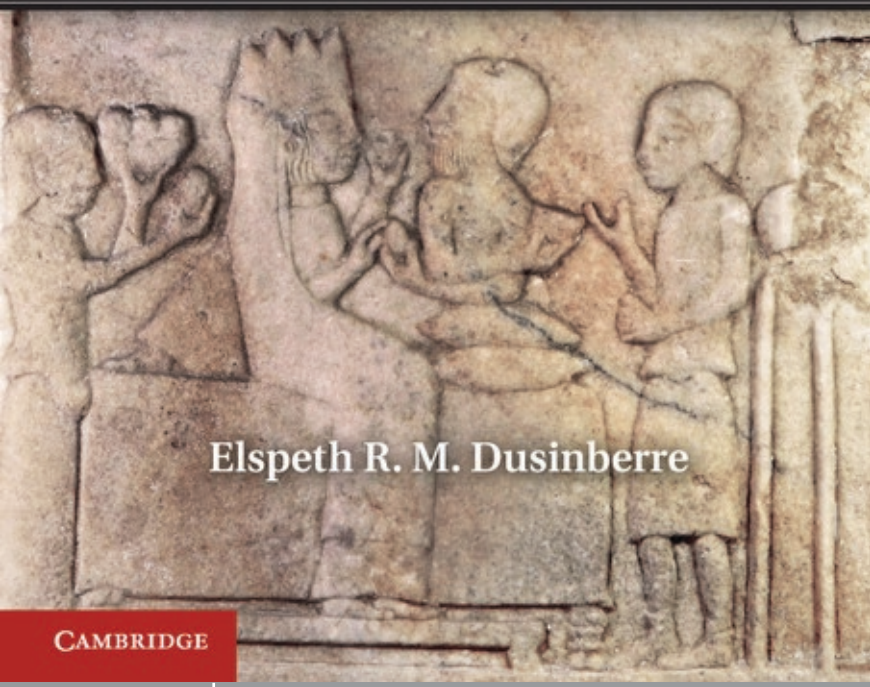
EMPIRE, AUTHORITY, *and* AUTONOMY *in* ACHAEMENID ANATOLIA



Elspeth R. M. Dusinberre

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Empire, Authority, and Autonomy in Achaemenid Anatolia

The Achaemenid Persian Empire (550–330 BCE) was a vast and complex sociopolitical structure that encompassed much of modern-day Turkey, Syria, Jordan, Israel, Egypt, Iraq, Iran, and Afghanistan and included two dozen distinct peoples who spoke different languages, worshiped different deities, lived in different environments, and had widely differing social customs. This book offers a radically revised approach to understanding not only the Achaemenid Persian Empire but imperialism more generally. Drawing on a wide array of textual, visual, and archaeological material, Elspeth R. M. Dusinberre shows how the rulers of the empire constructed a system flexible enough to provide for the needs of different peoples within the confines of a single imperial authority and highlights the variability of their responses. This book examines the dynamic tensions between authority and autonomy across the empire, providing a valuable new means of considering imperial structure and development.

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for Edward

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PREFACE

Why Bother?

"Why should people care about this book?" a scientist friend recently asked me. The answers to this are not limited to the simple "because it's so interesting!" – which was my first response. The subject matter is interesting: how imperialism worked in the Achaemenid Empire; how people were folded into the empire; how that affected their lives and the ways they defined themselves; what differences and similarities are observed across the Anatolian peninsula and what explains those trends. Some of the artifacts recovered are exceptionally beautiful, a feature that conveys little information to a scholar but makes them a great pleasure to look at – this surely had an impact on their use and resonance in antiquity, even as it does today. Beyond this, though, I think it is important to understand how this ancient empire functioned – and not only because it can help us understand other ancient empires and the ways they were similar to or different from the Achaemenid. The book also matters because imperialism is scarcely a thing of the past.

Many of the problems people face in a situation that requires interaction with an empire remain fundamentally similar even if solutions to those issues change with time, geography, and cultural background. The actions of imperial authority in Achaemenid Anatolia, the ways people living in Anatolia reacted to or took on aspects of authority within an imperial context, the impact the empire had on how people lived and expressed themselves: these are important and valuable in analyzing modern societies too. Understanding autonomy and the situations in which people act autonomously within an empire matters as much as understanding the actions and motivations of top-down authority. When and where was autonomy granted by authorities? When did a person or group of

people act autonomously without the authority to do so? What were the effects of these actions? It is extraordinary that enough material concerning Anatolia in the Achaemenid period is preserved that we can consider these behaviors in antiquity. If we wish, it can allow us a glimpse into our own lives as well.

A Note on Evidence

An enormous amount of evidence exists concerning Achaemenid Anatolia. It includes literary documents, archives, and inscriptions in Anatolia and elsewhere. The residua of satrapal palaces have been unearthed, and so has the everyday detritus of non-elite people. Mortuary assemblages, structures, and art have been found across Anatolia. Sculptures, sealstones, paintings, and terracottas afford glimpses into people's lives and priorities. Sealed bullae attest to archives, military structures show us the army, temples indicate gods, and coins demonstrate ideology and practice combined in a single artifact. Ceramic assemblages indicate people's dietary behaviors and how they developed; comparing the assemblages used by living people with those interred with the dead can illuminate ideologies. Because I have organized this book by behaviors and actions rather than by material or region, these different categories of evidence are repeatedly revisited to shed light on each issue. This is important because sometimes we have little direct evidence for, say, the co-option of local elites into the new imperial authority, but by combining the understanding gained through the study of Greek historical texts, mortuary sculpture, the architecture of power, and imagery on sealstones we can get a sense of what was happening and how.

There is currently more evidence for considering the lives of the elite in Achaemenid Anatolia than the non-elite, and this book reflects that bias. For instance, published mortuary material showcases the elite. Even a cemetery like Deve Hüyük, not one exclusively of the wealthy, is skewed in publication toward its more "valuable" contents (metals and jewelry rather than potsherds and skeletons), those being the materials for which people were willing to pay at the time it was dug. Recent excavations in Turkey are beginning to rectify this bias, but as yet the material is not fully available for study. This book therefore necessarily considers the lives and deaths of the elite in greater detail than those of the non-elite, although I have made every effort to include as much non-elite material as possible.The nature of the evidence varies according to place. Little mention is made in textual sources of Paphlagonia in the Achaemenid period, for instance, although there are archaeological remains. Grave stelae are common in some parts of Anatolia and so far unseen in others. Evidence for religious practice in Achaemenid Armenia is hard to find, although much evidence exists in other parts of the peninsula; evidence related to domestic architecture is hard to find in the published literature at all. Greek literary sources have a great deal

to say about Lydia. The coins of Cilicia have been particularly well published. Intensive and extensive regional studies have been conducted in parts of Lydia and Hellespontine Phrygia, with recent exemplary publications. Tombs with painted interiors have been published from Lydia, northern Lycia, and southwestern Phrygia. Gordion has had its entire ceramic assemblage discussed in detailed publications, by excavators who were already familiar with Iranian as well as local and Greek assemblages. These exigencies have an impact on what we can say about different areas. I have tried to weave together as much information as possible, to explore particular behaviors and to trace some of those issues to which different Anatolian regions found similar or sometimes different responses.

