

**Achaemenid Anatolia: Persian Presence and Influence
in the Western Satrapies 546–330 BC**

7–8 September 2017

The Swedish Research Institute in Istanbul

PRELIMINARY PROGRAM

Thursday - 7 September

- 09.15–09.30 Welcome from organizers and introduction (A. Dahlén, J. Mårtelius)
- 09.30–10.15 From Sardis to Persepolis: Communications and Exchanges between Asia Minor and the Center(s) of the Empire (P. Briant)
- 10.15–11.00 Impacts of Empire in Achaemenid Anatolia (E. R. M. Dusinberre)
- 11.00–11.30 *Coffee*
- 11.30–12.00 Achaemenid Presence or Influence at Labraunda? The Relief Sculpture of a Chariot (P. Hellström)
- 12.00–12.30 What age were you when the Mede came? Cyrus the Great and Anatolia (L. Mitchell)
- 12.30–13.30 *Lunch*
- 13.30–14.00 Pillar Tombs and the Beginning of Achaemenid Rule in Lycia (M. Seyer)
- 14.00–14.30 The Andron of Maussollos at Labraunda and its Architectural Sculpture. Aesthetic Fluidity and Cultural Allegory in Hekatomnid Karia (J. Blid)
- 14.30–15.00 *Coffee*
- 15.00–15.30 Daskyleion in the Achaemenid period: Reflections on Persian Presence and Influence in a Multicultural Society (K. İren, S. Çokay-Kepçe)
- 19.00 *Dinner for speakers*

Friday - 8 September

- 09.30–10.00 Cilicia, 550–330 BC: Persians and Locals (C. Gates)
- 10.00–10.30 The Semiotics of Dress in Achaemenid Anatolia (L. Llewellyn-Jones)
- 10.30–11.00 *Coffee*
- 11.00–11.30 From Communal Feasts to Temple States: Patterns of Persian Religion in Achaemenid and post-Achaemenid Anatolia (A. De Jong)
- 11.30–12.00 Xanthus of Lydia and Persian Storytelling (R. Stoneman)
- 12.00–13.00 *Lunch*
- 13.00–13.30 The Upright Tiara of the Persian King and other Headdresses (S. Berndt-Ersöz)
- 13.30–14.00 From a Local Karian Sanctuary to a Topos of Persian Royal Display: New Thoughts on Labraunda in Karia (O. Henry)
- 14.00–14.30 *Coffee*
- 14.30–15.00 Herodotus on Persian Wine Drinking: A Contemporary Critique of Cultural Sophistication and Luxury Lifestyle? (A. Dahlén)
- 15.00–15.30 Discussion and concluding remarks (E. R. M. Dusinberre)

ABSTRACTS

Pierre Briant, Collège de France

From Sardis to Persepolis: Communications and Exchanges between Asia Minor and the Center(s) of the Empire

Conducting in deep analysis on the Achaemenid Empire supposes to use at the same time or alternatively of global studies and regional studies. In a review-article published in Russian in 1913, M. Rostovtzeff suggested to produce regional monographs as many as the Achaemenid satrapies where. In its sub-regional subdivisions, Asia Minor has been the object of a number of such monographs in the recent years (cf. *status questionis* and bibliography in Briant, “A propos de l’empreinte achéménide en Anatolie”, 2015). The main question raised by this type of research is that of the possible specificity or even uniqueness of Asia Minor and Anatolia within the Empire, and/or its inclusion into a body of satrapies, which would be run in the same way from Samarkand to Sardis. The special importance of Greek sources is not deniable, but the main body of the more or less published documentation comes from the different parts of the area and is expressed in various languages (including inscriptions in Greek). Moreover the documentation at the center of the Empire allows the researcher to study the links between the Western satrapies and the center, but also between them and other regional areas.

