other words, it was an attempt by Augustus to explain his failure to conquer Parthia. See Sonnabend 1986, 209–10, followed by Shayegan 2011, 334–40. Such a reading draws upon several authors from the period of Augustus and Tiberius who speak, in some form, to a *divisio orbis* between the Romans and powerful Parthians, Just. *Epit.* 41.1.1; Strab. 11.9.2; Vell. Pat. 2.101. Later echoes include, Joseph. *AJ* 18.46; Tac. *Ann.* 2.56. Lerouge 2007, 119–22, however, rightly notes that this idea of a *divisio orbis* as a part of official Augustan public imagery runs contrary to all the efforts after 20 B.C. to display the Parthians as conquered by Rome. Even so she entertains the possibility that these passages in fact may reflect Augustan policy, insofar as they originated from an attempt by the princeps to highlight the magnitude and stability of Roman power in the West. This is possible. But it is equally possible that we may simply be looking at the play of image vs. reality in Roman-Parthian relations. The image desired by Augustus was Roman victory and dominance over Parthia, while the reality was surely less: Rome faced a powerful Parthian empire with which it had to negotiate, compromise, and cooperate. It was impossible for Augustus to suppress this reality entirely; many in antiquity were acutely aware of the facts.

Once more peace with Parthia became reality. Also entrenched, however, is the idea that the lingering need to address the Parthian defeat of Crassus drove Augustus to confront Parthia aggressively beginning in 31/0 B.C. But this reading is problematic; those who adopt it have fallen prey to a deceptive Augustan self-representation designed to rewrite history. In light of the surprising return of the standards, Augustus thought it possible to win recognition as the ever-determined and successful champion of Rome against Parthia. Yet this was in retrospect. The vast majority of Romans were not calling for an attack on Parthia in 30 B.C. They were content because Antony and Octavian had addressed the issue beforehand. Antony secured a victory over Parthia. And for his part, Octavian in the 30s B.C. advocated at home the idea that the Romans were avenged on the Parthians through the efforts of Antony. As a result, he was able to freely collaborate with the Parthian king in and after 30 B.C. on improving Roman-Parthian relations. This he did by engaging in friendly diplomacy, maintaining neutrality during a Parthian civil conflict, and protecting and then restoring the king's son to him. His approach was not to encourage tension, but diffuse it and reestablish a lasting Roman-Parthian peace. In the end, Augustus' earlier Parthian policy was even more progressive than modern scholarship has so far appreciated.[*]

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# Abstract

This article addresses the early Parthian policy of Augustus, which proved to be pivotal in the history of Roman-Parthian relations. Considering his importance in this regard, scholars have rightly focused on Augustus and Parthia. Yet they routinely begin their treatments in 31/0 B.C., neglecting evidence that he took action related to Parthia beforehand. In addition, while moderns recognize progressive elements of his Parthian policy, most still unduly emphasize his provocation of Parthia in and after 30 B.C. This article instead argues that Octavian, before 30 B.C., collaborated with Antony in creating an image of Parthia as conquered by Rome for domestic consumption, which later allowed him to pursue constructive foreign relations with Parthia.

**Martin Schottky** (Germany)

# VORARBEITEN ZU EINER KÖNIGSLISTE KAUKASISCH-IBERIENS.
# 4. VON DEN ARSAKIDEN ZU DEN SASANIDEN

## Vorbemerkung zum vierten Teil

Wie am Ende des dritten Teils erwähnt wurde, nennen zeitgenössische Quellen in einem Zeitraum von hundert Jahren keinen iberischen Königsnamen. Die georgische Chronik scheint dagegen weiterhin ein lückenloses Regentenverzeichnis zu bieten. Damit stellt sich zunächst die Aufgabe, die einheimischen Angaben zu sichten und auf ihre eventuelle Brauchbarkeit hin zu überprüfen. Nur allzu oft zeigt sich nämlich auch noch in der modernen Forschung die Tendenz, nahezu jede Herrscherpersönlichkeit als authentisch zu betrachten, deren Existenz nicht ausdrücklich durch ein anderweitiges Zeugnis ausgeschlossen wird.

## Die Darstellung der georgischen Chronik

Der Bericht über die Geschichte Kartlis vom Ende der angeblichen Doppelherrschaft bis zur Stiftung einer neuen, mit den Pharnabaziden nicht mehr verwandten Dynastie bildet den Schlussabschnitt des ersten Teils von Leonti Mrowelis Beitrag zum *Leben Kartlis*.[1] Dabei hat der Chronist über den angeblichen Parsman „III.", der gemäß der traditionellen Chronologie bis 185 n. Chr.

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[1] Leonti Mroweli/Pätsch 1985, 112–130.

regiert haben soll, wenig zu sagen.[2] Interessant wird es erst mit dessen Sohn
Amasasp, dessen Verhalten noch einmal zu einem Dynastiewechsel, wenn auch
innerhalb des arasakidisch-pharnabazidischen Familienverbandes, geführt ha-
ben soll.[3] Während Leonti Mroweli über Rew einige freundliche Worte verliert,
weiß er über dessen drei Nachfolger außer den Namen nichts zu berichten.[4] In
die Zeit von Rews Ur-Urenkel Aspagur soll dann der Aufstieg der Sasaniden
fallen, zusammen mit allen Auswirkungen, die dieser auf die arsakidischen
Nebenlinien in Kaukasien hatte. Die persische Machtübernahme in Armenien
wird im Anschluss an noch vorhandene armenische Quellen geschildert.[5] Im
Rahmen dieser Vorgänge hat Aspagur die Aufgabe, den armenischen König
*Kossaro* (armenisch Khosrov, griechisch Chosroes) bei seinem zunächst sehr
erfolgreichen Kampf gegen die Perser zu unterstützen. Nachdem aber Kossaro
auf die von der armenischen Tradition vorgegebene Weise umgekommen ist,
stirbt auch Aspagur relativ plötzlich ohne einen männlichen Erben.[6] Seine
Eristaws beschließen daraufhin, sich unter folgenden Bedingungen zu unter-
werfen. Der Großkönig könne einen seiner Söhne zum König von Kartli ernen-
nen, wenn dieser die Erbtochter Aspagurs heiraten und die landesüblichen Sit-
ten respektieren werde: Forderungen, auf die der mächtige Perser gern ein-
geht.[7] Trotz dieser beide Seiten zufriedenstellenden  Vereinbarung kann die
Linie der Pharnabaziden nicht weiter fortgesetzt werden – das angestammte

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[2] Leonti Mroweli/Pätsch 1985, 113: *Dieser Parsman aber herrschte über ganz Kartli, und er hatte einen Sohn, und er gab ihm den Namen Amasasp. Und danach starb Parsman.*

[3] Leonti Mroweli/Pätsch 1985, 115–116: (Amasasp) *verfeindete sich mit den Armeniern und freundete sich mit den Persern an. Da fielen fünf ... Eristaws ab: ... Sie beratschlagten mit dem König der Armenier und forderten seinen Sohn als König, denn er* [der Sohn] *war der Schwester-sohn von Amasasp. Da wandte sich der König der Armenier mit großer Heeresmacht gegen Kartli, ... Amasasp wurde besiegt und sein Heer floh. Und sie töteten Amasasp ... und eroberten Kartli. Und der König der Armenier ließ seinen Sohn als König von Kartli zurück, der hieß Rew, der Schwestersohn des Amasasp.*

[4] Leonti Mroweli/Pätsch 1985, 116–117: *... Rew regierte gut, und er starb. Und nach ihm herrschte sein Sohn Watsche. Und nach Watsche herrschte sein Sohn Bakur. Und nach Bakur herrschte sein Sohn Mirdat. Und nach Mirdat herrschte sein Sohn Aspagur. ...*

[5] Leonti Mroweli/Pätsch 1985, 117–120 nach dem armenischen Agathangelos (Aa) 18–32 und M.X. 2.71–74.

[6] Leonti Mroweli/Pätsch 1985, 120: *Als dann der Perserkönig Armenien erobert hatte und in Kartli einfiel, ging Aspagur, der König der Kartweler,  nach Ossetien, um Truppen ... heranzuho-len ... Als aber Aspagur in Ossetien ankam, ereilte ihn der Tod, und er starb dort.*

[7] Leonti Mroweli/Pätsch 1985, 120–122, bes. 122 unten: *Er erfüllte alle Bedingungen der Kartweler und gab für alles Eid und Versprechen. Und er kam nach Mzcheta, und der Spaspet Maeshan mit allen Eristaws von Kartli ging ihm entgegen. Da holten sie die Tochter des Königs Aspagur aus Ssamschwilde herbei, die hieß Abeschura, und der Perserkönig vermählte sie mit seinem Sohn, der damals sieben Jahre zählte, von einer Magd geboren, der persisch Mihran hieß, kartwelisch aber Mirian.*

kartwelische Herrscherhaus stirbt mit Abeschura endgültig aus.[8] Mirian heiratet später noch einmal.[9] Ein Bericht darüber, wie er und seine zweite Gemahlin das Christentum annahmen, bildet dann den Hauptinhalt des zweiten Teils von Leonti Mrowelis Beitrag zum Leben Kartlis.[10]

## Das iberische Königtum nach Xepharnug

Wie zu erwarten war, hat es nicht an Versuchen gefehlt, Leontis Ausführungen möglichst wörtlich zu nehmen.[11] Dies erschien vor allem deswegen unproblematisch, weil die literarischen Quellen in griechischer und lateinischer Sprache nach der letzten Erwähnung Pharasmanes' II. erst über zweihundert Jahre später wieder einen iberischen Herrscher namentlich nennen. Es handelt sich um den bei Ammianus Marcellinus (21.6.8) erscheinenden *Meribanes*, der gern mit Mihran/Mirian identifiziert wird. Die betreffende Vorgehensweise wurde jedoch unhaltbar, als im vergangenen Jahrhundert mehrfach Inschriften ans Licht kamen, die bisher unbekannte und mit den überlieferten schwerlich vereinbare iberische Königsnamen enthielten. Ein Beispiel hierfür ist bereits die Grabschrift der Serapeitis, durch die Xepharnug dem Vergessen entrissen wurde. Wenn er es war, der auf Pharasmanes II. folgte, müssen Adam und sein Sohn Pharasmanes III. als offensichtlich fiktiv ausgeschieden werden. Somit dürfte in dem Regentenverzeichnis auch kein Platz für einen unmittelbar nach Pharasmanes III. regierenden Amasasp sein.

Die Vorstellung eines wohl der spätantoninischen Zeit angehörenden Amasasp ist indessen von Giusto Traina wieder zur Diskussion gestellt worden.[12] Es geht um die in den Thermen von Bagineti, unweit von Mtskheta, gefundenen griechischen Inschriften, in denen ein iberischer Herrscher und seine Gemahlin namentlich genannt werden. Sie lauten:

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[8] Leonti Mroweli/Pätsch 1985, 124: *Als aber Mirian fünfzehn Jahre alt war, starb seine Frau, die Tochter der kartwelischen Könige, und mit ihr ging in Kartli die Herrschaft der Könige und Königinnen aus dem Geschlecht der Parnawasiden zu Ende. Da trauerten alle Kartweler über den Tod ihrer Königin, trotzdem hielten sie Mirian die Treue, denn es gab keinen Nachkommen der Parnawasiden mehr, der würdig gewesen wäre, über die Kartweler zu herrschen. Und deshalb billigten sie die Herrschaft Mirians.*

[9] Leonti Mroweli/Pätsch 1985, 124: *König Mirian aber mehrte das Gut der Kartweler, und er nahm eine Frau aus Griechenland, aus Ponto, die Tochter des Oligotos mit Namen Nana.*

[10] Leonti Mroweli/Pätsch 1985, 131–187.

[11] Vgl. insbesondere Toumanoff 1969a, 16–24.

[12] Der Verfasser bedankt sich ausdrücklich für die Aufmerksamkeit, die Herr Prof. Traina dessen früheren Aufsätzen (Schottky 2010, 2011) geschenkt hat und für seinen Beitrag zur Diskussion. In nicht geringerem Maße ist er dem Herausgeber Marek J. Olbrycht verpflichtet, der ihm die Studie Traina 2004 zusammen mit dessen weiteren Überlegungen in einem Brief vom 5. Oktober 2012 zugänglich gemacht hat.

(1)

- - - - - | Ἀρμενίας Οὐολο|γαίσου, γυναικὶ δὲ | βασιλέως Ἰβήρων |
μεγάλου
Ἀμαζάσ‖που Ἀναγράνης ὁ | τροφεὺς καὶ ἐπίτρ⟨ο⟩πος ἰδίᾳ δυνάμι | τὸ
βαλανῖον ἀφιέρω| vacat σεν vv

(2)

βασι]|λέως [Ἀναγ]|ράνης [τρο]|φεὺ[ς καὶ ἐπί]
τροπο[ς ἰδίᾳ δυ]|νο μ[ι? τὸ βαλ]|ανῖον [κ]τίσα[ς] | ἰδίᾳ τροφίμῃ |
Δρακοντίδι βασ
ιλίσῃ ἀφιέρωσ:[13]

Wir haben hier demnach den „großen König der Iberer" Amazaspos und sei-
ne Gemahlin, Königin Drakontis, eine Tochter des armenischen Arsakiden Vo-
logaises. Letzterer mag der gleichzeitige König von Armenien gewesen sein,
obwohl der Teil der Inschrift, der weitere Informationen über ihn enthalten haben
dürfte, leider nicht erhalten ist. Wie Traina richtig bemerkt, ist die Identifizierung
der genannten Herrscher nicht von vornherein gesichert.[14] Aus seiner brieflichen
Mitteilung geht jedoch hervor, dass ihm der Vorschlag von Frau Qaučišvili of-
fensichtlich einleuchtet. Durch die Gleichsetzung des Vologaises der Inschrift
mit dem armenischen Monarchen der spätantoninisch-severischen Zeit werde
auch die Existenz des iberischen Amasasp in der gleichen Epoche bestätigt.[15]

Bei allem Respekt für die Überlegungen Trainas und seiner Vorgänger können
diese wohl kaum so stehen bleiben. Zunächst muss einmal mehr darauf hingewie-
sen werden, dass ein „secondo Vałarš riportato da M.X." einfach nicht existiert.
Moses nennt den Begründer der armenischen Arsakidenlinie Vałaršak, kennt im 2.
Jh. n. Chr. einen Vałarš und erwähnt einen weiteren Vałaršak in der Spätantike.[16]
Die Gleichsetzung von Vałaršak und Vałarš erscheint dabei zwar naheliegend, ist

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[13] *SEG* 52, Nr 1509–1510 (Jahrgang 2006). Editio princeps T. Qaukhchishvili 1996, 81–92; Der
*SEG* -Text greift auf Trainas Edition mit wenigen Korrrekturen zurück. Vergleiche Traina 2004, 256:

(1) Ἀρμενίας Οὐολο/γαίσου γυναικὶ δὲ / βασιλέως Ἰβήρων / μεγάλου Ἀμαζάσ /
⁴που Ἀναγράνης ο / τροφεὺς καὶ ἐπίτρ<ο>πος ἰδίᾳ δυνάμι τὸ βαλανιον ἀφιέρωσεν.

(2) –λέως [Ἀναγ] / ράνης [τρο] / φεὺ[ς καὶ ἐπί] / τροπο[ς ἰδίᾳ δυ] / ⁴νάμ[ι τὸ βαλ] / ανιον
[κ]τίσας / ἰδίᾳ τροφίμῃ / Δρακοντίδι βασ / ιλίσῃ ἀφιέρωσεν.

[14] Traina 2004, 256: „L´identificazione dei personaggi non è però evidente. La Qaučišvili [die
Ersteditorin], esaminando le fonti disponibili, tende a identificare il re d´Armenia citato dal testo 1
con il secondo Vałarš riportato da Movsēs Xorenac`i; secondo Braund «it seems now to be ortho-
dox» datare i due Vałarš rispettivamente agli anni 116–144 e 186–198."

[15] Traina 2012: „The marriage arrangements between Iberia and Armenia were bilateral: ac-
cording the Georgian medieval historian Leonti Mroveli, king Amasasp´s sister was married with
an unnamed Armenian king (Schottky considers this second Vałarš a fictional king and proposes to
identify him with the later Xosrov)."

[16] M.X. 2.3–8 (der fiktive Dynastiegründer), 2.65 (Vałarš) und 3.41 (der zweite Vałaršak).

jedoch nicht unumstritten.[17] Selbst wenn sie akzeptiert wird, bleibt zu beachten, dass damit keineswegs die Existenz von zwei Herrschern mit dem Namen Vałarš im 2. Jh. n. Chr. erwiesen (oder auch nur wahrscheinlich gemacht) ist. Weder die armenische noch die georgische literarische Tradition weiß von zwei relativ kurz nacheinander regierenden Königen, die beide Vałarš (griechisch Vologaises) geheißen hätten.[18] Fragen werfen darüber hinaus die angegebenen Herrschaftszeiten auf. Wie David Braund zu der Meinung gelangen konnte, die Regierungsdaten 116–144 und 186–198 für den ersten und zweiten armenischen Vologaises würden jetzt als „orthodox" (kanonisch) gelten, ist nicht recht ersichtlich.[19] Dies gilt besonders für den zweiten Namensträger, dessen Regierungszeit in der Forschung fast willkürlich hin- und hergeschoben wird. Verbreitet ist die Chronologie von Toumanoff, der einen „Vologases II" von 180 bis 191 herrschen lässt.[20] Wie die von Braund genannten Daten zustande gekommen sind, ist nicht einfach zu erklären.[21] Angesichts dieser Voraussetzungen vertreten wir die Ansicht, dass die Inschriften aus den Thermen von Bagineti weder die Existenz eines armenischen

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[17] Skepsis demgegenüber zeigt insbesondere Kettenhofen 1998, 339, Anm. 142.

[18] Die georgische Chronik kennt nicht einmal einen, da sie Rews Vater namenlos lässt.

[19] Braund 2002, 30. Zu Vologaises I. ist zu bemerken, dass er 116 einen Teil Armeniens erhielt, jedoch erst im Jahr darauf offiziell anerkannt wurde (*DNP* 12/2 s.v. Vologaises 7, 310). Zwischen 140 und 144 ernannte Antoninus Pius seinen Nachfolger. Vologaises selbst war aber schon 138 durch einen parthischen Einfall vertrieben worden und dabei vielleicht umgekommen: Schehl 1930, 192–193, ihm folgend Schottky 2010, 209.

[20] Toumanoff hat diesen Gedanken, ausgehend von einer kurzen Bemerkung bei Markwart 1905, 226–227, erstmals 1969b, 241–244 entwickelt (vgl. auch Toumanoff 1987, 544), ihm folgte z.B. Lang 1983, 518. Wir bedauern, uns dieser zeitweise allgemein akzeptierten Vorstellung vor einigen Jahren selbst angeschlossen zu haben: Schottky 2004, 94 (Groß-Armenien), Nr. 31; *DNP* 12/2 s.v. Vologaises 8, 310 (dort mit Vorbehalt).

[21] Der Vałarš (Vologaises) der früh-severischen Zeit mag seine fortdauernde Existenz einem schwer auszumerzenden Irrtum verdanken. Es geht um Vologaises, Sohn des Sanatruk, der nach Abwendung eines militärischen Konfliktes mit einem *Severus* einen Teil Armeniens erhielt (Cass. Dio 75.9.6 nach alter Zählung, in den Ausgaben jetzt nach 68.30.3 eingeordnet). Schon der Dio-Herausgeber U. Ph. Boissevain hatte bemerkt, dass das Fragment in die Zeit von Traians Partherkrieg gehört (Boissevain 1890, passim). Diese Erkenntnis ist im 20. Jh. bei manchen relativ frühzeitig (Markwart 1905, 218ff.), bei anderen gar nicht angekommen. Beispiele für ihre Ignorierung in der Fachliteratur bis zur Mitte des 20. Jhs. nennt Chaumont 1976, 153–154, Anm. 463. In diesen Zusammenhang gehört wohl auch Moretti 1955, 46, der „Vagharsh II" 188–208 d. C. regieren lässt. Wollte man die (faktisch freilich unangreifbare) Verbesserung des Dio-Textes durch Boissevain bewusst nicht nachvollziehen, wären immer noch zwei Punkte zu beachten: Zum einen hätte die armenische Herrschaft des betreffenden Vologaises erst unter der Regierung des Kaisers Septimius Severus beginnen können, frühestens während dessen 1. Partherkrieg in der ersten Jahreshälfte 195 (Kienast 1996, 156) und nicht 188 oder gar 186 unter Commodus (vgl. z.B. Bock 1988, 212, der einen König „Wagharshak II." mit den Regierungsdaten 195–216 anführt). Zum anderen entfiele, wenn man die Dio-Nachricht nicht mit dem Jahr 116 verknüpfen würde, der wichtigste Beleg dafür, dass der 117 von Hadrian bestätigte (aber nicht namentlich genannte) armenische König *Vologaises* hieß und schon im Vorjahr aktiv geworden war.

Königs Vałarš der Severerzeit, noch die eines iberischen Herrschers Amasasp mit der traditionellen Regierungsdauer 185–189 bestätigen. Die – was gar nicht bestritten werden soll – hochinteressanten Informationen der Texte können, wie wir gleich sehen werden, zwanglos auf andere Weise gedeutet werden.

## Die Epoche Schapurs I. und Valerians

Gegen Anfang seines Tatenberichtes an der Ka'ba-i Zarduscht bei Naqsch-i Rustam nennt Schapur I. die Herrschaftsgebiete, sie sich von seinem Stammland bis zum Kaukasus und zum Alanentor erstreckten. Die betreffende Textpassage lautet (RGDS gr. Z. 1–3 / Back 1978, 284–287): ΕΓΩ ΜΑCΔΑΑCΝΗC ΘΕΟC CΑΠΩΡΗC ΒΑCΙΛΕΥC ΒΑCΙΛΕΩΝ ΑΡΙΑΝΩΝ Κ[Α]Ι ΑΝΑΡΙΑΝΩ[Ν] [ΕΚ] [ΓΕ]ΝΟΥC ΘΕΩ[Ν] ΥΙΟC Μ[ΑCΔΑ]ΑCΝΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ ΑΡΤΑΞΑΡΟΥ ΒΑCΙΛΕΩC ΒΑCΙΛΕΩΝ ΑΡΙΑΝΩΝ ΕΚ ΓΕΝΟΥC | ΘΕΩΝ ΕΓΓΟΝΟC ΘΕΟΥ ΠΑΠΑΚΟΥ ΒΑCΙΛΕΩC ΤΟΥ ΑΡΙΑΝΩΝ ΕΘΝΟΥC ΔΕCΠΟΤΗC ΕΙΜΙ ΚΑΙ ΚΑΤΕΧΩ ΕΘΝΗ ΠΕΡCΙΔΑ Π[ΑΡΘΙΑΝ] ΟΥ[ΖΗΝ]ΗΝ Μ[ΗCΑΝ]ΗΝΗΝ ΑCCΥΡΙΑΝ ΑΔΙΑΒΗΝΗΝ ΑΡΑΒΙΑΝ ΑΔΟΥΡΒΑ | ΔΗΝΗΝ ΑΡΜΕΝΙΑΝ **ΙΒΗΡΙΑΝ** ΜΑΧΕΛΟΝΙΑΝ ΑΛΒΑΝΙΑΝ ...ΗΝΗ[Ν] [ΕΩC] [Ε]ΜΠ[ΡΟC]Θ[ΕΝ] ΚΑΠ ΟΡΟΥC ΚΑΙ ΠΥ[Λ]Ω[Ν] [ΑΛΑΝ]ΩΝ ... Das in der dritten Zeile nach Atropatene und Armenien sowie vor Machelonien und Albanien genannte Iberien erweckt den Eindruck eines unter direkter persischer Herrschaft stehenden Territoriums. Erst viel später, im Rahmen einer Liste von mit dem Feuerkult verbundenen Würdenträgern, findet sich der Eintrag (RGDS gr. Z. 60 / Back 1978, 355): ... ΑΜΑΖΑCΠΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΒΑCΙΛΕΩC ΤΗC ΙΒΗΡΙΑC ...

Mit der Erwähnung des iberischen Königs Amazaspos ist die hundertjährige „Durststrecke" ohne glaubwürdig belegte Herrscher überwunden, auf die mehrfach hingewiesen wurde. Sein Name stimmt mit dem des Königs der Inschriften der Thermen von Bagineti so vollständig überein, dass übergeprüft werden sollte, ob beide identisch sein könnten.[22] Eine Verifizierung dieser von Tinatin Qaučišvili und Giusto Traina selbst nicht befürworteten Überlegung hängt jedoch entscheidend davon ab, ob sich zur Zeit Schapurs I. irgendeine Spur eines armenischen Herrschers Vologaises finden lässt.

Die zweite Hälfte des 3. Jhs. war in Armenien eine Zeit persischer Prinzstatthalter, die jeweils mehrere Jahrzehnte amtierten.[23] Die armenischen Arsakiden

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[22] Vgl. hierzu Traina 2004, 256–257, Anm. 7: „... La Qaučišvili non esclude una datazione [der Inschriften] più tarda, dopo la metà del III secolo, osservando come un re d´Iberia Amazaspēs / (H)amāzāsp sia menzionato dalla trilingue di Šābuhr I alla Ka`aba-i-Zardušt (... la forma greca è al genitivo, che può riportare a un nom Amazaspēs ovvero Amazaspos: ...) ..."

[23] Schottky 2004, 94 (Groß-Armenien), Nr. 34. Hormisdas, Prinzstatthalter 252–272; Nr. 35. Narses, Prinzstatthalter 272–293. Vgl. auch Toumanoff 1987, 544.

schienen nach der Flucht des Tiridates II. zunächst keine Rolle mehr zu spielen.[24] Dem widerspricht allerdings, dass die Inschrift von Paikuli noch während Narses' armenischer Amtszeit unter seinen Gefolgsleuten einen König *tyldt* (Tirdāt) nennt. Sein Herrschaftsgebiet ist nicht angegeben, doch deutet der Name auf einen armenischen Arsakiden hin.[25] Das inschriftliche Zeugnis kann eigentlich nur so verstanden werden, dass im persisch dominierten Armenien ein Königtum auf zwei Ebenen bestand. Dem Vertreter des angestammten Herrscherhauses blieb nur die Titularherrschaft, während sich der Prinzstatthalter „Großkönig" nannte.[26] Es ist aber nicht sehr wahrscheinlich, dass diese Konstruktion erst mit Narses und Tiridates III. begann, für die sie ausdrücklich belegt ist. Erinnert sei an die in der bisherigen Forschung viel zu wenig beachtete Mitteilung des Ioannes Zonaras 12.21, dass nach der Flucht Tiridates' II. dessen Kinder zu den Persern übertraten: ... βασιλέως Τηριδάτου φυγόντος, τῶν δὲ παίδων ἐκείνου προσρυέντων τοῖς Πέρσαις. Offenbar hatten die persischen Eroberer gegenüber den Söhnen des geflohenen Landesherrn (es müssen mindestens zwei gewesen sein) weitgehende Zusagen abgegeben. Hierzu gehörte insbesondere, dass der Herrschertitel den Arsakiden verblieb. Sein Träger wurde anscheinend zuerst Tiridates' II. älterer Sohn Vologaises, der demnach künftig als Vologaises / Vałarš II. von Armenien zu zählen wäre. Zu einem nicht näher bekannten Zeitpunkt verheiratete er seine Tochter Drakontis mit dem iberischen König Amazaspos, der ebenfalls unter persischer Oberhoheit stand. Die Inschriften aus den Thermen von Bagineti nennen nicht nur den bisher unbekannten Namen einer weiteren iberischen Königsgemahlin, sie belegen auch, dass es (mindestens einmal) zu einer pharnabazidisch-arsakidischen Heirat gekommen ist. Derartige Eheschließungen spielen eine wichtige Rolle in der einheimischen georgischen Überlieferung. Jener Tradition gegenüber sind wir bisher ausgesprochen skeptisch gewesen.[27] Dies bezog sich besonders auf die Epoche der Alaneneinfälle und die Zeit unmittelbar darauf. Hundert Jahre nach den Aktivitäten Pharasmanes' II. zeigt sich indessen eine völlig veränderte politische Landschaft. Die arsakidische Hauptlinie war untergegangen, und die kaukasischen Fürsten hatten sich gezwungen gesehen, jeweils die sasanidische Oberhoheit anzuerkennen. Hierbei ist ein grundlegender Unterschied zu beachten: Schapur betrachtete Iberien als Bestandteil seines Reiches, würdigte aber den Landesherrn immerhin einer Erwähnung. Dagegen tritt Armenien ausschließlich als Amtsbezirk seines Sohnes (und späteren Nachfolgers) Hormisdas in Erscheinung. Unter diesen Umständen konnte der Titularkönig Vologaises noch froh sein, wenn der Nachbar Interesse an einer Heiratsverbindung zeigte.

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[24] *DNP* 12/1 s.v. Tiridates 6, 613.

[25] Siehe zu diesem Tiridates Kettenhofen 1995, passim.

[26] Vgl. hierzu, soweit es Tiridates III. und Narses betrifft, *DNP* 12/1 s.v. Tiridates 7, 613. Der Großkönigstitel ist bereits für Hormidas belegt: RGDS gr. Z. 41 / Back 1978, 332.

[27] Vgl. z.B. Schottky 2010, 221–222.

Die inschriftlich belegte Eheschließumg des Pharnabaziden Amazaspos mit der armenischen Arsakidin Drakontis bringt etwas Licht in die Art und Weise, wie die Überlieferung gestaltet wurde. Wir erinnern uns, dass die kartwelischen Könige als Nachkommen des Parnawas, aber relativ frühzeitig auch als Arsakiden betrachtet wurden.[28] Nachdem es in Wirklichkeit erst nach der Mitte des 3. Jhs. n. Chr. zu einer arsakidisch-pharnabazidischen Verbindung kam, muss man annehmen, dass dieser Vorgang in vielfältiger Brechung in die Vergangenheit verlegt worden ist. Das gleiche gilt für die Gestalt des Amazaspos. Der persische Vasall und Ehemann einer armenischen Prinzessin wird in der Chronik zu einem Tyrannen, der gerade wegen seiner „persischen" (gemeint ist *parthischen*) Kontakte durch einen (armenischen) Arsakiden ersetzt worden sein soll.[29] Die Verschiebung des historischen Amazaspos in die vor-sasanidische Zeit hatte dabei zur Folge, dass Aspagur, der vorgebliche Zeitgenosse der sasanidischen Expansion, so gestaltet werden konnte, wie es späteren Zeiten opportun erschien. Den Namen erhielt er wohl von *Aspacures*, einem perserfreundlichen Teilherrscher Iberiens in der Zeit Schapurs II. (Amm. 27.12.4 u.ö.).

Die Res Gestae Divi Saporis werden in einigen Punkten ergänzt durch die Mitteilungen des zoroastrischen Priesters Kartir, der unter Wahram II. (276–293) den Zenit seiner Laufbahn erreichte und an vier Stellen (Naqsch-i Rajab, der Ka'ba-i Zarduscht, Naqsch-i Rustam und Sar Mashhad) Rechenschaft über sein Wirken ablegte. Dabei wird Iberien in der Inschrift von Naqsch-i Rajab, die MacKenzie für die früheste hält,[30] noch nicht genannt. Das Gebirgsland erscheint erstmalig in Zeile 12 des Textes, den Kartir unter die mittelpersische Fassung desjenigen Schapurs I. an der Ka'ba-i Zarduscht setzte. Nur einige Meter hiervon entfernt, an der Klippe von Naqsch-i Rustam, findet sich ein längerer Bericht, der die Ausführungen von der Ka'ba-i Zarduscht und von Naqsch-i Rajab zusammenführt und wiederholt. Iberien war hier anscheinend in Zeile 39 genannt worden, doch hat sich der Landesname in dieser Version nicht erhalten. Mit der von Naqsch-i Rustam nahezu identisch ist schließlich die Inschrift an dem Berghang von Sar Marshhad, der weniger als 200 km von Persepolis entfernt ist.[31] In ihr

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[28] Beginnend mit dem fünften Herrscher *Arschak*: Leonti Mroweli / Pätsch 1985, 82. Dagegen denkt Meißner 2000, 199 an eine aus einer Reihe iberischer Arsakiden bestehende Urfassung der Königsliste, die dann um den fiktiven Parnawas und seine Nachkommen erweitert wurde.

[29] Vgl. Braund 1994, 240: „The *Kartlis Tskhovreba* also names Amazaspus as an ally of Shapur." Dies ist ein Irrtum, da Schapur I. im *Leben Kartlis* nicht namentlich erwähnt wird und Amasasp mehrere Jahrzehnte vor der Gründung des Sasanidenreiches gelebt haben soll.

[30] MacKenzie 1989, 71 („Dating").

[31] MacKenzie 1989, 35: „... Sar Mashhad, some 175 kilometres south of Persepolis as the crow flies." Siehe zur Position von Naqsch-i Rustam, Naqsch-i Rajab und Sar Mashad Kettenhofen 1982, TAVO B V 11. Der letztgenannte, etwas weiter abgelegene Ort ist eher südwestlich als südlich von Persepolis zu finden (südlich von Kazerun: Frye 1962, 434, vgl. Kettenhofens Karte).

findet sich der Landesname in Zeile 18. Da sich Kartirs Ausführungen stark überschneiden, hat es sich als praktikabel erwiesen, sie zu einer Synopse zusammenzufassen.[32] In deren Paragraphen 14 und 15 berichtet der Priester über seinen Einsatz für die mazdayasnische Religion.[33]

§ 14 *And I, Kartir, from the beginning have been at great trouble and pains for the sake of the gods and the lords and my own soul. And many fires and magians in the empire of | Eran – … – I have made prosperous.*

§ 15 *And also in the land of Aneran, the fires and magians which were in the land of Aneran where the horses and men of the king of kings reached – the city of Antioch and the land of Syria and what is attached to the province of Syria, the city of Tarsos and the land of Cilicia and what is attached to the province of Cilicia, the city of Caesarea and the land of Cappadocia and what is attached to the province of Cappadocia, up to the land of Graecia (= Pontus?) and the land of Armenia and **Iberia** [Transcription, 55 oben: **Wiruzān**] and Albania and Balasagan up to the Gate of the Alans, Shapur, king of | kings, with his horses and men conquered them all and he took booty and burned and laid them waste – there too, at the command of the king of kings, I made arrangements for the magians and the fires which were in those lands, I did not let them be harmed or taken as booty, and those which anyone had thus taken as booty I took and allowed them back to their own land.*

Es ist oft bemerkt worden, dass das Original dieser Ausführungen an der Ka'ba-i Zardušt in engem inhaltlichem Zusammenhang steht mit der Inschrift Schapurs I.[34] Eine etwas nähere Betrachtung von Kartirs Schilderung zeigt freilich, dass unmöglich alles, was gesagt wird, wörtlich zu nehmen ist. Dies gilt besonders für den in § 15 berichteten Umgang mit den <u>nicht</u>- iranischen Feuerheiligtümern und ihrer Priesterschaft. Kartir behauptet gar nicht, er habe die von Schapur eroberten Gebiete (neu) missioniert. Vielmehr hätten dort bereits Kultstätten bestanden. Diese seien mit Respekt behandelt worden, und Magiern, die unter die Räder des Eroberungszuges gekommen seien, habe er Barmherzigkeit erwiesen. Dass die Syria Coele mit der Hauptstadt Antiocheia am Orontes und Kilikien um die Metropole Tarsos über nennenswerte zoroastrische Gemeinden verfügt haben sollen, erscheint jedoch schwer zu glauben. Für Kappadokien und den Pontos (wenn er mit Griechenland gemeint ist) mag es immerhin nicht ganz unmöglich sein.[35] Die aus Armenien, Iberien, Albanien und Balasagan bestehende

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[32] So insbesondere das Vorgehen von MacKenzie 1989. Hilfreich ist S. 36 dessen „Text Figure 8: Line correspondence in Kerdir´s inscriptions".

[33] MacKenzie 1989, 43–44: Synoptic Text in Transliteration, 55 oben: Transcription, 58 unten: Translation.

[34] Frye 1962, 429; Lang 1983, 519; MacKenzie 1989, 71; Rashad 2008, 263.

[35] Siehe zur iranischen Durchdringung Kleinasiens kurz Raditsa 1983, 100ff., der besonders auf die Verhältnisse in Pontos und Kappadokien eingeht, Kilikien dagegen nicht erwähnt.

Ländergruppe wiederum umfasst kaukasische Regionen, die seit Jahrhunderten unter dem religiös-kulturellen Einfluss Irans gestanden hatten. Es sei wieder einmal daran erinnert, dass Tiridates I., der Begründer der armenischen Arsakidenlinie, zarathustrischer Priester gewesen ist.[36] Demnach ist es auch äußerst unwahrscheinlich, dass im iberischen Königreich eine Religion geherrscht haben soll, die mit dem Mazdayasmus völlig unvereinbar war.[37] Die Tatsache, dass Kartir Länder, die tatsächlich zarathustrisch geprägt waren, mit anderen zusammenfasst, die entweder gar nicht oder nur sehr oberflächlich in dieser Weise beeinflusst gewesen sein können, lässt für die Brauchbarkeit seiner sonstigen Angaben nicht viel hoffen. Nach seinen Worten müsste der zweite Sasanide nicht nur römische Gebiete, sondern auch die kaukasischen Landstriche bis zum Alanentor dadurch erobert haben, dass er sie mit Feuer und Schwert verwüstete. Was Armenien betrifft, könnte dies mehr oder weniger zutreffen. Tiridates II. hatte den Eroberungsversuch Ardaschirs I. abwehren können und war, nach dem Ausbleiben römischer Hilfe, erst um 252 einem erneuten Angriff unter Schapur erlegen.[38] Dagegen steht die Anerkennung der persischen Oberhoheit durch die Iberer offenbar in keinem ursächlichen Zusammenhang mit den Vorgängen in Armenien. Vielmehr dauerte die Zugehörigkeit Iberiens zur Gruppe der römischen Klientelstaaten noch einige Jahre an. Dies ergibt sich aus den in iberischen Gräbern gefundenen römischen Goldmünzen. Die spätesten *aurei* stammen von Valerian,[39] der 253 (im Jahr nach dem Verlust Armeniens) Kaiser wurde, dann in den Osten ging und nach einigen Jahren wenig erfolgreicher Tätigkeit im Frühsommer 260 in Schapurs Gefangenschaft geriet.[40] Erst nach diesem Ereignis, das die Zeitgenossen stark beschäftigte, kann Iberien den Sasaniden anheimgefallen sein. Da von Kriegszügen so weit in den Norden („bis zum Alanentor") sonst nichts bekannt ist, darf angenommen werden, dass sich der iberische König Amazaspos nach der Katastrophe der Römer kampflos den Persern unterwarf.[41]

In der einzigen westlichen literarischen Quelle, die sich kurz mit den betreffenden Vorgängen befasst, wird der Ablauf der Ereignisse, den wir soeben zu skizzieren versucht haben, teils bestätigt, teils rundweg bestritten. Wir lesen in

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[36] *DNP* 12/1 s.v. Tiridates 5, 612–613. Anders Lang 1983, 519, wonach Armenien mit seinen synkretistischen religösen Traditionen ein Hauptziel von Kartirs Eifer gewesen sein müsse.

[37] Eine der Forderungen der Eristaws bei ihren Unterwerfungsverhandlungen mit dem König der Perser lautete nach Leonti Mroweli / Pätsch 1985, 121: *… wir erbitten von ihm, daß die Religion unserer Väter unangetastet bleibt*, … Diese Darstellung hat indessen mit der Realität nichts zu tun. Vgl. zur Verbreitung zarathustrischer Glaubensvorstellungen im vorchristlichen Iberien z.B. Braund 1994, 254ff.

[38] Schottky 1994, passim; *DNP* 12/1 s.v. Tiridates 6, 613; *DNP* 11 s.v. Sapor 1, 45.

[39] Braund 1994, 235ff.; Lordkipanidse 1996, 29.

[40] *DNP* 12/1 s.v. Valerianus 2, 1089–1090.

[41] Siehe hierzu Kettenhofen 1982, TAVO B V 11 mit der Nebenkarte `Die Kriege Šāpuhrs I. mit Rom (nach ŠKZ)´.

der Biographie Valerians (*SHA Valer*. 4,1): *Bactriani et **Hiberi** et Albani et Tauroscythae Saporis litteras non receperunt sed ad Romanos duces scripserunt auxilia pollicentes ad Valerianum de captivitate liberandum*.

Dass die Iberer bis zur Gefangennahme des Kaisers tatsächlich auf römischer Seite standen, ist inzwischen durch die erwähnten Münzfunde zweifelsfrei erwiesen. Von da an dürfte aber ungefähr das Gegenteil von dem geschehen sein, was die Vita suggeriert. Wenn Schapur (wohl kaum durch ein Anschreiben, sondern eher durch persönlich abgesandte Boten) die Huldigung der Iberer forderte, werden Letztere sich beeilt haben, dem zu entsprechen. Die Vorstellung, die in der Quelle genannten Nationen hätten sich ernsthaft für die Befreiung Valerians eingesetzt, illustriert allein das Wunschdenken ihres Verfassers.[42] Ebenso kann es erst nach 260 zu der Eheschließung zwischen Amazaspos und der armenisch-arsakidischen Prinzessin Drakontis gekommen sein, da die zukünftigen Partner vorher verschiedenen politischen Lagern angehört hatten.

## Die letzten Pharnabaziden

Die Auswertung der Inschriften Kartirs, der bis zum Tod Wahrams II. im Jahre 293 eine sehr einflussreiche Position bekleidete, hat uns schon beinahe bis ans Ende des 3. Jhs. geführt. Mit Bedauern muss zunächst festgestellt werden, dass bis zum Ende der Dynastie kein Name eines Königs mehr genannt wird, d.h., dass die Nachkommen des Amazaspos und der Drakontis, die sowohl Pharnabaziden als auch (mütterlicherseits) Arsakiden waren, für uns sämtlich unbekannt bleiben. Ebenso lässt sich die Stellung, die Iberien und seine Herrscher im Machtgefüge des vorderen Orients einnahmen, kaum erkennen. Was unsere Quellen für diese Epoche betrifft, zeigt sich ein fortschreitender Qualitätsverfall in der Darstellung der Historia Augusta. Wie wir gerade gesehen haben, ist das, was über die Haltung der Iberer *nach* der Gefangennahme Valerians berichtet wird, frei (wenn auch aus einer bestimmten Tendenz heraus) erfunden. Von Iberern ist dann erst über ein Jahrzehnt später, im Zusammenhang mit Aurelian, wieder die Rede.[43] Die Mitteilungen sind allerdings von einer Art, dass

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[42] Anders Braund 1994, 244, der in der Nachricht der Historia Augusta immerhin „residual truth" erkennen möchte. Nach Toumanoff 1969a, 18–19 und 1969b, 255 (ihm folgend Lang 1983, 519 unten) provozierte die romanophile Haltung der Iberer und Albaner den persischen Angriff. Der siegreiche Großkönig habe noch 260 den pro-iranischen Amazaspus eingesetzt, der sich bis 265 halten konnte. Hiergegen z.B. Kettenhofen 1995, 22–23.