Writing This Book

My love affair with Achaemenid Anatolia began during my first season excavating at Sardis, just after I graduated from college, when a sherd turned up in my trench of a cup shape I had never seen before, painted with narrow horizontal stripes in lively white and red. When the project director, Crawford H. Greenewalt, jr., next came by I asked him what it was. "That," he said, "is a sherd of the so-called Achaemenid bowl." I was hooked. This feeling was reinforced in the following months when I began graduate school and took first a course on ancient Near Eastern archaeology and then a seminar on Achaemenid art with Margaret Cool Root. The clincher was the moment in February that year when Greenewalt sent me a picture of the impression left by an Achaemenid-period cylinder seal from Sardis (IAM 4581) and then allowed me to write my seminar paper on it for Root. I love that seal; it still makes my heart go pitter-pat every time I see an image of it. From that study came first an appreciation of Achaemenid art and then a fascination with the ideology and practice of the Achaemenid Empire. The years I have spent working in Turkey since have served only to increase my love of Anatolia and interest in Achaemenid imperialism. This book is thus the culmination of twenty years of research.

Research and writing were made possible thanks to an ACLS/SSRC/NEH International and Area Studies Fellowship, a Loeb Classical Library Foundation Fellowship, and a University of Colorado Graduate School Faculty Fellowship. A series of three-dimensional digital maps with exceptional resolution were made by Professor Karl Mueller of the Department of Geological Sciences at the University of Colorado Boulder; their creation was funded in part by a University of Colorado Faculty Research Fund, a University of Colorado Dean's Fund for Excellence Grant, and a University of Colorado Kayden Research Award. I wish I could thank adequately all those who have helped me with their thoughts and expertise; they include Catherine Alexander, Annalisa Azzoni, Tomris Bakır, Elizabeth Baughan, John Boardman, Pierre Briant, Nicholas Cahill,

1. Impression left by cylinder seal from Sardis. IAM 4581. Courtesy Sir John Boardman.

Olivier Casabonne, Henry Colburn, Hasan Dedeoğlu, Keith DeVries, Edward Dusinberre, William Dusinberre, Susanne Ebbinghaus, Margherita Facella, Mark Garrison, Jennifer Gates-Foster, Crawford Greenewalt, Sebastian Heath, Wouter Henkelman, Robert Henrickson, Deniz Kaptan, Şehrazat Karagöz, Vahap Kaya, Halim Korucu, Noel Lenski, Marjorie McIntosh, Michael Metcalfe, Margaret Miller, Jacob Morton, Karl Mueller, İlknur Özgen, Andrew Ramage, Christopher Roosevelt, Brian Rose, Kenneth Sams, Heleen Sancisi-Weerdenburg, StJohn Simpson, Peter Sommer, Gil Stein, Matthew Stolper, David Stronach, Lâtife Summerer, Geoffrey Summers, Mikhail Treister, Christopher Tuplin, Michael Vickers, Mary Voigt, Matthew Waters, Emily Wilson, Bahadır Yıldırım, Cem Yücesoy, and Paul Zimansky. I am particularly indebted to Amélie Kuhrt, Margaret Cool Root, and the two reviewers for Cambridge University Press, who provided comments on various drafts of this book. Any errors that remain are my own.

ABBREVIATIONS

Achaemenid Texts

DB	Bisitun Inscription
DNb	Lower register of Darius's tomb at Naqsh-i Rustam
DNe	Names of peoples at Naqsh-i Rustam
DPd	Terrace Inscription of Darius at Persepolis
DPe	Terrace Inscription of Darius at Persepolis
DPf	Terrace Inscription of Darius (in Elamite) at Persepolis
DPg	Terrace Inscription of Darius (in Babylonian) at Persepolis
DSf	Foundation Inscription of Darius at Susa
XPh	"Daiva" Inscription of Xerxes
XV	Inscription of Xerxes at Van
PF	Persepolis Fortification Tablet
PFS	Persepolis Fortification Seal
PT	Persepolis Treasury Tablet
PTS	Persepolis Treasury Seal

Classical Authors

Ael. *De nat. anim.*	Aelian, *De natura animalium*
Ar. *Acharn.*	Aristophanes, *Acharnians*
Arist. *Analyt. post.*	Aristotle, *Analytica posteriora*
Arist. *De mundo*	Aristotle, *De mundo*
Arist. *Rhet.*	Aristotle, *Rhetorica*
Arr.	Arrian, *Anabasis*

Cic. *De senect*.	Cicero, *De senectute*
Cic. *Poet. frag*.	Cicero, *Poetica fragmenta*
Ctes.	Ctesias, *Persica*
Curt.	Quintus Curtius Rufus, *Historiae Alexandri Magni*
Dem.	Demosthenes
Dio. Sic.	Diodorus Siculus, *The Library of History*
Hdt	Herodotus, *The Histories*
Hell. Oxy.	Hellenica Oxyrhynchia
Hom. *Il*.	Homer, *Iliad*
Isoc.	Isocrates
Nepos *Alc*.	Cornelius Nepos, *Alcibiades*
Nepos *Dat*.	Cornelius Nepos, *Datames*
Plut. *Alc*.	Plutarch, *Alcibiades*
Plut. *Alex*.	Plutarch, *Alexander*
Plut. *Artax*.	Plutarch, *Artaxerxes*
Plut. *Mor*.	Plutarch, *Moralia*
Polyaen.	Polyaenus, *Strategemata*
Ps.-Arist. *Oec*	Pseudo-Aristotle, *Oeconomicus*
Strabo	Strabo, *The Geography*
Thuc.	Thucydides, *History of the Peloponnesian War*
Xen. *Ages*.	Xenophon, *Agesilaus*
Xen. *Anab*.	Xenophon, *Anabasis*
Xen. *Cyr*.	Xenophon, *Cyropaedia*
Xen. *Hell*.	Xenophon, *Hellenica*
Xen. *Oec*.	Xenophon, *Oeconomicus*