Elsbeth Dusinberre, University of Colorado Boulder

Impacts of Empire in Achaemenid Anatolia

The explosion of discoveries and publications in the last two decades has enabled a more nuanced and richer understanding of what life was like in Anatolia during the Achaemenid Persian period. The tremendous increase in amount and variety of material available for study has also enabled the refinement of our interpretive tools. Achaemenid scholars have long been clear that disciplinary boundaries across media — e.g., "history" dealing with texts, "archaeology" with artifacts — could and should not be maintained when it comes to researching the Achaemenid empire. This recognition of the importance of interdisciplinarity and cross-fertilization across scholarly approaches remains fundamental. Indeed, in the last twenty years it has taken on even greater importance in the study of Achaemenid Anatolia, to the extent that almost all recent publications draw on the rich opportunities and analytical frameworks of multiple disciplines in their presentation and interpretation of information. Specific studies of individual artifacts or groups of artifacts (e.g., the bullae from Daskyleion, the trilingual inscription at Xanthos, the phialae of the so-called Lydian Treasure) have increasingly moved away from characterizing them by ethnic monikers and focused instead on embedding them within an imperial and international framework. The varied studies of entire regions within Achaemenid Anatolia have revolutionized our understanding of Achaemenid impact on different peoples, including the multi-media approach of Olivier Casabonne to Cilicia, the survey-based understanding presented by Christopher Roosevelt for Lydia, the reinterpretation of Paphlagonia suggested by Peri Johnson, or the nuts-and-bolts observations made by Lori Khatchadourian concerning Armenia. Broad collections of materials, including Lizzie Baughan's analysis of klinai or my own attempts to consider drinking and dining vessels or tombs, enable new ways of considering people's lifestyles, concerns, and value systems. At last, it is even possible to consider the tremendously complicated subject of religion within a broader imperial framework.

With all of these new materials and ideas recently available, Achaemenid Anatolia becomes fertile ground for reassessing the empire, its workings and effects. It enables new research methodologies. No longer need we look for that which is overtly "Persianizing". No longer need we think simply in terms of geopolitical regions. No longer need we seek ethnic indications or evidence for a "proper satrap". Instead, the wealth of information now at our fingertips liberates us from ethnic or status-bound interpretations, let alone geopolitical silos, and allows us to consider the many different ways people in Anatolia lived under Achaemenid hegemony. In this talk I will draw on some of those

discoveries and analyses that seem to me most important to have emerged since the seminal 1997 conference on the impact of the Achaemenid Empire upon Anatolia. I will hope to demonstrate why the model for understanding imperialism I presented in 2013, the "authority-autonomy" model, offers a more flexible and powerful tool for analysis than simple hegemonic structures, notions of regionalism or spheres of influence, core-periphery models, etc. I am particularly interested in behaviors that demonstrate value systems, such as eating and drinking, dealing with the dead, or religious practices, and will use these and other behaviors as the lens through which we may best see and interpret the influence that Persian presence had on the western satrapies. The rich possibilities enabled by new discoveries and theoretical advances across disciplines transform our ability to understand what it was like to live in Achaemenid Anatolia, in its many different imperial, physical, and human manifestations.

Pontus Hellström, Uppsala University

Achaemenid Presence or Influence at Labraunda? The Relief Sculpture of a Chariot

There are few traces of Persian presence and influence at Labraunda besides the sphinx akroteria of the Andron of Maussollos. In the present paper I suggest that another sculptural monument possibly indicating Persian influence may have been overlooked. It has been published as a statue base of probable Hekatomnid date, commemorating an athletic victory. On each of its long sides is a chariot drawn by two horses and on the front stands a female figure.

This is, however, not necessarily a statue base of a victory monument. First, the shape is unusual for a statue base in having only a small horizontal top at the back, over the chariot. Second, if it is commemorating a racing victory, the assumed race was at a hippodrome, which excludes Labraunda; and no Hekatomnid or Carian is known to have had a racing victory at one of the panhellenic games. It can further be noted that if a statue was standing above the chariot, it would not only have been quite small, of perhaps half human scale, but it would also have been facing the short end of the oblong base.

I suggest as an alternative that this is not a statue base but a sculpture in its own right, and that the chariot may have been empty. It could then have depicted the empty Achaemenid chariot of 'Zeus' (Ahuramazda), known from Herodotos, Xenophon and Curtius. If so, it could be a votive sculpture to Zeus Labraundos, perhaps dedicated by one of the Hekatomnids.