[43] *SHA Aurelian*. 33,1–4: *Non absque re est cognoscere qui fuerit Aureliani triumphus. ... Blemmyes, Axomitae, Arabes Eudaemones, Indi, Bactriani, **Hiberi**, Saraceni, Persae cum suis quique muneribus; ... SHA Aurelian*. 41,11: *illum* (sc. Aurelianum) *Saraceni, Blemmyes, Axomitae, Bactriani, Seres, **Hiberi**, Albani, Armenii, populi etiam Indorum veluti praesentem paene venerati sunt deum*.

selbst Cyril Toumanoff nicht wirklich etwas mit ihnen anfangen konnte.[44] Somit bleibt festzuhalten, dass erst etwa eine Generation nach Valerians Gefangennahme wieder ein iberischer Herrscher in einer zeitgenössischen Quelle auftaucht. Es handelt sich um die schon erwähnte Paikuli-Inschrift von 293 oder 294, die den Weg des bisherigen Prinzstatthalters von Armenien zum Thron dokumentierte. In ihr findet sich eine Aufzählung von Fürsten, die Narses unterstützten. Aus dem Umfeld Kaukasiens werden in § 92 die folgenden genannt.[45]

*... the King of* [ Gur]*gān* / [Balāsa]*gān, and the King of Mskyt'n, and the* **King of Iberia** [mpers. **'byr'n MLK'**], *and the King of Sigān, and King Tirdād,* ...

Das Verzeichnis ist, wie an weiteren Beispielen gezeigt werden könnte, etwas inkonsequent. Gerade kleinere (und damit weitgehend unbekannte) Dynasten werden gern sowohl mit ihren Namen als auch mit ihren Herrschaftsgebieten vorgestellt. Die zu Anfang auftretenden mächtigeren Vasallen dagegen sind nur in wenigen Fällen auf diese Weise verewigt worden. Häufiger wird entweder, wie im Falle Tirdāds, nur der Name, oder wie im Falle Iberiens, nur das Land genannt. Ganz offensichtlich hatte Narses nicht die Absicht, die Verdienste seiner Anhänger in übertriebenem Maße herauszustellen. Für uns bedeutet dies, dass wir wieder einmal die Spur eines iberischen Königs erkennen, ohne aber dessen Wirken mit einer bestimmten Herrscherpersönlichkeit verknüpfen zu können. Hinzuweisen bleibt noch darauf, dass Amazaspos, der 260 die Oberhoheit Schapurs I. anerkannt hatte, sicher nicht mehr am Leben war. Bei dem König, der Narses' Putsch unterstützte, dürfte es sich um den ältesten Sohn des Amazaspos aus seiner Ehe mit Drakontis gehandelt haben.

Im Unterschied zur Inschrift von Paikuli, die im vergangenen Jahrhundert entdeckt und erst 1978 bis 1983 abschließend ediert wurde, kommen wir jetzt zu einer Gruppe von Zeugnissen, die seit Beginn der neuzeitlichen Geschichtsforschung bekannt waren und seitdem in reichem Maße kommentiert und analysiert worden sind. Es geht um die Quellen für den persisch-römischen Krieg, den Narses um 296 durch einen Einfall in den römischen Teil Armeniens begonnen hatte. Er endete nach der persischen Niederlage 298 mit einem Frieden, dessen Bedingungen einem Fragment des Petros Patrikios entnommen werden können. Dabei dürfte es den langjährigen Prinzstatthalter von Armenien besonders gestört haben, fünf armenische Gebiete an die Römer zu verlieren. Dem

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[44] Nach Toumanoff 1969b, 256–257. sei Iberien bereits mit dem Sieg Aurelians über Zenobia von Palmyra in die Sphäre des römischen Einflusses zurückgekehrt (hiergegegen Kettenhofen 1995, 22–23 mit Anm. 147 und 148). Toumanoff 1969a, 19ff. wertet dagegen für die Herrschaft des „Aspacures I" (trad. 265–284) die Aurelians-Vita nicht mehr aus. Braund 1994, 240, Anm. 10 registriert die Erwähnung von Iberern anlässlich von Aurelians Triumph, ohne weitere Schlüsse daraus zu ziehen.

[45] Skjaervø 1983, 71.

iberischen König wurde die Verpflichtung auferlegt, „die Zeichen seiner Herrschaft von Rom zu empfangen", womit unmissverständlich dessen Anerkennung der römischen Oberhoheit ausgedrückt ist. Petr. Patr. fr. 14 (FGH IV, 1868, 189): ... τὸν δὲ ᾿Ιβηρίας βασιλέα τῆς οἰκείας βασιλείας τὰ σύμβολα ῾Ρωμαίοις ὀφείλειν; ... Auch diese Bestimmung war für Narses selbst nicht ohne Tragik, besonders wenn man annimmt, dass in Iberien noch immer der Herrscher amtierte, der ihn vor fünf Jahren unterstützt hatte. Weitergehende Schlüsse wird man aus der Notiz nicht ziehen dürfen. Vor allem ist nirgends von einem Dynastiewechsel die Rede. Rom erkannte vielmehr das bestehende iberische Königtum ausdrücklich an, behielt sich aber das Recht vor, den jeweiligen Amtsinhaber zu bestätigen. Es sah demnach so aus, als hätten die Pharnabaziden den Wechsel von Rom zu Persien 260 und die Rückkehr in die römische Klientel keine vierzig Jahre später unbeschadet überstanden. Im 4. Jh. und unter der sogenannten „Zweiten Flavischen Dynastie" sollten sie freilich keine Rolle mehr spielen.

## Eine neue Dynastie

Unter den Beigaben eines bei Armaziskhevi (nahe Mtskheta) entdeckten Grabes findet sich eine große silberne Schüssel. Ihre Basis trägt folgende Randumschrift:

Ἐγὼ βασιλεὺς Φλ| Δάδης ἐχαρισάμην Βερσούμα πιτιάξῃ [46]

Es ist der bisherigen Forschung außerordentlich schwer gefallen, den genannten König Fl(avius) Dades in der Königsliste unterzubringen.[47] Von Anfang an ausgeschlossen werden kann die Überlegung, dass es sich möglicherweise gar nicht um einen Inhaber des *iberischen* Thrones handelte.[48] Ein König, der seinen *pitiaxš* beschenkte, ohne sein Herrschaftsgebiet zu nennen, und dessen Gabe

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[46] *AE* 1950, 37f., Nr. 95 = *SEG* 16, Nr. 782 = Braund 1993, 46. Vgl. *SEG* 43, Nr 1015 (Jahrgang 1993):

Ἐγὼ βασιλεὺς Φλ| Δάδης ἐχαρισάμην

vacat Βερσούμα πιτιαξῇ vacat

[47] Ein gutes Beispiel für das vorliegende Dilemma ist die Vorgehensweise von Sullivan 1977, 939 in seiner Stammtafel IBERIA, in der die Landesherren des 1. und 2. Jhs. n. Chr. erfasst sind. Der Name Flavius Dades wurde, mit Verweis auf *SEG* 16, an den unteren linken Rand der Stammtafel gesetzt (wo noch Platz war), ohne dass Überlegungen über die eventuelle Verwandtschaft dieses Herrschers mit den anderen angestellt worden sind.

[48] Vgl. indessen die Bemerkungen bei Braund 1993, 47, 1. Abs. u.ö. sowie die das iberische Königtum des Fl. Dades relativierenden Fragezeichen bei Lordkipanidse 1996, 21 oben und Meißner 2000, 192 oben.

unweit von Mtskheta überdauert hat, dürfte kaum mit einem benachbarten oder gar weiter entfernten Machthaber zu identifizieren sein. Es erschien daher zunächst naheliegend, in Flavius Dades einen iberischen König im zeitlichen Umfeld des flavischen Kaiserhauses zu sehen. Dies ist jedoch, angesichts der wohlbekannten Herrscherfolge jener Epoche, unmöglich. Vor 75 n. Chr. regierte Pharasmanes I., seitdem sein Sohn Mithradates II., dem irgendwann der zur Zeit von Traians Partherkrieg belegte Mithradates III. folgte.[49] Einige Gelehrte sind daher auf den Ausweg verfallen, Dades entweder mit Mithradates II. gleichzusetzen,[50] oder ihn zu dessen unmittelbarem Nachfolger zu erklären.[51] Alle diese Überlegungen sind jedoch hinfällig, da die Silberschüssel mit der Inschrift aus einem Fundkomplex des 3. oder 4. Jhs. stammt.[52] Es würde aber genauso wenig helfen, den Inschriftenträger als ein Erbstück zu betrachten, das vielleicht erst Jahrhunderte nach seiner Herstellung den Weg in ein Grab fand. Aufgrund kunstgeschichtlicher und paläographischer Kriterien lässt sich nämlich sagen, dass die Schüssel nicht in flavisch-traianischer Zeit, sondern frühestens nach 250 produziert und beschrieben wurde.[53]

Damit stellt sich die Aufgabe, Flavius Dades seinen tatsächlichen Platz in der iberischen Königsliste zuzuweisen. Eine Frühdatierung innerhalb der zweiten Hälfte des 3. Jhs. ist dabei eher unwahrscheinlich. Das betreffende Grab enthielt je einen *aureus* des Decius und seines Sohnes Hostilianus.[54] Zur Zeit von deren Nachfolgern Trebonianus Gallus, Aemilianus und Valerian dürfte bereits Amazaspos regiert haben, der nach der Gefangennahme des Letztgenannten die Wendung zur persischen Seite vollzog. Während der sasanidischen Oberhoheit bis 298 ist die Annahme eines römischen Gentilnomens seitens eines persischen Vasallen faktisch ausgeschlossen. Nachdem also nur noch das (frühe) 4. Jh. in Frage kommt, wäre es ein großer Zufall, wenn *Flavius* nichts mit dem Haus Constantins des Großen zu tun hätte, das auch als „2. Flavische Dynastie" bezeichnet wird.[55] Es scheint nicht ganz klar zu sein, seit wann sich die Vertreter

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[49] Sullivan 1977, 939 (Stammtafel IBERIA); Schottky 2013, bes. 138–144 sowie *DNP* 9 s.v. Pharasmanes 1, 738; *DNP* 12/2 (Nachträge) s.v. Mithradates 22–23, 1060.

[50] So sinngemäß Toumanoff 1969a, 15. Gegen die Gleichsetzung von Mithridates/Mirdat mit Dades siehe z.B. Braund 1993, 47.

[51] Boltounova 1971, 221–222 aufgrund einer Fehlinterpretation der Flavischen Mtskheta-Inschrift (*SEG* 20, 112) in Kombination mit IG XIV 1374. Hiergegen Braund 1993, 47 mit Anm. 2.

[52] Braund 1993, 48–49; Braund 1994, 229, Anm. 129; Meißner 2000, 192 oben.

[53] Braund 1993, 49 mit weiterer Literatur in Anm. 11.

[54] Braund 1993, 48 unten. Zu den Todesdaten des Decius (gefallen vor Mitte 251 bei Abrittus) und des Hostilianus (vor Mitte Juli desselben Jahres in Rom gestorben) siehe Kienast 1996, 204 und 207.

[55] Braund 1993, 49 erwägt diese Möglichkeit mit einer gewissen Zurückhaltung: „The "later Flavians", the family of Constantine, would be an alternative possibility, if a fourth century date is allowed for the deposition of the burial."

der Dynastie selbst als Flavier bezeichneten.[56] Dies ist aber für unseren gegenwärtigen Zweck auch ohne Belang. Die Annahme des Namens durch einen iberischen Fürsten konnte sicher erst erfolgen, als Constantin mit dem Sieg über Licinius die östlichen Reichsteile gewonnen hatte. Von besonderer Wichtigkeit ist Braunds Beobachtung, dass der Vorgang einen Dynastiewechsel markiert.[57]

Unter welchen näheren Umständen sich das Ende der Pharnabaziden vollzog, liegt in tiefem Dunkel. Möglicherweise hatte der letzte regierende Nachkomme des Amzaspos (vielleicht sein Enkel) keine Söhne oder andere männliche Erben mehr. Dades, wohl ein aufstrebender Angehöriger der iberischen Elite, mag daraufhin versucht haben, durch die Ehe mit einer weiblichen Angehörigen des früheren Herrscherhauses an dieses anzuknüpfen. Soweit erscheint die Darstellung der Chronik als nicht völlig aus der Luft gegriffen.[58] Andererseits kann keine Rede davon sein, dass der neue Herrscher etwa sasanidischer oder in anderer Weise hochadeliger iranischer Herkunft gewesen wäre.[59] Somit bleibt zu klären, welche Beziehung zwischen dem König Mihran / Mirian der kaukasischen Überlieferung, bzw. dem Meribanes Ammians und Flavius Dades bestanden haben könnte. Dies soll in einem weiteren Beitrag geschehen.

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[56] Nach Eder 2002, 966 habe sich Constantin wohl erst nach 310 bewusst von der Familie der Herculii absetzen wollen. Sein Vater mag ursprünglich *Iulius* Constantius geheißen haben (Aur. Vict. 39.24, dazu Kienast 1996, 280).

[57] Braund 1993, 49: „In any event, if it can be assumed that Dades was indeed king of Iberia, then some break must be supposed in the dynasty after the King Mithridates who ruled in AD 75, who should have inherited a Julian nomen from his grandfather or failing that, from his father."

[58] Vgl. Leonti Mroweli/Pätsch 1985, 120ff.

[59] Interessanterweise ist auch diese Meinung schon lange vor dem Auftauchen des Flavius-Dades-Zeugnisses zuweilen vertreten worden So erwähnt Nikuradse 1942, 95, dass die zur Zeit der Sasaniden in Georgien regierende Dynastie nach neueren Forschern „von Haus aus georgisch" gewesen sei, gibt aber leider keine Belegstellen an.

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# Abstract

### Prolegomena to a King List of Caucasian Iberia 4.
### From the Arsacids to the Sasanians

After Xepharnug, who may have lived at the time of Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius, no Iberian king is mentioned in contemporary and classical sources for hundred years. When emperor Valerian fell in Persian captivity in AD 260, Amazaspos reigned in Iberia, who paid hommage to victorious Shapur. He married Drakontis, daughter of the Armenian Arsacid Vologaeses, who may have been titular ruler of Armenia under Persian overlordship. In this way the last Pharnabazids were indeed also Arsacids, as is maintained in Georgian historical tradition. In the second quarter of the 4th century one Dades ruled, who took over the name *Fl(avius)* from the so-called second or later Flavians, the house of Constantine the Great. This marks, according to Braund (1993), the end of the Pharnabazids, who must have held Roman citizenship for centuries. The Georgian Chronicle connects the dying-out of the former dynasty with Sasanian rise to power. Abeshura, heiress of the last Pharnabazid king Aspagur, is married to Mirian, son of the Persian great-king, but dies childless. Modern scholars identify Mirian (called Mihran in Armenian historiography) often with *Meribanes*, an Iberian king mentioned by Ammianus Marcellinus. The date of his attestation (AD 360/61) causes however chronological problems.

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## DECORATED SWORDS AS EMBLEMS OF POWER ON THE STEPPES OF THE NORTHERN BLACK SEA REGION (3RD C. BC – MID–3RD C. AD)

*After this they met, and Syennesis gave Cyrus large sums in aid of his army; while Cyrus presented him with the customary royal gifts to wit, a horse with a gold bit, a necklace of gold, a gold bracelet, and a gold scimitar, a Persian dress*. Xenophon, Anabasis, 2.27.

*Pompey ... was amazed at the size and splendour of the arms and raiment which Mithridates used to wear; although the sword-belt, which cost four hundred talents, was stolen by Publius and sold to Ariarathes*. Plutarch, Life of Pompey, 42.1.

## Introduction

A sword, a weapon with a long metal blade with a sharp point for thrusting and edges for cutting, was for thousands of years the primary weapon of war by numerous cultures that placed great symbolic value on it. The weapon was often considered to have magical properties, and even possessed its own character. According to tradition, the relationship between a sword and its owner evolved independently of one another. A sword could betray its master, but could also provide him with unusual strength. Death by a sword was an honor that in some cultures is reflected *inter alia* in the hierarchy of methods of execution (as, for example, in the case of Anne Boleyn). In some societies, a bejeweled sword served as an individual's *insignia*, or even as an emblem and symbol of royalty.[1]

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[1] Kovachev 2006, 256–258.

Often a richly decorated sword or dagger accompanied the corpse of a deceased monarch or chief as was the case with the burial of the Frankish king Childeric I.

The practice of using a sword in a funerary context as an item that accompanied the deceased into the afterlife varied considerably. In sedentary societies the mere presence of a sword as part of the funerary assemblage was the exception rather than the rule, which allows one to conclude that this object had a high social value, even if it was not decorated. On the other hand, in nomadic societies weapons were regularly part of the burial inventory. Moreover, ornamental swords are often found in nomadic burials, signifying that the deceased had been of a particularly high social status. Thus, the appearance of ornate swords in a funeral context might indicate the societies that had similar lifestyles and values.

The North Pontic region in the "Sarmatian epoch"[2] is one such territory where decorated swords of barbarian elites have been recovered. The region also consisted of different kinds of societies – Greek poleis, the Greco-barbarian Bosporan Kingdom, and nomadic and sedentary societies that depended to varying degrees on state structures. It is with these considerations in mind that we will focus on the practice of using decorated swords in the burial tradition of this region.

## Burials with decorated swords

Excavations on the territory of the North Pontic region were first conducted in the late 19th century, but then intensively in the second half of the 20th century, when in addition to the central academic research institutions in Moscow, St. Petersburg and Kiev they were attended by regional archaeological centers of Dnipropetrovsk, Kharkiv, Kherson, Rostov on-Don, Azov, Volgograd, Krasnodar, Simferopol and other cities. As a result, thousands of burial complexes were investigated. Most of the burials have appeared in national and regional publications, with varying degrees of completeness and quality. To the "Sarmatian epoch" belong 28 burials, which contained ornamented swords (fig. 1, see the Catalogue). Taking into account the amount of field research that has occurred in the North Pontic region compared with other steppe regions of Eurasia, the geographical and chronological distribution of these burial complexes may reflect an accurate picture of how these kinds of swords formed part of the funerary rites of a given population at a particular period of time.

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[2] Under the "Sarmatian epoch" in the North Pontic region we mean the period from the time of the demise of the classical Scythian culture in the 3rd c. BC to the time before the appearance of a new ancient people, independent from the state structures (Goths) in the middle of the 3rd c. AD.

The **first chronological group** consists of fifteen burials dating from the 2nd to the 1st century BC. Nine were found in the Lower Volga region, six were located to the north of the Volga-Don interfluve (Baranovka-I, Belokamenka, Polit-otdel'skoe, Verhnee Pogromnoe, Koroli, Pisarevka), and three were discovered south of the Volga-Don interfluve (Zhutovo, Krivaīa Luka, Īashkul'). Another group of six burial complexes was recovered in the Krasnodar region: one in the foothills of the North Caucasus (Mezmaī), and five in the steppes on the right bank of the Kuban river (Malai, Karstovyī, Oleniī, Dinskaīa, Razdolnaīa). Most of these elite funerary complexes are situated together with the "standard" burials in the same necropoleis. The distance between the elite burials is an average of ca. 100–200 km, while three burial mounds on the right bank of the Kuban river (Malai, Karstovyī, Oleniī) are less than 50 km from each other, which suggests their probable attachment to the same polity. The rest of the complexes might indicate centers of power related to independent social groups.

The earliest of the graves was discovered at the flat necropolis[3] of Mezmaī, where a variety of objects were found, including imported items such as a black-glazed cantharos, a bronze jug, and two glass vessels (a cup and a skythos). Most of the material from this grave is dated to the second half of the 3rd – first half of the 2nd century BC.[4] However, the authors of the publication are quick to note that the glass skythos belongs to type I.1 according to the classification of I. Zasetskaīa and I. Marchenko, which they place at the mid–2nd to early 1st century BC.[5]

Other complexes rarely contain items that allow for such a narrow time frame. In grave 4 of barrow 27 of the Zhutovo necropolis a fusi-form unguentarium[6] was found, suggestive of a date for the burial of the second half of the 2nd – early 1st century BC. The barrow of Baranovka (Volgograd region) contained fragments of an iron fibula, which was determined to be an early variant of a bow-shaped brooch[7] and is thus dated to the early 1st century AD.[8] This date, however, does not correspond to the chronologies worked out for other, similar complexes. Thus these kinds of brooches are typically dated quite broadly as they seem to have begun to be manufactured in the 1st century BC.[9] A bronze fibula of the same type was found in the barrow of Pisarevka with a similar set of grave goods. Other graves are likewise dated broadly between the second and first century BC (see the Catalogue).

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[3] Under "flat necropoleis" we mean cemeteries without burial mounds.
[4] Mordvintseva, Shevchenko, Zaitsev 2012.
[5] Zasetskaya, Marchenko 1995, 96; Limberis, Marchenko 2003, 108.
[6] Mordvintseva, Shinkar' 1999.
[7] Sergatskov 2000, 162.
[8] Sergatskov 2000, 166.
[9] Zaytsev, Mordvintseva 2003.

This early group of elite burials with decorated swords can be divided into four groups based on the kinds of grave goods – markers of social status contained in them (tab. 1).

**Table 1. Content of grave goods – markers of social status found in elite burials, 2$^{nd}$ – 1$^{st}$ century BC.**

| Burial complex | Bladed weapons | Quiver/ arrows | "Ritual baton" | Decorated belt plates | Phalerae | Gold plaques/tubules | Bronze cauldron | Imported vessels | Gold arm-ring | Gold brooch | Drinking cup | Neck-ring | Gold ear-ring | Throwing weapons | Helmet | Armour | Horse harness | Iron candelabrum |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Baranovka-I | 1 | x | ? | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Belokamenka | 2 | x | | x | | x | | | x | | | | | | | | | |
| Plitotdel'skoe | 1 | x | | x | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Verkhnee Pogromnoe | 2 | x | | x | | | | | | | | | | | | | x | |
| Koroli | 1 | x | x | | | | | x | | | | | | | | | | |
| Pidarevka | 1 | x | x | x | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Zhutovo | 2 | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | | | x | | | | | | | |
| Krivaīa Luka | 1 | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | | | x | | | | | | | |
| Īashkul' | 2 | x | | | x | x | x | | | | | | | | | | x | |
| Mezmaī | 4 | | | | | | | x | x | x | x | | x | 12 | 2 | x | x | x |
| Malai | 1 | x | | | | x | | | | | x | | | | | | | |
| Karstovyī | 4 | x | | | | x | | x | | | x | x | 2 | | | | | |
| Oleniī | 2 | x | | | | x | | | | | x | | | | | | | |
| Dinskaīa | 1 | x | | | | x | | | | x | | | | | | | | |
| Razdol'naīa | 1 | x | x | | | x | | x | x | x | | | | | | | | |

The burial mounds of the barbarian elites from the northern part of the Volga-Don region are characterized by the presence of such insignia as a quiver decorated in gold, a "ritual baton" (a wooden plate with carved zoomorphic images covered in gold foil), belt buckles (often depicting a camel lying at rest or a camel fighting a beast of pray).

The burial mounds of the barbarian elites from the southern part of this same area are in many respects similar to the northern group, save that they also contain fabrics embroidered with gold thread, plaques and tubules as well as silver phalerae presumably from horse harness and a large bronze cauldron.

Another group of elite burials is situated in the steppe north of the Kuban. These burial complexes differ from the Volga groups by their lack of belt buckles, and the presence of drinking cups made of precious materials (silver, glass etc.), and gold polychrome brooches. In one grave two gold neck-rings were found.

A special assemblage of *insignia* was unearthed in the grave of the Mezmaī flat necropolis in the foothills of the North Caucasus consisting of four swords, two of which are decorated with gold plaques, an iron axe, a chain-mail, two helmets, and many spear- and javelin-heads. This excessive amount of weapons may be characterized as "over-equipment" (Überausstattung[10]). A similar characterization can be said of the animal sacrifices (three horses and one cow). This complex also consists of several gold brooches, gold details of a garment, and several drinking cups to name but just a few. The extreme abundance of funerary offerings and the special location of the grave[11] places it in a special class characterized as "ostentatious burials".[12]

Seven graves dating from the late 1st century BC to the 1st century AD belong to the **second chronological group** (table 2). One burial was found in the southern part of the Lower Volga region (Kosika), two burial mounds were excavated between the rivers Sal and Manych in the Lower Don area (Arbuzov, Novyī), another in the Don delta (Dachi), one grave was unearthed in the middle reaches of the Kuban (Zubovskiī), one barrow was excavated in the steppes north of the Kuban (Vodnyī), and one burial was found in catacomb 620 of the Ust'Al'ma flat necropolis in southwestern Crimea. The distance between the burial complexes is great, as only two graves in the Lower Don region (Arbuzov, Novyī) are situated less than 50 km from each other, making it highly probale that they reflect one political group.

Due to the large number of imported items, the burials of the second chronological group are more accurately dated, despite the partial destruction and robbery of some of them. The earliest grave dates to the late 1st century BC (Kosika).[13] Contemporaneous or slightly later are the mounds at Arbuzov and Novyī, as well as the barrow of Zubovskiī containing a bronze hydria[14]. The burial mound near the village of Dachi is dated based on the finds of light-clay amphorae to the third quarter of the 1st century AD. The Roman bronze vessels found in the burial at the Ust'-Al'ma necropolis and in the Vodnyī barrow yield the same date as their counterpart near Dachi.

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[10] Hansen 2002.

[11] The necropolis is not totally researched, but N. Shevchenko, who excavates this site, informs that other graves also contain *insignia*.

[12] Kossack 1998.

[13] Treister 2005.

[14] Shchukin 1992, 108.

**Table 2. Content of grave goods – markers of social status found in elite burials, late 1ˢᵗ century BC – 1ˢᵗ century AD.**

| Burial complex | Bladed weapons | Quiver / arrow-heads | Belt buckles | Phalerae | Gold plaques / tubules | Bronze cauldron | Imported vessels | Arm-ring | Drinking cup | Horse harness | Neck-ring | Gold funeral wreath | Throwing weapons | Armour | Iron candelabrum | Gold ear-ring | Amphora |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Kosika | 2 | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | | | | |
| Arbuzov | 2 | | x | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Novyī | 1 | | x | | | x | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Dachi | 1 | | | x | x | | | x | x | x | | | | | | | |
| Zubov | 1 | | x | x | x | | x | 2 | x | x | | | | x | x | | |
| Vodnyī | 2 | | x | | x | x | x | | | x | | | x | | | | |
| Ust'-Al'ma | 1 | | x | | x | | x | x | | | | | | | x | x | x |

The burial inserted into a natural hill near village of Kosika (Lower Volga region) contains a large number of precious grave goods including a variety of *insignia*: weapons, a horse harness, a fabric embroidered with gold, gold jewelry (*inter alia* several neck rings and a bracelet), bejeweled belt buckles, bronze cauldrons, and silver tableware (tab. 2). In addition, gold leaves from a funeral wreath were found, marking this find as an exceptional case in which this Greco-Roman funeral artifact appears in what is otherwise a purely barbarian burial. This grave most certainly conforms to an ostentatious burial, especially as it was hidden outside ordinary kurgan necropoleis.

Two barrows from the Lower Don group (Arbuzov and Novyī) are located in necropoleis where ordinary burial mounds are also represented. The burial complexes include decorated swords, belts with gold buckles, and a bronze cauldron. The barrow near the village of Dachi is situated not far from the Greco-barbarian trading post of Tanais, outside the ordinary burial mounds. Despite the fact that the grave had been plundered, the finds in a hidden pit inside the mound of the barrow indicate an extraordinary amount of wealth that had made up this complex. On this basis, it allows us to attribute it as an ostentatious burial. In the grave there were found fragments of a glass drinking cup and the remains of a cloth embroidered with gold thread. The hidden pit contained a horse harness richly ornamented with gold and colorful inlays of precious stones, a sword, an arm-ring, and a fabric with plaques sewn onto it.

Two graves make up the Kuban group. One barrow (Vodnyī) is situated in the same area as the elite burials of the first chronological group. But the set of

prestige items is different. There is no gold polychrome brooch, which is so characteristic of the earlier period, but there are a belt buckle and an imported bronze jug of Roman provenance. Another barrow appears in the new district of the Kuban region on the left bank of the river in the piedmont. The burial complex was excavated at the end of the 19th century, partly by an amateur, and is thus not well-documented. Many precious objects were recovered, including richly decorated belt plaques, a sword, phalerae of a horse harness, cloth sewn with gold plaques, a drinking cup, a bronze jar of Roman provenance, an antique silver phiala inscribed to the sanctuary of Thasos (dated to the 5th c. BC), a bronze cauldron, and an iron candelabrum among many other items.

Burial 2 in catacomb 620 of the Ust'-Al'ma necropolis in the Crimea is close to other burial complexes in which decorated swords of this period have been found, but differs from other elite male <u>burials that are concentrated in this burial ground. The status symbols associated</u> with elite burials of southwestern Crimea are gold funeral wreaths and gold face-coverings for eyes and mouth. Although they are absent in burial 620–2 at Ust'-Al'ma. On the other hand, the decorated swords and ornamented belts are not recorded anywhere else in the Crimea at this time, except for the Ust'-Al'ma. It is possible that it is due to the special identity of the warrior interred there.

The **third chronological group** of elite burials with decorated swords consists of six burial complexes and is dated from the 2nd to the first half of the 3rd century AD (table 3). It includes one burial in the south part of the Lower Volga region (Baranovka, Astrakhan' region), two barrows in the Don delta (Valovyī, Vysochino), two burial mounds in the middle reaches of the Kuban (Ust'-Labinskaīa, Tiflisskaīa), and one burial in the necropolis of the Greek city of Gorgippia, modern Anapa. The burial complex of Baranovka is located in a group of burial mounds that contain ordinary graves. The barrows from Valovyī and Vysochino belong to the elite kurgan necropoleis. The burials from Ust'-Labinskaīa and Tiflisskaīa belong to a long chain of kurgans on the right bank of the middle Kuban, which is termed "Zolotoe Kladbishche" (the Gold Cemetery) in scientific literature. The ordinary graves are concentrated in the same area as flat necropoleis. The crypt at Gorgippia occupies a special place in the Greek necropolis.

The burial of Baranovka (Astrakhan' region) is difficult to date due to the small number of grave goods. Nonetheless, the authors of excavation attribute this burial complex to the Late Sarmatian culture based on parallels associated with hand-made pottery and on the unusual shape of the pommel of the sword.[15]. The burials from Ust'-Labinskaīa and Tiflisskaīa are dated according to the form

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[15] Dvornichenko, Fedorov-Davydov 1989, 18–19.

of the swords' pommels ornamented with polychrome inlays.[16] The elite complexes at Valovyī and Vysochino are dated based on finds of imported vessels and belt fittings to the second half of the 2nd century AD. The crypt at Gorgippia is dated near the middle of the 2nd century AD.[17]

**Table 3. Content of grave goods – markers of social status found in elite burials, 2nd – mid–3rd century AD.**

| Burial complex | Bladed weapons | Belt fittings | Phalerae | Horse harness | Imported vessels | Drinking cup | Gold plaques / tubules | Decorated lamp | Arm-ring | Neck-ring | Face coverings | Gold funeral wreath | Finger-ring | Strigil | Incense-burner. | Stylus |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Baranovka (Astrakhan') | 1 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Valovyī | 3 | x | x | x | x | x | | | | | | | | | | |
| Vysochino | 3 | | | | | x | | | | | | | | | | |
| Ust'-Labinskaya | 1 | x | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Tiflisskaya | 1 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Gorgippia | 2 | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x | x |

Burials from the Lower Volga (Baranovka), Lower Don (Vysochino), and Kuban region (Ust'-Labinskaya, Tiflisskaya) contain only decorated swords as *insignia*. The Valovyī barrow and the crypt at Gorgippia may be regarded as ostentatious burials. In Valovyī a set of imported bronze tableware, a richly decorated belt and horse harness, and three swords (one long and two short) were found. Especially interesting is the burial in a crypt from the necropolis at Gorgippia. It was a burial of a Bosporan noble, judging by its placement in a stone sarcophagus on the territory of the Bosporan necropolis and majority of grave goods displaying someone of high social status (for example, a gold funeral wreath, gold facial coverings, finger-rings with intaglio, strigili, stylus, etc.).[18] At the same time, the presence of a gold neck-ring, bracelet, belt-fittings, horse harness and a jeweled sword seem to indicate the respect and close relationship that the Bosporan elite had with the barbarian nobility, since these objects formed part of an intimate inventory that accompanied the deceased. In this connection it is necessary to mention the appearance on Bosporan tombstones at this

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[16] Khazanov 1971, 16, 17, 21 tab. XIII: 5, tab. XIV: 4, 5, 6, 7, 9; Gushchina, Zasetskaīa 1994, 57, 72.

[17] Treister 2003.

[18] Mordvinceva, Treister 2005.

time of warriors, dressed as barbarians, replete with belted sword with ringed pommel.[19]

Thus, the analysis of funeral complexes containing decorated swords reveals chronological differences in composition and location.

Most of the burial complexes with decorated swords dating from the 2nd to the 1st century BC are situated in the steppes of the Lower Volga and Kuban regions that were inhabited by nomadic peoples. Male burials in these territories normally contain weapons, especially swords. The aforementioned regional groups of elite warrior graves, however, contain a special set of status objects. The complexes of the Volga group are characterized by a "ritual baton" with carved Animal Style images as a local *insignia*, the Kuban graves contain gold polychrome brooches. Elite burials of both groups are situated in the same necropoleis as ordinary graves. The implication is that these local elites were probably part of the same social unite, whose political power was not delegated to some supra-tribal structure.

The grave in the Mezmaī necropolis show different features and is defined as an ostentatious burial. As a rule, the appearance of such burial complexes reflects a certain stage in the social formation, namely a complex society with a central power.[20] It is believed that such richly equipped graves appear in times of instability and / or cultural change,[21] often in a contact zone that borders a technically and organizationally superior civilization. This proximity resulted in a process whereby the less complex society ultimately concentrated its authority.[22] The location of this ostentatious burial at the Mezmaī necropolis in the mountain zone, prior to passing from the North Caucasus to the South Caucasus countries and Iran, indicates the direction of contact by the political elite who ruled the foothills of the North Caucasus.

In the following chronological period from the late 1st century BC to the late 1st century AD, there were significant changes in the composition and location of burial complexes of warrior elites. On the one hand, the content of status objects changed. Some *insignia* including a quiver decorated in gold, and local status symbols, such as a "ritual baton" and a gold polychrome fibula, no longer form part of the grave inventory. Now nearly all male elite burials contain a belt with gold or silver elements and imported bronze and silver tableware (mostly of Roman provenance). On the other hand, the number and location of elite burials are markedly reduced. In the northern part of the Volga region, for example, there are no burials with decorated swords. In fact, a similar situation is observed in

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[19] Kreuz 2003.

[20] Egg 2009, 42.

[21] Kossack 1998, Schier 1998.

[22] Kossack 1998, 31; Egg 2009, 46.

the steppes north of the Kuban. Indeed, only one burial complex with a decorated sword was found. But elite warrior graves appeared in the Lower Don region, on the left bank of the Kuban and in southwestern Crimea. Most are situated in the same necropoleis as ordinary graves. Ostentatious burials were found in the southern part of the Volga (Kosika, mid–1st century BC), near the left bank of the middle Kuban (Zubovskiī, late 1st century BC), and in the Don delta (Dachi, the third quarter of the 1st century AD). This could reflect an increase in the complexity of the political structure and the strengthening of the political power of the elites of the Volga, Kuban, and Don areas. By the end of the second period, barbarian political centers were situated on the borders of the Greek states of the North Pontic.

The next chronological period from the 2nd to the mid–3rd century AD shows a similar pattern of elite burials with decorated swords. In this case, the status objects have not significantly changed. Ostentatious burials are noticed in the Lower Don region as well as on the territory of the Bosporan kingdom (i.e., the necropolis of Gorgippia).

In order to reconstruct the historical circumstances that caused these changes, it is necessary to consider the construction and decorative features of the swords.

## The construction and decorative features of the swords

The majority of the decorated swords of the first chronological group have short blades with the total length including the handle from 36 cm (Īashkul') to 54.4 cm (Razdol'naīa), mostly within 46–48 cm. In two cases, together with a short sword was a longer decorated sword of 102 cm (Īashkul') and 91 cm (Mezmaī). Among the short swords there are two basic types: 1) a triangularly shaped blade, a direct guard, and a crescent-shaped pommel with a thickening at the ends; and 2) a blade that tapers near the point, a direct guard, and a curve-shaped pommel.

All of the swords of the northern Volga-Don group, one from Īashkul', and most from the right bank of the Kuban region belong to the former type. The latter is represented by swords from Zhutovo (the southern Volga-Don group) and Razdol'naīa (on the right bank of the Kuban). In several cases, short decorated swords are found with long undecorated swords consisted of an arcuate-shaped pommel (Mezmaī, Oleniī), a ring-shaped pommel (Beloka-menka, Verkhnee Pogromnoe), or lacking a metal pommel altogether (Īashkul', Zhutovo).

The majority of the swords associated with the first chronological group are decorated in similar fashion. Their grip and scabbard are overlaid with gold leaf.

In six cases the scabbard is decorated with gold filigree stripes at the top and bottom of the sheath. These stripes probably mark where the sword was attached to the sword belt. In two cases (Belokamenka and Verhnee Pogromnoe) a personal inspection revealed that the foil at the top of the sheath goes further to the guard of the sword, making it non-functional.[23] According to the metallographic analysis of Dr. Valentina Porokh, some swords and daggers from the Sarmatian burials of the Volga and Ural regions are made of ball iron, thereby rendering them unusable in combat.[24]

Swords from Mezmaī contain a special kind of decoration. Gold filigree plaques with inlay of striped agate and glass were fixed to the sheath. This method of decoration is noticed for the first time. Possibly, we are dealing with a local tradition.

All the decorated swords of the second chronological period from the late 1st century BC to the late 1st century AD are short in length, measuring from 42 to 48 cm. The burial of Kosika included the remains of two decorated swords, but neither their length nor the features of the design of their pommels are known because of their fragmentary state. The pommels of the swords from the Zubovskiī barrow and the barrow near the village of Dachi resemble a disk. The pommel of the sword from Arbuzov is "segment"-shaped. The pommel of the sword from Novyī is not preserved.[25] The sword from Vodnyī had no pommel. The sword from Ust'-Al'ma has a ring-shaped pommel. Thus, none of the decorated swords of this period had an arcuate or crescent-shaped pommel, which indicates a change in the type of the decorated short sword in the North Pontic region.

Likewise, changes in the decorative features of swords and their scabbards have also been detected. For example, the sheath consisting of four lateral projections first appeared in this period. Such a sheath is recorded in the burial complexes of Kosika, Zubovskiī and Dachi. These swords are particularly richly decorated. The sheath from Kosika is heavily damaged and cannot be attributed to a particular school of decoration. The speciments from Zubovskiī and Dachi are ornamented with scenes in the Animal Style bejeweled with semi-precious stone and glass inlays, and may be called "ostentatious swords". The decorative elements of these swords and scabbards suggest their production in Iran and Bactria.[26] A sheath similar in form and design is represented on reliefs of Parthian kings (fig. 12). The decor of sheaths from other burial complexes resembles those of the first chronological group: they are decorated with overlays of gold or bronze foil.

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[23] Mordvintseva, Shinkar' 1999.
[24] Porokh 1995.
[25] Il'īukov, Vlaskin 1992, 82.
[26] Mordvintseva 2010, 194.

In the third chronological period from the 2$^{nd}$ to the 3$^{rd}$ century AD long and short decorated swords are known. Short decorated swords (from 34 to 56 cm in length) in sheaths with four lateral projections are found on the territory of the Bosporan kingdom near Tanais (Valovyī, Vysochino) and in Gorgippia. The sheaths from Valovyī and Vysochino are quite simple in décor. Their lateral projections are ornamented with gold or silver flat discs. The scabbard and the pommel of the sword from Gorgippia are bejeweled with glass and stone inlays. In contrast to the sheaths from Dachi and Zubovskiī this ostentatious sword was probably made by Bosporan craftsmen, because it is technically and ornamentally close to other Bosporan toreutics. On the Bosporan workshops points also a several times repeated image of a bird of prey pecking a hare.

Along with decorated swords in sheaths with four lateral projections there are swords of different type and decoration found. They have a long grip ending with a round in plan pommel ornamented with colorful inlays and granulation. Two of the swords come from the burials of Tiflisskaīa and Ust'-Labinskaīa (Kuban), while the third was found in the Valovyī burial mound. This type of sword is probably represented on the graffito at Pābag at Persepolis.[27] The polychrome decoration is, however, typical for the jewelry style, which was widespread at that time in the Bosporan kingdom and the North Pontic region suggesting that it might have been of local manufacture. This type of decorated swords was found in a barrow located in the southern part of the Volga-Don interfluve (Baranovka, Astrakhan' region). It is dated to the 2$^{nd}$ century AD.[28] Its volute-shaped pommel is made of bronze. The sheath is covered with gold foil, similar to the examples of the first chronological group.

Thus, the first chronological period comprises swords of a similar type that were fashioned locally in the Lower Volga and Kuban. They clearly indicate the close contact that must have existed among the elites of these regions. The swords from Mezmaī differ from them both in type and décor, perhaps hinting that the local elite in this region lived in a relative isolation. Taking into consideration the area in which the cemetery is situated, the main activity of the local peoples, apparently, was to control the passes connecting the North Caucasus with the territory of the Transcaucasia. Moreover, the swords might well represent a society in which the elite did not depend on the economic and cultural network of the North Pontic steppe.

The decorated swords of the second and the third chronological periods differ in type and design. Apart from the pieces of local production, there are others whose type and décor resemble those associated with Iranian royals. It is conceivable that some of these ostentatious swords could be made in Bactria or Iran.

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[27] Daryaee 2010, 244.
[28] Dvornichenko, Fedorov-Davydov 1989, 18–19, 41–44.

# Conclusion

The majority of burial complexes with decorated swords are located in the Asian part of the North Pontic region, adjacent to the eastern boundary of the Bosporan kingdom. At the same time in other parts of the North Pontic region (the Crimea and the steppes between the Dniester and the Don) the burial complexes of barbarian elites are well represented. However, they do not contain decorated swords. Apparently, the cultures of the western and eastern portions of the North Pontic region differ in this respect, perhaps due to their cultural diversity. The use of short swords in gold scabbards in the Lower Volga, Lower Don and Kuban are to be found among the elites of Iran.

A short sword (akinakes) in a gold sheath as a crucial component of *insignia* and even *regalia* is made in reference to rulers of ancient Iran (Herod. Hist. 7.54; 9.80; Plut. Pomp.42.1; Xenoph. Anab. 2.27; 8.28). Short swords were particularly important in the Parthian period, at least beginning in the 1st century BC when they were used as royal emblems of power. In Kushan Bactria, however, short swords were replaced by long swords as symbols of power.