Collections of Inscriptions

FGrH	*Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*
FHG	*Fragmenta historicorum Graecorum*
IG	*Inscriptiones Graecae*
OGIS	*Orientis Graeci inscriptiones selectae*
SEG	*Supplementum epigraphicum graecum*
SIG	*Sylloge inscriptionum graecarum*
TAM	*Tituli Asiae Minoris*

Books/Series

Achaemenid Impact	I. Delemen, ed., *The Achaemenid Impact on Local Populations and Cultures in Anatolia (Sixth–Fourth Centuries B.C.)*, Papers presented at the International Workshop Istanbul, 20–21 May 2005, Istanbul 2007

AchHist	*Achaemenid History*
AES	Archaeological Exploration of Sardis
AMS	Asia Minor Studien
AOAT	Alter Orient und Altes Testament
L'archéologie de l'empire achéménide	P. Briant and R. Boucharlat, eds., *L'archéologie de l'empire achéménide: nouvelles recherches,* Persika 6, Paris
BAR	British Archaeological Reports
CAH	*Cambridge Ancient History*
CANE	J. Sasson et al., eds., *Civilizations of the Ancient Near East*, New York, 1995
DJD	Discoveries in the Judaean Desert
EncIr	*Encyclopedia Iranica*
MDP	Mémoires de la délégation en Perse
OBO	Orbis biblicus et orientalis
OIP	Oriental Institute Press
SAOC	Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization
SIMA	Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology
TSTS	Toronto Semitic Texts and Studies
UCPCS	University of California Publications in Classical Studies
UMMAA	University of Michigan Museum of Anthropological Archaeology
VAB	Vorderasiatische Bibliothek

Journals

AA	*Archäologischer Anzeiger*
AASA	*Annali di Archeologia e Storia Antica*
AASOR	*Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research*
AbhBerl	*Abhandlungen der Königlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin*
ACSS	*Ancient Civilizations from Scythia to Siberia*
ActArch	*Acta Archaeologica*
ActIr	*Acta Iranica*
ActSum	*Acta Sumerologica*
AfO	*Archiv für Orientforschung*
AHB	*Ancient History Bulletin*
AJA	*American Journal of Archaeology*
AJAH	*American Journal of Ancient History*
AJPh	*American Journal of Philology*

AJSemL	*American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literature*
AmAnt	*American Antiquity*
AmAnth	*American Anthropologist*
AMI	*Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran*
AMT	*Archaeological Method and Theory*
AnatAnt	*Anatolia Antiqua*
AnatSt	*Anatolian Studies*
ANES	*Ancient Near Eastern Studies*
ANSNNM	*American Numismatic Society Numismatic Notes and Monographs*
AntCl	*L'antiquité classique*
AntJ	*Antiquaries Journal*
AntK	*Antike Kunst*
AnzWien	*Anzeiger der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, phil.-hist. Klasse*
ARA	*Annual Review of Anthropology*
ArchEph	*Archaiologike Ephemeris*
ArkeoAtlas	*Arkeo-Atlas Dergisi*
ArsAsia	*Ars Asiatiques*
ArsOr	*Ars Orientalis*
ARTA	*Achaemenid Research on Texts and Archaeology*
AS	*Arkeoloji ve Sanat*
AST	*Araştırma Sonuçları Toplantısı*
AthMitt	*Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung*
AW	*Antike Welt*
AWE	*Ancient West & East*
BAI	*Bulletin of the Asia Institute*
BASOR	*Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*
BASP	*Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists*
BCH	*Bulletin de correspondance hellénique*
BMCR	*Bryn Mawr Classical Review* (http://bmcr.brynmawr.edu/)
BSA	*British School of Archaeology at Athens*
BSFN	*Bulletin de la societé française de numismatique*
CA	*Classical Antiquity*
CAJ	*Cambridge Archaeological Journal*
CAnth	*Current Anthropology*
CDAFI	*Cahiers de la délégation archéologique française en Iran*
CP	*Classical Philology*
CR	*Classical Review*
CRAI	*Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*
CSCA	*California Studies in Classical Antiquity*

DHA	*Dialogues de l'histoire ancienne*
EA	*Epigraphica Anatolica*
EW	*East & West*
HSCP	*Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*
HZ	*Historische Zeitschrift*
IAMY	*İstanbul Arkeoloji Müzesi Yıllığı*
IEJ	*Israel Exploration Journal*
IJAIS	*International Journal of Ancient Iranian Studies*
IrAnt	*Iranica Antiqua*
IstForsch	*Istanbuler Forschungen*
IstMitt	*Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Istanbul*
JA	*Journal asiatique*
JAS	*Journal of Archaeological Science*
JCS	*Journal of Cuneiform Studies*
JdI	*Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts*
JEA	*Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*
JEOL	*Jaarbericht Ex Oriente Lux*
JESHO	*Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*
JFA	*Journal of Field Archaeology*
JGS	*Journal of Glass Studies*
JHS	*Journal of Hellenic Studies*
JMA	*Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology*
JNES	*Journal of Near Eastern Studies*
JPolPhil	*Journal of Political Philosophy*
JRAS	*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*
JRS	*Journal of Roman Studies*
JSA	*Journal of Studies on Alcohol*
KF	*Kleinasiatische Forschungen*
KST	*Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı*
LAAA	*Liverpool Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology*
MDAFI	*Mémoires de la Délégation Archéologique Française en Iran*
MDAIK	*Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo*
MesArch	*Mesoamerican Archaeology*
MIAA	*Material Issues in Art and Archaeology*
MJBK	*Münchener Jahrbuch für bildende Kunst*
MKKS	*Müze Kurtarma Kazıları Semineri*
NAPR	*Northern Akkad Project Reports*
NC	*Numismatic Chronicle*
OAJ	*Oxford Art Journal*
OCTS	*Oriental Carpet and Textile Studies*

OJA	*Oxford Journal of Archaeology*
ÖJh	*Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Instituts*
OpAth	*Opuscula atheniensia*
PAPhS	*Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*
PCPS	*Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society*
QDAP	*Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities in Palestine*
RA	*Revue archéologique*
RAN	*Revue archéologique de Narbonnaise*
RBibl	*Revue biblique*
RdÉ	*Revue d'égyptologie*
REA	*Revue des études anciennes*
REG	*Revue des études grecques*
RhM	*Rheinisches Museum*
SM	*Schweizer Münzblätter*
StIr	*Studia Iranica*
StTroica	*Studia Troica*
TTK	*Türk Tarih Kurumu*
TürkAD	*Türk Arkeoloji Dergisi*
ZA	*Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und vorderasiatische Archäologie*
ZÄS	*Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde*
ZDMG	*Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*
ZPE	*Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*
ZVS	*Zeitschrift für Vergleichende Sprachforschung*