Lynette Mitchell, University of Exeter

What age were you when the Mede came? Cyrus the Great and Anatolia

This paper will consider Cyrus' conquest of Anatolia from the perspectives both of Cyrus' imperial ideology and the reactions to his rule by the different peoples of Anatolia he brought into his empire. It will argue that Cyrus' reactions to different communities, and even different cities, was differentiated, and that it corresponded to the ways that these different cities and communities responded to their subjection, but nevertheless was coherent within a broader imperial framework. Thus, according to Herodotus the Milesians obtained different terms for the payment of tribute to the other Ionian cities because they did not resist Cyrus' conquest, but instead made terms before he had even taken Sardis. On the other hand the common council of the Ionians, which may have been set up as a response to Cyrus attack on Anatolia, seems to have been allowed to continue, as it later played a part in the Ionian Revolt of the early fifth century, and local dynasts in Caria were allowed to retain their power. Thus, this paper will argue that Cyrus' vision of empire was broadly consistent across the territories he subjected but that his imperial project was also fine-grained, as the case of Anatolia demonstrates, and able to deal in the particular as well as with the general.

Martin Seyer, Austrian Archaeological Institute

Pillar Tombs and the Beginning of Achaemenid Rule in Lycia

The presentation re-examines the Lycian pillar tombs, without doubt the most mysterious tomb type of this region. Until today neither the origin of these tombs, nor the exact category of persons who were buried in them are known. An architectural emergence of the pillars in Anatolia (and even in Lycia) has been postulated as well as a connection between their development and the conquest of Xanthos by the Persians around 545 BC.

Today 52 examples are known, of which only a small number can be dated with any accuracy, as only ten pillars are decorated with reliefs, and only three bear an inscription. Due to the style of their reliefs six examples can be roughly assigned to the archaic period. These illustrations contain mainly subjects widespread within the iconography of funerary art in Anatolia: depictions of hunters, warriors – sometimes showing typical "Lycian" features, such as the triumphal presentation of the shield of the defeated enemies –, and palaestra scenes. Significantly, the decoration of probably the oldest pillar tomb, the so-called Lion Tomb of Xanthos, contains elements whose origin clearly has oriental models, such as the lion-killing hero. The double illustration of the bull-slaying lion also suggests oriental influence. The presentation aims to investigate if, and to what extent, these illustrations can be associated with the beginning of Persian rule in Lycia.

Jesper Blid, Stockholm University

The Andron of Maussollos at Labraunda and its Architectural Sculpture. Aesthetic Fluidity and Cultural Allegory in Hekatomnid Karia

During the 390's BC, Hekatomnos of Mylasa and his family, the Hekatomnids, gained the leading position in the Achaemenid satrapy of Karia. This event redrew the political map of the region and laid the foundations for a new regime aiming to legitimise itself by commencing one of the most extensive and experimental building programs known to have taken place in the fourth century. The Hekatomnid building program, which reached its acme during the reigns of Maussollos (377/6-353/2) and Idrieus (351/0-344/3), was meant eventually to encompass large parts of Karia. Hekatomnid euergetism realised in architectural projects and the erection of statues is also known from neighbouring regions as well as from Mainland Greece. Available archaeological evidence exemplifies that the Karian sanctuary of Zeus at Labraunda, with its close ties to the ruling dynasty, played a role in the initial vogue of architectural aggrandising.

Among the first Hekatomnid projects completed at Labraunda was a grand temple-like building exhibiting a dedication by Maussollos to Zeus Labraundos. The name of the building is specified as *andron* on the architraval inscription. This Andron was probably finalised during the early years of Maussollos' reign and the façade of the building was embellished with lateral sphinx akroteria, which are generally regarded as analogous with the court art of Achaemenid Persia, and thus they transmitted a message of royal authority to the viewer. The sphinx akroteria were felicitous attributes to this building. Pontus Hellström's meticulous and analytical study of the Andron of Maussollos shows that it had other functions apart from only facilitating the serving of sacrificial meals. The Andron served as a royal reception hall as well as provided a probable locus for ruler cult. This function would furthermore accord with the recognised agenda of Maussollos and his family; who were known to have further manifested their dynastic power at the newly founded capital of Halikarnassos by constructing the Maussolleion, the most famous tomb-heroon of the ancient world.