A special role of the ostentatious swords in Iranian culture is confirmed by numerous images, the most famous of which are rock reliefs and statues that transmit their form and decoration.[29] The burial rite using a richly decorated sword was apparently characteristic of the Iranian cultural tradition. Moreover, swords and daggers with gold sheaths have been found in the graves of the Scythians and Sarmatians whose origins are considered Iranian.[30]

The emergence and dissemination of short swords with crescent / arcuate pommels in a gold sheath as part of the funerary ritual coincides with the activities of Mithridates VI Eupator, who in his attempts to expand his kingdom came into contact with a number of "Scythian" chiefs. The areas that are marked by the burial complexes with decorated swords were, apparently, the centers of political power. In this sense, it is interesting to recall the excerpt from Strabo about the numerous Upper Aorsi, comprising exiled Aorsi and Siraki, who were involved in a dynastic struggle for control of the Bosporan kingdom (Strabo, Geogr. 11.5.8). These peoples conducted a camel caravan network of imported Indian and Babylonian goods from the Armenians and the Medes. The Aorsi lived along the river Tanais (modern Don), the Upper Aorsi dwelled probably on the Lower Volga, and the Siraki inhabited a territory near the river Achardeos (evidently, the Kuban), which flows from the Caucasus Mountains into Lake Maiotis (Sea of Azov). Both the Siraki and Aorsi provided the rivals in the Bosporan war with a great number of mounted warriors. Probably, the Lower Volga and the

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[29] Ghirshman 1962, 66 pl. 79, 67 pl. 80; Brentjes 1993, fig. 39, fig. 41.
[30] Abaev 1971.

Kuban, two areas in which different status symbols were found in the graves of the elite correspond to the warlike peoples mentioned by Strabo.[31] The situation created by Mithridates VI Eupator in the early 1st century BC evidently led to the increase of social complexity and centralization of the peoples inhabiting these areas manifested in the ostentatious burial at Kosika. It might also animate cultural ties between the Bosporan and Iranian elites since Mithridates VI had brought his court – nobles, servants, and craftsmen from the kingdom of Pontus to the Bosporan kingdom. In this regard, the emergence of the sheathed sword of Parthian type found in the burial at Kosika is hardly coincidental. This period marks the emergence of ostentatious swords of this type periodically appearing in the burial repertoire of barbarian and even Bosporan elites. The burial complexes of elite warriors concentrated close to the borders of the Bosporan kingdom, as well as the Bosporan kingdom itself becomes a complex social organism that includes neighboring barbarian polities that increasingly resembles a small nomadic empire.

## Catalogue of the graves with decorated swords[32]

### *The Lower Volga region*

### 1.

**Name of the burial complex**. Verkhnee Pogromnoe, barrow 7, grave 6.
**Location and circumstances of discovery of the burial complex**. Verkhnee Pogromnoe village, Leninsk district, Volgograd region. Excavation of the archaeological expedition of the Leningrad Department of the Institute of Archaeology of the Academy of Sciences USSR under direction of Valentin Shilov, 1957.
**Burial construction**. A niche-grave dug in a Bronze Age burial mound.
**Buried person(s)**. A male.
**Finds**. A long iron sword with a ring pommel in wooden sheath. A short sword with a sheath covered by gold plating, 45.8 cm long (fig. 5: 2). A bronze mirror. 40–45 iron arrow heads. An iron quiver hook. Iron scales from an armour. Bones of an animal. A bronze gilded belt buckle.
**Date**. 2nd century BC.
**Bibliography**. Mordvintseva, Shinkar' 1999, 138–139.

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[31] See also Olbrycht 2001, 431ff.

[32] The burial complexes are arranged after the region of their location, and then in a chronological order.

**2.**

**Name of the burial complex**. Belokamenka II, barrow 7, grave 3.

**Location and circumstances of discovery of the burial complex**. Beloka-menka village, Staraya Poltavka district, Volgograd region. Excavations of the archaeological expedition of Volgograd State University under direction of Alexander Lukashov, 1988.

**Burial construction**. A niche-grave was dug in a barrow mound of earlier times. An entrance pit: 2.48x0.85 m, 2.9 m deep; the chamber: 2.48x0.88 m.

**Buried person(s)**. A female of 16 years of age (Burial 1) and 60 year old male (Burial 2). The male was decapitated with the head placed aside the body.

**Finds (Burial 1)**. Ram's bones. An iron knife. A loom weight. A bone tubule. An iron ring in fragments. A necklace of coral, glass and jet beads.

**Finds (Burial 2)**. A long iron sword with a ring pommel. A short iron sword with a sheath covered by gold plating, 46 cm long (fig. 5: 3). One bronze arrow head, iron arrow heads. A bronze mirror. 2 whet-stones. Gold tubules from a necklace. A gold spiral arm-ring. 2 bronze belt buckles with the representation of a camel lying down.

**Date**. Second half of the 2$^{nd}$ century BC.

**Bibliography**. Mordvintseva, Shinkar' 1999, 138; Mordvintseva, Khabarova 2006, cat. 25.

**3.**

**Name of the burial complex**. Zhutovo, barrow 27, grave 4.

**Location and circumstances of discovery of the burial complex**. Zhutovo rail-way station, Oktīabr'skiī district, Volgograd region. Excavation of the archaeolog-ical expedition of the Leningrad Department of the Institute of Archaeology of the Academy of Sciences USSR under direction of Valentin Shilov, 1964.

**Burial construction**. A niche-grave covered with a burial mound. In the burial mound found separately was a ritual deposition of silver phalerae of a horse har-ness.

**Buried person(s)**. A male.

**Finds**. A long iron sword with a long grip without pommel. A short sword with a sheath covered by gold plating, 46 cm long (fig. 4: 1). A wooden quiver orna-mented with gold bands. Iron arrow heads. A bronze mirror. A glass perfume vessel. A bronze forged cauldron. Ceramic jugs. A ceramic fusi-form ungventari-um. Gold plating from a wooden vessel. Iron braces. Gold sewn plaques of two types. 2 belt front-buckles made of jet.

**Date**. Second half of the 2$^{nd}$ century BC.

**Bibliography**. Shilov 1975, 139–140; Mordvintseva 1994, 99; Mordvintseva, Shinkar' 1999, 139–140; Mordvintseva, Khabarova 2006, cat. 77.

**4.**

**Name of the burial complex**. Baranovka I, barrow 10, grave 9.

**Location and circumstances of discovery of the burial complex**. Baranovka village, Kamyshin district, Volgograd region. Excavations of the archaeological expedition of Volgograd State University under direction of Igor Sergatskov, 1982.

**Burial construction**. Burial mound 4.21 m high, 34 m in diameter, constructed in the Bronze Age. A niche-grave was dug in the burial mound. The entrance pit: 2.42x0.75 m, 2.6 m deep; the chamber: 2.25x1.15 m.

**Buried person(s)**. A male 30–35 years old (Burial 1) and an elderly female (Burial 2).

**Finds (Burial 1)**. A ram's leg with a scapula. An iron knife. An iron sword 43.7 cm long (fig. 5: 4) in a sheath with gold plating. A quiver made of birch bark and leather with gold plates ornamented with zoomorphic images. 40 iron arrow heads. A piece of leather near the scull. An iron fibula.

**Finds (Burial 2)**. A bronze mirror. A loom weight. A ram's leg and two scapulas. A necklace of glass and stone beads. Gold temple pendants.

**Common burial finds**. Fish scales.

**Date**. $2^{nd}$ – $1^{st}$ century BC.

**Bibliography**. Sergatskov 2000, 30–32; Mordvintseva, Khabarova 2006, cat. 19–20.

**5.**

**Name of the burial complex**. Koroli, barrow 4, grave 1.

**Location and circumstances of discovery of the burial complex**. Korolevskiī steading, Novaīa Anna district, Volgograd region. Excavations of the archaeological expedition of Volgograd State Pedagogic University under direction of Vladislav Mamontov, 1969.

**Burial construction**. Bronze Age burial mound, 3.44 m high, by 38 m in diameter. A rectangular grave was dug in the burial mound, 2.2 m deep from the summit of the barrow.

**Buried person(s)**. A male 40–45 years old.

**Finds**. A ceramic jug. A short iron sword with a sheath decorated with gold plating (fig. 7: 7), 39.5 cm long. An iron knife. A quiver made of birch bark ornamented with gold straps. Iron arrow heads. A wooden plate with zoomorphic images covered with gold foil.

**Date**. V. Mamontov dated the grave to the $3^{rd}$ – $2^{nd}$ century BC (Mamontov 2001, 120). However, taking into account the type of vessel that was found, the burial should be dated not earlier than the $1^{st}$ century BC.

**Bibliography**. Mamontov 2001, 111–112.

## 6.

**Name of the burial complex**. Politotdel'skoe, barrow 4, grave 20.

**Location and circumstances of discovery of the burial complex**. Politotdel'skoe village, Nikolaevsk district, Volgograd region. Excavation of the archaeological expedition of the Institute of Archaeology of the Academy of Sciences USSR under direction of Konstantin Smirnov, 1952.

**Burial construction**. Bronze Age burial mound, 0.6 m high, 20x30 m in diameter. A rectangular pit with side-shelves dug in the burial mound 2.4x1.1 m, 2.67 m deep from the summit of the barrow.

**Buried person(s)**. A male (maturus).

**Finds**. A ram's front leg with a scapula. A hand-made pot. A hand-made ceramic incense burner. An iron knife. An iron quiver hook. A fragment of the blade from a sword or a spear. A short iron sword with a ring pommel, ca. 36 cm long (there is no drawing or photo, or any other kind of representation). An iron sheath with the remains of gold threads. A bronze belt buckle. A fragment of the whet-stone. A bronze plaque of a conical form with a hole in the centre.

**Date**. K. Smirnov dated the grave to the 2$^{nd}$ century BC due to the bronze buckle (Smirnov 1959, 248). However, the 1$^{st}$ century BC cannot be excluded.

**Bibliography**. Smirnov 1959, 243–244.

## 7.

**Name of the burial complex**. Krivaīa Luka VIII, barrow 5, grave 12.

**Location and circumstances of discovery of the burial complex**. Krivaīa Luka tract, Chernyī Īar, Astrakhan' region. Excavation of the archaeological expedition of the Institute of Archaeology of the Academy of Sciences USSR under direction of German Fedorov-Davydov, 1975.

**Burial construction**. A burial mound of the Scythian period, 0.8 m high, 20 m in diameter. A rectangular grave-pit was dug in the burial mound: 3.2x1.4–1.75 m, 3.67 m deep from the summit of the barrow. In the bottom of the grave-pit there was made a deepening 2.25x0.85–0.95 m. It contained a wooden coffin 1.8x0.8 m. Under the coffin a round hiding-place was dug 0.34x0.37 m, 24 deeper than the level of the coffin.

**Buried person(s)**. An adult.

**Finds**. *Outside the coffin*. A big ceramic jug. Ribs of an animal. *Inside the coffin*. A short iron sword with a crescent-shaped pommel in a sheath with gold details, 52 cm long (fig. 4: 2, 3). A quiver ornamented with gold straps. Iron arrow heads. A gold elongated rectangular plate with rounded end. A gold plate with ornamentation, probably from a ritual baton. Gold sewn plaques. A bronze belt front-buckle decorated with gold foil. A silver buckle. A bone cylindrical hoop. *In the hiding-place*. A big bronze cast cauldron. A wooden cup in fragments. An

iron unidentified item. 2 bronze rings. An iron hook. 2 silver phalerae of a horse harness.

**Date**. Second half of the 2nd century BC.

**Bibliography**. Fedorov-Davydov et al. 1975, 60–64.

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**8.**

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**Name of the burial complex**. Pisarevka II, barrow 6, grave 1–2.

**Location and circumstances of discovery of the burial complex**. Pisarevka village, Ilovlīa district, Volgograd region. Excavations of the archaeological expedition of Volgograd State Pedagogic University under direction of Vladislav Mamontov, 1999–2001.

**Burial construction**. A rectangular grave-pit was dug in an earlier burial mound: 5.37x0.98 m, 1.23 m deep from the level of ancient ground surface. Burial 1 (in the south part of the grave-pit) was made in a wooden block in shape of a ship, 2.55x0.72 m. Burial 2 (in the north part of the grave-pit) was made in a wooden block in shape of a ship of the same size.

**Buried person(s)**. A male 25–30 years old (Burial 1) and a male 25–30 years old (Burial 2).

**Finds (Burial 1)**. A short iron sword.

**Finds (Burial 2)**. A bronze mirror. A pebble. A whet-stone. A short iron sword in a wooden sheath covered by gold foil, 47.1 cm long (fig. 5: 1). A big bead from the sword knot. A quiver ornamented with gold straps. Iron arrow heads. A wooden rectangular elongated plate with zoomorphic images covered with gold foil (ritual baton). Wooden derails of a bow. An iron knife. A bronze fibula. A bronze cast belt front-buckle with representation of a struggle between a camel and a beast of prey.

**Date**. 1st century BC.

**Bibliography**. Mamontov 2002, 251–256.

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**9.**

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**Name of the burial complex**. Īashkul', burial ground 37, grave 1.

**Location and circumstances of discovery of the burial complex**. Īashkul' village, an autonomous Republic of Kalmykia. Excavations in the zone of construction of the Volga-Chograī channel, 1988.

**Burial construction**. A rectangular grave with side shelves was dug in a natural hill, which was used as a burial mound in the Bronze Age. A size of the grave was 3x1.55 m, 3.06 m deep from the summit of the hill. In the north-western corner of the grave was dug a hiding semi-circle niche. In the center of the eastern side of the grave there was dug a similar hiding niche.

**Buried person(s)**. An adult.

**Finds**. *Inside the grave*. A short iron sword with a crescent-shaped pommel in a sheaf decorated with gold foil, 36 cm long (fig. 4: 4). A long iron sword with a long grip without pommel, in a sheath decorated with gold foil, 102 cm long (fig. 4: 5). A leather quiver ornamented with gold threads. Iron arrow heads. An iron knife. Bronze details of a belt. Gold sewn plaques of three types. *Inside the hiding niche 1*. A cast bronze cauldron. Bones of a horse. *Inside the hiding niche 2*. Gold phalerae from horse bridle. Iron bits ornamented with gold foil. 2 gold rings from the horse harness. Bronze details of a belt (spoon-shaped pendants). 2 silver gilded phalerae and silver front-piece.

**Date**. 1st century BC.

**Bibliography**. Otchir-Goriaeva 2002.

## 10.

**Name of the burial complex**. Kosika, grave 1.

**Location and circumstances of discovery of the burial complex**. Kosika village, Enotaevka district, Astrakhan' region. Excavation of the archaeological expedition of the Institute of Archaeology of the Academy of Sciences USSR under direction of German Fedorov-Davydov and Vladimir Dvornichenko, 1984.

**Burial construction**. A rectangular grave was dug in a natural hill. It was destroyed during construction works.

**Buried person(s)**. A male 35 years old.

**Finds**. Gold sewn plaques and gold threads, wooden poles with silver tops from a canopy above the grave. *From the disturbed and displaced content of the grave*. Gold sewn plaques. Pieces of gold foil. Gold leafs from a funerary wreath. Gold threads. Inlays. Gold buttons. *In the grave*. A leather sac. A silver pyxis. 2 gold pendants. 2 spear-heads. Fragments from an iron sword in a sheath with gold plating and turquoise inlays (fig. 8: 1, 2). An iron short sword in a sheath ornamented with gold wire. Iron arrow heads. A set of silver vessels. A forged bronze cauldron with an inscription in Greek. Several bronze vessels. A silver spoon. A silver mirror. Belt equipment. A whet-stone with a gold cap with representation of a head of the beast of pray. An iron knife. An iron razor with gold details. Gold phalerae from bridle and saddler. A gold pectoral. A gold armband. A pair of gold belt front-buckles in the shape of a hedgehog. A gold tip from a torque. 4 stone seals. Amulets.

**Date**. Mid–1st century BC (Treister 2005), compare: mid–1st c. AD (Dvornichenko, Fedorov-Davydov 1993, 178).

**Bibliography**. Dvornichenko, Fedorov-Davydov 1989; Dvornichenko, Fedorov-Davydov 1993; Treister 2005; Mordvinceva, Treister 2007, complex A114.

**11**.

**Name of the burial complex**. Baranovka, barrow 17, grave 1.

**Location and circumstances of discovery of the burial complex**. Baranovka village, Chernyī Īar district, Astrakhan' region. Excavation of the archaeological expedition of the Institute of Archaeology of the Academy of Sciences USSR under direction of German Fedorov-Davydov, 1972 г.

**Burial construction**. A rectangular grave covered with a burial mound 0.5 m high, 20 m in diameter. The size of the grave: 2.3x1.7 m, 1.50 m deep from the level of ancient ground surface.

**Buried person(s)**. An adult. The burial was disturbed in antiquity, probably as a result of post-burial rituals.

**Finds**. A hand-made ceramic cup. Fragments of hand-made pot. A small hand-made pot. Ram's bones. Fragments of a whip: a bone grip decorated with gold foil with floral ornamentation and a bronze ring-weighting. An iron short sword with a separately made bronze crescent-shaped pommel and a cross-guard, in a sheath with gold plating (fig. 6: 1).

**Date**. 2$^{nd}$ century AD.

**Bibliography**. Dvornichenko, Fedorov-Davydov 1989, 18–19, 41–44 fig. 23–26.

### *The Kuban' region*

**12.**

**Name of the burial complex**. Mezmaī, sector I, grave 3.

**Location and circumstances of discovery of the burial complex**. Mezmaī village, Apsheronsk district, Krasnodar region. Excavations of the archaeological expedition of Krasnodar State Historic and Archaeological Museum-Reserve under direction of Nikolaī Shevchenko, 2005.

**Burial construction**. A stone cist 3.2x1.2 m, 2.6 m deep from the surface.

**Buried person(s)**. An adult.

**Finds**. *In the filling of the grave, above the stone cist*. A bronze arm-ring. A horse burial 1. Iron bits. A horse burial 2. Iron bits. A big glass bead. A horse burial 3. Iron bits. A cow burial. Fragment of a ceramic bowl. *Inside the stone cist*. 2 bronze helmets. A gold temple-pendant2 gold brooches. 3 big gold plaques. 3 small gold sewn plaques. 4 gold buttons. A pendant made from a gold coin. A gold bead. A gold arm-ring. 2 long iron swords. A long iron sword ornamented with a gold plaque, 91 cm long (fig. 7: 3). A short iron sword with a sheath ornamented with a gold plaque, 48.5 cm long (fig. 7: 4). 6 spear-heads. 6 javelin-heads. An iron axe. An iron arrow-head. An iron tripod. A bronze mirror. A chalcedony bead with gold cap. A glass cup. A glass cantharos. A black-glazed cantharos. A bronze jug. 2 ceramic bowls. An iron chain-mail. A bronze

basin. Iron pincers. 2 ceramic cantharoi. A big ceramic jug. A hand-made ceramic incense-burner. A bone knife. An item made of horn. A scull of wild boar.

**Date**. Second half of the 3$^{rd}$ – first half of the 2$^{nd}$ century BC.

**Bibliography**. Mordvintseva et all. 2010, cat. 289, 297; Mordvintseva, Shevchenko, Zaitsev 2012.

## 13.

**Name of the burial complex**. Oleniĭ I, barrow 3, grave 4.

**Location and circumstances of discovery of the burial complex**. Oleniĭ steading, Kaliniskaĭa district, Krasnodar region. Excavations of the North-Caucasian expedition of the Institute of Archaeology of the Academy of Sciences USSR under direction of Alexander Geĭ, 1987.

**Burial construction**. Burial mound 60x45 m, 1.5 m high. A niche-grave was dug in the burial mound of earlier times. The entrance-pit: 3.05x1.3 m. The chamber: 2.9x1.32 m, 4.31 deep from the summit of the barrow.

**Buried person(s)**. A male 20–25 years old.

**Finds**. A ceramic cup. A big ceramic jug. A glass cantharos. A long iron sword with a crescent-shaped pommel. A short iron sword with a crescent-shaped pommel, 49 cm long (fig. 7: 1). An iron arrow head. Bronze sewn plaques. A bronze belt front-buckle. A bronze tip of a belt. Gold threads. Gold sewn plaques.

**Date**. Second half of the 2$^{nd}$ century BC.

**Bibliography**. Geĭ 1988.

## 14.

**Name of the burial complex**. Karstovyĭ, barrow 1, grave 2.

**Location and circumstances of discovery of the burial complex**. Kaliniskaĭa village, Kaliniskaĭa district, Krasnodar region. Excavations of the North-Caucasian expedition of the Institute of Archaeology of the Academy of Sciences USSR under direction of Alexander Geĭ, 1986.

**Burial construction**. Burial mound 5 m high, 60 m in diameter. A catacomb-grave was dug in the burial mound. The entrance pit: 1.90x1 m, 3.63 m deep from the summit of the barrow. The chamber: 2.5x1.40 m, 3.73 m deep from the summit of the barrow. In the bottom of the chamber, under the coffin with inhumation, was dug a hiding-pit 18x8 cm.

**Buried person(s)**. An adolescent 14–19 years old.

**Finds**. *In the chamber*. A blanket embroidered with gold sewn plaques and tubules. A ceramic amphorisk. A pebble. An amulet. A ceramic oinochoia. Bones of a ram. 3 long iron knives. A wooden vessel. Gold and silver bindings. A short iron sword with a crescent pommel in a sheath ornamented with gold foil, 50 cm

long (fig. 6: 3). Iron arrow heads. A quiver ornamented with gold sewn plaques and straps. A gold brooch. *In the hidden pit*. 2 gold torques and a silver phiala.
**Date**. 2nd century BC.
**Bibliography**. Geĭ, Sateev 1987.

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**15.**

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**Name of the burial complex**. Dinskaĭa, barrow 1, grave 3.
**Location and circumstances of discovery of the burial complex**. Dinskaĭa village, Dinskaĭa district, Krasnodar region. Excavations of the archaeological expedition of Krasnodar State Historic and Archaeological Museum-Reserve under direction of Nikita Anfimov and Evangelina Ĭarkova (Khachaturova), 1973.
**Burial construction**. The grave was dug in a Bronze Age burial mound.
**Buried person(s)**. A male.
**Finds**. An short iron sword without pommel in a sheath ornamented with gold foil (fig. 6: 5; fig. 8: 6). Iron arrow-heads. Gold brooch. Gold sewn plaques and tubules.
**Date**. Late 2nd – early 1st century BC.
**Bibliography**. Marchenko 1996, complex 385 fig. 96; Mordvintseva et al. 2010, cat. 104.

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**16.**

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**Name of the burial complex**. Malai I, barrow 9, grave 9.
**Location and circumstances of discovery of the burial complex**. Malai steading, Kalininskaĭa district, Krasnodar region. Excavations of the North-Caucasian expedition of the Institute of Archaeology of the Academy of Sciences USSR under direction of Alexander Geĭ, 1981.
**Burial construction**. A catacomb-grave was dug in a Bronze Age burial mound, 5 m high.
**Buried person(s)**. An adult male.
**Finds**. A red-slip cantharos. A big ceramic jug. 2 fragments of an iron chain. A short iron sword with a crescent-shaped pommel in a sheath covered with gold foil (fig. 6: 4). An iron knife. A fragment of a bronze item. Iron arrow heads. Gold straps from a quiver. Gold sewn plaques of five types.
**Date**. 1st century BC.
**Bibliography**. Geĭ 1986; Marchenko 1996, complex 302; Mordvintseva et al. 2010, cat. 280.

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**17.**

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**Name of the burial complex**. Razdol'naĭa, barrow 7, grave 13.
**Location and circumstances of discovery of the burial complex**. Razdol'naĭa village, Korenovsk district, Krasnodar region. Excavations of the archaeological

expedition of Krasnodar State Historic and Archaeological Museum-Reserve under direction of Alexander Nekhaev, 1978.

**Burial construction**. Burial mound 2.15 m high, 56 m in diameter. A rectangular grave was dug in the burial mound of earlier times. Its size: 1.96x1.45 m, 3.88 m from the summit of the barrow.

**Buried person(s)**. A male more than 50 years old.

**Finds**. Fragments of a glass vessel. A ceramic bowl. 2 ceramic jugs. A wooden rectangular elongated plate with zoomorphic images covered with gold foil. Gold straps. A short sword in a sheath ornamented with gold foil, 54.4 cm long (fig. 6: 2; fig. 7: 2). Long iron rods in a wooden box. An iron knife. Gold tubules. A gold brooch. A gold spiral arm-ring.

**Date**. 2$^{nd}$ century BC.

**Bibliography**. Marchenko 1996, 51–52 complex 356.

### 18.

**Name of the burial complex**. Zubovskiī, barrow 1–1899.

**Location and circumstances of discovery of the burial complex**. Zubovskiī steading, Tenginskaīa village, Tbilisskaīa district, Krasnodar region. Excavations of Nikolaī Veselovskiī, 1899.

**Burial construction**. No information.

**Buried person(s)**. No information.

**Finds**. An iron tripod. 7 belt plaques with polychrome inlays. 5 gold plaques from a sword sheath. A short iron sword with gold details (fig. 10: 1, 2). Belt tips. Gold buttons and a ring. Glass and other beads. 2 gold bracelets. A glass cup. A bronze cast cauldron. Details of a casket. A bronze jar of the Hydria type. 2 silver phalerae of horse harness. An iron chain-armour. Fragments of copper items. Iron bits. A whet-stone. A whet-stone with a gold cap. A ceramic jug. Iron arrow heads. A silver phiala.

**Date**. From the middle to the second half of the 1$^{st}$ century BC (Gushchina, Zasetskaīa 1989, 87); 40-s of the 1$^{st}$ century BC, the third quarter of the 1$^{st}$ century BC (Shchukin 1992, 108).

**Bibliography**. Minns 1913, 230ff; Gushchina, Zasetskaīa 1989, 114–118, 127 Cat. 113–134.

### 19.

**Name of the burial complex**. Vodnyī, barrow 1, grave 1.

**Location and circumstances of discovery of the burial complex**. Vodnyī village, Krasnoarmeīskaīa village, Krasnodar region. Excavations of the archaeological expedition of Krasnodar State Historic and Archaeological Museum-Reserve under direction of Olga Kulikova, 1978.

**Burial construction**. A grave was dug in the burial mound of the earlier timed, 61x79 m, 5.78 m high. The grave was 2.25 m deep from the summit of the barrow.

**Buried person(s)**. An adult.

**Finds**. Fragments of a bronze cauldron. A bronze ladle. A bronze jug. A ceramic vessel. An iron spear-head. A bronze mirror. A long iron sword, 84 cm long. A short iron sword in a sheath with gold details, 48 cm long (fig. 8: 5). A silver vessel. Gold threads from embroidery. Gold sewn plaques. A silver gilded belt front-buckle with a representation of a goat. Bronze sewn plaques.

**Date**. 1st century AD.

**Bibliography**. Marchenko 1996, complex 293 fig. 78.

## 20.

**Name of the burial complex**. Tiflisskaĭa, barrow 11/1902.

**Location and circumstances of discovery of the burial complex**. Tbilisskaĭa village, Tbilisskaĭa district, Krasnodar region. Excavations of Nikolaĭ Veselovskiĭ, 1902.

**Burial construction**. A catacomb-grave under a burial mound. The entrance-pit: 2.44x1.32 m. The chamber: 3.00x1.47 m, 4.25 m deep. The grave was robbed in antiquity.

**Buried person(s)**. No information.

**Finds**. A richly ornamented pommel of a sword (fig. 11: 5–6). A bronze buckle. An astragal of a ram with a round hole.

**Date**. 3rd century AD.

**Bibliography**. Gushchina, Zasetskaĭa 1994, 57 tab. 26 cat. 247.

## 21.

**Name of the burial complex**. Ust'-Labinskaĭa, barrow 45/1902.

**Location and circumstances of discovery of the burial complex**. Ust'-Labinskaĭa village, Tbilisskaĭa district, Krasnodar region. Excavations of Nikolaĭ Veselovskiĭ, 1902.

**Burial construction**. A catacomb-grave under a burial mound. The entrance-pit: 2.44 m long. The chamber: 3.36x1.42 м, 3.5 m deep. The grave was robbed in antiquity.

**Buried person(s)**. No information.

**Finds**. A short sword with a richly ornamented pommel, 52 cm long (fig. 11: 3–4). Silver tips of a belt. A whet-stone.

**Date**. Second half of the 2nd – first half of the 3rd century AD.

**Bibliography**. Gushchina, Zasetskaĭa 1994, 72 tab. 51 cat. 477.

## *Taman peninsula*

### 22.

**Name of the burial complex**. Gorgippia, crypt II, sarcophagus II.

**Location and circumstances of discovery of the burial complex**. City of Anapa, Krasnodar region. Excavations of the expedition of the Institute of Archaeology of the Academy of Sciences USSR under direction of Ekaterina Alekseeva, 1975.

**Burial construction**. A burial in a stone sarcophagus in crypt on the territory of the necropolis of the antique city of Gorgippia.

**Buried person(s)**. Bones of the skeleton have not survived.

**Finds**. *Inside the sarcophagus*. A gold mouth-cover. 2 gold eye-covers. A gold plaque inlayed with turquoise. A gold plaque representing a lion mask. A gold neck-ring. 20 gold beads. A gold fibula. A gold funeral wreath. 2 gold finger-rings. A gold belt-buckle. A gold arm-ring. A short iron sword richly ornamented with gold and inlays in a gold sheath, ca. 34 cm long (fig. 9: 1). A long iron sword. Gold ornaments of a wooden casket. Bronze plaques ornamented with gold foil from the horse harness. Fragments of gold threads. 2 astragals made of turquoise. Glass and chalk beads. A small silver vessel. A big glass jug. A bronze amphora. An iron sliding chair. 2 bronze buckles. 2 iron buckles. Bronze belt fittings. *Inside the crypt, between sarcophagi*. A bronze lamp. 2 pairs of iron bits. Bronze temple pendants. A glass horn. A polychrome glass cup. A glass jug. A fragment of glass vessel. 2 silver spoons. An iron tool. An iron knife. A bronze stylos. A bronze enameled incense burner. A bronze enameled pyxis. 3 bronze enameled strigili. A bronze strigil. A bronze overlay.

**Date**. First half – middle of the $2^{nd}$ century AD.

**Bibliography**. Alekseeva 2002, 109, 111 fig. 22; Treister 2003, 57f. fig. 9; Mordvinceva, Treister 2005, 73, 76 tab. 34.

## *The Lower Don region*

### 23.

**Name of the burial complex**. Novyĭ, barrow 70, grave 5.

**Location and circumstances of discovery of the burial complex**. Novyĭ township, Bol'shaĭa Martynovka district, Rostov-on-Don region. Excavations of the archaeological expedition of Rostov State University under direction of Leonid Il'ĭukov, 1982.

**Burial construction**. Bronze Age burial mound, 0.68 m high, 26 m in diameter. A niche-grave was dug in the burial mound, then covered with an additional mound.

**Buried person(s)**. *Burial in the niche 1 (eastern)*. A male 18–20 years old. The burial is partly destroyed. *Burial in the niche 1 (western)*. A male 18–20 years old.

**Finds (Niche 1)**. 2 iron knives. Iron arrow heads. *In the destroyed part of the niche*. Fragments of an iron sword. An iron knife. Fragments of a bronze cauldron. Horse bones. An iron belt front-buckle plated with gold foil. Iron belt fittings.

**Finds (Niche 2)**. A short iron sword in wooden sheath with gold elements (fig. 8: 8, 9). Iron arrow heads. Fragments of a bronze cauldron. An iron knife. A belt embroidered with two rows of kauri shells and a gold belt front-buckle in the shape of a hedgehog. A button made of alabaster.

**Date**. 1<sup>st</sup> century BC – 1<sup>st</sup> century AD.

**Bibliography**. Il'īukov, Vlaskin 1992, 80–82, fig. 20: 7–19.

## 24.

**Name of the burial complex**. Arbuzovskiī, barrow 8, grave 3 (eastern).

**Location and circumstances of discovery of the burial complex**. Arbuzov steading, Bol'shaīa Martynovka district, Rostov-on-Don region. Excavations of the archaeological expedition of Rostov State University under direction of Vladimir Kiīashko, 1980.

**Burial construction**. Bronze Age burial mound, 0.6 m high, 24x20 m. A niche-grave was dug in the burial mound.

**Buried person(s)**. *Burial 3 (eastern niche)*. A male 20–30 years old. *Burial 8 (western niche)*. A male 25–30 years old.

**Finds (Burial 3)**. A short iron sword ornamented with gold foil in a sheath with bronze applications (fig. 8: 7). An iron knife in a sheath ornamented with gold foil. A flint flake. A small vessel made of alabaster. Iron arrow heads. A ceramic vessel. 2 iron buckles covered with gold foil.

**Finds (Burial 8)**. A short iron sword with a ring pommel. A flint flake. A piece of brimstone. An iron buckle. An iron knife. Iron arrow heads. A hand-made ceramic vessel. Bones of a ram's hind-leg and pelvis.

**Date**. 1<sup>st</sup> century BC.

**Bibliography**. Il'īukov, Vlaskin 1992, 145–148.

## 25.

**Name of the burial complex**. Dachi, barrow 1.

**Location and circumstances of discovery of the burial complex**. Dachi township, city of Azov, Rostov-on-Don region. Excavations of the Azov-Don expedition under direction of Evgeniī Bespalyī, 1986.

**Burial construction**. A single grave of square shape was covered with a burial mound. The burial was robbed. In the mound there were found remains of a funerary feast (bones of cattle, fragments of not less than 12 amphorae, fragments of ceramic vessels) and a hiding pit.

**Buried person(s)**. An adult.

**Finds**. *In the grave*. Bones of a ram. Fragments of amphorae. Fragments of a glass cup. An iron knife. Iron arrow heads. A bronze plaque. Fragments of a bone pyxis. Gold sewn plaques. A gold tubule. Fragments of gold wire and threads. *In the hiding pit*. A covering embroidered with gold sewn plaques. Gold phalerae from bridle and saddler. A gold bracelet. A short iron sword with gold decoration in a richly ornamented gold sheath, 42 cm long (fig. 9: 2).

**Date**. Last quarter of 1$^{st}$ century AD.

**Bibliography**. Bespalyī 1992.

### 26.

**Name of the burial complex**. Vysochino I, barrow 10, grave 1.

**Location and circumstances of discovery of the burial complex**. Vysochino necropolis between rivers Don and Kagal'nik, Rostov-on-Don region. Excavations of the Azov-Don expedition under direction of Sergeī Luk'īashko and Evgeniī Bespalov.

**Burial construction**. A grave of an unidentified form in a burial mound 0.55 m high.

**Buried person(s)**. An adult.

**Finds**. A long iron sword with a chalcedony pommel. A long iron knife in a sheath covered with gold foil. A short iron sword in a sheath covered with gold foil, 38.8 cm (fig. 10: 7). A small vessel made of alabaster. A silver goblet. Silver bells. Small glass beads.

**Date**. 2$^{nd}$ – mid 3$^{rd}$ c. AD.

**Bibliography**. Bespalyī, Luk'īashko 2008, 20–23.

### 27.

**Name of the burial complex**. Valovyī I, barrow 25 grave 1.

**Location and circumstances of discovery of the burial complex**. Kurgan necropolis Valovyī, Mīasnikovskiī district, Rostov-on-Don region. Excavations of the Azov-Don expedition under direction of Evgeniī Bespalyī and Igor Parusimov, 1987.

**Burial construction**. A catacomb grave was covered with burial mound 0.3 m high, ca. 20 m in diameter. The entrance pit: 0.85x0.67 m. The chamber: 2.35x0.8 m, 2.55 m deep.

**Buried person(s)**. An adult male.

**Finds**. A wooden comb. A flint flake. An iron needle. A wooden goblet. A bronze ring. Fragments of a leather sac. Glass beads. A small wooden box. Iron bits. A short iron sword with a ring pommel in a sheath ornamented with silver plaques, 47.5 cm long (fig. 10: 3, 5). A short iron sword with a ring pommel in a sheath ornamented with silver plaques, 56 cm long (fig. 10: 4, 6). A long iron sword with a pommel ornamented with gold foil, 102 cm long (fig. 11: 1, 2). A big stone bead from the sword knot. A bronze buckle. A silver buckle. An iron buckle. 2 iron knives. Iron hooks and shafts. A bronze ring with three rows of knobbles. 2 iron axes. Wooden shafts. A red-slip ceramic goblet. A bronze basin. A bronze fibula. A bronze ladle. A wooden basin. Fragments of gold foil. Iron belt fittings with gold plating. 2 wooden goblets. Fragments of leather straps. Horse harness: bronze phalerae covered with gold foil from the horse harness, wooden fish-shaped plaques covered with gold foil, 2 iron buckles, and 2 iron rings. Iron bits. A wooden box containing a whet-stone and a wooden spoon. Silver ornaments of the shoes. An iron adze. A bronze fibula. Bronze and silver belt fittings.
**Date**. Late 2$^{nd}$ – first third of 3$^{rd}$ century AD.
**Bibliography**. Bezuglov, Glebov, Parusimov 2009, 48–63.

### *The Crimean peninsula*

### 28.

**Name of the burial complex**. Ust'-Al'ma, catacomb 620, burial 2.
**Location and circumstances of discovery of the burial complex**. Pechanoe village, Bakhchisaraī district, Republic of the Crimea. Excavations of Ust'-Al'ma expedition under direction of Alexander Puzdrovskiī, 1996.
**Burial construction**. A catacomb 3.2x2.1 m, 2.6 deep. There were two burials in wooden coffins.
**Buried person(s)**. Burial 2 belonged to a male 35–45 years old.
**Finds**. A short iron sword in a sheath ornamented with a rectangular gold plate, 35 cm long (fig. 8: 3, 4). Iron arrow heads. An amphora. An iron candelabrum. A hand-made ceramic lamp. A hand-made ceramic incense burner. An iron knife. A piece of sandstone. A bronze patera. A bronze oinochoia. Remains of lether shoes. A fragment of silk cloth. Bronze and silver belt fittings. A gold buckle and a gold tip of the belt. A bronze fibula. Gold tubules and sewn plaques. A gold ear-ring. Gold pendants. A silver arm-ring.
**Date**. Second half of 1$^{st}$ century AD.
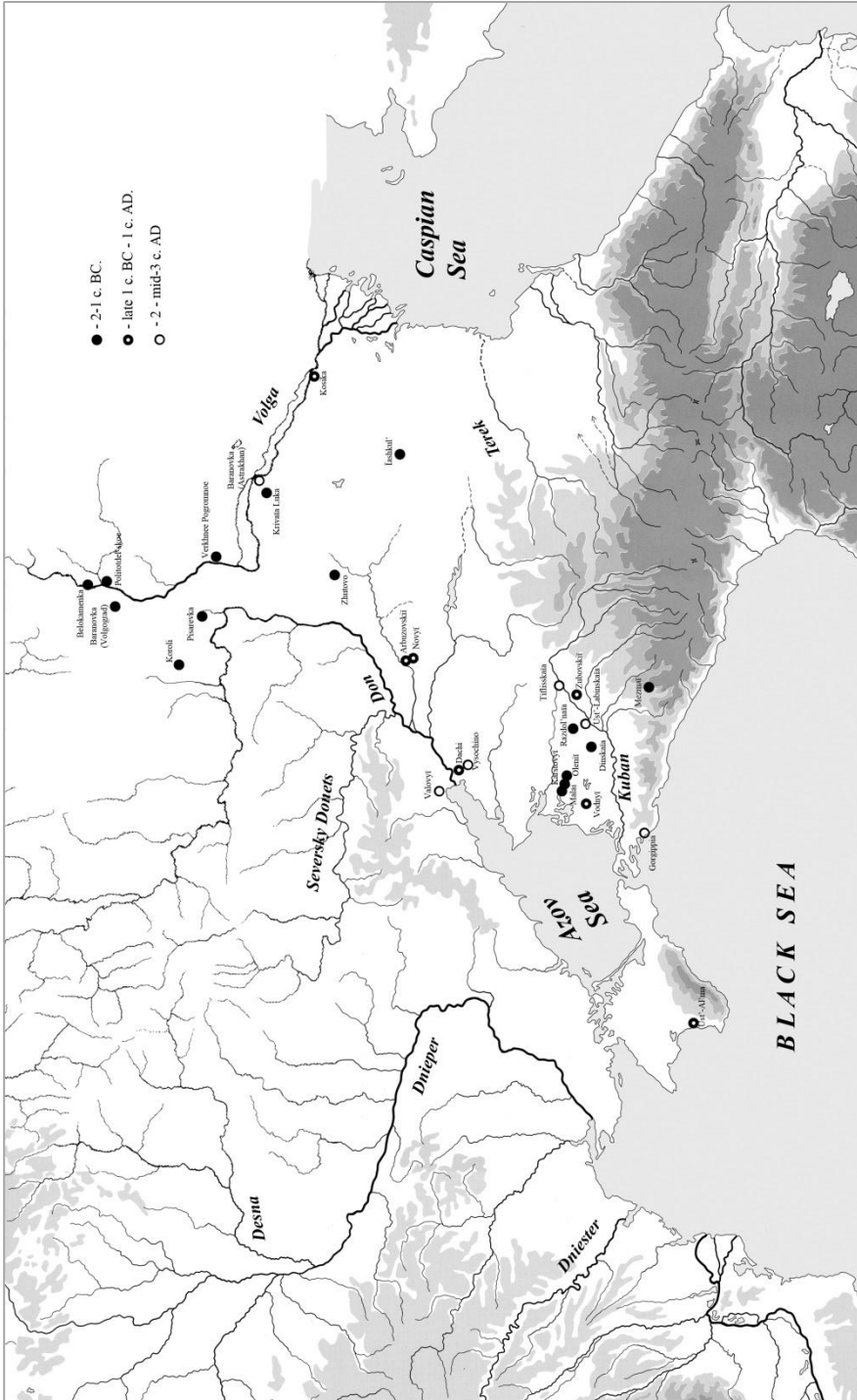**Bibliography**. Puzdrovskij 2013, 296–297.