ONE

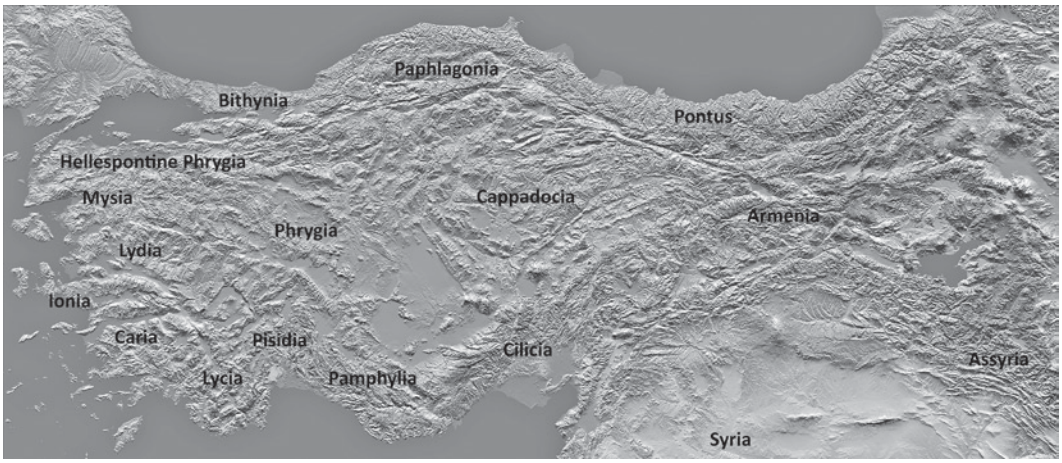
INTRODUCTION

Assessing Achaemenid Anatolia

In the middle of the sixth century B.C.E., the kingdoms of Anatolia were abuzz with rumors of imminent upheaval. The new king of Persia, Cyrus II, had consolidated the Median and Persian peoples and was amassing his forces in the northwest part of his territories, high on the Anatolian plateau near the headwaters of the Tigris and Euphrates Rivers.[1] The king of Lydia, legendarily wealthy Croesus, held control over much of western and central Anatolia from his seat at the ancient Lydian capital, Sardis. Hearing of the activities of Cyrus, he realized that the borders recognized for the past forty years might no longer hold. Might he cross the eastern edge of his kingdom, at the Halys River, and annex new territory to his lands?[2] He sent to the prophetic priestess of Apollo at Delphi for advice. "If Croesus crosses the Halys," intoned the oracle, "he will destroy a mighty empire"; and so Croesus crossed the river that marked the boundary of his kingdom and invaded the Persian Empire with joyous confidence – only to learn it was his own empire that would fall.[3]

The annexation of Anatolia to the Achaemenid Empire, the workings of the imperial administration, the responses of the newly subject populace, and the impact of imperialism on the peoples of Anatolia form the focus of this study. Our knowledge of the Achaemenid Empire's workings has grown tremendously thanks to recent scholarly work and intensive archaeological investigation. This book seeks to develop two aspects of study of the Achaemenid Empire and, indeed, of ancient imperialism in general:

1. It provides an overarching discussion of Anatolia when it was part of the Achaemenid Empire. Anatolia works well as an isolatable, coherent segment of the empire. The name designates a large geographic area but does not



2. Achaemenid Anatolia. Syria and Assyria shown for context. Courtesy Karl Mueller.

correspond to an Achaemenid political entity or concept. It was inhabited before the Persians arrived by varied populations with long-standing histories and traditions, most of them speaking a variety of Indo-European languages. Its geographic, geologic, agricultural, and climatic diversity is very great; in this way it functions as a microcosm of the empire as a whole. I have used the modern boundaries of Asiatic Turkey to define the area of this study.

Anatolia has been the focus of much high-quality archaeological research over the past 150 years. We thus know much about the region, but its full Achaemenid history has not been considered before in a single venue except as collected articles by different authors.[4] Previous research on the area has tended to focus on specific geographic regions or a specific issue. This study departs from others in attempting to provide an overarching discussion of this prosperous, important, and well-researched but undersynthesized region of the empire: What was going on across the entire Anatolian peninsula?

2. This book also proposes a new model for understanding ancient imperialism, which I call an "authority–autonomy" model. It explores the complex relations between imperial authority and various aspects of authority and autonomy within the empire. It allows us to remove ourselves from the limiting geographically determined models (e.g., "core–periphery"), world-systems models, or models following North American notions of "spheres of influence" that have dominated the discourse so far. Instead, this interpretive framework conceives of the empire as a web of relations that includes geographic factors but is not determined primarily by locale. It recognizes the fact that different social groups (e.g., priests, the military) may have exercised particular sorts of authority and autonomy. It explains features of the empire such as the tremendous difference in mortuary treatments combined with a simultaneous similarity in the mortuary inclusions of the elite. The authority–autonomy model represents a shift in the way we might think about the Achaemenid Empire or, indeed, empires in general.

Background: Core–Periphery and Tempered Sovereignty

Discussion of the Achaemenid Empire has been dominated by core–periphery models, with an occasional nod at world-systems analysis. These approaches have not, however, formed satisfactory models for understanding the empire. It is clear that the various satrapies, or administrative regions, of the empire were not affected solely by their proximity to the imperial heartland or by geographic proximity to each other, as "core–periphery" would suggest. Indeed, defining particular areas as discrete and coherent "peripheries" has proved challenging and idiosyncratic. Although it is clear that different areas of the empire adopted and adapted different aspects of Achaemenid ideology to fit their local needs and traditions, it is also clear that factors other than geographic ones were often the most important organizing principles.

In beginning this work, I considered the idea of tempered sovereignty to replace and refine the standard core–periphery model. Tempered sovereignty involves the notion that certain nations or regions might operate with some, often circumscribed, sovereignty of various sorts within an overarching sovereign state. I was particularly interested in those aspects of local sovereignty that might preserve the vitality of distinct cultural communities within the empire.