This paper presents some new ideas regarding certain features of the sphinx akroteria of the Andron of Maussollos along with additional, yet unpublished, griffin protomes. I shall argue that the sculptural program of the Andron was a quotation of prototypes found within visual culture of the Achaemenid ruling elite. The features of the architectural sculpture along with the experimental style accentuated in the Andron of Maussollos exemplify further the complexity of aesthetical fluidity and cultural allegory displayed within the Hekatomnid building program.

Kaan İren & Sedef Çokay-Kepçe, Muğla Sıtkı Koçman University & Istanbul University

Daskyleion in the Achaemenid period: Reflections on Persian Presence and Influence in a Multicultural Society

Daskyleion was a settlement serving as the capital of a Persian satrapy that controlled Hellespontine Phrygia, and probably also Bithynia, Paphlagonia, Phrygia, and Cappadocia, in ancient Anatolia. The settlement was additionally important due to its multi-cultural (Phrygian, Lydian, Persian and Greek) society and materials.

Several Phrygian, Lydian, and Greek artifacts were unearthed from the archaic city. A long Phrygian inscription from the sixth century was found in 1990, evidence of the Phrygians' existence at the westernmost district in Anatolia. The discovery of 406 Persian bullae and an archive building not only strengthened the claim that the settlement was Daskyleion, but also shed light on the administrative aspects of the site.

The Persians arrived soon after the middle of the sixth century BCE. Ancient authors reported that Persian satraps built, in more than two hundred years, several palaces and beautiful gardens in Daskyleion.

The aim of this paper is to unveil the dominant Phrygian and Lydian character of the site and its interaction with the inner parts of Anatolia during the Satrapal period considering the new investigations and reflections on the new discoveries.

Charles Gates, Bilkent University

Cilicia, 550–330 BC: Persians and Locals

Evidence for Cilicia in the Achaemenid Persian period was comprehensively examined by Olivier Casabonne (2004), with the contribution of excavated sites summarized by Charles Gates soon thereafter (2005). This paper will review and update their findings. Focus will be on excavated sites, my particular interest, but numismatic and textual sources will be considered as well. Key sites remain (west to east) Meydancikkale, Kinet Höyük, and (just south of Cilicia) Al Mina, excavations now completed, with final publications either finished (first and last) or in preparation (Kinet Höyük). Ongoing excavations at such sites as Kelenderis, Soloi, Gözlükule-Tarsus, Misis, Sirkeli, and Tatarlı either have yielded new evidence or have the potential to do so. Although Persian presence and influence will be tracked, in accord with the aim of this symposium, evidence that does not connect with imperial authority but instead attests to the ordinary daily life of local Cilicians will also be evaluated.

Lloyd Llewellyn-Jones, Cardiff University

The Semiotics of Dress in Achaemenid Anatolia

The term 'semiotics' can be defined as a system of linguistic signs or symbols. This system of is not limited to language only. Therefore, the term 'semiotics of dress' can be further referred to as a non-linguistic semiotic resource, which interrelates with facial expressions, gestures and body semiotics in an effort to develop and communicate meaning. A starting point for this investigation into semiotics is a worn and weathered scene carved into a high-relief frieze found on the Nereid Monument from Xanthos in Lycia. A detail shows three dignitaries bringing tribute gifts of clothing to Erbinna (Greek, Arbinas), the local ruler. The gifts are distinctively Persian, comprising of a long-sleeved tunic, a long-sleeved coat, and a pair of trousers with built-in foot-covers. Together they make up a distinctive 'cavalry dress' or 'riding habit' worn by Iranians in the Empire's heartland. But what message do these garments convey to the recipient of the tribute and how does that message read within the context of a culture under Persian occupation? This paper explores the use of dress as a cultural indicator within Achaemenid Anatolia, drawing attention to the artistic evidence for dress within the archaeological corpus and assessing the use that can be made of clothing in exploring the depth of 'Persianisation' to be found in the area.

Albert de Jong, Leiden University

From Communal Feasts to Temple States: Patterns of Persian Religion in Achaemenid and post-Achaemenid Anatolia

The Persian communities of Anatolia are known from literary, epigraphic, and archaeological sources, but most of these post-date the Achaemenid period considerably. Religion plays a fairly prominent role in this documentation, but it often takes shapes that are unknown from many other parts of the Zoroastrian world. It has often been noted that these communities – if we can call them this – followed local patterns of self-representation; at the very least, they can be shown to have adopted Greek and to have embraced an ‘epigraphic habit’ and Anatolian ways of representing and possibly worshipping (some) deities. This information is vitally important for anyone who wants to theorize the history of Zoroastrianism, and they will be discussed from such a *longue durée* perspective in this paper. We will take a look at festivals, shrines, and temple states associated with Persian divinities and attempt to trace these developments back as far as we can, in the hope of clearing up something about Persian religion in Achaemenid Anatolia.