**Fig. 1. Map of distribution of the decorated swords.**
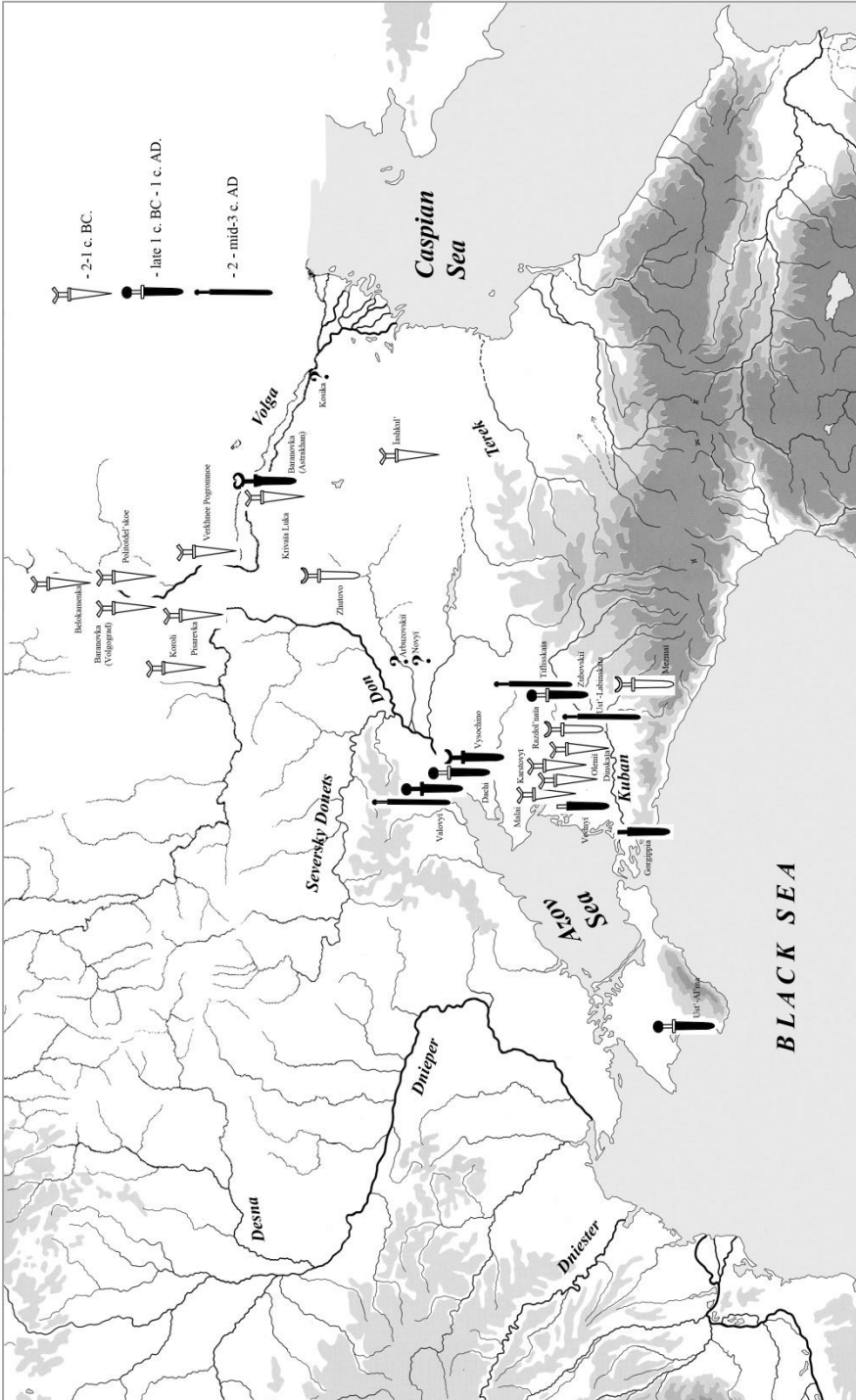**1 – 2–1 c. BC. 2 – 1 c. BC – 1 c. AD. 3 – 2–3 c. AD.**

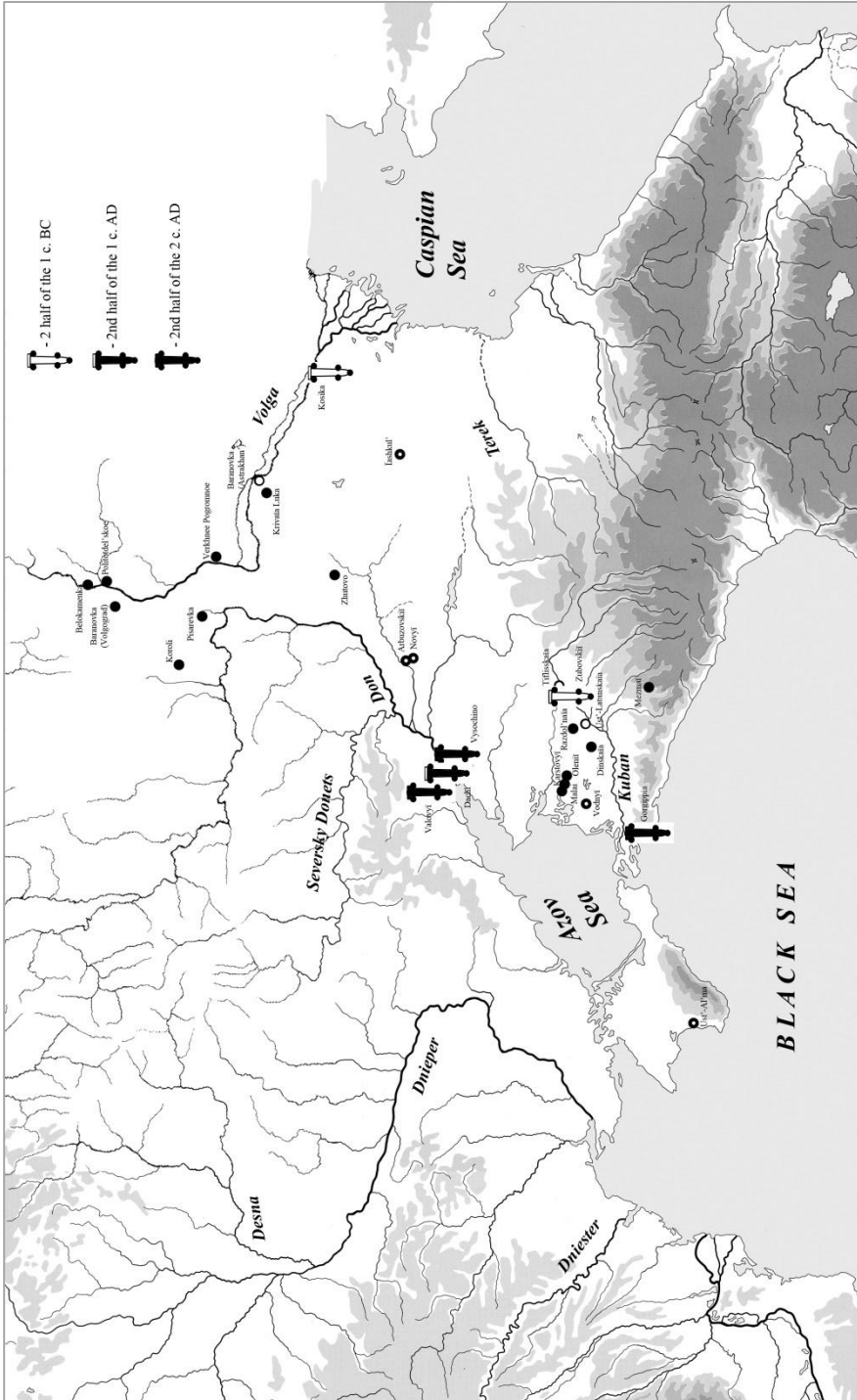**Fig. 2. Map of distribution of the decorated swords of different types.**

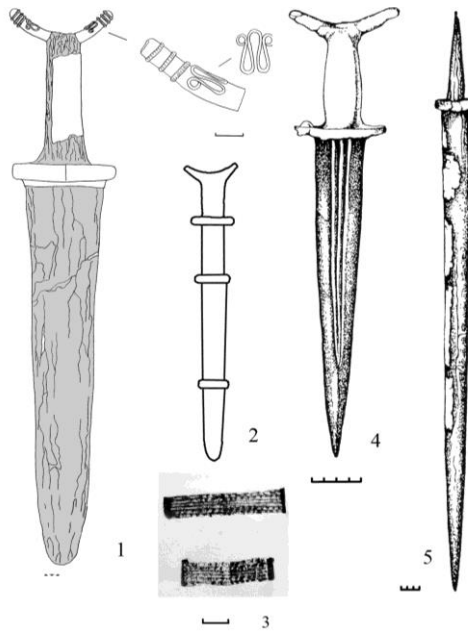**Fig. 3. Map of distribution of the decorated swords in a sheath with four latersl projections.**

**Fig 4. 1 – Zhutovo. 2, 3 – Krivaīa Luka. 4, 5 – Īashkul'. 1 – after Mordvintseva, Shinkar' 1999. 2, 3 – after Fedorov-Davydov et all. 1975. 4, 5 – after Otchir-Gorjaeva 2002.**
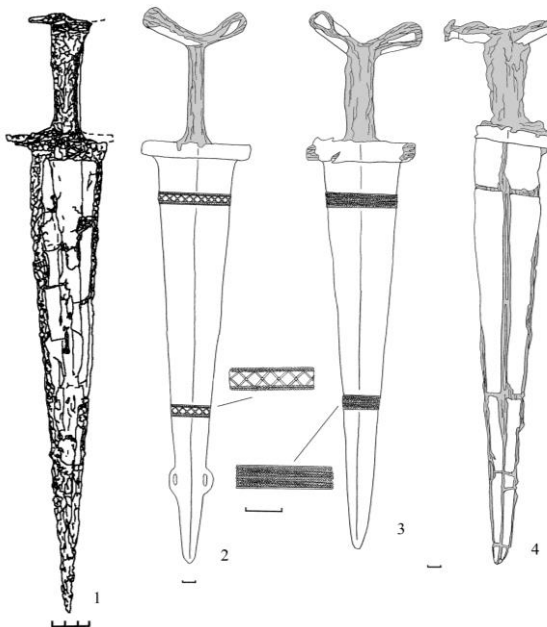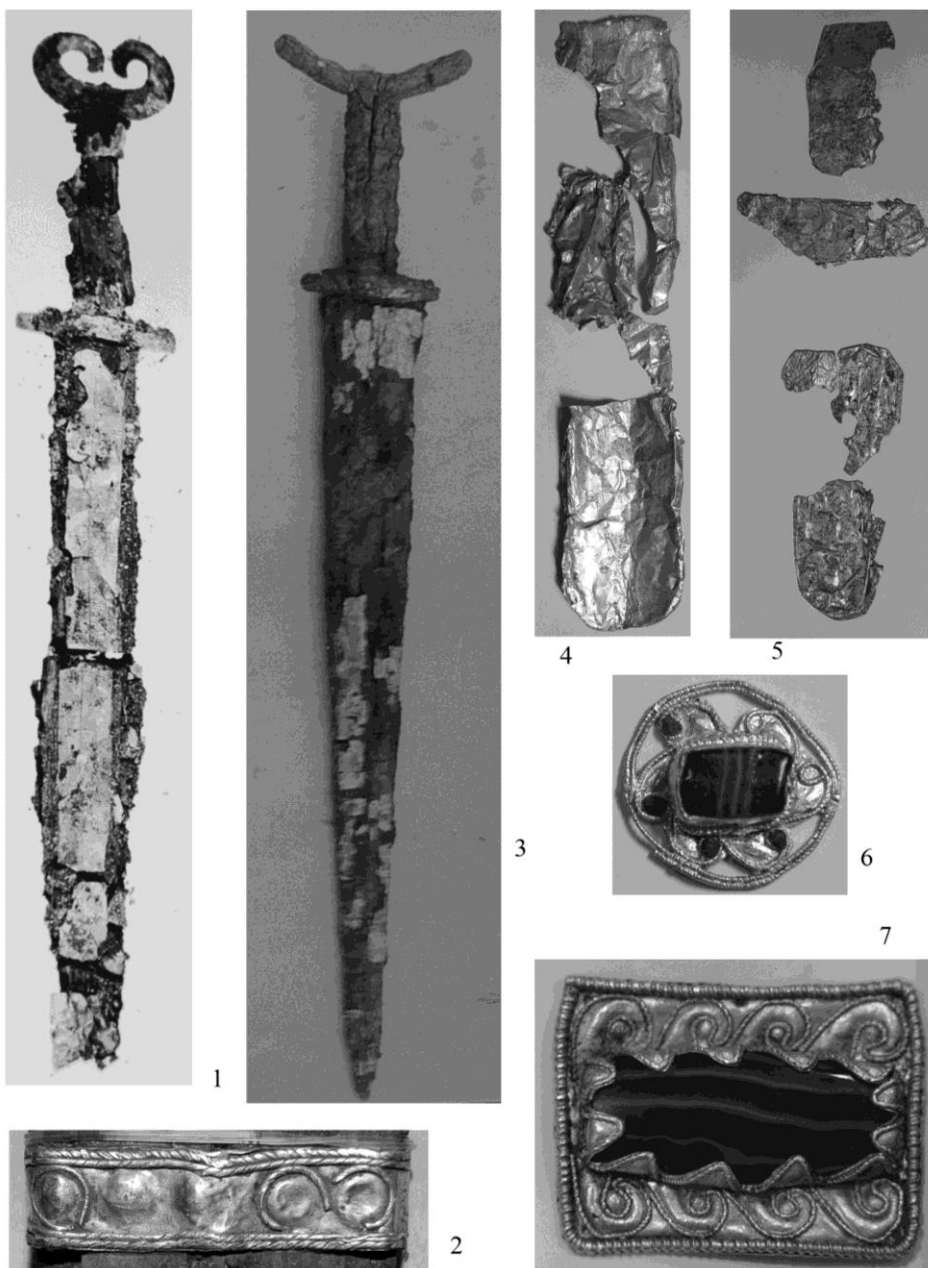


**Fig. 5. 1 – Pisarevka. 2 – Verkhnee Pogromnoe. 3 – Belokamenka. 4 – Baranovka (Volgograd region). 1 – after Mamontov 2002. 2–4 – after Mordvintseva, Shinkar' 1999.**

**Fig. 6. 1 – Baranovka (Astrakhan' region), 2 – Razdol'naīa. 3 – Karstovyī. 4 – Malai. 5 – Dinskaīa. 6, 7 – Mezmaī. 1 – after Dvornichenko, Fedorov-Davydov 1989. 1 – after Dvornichenko, Fedorov-Davydov 1989. 2 – after Marchenko 1996. 3 – Geī, Sateev 1987. 4–7 – after Mordvintseva et al. 2010.**
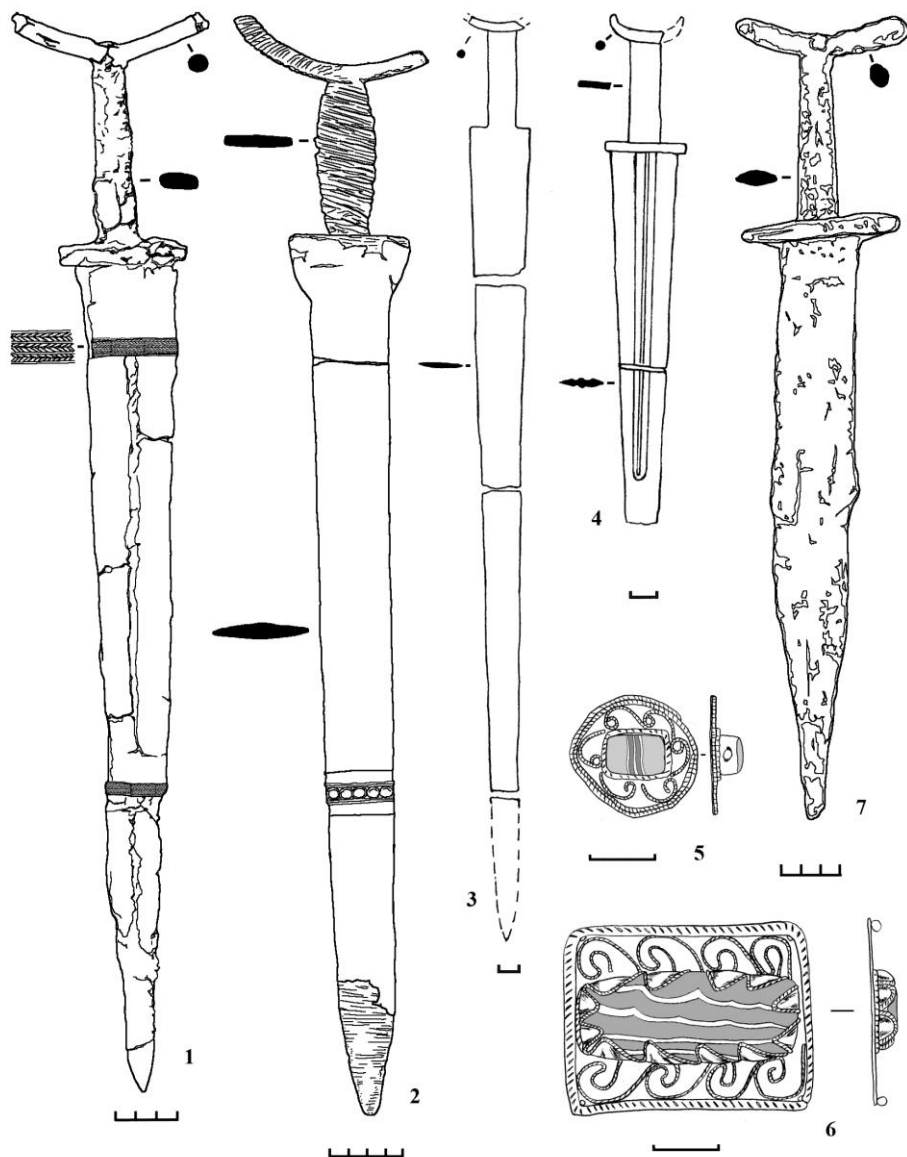
**Fig. 7. 1 – Oleniĭ. 2 – Razdol'naĭa. 3–6 – Mezmaĭ. 7 – Koroli. 2 – after Mordvintseva et all. 2010. 2 – Geĭ 1988. 3–6 – after Mordvintseva et all. 2012. 7 – after Mamontov 2001.**
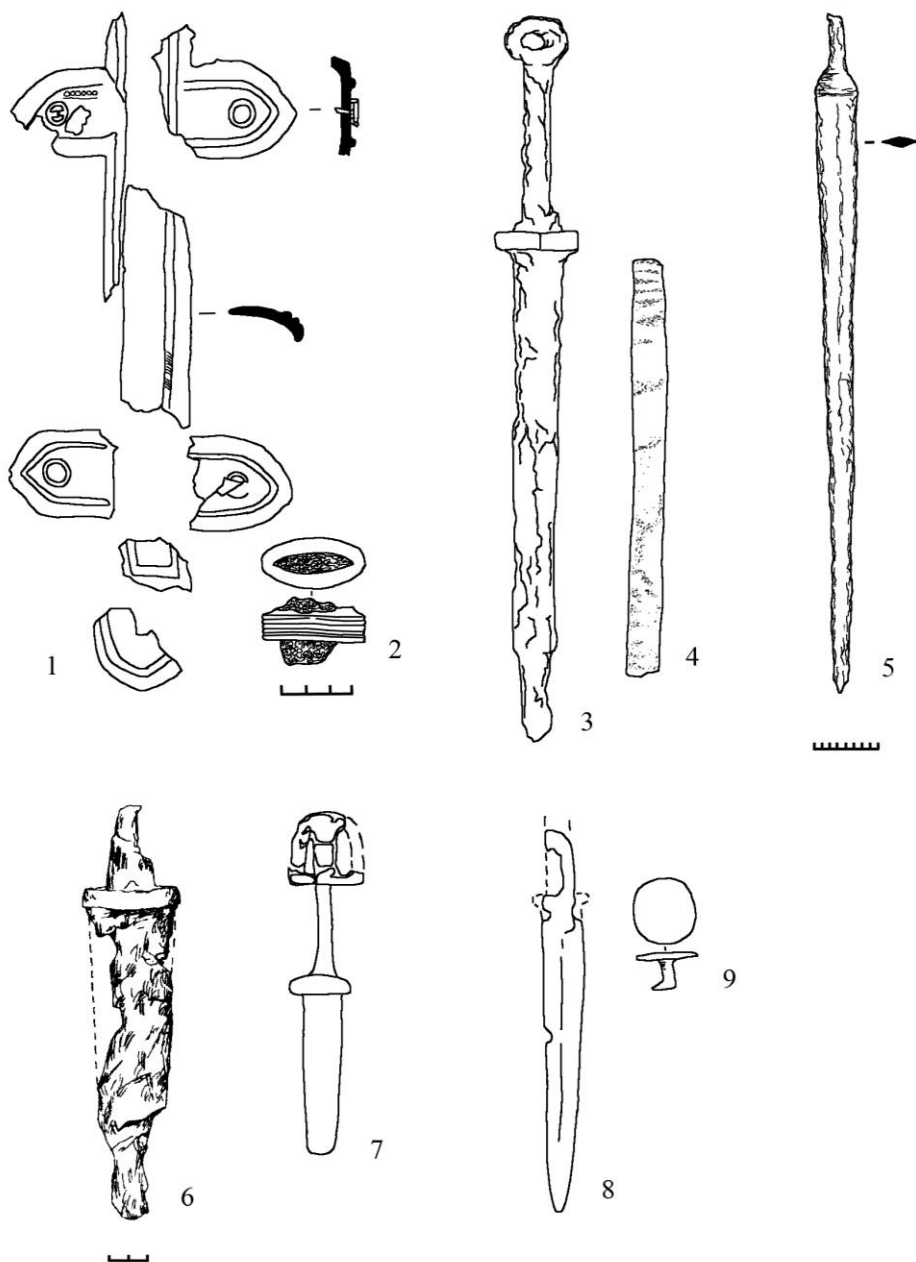
**Fig. 8. 1, 2 – Kosika. 3, 4 – Ust'-Al'ma. 5 – Vodnyĭ. 6 – Dinskaĭa. 7 – Arbuzovskiĭ.**
**8, 9 – Novyĭ. 1 – after Dvornichenko, V.V., Fedorov-Davydov, G.A. 1993. 2 – after Anisimova**
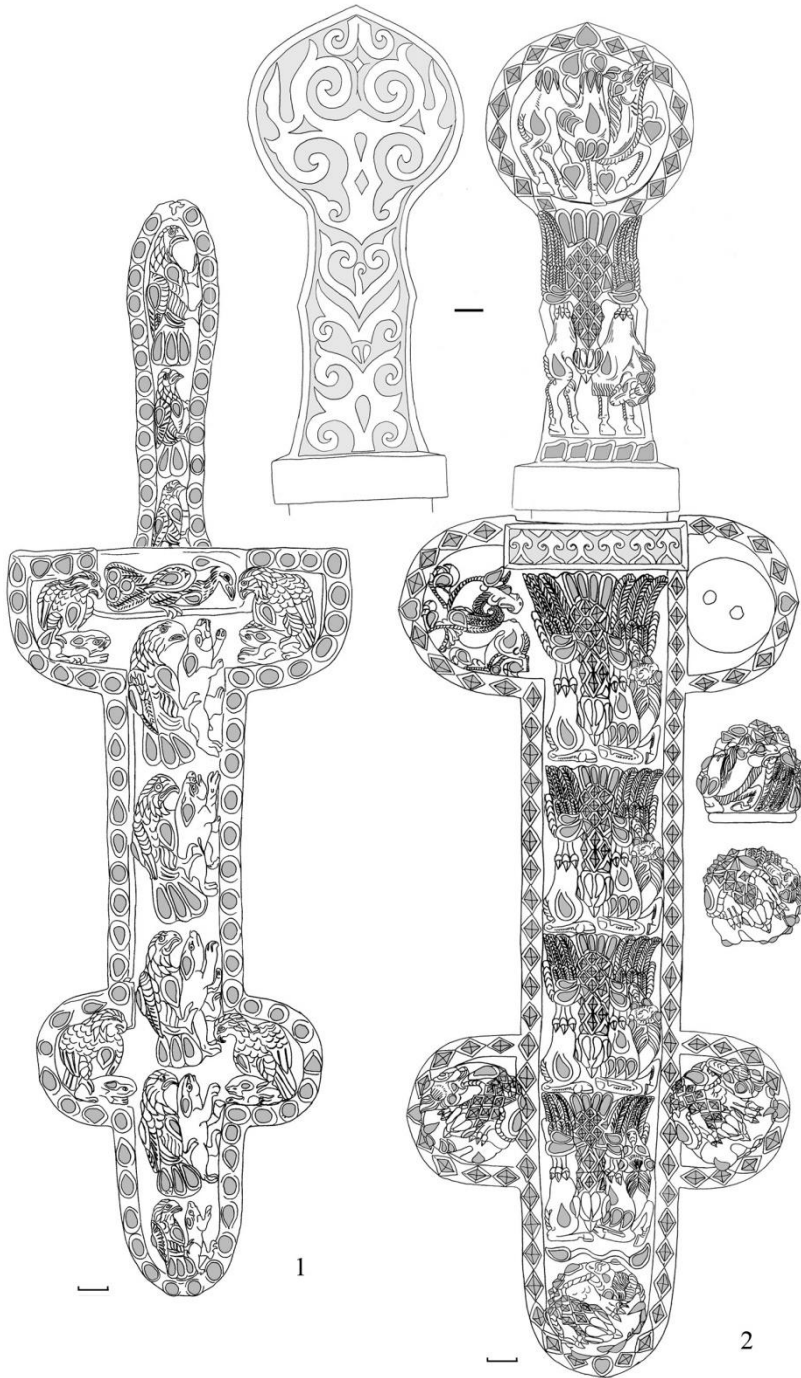**et all. 2005. 3, 4 – after Puzdrovskij 2013. 5, 6 – after Marchenko 1996.**

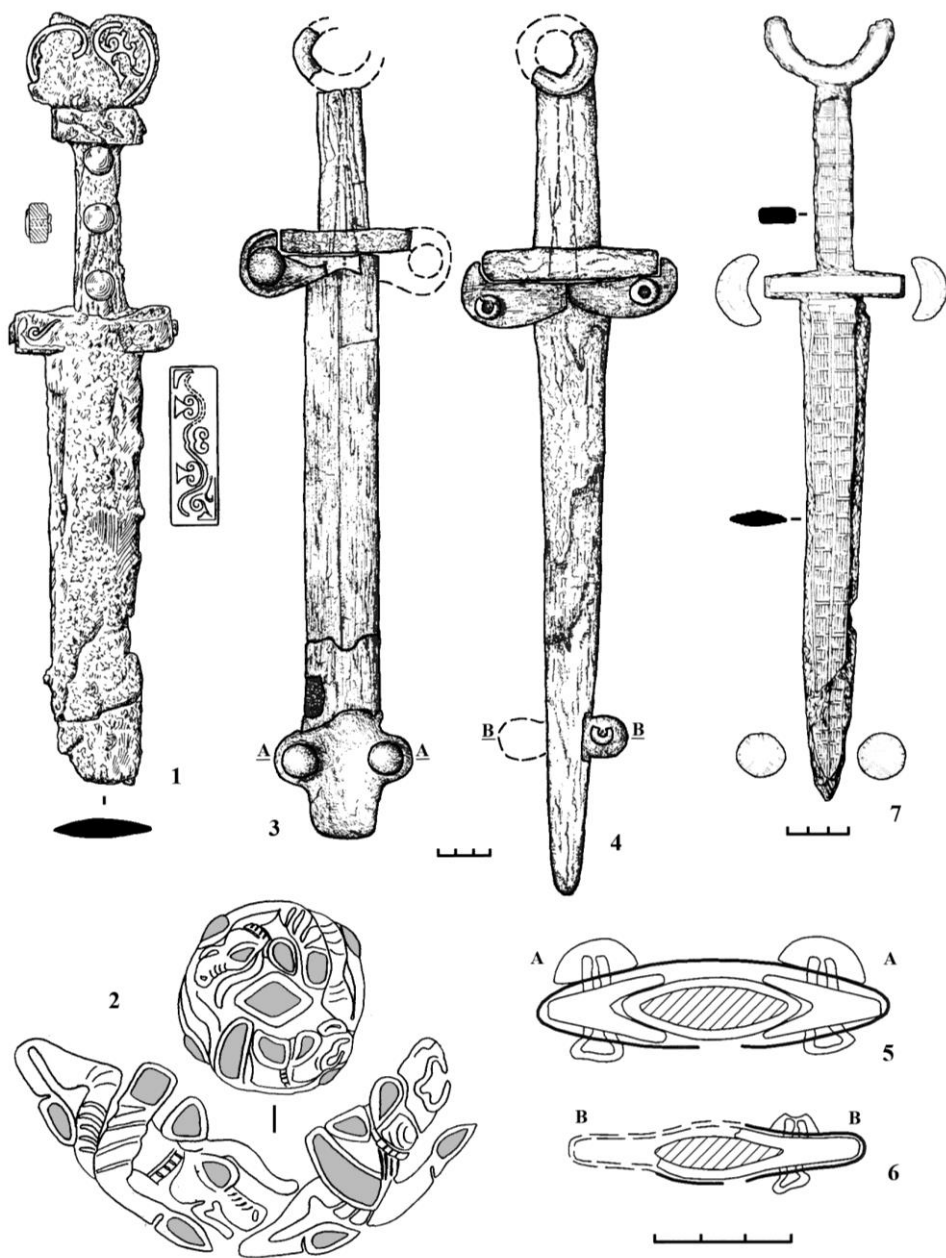**Fig. 9. 1 – Gorgippia. 2 – Dachi. 1 – after Mordvinceva, Treister 2007.**

**Fig. 10. 1, 2 – Zubovskiĭ. 3–6 – Valovyĭ. 7 – Vysochino. 1 – after Gushchina, Zasetskaĭa 1989. 2 – after Mordvinceva, Treister 2007. 3–6 – after Bezuglov et all. 2009. 7 – after Bespalyĭ, Luk'ĭashko 2008.**
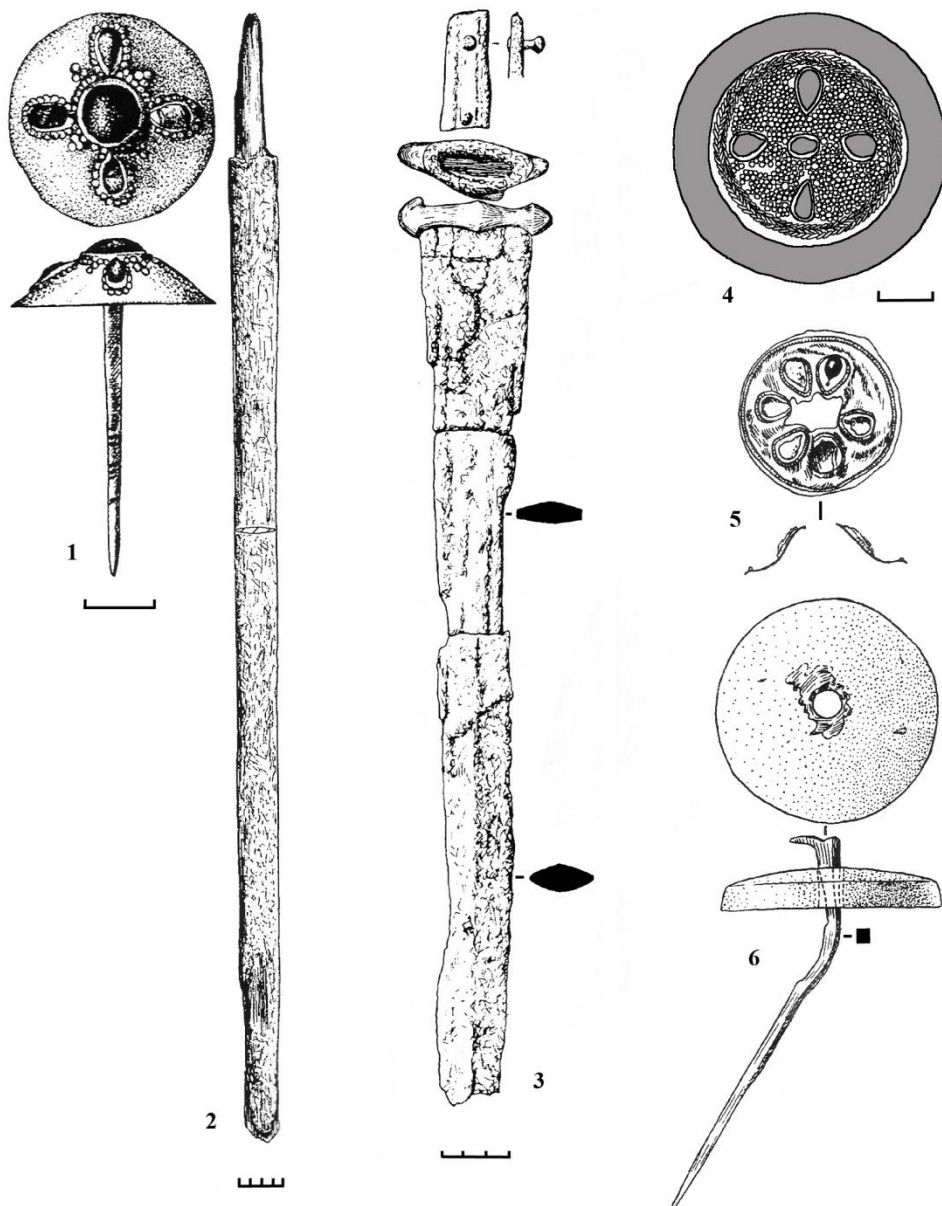
**Fig. 11. 1–2 – Valovyĭ. 3–4 – Ust'-Labinskaĭa. 5–6 – Tiflisskaĭa. 1–2 – after Bezuglov et all. 2009. 3–6 – after Gushchina, Zasetskaĭa 1994.**

**Fig. 12. Nimrud Dagh. The relief representing Antiochus and Apollo-Mithras. Detail.
Photo by M. Olbrycht.**

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# Abstract

The practice of using a sword in a funerary context as one of the items that accompanied the deceased varied considerably in ancient societies. The appearance of ornate swords in a funerary context might indicate that different societies had similar lifestyles and values. The North Pontic region in the "Sarmatian era" is one such territory where decorated swords of barbarian elites have been recovered. The region also consisted of different kinds of societies – Greek poleis, the Greco-barbarian Bosporan Kingdom, and nomadic and sedentary societies that depended to varying degrees on state structures. It is with these considerations in mind that we will focus on the practice of using decorated swords in the burial tradition of this region.

**Marta Żuchowska** (Warszawa, Poland)

# "ROMAN TEXTILES" IN THE *HOU HAN SHU.* A 5ᵀᴴ CENTURY CHINESE VISION *VERSUS* ROMAN REALITY[1]

## Introduction

The *Hou Han shu* (後漢書*Book of Later Han*) – the official chronicle of the Eastern Han Dynasty (25–220 AD) – was compiled by Fan Ye (范曄 398–446 AD), a historian born into an upper class family. Adopted by his uncle, Fan Hongzhi (范弘之), a scholar at the Imperial Academy during the Jin Dynasty (晉朝 265–420), Fan Ye received an extensive education in the classics and historiography. In 432 AD he was appointed to a high official position in the Imperial Secretariat of the court of the Liu Song (劉宋朝 420–479) Dynasty, but in the same year was exiled to the area of present Anhui (安徽) province, because of an incident involving excessive drinking. He used his time in exile to write his great work, the *Hou Han shu.* A few years later he returned to the capital and gradually regained another high position, but was involved in a plot and was executed in 446 AD.[2]

Since the *Hou Han shu* was written as a private enterprise, Fan Ye had no access to official documents. Instead he relied primarily on earlier histories, many of them also titled *Hou Han shu*, but of which none has survived. He also used a text compiled by the late Han historians titled *Dongguan Han ji* (東觀漢記) – a kind

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[2] Nienhauser 1998, 38–39.

of chronological history of the Later Han. Although he died before he could finish his work, it is well written and was subsequently recognized as an official history of the Eastern Han dynasty.[3]

The *Account of Western Regions* (*Xiyu zhuan* 西域傳) in the *Hou Han shu* is one of the sources most frequently cited in the context of trade between East and West. It contains short descriptions of numerous political entities in Central Asia, Parthian Iran (called Anxi – 安西) and a mysterious country of the Far West called Da Qin (大秦), probably the Roman Empire. The account on Da Qin has been translated and discussed by many scholars since the end of the 19th century.[4] Although a great deal of work has already been undertaken regarding the identification of geographical names and analyzing the information presented in the Chinese text, there are still multiple issues, which need more attention and further research.

In the description of Da Qin, there is a list of items that the country produced, including textiles. Although the names of textiles that Da Qin manufactured have been translated,[5] there is as of yet no study that focuses specifically on the textiles themselves. In comparison to other goods, the group of fabrics listed in this account is relatively extensive and detailed – it does not only specify the material used in their manufacture, but also the type of decoration or weave. As a result, we may take this account as a good example of what was known about western goods or at least what was recognized as worthy of note by the author of the chronicle.

There are three main objectives of this article. First and foremost, there is the identification of the terms describing the textiles themselves, based on contemporaneous terminology and the level of weaving that was employed in China at this time, including how some of them developed over time and thus evolved into a different type of weave. The high level of weaving in Han China as an art form necessitated a precise vocabulary. Unfortunately, the majority of these terms were used for different types of silk fabrics, while the language used for other types of cloth are generally unclear. Even when we understand the type of material that is discussed or the kind of weave that is described, we still need to clarify its linguistic and historical context.

The second aim of this paper is to understand the level of knowledge about Roman textile production which was accumulated in the Eastern Han dynasty and, therefore, accessible to an educated Chinese reading the *Hou Han shu* in the fifth century AD. In this regard, it will be necessary to analyse the different types

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[3] Nienhauser 1998: 40–41.

[4] Chavannes 1907, Pelliot 1959, 1963, 1973, Hirth 1885, Leslie and Gardiner 1996, Hill 2003, Graff 1996, Yu 2013.

[5] Hirth 1885, Chavannes 1907, Leslie and Gardiner 1996, Hill 2003, Yu 2013.

of fabrics mentioned in the text in order to ascertain whether they were actually produced in the Roman Empire or in regions to the east of it as well as whether the technique of their production was known and used in China.

Finally, it will be necessary to undertake a source analysis of the *Account of Da Qin* in order to separate the Chinese perception of the land called Da Qin from the reality that it attempts to describe about the Roman Empire.


## The *Hou Han shu* account of textiles produced in Da Qin

人俗力田作多種樹蠶桑
**According to custom, people work in the fields, many plant trees and breed mulberry silkworms.**

Although the use of silk was widespread in the Roman Empire, silk fabrics and yarn were imported, while mulberry silkworms were unknown in the West until Late Antiquity. According to Procopius of Caesarea, domesticated silkworms of the *Bombyx mori* L. species were introduced to Byzantium during the reign of Justinian by two monks who smuggled the moth eggs from the East (*De Bello Gothico* 4.17). Although this account is questionable, as it presents what must have been a very complex process as merely a simple event, most scholars agree that sericulture started to develop in Byzantium about the 6$^{th}$ c. AD.[6] Breeding silkworms on mulberry leaves was definitely not a Roman custom neither during the Han period, nor when the *Hou Han shu* was compiled in the middle of the 5$^{th}$ c. AD.

Rather the passage needs to be placed within the context of how the Chinese understood the world outside of China. The reason that Chinese scholars called this distant empire after the first imperial dynasty of China, Great Qin, was to create an idealized reflection of China itself. In so doing, they created an empire in terms that they understood, having a government and customs that mirrored China. It was inconceivable that an empire could exist otherwise. Breeding silkworms and weaving silk was so deeply ingrained in Chinese civilisation that it was inseparable from civilisation itself. That foreign merchants brought information about the production of silk in the west served only to reinforce this worldview.

刺金縷繡，織成金縷罽、雜色綾。
**They use gold thread for embroidery, weave woollen textiles with gold thread, and multi-coloured delicate silk fabrics.**

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[6] Muthesius 2002, 151; Jacoby 2004,198.

Embroideries with gold thread -刺金縷繡 *ci jin lu xiu* – were popular relatively early in the Middle East. According to Diodoros, gold embroideries were among the items taken by Alexander's soldiers from the city of Persepolis (*Bibliotheca Historica* 17.70). During the Roman period they were produced in multiple centres of the Mediterranean, although as a luxury items they were restricted to the wealthiest in society, primarily the aristocrats and monarchs. According to the *Diocletian's Edict*, the salary for embroiderers working with gold (Lat. *barbaricarius ex auro faciens;* Gr. βαρβαρικάριος διά χρυσοῦ ἐργαζόμενος) varied between 750 and 1000 denarii for one Roman ounce[7] (20.5–6) and was thus almost twice the salary of a silk embroiderer (Lat. *barbaricarius in holoserica,* Gr. βαρβαρικάριος εἰς ὁλοσειρικόν ) (20.7–8).

In antiquity there were four methods of producing gold threads, which were used for embroidery or weaving. One entailed producing thin, flat stripes of gold, or gold wire. A second technique involved twisting gold wire around an organic core, usually silken. The third and most popular method was wrapping gold stripes around an organic core, usually of silk, wool, linen or animal gut. Extant archaeological evidence shows that the most popular material for the core was linen, followed by silk. The last technique was the most elaborate and rarely employed – it involved twisting a gilded membrane (usually made of animal gut) around a silk core.[8] We don't know too much about localisation of production centres or workshops, but the *Diocletian's Edict* mentions goldsmiths specialising in the production of gold threads (Lat. *aurinetrix*, Gr. χρυσονεστοριεύς) (30.6).

Archaeological finds are often difficult to interpret, because in most cases only the remains of gold is preserved, while the textiles themselves (as well as the organic cores used to wound the gold thread) do not. As a result, any notion of the type of weave, the material employed, or the nature of the gold thread itself must be conjectural. It is thus often difficult to distinguish between the remains of gold embroideries and fabrics woven with gold thread.

A hank of gold thread was found in Dura Europos. Pfister and Bellinger concluded that the hank was a relic of gold embroidered fabric, burnt in order to recover metal.[9] Fragments of gold embroidery were found in a cremation burial dated to the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. AD, excavated at Via dei Numisi in Rome. A piece of gold embroidery with a motif of lions in the lozenges was excavated from a 5<sup>th</sup> c. BC tomb at Koropi in Athens. A larger concentration of such finds was observed in the area of present Ukraine and southern Russia. Fragments of gold embroidery

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[7] A Roman ounce (1/12 of *libra*) was about 27,4 g.

[8] Gleba 2008, 68, Bedini et al. 2004, 81

[9] Pfister and Bellinger 1945, 60, cat. no.305. Although no organic material survived the burning process, Pfister and Bellinger suggested that the thread was probably obtained by spinning gold around an organic core.

were found at Kerch (in a 3<sup>rd</sup> century  BC female grave), Sokolova Mohyla (1<sup>st</sup> century  AD burial no. 3), Khokhlach, Ukraine as well as at Suslovskiī Mogilnik in Russia (in tomb no. 31).[10]

In China, gold embroidery was not produced before the Sui (隋朝  581 – 618 AD) and Tang period (唐朝 618 – 907AD),[11] so that any information about such luxurious and exotic products would have been worthy of note.