The language of inquiry within this approach ultimately proved unproductive for my purposes. "Sovereignty" is a term so grounded in European political theory that it requires engagement with modern notions like nation and nationality that actually confuse salient issues of imperialism in antiquity. Moreover, each modern field has its own definitions and bibliography: the word "sovereignty" introduces definitional murkiness to an interdisciplinary study. Sovereignty as an idea seemed insufficiently nuanced to enhance the study of imperialism.

Deriving a New Model

The new authority–autonomy model proposed here examines primary issues at stake within an empire. The line of inquiry is clear: to consider the imperial authority's point of view. What matters to the imperial administration, and does the administration try to enforce consistency in these areas? The variability in response allows us to see the point of view of the people on the ground. The approach can be surprisingly clear and straightforward.

The question "what matters to the imperial authority?" seems simplistic, but it has interesting ramifications. The most obvious approaches to the question are the following:

1. to look at the archaeological and textual evidence and see what it suggests, expecting that great variability means the imperial authority had little

vested interest in a given matter, whereas great conformity means a present and guiding imperial hand; and
2. to consider what might matter most to the administration and see whether the material evidence bears that out.

Thus the approach can be multidirectional, beginning from the evidence and determining where great consistency, and hence matters of great imperial concern, lie or beginning from suppositions about matters of imperial importance and seeing whether the evidence supports that.

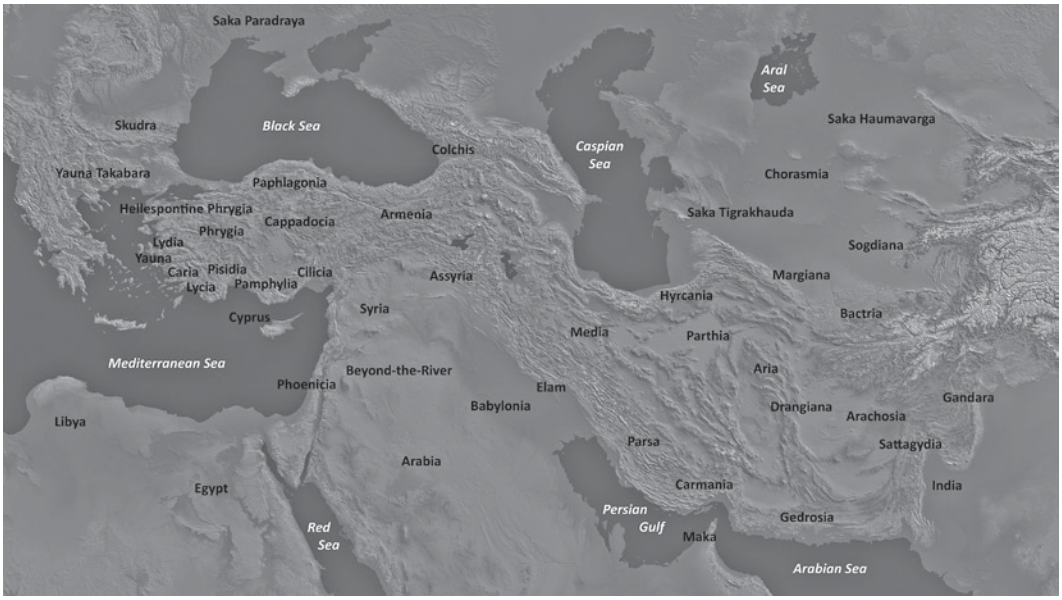
A major element is the empowerment of local populaces: variability may suggest that the imperial administration did not care about something, or it may suggest just the opposite. A particular matter might be of such importance that it could become a meaningful way for a local populace to resist imperial domination. Thus the fabric of this inquiry has imperial authority as its warp, but its weft is autonomous agency. Particularly interesting is the variability in *types* of autonomy. Autonomy may be local, with geographically conscripted responses to the imposition of imperial authority. But autonomy may also spread across an issue regardless of geography: autonomy may emerge in a whole category of behavior, such as funerary customs or the education of children.

An "Authority–Autonomy" Framework of Interpretation

I use the term "authority" here to mean power with a claim to legitimacy, the justification and right to exercise that power.[5] Many different kinds of authority exist. In the Achaemenid Empire these included political, legal (authority based on the formal rules and established laws of a recognized sociopolitical entity), religious, military, craft-based (authority of the more skilled over the lesser in crafts such as farming as well as those such as carpentry), educational, bureaucratic or organizational, financial, and familial, as well as that informal authority of leadership that generally arises when humans group together (usually based either on traditional authority, deriving from established customs, habits, and social structures, or on charismatic authority, deriving from the personal traits of an individual).[6]

What distinguishes authority from coercion or force is its legitimacy.[7] Leadership, persuasion, and influence play an essential role in manufacturing and sustaining legitimacy. When these qualities are lacking, more charismatic leaders are likely to foment social movements or outright revolutions against standing authority. Thus for a sociopolitical entity to remain secure, a leader must have acknowledged legitimacy of power in the eyes of the populace as well as military leaders, the administration, and those running the political apparatus.

Within this network of authority, groups or individuals possess agency. Such agency can run counter or parallel to perceived authority. Successfully allowing