Richard Stoneman, University of Exeter

Xanthus of Lydia and Persian Storytelling

The aim of this paper is to bring together what can safely be said about the sixth/fifth century BC author Xanthus of Lydia. Though Herodotus does not mention him, it is likely that he was a source for Herodotus’ account of the fall of Croesus. In addition, tradition (the Suda) associates him with Aesop, who was his slave, though the Aesop stories are localised on Samos not on the mainland. The fragments indicate that the four books of his *Lydiaka* covered matters of geography and geology, ancient history including colonization and kings. Some scurrilous stories about early kings of Lydia recall the sort of stories we find in Ctesias about the Persian kings, deriving from oral tradition. Xanthus provided variant versions of several familiar myths, including the story of Niobe and the fall of Troy, which is said to have influenced Euripides. International interests are reflected in fragments relating to the history of Assyria and of Tyrrhenia, as well as in the tradition that he associated with Empedocles, about whom he wrote a book, and various reports about the Persian Magi, with whom Empedocles has been thought to have something in common. The paper attempts to draw some conclusions about the kind of book(s) Xanthus wrote, and about his survival and impact in antiquity.

Susanne Berndt-Ersöz, Stockholm University

The Upright Tiara of the Persian King and other Headdresses

In this paper I will examine the headgear, usually referred to as the Phrygian or Persian cap in modern literature, but variously described as *tiara*, *kurbasia* or *kidaris/kitaris* in ancient sources. The most characteristic feature of the headdress is its extended forward-pointed tip that is often lying forward or sideways. The cap is usually furnished with long ear-flaps as well as a neck-flap, but versions without those extensions are also known. According to Greek texts was it only the Persian king that had the right to wear the tiara in an upright position. Several scholars have discussed both the difference between the various terms and how to interpret the upright position of the tiara, but no convincing solutions have hitherto been presented. In this paper I will focus on the significance of the upright tiara, and will use both literary sources and iconographic material in my analysis.

Oliver Henry, AOrOc (Archaeology and Philology of East and West)

From a Local Karian Sanctuary to a Topos of Persian Royal Display: New Thoughts on Labraunda in Karia

In the 4th century BC, the local sanctuary of Zeus Stratios in Karia underwent profound changes under

the leadership of the Hekatomnid satraps. With the architectural transformation of the old sanctuary into a regional religious center and the erection of royal banqueting halls, Labraunda became a powerful media in the display of the Hekatomnid dynastic power over Karia. New discoveries made onsite in the last 10 years brought us to reconsider the old known material, both epigraphical and archaeological, which allow us now to question the generally accepted status of Hekatomnid Labraunda.

Ashk Dahlén, Uppsala University

Herodotus on Persian Wine Drinking: A Critique of Cultural Sophistication and Luxury Lifestyle?

Wine drinking was a key cultural phenomenon in Achaemenid Persia. According to the Greek historian Herodotus, the Persians were exceptionally fond of wine. The aim my presentation is to examine contemporary Greek views of Persian behaviour, attitudes and customs related to wine consumption. For Greek writers in the Achaemenid period Persian drinking traditions seem to have been largely associated with luxury lifestyle and cultural sophistication. Herodotus' account of Persians discussing important matters whilst drunk is well known but is there any historical truth to this and other narratives? An important question as far as Greek ethnography is concerned is to what extent excessive drinking is attributed particularly to the Persians. Real historical processes often inform Greek descriptions but sometimes they may express an imagined *topos*. As such Persian traditions could be referred to in order to situate them favourably within Greek culture, even to claim a position of superiority, but they could also be addressed oppositely with the purpose of ridiculing behaviour perceived as irrational or immoral. As a literary topic, Persian wine drinking was often adopted by Greek writers for rhetoric purposes, generating arguments and persuading audiences on issues related to ethnography, ethics and social conduct.