Woollen textiles with gold thread -金縷罽 *jin lu ji*. The term 罽 (ji) is not precise enough to refer to a specific type of weave. In the *Shuowen Jiezi* (説文解字) (the dictionary compiled in the 1<sup>st</sup>–2<sup>nd</sup> century  AD), two similar characters are defined: the one, which appears in the discussed fragment of *Hou Han shu* – 罽 (*ji*),  and the other 繼 (*ji*) with the radical 糸 (*si* – silk). In *Shuowen Jiezi* we find a definition of 罽：魚网也。"*ji* is a fishnet", but the dictionary, provides also an explanation for 繼：西胡毿布也。"*ji* is the woollen fabric of western foreigners". The second character – with the radical 糸 (*si* – silk) – rarely appears in Chinese during the Han – Tang period, and it seems that eventually both characters connoted the same meaning. In the *Book of Han,* a near contemporary of *Shuowen Jiezi,* the character 罽 (*ji*) describes woollen textiles of northern barbarians. In the *Account of the Western Regions*, *part two* (*Xiyu zhuan xia* 西域傳下), the following statement is made: 匈奴能得其馬畜旌罽  "Xiongnu are able to obtain their horses, cattle, felt and *ji*". The *Hou Han shu* (80.7) refers to 罽 (*ji*) suggesting that it was a kind of woollen fabric used to produce tents (by Xiongnu tribes) or curtains. It could be thus translated as a rug or tapestry, but it seems that the term is used to indicate the material rather than the type of weaving technique that was employed.

Hill, along with Leslie and Gardiner,[12] translates *jin lu ji* as a "woven gold threaded net." This might refer to a hair net or *reticulum*, known mostly from Pompeian paintings and scattered archaeological finds in Italy and Hungary.[13] Although this interpretation is possible, I propose instead to translate the term as "a woollen textile," because it appears elsewhere in the *Hou Han shu* with this meaning.

As a result, the expression *jin lu ji* – "woollen textiles [woven] with a gold thread" – relates to textiles of a foreign origin that were produced in the western regions. Woollen textiles with gold threads were not produced in China and the technique of using gold for weaving appeared no earlier than the Tang Dynasty. The earliest known example of a silk textile interwoven with thin gold stripes is

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[10] Gleba 2008, 72–75.
[11] Zhao 2012, 224.
[12] Hill 2003, Leslie and Gardiner 1996, 215.
[13] Gleba 2008, 64–65.

a belt found in the necropolis at the Dulan (都蘭) burial ground, in the Chaidamu Basin (柴達木盆地), of Qinghai (青海) province.[14] Moreover, it seems that the use of golden thread for weaving in China could have been influenced by the fabrics brought from the West. In the *Book of Sui* (*Sui shu* 隋書), book 68, the following information is found:

波斯嘗獻金綿錦袍，組織殊麗。上命稠為之。稠錦既成，逾所獻者，上甚悅。

"Persian [emissaries] offered once a gown made of gold and silk brocade, especially beautifully woven. The emperor[15] ordered Chou[16] to make [a copy of] it. When Chou's brocade was finished it surpassed [the quality of] the [gown] that had been presented. The emperor was extremely pleased."

Like embroideries of gold, textiles woven with gold thread were exotic and thus considered worthy of note by the author of the work as a luxury product from the West.

Wool woven with threads of gold appeared relatively early in the Middle East, and became popular in the Mediterranean and Roman Europe. According to literary tradition, golden threads were first used for weaving in Mesopotamia or Iran. Gold rugs are mentioned in the *Avesta*,[17] and fabrics interwoven with gold are described in the Old Testament.[18] Among the most famous in the Middle East were *attalice vestes* – textiles produced in Pergamon. Pliny the Elder even suggests that they were invented by king Attalus (*Aurum intexere in eadem Asia invenit Attalus rex, unde nomen attalicis. Hist. Nat.* 8.74).[19] They are also mentioned by Propertius in his *Elegiae* (3.18.19). According to Pliny, the Greek painter Zeuxis, after having collected a considerable fortune ostentatiously had his name woven in gold thread on the checker-patterned mantle (*opes quoque tantas adquisivit, ut in ostentation earum Olympiae aureis litteris in palliorum tesseris intextum nomen suum ostentaret.* (*Hist. Nat.* 35.36). *Toga picta,* a purple toga with gold borders, mentioned by Livy (*Ab urbe condita* 10.7.9) was a special garment worn by victorious generals during their triumphant celebration in the Republic and was later adopted by Iulius Caesar.[20] In the version as we have

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[14] Zhao 2012, 226.

[15] Yang Di (炀帝]) reigned between 604–617, and was the second emperor of the Sui (隋) dynasty (581–618 AD).

[16] He Chou – famous artisan, architect and engineer of the Sui and early Tang period.

[17] Laufer 1919, 488.

[18] Gleba 2008, 61.

[19] As Chioffi suggests incorporation of provincial Asia into the Roman Empire made the *attalice vestes* a part of the Roman tradition, but at least till the end of the 1st century a big part of textiles woven with gold thread were still imported to Rome from the eastern Mediterranean. (Chioffi 2004, 91–92)

[20] Gleba 2008, 62, Chioffi 2004, 91

it, Diocletian's *Edict* in both the Greek and Latin texts does not mention the type of cloth, which was valued according to the quality of the wool and the weight of gold and embroidery (19.20).

Fragments of gold thread on a woollen core dyed red was found in the so-called tomb of Saint Peter in the Vatican, while a large gold and purple woollen tapestry dated to the 4th c. AD comes from the tomb of a woman at Vergina.[21] A few pieces of gold tapestry from the Augustan period were found in Cádiz, but they were collected from cremation burials so that no organic remains survived. The threads used for this fabric were made of gold stripe, Z-twisted around an organic core.[22] Chemical analysis shows that the gold was of a high quality, with only a small addition of silver (1,88 %) and copper (0,71%).[23] Five fabrics decorated by pattern interwoven with gold thread have been unearthed in Palmyra. Two of them (of uncertain provenience from the tower-tomb of Elahbel or Iamblik) were made of linen warp and weft and are decorated with purple wool and gold thread with a silk core,[24] while three others (from the Iamblik tower-tomb) were probably similar, but the woollen sections of the decoration have not survived and the gold thread had a linen core.[25]

Multicoloured delicate silks – 雜色綾 *za se ling*. In early writings, the term *ling* (綾) is associated with a very delicate type of fabric produced in the area of present Shandong. *Shuowen Jiezi* (說文解字) says: 綾：東齊謂布帛之細曰綾 "In eastern Qi[26] delicate textiles are called *ling*". Later *ling* is used to describe twill damask, but it is difficult to determine when exactly such fabrics appeared in China and when this change in meaning occurred. Fabrics with twill pattern on the twill ground developed probably from an earlier type of Chinese weave called *qi* (綺) – silk damask on a plain weave, or warp-faced tabby with warp floats forming twill pattern, popular during Han dynasty.[27] According to Xu Zheng, twill damasks became popular in China between the 3rd and 5th c. AD, during the Wei (魏) and Jin (晉) dynasties.[28]

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[21] Gleba 2008, 65.

[22] "Z" direction of twisting gold stripes around an organic core was observed in all threads collected from the archaeological sites in Rome and its environments analysed by Beddini, Rapinesi and Ferro (2004).

[23] Alfaro Giner 2001, 77–79.

[24] Schmidt-Colinet et alii 2000, 179–180, cat. nos. 465, 466.

[25] Schmidt-Colinet et alii 2000, 150–151, cat. nos. 267–269.

[26] During the Warring States period (*Zhan guo* 戰國 475–221 BC), Qi was a state in present Shandong (山東) province. The term was later used as the name of the area and later revived as the name of the state during the Northern and Southern dynasties.

[27] Li 2012, 128.

[28] Xu 2007, 161.

A curious passage occurs in the *Diverse notes on the Western Capital* (*Xijing Zaji* 西京雜記) – a collection of anecdotes about the Former Han Period, which mentions *ling* fabrics:

霍光妻遺淳于衍蒲桃錦二十四匹、散花綾二十五匹. 綾出鉅鹿陳寶光家，寶光妻傳其法。霍顯召入其第，使作之。機用一百二十鑷，六十日成一匹，匹直萬錢。

"Huo Guang's[29] wife offered to Chunyu Yan twenty four bolts of *jin* [silk] with grape [patterns] and twenty five bolts of *ling* [fabric decorated with] scattered flowers. Ling fabrics came from the house of Chen Baoguang at Jilu[30], Baoguang's wife passed on the technique of its [production]. Huo Xian invited her to her residence [and] made her produce it. The loom had 120 treadles, it took 60 days to produce one bolt; a bolt was worth ten thousand coins" (Xijing Zaji 1.17).

*Ling* mentioned in the text refers to a patterned textile, probably monochrome in opposition to the polychrome *jin* (錦) fabrics with a grape pattern mentioned in the same paragraph. The loom, used to weave it, was equipped with 120 patterning devices *nie* (鑷), probably treadles, and it may be supposed that it was the so-called *duozong duonie zhi ji* (多綜多躡織機) – a loom with many healds and treadles, used during the Han dynasty.[31] The text of *Xijing Zaji* is, however, quite problematic as a source, because its authorship and chronology are unclear. Although it relates to events in the Western Han Dynasty (西漢朝 206 BC – 9 AD), recent studies have shown that it was not cited before the early 6<sup>th</sup> c. AD, thereby indicating that it was probably compiled during the Northern and Southern Dynasties (南北朝 420–589 AD).[32] It may thus reflect a relatively late weaving technique. The description of *ling* in the *Xijing Zaji* is also intriguing, since the pattern of "scattered flowers" is not typical for early monochrome weaves, which usually bear geometric patterns of chequers or lozenges, although in some cases floral or animal motifs appear.

In the Liu Song dynasty (劉宋朝420–479 AD), the use of *ling* for clothing was restricted to the highest classes of society by imperial order.[33] This suggests that the name *ling* already held a precise meaning, which was probably related to the twill damask.

Archaeological finds of *ling* silks from the pre-Tang period in China are quite rare in comparison to the so-called Han damasks (*qi* 綺). A piece of cheq-

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[29] Huo Guang (霍光) was a high official in the Han court , during the consecutive reigns of emperor Wu (武帝 141–87 BC), Zhao (昭帝 87–74 BC) and Xuan (宣帝 74–49). His wife Huo Xian (霍顯) was involved in a plot to have her daughter become empress.

[30] Jilu prefecture (*Jilu jun* 鉅鹿郡) was an administrative region covering roughly the area of present Xingtai (邢台) county in the southern part of Hebei (河北) province, close to the border with Shandong (山東) province.

[31] Kuhn 1995, 91.

[32] Knechtges and Chang 2014, 1648–1652.

[33] Li 2012a, 180.

uer-patterned monochrome fabric was recovered from the Yingpan (營盤) ne-cropolis in Yuli (尉犁) county, Xinjiang, dated to the Han – Jin period.[34]

In the Mediterranean silk damasks are known from Palmyra (Syria). A mon-ochrome fabric made of undyed silk with a herringbone pattern was found in the Elahbel tower-tomb built in 103 AD,[35] while chequer-patterned silk with yellow warp and green weft was unearthed from the tomb of Yamblik, built in 83 AD.[36] Both textiles are of Mediterranean origin and are usually dated to the 3rd century AD. Chequer-patterned damasks from the 3rd and 4th century AD have also been found in Western and Central Europe – in England, Switzerland, Germany, France and Hungary.[37] According to Wild, Latin term *scutulata* describes both woollen textiles with multi-coloured chequer patterns (tartans) and silk twill damasks.[38] They apparently began to be produced in the Roman Empire no later than the 3rd century AD, since *Diocletian's Edict on Maximum Prices* mentions looms for production of such fabrics (*tela holosericis vestis scutulatae cum omni instrument ex lingo*) (12.32) as well as the workers who weaved them (Lat. *seri-carius in holoserica scutulata;* Gr. σειρικάριος ἐργαζόμένος εἰς ὁλοσειρικὸν σκουτλᾶτον) (20.11). However, the technique of the twill damask weave with chequer pattern was already in use in the 1st century AD for woollen textiles, as evidenced by a large fragment of white fabric decorated with a tapestry woven purple band (*clavus*) found at Didymoi (a small Roman fortress located on the Eastern Desert in Egypt, on the road to Berenike).[39]

Given that silk twill damasks do not appear in the archaeological record be-fore the 3rd century AD and that written sources mentioning the term *ling* in con-text of such fabric in China are probably late, we should understand this term in the *Hou Han shu* as *delicate silk*. This may refer to diverse types of fabrics, indi-cating their high quality. It is hard to determine whether this part of text reflects true insight regarding western production, or if it simply was another attribute that the Chinese conceived of Da Qin in the same way that breeding silkworms was understood as noted above.

Although most of the sources relate to the import of silk into the Roman Empire, there are some hints suggesting a local production of imported yarn. Multiple silk fabrics have been found in tombs at Palmyra (Syria), many of which were undoubtedly locally produced from imported mulberry and wild silk yarn, including the aforementioned twill damasks. *Diocletian's Edict on Maxi-mum Prices* mentions the salaries of diverse types of silk weavers (20.9–11) and

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[34] Zhao 2002, 47.
[35] Schmidt-Colinet et alii, 178, cat. no. 453.
[36] Schmidt-Colinet et alii, 159, cat. no. 319.
[37] Foulkes 2010, 1.
[38] Wild 1964.
[39] Cardon 2001.

workers who created embroideries on silk (20.7–8), suggesting that there was large-scale production in the 3rd century AD. Silk might have also been dyed in Mediterranean workshops. Sartre[40] suggests that workshops dyed imported silk fabrics with murex purple in Sidon and Tyre, although no such dyed fabrics from Palmyra have been detected.[41]

作黃金塗、火浣布。

**They make [fabrics] covered in gold and asbestos cloth.**

Fabrics covered in gold -黃金塗[布] *huang jin tu* [*bu*]. The expression, *jin tu* „covered in gold", specifically in the context of textiles, only appears in the lost Chinese work, *The Brief History of Wei* (*Wei lüe* 魏略) written by Yu Huan between 239 and 265 AD. It was, however, quoted by Pei Songzhi in his commentary to the *Records of the Three Kingdoms* (*Sanguo zhi* 三國志), written at some point after 265 AD. *Jin tu bu* 金塗布 is listed as one of the products of Da Qin, thereby confirming that 黃金塗 (*huang jin tu* „covered in yellow gold") is a term related to textiles. The character 塗 (*tu*) means "to spread on", "to apply" so this expression should refer to the fabric which was painted, stamped or covered with gold, but not weaved or embroidered with gold thread.

In the Mediterranean and Middle East the practice that comes closest to this definition was the appliqué of gold bracteates or small ornaments to clothing known from Bronze Age Mycenaean tombs, and well documented in Achaemenid Persia.[42] According to Herodotus, Xerxes offered a golden sword and tiara decorated in gold[43] to the citizens of Abderra (Ξέρξης ἐν τῇ ὀπίσω κομιδῇ ἀπικόμενος ἐς Ἄβδηρα καὶ ξεινίην τέ σφι συνθέμενος καὶ δωρησάμενος αὐτοὺς ἀκινάκῃ τε χρυσέῳ καὶ τιήρῃ χρυσοπάστῳ)· (8.120). The practice was also popular among the steppe peoples, especially the Scythians.[44] There are some hints about such a production in Rome.[45] Many ancient authors also describe fabrics made entirely out of gold. They were probably weaved of gold warp and weft.[46] According to Tacitus (*Annales* 12.56.10) and Pliny (*Hist. Nat.* 33.63), such a tunic was worn by Aggrippina. The *Historia Augusta* (*Antoninus Heliogabalus)* mentions also that the emperor Heliogabalus possessed an entirely gold tunic. Such textiles, however, were weaved with gold thread, not covered in gold.

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[40] Sartre 2001, 794.

[41] Schmidt-Colinet et alii 2000, 83–84, Tab. 6.

[42] Gleba 2008, 61.

[43] Literally: *'sprinkled with gold'*.

[44] Gleba 2008, 61.

[45] Chioffi 2004, 92 cites an inscription mentioning *segmentarius*, a craftsman who produced metallic plaques, probably gold, used for decoration of textiles.

[46] Chioffi 2004, 92.

In China two techniques of applying gold onto fabrics were known. One was painting with gold or silver using a mixture of powdered metal with chemicals and water called *nijin* (泥金). The other was applying gold foil (*jinbo* 金箔) onto glue to form elaborate decorative patterns on the textile. The latter technique was called *yinjin* (印金) – printing with gold.[47] The practice of applying simple patterns made of gold foil and stuck on textiles with a type of glue is attested in the archaeological record.[48]

The earliest Chinese textile with stamped gold and silver powdered patterns was found in Tomb 1 at Mawangdui (馬王堆), Changsha (長沙), Hunan (湖南) province, dated to the Western Han dynasty (220 BC–9 AD).[49] It was a deep grey gauze *sha* (紗) with stylized floral motives printed in yellow, silver and gold.[50]

Adhering gold foil onto textiles with glue was a relatively late practice. It became popular during the Tang Dynasty (唐朝 618–907 AD). A few examples of garments decorated with applied gold ornaments are known from Tomb 14 at the Yingpan (營盤) necropolis in Yuli (尉犁) county, Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region, dated to the 1st–4th century AD.[51]

It is difficult to determine the exact meaning of *huang jin tu bu*. The lack of evidence for the production of fabrics painted with gold from the Roman Empire suggests that the information was conceived from some misunderstanding. It could have originated from an account concerning production from another region also west of the Chinese frontier. Although evidence of Central Asian textile production is scarce and any speculation is perforce there is to date no fabric known from the region that can be interpreted as *huang jin tu bu*.[52] The other possibility is that the term *huang jin tu bu* can be used to explain another type of golden textile, the nature of which was difficult to understand. For example, it might mean gold fabrics woven entirely with gold threads, attested by ancient sources, or decorated with gold *appliqué*. The use of the decorative techniques involving the application of gold paint or gold foil on textiles in China could be source of confusion found in the accounts about golden textiles produced in the West.

Asbestos cloth (literally 'cloth cleaned in fire') – 火浣布 *huo huan bu*. Asbestos was a mineral used in the Mediterranean, and was perhaps first used in Hellenistic Greece. Some scholars believe that the first author who described *asbestos* was Theophrastus. In his treatise *On Stones* (c. 300 BC), he speaks of

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[47] Zhao 2012, 246.

[48] Wenwu 2002, 30–32.

[49] Li 2012, 132–133.

[50] Changsha 1980, 108–110.

[51] Wenwu 2002, 30–32.

[52] For recent research on Central Asian textiles from this period, see: Frankfort 2013; Yatsenko 2012.

a stone that burns when poured with oil, but stops when the oil is burnt out. He indicates that it was mined in Scapte Hyle, a district in Thrace opposite the island of Thasos, but there is no evidence for the occurrence of asbestos in this area. There were actually two sources of asbestos which could have been used by the ancient Greeks: Karystos, in the southern edge of Euboea, and the Troodos Mountains on Cyprus.[53] According to Pliny the Elder, asbestos cloth was used as tablecloth, because it could be cleaned by fire. It may also have been used as funerary cloth for monarchs when their bodies were cremated. Pliny,  however, was not sure about the source of asbestos. He suggested that it was obtained from trees in India (*Hist. Nat.* 19.4). Strabo mentions the *Karystian stone* as a raw material for cloth which might be cleaned in fire, and says that it was mined in the region of Karystos on Euboea (*Geographia* 10.6). Archaeological finds have revealed that asbestos was used in making pottery in the Neolithic Age in around the 3rd millennium BC. This practice spread out Scandinavia and Russia during the Bronze and Iron Age.[54] There is no archaeological evidence to indicate that asbestos cloth was used in the Mediterranean in either the Hellenistic or Roman period.

The special features of asbestos and its use for production of fire-resistant cloth were known relatively early in ancient China, although there is no evidence of the local production of such fabrics. In the *Liezi* (列子), a Daoist text attributed to Lie Yukou (列御寇) (5th–4th century BC), and compiled probably in the Han dynasty with annotations made in 4th century AD, it states:

周穆王大征西戎，西戎獻錕鋙之劍，火浣之布。(...) 火浣之布，浣之必投於火；布則火色，垢則布色；出火而振之，皓然凝乎雪。

"Jing, the King of Zhou,[55] [set out] on an expedition to the Xirong tribes. The Xirong offered him a *Kunwu* sword and asbestos cloth … to clean asbestos cloth one should throw it into fire. When the cloth takes on the fire's colour, dirt will take on the colour of the cloth. Taken out from the fire it will be white like congealed snow" ( Liezi, 5 *Tang wen* (湯問) ).

Although the Chinese scholars had the basic knowledge about the "quasi-magical" properties of asbestos, it seems that asbestos was not used for any practical purposes in ancient China. On the other hand, its extraordinary character was considered interesting enough to note that it was produced in Da Qin.

又有細布，或言水羊毳，野蠶繭所作也。

**They also have delicate cloth, some say, made of the fine hair of water sheep, [but indeed] made of wild silkworm cocoons.**

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[53] Caley and Richards 1956, 87–88.
[54] Ross and Nolan 2003, 449.
[55] 周穆王 544–519 BC.

This passage is difficult to interpret and has long been a source of debate among scholars. The term 細布 (*xi bu*) literally means 'fine cloth', and was used to describe diverse types of textiles, usually not silken. In later times it also came to include muslins. The *Shuowen Jiezi* (說文解字) uses this expression to explain the nature of at least three types of textiles, one of them originating from Shu, modern Sichuan (四川), but over time their names were forgotten and it is not possible to identify them with any precise type of weave or material. Moreover, part of the text presents another set of problems that might be due to the fact that the author of the *Hou Han shu*, or perhaps the original author who discussed items produced in Da Qin, was himself confused about the type of fabric that he was discussing. There is no such animal as "water sheep" or goat; yet, at some point in its transmission someone realized that this passage is incomprehensible, so attempted to remedy it by adding an explanation about wild silk cocoons as a real material for the production of such a textile.

The idea that wild silk was produced in the Middle East or more generally the Mediterranean in the first centuries AD is an issue that requires more work. We do know, however, that there is some evidence of the use of wild silk in the Aegean in the mid–2nd millennium BC.[56] It was made from cocoons of a species endemic to southern Europe, *Pachypasa otus* D.*,* fed on downy oak, cypress and juniper. In the 4th century BC, Aristotle had a very detailed knowledge about the production of wild silk on Cos (*Historia Animalium* V.19*).* It was in the Roman period, however, that this knowledge was apparently forgotten; indeed, Pliny's passage about Coan silk is a slightly inaccurate summary taken from Aristotle (*Historia Naturalis* 11.26–27). In the description of the silk production process in Serica, Pliny notes that silk fibres were obtained by scrapping tree leaves (*Historia Naturalis* 6.20). Coan silk was still mentioned in poetry, for example in the *Elegies* of Propertius (1.2.2), but the reference to *Coa veste* constitutes rather weak evidence of its common use, since it could be an erudite allusion to the textile that was famous but rarely or even never seen. In the western sources Coan silk became absent after the 1st c. AD.[57] We do not find this type of textile mentioned in any tax tariff, or in any other administrative document from the Mediterranean. It suggests that in the Roman period Mediterranean wild silk production, if it still existed, was at best local and marginal, and did not constitute an important part of regional economy.

In the longer list of products of Da Qin (大秦) presented in the *Wei lüe* (魏略), we find a small passage that appears to convey somewhat different information: 有織成細布，言用水羊毳，名曰海西布. "[They] weave delicate cloth, said to be made of the fine hair of water sheep, called *cloth from the west of the sea*." In

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[56] Panagiotakopulu *et al*. 1997.
[57] Wild 2003, 108.

all likelihood, the passages that concern us in the *Hou Han shu* and *Wei lüe* derived from the same source. There have been numerous attempts to explain the meaning behind the statement, *cloth made of fine hair of the water sheep*, of which two studies stand out. According to Pelliot, the term water sheep is a misunderstanding that Da Qin is a country deeply connected to the sea, which derives its resources from the coast. He also observes that in the *Wei lüe* we also encounter the statement that: 此國六畜皆出水 "In this country all six animals come from the water." He thus concluded that the textile produced from the enigmatic water sheep was simply wool produced by sheep.[58]

Hirth,[59] following Bretschneider,[60] in his comments on the translation of the *Hou Han shu* and *Wei lüe* suggested, that *fine cloth made of the hair of water sheep* might be an allusion to sea-silk, also referred to as *byssus*. Laufer[61] went a bit farther suggesting that the material was indeed sea-silk, but not *byssus*, because in antiquity the term was used for cotton or linen cloth. These opinions were strongly criticised by Raschke[62] who calls the theory a "particular fable" and its acceptance by scholars – an "absurd naivety". However, Hill[63] suggests again that *water sheep wool* could be the sea-silk.

Sea-silk is a fibre produced by *Pinna nobilis* L*.,* a large mollusc endemic to the Mediterranean Sea. Since it stands upright on the seafloor, it uses filaments , up to 20 cm long, to fix its position and avoid being moved by the current. When harvested, they were washed, combed and spun, at which point the tufts ready to be weaved were valued for their beautiful golden-brown colour and elasticity.[64]

There are two main problems with the interpretation of the phrase *fine cloth made of the hair of water sheep* as sea-silk. First, there is no archaeological evidence of the production of sea-silk before late antiquity and there is no indication that production centres of any sort existed. Indeed, the oldest attested use of sea-silk is a piece of fabric that was found between the legs of a mummified body in a tomb excavated in ancient Aquincum, in the north-western part of Budapest. The date of burial was probably between 326 AD and the beginning of the 5<sup>th</sup> century AD. The material must have been brought to Aquincum from the Mediterranean, but it is impossible to determine from where specifically.[65]

The other problem is the modern misunderstanding of the Greek term βύσσος, Latin *byssus*, which eventually came to mean sea-silk. In antiquity, the

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[58] Pelliot 1959, 509–510.
[59] Hirth 1885, 262–263.
[60] Bretschneider 1871, 24, note 4.
[61] Laufer 1915.
[62] Raschke 1978, 854, note 849.
[63] Hill 2003, Appendix B.
[64] Maeder 1995, 109–111.
[65] Maeder 1995, 113–115.

sources used this term to connote a specific type of linen or cotton fabric, probably delicate and expensive.[66] *Diocletian's Edict*, on the other hand, contains a different term which is frequently understood as sea-silk – *sea-wool* (ἐραία θαλασσία) (25.3).[67] The edict also mentions more enigmatic *"dorsal"* or *"spinal" sea-wool* (ἐρέα θαλασσία νωτιαία) (25.10), and a type of clothing, called *dalmaticomafortium*, made of sea-wool mixed with silk (Lat. *dalmaticomafortium marinum subsericum,* Gr. δελματικομαφέρτιον θαλάσσιον συνφειρικόν) (19.14). There is a passage in Tertullian, dated in the 2nd or 3rd century AD, that contains his admonition against expensive Roman fashion: "And it did not suffice to plant and sow for a tunic, if it had not also proved possible to fish for clothes. For fleeces also come from the sea, inasmuch as the finer shells of mossy woolliness are adorned with them." (*Nec fuit satis tunicam pangere et serere, ni etiam piscari uestitum contigisset; nam et de mari uellera, qua muscosae lanositatis lautiores conchae comant.*) (*De Pallio* 3.6.2, translated by V. Hunink). This is the most direct evidence of sea-silk production found in the ancient sources. Unfortunately, Tertullian does not mention the name of the fabric he has in mind. [68]

The extremely scarce evidence of sea-silk production in the Roman period suggests that, even if it was produced, it was not popular and probably did not circulate far from the Mediterranean coast in that time. Moreover, ethnographic evidence and modern usage indicate that the production of sea-silk was practiced in the western Mediterranean, especially present Italy and Spain,[69] not in the Levant. No mention of it is found in either the *Periplus Maris Erythraei* or in the Palmyrene Tariff, and it was not found among textiles from Palmyra or Dura Europos. We cannot exclude that knowledge about such a strange and extraordinary fabric was conveyed as one of the wonders of the West to China. The *deli-*

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[66] Wipszycka1965, 108–109.

[67] See Maeder 1995, 112 for further bibliography.

[68] The possible association of *pinikon* (πινικόν) mentioned in the anonymous first century work, *Periplus Maris Erythraei*, with sea-silk, as suggested by some scholars (Maeder 1995, 116) seems doubtful. In the *Periplus,* it is mentioned as a product exported from Omana and Cane to Barygaza and Arabia, but of a lower quality than a similar type from India (*PME* 36), and as a product of Taprobane (Sri Lanka) (*PME* 61). Although the paragraph describing exports from Omana and Cane does not specify that *pinikon* was produced there, stating only that it was exported with purple dye (a product otherwise associated with the Levantine coast), we might suppose that some products of Mediterranean origin were simply redistributed from these ports, which could be the case here with of *pinikon*. The comparison with the Indian product, however, does not leave room for further speculation. Sea-silk was not produced in India, thus *pinikon* has to be another product connected with sea shells. Taprobane, the other exporter and producer of *pinikon*, mentioned in the *Periplus,* was famous for its pearls, which also derived from various port in the Persian Gulf. In this context, the association of *pinikon* with pearls, as proposed by Schoff (1912), seems rather persuading.

[69] Maeder 1995, 110.

*cate cloth, some say, made of the fine hair of water sheep* might be a reference to an otherwise incomprehensible account about sea silk, which was considered so unbelievable that the origins of wild silk were invented. Although such an explanation is indeed tempting, given that there is almost no evidence of sea silk production in the Roman Empire, let alone its having been exported to the East, Pelliot may be correct in understanding it as a kind of wool.[70]

## Chinese perception versus Roman reality

The list of fabrics produced in Da Qin, discussed above, constitutes a very specific group of textiles. The text of the *Hou Han shu* mentions embroideries and woollen textiles woven with gold thread, multi-coloured silks, fabrics covered in gold, asbestos cloth and an enigmatic fabric, perhaps special kind of wool or sea-silk. According to Fan Ye, Da Qin was primarily a producer of silk fabrics and multiple types of textiles decorated with gold. Yet, apparently unknown to the Chinese were fabrics commonly produced in the West, like linen or wool, or other types exclusively produced in the Mediterranean, such as textiles dyed in purple. This view of the Roman textile production is especially interesting when we compare it with archaeological and textual evidence from the Roman period.

The *Periplus Maris Erythraei* mentions multiple textiles which were imported from the East and others that were exported from the Roman Empire via Egypt, as well as *entrepôt*s in and around the Indian Ocean. But, as Droß–Krüpe[71] observed, most of the textiles listed as exported from Egypt were not precious and costly luxurious textiles, but average quality fabrics and garments, although we do find accounts that mention purple dyed wool (πορφύρα) (PME 24). Gold woven fabric was noted only once: "clothing in the Arabian style, with sleeves, plain, ordinary, with chequer pattern or interwoven with gold" (ἱματισμὸς Ἀραβικὸς χειριδωτὸς ὅ τε ἁπλοῦς καὶ ὁ κοινὸς καὶ σκοτουλᾶτος καὶ διάχρυσος) (PME 24).

Among the textile finds from Berenike, one of the harbors mentioned in the *Periplus* that played a prominent role in the Indian Ocean trade, the largest group was constituted by cotton.[72] In early deposits, connected with the 1st century AD occupation of the site, cotton was mostly imported from India made of Z-spun threads, but a few fragments of Egyptian S–spun cotton were also found.[73] The

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[70] Pelliot 1959, 509–510.
[71] Droß-Krüpe 2013, 150.
[72] Wild and Wild 1996, 246, Wild and Wild 2001, 212, Wild and Wild 2005, Sidebotham 2011, 243–244
[73] Wild 2006, 179.

higher quality, more colourful fabrics were made of wool. There were also linen and goat's hair textiles.[74]

The assemblages of archaeological textiles collected from eastern Mediterranean cities, which might have been involved in trade with the Far East, differ from the view of what was produced in the Roman Empire as it is presented in the Chinese text. Among the finds from Dura Europos, the largest group of fabrics was wool (77%), many of which are decorated with purple stripes. Only one example of gold–embroidery was found – a hank of destroyed thread. Linen (12%) and goat hair (below 5%) were also found, as well as felts and two pieces of silk, probably weaved locally (see Fig. 1).[75]
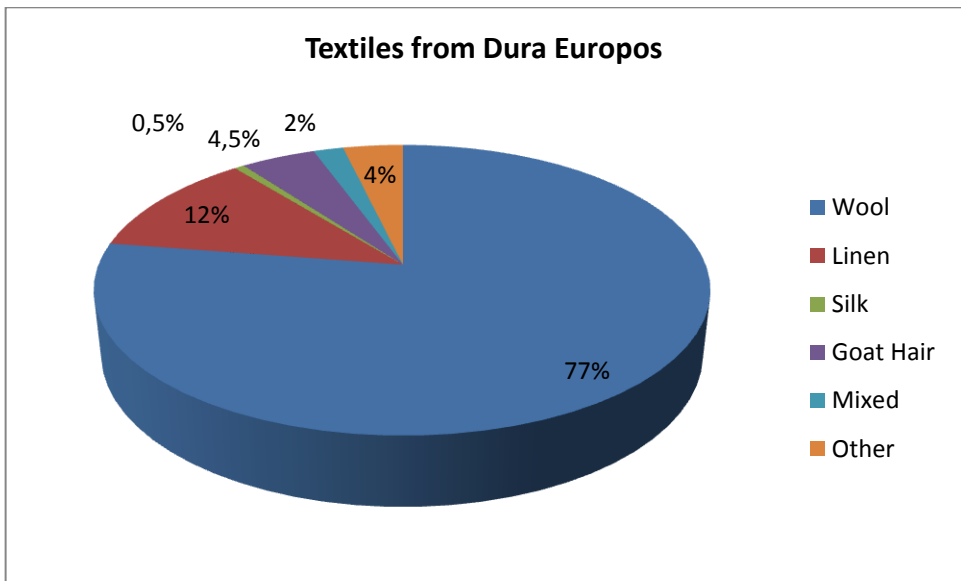


**Fig. 1. Types of fabrics found at Dura-Europos  (after Pfister and Bellinger 1945).**

The assemblage of Palmyra (especially important since the city was a part of the trade network linking China with the Mediterranean) consisted of a high percentage of wool (c. 50%), linen (23%), and a small group of cottons (7%), probably woven from material from the Euphrate valley[76]. Silk (c. 18%) was imported from China and India, but some examples could have been woven locally from imported yarn. Diverse mixed fabrics and a small amount of goat hair were also discovered. Textiles decorated with stripes woven with gold thread,

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[74] Wild and Wild 1996; Wild and Wild 1998.

[75] Pfister and Bellinger 1945.

[76] Schmidt-Colinet, personal communication.

always associated with purple wool, were very rare – only five pieces were found (Fig. 2).[77]
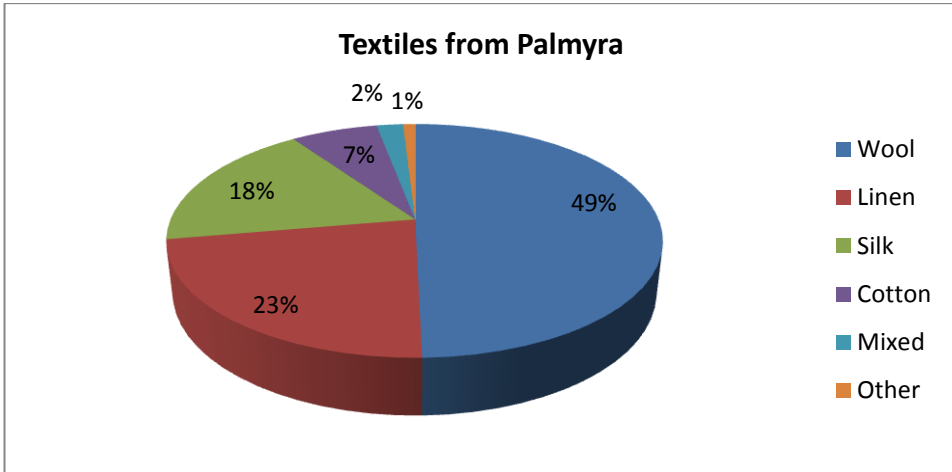


**Fig. 2. Types of fabrics found at Palmyra (after Schmidt-Colinet et al. 2000).**

In order to understand why the discrepancy exists between the textiles that were actually produced in the Roman Empire and those attributed to it, albeit in the guise of Da Qin, it is necessary to analyse separately two issues: the absence of products commonly manufactured in the Roman Empire in the account of Da Qin, and the presence of products attributed to Da Qin, but never produced in the Roman Empire.

The absence of ubiquitous Roman textiles (linen, woollen and purple-dyed fabrics) is especially striking when we compare Fan Ye's account with an earlier that appears in the *Brief History of Wei* (*Wei lüe* 魏略). The latter contains a longer list of textiles produced in Da Qin[78]. Among them we find 細絺 (*xi chi*) fine hemp, which might be interpreted as an attempt to describe a linen textile, a variety of woollen rugs, carpets and multi-coloured fabrics as well as two types of cloth described as *fei* (緋), 'bright red, crimson', which, according to Hill, might refer to a kind of purple-dyed textile.[79] The similarities between some of the passages in both texts suggest that at least some of the sources of information were the same, but it is possible that Yu Huan, the author of the *Wei lüe*, could have relied on additional information brought by later travelers. According to the

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[77] Schmidt-Colinet *et al.* 2000.

[78] The list of products of Da Qin in the *Wei lüe* contains many terms which are difficult to interpret. For example, there are numerous terms relating to textiles that are perhaps transliterations. Consequently, the majority remain incomprehensible and require further analysis.

[79] Hill 2004, notes 12.12(42) and 12.12(44)

*Book of Liang* (*Liang shu* 梁書), the official history of the Liang dynasty (梁朝 502–557) compiled by Yao Silian (姚思廉) in the first half of the 7th c. AD, a Roman merchant named Qin Lun (秦論) visited China in 226 AD and related a great deal of information about his country to Chinese officials (54, 48). Although the *Hou Han shu* was compiled later than the *Wei lüe,* Fan Ye could have not included this account in his work, because the event did not occur in the reign of the Eastern Han dynasty and thereby formed no part of the Han histories which were accessible to him. Another possibility  is that both accounts – the *Hou Han shu* and the *Wei lüe* – were based on exactly the same sources, but the *Hou Han shu* is more synthetic.[80] In reality, all the histories composed during the Eastern Han dynasty are lost, so we are unable to know whether the information contained in Fan Ye's work was selected by him personally or if he was drawing upon compilations of unknown authors. In any case, the final result reveals that whoever was responsible for the final outcome he (or she) deliberately selected particular kinds of information about the Western Regions. If so, then this would explain why some woollen fabrics mentioned in the *Wei lüe* would have been omitted: the author would have encountered the same problem as the modern scholar, names that are completely unintelligible and are probably intended as phonetic transliterations from one or more languages. On the other hand, it is difficult to imagine why linen fabrics would be omitted. The only plausible explanation is that linen, was considered too common and therefore unworthy of mention, especially if it was considered similar to hemp cloth. Probably only the most intriguing and precious products were included from the original list.

The presence of non-Roman products in the account is actually restricted to the persuasion that the Roman Empire is a great producer of diverse silk textiles and that we find mysterious *fabrics covered with gold* among Roman goods. Since it is impossible to determine what exactly this last term means, it is also very hard to explain its presence on the list. It might be a corroborated information about one of the techniques used for golden threads production – in the proper sense, gold threads used for weaving and embroidery were the organic fibres covered with gold.

The problem of silk production in the Roman Empire was already discussed above. Although silk textiles were woven in the Roman Empire, they were made of imported yarn and definitely did not constitute the main or even prevalent part of the Roman textile industry. Moreover, in the time of compiling *Hou Han shu* the technique of mulberry silk production just started to spread to Central Asia,

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[80] Leslie and Gardiner (1996, 41, 57, 65) suggested that the common source of the *Hou Han shu*, *Wei lüe* and one of the unofficial histories of the Later Han – *Hou Han zhi* – was probably *Dongguan Han ji.* They stress, however, that although the *Hou Han shu* was written later than *Wei lüe,* it should be considered as containing information exclusively from the Later Han Period.

not mentioning the period of Eastern Han dynasty, when its production was restricted to China, Korea and Japan. It is thus possible, that production of silk was added and emphasized, because it was considered the most civilized type of cloth. Interestingly, also jade, the most important raw material of ritual and ceremonial objects in China since the Neolithic, is mentioned as one of the products of Da Qin in this account. Since both – silk and jade – were very important elements of Chinese culture, they could have been seen as the indispensable symbols of a civilized country.

According to the *Hou Han shu*, Da Qin was located in a region adjacent to mythological lands that had never been seen by any mortal. It contains a passage that reads: 或云其國西有弱水、 流沙，近西王母所居處，幾於日所入也。 "Some say that lying to the west of this country [Da Qin] are Ruoshui (Weak Water) [and] Liusha (Quick Sands),[81] [which are located] close to the place where Xi Wang Mu (Queen Mother of the West) resides, almost where the sun sets."[82] Therefore, Da Qin was mythologized as existing far to the west, where jade and silk were available. It was natural to associate these products with Da Qin, because they were regarded as indispensable elements of civilization. On the other hand, they were associated with the magical realm of the western edge of the world, the domain of Xi Wang Mu (西王母 *Queen Mother of the West*).

The idea of Xi Wang Mu developed from an early Daoist concept. She is mentioned by Zhuangzi as one of those who possess Dao: 西王母得之， 坐乎少廣. "Xi Wang-mu got It (Dao), and by It had her seat in (the palace of) Shaoguang" (*Zhuangzi* 莊子, *Inner Chapters* 內篇, *The Great and Most Honoured Masters* 大宗師, translated by James Legge). In many early Chinese writings, Xi Wang Mu and her western domain is associated with jade, the symbol of incorruptibility and eternal life.[83] The *Classic of Mountains and Seas* (*Shanhai jing* 山海經), a mythical geography of China based on pre-imperial texts compiled in the Han dynasty period, states: 又西三百五十里， 曰玉山， 是西王母所居也 "Three hundred fifty li further West [there is] a mountain named Yu (Jade Mountain); this is the place where Xi Wang Mu resides."[84] In the same book, in the summary of the chapter describing the whole mountain range including Jade

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[81] Liu Sha and Ruo Shui – both locations appear in the *Classic of Mountains and Seas – Shanhai jing*, in the description of Western mountains (*Xishan jing*) as areas close to where Xi Wang Mu resided. Some scholars suggest that they were mythologized reflections of real locations with exceptional geographical features. Thus they identify Liu Sha – Quick Sands – with the Taklamakan Desert, or perhaps somewhere within it (Hill 2003, note 19). Leslie and Gardiner (1996, 276) in their turn state that these locations are unreal.

[82] *Hou Han shu* 88, *Xiyu zhuan* 78.

[83] Rotschild 2010, 35–36.