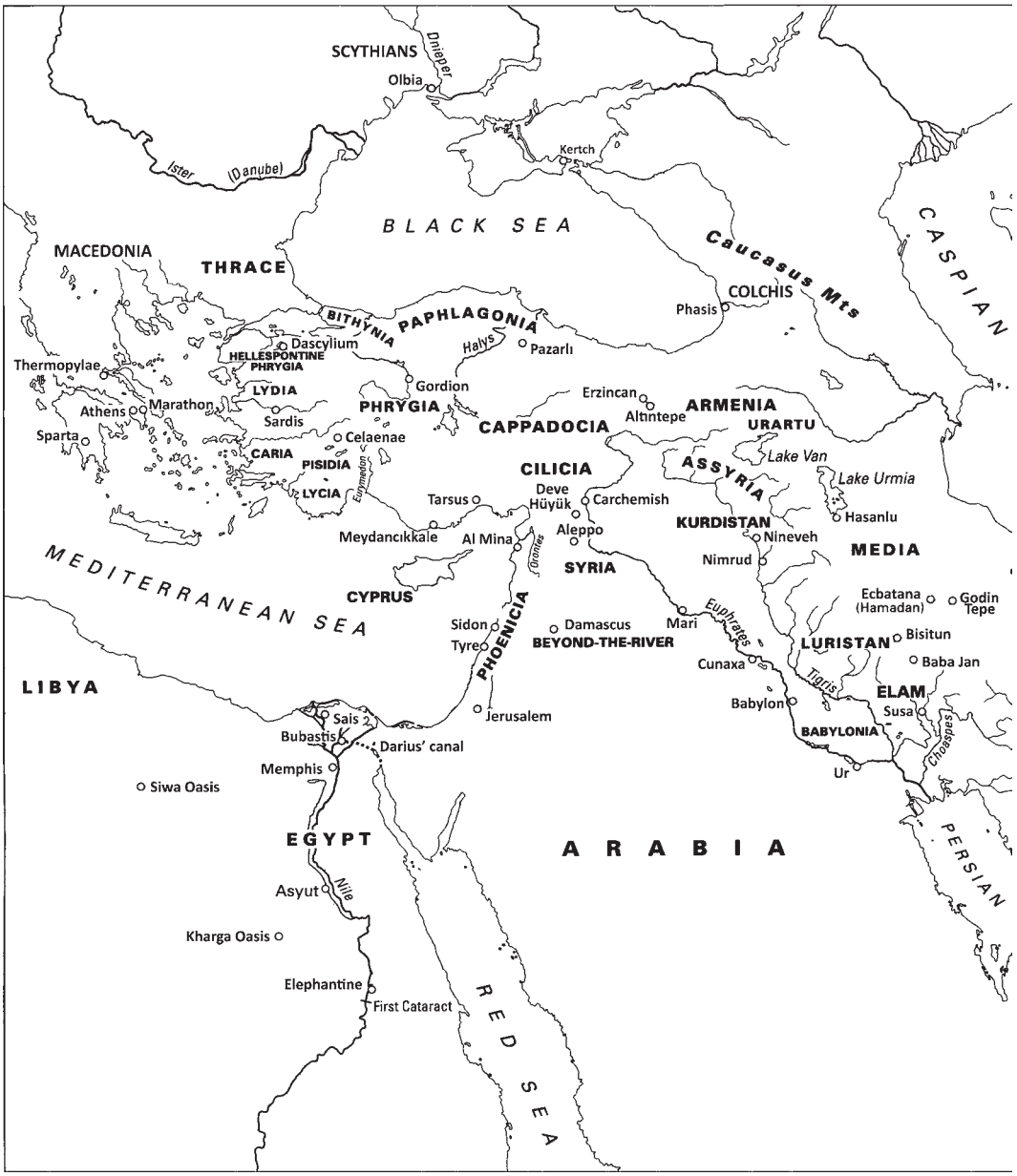


3. Achaemenid Empire. Courtesy Karl Mueller.

for or even implementing autonomous agency is a key element of long-lasting social structures such as the Achaemenid Empire.

Human behaviors were the great organizing feature of the Achaemenid Empire, often, if not always, transcending geographic boundaries. I have thus organized this book by issues rather than by regions or artifact category. The book cannot be an encyclopedia of all archaeological and textual finds in the separate regions of ancient Anatolia, but it considers as much of the archaeological and other evidence as possible to help us understand how the Achaemenid Empire worked. When I have foregrounded particular evidence, it is because that evidence is typical of an issue or serves as an especially illuminating case study. For instance, although the discussion does not include every example of a sealstone or seal impression found in Anatolia that might date to the Achaemenid period, it seeks to articulate the patterns that those seals demonstrate and to describe individual seals that serve as exemplars of or, sometimes, deviations from those patterns.

This chapter includes a brief historical overview of the Achaemenid period, focusing on imperial activities in the center of the empire and its western edges. It summarizes political events, rather than social history, and is based primarily on texts – in this context, I will not constantly question the reliability or frailties of such evidence, but many of the literary sources are Classical Greek and Roman texts and are therefore quite naturally skewed toward western Anatolia.[8] The chapter then turns to look at Anatolia: Who was already living there when Cyrus II arrived, and what kinds of societies made up its complex variety of


SCYTHIANS
Dnieper
Olbia
Ister (Danube)
Kertch
BLACK SEA
CASPIAN
Caucasus Mts
MACEDONIA
THRACE
COLCHIS
Phasis
BITHYNIA
PAPHLAGONIA
Halys
Pazarlı
Dascylium
HELLESPONTINE PHRYGIA
Thermopylae
LYDIA
Gordion
Erzincan
ARMENIA
Athens
Marathon
Sardis
PHRYGIA
CAPPADOCIA
Altıntepe
URARTU
Sparta
Celaenae
CARIA
PISIDIA
LYCIA
Eurymedon
CILICIA
Lake Van
ASSYRIA
Lake Urmia
Deve Hüyük
Carchemish
Tarsus
Hasanlu
KURDISTAN
Meydancıkkale
Al Mina
Aleppo
Nineveh
MEDIA
Orontes
SYRIA
Nimrud
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
CYPRUS
Ecbatana (Hamadan)
Godin Tepe
Sidon
Damascus
Mari
Euphrates
PHOENICIA
Tyre
BEYOND-THE-RIVER
LURISTAN
Bisitun
Cunaxa
Baba Jan
Tigris
LIBYA
ELAM
Babylon
Susa
Sais
Jerusalem
BABYLONIA
Bubastis
Darius' canal
Memphis
Ur
Choaspes
Siwa Oasis
PERSIAN
EGYPT
ARABIA
Asyut
Nile
Kharga Oasis
Elephantine
First Cataract
RED SEA

4. Achaemenid Empire. Author's drawing, after Miller 1997.

cultures? Many of the issues faced by the Achaemenid administration across the empire were encountered in Anatolia, and the opening chapter of this book therefore attempts to provide a glimpse into its diversity. The chapter ends with an overview of the book as a whole.

A Brief Overview of Achaemenid History

The Achaemenid Persian Empire (ca. 550–330) was a vast and complex sociopolitical structure founded by Cyrus II (the Great) that centered on southwest Iran and lower Mesopotamia, the area of its genesis in the western Zagros Mountains when Cyrus united the Persians and Medes under his leadership.[9] Under Darius I (522–486) the empire reached its greatest extent, stretching from the Aegean Sea to the Indus River, from Egypt to the modern Central Asian Republics. Although there were subsequent fluctuations in territorial control, there were no major losses apart from Egypt (and that temporary). The empire encompassed within its boundaries twenty-three distinct subject peoples, who spoke different languages, worshiped different deities, lived in different environments, and had widely differing social customs. The Achaemenid dynasty was to devise a method of hegemony that would allow these various peoples to function within the confines of the new imperial authority, to construct a system of empire flexible enough to provide for the needs of different peoples and ensure their ability to operate as part of the system of the new Achaemenid Empire.