[84] *Shanhai jing, Xishan jing 3 (Xi ci san jing).*

Mountain, it proclaims that all deities from this region should be worshiped with offerings of rice and millet and with burying jade amulets.[85]

Similarly, Xi Wang Mu was associated with silk and sericulture. In Han iconography she was usually depicted frontally, sitting on the summit of a mountain, with arms folded. Her hair was pinned up with a very characteristic hairpin, called *sheng* (勝), whose shape is believed to be derived from the warp beam with two handles, used in the Chinese loom.[86] The same headdress was worn by court-ladies during the ceremony of collecting mulberry leaves.[87]

During the Han dynasty, Xi Wang Mu evolved as an important deity, helping to gain happiness on earth and immortality in the afterlife, and she was believed to rule over the Western Paradise.[88] Discussing the location of her domain and the place where the sun sets in relation to the real political entities in the West, especially Da Qin, caused multiple confusions of the ancient writers, who often note than in the previous accounts these two were located incorrectly. Most of the early histories, however, refer to Xi Wang Mu's domain in context of description of the Western Regions.[89] Therefore, we cannot exclude that the description of Da Qin and its products were also influenced by the vision of the magic lands of Western Paradise.

## Conclusions

The account on Da Qin was based on indirect sources, since we have no evidence of any Chinese envoy travelling further than the Persian Gulf [90] or any Roman citizen who went further than the western environs of present Xinjiang

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[85] 其祠之禮，用一吉玉瘞，糈用稷米。 For rituals in their temples, auspicious jade [should be] used and buried [for sacrifice], rice and millet [offered as] sacrificial food. (*Shanhai jing, Xishan jing* 3 (*Xi ci san jing*)).

[86] Wang 2001, 45. The same attribute, but of bigger size, is often kept in hand by the *Lady Weaver* or *Heavenly Weaver* from the legend popular in East Asian cultures, so that the identification of this object is quite convincing.

[87] Rotschild 2010, 37.

[88] Wu 1987, 25–30.

[89] Leslie and Gardiner (1996, 273–4) observed that in earlier texts (*Shi ji, Han shu*) the domain of Xi Wang Mu and the place where the sun sets are situated west of Tiao Zhi (probably Characene, but Leslie and Gardiner interpret the location as the Seleucid Empire), since in the time of their compilation this was the western most country known. As more information about Da Qin became available, these mythical areas were likewise relocated further west.

[90] The *Hou Han shu* (88) relates that a special envoy of the Chinese Court, Gan Ying (甘英, in 97 AD travelled through Central Asia to Persian Gulf on a mission to make contact with the Roman Empire, but for some reason he could not continue on his journey farther west by sea. According to the *Hou Han shu*, local sailors persuaded him that such a journey was long and arduous.

during the Han dynasty.[91] Information was probably obtained from merchants, possibly of Central Asian origin, who knew something about the countries of the West, often from other merchants. Their understanding of the political system, traditions and customs was not always correct and up to date. They knew what could be bought at different markets, but did not necessarily know where various products had originated. It should be also realized that some of the information was communicated intentionally to mislead people. Information was thus filtered through different people from different backgrounds ultimately to individuals who recorded it for posterity. Along the way, as one might expect, a great many details were lost in translation. Moreover, the documents were then re-edited by scholars living many decades later until they reached the final form as we have them from FanYe, who published his work some two hundred years after the fall of the Han dynasty.

Perhaps the most intriguing aspect of the text as we have it is not what information is correct or incorrect about the Roman Empire, but the idealist, and mythological vision that the Chinese infused in their understanding of the outside world. The account of Da Qin differs strongly from other countries west of China in the minuteness of description and a number of questions discussed. Multiple aspects of Da Qin are described, such as flora and fauna, local customs, government system and local products, while in the majority of cases only the number of households, population and manpower of the army are mentioned, followed by information about geographical location of described kingdom. But this detailed description is actually in a big part an idealised vision of the distant country, built upon the Daoist concepts, myths concerning Western edges of the world and conceptualisation of an ideal, civilised country.

In the *Hou Han shu* Da Qin is presented as a rich country where food is always plentiful and inexpensive[92]. It is governed by honest monarch who listens to his subjects,[93] and abdicates in face of calamitous events, allowing another to

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[91] Pliny in his *Geography* (1.12) describes a route of the caravan sent by Maes Titianos, a citizen of Hierapolis, to Sera Metropolis, considered to be the capital of Serica. The account seems to be reliable, since it was based on the earlier work of Marinos of Tyre, who may have been an acquaintance of Maes. The route is described in detail up to the *Lithinos Pyrgos* (Stone Tower), but here the route ends with a statement that the rest of the journey takes about 7 months. This unusual lack of detail suggests that the caravan did not reach Sera Metropolis, but stopped at *Lithinos Pyrgos* (a place located near the western border of Xinjiang, perhaps in the vicinity of Daraut Kurgan in modern Kyrgyzstan, as P'iankov 2015 argues). A detailed analysis of this account, relating the only known attempt of such a far travel undertaken by Roman merchants was published by J. D. Lerner (1998) and P. Bernard (2005).

[92] 穀食常賤，國用富饒 "The grain and food are always cheap, resources of the country abundant."

[93] 常使一人持囊隨王車，人有言事者，即以書投囊中，王至宮發省，理其枉直 "[The king] often order to a man to follow his carriage carrying a bag, those who have something to say

take his place[94] – an interesting transposition of the ancient concept of the mandate of heaven combined with the Confucian concept of a virtuous man as an ideal ruler.

A discussion on all of the elements in this construct goes far beyond the limits of this paper, its features, however, manifest in the list of textiles said to be produced in Da Qin. The types of cloth listed in the account have nothing to do with what was actually manufactured in the Roman Empire. It is also hard to agree with the statement of Leslie and Gardiner who, in the conclusion to their monumental work, *The Roman Empire in the Chinese Sources*, claim that "The list of products of Da Qin is acceptable as referring to the Roman Empire, so long as we realise that products from the other western countries may well be included under the general label of Da Qin."[95] They overlook one significant fact: there was no country west of China that produced mulberry silk during the Eastern Han, while the text emphasizes that the inhabitants of Da Qin plant mulberry trees and produce silk. Here, as is the case throughout the text, authentic information is mixed with a vision of the ideal, the civilized and the quasi-mythical. The list contains textiles exceptional for their beauty, like multi-coloured silks, textiles that are as expensive as they are exotic, like those weaved with gold or covered in gold, and those imbued with strange, quasi-magical purposes, like asbestos cloth. Even if some of fabrics were in fact actually produced in the Roman Empire, they were carefully chosen to reflect the other worldly quality of this distant region.

## Acknowledgements

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[to the king], throw a letter to the bag. Arriving to the palace, the king opens the bag and examines the rightfulness of the cases."

[94] 其王無有常人，皆簡立賢者。國中災異及風雨不時，輒廢而更立，受放者甘黜不怨

"Their kings are not permanent [rulers], usually a virtuous man is chosen and established [as a king]. If disasters occur in the country, wind or rain at an unusual time, he is deposed and replaced immediately by another. The deposed [king] leaves willingly [and] does not complain."

[95] Leslie and Gardiner 1996, 280.

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# Abstract

The paper focuses on the interpretation of terms relating to fabrics from Da Qin (Roman Empire) in the *Account of Western Regions* (Xi Yu Zhuan) of *Hou Han shu* (The Book of Han), the official chronicle of the Later Han dynasty composed in the middle of the 5th century AD. A re-examination of the text reveals that Roman textiles as they appear in the Chinese Annals differ greatly from what we know of them in western literary accounts and archaeological remains. Moreover, the argument is made that the primary reason for this misunderstanding is due largely to Chinese philosophy and how the Chinese perceived the world beyond China's borders.

# REVIEW ARTICLES

**Michał Marciak** (Rzeszów, Poland)

## ADIABENE AND HATRA: SOME REMARKS
## ON HATRA'S NEIGHBOR*

The book under review is a volume containing the proceedings from the colloquium held at the University of Amsterdam in 2009. Published in 2013, this book presents the most up-to-date research on the city of Hatra. It sadly coincides with the end of a certain era, not only in the history of scholarship on Hatra, but also in the history of the city itself. In 2015, the city became one of the victims of the ISIL campaign against ancient monuments in the region. First, it is certain that several sculptures from Hatra stored in the Mosul museum were destroyed, as this can clearly be seen in the videos released online by ISIL in 2015. Second, it was also reported that the city itself was demolished by ISIL bulldozers in March 2015. However, the latter report was based on oral sources, and the extent of damage to the site is not entirely clear.

The book under review contains seventeen papers organized into three distinctive parts: "Between Parthia and Rome," "The City and its Remains," and "Culture and Religion on the Crossroads." While the political relationship between Hatra and the great superpowers of that time – Rome on the one hand, and the Parthians and Sasanians on the other – is mainly explored in the first part of the book, the religious and cultural aspects of Hatra's geopolitical location "on the crossroads" (to put it in the editor's words) are discussed in the third part of the book. The second part is devoted to several archaeological issues that are relevant to the reconstruction of the history of Hatra (especially those raised by the recent excavations conducted by the Italian and Polish teams under Roberta

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Venco Ricciardi and Michał Gawlikowski, respectively). The papers are preceded by a very useful introduction written by the editor, L. Dirven, and the book is concluded with a rich bibliography, a list of contributors and figures, and, finally, 77 plates (of good quality). Unfortunately, there are no indexes, which is a rare phenomenon in high-level modern publishing, greatly hampering the efficient use of this publication.

First, let me briefly recall the most important lines of thought from several papers that particularly caught my attention due to my own research interests. Second, I will focus on three aspects of the political history of the region at large that are relevant for both Hatra and Adiabene.

The first part contains three interesting papers by B. Isaac, M. Sommer, and L. Gregoratti. In his overview of the available literary sources on Hatra ("Against Rome and Persia. From success to destruction"), B. Isaac comes to a rare and striking conclusion: the city and its region were part of the Roman Empire in the second and third centuries CE. By contrast, both M. Sommer and L. Gregoratti claim in their papers ("Hatra between Rome and Iran" and "Hatra: on the West of the East," respectively) that Hatra was a dependent ally of the Parthian kingdom at that time. More precisely, L. Gregoratti attributes Hatra's rise of importance and the intensified relationship between the Parthian kings and the Hatrene rulers after 117 CE to Hatra's success against Emperor Trajan. In Gregoratti's view, Hatrene rulers were awarded with certain privileges for services rendered to the Parthian Empire against Trajan (apparently, as leaders of the anti-Roman resistance in 116–117 CE). Next, after the loss of Osrhoene to the Romans in 167 CE, Hatra's importance to the Parthians increased again, which led to the award of royal status to Hatrene rulers. According to M. Sommer, it is only after the Sasanians defeated and replaced the Parthians as the sole rulers of their state that the Hatrene kings switched sides and allied with the Romans (which can be argued because of the epigraphically attested presence of a detachment of Roman troops in Hatra in 238–240 CE).

The question of the cultural, but also political, affiliation of Hatra lies at the heart of de Jong's paper ("Hatra and the Parthian Commonwealth"). De Jong points to the evidence of the spread of many aspects of Iranian culture throughout the Parthian kingdom and in Hatra (administrative titles, personal names, costume, jewelry, weaponry, religion) and consequently argues that, rather than being labeled as "between Rome and Parthia" in cultural and political terms, Hatra should be perceived, first and foremost, as an integral part of the "Parthian Commonwealth."

The question of the appearance of material culture in Hatra and its sudden rise to importance and wealth in the second century CE is raised by T. Kaizer, who, while not totally rejecting the previous three explanations (strategic posi-

tion between Rome and Iran, role in the long-distance caravan trade, role as a religious center–a "pre-Islamic Mecca"), suggests that Hatra's development lay in a symbiotic affiliation with the settlements in its territory that may have been strengthened by favorable climatic or geographical circumstances in the first millennium CE. Rather than exploring the beginnings of Hatra, S. Hauser's paper summarizes the evidence for the sieges of Hatra and its final capture by the Sasanians. According to Hauser, Hatra was unsuccessfully besieged by Emperor Trajan in 177 CE, Septimius Severus in 197 and 199 CE, and the Sasanians before 229 CE; it was finally conquered by the Sasanians (Ardashir and Shapur) in 240/241 CE.

One can distinguish three particular episodes in the Parthian and Sasanian periods that were significant for both Hatra and Adiabene.

The first and second episodes made Hatra famous for its resistance against three Roman attacks – during the Parthian War of Emperor Trajan and during the eastern campaigns of Emperor Septimius Severus. Adiabene is also mentioned in ancient sources as one of the ardent enemies of the Romans on both of these occasions.[1]

When it comes to Trajan's Parthian War, it is frequently stated that before capturing the Parthian capital Ctesiphon, Trajan invaded Adiabene and, having completed his conquests, created three new provinces – Armenia, Mesopotamia, and Adiabene.[2] This is a widely repeated reconstruction; however, as far as Adiabene is concerned, it is not based on solid ground and has never found much acceptance among the very few scholars who have conducted an in-depth analysis of Trajan's campaigns (such as F. Lepper, M.J. Guey, and C.S. Lightfoot).[3] First, it has been noted that Dio's itinerary, which places Adiabene among Trajan's military achievements on his way to Ctesiphon, actually mixes two distinctive itineraries – one along the Tigris, and another along the Euphrates.[4] Second, Dio's account of Adiabene features reminiscences with accounts of Alexander the Great's itinerary through Adiabene; consequently, the possibility cannot be ruled out that this account is merely a literary creation.[5] Third, the creation of the

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[1] For more details, see M. Marciak, *Sophene, Gordyene, and Adiabene: The Three Regna Minora of Northern Mesopotamia between East and West* (forthcoming), especially the following chapters: 9.3: Adiabene and Trajan's Parthian War; 9.5: Septimius Severus; 9.6: Adiabene, Hatra, and Osrhoene.

[2] For instance, Mommsen 1885, 400; Fraenkel 1893, 360; Longden 1931, 13–14; Guey 1937, 79–80; Henderson 1949, 125–126; Magie 1950, 608; Dillemann 1962, 287–289; Bertinelli 1976, 17–22; Chaumont 1976, 140; Eilers 1983, 496; Gregory, Kennedy 1985, 118; Hauser 2012.

[3] Guey 1937, 39–120; Lepper 1948, 95–96; Lightfoot 1990. See also Kettenhofen 1995, 290, n. 25 and Hartmann 2010.

[4] Lightfoot 1990, 121–125.

[5] Lightfoot 1990, 121–125.

province of Assyria is not epigraphically attested (in contrast to Armenia and Mesopotamia).[6] Fourth, had the province of Assyria been created, it would not necessarily have included Adiabene, as early Sasanian and late Roman sources usually understand Assyria as part of southern Mesopotamia.[7] Of course, this is not to say that Trajan did not face and defeat Mebarsapes, king of Adiabene. Indeed, Mebarsapes appears in literary sources as an active player in Mesopotamia, in concert with several other minor rulers. Having been defeated on the west bank of the Tigris and losing his holdings there (Singara, Adenystrae, and Libbana on the west bank are associated with Mebarsapes), he most likely withdrew to the heartland of Adiabene, located on the east bank of the Tigris. He might have then capitulated and sought terms with Trajan. It is also postulated that Hatra came into agreement with the Romans before 116–117 CE, as this could explain how the city may have avoided being besieged and conquered by Trajan before his assault on Ktesiphon.[8] At any rate, it should be stressed that none of the anonymous rulers identified in ancient sources as active in Mesopotamia (especially Mannus and Manisarus) can be unambiguously identified as a ruler of Hatra.

Concerning Septimius Severus, it should be noted that his Oriental campaigns had two different phases: one in 195 CE (immediately after the defeat of Niger at Issos in 194 CE), and another in 197–199 CE (after the defeat of Clodius Albinus in Gaul).[9] Importantly, Adiabene explicitly comes to the fore in ancient sources only in the context of the 195 CE campaign, while Hatra appears in the 197–199 CE campaign. Although it is widely and rightly claimed that Septimius defeated Adiabene as one of the Parthian client kingdoms supporting his political rival, Niger, one should be aware of the limitations of the extant evidence and, consequently, should not overestimate Septimius' achievements in the East. First of all, neither of the two texts of Dio (75.2.3 [Xiphil. 303.21–304][10] and 75.3.2 [Xiphil. 304.8–22][11]), frequently understood as evidence of the con-

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[6] Lightfoot 1990, 121–125.

[7] Maricq 1958, 304–305, nn. 4–5; Maricq 1959, 257–260; Lightfoot 1990, 121–123; Millar 1993, 101 and n. 5.

[8] Isaac 2013, 23–24; Sommer 2013, 35, 37.

[9] For the historical context, see Magie 1950, 671–673, 1538–1542; Ziegler 1964, 129–132; Platnauer 1965, 74–98; Birley 1988, 108–120; Sommer 2005, 239–240, n. 58.

[10] Dio Cass. 75.2.3 (Xiphil. 303.21–304): "… afterwards [after crossing the Euphrates] Severus reached Nisibis, and tarrying there himself, sent Lateranus, Candidus, and Laetus in various directions among the barbarians named; and these generals upon reaching their goals proceeded to lay waste barbarians' land." The translation is from the Loeb Classical Library (Cary 1925).

[11] Dio Cass. 75.2.3 (Xiphil. 304.8–22). "Severus again made three divisions of his army, and giving one to Laetus, one to Anullinus, and one to Probus, sent them against Arche; and they invaded it in three divisions and subdued it, yet not without difficulty. Severus bestowed some dignity upon Nisibis and entrusted the city to a knight. He used to declare that he had added a vast

quest of Adiabene, explicitly mention Adiabene. Of course, we do possess tangible epigraphic and numismatic evidence: Septimius adopted the two victory titles (*cognomina ex virtute*) PARTHICUS ADIABENICUS and PARTHICUS ARABICUS (attested on milestones, coins, and the famous arch in the Forum Romanum),[12] and numismatic evidence (with images of "seated captives"; see Figs. 1–4) allows us to connect the victory titles with three imperatorial salutations (IMP V, IMP VI, and IMP VII) adopted by Septimius in 195 CE.[13] Thus, it stands beyond doubt that Adiabene was among Septimius' enemies and was defeated, but the course of the fighting and the extent of Adiabene's losses remain unclear. In this context, it has been indicated that the adoption of as many as three distinctive imperial salutations may be seen as a sign that "the victories were probably hard won,"[14] or that "the situation may have been more critical than would have been imagined."[15] After all, the situation may have been similar to that of Trajan's time – Mesopotamia was "a patchwork of different ethnicities… [and a] political jungle,"[16] where one could find enough enemies or cities to fight with and consequently to deserve, in the Romans' eyes, as many as three imperatorial titles (e.g., Batnae, Cardueni, Mardoi, Marcomedi, Singara, Thebeta, and Libbani).[17] In other words, the ruler of Adiabene may have been defeated only in Mesopotamia and lost his possessions on the west bank of the Tigris (where the new Roman province of Mesopotamia was created), but this did not necessarily indicate any serious consequences for his rule on the east bank of the Tigris.

It should also be noted that the images of "seated captives" with the inscriptions PARTHICUS ADIABENICUS and PARTHICUS ARABICUS on Septimius' coins are not individualized presentations of any specific rulers.[18] First, the garments of the "seated captives" are standard garments of Oriental lesser royalties and nobles of that time – they included long-sleeved tunics with belts around the waist, as well as trousers and mantles buttoned up below the neck.[19] As for headgear, the depictions are very random. For instance, in Figs. 2–3 (variant I), the figure to the right of the *tropaion* has no headdress and wears only a diadem,

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territory to the empire and had made it a bulwark of Syria." The translation is from the Loeb Classical Library (Cary 1925).

[12] Murphy 1945, 80–87; Mattingly, Sydenham 1936, 60, 66, 94–99; Mattingly 1950, lxxx; Brilliant 1967, 92–95, 172–182; Bonanno 1976, 143–146.

[13] Mattingly, Sydenham 1936, 60–61; Platnauer 1965, 96, n. 1; Murphy 1945, 2; see also Mattingly 1950, lxxx-lxxxi.

[14] Birley 1988, 116.

[15] Mattingly, Sydenham 1936, 60.

[16] Sommer 2013, 41.

[17] Guey 1937, 66–67 and Lepper 1948, 8–10.

[18] Marciak, Wójcikowski 2017.

[19] Marciak, Wójcikowski 2017.

while the figure to the left has a high tiara.[20] This could suggest some individual-ization. However, in Figs. 4–5 (variant II), both figures wear diademed tiaras with neck coverings, clearly contradicting the idea that the images of the two "seated captives" are individualized.[21] As for the cognomina on Septimius' coins, it has been suggested that ARAB refers to Hatra.[22] However, there is no compel-ling evidence for this identification. On the contrary, Hatra was not conquered by Septimius. There are many other candidates for this identification, including Osrhoene.[23] It is also possible that the term refers to an anonymous ruler of Mes-opotamia.[24]

Finally, the ruins of the temple of Baal Shamin in Hatra reveal many statues of royalties and nobles who are presented as worshippers of the deity. One of the statues bears an inscription (inscription no. 21) which calls the worshipper *'tlw mlk' ntwn'šry'* (see Fig. 1).[25] Parallel terms (*ntwn'šry*, but not *ntwn'šry'* as in no. 21) are also preserved in inscriptions nos. 113 and 114, which refer to two no-bles: 'Alkūd (or 'Alkūr) and his father 'Ustānaq.[26] The term *'tlw* is widely inter-preted as the proper name of the worshipper, who is also called the king (*mlk'*) and *ntwn'šry'*.[27] The term *ntwn'šry'* has aroused a great deal of discussion in scholarship, but it appears that a consensus has recently been reached. This term consists of the participle natun, meaning "given"; *'šr*, the proper name of the goddess Ishtar; and *y'*, a *yud-gentilic*.[28] Furthermore, the term in question ap-pears to be parallel to the Iranian renderings of the Greek name of Adiabene, *ntwšrkn* and *nwthštrkn*, attested in the trilingual inscription of Shapur I (on the walls of Kaʿba-ye Zardosht). According to E. Lipiński, in the Parthian form *ntwšrkn*, the *n* was confused with the *w*, and the correct spelling should be *ntnšrkn* (the *w* would only be a *mater lectionis*), and the Middle Persian version *nwthštrkn* implies the same confusion of *wāw* with *nūn* and a metathesis of the letters *tn*, read as *wt*.[29]

Although the inscription on the statue does not contain any dates, we can approximately date it to the first half of the third century CE because of its very

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[20] Marciak, Wójcikowski 2017.

[21] Marciak, Wójcikowski 2017.

[22] Hauser 1998, 516, followed by Sommer 2005, 240 (tentatively) and Luther 2015, 286; also taken into account by Isaac 2013, 25.

[23] Bayer 1734, 165; Günther 1922, 121; Chaumont 1987, 437–439.

[24] Ross 2001, 48.

[25] Beyer 1998, 33.

[26] Beyer 1998, 54.

[27] Caquot 1952, 101; Altheim, Stiehl 1967, 264; Milik 1962, 52; H.J.W. Drijvers 1977, 824; Lipiński 1982, 117–120; Beyer 1998, 33.

[28] H.J.W. Drijvers 1977, 824; Lipiński 1982, 117–120; Beyer 1998, 33; Lipiński 2015, 204–205.

[29] Lipiński 2015, 204–205.

close stylistic similarities with the statues of Sanatruq II (which can be dated epigraphically to between 231 CE and 237/238 CE).[30] The fact that a foreign ruler (and other foreign nobles) could place his sculpture in Hatra reinforces the idea that Hatra was a superregional sanctuary.[31] Moreover, the fact that foreign donators came from the neighboring kingdom of Adiabene suggests that the political relationship between both countries was good (at the very least), and that cultural ties were close. Perhaps it could be speculated that the political ties were created by a common enemy – Rome in the second century CE, and the Sasanians at the beginning of the third century CE. The fact that the first ruler of Adiabene attested for the Sasanian period bore the Sasanian royal name Ardashir (*Res Gestae Divi Saporis*) was interpreted long ago as an indication of the Sasanians' installation of a new royal line in Adiabene.[32] If the last Parthian ruler of Adiabene had such good relations with Hatra, which openly opposed the early Sasanians, we may speculate that he shared the same fate as the last king of Hatra in 240/241 CE.

It is frequently stressed the Hatra's importance and wealth was connected with its role as a caravan stop for routes from Nisibis to Babylonia. In this context, it should be stressed that Adiabene also profited from international trade. First, an important communication line leading to Babylonia via Arbela is well-known; second, Adiabene may also have been connected to the Nisibis–Hatra communication line by controlling routes that came from other directions: in particular, a route from the Tigris crossing (Faysh Khabur, Nineveh, or Nimrud) to Hatra, and another from Assur to Hatra (see Fig. 6).[33]

In summary, the book under review offers an excellent overview of the latest research on Hatra, and as such will be useful for both graduate students and researchers. Perhaps a more regional perspective could also be included in a few cases (such as those presented in the article with regard to Adiabene). But even without this, the book certainly earns an important place in the scholarship on Hatra.

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[30] Beyer 1998, 38–39, 73; Sommer 2005, 372; Sartre 2005, 346.

[31] H.J.W. Drijvers 1977, 824–825; Marciak 2014, 221.

[32] Frye 1983, 279.

[33] The connection between Assur and Hatra is also suggested in Gregoratti 2013, 48.

**Fig. 1. Sculpture of ʾtlw from Hatra (courtesy of D.C. Siebrandt, Deakin University)**

**Fig. 2. Septimius Severus' coins (variant I); (courtesy of Forum Ancient Coins)**



**Fig. 3. Septimius Severus' coins (variant I); (courtesy of Forum Ancient Coins)**



**Fig. 4. Septimius Severus' coins (variant II);**
**(courtesy of Classical Numismatic Group, Inc., www.cngcoins.com)**



**Fig. 5. Septimius Severus' coins (variant II);**
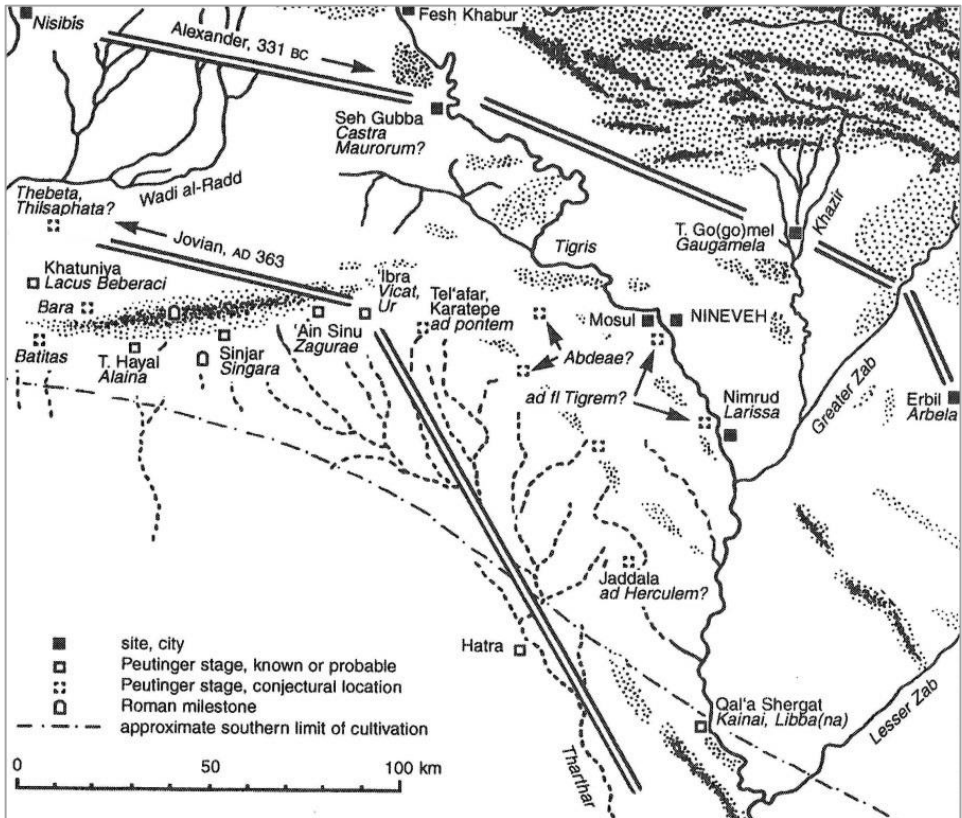**(courtesy of Classical Numismatic Group, Inc., www.cngcoins.com)**

**Fig. 6. Ancient routes via Adiabene (Reade 1999, 287, Fig. 5)**

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# Abstract

The article reviews the book "*Hatra*. Politics, Culture and Religion between Parthia and Rome," edited by L. Dirven and published in 2013 by Franz Steiner Verlag as volume 21 of the well-known series *Oriens et Occidens*. It is acknowledged that the book offers the latest research on Hatra. The aim of this article is to contribute to the research on Hatra by taking a look at the regional perspective. Specifically, it is argued that the available sources do not allow us to make far-reaching conclusions about the Roman influence in the neighboring kingdom of Adiabene in the times of Trajan and Septimius Severus. Thus, there was never a "Roman Adiabene" as a province or client kingdom of the Roman Empire. In this sense, both Hatra and Adiabene were integral parts of the Parthian Commonwealth. Furthermore, it is stressed that Hatra and Adiabene had good political and close cultural ties throughout most of the second and early third centuries CE, as they apparently shared the same international challenges and perhaps even the same enemies. In addition, it is likely that both kingdoms mutually profited from transregional trade in the region.

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# PERSIA BEYOND THE IMPERIAL FRONTIERS: THE NOMADS OF THE SOUTH URAL REGION VERSUS THE NEAR EAST

## Introduction

One of the key issues in the history of Iran are its relations with its neighbours as well as distant peoples in the steppes of Central Eurasia. The Achaemenid era (550–330 BC) was a period of particularly intense and comprehensive growth in these relations. We know that the Arsacid state (248 BC – 226 AD) was created in outcome of an invasion by Iranian nomadic tribes on a region of Khorasan with a sedentary population, in north-eastern Iran. A dynasty with a nomadic background created a state in Iran which grew into a rival empire to Rome.[1] Recent archaeological discoveries show that there were close links between the nomads and the cultures of Iran and Central Asia in the times preceding the Arsacids, that is in the Achaemenid and in the early post-Achaemenid period (mid–6th – 3rd century BC).

In this article I will address selected issues concerning the nomads of the South Ural region (= SUR), and their relations with Iran and the lands of the Trans-Caspian and Aral region as well as in the Oxos/Amudarya Basin (including Chorasmia), in the Achaemenid and early post-Achaemenid periods. The cultures of the SUR were created by the Sauromatian and Sarmatian tribes belonging to the northern branch of the Iranian speaking peoples. Iran's close political and cultural relations with the steppes stretching from Karakum and the northern marches of Hyrkania to the SUR had important repercussions for the

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[1] See Olbrycht 1998; 1998a; 2015.

history of Western and Central Asia, giving rise to the powerful Arsacid state. The Arsacids were descended from the nomadic Dahae, but they also had close connections with the Massagetae, another people inhabiting the Trans-Caspian and Aral region. Historical records on these peoples are sparse, which makes the archaeological material invaluable.

A recently published study offers a huge collection of data concerning the nomadic cultures of the SUR and their relations with the Achaemenid empire. L. Yablonsky, an experienced researcher from Moscow on the nomadic cultures of the SUR and Central Asia, and M. Treister, who is a specialist on ancient iconography and metalwork and is currently affiliated at Bonn/Berlin and formerly at Moscow and Kerch, decided to compile and publish an edition of artefacts imported by the nomads from Western and Central Asia and imitations of items coming from the Achaemenid milieu. Thanks to their work a vast monograph entitled *Einflüsse der achämenidischen Kultur im südlichen Uralvorland (5.- 3. Jh. v.Chr.)* (Vienna, 2013) (this work is hereafter cited as *EAKSU* I-II) has been published within the framework of a project financed by the German Research Foundation (DFG) and the Russian State Foundation for Humanities (RGNF).[2] This study consists of two volumes. Volume 1 comprises 25 articles and a dozen appendices. Over half of the volume (*EAKSU* I, 329–686) is composed of colour and black-and-white plates, drawings and 27 maps. Volume 2 contains the main catalogue of the artefacts, descriptions of graves containing Achaemenid artefacts, and a bibliography. There is a separate account of the stone pearls and ceramics. In this volume there are 37 colour plates, 35 black-and-white photos, and 124 plates with drawings.

The sites described in the publication are located in the foreground of the South Ural (Russia), and in Western Kazakhstan. The artefacts recorded in the catalogue come from this region, too. The authors use the label Southern Ural piedmont for their region of study, but in the sub-chapter entitled 'Forschungsziele' (*EAKSU* I, 12–13) they do not define its exact extent. In the chapter entitled 'Einleitung' they write of the work done by Soviet, Russian, and Kazakh archaeologists.[3]

In their work on the archaeological material the editors and contributors to the publication have undertaken to collect and extract previously unknown information. Scores of nomadic kurgans, such as the great kurgans at Filippovka and Prokhorovka, have been discovered and excavated. The artefacts made in

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[2] M. Treister, L. Yablonsky (eds.), *Einflüsse der achäemenidischen Kultur im südlichen Uralvorland (5. – 3. Jh. v.Chr.)*, Band 1–2, Wien: Phoibos-Verlag, 2013. ISBN 978–3–85161–096–3. Bd 1., 707 pp.; Bd 2., 501 pp.; Series *Ancient Toreutics and Jewellery in Eastern Europe*, edited by V. Mordvintseva and M. Treister. The book was published in two versions: in German and in Russian. This article deals with the German edition.

[3] *EAKSU* I, 12, 19.

a foreign style which have been discovered in the kurgans of the SUR include objects associated with trade, gifts, and trophies. Some of these items were made in the royal workshops of Iran, others come from provincial workshops in the satrapies; and still others are locally made imitations. Over 80 artefacts from the Achaemenid milieu, in addition to about 180 stone pearls from India or territories in Iran and neighbouring countries, have been discovered in the SUR.[4] There have also been finds of Egyptian faience.[5]

The book edited by Treister and Yablonsky presents the Achaemenid empire as the chief centre of civilisation with which the nomads of the SUR were in close touch. The Achaemenid state fell in 330 BC, but the close relations of the SUR peoples with the Trans-Caspian – Aral region persisted. Many things changed in the times of Alexander and the Seleucids, but the peoples of the SUR, the Trans-Caspian – Aral region, and the Oxos/Amudarya Basin kept up their intense, mutual links with Iran in political, cultural, and economic affairs.

## The current state of research

Research on the graves of the SUR nomads has a long tradition going back to 1911, when local peasants discovered ancient kurgans in the villages of Pokrovka and Prokhorovka near Orenburg.[6] These burial sites were plundered, but I.A. Castanet and M.I. Rostovtzeff soon started research on them. Rostovtzeff published his results in 1918.[7] He dated the Prokhorovka kurgans to the $3^{rd}$–$2^{nd}$ century BC, or possibly earlier still, to the $4^{th}$ century, and attributed them to the Sarmatians. P.A. Kokovtsov published a brief epigraphic study of the Prokhorovka inscriptions.[8] These publications mark the beginning of scholarly research on the culture of the SUR peoples in the Sauromatian and Sarmatian periods. B.N. Grakov, K.F. Smirnov, and A. Kh. Pshenichnīuk continued in the tradition of Rostovtzeff's research. In 1986–1990 Pshenichnīuk's expedition excavated 17 kurgans at Filippovka, and retrieved numerous Achaemenid artefacts from the royal kurgan (No. 1). L.T. Yablonsky excavated the Prokhorovka burial ground in 2003–2005, and kurgans at Filippovka in 2004–2009. In the same period research was being conducted in Western Kazakhstan, on burial grounds at Lebedevka-II, Kyryk-Oba-II, Volodarka, and other places.[9]

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[4] *EAKSU* I, 320.

[5] *EAKSU* I, 13.

[6] On the history of the archaeological research in the SUR, see Treister, Yablonsky in *EAKSU* I, 14–21.

[7] Rostovtzeff 1918.

[8] Kokovtsov 1918, 82–83.

[9] Cf. Stöllner, Samašev (eds.) 2013, passim.

Traditionally the term 'Sauromatian' is used for the culture of the early SUR nomads, and 'Sarmatian' for its later periods, starting from the Prokhorovka phase. Herodotus, the earliest writer in antiquity to leave a record of the peoples east of the Volga, did not use the term 'Sarmatians,' and instead had 'Sauromatians.'[10]

## Imports, gifts, imitations

Products from the centres of craftsmanship in Iran and lands under Achaemenid suzerainty, particularly Chorasmia, play an important role in the reconstruction of the history and culture of the SUR. There were several categories of products imported to the SUR: artefacts made in workshops belonging to the Achaemenid Court, artefacts from the satrapies, and 'Persian-Barbarian' products. This last category is very general and comprises several different groups of items.[11] Another classification lists three categories: imitations, adaptations, and derivations.[12] It is difficult to ascribe individual artefacts to a particular category, and in some cases impossible, due to the difficulty in distinguishing between the hypothetical workshops and their location. Some relatively distant workshops concentrated on export to the steppes. For instance, we know that the local workshops of Achaemenid Anatolia produced metal vessels for the steppe inhabitants of the North Caucasus and North Pontic region. There must have been a similar situation with the production of certain other items made specially for SUR nomads.

Even individual artefacts may serve as the basis for far-reaching conclusions on history. An example is provided by a sword with an ornamental scabbard from a kurgan at Chertomlyk (Ukraine), which M. Treister and L. Yablonsky describe at length.[13] The scabbard shows a battle scene between the Greeks and warriors identified as the Trojans or Persians. Treister and Yablonsky think one of the warriors (wearing a diadem) may be Alexander the Great. According to them the sword and apparently the scabbard (with the alleged depiction of Alexander) may have been a gift presented by Alexander himself to the rulers of Scythia around 329–328 BC.[14] At first glance it looks like an intriguing interpretation. It is however hard to identify any of the figures in the scene as a ruler, unless it is the naked warrior with a Hoplite shield.[15] Battle scenes are part of the traditional iconography of Greeks fighting Amazons, Trojans or Persians, but

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[10] Yablonsky, Balakhvantsev in *EAKSU* I, 22, n. 4. See Olbrycht 2000.

[11] A detailed classification of Achaemenid and Achaemenid-inspired toreutic items has been elaborated by E. Rehm in *EAKSU* I, 35–52.

[12] Miller 1997, 136–150.

[13] *EAKSU* I, 319.

[14] Treister, Yablonsky in *EAKSU* I, 319–320. See Alekseev 2006, 160–167; 2007, 254.

[15] Alekseev 2007, pl. 9.

there are no clear references to Alexander here. It would have been strange for Alexander to have invoked the conflict between Macedonia and Persia in 329–328, at a time when he was implementing his pro-Iranian policy.[16] A dating to ca. 329–328 for this artefact is speculative, and there are no grounds for it. It is more likely that the scabbard was one of a series of mid–4th century BC products from the North Pontic region.

One of the artefacts discovered in the SUR is particularly noteworthy. It is a silver cup with a gold-leaf surface (Cat. No. A11.2.1.11), that was found in kurgan B/2003, burial No. 3 at Prokhorovka, the grave of a young woman.[17] The cup was made in the Persian–Macedonian style, and could have been brought to Central Asia by Alexander or Seleucus I (*EAKSU* I, 18). This artefact belongs to the Macedonian type of Achaemenid vessels.[18] Currently over 30 such cups are known, mainly from Macedonia (Vergina, Derveni etc.) and the North Pontic region, e.g. from Karagodeuashkh (the Taman Peninsula, Russia). Treister claims that the Prokhorovka cup, which weighs 329 g, is heavier than most vessels of this type, and that its weight corresponds to the weight of 100 sigloi minted in compliance with the alleged Persian-Seleucid system of weights and measures.[19] According to Treister, its technical features and iconography suggest that it was made in the late 4th, or the first half of the 3rd century BC in Asia Minor or Syria. In my opinion we cannot rule out Iran as its provenance.

The peoples of the SUR enjoyed a wide spectrum of relations with the Achaemenids. Apart from trade, they must also have established diplomatic relations, if an alabastron bearing an inscription with the name a king of Persia (Artaxerxes I) has been found in the region.[20]

## The phialae from kurgan 1 at Prokhorovka

In 1911 two phialae with Aramaic inscriptions were discovered in kurgan No. 1 at Prokhorovka. One is in Orenburg Museum in Russia, and the other at Almaty, Kazakhstan. A. Balakhvantsev has dedicated a special epigraphic study to them.[21] The inscriptions are short, and one of them, Prokhorovka 1, comprises the name of the vessel's owner, Ātarmihr. It is hard to date such laconic inscriptions, which makes it all the more imperative to date the burial and the time when

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[16] Olbrycht 2004.

[17] Treister in *EAKSU* I, 103–105, pl. I.8–10.

[18] Pfrommer 1987, 56–61, 234–236.

[19] Cf. Guzzo 2003, 78–79.

[20] Balakhvantsev, in *EAKSU* I, 250–252.

[21] *EAKSU* I, 250–258.

the vessels were made. A new discussion on the Prokhorovka phialae started in the late 1990s thanks to the Russian archaeologist V. Zuev, who stated that Prokhorovka kurgan No. 1 was a 1st century BC monument. He examined the phialae and determined that they were made in the 4th – 3rd century BC, but not deposited in the grave until the 1st century BC at the earliest.[22] The distinguished scholar of Iranian culture and languages, V.A. Livshits, concluded that the inscriptions were made between the turn of the 2nd and 1st century BC and the 1st century AD, and that they are in Parthian.[23] His fairly late dating seems to have been suggested by Zuev's archaeological arguments. L. Yablonsky carried out a new analysis of the artefacts from Prokhorovka kurgan No. 1, arriving at a conclusion that it was constructed between the late 4th century BC and the 3rd century BC. Therefore the inscriptions must have been made by the 3rd century at the latest.

V.I. Mordvintseva has drawn attention to the apertures in the phialae, and has stated that they must have been used as phalerae, metal disks which were part of a horse harness.[24] If her conjecture is right, it would mean a considerable lapse of time between the time the phialae were made and the time of their interment.

Balakhvantsev and Yablonsky (*EAKSU* I, 18, n. 54), and Treister concluded that one of the phialae was made in the first half of the 5th century BC, and the second in the second half of the 4th century BC, and that they were interred in the 3rd century BC. According to Balakhvantsev (*EAKSU* I, 252–258), the Almaty phiale was probably made in Iran, perhaps in Media, in the second half of the 4th or in the 3rd century BC. The inscription on it comes from that time. It seems that Balakhvantsev was trying to synchronise it with the Naqsh-e Rostam Aramaic inscription, which was made ca. 300 BC.[25] The Orenburg phiale is harder to date. Balakhvantsev's conclusion is that it is not later than the mid–3rd century BC. His epigraphic arguments dating these inscriptions to the late 4th or 3rd century BC seem fairly convincing. They are bolstered by the archaeological argument, i.e. the dating of kurgan No. 1 to the 3rd century BC at the latest, as estimated by Yablonsky in a comprehensive analysis.[26] The discovery of similar vessels at Isakovka near Omsk is a relevant factor for the dating (and determination of the function) of the Prokhorovka phialae.