Recent historical studies of the Achaemenid Empire have emphasized its complexity, its strengths, the multiple avenues for its investigation, the ways in which various sources may balance and correct each other, and the situations of those living outside the imperial centers.[10] The historical overview presented here cannot provide the kind of richness such specialized studies offer but seeks to present a summary, focusing on the Achaemenid kings and the political and military events that characterized their reigns – my goal is to provide a framework for the discussions that make up the rest of the book. If I privilege the western part of the empire, particularly Anatolia itself, this is a result of both the focus of this book and the nature of our sources.

According to traditional versions of history, Cyrus became king of the Persians in 559 and defeated Astyages, the king of Media, in 550. Perhaps in 547 or 542 Cyrus conquered Lydia and became overlord of most of Anatolia.[11] Either before or after this conquest, he added Bactria and Sogdiana to the empire; in 539 he conquered Babylon. Sometime before 530 he founded a new palace and garden site in southwestern Iran at Pasargadae. In 530, according to one tradition, he was killed in Central Asia during a campaign against the Massagetae.

Cyrus's construction at Pasargadae established certain trademarks of Achaemenid imperial architectural and artistic rhetoric for centuries to come.[12]

"Palaces" characterized by many-columned halls and formal gardens with symbolically charged layouts, watered via elaborate channels, and spatial layouts emphasizing open air and movement set Pasargadae apart both from normal life and from the palaces of earlier Mesopotamian kings. In addition to the architectural articulations of the landscape, the art forms that adorned certain doorjambs set the scene for later Achaemenid developments, in some cases drawing on earlier iconographies (such as the figure clad in an Assyrianizing fish costume, carved on the jamb of the southeast doorway of Palace S)[13] or in others creating new forms (such as the four-winged "genius" with the unusual composite crown from Gate R).[14]

Cyrus was succeeded by his son Cambyses, who consolidated the eastern Mediterranean and added Egypt to the empire in 525. The written sources for Cambyses' actions in Egypt highlight certain difficulties of Achaemenid history. The Greek historian Herodotus in Book 3 of the *Histories* is hostile, portraying Cambyses as a brutal foreign invader, a despotic and paranoid ruler with pretensions of grandeur and no sensitivity to local concerns. The autobiographical, hieroglyphic inscription on a statue of an Egyptian naval commander named Udjahorresne, almost certainly from Sais, paints a different picture, however: according to this contemporary source, Cambyses tried to forge links with local elites and install them in symbolically important if not politically powerful positions.[15]

Cambyses seems to have drawn on the knowledge and support of the local elite to facilitate acceptance of his rule and to learn how best to fill the role of a king in local terms.[16] He is said to have died in Syria in 522, apparently while on his way back to the great capital cities of the empire. His throne was taken over (either before or after his death – the chronology is opaque) by a man named Bardiya. In September 522 the throne was usurped by a Persian nobleman named Darius.[17]

Darius circulated various versions of his accession to the throne. According to the great trilingual inscription and relief sculpture at Bisitun above the east–west road through the Zagros near modern Hamadan, his assumption of the throne was followed by numerous revolts across the empire as local personages, including individuals claiming to be such important figures as Phraortes of Media and Nebuchadnezzar of Babylon, sought to take power into their hands.[18] These revolts were swiftly suppressed. According to Herodotus, Darius then reorganized the empire, creating different administrative regions governed by satraps who were responsible for collecting taxes as well as administering their provinces.[19] Under Darius I and his generals, new territory, including parts of Scythian territory, was added to the empire, until it reached its largest size. In 499 various Ionian city-states revolted unsuccessfully against their Achaemenid overlords, and in 490 an Achaemenid force landed on the peninsula of Attica at the plain of Marathon, where it was defeated by the Greeks.

5. Statue of Udjahorresne. 22690. © Vatican Museums.

Herodotus's characterization of Darius consistently has him out for profit, usually at odds with the natural harmony and balance of the world.[20] Conversely, Darius portrayed himself as solely responsible for the harmony and balance of the world.[21] The triumph of Truth over the Lie, of Light over Dark, and the benefits that his rule brings to his subjects form key parts of Darius's imperial rhetoric and that of his successors in inscriptions and in art. Thus DPd, one of four trilingual inscriptions Darius displayed on the palace terrace wall at Persepolis, proclaims:

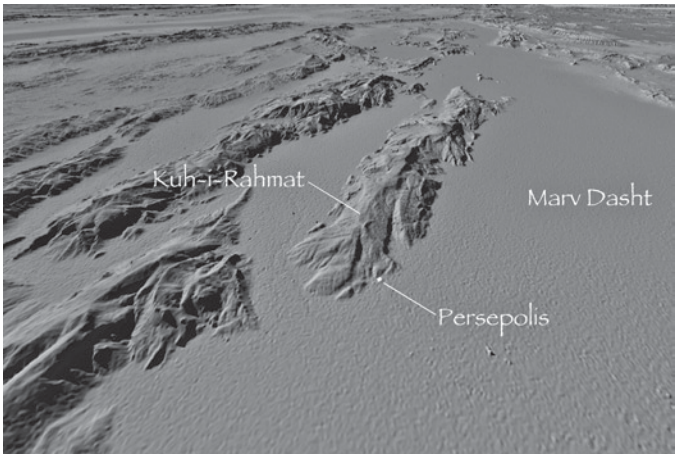
> §1. 1–5. Great Ahuramazda, the greatest of gods – he created Darius the King, he bestowed on him the kingdom; by the favor of Ahuramazda Darius is King.
>
> §2. 5–12. Saith Darius the King: This country Persia which Ahuramazda bestowed upon me – good, possessed of good horses, possessed of good men – by the favor of Ahuramazda and of me, Darius the King, does not feel fear of (any) other.