An important factor for the assessment of the relations of the Central Asian nomads with the territories of Chorasmia and Iran are the finds from Isakovka

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[22] Livshits, Zuev 2004, 11.
[23] Livshits 2001 and 2004.
[24] Mordvintseva 1996, 155–160.
[25] On the Naqsh-e Rostam inscription, see Olbrycht 2013a, 176.
[26] Yablonskiy 2012, 72–75 dates the kurgan between at the end of the 4th century and the end of the 3rd century BC. This implies that the inscriptions on the phialae are not later than from the 3rd century BC.

near Omsk (Western Siberia). In 1989 the Omsk State University archaeological expedition led by L.I. Pogodin carried out excavations at the Isakovka Burial-ground No. 1. In Burial No. 6 (Burial-mound 3) L.I. Pogodin found three silver bowls with inscriptions. Burial 6 was a royal tomb and contained, i.a., gold belt plaques with scenes of camels fighting a snake, iron scale armour, an iron spear, the remains of a bow and quiver, and a number of other items. The Omsk archaeologist Matīushchenko dated the burial at the 3rd – 1st century BC.[27] Two of the excavated bowls bore Choresmian inscriptions, and the third a Parthian inscription. The items of the burial remain unpublished but in my opinion the existing descriptions[28] allow a dating of the burial to the late 2nd and 1st centuries BC.

These Choresmian inscriptions are the earliest of all the known texts written in Choresmian. They date from the second half of the 3rd or 2nd century BC. The shape of the letters in these inscriptions is still very similar to the Aramaic letters of the Achaemenid period (imperial Aramaic), and there are many Aramaic ideograms.[29]

The first inscription reads:

*št ZNH wtykny MN βrz'wny tḥwmkn (*or *tswmkn) WKN 'ḤRY MR'Y MLK' 'mwrzm BR MLK'wrdn mzd'ḥy 'BDw QPD (*or *QPR) GYN III prwrtyn*

"This festive bowl is from Barzawan, son of Takhumak (or Tasumak). And now then: His Majesty, King Amuržam, son of the King Warδān, (this bowl) has been made for his reward . . . on the third (of the month of) Frawartīn."

The second inscription has been deciphered only partially and contains the following phrase

*wtsk ZNH 'QT (*or *RQT, DQT) KZT 'mwβxš ZZ B 1 x 100(+) 20 SRM (*S'M, SDM) LMR'Y wrδk mzd'ḥy WR (*or *WD) LYD rwmn (*δwmn*?) *tyry PZQQ(*?)*TYN*

"This bowl . . . of weight (?) 120 staters . . . to the sovereign Wardak – a reward for him . . . Through Ruman(?) Tīr. . . ."

Livshits seems to be suggesting that the inscriptions are from the late 3rd to the 2nd century BC.[30] In the Isakovka 1 inscription we have a king Wardan (Choresmian Warδān, Parthian Wardān), son of king Amuržam, while in the Isakovka 2 inscription we have the name of a ruler Wardak (wrδk / Warδak). Warδak is a suffixal variant of Warδān from the Isakovka inscription 1.[31] The Warδān/Wardan in these Choresmian inscriptions was probably the ruler of Chorasmia.

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[27] Matīushchenko, Tamaurova 1997, 61.
[28] Koryakova, Epimakhov 2007, 303–308.
[29] Livshits 2003.
[30] Livshits 2003.
[31] Livshits 2003, 164.

The name Wardan (Wardān) occurs in the Arsacid dynasty. It was the name of an Arsacid king who ruled in 39–46 AD. It was fairly familiar in Armenia; in the 5th century AD it was the name of Prince Wardan (Wardān) Mamikonian. It also occurs in the onomastics of Sogd.[32] King Wardan of Parthia owed his name to Arsacid family connections with the royal house of Chorasmia. King Artabanos I of Parthia (8/9–39 AD), Wardan's father, pursued an active policy on Chorasmia, and we cannot rule out that he married a Chorasmian princess and had a son, Wardan, by her.[33]

There is an analogy to the Choresmian inscriptions from Isakovka in the inscription from Burly-kala in the Sultanuizdag Mountains. It was cut on a camel's jaw and entails a list of personal names.[34] The inscription dates to the second half of the 3rd century BC or 2nd century BC, and demonstrates that Choresmians used Younger Avestan names like Asnīwarnik and Haθyamak. This in turn shows that Zoroastrianism was well-established in Chorasmia, and reached neighbouring peoples, such as the Dahae, who had been living on the peripheries of Chorasmia for hundreds of years. Thus Zoroastrian influences from Chorasmia on burial customs in the Uzboi area come as no surprise. We cannot rule out that the Choresmians considered themselves kinsfolk of the Dahae, sharing common roots. V.A. Livshits actually claims that the Choresmians traced their origins back to the Dahae.[35] The Bury-kala list of names includes *Δahakīnak* (*δḥ'kynk*), 'Dahian sword.'[36]

The Parthian inscription on the third bowl (Isakovka 3) gives only the weight: "5 karshes, 2 staters, 1 drachm." The letters were worked in dots (pointillé technique) and the inscription is closely analogous to the inscriptions on a bowl from the village of Prokhorovka (Prokhorovka inscription no. 2) published by M.I. Rostovtzeff and P.K. Kokovtsov, and on the gold bowl in the Hermitage Museum. The bowl was published by K. Trever and dated to the late 2nd century BC.[37]

The Prokhorovka and Isakovka finds show that the luxury vessels discovered in the kurgans were prestigious gifts sent to the nomads in the course of the 3rd and 2nd century BC by the rulers of Chorasmia and from Iran, including perhaps also from Parthia. The relations of both these countries with the nomads of the SUR and the Omsk area must have been very strong.

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[32] For Wardan / Wardān as an Iranian name, see Livshits 2010, no. 657. Wardān in Armenia: Justi 1895, 351–353.

[33] Olbrycht 2013, 79–80.

[34] Livshits 2003, 153–154.

[35] Livshits 2003, 169.

[36] Livshits, Mambetullaev 1986; Livshits 2010, no. 179. :

[37] Trever 1940, 67–68. Livshits 2003, 167 believes the Prokhorovka 2 inscription is later than the Isakovka 3 inscription.

## Trade Routes

There were trade routes connecting the SUR with neighbouring political and economic centres, including Iran.[38] A reconstruction of their course and catchment area will help us identify the vectors of political dependence and the economic relations the peoples of the region had in the Achaemenid and post-Achaemenid period. SUR nomads could well have been exporters of gold. Herodotus (4.13 and 4.27) writes of gold in this region. Archaeologists have discovered SUR sites where gold was extracted.[39] Stone weights perhaps used for weighing gold have been discovered in kurgan 29/2008 at Filippovka.[40]

The assortment of goods the nomads exported should be augmented with fur and hide obtained from the animals in the forest zone, which the authors of the *EAKSU* have omitted. We know that fur was a sought-after and profitable commodity in Iran under the Arsacids, and subsequently in Sasanian times.[41] Moreover, the SUR nomads supplied excellent mercenary soldiers, and the Achaemenids seem to have availed themselves readily of this resource. M. Treister is right to observe that there was a substantial presence of mercenary Sakas serving in the Achaemenid empire.[42]

The trading routes can be established on the basis of ceramic finds. The conclusions S. Bolelov draws from his research on this issue are invaluable, as he is an eminent connoisseur of ceramics, especially from Chorasmia and Bactria. Pottery came to the SUR from Chorasmia, the Lower Syrdarya Basin (the Chirikrabat Culture), and perhaps also from Parthian Iran and Caucasia. Over half of the utensils discovered in the kurgans were used for transportation; the packaging was usually ceramic.[43]

The key area in the Trans-Caspian – Aral region for the supervision of trade routes was the Ustyurt Plateau, which was a transit area used by nomads crossing from their winter habitats to their summer camps. In the Ustyurt there was a kurgan culture from the late 5th to the 2nd century BC. Their graves contain early Sarmatian and Chorasmian pottery, showing that the region was in touch with neighbouring areas.[44] A passage from Chorasmia to the SUR and the Lower Volga region led across the Ustyurt, and it continued in use from Antiquity right until the 19th century. In the Islamic period the shahs of Chorasmia built caravan-

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[38] Bolelov in *EAKSU* I, 238–249.

[39] *EAKSU* I, 314.

[40] *EAKSU* I, 322f.

[41] See Olbrycht 2001.

[42] Treister in *EAKSU* I, 321.

[43] Bolelov, in *EAKSU* I, 247.

[44] Ĭagodin 1978; Ĭagodin 1990, 79–80.

serais and wells there.[45] A frequently traversed trading route led along the eastern slopes of the Ustyurt to the Emba and Ilek Rivers. A silver vessel with a Choresmian tamga has been discovered in the Trans-Ural region, evidence of contacts with places as far away as Siberia.[46] Large amounts of Choresmian pottery have been found in the southern Trans-Ural region.[47]

There was a route from the Lower Syrdarya region along the shore of the Aral Sea to the SUR. Another route led from the Lower Syrdarya basin to Chorasmia over the well-watered lands east of the Aral. S. Bolelov suggests that the trading routes in the Oxos basin and the Aral area could not have been used intensely until Chorasmia became independent of the Achaemenids, which happened in the late 5th century BC.[48] But Achaemenid rule does not seem to have been an obstacle to Choresmian trade with the steppe peoples.

The key aspect to be taken into account for an assessment of the SUR's economic and cultural relations is the waterway via the Caspian Sea out across the Caucasus and Caucasian Albania to the River Uzboy and in to Parthia and Chorasmia. We need to know how that route operated, as many researchers deny its very existence. The new archaeological discoveries seem to have dispelled the misgivings over the use of the Uzboy in Antiquity.[49] The name 'Uzboy' does not appear in Yablonsky and Treister's publication, which is an unfortunate shortcoming. It has to be stressed that the water provided by the Uzboy encouraged nomads to set up their camps, and even to build permanent settlements and places of worship (sanctuaries) on the territories between the Ustyurt and Khorasan.

One of the artefacts discovered at Dev Kesken 4 on the Ustyurt is a double-handled clay flask.[50] Utensils of this type were common in Media Atropatene.[51] The Dev Kesken 4 flask is evidence of connections between the Ustyurt and Chorasmia via the sea route and the Uzboy. Another point worthy of notice are the relations of the SUR with Dahistan. A jug discovered at Iakovlevka in the SUR, representing a type characteristic for Dahistan, indicates the existence of trade relations.[52]

A high-necked jug with handles decorated with spherical appliqué has been discovered in a grave at the Zaplavnoe burial-ground in the Lower Volga region.[53] Vessels of this type are not known for Chorasmia, but they do occur in

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[45] Bolelov in *EAKSU* I, 249

[46] Sal'nikov 1952, 193–6.

[47] Mazhitov, Pshenichnīuk 1977, 55.

[48] Bolelov, in *EAKSU*, 249.

[49] Olbrycht 1998a; 2010a.

[50] Ĭagodin 1990, 54–55.

[51] Koshelenko 1985, 176, pl. LXII; Bolelov in *EAKSU* I, 248.

[52] Bolelov in *EAKSU* I, 247–249, Treister in *EAKSU* I, 313). See Ill. II.115.3; Plate II.35.2. Cat, No. 41. The grave is dated to the late 5th – first half of the 4th century BC (Sirotin in *EAKSU* II, 161).

[53] Moshkova 1963, 30, Pl. 12.8.

Parthia and Khorasan.[54] Many have been found in Caucasia, including Albania, and in Atropatene, in 4th–3rd – century BC jar-burials.[55] Vessels of this kind appear to have arrived in the Volga region along the western shore of the Caspian Sea, but they also accompanied other goods reaching the Trans-Caspian – Aral region. Chorasmia evidently had strong links with the SUR.[56] Pottery from Chorasmia has been found in several graves in the SUR, at Berdyanka-V, Starye Kiishki, and Bishungarovo.[57]

## The nomads of the South Ural region

The burial sites in the SUR dating from the Achaemenid period are ascribed to 3 chronological phases. The phases are as follows:[58]
– The Sauromatian phase (pre-Filippovka phase) (Pyatimary; some of the Pokrovka kurgans);
– The Filippovka phase (the Filippovka-I kurgans);
– The Prokhorovka phase (or post-Filippovka phase); basically post-Achaemenid burials (the Prokhorovka and Berdyanka-V kurgans).[59]

The Sauromatian phase covers the period from the late 6th to the third quarter of the 5th century BC. In this phase imports from the Achaemenid empire entail multi-coloured glass vessels, jewellery, and Egyptian faience. There are only a few large metal artefacts. One of the particularly noteworthy finds is a chalcedon seal, from a grave at Dolinnoe. It probably came from Anatolia and has been dated as not later that the beginning of the 5th century BC. Other artefacts from the Dolinnoe burial site include a rhyton and a metal necklace, probably made in Anatolia. For this phase we have Choresmian pottery in the SUR, which suggests that the Anatolian items might have reached the SUR via Chorasmia.[60]

In the Filippovka phase a large quantity of metal artefacts came into the SUR. They include items denoting prestige such as weapons, products made of precious metals, ornaments, furniture, and a horse harness. A noteworthy item is an Artaxerxes I alabastron from a Novyi Kumak kurgan. Many of these objects were in use for a considerable length of time before they were interred. Pottery from Central Asia, including Chorasmia, is fairly rare for this phase.

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[54] Koshelenko 1985, 367, Pl. 79.

[55] Koshelenko 1985, 118, Pl. 4. Bolelov in *EAKSU* I, 248–249.

[56] Cf. Treister in *EAKSU* I, 313; Bolelov in *EAKSU* I, 247–249; Ĭagodin 2010, 53–58, ill. 1–2. 9.

[57] Treister in *EAKSU* I, 307.

[58] Treister in *EAKSU* I, 301–318 gives a full discussion of the problem.

[59] Chronology: Treister in *EAKSU* I, 303–304.

[60] As Treister claims (*EAKSU* I, 307).

The Filippovka I burial ground has been dated to the period from the close of the 5th century to the third quarter of the 4th century BC.

Artefacts made in the granulation technique and cloisonné ornaments have been retrieved from the Filippovka kurgans. These items might have been made in Bactria, presumably on commission for the nomads.[61]

Items signifying their owner's prestige make up a special category for this phase. Most of them come from two Filippovka kurgans, No. 1/1987–1988, and No. 4/2006.[62] Kurgan 1 Filippovka 1987/8 contained 4 cloisonné plaques with the image of a male figure on a crescent moon. In Treister's opinion this is Ahuramazda. Similar plaques have been found in the collective burial in kurgan 15/2005. The plaques were damaged; perhaps they came from war spoils and were buried in a dignitary's grave. However, it is not very likely for there to be an association of the man on a half-crescent with Ahuramazda.

An Achaemenid-style necklace and two armbands were found in grave 4 of kurgan 4/2006 at Filippovka. There were Achaemenid-style plaques on the deceased woman's robes. The man interred in the same grave did not have Achaemenid-style ornaments, but there was an Achaemenid silver amphora next to his head. Treister suggests that the interred woman might have been an Achaemenid princess who had married a Saka ruler.[63]

Most of the items signifying prestige which the nomads of the SUR acquired through their diplomatic relations with the Persians come from Filippovka burials. The authors of the *EAKSU* are right to associate these artefacts with the 'Sakas' and their military service for the Persians. Herodotus and other sources did not make a fine distinction as to which Sakas they meant when they wrote of the nomads of Asia, but this must have included nomads from the SUR.[64] Quite a long time ago already Saveleva and Smirnov argued that a set of arrowheads from the Treasury of Persepolis belonged to a type known in the SUR in the 5th century BC.[65]

We have data indicating that the SUR nomads had local workshops producing ornaments. Perhaps an appliqué ornament in the shape of a lion from a robe in grave 5 of kurgan 4/2006 at Filippovka was produced in a local workshop as an imitation of an Achaemenid model.[66] However, we cannot rule out that such appliqué items were made in Chorasmia.

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[61] Treister in *EAKSU* I, 312. Cf. *EAKSU* I, 169–170.

[62] Treister in *EAKSU* I, 314.

[63] Treister in *EAKSU* I, 315.

[64] Treister, Yablonsky in *EAKSU* I, 321.

[65] Savel'eva, Smirnov 1972, 122. Treister and Yablonsky (*EAKSU* I, 322) corroborate their claim, associating this find with the nomads of the SUR.

[66] Treister in *EAKSU* I, 312.

The Prokhorovka phase lasted from the close of 4th century BC to the late 3rd century BC.[67] Most of the imported items of prestige come from two of the Prokhorovka graves, and they include three silver vessels, two of which were probably made in the Eastern Mediterranean or Alexandria.[68]

Grave No. 3 of kurgan B/2003 at Prokhorovka contained a silver cup, an onyx alabastron, and a gold ear-ring, as well as a clay jug, presumably from the Northern Caucasus.[69] The alabastron originated either from Egypt or from an Anatolian workshop.[70]

The SUR nomads used scale armour with iron and horn lamellae, spears that were over 3 m long, swords, and daggers. Treister and Yablonsky write of a cataphract type of cavalry, but I do not consider this an appropriate term for the context.[71]

Treister devoted a substantial amount of attention to weapons of the Achaemenid type.[72] The head of a club from Pyatimary-I he writes of most probably came from Iran. A gold ornament for a quiver or belt was an embellishment for a ceremonial weapon. Treister makes a surprising claim that the gold ornaments in the shape of griffons and wings discovered at Filippovka originated from Thrace in the Balkans.[73]

Tests to identify the isotopic composition of five silver items brought invaluable results.[74] They showed that four of the artefacts were made of silver from Western Asia (Asia Minor or Iran), while the fifth object was made of Mongolian or Chinese silver. Analogous tests conducted for gold on some of the artefacts showed that they were made of ore either from local deposits or from the East Ural area.[75]

## The Massagetae, the Dahae, and the Choresmians

Three peoples who inhabited the Trans-Caspian – Aral region, i.e. the territories between North-Eastern Iran and the SUR, are mentioned in ancient sources: the Dahae, the Massagetae (and their sub-division known as the Apasia-

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[67] See Yablonsky, Balakhvantsev in *EAKSU* I, 32–34.

[68] Treister, in *EAKSU* I, 306.

[69] *EAKSU* I, colour plate II.17.1; illustration II.49.

[70] Treister in *EAKSU* I, 307.

[71] Treister and Yablonsky in *EAKSU* I, 321.

[72] Treister in *EAKSU* I, 137–142.

[73] Treister in *EAKSU* I, 141.

[74] A. Chugaev, I. Chernyshev in *EAKSU* I, 271–279.

[75] A. Chugaev, I. Chernyshev in *EAKSU* I, 265.

cae), and the Choresmians. These were the peoples associated with the early history of the Arsacids. The Dahae and the Massagetae were closely connected with the SUR region. The Sarmatian tribes of the SUR were apparently closely akin to the peoples of the Trans-Caspian – Aral region. Yablonsky and Treister's publication offers a new, broader insight into the role these peoples played, opening up new prospects for research and historical and archaeological reconstruction.

The origins of the Dahae of the steppes, who were the ancestors of the Arsacids, are still not very clear. Their early history is fragmentary. We know that in the mid–3rd century BC, when Arsaces I was on the throne, the Dahae controlled the steppes of South Turkmenistan between the Caspian Sea and the Amudarya Basin. In the Achaemenid period the Dahae are mentioned in written records as neighbouring on the Persian Empire in Central Asia. According to what I have been able to establish, in the late Achaemenid period and under Alexander the Dahae inhabited the lands along the Middle and Lower Syrdarya, and on the shores of the Aral Sea, and they were the neighbours of Chorasmia along the Lower Amudarya. At this time the steppes of Southern Turkmenistan from the Caspian Sea up to the Middle Amudarya were the territory of the Massagetae, who were referred to as the Sakai Tigrakhauda. They were also the dominant people in the Uzboy Valley and on part of the Ustyurt Plateau.[76] The Dahae and Massagetae supported Darius III in his war against Alexander in 331, and later they supported Spitamenes (329–328).[77]

By the turn of the 4th and 3rd century BC the Dahae had migrated from the Syrdarya Basin to the steppes of Southern Turkmenistan, pushing the Massagetae north of the Uzboy. The majority of scholars of early Parthia have not paid much attention to the migration of the steppe peoples. The next stage in the expansion of the Dahae occurred during Arsaces I's attack on Khorasan, ca. 248 BC. For the next centuries the Dahae were associated with the Arsacid state. Some of them changed their lifestyle and settled in Dahistan.

The Dahae were not the only steppe people associated with the foundation of the Arsacid kingdom. When the Arsacids were attacked in Iran by Seleucid forces, the Parthian kings Arsaces I and Arsaces II withdrew into the steppes, and mounted counterattacks with the help of the Massagetean Apasiacae. The Massagetae and their sub-division the Apasiacae played a vital role.[78] In the ancient records Chorasmia is presented as a country with particularly strong links with the Massagetae.

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[76] Olbrycht 1996, 156.
[77] Olbrycht 2004.
[78] Arsaces and the Apasiacae: Strab. 11.8.8.

## General conclusions

North of the Achaemenid empire there were several important political centres, Bosporos, Kolchis, and the Pazyryk Culture in the Altai Mountains, which came under a strong cultural impact from the empire. Another geographical entity which should be added to this list is the South Ural region (= SUR).

The SUR's fairly intense relations with Achaemenid Iran were examined on the basis of a series of discoveries, made either fortuitously, or in the course of regular archaeological excavation projects carried out from the 1910s to the 1970s. Since the late 1980s new discoveries have brought a welter of artefacts which show the relations between the SUR and the Achaemenids.

In the SUR there was no continuity of settlement in the long time between the period when it was inhabited by Bronze Age peoples and the nomads who appeared in the 6th century BC. The SUR's nomadic culture in the 5th – 2nd century BC was the result of the migration of peoples from the Chelabinsk area in the Trans-Ural region (*EAKSU* I, 320). The centre of nomadic habitation was in the Ilek Valley, where all the main burial sites were located, including the royal barrows at Kyryk-Oba-II, Lebedevka (Kazakhstan), Pyatimary, Pokrovka (kurgan 2/1911) and Filippovka-I. The migration probably occurred in two phases, first the Sauromatian phase, and later the Filippovka phase (*EAKSU* I, 320).

The situation in the steppes of the SUR changed in the late 4th century BC. The royal barrows disappeared. The Prokhorovka kurgans and Pokrovka–1, 7, 8, and 10 belong to this phase. In the opinion of Treister and Yablonsky (*EAKSU* I, 321), there were no changes in the population of the SUR culture at this time, but significant social changes did take place. Some of the SUR nomads left for Central Asia and the Volga area.[79] In my opinion this migration should be seen in the light of the unrest caused by Alexander's conquests and later by the operations conducted by the Seleucids against the peoples of the steppes, over an expanse stretching as far as the Syrdarya Basin.

A hypothesis put forward by Tairov says that in the third quarter of the 5th century BC some elite groups of the nomads of East Turkestan moved into the SUR.[80] Treister and Yablonsky accept this theory (*EAKSU* I, 322) and use it to explain the influx of Achaemenid imports into the SUR. But the hypothesis is not convincing; first, exactly from where were these nomads supposed to have come? And secondly, if from East Turkestan, that region was not under Achaemenid rule. Thirdly, the imports from Iran found in SUR burials were the outcome of the direct relations of the local 'Sarmatian' peoples with the Achaemenids.

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[79] See also Skripkin 1990, 192–193.
[80] Tairov 2000, 322.

On the whole, however, Treister and Yablonsky's publication is a major achievement in scholarship. It contains an enormous amount of new material which will provide food for vigorous academic discussion. An essential supplement is provided by *Unbekanntes Kasachstan*, and by Yablonsky's volume on Prokhorovka.[81] The research conducted in the SUR over the past thirty years has yielded an astonishing number of artefacts defined as imports from Iran and Central Asia, or as imitations of luxury goods.

The new material from the SUR helps to arrive at a better determination of the origins of the Arsacid state. We now have a better knowledge of how strong the Achaemenid relations were with the SUR and the Caspian and Aral region. Alexander carefully observed the developments in the Caspian and Aral region, the location of Spitamenes and his allies, the most powerful of whom were the Dahae and the Massagetae. Ultimately Alexander vanquished Spitamenes by making a pact with Chorasmia and applying military pressure, but he reached a compromise agreement with the Dahae and Massagetae. Presumably emissaries from the SUR were among the embassies sent to Alexander in 329–328. The course of Alexander's military and diplomatic operations in the Caspian and Aral region, from Parthia north right up to Chorasmia, show that he was well aware of what was necessary from the strategic point of view. Anyone who wanted to secure North-Eastern Iran had to enter an agreement with the nomads and with Chorasmia, and had to control the Uzboy route. If we take this circumstances into account we will appreciate the intensity of Seleucos I's policy on the Caspian and Aral region and Transoxiana, including Demodamas' and Patrokles' campaigns. The aggressive operations pursued by Alexander and the Seleucids in the border zone with the steppes triggered the migration, including the displacement of the Dahae into South Turkmenistan. The Seleucids were not able to defend their borderland of Khorasan, and the Dahae and Arsaces took advantage of this. The discoveries from the SUR and Isakovka show that in the 3rd century BC Chorasmia and Parthia maintained intense relations with the nomads in the north, who served as a support underpinning the first Arsacids. Later the Arsacids erected the Igdy-Kala fortress to ensure that they had the control of the Uzboy Basin.

Both the Dahae and the Massagetae had intimate cultural links with the tribes of the SUR. This is true especially of the Dahae. Many aspects of their culture, particularly their burial customs, known from the Uzboy Valley and from South Turkmenistan, were similar to the sepulchral practices in the SUR. The features common to the culture of the Dahae and the Prokhorovka Culture include the striking similarity of the grave goods and the structures of their burial.[82]

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[81] Stöllner, Samašev (Hgg.) 2013; Yablonsky [Iablonskiĭ] 2012.

[82] See Mandel'shtam 1963, 33; Koshelenko (ed.) 1985, 224; Olbrycht 1998a, 18; Tairov 2005, 60.

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# Abstract

This article addresses selected issues concerning the nomads of the South Ural region (= SUR), and their relations with Iran and the lands of the Trans-Caspian and Aral region as well as the Oxos/Amudarya Basin (including Chorasmia), in the Achaemenid and early post-Achaemenid periods. The cultures of the SUR were created by the Sauromatian and Sarmatian tribes belonging to the northern branch of the Iranian speaking peoples. Iran's close political and cultural relations with the steppes stretching from Karakum and the northern marches of Hyrkania to the SUR had

important repercussions for the history of Western and Central Asia, giving rise to the powerful Arsacid state. The Arsacids were descended from the nomadic Dahae, but they also had close connections with the Massagetae, another people inhabiting the Trans-Caspian and Aral region. Historical records on these peoples are sparse, which makes the archaeological material invaluable. A recently published volume by L. Yablonsky and M. Treister entitled *Einflüsse der achämenidischen Kultur im südlichen Uralvorland (5.- 3. Jh. v.Chr.)* (Vienna, 2013) contains an enormous amount of new material which will provide food for vigorous academic discussion on the nomads of the South Ural area and their mutual contacts with the Achemenid Empire, Central Asia, and post-Achemenid states of Western and Central Asia. The research conducted in the SUR over the past thirty years has yielded an astonishing number of artefacts defined as imports from Iran and Central Asia, or as imitations of luxury goods.

# RECEPTION
# AND THE HISTORY
# OF SCHOLARSHIP

**Alexander A. Sinitsyn** (Saint Petersburg / Saratov, Russia)

## AD LXV DIEM NATALIS
## ALEXANDRI PODOSSINOV BASILII F.

“Traue dem leitenden Gott und folge dem schweigenden Weltmeer,
Wär sie noch nicht, sie stieg’ jetzt aus den Fluten empor”

Fr. Schiller, *Kolumbus*.



**Fig. 1. Professor Alexander V. Podossinov.
St Petersburg. December, 2011. Photograph by A. Sinitsyn.**

These lines prefixed as an epigraph by the German poet Schiller to the great Genoese explorer Columbus, may well be applied to the Russian scholar Alexander Podossinov who turned 65 on 10 April 2015 and to whom this tome is dedicated: classical philologist, researcher of the history and culture of the Ancient World, explorer, translator, expert in ancient geography and cartography, and adept in all the ancient cultures of Eurasia.

Alexander Vasil'evich Podossinov was born in the middle of the last century in the small old Russian town of Vereia near Moscow. After leaving school in 1967, he won admission to the Department of Philology at Moscow State University where he took his degree in classics. His professors were N. A. Fiodorov, A. N. Popov, A. A. Takho-Godi, and other illustrious Soviet classical scholars. Upon graduation in 1972, Alexander Podossinov was offered a position at the Institute of History of the USSR at the Academy of Sciences of the USSR to work in the Department of History of the Ancient States on the Territory of the USSR, which in 1997 was made part of the Institute of World History in the Russian Academy of Sciences. A. V. Podossinov still works there as Chief Senior Researcher of the Center for Eastern Europe in the Ancient and Medieval World.

Alexander Podossinov regards Vladimir Terent'evich Pashuto, Corresponding Fellow at the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, as his mentor, whom he remembers with gratitude and reverence: "in the early 70s he took us, young as we were, under his wing to work in the department that he had just established". Many of V. T. Pashuto's disciples became renowned scholars. Under V. T. Pashuto's guidance, Alexander Podossinov composed his Ph.D. thesis, *Ovid's works as a source of history of Eastern Europe and Transcaucasia*, and subsequently published as a book, *Ovid and the Black Sea Region: a history of historiographic analysis of the poetic text*,[1] that appeaered in both Russian and German.[2]

In 1998 A. V. Podossinov defended his doctoral thesis on *Space concepts in the archaic cultures of Eurasia (orientation by the cardinal points)*, and published as a book in the following year as *Ex oriente lux. Orientation by the cardinal points in the ancient cultures of Eurasia*[3] and was met with wide acclaim by numerous scholars in a variety of fields.

In research, Alexander Podossinov skillfully combines the ideas and methods of philology and history, following the principle of *Altertumswissenschaft*, or classical scholarship. A. V. Podossinov is the author of the multi-voluminous *Lingua Latina* textbook (a textbook comprising ten parts, supplemented by a Reader and Russian-Latin and Latin-Russian dictionaries, coauthored with

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[1] Podossinov 1984, 8–178.
[2] Podossinov 1985; Podossinov 1987.
[3] Podossinov 1999a.

N. I. Shchaveleva and others).[4] This textbook on the Latin language won high praise from his colleagues; it is said to be "Latin with a human face". For a quarter of a century the *Magister maximus* himself has used it when teaching at several schools in Moscow:[5] as a way of training children for school competitions ('The Olympiads') in classical languages, and for encouraging students to try their hand at translating ancient authors (some of which have been published).



**Fig. 2. The green years, on an archeological expedition trip. From left to right: A. Podossinov, M. Suslova, I. Demidov, A. Maslennikov. USSR, Krasnodar Kraj, Phanagoria, Summer, 1974.**

The ethnic geography of Eastern Europe and Transcaucasia, geographical concepts in antiquity and the Middle Ages, ancient cartography (including the problems of orientation in the world's descriptions, sea voyages, and reconstructing the routes of ancient seafarers) constitute the primary topics of research that Podossinov has undertaken in his studies of ancient history.[6] In 2000, a collec-

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[4] Podossinov 1990–2004. On classical languages and their study in gymnasiums and universities: Podossinov 1983a; 1991d; Podossinov, van Hooff 1991; Podossinov 1998a; Arzumanīan, Podossinov 2004; 2006.

[5] See, e. g., essays written in various years on *philologus classicus*. A. V. Podossinov, teacher of Latin in Moscow gymnasiums, author of the best Latin textbook ever used in secondary schools and gymnasiums: Līubzhin, 2002; Saltykova, 2010; Lesskis, 2012.

[6] Here is a series of publications: Podossinov 1978; 1979; 1983b; 1989; 1991a; 1991b; 1991c; 1990/1992; 1992; 1993; 1994a; 2000a; 2000b; 2003a; 2003b; 2004; 2005; 2006; 2008; 2010; 2011; 2012a; 2012b; 2013a; 2013b; 2013c; 2015a; 2015c.

tion of his articles on the historical geography of Eastern Europe was published.[7] Of his many publications, I mention just a few: *Eastern Europe in the Roman cartographic tradition. Texts, translations, commentaries*;[8] *Roman Geographical sources: Pomponius Mela and Plinius Maior. Texts, translations and commentaries* (coauthored by M. V. Skrzhinskaīa);[9] a research paper devoted to the orientation by cardinal points, *The Symbols of the Four Evangelists*;[10] long chapters in collective works *Russkaīa reka* (*The Russian River*)[11] and *Imagines mundi*;[12] the recent short monograph *Where did Odysseus sail?*,[13] and an editor of *Early Russia in the light of foreign sources*.[14] In 1995 he pubished a widely popular work on Roman mythology containing stories for children and adolescents that featured an amazing array of illustrations; this book immediately became a classic in its own right and thus has become a rare find. A. V. Podossinov has written over 400 scholarly, popular and educational papers. He has translated into Russian works by Agathemeros, Virgil, Hecataeus of Abdera, Ovid, Pomponius Mela, Silius Italicus, Statius, Cicero and many other Greek and Roman authors.

In June–August 2000, a group of historians and classical philologists from Russia took part in the *European Cultural Centre of Delphi* program (ECCD). A. V. Podossinov acted as a visiting professor and delivered a series of lectures on ancient geography and cartography, κατά and ἄνω, and *sub* and *super*. For those of us who attended this academic event, it was an unforgettable three-week experience. Alexander Podossinov established such close ties with his Greek counterparts that he would frequently bring the winners of Academic Competitions in Classical Languages and Ancient History, held for students from Russian gymnasiums and lyceums, to Hellas to enter Greek Language competitions.

I remember a fortnight when I stayed alone in A. V. Podossinov's Moscow flat in July 1999. In those days the Podossinovs used to spend their summers in a small rented house in Peredelkino, where Alexander spent much of his time with his family. During one such weekend during my "Moscow holiday" I visited them at Peredelkino. A. V. Podossinov met me at the railway platform and showed me around the dacha settlement and the local cemetery. We visited the Korneī Chu-

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[7] Podossinov 2000c.

[8] Podossinov 2002.

[9] Podossinov Skrzhinskaīa, 2011.

[10] Podossinov 2000d.

[11] Dzhakson, Kalinina, Konovalova, Podossinov 2007 (A. V. Podossinov's chapter is entitled: 'Hydrography of Eastern Europe in the Ancient and Medieval geocartography': Podossinov 2007, 14–97).

[12] Dzhakson, Konovalova, Podossinov 2013 (here A. V. Podossinov's contribution is 'How the ancient man oriented himself in geographical space', pp. 15–129).

[13] Podossinov 2015b.

[14] Podossinov 1999b; Drevnīaīa Rus' 2009.

kovskiī Museum (the curator turned out to be an old friend of the Podossinovs), the poet Andrei Voznessenskiī's dacha, the museum-house of Boris Pasternak and that of the bard Bulat Okudzhava. In the evening we had a feast. In the garden outside the house that the Podossinovs rented we sang songs and talked all through the night. Alexander – half jesting, half serious – spoke of his plans: "I intend to write seven more books". That was a decade and a half ago. Since then many more books have been brought to light. A. V. Podossinov has recently completed, *Scythia: a history of the geographic image* (together with T. N. Dzhakson and I. G. Konovalova).[15] We await its publication. And may he write many more!



**Fig. 3. Alexander Podossinov with his wife, Irina, in Munich, Germany, mid–2000s. Photograph by H. J. Schmitd.**

At various times in his life A. V. Podossinov was received fellowships to work in Australia, England, Germany and Switzerland. He is a follower of the European – largely, German – tradition of studying antiquity. In the early1980s, Alexander Podossinov won a scholarship granted by the Alexander von Humboldt Foundation (*Alexander von Humboldt Stiftung*): in pursuance of Columbus' behest from Friedrich Schiller's *Kolumbus*: "Immer, immer nach West! Dort muß die Küste sich zeigen". Deeply in love with German history, culture and

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[15] A. V. Podossinov's works on Scythians and Scythia: Podossinov 1977; 1984; 1985a; 1987; 1994b; 2013d; 2014a; 2014b.

*deutscher Geist*, for three decades and a half, Alexander Podossinov has sported ab lack tie with thin green stripes of the *Humboldtianer* (though he wears it only on very special occasions).

Since 2002 A. V. Podossinov has been a professor at the Center for Antique Studies at the Institute of Oriental Cultures and Antiquity (Russian State University of Humanities). Since 2008 he has been the Chair of Ancient Languages at the Department of History (Moscow State University). It is amazing how A. V. Podossinov manages to combine his academic work at the Institute of World History (Russian Academy of Sciences) and at several other universities with his teaching at secondary schools. Apart from lecturing, A. V. Podossinov is engaged in the preparation of periodic scholarly editions. He is the editor-in-chief of a budding (since 2010), yet already well-known, journal *Aristeas. Journal of Classical Philology and Ancient History*, the editor of several issues of the yearbook *Ancient States of Eastern Europe*,[16] the editor of a collection of papers dedicated to geographical and historical problems of the ancient world entitled, *The Periphery of the Classical World in Ancient Geography and Cartography*,[17] and has edited a series of departmental collections of papers.[18] A. V. Podossinov is a member of many editorial boards of national and foreign journals and academic editions, the coordinator of the Russian Association of Teachers of Ancient Languages, a member of the Bureau of the Russian Associations of Classical Scholars. This does not exhaust the academic record of his engagements.

Buoyant, energetic and always cheerful, A. V. Podossinov is a born traveler. He is a regular participant at conferences on classical philology and ancient history, the history of ancient and medieval geography and cartography which are held in various centers for studies of Antiquity; he has travelled half the world delivering lectures at universities in Australia, Bulgaria, Canada, England, France, Germany, Greece, Holland, Italy, Japan, Norway, Poland, Turkey, Sweden and many others. In 2010, his friends and colleagues contributed their articles to a *Festschrift* bearing the festal and lively title *Gaudeamus igitur*.[19]

According to western "university standards", the mid-sixties is supposed to be the age when a professor becomes an *emeritus*, at which time he is legally bound to end his teaching, to be relieved of his services, and is expected to retire. Yet, the status of emeritus can hardly be applied to someone like Podossinov. And anyone who knows Alexander – at work, at home or at conferences – will subscribe to this view. Even now, at his supposed retirement age he holds six different positions, and as usual he remains inspiring and personable.

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[16] See Podossinov 1999c; Podossinov, Gabelko 2014.

[17] Podossinov 2014c and here: Podossinov 2014d.

[18] Collections of research papers written at the Department of Ancient Languages, Faculty of History, Moscow State University (2009 and 2012).

[19] Dzhakson, Konovalova, Tsetskhladze (eds.) 2010.

**Fig. 4. A. Podossinov while visiting Saratov: with Irina, his wife, and A. Sinitsyn
at the war monument to "The Cranes". Photograph by Eugenia Sinitsyna, June 2005.**



**Fig. 5. A. Podossinov in Germany in 2015, aboard a stone elephant.
Munich. Photograph by Dmitriĭ Shcheglov.**

A generous nature, Alexander Podossinov often invites guests to his flat in the south-west of Moscow, adjacent to Bitsevskiī Park. Everyone who has visited his home knows what a fine host he is. His wife, Irina, creates a unique atmosphere; she holds a degree in Russian philology, and is his constant companion and assistant. They have two children – a daughter, Elena, also a philologist, and a son, Sergei, a musician and a sound producer. Amazingly, though always buried in academic research, Alexander finds time for his household; while roaming the world – now with his grandchildren Alexander and Anton – he reads Homer's poems to them.

As far as I know, Podossinov does not write poetry himself, but he loves reading it and often sings in various languages. In the summer of 2000, at Delphi he recited an ode *à la Grecque* which he composed for the occasion of our running the *agon* at the Delphi stadium. He feels keenly about verse, for Alexander is a poet of the Arts. He is also the author of articles on classical themes and images in 19th and 20th century Russian poetry.[20]

It might be more logical to end this essay about the Latin scholar with verses from a classical author, but I chose instead to cite a few lines from Bulat Okudzhava's song, a favorite with A. V. Podossinov, which appears at the end of his *The Symbols of the Four Evangelists*:

> *When at sunset the twilight starts curling around*
> *Let me see them again, them who float past me*
> *The blue bull, the white eagle, and the golden trout,*
> *Otherwise, in this ageless world, why should I be?*

> *ΥΠΕΡ, ΑΝΩ ΚΑΙ ΑΝΩΤΕΡΩ,*
> *ET PLVRIMOS ANNOS, ALEXANDER SVPPOPVLINE!!*

> *The editors of the Journal "ANABASIS" join in congratulating Alexander Podossinov*

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[20] For example, Podossinov 1985b; 1998b; 2003c.

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**Yuri Kuzmin** (Samara, Russland)

## ZUM 70-JÄHRIGEN JUBILÄUM
## VON PROF. DR. ANDREAS MEHL



Am 16. August 2015 feierte unser deutscher Kollege, der weltweit anerkannte Althistoriker Prof. Dr. Andreas Mehl seinen 70. Geburtstag. Geboren 1945 in Tangermünde, begann er 1966 sein Studium an der Universität Gießen, zunächst in

den Fächern Physik und Mathematik. Ein Jahr später traf er jedoch eine andere Entscheidung, die sein Leben völlig veränderte: als Hauptfächer wählte er nun Alte Geschichte und Klassische Philologie. 1972 promovierte Andreas Mehl in Gießen über Kaiser Claudius und seinen Hof in den Werken des Tacitus.[1] Damit startete seine langjährige Karriere an Universitäten wie Gießen, Stuttgart, Darmstadt, Koblenz-Landau, Erlangen-Nürnberg und Halle-Wittenberg.

Seine Werke zur römischen und hellenistischen Geschichte sowie Historiographie[2] leisteten einen großen Beitrag zur Entwicklung der Klassischen Altertumswissenschaften. Besonders sei hier auf seine Habilitationsschrift „*Seleukos Nikator und sein Reich*" verwiesen. Die Habilitation selbst erfolgt 1983 in Stuttgart.[3] Heute widmet er sich unter anderem der Geschichte des alten Zypern.[4]

Von 1992 bis 2011 hatte Andreas Mehl den Lehrstuhl für Alte Geschichte der Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg inne. Seine Tätigkeit trug viel dazu bei, der Universität Halle, an der viele bedeutende Althistoriker wie F. A. Wolf, W. Dittenberger, B. Niese, E. Meyer, E. von Stern und C. Robert gelehrt hatten und die zu den ältesten Zentren der Altertumswissenschaften Deutschlands und Europas gehört, ihre bedeutende Stellung auf diesem Gebiet zurückzuerobern.