> §3. 12–24. Saith Darius the King: May Ahuramazda bear me aid, with the gods of the royal house; and may Ahuramazda protect this country from a (hostile) army, from famine, from the Lie! Upon this country may there not come an army, nor famine, nor the Lie; this I pray as a boon from Ahuramazda together with the gods of the royal house. This boon may Ahuramazda together with the gods of the royal house give to me![22]

Darius built a great new palace at Susa, founded deep into the tell, claiming and putting an unmistakable Achaemenid stamp on this most important ancient capital.[23] He created a new palatial complex at Persepolis in southwestern Iran: a raised terrace with a treasury, a palace, and an audience hall. These were adorned with images proclaiming his ideology of empire, notably in the reliefs on the stairs of the new audience hall, or Apadana, which showed the twenty-three distinct peoples and Persians bringing gifts to a central image of the king enthroned. These images are not simply reality-based representations of tribute assessed to specific regions, but represent new royal agendas of diversity within unity and the peaceful cheer enjoyed by the subject peoples of the realm.[24]

In addition to establishing imperial rhetoric, Darius drew on earlier administrative traditions to organize a complex governing system. The Persepolis Fortification Archive illustrates certain key aspects of imperial administrative practices under Darius.[25] Excavated from within the fortification wall on the terrace at Persepolis, it includes roughly twenty thousand clay tablets dating to the years around 500. It records disbursements of foodstuffs and beverages to people engaged in imperial business at and around Persepolis, and its tablets bear impressions left by the personal or administrative seals of the people involved. The archive includes both individual transactions and summaries, in multiple languages, with thousands of different seals represented. The overwhelming majority are inscribed in Imperial Elamite, while somewhere around eight hundred are written in Aramaic; at least one each is written in Greek, Phrygian, Akkadian, and Old Persian cuneiform. Thousands of the tablets are without inscription but bear seal impressions. The seals display a wide variety of styles and images, demonstrating the degree of choice available to individuals.[26] The complexity of the Persepolis Fortification Archive highlights the investment made by Darius in establishing a flexible and workable foundation for imperial administration.

Darius's son Xerxes (486–465) succeeded to the throne and put down a revolt in Egypt and two in Babylonia.[27] He continued his father's policies: he resumed work on the palace terrace at Persepolis and set out to conquer Greece. The latter attempt proved unsuccessful (in 480/79), despite a promising beginning, and Xerxes returned to Asia, where he further consolidated the empire and saw to its security. His efforts probably included dividing the enormous province of Babylonia into two: "Babylonia," the areas east of the



6. Oblique view of the central Iranian plateau toward the southeast. Persepolis is situated near water, in a fertile valley at a place where north–south and east–west routes intersected. Courtesy Karl Mueller.

Euphrates as far north as Carchemish, and "Beyond the River," the lands west of the Euphrates, including much of Syro-Palestine.[28] He seems also to have divided the Anatolian province of Lydia into two, separating the northern part off as Hellespontine Phrygia.[29] During Xerxes' reign, the Athenian-led Delian League gained control of various Achaemenid strategic positions and defeated the Achaemenid military at the battle of the Eurymedon River off Pamphylia in 467/6.[30] Xerxes and his heir, Darius, were murdered in 465 in a court plot that remains obscure to us.[31] Another son, Artaxerxes I, became king and enjoyed a long reign (465–424/3).

At the beginning of Artaxerxes' rule, the Athenians moved into Levantine territory and supported the revolt of Egypt under a local leader, Inarus, in 460–454.[32] Artaxerxes sent a general named Megabazus to Egypt, who crushed the revolt – including the Athenians – and established new fortified garrisons.[33] The missions of the Hebrew courtiers Ezra and Nehemiah to Jerusalem may have formed part of Artaxerxes' efforts to consolidate the western parts of the empire; Athenian efforts to take Cyprus were unsuccessful, and it may be that the "Peace of Callias" between the Athenians and the empire was concluded at this time.[34]

Under Artaxerxes I and his son Darius II (423–404) the empire remained stable and powerful, the wealthiest and most powerful sociopolitical entity on earth. Its effects were profound even on people living outside its formal boundaries; for instance, the Athenians adopted and adapted numerous Achaemenid institutions and habits, while to the north the Cadusians maintained a relationship of alliance with Persian authorities, and far to the east the nomadic chieftain burials at Pazyryk included luxury goods that show cultural interaction with

and adaptation of Achaemenid court images and ideology.[35] In western Anatolia, the Persians supported a revolt of Samos against Athens in 440 and took advantage of the failed Athenian attempt to conquer Sicily (414/13) to begin levying tribute again from the Ionian cities of Asia Minor.[36] Persian gold supported the Spartans and their conquest of the Athenians in 404.[37] Perhaps in an effort to control the rivalry between the satraps of western Anatolia, Darius II sent a younger son named Cyrus to the western front with special powers to take control of the situation.[38]

Darius II was succeeded by his eldest son, Arses, who took the regnal name Artaxerxes II Mnemon (405/4–359/8) in what seems to have been a smooth transfer of power. Egypt revolted against Achaemenid rule in 404 under a leader named Amyrtaeus; this revolt was eventually successful and led to Egypt's temporary independence from Achaemenid rule (it was reconquered in 342/1).[39] At the same time, Artaxerxes' younger brother Cyrus put together an army in Sardis to revolt against his brother. This attempt was efficiently wiped out in 401 and Cyrus killed at the battle of Cunaxa; Artaxerxes II's rule was secure.

His was a lengthy reign, the longest of all the Persian kings, marked by peace in the empire. His military and political successes include the important "King's Peace" with the Greeks in 387/6, which returned to the king's power all the city-states of Asia Minor, and the squelching of a series of rebellious satraps in western Anatolia during 367–362. Artaxerxes II continued construction at the central Achaemenid capitals, including the building of a tomb at Naqsh-i Rustam near Persepolis, work at Ecbatana, and the construction of a new palace at Babylon.[40] He was interested in ways to link religion to a tightened adherence among Persian diaspora – including, perhaps, mandating worship of the goddess Anahita in various parts of the empire and introducing human-shaped statues to her cult.[41] Inscriptions dating to his reign show that the version of Mazdaism practiced by the Achaemenid elite included explicit worship of Mithras and Anahita, in addition to Ahuramazda "and the other gods who are."[42] Plutarch portrays Artaxerxes II as a generous king who was accessible to his subjects, a courageous warrior who shared the hardships of his soldiers, and a loving husband.[43]

Artaxerxes II was succeeded by his son Artaxerxes III Ochus (358–338), under whom Egypt was successfully reannexed to the empire and revolts in Phoenicia quelled.[44] A letter he wrote to the Athenians in 355 may have moved them to accept defeat in the Social War – if so, it demonstrates the Achaemenid kings' continued involvement in Greek affairs. At Persepolis, Artaxerxes III built a tomb above the palace terrace instead of at Naqsh-i Rustam with the other royal tombs.[45] He added a stair to the Palace of Darius and may have been the one who moved the original central panels of the Apadana staircase to their enshrinement in Courtyard 17 of the Treasury.[46] Artaxerxes III died of natural