Zu seinem 65. Geburtstag veröffentlichten seine Kollegen und Schüler eine Festschrift mit einer bemerkenswerten *Tabula gratulatoria*, deren Länge von der weltweiten Anerkennung der wissenschaftlichen Leistungen des Jubilars zeugt.[5]

Von 2003 bis 2010 leitete Andreas Mehl ein internationales Austauschprojekt, das einer Reihe von russischen Althistorikern die Möglichkeit eröffnete, am Lehrstuhl in Halle und in der Bibliothek des Robertinums an ihren Forschungsprojekten zu arbeiten. Im Jahr 2002 hatte Andreas Mehl bei einer Tagung den russischen Hellenismus-Experten Oleg Gabelko kennengelernt. Kurz danach wurde das Austauschprojekt mit den Kollegen aus Russland ins Leben gerufen. Im darauffolgenden Jahr erhielt Gabelko als erster die Möglichkeit eines Forschungsaufenthaltes in Halle. Damit begann eine neue, sehr produktive Etappe

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[1] Die Dissertation wurde zwei Jahre später als Monographie veröffentlicht: A. Mehl, *Tacitus über Kaiser Claudius. Die Ereignisse am Hof*, München 1974.

[2] A. Mehl, *Römische Geschichtsschreibung: Grundlagen und Entwicklung. Eine Einführung*, Stuttgart 2001 (auch auf Englisch erhältlich: A. Mehl, *Roman Historiography*, Oxford 2011).

[3] A. Mehl, *Seleukos Nikator und sein Reich. I. Seleukos' Leben und die Entwicklung seiner Machtposition*, Leuven 1986.

[4] E. g. A. Mehl, 'Zypern und die großen Mächte im Hellenismus' *Ancient Society* 26, 1995, 93–132; id. 'The Relations between Egypt and Cyprus from Neo-Assyrian to Achaemenid Rule (7th–6th Cent. B.C.)' in D Michaelides, V. Kassianidou, R. S. Merrillees (Hgg.), *Egypt and Cyprus in Antiquity*, Oxford 2009, 60–66; id. 'Zyperns Rolle im Überseehandel mit dem Ägäisraum (5.–4. Jh. v. Chr.)' in A. Slawisch (Hg.), *Handels- und Finanzgebaren in der Ägäis im 5. Jh. v. Chr. / Trade and Finance in the 5th c. BC Aegean World*, Istanbul 2013, 135–153.

[5] T. Brüggemann et al. (Hgg.), *Studia hellenistica et historiographica. Festschrift für Andreas Mehl*, Gutenberg 2010.

der deutsch-russischen Zusammenarbeit im Bereich der Klassischen Altertumswissenschaften.

In den folgenden Jahren lud Andreas Mehl mehrere Althistoriker aus verschiedenen Städten Russlands (Kazan, Moskau, Nizhnij Novgorod, Samara, Sankt Petersburg und Saratow) ein. Viele von ihnen stellten im Rahmen eines Kolloquiums des Seminars für Klassische Altertumswissenschaften unter der freundlichen Leitung von Andreas Mehl ihre Arbeiten im Robertinum vor.

Alle Gastwissenschaftler waren auch privat bei Andreas Mehl und seiner Familie zu Besuch, in einem Haus, das am Stadtrand Berlins malerisch am Wannsee gelegen ist. Ein Kollege erinnert sich an sein Treffen mit Andreas, der in Wirklichkeit kein Russisch kann: „Ich hatte das Gefühl, dass wir uns die ganze Zeit auf Russisch unterhielten."

Auch weitere Initiativen und Aktivitäten von Andreas Mehl trugen zur Entwicklung der wissenschaftlichen Kontakte zwischen deutschen und russischen Althistorikern bei. So fand 2010 ein deutsch-russisches Kolloquium zur Geschichte und Kultur Kleinasiens in der Antike in Halle statt: „Offenheit, Selbstbehauptung und Ausstrahlung. Untersuchungen zur politischen und kulturellen Entwicklung des antiken Kleinasiens".[6] Drei Jahre später gab Andreas Mehl in Zusammenarbeit mit Alexander Makhlayuk und Oleg Gabelko einen Sammelband mit Beiträgen von jungen russischen Wissenschaftlern in englischer Sprache heraus, in dem vor allem diejenigen vertreten waren, die im Rahmen des oben genannten Austauschprojektes in den Jahren 2003–2010 durch kurze Forschungsaufenthalte gefördert worden waren.[7] Der Sammelband bietet unseren ausländischen Kollegen einen repräsentativen Überblick über die Entwicklung und den Stand der Altertumswissenschaften im heutigen Russland, was als wichtigstes Ziel dieses Projektes galt.

Die dank der Aktivitäten von Andreas Mehl entstandenen wissenschaftlichen Kontakte spielen auch heute eine wichtige Rolle im Austausch zwischen russischen Althistorikern und dem Lehrstuhl für Alte Geschichte der Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg.

Wir wünschen Andreas Mehl alles Gute, freuen uns auf seine neuen Publikationen und vielleicht das ein oder andere persönliche Wiedersehen!

Yuri N. Kuzmin
im Auftrag der „Russischen Hallenser"[*]

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[6] Siehe O. Yu. Klimov et al., *Mnemon* 9, Sankt Petersburg 2010, 485–489.

[7] A. Mehl, A. V. Makhlayuk, O. Gabelko (Hgg.), *Ruthenia Classica Aetatis Novae. A Collection of Works by Russian Scholars in Ancient Greek and Roman History*, Stuttgart 2013.

# REVIEWS

**Erich Kettenhofen** (Germany)

## MICHAŁ MARCIAK, *IZATES, HELENA,*
## *AND MONOBAZOS OF ADIABENE.*
## *A STUDY ON LITERARY TRADITIONS AND HISTORY,*
## PHILIPPIKA 66, ISBN 978-3-447-10108-0.
## WIESBADEN: HARRASSOWITZ 2014. 324 S. 62 EURO.

Der junge polnische Gelehrte M. Marciak, der in dieser Zeitschrift bereits wichtige Arbeiten zur historischen Geographie der Landschaften am Tigris vorgelegt hat,[1] hat nun seine in Leiden/NL 2012 eingereichte Dissertation überarbeitet und publiziert, die sich mit ihrem 3. Teil gut einfügt in die bisher publizierten Aufsätze.[2] Mit der Behandlung des Übertritts des adiabenischen Königshauses zum Judentum im 1. Jh. n. Chr. greift er weit aus und leistet zudem einen wichtigen Beitrag zur Geschichte des Judentums, speziell im nördlichen Mesopotamien.

Das Buch ist mit seinen drei Teilen übersichtlich gegliedert; vielen Abschnitten folgt jeweils eine Zusammenfassung. Den weitaus größten Platz beansprucht die sehr gründliche Analyse des bei Josephus in seinen *Antiquitates* (20, 17 – 96) überlieferten Berichts[3] über das adiabenische Königshaus (21– 124: *The Adiabene Narrative as a Skillful Literary Product*). Die Aufdeckung seiner Struktur deckt sich weithin mit derjenigen Schiffmans,[4] dem ich jedoch lieber folgen möchte, wenn er mit 20,24 eine neue bis 20,33 reichende Einheit

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[1] Vgl. Marciak 2011, Marciak 2012a sowie Marciak 2013a.

[2] Es fehlt überraschenderweise in der Bibliographie der für Kap. 10 wichtige Aufsatz Marciak 2013b.

[3] Mit Recht wird die „Adiabene narrative" (107 und öfter) *als the most extensive account from ancient literature on the Adiabene royalty* (15) beschrieben; vgl. auch 27: *a self-contained unit that was inserted by Josephus within the framework of his narrative regarding events at the time of the procurator Fadus.*

[4] Schiffmann 1987, 295–297.

sehen will.[5] Widersprüchlich ist die Zuordnung von 20,74, den Marciak wegen des ‚Markers' μετ᾽ οὐ πολὺν χρόνον als Beginn einer neuen Einheit interpretiert,[6] ohne indes zu berücksichtigen, dass mit der Zeitangabe der Satz nicht eröffnet wird. Die Einheit 20, 69–74 beginnt mit dem Wechsel des Königtums in Parthien von Artabanos zu seinem Sohn Vardanēs, andererseits bildet die Ermordung des Kotardēs (= Gotarzēs) und der Übergang der Herrschaft an dessen Bruder Vologesēs, der wiederum Medien seinem älterem Bruder Pakoros, Armenien seinem jüngeren Bruder Tiridatēs überlässt, einen passenden Abschluss.[7]

Beschreibt Marciak den Abschnitt 20,17–96 als *story about the conversion of* the *Adiabene royal house*,[8] wird man ihm vorbehaltlos zustimmen. Problematischer dürfte seine Ansicht sein, der Abschnitt sei als Biographie des Izates konzipiert.[9] Er kann er sich dabei auf die gewiss weite Definition der Biographie bei A. Momigliano stützen.[10] Aber trifft die Aussage Marciaks zu, die Erzählung sei zielgerichtet auf einen Protagonisten, nämlich Izates,[11] wenn in der Einheit 20, 49–53 Izates' Mutter Helena ins Zentrum rückt[12] oder in 20, 54–68 Josephus das Schicksal des Partherkönigs Artabanos beschreibt?[13] Ich würde eher von Passagen mit einer starken biographischen Tendenz sprechen, denn der Biographie eigentümliche Elemente wie charakteristische Aussprüche der Hauptperson, oder *omina mortis*, wie sie in den Biographien Plutarchs und Suetons so zahlreich zu finden sind, fehlen hier völlig.

In den folgenden vier Kapiteln des 1. Teils behandelt Marciak die seiner Ansicht nach wichtigsten Aspekte[14] des Abschnitts 20,17–96 (2. *From Cradle to Grave: Izates' Birth and Death in Ant. 20: 17–96*, 3. *Izates as a King*, 4. *Izates as a Jew*, 5. *God's Providence and Human Piety in Ant. 20: 17–96* ). Zweifellos ist dieser Abschnitt der *Antiquitates* des Josephus nie eingehender beleuchtet worden als von Marciak, z. T. weit ausholend;[15] ich kann hier nur einige wertvolle Beobachtungen hervorheben.

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[5] Anders Marciak 28 Anm. 22. Sehen wir 20,17 mit Marciak 27 als Einleitung des ganzen Berichts, so lenken beide Einheiten 20,18–23 und 20, 24–33 den Blick zuerst auf Monobazos (I.).

[6] Marciak 33.

[7] Marciak spricht 34 und 111 selbst von der Einheit 20, 75–91.

[8] Marciak 35.

[9] 37 (*All in all, Ant. 20: 17–96 is structured as a biography of Izates*) und öfter.

[10] Momigliano 1971, 11. Vgl. auch Schiffman 1987,297 (*Our account is, in fact, the life of Izates, beginning with his birth and ending with his death*).

[11] Marciak 36. Vgl. auch ebenda: *and all others function merely in the background.*

[12] Vgl. etwa 131: *even in the Adiabene narrative (…) it is Helena who takes the first role in relieving the people of Jerusalem in need and Izates plays only second fiddle to his mother.*

[13] Bemerkenswert das Eingeständnis 64, wir erfahren 'nichts Spezifisches' über *Izates' personality* bis 20,34. Vgl. auch 77, wo Marciak die gesamte Einheit *under the topic of the conversion of Helena und Izates* gestellt sieht (von mir betont) sowie 267.

[14] Vgl. Marciak 267.

[15] So z. B. *Greek and Roman Royal Ideology* (54–59).

Marciak spricht mit Recht von einem kunstvollen literarischen Gebilde (*skillful literary product*),[16] in dem Josephus Motive aus der griechischen und römischen Literatur aufgreift und sie zum Teil stark abwandelt wie in den von Marciak stark herausgehobenen ‚Kindheitsgeschichten'.[17] Josephus ist andererseits zu sehr jüdischer Schriftsteller, um nicht an mehreren Textstellen den göttlichen Schutz, den er Izates gewährt, zu betonen.[18] Es kann nicht überraschen, dass Josephus Izates als ‚Idealkönig' zeichnet, mag dies nun seine Weisheit, Selbstkontrolle, Mut, militärische Tüchtigkeit, Gerechtigkeit, Milde, Bescheidenheit, Wohltätigkeit und, was von Marciak besonders hervorgehoben wird, seine Frömmigkeit sein.[19] Die Standards, die Josephus Izates zuschreibt, sind, wie Marciak richtig gesehen hat, in der jüdischen Tradition verwurzelt wie dem Buch der Weisheit, dem Aristeas-Brief und Philo, die selbst wiederum durch die Begegnung mit hellenistischem Gedankengut geprägt sind.[20] In Kap. 4 fragt Marciak, was das programmatisch in 20,17 den gesamten Abschnitt einleitende μεταβάλλειν τὸν βίον εἰς τὰ Ἰουδαίων ἔθη nach Josephus für Helena und ihren Sohn Izatēs bedeutet hat; er spricht zutreffend von einem längeren Prozess eines *deep change of life*,[21] für den – nicht nur bei Izatēs – die Beschneidung unerlässlich war, jedoch nicht ausreichte, die ‚kulturelle Grenze' zu überschreiten, wenn sie nicht mit der Befolgung aller Gesetze und Ordnungen des jüdischen *ethnos* verbunden war. Es finden sich bei Josephus durchaus positive Würdigungen der ‚Gottesverehrung' (τὸν θεὸν σέβειν),[22] doch darf die *conversio* als höchstes Ideal menschlicher Frömmigkeit (*human piety*) interpretiert werden.[23] Im 5. Kapitel knüpft Marciak an die *human piety* an – in 20,92 wird Izatēs als εὐσεβέστατος παῖς seiner Mutter gepriesen – und stellt ihr die πρόνοια θεοῦ (*God's providence*) gegenüber, die ohne Zweifel Leitgedanken des gesamten Abschnitts 20, 17–96 sind.[24] Für das Leben des Izatēs gilt – in der Sicht des Josephus –  vorbildhaft die Verbindung zwischen seiner Frömmigkeit und Gottes Vorsehung, die ihn vor aller Gefahr errettete, exemplarisch

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[16] Marciak 21. Das ist natürlich auch früher bereits betont worden, wie etwa von Rajak 1998, 321.

[17] *the possible harm done to the baby through his father's hand laid upon Helena's belly* (45, aufgegriffen 50 und 107) wirkt meines Erachtens gekünstelt und sicher dem Bemühen um eine Parallele des 'bedrohten  Kindes' verdankt.

[18] Marciak spricht 47 mit Recht vom *theme of dangers to Izates from which he is always miraculously rescued by God.*

[19] Vgl. Marciak 73. Die Tugenden sind großenteils den Überschriften in 3.3.1–4 entnommen.

[20] Vgl. Marciak 59–64. Die römische Ideologie, wie sie 56–59 gezeichnet wird, ist doch wohl weniger gewichtig.

[21] Marciak 95 in der Zusammenfassung.

[22] Die Existenz einer eigenen Gruppe von ‚Gottesfürchtigen' bestreitet Marciak 88.95–96 wohl zu Recht; sie sind erst in späteren Jahrhunderten in den Quellen deutlich greifbar.

[23] Vgl. 96, Nr. 4–5.

[24] Betont auch in der Zusammenfassung 122.

in 20,48 formuliert;[25] Themen und Fragen, wie sie etwa das biblische Buch Hiob prägen, werden von Josephus allerdings ausgeblendet. In den *Conclusions to Part 1* (117–124) diskutiert Marciak die Frage der Quellenbenutzung der ‚Adiabene-Tradition' in Auseinandersetzung mit A. Schalits Thesen.[26] Marciak bestreitet zwar nicht die Benutzung von Quellen,[27] argumentiert aber sehr vorsichtig und betont zu Recht die kunstvolle Komposition des Schriftstellers Josephus. Es kann nicht überraschen, dass er als Apologet für sein Volk Izatēs als Politiker beschreibt, der römische Interessen vertritt (vgl. 20, 70).

Part 2 (Kap. 6–7) ist *The Adiabene Royalty among their Own People* (125–169) überschrieben. In Kap. 6 wird Helenas Wohltätigkeit (*euergetism*) zunächst nach der Einheit 20, 49–53 wie nach 20, 101 beschrieben. Diese hat sich auch in rabbinischen Quellen niedergeschlagen, doch sind diese historisch schwer auszuwerten, vor allem, wenn der ursprüngliche Kontext der Wohltätigkeit Helenas gar nicht mehr verstanden wurde.[28] Für die Lektüre des Abschnitts sind hebräische und aramäische Sprachkenntnisse wünschenswert.[29] Die Zugehörigkeit des adiabenischen Königshauses zum jüdischen Ethnos bezeugt auch die Notiz des Josephus am Ende der Einheit in 20, 96, dass Monobazos II. die Gebeine seiner Mutter zusammen mit denen seines Bruders bestatten ließ bei den Pyramiden in Jerusalem, drei Stadien (ca. 555 m) von der Stadt entfernt, die Helena hatte erbauen lassen.[30] Die verstreuten Belege zu den Palästen des adiabenischen Herrscherhauses in Jerusalem im ‚Jüdischen Krieg' wie in den *Antiquitates* des Josephus (162–168), vor allem das Problem der Lokalisierung und der möglichen Identifizierung der ‚Drei Pyramiden' (20, 95) mit dem 1863 entdeckten ‚Grab der Könige' (*Le Tombeau des Rois*)[31] werden von Marciak auf der Basis auch neuerer archäologischer Grabungsbefunde eingehend diskutiert, wobei ihm die Autopsie der Objekte sehr nützlich ist. Marciak argumentiert vorsichtig; die

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[25] Die Form des resultativen Aorist διέσωσεν drückt dies sehr gut aus.

[26] Die Arbeiten Schalits sind zitiert in der Bibliographie 301.

[27] Aber nicht einmal der chronologische Rückgriff in 20,34 (*Now during the time when Izates resided at Charax Spasini*; Übersetzung nach L. H. Feldman [zit. 274] 19) fordert zwei unterschiedliche Quellen (vgl. demgegenüber 121); auch dies kann der Darstellungskunst des Josephus zugeschrieben werden. Die Sitten und Gebräuche der Parther werden von einem Außenstehenden für Außenstehende beschrieben; vgl. 122.

[28] Vgl. etwa die 137 zitierte Textstelle aus Gen. Rab. 46:11. Die rabbinische Tradition kennt nur das Haus des Munbaz (מנבז, hebr. für Μονόβαζος), erwähnt jedoch Izatēs an keiner Stelle.

[29] Die 136 zitierte Nifʾal-Form ונמלתם, von מלל, Nebenform von מול, ist im Tolerativ zu übersetzen, nicht aktivisch (*you shall circumcise*): ‚ihr sollt euch beschneiden lassen'. Vgl. HAL II, 527, das die Nifʾal-Form in 1 Mos 17,11 zitiert.

[30] Vgl. 140: *Indeed, building a grand tomb was a well-recognized way of legitimizing one's presence in a social memory.*

[31] Vgl. Figure I und Figure II (322 und 323). Zum Namen vgl. 147 mit Anm. 52. Auch ‚Königsgräber' ist in der modernen Literatur geläufig.

Identifizierung sei möglich, ohne dass jedoch alle Zweifel ausgeräumt seien.[32] Setzt man dies voraus, bleibt immer noch die Frage offen, ob צדן bzw. צדה auf dem in der Grabkammer C gefundenen Sarkophag Nr. 5029 den einheimischen Namen Helenas preisgeben.[33] Der Krughenkel mit der Aufschrift הלנא (Helena) wird 151 mit Recht als äußerst dubios nicht berücksichtigt. Eine Frage wird nur berührt, die Nutzung der Paläste des Herrscherhauses,[34] wenn der Bau eines Palastes ein Akt königlichen Euergetismus' war und einen Platz für den König schaffen sollte inmitten seines Volkes, um seine königlichen Aufgaben zu erfüllen, andererseits der König, wie aus 20, 94 deutlich wird, weiterhin in der Hauptstadt der Adiabene residierte. Möglicherweise waren die Paläste für Angehörige des Königshauses vorgesehen.

Der dritte Teil des Buches (*Cultural and Political Environment of Adiabene from the Third Century BCE to the Third Century CE*, 171 – 266) ist der historischen Geographie und Geschichte der Adiabene gewidmet.[35] Der chronologische Rahmen ist so gegenüber den ersten beiden Teilen weiter gezogen, endet allerdings – meines Erachtens nicht glücklich – im 3. Jh. n. Chr. Zwar wird das Zeugnis des Ammianus Marcellinus aus dem späten 4. Jh. n. Chr. noch berücksichtigt (191–196, zusammen mit dem des Cassius Dio), doch verzichtet Marciak damit auf die Heranziehung der christlichen Literatur, hier vor allem der adiabenischen Märtyrerüberlieferung.[36] Kap. 8 (*Geographical and Ethnographical Texts on Adiabene*, 175–199) ist eine überarbeitete Fassung des 2011 publizierten Aufsatzes in dieser Zeitschrift über die Adiabene,[37] in dem die zum Teil variierenden und dadurch oft für Verwirrung sorgenden[38] antiken Zeugnisse von Strabo (8.1.), Plutarch und Tacitus (8.2.), Plinius dem Älteren (8.3.),[39] Ptolemaios (8.4.) sowie Cassius Dio und Ammianus Marcellinus (8.5.) übersichtlich und mit der nötigen Präzision diskutiert werden. Teilweise liegen ethnographische Werke zugrunde, öfter jedoch historiographische. Wichtige Quellenzeugnis-

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[32] Vgl. 161.

[33] So ohne Zögern Michel/Bauernfeind II/1, 247 Anm. 43 („Damit ist sicherlich die Königin Helena von Adiabene gemeint"). Leider ist kein Photo beigegeben. Bei der Wiedergabe der ersten Zeile ist ך (Schluss-k) durch ן (Schluss-n) zu ersetzen; richtig 155 und 169. Nur מלכתא ist im Jüdisch-wie Christlich-Palästinischen Aramäisch sowie im Syrischen für ‚Königin' belegt; vgl. HAL II, 560b, in Entsprechung zum hebräischen מלכחה.מלכה in Zeile 2 (153) ist mir rätselhaft. Nach Schalit/Gibson 2007, 782 ist auch in der 2. Zeile מלכתא zu lesen, was wohl die korrekte Lesung ist.

[34] Vgl. 166.

[35] Vgl. 173: *what do we know about Adiabene in the Seleucid and Parthian periods?*

[36] Vgl. Sachau 1919, 52–55 (Kirchenprovinz Adiabene) sowie Wiessner 1967, 199–288 (Die syro-persischen Märtyrerakten der Adiabenischen Provinz). Vgl. auch bereits Peeters 1925.

[37] Marciak 2011. Vgl. 175 Anm. 1.

[38] Vgl. nur den Eintrag *Adiabène* östlich von Nisibis bis zum Tigris bei Dillemann 1962, 277.

[39] Die zeitliche Einordnung Plinius' des Älteren zwischen Plutarch und Tacitus (vgl. 188) ist allerdings nicht korrekt.

302 ERICH KETTENHOFEN

se werden in (englischer) Übersetzung geboten.[40] Die Ergebnisse der überzeugenden Dokumentation hätten meines Erachtens auf Skizzen festgehalten werden sollen. Im 9. Kapitel beschreibt Marciak ‚*Archaeological Sites*‘ (201 – 217), beginnend mit der Hauptstadt Arbēla/ (kurd.) Erbil. Er stützt sich in diesem Kapitel stark auf die älteren Arbeiten von D. und J. Oates sowie die jüngeren von J. Reade sowie diejenigen des tschechischen Teams unter der Leitung von K. Nováček.[41] Die Toponyme sind 320 auf Map II festgehalten: Arbela, Kilizu, Abu Sheetha, Ashur, Nineveh[42] und Nimrud, Ausgrabungsstätten, die durch die kulturelle ‚Barbarei‘ des ‚Islamischen Staates‘ im Nordirak in der jüngsten Zeit traurige Berühmtheit erlangt haben. Eine Vielzahl von hier verehrten Göttern wird sichtbar, auch erkennbar in Personennamen und auf Münzdarstellungen. Epigraphische und numismatische Quellenzeugnisse werden im knappen 10. Kapitel behandelt (219–226), das die Sprachkompetenz des Verfassers gut unter Beweis stellt.[43] Mit Recht wird der Name der Stadt Natūn ʾeššār (*ntwnʾšry*) in einer hatrenischen Inschrift[44] mit der parthischen Namensform *ntwšrkn* in Šāhpuhrs I. Inschrift an der Kaʾbe-ye Zartošt (pa., Z. 24) in Verbindung gebracht; Teixidor's Interpretation[45] beurteilt er aus guten Gründen skeptisch, in dem in der genannten hatrenischen Inschrift begegnenden Königsnamen *ʾtlw*[46] die aramäische Entsprechung zu parthisch *ʾzʾt* (noble) zu erkennen; es ist allerdings verlockend, den Namen Izatēs vom parthischen *ʾzʾt* herzuleiten.[47] Die Beschreibung der Münzen aus Adiabene stützt sich auf den Beitrag des Verfassers in dieser Zeitschrift[48] und dokumentiert übersichtlich unseren heutigen Wissensstand. Die Münzen mit der Aufschrift *Natounisarokertōn* (im Gen. Plur.) werden der Prägung einer am Kapros gelegenen Stadt zugewiesen, eine Stadt mit Namen Natounia hat hingegen wohl nicht existiert.[49] Die Münzen, die einen König Ab-

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[40] Problematisch ist jedoch, wenn für Ninos in Tac. Ann. 12,13,2 Nineveh in der Übersetzung (185) verwandt wird; präzise jedoch 192 Anm. 141.

[41] Vgl. die in der Bibliographie 297 und 299  aufgelisteten Arbeiten.

[42] Marciak zweifelt 195 Anm. 164 zu Recht daran, dass die königlichen Archive der Parther sich in Nineveh befunden haben, wie Movsēs Ḫorenaçi I, 8–9 wissen will.

[43] *nwthštrkn* ( 220 ) ist allerdings die mittelpersische, nicht die parthische Namensform für griech. Ἀδιαβηνή in Šāhpuhrs I. Inschrift an der Kaʿbe-ye Zartošt.

[44] Beyer 1998, 33 (H 21).

[45] Teixidor 1967/68, 3.

[46] Mit Altheim/Stiehl 1965, 227 sehe ich in *ʾtlw* einen arabischen Namen.

[47] Zu *ʾzʾt* vgl. Gignoux 1972, 48. Weniger glücklich spricht Marciak 221 von „Parthian *azada* or *azades* meaning *free*, *noble*“, was er von Teixidor 1967, 3 übernommen hat. Namensformen mit *ʾzʾt* (*ʾcʾt*) sind reichlich belegt in dem von Marciak 285 zitierten Werk von Gignoux 1986, 51–52.

[48] Vgl. hier Anm. 2. Die Illustrationen auf den *Plates* 1–8 hätte man übernehmen sollen in den vorliegenden Band.

[49] In dem Eintrag auf meiner Atlaskarte (Kettenhofen 1982) war ich noch Milik 1962, 58 gefolgt.

dissarēs nennen, belegen nun neben Monobazos, Izatēs und ’tlw einen weiteren Königsnamen in der Adiabene. Noch knapper ist das 11. Kapitel (*The Adiabene Onomasticon*, 227–231). Da Marciak seine Darstellung mit dem 3. Jh. n. Chr. enden lässt, kann er, wie schon erwähnt, das reichhaltige Namenmaterial der adiabenischen Märtyrerakten nicht mehr auswerten. Die sog. *Chronik von Arbela* hat er hingegen bewusst nicht herangezogen.[50] Beim Königsnamen Μονόβαζος sollte man auf die altiranische Namensform *\*mana-vāzā-* in der Bedeutung *progressing through the spirit* geachtet werden, die N. G. Garsoïan anführt.[51] Die Herleitung des Namens ᾿Ιζάτης von parth. *’z’t* diskutiert Marciak nicht; eine Parallele zu den vielen Personennamen, die das Element *yazd-* tragen, ist allerdings ebenfalls zu erwägen.[52] Äußerst skeptisch bin ich hinsichtlich der Herleitung vom biblisch-aramäischen אזא (= feststehend, unanfechtbar).[53] Wichtig ist die Schlussfolgerung (231), dass Namen unterschiedlicher Provenienz in der Adiabene begegnen und auch dadurch eine Kulturbegegnung zwischen iranischer, semitischer und griechischer Welt bezeugen.[54] Im 12. Kapitel fasst Marciak die chronologischen Angaben zu sämtlich belegten adiabenischen Königen zusammen.[55] Viele Daten müssen hypothetisch bleiben. Die irrige Synchronologie, die Josephus in 20, 37 bietet (Kaiser Claudius I./Artabanos), verleitet Marciak allerdings dazu, das Todesdatum des parthischen Königs Artabanos allzu weit bis ins Frühjahr 41 n. Chr. hinabzurücken,[56] er aber andererseits für Vardanes die Regierungsdaten 39/40 – 45 anführt, obwohl dieser nach Josephus (20, 69) seinem Vater Artabanos auf dem Thron folgte.[57] Zuzustimmen ist dem Verfasser, dass die Zeitangabe in 20,17 bei Josephus für eine verlässliche Chronologie – die Geschehnisse des Abschnitts 20, 17–96 wären in die Zeit der Prokuratur des Cuspius Fadus (44–46 n. Chr.) einzuordnen – nicht brauchbar ist (243). Bei den

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[50] Vgl. 244 Anm. 77.

[51] Garsoïan (zit. 284) 387.

[52] Vgl. Gignoux 1986, 189–191 (Nr. 1045–1055); anders de Jong 2004 (hier zitiert 290).

[53] Vgl. HAL V, 1662–1663.

[54] Vgl. auch die *Conclusions to Part 3* (265).

[55] 233 heißt es: *we feel a need to look afresh at the issue*, doch hat er die von Schottky 2004 erstellte Herrscherliste der Adiabene übersehen. Zu Abdissarēs, den Schottky 2004, 93 noch Westarmenien/Sophene zuordnet, ist bei Marciak 233.245 hingegen das Richtige zu lesen, und auch Monobazos II. begegnet noch im Kontext des ‚Jüdischen Krieges‘, muss also spätestens 66 n. Chr. noch regiert haben; Schottky 2004,91 bietet 59/60 – ? für Monobazos II. Die Belegstelle bei Marciak 240 (bell. 2: 252) ist allerdings in 5:252 zu berichtigen.

[56] Vgl. 236. Vgl. auch die bei Schottky 1991, 86 Anm. 155 aufgelisteten Todesdaten für Artabanos II.

[57] Zur abweichenden Herrscherfolge in Tac., ann. 11,8 vgl. die Anmerkung von Feldman im 10. Band seiner Textausgabe der ‚Jüdischen Altertümer‘, Cambridge/London 1981, 36–37, Anm. e. Auch J. Wiesehöfer folgt in der Herrscherliste der parthischen Könige in dem hier in Anm. 55 erwähnten Band (118) den Angaben des Josephus; anders Schottky 1991, 106.

Königen des 2./3. Jahrhunderts werden – wie schon in Kap. 11 – die Namen der
Könige Raqbakt, Narsai und Šarat, die die *Chronik von Arbela* nennt, nicht be-
rücksichtigt. Am Ende stellt Marciak (245–246) dankenswerterweise die von ihm
ermittelten Daten übersichtlich zusammen. Im letzten (13.) Kapitel des Buches
(*Adiabene and Judaea in the Context of the Relations between Rome and Part-
hia*, 247–264) sind vier Themenfelder zusammengefasst. In 13.1. zeichnet Mar-
ciak das Bild des Tacitus in seinen Annalen (soweit sie erhalten sind) von den
Königen Izatēs II. und Monobazos II. Dass sie – getreu den Stereotypen lateini-
scher Autoren – als parthische Barbaren, Izatēs zudem als doppelzüngig be-
schrieben werden, kann nicht überraschen nach den Analysen von H. Sonnabend
und Ch. Lerouge.[58] In 13.2 (*The Jews in Adiabene*) beleuchtet Marciak die Hin-
weise in den ‚Jüdischen Altertümern‘ (20, 17–96) sowie in talmudischen Quel-
len, die eine größere Zahl an Juden in der Adiabene in späterer Zeit vorausset-
zen.[59] In 13.3. stellt Marciak die Adiabener vor, die nach Josephus' Darstellung
in der jüdischen Gesellschaft tief verwurzelt und daher im ‚Jüdischen Krieg‘ auf
der Seite der Aufständischen gekämpft haben, sowohl Angehörige des Königs-
hauses wie ‚non-royal Adiabeneans‘ (260), die durch ihren Wagemut hervortaten
und sich erst gegen Ende des Kampfes den Römern unterwarfen. Schließlich
zeichnet Marciak die Rolle der Adiabene als politischen und religiösen Faktor[60]
in der Sicht des Josephus im ‚Bellum Iudaicum‘. Wieweit das Bild einer erfolg-
reichen Assimilierung (vgl. 266) die Realität jener Tage trifft, ist eine andere
Frage. ‚Conclusions‘ stehen wiederum am Ende dieses dritten Teiles. Eine Zu-
sammenfassung sowie, allgemeine Schlussfolgerungen (267–272) beschließen
dieses gehaltvolle Buch, die zugleich zukünftige Aufgaben zeichnen wie weitere
archäologische Grabungen (272), die aber bedingt durch die augenblickliche
politische Lage in diesem Raum wohl auf lange Zeit ein Wunschtraum bleiben
werden.

Die Bibliographie enthält Texte, Übersetzungen und Kommentare (273–
276),[61] eine äußerst reichhaltige Literaturliste mit einigen Unrichtigkeiten (276–
308).[62] Die Arbeit enthält einen Index geographischer Namen in der hier ge-

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[58] Zitiert 303 sowie 293. Vgl. 252: *They reflect well Roman stereotypes on the <u>Orbis Parthi-
cus</u> in which Adiabene rulers represent an integral part.*

[59] Vgl. 254–255.

[60] Vgl. 271: *it led them to hope for receiving more engagement from the Jews beyond the Eu-
phrates.*

[61] Einige Titel in Ivrit wie שׁשׁה סדרי משׁנה (273) sind ohne Transkription wiedergegeben
(= šišah sidre mišnah).

[62] So ist 293 bei Le Rider (1959–1960) zu ergänzen: RN VI 2, 30–32 (nicht: RN 2:1955,7–
35). Die Seitenzahlen bei Fitzmyer/Harrington(283) 243–244 treffen nur für Nr. 132 zu (richtig
161 Anm. 211, unrichtig auch 153 Anm. 141). Die Seitenangaben bei Dussaud (1912) stimmen
nicht mit den Angaben 152–153 Anm. 121.124.125.138 überein. O. Michels Aufsatz ist in ANRW

brauchten englischen Schreibweise (309–311) sowie einen Personenindex (313–316). Beide sind sehr gründlich erarbeitet. Ein Quellenindex fehlt. Schließlich sind noch drei Karten mitgegeben, die allerdings nicht für das Buch gezeichnet wurden.[63] Einige unpräzise Übersetzungen des griechischen Textes bei Josephus könnten genannt werden.[64]

So wertvoll auch die monographische Studie über die adiabenische Königsfamilie und ihre Konversion zum Judentum ist (vgl. 267), so bleibt ihr Ertrag als Regionalstudie eines der regna minora des Partherreiches sehr blass,[65] denn der Umgang des parthischen Großkönigs mit den adiabenischen Dynasten in der Mitte des 1. Jhs. n. Chr. wird nur gestreift in Kap. 12, das zudem eher die präzise Chronologie der adiabenischen Könige zu ermitteln sucht. Das Buch kann noch weniger eine Geschichte der Adiabene liefern, da es lediglich die Geschichte des zum Judentum konvertierten Königshauses in die kulturelle und politische Welt der hellenistischen und parthischen Adiabene einzuordnen versucht. Dies hat zur Folge, dass bereits der Feldzug des Kaisers Traian allzu knapp,[66] diejenigen des Lucius Verus und des Septimius Severus nicht mehr berücksichtigt werden, von der Geschichte der sasanidischen Adiabene ganz zu schweigen.

Am Ende dieser Besprechung äußere ich einen Wunsch: Der Verfasser hat mit seinen bisherigen Arbeiten sowohl zur Adiabene wie zur Gordyene einen wertvollen Beitrag geleistet zur historischen Geographie und Ethnographie des

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II 21.2., 945 – 976 erschienen (falsch 295: 11.21:974–965, richtig hingegen 261 Anm. 80). The History of the Jews in Babylonia. Vol. I von J. Neusner (297) ist 1965 in 1., 1969 in 2. Aufl. erschienen. Der Titel Widengren 1957 (307) ist als Aufsatz im Volume du Congrès Strasbourg 1956, SVT 4, 1957, 197–241 erschienen, nicht als eigenständige Monographie. Bei einigen Titeln sind nur die Nachdruckdaten viel älterer Werke angegeben, so etwa 282 Drüner, das 1896 erschien und 1963 nachgedruckt wurde. Vgl. auch 277 Bartholomae (1904, ND 1961), 290 Justi (1895= ND 1963), 298 Pape/Benseler (³1911= ND 1959). 295 wird ein Beitrag von S. Mason (2009) in einem *forthcoming* genannten Sammelband zitiert.

[63] Map I ist Olbrycht 2013 (zitiert 298) entnommen. Der kleine Maßstab hat zur Folge, dass der Kapros nicht eingetragen ist, was für die Lokalisierung der Adiabene bei Strabo und Plutarch nicht unwichtig ist. Es fehlt auch der Eintrag der mehrmals genannten Landschaft Arrapachitis. Map II ist Reade 2008 entnommen, ein Titel, der 299 fehlt. Map III ist gezeichnet auf der Grundlage einer Skizze bei Price 1992 (zitiert 299), die wertvoll ist für die Lektüre von Kap. 7 des Buches.

[64] Vgl. die Übersetzung 29 zu 20, 27 (*until he becomes a successor to his father*) mit dem griechischen Text: ὁ ἐμὸς ἀνήρ…τῆς βασιλείας αὐτῷ διάδοχον Ἰζάτην ηὔξατο γενέσθαι καὶ τοῦτον ἄξιον ἔκρινεν (aus der Rede der Helena) und 35 (*Izates sends his sons to Jerusalem*); nach 20,71 wollte Izatēs nicht an der Seite des Vardanēs gegen die Römer kämpfen, da er fünf seiner Söhne nach Jerusalem geschickt hatte (griechisch im Part. Perf. Akt. πεπομφὼς).

[65] Vgl. etwa die Bemerkung von Kahrstedt 1950, 12 Anm. 9, die Rolle des Izates bei Josephus (in 20,54f.) sei „sicher übertrieben".

[66] Ich erwähne nur die kontrovers geführte Frage, ob der von Traian geschaffenen *provincia Assyria*, wenn die Nachricht der Autoren des 4. Jhs. zuverlässig ist, die Adiabene entsprach.

nördlichen Mesopotamien.[67] Diese sollten zusammengeführt und durch Arbeiten zu den bei Petros Patrikios (fr. 14) und bei Ammianus Marcellinus 25,7,9 erwähnten *regiones transtigritanae* ergänzt werden, so dass daraus ein „neuer Dillemann"[68] werden könnte. Die besten Voraussetzungen dafür sind hier jedenfalls gegeben.

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[67] Vgl. Marciak 2012b; 2014; 2017.

[68] Vgl. das in der Bibliographie genannte, einst höchst verdienstvolle Buch von L. Dillemann aus dem Jahr 1962.

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# ABBREVIATIONS

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|---|---|
| *AAASH* | *Acta Antiqua Academiae Scienciarum Hungaricae.* Budapest. |
| *AAe* | *Antiquitas Aeterna. Povolzhskiī antikovedcheskiī zhurnal.* Kazan'; Nizhniī Novgorod; Saratov. |
| *ABSA* | *Annual of the British School at Athens.* |
| *ACSS* | *Ancient Civilization from Scythia to Siberia.* |
| *AMA* | *Antichnyī mir i archeologiīa* (Saratov). |
| *ANE* | *Ancient Near East.* |
| *AOAT* | *Alter Orient und Altes Testament.* |
| *Aristeī* | *Aristeī. Vestnik klassicheskoī filologii i antichnoī istorii* (Moscow). |
| *AWE* | *Ancient West and East.* |
| *BI* | *Bosporskie Issledovaniīa* (Kerch). |
| *BMCR* | *Bryn Mawr Classical Review.* |
| *BZAW* | *Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft.* |
| *CAH* | *Cambridge Ancient History.* |
| *CHANE* | *Culture and History of the Ancient Near East.* |
| *CLeO* | *Classica et Orientalia.* |
| *CPh* | *Classical Philology.* |
| *CQu* | *Classical Quarterly* (Oxford). |
| *CRAI* | *Comptes-rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles- Lettres* (Paris). |
| *DGVE* | *Drevneīshie Gosudarstva Vostochnoī Evropy. Materialy i issledovaniīa* (Moskva). |
| *DNP* | *Der neue Pauly. Enzyklopädie der Antike*, H. Cancik; H. Schneider (Hrsgg.), Stuttgart; Weimar, 1996–2003. |
| *G&R* | *Greece and Rome.* |
| *GRBS* | *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies.* |
| *HSCPh* | *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology.* |
| *IMKU* | *Istoriīa material'noī kul'tury Uzbekistana* (Tashkent). |
| *INR* | *Israel Numismatic Research* (Jerusalem). |
| *JHS* | *The Journal of Hellenic Studies.* |
| *JSOT* | *Journal for the Study of the Old Testament.* |
| *KP* | *Der kleine Pauly. Lexikon der Antike*, K. Ziegler; W. Sontheimer (hrsg.), Bd. I–V, München 1979 (1964). |
| *LHBOTS* | *Library of the Hebrew Bible/Old Testament Studies.* |

*MDAFA*    *Mémoires de la Délégation Archéologique Française en Afghanistan.*
*MIA*      *Materialy i issledovaniīa po arkheologii SSSR* (Moscow – Leningrad).
*MMAI*     *Mémoires de la Mission Archéologique en Iran.*
*NE*       *Numizmatika i epigrafika* (Moskva).
*NTOA*     *Novum Testamentum et Orbis Antiquus* (Fribourg/Göttingen 1986 – ).
*TsA*      *Numizmatika Tsentral'noī Azii* (Tashkent).
*PFT*      *Persepolis Fortification Tablets.*
*PLLS*     *Papers of the Langford Latin Seminar* (Cambridge).
*RA*       *Rossiīskaīa arkheologiīa* (Moscow).
*RE*       *Paulys Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*: Neue Bearbeitung,
           G. Wissowa; W. Kroll; K. Mittelhaus; K. Ziegler, Stuttgart, 1893–1980.
*RhM*      *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie* (Köln).
*SA*       *Sovetskaīa arkheologiīa (Moscow).*
*TGE*      *Trudy gosudarstvennogo Ermitazha.*
*TIuTAKE*  *Trudy Īuzhno-Turkmenistanskoī arkheologicheskoī kompleksnoī ekspeditsii* (Ashkha-
           bad/Moskva).
*TKhAEE*   *Trudy Khorezmskoī arkheologo-etnograficheskoī ekspeditsii* (Moskva).
*VDI*      *Vestnik drevnei istorii.*
*VEDS*     *Vostochnaīa Evropa v drevnosti i srednevekov'e: Chteniīa pamīati V.T. Pashuto* (Mo-
           skva).
*ZPE*      *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik.*

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